OXFORD

PINDAR'S SONGS *for* YOUNG ATHLETES *of* AIGINA

ANNE PIPPIN BURNETT

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OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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For James and Lucy and Sam

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CONTENTS

Figures viii
Abbreviations ix

Introduction

PART I. THE AUDIENCE

1. Aigina and the Aiakids 13
2. The Pediments of the Aphaia Temple 29
3. Contest and Coming of Age 45

PART II. THE PERFORMANCES

4. *Nemean* 5: Peleus' Wedding Song 57
5. *Isthmian* 6: The Engendering of Ajax 77
6. *Isthmian* 5: Achilles and Telephos 89
7. *Isthmian* 8: A Monster Avoided 102
8. *Nemean* 4: Wrestling with a Form-Changer 119
9. *Nemean* 3: The Education of Achilles 136
10. *Nemean* 6: Athletes as Heroes 153
11. *Nemean* 8: Slander and Praise 164
12. *Nemean* 7: Neoptolemos at Delphi 179
13. *Olympian* 8: Aiakos at the Walls of Troy 203
14. *Pythian* 8: A Phantom's Dream 220
15. Afternote: The Audience as Participant 239

Bibliography 251
Index of Passages Cited 267
General Index 273

FIGURES

1. Aphaia Temple. East Pediment. First Trojan Campaign 36
2. Aphaia Temple. West Pediment. Second Trojan Campaign 37

ABBREVIATIONS

A&A	*Antike und Abendland*
AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AK	*Antike Kunst*
AM	*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung*
AP	*Anthologia Palatina*
*ARV*²	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd edn. (1963)
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, London
BSA	*Annual of the British School atAthens*
BSFN	*Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*, Paris
CA	*Classical Antiquity*
CAF	T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (1880–8)
*CAH*²	*Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd edn. (1961–)
CEG	P A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*, 2 vols. (1983–9)
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CSCA	*California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
CW	*Classical World*
EGF	M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (1988)
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (1923–)
FHG	C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (1841–70)

G&R	*Greece and Rome*
GIF	*Giornale italiano di filologia*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (1973–)
JdI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* (1886–)
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1981–)
MH	*Museum Helveticum*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (1962)
PP	*La parola del passato* (1946–)
QS	*Quaderni di Storia*
QU	*Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (1827–), NS (1842–)
SIFC	*Studi italiani di filologia classica*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Asssociation*
TrGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht, and S. Radt (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 4 vols. (1971–85), vol. 1² (1986)
Stith Thompson	*Motif-Index of Folk-Literature,* 6 vols. in Indiana University Studies, 96–7, 100–1, 105–6, 108, 110–12 (1932–6)
WS	*Wiener Studien*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Introduction

The poets and scholars of the Renaissance, when they discovered Pindar, saw him as a disorderly singer whose sublime emotions refused to be disciplined by the laws of verse.[1] His 'odes' were largely incomprehensible but welcome, especially in France, because they seemed to justify a similar licence in his imitators. Ronsard praised his 'fureur', his 'vagabondes digressions . . . ses admirable inconstances',[2] and created a new verb when he announced, 'Le premier de France | J'ay Pindarizé' (*Odes* 2. 2. 36–7). And in England in the following century Abraham Cowley continued in the same spirit:

> Mine the Pindaric way I'll make.
> The Matter shall be grave, the Numbers loose and free.
> It shall not keep one settled pace of Time,
> In the same tune it shall not always chime,
> Nor shall each day just to his Neighbor Rhime.
> A thousand Liberties it shall dispense
> And yet shall manage all without offence,
> Or to the sweetness of the Sound, or greatness of Sence,
> Nor shall it never from one Subject start,
> Nor seek Transitions to depart . . .
>
> 'Upon Liberty', 6. 5–14 (1668)

The court of Louis XIV was taught by Boileau to admire the 'beau désordre' of a poet whose spirit 'parût plutôt entrainé du démon de la poésie, que guidé par la raison' ('Discours sur l'Ode de Namur', 1693).[3] This notion of a lawless verse continued to appeal to Goethe and Hölderlin in the next century, but Pope had already added a drop of vinegar to his appreciation of the Theban:

> Across the harp a careless hand he flings
> And boldly sinks into the sounding strings . . .

[1] Revard (2001) chs. 1 and 2.

[2] Preface to *Odes* (1550).

[3] Compare Basil Kennett, *The Lives and Characters of the Ancient Grecian Poets* (1697), 'this Libertinism of Conduct being the very Life and Soul of his Pieces'.

The champions in distorted postures threat,
And all appear irregularly great.

'The Temple of Fame' 213–14 (1715)

Voltaire, who perhaps knew the poet only in translation,[4] went further and addressed the 'divin Pindare' with exhausted scorn:

Sors du tombeau, divin Pindare,
Toi qui célébras autrefois
Les chevaux de quelques bourgeois
Ou de Corinthe ou de Mégare;
Toi qui possèdes le talent
De parler beaucoup sans rien dire,
Toi qui modulas savamment
Des vers que personne n'entend
Et qu'il faut toujours qu'on admire . . .

'Galimatias Pindarique' (1768)[5]

Among the early English Romantics, Gray praised Pindar not so much for his unreason as for a kindred quality, that of sublimity, and introduced himself modestly as one who had inherited

Nor the pride nor ample pinion
That the Theban Eagle bear
Sailing with supreme dominion
Through the azure deep of air . . .

'The Progress of Poesy' iii. 3 (1757)[6]

Shelley and Wordsworth were also admirers, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning was dazzled by a

. . . bold
Electric Pindar, quick as fear,
With race-dust on his cheeks, and clear
Slant startled eyes that seem to hear
The chariot rounding the last goal
To hurtle past it in his soul.

'A Vision of Poets', 312–17 (1844)

[4] Wilamowitz (1922) 5 made this assumption without explanation; for a refutation of the idea that Pindar's way was to speak largely about small subjects, see Young (1983) 156–61.

[5] *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire,* Ode 17, vol. viii (Paris 1877).

[6] Johnson, in his *Life of Gray* (1781), found in this imitation 'a kind of cumbrous splendor which we wish away'; cited by J. Crofts, *Gray. Poetry and Prose* (Oxford 1926) 10.

Tennyson, however, could speak of 'a kind of Australian poet; has long tracts of gravel, with immensely large nuggets embedded',[7] and this judgement was restated in twentieth-century language by Ezra Pound, who called Pindar 'a damn'd rhetorician half the time . . . the prize wind-bag of all ages'.[8]

Probably most educated Victorians would have agreed with Dryden's old assessment: 'Pindar is generally known to be a dark writer, to want connection (I mean as to our understanding), to soar out of sight and leave his reader at a gaze' ('Preface to Ovid's Epistles', 1680). His renown, or at any rate his vogue had declined since his discovery, but nevertheless the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries produced editions and commentaries in which learning was sometimes matched by love—one thinks of Bury, Wilamowitz, even Farnell, whose scoldings, when his poet lapsed from Edwardian standards of propriety, fair play, or relevance, were fuelled by his intense admiration. And meanwhile a revolution took place in the area of metrics as the intensive observations of Maas, Irigoin, and Snell[9] showed that the 'licence' so much envied by the Renaissance poets was in fact Pindar's elegant exploitation of the traditional rhythms of choral song.[10]

Pindar thus lost his reputation for 'dithyrambic lawlessness' while becoming more abstruse than ever, and for some time his name was kept alive principally by the animosity of scholars newly interested in questions of economics and class. Between the World Wars he was generally condemned as the spokesman of a reactionary anti-democratic élite, and this opinion persisted. Gilbert Norwood announced that the poet's work reflected 'the lethal stupidity of a long dormant class whose education had been moulded to suit, not to correct, their prejudices'.[11] Moses Finley, reviewing Bowra's *Pindar* in the *New Statesman*, called the poet a 'toady' and asked rhetorically, 'Can one divorce a great

[7] Reported by F. T. Palgrave and recorded by Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (London 1897) ii. 499.

[8] Cited by M. I. Finley (1968) 38.

[9] P. Maas (1913) 289–320; (1921) 13–31; Irigoin (1953) *passim*; Snell (1953) 305–21.

[10] West (1982) 63 speaks of 'a common stock of metrical figures' which poets 'develop and embroider'.

[11] Norwood (1956) 67; one may wonder which society ever produced an education meant to correct its own prejudices.

poet from his deeply felt but odious beliefs?'[12] Marcel Detienne, drawing on the insights of Louis Gernet, described Pindar as a singer who used the total assertiveness of pseudo-magical speech to support 'la puissance obstinée d'une certaine élite'.[13] This obsequious poet was nevertheless still heard as one who frowned and warned and fulminated against those in power, and it was a relief when Leslie Kurke qualified the simple identification of Pindar with an anti-democratic noble class by arguing that a money economy in fact forced the poet to compose, not just for a victor's house, but for his city as well.[14] Others however still maintain the old prejudice by describing certain 'splendid' Pindaric effects, in particular meditations on the function of praise, as tricks meant to mask the poet's 'partisan ideological role' from this broader audience.[15]

Fortunately, the widespread political and sociological concerns of the twentieth century did not keep significant formal discoveries from being made. Once the odes were located within the larger family of choral performance, Pindar's rhetoric, like his metrical practice, was found to follow certain rules, and scholars like Dornseiff, Schadewaldt, and Bundy[16] were able to determine the true function of elements once judged to be random or disorderly—at best 'belles digressions'. Understood as deriving from ritual conventions, the poet's exclamations, prayers, proverbs, and priamels no longer seemed mere wilful interruptions, while passages of self-scrutiny or self-exhortation

[12] Reprinted in M. I. Finley (1968) 38–43. In particular Pindar was accused of being anti-Athenian, see e.g. Page (1951) 142: 'Pindar, who is forever celebrating the prowess of second-rate Aeginetan athletes, and who can hardly bring himself to name the illustrious Athenian trainer Menander even when his Aeginetan host would take it as a compliment.'

[13] Detienne (1967) 27: 'Le poète n'a plus pour mission que d'exalter les nobles, de louanger les riches propriétaires qui développent une économie de luxe, de dépenses somptuaires, s'enorgueillissent de leur alliances matrimoniales et tirent vanité de leurs quadriges ou de leurs prouesses athlétiques . . . À la limite, le poète n'est plus qu'un parasite, chargé de renvoyer à l'élite qui l'entretient son image, une image embellie de son passé.' Cf. Gernet (1938) 36–43.

[14] Kurke (1991*a*) 6: 'Everything in epinikion aimed at the defusion and resolution of these same tensions' (i.e. between household and *polis*); cf. 255. Others who emphasize the *polis* are Gentile (1983) 183–211, 221 ff.; I. Morris (1996) 37 hears odes that offer 'to incorporate everyone in the polis into a single song'. Note also Carey (1995) 95, who suggests that 'the illusion of informality' typical of Pindar's odes is meant to disguise their actual performance before a very large civic audience.

[15] Rose (1992) 151.

[16] Dornseiff (1921); Schadewaldt (1928); Bundy (1986).

could be recognized as generic choral claims to sincerity and spontaneity. All belonged to what Bundy termed 'the thematic and motivational grammar of choral composition'.[17] Read in this way, the odes no longer showed that high contempt for sequence and transition that Cowley had so admired; they gained in unity, but seemed to lose in lyric immediacy, and not a few scholars rebelled. However traditional his means, they said, Pindar was an individual poet of Thebes whose personal voice dominated odes that were self-revelatory and perhaps even meant for a solo performer.[18]

This present study will not treat the 'odious beliefs' or the 'partisan ideological role' or even the lawless 'fureur' of a 'dark' Pindar who soars out of sight. Instead, it will consider one set of odes—the eleven made for the lords of Aigina—and try to discover the pleasures taken and the influences felt as a particular audience watched each performance. How did these entertainments induce the shared joy (*εὐφροσύνα*) that best put an end to the pain of contest (*N.* 4. 1, *I.* 3. 10)? Clearly they did succeed in this, for Pindar was chosen again and again for island commissions, and the fact that each occasion was almost exactly like the others invites an investigation of poetic means based upon close comparisons. In whatever house they might gather, the men who attended these victory celebrations had essentially the same tastes and characteristics, from the 490s into the 440s BC, in spite of the Athenian conquest. The odes made for them share this homogeneity, for all are ample in scale, richly textured, constructed around a central mythic passage, and all—though this must be argued—celebrate victors who have not yet reached manhood.

Like Pindar's other epinicians (and like his dithyrambs, paeans and maiden songs), these odes will have been performed by small companies of singers who know how to 'whirl' and to 'mix in the light footwork of the dance' (P. fr. 107*b* M, probably from a paian).[19] Choral dancing was, as Plato remarks again and

[17] Bundy (1986) 88, 92.

[18] For a summary of this opinion see Lefkowitz (1995) 139–50 and the bibliography cited there.

[19] For a review of the case for choral performance see Carey (1989*a*) 545–65 and Burnett (1989) 283–93; Lefkowitz (1991*a*) 173–91 (with Heath) disagrees, but their arguments are addressed by Carey (1991) 192–200, and more exhaustively by Pavese (1997) 29–49.

again, a kind of *mimesis*[20]—the imitation in action of character and a way of life (*Leg.* 2. 655d)—and also a form of *paideia* (*Leg.* 2. 672e5), because it worked an enchantment upon the dancers and upon those who listened and watched (*Leg.* 2. 665c).[21] According to this view, threnody will be an imitation of inchoate lament that teaches men how to grieve, just as a paean replicates the unrehearsed cry of those witnessing a marvel, and so teaches a mode of worship. In the same way, the secular song of praise will mime the spontaneous response of a group to an extraordinary deed done by one of its members, teaching the community (whether household, tribe, or town) how to receive, perpetuate, and give thanks for a boon.[22] It belongs by nature to the festive moment that follows a successful action, and its task is complex, as multiple singers extend an individual's achievement until it can be annexed by all who listen, while they also provide repayment in the form of a glory that is sacralized and made permanent. Informal bands of *kōmos*-singers did this on the spot, when one of their group was victorious in athletic contest, and their spontaneous explosions of joy served as rough models for formal celebrations held later, at home. Inside the victor's house, however, the context of hospitality caused the dynamic of the choral action to shift, for here in the banquet hall the company of dancers (provided by the host) represented, not just the group that took its share and made its repayment, but also the family who supplied this fresh glory. Themselves a gift from the victor's house, the band of singers extracted the magic of victory, gave it a form that could be shared, and offered it to the community represented by themselves and the present guests.[23] And meanwhile, like outsiders, they gave

[20] *Rep.* 3. 395–399*e*. Nagy (1990) 14 calls the chorus 'the ultimate mimesis of authority in early Greek society', cf. 36, 42, but one must always remember that a choral performance was a source of pleasure: Plato (*Leg.* 653) derived the word from *χαρά*.

[21] Calame (1995) 23: 'by singing the poems composed by Alcman the young women become initiated and acquire knowledge, as does the public that is present at the choral performance.'

[22] For an extension of this notion see A. Miller (1993) 21–53 who notes that 'Pindar casts the encomiastic persona of his odes in the role of extemporizing speaker . . . characterized by unconscious spontaneity.'

[23] Compare Kurke (1991*a*) 204–6, who uses Benveniste's discussion of *kudos* in Homer to argue that an epinician ode activates a transfer of success-magic from athlete to city.

reimbursement in kind by rendering the victor's triumph unforgettable.[24]

In its original context of cult, a choral song brought a touch of the eternal upon an earthly celebration,[25] and the same pressure of multiplied voice and gesture was applied in epinician performances. Many voices, hands and feet worked together to bring a transforming power into the festival moment, one that could change brute athletic success into a timeless possession and bring a new definition, both to the victor and to those who were close to him. The most obvious mechanisms for this essential work were invocation and prayer, but the epinician choruses often used as well a combination of narrative and drama to recreate a power-filled moment from myth (like the victory-night dancers who revived the dance of Herakles)[26] and Pindar borrowed this trick for every one of his Aiginetan odes. In the chapters that follow it will be argued that, far from being mere decoration (or 'diminuendo', as Bundy suggested),[27] such mythic glimpses are central because they invest an ephemeral triumph with permanence, while they also bring an audience of ordinary guests into a state of revelatory wonder.[28]

[24] Pleket (2000) 751–5 suggests that 'casting victors as role-models for their peers' was the simple purpose of epinician praise, but if this were the case the odes would necessarily contain more athletic detail, less metaphoric and mythic definition.

[25] The spectator at the choral dances on Delos for a moment felt himself to be 'deathless and ageless' (*Hom. h. Ap. Del.* 151–5). Choral performances brought men into association with gods, causing them to experience 'enchantment' or 'contemplation,' according to Plato (*Leg.* 2. 653c); his ideal chorus worked primarily upon the dancers (*Leg.* 663a–665c) but note 657d, where youthful performers rouse memories in watching elders. Aristotle concluded that an audience of erstwhile dancers would receive a choral performance actively, with wonder at things greater than man (*Pol.* 1340^{a}8–1342^{a}28).

[26] Wilamowitz (1895) ii. 49, ad Eur. *HF* 180.

[27] Bundy (1986) 44 did however admit that 'legendary exploits' could add a 'temporal dimension' to the epinician present.

[28] Burkert (1979) 24 speaks of 'Pindar, whose myth is alive by virtue of immediate reference and relevance to all aspects of genealogy, geography, experience and evaluation of reality'; Ledbetter (2003) 66 remarks upon Pindaric myths which 'invest the present with universal weight'. For the parallel use of myth in hymns see Furley (1995) 46: 'The telling of a tale may not be mere entertainment, but may seek to make things happen; it may establish a precedent, or it may seek to work actively, as in the *historiolae* we have mentioned in a magico-medical context.' Note Arist. *Met.* 982^{b}, 'It is owing to their wonder that men now begin and at first began to philosophize'; cf. Pl. *Tht.* 155d and Llewelyn (1988) 173–5.

This discussion of the Aiginetan victory songs will assume performance by troupes of singing male dancers, amateurs who were, like the victors, not yet 18 years old. These entered, well-rehearsed[29] and naked or nearly so,[30] into a limited space (hall or courtyard of a house in town, or perhaps in one case the lower terrace of the Apollo temple) and there entertained a small and familiar audience[31]—the relatives and friends of the host, most of whom had, at least as boys, performed in similar choruses. These discriminating listeners were ready to be delighted by the sight of youthful bodies in motion (a version of the pleasure one might take on a visit to the gymnasium) and by the tones of their voices, at once sweet and sharp—the kind of sound Greeks most admired. To provide these, their host had called upon an urbane and practised poet[32] who could hear a musical accompaniment and see gestures and dance figures, even as the Muse disclosed to him the words of his ode.[33] He will have imagined, as his instrument, the throats of a particular set of dancers promised by his client, and as his/their audience, a gathering of island nobles most of whom he knew at least by reputation. In consequence, each of his odes will speak in a 'voice' that is an amalgam of the

[29] For the most part the choreography will have been a fresh arrangement of familiar dance figures. Calame (1977) argued that festival choruses danced always in circles, but sculptors and vase-painters show performers running, walking, bounding, breaking into pairs or in threes, in a single line, in a double line, etc., with one or two instrumentalists. Since the basic dance pattern would, like the melody, repeat with repeating stanzas, its specific *mimesis* will have been limited to the upper body. Mullen (1982) held that all triadic choruses circled one way in the strophe, the opposite way in the antistrophe, and came to a stand-still during the epode, but see my review, Burnett (1984) 154–60.

[30] Compare the choruses at the Thyrea (Athen. 15. 678bc), the paian-singers after Salamis (Life of Sophokles 3 *TrGF* p. 31), the pyrrhic dancers at the Panathenaia (Lysias 21. 1. 4). More generally on nudity see Stewart (1997) 24–42.

[31] On Aigina these were most probably private entertainments; there may have been a preliminary public entry of the victor into the city, but such an occasion would not explain performances consistently self-described as gestures of hospitality; see Slater (1984) 241–64 and, for an opposite emphasis on the *polis*, Kurke (1993) 139. For one Aiginetan case of what seems to be performance at the Apollo temple, see below, Ch. 9, on *Nemean* 3; note also the suggestion of a general dedicatory procession to the Aiakeion, made at the end of *Nemean* 5.

[32] Later antiquity believed that Pindar had been trained as dance-master at Athens, and had served there in that capacity (*Vit*. 1. 1. 11 Dr.).

[33] For the natural alternation of I/we 'in the expression of the subject in choral poetry', see Calame (1995) 21 n. 28; C. concludes that the poet is 'not excluded' from this first-person narrator; see also Calame (1997) i. 436ff., ii. 45ff.

Theban poet's with that of the youthful Aiginetan chorus from whose mouths it actually comes.[34] Most of the time the visible dancers will predominate, occasionally the maker of their song, but now and then the two may join in a non-specific utterance that seems to come from guest-friends of the house or from mortals in general—a voice that emerges from the song as it goes about its work of transformative praise.[35]

The stanzas of choral song followed one another, either in unbroken sequence (making the composition monostrophic), or divided into pairs by a third stanza of slightly different form (making it triadic). Either way, their complex repetitions of rhythm and melody worked to reinforce the poetic argument of the performance in ways that were immediately apprehended by an audience of connoisseurs, but beyond recovery for us. Each word in our texts had its musical note and also its gesture, step, or turn, imposed by the poet/trainer and lost to today's mere readers.[36] Here and there the dance may become obvious in boastful self-exhortations to perform a certain step (e.g. 'Jump from the ground!' *I.* 5. 38, 'My knees are nimble!' *N.* 5. 20, 'I shall come to a stop!' *N.* 5. 16). Otherwise structure, word order, and the patterns of rhythmic phrases in their repetition are the only indications of the poet's aural and choreographic artistry,[37] and this is why the translations that are provided reproduce, as

[34] Stehle (1997) 15–16 describes choral performers 'conceived by the audience as speaking "spontaneously", by which I mean that the words they spoke were assumed to be their own', and adds 'listeners attach "I" automatically to the speaker they see speaking'.

[35] W. R. Johnson (1982) 202 n. 41 remarks, 'His I wavers firmly between personal and choral.' The present study is in agreement with Nagy (1994) 23: 'Yes, Pindar may superimpose his own "I" on the activities of the chorus, making them act out his role as master–poet, but we must remember that this role is primarily a function of the victory song itself.' The identification of the *ego* of Pindar's songs has been exhaustively discussed; for a survey and restatement of the '*ego* = Pindar the Theban poet' position , see Lefkowitz (1995) 139–50; for discussion of the difficulties of this position, see J. M. Bremer (1990) 41–57; Danielewicz (1990) 7–17; d'Alessio (1994) 117–139; Anzai (1994) 141–50; Stehle (1997) 16–17; Severi (1998) 191–204.

[36] On the dramatic poets as choreographers, note Phrynichos (at Plut. *Q. conv.* 8. 732 ff. and Athen. 1. 21e–22a) who quotes an Aristophanic Aischylos as boasting 'I gave the chorus new figures!'

[37] Note the passage cited by Radermacher (1897) 112 f. from the Sicilian historian Timaos, in which rhetoric is an alternative to danced pantomime in establishing emphasis and sense.

nearly as possible, not the rhythms ('that were an empty hope', like the resurrection of Megas at *N*. 8. 45), but at any rate the verbal design of the originals. Cowley warned that if a word-for-word version were undertaken, 'it would be thought that one Mad-man had translated another',[38] but when effects like postponement, enjambment, emphatic placement, balancing concepts, and echoing melodies are to be discussed, one could wish for such madness. I have tried, at any rate, to make proper names, significant actions, and major concepts stand roughly in their ordained places, unobscured by clarification or 'translation' into fluid English. There is no attempt to reflect the poet's notorious grandeurs, while his mannerisms—contrived confusions, obtrusive relative pronouns, negatived negatives, strophic breaks that leave sense up in the air[39]—are preserved as devices essential, not just to style, but to ultimate meaning. Versions such as these are not 'Pindaric', certainly not 'sublime', but it is hoped that they will serve a practical discussion of the verbal means used by Pindar as, time and again, he brought his audience—contestant, patron, performers, and a houseful of guests—into a common experience of victory extended and made imperishable.[40]

[38] Preface to 'Olympia 2' (1668) 155–6; so also Dryden, 'So wild and ungovernable a poet cannot be translated literally' (Preface to Ovid's *Epistles*, 1680). Both were thinking as poets bound to create new 'Excellencies' equal to Pindar's own.

[39] Pindar's style has been characterized by Hummel (2001) 47–8 as filled with obstacles like 'l' étrangeté de l'inachevé . . . le malaise de l'instable et de l'erratique'.

[40] This is what Kurke (1991*a*) 139 calls a song's 'coercion'.

PART I
THE AUDIENCE

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1. Aigina and the Aiakids

Pindar's Aiginetan odes were made for the commercial aristocracy of a small, civilized, and very rich island. In Neolithic times a light population living close to Aigina's single harbour had traded with the Kyklades and Krete, and was exporting its own figured pottery by about 1600 BC.[1] Tiny settlements appeared even on the eastern side of the island, where the Aphaia temple would eventually stand, but when Mykenai was destroyed the Aiginetan villages were likewise devastated. The island was essentially deserted until, in the years between 1000 and 800 BC, settlers moved across from Argos, Arkadia, and Epidauros (Hdt. 8. 46. l; Paus. 2. 29. 5) or, as Pindar put it, 'The Dorian host of Hyllos and Aigimios came and founded Aigina' (*I*. 9. 1–4). These newcomers went as far as the top of Mt. Oros to set up an altar to Zeus in what would become the temenos of Zeus Hellanios, but the inland regions were not adapted to agriculture, not even to olives or vines (Strabo 8. 6. 16), and so, like their predecessors,[2] the new inhabitants gathered around the one good harbour and became seamen. All islanders, as Thukydides remarked (1. 8. 1; cf. 1. 5. 1–3), have been pirates at one time and these Geometric settlers made a rapid progression from random raids to regular toll-taking, and then to trade in slaves, metals, and grain, while they also imported ore for island craftsmen who soon became famous for their bronze statues. Increased prosperity meant extended commercial operations, rivalries, and shifting alliances throughout the Mediterranean, but a powerful landowning class did not appear. Aigina never knew a set of chivalric nobles

[1] For the warrior tomb of *c*.1600 near the south gate of the lower town, see Higgins (1987) 182, who reports grave-goods that suggest 'a rich settlement of Mainland type, tempered by a substantial Minoan element'. Walter (2001) 146–7 holds that this was the tomb of a young king, the last of a line that had ruled since *c*.1800 BC. For the second millennium in general see Welter (1938*b*) 7 ff; Kirsten (1942) 289–311.

[2] Pottery from *c*.1800 BC shows ships handled by sailors who may or may not carry lances, and also a daimonic figure who rides a dolphin; see Walter (2001) 116–18.

whose task was to lead armed foot-soldiers because its terrain, unfriendly to cultivation and also to horses, was on all sides defended by the sea.[3]

The commercial success of Aigina attracted the interest of Argos and Epidauros, and for about a century the sea-going lords of Aigina supplied ships and probably tribute to one or the other of the older mainland powers. During this time a man might have to cross to the Peloponnese for court hearings (Hdt. 5. 83. 1) as well as for certain religious duties, especially in connection with the cult of Apollo Pythaieus,[4] and it was said that an Aiginetan, Kleandros, was called over as assassin, when the tyrant of Epidauros wanted a visiting Athenian killed (Plut. *Mor.* 403c). Meanwhile supervision of ordinary affairs was in the hands of trusted island families, and when, towards the end of the seventh century (Hdt. 3. 59. 1–4),[5] the island began to rival Korinth and Samos as a commercial power, these local rulers 'stiffened themselves' to revolt (Hdt. 5. 83). There was no resistance from the weakened Epidauros and round about 610 BC. Aigina began a century and a half of free-ranging independence. When men from the island organized a coastal raid and stole the sacred figures from the mainland cult of Damia and Auxesia, the Epidaurians were unable to take them back.[6]

The separation seems to have been the work of the same commercial nobles who had locally administered the Epidaurian hegemony, and they apparently continued to rule the island in its independence.[7] They showed a special reverence for the non-Doric Apollo Delphinios, whose games opened every sailing season,[8] but the local Pythaieus cult kept up its traditional con-

[3] Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 176 reported that the island (30 sq. miles = 85 sq. km.), more than one-third rock, could not support itself. Hans Goethe found remains of several elaborate late 6th-cent. farmsteads in the central plain, evidently the not-necessarily self-sustaining properties of rich men (lecture, Univ. of Pensylvania, 28 Sept. 1999).

[4] See Figueira (1981) 176–7.

[5] Jeffery (1976) 150 puts the separation 'probably in the first half of the 7th century' but Figuiera (1993) 33 suggests *c.*610 BC, the time of Periander's campaign against Epidauros.

[6] Figueira (1983) 8–29.

[7] So Kirsten (1942) 300–2.

[8] Graf (1979) 2–22 argues from parallels at Athens, Dreros, and Olbia that the Delphinios cult was originally initiatory and that it derived from pre-Doric times; cf. Birge (1994) 14. Aiginetans also honoured Apollo as *Oikistes* and *Domatites* (schol. P. *N.* 5. 88); see Nilsson (1906) 172.

nection with mainland centres[9] and island athletes went regularly to Epidauros, Nemea, and the Isthmos in demonstration of aristocratic vitality. There is no sign of any internal political change and the early silver coinage is proof that the city's revenues continued to be taken in and spent by men fundamentally concerned with trade,[10] their emblem the amphibious sea-turtle.[11] It is not known how the polity was organized, but its policies and projects were under the effective control of a limited group drawn from certain familial units called *patrai*.[12] Only seven tribal names have survived, but since the women's choruses for Damia and Auxesia were organized by ten men each (Hdt. 5.83),[13] and since the hostages taken by Kleomenes were ten ('most worthy because of wealth and family', Hdt. 6. 73),[14] it seems probable that this was the number of the ruling tribes. Their members will have filled the various priesthoods, decided on building projects, and maintained the calendar of religious celebrations, while they, or some inner group, also fixed alliances and city policy.

