

TITLE PAGE

Title of thesis: STUDIES IN PINDAR

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Submitted for the degree of PhD



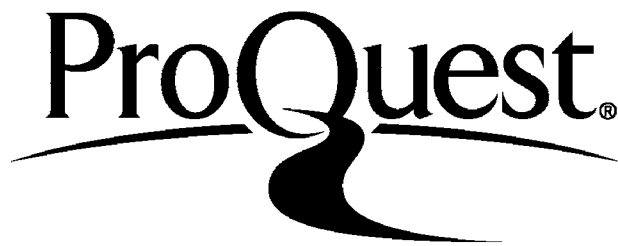
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ABSTRACT of THESIS

The bulk of this thesis consists of commentaries on Pindar Pythian 11 and Nemean 2. As a prologue there is a general introduction to Pindar analysing some Pindaric problems, and an analysis of some features of the Pindaric scholia (the ancient commentaries on Pindar).

The INTRODUCTION shows how Pindar tailored the mythical parts of his victory odes to suit the occasion, and how the odes do not nicely conform to a general pattern.

The second part, TITLES and INSCRIPTIONES in the PINDARIC SCHOLIA and the OCCASION of PYTHIAN ELEVEN, shows that the dates and titles given by the scholia for Pindar's odes are an unreliable amalgam of bits of information and guesses (often inferences from the odes themselves).

The COMMENTARY on PYTHIAN ELEVEN tackles the problem posed by Pindar apparently spatchcocking an irrelevant mythical story about Agamemnon into the ode. It is suggested (1) the victor's conquest at the Games has affinities to Orestes's conquest over his father's murderers; (2) when Pindar says he went off-course in telling the myth he is being disingenuous; representing what he thinks would be the attitude to the myth of the victor's family; (3) themes of envy, moderation, success, highlighted in the myth are relevant to the victor.

The COMMENTARY on NEMEAN TWO suggests this short ode (like other short ones) was designed to preface the komos (victory sing-song and celebrations) held for the victor. The ode's compressed thought and obscure allusions are unravelled: Orion

following the Fleiades symbolises how the victor may hope to gain a big win at Olympia after his recent little successes; Hector's submission to Aias is analogous to the submissions gained by the victor over his opponents. Puns and etymologising are shown to be a feature of the poem.

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(There are 3 plates of ancient Greek athletes between pages 58 and 59)	

The text of Pindar on which this thesis is based is taken from the Teubner edition of B.Snell - H.Maehler, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis* (Leipzig 1980).

INTRODUCTION

1. The Classification of Pindar's Odes

§₁ In the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C. Pindar was famous and held in honour all over the Greek world². Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Alcidamas, Isocrates, Aristophanes, Menander all quote him², and he led the Hellenistic canon of nine lyric poets³.

§₂ His output was first (as far as we can tell) classified by Aristophanes of Byzantium⁴; the epinicians were contained in the last four of the total of 17 books. Even in antiquity, however, it was recognised that some poems among the epinicians had been mis-classified: Inscriptio N.9 (referring to Nemeans 9, 10, 11) αὐτὰ δὲ ᾠδαὶ οὐκέτι Νημεονίαις εἰςὶ γεγραμμένα· εἰςὶ κεχωρισμέναι φέρονται; cf. Inscr. a N. 11 οὐδὲ ἔλωσ, φησὶν ὁ Δίδυμος, ἔχρησεν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην εἰς τοὺς ἐπινίκους συνέθεται· οὐ γὰρ ἱερὸν ἔγωνα νενίκηκεν.

The implication of these scholia is that in the First Century B.C. Didymus recognised that Nemeans 9-11 were not epinicians for Nemean victories and had separated them from the other Nemeans.

§₃ Another piece of evidence for problems in antiquity concerning the classification of Pindar's poems is P.Oxy.2451 A, scraps (probably from a Life of Pindar) forming parts of an ancient commentary on Isthmians and also (P.Oxy. 2451 B fr. 17) on an ᾠχοφορικόν μέλος. The ᾠχοφορία were an Athenian festival⁵. It is a reasonable conjecture that Pindar's ᾠχοφορικά formed an appendix to his Isthmians as Nemeans 9-11 did to the other Nemeans⁶.

§₄ There was a similar problem of classification over some of Pindar's Partheneia, whether to classify some of them as a third book of Partheneia or as a separate appendix⁷. What

distinguished these *κεχωρισμένα Παρθέμεια* we do not know; a scrap of an ancient dispute about them survives in P.Oxy.2438⁸.

§5 These problems in antiquity over the classification of Pindar's poetry should remind us of two things: firstly, the poems which in modern editions are grouped together as epinicians are in many respects a motley collection; secondly, the clear-cut distinctions between genres suggested by classifiers' labels are an anachronism⁹. It is easy to think that because we have four books designated 'epinicians', therefore they are all the same sort of poem; this has led some modern American scholars to try to explain them by reference to a generalised formal model¹⁰. But these claims have not been substantiated by their authors. (See further below).

2. Recent Pindaric Scholarship

§1 The idea that for all of Pindar's odes there is a single general theory that explains them (such as the modern American scholars claim to have discovered) can be traced back to the 19th Century work of Boeckh and Dissen¹³ and the notion that all the odes can be explained by reference to an underlying central thought or Grundgedanke. The theory led Hermann¹⁴ to reject as irrelevant padding anything not in accord with the hypothetical underlying thought and is a similar sort of theory to the theory of Bundy¹⁵ that all parts of all the odes have a single aim, namely to praise the winner, with parts that do not appear to praise the winner functioning as foils to offset those that do.

§2 The Grundgedanke theory was developed in another direction, also followed by modern scholarship, by the theory of F. Mezger¹⁶ that in each ode there are key repeated words which express the essential thought of the poem (cf. D. C. Young recently¹⁷: "Mezger's theory of the recurrent word is basically correct (though not in the form in which he gave

it) and, I believe, is the greatest single aid for an understanding of a Pindaric ode"¹⁸). The commentaries of Fennell¹⁹ and Bury²⁰ are also strongly influenced by this theory.

§3 In a counter-reaction to this trend, the heterogeneity of the odes was strongly emphasised towards the turn of the century by Drachmann²¹ who stressed the diversity of the odes' ingredients. This counter-reaction was influenced by a growing interest in trying to establish the diverse historical circumstances surrounding each ode's composition. The main proponent of this risky historicising approach was Wilamowitz²². A result of this counter-reaction was a tendency to see the one part of the poem most obviously not based in documentable history, namely the myth, as an irrelevant digression²³. Modern discussions of Pythian 11 have largely centred around this view of its myth, on the assumption that when Pindar says (P.11 38-40) he went off course in telling the myth he is admitting to having made a mistake in telling it (a debatable assumption: see my commentary ad loc.).

§4 Between these two approaches came the theory of subjective and objective unity advocated by Schadewaldt²⁴, though first suggested 98 years earlier by Boeckh, according to which each ode had two competing aims, on the one hand to praise the winner and on the other to express the poet's own personal views. It was Schadewaldt, too, who first drew attention to the conventions of epinician poetry as a genre²⁵. Schadewaldt's work is important for the understanding of Pythian 11: Pindar's apparent apology for having told the myth has to be recognised as a conventional rhetorical device on the one hand enabling

the poet to change themes, on the other highlighting how there is more to Pindar's odes than just personal praise of the winner; the victor may have wanted Pindar to aim at nothing but victor-praise, but Pindar had other ideas.

§5 The importance of understanding the conventions of the genre has recently been underlined by Bundy²⁶; as mentioned, he insists that praise of the winner was the poet's overriding aim. Some of the dangers inherent in his approach have been well pointed out by Professor Lloyd-Jones in his 1982 lecture on Pindar to the British Academy²⁷. Three further dangers should be noticed: firstly, one must be cautious before speaking of the conventions of the epinician genre; apart from Pindar and Bacchylides, other representatives of the genre scarcely exist, and Pindar's technique in constructing his epinicians is different enough from Bacchylides' to make it possible that if more survived of the epinicians of Ibycus and Simonides our views about what should count as a convention of the genre (as opposed to a trait of Pindaric style) would be very different. Secondly, praise is a nebulous concept; different types should be distinguished (e.g. (a) personal commendation, (b) citation of mythical exempla clearly parallel to the victor's situation, (c) mention of heroes etc. with no such parallel) and kept separate from what is clearly not praise (e.g. citation of a mythical exemplum not to praise but to point out the dangers of, say, ἄλβες or φθόνος). Thirdly, as mentioned, praise of the winner is not Pindar's sole aim: the only way Bundy can substantiate his claim that "there is no passage in Pindar and Bacchylides that is not in its primary intent enkomiastic - that is, designed to enhance the glory of a particular patron",²⁸ is by misunderstanding what praise is and widening its meaning so as to include any statement said of someone. His view derives from his unsubstantiated assumption that Pindar is always writing in his epinicians as a laudator of the victor; this assumption is surely disproved by such passages as the last triad of Pythian One (advisory), the tenor of lines 80-115 of Pythian Three (consolatory), or the last triad of Pythian Four (persuading Arcesilaus to change his decision)

which are addressed to the victor but not (on any normal use of the word 'praise') in praise of him²⁹.

§6 To maintain his thesis that Pindar is always praising the victor Bundy is forced into the position that much of Pindar is 'foil', that is on topics chosen not per se but to lead up to and highlight the real goal, namely praise and glorification of the victor³⁰. But this approach can lead to serious misinterpretation, as when Nisetich applies it to the story of Agamemnon spatchcocked into Pythian II: "The thing to do would be to find something of special value in the victor's way of life. Pindar does this by telling us not only what Thrasydaios of Thebes is, but also what he is not: he is not exposed to the kinds of peril that plagued the great house of Atreus, subject of the myth told in the second triad of Pythian II³¹. On the contrary, it seems to me that the myth in Pythian II is not designed to praise per contrariam but, rather, to show that Thrasydaios as a victor is indeed exposed to the kinds of peril that faced the conqueror Agamemnon: note how line 29, ἴσχει τε γὰρ ὄλβου οὐ μείονα φθόρον while applying to characters in the myth is also relevant to the victor's success.³²

§7 Post-Bundy American scholarship, which has concentrated on finding a formal structure that underlies all Pindar's odes³³, *Idē* has tended to ignore how there is more variation among the odes than the variation in position of their parts. This tendency is exemplified by the naive conclusion of Hamilton, that, "The parts of a Pindaric ode do occur in definite positions. Therefore the form of a particular ode can now be studied with reference to a general model"³⁴. According to Hamilton, "the shortest odes form a group... They are followed by three odes of intermediate length and then by the rest of the odes, which break into no further groups.... The degree of uniformity in length and content among the short odes is so great that it is likely that the group was an accepted type: in other words the poet wrote either long or short odes".³⁵ The crucial factor, he

says, is the presence of / absence of myth. (r)

§8 This is a misleading analysis. There is a range of length. The fact that no ode survives between 142 and 182 words long, or between 237 words long and 282, is uninteresting. It does not warrant grouping together as short the odes of less than 142 words or as long those of more than 282: (1) Not all of Pindar's epinicia survive; (2) Why not group together the odes between 282 and 500 words long, since there is no ode bridging the 500-555 word gap? (3) It is not true that the crucial factor is the presence or absence of myth: Olympian 4, for example, classified as short by Hamilton, tells the story of Erginos winning an athletics victory in old age; (4) arguably a better unit of measurement is the number of triads per ode: it shows that 3-5 triads is the regular length, and stops you overlooking the fact that seven odes are not triadic at all but monostrophic³⁶.

3. The Heterogeneity of the Odes

§1 Though the victory for which an ode was written is often a dominant part of the ode, often it is not. Sometimes, as with N.11, P3, P4, the occasion that caused the poem does not seem to have been a victory at all³⁷ - though in N.11 and P3 Games are mentioned. Pindar himself only once refers to 'epinicians' (ἐπινοήματα λούδατα N.4.78); several times he calls his poems for victors ἐγκώμιοι (P.10.53, O.2.47; cf. N.1.7, N.8.50), but much more frequently he calls them

just ὕμνοι or μέλη³⁸. The conclusion to be drawn is that the relationships between Pindar and the recipient of the ode, and between the ode and any victory, were very variable, with atypical odes such as N.11 and P.3 standing at one end of a sliding scale.

§2 There is also variety of metrical form. Only one of the 45 epinicians imitates the metrical pattern of any other - none does, if Isthmians 3 and 4 are parts of the same ode. Pindar is also intolerant of identical word-division patterns in verses of the same metrical pattern; this is exemplified by the fifth and sixth lines of all epodes, except the last, of Olympian 6 (fifth: D, caesura, -D, sixth: D-, caesura, D). Contrast Bacchylides: in his dactylo-epitrites he allows line after line to have a word end after the first hemiepes (e.g. in the epodes of B.11. 24-40, 71-82, 113-122); contrast Stesichorus (e.g. the highly dactylic, monotonous and simple rhythm in the Lille Stesichorus, hexametric at times - e.g. line 232). Pindar developed the basic dactylo-epitrite rhythm; he also combines dactylo-epitrites with other rhythms: Olympian 13 starts aeolic, becomes increasingly dactylic through the strophe and antistrophe, and the epode is dactylo-epitritic.³⁹

§3 There is great variation, too, in Pindar's mythical diversions. In some odes he has delineated the character of the mythical hero to harmonise with the character of the Games winner; in others, those actions of a mythical person are selected which have a special bearing on the winner; sometimes Pindar gives someone in the myth an ancestry that is new, and not in accord with tradition, in order to insert the mythical figure into the victor's family. Or the myth may be chosen because of the type of event that had been won; violent stories are often for pancratiasts (τὸ δεινὸν ἀέθλον ὃ πανκράτιον καλεῖουσιν, Xenoph. 2.5).

Pindar did not compose slavishly on the assumption that in each ode there had to be a similar relationship between the myth and the victor or between the myth and any other part of the ode. Like Greek poets before him he was happy to introduce Herakles or Aias into his poems on a variety of pretexts, some trifling. A single word may make clear a connection between myth and victor, but often the myth is developed for its own sake and detail is added not to make subtle allusions to the victor's way of life but to make the myth a good story to listen to⁴⁰. The fluidity of Greek myth and the tolerance and delight of the Greeks in hearing modified versions of old stories must be weighed against the assumption that "How exactly is this relevant to the victor?" is the all-important question.

§4 Pindar's myths also cover a range of length, from the epyllion in Pythian 4 to a couple of words (e.g. O.10.14). Some writers distinguish between his myths and mythic examples. This is misleading. Even in the long myths, including that in Pythian 4, there may be material pointing out to the recipient of the ode an example he should follow; while some of the very short mythic examples, though short in terms of the number of words they are written in, require the knowledge of a large body of background mythical material before one can understand why they are in the poem.⁴¹ Hamilton attempts to distinguish the two, but the distinction yields nothing and his argument for it is untenable: "there is no apparent difference in content between Myth and Mythic Example. The critical distinction for the audience, we find, is in position: the two types of mythic example have mutually exclusive positions in the ode. Myth normally appears only in the central section and Mythic Example normally appears in either of the other two sections".⁴³ But later he adds: "Only 6 of the 25 Mythic Examples occur in the Myth section, and only 12 of the 39 Myths do not"⁴³. This is bad evidence for a critical distinction. Pindar is more subtle and variable with his mythical narrative and characters than Hamilton allows.

§5 The heterogeneity of the odes also appears from the varying styles in which they are written. The grand architecture of the some odes' first lines, with a rambling structure supported by relative pronouns or temporal conjunctions (as in Pythians 11 and 4) contrasts with the staccato beginning of e.g. Olympians 1 and 11 and Nemean 6. Pindar's wide repertoire of openings is indeed striking. Isthmian 7 begins with a question to Thebes followed by seven more questions asking what myth or mythical figures Thebes most wants to hear about. Questions from Pindar abound in the epinicians, but this is one of the only two odes with a question in the opening sentence⁴⁴. He did not shirk a novel structure to his odes, and it is characteristic of him to use a few basic ingredients in a variety of quite different ways.

§6 A barrage of unanswered questions is also fired in Paeon 9 asking the sun what his eclipse portends; it, too, was written for Thebans. Eight questions about whom he should sing of start his most fully-surviving Hymn (Fr. 29), also for Thebans. Pindar may have thought such slightly audacious, unusual and unorthodox openings more suitable for a community he knew well and where he could be more adventurous⁴⁵. Pindar's other Theban odes are Isthmians 3, 4 and Pythian 11. Significantly, both Isthmian 7 and Pythian 11 describe people on the move, the former a victory procession (20-1 κώμας ἑπειτέρ ἄδουκεται σὺν ὕμνῳ καὶ στεφάνῳ), the latter a gathering of Theban heroines at the temple of Ismene; also both start with invocations and have a host of Theban mythical characters crammed into the beginning. Pindar may have thought an initial invocation and a splash of myth (rather than a single prolix story) a good and lively way to get people moving.

§7 Olympian 2 is the only other ode Pindar begins with a question (l.2 τίνα θεόν, τίς ἦρκα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελδῆς οὔμεν) which is immediately answered by a) Zeus, b) Herakles, c) Theron; this is the epic style⁴⁷. Other questions in the epinicians can be classified as (1) rhetorical, an emphatic way of saying 'no one' or 'x, of course' or 'not at all' (O.1.84, 2.100, 6.7-8; P.2.78, 7.5-8; I.1.5, 5.39-42); (2) in dialogue (P.4.97-9, 9.33-5, 9.44; N.10.76); (3) as a means of transition (O.2.89; P.10.4); 4) the enigmatic τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; κίως ὄναρ ἀνθρώπου (P.8.95) and the questioning of Clytemnestra's motives (P.11.22-5). Questions emerge as a marked trait of Pindar's style⁴⁸. As with other ingredients in his odes, he uses them in many ways.

4.

The Myths and their Relevance

§1 As mentioned above, there are a variety of ways in which the myths in Pindar's odes are relevant to the rest of the poem. Sometimes the relevance is obvious, sometimes it is not, sometimes the myth is clearly relevant to the victor's situation, but sometimes the relevance is more general: any myth about an Aiakid is relevant to an Aiginetan victor because Aiakos was Aigina's son; any myth connected with Delphi, like the myth of Orestes in Pythian 11, is relevant to a Pythian victor; any myth about Herakles, founder of the Nemean Games, is relevant to a Nemean victor; Poseidon, in whose honour the Isthmian Games were held, is relevant to any Isthmian victor. In addition, myths about Herakles and the Aiakids are relevant to any victory since they illustrate the physical strength and dependence on the gods that is necessary for any victory⁴⁹.

§2 Pindar's flair for allusion and concentration on just a few details when telling a myth means that regularly he does not spell out all the ways in which it is relevant; he prefers to leave the connections unobtrusive. In the first triad of Olympian Two, for instance, he prays to Zeus that Theron's family and descendants should continue to rule Akragas, adding that what has been done cannot be undone and it is futile to cry over spilt milk. In the background is the hostility between Hieron and Theron after Hieron became envious of the success and power of his brother Polyzeos. There was little chance of détente because Hieron drove Polyzeos out of Sicily, annoyed that he had married Theron's daughter; she had been the wife of Hieron's rival, the tyrant Gelon. Theron, concerned for his daughter, and his son Thrasydaios were about to attack Hieron when Simonides intervened⁵⁰. So, inter-family hostility lies behind these words of Pindar, and later come mythical examples of inter-family hostility: first Oedipus and Laios are alluded to, then Eteocles and Polynices.

§3 Pythian One substitutes for a myth a description of the monster Typhon, while in the final epode Phalaris who roasted people is mentioned. Phalaris is an example of the sort of tyrant Hieron should not be⁵¹, while Typhon illustrates the type of fate suffered by Hieron's enemies.

§4 In Pythian Three, Hieron suffering from a gallstone in the bladder is asked to remember what Kadmos and Peleus had to suffer (Sch. P3, 153b βίος δὲ ἔνευ σφάλατος καὶ βλάβης οὐκ ἔγένετο οὔτε Πηλεΐ οὔτε Κάδμωι ταῦτα δὲ διὰ τὴν νόσον παρδινεῖ).

§5 The story of the Argonauts in Pythian Four is likewise tailored for the occasion: it reinforces Pindar's effort to persuade Arkesilaos to reinstate Damophilos, who has fled to Thebes, and to realise he has made a wrong decision in banishing him from his homeland. The quarrel between Jason and his second cousin Pelias takes up the greater part of the mythical narrative in the ode and is dramatised in the 4th-7th triads. Why? Because Jason's claim to be allowed to live in his homeland is analogous to Damophilos's. Pindar highlights the repatriation issue when (156f) Pelias orders Jason to bring back not just the Golden Fleece but also Phrixos himself to his homeland (Sch. P4 281a ἴδιος δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πίνδαρος μετὰ τοῦ δέρου καὶ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Φρίξου κελεύων τῷ Ἰάκκῳ εἰς τῆς Αἰῆς ἀνακαλέεσθαι... τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ μόνην τὴν κερίδα τοῦ δέρου αὐτὸν ἐκπεμφθῆναι λέγοντων. To emphasise the analogy between Damophilos and Jason, Pindar gives them both similar characteristics: both have been careful speakers not wishing to offend anyone (compare 104-6 and 283); both have been torn away from their homes unnaturally, Jason by being smuggled out at night while still a baby (111f.), Damophilos like a hewn oak (263f.); both are now dependent on others more powerful than themselves, Jason on Pelias and Aietes, Damophilos on Arkesilasos. But analogies are not Xerox copies, and it is a mistake to search for parallels in every word⁵².

§6 One trick Pindar uses is to invent or unearth a role or lineage for a mythical character that relates him to the victor or the victor's homeland. At O.9.58 he suggests that Protogeneia is the daughter of Opous, king of Elis. The usual story was different, as the scholiasts noticed (though one cannot always be sure that Pindar had no authority for his versions just because Didymus could not find it): Sch.O.9.86c

ἔξήλλαχε δὲ τὴν Ἰσπερίαν ὁ Πίνδαρος. τὴν γὰρ Πρωτογένειαν οὐκ Ὀποῦνός φησιν οἱ πλείους, ἀλλὰ Δευκαλίωνα καὶ Πύρρα 53.

The reason for the change is that Epharmostos, for whom Olympian 9 was written, comes from the district of Locris called Opous. Pindar is not as precise as the scholiasts suggest; he does not name Protogeneia as the daughter of Opous, but says merely (57f.) Ὀλύμπιος ἀγεμῶν θυγάτηρ' ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἐπειῶν Ὀπέουτος ἀναρπάξαι, ἕκλος μίχθη Μαιναλίου ἐν Δειράϊ

The identificiation of this anonymous girl with Protogeneia is eased by Opous earlier being called the city of Protogeneia (Πρωτογένεια ἄπει 41-2) and by the girl's son being named Opous after her father (63-4). Since it was this second Opous who, according to Pindar, gave his name to the city, Protogeneia becomes the city's quasi-mother, and since it was with Zeus that she produced Opous junior, Pindar has strengthened the city's pedigree. Had he stuck to the story that Protogeneia was the daughter of Deukalion and Pyrrha, Epharmostos would have had to tolerate hearing that his city's population derived from stones. But Pindar, as is his wont, does give glimpses of the accepted story. He attempts to accommodate the two versions by saying the stone men were Epharmostos's earlier ancestors, the descendants of Zeus and Protogeneia his later ones (53f. κείνων [sc. λιθίνων λαῶν] ὃ ἔσαν χαλκίπιδες ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι ἀρχαῖθεν... ἐγχώριοι βασιλεῖς αἰεὶ, πρὶν Ὀλύμπιοι ἀγεμῶν κτλ.).

Pindar is subtle: the story of Deukalion and Pyrrha and their brood of stone men is merely alluded to; Protogeneia is referred to but not called their daughter; the city of Opous is said to be descended from Protogeneia, who by implication is the girl Zeus makes love to; and Opous junior is born to give the victor a divine ancestry that can still cope with a tradition that said his ancestors were stones⁵⁵.

§7 Similar subtleties occur in Olympian 8 in which Pindar slips into the myth Aiakos, former king of Aigina where the victor lives: the wall round Troy was not built solely by Poseidon and Apollo, as usually reported, but by Aiakos too; the mortal part built by him would be destructible and the way into the city (31f.). In this way Pindar can say that the whole Aiakid line helped destroy Troy: Πέρχμος ἀμφὶ τεῖχι, ἦρωι, χερσὶ ἔργασίας ἀλίσκεται... ἅμα πρώτοις ἄρξεται καὶ τετάρτοις⁵⁶: this last phrase refers to 1) Telamon's sack of Troy (v.N.4.25b), 2) the assault on it - subject of the Iliad - by Aias and Achilles, 3) Neoptolemos's final destruction of the city. Andromache's words to Hector (Il.6.431f.) may have given Pindar his cue: λαὸν δὲ σῆκον παρ' ἔριτόν ἔνθα μάλιτα / ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος. / τρεῖς γὰρ τῆι γ' ἔλθόντε ἐπειρήσανθ' εἰ ἄριστοι / ἀμφ' Αἰάντε δούω καὶ ἀγακλυτὸν Ἰδομενεῖα (Il.6.431-434). But the inclusion of Aiakos in the destruction because of his bad workmanship is, according to Didymus, a Pindaric invention (Sch.0.8.41a).

§8 Pindar's manufacture of myths is not always aimed at the victor. In Olympian 9 (29-36) he says that round Pylos Herakles fought Poseidon, Apollo and Hades. To make the event an even greater triumph for Herakles, Pindar invents a story that he took on all the gods at once (31-3). Didymus spotted the move: Sch. 0.9.44a Ἰδίως κἀν τούτοις ὁ Πίνδαρος Ἡρακλέα γράφει τοῖς τρεῖσι πολεμῆσαι θεοῖς. δεδόσθω γὰρ αὐτῶι, φησὶν ὁ Διδύμος, περὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Νέστορι Πύλον συστήναι τὴν μάχην, Ὅμηρου τὴν ἐν Ἅϊδου πόλιν νεκύων εἰρηκότος [Il.5.397] ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι βαλῶν. εἴη δ' αὖν ὁ Πίνδαρος τὰ καὶ τόποις καὶ χρόνοις διεστῶτα εἰς ἓνα καιρὸν ἄγων ἕνεκα τοῦ μείζονος ἢ ὡς ἔσχε ταῖς ἀληθείαις τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἔταινεῖν.

It is Herakles who is usually said to have fought Apollo at Pytho when he stole the Pythia's tripod (v. Sch.0.9.48; the subject is frequent on black-figure vases), and Hades when hauling up Kerberos⁵⁷.

§9 Pindar's idiosyncratic use of myth recurs in Isthmian 8. In praise of the victor's homeland he says the Aiginetans
ὠφρονέες τ' ἐγένοντο πινυτοί τε θυμὸν (line 26) and that Zeus and Poseidon remembered these qualities when, quarelling for the hand of Thetis, they took the advice of Themis and left Thetis for Peleus. Why is Poseidon mentioned?⁵⁸ The answer is probably simple: Kleandros had won an Isthmian victory, and the Isthmos was where Poseidon lived; the two are never far apart in the Isthmian odes (cf. I.1.32f.; I.2.12-14; I.4.37-41; I.6.5-7; I.7.37-39). Compare the introduction of Poseidon into the Pelops story in Olympian 1: Pindar extols Poseidon as ἵππιος because he wants a horsey story for a victor who won with horses, not for any more profound reason.⁵⁹

§10 Some myths relate to the type of victory commemorated. Isthmian 8 was for a victor in the boys' pankration. Its violence was notorious. Only slightly less violent was the boxing, in which Nikokles, Kleandros's cousin, had won (I.8.61-5). Philostratos, the 3rd-Century A.D. philosopher, puts the two sports into perspective; *ὅποια τε ἔστιν ἐν ἀγωνίαι προτετιμῆται πάντων τὸ παγκρατίον καίτοι συκείναιον ἕξ ἀτελοῦς πάλης καὶ ἀτελοῦς πυγμῆς* (Peri. Gymn. ch.11); *ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις* (physically weak men) *πάντων μὲν ἀπαξίω τῶν ἐν ἀγωνίαι - τὸ γὰρ ἔσ' ἄνδρα*

οὐ βέβαιον - παγκρατίου δὲ καὶ πυγμῆς μάλιτα (ib.ch.29); *τὸ δὲ πυρᾶσθαι καὶ ξηραλοφείν, ἑπειδὴ τῆς ἀγροικότερας γυμναστικῆς ἔχεται Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφῶμεν, ὧν τὰ γυμνάσια οὔτε παγκρατίω οὔτε πυγμῆι εἰκαστάι* (ib.ch.58).⁶⁰ No surprise, therefore, that Pindar brings Achilles into the poem at his most bloodthirsty and violent, sprinkling the Mysian plain with the blood of Telephos and slashing the sinews of Troy with his spear⁶¹ (49f); and when Pindar says of Nikokles *ἐνίκασε δὴ ποτε καὶ κείνους ἄνδρας ἀφύκτα χερὶ κλονέων* (I.8.65), real battle and Achilles spring

to mind.⁶²

§11 Nemean 3 similarly links myth and contest. Written for a pankratiast, it emphasises the traits of the event, ὦν (sc. Μυρμιδόνων) παλαιότατον ἀγορᾶν οὐκ ἐλεγχέεσσιν Ἀριστοκλείδα τεῶν ἐμίανε κατ' ἄϊκον ἐν περιθνεῖ μαλαχθεῖς παγκρατίου στολήνι καματωδῶν δὲ πλαγᾶν ἄκος ὑγιγρὸν ἐν βαθυπεδίῳ.

Νεμῆαι τὸ καλλίνικον φέρει (13-18). Later, when Achilles' upbringing is described (43f.), Pindar highlights his violence, power and speed even though he is only hunting: the point is that both Achilles and Aristokleides excelled because they had innate strength. More obvious is the connection between myth and event in Pythian 12: Midas's victory in the aulos contest leads Pindar to recount how Athene, with Perseus's help, invented the instrument. It is an early ode (490 B.C. when Pindar was 27-8) and the obviousness of the myth's relevance contrasts with the greater complexity and sophistication with which he handles myth in later odes.⁶³

§12 Myth and victor are matched in Isthmian 4. With unusual attention to the victor's physique, Pindar says that Melissos was a small man and so was Herakles; both were also stronghearted, wrestlers and from Thebes (67-73). Archilochus's favourite type of soldier shared Melissos's physique (Fr.114W). Pindar regularly stresses Herakles' great strength, but not his smallness; here he is depicting him as a heroic Melissos. This emphasises his constant thesis, that Games victors display super-human qualities and for a moment share heroes' characteristics.

§13 Timasarchos, a wrestler, received Nemean 4. In it a single image gains significance because it is linked with the victor's event. After saying, as he often does, that he must stick to the point and ward off his envious detractors, Pindar goes on: ἔρτα, καίπερ (καίπερ Christ) ἔχει βαθεῖα ποντιαῖς ἄλμα μεσσοῦ, ἀντίτειν' ἐπιβουλίαι (36-7). The deep sea holds him round the middle like a

wrestler⁶⁴. Later he says that everyone likes to praise great achievements which they have witnessed, continuing οἶον ἀινέων κε
 Μελεσίαν ἔριδα στρέφει, ῥήματα πλέκων, ἀπάλακτος ἐν
 λόγῳ ἔλκειν (93-4), meaning that anyone praising Melesias,
 the trainer of Timasarchos, would have to plumb the depths
 of his linguistic ability in his search for the high praise
 Melesias deserves. Pindar has expressed this in wrestling
 terminology: στρέφειν is a technical term (sometimes ἔδραν στρέφ-
 εἶν) for doing a cross-buttock throw;⁶⁵ πλέκω maintains the
 picture⁶⁶ and ἔλκειν probably means 'to hoist an opponent
 up by his legs.'⁶⁷ Pindar concludes with the hypothetical
 eulogising spectator saying what he thinks μαλακὰ μὲν ἀρονέων
 ἔσλοῖν, τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἔδεδρος (Nemean 4, lines
 95-6); in wrestling terminology ἔδεδρος denotes the person
 who sits at the side waiting to take on the winner of the
 fight in progress. Pindar's epinicians are permeated by athletics
 practice; sometimes the imagery is not related to the event
 the winner won in (e.g. N6.6-7, a running metaphor in a poem
 for a wrestler; N.5.19-20, long-jumping for a pankratiast),
 but sometimes the vocabulary and imagery have been selected
 to match the event. Here, as elsewhere, Pindar does not adhere
 slavishly to one method.

§14 Isthmian 6 opens by saying that the house of Lampon
 has already won a victory at Nemea (Pytheas's celebrated in
 N.5) and that Isthmian victory is the family's second; there
 follows a wish that in the future a libation can be offered
 to Olympian Zeus to celebrate an Olympic victory in the family.
 The theme is resumed in the myth. In it Pindar shows that
 prayers to Zeus do not go unanswered: one of the main items
 in the myth (4lf.), Herakles' prayer to Zeus that Telamon
 may have a son followed by Zeus's eagle revealing that the
 prayer has been granted, is an oblique way of saying that
 Phylakidas's Olympic hopes may likewise be granted. There
 were other stories about Herakles and Telamon which Pindar
 could have told (cf. N4.25f.); his choice of one, in which
 a prayer to Zeus by someone victorious at Nemea in his first
 contest (Herakles had slain the Nemean lion, the first of

his $\alpha\epsilon\theta\lambda\alpha$ - 1.48) is granted, has special relevance.

§15 Myth and victory are again connected in Nemean 10, written for Theaios who had won the wrestling at Argos. A victory at Argos was insignificant compared to one at Olympia, Nemea, Pythia or Isthmia, so unable to say how supreme Theaios's victory was Pindar extols the magnificence of Argos. Hence the unusual opening to the ode, a plethora of mythical references linked to Argos to conceal the pettiness of the victory.

5. Does an Ode's Style and Content depend on the Occasion of its Performance?

§1 It seems likely that different odes were composed for different types of performance. Some seem to have been performed during the komos to the victor's house (e.g. 08, I.8 and the short odes 0.4, 0.11, 0.14 and N.2⁶⁹). Pythians 2 and 3, on the other hand, resemble literary letters and the occasion of their performance could scarcely have been a komos, while Nemean 11 which honours Aristagoras's assumption of the prytany at Tenedos seems to have accompanied festivities held when he first took up office⁷⁰.

§2 The hypothesis that an ode's style depended on the occasion and way it was performed explains some aspects of Isthmian 8. The performance of the ode seems to have begun simultaneously with a victory procession to the home of the victor Kleandros, with one of the group running ahead to tell Kleandros and his friends to get ready: "One of you, lads, run to Kleandros and his mates, and by the splendid porch of his father Telesarchos get the komos going, the fame-bringing prize for his efforts" (1-4). The ode ends with the impression that the procession of singers has reached Kleandros's house and that one of them is stepping forward to garland him with his prize (66-7). This doublet of instructions gives the beginning and end of the poem an informal and colloquial flavour. The first instruction, for a messenger to go to someone's home telling him to prepare to celebrate, recurs in the myth

when Themis tells messengers to go to Chiron's with news of the coming marriage of his countryman Peleus (v. 1-4 and 44-6, both instructions starting and ending at the same place in the triad). The colloquial⁷¹ character of Themis' speech maintains the initial Stimmung, and she continues in a down-to-earth manner of speech in what she says about Peleus: 44-5 ἔριπὸν λύσι κεν χαλινὸν ὑφ' ἥρωι παρθενίαι (ὑπὸ means here, and at O.6.35, 'lying below' not 'by' or 'through' as Slater suggests s.v.⁷²). The occasion for which the ode seems to have been written has influenced its content.

§3 Olympian 4 was also written for a komos; the ingredients of an epinician komos probably included aulos music (cf. Theog. 1065), other noise (cf. Theog. 1045-6), drink and a procession (cf. E.Cycl. 445-6, Aristot. Fr. 558). When in Olympian 4 Pindar appeals to Zeus (8-9 Οὐλυμπιονίκαν, δέξαι Χαρίτων ἕκαστὸν τόνδε κῶμον), the deictic τόνδε shows the words were written to accompany, or give the appearance of accompanying, the komos itself.

§4 But Pindar's references to komoi have to be treated with care. In Olympian 6 he expresses the hope that Hieron in Sicily will receive Hagesias's komos after its journey from Stymphalis in Arcadia (98f. *κὺν δὲ φιλοφροσύνας εὐχράται Ἀγησία δέξαιτο κῶμον οἰκόμεν οἴκασ' ἀπὸ Στυμφαλιῶν τεύχεων ποτινικόμενον ματέρ' εὐμήλοιο λείποντ' Ἀρκάδικαι*). In the context of this poem, written for someone with both Arkadian and Sicilian connections, the expression of this hope has been interpreted to mean that Olympian 6 was performed twice - once in Arkadia and then in Sicily.⁷⁴ But though a 'receive the komos' motif is common in Pindar⁷⁵, in this ode there are two important differences: no deictic pronoun accompanies the occurrences of κῶμος in the poem (18,98) and Hieron is not addressed. The hope that Hieron will receive the komos is perhaps a hope that he will put its members up for the night and look after them while they are in Sicily; it does not suggest that Olympian 6 was written to be performed by the komos or immediately preface the komos. Rather, it looks as if Olympian 6 was performed in Stymphalis before

the journey to Sicily and only the komos performed in Sicily (note the prayer to Poseidon at the end of the poem, 103-5; this would have been very relevant if spoken in Stymphalis and if after the performance of Olympia 6 the komos was about to cross the sea to Sicily). The komos comes from Stymphalis because Hagesias's ancestors were thought to have lived there (77-8). Thebes, in Pindar's view, was related to Stymphalis (84-5), and Aineas and his chorus went from Thebes to Sicily with the poem (90-2). The komos has connections with all three places; by mentioning its journey Pindar uses it to help unite the topography of the poem.

§6 Comparable is the beginning of Nemean 9, κωμάσομεν παρ' Ἀπ-
 ὄλλωνος Σικωνόθεν... τὰν νεκτικτῶν ἐκ Αἰτνᾶν: Pindar uses the komos
 to link the venue of the Games where the victor had won (Sikyon)
 with his home-town (Aitna). As in Olympian 6, no deictic pronoun
 is attached to the word κῶμος (50), and through the first
 three lines (κωμάσομεν ---- ἐκ Χρομίου δῶμ')
 suggest the ode was performed at Aitna, I doubt if it was
 performed as part of a komos; the instructions contained in
 it (especially line 50 ἐγμρνάτω τίς νιν, γλυκίς κῶμος προ-
 φάται) suggest it prefaced the komos.⁷⁶ But contrast Pythian
 5: the evidence here suggests the komos did perform the ode
 and while taking part in the worship of Karneian Apollo: note
 (a) the deictic pronoun (22); (b) mention of the festival
 of Karneian Apollo and the Plateia Skyrote along which the
 procession travelled to Apollo's shrine (Sch.P.5.124c); (c)
 emphasis given to the effect of the singing of the ode (98f.).

§7 Olympian 8 highlights another problem about the
 komos. At lines 9-10 Pindar calls on the sacred grove at Pisa
 to receive it, ἀλλ' ὦ Πίσαι εὐδενδρον ἐπ' Ἀλφείῳ, ἄλλοι
 τούδε κῶμον καὶ στεφάνῃ φορίαν δεῖσαι (Olympian 8.9-10), but
 later he implies that Aigina, where the recipient of the ode
 came from, was where it was performed: τέθμος δέ τις
 ἀθανάτων καὶ τινδ' ἀλιερκέα χῶραν παντοδαποικίῃ ὑπέστασε
 ξέναι κίονα... (25-7). The problem arises because it has been
 thought that the address to Pisa, in which it is asked to

receive this komos, implies the komos is at Pisa, while τῶνδε ἑλίου-
 ἐρικέα χώραν implies it is on Aigina. This leads Nisetich⁷⁷
 to say: "In the opening triad, Pindar prays to the sacred
 grove of Zeus at Olympia, asking it to welcome the band of
 singers who come bringing the crown won by the boy victor,
 Alkimedon. The ode thus seems to have been written for per-
 formance at Olympia after the victory;" and Farnell:⁷⁸ "The
 manifold signs of haste discernible in this ode may be explained
 by the fact that it was to be sung at Olympia immediately
 after the games, which would necessarily hurry the composition;"
 id.(ib.62): "As regards τῶνδε (which has misled Wilamowitz)
 there is no Greek law forbidding people to call a land or
 city ἦδε, unless at that moment they are on it. Now they
 are obviously at Olympia, but as the singers may be presumed
 to be Aeginetan friends of the victor, and in the previous
 line Aigina had been the theme, they can be allowed to speak
 of it as "this land", "this land of our hearts". Wilamowitz
 refuses to play down τῶνδε χώραν, and says that
 just as at every Delion throughout Greece one would have greeted
 Delos, so there was a local Olympieion on Aigina where Olympian
 8 was performed and where the real Olympia could be greeted.

§8 But Pindaric practice suggests the correct inter-
 pretation is different: τῶνδε χώραν means the ode was
 performed by the komos on Aigina; this is compatible with
 the grove at Pisa being asked to welcome it, and it is unneces-
 sary to postulate a local Olympieion. First, it is Pindar's
 practice to use the deictic pronoun to mean "this here".⁸⁰ "This
 sea-girt land here" could not have been spoken at Olympia.
 Secondly, Olympian 8 is not the only epinician in which the
 presiding deity or place where the victory was won is addressed
 immediately prior to a mention of people in the place where
 the ode was performed (whether the komos or the inhabitants):
 cf. O.13.24f. ὕπατ' εὐρὺ ἀνάσσων Ὀλυμπίας, ἀφθόνητος
 ἔπειτα γένοιο χρόνον ἅπαντα, Ζεῦ πάτερ, καὶ τόνδε λαόν
 (the Corinthians) ἀβλαβῆ νέμων Ξενοφώντος εὐθύνε δαίμονος
 οὐρον, δεῖξι τε οἱ στεφάνων ἐγκώμιον τέθμον, τὸν ἄγει πέδιών ἐκ Πίαιας.

As Zeus at Olympia in Elis can in Olympian 13 be invoked to welcome the komos performing at Corinth, so the komos performing in Aigina in Olympian 8 is welcomed by an invocation to Pisa; likewise, in Olympian 2 Zeus is called upon at his home in Olympia to care for the Akragantines (12-15), though the poem was performed at Akragas: οὕτω δὲ Μοῖρ' ἄτε πατρώϊον τῶνδ' ἔχει τὸν εὐφρονα πότμον³⁵⁻⁶). It is also Pindaric practice to address a deity at the victor's home-town and ask it to welcome "these" fruits of victory, as at P.12.1f. Αἰτέω σέ, φιλάγλας, καλλίστα βροτέων πολιῶν (sc. Akragas)... ἴλασε... δέξαι στεφάνωμα τὸδ' ἐκ Πυθῶνος; (cf. O.14.13f. <ῶ> πότνι' Ἀγλαΐα, φιλοσίμοιπέ τ' εὐφροσύνα... ἐπακούετε νῦν, ἴδούκα τόνδε κῶμον. Both practices are possible because both the scene of victory and the victor's home-town shared in the victory. In Olympians 8 and 13 Pisa and Zeus at Olympia were some distance from Aigina and Corinth where the komoi were performing, but could still be asked to welcome the komoi who were performing partly in their honour; in Olympian 4 Zeus on Aitna is asked to receive "this komos" in Kamarina (O.4.8-12). Kamarina is about 150 kilometres from Aitna, Aigina about 100 from Olympia.⁸¹

§9 Reference to "this komos" is one way Pindar has of tying down his poems in time and space. He has other ways which also use the deictic pronoun. He applies it not only to the komos, but also to the victor (e.g. I.1.34); to the place where the poem was performed (e.g. N.6.45-6); to the poem itself (e.g. I.2.44-5); to the audience (e.g. O.6.101-2). It is significant that apart from ἀρχῆι at O.2.58⁸² no other sort of thing is ever qualified by the deictic pronoun. Though he mentions αὐλοὶ and φόρμιγγες frequently, he never says 'this aulos', 'this phorminx'; he might have added the deictic pronoun at O.1.17-18 ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσαίου λάμβαν' ; its absence supports the idea that the phrase is not to be interpreted literally. Probably, also, the address χρυσέα φόρμιγξ at the start of Pythian 1 no more implies the presence of a golden phorminx than the presence of the Graces is required at the start of Olympian 14 or Theia in Isthmian 5 or Olympia in Olympian 8.⁸³

§10 On the other hand, the presence of the deictic pronoun in Nemean 4, written for Timasarchos, suggests that a victor's father might have been able to play an ode before its official performance: εἰ δ' ἐπὶ ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἄλιω, εὖς πατὴρ ἔθαλπετο, ποικίλον κιθαρίζων θαμά κε, τῷδε μέλει κλιθεῖς, ὕμνον κελεύσσει καλλίνικον (Nemean 4.13-16). This means, "If your father was now still alive, he would often by now have got his kithara and have sung again and again an epinician, devoted to this very song you now hear." The aorist κελεύσσει refers to a hypothetical past⁸⁴ act; hence the sentence appears to mean not merely that a father might recite a Pindaric ode for himself but, more significantly, that Timasarchos's father, if he had been alive, would prior to the performance of Nemean 4, have devoted himself to its μέλος and have sung.⁸⁵ The implication is that the victor's father was in a privileged position and could play for himself Pindar's epinician before others could.⁸⁶

§11 What happened to the epinicians after their first performance we do not know. In Rhodes a copy of Olympian 7 was kept; it was inscribed in gold.⁸⁷ But Diagoras who received Olympian 7, was no ordinary Olympic victor: the Rhodians also claimed he was a son of Hermes⁸⁸ and his daughter cited his feats as a reason why the Hellenodikai should allow her to break the rule preventing women from seeing the Olympic Games.⁸⁹ It is dangerous to generalise from Olympian 7 as H. Fraenkel does: "The victor's native city, on whom, according to Greek notions, a great deal of glory was reflected, might place a copy of the ode in its archives. From such manuscripts the poem could be reawakened into life at any time."⁹⁰ What archives containing poems were there in Pindar's day?⁹¹ Official documents, e.g. lists of citizens, might have been housed in a building - but poems? We do not know (apart from the exceptional case of Olympian 7) how Pindar's epinicians and other encomia survived till the 3rd Century B.C. Doubtless the families for whom he wrote kept copies⁹² - but how would these have been collected from all over Greece? The collection of his poems which Alexandria received is more likely to have been Pindar's own collection kept originally, presumably, in his own house at Thebes.

