A LITERARY STUDY OF PINDAR’S FOURTH AND FIFTH PYTHIAN ODES

Isobel A. Longley-Cook

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
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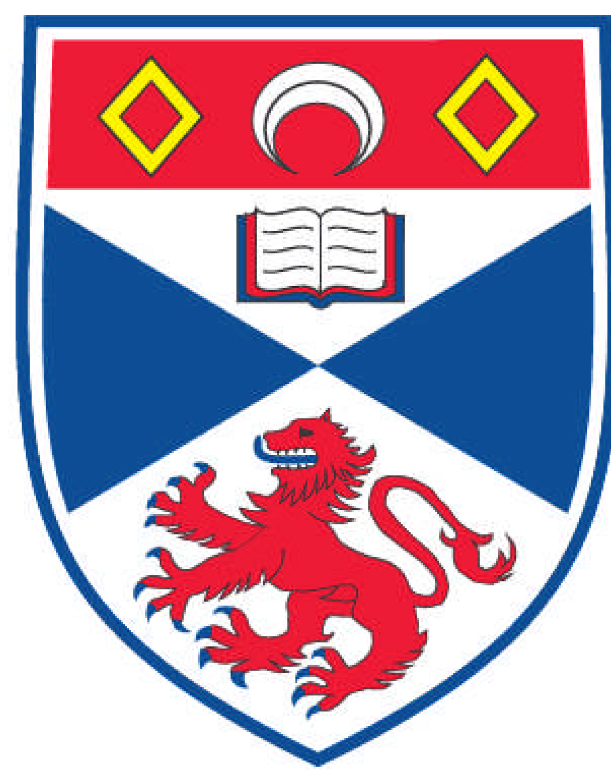

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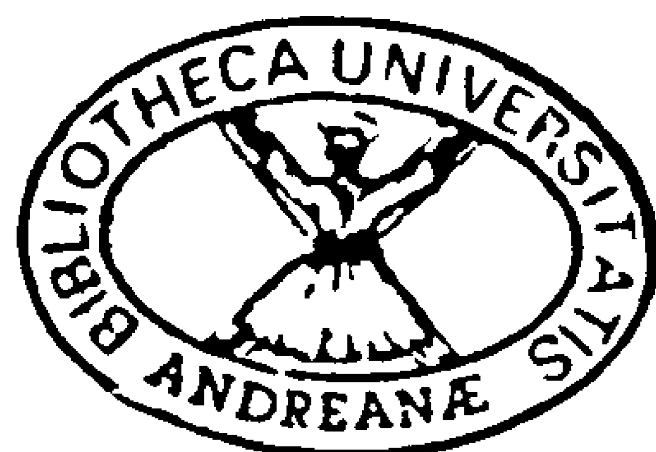
A LITERARY STUDY OF PINDAR'S FOURTH AND FIFTH PYTHIAN ODES

by

ISOBEL A. LONGLEY-COOK

Submitted for the degree of Ph.D
in the University of St. Andrews
on 13th December, 1988



ABSTRACT

Pythian 4 is Pindar's grandest ode. It was commissioned along with *Pythian 5* to celebrate the chariot victory at Delphi of Arcesilas IV of Cyrene. The lengthy myth of *Pythian 4* narrates the tale of Jason and the Argonauts, long established in the Greek mythic tradition. Pindar's treatment of this tradition to create his myth is examined. It reveals much about his aims in writing the ode, in particular in the characterisation of his hero, Jason, and his opponent, Pelias. The poem's structure and the narrative technique employed in the myth are also examined. A remarkable feature of *Pythian 4* is its epic flavour. Analysis of Pindar's production of this effect reveals many different devices which would remind his audience of epic, not least a singular concentration of epic language in the ode. The epilogue of *Pythian 4* refers to the contemporary political situation in Cyrene. The poet's presentation and use of this material is assessed in the light of his treatment of contemporary allusions elsewhere in the odes.

The complex relationship between the two odes for Arcesilas is considered in the light of other double commissions. *Pythian 4* contains an unusual plea for an exile, Damophilus. He may have paid for the ode. The unusual features of *Pythian 5* are examined: an extraordinary tribute to Arcesilas' charioteer, Carrhotus; vivid and numerous details of the topography of Cyrene and details of religious cult practice there. Pythian 5 also raises the question of the identity of the first person in Pindar. The poet's treatment of Cyrenean history, especially the figure of Battus, the victor's ancestor, who features in the myths of both odes, is also considered.

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PREFACE

Pythian 4 has long received special attention because of its extraordinary length, complexity and grandeur. In the last ten years both a dissertation and a monograph have been published and during the final stages of the preparation of this thesis, Braswell's commentary on *Pythian 4* (De Gruyter 1988) all of which deal solely with Pindar's *pièce de résistance*, adding to the mass of articles and chapters devoted to it elsewhere. *Pythian 5*, by contrast, has aroused far less interest and has often been neglected by scholars of *Pythian 4*, although the recent discussions by Burton, Duchemin and Race have gone some way to redressing the balance.

In the face of so much scholarship one might wonder what justification exists for yet another piece of research which centres on *Pythian 4*. However, despite the fact that *Pythian 4* is among the most studied of the odes there is still disagreement among scholars on several important points. In addition, many of the questions dealt with by scholarship are not treated in sufficient detail and the monographs on *Pythian 4*, although valuable, have very different emphases from those which seem to me important. Moreover, there has been no major discussion which treats the odes as a pair. This study aims to fill this gap.

My debt to those who have assisted in the preparation of this thesis is enormous. Not many of the world's population can claim to have studied Pindar; far fewer can have executed the bulk of their research for a doctoral thesis in the Kalahari desert. It would not have been possible without the enthusiasm, constant encouragement and sensitive criticism of my supervisor, Dr Christopher Carey.

I am indebted also to Mrs Marika Frank of the University of the Witwatersrand for her practical help and to those at St. Andrews whose encouragement over the years has been unfailing, Professor Ian Kidd and Mr Martin Smith. Since I returned to Britain my visits to St. Andrews have only been made possible by the hospitality of Mr and Mrs Robin Evetts. I cannot exaggerate my debt to Dr John Pinsent, of the Department of Classics and Archaeology in the University of Liverpool, who has not only prepared this manuscript on a Macintosh Plus with the help of Ms Helena Hurt but also offered much practical help, stimulating discussion and characteristic insight. Last, but not least, this list would not be complete without mention of my husband who has always been ready to offer support and encouragement.

INTRODUCTION

In 462 B.C. the chariot of Arcesilas of Cyrene was victorious at the Pythian games at Delphi. The chariot and horses had travelled far in order to participate. Cyrene, situated on the north coast of present-day Libya, was a colony on the edge of the Greek world. It had been founded less than two hundred years earlier (631 B.C.) by one Battus, a Theran, on the instruction of the Delphic Oracle. After initial struggles to survive it had prospered, largely as a result of its fertile climate which favoured the growth of a valuable medicinal herb, silphium.

The ruling of Cyrene had not passed out of the hands of the Battiad dynasty, named after its founder, Battus I. The throne was passed from father to son in direct line for eight generations despite rivalries and power struggles both from without and within the family. Arcesilas IV, whose chariot was victorious at Delphi, was the eighth Battiad king. With him the dynasty ended when he was murdered a few years after a further victory at Olympia in 460.

Cyrene became famous for its chariots, but before Arcesilas we have no record of any king participating in the famous Greek games, although twelve years before Arcesilas' victory we know that a Cyrenean athlete was victorious at the Pythian games in the race in armour. A Pindaric ode for this athlete Telesicrates still exists (*Pythian 9*).

Despite Herodotus' interest in Cyrene (4. 150ff.) we possess very little historical evidence for Arcesilas' reign. We do not know why he decided to compete in the Greek games, but certain aspects of the odes in his honour suggest that he was desirous of strengthening his ties with Greece. The historian Theotimus, cited by the scholia on *Pythian 5* (Σ

P.5.34, D.II pp.175-6) records that Arcesilas attempted to recruit mercenary colonists from Greece to people Euhesperides. Being a Dorian colony Cyrene already possessed religious and cultural links with the Greek mainland, but participation in the Greek games would no doubt have established her position as part of the Greek world more firmly. When his chariot was victorious at Delphi Arcesilas commissioned one of the most famous of Greek epinicists to celebrate it.

Arcesilas was only one of a number of men of considerable standing to command Pindar's services. The Theban poet had executed odes for no less than four powerful Sicilians, Hieron, Theron, Xenocrates and Chromius. Hieron was Pindar's greatest patron, but Theron had ordered a double celebration of his victory in 476 B.C. and both Xenocrates and Chromius employed him twice. These men also ruled cities on the edge of the Greek world and it is noticeable that Pindar was concerned to demonstrate their connection with mainland Greece as he is with Arcesilas.

A pair of odes in honour of Arcesilas' victory has come down to us. One of these, *Pythian 4*, is unique among Pindar's epinicians. Its extraordinary length, thirteen triads compared to the five of its nearest rivals, is matched by a complexity and almost epic grandeur quite unsurpassed by even the dazzling *Olympian 1*. Much of its length is taken up by a myth from heroic saga, the adventures of Jason and the Argonauts on their Quest for the Golden Fleece, but what makes it quite unique among the odes is the presence in the epilogue of a plea on behalf of a Cyrenean exile, Damophilus, who longs to return home.

By contrast, *Pythian 5* appears much more straightforward. The ode opens and closes with conventional praise of the victor and the central

section contains a narrative of some of the deeds of Cyrene's founder, Battus I, which takes the place of a myth. However, before this narrative the poet devotes no less than twenty-seven verses to praise of Arcesilas' charioteer Carrhotus, an unusual and striking tribute. In addition, the ode exhibits an unusual concern with Apollo, who is hailed by his Cyrenean cult-title, Carneios (v.80), and Pindar describes his festival in some detail (vv.77ff.).

It is the aim of this study to consider the unusual features of these two odes in detail, attempting not only to demonstrate the close relationship between the two odes but also how the poet deals with an unusual brief within the conventions of the epinician genre.

Chapter 1 discusses Pindar's treatment of Argonautic myth. Our evidence for pre-Pindaric Argonautic tradition is not extensive, but with the aid of later tradition there is sufficient for us to examine the poet's handling of his sources. Analysis reveals considerable selectivity in his approach. Some of this may be accredited to the relative shortness (in comparison with epic) of the myth of *Pythian 4*, which necessitated economy in the narrative. However, the bulk of Pindar's careful choice is clearly accounted for by the need to make the myth relevant to his Cyrenean victor. Pindar retains those elements from the tradition which furthered his aims, sometimes without change, sometimes adapting them or altering their emphasis. Certain elements disappear altogether, while other relatively minor ones are given new and detailed treatment and certain elements appear to have been invented or are employed in novel combinations in order to create a myth which is carefully tailored to suit the demands of *Pythian 4*.

Examination of the myth continues in Chapter 2 where the

portrayal of the two main characters in the myth, Jason and Pelias, is analysed. Pindar's treatment of character in the odes in general appears to be consistent with the approach found elsewhere in the remains of lyric poetry, but differs from that of Bacchylides, his contemporary, whose treatment gives the impression of a more objective presentation of the facts on which the audience is to judge character. Pindar is more inclined to manipulate our judgement by the use of editorial comment and loaded language. His approach does not vary in *Pythian 4*, despite the opportunity presented to him by so lengthy a narrative. Jason emerges as the central hero of the piece, but in order to present Arcesilas with an example of the ideal king whose behaviour is a model for him to follow Pindar has departed greatly from the prototype hero available to him in epic. Pelias is delineated carefully by the poet in order to provide a foil for Jason, but he is not intended to provide an *exemplum* in his own right.

In Chapter 3 we turn to the ode's structure to consider how Pindar creates structural unity in an ode as large as *Pythian 4*. The ode falls naturally into three parts, proem, myth and epilogue, a tripartite structure traditional both in lyric and epinician poetry. Ring composition plays an important part in the poet's structuring of the ode. In the proem it is the main structure, since Medea's speech, which is framed by an announcement of Arcesilas' victory, is a perfect example of concentric ring composition. The poet also uses the events of the proem to introduce structural rings which are only closed at the end of the main myth.

The myth itself is introduced formally and structured by scenes, events on Jason's return to Iolcos, the voyage to Colchis, and a parallel series of events in Colchis, until the poet breaks off his myth and hastily returns to the present, closing the structural rings begun in the

Vormythos and at the beginning of the myth. The epilogue is securely linked to the myth by the poet's return to Arcesilas and the present and in addition the entire section forms a frame around the myth with the earlier praise of Arcesilas in the proem.

A final section of Chapter 3 is devoted to Pindar's narrative technique in the myth. We see that he has chosen an episodic rather than a linear narrative. This is typical of Pindar's approach elsewhere in the odes and, from our limited evidence, appears to be consistent with that found in lyric, but very different from that of epic. Analysis of the catalogue of heroes at *P*.4.171ff. shows that Pindar paid considerable attention to detail in his narrative technique and that his search for variety operated even on the level of sentence structure.

Almost every commentator on *Pythian 4* has remarked on the poem's epic qualities. The unusual length of the ode, the poet's choice of myth and his treatment of it, the themes and language combine to produce the ode's distinctive epic flavouring. The first part of Chapter 4 deals with these epic features individually, discussing such elements as scale, the poet's choice of metre, the central role played by the hero in the myth, narrative devices and epic motifs and themes.

The second part of the chapter is devoted to analysis of Pindar's use of epic language in *Pythian 4*. While some work has been done in this area by Forssman no attempt has been made previously to quantify Pindar's usage. Despite the problems raised by subjecting ancient texts to statistical analysis and our limited evidence for poetry before Pindar it was still felt that such a study would be valuable. Ten odes have been analysed in order to provide a control for *Pythian 4*. The ode emerges as one containing a significantly higher proportion of epic language than Pindar's ordinary

usage. *Pythian 5*, however, contains a proportion significantly below average.

Chapter 5 examines Pindar's treatment of contemporary allusions in the odes, with a view to determining whether the poet deals with the plea in the epilogue of *Pythian 4* in a manner consistent with his treatment of contemporary material elsewhere. The discussion is restricted to those allusions which are explicit, whether deliberately specified by Pindar or where we can be reasonably certain that he intended to refer to the contemporary situation. It is also restricted to allusions to contemporary political developments concerning the city of the *laudandus* in order to provide a suitable context for the evaluation of Pindar's treatment of contemporary events in Cyrene in *Pythians 4* and *5*.

Analysis shows that Pindar uses contemporary references in the odes in order to praise his victor. Events of a positive nature provide direct praise, events of a negative nature a foil against which to set the brightness of the victor's present success. The reference to contemporary events in *Pythian 5* falls into the latter category. The plea at the end of *Pythian 4* does not serve either of these purposes. Its uniqueness, however, should not surprise us in an ode so far removed in scale and grandeur from anything else which Pindar composed.

The relationship between *Pythians 4*and *5* is the subject of Chapter 6. The existence of a pair of odes to celebrate a single victory is not unusual. Other examples suggest that the poems might have been intended for separate performances or composed as a pair for reasons of pride and prestige. Both these explanations could apply in the case of *Pythians 4* and *5*. A further explanation of the existence of the two odes, however, lies in their commission. The presence of the plea for

Damophilus at the end of *Pythian 4* raises the question how did it come to be there if Arcesilas commissioned the ode. Either we must assume that the plea is rhetorical and that it appears in *Pythian 4* with Arcesilas' blessing as an oblique means of praising him, or that Pindar composed *Pythian 4* at the request of Damophilus for whom he aimed to secure a reconciliation with Arcesilas. If we accept the latter possibility this would explain the existence of two odes to celebrate Arcesilas' victory.

The close relationship between *Pythians 4* and *5* suggests that the poet composed whichever ode came first with the other in mind. Despite their treatment of the same subject and use of Cyrenean tradition within the myth the odes do not overlap in any way. The poet appears to have deliberately separated them in this way, but in such a manner that each ode presupposes the other.

In Chapter 7 we turn to *Pythian 5*, to discuss its unusual features. Although we can be certain at times that Pindar did not travel to the victor's homeland, but sent his ode by an intermediary, examination of the topographical and parochial detail of Cyrene in the ode seems to suggest autopsy by the poet. This degree of purely topographical detail is quite remarkable. A second unusual feature of *Pythian 5* is the apparent connection with a festival of Apollo Carneios. The description of cult practice which appears in the ode occupies a significant part of the ode (vv.77-88) and is so detailed that it would seem to suggest that *Pythian 5* was actually performed at some stage during the festival.

A final striking feature of *Pythian 5* is the extended tribute paid to Arcesilas' charioteer (vv.26ff.). It is unusual for Pindar to name charioteers or riders, let alone devote almost thirty verses to their achievement. Carrhotus' victory had, however, been quite remarkable. He

was victorious and kept his team and chariot intact when no less than forty chariots came to grief. This may have been the sole reason behind Pindar's praise of Carrhotus, but the scholia state that Arcesilas had further cause to be grateful to the charioteer. According to them (Σ *P*.5.34, D.II pp.175-6) Carrhotus had been involved in an expedition to Greece to recruit mercenary colonists for Arcesilas. There is a muddle in the scholia at this point, but Carrhotus' part in such an expedition remains a possibility. Such praise of a personage other than the victor is rare, but Pindar incorporates it skilfully into the ode.

The final chapter explores Pindar's treatment of Arcesilas' ancestor Battus. The historical account of Cyrene's founding given by Herodotus (4.150ff.) provides us with an excellent background against which to evaluate Pindar's handling of Battus' role in the founding of Cyrene. Battus' role is discussed for each ode, but in both the poet's aims are consistent. He omits that which might have detracted from his picture of Arcesilas' glorious ancestor, or subtly alters the emphasis so that Battus appears in a suitably heroic light. This tendency to edit his material in order to please his patron is a feature both of Pindar's treatment of historical material and of myth.

Little further explanation is needed. The text referred to throughout is that of Snell-Maehler (Leipzig 1987) unless otherwise indicated. Authors of published works are referred to by name only and by accompanying date if more than one work is cited. The reader is referred to the bibliography, pp.323ff., for explanations. The abbreviations for Greek and Roman authors are those found in the lexica of Liddell-Scott-Jones and Lewis and Short.

CHAPTER ONE

Argonautic Saga

Introduction

The body of myth which told of the voyage of the Argo was well-known long before Pindar used it to create the myth of *Pythian 4*. Our earliest extant Greek source, the Homeric poems, refer to persons and events from Argonautic myth, and even the Argo itself, in a manner which seems to indicate that the essentials of the saga were already well-established when the poems were composed. After Homer we find numerous references to the saga or versions of it in several authors writing before Pindar. Of these not a great deal is extant, and it must be noted that much of this evidence is only such as has been preserved in scholia, and therefore reflects a biased interest which prevents us from viewing it as exactly representative of what existed. However, there is sufficient to establish that by the time Pindar wrote *Pythian 4* the tradition already contained variant versions and that he has selected, omitted and adapted the material available to him as well as creating new variants of his own.

This chapter aims to study Pindar's treatment of the myth of the Argonauts in *Pythian 4* in order to shed light on its relevance and on the structure of the poem, its themes and its aims. In order to maintain clarity, we shall not begin by plunging *in medias res*, as Pindar does, with Medea's prophecy on Thera, but at the earliest chronological point of the action, which he himself indicates in vv.70-71 to be the true start of the

chain of events which led to the quest for the Golden Fleece.

1. *The meeting of Jason and Pelias in Iolcos*

(i) *The oracle to Pelias*

In response to the rhetorical questions which introduce the myth of the quest of the Minyae for the Golden Fleece (vv.70-71) Pindar makes two statements about Pelias. First, it was *θέσφατον* that his death was to be brought about in some way by the Aeolidae. Secondly, the poet describes Pelias' reception of an oracle (*μάντευμα* v.73) at Delphi which warned him to be always on his guard against a single-sandalled man who would arrive in Iolcos (*αἰπεινῶν ἀπὸ σταθμῶν* v.76) and might be citizen or stranger.

The juxtaposition of these statements gives the impression that both elements formed part of the one Delphic oracle. There is no inconsistency in such a combination of cautions[1]. A warning of death, followed by a further warning against a single-sandalled man merely narrows the field of possible murderers and if the order of the warnings was reversed, the need to watch out for a single-sandalled man is increased because death is now in the offing. Pelias' later reaction of fear when he sees the single-sandalled man (v.97), and his actions on discovering who this man is, suggest that he associates him with the warning of his death.

Our sources do not reveal whether Pindar combined two separate oracles to provide a suitable beginning for his myth, or merely utilised an oracle from the Argonautic tradition which gave a double warning. We possess only one other reference to an oracle to Pelias, in the *Argonautica*

[1] Goossens, p.851 n.3, sees a contradiction here.

of Pherecydes, a probable contemporary[2]. The terms of the oracle are not directly narrated, but we may deduce from the text that he knew of the same double warning.

According to Pherecydes Jason, wearing a single sandal, arrives in Iolcos when Pelias is sacrificing to Poseidon. On seeing him, *ὁ Πελίας συμβάλλει τὸ μαντήιον*. Obviously the oracle which Pelias remembered concerned a man wearing a single sandal. In addition, Pherecydes says that Pelias kept quiet on Jason's arrival, but the next day he asked him what he would do if an oracle had told him he was to die at the hands of one of the citizens. Pherecydes' Pelias clearly associated the two oracular pronouncements as Pindar's Pelias does.Thus we may suggest that at this stage in the tradition the two elements were combined[3].

It has been suggested that Pindar followed Pherecydes' account[4]. Although the two writers were contemporary we have no way of knowing whether one preceded the other or that they even knew of each other's work[5]. However, the difference between their accounts would seem to suggest a common source rather than the derivation of one account from

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[2] See Jacoby 3 F105. The date of Pherecydes is discussed in n.5.
[3] Later authors separated them, in that they refer to either but not to both. The oracle about the single-sandalled man occurs in A.R.1.5-7, Apollod.1.107-8, Hyg. *F*.12, and warnings of death given by the gods in Val.Fl.1.26ff..
[4] Cf. Duchemin, p.95. She gives no evidence to support this suggestion.
[5] There seems to have been some confusion in antiquity as to who exactly this Pherecydes was, since the *Suda* gives no less than three entries under the name, and other writers feel a need to distinguish between them (Jacoby 3 T 1-8). Eusebius writes underOl.81.1(456/5 B.C.) *Ferecydes secundus historiarum scriptor agnoscitur.* This Pherecydes seems to coincide with the third entry in the *Suda*, a Pherecydes from Leros for whom he gives a birthdate in Ol. 75 (480-477 B.C.). If Eusebius' date is that of Pherecydes' *floruit*, we could say on the evidence of Pindar's dates (*P*.10 in 498 B.C. to *P*.8 in 446 B.C.) that Pindar was the earlier of the two. If, however, Pherecydes' *Argonautica* was one of his earlier works it is possible that he had not encountered the relatively late *Pythian 4* (462 B.C.), especially if there was some delay between the date of composition of the ode and its wide circulation.

the other. Even allowing for the fact that either author might have suppressed or added to the account which he found in the other, it seems reasonable to expect the narratives to be more similar than they are if one author had used the other as a source. It is notable that the only real similarity is the reference to this oracle, which is, in some form or other, common to all later versions of the saga[6].

The oracle to Pelias provided the poet with a particularly good starting point for a chain of events. Sandgren (p.17) remarks on other examples in the odes (*O.6* and *7*, and the Euphemus episode of *P.4*). *Pythian 4* offers further evidence of the poet's use of this device. The oracle to Battus which begins the events of the *Vormythos* is mentioned no less than four times (vv.6-10, 53-6, 59-63, 259-62) and involves a chain of events culminating in the colonisation of Cyrene. This oracle in turn fulfils the prophecy of Medea (vv.13-56) which reveals that Triton's gift of the clod to Euphemus set in motion a chain of events for generations to come. Pelias' consultation of the Delphic Oracle in order to confirm his dream (vv.163-4) results in all the events of the voyage of the Argonauts.

Pindar also had more immediate concerns of the plot in mind when he decided to recount the oracle to Pelias.It provided a motive for Pelias' reaction to Jason on his arrival (fear, v.97) and, more importantly, for his subsequent behaviour, that is, his desire to rid himself of Jason by sending him off on the Quest for the Golden Fleece[7]. In order to supply both these motives Pindar needed to include both elements of the oracular warning.

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[6] Cf. n.3 above.
[7] Earlier accounts such as those of Hesiod and Mimnermus give no reason why Pelias should have set Jason the task described so unfavourably (*στονόεντας ἀέθλους*, Hes. *Th.*994, *χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον*, Mimn. fr.11.3), but an oracle such as the one Pindar relates here would provide excellent motivation for Pelias' devising of such a task.

To include only the admonition about the single-sandalled man, although striking, would not give Pelias any motivation for his concern to remove Jason from Iolcos at all costs; he might merely watch Jason closely. In the same way the threat of death at the hands of the Aeolidae was to be expected by one who had usurped their throne and would not in itself provide any reason for Pelias' reaction to the one-sandalled Jason. The motif of the one sandal enabled Pelias to pinpoint his vague fears.

The oracular warnings to Pelias also highlight the theme of fate which runs throughout the ode[8]. Pindar emphasises that, no matter how great the delay or how insurmountable the obstacles, what is destined by the gods always comes to pass. For this reason an oracle also provides the poet with an excellent means of creating suspense and tension, enabling him to hold his audience's attention over a lengthy period of time until the predestined event finally comes to pass. Pindar utilises this potential to the full by opening his myth with the oracle to Pelias, since he does not narrate its fulfilment, Pelias' death, until he closes the myth in vv.250ff.[9]

We should also note that this theme of destiny has an especial relevance for the victor whom Pindar addresses. Arcesilas' rule at Cyrene had its origins in a Delphic oracle to his ancestor Battus (which Pindar emphasises in this ode), instructing him to colonise Libya. Sovereignty had passed from father to son in direct line until Arcesilas IV, but not without various tensions and struggles[10]. Arcesilas himself had been faced with stasis (cf. vv.272-4, Σ. *P.4* init., D.II p.92). Pindar, however, uses

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[8] Cf. Goossens p.850.

[9] It is also possible that Pindar was following tradition here, i.e. that the oracle was used as the starting-point for the tale in Pindar's sources. Later writers seem to stick to this beginning: e.g. A.R.1.5ff, Apollod.1.107, Val.Fl.1.26ff. (prophecies rather than oracle).

[10] Cf. App.III, pp.297ff.

his theme of the all-powerfulness of destiny to reinforce his praise of Arcesilas' kingship in the epilogue and to assert subtly his god-given right to rule.

If Pindar did not find both elements of the oracle's warning already combined in the tradition we may further observe his skilful economy in uniting two separate oracular pronouncements to simplify his lengthy myth and make the most use of one effective device.

(ii) *Jason μονοκρήπις*

The most striking detail of the oracle of vv.71-8 is the one sandal. Jason's arrival in Iolcos in such a guise and the oracle pertaining to *τὸν μονοκρήπιδα* are not found in our literary sources for Argonautic saga before Pindar, but there is good reason to believe that the detail was traditional. First, it is notable that it occurs in all later accounts except that of Valerius Flaccus. Secondly, it appears to have been an established part of the tradition in Larissa, where coins featuring the symbol of Jason's sandal can be dated at least as early as 480 B.C.[11].

If the detail was traditional, there is a possibility which we cannot rule out that the poet included it for this very reason. However, it is evident from omissions and adaptations elsewhere in the myth (such as the exclusion of many of the traditional episodes on the voyage to Colchis, and the transposition of events on Lemnos) that Pindar did not feel constrained to follow tradition.

Commentators from the scholia onwards have suggested that the one sandal had some special point or significance for the poet. The scholia

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[11] See Farnell II p.147. Pindar's first ode (*P.10* in 498 B.C.) was for a Thessalian victor. It is possible that he visited Larissa himself on that commission, or at least had contacts there.

offer two explanations for Jason's wearing only one sandal[12]. The first is a quotation of Pherecydes' tale of how Jason came to lose a sandal. Pindar makes no reference to this. The second is more interesting: *εἰσι δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ πάντες μονοκρήπιδες διὰ τὸ πολεμικώτατοι εἶναι*[13].

Goossens (pp.852-4) explains this with supporting evidence from Thucydides (3.22.2). The wearing of only one sandal is a useful device employed by warriors (of whom the Aetolians were a prime example) to ensure the good grip in muddy terrain given by an unsandalled foot. It is noticeable that Pindar portrays Jason as a warrior on his arrival in Iolcos (vv.79-83), carrying two spears and with a leopard skin wound around his shoulders, and implies that he had come down to Iolcos over mountainous terrain (*αἰπεινῶν ἀπὸ σταθμῶν*). He may, therefore, have had this reason for the wearing of only one sandal in mind, but if he did it seems remarkable that he does not directly refer to it in his description of Jason's appearance. It is only indirectly that we realise that Jason was *μονοκρήπις*; after the account of the oracle's warning about a one-sandalled man Pindar merely says: *ὁ δ' ἦρα χρόνῳ ἵκετ' αἰχμαῖσιν διδύμαισιν ἀνὴρ ἔκπαγλος*.

Several scholars suggest that Pindar employs the device of the one sandal for symbolic reasons: Farnell (II p.148) that there was something 'magical and mystical' about the detail, Brunel (p.42) that the one sandal symbolised Jason's intention to reclaim his throne, Deonna (p.66) that it revealed Jason as '*un officiant des rites chthoniens . . . un messager funèbre et funeste*' for Pelias. All these scholars provide adequate evidence for such symbolism in the wearing of only one sandal, which the detail

[12] Σ 133a, D.II pp.117-8.
[13] Goosens (p.852 n.2) compares Σ. E.*Ph.*139. Cf. also Arist. *περὶ ποιητῶν* fr.6 Ross.

may even have possessed in pre-Pindaric Argonautic myth[14], but it is quite clear that for Pindar its value was merely literary.

Nothing in Jason's appearance or behaviour suggests that he possessed magical powers or was a messenger of the chthonic gods or '*en rapport* with the spirit world' (Farnell). Nor does the crowd's reaction to him suggest any more than that his physical appearance was striking. Moreover Pelias' fear of Jason on noting his one sandal is the physical fear of a killer, not of any supernatural or mystical power, but of the physical presence of a man he has been warned about in connection with his death.

We may submit instead that the poet viewed the motif as an extremely useful and economical tool for his plot. It enabled him to move straight from the oracle to Pelias to the moment of the oracle's fulfilment in Jason's arrival in Iolcos, using the one striking detail as a pivot. Without it the poet would be unable to build up the suspense and tension which Jason's arrival creates. Pindar also exploits the visual impact of the detail by making it the central focus of Pelias' and Jason's first meeting. It is the only thing which warns Pelias against Jason and provides the stimulus for his questions to find out whether the one-sandalled stranger fulfils the rest of the oracle. The tension heightens until the final revelation of Jason's name in v.119, over forty lines after the oracle's warning.

(iii) *Jason and Pelias*

After the oracle to Pelias Pindar turns our attention to Jason's

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[14] In view of the very mundane explanations of the one sandal given in Pherecydes and in later writers, however, it would appear that the detail had lost any intrinsic symbolism by the time Pindar was writing.

arrival in Iolcos. We possess only the account of Pherecydes with which to compare his treatment of events[15]. Pherecydes describes Jason arriving in a crowd of citizens who had come to Iolcos for a sacrifice to Poseidon celebrated by Pelias. Pindar has either followed a different tradition or he has altered what existed to suit his own purposes, since he presents Jason arriving alone in the market place. There are obvious reasons for such a presentation. First, it allows Pindar to create an Homeric-type crowd scene where members of the crowd speculate on who Jason might be, thus expanding the straight description of his appearance given in vv.79-85. Secondly, it allows Pindar to present Jason as a complete foil to Pelias right from his first appearance: the lone unknown figure standing in the agora contrasts strongly with Pelias, known to all except Jason and rushing headlong in a chariot. In addition, if Pindar knew of the tradition as related by Pherecydes[16], it can be seen that he has suppressed Pelias' sacrifice. This also may be attributed to his desire to present Jason and Pelias as contrasting figures, since Pindar's Jason is an extremely pious hero[17].

The sequel to Jason's suggestion of sending a dangerous citizen off on the Quest for the Golden Fleece, as narrated by Pherecydes, is not preserved by the scholiast, but, judging by the conciseness of what we do possess, it seems unlikely that Pherecydes treated the episode with

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15 See Jacoby 3 F105. This tradition is followed by A.R. 1.12-14, Hyg. *F*.12.2, Apollod.1.108.

16 This seems possible in view of its later prevalence. See Jacoby 3 F105, A.R.1.12-14, Hyg. *F*.12.2, Apollod.1.108.

17 See vv.191-6, 204-29, 232-3 for Jason's evident piety. Pindar also shows the gods' favour for Jason in the sending of their sons to take part in the quest (vv.171-183), in Hera's enkindling of the heroes' desire to sail in the Argo (vv,184-7) and in Aphrodite's aid in winning Medea's love and help (vv.213-9).

anything like the interest it has for Pindar, who appears to have considerably expanded the confrontation of Jason and Pelias. Of course we cannot be certain that he did not use other sources which are not available to us, but an examination of why he has expanded the episode to include the events which he has chosen clearly shows that even if Pindar did find these elsewhere he has still put his own stamp on them.

The poet's interest in drawing the two characters clearly and in highlighting their opposition has led to the lengthy dialogue (vv.97-119, 138-167) uncharacteristic of lyric, but familiar in epic. Into this dialogue Pindar has inserted the scene of Aeson's recognition of his son, the gathering together of his family and their feasting together for five days while Jason unfolds his tale, another epic touch. This insertion has obvious aims: the recognition scene with its tender emotions provides a sharp contrast to the welcome which Jason received from Pelias, the family gathering adds to the epic flavouring which Pindar is trying to create throughout the myth[18], and the whole insertion breaks the dialogue up into two symmetrically structured halves.

It is clear that Pindar was especially interested in the characterisation and contrast between the two main protagonists[19]. For portrayal of Jason the remains of earlier Argonautic saga provide scant evidence, but it can be seen from our existing sources that Pindar follows the tradition in making him a Minyan (v.69)[20], the leader of the expedition[21] (cf. *βασιλεύς, ὅστις ἄρχει ναός* [vv.229-30] and his central role

[18] Epic features in *P.4* are discussed in ch.4. See esp. pp. 139-40 & 145
[19] A detailed discussion of his treatment is given in ch.2. My remarks here are limited to Pindar's treatment of the characterisation which the Argonautic tradition offered him.
[20] See Stesich. fr.238, which specifies Jason's direct descent from Minyas.
[21] Vian and Délage I p.xxxiii n.5 record three occasions in pre-Pindaric epic where Jason is

in events) and in showing that his piety was rewarded by the favour of the gods (cf. note 17 above)[22]. For the rest, we cannot be sure how much Pindar has relied on the tradition and how much he has improvised or adapted, but the underlying aims behind his characterisation of Jason would seem to suggest that much of it is his own[23]. Jason's physical appearance and the speeches which he makes have been carefully devised by the poet in order to present him in a sympathetic light. Similar motives lie behind the choice of episodes on the quest and Pindar's treatment of Jason in them. The presentation of Jason has been influenced by the need to make the myth relevant to the victor.

For Pindar's characterisation of Pelias a choice already existed in the tradition. It is clear that he knew the tradition followed by Homer and those who described the funeral games of Pelias (for example Stesichorus and the artists of the Cypselus chest). This tradition appears to know of no enmity between Pelias and Jason. Pelias is not murdered, but funeral games are held in his honour in which Jason and the Argonauts took part, and Pelias' son Acastus appears to have been an Argonaut[24]. Pindar's genealogy of Pelias in *Pythian 4* (indirectly given in vv.136, 138,

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called *ποιμένι λαῶν*, *Il.*7.469, Hes.*Th.*1000 & fr.40.1, and they comment *'titre qui convient à un souverain ou du moins à un chef militaire'*. All early evidence seems to indicate that he was the leader by citing him alone as main protagonist in the action. It is only in later evidence that there is rivalry for the leadership and figures such as Heracles reach the position of leader.

[22] Cf. Hera's affection for him in *Od.*12.71-2 and Aphrodite's machinations in order that Jason may return home in the *Naupactia* fr.6.

[23] Van der Kolf suggests (p.38) that Pindar did not like the character of Jason as drawn by Hesiod and other early poets, and therefore invented. This, of course, can only be conjectural.

[24] Cf. *Od.*11.254-9, Stesich. frr.178-80, and Athenaeus' comments on Simonides (Ath.4.172e) which indicate that Meleager and Amphiaraus took part in the funeral games. For a description of the panels on the Cypselus chest cf. Paus.5.16.9ff..Cf. also Scherling *RE* 19.1 318-19, Wilamowitz (1924) II pp.242-3, 323-4, Vian and Délage I pp.xxxii-xxxiv.

142) is that of Homer[25], and at *Nemean 4*.57-60 Pelias' son Acastus is married to Jason's sister Hippolyte[26], a circumstance only possible if there was no hostility between Pelias and Jason.

However, the Pelias who emerges in *Pythian 4* appears to have his origins in the tradition of Mimnermus and Hesiod. The latter describes him thus: *μέγας βασιλεὺς ὑπερήνωρ*

ὑβριστὴς Πελίης *καὶ ἀτάσθαλος ὀβριμοεργός*.[27]

Neither author provides any justification for such a description, except perhaps the fact that he set Jason *χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον* (Mimnermus), *στονόεντας ἀέθλους* (Hesiod), but in view of the fact that both authors state that these dreaded tasks were successfully achieved by Jason it is not a very convincing explanation. Pindar is our first source to explain Pelias' *hybris* clearly. He narrates Pelias' usurpation of Aeson's throne and accompanying wealth (vv.109-10, 147ff.). However, in view of the harshness of the terms employed by Hesiod and Mimnermus it seems reasonable to suggest that the usurpation already existed in the tradition, or at least some form of violence or threat towards Jason's family, even if Pelias were the legitimate ruler. This seems to gain support from a fragment of Hesiod which relates that Jason was brought up by the centaur, which in Pindar occurs as a direct result of Pelias' usurpation of the throne[28].

The tradition of usurpation would seem to have been unknown to Homer and those whose treatment of Pelias is not unfavourable. In fact,

[25] See *Od*.11.235-54.

[26] See Σ *N*.4.92a (D.III p.79), Vian & Délage I p.xxxiii n.4, Σ A.R.1.287.

[27] Hes.*Th*.995-6. Mimnermus describes him as *ὑβριστής* (fr.11).

[28] See Hes. fr.40. Pindar mentions Jason's upbringing by the centaur again at *N*.3.53-4. Others have found support for this theory also in Pherecydes fr.105, where Pherecydes portrays Jason as farming near the river Anaurus. They suggest that Aeson had sent him into the country to get him away from Pelias.

in Valerius' account there is even a hint that Pelias had inherited the throne in linear succession:

Haemoniam primis Pelias frenabat ab annis (I.22)

although Valerius goes on to suggest that his rule was tyrannical (*iam gravis et longus populis metus* v.23, *tyranno* v.30). The idea of natural succession also seems to be present in Apollodorus' account: *τῆς δὲ Ἰωλκοῦ Πελίας ἐβασίλευσε μετὰ Κρηθέα* (I.107)[29]. Pindar however chose to emphasize the usurpation.

First, in terms of the myth, the usurpation is a keystone in the building up of Pelias' character. It enhances the juxtaposition of Pelias and Jason, creating the contrast which the poet wishes to achieve: lawless usurper facing rightful heir. It provides Jason with a motive to return to Iolcos now that he is grown up, thus fulfilling the oracle in a very natural way[30]. Secondly, in terms of the ode as a whole, the motif has considerable relevance for the victor. Arcesilas' god-given right to rule in Cyrene had recently been threatened[31] and he had to face the consequences. Pindar

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29 Vian and Délage (I p.xxxiv) see a contradiction in Pindar's account. They suggest that Pelias as son of Poseidon should take precedence over Aeson, son of the mortal Cretheus. This would fit well with a tradition of non-usurpation, since Pelias rightfully inherits the throne. However, it seems more likely that Pindar viewed Aeson rather than Pelias as the elder son and therefore the rightful heir. This can be seen in the terms in which the poet refers to Aeson's right to rule: *ἀρχαίαν πατρὸς ἐμοῦ . . . τάν ποτε Ζεὺς ὤπασεν λαγέτᾳ Αἰόλῳ καὶ παισὶ τιμάν* (vv.106-8) and *ἀρχεδικᾶν* of Jason's parents in v.110.

30 Jessen in *RE* 2.1 750.20ff. suggests that in the oracle given to Pelias of his death at the hands of his kinsmen Pindar has given Pelias a good motive for usurping the throne. This is possible and gains support from the fact that Pindar is the only source in which the oracle actually mentions Pelias' death at the hands of the Aeolidae. But Pindar does not give any other indication that this was the reason for Pelias' usurpation; the only possible motives which he makes explicit are greed (v.148ff., esp. *πλοῦτον πιαίνων*) and Pelias' violent nature (v.11). Also, his theory has to assume that Pelias received the oracle before he usurped the throne, an order of events which does not seem to be supported by the text.

31 For the events in Cyrene which preceded Arcesilas' victory see pp176ff. & 193.

presents the king with a parallel, although worse situation and suggests in his hero's behaviour the best method of dealing with it.

2. *The Quest*

(i) *The reason for the quest*

According to Pindar, Jason undertakes the Quest for the Golden Fleece at Pelias' request. Pelias gives his reasons in vv.157-65: he has had a dream in which Phrixus beseeches him to go to the halls of Aeetes and bring home his spirit and the Golden Fleece. Consultation of the Delphic oracle has confirmed the dream, bidding him set out as soon as possible, but Pelias pleads his old age as an excuse for not going and suggests that Jason, who is young and able, should go instead.

These lines touch on the tale of Phrixus and the ram, but it is clear that Pindar felt that the saga was sufficiently well-known to his audience for the reference to be self-explanatory[32]. He does not have to explain, for instance, why Phrixus' spirit and the Golden Fleece should be in the halls of Aeetes, or why this should be Pelias' concern.

The real interest in these verses, so far as Pindar's treatment of the myth is concerned, is Pelias' dream. It does not appear in any of our Argonautic sources before Pindar, who makes it the reason for the quest. In these earlier sources it is always Pelias who sets Jason the task of fetching the Golden Fleece (a tradition which Pindar followed), but no reasons are given[33].

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[32] Pearson suggests ([1909] pp.255-7) that the expression *ἀθέων βελέων* (v.162) indicates that Pindar is referring to a variant version of the Phrixus myth. However, the authenticity of the variant tale attributed to Hyginus is doubtful (see Pearson's own remarks p.256) and his interpretation of *ἀθέων βελέων* as 'seductive glances' is extremely hard to accept without some reference to eyes in the context (which there is in all his supporting examples).

[33] See Pherecyd.fr.105, where fear is obviously Pelias' motivation: also Mimn.fr.11, Hes.*Th*.994-6.

It has been suggested that the dream did occur in the Argonautic tradition, but that that source is now lost to us and was lost even by the time of the scholia, hence their silence on the subject[34]. An alternative view is that Pindar devised the dream himself or adapted it from another source to provide a suitable stimulus for the undertaking of the quest[35]. Messer notes that dreams occur fairly frequently in what he terms 'imaginative Greek literature' except in lyric, and with especial frequency in epic[36]. This point is particularly pertinent to *Pythian 4* where the lyric poet is dealing with an epic tale and attempting to give his narrative an epic flavour[37]. In addition, the need to check whether the dream is true or false enables Pindar to use a favourite device in *Pythian 4*, the oracle which sets in motion a long chain of events.

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[34] See Scherling, *RE.* 19.1 320ff.. Van der Kolf suggests that the need to bring Phrixus' soul home came from the most ancient versions of the Argonautic myth, which were religious in origin, where the journey of the Argonauts was a descent to the underworld. This can only be conjectural.

[35] Messer, pp.129-31, puts forward the theory that Pindar found the idea of dream and confirming oracle in Aeschylus' *Persians*. Many of his points are useful, but his suggestion that Pindar was using *P.4* to atone for his city's attitude in the Persian War by telling the myth of the Argonauts seems far-fetched.

[36] Messer, p.129 n.5, only mentions two other places in lyric where dreams occur: Stesich.fr.219 and Sapph.fr.63. Stesichorus, we know, was writing of epic themes in lyric, but we cannot be certain of what Sappho is doing in this poem. Pindar uses the device only once outside *P.4*, at *O.*13.66ff.

[37] Méautis p.239 aptly compares this dream to *Il.*23.65ff. where the dead Patroclus appears to Achilles as he sleeps and begs him for speedy burial as he cannot pass within the gates of Hades. The scholiast on v.281 (D.II pp.135-6) points out the similarity between the need to escort Phrixus' soul home and the rite of *ἀνάκλησις* described in *Od.*9.65, where, before they went on their way, Odysseus and his companions called out three times to each comrade who had died in the land of the Cicones. Such a ritual may well have been behind the request put into Phrixus' mouth by the poet. Messer p.129 n.1 lists the references for dreams in Homer, but argues for an Aeschylean model for Pelias' dream rather than an Homeric one. It still seems possible that Pindar's inspiration was epic despite Messer's argument that confirmation of dreams by oracles is not in epic. After all, epic itself is where we learn that not all dreams are to be trusted (*Od.*19.562-7), as Messer points out, and oracles seem particularly close to the poet's heart in *P.4.* In addition, Pindar's treatment of the Argonautic myth reveals his freedom to make modifications to what he found in his sources.

The need to bring Phrixus' soul home introduced by the dream also allows Pindar to give the journey of the Argonauts a religious purpose[38]. This is important for the characterisation of Jason. The hero's ready acceptance of the quest enjoined by the gods reveals his piety, and Pindar, despite never mentioning the soul of Phrixus again in the myth, reinforces the idea of the Quest's religious nature by his selection of events on the way to Colchis and the way in which he treats them: Jason's prayer to Zeus before setting off, the setting up of a precinct to Poseidon and the prayer to him to pass the Clashing Rocks. All of these events highlight the piety of Jason and the Argonauts and their dependence on the gods' aid in order to succeed in their quest.

Pindar also uses the dream to demonstrate the shrewdness of Pelias' mind (*πυκινῷ . . . θυμῷ* v.73). Pelias does not hesitate to grasp this providential opportunity to rid himself of Jason. Jason's earlier appeal to Pelias' sense of family loyalty and unity (vv.141-8) is now reversed by Pelias who uses the dream to appeal to this same quality in Jason, knowing that his appeal cannot fail to succeed[39].

Even if Pindar did not invent or adapt the dream and its content, he has certainly made very skilful use of it. It is a key device in the plot, it develops our knowledge of Jason's and Pelias' characters and it gives a significance to the Argonautic Quest which permeates the whole poem and is very much to Pindar's eulogistic purpose.

(ii) *The nature of the Quest*

We noted earlier that Pindar gives the Quest of the Argonauts a religious purpose, by suggesting that they were to go to Colchis at the

[38] See Fehr p.85, Burton p.160, Farnell I p.148.
[39] For further discussion of this episode see pp.87ff. below.

command of the Delphic oracle to escort Phrixus' soul home in order to avert the wrath of the chthonic gods, in addition to obtaining the Golden Fleece (vv.158-165). No earlier source for Argonautic saga mentions any such purpose, and later sources only speak of fetching the Fleece[40]. Clearly Pindar has employed the device of Pelias' dream and the resulting oracle in order to portray the Quest as an intrinsically noble enterprise with glorious prospects of fame and success.

This impression is heightened by the poet in several ways. There is the willingness of the gods to send their sons to participate and the speedy arrival of these heroes in Iolcos after the proclamation of the quest (vv.171-183), Hera's instilling in the heroes a desire for the Argo and a desire not to be left behind (vv.184ff., esp. *πόθον*) and Zeus' favourable omens as the heroes set sail (vv.197-8). Pindar leaves no doubt in our minds that the Quest was a glorious undertaking and, although dangerous, the dangers appear to add to the glamour and excitement and atmosphere of challenge[41].

Two of our early sources clearly viewed the Quest as basically an unpleasant and difficult task imposed on Jason as a burden. Mimnermus speaks of Jason carrying out *χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον*, Hesiod of the *στονόεντας ἀέθλους* which Pelias set Jason. Apollonius speaks of it as *ναυτιλίης πολυκηδέος* (1.16), devised so that Jason might not return. If early sources

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[40] Cf. A.R.I.244f., Hyg.*F.*12, Apollod.I.109. Valerius appears to introduce a novel element into the Quest when at 1.44ff. Pelias appeals to Jason, saying that Phrixus was murdered by Aeetes and his shade troubles Pelias, and that if he had his former strength, Colchis and its king would pay the penalty. His request to Jason, however, is not to exact revenge but merely to bring back the Golden Fleece.

[41] This is Pindar's attitude to athletics. The activity is not desirable in itself, in fact it is harsh and gruelling (cf. *πόνος*, *μόχθος* etc. to describe it), but it is entirely justifiable and even attractive because of the possible results which it enables an athlete to achieve.

presented the Quest in this way, why has Pindar chosen to represent it in such a positive manner, as a wonderful opportunity sanctioned by the Delphic oracle itself and favoured by all the gods?

One reason is suggested by the poet's role as *laudator* of a victorious athlete. Throughout the myth Pindar portrays Jason as a positive *exemplum* for Arcesilas. The Quest and Jason's success in it is paralleled by Arcesilas' own success in the Pythian games as a result of Apollo's favour. Both were harsh and difficult undertakings in themselves, but the opportunity they presented for proving *areté* and gaining glory justified all the risks involved. Secondly, the nature of the Quest reflects on those who were willing to take part. The men who were not prepared to stay ingloriously at home but faced every danger for the chance of proving themselves and winning renown are the victor's ancestors. He has followed in their footsteps in his own victory.

A third reason is related to the characterisation of Pelias, since it is he who suggests the Quest. I have suggested that it indicates his shrewdness. Others would argue that the nature of the Quest reflects the poet's desire to present Pelias as having undergone a change of heart. The ruler does not attempt to get rid of Jason on a perilous Quest, but presents him with an opportunity to win glory for himself[42].

(iii) *The catalogue of heroes*

After the proclamation of the voyage (vv.169-171) Pindar recounts the gathering of the heroes in the form of a catalogue. As commentators point out, this form in this particular context obviously recalls the very well-known Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad 2*, a reminiscence which adds to

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42 Cf., however, my discussion of Pelias' character, esp. pp.84ff..

the epic flavour of the myth in *Pythian 4*. It must be noted, however, as Burton points out (p.160), that the catalogue is as familiar in lyric as it is in epic. Pindar himself often uses the form to list victories or glories in his epinician odes[43].

The catalogue itself is short (a mere 11 lines) and lists only ten heroes[44]. We know from elsewhere in Pindar's poetry that this was not due to any lack of knowledge on the poet's part, since he mentioned Peleus and Erginus as having taken part in the Argonautic Quest[45]. In *Pythian 4* itself Mopsus, the seer, appears (v.191), although he is not included in the catalogue. Nor is the shortness of the list due to a dearth of participants in earlier Argonautic myth[46].

The catalogue in *Pythian 4* is a prime example of the poet's selection from the traditions available to him. The selection works on two levels. Pindar has good reasons for his choice of heroes both as a group and as individuals. As a group he describes them as *ἡμιθέοι* (vv.184 & 211.cf also

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[43] See e.g. the victory lists in *O.*7 80-87, *I.*2.12-28, *N.*6.11-22 & 34-44, and the catalogue of the glories of Thebes in *I.*7.1-15 and of Argos in *N.*10.2-20. For the catalogue in lyric see Alcm. fr.1.1-9.

[44] Later writers expanded this considerably. Apollodorus' list is the shortest and he names 45 Argonauts (1.111-113). Apollonius' list comprises 55 (I.23-233). Hyginus increases this to 67 (*F.*1.14) and Valerius gives 51 (1.353-486).

[45] For Peleus see fr.172. Erginus features in *O.4* as winner of a race in the games held on Lemnos, receiving his crown from Hypsipyle, which means that Pindar must have known him as one of the Argonauts. Apollonius (1.49) includes Admetus, whom Pindar mentions as arriving in Iolcos for the gathering of Jason's family, so he might have been known to the poet as an Argonaut.

[46] Not all of Pindar's list of Argonauts occur in our earlier sources, possibly because we possess such scant remains of them, but we find in addition Asterion, son of Cometes (on the Cypselus chest, Paus.5.17.9;Peleus also features there), Meleager (Simon. fr.564), Idmon the Seer (*Naupactia* fr.5; Pherecyd.fr.108). Pherecydes also included Tiphys the Steersman (fr.107) and Aethalides the Herald (fr.109). Various scholars have inferred from the scholia on A.R. 1.45 that Hesiod's works included a catalogue of heroes which Pindar used as a source, but this evidence is insufficient. The scholia on A.R.3.523 indicate that the author of the *Naupactia* also included a catalogue in his version of the myth.

v.12) and ναυτᾶν ἄωτος (v.188), and emphasises their divine parentage[47]. Méautis (p.240) thinks that Pindar only chooses the sons of gods, *'car il faut une origine divine pour comprendre l'héroïsme'*. Fehr seems much nearer the truth when he suggests (p.86) that the shortness of the list is due to Pindar's deliberate conciseness. The poet must practise economy if he is to compress his epic tale into the confines of lyric.

More important is the bearing that his choice of Argonauts will have on the rest of the myth and on the poem as a whole. Duchemin hints at this[48]. The fact that the catalogue of those who took part is so exclusive and confines itself to the sons of gods leaves Pindar's audience in no doubt at all as to the heritage of Arcesilas. His descent is no less than from the gods themselves and the Cyreneans may feel proud to be descended from such men as Pindar lists[49]. The catalogue also stresses the religious nature of the Quest in that it is supported by the gods who send their own sons to participate. Most importantly, Pindar uses it to create a suitable atmosphere for the beginning of the Quest. The catalogue launches the Quest in high epic style and the exclusiveness of the list enhances our impression of the *élite* of Greece joining together in this adventure.

Pindar's choice of individual heroes in the catalogue is also significant. Obviously the fact that they must all be the sons of gods limited

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[47] Commentators (e.g. Burton p.160) have noted that Orpheus is an exception here; in fr.128c Pindar makes him son of the mortal Oeagrus. Pindar, however, although he cannot include an explicit blood relationship between Apollo and Orpheus, as he does with all the other heroes and their divine fathers, is able to fit him neatly into his scheme by listing Apollo as his divine patron.
[48] p.100: *'le poète désire, en ne nommant que quelques héros de valeur exceptionnelle, montrer ce que fut dans la légende, l'expédition d'*Argô *et rehausser d'autant par là l'illustration de la ville et des rois de Cyrène'*.
[49] Dissen brings this out in his commentary (II p.253): *'tales dico memoratos , quorum nomina non solum clara essent, sed inprimis etiam iucunda auditu iis, quibus nunc haec canuntur.'*

him, but there seem to be valid reasons for his choice of most of the individuals. Heracles, as Pindar's favourite hero, is an obvious choice[50]. There is no mistaking his courage, strength and powers of endurance. The Dioscuri were important heroes to take along on a sea voyage since they were protectors of sea-farers, but their traditional role in the saga was one which ranked them with Heracles as *ἀκαμαντομάχαι*[51]. These three heroes make up the Dorian contingent whose participation is important in view of the fact that Pindar makes it clear (vv.49, 257, *P.*5.69-81) that the original movement towards the colonisation of Cyrene came from the Peloponnese.

Euphemus and Periclymenus are Minyans, as is Jason, which supports Pindar's claim in vv.68-9. Euphemus has a vital role to play in this ode, since he provides the link between the myth of the Argonauts and Arcesilas and Cyrene. Orpheus' role in the catalogue is not as clearly definable as that of other heroes, but his inclusion is a nice touch in view of the fact that the ode was sung in honour of a victory granted by Apollo. His musical talents also add to the variety of the catalogue and to the general impression of the superlative ethos of the Quest[52].

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[50] The list of Pindar's poems in which Heracles either features as the central figure of the myth (e.g. *N.1*, *O.3*, 10, *I.6*) or is brought in in some connection (e.g. *O.*2.3, 6.67ff., 9.29ff., *P.*9.87ff., *N.*3.21ff., 4.24ff., 7.86 etc.) is considerable.

[51] This was, of course, Polydeuces' boxing match with Amycus.cf. e.g. A.R. 2.1ff. , Hyg. *F.* 17, Apollod. I. 119, Val.Fl. 4.133 ff.. Castor has no individual role, but the Dioscuri are virtually inseparable. They appear as Argonauts on a metope of the Sicyonian monopteron at Delphi (dated to the second quarter of the 6th century B.C.). Their role as protectors of sea-faring men is attested by two Homeric hymns to them (17 & 33) and a hymn to them by Alcaeus (fr.34).

[52] Orpheus seems to have been established as an Argonaut before Pindar inserted him into his catalogue. Wilamowitz suggested ([1922] pp.392-3) that Simonides fr.567, which is thought to refer to Orpheus' charming birds and fishes out of the sea, was part of Simonides' version of the Argonautic saga, which he believed Pindar to have used as a source. Farnell (I pp.146-7) conjectured that Epimenides of Crete had an interest in Orphism and thus introduced him into the catalogue, but our only firm evidence is the metope from the Sicyonian monopteron at Delphi. There Orpheus (named) is actually standing in the Argo with a musician who is playing the lyre to appease the waves.

Echion and Eurytus have no real role as individuals. They do not feature in sources before Pindar, but their parentage makes them indispensable to his catalogue, thus accounting for his choice. Burton also comments (p.160) that in view of their names, 'Hold-fast' and 'Pull-hard' (Gildersleeve's translation p.296) they stand for a pair of capable hands, and Pindar adds the detail that they exulted in their youth, thus enhancing the general image of a band of young and enthusiastic heroes. The sons of Boreas had long had a traditional role to play in the saga, and, as winged winds (vv.182-3), they also would be useful on a journey over the sea[53]. Pindar comments briefly on their supernatural appearance which adds to the exotic atmosphere.

It is noteworthy that the details which Pindar works into his brief description of each participant seem to add up to a general reflection of the qualities which we have already seen Jason to possess. Jason's youth is obvious in vv.104 and 158, a quality exemplified by the sons of Hermes (*κεχλάδοντας ἥβᾳ* v.179). His appearance was striking (v.79) as the reactions of the crowd in vv.87-92 reveal : so is the appearance of the Boreadae with their bristling purple wings (vv.182-3) and that of the sons of Poseidon[54]. The sons of Zeus who are *ἀκαμαντομάχαι* (v.171) and the sons of Poseidon *αἰδεσθέντες ἀλκάν* (v.173) reflect the description of Jason as a warrior *γνώμας*

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[53] For the Boreadae chasing the Harpies away from Phineus see Hes.fr.155-6, *Naupactia* fr.3, the Cypselus chest and the Amyclae throne (Paus.5.17.11, 3.18.5).

[54] *ὑψιχαίτης* may well have been coined by Pindar to describe these two heroes. The word suggests that they were strikingly tall (*ὑψι-*) and that this tallness was visible in, or defined in some way by, their hair (*χαίτη*). Maxwell-Stuart sets out possible interpretations (pp.327-30) but concludes that this description refers to high-crested helmets. I find Gildersleeve's interpretation preferable, that the tallness of the heroes was what was in Pindar's mind. Sandys' translation, 'with their tresses waving on high', is a little free, but it conveys the visual impact of an epithet of which the Homeric equivalent *ὑψίκομος* is so frequently used of tall trees, referring largely to their lofty foliage.

ἀταρβάκτοιο (v.84). In vv.122-3 Jason appears in his father's eyes as *ἐξαίρετον . . . κάλλιστον ἀνδρῶν*. This phrase could well be applied to any of the members of the catalogue, since Pindar has created such an impression of the '*crème de la crème*' gathering together by the exclusiveness of the catalogue and the addition of carefully chosen details to the list.

This atmosphere is further heightened by the verses before and after the catalogue. It is framed by a proclamation of the voyage and mention of Hera's aid to the heroes, where we might have expected a narrative of the building of the Argo with the gods' help, and peripheral details such as her naming[55]. Pindar, however, has chosen his framing motifs to build up our picture of the sort of men who went on the Argonautic Quest. The proclamation summons these men from all over Greece (*παντᾷ* v.171) in search of adventure and fame.

Hera's aid was a traditional motif in the saga[56], but the way in which it is expressed adds rather to our impression of the heroes than to any portrayal of Hera. She enkindles in the heroes a *παμπειθῆ γλυκὺν . . . πόθον* (v.184) for the Argo. It is such a strong yearning (hence the two adjectives and the choice of the erotic word *πόθος*) that it instills in the heroes a desire to face danger and a willingness even to die in order to prove their *areté*[57]. Their passionate commitment embodies an idea familiar to us from elsewhere in the odes, viz. that to stay at home prevents a man from achieving anything[58].

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55 See e.g. Pherecyd.fr.106, Apollod. 1.110.
56 See *Od*.12.71-2.
57 For the meaning of this passage see Race (1985) 350ff..
58 See *N*,11.22ff., *O*.12.13ff., *O*.1.81ff., and Carey's note on *P*. 9.18ff. (Carey [1981] pp.70-71), which states that this is the attitude of the Homeric hero.

(iv) *The voyage to Colchis*

Pindar's narrative of events *en route* to Colchis is interesting as much for what he omits as for what he includes. It is particularly striking that, having included in the catalogue heroes who had very well-defined traditional roles to play in the saga, whose very names conjure up events which we expect to feature in the myth, Pindar disappoints us. Of course, limits are imposed on him by his lyric medium, but since he was able to narrate some events on the voyage to Colchis we must ask ourselves what his aims were in selecting some and omitting others.

Earlier as well as later versions of the myth reveal the part traditionally played by Heracles, who is usually left behind at some point on the journey[59]. Pindar says nothing of this. Naturally he would not want to mention the desertion of any one of his enthusiastic band of heroes, after emphasising their desire to take part in the quest. Nor would he want to mar the serious nature of the quest by making Heracles the figure of fun which, for example, Pherecydes does, in saying that the Argo could not bear his weight[60]. Apollonius even suggests rivalry and jealousy between Jason and Heracles (1.1290ff.) which, if it was a tradition known to Pindar, would fit ill with his characterisation of Jason and the centrality of Jason in the myth (another epic touch). Thus Pindar suppresses any account of Heracles' actions on the voyage, not even referring to his strength as a rower (despite an opportunity at v.202) because it might eclipse Jason's role[61].

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59 Earlier versions: Hes. fr.263, Pherecyd.fr.111, Σ 303b (D.II p.138). Later versions, A.R.1.1161-1283, Theocr. *Id.*13, Apollod. 1.117, Val.Fl.3.485-740.
60 See Jacoby 3 F.111 a.
61 See A.R. 1.1161ff., Val.Fl.3.474ff., for the tale of Heracles' strength breaking an oar.

The role of Castor and Polydeuces in Argonautic myth also took place traditionally on the voyage to Colchis. In the land of the Bebrycians Polydeuces accepted the challenge of the king, Amycus, to a boxing match, which he won[62]. Pindar is happy to relate adventures of Castor and Polydeuces elsewhere in the *Odes* but here he suppresses this episode entirely[63]. The same is true of the famous rescue of Phineus from the Harpies by the sons of Boreas, and of Phineus' part in predicting the rest of the Argonauts' journey. This episode was very well-known in antiquity[64], but Pindar omits any reference to it in his account. The part traditionally played by other heroes on the Quest has been minimised by Pindar in order to concentrate on Jason, the poet's main *exemplum* for Arcesilas. This leads to a simplification of the myth and the exclusion of any incidents and episodes not directly relevant to the poet's major themes.

The events which Pindar did choose to include also have bearing on what he has omitted. We have seen earlier that he wished to give the Argonautic Quest a religious purpose. It is, therefore, not surprising that the events of the voyage which are related are those with a religious emphasis. The voyage to Colchis is limited to three episodes: Jason's prayer to Zeus at the outset, once the seer Mopsus has pronounced the omens favourable, which is answered by auspicious thunder and lightning; secondly, the setting up of a precinct to Poseidon at the mouth of the Euxine; and thirdly the Argonauts' prayer to Poseidon, Lord of Ships,

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[62] This is the consensus of later writers: A.R. 2.1-97, Theocr., *Id.*22, Apollod.1.119, Val.Fl.4.199-314.
[63] See *N*.10.49ff..
[64] See Hes.frr.138, 155-7, the Cypselus chest (Paus.5.17.11), the Amyclae throne (Paus.3.18.15).

to escape the Clashing Rocks, an event which Pindar treats with the utmost brevity. Only the line which tells us that these stood still in death as a result of *κεῖνος . . . ἡμιθέων πλόος* indicates that the Argonauts got through safely (v.211). The journey is over, its events forming a symmetrical structure which emphasises their religious nature: prayer to Zeus, setting up of a precinct to Poseidon, prayer to Poseidon.

We cannot be certain how many events the mythical tradition recognised as part of the voyage to Colchis by the time that Pindar was writing, but it seems likely that all the ones which he includes were in sources available to him[65]. We have definite evidence that the Clashing Rocks were in these sources[66]. The prayer and libation to Zeus seems a very natural way to begin a dangerous voyage. Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus both preface their voyage with similar rituals which appear to have been customary before great expeditions[67]. It seems likely, therefore, that some ritual of this kind existed in early sources. Later Argonautic saga suggests that the same was true of the setting up of a precinct to Poseidon[68]. Pindar's choice, however, reflects his

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[65] Certain scholars have thought that the scholion on A.R.1.1086 indicates that Pindar knew of the Argonauts' stay at Cyzicus. That Pindar knew of other events on the way to Colchis is shown by his choice of participants. He knew, of course, the Lemnos episode, traditionally on the outward journey, but has moved its position. We lack evidence of other events *en route* which he might have known, but it is worth noting that many of the events included by later writers grew up from local traditions and were then incorporated into Argonautic myth.

[66] See Lindsay ch.1. *Od.*12.61ff. speaks of the Argo's passage through the *Πλαγκταί*. Although the geographical location of these is in the far West there is no doubt that Pindar's *συνδρόμων πετρᾶν* are the same rocks. Strabo (1.2.10. C.21) thinks that Homer based his *Πλαγκταί*, Circe and Aeaea on the Symplegades, Medea and Aea which he found in already existing Argonautic saga: see Page (1955) p.2, and Meuli, pp.87ff.. The rocks had varying names: Simonides (fr.546) calls them *Συνορμάδας*, Euripides (*Med.*2) *Συμπληγάδας*. Pindar's account is too brief for his details to be compared with those of Homer.

[67] Cf. A.R.1.359, 402ff., Val.Fl.1.184ff., the Sicilian expedition in Thuc.6.32, Alexander the Great in Arr.*An*.4.3.

[68] Later tradition does not agree on what exactly the Argonauts did here, but all agree that some form of religious ritual was involved, whether the setting up of altars to a god or gods or sacrifices on altars already set up by the children of Phrixus. See A.R.2.532 and the scholia ad loc., Plb.4.39.6, D.S.4.49.2.

desire to present the Quest as an enterprise favoured by the gods. This provides him with a useful parallel for the victor, whose own adventure in winning at the Pythian games reveals Apollo's favour, and whose rule at Cyrene also needed the god's aid to succeed (cf. vv.270, 273-4).

3. *Events in Colchis*

(i) *The battle with the Colchians*

Pindar's narrative of events in Colchis begins when the Argonauts reach the river Phasis. Here, he says, *κελαινώπεσσι* Κόλχοισιν *βίαν* | *μεῖξαν* Αἰήτᾳ *παρ'αὐτῷ* (vv.212-3). This has caused commentators much difficulty as, although the lines seem to refer to a battle, there is no record of this in our pre-Pindaric sources, and later writers do not mention it either[69]. However, there seems good reason for its inclusion, whether Pindar derived it from a source now lost to us or invented it.

In the myth of *Pythian 4* the poet omits much which he assumes his audience will know, in the interests of economy, and relies on a series of cameo-type pictures to tell the story without making the logical connections between each picture clear. This is the case here. We do not need to know why or how the battle started or what the outcome was and how this relates to what follows in strictly logical terms. These few words on the battle tell Pindar's hearers everything that they need to know about

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69 For the meaning of the phrase *βίαν μεῖξαν* see App.I, pp.277-79 Valerius' account does include a battle in Colchis, but it is not on arrival and the Argonauts fight the Colchians under Aeetes' brother at Aeetes' own request (5.534ff.). Vian and Délage (p.xxxv) suggest that a tradition of the battle with the Colchians must have existed in early sources for the following reasons: (1) they find it hard to believe that Valerius' great battle scene in Book 6 could have originated in Pindar's one line; (2) Apollonius refers twice to aid which the Argonauts could give Aeetes against the Sauromatae (3.353, 394); (3) Homer and Hesiod call Jason *ποιμένι λαῶν*, *'titre qui convient à un chef militaire'*; (4) the Sicyonian monopteron represents the Argo as a warship bedecked with shields.

the Argonauts' arrival: they have arrived in Colchis, in the very realm of Aeetes (their destination specified in v.160), and their reception has been a hostile one, both at the hands of the Colchians and of Aeetes (as the close conjunction of the words implies). As Schroeder points out (pp.44-5), this enables Pindar to show that Aeetes is hostile to Jason without having to repeat the scene with Pelias. Our first direct introduction to Aeetes only comes a strophe later at v.224, where we are launched straight into the scene of the task of ploughing with the fire-breathing bulls. Pindar, however, needs to make no explanations; his audience, who knew the saga well, would have grasped that Aeetes was hostile from the battle scene and would be expecting him to set Jason the task. The battle with the Colchians is a masterful stroke of poetic economy.

(ii) *Jason and Medea*

Between the Argonauts' battle with the Colchians and the tasks of Aeetes Pindar inserts ten lines telling us of the relationship between Jason and Medea, which is engineered with Aphrodite's aid. Pindar seems, at first sight, to have retained the traditional roles of Medea and Aphrodite here. Medea is the daughter of Aeetes (indirectly stated at v.220). She fell in love with Jason (a fact which Pindar only reveals indirectly in vv.218-9, although he does point to their marriage in v.222), aided him to accomplish the tasks set by Aeetes and went back to Greece with him where she played a part in Pelias' death (v.250). Aphrodite's aid to the Argonauts also existed in Argonautic myth before Pindar[70].

[70] Medea, daughter of Aeetes: Hes. *Th*.958-62; her love for Jason: A.R.3.39-70, Hyg.*F.*22, Apollod.1.129, Val.Fl.7.1ff.; her aid to the Argonauts: *Naupactia* fr.6, where she herself obtains the Fleece, *O*.13.54, where Pindar describes her as *ναὶ σώτειραν Ἀργοῖ καὶ προπόλοις*; her flight to Greece and attachment to Jason (usually as his wife): Hes.*Th*.992-1002, *Naupactia* frr.7 & 8, *O*.13.53, Cypselus chest (Paus.5.18.3), where Jason and Medea are

However, a closer examination of Pindar's account reveals that he has altered the emphasis so that Jason, with the aid of a goddess, remains the central figure. Pindar credits Aphrodite with the invention of the *iunx*, a bird which was used by the Greeks in love charms[71], but it is implied by what follows, that she taught Jason magical λιτάς τ' ἐπαοιδάς to enable him to win Medea from her parents and fill her with a desire to go to Greece, that she gave Jason the *iunx* to use on Medea. This is quite contrary to the traditional form of the myth where it is Medea who wields all the magic[72], but in Pindar's version Medea's role occurs only as a result of Jason's actions: she gives him a salve to anoint himself with and reveals the means of carrying out the tasks set by her father.

Medea's part in events in Colchis ends here. Pindar gives her no role in the capture of the Fleece or in the escape, and only hints at her later involvement in Pelias' death in his description of her at v.250 as τὰν Πελιαοφόνον. This subordination of Medea's role in the myth can be explained by the poet's desire to keep attention focussed on Jason as the central hero, but at the same time the audience think they are hearing a story which they know well and are perhaps unaware that Pindar is manipulating them.

(iii) *The task of Aeetes*

Events concerning Aeetes are probably of all those in Argonautic

pictured with Aphrodite and the inscription reads Μήδειαν Ἰάσων γαμέει, κέλεται δ' Ἀφροδίτα; Medea's part in Pelias' death: E.*Med*.9-10, Apollod.1.144. For Aphrodite's aid see also: *Naupactia* frr.6 & 7, where she instils desire in Aeetes for his wife, thus enabling the Argonauts to escape while he is with her.

[71] See e.g. Bury (1886) pp.157-60, de la Genière pp.27-35, Gow 1-13.