[9] Barrett (1954) 422 n.3. The *theoroi* of the Apollo temple mentioned at P. *N*. 3. 70 were said by the schol. to be either temple supervisors or archons, and Welter, Kirsten, and Figueira suppose a group of actual magistrates who preside over the aristocracy of Aigina. On the other hand Felton and Wurster (1975) 32–5, 50–3 note Hellenistic inscriptions from the *thearion* that show banquet organization as the chief duty of these 'overseers'. Reference to a *pentapolis* in one late inscription suggests that Aigina was (with Argos and Asine?) one of five cities joined in a cult of Apollo Pythaieus.

[10] Figueira (1981) 107–12, 290, links the expanding currency to the state building projects of the 6th cent. Winterscheidt (1938) refused to believe that the governing class was commercial, holding that trade was in the hands of the people, and he was followed by de Ste Croix (1972) 266–7, (1981) 120. Most scholars agree with Kirsten (1942) 302 and Figueira (1981) 286 that the scale of Aiginetan commerce demanded direction by the nobility; cf. Zunker (1988) 35 who assumes rule by prominent 'Kaufmannsfamilien'. Arnheim (1977) 127–8 argued that a 'fusion' of 'nouveaux riches' with the aristocracy kept a tyrant from appearing on Aigina.

[11] The sea-turtle would be changed for a land-turtle after the Athenian occupation; see Picard (1978) 330–3.

[12] Parker (1996) 63 n.26 and bibliography cited there, esp. Winterscheidt (1938) 42–46. According to Nagy (1990) 176 the members of these 'lineages' made up 'a closed and specially privileged group within the aristocratic community,' but he cites no evidence.

[13] Nagy (1990) 365 n. 141 takes the 'ritual strife' mentioned by Herodotos (5. 83. 3) to mean that each male chorus-leader mocked his own group of female singers, but this would be without precedent. Some form of contest between groups, accompanied by multi-voiced insults, would seem more probable; see Calame (2001) 139.

[14] The 500 hoplites sent to Plataea were perhaps 50 from each of ten groups.

As for the citizens, who in the early fifth century numbered somewhere between 20,000 and 40,000,[15] a few of them may have cultivated the pampered inland fields, but most were sailors or artisans, especially metalworkers,[16] while a significant proportion were, like the nobles, slave-dealers and ship-owners engaged in trade.[17] Herodotus, indeed, remembered Sostratos, a commoner who among other ventures carried Attic pottery into Etruria in the mid-sixth century (4. 152),[18] and outstripped all other Greek traders in wealth. Like their rulers, the men of Aigina thought of themselves as descendants of the Dorian settlers who had come three centuries earlier, and as living under the Dorian constitution of Hyllos, though as islanders they boasted a special regard for the laws of piety and hospitality (P. *I*. 9. 5–6).[19] What is more, their women fastened their dresses with Dorian pins to commemorate the defeat of Athenians who would have seized the stolen images of Damia and Auxesia (Hdt. 5. 87).[20] These consciously 'Dorian' traders established outposts in Krete and at Naukratis (Hdt. 2. 178),[21] and by the first decade of the fifth century their city was, according to later report, the Ruler of the Sea.[22]

[15] Estimates based on two 'facts': Aigina seems to have had 3,500 potential oarsmen to man its seventy pentekonters in 487 BC (Hdt. 6. 92), and something like 6,000 men must have gone with the thirty triremes sent to Salamis (Hdt. 7. 46. 1).

[16] The island was known for sculpture, bronze-casting, and metalwork of all sorts, especially the manufacture of arms, all traditionally done by free artisans; see Kirsten (1942) 299–300.

[17] Arist. *Pol*. 4. 4. 1291^{b} 224 reported that the most numerous class of Aiginetans was made up of men concerned with the sea, specifically with seaborne trade.

[18] According to Hdt. 4. 152 Sostratos was the Greek trader who made the greatest profit in the mid-6th cent. A stele dedicated by him stood in the Hera sanctuary at Gravisca, and the mark SO on Attic pottery found there seems to be his; see Torelli (1971) 55–60; Johnston (1972) 416–23; Harvey (1976) 206–14. The pottery from the Aphaia temple area on Aigina gives evidence of trade in the 550–500 BC period with the Black Sea area and also with Umbria and Apulia, as well as of strong contacts with Rhodes and Lakonia; see Williams (1993) 571–98.

[19] 'Founded by followers of Hyllos and Aigimios, Aigina was inhabited by men who lived according to their Dorian constitution, dealing with strangers according to divine law and secular justice'. The island had been 'treasured up for its Dorian people since the time of Aiakos' (P. *O*. 8. 30; cf. *N*. 3. 3, and the 'Dorian Sea' of Pa. 6. 123–4. For self-identification as Dorians in general, see Zunker (1988) 36 and n. 174.

[20] Amit (1973) 19–20.

[21] On Aiginetan prosperity in the mid-6th cent. see Osborne (1996) 257.

[22] They were the 17th such power in Eusebius' overall chronological table; see Forrest (1969) 105.

The authority of the Aiginetan oligarchs seems never to have been challenged from within the city until the second decade of the fifth century, when Athens supported the unsuccessful revolt of Nikodromos. Theirs was the one form of government that a unified and prosperous local population could remember,[23] but though they were unquestioned these nobles needed to explain their position to themselves, to their sons as they came of age, and also to their guests and the island's many visitors. The Aiginetan aristocrats opened their doors to brothers and uncles of brides brought from elsewhere, to strangers who came as pilgrims to the shrine of Zeus Hellanios, and also to clients, merchants, exiles, and trainers from other cities, to all of whom the peculiar status of the empowered *patrai* had to be indicated. The men of the great families were wealthy, yes, but their wealth was variable and not unlike that of many other island families, nor as Dorian lords among a Dorian people could they pretend to a superiority of blood. Consequently, the story-tellers of Aigina began very early to patch together a mythic cloak, a combination of borrowed 'Aiakid' traditions with basic local legend,[24] which should lend a distinguishing identity to the island lords.

In spite of their Dorian traditions, the population of Aigina knew a living folk tradition about a primeval local hero, the island's first and only king, who was honoured at a shrine on the city's most prominent height. Mysterious rites were held there, and initiates knew that his altar was his heroic tomb (Paus. 2. 29. 8–9),[25] while a nearby shrine belonged to a preliminary monster who had been slain. Stories were in place at the beginning of the seventh century, telling how an inaugural human inhabitant was engendered by Zeus upon a nymph called Oinona, who was then transformed to become this lonely island (Hes. *Cat*. 205.1

[23] The wealth of the island is indicated by the tribute of 30T levied after 446 BC, after that of Thasos the highest of any member of the League; see Amit (1973) 40; Figueira (1993) 272. Arnheim (1977) 127 mentions the '"middle-class" character of the bulk of the population' as the reason for the island's 'comparatively tranquil political history'.

[24] Prinz (1979) 34–38.

[25] Harland (1925) 69 ff. believed cults of Aiakos and Zeus Hellanios had been brought to the island by Achaians arriving in LGH I; cf. Töpffer *RE* s.v. Aiakos. Kirsten (1942) 293 suggested that a sanctuary on Mt. Oros belonging to an earlier Aiakos Hellanios might have been taken over by incoming Dorians; others posit early Thessalian settlers as bringers of Aiakos.

MW).[26] It was also said that, as companions for his isolated son, Zeus brought ants up from underground to become Aigina's hard-working sailor-citizens (Hes. fr. 205. 3–7 MW; cf. Apollod. 3. 158; Ovid *Met*. 7. 614–60). This story of the god-sent ants (μύρμηκες) answered the definitional question of all islanders: 'Are we creatures of the land or of the sea?' But it is hard to make heroes of ants, and in time the tale-makers developed a more satisfying response. The Zeus-born Founder engendered two sons,[27] one a seal-like monster born to a sea-bride,[28] the other a fully human prince born from the womb of a dryad called Endaïs (Earth).[29] These two quarrelled and when the earthborn heir killed Phokos, the Nereid's child, the nature of Oinona's inhabitants was settled.[30] With this tale, the early people of Aigina described themselves as masters of the sea but fully human and belonging to the soil of their island.

As the episodes of the *Iliad* became current, the echo between the Myrmidons of Thessalian legend and the ant-men of Aigina[31] encouraged island singers to identify their Founder

[26] Of Oinona the schol. at P. *N*. 4. 46 says only that this was a previous name for Aigina, taken from 'some nymph'; the island is so named also at *N*. 5. 16 and *N*. 8. 7. Carnes (1995) 7–48 holds that the function of the Aiakos story is to sexualize a myth of autochthony.

[27] A tradition known to Eustathius reported the father of Patroklos, Menoitios, as a third son of Aiakos (Hes. *Cat*. 212a MW); the schol. at P. *O*. 9. 104–7 makes Menoitios the son of Aktor, a mortal mate of Aigina, and so half-brother to Aiakos.

[28] Hes. *Theog*. 1005; schol. Eur. *Andr*. 687. The seal was thought of as a monster close to the Man of the Sea because he had hands but not arms, and neither feet nor legs (Pliny *HN* 32.144); he seemed friendly but had the smell of the sea-depths and death about him (*Od*. 4. 406, 442, 445–6), and he showed the evil eye (Plut. *QConv*. 664c).

[29] Endaïs = Ἔγγαίος; in later tradition the daughter either of Skiron (Paus. 2. 29.7; Apollod. 3. 12; Plut. *Thes*. 10) or of Chiron (Hyg. *Fab*. 14; schol. *Il*. 16.14; schol. P. *N*. 5.12).

[30] Tradition buried the murdered elder son close to the spot where Aiakos would lie; both graves were associated with mystery rites (Paus. 2. 29. 8–9). Welter (1938*a*) 52 and (1954) 43 identified a circular 6th-cent. foundation with a base in prehistoric levels, located just west of the Apollo temple, as the grave of Phokos. On the general type of the hero who clears the sea of monsters, see Wilamowitz (1895) ii. 99 (ad Eur. *HF* 394).

[31] Kirsten (1942) 293 n. 1 supposed that autochthonous ant people of early island stories were later identified with Myrmidons of Thessaly. Compare the ant-like forebears of the Attic Kekropidai and of a family from Ephyra (Roscher s.v. Myrmidons) and see Carnes (1990) 41–4 where the Euhemerist version of Theogenes is noted (*FGrH* 300 F, quoted by schol. at P. *N*. 3. 13). For the etymological non-connection between μύρμηκες and Myrmidons, see Boemer (1976) 331–2.

with the father of Homer's Peleus.[32] Homer had called Aiakos a son of Zeus (*Il.* 21. 189), as was the island hero, and as for the mother one had only to identify Oinona, the 'isolated' local mother, with an Asopid named Aigina, while the city's chief water source became Asopos (P. *N.* 3. 4)[33]. The rest of Greece accepted this incorporation of Aiakos into island legend and by the end of the sixth century the rape of Aigina—the necessary preliminary to the birth of an Aiginetan Aiakos—had become a familiar subject for vase-painters who gave it a fixed iconography of outraged father, fleeing sisters, and the pursuing god.[34] At home, the scene was depicted in one of the pediments of the temple of Apollo (finished about 510 BC) and again in a pediment of the new Aphaia temple in its first phase (late 490s?).[35] Finally, a more reverent, cosmic version was reflected, perhaps in the 490s, in the performance of Aiginetan dancers sent to the Delphic Theoxenia (P. Pa. 6. 124–40).[36] In the song that Pindar made for them, the chase is ignored as the bride is lifted away from Asopos and transported to a star-like island in the Dorian Sea, there to receive the divine seed, her modesty protected by strands of golden mist.

By the end of the sixth century BC Aiakos belonged unarguably to Aigina, while he also served as acolyte in the panhellenic cult of Zeus that was celebrated at the peak of Mount Oros.[37] Embassies from all of Greece regularly climbed to that height in memory of a time of killing drought when similar groups were said to have come to Aiakos, on the advice of Delphi, asking that he beg for rain at his father's shrine (Isok. 9.15; Paus. 2. 29. 6–8;

[32] West (1985) 163–4 supposes that Aiakos, as well as Psamathe and Phokos, originated in Thessalian fairy-tales that were drawn first into the Trojan Saga, then appropriated by Aiginetans during the 7th cent. as local genealogies 'travelled about'.

[33] See below, Ch. 9, p. 143 and n. 9.

[34] Note in particular the Brygos cup, *c.*490 BC (*ARV*² 381, 182, Boston Mus. Fine Arts 95.36) where the taking of Aigina is coupled with that of Ganymede. Aischylos apparently made the rape of Aigina the premise of his satyr-play *Sisyphos drapetes*, and Pherekydes also told the tale (fr. 78 Mueller); cf Apollod. 1. 9. 3; 3. 12. 6.

[35] For the Apollo temple group, see Walter (1993) 45 and figs. 42, 43; for the Aphaia group, see Ohly (1976) XIV.

[36] Burnett (1998) 493–520.

[37] Farnell (1921: 310; cf. 1896: i. 61–3) believed that this cult must have been brought down from Dodona by a migrating tribe called either Myrmdones or Hellenes.

schol. P. Pa. 6. 125). His prayers were successful, and this Aiakid salvation of Hellas was memorialized by relief sculptures showing the suppliant foreigners, which were set up at the Aiginetan sanctuary where Aiakos had his tomb. A Founder-King who saved Greece from famine was a splendid hero for a community of merchants who regularly supplied grain where local crops were insufficient, and the local endurance of this legend needs no explanation. Its general acceptance throughout Greece, on the other hand, like its service as *aition* at the Delphic Theoxenia,[38] may suggest some elements of historicity. Certainly it was remembered after the great drought in the years around 700 BC,[39] when cities all over Greece gave thanks to the Zeus Panhellanios who had saved them, and also to his son, Aiakos, first and only king of Aigina (Paus. 1. 44. 9, of a sanctuary above Megara).[40]

Aiakos was proverbial for his wisdom and piety[41] and later legend made him a judge in the underworld, but at the opening of the fifth century he was primarily a proof of possible contact between earth and heaven—the son of a generous mountain-top Zeus who guaranteed to him and his island a pre-eminence peacefully gained and peacefully enjoyed.[42] On Aigina he remained essentially the hero-founder whose tomb was close to the burial mound of his seal-son and whose shrine held powerful ancient images of wood or terracotta.[43] With him all culture began, and he was celebrated with annual processions, sacrifices, and games;[44] sometimes too an athletic crown taken in mainland

[38] P. Pa. 6. 62; Isok. 9. 15; Paus. 2. 29. 6–8; Apollod. 3. 12. 6; Diod. 6. 4. 60–1; schol. P. *N*. 5. 17a.

[39] Camp (1979) 397–411.

[40] Excavators report a simple shrine at peaktop with a large terrace on the slope below arranged for the accommodation of pilgrims (H. Goethe, lecture, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 28 Sept. 1999).

[41] Isok. 9. 14–15; Plut. *Thes*. 10.

[42] First named as underworld judge at Ar. *Ran*. 464; then Pl. *Apol*. 41a; *Gorg*. 523e; Isok. 9. 15; Dem. *de Cor*. 127; *CIG* III 6298; *Pap. gr. Mag*. V 1467. The earliest representations in vase-painting are in Hades scenes on Apulian volute kraters of the 4th cent. (*LIMC* s.v. Aiakos). Pindar seems to know an Aiakos who served at least once as mediator among the gods (*I*. 8. 26); see Hubbard (1987) 5–22.

[43] They were called simply 'the Aiakids,' always a plurality but never with separate names; von der Mühll (1930) 21–2 suggested that they might have been cult objects from an older shrine dedicated to a pair of Helper Heroes.

[44] On the Aiakeia, see Bernardini (1983) 187 n. 72, 188 n. 74. Pindar composed a *Prosodion* for worshippers approaching the Aiakeion (fr. 52n S = 52p M), from which Rutherford (1992) 59–72 would reconstruct a statue-carrying

contest was dedicated to him (*N*. 5. 53). Nevertheless this tranquil figure, true to his function as mediator, gave the sea-going Aiginetans access to the epic battlefields of northern tradition. Peleus was Aiakides in the *Iliad* (16.15, 18. 433; cf Hes. 211. 7 MW = 81. 7 Rz.), and with the annexation of the Homeric tradition he was necessarily brought to Aigina as the son of its first and only king. There was great prestige to be gained from an island-born Peleus, even though the singer who took advantage of this motif was immediately bound to explain why this hero did not stay to take his father's crown, but went instead to Thessaly. Fortunately, the ancient tale of the Brothers' Quarrel was fixed among the most primitive of island traditions, so that if a Peleus who was son of Endaïs were to kill his half-brother, the monstrous Seal Prince,[45] he could be sent into exile, like the heroes of so many colonization tales (cf. Tlepolemus at Rhodes, in *O*. 7).[46] In this way, after a brief appearance as the earthborn son who removed an heir too closely associated with the sea, Peleus could proceed to the north, a permanent embellishment for island mythology, though he was geographically removed from Aigina.

Acting as his killer, Peleus paradoxically revived the significance of the primeval Phokos, but even without this epic intrusion into the old tale, Phokos would surely have maintained his dark existence in certain local celebrations and in the secret rites at the Aiakeion.[47] He had a grave near his father's tomb—a

procession that brought a figure of Psamathe to Aiakos, or returned a figure of Aiakos to the city.

[45] But see Prinz (1979) 44–5 who supposes the Phokos legend to have been a new importation meant to answer a Salaminian introduction of Telamon into the Aiakid line.

[46] Burnett (1988) 149–50; Dougherty (1993) 178–200.

[47] For Phokos as one of a pair of heroes who might bring rescue, see von der Mühll (1930) 21–3. A Phokian tradition named a Phokos son of Ornytion, a Korinthian, as founder of Phokis (Diod. Sic. 4. 72. 6; Paus. 10. 1. 1; 2. 29. 3); buried at Tithorea, he was father of the Phokian Krisos and Panopeus (Hes. *Cat*. 58. 7 MW; Asios fr. 5 Bernabé), grandfather of Epeios and ancestor of Strophios and Pylades. Even to this Korinthian Phokos the motif of fraternal strife was attached, for his twin sons fought with one another in the womb (Hes. *Cat*. 58. 77). In time storytellers identified the Korinthian with the Aiginetan bearer of this name (Paus. 10. 1. 1), explaining that the islander had been driven from Aigina, had been taken in by men of Phokis, had married a king's daughter and led his new northern people in an expansion of their territory, but finally had returned to Aigina where he was killed by his Aiakid brothers; see McInerney (1999) 140–6.

circular mound topped by what looked like a discus (Paus. 2. 29. 7)[48]—and he was surely represented among the cult figures kept in the Founder's shrine. He was, after all, the eldest son of Aiakos, engendered upon the Nereid Psamathe who left him on the shore when she returned to her element. In the primitive story his killing had served to establish the islanders' identity as landsmen who were triumphant over the sea,[49] but he took on a sharper significance when it was Peleus who removed him. Ever a figure for 'what-might-have-been,' he now entered panhellenic myth as a preliminary version of Achilles, erased by the hero-father of that more perfect son of a Nereid. 'Of the daughters of the Old Man of the Sea, the one—Psamathe—bore Phokos to Aiakos, having loved him in Aphrodite's way, but the other—Thetis the silvershod goddess—mastered by Peleus, gave birth to Achilles, the lion-hearted crusher of men' (Hes. *Theog.* 1003–7).[50] Retold in this way, the fratricide of the island foundation legend ensured the eventual birth, to the proper daughter of the Sea, of an Aiakid who was not a monstrous amphibious creature, but instead a godlike hero of epic.[51]

The story of the violent death of Phokos at the hands of Peleus was evidently told in various forms and in various places, and at some early point an Aiginetan teller of tales saw that it could be used to introduce more epic heroes into the Aiakid family. With

[48] On the grave see Welter (1954) 43. The tale of his death by discus throw makes Phokos a distant double to the Spartan Hyakinthos. Certain Aiginetan rites for Poseidon Monophagos suggest a cult in which worshippers bonded in common symbolic guilt (Plut. *QGr* 301 D–E), and which might conceivably have been connected with Phokos; on the cult act of dining at separate tables, see Burkert (1983) 220–1 and n. 23.

[49] Detienne (1970) 219–33 notes that seals were thought to be like islands, neither mainland nor sea. The Telchines who came out of the sea to be the first inhabitants of Rhodes were turned out by sons of Helios, as Phokos is here 'turned out' by a grandson of Zeus. The same sea/land ambiguity is expressed in the artificial sand bar on which Telamon stood in later legend while arguing that the killing of Phokos was involuntary (Paus. 2. 29. 10).

[50] Later tales would make the two moments of generation more similar by describing a resisting, form-changing Psamathe who took the shape of a seal as Aiakos raped her; schol. A Eur. *Andr.* 687; Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 12. 6; Ov. *Met.* 7. 476. Euripides knew a story in which Psamathe left Aiakos to become the wife of Proteus (*Hel.* 6).

[51] That the slaughter of Phokos was viewed as a heroic deed is clear from a bit of elaborate Euripidean irony at *Androm.* 687, where the weak and uxorious Menelaus suggests that Peleus should have been like him – should have refused to kill Phokos as he had refused to kill Helen.

his similar name, Ajax was a likely grandson for Aiakos,[52] and fortunately his father was a hero without a patronymic,[53] being known to Greeks at the end of the seventh century simply as Telamon of Salamis, a man proverbially ready for a fight.[54] So why should that belligerent man not have been a third son of Aiakos, brother and ally of Peleus and like him exiled after the killing of the Seal Prince, at which time he took refuge on Salamis? Telamon was known as a favoured companion of Herakles; he had made the first kill in the battle with the Amazons (Hes. fr. 278 Rz.)[55] and had also accompanied Alkmena's son against Amykos, Alkyoneus, and the Meropes on Kos. This association was, with the fathering of Ajax, the prime fact of his mythic life and Hesiod had joined the two motifs in a scene in which Herakles, as Telamon's friend and guest, asks Zeus to send his host a son and is answered by the appearance of the eagle that gave Ajax his name (*Cat*. 250 MW = schol. P. *I*. 6. 53). This meant that when Telamon was claimed as an Aiakid, Aigina gained not only his son, Ajax, but also his friend, Herakles, whose cult does not seem to have been prominent in the earliest times, in spite of the island's Dorian traditions.[56] Only in the sixth century does he make a strong appearance, as in the poros figure from the old Apollo temple (*c*.570–60 BC) and the

[52] The Aiginetan interest in Telamon and Ajax may have been excited by the Megarian moves that culminated, at the end of the 7th cent., in annexation of Salamis. See Prinz (1979) 44–8 who, however, supposes that the original impulse to Aiakidize came from Salaminians looking for a divine ancestor. For 6th-cent. Athenian claims to Ajax (and Salamis), note the interpolation at *Il*. 2. 557–8 and Plutarch's report, *Sol*. 10. 3; in general, see Parker (1996) 119, 316–17; Davies (1971) 294–312; Higbie (1997) 278–307.

[53] Pherekydes (*FGrH* I 410 = *FHG* 3 F 60) named a local pair, Aktaios and Glauke, as parents of Telamon; he was thus grandson of Kychreus the earth-born serpentine first king of Salamis, and friend but not brother of Peleus (cf. Apollod. 3. 12. 7). It may be that Pherekydes also made Theseus, not Telamon, the father of Ajax; see Barron (1980) 1–8.

[54] Aristophon *CAF* 2. 277K; Hesych. s.v. *Τελαμῶνος αἰδεῖν*.

[55] In eight black-figure representations he is identified by inscriptions, a bearded hoplite in the act of killing an Amazon who is once named Glauke, once Toxis. In others he may come to the aid of Herakles; the earliest of these are from the second quarter of the 6th cent.

[56] P. *N*. 7. 93–4 locates the house of Sogenes' father between two precincts of Herakles, and at Xen. *Hell*. 5. 1 there is mention of a Herakleion that seems to be outside the city, but no remnants of either have been found. The schol. at *N*. 7. 86 refers to a theoxenic rite called Herakleia, commemorating Aiakos' reception of Herakles, but this is otherwise unknown. For Herakles in the decorations of the Apollo temple, see below, Ch. 2, p. 40 n. 47.

pedimental Amazon battle from the same building in its rebuilt form (*c*.510).[57]

As a companion of Herakles, Telamon was a hunter and legend had given him a part in the Kalydonian Boar Hunt,[58] along with Peleus, so it was easy to make the two young heroes companions, then brothers and allies in the killing of Phokos. By the end of the seventh century their collaboration was so well accepted that the Korinthian poet of the *Alkmaionis* (*c*.600 BC) could use it as an illustrative digression. In that epic, probably in comparison with Alkmaion's similar deed of kin-killing, a 'god-like' Telamon (innocent of patronymic)[59] works side by side with Peleus in an attack on their brother (*EGF* fr. 1 = schol. Eur. *Androm*. 687):

> Then with the wheel-shaped discus did god-like Telamon
> strike at his head, while swift Peleus, hatchet of bronze
> in his outstretched hand, sent a punishing blow to his back.

These lines do not explicitly make Telamon the brother of Peleus, but they do describe a complicity almost necessarily fraternal, and from this time on there will be a second killer of Phokos, Telamon, the father of Ajax and the son of Aiakos.[60] Subsequent tellings (inspired by the preservation of what looked like a discus at the tomb of Phokos) would assume an athletic context in which the fratricide might be due to envy of the older brother's prowess (schol. Eur. *Androm*. 687; Apollod. *Bib*. 3. 12. 6 reports that Phokos was famous for his strength) or even to an accidental misthrow (Diod. Sic. 4. 72. 6). And though Peleus remains the principal assassin, reflecting the earlier form of the tale in which he alone destroyed Psamathe's son,[61] both brothers

[57] Poros figure from older temple, Walter (1993) fig. 34; pedimental Amazon battle, Fuchs and Floren (1987) 310.

[58] For Telamon at the Kalydonian boar hunt see Furtwängler, *Vasensammlung* i. 246, no. 1706, Berlin vase from Orvieto; Eur. *Mel*. fr. 530 N 2 where he carries a shield with an eagle device; schol. *Il*. 16. 14; Paus. 8. 45. 6 (pediment of Athena temple at Tegea).

[59] Telamon and Peleus are not explicitly called brothers until P. *N*. 5. 12; cf. Ba. 13. 96–9, for the same pre–480 BC victory.

[60] Furthest from the story in the *Alkmaionis* is the report of the schol. at *Il*. 15. 14 which speaks of an accidental killing in connection with the Kalydonian boar hunt as the cause of Telamon's exile. It may be that the *Alkmaionis* showed killers who acted at their mother's instigation, in contrast to Alkmaion's deed; cf. later accounts reported by Pausanias (2. 29. 9).

[61] Only at Apollod. 2. 12.6, 11 does Telamon perform the chief role.

depart at once into their necessary exiles. The storytellers send Peleus to the north in accordance with his epic reputation, Telamon to Salamis so that Ajax may enjoy a nearby birthplace.[62]

In a sense Ajax himself was likewise an easy hero to claim, for Homer had given him neither host nor homeland.[63] He had no known grandfather, nor any named ancestors, and even his patronymic had a certain openness, since Ajax Telamonios might indicate 'Ajax the Protector' as strongly as it did 'Son of Telamon'.[64] Hesiod had given him Herakles as a kind of godfather (*Cat*. 250 MW), thus increasing his separation from ordinary epic genealogy, and meanwhile his association with Salamis was not necessarily exclusive. He had an ancient hero-cult there,[65] which suggests a tradition of his death on that island, but this did not rule out an association with Aigina. Even Hesiod's inclusion of Aigina among the cities from whom the 'blameless warrior from Salamis' had taken cattle could be explained away (*Cat*. 204. 44–51 MW), though of course as the son of an exile he could not, any more than Achilles, be introduced directly into island legend. Like the son of Peleus, Ajax had to remain at a distance, exercising the more general functions of protection and rescue that belonged to his oldest pre-epic manifiestations.[66]

As a result of this slow process of mythic patchwork the nobles of Aigina could appear, at the beginning of the fifth century, in a fictive garment that made them spiritual heirs to Homer's most notorious heroes. Zeus had given the Aiakids a special grant of defensive courage (*ἀλκά*, *Cat*. 203.1) and this they employed, even as they passed it on, in behalf of the present-day nobles of Aigina.[67] It was the strengthening immanence of this quality that

[62] Huxley (1964) 53 supposes that the story of Telamon's plea of innocence before Aiakos (Paus. 2. 29. 10) was told in the *Alkmaionis*, but it seems unlikely that he and Peleus were so extensively treated in that poem. His mole and the delta where Alkmaion settled both reflect the fairy-tale motif of banishment until a marvel occurs (Stith Thompson *Motif Index* Q 431.4) but the rationalism of the first, with its justice-dispensing Aiakos, marks it as probably much later.

[63] Ajax was Salaminian only at *Il*. 2. 557–8 and 7. 199, both generally thought interpolations, though Hope Simpson and Lagenby (1970) 50–60 accepted the passage from the *Catalogue*.

[64] Von der Mühll (1930) 34–5, citing Bethe, *Homer* iii. 120–1.

[65] Ferguson (1938) 17.