§12 Another problem connected with the performance of the odes comes from Pindar appearing to say both that he went to where they were performed and that they were sent there. This has led commentators to say that sometimes his talk about his travelling to the victor's homeland for the performance is merely a metaphor. So Wilamowitz on Olympian 7 "Ihm (sc. Pindar) mag dies Missverhältnis kaum zum Bewusstsein gekommen sein, da er die Insel nicht kannte; er schickt sein Lied [7-8 καὶ ἐγὼ νέκταρ χυτὸν, Μοῖκαν δόειν, ἀεθλοδόχοις ἀνδράσιν πέμπων] 13 cὺν Διαγόρῃ, κατέβαν ὑμνέων τὰν [sic] ποντίας, παῖδ' Ἀφροδίτης ... Ῥόδον wird niemand auf eine Reise Pindars nach Rhodos deuten, der den Gebrauch von κατὰβείναι verfolgt - aber bei der Aufführung mag doch mancher Anstoss genommen haben, denn sie soll auf Rhodos stattfinden."⁹³ But πέμπειν can mean 'to convey' as well as 'to send via another'. Light is thrown on Olympian 7 by Pythian 2: ὑμῖν τὸδε τὰν λιπερῶν ἀπὸ Θηβῶν δέρον μέλος ἔρχομαι (3-4) and τὸδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίνικων ἔμπολῶν μέλος ὑπὲρ, πολιὰς ἄλλοις πέμπεται (67-8); compare Nemean 3: ἐγὼ τοι πέμπω μεμυγμένον μέλι λευκῷ, cὺν γάλακτι (76-7), which follows a reference to Aigina as τὰνδε νᾶσον (68), meaning the ode was performed on Aigina.⁹⁴ Hence there is no reason to doubt that Pindar did go to Rhodes to perform Olympian 7;⁹⁵ he did get about.⁹⁶ Sometimes, though, he did only send his poem, cf. P.3.73-9 εἰ κατέβαν... ἄϊτέρος, οὐρανόιο φαμί τηλαυγέτερον κείνῳ φάος ἔξιγκομαι, κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσκει. ἀλλ' ἐπέυξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω Μαρτί. It is a mistake to suppose he wrote this passage solely as another near-and-far motif;⁹⁷ it would be very inappropriate as such a motif if in fact he had come to Hieron in Syracuse. The passage is best interpreted both literally and as having thematic relevance to the ode as a whole. It is an example of how events surrounding composition of the poem have influenced the content. There are other examples, and if we knew more about Pindar's life still more would probably surface: Nemean 3 and Olympian 10 were, he says, composed late and behind schedule: 0,10.3-8 γλυκὴ γὰρ, κῶπῃ, μέλος ὀφείλων ἐπιλέλαθ'... ἕκαθεν γὰρ ἐπελθὼν ὁ μέλλων χρόνος ἐμὸν καταίχθυε βαθὺ χρέος (note how he calls the time of victory κείνον κατὰ χρόνον 102); N3.76-80 ἐγὼ τὸδε τοι πέμπω... πόμ' ἰοίδιμον Ἀιολίειν ἐν πνοαίειν ἀύλων, ὄφρ' ἔπερ;

Pythian 6 gives the impression of having been written for a procession to Apollo's temple at Delphi: P.6.3- ^{ὄμφαλον}

ἐπιβρόμου χθονὸς ἐν νείων προσοιχόμενοι, Πυθιονίκος ἔνθα...

But one must tread carefully: 0.10.99-100 παῖδ' ἔρατον <δ'>

Ἀρχεστράτου δίνυσα, τὸν εἶδον κρατέοντα χερσὶ ἀλκᾶ,

suggests Pindar had seen Hagesidamos win; but εἶδον could here mean 'realised', 'learnt';⁹⁸ Olympian 4.1-3

μ' ἔπεμψαν ὑψηλοτάτων μάρτυρ' ἀέθλων

suggests he had witnessed the Games, but had he?⁹⁹ The first strophe and antistrophe of Pythian 11 may suggest that the poem was performed during an evening procession to the temple at Thebes of Apollo Ismenios, but thereafter no more is heard of goings-on at the temple and the invocation to Semele and Ino to gather at the temple could be just a dramatic and imaginative way to start the poem.

§13 The idea that Pindar was inspired to write while sitting at home is implausible; so is the idea that what he wrote was influenced neither by preceding events nor by the occasion of the performance.¹⁰⁰ But a topos can be conventional - already used elsewhere by the poet or others - and still be grounded in reality: the content of day-to-day life has some recurring events too.

6.

CONCLUSIONS

The victor may have wanted to be praised by Pindar throughout the ode; Pindar has other ideas. His epinicians are a varied collection; to speak of the standard form of his odes can mislead. Of course Pindar does make parts of the ode relevant to the victor, but he does so in many different ways; this applies particularly to the myths in them: older versions are regularly altered to suit where the victor came from, or what event he won in, or a special characteristic of his; or the match maybe on a more general basis, Pindar's descriptions

of both myth and victory highlighting shared themes such as success, envy, the vicissitudes of fortune. The odes are written in a variety of styles, the occasion for which the ode was written often influencing the style; special features characterise odes written to accompany a komos or victory procession. The performance of the ode is regularly tied down by the deictic pronoun applied to the poem itself, komoi, or a particular locality. But one must bear in mind that the occasion may have lain not in the Greek world, but only in Pindar's imagination; some of the odes, moreover, do not appear to have been written for any particular performance or venue, real or imagined, or in honour of a particular victory. The Alexandrians classified them all as epinicians, but this should not be allowed to obscure their variety, particularly the variety of ways in which they relate to victory.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*³ (Cambridge 1921) i, 45-7.
2. See the Index Fontium pp. 196-213 of Vol.2 of the Snell-Maehler Teubner edition of Pindar.
3. See R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 205.
4. Hypothesis Olympiorum = Drachmann i, 7: Ἀριστοφάνου
τοῦ συντάξαντος τὰ Πινδαρικά; cf. P.Oxy.2438.ii.35,
5. See Erika Simon, *Festivals of Attica: an archaeological commentary* (Wisconsin 1983) 89-92.
6. So Lobel in his introduction to P.Oxy.2451; see also his note to P.Oxy.2451 B fr.17.6. The writing is dated to the First or early Second Century A.D.
7. cf. Vita Ambrosiana (Drachmann i, 3.7-9) ... παρθενείων β',
φέρεται δὲ καὶ γ' ὁ ἐπιγράφεται κεχωρισμένων
(-μένων Snell) παρθενείων; Sch. P.3.139a ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐν
τοῖς κεχωρισμένοις τῶν Παρθενείων φησὶ...
8. It is discussed by Lobel in a footnote to P.Oxy.2438 ii 23ff. For the way in which these book-titles represent overschematic classification, see A.E. Harvey, *C.Q.* N.S.5 (1955) 157-75 esp. 160.
9. See Harvey loc. cit., esp. his conclusion (on 164) and his comments on Pindar's so-called paeans (172-3).
10. e.g. R. Hamilton, *Epinikion: general form in the odes of Pindar* (The Hague 1974); C. Greengard, *The Structure of Pindar's Epinician Odes* (Amsterdam 1980); J.K. Newman and F.S. Newman, *Pindar's Art: Its Tradition and Aims* (Darmstadt

1984).

11. See Maehler's commentary 302-3, but see also C. Carey's remark in JHS 103(1982) 165.
12. See Slater s.vv.
13. A Boeckh, *Pindari Opera quae Supersunt* (Leipzig 1811-21); the commentary on the Nemeans is by C. Dissen who later produced his own *Pindari Carmina quae Supersunt* (Gotha and Erfurt 1830).
14. G. Hermann, review of Dissen's commentary, in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik* 1 (1831) 44ff.
15. E.R. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* I, II, University of California Publications in Classical Philology 18 (1962) 1-34 and 35-92.
16. F. Mezger, *Pindars Siegeslieder* (Leipzig 1880).
17. "Pindaric Criticism" in W.M. Calder III and J. Stern, *Pindaros und Bakchylides* (Darmstadt 1970) 27; Young's article first appeared in *The Minnesota Review* 4 (1964) 584f.
18. Another modern advocate of this theory is M. Lefkowitz in *The Victory Ode: an introduction* (New Jersey 1976) - see page 3.
19. C.A.M. Fennell, *Pindar's Olympian and Pythian Odes* (Cambridge 1879); id. *Pindar's Nemean and Isthmian Odes* (Cambridge 1883).
20. J.B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar* (London and New York 1890); id. *The Isthmian Odes of Pindar* (London and New York 1892).
21. A. Drachmann, *Moderne Pindarfortolkning* (Copenhagen 1891).
22. Especially in his *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922), but first earlier in his examination of Olympian Six in his *Isyllos von*

Epidauros (Berlin 1886).

23. The tendency is exemplified by G. Perrotta's *Saffo e Pindaro* (Bari 1935), reprinted in his *Pindaro* (Rome 1958).
24. W Schadewaldt, *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion* (Halle 1928).
25. *Op. cit.* 266 n.1.
26. *Op.cit.* in note 16.
27. *PBA* 69 (1983) 139-63.
28. *Op.cit.*3.
29. See the review of Bundy's work by G.M. Kirkwood in *Gnomon* 35(1963) 130-3; he classes Bundy as a critic "driven by a compelling idea" and says rightly that, "It is a pity that the initial presentation of a new study of Pindar's art does not undertake to discuss one of its most characteristic features, and one that preeminently challenges the thesis of the universal primary of encomium in the epinician ode."
30. I agree with D.C. Young *op.cit.*(note 17) 87 that, 'Most of Pindar is, in Bundy's terms, foil, and such an attitude creates a major problem'.
31. F.J. Nisetich, *Pindar's Victory Songs* (Baltimore 1980) 48.
32. See Commentary ad loc.
33. See note 10.
34. *Op.cit.*(note 10) 86.
35. *Op.cit.* 28-9.
36. This fact is a thorn in the theory of the American scholar W. Mullen in his *Choreia: Pindar and Dance* (Princeton 1982),

which hinges on the notion that the crucial part of Pindar's epinicians is the epode; his theory cannot cater for the monostrophic odes (see page 99).

37. Cf. Bacchylides 14B, which may have been written (like N.11) to honour someone's assumption of a new office: see Maehler's commentary 302-3, but see also C. Carey's remark in JHS 103 (1983) 165.
38. See Slater s.vv.
39. See further M.L. West BICS 28 (1981).
40. Compare the story of Niobe in Homer (Il.24.602f.); as M.M. Willcock has shown (C.Q. 14, 1964, 140f.) some details have been added to the traditional story to make it more analogous to the plight of Priam, but some (e.g. that she is now in Sipylos where the nymphs live who saunter round Acheloos) are told to embellish it.
41. The reference to Aias and Hector at N.2.14 is an example: a substantial knowledge of Iliad Seven is needed, especially lines 191f. where lots are drawn to decide who should fight Hector, Aias wins, announces to his friends that he expects to beat Hector because he was not born in Salamis for nothing, and then threateningly shouts to Hector to take up the challenge. According to Hamilton (op.cit. in note 10, p29) Nemean 2 lacks myth and only contains a mythic example.
42. Hamilton op.cit.14.
43. Op.cit.p.21 note 7.
44. The other is Olympian 2.
45. And, perhaps adopt a loftier tone: Paeon 9 is cited in part by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to illustrate $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\phi\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}$, and questions are a source of $\sigma\upsilon\phi\alpha$ for

pseudo-Longinus (περὶ ὕψους 18) because they shake the listener's attention.

46. Bacch.18/dith.4 Snell.

47. Cf. Hymn. Ap. 19/207.

48. Not touched on by F. Dornseiff, Pindars Stil (Berlin 1921).

49. For due emphasis on the variety of ways, sometimes more than one, in which a myth may be relevant to the rest of the ode, see Lloyd-Jones loc.cit. (in note 27) 151-3.

50. Hieron was Simonides's host: Sim. Fr. eleg. 7(W). For the background: Sch.0.2.296e quoting Didymus who cited the Sicilian Timaios.

51. The way in which Phalaris is an example for Hieron is made very clear by lines 95-9; in contrast, the relevance to the victor's situation of Agamemnon's fate as described in Pythian 11 is not clearly spelt out.

52. See R.W.B. Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes (Oxford 1962) 167-8.

53. Sch.0.9.86c; cf. Sch. 0.9.86a τὴν Πρωτογένειαν Ὀποῦντος τοῦ Ἡλείων βασιλέως φησι θυγατέρα, ἄλλων τὴν Πρωτογένειαν Πύρρα καὶ Δευκαλίωνος λεγόντων, ὡς Φερεκύδης φησὶ ἐν τῷ ε' (FGrH 3F23).

54. The scholiasts take objection to this: they assume γάρ to be understood after πρὶν and interpret πρὶν as 'before' in the sense 'earlier', and make Zeus's love-making with Protogeneia antecede the κείνων δ' ἔσαν... ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι ἀρχαῖθεν clause (Sch.0.9.85a πρόσθε σύνδεσμον γάρ, ἵν' ἢ συν-αρμοστέος ὁ λόγος τοῖς ἀνωθεν, καὶ εἶπέ· πρὶν γάρ Ὀλύμπιος ἀγεμῶν; Sch. 0.9.85b τὸ γάρ παλαιὸν ὁ Ζεὺς...

cf. Sch. O.9.79d ἐναντίωμα δὲ κατὰ τὴν γενεολογίαν ἐπιπίπτει.
τὴν γὰρ Πρωτογένειαν οἱ μὲν Δευκαλίωνός φασιν, οἱ δὲ Ὀποῦντος,
καὶ δοκεῖ συμφωνεῖν μήτε ἡ γενεολογία μήτε ἡ ἱστορία. ἄλλο γὰρ τι
ποταμός [πάππος c.j. h] Ὀποῦς καὶ ἄλλο ἀνὴρ ἐξ Ἰαπετοῦ. ἴν' οὖν
τὸ ἀσύμφωνον ἀπὸ τούτων λυθῆι, φασὶ τίνας τὸν Δευκαλίωνα
διώνυμον εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι Ὀποῦντα.

55. Hes.Fr.234/frag.epic. in Sch. O.9.70d ἦτοι γὰρ Λοκρὸς
Λελέγων ἠγγέλατο λαῶν, / τούς ῥά ποτε Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἀφ' Ἰτα
μήδεα εἰδώς / λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαίης λάους πόρε Δευκαλίωνι / ἐκ δὲ
λίθων ἐγένοντο βροτοί, λαοὶ δὲ καλέονται.

56. Sic mss.; ῥίξεται Wil., Von der Mühl, τετρατίσι = τρίτσι
Ahrens. Lines 45-6 are a notorious crux (see P.Von der
Mühl, M.H.21, 1964, 50f.); in favour of τετρατίσι is that
it gives a significant resposion at the same place in the
strophe with τέτρατιν in line 68 (cf. P.8.2 μεγατόπι, ἢ
22 δικαιοτόπι; P.11.2 Νηρηίδων ἢ 7 ἠρωίδων; O.7.20 Τλαπολέμων
ἢ 77 Τλαπολέμω; O.6.77 Ἀγυγία ἢ 98 Ἀγυγία).

One then follows the explanation of Sch.0.8.60a ἰδίως κατὰ
τὴν φράσιν οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀριθμῷ κέχρηται. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ λέγει
πρώτοι, οὐ συγκυκαριθμεῖται Αἰάκος ὅτε δὲ λέγει τετρατίσι, συμπεριλαμβάνει τὸν Α.
Good sense is given by ῥίξεται if the clause is interpreted
as if ἄλλ' ἅμα πρώτοι ῥίξεται τὸ ἀλίκεσθαι καὶ
ἅμα τετρατίσι τελευτήσκει τὸ ἀλίκεσθαι;
for the ellipse of τὸ ἀλίκεσθαι cf. N.8.21-2
ὄψαν δὲ λόγοι φθονεροῖσιν ἄπειτα δ' ἐελῶν ἀεί
(sc. ὁ φθόνος).

57. By reading πύλωι at 11.5.397, Didymus follows Aristarchos
(v.Sch.T.11.5.397).

58. Cf.Sch.I.8.57b διαφωνεῖται δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς καὶ ἰδιαζόντως
ὁ Πίνδαρος καὶ Πρσειδῶνά φησιν ἀμφισβητήσαι τοῦ γάμου
ἢ ζητητέον τίνι κατηκολούθησεν ὁ Πίνδαρος.

59. See A. Köhnken, CD N.S.14, 1974, 200-2.

60. Cf. M.I. Finley and H.W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games* (London 1976) 39f.
61. Τροϊάε ἴναε ἔκταμῶν δορί (1.8.51-2); there are two images here; in (1) ἴναε is metaphorical, and the image is of Achilles killing the Trojan sinews or leaders, i.e. Memnon, Hector etc.; in (2) ἴναε is literally sinews and the image is of Achilles slashing Trojan hamstrings. Cf. Il.17.522
ἴνα τάμηι διαὶ πῶσαν [sc. βοός] and see M.S. Silk, *Interaction in Poetic Imagery* (Cambridge 1974) 106.
62. Cf. Il.22.188 Ἔκτορα δ' ἄσπερχέε κλονέων ἔφειπ' ὠκίε Ἀχιλλεύε, Bacch. 13. 118-20 εἴτ' ἐν πεδίῳ κλονέων μαίνεσσι Ἀχιλλεύε, λαοφόνον δόρυ κείων.
63. Line 23 ὠνύμασεν κεφαλῶν πολλῶν νόμον is particularly naive, contrasting with the more allusive pun on the name Iamos at 0.6.47.
64. See LSJ s.v. μέσσοιο; cf. Ar.Nub 1047 εὐθὺς γὰρ σ' ἔχω μέσον λαβῶν ἄφικτον.
65. Cf. Theoc.24.111-2, Theoph.Ch.27, Pollux 3.155; see E.N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London 1910) 393f.
66. Cf. Ar.Vesp.644 δεῖ δέ σε παντοίας πλέκειν εἰς ἀπόφουξιν παλάμης.
67. See E.N. Gardiner, *JHS* 25,190S, 27-8; the verb is used of wrestlers to mean 'wrenched' or 'gripped' in the fight in the Iliad between Aias and Odysseus, 11.23.715
68. Cf. Sch.N.10.35 διὰ τί δὲ εἰς ταῦτα παρεμβέβηκεν; ὅτι ὁ ἄγων, ὃν ἐνίκῃ ὁ θεαῖος, τὰ ἑκατέρωθεν, οὐκ ἦν ἐπίσημος οὐδ' ἐκτροπῆς ἔχων.
69. According to Mullen, *op.cit.* (in note 36) 24, when Pindar speaks of 'this komos' he is not referring to a real komos but speaking metaphorically of the ode: "Thus the ode calls itself a komos here and now And, more emphatically, it

uses language suggesting that it is itself only a prelude to the real komos which will take place once its last words are finished". This view is implausible: since komoi included singing, and since Pindar's odes were sung, it is more plausible to suggest that those odes which mention 'this komos' were designed to be sung as part of the komos and that 'this komos' refers to a real komos taking place.

70. This is the implication of lines 1-9.
71. Cf. E. Thummer, Die Isthmischen Gedichte (Heidelberg 1969) ii.127: "Keine andere Isthmischen Ode beginnt so schmucklos und sachlich"; Sch.I.8.83 (ad 38 τὸ μὲν ἑμὸν) τοῦτο ἰσοδυναμεῖ τῷ κατὰ μὲν ἐμὲ ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑμὴν γνώμην, οἷον τὸ μὲν ἐμοὶ ἀρέσκειν ἐστὶ τοῦτο. ἠθικῶς δὲ λέγει· ἐγὼ κελεύω τῷ Πηλεΐ... cf. LSJ s.v. ἑμὸς II.4. (18)
72. For the corrupt last sentence (I.8.70) I suggest ἦβεν γὰρ οὐκ ἀπειρον ὑπὸ χειρῶν κάμων δάμασεν : 'for, labouring he has conquered by means of his hands some pretty experienced young opposition. δάμασεν suggests the sentence is about beating opponents; χειρῶν (cf. Fr. 35 αἰεὶ ὑπὸ χειρῶν) is not otiose seeing the conqueror is a pancratiast; κάμων picks up κάματι in line 1: Pindar likes ring composition, to frame a whole ode, cf. N.2.3, 25 ἀρχονται ἢ ἐξάρχετε; N.1.1, 72 σεμνόν ἢ σεμνόν; P.1.1, 97 φέρμιγξ ἢ φέρμιγγες.
73. The syntax of this passage is not self-evident, but I think the best interpretation is (1) to understand κῶμος (from line 9) as the subject of ἴκει, (2) to take ψαυμῖος as dependent on ὀχέων ('Psaumis's chariots') and (3) to take ὀχέων as dependent on κῶμος and denoting its cause/origin ('for the komos is coming, the komos caused by the chariot of Psaumis'). For this interpretation of the genitive ὀχέων cf. I.7.20-2 κῶμαζ' ἔπειπεν ἀδουμμεῖ σὺν ἕμῳ καὶ στρεψιάδαι· φέρει γὰρ Ἴσθμοῖ νίκαν παγκρατίου; Parth. 2.45 ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων πολυγνώταις ἐπὶ νίκαις. Contra Bowra (Pindar 414), the sentence does not imply that the victor drives to the shrine of Apollo. ψαυμῖος must be the genitive of ψαυμῖς (O.5.3 ψαυμῖός τε δῶρα and O.5.23 ψαυμῖ are decisive). ὀχέων interpreted as a genitive

plural cannot mean 'on a chariot'; the Greek for that is ἔπ' ὀχέων . W. Oldfather in C.R.24, 1910, 82-3 interprets ὀχέων as an intransitive present participle, citing Xen.Hipp.4.1:

ἐν γὰρ ταῖς μὲν πορείαις ἀεὶ δεῖ τὸν ἵππαρχον προνοεῖν ὅπως ἀναπαύσει τῶν ἵππων τὰς ἕδρας, ἀναπαύσει δὲ τοὺς ἵππους τοῦ βαδίζειν, μέτριον μὲν ὀχοῦντα, μέτριον δὲ πεζοποροῦντα.

"The passage," he says, "must be translated": 'The hipparch must be careful to relieve both horse and man, now riding, now walking'. But this translation is wrong; ὀχοῦντα is causative (as at Ar.Ran23) not intransitive. The context shows this: Xenophon is describing how the hipparch must instruct his cavalymen - the hipparch must get them to dismount every so often; he is not describing how the hipparch himself should ride. An alternative, suggested by M.L. West, is to interpret ὀχέων as nominative (cf. πτελέων, χοιρέων, etc.). But the -έων ending elsewhere always denotes 'place where'. (i.e. χοιρέων means 'pig-sty', ταφείων means 'burial-ground') and nowhere is it a mere alternative to the -α ending.

74. So e.g. Gildersleeve, Pindar's Olympian and Pythian Odes 171; Mullen, Choreia: Pindar and Dance 26,77.

75. See Mullen op.cit. 25-6.

76. Cf.N.4.11 where Pindar calls his ode ὕμνου προκώμιον probably meaning 'a song sung before the komos'. (cf. Sch.N.4.14a προκώμιον οὖν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ κώμου γραφόμενον Sch.N.4.17... πρὸ δὲ τῆς τούτων [sc. χορευτῶν] χορείας καὶ κωμασίας γραφῆναι.

77. Pindar's Victory Songs 117.

78. The Works of Pindar, Commentary 59.

79. Pindaros 403.

80. See Slater s.v.: 0.2.58-9 τὰ δ' ἐν ταῖς Διοὶ ἀρχαὶ ἄλιτρα provides the only unusual usage, but there is still a

deictic force in τᾶιδε: the phrase means 'here on earth among us living'. Note the preceding phrase ὅτι θανόντων μὲν ἐνθάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπαλόμνοι φρένας ποινὰς ἔπεισαν: whatever the more profound meaning of the passage, ἐνθάδε and ἐν τᾶιδε Διοὺς ἀρχαὶ refer to the same place; cf. Wilamowitz, Pindaros 248 n.1, "ἐν τᾶιδε Διοὺς ἀρχαὶ (ἀρχὴν Herrschaft 01.13,61) ist die Oberwelt (man bedenke das deiktische Pronomen) im Gegensatz zu κατὰ γῆς".

81. Professor Herwig Maehler writes: "in 01.13 (performed at Corinth), Zeus can be asked to welcome a κῶμος (ἐγκώμιον τεθμὲν), whereas in 01.8, if it was sung on Aegina, Πίσιας ... ἄλλεε cannot (unless you accept Thummer's 'poetic fiction'", that the poet imagines that he and the chorus are going to Olympia. - "der Dichter sich selbst und den Zuhörer nur in der poetischen Fiktion nach Olympia versetzt", E. Thummer, Pindar: die Isthmischen Gedichte I.32 n.11). But I am not sure about this; the grove at Pisa can surely (even without Thummer's theory) welcome the komos on Aegina in the sense of 'be favourable towards it', as one might say that London would welcome an American initiative in Iran; here Pisa welcomes the komos because the komos is through its activity glorifying Pisa. δέχομαι is regularly used to mean 'welcome' in a non-physical sense (v.LSJ s.v.I.b.2 II.1, cf. HdT.1.63 Πικίεστρατος ... φᾶς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρῆσθαι; id.9.91 δέχομαι τὸν οἰωνόν; for places being able to δέκεσθαι cf. N.4.11-12 δέξαίτο δ' Αἴακιδῶν ἠΰπερχορ ἔδος probably referring to Aigina's approving of Pindar's ode).

82. See note 80 above.

83. The implications of the use by poets of the deictic pronoun can be important: lines 98-9 of Page's PMG text of Alcman's Partheneion read σιδὶ γάρ, αὐτ[ι] δ' ἐνδεκ[α] / παίδων δεικ[ὰς] ἄδ' ἀείδ[ει]; if ἄδ' is accepted, it becomes the only deictic pronoun in the poem and, therefore, the only word to tie the poem down to a particular performance; but on page 99 of his edition of the poem (Alcman: The Partheneion, Oxford 1951) Page describes ἄδ' as a possible

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but not perfect supplement, and it isn't printed in the text. Better than Page's PMG supplement, therefore, is M. Puelma's δεκ[α]ς ὡς (Mus.Hel.34,1977, 46f): Hagesichora sings like a group of ten (a proverbial comparison, cf. 11.2.489).

G. Giangrande (Mus. Phil. Lond. 2,1976,156f.) prefers οἱ² to ὡς, but he produces no parallel for post-positive οἱ²

in this sense; I do not agree with his remark in note 25 (loc.cit.157) that, 'the meaning remains the same, regardless of the many possible supplementations.' Hipponax Fr.78.14(W) presents a similar problem: reading with West ἐ[λ]θῶν δ' ἐκ οἴκου κυκάμινά θ[ε]π[ν]ήσας, / καὶ τῷ κικαίωι τόν[δε] ρίνα φαινίξαι[ε] one must envisage, according to West's interpretation (M.L. West, Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus (Berlin and New York 1974) 143) the speaker pointing to the tip of his penis while describing what happened to someone else.

84. An aorist in the apodosis does not always refer to past time (see e.g. W. Goodwin, Syfax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb (London 1889), section 414), but here κελάρησε must because its subject, the winner's father, is dead. /nt

85. Contra J.B. Bury (Pindar, Nemean Odes 69), τῶδε could not, either here or in any Greek author, mean τοιῶδε.

86. For κλιθεῖ cf. 11.6.77-8 πόνος ὑμῖ ἐγκέκλιται; Archil.84(W) δύστηνος ἔγκειμαι πόθωι; Pi.Parth.2.36-7 ἀνδρὸς δ' οὔτε γυναικός, ὧν θάλλειν ἔγκειμαι, χρεῖ με λαθεῖν αἰδᾶν πρόσφορον; these passages suggest κλιθεῖ does not have a technical or specialised meaning.

87. Sch.0.7.init. ταύτην τὴν ᾠδὴν ἀνακείσθαι φησι Γόργωι (FGRH515F18) ἐν τῷ τῆς Λινδίας Ἀθηναίας ἱερῷ χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν.

88. Sch.0.7inscr.a.

89. Sch.id.

90. H. Fraenkel, Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy (Oxford 1975) 430.

91. Cf. E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Harvard 1972) 91f.
92. J. Irigoin, *Histoire du Texte de Pindare* (Paris 1952) 8-9 supposes such copies kept in family archives were the Alexandrians' ultimate source for their texts, but he gives no convincing evidence to support his supposition. /v
93. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 363.
94. See W. Mullen, *Choreia: Pindar and Dance* 29-30.
95. Following M. Lefkowitz, *HSCP* 67, 1963, 177-253 (esp. 195-210), I think *κατέβαν* (O.7.13) implies that Pindar himself, not just the chorus, went to Rhodes: *κατέβαν* is a programmatic statement by the poet himself saying he has done his duty by turning up at the victor's homeland -cf. O.14.18, I.5.21.
96. Cf. O.13.96-7, O.14. 17-18, P.8. 58-9, N.4 73-5, N.6 57-57b.
97. So D.C. Young, *Mnemosyne Supp.* 9, 1968, 46f.
98. Cf. P.2.54-6; v. *LSJ* S.V. **εἶδω* A.c.
99. Cf. Sch.0.4.3e *μάρτυρα δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕμνητήν* ; cf. *Pi. Parth.* 2.39-41.
100. Cf. G. Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature* 114: "It does not really matter what he writes about" "Poems like *Lycidas* and *Olympian 13* are independent of the facts that gave rise to them"; C.M. Bowra, *Ancient Greek Literature* (Oxford 1933) 28: "whatever his subject or occasion, Pindar did not much alter his manner".

TITLES and INSCRIPTIONES in the PINDARIC SCHOLIA

and the OCCASION of PYTHIAN ELEVEN

§1 Neither the date nor the nature of the victory commemorated by Pythian 11 is made clear by the scholia. They give three statements:

- 1) Title: Θρακυδαίωι, Θηβαίωι παιδί σταδισί (E,G).
- 2) Inscr.a: Γέγραπται ἡ ἰσθμὴ Θρακυδαίωι παιδί νικήσαντι καὶ Πυθιάδα, καὶ λγ' διαύλον ἢ στάδιον ἀνδρας (B,D,E,G,Q; after παιδί B adds Θηβαίωι σταδισί τῶι προκειμένωι).
- 3) Inscr.b: ἄλλως· Θρακυδαίωι, Θηβαίωι σταδισί: γέγραπται μὲν ἡ ἰσθμὴ τῶι προκειμένωι νικήσαντι τὴν λγ' Πυθιάδα διαύλωι. οὐκ εἰς τὴν τοῦ διαύλου δεῖ νικῆν γράφει, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ σταδίου (D,E,G,Q for the first sentence; B, D,E,G,Q for the second) .

The problems: (a) Statement 2) appears to say that P.11 commemorates Thrasydaios's victory as a boy in the 28th Pythian Games, i.e. 474; this conflicts with statement 3) which appears to say (γέγραπται...διαύλω) P.11 was occasioned by Thrasydaios's victory at the 33rd Pythian Games, i.e. 454.

(b) Both statements 2) and 3) are uncertain whether he won the stadion or the diaulos in 454.

(c) There is doubt, expressed in the difference between 1) and the first part of 3) , whether the stadion victory was in the boys' or the men's competition.

§2 The way out of these problems lies in understanding the composition of such introductory statements by the scholiasts. They are an amalgam of pieces of information. This is true both of what are known

as the 'titles' to the odes and of the inscriptions. The information contained in the titles is of variable quality: in the title to O.3 the word *θεοξένια* is present because a theory proposed by Sch. O.3.1a has been accepted. But even that scholiast says that this theory is merely what some say is the reason why Pindar addresses the Dioscuri in O.3; Aristarchus, says the scholiast, had a different solution not involving *θεοξένια* (*τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους εὐδοκᾶ ἐ Ἀκράγαντι φησι τιμᾶσθαι*). See further H. Fraenkel, *Hermes* 89(1961) 394-7.

Another example of contamination of a title by inferences made in the inscriptions affects O.8. The title in ms.A reads *Ἀλκίμεδοντι Πάλαστῆι καὶ Τιμοσθένει Πάλαστῆι, καὶ Μελεσίᾳ Πανκρατιαστῆι Νέμεα, Αἰγινήταις νικηέσσι*. Inscriptio a, however, says only that Pindar *μέμνηται* Alkimedon's brother, Timosthenes, and trainer Melesias who was a pankratiast. The title in A ignores the fact that though Pindar mentions Melesias and Timosthenes he did not write O.8 to commemorate their victories. Inscriptio b adds significantly *ζητοῦσι δέ τινες διατί ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ τούτῳ ἐπινίκῳ τοὺς τρεῖς ἐνεκωμίασε*. What has happened is that a possible answer to this question - namely that Pindar commemorates the victories of all three - has been put by the composer of the title in A into the form of a title. Likewise, the words *Αἰγινήταις νικηέσσι* are there because they represent another possible answer (given in inscriptio b) to why Pindar honours all three - namely all three came from the same state.

A third example: the title to Olympian 11 reads *τῷ αὐτῷ τόκῳ*. J. Irigoin (*Histoire du Texte de Pindare* 101) asserts that it is one of the three titles which "remontent certainement" to the first edition of the epinicians. More likely this title is an inference from Sch.O.10.1b *ἔοικεν ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐκ πολλοῦ συνθέμενος γράφειν τὸν ἐπινίκον ὀλιγορῆσαι τῆς γραφῆς, αὐθις δὲ ἀποδίδουσι αὐτῷ, σὺν τόκῳ, ὥσπερ τι χρέος*

παλαιὸν διαλύεσθαι προσθεῖς ἕτερον τι ὠιδάριον τὸ ἐξῆς.

The word **τόκος** derives from O.10.9; a more probable relationship between the two poems is that O.11 was composed first soon after the victory, and O.10 later when Pindar had fulfilled his Sicilian commitments in 476.

A final example: the three titles to O.4 say the poem commemorates Psaumis's victory a) ἄρματι (A), b) ἵπποις (C,Q); c) ἵπποις ... τεθρίπῳ (B,D,E,Q). ἵπποις is not the usual description of a victory in the chariot race; what has happened is that the composers of b) and c) have used Pindar's word (14 ἐπεὶ νιν αἰῶν, μάλα μὲν τροφαὶ ἐτοῖμον ἵππων). This process has also occurred in the title (Μεγακλει Ἀθηναίῳ ἵπποις Ὀλύμπια Ἴσθμια) to Pythian 7 (1-4 κέλλιστον... κρήπιδ' αἰοῖδαν ἵπποις βαλέεσθαι). The words Ὀλύμπια and Ἴσθμια derive from lines 13-15 ἄγοντι δέ με πέντε μὲν Ἴσθμοῖ νίκαί, μιά δ' ἔκπρεπής Διός Ὀλυμπίας. So too, with the two titles to O.5, which read a) τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπήγη καὶ κέλγτι καὶ τεθρίπῳ (A,C), b) τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπήγη καὶ κέλγτι (B,D,E,Q). The three-fold division in a) comes from line 7 ἵπποις ἡμιόνους τε μοναμπυκίαι τε (cf. Sch.O.5.15a ... μοναμπυκίαι, ὅ ἐστι κέλγτι; the title to Pythian 1 Ἴέρωνι Αἰτναίῳ ἢ Συρακουσίῳ ἄρματι Πύθια (D,E,G) depends in part on a scholion similarly: the double designation Αἰτναίῳ ἢ Συρακουσίῳ presupposes the immediately following story, Ἴέρων ἀνωθεν Συρακούσιός ἐστι, τὴν δὲ κατάνην ἀνακτίσας ὁμωνύμως τῷ παρακειμένῳ ὄρει, Αἴτναν προσηγόρευσε, καὶ Αἰτναῖον ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νικῶν ἀνετήρυσεν (D,E,F,G,Q); inscriptio b briefly repeats the story).

§3 The titles to the Olympians and the Pythians sometimes depend on the transmitted order of the poems; the order of the epinicians does not vary in the manuscripts (contrast the manuscripts of Theocritus: see Dover's edition xvii), and probably goes back to Callimachus (see R.Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship i.130, 183-4; F.Nisetich, Pindar's Victory Songs 15f.).

Pythian 2's title in D,E, and G denotes Hieron by τῷ αὐτῷ . But F has Ἰέρωνι Συρακουσίῳ νικήσαντι ἄρματι ; and in the titles to Pythian 3 while D,E,G and Q have τῷ αὐτῷ κέλητι , F has Ἰέρωνι Συρακουσίῳ . F is not truer to a hypothetical original title, but adds what D,E,G leave out - and vice versa (cf. Drachmann, Praefatio vi: "F usque ad sch P.111.91 cum E ita facit, ut utrumque ex eodem exemplari descriptum esse appareat; inde a proximo scholio, P.111.96, ad familiam DGQ transit eamque ad finem usque sequitur"). Hence a title like F's to Pythian 2, though fuller than the one reading τῷ αὐτῷ , is not thereby more reliable: the wording of the one may presuppose the other; they may both be conjectured from the text; they may be inferences from a scholion.

§4 CONCLUSION: the titles may be derived from the inscriptions or the scholia or the poems themselves.

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§5 The inscriptions regularly contain more information than the titles on the date and the occasion of the epinicians; but how do they relate to the titles, and does their extra information derive from an independent source? Take the entries for O.10: the title reads Ἀγχιδάμῳ Λοκρῷ Ἐπιζεφυρίῳ παιδὶ πύκτηι (ABCDEQ, παιδί om.A, παιδί πύκτηι om.DE); inscriptio a reads Ἀγχιδάμῳ : οὗτοι ἐνίκησαν ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα (A). To give this extra information the compiler of the inscriptio might be thought to have had access to a source unavailable to the title-compiler; but probably a source common to both title-compiler and inscriptio-compiler read e.g. Ἀγχιδάμῳ Λοκρῷ Ἐπιζεφυρίῳ παιδὶ πύκτηι νικήσαντι ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα . Because the title lacks a date, it does not follow that its compiler lacked access to one. Some of the titles do contain dates; cf. 1) on O.13: the title in DEFKQ is Ξεοφῶντι Κορινθίῳ σταδιοδρόμῳ καὶ πενταθλῳ νικήσαντι τὴν 8θ' Ὀλυμπιάδα , though C's title is only

Ξενοφῶντι Κορινθίῳ πεντάθλῳ ; 2) on O.12: the title in BDEFQ is Ἐργοτέλει Ἰμερκίῳ Δολιχοδρόμῳ Πύθια καὶ Ἴσθμια, νικήσαντι τὴν οὐδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα whereas in A and C the title is only Ἐργοτέλει Ἰμερκίῳ Δολιχεῖ καὶ Ἴσθμια καὶ Πύθια ; 3) for O.14 both the title in CDEQ and inscriptio a are nearly identical: Ἀσωπίχῳ Ὀρχομενίῳ σταδιεῖ παιδί κλεοδάμου νικήσαντι τὴν οὐδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα (title), Ἀσωπίχῳ Ὀρχομενίῳ σταδιεῖ παιδί κλεοδάμου νικῶντι τὴν οὐδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα στάδιον (inscr.a). Many of the Isthmians and Nemeans have no titles. What emerges is the variation in the titles and inscriptions to individual odes. This is probably fortuitous; possibly it is in part due to variation in the ancient commentaries of e.g. Didymus and Aristarchus to which our scholiasts had access.

§6 But some variations are due to carelessness. Inscriptio b (DEGQ) to Pythian 11 begins ἄλλῳ Θρασύδαίῳ Θηβαίῳ σταδιεῖ ; yet E and G had given the title as Θρασύδαίῳ Θηβαίῳ παιδί σταδιεῖ . It is possible that E and G had two different sources, one saying Thrasydaios won as a boy, the other not specifying whether as a boy or a man, and that the variation between title and inscriptio preserves this distinction. But carelessness seems more likely: cf. the relation of title to inscriptio prefacing the scholia to e.g. O.10, title Ἀγγεσιδάμῳ Λοκρῶι Ἐπιζεφυρίῳ παιδί πύκτι (ABCDEQ), inscr. a Ἀγγεσιδάμῳ οὗτος ἐνίκησεν ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα (A). The omission from inscriptio a of παιδί does not mean its compiler thought Agesidamos won as a man.

§7 Apart from the confused titles to O.8 (v. supra), the only time an Olympian or Pythian title conflicts with an inscriptio is on Pythian 7 - a special case, however, the conflict arising not from confusion but because the inscriptio is refuting the title (the title Μεγακλεῖ Ἀθηναίῳ ἵπποισι Ὀλύμπια shows that its compiler thought the ode honoured an Olympic victory; inscr.a denies this ... ἔστι δὲ οὗτος οὐχ ὁ τὰ Ὀλύμπια νενικηκώς, ἀλλ' ἕτερος). This suggests that when inter-

preting the title and inscriptions to an ode one should try and make them compatible. Bowra's interpretation of Pythian 11 (Pindar App.1) not only ignores the title but conflicts with it. He opts for the poem's commemorating the second of the two occasions referred to in inscriptio a; but this is said to be when Thrasydaios won as a man. According to the title he won as a boy.

§8 Sometimes an inscriptio puts into the form of a title what is merely an additional piece of information, e.g. inscr.b to P.9: *γράφεται Τελεσικράτει Κυρηναίῳ νικήσαντι τὴν κη' Πυθιάδα ὁπλίτηι, τῆι δὲ λ' στάδιον.* This could be interpreted as 'Written in honour of the victories of Telesikrates of Cyrene in the hoplite race in the 28th Pythiad and in the stadion in the 30th'. But inscr.a *γράφεται τῷ προσηγομένῳ τὴν ὠδὴν νικήσαντι κη' Πυθιάδα ἐνίκησε μέντοι καὶ στάδιον τὴν λ' Πυθιάδα,* shows that b is a degraded version of a and should be interpreted, 'Written in honour of the victories of Telesikrates of Cyrene in the hoplite race in the 28th Pythiad; he also won the stadion in the 30th, by the way'.

This habit has an important bearing on Pythian 11. Inscr.b is ~~best~~ interpreted 'Written in honour of the aforesaid (viz. Thrasydaios the Theban stadion runner), who, by the way, also won later in the 33rd Pythian Games in the diaulos; this poem is not in honour of the diaulos victory, but the earlier stadion victory. On this interpretation inscr.b is nearly compatible with inscr.a (though a wavers between a stadion and a diaulos victory in 454, whereas b is sure it is a diaulos victory).

§9 The inscriptio sometimes gives - as do the titles - information deriving from the poem. Inscr.a to P.3 says *γράφεται τὸν ἐπίνικον Ἰέρωνι νικήσαντι κέλῃτι τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἕκτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν ἑβδόμη Πυθιάδα. καὶ φανερόν, ὅτι εἰς ἀμφοτέραις τὰς νίκαις τὸν ἐπίνικον συντάττει, δι' ὧν ὀνομάζει*

στεφάνους ἀέθλων καὶ κώμονε ἀέθλων . This last piece of information comes from line 73 (where, however, all manuscripts read κῶμον, and where στεφάνου could very well refer to a single victory: cf. N.4.17 Q.6.26; the plural κώμονε probably results from bad memory and assimilation to the plural στεφάνου). Another example is the story told in the inscription to P.12 ἱστοροῦσι δὲ τι ἴδιον σύμπωμα συμβεβηκέναι περὶ τὸν αὐλήν τούτων ἁγωνιζομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀνακλασθείης τῆς γλωσσίδος ἀκουσίως καὶ προσκολληθείης τῷ οὐρανίῳ, μόνου τοῖς καλάμοις τρόπῳ εὐρύγῳ εὐλήσαι... This story comes from lines 20-5 of the ode, and is an attempt to establish an historical basis for Pindar's mention of the mouthpiece and reeds that make up an aulos and of the strange noise made by Euryala which he says the instrument imitates. Compare the story told by Sch.N.5.1a on N.5.1f. (οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἶμι...): Pindar, on telling the victor's family that an epinician by him will cost 3,000 drachma, is told you could buy a bronze statue for that; later the family gave in and gave Pindar the money, and he wrote Nemean 5.

The inscriptions to Olympian 6 are also based on Pindar: inscr.a begins τὸν Ἀγῆαιον οἱ μὲν Συρακούσιοι, οἱ δὲ Στυμφάλιοι, inscr.b Ἀγῆαιον Συρακούσιοι: ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι, Συρακούσιοι, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Στυμφηλῶν. The source of the problem is Pindar's own ambivalence, especially οἴκοθεν οἴκῳ (99) on which Sch.0.6.167a writes ὅτι Ἀγῆαιος καὶ Συρακούσιος ὁ Ἀγῆαιος. There is no evidence for Agesias not having been born in Stymphalis (cf. 0.6.77f.). Snell's title to the ode ΑΓΗΕΙΑΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΩΝ ΑΠΗΝΗΙ is misleading.

§10 The inscriptions may, however, draw on outside sources. The inscription to O.2 reads τῶν τε γὰρ ἑθῶν Ἀκραγαντιῶν ἔργατι νικήσαντι τῆν οὐ τὸν Ὀλυμπιάδα. ἦν δὲ ὁ θῆρων τὸ ἀνάκλασθαι ἀπὸ Ὀιδίποδος. This last piece of information comes from the mention of Oidipous in line 38 (cf. Sch.0.2.70f. which gives an ancestry relating Thebes to Akragas and

adds τὰ ἴστορα (sc. Pindar) ἐν ἔγκωμῳ οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ βούλομαι τῶν Ἑλλάνων (Fr.118). For this ancestry and the story of Theban emigration to Sicily the scholiast draws on Timaeus (v. Snell ad Pi.Frs. 118,119). Inscriptio b to P.7 gives a lengthy fable about the victor Megakles drawn from what Herodotus says of Alkmaion, son of Megakles (Hdt.6.125).

§4 CONCLUSION: The information in both the titles and the inscriptions of the scholia may be derived from Pindar; sometimes the format of the title has been influenced by information in the inscriptions; this latter information may itself derive merely from the scholia on a passage of the poem, which in turn may be guesses answering supposed difficulties or be derived from other sources (e.g. Timaeus, Herodotus). Differing titles or inscriptions to a poem may result from the second title or inscription reproducing from a source common to both titles or both inscriptions only the information which the first omits; sometimes the second of two inscriptions puts into a different form information given in the first. There is great variation in the amount, form and type of information in the titles and inscriptions. Sometimes their content depends on the order of the odes, as when two or more for the same victor run consecutively. It is unlikely Pindar gave his poems titles; if he had, we would not find, as we do, manuscripts giving alternative titles (P.Oxy.1604 Fr.i.col.ii for one of Pindar's dithyrambs, Fr.70b, and the Bacchylides papyrus for Bacchylides's dithyrambs, Frs.15-7), or the method of referring to a poem by its first line (P.Oxy.2506 Fr.26,col.i/PMG192).

* * * *

§5 A further area where the scholia are unreliable is in their dating of the Pythians and Olympians (none of the Isthmians or Nemeans is dated by them). The two inscriptions to P.11 say Thrasydaios was victorious in 474 and 454. For several reasons both these dates and

the scholia's dates in general must be viewed with more caution than is usually shown: 1) there is not always a means of checking independently the dates they give; 2) where the dates they give for the Olympians can be checked by reference to the Olympic victor list P.Oxy. 222 there are several discrepancies¹ (examples: P.Oxy.222.col.i.37 refutes Sch.O.9.17c on the date of Epharmostos's victory; ib.col.i.16 refutes inscr.a to O.10 and confirms inscr.b; ib.col.i.18 refutes the inscriptio to O.2 on the date of O.2; ib.col.i.14 says a Spartan won the boys' stadion in 476, a Corinthian in 472, refuting the title and inscra.a and b to O.14); 3) the scholia themselves sometimes give alternative dates (e.g. inscra.a and b to O.10; cf. inscr.a to P.3); 4) sometimes they give no date (cf. inscr.a O.6 ἄπορον δὲ τὴν πόστην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐνίκησεν ; P.2.inscr. ἄδηλον δὲ εἰς ποῖον ἀγῶνα); 5) Pindar himself may not have written the ode to commemorate a particular victory (as with P.2, P.3), or there may be a time lag between date of victory and date of composition (as with O.10, N.3? - cf. 77-80 πέμπω... ὄψε' περ).