[72] Medea's magical powers: Simon.fr.376, Pherecyd.fr.113 (both speak of her rejuvenation of Jason), *Arg*.E.*Med*. (rejuvenation of Aeson); her magic to aid Jason: A.R.3.1026-62, Apollod.1.129, where she is described as φαρμακίς, Val.Fl.7.349ff..

myth the most well attested in our early sources. There can be little doubt that as guardian of the Golden Fleece Aeetes had had a role in the saga from its earliest beginnings. By the time of Homer his identity was established as son of Helios and brother of Circe. Mimnermus calls his city Aea, but Eumelus is our first source to name his realm Colchis[73]. Traditionally Aeetes, who as guardian of such an asset as the Golden Fleece could be expected to be hostile to those coming to seek it, set Jason a task to be accomplished before he would hand the Fleece over to him[74].

Pindar's account seems close to what we find in our earlier sources: his Aeetes has Homer's genealogy (v.241) and Eumelus' realm (v.212), and he sets Jason the traditional task of ploughing with an adamant plough and fire-breathing, bronze-hoofed bulls (v.234), but he omits the second part of the traditional task, the sowing of the dragon's teeth and slaying of the earthborn men who sprang up from them. It seems likely that Pindar did know of the second part of the task[75], but if he did, why does he leave it out?

An obvious reason for the omission is the poet's need to compress a lengthy saga into the narrow confines of lyric. The ploughing scene in

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[73] See *Od.*10.135ff., Mimn. fr.11, Eumel. fr.3. Eumelus says that he had wandered there from Corinth which had been given him by Helios. This Corinthian connection is also claimed by Epimenides of Crete, who makes him Corinthian by birth (fr.1).

[74] The task was to plough with fire-breathing, bronze-hoofed bulls, see Pherecyd.fr.112. The scholia on A.R.4.521-3 indicate that the *Naupactia* also told of the task of ploughing. Eumel. fr.9 (Kinkel, cf. Bernabé fr.19), a passage copied word for word by Apollonius (3.1372ff.), if we are to believe the scholia, refers to a further part of the task where Jason must sow the teeth of a dragon as he ploughs and overcome the earth-born warriors who spring up from the furrows. We cannot be entirely certain that this always formed part of the task, but the fact that all our later sources include it would seem to indicate that this was so: see Pherecyd. fr.22, A.R.3.1163-1224, Hyg. *F.*22, Apollod.1.127-132, Val.Fl.7.61ff..

[75] Features of Pindar's mythology such as a Corinthian Medea (*O.*13.53) and Aeetes' realm as Colchis would seem to indicate that he knew Eumelus' work, which contained the sowing of the dragon's teeth (cf.fr.19).

itself, without any further labours, is quite sufficient to achieve Pindar's aims. It reveals that Jason the man of action is as efficient as Jason the speaker, and the whole episode forms a careful complement to the earlier scene with Pelias.

Commentators have also suggested that the poet was desirous of avoiding repetitions inherent in the full version of the myth. Vian and Délage point out (II p.8) that Pindar's presentation of the episode, with Aeetes ploughing first to show Jason what to do, would entail two scenes of the birth and death of the earthborn men if he was to narrate the full task, unless he limits the explanation of Jason's task to a verbal one as does Apollonius[76]. Pindar chose to include Aeetes' demonstration of the task in order to contrast Jason's difficulties in executing it with Aeetes' ease.

Jessen suggests that the full version of the myth contained the slaying of two dragons, the first the one whose teeth were to be sown, the second the guardian of the Fleece[77]. In order to avoid repetition the poet had either to suppress the tale of the sowing of the dragon's teeth, as Pindar does, or omit any reference to the dragon guarding the fleece[78]. Pindar chose to retain the guardian of the Fleece because it emphasised the magnitude of Jason's achievement in capturing the Fleece. Not only did he perform the superhuman task of ploughing with the bulls, but in

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[76] The task of overcoming the earthborn men would of course be pointless if Aeetes had already revealed how this was to be achieved.
[77] Cf. *RE* 2.1 765-6.
[78] The latter alternative was chosen by the author of the *Naupactia*. Cf. fr.8, where Medea steals the fleece from Aeetes' house. As Jessen also points out, later writers avoided this difficulty by incorporating the Boeotian version of the myth, so that Jason has to sow dragon's teeth not from a dragon he had killed but from the dragon slain by Cadmus. Only half of these teeth had been sown by Cadmus; the others had been brought by some agent to Colchis and given to Aeetes who now gives them to Jason to sow. See A.R.3.1179-1190, Val.Fl.7.75-7.

addition he overcame another great obstacle, a monstrous dragon whose sole function was to guard the Fleece.

It also seems possible that Pindar did not want to present Jason as involved in any way with violence or the slaying of men. Jason himself expresses a horror of violence between members of a family when he is trying to settle his dispute with Pelias (vv.147-8), and it is striking that in a myth where Jason plays such a central part, Pindar does not single him out in connection with the battle in Colchis where, as the Argonauts' leader, we might have expected him to appear. Here also, by omitting the sowing of the dragon's teeth, Pindar excuses Jason from any violence.

Not only has Pindar omitted part of Aeetes' task, he has also altered the emphasis which the mythical tradition placed on it. Contrary to the version of the myth found in later writers, where Aeetes promises Jason the Golden Fleece if he performs the task of ploughing, but does not keep the promise, so that Jason has to steal the Fleece, with or without Medea's help[79], Pindar makes the acquisition of the Fleece part of a double challenge issued by Aeetes (vv.229-231). Aeetes does not attempt to cheat Jason, even though he is still hostile to him (vv.243-6)[80]. It seems probable that Pindar has adapted the myth here in the interests of economy. The double challenge removes complications in events, and has the added attraction for the poet of emphasising Jason's ability, since the lining-up of two such impossible tasks in the challenge indicates the superhuman effort required by the man who can achieve them.

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[79] See A.R.3.401-421, 4.92-211, Hyg. *F.*22, Apollod. 1.127, 132, Val.Fl.7.60-61, 8.54ff., where Jason's enmity with Aeetes is such that he steals the Fleece. *Naupactia* fr.8 indicates that Medea stole the Fleece and escaped with Jason.

[80] In other versions of the myth Aeetes' hostility and treachery leads to plots to kill the Argonauts and to destroy the Argo. See e.g. Σ.A.R.4.86, A.R.4.5-10, Apollod. 1.132.

Pindar also slants the narrative of the tasks of Aeetes so that once again Jason is the central figure. Even when Aeetes could be expected to be the focus of our attention, when he yokes the bulls and ploughs with them, Pindar lays all the emphasis not on Aeetes but on the plough and the bulls themselves, thus stressing the difficulty of the task which Jason will have to carry out. Where we might have expected the other Argonauts to play a part in encouraging Jason to undertake Aeetes' task (a tradition current before Pindar's time[81]), we find the challenge has been firmly issued to Jason alone: *βασιλεύς, ὅστις ἄρχει ναός* (vv.229-30), who accepts the task without hesitation, thus demonstrating his courage. The other Argonauts only make an appearance when Jason has successfully completed the first task. They accord him a typical victor's acclaim, placing garlands on his head and uttering words of praise, apt details for an epinician ode which further enhance Jason's heroism and his centrality in the myth.

(iv) *The Golden Fleece*

One might have expected that the Fleece itself, if not the recovery of Phrixus' soul as well, the goals of the whole Argonautic expedition (vv.159-162), would receive some sort of climactic treatment at this point in the myth. Pindar, however, does not directly state the achievement of either of these goals. It is up to his audience to deduce that they were successfully attained from the few details which the poet gives us. The recovery of Phrixus' soul is never referred to again, although Aeetes reveals where Phrixus had stretched the Fleece out (v.242), a mention of his name which might evoke in the minds of the audience the original

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[81] Cf. e.g. *Naupactia* frr.4, 5, A.R.3.401ff., Val.Fl.3.61ff., where the other heroes have to encourage Jason before he will undertake the task.

aim of the Quest. The fleece itself receives a a few words of description in vv.230-1, *ἄφθιτον στρωμνὰν . . . κῶας αἰγλᾶεν χρυσέῳ θυσάνῳ*, but what receives greater description is the dragon guarding it (vv.244-6).

The description of the Fleece appears to be traditional, as does the existence of a dragon to guard it[82]. Whether Pindar derived the idea of using a ship for a comparison of size in the simile describing the dragon from an earlier source or invented it, we do not know, but the use of the simile to add epic flavour to the myth cannot be doubted[83]. In addition the simile is particularly apt in a myth of seafaring, and the poet's interest in its details develops the idea of solidity and immensity as well as size, which highlights the challenge this will present to Jason.

When Pindar reaches the point in the narrative where we expect to hear how Jason captured the Fleece, we find a familiar break-off formula (v.242) and an exceedingly hasty end to the myth[84]. In a line and a half Pindar tells his audience all that they need to know about the outcome of events in Colchis: that Jason slew the serpent by his *τέχναις* (a word which conveys a wealth of meaning) and stole away Medea of her own free will. By narrating events in this way Pindar is able to maintain Jason's position at the centre of the stage. His heroism is increased by even this

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[82] For the Fleece see: Hes. fr.68, which tells us that the ram was immortal and golden-fleeced. Another tradition given by Simonides, fr.576, and followed by e.g. A.R.4.172-3 and Acousilaus, fr.37, is that the Fleece was *πορφυροῦν*. For the dragon guarding the Fleece see A.R.2.404ff., 1208ff., 4.127ff., Apollod.1.132, Val.Fl.8.60ff..

[83] Burton suggests, p.166, that the simile describing the dragon represents 'in Pindar's style what must have been a simile in some Epic original'. Against this we note (1) the poet's innovative and creative treatment of the Argonautic myth, which gives little credibility to such reproduction; (2) the fact that other extended similes in his poetry (*O*.7.1ff., 10.86ff.) do not appear to be closely based on any epic original: *Od*.5.394ff. is the nearest parallel to the latter, but it is not very close.

[84] For the metaphor of the break-off formula cf. *P.*11.38ff., *N*.6.54. For a hasty end to a myth see e.g. *I*.6.55, *O*.1.86-9.

hasty recital of events since we have already heard of the strength and size of the dragon which he slew[85]. In other versions of the myth Medea runs away to join the Argonauts, but here once again Jason takes the leading role in the action, although Pindar is careful to qualify *κλέψεν* with *σὺν αὐτᾷ* (v.250) so that, by pointing to Medea's willingness, Jason's action is seen to be blameless[86].

Pindar's hasty treatment of what we might expect to form the climax of the myth of *Pythian 4* seems to have been motivated by two considerations. First, although break-off formulae cannot be taken at face value, his medium did impose certain limits on him (as, no doubt, did his patron). Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the poet's interest lay elsewhere.

Pindar's aim in narrating the tale of the Argonauts has been to present Arcesilas with the positive example of Jason, to show Arcesilas how Jason reacts to adverse circumstances, to the threat to his sovereignty, how he accepts challenges and succeeds with the aid of the gods. Pindar has now dealt with this fully. Moreover the audience knows that Jason was successful and that the Argonauts returned safely, since the final part of the myth was narrated in the proem; so Pindar need not dwell on it. Instead he is already turning his thoughts to his epilogue, his advice to Arcesilas, and he wants to return from the distant past to the present as soon as possible. He does this by briefly re-stating the events which link Arcesilas to the Argonauts.

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[85] It is noteworthy that this is the only place in the myth where Jason is involved in slaughter, but this is to overcome a dreadful monster which stands between him and the ultimate goal of the expedition.

[86] For Medea fleeing to the Argonauts and escaping with them see *Naupactia* frr.7, 8, A.R.4.1ff., Hyg. *F.*22, 23, Apollod. 1.132, Val.Fl.8.132ff..

4 The Return Journey

(i) *The route*

As the limits of the known world were gradually extended, the geography of the Argonauts' journey changed accordingly. The early saga of wanderings in the vague realms of fantasy was combined with the developing knowledge of the world and gradually rationalised to fit the new geographical knowledge of people and places whose traditions now became incorporated into the saga, although many of the fantastical features of the story remained[87].

For the first part of the return route Pindar seems to follow that given by Hesiod: the Argonauts departed from Colchis along the river Phasis which took them to Ocean, which then took them to Libya where they carried the Argo overland to the Mediterranean (vv.211, 251, 20ff.)[88]. His route then takes the Argonauts to Thera and to Lemnos, a somewhat strange way to return them to Iolcos, but Pindar is not interested in their return home, but only in how incidents on the return journey led to the colonisation of Cyrene by the Argonauts' descendants. This explains why

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[87] See Wehrli pp.154-7. He suggests that the Saga had no canonical form until the time of Apollonius Rhodius.

[88] See Hes. fr.241. Mimnermus, writing perhaps before the Hesiodic passage which supplied a return route, also believed that the journey over Ocean was necessary, but he thought that Aeetes' city was itself on Ocean (fr.11). van der Kolf (p.71) suggests that the need to travel down the Phasis to reach Ocean was brought about by the knowledge that the Black Sea did not lead directly to Ocean. By the time of Apollonius it was known that no river from Colchis led to Ocean, so the Argonauts had to return either the way they had come or by a north-west route. See e.g. the scholia on A.R.4.259. Hecataeus also believed that the Argonauts had passed through Libya on their return journey via the Nile (Σ A.R.4.259), but gives quite contradictory accounts of how they got there, reflecting perhaps the discovery that the Phasis did not lead to Ocean. It seems that the tradition of the Argonauts in Libya was a very old one. Herodotus writes of the Argonauts there, but, since he denies the existence of a river between Colchis and Ocean, in his account this takes place on the outward journey as a result of a storm which blows the Argo off course (4.179). Even Apollonius includes the Libyan episode, although because of his north-west return route it leads to a most extraordinary journey home (Book 4).

the return route only comprises two episodes whereas other writers include so many more[89].

(ii) *The Euphemus episode*

For Pindar, vv.4-58 form a very important part of the myth of the Argonauts in *Pythian 4*, because this episode forms the vital link between Argonautic myth and the foundation of Cyrene, a link which must be made in order to render the myth of Jason and the Golden Fleece overtly relevant in an ode to a Cyrenean victor; hence the extraordinary prominence of the episode. Pindar takes the episode right out of its natural context and narrates it first of all the events of the Argonautic Quest. He also casts it in the form of direct speech, a prophecy by Medea on the island of Thera.

Medea's prophecy narrates events on the Argonauts' return journey prior to their arrival on Thera. She tells how on her advice they had left Ocean and carried the Argo across land (Libya) to the Mediterranean where, as they were about to set sail, they met a *daimon* disguised as a man, who called himself Eurypylus, son of Poseidon. He welcomed them, but, realising that the Argonauts were hastening home, he seized a clod of earth and gave it to Euphemus as a gift of friendship, at which moment Zeus thundered favourably. Euphemus should have taken the clod home to Taenarum in the Peloponnese, but it was washed out of the ship, despite Medea's urgings to guard it, and came to land on Thera. Here Medea now prophesies what will happen as a result of this mishap: the founding of Cyrene will be delayed and will not take place directly from

[89] Our only firm evidence in pre-Pindaric saga for other events on the way home is Simon. fr.568 which speaks of Talos of Crete. Cf. A.R.4.1638ff.

the Peloponnese. Instead, Euphemus will found in the marriage beds of foreign women (later identified as Lemnian, v.252) a race who, with the blessing of the gods, will come to Thera and there beget a man, Battus, to be Lord of Cyrene, whom the Delphic oracle shall name as Cyrene's founder.

Thus according to Pindar the founding of Cyrene was foretold as early as the Argonautic Quest by Medea. Méautis remarks (p.227) that Medea's role as prophetess is new in Argonautic saga and it is also striking that no such prophecy occurs in Argonautic saga after Pindar[90]. Duchemin suggests (p.97 n.1) that a prophecy by Medea could have been a Cyrenean tradition or perhaps the poet's own invention[91]. The latter seems more likely.

Pindar is the first author to place the Lemnos episode on the Argonauts' return route (cf. [iii] *Lemnos* pp.49-51 below).This a necessary pre-requisite for a prophecy by Medea on Thera since Medea only accompanies the Argonauts on their return from Colchis and she prophesies events on Lemnos. In addition the poet has introduced a new location into Argonautic myth, the island of Thera where Medea makes her prophecy.

Pindar's reasons for introducing the prophecy of Medea are two-fold. The prophecy provides the essential link between the Argonautic Quest and the victor Arcesilas (cf. vv.68-9) and in addition asserts the Battiadae's rightful and god-directed claim to the throne in Cyrene.

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[90] Apollonius does relate the episode of Euphemus and the clod, but the future significance of these events is revealed to him in a dream which Jason interprets (4.1731ff.)

[91] A tradition of prophecy over an important gift does exist in the Cyrenean tradition of the Argonauts' sojourn in Libya as narrated by Herodotus (4.179), but it was not made by Medea, but by the god Triton over a tripod, cf. pp.41ff. below.

Thera, where the prophecy occurred, was an important stage in the colonisation since it was the home of Battus and the recognised origin of the colonisation of Libya (cf. Hdt.4.150ff. and my comments below pp.44-5 &264ff.). The poet's decision to trace the connection between the Argonauts and the victor Arcesilas in the form of a prophecy is not surprising in view of the poet's frequent presentation of the events of myth in prophetic form elsewhere in the odes; cf. e.g. *O.*8.41ff, *P.*8.43ff., 9.51ff., *I.*6.51ff., 8.31ff., and the oracles of *P.*4.53ff., 59ff., 73ff., 163ff.[92].

The prophecy of Medea on Thera may be a Pindaric invention, but the events prophesied appear to be derived from the Argonautic tradition and from the historical tradition of Cyrene's founding. Pindar has selected various motifs and strands of myth which he has adapted and combined in order to create the flowing words of Medea. In order to examine how the poet has dealt with these it will be easier to consider the various strands of myth separately.

(a) *Euphemus*

Euphemus was known to be a Minyan hero at least as early as Hesiod, and was presumably also recognised by him as a member of the Argonautic expedition since he features in a fragment of Hesiod's *Eoeae*, another fragment of which gives a return journey for the Argonauts identical with that of Pindar as far as the Mediterranean[93]. We have no way of knowing whether Hesiod related the clod story, and, if he did,

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[92] West 1985 pp.86-7 notes the similar technique of presenting a story in the form of a prophecy in *P.9*. Jackson (p.27), however, is disinclined to accept that the telling of the clod story in the form of a prophecy is Pindar's invention, and cites the Σ on *P.* 9.6a (D.II p.221) *ἀπὸ δὲ Ἠοίας Ἡσιόδου τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔλαβεν ὁ Πίνδαρος*; but Köhnken (1985) has clearly demonstrated Pindar's wide divergence from Hesiod in his narrative of the nymph Cyrene, in particular in his prophecy. Cf: pp.98ff., esp.100.

[93] See frr.253 (Euphemus), 241 (route).

whether Euphemus played the central role as he does in Pindar's account, but the combination of the evidence of the two Hesiodic fragments does not rule out such a narrative[94].

Even where our entire early evidence is limited to two tiny fragments we may discern that the poet felt free to follow another tradition. He gives Euphemus a different mother (Europa, daughter of Tityus, v.46) from the one in the *Eoeae* (Mecionice, fr.253). Van der Kolf suggests, however, (pp.75-6) that Pindar had a good motive for the change. Europa was recognised in Boeotian myth as the mother of Carneus, whose cult, under the name of Apollo Carneus, was celebrated at Cyrene (*P.*5.77ff.), a genealogy which would be very pleasing to the Cyreneans[95].

Euphemus' prominence in Pindar's account of the episode in Libya does not agree with Herodotus' version of events (4.179) where a tale of considerable similarity to Pindar's clod story is narrated. The historian does not name him but gives Jason the central role in events. However, a statement elsewhere in Herodotus' narrative of Cyrenean history furnishes us with the reason for Euphemus' central role in Pindar's account. When Herodotus introduces Battus I he calls him *Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνήστου,* *ἐὼν γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν* Μινυέων (4.150.2). Clearly the Battiadae styled themselves as descendants of Euphemus[96]. Pindar, who is composing for a Battiad king, chooses the Argonaut Euphemus to play the principal role in Libya because he provides the clearest link between

[94] Cf. Jackson p.26.
[95] Jackson suggests a different reason, the connection between Poseidon, Europa and Thera mentioned by the scholia on *P.*4.10ff. (D.II p.98). This, however, seems tenuous.
[96] How and Wells I p.351, suggest that Herodotus' description of Battus is a conjecture based on Pindar's account, in which case our evidence for the personal claim of the Battiadae, based on Euphemus' reception of the clod of earth, does not pre-date Pindar. It is hard, however, to see why the poet should have singled out Euphemus for this honour and not one of the other Argonauts (e.g. Periclymenus, cf. Σ *P.* 4.306, 455d,e, D.II pp.138-9, 161) if some link did not already exist in the tradition.

the Argonautic Quest and the foundation of Cyrene by Arcesilas' ancestor.

(b) *The clod of earth*

It is possible, as we remarked earlier, that Pindar's narrative of the clod of earth is derived from what he found in Hesiod. Other possibilities are that he based his tale on a local Cyrenean tradition, or that he invented it. The latter seems unlikely in view of a tale of the Argonauts in Libya given by Herodotus (4.179) which bears sufficient resemblance to Pindar's narrative to make one wonder if Pindar is not using a local tradition, but one which he has carefully adapted to suit the particular concerns of his ode. A comparison of the two accounts reveals both similarities and differences.

Both authors give the same location for the episode, Lake Tritonis (*Τριτωνίδος ἐν προχαῖς λίμνας* P.4.20-21: *ἐν τοῖς βράχεσι . . . λίμνης τῆς Τριτωνίδος* Hdt.4.179.2), and in both accounts the Argonauts are wanting to leave. In Pindar's version they are hasting home, in Herodotus' they wish to get back to their outward route to Delphi from whence they have been blown to Libya by a storm. In each case at this point a god appears, in Pindar an *οἰοπόλος δαίμων* in the guise of a man who reveals himself as Eurypylus, son of Poseidon (vv.28ff.); in Herodotus he is simply Triton. Now the motif of the gift appears; in Pindar the god gives to the Argonaut Euphemus a clod of earth, in Herodotus Jason gives to Triton a tripod in return for being shown a way out of the shallows. Both authors now relate a prophecy over the gift and a delay in its fulfilment as the result of a misfortune befalling the gift. In Pindar the mishap, loss of the clod overboard, precedes Medea's prophecy. In Herodotus Triton's prophecy over the tripod leads to the mishap, the removal and concealment of the

tripod by local Libyans. In both authors the prophecies foretell the colonisation of the area around Lake Tritonis (i.e. Libya) by Greeks.

The similarities in the two tales are such as to make one believe that Pindar used a tale which he found at Cyrene (and which was recorded by Herodotus). It served his purpose well but he has altered and improvised in order to make the tale particularly pertinent to *Pythian 4*. The points which suit his aims and themes he retains. Thus, because it is important for his ode that the Argonauts should establish some connection with Cyrene, Pindar maintains the location of the episode, and also retains the idea that the Argonauts were about to leave since it suited him to use their haste to depart as a means of explaining why the gift was a clod of earth: it was simply the closest thing to hand when the *daimon* wanted to give them something. The appearance of a divine personage is a striking and significant moment: this stays. The prophecy over the gift had great potential. Pindar develops this motif in the key prophecy of Medea which begins the whole chain of events in Cyrene's founding.The mishap which befell the gift is also retained but the poet adapts it to harmonise with his narrative: the clod of earth was washed overboard and landed on Thera. The motif of delay in the fulfilment of the prophecy also suited the poet's theme of delay, but eventual fulfilment of what is ordained by Fate (a theme enhanced by the repetition of the word χρόνῳ [vv.55, 78, 258, 291] at significant points in the myth).

There are two major differences in the accounts, but both may be attributed to Pindar's aims and purposes. First, he alters the role of the *daimon* who appears to the Argonauts. He presents them with an unsolicited gift instead of requiring something from them. This stresses the favour of the gods towards the whole train of events which follows, and

their role in the founding and government of Cyrene. The poet highlights this by means of the favourable thunder of Zeus (v.23), the unprompted oracle to Battus (vv.60ff.), Battus' colonisation of Libya, *σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς* (vv.259-60), and now Arcesilas' victory as a result of Apollo's favour (v.66). Secondly, the nature of the gift is quite different. Pindar has replaced the tripod recorded by Herodotus with a clod of earth. We have no way of knowing where Pindar found this motif, but the reason for its choice is obvious: it symbolised without a doubt the handing over of rights to the land, of which it is a very vivid symbol, both visual and concrete[97].

In addition to these changes it is also apparent that Pindar has combined different traditions to achieve the identity of the clod's giver[98]. Although the episode occurs at Lake Tritonis (v.20) and the giver is son of Poseidon (the tradition followed by Herodotus and Apollonius), the guise of the giver as a man who calls himself Eurypylus comes from another tradition which recounted that Eurypylus was the first mythical king of Libya[99]. It seems probable that the poet has combined these traditions in order to highlight the significance of the clod. Not only was it god-given, but there can be no doubt that it was part of Libya, given to Euphemus by its earliest king, thereby symbolising that the rights he had there extended to ruling.

(c) *The conjectured two traditions of the founding of Cyrene*

In the second part of the Euphemus episode, where Pindar narrates the loss of the clod and the future repercussions of this misfortune,

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[97] See Strosetzki, pp.11-13, who explores several aspects of the symbolism of rights connected with land. Of particular importance here are the tokens of submission demanded by the Great King of Persia: earth and water, cf.p.7.
[98] See van der Kolf pp.76-7, Farnell II p.151, Jackson p.29.
[99] See Hdt.4.179, A.R.4.153ff, Acesand. fr.4 and Call., *Ap*.92.

commentators have discerned two different mythical traditions of the founding of Cyrene which Pindar has brought together[100]. The poet appears to be supporting one tradition, the founding of Cyrene by the descendants of Euphemus, coming from Lemnos *via* Thera, and to be refuting another, the founding of Cyrene directly from the Peloponnese. Let us examine the evidence for these two traditions.

The first tradition is well-supported. We possess the account of Herodotus, which narrated the founding of Cyrene, tracing it back to the Lemnian descendants of Euphemus and narrating two different versions of events on Thera (4.145-58). Like Pindar he also includes the intermediate stage of the Peloponnese. The considerable similarity between the two accounts suggests that a common tradition underlies them. The second tradition, the founding of Cyrene direct from the Peloponnese, is found in vv.43-49. Pindar narrates it as something which might have occurred but which he emphatically denies as having happened, by contrast to reality (*νῦν γε μέν* v.50). Unlike the first tradition there is no evidence for this version of events in Herodotus; in fact his evidence seems to suggest rather that there was only one traditional foundation myth.

Herodotus tells us that both the Lacedaemonians and the Therans supported the tale as presented by Pindar up until the arrival of the Lemnian Minyae on Thera (4.150.1). If there was any basis for a foundation myth of direct colonisation of Cyrene from the Peloponnese we should expect it to have been given by the Lacedaemonians, but they

[100] E.g. Burton (p.152): 'it is probable that Pindar here combined in his story two different legends about the foundation of the city'. See also van der Kolf pp.73ff., Fehr p.81, Malten p.109, Huxley pp.37-8.

(according to Herodotus) followed the tradition of a Theran stage in the colonisation. Nor can we find any support for a tradition of direct colonisation from the Peloponnese in the Cyrenean version of events given by the historian. He is careful to distinguish between the different versions given by the Therans and the Cyreneans (4.154.1), but the difference is not a by-passing of the Theran stage, only the establishment of Battus as the main figure in the colonisation.

The various different accounts of the founding of Cyrene given by Herodotus suggest that his narrative is well-researched at this point. Hence it seems reasonable to expect that if a tradition had existed at Cyrene of direct colonisation from the Peloponnese Herodotus would have included it. He does not[101]. Nor do we possess any other literary evidence for this tradition except Pindar's own words. In view of this we must consider whether there is any other evidence of a non-literary nature from which a tradition of direct colonisation could have arisen which the poet then followed.

Our first piece of evidence which appears significant is the existence of more than one foundation date for Cyrene. Eusebius' chronicle gives no less than three, 1336, 761 and 631[102]. The latter two may be regarded as the same one, but arrived at by different methods of computation. This date (631 B.C.) is the date generally accepted for the arrival of Battus and the Therans in Libya[103]. Could the early date then refer to another colonisation of Libya? This

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[101] Huxley suggests (pp.37-8) that Hdt.4.159.2-3 with 4.161.3 provides evidence for the tradition of direct colonisation of Libya from the Peloponnese. However, his argument that 'a strong Peloponnesian element' arrived in Cyrene with the influx of new Greek settlers under Battus II is unprovable. Nor can we accept without further evidence his statement that the Peloponnesian immigrants possessed a myth of direct colonisation from the Peloponnese which their storytellers placed before the settlement of Battus from Thera, and that this tale was politically advantageous because through it the Peloponnesian immigrants could claim privileges at least as great as the Therans' in Cyrene.

[102] .Cf. Euseb. Hieron. (ed. Fotheringham 1923) pp.81, 151, 169.

[103] See Chamoux p.70.

suggestion is not without problems. First, Eusebius' evidence is not sufficiently reliable for us to accept it without external corroboration, which we do not have. Secondly, 1336 is too early for the tradition of direct colonisation as our only source depicts it. In vv.47-8 Pindar speaks of the direct colonisation of Libya from the Peloponnese, four generations after Euphemus: *τετράτων παίδων κ' ἐπιγεινομένων αἷμά οἱ κεῖναν λάβε . . . εὐρεῖαν ἄπειρον.* Even using the inaccurate system of calculating generations we arrive at a date too late to be reconciled with 1336. The first generation after the Argonauts, that is, that of their sons, took part in the Trojan War. The date of this, c.1190, at least, is reasonably well attested because of its use as a base-date by those establishing chronologies. Three generations after this is approximately two hundred years later than Eusebius' early foundation date. Thus the date given by Pindar for the direct colonisation of Libya cannot be reconciled with 1336[104].

Other evidence adduced for a colonisation of Cyrene before that of Battus is linguistic[105]. Chamoux, however, after reviewing the evidence (pp.74-7) concludes *'rien n'oblige à supposer une "pré-colonisation" non dorienne à Cyrène comme nécessaire explication pour des phénomènes dialectaux aberrants'*. His own view is that the great emigration to Cyrene from all parts of the Greek world in the reign of Battus II (confirmed by Demonax's division of the Cyreneans into racial groups under Battus III) explains the presence of alien elements in the Cyrenean dialect. He maintains (pp.89-91) that this also explains the presence of the

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104 Chamoux, p.73, suggests that the date 1336 represents an attempt to project Battus back into the heroic mythical past. For further discussion of this point cf. pp.257ff. below. Another possibility is that 1336 refers to the arrival in Libya of the nymph Cyrene, a myth told by Pindar in *P.* 9, and also by Hesiod in the *Eoeae* (see frr.215-6).
105 See e.g. Gercke p.447.

mythological figures cited by Malten as common to Cyrene and the Peloponnese.

To sum up, the evidence shows that of the two foundation myths referred to by Pindar only the first, that *via* Lemnos and Thera, has any external support. Since there is no evidence to support the second except what Pindar himself says we may reasonably entertain the suggestion that Pindar invented it.

Commentators have suggested that Pindar used the second myth of the colonisation of Cyrene as a foil for the first because he wishes to promote the latter[106]. The first tradition certainly receives great emphasis as a result. There is good reason for this emphasis in that this version of events, whereby Euphemus' descendants from Lemnos colonised Cyrene from Thera, provided a direct link between the Argonautic Quest and Cyrene (a link which it is one of Pindar's prime concerns to describe, cf. vv.67-9). After the poet's narrative of the first tradition there can be no doubt that Euphemus' descendants, whose begetting forms one of the few events on the return journey which the poet chose to narrate, and whose colonisation of Cyrene from Thera had actually been prophesied on Thera, on the return journey, are Arcesilas' ancestors.

Secondly, what leads to the poet's account of two possible traditions of the founding of Cyrene is the loss of the clod overboard. This mishap (a motif which Pindar may have found in the tradition, but which he has altered to suit his claims, cf. pp.41-2 above) leads to the delay of thirteen generations in the founding of Cyrene. Jackson states (p.26) that this is a

[106] Cf. e.g. van der Kolf's suggestion (p.73) that Pindar combined the two tales (both of which she believes existed in the historical tradition) in order to show that only the Theran one was true.

clever explanation on the part of the poet for why Libya was not colonised earlier by Greeks.

However we can go further and say that Pindar is remoulding motifs found in the historical account of the founding of Cyrene by Battus. In *Pythian 4* Pindar narrates an oracle to Battus commanding him to colonise Libya (vv.4ff., 53-6, 59ff., and indirectly at vv.259-262) but he completely passes over Battus' failure to obey this oracle which is recorded in Herodotus. Battus' disobedience led to a considerable delay in the colonisation which was only accomplished after some years and further consultation of the Delphic oracle[107]. Pindar, however, is able to avoid mentioning any of these events, which revealed Battus in rather an unfavourable light, by maintaining the motif of delay but projecting it back into the era of myth.

Thus his utilisation of a second myth of colonisation also enables him to highlight the theme of delay and eventual fulfilment which runs throughout the ode[108]. Medea's picture of direct colonisation reveals by contrast the full extent of the delay in the prophecy's fulfilment.

To sum up, Pindar's treatment of Argonautic saga and historical tradition in the *Vormythos* reveals a clever tailoring of what he found in his sources to suit his encomiastic ends. The mythical connection of Cyrene with the Argonautic Quest (a Cyrenean tradition recorded later by Herodotus and possibly already in Hesiod) provided the poet with a basis for his narrative. Into this narrative he then wove two strands from elsewhere, the clod motif and the motif of delay in the founding of Cyrene.

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[107] Cf. Hdt.4.150ff. and my discussion of Pindar's treatment of Battus pp.265ff. below.- Cf. also Bowra p.140 who says that Pindar introduces the delay in order to defend the Delphic oracle.
[108] See Lattimore pp.22-3.

The result is a skilful transformation of the myth of Cyrene's founding into a glorious tradition originating with the Argonauts' Quest and culminating in the present ruler of Cyrene, Arcesilas.

(iii) *Lemnos*

Medea prophesies in vv.50-53 that Euphemus *ἀλλοδαπᾶν κριτὸν εἰρήσει γυναικῶν ἐν λέχεσιν γένος*. This race will come to Thera and beget Battus to be lord of Cyrene. Not until v.252 do we discover who these 'foreign women' are; they are Lemnians.

That the Argonauts stopped at Lemnos on their journey in search of the Golden Fleece and slept with the women there, is attested in literature as early as Homer. He indirectly refers to the union of Jason and Hypsipyle, who bore him a son Euneus, and to Thoas, Hypsipyle's father, whom, according to later traditions, she had hidden and saved when the Lemnian women killed their husbands[109]. Pindar alludes to the whole story by the economical use of one adjective, *ἀνδροφόνων* (v.252), but his narrative does not expand this, and in what he does briefly recount it is the Argonauts and notably Euphemus, not the Lemnian women, who feature (unlike other versions). According to Pindar the Argonauts did two things on Lemnos; they competed in athletic contests for the prize of clothing (an apt event in a victory ode) and they shared the womens' beds. Both events were traditional[110]. What is not traditional in

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[109] See *Il.*7.467-9, 21.747, 14.230; Hyg.*F.*15, Apollod.1.115, Val.Fl.2.72ff..

[110] The scholia on vv. 252-3 (450: D II p.160) indicate that Simonides also told of this athletic contest *ἐσθᾶτος ἀμφίς*. There has been some debate as to what this phrase means. Nairn p.11 supports one interpretation, given by the scholia, that it meant 'naked'. He suggests that Pindar is here trying to find mythological support for the custom of admitting women to the games in Cyrene, a custom for which he finds evidence at *P.* 9.115. It seems more likely to me that Pindar is including an apt scene which he found in Simonides (or elsewhere in the tradition) and a prize of raiment (the meaning of *ἐσθᾶτος ἀμφίς*), perhaps finely embroidered or worked, would be very appropriate on an island where there were no men. At *O.*9.97 we see that the prize at Pellene was a woollen cloak. The prizes at other local games varied, but were, as here, appropriate to the locality. See Harris pp.36-7.

Pindar's account is that the Lemnian episode takes place on the return journey rather than on the outward journey[111]. This obviously raises immediate difficulties, both of geography and of psychology: why would the Argonauts sail so far north when Iolcos, to which they were returning, lay further south, and how would Medea view Jason's union with Hypsipyle?

Pindar has evaded these difficulties by, for a rare moment in the myth, suppressing Jason's role here; we hear nothing of his union with Hypsipyle. In addition he narrates the episode with great speed, and rushes through its consequences from Lacedaemon to Thera to Libya and Cyrene[112]. He also abandons the Argonauts on Lemnos, never stating that they returned to Iolcos, which lessens our sense of geographical implausibility. But why could he not have avoided these difficulties by simply placing the Lemnian episode on the outward journey?

There is only one explanation: the importance of this episode in the origins of the Battiad kings of Cyrene[113]. After the prophecy which Medea has given to the Argonauts about Euphemus and the clod, Pindar must show how this was fulfilled and make clear the relationship between Euphemus and Arcesilas. The prophecy thus necessitates placing the Lemnian episode later on the return route. In addition, by transferring the episode to the Argonauts' return the poet is able to emphasise the close

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[111] The scholia on A.R.1.615 have led various scholars to believe that a tradition existed in which the Lemnian episode was on the return journey (cf. van der Kolf p.71: she thinks that Pindar's order of events is so strange that it could not have been invented). It seems probable that Pindar was the first to move the episode (his aims mean that he must) and others later followed him, and tried to rationalize the problems posed by Medea and geography.

[112] Pindar obviously knew more of Hypsipyle and the events on Lemnos than he relates here. Cf. e.g. *O*.4.19-25.

[113] See Malten pp.154ff..

link between the Argonauts' union with the Lemnian women and the foundation of Cyrene by the race of Euphemus. The destiny of the Euphemids provides the poet with an easy return to the present and to his *laudandus*, a Euphemid himself.

Conclusion

Our survey of Pindar's treatment of the Argonautic myth reveals that, as well as following what he found in the tradition, the poet felt free to omit, to adapt, to change emphasis, to expand episodes and to shrink them, even to improvise and invent, thus adding his own variants to the mythic tradition. His account is the earliest surviving complete narrative of the myth, but it is unique and peculiar to Pindar because of his aims in writing *Pythian 4*. These aims have dictated his choice and treatment of one of the oldest Greek sagas.

CHAPTER TWO

Characterisation in *Pythian 4*

Character in lyric

The extant remains of Greek lyric poetry suggest that, apart from the lyric epic of Stesichorus, the relative shortness of lyric poems offered little scope for the portrayal of character. In addition the themes and subjects of lyric poets (with the exception of Stesichorus and Bacchylides) do not generally provide opportunities for the depiction of character. Sappho's most frequent subject, for example, is herself, her own emotions and experience[1]. Anacreon's favourite themes are love and wine viewed from a personal angle[2]. Stesichorus is unusual because the remains of his works exhibit a keen interest in character and its portrayal[3]. We may suggest that this interest was facilitated by the absence of the very limits that we have suggested as operating in lyric. The vast scale of Stesichorus' lyric poems and his subject matter, episodes from myth, gave him not only characters to work with but space in which to develop them[4].

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[1] See e.g frr.1, 5, 16, 31, 94. There are, of course, exceptions. E.g. fr.44 describes the Trojans' reaction to the arrival of Hector with his bride, Andromache, but the remains of the poem are too scant for us to be able to form conclusions on possible depiction of character within it.

[2] A notable exception is Anacr. fr.388, where the poet describes Artemon, but this is unusual among the remains of his work.

[3] See e.g. the portrayal of Geryon in the *Geryoneis*. Geryon was physically monstrous, having a triple body (fr.186), yet Stesichorus endows him with the ethos of the Homeric hero. Fr.56 D (Suppl.), where Geryon considers why he will not allow Heracles to carry off his cattle without a fight, echoes the sentiments of Glaucus at *Il*.12.322ff. (cf. Page [1973] pp.149ff.). Geryon is humanised here to appear brave and noble. Stesichorus further humanises him in the scene which he develops between Geryon and his mother, where she begs him not to fight Heracles. Callirhoa entreats him by the breast which suckled him (a motif found in *Il*.22.179ff.), a human emotional touch without any concept of how she would have really suckled a three-headed monster. Stesichorus continues to highlight Geryon's heroic nature in his description of his death, where he uses a simile borrowed from Homer (*Il*.8.306ff.) to create a picture of pathos.

[4] There are thirteen known titles of his works covering the Trojan War and its aftermath, Argonautic myth, the adventures of Heracles, Theban myth, and the tale of Meleager and the Calydonian boar. We know from the papyrus fragments that the *Geryoneis*, for example, was over fifteen hundred lines long (see Page [1973], pp.146-8).

Pindar's contemporary, Bacchylides, selected themes on occasion which enabled him to portray character. We should note, however, that in his extant poems characterisation is really only a feature of the longer myths of the victory odes (as for example, Heracles and Meleager in *B.5*) and in the dithyrambs, where there is space for material from myth to be treated at some length[5]. Bacchylides' general approach to characterisation may be discerned from his portrayal of Theseus in poem 17, which we shall now examine.

A poet's first resource in characterisation is what he chooses to tell us directly about a character. This expedient, as we shall see, is one of which Pindar makes much. Bacchylides, however, makes sparing use of this device. Theseus receives only a limited amount of direct description. At vv.2, 14-15 and 47 Bacchylides describes him with heroic adjectives, but he is sparing: only one at each point[6]. Thus to some extent the poet expresses his own view of the hero, but the careful selection of narrative details reinforces this impression.

Theseus' actions, then, reveal him to be as heroic as Bacchylides suggests. He instantly responds to Eriboea's cry for help in v.14 by rebuking Minos. In response to Minos' challenge he shows no fear, but leaps into the sea (vv.81ff.) and achieves his task with every success. Bacchylides also portrays Theseus' emotions and feelings. We see them

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[5] The dithyrambs are, of course, extremely short in comparison with epic, but compared to many lyric poems they are quite lengthy. They are certainly considerably longer than many of the myths in the epinicians of Pindar and Bacchylides.

[6] None of these adjectives are found in Homer. Two are found only here (*μενέκτυπος* and *ἀρέταιχμος*), but there are Homeric parallels for all of the heroic ideas conveyed by these epithets, e.g. *μενεδήϊος* (*Il.*12.247, 13.228), *μενεπτόλεμος* (*Il.*2.749, 19.48, etc.). The latter is also used of Minos in this poem (v.73), but he only receives the one adjective; Theseus receives three: *χαλκοκνήμις* (cf.*Il.*7.41, plural), *χαλκοχίτων* (cf. *Il.*1.371 etc., *αἰχματάς* (*Il.*1.152 etc.).

directly, as in vv.17-20, where his eyes roll and his heart is pained as a result of Minos' action, which arouses him to speech, and at vv.101ff. where he shows the proper reverential fear of the Nereids, which Bacchylides substantiates by describing their awesome appearance.

Theseus' thoughts and feelings also emerge indirectly from his speech to Minos. The strong terms in which he describes Minos' act and his intentions towards Eriboea, *πολύστονον ὕβριν* (vv.40-41), show his abhorrence of such an act, and his words in vv.41ff. indicate that his feelings are so strong that he is prepared to fight to protect the maiden and would rather die than see her harmed. In addition this speech expresses Theseus' thoughts about fate and the gods (vv.24-8, 46).

The manner in which Theseus addresses Minos also tells us something about him. Despite his utter horror at Minos' action he addresses him in a respectful manner, appealing to Minos' sense of what is right, reminding him of his position as son of Zeus. This, however, is no weak approach, there is a strength and command in his words (*ἴσχε* v.23, *κάτεχε* v.28, *κέλομαι ἔρυκεν* vv.40-41). Reactions to Theseus' speech heighten this impression and exemplify two further means of character depiction employed by Bacchylides. First, the reaction of others to a character: the sailors who hear Theseus' speech are amazed by his *ὑπεράφανον θάρσος* (vv.49-50).Bacchylides uses this device elsewhere in the poem. Eriboea's cry to Theseus (v.14) indicates that he is regarded as a protector and helper, an impression which is enhanced by the reaction of the Athenian youth when Theseus leaps into the sea. They shudder and shed tears in anticipation of a dreadful fate (vv.92-6). On his return they raise a paean to Apollo (v.129). Secondly, character can be revealed by contrast with

another character. Minos' lustful, devious and cunning nature is a foil for Theseus' upright and open character.

Another feature of Bacchylides' characterisation is that he seems able to allow his audience to read between the lines and make their own judgement on the facts. When Theseus returns from the deep Bacchylides comments: *οἵαισιν ἐν φροντίσι* Κνώσιον *ἔσχασεν στραταγέταν* (vv.120-1). He leaves Minos' thoughts to our imagination, but the adjective *οἷος* allows us to postulate from our earlier evidence for Minos' character just how far these might have ranged. Because Bacchylides reserves judgement he does not appear to intervene in the action, even though this is a direct comment.

To sum up, Bacchylides presents the appearance of objectivity in his approach to the characterisation of Theseus. He places him in a situation and allows his thoughts and emotions, speech and actions, the reactions of others towards him and the contrast with other characters to reveal the character of his hero. The poet also makes his own comments by means of direct description and by his deliberate choice of material, but at the end of the poem we feel that we are making an independent judgement on an objective presentation of the facts[7].

Our observations on characterisation in Greek lyric poetry suggest that in general there was little scope for character portrayal. If, however, a poet selected a suitable theme and he had the space at his command,

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[7] This approach to characterisation has much in common with that of Homer. The epic poet's approach is basically objective, and he uses the same wide variety of means as Bacchylides. Cf. e.g. the character of Nestor in the *Iliad*: direct description, e.g. 1.247-253, 2.21, 7.235-6; speech to reveal character, 1.25ff., 11.655ff.; thoughts and emotions, 2.337ff., 7.132-3; his actions, 4.293ff, 11.516-20, the reactions of others to him, 2.370-4, 7.161ff., 10.17-20; contrast with another character, 10.159-167.

then the depiction of character was not only possible but could even play an important part in a poem.

Characterisation in Pindar

Character portrayal in Pindar's poetry is limited[8]. The myths which he narrated supplied him with suitable characters, but he was restricted by the relative shortness of epinician odes, combined with the need to devote much of the ode to conventional elements, thus minimising the space available for myth where character depiction is most likely to occur[9]. In addition we may submit that the poet had little interest in the depiction and development of character in itself, but only gave it his attention where it was pertinent to his purpose in any given ode. The poet's essential commission is to praise the victor. If, in so doing, he devised a mythic *exemplum* which illustrated character-traits which he wished to bring to the victor's notice (both positive and negative), to that extent we may speak of the poet's interest in characterisation, or if he is at pains to point out certain characteristics of his *laudandus* in order to glorify him. But the poet appears to have had little interest in character portrayal for its own sake.

Often all that Pindar appears to have had time for is the delineation

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[8] With the obvious exception of *Pythian 4*. This section considers characterisation in Pindar's poetry outside his longest ode.

[9] It is interesting that we learn so little of the characters of the men in praise of whom the odes were composed, but perhaps this is not surprising. Of the range of *topoi* for praise many relate to the victor only peripherally (e.g. praise of his family, ancestors, city, homeland etc.) and those which do concern him directly are usually conventional. A victor is likely to be praised for qualities such as athletic prowess, courage and daring (usually in taking the risks involved in competeing), hospitality and liberal spending (if he was wealthy), rulers for their moderation, clemency and wise ruling. We are also unlikely to receive other than a one-sided view, since the poet's interest was firmly entrenched in depicting praise-worthy qualities (cf. e.g. the Hieron of the odes with the Hieron we learn of in Diodorus).

of one quality in his myth. For example, the myth of *Pythian 6* is chosen by the poet because Antilochus, who saved his father's life, provides a supreme example of filial devotion. The poet comments that Thrasybulus, the victor's son[10], is an example of filial duty in the present: *τῶν νῦν δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος πατρῴαν μάλιστα πρὸς στάθμαν ἔβα* (vv.44-5). Pindar uses Antilochus' actions to reveal this trait of character, as well as direct description (*Ἀντίλοχος βιατάς*, v.28; *ὁ θεῖος ἀνήρ*, v.38) and his own observations (vv.40-2).

In *Olympian 9* the poet pauses momentarily in his list of the new settlers in Opus to speak of the son of one of these, Patroclus. In a few verses he highlights Patroclus' outstanding bravery. This is demonstrated by his actions (he alone stood beside Achilles when Telephus was putting the Greeks to flight, vv.70-3), by the poet's direct comment (*ὥστ' ἔμφρονι δεῖξαι μαθεῖν* Πατρόκλου *βιατὰν νόον* (vv.74-5), and by the reaction of another to him (Achilles bade him stay close to him in battle from that time on vv.76-9)[11].

These examples reveal that even in a very brief space the poet employs a variety of means to depict character. In both examples character is revealed through action, in *Olympian 9* by the further device of another's reaction to the hero, in *Pythian 6* by direct description, and in

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[10] Why Pindar should choose to draw a parallel in his myth with the victor's son rather than with the victor himself is unclear. The scholia discuss the possibility that Thrasybulus had driven the victorious chariot (Σ v.15, D.II p.196). It was unusual for men in positions of power to drive their own chariots, but not impossible (cf. e.g. *I*.1.15 and pp.231ff. below). However, we must note, as the scholia do, that Nicomachus is recorded as Xenocrates' charioteer in *I*.2. Perhaps Thrasybulus' role in the victory went no further than leading the party from Acragas which went to Delphi (as Farnell II p.183, Méautis p.58). Others (e.g. Wilamowitz p.137, followed by Burton p.16) have explained Thrasybulus' prominence in the ode by suggesting that Pindar was in love with him, or at least that some special friendship existed between them.

[11] In addition to the examples discussed here cf. Ixion in *P.* 2, Castor and Iolaus in *I.1,* Croesus in B. 3.

both cases the poet delivers his own opinion.

In longer myths the means for portraying character are extended further. Obviously the poet had more scope for description. There is the possibility of revealing character through speech or by contrasting one character with another, all devices used by Bacchylides when space permitted. We should note, however, that Pindar's own overt moral judgements are still a distinctive feature of his characterisation. These may be delivered directly or they may be more subtly administered through the use of loaded language. Let us consider some examples.

The myth of *Pythian 11* deals with the return of Agamemnon from Troy, a myth which we may assume was well known to Pindar's audience. The dominant figure in his version is Clytemnestra. Pindar begins, however, with Orestes, whom the nurse Arsinoe received from Clytemnestra. The colourless word *ἄνελε* which describes her reception of Orestes gains in meaning, when we see from what Arsinoe took Orestes: from under the *χειρῶν κρατερᾶν* of Clytemnestra and from her *δόλου δυσπενθέος* (vv.17-18b). The adjective *κρατερᾶν* is a subtle pointer to what follows. It was with those mighty hands that the *νηλὴς γυνά* (v.22) wielded the grey bronze (v.20) which killed Agamemnon and Cassandra, a deed which the poet labels with alliterative force *δόλου δυσπενθέος*. The epithets which the poet chooses colour *ἄνελε* (Boeckh translates '*eripuit*', II ii p.71) but also lay the foundation for the picture of Clytemnestra at which the poet is aiming.

After the emphatic and direct description of Clytemnestra as *νηλὴς γυνά* the poet ponders her motive in killing Agamemnon. This suggests at first sight that we are to receive an objective appraisal of the deed,

particularly as the first motive outlined by the poet gives a perfectly reasonable and acceptable explanation for the slaughter of Agamemnon, viz. the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. However, Pindar is not without bias. The direct description of Clytemnestra as *νηλὴς γυνά* and the adjectives in v.18 have already prejudiced us. In addition Pindar has used loaded language in order to weight our view[12]. The *παλάμη* element in *βαρυπάλαμον χόλον* (v.23) recalls the *χειρῶν κρατερᾶν* of v.18, and the unusual adjective (only found here, perhaps specially coined by Pindar), suggesting that the anger aroused Clytemnestra to practical action, focuses our attention once more on the deed rather than its justification.

The second motive reveals the explanation for Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon which the poet intends us to believe. First, he dwells on this explanation at length (vv.24-7), thereby giving the impression that it is more important than the first one. Secondly, he delivers an overt moral judgement by means of gnomic moralising on adultery. Thirdly, he uses deliberately coloured terms when he comments on Clytemnestra's adultery with Aegisthus: *ἔχθιστον ἀμπλάκιον καλύψαι τ' ἀμάχανον* (v.26). The emphatic superlative denounces the deed and *καλύψαι ἀμάχανον*, the impossibility of concealing such a deed, points to the enormity of Clytemnestra's conduct.

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12 Pindar's use of loaded language is not confined to this ode. Cf. e.g. the language in *P.2*, where Pindar narrates the myth of Ixion. The poet not only omits any reference to the purification of his sins by Zeus, but by careful choice of words emphasises Ixion's sin and guilt. Cf. v.26 *μακρὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὄλβον*, v.32 *οὐκ ἄτερ τέχνας*, v.29 *παθὼν ἐοικότ'*. Another example of loaded language occurs in *P.3*. Cf. the condemnation of Coronis contained in v.15 *φέροισα σπέρμα θεοῦ καθαρόν* (hinting at the defilement caused by her illicit sexual relationship with Ischys) and in v.32 *ἄθεμιν δόλον* (a curious way of describing her relationship with Ischys, but an effective one in condemning her).

To sum up, Pindar's treatment of Clytemnestra in *Pythian 11* highlights his overt manipulation of our perception of character. We hear of Clytemnestra's slaughter of Agamemnon and Cassandra and are challenged to judge it by the poet's rhetorical questions on her motives, but the conclusion at which we arrive has been carefully orchestrated by Pindar's own comments, loaded language and weighting of the evidence. This approach has not been dictated by his disapproval of the main character in the drama. The same methods can be seen at work in Pindar's portrayal of the delightful heroine of *Pythian 9* the nymph Cyrene.

The poet employs a variety of means which we may term 'objective' in depicting the heroine of the myth[13]. Direct description ranges from the simple descriptive phrase *παρθένον ἀγροτέραν* (v.6) to the enchanting verses about Cyrene's refusal to stay at home waiting to be married off (vv.18ff.). Narrative of Cyrene's actions is also revealing, as when Apollo finds her wrestling with a lion (vv.26ff.). The poet also presents her through the eyes of Apollo (vv.30ff.) and the Centaur (v.56 *εὐκλέα νύμφαν*). In addition the reactions of Aphrodite and Queen Libya to the nymph are suggestive of her charm (vv.9ff., 55ff.). These indications provide abundant evidence of Cyrene's character, but the poet has added to them subtler hints in order further to enhance his picture of her. Cyrene's noble genealogy suggests her ancient roots and hints at the carnal delights of marriage which she will enjoy with Apollo despite her shyness with him[14]. Apollo made her queen of

[13] I have described these as 'objective' even though obviously the poet can manage these so that we incline to his view of a character as effectively as with the aid of the pointers given in his own subjective comments.
[14] Cf. Carey (1981) pp.69-70.

a land πολύμηλος and πολυκαρπότατος (vv.6-7) and established her on a continent that was both 'lovely' and 'flourishing' (v.8). These adjectives create an atmosphere around Cyrene of fertility, prosperity and loveliness, which further enhances our appreciation of her character. The poet uses them gently to incline our opinion in the same way that he uses loaded language to manipulate our opinion of Clytemnestra in *Pythian 11.*

We turn now to a final example of Pindar's characterisation outside *Pythian 4.* The portrayal of Polydeuces in *Nemean 10* is interesting because it is much more consistent with Bacchylides' approach than with that which we have seen to be typical of Pindar. Although the poet has carefully selected the events which he narrates in order to highlight certain traits of Polydeuces' character, he does not intervene in the action with direct comments. He may put moral remarks or weighted language into the mouths of his protagonists, but he himself does not obtrude in the myth. In addition he relies far less on direct description and far more on Polydeuces' thoughts, words and actions to delineate his character. This give the impression of an objective presentation.

After the opening ring (vv.55-9) Pindar moves swiftly to the point where Polydeuces features in the action: his part in Zeus' punishment of Idas and Lynceus. As soon as Castor was stabbed by Idas (*αὐτίκα* v.65) Polydeuces comes in hot pursuit (v.66). This action indicates no fear or hesitation on his part, which is borne out by his reaction to the onslaught of the two. Polydeuces was not crushed by the grave-stone which they hurled at him, nor was he driven back, but rushed forward and stabbed Lynceus. His actions reveal his mighty strength, his bravery and his determination.

Now Pindar presents another aspect of Polydeuces in his relationship with Castor. He rushed back to his brother (v.73). His haste (ταχέως) illuminates his concern. When he found him breathing his last, the poet says of him: θερμὰ δὴ τέγγων δάκρυα στοναχαῖς ὄρθιον φώνασε (vv.75-6). Polydeuces' sadness at his brother's imminent death, demonstrated by his tears and groans, is corroborated by his prayer to Zeus. What he says develops our understanding of his character considerably. Vv.76-7 indicate how much he loved Castor; his sorrow is so great that he wants to die with him. The gnomic statements on friendship in vv.78-9 elaborate on this theme.

Zeus' reply offers Polydeuces a choice: to dwell on Olympus with the gods or to live half in heaven, half beneath the earth, but sharing this lot with Castor. The language is carefully weighted to emphasize the desirability of escaping the fate of death and old age (cf. ἀπεχθόμενον v.83), an escape which would be available to Polydeuces if he chose the first alternative. The second alternative is phrased by the poet so that we may judge Polydeuces' choice: εἰ δὲ κασιγνήτου πέρι μάρναοαι, πάντων δὲ νοεῖς ἀποδάσσασθαι ἴσον. Naturally we expect Polydeuces to choose this noble and unselfish fate from the evidence of his earlier actions and speech.

Pindar's characterisation of Polydeuces in *Nemean 10* is more developed than the other examples which we have examined. In these examples the poet usually seizes on one feature of a hero's character. However, even in *Nemean 10* there is still no suggestion that character is important in itself, nor is there any desire on Pindar's part to present any degree of complexity of character. Nonetheless *Nemean 10* reveals that Pindar's approach to characterisation is not as rigid as our early

examples might suggest. Although this approach may be deemed subjective in general, because of the poet's tendency to give his own views of a character or to employ loaded language, it is not always the case. The character of Polydeuces reveals that the poet was able to present a hero in a sufficiently objective manner for the audience to feel that they are forming an independent judgement of him[15]. It will be interesting to see whether this flexibility is apparent in the poet's characterisation in *Pythian 4*.

Pythian 4.

The unusual length of *Pythian 4* and the subject of its myth, the Quest of Jason and the Argonauts for the Golden Fleece, furnished Pindar with abundant potential for the portrayal of character. This potential is used by the poet, but he limits himself to the portrayal of two main characters, Jason, the hero of the piece, and Pelias, who provides a direct contrast to him. Other characters such as Euphemus and Medea, whose part in the myth of *Pythian 4* is of some considerable importance, do not appear to have roused the poet's interest. Quite possibly this is due in part to reasons of economy, but we may also suggest that it is a result of the poet's aims in narrating the myth: Jason is an important mythic paradigm to be presented to Arcesilas. The importance of the other characters is secondary.

Jason.

Pindar effects his portrayal of Jason by diverse methods which add variety to the narrative and sustain the audience's interest as the

[15] Although greater length does permit Pindar to employ a wider range of techniques for characterization and thus to create an impression of objectivity towards his characters, he does not often choose to use this potential. Myths of a similar length to that of *N.10* and longer reveal little or no interest in character depiction. Cf. e.g. *O*.10, 13, *N*.1 etc..

character of the hero emerges and develops. We are aware of the poet's versatility from the moment of Jason's first appearance in the myth, for Pindar introduces his hero by means of an unusual and striking device: anonymity. This immediately arouses the audience's interest and curiosity, even though, after the myth of Medea in the proem and Pindar's announcement of a narrative of the Golden Fleece they would be well aware of Jason's identity. Jason's anonymity, however, combined with the warning of the oracle, makes his appearance in Iolcos ominous, because the Iolcians do not know who he is, even if the audience does. The sense of suspense and expectation created by their ignorance is heightened by Pindar's withholding of Jason's name for another forty or so lines while the audience waits for them to discover his true identity[16]. In the meantime Pindar is able to impart a first impression of Jason.

As the man who fulfils the oracle to Pelias (vv.71ff.) Jason must be *μονοκρήπις* (confirmed in vv.95-6), a stranger in the sense that he has come to Iolcos from the mountains (confirmed by his foreign clothing, v.80), but perhaps a citizen (confirmed in v.118) and in some way connected to the Aeolidae from whom Pelias knows his death is to come (confirmed in vv.106-8). Next Pindar describes Jason's physical appearance, noting details which are reminiscent of Homeric heroes. Jason carries two spears as do heroes such as Odysseus, Nestor and Paris[17]. He is described as *ἔκπαγλος*, an Homeric word particularly apt here because of its ambiguity of meaning[18], since the Iolcians to whom Jason appears are not yet certain whether he

[16] Cf. Homer's use of the same technique in the *Odyssey*. We can wait for literally hundreds of verses for Odysseus (whom we know) to reveal himself to characters in the narrative. E.g. at *Od*.6.149 Odysseus first speaks to Nausicaa; he finally reveals his identity to her and the rest of the Phaeacians at 9.19, over a thousand lines later.

[17] See*Od*.1.256, *Il*.10.76, 3.18 etc..

[18] Cf. *ἔκπαγλος* used of Achilles at *Il*.21.589 and at 482 of Laomedon.

intends good or ill. His garments are two-fold, his local Magnesian dress and a leopard skin over his shoulders; the first aspect indicates his foreign air, the second is another Homeric touch (commentators compare Paris in *Il*.3.17 and Menelaus in 10.29).

Jason's hair is uncut. The scholia note that this was the custom for Greek youths, who cut their hair only when they attained manhood and dedicated it to the river god or gods who had nurtured them. Achilles is cited as an example[19]. This is an obvious explanation of Jason's unshorn locks, and Pindar clearly points to his youth in vv.104, 158. Others, such as Duchemin (p.120) refer to the phrase *κάρῃ κομόωντες 'Αχαιοί*, common in the *Iliad*, and point to Jason's Achaean descent. Since Pindar has made no explicit reference to Jason's Achaean background and the language he uses to describe Jason's hair is not evocative of the Homeric formula, a feasible possibility in view of the number of phrases in *Pythian 4* which are adapted from epic formulae (see pp.149 & 155 with App.II below), this seems an unlikely explanation for Pindar's treatment of Jason's hair. A further reason for portraying Jason with his hair unshorn is suggested by his general appearance. His long hair fits well with the rather awe-inspiring and stunning impression which he creates. The great curtain of lustrous hair falling down his back was an immediately striking part of his appearance as the remarks of the bystanders reveal (see below).

After his physical description Pindar finally reveals what is going on in the mind of the lone stranger: he is *γνώμας ἀταρβάκτοιο πειρώμενος* (v.84). This indicates in Pindaric terms that the stranger is a man of courage and action, for Pindar believed that a man's worth can only be

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[19] Cf. Σ v.145 (D.II p.119), *Il*.23.144 with scholia ad loc., and A.*Ch*.6 with Garvie.

proved by trial. Athletic sports provided an obvious means for this testing (see for example Pindar's comments at *O*.4.18, 2.51, 11.18), but Pindar extends the concept to other activities (for example at *N*.3.70ff.) as here. Thus Jason's first action is a testing of his courage and spirit by returning to a land where his rightful power has been usurped, unsure of his welcome, uncertain of what he will find. His worth will emerge in the subsequent encounter with Pelias as we see how he copes with the situation and with what ensues[20].

From direct description Pindar now turns to an indirect means of exposing Jason's character, using an Homeric device to show us his hero through someone else's eyes[21]. The crowd in the agora at Iolcos speculates on the identity of the unknown stranger. What is said suggests that Jason's appearance is that of a god, or at least some mighty figure, but the personages which come to mind seem to carry the ambiguity which *ἔκπαγλος* implied earlier.

The list of possible candidates for Jason's identity begins with Apollo, called to mind perhaps by Jason's physical beauty (*θαητοῖσι γυίοις* v.80, *κάλλιστον ἀνδρῶν* 123) and unshorn hair (vv.82-3 with which cf. the traditional description of Apollo as *ἀκερσεκόμης*, e.g. *Il*.20.39, *h.Ap*.134). A meeting with a god, however, is a fearsome prospect[22]. This fearsome aspect is shared by Ares, next on the list, evoked no doubt by Jason's warrior-like appearance. Ares' sphere is war. Pindar makes this plain by the adjective *χαλκάρματος* (v.87) despite the periphrasis *πόσις* 'Ἀφροδίτας

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[20] See Bowra's comments on *πεῖρα* in Pindar, pp.178ff..
[21] See p.144 below.
[22] Cf. the fear expressed by speakers in the *Odyssey* that a stranger may be a god, *Od*.6.168-9, 16.179, 17.481ff..

(vv.87-8). The suggestion of Ares raises the question, has Jason come to do battle.

Otus and Ephialtes might be suggested by Jason's physical mien, for Homer celebrated their handsomeness (*Od.*11.310). There is, however, a sinister side to the epic poet's account of them, at which the crowd hints by recalling their death (vv.88); they had threatened to climb to heaven and fight the gods, wherefore they were destroyed by Apollo (*Od.*11.311ff.). Jason's imposing appearance is presumably the reason for the naming of Tityus, a giant , but Tityus had attempted to rape Leto and was punished for this by Zeus (cf. *Od.*11.576ff.); his death is referred to also.

From this array of gods and giants of whom Jason reminds the crowd we can see that the effect of his physical appearance was not merely impressive, it also aroused fear in those who saw him[23]. This is confirmed by Pelias' reaction to the stranger; he notes only one thing about Jason's appearance, that he is *μονοκρήπις* (vv.95-6) and this causes Pelias to fear.

Our impression of Jason so far is now developed by what he says[24]. Despite his warlike appearance and the fact that he is answering the rude terms in which he has been addressed by Pelias, the stranger speaks *ἀγανοῖσι λόγοις* (v.101) and with dignified calm. We learn that he has been reared by the centaur Cheiron, is now twenty years old and has never behaved wrongly or said anything unseemly to those who brought him

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23 Cf. Theseus in B.18, another hero who is unknown to those who hear report of his amazing deeds as he makes for Athens. He inspires fear (vv.30, 46-60) as well as admiration (vv.18-30).

24 This is a method of character revelation very common in epic and a device which our poet uses successfully elsewhere (e.g. Pelops' speech in *O.1*, Polydeuces' prayer in *N.10*).

up[25]. Jason states this clearly and simply and continues to speak thus, but with his next few words (vv.105-8) the tension mounts. The stranger is no stranger at all, but one of the ruling family, the Aeolidae; in fact he is the dynastic heir who has returned home to reclaim his right to rule. Jason now reveals why this has come about, heightening the tension by his apparent ignorance of the identity of his interlocutor[26], and by the restraint with which he speaks of the terrible events of the past. At the very end of his speech Jason reveals his full identity: *φὴρ δέ με θεῖος Ἰάσονα κικλήσκων προσαύδα* (v.119).

At this climactic moment Pindar gives no word of Pelias' reaction to the answers to his questions. Attention is still totally focussed on Jason, whom we now see through his father's eyes as *ἐξαίρετον . . . κάλλιστον ἀνδρῶν* (vv.122-3) at the sight of whom his father weeps for joy[27]. The poet now adds to the obvious affection of father for son by his picture of Jason's relationship with other members of his family. Amythaon, Admetus and Melampus are described as *εὐμενέοντες ἀνεψιόν* (v.127), while Jason

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[25] Robbins (1975) pp.210ff. argues that we can deduce more from these words. He suggests that the mention of Jason's upbringing by the centaur and Cheiron's name for him, *Ἰάσων* ('healer'), indicate that Jason had learned the arts of healing. While it may be true that Pindar enjoyed playing with the meaning of names the evidence of Cheiron's teaching of healing comes from outside *P.4*, and his teaching is not limited to this alone (see *P.*6.21ff., *N.*3.57ff.). In addition, Pindar makes no explicit reference to it here where there is ample opportunity, particularly since Jason's first words claim that he will bear out the centaur's teaching. Nothing that Jason does subsequently indicates any skill in medicinal arts. Thus it seems unlikely that the poet wished the audience to make this inference.

[26] Jason is clearly unaware of Pelias' identity at this point since he refers to him only in the third person (vv.109-11). Stanford suggests, p.43, that Jason pretends he has not yet recognised Pelias. This seems unlikely. Such a pretence seems inconsistent with Jason's fearless nature (v.84) and his open manner (vv.102ff.).

[27] This is a motif very familiar from epic (cf. p.145 below). Odysseus' revelation of his identity to members of his family frequently causes such tearful reunions (cf. e.g. Penelope *Od.*23.205ff., Telemachus 16.213ff., Eurycleia 19.47ff., Laertes 24 .345ff.). Such tearful scenes of recognition and reunion also feature in tragedy (e.g. E.*IT.*827ff.). Cf. also Arist.*Po.*1452a29ff. for the importance of such scenes in the tragic plot.

welcomes them with epic hospitality: *μειλιχίοισι λόγοις. . . ξείνι' ἁρμόζοντα τεύχων πᾶσαν εὐφροσύναν τάνυεν* (vv.128-31)[28]. The provision of *ξείνια* is a favourite Pindaric topos in the odes, where it is delineated as a praiseworthy and desirable attribute[29]. Jason provides a mythical example of its demonstration, further enhancing our impression of his character[30].

When Jason confronts Pelias (vv.133ff.) Pindar is careful to stress his calm and restraint (*πραΰν* v.136, *μαλθακᾷ φωνᾷ* v.137) which are heightened by contrast with his sudden rush to Pelias when he had told his tale to his kinsmen (*αἶψα . . . ὦρτο . . . ἐσσύμενοι* vv.133-5). However, despite this concerted rush we know from the extent of Jason's hospitality towards his relatives (*πέντε νύκτεσσιν ἐν θ' ἁμέραις* v.130) that he has not hastened into confrontation with Pelias. Pindar's stress on Jason's quiet and restrained manner and the fact that his speech was a *κρηπῖδα σοφῶν ἐπέων* (v.138) implies that the action had only been taken after some deliberation.

Jason's words supplement our knowledge of his character. His whole speech, especially vv.141, 147-8, 154-5, urges restraint, a quality which he himself has already shown in his attitude towards Pelias. Pindar also increases our knowledge of Jason's feelings towards his family. We learn that he has a horror of family feuds (vv.145-6) and his entire appeal to Pelias is made on the grounds of their family relationship (vv.142ff.).

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28 See p.145 below for examples.

29 Cf. e.g. *O*.2.6, *N*.1.20ff., *I*.2.39ff., 6.70.

30 Pindar seems to enjoy such examples which afford parallels between past and present, between the myth and the occasion of the poem, between the hero of the myth and the victor. Cf. below in this ode; vv.239-41 the acclaim accorded to Jason is recorded with all the trappings of victory in the games, and v.253 where the Argonauts compete in athletic contests.

Jason shows himself to be a generous man in relinquishing the wealth that is his by rights, but this is not a sign of weakness. There is no trace in Pindar's portrayal of Jason of any fear of Pelias as motivation for such an action. Jason's courage and strength of character have already been established (vv.84, 105-8). In addition he makes this concession when he is in a position of strength, with his relatives and friends to support him (vv.124ff.). The concession shows, rather, how far Jason is prepared to go (to his own cost) to avoid family strife[31]. z

Jason accepts Pelias' challenge to fetch Phrixus' soul and the Golden Fleece from the halls of Aeetes without hesitation, a mark of his piety as well as of his courage and determination. He is prepared to face all kinds of hardships and dangers in order to restore peace to the family and appease the gods. As the Quest unravels Pindar further develops this picture of Jason as a man of decision and action.

Jason's first move is to send out messengers to announce the Quest. Heroes of superlative ability arrive thick and fast as Pindar catalogues them, revealing the kind of qualities we have seen in Jason and more. The heroic atmosphere created by the catalogue is further enhanced by the intervention of Hera to enkindle in the heroes a *παμπειθῆ γλυκύν* . . . *πόθον* . . . *ναὸς* 'Ἀργοῦς (vv.184-5) and a desire to go in search of glory and adventure, even at the risk of death (vv.185ff.). These are general statements, but they apply just as much to Jason as to the rest of the crew, particularly since he is the automatic and undisputed leader (*ἀρχός* v.194, *βασιλεύς, ὅστις ἄρχει ναός* vv.229-30).

The nature of the Quest itself, involving obedience to the command

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[31] Cf.Carey (1980.1) pp.146-7.

of the gods, adds to our picture of Jason as a pious hero. Hera's aid and interest in the heroes reinforces this picture and Pindar sustains it throughout the myth. Jason does not set sail until Mopsus, the seer, has discerned the omens, and, as the anchor is lifted, he himself makes a libation to Zeus, praying for good weather, good fortune on their trip and a safe return.

In addition, only two events on the voyage to Colchis are recorded, each of which reveals the god-fearing nature of the heroes and their leader. At the mouth of the Black Sea the heroes marked out a precinct to Poseidon and then he answered their prayers to escape the Clashing Rocks. The theme of the gods' aid to Jason continues in Colchis where Aphrodite invents the love-charm of the *ἴυγξ* and teaches Jason the skills with which to win over Medea.