[66] Von der Mühll (1930) 22–4.

[67] Some have thought that the entire free population of Aigina might be called Aiakids (e.g. Nagy (1990) 178 n. 136); Slater (1969) s.v. *Αἰακίδας* c. offers eleven presumed examples, but most of these seem to refer to the mythic Aiakids as they continue to inhabit the island, not to the actual population.

Pindar described when he imagined the island as encircled with Aiakid powers ready to hear its songs (*N*. 4. 44–56):

> Weave now sweet lyre this present song!
> Mix in a Lydian harmony, making it
> dear to Oinona and far-away Kypros where
> Teukros, Telamon's son, holds sway while
> Ajax keeps Salamis as his paternal realm and,
> off in the Euxine, Achilles inhabits his
> radiant isle; Thetis holds power in Phthia,
> Neoptolemos out on the vast headland
> where cattle-rich heights stretch
> down from Dodona towards the Ionian strait. At
> Pelion's foot lies Iolkos, city enslaved
> and consigned to Thessalian rule by
> Peleus' warlike hand . . .

The lords of Aigina did not, as far as we know, seek control over any of these places,[68] nor is there evidence that they pretended to blood descent from the Aiakids.[69] Athenian families had already monopolized the sons of Ajax,[70] so this would have been plausible only through Molossos, the half-Trojan son of Neoptolemos,[71] through a lost daughter of Peleus, or some offspring of Teucer.[72] The Dorian nobles of Aigina, unlike the Salaminioi or the Philiads, had no apparent wish to occupy Salamis and when they sang Telamon and Ajax their boast was simply that their own island was strengthened in all its enterprises by the direct engagement of Aiakid heroes who were their symbolic ancestors. What was more, this magical aid could be manipulated, for it was lodged in cult figures that were kept in

[68] Prinz (1979) 46–7 supposes that the absorption of Telamon/Ajax into the Aiakid line began on Salamis, sometime between 650 and 600 BC, inspired by the Megarian resistance to Athenian control of the island.

[69] See Zunker (1988) 36 and n. 175; for an admittedly hard to prove assertion of an aristocratic claim of descent from Aiakos, see Nagy (1990) 175–81.

[70] Athenian Salaminioi, Plut. *Sol*. 10. 3; Paus. 1. 35. 2; Philiadai, Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F2; Hdt. 6. 35; the Kleisthenic Aiantes came later. See Ferguson (1938) 16–17; Davies (1971) 294–312; Thomas (1989) 161–72; Parker (1996) 316.

[71] Note E. *Androm*. 1246–7. At a later date Epirotes in need of ancestors would discover two more sons of Neoptolemos and Andromache, Pielos and Pergamos (Paus. 1. 11. 1).

[72] Certain families in Paionia and around the Strymon claimed descent from Teucer, who was supposed to have passed through the area on his return from the first attack on Troy (Hdt. 7. 75. 2). For a genealogy that worked through Polydora, a daughter of Peleus, see Pherekydes *FHG* F 61.

the Aiakeion as the island's most sacred possessions. These were familiarly called 'the Aiakids', but how many they were, whether of wood or of terracotta, whether aniconic or iconic, relics or figurines, there is no way to know, nor is there a clue as to what became of them after the Athenian occupation. It is usually assumed that they represented Aiakos and Phokos, perhaps also Peleus and Achilles,[73] but the only certainty is that they were the magical implements by which the supernatural power that supported the rulers of Aigina could be manipulated.

These totem 'Aiakids' make their first appearance in a Herodotean story (5. 79–81), a tale that may contain no literal truth and one that at any rate carries an anti-Aiginetan perfume,[74] but which nevertheless shows how outsiders understood the game of mythic genealogies as played by the nobles of Aigina. In the final years of the sixth century, says the historian, a call was made from Thebes to Aigina, asking support against aggressions from Athens. The plea was framed as coming from one daughter of Asopos to another, but in honour of their sisterly connection the arrogant seamen of Aigina sent nothing but 'the Aiakids', whatever exactly they were. Despite having these cult objects with them, the Thebans were trounced, and the anecdote ends when 'the Aiakids' are sent back with a message saying that not objects but 'men' were required. As it stands, this is a story about a city 'swollen with prosperity' and ready to risk sacred images, but not real warriors, where its own interests are not

[73] See above, n. 43. Presumably for Herodotos these were the same images representing 'Aiakos and the other Aiakids' (Phokos and Peleus?) that were later sent to Salamis to join images of Telamon and Ajax (8. 64 and 83). Bury (1965*a*) xviii spoke of 'wooden xoana, very rudely fashioned', but did not suggest any identification; Von der Mühll (1930) 23 supposed *agalmata* representing an anonymous Aiginetan pair that balanced the Salaminian pair. How and Wells (1912) ad Hdt. 5. 80, spoke of 'images of Aeacus and his sons', among whom they included Telamon and Ajax, then later (ad 8. 64) they admitted a certain confusion: 'Apparently only Aeacus and Phokos were regarded in legend as inhabitants of Aegina, and possibly the images are of these two heroes, but their descendants in Thessaly (Peleus, etc.) and Phokis (Paus. 2. 29. 2) would have a share in their honors.' Walter (1993) 177 asserts that they were 'grosse Tonidole wie die späte Bronsezeit kannte', without offering evidence or speculation as to their identification. Nagy (1990) 177 suggests that what went to Thebes were bones of Aiakos and Phokos, 'possibly accompanied by living representatives of current lineage' (which would rather spoil the punch-line of the story).

[74] Pace Figueira (1993) 55 who holds that Herodotos' informants were 'members of the Aiginetan ruling class'. The historian's anti-Aiginetan stance is also evident in his account of events after Plataia (9. 78–80).

involved. Nevertheless, it also reflects the positive self-definition of Aiginetan nobles at the commencement of their Undeclared War with Athens, for their gesture carries this overt sense: 'The hero Aiakos and his heroic offspring are ours to deploy as we please!' To which the Athenians respond, ostensibly on the advice of Delphi, by setting up a precinct in the Agora for that same Aiakos,[75] and dreaming of an eventual conquest of Aigina.[76]

[75] Sokolowski (1962) 49–54, no. 19 + *IG*² 2. 1232. Kearns (1989) 47 suggests that this shrine was modelled after the Aiakeion on Aigina.

[76] Hdt. 5. 79. 1–89. 3; but note How and Wells ad loc. who are certain that before Marathon no thought of conquering Aigina could have been entertained at Athens.

2. The Pediments of the Aphaia Temple

Herodotos' anecdote about the Aiakid relics would not have survived if it had not seemed to embody a kind of truth. Clearly his listeners believed that Aiginetans were the sort of men who would put sacred figures onto a ship and send them to Thebes in an act of mythic manipulation that was grandiose, arrogant, and anti-Athenian.[1] And in fact the lords of Aigina soon did engage in another such exercise, though this time the exploited Aiakids were not small cult statues but enormous pieces of sculpture, and they were not sent abroad but conspicuously hoisted up during the construction of an imposing local building. This was the new temple of Aphaia,[2] put up in the 490s[3] at the north-eastern tip of the island, on the site of an older temple that had burnt *c.*500 BC. The site had been sacred even before the fall of Mykenai,[4] and it belonged to a goddess associated with the Kretan Britomartis or Diktynna, though her cult was peculiar to Aigina.[5] Like Phokos,

[1] The story belongs to the general type in which statues move (though in this case the move is neither independent nor effective); Hdt. 5. 82 ff. associates it with the Aiginetan tale of the cult-figures of Damia and Auxesia, which fell to their knees and remained fixed, like the relics of many medieval saints, when the Athenians tried to repossess them.

[2] The name Aphaia is fixed by a 6th-cent. inscription (*IG* 4. 1580 +) that records the establishment of an *oikos* and altar with the re-establishment of an ivory cult figure of the goddess; Furtwängler (1902) 252–8; Williams (1982) 55–68 and *LIMC* s.v. Aphaia 876 ff. A few scholars rejected his identification of the temple's divinity; for bibliography see Sinn (1987) 165.

[3] This is now the majority opinion; see Williams (1987) 629–74; Johnston (1990) 37–64 reports amphorae from terrace fill contemporary with pieces from the Miletos destruction layer dated 494 BC, also pieces associated with Persian destruction at Athens. Bailey (1991) 31–68 finds the lamps consistent with a date before 480; Bankel (1993) 169 puts the building in the 490s, with revision of the pediments finished before 480 BC. For an alternate dating based on the Francis/Vickers chronology, see Gill (1988) 169–77 and (1993) 173–9, who puts the new temple's inception after 480, perhaps even in the 460s.

[4] Furtwängler (1906) 1 ff.; Reinach (1908) 442–55; Nilsson (1950) 305, 471 ff. Continuous cult activity from the 12th cent. BC is asserted by Coldstream (1977) 331–3, denied by Snodgrass (1971) 397.

[5] Pausanias associated Aphaia with Diktynna (22. 30. 3); he identified a Spartan Artemis Aiginaia as, not Artemis, but the Kretan Britomartis, the same as the goddess on Aigina (3. 14. 2); and he found a cult statue of Artemis

Aphaia represented a combination of land and sea, being both nymph and naiad, and as divine inventor of the net she was a patron divinity of fishermen.[6] She was close to Artemis and perhaps to Hekate,[7] and votive figurines from her temple prove that, like her Olympian doublet, she was a virgin protector of children (*κουροτρόφος*).[8] Her Aiginetan name, A-phaia, was explained by tales in which she suddenly became invisible, to reappear elsewhere (Paus. 2. 30. 3), and there were stories in which she was pursued by a semi-monstrous creature, jumped into the water, then surfaced near Aigina, caught in a fishnet (Ant. Lib. 40).[9] She was thus like Dionysos, a marvel taken up from the sea, while her net signified her availability: in time of need, men could draw her power towards themselves and it would be a rewarding haul.

The virginal escape of Aphaia, her dive,[10] her mythic function as rescued and rescuer, her association with madness (Eur. *Hipp*. 145), and her precinct on the promontory furthest from the city all suggest that Aphaia was essential to Aiginetan initiation ceremonies. Certainly those who planned her new temple provided what seems to have been a banquet-hall,[11] in the Propylon

Diktynaia in Phokis, said to be of Aiginetan work (10. 36. 5). Some modern scholars follow Strabo 479 and suppose that the Aphaia cult was imported from Krete, others believe that it originated on Aigina and was exported; see E. Maas (1923) 175–86, a commentary on a Hellenistic hymn, *P. Oxy*. IV (1904) no. 661. Williams *LIMC* s.v. Aphaia 876 f. concludes, 'nothing is known of her cult and nothing of her real character at any period.'

[6] Diod. Sic. 5. 76; cf. Ar. *V*. 369.

[7] The marble cult statue, *c*.500 BC, found to the north of the temple (Nat. Mus. Athens 4500; *LIMC* s.v. Aphaia 877) seems to have represented Aphaia as a huntress, spear in right hand, torch in left, though Ohly (1976) 53–4 suggested that this was a figure of Athena. Ant. Lib 40 reported a xoanon of Aphaia in the Aiginetan temple, and E. Maas (1923) 183 supposed this to have been of the type that is bound or wrapped in a net. For a Hekate connection see Eur. *Hipp*.146, 1129 and schol; Steph. Byz. s.v. Aphaia. Aigina was later famous for its Hekate mysteries (Luk. *Nav*. 15).

[8] Furtwängler (1906) 471, 'ein Göttin . . . welche das weibliche Geschlecht . . . Geburt u. Pflege der kleinen Kinder in Schutz nahm'; see also Hadzisteliou-Price (1978) 122; Sinn (1988) 150–2 and fig. 4.

[9] For the leap of Diktynna–Britomartis, pursued by Minos, see Call. *Dian*. 190–200; for transformation, schol. Ar. *Ran*. 1356.

[10] On the ritual dive, Wide (1898) 13 ff.; further bibliography cited in Burnett (1985) 168 nn. 39–41.

[11] Ohly (1976) 32 and n. 29 called this building 'Priester und Verwaltungshaus', but Sinn (1987) 140 and (1988) 154–7, taking Aphaia as an initiation goddess, considers it a location for ' Stammesgemeinschaften'.

to the east, and also a broad terrace suitable for dancing and other ceremonies. Among the remains, moreover, are votive masks and more than a hundred hair-clasps evidently designed for initiatory hair-offerings.[12] If Aphaia dominated the rites in which young aristocrats marked their advance from boy, to beardless (*ἀγένειος*, in the language of the games), and then to man, it is easy to understand why Pindar was asked to make a hymn to be performed at her temple (Paus. 2. 30. 31).[13] It is also less odd that so many of the temple's pedimental warriors are shown as smooth-faced youths in athletic postures, with pubic hair carefully delineated. And finally, if this is where membership in one or another of the ruling tribes was confirmed, the reason for the cessation of cult activities, when the island came under Athenian rule, becomes obvious.

The decentralized Aphaia cult was at any rate central to the concerns of the rulers of Aigina, and those who held power in the 490s decided to replace the sixth-century temple with a new hall on a more monumental scale. The terrace was enlarged and strengthened and on it was placed a vast Doric peristyle building, its two façades carrying pediments filled with painted sculpture and topped with akroteria. Who will have been in control of such a project? At Delphi some years earlier, it was the Amphiktyons who had hired the Alkmaionids to oversee the building of Apollo's temple (supervisors clever enough to make a profit even as they improved on the selected model, Hdt. 5. 62; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19). And at Athens the building of the Parthenon would be directed by a civil commission who hired architects and sculptors, in the beginning using money from the annual tribute.[14] We know nothing about the priests or priestesses who served Aphaia here on Aigina,[15] but judging from the island cult of Apollo, the physical shrine was probably under the

[12] Masks, Furtwängler (1906) 382; hair clasps, Sinn (1987) 139–40; see also de Polignac (1995) 3. On adolescent hair-offerings to a kourotrophic deity, see Leitao (2003) 112–13.

[13] It sounds as if priests told visitors 'Pindar performed here', perhaps on the basis of an inscription; Ohly (1976) 41 nn. 22, 23; 45 n.32 compares the inscription in the temple of Athena Lindia on Rhodes; Nagy (1990) 175, cf. 162 points to the inscription of Hipparkhos' poetry at Athens. There is no reference to Aphaia in Pindar's surviving works.

[14] Dinsmoor (1913) 53–80.

[15] For what may be the remains of the priest's house see D. Brown (2001) 3.

supervision of a traditional college drawn from certain noble families.[16] This group will have approved the original scheme of rebuilding, will have accepted an architect's initial model, with its proposed pedimental subjects, and will perhaps then have turned the work over to a building commission or to hired contractors. The expense of the project can hardly have been covered from the temple treasury, however, so these men must have been drawing upon their own wealth, while they also sought contributions from other individuals, households, and tribes.[17]

The question of who was in control of the Aphaia project is particularly vivid because someone decided to alter the chosen system of decoration, just as the temple reached completion. Building had gone on for about a decade, the roof was in place and the east façade was complete, the other very nearly so, when the recently positioned pedimental sculptures were taken down and replaced by two entirely different groups, first on the west and then on the east (see pp. 36, 37, Figures 1 and 2). There is no evidence of natural disaster or of violent destruction of any sort,[18] and the demoted figures were set up in a conspicuous place of honour in the eastern forecourt.[19] They belonged to scenes much favoured on the island—Zeus as he carried off Aigina, and Telamon and Herakles in battle with the Amazons—

[16] Bury and others have thought that the *θεάριον* mentioned at P. *N*. 3. 70 indicates a building used by such a college (see below, Ch. 9 nn. 13, 14); Race (1997) i. 29 n.3 supposes with less probability that it belonged to delegations sent to Delphi with the island's Pythian contenders.

[17] For parallels from Athens, Tanagra, and Epidauros, see Burford (1965) 21–36. Williams (1987) 673 suggests that money from the raids on Attika in the early 490s could have been used.

[18] Lightning, suggested by Welter (1938*b*), like fire or earthquake would have left some signs, as would destruction by attacking rebels under Nikodemos, as suggested by Figueira (1993) 39, following Thiersch. Furtwängler (1906) imagined a contest, the rejected figures the work of the runner-up, while Ridgway (1970) 13ff. supposes that the original East Pediment figures, of wood with bronze fittings, suffered from weather, but Ohly's survey of all the remains (1976) 15, does not support any of these notions . He dated the West Pediment replacements *c*.490 BC, those on the East *c*.480 or 475; Martini (1990) 246 dates both replacements 'nach 480'; Boardman *LIMC* s.v. Herakles 2792 dates the renewed East Pediment 490–480; Stewart (1990) 138 like Ohly puts the West Pediment replacements *c*.490, the East *c*.480.

[19] Ohly's 'Nymphengruppe' and 'Kriegergruppe' (1976: xiv); cf. Williams (1987) 668. These subjects were already to be seen on the Apollo temple, finished *c*.510 BC; see Walter (1993) 45 and figs. 42, 43. It may be noted that Bankel (1993) supposes that only the figures from the East Pediment were taken down.

but they were nonetheless taken down and replaced by twenty-two warriors and two central goddess figures. It was a superfluous and expensive[20] gesture made in stone, and it must have aroused some resistance, but the building's supervisors evidently believed that the second pair of pediments made a symbolic statement so necessary that cost should be forgotten.

Any consideration of the Aphaia pediments must depend almost entirely on the work of D. Ohly, who liberated the Munich pieces from their smug Thorwaldsen reconstructions, combined them with other fragments, and placed them according to the beddings cut in the surviving plinths.[21] Unfortunately, Ohly's work was interrupted by his death, and we have his full conclusions only for the later East Pediment which decorates the temple's principal façade. Nevertheless, the positions of all the figures are now fixed and the subjective work of identification and interpretation can continue, though not without some uncertainty. To begin with, both compositions were centred on an unexpected deity, for Athena stood at the apex of each. Her temenos was on the other side of the island, next to that of Apollo,[22] and neither in cult nor in myth has she any connection with Aphaia. What is more, she has taken over the place that was most probably held, in the first compositions, by two favourite masculine powers. Zeus, the father of Aiakos, will have dominated the ravishing of Aigina, frightening the fleeing sisters who were part of the group,[23] while in the scene from the Amazon battle Herakles will have taken the central place as he did in vase paintings.[24] The new pedimental schemes thus dared to replace the ruler of the gods and Alkmena's son with Athena twice-over, while suggesting a congruity between Zeus' daughter and the

[20] If slave labour was used, as it was at Akragas (Diod. 13.82–4), the expense may not have been as great as comparisons would suggest.

[21] Ohly (1976), (1978), (1986); for a summary of his achievement see the review of *Ostgiebelgruppe* by M. Robertson (1978).

[22] On one of a set of sixth-cent. *horos* stones a boundary between cult-spaces of Apollo and Athena is marked, but since these have been reused the location of Athena's precinct remains unknown (Goethe, lecture, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 28 Sept 1999).

[23] As shown by surviving fragments; see Delivorrias (1974) 181; Ohly (1976) xiv; Walter-Karydi (1987) 136 fig. 211. This identification is marked as questionable at *LIMC* s.v. Aigina 370.

[24] See however Walter (1993) 48 fig. 42, who supposes a central Athena for the Amazon battle of the east pediment of the Apollo temple.

ancient fish-net goddess to whom the great temple belonged. Aphaia was presumably still represented by her cult figure in the cella below,[25] and it was to her that worshippers would pray, but outdoors two monumental Athenas now presided over a brace of almost identical battle compositions.

The West Pediment (Fig. 2) was the first to have its figures replaced (perhaps because its original sculptures had not yet all been mounted), and here the goddess so strongly associated with Athens was made to stand in columnar serenity, supporting her heavy shield and smiling, her lips and eyebrows painted. Warriors fought and fell, six on either side, seemingly unaware of her. The design established by these thirteen figures is conventionally archaic, their postures and shields easily matched with compositions from contemporary black-figure pottery. And as examples of sculpture they belong to the final moments of the ripe archaic style, their closest parallel found in pieces from the Apollo Daphnephoros temple in Eretria, which was destroyed *c*.490 BC.[26] At the other, eastern end of the building, however, in the sculptural group set up just a few years later, there is a shift in style and scale as eleven instead of thirteen figures fill the triangle and the design takes on an increased tension (Fig. 1).[27] Athena occupies precisely the same architectural space, but here her dominance extends into the furthest corners of the composition as, with feet separated, she flings out an arm to display the magical aegis.[28] Because of her suggested movement, all ten of the battling figures on either side seem to draw their dynamism (or their deaths) from her. And here on the East Pediment, though some of the same hands were at work in cutting the stone, the goddess and the warriors provide the earliest known expression of the new 'severe style'.

[25] Ohly (1977) 40 n.19 suggested that the sixth cent. ivory cult statue mentioned in *IG* 4. 1580+ had stood in the north-west corner of the cella of the late archaic temple.

[26] Williams (1987) 629–80

[27] Stewart (1990) 138 describes the two schemes as 'flat-patterned in a series of outward-falling diagonals on the west, three-dimensional and interlocked on the east'. He sees this as 'calculating one-upmanship' on the part of a 'master of East II' who 'simply waited' in order to trump his colleague. Ohly (1976) 105 nevertheless found some of the same hands at work on both pediments.

[28] Whether in protection (so *LIMC* s.v. Telamon) or as a threat, no one can be sure. In the *Iliad* the aegis, like divine power in general, is ambivalent, sometimes favouring friends (as at 18. 203–4), sometimes causing panic and destruction among enemies (as at 15. 230); see the detailed discussion of Walter-Karydi (1987) 136–7.

In general arrangement the two compositions are almost identical—the same pairs of circular shields on either side of the goddess, the same pairs of lateral archer figures (though with positions slightly altered), and the same reclining corpses in the corners. Such large congruence supports the usually accepted identification of the two scenes as the two battles at Troy,[29] and confirmation exists in two of the figures. On the (earlier) West Pediment the warrior to Athena's right (W.viii, Fig. 2) was identified as Ajax by an eagle once painted on his shield,[30] making this necessarily the attack on Priam's Troy. And meanwhile on the (later) East side, the archer who wears a lion-form helmet (E.v, Fig. 1) is plainly a youthful Herakles, whose revenge upon the ungrateful Laomedon (*Il.* 5. 640–2) was his one conventional battle. From these two recognitions others follow. On the West Pediment, the warrior (W.ix, Fig. 2) who faces Ajax will most probably be Hektor,[31] while the archer in Oriental costume (W.x, Fig. 2) who kneels to Hektor's back may possibly be Paris,[32] allied with a second Trojan (W.xi, Fig. 2) as the two destroy the pair of Greeks who collapse in the far corner (W.xii and xiii, Fig. 2). On Athena's left the symmetrical bowman (W.iv, Fig. 2) is probably Teukros who, with a comrade (W.v, Fig. 2), dispatches a pair of Trojans (W.vi and vii, Fig. 2) whose fallen bodies balance the dying Greeks in the opposite angle.

[29] On the pairing of the two Trojan campaigns see Anderson (1997) 42. In recent years the only serious dissent from this identification has come from Sinn (1987) 145–7, 156–8 who argues that the usual reconstruction of the West Pediment is un-Homeric in its exaltation of Ajax, that Ajax cannot be placed in close contiguity with Athena, that a glorification of Aiakids would be bound to make Zeus, not Athena, its centre. Since all Aiginetan Aiakid legends were extra-Homeric, while the motif of Athena/Ajax enmity exists at this time only in rare red-figure scenes of the vote that bestowed Achilles' arms, these objections fall, especially in the light of the alternative subject proposed, the Coming of the Heraklids, led by Hyllos and Herakles (in battle against whom?)

[30] Ohly believed that all the figures had painted attributes or inscriptions; his identifications are slightly revised by Zunker (1988) 194–5 and summarized by Knell (1990) 66–78.

[31] As at P. *N.* 2. 14; see Sotirou (2000) 134–8 who cites *Il.* 7. 216; 14. 409–12; 17. 279; *Od.* 11. 550. Ajax and Hektor appeared on the Chest of Kypselos with an Eris figure between them (Paus. 5. 19. 2); see *LIMC* s.v. Aias I for early vase-painting representations and note in particular no. 46, Attic black-figure amphora of the Leagros group (Munich 1408 = *ABV* 368.106) where an archer in eastern costume kneels just behind the labelled Ajax figure; also no. 37, red-figure cup by Douris, *c.*480 BC (Louvre G 115 = *ARV*[2] 437. 74), where a gigantic Hektor falls backwards before an oncoming Ajax.

[32] So E. Petersen, as reported by Ohly (1976) 65.

Figure 1. Aphaia Temple. East Pediment. First Trojan Campaign

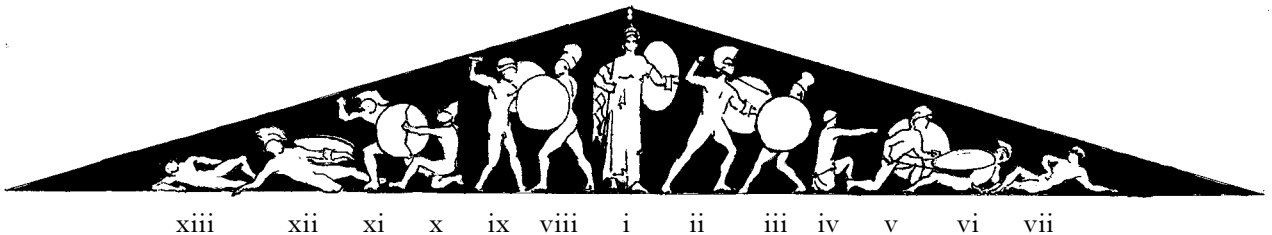

Figure 2. Aphaia Temple. West Pediment. Second Trojan Campaign

Going round to the East Pediment, one works from the archer, a beardless Herakles (E.v, Fig. 1). The magnificent bearded warrior (E.xi, Fig. 1) in the opposite extreme angle must be Laomedon, struck by a vengeful arrow that has flown from the hero's bow and passed just under Athena's nose. And the unarmed youth (E.iv, Fig. 1) who stands so close as almost to touch the hero's flank must be his favourite, Iolaos,[33] while the boy with pretty metallic curls (E.vi, Fig. 1) who expires just behind him will also be of his party. Iolaos is rushing forward with a helmet for the warrior in front of him (E.iii, Fig. 1),[34] who is clearly a friend and most probably Telamon, the traditional ally of Herakles in the campaign against the Amazons (Hes. fr. 278 Rz.).[35] This gives a cluster of four Greeks at this side of the goddess, balancing the four Trojans on her other side.

This description leaves one major Greek warrior on each façade without identification, but names are not hard to find. If the temple supervisors asked that, on the West Pediment, an Ajax should stand on Athena's right, then it is almost a certainty that they requested a balancing Achilles to her left (W.ii, Fig. 2), engaged perhaps with Memnon (W. iii, Fig. 2).[36] The two Aiakid princes of the second generation were similarly coupled in the popular song that hailed 'Bold Ajax, son of Telamon, next to Achilles best of all the Greeks that went to Troy!'[37] Closer to home Bakchylides, in an ode for a young Aiginetan, describes Ajax at the ships, then joins him with Achilles, making them a

[33] Cf. P. *N*. 3. 36–7 where Telamon is the 'flanking comrade of Iolaos' when Laomedon is killed; more generally on Iolaos as figuring the initiate, see Sergent (1984) 171–82.

[34] Something is held in the palm of his nearly open right hand; Ohly (1976) 56–7, figs. 48–51, 62 and n.7, supplied a helmet; M. Robertson (1978) assents; Knell (1990) 74 reports only that this figure comes to help the man in front of him.

[35] At Hes. fr. 278 Rz. Telamon draws first blood against the Amazons, killing Melanippe. For numerous red-figure representations of Telamon as a bearded hoplite fighting along with a central Herakles who carries a club, see *LIMC* s.v. Telamon nos. 3–9. A warrior figure from the West Pediment of the late sixth-cent. temple of Apollo on Kolonna is identified as Telamon; see Walter (1993) 45.

[36] Memnon was Achilles' opponent on the throne of Amyklai (Paus. 3. 18. 7), the chest of Kypselos (Paus. 5. 19. 1), the east frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi, five Korinthian vases from 580–530 BC, and a long series of Attic black- and red-figure vases; see *LIMC* s.v. Memnon. Aineias would be a less probable opponent.

[37] The so-called 'Telamon catch' (Athen. 15. 50) referred to at Ar. *Lys*. 1237.

pair of 'Aiakid destroyers of defence-towers' who will make Skamandros run purple with Trojan blood (Ba. 13. 164–6). Achilles will dominate the right side of the composition as Ajax does the left, the thrust of his attack continued in the arrow that the archer (W.iv, Fig. 2, possibly Teukros) sends into the furthest angle where dying Trojans lie (W.vi and vii, Fig. 2). In the same way, if, for the East Pediment, the temple officials chose the 'Aiginetan' Telamon as a major contestant (E.iii, Fig. 1), then there is reason to think they would have wanted his brother Peleus to be present also, in the dominating figure (E.vii, Fig. 1) just to Athena's right.[38] This is the first known representation of the war against Laomedon,[39] but a Pindaric ode from the 480s proves that post-Homeric versions of the story were current (*I.* 6. 26–54); at mid-century Sophokles will assume that his audience knows just how the Salaminian won Hesione (*Ajax* 1300 and 434 + schol.), and Hellanikos will then take Telamon's participation for granted.[40] As for Peleus, he too would make his first Trojan appearance here, though Pindar again corroborates (fr. 155B=172S),[41] and before many decades have passed Euripides' Thetis will refer easily to the bloody work that Peleus shared with Herakles at Ilium (Eur. *Androm.* 796).[42]

It should be noted, however, that the aggressive opponent (E.ii, Fig. 1) who has Telamon in difficulties can hardly be Priam, though he is often so named.[43] There are no early accounts of this campaign, any more than there are visual representations, but, like their successors, archaic storytellers had to

[38] At Soph. *Ajax* 437–8 Ajax twins the two campaigns, comparing his own deeds done 'in the same place' with those of his father.