J. Irigoin (Histoire du Texte de Pindare 48) writes: "Aristophane de Byzance avait certainement en main les listes des vainqueurs olympiques et pythiques, déjà publiées par Aristote." But the first four of the reasons listed above for doubting the scholia's dates make one wonder what victory lists they in fact had. It is noticeable that when the scholia call into question the date of victory or the event they do not on a regular basis use victory lists (ἀναγραφαί); they only ever refer to Ἴσθμιακαὶ ἀναγραφαί (Sch.I.1.11c) and Νεμεακαὶ ἀναγραφαί (inscr.N.8), and both times the ἀναγραφαί are used in a general and negative way: at Sch.I.1.11c to refute the idea that either Herodotus or other Theban athletes had ever won six Isthmain victories (τούτων δὲ οὐδέτερον ἐν ταῖς Ἴσθμιακαῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἠμολόγηται), at inscr.N.8 to deny that Deinias and his father were both stadion victors on the grounds

that μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Νεμεονίαις ἀναγεγράφθαι. It is doubtful if they ever refer to Olympian or Pythian victor lists; the mere use by them of the word ἀναγράφεται has to be treated with care: Sch.P.11.21c says τρίτον δὲ εἶπεν ὡς ἡ πατρὸς ἢ προγόνου τινὸς αὐτοῦ νενικηκότος αὐτὸς γὰρ (sc. Thrasydaios) ἅπασι ἀναγράφεται Πυθία νικήσας, but it is likely that ἀναγράφεται here does not refer to a list of Pythian victors but means 'is described by Pindar' (cf. inscr. b I.5. προκατασκευάζοντες ἔνιοι ὅτι φυλακίδαί μόνωι γέγραπται, φασὶ τὸν Πυθεῖον μὴ νενικηκέσθαι Ἴσθμια, ὥστε Ἴσθμιακῆν οὖσαν τὴν ᾧδὴν μὴ ἀναγεγράφθαι κἀκεῖνω (1.9f.); Sch.P.11.22 ... ἀναγράφεται ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Ὀλυμπιονίκης γεγονώς, probably referring to P.11.43-7).

§13 The Olympic victor list P.Oxy.222 also has some anomalies. On one plausible interpretation it, too, expresses doubt over its attributions of victory to an individual: in col.i.17,36 and 41 at the end of each line is added ὁ φίλις, ὁ καλλις, ὁ κραιτῖς. H.Diels (Hermes 36,1901,75) interpreted these as ο(ὕτως) κραιτῖς, ο(ὕτως) φίλις, ο(ὕτως) καλλις θεῖς. Other curiosities are the addition of δις at the end of one entry (col.i.30: διςτάξεται?), the reading [...] νυμου κυρακο[σιου τεφρι]ππον (col.i.44, for 468 B.C. when Hieron's name should be there according to inscrs.a and b to O.1), and other slighter variations against other sources over names. The format of the papyrus (like a results-sheet) has been taken to signify its truthfulness; but it is difficult to assess how trustworthy it is because there is little with which to compare its information. Where it and the Pindar scholiasts disagree it is not obvious that it must be right. Grenfell and Hunt ad P.Oxy. 222. col.i.14 say of the statements by the Pindaric scholia that Asopichos of Orchomenos won the boys' stadion in 476 or 472, 'The papyrus proves that this was not the case'. But there is insuf-

ficient evidence for such a conclusion.

§14 There are several reasons why the scholia and the papyrus should contain uncertain information: 1) their information derives ultimately from the first list of Olympic victors produced in the Fifth Century by Hippias of Elis (Plut.Num.1/DK86.B3/FGrH 6.F2), which itself is likely to have contained more gaps, mistakes, discrepancies and the like than is generally assumed (Try producing an accurate results-sheet of even a single race-meeting nowadays): Hippias had no firm or reliable evidence to go on (cf. Plut.Num.1.6 ἀπ' οὐθένος ὀρώμενον ἀναγκασίου πρὸς πίστιν), probably not even any existing continuous list (v.F.Jacoby, Atthis 58-9); early names were perhaps derived from names inscribed by the victor's family (v. FGrH 416 T1-9; for their patchiness cf. especially Paus.6.1.1 τῶν δὲ νικητῶν Ὀλυμπίαων οὐχ ἅπῃτων εἶναι ἔστικότες ἀνδριάντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρὰ ἐς τὸν ἄλωνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἔργοις, ὅμως οὐ τετυχῆσαν εἰκόων). No list of victors is likely to have been kept before the Sixth Century (F.Jacoby, Atthis 88), though Professor West suggests with a question-mark that before Hippias's time a catalogue could have been preserved orally by (Hiero)mnemones. τὰ ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις γράμματα, to which Pausanias several times refers (FGrH 416 F1-5) have a local bias and go back to Hippias's list (v. F. Jacoby FGrH Commentary 111b. p.222) and are themselves unreliable (v. FGrH 416 F1,2,5). There is no evidence that Hippias's followers (Aristotle, Timaios, Philochoros, Eratosthenes, Stesikleides, Phlegon, Africanus) had any more material to go on than he did (FGrH Commentary 111b. p.225).

2) there may have been doubt at the time of the Games themselves over who was the winner of an event. At the 96th Olym-

piad (396 B.C.) there was according to Pausanias (6.3.7) a scandal over the stadion: two of the Hellanodikai decided in favour of Eupolemos of Elis, a third in favour of Leon of Ambracia. The latter appealed to the Olympic Council; it fined the Hellanodikai. Eupolemos evidently still reckoned he had won since he put up a victory statue. Perhaps $\delta\iota\epsilon$ in the papyrus reflects this sort of controversy.

3) mere eyesight is not the best judge of close finishes. There was no electronic timing or photo-finish equipment. It is hard to see how the judges could have settled a close finish, even if they were not being biased towards local competitors, especially if they remained in their seats during the race (at Olympia their seats are about a third of the way down the stadium, about half-way down at Delphi)². Dead heats did happen, when the crown was not awarded but dedicated to a god (expressed by the phrases $\dot{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, $\dot{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\delta\alpha\iota$; cf. Hdt.5.22, of Alexander a Macedonian prince, $\kappa\upsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\tau\epsilon\ \tau\omega\acute{\iota}\ \pi\rho\omega\tau\omega$ - v. LSJ s.v. $\kappa\upsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\tau\eta\rho\omega$).

* * * * *

$\S 15$ Returning to the title and inscriptions to P.11, I interpret them as follows:

- 1) For Thrasydaios, a Theban, in the stadion.
- 2) The poem has been written for Thrasydaios, winner as a boy in the 28th Pythiad, and in the 33rd in the diaulos or stadion as a man.
- 3) Or: for Thrasydaios, a Theban in the stadion; the poem was written for the aforesaid who also later won in the 33rd Pythiad in the diaulos; but this poem commemorates not the later diaulos victory but the earlier stadion one.

It is not significant that 3) does not say that Thrasydaios's earlier stadion victory was as a boy: the distinction

between men's and boys' events is regularly omitted by the scholia when an inscriptio is written in the light of a title (e.g. on P.10, title Ἰπποκλείῳ Θρασύδει παιδὶ διαυλοδρομῶν; inscr. ... ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνίκησε καὶ σταδίου).

There are two possible interpretations of the relationships between 1), 2) and 3). One is that both 2) and 3) were composed by someone acquainted with 1),³ with 3) also written

by someone with his eye on 2) - i.e. the writer of inscr.b understood inscr.a to mean 'Written in honour of Thrasydaios's victory as a boy in the 28th Pythiad and in honour of his victory in the 33rd as a man in the stadion or diaulos' and is refuting it saying that the diaulos victory was later and is not commemorated by Pythian 11. Professor West, however, objects: "Why should someone who had one inscr. compose an additional one? The scholia have brought together alternative recensions. b is better than a, though one has to use both to get back to the original version." Why should someone have composed an additional one? To refute the bits of the first one he disagreed with, while keeping the parts he agreed with, so ending up with what he reckoned was the correct account; on an independent interpretation one takes away the reason why 3) bothers to say it is not Thrasydaios's diaulos victory that is being commemorated (the writer has already said it was in the stadion).

The best solution lies mid-way between these two interpretations: the two inscriptions are alternative in the sense that b partially contradicts a, but not in the sense of their having independent origins: it looks as if an ancestral scholion contained b in a form in which all of it was rebutting a, but that its purpose was lost in a later recension and

accretions common to a added to it (cf. on I.5: inscr.c ἄλλως.
 Καλλίστρατος Φυλακίδαι μόνωι γέγραπται Φησί... inscr.b προικτατικουάγοντες
 ἔνιοι δὲ Φυλακίδαι μόνωι γέγραπται...).

§16 One pseudo-problem found in the inscriptions can be dismissed. Bowra (Pindar 402) says, "It is surely impossible that a man who won either a στᾶδιον or a δίαιλος when he was a boy should win either event later when he was heading towards 40 years of age," (similarly Farnell, Commentary 221, and Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes 60). But we do not know the age limits for the two classes, boys and men, at Olympia and Pythia; at Nemea and Isthmia there were ἀγένοιοι also; your beard grows in your third hebdomad of life, according to Solon (27.5): so at Olympia and Pythia you may have had to run as a man when 14 or over (albeit with scant chance of success for a few years), which would make it very feasible for Thrasydaios to have won as a boy aged 12, and later aged 32 as a man. Damiskos (Paus. 6.2.10) of Messene was 12 when he won the boys' sprint at Olympia in 368 B.C. Aristotle (Pol. 1339a) says that only two or three winners in the boys' events at Olympia went on to win in the men's, but J.H. Krause (Hellenica vol.2, 645n.3) lists eight.

A different objection to believing Thrasydaios won twice, in 474 and 454, is Sch.P.11.21c, cit. supr.; but interpreted, as it is above, "...For Thrasydaios is described by Pindar in P.11 as having won at Pythia only once," not as "For in the Pythian register he is accredited with only one Pythian victory" the objection disappears (an extra reason for preferring the former interpretation, since it would be strange if Sch.P.11.21c had access to a register saying Thrasydaios won only once, while the composers of the inscriptions knew of one in which he won twice).

§17 Pythian 11 itself is a source for information on what

event Thrasydaios won, but it is not as informative as Pindar often is and must be treated with special care. When the poem is for a boy's victory Pindar sometimes makes this clear, e.g. O.8.68-9, P.10.8-9, N.6.11-13, I.6,6-7; or he may highlight the victor's youthfulness (O.10.99f., I.8.68f.). In P.11 Pindar neither says that Thrasydaios won in a boys' event nor emphasises his youth or beauty. To guess his age from Pindar's mention of his father, arguing that he must be more than a παῖς because his father's victories were πάλαι (46), is rash; and it is rash to suggest that he must have won as a boy because the myth is about the conquering act of a youthful Orestes - though the myth may have been suggested by a son renewing his father's honour.

The event Thrasydaios won was the stadion: lines 49-50 make this clear, Πυθοῖ τε γυμνοῖ ἔπι στάδιον καταβάντες ἤλεξαν... ὠκύεσσι; see notes on 46-9 and 49. Pindar attributes the victory to both Thrasydaios and his father (49 καταβάντες ἤλεξαν). One can see how this fusion has developed by looking at O.13.24-36 esp. 35f.: having said Xenophon won the Olympic pentathlon and stadion, two Isthmian victories and a Nemean one, Pindar continues πατρὸς δὲ Θεσσαλοῖ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ ρεέθροισιν ἀγλαὰ ποδῶν ἀνάκειται, Πυθοῖ τ' ἔχει σταδίου τιμὴν Διούλου; suddenly not Xenophon but his father has become the subject. In lines 41-2 the victories of Xenophon's grandfather Ptoidoros are alluded to; the whole family is bundled into 43-4 ὅσα τ' ἐν Δελφοῖσιν ἀριστεύσατε, ἦδ' ἐχόροισι ἐν Λέοντος...). When the victor's father or grandfather had also won Pindar regarded the victor's success as especially dependent on his house and family (cf. O.8.70-1, P.10.11f.); at N.8.16f. Pindar gives to Deinias's victory the accolade of a Lydian headband which is Δείνιος Δικῶν σταδίων καὶ πατρὸς Μέγα Νεμεαῖον ἄγαλμα; cf. P.1.58-9 Μοῖσα, καὶ παρ' Δεινομένει μελαδῆλαι

πίθεό μοι πονῶν τεθρίπων· χάρμα δ' οὐκ ἄλλότριον νικαφορία πατέρος. He often lumps together the victories of several members of one household (O.13.97f., P.7.13f., N.2.17f., N.4.73f.), and he is not worried about numerical exactitude when listing victories (cf. N.2.23, O.13.112-3). These practices seem less surprising when one considers he believed a victorious father passed on his natural athletic ability to his son, and since the victorious youngster would have been proclaimed by the herald 'son of x'. To say the father entered the event with his son and won it with him (P.11.49-50) is an extension of these examples and a unique conceit; it is less natural, but an analogous extension, to say the son was also victorious when his father won (the sense of καλλίνικοι ἔσχον P.11.46-7).

§18 Bowra, Pindar 403, thinks Pythian 11 must commemorate Thrasydaios's second victory, in 454 if the inscriptions are right, because (1) the present victory is said (13-14) to be the third in the family; (2) lines 46-8 represent only the first stage in the triple process, needing Thrasydaios's earlier victory to make up three in all. But line 46 τὰ μὲν (ἐν) ἄρμασι καλλίνικοι πάλαι is best referred to a first chariot victory by Thrasydaios's father, the plural καλλίνικοι following on from πᾶν (45) and caused by Pindar's practice of fusing victories within the same family; and 47-8 Ὀλυμπία, τ' ἀγῶνων πολυδάμων ἔσχον θοῶν ἀκτῖνα σὺν ἵπποις best ascribed to a second and subsequent victory, at Olympia and probably in the horse race (see on 46-8), the third victory being Thrasydaios's in the stadion which occasioned Pythian 11 (see on 46-9).

§19 CONCLUSIONS: the text of Pythian 11, the introductory scholia (inscriptions) and title to the poem, and other scholia to it, all make it most likely that the poem commemorates Thrasy-

daïos's win as a boy in the stadion in 474 B.C. The inscriptions and titles in the Pindaric scholia are generally an amalgam of bits of information; some of what they say may not derive from any independent authority but from the ode itself or from a guess made in a scholion on another part of the poem. There are often several inscriptions and titles to each ode; some are degraded versions of others having suffered alterations in the course of transmission; but occasionally it seems that two inscriptions to an ode are different not because one is a corrupted version of the other but because it was originally refuting the other: inscriptio b to P.11 seems to be refuting part of inscriptio a.

Lists of Olympic and Pythian victors with dates were available to the Pindaric scholiasts but only limited use is made of them; one must be sceptical about the accuracy and completeness of the lists they used: despite using the lists, the scholiasts sometimes give more than one possible date to Olympic and Pythian victories commemorated by Pindar, and even when they are unanimous over a victory's date one must still be sceptical because for the most part there is no means of checking their dates independently; where there is, comparing what they say with P.Oxy.222, the papyrus and the scholia several times conflict. One cannot generalise and say one or the other must be right: it is likely that uncertainty surrounded results at the time of the event, and Hippias's own list, on which the Pindar scholiasts ultimately depend for the Olympians, is likely to have been sometimes conjectural and incomplete due to lack of evidence available to him.

ANCIENT GREEK ATHLETES (plates 1-3)

plate 1 A running man. (On an East Greek amphora found at Fikellura, Rhodes; British Museum Reg. No. 64.10-7.156).

plate 2 Boxers and wrestlers. (On a black-figure amphora c. 550-525 B.C.; BM Catalogue of Vases B 295).

plate 3 Four athletes: a long-jumper, a discus-thrower and two javelin-throwers. (On a Panathenaic amphora c. 525 B.C.; BM Catalogue of Vases B 134).

All three postcards are published by the British Museum.

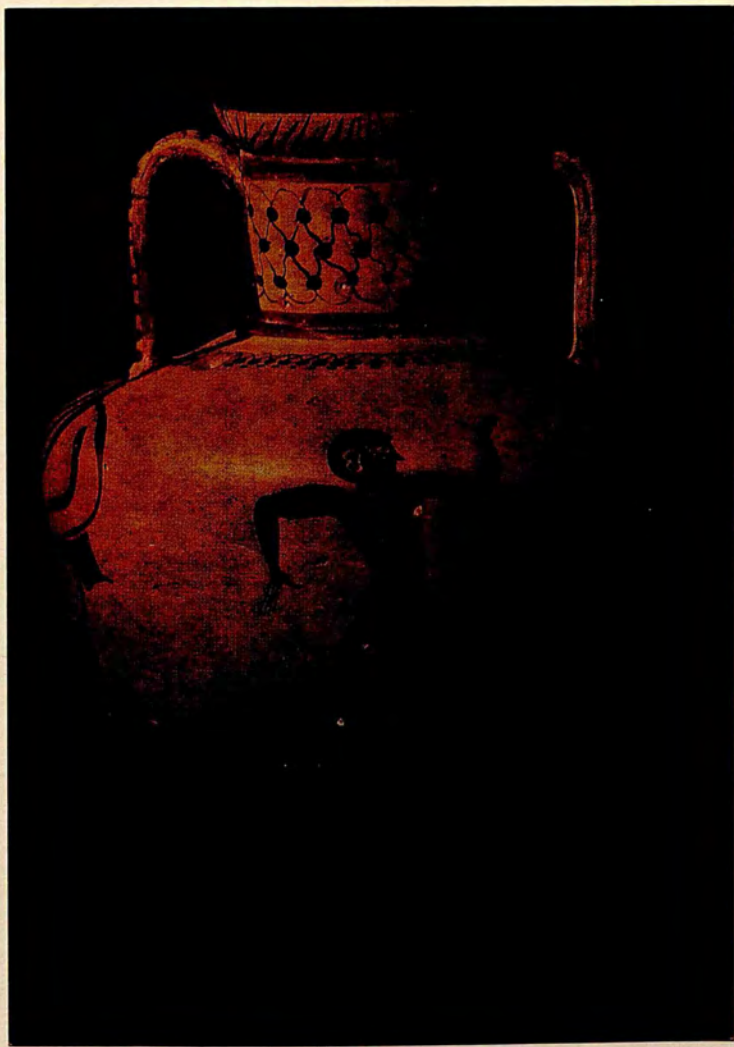


Plate 1

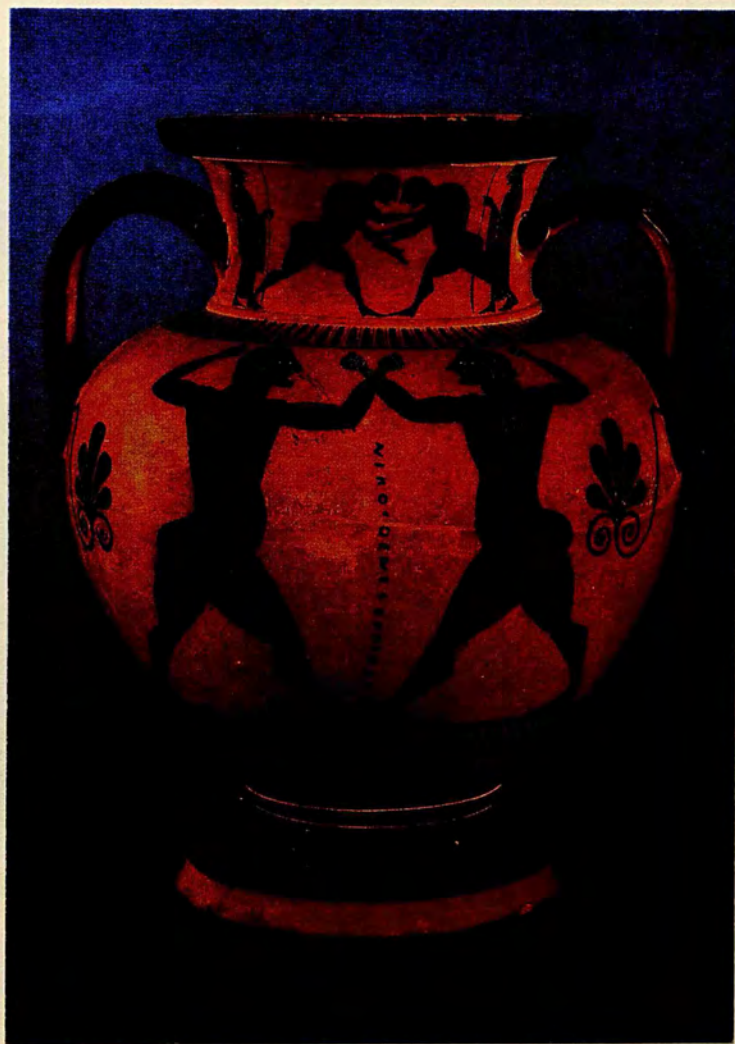


Plate 2



Plate 3

COMMENTARY on PYTHIAN ELEVEN

lf. The whole of the first triad forms one sentence; it has a complicated and balanced structure: cf. the openings to O.7, O.8, P.2, I.2; contrast the staccato openings to P.6, P.10, N.4, N.6; Pindar is unpredictable. The sentence appears to end with $\theta\omega\kappa\omicron\nu$ (6) but is immediately resumed by a second address and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha$ which picks up $\theta\omega\kappa\omicron\nu$.

What the daughters of Kadmos are to sing of is not mentioned until several lines after they have been addressed, (9f.); this contrasts with the epic manner where the first word regularly indicates the singer's subject and prefaces the address, e.g. Il.1.1 $\mu\eta\iota\nu$, Od.1.1 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha$, Hes.Theog.1 Μοῦσάων .

An address without ᾄ followed by a phrase or more in apposition is Pindar's favourite way of beginning his epinicians (12 examples). Opening addresses of all sorts (22 times in the 43/44 epinicians) get the ode off to a vigorous start that demands attention. Of the 22, an address to a divinity or quasi-divinity, e.g. Τύχα, Καμάρινα , starts 19; the victor is addressed in the opening sentence either once or never (depending on whether I.4 is a continuation of I.3). In this ode mention of the victor is delayed (13) to provide a later link with Pylades, Orestes and thence the myth. One must be cautious, therefore, before saying that Pindar's first objective in his epinicians was always to praise the winner.

Why is the opening address without ᾄ followed (7) by an address with ᾄ ? Comparison with Pindar's other opening addresses

shows that whenever he gives in the opening address the parentage of the addressee, except in P.8 this is done without $\tilde{\omega}$ (i.e. $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ Ζητός Ἐλευθερίου rather than $\tilde{\omega}$ $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ Ζητός Ἐλευθερίου). On this criterion, since P.11 opens with an address naming the father of Ino and Semele, one would not expect $\tilde{\omega}$: Pindar wants stress to fall on the parent rather than on the addressed child. So here extra stress falls on Kadmos, stressed anyway since $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\mu\omega\varsigma$ is first word, because the important thing is the heroines' Theban origin. (At P.8.1-2 $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\phi\rho\omega\tilde{\nu}$ Ἡεσυχία, Δίκας $\tilde{\omega}$ μεγαστόπολι θυγάτηρ, Hesychia, on this criterion, is stressed rather than her mother Δίκη; Hesychia is further stressed by the weighty adjectives applied to her ($\phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\phi\rho\omega\tilde{\nu}$, μεγαστόπολι) and by being subject of the opening strophe and antistrophe).

The $\tilde{\omega}$ in the second address is resumptive, cf. P.12.init.:

$\tilde{\omega}$ ἄνα after both an address without $\tilde{\omega}$ and a gap; also 0.8.1...9.

But contrast 0.5.1...4, 0.4.1...6 (second address without $\tilde{\omega}$): Pin-

dar's style is unpredictable. The idea of A. Kambylis (Anredeformen bei Pindar, ap. Festschrift for K.Vourveris 183f.) that $\tilde{\omega}$ at the end of one of Pindar's long addresses is intensifying, adding extra oomph, is refuted by K-G.11, para.357.4: an address without $\tilde{\omega}$ is generally used to express emotion, anger, displeasure or a threat; one with $\tilde{\omega}$ is more a reminder to the addressed that he is in the audience.⁴

1. κᾶδμου κόρη: a stock phrase; it recurs at 0.2.23; cf. 11.3.807 κούρου κιδμείους, Ib.302(PMG) κιδμίδι, κούρη, E.Bacch. 2-3 ἢ κᾶδμου κόρη.

1-2. Σεμέλα... ἀγυιάτι, Ἴνώ δὲ Λευκοθέα: So Snell; but why ἀγυιάτι and not ἀγυιάτις (sic mss.; cf. Inscr.a τὸ δὲ ἀγυιάτις ἀντι τοῦ $\tilde{\omega}$ ἀγυιάτις[-ις])? Why Ἴνώ (mss.) and not Ἴνοι? Any discussion must distinguish syntax from morphology,

which Kambylis (loc.cit.136-8) fails to do; whether one favours ἄγυιᾶτι (rejected by Kambylis loc.cit.138f.n.3) or ἄγυιᾶτις, syntactically Σεμέλα is vocative but morphologically it is nominative notwithstanding.

The only reason for reading ἄγυιᾶτι is that the epithet is then morphologically and syntactically parallel to Ino's epithet which is guaranteed by the metre. But is this parallelism a sufficient reason for reading ἄγυιᾶτι?

Sch.P.11.Inscr.a says τὸ δὲ ἄγυιᾶτις ἀντὶ τοῦ ᾧ ἄγυιᾶτις [-τις?] ὡς καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρωι (Il.3.277) Ἥελίος [Θ] ὅς πάντ' ἔφραδας καὶ (Od.17.415) Σός φίλος. ἄγυιᾶτις οὖν ἀντὶ τοῦ κόνοις. But neither Homeric example is relevant: Ἥελίος is justified as the second of two addresses (see below), or by attraction to the case of ὅς (cf. Il.6.394-5 Ἄνδρουμάχη, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἥετίωνος, Ἥετίων ὅς...). As for φίλος, φίλε would give a different meaning (see M.L.West, *Glotta* 44, 1966-7, 139-44: φίλος generally means 'please' and is less emotional; χεῖρε φίλος is a set phrase).

There are two defences of ἄγυιᾶτις. 1) Names in -ικ are prone more than other name-formations to the nominative form in an address where syntactically they function as a vocative (cf. P. Maas, *Rh.M.* 68, 1913, 362-3/Kl.Schr.80f.); note that Zenodotus read Θέτις at Il.8.385 τίπτε Θέτις ταίνυπεπλος, and Aristophanes βοῶπις at Il.15.49 εἶ μὲν γὰρ εὖ γ' ἔπειτα, βοῶπις πόντικ' ἦρη, Pindar has the nominative form at O.6.22 ᾧ φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεύξον; cf. O.6.104 πλόον...δίδοι, χρυσαλκάτοιο πόσις Ἀμφιπρίτας; in other authors: S. Aj.173 ᾧ μεγάλα θάτις, Ar.Eq.813/Eur.Telephos 121 Austin ᾧ πόλις Ἄργους, E.Hel.1399 ᾧ καινός ἡμῖν πόσις, Mel.Adesp.957 Ἄστερις, οὔτε εἰ ἐγὼ διλέω. But contrast O.5.23 ψάμμι, I.1.1 χρύσαπι θήβα, P.2.58 πρύτανι κύριε, Paean 6.2 κλυτόμαντι Πυθοῖ. The nouns in these examples are usually regarded as nominative forms used as vocatives, but they could be variant vocative forms as Αἴτις and Αἴων may be (the latter Hom-

eric, the former the prevalent Sophoclean form). 2) ἄγυιᾶτι would leave both hiatus and a short open vowel at period-end (hiatus at the end of the opening period elsewhere only in O.4, O.10, O.12; for his aversion to a short open vowel at period-end v. M.L. West, Greek Metre 61).

Conclusion: the form of ἄγυιᾶτι/-ς is significant; elsewhere in Pindar both -ικ and -ι occur as a vocative ending, but only here does the metre allow either to stand. For a) the metrical reasons, b) because all manuscripts and the scholia read ἄγυιᾶτις, c) because it seems that ἄγυιᾶτις, since it is an -ικ word, could be used by Pindar as a vocative, for these reasons it is best to read ἄγυιᾶτις.

Why ἴνω and not ἴνοι? Everywhere else in Pindar feminine nouns ending -ῶ in the nominative form end -οῖ in the vocative: O.14.21 Ἄχαιο, Fr.94c Λατοῖ, Paean 6.2 Πυθοῖ. So too in Bacchylides: B.3.3 κλειοῖ, 12.2 εὐθύνε κλειοῖ; cf. Il.21.498 Λητοῖ. Since ἑμοθάλαμῃς is guaranteed by the metre one would expect ἴνοι.

Sometimes Greek appears to have followed the Indo-European rule that only the first of two addressees is put in the vocative (v. West ad Hes. Theog. 964 νῆκοί τ' ἥπεροί τε καὶ ἄλμορος εὐδοθι πόντος). The rule would account for Od. 3.276-7 Ζεῦ πάτερ ... Ἥλιος [εἶ]; Hym. Hom. 29.13 χεῖρε κρόνου θυγάτηρ, σύ τε καὶ χρυσόραπις Ἑρμῆς; PMG 1018b Αἴκα (καὶ) κλωθῶ Λάχεϊς τ' ... ἑτακούσαι. [But it is not the explanation for O.10.3-5 where Snell reads ὦ Μοῖς, ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀλάθεια Διός, ... ἐρύκετον. Here θυγάτηρ is not a nominative form used as a vocative, because Snell's comma after Διός should be removed; ἀλλὰ... Διός is not an address, and the best interpretation is, "Come, O Muse, may you and Alatheia daughter of Zeus ward off." For the nominative and imperative cf. Ar. Ach. 155 οἱ θράικες ἴτε δεῦρ' οὐκ θείωρος ἦγαγεν]. The rule is the exception rather than the

rule in Greek. Contrast Pi.0.14.13f. <ῶ> πότινι Ἀγλαΐα φιλοσίμαλπέτ' Ἐύφροσύνα ... θαλίᾳ τε ἔρασίμαλπε; [Aesch]P.V.90f. Ἴσθ δῖος ἀϊθῆρ καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαὶ ... Παμμῆτορ τε γῆ; Il.8.185 Ἐάνθε τε καὶ κυ Πόδαρχε, καὶ Αἴθων, Λάμπε τε δῖε; Il.6.77 Αἰνεΐα τε καὶ Ἐκτορ. Examples such as S.Phil.530f. ὦ φίλατον μὲν ἡμᾶρ, ἥδικτος δ' ἄνηρ are different: the nominative tends to be used in exclamations. In the examples containing the phenomenon the vocative form is metrically intractable; in P.11.2 it would not be, and Pindar does not elsewhere follow the rule.

Conclusion: the manuscripts and scholia read Ἰνώ, but this is probably because the word was at an early stage assimilated to the apparent case of Σεμέλα and Ἄλυιατίς, though both Σεμέλα and Ἄλυιατίς are syntactically vocatives. Pindaric usage elsewhere (vocative form in -οῖ of words ending -ῶ in nominative always used in addresses), the -ῶ ending not being necessitated by the metre, and Pindar's nowhere else following the Indo-European rule all support reading Ἰνοῖ. Pindar might have written ΙΝΟΙ in any case, since the nominative was originally -ῶι: KB I.453f., L.Threatte, The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions 358; P.Derveni xviii.11 (cit. ap. M.L.West, The Orphic Hymns 81).

In highlighting the divine status of Ino and Semele, Pindar follows epic: Hes.Theog.942, fr.70.2-5?; Od.5.333; cf. Pi. 0.2.25; Alcman mentioned Ino's metamorphosis, PMG 50(b).

Evidence for a cult of Ino at Thebes is scant. Plut.Mor. 228E probably refers to her, since she was often known simply as Λευκοθέα (v. P-W s.v.): τοῖς δὲ συμβουλευμένοις τῶν Θηβαίων περὶ τῆς ἱερούργιας καὶ τοῦ πένθους, ἣν ποιοῦνται τῇ Λευκοθέᾳ, συνεβούλευσεν (sc. Lycurgus) εἰ μὲν θεὸν ἡγοῦνται, μὴ θρηγνῆν, εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπον, μὴ ἱερούργεῖν ὡς θεῶι. Lycurgus's point is that a threnos for the dead is unsuitable for an immortal goddess. The saying suggests

she was regarded at Thebes both as a god and as the mortal who had jumped into the sea to her death (v. E.Med.1284-5).

Semele was remembered at Thebes in Euripides's day by an ἄβατον spot where she had been struck by lightning: E.Bacch.6-11, Paus. 9.12.3. She was worshipped at Athens: Pi.fr.75.19; but there is no firm evidence for cult practice performed for her at Thebes in Pindar's day (cf. Dodds ad. E.Bacch.6-12). The word 'cult' should not be used indiscriminately; it means active devotion of people to gods and heroes, and you cannot infer that from a few ruins said to be a god's or hero's house (modern Thebans call some ruins next to the modern museum at the north end of the town 'The House of Kadmos') or from the existence of an ἄβατον area.

It has been thought that references to an anodos by Semele after her release from Hades by Dionysus (D.S.4.25, Plut.566a, Apollod.3.5.3, Paus.2.31.2, Iophon ap. Sch.Ar.Ran.330/TrGF22F3) imply a cult of her at Thebes - so H.Jeanmaire, Dionysos 343f., Roscher 667 s.v.Semele. But stories told by guides of the origin of holes in the ground, or by a tragedian of the reason for Hades' love of myrtle, do not require for their invention a basis in regular ritual⁵.

1. ἀγυιάτις: 'citizen', cf. ἀγυία, -αι 'city': Il.5.642 ἱλίου ἐξέλατ' ἄραξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγυιάς, Il.20.254 μέγην ἐκ ἀγυιῶν ἰούδακι Pi.0.9.34-5 ἀγυιῶν θωακρόντων 'city of the dead' i.e. Hades, id.Fr.194.4-5 θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀγυιάς; Bacch.3.16 βρύουσι θεοξενίας ἀγυιαί, id.11.57-8 Τιβύνθιον ἄστρ' λιποῦσα, καὶ θεοδράτους ἀγυιάς id.14B.15 [ἔστι] ἡμένα μέγα ἀγυιαί; S.O.C.714-5 χαλινὸν ταῖδε κτίσας ἀγυιαίς 'in this state of Colonus'; cf. Steph.Byz.s.v: τόπος δηλῶν τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει πορευτὴν ὁδόν, and see Maehler on B.9.52, translating 'Stadt'. Pindar's and Bacchylides's usage is also paralleled by the end of the Odyssey formula δύσετό τ' ἡέλιος κσιώντο τε πᾶσαι ἀγυιαί = πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, Od.2.388, 3.487, 497, 11.12, 15.185, 296, 471.

2. Ἰνώ Λευκοθέα: Pindar follows Homer in giving both names:
 Od.5.334-5 τὸν δὲ ἶδεν Κάδμου θυγάτηρ, Καλλιόπην Ἰνώ, | Λευκοθέα, ἣ πρὶν μὲν ἔην
 βροτὸς ἀσθῆσσα, | νῦν δ' ἄλλος ἐν πελάγεσσι θεῶν ἔξ ἔμμορε τριμῆς.

The epithet may denote the white foam of the sea where she lived;
 many of the names of Hesiod's Nereids are suggested by the sea
 (Theog.240f.).

Semele and Ino, both girls who became immortal, each have two
 names. Leucothea alludes to Ino's immortality, and it was as
 Leucothea that she was honoured as a god at Megara (Paus.1.44.8)
 and at the Isthmos (Paus.2.1.3, 2.2.4). Her change of name came
 after her deranged jump into the sea off Corone, Messenia (Paus.
 4.34.4; cf. Diod.Sic.5.55.7: Halia changed her name to Leuco-
 thea after jumping into the sea). Semele was renamed Thyone after
 Dionysus brought her up from Hades to Olympus (Apollod.3.53,
 Diod.Sic.4.25). Pindar calls her Thyone at P.3.99 as a reminder
 that though she died after Zeus made love to her she later
 became a goddess (emphasised by her epithet there λευκώλεος -
 seven times used of immortals in Pindar and Bacchylides, once of
 a mortal, Iole at Bacch.16.27).

ἑμοθάλαμει: by saying she lives with the Nereids,
 Pindar means she is an immortal divinity; more specifically, the
 phrase Λευκοθέα ... Νηρηΐδων alludes to the story that Ino jumped
 into the sea after going mad. For the background to the story
 see W.Burkert, Homo Necans (Berlin 1972) 199f., and Page ad E.Med.
 1284.

3. ἄριστογόνωι: ἄριστογόνου Sch.; but the first part of the
 compound qualifies the second part, and 'having the best off-
 spring' suits Alkmene better than Herakles; cf. Paeon 21.4,12,

20,28 ἄριστόποσις 'having the best husband' (of Hera).⁶

4-6. πᾶρ Μελίων... ἀλαθέα μαντιῶν ὄϊκον : Pindar here describes the temple of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes. He alludes to its origin in ὄν περίαλλ' ἔτίμακε Λοξιάς (4) which hints at the story of Apollo's rape of Melia and the resulting birth of Ismenos/-ios; part of the story in Pa.9.41f. Τήνερον... ἔτεκ[εν λέχει] κόρα μινεῖς Ὀσκεινοῦ Μελία κέο, Πύθιζε.

Sources are confused about Ismenos/-ios: a) was he Melia's brother, or her son? b) Was his name Ismenos or Ismenios? Sch. Pi.P.11.5 ἡ δὲ Μελία Ἰσμηνοῦ ἀδελφή ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος φθαρεῖα καὶ γεννήσασα Τήνερον ; this is supported by Tzetz.ad Lyc.1211 ὅδε Τήνερος υἱὸς ἦν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μελίας, τῆς Ὀσκεινοῦ μὲν θυγατρὸς, Ἰσμηνοῦ δὲ ἀδελφῆς. Contra Paus.9.10.5 Ἀπόλλωνι δὲ παῖδας ἐκ Μελίας γενέσθαι λέγουσι Τήνερον καὶ Ἰσμηνόν (Bekker, Ἰσμηνίον codd.). H.W.Stoll (ap. Roscher s.v. Melia) says Ismenos was Melia's brother, Ismenios her son (though s.v. Ismenios loc.cit. Stoll equates Ismenos and Ismenios), but he gives no evidence for the distinction. The best explanation is that Melia the fountain nymph originally, so the story went, had as a brother the river Ismenos; then, after the founding of the temple of Apollo Ismenios, the story grew (to give some background and greater prestige to worship of Apollo Ismenios) that Ismenios was Melia's son by Apollo. Ismenos might have been changed to Ismenios because Apollo was called Apollo Ismenios; the change from brother to son enables Apollo to be brought into the genealogy. Gods prefer to rape virgins (Alcmene is an exception), so it is unlikely that the story with Ismenios as Melia's son arose prior to the founding of the temple or to Apollo's rape of her.

The shrine of Apollo Ismenios stood on the Ismenian hill near one of the gates of Thebes; his prophecies were delivered after looking at signs in the flesh of burnt offerings (FGrH328F75,

Philochorus, who was μάντις and ἱεροκόπος at Athens in 306B.C.).
 The oracular seat in the temple belonged to Teneros, Melia's
 other son by Apollo who inherited Apollo's prophetic powers:
 Paus.9.10.6; Sch.Pi.P.11.5; Pi.Pa.7.12-18; 9.38f.⁷

4-5. Χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τρίποδων θεῶν : Croesus was
 responsible for the wealth of gold at the temple, Hdt.1.52 (of
 Croesus) τῷ Ἀμφιαρέῳ πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθης
 ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως, καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεήν, πάλαν
 χρυσεήν, τὸ ξυστόν τῆσι λόγχῃσι εἶον ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ
 ἀμφότερα ἐς ἑμὲ ἦν κεκμένα ἐν Θήβῃσι... ἐν τῷ νηῶϊ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπολλωνος;
 id.1.92 ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβῃσι τῆσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος (sc. a dedica-
 tion by Croesus).

ἄδυτον denotes the shrine generally, not its innermost part
 (so LSJ s.v. ἄδυτος 11.), as at Hdt.7.140-1 ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες
 ἵδοντο (sc. τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπέποιτα)... οὗτοι ἀπῆμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἄδυτου
 (sc. λέγουσι). Pindar imagines the heroines entering the outer
 hall of the sanctuary of the Ismenion. At Delphi, at least, only
 the Pythia was allowed in the innermost shrine.

ἄδυτον as an adjective elsewhere only at Strabo.14.1.44 (of a
 shrine of Pluto).

The phrase 'enter the sacred treasury of golden tripods' fuses
 three separable ideas: 'enter the shrine', 'enter the shrine's
 treasury', 'visit the rich supply of golden tripods.'

In a phrase containing two nouns each qualified by an adjective,
 Pindar regularly sets each noun next to and after its own
 adjective, e.g. P.1.5-6 καὶ τὸν αἰχματᾶν κεραυτὸν βεννύεις διενόου
 πυρός; O.1.11 θεμικτεῖον ὅς ἀμφέπει σκάπτον ἐν πολυμήλῃσι Σικελίαι;
 P.11.49-50 γυμνὸν ἐπὶ στάδιον καταβάντες ἤλεγξαν Ἑλλάδα στρατιάν.
 Less common is thin sandwich interlacing, when one adjective plus
 its noun surrounds the other pair, e.g. O.9.97 ψυχρᾶν ὅπου εὐδιανὸν
 φάρμακον αὐρᾶν; O.13.23 ἐν δ' Ἄρης ἀνδρῶν νεῶν οὐλίαι αἰχματῶν ἀνδρῶν;

0.14.22-4 νέων... κυδίμων ἀέθλων περὶ χαιτῶν; a variation is e.g. P.9.6-7 ἔνεικέ τε χρυσεῖι παρθένον ἀγροτέρων δῖφρων where one of the nouns precedes its adjective; the a-b-A-B interlacing of P.11.4 is rare, but parallel is P.1.1-2 ἰοπλοκάμων σύνδικον Μοισῶν κτέανον; full-blown thick sandwich interlacing, a-B-A-b, occurs at N.1.7 Ὀλυμπιάδων φύλλοις ἑλκῶν χρυσεῖοις μιχθέντα.

6. ἀλαθεία: 'truthful', cf. N.1.61 ὀρθόμαντιν τεϊρεσίαν, P.3.27-9 ναοῦ βασιλεὺς Λοξίας, κοινῶνι παρ' εὐθυάτῳ γνῶμαν πιθῶν ... ψευδῶν δ' οὐχ ἄπειται; 0.8.1 Οὐλυμπία-δέσποινα ἀλαθείας; Hes.Theog. 233 Νήρεα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα.

μαντιῶν: Teneros and his successors, cf. Pi.fr.51d [τὸν Τήνερον] ναοπόλιν μάντιν διαπέδοικιν ὁμοκλέα, 0.8.1f. Οὐλυμπία ... ἵνα μάντιες ἄνδρες i.e. successive members of the Iamidae, fr.192 Δελφοί· θεμίστων μάντιες Ἀπολλωνιάσι; Cor.654(PMG)col.iii.32f.(the succession of occupiers of Apollo Ptoios). In contrast, Trophonius at Lebadea (Paus.9.37.4) and Amphiaraeus at Oropus (Paus. 1.34) were each the original and sole occupiers of their oracular seats (i.e. without predecessors or successors).

θῶκον: interpret literally, not as 'seat' in the sense 'source', 'origin'. θῶκος (or θᾶκος or Epic θῶκα) is always used to mean 'seat' in the sense 'chair' or 'a sitting' (as in a sitting of Parliament). The μάντις sat down when delivering his prophecies: S.Ant.999-1000 ἐξ παλαιῶν θᾶκον ὀρθοσκοπὸν ἵζων of Teiresias at Thebes; [A]P.V.831 θᾶκος Διός of Dodona. At Delphi the Pythia sat on the lid of the bowl that belonged to the tripod: E.Ion 91 θάσει σε γυνὴ τρίποδα γάθεον Δελφίς.

7. Ἀρμονίας: cf. Paus.9.12.3 θαλήμων δὲ ἀποφίνουσι (sc. the Thebans) τοῦ μὲν Ἀρμονίας ἐρείπια καὶ ὄν Σήμελης φασὶν εἶναι. Τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἡμᾶς ἐτι ἄβατον φυλάσσουσιν ἄνθρωποι. The marriage of

Harmonia and Kadmos is a favourite theme of Pindar's: P.3.91, fr.29.6, Dith.2.27f.

καί νυν: a combination Pindar is fond of (8 times), often emphasising a demonstrative, e.g. O.3.34 καί νυν ἐς ταύταν, P.4.42 καί νυν ἐν ταῖς, or a person or place, e.g. P.9.71 καί νυν ἐν Πρωῶνι, N.6.8 καί νυν Ἀλκιμίδας. Here it emphasises ἔνθα: just as on past occasions Apollo has called the heroines to assemble at the Ismenion, so they should assemble there now too. For this cletic use in hymns cf. Sappho 1.25 ἔλθε μοι καί νυν, S.O.T.169 ἔλθετε καί νυν.⁸

ἐπίνομον: the scholia give two interpretations, Sch.12c ἐπίνομον δὲ στρατὸν εἶπε τὰς ἐπινομημένας καὶ ἐποπτευούσας τὰς Θήβας; Sch.12d ἢ ἐπίνομον τὸν σύννομον τῆς Θήβας, τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπινομῆς - i.e. 'watching over' or 'native'. LSJ s.v. ἐπίνομος say 'visiting the land'. None of these interpretations is convincing; none gives any point to the adjective. Better to interpret 'spread over the district'; ἐπίνομον then contrasts with ὁμαγερέα, and the latter is proleptic: 'he summons the army of heroines who are spread over the district to come together into a gathering'. ἐπινόμεαι (middle) regularly means 'I am spread over, rage over', of fire and disease.⁹

ἠρωίδων: occupies the same place in the antistrophe as Νηρηίδων did in the strophe and rhymes with it; cf. P.11.11 ἑπταπόλοισι Θήβας ~ 27 ἀλλοτριάκι γλώσσαις; P.8.2 ὦ μεγατόπολι ~ 22 ἄδικαιόπολις; also O.7.20 Πλαπολεμου ~ 77 Πλαπολέμωι; O.6.77 Ἀγχιὰ ~ 98 Ἀγχιὰι; O.8.46 τετρατόισι (v.1.) ~ 68 τέτρακιν (on this example v. Introduction p.); Bacch.1.115 (end of epode) κρήτων ὁμίλωι ~ 161 (end of epode) ἀνθρώπων ὁμίλει; id.5.3 ἰοστεφάνων ~ 98 καλυκοστεφάνου (both at end of 3rd colon of antistrophe); id.5.122 δαΐφρων ~ 137 δαΐφρων; id.6.6. στάδιον κρατεῦ[σαν] ~ 14 στάδια κρατης. Some of the recurrences in Bacchylides are insignificant, e.g. B.17.7 (3rd colon of 1st strophe) κλυτὰς ~ 73 (3rd colon of 2nd

strophe) κλυτάν.