Pindar's account of Jason's handling of the tasks of Aeetes continues to illuminate his character. Here he is overwhelmingly the man of the moment, flinging off his cloak and almost literally seizing the bull by the horns, with an enthusiasm and positive approach which surpasses anything we have seen before. It is noticeable that here also Jason shows none of the hesitation which usually qualifies a hero's response to such a task[32]. Pindar's need to economise may have been a deciding factor, but it seems more likely that he has omitted any hesitation in order to highlight Jason's courage and fearlessness.

The clue to Jason's success in the task lies in two things, the fact that he acts *θεῷ πίσυνος* (v.232), an editorial comment by the poet, and that Medea's aid is only procured with Aphrodite's help. Pindar records his

[32] Cf.n.48 p.78.

success with all the trappings of victory in an athletic contest. He describes Jason completing his task as *βιατὰς ἀνήρ* (v.236), a description of his physical prowess which is emphasised by Aeetes' amazement at Jason's *δύναμις* (v.238) and by the heroes' acclaim of him as *καρτερὸν ἄνδρα* (v.239). Jason is received by his companions with garlands and *μειλίχιοις λόγοις* (v.240). To win victory in the games is the highest achievement any athlete can attain; by casting Jason in the role of victor Pindar highlights his success and accords him the highest possible praise[33]. It is also a description which is significant in view of the occasion for which *Pythian 4* was composed.

After this climax the poet brings the myth to a close. Aeetes reveals where the Fleece is, and tells of the dragon guarding it, building up a picture of a monster which only superhuman effort will overcome. In a mere line Pindar tells us that Jason slew it. The last action where Jason is directly named is the stealing away of Medea who is described as *τὰν Πελιαοφόνον*, a significant indication that the Quest did not end with Pelias' compliance as he had promised earlier, but Jason himself does not take revenge. Pelias dies at Medea's hands.

At this point it is worth considering Pindar's characterisation of Jason in the light of what we know about the epic hero, a prototype available to the poet for the central hero of the myth of *Pythian 4*. We have seen that Pindar had described Jason using details reminiscent of the physical appearance of the epic hero: the two spears and the leopard skin about his shoulders, the long hair, the description of him as *ἔκπαγλος* (cf.

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[33] For similar instances in the odes see e.g. *I*.3/4.67(49)ff. for the victor's prowess, *I*.8.65ff. for acclaim by companions, *N*.5.50ff., *I*.5.62-3 for crowns to celebrate victory, *N*.3.6ff., 9.6ff, 48ff., *O*.1.100ff. for praise in words, usually song.

pp.64-5 above). Moreover in the portrayal of Jason Pindar uses methods and motifs familiar in epic, which further suggest a similarity between Jason and the epic hero. Jason's appearance occasions an Homeric-type crowd scene. Pelias' first words to Jason are based on the traditional Homeric greeting. Jason's reunion with his father resembles epic reunions and his response to the arrival of his relatives is typical epic hospitality[34]. However, this is where the similarity to epic ends. Jason's appearance may be reminiscent of the Homeric hero and may arouse reactions in others which are common in epic, but his two speeches reveal that his values are remarkably different from those of the epic hero.

The most important single value of the Homeric warrior was honour. Finley defines its importance thus: 'Every value, every judgement, every action, all skills and talents have the function of either defining honour or realizing it'[35]. The Homeric hero placed personal honour before all else. For this reason a hero was prepared to fight and to face death, not for reasons of social obligation or duty to his homeland or community[36]. He wished to be properly respected by his fellow men and to receive the appropriate acclaim for his prowess[37]. The hero constantly sought *κλέος ἐσθλόν* [38]. However the importance of individual honour also meant that the epic hero was very sensitive to any kind of slight because his honour was thereby diminished and his standing in the eyes of others lessened. Any insult was likely to receive a fierce response as the hero sought to defend his honour[39]. A second major

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[34] For comments on these epic features see pp.144-5ff. below.
[35] Finley (1978) p.113.
[36] Cf. the attitude of Achilles *Il.*9.410ff., Hector 22.105ff..
[37] Cf. e.g. *Il.*16.93ff..
[38] Cf. e.g. *Il.*5.3, 273, 17.16 etc..
[39] Cf. e.g.Meleager *Il.*9.553ff., Achilles 1.187ff. (ready to draw his sword at Agamemnon's declaration that he will remove Briseis), Oedipus in fr.3 of the *Thebais*, who felt so slighted by being served the dishonourable haunch that he prayed to Zeus for his sons to kill one another.

feature of the Homeric value system was the importance of possessions. Finley describes the heroes as possessing "an almost overpowering acquisitive instinct" (p.121) which is attested by many examples[40]. Wealth was a status symbol, the external indication of a man's value as well as being his livelihood. The prizes he had won, the possessions he had gathered were not materialistic in the modern sense. Heroes boast as much of what they have given away as of what they have received as gifts of friendship (cf. Finley pp.121ff.).

Honour and wealth were of prime importance in the eyes of the Homeric hero. These values, however, are considered in a very different light by the hero of the myth of *Pythian 4*. Carey was the first to highlight this difference (1980.1 p.46 and nn.) by contrasting the anger of Achilles in the *Iliad* or the wrath of Oedipus in the *Thebais*. This point can be developed further. Jason arrives in Iolcos the victim of great injury at the hands of Pelias, who has usurped his throne and all its accompanying wealth. However, not for him the implacable resentment of an Achilles; he comes to Iolcos with only one aim, to reclaim the throne which was his by right (vv.106-8). There is no suggestion that Pelias should be punished for usurping the throne, nor of suitable retribution for his act.

This reveals a marked contrast between Jason's attitude and that of the epic hero. Odysseus returns to Ithaca to find that the suitors are threatening to usurp his throne by the marriage of one of them to Penelope. His power has not yet been usurped, yet the punishment of the suitors is inexorable.

Also striking is Jason's restrained manner in dealing with Pelias.

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[40] Cf. e.g. Odysseus in *Od.*11.355ff., 9.39-42, 216ff., Achilles in *Il.*16.86.

The epic hero is quick to perceive any slight and respond to it. For example, at *Il.*12.331ff. Hector responds to Polydamas' advice (based on a portent of Zeus) as an insult to his authority. He threatens to kill Polydamas if he should withdraw or persuade others to follow his advice. When Jason responds to Pelias' insulting questions (vv.97-100) the poet says that he did so *ἀγανοῖσι λόγοις* (v.101).

In addition, what Jason says of Pelias continues to demonstrate his restraint. Jason describes Pelias' conduct for what it is. He states that Pelias holds the throne unlawfully (vv.107, 109) having seized it by force from Jason's parents, an act described as the *hybris* of an arrogant man. His words do not go beyond the bounds of truth, nor what is reasonable. We may contrast the manner in which Achilles speaks of Agamemnon at *Il.*9.372 *αἰὲν ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένος* and 377 *ἐκ γάρ εὑ φρένας εἵλετο μητίετα Ζεύς*. His anger leads him to exceed these limits.

As regards the question of restitution, let us consider Achilles. No amends are acceptable to him for the insult he received from Agamemnon, quite a minor insult in comparison to what Jason has suffered[41]. Agamemnon's generous offer of reparation, 'seven tripods that have never been on the fire and twelve prize-winning racehorses and twenty Trojan captives and seven cities and a few other odds and ends' (Finley's summary p.117 of *Il.*9.121-156) was refused by Achilles who declared that not even ten or twenty times the amount would be sufficient to win him over after the *θυμαλγέα λώβην* which he had received from Agamemnon (9.380ff.)[42].

[41] See Finley (1978) p.117.
[42] Achilles' refusal to accept Agamemnon's offer in fact goes beyond what is reasonable. As the deputation to him argues, this would amply make amends. Cf. *Il.*9.253ff. and especially Aias' speech 628ff. where he states that even in cases of murder amends can be made and are accepted by the victim's family.

Jason's attitude is completely different: there is no need for restitution or punishment. His aim is to settle the dispute as amicably as possible to prevent further strife in his family.

In fact Jason is prepared to go even further than this. Not only is Pelias not to be punished or to have to make retribution for his usurpation of Jason's throne and accompanying wealth, but Jason is also prepared to hand over to him all his flocks and herds (vv.148-50) and he even declares that it causes him no anger that Pelias benefits so much from them (v.151).

Such an offer would be extraordinary in epic, where we have noted the importance placed on wealth by the heroes. A hero depended too much on his land and herds for his ability to maintain a household and as a measure of his standing in the eyes of others[43]. One of the suitors' worst crimes in the *Odyssey* is that they are using up Odysseus' wealth by their constant feasting at his house (cf. *Od.*2.138-145). This is one of the reasons for Odysseus' brutal slaughter of them in *Odyssey 22*. Jason however is prepared to grant Pelias all his wealth as a concession to avoid family strife[44].

Events on the Quest for the Golden Fleece reveal a further contrast between Pindar's characterisation of Jason and the character of the traditional epic hero, despite the fact that Pindar gives Jason the central role, as in epic[45]. On arrival in Colchis the Argonauts do battle with the

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[43] See Finley (1978) pp.60ff., 95.

[44] It must also be noted that Jason's attitude is not the attitude to wealth which the poet demonstrates elsewhere in the odes. The poet clearly regarded wealth as desirable and once obtained it was to be carefully dispensed, not hoarded but used. Jason is ready, therefore, to sacrifice something on which Pindar placed great importance. Cf. *P.*1.46ff. where Pindar wishes health and prosperity for Hieron. At *P.*10.17-18 he prays that Hippocleas' wealth will flourish. Wealth, of course, provided opportunity (e.g. *O.*2.53ff.) and power (e.g. *P.*5.1ff.). It seems only inferior to victory in the games in Pindar's eyes; cf. *P.*8.92, 2.56, *I.*3.2. It must not be hoarded: *I.*6.67, *N.*1.31-2.

[45] But see my reservations pp134ff. below.

Colchians, but Jason, their leader, is not mentioned. An epic hero might well have had an individual role in the thick of the fighting[46]. After the successful ploughing Jason is silent where an epic hero might well boast of his victory[47]. It is possible that some or all of these omissions may be due to the limitations of Pindar's medium; epic has more space for the development of such scenes. It is also possible, however, that Pindar has passed over these standard epic responses because he did not want Jason to resemble the epic hero at anything more than the most superficial level. In view of the marked difference in ethical values which we have noted this latter possibility should not be excluded.

Our comparison with epic confirms what we have already noted in Pindar's treatment of Jason, viz. that his characterisation of the hero is dictated by his overall purposes in the ode. To this end he is prepared to break away from tradition as well as to manipulate scenes and events. The confrontation with Pelias, for example, where Jason is at the centre of the stage, is developed out of all proportion to the narrative of the rest of the myth. The battle with the Colchians which could have provided scope for a portrayal of Jason's martial abilities is mentioned in the briefest of references. The episode with Medea is twisted so that Jason and not Medea is the powerful wielder of magic. Jason's role on Lemnos has been completely suppressed.

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[46] Cf. e.g. Diomedes in *Il.*5.85ff., Teucer in 8.266ff.. In later epic Jason does feature in the midst of the fighting, cf. Val.Flacc.6.592ff.. At A.R.3.353 Jason is prepared to fight to aid Aeetes in subduing the Sauromatae. To account for such traces in late epic Vian and Délage (I p.xxxv) postulate the existence of some early epic version of the saga in which a battle in Colchis was recounted. If so Pindar has deliberately chosen to omit Jason's role. Cf. also Ch.1 n.69.

[47] Cf. the boasts of Hector over the fallen Patroclus, *Il.*16.828ff, of Achilles over Hector, 22.330ff. and Deiphobus over Hypsenor at *Il.*13.413ff..

The Jason who emerges as a result of this selectivity and dexterous handling of events has uniform traits of character. He is handsome, good generous, open, pious, brave. Nothing mars this picture. To some extent this may be the result of attempting to depict character within the narrow confines of lyric; there is simply no space for any complexity of character. Thus the image we receive of Jason is essentially two-dimensional/one-sided. Facets of character which deviate in any way from the straightforward picture do not appear. Pindar could have allowed Jason to show a little apprehension or fear on meeting Pelias (after all he was a sufficiently violent usurper to cause Jason's parents to fear for their son's life [vv.109ff.]), or hesitation when confronted with the Quest or the incredible tasks of Aeetes[48], or real difficulty in the execution of these tasks, but he does not.

This suppression of the complexities of Jason's character may, as has been suggested, have been dictated by the need for economy. However, it seems likely that a further motive lay behind the poet's simplified portrayal of the hero Jason. We have already noted the poet's careful stage-management of the circumstances and situations in which he places his hero. In addition his insertion of pointers and editorial comments ensures that the audience does not fail to notice important points in Jason's characterisation[49]. This subjective approach is

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[48] This would not have breached epic tradition. Epic heroes often hesitate in the face of a serious undertaking until encouraged by others. Cf. e.g. *Il.*7.92ff., *Od.*10.496, *Naupactia* fr.5, A.R. 3.422ff..

[49] Cf. e.g. vv.101ff., 138ff. where what Jason says reveals his gentle approach and calmness as well as his quiet wisdom. Pindar, however, adds pointers; in v.101 *ἀγανοῖσι λόγοις*,in vv.136-8 *πραΰν, μαλθακᾷ φωνᾷ. . . βάλλετο κρηπῖδα σοφῶν ἐπέων*. When Jason undertakes the tasks of Aeetes Pindar adds to his account of Jason's first actions the descriptive phrase *θεῷ πίσυνος* (v.232). This could well have been inferred from all Jason's previous actions on the Quest, where his piety is evident, but the poet feels obliged to bring it to our notice.

necessary for the poet's overall purpose in *Pythian 4*. Jason is an important mythic paradigm for the victor, Arcesilas. This consideration has dictated the poet's portrayal of the hero.

Jason's right to a divinely-established kingship, which he states in his first speech (vv.106ff.) affords an obvious parallel with Arcesilas, whose rule of Cyrene had come to him in direct line from Battus who had founded the city at the command of the Delphic oracle (cf. esp. vv.59ff.). Moreover, Arcesilas' right to rule had recently been threatened by stasis in Cyrene (cf. vv.271-2 and Σ *P.4* inscr. a, D.II p.92) which provides a further parallel with Jason, who returns to Iolcos to face the violent and lawless usurper of his throne. Jason, however, has only one intention: reconciliation. His approach is quiet, gentle and straightforward. He is not only conciliatory but generous to the one who had wronged him. His desire for reconciliation is so great that he is even prepared to go to the farthest end of the known world in order to restore harmony to his family. This quest presents the poet with a further opportunity to reveal Jason's character. His piety is paramount as is his fearlessness and desire to succeed. Pindar accords his success in one fearsome task all the trappings of athletic victory (vv.239-41), thus reiterating the parallel between Arcesilas and Jason.

It is against this background that we should evaluate the poet's rejection of the heroic prototype offered him by epic. Jason's role as a conciliator would not be served by the aggressive individualism of the Homeric hero who is so quick to perceive a slight and so violent in response to it. Jason's desire for peace and harmony might well be marred by possession of the martial qualities which are the epic hero's

hallmark. Jason's ability not only to forgive but to make generous concessions in order to restore peace in the family has little in common with the acquisitiveness of an Achilles or an Odysseus.

Pindar's portrayal of Jason has been influenced by his need to show Arcesilas the results of a conciliatory approach. For this reason he does not use the potential afforded by a lengthy myth to produce a complex and well-rounded picture of his hero. As in the other odes which we have considered he concentrates only on those traits of character which he wished to bring to his patron's notice. Nor does Pindar's treatment of Jason reveal any change in method. The same wide variety of means which he employs elsewhere in character delineation appear here and what we may term the 'subjective' element in his approach is still present. The picture of Jason which emerges from the lengthy myth of *Pythian 4* is precisely that which the poet intended to demonstrate to Arcesilas.

Pelias

Only two characters are treated in any detail in *Pythian 4*, Jason, the main protagonist of the action and Pelias the originator of it. The poet concentrates, however, on their juxtaposition in order to highlight the important differences between them and uses each to provide a foil for the other. Pindar uses largely the same methods to portray Pelias as he does Jason.

We first hear of Pelias in vv.71ff. where the poet narrates his reception of an oracle about a single-sandalled man and his own death. The sole indication of character here is the description *πυκινῷ θυμῷ* (v.73). *πυκινός*, when applied metaphorically to the mind, usually means 'shrewd'

or 'wise' (cf. *Il*.7.8, 14.294, E.*IA*.67, etc.). Pindar notes that Pelias was a man of shrewd intelligence, but says nothing of his reaction to the oracle. However the oracle is described as *κρυόεις* (v.73), which gives us a clue to his response. The first appearance of Pelias in person provides further support for such a response. He arrives in the agora at headlong speed, *προτροπάδαν . . . ἵκετο σπεύδων* (vv.94-5). When he sees Jason's one sandal his reaction is astonishment (*τάφεν* v.95) followed by fear (*δεῖμα* v.97) which he hides (*κλέπτων δὲ θυμῷ* v.96).

This action immediately highlights the contrast between Pelias and Jason which is apparent throughout their encounter. Pelias is afraid; Jason is fearless (*ἀταρβάκτοιο* v.84). Pelias hides his fear; Jason displays frankness and openness (cf. his narrative about himself and the reasons he has returned to Iolcos, vv.102-119). Pelias' first words add to our initial impression of his character: although they are based on the traditional epic greeting to a stranger, they are aggressive and insulting and even more so when we contrast them with Jason's restrained and polite reply[50].

Now Pindar turns to another means of character revelation. We learn more about Pelias from what Jason says of him. The first adjective he uses to describe him is *ἄθεμις* (v.109), easily justified by Pelias' actions in usurping the power of the rightful rulers of Iolcos (vv.106-110). In conjunction with *ἄθεμις* Jason also describes him as *λευκαῖς πιθήσαντα φρασίν* (v.109). This descriptive phrase is unique in the extant remains of

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[50] It has been argued, notably by Shorey and Duchemin, that Pelias' words are not insulting. Duchemin argues (p.123) that the words are aggressive (due to Pelias' fear) rather than insolent, but Shorey regards the tone of the passage as 'calm, dignified epic' (p.280), and says that Pelias gives Jason 'the ordinary epic greeting'. Both of these interpretations are well refuted by Carey (1980.1) n.39.

Greek literature, but it has a parallel in *Il*.9.119 *φρεσὶ λευγαλέῃσι πιθήσας* and *λευκαὶ φρένες* would seem to provide the opposite for the formula *φρένες μέλαιναι* well known in Homer[51].

It has been suggested that Pindar employed the phrase because he not only wished his audience to recall an isolated instance in Homer (*Il*.9.119) but also to contrast Pelias with Agamemnon in this specific context (Darcus pp.94, 101). This seems to me implausible. If this is what Pindar intended it is striking that he did not use the same words as the epic poet. Irwin is more correct in suggesting (p.150) that the audience may have been reminded of this context[52]. Certainly it seems very likely that Pindar chose the phrase in part because of its Homeric 'feel'. Homer had used the same participle of *πείθω* with *φρένες*, and the frequent occurrence of *φρένες μέλαιναι* suggest that this was an Homeric formula. *λευκαὶ φρένες* could thus be an adaptation of the formula which evoked the opposite idea, a phenomenon well attested elsewhere in *Pythian 4* [53], where Pindar embellishes the poem with a veneer of epic. The opposite, *φρένες μέλαιναι*, denotes the normal and healthy response of the *φρένες* to any kind of emotion (e.g. anger *Il*.1.103, grief 17.83, courage 499, boldness 573, rage *Od*.4.661, etc.)[54]. *λευκαὶ φρένες* then denote *φρένες* which do not respond to emotion. Pelias is thus a coldhearted and insensitive man. Such a meaning fits well with what we learn of him later.

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[51] Cf. *Il*.1.103, 17.83, 499, 573, *Od*.4.661 (a variant, *φρένες ἀμφιμέλαιναι*).
[52] This account largely follows the interpretation given by Irwin pp.148ff..
[53] In my analysis of epic language in *P.4* I note 41 adaptations of epic language, cf. pp. 154-55 with App. II below.
[54] Cf. Irwin p.150, Darcus p.96 & n.11.

After describing Pelias in this unusual manner Jason proceeds to illustrate his perceptions of the king by his deeds. We learn that Pelias is a man of violence and *hybris* (*ἀποσυλᾶσαι βιαίως* v.110, *ὑπερφιάλου ἀγεμόνος . . . ὕβριν* vv.111-2) who inspired such fear in Jason's parents that they sent him away under cover of night in fear for his life. At the end of this speech Pindar does not record Pelias' reaction to Jason's revelation of his identity, nor to his intention to reclaim the throne. Instead we continue to gather information about his character from what Jason says to him.

Jason's second speech (vv.138ff.) reinforces what we have learned of Pelias earlier. His first statement is a general gnomic utterance: *ἐντὶ μὲν θνατῶν φρένες ὠκύτεραι κέρδος αἰνῆσαι πρὸ δίκας δόλιον* (vv.139-40), but although it tells us about men in general it in fact describes the behaviour of Pelias, so that the final part of the statement, *τραχεῖαν ἑρπόντων πρὸς ἐπιβδαν ὅμως* (v.140), hints that Pelias will be punished if he persists in his lawless behaviour. Next Jason declares that both of them must now act in a reasonable and responsible manner (*θεμισσαμένους* [v.141] evokes the previous description of Pelias as *ἄθεμις* (v.109), but the term is applied to both men here) and suggests that Pelias actually knows what is right. He thus flatteringly implies that Pelias is a reasonable man with a sense of justice (which, of course, his earlier account of him completely belies). However Jason's next statement returns by implication to Pelias' crime in seizing the throne since he remarks on the horror of a feud between kinsmen (v.145, so serious an offence that the Fates themselves condemn it).

Jason continues this theme: neither he nor Pelias can settle a family dispute with swords and spears (vv.147-8). There is a subtle

implication here that this is how Pelias would normally do business, not a surprising thought for a man whose violent usurpation of the throne was sufficient to inspire fear of death in the rightful ruler's family. Instead Jason announces that he will relinquish all the flocks and herds and fields to Pelias, stressing the latter's greed, *πλοῦτον πιαίνων* (v.150)[55] and *τεὸν οἶκον ταῦτα πορσύνοντ' ἄγαν* (v.151), but he asks Pelias to relinquish the right to rule, adding *μή τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναστάῃ κακόν* (v.155). *κακόν* closes Jason's speech. It thus receives considerable emphasis. Pelias is the author of *κακόν* in Jason's eyes. Moreover in view of the stress which Pindar lays on Jason's restraint, gentleness and calm[56], the terms which Jason uses to describe Pelias are all the more striking by contrast.

Pelias' answer to this speech (vv.157-167) raises a problem of interpretation which is important for our understanding of Pindar's characterisation of Pelias. To some scholars Pelias' second speech seems to reveal a change of heart[57], while the majority are convinced that Pelias remains as Pindar has depicted him, and that what he says is therefore not to be trusted[58]. The problem is more complex than is usually admitted.

Those who believe that Pelias has undergone a genuine change of heart put forward two arguments. The first is this: there is no *direct* indication in either Pelias' speech or in the text surrounding it that he is lying[59]. He speaks in conciliatory tones as calmly as Jason (*ἀκᾷ* v.156, cf.

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[55] It is worth noting the connotations of *πιαίνω* here. It carries the idea of physical fattening (cf. Hp. *Epid*.7.68 *τὸ σῶμα*, Semon.7.6-7 [of the pig-woman]), the idea of wantonness (A.A.276, 1669) and of thriving at the expense of another (*P*.2.56, B.3.68).
[56] See Carey (1980.1) pp.146-7.
[57] See Sandgren pp.17ff., Wilamowitz (1922) p.389, Carey (1980.1) pp.149-50.
[58] See e.g. Duchemin p.130, Gildersleeve p.294, Burton p.159, Chapman-Graham pp.101, 134, Méautis p.240, Mezger p.216, H. & A.Thornton p.32.
[59] See Carey (1980.1) p.150.

πραΰν v.136) and agrees to give up the throne as Jason had asked (vv.156-7, 165-7 cf. vv.152-5). At the end of his speech Pindar tells us that Jason accepted this without demur (v.168). Nowhere does the poet actually say that Pelias is lying.

Against this, however, we may argue all the evidence of Pelias' character which Pindar has given us so far. The poet has not revealed one good quality or trait in Pelias, which might pave the way for a change of heart. If we judge Pelias' attitude to the royal power on what Pindar has told us of him, i.e. that his measures to seize the throne were such that he caused fear for the rightful heir's life it seems improbable that he will now relinquish the throne without resistance[60]. Two further indications seem to confirm this view.

First, there is a proviso attached to Pelias' release of the throne, that Jason must carry out a task which hangs over the whole family, the fetching of Phrixus' soul from the halls of Aeetes. Pelias may be very concerned to stress the urgency of the trip (ὡς τάχος v.164) and the fact that it has been sanctioned by the gods (vv.163ff.), but he is even quicker to excuse himself from going, so quick in fact that the very first thing we hear about the Quest is why Pelias cannot go, a reaction we can well appreciate from what we know of Pelias. Pelias' excuse for not executing the Quest, his old age (vv.157-8), is reasonable. However his reluctance to go enhances further the contrast between him and Jason. Secondly the supposition that Pelias speaks here out of a change of heart founders on

[60] It may be argued here that lyric, like epic, where events are not enacted before our eyes, may admit of improbabilities such as this where drama would not (cf. Arist.*Po*.1460a11ff.). However when Pelias agrees to hand over the throne our evidence for his character has been almost entirely grounded in his usurpation and violence which, in my opinion, is still too fresh in our minds to be overlooked.

what we learn of him later. Pindar notes only one thing, that he received death at the hands of Medea (v.250) at the end of the Quest. As Scherling points out[61], if Pelias genuinely recants and is willing to fulfil Jason's demand, when Jason returns having carried out his part of the bargain there can be no reason for Pelias' murder. Pindar declares otherwise. Pelias' part in the myth ends with his death brought about by Medea. Thus v.250 may reasonably be taken to indicate that Pelias was lying when he agreed to hand over the throne.

Carey (1980.1), p.149, tries to play down the importance of v.250 by describing the words *τὰν Πελιαοφόνον* as a 'casual addition to complete the story', i.e. to record the fulfilment of the oracle which began the myth. Pindar, however, is not a casual writer. If he really wanted his audience to believe that Pelias had had a change of heart he had no need to insert the fact of his death. We should note that he does not tell us that Jason recovered Phrixus' soul or obtained the Golden Fleece, the climax of the Quest and the fulfilment of the oracle's command at v.164.

The second argument which can be advanced to support the case for Pelias' *volte-face* is the nature of the Quest itself[62]. In earlier versions of the saga the Quest was presented negatively[63], but in *Pythian 4* Pindar reveals the task as attractive, not in itself, as it will be very dangerous (v.186) and no doubt gruelling at times, but as an opportunity for the heroes to find fame (vv.184ff.). The terms which the poet uses to describe the Argonauts' longing to go, *παμπειθῆ γλυκύν πόθον* (v.184), emphasise the desirability of the Quest[64].

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[61] *RE* 19.1 319 lines 4ff.
[62] See my remarks on the nature of the Quest pp.16ff. above.
[63] See Hes.*Th.*994 *στονοέντας ἀέθλους*, Mimn.fr.11.3 *χαλεπῆρες ἄεθλον*.
[64] *πόθος*, in particular, with its erotic connotations emphasises the need and the drive involved. The features which attract the Argonauts to the Quest, viz. the possibility it offers of leaving home and therefore the chance of winning fame and enjoying adventure reveal an

Since Pindar portrays the Quest thus there seem to be no grounds for doubting the truth of Pelias' account of his dream and the resulting oracle, because these enhance the nature of the Quest by giving it a religious significance. Jason's unquestioning acceptance of the challenge and Pindar's frequent inclusion of instances of the gods' favour as the Quest proceeds also lead one to believe that the Quest has a genuine religious purpose. On the basic desirability of the Quest both sides must agree. Differences only emerge when we consider Pelias' motivation in sending Jason on the Quest.

Was the dream about Phrixus' soul all that lay behind Pelias' suggestion of the Quest? Why, when the Quest is portrayed in such a good light, do scholars seem automatically to assume that Pelias' motives for sending Jason on the Quest are evil, that he is using the Quest to get rid of him?[65] The answer lies in the strength of Pindar's earlier portrayal of Pelias and in the account of the oracle to him concerning his death.

Pindar makes it very clear that the oracle about Pelias' death frightened him: *ἦλθε δέ οἱ κρυόεν πυκινῷ μάντευμα θυμῷ* (v.73) suggests that what the oracle decreed instilled fear in Pelias. The poet substantiates this by detailing the words of the oracle. A one-sandalled man is in some way connected with Pelias' death, which means that he will be constantly and fearfully on guard, but the oracle is uncomfortably vague about who the one-sandalled man might be, either one of the Aeolidae, a kinsman, or

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attitude which is shared by the athletes and heroes of Pindar's other odes. See e.g. Pelops in O.1.81ff., Cyrene in P.9.17ff., Ergoteles in O.12.13ff..

[65] See e.g. Burton p.159 'His design is the more sinister for the language in which he unfolds it'; Duchemin p.130 '*ce roi plein de ruse*'; Méautis p.240 '*Pélias envoie Jason en Colchide pour se débarrasser de lui; il croit, il éspère qu'il ne reviendra pas*'; H. & A.Thornton p.32 'Pelias is represented as scheming for Jason's death'; Mezger p.216 '*Der Mythus erzählte, wie der Thronraüber Pelias sich Jasons, des rechtmässigen Herrschers zu entledigen suchte, indem er ihn in die grössten Gefahren stüzte*'

someone sent by them whom he might not know. It could be one of the citizens of Iolcos, it might be a total stranger.

When Pelias first sees Jason, of whom we have already had a long description, Pindar indicates that Pelias only noticed one thing about him, the unmistakable detail of the single sandal (vv.95-6 *παπτάναις ἀρίγνωτον πέδιλον δεξιτερῷ μόνον ἀμφὶ ποδί*). Pelias' reaction is one of fear, which he hides (vv.96-7) but which leads him instantly to demand who the stranger is, and Jason's answer confirms his worst fears. Jason fulfils every condition which the oracle had set out for his death. Pelias is now in fear for his life, and particularly when he answers Jason's demand to give up the throne, since he is facing not only Jason but the Aeolidae *en masse* (vv.134ff.).

At this point Pelias introduces the need for a Quest in search of Phrixus' soul and the Golden Fleece. The immediate stimulus for this may well be his dream and the confirmatory oracle, but from what Pindar has told us of Pelias so far an obvious ulterior motive suggests itself: fear, a fear of the man who fulfils the oracle about his death, a fear which he hid when he first met Jason. For those who suspect Pelias of possessing such a motive at this point, the mention, later in the myth, of his death at the hands of Medea only serves to confirm their suspicions. Pelias may have spoken gently, in the manner of Jason, but he lacks Jason's openness and honesty. He conceals his fear of the one-sandalled man, but it is nevertheless there and Pindar shows it to have been justified. For those who credit Pelias with a change of heart and good motives in suggesting the Quest, the words *τὸν Πελιαοφόνον* will always be a stumbling block.

Pelias' part in the myth is small compared with that of Jason, thus Pindar's picture of him is considerably less developed. All we have on which to base our assessment of him is his entry and exit, two short speeches and what we hear about him from Jason. Pindar varies his means of revealing Pelias' character as he does in characterisation elsewhere. In addition to direct description (e.g. vv.73, 96) Pelias' own speech and actions indicate his character traits and the poet describes him through the eyes of another character, Jason.

Pindar also adds to his portrayal by making Pelias a foil to Jason, so that Jason's actions enhance our picture of Pelias. In as much as Jason appears consistently open, fearless, good, pious and heroic, Pelias appears in the opposite light; dissembling, fearful, lawless, violent and cunning. Thus the characterisation of Pelias appears typical of Pindar's approach. As he simplified Jason's character so he has done with that of Pelias, and he has selected events carefully and put words into Jason's mouth in order to present Pelias the way he does. However the fact that there is room for conflicting opinions of Pelias' character (i.e. whether he remains consistently bad or that he undergoes a change of heart before he speaks in vv.156ff.) indicates that Pindar has not made his conception of the character quite as clear as that of Jason.

The role of Pelias in *Pythian 4* is more difficult to define than that of Jason. His most obvious function is, as we have noted, to provide a foil for Jason, Pindar's hero in the myth. However, does he possess any relevance in his own right? The majority of scholars have long dismissed the equation Jason = Damophilus, Pelias = Arcesilas, despite the similarities in the two

sets of circumstances[66].Damophilus has been exiled and deprived of his rights by a tyrannical king, Jason's throne has been usurped and he too has been in exile. Arcesilas would scarcely have welcomed the comparison of himself with Pindar's anti-hero.

Instead scholars have suggested that Pindar's aim in the ode has been to present Arcesilas with a picture of the ideal king, Jason[67]. Pelias thus fades into the background as a foil for the poet's portrait of Jason[68]. Robbins has recently argued, however, that the value of Jason and Pelias as mythical *exempla* is equal (1975 pp.208ff.). Like the two examples offered to Hieron at the end of *Pythian 1*, Croesus and Phalaris (P.1.94ff.) the poet holds up the two figures at the centre of his ode for Arcesilas to view and reflect on. Carey has taken this argument one step further with his proposal that both Jason and Pelias are to be regarded as positive *exempla* by Arcesilas. The poet is offering his patron an extreme example in Pelias (of brutality) but the implication behind this is as follows: 'if a man like Pelias could be softened by the nobility and restraint of Jason, it is inevitable that a man like Arcesilas will deal mercifully with a man like Damophilus' (1980.1 p.151)[69].

I have suggested earlier that the poet's interest in portraying Jason is to present him as a positive example of behaviour for Arcesilas to follow. The contrast between Jason and Pelias will naturally imply that in some way Pelias presents a negative *exemplum*. However, Pindar does not halt his myth at the end of the confrontation between Jason and Pelias. The

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66 Cf. Robbins (1975) p.207, Carey (1980.1) p.149.
67 Cf. e.g. Lattimore pp.23-4, Burton p.168.
68 Although the mention of his fate in v.250, a point which the poet need not have made, might suggest that Pelias' role has some admonitory function.
69 For my arguments against Carey's interpretation of Pelias' character cf. pp.84ff. above.

myth continues almost a hundred lines further and Jason's central role occupies eighty or so of these lines. Thus when the poet has made the essential points which the confrontation demonstrates, he is content to discard Pelias and concentrates on Jason alone. For this reason I am disinclined to accept Robbins' interpretation and inclined to view Pelias' role in *Pythian 4* as primarily that of a foil for Jason, but no doubt Arcesilas might ponder the qualities which he demonstrates.

CHAPTER THREE

Structure and Narrative Technique in *Pythian 4*

I. STRUCTURE

Introduction

In order to build the different parts of a poem into a unified whole, the poet's most basic tool is the poem's structure. In an ode as lengthy as *Pythian 4* the poet has the task not only of assembling and uniting many disparate elements but also of ensuring that the audience grasps and retains the essential relationships between these over such a long span. It is in a large part due to the poet's careful structuring that we do not lose the thread of the ode's progress and at the poem's end are impressed with a sense of its unity and coherence.

Most scholars have viewed the basic structure of *Pythian 4* as tripartite, a proem (which includes myth), followed by the myth and then an epilogue containing a plea for the exile Damophilus[1]. Such a structure, proem, myth and final section usually containing praise of the victor, is one which Pindar favours often in the odes and which also occurs in Bacchylides' epinicians[2]. It is possible, therefore, that this roughly tripartite division was traditional in the epinician genre. Poets before Pindar had used it, most notably in the hymn form where invocation or

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[1] That Pindar inserts such a plea here is argued in Chapter 5, see especially pp.181ff..

[2] See e.g. Pindar *O.1,3,7,8,9,10,13, P.2,5,6,8, N.3,4,5,* Bacchylides *3,5,12*. The presence of myth in the proem also features elsewhere in the odes; e.g. *O.*2.22ff., 6.12ff., 9.29ff., 10.15ff., *N.*1.13ff., 3.22ff., 4.25ff., 5.9ff., etc.. See Carey's remarks (1980.2 143ff. esp. 161-2.

praise of a deity is followed by a myth about the deity and the hymn closed by a return to invocation or praise. It also occurs in personal poems where a myth or mythic exemplum is introduced into a description or discussion of the present[3].

Thus in *Pythian 4* Pindar's use of the tripartite division attests his deployment of a structuring technique which was already well-established in poetry and one common in his own works. Pindar's response to an exceptional brief, therefore, is to make use of a normal epinician structure, not to create a new one. In this, as in other respects in *Pythian 4*, the poet prefers to use or adapt familiar techniques to meet the demands of an exceptional situation[4].

There is , however, some discrepancy in scholars' division of verses for the three sections of the ode, which indicates that the parts are not quite as clear cut as would seem at first sight[5]. In fact Pindar's skill in structuring the poem is seen clearly at these very points, for we can appreciate the divisions but at the same time the three main parts overlap and interlock in such a way that separation of them is difficult. For this reason we should note that while it may be convenient to split the poem up into these three parts in order to describe its structure we must be careful that such a division does not lead us to think of the ode as made up of three separate blocks.

Proem vv.1-69

Pythian 4 commences with an invocation to the Muse to stand

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[3] For hymns see e.g. *h.Hom* 2, 6, 7, 15; Sapph. fr.1; ?Alc. frr.304, 308(b) (and later Hor.*C*.1.10&30). For personal poems see e.g. Sapph. fr.16, Alc. fr.38a.

[4] See n.2 above (*Vormythos*), pp.95ff. (concentric ring composition), p.101 (rhetorical questions to open a myth), pp.19 & 109-10 (catalogue form), p.120ff. (narrative technique) etc..

[5] See e.g. the views of Fehr p.82 and Burton p.150, who end the first section at v.67.

beside Arcesilas, who is described as *κωμάζοντι*, in order that she may increase the *οὖρον ὕμνων* which is owed to the children of Leto and to Pytho. This introduction contains elements traditional in Pindar's odes. He often invokes a deity at the beginning of an epinician, and in fact invokes the same one, the Muse, at *N*.3.1 and at *N*.9.1 (in the plural form)[6]. *κωμάζοντι* signals that Arcesilas is celebrating a victory[7]. In addition the fact that song is owed to the children of Leto and to Pytho indicates that Arcesilas' victory was won at the Pythian games[8]. Mention of Pytho leads Pindar to continue his first sentence into myth. Elsewhere in the odes we find that the place of victory can be used as a launching point for the myth (cf. e.g. *O*.1.24, 90ff., 3.9ff., *P*.11.15-17).

It was at Pytho, continues the poet, that an oracle named Battus as coloniser of Libya, and this oracle fulfilled in turn an earlier prophecy given by Medea on Thera. Here the first sentence ends. It has linked the victor Arcesilas with Battus and Medea and has taken the audience back in time to the remotest past. The connection between Arcesilas and Battus would have been well-known to the Cyrenean audience[9] and a mythic narrative of the victor's ancestor or of a hero associated with the victor's city (Battus is both) occurs frequently in the odes[10]. Thus the mention of

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[6] The 'Sing, Muse,' theme, of course, was part of poetic tradition long before Pindar used it. It is familiar to us from the Homeric epics (*Il*.1.1, 2.495, *Od*.1.1, etc.) and from lyric poetry (Simon.17 (West), Hippon.128, Stesich.210, 278, Ibyc.282.23 etc.).

[7] Pindar often uses this verb in the epinicians in connection with the celebration of victory, e.g. *O*.9.4, *N*.2.24, 9.1, *I*.3/4.8, 90b, 7.20.

[8] This is a variation on the *χρέος* motif. Usually the poet owes a debt of song to his victor (cf. e.g. *O*.3.7, 10.8, *P*.8.33, 9.104) but here the song is represented as owing to the place and patron god responsible for the victory.

[9] As the city's founder Battus' tomb was a landmark in Cyrene (cf. *P*.5.93 and Chamoux pp.285-7). Arcesilas was the 8th Battiad king, a direct descendant of Battus, a point to which Pindar refers in vv.64-5.

[10] Cf. the myth of Battus in *P.5*, of Iamus in *O.6*, of Tlepolemus in *O.7*, and the myths of the race of Aeacus in odes to Aeginetan victors, *O.8*, *N.3, 4, 5, 6*, *I.5, 8*.

Battus introduces an element which the audience might well have been expecting. Medea's connection with Arcesilas, however, is unexpected and slight. As far as we can see it is only the fact that her prophecy foretold the oracle to his ancestor about the colonisation of Cyrene, but nevertheless the connection has been made.

Vv.11-58 tell us more about Medea's prophecy. Her actual words are given in the form of direct speech and are framed by the description of those who heard them, the *ἡμίθεοι* who accompanied Jason (v.12). The name Jason signals that we are somewhere in Argonautic myth; Medea's words tell us exactly where.

Medea's speech is very carefully structured. It is an example of concentric ring composition. Ring composition is a structural device often employed by Pindar (e.g. *P.*10.31-46, 8.1-20) where the poet opens the ring with a statement on one subject, continues on to others or expands what he has just said, and returns to his first statement to close the ring. It is a useful device for the poet because it enables him to cover different *topoi*, to digress or to elaborate, but always provides him with a return to his starting point, thereby facilitating the maintenance of coherent thought. The closing of the ring also creates a sensation of rounding off, which the poet can use to end off a section of the ode, thus creating a sense of wholeness and completeness which enhances our impression of unity.

The concentric ring composition of Medea's prophecy is a more elaborate form of the device where the poet uses several rings which can best be described as concentric within the speech, with the midpoint being the furthest back in time and events retreating from or advancing to that

point[11]. This imparts to Medea's prophecy an impression of well-roundedness with the important points underlined by their repetition, but at the same time the variety employed in the iteration of statements does not lead to a sense of repetitiveness.

It will be useful to schematise Medea's speech thus:

[A 4-8 prophecy to Battus at Pytho]

Medea's speech = B . . C . . D . . C . . B

B 13-18	prophecy of colonisation of Cyrene
C 19-25	gift of clod
D 26-27	prehistory of encounter in Libya
C 28-43	gift (and fate) of clod
B 43-56	prophecy of colonisation of Cyrene

[A 59-63 prophecy to Battus at Pytho][12]

Let us examine how the speech is structured in a little more detail. Medea begins 'from this sea-girt land (which the audience later learns is Thera [v.20]) the daughter of Epaphus (Libya) shall have planted in her a

[11] Concentric ring composition is as old as Homer, e.g. *Il.*18.115ff., 24.601ff., and also appears in lyric before Pindar, e.g. Alc. fr.38a. Oehler pp.5ff. noted the careful structuring of the epic passages, and described it as '*Ringkomposition*' (a term formulated by Fränkel in *N.G.G.* 1924, reprinted in [1955] p.71 n.4), but ring composition was not described as concentric until Illig's work in 1932. In view of our Homeric examples Illig was not strictly correct in suggesting (p.59) that Pindar was the first to develop concentric ring composition, but it is quite clear that the examples we find in Pindar (especially those in *Pythian 4*) are far more elaborate and developed than anything we find before his work. His contemporary Bacchylides exhibits the same structuring device, cf. e.g. 10.40ff., 13.100ff..Cf. also Van Groningen pp.51ff..

[12] I have included ring A here because it forms an enclosing frame to the speech and cannot be separated from it thematically. For further discussion of this point see p.99 below.

root of cities cared for by men near the foundations of Zeus Ammon' (vv.14-15). This statement is expanded and elaborated upon right through her speech, how this will come about and why, until the closing statement winds up the ring by telling that the man who was begotten on Thera by the descendants of Euphemus to be 'lord of the dark-clouded plains' (vv.52-3: Battus) 'will lead many men in ships to the rich precinct of Zeus beside the Nile' (v.56). The description given of Cyrene by reference to the precinct of Zeus is echoed in the final statement but with a variation in terms: *Διὸς ἐν Ἄμμωνος θεμέθλοις* (v.16), *Νείλοιο πρὸς πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα* (v.56).

Medea's first statement is followed by two verses (17-18) on the change of a sea-faring to a land-faring people. The contrast between them is brought out very clearly in the second part of this ring (B vv.43-56). The Argonauts, notable sea-farers, had allowed the clod of earth to be washed into the sea as they travelled on their way (vv.38-41). Had this not happened, declares Medea, the fourth generation of Euphemus' descendants would have taken *εὐρεῖαν ἄπειρον* (v.48) straight from Lacedaemon. Here Pindar makes use of a noun which means the exact opposite of 'sea'. Instead, somewhere on the Argonauts' journey Euphemus will found a race who will also fare by sea to Thera to beget a man to be lord of the plains (*πεδίων* v.52) but who will only reach the *πῖον τέμενος* in ships (v.56). The poet's choice of words here seems deliberate in order to contrast the two ideas of sea-faring and living on the land, a contrast which re-echoes the one made earlier in ring B.

The second ring in Medea's prophecy (C in the diagram) explains why Thera will be the starting point for the colonisation of Libya. This is because of *κεῖνος ὄρνις* (v.19). Medea goes on to explain what this was and

who obtained it and then (C 28-43) enlarges on her earlier brief statement of why Thera will be the launching point. The clod was washed overboard and landed on Thera (τᾷδ' . . . νάσῳ v.42) before its time, before Euphemus could take it back to Taenarum. This symbolised that the colonisation would have to take place from Thera.

This central part of the speech (CDC) elaborating on κεῖνος ὄρνις is formed into a ring (C) around a central point (D), how the Argonauts dragged the Argo from Ocean (ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ v.26) overland for twelve days on Medea's advice. This is the point furthest back in time of which Medea speaks. Around it Pindar narrates the tale of Euphemus' meeting with the δαίμων. The second account of this tale is an expansion of the first, both in terms of length (ten verses compared with six) and in terms of detail[13].

The location given in the first account, the Tritonian Lake (v.20) is now placed in the wider context of the Argonauts' journey by the account of dragging the Argo overland (vv.25-6). Further details of the 'god in the likeness of a man' (v.21) are given. He is described as οἰοπόλος δαίμων . . . φαιδίμαν ἀνδρὸς αἰδοίου πρόσοψιν θηκάμενος (vv.28-9) and he himself reveals his identity (vv.33-4). His welcome and friendship towards Euphemus and the Argonauts (shown briefly in the first account by ξείνια v.22) is also developed in vv.29-31 where Pindar notes his friendly words and in vv.34-5 where, recognising the Argonauts' haste to depart he immediately seizes the nearest thing to hand (εὐθὺς ἁρπάξαις v.34) and endeavours to give it to Euphemus (μάστευσε δοῦναι v.35 instead of the simple verb).

The details of how Euphemus received the clod are also augmented

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[13] This is usual in ring-form narrative, cf. e.g. *O.*3.13-16 & 25-34, *N.*10.55-9 & 76-90, where in each case the second account in the ring is considerably fuller than the first.

by the description of him pressing his hand in the stranger's. The gift itself, merely referred to as *γαῖαν* earlier (v.21) is elaborated on. It was chosen as a gift because it was what lay to hand, *ἀρούρας . . . προτυχόν* (vv.34-5), but in v.37 we are reminded that it has a special significance since it is described as *βώλακα δαιμονίαν* (cf. *κεῖνος ὄρνις* v.19)[14]. If every point in the second half of Medea's speech merely expanded what she had said earlier the result could be repetitive or monotonous. Pindar however has not not allowed this to happen. The earlier version of Euphemus' meeting with Eurypylus is distinguished by the favourable thunder of Zeus in v.23, a point which is not reiterated in the second account.

After Medea's speech Pindar comments on the reactions of her audience (vv.57-8). He has already prefaced her words with a reference to those to whom she speaks (vv.11-12) and thus creates an enclosing frame around the prophecy.

Apostrophe to Battus follows (vv.59ff.). This is thematically connected to the most significant part of Medea's speech, the colonisation of Cyrene. Mention of Battus enables Pindar to effect a smooth return from the distant Argonautic past to the present victory by elaborating on the 'lord of the dark-clouded plains' whom a Pythian oracle will mention as coloniser of Libya, which was the last point in Medea's speech. In addition, these verses close the structural ring A which opened at v.4, thereby securely setting Medea's speech into the framework of the proem by enclosing it within this structural ring and frame.

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[14]The clod also had a symbolic value; in handing it over to the Argonauts Eurypylus was handing over to them the rights to that land. The use of a clod of earth to symbolise transmission of rights occurs often in Greek and Latin literature. For a discussion of specific instances see Strosetzki pp.1-13.

Pindar uses the apostrophe to reiterate the link which he made at the beginning of the poem between Battus and Medea: it was in accordance with her words (vv.9 and 59) that he received the oracle proclaiming him *πεπρωμένον βασιλέ' . . . Κυράνᾳ* (vv 61-2). This title, which Pindar uses of Battus for the first time here, facilitates an easy transition from Battus to the present King of Cyrene, Arcesilas, who is addressed thus in v.2. The poet clarifies the link by telling us that Arcesilas was eighth in line of Battus' descendants (v.65) and enhances the connection by his descriptions of both. As Battus was *μάκαρ* (v.59) Arcesilas also (*ἦ μάλα δὴ μετὰ καὶ νῦν* v.64) flourishes as a plant does in the height of spring (*ὥτε φοινικανθέμου ἦρος ἀκμᾳ, . . . θάλλει Ἀρκεσίλας* vv.64-5).

Pindar now moves from Arcesilas' good fortune in general to the particular present instance: Apollo and Pytho have granted him victory in the chariot race (vv.66-7). Mention of Arcesilas' victory by reference to the deities who granted it brings us full circle in another structural ring, which was begun with the poet's command to the Muse in v.1, to swell the *οὖρον ὕμνων* owed to the children of Leto and to Pytho. Now the poet amplifies the earlier reference to victory by telling us in what event it was won. Pindar states the event in every ode except *Olympian 14*, and it is his usual practice to note the event early in the ode when he first names the victor[15]. Thus we may suggest that the audience for *Pythian 4* has been subconsciously awaiting this item, which creates a feeling of rounding off here[16]. Pindar

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[15] E.g. *O*.2.6-7, 3.3-4, 4.10-12, *P*.1.32, 2.4-6, *N*.1.7, 2.14-15, 3.15-17, *I*.1.14, 2.13-14, 3.9-13.
[16] Pindar hints at the event Arcesilas has won in the epithet *εὐίππου* (v.2), but does not clarify this until vv.66-7. Hamilton notes (p.15 & n.15, p.22) ten other places in the odes where Pindar separates announcement of the event of victory (E) from the naming of the victor (V): *O*.1.V11, E18; 6.V9, E25; *P*.6.V6, E17; 7.E4, V17; 8.V5, E35; 11.V13, E50; *I*.4.V2, E44; 6.V7, E60; 8.V1, E66 (Hamilton also includes *P*.12 but both victor and event occur in vv.5ff.). Pindar is also able to play on his audience's expectations by delaying announcement of the victor; e.g. in *P*.3 we

also returns to the Muse with whom he began, in saying that he will give Arcesilas to the Muses (vv.67-8; earlier, in vv.1-3, the Muse was commanded to stand by Arcesilas), but he adds a rider, he will also give to the Muses *τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριοῦ.* He explains this statement by saying that it was on that Quest of the Minyae that honours given by the gods were first engendered for Arcesilas' race (vv.68-9).

Here the first main section of the poem ends. Two things indicate this. First, the closing of the rings begun in the opening verses, which we have already discussed. Secondly, what follows is so clearly a new beginning. Pindar introduces his narrative of the myth of the Golden Fleece very formally. Instead of the casual transitions to the myth which he so often effects, such as a relative clause linking myth and victor or place or occasion, however tenuously (e.g. *O*.8.30ff. *Αἰακοῦ· τόν* . . ., *P*.9.4ff. *Κυράνας· τάν* . . .) or the introduction of a *gnomé* which the myth then illustrates (e.g. *N*.8.21ff, *I*.6.24ff.) the poet chooses a formal method of opening his myth[17], announcement of a theme followed by rhetorical questions about this theme[18].

have to wait until after the myth, until vv.69ff., for mention of Hieron; and by delay of statement of where the victory was won (also usually found early in the ode, e.g. *O*.1.7, *P*.6.3ff., *N*.1.7, *I*.1.9; etc.). Thus in *N*.7 the victor and victory are announced in vv.7-8, but we do not learn of the victory's location until v.80.

[17] See Lattimore p.19.

[18] It is also an extension of a technique which we find elsewhere in the odes. In *O.2* the questions in vv.1ff. serve to introduce the poem by announcing the place of victory and the god to whom the honour is due. At *I*.5.28ff. Pindar announces a theme, the celebration of heroes in their homeland, and then inserts queries as if to introduce the praise of Aeginetan heroes, but no real narrative in the form of a myth develops. At *O*.13.18ff. after a gnomic statement leading from the sons of Aletes to the mythical past Pindar poses three questions the answers to which could well form a substantial mythic narrative. The answer to the second question, who invented the bridle, is provided by the myth of Bellerophon and Pegasus, but it must be noted that forty verses separate the question and the recital of the myth. At *O*.10.60ff. the rhetorical questions introduce a mythic victory list of the victors at the first ever Olympic Games. This instance seems closest to what we find in *P.4*, although in *O.10* the poet is already well into his myth when he puts the questions.

At vv.70-71 Pindar poses two epic questions in the style of that which opens the *Iliad*[19]. The lengthy myth of the Argonauts follows immediately afterwards. Such a beginning for a myth could scarcely be more clear-cut when the subject has been announced. Thus by the closing of structural rings and a conscious new opening Pindar clearly marks the end of the proem and the beginning of the myth.

The marked end of the first section, however, has led scholars such as Lattimore, Burton and Fehr to suggest that vv.1-69 could comprise a complete victory ode in themselves[20]. This suggestion has its basis in the length of the proem, three triads, which would be adequate for an ode, and the fact that this section of *Pythian 4* contains the elements traditionally found in an epinician, viz. introduction concerning the victor, a myth, and praise of the victor at the end. However, a closer examination of these elements shows that the proem to *Pythian 4* contains a lengthy myth (60 verses), only 3 verses of introduction (1-3) and a mere 6 verses (64-69) of praise of the *laudandus*. There is no parallel in the odes for such brief praise after such a lengthy myth[21].

Lattimore appears to feel that something is lacking if the proem is to be a complete ode since he points to a need for 'some alteration in the

[19] *Il.*1.8 *τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;* see p.143 below.
[20] See Lattimore p.19, Burton p.150, Fehr pp.80 & 83.
[21] The nearest parallel we might adduce would be *O.3* where the opening announcement occupies 13 verses, a myth of 24 verses follows (14-38) after which the poet returns to the present occasion in a very short final section, 8 verses (38b-45). Comparison may be made with the proem of *P.4* in length (3 triads) and in the short final section (6 verses in *P.4* [64-69] and 8 in *O.3*). But the longer opening of *O.3* compensates for this brief final section whereas the 3 verses of introduction to *P.4* and the 6 at the end of the proem are without precedent in their brevity in dealing with the occasion and person in whose honour Pindar composed the ode.

final epode 63-69'. He does not say what form this might take[22]. Burton, in fact concludes that 'it is more correct to regard it [sc. the proem] as an introduction to the main story of the Golden Fleece'. However, the sense of incompleteness in the proem which leads him to this conclusion lies not in the inadequate praise of Arcesilas but in a lack of explanation of the myth. He states first (p.150) that the basis for the founding of Cyrene, an incident on the return journey of the Argonauts, justifies an account of the whole adventure so that the audience may learn how they arrived at the scene of Medea's prophecy. The poet, however, is under no obligation to narrate any further details of the saga since he has already made abundantly clear the connection between the portion which he selects and the victor.

Burton's second reason for supposing that the first section of the ode is more correctly regarded as an introduction is that it contains 'hints of a fuller narrative' in the 'passing references to names and places connected with a celebrated saga', which would arouse the audience's curiosity to know more. This is not necessarily true. Pindar often mentions a whole host of exciting-sounding names and places connected with celebrated sagas without feeling obliged to give any further narrative or details of them, for example *I*.5.30ff., 7.1ff., *N*.10.4ff., etc..

Chapman Graham sets out to demonstrate (pp.88ff.) that there is a sense of incompleteness in vv.1-69 which prevents them from being considered as a complete epinician or even a 'poem within a poem'. Although some of the details which she adduces are of doubtful value[23], it is quite true that vv.1-

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[22] We may conjecture perhaps that he meant removal of the poet's announcement that he will give Arcesilas and the Golden Fleece to the Muses, but cf. my reservations pp.104-5 below.

[23] Chapman Graham states, for example, (p.91) that Arcesilas' victory is the consequence of Cyrene's equestrian skill and that this skill resulted from the token of the clod which promised colonisation to his ancestor Euphemus. To back this statement she adds details

69 contain only the barest minimum about Arcesilas. Beyond announcement of his victory there is not a single additional verse devoted to his achievements or position. No other victory ode, however short, contains as little praise as this.

However, Chapman Graham's second reason for being unable to regard the proem as a complete ode, the need for amplification of the Quest of the Golden Fleece since Pindar introduces this new topic at v.68, is less important. Pindar has not said anything specific about the Golden Fleece in the *Vormythos*, but the names of Medea (v.9) and Jason (v.12) would have clearly signalled Argonautic myth to the audience and the episode which Pindar narrates indicates the connection between Arcesilas and the Argonauts' Quest for the Fleece[24]. The myth in the proem is complete in itself. When Pindar draws it to a close in v.67 his audience could be forgiven for believing that he was about to close the ode

about Euphemus, 'the *prōreus* of the Argo, a ship described in equine imagery, and the son of Poseidon, master of horses'. She appears to be suggesting that Euphemus has been deliberately depicted by Pindar as a horseman, but she herself does not make this clear and it seems to me that she has to give these details a greater significance than they possess in order to make her case. Pindar tells us that Euphemus 'leapt down from the prow', not that he was *prōreus*. In addition the *prōreus* was not necessarily in control of the ship, i.e. the man who would be the ship's 'rider' in Chapman Graham's terms. This would be a more appropriate term for the helmsman or *κυβερνήτης*, who controls the direction of the ship. The 'equine imagery' applied to Argo amounts to the use of one word, *χαλινός*, which Pindar uses elsewhere to indicate a restraint (*I.*8.45 *χαλινόν . . . παρθενίας*) as do writers such as Aeschylus without any overt 'equine' connotations. The third detail, Poseidon's title of *ἵππαρχος* (v.45), also lacks force because of its context, twenty lines removed from the other details, where Poseidon is described traditionally as *Γαιάοχος* and *Ἐννοσίδας* (v.33). Might the title *ἵππαρχος* not have been chosen merely to provide variety? Had the poet used the three details in close conjunction it might be easier to accept Chapman Graham's interpretation of them, but as it is their value is doubtful.

[24] It is also worth noting that although Pindar promises us the Golden Fleece in v.68 what we actually get is Jason's encounter with Pelias. The fleece only briefly reappears almost a hundred lines later (v.161) as one of the reasons for Jason's journey to Colchis and when the appropriate moment comes Pindar does not in fact narrate the winning of the Fleece; instead he implies its capture by describing Jason's slaying of the dragon guarding it (v.249).

with a further triad of praise of Arcesilas. The fact that Pindar does not, but instead launches into another lengthier myth, has important implications for our view of his utilisation of structure.

What Pindar is doing in announcing and narrating this extensive myth when our expectation is of final praise of the victor is pointing out the grand scale of *Pythian 4*. The poet is employing his structure to indicate that *Pythian 4* is so lavish that it goes way beyond the bounds of any ordinary ode. An ode which only needed a further triad of praise to be complete is merely the preamble to something infinitely grander.

The myth vv.70-262

Introduction

The mythic narrative of *Pythian 4* is by far the longest of any in Pindar's odes, stretching over one hundred and ninety-two verses, nearly eight triads. In the next two sections we shall examine how Pindar structures this part of the poem in order not to lose the thread of what he is saying and to relate the myth firmly to what precedes and follows it. For the purposes of discussing the structure of the myth I have divided it into two roughly equal sections. Vv.70-168 narrate the encounter with Pelias and vv.169-262 the Quest itself. However, though useful for practical purposes, this is an artificial division since events in both halves are part of a continuum.

(i) *The encounter with Pelias*

At the end of the introductory section Pindar clearly announces his intention of joining to his praise of Arcesilas the myth of the Golden Fleece. This provides an easy transition to the myth proper since we have

already seen that there is a link between the Argonauts' return journey and the founding of Cyrene (vv.5ff.), but as yet there has been no mention of the reason for the Argonauts' journeying, the Golden Fleece itself. The poet uses this announcement to turn to that part of the Argonautic saga which concerns the getting of the Fleece.

Pindar begins by asking what was the start of their sea-faring and what danger was involved (vv.70-71). His immediate answer to these questions does not come as a surprise from what we have already seen of Argonautic myth in the ode. It was an oracle which set in motion the events of the Quest. The oracle is recounted. It was given to Pelias and warned him of his death which was to come in some way from the Aeolidae. He must always be on his guard against the man with the one sandal who will come to Iolcos (vv.71-8). The poet moves immediately to the oracle's fulfilment, the arrival in Iolcos of the one-sandalled man, Jason (v.78).

The poet now describes Jason both directly and through the eyes of the crowd (vv.79-94), ending with Pelias' arrival in the agora and instant perception of the one sandal (vv.94-6), which causes him alarm (vv.96-7). At this tense moment the poet inserts the dramatic device of direct speech, emphasising how Pelias bursts out his questions, demanding of the stranger where he is from and who he is (vv.97-100). This, of course, is what he needs to know if he is to determine whether the one-sandalled man fulfils the oracle about his death.

Jason's answer (vv.101-119) leads us inexorably towards the conclusion that he is the man of whom the oracle spoke. Thus for the remainder of the encounter between Jason and Pelias the poet creates

tension and arouses our expectations to see whether Jason will fulfil the oracle's warning of death. This tension is relaxed when Jason sets off on the Quest. The emphasis placed on Jason and his inheritance shifts to the winning of the Golden Fleece. By sleight of hand Pindar transfers our attention from Pelias in Iolcos to Jason as he performs his Quest. We should note, however, that this is not the last we hear of Pelias. Pindar returns to his fate at the very end of his myth (v.250 *τάν Πελιαόφονον*), using it as a means to close the myth by returning to its starting point.

After the first dialogue between Jason and Pelias Pindar inserts a recognition scene between Jason and his father (vv.120-123) and a gathering of his family (vv.124-133) which culminates in a second confrontation with Pelias (vv.134-169). The ground was prepared for the recognition scene by Jason's request to the crowd to be shown the house of his father (v.117) and the reference to his parents in his first speech (vv.106-115).

In the second confrontation with Pelias Jason speaks first, thus making the arrangement of the speeches chiastic, as Sandgren notes (p.16). It is also worth noting that roles are reversed in this dialogue. It is Jason who rushes in (*ἐσσύμενοι* v.135) and challenges Pelias with his words, Pelias who is the static figure in his halls, whereas in the first dialogue it was Pelias who rushed on to the scene (*προτραπάδαν . . . ἵκετο σπεύδων* vv.94-5) to challenge Jason.

The careful structuring of this part of the ode has led Chapman Graham to suggest that the encounter with Pelias is structured in ring composition which she demonstrates thus (p.141):

A Delphic oracle (vv.70-78) and the arrival of the man who will fulfil it (vv.78-94)

B Pelias' appearance and speech (vv.94-100)

C Jason's speech (vv.101-120)

D Confirmation of Jason's identity by his relatives (vv.121-134)

C Jason's speech (vv.136-156)

B Pelias' speech (vv.156-168) which includes

A Description of the Delphic oracle (vv.163-4).

Her schema shows how the poet has placed an enclosing frame, the Delphic oracle, around the chiastically-arranged speeches of Jason and Pelias. However, her use of the term 'ring-composition' to describe the structure of this part of the ode is not strictly appropriate in the light of Pindar's normal use of the device. Pindar's ring composition is usually very carefully and tightly structured around statements or *topoi* which correspond closely to one another (cf. the discussion of Medea's speech above pp.96ff.). If vv.70-168 revealed ring composition as Pindar normally uses it we would expect there to be a much closer correspondence between the two halves of each ring than that which we find to be the case. A refers to Delphic oracles on different subjects, B to two speeches entirely different in tone and content, and C to speeches on the same theme, but treated from widely different angles.

Furthermore there is a total absence of that close correspondence between opening and closing statements which characterises the poet's use of ring composition in the odes. At *P.*12.6ff. for example, *τάν ποτε Παλλὰς ἐφεῦρε θρασειᾶν* <*Γοργόνων*> *οὔλιον θρῆνον διαπλέξαισ' Ἀθάνα* (vv.6-8) opens the ring and *ὄφρα τὸν Εὐρυάλας ἐκ καρπαλιμᾶν γενύων χριμφθέντα σὺν*

ἔντεσι μιμήσαισ' ἐρικλάγταν γόον. εὗρεν θεός (vv.20-22) closes it. The second statement reveals an obvious return to what Pindar has said earlier.Such closely related statements are not found in this section of *Pythian 4*.

Pindar may not have used ring composition at this point, but this part of the poem is certainly skilfully structured. Around the careful arrangement of the speeches the poet places an enclosing frame, the Delphic oracle, which enables him neatly to close this section of the narrative before moving on to the Quest proper.

(ii) *The Quest*

Despite the fact that the myth appears to fall into two halves structurally we must note that the second half, the actual Quest, arises directly out of the first. Pelias' second speech to Jason provides the impetus for the subsequent narrative of the Argonauts' voyage and Quest. After Pelias' suggestion that Jason is the man to bring home Phrixus' soul and the Golden Fleece (vv.158ff.), a command enjoined by the Delphic oracle (v.163), the action narrows its focus. Right through the second half of the myth Jason is at the centre of the stage and the action moves with him until Pindar breaks off the myth and returns to the present.

The narrative of the Quest begins with Jason's preparations. After telling us how Jason sent out heralds to announce the Quest (vv.169-171) Pindar moves to the response. He recounts in the form of a catalogue the arrival of heroes from all over Greece (vv.171-187)[25]. This traditional device enables the poet to give the impression of describing the heroes individually and at the same time creates the picture of a large group

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[25] For a detailed discussion of the structure of the catalogue of heroes see my comments on narrative technique pp.126ff.

gathering together. Pindar follows the catalogue with further comments on preparations for the voyage to round off this part of the narrative. He returns to Jason who numbered and praised the heroes (vv.188-189) and introduces Mopsus who gives the signal to embark (vv.189-191). The preparations are over. The voyage begins.

Pindar structures the outward journey to Colchis in three scenes of the Argonauts' piety[26]. The voyage commences with a picture of Jason standing in the Argo's prow, praying to Zeus who answers his prayers for a safe return with propitious thunder and lightning (vv.191-8). Note here how Pindar carefully frames his all-important picture of Jason's piety with the approval of the seer (vv.189-91 & 200-201).

In an instant, transported on the south wind (v.203), we arrive at the mouth of the Euxine, where Pindar constructs a second scene of the Argonauts' piety; they lay out a precinct to Poseidon (vv.204-6). Poseidon provides the link with the next cameo, the demigods' passage through the Clashing Rocks, as they pray to him for escape, a request which was granted (vv.207-11). Suddenly we are at Phasis (v.211). The outward journey, which it takes Apollonius Rhodius over two thousand lines to narrate, has been described in a few verses by three scenes of the Argonauts' piety.

Events in Colchis are chosen so that the whole episode complements and contrasts with the earlier events in Iolcos, with the voyage placed neatly between the two. Events in Iolcos featured Jason the speaker, events here Jason the man of action. In the two sets of events we see Jason matched against a different opponent.

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[26]The use of scenes to form the main structure in a mythic narrative is further discussed on pp.120ff..

A brief cameo of fighting between the Argonauts and the Colchians begins this section (vv.212-13 ἔνθα κελαινώπεσσι Κόλχοισιν βίαν μεῖξαν Αἰήτᾳ παρ' αὐτῷ [27]. The thought of fighting leads Pindar into his next scene, Aphrodite's aid to Jason which enables him to win Medea, by way of a linguistic connection, the description of Aphrodite as πότνια δ' ὀξυτάτων βελέων (v.213)[28]. This episode culminates in Jason's betrothal to Medea (vv.222-3). Straightway we find ourselves spectators as Aeetes yokes the fire-breathing bulls and ploughs with them (vv.224-9). The way was prepared by the Colchians' hostility towards the Argonauts, revealed in the battle scene, and by v.220 where Pindar reveals the success of Jason's magic in winning over Medea: καὶ τάχα πείρατ' ἀέθλων δείκνυεν πατρωΐων. Medea is the pivot between Jason and the tasks of Aeetes.

The confrontation between Jason and Aeetes is carefully structured. Between the two accounts of the ploughing (by Aeetes first [vv.224-9] and then by Jason [vv.232-8]) Pindar inserts Aeetes' two-fold challenge, calling upon Jason not only to plough with the bulls but also to obtain the Golden Fleece once he has achieved the first task (vv.229-231). Thus Pindar neatly breaks up the ploughing scene and Jason's task is expanded by the challenge, as it is only half achieved once he has ploughed. This helps the poet to avoid any sense of repetition in two accounts of the same act so close together; Jason's ploughing is only part of the larger task which he must complete. Pindar also avoids repetition by emphasising the ease with which Aeetes ploughs in comparison with Jason's difficulty. When Jason has ploughed successfully Aeetes speaks

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27 For the meaning of βίαν μεῖξαν cf. App.I, pp.277-79.
28 See Kirkwood (1982) p.192.

again, enlarging on the second part of his challenge (vv.241-2), and Pindar continues the theme of the difficulty of obtaining the Golden Fleece (vv.243-6).

At this point of suspense Pindar breaks off his myth in terms familiar to us from elsewhere in the odes[29]. This intrusion of the poet, working in the present, into the myth paves the way for his apostrophe to Arcesilas in v.250 which heralds a return to the present and the victor. This return forms the end of the mythic narrative and Pindar uses his rapid summary of events to complete the unified structure of his myth[30].

The first event which he mentions is the slaying of the dragon guarding the fleece (v.249 *κτεῖνε μὲν γλαυκῶπα τέχναις ποικιλόνωτον ὄφιν*). This tells us that Jason has met the second part of Aeetes' challenge. We are also to infer from this that the hero has obtained the Golden Fleece (and perhaps Phrixus' soul) which was the objective of the voyage to Colchis. This then is the turning point in the myth; we now expect to hear of how the Argonauts returned to Iolcos.

To tell us that the heroes left Aeetes' realm Pindar uses Medea. He says of Jason *κλέψεν τε Μήδειαν σὺν αὐτᾷ, τὰν Πελιαοφόνον* (v.250). Much is contained in this short phrase. First it indicates the Argonauts' departure. Secondly it looks back to the beginning of events in Colchis when Jason won Medea (vv.219-223) since his love charms were designed

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[29]See e.g. *P*.11.38ff., *N*.4.33-4, 6.54, *I*.6.56, etc..

[30] Such acceleration in narrative at the end of a myth can be found elsewhere in Pindar. See e.g. *O*.1.88ff., 2.78ff., 7.69ff., 13.87ff., *P*.9.66ff., 10.46, *N*.3.59ff., *I*.8.48-55. Other means of ending a myth include ending the ode (e.g. *O*.4, *N*.1, *N*.10), returning smoothly to the present (e.g. *O*.6.71, 10.78ff., *P*.5.102ff., 12.22ff., *N*.5.40ff., *I*.4.61ff.), closing ring composition to round off the myth (e.g. *O*.3.32ff., 8.47ff., *P*.6.37ff.) and various break-off motifs such as shortness of time (e.g. *I*.6.56ff.), fear of excess (e.g. *N*.4.69ff.), references to himself and his song (e.g. *O*.9.80ff., *P*.8.55ff., *I*.1.32ff.) or gnomic utterances (e.g. *P*.2.49ff., 3.59ff., 9.67ff.) which end the myth with varying degrees of abruptness from the full-stop in midstream (e.g. *I*.6.56ff.) to the break-off at an opportune moment (e.g. *I*.1.32ff.).

to take away Medea's respect for her parents and to fill her with a longing for Hellas; now Medea leaves her parents of her own free will to go to Greece with Jason. The phrase also looks forward (or rather backwards in Pindar's ordering of incidents in the poem) to the return journey when Medea was with the Argonauts and made her prophecy on Thera. Lastly it points to the very end of the heroes' journey, their return to Iolcos when the oracle to Pelias about his death, the oracle which commenced the myth (vv.71-2), will be fulfilled. This latter reference clearly signals the end of the myth since it closes a structural ring which the poet opened at the myth's formal beginning.