[39] Ohly (1976) 64 n.11 quotes a letter from M. Robinson: 'Yes, it's strange the Trojan expedition of Herakles and Telamon is so rare. I certainly don't know any picture on a vase.' Vian (1945) 5–32 notes six black-figure scenes in which Herakles, armed with a club, pounces on one or two hoplites, as possible but doubtful representations. Even the attractive motif of the rescue of Hesione makes only 'occasional' archaic appearances (*LIMC* s.v. Herakles p. 112).

[40] Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F26b has Telamon first through the wall and into the city; cf. Xen. *Kyneg.* 1. 9; Arist. *Rhet.* 3. 15; Diod. 4. 32 and 49; Apollod 2. 6. 4; 3. 12. 7.

[41] Note the plurality of sons of Aiakos who follow Herakles at P. *I.* 5. 36.

[42] The schol. at Eur. *Androm.* 796 treats this as a Pindaric innovation: 'Many say that Telamon accompanied Herakles, and Pindar [fr. 155] adds Peleus.'

[43] So identified by Ohly (1976) 84–5, cf. 64, and explicitly approved by Robertson (1978) 209; cf. Knell (1990) 73. Others have taken this figure to be either Peleus or Telamon; see F. Canciani *LIMC* s.v. Telamon no. 17.

be able to explain why the victorious Greeks, who killed all the other royal sons, spared Priam. And in later times, at any rate, the reasons given all depended on Priam's extreme youth: either he was an honourable child who urged his father not to fight but to give up the promised mares,[44] or else he was a mere babe (*infans*, Hyg. *Fab*. 89) at the time of the attack. Some (Apollodorus 2. 6. 4) even said that his name came from Hesione's act of ransoming (*πρίαμαι*) her little brother from slavery, though Seneca let him, *parvus* and *puer*, save his own life by weeping infant tears before a merciful Greek hero (*Troades* 718).[45] In extreme contrast to all this, the East gable figure (E.ii, Fig. 1) is a powerful striding hoplite whose spear has caused Telamon (E. iii, Fig. 1) to stagger, and it is inconceivable that any story-teller could have let such a one survive the Heraklean vengeance. Telamon's opponent must be another of Laomedon's sons—one who will lie dead when this battle is done.

The assertiveness of the East Pediment's picture of Aiakids at the first taking of Troy is made the more brash by the secondary position in which Herakles appears. In Tlepolemos' epic boast, the attack on Laomedon was his lion-hearted father's own act of retaliation, and Sarpedon views it as a kind of single combat between the Greek hero and the Trojan king (*Il*. 5. 639–51). The story was then attached to that of the Argo, with the liberation of Hesione and her consignment to Telamon added to sweeten the bloody repayment, but it was always an example of Herakles' violent justice.[46] The battle does not appear on vases, but scenes from the parallel Amazon campaign fix a standard iconography for a Herakles in battle: he always engages an enemy directly, ever at the centre of the composition, ever bearded and wearing full lion skin, ever brandishing either sword or club.[47] All of

[44] Diod. Sic. 4. 32 and 49. 3–6.

[45] Three Roman paintings show an 8- or 10-year-old boy, sometimes in the presence of Hesione, reaching beseechingly towards a seated Herakles who may put a little Phrygian cap on his head (*LIMC* s.v. Priam nos. 2–4).

[46] When Herakles resents the forwardness of Telamon in the actual seige, the result is an altar to Herakles Kallinikos (Hellanikos *FHG* 1 64); for the expanded story, see Diod. 4. 32; Apollod. 2.6.4; 3.12.7, and for Hesione, Soph. *Ajax* 1300, cf. 434 and schol; Xen. *Kyneg*. 1. 9; Arist. *Rhet*. 3. 15.

[47] Compare the Herakles figure from one of the pediments of the old Apollo temple, *c*.570–60 BC, who is centred, kneeling, with club; Walter-Karydi (1987) 129–49; Walter (1993) 45 fig. 34. In vase-paintings Telamon may rise to a kind of equality, his body crossed with that of Herakles, and on the West Pediment of

which is directly contradicted here on the East Pediment, where a smooth-faced bowman crouches to one side, wearing a minimal lion-form helmet, and sending an arrow from a distance while his fellows confront their enemies directly. His aspect is so unprecedented[48] that some have refused to call him Herakles,[49] but this helmet can belong to no one else. His displacement, indeed, serves to emphasize the grand purpose of a pedimental design that puts youthful Aiakids in positions of leadership, while their legendary hero-commander is recast as a kind of older brother. As if in compensation, however, the actual victory remains with Herakles, for Laomedon lies opposite, already stricken by an arrow from his not quite martial bow.[50]

Athenians would tell of ghostly aid from Alkmena's son on the beach at Marathon, but the East Pediment of the Aphaia temple makes this hero a flesh and blood ally of Aigina's fighting Aiakids. What is more, with Herakles involved, aigis-bearing Athena can stand quite naturally at the apex of this second design, for although no known tradition associated her directly with the revenge against Laomedon, she had given aid in the preliminary section of this tale, the rescue of Hesione (*Il.* 20. 146–8). Because of Herakles, then, the two pediments can offer their two battles in almost exact responsion. They announce that Aigina has twice led Greeks against Troy, the barbarian enemy of all Hellas, and that her power stems from a glorious alliance between the descendants of Aiakos, their patron Herakles, and the goddess Athena.[51]

As to the immediate conditions that inspired this monumental gesture, one can only speculate. At the time of the change the

the second Apollo temple, *c.*500 BC, the two may have stood back to back, separated by Athena as they battled Amazons (Walter (1993) 48–9), but nowhere else does Telamon take the superior position.

[48] Ohly (1976) 84 n.12 called the placement 'daring.' In appearing as a warrior instead of the usual hunter/ adventurer, the Herakles of the East Pediment conforms to a Lakonian type.

[49] Sinn (1987) 154–58 played with the idea that this might be Hyllos or an ephebic Herakles; C. M. Robertson (1975) 166 identified the figure as Paris, taking the subject to be the death of Achilles.

[50] According to Isokrates (5. 111–12) Herakles achieved in a few days, alone, what it took all Greece ten years to do; this made him a model for the king-killer who might unite all Greeks against barbarians.

[51] Williams (1987) 673 speaks of 'a counter-blow in the propaganda war with Athens . . . trumpeting Aigina's Aiakid heroes'.

original pedimental pieces were already in place (the West not quite complete), so the new resolve must have come about ten years after the building's inception. And since the later of the two new sets of sculptures was completed round about 480 BC, the earlier must have been begun by the middle of the 490–480 decade.[52] The decision to replace the original pieces with others more telling must, in other words, have come either just before or just after Marathon and it is tempting to look for a particular event that might have inspired it. In 491 BC Aigina's friendly reception of the Persian emissaries had brought the Spartan king, Kleomenes, to the island to take hostages against any possible collaboration (Hdt. 6. 50).[53] Led by Krios,[54] the local oligarchs resisted, and for a time they were backed by the second Spartan king, but Demaretos was deposed, and in the following year two unfriendly kings returned and enforced their demand (Hdt. 6. 73).[55] Ten Aiginetan aristocrats, 'those most prominent for wealth and family', were taken away along with (including?) their unofficial leaders, Krios and Kasambos, to be placed with certain Athenian families. After Marathon, an attempt to secure the return of these hostages failed, but then the Aiginetans captured an Athenian ship carrying a sacred embassy (Hdt. 6. 87), perhaps in the spring of 489 when the sailing season had reopened,[56] and this gave the islanders a balancing group of

[52] Stewart (1990) 138 treats the 'decision' and the 'revision' as if they were simultaneous, seeming to prefer a time after 480 BC, while Williams (1987) points to the prosperous early or mid-490s as 'an excellent moment'.

[53] Probably Aigina was a member of the Peloponnesian League; see Leahy (1954) 235 ff.; de Ste Croix (1972) 334; Podlecki (1976) 396–413.

[54] This was probably the same Krios who was 'fleeced' by Simonides' victor (507 *PMG* = schol. Ar. *Nu.* 1556); see Bowra (1961) 312–14. At Hdt. 8.92.2 his son, Polykritos, calls out from a ship at Salamis, demanding that Themistokles should note his egregious 'Medizing'.

[55] Following the revised chronology of Wilamowitz (1893) 281 ff., accepted by How and Wells (1912) ii. 101 f.; Sealey (1976) 13–20; Figueira (1988) 144–5 and (1993) 410–11. What seems to be the Herodotean chronology has been defended by Hammond (1955) 371–411; Jeffrey (1962) 44–54; Podlecki (1976) 396–413 and others. Andrewes (1936) 1–7 proposed a hybrid scheme in which the Athenian encouragement of the democratic revolt, the buying of Korinthian ships, and an Athenian naval victory all preceded Marathon and the taking of the Aiginetan hostages, while the capture of the Athenian sacred embassy and the loss of the four Athenian ships came after Marathon; Leahy (1954) 238–9 was in agreement.

[56] If Herodotos is rigidly followed this event, with all that precedes, up through the death of Kleomenes (6. 50–85), and all that comes immediately after

eminent Athenian prisoners. No exchange is documented,[57] but the Athenians were not likely to have left their representatives in enemy hands, and on the other side there was clearly no lack of Aiginetan leadership when, in the months that followed, the oligarchs drove out the rebel Nikodromos and slaughtered some 700 of his followers (Hdt. 6. 89–91). The nobles must have been in full force when, after an initial defeat at sea, they repulsed the Athenian attempt to occupy their island, then avenged earlier losses by taking four Attic ships (Hdt. 6. 92–3). Humiliated by the hostage-taking, then vindicated in battle against enemies both local and foreign, the ruling Aiginetans will have emerged from these events with an angry sense of unity and power—intensified perhaps by a common crime against a suppliant, if Herodotus' tale of the chopped-off hand is true (6.91).[58] At any rate it is certain that in the mid-480s the oligarchs proclaimed the power and independence of their island by constructing a new set of city fortifications and also a walled military harbour separate from the commercial basin. Might not the same impulse have taken a symbolic form as well, causing the directors of the Aphaia temple project to replace two conventional sculptural programmes with a pair of innovations that gave to the lords of Aigina a much more aggressive mythic identity?[59]

The raising up of the two new pedimental compositions is generally described as an act of 'propaganda'[60] but the term is misleading because propaganda is aimed, as a rule, at outsiders

(the uprising of Nikodromos and the attempted Athenian invasion, 6. 88–93) must be crammed into the seven months just before Marathon.

[57] How and Wells (1912) ii. ad Hdt. 6. 87 approved Macan's 'ingenious' suggestion of an exchange. The number of *θεωροί* taken is not known but since the crew would also have been captured there may have been extra Athenians for whom a ransom could be asked, though whether or not an inscribed Aiginetan stater from an Athenian collection might come from such a payment is far from clear: 'Yes', says Ashton (1987) 1–7, 'No', responds Bucknell (1990) 223–4; see Figuiera (1988) 142.

[58] Hdt. 6.91 describes the severing of a suppliant's hand at the shrine of Demeter Thesmophoria; this sacrilege was later urged by occupying Athenians as cause for the expulsion of the ruling Aiginetan families.

[59] The expense involved means that there must have been extended discussions in which arguments for revision finally prevailed; this will not have been the mystical process envisioned by Knell (1990) xii, cf. 190–1, in which Art and Myth draw together to produce a city's portrait of itself.

[60] Williams (1987) speaks of a 'propaganda war with Athens'; Osborne (1996) 326 concludes, 'we must suspect political motivation'; Stewart (1990) 138 recognizes propaganda 'either related to the Athenian war or to the Persian'.

while the Aphaia temple, unlike the Hellanios shrine or the cult centres of the city, was not generally visited by strangers. It might stare across at Sounion, but there was no good approach by sea and the distance from the great harbour on the west was almost twelve kilometres. Its oddly Kretan goddess, moreover, and its initiatory functions, attached the Aphaia cult almost exclusively to the island, so that its sculptured 'message' must have been meant essentially for local eyes and ears. It was, in other words, to themselves and their sons that the lords of Aigina offered the revised self-description carried by the second set of pediments. 'We have ever been a Zeus-bred, justice-bearing people whose influence stretches to exotic places,' they say, 'but the Rape of Aigina and the Battle with the Amazons must stand down as we now proclaim ourselves heirs to Aiakid warriors who were twice victorious at Troy.'

3. Contest and Coming of Age

The disestablishment of the first set of sculptures for the Aphaia Temple, the raising of their replacements, and the reaction of the island's population to the new decorations provide an external background to Pindar's odes for Aigina, all but one performed in the decades between 490 and 460 BC. Often the temple's elevated scenes bring light to the singers' words, but there is as well an opposite sort of illumination that comes from the actualities of the Aiginetan victory celebration. This earthly occasion is for the most part reconstructed from clues found in the songs commissioned for it, but because there are so many of these, the process is rescued from its seeming circularity. Experienced as a single poetic phenomenon, the Aiginetan songs offer a reliable sketch of the island's practice, as it recognized and commemorated an athletic victory.

The patrons of the eleven odes for Aigina were not like any of Pindar's other clients, and the victors to be praised show a special quality as well, for in every case the successful athlete was probably more than 12 years old, but not yet 18—a youth who did not yet compete with men or take any serious part in the symposium.[1] There is no way to check the ages of the several other Aiginetan victors who are incidentally mentioned,[2] but we

[1] *N*. 4, 6, 7, and *O*. 8 were so identified by ancient scholars; *I*. 8 and *P*. 8 contain internal references to youth; *N*. 5, *I*. 5, and *I*. 6 include praise of a trainer, indicating a youthful victor; *N*. 8 opens with a salute to Hora. For the special case of *N*. 3 , performed by a chorus of adolescents (*νεανίαι*), see below, Ch. 9. Hamilton (1974) 106–8 would accept all but *N*. 3 and 8 as dedicated to boy victors; Pfeijffer (1998) 21–38 would accept *N*. 4, 5, 6, *O*. 8, *I*. 8, and *P*. 8. For entrance at the symposium, note Pl. *Leg*. 2. 666, where drinking is prohibited to anyone under 18; boys nonetheless seem to have sometimes been present, for at Xen. *Symp*. 3. 13 a 16-year-old 'nestles against his father'. Bremmer (1990) 135–48 supposes that non-participating youths might attend, but for an opposite opinion see Booth (1991) 105–20, who argues (against painted evidence) that no one under 18 could be present at a symposium.

[2] The one certain adult victor is the Nikokles named at *I*. 8. 67–8. At *N*. 5. 43 the victor's maternal uncle may be under or over 18, nor is there any way to know the age of the grandfather, Themistios (50), when he took his Nemean crowns. Similarly, the age of the wrestler Teisias, praised by Bakchylides in his Ode 12, cannot be fixed, though in the case of Krios, defeated by a client of

do know that the three further Olympic crowns (won in Pindar's time but not celebrated by him) were all taken by adolescent wrestlers.[3] And finally it is plain that these boy athletes share a common predilection for the oldest and most violent forms of contest, for there is but a single runner among them, while one has been victorious in the pentathlon, four are wrestlers, and five are pankratists.[4] (Not being great landowners, the Aiginetans were not horsemen and there is no indication of any interest in horse or chariot races.) Nine of the eleven youthful victories that Pindar celebrates have been taken at nearby mainland contests, six at Nemea and three at Isthmia, the others at Olympia and Delphi. Taken all in all, these facts make it plain that panhellenic contest was primarily the business of boys on Aigina, its characteristic form being a one-to-one struggle between pairs of naked opponents.[5] It was a trial held on foreign ground, one that meant blood, lost teeth, injury, possibly even death,[6] but one in which courage and 'sharp-shifting' trickery (as at *O*. 9. 91) could triumph, and it led to ceremonies by which elder relatives recognized a successful participant on his return. For the sons of this island mainland competition was patterned like a rite of passage.[7]

Simonides, the poet's pun suggests that it was a boys' competition in which he was 'fleeced' (507. 1 *PMG*); see Page (1951) 140–2. Robbins (1987) 26 n. 3 would find evidence in P. fr. 4 M that Pytheas competed as an adult, but the schol. says only that this mention of an Isthmian victory (in a song for a certain Meidias) came after the death of Pytheas.

[3] Only four Aiginetan Olympic victors from the 6th and 5th cent. are known: Praxidamas, 544 BC (*N*. 6. 15; Paus. 6. 18. 7); Theognetos (P. *P*. 8. 36; Paus. 6. 9. 1 and Ebert (1972) no.1; *P.Oxy* 222 col I. 15; AP 16.2); Pherias (Paus. 6. 14.1; Ebert (1972) no.19; Hansen *CEG* 350); and Alkimedon (P. *O*. 8.17). The three from Pindar's time were all wrestlers who won as boys (*παίδες*).

[4] For the extreme violence of the combat sports and their apparent opposition to Greek ideals of civic life, see Poliakoff (1987) 89–115.

[5] On nudity see Glass (1988) 155–73, esp. 158.

[6] For the ideal of death in contest see Poliakoff (1987) 91; for the actuality (only at Olympia), Brophy and Brophy (1985) 171–98 who, with Poliakoff (1986) 400–2, bring the totals to four deaths in boxing and two each in the pankration and wrestling between *c*.550 and 100 BC. Note the recognition in Athenian law of unintentional killing in contest, as involuntary and not demanding punishment (Dem. 23. 53; Pl. *Leg*. 865a–b).

[7] Compare Crotty (1982) 104–38. For the sequence, marginal behaviour, nudity, acts of violence, reintegration through banquet and dancing, with emphasis on past ancestors, future sons, see among many Brelich (1969) 449–56; Calame (1977) 36–38; Vernant (1989) 173 ff.; and for the initiatory symbolism of athletic festivals in general, see Nagy (1990) 118–24. The overall usefulness of this concept to classicists is considered by Graf (2003) 3–24.

The male children of these self-consciously Doric families evidently shared a traditional education that began when they were about 7 years old and continued until the beginning of adulthood, at about 18.[8] When very small they would be taught choral dancing[9] and would exercise under supervision, probably in 'light' or 'heavy' groups; then when they were 10 or 11, depending on their physical development (when they had most of their new teeth?), they would begin to compete in local games at the Aiakeion, the Delphinion, or the Heraion.[10] At 12 or 13,[11] those who had been successful at home would start to train in earnest for the boys' contests of the mainland, especially the nearby ones at Megara, Epidauros, Nemea, and the Isthmos.[12] Competing across the water meant leaving home for a considerable length of time—at Olympia the preliminaries began thirty days before the actual contest[13]—so each would set out with an entourage of male relatives, companions, and perhaps a trainer.[14] A number of families will have sent such hopeful groups, and those accepted as competitors will have been lodged in a communal dwelling place; in later times there were special houses called 'halls of admission' (*ἐγκριτήριοι οἶκοι*) at the Isthmos (*IG* 4. 203, second century AD). And whether a boy was or was not allowed to enter, whether finally he lost or won, this prolonged and exotic experience—sea journey, isolation in an all-male

[8] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7. 15. 11; 8. 4. 1; see Tazelaar (1967) 127–53; Frisch (1988) 179–85; Golden (1998) 104–7.

[9] Epicharmos fr. 13. 104 Kaibel calls a school a *χορηγεῖον*, and Pollux 9. 41 explains that among Dorians a school might also be termed *χορός*, its master, *χορηγός*.

[10] Krause (1841) 76. For the games for Apollo Delphinios, see Graf (1979) 2–22, and for this cult as associated with coming of age, Birge (1994) 14. Diagoras of Rhodes took six crowns in various Aiginetan games (*O.* 7. 86).

[11] Paus. (6. 2. 10–11) noted a 12-year-old Olympic victor from Messene. The physical criterion was perhaps a full set of adult teeth; see Frisch (1988) 179–85; Crowther (1988) 304–8; Golden (1990) 67–8; (1998) 104–11.

[12] Nemea and the Isthmos were good places for boys to compete because both had an intermediate age-class, the *ἀγένειοι* (whose beards were beginning to be downy; cf. P. *N.* 5. 6 where one whose cheek does not yet even promise a beard is a *παῖς*); this meant competition within narrower groups (boys roughly 12–15, youths roughly 15–18 yrs.)

[13] Crowther (1991) 161–6.

[14] At Olympia preliminary oaths promising to abstain from all misdemeanours were taken by trainers, fathers, and brothers, if present, as well as by the athletes (Paus. 5. 24. 9–10). For family members as trainers see Gardiner (1910) 111–12.

group, preparatory training (ἄσκησις), confrontation (actual or vicarious) with an opponent—would find its ultimate term in fires and disorderly revels on a final night. These celebrations would then be imitated in the joy (εὐφροσύνα, *N.* 4. 1) of the danced entertainments arranged by fathers or grandfathers or uncles for those who came back with crowns.

The victory ode extended the boy's newly won glory to family, friends, and the island as a whole,[15] while at the same time it fixed a change in status that would mark the athlete for life.[16] Every victor, whatever his age, returned to his city in need of reintegration because of his altered aspect, but a crowned youth re-entered his father's house on a markedly new footing. He was the embodiment of his age-group—the adolescents (νεανίαι) who hailed him with their song[17]—but he returned to a closer identification with the men of his family, even if he was not yet ready to join them in the drinking of wine.[18] This was particularly evident, of course, if he was passing from childhood into that youth-time (ἥβη) in which he would be a legitimate object of adult desire, but whatever his precise age, the young victor was a changed creature in need of a revised view, both of himself and of his elders, and on Aigina at any rate the song that praised him also gave instruction about his altered status.

Boys whose education centred on formal athletic competition were naturally loath to grow up: each wanted to be the strongest

[15] Pausanias' story (6. 9. 68) of a Chian, Kleomedes, describes the victory celebration through its opposite. This boxer killed his opponent at Olympia, *c.*490 BC; his return without a crown maddened him and he broke the pillar supporting the schoolhouse roof, killing boys and teachers; the people stoned him and he took refuge in a temple of Athena, hiding in a chest, but when the chest was opened it was empty and Delphi, questioned on the marvel, decreed heroic sacrifices for him. Reversed, this yields: joyous return of crowned victor brings life to the youth of the city, a 'lapidation' of praise from fellow-citizens, and a kind of heroization; see Fontenrose (1968) 73–104.

[16] Kurke (1991*a*) 259 stresses the epinician 'message of reintegration', though for her this has a strongly civic sense; Crotty (1982) 121 describes every epinician celebration as an 'act of inclusion'.

[17] The chorus is explicitly of the victor's age at *I.* 8. 1 and 72, and Bury remarks (1965*a*) ad 1: 'It is possible that the hymn is conceived as a *lutron* for the comrades of Cleander also.' At *N.* 3. 5 and 66 the performers are likewise explicitly youthful. Boys sing for Hieron in *P.* 1 and for Arkesilaos in *P.* 5, but the only known case of a men's chorus that sings for a boy comes from the court of the Aleuadai (*P.* 10. 6).

[18] This is the overt effect of the openings of *N.* 4 and *I.* 6, with their references to εὐφροσύνα and the rituals of the symposium.

of his present class, not the weakest of the next, and best would be to remain always a winner among the παῖδες.[19] Nor was this natural reluctance countered, on Aigina, by compelling images of men who had won renown as athletes or warriors, for the local magnates were primarily men of commerce. In consequence there was a sharp need for figures who could lend both definition and enchantment to the condition of young adulthood. Also necessary for an advance towards maturity was a company of witnesses who would be shamed if a boy betrayed his natural talent and strength (*N*. 3. 13–16), and agents of transformation were also required for those taking on a heightened social identity after foreign trials. These three requirements are economically met, in the ten odes that Pindar made for Aigina before 458 BC, by the danced revival of a particular group of heroic warriors. The victor has always had a family name and a tribal name, but now he is freshly identified as member of an 'Aiakid' community (his song will be received by the fortified seat of the Aiakids, *N*. 4. 11–12) and he joins a larger group whose Doric ancestors were mystically descended from the only king and first inhabitant of the island (*O*. 8. 30).

Pindar makes it a 'law' (τεθμιός, *I*. 6. 20) that there should be some manipulation of the Aiakid name in any Aiginetan ode; nor is this a formality satisfied by simple mention. A hero from this family appears in every pre-conquest song as the principal in a 'narrative passage' that cannot be classified as moral example, political propaganda, or decorative postponement.[20] Instead, it is a realized episode created by a chorus that uses the full power of its once-ritual function to revive a specific moment of Aiakid

[19] Note the anecdote of Plutarch (*Ages*. 13. 3, cf. Xen. *Hell*. 4. 1. 40) in which a king exerts illegal influence to get an over-age youth admitted among the boys (παῖδες) at Olympia. It was unlucky for a boy to dream that he had defeated a man in wrestling, for this was a sign that his time among the παῖδες was coming to an end (Artem. 1. 60). Pausanias' stories (e.g. 6. 14. 2) of athletes excluded from the boys, only to go on to win in the 'beardless' class (ἀγένειοι) or the men's (ἄνδρες), were obviously preserved because they addressed this retrogressive wish. At P. *O*. 9. 89 Epharmostos, excluded from the ἀγένειοι at Marathon, goes on to take a crown in the men's competition.

[20] Compare the more genial notion of Rose (1974) 155, who speaks of 'self-conscious interpretations of reality' which constitute 'aristocratic *Paideia*'. Brillante (1990) 97 assumes more traditionally that Pindar was 'aiming at a more moralized version of the tale' when he innovated, but supposes that the 'mythic example' served the present victor/victory 'much as a genealogical myth serves a people'.

action, pressing it upon each spectator as a part of his own immediate experience. In this way, the company is brought into the presence of one or more of the island heroes, while the boy himself discovers a token name and deed which he may now attach to himself and his victory. He knows a moment of identification with the Achilles who drops upon Memnon, the Peleus who holds out against a form-changer, or the Telamon who receives an eagle portent, and so the sense of his new 'Aiakid' name is revealed to him. In almost every case (the exception is Ajax, in *Nemean* 8) the heroes evoked are youthful, just beyond boyhood themselves,[21] and they are closely associated (like the Aiakids of the West Pediment of the Aphaia temple) with fathers from whom their force comes. They are not, however, models of behaviour, any more than are the smiling stone figures. Instead, like esoteric symbols displayed in an initiation, they cause the celebrating youth to recognize his victory as a link to a further and peculiarly Aiginetan splendour.

The young victors are moving towards a world of masculine maturity, both ideal and actual, and their celebrations give an appropriately ambivalent treatment to female figures. Mothers, and above all Aigina (*N*. 7. 84; *N*. 8. 6–8), transmit the strain of nobility that launches a youth into conflict (*N*. 3. 56–7, *N*. 5. 12–13, *I*. 6. 45, cf. Philyra as foster-mother at *N*. 3. 43), and on occasion they may even contribute qualities of their own to their sons (*N*. 5. 13; *I*. 8. 36–7).[22] Nevertheless, though it is to a mother that a defeated contestant returns (*P*. 8. 85), the victorious boy now goes among men,[23] and mothers are excluded from the major mythic actions of the odes, as they were from the contests at Olympia. Thetis is of ever-renewed interest, but she is neither seen nor heard, nor does she give birth. Instead, these scenes made for adolescents show her as the devious opponent and the prize taken in a wrestling match that makes procreation a kind of athletic activity (*N* 4. 62–5). Nor (in contradiction to the Aphaia pediments) do the major female divinities have any place in the Aiginetan odes: a disinterested Athena, with Artemis, wit-

[21] Even the Aiakos of *O*. 8 has yet to engender his sons.

[22] The mother of Pytheas and Phylakidas (*N*. 4. 80; *N*. 5. 43) seems to have brought the quality that attracts victory into her sons' crownless paternal inheritance.

[23] The victorious boy may, however, be rewarded with a mother's smile, if one may judge by the fate of the losers described at *P*. 8. 85.

nesses the infant exploits of Achilles (*N*. 3. 50), but nowhere does she or any other goddess take an active part in the Aiakid deeds that the dancers revive.[24] The Themis of *Isthmian* 8 does urge the immortals to arrange the engendering of Achilles, but it is Zeus and Poseidon who make the actual decision (*I*. 8. 49–50). As if in compensation, however, six of the eleven Aiginetan odes use their invocations to call feminine powers or influences into the immediate celebration. A personified Olympia (*O*. 8) one might have expected, also a maternal Muse (*N*. 3) and, since these are young singers, Hora, Aphrodite's messenger (*N*. 8), but Theia, the Sun's mother (*I*. 5) , Eleithyia, the birth goddess (*N*. 7), and Hesychia, the powerful enemy of angry revolt (*P*. 8. 1), are also invoked as patronesses suitable to athletes who do not yet contest in the adult class.

Another characteristic of the youthful Aiginetan odes is their treatment of the athlete's education, and in particular their praise of trainers. According to modern reconstructions of 'élitist views', Pindar should have kept silent about such creatures, since Greek aristocrats were supposedly defensive about their athletic dominance and suspicious of anyone who presumed to teach the 'heroic excellence' that they alone possessed.[25] The Aiginetan odes, however, tell a different story, for in four cases the noble patron has requested that a professional trainer be named, and in a fifth that an elder brother should be praised for teaching a youngster.[26] What is more, though most

[24] There is an oblique reference to Athena as one with whom Herakles may have influence at *N*. 7. 96.