8. στρατόν: often used by Pindar to denote merely a large number, e.g. P.10.8 στρατῶν ἀμφικτιόνων, I.1.11 κάδμου στρατῶν. 'Army of heroines' would be a bolder expression than Pindar's, though he does like bold juxtapositions, cf. O.6.46 ἀμφιφείη ἰὼν μελιτῶν, O.6.43 ἰσθίονα ἔφατ' ἔφατ', O.9.11-12 ἴα γλυκύν Πυθῶνάδ' ὄϊστον

9. Θέμις ἱερῶν: Θέμις here means both the goddess, who in some accounts was an occupier of the Delphic oracle before Apollo (see below), and the idea of justice which Delphi stood for and which is emphasised here by the obvious connection between Θέμις and ὀρθοδικίαν (cf. Hes.Theog.85-6 διακρίνοντα Θέμιστας ἰθείησι δίκησιν; B.15.54-5 Δίκην ἰθεῖαν, ἀγνάει Εὐνομίης ἀκόλουθον καὶ πινυῶς Θέμιστος). In Greek literature the distinction between abstract and personification is often hazy; look at the pictures of ἄη Il.9.504-12, δίκη Hes.Op.220-1, γῆ Solon 36W 4-6, and Θέμις Pi.0.8.21-2 (κύπτερα Διὸς ξενίου πᾶρεδρος ἀκεῖται Θέμις): the ideas are first personified, then not. See W.J.Verdenius on N.11.8 ξενίου Διὸς ἀκεῖται Θέμις in Illinois Classical Studies vol.7.1, 1982, 19-20: his examples show that personal deity and abstract idea are often fused.

Personification is rejected by Wilamowitz (Pindaros 260): "das Beiwort zeigt, dass die Göttin nicht gemeint ist." But though ἱερός does not in classical Greek qualify the name of an Olympian or higher god, who are ἱεροί come what may, it is used to qualify a part of an Olympian god, e.g. the head - because not only gods have heads - or something which belongs to or derives from the god; it is also used of quasi-divine beings whose names can also mean e.g. a place: Od.15.39 σὴ ἱερὴ κεφαλῆ said by Hera to Zeus; Hes.Theog.57 ἱερὸν λέχος εἰκοναβαίνων sc. Zeus, id.Op.597,805 Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτῆν; Pi.fr.195 εὐάρματε χρυσοχίτων ἱερώτατον ἄγαλμα Θήβα (cf. Sch.P.4.25b τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐάρματε τῆς πόλεως

τὸ δὲ χροκοχίτων-ῆς ἠρώιδος); Hes.Theog.21 ἵερὸν γένος ἀθανάτων including lesser gods, and divinities like nymphs!¹⁰ Note how Διὸς is applied by Homer to Scamander (Il.12.21) but not to the higher male gods; Themis, like Scamander, could be mentioned (e.g. at Pi.I.9.5) without a god being meant; the addition of ἵερὸν adds that Θέμις is also a divinity - Pindar's more usual way of doing this is to say something is related to Zeus, e.g. O.10.4 θυγάτηρ Ἀλάθειας Διός; P.8.1 Ἑκυχία, Αἴκας --- Θύκτες; O.12.1 παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου... Τύχα; N.7.1 Εἰλείθυια... παῖ Ἴηρας; O.8.21-2, N.11.8 cit. sup.¹¹

Themis the goddess: at first a goddess of orderliness (Od. 2.68, Il.20.4: a herald; Il.15.87f., cf. Hom.Hym.Apol.124: a waitress). From being an attendant on Zeus and summoner to his councils, she developed a closer association with him (Hes.Theog. 901, Pi.fr.30, Hom.Hym.23.2: his wife; E.Med.208-9: his daughter). Her connection with Zeus's justice enabled Aeschylus to spatch-cock her into Delphic mythology (A.Eum.1-4); since the 7th Century the oracle had been concerned with Θέμις, regulating problems especially about purification and blood-guilt (v. H.Lloyd-Jones, Greece and Rome 23, 1976, 62-3). Worship of her before the 4th Century is not attested (v. J.Harrison, Themis 580f.).

9-10. Θέμις... Πυθῶνα' τε καὶ ὀρθοδίκαν γὰρ ὀμφαλόν: Pytho is here the place, γὰρ means the cosmic earth (cf. P.6.3 γὰρ ὀμφαλὸν αἰοίδιμον, N.7.33-4 ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλπου... χθονός; Pa.6.17.120) and Θέμις the law and order associated with the Delphic oracle (v. supra n.9 fin.; cf. Pi.fr.192 Δελφοὶ Θεμίστων μάντιες. Απολλωνίδαι, P.9.42 τὸν οὐ Θεμίτων ψεύδει θύειν; Hesych. s.v. Θέμις: Δικαιοσύνη παρὰ Πυθίαι).

Themis, Ge and Pytho are elsewhere recorded as occupiers of the Delphic oracle before Apollo. This fact may have influenced Pindar to juxtapose the three here, though it is not relevant to the present context (which is not concerned with the

pre-Apolline history of the oracle). The main evidence for the three as prophetic occupiers of Delphi is given below; it is probably derived from a local Delphic logoi. Some scholars have inferred that there was a cult of Earth and Themis at Delphi in Pindar's day; I do not think the evidence supports this (which is not to say there was not such a cult).

Θέμις as a prophetess: Hypoth.a Pythiorum τὸ μαντεῖον, ἐν ᾧ πρώτη Νύξ ἐχρημώθηεν, εἶτα Θέμις (one of a collection of fanciful stories about early Delphi); Sch.N.9.123b παρὲς δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἢ Θέμις χάριν τοῦ χρηστηρίου· καὶ γὰρ ἦν προφήτις (a bad attempt to explain the word θεμιπλέκτου at N.9.52); Orph.H.79.2f. Θέμις ἢ πρώτη κατέδειξε βροτοῖς μαντήιον ἀγνοῦ... θεμιστεύουσα θεοῖσι... ἢ καὶ Φοῖβον ἀνάκτα θεμιστοσύνας εἶδαξε (etymologising). More important are Pi.O.13.8, I.8.31, fr.30.1 (in all of which Themis is εὐβουλος), and at I.8.31f. she speaks θεάματα (elsewhere in Pindar only at P.4.71 of the μαντεύματα Pelias received πᾶρ μέσον ὀμφαλὸν εὐδένδροιο ῥηθὲν μητέρος).

Python as a prophet (accepted by J.Fontenrose, Python 375): Hyg.fab.140-1 Python Terrae filius draco ingens; hic ante Apollinem ex oraculo in monte Parnasso responsa dare solitus erat; Oros.Hist.6.15.14 Pythone...totius vaticationis auctore et principe; Sch.Lyc.Alex.200 (which muddles Python with the prophetic snake of Il.2.308f.). The pre-Apolline Delphic dragon first appears at Hym.Hom.Apol.300; Pindar himself probably described how the oracle changed hands: fr.55 Τίνδαρος δὲσι πρὸς βίαν κρατῆσαι Πυθῶν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, διὸ καὶ Ταρταρῶσαι ἐξήγει αὐτὸν ἢ Γῆ; so too Simonides 573PMG. Ephorus (FGrH70F31b) is the first definitely to name the dragon 'Python'.

Prophetic Earth: v. West ad Hes.Theog.463; as an owner of Delphi she appears first perhaps - cf.Pi.fr.55 cit.supr. - in Aeschylus (Eum.1f., note line 4 ὡς λόγος τις). Her role in the story presumably arose after Delphi was reckoned to be the centre of the earth.

Farnell (ad P.11.9), Roscher (s.v. Themis v.583) and Slater (s.v. Θέμις) think Pindar alludes to a cult of Ge-Themis at Delphi. But the only evidence for such a cult is wafer-thin: the words ἱερείας τῆς Θέμιδος on a seat in the theatre at Athens (IG 11² 5130 from the Imperial period), and [A]P.V.209f. ἔμοι δὲ μήτηρ... Θέμις καὶ Γαῖα πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφῇ μία, τὸ μέλλον ἧ κραινόντο προυπεθεστικῆι which perhaps alludes to the succession story (v. infra) but is irrelevant to a possible cult of Ge-Themis. Other references to a cult of Ge-Themis ap. Roscher v.583 derive from either [A]P.V.209f. or [A]P.V.1091-3 (worthless as evidence for such a cult).

Conclusion: the history of the Delphic oracle before Apollo succeeded to it, how it passed between Ge, Themis and Pytho, seems to be based on imaginative story-telling rather than cult. There is no evidence for a cult of Ge-Themis in Pindar's day. In Pausanias's day Themis had a shrine at Thebes (Paus.9.25.4) and in other parts of Greece (v. J.Harrison, Themis 480-1). Nothing suggests a cult of her at Delphi. The succession Earth, Themis (A.Eum.1f., E.I.T.1259f.) was perhaps suggested by Hesiod's genealogy (Theog.135) where Themis is one of Gaia's very diverse children; the passage may also account for the presence of Themis, with Rhea, at the birth of Apollo (Hym.Hom.Apol.93-4; cf.124-5).¹²

ὀρθοσίκαν: a pointed adjective to apply to ὀμφαλόν, pointing to the oracle's function of deciding blood-guilt problems and purification matters (v. supra on line 9 init.), significant in view of the myth that follows. Elsewhere Pindar describes the navel more mundanely: P.6.4 ναίον, N.7.33 μέγαν, Pa.6.17 σκιδάεντα, Pa.6.120 εὐρύν, P.8.59 ζοιδίμων.

10. γὰρ ὀμφαλόν: there was, in the Fourth Century at least,

a shrine to Ge at Delphi, v. Bull.Corr.Hel.26,1902,64-5: accounts of the archon Aristonymos (mid-Fourth Century) mention repair-work περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλόν and $\text{ἐν τῷ κέλει τῷ ποτὶ (τ)ὸ τὰς τὰς ἑρῶν}$.

ἄκρα σὺν ἔσπερα : the expression could mean either at the beginning of evening or at the end of it. The three best discussions of the temporal use of ἄκρος (Gow ad Theoc.11.37, Jebb ad S.Aj.285, Lobeck ad S.Aj.285) all mistakenly allow ἄκρος in temporal expressions to mean 'at the height of', 'in the middle of'. But the misleading idea that e.g. ἄκρη νύξ could mean ἡ ἄκμῃ τῆς νυκτός is an invention of Lobeck inferred from the common, but separable, expression τὸ ἀκμαιοτάτον (e.g. τὸ ἀκμαιοτάτον τοῦ χειμῶνος Ath.3.98.6, Arr.An.4.7.1).

LSJ (s.v. ἄκρος II.), saying ἄκρος usually denotes completeness, translate S.Aj. 285 ἄκρα νυκτός 'dead of night' comparing Theoc.11.35 and Hipp.Aph.3.18. But the Theocritus passage does not obviously mean this (v. Gow ad loc.) nor does S.Aj.285 ἄκρα νυκτός, ἥνιχ' ἔσπεροι λαμπτήρες οὐκέτ' ἦθον (v. Lobeck ad loc.); at Hipp.Aph. 3.18 (κατὰ δὲ τὰς ὥρας, τοῦ μὲν ἥρος καὶ ἄκρου τοῦ θέρεος, οἱ παῖδες καὶ οἱ τούτων ἐχόμενοι τῆσιν ἡλικίαισιν, ἄριστά τε διάγουσι καὶ ὑγιαίνουσι μάλιστα τοῦ δὲ θέρεος καὶ τοῦ φθινοπώρου, μέχρι μὲν τινος οἱ γέροντες) the context, ἄκρου τοῦ θέρεος juxtaposed with ἥρος and opposed to plain θέρεος, suggests ἀ.τ.θ. means 'at the beginning of summer.' It is unlikely that ἄκρα = 'top', 'edge', 'surface' would also mean 'middle' (v. Barrett ad E.Hipp.253).

'At the beginning of evening' is what the words mean here. Singing was often done at evening when the working day was over: cf. Pi.P.3.19, 78-9; Theoc.24.77. (cf. ἄκρο- in compounds meaning 'at the beginning of': Hes.Op.567 ἀκροκνέφαιος; cf. ἀκρόνυχος 'at nightfall'). On ἀκρείπερα Gow and Scholfield ad Nic.Th.25, Gow ad Theoc.24.77, and Gow and Page, Garland of Philip 1.1867, all follow the explanation of Sch.Nic.Th.25 κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νυκτός,

οἶον περὶ Ζίρραν ἔσπερον . But 'at the beginning of evening' is more likely in view of the sense *ζίρρο-* gives elsewhere to compounds denoting time.

12. Κίρρα: it is commonly believed that *κίρρα* here implies that in Pindar's time the athletics as well as the horse races took place not at Delphi but in the Crisaean plain below, and that not until the late Fifth Century or early Fourth were the athletics transferred to a new stadium built at Delphi above the precinct of Apollo. The evidence for this view is very thin: see on line 49 *καταβάντες*.

Pindar uses both *κίρρα* /-τιος (also *κίρρα* met. grat. I.2.18) and *κίρρα* /-αθεν; Bacchylides only the latter form (11.20, 14B7, 4.14cj.); *κίρρα* Hym. Hom. Apol. 269 et alib. (sic M, *κίρρα* mss. cet. ignorant of the vowel quantity). The distinction is purely dialectal in Pindar, and should probably always be so regarded (so Et. Mag. s.v. *κίρρα*; cf. Paus. 10.37.5: *Krisa* merely the older name). *κίρρα* is not only Attic (cf. Wilamowitz, Pindaros 71, 468), but it will have been the local Delphic form too (see C. D. Buck, The Greek Dialects 69; for the different forms cf. *θαίρος*, *θαίρος*, *θαίρος* - the meaning 'over-confidence' for *θαίρος* is an Attic refinement.).

Some geographers hypothesize two separate towns (Leocrines ap. Et. Mag. loc. cit., Strabo 9.3.3, Ptol. Geog. 3.14.4); this is probably based merely on the existence of both forms of the name: note how Strabo reckons *Kirra* the older town, Pausanias thinks *Krisa* the older name, which suggests that the two-town hypothesis is a guess. Frazer (ad Paus. 10.37.5) distinguishes the two topographically, but his only criterion is his own convenience: 'although it is really continuous, the plain may conveniently be regarded as divided into two parts...the southern is the *Cirraen* plain...the northern is the *Crisaean* plain proper' (p. 458-9).

The two names were interchangeable in the Fourth Century: Dem. de Cor.277 and Aeschin.in Ctes.107; Cirrhaean plain; Isoc.Or.14.31: Crisaean.^B

13-14. ἔμνασεν ἑστίαν τρίπον ἐπὶ στέφανον πατρῶϊαν βαλῶν : an involuted phrase meaning 'adding a third crown'. ἐπιβαλῶν = βαλῶν ἐπ' αὐτήν, and 'throwing on' = 'adding'. ἐν τῷ rules out a physical act at Thebes. ἐπιβάλλω = 'I add' is regularly followed by a dative or prepositional phrase, but one can be understood from ἑστίαν πατρῶϊαν, cf. Pl.Crat.409b κύκλωι γὰρ που αἰεὶ αὐτὴν (the moon) περιῶν (sc. the sun) νέον αἰεὶ ἐπιβάλλει - 'keeps on adding new light'. Slater (s.v. ἐπιβάλλω) says ἐπιβάλλω where means 'crown τινά with τι'. But there is no evidence it can be used like that with two accusatives; in the sense 'put something round someone' it takes a dative of the person, e.g. Od.14.520 ἐπὶ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλεν αὐτῷ.

ἔμνασεν: 'brought to mind'. μιμνήσκω in the active has elsewhere a personal accusative = 'remind s.o. of s.t.'; the sense required here, 'cause s.o. else to think of' is found with ὑπομιμνήσκω (v. LSJ s.v. I.2). Thrasydaios's victory brought to the spectators' minds his father's hearth because he would have been announced by the herald as 'son of x': cf. Hes.Theog.438 τοκεῦσι δὲ κῶδος ὀπάξει (sc. ὁ νικῶν); Pi.0.5.8 ὄν πατέρ' Ἀτρῶν' ἐκάρυξε (sc. νικᾶσας).

Pindar likes tmesis; with ἐπί: P.2.9-10 ἐπί... (ten words) τίθησι κόσμον; O.8.32 Ἰλῖωι μέλλοντες ἐπὶ στέφανον τεύξαι; O.2.36-7 θεόρτωι σὺν ὀλβωι ἐπί τι καὶ πημ' ἄγει; cf. P.5.93 πρυμνοῖσι ἀγοραὶ ἐπὶ δῖχα κεῖται θανῶν - either tmesis of ἐπικέεται or ἐπί is a preposition governing πρυμνοῖσι. He uses tmesis with all prepositions except ἐί and ἐν (Slater, s.v. ἐν, cites O.7.44 and O.10.74 as examples, but in both places ἐν δ' means 'and therewithal'), usually to throw emphasis onto an important word: cf. O.13.59

οἱ δὲ ἄπο πάμπαν εἰργόντες, 0.7.75 διὰ γαῖαν τείχε δακκάμενοι. Here the device stresses τρίτον.

The hyperbaton of πατρώων throws still more emphasis onto τρίτον τεύθεινον. Displacement of words in the opening sentence of an ode is common, to lengthen the sentence and give it grandeur: 0.6 init. χρυσέας...κίοναι, 0.7.init. φίλων καχλάζοικαι; other stress-ful examples of hyperbaton: 0.9.85, 0.10.30 (Ἡρακλέης), P.1.44, P.9.89-89a, N.2.23-4.

13. Θρακυδαῖος: the name may recur at Pi.Thren.11.1=fr.128b.

15-16. Πυλάδα: Delphi was in Phocis whose king used to be Strophios, father of Pylades. Pylades's paternal grandfather was Krisos, homonymous with the place Krisa, and his great-grandfather Phokos (Asius ap. Paus.2.29.4). According to Agathon (TrGF39F17) Pylades instituted the religious amphictyony at Delphi to purge the pollution caused by Clytemnestra.

16. νικῶν here represents the imperfect indicative which is the regular tense of νικᾶν for referring to a past victory, though the aorist is occasionally used: cf. ἐνίκη Αἰχύλοιοι in the hypo-

theseis to A.Suppl., Sept., Pers., and in the Διδασκαλία = I.G. ii(2).2319-23; but note Sim.Epig.Graec.43(Page) ἐνίκη/ἐν Δελφοῖσι ποτε(1-2) ... καὶ Νεμέσι τοῖς ἐνίκησεν(7).

Λάκωνος Ὀρέστα: cf. N.11.34 Ἀμύκλαθεν γὰρ ἔβη εὐν Ὀρέστα (sc. Peisandros), and below, 31-2 θάνεν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἥρωε Ἀτρεΐδαε ἴκων χρόνωι κλυταῖ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις. Since in the Fifth Century Sparta, not Mycenae, was flourishing, Pindar follows Stesichorus in placing Agamemnon's palace in Lacedaimon (PMG216; Homer puts it in Mycenae, Od.3.304). Herodotus (1.68) says Sparta claimed to own Orestes's bones. To those who knew Stesichorus's story

Ἄλιωνος might have been a hint at what myth was to follow.

17. τὸν δὲ: a relative connector often introduces the myth, e.g. O.1.25, P.10.31. δὲ is common after a relative or demonstrative pronoun which introduces, as here, the person or thing just mentioned into a new context: cf. E.Alc.4, [A]P.V.815.

N.B. 1) Pindar does not in P.11 have a gnomic passage linking victor and myth; contrast e.g. P.10.28-9, O.4.18. 2) Spartan Orestes only indirectly, via Pylades, has any connection with where Thrasydaios won. 3) Pindar begins the myth at the beginning of a new triad; the lack of enjambement emphasises the discontinuity between what is to follow and what has preceded; contrast P.8.39, P.9.5, compare P.12.9.

EXCURSUS on MYTH in PINDAR: mention of mythical exploits in Pindar takes many forms, from 13 triads in P.4 to two words at O.10.15, and is connected with the rest of the ode in a variety of ways. The myth may be connected in one respect, e.g. syntactically, but not in another; the type of connection varies from ode to ode. Generalisations smudge these differences and have caused them to be neglected: M. R. Lefkowitz, The Victory Ode 156 '... the standard format of the victory ode'; E. L. Bundy, Studia Pindarica I. Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Phil. 17, 1962, 3 as far as concerns the epinician 'there is no passage in Pindar and Bakchulides that is not in its primary intent encomiastic - that is, designed to enhance the glory of a particular patron... It should be evident that the Epinikion must adhere to those principles that have governed enkonomia from Homer to Lincoln's Gettysburg address'.

By saying after the Agamemnon myth in P.11 that he must now turn to praise Thrasydaios (44), Pindar emphasises how the myth itself was not wholly aimed at praising Thrasydaios.

The heterogeneity of Pindar's mythical stories and mention

of mythical characters is brought out by the following list; it categorises mythical references in the Olympians and Pythians:

1. Herakles mentioned because he founded the Olympic Games: 0.2.3, 3.11, 6.68; cf. 0.10.24f.
2. Ganymede mentioned because of his beauty: 0.1.44, 10.105.
3. Bare mention (no story) of other characters: 0.2.75 Rhadamanthos, 2.78 Peleus and Kadmos, 9.112 Aias, 10.15-6 Kyknos and Herakles, P.4.291 Titans.
4. Mythical character mentioned, with short story about him; no link with victor given: 0.2.81-3 Achilles.
5. Mythical character mentioned, with short story about him; link with victor made explicit: P.6.28-42 Antilochos, 8.39-56 Amphiareus; 1.50-5 Philoktetes; 0.6.12-22 Adrastos.
6. Mythical character matched with victor; no story: 0.10.19 Patroklos; P.6.21-3 Achilles.
7. Mythical character matched with someone else; no story: 0.10.20 Achilles; P.4.289 Atlas.
8. Mythical character illustrates gnome on power of poetry; no story: P.1.94 Croesus (cf. ib.96. Phalaris), 3.112 Sarpedon and Nestor, 11.59-62 Kastor, Pollux and Iolaos.
9. Mythical character illustrates some other gnome, with story: 0.4.19f. Erginos, 2.22f. the daughters of Kadmos; P.2.21f. Ixion, 9.79f. Iolaos, 10.31f. Perseus, 3.86f. the daughters of Kadmos, Achilles.
10. Myth corrects a previous version: 0.1.36f. Pelops, 7.20f. Tlapolemos.
11. Mythical character comes from victor's homeland: 0.4.7 Typhos, 6.36 Aipytos, 7.14 Rhodos, 8.30 Aias, 9.41 Protogeneia, 13.52-3 Sisyphos and Medea; P.1.16 Typhos, 4.6 and 5.55 Battos, 8.99 Aias (cf. P.10.105f., 0.6.24-5).

Pindar also varies the technical connection between the myth and the rest of the ode. Most commonly a relative pronoun is the link: O.1.25, 2.38, 78, 3.13, 4.19, 8.31, 13.63; P.1.16, 3.5, 4.10, 8.39, 9.5, 10.31, 11.17, 12.6. Sometimes a relative adverb: O.1.143, 3.26, 4.4, 9.2. Also via 'they say': O.2.28; P.2.21 (cf. O.1.47). Sometimes there is asyndeton: P.6.28 (starting a new strophe), O.7.20 (starting a new triad).

Consideration of these two points alone, Pindar's use of myth in the Pythians and Olympians and how he slots in the mythical characters, shows that he did not stick to one scheme; the form of his odes is unpredictable and varies.

The AGAMEMNON MYTH in PYTHIAN 11 & ELSEWHERE: the Odyssey frequently mentions Agamemnon's death: Od.1.298-300, 3.193-8, 3.234-5, 3.254f., 3.303f., 4.529f., 11.405f. In Books 1 and 3 Orestes's revenge is an example to be followed by Telemachos; in 11 Agamemnon contrasts Penelope's devotion with Clytemnestra's infidelity. Pindar was not the first to draw moral conclusions from the story.

Aigisthos appears to be the main planner of the deed at Od. 11.409-10, 4.529f., 3.261, perhaps to parallel Penelope's male suitors. But Clytemnestra is involved (Od.11.429f.) and is *δολο-*
μητις (Od.11.422), *εργερεητις* (Od.3.310) and *κυνωπις* (Od.11.424).

The death of Cassandra is mentioned by Agamemnon (Od.11.421-2), but not her prophetic powers (cf. Sch.11.24.699 *οὐ γὰρ Ὀιδεν ἀτιγὴν μάντιν ἔποιήτης*); they are, however, attested for the Cypria by Proclus (OCT v. p.103, 1.2) and are probable in Stesichorus (SLG133(a)i.6.). The Tabula Iliaca Capitolina, a fragmentary marble relief (c. 1st Century A.D.) containing scenes from the Iliad, Aithiopsis, Little Iliad, and Stesichorus's Iliou Persis, includes a scene that has been interpreted as Cass-

andra prophesying as the horse enters Troy (so M.Palucke, De Tabula Iliaca Quaestiones Stesichoreae, 1897; reproductions of the relief in A.Sadvraska, Les Tables Iliques). C.Robert (Griechische Heldensage 997f., 1268n.2) infers she was a prophetess prior to Pindar from her being depicted naked on some 6th and 5th Century vases, but being naked is not a sufficient condition for being prophetic; her nakedness could be a hint at her rape by Lokrian Aias. It is, therefore, likely but not certain that she was portrayed as a prophetess before Pindar; he stresses the prophetic side to her character by putting $\mu\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\nu$ first word in the third triad.

Aeschylus spells out in detail Agamemnon's death (esp. Ag.1125f., 1384f.), and the possible motives of Clytemnestra on which Pindar speculates (P.11.22f.) are suggested by him too.¹⁴ Homer is quiet about Iphigeneia's sacrifice, but may hint at it in Il.1.71,106f.; the Cypria had it (OCT v. p.104, 1.16), and probably Hesiod (fr.23a,b).

THE RELEVANCE OF THE MYTH:

1. The theme of a son renewing his father's honour is common to both myth and victor.¹⁵
2. Pindar has tailored the story to suit Thrasydaios, diverging from the Odyssey version (Od.3.307) in which Orestes is sent away to Athens and sending him to Phocis instead (perhaps already in the Nostoi: cf. OCT Hom.v. p.109, 1.3); this provides the topographical connection since Pytho was in Phocis. Orestes's journey to Strophios, who lives at the foot of Mt. Parnassos (36), and triumphant return later is analogous to Thrasydaios's journey to Parnassos for the Games and his triumphant return. Parnassos, here used to indicate Strophios's residence, is often mentioned by Pindar as the venue for the

- Pythian Games (O.13.106, P.10.8, N.2.19).
3. Also relevant to Thrasydaios is the moralising at lines 28-30
κακολόγοι δὲ πολῖται. ἴσχει τὲ γὰρ ὄλβος οὐ μείονα φθόρον
ὃ δὲ χαμηλὰ πνέων ἄφαντον βρέμε. Similar sentiments might have
prefaced the myth as an introductory gnome linking myth and
victor (as at e.g. P.10.19f.).¹⁶ In P.11 Pindar chooses to insert
a moralising link into the middle of the myth; on the one
hand the lines are relevant to Clytemnestra: the citizens
of Amyklai gossip maliciously about her relationship with
Aigisthos and are envious of her prestigious position as wife
of King Agamemnon. But the lines are couched in general
enough terms to refer also to the victor's success or olbos:
he, too, will get his share of spiteful remarks from his
envious fellow-citizens. Line 30 ὃ δὲ χαμηλὰ πνέων ἄφαντον βρέμε
means in the context of athletics: he who stays at home and
does not even try to be successful at the Games remains in-
conspicuous and achieves nothing, a common Pindaric observ-
ation (cf. P.4.185-7, Parth.fr.104c.6f., fr.227).¹⁷
4. The moralising at 50f. has a similar double function; it impli-
cates Agamemnon's family and household, which was a τυραννίς
possessing ὄλβος that attracted envy and which was not above
ὕβρις or acting in despite of the gods. On the other hand the
lines are relevant to Thrasydaios: his athletic success depend-
ed on the gods, and he should be moderate in his ambitions
for further success, aspiring to what is feasible and not in
despite of the gods.
5. Line 54 ξυνάκι δ' ἀμφ' ἀρετῶν τετραμαί means 'I'm at full stretch
after virtues that can be shared in'. The underlying thought
in the context of P.11 is that the ὄλβος of tyrannies is only
enjoyed by a few. But 'shared virtues' have among their
number Thrasydaios's victory which is shared in by the Theban

community (at 10-11 above it was a χάρις to Thebes; at P.9.3 the victories of Telesikrates are for the common good, τὸ γ' ἐν ξυνῶι πεποναμένον εὖ).

17. In typically succinct style Pindar in one line mentions four characters in the myth. Arsinoe's action alludes to a version of the story in which Clytemnestra was about to kill Orestes too.

Ἀρσινόα: Pindar does not choose a servile name (Aeschylus names Orestes's nurse Cilissa at Ch.733, slaves regularly being named after their country of origin) but a heroic name as Stesichorus had done (Laodameia, according to Sch.A.Ch.733). B.Van Groningen, La Composition Litteraire Archaïque Grecque 359, considers reading ἄρσινόα as an adjective = 'sagace'. But ἄρσι - compounds for ἄρσι - do not occur, and it would be -νοα not -νόα .

Φονευομένου: cf. ἔρφοναίη (37) at the end of the myth, an example of ring composition as at O.7.20~77.

Κλυταιμνήστρα: "This is the only ancient form of the name...The intrusion of the late form with ν ...is entirely due to the etymologising fancies of a late period", W.Schulze quoted by Fraenkel ad A.Ag.84. Schulze (Kleine Schriften 697-8) points out that the form without ν is the form found on early vases: see e.g. J.D.Beazley, Paralipomena - Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters and Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters 367. All mss. here read the form with ν, but at Pi.N.10.6 the oldest ms. B gives ὑπερμήστρα (ὑπερμνήστρα D) and M gives -μήστρα at A.Ag.84.

18. χειρῶν ὑπὸ κρατερῶν: emphasising that Clytemnestra killed Agamemnon with her own hands. Pindar says nothing of Aigisthos having a role in the murder (contra Homer).

19-21. The order of the narrative - first, mention of

Kassandra; then, Agamemnon's journey across Acheron; finally, the comment, *νηλικὴ γυνή*, on Clytemnestra, follows the sequence of thought expressed by Agamemnon in Hades (Od.11.421-9).

20. Κασσάνδραν: "There can be no doubt that *κασσ-* is the only genuine form...Attic *ΚΑΤΑΝΔΡΑ* provides conclusive proof; for only *κασσ-*, not *κασ-*, could become Attic *Κατ(τ)-*", Fraenkel ad A.Ag 1035. *ΚΑΤΑΝΔΡΑ* is found on a black-figure amphora, a plate, and the coins of King Kassander, but possibly both spellings are genuine: *κασ-* all mss. at Ag.1035, and compare *Πάριος*, *-ασσος* (v. K.-B.i.270).

πολιῶι χαλκῶι: *πολιός* is used elsewhere by Pindar either of the sea or as a sign of the whiteness of old age (not the grey-ness; cf. *πολιός* at Anacreon 395PMG as a synonym for *λευκοί*). Whiteness is its basic colour sense, hence it can also denote brightness, even of *ἄρ* Hes.Op.477 (see West ad loc.) and 492.

Why Homer calls iron *πολιός* is uncertain (ancient guesses ap. Sch.II.9.366), but perhaps because of iron's brightness or whiteness when heated, cf. *λίθων σίδηρος* e.g. II.4.485.

πολιῶι χαλκῶι recurs at Pi.P.3.48; Slater (s.v. *χαλκός*) suggests the phrase means an iron implement (cf. Sch.P.3.83a *τῶι λαμπρῶι σιδήρῳι*), presumably an inference from the Homeric *πολιῶι σιδήρῳι* (Od.23.3,81, 24.168 etc.); but there it is *σιδήρῳι* not *πολιῶι*, that means iron. More likely, *πολιῶι χαλκῶι* both here and at P.3.48 means 'with a bright and shining (because newly sharpened) bronze implement'. It is typical of Pindar to give a new application to a Homeric epithet: cf. P.9.9 *ἀργυρόπεζ' Ἀφροδίτα* - in Homer the epithet is used only of Thetis; P.4.98 *καί τις ἀνθρώπων* *σε χαμαιγενέων πολιῶς ἐξανήκεν γαστέρας*; glossed wrongly by Sch.P.4.172, 174b as *τιμῶς*; rather, 'hoary' i.e. old and beyond the age when she should have been child-bearing - contrary to the regular Homeric

meaning of πολῖος 'old and venerable' when used of people or their hair, e.g. Il.22.77; cf. Pi.0.4.26, 0.6.15.

20-1. Ἀγαμεμνονίαί ψυχάι : equals Ἀγαμεμνονοσ ψυχάι; a favourite trope of Pindar, cf. 0.2.13 κρόνιε πατὶ ῥέας, 0.10.15 Κύκνεια μάχα, 0.10.26-7 Πρωσιδάνιον... κτέωνον, P.6.32 Νεκτορείου ἄρμα, P.8.19-20 Ξενάρκειον ὕιον, N.7.53 ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίαια. In this instance Pindar may have had in mind 0.3.264 πολλ' Ἀγαμεμνονέην ἄλοχον θέλγεσκεν ἔπεσσιν.

21. ἄκταν παρ' εὐσκίων: 'along the shadowy, sunless shore', cf. Virg. A.6.268-9 ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram/perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna. But shadowy ghosts fit well into a shady landscape, and Pindar may have in mind their presence too, i.e. εὐσκίων is chosen to mean also 'where there are lots of shades of the dead', cf. Od.10.495 τοὶ δὲ κικιά ἄϊσσουσιν 'the others, in contrast to Teirisias, flit about as shadows'; A.Sept.976 Οἰδίπου κικιά; S.Aj.1257 ὅς (sc. Aias) ἀνδρὸς οὐκέτ' ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἦσεν κικιάς.

πόρευ' : so V and F, followed by e.g. Schroeder and Snell; πορεύς' B and Y (and E originally, before change to πορεύ').

Schroeder in support of πορεύ' notes the paraphrase of Sch.P.11.25c ἔπεμπε; but this is not significant since Sch.P.11.34 paraphrases the imperfect πάρχων (25) by the aorist παρήγαγον.

After ὅποτε in a temporal clause referring to the past, Pindar uses both imperfect (0.9.98) and aorist (P.3.91) indicative. Here the imperfect is preferable (1) after φονευομένου (17), both tenses thereby viewing the action as going on for some time, 2) the imperfect gives the background against which the act is performed.

22f. By giving these alternative explanations Pindar asks 'Which version of the story are we to believe?' Before Pindar

the legend about Iphigeneia was fluid: in the Iliad (9.145) Agamemnon says he has three daughters *Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιδάνασσα* and Iphigeneia's sacrifice is not explicitly mentioned (see end of excursus on the Agamemnon myth after note on 1.17); the author of the Cypria said he had two daughters, Iphigeneia and Iphianassa (fr.15 Allen) and that Iphigeneia was the one sacrificed (OCT v. p.104); Hesiod said Iphimede was the girl sacrificed (fr. 23.17) and that Iphianassa was a daughter of Proitos and Sthenoboa (fr.129.24); he identified Iphimede with Artemis *Ἐνοσίη* (fr.23a.26). Stesichorus calls Iphigeneia Hecate (PMG 215), and her father is Theseus (PMG 191). It is likely that Iphigeneia started life as a goddess; she was linked in cult with Artemis (v. Lloyd-Jones, JHS 103,1983,95).

Speculation about motives is a characteristic of Euripidean choruses: E.Tro.178f., I.T.399f., Ion681f., Med.149f., 357f., And. 126f., Hipp.141f.

23. ἔκνιεν : Schroeder's *ἔκνιξεν* (Lyr.Gr.Prol.ii.para.62, p.32) is unlikely to be correct; though the position (2nd of a glyconic) is theoretically anapest, it is short in every other strophe.

βαρυτάλαμον : 'with heavy hands', cf. *χειρῶν ὑπὸ κρατερῶν* (18): her anger was heavy-handed because she wielded the axe that killed Agamemnon.

χολόν: *λόχον* (V) may derive from memory of Od.4.529-31 *αὐτίκα δ' Αἰγίως δολίην ἐφράσσατο τέχνην κρινάμενος κατὰ δῆμον ἔεικοςί φῶτα ἀρίστους, εἶπε λόχον*. At O.7.30-1 Pindar introduces *χόλος* to exculpate Tlapolemos; cf. Il.18.108 *καὶ χόλος ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπήναι*. Aristotle approved of anger in moderation, Nic.Eth. 2.7.10.

24. δαμαζομέναν: applied to women, the verb is regularly used of them being subdued to a man by force, e.g. Il.3.301 ἄλοχοι δ' ἄλλοισι δαμῶσιν. Pindar here envisages Clytemnestra dominated by Aigisthos. Contrast Aeschylus's view in the Agamemnon, according to which Aigisthos is a weak outsider (perhaps a departure from earlier versions, v. O.Taplin, The Stagecraft of Aeschylus 329-30). For the verb in this context cf. Od.3.265-9 ἣ δ' ἦ τοι τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀναίνετο ἔργον ἀεικέες, δῖα κλυταίμηστρη... ἀλλ' ὅτε δή μιν μοῖρα θεῶν ἐπέδαψε δαμῶσιν (sc. by Aigisthos).

25f. τὸ δὲ νέαι ἀλόχοι: this has been troublesome on the grounds that Clytemnestra was no longer a young or newly-wed wife when she murdered Agamemnon. But Greek girls married early, cf. Hes.Op.698 ἣ δὲ γυνὴ τέτορ' ἤβῳσι 'your wife should be 4 years past puberty when you marry her' (see West ad loc. for more examples of girls marrying young). At the time of her elopement with Aigisthos, Clytemnestra was in Pindar's view still a young wife.

The sense is not 'being subject to another man is a sin young wives detest', but 'being subject to another man is a most detestable sin in the case of young wives'. The detestability lies not in the young wives' eyes, but in Pindar's or men's generally.

This is a common view of adultery: Hes.Op.702-3 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ λήζειτ' ἀμεινον τῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ' αὖτε κακῆς οὐ εἶσιον ἄλλο; Sem.7.110 κεχρηστός γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ("denoting inattention", Lloyd-Jones ad loc.) - οἱ δὲ γείτονες χείρους ὄρωσιν καὶ τὸν, ὡς ἀμαρτάνει; Archil.196A (in *Delectus ex iambis et elegis Graecis* ed. West) 32-4.

26. ἀμπλακίον: a hapax; its cognates usually denote impiety: Ibycus 310 (PMG) παρ' θεοῖς ἀμβλάων; cf. Theogn.204, 810. But at Emp.115.3 ἀμπλακίῃσι refers to bloodshed, εὖτε τις ἀμπλακίῃσι φόνωι φίλα γυῖα μίγηι), and at Theogn.630 the word is non-specific, ἥβῃ καὶ νεότης ἐπικουφίζει νόον ἀνδρῶν, πολλῶν δ' ἐξαίρει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην.

For the word in a sexual context cf. A.Ag.1212 ἔπειθον οὐδέν' οὐδέν,
 ὡς τὰδ' ἤμπελακον ever since I erred in my relationship with Apollo',
 of Cassandra (for the sexual nature of her offence v. Lloyd-¹⁸
 Jones ad l.1202 in his Prentice-Hall translation and commentary).

27-8. καλύπτει τ' ἀμάχανον ἀλλοτρίαισι γλώσσαις the adultery attracts attention, cf. Sem.loc.cit., Hes.Op.701. In Homer all that is said of the people's reaction to Clytemnestra and Aigisthos is (Od.3.305) δέδηκτο δὲ λαὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶι (sc. Aigisthos).

29. τε γάρ : each particle to be taken separately, with the τε looking forward to the δέ, cf. Il.23.276-8 ἴστε γὰρ ὅσον ἐμοὶ ἀρετῆι περιβάλλετον ἵπποι | ἀθάνατοί τε γὰρ εἰσι, Πρῶσιδάων δ' ἔπορ' αὐτούς | Πάτρι; Alc. 1.92-4 τῶι τε γὰρ σφραφόρωι ... τῶι κυβερνάται δέ; Pi. 4.79f. ἔσθας δ' ἀμφοτέρω νιν ἔχεν, ἃ τε Μακυνήτων ἐπιχώριος ... ἀμφὶ δέ ... S.Ant.1096-7 τό τ' εἴκαθεῖν γὰρ δεινόν, ἀντίσταντα δέ ...

The sentence relates to what has preceded because being Agamemnon's wife was ὄλβος¹⁹; therefore people were always on the look-out for something their φθόνος of her could take hold of. For the ὄλβος of kings and the envy it was liable to arouse cf. O.2.95f. of Theron; P.1.81f. & Bacch.5.188-90 of Hieron; A.Ag. 822-3 πάυροι γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ συγγενὲς τόδε, φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἄνευ φθόνων σέβειν spoken by Agamemnon on his return; S.Aj.154f. esp. 157 πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἔχονθ' ὁ φθόνος ἔρπει.

ὅ μείονα is best interpreted as = ἴσον ἑαυτῶι : the greater the ὄλβος the more φθόνος it arouses. Hence the next sentence: someone without any ὄλβος remains unnoticed.

30. ὁ δὲ χαμηλὰ πνέων: not 'one of low spirit' (LSJ), if despondency is meant. χαμηλός recurs in a metaphorical sense at A.P. 7.472.4 (Leonidas) τίς μοῖρα ζωῆς ὑπολείπεται, ἢ ὅσον ὅσον στιγμή καὶ στιγμή εἶ τι χαμηλότερον, "perhaps 'humbler'" Gow and Page ad.loc.,

but 'more insignificant' is preferable; similarly here ὁ χαμηλά πνέων means 'an insignificant member of society' in contrast to the man who has ἔλβος and is a prominent and affluent member of society.

χαμαλοί is commoner in classical Greek, but metaphorically only at Them.Orat.9.126a χαμαλοὶ καὶ μικροπρεπεῖς; cf. Philo ii.17.15 (Wendland) ὁ ταπεινὸς καὶ χαμαίζηλος Λαμέχ, ii.9.13 ταπεινὰ γὰρ ταῦτά γε καὶ λίαν χαμαίζηλα. But this later moral nuance is absent from Pindar's other χαμαι- words: O.9.11-12 πετροέντ' ἃ δ' ἴει γλυκὺν Πυθῶνάδ' οἰκτόν· οὗτοι χαμαιπετέων λόχων ἔφάψαι ('uninspired'), P.6.36-7 βόαιε παῖδα ὄν, χαμαιπετές δ' ἄρ' ἔπος οὐκ ἔπεριψεν ('ineffective', Nestor's timely shout saved Antilochus's life; cf. ἄπτερος μῦθος), N.9.6-7 τετελεσμένον ἔσλον μὴ χαμαὶ σιγαὶ καλύψαι (where it will remain insignificant).

The phrase is striking because πνέω transitively is usually used of fierce raging: Pi.P.10.44 θραεῖαι πνέων καρδίῳ; [E.]Rh.323 μέγα πνέων, E.And.189 πνέοντες μεγάλα; cf. Homer's μέγα πνεῖόντες Il.3.8 al.; A.Ag.219 φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαία; Bacch.10.22 θερμῆν ἀποπνεκίῳν ἄελλαν of a race-winner out of breath.

ἀφαντον βρέμει : βρέμω can denote either a loud or a soft noise, often the sound of sedition e.g. A.Ag.1030, Eum.978. It is usually wrongly translated here: 'murmer, grumble' LSJ s.v.; 'whispers' Bowra, Penguin translation; 'muttereth' Farnell. This destroys the point, which is that if you are an insignificant citizen, however hard you clamour you are inconspicuous. Translate 'roars unnoticed', cf. βρόμος of the loud and frightened neighing of horses A.Sept.476, of the roar of flames Il.14.496.

For the idea cf. Pi.Parth.fr.104c.6f. τιμαὶ δὲ βροτοῦν κερήμεναι παντὶ δ' ἐπὶ φθόνου ἀνδρὶ κέτα ἄρετᾶς ὁ δὲ μὴδὲν ἔχων ὑπὸ σιγαὶ μελαίνῃ καὶ κέρυπται (μελαίνῃ suggests the blackness of death: he who achieves nothing is as good as dead); Euenus in Theogn.669f.; S.Aj.170-1.

Lines 29-30 are also relevant to the victor's success: see para.3 of The Relevance of the Myth (at end of notes on 1.17).

31. ἥρωε Ἀτρείδαι: Epic, cf. Od.15.52 ἥρωε Ἀτρείδαι δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος. Sometimes - it depends on the context - Pindar distinguishes men from heroes: O.2.2 τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα, fr.133.3f. ψυχὰς... ἔκ τᾶν... ἄνδρες αὐξοῦντ' ἔς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥρωεσ ἄγνοὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καλῶνται (eschatological passages). Contrast e.g. P.2.31-7 ἥρωε... αἰθρῆσ ἀνὴρ of Ixion (v. M.L.West, Hes.Op.Excursus 1,370-3: ἥρωε like κούρος has two senses, religious and secular.

Lines 31f. amplify 17f.

32. χρόνω: Pindar is imprecise because his treatment of the story is summary; contrast Od.3.304f. ἔπταέτεσ δ' ἦνκεσ πολυχρύσοιο Μυκῆνῆσ κτείνασ Ἀτρείδῃν... τῶι δὲ οἱ ὄγδοτάτῳ κακὸν ἤλυθε διασ' Ὀρέσῃσ; A.Ag. 40f. δεκάτον μὲν ἔτοσ τῶδ'.

κλυταῖσ ἐν Ἀμύκλαισ: cf. PMG216 Ὀμηροσ δὲ ἐν Μυκῆναισ (Il.7. 180, 11.46) φησὶ τὰ βασιλεία Ἀγαμέμνονοσ, Σπυρίχοροσ καὶ Σιμωνίδησ ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι. This relocation is because in the lyricists' day Lacedaimon, not Mycenae, was flourishing.

Pindar sometimes interchanges Amyklai and Sparta: N.11.33-4 τὸ τε Πεισάνδροσ πάλαι αἶμ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτασ Ἀμύκλαιθεν γὰρ ἔβα σὺν Ὀρέσῃσ; N.8.12 οἱ τ' ἀνὰ Σπάρταν Πελοπηιάδασι. But here, when he says Amyklai he probably means it, cf. Paus.3.19.6 Ἀμύκλαι... θεασ παρέιχετο ἄξιον ἱερὸν Ἀλεξάνδροσ καὶ ἀγάλμα' τὴν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδροσ οἱ Ἀμυκλαιεῖσ κασσάνδροσ τὴν Πριάμου φασὶν εἶναι. καὶ κλυταμῆστροσ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα εἰκὼν καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονοσ νομιζόμενον μνήμα.