Pindar now completes his *οἶμον βραχύν* (v.248) back to the present (vv.249-62). His journey back leads us to Medea's prophecy on Thera (related in the proem vv.9-58) and narrates its fulfilment. Although the poet does not refer to Medea's words directly here it is very clear that he intends his audience to see the closing of the structural ring which was begun almost at the poem's beginning (vv.4ff.) in order to emphasise the ending of his myth. Thus he narrates the events foretold by the prophetess directly after his reference to her journey to Greece with the returning Argonauts and the events themselves echo, clarify and expand on her earlier words, evoking the language which the poet used earlier, as is often the case in ring composition.

In v.251 the Argonauts reach Ocean. Thus the first point of the return journey is the furthest point back on the journey which Medea related in her prophecy (*ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ* v.26), bringing us completely full circle. Medea's prophecy occurred after this point on the voyage, but before arrival on Lemnos (v.252) where Pindar narrates events which explain

why he has paused here. It is here that Medea's prophecy of Euphemus begetting a race was fulfilled. The *ἀλλοδαπᾶν γυναικῶν* of v.50 are now identified as *Λαμνιᾶν γυναικῶν* (v.252) and Pindar describes the location of their union as *ἐν ἀλλοδαπαῖς ἀρούραις* (vv.254-5), an echo of the epithet used earlier of the women. The details of the incident are amplified: the Argonauts not only slept with the women but also took part in athletic contests (vv.253-4).

The concept that this union was fated to happen because of the loss of the clod by Euphemus is evoked by the phrase *μοιρίδιον ἆμαρ ἢ νύκτες* (vv.255-6) when the *σπέρμ' ἀκτῖνος ὄλβου* was created. This latter phrase, referring to the descendants of Euphemus who came to colonise Cyrene, contains the same imagery as the earlier description of the clod, the *ἄφθιτον Λιβύας σπέρμα* (vv.42-3), which symbolised that Euphemus' descendants would rule in Libya.

Medea had prophesied that the descendants of Euphemus would come to Thera and there beget a man to be ruler of Cyrene (vv.14-15, 51-3). Pindar now expands this by telling us that Euphemus' descendants, planted on Lemnos (*γένος Εὐφάμου φυτευθέν* v.256), went to Lacedaemon and it was from there that they went to Thera and then colonised Libya. Here also we find echoes in the language. Earlier we had heard that Euphemus would find a *κριτὸν γένος* (vv.50-51, cf. v.256 *γένος Εὐφάμου*) who would go to Thera *σὺν τιμᾷ θεῶν* (v.51, cf. v.260 *σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς*). From Thera Libya would find planted in her (*φυτεύσεσθαι* v.15, cf. v.256 *φυτευθέν*) the *ἀστέων ῥίζαν* (v.15).

The echoes in the language suggest that Pindar is inviting his audience to recall Medea's prophecy. He rounds off his myth with a final

reference to it. Medea has declared that Phoebus would speak to Battus in his oracles and decree his colonisation of Libya (vv.53-6). The poet now confirms this as he moves rapidly to the present: the son of Leto caused Arcesilas' race (*ὔμμι* v.259) to bring prosperity to Libya and to rule over Cyrene. These verses (259-262) also recall vv.5-6; the priestess of Apollo gave Battus an oracle naming him as coloniser of Libya. Vv.5-6 provided the link between Arcesilas and Medea's prophecy, a part of the Argonautic Quest. In the same way the reference to Apollo's oracle to Battus at the very end of the myth transports us from the descendants of Euphemus, who were begotten on the Argonautic Quest, to Arcesilas who is now the present ruler of Cyrene[31]. Thus Pindar creates a ring which embraces the entire myth.

This is an important point because it highlights Pindar's skill in structuring the poem. Although, as we have seen (pp.92-3 above), *Pythian 4* reveals a basic tripartite structure (proem, myth, epilogue) the three parts have been linked by the poet in a manner which makes them inseparable. The use of this structural ring which binds the opening section of the ode to the end of the main myth is a link which goes beyond the formal connections between the three main sections. Such links are

[31] It is worth noting here how Pindar both varies and echoes his language in the three accounts of this oracle. Apollo appears in three guises, Apollo v.5, Phoebus v.54, and son of Leto v.259 ff.. In each account a different verb describes the giving of the prophecy, *χρῆσεν* v.6, *ἀμνάσει θέμισσιν* v.54, *ἔπορεν* v.259. In the first oracle gold is mentioned in connection with Apollo's shrine: the priestess was seated beside *χρυσέων Διὸς αἰητῶν* (v.4). At v.53 Apollo is *πολυχρύσῳ ἐν δώματι*. A compound adjective using *χρύσος* occurs in the third account, but this time transferred to Cyrene (*χρυσοθρόνου . . . Κυράνας* vv.260-61). Pindar also varies the terms of each prophecy to provide variety. Vv.7-8 describe Battus' colonisation of Libya as building a city, v.56 as taking men to Libya, vv.259-62 as bringing prosperity and rule to Libya. Thus we can see that although the three accounts of the oracle are sufficiently close for one to recognize that Pindar is returning to the same *topos*, he skilfully avoids any sense of repetitiveness.

what provide *Pythian 4* with its extraordinary structural coherence.

The *οἶμον βράχυν* has also been deliberately structured by the poet to clarify at the end of the myth the connection between the Golden Fleece and Arcesilas, the two themes which Pindar announced his intention of joining at the myth's formal beginning (vv.67-9). The events narrated in the poet's 'short cut' set out the logical connection based on fact, and this is underlined by echoes in the language, but the poet enhances this connection further by directly addressing Arcesilas at key points.

In v.250 Pindar apostrophises him by name, connecting Arcesilas in his audience's minds with the culmination of the Quest for the Golden Fleece. In v.255 he uses the possessive adjective, *ὑμέτερος*, in a way which confirms to us that there can be no doubt of the connection between Arcesilas and the Argonauts since when the Argonauts slept with the Lemnian women that was the beginning of *ὑμετέρας ἀκτῖνος ὄλβου.* At v.259 the poet again refers to Arcesilas, using the pronoun *ὔμμι*. Here he makes it clear that Arcesilas' rule over Cyrene was granted to him by Apollo's decree to his ancestors.

These references to Arcesilas link him closely with the heroic past which has been narrated in the myth and prepare us for Pindar's move to the present and the closing section of the ode, which he addresses to Arcesilas directly. The closing of the structural rings which were begun immediately after the ode's beginning also heralds the end of the myth and a return to the subject with which Pindar commenced, the victor Arcesilas.

The Epilogue vv.263-299

The poet, having completed his myth and returned to the present

and to Arcesilas, addresses the last part of the poem directly to him. This section fulfils what was expected after the *Vormythos*. The devotion of the last part of an ode to praise of the victor is common in the epinicians[32], and this section contains elements which are familiar from the same part of other odes: praise of the victor, gnomic utterances, exhortations and short mythic *exempla*. *Pythian 4*'s epilogue, however, contains one unique element, a plea for the return of the exile Damophilus. We must therefore consider how Pindar integrates this anomaly into the poem's structure, how it fits together with the rest of the elements in the final section of the ode, and how the last part of the ode as a whole relates to the rest.

Let us consider the elements in the epilogue[33]. Pindar begins at v.263 with a riddle. The transition from the myth to this is easily effected by association of ideas. Pindar has just told us that Arcesilas' race rules over Cyrene having found *ὀρθόβουλον μῆτιν* (v.262). Now he exhorts Arcesilas to use this good sense in solving and applying the riddle of the oak (vv.263-8). He describes it as *Οἰδιπόδα σοφίαν* (v.26). We do not find riddles elsewhere in the odes, but the riddle here functions in similar fashion to a *gnomé*. It is a generalised philosophical statement which is meant to be applied to the present circumstances. It is clear from the reference to Arcesilas before and the apostrophe to him immediately afterwards that it is Arcesilas who is to apply the wisdom of the riddle, and the only possible circumstances which Pindar has mentioned are in his ruling of Cyrene (vv.260-2).

The apostrophe to Arcesilas in v.270 praises him for his ability as a

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32 This is noted by Hamilton pp.65-6.

33 In this discussion the elements are only treated with a view to establishing how the structure of the epilogue works. For a full and clear exposition of the details of vv.263-299 see Carey (1980.1 p.143 ff.).

'healer' (ἰατήρ), a figurative term which Pindar uses to lead in to his next *gnomé* (v.271) about the necessity for a gentle hand to tend a τρώμαν ἕλκεος. Now he explains to what the *gnomé* should be applied (ῥᾴδιον μὲν γὰρ πόλιν κτλ. v.272), again in general terms. The city has been shaken and it is a hard task to set it aright without god guiding the rulers. Arcesilas has been praised as ἰατήρ (v.270); this *gnomé* praises him further by stating the difficulty of the task which Pindar indicates in his next statement (v.275) as already in the process of being accomplished.

The poet ends this exhortation to Arcesilas as a healer with a direct imperative to apply his energies and talents to Cyrene. Pindar proceeds to explain how he is to do this. By means of a further gnomic utterance, this time purported to be a saying of Homer, he introduces the idea of the honour which a good messenger brings to any enterprise. Straightway he delivers the message: Cyrene and the royal house of Battus were familiar with Damophilus, a man δικαιᾶν πραπίδων (vv.279-81). Pindar expounds this theme, Damophilus' goodness, until vv.288-9 where he reveals the heart of the matter in a gnomic utterance which we can instantly apply to Damophilus: he knows the good, but he is excluded from it by necessity.

This theme of exile is now continued with a short mythic *exemplum* (vv.289-91); Atlas also is still in exile, but his fate is contrasted with that of the Titans whom Zeus released. Pindar generalises this with another *gnomé* using nautical imagery (vv.291-3): as time passes there are changes in the sails to match the changes of the winds. The reference of these *exempla* and of the *gnomé* are now made clear as Pindar returns to Damophilus (though without naming him), who prays to return home and live in peace (vv.293-7). He closes the ode with a further apostrophe to

Arcesilas about Damophilus and which also refers to Pindar and his song, a common motif to end the ode[34].

Structurally the epilogue of *Pythian 4* is very tightly written. Each different element is closely related to the next and transitions from one topic to another are easily made. There is no feeling that the plea for Damophilus is out of place here. Mezger objected to the exclusive concern with Damophilus of vv.277-99 and even suggested (p.221) that these verses could be detached from the poem without detriment. In saying this he failed to notice that vv.289-91 explain the advice of the riddle of the oak which Arcesilas was urged to heed, that vv.291-3 are an exhortation to Arcesilas in gnomic form and that Pindar apostrophises Arcesilas at v.298 in the final sentence of the ode[35].

The aptness of the plea for Damophilus is further confirmed by the relationship between the epilogue as a whole and the rest of the poem. Myth and epilogue are bound together at the close of the myth by the poet's smooth return to Arcesilas and the present (see above p.116). The final section with its praise of the king and the earlier praise of Arcesilas in the proem together form a structural frame round the myth. In addition the plea for Damophilus strengthens the link between myth and epilogue and also proem and epilogue because it gives the myth a much greater relevance than that formally admitted by the poet in vv.67-9, that is, it makes clear the link between Arcesilas and the Quest of the Argonauts.

The plea explains why Pindar chose to relate only certain events

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[34] See e.g. *O.*1.115-6, 6.103-5, *N.*8.48-51, 9.53-5, *I.*2.44-8, 4.72, 5.59-63.
[35] It is also worth recollecting that Pindar elsewhere concerns himself at length with someone other than the ode's addressee. In *P.5* thirty-one verses of praise are devoted to Carrotus the charioteer (vv.23-53) and in *P.6* thirty-two of the poem's forty-two verses are devoted to the victor's son.

from the myth of the Argonauts, why he chose to portray Jason in the way in which he does, thereby making him an example for Arcesilas to follow. The *nostos* theme which runs throughout the myth reaches its culmination in the plea for Damophilus' return[36]. That the epilogue reveals the full relevance of the myth of the Argonauts in an ode for a victor who has at first sight no obvious connections with it (beyond the fact of genealogy) is important, for those who cannot see this relevance can see no connection between the epilogue and the rest of the myth[37].

II. NARRATIVE TECHNIQUE IN THE MYTH OF *PYTHIAN 4*

The lengthy myth of *Pythian 4* provides an excellent opportunity to examine Pindar's narrative technique. It is interesting to consider whether he retains the traditional technique of lyric or whether in so long an ode he favours the methods of epic. Is *Pythian 4* typical of the poet's approach elsewhere in the odes, or does it reveal a new departure?

Our examination of the structure of the myth of *Pythian 4* reveals that Pindar recounts his narrative by scenes[38]. We move from cameo to cameo rather than in a linear narrative. The myth begins with the picture of Pelias receiving an oracle at Delphi (vv.72-8), then pivots on one detail, the single sandal, to the scene of the man who fulfils the oracle arriving at Iolcos (vv.78-94). We see the stranger of striking appearance standing in

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36 See Gildersleeve p.281, Carey (1980.1) p.144. He notes numerous other details which underline and enhance the relevance of the myth. I have only concentrated on the main points here. Cf. also my comments on selection of events and the portrayal of Jason, pp.77ff..

37 Cf. e.g. Fehr p.91, '*was sich daran anfügt, das poetische Begnadigungsschreiben, scheint mir in keiner Beziehung zum Mythos zu stehen*', and Wilamowitz (1922) p.384, '*Dann folgt ganz unverbunden ein lange ‚Abschnitt*'.

38 Cf. above pp.105ff.&110ff.. Robbins (1975 p.208) describes these as '*tableaux vivants*'.

the agora with an awed crowd around him, then Pelias arriving in haste (vv.94-5). The scene which follows (vv.95-119) is particularly vivid because of its dialogue which highlights the contrast between the two as they stand face to face.

Straightway we move on to Jason's reunion with his father (vv.120-23). It is worth noting here how Pindar picks a precise moment to capture: the point when his father recognises his heroic son and weeps for joy. The idea of reunion carries us into the next scene, the gathering of Jason's relatives (vv.124-31) which culminates in Jason's confrontation with Pelias (vv.132-68). After this the poet creates a picture of arrival and busy preparation for the Quest, by means of the catalogue (vv.171-83) and Jason's reception of the heroes (v.188-89).

The voyage itself is also structured in very episodic fashion. The poet uses a few small cameos to span the lengthy journey which might have lent itself more readily to a smooth epic-type narrative. Instead we move from Mopsus' embarkation of the heroes (vv.189-91) to the picture of Jason standing in the prow, goblet in hand, making his libation and prayer to Zeus who answers with thunder and lightning (vv.191-8) and on to Mopsus' signal to start rowing (vv.200-201).

The next scene occurs at the mouth of the Euxine where the heroes set up a precinct to Poseidon (vv.203-6). The barest of connectives, the rowing which ensued after Mopsus' signal (v.202), has transported us all this way in an instant. The Argonauts' pious act to honour the god leads into the following episode, their prayer to Poseidon to pass through the Clashing Rocks (vv.207-9). The poet does not subsequently depict their passage through the rocks, merely remarks at the end of his description of

them (vv.209-10) that they were stilled (vv 210-11), indicating that the Argonauts' prayer was answered. The next stop is Phasis (vv.211-12). It seems remarkable that we have arrived here so quickly. It takes Apollonius over two thousand lines to describe the journey in epic fashion. Our poet has managed it all in a mere twenty-one (vv.191-211) but he still manages to include important events *en route*.

Events in Colchis also proceed from scene to scene. A battle between the Colchians and the Argonauts on their arrival at Phasis (vv.212-13) passes on to Aphrodite, teaching Jason how to woo Medea (vv.213-19). Next comes a picture of Jason receiving Medea's aid and promise of marriage (vv.220-23). Now Pindar moves on to the tasks of Aeetes, a very pictorial scene with Aeetes the triumphant ploughman challenging Jason to plough with the fire-breathing bulls and to carry off the Golden Fleece (vv.224-31). Jason's accomplishment of the first task (vv.232-7) is greeted by contrasting reactions. Aeetes cries out in amazement (vv.237-8) and describes the location of the Fleece in a manner intended to discourage Jason because of its awesome guardian (vv.241-6). Jason's companions accord him all the trappings of victory in an athletic event (vv.239-41). At this point Pindar breaks off his narrative and hastily returns to the present, only pausing briefly to relate events on Lemnos (vv.252-5).

The use of scenes to provide the main framework of a mythic narrative as seen in *Pythian 4* is a feature of Pindar's technique elsewhere in the odes. Such vivid pictures come to mind as Pelops standing on the shore praying to Poseidon (*O*.1.71-85), Typhon beneath Etna (*P*.1.15-28), Apollo snatching up Coronis' son from the burning pyre (*P*.3.38-46), the nymph Cyrene wrestling with the lion (*P*.9.26-35), Heracles strangling the

serpents (*N*.1.37-50), Polydeuces pleading with Zeus over his dying brother (*N*.10.73-90), Heracles pouring the libation for Telamon (*I*.6.37-56).

It seems then that Pindar's structuring of *Pythian 4* by scenes is an extension of his approach to myth elsewhere in the odes. Is this narrative technique typical of lyric? Evidence is scarce, but Sappho fr.44 suggests a positive answer. A brief examination of the poem reveals that her approach has much in common with that of Pindar.

The fragment begins with the herald Idaeus' speech announcing the splendid arrival of Hector with his bride Andromache. The events which might naturally follow such an announcement are concentrated in two verses (11-12): Hector's father's reaction is noted and so is the sending of tidings throughout the city. Straightway Sappho passes to the result of the tidings, a tableau scene of the whole city heading for the citadel (vv.13ff.), and after a lacuna the final scene of the celebrations on the arrival of Hector and Andromache.

Such concentration on scenes and telescoping of the linear sequence of events between them into a few words is what we have seen in the myth of *Pythian 4*.It enables Sappho to treat in a mere thirty-four lines a narrative which might well have taken an epic poet several hundred. It is worth stressing this point, since Pindar has also condensed the events of a great saga so as to contain them within the narrow confines of lyric.

Let us compare the epic poet's approach[39]. At *Il*.2.796-806 Iris' speech to the Trojans suggests that they should draw up in battle order to face the advancing Greeks. A lyric poet might well have proceeded

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[39] Cf. also the comments of Fränkel (1955) pp.40ff., but with Radt's reservations (1970) pp.345-6.

straight to the battle array, but Homer takes nine lines (807-815) to reach this point. First he notes Hector's reaction of obedience, then the next logical step, dismissal of the assembly. Next all the Trojans rush to arms. The gates are opened and everyone pours out. Now the epic poet wants to set the scene, so he spends the next four lines describing the place where the battle order formed up.

The difference between this approach and that of Sappho and Pindar is immediately apparent even in this short passage[40]. The epic poet structures his narrative so that it flows in strictly linear fashion and by means of logical progression. He also has the space to include as many events and details from the tradition as he can recall, while the lyric poet has to restrict himself in his selection of material, omitting anything which is not relevant to his purpose and only noting what is absolutely essential[41].

By using a technique of structuring narrative by scenes the lyric poet is able to omit many of the logical steps between events or at least to telescope them into a minimum of information. *Pythian 4* reveals tenuous transitions from scene to scene, often effected by mere association of ideas (e.g. the battle with the Colchians (vv.212-13) and the scene of Aphrodite and Jason (vv.213-17) are only linked by the description of Aphrodite as 'the queen of sharpest weapons' (v.213), or by one small detail, e.g. the

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[40] I have used evidence from Pindar and Sappho to convey the general approach of lyric. Bacchylides' narrative technique confirms this. B.3 reveals a Pindaric central scene, Croesus calling upon Apollo from the pyre on which he intends to die. The myths of B.5 and 13 unfold in a series of tableaux. However, Bacchylides' technique is more even in its treatment of time (cf. Hurst pp.159ff.) which has led scholars such as Jebb to describe it as 'epic' (pp.58-9).

[41] Fehr notes this in relation to Pindar's account of the voyage to Colchis: '*Von besonderen Abenteuern im aegaeischen und thrakischen Meer erfahren wir nichts; das sind episch, aber nicht lyrisch verwertbare Momente*'(p.87).

single sandal which takes us from Pelias' oracle (v.75) to Jason's arrival in Iolcos (vv.78-9) and then to Pelias' confrontation with Jason (vv.95-6).

There is also a total lack of explanations to fill in large gaps in the audience's knowledge of the events in the narrative. Why did the Colchians and Argonauts fight on meeting? Why are the Lemnian women described as *ἀνδροφόνων* (v.252) and why are they willing to sleep with the Argonauts? What is Medea doing prophesying on the Argonauts' return to Iolcos when they are *en route* for Lemnos? Epic would probably supply the answers to these questions, but the lyric poet has to rely instead on his audience's knowledge of the myth to supply all the missing details.

A further result of Pindar's use of scenes to structure his myths is freedom from chronological ties[42]. His narrative in *Pythian 4* lacks the chronologically measured flow of epic, where events take place in the epic present with only occasional glances at the past or future and the passing of time is carefully marked[43]. But Pindar's treatment of time is quite remarkable. At the end of the myth in *Pythian 4* we have no idea whether days or years have elapsed[44]. The events of perhaps a few hours have been narrated in great detail (e.g. Jason's arrival in Iolcos and dialogue with Pelias [vv.78-119]) and out of all proportion to others, which must have taken many days but are passed over in a flash or omitted altogether[45]

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[42] For an interesting analysis of Pindar's use of time in *P.4* cf. Hurst pp.154ff..

[43] E.g. at the end of *Od.*5 Athene sends sleep on Odysseus, *Od.*6 begins with Odysseus sleeping while Athene goes to Nausicaa and appears to her in her sleep. Dawn comes (v.48), Nausicaa awakens and does as the goddess has bidden. At her cries and those of her handmaidens Odysseus awakes and the day proceeds. All is orderly and smooth.

[44] The poet only refers precisely to time once in the myth. When Jason's relatives arrived we hear that he entertained them for five days and nights (v.130), and went to Pelias on the sixth (v.132). But we must note that his reference is in a passage with decidedly epic overtones (see p.145 below) and the poet's marking of time here may be merely another epic touch.

(e.g. the preparations for the voyage, [vv.169-189, of which vv.171-183 are taken up by the catalogue] which must have included the building and supplying of the Argo and time for the tidings of the voyage to travel through Greece before the heroes responded, let alone journeyed to Iolcos). We have no idea how long it took to get to Colchis, how long it took the hero to plough with the fire-breathing bulls or how long the Argonauts spent on Lemnos[46].

Furthermore ring composition enables Pindar to hop from the present to the distant mythical past in a moment and back again without any linear progression. One moment (vv.1ff.) we are at Cyrene celebrating with Arcesilas, two seconds later we are sitting on Thera (vv.9-10) listening to Medea's prophecy to the Argonauts. Only at the end of her speech (v.59) do we realize by what process we arrived there. At times this may cause us to feel that Pindar's narrative is jerky, and that it moves in fits and starts, but it also creates an excitement and a vividness imprinting on our minds scenes which remain there long after the ode is over[47].

One feature of Pindar's narrative technique which deserves detailed attention is his structuring of the catalogue of heroes at *P.*4.171ff.. While this form of narrative was traditional the poet creates considerable variety within the basic list by his structuring of the individual elements, a point

[45] Cf. Pinsent pp.2ff..

[46] Cf. the treatment of Apollonius Rhodius. It takes Jason a whole day to plough with the bulls and slay the earthborn men (3.1222 dawn, 1340 third part of the day, 1407 darkness). The Argonauts arrived on Lemnos at dusk (1.607-8), delayed sailing from day to day (861-2) and only departed when urged by Heracles (911ff.).

[47] Pindar's uneven treatment of time is not limited to *Pythian 4*. At *O.*6.57-8 we jerk from Iamus the babe in arms to a suddenly full-grown prophet with only the scantiest reference to the process of growing up to cover all the years between. At *O.*6.35 Evadne becomes a grown woman in one verse.

noted by Burton (p.162) but not developed by him. The poet demonstrates his consummate artistry in avoiding repetitiveness by his use of varying sentence structure.

The first sentence (vv.171-5) encompasses the three sons of Zeus and the two of Poseidon. The first word, *τάχα*, tells us how the *υἱοί* of Zeus came. Pindar describes them as *ἀκαμαντομάχαι* and then lists their separate mothers, Alcmene and Leda. No other hero in the list receives this detail. The naming of the two mothers also reveals variation: Alcmene receives a qualifying adjective, *ἑλικογλεφάρου* (v.172), Leda does not.

Poseidon's sons are also numbered and described, but the poet notes these points in the reverse order to that used for the sons of Zeus. In addition Poseidon's sons appear as *δοιοὶ δ' ὑψιχαῖται ἀνέρες, Ἐννοσίδα γένος* (vv.172-3) as opposed to *Κρονίδαο Ζηνὸς υἱοὶ τρεῖς ἀκαμαντομάχαι* (v.171) and Pindar expands the basic description of them: first an adjectival phrase, *αἰδεσθέντες ἀλκάν* (v.173), next whence each came (*ἔκ τε Πύλου καὶ ἀπ' ἄκρας Ταινάρου* v.174), arranged chiastically with their names (*Εὐφάμου . . . σόν τε, Περικλύμεν'* v.175) in a phrase detailing what they did on the quest (*τῶν μὲν κλέος ἐσλὸν . . . ἐκράνθη* vv.174-5). The poet also adds variety by apostrophising Periclymenus and giving him a descriptive epithet, *εὐρυβία* (v.175).

After this long sentence (with five verses) Pindar accounts for the next hero, Orpheus, in a few words. He begins with his patron, Apollo, adds a descriptive phrase for Orpheus (*φορμιγκτὰς ἀοιδᾶν πατήρ* v.176), then a verb to describe his coming (*ἔμολεν* v.177), different from that of the first sentence (*ἦλθον* v.172), finally an adjective (*εὐαίνητος* v.177) before the

last word which gives us Orpheus' name.

The third element comprises the two sons of Hermes (note the use of *διδύμους* v.178 as a variation of *δοιοί* used of the sons of Poseidon, v.172). Pindar begins this element with the verb, but he provides variety by means of a change of subject, not those who came, as in the earlier part of the list, but Hermes, who sent them (*πέμπε δ' Ἑρμᾶς* v.178). He is qualified by an epithet (*χρυσόραπις* v.178) and then we hear to what they were sent, *ἄτρυτον πόνον* (v.178). Now Pindar names the two sons, using apposition with *μέν* and *δέ* and inserting between the two a participial phrase describing them (*τὸν μὲν Ἐχίονα, κεχλάδοντας ἥβᾳ, τὸν δ' Ἔρυτον* v.179). The position of this descriptive element, between the two names, is unusual in the list.

The final element, which is longer than the previous two, but shorter than the first (thus each is a different length) concerns the Boreadae. Pindar begins in a similar manner to the very first element, telling us how they came , but here he uses the adjective, *ταχέες* v.179, rather than the adverb *τάχα* (v.171). Next he tells us where they dwelt (*ἀμφὶ Παγγαίου θεμέθλοις ναιετάοντες* v.180) and that they came (using a new verb, *ἔβαν* v.180). To create interest he now elaborates on their father, who equipped them, piling up the details (*ἑκὼν θυμῷ γελανεῖ θᾶσσον ἔντυνεν βασιλεὺς ἀνέμων*), which thus distinguish the description of this father (*πατὴρ Βορέας* v.182) from Hermes who sent his sons. Both sons and father are named (*Ζήταν Κάλαΐν τε πατὴρ Βορέας* v.182) and the sons are described in one long colourful phrase (*ἄνδρας* [cf. *ἀνέρες* v.173 of the sons of Poseidon] *πτεροῖσιν νῶτα πεφρίκοντας ἄμφω πορφυρέοις* vv.182-3) which marks them out as completely different from the other heroes because of the supernatural element in the description.

Pindar finishes the catalogue by bringing the individuals together as one group (*ἡμιθέοισιν* v.184) in his description of how Hera stirred up their desire for the Quest (vv.184-7). It is very clear from our examination of the details of the catalogue that for Pindar even his sentence structure is important for creating variety and maintaining interest in what he is saying[48].

The catalogue is only one of many devices which Pindar uses to vary his narrative technique in *Pythian 4*, for example straight narrative, description, direct speech, rhetorical questions, apostrophe and structural devices such as ring composition. All of these are familiar to us from elsewhere in the odes, as is the poet's use of scenes to form the main structure of the mythic narrative. Pindar has developed and used his existing technique, one favoured also by other lyric poets, in order to accommodate the vast myth of *Pythian 4*, rather than attempting to employ the narrative technique of those whose medium offered much greater scope and space for narrative writing.

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48 It is worth noting here that this is another instance where Pindar adapts a familiar technique to deal with a novel phenomenon. Nowhere else in the odes does a myth include a catalogue of heroes, but Pindar frequently lists victories with the same close attention to detail to provide variation and interest. Cf. e.g. *O*.7.80-87, *N*.4.17-22, 6.11-23, 35-46, *I*.2.12-28, etc.. Pindar creates stylistic variety by syntactical change, the use of epithets and different modes of nomenclature and periphrasis.

CHAPTER FOUR

Epic Features in *Pythian 4*

Introduction

Almost every scholar who has worked on *Pythian 4* has made reference at some point in his researches to some epic quality or qualities in the poem[1]. Its length, the subject and treatment of its myth, its themes, its language, create an epic colouring which pervades the entire ode. This chapter aims to investigate the means by which Pindar evokes this epic atmosphere. It must be noted, however, that identification of separate features is misleading, for no one feature exists in a vacuum without the others. In fact several features would lack significance were it not for their combination with others. Thus it is important that we do not at any point lose sight of the sum of the evidence for the whole ode if we are to assess its epic quality accurately.

1. *Epic scale*

Pythian 4 is set apart from Pindar's other odes by its vast size. It is no less than two and a half times the length of *Pythian 5*, Pindar's next longest ode. While this is, of course, tiny by epic standards (not even as long as the shortest book of the *Odyssey*) it is quite remarkable by epinician standards. We should probably attribute this length in part to the demands of the patron who commissioned the ode[2], but we may also suggest that the poet seized on this feature as the starting point for the

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[1] Cf. e.g. Gildersleeve p.278 'the lyric treatment of epic themes', Burton p.153 'a wide range of variants of epic phraseology and convention', Kirkwood p.161 'much more epic, more Homeric than anything else of Pindar's that is known', Duchemin p.93 '*presque un chant épique*', etc..
[2] For discussion see pp.197ff. below.

impression of epic which he intended to create.

A considerably longer ode provided Pindar with the scope to narrate the story of the Quest for the Golden Fleece from beginning to end, even if much is omitted or telescoped in his account. His choice of myth, from ancient saga, already well established in the epic tradition when the Homeric epics were composed, also adds to the impression of epic grandeur[3]. The poet enhances this by a deliberate choice of themes and motifs from epic, epic mannerisms and language. The combination of these elements with the ode's size creates an impression of epic scale and magnificence, even though this is no more than a skilfully contrived illusion.

2. *Epic rhythms*

Pythian 4 is written in the dactylo-epitritic metre, the basic dactylic unit of which is the hemiepes (- ⏑⏑ - ⏑⏑ -)[4]. In the metrical schema of the ode the hemiepes occurs three times at line end in the strophe and three times in the antistrophe. Although Pindar uses this metre elsewhere (*O.6, 7, 11, 12, P.1, 9, N.1, I.1, 6*, and in some of the fragments) its choice here may be significant, since the dactylic rhythms are receptive to epic language, which we find here with much greater frequency than is normal in Pindar (see section 7 below pp.148ff.).

3. *The central hero*

Jason's role in the myth of *Pythian 4* is striking in comparison with

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[3] Homeric epic refers directly to the myth of Jason and the Argo at *Od.*12.69ff. where the Argo is described as Ἀργὼ *πασιμέλουσα,* and indirectly in *Il.*7.467-9 where Euneus appears as the son of Jason and Hypsipyle. This seems to indicate that the tale was well known. In addition the poet of the *Odyssey* appears to have incorporated into his narrative adventures from the Argonautic myth. See Page (1955) p.2 and Meuli pp.87ff..
[4] See Dale pp.168-9.

that of other heroes in the myths of Pindar's odes. Such heroes as Pelops, Bellerophon and Heracles, about whom myths are narrated in *Olympians 1* and *13* and *Nemean 1* respectively, make only brief appearances. Thus although the scenes in which they feature are vivid and memorable, they themselves are characters without depth and in the spotlight for only a few instants. The poet's portrayal of Jason is very different. By the end of the myth of *Pythian 4* a clear and developed picture of Jason's character has emerged, built up by a variety of different means: direct description, his speech and actions, the views of others and the contrast provided by Pelias. No other character in Pindar's odes receives such broad treatment.

One possible reason for this unusual depth of character portrayal is the length of *Pythian 4*. There is usually little space for the depiction and development of character in small-scale lyric, but expanded character portrayal is a well-known feature of epic (including the lyric epic of Stesichorus) where the poet has plenty of scope for it[5]. The unusual length and development of Pindar's portrayal of Jason in *Pythian 4* is mainly a product of the increased scale, but one effect is to give the character some of the vividness of an epic hero[6].

A second feature of the poet's portrayal of Jason adds to this impression: it is clear that scenes and events have been deliberately

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[5] Cf. e.g. the characterisation of Achilles and Nestor in the *Iliad*, Odysseus in the *Odyssey* and (despite the fragmentary nature of the evidence) Geryon in Stesichorus' *Geryoneis*. We possess too little of the text of lost epics such as the *Thebaid* and the *Little Iliad* to make any real judgements. There would appear to have been scope for characterisation in these narratives also, but Aristotle's remarks, in *Poetics* 1459b seem to suggest that characterisation was limited because of the multiplicity of different episodes covered in each poem.

[6] It must be noted, of course, that this is only a superficial impression. Cf. my comments on Jason on pp.73ff. above.

manipulated so that Jason is constantly the central focus of the action. From the moment that his arrival is prophesied by the Delphic oracle (vv.71-77) he dominates the stage. Our eyes are irresistibly drawn to him as he comes down to Iolcos, a lone one-sandalled stranger, around whom the crowd throng in curiosity and awe, up to whom Pelias rushes, demanding to know who he is (vv.78-100)[7].

Jason's reply to Pelias (vv.101-119), quietly delivered though it is, is challenging and from now on he is master of the situation. We watch him being reunited with his father (vv.120-23), welcoming and hosting his relatives (vv.124-131) and then taking the initiative in solving his dispute with Pelias (vv.132-167). When the Quest is agreed (v.168) it is Jason who takes instant charge, sending out heralds (vv.169-171), numbering the heroes (vv.188-9) and making the libation to Zeus at the commencement of the voyage (vv.191-196). He is the unquestioned and automatic leader.

Jason is also at the centre of the action in Colchis. It is he who wields magic on Medea and not *vice versa* (vv.213-23), he on whom all attention is concentrated in the ploughing scene (vv.224-41) even though Aeetes himself ploughs a furrow (vv.224-31). Jason dominates the rest of the events at the end of the myth, slaying the dragon which guards the Fleece and stealing away Medea (vv.249-50).

Of the other Argonauts we hear nothing individually, apart from

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[7] It seems no accident that Pindar's description of Jason on his arrival is such that it conjures up in our minds a picture of an epic hero. Jason's physical appearance comprises several details reminiscent of the Homeric hero; his two spears, the leopard skin over his shoulders and his lustrous uncut hair (cf. pp.64-5 above). This impression is heightened by Pindar's crowd scene, an adaptation of a common epic motif where one of the crowd comments on the stranger's appearance and voices his fears that the man may be a god or supernatural being (for examples cf. pp.66-7). This impression is further reinforced by Pelias' first words to Jason based on the traditional epic formula of greeting (see Sections 5(a) and 6 below pp.139-40 &144.).

their enumeration in the catalogue (vv.171-83) as they flock to Jason's call. Their collective part in the action is noted, but they seem to appear only as an audience for Jason (vv.199-200, 239-41) and to carry out the practical tasks of the Quest (vv.191-2, 200-202, 204, 207, 212-3). All their traditional individual roles in the Quest are suppressed[8]. Characters such as Aeetes and Medea remain shadowy figures who merely serve to initiate the action which Jason dominates.

In view of the deliberate choice of episodes in the myth (cf. Ch.1) and the way in which events are treated to maintain Jason's central role, it does seem reasonable to suggest that Pindar was aiming to create another feature well-known in epic. One has only to recollect the role of Achilles in the *Iliad* and the *Aethiopis* and of Odysseus in the *Odyssey* and the *Telegony* to see what Pindar intended[9].

However, in the myth of *Pythian 4* Pindar appears to have gone beyond any epic portrayal in his centralisation of Jason. In the *Iliad* Achilles does at least withdraw from the action, so that although constant references remind us that he is brooding beside his ships he is not continually at the centre of the stage, as Jason is. In the *Odyssey* our eyes are often removed from Odysseus as we see how Penelope fares with her suitors or how Telemachus attempts to obtain news of his father. The small scale of *Pythian 4* in comparison with epic makes it possible for the poet to sustain our interest in the actions of only one main character, but one wonders whether he could have maintained our interest if the myth

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[8] See Chapter 1, Section 2 (iv) pp.24ff..

[9] For a summary of events in the *Aethiopis* and *Telegony*, now lost to us in their original form, cf. Procl.*Chr.*172 &306 (Bernabé pp.67ff.101ff.). It seems likely that other epics which related the adventures of Heracles and of Theseus gave these heroes similarly central roles; cf.Bernabé pp.117, 167ff., 135-6, Arist. *Po.*1451a16ff. and Huxley (1969) pp.99ff., 116ff..

had been of genuine epic proportions.

4. *The Role of the Gods*

Since Pindar's odes were written for victors at Games held in honour of the gods it is not surprising that the gods feature frequently throughout the odes. Not only are there invocations, prayers, praise and gnomic utterances about the gods, but many of the myths tell of a god's deeds or of their intervention in the affairs of men, a fact not more clearly witnessed than by the victory itself where the god whom the festival honours has granted the victor his success. *Pythian 4* is no exception, it contains several of these features[10]. Our interest, however, lies in two aspects of the role of the gods which the poet appears to highlight and develop in this ode.

The first aspect is oracles and prophecy. By the ode's fourth verse Pindar is already relating the oracle to Battus which told of his colonisation of Libya[11]. In v.9 we learn that this oracle to Battus in turn fulfilled a prophecy given by Medea, to whom Pindar seems to have attached divine status (cf. his description of words from her *ἀθανάτου στόματος* v.11). Medea's prophecy also concerns the founding of Cyrene, but as the result of an earlier prophetic sign, a *βώλακα δαιμονίαν* (v.37) also

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[10] At vv.3 and 66-7 the poet mentions Apollo's part in granting Arcesilas' victory. In the epilogue we find a statement that Paean honours Arcesilas (v.270) and a *gnomé* about *θεός* which implies that the gods have a role to play in the affairs of the city (vv.273-4). The gods also feature continually in the myth. Although it narrates the adventures of an heroic mortal and his comrades the gods' aid and influence are constantly in evidence.

[11] Two details of this oracle are worth noting here: the fact that the priestess gave the oracle *χρυσέων Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος* (v.4) and that it was *οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος* (v.5). The golden eagles indicate that we are at Delphi (Σ ad loc, Gildersleeve p.282), but we already know this from vv.3-4 (Πυθῶνι . . . ἔνθα). Was the reference included to remind us that an oracle declares Zeus' will? The fact that Apollo was present is supposed to have rendered the oracle more potent (see sources cited above in this note), a useful point for Pindar to make since he wants to stress this oracle's importance.

called the ἄφθιτον . . . Λιβύας . . . σπέρμα (vv.42-3) which had been given to the Argonauts by the son of Poseidon in the guise of a man (vv.20ff.).

The poet reminds us several times that this colonisation has been sanctioned by the gods: the place to be colonised is described as Διὸς ἐν Ἄμμωνος θεμέθλοις (v.16) and Νείλοιο πρὸς πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα (v.56)[12] and Pindar states twice that Cyrene was founded with the gods' blessing (σὺν τιμᾷ θεῶν v.51, σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς v.260). The oracle to Battus and its fulfilment is referred to no less than three times, first in vv.4ff., then to close the ring at the end of Medea's prophecy (vv.50ff.) and finally at the very end of the main myth (vv.259ff.). The use of the oracle to form structural rings also underlines its importance.

Two other oracles appear in the myth. Both are given to Pelias. One warns of his death (vv.71ff.) and its fulfilment is noted at the end of the myth (v.250), the other concerns the need to bring Phrixus' soul home (vv.159-64). It is on the basis of the latter (coupled with the fear of Jason induced by the former) that Pelias sends Jason off on the Quest for the Golden Fleece. It was on the return from this Quest that the Argonauts met Eurypylus who gave them the clod and thus initiated the rest of the chain of oracles.

Oracles and prophecies occur elsewhere in the myths of Pindar's odes, but nowhere do we find more than one instance in any one myth[13]. *Pythian 4* is unusual in its piling up of interlinked oracles and prophecies

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[12]. Note that Pindar also describes Cyrene in this way at *P.*9.53, Διὸς ἔξοχον . . . . κᾶπον, thus these two descriptions in *P.4* are not significant in themselves, but they are significant in the constant emphasis which Pindar lays on the prophecy about Cyrene's colonisation and its eventual fulfilment as the will of the gods.

[13] Examples of oracles: *O.*2.38-40, 6.37-8, 7.31ff.; of prophecies: *O.*8.37ff., *P.*8.43ff., 9.51ff., *N.*1.61ff., *I.*6.51ff., 8.31ff., *Pae.*8.25ff..

which form key points in initiating the action of the myth. The poet appears to have deliberately selected these and perhaps even invented to complete his chain back to the remotest past, since neither the second oracle to Pelias nor Medea's prophecy is found in any of our sources.

In addition to the motive of directly linking Arcesilas with the Argonautic expedition and glamourising Cyrenean history we may suggest a further possibility, that his emphasis on prophecy and oracle also arose from the poet's desire to create an epic flavour in *Pythian 4*. A noted characteristic of the 'Epic Cycle' is the large number of oracles and prophecies which it contained[14]. It is possible that the poet sought to emulate this feature in *Pythian 4* as another epic mannerism.

The second aspect of the role of the gods in *Pythian 4* which interests us here is Pindar's treatment of the gods in the myth as individuals. Where gods are portrayed elsewhere in Pindaric myths about mortals they usually appear in response to prayers or invocations[15]. In *Pythian 4* however the scale of divine intervention is greater than usual. This is no doubt in part a result of the increased length of the myth, but a further effect is to reinforce the role of the gods in a manner reminiscent of epic.

The first god to appear is a *δαίμων* calling himself Eurypylus, the son of Poseidon, who gives the Argonauts the clod of earth (vv.19ff.). He appears to them in the guise of a man (vv.28-9). This motif of a god in the guise of a mortal is very familiar in Homeric epic (for example Athene as

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[14] Cf. Griffin p.48.

[15] At *O*.1.73ff. Poseidon appears to Pelops as he invokes him on the seashore; at *O*.6.61ff. Apollo answers Iamus' prayer; at *O*.7.39ff. Zeus and Athene honour the Rhodians sacrifice to them, although they had forgotten the fire; at *O*.13.63ff. Athene gives Bellerophon the bridle for Pegasus after he had done the seer's bidding and gone to sleep on the goddess' altar; at *N*.10.79ff. Zeus answers Polydeuces' plea to die with his brother Castor; at *I*.6.49ff. Zeus answers Heracles' prayer for a son for Telamon.

Laodocus *Il.*4.86ff., Aphrodite as an old woman 3.386, Hera as Stentor 5.785, Poseidon as Thoas 13.216, Demeter as Doso *h.Hom.Cer.*90ff.). It is also noteworthy that Pindar has used language reminiscent of epic to describe Eurypylus' disguise[16].

The catalogue of heroes (vv.171-83) provides the poet with a further opportunity to mention the gods individually, also in a setting which conjures up epic[17]. Obviously all the gods were willing to let their sons take part in the Quest, but phrases such as *πέμπε δ' Ἑρμᾶς* (v.178) and *ἑκὼν θυμῷ γελανεῖ . . . ἔντυνεν . . .* Βορέας (vv.181-2) emphasise the personal involvement of these gods who themselves sent off their sons gladly to aid Jason.

Hera, who, according to Homer, traditionally played a part in the Argonautic myth[18], stirs up a desire in the Argonauts for the Argo at vv.184ff.. Pindar also portrays Aphrodite inventing the charm of the *ἴϋγξ* and teaching Jason spells and incantations to aid him in winning Medea (vv.213ff.)[19]. The intervention of these goddesses is very reminiscent of the Homeric epics. One has only to think of Hera's constant support of the Argives in the *Iliad* and Athene's aid to Odysseus and Telemachus in the *Odyssey*[20].

Pindar twice recounts Zeus' demonstration of his approval by

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[16] See Forssman p.89. He notes *Il.*5.461ff.. Cf. also *Od.*1.105, 2.267-8.

[17] See Section 5(b) below pp.140-41.

[18] At *Od.*12.71-2 Homer says of the Argo: *καί νύ κε τὴν ἔνθ' ὦκα βάλεν μεγάλας ποτὶ πέτρας, | ἀλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων.*

[19] Aphrodite's aid to the Argonauts is also recorded in earlier epic tradition. The scholiast on A.R. 4.86 tells us that according to the *Naupactia* the Argonauts were able to escape from Colchis while Aeetes slept after Aphrodite has filled him with desire for his wife.

[20] See e.g. Hera at *Il.*2.156ff., 4.20ff. & 51ff., and Athene at *Od.*1.44ff. & 178ff., 5.382ff., etc..

thunder and lightning. The first occasion is at the Argonauts' reception of the clod from Eurypylus (v.23). This is quite unsolicited. The second occasion is in response to Jason's libation to Zeus at the beginning of the voyage (vv.197-8). This motif is frequent in epic[21]. Thus we may conjecture that Pindar may have included it to add epic colouring to the myth.

To sum up, *Pythian 4* is not unusual in featuring the gods, but the scale of their participation in the myth and the references to divine oracles and prophecies is exceptional. In addition Pindar's portrayal of the gods' role in the human action largely by the use of motifs which recall epic, taken in combination with all the other epic features of the ode, may allow us to regard his treatment of the gods in this poem as another means to recreate the atmosphere of epic.

5.*Narrative Devices*

(a) *The Use of Dialogue*

Pythian 4 is the only one of Pindar's odes which exhibits extensive use of dialogue[22]. Dialogue is only found elsewhere in his poetry twice: at *N*.10.76ff. where Polydeuces begs of Zeus that he may die with Castor, his twin, and Zeus replies, and at *P*.9.30ff. where Apollo speaks to Cheiron of the nymph Cyrene and Cheiron replies, prophesying the union of Apollo and Cyrene. In each case there is only a single exchange, the dialogue is

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[21] See e.g. *Il*.7.478-9, 8.75 & 170-71, *Od*.20.103 (Forssman's ϵ is a misprint), 21.413. The motif of Zeus' thunder only occurs in one other of Pindar's poems, *N*.9.19ff., but there it is admonitory rather than favourable as it is in *Pythian 4*.

[22] Note that Pindar often uses direct speech in his poetry. It is employed for the speech of the gods (e.g. Poseidon *O*.6.62-3, Pallas *O*.13.67-9, Apollo, *P*.3.40-42, Themis *I*.8.36-45), for the prayers of mortals (e.g. Pelops *O*.1.75-85, Heracles *I*.6.72ff., Polydeuces *N*.10.76-9) and for prophecies (e.g. Amphiaraus *P*.8.44-55, Heracles *I*.6.52ff., Cassandra *Pae*.8.25ff.). Outside *P.4* the poet uses it only twice of mortals speaking to other mortals: *O*.4.24ff. Erginus to Hypsipyle, *Pae*.4.40ff. King Euxantius to the men of Crete. In *P. 4* itself we have the speech of Aeetes in vv.229ff. in addition to the dialogue between Jason and Pelias.

between a god and a mortal, and the poet does not treat the outcome of the dialogue at length. He merely states briefly, before he closes the myth, that the promise in the reply was carried out. *Pythian 4* is unusual for the size of the dialogue, a lengthy double dialogue, and for the participants, two mortals, and for Pindar's interest in the results of the conversation.

These points, combined with the rarity of dialogue in Pindar's poetry as a whole, do not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the dialogue of *Pythian 4* is an epic feature, despite the fact that epic abounds in extensive dialogues between mortals which may result in considerable action[23]. However, the poet opens the dialogue at vv.97-9 with such an obvious adaptation of the Homeric formula appropriate to such an occasion (*τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες;*) that it seems reasonable to conclude that the use of dialogue here is intended to be another reminder of epic[24].

(b) *The Catalogue Form*

While it has been doubted that the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad 2* is the work of the monumental composer, there can be no doubt, as Hesiod's work shows, that the catalogue form was common in epic poetry[25]. The

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[23] See e.g. Achilles and Thetis, *Il.*1.352ff., Helen and Priam 3.161ff., Aeneas and Pandarus 5.171ff., Hector and Andromache 6.405ff., Hector and Aias 7.225ff.. Aristotle suggests that there was an increased element of 'impersonation' (mimesis) in Homer in contrast to the cyclic poems, but cf. Lucas p.226 on *Po.*1460ab.

[24] Commentators such as Illig (p.67) and Burton (p.156) have compared the first dialogue between Jason and Pelias to a confrontation in *Il.*6.123ff. between Glaucus and Diomedes, since there also one character is challenged to give his identity and does so by giving a full account of his home and family before finally revealing his own name. The broad structural similarity of the speeches is obvious. There is, however, nothing to suggest that our poet based his dialogue on this one particular instance.

[25] Cf. Kirk pp.153ff.. It is worth noting here that later epic versions of the Argonautic saga also included lengthy catalogues. Apollonius has over 200 lines (1.23-228) and Valerius devotes 130 lines to his catalogue of heroes (1.353-483). The catalogue form featured sufficiently in epic for it to be taken over by historiography: cf. e.g. Hdt.7.40ff., 61ff. & 89ff., Th.2.80.

form also appears in lyric (cf. for example, Alcman fr.1.1-9, Bacchylides 10.26-35) and often in Pindar, who uses it most notably to record victories (as in *O*.7.80ff., *N*. 6.11-22 & 34-44, *I*.2.12ff.) but also, for example, to list the glories of a city (Thebes in *I*.7.1ff., Argos in *N*.10.2-18). However its use in Pindar to provide a beginning for the Quest for the Golden Fleece as a prelude to the voyage, combined with its contents (a list of the heroes who participated in the Quest) seems obviously meant to recall the famous Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad 2*. Although Pindar uses this epic convention on such a small scale (a mere eleven lines compared with Homer's three hundred or so for the Danaans and a further sixty or so for the Trojans and their allies) it is still reminiscent of epic.

(c) *Epic Simile*

The Homeric epics reveal an abundant use of simile and especially of extended similes[26]. It is noticeable that although Pindar makes great use of figurative language in his poetry, metaphor dominates, particularly in describing his song or aspects of it. His use of simile is rare and in this area also the imagery is often used to describe some aspect of the victory ode[27].

There are only three places in Pindar's poetry where we find extended similes.Two of these, *O*.7.1ff. and 10.86ff. relate to Pindar's song and develop themes which we find elsewhere in the odes[28]. The third simile is the one which we find at *P*.4.245ff., where the size of the dragon

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[26] E.g. the battalions of the Greeks compared to waves, *Il*.4.422ff., Paris compared to a stallion 6.506ff., the battle fires of the Trojans likened to stars 8.555ff., Hector compared to a hurtling boulder 13.136ff..

[27] Cf. e.g. *O*.7.1ff., 10.86ff., *P*.10.53-4, 11.39ff., *I*.6.1ff..

[28] For the idea of song as a liquid which honours cf. e.g. *N*.3.76ff., *I*.6.1ff., and for the commemorative ability of song as a reward for noble deeds which lives on after a man's death cf. e.g. *P*.3.112ff., *N*.7.12ff., 8.46-7, 6.30-31.

guarding the Fleece is compared to a ship. Although there is no evidence that this simile is based on an epic original[29], it does seem in this context to be a deliberate epic mannerism. Pindar has chosen to include the simile for two reasons: first it enables him to stress the enormity of the task before Jason, thus enhancing his heroism; secondly it adds to the epic flavour of the myth. While a simile in itself does not constitute an epic feature, in the epic atmosphere which Pindar has created in the myth the extension of the simile and the interest in developing details which are not directly relevant to the point of comparison (in this case *τέλεσεν ἂν πλαγαὶ σιδάρου* v.246) are features very reminiscent of Homeric similes[30].

(d) *Epic Questions*

In vv.67-9 the poet states that he will give Arcesilas and the Golden Fleece to the Muses, because the Quest for the Golden Fleece was the beginning of honours for Arcesilas' race. Next he asks (vv.70-71):

τίς γὰρ ἀρχὰ δέξατο ναυτιλίας,
τίς δὲ κίνδυνος κρατεροῖς ἀδάμαντος δῆσεν ἅλοις;

Rhetorical questions of a similar kind occur elsewhere in the odes (at *O*.2.1ff., 10.60ff., 13.18ff., *I*.5.39ff.) but the use of such questions formally to introduce the poet's main myth is unique to *Pythian 4* [31]. Moreover it appears that the poet has addressed the questions to the Muses[32], to whom

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29 Cf. Ch.1 n.83.
30 Cf. e.g. *Il*.4.422ff. & 428ff..
31 Cf. Ch.3 n.18 for discussion of this point. It is the poet's usual practice to employ a relative clause or *gnomé* with which to launch his myth: e.g. relative clauses at *O*.1.25, 3.13, *P*.9.5, 10.31, 11.17, 12.6, *N*.9.11, *I*.6.27; *gnomai* at *O*.4.18, 7.24ff., 10.22, *N*.8.21ff., etc..
32 The questions in *O.13* are followed immediately by a reference to *Μοῖσ' ἁδύπνοος* (v.22). At *O*.2.1ff. the poet puts his questions to the *ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι*. The addressee of the questions in *O.10* and *I.5* is less clear, but we should note that they are no less epic in deployment than those in *P.4*. Cf. also e.g. *Il*.8.273, 16.692, where the addressee is not the Muses.

he has just referred (v.67) in the announcement of the theme which the questions take up.

Invocations to the Muses are a common feature of epic both at the beginning of a narrative (e.g. Hes.*Op*.1, *h.Hom*.4.1, 5.1, 9.1, *Il*.1ff., *Od*.1ff.) and within it to introduce new episodes or fuller narration (e.g. *Il*.2.484ff., 16.112) but the questions which Pindar uses to introduce the myth of Jason and the Golden Fleece seem to be particularly aimed at recalling the question which Homer puts to his Muse at the beginning of the *Iliad* (v.8):

τίς τ᾽ ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;

Not only has Pindar formed his questions in a similar manner but he has deliberately placed them at the beginning of the main myth[33]. In combination with the many other epic features of the myth, most notably the veneer of epic language, these questions, Homeric in tone and in a striking position in the myth, gain a significance as part of the ode's epic colouring which they would not otherwise possess.

(e) *Epic Apostrophe*

Forssman, under the heading *Epische Motive, typisch epische Erzählweise* (pp.87-8), comments on two places in the myth of *Pythian 4* where Pindar moves abruptly from the third to the second person: at 88ff., *φαντὶ θανεῖν . . . Ἰφιμεδείας παῖδας, Ὦτον καὶ σέ, τολμάεις Ἐπιάλτα ἄναξ*, and at 174ff. *κλέος ἐσλὸν Εὐφάμου τ᾽ ἐκράνθη σόν τε, Περικλύμεν᾽ εὐρυβία*. He gives examples from epic of such apostrophe, which occurs frequently[34].

While Pindar often apostrophises the victor or deities in the odes, his use of this kind of apostrophe, where he turns in the middle of narrative from the third to the second person, is rare. There are only four

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[33] Cf. Forssman pp.87-8.
[34] Cf. e.g. *Il*.16.584-5, 692-3, 744, 787, 812, 843, etc..

examples, at *O*.1.36ff., *P*.11.62, *N*.7.86, *I*.8.21. Whether such apostrophe would be felt to be a conscious epic mannerism can be doubted[35], but it is worth noting that in *Pythian 4* Pindar is careful to use the device only in contexts which are themselves very reminiscent of epic. The first instance occurs when the crowd speculates on the identity of the one-sandalled stranger and the second in the catalogue of heroes; thus the apostrophes can be said to gain significance from the epic flavouring of their context, but they also add to it; such is the cumulative nature of the epic colouring of *Pythian 4*.

6. *Epic Motifs and Themes*

Among the many devices employed by Pindar to create an epic atmosphere in the myth of *Pythian 4* not the least is the use of typical epic motifs and themes. Some of these have already been discussed in this chapter: Eurypylus' appearance in the guise of a man, Zeus' favourable thunder, Hera and Aphrodite's aid. Others abound.

The details of Jason's appearance add up to an outline similar to that of an Homeric hero (for the two spears cf. *Il.* 3.18, 10.76 etc.; for the leopard skin around his shoulders cf. *Il*.3.17, 10.29; for his uncut hair cf. Achilles *Il*.23.140ff.)[36]. Jason's arrival in Iolcos is also the springboard for another Homeric motif, the comments of the crowd (cf. *Il*.2.271ff., *Od*.2.324ff., 6.275ff.) who voice a typical Homeric fear that the stranger may be a god (cf. *Od*..6.149ff., 14.56ff., 16.179). Pelias' arrival immediately afterwards adds a further epic touch since his first words to Jason are a deliberate adaptation of the Homeric formula of greeting[37].

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[35] Cf. Des Places' remarks on p.20.
[36] For further discussion of these cf. above Ch.2 pp.64ff
[37] Cf. Duchemin p.122 and p.140 above.

After Jason and Pelias' first meeting Jason is reunited with his father and other relatives. Two motifs adapted from epic feature here. The first is Aeson's tearful recognition of his son (a motif frequent in the *Odyssey*, cf. e.g. 16.11ff., 19.471ff., 23.205ff.). The second is Jason's hospitality towards his guests. He feasts them for five days and nights before he tells them his tale; cf. the hospitality received by Odysseus at the Phaeacian court (*Od.*7) and Bellerophon at the court of the King of Lycia (*Il.*6 172ff.)[38].

Pelias' dream is personified (v.163) as, for example, the dreams at *Il.*2.8ff., 10.496-7, *Od.*14.495, 20.88. Dreams are a common feature in Homeric epic, where they are often used to motivate the action, as Pindar does here[39]. Earlier in the myth Forssman also comments (p.87) on the heroes' reaction of total silence to Medea's prophecy. He compares *Il.*3.95, an epic formula which occurs elsewhere (e.g. 7.398, 9.430). Other examples of silent reactions occur at *Od.*1.325 and 2.82, where no formula is used. Homer very often remarks on the reaction of a group of people to the speech of one, and the reactions seem typified by extremes, either total silence or a loud roar (cf. e.g. *Il.*2.333ff. and *Od.*24.450, where everybody is seized by fear).

As well as these epic motifs the poet also includes themes typical of epic in the myth of *Pythian 4* in order to add to the epic atmosphere. The theme of νόστος is one prevalent in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey.* The *Odyssey* itself, according to Proclus (*Chr.*306, Bernabé p.101.) was separated from the *Iliad* in the *Epic Cycle* by an epic now lost called the

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38 This point is noted by Brunel p.37. Cf. also Finley (1978) p.125.
39 Cf. Messer p.129.

Returns (*νόστοι*), which related the adventures of several of the Greek heroes on their way home from Troy. Obviously the subject matter of the *Odyssey* means that *νόστος* is one of its main themes, constantly referred to by many different characters; for example, at 1.326 Phemius sings of the *νόστον λυγρόν* of the Achaeans, at 3.102 Nestor describes it. Menelaus speaks of the *νόστοι* at 4.351ff. and Hermes at 5.108ff. etc.. One might, however, reasonably expect the *Iliad* to lack such a theme, but we are constantly reminded of the heroes' return to Greece when the war is over, if they are successful (e.g. *Il*.2.253-4, 9.414ff., 16.80ff.).

In *Pythian 4* the theme of *νόστος* is also present both in the language and the ideas. When the Argonauts meet Eurypylus they are hurrying home (*ἀλλὰ γὰρ νόστου πρόφασις γλυκεροῦ κώλυεν μεῖναι* v.32), and Pindar gives this as the reason why Eurypylus seizes what is to hand to give them, the vital clod of earth. Jason returns to Iolcos (*ἱκόμαν οἴκαδ'* v.105) to reclaim his patrimony. His safe return is stressed by the recognition scene which follows with his father. Reunion with family is an important part of the *νόστος* theme which we find often in the Homeric poems (e.g. *Il*.4.477-8, 5.685ff., 14.501ff., 17.27-8).

Pelias' answer to Jason's demand for his patrimonial rights is that he will consent, but first Jason must go to Colchis and bring home the soul of Phrixus (vv.158-67). Thus another *νόστος* develops from Jason's own return home. At the beginning of the voyage to Colchis Jason prays to Zeus for *φιλίαν νόστοιο μοῖραν* (v.196). This theme not only gives epic flavour to the myth but is also very apt for Pindar's epilogue where we find a plea for the return of the exile Damophilus, who longs to see his home again (*εὔχεται . . . οἶκον ἰδεῖν* vv.293-4).

A second epic theme, the quest for adventure, fame and glory which can only be gained by leaving home and family behind to seek it, can be clearly distinguished in the catalogue of heroes at vv.171ff.. Pindar's description of the heroes and their enthusiasm for the Quest reveals a similarity of outlook with that of Homeric heroes. For the epic hero death was an inescapable fate. Since this was so a man concerns himself with seeking personal honour and glory while he lives, regardless of the risks involved in gaining them. This attitude is shown by, for example, Sarpedon (*Il.*12.322ff.), Euchenor (13.663ff.) who came to Troy even though he had a choice between dying there or at home, and Achilles (18.120ff.).The attitude which Pindar assumes for the Argonauts in general is very similar (vv.185-7):

> *μή τινα λειπόμενον*
> *τὰν ἀκίνδυνον παρὰ ματρὶ μένειν αἰ-*
> *ῶνα πέσσοντ', ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ θανάτῳ*
> *φάρμακον κάλλιστον ἑᾶς ἀρετᾶς ἅ-*
> *λιξιν εὑρέσθαι σὺν ἄλλοις.*

In addition the poet adds details in the catalogue which supplement this ethic. One of the epic hero's main goals is to gain *κλέος ἐσθλόν* (cf. e.g Achilles, *Il.*18.121, Diomedes 5.3). Pindar tells us that this was achieved by Euphemus and Periclymenus on the Quest: *τῶν μὲν κλέος ἐσλὸν* Εὐφάμου *τ' ἐκράνθη σόν τε,* Περικλύμεν' *εὐρυβία* (vv.174-5). The description of these sons of Poseidon as *αἰδεσθέντες ἀλκάν* (v.173) further suggests this attitude (cf. e.g. *Il.*15.561ff.), although it is internalised[40].*αἰδώς* is related to the desire for glory discussed above.

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[40] Cf. Burton p.162 'The implication is that they worshiped their prowess as if it were a god whom they must do nothing to shame should it come to the test of danger'.

It would seem then, that Pindar has included this theme to create an epic atmosphere. However we must note at this point that this attitude to life also characterises other of Pindar's heroes and heroines (cf. e.g. Pelops *O.*1.81ff., Cyrene *P.*9.18ff.) and is possessed by the victorious athlete (cf. e.g. *O.*6.9ff., 12.13ff.)[41]. Hence this theme in *Pythian 4* would not necessarily have any overt significance as an epic feature. But Pindar has combined it with two distinctly Homeric motifs, the catalogue and Hera's aid, in order to enhance our awareness of its derivation from epic.

7. *Epic Language*

Of all the epic features present in *Pythian 4* epic language is perhaps the most useful to the poet who wishes to give his poem a veneer of epic. Apart from the epilogue (vv.263-99) *Pythian 4* contains a remarkable number of words and expressions which may be described as 'epic'. This phenomenon was first examined by Forssman in his monograph *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars* (Wiesbaden 1966) where he devotes a sizeable section (pp.86-106) to the language of *Pythian 4.* This study provides much valuable groundwork. Forssman, however, does not provide any evidence from other odes as a control against which to assess the scale of the poet's use of epic language in *Pythian 4.* In addition his categories of epic language are very broad[42]. The analysis of the epic language of *Pythian 4* provided below builds on Forssman's work and, it is hoped, expands and clarifies it.

Definitions of what constitutes epic language in a context outside Homer will vary, but for the purposes of this study epic language denotes

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[41] Cf. Carey (1981) pp.70-71.

[42] Some of his examples have already appeared earlier in this chapter under different headings, cf. above pp.138 n.16, p.143 nn.33 & 34, p.145.

language which was sufficiently well-known in epic and unknown outside it to be felt to be reminiscent of epic, and also language which is modelled on well-known epic originals. The definition needs to exclude words and phrases which were used to such an extent outside the Homeric epics, Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns*, that is by the lyricists and later by the tragedians, as to be no longer felt to be epic but merely poetic when Pindar used them. Also excluded are any words which are found in prose writers.

This is a general definition. In order to analyse Pindar's use of epic language with precision five specific categories of epic language were considered as follows:

1. Language common in epic and (outside epic) found in Pindar only.
2. Language shared by epic only with Pindar, including items found in epic only once or in a variety of forms.
3. Language common in epic, rare outside, found in Pindar[43].
4. Pindaric adaptations of language common in epic.
5. Homeric formulae shared by Pindar with other Greek writers[44].

It is immediately obvious that category 5 is a special case, since it is the only group where expressions which fall under it occur frequently outside epic and Pindar[45]. However it was felt that since these combinations occur with such frequency in epic as to become independently recognisable units[46] they may well have still sounded 'epic'

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[43] As a rule of thumb I have taken 'rare' to indicate that the example is found in no more than 4 places outside epic, apart from Pindar.
[44] These categories represent a refinement of Forssman's first three categories of epic language, i.e. 1) *Epische Motive, typisch epische Erzählweise* (pp.87ff.), 2) *Spezifisch epische Wortverbindungen* (pp.89ff.), 3) *Spezifisch epische Wörter, epischer Wortgebrauch.*
[45] E.g. *Ζεῦ πάτερ* Alc.691, Simon.543.24, Alcm.81, etc.; *βία* periphrasis to describe a hero B.5.181, A.*Ch*.893, *Th*.571, 577, etc..
[46] Cf. Parry pp.37ff..

to Pindar's audience despite their wide occurrence in other Greek writers[47]. Certainly in the context of *Pythian 4*, where there is such a concentration of epic language and features, Homeric formulae may well have been felt to evoke epic.

Forssman also included (pp.94-8) the special formation of stems, inflexional forms, phonetic features and metrical lengthening. After a careful review of his evidence I have chosen to omit these. While some of the features which he lists *may* have been felt to enhance the epic effect of *Pythian 4* exclusion appears the best method of dealing with uncertainty on this point[48].

Both the analysis of Forssman and my own research reveal two types of example. First, word combinations, most often in the form of adjective and noun, and secondly single words. The first type is obviously the most useful for our purpose since the element of combination involved greatly reduces the chance of coincidental resemblance to epic and also the possibility that the phrase is merely poetic.

It must be noted here that a large part of lyric and tragedy has not survived, so that our evidence for what was poetic rather than epic is limited. This is particularly pertinent in the case of the second type of example, the single word, where the chance of a coincidental resemblance

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[47] Cf., however, Fowler pp.47, 51-2.

[48] There are various problems for the analyst who wishes to include these features as evidence of epic language. The greatest is this: that a feature which occurs frequently in lyric may as a result of its frequent occurrence have lost its ability to remind its hearers of the language of epic. For example Forssman lists genitive in-*αο* (p.94), but this occurs frequently elsewhere in Pindar. *μοῦνος* and *κοῦραι* , his examples of epic metrical lengthening (p.98) occur very often, e.g. in Bacchylides (cf. 5.137 & 156, 9.44, etc.). The termination *-οιο* for the genitive singular (p.94), apart from the fact that Homer uses a variety of forms (*-ου* and *-οο*, see Palmer p.87) so that we cannot label one as 'epic', occurs frequently in Pindar, Bacchylides, Ibycus and Simonides. Cf. also Braswell's comments pp.33ff..

to epic is greater, and hence the possibility that the word was felt to be poetic rather than epic. However if a careful check is made to verify a particular word's rarity of occurrence outside epic on the evidence available I feel it may be included.

To judge accurately how great is Pindar's use of epic language in *Pythian 4* we need first to determine the extent of its presence elsewhere in the odes. For this reason nine other odes were included in my analysis and the results are shown in Tables 1 and 2. *Testimonia* are given in Appendix II (pp.280ff.).

In order to obtain some sort of figure for comparison it has been necessary to express the number of instances of epic language per poem as a percentage.The percentages obtained from the number of instances of epic language expressed as part of the total number of words in a poem are too small to be of any value. Thus it was decided that a more practical solution would be to express the occurrence of epic language in an ode as the number of lines containing epic language as a percentage of the total number of lines in an ode. This method is, of course, not strictly accurate, since the length of line varies from ode to ode according to the metrical schema of each poem, but there seems to be no other satisfactory method of quantifying the use of epic language for comparative purposes[49].

Liddell-Scott-Jones' lexicon was used as a primary source of information. Any word or phrase which appeared both in epic and in Pindar was then checked in the concordances of Prendergast and Dunbar and the indices to iambic, elegaic and lyric poetry (including Bacchylides) and in the concordances to Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides.

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49 Cf. Kenny's comments, pp.61, 66ff., on such difficulties in analysing literary texts. The method I have chosen actually diminishes the percentage of epic language in *P.4*, since the ode contains 6 lines where more than one instance of epic language is found. *P.6*, *N.1* and *I.1* each contain one such line. The remaining sample odes only exhibit lines containing one instance of epic language.

TABLE 1

Results of analysis for epic language of a random selection of victory odes, including *Pythian 4*

Poem	Number of lines	Number of lines containing instances of epic language	Remarks
O.1	117	22 = 18.8%	Very grand ode to a ruler
O.4	27	4 = 14.8%	Short ode
P.4	299	70 = 23.4%	
P.5	124	8= 6.5%	Ode composed for same victory as *Pythian 4*
P.6	53	6 = 11.3%	Ode containing a myth from the *Epic Cycle* (*Aethiopis*)
N.1	72	10 = 13.9%	Traditional heroic myth
N.5	54	7 = 13.0%	Ode to a non-ruler
N.10	90	15 = 16.7%	Poem containing a myth from the *Epic Cycle* (*Cypria)*
I.1	68	8 = 11.8%	Ode to a non-ruler
I.2	48	8 = 16.7%	Ode without myth; a victory list replaces it.