[25] See among many Nicholson (2002) 31–59, where it is supposed that any outsider and all artisans would be cause for 'anxiety' in 'aristocratic society'; cf. Percy (1996) 118, who speaks of 'Aristocratic conservatives from Theognis to Pindar, who believing that blood matters more than training in the molding of human nature, scorned schoolmasters.' To prove that Pindar condemns trainers, the passage at *O*. 9. 100ff. is often cited, but the plain point there is not that training is bad but simply that *φυά* with daimonic support is stronger than trained talent. The opposite case is recognized at *I*. 4. 36–7, where the combination of *τέχνη* with *τύχη* may let a lesser man triumph over a greater. Discussions of the gymnasium are coloured by the same reconstruction of so-called élitist attitudes, for some take this as an extra-aristocratic phenomenon, others as the invention of aristocrats fearful for their natural dominance; see Glass (1988) 155–73; Golden (1998) 84–8, and the review of the latter by Pleket (2000) 751–5.

[26] Menander, *N*. 5. 48–9; Melesias, *N*. 4. 93–6, *N*. 6. 64–6, *O*. 8. 54–64; Pytheas, *I*. 5. 59. To such epinician trainer-praise one may compare the trainer-statue reported by Pausanias (6. 3. 6), set up at Olympia by his pupil, Kratinos of Aigina, victor in the boys' wrestling.

commentators have felt that 'enemy' trainers ought to have been supremely embarrassing to the retrograde Aiginetans and to their poet, the two elaborately praised professionals were Athenians.[27] Some scholars have tried to read tones of shame or hostility into the passages where the names of Menander and Melesias are sounded, but there is no hint of discomfort when towards the end of *Nemean* 5, for example, the chorus sings out with a joyful pun, 'It is right that a builder of athletes should hail from Athens!'(49). Athens and Aigina were rivals at sea, but it is plain that Athenians were frequent visitors to the island in the early decades of the fifth century, as exiles, trading opposites, litigants, guest-friends, and also as teachers and educators.[28]

Every free-born boy will have known a trainer of some sort,[29] a father, a brother, or an outsider, whether hired by a parent or shared with others at the gymnasium. Furthermore, no boy, no matter how noble, could attempt panhellenic competition in boxing, wrestling, or the pankration without extensive and knowing preparation,[30] and expenditure for the very best of training gave final enhancement to any victory he might take (e.g. *I*. 5. 57). The trainer (*παιδοτρίβης*) is a standard figure on vases, using the long umpire's wand to indicate where a mistake has been made, or where a winning grip may be taken, or perhaps where he will punish a foul.[31] A private trainer would supervise sleep and diet at home, and would accompany the boy when he left the island for the great contests, working with him intensively through the preparation period,[32] even shouting direc-

[27] Wilamowitz (1922) 398 saw Melesias as an Aiginetan of non-aristocratic family; he is followed by Kirchner (1996) 165–76, who concludes, with no new evidence, that an aristocrat could not act as a trainer; so also Silk (1998) 63 n. 102. Most others hold that both Melesias and Menander were aristocrats; see Gardiner (1930) 70–1; Wade-Gery (1958) 239–70, who identified Melesias as a descendant of Kimon; Woloch (1963) 102–4, 121; Davies (1971) 231.

[28] Robbins (1986) 321 n.23 terms the praise of Melesias in *O*. 8 'a sobering counter-consideration to the common belief that Melesias, as an Athenian, was persona non grata in 460 BC in Aegina'; cf. Figueira (1993) 205–6.

[29] As adults came to make more use of trainers the term *παιδοτρίβης* was replaced by *γυμναστής*; see Pl. *Rep*. 3. 406a; Philostratos *Gym*. 14, and Juethner (1909) 3–5.

[30] Gardiner (1910) 111–12; Hamilton (1974) 108; Hubbard (1985) 108–9.

[31] Poliakoff (1987) figs. 3, 10, 25–31, 37–40, 53–4.

[32] Gardiner (1930) 89–90; Poliakoff (1987) 17. At Olympia a trainer could be punished with whipping if, in the athlete's preparation, he defied or exceeded the commands of the Hellanodikai; see Crowther (1991) 165.

tions during matches, if the anecdotes of Pausanias are to be believed.[33] Such were the actualities, and in the Aiginetan odes Pindar expands the trainers' role through mythic figures who are seen to divert a youth from the world of women in order to activate his inherited strength and ambition.[34] The trainer is like Chiron, a kind of initiation master who may rescue an adoptive son from a wilderness enemy (*N*. 4. 60), even bring him a bride (*N*. 3. 56–7). Above all, this educator is one who knows how to transform a childish huntsman into a contender whose opposite will be deprived of a joyous return home (*N*. 3. 42–63; cf. *O*. 8. 69).

Herakles, god of the palaistra and of youths as they come of age, has a strong presence in these Pindaric performances. As son of Zeus, he is Aiakos' brother (*N*. 7. 86), but where the hero Founder is somewhat remote (a mortal who settled conflicts among the gods, *I*. 8. 26), Herakles appears as a youthful and kindly neighbour who will increase the blessings that a boy may win (*N*. 7. 86–92). Within this set of songs, his own definitional adventures are those of an initiate—killing giants (*N* 4. 25–30; *I*. 6. 33; *N*. 7. 90), fighting monstrous women (*N*. 3. 38), and journeying out to the Pillars and back (*N*. 3. 21–6).[35] He does not carry a warrior's sword; instead he is unsparing of his bow (*I*. 6. 33–4) as he leads young Aiakids towards distant, exotic conflicts (*N*. 4. 25–30; *I*. 6. 26–34). And finally this companionable Herakles may be present at the wedding of one of his followers, arranging for the passage from youth to fatherhood, even as he summons the groom to a final trial (*I*. 6. 35–55). Like Chiron, then, and like his sculptured double, this Herakles oversees the transit from unruly youthful exploits to adult deeds performed on the battlefield.

Finally, these odes, in sharp contrast to the Aiakid compositions of the Aphaia temple, are suffused with the presence of Zeus (*N*. 7. 80),[36] god of mature men gathered in the symposium

[33] Note Pausanias (6. 10. 1–3) on the father-trainer of Glaukos of Karystos.

[34] On the role of such companions in the initiation sequence, see Jeanmaire (1939) 450–5; Burkert (1985) 391–2; (1979) 29.

[35] He has also made a campaign against the Meropes (*N*. 4. 26, *I*. 6. 31), the sense of which is not clear, though *Il*. 14. 250–61 suggests that this was a successful response to a stepmother's plot.

[36] Even *P*. 8. 98–100 ends by placing the present celebration, the city, and the island under his care, along with that of Aigina and the Aiakids.

(*I*. 6. 1–3). This is true whether or not the contest was his, because Fate gave him the island nobility as his own when Aiakos was engendered (*O*. 8. 15–16). Zeus is referred to at least once in every ode, in prayers, exclamations, and scattered references, while his name is sounded five times in *Nemean* 7, five times also in *Isthmian* 5 (where the contest gods, Apollo and Poseidon, are not named). He may be Hellanios (*N*. 5.10), or the source of Fatality (*N*. 4.61; cf. *N*. 6.13), but he is primarily the god who ravished Aigina and so became the progenitor of the Aiakid heroes ('Zeus, yours is the blood!' *N*. 3.65). Mythic scenes that feature Aiakids intensify the sense that Zeus' force is always present, and in three cases the god plays an active role, relinquishing Thetis in *Isthmian* 8, bestowing her in *Nemean* 5, and dispatching the eagle that promises a son to Telamon in *Isthmian* 6. (Compare *I*. 5. 49–50, where he churns out the battle-storm at Salamis in an actuality that is treated as myth.) Perhaps most striking is *Nemean* 7, which treats of Delphi but leaves the Delphic god unnamed and invisible in his own precinct (he is merely *theos* at 40 and 46), as the Aiakid race fulfils its Zeus-driven necessity (*N*. 7. 50). Among the men and gods of these ten odes, the son of Kronos and father of Aiakos seems almost to rule alone: 'Zeus makes the apportionment, for Zeus is lord of all' (*I*. 5. 52–3).

PART II
THE PERFORMANCES

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4. *Nemean* 5: Peleus' Wedding Song

For Pytheas, son of Lampon, of the Psalychiad tribe, victor in the boys' pankration; also for his mother's brother, Euthymenes, and for her father, Themistios; *c*.483 BC. Triads.

στρ. α΄ Οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσοντα ἐργά-
ζεσθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ'αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος
ἑσταότ'· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας
ὁλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ' ἀοιδά,
στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας, διαγγέλλοισ' ὅτι
Λάμπωνος υἱὸς Πυθέας εὐρυσθενής
νίκη Νεμείοις παγκρατίου στέφανον,
οὔπω γένυσι φαίνων τερείνας
ματέρ' οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν,

ἀντ. α΄ ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ζηνὸς ἥρωας αἰχματὰς φυτευθέν-
τας καὶ ἀπὸ χρυσεᾶν Νηρηΐδων
Αἰακίδας ἐγέραιρεν
ματρόπολίν τε, φίλαν ξένων ἄρουραν·
τάν ποτ' εὔανδρόν τε καὶ ναυσικλυτὰν
θέσσαντο, πὰρ βωμὸν πατέρος Ἑλλανίου
στάντες, πίτναν τ' ἐς αἰθέρα χεῖρας ἁμᾷ
Ἐνδαΐδος ἀριγνῶτες υἱοὶ
καὶ βία Φώκου κρέοντος,

ἐπ. α΄ ὁ τᾶς θεοῦ, ὃν Ψαμάθεια
τίκτ' ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι πόντου.
αἰδέομαι μέγα εἰπεῖν
ἐν δίκᾳ τε μὴ κεκινδυνευμένον,
πῶς δὴ λίπον εὐκλέα νᾶσον,
καὶ τίς ἄνδρας ἀλκίμους
δαίμων ἀπ' Οἰώνας ἔλασεν.
στάσομαι· οὔ τοι ἅπασα κερδίων
φαίνοισα πρόσωπον ἀλάθει' ἀτρεκής·
καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώ-
τατον ἀνθρώπῳ νοῆσαι.

στρ. β΄ εἰ δ' ὄλβον ἢ χειρῶν βίαν ἢ σιδαρίταν ἐπαινῆ-
σαι πόλεμον δεδόκηται, μακρά μοι

αὐτόθεν ἅλμαθ' ὑποσκά-
πτοι τις· ἔχω γονάτων ὁρμὰν ἐλαφράν·
καὶ πέραν πόντοιο πάλλοντ' αἰετοί.
πρόφρων δὲ καὶ κείνοις ἄειδ' ἐν Παλίῳ
Μοισᾶν ὁ κάλλιστος χορός, ἐν δὲ μέσαις
φόρμιγγ' Ἀπόλλων ἑπτάγλωσσον
χρυσέῳ πλάκτρῳ διώκων

ἀντ. β′ ἀγεῖτο παντοίων νόμων· αἱ δὲ πρώτιστον μὲν ὕμνη-
σαν Διὸς ἀρχόμεναι σεμνὰν Θέτιν
Πηλέα θ', ὥς τέ νιν ἅβρὰ
Κρηθεὶς Ἱππολύτα δόλῳ πεδᾶσαι
ἤθελε ζυνâνα Μαγνήτων σκοπὸν
πείσαισ' ἀκοίταν ποικίλοις βουλεύμασιν,
ψεύσταν δὲ ποιητὸν συνέπαξε λόγον,
ὡς ἦρα νυμφείας ἐπείρα
κεῖνος ἐν λέκτροις Ἀκάστου

ἐπ. β′ εὐνâς· τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἔσκεν·
πολλὰ γάρ νιν παντὶ θυμῷ
παρφαμένα λιτάνευεν.
τοῖο δ' ὀργὰν κνίζον αἰπεινοὶ λόγοι·
εὐθὺς δ' ἀπανάνατο νύμφαν,
ξεινίου πατρὸς χόλον
δείσαις· ὁ δ' εὖ φράσθη κατένευ-
σέν τέ οἱ ὀρσινεφὴς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ
Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς, ὥστ' ἐν τάχει
ποντίαν χρυσαλακάτων τινὰ Νη-
ρεΐδων πράξειν ἄκοιτιν,

στρ. γ′ γαμβρὸν Ποσειδάωνα πείσαις, ὃς Αἰγâθεν ποτὶ κλει-
τὰν θαμὰ νίσεται Ἰσθμὸν Δωρίαν·
ἔνθα νιν εὔφρονες ἵλαι
σὺν καλάμοιο βοᾷ θεὸν δέκονται,
καὶ σθένει γυίων ἐρίζοντι θρασεῖ.
πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενὴς ἔργων πέρι
πάντων. τὺ δ' Αἰγίναθε δίς, Εὐθύμενες,
Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων
ποικίλων ἔψαυσας ὕμνων.

ἀντ. γ′ ἤτοι μεταΐξαντα καὶ νῦν τεὸς μάτρως ⟨σ'⟩ ἀγάλλει
κείνου ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος, Πυθέα.
ἁ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν
μείς τ' ἐπιχώριος, ὃν φίλησ' Ἀπόλλων·
ἅλικας δ' ἐλθόντας οἶκοι τ' ἐκράτει

Νίσου τ' ἐν εὐαγκεῖ λόφῳ. χαίρω δ' ὅτι
ἐσλοῖσι μάρναται πέρι πᾶσα πόλις.
ἴσθι, γλυκείαν τοι Μενάνδρου
σὺν τύχᾳ μόχθων ἀμοιβὰν 48[b]

ἐπ. γ′ *ἐπαύρεο. χρὴ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν*
τέκτον' ἀεθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν· 49[b]
εἰ δὲ Θεμίστιον ἵκεις 50
ὥστ' ἀείδειν, μηκέτι ῥίγει· δίδοι 50[b]
φωνάν, ἀνὰ δ' ἱστία τεῖνον
πρὸς ζυγὸν καρχασίου, 51[b]
πύκταν τέ νιν καὶ παγκρατίῳ
φθέγξαι ἐλεῖν Ἐπιδαύρῳ διπλόαν
νικῶντ' ἀρετάν, προθύροισιν δ' Αἰακοῦ
ἀνθέων ποιάεντα φέρε στεφανώ-
ματα σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν.

1. I am no sculptor whose works stand
idle upon their base.
Go forth, sweet song, with every ship
or merchant bark! Set sail from
Aigina bearing the news that Lampon's son,
strong Pytheas, takes a pankratic crown
at Nemea, though not yet has he
shown to his mother a first soft
bloom on his cheek.

Spear-bearing heroes that Kronos and Zeus
begat upon Nereus' golden girls—
Aiakids!—he honours, and too this dear
refuge of strangers, their mother-city.
That she be known for ships and fine men,
such was the prayer of the three who stood,
arms stretched in the air, at the altar of Father Hellanios,
two far-famed sons of Endaïs and also
Phokos, fierce and commanding,

sprung from divinity, whom Psamathe bore at the
sea's edge. I scruple to tell the great deed, both just
and unjust, that was risked and done,
or how they abandoned this fair-famed
isle, and which god drove
such valiant men away from Oinona.
I stand mute! Blunt truth does not
always uncover her face to advantage:

silence is sometimes the prime mode
that any man can devise.

2. But if it be bliss, or muscle-strength,
or iron war that is chosen for praise, then
dig me a broad trench ! My knees
promise a nimble jump—
eagles can vault across the sea!
Muses in fairest chorus did joyfully
sing of these men on Pelion, while
in their midst Apollo put plectrum of gold
to his seven-stringed lyre,

leading, whatever the melody. Zeus was sung
first, in preamble, then reverend Thetis, then
Peleus, as they recounted how pampered
Hippolyta, daughter of Kretheus,
tried to destroy him with trickery—how
with an artful scheme to persuade her lord,
Magnesia's king, she embroidered the false tale
that he, their guest, had attempted to
enter the nuptial couch of Akastos,

his host's wife! The reverse was true—many
times she implored him with passionate prayer, but
speech so perverse roused his rage
and he spurned her as bed-mate, fearing the ire
of the Father of Hosts and guests.
And indeed, the Driver of Clouds took
note from the skies and decreed—Zeus,
King of the Deathless ones!—that this man should
straightaway take to wife one of the
gold-spindled sea-spawned Nereids,

3. himself persuading her suitor Poseidon, who
often from Aigai comes down to the
Dorian isthmos where festival crowds with
loud-voiced flutes receive him as god
and strive together in strong-limbed games.
Ancestral fate determines all. You,
o Euthymenes, twice went from Aigina,
sank upon Victory's lap and touched the
music of elegant praise!

Pytheas, see how this uncle who speeds after you
brings joy to that hero's kindred race!

Nemea claims him, as does the local month
loved by Apollo, for he did trounce
agemates who challenged him here, and
others in Nisos' enfolding glades. I rejoice
that all of the city strives for noble rewards!
Know ye! this sweet repayment for toil comes
as part of Menander's good

fortune, and right it is that a builder of athletes
should hail from the city of Athens! Now,
if you are gathered to sing of Themistios,
don't stint! Cry out—let full sails
billow against the forestay!
Proclaim him as boxer and tell how he took,
at Epidauros, a double pankration
prize! Then out to the forecourt of Aiakos
carry his grassy garlands, taking as your companions the fair-haired Charites!

This, the first surviving ode for an Aiginetan,[1] was commissioned for his smooth-cheeked son by a nobleman named Lampon.[2] He himself has had no athletic success, nor has his house produced victors in the past,[3] but he has married into a family of prizewinners. His wife's father, Themistios, won at Epidauros (*N*. 5. 50), and Euthymenes, one of her brothers, has taken crowns at home, at Megara (*N*. 5. 41–6; *I*. 6. 58), and just now at Nemea, alongside his young nephew, the boy that this song celebrates.[4] Lampon takes a close interest in the making of

[1] Maehler (1982) I. ii. 251 would place *N*. 5 in 483 BC, though he admits the possibility of a date as early as 485; he dates *I*. 6 in 480 and *I*. 5 in 478 BC. Taccone (1906) 253–5 had suggested a date in the late 480s or early 470s for Pytheas' victory, and he is followed by Figueira (1993) 206 n. 34; Pfeijffer (1995*a*) 318–32 suggests 487 or 485 BC.

[2] Lampon is son of Kleonikos (*I*. 6. 16); he is probably a cousin of the Lampon son of Pytheas who is named by Herodotos (9.78.1) as the most eminent Aiginetan at Plataia. Nothing supports the suggestion of Gaertner (1978) 40 that the commission was given, not by Lampon but by Themistios.

[3] At *I*. 6. 57–65 Euthymenes, the maternal uncle, is grouped with Pytheas and his brother, all said to have revived the Psalychiad tribe and exalted the house of Themistios. Strictly speaking this ought to make Euthymenes, like the boys, a Psalychiad, but probably he is thought of as an honorary member because of his sister's marriage.

[4] Euthymenes' earlier victories, plus the fact that *μάτρως* usually signifies someone of more advanced age, indicate that he did not compete in the same age-group as Pytheas. On the other hand, this 'uncle's' past victories were won over boys (45, cf. Ebert (1972) no. 72 1–3), so that his current victory at Nemea

athletes (*I*. 6. 72–3) and he has hired one of the most famous teachers of the day, Menander of Athens, to supervise the training of his sons. Now, though not yet 15,[5] Pytheas has crossed to Nemea and won in the pankration, a brutal mixture of boxing and wrestling in which almost any move was permitted. The boy has rescued his father's house from athletic obscurity, but his flair for victory comes from the maternal family, and the singers of this ode playfully suggest that it was his mother who, before he was scrutinized by Poseidon's officials, checked his right to enter in the boys' class (*N*. 5. 5–6).[6] She is not, of course, actually present, nor is she named, but because of her prominent position at the end of the first stanza, this wife of Lampon and daughter of Themistios seems to look on as performers probably as young as Pytheas sing about women, and specifically about the mate who will, and the mate who will not, give a man a surpassing son.[7]

may have been taken in the 'beardless class' (*ἀγένειοι*). That class probably followed the boys in the day's events (see Klee (1918) 24–5); hence Pindar's little joke at 43, where Euthymenes 'rushes after' Pytheas. The assertion of Pfeijffer (1995*a*) 318–22 that uncle and nephew could not have competed at the same festival derives from misreading *Αἰγίναθε* at 41, then wrongly employing Pytheas as subject at 43–6. The present reading is in agreement with the minimal interpretation of Cole (1987) 564 and n. 15, which has been unconvincingly qualified by Carey (1989*b*) 287–95.

[5] Pytheas has won his victory before showing any 'delicate ripeness of vine-bloom on his jaw', which is to say he competed among the boys, not yet among the 'beardless', whose cheeks are attractively downy but not yet scratchy; compare *O*. 1. 68–9, where a chin made dark by whiskers marks the end of the flowering time and so readiness for marriage. On these classes see Ebert (1972) nos. 40, 72, 78, and Pl. *Leg*. 7. 833c. If the three Isthmian and Nemean age-classes were co-ordinated with the two at Olympia, then the 'boys' were roughly 12–15 years old, the 'beardless' 15–18; see M. Finley and Pleket (1976) 62, also Bernardini (1983) 148–49; Frisch (1988) 179–85; Crowther (1988) 304–8; Golden (1998) 105–6. These divisions are roughly parallel to those made in erotic epigrams between boys not yet quite ready, and boys ready for love; the second group show downy cheeks but cease to be proper erotic objects when chins darken with rough beards and heavy body hair appears (*AP* 12. 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 205, 228, etc.) In Pindar's language the desirable boy is sung as *kalos* when he shows the not yet fruitful flowering that solicits Aphrodite (*I*. 2. 4–5), and it is this flowering that Pytheas does not yet display (*N*. 5. 6). For a contradictory understanding, see Maehler (1982) ii. 250–1, who assumes that the 'beardless' were aged 17 to 20, and that this was Pytheas' class; he is followed by Pfeijffer (1999) 105.

[6] In actuality this decision was made by officials at the site of the games, at locations called in later times *ἐγκριτήριοι οἶκοι* ; see Frisch (1988) 184. Some, however, read *ματέρ(α)* in line 6, in fanciful apposition to *ὀπώραν*; see Race (1997) ii. 47.

[7] But note Robbins (1987) 32–3, who hears in this song a 'delicate counter-

Other odes announce their purpose with an opening invocation, a wise generality, or an elaborated simile, but the chorus of *Nemean* 5 begins with a negative boast that defines its function. 'I am no sculptor,' they say, 'my song is like a piece of news carried abroad by ship' (1–2). The notion that sculpture must stay in place while an ode can travel seems a bit odd, since the exported work of Aiginetan sculptors was to be seen in many mainland places,[8] while the olive-wood figurines of Damia and Auxesia[9] were, like the sacred figures from the temenos of Aiakos,[10] notorious for journeys actual and aborted. This performance, however, takes place just as the Aiakid replacements were being set into the pediments of the Aphaia temple, and consequently decorative images, *agalmata* that 'stand fixed upon the same base' (*ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος*, 1–2) will inevitably suggest those unmoving figures.[11] The reference is concrete and local, and it allows the poet's generic 'I can spread your fame' (as at Theognis 237, or P. *I*. 1. 64) to assume the aspect of a particular promise. The new pedimental pieces are placed at a far corner of the island, inert and mute; they depict motion as never before in stone, but they do not even seem to speak. Poetry, on the other hand is speech itself; it can travel as far as Hades, and it can be transferred into the mouths of the beings it creates, thus giving them momentary life.[12] This first Aiginetan ode thus suggests

point to the maternal inheritance', and in particular a warning against what might be 'a mother's enervating influence'.

[8] The Aiginetan sculptor Kallon made an Athena for Troezen as well as a Kore for Amyklai and soon a colossal bronze statue of Zeus would be sent from an Aiginetan workshop to Olympia to commemorate the victory at Plataia; see Bury (1965*b*) xxvi.

[9] Kidnapped from Epidauros and carried over the water to Aigina (Hdt. 5. 82 ff.).

[10] Said to have been sent to Thebes in the previous generation (see above Ch. 1, pp. 26–8) and soon to be sent to Salamis. For the possibility of Aiginetan ceremonies in which heroic statues were transported in procession, see Rutherford (1992) 62–72.

[11] Steiner (1998) 123–49 would hear a reference to a statue of Pytheas as victor set up in the city though there is no evidence of any such custom at this date.

[12] Note the ever-present play in *N*. 5 with contrasting types of speech: true words that should not be sung (14), imposed silences that are best rhetoric (16–19); lies told for impious purposes (29) but recorded in a true song sung by goddesses. Ritual supplication asking population and prosperity for the island (9–11), is parodied in a sexual supplication begging for an adulterous union (31b–32), while corrupt mortal persuasion (28) is echoed in a saving act of divine persuasion (37). In the realm of praise the music of Apollo's lyre (24) prepares

that, along with the news of a particular victory, it will export something of the temple's sculptured programme, transformed and made moveable through the animating power of choral song.[13]

True to its opening boast, *Nemean* 5 carries images that could never have decorated a temple. The song is centred upon Peleus and, like no other Pindaric ode, it evokes its hero doubly, not only in its central narrative but also in an introductory mythic glimpse. In neither appearance, however, is this a helmeted warrior; instead it is a youth whose first appearance is too sinister, his second too vulgar,[14] for representation on any sacred building. Some critics, indeed, have found these two danced narratives unsuitable even for a secular victory hymn. How, they ask, can an act of kin-murder and an attempted seduction properly illustrate the song's final commonplace about familial destiny (40)? How, furthermore, do these episodes illuminate the news that the boy Pytheas has taken a crown in the Nemean pankration? And finally how can an act of fratricide serve, within the song, as prologue to events that lead to a wedding? It is the Phokos episode in particular that moderns find offensive, and their shocked response is followed, in a surprising number of cases, by a reformulation of Farnell's conclusion that 'the most wayward and capricious of poets' is caught here in flagrant carelessness.[15]

The inattentive poet hypothesis, however, cannot even be considered because the killing of Phokos is emphasized and made literally 'arresting' by various poetic tricks. Formally speaking, it serves as rejected foil, as the singers approach their central mythic evocation by way of an oddly balanced priamel.[16]

for the responding ornate hymns heard from Victory's lap (42), while both stand in contrast to the ornate blandishments of an unchaste woman (28). All of these are imitated in the shouted wind-borne words of the present song (51).

[13] The opening conceit, song as cargo (2–3), becomes, at the end of the ode, singers as ship and crew (50–1).

[14] Froidfond (1989) 80 speaks of 'le caractère allusif et presque furtif du premier . . . la banalité du second'.

[15] Farnell (1930) 188.

[16] A single item is rejected, a multiplicity chosen. Bundy (1986) 74 calls this a device whereby 'unpropitious matter is converted into foil for a subsequent crescendo'; Robbins (1987) 31 hears instead an example of Maehler's 'Bereitwilligkeits-Motiv', though this is to ignore the overall rhetoric of 'this I won't/ this I will.'

'I won't sing of *that* deed,' they say, 'but I will praise blessedness, athletic strength, or war'(19), their refusal made the more effective by a melodramatic choral act of self-suppression ('I will be mute! I will stand still!' 14–16). Nevertheless this interrupted mythic reference is no mere stylistic flourish, for where other 'suppressed' matters (e.g. Herakles' violence against the gods at *O*. 9. 30–6) are amended, marked as irrelevant, or given the lie, this one is confirmed as 'straight truth' (*ἀλαθεϊ' ἀτρεκής*, 17) and plainly linked to a central tale that concerns 'these same men' (22).[17] What is more, this 'unsung' action is introduced like no other with a fully realized scene that is hung up for a moment before the eyes of the audience. It is a story that cannot be told but it is nonetheless plainly marked as necessary to the overall enchantment that the ode means to effect, and the stanzas given to it (antistrophe and epode of the first triad) must be heard with full attention.

The performance has hardly begun and the boy Pytheas has just been named, when the singers take the word 'mother-city' as cue for the creation of a tableau in which three sons of Aiakos pray at an altar. They stand where their father once prayed to his father for rain,[18] and they ask Zeus Hellanios (10–11)[19] to provide Aigina with a sea-going population of fine men (9–10). This is a moment from the very beginning of the island's history, and the employment of a Hesiodic verb associated with prayers asking for male offspring (*θέσσαντο*,10)[20] raises an inevitable question: how are heroes who live among ant-people[21] ever to engender 'fine men'? Mothers will be necessary, and the significance of maternal parents is at once confirmed by the

[17] But note Fogelmark (1979) 76, who argues that reference to the Aiakids is impossible because Pindar does not 'look back over his shoulder'; F. believes that the sense is, 'for Peleus and Thetis, as for those others, Kadmos and Harmonia'(!)

[18] See above, Ch. 1, pp. 19–20. Hesiod suggests that an earlier prayer offered by Aiakos was answered by the creation of the ant-people (fr. 205 MW).

[19] Without explanation Segal (1998) 183 reported that the altar of Zeus Hellanios has a 'negative significance'.

[20] Cf. Hes. *Cat*. 231 where the prayer is for offspring for Hyllos; at AR 1. 824, in what appears to be a learned joke, the men of Lemnos use this verb when they beg their wives for the sons already born.