33. μάντιν τ' ὄλεσε κόραν: for Cassandra's portrayal as a prophetess v. The Agamemnon Myth in Pythian 11 and Elsewhere (ap. notes on 1.17). Pindar may have reported her Trojan prophecy at fr.52i(A)10f. ἔγκλαξε[ν] <θ> ἱερ[/ δωμόνιον κέαρ ὀλοαῖσι στονοχαῖσ ἀφάρ, / καὶ τοῦδε κορυφαῖ κάμεινεν λόγων... ἔειπε δὲ μ[αντισ] (suppl. Schroeder); v.

Fraenkel ad A.Ag.156 (quoting Headlam) "ἀπέκλαυξεν like ἔκλαυξεν (201) expresses the loud and excited tone of voice which marked the spirit and exultation of the μάντις".

Euripides in his Alexandros had a prophetic Cassandra, P.Oxy. 2457 col.i.25f.; so, too, Ennius in his Alexander (v. Vahlen, Alex.fr.8) and Bacchylides (Porphyr. ad.Hor.Od.1.15 ille sc. Bacch. Cassandram facit vaticinari futura belli Troiani).

ὄλεσσε has proved troublesome on the grounds that earlier (19-21) Clytemnestra was said to have killed Cassandra. But ὄλλυμι is a wide-ranging verb: it can mean 'kill', but cf. ὄλλυμαι 'I'm done for', not 'I'm killed'. θάνεν earlier (31) guides us how to interpret ὄλεσσε here; 'led to her death'. As the next phrase shows, Pindar means that Agamemnon's sacking of Troy led to Cassandra's death.

ἔπει: sometimes used by Pindar rather vaguely to link events, cf. O.1.26, O.2.79; but here it means 'after'.²⁰

ἀμφ' Ἑλέαι : Homer recognises Helen as a cause of the Trojan war: Il.19.325 εἵνεκα ῥιγεδανῆς Ἑλένης Τρωῶν πολέμῳ says Achilles, Il.3.156-7 οὐ νέμεσις... τοιγὶδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλλα πάσχειν say the Trojan OAPs; but the Iliad only reports others as saying she was the cause of the war, v. Kakridis, Homer Revisited 25f.; J.Griffin, JHS 97, 1977, 43. For her causing the war cf. Alc.PLF42, Ibycus PMG 282, Pi.Paeon 6.95f.; for the wooing of her v. Hes.fr.204, Stes.PMG 190. Pindar's six mentions of her are all very briefly made; Bacchylides never names her: she was not a heroine from whom examples of virtuous behaviour came readily to hand.

ἀμφ' = 'because of'. Pindar uses ἀμφί c. dat. freely to denote various connections, v. LSJ s.v. B.111, but always the word in the dative refers to what is literally, or more usually metaphorically, central. Here Pindar may have in mind Il.3.70 ἀμφ' Ἑλέαι ;

cf. ib.157 ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ (sc. Helen) ἄλγεα παύχειν; Alc.42(LGS)15-6 οἱ δ' ἀπώλοντ' ἀμφ' Ἐλένκι.

33-4. πυρῶθέντας Τρώων ἔλυσε δόμους ἄβρότατος : πυρῶθέντας is an emendation of Snell and Bergk (v. Schroeder, Lyrici Graeci 264) for πυρῶθέντων of the mss. In favour of -θέντων : 1) Sch.P.11.47b

σμφλεχθείης τῆς Τροίης καὶ τῶν ἔνοικούντων Τρώων suggests the scholiast read -θέντων (though this is not decisive evidence); 2) Pindar likes the picture of people on fire: P.3.38f. Asclepius inside his blazing mother, P.3.102-3 Achilles on his pyre, N.9.23 the Seven against Thebes on their pyres.²¹

πυρῶθέντων Τρώων is not a genitive absolute; Τρώων depends on δόμους.

34. ἄβρότατος : ἄβρότας and ἄβροός, though used elsewhere by Pindar in a non-pejorative sense, e.g. P.8.89, O.5.7, are frequently used by other authors of Asiatic extravagance, v.LSJ s.v. ἄβροός; cf. Xenoph.fr.3(W). Here wealth is meant, cf. Ibyc.S.151.1f. Πριάμοιο μέ[γ' ἄ]τῳ περικλεές ὄλβιον ἦναρον... [ἔ]κ[α]νθάς Ἐλένας περί...

Τρώων ἔλυσε δόμους ἄβρότατος is a fusion of two ideas, 'he destroyed the homes of the Trojans', and 'he bereft the homes of their wealth', yielding 'he reft the homes of the Trojans of their wealth'. λύω = I bereave τι τινός is usually applied to releasing people from physical pain, e.g. Hes.Theog.528 ἔλυκατο δυσδρακονάων -ἔλυκατο here in an active sense; λύω = I destroy, annul, usually of non-physical things e.g. νείκεα. Pindar may have been thinking of Il.16.100 Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν.

Agamemnon, having sacked Troy, returns home laden with wealth - a fitting target for φθόνος, v. P.Walcot, Envy and the Greeks ch.4.

ὁ δ' ἄρα : 'but he, as already intimated'. For ὁ δέ separated from its referent (Orestes, 1.16) v. Slater s.v. ὁ, ὅ, ὅς B.1.e.

35. Στροφίον : related to Agamemnon in some accounts, E.I.T. 917-8 Or. Στροφίος ὁ Φωκεὺς τοῦδε (Pylades) κληῖται πατὴρ: Iph. ὁ δ' ἐστὶ γ' Ἀτρέως θυγατρός, ὁμογευῆς ἑμός; Asius fr.5 Kinkel Πυλάδης, Στροφίου τε ὦν τοῦ Κρίου καὶ Αναξιβιάς ἀδελφῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος.

He is usually said to be Phocian (A.Ag.879, Ch.679; E.Or. 18, I.T.917), son of Krisos, eponymous founder of Krisa in Phocis. By placing his home at the foot of Mt. Parnassos, Pindar means he lived at Krisa. This way of referring to Krisa is especially suitable for a Pythian ode because 'at the foot of Mt. Parnassos' also suggests Delphi (cf. e.g. O.13.106 τὰ δ' ὑπ' ὄφρ' Παρνακκίαι), giving a topological link between the myth and the victory; see The Relevance of the Myth (at end of notes on 1.17) para.2.

νέα κεφαλά : νέα(ι) κεφαλά(ι) mss. The corruption was probably an attempt to avoid the confusion resulting from the change of gender between ὄδ'ε and νέα κεφαλά, and from the subject of the sentence (ὄ δ'ε) having already come.

νέα κεφαλά is nominative, in apposition to ὄ δ'ε; κεφαλά is quasi-figurative, a use more common in friendly addresses, cf. Il.23.94 τίπτε μοι, ἦθειν κεφαλή, δεῦρ' εἰληλουθας (Achilles to the soul of Patroclus), Il.8.281 Τεῦκεε, φίλη κεφαλή, Τελμωνίε; Simon.543.17 καλὸν πρόσωπον; S.Ant.1 ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμύνης κάρη; E.Or.1380 Ἰδαῖον κάρη (of Helen's Phrygian servant); Prop.4.11 Te, dulce caput, mater Scribonia. For other examples v. Wendel, die Gesprächsanrede im griechischen Epos und Drama der Blütezeit.

κεφαλά was so used because the head was reckoned the dearest part of one; hence its use not in addresses to mean life: Bacch.5.91 (v. Maehler ad loc.; to his examples add Il.18.114 νῦν δ' εἶμ' ὄφρα φίλης κεφαλῆς (Patroclus) ὀλετήρα κίχαιώ, Ἔκτορα, Il.11.55 πολλὰς ἰφθιμούς κεφαλὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν ; cf. Hor.Od.1.24.2 tam cari capitis. Compare τὰ κεφάλαια 'the essentials', and see West

ad Hes.Op.106-7.

36-7. χρονίωι σὺν Ἄρει: a précis of seven lines of the Odyssey, Od.3.304f. ἐπτάετες δ' ἦναισε πολυχρῦσοιο Μυκηνῆς / κτείνας Ἀτρεΐδην, δέδμητο δὲ λαὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶι / τῶι δέ οἱ ὄδοπατῶι κακὸν ἦλυθε δῖος Ὀρέστης / ἄψ' ἀπ' Ἀθηνάων, κατὰ δ' ἔκτανε πατροφονῆα / Αἰγίεθον δολόμητιν, ὅ οἱ πατέρα κλυτὸν ἔκτα / ἦ τοι ὁ τὸν κτείνας δαίνυ τάφον Ἀργείοισι / μηρός τε στυγερῆς καὶ ἀνάγκιδος Αἰγίεθοιο.

37. Orestes's murder of Clytemnestra is dully ("not as dully as Pindar!" - MLW) told by Hesiod (fr.23a.26-30 λοῖεθον δ' ἐν μεγά- [ροισι κλυτ]αιμῆστρη κυανῶπις / γείναθ' ὑποδμηθεῖς Ἀγαμέμνον[ι δῖον] Ὀρέστην / ὅς ῥα καὶ ἠβήσας ἀπετείεατο π[ατροφον]ῆα / κτείνε δὲ μητέρα [σὴν ὑπερῆν]ορα νηλεί[χαλικῶι].

Θῆκε τ' Αἰγίεθον ἐν φοναῖς : 'put him in a murder situation' i.e. murdered him. (ἐν) φοναῖς is common as an adverbial phrase of manner: S.Ant.1003-4 καὶ σπῶντας ἐν χηλαῖσιν ἀλλήλους φοναῖς, ib.696 ἐν φοναῖς πεπτῶγ' ἄθαπτον, ib.1314 ποιῶι δὲ κάπελύσατ' ἐν φοναῖς τρόπῳ; A.Ag.445 τὸν δ' ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντα; cf. Sch.Lyc.Alex.1113. And since τίθημι is often used in periphrasis for a single verb (v. LSJ s.v. C.4), Θῆκε... ἐν φοναῖς is best taken together = ἐφόνευεν, a variation on πέφνεν (37).

ἐν φοναῖς harks back to φονευομένου (17), bringing the myth of murders to a close - an example of ring composition: see on 63-4.

38-40. ἦρ' (38): = ἦ ἄρα or ἦ ῥα; the combination can be either affirmative or interrogative, as can ἦ simpliciter (which is possible for Snell's ἦ (39) and was read by Bothe). Hence, neither the punctuation after τὸ πρῖν (39), nor the accent on ἦ (39) nor the punctuation after ἐνναλίαν (40) is obviously as Snell prints it.

There is no certain example of affirmative ἦρα in Pindar (P.4.57 is disputed); prima facie it would be unlikely here since affirmative ἦρα is virtually confined to Homer, v. Denniston, The Greek Particles 284, s.v. iii.(1); the only certain exception seems to be S.Aj.955 in a passage with other Epic language (cf. πολυτλας 956).

The most plausible interpretation is that ἦρα ... ἦ is interrogative...assertative, meaning: "Have I wandered off course (sc. unnecessarily, for which I am to blame)? No, what happened was that a wind (over which I had no control) blew me off course as it might a skiff (sc. and I can't be blamed for that any more than it would be the skiff's fault)". Pindar imagines a possible objection to his myth, but because he does not accept it he poses it not as a statement of fact but as a question so he can then answer it; ἦ...ἐνναλίω is the answer in the form of a description of what in fact happened. The order 'question...answer' prevents one being left in the lurch, gives a clear answer to the question, and thus fits in with Pindar's usual practice of replying to his questions, cf. (also in reply to questions about digressing) P.10.4 τί κομπῶ παρὰ καίρον; ἀλλά με Πυθιά... N.3.26f. θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἄλλοδαπὰν ἄκρον ἔμὸν πλοῦν παραμετρίεις; Αἰακῶι σε φαρμί... O.2.89f. ἔπεχε νῦν σκοπῶι τόξον; ἄγε θυμέ, τίνα βάλλομεν...; (answer, 1.95: Theron).

Alternatively, ²³ ἦ = 'or...?', and alternative ways of going astray are suggested. Line 41 then recalls the Muse to her duty, as at N.3.28, and the anticipated criticisms of irrelevance begin to be countered.

EXCURSUS: Questions in Pindar's epinicians fall into four categories:- 1) Rhetorical, expecting answer 'no one', 'none', 'not at all', 'nothing': O.1.82-4, O.2.99-100, O.6.4-7, P.2.78, P.7.5-8, I.1.5.

- 2) To introduce a story, modelled on Epic: O.10.60-3, P.4.70, I.5.39-42.
- 3) "What's the right subject to sing of?": O.2.2,89, P.10.4, P.11.38f., N.3.26-7, I.7.1f.
- 4) Questions in speeches: P.9.33f., P.4.97, N.10.76-7.

The only question in the epinicians where it is not clear what the expected answer is comes at P.8.95 τίς τίς; τίς τίς; τίς τίς; (cf. fr.140d (secl. Schroeder) τίς θεός).

The above categorisation shows that questions in the epinicians are largely devices to enable Pindar to move on to another theme, or for emphasis (the rhetorical ones). He does not use questions to joke with the reader, (cf. Alc.1.50,55-6; Sappho 115) or as personal enquiries, cf. Sappho 1.19, ead.129.

Questions in the surviving epinicians of Bacchylides and Simonides are like Pindar's: Sim.506 rhetorical; B.5.86-9 cf. Pi.P.4.97, P.9.33f.; B.9.53f. v. Maehler ad loc. comparing Pi.I.6.19-25: "Denselben Gedanken, den Pindar als doppelte Verneinung formt, hat B. zur rhetorischen Frage gewendet, einem von den Chorlyrikern nicht selten benutzten Stilmittel".

38. ὦ φίλοι : Thrasydaios and his father, the ones who would have been peeved at Pindar going off course and not praising them, cf. P.1.92f. μὴ δολωθῆς, ὦ φίλε, κέρδεσιν ἐντραπέλοισι addressed to Hieron, the recipient of the ode; N.3.76f. χαῖρε, φίλος ἐγὼ τόδε τοι πέμπω also to the recipient, Aristokleides, and as at P.11.38 preceding a hope from Pindar that the Muse will do her job. (N.3.83).

ἔδιναθην : -ήθην B. Verbs in -ω show forms in -ω in various dialects; ἔδιναθην should be retained as one of several examples of the reverse, a genuine dialect form in -ω from a verb normally in -ω, cf. E.Or.1458, B.17.18, Pi.Pa.20.13 δίνασεν;

Pi.0.6.11 ποιάθῃ (-ηθῆ C), P.9.93 πεποναμένον (-ημένον Schroeder),
 O.6.53 γεγεν(ν)αμένον (-ημένον Ahrens), O.13.67, N.10.76 φάνασε (-ησε
 Schroeder). Δίνασεν is found on papyrus, at B.17.18 and Pi.Pa.
 20.13, and forms in -αω from normally -εω verbs are also found
 occasionally in inscriptions, v. E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik
 i.185n.2.

In Pindar and Bacchylides the -αω form is confined to the
 aorist and perfect (contrast B.17.107 δίνητο, Pi.0.5.20 αἰτήων)
 but is not mandatory (cf. P.4.71 δῆσεν; compound adjectives, too,
 display both forms: B.5.2 ἵπποδίνητος, Pi.P.4.237 ἀφωνήτω; but
 Pi.I.5.6 ὠκυδινάτοις).

Whether Δίνασεν etc. should be termed hyperdoric (so e.g. H.
 Maehler, die Lieder des Bakchylides i.10; Snell, ed. Bacch. XLX)
 depends on it being proven that the only genuine forms known to
 Pindar were in -εω. K. Strunk, Glotta 42, 1964, 165-9 admits as a
 hyperdoric form in -αω only φίλα(ς)- (Theocritean) on the grounds
 that there is no form φίλα analogous to δίνα, φωνά.

The verb expresses a quick, darting motion and implies change
 of direction; hence, it is regularly applied to eyes: ?Anac.368,
 Il.17.680, Hym.Hom.Merc.45, Pi.Pa.20.13, B.17.17. "Did I go
 into aaspin, losing my bearings" is what Pindar means.

B. Forssman, Untersuchungen Zur Sprache Pindars 59, thinks
 δινέω meaning basically 'rotate' is unconnected in meaning with
 δίνω = 'thresh' corn (e.g. Hes.Op.598); but Greek corn was
 threshed by the feet of circling oxen (v. West ad Hes. loc.cit.).

κατ' ἀμευσίπορον τριόδον : -πόρου τριόδου Hermann, but P.
 Maas, Die neuen Responsionsfreiheiten bei Bakchylides und Pindar I,
Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin 1913, 289f.,
 compares B.5.189 χερὶν ἀπωσάμενον, 11.114 ἀνδραῖν <ἐς> ἵπποτροφον
 πόλιν Ἀχαιοῖς; Pi.P.3.6 γυιαρκέος Ἀσκληπιόν, P.4.184 ἤμιθέοισιν

πόδον ἔνδακιν ἦρα. See also Snell's editions of Bacchylides (Praefatio xxi) and of Pindar (Ad Prosodiam 1, p.174): 8 examples of Pindar lengthening final -ον before a vowel (for this phenomenon in general v. M.L.West, Greek Metre 16).

The plural would refer to several different sets of crossroads; τριόδος and τριόδοι are not in Classical Greek interchangeable as are English crossroad/-roads. Hekate inhabits τριόδοι because her shrine existed at many sets of crossroads. Contra LSJ (s.v. τριόδος), Moschus 1.2 ὅστις ἐνὶ τριόδοισι πλανώμενον εἶδεν Ἐρωτα/δραπετίδας ἕμος ἔστιν, and Epig.Graec.841 (Kaibel) are not examples of pl. pro sg.: the former concerns any of several crossroads where Eros might have been wandering; in the latter, the other plurals (πύλαι, δόμοι) show that a statue of the Hero was erected by Claudian's workmen at various crossroads (τὸν πρὸ πύλαι Ἡρώα, τὸν ἄλκιμον ἐν τριόδοισι/ τὸν κλεινὸν ναέτου θῆκαν ἔριθένης/ κλαυδιανῶ πρὸ δόμοι σοφο[] τεχνήες ἄνδρες. The only possible example of pl. pro sg. is I.G.iii.1418.2 ταῖς ποτ' ἐν τριόδοις σὺν σοι ἐπεστρέφωμαι, a snippet of verse prefacing a Roman prose inscription.

The singular, read by the scholiasts (Sch.P.11.58a,c,d) and Eustathius (Proem. para.21=Drachmann iii.293) gives better sense: Pindar only once took the wrong road, by embarking on the myth. This is analogous to taking the wrong road at a crossroad, less analogous to repeatedly taking wrong roads at crossroad after crossroad as the plural would imply.

Another metaphorical τριόδος turns up at Anon.ap.Theogn.911f. ἐν τριόδω δ' ἔστηκα· δὴ εἰς τὸ πρόθεν ὁδοί μοι... ἢ πρὸ χωβίων... ἢ ζῶω περπνῶς.

ἀμενσίπορον : 'where one has to change direction'. For a discussion of -πορος compounds v. O.Becker, Hermes Einzelschriften 4, 1937, 23f., esp.50f. Here the underlying idea is the journey of song (cf. O.6.22f., I.4.58 etc.). For the compound cf. fr.24 ἀμενσιεπῆ

φροντίδα ("ἢ φροντίς ἀμείβει τὰ ἔπη, wechselt die Worte findet neue dafür", Becker loc.cit.72n.61).

39. ὄρθαν κέλευθον: the context, contrasting the ὀ.κ. with a crossroad, a change of direction and going off-course, suggests ὄρθαν means here both straight and right.

For ὄρθος of roads cf. Theogn.945-6 εἶμι παρὰ σταθμῶν ὄρθῶν ὁδὸν οὐδετέρωσσε κλινόμενος; Ar.Av.1 ὄρθῶν κελεύεις; For the idea that the straight road is the right road cf. O.7.45-7 ἐπὶ μὲν βαίνει τι καὶ λάθας ἀτέκμαρτα νέφος, καὶ παρέλκει πραγμάτων ὄρθῶν ὁδὸν ἕξω φρενῶν; B.11.26-7 δίκας κέλευθον εἶ μή τις ἀπέτραπεν ὄρθας (ὄρθας perhaps a transferred epithet = ὄρθαν; see Maehler ad loc.).

PAREKBASIS: Lines 38-40 exemplify one of various devices Pindar uses to preserve a balance between different parts of his odes:-

1. I must be brief: P.1.81-2, P.4.247f., N.4.33-4, I.6.58-9.
2. I cannot say everything: P.8.29f., N.4.71-2, N.10.19, I.1.60f., I.6.56 (cf. O.2.99-100).
3. I shall recount only τὰ κεφάλαια: P.3.80, P.4.116-7.
4. Silence on some matters may be best: N.5.18, I.1.64, cf. fr.180.2.
5. I must stop: P.10.51, N.5.16, N.8.19.

P.11.38-40 is similar to O.13.93-4 ἐμὲ δ' εὐθὺν ἀκόντων ἴεντα ῥόμβον παρὰ σκοπὸν οὐ χρή... because I must sing of the Oligaihidai; cf. O.2.89, P.1.42-4, N.6.26-7 ('I must sing of Theron/Hieron/the Bassidai'). Going off-course could incur censure, cf. O.8.54f. εἶ δ' ἐγὼ μελίσσια ἕξ ἀγενείων κῦδος ἀνέδραμον ὕμνωι, μὴ βαλέτω με λιθῶι τραχεῖ φθόνος.

These passages help Pindar resolve a conflict he was faced with: to praise the winner, who was buying the poem; to be free to mention other subjects.

Lines like 38-40 emphasise what a hotch-potch of different items his odes are. The scholiasts, like many modern commentators,

assume that praise of the winner was always Pindar's chief concern and are quick to call anything else a παρέκβασις :

Sch.N.6.94a λέγει δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Πίνδαρος ὅτι παρεξέβη εἰς τὸ ὑμνεῖν τοὺς Αἰακίδας· ἔργον δὲ οὐκ ἐξέλαβε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ὑμνεῖν Αἰακίδων.

Sch.N.3.45b ἐπιλαμβάνεται ἑαυτοῦ ὡς περαιτέρω ἢ προσῆκεν εἰς τὸν περὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐπαίνουσαν τραπέντος, δεῖον λέγειν περὶ τῶν προγόνων τοῦ νενικηκότος,

Inscr.a P.4 γράφει δὲ καὶ εἰς ταύτην καὶ ἑτέραν αὐτοῦ νικῆν ἐφεξῆς. [P.5] ἥτις καὶ οἰκειότερα ἔστι κατὰ τὰ νοήματα καὶ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν· ἡ γὰρ δὴ προκειμένη ὡδὴ ἱστορικὴν ἔχει παρέκβασιν.

Inscr.P.5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ διήγημα ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ μᾶλλον ἐπινίκῳ ἢ ἢ ἔγκωμιον πεποιήται τῷ Πινδάρῳ καὶ παρέκβασις διηγηματικὴ τῶν κατὰ Ἰάκωνα, ἐδείξεν αὐτῷ καὶ δεύτερον γράφει ἐπινίκον.

Sch.P.8.43a ὑπερθέμενος, φησί, τὸ παρέκβάσει περὶ Αἰγίνης τι εἰπεῖν, μὴ κόρος ἐπιδράμη μου τοῖς ποιήμασι, ὃ νῦν ἐξέληφα ἔργον, τὸ ποσί μου τρέχον, τούτέστι (better τούτ' ἔστι, τοῦτο referring to ὅ) τὸ πρόσφατον· τί δὲ ἔστι τοῦτο; ἡ νίκη.

These caustic comments on Pindar's παρέκβασις are in the same vein as the scholiasts comments on the myth in P.11:

Sch.P.11.23b ἄριστα ὁ Πίνδαρος τὸ ἐγκώμιον εἰργάσατο· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς σφόδρα ἀκαίρῳ παρέκβάσει ἐχρήσατο.

Sch.P.11.58a ὑπάργυρος γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ φωνὴ καὶ ἔρμικθος, ὥστε οὐ δεῖ παρεκβαίνειν καὶ περὶ ἄλλων λέγειν, μισθὸν εἰληφῶτα.

Sch.P.11.58b ὡς περ ἐπιπλήττει ἑαυτῷ ὁ Π. ἀκαίρῳ παρέκβάσει χρυσάμενος.

Sch.P.11.58c ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφάλην τοῦ δεόντος, παρέκβάσει χρυσάμενος.

The παρέκβασις in question is lines 17-37, so designated by the scholiasts because they do not praise the victor or his victory, cf. Sch.P.10.46b μέχρι δὲ τούτων ὁ Πίνδαρος καλῶς τὸν ἐπινίκον γράφει· ἡστόχησε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄλόγῳ· παρέκβάσει χρυσάμενος.

Lack of an obvious connection between a mythical part of an ode and the rest sometimes led the scholiasts into absurd speculation:

Sch.N.7.1a ζητεῖται διατί ἀπὸ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας εἰςβέβληκε, καὶ τί δηΐποτε τῆς Εἰλειθυίας προσδιαλέγεται. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν φάσι νέον ὄντα τὸν Σωγέην ἑτέρου νικῆσαντος αὐτὸν κατὰ χάριν ἀπηγγέλαί τοῦ πατρὸς Θεαρῖωνος εἰς τοῦτο φιλοτιμηθέντος, τὸν δὲ ἀγωνισάμενον Νεοπτόλεμον τὸ ὄνομα Ἀχαιοῖν παρὸ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Νεοπτόλεμου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ... παρέκβηκε λόγους.

Sch.N.1.49c διαπορεῖται τίνι ἀφορμῇ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Ἡρακλέους λόγους παρήλαθε μηδεμίαν γὰρ ἔχειν εἰς τὰ παρόντα Ἡρακλέα οἰκειώσιν.

Sch.N.10.35 δικτί δὲ εἰς ταῦτα παρέκβέβηκεν; ὅτι ὁ ἀγωνὸν ἐνίκη ὁ Θεαῖος, τὰ ἑκατόμβαια, οὐκ ἦν ἐπίσημος οὐδ' ἐκτροπῆς ἔχων. ἴν' οὖν ἔχη μῆκος περιποιῆσαι τῆς ᾠδῆς, ἐπὶ τὴν καινότητα τῶν ἐπαίνων τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ κατήντησεν.

CONCLUSION: By censuring lines 17-37 as a παρέκβασις the scholiasts mean they have no obvious connection with the victor or victory. The use of the term as one of censure contrasts with its application to Roman oratory where the digressio or παρέκβασις was thought a necessary part of the speech (v. Quint.4.3.14; cf. the Homeric scholiasts, e.g. Il.16.666a, Il.14.1146, on Homer's παρέκβάσεις as necessary devices to give the listener a rest; see N.Richardson, CQ30,1980,266f.).

Though the Pindaric scholiasts are taking their cue from Pindar, they are working with a preconceived idea of what is suitable for an epinician. However much the victor himself may have wanted to be praised (cf. the reaction of Skopas to Simonides's praises of Castor and Pollux, PMG510), it is a mistake to suppose Pindar had no other ideas.²⁴

41. Μοῖσα : the address to the Muse prefaces a new section of the poem, as at P.1.58f. Μοῖσα, καὶ τὰρ Δεινομένει Πίθεό μοι ποιῶν τεθρίππων, N.6.27f. ἔσθον' ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἄγε Μοῖσα, ὄφρον' ἔπέων; cf. Il.2.484f. ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι ... οἵτινες ἡγέμενοι Δαναῶν καὶ κοῖραν οἴσαν; Ap.Rh.3.1-2 εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν Ἐρατώ... ἔνισπε, id.4.1-2; V.Aen.7.37 Nunc, age, qui reges, Erato...: the Muse is needed to provide new inspiration for the new theme.

41. τὸ δὲ τεόν : for the phrase cf. I.8.38-9 τὸ μὲν ἔμὸν Πηλεΐ
 γέρας θεομόρον ὄπασσαι γάμου Αἰακίδαί which is taken by Slater (s.v. ἔμός)
 and Sch.ad loc. as = κατ' ἐμέ or κατὰ τὴν ἔμην γνώμην, but more likely
 it = χρῆ ἔμέ (hence the following infinitive) as here τὸ δὲ τεόν = χρῆ' ce
 (hence the infinitive ταρσέμεν and the intrusion of χρῆ' into 1.42);
 cf. A.Sept.232 σὸν δ' αὖ τὸ σιγᾶν καὶ μένει εἰώδως S.El.1470-1
 οὐκ ἔμὸν τόδ' ἀλλὰ σόν, τὸ ταῦθ' ἔρξαι τε καὶ προσηγορεῖν φίλως.

The postponement of δέ', mainly in serious poetry, is common
 when the sentence opens with a vocative; δέ' then follows the
 first word in the main clause, so too with ἀλλά e.g. Pi.O.6.22
 ὦ φίλιε, ἀλλὰ ζεύξον. See Denniston 22-3, 189.

μικθίο : this reading for μικθῶι of the mss. is attributed
 by Snell to Christ. Christ's first edition of Pindar was pub-
 lished in 1869. But Bergk in his third edition (1866) had already
 made the suggestion, though he retracted it in his fourth edition
 (1878). Snell in his app. crit. writes "cf. paraphr." But
 though Sch.P.11.63 paraphrases with a genitive μικθοῦ (εἰ δὲ ἀληθῶς,
 ὦ ἡμετέρη Μοῦσα, μικθοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίου τὴν σὴν φωνὴν ὑπέσχου παρίσχειν)
 the lemma is εἰ μικθῶι συνέθευ.

μικθῶι cannot be retained; an extra short syllable is re-
 quired and a genitive of price needed, v. K-G i.377-8; cf. Thuc.
 7.25 τούτους [τοὺς σταυροῦς] κολυμβηταὶ δυόμενοι ἕξέπριον μικθοῦ, Xen.Cy.3.2.7
 μικθοῦ στρατεύονται, Th.5.6.2 ἄξοντα μικθοῦ θραϊκῆς ὡς πλείστους.

The genitive ending -οιο was particularly liable to corrupt-
 ion to -ου when the last syllable was elided, a non-Homeric free-
 dom: N.9.55 σκιοῦ mss., σκιοῖ' Ahrens; I.1.16 ἰολαίου mss., ἰολαοῖ'
 Mommsen; but no corruption at O.13.35 θεσσαλοῖ', or P.1.39 Δαλοῖ'.
 The route of the corruption may have been ΜΙΣΘΟΙΟΣΥΝ > ΜΙΣΘΟΙΣΥΝ
 then ΜΙΣΘΟΙ (in the old alphabet) interpreted as ΜΙΣΘΩΙ.²⁵

συνέθευ : a strong word implying more than mere agree-

ment, used of formal and important undertakings, e.g. Pl.Rep.359a
δοκεῖ λυσιτελεῖν συνθέεσθαι ἀλλήλοισι μῆτ' ἀδικεῖν μῆτ' ἀδικεῖσθαι, And.4.18,
Aristot.Pol.1257a.33f.; also in the historians of treaties.

Pindar regarded his commission to compose as a formal undertaking
creating obligations: O.10.3f, O.3.4-7, P.4.1f., P.8.33, P.9.103-4.

He was no more ashamed to mention the reward or return that he
received from such an undertaking than to mention the reward, viz.

the ode, that the victor received. Like other Greeks he regarded
poetry as a τέχνη comparable to bridge-building etc., cf. O.6.

init., P.6.5-18, P.3.113, fr.194; the practitioner of any τέχνη

required payment for his services (note the collocation τέχνη. μούσα
τρέβος at Hym.Hom.Herm.4.447-8 τίς τέχνη, τίς μούσα ἀμηχανῶν μελεδώνων, τίς τρέβος;

42. ὑπάργυρον : "ὑπάργυρος ist nach Analogie von ὑπόξυλος
zu verstehen: wenn das unedle, das darunter liegt, Silber ist,
muss es mit Gold plattiert sein. Ein echtes Lied ist natürlich
gülden. O. Schroeder will es nach Analogie von ὑπόδικος fassen
"unter Silber stehend"; "für Geld", was dem Sinne auch genügt, aber
ἀργυρος ist nicht ἀργύριον und ich zweifle, ob man es so verstehen
konnte. Die käuflichen Musen ἀργυρωθεῖα, πρόσωπα Isthm.2,8 sind
geschminkt, haben ψιμίθειον Bleiglanz (Theophrast π. λίθων 56) aufgelegt.
Das ist also nur äusserlich ähnlich" (Wilamowitz, Pindaros 261-2n.2).

But 1) his first statement is not obviously true. ὑπο-
compounds can mean a) 'with', e.g. ὑπόπτερος; b) 'under', e.g.
ὑπαίθερος, ὑπάπιδος; c) 'liable to', e.g. ὑπόδικος, ὑπαίτιος, ὑπέγγυος;
d) 'somewhat', e.g. ὑπόμαργος.

2) while ὑπόξυλος can in some contexts clearly imply counter-
feit, e.g. Xen.Oec.10.3 ἐπιδεικνύς τε ἀργύριον κίβδηλον καὶ ὄρκους ὑποξύλους
καὶ πορφυρίδας ἐπιτήλους, φαίην ἀληθινὰς εἶναι, Men.Per.fr.9 Sandbach,
ὑπό plus a word denoting a substance does not necessarily have
such an implication, cf. Pl.Rep.415b-c where the context shows

ὑπάργυρος, ὑπόχαλκος and ὑποσίδηρος mean 'with silver/bronze/iron mixed in'.

3) The evidence for ὑπάργυρος = counterfeit, and hence for ὑπάργυρον φωνάν = unedele Stimme, is post-Classical and confined to numismatic contexts: Pollux 7.104 ὑπάργυρον δὲ τὸ κίβηλον χρυσίον = gold coin; Philo iii.105.159 Wendland ὑπέλαβον (sc. οἱ ἀνεπίπληκτοι) ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ὑπάργυρους καὶ ὑποχρύσους θεοὺς, νομίσματος κεικισβηλουμένου τὸν τρόπον; Sex. Emp. 2.30 εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο (sc. τὸ βάθος) ἡμῶν ὑπέπιπτεν, ἔγιγνώσκωμεν ἄν καὶ τὰ ὑπάργυρα χρυσία.

4) Something made of silver and covered with gold is not necessarily a counterfeit object, cf. I.G.i(2)280.76 πρόσωπον ὑπάργυρον κατὰ[χρυσόν, ib.280.74 καρχέσιον] χρυσεῖον τὸν πυθ[μέναν ὑπάργυρον (422-1 B.C. from an inventory of the treasuries of the Parthenon), ib.276.6-7 ἦλω δὲ ὑπάργυρο κατὰχρυσό (434-3). These inscriptions show that ὑπάργυρος, even when contrasted with gold, can mean 'with silver underneath' without implying that the object is counterfeit.

5) Would Pindar have agreed that 'ein echtes Lied ist natürlich gülden'? Pindar nowhere says his poetry or songs are golden; at N.7.77f. gold is a component of his songs along with other substances, Μοῖκά τοι κολλᾷ χρυσὸν ἔν τε λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ' ἄμα καὶ λείριον ἄνθεμον ποντίας ὑφέλοισ' ἔέρκας.

6) ὑπάργυρον here surely cannot be separated from μισθοῖο; so Schroeder is right. For the idea cf. S.Ant.1077-8 ἄθρητον εἰ καταργυρώμενος λέγω.

THE PAYMENT of POETS in ANTIQUITY: popular tradition said Simonides was the first to have the idea of composing poetry for money: Sch.A.Pax 696 καὶ γὰρ Σιμωνίδης δοκεῖ πρῶτος μικρολογίαν εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὰ λίσματα καὶ γράψαι λίσμα μισθοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν τοῖς Ἰσθμιοῖσιν φησὶν ἀνιπτόμενος (cf. P.I.2.96 ἂ Μοῖκα γὰρ οὐ φιλοκερδῆς πῶ τὸτ' ἦν οὐδ' ἐργάτις. Sch.ad loc.: λέγοι δ' ἄν πρὸς Σιμωνίδην ταῦτα ὡς φιλάργυρον

διακύρων τὸν ἄνδρα). Simonides was reknowned as a Scrooge: Sch.A.Pax 696 Ξενοφάνης κίμβικα αὐτὸν προαγορεύει; cf. Ath. 656c-d ὄντως δ' ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς κίμβιξ ὁ Σιμωνίδης καὶ ἀσχροκερδής, ὡς Χαμαιλέων φησὶν = fr.41 Giordano (Chamaileon wrote a *περὶ Σιμωνίδου* according to Ath.656c).

As a result he gained a reputation for general greed and extravagance: Pl.Hipp.228c Σιμωνίδην τὸν κείων ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν (sc. Hipparchus) μέγλοικ μισθοῖς καὶ δώροις πείθων; cf. Ar.Rhet. 1391a8, A.Pax 697f., Callim.fr.222, P.Oxy.1800 (biography of Simonides) fr.1.39-40. See the story about Simonides and Skopas (PMG 510).

But Timotheus, too, has a story told about him about his desire to be paid for his poetry, and it would be rash to suppose that Anacreon or Ibycus received nothing in return from Polycrates, cf. FGrH.iii.b.539F2 (Alexis of Samos) μετεστελλετο δὲ (sc. Polycrates), φησί, καὶ τεχνίτας ἐπὶ μισθοῖς μεγίστοις. It is relevant that Pindar, Simonides, Lasus, Bacchylides, Anacreon, Ibycus and Timotheus all wrote for rich tyrants.

It is surprising that there are not more mercenary references in Pindar's odes to the Sicilian tyrants, but Pindar seems to have been more guarded than Simonides; he valued beneficence, but treated it carefully and liked others to do the same, cf. P.1.90f. (to Hieron) εἴπερ τι φιλεῖ ἀκοὴν ἄδεων ἀεὶ κλύειν, μὴ κάμνε λίαν Σατυράκις ... μὴ δολωθῆς, ὧ φίλε, κέρδεσιν ἐντραπέλοισι, N.7.17f. σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα Τριτάϊον ἀνεμον ἔραθον, οὐδ' ὑπὸ κερδαὶ βλάβειν.

The introduction of payment by rich tyrants and others to poets for poems in their honour, and hence mention that the poem was being written for a *μισθός*, is a frank extension of the poetic commonplace going back to Homer that poets inspired by the Muses deserve esteem and ἄλδος, cf. Od.8.479f. κήρυσσι, τῇ δῆ, τοῦτο πόρε κρέας ὄφρα φάγησι / Δημόδοκωι, καὶ μιν προσπιτύσομαι ἀχνύμενός περ / πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποιον ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄδοσοι / τιμῆς ἔμμοροί εἰσι καὶ ἀΐδοις, οὐνεκ ἄρα κρέας / οἶμα Μοῦς ἔδιδάξε, φίλησε δὲ φύλλον ἀοιδῶν; Solon 13.1-4w. Μοῦσαι ... ὄλβον μοι πρὸς θεῶν δότε;

Hes.Theog.96-7 ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὄντινα Μοῦσαι φιλῶνται (meaning that kings reward poets who sing of and praise them). See J.A.Davison, Phoenix 16,1962,152f. = From Archilochus to Pindar (London 1968) 104.²⁶

Pindar thought wealth a good thing, provided it was gained virtuously and good use made of it, cf. P.3.110 εἰ δέ μοι πλοῦτον θεὸς ἄβρον ὀρέσσει, ἑλπίδ' ἔχω κλέος εὐρέεσθαι κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω (sc. if a lucrative offer for an ode is given to me), O.2.53f., P.2.56 τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχῃ ποτμοῦ σοφίας ἄριστον 'to be wealthy with what comes from one's lot is the best thing wisdom offers', i.e. ill-gotten wealth is not a good thing. Bowra (Pindar 102) says, "Pindar took it for granted that the men whom he liked and admired should be rich"; equally, he took it for granted that he should be rich. For Greek admiration of virtuous money-making, cf. Hes.Op.313 and West's note on 320, Alcaeus 360, Sappho 148, Theog. 197-202,753, Solon 13.7f.

42. {Χρη} : "χρη non leg.Σ" in Snell's app.crit. refers to Sch.P.11.66b λείπει τὸ ὀφέλεικ . Interpolation into the epinicians of words of substance is rare: O.2.27a φιλέοντι δὲ Μοῦσαι , O.7.49 Ζεὺς , O.10.25 Ἡρακλῆς , P.1.93 πετρίαις , P.6.46 ἔδειξεν , I.3.51 τέλειος I.4.76 Διί .

ἄλλοτ' ἄλλαι : a favourite combination in Pindar enabling him to pass from the general to the particular: P.10.53f. ἔγκωμιῶν γὰρ ἄλωτος ὕμνων ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον... θύνει λόγον. ἔλπομαι... τὸν Ἱπποκλέαν; O.7.11f. ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον ἐποπτεύει χάρις... κείνων... σὺν Διαγόρῃ κατέβαν.

ταρασσέμεν : "kann ja nur intransitiv sein, wie Eur.Hik 599 [lect.dub.] , Aisch.Ch.289 [φόβος κινεῖ, ταρασσει] ", Wilamowitz, Pindaros 26ln.2. Better (so Schroeder ad loc.), supply φωνάκιν from the preceding phrase (cf. ἔλελίζεν φόρμιγγα Pi.0.9.13, P.1.4), with πετρὶ Πυθιονίκωι... Θρακυδαίωι as indirect objects: 'rouse your

voice for T. and his father', makes better sense than 'be in a state of turmoil for T. and his father'.

Ταράσσω is regularly used when what is being roused comes from more than one source and is able to be mixed: A.Ch.331 πατέρων τε καὶ τεκόντων γόος ἀμφιλόως ταράσσει; S.Ant.794 νεῖκος ἀνδρῶν ταράσσει.²⁷ Here the Muse is to rouse up praise for Pythonikos and mix it with praise for T. The word harmonises with the earlier sea image (39-40), cf. Od.5.291 ἔταρσσε γέροντων, Archil.105 Πλαῦχ' ὄρα βεβύλιος γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν ταράσσεται πόντος.

43. Πυθιονίκω(i) codd., Πυθονίκω Triclinius. The reading of the mss. comes from Πυθιονίκος/-ης being the usual form of the word. The usual form might have been Πυθονίκα/-ης since Πυθο-, not Πυθιο-, is the regular stem for Πυθ- compounds (e.g. Πυθόμαντις, Πυθοχρήτης); but the form in -ιο- may have developed by analogy with Ὀλυμπιονίκος/-ης (never Ὀλυμπόνικος/-ης).

Pythonikos (found as a name of an Athenian at Andoc.1.11f., Ath.5.220f.; also J.Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica 12459: a magistrate 186-46 B.C.) is best interpreted here as a name, perhaps given to T's father as a nickname - athletes did get them: Paus. 6.4.1 Σικωνίος Σώστρατος παγκρατιαστής ἀνὴρ, ἐπικλήσις δὲ ἦν Ἀκροχεριστής αὐτῷ· παραλαμβανόμενος γὰρ ἄκρων τοῦ ἀνταγωνιζομένου τῶν χειρῶν ἔκλα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνίστη πρὶν ἢ αἰθεροῖσι ἀπαγορεύσαντος; id.5.21.12 Ἀλεξάνδρην ἐξημιώθη πύκτης ... ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ζημιώθεντι Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπικλήσις δὲ ἦν Ῥάντης (because he sprinkled his opponents with punches?)· καί πως καὶ ἐπικώριον τὸ εἶς τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρουσιν ἔστιν.²⁸

Against interpreting the word as an adjective meaning 'victorious in the Pythian Games' is that Pindar does usually mention the victor's father by name or give the name of the victor's γένος; only once is the victor's father referred to but not named (P.10.12, but the victor's γένος had been named at 1.5).

45. Εὐφροσύνη : happiness; Hesiod (Theog.909) couples Euphrosyne with Thalie and Aglaie. The word is also used to mean 'good cheer' at a banquet: Xenoph.1.4 κρατῆρ δ' ἔστηκεν μέστος Εὐφροσύνης; Solon 4.10 εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν διαπὸς ἐν ἤσυχίῃ ; for this sense with reference to the festivities following an athletics victory cf. Bacch.10.52-3 πέφαται θνατοῖσι νίκας [ύστε]ρον εὐφροσύνα, ib.11.10-12 καὶ νῦν μετ' ἀπόντιον εὐγυῖων κ[ατε]χουσι νέων κῶμοί τε καὶ εὐφροσύνας θεότιμον ἄστυ. But here, because εὐφροσύνα is linked with δόξα, the happiness is the joy of being famous.

ἐπιφλέγει : 'blazes' sc. through my hymns, cf. I.3.61 κείνον ἄψι πυρσὸν ὕμνων, O.9.21-2 φίλων πόλων μαλακῆς ἐπιφλέγων ἀοιδῶν ; Bacch.fr.4.17B.1 παιδικοὶ θ' ὕμνοι φλέγονται ; S.O.T.473-5 ἔλαμψε... φάμα.

46-8. ἄρμασι ... σὺν ἵπποις : these words single out two victories (one πάλαι, the other denoted by Ὀλυμπίακι τ'), both by the father and with the chariot -, i.e. σὺν ἵπποις is variatio for ἄρμασι ; the words could not refer to the πέλις race, and in fact Pindar often mentions the horses that pulled the chariot to victory: O.3.3-4, P.1.37, P.5.21, N.1.6-7, I.1.14. A failure to distinguish the two victories makes lines 46-9 incomprehensible - see next note.

46-9. μέν...τ...τε : the position of the first τε, and the failure to distinguish ἐν ἄρμασι from σὺν ἵπποις (see on 46-8), has caused editors to misunderstand the construction of the lines and the number of victories referred to. Problems are resolved if

a comma is placed after πάλαι, the sentence taken to refer to three victories, and μέν interpreted as answered first by one τε and then by the other: "They were victorious with the chariot long ago, then at Olympia they won in the horse race, and then at Pytho they won in the stade race". For μέν...τε...τε... cf. P.4. 249f. κτείνε μέν... κλέφεν τε... ἔν τ'... μίγεν, O.6.4-6 εἰ δ' εἴη μὲν Ὀλυμπιονίκας, βώμῳ τε μαντείῳ τῆμικ Διὸς ἐν Πίαι, συνοικιστή τε... . A verb meaning 'they were', or ἔχον θοὰν ἀκτιῶα from 1.48, must then be supplied to 1.46, but ellipse in the enumeration of victories is common, e.g. O.13.106f., O.9.86f., P.7.14f. It is not a problem that the location of the first victory is not given; Pindar is elsewhere sketchy over past victories in the family: O.13.32-4 mentions two venues but no event; cf. N.2.23 τὰ δ' οἴκοι μάκρον ἄριθμῶ (sc. νίκας ἐκόμισαν).

The interpretation of Bowra (Pindar 403), and Nisetich (Pindar's Victory Songs 223) in which μέν is answered only by Πυθαῖ τε are impossible because they ignore the first τε after Ὀλυμπία. To resolve this problem Schroeder and Farnell omit in their texts the first τε. But this leaves a most unlikely hiatus: v. M.L.West, Greek Metre 15.