Average percentage of epic language 14.7%

Figure 1

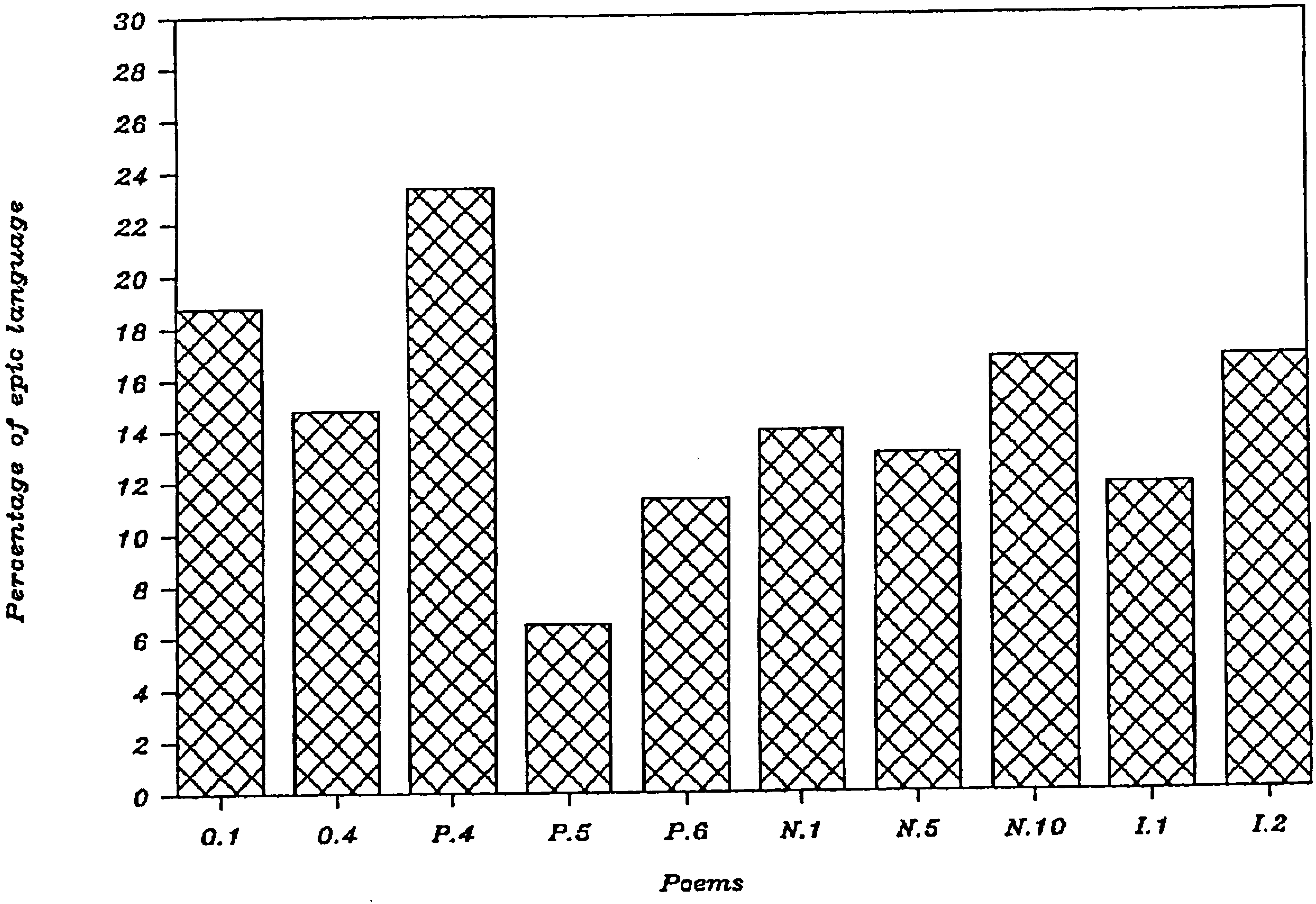

TABLE 2

Detailed breakdown of the analysis of the odes

Poem	Instances of					Occurrence of	
	Cat.1	Cat.2	Cat.3	Cat.4	Cat 5	Single words	word combinations
O.1	2	8	7	2	3	5	17
O.4	1	0	1	1	1	2	2
P.4	10	2	21	41	2	25	51
P.5	1	0	2	3	2	5	3
P.6	0	1	1	5	0	1	6
N.1	0	0	6	3	2	1	10
N.5	0	2	2	2	1	3	4
N.10	1	4	5	1	4	8	7
I.1	1	1	4	2	1	4	5
I.2	0	0	2	4	2	2	6
Total	16	18	51	63	18	56	111

The results of the analysis are interesting. First, it must be noted that in every ode analysed epic language appeared. Thus we may suggest that it formed an integral part of Pindar's poetic language. Secondly, both single words and word combinations of epic language are found in every ode of our sample, although there are almost twice as many instances of word combinations (111 : 56)

All five categories of epic language are represented, but not always in any one poem, and Categories 1, 2 and 5 occur considerably less often

than Categories 3 and 4 (which are represented in every ode) except in *Olympian 1* and *Pythian 4*. *Olympian 1* contains the largest number of instances of Category 2 which accounts for almost half its epic language. Can we allow that the type of epicism admitted by the poet is of importance? Does this choice of words reflect the poet's conscious intention to aggrandise *Olympian 1* by including rather more *recherché* epicisms than those which were part of his usual vocabulary?

This remains conjecture, but it is noticeable that *Pythian 4* is distinguished by its large number of instances of Category 4, adaptations of language common in epic, which accounts for over half its epic language, and by a striking number of instances of Category 1, language common in epic but outside it found only in Pindar. Did Pindar set out to introduce into *Pythian 4* language which was epic but not the usual run of the mill epicisms chosen by others, hence his choice of words in Category 1? Are the large number of adaptations indicative of his innovatory talents and his desire to overlay *Pythian 4* with a veneer of epic, but of a quality which caused him to stay away from a heavy-handed peppering of the text with words and phrases taken directly from epic? The number of instances of epic adaptations might almost suggest a desire on the poet's part to show off his dexterity with language.

The percentage of epic language in the odes analysed reveals that *Pythian 4* possesses a greater amount of epic language than any other poem and by a considerable margin[50]. The average percentage for all the

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[50] The percentage of epic language found in *P.4* is +2.0 standard deviations from the mean. The percentages for the other odes all fall within 1 standard deviation, except *P. 5* (-1.9 S.D.). This indicates that *P.4* contains a significantly larger proportion of epic language. Cf. Kenny pp.146ff. on standard deviations.

odes analysed is 14.7%, that for *Pythian 4* 23.4%. The ode which contains the least epic language by a significant margin[51], and less than a third that found in *Pythian 4*, is *Pythian 5* (6.5% : 23.4%). This prompts the question, was it the poet's intention to contrast the two odes in this way. Did he wish them to be so different that he consciously attempted to remove or restrict the epicisms inherent in his ordinary poetic language?[52]

The percentages also reveal that incidence of epic language is not necessarily governed by such obvious criteria as length and context, or by the status of the addressee. *Olympian 4* is the shortest of the odes analysed, yet its overall percentage of epic language is greater than that of *Nemean I, Isthmian 1* and *Pythian 5*, odes over twice its length. This would suggest that the quantity of epicisms in an ode does not necessarily increase with length, an important point in view of the extraordinary length of *Pythian 4*.

Nemean 10, which narrates a myth from the *Epic Cycle*, contains the same percentage (16.7%) of epic language as *Isthmian 2*, where no myth is related and *Pythian 6*, where another myth from the *Epic Cycle* is related, contains less (11.3%). This is surprising. One might have expected poems containing myths from epic to have contained a higher incidence of epicisms than those whose myths are not derived from epic sources, and odes without myth even less. *Isthmian 2*, however, an ode without myth at all, contains as great a percentage and greater than odes where myth is narrated (*O.4*, *P.5* & *6*, *N.1*, *5* & *10*, *I.1*). Hence context may

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51 *P.5*'s percentage of epic language is exactly -1.9 standard deviations from the mean. Cf. n.49 .

52 This suggestion accords well with the remarks made on the relationship between *P. 4* and *P.5* on pp.195ff.&205ff. below.

not be regarded as influential. Pindar's choice of a myth from ancient saga in *Pythian 4* would not therefore inevitably increase the percentage of epic language in the ode, although it is striking that the non-mythical part of the ode (viz the epilogue, vv.263-99) only contains 4 examples of epic language, i.e. a percentage of 10.8%, considerably below Pindar's average usage in the odes, and less than half the percentage over the whole of *Pythian 4*.

Olympian 1, arguably the grandest of the epinicians, was composed for a powerful Sicilian ruler. Its above average incidence of epic language is, therefore, not entirely unexpected. However other odes to rulers, such as *Pythian 6*, *Nemean 1* [53] and *Pythian 5* (on which of course we must bear in mind my remarks above on its relationship to *Pythian 4*, p.156 with n.51) contain an average or below average incidence of epic language, thus we cannot suggest that the status of the addressee is a decisive factor either.

To sum up, the evidence shows that *Pythian 4* contains a significantly higher proportion of epic language than that usually found in Pindar's odes. This cannot be accounted for on the grounds of the poem's addressee, length or subject matter. Moreover over half of this epic language comprises language which has been adapted from epic originals. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the poet has deliberately increased the proportion of epic language in the ode. The significance of this increase is further enhanced by the many other epic features which Pindar has chosen to incorporate. Language is yet another

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[53] Chromius seems to have been made regent of Aetna for Hieron's son. Cf. Σ *N 9* D.III pp.149-50).

means by which the poet is able to conjure up the atmosphere of epic in *Pythian 4*.

Conclusion

From the evidence of this chapter it seems certain that it was Pindar's intention that *Pythian 4* should be reminiscent of epic. This he achieves most successfully by incorporating many epic features into the myth and by overlaying the ode with a veneer of epic language. The cumulative effect of these features (since many are not significant in themselves, but only in combination with others) is unmistakeably epic. However, this is mere illusion. *Pythian 4* remains lyric in its composition, its structure, its narrative technique. It remains lyric in its most basic intent; eulogy is not a function of epic. Beneath the trappings *Pythian 4* is an epinician of unusual length and grandeur, containing an unusual plea in the epilogue, but an epinician none the less.

CHAPTER FIVE

Cyrene and the Historical Pindar

No study of the poems composed for Arcesilas IV would be complete without some consideration of the question of historical interpretation raised by the epilogue of *Pythian 4*. Can we accept that an epinician poet could intervene publicly in the politics of a foreign state?[1] Or are we to believe that the verses about Damophilus do not represent a personal intervention by the poet, but rather provide an innovative means of praising the king's clemency and moderation[2]. Or shall we state that Pindar's odes are self-referential, so that all the talk of *stasis* and exile is an intrusive element which has been introduced into the ode as the result of conjecture in the scholia[3].

Such diversity of views reveals that although scholarship today is far removed from the stance of those who hunted through the odes in search of biographical and historical details of Pindar's life and times[4], there is by no means general agreement on the question of historical interpretation. The poems were composed for specific occasions, which we can often date exactly, for patrons whose families, cities and homelands shared in their achievement. References to any of these will naturally be of an historical nature, since such persons and places existed[5]. Catalogues of the victor's previous successes or those of his family must

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[1] Cf. e.g.Wilamowitz (1922) pp.377-8, Bowra p.141, Duchemin pp.87ff., Méautis p.248ff..
[2] Cf. Carey (1980.1) p.152.
[3] Cf. Thummer I pp.43ff., 90ff..
[4] For a discussion of Pindaric scholarship cf. Young's essay (1964). On the historico-biographical approach cf. esp.pp.38ff..
[5] Cf. Lee pp.65-6.

have had a basis in historical fact. No one questions these assumptions, but we should note that references of this kind have obvious relevance in an epinician, so that their presence is to be expected and even desired. What has caused concern to scholars is references to historical events, and especially those contemporary with the ode, which do not appear to be directly relevant to the celebration of the victory and the presence of which in an epinician is therefore at first sight surprising.

Our first problem is to identify such historical allusions. When can we be certain that it was the poet's intention to allude to events contemporary with the ode? As twentieth century *readers* of Pindar we have to negotiate the fine dividing line between, on the one hand, setting the ode in its historical context and attempting to be as well-informed about the circumstances in which an ode was performed as the original audience and, on the other, applying this knowledge too rigidly, thus superimposing our ideas of the historical situation on the poet's thoughts and words. Without the ode's historical context and background we are in danger of missing the full meaning which the poet's words had for his audience, but too great an application of hindsight runs the risk of reading into Pindar's words a significance which they never possessed.

There can be no doubt that our distance from Pindar's era causes such difficulties. There may be times when we miss historical allusions which the poet's audience grasped at once[6]. There may also have been moments when the audience seized on what they felt were historical allusions when no such references were intended by the poet, but contemporary events

[6] Cf. E.g. the poet's personal allusions to the victor. We cannot see Telesicrates, who causes the women of Cyrene to pray for such a man as husband or son (*P*.9.98ff.), but his appearance may have added much meaning to Pindar's words. Cf also the poet's remarks on the appearance of Strepsiades (*I*.7.22), Melissus (*I*.3/4. 67(49)ff.), Hippocleas (*P*.10.58ff.), Hagesidamus (*O*.10.99ff.), Alcimedon (*O*.8.19).

had influenced their thinking and heightened their sensitivities[7]. In the light of these problems how is one to know what constitutes an historical allusion in the odes and what does not?

First we may point to the presence in the odes of various specific historical references where there can be no doubt that the poet has a definite contemporary event in mind, one which he names, such as Salamis or Plataea[8]. Secondly there exist several references of an explicit nature where, although the poet is not specific, we may be reasonably certain that he is alluding to an historical event or situation of real life which affects the victor and his family[9].

In addition to these references there are a myriad places in the odes where scholars have discerned implicit historical allusions[10]. Many of these can be seen to be based on misunderstandings of conventional elements of praise and are usually recognisable because they introduce material alien to the context and which breaks the progress of thought[11]. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that such references exist, but it is arguable whether they would have been as readily perceived by an

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[7] Cf. e.g. the beginning of *P.8* where many have seen an allusion to Athens (cf. Gildersleeve's summary of views pp.324-5 and Bowra pp.156-8). Such an allusion is unnecessary for our understanding of the ode, and arguably distracting, but it might well have been present in the original audience's minds.

[8] Salamis *P.*1.76, *I.*5.49, Plataea *P.*1.77. All such references are discussed in this chapter.

[9] Cf. e.g. the reference to the Persian Wars at *I.*8.9ff., to a battle in which four of the victor's family died at *I.*3/4 35 (16), to the death of the victor's uncle Strepsiades at *I.*7.31ff..

[10] Cf. e.g. Bowra's discussion pp.99-158, Carey (1981) pp.4ff..

[11] At *P.* 7.19 *φθόνος* has been taken as a reference to contemporary political events at Athens since Megacles had recently been exiled. *φθόνος*, however, is a regular epinician motif, since success naturally attracts envy (cf. e.g. *O.*6.74, *P.* 10.20, 11.54, *N.*8.21, *I.*1.44, 7.39, etc.). The audience may have given this motif a specific application but we cannot be certain that this was Pindar's intention. This is not the only instance where *φθόνος* has been taken as an allusion to contemporary events. Cf. e.g. *O.*8.55 with e.g. Bowra pp.150-1, Nisetich p.198. Elsewhere contemporary allusions have been based on dubious chronology. Cf. Young's discussion (1968 pp.6ff.) of supposed historical allusions in *P.11*.

audience who heard the ode rather than had it set in front of them to read at leisure. The poet's dense style presents a challenge in itself for the audience to extricate what he is saying directly, let alone grasp what he might be saying indirectly. It is also surprising that a poet who uses explicit historical references and incorporates them into his odes with ease would resort to riddling allusions to make his point.

With these points in mind the scope of discussion in this chapter is limited to exclude conjectural and unproven historical allusions. Moreover, in order to evaluate Pindar's treatment of historical material in *Pythian 4*, discussion of historical allusions is confined to those which refer to contemporary political developments (both internal and external) relating to the city of the *laudandus*. It is hoped that examination of these allusions will enable us to assess how far the epilogue of *Pythian 4* reflects Pindar's general treatment of historical matters in the odes, both how such references are inserted into the epinicians and what are the poet's aims in including them.

The first point to note in Pindar's treatment of historical allusions is that a high degree of selectivity is involved. The number of explicit references to contemporary events is few and analysis reveals that they are carefully chosen. Each has a valid encomiastic purpose. Secondly, as well as selecting such references with care the poet consciously sifts and prunes the details in order to make the ode interesting for posterity as well as of the greatest relevance to the victor for whom he writes[12]. This often leads to a lack of specificity and detail in the treatment of historical

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[12] It cannot be doubted that the poet was conscious of writing for posterity. Cf. his words about himself at e.g. *O*.1.115ff., *P*.3.110ff., and about the lasting memorial of song, e.g. *O*.10.91ff., *P*.5.46ff., etc..

material. Detailed accounts of contemporary events in the victor's city or land might interest those involved but such parochial and transient detail lacks the universal significance which interests the poet[13]. Let us examine some examples.

At *I*.8.9ff. Pindar refers to the Persian menace in these terms: τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς γε† Ταντάλου λίθον . . . ἀτόλματον Ἑλλάδι μόχθον. The Persians are not mentioned, but the ἀτόλματον μόχθον could scarcely refer to any other crisis. Obviously the poet does not need to be specific since Clearchus and his friends on Aegina would grasp the poet's meaning at once. In addition, as Carey suggests (1981 p.185), the poet's interest lay in describing the extent of the burden hanging over them rather than its source, since he uses this allusion to emphasise the need to celebrate, along with the immediate cause, Clearchus' victory. The celebration is to be all the more joyous because it comes after a time of general oppression.

Most of the contemporary allusions discussed in this chapter display a similar lack of reference to exact historical circumstances. Often, as in *Isthmian 8*, we may suggest that the poet's purpose in making the allusion was served without any need for detail. However this is not the sole reason. At *P*.1.47ff. the poet declares of Hieron that:

ἦ κεν ἀμνάσειεν, οἵαις ἐν πολέμοισι μάχαις
τλάμονι ψυχᾷ παρέμειν', ἁνίχ' εὑρί-
σκοντο θεῶν παλάμαις τιμάν
οἵαν οὔτις Ἑλλάνων δρέπει
πλούτου στεφάνωμ' ἀγέρωχον.

[13]Cf. Carey (1981) p.185. The same concern operates in his treatment of the victory. Pindar displays little interest in the transient aspects of the victor's achievement, leaving it to the victor to recall the physical details, but concentrates instead on the significance of victory in a man's life, in particular in that of the *laudandus*.

Pindar is praising the ruler for his abilities and achievements in the military sphere and in order to do so refers to a genuine battle or battles in which Hieron fought, but the poet is not specific. The mention of *πλούτου στεφάνωμα* may well have signalled to the Syracusan audience that this was the battle of Himera, where a remarkable amount of booty was gathered[14], but the greatest indication lies in the person of the verb *εὑρίσκοντο*. Himera was not really Hieron's victory but Gelon and Theron's[15]. *εὑρίσκοντο* says that Hieron fought it with others, but their identity is not revealed until v.79, *παίδεσσιν Δεινομένεος*. The poet's lack of specificity here may be designed to enhance Hieron's achievement as a warrior and military commander. Pindar places him in the limelight and plays down the role of his brothers[16].

However there are other moments at which the poet makes specific references to historical events and has equally valid reasons for making them. In the same ode to Hieron (*Pythian 1*) he uses them in order to increase the scope of praise of his patron. At vv.71ff, couched in the form of a prayer to Zeus, Pindar refers to Hieron's defeat of the Carthaginians and Etruscans at Cumae. Hieron features as the man who put down *ὕβριν . . . τὰν πρὸ Κύμας* (v.72) and the poet gives him sole credit (*ὅ* v.74) for overcoming the enemies' ships and for *Ἑλλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας* (v.75).

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[14] Cf.D.S.11.26.2-3.
[15] Cf. Hdt.7.166. Diodorus' account (11.20.5ff.) makes no mention of Hieron at the battle. Robbins (1984 p.224) also points to the feud between Hieron and his brother Polyzelus, which might be a further reason for Pindar's reticence.
[16] We may also compare places such as *I*.1.52ff. where the poet lists Herodotus' victories but in a very unspecific manner compared to the exact numbering found elsewhere (e.g. *P*.7.13ff. *πέντε, μία, δύο*, *N*.6.60 *πέμπτον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι*, 11.19 *ἑκκαιδέκ'*, etc.) and concludes by saying that time is too short to list them all. Is the poet blurring the truth here in order to enhance Herodotus' glory?

Such an emotive and powerful description of Hieron as the saviour of all Greece seems hardly justified by the action he fought at Cumae, but the poet follows this statement with a priamel in praise of Hieron and the Deinomenids which refers to specific battles in Greece's struggle against the Persians, viz. Salamis (v.76) and Plataea (v.77) before coming to the climax, Himera (v.79). The specific references to victories as famous and as crucial for Greek freedom as Salamis and Plataea considerably increases the stature of Hieron's victory at Himera, which is placed by the poet on the same level as Greece's defeat of the barbarians, thus justifying and reinforcing the description of Hieron as saviour of all Greece[17]. In this instance the poet needs to be specific in his historical details in order to enhance his praise of Hieron's military achievements.

Our examples so far also illustrate two further aspects of Pindar's treatment of historical allusions in the odes. 1) He employs what we may describe as events of a positive nature as a straightforward means of praising the victor, as in *Pythian 1* [18]. 2) He also uses historical events of a negative nature in order to set the victory in context and to enhance its significance (as in *Isthmian 8*). Let us examine the two areas.

Pindar uses contemporary events to praise both Hieron and Chromius in a positive manner. This offers him an opportunity to praise them for qualities other than those which led to their equestrian victories, and he did not hesitate to grasp it. A contemporary allusion which is used to praise the *laudandus* directly can be found in the poet's praise of Hieron

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[17] Hieron is also placed in this role in vv.50ff., where he is compared to Philoctetes who was vital to the Greeks' capture of Troy.

[18] Events such as war may not appear positive in themselves, but if they enable the *laudandus* to demonstrate positive and praiseworthy qualities I shall describe them thus.

in *Pythian 1*. We have noted the poet's specificity in this ode in vv.71ff., but the reference to Cumae at vv.50ff. is not specified. Here Pindar compares Hieron's role in battle with that of Philoctetes. An obvious point of comparison suggests itself, for we know that Hieron was a sick man just as was the Greek hero (cf. v.52 *ἕλκει τειρόμενον*). The poet does not dwell on this, however, but points to other grounds of comparison: *σὺν δ' ἀνάγκᾳ μιν φίλον καί τις ἐὼν μεγαλάνωρ ἔσανεν* (vv.51-2). There is considerable disagreement as to the reference of this phrase, because of Pindar's lack of specificity[19]. His interest, however, lay not in setting out the historical circumstances which gave rise to the comparison with Philoctetes, but in what the comparison enabled him to say about Hieron. It enabled the poet to portray his *laudandus* as a great military hero and benefactor to whom even proud men are prepared to come in their need for his aid. We do not need to know who these proud men were. The comparison with Philoctetes is sufficient in itself to suggest Hieron's stature and military power.

At *P.*1.29ff. a prayer to Zeus for favour leads into the victory announcement, but the poet incorporates into this the announcement of Hieron's foundation of Aetna, a recent political event of importance. This is achieved by addressing Zeus *ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος*. The mountain can only be the one which the poet has just described in magnificent detail (vv.19ff.), Aetna. Hieron has glorified the city named after the mountain,

[19] Cf.Bowra pp.132-33 and Carey's discussion of the problem (1978) pp.21ff.. The list of possible military engagements ranges from the scholiast's suggestion of Hieron's intervention on behalf of the Epizephyrian Locrians against Anaxilas of Rhegium in 477 or some action against Theron of Acragas (Σ *P.*1.99a, D.II p.18, Σ *P.*2.36, 38, D.II pp.37ff.) to the campaign against Theron's son, Thrasydaeus, in 472 (D.S. 11.53) or Hieron's victory over the Etruscans at Cumae, referred to later in the ode (vv71ff.) and which Carey rightly demonstrates to be the point of reference in vv.50ff.. The poet's lack of specificity here enables him to avoid repetition while still mentioning the battle twice, as he does with Himera. Cf. v.50&79.

Hieron who is not named as yet but called κλεινὸς οἰκιστήρ (v.31). Later Pindar expands this description by describing Hieron's foundation of the city in vv.61ff. which culminates in a further prayer to Zeus (vv.67ff.) for concord and peace in the city. The founding of Aetna was an important event in Hieron's reign at Syracuse and the poet celebrates it, but without a word of exact historical circumstances. Instead the event is used to place Hieron and Aetna in the great Dorian tradition and to suggest that Hieron and the Aetnaeans will prosper as other Dorians have done, following the rule of law, sallying forth from their stronghold to conquer, and famed for their military prowess (cf. vv.26ff.). The details of the foundation were in fact far from complimentary to Hieron, who had forcibly moved large numbers of the population and imported colonists from the Peloponnese in his desire to obtain the honours due to the founder of the city[20], but not surprisingly Pindar does not allude to any of this. Instead he uses the historical event to praise Hieron as a glorious founding father in the Dorian tradition.

In *Pythian 2* Hieron receives praise as a benefactor in the poet's reference to his deliverance of the Locrians (vv.18-20):

σὲ δ', ὦ Δεινομένειε παῖ, Ζεφυρία πρὸ δόμων
Λοκρὶς παρθένος ἀπύει,
πολεμίων καμάτων ἐξ ἀμαχάνων
διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν δρακεῖσ' ἀσφαλές.

This is clearly a reference to an event which has recently taken place and which involved war (πολεμίων v.19) and Locris (Λοκρὶς παρθένος v.19). Locris therefore has cause to be grateful to Hieron, but no more

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[20] Cf. D.S.11.49.

details are given. Everyone in Syracuse would know to what action of Hieron's this refers, and Pindar's interest lay in lauding Hieron as benefactor and for his *δύναμις* (v.20) rather than in the details of the events to which he alludes. He achieves this praise by means of a vivid and unusual picture of the Locrian maiden's gratitude to Hieron the mighty deliverer and bringer of safety in time of need[21].

Historical events which are employed to demonstrate positive qualities in the *laudandus* also feature in *Nemean 9* for Chromius of Aetna. Here also the poet uses a comparison of the victor with a hero to underline his point. At vv.34ff. Pindar presents Chromius (through the eyes of his shield-bearer, a viewpoint as unusual and vivid as that of the Locrian maiden in *Pythian 2*) as one who in any sphere of war, be it on foot, horseback or ship, got to grips with the onslaught. This general praise is then focussed on to a single moment of Chromius' military career, a vignette of the victor fighting on the banks of the Helorus (vv.40-41), *βαθυκρήμνοισι δ' ἀμφ' ἀκταῖς Ἑλώρου, ἔνθ' Ἀρείας πόρον ἄνθρωποι καλέοισι*, which is introduced in the *μέν* clause by a reference to the fame which Hector acquired fighting by the banks of the Scamander (v.39). As in the comparison of Hieron and Philoctetes in *Pythian 1* the historical event is used to establish a point of comparison. In this case both men fought on the banks of rivers and in so doing achieved *κλέος*. Chromius' *κλέος* in a local Sicilian battle is considerably heightened by the poet's comparison

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21 Scholars have been able to pinpoint Hieron's action and thus recover the historical circumstances of the ode (cf. among others Woodbury [1978] pp.286ff). Σ *P*.2.36c, 38, D.II pp.37-8, provides us with the broad knowledge of affairs in Locris and Syracuse which was possessed by the ancient audience, but Pindar's omission of such details makes them in a sense irrelevant to the ode. His encomiastic purpose in this instance is achieved without them.

with the immortal fame achieved by Hector on the banks of the Scamander. In addition his military prowess (general praise of which frames this comparison, vv.34-7, 42-3) is greatly enhanced by the suggestion that Chromius was of the same calibre and class a warrior as Hector. As in *Pythian 1* (vv.50ff.) the poet focuses on one detail of a contemporary event and says nothing at all of the exact historical circumstances which are not necessary for Pindar to make his point. The audience may have conjured up all the events of the battle, but the poet, with supreme economy, selects one vignette, Chromius' part in the action on the banks of the Helorus, in order to heighten and enliven his praise of the victor.

Earlier in the ode another historical allusion is made which is not used for direct praise of the victor but forms part of another epinician motif, prayer for the victor and his city[22]. Pindar is not explicit in vv.28ff. when he prays:

> *εἰ δυνατόν,* Κρονίων,
> *πεῖραν μὲν ἀγάνορα Φοινικοστόλων*
> *ἐγχέων ταύταν θανάτου πέρι καὶ ζω-*
> *ᾶς ἀναβάλλομαι ὡς πόρσιστα,*

But the epithet *Φοινικοστόλων* appears to be deliberately ambiguous[23]. It seems very unlikely that the Sicilian audience would not immediately see a reference to the Phoenician threat from Carthage as well as to 'bloody' spears. The threat provides foil for the positive aspects of the poet's prayer,

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[22] A variation on this motif is the prayer for Aegina at the end of *P.8*. The poet prays for the freedom of the victor's city. This is likely to have been a political allusion to Aegina's subjection to Athens, but it is tacked on at the end of the ode rather than integrated into the poet's praise of his *laudandus*.
[23] Cf. Renehan pp.223-4.

righteous laws and splendid celebrations in Aetna (vv.29-30). The motif of prayer for the *laudandus* and his city is particularly apt as the *laudandus* is the ruler of the city, who will have to deal with the Carthaginian threat, mete out the justice decreed by the righteous laws, and in whose honour the splendid celebrations are to be held.

These examples illustrate the poet's use of material from contemporary events in the *laudandus*' city or homeland in order to illustrate positive qualities which he possesses or demonstrates. An extension of this technique may be seen in the poet's use of an indirect means of praising his victor, praise of the victor's homeland.

Isthmian 5 offers another instance of the use of historical events for the purpose of direct praise. At vv.48-50 he refers to the role of the Aeginetans at Salamis. The reference comes at the end of a list of Aegina's heroes and their achievements. These belong to her glorious past, but the poet declares that even now (*καὶ νῦν* v.48) Aegina has heroes who saved her at Salamis. The choice of this particular event was no doubt influenced by the relative freshness of it in people's minds (which met the poet's need for a present-day example) and by the great achievement it represented, no less a one than the Trojan War. Pindar judged rightly that posterity would remember Salamis as one of the greatest battles ever. Praise of Aegina and her heroic sailors naturally reflects on the victor not only because he comes from such an illustrious homeland but also because his achievement parallels theirs. Phylacidas had done something great for Aegina in winning at the games. In addition we should note that his victory was in a martial discipline, the *pancratium* [24].

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[24] Pindar often equates athletics with war. For examples cf. Bowra pp.183-4.

So far we have only considered historical allusions which have a positive role and effect in the victor's life. However, as we noted earlier, Pindar does not shrink from using material which is intrinsically negative but which aids him to set victory in its context. The poet sets victory against a negative backdrop in order to give it meaning. If he represented it as only one joy in a context of constant brightness and joy its importance would be lost, but against the dark foil of the troubles and misfortunes which beset mortal man its full significance can emerge[25].

The poet's attitude is reflected in his use of metaphor. Victory appears as a calm day, a bright ray amidst the storms and darkness of life (cf. e.g. *O*.1.97-9 *ὁ νικῶν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοτον ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν ἀέθλων γ' ἕνεκεν*) and is highlighted by this contrast[26]. As well as setting victory against a general background Pindar may refer to specific events in a victor's life. So it is not surprising that when Pindar wishes to set victory in context he often effects this by juxtaposing it with contemporary events. Let us consider some examples.

At *I*.3/4.34(16)ff. the poet laments the sad loss of four members of the victor's family in a single day of war (vv.34-35b [16-18]):

> *ἀλλ' ἁμέρᾳ γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ*
> *τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο τεσσάρων*
> *ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμωσεν μάκαιραν ἑστίαν.*

But he sets against this the joy provided by the victory (vv.36-38 [19-21]):

[25] The *'ne plus ultra'* theme, also negative, is used by the poet in much the same way. If the victor's success was achieved in a situation where the potential for success was infinite the achievement would be without meaning. It possesses significance because of the limits set on mortal achievement.
[26] Cf. Steiner pp.69ff., Bundy pp.48ff.

νῦν δ᾽ αὖ μετὰ χειμέριον ποικίλα μηνῶν ζόφον
χθὼν ὥτε φοινικέοισιν ἄνθησεν ῥόδοις
δαιμόνων βουλαῖς.

The poet is clearly referring to a real battle in which Melissus' family took part, but he gives us no exact details. His interest lay only in the relevance of the reference to the victor who would know which battle it was and the details of those who had died and how. The historical allusion is relevant because it highlights the circumstances in which that victory occurred. It also demonstrates a principle of cyclical reversal, cf.eg. *O*.7.94-5, *P*.3.104-5, *I*.3/4.18-19,23-4.

Isthmian 3/4 was written sometime in the 470s B.C.[27]. The poet employed the same metaphor of calm after storm perhaps as much as twenty years later in *Isthmian 7* (454 B.C.) when he juxtaposes the victor's present happiness with the sadness of the death of his uncle. At vv.31ff. Pindar apostrophises the dead uncle, comparing his death at the forefront of the battle to those of Meleager, Hector and Amphiaraus. But he turns from this sad scene to Strepsiades' victory with the words ἀλλὰ νῦν μοι Γαιάοχος εὐδίαν ὄπασσεν ἐκ χειμῶνος, ἀείσομαι χαίταν στεφάνοισιν ἁρμόζων (vv.37-9). We do not learn in which battle Strepsiades' uncle died, or any other details except that he died fighting in the van προμάχων ἀν' ὅμιλον (v.35). This latter detail has been seized upon by the poet as a point of comparison with some of the great Greek heroes. No other historical details are relevant to the poet's purpose, the setting of the brightness of victory against a dark foil of sadness. So they are omitted.

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[27] Scholars are not agreed on a date for this ode (nor on whether it was one or two odes, cf. n.2 p.184 below), but all the dates postulated for either one or two odes are in the 470s B.C. (cf. the summaries in Sandys p.455, Gaspar pp.80-6, 107).

The same motif of calm after storm is also found in *Pythian 5*, an ode written approximately midway between *Isthmian 7* and *Isthmian 3/4*. At vv.10-11 Pindar says of Castor's granting of victory to Arcesilas:

εὐδίαν ὃς μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεάν
καταιθύσσει μάκαιραν ἑστίαν.

The use of this metaphor suggests, therefore, that Arcesilas' victory follows some real trouble or misfortune which affected him, but Pindar does not explain what this was[28]. We may speculate as to whether this was personal trouble or problems in his rule of Cyrene, both are possible, but the poet's lack of any explanation at all, even of the limited kind provided in our examples from *Isthmians 7* and *3/4*, is striking. Was this because the trouble was sufficiently unpleasant or close, so that he wished to avoid mentioning it except in the broadest possible terms? If so the use of metaphor enables the poet to avoid historical allusions which might displease his patron, but still to suggest the especial welcomeness of victory because it comes after some dark period in Arcesilas' life.

A passage of a similar kind occurs in *Isthmian 1* at vv.32ff., where Pindar recalls the fate of Asopodorus, the victor's father, who came to Erchomenus ἐρειδόμενον ναυαγίαις . . . ἐν κρυοέσσᾳ . . . συντυχίᾳ (vv.36-8), but, says the poet, in contrast to this, νῦν δ' αὖτις ἀρχαίας ἐπέβασε Πότμος συγγενὴς εὐαμερίας (vv.39-40). The shipwreck to which the poet refers is metaphorical, an extension of the poet's metaphor of stormy weather[29].

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[28] The end of *P.4* suggests a political interpretation of these verses, cf. pp.176ff. below. This is contrary to Chamoux, who thinks that Pindar is using these words literally of the weather in Cyrene (p.182), and Lefkowitz (1985 p.35) 'Pindar probably has in mind human fortune in general'. However, the parallels discussed suggest quite specific misfortune. We should also note that this would be a very unflattering description if it referred to Arcesilas' life in general.
[29] Cf. Bundy pp.50-51, Woodbury (1981) pp.239-40, Péron pp.315ff..

Pindar uses the phrase to highlight the delight of the present victory, which is metaphorically described as *εὐαμερία*. The scholia suggest that the shipwreck denoted political disaster, perhaps exile[30], but the poet is not specific. We learn no more of Asopodorus' troubles than that he went to Erchomenus to recover himself. Why he should go there, where he came from, and what led to his move obviously did not interest Pindar. His concern is to contrast the darkness of his situation then with the present-day brightness of his son's victory.

An interesting variant on this theme of vicissitude occurs in *Olympian 12*, where Pindar is able to show that had it not been for the *στάσις ἀντιάνειρα* (v.16) which resulted in Ergoteles leaving his fatherland he would never have had his successes in the pan-Hellenic games. This is obviously an allusion to political events at Cnossus, but Pindar says nothing of the historical circumstances. We know nothing of when the *stasis* occurred or who perpetrated it, whether Ergoteles was involved and subsequently exiled or whether he was an innocent victim forced to flee. Such details do not interest the poet whose concern is to highlight Ergoteles' good fortune in the present by setting it against previous misfortune and to demonstrate how good can come out of bad.

We noted this interest in the poet's treatment of Melissus' victory in *Isthmian 3/4*. Our examples reveal that on several occasions the poet points to a pattern of good fortune after bad. Victory (good fortune) is set against death and grief (*Isthmian 3/4* and *7*), political or personal troubles (*Pythian 5*) and perhaps even exile (*Olympian 12*)[31]. The variety of these examples suggests

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[30] Σ *I*.1.52a, D.III p.205.

[31] To this list we might add *Olympian 2*, where the poet balances Theron's victory against some kind of suffering in his life (vv.15-22). What this was is not clear.

that Pindar is attempting to impose a pattern on life's different events and situations, a pattern which he himself remarks on and applies to the general fortunes of two of his victors. The poet finds his model in the world of nature, where death and decay are necessary if new life is to spring forth again[32].

At *N*.6.8ff. Pindar compares the successes of Alcidamas' family in alternate generations to the cornbearing fields which alternately provide sustenance and have periods of rest. At *N*.11.37ff. a similar comparison is made between the successful alternate generations of Aristagoras' family and the cycle of fruitfulness in the fields and trees. These are general examples, but in his metaphorical presentation of victory as calm after storm the poet applies this pattern to a particular moment in the victor's life.

Before considering the reference to contemporary events in the epilogue of *Pythian 4* let us sum up what our examples reveal about the poet's treatment of historical material in general. It is selective and economical. Every reference is carefully shaped to fit the poet's epinician purpose. Casual references to contemporary events which serve no discernible purpose do not appear. The poet's aims often do not require specific detail of events, in which case none is given; but when details are of importance for the point he is making they are included.

Pindar employs contemporary material for two reasons, broadly speaking. First, in direct praise of the victor, his family and homeland, often to reveal qualities of the *laudandus* not necessarily demonstrated by his victory. Secondly, the material (usually negative) may be used to set

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[32] Cf. Steiner pp.342ff..

victory in context. This latter use reveals a fascination on the part of the poet with the pattern of good fortune which comes out of bad.

Pythian 4

In the light of Pindar's treatment of historical allusions in the odes in general, let us consider the epilogue of *Pythian 4.* The ode was written in honour of the eighth Battiad king, whose reign ended the monarchy in Cyrene. The dynasty had been dogged by power struggles both from without and within the ruling family, and the situation appears to have been by no means settled when Arcesilas inherited the throne[33]. Against this background we must set *Pythian 4*, Pindar's longest and grandest ode, with its epic-style myth of the Argonauts commanding our attention for over two-thirds of the ode. Up until the end of the myth the ode unfolds very much like any other victory ode. Arcesilas' victory is announced in the proem. A myth follows. When the myth closes we return to Arcesilas and expect final praise of the victor. However, in this section of the ode Pindar introduces a new character, Damophilus, and circumstances connected with him which seem at first sight entirely unrelated to the victory which Arcesilas is celebrating, but which appear to have been a contemporary issue in Cyrene.

The scholia which introduce the ode (DII.pp.92ff.) tell us that there had been civil strife in Cyrene in which Damophilus had taken part. This had led to his banishment. Pindar now pleads for his return:

> *τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ Κυρήνης κτίσεως καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ ταραχῶν περιέχει.*
> *ὁ δέ Ἀρκεσίλαος τοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλε, τοὺς δὲ ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἐν οἷς τις*
> *ἦν καὶ Δαμόφιλος, ὃς ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος ἦλθεν εἰς Θήβας, ὑπὲρ*
> *οὗ φαίνεται ὁ Πίνδαρος παρακαλῶν καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν διαλλάξαι κτλ*

[33] Cf. Appendix III pp.297ff..

Damophilus' flight to Thebes and Pindar's plea for him could be deduced from the last part of the ode, but the knowledge of how Arcesilas had dealt with all those involved in the *ταραχαί* of Cyrene could not be inferred from the text, nor does it have the appearance of being a guess: for we might expect a guess to concern only the fate of Damophilus. In fact this information is likely to come from a good source.

The scholiasts do not always name their sources, but on *Pythians 4* and *5* they cite Herodotus, Acesander, Menecles of Barca and Theotimus, a local Cyrenean historian[34]. They do not, however, cite any historian as the basis of their remarks about Damophilus. It is clear that because of Herodotus' account the history of the first six Battiad kings was reasonably well documented, but he does not write of the two later kings, Battus IV and Arcesilas IV. The citations in the scholia indicate that Acesander and Menecles covered the very early history of Cyrene and its Argonautic links. Menecles also dealt with the reign of Arcesilas III (Jacoby (iii) 270 F5) but whether his account covered the period after Herodotus' account ends we do not know. However Theotimus' narrative almost certainly did, as the scholia quote it on *P*.5.26 (Σ 34, D.II pp.175-6) about events during the reign of Arcesilas IV. Thus there was probably a source for this period available to them even if they do not cite it.

The scholiasts' information about Damophilus accords well with what we know of Arcesilas' reign from external sources. The turbulent history of the Battiad dynasty would not by any means rule out the possibility of *stasis* in Cyrene and subsequent exile of those involved. Such

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[34] Herodotus, Σ *P.4* inscr.b; Acesander, Σ *P.4* inscr.b, 57; Menecles, Σ *P*.4.10a; Theotimus, Σ *P*.4.61, P.5.34.

a thing had happened under both Arcesilas II and III[35]. Theotimus' account of events at the time of Arcesilas' victory (Σ *P*.5.34, D.II pp.175-6) suggests that Arcesilas had encountered problems. Like his grandfather Arcesilas III he attempted, by promising them land in Euhesperides, to recruit mercenaries to support him[36]. Mitchell suggests in addition (p.109) that Arcesilas aimed to secure firm support from the Greek mainland as a result of his victory. He was a distant subject of Persia, but perhaps could already foresee accession troubles in Egypt when Artaxerxes succeeded to the throne and he may have wanted extra protection. Our external evidence is very limited but it does fit with the picture, given by the scholia, of troubles in Cyrene. However, even without their information we could have reached a similar position based on a disciplined reading of Pindar's words and without any need for historical speculation or conjecture.

The epilogue opens with a riddle which Pindar challenges Arcesilas to solve and apply. The rest of the epilogue supplies the necessary information for solving the riddle[37]. Pindar commends a certain Damophilus (v.281) who had evidently been an associate of the royal house at some time and had played a leading role in the public life of the city (vv.279-81). This Damophilus is evidently absent from Cyrene (vv.269, 287-9, 294) and his exile is involuntary (vv.293-4). The political context against which this exile occurred is described by the poet in v.272, *πόλιν σεῖσαι*, but

[35] Cf. Appendix III pp.298ff. below.
[36] For Arcesilas III's attempts to raise an army in Samos see Hdt 4.163.1.
[37] Many of these deductions from the text are made by the scholiasts. Cf. Σ 467, 468a, 489a, 491, 496a, 511, 514a, c, 521 (D.II pp.162ff.).

Arcesilas is now, according to Pindar v.275, attempting to reverse this situation.

Pindar portrays Arcesilas as a healer (v.270) and suggests that he can heal both the problems of the city (described as a wound, v.271) and by implication the exile of Damophilus (described as a disease, v.293), clearly by accepting Pindar's commendation and allowing the exile to return home. He holds up the example of Zeus' liberation of the Titans (v.291) and suggests indirectly (v.286) that this is an opportune moment to act. He assures Arcesilas that Damophilus will live peaceably on his return and that there will be no further trouble on his account (vv.296-7)[38].

Thus we can see that Pindar's approach to contemporary matters in *Pythian 4* conforms largely to his method elsewhere in the odes. His technique is economical and allusive. He provides us with all the information necessary for us to understand the purpose of the plea, but does not dwell on the exact historical circumstances. We may not grasp the personal aspects of the situation as they concerned Damophilus and Arcesilas, but we are still able to make sense of the closing plea and its relationship to the rest of the ode.

This brings us to the purpose of Pindar's introduction of the plea in the epilogue of *Pythian 4*. Our other examples indicate that Pindar used contemporary material in the odes either to praise his patron directly or to set the victory in context. The latter is the case in *Pythian 5*, where Arcesilas' victory is described as εὐδίαν . . . μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον (v.10).

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[38] A completely different reading of the epilogue may be found in Thummer I pp.43ff., 90ff.. He states that Damophilus was a travelling musician working in Greece and homesick for Cyrene. However, this interpretation ignores the evidence of the scholia which we have reason to believe is based on historical sources and it raises as many questions as it answers. For discussion of Thummer's argument cf. Carey (1980.1) p.143.

We cannot view the plea in the epilogue of *Pythian 4* in this light, but could the poet be using it to praise Arcesilas?

Gildersleeve suggested (p.278) that a reconciliation had been arranged between Arcesilas and Damophilus before the performance of *Pythian 4*. Thus the ode was a grand peace offering. His suggestion was taken up and developed by Carey (1980.1 pp.144ff.), who states (p.152) that 'through the dramatic device of the plea for the exile Pindar celebrated the mercy and generosity of Arcesilas'.

On this interpretation the plea provides a vivid and dramatic means of presenting Arcesilas as a noble ruler. The portrayal of Damophilus' plight in exile and his longings to return home highlight Arcesilas' graciousness in recalling him. The presentation of Damophilus' good qualities (vv.280ff.) and of the contribution he will make to Cyrenean life on his return (vv.294ff.) hints at the wisdom of Arcesilas' decision to recall such a man. The gnomic utterances in the epilogue have positive applications. At vv.272ff. the poet suggests that even though the city has been shaken Arcesilas has set things in order again. He hints (vv.291ff.) that Arcesilas is a man of sufficiently good judgement to see when the wind changes and to shift his sails accordingly, as he has done in pardoning Damophilus, following the example of Zeus. He has seized the right moment and made use of it in being reconciled to Damophilus at this time (v.286).

The poet's imperatives at vv.271, 276, 277-8 thus become laudatory rather than hortatory. Arcesilas is the healer who has chosen the right moment to heal the wound in Cyrene (vv.270ff.). He is praised for his concern for Cyrene (v.276) and for being able to heed the advice of a good

messenger (v.277). These imperatives provide the poet with an unusual means of praising Arcesilas, but not a unique one. Carey remarks (p.148) that he had praised Hieron in similar fashion at the end of *Pythian 1* (vv.85ff. *ταμίευε . . . χάλκευε . . . κάμνε, ἔξελ,* etc.)[39] and compares the advice given by Horace to Augustus in *C*.3.24.25ff. on social legislation. It is in fact approval of Augustus' policies. We might also compare the encomiastic commands to Arcesilas at *P*.5.23ff..

This is an attractive solution to the problems raised by the presence of the plea for Damophilus in the epilogue of *Pythian 4*, since the poet's use of contemporary matters in the ode thus conforms neatly to the functional pattern of such allusions in our other examples, finding its place as praise of Arcesilas. There is, however, one fundamental problem still unsolved in this view, viz. the poet's extraordinary circumspection in dealing with a matter which is supposed to edify Arcesilas.

We cannot deny Pindar's caution in presenting Arcesilas' supposedly magnanimous act. It takes him almost twenty verses before he introduces Damophilus' name, a hesitation which implies considerable delicacy on Pindar's part. This is reinforced by what precedes this introduction. Pindar uses a riddle to hint at the role of the exile, culminating in the description *ἐὸν ἐρημώσαισα χῶρον* (v.269), but as soon as our thoughts turn to the removal of something from its proper place, and to exile, Pindar passes at once to Cyrene and Arcesilas (vv.270ff.). The poet points to trouble in Cyrene (*πόλιν σεῖσαι* v.272) but concentrates on Arcesilas' positive role in dealing with it. At v.277 he makes a fresh start with the saying of Homer and generalises about the rightness of his message before he advances Damophilus' name.

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[39] Cf.Köhnken's discussion of this passage, pp.1-13, and Gildersleeve pp.242, 250.

We may contrast the encomiastic commands of *Pythian 1*, cited by Carey (1980 p.148). Pindar here displays none of the confidence and directness of his words to Hieron in his tentative approaches to Arcesilas. In addition the insistence on the need for change in vv.289ff. is puzzling if Arcesilas had already recalled or agreed to recall the exile and there would be no need for the reassurances of Damophilus' good behaviour on his return which the poet includes at vv.296ff..

The alternative to regarding the close of *Pythian 4* as a rhetorical device for praising Arcesilas is to suppose that it is a genuine plea intended to secure the return of Damophilus. This is the opinion of most scholars and my belief. I argue elsewhere (pp.200-201) that it seems unlikely that Pindar would have advanced such a plea unless the political circumstances were favourable to Damophilus' return. It is worth noting at this point the *gnomé* in v.275 *τὶν δὲ τούτων ἐξυφαίνονται χάριτες*. Pindar's use of the present tense would seem to suggest that Arcesilas had already set in train some new policy in his government of the city. This may have created a favourable climate for the presentation of Damophilus' request. Within this context the plea would not be unflattering to Arcesilas. Its very presence suggests that he is a tolerant and compassionate man, of sufficient magnanimity to allow such approaches to be made to him even by a man whose actions had been serious enough to warrant exile. It implies a human concern for Cyrene and his subjects. Such implications are flattering, not only in themselves but in the parallel they create between Arcesilas and the hero of the myth, Jason, whose dealings with the disagreeable Pelias reveal fairmindedness, generosity and a complete lack of desire for revenge.

We may conclude that Pindar's manner of presenting contemporary material in the epilogue of *Pythian 4* is entirely consistent with his approach elsewhere in the odes. His purpose, however, is a matter for debate. If we regard the plea as an oblique means of praising Arcesilas we may then point to uniformity in Pindar's use of contemporary events in the city of his *laudandus*. If, however, we accept the plea of Damophilus as a genuine attempt to influence Arcesilas we cannot reconcile its appearance in the ode with either of the poet's normal purposes in introducing contemporary allusions. It is entirely without precedent.

Pythian 4 is, however, unique among the odes not only because of its plea. Its length is unparalleled and the poet used the full potential this afforded him in his grand narrative of a myth from ancient saga deliberately crafted in order to recall epic. Even when Pindar deals with important political matters elsewhere, for example Hieron's founding of Aetna in *Pythian 1*, he does so well within the normal parameters of the epinician ode. In addition the tactful manner in which Pindar approaches his subject would seem to indicate that the plea on behalf of Damophilus was urged with the intention of securing his return to Cyrene. *Pythian 4* was an unusual brief, but the poet's response met the requirements[40]. The ode not only celebrates Arcesilas' chariot victory but also pleads the exile's cause.

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[40] On the ode's commissioning cf. pp.197ff..

CHAPTER SIX

The Relationship between *Pythian 4* and *Pythian 5*

Introduction

The relationship between the two odes written by Pindar in honour of Arcesilas' chariot victory at Delphi in 462 B.C. has been a subject of uncertainty and scholarly controversy from the time of the scholia at least. We have no reason to doubt the scholia's evidence for the addressee of the two poems or the occasion which gave rise to their commission, but the details given about their composition and performance and the relationship between them are much less certain[1]. While any analysis of such matters is bound to be subjective because of our lack of external evidence with which to corroborate what is said in the odes it does seem to me that an examination of the little evidence we do have in the light of what we know and can reasonably conjecture about epinician practice in general might at least serve to rule out some possibilities and furnish us with plausible explanations for the existence of the two poems and for their relationship to one another.

The problem of two poems.

There is no actual difficulty in the existence of two odes celebrating the same victory. Both Pindar and Bacchylides wrote two odes for various of their patrons (*Olympians 2* and *3*, *10* and *11*, Bacchylides 1 and 2, 6 and 7)[2] and we

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[1] cf. Σ *P.4 init.*, P.5 *init* (D.II pp.92ff., 171ff.). For the validity of the scholia's evidence for dates and events cf. Finley and Pleket pp.11-12.

[2] If *I.3* and *4* are separate odes and were in addition composed to celebrate the same victory we might include them here. Whether they are one or two odes remains unsolved, but it seems unlikely that they were composed for the same victory. At *I.*3/4.11ff. Pindar speaks of victory in the *ἱπποδρομία* at Nemea, at 62{44}ff. in the *παγκράτιον* (at the Isthmian games? [v.20{2}]). For a discussion of the problem cf. Lidov pp.175-184.

possess as many examples of one patron employing two poets to celebrate the same victory. Pindar and Bacchylides shared the task for Hieron's victory at Olympia in 476 B.C. (*Olympian 1* and Bacchylides *5*) and his victory in 470 (*Pythian 1* and Bacchylides *4*)[3]. Both were commissioned to celebrate the victory of Lampon's son, Pytheas, at the Nemean games (*Nemean 5* and Bacchylides *13*). In the scholia to *Isthmian 2* (Inscr.a, D.III p.212) we learn that in addition to Pindar's celebration in *Pythian 6* Xenocrates also commissioned Simonides, although this ode has not come down to us.

The sheer number of examples suggests that there was nothing unusual in this practice. Do the examples, however, afford any evidence for the relationship between two odes commemorating a single athletic success which could shed light on the relationship between *Pythians 4* and *5*?

Separate performance

One reason for a double commission suggested by our examples is that the poems were intended for performance on separate occasions. In three of the seven cases available to us one ode appears considerably longer and grander than the other, i.e. *Olympian 10*, 105 lines, *Olympian 11*, 20; Bacchylides 1, 184 lines, Bacchylides 2, 14; *Pythian 1*, 100 lines, Bacchylides 4, 20. In these instances the shorter ode contains only the briefest necessary details of the victory (victor, victor's father, event and place of victory) and no myth[4]. Similar

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[3] Young (1983) has argued, pp.42-8, that the ode we know as *P.2* was in fact written for Hieron's Olympic chariot victory in 468 which is celebrated in Bacchylides. I am not convinced by his arguments. If *P.2* celebrated an Olympic victory it is anomalous in the odes in not mentioning place, a silence even more remarkable in view of the prestige of Olympia. Two places are in fact mentioned in the ode, Syracuse (v.1) and Thebes (v.3). Hieron's victory probably occurred at local games at Thebes. Cf. Carey (1981) p.21 and Lefkowitz (1976) pp.164-5.

[4] It is self-evident that a victory ode will contain the name of the victor and the games and event in which he has won (there is only one exception, *O.14*, where the event is not named). It is also common practice for the poet to add the victor's father's name and his homeland or city. Cf. Hamilton p.15 and the notes on p.22.

short odes contain myth but are still relatively simple (for example *Pythian 12*, *Olympian 4*). It seems possible that such short pieces could have been commissioned immediately after the victory, either to be sung at the place of victory or on the victor's triumphant return home.

This suggestion depends on two suppositions. First, that poets attended the games in person in order to be on hand to accept commissions. This would seem quite reasonable business practice. There must have been many more than the three epinician poets known to us, and all would be touting for business. Unless a poet's reputation had developed sufficiently for people to seek him out in his home city it would seem that his chance of a commission probably depended to quite a large extent on his presence at the games[5], particularly in view of the fact that an athletic festival was of short duration.

A second point follows from this, that we need to suppose that there was sufficient time between an athletic event and the close of a festival or the departure of the victorious athlete to allow both for the composition of an ode and the training of a chorus required for its performance[6]. At *O*.5.6 Pindar speaks of the *ἀέθλων πεμπαμέροις ἁμίλλαις*, suggesting that the festival at Olympia lasted for five days. Further evidence for the organisation of events at athletic festivals is late, but because of the traditional nature of such festivals there seems no reason to disregard it[7].

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[5] Cf. the description given by Dio Chrysostom (8.9) of the Isthmian games in his day where sophists, writers and poets abounded.

[6] If we accept Lefkowitz's view (1988 pp.1ff.) that the odes were monodic in performance this latter prerequisite will not have applied. Cf., however, my arguments on pp.303ff..

[7] For events at Olympia cf. Paus.5.9.3, 6.13.3 & 15.5, and Harris' comments pp.159ff.. Our information about the Pythian games is less detailed, but what we have seems to indicate that events at Delphi proceeded along very similar lines to those at Olympia. Cf. Paus.10.7.2.ff., esp.5.

We know that athletes at Olympia were required to arrive one month early in order to train[8] and that many would have come from distant parts of Greece[9]. The victorious athletes would probably have stayed for the banquet given on the last night of the festival, even if those less fortunate had slunk home (as Pindar portrays them in *P.*8.83ff.)[10]. The banquet would seem a most appropriate time for a celebration in song of the victor's achievements. There is some evidence also that the crowns were presented on the final day, although we do not know at what point in the proceedings[11].

How long would it take a poet to compose an ode such as *Olympian 11*? The conventions governing the necessary elements for a victory ode no doubt made it fairly straightforward for a poet of Pindar's ability once he was in possession of the facts. For there would be no need to select and weave into the poem a relevant myth, or an elaborate victory list, or clusters of *gnomai* appropriate to the ode's themes and purpose. If the musical score were correspondingly uncomplicated a poet might well train a chorus in a very short time.

For his chorus he could probably draw on the victor's friends and family, since it seems likely that athletes went to the games with a group of supporters[12]. Moreover the teaching of music (instruments, singing

[8] Cf. Harris p.164, Gardiner pp.223-4.

[9] A glance at the widespread places represented by the addressees of the odes of Pindar and Bacchylides is sufficient to reveal the international nature of the four great festivals of Greece.

[10]. Evidence for a banquet: Paus.5.15.12, *O.*10.47. Cf. also Lucian's remark (*Peregr.*35) on the difficulty of obtaining transport at the Olympic games because everyone left at once.

[11] For prizegiving on the final day cf. B.7.*init.* (with Jebb ad loc. and Maehler pp.132-3) where the poet addresses the 'daughter of Time and Night, the sixteenth day of the month at Olympia' who gives judgement on the athletic contests. The games began on the eleventh day of the month (Σ *O.*5.13d. D.I p.142) and lasted five days (cf.*O.*5.6.), thus the sixteenth was the final day of the festival.

[12]There are several references in the odes to the victor's *ἑταῖροι*, his crowd, among whom would no doubt be family, friends and perhaps even his trainer. At *O.*9.4 the poet clearly refers to

and dancing) formed an important part of Greek education at this period. Most cities required choral performances of an amateur nature for religious ceremonies or festivals and there seems to have been no shortage of such choirs[13]. It seems reasonable therefore to suppose that the victor's entourage would be able to rehearse and perform a simple victory ode. Others attending the games might be encouraged to join in or might volunteer services. We do not know how many voices were required for a choir, but it seems reasonable to assume that it was not difficult for the poet to assemble the necessary number and instruct them at the place of victory.

Such a celebration formed little more than a victory announcement, but of a more personalised and permanent nature than the refrain apparently coined by Archilochus and sung for any victor[14]. It is clear from the kind of awards and celebrations granted to victors by their cities that victory in the games was very highly regarded[15]. Thus the return of the triumphant victor might provide an appropriate moment to celebrate his achievement[16].

Epharmostus with his *ἑταῖροι* at the games. At *O*.6.87 those who are singing in Hagesias' honour are thus described, as are those who sing for Aristagoras as he is installed in office at *N*.11.4.

[13] Cf. Marrou pp.134f..

[14] Cf. *O*.9.1ff. (with Gildersleeve ad loc) where Pindar himself refers to the refrain, and West (1974) pp.138-9.

[15] Cf.Diodorus' account (13.82) of the victorious Euaenetus' return to Acragas (he was welcomed by a procession of three hundred chariots drawn by white horses) and Bowra p.184 on the rewards conferred on victors by their cities. These included front seats at games and festivals and even in some places free meals in the Prytaneum.

[16] Note that Pindar makes several references (whether real or fictitious) to this very moment of the victor's return accompanied by a *κῶμος* to celebrate his victory. Cf. *O*.7.13 where the poet implies that he has returned to Rhodes with Diagoras, the suggestion in *O*.13.29 that Xenophon has brought the *κῶμος* from Pisa, and Pindar's announcement at *N*.9.1ff. that he and the Muses are to set forth from Sicyon to Chromius' palace at Aetna to celebrate his victory there.

At *N.*2.24 Pindar declares: *τόν, ὦ πολῖται, κωμάξατε* Τιμοδήμῳ *σὺν εὐκλέϊ νόστῳ*, from which we might infer that this short ode was being sung on the victor's return to Acharnae. Jebb says (pp.252, 296) that Bacchylides 2 and 6 were also intended to be performed as victory announcements on the *laudandus*' return home. At B.6.14 *προδόμοις ἀοιδαῖς* may well signal that we are outside the victor's home although the recurrence of similar phrases elsewhere (cf. e.g. *N.*1.19ff., *I.*8.1ff.) may mean that this is no more than an epinician motif. Motif and actual performance could, of course, coincide.

The case for performance of Bacchylides.2 on the victor's homecoming is less certain. Jebb sees in Μοῦσ' *αὐθιγενής* a reference to the native Muse of Ceos where he thinks Bacchylides wrote the ode, but it could describe the native Muse of any place where the ode was being sung. Snell-Maehler (p.XLI) take it of the ode, '*hoc loco et hoc tempore factum*' i.e. at the Isthmus, thus suggesting performance at the games.

If then these short odes were destined for a speedy celebration of the victory, what of the longer odes in double commissions? The contrasting elaborateness and grandeur would suggest that it took far longer to compose these odes and certainly to rehearse a chorus to perform them, so they were probably intended for performance at a later date, perhaps at some anniversary of the victory[17]. Equally possible is that no such occasion was needed, but that the victory ode could be performed as and

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[17] This is suggested by Bury (pp.38, 45) for *N.3*. At v.2. Pindar summons the Muse *ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι*. Given the length and complexity of the ode, performance at the Nemean festival at which Aristocleides had won seems unlikely. Therefore we may suggest an anniversary celebration. How long after the actual victory is not known, and the phrase *ὀψέ περ* (v.80) has led to much speculation. I am not convinced by Ruck (pp.153ff.) that this is an example of the poet's humour. In view of the suggestion of an anniversary in v.2, combined with the evidence of *O.*10.1ff., it seems more natural to suppose that *ὀψέ περ* indicates an interval between victory and celebration.

when it was ready and the poet or his representative was available to act as chorus-master. At *O.*10.1ff., although we must beware of taking Pindar's words too literally, it does seem that he indicates that the ode comes to Hagesidamus late (vv.3, 6-8) while the short ode, *Olympian 11*, could have been sung at Olympia immediately after the victory.

Pride and Prestige

Another obvious reason for the commission of two odes to commemorate a single victory is the resulting increase in the patron's glory. In three out of the four instances where a patron briefed two poets to celebrate a single triumph the patron is known to have been of considerable wealth and status. Hieron, who briefed both Pindar and Bacchylides twice (*Olympian 1* and Bacchylides 5, *Pythian 1* and Bacchylides *4*) as well as only one of them on other occasions (*Pythians 2* and *3*, Bacchylides 3) was a man of power and wealth in the Greek world[18]. Xenocrates of Acragas, whose victory in the chariot race in 490 B.C. was celebrated by both Pindar and Simonides (and a later victory by Pindar alone in *Isthmian 2*) came from the ruling family of a powerful Sicilian city-state[19].

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[18] Hieron was heir to Gelon in Syracuse, a city which Gelon had built up both in prosperity and power to such an extent that the Greeks sent an embassy to him to ask for an alliance and aid in the face of Xerxes' advance on Greece. Herodotus remarks: *τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω* (7.145.23, 156.ff.). The aid never materialised but the request reveals what the ancient world thought of his power, and Gelon's response substantiates this (Hdt.7.158.4). Even if the numbers are not correct, the fact that he could offer to provision the entire Greek army for the war is indicative of the prosperity of Syracuse and that Gelon had a large force of men and ships at his disposal. Hieron inherited this wealth and power and seems to have maintained it. Cf. his reply to the appeal from Cumae for help against the Etruscans, whom he defeated in 474 B.C. (D.S.11.51). Cf. also the praise bestowed on him by both Pindar and Bacchylides for his wealth and use of it (*O.*1.1-2, 10 & 12, *P.*1.30, 46-7, 50, 80ff., *P.*2.56ff; B.3.13-14 & 63ff. (in conjunction with the myth of Croesus), 82 & 87, 5.53, and the magnificent dedications of Gelon and Hieron at Delphi (cf. Paus.6.9.4 & 6.12 with Frazer ad loc.).

[19] Acragas was a powerful city in its own right, but made more so by the alliance of its ruler

We know nothing about the place of Lampon in Aeginetan affairs, but he commissioned both Pindar and Bacchylides to celebrate his son Pytheas' victory at Nemea in perhaps 483 B.C. (*Nemean 5* and Bacchylides *12*) and Pindar to sing of another son Phylacidas' victories in the *παγκράτιον* (*Isthmians 5* and *6* in 480 and perhaps 478). The ability to brief poets of such standing no less than four times would seem, however, to suggest that he was a man of wealth. Aegina was at the height of her prosperity and power during this period, sufficiently great to rival Athens. Lampon's wealth may have been derived not only from land but also from Aegina's extensive trade with other states[20].

These great men had both the wealth and standing to command two famous Greek poets at one time and the poems reveal this. The fact that Hieron and Xenocrates, both of ruling houses in Sicily, could afford both may well have been intended to impress not only the world outside their states but also the local population whom they needed to keep satisfied if they were to maintain their position[21]. A double celebration of victory

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Theron with Gelon. When the Carthaginians decided to attack the city in 480 B.C. they came with a force of surprising size and Hamilcar, the chief magistrate of the city, in command (cf D.S.11.20ff.). Various explanations have been put forward for the size of the force (cf. Finley [1979] pp.52ff.) but obviously the Carthaginians were expecting to encounter substantial resistance. Diodorus' remarks about Theron (10.20.3) are predictable, but we may substantiate his comments on Theron's wealth with what our poet has to say about the wealth of the house of Acragas. At *P*.6.5 the family are described as *ὀλβίοισιν Ἐμμενίδαις*. The poet twice uses the phrase *πλοῦτον ἄγειν* to describe their activities (*O*.2.10, *P*.6.47). He comments on their hospitality (*O*.2.6, *I*.2.39ff.) and he lists the chariot victories gained by the house (*O*.2.48ff., *I*.2.18ff.) indicating their interest in horse racing and their possession of the means to pursue it.

[20] For evidence of Aegina's trade and wealth cf. Kraay pp.41ff.. For her rivalry and enmity with Athens cf. Meiggs pp.51, 98. Pindar employs much maritime imagery in odes to Aeginetan victors, obviously referring to her nautical prowess (cf. Péron's *Index du vocabulaire maritime de Pindare*), but his choice of words such as *ἴδια ναυστολέοντες ἐπικώμια* (*N*.6.32) and *ὁλκάδος* (*N*.5.2) are perhaps a passing reference to Aegina's trade.

[21] Gelon's rule in Syracuse was characterised by large building programmes, especially with the spoils of war (cf.Andrewes pp.53-4, 57). Such public works improved the city and were intended to increase the morale and pride of its inhabitants. Periander did the same in Corinth. Another function of such programmes was the provision of employment for many, an

would enhance the victory's importance and also the prestige of the victor who had made such a significant contribution to his state's glory and image in the Greek world[22].

Pythians 4 and 5

The study of our examples has so far yielded two basic reasons for a double celebration of victory, the need for separate performance and motives of pride and prestige. Can either of these be applied in the case of *Pythians 4* and *5*?

The latter reason, the patron's desire to glorify himself and his state, might well have been the motivation behind Arcesilas' commission of two odes from such a well known poet as Pindar[23]. It seems possible that Arcesilas had learned of Pindar's abilities and standing at first hand from the ode composed for another Cyrenean athlete, Telesicrates, some

important part of any policy (cf. Andrewes pp.111ff.). Peisistratus executed the same policy at Athens. In addition tyrants were usually generous patrons of the arts. Under Peisistratus was initiated the competition for tragic choruses at the festivals of Dionysus. At Periander's court Arion of Lesbos was a guest and developed the dithyramb there, an innovation later seen as a credit to Corinth by e.g. Pindar (*O*.13.16ff.). Hieron's court welcomed Aeschylus and Simonides as well as Pindar and Bacchylides. Polycrates of Samos was well known for his hospitality to Ibycus and Anacreon. The latter was also a guest of the Athenian tyrant Hipparchus. The Sicilian tyrants seem to have pursued policies aimed at arousing pride in their city and régime in the hearts of those whom they ruled. That odes written by Greece's most eminent poets to commemorate their athletic success had much the same aims seems probable. There is a noticeable recurrence of the four-horsed chariot as a theme of Sicilian coinage at this period, reflecting with pride the prowess of Sicilians in this area. Anaxilas of Rhegium commemorated his Olympic victory by introducing the motif of a mule-cart on to the coins of Rhegium and Messina. An obvious motive would be self-glorification, but the prestige of the city as a whole would be increased.

22 Segal suggests (pp.124-5) that Pindar was commissioned by 'tyrants like Hieron or Theron or "kings" like Arcesilas' because 'they probably hoped that some degree of legitimization would accrue to their reign by having their exploits included in the panhellenic cultural norms celebrated by the Pindaric epinician'. But did Arcesilas really feel that his rule was not legitimate in the eyes of the world when he had inherited it from his father, and his father from his father going back no less than seven generations to the original founder who had been enjoined by the Delphic oracle to found the city?

23 The question of commission is discussed in detail on pp.197ff. below. Arcesilas is here represented as patron of both odes for the sake of argument.

years earlier. We also have the evidence of Theotimus, a local Cyrenean historian, cited by the scholia on *P*.5.34 (D.II pp.175-6) that Arcesilas' rule in Cyrene was not without its troubles. Theotimus tells us that the Cyrenean expedition to compete in the Pythian games of 462 had a further purpose, to recruit colonists from Greece to people the city of Euhesperides. Chamoux suggests (p.174) that these were to be loyal to Arcesilas[24]. If we accept the scholiast's remarks here and on *Pythian 4* (Inscr.a. D.II p.92) that there had been *stasis* in Cyrene, sufficiently serious to warrant the exile of several citizens, and there seems no reason to do otherwise, then it would appear that Arcesilas had encountered a serious challenge to his authority which might motivate a bid to increase his popularity.

Chamoux further suggests (p.174) that one of Arcesilas' aims in competing in the great pan-Hellenic games was to enhance his prestige and to affirm the power and independence of Cyrene. It is clear that the ability to send chariots to race at the Greek athletic festivals was indicative of a state's wealth, standing and civilised culture[25]. We know that Arcesilas also won a victory at Olympia; thus his participation was not limited to one occasion[26]. In addition we should note Pindar's use of the myth of *Pythian 4* to set this remote colony well within the mainline

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[24] This was the reaction of an earlier Arcesilas (III) to political problems. He offered land to mercenaries from Samos when he had been forced to flee from Cyrene, and returned with them (Hdt.4.163.1).

[25] Cf. Argos' entry of a chariot, which was victorious, in the Olympian games of 427 (*P. Oxy.* II [1899] 222.31). We may also note Alcibiades' speech in his defence (Th.6.16ff.) where he claims that his victories in the chariot race at Olympia in 416 had not only brought Athens honour but had also impressed the rest of Greece with her power. Lysias 19.63 advances a similar claim, that Aristophanes' victories in the horse-races at the Isthmus and Nemea were designed to bring honour to the city. For when a victor was crowned his city's name was read out.

[26] Cf. Σ *P.4.* init. (D.II p.92).

tradition of the Greek world, as a direct offshoot from the famous journey of Jason and the Argonauts. This may have been a clever device to flatter his patron, or it may have been requested by Arcesilas; we have no way of knowing. However we can say that Cyrene's prestige in the eyes of the Greek world would be enhanced[27].

Thus the explanation of a patron's pride and desire for prestige could well account for the existence of two poems to celebrate Arcesilas' victory in 462 B.C.. However we must also consider the second reason suggested by our examples, that Arcesilas commissioned two poems because he intended them to be performed on different occasions.

It is apparent at once from the length and scope of *Pythians 4* and *5* (Pindar's longest odes, 299 and 124 lines respectively) that neither could have been composed as a brief celebration immediately after the victory. Thus the explanation of the relationship between the two poems as one ode for instant recognition of the victory and the other for a grander celebration at a later date cannot apply. However this is only one possibility. Another is suggested by *Olympians 2* and *3*.

The superscription and scholia to these odes (D.I pp.104-5) suggest that *Olympian 3* was written to be performed at the public festival of the Theoxenia[28]. It is an ode which deals with Theron's victory in the most

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[27] Pindar produces a similar effect in odes to both Hieron and Theron. In *P.1*, written shortly after Hieron's founding of Aetna, the poet describes the founding of the city in terms of the Dorian tradition (vv 61ff.), thus placing well within the framework of Greek mainline historical myth a remote city on the edge of the Greek world of very recent foundation by Greek standards. In *O.2* Pindar similarly obliged Theron of Acragas. Theron's race is traced back to Cadmus, the founder of Thebes (vv.22ff. esp 46); thus his origins are set within an ancient race of mainland Greece.

[28] The validity of this explanation has been questioned by Fränkel (1961) pp.394ff., but Carey (1981) p.19 n.70 rightly points to the difficulty of the presence of Helen in v.1 if the dedication in v.1 and the other references to the Dioscuri (vv.36-7, 41-2) are merely to be explained by their status as patrons of the games. Cf. also Robbins (1984) pp.220ff., Verdenius pp.5-6, 32-3.

straightforward manner. Pindar commences with a ringing announcement of Theron's success (vv.1ff.) and moves easily into a myth of Heracles' procurement of the olive tree from the Hyperboreans to plant at Olympia (vv.13-34), the place of Theron's victory where he himself has been decked with the victory symbol (cf. vv.9-13). The poet closes with praise of Theron's piety and prowess.

Olympian 2, however, is markedly different in tone[29]. Pindar says very little of Theron's victory and there is no myth to underline it, but instead a lengthy description of life in the Islands of the Blest to offset the poet's philosophical comments on the hardships which man must endure (vv.15ff.). The brief mention of Heracles' founding of the Olympian festival (v.3), which is not developed at all in this poem, highlights the difference in tone.

Such fundamental differences in two poems composed to celebrate the same victory raise a question: did the patron request the poet to write them for entirely different occasions or even to perform two different functions? *Olympian 3* appears to be a public celebration of victory, performed at a festival of the gods. *Olympian 2* with its less formal, more personal tone and message could have been intended for a private celebration where the poet could speak to Theron on a more intimate level.