[21] Hes. *Cat*. 205; Apollod. *Bib*. 3. 12. 6; see Carnes (1990) 41–4, who notes traditions that insisted on the ant-like qualities of these first creatures; also (1996) 31, where Peleus is seen as 'the Aiakid who breaks out of the closed incestuous pattern of autochthony to establish . . . marriage and thus civilization'.

nomenclature of these three youths,[22] for though they are all sons of Aiakos, the song identifies them only by their mothers' names.[23] Two are economically covered by the single formula 'famous sons of Endaïs' (12), while the third gets his own name before he is specified as born to a different mother, the disjointed syntax allowing her to appear in an emphatic nominative as Psamathe (13). As last in a list, the son of this Nereid enjoys a necessary emphasis which is intensified by his formal introduction as 'force of royal Phokos' (*βία Φώκου κρέοντος*, 12b), the epic phrase setting him apart from brothers who are merely 'recognizable' (*ἀριγνῶτες*, as girls or even swineherds might be, cf. Sappho 97. 1; *Od*. 17. 375).

The name Phokos sounds out among the final syllables of the first antistrophe, almost as a threat; it is remembered through the subsequent pause, to be expanded by the reiterated relative pronoun that opens the epode, 'who was son of the goddess; whom Psamathe bore' (13). The sons of Endaïs obviously belong to earth,[24] but the child of this goddess came into being at the island's sandy edge, where a seal might properly be found,[25] and this becomes the essential information about the victim of a crime that can't be sung: Phokos is either a beast-like man or a man-like beast. Watery, shifting, and marginal, he is unlike his father's other sons, but he is certainly of the ruling family (*κρέοντος*, 12b). Then, at the beginning of the epode, the sudden refusal to describe deeds neither just nor unjust[26] causes the ini-

[22] Nothing in the text fixes the age of any of the three but since the continuing tale brings Peleus to adulthood only later it is probable that Pindar imagines Phokos too as a youth, or at most a young adult, when he is struck down; Wilamowitz (1922) 171 refers to him as 'der Knabe'. The later legends that made Phokos the founder of Phokis naturally placed his death at the end of his northern career, on the occasion of a return to his home island (Paus. 10. 30. 4).

[23] For the Phokos legend, see above, Ch. 1, pp. 21–2 and nn. 28, 30, 45, 47–51.

[24] Endaïs was daughter of Chiron in Thessalian legend (schol. *Il*. 16. 14; schol. P. *N*. 5. 12a; Hyg. *Fab*. 14), of the Megarian Skiron according to the Aiginetans (Paus. 2. 29. 7; Apollod. *Bibl*. 3. 12. 6; Plut. *Thes*. 10); some said that her mother, Chariklo, was the daughter of the Kychreus who mastered Ophis, the serpent of Salamis (Plut. *Thes*. 10. 3 = *FGrH* 487 F 1). Aiakos' marriage with her was presumably regular, she having been given, by Skiron or Chiron, with Zeus' consent.

[25] Detienne (1970) 219–33.

[26] Bury (1965*b*) ad loc. pointed out the ambivalence of *ἐν δίκᾳ τε μή* (14) and translated, 'a grand venture, perhaps just, perhaps not,' to which Farnell responded with outrage (1931) ii. 276 that Pindar 'could not have been doubtful as to the moral quality of this murder'. In apparent agreement Gentile (1995)

tial scene of supplication to collide with the (unspoken) murder. For a listener, the 'huge venture' best rendered by silence (14b) grows directly from the prayer at the altar of Zeus Hellanios,[27] as if it promised fulfilment of the inaugural plea for well-formed citizens who are masters of the sea (9). Nor is there anything extraordinary in this notion, since the killing of an original monster by the first men provided the essential deed for many foundation legends. As a liminal, not quite human first-comer, Phokos stands to Aigina as the Ophis Snake did to Salamis (Hes. fr. 226 MW), and his close kinship with the sea means that when the first inhabitants destroyed him, they completed the separation of their island from the water that surrounds it.

Those who write about *Nemean* 5 report, almost to a man, that in the Phokos passage Pindar (for whatever reason)[28] treats a supremely reprehensible crime which must elicit horror and moral indignation from any listener.[29] Yet what in fact is presented is a sketch of the legendary deed that confirmed Aigina as a place for human habitation. The sung words contain no

201 reports a simple negative ('in maniera non giusta'); cf. Race (1997) ii. 49, 'not in accordance with justice', but two contradictory senses are present in the phrase.

[27] Apollodorus (*Bib*. 3. 12. 6) was perhaps influenced by this passage when he placed the murder immediately after the panhellenic supplication. Carnes (1996) 39 notes that 'beyond merely juxtaposing the prayer and the murder, Pindar establishes formal and linguistic correspondences'.

[28] Unless, like Farnell (1930) i. 188, they dismiss the mention of Phokos as an example of Pindar's characteristic 'heedlessness'. J. Finley (1955) 47 reported that Pindar absentmindedly followed his story to the 'dilemma, at which point his higher view asserted itself', but Bowra (1964) 69, 103 insisted that the poet 'did not conceal his disapproval of the murder of Phocus', but wanted a 'note of strife and disorder' to set off the 'celestial song of the Muses'. Stern (1971) 169–73 more ingeniously supposed that the ode's 'descent into unwanted topics' was parallel to Hippolyta's adulterous propositions, while the song in its continuing progress was meant to show strife of brothers replaced by Zeus-sponsored athletic strife. Segal (1998) 169–72 reported that the felled brother mysteriously represented 'the negative side of Pytheas' bloom'. Cole (1992) 58 speaks of 'past errors' for which Peleus will offer 'atonement' (by denying himself his host's wife?). For a summary of opinion, see Robbins (1987) 25–33; R. himself concentrates on the exile, suggesting that these Aiakid heroes are shown to be, like victors, men who had to leave home to win glory.

[29] Segal (1998) 169 supposed, without explanation, that 'our horror at the impiety of the deed' brings Phokos into a 'significant moral and aesthetic structure'; he reported a Phokos presented 'in a sympathetic light', but his only evidence was 'the allusion to his birth'. In general modern critics have felt that Pindar should have moralized the episode, or at least indicated (like Ovid at *Met*. 11. 268–70) that the killing blighted Peleus' happiness.

syllable that condemns Peleus or Telamon, nor any that supplies Phokos with a positive aspect. Instead, the act of brother-killing is explicitly labelled as 'a heroic risk that cannot be measured according to justice or injustice' (ἐν δίκᾳ τε μή κεκινδυνευμένον 14b).[30] Aigina, the scene of the crime, remains 'glorious' (15), while the two who are driven away are qualified as 'brave,' with an adjective properly applied to fine warriors (ἀλκίμους 15b).[31] Furthermore, the exiles that follow the fratricide are effected by a *daimon* (16)[32] that enforces the will of the Zeus who guides the familial fate of all Aiakids (7), the same who will, at the close of the next triad, reward the wandering Peleus (34–5). The overall design of the song asserts that the killing of the seal-brother must precede the taking of the Nereid bride, and one may note that the prayer of the sons of Aiakos is shown as fulfilled after the murder, for present-day Aigina, a place from which ships constantly depart (2–3), is a city where youths compete for prizes and 'the whole population strives to do noble deeds' (prayer and fulfilment sung to the same music and the same danced figures, at 10–11 and 46–7).[33] The melodramatic choral trick of self-imposed silence identifies the fratricide, not as a deed too vile for speech, but rather as a shared secret too charged and too unstable for secular performance. Overtly, the singers label their self-censorship as a poetic device: 'Silence is often the most poetically expert means that one can find' (*N*. 5. 18).[34] They also, however, liken the suppressed matter to a revelation that initiates inhibited by awe do not mention even among themselves (αἰδέομαι . . .

[30] The odd perfect form κεκινδυνευμένον (14) brings associations of adventure and courage to the killing (cf. Soph. *Ant*. 42, *OC* 564).

[31] Segal (1998) 170 was, however, sure that their departure 'redounds not to the credit of the island but to its shame'.

[32] Robbins (1987) 31–2 notes that *daimon* 'is never per se malign in Pindar'. Responsion causes this *daimon* to echo in the potential anger of Zeus Xenios which becomes the object of Peleus' fear in the next epode (15–16 / 33–34).

[33] For this sense of μάρναται as virtuous competition among fellow-citizens, cf. P. *O*. 5. 16; Pfeijffer (1999) 177 would nonetheless hear a reference to a war with Athens in line 47.

[34] Silence need not always be the 'active gesture of condemnation' described by Walsh (1984) 42. Note *I*. 1. 63 where epinician silencing reflects a secure knowledge of good things; closer to the present passage is *O*. 9. 38, where a truth about Heraklean violence, though an ἐχθρὰ σοφία were it told, is not a condemnation of that hero; at fr. 180 SM silence is again a matter of poetic technique. In these cases the rejected matter, as Bundy remarked, 'must be present throughout' and will 'add lustre' to the matter that is chosen (1972) 45–6.

εἰπεῖν, 14).[35] 'Think upon what I am not making public!' is the song's command, and as they comply Lampon's guests experience an instant of psychic unity. Everyone on the island knew the tomb of Phokos, close to the altar-tomb of Aiakos where the present chorus will soon deposit crowns for Themistios (53–4).[36] Some of the listeners will have taken part in games that regularly celebrated the death of the Seal-Prince,[37] some also in the mysteries that were performed at the spot where he was buried,[38] and all will have known the protective images of the island's original father and son. What is more, all Hellenes knew from Hesiod that two daughters of the Old Man of the Sea had mated with Aiakids, first Psamathe, who bore a Phokos unworthy of epithet, and then Thetis, mother to 'Achilles the lion-hearted crusher of men' (*Theogony* 1003–7). They knew, in other words, that Phokos was a kind of trial sketch for the island's greatest hero, a preliminary creature who had to be removed so that Homer's Achilles could become the son of an Aiginetan Peleus.

In narrative terms the murder of Phokos is the necessary cause

[35] See Hummel (1997) 221–2: 'Le silence, plus que l'envers muet de la parole poétique, apparaît donc comme une parole impossible ou volontairement réprimée.'

[36] Reading φέρε at 54 (with Bowra and SM, after Wilamowitz) as a choral self-injunction: 'Carry this shaggy flower-crown to the area in front of Aiakos' doors!' (possibly the location of a shrine of Phokos as *prothuros* hero). This seems rhetorically stronger than the mss. φέρειν, which Bury ad loc. took with φθέγξαι (52), 'proclaim that he wears,' supposing that a statue of a crowned Themistios stood at the Aiakeion. Pfeijffer (1999) ad loc. also keeps the infinitive but takes the sense to be 'proclaim that he had the honor to dedicate Pytheas' victory in the shrine of Aeacus'.

[37] Note the suggestion of Rutherford (1992) 63 n. 18 that in P. *Pa.* 15 'we may have the aitiology of the pentathlon at the Aiakeia in the myth that Telamon and Peleus killed Phocus after challenging him to a pentathlon (Paus. 2. 29. 9)'. The killing was given an athletic context in accounts as early as the *Alkmaionis* (fr. 1 Davies), where Telamon uses a disc-shaped weapon; the tomb itself was decorated with what Pausanias (2. 29. 9) called disc-shaped stones. The discus is also Peleus' murder implement at Tzetz. Lyk. 175; schol. P. *N.* 5. 25. Later versions might locate the killing (sometimes accidental) at a contest, and Pausanias reported a story in which the murder, by Peleus, was intentional but made to look like an athletic accident. In some accounts the brothers' action was motivated by envy of Phokos' athletic superiority; see Diod. Sic. 4. 72. 5–7; schol. Vat. Eur. *Andr.* 687; Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 12. 6.

[38] Paus. 2. 29. 9. Welter (1938*b*) 52 and (1954) 43 reported a 6th-cent. circular foundation west of the Apollo temple, its base in prehistoric levels, as the grave of Phokos. The similarities between Phokos and Palaimon suggest that Phokos may have been a protector of sea-farers (cf. Eur. *IT* 270; Lyk. *Alex.* 229); von der Mühll (1930) 21–3). On possible cult see above, Ch. 1 n. 48.

of the exile that took Peleus towards the central mythic moment of this ode, his marriage on Pelion (cf. the murder of Likymnios, necessary to the foundation of Rhodes in *O.* 7. 27–32). On another level his birth to Psamathe opens the song's discussion of the significance of mothers in the transfer of heroic qualities. Union with this Nereid produced a son ill-suited to the fate of Aigina, whereas an Aiakid union with Thetis (like Lampon's with a wife who carried a victory-fate within her) created the greatest of heroes. There is, then, no reason for surprise when with an emphatic pompousness ('I leap . . . eagles soar beyond the sea!' 20–1) the chorus transports its audience to the great wedding that gave Thetis to Peleus.[39] With this parallel, today's mortal mother is likened to a goddess, the beardless Pytheas to an (as yet unborn) Achilles, while Lampon, the under-endowed father, is given one of Aiakos' sons for his double. Once achieved, these effects serve the present occasion to perfection, and yet the young dancers of *Nemean* 5 give the blessed Aiakid bridegroom a strangely lukewarm celebration. An ordinary storyteller knows that a man who takes a superlative bride should first be measured against some worthy opponent, so as to establish his stature, but these singers do just the opposite. Having refused to describe the slaying of the awful Phokos, they pit Peleus against a contemptible figure—the bawdy wife of his upcountry host. And, what is more, they insist on their own impropriety, contriving an overblown approach that invests the chosen anecdote with a touch of comic bathos.

At the beginning of the second triad the chorus announces the subjects that deserve song (blessedness, strength of arm, and martial skill, 19), after which they flex their knees and leap away to Pelion where, by assuming the voice of the Muses,[40] they bring Lampon's guests into the immediate presence of a groom who has reached the height of bliss.[41] With the scene thus set, the audience expects a replica of praise at its most sublime, but what these boys who imitate goddesses actually produce is a vulgar

[39] On this effect see Gaertner (1978) 38ff.; Robbins (1987) 25–33, esp. 31.

[40] Compare Ba. 13, with its mingling of immediate choral voices with those of the choruses set up by the daughters of Proitos. It is typical of this trick of overlapping songs that no one can say just where, in *N.* 5, the Muses' performance ends.

[41] Hesiod reported the divine shout of *μακαρισμός* that marked Peleus' blessedness as supreme (fr. 211 MW).

folk-tale set to music. They sing of a kind of contest, it's true, but an indecent one that pits a lusty and scheming female against an immature youth who has no chance to show heroic courage, or strength of arm, or yet soldierly skill. He does not even engage his opponent, much less defeat her; he merely escapes, his only action being to reject (with a verb that likens her to Kirke, himself to Odysseus, *ἀπανάνατο*, 33) an illicit sexual proposition, out of fear of Zeus Xenios (34).[42] What the pseudo-Muses laud in this bridegroom is thus not a rare inherited virtue but one that is available to all—an inhibiting respect for heaven's laws[43]—and even this is displayed in an exclusively negative form, the avoidance of an act of blatant impiety.[44] The ultimate blessedness of the wedding on Pelion has thus been won by mere discretion, and the anecdote—introduced and narrated as if it were of great weight—brings the listener a disappointment lightened by a hint of amusement, since the guests at any actual wedding would be hearing, not about the groom's chastity, but about his virility.[45]

Because the Hippolyta episode, as told by the Muses, is ordinary, even sordid, the hero's non-victory (his refusal to engage) hardly seems to deserve the astonishing prize of a bride equipped with a golden spinning-staff (36). Nor does the wedding-song ever produce that bride, for though she was the first, after Zeus, to be praised (25), Thetis figures only as 'one of the Nereids' (36), conferred as a reward for pious fear. There is no suggestion of the honourable male/female contest in which Peleus could boast an active victory (cf. *N*. 3. 35–6 and *N*. 4. 62–5),[46] nor is there

[42] The imperfect, *λιτάνευεν* at 32 expresses an action not successful, while *πολλά* (31) suggests length and intensity as well as frequency; see Homeric parallels cited ad loc by Pfeijffer (1999). Perhaps the episode reflected ordeals that trained a youth to resist fear, lubricity, and enchantments (Pl. *Rep*. 3. 412e–413d; *Leg*. 1. 633c), for which see Vernant (1989) 179.

[43] Compare *I*. 8. 44, where the goddess Themis praises Peleus for his *εὐσέβεια*.

[44] Storytellers sometimes sharpened the tale by making Akastos not only Peleus' host but also the one who purified him from the blood of Phokos; see Carnes (1999) 1–9.

[45] Stern (1971) 171–2 gave a sexual sense to the phrase *ὀργὰν κνίζον* (32b); he concluded that Pindar described a Peleus who was sorely tempted, and like Segal, Pfeijffer (1999) ad loc. agreed. If this sense is heard, the Muses praise sexual self-discipline as well as fear of Zeus, but though the verb *κνίζω* does once have a pleasureable colour in the Pindaric odes (*I*. 6. 50), *ὀργά* in Aiakid contexts means 'inherited heroic temperament' (*I*. 5. 34; 6. 14); cf. Slater s.v.

[46] It has been supposed that the tale of the wrestling match was originally separate from that of the great wedding (see Reitzenstein (1900) 73–105), but

mention of the son so strongly promised in other accounts of the great wedding.[47] Obviously Hippolyta, in her corruption, offers a kind of reverse portrait of the pure and unwilling Nereid (does Pindar, one wonders, make her talk so much because, according to some, Thetis never spoke in the entire course of her marriage?),[48] but the replacement of a figure of beauty with a tainted opposite is a dangerous trick. Which means that it must be a necessary part of this ode's central scheme.

The poet has contrived an emptiness where Thetis should have been, and this effect is at first emphasized, then reversed in an unexpected way. The last phrase of the storytelling triad concerns the reward granted to Peleus: 'Zeus, Cloud-driving King of Immortals, noted his action and promised that at once he should take, from among the Nereids whose spindles are gold, a seaborn wife' (35–6). The final word is *ἄκοιτιν* and it refers back to the *Θέτιν* named as the first subject of the Muses' song (25), making the sort of closed ring that signals completion. The listener expects only a few conclusive lines, repeating the name of Thetis, mentioning Achilles perhaps, but at any rate returning quickly from the glorious wedding to Lampon's immediate banquet hall. His sense of neat closure, however, endures for a moment only, for it is destroyed by a left-over participial phrase that suddenly projects Poseidon into the scene when the next triad begins (37). According to this added information, Zeus' decision to reward the god-fearing Peleus was not the automatic consequence of that hero's behaviour, but depended as well upon Poseidon's consent (37), and this qualification (made the more surprising by the premonitory pause that let the singers regroup) leads the song off into a seemingly unconnected account of this god's regular arrivals at the Dorian Isthmos. The trick of superimposed sound is readapted now, as the Muses' orderly singing dies away, to be replaced in the auditor's induced experience by the wild music that welcomes the sea-god to his festival (38). With this postscript added, the heroic wedding celebration now seems to reach its

Stoneman (1981) 58–62 argues that they were probably already combined in the *Kypria*.

[47] Compare P. Pa. 15.9 which follows the design of Alkaios 42V in placing wedding in one stanza, gestation between stanzas, and birth at the opening of the next; at *N.* 3. 56–7 the betrothal comes in one line, the birth in the next, but at *P.* 3. 92 a stanza intervenes because the example is doubled with that of Kadmos.

[48] Sophokles in his *Troilos* termed Peleus' marriage 'speechless' (fr. 618 Ll-J).

climax, not among the gods on Pelion, but among mortals who gather at the Isthmos, and the sudden shift of locale leaves the listener momentarily disoriented. What have this god, his games and the music of his pipes, to do with Peleus' union with Thetis, and why are they associated with Pytheas' present victory, which has been won at Nemea?[49]

Zeus makes an agreement with a Poseidon who is called *gambros* (37), a term that usually denotes an ally or relation, where the connection is by way of a female.[50] The word inaugurates the final triad, and its position suggests that it is the key to the sudden appearance of this intrusive power. Simply as one of the Olympians, Poseidon will be linked to a Peleus who marries a goddess,[51] and being himself husband of Amphitrite, he could also be described as brother-in-law to any Oceanid. For Pindar, however, the word *gambros* twice indicates a suitor (*O*. 7. 4, *P*. 9. 116), and that is evidently the character in which Poseidon enters the present song.[52] In another (roughly contemporary) treatment of the marriage that created Achilles, Pindar describes Zeus and Poseidon, first as rivals for the bed of Thetis (*I*. 8. 30), then as parties to a special agreement which gave her to a mortal when the danger in her womb was recognized (*I*. 8. 51–2). Here in *Nemean* 5, where Thetis is a reward, the threat that she posed in heaven is irrelevant, but nevertheless the arrival of the 'suitor' Poseidon at the Isthmos emerges directly from his brother's persuasions (*πείσαις, ὃς . . . νίσεται Ἰσθμόν*, 37), and the clear implication is that the Isthmian cult was somehow contained in Zeus' cajolery. Poseidon abandons a Nereid mate and receives in return an ancient festival, his loss of an alliance with one watery pre-Olympian power balanced by his gain of another (though

[49] Some have looked for an immediate agonistic relevance: Dissen suggested that Pytheas' brother, Phylakidas, was preparing to compete at the Isthmos; L. Schmidt believed that Euthymenes had been successful there. By contrast, Mommsen (1845) 47 found a political significance in the subordination of an Achaian Poseidon to a Hellenic Zeus.

[50] Chantraine, s.v., 'il désigne l'homme (mari, beau-frère, beau-père) par rapport à la femme.'

[51] Note the reverse at *I*. 6. 25, where Peleus is *gambros* of the gods because of his marriage; Poseidon is also *gambros* to Zeus because he is Hera's brother.

[52] Privitera (1982) 122 n. 1 understands '(prospective) bridegroom'. For the opposite opinion see Lesky *RE* s.v. Peleus 294ff., who holds that the present motif of a reward for Peleus would be incompatible with that of the Themis-warning in *I*. 8. Nevertheless, Themis herself suggests the idea of a reward in this latter passage when she describes Peleus as *εὐσεβέστατος* at *I*. 8. 44.

Palaimon is not named).[53] And meanwhile, within the tale being told, perpetual joys experienced among hordes of happy young men in a sense describe the attractions of Thetis, for they measure the value of what the god has relinquished, while they also provide a climax to the tale of Peleus' wedding that is purely masculine and suitable for the voices of boys.[54]

The Isthmian celebrations thus bring the mythic episode to its end with inferential praise of Thetis (only this could compensate for such a loss!). Such indirection demands close collaboration from the spectator, but it is consistent with the game of negative demonstration that is played throughout this ode. The audience has been asked to recognize, in the Zeus-prohibited and over-eager Hippolyta, a reverse portrait of the mother of Achilles, just as it was expected to see, in Phokos, a negative definition of her son. Now, through Poseidon, the negative description of that same Achilles, the song's inner subject, is rendered complete. He is not an amphibious monster, not the frontier bastard Hippolyta might have borne, and finally he is not the destructive super-god who would have been engendered, if Poseidon had not accepted a perennial athletic competition in place of a wedding celebration. Avoiding the commonplace by these somewhat tortuous means, the poet forces his audience to supply its own picture of the child that Thetis will give to Peleus. Through his father's mother, Endaïs (12), he will be rooted in the earth of Aigina, while through his own mother he will be destined to surpass even his father, the killer of Phokos. Above all, this unnamed Achilles will embody the virtue that caused Zeus to give Peleus a Nereid-bride, for he would not exist had his father not honoured the laws of hospitality (*xenia*)—laws unknown in the depths of the sea, but dear to Aigina, the beloved refuge of strangers (8).

[53] In a song for another Aiginetan Pindar referred to Isthmian celebrations established, under orders from the Nereids, by Sisyphos for the dead Melikertes/ Palaimon (fr. 6. 5(1) SM). The earlier Isthmian hero-cult seems to have been taken over by Poseidon *c*.600 BC, to become panhellenic *c*.590 (Paus. 1. 44. 7–8; 2. 1. 3–7); Palaimon continued to receive funeral honours within Poseidon's temenos, and oaths were sworn in his hidden adyton (Paus. 2. 2. 1). Like Phokos he was associated with a humanlike sea creature, in his case the dolphin.

[54] The grandiose epic words in which Poseidon 'descends upon the Dorian Isthmos' (37) are sung to the same musical phrase as 'beginning with august Thetis' (25), while the mortal flute music that greets him at his new precinct (38) offers a conceptual echo to the immortal lyre that sounds at Thetis' wedding (24).

Each element of *Nemean* 5 has been calibrated to a youthful chorus that performs in celebration of a victory through which a son has redeemed his father's house from athletic nonentity. Pytheas is so young that his mother's fingers still stroke his cheek in search of the first downy promise of a beard (6–6b)[55] and like the (not yet conceived) Achilles who is his mythic doublet, he is scarcely present. He is named at the beginning as one whose victory is the subject of the song's message (4), addressed in the penultimate stanza in connection with his uncle's victories (43), then finally advised to remember his trainer (48–9). His success, indeed, is attributed almost entirely to Menander, and his proper childish gratitude is pointed out with a silly pun about athletes and Athens (49–49b). Nevertheless, by undergoing local trials, then leaving home to defeat an opponent full of trickery,[56] he has drawn closer to the Aiakids (especially to Peleus) and to the men of his city (7–8). And because he will soon advance into the next age-class, that of the *ageneioi*, his ode offers him instruction in the central mystery of adulthood, that of generation. A nuanced chart of mating pairs is held up, the two god-inspired marriages, Aiakos with Endaïs and Peleus with Thetis, being posed against three faulty or unachieved unions, those of Aiakos with Psamathe, Peleus with Hippolyta, and Poseidon with Thetis. This sequence is meant to remind Pytheas and his chorus that the purpose of marriage is—as all young nobles should know—the transfer of an inherited, divinely determined, and success-bearing fate from one generation to the next (40–1). What is actually reinvented by the mimetic chorus, however, is an indecent liaison manqué, because for boys of 13 or 14 the wife who will mother one's sons is better left undescribed. For them, the ideal female is better figured by the Victory whose sublime embrace, after contest, is still strongly maternal (42).[57]

[55] Robbins (1987) 26 calls him 'quite possibly the youngest victor represented in our Pindaric corpus'.

[56] Trickery in athletic contests was most evident in wrestling and boxing and above all in the almost unrestricted pankration; see Poliakoff (1987) 54–63.

[57] Silk (1974) 154 notes the erotic suggestions that mix with a wrestling metaphor in the 'fall' into Nike's arms (42). There may be dim echoes of this embrace in the 'sweet folds' of Nisos (46) and the Nemea that 'cleaves to' Euthymenes (44), 'with the fidelity of a bride', according to Bury ad loc., and one may note too that the 'hymns' heard from the lap of Victory echo the wedding music heard on Pelion (24).

Meanwhile the chorus offers satisfactions to the adult guests as well. The young dancers tease Euthymenes by reporting that (because his event came later) he 'followed behind' his boy-nephew.[58] With accents more serious, they assert that Aigina has become the mother-city that Peleus and Telamon envisioned (9–10), and that the men of the audience are themselves the maritime lords demanded by those heroes, for they bring fame to Aigina by engaging in the fairest sorts of strife (47). What is more, their kind will surely continue because hereditary fate decides all things (40), and so they are encouraged to spread sail (50–1) like the sailors they are, and join in the loud shout that hails old Themistios. He is a father who—like Zeus—has given a bride to a man who understands hospitality, and because of him Lampon, like Peleus, knows the supreme joy of being surpassed by a son.

[58] Reading *μεταΐξαις σε καὶ νῦν* at 43 with SM. Youth is usually said to follow in the footsteps of age (e.g. P. *N*. 6. 15; *P*. 8. 35; *P*. 10. 12, cf. *P*. 6. 46); see von der Mühll (1964) 96–7.

5. *Isthmian* 6: The Engendering of Ajax

For Phylakidas, second son of Lampon, brother of Pytheas; of the Theandrid tribe; victor in the boys' pankration, *c*.480 BC. Triads

στρ. α′ Θάλλοντος ἀνδρῶν ὡς ὅτε συμποσίου
δεύτερον κρατῆρα Μοισαίων μελέων
κίρναμεν Λάμπωνος εὐαέ-
θλου γενεᾶς ὕπερ, ἐν Νεμέᾳ μὲν πρῶτον, ὦ Ζεῦ,
τὶν ἄωτον δεξάμενοι στεφάνων,
νῦν αὖτε Ἰσθμοῦ δεσπότᾳ
Νηρεΐδεσσί τε πεντήκοντα, παίδων ὁπλοτάτου
Φυλακίδα νικῶντος. εἴη δὲ τρίτον
σωτῆρι πορσαίνοντας Ὀλυμπίῳ Αἴγιναν κάτα
σπένδειν μελλιφθόγγοις ἀοιδαῖς.

ἀντ. α′ εἰ γάρ τις ἀνθρώπων δαπάνᾳ τε χαρεὶς
καὶ πόνῳ πράσσει θεοδμάτους ἀρετάς,
σύν τέ οἱ δαίμων φυτεύει
δόξαν ἐπήρατον, ἐσχατιαῖς ἤδη πρὸς ὄλβου
βάλλετ' ἄγκυραν θεότιμος ἐών.
τοίαισιν ὀργαῖς εὔχεται
ἀντιάσαις αἴδαν γῆράς τε δέξασθαι πολιὸν
ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς· ἐγὼ δ' ὑψίθρονον
Κλωθὼ κασιγνήτας τε προσεννέπω ἕσπεσθαι κλυταῖς
ἀνδρὸς φίλου Μοίρας ἐφετμαῖς.