P.Maas (Die neuen Responsionsfreiheiten bei Bakchylides und Pindar (1), Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin, 1913, 289f.) says, "Das τε in 47 muss weg, wie Pauw erkannt hat. Aber der Hiat braucht nicht eingeführt zu werden: Ὀλυμπιάθ' ἀγώνων ist zu schreiben. τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀγώνων steht auf den panathenaischen Vasen; P.5.105 [Πυθωνόθεν], N.5.41 [Αἰγίναθε], P.8.19 [κίρραθεν], I.1.65 Πυθῶθεν, Ὀλυμπιάθεν Steph.Byz". But -θ' for -θε(ν) would be unparalleled (v. K-G.1.1.294: -θ' could stand only for -θα, a form not found in Pindar).

Boeckh's Ὀλυμπιάων (adj. agreeing with ἀκτιῶα), accepted by

Gildersleeve, is not likely; Ὀλύμπιος, -α, -ον always means 'of Mt. Olympus' or 'the Olympian' (i.e. Zeus) in Classical Greek, never 'of the Olympic Games', for which Ὀλυμπικός (e.g. Thuc.1.6 but not in Pi. or Bacch.) or Ὀλυμπιακός (Xenophon).

The objection, that if 46-50 refer to three past victories then T.'s present one cannot be the third as Pindar claims (14), is resolved if one takes the Pythian victory of 49-50 to be the present one (καταβάντες ἤλεγξαν plural, because father shares in son's victory: see pages 51-2).

⟨έν⟩ (46) is Triclinius's supplement; but for τὰ μὲν ⟨έν⟩ ἔργασι one might consider an alternative emendation, τὰ Νέμε' ἔργασι which would give a location for the first victory and rule out the possibility of 1.46 being taken as part of the same clause as 47-8. For the neuter plural (sc. ἔλον) with article cf. Dem.59.33 ἐνίκα τὰ Πύθια, Timocl.8.17 Kock τοῖς τῶλύμπια νικῶσι, Pl.Ion 530b τὰ Παναθηναῖα νικῆσωμεν. But in Pindar the n.pl. is always used without the article, e.g. O.13.34 Νέμεά τ' οὐκ ἀντιξοεῖ.

46. πάλαι: usually of long ago, e.g. P.6.40 of Nestor's time; but πάλαι can mean, as here, simply some time ago in contrast with the present: Parth.2.41 τίμαθεν γὰρ τὰ πάλαι τὰ νῦν τ' ἀμφικτιόνεσσι (πάλαι referring to the time of the γονεῖς of the victor), Il.5.104-5 οὐ γάρ τις νόον ἄλλοι ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοήσει, ἦ μὲν πάλαι ἦδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, A.Ag.587 ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρὰς ὕπο.

Here πάλαι probably refers to the time of a past victory by T.'s father. There is no evidence that πατήρ (sg.) could mean 'ancestor'; at P.10.2 πατὴρ δ' ἀμφοτέρωσιν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀριστομάχου γένος Ἡράκλεος βασιλεύει Herakles is thought of as a father, hence there is no foundation to the comment of Sch.P.11.71 οἱ μὲν πρόγονοι, φησὶν, αὐτοῦ ἔχον Ὀλυμπίας νίκας.

48. ἔχον θαλὴν ἄκτινα σὺν ἵπποις: θαλὴν is perhaps 'piercing',

cf. LSJ s.v. θοός (B) 'pointed', 'sharp' from θοώ. Θοάιν at Bacch. 17.55 (θαῖν ἄστραπῆν) should probably be translated likewise. θοός in the sense 'swift-moving' is inapplicable to ἀκτίς and feeble as an epithet transferred from ἵπποις.

49. γυμνὸν ἐπὶ σταδίων καταβάντες : 'entering the stade race where one ran naked'. στάδιον in Pindar and Bacchylides always means 'the length of the stadium', never 'stadium' (cf. W.S. Barrett ap. Maehler on B.10.21). In odes for runners Pindar regularly says what sort of race had been won (the short O.14 is the sole exception): O.13.37 Πυθοῖ τ' ἔχει σταδίου τιμὰν Διούλου θ', N.8.16 διεσσῶν σταδίων, O.10.64 στάδιον μὲν ἀρίστευεν, εὐθὺν τόνον ποσσὶ τρέχων (εὐθὺν denoting the single-stade race).

γυμνὸν because there was a race the length of the stadium where one did not run naked, the race in armour (ὀπλιτοδρόμος). For the distinction cf. I.1.23 λάμπει δὲ καθ' ἑ ἀρετὰ ἐν τε γυμνοῖσι σταδίοις καθ' ἑ ἐν τ' ἀσπιδοδοῦποικιν ὀπλιταῖς δρόμοις, Pl. Leg. 833a σταδιοδρόμον δὲ πρῶτον ὁ κήρυξ ἡμῖν, καθάπερ νῦν, ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι παρακαλεῖ, ὁ δὲ εἰσεῖσιν ὄπλα ἔχων· ψιλῶι δὲ ἀθλα οὐ θήσομεν ἀγωνιστῆι.

Assuming this phrase refers to the victory P.11 commemorates (see end of note on 46-9), then that victory was in the stade race.

EXCURSUS: Nudity in Greek Athletics - The Naked Truth.

The bare facts have created divided opinions: "The habit of complete nudity in athletic exercises" (E.N.Gardiner, Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals 86); "They have come down into the naked course" (R.Lattimore, The Odes of Pindar 92 - translation of P.11.49). Contra, R.L.Howland, ap. OCD s.v. Athletics: "It seems unlikely that the Greeks would ever have stripped completely naked for events involving running, though it was an artistic convention, even in early times, generally though not always to portray athletes naked"; id. C.R. 17, 1967, 382: "The difficulty

and discomfort of running without διαζώματα makes it incredible that Greek runners should have dispensed with them, though boxers and wrestlers may well have done so". Howland gives no evidence to support his view; Professor West says, "Certainly no difficulty or discomfort in running naked - quite the opposite. Has H. ever tried it?"

The argument for nudity is supported by Thucydides, Plato and Herodotus: Th.1.6 τὸ δὲ πάλι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἔπειθ' ἵπτανονται; Pl.Rep.452 οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἔξ οὗ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔδοκει ἀεὶ χρᾶ εἶναι καὶ χελυῖα, ἅπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων, γυμνοὺς ἀνδρᾶς ὄρασθαι (the gymnastics context suggests nudity in athletics is meant); cf. Hdt.1.10 παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοις βαρβάροις, καὶ ἀνδρᾶ ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνῃ μεγάλην φέρει, implying that nudity was not thought indecorous among the Greeks.

The date for the beginning of nudity in Greek athletics is sometimes fixed by reference to Orsippos of Megara (or Sparta, Sch.A Il.23.683; cf. Thuc.1.6); he is said to have tripped on his διαζώμα; from his day onwards athletes ran naked to avoid tripping (or it fell off, and he was able to run faster and win: Sch.A Il.23.683, Paus.1.44.1). A version of the incident is recorded as an epigram surviving in a Hadrianic inscription (IG 7.52=Kaibel 843=Geffcken 81: a late inscription, but it is uncertain how early the epigram is).

Most sources date this incident to the 15th Olympic Games = 720 B.C. (so Iulius Africanus ap. Euseb.Chron.i.195 Schoene, Eustath.ad Il.1324-15, D.H.7.72.2 substituting Akanthos for Orsippos), but four years earlier according to Sch.T Il.23.683, and 68 years later (Ol.32) according to Et.Mag. s.v. γυμνασία). The words of Thucydides and Plato suggest that running naked started up nearer their own day than 720 B.C. (v. Gomme on Thuc.1.6.4,

Boeckh CIG i.p.555, col.2). One explanation is that Orsippos had his loin-cloth accident in 720; nevertheless some runners continued to run with loin-cloths; only in the 5th Century was it normal practice not to; later historians and chronologers erroneously fixed the start of the practice of running naked to post-720 using the Orsippos incident as a peg. There is some uncertain evidence that runners, despite what Plato and Thucydides say, had uncontroversally competed naked from early times: the boxer Euryalos and the wrestlers Ajax and Odysseus wear ζώματα in Homer (Il.23.683,710); Homer says nothing about their use by runners (ib.740f.). Hippomenes ran naked in Hes.fr.74 νεώτερος οὐδ' Ἡρόδοτος γυμνὸν εἰκόλων Ἴππομένῃ ἀγωνιζόμενον Ἀταλάντῃ.

The Evidence from Art: athletes are usually painted naked; but there is a group of vases, the Perizoma Group, "so called from the large "loin-cloths" worn by athletes and revellers" (J.D. Beazley, Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters 343).

But 1. Only these few vases show athletes in περιζώματα ; 2. These vases are painted by only the Michigan and Beaune painters and their schools (v. Beazley loc.cit.343-6); 3. These painters' subjects, apart from athletes, are predominantly maenads, komasts, symposiasts or satyrs; 4. In many cases what the athletes or komasts are wearing are not loin-cloths, and could not have been used as jock-straps since they reach down to the knees; 5. There is evidence for the portrayal of satyrs as athletes: v. J. Boardman, Athenian Red-Figure Vases: The Archaic Period 115, illust. 163, a crater by the Nikoxenos painter = ARV221,14 .

I suggest that the depiction of athletes in absurdly large περιζώματα reflects comic and exaggerating invention by the painters rather than reality at the Games; that the painters have added absurdly large περιζώματα to their athletes from their practice

with revellers, to whom the absurd and titillating was better suited. Supporting the suggestion that the Perizoma artists wanted to add extra spice to their pictures is e.g. the erotic position of the left figure's hand in ABV344,3 (= Philippaki, The Attic Stamnos pl.10.1, cf. pl.10.2) and of the ends of the trainer's whip on a small stamnos (Philippaki pl.11.3). If nudity was the norm, the portrayal of athletes in outsize περιζώματα could have seemed absurd, provocative and sexy (cf. J.D.Beazley and F. Magi, La Raccolta B. Guglielmini nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, on Vatican G58 from Vulci: "L'uso del perizoma, non solo come qui sopra il chitonisco, ma anche portato dalle persone ignude, non credo col Mingazzini...che abbia avuto uno scopo ingenico: i vasi riflettono senza dubbio una moda effimera, manifestazione di quel desiderio di farsi buffo di cui nessuna epoca, quantunque felice, è essente").

Besides the absurdly large περιζώματα, there are some more reasonably sized ones, e.g. on a stamnos in the Ashmolean = ABV 343,6 (for a photo of it v. Ashmolean Museum Exhibition of Antiquities and Coins purchased from the collection of the late Capt. E.G.Spencer-Churchill pl.xii = Philippaki pl.14) and also on Philippaki pl.14 (= de Ridder p.160-1). Sometimes, too, a distinction is made between the size and shape of the περιζώματα of athletes training (see the boxers on ABV343,6) and racing (see the runners on ABV343,6); the large περιζώματα may have functioned like modern track-suits, discarded in competition (cf. the depiction of athletes in 'exercise caps', the description of J.Boardman, Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period 220).

CONCLUSION: Since vase paintings show a) athletes wearing reasonably-sized περιζώματα, b) athletes wearing absurdly large ones, c) non-athletes, e.g. komasts, wearing absurdly large ones; and since the Perizoma Group flourished at the end of the Sixth

Century; and since Plato and Thucydides imply that *περιζώματα* were worn at about that time - it seems reasonable to conclude:

1. At the end of the Sixth Century some athletes went through a phase of wearing *περιζώματα* ;
2. This inspired vase-painters to add large phallic ones to their pictures of revellers to make the revellers look more obscene than if merely nude;
3. Vase-painters then transferred large *περιζώματα* from revellers to athletes to add a touch of obscene amusement to their pictures of the latter.

For other touches of obscenity in pictures of athletes cf. Martin von Wagner Museum Antikenabteilung L241 = pl.24 in Erika Simon's 'Führer' to the museum = JHS 52,1932,198 fig.18.

The participation of victorious athletes in komoi, and the partiality of the Perizoma Group for painting both athletes and komasts, may have influenced the Group's decision to add features from athletics to their pictures of komasts and komastic features to their athletes. Apart from this phase, nudity seems to have been the norm in the classical period.

49. καταβάντες : 'entering' the stade race. The verb is also used by Herodotus (5.22) of Alexander of Macedon entering the stade race at Olympia. In neither passage does it mean 'going down': the stadium at Olympia was not below the rest of the site, and the common idea (M.Homolle, BCH 23,1899,613; E.N.Gardiner, Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals 212; Slater s.v. *κίρρα* ; Frazer, ed. Paus.v.458) that in Pindar's day the running events in the Pythian Games were held in the Cirrhan plain below the main site and near the hippodrome, rests on very slender evidence, viz. Pindar's use of *κίρρα* (1.12 supra to denote the venue of Thrasydaios's victory, and at P.10.16 ἔθηκε καὶ βαθυλείμων ὑπὸ κίρρα πετρῶν ἀγῶν κρατησίποδα φρικίαν). These are the only times either Pindar or Bacchylides mentions Cirrha in the context of a victory in a

running race. (The relevance of P.10.16 is uncertain, since Φρικίας may be the name of a horse and the passage refer to a victory in the hippodrome v. Farnell; Commentary 216).

To assume that κίρρος (12 supra) is used with topographical precision, rather than as a means of linking the venue of the Games with Pylades's homeland, would be rash: cf. with what freedom Pindar locates other victories, O.7.17, N.11.24 παρὰ Κασταλίαι, O.9.17-8 σύν τε, Κασταλία, παρὰ Ἀλφειοῦ τε Ῥέεθρον, O.9.86 ἐν Κορίνθου πόλει, P.9.101-2 βουκόλου γὰρ ἀέθλοι, N.2.21 ἐν ἐκδοῦ Πελοπὸς πτυχῶν, N.5.46 Νίκου τ' ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ Λόφωι (= Megara).

ἤλεγξαι : 'showed up'. T.'s speed brought to light the slowness of his opponents, cf. Bacch.fr.14 Λυδία μὲν γὰρ λίθος / μανύει χρυσόν, ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀρετὰν σοφία τε / παγκρατῆς τ' ἐλέγχει / ἀλάθεια; Callim.fr.84 ἤλυθε ὅτ' ἐκ Πίης, Εὐθύκλεος (a Locrian Ὀλυμπιονίκης), ἄνδρας ἐλέγξας, id.fr.384.39f.; Nonn.D.1.42 Μαρτυροῦ θεημάχον αὐτὸν ἐλέγχε.

50. ὠκύτατι θεόθεν ἐράϊμακ' καλῶν. Note the asyndeton. Pindar likes to make clear the divisions between the parts of his odes (cf. above, 1.38, after the myth). The amount of asyndeton in Pindar is an important respect in which his odes are not unified. Here it prefaces one of his own opinions; it is common in such a place, also when he addresses himself or a god, and before gnomic passages. Examples from the Olympians and Pythians:

1. Before gnome: O.1.53, 2.86, 4.18; P.1.81*, 2.49*, 72, 3.59, 8.95, 9.89a.
2. After gnome: O.2.25, 12.13.
3. Before a statement by P. to, or about, himself: O.1.114, 2.83, 89, 4.17, 5.17*, 7.20; P.1.60, 3.61, 4.246, 11.38.
4. Before advice to another: P.1.86f., 2.72.
5. Before a prayer: O.13.24*, 14.13*; P.1.29, 38, 8.98.

6. To isolate a single word: O.1.52; P.2.67, 8.95.

7. In rapid narrative: O.1.71,89. (*=between triads)

The asyndeton accompanying gnomic passages lets them stand out from the immediate context, making them a comment not merely on the poem in which they stand. The asyndeton Pindar uses when he says he must move on to a new theme, or stick to his target (sub 3. supra) breaks up the structure of the poem and prepares us for the difference in content of what is to follow. The sudden and unconnected divine invocations are regularly used as a link to a new theme, e.g. the call on Apollo at P.8.61: Apollo, as tenant of Pytho, leads to a re-mention of Aristomenes's recent Pythian victory, then to his earlier win in the Games in Aigina (also sacred to Apollo: Sch.P.8.88 ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἐνίκησε τὰ Δελφῶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγῶνα), then to a resume of his other earlier victories.²⁹

θεόθεν ἐράϊμαν καλῶν : 'may I desire καλῶν that come from the gods', not 'by the will or favour of the gods' (so LSJ s.v. θεόθεν; they compare int. al. Pi.0.12.8 σύμβολον δ' οὐ πώ τις ἐπιχθονίων πιστὸν ἀμφὶ πρᾶξις ἔσσομένους εὖρεν θεόθεν, but the meaning of θεόθεν there is 'from the gods' - Sch.0.12.10c,d,e εὖρε παρὰ θεοῦ/θεῶν).³⁰ For the idea cf. P.3.110 εἰ δέ μοι πλοῦτον θεὸς ἄβρον ὀρέξαι, O.11.10 ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἀνὴρ σοφὰ καὶ ἀνθεὶ πραπίδεσσιν ὁμοίως (meaning, 'likewise s.c. as with Ὀλυμπιονίκαι 1.7 it is from the gods that a man gets a poet's wit', cf. fr.141 θεὸς δὲ πάντα τεύχων βροτοῖς καὶ χάριν ἀοιδῶν φυτεύει); Solon 13.3-4 ὄλβον μοι πρὸς θεῶν μακάρων δότε καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀεὶ δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθῆν.

The transition to the first person seems less abrupt when one bears in mind that the καλῶν achieved by Thrasydaios and his father also came θεόθεν. For the dependence of athletic success on the gods cf. O.4.10f., O.8.65f., O.13.101f., N.6.24f., O.10.20-1; success in general required the gods: P.1.41-2 ἐκ θεῶν γὰρ μάχασθαι πάσαι βροτέαις ἀρεταίς, fr.108a.

On the tense of ἔραϊμην J. Wackernagel (Vorlesungen über Syntax i.60) rightly says, "Der Optativ ist nicht potential, sonst müsste ἄν oder κε dabei stehen. Potentialität ist auch durch den Gedanken ausgeschlossen: das Begehren ist tatsächlich vorhanden"; but his translation "ich wünsche von der Gottheit Schönes" is wrong. ἔραϊμην is not the same as ἔραμαι. The meaning is 'May I never desire things in despite of the gods'.

δυνατὰ μακίόμενος ἐν ἡλικίᾳ : 'aspiring to what is practicable and suitable for how old I am'. For ἐν = 'suitable for', 'in accordance with' cf. P.4.92 τὰν ἐν δυνατῶι φιλοῦσθων, O.2.16 ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκην ; more examples in Slater s.v. ἐν Ἀθα. The paraphrase of Sch.P.11.76 gives the gist of the sense: ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ μοι αἰὲν ἡλικίᾳ, τούτεστιν ἑκάστοτε ; for the idea that different aspirations are suitable for different times in life cf. N.3.70f.

52-3. πῶν γὰρ : γὰρ connects with δυνατὰ μακίόμενος, 'one should aspire to what is possible; for in cities I find that moderation flourishes with ὄλβος for longer (i.e. cut out immoderate aspirations); wherefore I find fault with the lot of tyrannies (s.c. because the ὄλβος of tyrants is particularly great and therefore particularly liable to be short-lived)'.

The expression has general application and the thought is conventional; it is a justification for why people in general, including Thrasydaios, should be moderate. Pindar, like other Greeks, did not think ὄλβος was easily kept, especially in large quantities or if wickedly acquired; therefore, one should be moderate in one's desire for ὄλβος. The relevance of the passage to Thrasydaios is that he should not become too buoyed up over his present success in the Games, and that he should be moderate in his aspirations for future success (e.g. an Olympic win).

The next few notes substantiate this interpretation.

Is Pindar talking about a specific tyranny, a specific polis? Wilamowitz, Pindaros 263, thinks Pindar is referring to Sicily: "Eben ist er von Syrakus heimgekehrt, als ein wohlhabender Mann; kein Wunder, dass sie davon munkeln, nun wäre er verdorben, wäre ein Agent der Tyrannen und wollte hoch hinaus". This is a groundless guess.

Gildersleeve (ad P.11.52) and Burton (Pindar's Pythian Odes 72) think Thebes is meant, citing Thuc.3.62 for the state of Thebes during the Persian War: ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ πῶι σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατος, ἐγγυάτω δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πρῶτα. But the Thebans are here defending the charge that they medized and are probably exaggerating (v. Gomme ad loc.; Hd.9.86.1 refers to τοὺς μηδίσαντας among the Thebans, which suggests that the medizers were just a faction among others, cf. Hd.9.15.4).

Bowra, Pindar 155, dating the poem to 454-3, thinks the set-up in Thebes in 453 after the battle of Oenophyta is meant, citing Aristot.Pol.1302b.27f. ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κικλῶσι πολυευνομένων ἢ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη. But Aristotle says nothing here of a tyranny at Thebes; Thebes is cited as an example of the effect of contempt in democracies caused by οἱ εὐποροὶ καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας : the dissolution of democracy caused by the division between well-off democrats and the disordered members of the rest of the democracy is not tyranny, probably merely an incompetent democracy (v. Gomme, Com.Thuc.i.318).

Whether what Pindar says was applicable to Thebes or any other particular city is irrelevant and unprovable from the text. Pindar's point is a general one: tyrants and kings are particularly ὄλβιοι, not renowned for moderation, and therefore particularly liable to disaster. Note the generality of the form of the expression: ἀνὰ πόλιν not ἀνὰ τάνδε πόλιν, τυραννίδων not τῆςδε τυραννίδος or πάνδε/Σικελίων/Θηβαίων τυράννων; other general statements

derived from political observations at P.2.86f., fr.210, fr.109.

For the conventionality of the ideas (a) that pursuit of τὰ μέγα is the best way to live, (b) the life of a tyrant is objectionable and undesirable, cf. (a) Thgn.219-20 μηδὲν ἄγαν ἀεχάλλε παρασσομένων πολιητέων/κύνε, μέγην δ' ἔρχετο τὴν ὁδὸν ὡς περ ἐγὼ , id.331 ἤενυχοι ὡς περ ἐγὼ μέγην ὁδὸν ἔρχετο ποσσίν ,? id.335 πάντων μέε' ἀρίστα; Phocyd.9W πολλὰ μέσοισιν ἀρίστα μέεος θέλω ἐν πέλει εἶναι . (b) Archil. 19 οὐ μοι τὰ Τύγῳ τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέετι... μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος, Ανακ.361 ἐγὼ δ' οὐτ' ἂν Ἀμαλθίης βουλοίμην κέραι οὐτ' ἔτεκα πενήκοντά τε κάκατον Τάρτησσοῦ βασιλεύσαι , Sim.584 τίς γὰρ ἄδοντι ἀτερ βίος ποσεινός ἢ ποία τυραννίς;(see D.C.Young, Mnemosyne Suppl.9, 1968, 13-4).

52. τὰ μέγα : includes moderate behaviour (Young loc.cit. confines the reference to 'an individual's prominence within a state'), as is shown by Pindar's association of τὰ μέγα with enduring prosperity: he says frequently that the most enduring form of prosperity for a man is that which is a) of moderate amount, b) acquired with moderation; cf. P.3.105-6 ὄλβος οὐκ ἐστὶ μακρὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται χάος, πολὺς εὖτ' ἂν ἐπιβρίαιε ἔπηται ; cf. the fate of Ixion, μακρὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὄλβον, μαινομέναιε φρασίην Ἴηρις ὅτ' ἐρίσκατο (P.2.26-7) and of Tantalus, καταπέφαι μέγην ὄλβον οὐκ ἔδοναίθη, κόρωι δ' ἔλεν ἄταν ὑπέροπλον (O.1.55-7).

The moderate behaviour he has in mind here is pursuit of what is a) καλόν, b) not in despite of the gods, c) not too much.

52-3. μακροτέρω ὄλβω, τεθαλότα : ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον θαλλόντα Sch.P.11.78. Pindar did not think ὄλβος was easily kept: P.1.46f., P.3.105-6, N.8.17 σὺν θεῶ, γὰρ τοι φουτευθεὶς ὄλβος ἀνθρώποισι παρμονώτερος; cf. A.Pers.250-1, Sept.769-71, Solon 6.3-4: the danger of too much ὄλβος; Hes.Op.321-6: what happens if you acquire it by the

wrong means; for similar ideas from others see West on Hes.Op.320.

53. Μεμδομ' αἰεὶν τυραννίδων: 'I find fault with the lot/fate of tyrannies', because tyrannies and their ὄλβος do not flourish for long. For the history of the word τυραννίς see Fraenkel ad A.Ag.1365. By τυραννίδων Pindar does not mean only 'tyrannies' in the narrow and modern pejorative sense of the word, but he would include any rich and powerful ruler; contra Lloyd-Jones (ad Semon.7.69), a distinction between βασιλεύς and τύραννος is not always preserved in pre-Aristophanic Greek: v. Hdt.1.13-16 where both βασιλεύς and τυραννεύς are used of both Gyges and Arduus; Pindar calls Hieron both τύραννον (P.3.85) and βασιλῆα (O.1.23).

For details of some of the less pleasant characteristics of some tyrants see Herodotus on Polycrates (3.39,125), Kypselos (5.92.e - but see A.Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants 45f., on Herodotus's anti-Kypselos bias), Periandros (5.92), Pheidon (6.127).

For what Pindar might have learnt about the Sicilian tyrants see Diod.Sic.11.67 (on Hieron) ἦν γὰρ καὶ φιλάργυρος καὶ βίαιος καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἀλλοτριώτατος, id.ib. (on Thrasyboulos) ὑπερέβαλε τῆι κακίαι [sc. ἐέρωνι]... βίαιος γὰρ ὢν καὶ φονικός... ἀεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς πολίταις ἀπεχθόμενος, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑβρίζων, τοὺς δὲ ἀναρῶν.... Further condemnation of tyrants at Solon fr.32W, Xenoph.fr.3W, Theogn.823,1181,1203-4.

Hence Young is over-generalising when he says, 'obviously the lives of the extremely wealthy, of the gods, and of the tyrannos or monarch were customarily regarded enviable and desirable' (op.cit.11).

μέμφομαι means 'find fault with', not 'blame' (which would imply, non-sensically, that the αἷα τυραννίδων was the cause of τὰ μέγα μακροτέρωι ὄλβωι τεθλοῖα). The fault of tyrannies is that they do not flourish long.

54. ξυνάκι δ' ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖ τεταμῆι : 'I'm at full stretch after virtues that can be shared in'; the clause links with the previous one through ξυνάκι ἀρεταῖ being what tyrannies lack. By 'shared virtues' Pindar here has in mind in particular the victory of Thrasydaios which is shared in by the Theban community: at P.9.93 the victories of Telesikrates are called τὸ γ' ἐν ξυνῶι πεπονημένον ὦ and above (10-11) Thrasydaios's victory is a χάρις to Thebes; cf. Bacch.10.11-12 ἴν' ἀθάνατον Μουσῶν ἀγάλμα ξυῶν ἀνθρώποισιν εἴη χάρις τῶν ἀρετῶν (τὸν Kenyon) μανῶν ἐπιχθονίοισι. In contrast, the ὄλβος of tyrannies is not generally obtained by a display of ἀρεταῖ or shared by more than a few (the tyrant's cronies).

τεταμῆι : metaphoric from the stretching involved when you sprint. Pindar has not got 'his arms about the prize' (Gildersleeve ad loc.); cf. O.10.64-5 σταδίων μὲν ἀρίστευσεν, εὐθὺν τόνον ποσσὶ τρέχων, Il.23.758 τοῖσι δ' ἀπὸ νύκτε τείατο δρόμος, Xenoph. 1.20(v.1.) τόνου ἀμφ' ἀρετῆς .

54-5. φθονεροὶ δ' ἀμύνοντ' (ἀμύνονται β in linea) ἄτα. εἴ τις... sic mss.; φθονεροὶ δ' ἀμύνονται. <ἀλλ> εἴ τις... Snell: after Hermann and Boeckh; φθονεροὶ δ' ἀμύνονται/ἄτα. τίς... van Groningen; φθονεροὶ δ' ἀμύνονται ἄν εἴ τις... Thiersch; φθονεροὶ δ' ἀμύνονται ἄτα leg. Sch. (cf. Sch.P.11.83a οἱ δὲ φθονεροὶ τῆι ἑαυτῶν ἄτηι καὶ βαρκανίαι ἀμύνονται καὶ βλέπονται); alii alia.

This passage is the worst textual crux of the ode. One thing is clear, whatever the envious do or suffer the envy itself

is directed at the ξυνὸν ἀρεταί (54); Pindar regularly follows a reference to successful (athletic) achievement with mention of the envy it will arouse, cf. Parth.1.8-9 πέντι δ' ἐπὶ φθόνος ἀνδρὶ κείνῳ ἀρεταί, O.8.54-5, I.1.41-5.

The reading of the mss. cannot stand because it makes no sense. But the lemma of Sch.P.11.83a (φθονεῖσι δ' ἀμύνονται ἄται) and the paraphrases of the scholiasts ad loc. (λυπούμενοι διαφθεύονται Sch.83b, βλαπτουσιν Sch.83c) show that the dative ἄται was an ancient reading. (N.B. period-end after ἀμύνονται means the last syllable of ἀμύνονται could not be elided with a dissyllabic word like ἄται). For the synizesis (sc. ἄται εἰ) if ἄται is read cf. Bacch.3.22 θεὸν θεῶν τε ἀγλαΐζεθῶ γὰρ ἄριστος [ὁ] λβων, Pi.O.13.5-7 ἐν ταῖ γὰρ εὐνομία νάει... Δίκαια καὶ ὁμότροφος εἰρήνη, ταμίαι ἀνδράσι πλούτου (sic mss.; Τάμι' Mommsen), Sappho 1.11-12, 55.1.

But φθονεῖσι δ' ἀμύνονται ἄται would be strange Greek for either 'The envious take revenge with ruin to themselves/to others' or 'The envious are warded off with ruin to themselves/to others' or for anything else. (The two ideas, that φθόνος and φθονεῖσι are either self-destroying or destructive to others are common; for the former cf. P.2.89f., N.4.37f.; for the latter cf. O.8.55, N.8.21f.; Bacch.13.199f., 16.31).

The difficulty of construing φθονεῖσι δ' ἀμύνονται ἄται (φ.α.ἄται is more difficult) makes it doubtful whether ἄται ever in fact began 1.55. If ἀλλ' (Boeckh's supplement) was what Pindar wrote, αἰα could have arisen from a misreading of it (ἀλλ-αἰα), thence ἄται. Alternatively, αἰα arose from dittography after the ending of ἀμύνονται (-νται -αἰα) and another word began 1.55. Thiersch suggests ἀμύνονται τὰν εἰσις (Pindarus Werke, übersetzung in den pindarischen Vermaassen und Erläuterungen, following a suggestion of Hermann). This is attractive: the corruption

is explained by τᾶν being omitted after τῶν; τᾶν is the mot juste because elsewhere whenever ἀκρον is used substantively and metaphorically, a partitive genitive accompanies it: N.1.10-11 Πανδοξίας ἀκρον, N.6.23-4 οἱ τρεῖς ἀεθλόφοροι πρὸς ἀκρον ἀρετᾶς ἦλθον, Sim.579.7 ἀκρον ἀνδρείας, Tyrt.12.43 ἀρετῆς ἀκρον, A.P.7.448 ἀκρον ἐρώνων εἰδοτοί, ἀκρα μάχης, Peek V.I.1974 ἀκρον σοφίης. Metaphoric ἀκρον without a dependent genitive seems to occur only in prepositional phrases (e.g. εἰς ἀκρον Theoc.14.61).

M.Schmidt's τᾶνδ' could only refer to women present during the ode's performance, and could not have ἀρετᾶς as its antecedent. It is unsuitable. Van Groningen's ...ἀταί τις, with τίς = εἰς τίς (Mnemosyne 13, 1947, 230f.) is unconvincing: it leaves μέλαρος... πορών as a paratactic apodosis requiring 'someone who has fled terrible hybris' as its unexpressed subject. This is intolerably obscure.

CONCLUSION: the best solution is to read, after Thiersch, φθονεροὶ δ' ἀμύνονται τᾶν εἰς τῶν...; (a) it is likely ἀκρον had a partitive genitive dependent on it, (b) ἀταί produces strange Greek, (c) a clause contrasting the successful person with the φθονεροί fits well. On this interpretation τᾶν is demonstrative, not relative (for the syntax see Slater s.v. ὁ, ὅ, ὅς B.1.e.).

Translate: 'I'm at full stretch for virtues open to all; and the envious are warded off. And if someone has managed to achieve the pick of these virtues (i.e. a win at the Games), and has escaped his detractors etc.'

55. ἀκρον ἐλών: to come first at one of the four major Games was to reach the pinnacle of athletic success, cf. N.6.23-4 cit. supra. There were no prizes for coming second or third.

ἤλυξαι τε νεμόμενος: the manuscripts read ἤλυξαι(ι), a form more familiar to scribes. Pindar may have had in mind here Hes.Op.119 ἤλυχοι ἔργ' ἐνέμονται, of men in the Golden Age.

Athletic success, though the crowning achievement, required

in Pindar's view a successful life afterwards, cf. P.1.99-100, P.10.22f., N.9.44f.

55-6. αἶνάν ὕβριν ἀπέφυγεν: Pindar means both 'if the successful athlete is not himself insolent' and 'if he has escaped the hybris of the φθονεροί'. For the former idea cf. O.7.90 ἔπειτ' ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδὸν εὐθυπορεῖ, ἀφὰ δαεῖς ἅ τε οἱ πατέρων ὀρθὰ φρένες ἐξ ἀκαθῶν ἔχρεον (of the victor Diagoras), I.2.35-7 ὄργῳ Ξεινοκράτης ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων γλυκεῖαν ἔσχευ; for the latter, N.8.21f. ὄφον δὲ λόγοι φθονεροῖσιν, ἀπιπταί (sc. φθόνος) δ' ἐσλῶνάει, Bacch.13.199f. εἴ μὴ τινα θερακτικῆς φθόνος βιάται, ἀνεῖπω σφφὸν ἄνδρα (sc. the winner Pytheas). For the conjunction of both sorts of hybris cf. P.4.297 (of Damophilos) μήτ' ὦν γινι πῆμα πορών, ἀπαθῆς δ' αὐτὸς πρὸς ἀσπῶν.

ἀποφεύγειν does not occur elsewhere in Pindar, but φεύγω is common in similar contexts: P.2.52-3 ἐμὲ δὲ χρέων φεύγειν δάκος ἄδινον κικαγοριῶν, P.9.92 σιγαλὸν ἀμαχανίαν ἔργωι φηγῶν.

56-8. μέλανος {δ} ἂν ἐσχατιῶν...χαρίν πορών: Pindar here describes the reward awaiting those who have achieved the pinnacle of athletic success and have managed to live trouble-free.

δέ may have been inserted because εἴ τις...ἀπέφυγεν was taken as the protasis to φθονεροί...ἔστι and a new clause thought to begin with μέλανος, cf. Sch.P.11.83c τὸν δὲ ἄκρως εὐτυχοῦντα, καὶ μετὰ ἡσυχίας ἴηι μηδὲν παρκχῶν πρῶμα and Sch.P.11.84 εἴ τις, φηγῶν, ἄκρον καὶ τὸ πρωτῆον ἔχει, οἱ φθονεροὶ τῆι ἄτηι αὐτὸν ἀμύνονται.

"del. E.Schmid (cf.Σ)" in Snell's app. crit. is misleading. There is no clear evidence the scholiasts knew of a text without the δέ: Sch.P.11.83c and 84 (cit. supra) construe the text as if they read δέ (v. supra); and the reason why Sch.86a, despite working from ἄ. lemma (μέλανος δ' ἂν ἐσχατιῶν) that includes δέ, construes the text as if it did not read δέ, is probably because

it thought δέ could be disregarded rather than because it knew of a text without δέ. Alexandrian commentators were prepared to overlook or misinterpret awkward words in Pindar, cf. ad O.3.43: δέ in apodosis is replaced with γέ by Sch.O.3.75d, and said to mean ἤδη by Sch.O.3.77a; ad I.1.11: Sch.I.1.11c οἱ Ἀριστάρχειοι ... περιεὶν εἶναι φάσι τὴν ἔξ πρόθεσιν ποιητικῆς συνηθείας.

ἀν' ἔσχατιάν... <στείχοι> : so Snell. στείχοι is Wilamowitz's conjecture (v. Schroeder's edition 267); he compares S.Ant.808 τὰν νεάταν ὁδὸν στείχων (Schroeder adds A.Ag.81 τρίποδας μὲν ὁδοὺς στείχει). But στείχειν ὁδὸν is one thing; στείχειν ἔσχατιάν is a much less likely expression, since ἔσχατιά ('limit', 'extremity') lacks the notion of spatial length implicit in ὁδός.

Better to read ἀν' ἔσχατιάν... <στείχει>, cf. Od.23.136 ἢ ἀν' ὁδὸν στείχων, Archil.185.3-4 πῆθηκος ἦσει... μούνοσ ἀν' ἔσχατιήσ, Pi.fr.172.4-5 Τρωῖον ἄμ πεδίον... ἦλθεν, id.Paean 7.11 ἰόντι τηλαυγέ' ἄγ κορυφαίν.

An indicative apodosis fits better than an optative after the indicative ἀπέφυγεν.

Translate: 'he journeys to an end better than black death'.

A black death is oblivion, the fate of the unsuccessful, contrasting with the light which fame gives to the successful: cf. Parth. 1.6f. (which sums P.11.54-8) τιμὰ δὲ βροτοῖσι κεκριμέναί παντὶ δ' ἐπὶ φθόνος ἀνδρὶ κεῖται ἀρετῆς· ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχων ὑπὸ σιγῆι μελαίναι κάρα κέκρουπται.

For the idea that the successful athlete journeys to limits denied to others cf. P.10.22-9, esp. 28-9 ὅσαι δὲ βροτὸν ἔθνος ἀγλαΐαισ ἀπτόμεθα, περαινέει πρὸς ἔσχατον πλοῦν.³²

In place of στείχει/-οι parts of ἔχω have been suggested (following D's ἔχεν ἐν) and θάνατον (as most mss.) read. But the expression θάνατον ἔχεν is unattractive; particularly unattractive is μέλαινα δ' ἀν' ἔσχατιάν καλλίονα θάνατον σήσω conjectured by E.L.Bundy (Univ.Cal.Publ.Class.Phil.1962,87n.118).

57-8. Even when dead the victor provides honour to future members of his family who, thanks to poetry like Pindar's, will be able to remember their ancestor's achievements.

γλυκύτεραι γενεᾷ: a family is an invaluable possession, cf. Pi.O.10.86f: a father rejoices when at last a son appears to whom he can bequeath his goods.

The superlative also adds extra pathos, as at P.9.99-100 ἐκείσται φίλτατον παρθενικά, πόσιν ἢ υἱὸν εὐχοντ' ἔμμεν. (cf. Il.20.408f. of the dead Polydorus, son of Priam, νεώτατος ἔσκε γόνουιο, καί οἱ φίλτατος ἔσκε). See F.Dornseiff, Pindars Stil 78f. on the superlative in Pindar as 'mehr Elativ als Superlativ'.

58. εὐώνυμον κτεάνων κρατίσταν χάριν: εὐώνυμος χάρις is χάρις that consists in a good ὄνομα; the victor bequeaths to his family a good name which they will take pleasure in (χαίρειν).

κρατίσταν is preferable to κράτιστον (B in line), cf. O.3.42 εἰ δ' ἀριστεύει μὲν ὕδωρ, κτεάνων δὲ χρυσοῦς λίσσοιέστατος (-τατον C,V), O.10.88-90 πλοῦτος ὁ λαχὼν ποιμένα ἑπακτὸν ἄλλότριον θναίσκοντι στυχερωτάτος; Hes.Theog.814 εἰδῆρος, ὅ περ καρτερώτατος ἔστιν, id.Op.279-80 δίλην, ἣ πολλὸν ἀρίστη γίνεται, ib.471-2 εὐθημοσύνη γὰρ ἀρίστη θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις, κατοθημοσύνη δὲ κακίση. The ending of the superlative is assimilated to the gender of the noun and the adjective treated as predicative.

Pindar is fond of using apposition to make a striking comparison: O.2.53f. ὁ μὲν πλοῦτος ... ἀστήρ ἀρίχλος, ἐτυμώτατον ἀνδρὶ φθέγγος, O.4.11f. τόνδε κῶμον, χρονιώτατον φάος εὐρυθενέων ἀρετῶν, O.7.1f. φιάλαν... παύχρυσον κορυφᾶν κτεάνων συμποσίου τε χάριν, P.7.1-2 κάλλιστον δι' μεγαλοπόλιος Ἀθᾶνας προσίμιον.

59f. The implications of these lines for Thrasydaios are (a) he, too, will be distinguished and remembered because like the

three heroes he has been sung of; (b) he will gain transient blessedness like Castor and Polydeuces; cf. P.10.22f. *εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ὑμνητὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ γίνεταί σοφοῖς, ὅς ἂν χερσὶν ἢ ποδῶν ἴστυι κρατήσῃσι τὰ μέγιστα ἀέθλων ἔληι.*

59. ἄ τε: the relative connector is more than a means to pass on to a new subject. Just the same (τε) *χάρις* distinguishes and makes famous the three heroes as Thrasydaios gave to his family: the *χάρις* that comes from athletic success. Unless this is appreciated, it is not clear why Pindar mentions the Dioscuri (hence Wilamowitz, Pindaros 262n,3, "Weshalb die spartanischen (nicht einmal die thebanischen) Dioskuren...vermag ich nicht zu rechtfertigen").

The three heroes were renowned for their athleticism; cf. especially I.1.14f. (also for a Theban victor) *κεῖνοι* (sc. Iolaos and Castor) *γὰρ ἡρώων διφρηλάται Λακεδαιμόνι καὶ Θήβαις ἐτέκνωθεν κρᾶτιστοι ἔν τ' ἀέθλοισι θίγον πλείων ἀγώνων...γεγόμενοι στεφάνων νικαφόρων;* also I.5.32, I.7.9, N.10.51. Pindar had precedent: Od.11.300 = Il.3.237 *κᾶστορά θ' ἵπποδάμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα*, Hes.fr.198.8 = fr.199.1 *κᾶστορί θ' ἵπποδάμῳ καὶ ἀεθλοφόρῳ Πολυδεύκει*. Horace followed: Od.1.12.25-7 *puerosque Ledaе, hunc equis, illum super-are pugnis nobilem* (cf. also Theoc. 22.23-4; P.Oxy.2735fr.1.15f.; Paus.2.34.10, 5.8.4).

Iolaos was honoured with Games at Thebes: Sch.0.7.153e, Sch. N.4.32; cf. Pi.I.5.32, Paus.9.23.1. For the accompanying festival v. M.P.Nilsson, Griechische Feste 446-7, Wilamowitz, Pindaros 47, 264f. The Games commemorated Herakles's dead children: Sch. I.4.117 *μυρσίνης στεφάνοις ἐν Θήβαις στεφανοῦνται οἱ νικῶντες τὰ Ἰολαία... διὰ τὸ εἶναι τῶν νεκρῶν στεφῶς.*

The text provides no evidence for the idea of Bowra (Pindar 154-5) that Iolaos and the Dioscuri are mentioned as represent-

atives of Thebes and Sparta hinting at an alliance between the two states.

59-60. τὸν Ἰφικλείδαν ... Ἰόλαον : the patronymic enables Pindar to allude to another Theban hero. Iphikles was Herakles's brother; Herakles's mother was mentioned at the beginning of the poem (1.3).

62. ἄναξ Πολύδευκες: ἄναξ is regularly used to address gods, cf. N.10.77, fr.35 (Zeus); P.9.44 (Apollo). Cf. West on Hes.Theog. 543, Barrett on E.Hipp.88.

ἄνακ(τ)ες was in some places the Dioscuri's title: Paus.2.36.6 Διοσκουρῶν ἱερόν ἔστιν Ἀνάκτων (Argos), id.10.38.7 (Amphissa); Further evidence in B.Hemberg, Anax, anassa und anakes als Götternamen unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Attischen Kulte, Uppsala 1955, 30f. ³³

The variation between the two ways Pindar refers to the Dioscuri (ἄναξ Π. κ. βίαν) exemplifies his fondness for asymmetrical expressions (v. Dornseiff, loc.cit.103f.); it also reflects the version of the story in which only Polydeuces was an immortal god (Cypria fr.5 Kinkel; cf. Pi.N.10.80f.).

υἱοὶ θεῶν : υἱός Pauw, υἱόν Bothe. But υἱοί is vocative, as if Pindar had written καὶ σέ, κάστορος βία, σέ τε, ἄναξ Πολύδευκες, ὦ υἱοὶ θεῶν; he calls on them both as sons of gods; they were worshipped as gods in Laconia, cf. Aristoph.Lys.81 τῷ αὐτῷ (Sch. ad loc. τοὺς Διοσκῶρους λέγει, Λακωνικῶς δὲ φθεύγεται), Isoc. Helen 63 ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐν Θεράπνιας τῆς Λακωνικῆς θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἑγίας καὶ πατρίας ἀποτελοῦσιν, οὐχ ὡς ἥρωσιν ἀλλ' ὡς θεοῖς ἀμφοτέροις οὖσιν; Paus.3.13.1; Plut.Vit.Thes.33; also Od.11.304 τιμὴν δὲ λελόχασιν ἴσα θεοῖσιν.

63-4. τὸ μὲν παρ' ἄμαρ ... Ὀλύμπου: τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου παραφράζει τὸ ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶντι ἑτερῆμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε τεθνήσκειν (Il.11.302-3) says

Sch.P.11.95. But Pindar's paraphrase is significantly different from Homer; he says nothing about their being dead, which would be unsuitable for mention here in the context of the quasi-immortality to be gained by Thrasydaios; for the same reason there is nothing about their living under the ground, cf. N.10. 55-6 ἡμέραν τὰν μὲν παρὰ πατρὶ φίλωι Διὶ νέμονται, τὰν δ' ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης ἐνυδαλοῖσι θεράπνεα, ib.87; Alcman fr.7. Contrast also Cypria fr.5 Kinkel: Castor mortal, Polydeuces immortal.

The variations in these accounts of the Dioscuri's status may in part reflect variations in local cult (v. Nilsson, Griechische Feste 417f.; id. Greek Popular Religion 68f.; Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality), though here Pindar's literary purpose has influenced his version. Their inhabiting both Olympus and a home-town is akin to a strand of belief found in the Iliad about Homer's Olympian deities (cf. J.Griffin, CQ18,1978,8 "A great attempt is made in the Iliad to depict all the gods living together on Olympus with Zeus, although it emerges here and there that gods actually have quite separate homes"). The N.10 account takes a different stance, more akin to a belief in the Dioscuri as underground gods (on the Olympian/Chthonic distinction v. Il.20.64-5, Hes.Theog.736-9,766; cf. W.Burkert, Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche 310 "Olympische Götter und Tote haben nichts miteinander zu schaffen; die Götter hassen des Haus des Hades und halten sich fern").