The commission of two poems to commemorate a single victory for reasons personal to the patron suggested by the possible relationship between *Olympians 2* and *3* provides an interesting point of comparison for *Pythians 4* and *5* [30]. One of the main reasons for uncertainty over the

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[29] Cf. e.g. Gildersleeve's remark of *O.2* (p.262): 'not so much an *ἐπινίκιον* as a *consolatio ad Theronem*'. Peuch speaks of '*la tristesse réligieuse qui s'y trouve répandue*' (I p.40).
[30] This comparison was suggested by Schroeder (p.34) but not developed.

relationship between the two odes is the marked difference in their tone and content (as in *Olympians 2* and *3*); most obvious is the presence in *Pythian 4* of a unique plea for the exile Damophilus, which introduces a more personal note into the poem (cf. *Olympian 2*). In addition scholars have also posited that *Pythian 5* was composed for performance at the Cyrenean festival of the Carneia[31]. While we cannot be certain on this point it remains a very reasonable possibility, thus providing a meaningful comparison with *Olympian 3*, also written to be performed at a festival of the gods.

For the majority of scholars this explanation of the fundamental differences between *Pythians 4* and *5* in terms of their appropriateness for performance on different occasions is quite sufficient. *Pythian 5* is viewed as the official victory ode (e.g. Farnell II p.168 'the real epinikion', Robbins p.205 'the actual victory ode for the king', Burton p.135 'an epinician for public performance in the city'). *Pythian 4* is regarded as a poem of a more personal nature intended to be performed at some private celebration for Arcesilas (e.g. Schroeder p.34 '*im Palaste des Königs*', Méautis p.225 '*destinée à être chantée dans un banquet*', Burton p.135 'a more intimate poem, to be performed at court').

The grounds for this suggestion are to be found in the poems themselves. *Pythian 5* celebrates the victory in conventional, formal fashion. The poet praises Arcesilas (vv.1ff.), extols the charioteer Carrhotus (vv.23ff.) and for the myth narrates Cyrene's founding under Arcesilas' ancestor Battus, and his achievements in the city (vv.57ff.). Pindar ends with a return to praise of Arcesilas and a prayer for an

[31] Cf. my discussion on pp.221ff. below.

Olympic victory (103ff.).

Pythian 4 is markedly different. It is a poem of much greater length and scope, with a large mythical section devoted to the pan-Hellenic myth of Jason and the Argonauts. Very little indeed is said of Arcesilas' victory (just the briefest of references in vv.1-4, 65-7) and the epilogue of the ode is devoted to a plea for the return of an exile. The lack of reference to the victory and the large section, markedly personal in tone, at the end of the poem provide the main impetus for a belief that the poem was intended for some more intimate celebration than a public festival. If what we have suggested to be the case for *Olympians 2* and *3* is valid, *Pythians 4* and *5* might well be instances of the same kind of briefing. Arcesilas requested two odes from the poet, one for an official public celebration and one for a private gathering with friends.

The Question of Commission

A further explanation for the difference between *Pythians 4* and *5* is the suggestion that they were not both commissioned by Arcesilas[32]. The possibility exists that *Pythian 4* was paid for by the exile whose plea to return to Cyrene features so prominently in the epilogue of that ode. Let us therefore examine the alternatives.

The first possibility to be reckoned with is that Arcesilas commissioned both *Pythian 4* and *Pythian 5* himself. In view of our other examples of double commission this is a reasonable suggestion. The Cyrenean king may have had in mind two different occasions for

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32 Whether Arcesilas or Carrhotus his charioteer, acting in Arcesilas' name, actually did the commissioning is not strictly relevant here. It was Arcesilas who ultimately paid for the ode so I shall limit myself to the use of his name, even if it was Carrhotus who actually approached the poet in Greece.

performance or just the desire to celebrate his victory in the grandest style, prolonging the heady moment of his success.

There is, however, one problem with this suggestion: the plea for Damophilus in the epilogue of *Pythian 4*. How did it come to be there if Arcesilas commissioned the ode? If we are to accept that Arcesilas was patron of *Pythian 4* as well as *Pythian 5* then I think we must accept that he either asked for it or approved of its insertion. It seems highly unlikely that Arcesilas only learned of the plea at the ode's performance. We have no means of knowing when he received copies of the two odes in his honour, but with a poem of such length and complexity as *Pythian 4* rehearsals may well have taken some considerable time. It seems very improbable that Arcesilas would have been so uninterested in the contents of the ode that he did not ascertain them for himself before the performance date, whether from a written copy or from casual attendance at the rehearsals to view progress.

Furthermore, if Arcesilas disapproved of what the poet had written it seems unlikely that performance of the ode would have proceeded[33] without some modification of the offending points. Pindar might have removed the plea, or even the entire section after the proem if this did not meet the king's approval, or even withdrawn the ode. Thus if Arcesilas was the patron of both *Pythians 4* and *5* I think we must allow that the plea in *Pythian 4* is there with his consent.

However this still does not answer our question why should it be there. There are various possible explanations. The most straightforward

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[33] I am assuming, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that *P.4* was in fact performed. We cannot, however, absolutely discount the possibility that Arcesilas rejected both ode and plea with the result that *P.4* was not performed.

is that Arcesilas actually asked the poet to mention it. Only one circumstance would permit this; that Arcesilas had already recalled or decided to recall Damophilus and wanted his act of clemency to be commemorated. The poet chose to do this by means of the vivid device of a plea from the exile, highlighting his yearning to return to Cyrene and thereby the magnanimity of the Cyrenean king in recalling him[34]. The plea is therefore an oblique means of praising Arcesilas[35].

A second possibility is that the poet himself decided to include it. I find this suggestion viable only if the plea was merely rhetorical, viz. that Pindar seizes on the recall of Damophilus (which Arcesilas has perhaps only recently negotiated or effected) as one means of praising the victor, demonstrating his qualities of moderation and conciliation[36].

It is, of course, conceivable that the poet chose to insert a potentially controversial plea, either out of sympathy for Damophilus or as a result of payment, without being certain of the king's reaction[37], but for a professional poet whose business was eulogy this seems a very unlikely procedure. Given the implications if Pindar inserted the plea on his own initiative, involving not only the possible rejection of *Pythian 4* by Arcesilas but also possible ramifications for future commissions at Cyrene and elsewhere, it seems easier to suppose again that the plea was an elaborate

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[34] This raises a further question. Why was only Damophilus recalled when others as well as Damophilus had gone into exile for the same cause (Σ *P.4.* Inscr.a, D.II p.92)? Or were others recalled but only Damophilus named in *P.4*, and if so, why? Mention of the return of other exiles would surely serve to enhance Arcesilas' reputation for clemency. Perhaps others were recalled but only Damophilus is named because he was a ringleader or person of some importance. Cf. Duchemin pp.87-8, Chamoux pp.195ff..

[35] This is the suggestion of Carey (1980.1) p.148.

[36] Such praise of qualities not immediately demonstrated by athletic success occurs elsewhere in the odes. Cf.my remarks pp.165ff..

[37] Cf. Chamoux pp.178-9.

means of praising Arcesilas and that this procedure was acceptable to the latter.

An alternative hypothesis was first suggested by the scholia, that Arcesilas only commissioned one ode, *Pythian 5*, but that *Pythian 4* was paid for by the exile Damophilus[38]. Pindar indicates (v.299) that Damophilus had visited him at Thebes. The exile then seized his chance to ingratiate himself with the king and commissioned Pindar to write a second ode pleading on his behalf.

This suggestion has much to recommend it. First, it would account for the vast length of the ode, which is presumably evidence of its costliness[39]. The lavish magnificence of *Pythian 4*, with all its praise of Arcesilas, his race and city, was potentially very flattering to the king. Secondly, Damophilus' commission of the ode would explain the shift of emphasis in the epilogue on to Damophilus who has so little connection with Arcesilas' victory. Thirdly, this accounts more easily for the fact that the plea is so closely related to the myth of Jason. Damophilus and his affairs have exerted a major influence on the shape of the poem rather than just being tacked on at the end.

Against this suggestion, however, must be weighed my remarks above (p.198) on whether the ode could be performed in Cyrene without Arcesilas' seal of approval. I find it hard to believe that a poet of Pindar's standing would have readily risked Arcesilas' displeasure. It seems more likely that Pindar had had information that the climate in Cyrene was right for his intervention on Damophilus' behalf, perhaps that Arcesilas

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[38] Cf. Σ 467 (D.II p.163) *τινὲς δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ ἐπινίκου δίδωσι τῷ Πινδάρῳ αὐτός* (sc. ὁ Δαμόφιλος).
[39] Cf. Gildersleeve p.280. One wonders on what other criteria the fee was decided.

had embarked on a policy of conciliation, and it was in the light of this intelligence that Pindar made his appeal for Damophilus. The result of the plea remains conjectural. Gildersleeve's remarks point to success (pp.278, 303) and a reconciliation between Arcesilas and Damophilus. Duchemin, however, (pp.91ff.) considers that the plea failed.

To sum up, our present evidence does not allow us to say with absolute certainty who commissioned the two odes in honour of Arcesilas' Pythian victory in 462. The possibilities can be reduced to two main alternatives. Either Arcesilas commissioned both odes, and we must assume that he was perfectly agreeable to the presence of the plea for Damophilus in *Pythian 4*, or *Pythian 4* was a commission independent of Arcesilas, paid for by the exile whose case it pleads. The former hypothesis means that the plea in *Pythian 4* is an oblique means of praising Arcesilas, the latter that we may regard the plea as genuine. If, however, (as Gildersleeve suggests, p.278, followed by Carey [1980.1 p.144] and Race [1986 p.78]) a reconciliation had already been arranged or it was privately known in Cyrene that the king was about to approve Damophilus' return, the plea would also function as praise of Arcesilas and the ode might be an unsolicited peace-offering to seal the reconciliation. Ultimately the question of the commission of *Pythians 4* and *5* is decided by our view of the plea's function. I already argued (cf. pp.176ff. above) that the plea is genuine and therefore incline to the hypothesis that *Pythian 4* was commissioned by Damophilus.

The Order of Composition

The problem of who commissioned the odes is closely bound up with another issue on which scholars are divided: the order in which the

two odes for Arcesilas were composed. There are two alternatives. Duchemin favours the composition of *Pythian 4* first[40]. The grounds for this are two-fold. First she suggests that *Pythian 4* was written in Thebes, and *Pythian 5* in Cyrene. On this basis she advances a second proposition, that *Pythian 4* failed in its object, the recall of Damophilus, and Arcesilas demanded another poem from the poet. Let us examine her evidence.

Duchemin's first suggestion is for the writing of *Pythian 4* at Thebes and *Pythian 5* in Cyrene.She accounts for this in three ways. 1) The length of *Pythian 4* precludes any idea of rapid composition. 2) The myth is from neighbouring Thessaly. 3) *Pythian 5* was written at Cyrene and Pindar could hardly set out there empty-handed.

I am in hearty agreement with her first statement, but it seems to me to provide little evidence for the place of composition, except that it was probably not written at Delphi immediately after the race. What was to stop the poet travelling to Cyrene and writing *Pythian 4* there over a long period? This question is countered to a certain extent by Duchemin's third statement. She cannot believe that Pindar would travel to Cyrene without a poem. While the mechanics of poetic composition in Pindar's time can only be a subject for conjecture it does seem to me quite possible for the poet to have arrived in Cyrene (if he went) with no more than ideas, themes, rhythms and melodies in his head and perhaps the outline of a few lines for an opening or finale. This, however, is mere guesswork. Duchemin's second statement is not very helpful either. I am not certain that the poet's location while writing would have significantly affected his

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[40] Duchemin pp.88ff.. Others who share this view are the scholia (*P.5.init.*, D.II pp.171-2), Fennell p.184, Fraccaroli p.67, Mezger p.223.

choice of myth. What seems to have mattered most to him is the myth's relevance to the victor for whom he writes.

With these premises in mind Duchemin advances to her second hypothesis. She suggests (p.90) that *Pythian 4*'s plea failed, for the following reasons. 1) We may presume that the king's violent character was against pardoning an exile. 2) We have no evidence that 462 B.C. marked the beginning of an era of peace in Cyrene. 3) Certain passages of *Pythian 5* evoke unambiguously the difficulties of Carrhotus which he underwent as a result of the king's displeasure at his insistence on recalling an exile.

It seems to me that these suggestions offer little hard evidence for the failure of a plea. Against them I would offer the following counter-arguments.

1) We do not possess a comprehensive source for this period. Arcesilas' violent nature is only to be inferred from the scholia's account of his response to *stasis* in Cyrene. Furthermore he need not necessarily have recalled Damophilus from exile out of a change of heart, but perhaps from motives of self-interest or pragmatic considerations in the light of events in Cyrene of which we know very little.

2) It need not follow that the recall of an exile will usher in a period of peace. It may serve merely to avert a deterioration in affairs or perhaps buy time in a tricky situation or even create further problems. Our sources are not sufficiently well-informed or detailed to inform us of such changes.

3) I am unwilling to accept Duchemin's third reason without external evidence, since her inferences from *Pythian 5* are based on general statements by the poet from which she draws specific allusions to events outside the poem for which we have no other evidence.

Duchemin further suggests that when the plea failed Arcesilas ordered a second poem. She finds confirmation for this in the scholia and also in the fact that such displeasing of a patron was apparently not an isolated instance in Pindar's career. We must suppose that he had also displeased Hieron sufficiently for him to turn solely to Bacchylides for the celebration of his chariot victory in 468 B.C..

I find nothing in the scholia to confirm Duchemin's view. Arcesilas' disapproval of the ode had its grounds, according to the scholiast, not in the plea but rather in the *παρέκβασις . . . τῶν κατὰ Ἰάσονα* (Σ *P.5.init*, D.II pp.171-2). The plea is not mentioned. Instead the scholiast comments that the ode deviated from praise of Arcesilas in the narrative of the myth. This is, moreover, a fairly standard response on the part of the Pindaric scholiasts; thus we should be wary of treating this as a true reflection of Arcesilas' views[41]. We may even suggest that the 'digression about Jason' would be likely to please rather than displease Arcesilas since it contains praise of his ancestors in the edifying tale of the founding of Cyrene which was initiated on the Argonauts' voyage, and the myth contributes much to the grand scale and effect of the ode.

Duchemin's second inference of Hieron's displeasure has only the grounds of a lack of a Pindaric ode to support it. This seems to me slight evidence indeed when we consider the many unknown factors which might have intervened to prevent Pindar from composing an ode (such as an excess of work on the poet's part, that he was training a choir or performing an ode elsewhere at the time, illness, etc.).

To sum up, I find Duchemin's firm stance on the order of

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[41] Cf. e.g Σ *O*.8.71b, 13.133b, *P*.8.43, 10.46b, *N*.3.45c & 114b, 4.60b, etc..

composition, viz. *Pythian 4* first, untenable. Her analysis does, however, highlight the problems facing scholars of these two odes. These problems arise from the lack of external evidence with which to corroborate that of the poems themselves and the scholia. In such a situation any suggestion stands to be challenged. Duchemin links the order of composition of the two poems to their place of composition.

What of the alternative, that *Pythian 5* was composed before *Pythian 4*? This view is favoured by Chamoux, who suggests (p.179) that Arcesilas '*ayant ainsi fait la connaissance du poète, ayant été séduit par son talent, a pu lui demander une nouvelle ode, plus développée et plus somptueuse encore*'[42]. He also mentions the fact that *Pythian 4* contains so little reference to the victory while *Pythian 5* was the real epinician.

This last remark returns to a feature mentioned by many scholars, but which has not been fully explored[43]. It seems to me that we shall never be able to ascertain with any certainty which ode was written first. However it has become clear to me that whichever poem came first, Pindar set out to compose each of the odes with the other in mind. This can be seen from the amazing lack of overlap in two poems on an identical subject. Both *Pythian 4* and *Pythian 5* are quite naturally concerned with praising Arcesilas. It is striking that the poet chooses and employs quite distinct themes and means of praise in each poem.

In his praise of Arcesilas in *Pythian 5* Pindar concentrates on the event which gave rise to the poem. He sets Arcesilas' victory in the context of a long line of *ὄλβος* granted to Arcesilas and his race by the gods (vv.1-23,

[42] Chamoux follows Boeckh (2.ii.p.267) and Morice (p.142) on this order of composition.
[43] Cf. e.g. Race (1986) p.75.

55-7, 102-125). In v.9 he attributes Arcesilas' personal good fortune to Castor of the golden chariot and in vv.23ff. he also attributes Arcesilas' equestrian success to his charioteer Carrhotus. Carrhotus himself receives praise (vv.45ff.) which adds to the details of what we have already learned of the race itself; his chariot was unscathed among at least forty who competed against him. Earlier we learn that Carrhotus had not broken so much as a rein.

Pindar returns to praise of Arcesilas after the mythical section of the ode, praising him for his wisdom and wise words, his courage and might, his devotion to the Muses and his skill as a charioteer (a convention employed despite the fact that Arcesilas was not the driver of his victorious chariot). Pindar further praises Arcesilas because he has seized all the opportunities available to him. The poet closes with a prayer for an Olympic victory.

Pythian 4 praises Arcesilas in a markedly different manner. Almost nothing is said of his victory, merely the statutory details of victor, place of victory (vv.1-3) and event (vv.65-7). Arcesilas' victory is referred to as the latest flourishing of the Battiad race, but only briefly and in markedly different language (plant imagery) from that employed in *Pythian 5* with its repetition of the words *μάκαρ* and *ὄλβος*. The epilogue returns to Arcesilas with an unusual plea to restore the exiled Damophilus. Arcesilas is praised solely in his function as a statesman and ruler. No further reference is made to his victory. Thus in *Pythian 4* Pindar succeeds in presenting us with an entirely different picture of the praiseworthy attributes of Arcesilas which do not overlap at all with those celebrated in *Pythian 5*.

Moreover there is no duplication of events in the mythical sections of the two odes, despite the fact that they cover parts of the same myth. In *Pythian 4* we receive details of the tale of Battus only up to his arrival in Cyrene as decreed by a Pythian oracle (vv.52-6, 59-63) when he went to consult it about his speech impediment (*δυσθρόου φωνᾶς* v.63) and a brief mention of his building *εὐάρματον πόλιν ἐν ἀργεννόεντι μαστῷ* (vv.7-8).

In *Pythian 5* the entire mythical section is devoted to the tale of Battus and his founding of Cyrene, but it follows on from precisely the point at which Pindar ceased in *Pythian 4*. We hear nothing of the events leading up to Battus' arrival in Cyrene, but instead we find him already there and causing lions to flee at the sound of his *γλῶσσαν ὑπερποντίαν* (v.59, perhaps a covert cross-reference to *Pythian 4* on the part of the poet). We are told that this was at Apollo's decree so that his oracles for Battus might be fulfilled (v.63). Pindar goes no further. This decree and oracles were dealt with in *Pythian 4* (another covert allusion?). Battus' founding of Cyrene in this ode is remembered for his pious works to enhance the festivals of the gods and their worship and for the laying of the remarkable straight stone road for the processions in honour of Apollo (vv.89-93). His piety led to hero-worship after his death (vv.94-5). *Pythian 4* deals with the events outside Cyrene which were important for it, *Pythian 5* with those of import inside Cyrene.

This remarkable separation of events and themes in the two poems, despite their closeness and common subject and myth; would seem to suggest that each poem presupposes the other[44]. The subtle relationship

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[44] Race notes, (1986) p.75, a similar treatment of different aspects of the poet's theme in other pairs of odes.

between the two odes appears to me to rule out a rethink or fresh thoughts on the part of the poet. Instead it seems more likely that Pindar composed *Pythians 4* and *5* as companion pieces than that one arose from circumstances surrounding the first.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Peculiarities of *Pythian 5*

Introduction

We have already commented on the remarkable difference between the two odes for the celebration of Arcesilas' chariot victory. Some attempt has been made to show why this difference exists. Now I should like to turn to *Pythian 5*. Earlier (pp.196-7 above) I described it as a straightforward victory ode very much concerned with praising the victor, Arcesilas, in the appropriate conventional manner in contrast to *Pythian 4* with its vastly extended myth and scant details of the victory. While this is broadly true, a closer examination reveals that the ode exhibits several unusual features.

The poet gives extraordinary prominence to the charioteer, Carrhotus, describes Cyrene in unusual detail, and gives specific details of Carrhotus' dedication of the victorious chariot at Delphi. Moreover *Pythian 5* appears to be connected in some way with the festival of the Carneia. Such features make *Pythian 5* unique, but at the same time it remains firmly rooted in epinician tradition and conventions. This chapter aims to examine the peculiarities with a view to formulating an explanation of their presence and function in the ode and how the poet adapts the conventions of his medium in order to accommodate them.

1. *Did Pindar visit Cyrene in connection with his commissions for Arcesilas IV?*

In discussing the order of composition of the two odes we touched briefly on the possibility that Pindar may have travelled to Cyrene himself

in connection with his commission. There is some evidence to support this belief and I would now like to examine it.

First, at the time Pindar was working it was already common for poets, playwrights and intellectuals, as well as artists and sculptors, to travel around the Greek world to visit wealthy patrons and to execute commissions on the spot. Hieron, for example, was host to Aeschylus, who produced his play *Aetnaeae* in Sicily in honour of Hieron's newly created city, Aetna. Both Simonides and Bacchylides went to his court, Bacchylides perhaps to write as well as direct victory odes in Hieron's honour and it seems likely that Pindar also visited the ruler[1].

It would seem that an invitation from a man of Hieron's standing was not to be turned down. An artist might reasonably expect healthy financial recompense and the enhanced reputation derived from working for such a widely-known patron. We need to consider Pindar's relationship with Arcesilas with these factors in mind. Cyrene's king, although ruling a remote colony on the fringes of the Greek world, was still a figure of some stature. His impressive turn-out at the pan-Hellenic games clearly demonstrated this and Cyrene was not without fame in the ancient world because of its production of the greatly-valued herb silphium. In addition Hieron, probably the poet's greatest patron, was dead by the time that Arcesilas won his Pythian victory[2]. It would be a very independent poet who would turn down an invitation from another royal patron.

We have no way, of course, of knowing whether Arcesilas did invite

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[1] Cf. *vit.Aesch.*, Σ *O*.2.29d, D.I p.69 where Simonides is said to have reconciled Bacchylides and Hieron.

[2] Hieron died in 467 B.C.. Arcesilas won in 462 B.C..

Pindar to come to Cyrene, but there are plausible reasons for Arcesilas to have desired the presence in Cyrene of a poet of pan-Hellenic fame. His attempts to obtain mercenary colonists from Greece (Σ *P*.5.34, D.II pp.175-6) reveal his need for supporters in Cyrene. The importation of a poet with Pindar's reputation, whose poems would glorify the city as well as emphasise the legitimacy of its king could be a device to gain popularity and enhance civic pride.

Another consideration which we must not neglect is the vast size and commensurate complexity of *Pythian 4*. It is Pindar's most ambitious surviving creation. Would he have been willing to relinquish the presentation of its première? We may be reasonably certain that Pindar did not always travel to the victor's homeland to execute his ode. Some odes were performed at the site of the victory (cf. pp.186ff. above). Several contain the motif of messenger or message. The poet is either the messenger (of victory) in person or his song performs the same function by conveying the message of the victor's achievement. It may be, of course, that in many cases this is merely rhetorical[3], but two instances of this motif do seem to indicate that the ode in question was conveyed from Pindar to his patron by way of a messenger.

At *I*.2.47 the poet addresses an intermediary named Nicasippus: *ταῦτα, Νικάσιππ', ἀπόνειμον, ὅταν ξεῖνον ἐμὸν ἠθαῖον ἔλθῃς*. The messenger motif does not occur here, but it is hard to make sense of Pindar's instruction unless Nicasippus is the man who took the ode to Xenocrates in Sicily. At *O*.6.88ff. Pindar addresses one Aeneas both in connection with

[3] There is no way of knowing whether Pindar's use of this conventional motif at e.g. *O*.9.25, *P*.2.4, 9.2, *N*.4.74, 6.57b, has any basis in reality.

the delivery of the ode and its performance[4]. Pindar describes him as *ἄγγελος ὀρθός* (v.90). This description portrays him as a messenger. The context strongly suggests that the message he carries is the victory ode itself. Aeneas is also described as *σκυτάλα* Μοισᾶν (v.91), an interesting description because it suggests that Pindar had in mind a technical role for Aeneas, probably as director of the chorus. A *σκυτάλα* is a staff around which a strip of leather is rolled slantwise on which despatches are written lengthwise (cf. LSJ s.v.). In this way the message is encoded and can only be read by the person to whom it is sent, who has a staff of the same size. The term thus hints that Aeneas is carrying a message which not all can understand and that he is necessary for its meaning to become clear. The poet further presents him as *κρατήρ . . . ἀοιδᾶν* (v.91) which seems to suggest that he also possessed poetic talents which might be employed in producing the ode.

At *P*.4.278-9 Pindar describes either himself or Damophilus as the bearer of an *ἀγγελίας ὀρθᾶς* to Arcesilas. Both the poet and the exile are equally possible candidates for the messenger, as Carey remarks (1980.1 pp.148ff.). He himself opts for the exile largely on the basis of the immediate context. Pindar has not spoken of himself since he broke off his myth at v.247 (*μακρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμαξιτόν*) and the verses which follow the messenger motif refer not to him but to Damophilus, whom the poet praises. However, elsewhere all the references to a message or messenger (except the one in *Olympian 6*) are concerned with Pindar's task as a poet[5]. This makes it likely that in *Pythian 4* the poet is referring to his own

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[4] Cf. Farnell ad loc. and Gildersleeve p.180.
[5] Cf.n.3 above.

intervention on behalf of Damophilus. His message is the need for clemency[6]. Moreover it is difficult to envisage the poet handing over the text and musical notations of his *chef d'oeuvre* for another to produce.

The main stimulus for the suggestion that Pindar did go to Cyrene to visit Arcesilas and there executed his commissions has come, however, not from *Pythian 4* but from the various references to Cyrene in *Pythian 5*.

The requirements of the epinician genre meant that Pindar frequently had to refer to or describe specific locations, not only the place where the victory which he celebrates had been won but also the victor's homeland and the locations of other victories. In order to do this he uses a wide range of terms, but the range represents the poet's desire for stylistic variety rather than any genuine attempt at description. A place will be described in terms of the traditions associated with it (e.g. Olympia is the place where Pelops has his tomb, *O*.1.92ff., 10.24-5, Delphi is represented by its oracle at the centre of the earth, *P*.4.74, 6.3, 11.10)[7], or by its inhabitants (e.g. the Eleans at Olympia, *I*.2.24, the sons of Aeacus for Aegina, *O*.13.109) as well as geographical landmarks (e.g. the hill of Cronus at Olympia, *O*.3.23, 5.17, the spring of Castalia, *P*.5.31, *N*.6.37, or Mount Parnassus at Delphi, *P*.8.20, 10.8)[8].

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[6] Carey notes (p.148) that if Damophilus returned to Cyrene bearing the ode we must believe that Arcesilas had given his permission, the only guarantee of the exile's safety. Cf. however pp.181ff. where it is argued that the plea for Damophilus in the epilogue is a genuine attempt to sway Arcesilas.

[7] Pindar uses fewer of these tags in connection with Nemea and the Isthmus (perhaps, because these places were less rich in tradition than Olympia and Delphi). References for Nemea are few: one to the myth of Heracles and the Nemean lion (*I*.3/4.11-12, cf. also *N*.6.42), one to Adrastus' setting up of the games (*N*.10.28) and one geographical reference (*N*.6.44ff. Φλειοῦντος ὑπ' ὠγυγίοις ὄρεσιν). The Isthmian games are easily suggested by some reference to the Isthmus itself (e.g. *N*.6.39, 10.27, *I*.1.9-10), also to Corinth (*N*.10.42) or even to the Peloponnese (*N*.2.20-21), but no mythical traditions feature in Pindar's allusions to this locale.

[8] At times a place is even represented by the eponymous nymph, c.f. e.g. Olympia *O*.8.1ff., Thebes *I*.1.1, Cyrene *P*. 9.4ff., Rhodes *O*.7.14.

Pindar appears also to have been as interested in the ethical as in the physical aspects of a place. Thus Aegina in *Olympian 8* is described as a pillar (*κίονα* v.27), Locris appears as the home of *'Ατρέκεια* (*O*.10.13) and a noble city (v.99). Where the poet does employ physical description it is sparing, usually confined to one adjective, e.g. *λιπαρᾶς* . . . *Ἐρχομενοῦ* (*O*.14.3-4)[9], *εὐμήλοιο* . . . *'Αρκαδίας* (*O*.6.100), *κρανααῖς ἐν 'Αθάναις* (*O*.7.82), *Λοκρῶν* . . . *ματέρ' ἀγλαόδενδρον* (*O*.9.20).

In the light of this approach to matters topographical it is not surprising that scholars have been struck by the accumulation of details of Cyrene's topography in *Pythian 5*. The most striking description appears at vv.90-93 and 96-8 where Pindar speaks of the road to the temple of Apollo and the location of the tombs of Cyrene's founder and kings:

εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν 'Απολλωνίαις
ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς
ἔμμεν ἱππόκροτον
σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, ἔνθα πρυ-
μνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι δίχα κεῖται θανών·
. . . .
ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δωμάτων ἕτεροι λαχόντες 'Αΐδαν
βασιλέες ἱεροί
ἐντί.

The vividness and physical details in the description have led several scholars to suggest that Pindar describes these as an eye-witness,

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[9] This adjective is used by Pindar of cities ten out of the thirteen times it appears in his work. Cf. Slater (*Lex.*).

but this is a subjective view[10]. Arcesilas might have instructed the poet to praise Cyrene's beauty as a city and have suggested various features. Carrhotus, or even the homesick Damophilus, may have described the gracious streets of Cyrene and its contrast with what they saw in Greece[11].

However it is not only the strong visual aspect of the description which is unusual. For Avery (p.129) the effect seems 'positively unpoetic' because of the 'prosaic details'. We should also note the unusualness of the epithets. *εὐθύτομος* appears only here in Greek literature, *πεδιάς* is a word more familiar to prose than to poetry, *ἱππόκροτος* is rare and *σκυρωτός* is found only here and perhaps on an inscription from Delos[12].

It seems likely that the road was extremely striking to Greek eyes after the narrow winding streets of Greek towns because of the very details which Pindar enumerates: its straightness, its level surface of stone, and the noise that thereby arose when horses passed along it. It seems possible that the poet's unusual choice of adjectives reflects a sight which was so strange and so unGreek that Pindar searched his vocabulary to the utmost, perhaps even coining adjectives in order to describe it fully.

The description of the position of the tomb of Battus is less specific, but archaeological evidence suggests that it is exactly where Pindar placed it, in the market place at the end of this remarkable road, and that it was a

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[10] Those who suggest that Pindar did go to Cyrene include e.g. Chamoux (pp.176ff.), Duchemin (pp.89ff.), Burton (p.135), Méautis (p.216) and Mezger (p.223).

[11] Cf. the caution of Farnell II p.168. Among those who favour the view that Pindar did not visit Libya are Boeckh (2.ii.p.167), Fennell (p.210), Gaspar (p.148), Morice (p.142), Wilamowitz (p.377).

[12] *πεδιάς* outside prose only three times, S.*Ant.*240, *Tr.*1058, E.*Rh.*283, and *ἱππόκροτος* only E.*Hipp.*229, *Hel.*207, *AP*12.131, and late prose, Chor.*Lyd.*17, i.e. neither before Pindar; *σκυρωτός* is only possibly restored at *IG* II^2.199 A40.

landmark of some note[13]. The poet says little about the tombs of the other kings, only that they were separate from that of the founder and *πρὸ δωμάτων* (v.96) which could refer to the royal palace ('their house')[14]. These details, however, are also unusual. Pindar does not as a rule give his audience a clear indication of relative positions. The tombs of Battus and the kings are located in Cyrene with remarkable spatial precision.

The description of features of Cyrene in vv.90ff. is not the sole basis for the suggestion that Pindar had seen Cyrene for himself before he wrote his odes to Arcesilas. Chamoux (pp.176ff.) lists various other places in both *Pythian 4* and *Pythian 5* which seem to him indicative of an eye-witness account: the references to the garden of Aphrodite (*P*.5.24) and to the spring of Apollo (*P*.4.294), and the phrases *μάκαιραν ἑστίαν* (*P*.5.11) and (in Chamoux's view the most revealing) *ἐν ἀργεννόεντι μαστῷ* (*P*.4.8). Let us consider these.

At *P*.5.23ff. Pindar speaks to Arcesilas of the debt he owes to the god and to Carrhotus. This he phrases in the form of an imperative, 'do not forget to give the god credit and to love Carrhotus most of your companions'[15], and he adds the detail *Κυράνᾳ γλυκὺν ἀμφὶ κᾶπον Ἀφροδίτας ἀειδόμενον* (v.24)[16]. What or where is the *κᾶπος Ἀφροδίτας*?

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[13] Cf.Chamoux pp.285-7, Pl.VII.1.

[14] The use of the plural of *δόμος* to refer to the house of the person concerned is also found at *P*.2.18, 4.117, *N*.1.23, 3.43, *I*.2.30, 3/4.70 (52).

[15] This command and the *gnomé* in vv.43ff. have been taken literally, most recently by Duchemin, who says of v.23 *'ainsi donc, n'oublie pas* etc.', and describes vv.43-4 as *'discret conseil au roi'* (pp.173, 175). However, I prefer to read these passages as encomiastic commands. Arcesilas has not forgotten his debt to Carrhotus since the imperative in v.23 leads into a long section of praise of the charioteer for his achievement for Arcesilas, which the *gnomé* in vv.43-4 bisects.

[16]. This is the text adopted by Snell-Maehler. The MSS have *Κυράνα* and *ἀειδόμενον* (except C which has *ἀειδομένη*). Burton retains the manuscript reading, taking *Κυράνα* as vocative (p.142), thus *σε* (v.23) and *τεαῖσιν* (v.31) refer to Cyrene whom Burton views as the eponymous nymph. It is difficult to accept Burton's defence of the manuscript text. It involves the necessary corollary that the charioteer is an *ἑταῖρος* of Cyrene. Such a description of Carrhotus would be unique in Pindar. It would also be presumptuous of the poet to address a divine being

The scholia suggest that the phrase is used to denote Cyrene in a general way (Σ *P*.5.31, D.II p.175), Gildersleeve (p.308) compares phrases such as *Διός κᾶπον* of Libya (*P*.9.53) and *τέμενος Ἄρεος* (*P*.2.2)[17], to which we may add *Διὸς ἐν Ἄμμωνος θεμέθλοις* (*P*.4.16), *Νείλοιο . . . πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα* (*P*.4.56) of Libya. This interpretation would seem reasonable enough were it not for the fact that the poet has already named Cyrene in the same sentence. If *ἀμφὶ κᾶπον Ἀφροδίτας* is merely another means of saying 'Cyrene' the phrase seems somewhat otiose.

If however the phrase referred to a specific location in Cyrene this effect would not be felt. In view of the other details of specific places in Cyrene we might suggest that the poet is speaking here of another such spot, a shrine perhaps, or even the place where Apollo was supposed to have slept with the nymph Cyrene (*P*.9.5ff.)[18]. The poet would not need to elaborate to a Cyrenean audience on such a reference, for to them it would be a well-known spot. However, this use of a local name does not necessarily indicate that the poet had seen the *κᾶπον Ἀφροδίτας* for himself. It might just have been a well-known landmark or place which had been described to him[19].

This proviso applies also to the spring of Apollo, mentioned by

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in this way. It makes sense to describe him as a comrade of Arcesilas to whom he was related (according to the scholia, Σ *P*.5.34, D.II p.176) and who was prepared to honour Carrhotus so greatly in this ode. It is also difficult to accept a complete change of addressee when Arcesilas has been the focus of our attention right up until now and since Pindar begins v.23 with *τῷ*, thus closely connecting the line with everything which has preceded it.

[17] The other examples appear in isolation, but in *P*.2.2 the description of Syracuse as 'precinct of Ares' occurs in close proximity to the name of the city (*Συράκοσαι, βαθυπόλεμου τέμενος Ἄρεος*) as in *P.5*.

[18] Cf. Chamoux pp.267ff., Farnell II pp.171-2, Froidefond p.220.

[19] This of course poses the question would the poet have known in advance where the ode was to be performed. If *P*.5. was destined for performance at the Carneia (cf. pp.221ff. below) the information might have been available, but this is conjectural.

Pindar at *P*.4.294 as a focal point in Cyrenean life in the eyes of Damophilus. It appears to have been a well-known feature of Cyrene[20] and there is nothing in Pindar's description to suggest that the poet had seen it himself, even if he had done. It would be an obvious feature to choose to denote the centre of Cyrenean life, as for example the Castalian spring denotes Delphi (*O*.9.17, *P*.1.39, 5.31, etc.).

Chamoux's next phrase, however, does seem unusually vivid and striking: the description of Battus' domain as *κελαινεφέων πεδίων* (*P*.4.52). The scholia (Σ *P*.4.93a, D.II pp.110-111) suggest two lines of explanation. First that the adjective refers to Cyrene's climate; it was fertile because it had plenty of rain which the rest of Libya did not get. Secondly, it refers to the vastness of the plains, whose end could not be seen. Duchemin suggests a third explanation (p.116), that the adjective might be a reference to Zeus. She does not explain further (but presumably this is because *κελαινεφής* is an Homeric epithet of Zeus), except to point to v.56, *πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα*. Without a reference to Zeus in the immediate context I am unwilling to accept this interpretation. Pindar often puts Homeric adjectives to new uses (cf. e.g. *P*.4.18, *ἀελλόποδας* of *δίφρους*, in Homer only of *ἵπποι*), and *κελαινεφής* is used to describe other things than Zeus even in Homer (of blood, e.g. *Il*.4.140, *Od*.11.36). It seems to me, however, that Pindar may well have chosen the epithet because of its pictorial quality; a strong visual image is conveyed by describing the plains as 'dark-clouded'. Whether his choice was influenced by what he had seen for himself or merely by the desire to describe Cyrene's fertile climate in a vivid manner is unproveable. I cannot, however, accept Chamoux's

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[20] Cf. pp. 268-69 below.

interpretation of *μάκαιραν ἑστίαν* (*P*.5.11) as a literal reference to a roaring fire in Arcesilas' hearth. Pindar's use of the word *ἑστία* elsewhere in the odes seems to indicate that he used it always in the wider sense of 'home' or 'household' (cf. *O*.1.11, 12.14, *P*.11.13, *I*.3/4.35b).

Chamoux ends with what he calls *'la preuve la plus irréfutable d'une connaissance directe du paysage cyrénéen'*(p.177), the description of Cyrene at *P*.4.8 as *ἐν ἀργεννόεντι μαστῷ*, which he suggests describes the houses on the acropolis and slopes down to the sacred spring. There is no means of proving this. Chamoux himself admits that there is no trace of such an appearance today. However, let us examine the phrase itself a little more closely. As far as we know *ἀργινόεις* is an adjective which Homer applied to towns and which commentators suggest refers to their situation on chalky hills[21]. Pindar may have chosen a traditional epithet, but Chamoux's geographical evidence (pp.14ff.) suggests that such a description is entirely appropriate for Cyrene. It was sited approximately 500m. up on limestone hills which Chamoux describes as having the form of a dome stretching East - West, and rising to its highest point at Slonta 868m. above sea level to the south of Cyrene (cf. Chamoux Pl.XXV). Between Cyrene and the sea were fertile plains of which *κελαινεφέων πεδίων* (*P*.4.52) speak. Cyrene's position on the hills is referred to by the second element in Pindar's description, *ἐν . . . μαστῷ*. *μαστός* before Pindar is always used in its literal sense, and this is usually the case after him[22]. Thus Pindar has coined a very striking and unusual phrase to describe Cyrene because of his choice of word to describe the hill or mound on

21 Cf. *Il*.2.647 & 656, of Lycastus and Camirus, with commentators ad locc..
22 With a few exceptions, e.g. X.*An*.4.2.6., *Cyr*.2.6., Call.*Del*.48.

which Cyrene stood[23]. I cannot with Chamoux pronounce this an 'irrefutable proof' that the poet had seen Cyrene with his own eyes; however, the strong visual image conveyed by this unusual phrase does seem to support the case for autopsy.

It is also striking that apart from the reference to the *κᾶπον Ἀφροδίτας* (*P*.5.24) all the topographical details are used by Pindar in connection with Battus. In *Pythian 4* the Delphic oracle declared that Battus would found a city *ἐν ἀργεννόεντι μαστῷ* (v.8). This location is as unknown to him as the one conjured up by Medea's prophecy of Battus' lordship *κελαινεφέων πεδίων* (v.52). However, it would be a very neat touch on the part of the poet if he were to describe this place, unknown as yet to Battus, in terms instantly recognisable to his audience as well-known features of Cyrene. The Cyrenean audience would know the foundation legend, so it is almost as if the poet provides them with a visual link to confirm their knowledge that the city in question was their own familiar Cyrene.

In *Pythian 5* the distinctive road of Apollo described in vv.90ff. forms one of the glorious achievements of Battus the founder, one which had obviously survived, along with the greater groves of the gods (v.89) and the tombs of Battus and the other kings (vv.93, 96-7), to the time of Arcesilas IV as visible memorials of the Battiad dynasty. The achievements mark the civilisation of Cyrene and consequently honour the victor who is the latest in the line of Battiad kings who had founded and made the city what

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[23] Pindar employs parts of the body to denote geographical features elsewhere in the odes. Cf. *P*.2.45-6 *ἐν Παλίου σφυροῖς*, *P*.4.26 *νώτων ὕπερ γαίας*, *O*.7.87 *νώτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου*, *P*.11.36 *Παρνασσοῦ πόδα* *N*.4.54 *Παλίου δὲ πὰρ πόδι*, *P*.4.44 *Ἀΐδα στόμα* 203 *Ἀξείνου στόμα*, but none are as unusual and striking as the use of *μαστός* at *P*4.8

it is in his time. In this way I would suggest that the poet works in the topographical details (perhaps asked for by Arcesilas) in a most natural manner, skilfully integrating them into his myth as a visible and tangible link between the heroic past and the present. Furthermore if *Pythian 5* was performed at the Cyrenean festival of the Carneia such local references to where the ode was being sung would be quite appropriate. We might compare the poet's treatment of similar matters in the *Paeans*, poems also composed for local festivals (e.g. *Pae.*2.24ff. & 96ff., 4.13ff.).

So much for the evidence within the odes. In the absence of conclusive evidence our view of whether Pindar travelled to Cyrene in connection with his celebration of Arcesilas' victory is bound to be subjective. However, the unusual accumulation of topographical details in *Pythian 5* combined with the importance of *Pythian 4* not only in its purpose but in its unique magnificence among Pindar's works make it likely that Pindar did go to Cyrene.

2.*The Carneia Connection*

πολύθυτον ἔρανον
ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι,
Ἄπολλον, τεᾷ,
Καρνήϊ', ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν
Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν (P.5.77-81)

These verses have led several scholars to suggest that *Pythian 5* was written to be performed at the festival of Apollo Carneios in Cyrene[24]. The evidence for this can be summarised as follows: first, in these verses the

[24] Cf. e.g. Dissen p.268, Duchemin p.92, Farnell II p.168, Fehr p.74, Fennell p.210, Fraccaroli p.103, Gaspar p.148, Mezger p.223, Schroeder p.34, Wilamowitz (1922) p.377.

poet declares that 'we honour the well-built city of Cyrene in your banquet, Apollo Carneios'; secondly, Pindar develops this reference to the feast of Apollo Carneios at considerable length, describing not only the origin of the festival but also details of its celebration at Cyrene, which included a reception with sacrifice of the Antenoridae, heroes who were worshipped in Cyrene.

We have reasonable evidence both from literature and inscriptions that Apollo was worshipped in Cyrene under the title Carneios[25], but we know very little of the details of his festivals and cult beyond those given in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, vv.71ff., and what we may conjecture from our evidence of the celebration of the Carneia elsewhere. Was it, however, possible for a victory ode to be performed at a festival of the gods? It seems so.

Burton (p.136) cites *Pythian 11* , *Olympian 4*, and perhaps *3*, as connected with some public act of worship[26]. In *Pythian 11* Pindar opens the ode with an address to the Theban heroines, calling on them to come to the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, as Loxias bids them there to sing. Commentators suggest that this is a reference to some religious ceremony at the shrine with which Thrasydaeus' victory celebration coincided[27], and perhaps formed a part. As Apollo had been responsible for Thrasydaeus' Pythian victory his shrine might be an appropriate place at which to celebrate the success.

We might suggest a similar link between a local religious event and

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[25] Cf. Nilsson pp.360ff., Chamoux pp.301ff..

[26] For my belief that *Olympian 3* was probably performed at a theoxeny cf. above pp.194ff..

[27] Cf. e.g. Farnell II p.225, Burton pp.61ff., Gildersleeve p.357.

a victory celebration in *Olympian 9*. At the ode's end (v.112) the poet says of the victor 'he crowned your altar, Aias, at the banquet held in your honour, son of Oileus'. This appears to refer to Epharmostus' dedication of his victor's wreath on Aias' altar at a local festival in the hero's honour. Whether the ode's performance coincided with the festival cannot be proved, but the poet's connection of the festival with the victory may well reflect events at Opus[28].

It has also been posited that *Olympian 14* is a processional hymn in honour of the Graces[29]. Certainly they were important local goddesses at Orchomenos, the victor's home, and the ode begins with an invocation to the Charites and much praise of them. The victor Asopichus in fact features only in the briefest announcement of his victory which is introduced by mention of the *κῶμος* which the Graces are seeing, a *κῶμος* described as *κοῦφα βιβῶντα* (v.17), hence the description of the ode as processional. It remains a possibility that Asopichus' victory was celebrated at some ceremony at the goddesses' shrine in his native Orchomenos on the victor's return.

To sum up, although our evidence is not conclusive, there do seem to be reasonable grounds for supposing that a victory ode could be performed on a religious occasion as some part of the festivities. Thus we may suggest that as the Cyreneans celebrated the festivals of Apollo Carneios it was possible and perhaps even appropriate for an ode

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[28] We might also compare *N*.8.13ff., where Pindar describes himself as *ἱκέτας Αἰακοῦ* (v.13), offering him *Λυδίαν μίτραν* . . . *Δείνιος δισσῶν σταδίων καὶ πατρὸς* Μέγα *Νεμεαῖον ἄγαλμα*. This seems to suggest performance at the shrine of Aeacus. Cf. Mullen pp.75-7. Such a performance (or dedication as in *O.9*) indicates a connection between the athlete's activity and his city's cults.
[29] Cf. e.g. Gildersleeve p.236, Farnell I p.73, Fennell p.138.

celebrating a victory granted by the god to have been performed at his festival in Cyrene[30].

In support of this suggestion we may further adduce the evidence of *Nemean 11.* The Alexandrians classed this as a victory ode because of its mention of Aristagoras' athletic successes as a boy (vv.19ff.), but it was in fact composed to celebrate the installation of Aristagoras as president of the council on Tenedos. This ode reveals with what ease Pindar was able to adapt the epinician genre to fit another occasion. The poet's repertoire included many poems for religious occasions (for example, *Paeans, Hymns, Dithyrambs, Prosodia, Partheneia* and *Hyporchemata*). It seems likely, therefore, in view of the versatility demonstrated in *Nemean 11,* that it would not be difficult for him to compose an ode which performed not only the function of an epinician but also that demanded by a religious occasion. We must not forget that the games at which victors won were themselves part of religious ceremonies in honour of a god. Success at the games was therefore always attributable to this patron god who might expect to be honoured for his favour.

To turn to *Pythian 5* itself, the verses with which we began (vv.77ff.) are placed at the end of a priamel on those deeds and attributes of Apollo which concern Cyrene, culminating in his role as an oracular god. At v.72 we turn to the speaker, *τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γαρύειν*[31] and by way of the journeying

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[30]There has been some concern as to whether the date of the ode's performance would coincide with the celebration of the Carneia (cf. e.g. Chamoux p.179, Burton pp.136-7), but we possess too little information to verify this point. It is uncertain exactly when the Carneia was held at Cyrene (cf. Chamoux's warning p.179 n.1) and also when *Pythian 5* could have been performed. We do not know, for instance, how soon after the victory Arcesilas commissioned the ode or how long it took Pindar to compose it, how long it might take for the ode to arrive in Cyrene (if sent) or for the poet to travel there (if he went) or how long it took to train a chorus.

[31] This is not the text given in Snell-Maehler, who accept Wilamowitz's *γαρύει* for the MSS vulgate *γαρίετ'* (*γαρίατ'* and *γαρύεντ'* are also attested). With this reading the subject of the

of Arcesilas' ancestors from Sparta to Thera we arrive at the festival in Cyrene[32]. Pindar now apostrophises Apollo, calling him by the cult title Carneios and in the first person plural announces that 'we honour in your banquet the city of Cyrene'. Much depends on our interpretation of *σεβίζομεν* (v.80). No-one doubts that it is present tense, but a problem arises because Greek lacks any means of distinguishing between the continuous present, i.e. 'we are honouring' and the habitual present i.e. 'we honour, we are in the habit of honouring'.

To his audience Pindar's meaning would have been quite clear from the context of the ode's performance. If the poem was being performed during the celebration of the Carneia *σεβίζομεν* would be continuous present, expressing what they were actually doing at that moment. If the poem was being performed on another occasion the audience would see a reference to the regular honouring of Apollo Carneios. Both interpretations of *σεβίζομεν* are equally possible, but can we arrive at the one which was clear to Pindar's audience?

Pythian 5 is remarkable for the poet's concentration on Apollo. We may attribute much of his prominence in the ode to his oracular role in the founding of Cyrene and to the fact that he was patron of the games at which Arcesilas won[33]. As patron god of the games Apollo will naturally be honoured by the *κῶμος* described in v.23 as *Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα*. Carrhotus had dedicated the winning chariot to him at Delphi (vv.34ff.)

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verb is either Apollo ('he sings my lovely fame') or *τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος* ('the fair tale of my renown gives voice from Sparta'), Farnell II p.177). I prefer to read with Kirkwood (1981) pp.17-18 Hermann's *γαρύειν*, 'mine it is to sing of a lovely fame from Sparta', cf. *I*.8.38-9 *τὸ μὲν ἐμόν . . . ὀπάσσαι*. For discussion cf. Farnell loc. cit., Kirkwood loc.cit..

[32] For the identity of the speaker in these verses cf. Appendix IV, especially pp.317ff..

[33] Cf. Burton p.136, Race (1986) p.74.

and the poet reminds Arcesilas at the end of the ode that praise of Apollo is fitting since it was from Pytho that he received the reward of victory in the games (vv.103ff.).

Arcesilas' victory is portrayed as the latest instance in the prosperity of the Battiadae, which can also be traced to Apollo's influence. This began, according to the poet, when Apollo in his role as *ἀρχαγέτας* made the Libyan lions fear Battus on his arrival in Africa, so that the god's oracles for the ruler of Cyrene would be fulfilled (vv.57-62): these oracles which concerned the founding of Cyrene are given by Pindar in *Pythian 4*, and we may assume that the Cyrenean audience knew to what he was referring. Pindar returns to Apollo's oracular role at the end of a priamel on his powers (vv.63-72). All of these have relevance for the Cyreneans[34] but of especial relevance to them is the last item in the list, Apollo's oracle and the example of his role in the settlement of the Peloponnese.

Burton states (p.136) that Apollo's prominence in *Pythian 5* is sufficiently explained by his oracular pronouncements on the founding of Cyrene and his patronage of the Pythian games. He also points out that there is only one reference in the ode to the festival (*Καρνῆϊε* v.80) and says that this can be explained by the fact that the Cyreneans worshipped Apollo under this title.On the analogy of other odes connected with religious occasions, Burton suggests that Pindar always makes this association clear in the prelude and therefore, if *Pythian 5* was to have been performed at the Carneia, 'one might have expected *Pythian 5* to have opened with an apostrophe to the Carneian Apollo and an explicit

[34] Cf. my remarks on p.255.

direction as to its performance and character' (p.136).

As to the first point, it is hard to see how Apollo's role in Cyrene's foundation and as patron of the games explain why Pindar should refer in such a specific way to the honouring of Apollo under the title of Carneios at a feast, nor why he should make so much of the origin of the festival. In addition we should note the poet's choice of Battus' building of the vividly described road for the Ἀπολλωνίαις . . . πομπαῖς (vv.90-93) as one of the few actions which he narrates in his myth of Battus.

Burton's third point, that Pindar normally announces any connection between an ode and a religious festival in the prelude to that ode, is valid for *Pythian 11*, but it is only conjectural for *Olympian 14* and there is no such definite announcement in the preludes of *Olympians 3* and *9*, nor in that of *Nemean 8*, other epinicians apparently connected with some religious occasion. In view of our lack of evidence and the poet's search for variety in the odes I would suggest that we need not demand uniformity in this case.

Against his second point we should note that the reference to Apollo Carneios is not as slight as his remarks might suggest. The worship of Apollo under the cult title Carneios was evidently an important part of the Cyreneans' Dorian heritage, which Pindar stresses (vv.72-6), but the devotion of such a proportion of an epinician to details of local cult practice (vv.77ff.) is quite remarkable. Pindar does not merely tell us that the Cyreneans worshipped Apollo Carneios, but that they honoured him with a feast specifically described as an ἔρανος (v.77) and referred to again in δαιτί (v.80). Indeed the amount of space devoted to this particular cult may be even greater. Pindar passes from the honouring of Apollo Carneios to

the cult of the Antenoridae (vv.82ff.)[35]. We know nothing for certain about this cult in Cyrene, but Pindar refers to it immediately after his remarks on the Carneia and without any explanation of the relevance of these somewhat obscure figures, when we might have expected a reference to the Olympians whose cults were well attested at Cyrene[36]. This would seem to suggest that Pindar introduced a reference to the cult of the Antenoridae because of a connection which they possessed in Cyrene with the cult of Apollo Carneios. If this was the case then Pindar has devoted no less than five verses to the origin of the festival of the Carneia (vv.72-6) and twelve to details of its actual celebration at Cyrene (vv.77-88). Though this is not conclusive (and we must beware of relying too heavily on the connection between the cult of Apollo Carneios and that of the Antenoridae in Cyrene) is is sufficiently unusual to give some support to the view that the ode was performed at a cult ceremony.

Furthermore if we accept that *Pythian 5* may have been performed at a Cyrenean Carneia certain points in the ode seem to me to be explained and clarified. The description of the victory *κῶμος* in v.23 as *'Απολλωνίον ἄθυρμα* has especial point in that it refers not only to the delight bestowed by Apollo in Arcesilas' victory but also to the celebrants' enjoyment of the god's festival. The priamel about Apollo (vv.63ff.) would take on extra meaning and the poet's description of the building of the road for the festivals of Apollo (*'Απολλωνίαις . . . πομπαῖς* vv90-91) becomes very topical.

Performance of the ode at the Carneia also clarifies vv.79-81. Pindar states that at Apollo's festival it is the city, Cyrene, which is being

[35] That this refers to a cult is argued on pp.258-59 below.
[36] Cf. Chamoux pp.301ff..

honoured where one might have expected that Apollo would be the recipient of such honour. Duchemin explains this by suggesting (p.160) that *'c'est au banquet du dieu que les Cyrénéens prirent l'habitude de célébrer la glorieuse destinée de leur cité'*, but she provides no evidence for her conjecture. Lefkowitz (1985 p.45) puts forward another suggestion, that 'the city Cyrene itself is honoured in the festival because the story of the nymph Cyrene and Apollo is commemorated in a special choral dance'. Lefkowitz cites Call.*Ap*.85-95 esp.93, but there is nothing in the Hellenistic poet's account to suggest that the pyrrhic dance of which he speaks was in any way concerned with the tale of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene. Both Duchemin and Lefkowitz are forced to look for evidence outside *Pythian 5*, but if *Pythian 5* was performed at the Carneia the reference to honouring Cyrene is instantly intelligible. Arcesilas' victory honours and glorifies Cyrene as does Pindar's ode; thus in celebrating it at Apollo's festival the *κῶμος* would indeed be honouring Cyrene at Apollo's Carneian banquet.

3. *The prominence of Carrhotus*

A further unusual feature of *Pythian 5* is the great prominence in the ode of the charioteer, Carrhotus, to whom the poet devotes a passage of some twenty-eight verses (vv.26-53). There is no parallel in the epinicians for such expansive treatment of a personage other than the victor himself. So we need to ask ourselves why Carrhotus is singled out in this way, how Pindar achieves this and what is its effect on the ode as a whole.

It is quite normal for Pindar to refer to others than the victor in an epinician. There are frequent references to victor's fathers, often merely as a periphrasis for the victors themselves, and the poet also mentions

male relatives such as brothers, uncles or grandfathers, often in connection with other victories won by the family[37].

It is not unusual for the poet to include some praise of the trainer in odes to boy victors[38]. All of these (except *O*.8.54-66) are only brief references. Gildersleeve suggests (p.216) that such inclusions were there at the patron's behest. This seems reasonable since such references not only remind the youthful victors of their debt to those who had trained them but perhaps could also form part of a father's reparation to the trainer for his son's training. *Olympian 8* is the only ode where praise of the trainer is developed beyond a summary reference, but this seems to be explained by Pindar's remark (vv.65-6) that Alcimedon's victory is the thirtieth of the trainer Melesias. Thus the unusually extended praise of Melesias is appropriate to celebrate his remarkable success as a trainer.

In these circumstances it would not seem extraordinary to find the poet praising a charioteer in a victory ode for a chariot victory, as is the case in *Pythian 5*. The charioteer (or rider in a horse race) was, after all, responsible for much of the hard work of victory in a similar way to the trainer. He was probably involved in some of the horses' training before the race and his skill and expertise were crucial to winning. However the facts belie this. Of the eighteen odes for victors in equestrian events we find praise of the charioteer or rider only twice, at *I*.2.20ff. and *O*.6.22[39].

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[37]Fathers, e.g. *O*.5.8, *P*.1.59, *N*.4.14, etc.; brothers, *O*.2.49, *P*.10.69, *I*.5.19; uncles e.g. *P*.8.35, *N*.4.80, *I*.8.66, etc.; grandfathers e.g. *N*.4.89, 6.16.

[38] Cf. *O*.8.54-66, 10.16-19, *N*.4.93-6, 5.48-9 & B.13.191ff., *N*.6.64-6, *I*.3/4 89-90b. I have included this last reference although Melissus was not a boy victor in the event for which this ode was written, since Pindar introduces Orseas in connection with a list of victories which begins with one as a youth (vv.75-9).

[39] I do not include the reference in *I*.1.15 where Pindar remarks that Herodotus had driven the chariot himself (instead of employing a charioteer) since this is a means of praising the victor.

In celebrating Xenocrates' chariot race victory in *Isthmian 2* Pindar refers clearly to one Nicomachus, Xenocrates' charioteer (*πλαξίπποιο φῶτος* v.21) who is praised for winning the house other victories. Perhaps it was this run of success which prompted Xenocrates to ask the poet to mention Nicomachus' achievement as a tribute to him. At *O*.6.22ff. the poet addresses one Phintis, whom the scholia suggest was Hagesias' charioteer for his Olympic victory (Σ *O*.6.37, D. I pp.161-2). There is no direct praise of him, but in view of the lack of references to charioteers or riders in the odes even this brief apostrophe, presumably included at Hagesias' request, may count as praise.

One possible reason for our lack of references to charioteers in the odes might be, as suggested recently by Lefkowitz (1985 pp.41ff.), that most of those whose chariot victories are celebrated by Pindar drove the chariots themselves. There is, however, little evidence to support this view. *Isthmian 2* seems to indicate that the house of Xenocrates employed a regular charioteer Nicomachus. I see no reason, therefore, to doubt the scholia's inference (Σ *P*.6.15, D.II p.196) that he drove the chariot for the victory celebrated by *Pythian 6*. We have already mentioned Hagesias' charioteer Phintis (*O*.6.22). We know that Arcesilas employed Carrhotus for the Pythian games of 462.

In Bacchylides 5 the poet seems to imply that Hieron did not ride his own horse. Vv.46ff. favour the suggestion that Pherenicus' *κυβερνήτης* and Hieron were two separate people and vv.182ff. go further in implying that Hieron did not even go to Olympia[40]. Lefkowitz herself suggests (1985 p.41)

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[40] It is interesting that Pindar and Bacchylides name this horse in every ode to celebrate victory in the *κέλης* (*O*.1.18, *P*. 3.74, B.5.37, 184).

that the political climate of cities such as Syracuse and Cyrene meant that the king could not be absent for the lengthy period which participation in the games would entail. In addition it is hard to envisage men of such standing taking the risks involved in actually driving[41].

Lefkowitz does not give any evidence to support her conjectures (1985 p.41) that Psaumis (*Olympians 4* and *5*) and Chromius of Aetna (*Nemeans 1* and *9*) drove themselves. *N*.9.4 refers to Chromius ἐς ἅρμ' ἀναβαίνων, but this is clearly to take part in his victory celebrations and is closely tied to Pindar's metaphor of the chariot of song. Lefkowitz also suggests that Hieron was a charioteer at the local games in Syracuse (celebrated by *Pythian 2*)[42], and certainly the terms in which Pindar describes Hieron's victory are markedly personal (cf.v.8 ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χερσὶ ποικιλανίους ἐδάμασσε πώλους). However, ὅταν . . . καταζευγνύῃ (vv.10-11) is not to be taken literally. For if it is, it implies that Hieron always drove for himself, which Bacchylides 5 belies. We should not forget that Hieron was not in good health[43]; would he have been fit enough for the strenuous tasks of a charioteer?

In addition it is clear that praise of the victorious owner of a chariot

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[41] The risks involved in chariot driving are discussed below (pp.236ff.). Horse-racing was no less hazardous. To all intents and purposes it was bare-back and thus very strenuous. Finley and Pleket (p.31) cite Galen on its dangers: 'Horse-back riding of a strenuous sort has been known to rupture parts in the region of the kidneys and has often brought injuries to the chest or sometimes to the spermatic passages, to say nothing of the mis-steps of horses, because of which riders have often been pitched from their seat and instantly killed'.

[42] Cf. Lefkowitz (1985) pp.41-2 and (1976) pp.164-5. Carey (1981) p.21 suggests Thebes as the locale, Young (1983) pp.42ff Olympia (but cf.my reservations p.185 n.3). We cannot be certain on this point, but obviously it is easier for Lefkowitz to suggest that Hieron had driven himself if the games were in Syracuse, since she supposes that he could not be absent from Syracuse to participate in games elsewhere.

[43] The date of this ode is not certain. Commentators suggest 475 B.C. By the late 470s Hieron was a very sick man. Cf. Σ *P*.2.97, D.II p.18.

as though he had been the charioteer was a convention employed by the poet. In *Pythian 5*, for example, where we know that Arcesilas employed Carrhotus as charioteer Pindar praises Arcesilas at v.115 with the words *πέφανταί θ' ἁρματηλάτας σοφός*. While Arcesilas may in fact have driven chariots in Cyrene and showed himself a skilful charioteer the poet employs the phrase in this context to praise him for the present victory in which we know for certain that he was not charioteer.

There is only one place where we may be certain that the victorious owner of the horses also drove them. At the Isthmian games of ?458 B.C. Herodotus of Thebes drove his own chariot. We know this because Pindar remarks on it in his praise of Herodotus. The phrase which he uses, *ἁνία τ' ἀλλοτρίαις οὐ χερσὶ νωμάσαντ'* (*I*.1.15) is striking and unusual in its emphasis. Why does Pindar stress this point unless it was out of the ordinary? If it was largely the norm, as Lefkowitz suggests, for noblemen to drive their own chariots at the Greek games there would have been no point at all in Pindar using this device in his praise of Herodotus.

To sum up so far: we cannot explain Carrhotus' prominence in *Pythian 5* as the normal praise accorded to the charioteer. Not only is the praise of an unusually extended nature, it is also extremely rare in the odes to find praise of the charioteer at all. Nor can this be explained by a lack of charioteers to be praised because the victors drove themselves. We need, therefore, to seek some other cause for the praise accorded to Carrhotus in *Pythian 5*. Let us turn to what Pindar actually says about this charioteer.

The ode opens with conventional praise of Arcesilas, both as a ruler and a Pythian victor, who welcomes the *κῶμος* to celebrate his victory (vv.1-

23)[44]. In this connection the poet addresses Arcesilas: do not forget amid the celebrations, Arcesilas, that a god is responsible for your glory and do not forget *φιλεῖν δὲ Κάρρωτον ἔξοχ' ἑταίρων* (v.26). This is the first mention of Carrhotus in the ode and it tells us two things about him. He is one of the king's *ἑταῖροι* and he is worthy of some special devotion from the king. Pindar now proceeds to explain why Carrhotus is to be cherished above Arcesilas' other comrades, using a relative clause gradually to build up a picture of his achievement.

The explanation commences with negative praise, a feature often used by the poet in order to avoid the adverse effects of excessive praise; it creates an understated but powerful effect[45]. Pindar contrasts what might have happened, failure and Carrhotus coming home with excuses, with what did happen, success and Carrhotus' victorious return. To make the contrast still more vivid the poet personifies Excuse (*Πρόφασιν*) and invents a Hesiodic-type genealogy for her, making her the daughter of 'Afterthought who knows too late' (*Ἐπιμαθέος . . . ὀψινόου* vv.27-28)[46]. The poet continues this unusual depiction of Carrhotus' success with a more conventional motif. In attaining victory at the Pythian games Carrhotus *γέρας ἀμφέβαλε τεαῖσιν κόμαις* (v.31). This motif is one often employed by Pindar to describe victory by reference to the crowning of the victor[47].

Pindar next adds two details about the victory. It was in the 'twelve courses' and Carrhotus had achieved it with his reins wholly intact (vv.32-3)[48].

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[44] Cf. Lefkowitz (1985) p.36. Similar praise of the victor as ruler may be seen in Pindar's treatment of Hieron at *O*.1.11ff. & 103ff, *P*.1.61ff. & 67ff., 2.18ff. & 56ff., 3.69ff..

[45] Cf. Köhnken (1976) pp.62-7, Race (1983) pp.95-122, and Lefkowitz's remarks, (1985) p.37.

[46] Cf. Burton pp.142-3.

[47] Cf. e.g. *O*.3.13, 13.39, *P*.10.40, *N*.11.28, *I*.2.15, etc..

[48] 'Twelve courses' signals the chariot race which consisted of twelve laps up and down the hippodrome. Cf. *O*.2.50 & 6.75; Finley and Pleket pp.27ff..

In fact, as Pindar adds, he had not broken any part of his entire equipage (v.34). This achievement is all the more impressive because it appears that the reins, usually passed around the charioteer's body, were frequently broken or tangled[49]. If they were easily broken then Carrhotus had done well to maintain them whole. Pindar also uses this detail, I would suggest, as a lead into his remark that Carrhotus had not merely preserved the reins but the whole chariot. Such details of the actual event are extremely rare in Pindar, whose interest in the games does not seem to have extended to the technicalities of winning or to any of the sports for their own sake, unlike Bacchylides, who seems to have enjoyed narrating the event (cf. e.g. the exciting description of Pherenicus winning at Olympia, B.5.37ff.). We learn almost nothing from Pindar of any victor's achievement in sporting terms: for example, at *P*.8.81-2 the poet tells us that Aristomenes *τέτρασι δ' ἔμπετες ὑψόθεν σωμάτεσσι κακὰ φρονέων* to gain his victory. This remark typifies Pindar's treatment of such matters. We learn nothing of how Aristomenes actually defeated these opponents and the detail appears to have been included merely because it introduces the fate of the losers, a picture which highlights the glory of the victor. There is an unusual passage at *I*.3/4 63ff. where Pindar describes Melissus' tactics as a wrestler, but the impression we receive is praise of his character rather than any reference to the particular victory he had won. Similarly the detail in the victory list at *O*.9.91 tells us little of the event but rather provides variety in the catalogue of Epharmostus' wins.

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[49] Cf. Gildersleeve p.309. At S.*El*.746-8 Orestes was thrown out of the chariot, but being tangled in the reins he was dragged along. E.*Hipp*.1236ff. speaks of the same phenomenon: *ἡνίαισιν ἐμπλακεὶς δεσμὸν δυσεξήνυστον ἕλκεται δεθείς*.

It is therefore quite remarkable for Pindar to include and stress the detail in *P*.5.32 that Carrhotus had achieved his victory with his chariot completely intact. Just how unusual this was is not clear. Our sources do not provide a great deal of information about the intricacies of chariot racing, but enough to reveal that its risks and perils were widely acknowledged from Homer onwards. It is remarkable that in his account, and even in the fictitious accounts in Sophocles and Euripides, crashes of a spectacular nature are faithfully portrayed, a fact which would seem to indicate that they were a regular feature of chariot-racing[50].

Pausanias, when describing the hippodrome at Delphi (10.37.4ff.) tells us that the plain of Cirrha was bare and that the racecourse in itself did not cause the horses fear, unlike those at Olympia and Nemea[51]. Thus Carrhotus' achievement might not seem all that extraordinary if the Pythian racecourse was known to be without especial terrors; however, when Pindar ends his praise of the charioteer he returns to the theme of his achievement and amplifies it still further with an astonishing detail, Carrhotus had gained the victory with completely unscathed chariot when

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[50]Cf. e.g. the fears of Idomeneus at *Il*.23.57ff., and Nestor's advice to Antilochus before the race, 306ff.. Both passages indicate how great was the risk of crashing. S.*El*.725ff. describes the dreadful crashes preceding Orestes' invented death in the chariot race at the Pythian games and E.*Hipp*.1218ff. the fatal chariot ride of Hippolytus.

[51] At both Olympia and Nemea, according to Pausanias (6.20.15 with Frazer ad loc.), a natural feature overlooking the course seemed to terrify the horses. At Nemea it was a rock above the turning point; it was red and flashed in the light, appearing like fire. At Olympia the bogey was 'Taraxippus' which Pausanias describes as having the shape of a round altar, standing at the passage through the bank on one side of the racecourse. Explanations of this differ (cf. Frazer IV pp.84-5), but all agree on the fearsome effect of the spot. Dio Chrysostom (32.76) remarks that Taraxippus was located 'at the place where the horses used to be most frightened and where most chariots were broken'. Tzetzes (Σ on Lyc.*Fr*.42) tells us Taraxippus was so called because *ταράσσων καὶ θορυβῶν ἐστι τοὺς ἵππους ἀγωνιζομένους*. Pausanias comments on the fear aroused by Taraxippus (6.20.15): *καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου λαμβάνει ταραχή, τά τε δὴ ἅρματα καταγνύουσιν ὡς ἐπίπαν καὶ οἱ ἡνίοχοι τιτρώσκονται.*

accident had befallen not less than forty other chariots (vv.34 & 49-51).

We do not possess precise evidence for the numbers of entries in races, although, as Lefkowitz points out (1985 p.39 n.17), if Alcibiades could enter seven chariots in a single race there was presumably room for a large entry even if it was not always filled. More than forty does however seem a very large number[52], particularly in view of the way the race was started and run with the essential turn at the ends around turning posts[53]. If all the chariots converged at much the same time the potential for crashes would be enormous and once a crash occurred the resulting chaos would be hard to avoid or to extricate oneself from. In Sophocles' fictitious race only ten chariots competed (but note they are described as *πολλῶν ἁρματηλατῶν* v.700[54]) and one crash led at once to several others until only the Athenian charioteer and Orestes were left in the race:

> *κἀντεῦθεν ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐξ ἑνὸς κακοῦ*
> *ἔθραυε κἀνέπιπτε, πᾶν δ' ἐπίμπλατο*
> *ναυαγίων Κρισαῖον ἱππικῶν πέδον.* (vv.728-30)

There can be no doubt that more than forty chariots was an unusually large entry and if no less than forty had come to grief Carrhotus' achievement in winning without so much as breaking a rein was truly remarkable[55]. I am in agreement, therefore, with Lefkowitz

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52 Pindar describes Carrhotus as preserving his chariot *ἐν τεσσαράκοντα . . . πετόντεσσιν ἀνιόχοις* (vv.49-50). These are the casualties. Others may have completed the race intact, but behind the winner.

53 Cf. Finley and Pleket pp.27ff..

54 We should also note (as Farnell II p.176) that it would be difficult for Sophocles to present a lucid and succinct account of a significantly larger number; so he may not be a useful guide to the number of entries in a typical race.

55 Méautis suggests that in view of the chaos Carrhotus' victory was '*un peu douteuse*' (p.216), but this implies that no skill was required to avoid the wreckage of other crashes or to avoid crashing oneself as well as attempting to speed round the course.

(1985 p.40) that these extraordinary circumstances, as Pindar details them, do explain (in part at least) the extended praise of the charioteer in this ode, but I am not convinced that they provide the only explanation.