ἐπ. α′ ὔμμε τ', ὦ χρυσάρματοι Αἰακίδαι,
τέθμιόν μοι φαμὶ σαφέστατον ἔμμεν
τάνδ' ἐπιστείχοντα νᾶσον ῥαινέμεν εὐλογίαις.
μυρίαι δ' ἔργων καλῶν τέ-
τμανθ' ἑκατόμπεδοι ἐν σχερῷ κέλευθοι,
καὶ πέραν Νείλοιο παγᾶν
καὶ δι' Ὑπερβορέους· 23[b]
οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτω βάρβαρος οὔτε παλίγγλωσσος πόλις,
ἅτις οὐ Πηλέος ἀΐει κλέος ᾗ-
ρωος, εὐδαίμονος γαμβροῦ θεῶν,

στρ. β′ οὐδ' ἅτις Αἴαντος Τελαμωνιάδα
καὶ πατρός· τὸν χαλκοχάρμαν ἐς πόλεμον

ἄγε σὺν Τιρυνθίοισι
πρόφρονα σύμμαχον ἐς Τροΐαν, ἥρωσι μόχθον,
Λαομεδοντιᾶν ὑπὲρ ἀμπλακιᾶν
ἐν ναυσὶν Ἀλκμάνας τέκος.
εἶλε δὲ Περγαμίαν, πέφνεν δὲ σὺν κείνῳ Μερόπων
ἔθνεα καὶ τὸν βουβόταν οὔρεϊ ἶσον
Φλέγραισιν εὑρὼν Ἀλκυονῆ, σφετέρας δ' οὐ φείσατο
χερσὶν βαρυφθόγγοιο νευρᾶς

ἀντ. β′ Ἡρακλέης. ἀλλ' Αἰακίδαν καλέων
ἐς πλόον ⟨κούρων⟩ κύρησεν δαινυμένων.
τὸν μὲν ἐν ῥινῷ λέοντος
στάντα κελήσατο νεκταρέαις σπονδαῖσιν ἄρξαι
καρτεραίχμαν Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδαν,
ἄνδωκε δ' αὐτῷ φέρτατος
οἰνοδόκον φιάλαν χρυσῷ πεφρικυῖαν Τελαμών,
ὁ δ' ἀνατείναις οὐρανῷ χεῖρας ἀμάχους
αὔδασε τοιοῦτον ἔπος· "Εἴ ποτ' ἐμᾶν, ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ,
θυμῷ θέλων ἀρᾶν ἄκουσας,

ἐπ. β′ νῦν σε, νῦν εὐχαῖς ὑπὸ θεσπεσίαις
λίσσομαι παῖδα θρασὺν ἐξ Ἐριβοίας
ἀνδρὶ τῷδε, ξεῖνον ἀμὸν μοιρίδιον τελέσαι·
τὸν μὲν ἄρρηκτον φυάν, ὥσ-
περ τόδε δέρμα με νῦν περιπλανᾶται
θηρός, ὃν πάμπρωτον ἀέθλων
κτεῖνά ποτ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ·
θυμὸς δ' ἐπέσθω." ταῦτ' ἄρα οἱ φαμένῳ πέμψεν θεὸς
ἀρχὸν οἰωνῶν μέγαν αἰετόν· ἁ-
δεῖα δ' ἔνδον νιν ἔκνιξεν χάρις,

στρ. γ′ εἶπέν τε φωνήσαις ἅτε μάντις ἀνήρ.
"Ἔσσεταί τοι παῖς, ὃν αἰτεῖς, ὦ Τελαμών·
καί νιν ὄρνιχος φανέντος
κέκλευ ἐπώνυμον εὐρυβίαν Αἴαντα, λαῶν
ἐν πόνοις ἔκπαγλον Ἐνυαλίου."
ὣς ἦρα εἰπὼν αὐτίκα
ἔζετ'. ἐμοὶ δὲ μακρὸν πάσας ⟨ἀν⟩αγήσασθ' ἀρετάς·
Φυλακίδᾳ γὰρ ἦλθον, ὦ Μοῖσα, ταμίας
Πυθέᾳ τε κώμων Εὐθυμένει τε· τὸν Ἀργείων τρόπον
εἰρήσεταί που κἀν βραχίστοις.

ἀντ. γ′ ἄραντο γὰρ νίκας ἀπὸ παγκρατίου
τρεῖς ἀπ' Ἰσθμοῦ, τὰς δ' ἀπ' εὐφύλλου Νεμέας,
ἀγλαοὶ παῖδές τε καὶ μά-
τρως. ἀνὰ δ' ἄγαγον ἐς φάος οἵαν μοῖραν ὕμνων·

τὰν Ψαλυχιδᾶν δὰ πάτραν Χαρίτων
ἄρδοντι καλλίστᾳ δρόσῳ,
τόν τε Θεμιστίου ὀρθώσαντες οἶκον τάνδε πόλιν
θεοφιλῆ ναίοισι· Λάμπων δὲ μελέταν
ἔργοις ὀπάζων Ἡσιόδου μάλα τιμᾷ τοῦτ' ἔπος,
υἱοῖσί τε φράζων παραινεῖ,

ἐπ. γ′ *ξυνὸν ἄστει κόσμον ἑῷ προσάγων·*
καὶ ξένων εὐεργεσίαις ἀγαπᾶται,
μέτρα μὲν γνώμᾳ διώκων, μέτρα δὲ καὶ κατέχων·
γλῶσσα δ' οὐκ ἔξω φρενῶν· φαί-
ης κέ νιν ἄνδρ' ἐν ἀεθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν
Ναξίαν πέτραις ἐν ἄλλαις
χαλκοδάμαντ' ἀκόναν. 73[b]
πίσω σφε Δίρκας ἁγνὸν ὕδωρ, τὸ βαθύζωνοι κόραι
χρυσοπέπλου Μναμοσύνας ἀνέτει-
λαν παρ' εὐτειχέσιν Κάδμου πύλαις.

1. Like men when the banquet crests,
we mix the Muses' second cup
to honour the race of fine athletes
Lampon has sired. As first at Nemea, O Zeus,
taking the highest of crowns in your honour,
so again now, when for Isthmia's lord
and the fifty Nereids his younger son,
Phylakidas, gains this latest victory. May we
make yet a third libation, poured out on
Aigina, mixed with sweet song, and
offering thanks to the Olympian Saviour!

For if a man rejoice as he spends, and
toil at what task the gods may set, and if some
power should plant sweet fame for him, he
anchors his ship, honoured by gods,
in the ultimate harbour of bliss. That, in
like disposition, he may encounter death and
grisly old age—such is the prayer
of Kleonikos' son, and I would beg
favour from Klotho, throned on high,
and from her sister Fates,
for the noble requests of my friend.

To you, O Aiakid drivers of chariots, I declare
this as my plainest rule: ever to rain down
praise upon you, when I walk this isle!

Ten thousand paths your fair deeds have cut, each
a hundred feet broad and stretching
up from the source of the Nile to lands beyond Boreas.
There is no city so brutish, so wrong-tongued, as
not to have heard of the
glory of Peleus, hero and, by his marriage,
blessed kin to the gods,

2. or of Ajax, Telamon's son, or indeed
of that father—he who sailed towards
battle's bronze clash, bringing Tirynthian men to Troy
because of Laomedon's crimes!
He came with his ships, a willing ally
led by Alkmena's son into heroic toil.
He took Pergamon, slaughtered the Meropes
and too the giant who loomed like a mountain
on Phlegra's plain, Alkyoneus the oxherd—
nor were his hands
sparing in use of the deep-voiced bowstring,

this Herakles! Come to enlist the Aiakid hero,
he happened upon a wedding feast,
and as he stood, wrapped in the lion's pelt, his host
asked him to pour the first offering of nectar—
this was strong Telamon, holding up
to Amphitryon's spearman son a
wine cup of glittering gold. And that other,
stretching his fearsome hands to the skies,
uttered these words: 'If,
Father Zeus, you have ever
listened with willing heart to my pleas,

hear me now when my solemn prayer
asks that you bring a bold son to this man
from Eriboia's womb! Make him my fated friend,
impervious, just like this feral hide
that wraps me around,
won from the beast I killed in the first
contest at Nemea! And let his courage
follow!' He spoke, and at once the god
sent an eagle, the ruler of birds,
and a sweet inner joy pleasured him.

3. Then like a prophet he spoke out:
'The child you require will come, Telamon!
Call him after this eagle-sign, let his

name be "Aias the mighty", fearsome
where men take part in the labors of Ares!'
This said, he sat, and the brave deeds that followed
are more than I can recount. I am come
for Phylakidas, O Lady Muse, as keeper of revels,
for Pytheas too, and for Euthymenes—
hence my speech will be short,
Argive, indeed, in its brevity !

Three pankratic crowns they took at
Isthmia, at bosky Nemea too, these
sparkling boys and their uncle—what a
portion of song they unearthed!
To all the Psalychiad line they bring
clearest dew, the draught of the Graces, and
Themistios' house they exalt as they
dwell in this city beloved of god. Meanwhile
Lampon spends zeal on his task, true to
Hesiod's rule which he
cites as he counsels his sons;

his town he adorns for all to see;
beloved for benefits given to strangers, he
seeks measure in judgement, then holds to it,
nor does his tongue outrun his heart. Among athletes
this man, you may say, is
Naxian stone, finest for sharpening bronze!
To them I bring drink from Dirke's pure stream,
drawn up by deep-girdled daughters of
gold-robed Mnemosyne, close by the gates of the
high-walled city of Kadmos!

About three years after Pytheas' success,[1] his younger brother, Phylakidas, went to Poseidon's games at the Isthmos and brought back his own pankratic crown. The circumstances of his celebration are almost identical with those of *Nemean* 5, though now the athletic reputation of Lampon's house approaches that of his father-in-law. There is even talk of entering Phylakidas at Olympia (7–9),[2] and this ambition is reflected in a Zeus-filled

[1] The date seems to be just before 480 BC since the ode that follows in this series makes reference to the battle of Salamis (*I*. 5. 49).

[2] There was at this time no boys' pankration at Olympia, so either Phylakidas means to wait until he is 18, or else he intends to enter another event, presumably wrestling or boxing; see M. Finley and Pleket (1976) 44.

performance in which Poseidon is referred to only once (5), and then not by name but simply as Lord of the Isthmos. This second song, slightly longer than the ode for the older boy, appropriately takes Peleus' younger brother, Telamon, as its Aiakid hero, while its mythic scene is once more a wedding,[3] its topic once more the making of a son stronger than his father, its predominant Aiakid virtue once more an understanding of the laws of hospitality (*xenia*). This time, however, the exemplar of this virtue is a young man who observes the duties of *xenia* actively, not one who practises self-restraint, and his reward is not a bride given by Zeus but instead a son, provided by a visiting Herakles.

Alike as they are, the odes for the two brothers display effects and employ techniques that are radically dissimilar. To begin with, the song for Phylakidas places itself initially, not in the company of heroic sculptured figures, but instead in its actual setting of men gathered in well-ordered pleasure. The young performers are 'like men' as they attempt to bring about two formal advancements, that of Phylakidas into the highest rank of athletic victors (7–9), and that of Lampon into the highest rank of the blessed (10–18).[4] This will be done according to their self-imposed Law of Aiakid Praise (20–1), and the episode chosen for choral revival could not be more apt, for in it a hero is led from hall to battlefield and from youth to fatherhood, while his son moves from non-being into what will be a glorious existence. This double dynamic perfectly suits the aims of the occasion, but the singers are nevertheless not going to give either their Telamon/Lampon or their Ajax/Phylakidas a full choral realization, and the audience is warned of this negative fact by an introductory priamel that playfully refuses to produce a nominative form of the essential name: 'There is no city so wrong-tongued and barbarous as not to have heard of Peleus, or Ajax, son of Telamon, or of that father . . .!' (24–7). Telamon thus begins as a mere patronymic, and he continues as a relative pronoun in an oblique case (*τὸν,* 27) through a swift résumé of adventures that

[3] Reading *γάμον* or *γάμους* at 36, with Schwenn (1940) 210; cf. *Od.* 4. 3 *δαινύντα γάμον*. See von der Mühll (1959) 130–2; Privitera (1982) 208.

[4] Bernardini (1985) 145 speaks of the paired libations made by the chorus at line 3 and by Herakles at line 41 as 'Un atto rituale (libagione augurale) a favore della coppia padre/figlio'.

cleverly confounds him with Alkmena's son (27–33).[5] This is his wedding night, and he is ostensibly the hero upon whom praise must be showered (21), but he is a mute and secondary figure whose single action is to present to his guest a cup that 'bristles with gold' (40). It is Herakles who occupies the centre of this stage.

Telamon's guest, 'Alkmena's boy' (30), is introduced as a leader of allies in battle, killer of Meropes and (prospective) conqueror of Troy (31–3), but like the figure on the East Pediment of the Aphaia temple, he carries neither sword nor club. Instead, he walks into his friend's wedding, and into this anecdote, wearing his lion's skin and holding a bow whose strings seem still to be vibrating (the arresting aural epithet, *βαρυφθόγγοιο*, 34, sounds through the stanza break). He is given a cup and, much as the singers would hail Phylakidas as victor at Olympia (7), he pours a libation and asks for another kind of victor. A 'bold boy' (45) is demanded from the womb of Eriboia,[6] and though this will be a son for Telamon, it is Herakles who fixes both the physical nature (*φυά*, 47) and the fighting spirit (*θυμός*, 49) of the child not yet conceived. His prayer does its work and the hall is at once penetrated by an agent of divine force, a huge eagle sent by Zeus (*θεός*, 49).[7] This is the official 'wonder' of the tale, a moment of mystical begetting, and it is Herakles (not the youth whose wife will receive his seed), who reacts with an inner shudder of pleasure (*ἁδεῖα δ' ἔνδον νιν ἔκνιξεν χάρις*, 50).[8] The divine response brings him a 'sweet joy', and this grace-filled experience spreads through the audience during the pause that closes the central triad.

Herakles has asked that the best of himself be implanted in the

[5] Euripides will have had this passage in mind when he composed *Tro.* 805–19, though he was evidently also aware of *Isthmian* 5. 36, with its *δίς*.

[6] Cf. Ba. 13. 102. Eriboia is the inscribed name of the wife who presents a baby to Telamon on a red-figure cup by the Kodros painter, 440–430 BC; see *LIMC* s.v. Aias I 12, and Berger (1968) 125–36. Why Pindar names her is a puzzle; perhaps to indicate a particular epic source, or to locate the scene on Salamis, or to discriminate his version from Attic stories that associated a Periboia, mother of Ajax, with Theseus (as does Xen. *Kyneg.* 1. 9; Plut. *Thes.* 29, though on the François vase she is Eriboia).

[7] Compare the arrival at Amphitryon's hall of the literally engendering Zeus for the making of Herakles (*N.* 10. 16).

[8] For the erotic sense latent in *ἔκνιξεν* (50) cf. P. *P.* 10. 60; Ba. 17. 8. Thummer (1968–9) ii. 95 ad *I.* 5. 58 summarizes the pleasant/unpleasant aspects of such a tickle or scratch.

unborn boy—strength as invulnerable as the lion's skin and a ferocious courage to match[9]—while Zeus has promised a third inborn quality, a fated supremacy, by sending the great chieftain of all birds (50) as his sign of approval. The guest's surpassing gift has been given and it would seem to be time for the mythic banquet, like the actual, to reach its climax in preparations for tomorrow's departure. Herakles, however, has a final paternal gesture to make. He joins the bird of Zeus to the now promised boy (52) by way of a name (53),[10] and in so doing he gives reality to that name's recipient. Technically speaking 'mighty Ajax' is not yet an embryo, but Herakles presents him to the gathered wedding guests as if this were the sixth day after his birth. He is not the child's father,[11] but he testifies that this son legitimately takes a double inheritance of 'wide-stretching violence' and eagle-like pre-eminence from two godfathers, himself and the Zeus who has just answered his prayer.

For Phylakidas and Lampon, Pindar has chosen a Hesiodic story[12] in which Herakles conforms to a familiar folk-tale figure, the Hellenic god-come-to-visit, or the uninvited guest of many European fairy-tales. Treated badly, such a one brings terrible punishments, but taken in and honoured, he or she sends blessings upon the household. Sometimes the outsider arrives at a wedding, like Eris at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis,[13] and sometimes on the day of a birth or a christening, as in the tale of *Sleeping Beauty*, bringing a good or bad gift that will settle the fate of the child. Attached to Herakles and Ajax, the tale seems to have taken the second form at an early stage, as the visiting hero wrapped the newborn in his own lion's skin and gave him the gift of invulnerability. Such magic, however, had to be flawed and so most storytellers had made use of the Achilles-motif to report

[9] This donation of qualities foreshadows Ajax's legacy to Eurysakes at Soph. *Ajax* 545 ff., esp. 574–6.

[10] Svenbro (1988) 86 notes that 'l'enfant porte un nom qui est (ou qui pourrait être) l'epithète de l'un de ses parents ou d'un ancêtre'. It is as if the eagle were parent, Zeus an ancestor, as indeed he is.

[11] Telamon must be the father, but the situation is like that of *O*. 9. 57–61, where Lokros is given a bride impregnated by Zeus.

[12] At Hes. *Cat*. 250 MW the eagle sign is likewise central but one can't know whether the lion's skin plays a part, or whether the visit comes on the wedding day or on the day of Ajax's birth.

[13] Compare *I*. 8. 52–3 where Achilles' future deeds seem to be sung at Thetis' wedding; cf. also the Parcae at Catullus 64.

that one part of the baby was not in contact with the saving pelt. In this way Ajax remained mortal, his death achieved in a bizarre scene, evidently known to Aischylos,[14] in which his suicidal sword refused to cut his flesh until a female *daimon* arrived to point out the spot that was not enchanted. That this version was familiar to Pindar is evident from the trouble he takes to correct it, eliminating all fairy-tale hocus-pocus and selecting the wedding as the moment for his visitor's arrival. There is no baby to be wrapped, and the singers specify a pelt that does not leave the hero's back (37),[15] for in this telling the lion-skin serves only to identify Herakles as a monster-killer from the edges of culture, a patron of games (like the Nemean, 48) which are presented as a form of beast-battle, a wilderness activity. The pelt is not manipulated in any way but serves only as part of a simile meant for Zeus' ear, because the incipient Ajax of this ode will not have the vulgar advantage of a bewitched skin, nor will he be marred by any magical imperfection. The Heraklean action here revived is not a form of bewitchment, but instead a solemn libation that links men with Zeus.

When Herakles finally sits (56), the old fantasy of making a child by a strictly masculine process seems to have been fulfilled.[16] Introduced as a maker of death ('he killed the entire race of the Meropes and Alkyoneus, too', 31–3), this Herakles has been transformed by Telamon's hospitality and Zeus' favour into a giver of life. The hands that had kept his bow busy (34) have taken the cup and stretched out in prayer (41) for the creation of the 'bold boy' (45). With this episode, then, Pindar has brought Herakles into the Aiakid line as a surrogate father of Ajax and this ultimate marvel (*θαῦμα*), this wonder that cannot be capped, is marked as such by a formal break-off phrase: 'The glorious deeds that followed are too many for me to tell' (56). These words signal the end of the mythic section, but they are

[14] Fr. 284 Ll.-J 83 N = schol. Soph. *Ai*. 833; cf. Lyc. *Alex*. 459 and Tzetzes ad 455; see Robert (1881) 1044ff. According to the Argument to Soph. *Ajax* Pindar told of the vulnerable point where lion-skin had not touched baby skin; either this is a misremembrance or it refers to an ode now lost.

[15] Some have thought that Herakles throws the lion-skin on the ground and stands upon it but the phrase *ἐν ῥινῷ* (37) means 'wearing the skin'; see Bury ad loc.

[16] Eur. *Hipp*. 618–24. Compare *I*. 6. 62 where Pytheas, Phylakidas, and Euthymenes bring marvellous songs 'into the light', like midwives.

sung to the same melodic phrase that covered the fall of Pergamon (31), and it is clear that what is left unsung are acts of courage (*ἀρεταί*) performed on the plain at Troy. The 'too many' formula, like the exhortation to silence at *Nemean* 5. 14–18, not only marks a transition to a new subject, but also forces the suppressed material into the minds of the listeners.[17] 'I won't tell' signifies 'You must tell yourselves!' and consequently, though the song now turns to other matters, the spectators join one another to contemplate the exploits of all three heroes, those of Ajax against Priam as well as those of Telamon and Herakles against Laomedon (29). They have already been reminded of the new sculptures at the Aphaia temple by the appearance of an archer Herakles, taker of Troy (31), who might have stepped down from the East Pediment with his pelt and his 'deep-voiced' bow. It is towards that battlefield that he would now lead Telamon, which means that the spectator, when challenged to remember Ajax and his deeds, has only to walk in his imagination from the East face of the temple to the West.[18] All of which gives a special significance to the three changes that Pindar has made in the sculptural programme. First, he returns Herakles to his proper place at the centre of the composition; his name, emphasized by postponement, opens the central stanza of the central triad (35), while his voice is the only one to be heard in direct imitation. Second, he removes Athena and puts in her place an ever dominant Zeus who is called at the opening (3) and is present as saviour (*σωτήρ*), father (*πατήρ*), and god (*θεός*), at both the actual and the mythic occasions (8, 42, 44, 49). And finally, with his notion of a Herakles as surrogate father who creates a guest-friend for himself (*ξεῖνον*, 46), Pindar makes the hero into an honorary Aiakid whose link to Aigina is now as close as that of kinship.[19]

Thirteen sung syllables (56) bring an audience occupied with

[17] Bundy (1986) 12–13, 71–5, notes the close relationship between the 'too much to tell' formula and the motifs of *ἀσχολία, κόρος,* and *σιγά*. The present example is, however, remarkable for its (appropriate) brevity: it uses only five words where *N*. 10. 1–20, for example stretches the same ploy to twenty lines.

[18] As Jebb remarked (1882) 178, this is 'a case in which we can conceive that the poet's immediate theme may have occurred to his mind as he gazed on the sculptor's work in the splendid entablature of the temple'.

[19] Schol. 123b, P. *N*. 7. 86 (Dr. 3 134. 15–16) refers to a story in which Herakles was received by Aiakos; Rutherford (1992) 65 and n. 27 supposes an Aigenetan theoxenic ritual with this as its aition.

sculptured heroes and the fields of Troy face to face with the present Psalychiad athletes, so that the three great warriors of epic are necessarily confounded with Euthymenes, Pytheas, and Phylakidas (57–8),[20] the recipients of immediate praise. The conceit of matching an athlete who entertains Olympic hopes with a violent warrior who does not yet occupy his mother's womb is baroque, to say the least, and it would not have suited an adult victor, but Phylakidas is a fierce pankratist who may be no more than 12 years old.[21] His youth also explains why he, the ostensible object of praise, is named only twice (7, 57) in an ode that makes much of his father. The first antistrophe is filled with a choral prayer for Lampon, 'Kleonikos' son', that he may achieve blessedness (10–18), and an answering passage at the end of the song (66–73) shows that this nobleman has now reached that state, even without the longed-for Olympic victory. In service to his god-loved city he gives assistance to strangers (69–71), presumably acting sometimes as judge,[22] while he delights his fellow-citizens with public decorations offered for their common enjoyment (*κόσμον*, 69).[23] In addition he has

[20] Pytheas and Euthymenes have both won at Nemea, Euthymenes also at Megara, as recorded at *N*. 5. 44–6; now Phylakidas adds an Isthmian victory. This is the most economical interpretation of lines 60–1; see Bury ad loc., Maehler (1982) 1. ii. 251 ff., and esp. Cole (1987) 553–68. Those who understand 'three at Isthmia and some others at Nemea' must attribute two otherwise unnoted Isthmian victories to Euthymenes; so Privitera (1982) 88; Carey (1989*b*) 294. A contrived ambiguity that effects a kind of joke is discovered by Kurz (1974) 2–25.

[21] At the time of his next victory, which must have been at least two years later, Phylakidas was still young enough to have his older brother Pytheas as his trainer (*I*. 5. 59; see below, Ch. 6, pp. 100–1); for the present contest he seems to have been trained by his father (72–3).

[22] Cf. the *themis* and *dike* that Aiginetans observe in respect to strangers at *I*. 9. 4–5. Lines 71–2 are usually taken as a free-standing description of Lampon's general character but sense is sharpened by punctuating with Privitera (1982) 213–14, with a stop after *παραινεῖ* (68), but none after *προσάγων* (69), so that the two participles extend the reasons for which Lampon is beloved. Since aid to foreigners would be given most frequently in legal and business matters, *γνώμα* may here take its restricted sense, 'opinion rendered' (LSJ s.v. III); cf. Zeus' delivered opinion as judge at *N*. 10. 89. In Lampon's case, the phrase will suggest a distinction between making judgements and administering them, and will then apply also to judgements given in the gymnasium.

[23] Since a victor's fame enhances his city this reference may be simply to the winning athletes, his sons and others, whom Lampon has encouraged (72–3); so schol. *I*. 6. 97, and one may note *N*. 2. 8, where the victor will be the *κόσμος* of Athens. At *O*. 3. 13 and *O*. 8. 83 the wreath is so named, while at *N*. 3. 31 , *O*. 11. 13 and fr. 194.2 S, a song-kosmos is mentioned; thus Thummer (1968–9) ii. 110

served as amateur coach to the city's athletes (or at any rate to Phylakidas),[24] putting an edge on the basic metal presented by each would-be contestant (72–3). Lampon has, in other words, worked at god-given tasks, showing the zealous concern (*μελέ-ταν*, 66) that Hesiod recommended;[25] he has spent money joyously (10–11), and to the earlier-mentioned qualities necessary for achieving bliss he has added measure, displayed in his decisions and also in his actions (71). Now his sons and his brother-in-law sprinkle dew on the Psalychiad tribe while exalting the house of the maternal grandfather (63–5),[26] and this means that the third requirement for lasting bliss (12) is fulfilled. A *daimon* has engendered fair fame for him and his heirs, and Lampon does indeed 'drop his anchor in the furthest reach of blessedness' (13) as he sips from this well-mixed cup of song.

supposed that this was a reference to the present celebration. Nevertheless the verb *προσάγων* suggests a more concrete form of decoration (perhaps contributions towards the new Aphaia pediments?).

[24] As one who sharpens athletic skills Lampon is to other trainers as Naxian stone to other whetstones; Wilamowitz (1922) 102. This praise for his work among athletes comes precisely where trainers are named in other odes (with the exception of Melesias, in *O*. 8. 54), and some commentators have assumed that it must refer to a professional, not to the aristocratic father of the athlete. For this reason T. Mommsen emended the text that the scholiasts knew to produce the name of Menander, Pytheas' trainer at *N*. 5.48, from *νιν ἄνδρ'* (72); see Bury ad loc. and the discussion of Privitera (1982) 213–4.

[25] Hes. *Erg*. 412: 'concerned zeal (*μελέτη*) gives due aid to a task.' Bakchylides in his ode for Pytheas (13. 191) chose the same word to indicate the special virtue of a trainer.

[26] At 63–6 the *πάτρα* of the Psalychiads is distinguished from the *οἶκος* of Themistios, though Lampon's sons and Euthymenes work as a group to bring honour to both; this suggests that Euthymenes may be an honorary Psalychiad.

6. *Isthmian* 5: Achilles and Telephos

For Phylakidas, son of Lampon, grandson of Kleonikos; victor in boys' pankration. Soon after Salamis, perhaps 478 BC. Triads.

στρ. α΄ *Μᾶτερ Ἀλίου πολυώνυμε Θεία,*
σέο ἕκατι καὶ μεγασθενῆ νόμισαν
χρυσὸν ἄνθρωποι περιώσιον ἄλλων·
καὶ γὰρ ἐριζόμεναι
νᾶες ἐν πόντῳ καὶ ⟨ὑφ'⟩ ἅρμασιν ἵπποι
διὰ τεάν, ὤνασσα, τιμὰν ὠκυδινή-
τοις ἐν ἀμίλλαισι θαυμασταὶ πέλονται·

ἀντ. α΄ *ἔν τ' ἀγωνίοις ἀέθλοισι ποθεινὸν*
κλέος ἔπραξεν, ὅντιν' ἀθρόοι στέφανοι
χερσὶ νικάσαντ' ἀνέδησαν ἔθειραν
ἢ ταχυτᾶτι ποδῶν.
κρίνεται δ' ἀλκὰ διὰ δαίμονας ἀνδρῶν.
δύο δέ τοι ζωᾶς ἄωτον μοῦνα ποιμαί-
νοντι τὸν ἄλπνιστον εὐανθεῖ σὺν ὄλβῳ,

ἐπ. α΄ *εἴ τις εὖ πάσχων λόγον ἐσλὸν ἀκούῃ.*
μὴ μάτευε Ζεὺς γενέσθαι· πάντ' ἔχεις,
εἴ σε τούτων μοῖρ' ἐφίκοιτο καλῶν.
θνατὰ θνατοῖσι πρέπει.
τὶν δ' ἐν Ἰσθμῷ διπλόα θάλλοισ' ἀρετά,
Φυλακίδα, κεῖται, Νεμέᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀμφοῖν
Πυθέᾳ τε παγκρατίου. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν
οὐκ ἄτερ Αἰακιδᾶν κέαρ ὕμνων γεύεται·
σὺν Χάρισιν δ' ἔμολον Λάμπωνος υἱοῖς

στρ. β΄ *τάνδ' ἐς εὔνομον πόλιν. εἰ δὲ τέτραπται*
θεοδότων ἔργων κέλευθον ἂν καθαράν,
μὴ φθόνει κόμπον τὸν ἐοικότ' ἀοιδᾷ
κιρνάμεν ἀντὶ πόνων.
καὶ γὰρ ἡρώων ἀγαθοὶ πολεμισταὶ
λόγον ἐκέρδαναν· κλέονται δ' ἔν τε φορμίγ-
γεσσιν ἐν αὐλῶν τε παμφώνοις ὁμοκλαῖς

ἀντ. β΄ *μυρίον χρόνον· μελέταν δὲ σοφισταῖς*
Διὸς ἕκατι πρόσβαλον σεβιζόμενοι.