τὸ μὲν παρ' ἡμέρας ... τὸ δ' οἰκέοντες ; equivalent to οἰκέοντες παρ' ἡμέρας τὸ μὲν... τὸ δέ... παρ' ἡμέρας means 'by alternate days', not 'by day' which would be κατ' ἡμέρας, and is expanded by the antithesis. For παρὰ in this sense = 'every other/second' v. LSJ s.v. παρὰ C.I.9 (where this passage belongs); cf. Dem.49.56 συνεῖναι ἑκατέρωι ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν 'stayed with each on a daily

basis'. The time scheme is the same as the Dioscuri have at

N.10.55-6 ἄμέραν τὰν μὲν παρὰ πατρὶ φίλωι Διὶ νεμόνται, τὰν δὲ ----.

Lines 63-4 are best construed οἰκέοντας παρὶ ἄμαρ τὸ μὲν ἔδρακι
Θεράπνας, τὸ δὲ ἔνδον Ὀλύμπου, with οἰκεῖν taking two constructions, ἔνδον
governing Ὀλύμπου, and Olympus denoting the settlement of the
gods at the top of the mountain, not Mt. Olympus itself, as perhaps
at Hes.Theog.37 (v. West ad loc.; he quotes Sch.A.II.1.497
ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἔστιν ὁμώνυμος πόλις Ὀλυμπος). For the
two constructions cf. I.5.36-8 ἔσπομενοι Ἡρακλεῖ προτέρων καὶ σὺν
Ἀτρέϊδασι ; for οἰκεῖν c. dat. cf. N.10.58 οἰκεῖν τ' οὐράνῳ.

63. Θεράπνας: Therapne was about two kilometres north of
modern Sparta. It was the site of the earliest Sparta (Mycen-
aeon remains, now in the Sparta Museum, have been found in the
area) and the Menelaeion where Helen and Menelaos were worshipped;
it was also the home of the Dioscuri (cf. N.10.56-7, I.1.31 and
the present passage) - Fifth-Century votive reliefs attest to
their worship there (v. Tod and Wace, Sparta Museum Catalogue 122f.,
178).

The end and the beginning of the ode exemplify ring compos-
ition: the first and last lines both refer to the Olympians and
Olympus; both Semele and the Dioscuri share Olympus only by
special dispensation; two sisters open the ode, two brothers
end it. This variety of ring composition, a thematic connection
between the end and the beginning of the poem, is quite common
in Pindar's odes, cf. O.2.5f.~91f. (Theron's generosity), P.1.1f.
~97-8 (the phorminx), N.9.1f.~52f. (Chromios and the Muses),
I.8.1f.~65f. (Kleandros and friends), N.2.1-5~23-5 (Zeus);
similarly in Alcaeus 42 (Helen), and Sappho 1 (Aphrodite).

Pindar has other types of ring-composition: in O.7 three myths are told (Tlapolemos, the sons of the sun, Rhodes), then briefly touched on in reverse order (O.7.20f., 39f., 56f. 71, 72f., 77f.). Another type is exemplified in I.1 where mention of Iolaos and Castor (16, 30-1) rings a section of the poem about them (cf. Iamos at O.6.43, 71; Pelops at O.1.24, 95).

Repetition of significant words to mark off a section of a poem is a favourite device of Bacchylides in his longer epinicians: B.5.49~16 ἱέρωνι/-α , ib.200~178 Ζεύς, Δία , B.11.39~1 Νίκην/-α , ib.110~41 βωμόν, ib.126~114 Ἀχαιῶν/-οῖς ; but its effect is diluted by the superabundance of other verbal repetitions throughout the odes (v. H. Maehler, Die Lieder des Bakchylides, introduction (para.3) to B.11). Pindar's repetitions tend to be expressed with verbal variety; Bacchylides regularly repeats himself with the same phraseology, e.g. B.11.60 λιπόντες Ἄργος ~ 81 Ἄργος... λιπόντες , ib.61-2 Ναιῶν... ἤμιθεοι ~ ib.79-80 ἀντίθεοι Ναιῶν (contrast Pi.I.1.16 ἢ Καστορείῳ ἢ Ἰολαοῖ ~ 30-1 Ἰφικλέος μὲν παῖς ... Τυνδαρίδαο).

Examples of ring composition are found also in Epic: Hes. Theog.713-820 (a series of myths told in the form A-B-C-C-B-A: v. West's edition p.358); Il.24.601-2~613,618-9 (verbal repetition surrounding the story of Niobe; cf. Hes.Theog.426-7~448-9).

The succinct allusion to a story (here, the Dioscuri's fate) is typically Pindaric (cf. O.10.15-19), but only occasionally does he end an ode in this way (cf. O.1.fin. Ganymede; N.1.fin. Hebe; N.8.fin. Seven against Thebes). The ring composition here mitigates the abrupt effect of ending with such a succinct allusion.

COMMENTARY on NEMEAN TWO

Prologue: The date of this poem, like that of all the Nemeans, is not known. Farnell (Commentary 251) writes: "The only evidence as to the date of this ode is the reference to the island of Salamis without any allusion to the great battle 480 B.C. This gives us a terminus ante quem" (similarly Wilamowitz, Pindaros 156, with another, not compelling, argument). But the last sentence does not follow since Pindar was composing for a victory in the pankration at Nemea, not writing a history of Salamis; and the ode is a short one.

A scholiast on line 1 (Sch.N.2.1a) writes ἔστιν ἀπὸ Διὸς αὐτὸν ἀρξάμενον τῶν ἀγώνων μετὰ ταῦτα νικῆσειν ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο εὐθέως μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Νεμεακὴν νικῆν ἐπέφρασαντο τὰ Ὀλύμπια. It is unlikely the scholiast is inventing this Olympic victory, because the text - the scholiasts' usual source for inventions - says Timodemos should win in the future, if he follows his father's footsteps, at Isthmia and Pythia (line 9), not at Olympia. The following of the Pleiades by Orion (11-12) is a very oblique hint at a future Olympic win (see ad loc.); but since none of the scholiasts on N.2 is able to see that this is the significance of the passage, it too can be ruled out as a source.

Bowra (Pindar 407) argues that since Timodemos is not among the pankration victors in the list of Olympic victors for 480-68 (P.Oxy.222, which covers 480-68 and 456-48; the names of the victors in the pankration and boxing in 480 are lost from the papyrus, but given by Pausanias 6.6.5, 6.11.5), therefore the victory mentioned by the scholiast must have been before 480, and hence N.2 earlier still. But the Olympic victory might have been in 464 or 460; so the date of N.2 is not certainly before 480.

It does not follow that because Timodemos won at Nemea in the pankration he must have won at Olympia, too, in the pankration. Pausanias (6.11.5) records that Theagenes of Thasos won in the pankration, boxing and long-distance running.

The pankration was a violent sport: "The common English translation, 'trial of strength', is a polite fiction: the contestants punched, slapped, kicked, wrestled (much of the time on the ground) and even - though illegally - bit and gouged each other until one surrendered by tapping the victor on the back or shoulder", (Finley and Fleket, The Olympic Games 40-1). It was reckoned less dangerous than boxing: Artemidorus Oneir. 1.64 τὸ δὲ παγκράτιον τὰ αὐτὰ τῆι πυγμαίῃ σημαίνει πλὴν βλάβης, a perverse judgement according to Finley and Fleket (loc. cit.); but even today severe injuries and death occur more often in boxing than in judo to which the pankration has been compared (not wholly accurately: judo forbids bending the fingers; not so the pankration: "Sostratos was nicknamed Fingertips because he used to catch hold of his opponents' fingertips and bend them back, and he never let go until they surrendered", Paus.6.4.1).

Pindar commemorates pankratiasts only in his Nemeans and Isthmians; none of his Olympians or Pythians is for one. This may signify that he wanted to extol this violent event only in moderation and his minor epinicians.

In those Nemeans and Isthmians written for pankratiasts the theme of violence looms large through the violence of the mythical characters, descriptions of war, fighting, death; for example N.3.33f. Πηλεύς... καὶ ποντίαν θέτιν κατέμαρψεν ἔγκονητί (cf. Sch.N.3.61a ἔγκονητί: αὐτὴ τοῦ ἔνεργως. ἢ μεταφορᾷ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀθλευόντων); ib.43f. Ἀχιλεὺς... σώματα δὲ παρὰ κρονίδαν κένταυρον ἀθραίνοντα κόμῃεν (cf. I.5.39-42, I.6.31-5, I.7.25f.; Bacch.13.100f.). The detailed

vividness of Pindar's description in Isthmian 4 of the Theban pankratiast Melissos is unusual: *τόλμαι γὰρ εἰκῶς / θυμὸν ἐριβρεμετῶν
θηρῶν λεόντων / ἐν πόνωι, μῆτιν δ' ἀλώπηξ, αἰετοῦ ἄ τ' ἀναπιπταμένα
ῥόμβον ἴχει / χρῆ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντ' ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν. / οὐ γὰρ φύειν Σταριωνέαν
ἔλαχεν / ἀλλ' ὄνοτος μὲν ἰδέσθαι, / κυματεεῖν δ' ἀγκῶι βαρύν (I.4.45f.).*

Pindar's attitude to the pankration contrasts with his lack of interest towards the other events in the Games; the odes in honour of pankratiasts highlight the peculiar violence of the event, and how such violence must be delimited and its exponents use brain

as well as brawn: cf. I.5.61 *χερὶ δεξιῶν, νόω: ἀντίπαλον [sc. Πυθέων]*
I.6.66-71 *Λάμπων δὲ μελέταν / ἔργου ὀπάξων Ἡσιόδου μάλα τιμῶι τοῦτ' ἔποι
υἱοῖσι τε [sc. the pankratiasts Pytheas and Phylakidas] φράξων παρκενέτ /
... μέτρα μὲν γνώμῃσι διώκων, μέτρα δὲ καὶ κατέχων / ἡλώεα δ' οὐκ ἔξω φρενῶν ;
Bacch.13.44-5 ἕβριος ὑψιπόου πᾶύσει δίκαις θνατοῖσι κραινῶν sc.*

Herakles, despite his violence .

This provides a partial explanation for some of the references in Nemean 2: Orion, the mighty hunter; mighty Aias; Timodemos as *φῶτα μάχιστῶν* ; the pankration as producer of resoluteness and strength. Pankratiasts were not garden or common people: "Arrachion's opponent caught him, held him with a scissors grip and at the same time throttled him with his hands; so Arrachion broke one of the man's toes. Arrachion died by strangling, and simultaneously the strangler gave in from the pain in his toe" (Paus.8.40.2).

lf. Pindar begins three epinicians with a simile for what he is doing (I.6, O.6, O.7; cf. Bacch.12 init., id.5.16-36), but only here with one for the victor's achievement; the nearest analogue is the priamel beginning O.1 (cf. O.3.42f.). These opening comparisons put the uniqueness of Pindar's epinicians and victory in the Games into the framework of events in general so they become more tangible.

Nisetich (Pindar's Victory Songs 237) says implausibly: "Pindar seems to have intended the ode to be repeated by the chorus as it passed along the way, for the last line is phrased in such a manner as to allow a return to the opening words almost without pause". True, N.2 is unique (to Pindar and Bacchylides) in beginning with a relative clause and $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\nu \pi\epsilon\rho\ldots$ (1) could follow syntactically after $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (25); but $\kappa\alpha\iota \text{ 'Ομηροῖδαι} \dots \kappa\alpha\iota \text{ 'Ὀδ' } \delta\upsilon\eta\rho$ (1-3) would have to be reconstructed 'both...and' (instead of 'this man too' with the first $\kappa\alpha\iota$ merely preparatory), and $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\kappa \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\mu\iota\omicron\nu$ (3) would have to be taken with $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ to mean, 'begin from where the Homeridai start their songs and from where this man started his victories, viz. with Zeus', a possible construal if lines 6f. consisted of a proimion to Zeus. But they do not.

Conclusion: the form of N.2 is not evidence that it was designed to be sung repeatedly like a looped tape on a tape-recorder. More probably, like other short odes, it prefaced the komos held for Timodemos (see on 1.24, and the conclusion after note on 1.25).

1. $\kappa\alpha\iota$: corresponsive with, and preparatory for, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in line 3; so both $\kappa\alpha\iota$'s are adverbial (not uncommon in relative clauses as here: see Denniston, The Greek Particles 324).

1-2. Ὀμηρίδαι: a group of rhapsodes specialising in Homer: Sch.N.2.1c Ὀμηρίδαί ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου γένους, οἱ καὶ τὴν ποιήσιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἦιδον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ῥαψωδοὶ οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ὀμηρον ἀνάγοντες. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὓς φασὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος τὸ γένος Χίος, ὃς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὀμήρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραφὼς ἕμνον ἀνατέθεικεν αὐτῷ. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ῥαψωδῆσε τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν 38' Ὀλυμπιάδα [504 B.C.], ὡς Ἰππόστρατος φησὶν [FGrH 568 F5].

cf. Sch.N.2.1e Ὀμηρίδαί πρότερον μὲν οἱ Ὀμήρου παῖδες, ὕστερον δὲ οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον ῥαψωδοὶ· οὗτοι γὰρ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν σκεδαθεῖαν ἐμνημόνευον καὶ ἀπηγγέλλον· ἐλυμήναντο δὲ αὐτῇ πάντο.

The beliefs expressed in these parts of the scholia cannot be disproved, are plausible, and probably largely true or near the truth.

The -ῖδαί ending properly means 'belonging to the family of', cf. I.3.17 ματρίθε Λαβδακίδαισιν εὐνομοί; P.7.2 Ἀλκμανίδων... γενεᾶι. That the Homeridai were once a family on Chios was believed by Acusilaus (FGrH2F2) and Hellanicus (FGrH4F20) and is probable (see T.W.Allen, Homer, The Origins and the Transmission 42f.). This implies a Homer living there in the Sixth Century. The idea that the family was descended from the poet Homer represents the Chian viewpoint, cf. Strabo 14.1.35 ἀμφιβεητοῦσι καὶ Ὀμήρου Χίοι, μαρτύριον μέγε τοὺς Ὀμηρίδαί καλουμένους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου γένους προχειρίζομενοι; Certamen 13-5 Allen.

Whether the first Homeridai = 'rhapsodes devoted to Homer' were from the Chiot Homeridai family is an open question; for a metaphorical father-poet cf. P.4.176 φορμυκταὶ λαιδῶν πατὴρ ἔμολεν εὐαίνητος Ὀρφεύς (Orpheus generated songs); Musaeus was put at the head of the genealogy of the Eumolpidae, as Eumolpus's father, to create an author of the poetry sung by the Eumolpidae (see M.L.West, The Orphic Poems 41).

After concentrating on Homer it seems that the Homeridai extended their repertoire by reciting their own work under Homer's name and opening the guild to non-family members living in Chios such as Cynaethus. He is known only from the Pindaric scholia; their source, Hippostratus, a Sicilian genealogist, was a Hellenistic historian/antiquarian/fablist and his account is credible (see H.T.Wade-Gery, Essays in Greek History 31-6; FGrH568 Comm.).

The Homeridai's practice of attributing their own output to Homer probably lies behind Pl.Phaed.252b λέγουσι δὲ, οἶμαι, τινὲς Ὀμηρίδων ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων ἑστῶν δύο ἔπη εἰς τὸν Ἑρωτα.

The Homeridai are best known to Plato as a group who told stories about Homer and honoured his benefactors; this may represent a change of emphasis by Plato's day in their practice, but interpretation of poems was characteristic of rhapsodes from the Sixth Century onwards (see infra, and West, Hesiod, Works and Days 63).

D.Fehling (Rh.Mus.122,1974,193-9) thinks (1) Pindar was the first to use the word Ὀμηρίδαι, and (2) that he is using it here as a synonym for 'rhapsodes'. But the Acusilaus testimonium makes (1) doubtful, and Pindar does not say all rhapsodes were Homeridai (many concentrated on other authors: v. infra).

The type of song Pindar says the Homeridai sung is exemplified by the Homeric Hymns, the short hymn to Zeus prefacing the Works and Days, and the longer one to the Muses at the beginning of the Theogony. (cf. the epic poet's practice of invoking a god before starting a new theme e.g. Od.8.499-500). Pindar says they often began with a hymn to Zeus only because of the context of N.2; Nemea, where Timodemos won, being sacred to Zeus. The next earliest reference to a Homeric Hymn (Thuc.3.105) also calls it a prooimion.

2. ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ἄοιδοί : the phrase gives an etymology for ῥαψωιδός . A different etymology, implying a connection between ῥαψωιδός and ῥαβδος , is suggested by the strange phraseology at I.4.56-7 κατὰ ῥαβδὸν ἔφρασεν θεσπεσίων ἐπέων [sc. Ὀμηρῶς] (see FGrH T328 F212 Comm.; for the rhapsode's staff cf. Hes.Theog.30 καί μοι κρηπτρὸν ἔδον δάφνης ἐπιθήλειος ὄξον - v. West ad loc. and in JHS111,1981, 124f.).

ῥαπτῶν means 'stitched'; something stitched together is made of little pieces. According to M.L.West (CQ21,1971,314n.1 and JHS111,1981,114n.8) ῥαψωιδός = 'song-stitcher' refers to creative, viz. formulaic, composition (cf. [Hes.] Fr.357). But there are other possibilities: the term could refer (2) to the piecing together, not of formulae, but of smaller poems to make one large one (as our texts of the Iliad and Odyssey were created); (3) to stitching, not as fastening, but as a form of embellishment, implying it was the practice of rhapsodes to elaborate and embroider poems while reciting them. Most likely, I think, is (4): the term was invented to mean 'fabricator of song' and describe in a derogatory way the bad professional reciters and interpreters of poetry common in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries, despised as stupid by Xenophon (Mem.4.2.10, Symp.3.6), whose practice became synonymous with 'rubbish' (cf. Suda s.v. ῥαψωιδῶμα ὑψύμα, ῥαψωιδία φλυαρία, ἄδολαχία). The word is not attested until the Fifth Century (Collitz, Griechische Dialektinschriften 5786, Hdt.5.67, S.O.T.391) and may have been suggested by Homeric ῥαπτῶ meaning, when used metaphorically, 'contrive', 'fabricate', always in a bad sense. (Further modern discussion on the word's etymology by H.Patzer, Hermes 80,1952,314-25; ancient ideas ap. Sch.N.2.1d).

Rhapsodes' subject-matter included Homer and Hesiod (Hdt. 5.67 κλειθένης γάρ, Ἀρχείοισι πολυμήγας, τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψωιδούς ἔπεισε

ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἔπεων εἴνεκα, ὅτι Ἄρχοι τε καὶ Ἄρχος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέσθαι ; Pl.Leg.658 ῥαψωδὸν δὲ καλῶς Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδυσσεύων ἢ τι τῶν Ἡσιόδειων διακτιθέντα). Later rhapsodes had a more extended repertoire (Ath.620: Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Simonides, Phocylides, Empedocles).

The term ῥαψωδός implies αἰδητή, but from the Sixth Century rhapsodes were interpreters as well as singers (v. R.Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship i.10-11,35,55; cf. Pl.Ion

530c τὸν γὰρ ῥαψωδὸν ἑρμηνεῖα δεῖ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῆς διανοίας γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσι; Isoc.12.18 διαλέγοντο [sc. ἀρχαίοι σοφισταί] περὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων ποιημάτων καὶ τῆς Ἡσόδου καὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως, οὐδὲν μὲν παρ' αὐτῶν λέγοντες, τὰ δ' ἐκείνων ῥαψωδοῦντες).

4. καταβολή: subtly chosen, because it can refer both to the opening of a song and generally to the laying of any foundation: cf. Sch.N.2.1a ὅτι δὲ καταβολὰς ἔλεγον τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐτινοσοῦν ἔπουν, Καλλιμάχος φησιν' (Fr.392) Ἀρσινόης, ᾧ ξεῖτε, γάμον καταβάλλομι' αἰδέων. μετῆκται δὲ ἡ λέξις ἀπὸ τῶν τὰς οἰκίας κατασκευαζόντων καὶ βαλλόντων τοὺς θεμελίους ; E.Hel.164 ᾧ μεγάλων ἀχέων καταβαλλομένα μέγνι οἶκτον. The word is, therefore, particularly suitable for both the openings of the Homeric hymns and Timodemos's first victory.

For its musical sense cf. ἀναβάλλομαι which seems to be technical for preliminary notes on the lyre: Od.1.155 = 8.266 ὁ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν αἰδέειν ; Pi.N.7.77 εἶρεν στεφάνου ἐλαφρόν, ἀναβάλλεο (Sch.N.7.114d ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνακρούου καὶ ἀρχοῦ τι λέγειν ἐλαφρῶς); Theoc. 6.20 τῷ δ' ἐπὶ Δαρμοίτας ἀνεβάλλετο καὶ τὰδ' αἰδέειν, id.10.22 μέλος ἀμβάλει; similarly ἀναβολή : Pi.P.1.4 πείθονται δ' αἰδοὶ κάμακιν ἀγχιχώρων ὅπποταν προοιῶν ἀμβολὰς τεύχηι ἐλελιζομένα (the participation of the chorus suggests ἀμβολαί were integral to the whole piece, not equivalent to tuning up; v. M.L.West, JHS111,1981,122); pseudo-Stesichorus (PMG 278) refers to the process, ἄγε Μοῦσα λίγει' ἀρξον αἰδοῦσε τέραςτων

ἕμνουσ' Ἰ Σαμίων περὶ τῶν ἑρατῶν φθεγγόμενα λύραι ; cf. Eupolis 5
Demianćczuk ἀλλήλων ταυτῆι κύκλιον ἀναβολήν τινα (cited by Phot.
Berol. 107.12 s.v. ἀναβολή· προοίμιον διδυραμβίου ἄϊσματος).

Analogous to καταβολάν here is Pindar's metaphorical use of
βάλλομαι κρηπίδα = 'I throw a foundation, begin': P.4.138 βάλλετο
κρηπίδα σοφῶν ἐπέων , P.7.2-3 προοίμιον... κρηπίδ' αἰδοῦν ἵπποισι βαλέσθαι
(literally at Fr.51a βαλλόμενος κρηπίδας ἀλέων); cf. N.1.8 ἀρχαί δὲ
βέβληνται θεῶν (Sch.N.1.11a τοῦτο δὲ λέγει διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ θεοῦ τῆς
Ἀρτέμιδος κατήρχθαι, ὥστε ἀρχαί τὰ προοίμια τῆς ὠδῆς αὐτὸν λέγειν).

καταβολάν governs νικαφορίας (genitive, itself governing ἱερῶν
ἀγώνων); Snell's comma after πρώτων should be removed: 'he
first received a foundation to victory in the Sacred Games in
the famous grove of Nemean Zeus'. For νικαφορία ἱερῶν ἀγώνων
meaning 'victory in...' cf. Homeric μάχης νίκη (Il.7.26, 8.171).³⁴

The word illustrates the influence on Pindar of architecture
and its terminology (cf. O.6.init.).

5. πολυμνήτωι: not otiose; the grove at Nemea was much
sung of (a) because of its proximity to the tomb of Opheltes
in whose honour the Nemean Games were said to have been founded:
ὑπόθεσις Νεμεῶν Sch.a (Drachmann iii.1); E.Hyps.Fr.60.ii.10lf.;
Call.Fr.383, filled out by P.Lille 82 (v. ZPE25,1977,6f.) =
Lloyd-Jones/Parsons, Supp.Hell.nos.254f. (b) Because Herakles
killed the Nemean lion there, cf. esp. Bacch.9.4f. Νεμεαίου/Ζηνός
εὐθαλέε πέδον/ἕμνεϊν, ὅθι μηλοδαΐκταν/θρέψεν ἃ λευκώλε[νο]ς ἦρα
περὶ[κλει]πῶν ἀέθλων/πρώτον Ἡρακλεῖ βαθύφθογγον λέοντα./κείθι φοινικ-
ἀσπίδες ἤμῖθεοι/πρώτιστον Ἀργείων κρητοῖ/ἀθλῆκαν ἐπ' Ἀρχεμόρωι.

Pindar was much attracted by πολυ - compounds; examples
are often surprisingly near each other: O.1.8 πολυφάτος ~ 12 πολυμήλωι,
P.9.6-7 πολυμήλου καὶ πολυκαρποτάτας , ib.69 πολυχρύσει ~ 76 πολυμύθωι,
N.3.2 πολυζέων ~ 10 πολυνεφέλα (So also in Parmenides: Fr.1.2~4;

Fr.7.3-5). He was inventive: seven of his 31 different πολυ- compounds are found in no other author (though πολυπέφελος in Et.Mag.); fifteen of the 31 are not found in earlier authors; three that are epic are given a new meaning: πολύμυθος, 'verbose' (epic), 'famous in story' (Pindar); πολύζενος, 'very hospitable' ~ 'much-frequented'; πολύφαιμος, 'abounding in songs' ~ 'much-spoken of'.

A similar picture with other of Pindar's intensifying prefixes: all his five κρατησι-, καρτερ(ο)- compounds are unique to him; five of his 10 βαρυ- compounds are his alone, three not in earlier authors; of 11 βαθυ- compounds, eight not in earlier authors, six unique; only two of his μεγα, μεγαλ(ο)- compounds found earlier; μεγαίστοπι (P.8.2), his only μεγαιστο- compound, is unique to him.

Only five of the compounds formed with these prefixes are shared by him with Bacchylides: πολύστονος, μεγαλοσθενής, βαρύφθογγος, βαθύζωνος, μεγαλάνωρ (only the last not epic). When Pindar does form compounds, he tends to form unusual ones; contrast an example of Bacchylides's practice: his only κρατησι-/καρτερ(ο)- compound is καρτερόθυμος (epic); but note his inventiveness with μεγα(λο)-/μεγιστο- compounds: μεγαίστοάνασσα, μεγαίστοπάτωρ, μεγακινήτος, μεγαλοκλέης, μεγαλοῦχος all unique to him, only μεγαθύμοι (epic) inherited.

One can tentatively conclude that in his use of these intensifying prefixes Pindar is more regularly innovative than Bacchylides, and shows greater avoidance of common epic formations; when he does use epic compounds, he likes to give them a new meaning or application (besides the examples above, cf. his use of βαρύφθογγος : of a lion, Hom.Hym.Aphr.159 followed by Bacchylides 8.9; of a bowstring, Pi.I.6.34; cf. βαθύκολποι : of Trojan

women in Homer, of $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ Pi.P.9.101).

Διὸς ἄλσει: the whole site, including both the part where the Games were held and Zeus's precinct; cf. Strabo 9.2.33 οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ κοσμοῦσιν ἄλσει καλοῦντες τὰ ἱερά πάντα, καὶ ἢ φιλά· τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· καὶ μυχὸς διζύκαστο βαλλόμενος κρηπίδας ἄλσεων [sc. Apollo] = Pi. Fr.51a.4; Euripides calls the site both a λειμών (Hyps. Fr.1.ii.29, ib. Fr.1.iv.21) and an ἄλσος (ib. Fr.1.iv.10).

The history of the sanctuary of Zeus and the temple in Classical times is bipartite (see the reports by Stephen Miller in Hesperia, 45-9, 1976-80). The extant remains of the temple are Hellenistic, but there was an earlier one sharing the same orientation (Hesp. 46, 1977, 20f.) built in the Sixth Century (ib. 48, 1979, 82). The sanctuary and the temple were destroyed in the late Fifth or early Fourth Century; bronze arrow-heads, belonging to the second half of the Fifth Century have been found, suggesting violence on the site (ib. 46, 1977, 9). Literary evidence, too, shows that the ἄλσος had a checkered history; both Argos and Kleonai (near Nemea) vied to control the Games: cf. Pi.N.4.17 κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος; (Sch.N.4.21c λέγει δὲ τοῦ Νεμεακοῦ, κλεωναῖοι γὰρ αὐτὸν διέθικαν); Xenophon mentions an illegal Nemean Games sacred truce introduced by Argos (ἡ τῶν μνηῶν ὑποφορὰ Xen.Hell.4.7.2; cf. Hypothesis Nemeonicarum c = Drachmann iii.3 προέστησαν δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ κλεωναῖοι).

6-10. ὀφείλει ... παῖδ': $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta'$ mss. and Aristarchus (v. infra), $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta'$ cj. Hartung. ὀφείλει used impersonally is regularly passive (e.g. E.Alc.419 ὡς $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta'$ ἡμῖν καταναεῖν ὀφείλεται); LSJ (s.v. iii.), Slater (s.v.), and Bury (The Nemean Odes of Pindar, ad loc.) regard ὀφείλει here as an impersonal use of the active; so, too, Aristarchus (Sch.N.2.9a Ἀριστάρχος οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ

ὀφείλει, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι ὀφειλόμενον δ' ἔτι
 ἔστιν. οὕτω γὰρ τὰ ἐπόμενα συναρμολογῆται ὅταν λέγηται Πυθίοι τε νικῶν Τιμονόου
 παῖδα οὐ γὰρ εἴρηκε παῖς). But there is no parallel for such a use
 in pre-Hellenistic Greek, perhaps none at all: Ap.Rh.3.678 is
 suspect - v. Fränkel in the app. crit. of his OCT edition. (A
 still more implausible explanation for παῖδα is given by Sch.N.2.16b,
 taking Τιμονόου παῖδ'... ἑοικός [sc. νικῶν] as all one phrase. For a
 likely cause of this interpretation v. infra on line 11).

Hence Hartung's παῖς. Better, retain παῖδ' : as Pindar
 begins the sentence he thinks of Timodemos as the subject and
 therefore uses the active of ὀφείλω; then after all (and especially
 the intervening clause which mentions T. in the accusative, 7^{νν})
 he uses a construction in which T. is grammatically accusative.
 This type of anacolouthon has no obvious parallel in Pindar,
 though common in tragedy (v. Barrett on E.Hipp.23), but cf. Pi.
 O.2.56f.³⁵

Pindar may have been influenced in his choice of verb by
 the story that the Games were established in honour of the death
 of Opheltes: Hyp.Nem.c init. τὰ Νεμέα φασιν ἄγειναι ἐπὶ ὀφείτῃ
 (alias Archemoros); Bacch.9.10-12 κεῖθι (sc. at Nemea) φοι]νικάσπιδες
 ἤμίθεοι/ πρ[ώτιστ]ον Ἀργείων κριτοὶ/ ἄθλησαν ἐπ' Ἀρχεμόρωι; at Callim.
 Fr.383.1. Ζῆνι τε καὶ Νεμέῃ τε χαρίσιον ἔδνον ὀφείλω and E.Hyps.Fr.60.
 12 ὠφέλημι ἐμοὶ μέγα (sc. Opheltes), ὀφείλω and ὠφέλημα pun on
 Opheltes's name. For another likely pun in this ode v. on 11
 ὄρειων (penultimate paragraph of note).

6-7. πατρίαν...καθ' ἑδόν : including not only Timodemos's
 father, but also his earlier forbears; the family had a history
 of athletic excellence: v. 17f. (19 victories away from home),
 and cf. Sch.N.2.9b εἴπερ κατὰ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν πατέρων...ὡς τῶν προγόνων
 ἱερονικῶν γεγονότων (perhaps an inference from the text, but the

scholiasts do sometimes show knowledge of external evidence relating to the victor's family, e.g. Sch.0.13.58a; cf. Prologue init.).

For the 'following in the footsteps of' idea cf. N.6.15, P.10.12, P.8.35. These passages display the earliest such use of ἵχνος and ἵχνεύω (followed later by Pl.Phaedr.276d; cf. Hor.A.P. 286-7, *vestigia Graeca ausi deserere*), and are perhaps the source for the English expression. Pindar's observation that victories frequently ran in the family may have influenced his dictum that athletic success requires inborn and hereditary ability (as well as training, good luck etc.), e.g. O.10.20-1 θάξαι δέ κε φύντ' ἀρετᾶι ποτὶ πελώριον ὄρμαίαι κλέος ἀνὴρ θεοῦ σὺν Παλάμει, O.13.13 ἀμαχὸν δὲ κρύψαι τὸ συγγενὲς ἦθος, I.3.13-14 ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀρετᾶν σὺμφυτον οὐ κατελέχθη.

The clause down to Ἀθάναις (13) means, 'If, as we may hope, T's present victory, which has made him a glory to Athens, means that he is following his father's footsteps'. εἴπερ qualifies πατρῴων καθ' ὁδόν in particular, and the whole clause refers to the present victory: after winning at Nemea, T. would have been announced by the herald as Ἀθηνάϊος. The thought underlying this and the next strophe is whether T. will continue to follow the pattern of his forbears' victories. For the possibility that a generation might miss out on their father's athletic excellence cf. N.11.37f.

7-8. εὐθυπομπὸς αἰών: proleptic, including Timodemus's future life. Two interpretations are distinguishable: (1) αἰών means T.'s own life and εὐθυπομπός 'straight-guided'. αἰών regularly means a man's own life or lifetime in early Greek (e.g. Il.16.453, of Sarpedon, τὸν γὰρ λίπηι ψυχὴν τε καὶ αἰών; Pi.P.3.86-7 αἰὼν δ' ἀσφαλῆς οὐκ ἐγένετ' οὐτ' Αἰακίδα παρὰ Πηλεΐ; Bacch.1.153 αἰῶν' ἔλυσεν); see Fränkel on A.Ag.105f. where σὺμφυτὸς αἰών expresses

the idea that a man's lifetime is born, grows up, and ages with him. For αἰών as subject with a personal object cf. O.9.60-1
 μή καθέλοι νιν (sc. Lokros) αἰών πόντον ἐφάψαι ὄρφανόν γενεᾶς .

(2) αἰών is conceived as an external power, Life or Time, that changes men's fortunes (including their lives); cf. I.3.18
 αἰών κυλιδομένηαι ἡμέραι ἄλλ' ἄλλοτ' ἐξ ἄλλαξαν , I.8.14-5
 δόλιος γὰρ αἰών ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρέματαί ἐλίσεων βίου πόρον ; Heracl.
 Fr.93 Αἰών παις ἐστὶ, παῖζων, περσεύων ἰπαῖος ἢ βασιληγῆ. For αἰών
 in this sense see M.L. West. Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient
 158-9. εὐθυπομπός will mean 'straight-guiding': cf. A.Ag.1005 αἰών
 εὐθυπορῶν ; Pi.O.13.23 Ζεῦ πάτερ... Ξενοφῶντος εὐθύνε δαίμονος οὐρον,
 P.1.46 εἰ γὰρ δὲ πᾶς χρόνος ὄλβον μὲν οὕτω καὶ κτεάνων δόσιν εὐθύνει, N.7.29
 εὐθυπνόου Ζεφύροιο πομπαί 'blowing straight'; Bacch.5.6 φρένα δ'
 εὐθύδικρον 'straight-judging' (for εὐθυπομπός='straight-guided' as
 required by interpretation (1) cf. P.5.90 εὐθύπομόν τε κατέθηκεν [sc.
 ὄδον] 'straight-cut', not 'straight-cutting').

Professor M.L. West favours (2) here, but I doubt if the distinction is applicable since an individual's life was not in Pindar's view ruled solely by his own self: he thought both external factors (god; luck, training) and internal ones (skill, strength, hereditary characteristics) contributed to an athlete's αἰών .
 Translate: 'If at any rate it is on his forbears' tracks and a straight course that his life has granted him to be a glory to great Athens...'.
 9. θαμὰ μὲν... ἐν Πυθίοισι τε: cf. O.7.12 θαμὰ μὲν φόρμιγγι, παμφώνοισι τ' ἐν ἔντεσιν αὐλῶν , O.4.14-16 ἐπεὶ νιν δινεῶ μάλα μὲν τροφῆαι ἐτοίμων ἵππων, χαίροντά τε ξενίασι πανδόκοις , O.6.4-6 (μὲν...τε...τε), P.4.249-52 (μὲν...τε...τε); Bacch.13.193f. θαμὰ δὴ... μυρίων τ' ἤδη .

The principle of Bury (App.A, 156-61 to his edition of the Isthmians) that μὲν always implies δέ , and hence that μὲν...τε would, if

Pindar were regular, be expressed by μέν...δέ is refuted by Denniston (The Greek Particles 474-5): τε is added when addition, not contrast, is uppermost.

2. Ἰσθμιάδων: Ἰσθμιάς, -άδος is adjectival at I.8.4 Ἰσθμιάδος τε Νίκης ἄποινα; Thuc.8.9 αἰ Ἰσθμιάδες σπονδαί. Used as a noun, as here, αἰ Ἰσθμιάδες = Ἰσθμια sc. ἱερά or ἄεθλα (cf. O.13.33 ἐν Ἰσθμιάδεσσιν).

Compare Ὀλυμπιάς, -άδος used (a) as a fem. adj. (e.g. Μούσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, Hes.Theog.25), (b) as a noun αἰ Ὀλυμπιάδες = Ὀλύμπια (e.g. καὶ νικῶ πῦξ δὴ Ὀλυμπιάδας, Sim.29 Page, Epig. Graec.); Πυθιάς, -άδος used (a) as a fem. adj. (e.g. Pl.Leg.807c τοῦ Πυθιάδος καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος νίκης ὀρεγομένου), (b) as a noun (e.g. Pi.P.1.32 Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ sc. ἑορτῆς), but never in the plural (v. LSJ s.v. Πυθιάς), for which Πυθία; Νεμεάς, -άδος (a fem. adj. at Pi. N.3.2 ἐν ἱερομηναίαι Νεμεάδι) is never used as a noun.

The feminine plural noun likely to have caused the -άδες forms to be used substantivally is σπονδαί (cf. Thuc.8.9 cit. supra, id.5.49 Ὀλυμπιακαὶ σπονδαί).

ἄωτον: a favourite word of Pindar (20 times); once in Bacchylides (Dith.23 init.). It means 'the top', 'the pick', 'the best part'; in Homer (whether ἄωτος or ἄωτον is indeterminate) of wool (Il.13.599, 716; Od.1.443, 9.434) or cloth (Il.9.661) meaning 'the surface', 'top' (v.R.A. Raman, Glotta 53, 1975, 195f.). So οἷος ἄωτος/-ον comes to mean a woolen blanket (Od.1.443) because a sheep's fleece is on the surface of the sheep.

It gains its Pindaric meaning because something on the surface is good for picking or plucking, and that which is picked or plucked is generally the best part or the 'pick' (i.e. what is on top literally becomes top metaphorically). This appears to be overlooked by M.S. Silk (CQ N.S.33, 1983, 316f) who regards ἄωτον as a word

whose original sense had been lost by the Fifth Century when he thinks it had a range of meanings connected, if at all, by sound association. Pindar's awareness of the word's Homeric meaning appears here and at P.4.130-1 (δραπών...ἱερὸν εὐχόϊα^ς ἄλωτον - cf. Aesch.Suppl.666 ἤβας δ' ἄνθος ἄδρεπτον ἔστω μηδ' Ἄρης κέρσειεν ἄλωτον) through his use of δρέπεσθαι (cf. also the adjectives he uses with the word, which show that the ἄλωτον is at the top: I.7.18 ἄλωτον ἄκρον , I.1.51 κέρδος ὑψίστων... ἄλωτον , O.5.1 ὑψηλῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ στεφάνων ἄλωτον). The metaphorical use of height-denoting words is a feature of Pindar's style: O.1.13 δρεπῶν μὲν κορυφαίαι ἀρετῶν ἄπο πατρῶν , N.1.11 πανδοξίαι ἄκρον .

Pindar usually constructs the word with a partitive genitive; so here, 'pluck the best and choicest part of the Isthmian Games' i.e. victory. But at O.3.4 (Ὀλυμπιονίκων ἕμνον ὀρθώαι^ς ... ἵππων ἄλωτον) and O.8.75 (χερῶν ἄλωτον Βλεφιάδαι^ς ἐπίνικον) the genitive gives the source of the ἄλωτον: an Olympic victory hymn, the top thing you can obtain from horses; the top sort of victory you can get from hands (contra LSJ s.v. ἄλωτος II 'that which gives honour and glory to a thing', 'a song in praise of horses').

10. Τιμονόου παῖδ': named at line 14 ὦ Τιμόδημε; father and son are regularly mentioned close together: O.6.9,12; O.7.13,17; O.10.2,8; O.12.13,18; P.2.5,,18; P.11.43,44; N.3.15,20; N.4.10,13; N.5.4; N.7.7,8; N.8,16; N.10,24; I.5.18,21; I.7.21,31; I.8.1,2. Less often in Bacchylides: B.6.1,12; 14.19,21.

Timodemos retains half his father's name, as Aristokleides son of Aristophanes (N.3). See E. Fränkel ap. RE s.v. Namenwesen, p. 1624-5; cf. Socrates son of Sophroniskos, Lycourgos son of Lycophron, Aristagores son of Molpagores (Hdt.5.30). According to Sch.N.2.28c, Timodemos was named after an ancestor called Timo-

demos.

The syntactic variatio in lines 9-10 livens up the colon;
v. F. Dornseiff, Pindars Stil 103f.; he might have pointed out
that such variation is particularly common when Pindar is enumer-
ating past victories: O.12.18 καὶ διὲ ἐκ Πυθῶνος Ἴθμοι τ', P.7.13
πέντε μὲν Ἴθμοι νίκαί -- δύο δ' ἀπὸ Κίρκης, N.3.84 Νεμέαι Ἐπιδουρόθεν τ' ἀπὸ
καὶ Μεγάρων, I.1.65 Πυθῶθεν Ὀλυμπιάδων τ'; cf. O.7.81f., O.9.86f.,
O.13.32f., 106f.; Bacch.10.26f.; Sim.Epig.42(Page). Contrast
N.4.75 Ὀλυμπίακι τε καὶ Ἴθμοι Νεμέαι τε, N.6.19-20, I.5.17-18;
Bacch.8.17-18 Πυθῶνά τε μνησθέντα ἕμνεων Νεμέαν τε καὶ Ἴθ[μ]όν; Sim.
Epig.43(Page). See below on l.19 (end of note).

10-12. Highly allusive, meaning that after the small ones
the big one may follow, i.e. an Olympic victory. Timodemos's
Nemean victory is a sign of what is to follow, as the Pleiades
are a sign that Orion is coming. Since Orion always follows the
Pleiades, Timodemos could have deduced that a future Olympic win
would be inevitable; but by neither spelling out this conse-
quence nor mentioning Olympia by name Pindar avoids μεγαληγορία
(cf. N.10.29-30 Ζεῦ πάτερ, τῶν μὲν ἔραται φρενί [sc. an Olympic victory]
αἰγὰ σὶ στόμα). For the succession of victories theme cf. I.6.init.
ἐν Νεμέαι μὲν πρῶτον, ὦ Ζεῦ, τιν' ἄωτον δεξάμενοι στεφάνων, νῦν αὖτε
Ἴθμοῦ δεσπόται... εἴη δὲ τρίτον σωτήρι πορκαίνοντας Ὀλυμπίῳ Αἴγιαν κατά σπένδειν.³⁶

Orion and the Pleiades appear in Homer (Od.5.272, Il.18.486);
in Hesiod he pursues them (Hes.Op.619-20), and Pindar accounted for
the pursuit mythologically (Fr.74 τρεχέτω δὲ μετὰ Πληϊόναν, ἄμα δ'
αὐτῶι κῶων quoted by Sch.N.2.17c who adds: δοκεῖ γὰρ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν
Πινδαρον ἔρασθῆναι αὐτῆς ὁ Σφρίων, καὶ διώκειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους
ὑπομνήματα δὲ ἐκ τούτων ὁ Ζεὺς κατήστερισε).

Wilamowitz (Pindaros 157) and Nisetich (Pindar's Victory Songs

238) think the clause ἔστι δ' ἕοικός... κείσθαι looks back to the preceding one: Isthmian and Pythian victories will follow for T. just as Orion follows the Pleiades.³⁷

Orion does not stand for Timodemos in this context, but through his enormous strength and size he shares some of a pankratiast's attributes: Od.11.309-10 οὐκ (sc. Otos and Ephialtes) δὴ μηκίστους θρέψε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα καὶ πολὺ καλλίστους μετὰ γε κλυτὸν Στρίωνα; cf. ib.572f.: Orion hunts and kills wild animals; Virg.Aen.10.763-7: when Orion walks on the ocean-bed his head reaches the clouds. See the penultimate paragraph of the Prologue.

In Boeotia Orion was a counterpart of Herakles (v. D.L.Page, Corinna 35) and had his grave at Tanagra (Paus.9.20.3); cf. Corinna PMG 662 † νίκας ὁ μεγαλοθένης Στρίων χώρην τ' ἀπ' ἑοῦς πᾶσαν ὠνούρηεν; ead.673 κορίννα δὲ εὐσεβέστατον λέγει αὐτὸν [sc. Στρίωνα] καὶ ἐπελθόντα πολλοὺς τοῖπους ἡμερῶσαι καὶ καθάρια ἀπὸ θηρίων. For a summary of his characteristics v. J.Fortenrose, Orion: the myth of the hunter and the huntress, Univ.Cal.Publ. in Class.Phil.23,1981, ch.1.

11. ὄρειαν γε Πτελειάδων : τε pro γε Sch.N.1.3; cf. N.2.16b ἄλλως. Τιμονόου παῖδ' ἔστι δ' ἕοικός: ἕοικός δὲ ἔστι τὸν Τιμονόου παῖδα. ἵνα δὲ ἀξιωματικὸν ποιήσῃ τὸν λόγον, ἑλλειπτικῶς εἶπε. λείπει γὰρ τὸ νικᾶν αὐτὸν λέει; Sch.N.2.16a Τιμονόου παῖδα: εἶκος ἔστι καὶ προσδοκητέον τὸ νικᾶν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς προσηρημένοις ἀγῶσι. The τε pro γε seems to have arisen, therefore, after ὄρειαν... νικᾶν and Τιμονόου... εἶκος were taken as separate clauses and a connecting particle then required for line 11.

ὄρειαν was a problem in antiquity: Sch.N.2.17c ζητεῖται δὲ διὰ τί ὄρειας εἶπε τὰς Πτελειάδας... ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραίας τοῦ Ταύρου κείσθαι, κατὰ ὕψος τοῦ υ, ὡς καὶ τὸ κλειὸς ἕκαστι (Pi.Fr.52g(A)7) ἀντὶ τοῦ κλειοῦς. εἶπε δ' ἂν οὐραίας... τὰχα δὲ

ἀπὸ τοῦ συνόντος Ὀρειῶνος τὰς ὤρειας ἐν εὐστολίῃ γενέσθαι ὄρειας...
ὁ δὲ Κράτης γράφει θερεῖαν Πλειάδων, ὅτι θερεῖας ἐπιτέλλουσι.

The first two interpretations are impossible: ὄρειαν is not οὐραϊαν and ὄρει - could not stand for ὤρει -. Crates's reading (ap. Sch.N.2.17c) θερεῖαν was probably not a variant but a conjecture deriving from his interest in astronomy (v. R.Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship i, 241-2, for this influence on his textual criticism). It is an attractive conjecture: 'summer' would refer to the period May-June (v. M.L.West, Hes. W.D.253) when the Pleiades are visible before dawn but Orion is not (he would not appear till c. June 20: v. West, op.cit.309). Sch.N.2.17c attempts to refute the conjecture: τούτωι δὲ ἀντιπράσσει --- τὸ μὴ μόνον θερούς αὐτὰς ἐπιτέλλειν ἀλλὰ καὶ χειμῶνος; but if ἐπιτέλλουσι is understood in its technical sense, referring to a star's once-a-year heliacal rising, then what the scholiast says is not true (for ἐπιτέλλειν see West loc.cit.379-80).