Let us consider for a moment the relationship between Arcesilas and Carrhotus. Pindar indicates that they were *ἑταῖροι* (v.26). The scholia go further than this and suggest that Carrhotus was actually related to Arcesilas by marriage (Σ *P*.5.34, D.II pp.175-6). We have no other evidence to verify this statement but related or not *ἑταῖρος* indicates that they were probably from the same level of society in Cyrene and that there was friendship between them. Carrhotus was one of the king's circle. He had now achieved something which would greatly boost Arcesilas' ego and morale: his first victory in the pan-Hellenic games[56]. Arcesilas was no doubt very grateful for his success, but he might have had other reasons as well for his tribute to the charioteer in his victory ode. It was a public means of revealing himself as a generous man and in the favourable light of a man among his aristocratic equals rather than an absolute ruler intent on bolstering his own prestige and power[57].

Arcesilas' generosity is further witnessed by what Carrhotus did with the completely intact chariot after the race: he dedicated it at Delphi to the god who had given him victory (vv.34-42). A *gnomé* (vv.43-4) follows the dedication and has the double reference of Carrhotus' debt to the deity who had favoured him as well as that of Arcesilas to the man who had achieved victory for him. It is very rare for Pindar to tell us of an athlete's

[56] We do not know whether this was Arcesilas first entry in the Greek games or whether a chariot from Cyrene's royal house had attempted to win before, but previous attempts would only increase the value of Arcesilas' first victory. I have also suggested (pp.192ff. above) that victory was especially dear to Arcesilas' heart for propagandist reasons.
[57] Pindar attempts to suggest a similar picture of Hieron; cf. *P*.2.96, 3.70-71.

dedication. In fact there is only one other place in the odes where we may suggest that Pindar refers to an athlete's dedication. At *O.*9.112 the poet says of the victor, *Αἶαν, τεόν τ' ἐν δαιτί, Ἰλιάδα, | νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε βωμόν*, which seems to imply that the victor dedicated his crown on the altar of Ajax[58]. The graphic details which Pindar employs in describing Carrhotus' dedication draw further attention to its unusual nature.

Commentators also compare B.3.17ff. where Bacchylides speaks of gleaming gold tripods at Delphi and at 63ff. says that no-one in Hellas can say that he has sent more gold to Loxias than Hieron. However, the lack of precise reference to Hieron and the fact that the tripods were dedicated (according to Jebb ad loc.) to commemorate victories in war rather than in athletics means that the dedication in *Pythian 5* remains unique in its precise detail and reference. Lefkowitz is, however, right to suggest (1985 pp.38-9) that Bacchylides' description of the tripods functions in a similar way to Pindar's description of Carrhotus' dedication. Both passages portray these offerings of magnificent scale to an audience who might never see them, and by doing so show the generosity and piety of the givers.

The appropriateness of the chariot as an offering in this situation cannot be doubted. Pindar has laid especial emphasis on the fact that the chariot remained untouched and intact ,(*ἀκηράτοις ἀνίαις* v.32, *κατέκλασε γὰρ ἐντέων σθένος οὐδέν* v.34, *ὅλον δίφρον* v.50). In addition he describes it as *χεριαρᾶν τεκτόνων δαίδαλα* (vv.35-6), implying that it was an object which had been well-made and perhaps decorated. We cannot tell how ornate it was, but it is noticeable that Pindar is very sparing in his use of epithets

[58]Cf. Farnell ad loc., Gildersleeve pp.210-11.

for chariots in the odes, and when he does employ them he tends to choose traditional ones (*θοός*, *ξεστός*, *καμπύλος* etc.) or those denoting victory; so perhaps his description is intended to indicate elaborate and detailed work[59]. This would make the chariot all the more valuable as a dedication and thus a more generous gift.

Such a gesture may well have been intended for Arcesilas' own aggrandisement apart from any feelings of gratitude to the god who had favoured him with victory. It is noticeable that the Sicilian tyrants made many lavish dedications of a similar nature at prominent shrines in Greece. I have already mentioned Hieron's tripods. At Delphi there are to this day the remains of a magnificent bronze statue of a charioteer and horses dedicated by Polyzalus after a victory in the Pythian games. At Olympia Pausanias records a bronze chariot with a man mounted on it and race horses with boys seated on them of which he says *ὑπομνήματα δ' ἐπὶ νίκαις Ὀλυμπικαῖς ἐστιν Ἱέρωνος*, set up by Deinomenes, and a chariot dedicated by Gelon for a victory in 488 B.C.[60].

It is clear, then, that the Sicilian tyrants were in the habit of making such dedications. For this reason I am inclined to believe that Carrhotus' dedication was prompted by Arcesilas (to whom, after all, the chariot belonged) and was not, as Lefkowitz suggests (1985 p.38), entirely the spontaneous response of Carrhotus to what seemed a miraculous

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59 We learn very little about chariots from the odes. The chariot of a god is *χρύσεος* (cf. *O.*1.87, *P.*9.6). A man's is victorious, *κρατησίππος* (*N.*9.4), *νικάφορος* (*O.*2.5) and traditionally described as *θοός* (*O.*8.49, cf. *θοὸν ἅρμα Il.*11.533, 17.458 etc.), *ξεστός* (*P.*2.10, cf.*εὔξεστος Il.*24.322, *Od.*19.101), *καμπύλος* (*I.*4.29 , usually of *τόξα* in Homer, cf. 5.231), *γλαφυρός* (*N.*9.12 cf.*Il.*8.334, 10.389, etc. [of ships]). The only unusual description is at *P.*2.4 where Hieron's chariot is said to be *ἐλελίχθονος*. Thus nowhere else in the odes does Pindar refer to workmanship or decoration of a chariot.

60 Deinomenes' dedications, Paus.6.12.8,8 42.8; Gelon's chariot 6.9.4; Polyzalus' charioteer and horses in the Museum at Delphi.

victory. This seems to me confirmed by the unusual description of the dedication of the chariot. Pindar is not usually at all interested in exact details of topography (cf. my comments on pp.213-14 above) but he devotes no less than four verses (39-42) to locating the chariot's exact position at the shrine[61].

Moreover I would suggest that the detailed and precise description of the dedication of the chariot appears in *Pythian 5* because Arcesilas asked Pindar to include it. Others made similar grand dedications but Arcesilas chose to make sure that his dedication and the honour accorded to it were not only apparent to those who visited Delphi but to those in Cyrene and anyone who might hear the ode which he commissioned to celebrate his victory. This seems the only explanation which fully accounts for Pindar's unique narrative of the dedication of Carrhotus' chariot.

After this narrative the poet utters a *gnomé*: *ἑκόντι τοίνυν πρέπει νόῳ τὸν εὐεργέταν ὑπαντιάσαι* (43-4). The *gnomé* looks back to Carrhotus' gratitude to Apollo for victory as witnessed in his dedication. It is also a reminder of Arcesilas' debt to Carrhotus for his part in the victory, a part which Pindar recalls and emphasises in the second half of his praise of the charioteer. The entire section praising Carrhotus is arranged round the central *gnomé* and the poet uses ring-form to structure it. We may schematise it thus[62]:

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[61] There is some debate as to the precise location of the chariot at Delphi. For a summary of views cf. Roux pp.366ff..
[62] Cf. Burton p.143.

A Carrhotus who returned victorious from beside the water of Castalia (26-31)

B with unbroken reins and intact chariot (32-4)

[C] The chariot was dedicated at Delphi (34-42)

D *Gnomé* on the importance of gratitude to a benefactor (43-4)

[C] The permanent memorial of words given to Carrhotus (45-9)

B who with chariot unscathed amid forty failures (49-51)

A returned to Libya and his home city (52-3)[63].

There are three points of note in the second half of the section on Carrhotus. I am struck by the apostrophe to Carrhotus at v.45, *'Αλεξιβιάδα*, where the poet uses his patronymic. Nicomachus the charioteer received praise in *Isthmian.2* and Melesias the trainer unusual praise in *Olympian.8*, but Pindar addresses neither of them directly. This direct address highlights Carrhotus' prominence in the ode.

Secondly Pindar reminds him that he has been illuminated by the Graces and of his good fortune in having a memorial of the finest words. The themes of toil before success and the memorial imparted by song are used often by the poet, always in connection with the victor[64]. The first seems appropriate enough for the man who had carried out the hard work of winning, but I find Pindar's application of the second quite striking in its emphatic statement that the charioteer should have the memorial which Arcesilas the victor had commissioned.

Thirdly Carrhotus is described as *μακάριος* (v.46), another form of

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[63] I have included ring [C] with reservations, because although its theme is the same in both halves (memorial of the victory) it covers two different memorials, the dedicated chariot and the *λόγων φερτάτων μναμήϊα*. The poet usually employs closer language and theme in the two halves of a ring, cf. my remarks above pp.95-6.

[64]Cf. e.g. *N*.7.74, *I*.5.25,*O*.11.4ff.; 10.91ff., *P*. 3.112ff.etc..

the epithet *μάκαρ* which the poet has applied to Arcesilas and his fortunes earlier in the ode (vv.11, 20) and which he later applies to Arcesilas' ancestor Battus in the myth (v.94). The use of this adjective further equates charioteer and victor.

These points highlight for me the uniqueness of the treatment of Carrhotus in *Pythian 5*. Pindar places him on a footing almost completely equal to Arcesilas. He receives praise usually accorded only to the victor, and is not even overshadowed by the myth, since it glorifies the city which he represents. Can this treatment be entirely attributed to Carrhotus' achievement in rounding the winning post out of a field of over forty chariots? For some this is sufficient. As I have remarked earlier, the achievement was a considerable one for Arcesilas both in sporting terms and in terms of prestige and self-aggrandisement. It was a first in Cyrenean history. However, some others have suggested that this was not Carrhotus' only achievement for Arcesilas.

As far back as the scholia another reason was advanced for Arcesilas' especial debt to his comrade and charioteer. The scholia suggest (Σ *P*.5.34, D.II pp.175-6), on the basis of a local Cyrenean historian, Theotimus, that Carrhotus had been in some way concerned in an expedition to Greece at Arcesilas' behest and aimed at colonising Euhesperides. The problem with this suggestion is that the scholia are somewhat confused about Carrhotus' role. Didymus noted two things; that Carrhotus was Arcesilas' charioteer and that he returned to Greece at the head of the colonists, but this does not emerge from what is then quoted as supporting evidence from Theotimus. Theotimus' account of events gives the main role of charioteer and recruiter of forces to one

Euphemus. He does add, however, that Euphemus died in Greece after winning at the Pythian games and so Carrhotus took on the levying of the forces. The scholia posit that the author of the confusion is Pindar, who wrongly attributed Euphemus' achievements to Carrhotus, 'for he says that he alone collected money for the army'[65].

From this muddle we may salvage two agreed facts. The first is an expedition to Greece to participate in the Pythian games, the second an expedition to Greece to muster mercenary colonists for Euhesperides. On the first point all three sources agree (Pindar, Didymus and Theotimus). For the second we possess no evidence from Pindar (despite the scholia's claim), only the views of Didymus confirmed by Theotimus. We have no reason to disbelieve Theotimus (or Didymus) when he speaks of an expedition to collect mercenary colonists. Such practice had occurred in Cyrene in the past, when Arcesilas III was involved in civil struggles (cf. Hdt.4.163.1). However, it is not at all clear how Euphemus and Carrhotus fit into these expeditions.

Pythian 5 clearly suggests that Carrhotus' role in the first instance was that of charioteer in the expedition to the Pythian games. In this respect we must assume that Theotimus was incorrect to attribute this role to Euphemus. Whether the expedition for mercenaries was undertaken simultaneously we cannot ascertain, nor Carrhotus' part in it. All we may conclude is that Carrhotus' role in levying a force is a possibility.

If Euphemus was not charioteer at the Pythian games what was his role? It is possible that he went to Greece to levy forces. His name suggests

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[65] This is Lefkowitz's translation (1985 p.40).

that he was perhaps one of the Battiad house for whom Euphemus may well have been a family name, after the family's Argonautic ancestor.

A further possibility suggests itself. Let us suppose that the expedition to Greece to participate in the Pythian games was separate from that to collect mercenaries. Carrhotus might, as one of the king's trusted *ἑταῖροι*, have been sent to aid Euphemus and taken over when Euphemus died. If this was the case the scholia have conflated the two expeditions, but we still cannot account for their description of Euphemus as charioteer. If however the expedition aimed at colonising Euhesperides took place when a Cyrenean chariot was sent to participate in the Olympic games of 460 B.C. and Euphemus was charioteer on that occasion we might suggest that it is these two expeditions which the scholia have confused, one to participate in the Pythian games in 462 B.C. with Carrhotus as charioteer and one with two-fold purpose, to participate in the Olympic games of 460 and to collect mercenaries with Euphemus as charioteer and leader but with Carrhotus also involved. This would make sense of the muddle in the scholia, but we have no further evidence than the muddle itself and the scholia's reference to an Olympic victory won by Arcesilas (Σ *P*.5.34, D.II pp.175-6, Σ *P*.4.inscr.a., D.II p.92).

What emerges from this discussion with regard to the exceptional role of Carrhotus in *Pythian 5*? First, that Carrhotus' victory was singular in its equestrian achievement. Secondly, that it was a victory dear to Arcesilas' heart. This victory was achieved not by some hired professional but by one of the king's own circle who was prepared to undertake the hazardous task of charioteer (and so it proved), perhaps purely as a gesture of friendship. Whether Arcesilas had further cause to be grateful

to Carrhotus is uncertain, but we may entertain the possibility that Carrhotus had in some way helped to provide the colonists for Euhesperides which Arcesilas desired and needed in order to bolster up his support in Cyrene. If this was the case, however, Pindar did not find it relevant for the purposes of his ode to mention the incident[66], but reveals Arcesilas' debt to Carrhotus in other ways. It seems reasonable to conclude that this was at Arcesilas' suggestion. We must therefore ask ourselves what effect does this remarkable praise of an individual other than the victor have on *Pythian 5*.

There can be little doubt that Arcesilas succeeded in drawing attention to himself through it. The praise of Carrhotus makes *Pythian 5* unique among Pindar's odes and leave us with the image of a unique ruler, a man of such generosity and fairmindedness that he alone of equestrian victors could really give credit where credit was due. In this way the praise of the charioteer praises Arcesilas as much as it does Carrhotus.

In addition Pindar has tightly structured his praise of Carrhotus around its central *gnomé* equally applicable to Arcesilas as to Carrhotus, so that we cannot feel that the poet has digressed or relinquished the thread of his thought. Arcesilas' gratitude to Carrhotus is another aspect of a familiar theme, that a victor must always credit the one who made victory possible for him, usually the patron god of the games.

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[66]The recruitment of mercenary colonists is at first sight unlikely epinician material. We should remember, however, Pindar's treatment of Hieron's foundation of Aetna in *P.1.* The ruler's enforced settlement of large numbers of the population and introduction of new settlers from the Peloponnese (cf. D.S.11.49) in order to obtain the honours awarded to the city's founder is represented by the poet as a glorious extension of Dorian civilisation. The colonisation of Euhesperides might have received similar glorification.

We must conclude, I feel, that the way in which Pindar has executed Arcesilas' commission in *Pythian 5* reveals his consummate skill as an epinicist. The praise of Carrhotus does not appear effusive or out of place. It provides an everlasting memorial for the man who had achieved so much for Arcesilas and yet it does not detract from our picture of Arcesilas as victor.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Treatment of Battus

When Pindar sifted through the wealth of mythic material available to him in order to compose two odes for Arcesilas of Cyrene he did not pass over Arcesilas' ancestor, the founder of Cyrene, Battus I. Indeed Battus' merits were deemed of sufficient importance for Pindar's purpose that he features in both the odes for Cyrene's king. This is hardly surprising. It must have been quite a challenge to the epinician poet to frame a suitable myth for a victor who lived in a remote colony on the fringes of the Greek world. It is noticeable that for each of the Cyrenean odes Pindar picks a myth of specific local interest. *Pythian 9* deals with the arrival in Libya of the nymph Cyrene, *Pythian 4* with the events of Argonautic saga which had connections with Libya and subsequently Cyrene, and *Pythian 5* with the legendary foundation of the colony.

It is possible that Arcesilas dictated the choice of myth. If this was so then we may only credit the poet with skilful use of the material. If however Pindar was allowed to select his own myth we must credit him with the choice of a singularly useful and appropriate mythic figure for *Pythians 4* and *5* [1]. Battus possessed the double advantage of a close and definite relationship with the victor, his direct blood descendant and inheritor of his kingship, but at the same time was sufficiently far removed from the present to provide a link with the era of myth and

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[1] Battus was of course an unambiguously historical figure in Cyrene. His role in the myth of *Pythian 4* and the passage on Cyrene's founding in *Pythian 5*, which takes the place of a myth, does, however, permit the description of him as a 'mythic' figure in these odes. For the problems of terminology in describing such figures cf. Young (1971) pp.43ff..

legend. His part in Cyrenean history was well-known locally and his importance as the city's founder and as originator of the hereditary kingship exercised by Arcesilas was perfect for the poet's purposes.

We are fortunate in possessing an independent account of Battus' part in the founding of Cyrene in Herodotus' excursus on Cyrene at 4.150ff.. This and other rather more fragmentary sources enable us to suggest what the poet has included and what he has omitted, where he has followed tradition closely and where he has adapted it or deviated from it, and whether he has a Cyrenean bias or whether he is impartial. In short it permits analysis of Pindar's selectivity. In addition, because the same mythical figure features in both odes we may examine further the fascinating contrast between two so completely dissimilar poems composed, however, for the same patron in honour of the self-same event.

Pythian 5

Battus' role in *Pythian 5*, where he is the central figure in what we may term the 'myth', the historical narrative of vv.57-95, is greater than in *Pythian 4*, where his presence, although of vital importance and usefulness for the poet, is less prominent. His presence may be accounted for first and foremost as the victor's ancestor (as are e.g. the figures in the myths of *O.6, 7, 8, 9, N.3, 4, 5, I.5, 6, 8*), but he has further relevance in a Cyrenean ode as the city's founder (cf. Tlepolemus in *O.7* and Opus in *O.9*). Pindar exploits both these areas of relevance as well as providing other parallels between Battus and Arcesilas. Let us consider how his selection of the events of Battus' life and his treatment of them achieve this.

The introduction and victory announcement in *Pythian 5* are

followed by a remarkable passage in praise of Arcesilas' charioteer Carrhotus[2]. At the end of this (v.54) Pindar delivers a *gnomé* to put such extraordinary success as has just been described into the perspective of human limitations: no man is ever without a share of *πόνοι*. Pindar now applies this to the victor as he moves into the myth:

> *ὁ Βάττου δ' ἕπεται παλαιὸς ὄλβος ἔμπαν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων,*
> *πύργος ἄστεος ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον*
> *ξένοισι.* (vv.55-7)

This is the first reference to Battus, almost halfway through the ode. It is worth noting that Pindar gives him no introduction. The poet obviously assumed that the audience would know at once who he was and his relationship with the victor (not stated as yet), since it is his relationship which forms the link between the present occasion and the past to which we are about to turn. Battus is described as possessor of *παλαιὸς ὄλβος*. This prosperity is not merely personal; Pindar adds to the description two striking details which show that Battus' prosperity benefitted the city (*πύργος ἄστεος*) and even strangers to it (*ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον ξένοισι*). These are vivid images. A tower was a vital part of any city's fortification, a source of strength, a distinctive feature. A gleaming light suggests Cyrene's welcome, its attractiveness to those outside, its potential to give help and succour. These things still endure, the poet suggests, despite changing fortunes.

The prosperity of Battus is not further explained. Of what it consisted we may only conjecture, the favour of the gods, material wealth, peace, a lovely city. No doubt many such ideas would spring to the

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[2] For a discussion of this passage cf. pp.234ff. above.

audience's mind[3]. One thing is immediately apparent: the victor and Battus have in common the blessing of the gods. Arcesilas has also been described as possessing *ὄλβος*: *σὲ δ' ερχόμενον ἐν δίκᾳ πολὺς ὄλβος ἀμφινέμεται* (v.14), and Pindar has suggested that this *ὄλβος* is not merely attested by the present Pythian victory (vv.20ff.) but resides also in his kingship, the glory of his family, a further link with Battus[4].

Pindar now develops the theme of the *παλαιὸς ὄλβος* of Battus as he begins the mythic narrative with a curious anecdote about Cyrene's founder. The brevity of it and lack of detail would seem to suggest that he is narrating a tale well-known to his audience:

κεῖνόν γε καὶ βαρύκομποι
λέοντες περὶ δείματι φύγον,
γλῶσσαν ἐπεί σφιν ἀπένεικεν ὑπερποντίαν·
ὁ δ' ἀρχαγέτας ἔδωκ' Ἀπόλλων
θῆρας αἰνῷ φόβῳ,
ὄφρα μὴ ταμίᾳ Κυρά-
νας ἀτελὴς γένοιτο μαντεύμασιν. (vv.57-62)

Pindar's motives for recounting this story are various. It serves to introduce Apollo, to highlight the god's desire that Cyrene should be

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[3] Herodotus tells us nothing of Battus' reign in Cyrene except that numbers in the colony did not increase beyond that of the original settlers (4.159.1). Later writers endowed him with a reputation for moderation and good government (cf. App.III p.297 below) but no one speaks of his prosperity.

[4] This is how I interpret vv.15ff. I can make no sense of *ἔχει* (v.17) and the punctuation adopted by Snell-Maehler, suggested by Rose (1939) pp.69-70, *ἐσσι· μεγαλᾶν πολίων κτλ.* I prefer to read Hermann's *ἐπεί* and a comma after *πολίων* (as Lefkowitz [1985] pp.35-6). Pindar is commenting in this passage on Arcesilas' *ὄλβος*. He moves from a general instance, his kingship, (*τὸ μὲν* . . . v.15) to the particular present one, his victory (*μάκαρ δὲ καὶ νῦν* . . . v.20). *ὀφθαλμός* is metaphorical, 'glory' (cf. v.56 where Cyrene is described as *ὄμμα* . . . *φαεννότατον ξένοισι*). I would translate 'Since the mixture of this most reverend privilege with your mind is the glory of your kin' (*συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός*).

founded as his oracle had decreed, and to suggest his special protection for the Battiadae. In addition it presents us with a vivid visual image, Battus giving voice and lions shrinking away in fear, a striking tableau of the founder.

The poet's account, however, presents us with some obscurity. Why should Battus' bringing of a *γλῶσσαν ὑπερποντίαν* cause the lions to flee in fear? The scholia appear to guess at the answer. Aristarchus suggests that Battus got rid of the lions by using spells given him by Apollo, Didymus that it was the multitude who came with Battus who scared them away[5]. Both these conjectures are given as practical explanations of Pindar's unusual phrase which the scholiasts took to refer to the oracle which Battus had received from Delphi. This is hard to accept. First, *γλῶσσαν* must then mean 'utterance', but the physical and personal nature of its primary meaning sits awkwardly with a third person reference. Secondly, it seems odd for Pindar to refer to the oracle in such an obscure manner when all the other references to oracles in *Pythians 4* and *5* are straightforward[6]. Moreover a reference to the oracle here introduces an element of repetitiveness since only three lines later Pindar explains the lions' flight as Apollo's work, 'so that he might not be ineffectual in his oracles for the ruler of Cyrene' (v.62).

An anonymous scholiast was a little closer to the reason for the lions' flight when he suggested that *γλῶσσαν ὑπερποντίαν* referred to the loudness of Battus' voice, which could be heard over the sea[7]. It is possible

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[5] Σ *P*.5.76b, 78a,D.II pp.181-2.
[6] Cf. *P*.4.5ff., 53ff., 60ff., 163ff., 5.60ff., 68-9.
[7] Σ *P*.5.78b, D.II p,182.

that a foreign voice was what caused the lions to flee[8]. Pindar has not told us where the episode took place. A foreign voice would suggest that Battus was in Libya where he was a foreigner. A more plausible reason is that the human voice was foreign to the lions in general, in which case we may assume that Pindar pictures Battus in uninhabited Libya before Cyrene was founded (as vv.60-62, since Apollo's oracles to Battus, all concerned with Cyrene's founding according to Pindar, are not yet fulfilled). Pindar says nothing of the native Libyans so he is free to present Battus as the first human being to come to Libya, a picture which increases the stature of Battus.

Pindar's choice of *γλῶσσαν* may well be explained by an incident recorded by Pausanias which exhibits similarities to Pindar's anecdote[9]. At 10.15.6ff. Pausanias comments on a statue of Battus in a chariot, dedicated by the Cyreneans at Delphi. To his description he adds the following:

> *ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤκισε* Βάττος *τὴν* Κυρήνην, *λέγεται καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γένεσθαι οἱ τοιόνδε ἴαμα· ἐπιὼν τῶν* Κυρηναίων *τὴν χώραν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις αὐτῆς ἐρήμοις ἔτι οὔσι θεᾶται λέοντα καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ δεῖμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς θέας βοῆσαι σαφὲς καὶ μέγα ἠνάγκασεν.*

Mention of Battus appears to have brought to his mind this tale. It has only two points of similarity to that of Pindar, but they are of sufficient significance to merit comparison. Battus meets a lion and shouts out at

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[8] Pearson (1924) p.154 pours scorn on Myers' suggestion that it was Battus' foreign accent which worried the lions, but the text can be read this way. Pearson himself follows the scholiast's interpretation of *γλῶσσαν ὑπερποντίαν* as the oracle given to Battus, but cf.my reservations above.

[9] Cf. Gildersleeve (p.310). Farnell (II p.176), Méautis (p.220), Van der Kolf (p.81) , etc. also cite this tale.

the sight. This encounter has been made considerably more dramatic by the poet. He places it before the foundation of Cyrene because much of its significance lies in Apollo's role in founding the city. Pausanias dates it some time after Cyrene was founded. He therefore has to explain that Battus was in a remote part of Cyrenean territory, for there still to be lions roaming freely. Pausanias knows of only one lion. Pindar has increased this to an unspecified number of roaring beasts which makes the confrontation all the more effective. Pausanias denotes Battus' reaction as one of fear, whereas Pindar concentrates on the lions' reaction, terror. Pindar's lions are afraid at the sound of Battus' voice. Pausanias' lion acts as the stimulus to make Battus cry out.

The similarities of these accounts suggest the possibility of a common source. We may also suggest that the common source was closer to Pausanias' version of events than to that of Pindar. The increased number of lions would seem to be poetic elaboration in order to present Battus in a suitably heroic light. The glorious founder of the city did not flinch at the sight of a pride of roaring lions, and in fact the mere sound of his voice put them to flight, a striking contrast to Pausanias' Battus who cries out in fear at the sight of a lone lion.

This Battus is rather human. Pindar, however, attributes the terror of the lions to divine intervention on the part of Apollo in order to account for his quite unnatural reversal of roles and superhuman portrayal of Battus. Pindar says nothing of Battus' stammer here, or its cure. *Pythian* 4.63 reveals that he was familiar with the tradition that Battus had a speech problem and was not concerned to suppress it, but here it would be inappropriate to mention it because it reveals Battus' fear. However one

wonders whether Pindar's use of the unusual phrase *γλῶσσαν . . . σφιν ἀπένεικεν ὑπερποντίαν* conceals a momentary glance at the tradition of Battus' stammer.

At this point Pindar turns our attention to Apollo, the *ἀρχαγέτας* of Cyrene. At vv.74-81 he lists his gifts to Cyrene, his oracles, and his foundations of Dorian cities, and notes that the present ode is being performed at his festival, the Carneia[10]. At vv.85ff. Pindar returns to Battus, reminding us of his crucial role in founding Cyrene, bringing men to Libya in ships. By encapsulating Apollo's gifts within the myth about Battus Pindar creates the impression that these are part of the prosperity bestowed on Battus and his descendants by Apollo. As Apollo himself intervened in the lions episode, so he has also provided all these things for the benefit of the Battiadae and those they rule[11]. The god's oracular role was well-known as the origin of Cyrene and his gifts of remedies for diseases (vv.63-4) might be seen in the herb silphium which was the source of Cyrene's prosperity for many years. Musical ability and enjoyment of music in Cyrene is, of course, evidenced by the fact of the Cyrenean chorus singing these words. We cannot prove that there was civic harmony in Cyrene (in fact the evidence points to the contrary), but *εὐνομία* was felt by the Greeks to be closely allied to love of music (Gildersleeve p.311 compares the effect of the *φόρμιγξ* in *P.*1.1ff.), and Pindar's use of the *topos* elsewhere in his praise of cities (cf. e.g. *O.*9.15-16, 10.13, 13.6, *P.*8.22) would seem to support the implication here that *εὐνομία* was a further feature of Cyrenean life bestowed on the Cyreneans by Apollo.

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[10] Cf., pp.221ff. above, for a discussion of this passage.

[11] The relevance of Apollo's gifts to the Cyreneans is noted by Race (1986) p.74.

The ensuing selection of events from Battus' life (vv.89ff.) are all on the theme of his piety. The poet groups them together to form a skilful balanced complement to his earlier remarks on the favour of the gods and the interest of Apollo in Battus (vv.55ff.). These sections frame Apollo's gifts to the Cyreneans in the present and their honouring of him (vv.63ff.). Pindar focuses now on Battus' part in founding Cyrene, earlier he had focussed on Apollo's. Battus' pious acts which the poet lists in vv.89ff. were of a very practical nature; so too was the action taken by Apollo in his intervention when the founder met the lions. There can be no doubt that the road which Battus built for Apollo's processions (vv.90-93) still existed in Arcesilas' time, as perhaps did the greater groves of the gods (v.89), direct and obvious links between the past and the present. If at some stage during performance of the ode (or during the Carneian festivities, of which the ode formed part) a procession made its way along this very road, Pindar has chosen an extremely pertinent reminder of that link.

Pindar rounds off his mythic section on Battus with a glance at his tomb, a well-known landmark which he notes was in a special position in the agora in Cyrene (v.93). He sums up Battus' life in two verses (94-5):

μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα
ἔναιεν, ἥρως δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβής.

The adjective *μάκαρ* reminds us of the statement about Battus' *ὄλβος* with which the myth commenced, and forms a close link with the victor whom Pindar has described in exactly the same terms in v.20, *μάκαρ δὲ καὶ νῦν* because of his present victory, and whose *ἑστία* is also *μάκαιρα* (v.11). The theme of prosperity and the blessing of the gods has run throughout the myth and Battus, who had enjoyed these while alive, is still to enjoy favour

after his death in the worship and reverence of those after him.

Pindar has painted a glowing picture of the distant past. That same glow pervades his return to the present by means of the other kings of Cyrene who fill the gap between Battus and Arcesilas. Pindar's treatment of them is remarkable in the light of the evidence we possess about their lives and times[12]. He notes that their graves are apart from that of Battus (*ἄτερθε δέ* v.96), another reminder of his special position in the community, and suggests that they are also perhaps sharing in Arcesilas' *ὄλβος*, another recurrence of this motif, which becomes theirs (*σφὸν ὄλβον* v.102). At v.97 they are described as *βασιλέες ἱεροί*. This is quite a striking description of kings such as Arcesilas II whose reign was one of civil strife and who was murdered by a brother, and of Arcesilas III whose attempts to regain the monarchy's power involved brutal treatment of his opponents and led to his own murder. The Battiad dynasty was bedevilled by rivalries and power-struggles both internal and external and much of its rule was extremely troubled, but of this Pindar says not a word. The adjective *ἱεροί* continues the theme of the piety and prosperity of the Battiadae. The intervening kings, in sharing the *ὄλβος* of Arcesilas, also, therefore, participate in the *παλαιὸς ὄλβος* of Battus.

Before concluding our survey of Pindar's treatment of Battus in *Pythian 5* we should note that some scholars, particularly Chamoux, have suggested that Pindar also attempts to heroise Battus by projecting him back into the heroic age of epic[13]. This is based on an interpretation of vv.82ff. which relies on the acceptance of *δέκονται* (v.86) as an historical

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[12] Cf. App.III pp.298ff..
[13] Cf. Chamoux pp.71ff. esp.73.

present. If this verb is historical present then we may interpret Pindar as meaning that Battus had already brought his men to Libya and settled there when the Antenoridae arrived from Troy, and so were able to welcome the Trojans[14].

There are two main problems in such an interpretation. First, to view *δέκονται* as historical present seems awkward in a passage where the last two previous present tense verbs are ordinary present (*σεβίζομεν* v.80, *ἔχοντι* v.82) and when the poet turns to the past in vv.83-4 and 87 he uses the aorists *μόλον, ἴδον,* and *ἄγαγε*[15].

Secondly, this interpretation does not fit in well with the sequence of thought in this part of the ode. Pindar has been recounting Cyrene's long-standing relationship with Apollo, which culminates in the festival which the Cyreneans are celebrating, the Carneia. While on this theme of the Cyreneans' piety he mentions the reception with sacrifice of the Antenoridae[16], heroes whose connection with Cyrene was ancient, before

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[14] This is the interpretation of Chamoux. I take the reference to the Antenoridae to be to a cult of the heroes at Cyrene, as Vian pp.307f.. The reading of *δέκονται* as historical present was first suggested by Perret pp.182ff.. However, being unable to countenance the arrival of Battus in Libya *before* the Antenoridae he had to interpret the sentence quite differently:'*le coeur plein d'enthousiasme cette race de cavaliers acceuille nos héros avec des honneurs divins, allant vers eux chargés de présents, vers ceux qu'Aristote vient d'amener sur ses nefs rapides*' (Perret p.187). This involves taking *ἐλάσιππον ἔθνος* as nominative. No object is then available for the verb. Perret therefore emends *ἄνδρες* to *ἄνδρας*. However, every manuscript agrees on the reading *ἄνδρες*. Chamoux does not accept the emendation; his interpretation works syntactically in the same way as if we accept *δέκονται* as present proper. The *ἐλάσιππον ἔθνος* is the object of *δέκονται* and the subject the *ἄνδρες οἰχνέοντες . . . δωροφόροι* who came with Battus. *σφε* refers back to the *ἐλάσιππον ἔθνος*. Chamoux's Greek is correct, but his interpretation of *δέκονται* as historical present raises problems.

[15] We should also note (as Gildersleeve Introd. p.cii) that there is no certain example of an historical present in Pindar.

[16] A further problem which arises if we accept *δέκονται* as an historical present is that we must suppose that Battus and his colonists met the Antenoridae on their arrival in Cyrene with sacrifices (*θυσίαισιν* v.86), i.e the worship accorded to living gods or to dead heroes. The Antenoridae were neither. This is then a remarkable exaggeration on the poet's part of an honorific welcome.

passing on to Battus whose various *pious* acts are selected for enumeration. Pindar then indicates that after his death he too is worshipped as a hero by the Cyreneans (v.95). As he returns to the present by way of the other kings of Cyrene the emphasis is the same, the kings are described as *ἱεροί* (v.97) and buried within the city (vv.96-103), a fact which might well indicate ancestor worship or a cult of the dead. It is clear then that the context favours a reference to current religious practices in *δέκονται* rather than a secular event in Cyrene's history.

To sum up, Pindar's treatment of Battus in *Pythian 5* reveals the poet's selectivity in the choice of events and themes. What he includes reveals a desire to glorify and honour the victor's ancestor and therefore the victor[17]. What he omits demonstrates the same desire. Nothing which might detract from the glowing picture of Battus' piety and prosperity and close relationship with Apollo is allowed to intrude. The oracles for the founder of Cyrene are fulfilled at the express desire of Apollo, but the poet says nothing of Battus' reluctance to found Cyrene and his attempts to avoid doing so[18]. The encounter with the lions features their fear at the sound of Battus' voice, rather than his terror as portrayed in Pausanias' account. The narrative of Battus' deeds in Cyrene completely passes over the difficulties and hardships which must have occurred as the tiny colony struggled to establish itself. The brief description which covers the years intervening between Battus and Arcesilas completely omits the tensions and strife of the Battiad dynasty.

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[17]This is the primary purpose of the poet's selective portrayal of Battus and the Battiad dynasty. A secondary aim may have been to provide propaganda for Arcesilas, whose kingship had been threatened. Cf. my remarks on Pindar's emphasis on the legitimacy of kingship, pp. 5-6, 38-9, 79 and possible reasons for the commission of two odes pp192ff..
[18] See pp.265ff. below where this is discussed in detail.

By choosing the theme of *ὄλβος* for his myth and weaving it between Battus and Arcesilas Pindar is able to give the events between them the same prosperous air as part of a continuous pattern of blessing and prosperity under the guidance of Apollo. The ode closes at vv.122-4 with a prayer to Zeus to grant victory at Olympia *Βάττου γένει*, the last two words of the ode and a final reminder of Arcesilas' descent and heritage.

Pythian 4

The myth of Jason and the Argonauts would not immediately suggest itself as an auspicious hunting ground for Battiad history, but its legendary connections with the house of Battus, however tenuous, were felt by Pindar to be sufficient for him to use this myth in praising Arcesilas IV of Cyrene. The extent of the connections between the Argonauts and Arcesilas was slight. According to Pindar's version of events[19] Euphemus, one of Jason's crew, received from a *daimon* in Libya a clod of earth which obviously symbolised sovereignty over the land or a part of it. The descendants of Euphemus, whom he begat on Lemnos, went first to Lacedaemon, then to Thera whence it was that Battus originated, the coloniser of Libya and blood ancestor of Arcesilas. Arcesilas' percentage of Euphemid blood cannot have been much after so many dilutions in so many places, but it looks as if the Battiadae did style themselves as descendants of Euphemus[20]. This connection, however, is considerably increased and strengthened by Pindar's treatment of Battus in *Pythian 4*. As in *Pythian 5* he becomes a key figure, providing the vital

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[19] This was not the only one. For a discussion of the accounts of Herodotus and Apollonius Rhodius cf. pp.40ff. above.

[20] Cf. Herodotus' remark at 4.150.2, *Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνήστου, ἐὼν γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μινυέων*, and the occurrence in the tradition of the name Euphemus for the man who led an expedition to Greece for Arcesilas in order to hire mercenaries (Σ *P*.5.34, D.II p.176.)

link between the present and the distant past of ancient saga, even though he does not actually figure in the myth proper (vv.70-262) but only in the *Vormythos* (vv.4-63).

Battus appears at v.6 in the very first long sentence of the ode when Pindar speeds us from the present celebration of Arcesilas' victory right back to the mythic age of ancient saga. The poet effects this transition by means of the Delphic oracle, since Arcesilas won his victory at Delphi where once (*ἔνθα ποτέ* v.4) the oracle named Battus as coloniser of Libya, leaving a *ἱερὰν νᾶσον,* and named him in particular as founder, on a distinctive hill, of a city which was to be famous for its chariots (vv.7-8).

As in *Pythian 5* the poet appears to have felt no need to explain to his audience the relationship between Battus and Arcesilas, no need to name the island he left nor the city he founded. Such matters would be well-known to a Cyrenean audience. However what Pindar proceeds to say next about Battus was probably less well-known, if not quite new[21]: not only did Battus fulfil the oracle of Apollo to colonise Libya, but in doing so he also fulfilled a prophecy given by Medea at Thera during the return journey of the Argonauts. Medea prophesied that Libya would be colonised from the island of Thera since this is where the clod of Libyan earth given to Euphemus by Eurypylus was washed up (vv.13ff.). Medea's prophecy is given in ring form; thus at the end of her narrative of the Argonauts' meeting with Eurypylus and the loss of the clod overboard with its consequent delaying of the colonisation of Libya Pindar returns to her opening statement and expands it.

The *κριτὸν . . . γένος* (vv 50-51) begotten by Euphemus will come to

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[21] For my discussion of Medea's prophecy cf. Ch.1 pp.37ff..

Thera with the god's blessing and there beget φῶτα κελαινεφέων πεδίων δεσπόταν. We have come full circle back to Battus, but this time the poet does not name him. Two further aspects of this statement are worth noting here; first, the fact that the race of which Battus and hence Arcesilas are part is κριτός. LSJ render the meaning here as 'choice' or 'excellent'. This is flattering to the Battiadae, but more to Pindar's purpose is the idea that the race was 'picked out' or 'chosen', that is, intended for a specific purpose, in this case to colonise Cyrene. Such a rendering gains support from its juxtaposition with the second noteworthy detail, σὺν τιμᾷ θεῶν (v.51). Pindar desires to stress that even the events which took place before those known to be sanctioned by the Delphic oracle were destined by the gods who gave the move to Thera their blessing.

Medea ends her prophecy (vv.53-6) by saying that Apollo will remind Battus to take men in ships to Libya when, at some future date, he comes to consult the Pythia. These words close the structural ring begun in vv.4ff. and reiterate what was said there. After rounding off Medea's speech Pindar returns to dwell on this important stage in Cyrene's founding. He apostrophises Battus: ὦ μάκαρ υἱὲ Πολυμνάστου. He uses the same epithet of Battus in *Pythian 5* (v.94), but here the poet uses the adjective to highlight Battus' good fortune in being chosen by Apollo to colonise Cyrene. Pindar reaffirms to Battus that this oracle comes as a fulfilment of the words spoken by Medea and tells us that it came αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ (v.60) when Battus had gone to consult the oracle about quite a different matter, his voice (v.63) and the Pythia greeted him as the destined king of Cyrene (vv.61-2). The spontaneity of the oracle's response is

important for Pindar, and he stresses it by adding the detail of the oracle's greeting *ἑστρίς* (v.61) because it suggests Apollo's eagerness for Battus to found Cyrene.

Battus' role in *Pythian 4* is limited to his receiving of the oracle about Cyrene. After this he only reappears indirectly in Pindar's summary of events after Jason achieved the tasks of Aeetes. The Argonauts went to Lemnos where the race of Euphemus was begotten, to travel later to Lacedaemon and Thera. At vv.259ff. the poet declares:

ἔνθεν δ᾽ ὔμμι Λατοίδας ἔπορεν Λιβύας πεδίον
σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς ὀφέλλειν, ἄστυ χρυσοθρόνου
διανέμειν θεῖον Κυράνας
ὀρθόβουλον μῆτιν ἐφευρομένοις.

Battus is not named here, but the poet has ensured that the audience would recognise a reference to him. Apollo's role in colonising Libya has already been portrayed in the ode, in a passage of which Pindar presents a verbal echo, *σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς* (v.260) recalling *σὺν τιμᾷ θεῶν* (v.51), but only in connection with one person, Battus. The scope is broadened now to *ὔμμι* (v.259) to include Arcesilas in the god's plan for Libya, and so that the link between Arcesilas and the Argonauts is reiterated in an explicit manner. The motif of the gods' blessing which earlier was applied to the Euphemids' move to Thera is now applied to events which happened once they left Thera, the founding of the *ἄστυ θεῖον*, Cyrene (vv.260-61).

It is clear that Battus' role in *Pythian 4* is limited but of great importance for the poet's purpose. Cyrene's founder is the key figure who links the distant Argonautic saga with the present celebration of a

Cyrenean victor. Pindar concentrates, therefore, only on those aspects of his life and works which are relevant to this link: the oracle which in turn fulfilled an ancient prophecy given by Medea about the race of the Argonaut Euphemus.

That Pindar knew more Cyrenean history than this is of course shown by the entirely different selection of events in Battus' life narrated in *Pythian 5*. His choice of events from Battus' life for *Pythian 4* is not particularly surprising in view of his poetic aims, but in the light of our other Cyrenean sources it is immediately apparent that Pindar has presented these events in a very different manner from that in which they originally appeared. Pindar's account of Medea's prophecy and the events leading up to the settlement of the Euphemidae on Thera has been dealt with in Chapter 1[22]. What really concerns us here is his treatment of the Delphic oracle to Battus about the colonisation of Libya.

There can be no doubt that such an oracle was historical fact, but even a glance at our sources reveals that it was not quite as straightforward as Pindar would have us believe. Herodotus' account contains not one but two citations of oracles to Battus at different times, and three further accounts of oracular consultations of which the contents are only paraphrased. The scholia cite Menecles, who also quoted the Delphic oracle, and his version is different again, as is that of Diodorus[23]. Clearly Pindar has simplified matters. Let us consider how and why[24].

Herodotus' narrative of the founding of Cyrene offers the accounts

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22 See esp.pp.37ff..
23 Σ*P*.4.10a, D.II p.97; D.S.8.29, with Parke's comments pp.81-2.
24 The basic data which appear here are to be found in Van der Kolf pp.77ff.

given by different ethnic groups who do not always agree. Events up to the settlement of Thera are given on the authority of the Lacedaemonians and Therans. After this Herodotus separates the accounts of the Therans and Cyreneans concerning Battus until the point where Battus set out as sole commander of an expedition to colonise Libya, after which, according to him, the Cyreneans and Therans agree. It is within the area where the versions differ that the oracles to Battus appear.

The Therans related (4.150ff.) that the first oracle about colonising Cyrene was given not to Battus but to Grinnus, who was a descendant of Theras, after whom Calliste was renamed Thera. Earlier (4.147ff.) Herodotus had recounted how the grandsons of the Argonautic crew had sailed to Thera from Sparta with Theras. Grinnus was king of the island and had gone to Delphi to offer sacrifice on behalf of the community. Accompanying him were other islanders from Thera, among whom Herodotus notes was one Battus, son of Polymnestus, and he adds: *ἐὼν γένος* Εὐφημίδης *τῶν* Μινυέων (150.2). For whatever reason Grinnus consulted the oracle, to judge from his reaction he was apparently not expecting the reply which he received, *κτίζειν ἐν* Λιβύῃ *πόλιν*. For he replied that he was too old and inactive to undertake such a thing, and bade the oracle choose one of the younger men with him. As he said this he pointed towards Battus. That was an end of the matter for the present since they did not even know where Libya was and did not want to send a colony out into the unknown.

It is obvious that Pindar did not follow this version of the oracle. *Pythian 4* says nothing of Grinnus, nor is there any hint of the random element involved in Battus' role in the founding, viz, that he happened to

be the young man at whom Grinnus pointed. In addition Pindar's oracle suggests immediate obedience and results, which clearly was not the case here. All that this oracle has in common with the one given in *Pythian 4* is the unexpected command to found a city in Libya.

The consequences of the oracle as related by Herodotus did not, however, stop there. The result of ignoring this oracular command was a seven-year drought. This led to a second consultation of the oracle by the Therans, and a reminder about establishing a colony in Libya. This time the Therans took action. They sent to enquire in Crete whether anyone there had been to Libya. A certain Corobius was found who had been to the island of Platea, just off the Libyan coast, and he was hired to go and settle there for a while. Once he was on the island the Therans sailed home as fast as possible with the news. After narrating a brief digression about Corobius and the Samians, Herodotus returns to the Therans who claimed to have established a settlement on Platea. This news led to a decision to send a party out representative of all seven places on Thera, and Battus was to be *hegemon* and king. Two penteconters set out.

No details are given of the second oracular consultation beyond the fact that it occurred as the result of a local disaster and provided a reminder that Libya was still uncolonised. The oracle produced results, but it was not until a foreigner was hired to go and things were felt to be safe that Battus finally set sail with the colonists. Pindar has clearly omitted any such failure to comply with the oracle which resulted in the need for a reminder, and also any need for foreign aid in the colonisation.

Thus Pindar did not subscribe to the Theran version of Cyrene's founding, but what of the Cyrenean tradition which Herodotus relates

because of its difference? He remarks (4.154.1) that the account of the Cyreneans differed in what was said about Battus. It is noticeable that their whole tale revolves around him alone. Herodotus begins with a romantic tale of his parentage. Battus' mother was a Cretan girl who became Polymnestus' mistress[25]. To this Phronimé and Polymnestus was born a son, of whom the historian says that he was *παῖς ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τῷ οὔνομα . . . Βάττος* (155.1). The Therans and Cyreneans were agreed that this was his name[26].

The child grew up and went to consult the oracle at Delphi *περὶ τῆς φωνῆς*. Herodotus quotes the oracle's reply (155.3):

Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες· ἄναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων

ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα

Quite unexpectedly the oracle seemed to give no advice about Battus' voice, but instead commanded him to colonise Libya. Battus' response is not

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25 For a discussion of this tale and of other fictitious elements in the traditions cf. Chamoux pp.92ff..

26 Herodotus, however, is inclined to disbelieve that Battus' name was derived from his deformity of speech (*Βάττος* from *βατταρίζειν* 'to stammer or stutter'). At 4.155.1-2 he advances another explanation, that Battus took on the name Battus when he went to Libya, since '*battus*' meant 'king' in the Libyan language. He then has to explain the oracle's address of Battus by that name before his departure for Cyrene, which he does in terms of the Pythia's omniscience (155.4). If Herodotus is right in his Libyan etymology we are faced with a remarkable coincidence: the claiming of a royal title, Battus, by a man who already possessed this title as his name or nickname arising from his stammering voice. Herodotus does not deny his stammer (*ἦλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς* 155.3) but he does not accept it as the explanation of Battus' name. Like Chamoux (p.97) I find this coincidence implausible, but if Herodotus' etymology is right the only other possible explanation is that the story of Battus' stammer is a fable (either deliberately made up by his descendants or an *αἴτιον* of popular origin) based on the name which Aristoteles adopted on arrival in Libya. This gains some support from the existence in the tradition of the second name for Battus, which Pindar, writing for a Cyrenean audience, uses without comment (*P.* 5.87) when he describes Battus bringing men in ships to Libya, i.e. before his arrival there. In addition the tale of Battus' stammer appears to contain a popular element in the lions story (cf. Paus.10.15.7 and Chamoux p.97). We should note, however, that if the tradition of the stammer postdated Battus' arrival in Libya the oracle quoted by Herodotus at 155.3, which begins *Βάττ' ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες*, must be a fabrication which Pindar accepted (cf. *P.* 4.63 *δυσθρόου φωνᾶς ἀνακρινόμενον ποινὰ τίς ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν*).

surprising. He protested at such a command, saying that it was impossible and that he had no resources, but could get no other reply. So he departed abruptly and returned to Thera.

We might well expect the author of an ode for a Cyrenean to follow the Cyrenean tradition and there seems to be evidence so far that Pindar did. He tells us nothing of Battus' mother, but does call him the son of Polymnestus (*P*.4.59: perhaps he felt that the other details of Battus' ancestry were not glamorous enough to record). He also states that Battus was consulting the oracle about his voice when he was unexpectedly hailed by the Pythia as coloniser of Libya (*P*.4.60ff.), which appears close to the Cyrenean tale in Herodotus. However, Pindar's Battus neither protests at such an oracle nor ignores it.

Herodotus continues the tale (4.156.1ff.). Things went badly after this, not only for Battus but also for the Therans, until at last they reconsulted the Delphic oracle. It told them to found Cyrene in Libya with Battus, and then their fortunes would improve. Battus set off with two penteconters and got as far as the coast of Libya before returning to Thera. The Therans refused to allow him to land and eventually forced him to about-turn and set sail again. This time they settled on Platea, where they stayed for two years, but failing to prosper they consulted the oracle once again to complain of their fate despite their obedience. Herodotus quotes the oracle's ironic reply (157.2):

αἰ τὺ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον,
μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίην σευ.

This response convinced Battus and his party that there was nothing for it but to establish a colony on the Libyan mainland. This they did, first,

according to Herodotus, at Aziris, and then at the spring called 'Apollo's fountain' which site was later known as Cyrene (157.3ff.).

This sequel to the first oracle develops an even more complex series of events than that narrated by the Therans. Herodotus narrated their version of events only up to the sending of two penteconters to Platea under Battus. According to the Cyreneans even this failed to succeed until the Therans refused to allow the reluctant settlers back, and still a further consultation of the oracle was necessary before the party even attempted to settle in Libya, let alone in Cyrene.

Pindar may have followed the Cyrenean tradition which makes Battus the central figure in the colonisation, but he has simplified it enormously. Three oracular commands have been telescoped into one, the first striking oracle. This was not difficult for the poet because the later oracles were merely repetitions of the first's command. Instead the reiteration of commands to colonise Cyrene has been achieved by the skilful imagination of the poet, who uses Medea to foretell the oracle to Battus. The repetition strengthens the god's desire for a colony in Cyrene, but the omission of reiteration of the Delphic oracle happily precludes any failure to obey on Battus' part.

Battus' response has been entirely altered by the passing over of his reluctance to do anything and his continuing disobedience even in the face of repeated oracular commands. Protest against the oracle's response, followed by grudging attempts to carry out its command but get round its terms has been omitted. In their stead comes the appearance of unquestioning acceptance of the oracle and obedience to its terms which the poet creates by commenting on Battus' good fortune in being named by

the Pythia as Cyrene's founder and the implication that the oracle's command was carried out. The waste of time and delay in founding Cyrene because of the irresolution and faintheartedness of it founder is entirely avoided. The only delay of which we hear is the earlier one caused by the loss of the clod overboard on the Argonautic voyage[27].

The end result presents a striking contrast to even the bare bones of what is common to both Theran and Cyrenean tales[28]. Battus is presented as being glorified by the prophetic utterance of the Pythia and blessed by it. In enacting it he fulfilled another prophecy, that of Medea on Thera. Thus the poet is able to create the impression of an unbroken thread of destiny in the founding of Cyrene. Sanctioned by the gods from its earliest conception when an unknown *daimon*, son of Poseidon, presented an Argonautic hero with a clod of Libyan earth and Zeus thundered his approval, the actual founding by Battus had been foretold as soon as the clod came to rest and apparently proceeded without hitch or interruption.

The Battiadae who flourished from the moment their ancestor was first hailed lord of Cyrene by Apollo's oracle continue to flourish in the present in the victory granted to Arcesilas by the same god. The sovereignty which was sanctioned in Argonautic times and subsequently given to one man, Battus, at the oracle's express command, is still in the hands of his descendant, Arcesilas. It is easy to see why Pindar chose to omit so much of the foundation story as it was told at Cyrene. It was not particularly flattering to Battus, complex to relate, and reflected ill on the Battiad dynasty in general. Certain elements, however, were very well

[27] The poet's adaptation of the motif of delay which occurs in the historical account of Cyrene's foundation is discussed on pp.41-2 above.
[28] For an excellent comparison and discussion of these cf. Chamoux pp.94-5.

known, no doubt, and could be used and dressed up to suit the poet's aims.

At this juncture it is worth considering one further point, the reason given by Pindar for Battus' consultation of the Delphic oracle: *δυσθρόου φωνᾶς ἀνακρινόμενον ποινὰ τίς ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν* (v.63). This is in agreement with the Cyrenean version of events. The Cyreneans ascribed a speech problem to Battus from birth, and recounted that he was consulting the oracle *περὶ τῆς φωνῆς* when the Pythia gave him the command about colonising Libya. We noted earlier (n.26 on p.267) that both this oracle and the tale of Battus' stammer may have been fabrications, but Pindar has accepted them. The scholia note that not all accepted this as Battus' reason for going to Delphi. Menecles' evidence suggests that Battus sought the Pythia as a result of *stasis* on Thera. Battus was the leader of one faction and went to seek the god's advice as to whether they should fight it out on Thera or found a colony elsewhere. The text of the oracle is given, although it is corrupt[29]:

> Βάττε, <τὸ> *πρόσθε κακὸν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐσθλὸν ἐρευνᾷς.*
> *ἔρχεο, λεῖφ' ἀλίαν χώραν· ἥπειρος ἀμείνων*
> *ἠῷος. πρότερον δόλον ἔκβαλε, πειθεΐ πείθων.*
> *στέρξον γῆν ὁσίως, ἣν μισεῖ πολλὴν ἀθεμίστως.*
> *οἷά τ' ἀνὴρ ἔρξει, τοῖον τέλος αὐτὸν ἱκάνει.*

Parke and Wormell obelise *πειθεΐ πείθων* in v.3 and *πολλὴν* in v.4 and suggest

> *πρότερον δόλον ἔκβαλε· πεῖθε'· 'Απόλλων*
> *στερρὸν γῆν ὁσίωσεν ἑήν· μισεῖς ἀθεμίστως*[30]

Even without their emendation, which introduces Apollo, the general

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[29] Σ *P*.4.10a, D.II.p.97.
[30] Cf. Parke and Wormell p.139.

meaning is clear. The oracle advised carrying out the second of his alternatives, to leave *ἄλλαν χώραν* and head for an eastern continent. Neither the island Battus is to leave nor Libya is named. Commentators have remarked on the word play on Aristoteles in the last line: this is the other name given to Battus by Pindar at *P.*5.87, although we should note that the oracle addressed the founder as Battus (v.1), not Aristoteles.

Chamoux, following Parke[31] suggests that Menecles has confused the first oracle about colonisation given to Battus while he lived on Thera with the second one delivered to those who had set out from Libya and only got as far as Platea before settling. The *ἄλλαν χώραν* quoted in Menecles' oracle is the island of Platea and the eastern mainland Libya. Certainly this would seem more correct geographically, since Libya is not east of Thera but a long way south. *πρότερον δόλον* would then refer to Battus' attempts to deceive the oracle into believing that he had actually settled in Libya. Parke points out that this version of the oracle is a poor contrast to Herodotus' ironic and pithy response (recorded at 4.157.2)[32]

Whatever we may think about the oracle itself, the interesting point of Menecles' account remains that Battus was involved in *stasis* on Thera[33]. It is possible that Pindar did not know this version of events, in which case we could not expect any reference to it. If, however, this tradition was well-known in Cyrene we may note that Pindar chose to omit any direct reference to it[34]. To present Battus in this way, however,

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[31] Cf.Chamoux p.112.
[32] Cf. Parke p.83. He suggests (as I have done for the oracle given by Herodotus 4.155.3) that the oracle is not authentic, because it addresses Battus by that name.
[33] Chamoux suggests (p.112) that the Theran tale given by Herodotus may support this in the opposition given to the colonists when they tried to return to Thera (cf. Hdt.4.156.3).
[34] Parke and Wormell suggest (p.140) that at *P.*5.87ff. Pindar uses the name Aristoteles with stress on its meaning. They compare *P.* 5.60ff., and state that Pindar probably had

would greatly lessen the impact of the unprompted oracle about Libya. If he was already seeking to leave Thera because the situation had become so difficult for him an oracle to found Cyrene would merely be an answer to his difficulties and a pointer in the right direction. An unprompted oracle, however, stresses the god's desire for his will to be done, for Cyrene to be founded, for Battus to leave behind his easy existence on Thera and venture into the unknown with only the god's authority to favour the expedition. This highlights the vital role of the god in founding Cyrene, his persistent desire for it to be created, and thus his continuing interest in and blessing of the community. In addition, Pindar may well have avoided reference to *stasis* on Thera because of the situation in Cyrene. We noted earlier that Arcesilas had had to deal with *stasis* himself (cf. pp.176ff.). Thus any reference to Battus' involvement in *stasis* might have been deemed in very poor taste by Arcesilas.

Pindar's treatment of Battus and Battiad history in *Pythians 4* and *5* is by no means exceptional. The odes provide a wealth of parallels for the poet's tendency to edit his material in order to enhance what would please his patron and to suppress or gloss over details which would be unwelcome.

We have already noted this tendency in Pindar's treatment of historical events in the odes. In *Pythian 1*, for example, the founding of Aetna by Pindar's patron is transformed from the forced resettlement of the population of existing cities, and the importation of foreign colonists, into a glorious flowering of Dorian civilisation on the fringes of the Greek

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the oracle quoted by Menecles in mind in both passages. This seems unlikely in view of the lack of any real connection in content or any verbal echo.

world, and Hieron, whose selfish desire for the honours accorded to a city's founder had motivated the creation of Aetna, is portrayed as the perfect king and venerable founding father[35].

The poet applies similar editorial treatment to myth. In *Olympian 7*, composed for a Rhodian victor, part of the mythic narrative describes the founding of Rhodes by Tlepolemus (*O*.7.20ff.). The same tale is recorded at *Il*.2.653ff. by Homer, who may well have been the poet's source[36]. According to the epic poet Tlepolemus' killing of his father's uncle, Licymnius, was followed by threats from the other sons and grandsons of Heracles. Tlepolemus quickly built ships, gathered up a large number of men and fled (*βῆ φεύγων ἐπὶ πόντον* *Il*.2.665). After many hardships in his wanderings on the seas he came to Rhodes where he settled.

Pindar, however, has suppressed all reference to threats from other members of the family and instead attributes Tlepolemus' journey to Rhodes to the guidance of the Delphic oracle which he consulted after the killing of Licymnius[37]. This naturally puts the founding of Rhodes into a new light. Instead of the colony being located just somewhere that Tlepolemus happened to land at during his flight, the island becomes a spot divinely sanctioned by Apollo. The poet also suggests, by transposing the shower of gold to long *before* Tlepolemus' arrival on Rhodes rather than shortly *after* (as Homer), that the island was already favoured by

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[35] Cf.D.S.11.49 and pp.166-7 above.
[36] Cf. Young (1968) p.83 esp. n.1, Verdenius pp.56-7, Bernardini pp.165ff.
[37] The killing is retained by the poet because his myths in *O.7* follow a pattern of plot where error or oversight leads not to disaster but to glory through divine intervention (cf. Young pp.78-9). For the same reason Pindar introduces a consultation of Apollo's oracle which leads to Tlepolemus' journey to Rhodes. Cf. also Verdenius p.57, Bernardini p.166.

Zeus (cf. Young p.83). Moreover Pindar hints by his phrasing of the oracle's command, *ἀπ' ἀκτᾶς εὐθὺν ἐς ἀμφιθάλασσον νομόν* (*O*.7.33), that Tlepolemus sailed straight to Rhodes without hitch, whereas Homer says *αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἐς Ῥόδον ἷξεν ἀλώμενος, ἄλγεα πάσχων* (*Il*.2.667).These changes have been made to render the myth of Rhodes' founding entirely acceptable to and edifying for a Rhodian victor.

We may further compare the poet's catalogue of the famous figures associated with Corinth in *Olympian 13*, an ode for a Corinthian victor. There can be no doubt of the importance of these figures in Corinthian mythology, but they were by no means unambiguously glorious or heroic. However, the poet suppresses all details which would be unwelcome to his Corinthian patron. Sisyphus (v.52) is merely described as *πυκνότατον παλάμαις ὡς θεόν*, as one of the possible etymologies of his name suggests[38]. Nothing is said of his extreme cunning and craftiness, which finally resulted in the eternal punishment in Hades for which he is so well-known[39].

Medea, usually famed as an enchantress, is represented as the saviour of the Argonauts (vv.53-4)[40]. The unusual double role of the Corinthians at Troy, fighting on both sides, is mentioned (vv.57-60) but Pindar greatly overstates the contribution of those on the Greek side, *τοὶ μὲν γένει φίλῳ σὺν Ἀτρέος Ἑλέναν κομίζοντες* (vv.58-9). The Corinthians did not send an independent contingent to Troy, but were vassals of Agamemnon and had no significant role in the fighting, contrary to

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[38] Cf. Gildersleeve p.233: 'The popular and false etymology of *Σίσυφος* derived the name from *σιός* = *θεός* and *συφός* = *σοφός*, hence = *θεόσοφος*'.
[39] Cf. e.g. *Il*.6.152, Alc. fr.38, Thgn.702ff., Hyg. *F*.201.
[40] Note, however, that she is also portrayed in this role in *Pythian 4*.

Pindar's implication (cf. Gildersleeve p.233).

Such editing of his material in order to present a patron with an edifying picture of his homeland or ancestors accords well with Pindar's treatment of Battus in *Pythians 4* and *5*. Just as the poet has omitted those aspects of Battus' founding of Cyrene which might be detrimental to his overall portrayal of the founder, omitting Battus' hesitancy and disobedience in the face of the oracular commands to found Cyrene and slightly altering the tale of Battus and the lions, in the same way he fails to give any details of Hieron's foundation of Aetna which would detract from his portrait of the glorious founder, slightly alters the story of the founding of Rhodes and glosses over those aspects of the figures associated with Corinth which were not entirely praiseworthy. Pindar's concern is to praise and exalt his patron in every aspect of his life. This he does, although at times his edifying treatment of unwelcome material must have rung a little false in his audience's ears. His patrons, however, were unlikely to object.

APPENDIX I

ἐς Φᾶσιν δ' ἔπειτεν

ἤλυθον, ἔνθα κελαινώπεσσι Κόλχοισιν βίαν

μεῖξαν Αἰήτᾳ παρ' αὐτῷ (P.4.211-213)

To what do these lines refer? The problem of interpretation centres on the meaning of the phrase *βίαν μεῖξαν*. Pindar uses this verb frequently and with a wide variety of meaning according to the context. It occurs no less than four times in *Pythian 4* itself: here; at v.223 *γάμον μεῖξαι*; v.251 *ἔν τ' Ὠκεανοῦ πελάγεσσι μίγεν κτλ* ; at v.257 *Λακεδαιμονίων μιχθέντες ἀνδρῶν ἤθεσιν*. In *Pythian 4* Pindar uses it twice with the accusative and twice with the dative; elsewhere he uses it with the dative with or without *ἐν*[1].

Commentators have suggested three interpretations of *βίαν μεῖξαν*: that it merely means *συνῆλθον*, that it refers to a battle, or that it refers to an athletic contest. *συνῆλθον* was first suggested by the scholia[2]. There are two problems with this interpretation. (1) It is very weak in view of the fact that in the same line Pindar says of the Argonauts *ἐς Φᾶσιν . . . ἤλυθον*. It seems very unlikely that the poet would employ such a mundane repetition of what he had just said. (2) This interpretation does not account for the force of *βία* in the phrase, a word which even at its weakest, denoting bodily strength, always denotes force or might and very often violence.

Norwood's interpretation (p.6), that the phrase describes an athletic contest, exhibits the same weakness. He gives no examples to support his

[1] *μείγνυμι* with dative and *ἐν*: *O*.1.91, *I*.2.29; with dative only: *P*.3.14, *N*.1.18 & 56, 2.22, 3.61 & 77, 4.21, *I*.3.3, 7.25.
[2] Σ v.379a D.II p.149.

case, except a weak one, of the Phaeacians' entertainment of Odysseus with athletic competitions in *Od.*8, and the fact that the phrase *Αἰήτᾳ παρ' αὐτῷ* would then mean that Aeetes had presided over the games. *Αἰήτᾳ παρ' αὐτῷ* has caused commentators problems, but it seems satisfactorily explained by Gildersleeve (p.298), who states that *παρά* means 'in the realm of', and that *αὐτῷ* shows the contrast with their previous adventures. The aim of the Argonauts' journey so far has been to reach the halls of Aeetes (cf. v.160), and now at last they have arrived.

Gildersleeve believed that *βίαν μεῖξαν* refers to a battle, as do most commentators. It seems to me that only this explanation satisfactorily explains the force of *βία* in the phrase. There are also good parallels for this usage, cf. Homer, *Il.*15.510 *μεῖξαι χεῖράς τε μένος τε*, 20.374 *τῶν δ' ἄμυδις μίχθη μένος*; Pindar, *N.*3.61 *ἐπιμείξαις Αἰθιόπεσσι χεῖρας*; Sophocles, *OC* 1046 *τὸν χαλκοβόαν Ἄρη μείξουσιν.*

Friederichs (pp.418-9) argued against this interpretation on three counts. (1) There is nothing in the original sources about a battle. (2) If this did refer to a battle Pindar would then have to inform his hearers about its cause and outcome, which he does not. (3) The link with what follows must work; here Jason seeks to obtain his goal not by force, but by the application of the *iunx* on Medea.

Against these we may counter: (1) that several of the events narrated in the myth of *Pythian 4* are not found in earlier sources, either because the source is lost or because the poet has improvised, cf. e.g. Medea's prophecy and Pelias' dream. (2) The poet did not feel such obligations of logicality, e.g. nothing is said of how or why Jason should arrive in Iolcos wearing only a single sandal, nor is any preliminary

given to suggest why Aeetes should set Jason the task of ploughing etc.. (3) The link with what follows has been demonstrated by Kirkwood 1982 (p.192) to be based on association of ideas. If *βίαν μεῖξαν* refers to a battle the poet's mind moves on to Aphrodite, who is introduced as *πότνια δ' ὀξυτάτων βελέων* (v.213). The interpretation of *βίαν μεῖξαν* as a reference to a battle also fits in very well with Pindar's broader narrative of events, as it enables him to point out that the Argonauts have arrived at their destination, the halls of Aeetes (cf. v.160 *πρὸς Αἰήτα θαλάμους*) where Phrixus' spirit is. In addition the battle reveals that they have received a hostile reception, an important point for the poet to make in view of his lack of introduction to the tasks of Aeetes.

APPENDIX II

Testimonia for epic language in Pindar

Olympian 1

v.1 *αἰθόμενον πῦρ* (1)	cf. *πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο Il.*6.182, 14.396, *Od.*19.39, etc..
4 *φίλον ἦτορ* (3)	cf. *Il.*3.31, *Od.*1.60, and similar phrases at *Il.*1.491, 5.155, *Od.*1.310, etc. (also Thgn 531).
10 *Κρόνου παῖδ'* (5)	cf. *Il.*2.205 & 319, 4.75, 6.139, etc..
12 *πολυμήλῳ Σικελίᾳ* (2)	cf. *Il.*2.605 *Ὀρχομενὸν πολύμηλον.*
17 *ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου λάμβαν'* (2)	cf. *Od.*8.67 & 105 *ἐκ πασσαλόφι κρέμασεν φόρμιγγα*
20 *σύτο* (2)	epic form of aor.med.sing.of *σείω* cf. *Il.*21.167.
23 *ἱπποχάρμαν βασιλῆα* (4)	cf. *ἱπποχάρμης Il.*24.257, *Od.*11.259.
24 *εὐάνορι* (2)	cf. *Od.*4.622, 13.19.
25 *Γαιάοχος Ποσειδάν* (4)	cf. *Il.* 13.43, 20.34, *Od.*1.68, 3.55, etc. (formula reversed).
27 *φαίδιμον ὦμον* (3)	cf. *Od.*11.128 same phrase, *Il.*6.27, Hes.*Th.* for the adj. of men's limbs (also the same phrase B.18.47).
55 *καταπέψαι* (2)	for *καταπέσσω* used metaphorically cf. *Il.*1.81.
58 *μενοινῶν* (3)	cf. *Il.*14.221, 15.293, *Od.*2.248, 22.217 (also Thgn.461, Archil.67.10?, S.*Aj.*341).
62 *νέκταρ ἀμβροσίαν τε* (1)	cf. *Il.*19.38, 347 & 353, *Od.*5.93 & 199, etc..
71 *πολιᾶς ἁλός* (5)	cf. *Il.*1.359, 13.352, *Od.*2.261, 4.580, etc. (also Archil.8.1, Thgn.10 &106, Alc.117(b).27, 305.10).
74 *σχεδόν* (3)	as an adverb of place cf. *Il.*5.458, 10.100, *Od.*5.392,

	24.493 (also Stesich.184.1).
75 φίλια δῶρα Κυπρίας (3)	cf. *Il*.3.64 δῶρ' ἐρατὰ 'Αφροδίτης, 54 δῶρ' 'Αφροδίτης (also B.17.10, E.*IA*.181, *Hel*.363).
76 ἔγχος χάλκεον (2)	cf. *Il*.3.317, *Od*.1.104.
86 ἀκράντοις ἔπεσι (2)	cf. *Od*.19.565, (same phrase), adjective at *Il*.2.138, *Od*.2.202.
88 Οἰνομάου βίαν (5)	cf. *Il*.3.105, 13.758, 770, 781, etc..
92 'Αλφεοῦ πόρῳ (2)	cf. *Il*.2.592 'Αλφειοῖο πόρον, *h.Ap*.423, *h.Merc*.398 'Αλφειοῦ πόρον.
110 ἅρματι θοῷ (3)	cf. *Il*.11.533, 17.458 (also Mimn.12.9).
εὐδείελον Κρόνιον (3)	cf. *Od*.2.167, 9.21, 13.212, etc., *h.Ap*.438 (also Simon.519 fr.4.4).

Olympian 4

v.6 Κρόνου παῖ (5)	cf. *O*.1.10 above.
7 ὀβρίμου (3)	cf. *Il*.5.845, 8.473, 19.408, etc.(also Thgn.1307, Tyrt.11.25 & 27, A.*A*.1411).
10 εὐρυσθενέων (4)	epithet only used of Poseidon in Homer, cf. *Il*.7.455, 8.201, *Od*. 13.140, etc..
22 ἔντεσι (1)	with this meaning only in Homer, cf. *Il*.10.407, *Od*.19.17, 23.368, etc..