But ὄρειαν γε Πλειάδων (γε qualifies the whole noun-epithet complex) is better explained as Pindaric variatio for Hesiod's version according to which Atlas the mountain was the father of the Pleiades: Hes.Op.383 Πληιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ; cf. Hes.(?)Fr. 169 (quoted by Sch.N.2.17c) τὰς [sc. Πλειάδας] γενέσθαι φάειμος Ἄτλας . Two of the Pleiades were mountain nymphs (v. infra).

ὄρειαν is supported by the pun it creates on Ὀρειῶνα : 'You'd expect Orion to go near the oread Pleiades'. There are several puns on names in Pindar: Fr.105 Σόνεε ὅ τοι λέγω, θεῶν ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε πάτερ ; I.6.52-3 Ἐσεται τοι ταῖς, ἐν αἰτείῃ, ὦ Τελάμων' καὶ νιν ὄρνιθος φανέντος κέικλεν ἐπώνυμον εὐρυβίαν Αἴαντα ; O.6.42,47,55 (Ἰαρος ἰῶι, ἴων). Cf. Od.1.60-2 Ὀδυσσεύς... ὠδύσσο ; Il.24.730 ῥύσκειν, ἔσχεε (alluding to the meaning of Hector's name: v. Macleod ad loc.); Hes.Theog.775-6 στυερῆ... Στύς ; Bacch.6.1-2 Λάχων... λάχε ; Hd.3.62.2

Πρήξαστις... Διέπρηξας ; A.Ag.1080-1 Ἄπολλον, ἀπόλλων ; E.Bacch.367
 Πενθεύς... Πένθος. See further W.Stanford, Ambiguity in Greek Lit-
erature 26-42 and ch.9; West, Hes.Theog. p.77 and index s.v. ety-
 mologising (esp. end of note on l.269: etymologising may be behind
 an odd use of a verb). More etymologising in N.2 perhaps at l.2
 Ἰκαπτῶν and l.24 (v. ad locc.).

The Pleiades as mountain nymphs: mountains are suggested
 by the names of two of them, Taygete and Maia. Maia was a mount-
 ain nymph because she gave birth to Hermes on Mt. Kyllene in
 Arcadia: Hes.(?)Fr.170, quoted by Sch.N.2.17c, *Κυλλήνῃς ἐν ὄρεσσι*
θεῶν κήρυκα τέχ' Ἑρμῆν ; Sim.Fr.555.2, also from Sch.N.2.17c *Μαϊάδος*
οὐρείας ἑλικοβλεφάρου. Taygete is named after the mountain range
 separating Laconia and Messene. But Alcyone is named after a
 Boeotian lake; hence the conclusion of von Blumenthal (Hellanicea:
De Atlantide, Diss.1913,8): 'ergo nymphas illas sc. Maia, Taygete
 and Alcyone oreadas vel marinas vel similis generis fuisse
 concludendum est'. Of the other four, Asterope has a good name for
 a star, and Electre could be named after the colour of a star; but
 Celaeno ('dark!') and Merope do not suggest stars. The Pleiades
 are a motley collection who have come together because they are
 all daughters of Atlas; their elevation to stardom seems to be a
 secondary attribute.³⁸

12. Ἰλαριῶνα: the lyric version of the epic form Ἰλαριῶν; cf.
 Pi.I.4.67, Fr.72; Corinna 654.iii.38, 655.i.14 (with synizesis),
 622.2; E.Hec.1102. Ἰλα- (or Ἰλα-) must be the original form: im-
 portation of the α into a pre-existing form Ἰλα without it would
 be unparalleled.

For the synizesis cf. P.8.80 ὦ Ἀρικόμενες, I.1.7 ὦ Ἀραδωνιάς
 Synizesis within a word of a long vowel followed by a short one

is much rarer in Pindar than short-long synizesis and elsewhere restricted to words with $\bar{\alpha}o$: 0.1.5 (v.1.), 0.3.24 (v.1.) $\bar{\alpha}ελίου$; I.3.17b, P.10.65 $\tauετρ\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho$ -; I.4.42 $\bar{\alpha}\alpha\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (v.1.). See M.L. West, Greek Metre 12-13.

νείθεαι : νείθει TUV; $\bar{\alpha}νείθει$ BD, Ath. (cod.A), Bergk. νείθει is better because (a) neither a middle nor passive sense of $\bar{\alpha}νήμι$ is suitable ('loosen' in the middle, 'be devoted to' in the passive), (b) Sch.N.2.16a $\tau\acute{o}\nu \bar{\alpha}ρ\acute{i}\omega\nu\alpha \pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\theta\alpha\iota$ supports νείθει (for $\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\theta\alpha\iota$ of the motion of heavenly bodies cf. Pl.Tim.39d; $\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}$ [Pl.] Epin. 982e, Aristot., alii). Cf. $\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ used of the star Ara, Arat.407.

13f. A tenuous connection of thought is just discernible: Timodemos the mighty fighter was victorious at Nemea, and should also win at Isthmia and Pytho; and he is as likely in the near future to win the big one at Olympia as mighty Orion is to appear soon after the Pleiades; indeed, Salamis is good at rearing fighters: Aias forced Hector, the best of the Trojans, to yield to him in Troy. Fighting spirit has exalted you, too, Timodemos.

13. καὶ μὲν ἔ Σαλαμίς γε: on $\kappa\alpha\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \dots \gamma\epsilon$ v. Denniston, The Greek Particles 120, 150, 323f.; Jebb on Soph.Aj.531. $\kappa\alpha\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ marks emphatically a new point, and $\gamma\epsilon$ emphasises $\bar{\alpha} \Sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$.

The sudden mention of Salamis was a problem in antiquity: Sch.N.2.19 $\bar{\alpha}\rho\acute{i}\sigma\tau\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\eta\varsigma \bar{\alpha}\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{i}\delta\omicron\varsigma \phi\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ (sc. Timodemos), $\omicron\upsilon\kappa \omicron\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma \omicron\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \bar{\alpha}\chi\alpha\rho\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \omicron\iota\nu\eta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma \phi\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\nu. \omicron\iota \delta\epsilon \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \bar{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\pi\acute{i}\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu \phi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu \omicron\tau\iota \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota. \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \tau\eta\tilde{\nu} \Sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\upsilon\chi\eta\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\n \bar{\alpha}\theta\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\n \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu} \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\n \gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha \bar{\alpha}\theta\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota \tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\theta\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\nu \Sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{\iota}\ν\iota. \Delta\acute{\iota}\delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon} \phi\eta\sigma\iota\nu \omicron\tau\iota \acute{\iota}\varsigma\omega\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\n \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\nu \omicron\tau\iota \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \bar{\alpha}\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon \tau\omicron \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\r \bar{\mu}\iota\lambda\tau\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \bar{\kappa}\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\n \kappa\alpha\iota \bar{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\iota\beta\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \bar{\theta}\omicron\n\kappa\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma \omicron \sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma \omicron \bar{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\rho\omicron\n. \acute{\iota}\varsigma\omega\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon} \omicron\tau\iota \delta\acute{\iota}\alpha \tau\eta\mu\eta\varsigma \acute{\eta}\gamma\omicron\n \omicron\iota \bar{\alpha}\theta\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\n \bar{\alpha}\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$

The view of Asclepiades and his supporters is at first sight

supported by the earliest Athenian decree to survive (Meiggs-Lewis, Greek Historical Inscriptions 14 = IG i².1., c.520-c.480 B.C.):

ἔδοξε τοῖς δέμοις τῶν ἐς Σαλαμῖνι κληροχός
οἰκὲν ἔξω Σαλαμῖνι [ἄθενε]
εἰ τελεῖν καὶ στρατιεύεσθαι...

Meiggs-Lewis (loc.cit.26-7) write: 'The direct evidence for a cleruchy on Salamis is slight... It is only a guess by the scholiast that Timodemos was a cleruch, but the cleruchy itself is not questioned by the scholiast or his source'. But (1) the key-word κληροχός is only a guess, by Luria; (2) the role of Athens in the decree is uncertain; therefore (3) it is not certain the decree relates to an Athenian cleruchy; cf. Hiller von Gaertringen ad IG i². 1: 'Non agitur de cleruchis Atticis Salaminem deductis, sed de indigenis, qui aut in patria insula habitantes tributa pendere iubentur, aut, si cum Atheniensibus militant, etiam tributa eadem quae Athienses pendent'.

N.G.L.Hammond (JHS76,1956,37) attempts to identify the cleruchy from Herodotus 8.95 Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Πυσιμάχου ἀνεὶρ Ἀθηναῖος... παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ παρετετάχαστο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμίνης χώρας, γένος ἔόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκ τῆς Ψυτταλείαν νήσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νηΐδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνεσαν πάντας.

But these hoplites may have been not cleruchs but a force from Athens that had been transported to Psyttaleia to meet up with Aristides; there is insufficient evidence for certainty either way.
39

Salamis had an ambivalent status; it seems never to have been regarded as geographically part of Attica (see Strabo 8.9.11), despite various Athenian claims for it (and actual secular of it: see S.Hornblower, The Greek World 479-323 BC 11-12). Solon (Fr.2w), however, thought he could score a point by saying 'Imagine a man from Attica throwing away Salamis'; it is best thought of as being

in the Fifth Century a territory adjacent to Attica and subject to Athens (see P.J.Rhodes, Commentary on the Aristotelian Athen- aion Politeia 610).

It is possible that Pindar introduces Salamis and hence Aias because there was no suitable mythical character from Acharnai itself, but a particularly suitable one (both Aias and Timodemos are excellent fighters) from Salamis close-by, i.e. the proximity and allegiance of Salamis to Athens (T.'s home-city) meant it did not matter that Salamis itself was unconnected with T. or his family. Apart from Peisander the oligarch and the banker Pasion, Acharnai was not well-known for its inhabitants; Pindar often does select mythological characters from the victor's city, but not always (cf. P.11).

But μέν and δε (16) bracket Aias and Timodemos together as examples of Salamis rearing fighters, suggesting strongly a connection between Salamis and T.'s upbringing; the precise nature of the connection (e.g. whether he was a cleruch) is impossible to tell.

13. ἡ Σαλαμίς...μακράν: extracted from what Aias says to his colleagues before addressing Hector (for which, see on 14 ἐν Τροίᾳ): οὐ γάρ τίς με βίηι γε ἑκὼν ἀέκοντα δίηται, οὐδέ τι ἰσθρεΐηι, ἔπει οὐδ' ἐμὲ νήϊδά γ' οὕτως ἔλπομαι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε (Il.7.197-9).

14. Αἴαντος: Aias, son of Telamon, from Salamis, was a renowned strong-man of antiquity, particularly suited for comparison with a pankratiast. He was the best and strongest Achaean after Achilles (Il.2.768 et alib., Pi.N.7.27), and threw Hector to the ground with a rock (Il.7.268, 14.409f.; cf. Bacch.13.103f.); but he was also straightforward, honest, open and generous (v. Sch. Il.7.192, 199, 226-7, 284; for the interest of the Iliadic schol-

iasts in these matters see N.J.Richardson, CQ N.S.30,1980,273).

Cf. P.N.7.26 καρτερός Αἴας, I.4.53b ἴστε μὲν Αἴαντος ἄλκην, Fr.184
ὑπερμένεος ἀκαμαντοχέρμαν Αἴαν.

ἐν Τροίῃ μὲν Ἐκτωρ Αἴαντος ἄκουσεν: not ἤϊθετο τῆι πείρῃ
(Sch.N.2.22a), nor 'Hector heard tell of, heard a rumour of, Aias'
(Farnell ad loc.); ἄκουσεν here = ὑπάκουσεν 'had to submit to',
'became subservient to'. For this meaning of ἄκούω LSJ cite
only the technical and idiosyncratic Heph.Astr.(4th C. A.D.), but
the meaning is common: Archil.115.2; Pi.Fr.70b.29; A.Supp.910,
Sept.196, Ag.956 etc. (cf. Il.19.256 and Od.7.11, listed by LSJ
s.v. ἄκούω = 'obey').

These six words are an allusion to Il.7.152ff. where lots
are drawn to decide who shall fight Hector; Aias wins the draw,
and (225f.) εἴη ῥα μάχ' Ἐκτορος ἑγγύς, ἀπειλήσας δὲ προσήνδα Ἐκτορ,
νῦν μὲν δὴ κάδᾳ εἴσκει οἴοθεν οἴος οἴοι καὶ Δαναοῖσιν ἀριτῆες μετέασι ...
Pindar's choice of the word ἄκουσεν has been motivated by the fact
that at Il.7.226f. Hector does actually listen to Aias; but in
the context of N.2 written for a victorious fighter, the six words
are meant to allude also to the result of the Aias v. Hector fight
(a knock-out win for Aias, Il.7.271-2, resulting in Hector having
to say he bows to Aias's strength - Il.7.288f.); hence 'listened to'
is too weak a translation of ἄκουσεν here.

Pindar, as is his wont, compresses 150 lines of epic into
a few words and one sentence.

ὦ Τιμόδημε: Τιμόδημε mss., Τιμόδαμε Schroeder (and Τιμόδαμίδαί
18, Τιμόδαμω 24); Τιμόδημος, -δημίδαί ap. Sch. (cf. the title
ap. Sch. Τιμόδημω Ἀθηναίω Ἀχαρνῆι παγκράτιον).

Schroeder's argument (Prolegomena ii.29 para.56) is: 'Neque
enim unquam victoris dialecto patriae Pindarus videtur indulsisse

(velut in Neptuni nomine Ποσειδάων O Xlll, in auriga Siculo Φίντις O Vl, in terminatione thessalica Ἴπποκλέης P X), quin doricum simul sermonis colorem quasi extolleret'.

But (1) the mss. do not always atticise names in -δαμος (e.g. no ms. has κλεώδημος at O.14.22); so when, as here, they do, their reading is worth extra consideration. (2) cf. other non-Doricised forms: N.1.70 ἤκυχίαν (sic all mss.), P.8.1 Ἠκυχία (sic all mss.), I.1.13 Γηρυόνα (sic all mss.), Frs.81, 169.6 Γηρυόνα. Contrast O.2.32 Ἐκύχιμον (sic Sch.0.2.58a, 58c, 58g and all mss. except E (ἔκ -) and A (ἦκ -); v. B. Forssman, Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars 48f.), P.1.30 γαίης (γαίη D, γαίης Sch.P.1.57 DGQ).

(3) Timodemos is the only person with a -δαμος/-δαμος part to his name mentioned by Pindar who comes from somewhere where -δαμος would not have been the normal form. Contra: P.4.281 Δαμοφίλου though Sch.P.4.501a et alib. have Δημοφίλ - (for the Δαμο - form in a Cyrenian name cf. SEG ix.3.12 δεδοχθαι τῶι δάμω[ι]); Pi.Fr.49 Δαμοδίκα (Δημοτ/-ωπικῆν codd.); O.14.22 κλεώδαμον (a Boeotian; cf. Sch.0.14.28a, 28c κλεοδάμωι, -δαμον); O.10.18, 92; O.11.12; N.1.29 Ἄγχιδάμος, -ε, -ου (with an α ap. Sch. too; n.b. O.11 and O.12 are for a victor from Locris in West Greece, N.1. for a western Greek Sicilian); O.2.46, O.3.9, I.2.28 Αἰνυσιδάμου (so, too, ap. Sch.; all three odes for Sicilians - Ainesidamos was Theron's father). Cf. O.3.16 et alib. δάμον.

14-15. ἄλικα παγκρατίου: cf. Philostratos περὶ γυμναστικῆς ch.11: ὅποσα τε ἔστιν ἐν ἀγωνίαι προτετίμηται πάντων τὸ παγκράτιον κλίτοι συκειμένον ἐξ ἄτελουε πάλης καὶ ἄτελουε πυγμῆς; and ch.57: κώρυκος [punchball] δὲ ἀνήφθω μὲν καὶ πύκταρι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ παγκράτιον φοιτῶσιν... ὁ δὲ τῶν παγκρατιαστῶν ἔμβριθέστερος καὶ μείζων [sc. ἔστω] ἵνα γυμνάζοιτο μὲν τὴν βᾶσιν

ἀνθιστάμενοι τῇ τοῦ κωρῦκου ἐπιφορᾷ, γυμνάζονται δὲ ὤμους τε
καὶ δακτύλους ἐν ἀντίπαλον τι παίοντες.

But Philostratos's information must be used with caution:
he lived over 700 years after Pindar.

15. τλάθυμος: Pindaric for Homeric τλήμονα θυμὸν ἔχων (Il.
5.670 of Odysseus). τλάθυμος occurs only here, Pi.Fr.234.4 (κύνα
τλάθυμον), and in the Palatine Anthology (9.472 (τλή-) also of
Odysseus).

16. Ἀχάρναι: Ἀχάρναι TUV, Ἀχαρνάι BD (before correction);
Schroeder reports that the lemma in the scholia on this passage
also reads Ἀχαρνάι in B and D, but Drachmann (Sch.N.2.25a) prints
Ἀχάρναι and reports no other reading.

The accent is normally Ἀχαρνάι (Diod.14.32, Thuc.2.19), but
in the singular Ἀχάρνη (Hsch. s.v.) or -να. Herodian (iii.(i)
p.327.27 Lenz) gives Ἀχάρναι, which is analogous to most other
place names in -νη, -ναι of more than two syllables (cf. Steph.
Byz. Ἀχαρνάι (Ἀχάρνα vulgo) δῆμος Οἰνῆδος φυλῆς Ἡρωδιανὸς Ἀχάρνης
(-εἰς v.l.; Ἀχάρνας cj. Meineke) βαρύτερον). The accent of the
singular form seems to have sometimes influenced the accent of the
plural form.

Acharnai was the largest deme of Attica; see below on
(17) and τὸν...νόστῳ (24).

παλαίφατον: the scholiasts' παλαίφατοι (Sch.N.2.25c BD,
-ατα TU) is not an explicit varia lectio, but probably represents
an assimilation of παλαίφατον into the syntax of the paraphrase
(παλαίφατοι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγονται Sch.N.2.25c).

17: εὐάνορος: could mean (1) 'full of men', 'well-pop-
ulated', as probably εὐάνδρον at P.1.40, N.5.9 (cf. εὐανθής P.2.62,

ἔφυλλον I.6.61; ἔχρυκος S.Ph.394 'with a lot of flowers/leaves/
 gold'); or (2) 'with noble men', cf. O.10.97-9 κλυτὸν ἔθνος Λοκρῶν
 ἀμφέπεσον, μέλιτι εὐάνορα πόλις καταβρέχων, N.5.9 [Αἰγίναν] εὐάνορον τε
 καὶ ναυοκλυτάν. The latter sense is more relevant here, because
 complimentary to Timodemos. For the fighting qualities of the
 Acharnians cf. Ar.Ach.180-1 Ἀχαρνικοί, στίπτοι γέροντες πρίνινοι/
 ἀτερύμονες Μαραθωνομάχαι σφενδάμνινοι; for Acharnai's man-
 power cf. Thuc.2.19: it could arm 3,000 hoplites (but perhaps a
 corruption for 1,000 - see Gomme ad loc.). Because it was the
 largest deme of Attica, Acharnai had 22 bouleutai at Athens -
 more than any other deme.

ὄσσα : Pindar was not very interested in the Games per se,
 and it would be tedious if he spelt out the characteristics of
 the various Games each time he wanted to mention them. For a
 different use of ὄσσα to avoid detail cf. O.13.106f. τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ ὀφρῶν
 Παρνακκίαι ἔξ' Ἄργεϊ θ' ὄσσα καὶ ἐν Θήβαις ὄσα τ' Ἀρκάειν
 τ' ἀνάσσων μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίου βωμὸς ἄναξ.

18: Τιμοδημίδαι : for the non-Doricised form v. supra on
 14. Τιμόδημος. The family was still flourishing in the Fourth Cent-
 ury: IG.ii.1347 (4th.C.) ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι Τιμόδημος ὁ Ἀχαρνέως εἶπεν.
 (cf. J.Toepffer, Attische Genealogie 313; seventeen Timodemoi
 are listed in J. Kirchner's Prosopographia Attica, but none by J.K.
 Davies, Athenian Propertied Families: so they were not among
 the wealthiest Athenians).

Pindar likes to bring in, if he can, other victories in the
 family (cf. O.13.97f.); it is a specially suitable and necessary
 ploy here, since Timodemos himself had not won any other victories;
 the list shows what glories lie in store for him, if he follows
 his forbears' footsteps.

προλέγονται: the verb can mean (a) 'select', e.g. Il.13.689 οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίων προλελεγμένοι; (b) 'say before', e.g. Pl.Rep.337a ἤδη...καὶ προύλεγον; (c) 'proclaim', e.g. A.Sept.336-7 τὸν φθίμενον γὰρ προλέγω βέλτερά τῶνδε πράσσειν.

The context favours (b), the verb picking up the meaning of παλαιόφατον: 'the T. are already said to be the best', i.e. have a reputation in athletics. The chain of thought is that the Acharnians in general have long been spoken of as fine men, and when it comes to athletics in particular the T. have been spoken of before as outstanding; Pindar then goes on to describe the past victories that make them outstanding. Perhaps earlier poems had been written in honour of their past victories, cf. O.10.78 ἀρχαῖς δὲ προτέραις ἐπόμενοι καὶ νῦν ἑπωνυμίαν χάριν κελαδηόμεθα; but προλέγονται is an odd way to express the idea.⁴⁰

In the third strophe and part of the fourth Pindar changes from long to short sentences, another way he varies the style in which he writes his odes. The short sentences enable him to move quickly from theme to theme.

19. ὑψιμέδοντι: the mountain is high-ruling because its height sets limits to what one can do on it or by it; cf. Pi. Paean 2.97 ἀμφί τε Πάρι[νας] ἰαίαις πέτραις ὑψηλαῖς. The epithet is more regularly applied to Zeus: Bacch.15.51 Ζεὺς ὑψιμέδων ὅς ἐστι πάντα δέρισκεται; Hes.Theog.529 οὐκ ἀέκητι Ζητὸς Ὀλυμπίου ὑψιμέδοντος [ὑψι μέδοντος west]; Ar.Nub. 563-4 ὑψιμέδοντα μὲν θεῶν Ζῆνα τύραννον

The unusual use of ὑψιμέδοντι, the metaphorical νίκαις ἔκομισαν, the bold phrase ἐν Πέλοπος πτυχῆς (= Peloponnese) and the variation of the syntax (παρά... ὑπό... ἐν... ἐν... οἴκοι...) liven up an otherwise boring victory list.

21. ἐν ἔσθῳ Πέλοπος πτυχῆς: Pelops regularly denotes

Olympia, e.g. O.1.94-5 ἐν δρόμοις Πέλοπος ; but the addition of Κορινθίων ὑπὸ φώτων shows that the Isthmian Games, also held in the Peloponnese, are meant. For the expression cf. P.6.18 Κρικαίαις ἐνὶ πτυχῆι, P.9.15 Πίνδου κλεναίς ἐν πτυχῆι .

The idea is of hilly land folding itself round a place; here, the hills by the Isthmos (at the edge of the Peloponnese) fold themselves round Pelops's north-eastern border; Pelops, whose tomb was at Olympia (O.1.24,93) is imagined to be in the middle of the folds. Cf. O.1.103-5 ξένον... κλοταίσι διαδαλωσέμεν ὕμνων πτυχῆι: Pindar's song will fold round, embrace, touch closely on Hieron.

Mss. often offer a v. 1. ἐσθλό/-όν/-ού etc., e.g. O.13.100 ἐσθλοῦ A, ἐσθλὸ cet.; O.2.63 ἐσθλοί CD, ἐσθλοί cet.; but no alternative is offered here. For variant forms of various words (κελευνός/-εινός, γλέφκρον/βλέφκρον et al.) in the text of Pindar v. N.S. Grinbaum, Yazyk Drevnegrečeskoj Chorovoi Liriki (Pindar) 90; his book shows the danger of thinking Pindar's vocabulary must be homogenised in such cases: he could have used one form at one time, another form in another place - though copying is likely to have been responsible for a greater number of inconsistencies.

22. ἐμιχθέν: a favourite word of Pindar (32 occurrences), used similarly at N.1.17-18 θαυμά βῆ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδων φύλλοις ἑλπίων χρυσεῖσι μιχθέντα [sc. Sicily].

23-4. Syntactically it is possible to take Διὸς ἀγῶνι in apposition to αἴκοι (so e.g. Boeckh, Dissen, Bury, following Sch.N.2.35 τίθεται δὲ ἐν Ἀθηναῖσι Διὸς ἀγῶν, τοῦτέστι τὰ Ὀλύμπια), but more likely it is in apposition to ἐν Νεμέαι, with τὰ... ἀρθμῶν a parenthesis: none of the inscriptions referring to Games at the Olympieia at Athens is older than the time of Hadrian (see L. Deubner, Attische Feste, Berlin

1932,177; cf. E.Simon, Festivals of Athens, an archaeological commentary, Wisconsin 1983,15-16); this fact plus (a) the lack of victor dedications, (b) silence in Ath. Pol. about which magistrate organised the Games, and (c) the local Athenian Games being for Pindar the Panathenaia, all suggests that the scholion is a late note and not true of Pindar's day (I owe these last three points to Dr. R. Parker). For οἶκοι referring unqualified to the victor's home Games cf. N.5.45 ἀλικας δ' ἐλθόντας οἶκοι τ' ἐκράτει; for the parenthesis cf. O.8.28, P.10.45 and see Slater s.v. δέ 2.f. (Cf. Wilamowitz, Pindaros 157n.5 'Sehr elegant ist das letzte Glied der Aufzählung unterbrochen ἐπὶ τῷ... ἀγωνί. Die Masse drängt sich vor').

24. τὸν δὲ πολίται, κωμάεσθε Τιμοδήμωνι, σὺν εὐκαίῃ νόστῳ : 'Sing of Zeus during the komos held in honour of T. at the time of his triumphant homecoming'. Timodemos receives a civic reception. τὸν refers to Διός (so Bury, Farnell, Nisetich etc.), not ἀγῶνι : Zeus, not the ἀγῶν, is to be thanked in the komos for Timodemos's safe return. For σὺν denoting time when cf. P.11.10 ἄκραι σὺν ἐσπέραι and see Slater s.v. 1.c.β. The dative Τιμοδήμωνι is used with κωμάεσθαι because T. has an interest in the singing, cf. P.9.89 τοῖσι (sc. Herakles and Iphikles) κωμάεσθαι; I.7.20-1 κώμαζ' ἔπειτεν ἄδυμελεῖ σὺν ὕμνῳ καὶ στρεφιάδασι; similar is Pindar's use of the dative with δέχομαι 'accept s.t. from s.o.': P.8.5 Πυθιονίκον τιμὰν ἄριστομένει δέκευ, P.12.5-6 δέξαι στεφάνωμα τοῦ ἐκ Πυθῶρος εὐδοξῶι Μίδα. See Gildersleeve ad O.13.29.

Timodemos's name may be mentioned again at this point to create a pun: with his successful return he brings honour to his deme; but the address is δὲ πολίται rather than δὲ δηρόται because (1) there would have been living in Acharnai Athenian citizens who were not by birth demesmen of Acharnia (on the existence of movement between demes, see A.W.Gomme, The Population of Athens 37f.), (2) the performance of a Pindaric ode in Athens doubtless attracted an audience from further afield than merely the victor's own deme.

The performance of the ode could have prefaced the komos held for Timodemos; cf. O.4.9, O.11.16, O.14.16 - three more mentions of komoi in short odes; the implication is that Pindar's shortest odes were designed for a different type of occasion compared with the rest. See also on ἐξάρχετε below.

25. ἐξάρχετε: sc. τοῦ, i.e. Διός (not Μολπηῆς, so LSJ s.v. ἐξάρχω). The word suggests that the performance of N.2 was a prooimion to further singing which began with praise of Zeus - perhaps during the komos (see end of previous note, and also on lf.).⁴¹

N.2 is monostrophic, not triadic; why Pindar chose which structure is not always clear: though none of the longer odes is monostrophic (too monotonous; N.9, eleven strophes/55 lines, is the longest), some of the short ones are triadic: O.4, O.11, O.12, P.7. But N.2 is monostrophic because three into five won't go.

The themes of Zeus, singing, victory, recur at both the beginning and end of the ode; for the ring-composition return to notes on line lf.

BRIEF EVALUATION of the ODE as a WHOLE

Nemean 2 is a very concentrated ode. Though short, all of it is relevant to Timodemos; there are no gnomic passages. It is also very allusive: one has to see through the mention of the Pleiades and Orion first to the underlying astronomical phenomenon and then to that phenomenon's symbolic meaning in the context of the poem; ῥαππῶν ἑπέων λῶδοι' alludes to ῥαψωιδόν; Hector's submission to Aias alludes to 150 lines of the Iliad. In a longer version of the ode, Orion's pursuit of the Pleiades and/or the Aias episode would have been expanded into stories.

The allusive and stand-offish stance adopted by Pindar down to line 14 is reinforced by there being no address to anyone

in these lines, Timodemos being referred to only as ἔδ' ἀνὴρ, Τιμονόου
παῖδα, and no mention by Pindar of himself or his own poetry.

With the address to the victor, at last, at line 14, Pindar opens
his stance; from then on the poem is in all respects more direct.
The last clause (τόν... φωνᾶι) breaks clean away from the earlier
elliptical syntax and allusive style; it looks like a call to
begin the komos (so Wilamowitz, Pindaros 158); the ode, therefore,
was probably sung before the komos. There is no evidence for the
idea of Nisetich (Pindar's Victory Songs 237) that, 'The ode was
designed to be sung by a chorus in procession through the streets
of Acharnai, either to the victor's home or to some local shrine'.

The poem as a whole illustrates Pindar's exceptional
ability to honour a victor and his victory while keeping talk
of either victor or victory to a minimum. Pindar concentrates
on the past successes of Timodemos's family and on Timodemos's
possible future successes. And he preserves an excellent balance
between the poem's different themes, without making it rigidly
structured: roughly a strophe's worth to (a) Nemea being the
scene of Timodemos's first victory, (b) following his forbears'
footsteps, (c) an Olympic win probable, (d) the family's athletic
prowess; but only roughly: sense pauses at the end of strophes
one and three, enjambment between 2 and 3 and four and five.

/ be

NOTES to COMMENTARIES

1. In other cases, of course, P.Oxy.222 does confirm the scholiasts' dates, as does Pausanias (he also confirms P.Oxy.2381.2, part of a victor-list for 396 B.C. and perhaps from the same papyrus roll as P.Oxy.222). See Grenfell's and Hunt's introductory comments to P.Oxy.222.
2. J.Jüthner plausibly suggests that during the race the judges watched while standing by the end-post (Die Athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen, Vienna 1968 (reprint) 2.98f.).
3. Note, however, that 1) omits some data which 2) and 3) have.
4. It is hard to generalise from the evidence. $\tilde{\omega}$ in Homeric addresses expresses brusqueness according to P.Chantraine, Grammaire Homérique, Paris 1953, 2.para.47. I note that in Bacchylides in the one certain occurrence of an opening address with $\tilde{\omega}$ where the papyrus has not mutilated the context (Bacch.9), the addressed is asked to do something (so, too, probably in B.2; but note contra B.3 and B.12). More often than not in Bacchylides, in opening addresses without $\tilde{\omega}$ the addressed is not asked to act (so B.5,14B and probably B.10 and 11; also B.18). Applying this distinction to opening addresses in Pindar's epinicians, I note that a call to action occurs 5 times without $\tilde{\omega}$ and with $\tilde{\omega}$ 6 times, and that when the addressed is not asked to act $\tilde{\omega}$ is used 4 times and not used 9 times. I therefore tentatively conclude that (a) P. and B. tend to use $\tilde{\omega}$ in opening addresses when action is called for, (b) there is no rigid distinction.

5. However, it is scarcely credible that she was not worshipped at Thebes, and I note that Dodds (ad E.Bacch.6-12) concludes, 'Eur. clearly has some knowledge of the Theban cult and cult-places' sc. of Semele.
6. Cf. Il.18.54 *δυναριστοτόκεα* (Sch.a ad loc: *Ἐπὶ κάκῳ, τὸν ἀριστὸν τεκῶνα*); Bacch.10.106 *ἀριστοπάτρα* (of Artemis) 'having the best father'. Pindar's epithet here perhaps suggested Theocritus's *ἀριστοτόκεα* (Theoc.24.73) also of Alcmena. The scholiasts' slip was perhaps caused by a reminiscence of P.10.3 *ἀριστομάχου γένος Ἡρακλέος*.
7. A.Schachter, Cults of Boiotia i,1981,77f. (BICS suppl. 38.i) thinks several types of cult took place at the Ismenion, attracted from other parts of Boiotia and symbolising the growth in Thebes's influence.
- A victory procession by Thrasydaios to the Ismenion would have been particularly fitting if he had borne his victory laurel, because every eight years the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios was the scene of a daphnephoria (perhaps the occasion for Pi.Fr.94B; see Schachter op.cit.83-5).
8. Alternatively, *καί νῦν* picks up Apollo's past interest in the shrine (mentioned in the preceding lines); I owe this suggestion to Dr. R.Parker. I am undecided between the two interpretations.
9. Another objection to the interpretation 'watching over' is that there is no evidence *ἐπίνομον* could mean this; the scholiasts' paraphrase *ἐπινενομένης* could only mean 'allotted' or 'spread over' (see LSJ s.v.). *ἐπίνομος* as an adjective does not with certainty occur elsewhere; as a noun both it and cognate words refer to grazing rights (i.e. rights for one's flock to spread over the land).

10. Note also E.Alc.75-6 ἱερός γὰρ οὗτος τῶν κατὰ χρόνον θεῶν / ὅτου
τοῦ ἔγχεος κρατὸς ἀγνίτι τριχά ; Carm.Pop.862(PMG) ἱερόν ἔτεκε ποτύνη κούρον

11. For ἱερός applied to people cf. IL.24.681 ἱερούς πολαωρούς,
'Here, as often elsewhere in Homer, the epithet is extended outside
the religious sphere; it often conveys no more than a feeling of
dignity or awesomeness such as is proper to many epic persons,
animals, things or places', Macleod ad loc. P.Wülfing-v. Martitz,
Glotta 38,1960,272-307 esp.300-4, compares ἱερός κρατὸς (Od.24.81).

12. So was there a Ge-Themis cult at Delphi in Pindar's day? It seems to me dangerous
to argue from the literary evidence for the succession-of-
prophets story that therefore there were cults of Ge and Themis
at Delphi. The only firm archaeological evidence for a cult
of them at Delphi (for the evidence see F.W.Hamdorf, Griechische
Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit, Mainz 1964,
50-1, 108-10) seems to be two statue bases found at Delphi
inscribed Ga and Themis (see P.de la Coste-Messelière and R.
Flacelière, BCH 54,1930,283-95: they give no date for the
inscription Γα and date the word 'Themis' to the Fourth Century
(p.287; so too, for 'Themis', F.Schober, RE suppl.5,p.106 para.
171).

Pausanias saw an ancient cult image of Γα at Aigai, Achaia,
(Paus.7.25.13), reports sanctuaries of Themis at Athens (1.22),
Corinth (2.27.5), Tanagra (9.22.1) and Thebes (9.25.4), and found
an altar to Ge and Themis at Olympia (5.14.10); but none of this
is evidence for a cult of either Ge or Themis at Delphi in the
Fifth Century. At a lecture in London in 1983, Dr. Christiane
Sourvinou-Inwood, too, said the archaeological evidence did not
support the view that Fifth Century cults of Ge or Themis existed
at Delphi.

13. Cf. N. Robertson, The Myth of the First Sacred War, CQ28, 1978, 48, 'The two names are used interchangeably in most ancient sources... Late writers who say or hint otherwise are palpably confused'.
14. For Iphigeneia see A. Ag. 1414-18, 1432; whereas Pindar gives as an alternative motive the effects of Clytemnestra's relationship with Aigisthos (P. 11.24f.), the alternative in Aeschylus is the effect on Clytemnestra with Cassandra (see Ag. 1441-2).
15. This is not to say that the myth itself was primarily aimed at praising Thrasydaios (see para. 2 of Excursus on Myth in Pindar - appended to note on τὸν ἡ', line 17): the partial analogy between the actions of Thrasydaios and Orestes does not in my view equate to praise of Thrasydaios.
16. Pindar elsewhere spatchcocks into a myth gnomic phrases relevant to the victor: cf. O. 1.64, O. 7.25-6 (lines 94-5 resume the theme), P. 2.34 (cf. line 72, resuming the theme and spoken to Hieron), P. 3.21-3. For ὄλβος of success or victory cf. N. 9.45: ὄλβος includes both κτεάνων and ἐπίδοξον κῶδος - cf. Bacch. 5.50-3; cf. ὄλβιος at P. 9.4, O. 7.10.
17. ὁ δὲ χαμηλὰ βρέμων also, of course, takes up πολίται: the phrase is relevant both to the citizens in the myth and to citizens without (athletic) aspirations contemporary with Pindar.
18. 'One of sexual omission, not commission - a different matter', Dr. R. Parker points out.

19. Clytemnestra's ὄλβος derived from her being a queen, a status bestowed on her as wife of Agamemnon. Alternatively (so Professor H.Maehler), her ὄλβος was due to her being in control with Aigisthos as consort. I find the latter interpretation less likely because in Pythian 11 it is Agamemnon, not Aigisthos, who is portrayed as the hero who amasses ὄλβος (cf. 31 ἦρωε Ἀτρεΐδαι 33-4 ἔλυσε δόμους ἄβροτάτου); in contrast to Homer (Od.3.304f.), Pindar does not say anything about Clytemnestra being in control with Aigisthos, who in P.11 is not portrayed as a powerful or substantial figure.
20. Note how Pindar does not recount the episodes of the myth in chronological order, e.g. the description of Agamemnon's death (20-1) precedes his arrival home and sacking Troy (32-4).
21. But Professor Maehler points out to me that Achilles, Semele and the Seven were dead when on fire, whereas the implication of -θέντων would be that the Trojans were burnt alive; hence I agree with him that -θέντα is preferable.
22. ἦρ'... τὸ πρὶν ἢ... ἐναλίαν is to be interpreted (Professor Maehler tells me) as interrogative ἦρ' + alternative ἢ (as in I.7.5-12): 'Did I go astray, or did a wind blow me off course?' I find the punctuation of the Teubner text at odds with this interpretation which surely demands a comma or a question-mark, not a high stop, after τὸ πρὶν .
23. This is the interpretation intended by the Snell-Maenler text (see previous note).

24. D.C.Young (Mnemosyne suppl.9,1968,16-7) thinks the myth illustrates the horrors of a tyrant's life (in contrast to Thrasydaios's). This view is only partly correct, I believe; the myth also shows that Thrasydaios, qua victor, will be exposed to some of the same opposition (φθόνος, κακολογία) as Agamemnon. It is a mistake to seek a single purpose of the myth or a single way in which it is relevant; it has several purposes and is relevant in a variety of ways.
25. See J.Irigoin, Histoire du Texte de Pindare, Paris 1952, 25-7 'Traces du Metagrammatisme', suggesting that μισθί is an error of interpretation rather than due to carelessness; cf. Sch.N.1.34b for Aristarchus's recognition of misinterpretation of the old alphabet as a source of error.
26. But Davison takes too seriously the apocryphal story (Sch. N.5.1a) that Pindar charged 3,000 drachma for Nemean 5; see M.Lefkowitz, Lives of the Greek Poets, London 1981,49f.,58f.
27. Note how τάρσσω is frequently coupled with κυκῶ 'mix', 'stir': [A.]P.V.994 κυκάτω πάντα καὶ τάρσσειω, Ar.Pax 320 κυκάτω...πάντα καὶ τάρσσειω; v. LSJ s.v. τάρσσω.
28. But cf. Πυθόνικος in P.Oxy.222.col.ii.32 (for Ol.83 = 448B.C.); this evidence, coupled with the other attestations of Πυθόνικος make it more likely that Πυθόνικωι in Pythian 11 is a proper name than merely a nickname. Cf. other suitable names for victors, e.g. Dromeus (a victor in the long-distance in 484; a victor in 480 in the pankration); Eurybates (victor in the stadion, 672); Poulydamas (multi-victor in the pankration). The names are from L.Moretti, Olympionikai, Rome 1957.

29. The asyndeton here - before a statement (as often, in the first person) effecting a transfer to a new subject - is one of the four main types of asyndeton recognised by L.Dissen; see his edition of Pindar (Gotha 1830) I. Excursus 2, still the basis for any discussion on Pindar's use of asyndeton. The other three main types are 1) in explanations, 2) when enumerating or re-iterating (common in maxims - see Macleod on Il.24.354), 3) to add gravity to the end of a section (often the end of the whole ode).

Further references to discussions of the subject in J.G. Howie, ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers, and Monographs 3 (Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar vol.2,1979)338 n.21; Howie notes the use of asyndeton to exhibit strong emotion (op.cit. 308 - 10). In general, asyndeton tends to add emphasis to the following clause, because it throws it into relief or makes it appear as a necessary result (see K-G ii.344f.), but that is not its function here where it is to move on to a new topic (see K-G ii.346); asyndeton is common in Pindar and Bacchylides after enumeration of victories: B.1.159, 4.18, 8.26, 13.199; Pi. O.13.114, I.1.64.

30. An alternative interpretation is to take θεοθεν not with καλὰ but closely with ἐπιμαίνω, i.e. 'may the gods inspire me with a desire for καλὰ' - for what καλὰ do not come from the gods? But I think the context militates against this view; the implied contrast is not between a) καλὰ that come from the gods and b) καλὰ that come from elsewhere, but between a) καλὰ that come from the gods and b) κακὰ, πηματα et al.sim. that come from the gods (cf. P.3.81-2). At the back of Pindar's mind is the overhybristic victor over-aspiring for future successes (to his own detriment), or the selfish and cruel tyrant.

31. For the idea that the envious must be thrust away cf. Bacch.5
187f. χρεῖδ' ἀλαθείας χάριν / αἰνεῖν, φθόνον ἀμφ[ι]στέραιον / χερσὶν
ἀπωσάμενον, / εἴ τις εἶ πράττοι βροτῶ[ν].

32. He concludes that since, from Homer onwards, ²ἀνάξ is used to
address a variety of gods and goddesses, it cannot have been the
case that originally ἀνάξ was used solely to address the Dioscuri

²
3β. For ἀνάξ used of motion to rather than along cf. Od.22.239-40
ἀνά μέγαροιο μετάθρον' ἔξετ' ἀναΐξασα.

34. For my interpretation of δεχόμεναι in this context (καταβολὰν
νικηθोरίας δεδεκται = νίκαν δεδεκται ὡς καταβολὰν) cf. N.2.19 νίκας
ἐκόμισσαν: in both phrases the verb is used elliptically, applying
really to the fruits of victory (cf. P.9.125 πολλὰ δὲ πρόθεν πτέρω δεξάτο
νικῶν), not the victory itself; compare a similar use of λήρω,
e.g. P.10.24 τὰ μέγιστ' ἄθλων ἔλη, P.11.55 ἄκρον ἔλων, N.5.52 ἔλεν
διπλόων νικῶντ' ἄρετῶν, O.8.65-6 αὐτῶ, γέρας Ἀλκιμῆδων νίκαν
τριακοσῶν ἔλωρ (cf. O.2.49 Ὀλυμπία, γέρας ἔδεκτο). For further
refutation of Bury's comment (ad loc.) that δεδεκται here cannot
refer to winning victories, cf. Bacch.8.24-5 πλεῶνας ἔδεξάτο νίκας.

Against the view that καταβολὰν here means 'earnest-money' =
'down-payment' (so e.g. Slater s.v.), is the fact that that
(viz. a down-payment) is what Pindar should receive, not the victor.

35. But Dr.R.Parker points out to me that anacolouthon in
tragedy is not accidental, but a device to imitate the informality
of colloquial speech; therefore, in retrospect I agree that ὀφείλει
here is best regarded as passive in sense = ὀφείλεται.

36. Orion had no particular connections with Olympia, but in the context of a) the Games circuit (Ol., Py., Nem., Isth.) and b) 'big following little things', I think that here mention of his post-Pleiades appearance does allude to a future Olympic win for Timodemos. According to the scholia he did later win at Olympia: Sch.N.2.1a μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Νεμεαίην νίκην ἔσπεφανούτο τὰ Ὀλύμπια (this statement is presumably derived from the victor-lists rather than inferred from Pindar's text - the scholia do not interpret lines 11-12 as referring to an Olympic win).

37. This interpretation requires δέ (10) to be an explanatory connector equal to γάρ - for which cf. N.10,19-20 βραχὺ μοι στόμα πάντ' ἀναγέλασθ' --- ἔστι δὲ καὶ κόρος ἀνθρώπων βρῦς ἀντιάσαι. But this interpretation is less good than the one given in the last note, because, unlike the other, the point it expresses (that as Orion always follows the Pleiades, so T. will follow in his father's footsteps) has already been made by Pindar (lines 6-10).

38. The form Πλειάδων (for Πλει-) is frequent in poetry: Hes.Fr.288,289,290; Alc.Fr.1.60; Sim.555.5 PMG; Aes.Fr.172; therefore, I do not think it has any special significance (e.g. punning implications) here. The Πει- for Πλει- form is the result of etymologising, the constellation often being fancifully thought of as doves (see Aes.Fr.172 and Lloyd-Jones ad loc., H.Gundel RE xxi 2.2489, West ad Hes.Op.383-4).

39. Though, as Dr.R.Parker points out to me, in the absence of contradictory evidence neither the scholiasts' guess, nor the Meiggs-Lewis identification of the cleruchy in the inscription with that mentioned by the scholia, is actually disqualified. Dr.Parker thinks that the existence of a cleruchy is also implied by the fact that the assassins of Peisistratos's daughter received plots of land in Salamis as a gift (and, hence, may be regarded as some of the cleruchs; see R.Parker, Miasma, Oxford 1983, 368-9).

Another possibility is that Timodemos belonged to the genos Salaminioi: an inscription of 363-2 B.C. (SEG vol.21.527) refers to Σαλαμίνιοι whose ancestors lived in 508-7 in Acharnai (lines 77-8). The inscription also mentions how the cult of Eurysakes (Aias) was administered by the genos; if Timodemos did belong to the genos, and if the cult existed in his day, this would give special relevance to Pindar's praise of Aias in Nemean 2 (13-14). I am indebted to Dr. Parker for this possibility.

40. Professor H.Maehler thinks that ἐξοχώτατοι προλέγονται means here 'are mentioned first (before others) as outstanding'. But I think that in the context (παλαίφατον preceding, narration of past victories following) the words mean 'are spoken of already as outstanding'; cf. O.13.101-2 τὰ δ' Ὀλυμπίαι αὐτῶν ἔοικεν ἤδη πάροιθε λελέχθαι.

41. On a less literal interpretation of ἐξάρχετε, the ode itself could have formed the first part of the komos.

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