Pythian 4

(Testimonia are only provided where my evidence differs from Forssman, or where he supplies no evidence. For the rest the reader is referred to *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars*, pp.86-100)

v.8 ἀργεντόεντι (2)

13 κέκλυτε (1)

17 *ἵππους θοάς* (4)	
18 *δίφρους ἀελλόποδας* (4)	
21 *θεῷ ἀνέρι εἰδομένῳ* (4)	
23 Κρονίων Ζεύς (5)	cf. *Il*.1.502 & 539, 2.102, etc..
25 *θοᾶς* 'Αργοῦς (4)	
26 *νώτων ὕπερ γαίας*, & 228 *νῶτον γᾶς* (4)	
28 *οἰοπόλος* (1)	cf. *Il*.13.473, 19.377, *Od*.11.574.
φαιδίμαν (3)	cf. *Il*.8.452, 10.95, *Od*.2.386, 3.189, etc. (also Alcm.69, B.18.47).
32 *νόστου γλυκεροῦ* (3)	(also Archil.8.2).
36 *οἰδ' ἀπίθησε* (1)	
40 *ὑγρῷ πελάγει* (4)	
48 *εἰρεῖαν ἄπειρον* (4)	
52 *κελαινεφέων* (1)	Homeric epithet of Zeus, e.g. *Il*.1.397, 2.412, 21.520, etc. (also of blood, *Od*.11.36).
56 *πῖον τέμενος* (4)	
57 & 210 *ἐπέων στίχες, ἀνέμων στίχες* (4)	
57 *ἦ ῥα* Μηδείας *ἐπέων στίχες, ἔπταξαν δ' ἀκίνητοι σιωπᾷ | ἥροες ἀντίθεοι* (4)	
58 *πυκινὰν μῆτιν* & 73 *πυκινῷ θυμῷ* (4)	
64 *φοινικανθέμου ἦρος* (4)	
72 *ἀγαυῶν* (3)	cf *Il*.5.277, 7.386, *Od*.2.308, 6.55, etc. (also A *Pers*.986, E *IA*.172, *ad*.953.4, Sapph.21.10).
76 *εἰδείελον* (3)	cf. *O*1.111.
77 *κλειτᾶς* (3)	cf. *Il*.3.451, 6.227, 11.220, *Od*.6.54, etc. (also Thgn.777, Mimn.17).
80 (*ἐσθάς*) *ἁρμόζοισα θαητοῖσι γυίοις* (4)	

89 *τολμάεις* (?3)	cf. *Il.*10.205, *Od.*17.284 (also ? S.*Ph.*984).
90 *κραιπνόν* & 209 *κραιπνότεραι* (3)	cf *Il.* 6.505, 23.749, *Od.*5.385, 6.171 (also A.*Pers.*95, E.*Hipp.*829).
97 *ποίαν γαῖαν . . . καὶ τίς ἀνθρώπων κτλ.* (4)	
98 *ἀνθρώπων χαμαιγενέων* (3)	(only in epic and Pindar, but is a variant reading at Thgn. 870).
101 *ἀγανοῖσι λόγοις* (4)	
109 *λευκαῖς πιθήσαντα φρασίν* (4) (cf. pp.81ff.)	
111 *πάμπρωτον* (1)	cf. *Od.*4.577 & 780, 10.403 & 423, etc..
111 *ὑπερφίαλος* (3)	cf. *Il.*3.106, 13.621, *Od.*9.106, 11.116, etc.(also Stesich.s.148.ii.7-8, B.11.78, 13.158, 15.62).
120 *ὣς φάτο* (1)	(N.B., Page restores in Stesich.s.88.ii.15, but the papyrus has only .. *φα* [ ] *ο*)
125 *κατὰ κλέος* (4)	
128 & 240 *μειλιχίοισι λόγοις* (4)	
134 *ὦρτο* (3)	(also A.*A.*987, Simon.595.2)
135 *ἐσσύμενοι* (3)	epic pf. part. pass. of *σεύω*, cf. *Il.*6.518, 11.554, *Od.*4.416 & 733, etc. (also *ad.*997.5).
144 *σθένος ἀελίου χρύσεον* | *λεύσσομεν* (4)	
149 *βοῶν ξανθὰς ἀγέλας* (4)	
149 *ἀπούρας* (1)	epic aor. part. act. cf. *Il.*1.356 & 507, 2.240, 6.455, etc..
161 *δέρμα τε κριοῦ βαθύμαλλον* (4)	
164 *μετάλλατον* (1)	cf. *Il.*5.516, 10.125, *Od.*15.23 & 362, etc..
166 *καρτερὸς ὅρκος* (1)	cf. *Il.*19.108 & 127, *Od.*4.253, 10.381, etc..
171 *Κρονίδαο Ζηνός* (5)	cf. *Il.*2.111 & 375, 4.166, *Od.*9.552, etc..
172 *ἑλικογλεφάρου Λήδας* (4)	

174 *κλέος ἐσλόν* (3)	(Also Tyrt.12.31).
178 Ἑρμας *χρυσόρραπις* (1)	traditional epithet of Hermes, cf. *Od.*5.87, 10.277, *h.Merc.*539.
180 *ναιετάοντες* (3)	cf. *Il.*3.387 5.708, *Od.*6.153, 20.288 (also Simon.10.1).
184 *γλυκὺν πόθον* (4)	
190 *θεοπροπέων* (?3)	cf. *Il.*1.109, 2.322, *Od.*2.184 (also ? Tyrt.2.2).
194 *ὠκυπόρους* (4)	cf *Il.*1.421, 2.351, *Od.*4.708, 5.176, etc..
195 *πόντου κελεύθους* (4)	
201 *ἐμβαλεῖν κώπαισι* (2)	
ἐνίπτων (3)	cf. *Il.*2.245, 3.427, *Od.*16.417, 18.78 (also A.*A*.590).
207 *ἵεμεναι* (3)	cf. *Il.*12.274, 14.8, *Od.*20.356, 22.304.
208 *ἀμαιμάκετον* (3)	cf. *Il.*6.179, 16.329, *Od.*14.311 (also *ad.*5.414(a)4, B.11.64, S.*OT*177, *OC*127).
212 *βίαν* | *μεῖξαν* (4)	(cf. App.I pp.277-279)

221 *σὺν δ' ἐλαίῳ φαρμακώσαισ' ἀντίτομα στερεᾶν ὀδυνᾶν* (4)

225 *καιομένοιο πυρός* (4)

227 *ὀρθὰς αὔλακας ἤλαυν'* (4)

231 *κῶας* (4)	cf *Il.*9.661, *Od.*3.38, 16.47, 17.32, etc. (also Mimn.11.1).
232 *κρόκεον εἷμα* (4)	
239 *φίλας* | *ὤρεγον χεῖρας* (4)	
251 *ἔν τ' Ὠκεανοῦ πελάγεσσι* (4)	
256 *μοιρίδιον ἆμαρ* (4)	cf. *αἴσιμον ἦμαρ Il.*8.72, *Od.*16.280, *μόρσιμον ἦμαρ Il.*15.613, *Od.*10.175.
ἆμαρ ἢ νύκτες (4)	

260 *χρυσοθρόνου* Κυράνας (4) Homeric epithet of Hera, Artemis and Eos (cf.*Il*.1.611, 14.153, *Od*.5.123, 10.541) used here with a new designation.

264 *θαητὸν εἶδος* (4)

272 *ἀφαιροτέραις* (3) cf.*Il*.7.457, 12.458, 15.11, *Od*.20.110 (also Xenoph.9).

277 *ἄγγελον ἐσλόν κτλ.* (4) cf. *Il*.15.207.

296 *δαιδαλέαν* (3) cf.*Il*.4.135, 6.418, *Od*.1.131, 10.315 (also Simon.543.2, B.5.140, fr.4.64., E.*Hec*.470).

Pythian 4 Addendum: epic language included by Forssman but omitted by me.

v.13 *ὑπέρθυμος* found five times outside Pindar (adj. twice in Stesich.222.ii.5. & 266, twice in B., 9.37, 13.103, adv. A.*Eu*.824).

15 *μελησίμβροτον* F. can only give one Homeric parallel, *Od*.9.19 *ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν ἀνθρώποισι μέλω*, and it is too far removed from Pindar.

22 *πρύμναθεν . . . καταβαίς* F. compares *οὐρανόθεν καταβάς*, a formula used of the gods. The only similarity is *καταβαίνω* which is used in prose (Hdt & Pl.). I can see no adaptation here.

53 *δῶμα* = 'temple' This meaning is found frequently in tragedy, e.g.A.*Eu*.179, *Supp*.291.

78 *αἴτε* F. cites this as the only occurrence of *αἰ* in Pindar. Although he gives this as an example of epic word usage, he has to point out that the combination *αἴτε* is not in epic. In addition Palmer notes (p.123) that 'in Homer the conditional particle *εἰ* occurs over four times more often than *αἰ* '. *αἴτε* cannot,

therefore, be an example of epic language.

81 *ἀμφὶ δὲ παρδαλέᾳ στέγετο* F. gives one example in Homer, LSJ only give one other example in Homer and four elsewhere. To me this looks like Pindar using an Homeric motif rather that a deliberate choice of epic language.

94 *ξεστᾷ τ' ἀπήνᾳ* F. gives one example in Homer where the text is dubious. LSJ give many objects described by this adjective, but none is a chariot.

94 *προτροπάδαν* F. compares one example in Homer; LSJ give only this one and four others which are all in prose.

103 *Κενταίρου . . . κοῦραι . . . ἁγναί* — *ἁγνός* is poetic rather than distinctively epic

153 *ἱππόταις* a common poetic word, ten times in tragedy etc..

159 *μᾶνις* given by F. as an epic word. From the examples given in LSJ it appears to be poetic rather than distinctively epic.

181 *βασιλεὺς ἀνέμων* F. compares the phrase *ταμίην ἀνέμων* (*Od.*10.21). This only occurs here in epic. It therefore seems unlikely that the audience would have felt that Pindar's different description of Aeolus had an epic ring to it.

199 *ἀμπνοά* occurs far more often in tragedy than in epic (cf. LSJ).

232 *θεῷ πίσυνος* the adjective is common in lyric, tragedy and prose.

266 *λοίσθιον* this form only occurs in lyric and tragedy.

273. *ἐξαπίνας* occurs seven times outside Homer, including prose.

It is not common in Homer.

Pythian 5

v.1 *εὐρυσθενής* (4)	cf. on *O*.4.10 above.
14 *ἀμφινέμεται* (1)	cf. *Il*.18.186, *Od*.19.132, *h.Ap*.475 (P.fr.119.2).
33 *ποδαρκέων* (4)	adj. frequent in *Il.* only of Achilles, e.g. 1.121, 2.688, 6.423, 11.599, etc. (outside only here, *O*.13.38 [*ἁμέρα*] and B.19.30 [Hermes]).
45 *ἥλικομαι* (3)	cf. *Il*.2.689, 3.329, *Od*.8.452, 12.389, etc. (also ? Tyrt.20.2, *O*.6.91)
81 *ἐγκτιμέναν πόλιν* (4)	cf. the Homeric *ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον* *Il*.2.501, 4.33, *Od*.3.4, 8.283, etc..
85 *ἐνδυκέως* (3)	cf. *Il*.23.90, 24.158, *Od*.7.256, 10.65, etc. (also B.5.112 & 125).
87 *ναυσὶ θοαῖς* (5)	cf. e.g. *νηυσὶ θοῇσι* *Il*.11.111, 16.201, *Od*.7.34, 9.54, etc. (also Archil.4.6, 106.1, ?98.14, Thgn.12, Sol.19.3, S.*Aj*.710, E.fr.304.2).
104 *χρυσάορα Φοῖβον* (5)	cf. *Il*.5.509, 15.256, *h.Ap*.123 & 395, etc..

Pythian 6

v.1 *ἑλικώπιδος Ἀφροδίτας*	Pindar puts to new use a formulaic epithet used to describe the Achaeans and their women. Cf. *Il*.1.389, 3.190 & 234, 16.569, etc..
3 & 11 *ἐριβρόμου χθονός* and *ἐριβρόμου νεφέλας* (4)	cf. *ἐρίδουπος* *Il*.20.50, 24.323, *Od*.10.515, 15.146.
28 Ἀντίλοχος *βιατάς* (4)	*βιατάς* only in Pindar, but cf. the Homeric use of *βίη τινος*, *ἴς τινος*, *μένος τινος*, etc. *Il*.3.105, 5.781 16.189, 23.720.

32 Νεστόρειον ἅρμα (4) cf. *Il.*8.113 Νεστορέας ἵππους, 192 ἀσπίδα Νεστορέην, 2.54 Νεστορέῃ νηΐ.

41 γενεᾷ | ὁπλοτέροισιν (2) cf. *Il.*2.707, *Od.*19.184.

41 πελώριον (3) cf. *Il.* 3.229, 11.820, *Od.*9.187, 11.572 (also A.*Pr.*151, E.*IT.*1247).

Nemean 1

v. 6 ἀελλοπόδων ἵππων (3) cf. the same phrase *h.Ven.*217. In *Il.* and *Od.* only of Iris, cf. *Il.*8.409, 24.77 & 159 (also Simon.515).

14 Ζεύς . . κατένευσέν . . χαίταις (4) cf. *Il.*1.527 κεφαλῇ κατανεύσω (Zeus), & 524, 2.350, 15.374, *Od.*9.490 κρατὶ κατανεύων (Odysseus).

εὐκάρπου χθονός (4) cf. πολύκαρπος ἀλωή *Od.*7.122, 24.221, εὔκαρπος *h.Hom.*30.5.

15 Σικελίαν πίειραν (3) cf. *Od.*19.173 Κρήτη πίειρα, 13.322, *Il.*5.710, 9.577.

37 χρυσόθρονον | Ἥραν (5) cf. *Il.*1.611, 14.153, 15.5, etc..

42 θαλάμου μυχόν (3) cf. *Il.*17.36, *Od.*16.285, 22.180, 23.41, etc. (also Sol.4.29).

45 χερσὶν ἑαῖς (3) possessive adj. of 3. pers. sing. cf. *Il.*10.204, 23.295, *Od.*4.643, etc. (also Cor.654.iii.34).

47 ψυχὰς ἀπέπνευσεν μελέων (4) cf. θυμὸν ἀποπνείων *Il.*4.524, 13.654, and θυμὸν ἀπὸ μελέων 7.131, 13.671, 16.607.

51 Καδμείων ἀγοί (3) cf. *Il.* 3.231 Κρητῶν ἀγοί, 12.61 Τρώων ἀγοί, 13.304 ἀγοί; ἀνδρῶν, etc. (also Ibyc.282(a).21, A.*Supp.*248 & 905. E.*Rh.*29).

68 φαιδίμαν (3) cf. on *P.*4.28 above.

72 Δὶ Κρονίδᾳ (5) cf. on *P.*4.171 above.

Nemean 5

v. 4 Πυθέας εὐρυσθενής (4)	cf. on *O.*4.10 above.
9 ναυσικλυτάν (2)	cf. *Od.*7.39, 8.191, 15.415, etc..
12 βία Φώκου (5)	cf. on *O.*1.88 above.
13 ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι πόντου (4)	cf. *Il.*1.437 ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, 2.773, 8.501, 16.67 etc..
37 κλειτὰν Ἰσθμόν (3)	cf. on *P.*4.76 above.
43 μεταΐξαις (3)	epic verb cf. *Il.*21.564, *Od.*16.362, 20.11, etc..
50 ἄγει (3)	cf. *Il.*5.596, 7.114, *Od.*23.216, etc. (also Hipp.32.2, Sem.7.26, S.*OC*1607).

Nemean 10

v. 6 παρεπλάγχθη (3)	cf. *Od.*9.81, 19.187, 20.346 (also E.*Hipp.*240).
7 Γλαυκῶπις (3)	i.e. Athene, cf. *Il.*8.406 & 420, *Od.*3.135 13.389,etc. (also Ibyc.303(a).1, Tyrt.2.16).
9 πολέμοιο νέφος (2)	cf. *Il.*17.243.
29 Ζεῦ πάτερ (5)	cf. *Il.*1.503, 2.146 & 371, *Od.*4.341, etc..
33 ἀμβολάδαν (2)	with this meaning only *h,Merc.*426.
36 εὐήνωρ (2)	cf. on *O.*1.24 above.
41 ἱπποτρόφον (ἄστυ) (4)	cf. ἱππόβοτος of Argos (the city in question here) *Il.*2.287, 3.75, *Od.*3.263, 4.99, etc..
54 περικαδομένοι (2)	cf.*Od.*3.219, 14.527.
56 ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίας (3)	cf. *Il.*22.482, *Od.*24.204, Hes.*Th.*300 (also Thgn 243, E.*Phaëth.*fr.781.63).
69 ἐφορμαθεὶς (3)	cf. *Il.*6.410, 16.313, *Od.*12.122 (also A.*Pers.*462, E.*Hipp*.1275).
71 ψολόεντα κεραυνόν (5)	cf. *Od.*23.330, 24.539, Hes.*Th.*515, *h. Ven.*288.

73 ἀδελφεοῦ βίαν (5)	cf. on *O*.1.88 above.
76 πάτερ Κρονίων (5)	cf. on *P*.4.23 above.
77 ἐπίτειλον (3)	cf. *Il*.2.10, 9.259, *Od*.17.21 & 186.
79 ἀντίος ἤλυθε (1)	cf. *Il*.11.594, 20.463, *Od*.16.14.

Isthmian 1

v. 3 κραναά . . . Δᾶλος (4)	an Homeric epithet of Ithaca, cf. *Il*.3.201, *Od*. 1.247, 15.510, etc..
7 ἀκερσεκόμαν Φοῖβον (5)	cf. *Il*.20.39, *h.Ap*.134.
8. Κέῳ ἀμφιρύτᾳ (4)	cf.*Od*.1.50 νήσῳ ἀμφιρύτῃ, 1.198, 11.325, 12.283, etc..
10 ὤπασεν . . . κῦδος (3)	cf. the Homeric κῦδος ὀπάζει *Il*.8.141, 17.566, *Od*.3.57, 19.161, etc. (also Sol.19.5, 31.2).
34 ἀγακλέα (3)	cf. *Il*.16.738, 17.716, 23.529, etc. (also ?Antim.67, B.16.12).
43 ἀγάνορα (3)	cf. *Il*.2.276, 9.635, 12.300, etc. (also Thgn. 1301, Mimn.14.1).
57 γναμπτοῖς (2)	cf. *Il*.11.416, 18.401, *Od*.4.369, Hes.*Op*.204.
68 ψυχὰν Ἀΐδᾳ (1)	cf. *Il*.1.3, 5.654, 11.445, etc..
68 ἄνευθεν (3)	cf. *Il*.5.185, 22.39, *Od*.7.192, 16.239 (also.?Simon.519.fr.61(a).2).

Isthmian 2

v. 1 χρυσαμπύκων . . . Μοισᾶν (4)	cf *Il*.5.358 & 363, 8.382, etc. (where the epithet is only used of horses.)
3 ῥίμφα (3)	cf. *Il*.6.511, 8.54, 13.30, Hes. *sc*.342, etc.(also A.*A*.407).
4 Ἀφροδίτας εὐθρόνου (4)	cf. *Il*.8.565, *Od*.6.48, 15.495, 17.497, etc.

	(in Homer this epithet is only applied to Ἠώς).
14 Ποσειδᾶν ὀπάσαις (4)	cf. *Il.*14.357-8 Ποσείδαον . . . κῦδος ὄπαζε, *Od.*3.57, and frequently of Zeus, cf. on *I.*1.10 above.
18 εὐρυσθενής . . . Ἀπόλλων (4)	in Homer the epithet is only used of Poseidon, cf. *Il.*8.201, 7.455, *Od.*13.140, cf. on *O.*4.10 above.
21 πλαξίπποιο (3)	cf. *Il.*2.104, 4.327, 5.705, Hes.*Sc.*24 (also B.5.97)
23 Κρονίδα Ζηνός (5)	cf. on *P.*4.171 above.
27 Ὀλυμπίου Διός (5)	cf. *Il.*1.353-4, 508 & 609, 12.275, etc..

ADDENDUM

It was felt appropriate to include an appendix of items not included in the *testimonia* but possibly worthy of inclusion, with the difference these would have made to the results.

Pythian 4

v. 2 εὐίππου	*h.Ap.*210, Hes.*Cat.Oxy.*1358.21.(= West fr.150.21). Nowhere else before Pindar, but after him S.*OC.*668, E.*And.* 1019, *IT.*133, *Ba.*574, *Ph.*17, *Hec.*1090, and in prose, Xen. *HG.*4.2.5. (Several words had to be excluded because of their appearance in Xenophon, but he is well known for the poeticisms in his vocabulary and style, so if there is nothing else against a word we might allow it [cf. Gautier 1ff., 85ff.]).
41 ὤτρυνον	This verb occurs with great frequency in epic, 47 times in the *Odyssey*, more than this in the *Iliad.*

However, it is found 7 times in Pindar and 12 times elsewhere. Because it is a single word and not a word combination I felt unable to include it, despite its frequency in epic, which may well have meant that it sounded 'epic' to Pindar's audience.

42 Λιβύας | εὐρυχόρου — This generic epithet for cities appears 11 times in Homer. Outside epic it appears 6 times (plus 5 conjectures, some quite uncertain), Tyrt.5.2, *pop*.867.2, *Ad*.934.20, Sapph.44.12, B.10.31, E.*Ba*.87. The formulaic nature of expressions containing εὐρυχόρος is evident, but because it is generic the accompanying word provides no control. It was omitted because of the large number of times it appears outside Homer. If it were to be included it would go in Category 5.

79 ἔκπαγλος — Frequent in *Il.* and *Od.*(e.g. *Il.*1.146, 18.170, 21.452 & 589, etc.). Outside it is not found until tragedy (A.*A*.862, *Ch*.548, S.*El*.204, *OC*.716). Our problem here is Xenophon *Hier*.11.3. Cf. Gautier p.92 where he cites it as one of the historian's poeticisms. There are very good reasons for including this word, but I have omitted it for reasons of consistency.

158 ἄνθος ἥβας — Forssman included this. I have doubted the validity of its inclusion because of its frequent appearance outside Homer (elegy and iambus 6 times, lyric once, tragedy once), but because the phrase is a

formula one wonders whether it still had an epic ring to it when Pindar used it.

219 γλαυκῶπα

This is the adjective γλαυκώψ, -ῶπος only found in Pindar (*O*.6.45 and here) and once in late Greek (Euph.2). The Homeric adjective is γλαυκῶπις, -ώπιδος, which appears frequently, only of Athene. Pindar's word appears to be an adaptation of the Homeric adjective, but he does not use it in the Homeric context. There is a possibility, however, that it still felt Homeric.

Pythian 5

v. 8 μετανίσεαι

This verb is only found twice in epic, *Il*.16.779, *Od*.9.58, in a repeated line which appears to be of a formulaic nature, ἦμος δ' Ἠέλιος μετενίσσετο βουλυτόνδε. Outside Homer, not until P. and then E.*Tr*.131, *Hyps*.Fr.I.iii.37. It is possible that the formulaic phrase was used more widely than our limited evidence suggests and that thus the verb sounded epic to Pindar's audience

26 ἔξοχ' ἑταίρων

Is this an adaptation of the frequent phrase in epic, ἔξοχα πάντων (cf. *Il*.14.257, 24.113 & 134, etc.)? Pindar's phrase also occurs at line end.

70 ζαθέᾳ Πύλῳ

This adjective occurs 8 times in epic with a place -name, 5 times with a shrine or holy place. It appears frequently outside epic (4 times in lyric, 6 times in Bacchylides, 14 times in Euripides), but

almost always in a phrase of the same kind as in Homer. Does this mean that the combination, place + *ζάθεος*, was felt to have an Homeric ring to it, at least at the time Pindar was writing?

73 *ἐπήρατον* — cf. e.g. *Il.*9.228, 18.512, *Od.*4.606, 8.366, etc., but also Sapph.44.32, 96.22, Alc.70.13 and ? 34(c)10, ?117(b)4, A *Eu.*958. A borderline case for Category 3.

111 *τανύπτερος αἰετός* — The same phrase is found at Hes.*Th* 523 (adj. *h.Cer.*89, Ibyc.317(b) Tim.791.29). Was it a formula more widely known than our evidence shows?

Nemean 1

v. 7 *ὀτρύνει*, 34 *ὀτρύνων* — cf. on *P.*4.41 above.

19 *ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις* — Same phrase at *Od.*18.239, 23.49, Solon 4.27 *αὔλειαι . . . θύραι*. The formula only appears in Homer twice and twice outside. Would it have sounded Homeric when Pindar used it?

Nemean 10

v. 6 *κολεῷ* — Frequent in Homer, e.g. *Il.*1.194 & 220, 3.272, etc.. Not found before Pindar. Elsewhere only S.*Aj.*730, E.*Hec.*544, *IA*1567, *but* it appears once in Xenophon, at *Cyr.*1.2.9.

23 *ὀτρύνει* — cf. on *P.*4.41 above.

52 *εὐρυχόρου . . . Σπάρτας* — cf. on *P.*4.42 above.

Isthmian 1

v. 32 *Ἰσθμῷ . . . ζαθέᾳ* — cf. on *P.*5.70 above.

If the items listed above were to be included in our

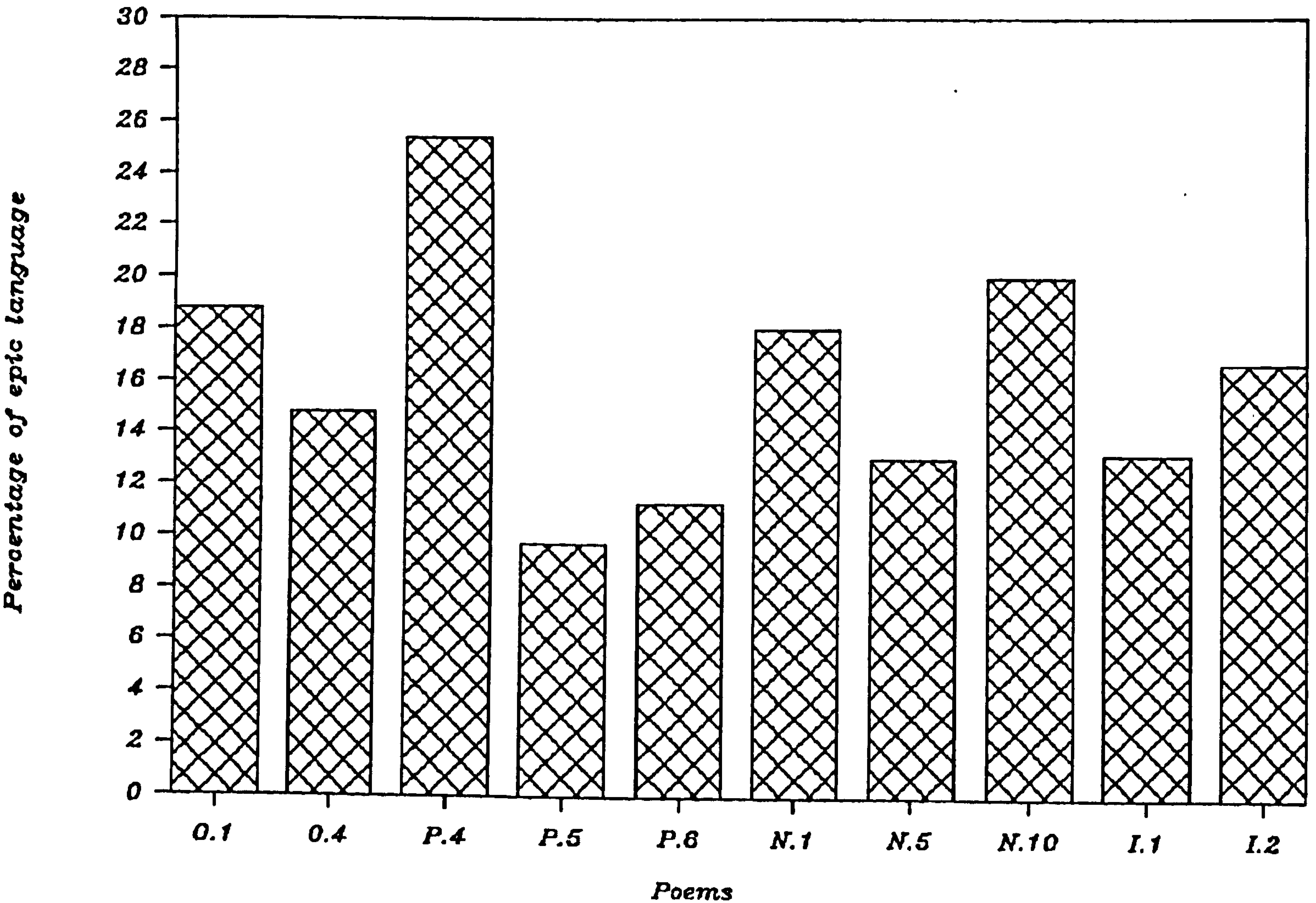
analysis of epic language in Pindar's odes it would lead to an increased percentage in some, but not all odes:

P.4	23.4%	Æ	25.4%
P.5	6.5%	Æ	9.7%
N.1	13.9%	Æ	18.0%
N.10	16.7%	Æ	20.0%
I.1	11.8%	Æ	13.2%.

These figures are represented on a bar chart in Figure 2. on page 296.

The new average percentage of epic language in the odes would be 16.0%. In view of this, although *Nemeans 1* and *10* appear to close the gap somewhat between *Pythian 4* and the rest of the odes, this is not so statistically. They (and *Olympian 1*) fall within one standard deviation of the mean, whereas *Pythian 4* is more than two standard deviations from the mean.

Figure 2



APPENDIX III

History of the Battiad dynasty in Cyrene until the reign of Arcesilas IV

The dynasty was founded by Battus I, who colonised Cyrene from Thera at the behest of the Delphic oracle[1] in 631 B.C.[2]. He ruled for 40 years and was followed by his son Arcesilas I who ruled for 16 (Hdt.4.159.1). Herodotus tells us nothing more of the reigns of these two kings except to add the detail that numbers in Cyrene did not increase beyond that of the original settlers[3]. We have little other evidence except what Pindar tells us of Battus I, indicating his piety and prosperity (*P*.5.55-7, 89ff.) and the reputation for moderation and good government given him by Silius Italicus (*Punica* 8.57) and Diodorus (8. fr.30)[4].

The next king, Battus II, known as 'The Fortunate' saw a large increase in the population as a result of another oracular utterance. The Cyreneans were offering land to new settlers and the Delphic oracle declared that those who came to Libya after the land had been shared out would come to rue it (Hdt.4.159.2-3). Many Greeks came to settle in the

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[1] Cf. Hdt.4.145.2ff., Pind.*P*.4.4-63, 251-262, 5.55-62, 85-95. For a discussion of Pindar's treatment of these events cf. pp.252ff., 261ff.. Herodotus records two versions of the founding, one a Cyrenean and the other a Theran version. The differences between these are discussed on pp.264ff.. His account provides a linear history of the dynasty, but his evidence only goes as far as the sixth king and is rather brief, forming only a small part of a digression on the history and features of North Africa and its inhabitants.
[2] This is one of three dates given by Eusebius for the founding of Cyrene. For a discussion of these dates cf. Chamoux pp.70ff.,and my discussion pp.45ff. above.
[3] Chamoux pp.128-9 thinks that we should not take Herodotus at his word. He posits some reinforcements from Thera as its colony prospered and also the marriage of Therans to indigenous women, suggesting that Herodotus is pointing to the restrained extension and homogenous Theran character of Cyrene at this time.
[4] Cf. Chamoux pp.129-30, who notes that such a reputation may have been enhanced by the tyrannical rule of those who came after Battus I, but that it is likely to be based on truth.

colony[5]. To this increase in population Herodotus attributes Cyrene's encroachment on the lands of its neighbours, a cause for the Libyans' recourse to the Egyptian king Apries who led them to march on Cyrene. The Cyreneans inflicted a severe defeat on this army. These are the only events which Herodotus records of the reign of Battus II.

His son Arcesilas II followed him. His rule was one of civil strife, according to Herodotus (4.160), as he quarrelled with his brothers. These brothers moved out of Cyrene and founded Barca. They then persuaded the Libyans to transfer their allegiance to them, a move which prompted Arcesilas to make war. He was not successful and was finally strangled by one of the brothers, Learchus, who was murdered in turn by Arcesilas' widow, Eryxo[6].

Thus power passed to Arcesilas' son Battus III, known as 'The Lame'. It seems, however, that affairs in Cyrene were by no means settled since at this juncture the Cyreneans sent to the Delphic oracle for advice on how to obtain the best kind of government for their land[7]. The oracle advised them to apply to Mantinea for an adviser. One Demonax answered. The measures he introduced wrought considerable changes both in the constitution and in the power of the monarch. Demonax divided the Cyreneans into three tribes; the first was those from Thera and roundabout, the second Peloponnesians and Cretans, and the third men from the islands. Herodotus makes no comment, but the groupings

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[5]From the later reforms of Demonax it would appear that many came from the Peloponnese, Crete and the islands (cf. Chamoux pp.134ff.).
[6]These events are also narrated by Plutarch (*Mor*.260D-262D).
[7]. Cf. Hdt.4.161.1. Chamoux suggests (p.138) that the evolution of the Greek monarchy into a kind of oriental despotism and all the horrors of civil strife and murder was what inspired the Greek population to seek reform. Their opportunity came with an infirm king who does not seem to have offered any resistance.

would seem to indicate that the reform was necessitated by the great influx of immigrants under Battus II. Chamoux says (p.140) that the original tribal groupings in Cyrene were Dorian and that members of these tribes were the only ones to possess political rights. The issue became important in view of Demonax's reform of the monarch's powers. Battus was given special religious functions but all his other powers were given over to the people: *τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλέϊ Βάττῳ τεμένεα ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱερωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλέες ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε* (Hdt.4.161.3). It seems probable that the new tribal groupings were to facilitate the election of magistrates to carry out the political, judicial and military duties which were no longer the king's.

Two important facts about these reforms are noted by Chamoux. First, that they did not constitute a democratic revolution, but rather put power in the hands of aristocrats. Secondly, that no mention is made of any reform at the new city of Barca, still held by the remaining brothers of Arcesilas II. Chamoux suggests, but we have no evidence for this, that these brothers had been at the head of the oligarchic party in Cyrene and that they now maintained an oligarchic régime at Barca[8].

There is no record of any resistance to these reforms on the part of Battus, but this was not the case with his successor, his son Arcesilas III. Herodotus records *πολλὴ ταραχὴ περὶ τῶν τιμέων*, and that *Ἀρκεσίλεως* . . . *οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ [τὰ] ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημῶναξ ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα* (4.162.2). This led to *stasis*. Arcesilas fled to Samos and his mother Pheretima to Cyprus, where each tried to raise an army. Arcesilas succeeded and consulted the Delphic oracle about his return to

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[8] Cf. Chamoux p.142.

Cyrene. The oracle decreed Battiad rule at Cyrene for eight generations (Arcesilas III was the sixth), thus suggesting that his return was possible, but gave a cryptic warning to exercise clemency[9].

Arcesilas returned and ruled, but did not heed the oracle's warning. He dealt very harshly with the opponents who had caused his exile. Herodotus recounts that some fled Cyrene (later we learn that several went to Barca, 4.164.4), those who were caught were sent to Cyprus to be killed but were rescued by the Cretans when the ship taking them to Cyprus was forced to put in in bad weather and were sent to Thera, and the unlucky ones who remained in Cyrene and shut themselves up in a stronghold were burned alive by Arcesilas. Too late, says Herodotus, did he realise the import of the oracle's cryptic warning about not baking jars in the oven, and although he thought he might escape death by avoiding Cyrene the oracle was fulfilled in Barca. There he went to the ruler Alazir (Herodotus calls him *βασιλεύς* of the Barcaeans 164.4) who was also his father-in-law but *Βαρκαῖοί τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινές* killed not only Arcesilas but his father-in-law as well[10].

His mother Pheretima meanwhile had taken on Arcesilas' role inCyrene: *ἡ δὲ εἶχε αὐτὴ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ τἆλλα νεμομένη*

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[9] Mitchell declares, p.100 n.6, that the oracle as given in Herodotus is *post eventum*, but we may assume, I think, that something was said by the oracle which favoured Arcesilas' return to Cyrene.

[10] Chamoux sees in these events two indications that the anti-Arcesilas faction were aristocrats of the Theran tribe. The Cretans sent the rescued prisoners to Thera, and those of Arcesilas' opponents who remained in Cyrene shut themselves up in a great tower, which Chamoux suggests was part of a fortified country estate, the natural domain of aristocrats. These remarks do not prove that it was the Theran aristocrats who opposed Arcesilas, but it is hard to see who it might be other than aristocrats (of all tribes), who stood to lose most if Arcesilas regained complete control.

καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρίζουσα (Hdt.165.1), but she fled to Egypt when she heard of Arcesilas' death. There she requested help from Aryandes saying that Arcesilas had been murdered because of his friendship with Persia. He put both the Egyptian army and fleet at her disposal. These travelled to Barca and after a lengthy siege ended only by the treachery of the Persians they seized and delivered up to Pheretima the men most closely involved in the murder of Arcesilas.

Pheretima did not intend to recover power for herself, it seems, but her revenge was cruel and did not stop with these men and their wives. Only those of the house of Battus who were not implicated in the murder were spared pillaging and enslavement. Herodotus records that to these she gave control of the town. What happened in Cyrene is less clear, but the city was for some reason unharmed and supplied the Persian army for its return home[11]. Having successfully concluded the whole episode with an account of the horrible death Pheretima experienced on her return to Egypt, thus pointing to a moral on the dangers of excess, Herodotus tells us no more of Cyrenean affairs. Battus IV succeeded Arcesilas III. Mitchell suggests (p.105) that the terrible example of Barca was the reason why the Cyreneans accepted Battus as king despite the discredit of the Battiad dynasty, as he was a Persian nominee. We have no literary evidence for his reign, but archaeological evidence of coinage and new buildings suggests that it was peaceful and prosperous[12]. Perhaps we may attribute this largely to the Persian force behind the king. When Barca asserted a measure of independence in refusing to supply chariots

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[11] Cf. Hdt.4.165-7, 200-205, and Mitchell's discussion pp.103-4.
[12] See Chamoux pp.160-161, Mitchell p.108.

for the war against Greece she was reduced by the Persians for a second time[13]. It is not clear how long Cyrene was within the Persian empire, but perhaps the period extended into the reign of Arcesilas IV[14].

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[13] Cf.Polyaenus, *Strat.*7.28.1, and Mitchell p.108.
[14] Cf. the arguments of Mitchell, pp.108-9.

APPENDIX IV

The first person in Pindar

Any reading of Pindar's poetry shows that he uses the first person in different ways. For the twentieth century critic this can cause problems. Unused as we are to hearing choral poetry it may seem slightly odd to imagine the voice of a singular poet expressed through a plural intermediary, and this is not made any easier by a vacillation between singular and plural first persons to represent the same speaker[1]. In addition it appears that in Pindar's poetry the poet is not the only speaker represented by the first person. At times the speaker is the chorus. Elsewhere many of the sentiments expressed are equally applicable to poet or chorus. For much of the time the identity of the speaker is not matter for concern, provided that the poem achieves the function for which it was composed. For instance, provided the victor is praised in an epinician ode it does not usually significantly affect our understanding of the ode if the 'I' who praises him is Pindar and/or the chorus leader and/or the chorus, provided he is praised.

Before discussing the identity of the first person in Pindar we must first of all deal with the most recent suggestion by Lefkowitz (1988 pp.1-11, in which she is followed by Heath pp.187ff.) viz. that Pindar's victory odes were monodic in performance. If this view is correct the first person can only refer to the poet as performer of the ode. There are, however, a number of passages in the odes which appear to presuppose choral performance.

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[1] Cf. Kaimio's remarks pp.10, 13, and Slater's examples (1969, p.90).

Lefkowitz says (p.5) of *Pythian 10*, vv.5-6, 55-9, that the poet has two different types of song in mind; vv.5-6 *ἐπικωμίαν ἀνδρῶν κλυτὰν ὄπα* refers to some more informal celebration of the victory in song and dance rather than to performance of Pindar's ode. However, in v.4 the poet checks himself after his opening announcement and asks *τί κομπέω;* 'Why this excessive boast?'. The question refers to the opening sentence of the ode which the audience have already heard in performance and so, one would suppose, should the reply (vv.4-6), in which Pindar lists the factors which justify his opening pronouncement[2]. One of these incentives to praise is the desire of the Aleuadae *Ἱπποκλέᾳ . . . ἀγαγεῖν ἐπικωμίαν ἀνδρῶν κλυτὰν ὄπα*. It is possible that *θέλοντες ἀγαγεῖν κτλ.*, if taken in isolation, could describe some other part of the celebration distinct from Pindar's song (cf. Heath p.187), but in context, as an explanation of the role of the Aleuadae in inducing Pindar to praise Hippocleas they are most naturally taken as a reference to Pindar's song itself.

*P.*10 vv.5-6 therefore provides us with solid internal evidence for the choral performance of the ode. Vv.55ff. might refer to subsequent performances of the ode, but if we compare Pindar's words at *N.*4.14-16 and Bacchylides' remarks at 3.96ff. it is clear that such statements are elsewhere quite explicit. This is not the case in *Pythian 10*. We may thus legitimately conclude that vv.55ff. also refer to the première of Pindar's ode[3]. One would anyway expect the more elaborate performance to be the première rather than an informal celebration, while on Lefkowitz's view

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[2] Cf. a similar statement at *O.*3.6-9.

[3] Lefkowitz compares *P.* 5.22-3, but *τόνδε κῶμον* (v.22) surely refers to the present celebration and not to some celebration at some other time. This example suggests that there is no reason to doubt that the *κῶμος* referred to at *I.*8.3-4 (Lefkowitz's second parallel p.5) is the first celebration of *Isthmian 8* itself.

the subsequent choral performance is more elaborate than the solo première.

*O.*6.86ff has always been taken as firm evidence of choral performance. Lefkowitz, however, concludes (p.7) that Aeneas was not *chorodidaskalos* for the ode and that the instructions issued by the poet for Aeneas to convey to his comrades refer not to the performance of *Olympian 6* but to other songs[4]. There are two difficulties in such an interpretation. The first is that we must suppose that Pindar is prepared to refer at length not to the present performance of the ode, but to songs quite unconnected with it. In view of his remarks at *O.*9.1ff., where he is quite dismissive of impromptu celebrations of victory in contrast to his own, this seems unlikely[5].

The second problem becomes clear when we set Pindar's instructions to Aeneas in the context of the ode's conventional background. Vv.89-90 are part of a conventional *topos*, viz. the poet's claim that his praise is true (cf. e.g. *O.*2.92, 4.17, 13.52 etc.) and are thus most naturally taken to refer to *Olympian 6* itself. In this context Slater is probably right in his assertion ([1969] p.89) that the command to praise Hera is a conventional imperative–future statement which is self-fulfilling. The praise of Hera is accomplished the moment the command is uttered. We should therefore be wary of seeing a reference to song apart from *Olympian 6* in these verses. If the instructions which the poet issues to Aeneas for his *ἑταῖροι* do not refer beyond the ode, we may reasonably

[4] She is followed in this by Heath p.191.
[5] For this reason I would take *I.*1 *init.* (cf. *χορεύων* v.7) as unambiguous evidence of choral performance of the ode. Heath (p.185) suggests that this passage refers to an informal celebration.

suppose that it was these *ἑταῖροι* who performed *Olympian 6*, regardless of the role we choose to assign to Aeneas.

Lefkowitz also questions the evidence for choral performance at the beginning of *Nemean 3*. She states that the young men waiting by the Asopian water (the *τέκτονες κώμων* vv.4-5) are not the singers of Pindar's ode but are instead performing an 'impromptu' song for the victor. Pindar will then add his song to theirs[6]. This involves the necessary corollary that the poet spends the first five lines of his ode for the victor talking about a song which bears scant relation to his own. This is not outside the bounds of possibility, but let us examine Pindar's words a little more closely. In v.9 he commands the Muse *τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὄπαζε μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἄπο*. This resumes his earlier command to the Muse (vv.1ff.) to come to Aegina, which is closely linked (by *γάρ* in v.3) to the young men's desire for *σέθεν ὄπα* (v.5). It seems therefore that the young men are asking for Pindar's song and it is difficult not to connect the voice of the Muse desired by the young men with the song referred to by the poet in vv.10-11 (*δόκιμον ὕμνον*). When Pindar says (vv.11-12) that he will blend his song with their voices and the lyre, one would naturally suppose that the young men are going to perform the ode. Lefkowitz, however, argues that Pindar is going to blend his song with conversation, citing *P.*1.97-8 as a parallel. However, in the context of a reference to survival in song in Pythian 1 (cf. *ἀοιδοῖς* v.94, *φόρμιγγες* v.97) it would seem more natural to view the *ὄαροι* of v.98 as a means of performance rather than a mere adjunct to the occasion of

[6] Lefkowitz pp.7ff.. Cf. also Heath pp.187-8. His concern that choral performance of *N.3* means that the *κῶμος* 'is waiting for the song *and singing* the song *and* singing that they are waiting for the song' ignores the fact demonstrated by Slater (1969) p.88 that 'the poet formulates his song by convention roughly for a time, when his chorus is arriving at the place where they are to sing, but at a moment before the song is to be sung'.

celebration.

Choral performance of *Nemean 3* appears to be confirmed by vv.65ff. *Ζεῦ, . . . σέο δ' ἀγών, τὸν ὕμνος ἔβαλεν ὀπὶ νέων ἐπιχώριον χάρμα κελαδέων,* which by ring composition recalls the opening of the ode. It might be argued that these verses refer vaguely to some earlier celebration rather than to *Nemean 3* itself, but elsewhere Pindar is explicit in his reference to impromptu celebration at the games (cf. *O.*9.1ff., *P.*8.19ff.).

In contrast to these seemingly unequivocal passages, the evidence adduced for solo performance is both vague and ambiguous. Lefkowitz says of *O.*1.17-18 *Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου λάμβαν'* that the poet speaks of himself here as a 'solo performer, one of several poets who sing about and enjoy the hospitality of Hieron' (p.4). Her evidence rests on the singular command, *λάμβαν'* , and a comparison with Demodocus in *Od.*8.68. In view of the vacillation between singular and plural to denote the first person in the odes, we should be wary of seeing especial significance in the use of the singular here[7].

Heath (p.187) adduces *O.*14.13-18 as evidence of solo performance by the poet since he sees a separation of the poet's role (singing) from that of the *κῶμος*. However, the connective *γάρ* in v.17 surely implies that the poet is part of the *κῶμος* upon whom he asks the Graces to look with favour[8].

There is only one place in the odes where we may be certain that

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[7] Cf. e.g. *O.*2.89 *ἄγε θυμέ· τίνα βάλλομεν; I.*8.6a-7 *μήτ' ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ πέσωμεν στεφάνων, μήτε κάδεα θεράπευε*, etc..

[8] Heath also (p.189) finds in *O.*9.1ff. evidence for solo performance by the poet. There is, however, no need to assume that the poet's contrast of his ode with the earlier impromptu celebrations of Epharmostus' victory at Olympia implies that performance of *O.9* was not choral.

Pindar speaks of the performance of an ode without a chorus, at *N.*4.13-17, but the words *ποίκιλον κιθαρίζων θαμά κε* (vv.14-15) clearly indicate repeat performances (*θαμά*) of the celebratory song rather than the first official performance[9].

We can conclude, I would suggest, that there is no good reason to reject the traditional view that Pindar's victory odes were performed by a chorus. Thus the identity of *ἐγώ* in the epinicians is still a case for enquiry. The fullest discussion of this topic is again that of Lefkowitz, who suggested in 1963 that a convention operated which understood the chorus to be the sole speaker in non-epinician poetry (her examples are from the Partheneia and Paeans) and the poet's voice to be the only one heard in the epinicians[10].

Opposed to this view are those who argue that on occasion the poet retreats and the chorus speaks in its own person in the epinicians, and that the reverse is true of the non-epinician poems[11]. We cannot be sure of reaching a final solution to the problem. We are hampered by a lack of evidence for non-epinician poetry and our ignorance of the details and circumstances of the performance of choral poetry in general. However,

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[9] Cf. Heath p.187 n.18.

[10] Cf. Lefkowitz's important and informative dissertation, 'ΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ. The first person in Pindar', published in *HSCP* 67 (1963), 177-253. On the question of the identity of *ἐγώ* in the epinicians she was preceded by Dornseiff (pp.81ff.) and followed by Bowra (p.360) and Kaimio (pp.33-5, but note her comments on the ambivalence of the first person).

[11] For the view that the chorus may speak for itself in the epinicians cf. Fränkel (1975) p.427 n.2, 475 n.12, Carey (1981) p.16 n.37, Sandys pp.240-41, Slater (1971) p.145 (but note Carey's doubts). We must note here that scholarship is not as clearly divided as this brief overview might suggest. Bowra, for example, views *ἐγώ* in the epinicians as the poet (p.360), but in the non-epinician odes allows *ἐγώ* to represent poet (in *Pae.*6 & 8), chorus (*Partheneia*), or city (Abdera in *Pae.*2, Ceos in *Pae.*4).

the following brief overview of the evidence aims at least to provide an appreciation of the problem.

Let us begin with Pindar's *Partheneia*. The remains are fragmentary, but we possess almost 80 lines of one poem (fr.2), which is sufficient to demonstrate similarities between it and our earliest surviving choral ode, Alcman's *Partheneion* (fr.1). The speaker is discernible as a female chorus in the use of feminine participles and adjectives (e.g. *ζωσαμένα* v.6, *ὀχέοισα* v.8; cf. Alcm. 1.61 *φεροίσαις*, 85 *ἐγὼν μὲν αὐτά*). The maidens are very much concerned with the ritual in which they are taking part. They speak of their attire and their ritualistic actions, vv.6ff., 11-12, 66f. (cf. Alcm.1.60-63, 64ff., 98-9) and it is interesting to note the employment of the same image, the Sirens, in connection with the maidens' singing (v.13, cf. Alcm.1.96).

Lefkowitz suggests (p.189) that Pindar's maidens are restricted in the subject of their song; cf. vv.33-5 *ἐμὲ δὲ πρέπει παρθενήϊα μὲν φρονεῖν γλώσσᾳ τε λέγεσθαι*, and v.37 *χρή μ[ε] λαθεῖν ἀοιδὰν πρόσφορον*[12]. This restriction is important because Lefkowitz assesses the identity of a speaker in a Pindaric poem by what is actually said, suggesting that choral speakers always tell us about themselves, their role and their duties[13]. Thus ‘maidenly’ subjects/themes will be limited to the maidens' description of themselves, of their apparel and their part in the ritual which they are performing.

There are two problems with the imposition of these restrictions.

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[12] Cf. also Müller p.9. He declares fr.94a (*Parth.*I) not to be a *partheneion* on these grounds.

[13] Cf. her conclusion (a) p.194 that ‘choral first personal statements are characterized by self-description, and thus may be distinguished from bardic statements simply by means of their subject matter’.

The first is that the language used by the poet in *Parth*.2.vv.33ff. is very conventional. *ἐμὲ δὲ* . . . is a standard break-off formula in the epinicians (cf.*O*.1.100, 8.74, 13.93, *P*.9.103, etc.) and is used as such here, where the chorus recollects many fair deeds, but stops short of recounting them. *πρέπει* and *πρόσφορον* are two aspects of a well-known theme in Pindar, the poet's concern with what is fitting for the composition and performance of his song (cf.*O*.2.46, 9.81, *P*.5.104, *N*.3.31, 7.82, etc.). The conventional aspect of these motifs suggests, therefore, that these restrictions should not be taken literally[14]. This is supported by our second problem: the poet does not observe them himself.

One theme which concerns Pindar's maidens is one which is usually accepted as the poet's prerogative, the song itself[15]. The chorus describes itself as *μάρτυς* (v.39), a description which Pindar applies to himself at *O*.4.3 (cf. also *O*.6.21), and at the end of our fragment there is a first person reference to *νέκταρ*[16]. At *O*.7.7 this is how the poet (with a first person reference) describes his song: *καὶ ἐγὼ νέκταρ χυτόν*, Μοισᾶν *δόσιν*, *ἀεθλοφόροις ἀνδράσιν πέμπων*[17]. This is part of a wide range of imagery describing song as a drink, cf. e.g. *O*.6.91, *N*.3.77, *I*.5.24-5, 6.2-3, 7-9. We may conclude, I think, that in the maiden song it is a reference to poetry, thus suggesting that the maidens may deal also with this topic.

Song is not the only potentially unmaidenly subject of which the

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[14] Lefkowitz herself admits that these are 'strangely reminiscent of the *kairos* statements in the epinician odes'.

[15] Cf. e.g. Lefkowitz pp.195-6, where she suggests as a means of recognising that the poet is speaking that he 'is concerned with his own actions, with his poetry and his poetic ability, things which could apply only to himself, not to the chorus'.

[16] At *Parth*.2.76, after *μὴ νῦν νέκταρ[ρ* Grenfell and Hunt propose the supplement *ἰδόντ' ἀπὸ κράνας ἐμᾶς*. If this is accepted then the chorus of maidens appears as the source of song rather than the intermediary of the poet.

[17] All other references to *νέκταρ* are literal and occur in myth (*O*.1.62, *P*.9.63).

maidens sing. Their song portrays distasteful subjects, e.g. *ἐχθρὰν ἔριν* (v.67), as well as *topoi* very far removed from themselves and their celebrations, in fact well-known themes of the epinician odes. At vv.41ff. they recount victories with horses, and the honour bestowed on Agasicles' family by those round about as a result (cf. *P*.4.66, 10.8, *N*.6.39). Treatment of subjects which are extremely common in the epinicians is a feature of Alcman's *Partheneion*, where the maidens narrated a substantial myth (vv.1-15, 19-36) and included gnomic moralising in their song (vv.16ff., 37-9).

To sum up, there is general agreement that the chorus of a *partheneion* speaks in its own person. The poet is naturally excluded by his gender. Any intrusion on his part would be jarring and obvious in an ode characterised by its feminine adjectives and participles referring to the speaker. However, there is no limit to the topics of which the maidens may sing. They deal with many themes and motifs familiar from the epinicians and even with poetry, usually the poet's own concern.

The choruses of *Paeans 2* and *4* also appear to speak in their own person throughout the poems[18]. The poet is not excluded on the same grounds as from the *partheneia*, but other restrictions apply because of the local communal flavour of the poems. When the chorus states *ἐγὼ σ[κόπ]ελον ναίων* (*Pae*.4.21) or *ναίω Θ[ρ]αϊκίαν γ[αῖ]αν* (*Pae*.2.25) the poet is naturally excluded. There is a narrow inward focus of vision in the

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[18] Cf. Müller pp.13ff., Lefkowitz pp.183ff.; Hamilton (p.114), Fogelmark (p.120) and Bowra (p.364) accept Wilamowitz's suggestion (1913 p.248) that Abdera is the speaker in *Pae.2*. This seems possible, but *ναίω* (v.24) and *χρὴ δ' ἄνδρα τοκεῦσι<ν> φέρειν βαθύδοξον αἶσαν* (vv.57-8) would seem to suggest more readily that the speaker is a chorus of typical citizens. Cf. the discussions of Hamilton pp.114, 119 n.16, Fogelmark p.120, Lefkowitz pp.186-8, 238 n.10. A similar suggestion has been made for *Paean 4*.

Paeans demonstrated by the concern with physical and geographical detail (cf. *Pae*.2.24-6, 4.13-14, 21-6) and with local events (e.g. *Pae*.2.28ff., 59ff., 73 [the well-known local prophecy of Hecate], 102ff. [the prayer for the war]).

However we may note that the *Paeans* also display motifs and themes found in the epinicians. The chorus often indulge in gnomic reflections of which the themes are echoed in the odes; for example, at *Pae*.2.33, 66, they sing of the rewards which come to those who undergo *πόνος* in order to succeed (cf. e.g. *O*.11.4, *N*.7.74, *I*.4.42, 5.25). The chorus' sentiment, *μόχθος ἡσυχίαν φέρει* (*Pae*.2.34) is echoed in the reward for Heracles prophesied by Tiresias at *N*.1.70, *ἡσυχίαν καμάτων μεγάλων ποινάν*[19]. *ἡσυχία* itself is, of course, a recurring theme in the odes; cf. e.g. *O*.4.16, *P*.1.70, 8.1ff., *N*.9.48, etc.. The *φθόνος* theme at *Pae*.2.55ff. can also be found at e.g. *O*.8.55, *P*.1.85, 7.19, etc.. The *gnomé* on the foolishness of longing for things afar at *Pae*.4.32ff. is paralleled by the myth in *Pythian 3* and especially v.21 where the poet employs the same language. Myths are narrated (cf. *Pae*.4.35ff., 8 passim).

The speaker also comments at times on the ode's composition and production. This presents us with an interesting phenomenon: usually such concerns are only voiced by the poet. If the chorus is the sole speaker in non-epinician choral odes then we must assume that (as in the *partheneia*) it is they who voice these concerns. This seems to be supported by instances such as *Pae*.2.4, *παι]âνα [δ]ιώξω*, since a few lines later the statement *ναίω Θ[ρ]αϊκίαν γ[αî]αν κτλ* automatically excludes the poet.

[19] Cf. Müller p.25.

However, can a chorus be said παιᾶνα διώκειν?[20] διώκειν is used of the chorus performing its song at fr.107a, καμπύλον μέλος διώκων, but it is also used at *I*.3/4.21 (3) ὑμετέρας ἀρετᾶς ὕμνῳ διώκειν, clearly of the poet. Müller notes its affinity with the chariot of song metaphor (pp.12-13) clearly connected with the poet's composition of the ode. He also remarks on Pindar's description of the chorus as τέκτονες κώμων at *N*.3.4. Such a description suggests a creative role for the chorus in composing or directing its own song, which it clearly could not, but this appears to have been an accepted fiction. The same fiction operates at *Pae*4.2 χορε]ύσομαι, a verb which could describe either poet or chorus, but which at *I*.1.7. clearly refers to the poet. As the chorus speaks in its own person in the paean the verb describes their role.

This confusion between the roles of the poet and chorus seems to have been accepted. However, at *Pae*.6.1ff. it is difficult to see any other than the poet as the speaker, because of the description ἀοίδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν which the speaker applies to himself[21]. At B.9.3 Bacchylides describes himself in similar fashion as Μουσᾶν ἰοβλεφάρων θεῖος προφάτας. It is hard to imagine the chorus speaking of itself in such terms. It may be, strictly speaking, προφάτας of the poet, but only the poet can speak for the Muses. Our fragmentary remains of *Paean 7*, on the theme of poetry, reveal a self-concious attitude to it typical of the poet, but without the surrounding context we may not state with certainty that it is he who speaks[22].

The evidence of the paeans suggests that in very localised paeans (such as *2* and *4*) the poet was excluded as speaker and the chorus spoke in its

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[20] Cf. Müller pp.12-13, Lefkowitz p.238 n.9.

[21] This is my main objection to Hoekstra's interpretation of these verses (pp.9ff.). He states that in vv.1-14 the chorus must be speaking in its own person. Fogelmark lists other objections p.119. Cf. also Radt pp.108ff..

[22] Fogelmark pp.122-3 notes parallels in the epinicians for what is said here, further indicating the common themes of epinician and non-epinician choral odes.

own person throughout, even promoting the fiction that they controlled the direction of their song. However, in paeans of pan-Hellenic interest the poet seems to have felt able to step forward himself with authority. We may ascribe this to a lack of the restraints imposed by the gender of the choruses of the *partheneia* and by the narrow scope of the local communal paeans in conjunction with the poet's pride in being a poet of pan-Hellenic standing and authority.

Alcman had only referred to himself in the third person (fr.39) but with a similar self-conciousness about his ability as a poet. By the time that Pindar was writing it is clear that the convention allowed both first and third person references to the poet. The non-epinician odes of Bacchylides may support this. At 16.1ff. we cannot say with certainty whether poet or chorus is the speaker, but at 19.1ff. the poet clearly steps forward to speak about his poetry.

If we feel the presence of Pindar in the non-epinician odes, it is clear that he has a much greater presence in the epinicians. Does, however, our evidence suggest, as, for example, Lefkowitz believes, that the poet's persona in the epinicians is sufficiently dominant to prevent any first person statement which is applicable solely to the chorus? Has the poet's standing and authority reduced the chorus' role merely to that of intermediary between *laudator* and victor?

At times the poet separates himself clearly from the chorus (*P.*10.56, *N.*2.24-5, 3.3-12, *I.*3.*init.*, cf. B.13.190). and also may be deemed to be speaking when he addresses an intermediary who is to carry the ode to its patron (*O.*6.87ff., *I.*2.47-8) or refers to sending the song to its addressee (*N.*3.76ff., cf. B.5.195). *N.*7.61, B.13.221ff. (and perhaps *N.*1.18ff. *ἀλλοδάπων*)

describe a relationship between poet and patron which is unlikely to have applied to the chorus, so we may admit only the poet's voice here. The same applies to *P*.3.63-80, which refers to a sea journey to Syracuse, which it is hard to imagine being made by the whole chorus[23]. *I*.1. init, which deals with the poet's conflicting commissions, has no relevance for the chorus.

Other passages display an interest in the art of poetry which would seem to suggest that these are the exclusive concern of the poet; cf. e.g. the poet's claim of a pan-Hellenic reputation at the end of *Olympian* 1,115b-116, the references to poetic inspiration at *O* 1.111-112, 2.83b-85, 6.84ff., 105. In these passages the notions of composition and poetic propriety are so far to the fore that we may suggest that these verses concern Pindar alone.

In addition to these there are several passages which would seem to concern the poet rather than the chorus, e.g. *O*.10.1ff., 2.89ff., *P*.4.248, *I*.6.74-5 (cf. B.3.85, 5.31ff., 12.3), since they exhibit a self-concious attitude to poetry and the role of the poet, but we cannot completely rule out the voice of the chorus in these passages. Not only is there the physical presence of the chorus who are actually performing the ode, from whose mouths the sentiments come[24], but, as we have noticed in the partheneia and paeans, the chorus may ascribe to themselves a part in the poetics of an ode.

Are there, on the other hand, any occasions in the epinicians where we may deem that it is the chorus primarily who speak, where what is

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[23] Slater (1971) pp.137-52 argues for this as an example of a choral first person, but cf. Carey's arguments (1981, p.16).

[24] Even Kaimio, while declaring that all first person statements may be understood as the poet's own voice, is aware of this difficulty; cf. pp.34-5.

said is far more natural on their lips than on those of the poet?[25] Although we cannot absolutely rule out the inclusion of Pindar, can we suggest that at times he slipped into the background and that the audience would then naturally take what was said to concern the chorus?

At *N*.7.84-5 the speaker states:

λέγοντι γὰρ Αἰακόν νιν ὑπὸ ματροδόκοις γοναῖς φυτεῦσαι,

ἐμᾷ μὲν πολίαρχον εὐωνύμῳ πάτρᾳ, κτλ.

Pindar cannot describe Aeacus as *πολίαρχος* of his land (Thebes), while it would be an entirely valid and appropriate sentiment for an Aeginetan chorus. Attempts to get round what is said here (by those who wish to apply this first-person statement to the poet) have included stretching the meaning of *πολίαρχον* or emending *ἐμᾷ* when every manuscript agrees on the text. The details are discussed by Carey (1981 p.173) who concludes that 'this remains the clearest example in Pindar of a choral first person'[26].

A second place where we may suggest a choral first person is *P*.8.98, where the speaker addresses Aegina:

Αἴγινα φίλα μᾶτερ, ἐλευθέρῳ στόλῳ

πόλιν τάνδε κόμιζε Δὶ καὶ κρέοντι σὺν Αἰακῷ

Πηλεῖ τε κἀγαθῷ Τελαμῶνι σύν τ' Ἀχιλλεῖ.

The description of Aegina as *φίλα μᾶτερ* would come most naturally from the mouths of an Aeginetan chorus. Fogelmark, however, argues (p.137)

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[25]Several scholars would deny that we may. Lefkowitz concludes (p.225) that 'in the epinician odes which we have considered [i.e. all the passages where the scholia expressed doubt as to whether Pindar or the chorus was the speaker] Pindar is the only speaker'. Hamilton states (p.113) that 'the poet clearly distinguishes himself from the chorus at times while the chorus *never* clearly distinguishes itself from the poet'.

[26] Cf. also Most p.200.

that this statement flows more naturally from the mouth of the poet because an Aeginetan chorus can hardly say *πόλιν τάνδε* of Aegina. It is hard to see why they could not. Citizens of other cities were able to (cf. S.*OT*.52, Tim. *Pers*.791, 237ff.). Others argue that Pindar need not be excluded. *φίλα μᾶτερ* might well be a term of respect and affection on the poet's part (as Gildersleeve p.334), but it is noticeable that he speaks in very similar terms of Thebes, his own natural *φίλα μάτηρ*, at *I*.1.1 *μᾶτερ ἐμά* . . . *Θήβα*. We cannot completely exclude the poet's voice here, but clearly this description of Aegina would be far more natural coming from the Aeginetan chorus than from a foreign poet, and I think we may suggest that it is of the chorus that the audience would primarily think.

There is one further passage in which scholars have argued for the chorus speaking in its own person in the epinicians, that is *P*.5.72ff.:

> *τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γαρύει*
> *ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐπήρατον κλέος,*
> *ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι*
> *ἵκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγεΐδαι,* 75
> *ἐμοὶ πατέρες, οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ, ἀλλὰ Μοῖρά τις ἄγεν·*
> *πολύθυτον ἔρανον*
> *ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι,*
> *Ἄπολλον, τεᾷ,*
> *Καρνήϊ', ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν* 80
> *Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν·*

The Spartan Aegeidae are described as ancestors of the speaker (cf. *ἀπὸ Σπάρτας* . . . *ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι* . . . *φῶτες Αἰγεΐδαι, ἐμοὶ πατέρες*). There is

some dispute as to whether this applies to the poet or to the chorus; cf. Σ.*P*.5.96a (D.II p.183) *ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν Λιβύων ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ*. If the former, it must be noted that this is the only occasion on which Pindar lays claim to Aegeid ancestry; elsewhere it is Theban ancestry alone which he claims (cf. *I*.1.1. *μᾶτερ ἐμά, . . . Θήβα*, *I*.8.15b *ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι Θήβαις τραφέντα*, *O*.6.84ff. *ματρομάτωρ ἐμὰ Στυμφαλίς, εὐανθὴς Μετώπα, πλάξιππον ἃ Θήβαν ἔτικτεν*)[27].

The Theban Aegeidae had aided the Heracleidae to conquer Amyclae and some of them had settled in Sparta, thereby creating a Spartan branch of the clan. The colonisation of Cyrene took place from Sparta, by way of Thera, whence the link between the Spartan Aegeidae and Cyrene in our text[28]. If therefore Pindar, a Theban, is to describe the Spartan Aegeidae as *ἐμοὶ πατέρες*, *πατέρες* needs to acquire a different meaning from the one it usually bears. Gildersleeve suggests 'uncles' (p.311), Farnell 'men of old belonging to my paternal clan' (II.p.178), Wilamowitz '*Männer meines väterlichen Geschlechtes*' ([1922]p.480), Burton 'members of my family clan' (p.147), Kirkwood 'ancestors' ([1981] p.18). There is, however, no parallel for *πατέρες* meaning 'uncles' or 'distant cousins' or 'ancestors' when it refers not to those from whom one derives one's existence (as in Burton's examples) but to a completely different and younger offshoot of the family.

If the poet had traced the Aegeid connexion right back to the Theban Aegeidae there might be some limited justification for including his voice

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[27]Pindar elsewhere does not take similar opportunities to claim Aegeid ancestry, cf. e.g. *I*.7.15 *Αἰγεῖδαι σέθεν ἔκγονοι* and Σ ad loc., and *P*.1.65ff. where the Dorians' taking of Amyclae is described.

[28]There is nothing unusual in the Cyreneans regarding themselves as descendants of one Spartan tribe. Cf. Fränkel (1975) p.427 n.2.

here (although this involves supposing that he was an Aegeid, for which we have no other evidence), but it is very clear that the speaker is concerned only with the Spartan branch of the clan since they were the ones who had come to Cyrene.

Furthermore the speaker of vv.72ff. not only narrates a brief history of Cyrene's founding (which was presumably very well known by the audience), recounting how his ancestors came to Cyrene, but also adds the detail that by the same route (Thera) he/they received the festival of the Carneia: *πολύθυτον ἔρανον ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι* (vv.77-8). That the Cyreneans felt they had received the cult of Apollo Carneios by this route can be seen in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* vv.71ff. (which also seems to indicate that this was an open Cyrenean festival, not a specifically Aegeid one). *ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι κτλ.* is only literally true of the Cyrenean chorus and cannot be literally true of Pindar. Therefore the most natural assumption is that both *ἀναδεξάμενοι* and *σεβίζομεν* (v.80) refer to the chorus as representatives of the Cyrenean population.

It may be argued that Pindar, as a regular celebrant of the Carneia in his home state, associates himself with the Cyrenean celebrants of the Carneia. There is, however, no evidence that the Carneia was celebrated at Thebes[29]. Even if this is due to a deficiency in our sources it is still difficult to believe that this would justify Pindar's inclusion of himself in the phrase *ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι*. Such a remark flows naturally from the lips of a Cyrenean chorus rather than from those of a foreign poet. It seems to me that there is a strong case for believing *P.*5.72ff. to be another instance

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29 Cf. Nilsson p.128, who notes the celebration of the Carneia at Sparta, Argos, Cos, Thurioi, Thera and Cyrene, but finds no evidence for it at Thebes.

where the poet steps aside and allows the chorus to speak out in its own person.

We may therefore suggest with some degree of certainty that in three places in the epinicians the poet steps aside and the chorus speaks in its own person. The relative rarity of such instances must be noted. In contrast to the choruses of the paeans and partheneia the chorus of the epinicians has no clearly felt personality. Instead there is a clear bias in favour of the poet as main speaker, who comes forward and draws attention to himself in a remarkably self-concious manner[30].

We must not interpret this bias in Pindar's epinicians, however, as evidence that the poet was the only speaker. Instead our evidence suggests that a convention operated which accepted vacillation between poet and chorus or a combination of these as the speaker. At times we may clearly identify *ἐγώ* as Pindar, on other occasions the chorus steps forward, but for the most part Slater is correct in suggesting (1969 p.89) that *ἐγώ* 'implies in fact a vague combination of Pindar, chorus and chorus leader'[31].

That convention tolerated vacillation in the speaker receives further support from another application of the first person in the epinicians. Young (1968 p.58) calls this the 'indefinite first person' when the speaker addresses the victor in a generalised first person, when 'I' really means 'we', 'men', 'one', 'man' etc.[32]. It does not really matter whether the

[30] This is in direct contrast to Bacchylides' 'personality' in his epinician odes. No less than four times he refers to himself only in the third person (3.97-8, 5.10ff., 9.3, 10.9-10). He may also speak of himself in the first person (cf. 3.85, 5.31ff., 195ff., 10.51, 12.3, 13.221ff.). At other times the identity of the first person is unclear (e.g. 1.49, 2.9, 4.13, 5.42, etc.).

[31] Cf. also Carey (1981) p.16.

[32] Cf. also Fränkel (1975) p.475 n.12 and p.514 [2.2-5].

speaker in such statements is poet, chorus or both, the important point is that what is said is as applicable to the audience as to the speaker. Dissen was the first to note this phenomenon and gave as examples *O*.3.fin., *P*.3.107ff., 11.50, *N*.1.31, 10.39, *I*.7.40ff.[33]. Des Places (p.9) also notes *N*.8.33ff. and Young (1971 p.30) suggests *I*.7.37[34]. The device is often used to praise the victor indirectly (as *P.11*, *N.1*, *8*. *10*) implying that he has applied these statements in his own life. Elsewhere the poet gives the device a more general application, but it usually possesses especial relevance for the victor's situation (*O.3*, *P.3*, *I.7*).

A further possibility exists in the poet's use of the first person. Our scholia attribute various statements in the odes to a further possible speaker, the *laudandus*: *P*.8.56ff., 9.92, *I*.7.39-41. This is an assumption based on the sentiments expressed in these passages. Carey (1981 p.93) questions it for *P*.9.92, since we may also interpret these words as the pleasure of the poet and/or chorus in the victory, and (p.161) for *I*.7.39-41, where the statement expressed is general rather than only applicable to the victor[35]. At *P*.8.56ff., however, he accepts the scholia's attribution of speaker: *ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ τὸ πρόσωπον μιμουμένου τοῦ νενικηκότος* (Σ *P*.8.78a D.II p.214), and adds to this passage *N*.7.64-8 (cf. [1981] pp.159ff.). This is far from certain, but the very suggestion of another speaker in the odes should at least alert us to the possible degree of mobility and versatility in the use of the first person in Pindar's epinicians.

To sum up, we have discovered a surprising versatility in the use of

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[33] Dissen I p.XVI.
[34] This is challenged by Lefkowitz (1980) p.35.
[35] Cf. however Fränkel (1975) p.475 n.12.

the first person in the epinicians, one which goes beyond that demonstrated in the non-epinician choral odes. Despite this we may suspect that for much of the time Pindar's audience did not concern itself with the exact identity of the speaker (for example, during the narration of the myth, gnomic utterances and praise of the victor) and hence did not distinguish between poet/chorus leader/chorus. At times, however, the poet will step forward, or the chorus will separate itself from him, in order to say something which clearly identifies the speaker.

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