ἐν μὲν Αἰτωλῶν θυσίαισι φαενναῖς
Οἰνείδαι κρατεροί,
ἐν δὲ Θήβαις ἱπποσόας Ἰόλαος
γέρας ἔχει, Περσεὺς δ' ἐν Ἄργει, Κάστορος δ' αἰχ-
μὰ Πολυδεύκεός τ' ἐπ' Εὐρώτα ῥεέθροις.

ἐπ. β′ *ἀλλ' ἐν Οἰνώνᾳ μεγαλήτορες ὀργαὶ*
Αἰακοῦ παίδων τε· τοὶ καὶ σὺν μάχαις
δὶς πόλιν Τρώων ἔπραθον, σπόμενοι
Ἡρακλῆϊ πρότερον,
καὶ σὺν Ἀτρείδαις. ἔλα νῦν μοι πεδόθεν·
λέγε, τίνες Κύκνον, τίνες Ἕκτορα πέφνον,
καὶ στράταρχον Αἰθιόπων ἄφοβον
Μέμνονα χαλκοάραν· τίς ἄρ' ἐσλὸν Τήλεφον
τρῶσεν ἑᾷ δορὶ Καΐκου παρ' ὄχθαις;

στρ. γ′ *τοῖσιν Αἴγιναν προφέρει στόμα πάτραν,*
διαπρεπέα νᾶσον· τετείχισται δὲ πάλαι
πύργος ὑψηλαῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀναβαίνειν.
πολλὰ μὲν ἀρτιεπὴς
γλῶσσά μοι τοξεύματ' ἔχει περὶ κείνων
κελαδέειν· καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἄρει μαρτυρήσαι
κεν πόλις Αἴαντος ὀρθωθεῖσα ναύταις

ἀντ. γ′ *ἐν πολυφθόρῳ Σαλαμὶς Διὸς ὄμβρῳ*
ἀναρίθμων ἀνδρῶν χαλαζάεντι φόνῳ.
ἀλλ' ὅμως καύχαμα κατάβρεχε σιγᾷ·
Ζεὺς τά τε καὶ τὰ νέμει,
Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κύριος. ἐν δ' ἐρατεινῷ
μέλιτι καὶ τοιαίδε τιμαὶ καλλίνικον
χάρμ' ἀγαπάζοντι. μαρνάσθω τις ἔρδων

ἐπ. γ′ *ἀμφ' ἀέθλοισιν γενεὰν Κλεονίκου*
ἐκμαθών· οὗτοι τετύφλωται μακρὸς
μόχθος ἀνδρῶν οὐδ' ὁπόσαι δαπάναι
ἐλπίδων ἔκνιξ' ὄπιν.
αἰνέω καὶ Πυθέαν ἐν γυιοδάμοις
Φυλακίδᾳ πλαγᾶν δρόμον εὐθυπορῆσαι,
χερσὶ δεξιόν, νόῳ ἀντίπαλον.
λάμβανέ οἱ στέφανον, φέρε δ' εὔμαλλον μίτραν,
καὶ πτερόεντα νέον σύμπεμψον ὕμνον.

1. Theia, mother of Helios, many-named,
all men, because of you, count
gold as supreme in its might;

so too ships that war on the sea, or
horses harnessed to chariots
are by your office discovered, O Queen, as
marvels engaged in swift-circling strife;

so too the athlete in contest who
wins fame, long desired, when crowns
gained by his hands or his racing feet
are bound in his tangled hair! And yet
a man's valour is judged by the Powers:
two events, joined, alone may shepherd
life at its sweetest into a flowery bliss—

success, and a following fair report !
Seek not to be Zeus: you have all, if a
due share of such blessings comes to you!
Mortal ways suit men who must die.
Twice-blooming success is marked up at Isthmia,
Phylakidas, for you, and at Nemea too, for
you and for Pytheas, in the pankration. But, with
Aiakids absent, my heart can't savour a song!
I come for Lampon's sons, bringing the Graces

2. into this tranquil city. Once he is set
on a plain path of god-sponsored deeds,
a singer should never be stingy
in pouring out boasts, song-mixed,
as payment for toil! Thus have great warriors
gained praise; they are sung to the lyre and the
many-voiced babbling pipe

since ages ago; their worship
by Zeus' command keeps poets at work!
In the Aitolian rites bright flames
remember the powerful Oineïdai;
at Thebes, Iolaos the driver wins honour;
in Argos, Perseus; lance-strong Kastor,
with Pollux, where the Eurotas flows,

but here on Oinona the great-hearted
temper of Aiakos' line is supreme.
Twice in battle they stormed the city of Troy,
first led by Herakles, then in alliance
with Atreids. Leap now, well off the ground!
Speak out! Who were the killers of Kyknos?
of Hektor? of Memnon, the fearless Ethiope chief

armoured in bronze? Whose lance, where
Kaïkos flows, wounded the noble Telephos?

3. My lips make Aigina home to these heroes,
island beyond compare, for here,
since past ages, their deeds tower high.
My tongue, ever ready with words, keeps
many an arrow of song for their race, but today,
tested by Ares, the city of Ajax bears witness that
she was upheld by our sailors—

she, Salamis!—during the ruinous Zeus-made
storm, when blood fell like hail from countless
men. But drown all such vaunting in silence!
Zeus dispenses both good and bad,
Zeus is ruler of all! Success like today's
delights in a honey-dipped victory-shout.
Let all who struggle for

prizes in contest consider Kleonikos' line!
The great toil of these men is not eclipsed,
nor is the sum of the moneys spent to excite
their hopes for success! Pytheas, too,
I would praise among tamers of limbs;
he set the course for Phylakidas' blows,
clever of hand, his mind the same.
Take up a crown for him, bring him a tasselled cap,
and send out this winged fresh-made song!

This last ode in the series commissioned by Lampon again celebrates the younger son, Phylakidas, probably in 478 BC.[1] Coached by his older brother, he has taken another pankratic victory at the Isthmos, but he has evidently not gained the Olympic prize that was publicly prayed for in *Isthmian* 6.[2] The family's satisfaction is thus slightly flawed, but among the island

[1] Since the ode closes with praise of Pytheas as Phylakidas' trainer (60, but see below, n. 22) it is reasonable to suppose that Phylakidas was still under 18 at the time of the present victory. Elsewhere in the Aiginetan odes trainer-praise occurs at *O*. 8. 54–64, *N*. 4. 93–6, *N*. 5. 48–9, *N*. 6. 64–6 (also *I*. 6. 66–73 if Lampon trained his son), all songs for youthful victors; see Snell (1953) 45–6*.

[2] There being no boys' pankration at Olympia (M. Finley and Pleket (1976) 44) Phylakidas may have decided to wait until he could enter as a man; he may have been prevented from going in 480 BC, or he may have tried in boxing or wrestling and failed.

nobility there is cause for general rejoicing because Aiginetan ships have recently taken the palm at Salamis. As he made a song to be presented at Lampon's table, Pindar thus had two special problems: he had to praise a victor who has so far missed his heart's desire (*I*. 6. 7–9), and he had to glorify the lesser victory of a youth at a time when men of his city had recently triumphed (or died) in a bloody encounter with invading Persians. In addition, a cosmic event may have troubled poet, chorus, and audience alike, for the Isthmian games of 478 BC had come a few months after the solar eclipse that occurred on 17 February of that year,[3] and we know that Pindar, at any rate, saw the sun's disappearance as a darkening of men's wisdom and strength (see Paian 9, composed for the Thebans after the total eclipse of 463 BC). All these conditions, actual and cosmic, are met, in *Isthmian* 5, with a swift efficiency as the light of heaven is praised, then shown to be surpassed by another sort of illumination, after which the deeds of the usual Aiakids are hailed, then capped with the work of the Aiginetan sailors at Salamis. Finally, however, all such 'towering exploits' (45) are consigned to silence by performers who arrive, with victor and guests, at the felt presence of a Zeus whose power is absolute (52–3). This clears the way for pragmatic praise of the House of Kleonikos for its exemplary athletic success.

This ode for Phylakidas must laud one boy's fight against another, though Persian armies are still on Greek soil, and to this purpose its opening lines may have seemed oddly irrelevant, even to its own audience. Moderns, at any rate, have found the address to Theia highly unsuitable, the work of a distracted poet who sets a noble porch before a commonplace house.[4] Nevertheless, since this deity has been summoned, it will be right to study the relation of her conspicuous invocation to the ode that follows. Four other pre-conquest odes are addressed to a female power:[5] *Nemean* 3 to a Muse, *Nemean* 8 to Hora, *Olympian* 8 to Olympia, and *Nemean* 7 to Eleithyia. Among

[3] Boll *RE* 6 (1909) s.v. Finsternisse 2354; Coppola (1931) 73; Mucke, Meeus (1983).

[4] Privitera (1982) 78, 'al portico che splende lontano non sta dietro una nobile casa'.

[5] Only six of the other thirty-four non-Aiginetan odes open with invocations, five to female powers (Tyche, *O*. 12; Charites,*O*. 14, *N*. 10; Hestia, *N*. 11; daughters of Kadmos, *P*. 11), and one to Zeus (*O*. 4.).

these ladies, Theia is distinguished by her position as a cosmic divinity who, being a daughter of Ge, belongs to the time of creation. She is the opposite of Night and therefore the mother of Helios, Selene, and Eos (*Theog.* 371–3); in other words she is the source of all forms of light.[6] By extension, then, she is 'mother of eyes'(*Ἀκτὶς ἀελίου . . . μᾶτερ ὀμμάτων*, Pa. 9. 1), and a power essential to every act of visual evaluation (1–10). Thanks to Theia, men look upon gold and judge it powerful, look upon ships and chariots and find them marvellous, while the athlete in his moment of victory (also a visible event) wins, not the respect given to gold, nor the wonder that greets a warlike display, but something far better, fame.

Such is the rhetoric of the opening lines as, with a movement much like Sappho's 'Some say a company of horse . . .' (fr. 16V),[7] the singers construct a hierarchy of what is valuable. The neat twist (from sights rewarded with admiration to others that earn fame—*κλέος*, 8) marks what seems to be the supremely valued item—athletic endeavour—but then a super-cap is abruptly produced, one that depends upon neither light nor sight. Men see the crowned athlete, value him, and reward him with visible signs of glory, but *alka*, 'pure courage' (*ἀλκά*, 11), is recognized and distinguished by divinities, without the help of light. There is, then, at least one superlative quality that does not depend upon Theia and therefore cannot be eclipsed: the special bravery with which a man defends his friends.[8] Where virtue of this sort is granted effect and fixed in lasting legend (13), there the true peak of mortal achievement is found, and the singers mark this

[6] Themis, Tethys, Mnemosyne, and Theia were made by Ge without the aid of Ouranos (Orph. fr. 95 Abel = 114 Kern), but according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 371–4) Theia's own children were fathered by Hyperion, called by Pindar at *O.* 7. 39, 'power that brings light to mortals'. Wilamowitz (1922) 203, however, reported the object of this invocation as a divine light that came from within a man in a moment of high achievement; similarly D. Bremer (1975) 85–96 would identify Theia as 'die Gottlichkeit'. Sappho likewise moves from the visible to something that cannot be seen, then back to a combination, the beloved's manner of walking; see Race (1982) 111 and (1989*a*) 16–33.

[7] Bundy (1986) 36 and n. 6 has a slightly different analysis; for him the statement about *ἀλκά* (11) is the close of the athletic item and so of a priamel that evaluates games over gold, horses, and ships; after this the statement about sweetest bliss is gnomic transition, preparing for the 'pronominal cap' at 17–19.

[8] Chantraine s.v. *ἀλκή*. Hesiod had made this the special virtue of the Aiakids, given them by Zeus (*Cat.* 203. 1 MW), as sense was to the Amythionids and wealth to the Atreids.

ultimate, most valued item with the exotic superlative, ἄλπνιστον, 'gentlest', 'smoothest' (12).[9]

The priamel is a trick of persuasion well suited to discussion of qualities that cannot be seen, for it is a 'proof' that merely asserts, and one that often produces the unexpected.[10] In this case, though the demonstration that emanates from Theia first arrives at a formal cap that is quite conventional (the 'flowering blessedness' of success truly praised, 12–13), its ultimate discovery is not of a simple superlative but instead of a system of discriminations. All phenomena are divided into those that demand light for their recognition, and those that do not—those that address a judging mortal eye, and those that are discovered and marked by powers of another sort (*daimones*, 11). Where light determines value, gold (χρυσός, 3) and fame (κλέος, 8) are most precious, but where daimonic forces make their lightless discoveries, a superlative god-given state of true blessedness (of *olbos* and *logos*, bliss and praise, in combination, 12–13) comes into being, a condition neither visible nor invisible. Nevertheless, the two sorts of values—those that do, and those that do not depend upon illumination—are in no way antagonistic; rather they fit each other like parts of a metaphor because music acts as mediator. The *logos* that crowns the heroic temperament with bliss (13, 27) is, according to the will of Zeus, proclaimed by lyre and flute (28–9), and this is possible because men, through their ears, can take in even the invisible. (Plato will remark, at *Rep*. 507d–508b, that light acts as a yoke between vision and the visibility of what is seen, while between the hearer and what is heard no similar agent is needed.) Song can serve as a kind of illumination that reaches where sunlight cannot, allowing the listener a momentary perception of what gods actually see. Like sunlight, then, the present ode can display crowns won by the superb use of hands and feet (7–10, 62–3), but it can also grant something like divine vision, first letting its auditor see, in Achilles, the mythic *alka* that was Zeus' special gift to Aiakids (Hesiod *Cat*. 203 MW), then causing him to look—as an overseeing god might—upon the actual bravery of Aiginetan sailors at Salamis.

[9] The adjective is invented or very rare; J. Wackernagel, *Zeitschr. f. vergleichende Sprachforschung* 43 (1910) 377 would accent the final syllable. At P. *P*. 8. 84 ἔπαλπνος describes the happy victor on his return.

[10] Griffith (1990) 193–4.

This play of the quantifiable (Theia's realm) against what cannot be seen and measured (the realm of the *daimones*) continues in the body of the ode, as does the rhetoric of the priamel. The song will exemplify the ultimate superlative of its opening with the valour that Aigina showed in defending Hellas at Salamis, but it approaches this cap by way of several lesser lists. To begin with, in order to arrive at the Aiakids, four sets of local heroes are listed, then topped with the heroes of Aigina (35). These last are rendered superlative and almost visible by a mention of the two campaigns against Troy which, paired in this way, ask auditors to think of the Aphaia pediments (note the emphatic δὶς, 36).[11] Then, with a self-imposed 'leap' into the mythic dimension (38),[12] the singers arrive among warriors of the second Aiakid generation, but they do not provide the usual glimpse of a particular episode. Instead they challenge the listener with questions that force him to supply three battlefield contests to his own inner eye, then cap these with a fourth. 'Who killed Kyknos? Hektor? Memnon? who wounded Telephos?' the chorus cries, and each time the spectator responds with a silent shout, 'Achilles!' Chorus and audience share a happy complicity, but this does not obscure the oddness of a series made up of victim-names, nor the extreme anomaly of its cap.[13] Achilles' action against this last opponent has been dramatically set up as superlative among all the exploits of the Aiakids, but how can one youth, injured in a back-country quarrel, be of higher value than three great Trojan warriors felled with a heroic sword? The spectator is asked to make this out for himself, in the time it takes to sing ten words (41–2): 'Who on Kaïkos' banks injured noble Telephos with his lance?'

The three introductory duels have let the responding auditor

[11] Bury (1965*a*) xxviii, 'in brief the argument of the pediments'. This is the first literary pairing of the two campaigns; the Aphaia temple provides the first example in visual art. See above, Ch. 2, pp. 35–41 and nn. 39 and 40.

[12] Such choreographic self-exhortations are among the devices developed by cult choruses to support the fiction of spontaneity; cf. Pratinas 1. 15, 'Here's the right way to kick up your foot!' These two imperatives also prepare for the final pair at 62. For the usual reading in which a chariot-driving Muse is addressed, see Thummer (1969) ii. 91 ad loc., where Pindar is said to call the goddess 'wie ein Wagenlenker seinen Pferden'.

[13] The 'crescendo' takes a sophisticated form as two names are presented without modifiers, followed by a third with three modifiers as if it were the cap, all this then finished with the final name (the true cap), again with no modifiers but placed in a specific geographic spot (41–2).

imagine a different Achilles-killer each time. Against Kyknos he sees a young but practised warrior, against Hektor, a mature hero at the height of his powers, and against Memnon, a son of Thetis who will soon die. Then comes the name of Telephos (well known from the *Kypria*)[14] and with those three syllables the aspect of the visionary Achilles undergoes a radical change. Now the listener sees a beardless boy who stands on a river bank in Asia Minor and defends his dearest friend by striking an offensive local prince (42). This Achilles does not kill; indeed as Seneca would put it, his hand is 'both brave and merciful' (*Troades* 218), for even before the tragedians adapted the tale, everyone knew that the wound his lance gave (with help from Dionysos) would eventually be cured by the same weapon, thus opening the route to Troy. Consequently, when this central triad ends, still demanding the killer's name, the Achilles who takes shape in each listening mind is the same smooth-cheeked adolescent seen on a red-figure cup from Vulci, intent on bandaging Patroklos' wounds.[15] He is a youth caught between childhood and manhood, out on the edge of the Hellenic world, and his sole weapon is his father's,[16] but with it, and with Dionysos as his protector, he saves his comrade, draws his first blood, and wins a contest by a kind of cheat since the Telephos he attacks is entangled in vines.[17] The victory that caps Pindar's priamel is thus the one by which Achilles came of age, the one in which he

[14] See the red-figure krater by Phintias (*ARV*² 23. 5) *c*.510 BC, which shows Patroklos running from a fallen Telephos who is entangled in the vine of Dionysos, all proper names inscribed. This early skirmish was mentioned in the *Kypria* (Procl. enar. 48–9 Davies *EGF*) and *Il. Parv.* (4A and 4B Davies *EGF* = schol. *Il.* 19. 326); see Kullmann (1960) 44–5; Bauchenss-Thüriedl (1971) 16–18. It was also reflected in the pedimental sculptures made by Skopas for the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (Paus. 8. 45. 7); later versions are found in Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 17.20; schol. *Il.* 11. 59); Hyg. *Fab.* 101; sometimes Agamemnon (Paus. 1. 4. 6), Thersander (P.*O.* 9. 70; Paus. 9. 5. 14), or Protesilaos (Philostr. *Her.* 2. 17) may participate.

[15] *LIMC* s.v. Achilleus 468 = *ARV*² 21.1.1620, red-figure cup by the Sosias painter; cf. *LIMC* s.v. Telephos 51 = *ARV*² 817.2 (470–460 BC) where Achilles is beardless even at the healing of Telephos.

[16] Schol. T *Il.* 16. 142. This is the lance cut by Chiron (*Il.* 16. 140–4) or by Peleus himself (*N.* 3. 33), eventually used by Neoptolemos in the killing of Eurypylos, son of Telephos (Paus. 3. 26–9). It had two points on a single shaft according to *Il. Parv* F 30 Davies *EGF* = schol. P. *N.* 6. 55.

[17] At P. *I.* 8. 54–5 it is the 'vine-bearing plain of Mysia' that is bloodied by Telephos' gore (cf *AP* 9. 477). Dionysos was either angered by Mysian failure to pay him honours (schol.*Il.* 1. 59), or favourably influenced by a sacrifice offered by Agamemnon (schol Lyk. *Alex.* 211).

made his first show of defensive courage, the one that foreshadowed all the deeds of his adult years.

The wounding of Telephos qualifies as an outward sign of inner *alka*, discerned by daimonic powers, interpreted by song, and preserved in good report (11–13), as men's tongues assign it to the invisible tower of Aiginetan achievement (44–5). It has been selected as superb among the deeds of all the Aiakids (who by way of the preliminary priamel at 30–35 had themselves been selected as superb among other sets of local heroes). Nevertheless the ode's closing section dismisses all these traditional unseen glories as mere foil to an ultimate action that daylight reveals. The singers could provide a more complex portrait of Aiakid virtue (46–8), but instead they move directly into here-and-now actuality. An abstract Aiginetan island hails the bravery of the sons and grandsons of Aiakos by claiming to be their homeland (43), but the tangible city of Ajax bears witness to the practical courage found in the men of today's Aigina. Salamis exists in the light, standing upright (48), thanks to sailors[18] from this city, men who fought to defend their Hellenic friends. Their ships, like the 'contending ships' of the invocation (4–5), were illuminated by Theia and to the eye their recent bravery seems more real than that of the Aiakid heroes, so that the largest priamel of all can now be suggested: Aiakids are best among heroes, Achilles is best among Aiakids, but best of all are the sailors of Aigina who fought at Salamis!

With its elevation of ordinary men over the sons of gods, this patriotic demonstration verges on impious arrogance. No crime is committed, however, because the superiority of the priamel's mortal cap is still only implicit when, at the word 'gore', the singers suddenly order themselves to 'extinguish' their boast (51). They call for silence, as if in the presence of the sacred, and then, like a ritual chorus, they sound a supreme name twice, singing 'Zeus dispenses good and bad, | Zeus, the Lord of All!' (52–3).[19] The emphatic repetition of the god's name[20] creates the

[18] The strophe has begun with the Aiakids (*τοῖσιν*, 43), who are referred to again in 47; consequently the 'sailors' of line 48 are logically sailors from Aiakid Aigina, while the audience will hear simply 'our sailors'.

[19] On the sequence 46–53 see Race (1989*b*) 203–4; R. however believes that lines 52–3 'apologize for turning from the glories of war to athletics'.

[20] Cf. Ba. 3. 21. Zeus is mentioned five times in the 64 lines of *I*. 5, once in each of the preceding triads (14, 29) and three times here at the climax; mean-

sense of an immanent divine presence, cleansing the passage of any potential impiety while justifying the mixed content of the ode as a whole. Where Zeus is present, all earthly things—unseen and seen, mythic and actual, Aiakids and sailors at Salamis, mature warriors and youthful athletes—sink into a kind of equality. Daylit mariners can follow heroes from another kind of time in a single rhetorical demonstration because, just as the campaigns at Troy and the duel beside Kaïkos belonged to Zeus, so did the storm of blood at Salamis (49). It is he who plants *alka* in men of today, as he did in the heroes descended from Aiakos, and it is by his will (29) that poets make this virtue visible to men, as it is to gods.

This momentary levelling of all things mortal means that news of a youthful victory in the pankration may now follow immediately, and without apology, upon the bloodshed at Salamis. With Zeus' name still in the air, the vaunt that is proper to epinician song (*κόμπος,* 24) can be embodied in the sweet praise that belongs to a victory celebration (53–4).[21] Through his sons, Lampon's house has emerged from obscurity and this time it is his father, not his wife's, on whom the present success reflects. The line of Kleonikos is offered as an example of ambition and free expenditure to all who would engage in athletics, because its members (like the sailors at Salamis) go visibly to work. They would win glory and blessedness for their house and for Aigina, and the extent of their engagement[22]—the toil, money, and hope

while this Isthmian song makes no reference whatsoever to Poseidon. Compare *N*. 7, where Zeus is named six times in 105 lines, and *O*. 8, five times in 89 lines; in the other Aiginetan odes he is named thrice in *N*. 7 and *I*. 8, twice in *N*.5, N.6 and *I*. 6, once in *N* .3 and *N*. 4.

[21] At 53–4 the sense is clear, though the construction is awkward; the assertion stands in a kind of opposition (*ἐν δ'*, 53) to what has gone before: '(Salamis was splendid) but celebrations like these for Phylakidas also crave the delight of a victory cry expressed in honeyed praise.'

[22] Discussion of 56–8 has been extensive; I follow the text of SM which gives, in literal translation: 'the huge toil of (these) men is not darkened, nor how great were the expenditures that roused hopes in respect of the (divinely determined) future.' Cf. Wilamowitz (1922) 204 n. 1: 'so wenig wie der *mochthos* bleiben die vielen *dapanai* im Dunkel.' Toil and expenditure are a traditional Pindaric pair, the requirements for victory (*I*. 1. 42; *I*. 6. 10–11; *O*. 5. 16); cf. the advice to Hieron at *P*. 1. 90, where only expenditure is demanded. For the particular expenses of the athlete note *P*. 5. 106 and see Szastynska-Siemion (1981) 90–2. As for hope (58), great expenditure excites it by securing practical advantages and also because it marks the coming attempt as the sort that may attract the notice of the gods; see Burkert (1981) 195–204. A summary of the debate on this

invested—is not eclipsed (56–8) but displayed in full light. An Olympic crown is not yet theirs, but they have hoped and spent towards this present Isthmian prize and the mortal fame it brings, for they know that disappointment or fulfilment is ultimately in the hands of Zeus.

The courageous virtue of Kleonikos' descendants has been made visible even to mortals, according to the four lines that begin the final epode, but the singers would with their last breath salute one further quality that inheres in this house. Pytheas (already mentioned as Nemean victor, 19) is named as the model and trainer[23] who has known how to guide his younger brother 'along the course of blows', infusing him with his own skill and experience (59–61). The two have collaborated and Phylakidas has faced his opponent knowing himself to be the creation of an elder brother whose care and skills now enable him to win. Consequently that elder, unlike any other Pindaric trainer, is invested with a headband (*μίτρα*, 62) and absorbed into the pageantry of the immediate performance.[24] This crowning image comes to the spectator as performed reality and it revives the notion of friendship inherent in the scene by the river

passage and an entirely different interpretation (with some unlikely emendations) can be found in Silk (1998) 25–88; it is argued there that this passage does not apply particularly to the men of Kleonikos' family but is instead a generalizing transitional gnome; so also Race (1989*b*) 203–5.

[23] Compare the Melesias of *O*. 8. 63 who knows 'what style will move a wrestler forward.' This praise seems to fix Pytheas as his brother's trainer, but Hamilton (1974) 107–8 terms it 'metaphoric use of trainer praise', because he assumes that Phylakidas is an adult. Also opposed to Pytheas as trainer is Silk (1998) 56–65, who asserts that 'aristocratic attitudes' would not allow anyone of good family to serve in this way. Silk goes on to argue that *εὐθυπορῆσαι* cannot have a causal sense; he emends to read a vocative *Φυλακίδα* in line 60 (as did Mommsen (1845) 178), so that the following lines become a description of the victor's own 'athletic achievement in general'. In favour of *εὐθυπορῆσαι* as causal (and so of a Pytheas who acted as trainer) Privitera (1982) ad loc. 201 cites Demosth. 33. 7. Privitera however, like Farnell, will not allow *αἰνέω* to be followed by an acc. + infinitive construction; he takes the infinitive with *δεξιόν* (61), which spoils the balance of the final phrase.

[24] This is to take the reduplicated imperative, *λάμβανε . . . φέρε* (62), as choral self-instruction; if the sons of Lampon were with their father in the closest ranks of the audience, such commands might have been mimed or effectively carried out, action duplicating description as in a magical operation. In an athletic context, the *μίτρα* was the same as the woollen *ταινία* that the victor put on his own head before the formal crowning (cf. P. *O*. 9. 84; at *N*. 8. 15 it serves as a metaphor for song). Those who have emended to make Phylakidas the subject of *εὐθυπορῆσαι* (60) must take crown (*μίτρα*) and 'fresh ode' as all offered to him alone in lines that give a résumé of the present performance.

Kaïkos, for what is now seen is not a single decorated youth but a closely allied pair. Actual daylight lets the guests discover in Phylakidas and Pytheas reflections of the boyish Achilles who finished a contest that Patroklos had begun. And meanwhile the song has given its audience something of the gods' power, so that these spectators can discern in both brothers the *alka* (the other-oriented courage) that was Zeus' distinctive gift to the Aiakids.

7. *Isthmian* 8: A Monster Avoided

For Kleandros, son of Telesarchos and cousin (or second cousin) of Nikokles; victor in pankration at Nemea as well as Isthmia, sometime after Plataia, *c*.475 BC. Repeating stanzas.

στρ. α′ Κλεάνδρῳ τις ἁλικίᾳ τε λύτρον
εὔδοξον, ὦ νέοι, καμάτων
πατρὸς ἀγλαὸν Τελεσάρχου παρὰ πρό-
θυρον ἰὼν ἀνεγειρέτω
κῶμον Ἰσθμιάδος τε νίκας ἄποινα, καὶ Νεμέᾳ
ἀέθλων ὅτι κράτος ἐξεῦρε· τῷ καὶ ἐγώ, καίπερ ἀχνύμενος
θυμόν, αἰτέομαι χρυσέαν καλέσαι
Μοῖσαν· ἐκ μεγάλων δὲ πενθέων λυθέντες
μήτ' ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ πέσωμεν στεφάνων,
μήτε κάδεα θεράπευε· παυσάμενοι δ' ἀπράκτων κακῶν
γλυκύ τι δαμωσόμεθα καὶ μετὰ πόνον·
ἐπειδὴ τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς
λίθον γε Ταντάλου παρά τις ἔτρεψεν ἄμμι θεός,

στρ. β′ ἀτόλματον Ἑλλάδι μόχθον. ἀλλ'
ἐμοὶ δεῖμα μὲν παροιχομένων
καρτεραὶν ἔπαυσε μέριμναν· τὸ δὲ πρὸ
ποδὸς ἄρειον ἀεὶ ⟨σκοπεῖν⟩
χρῆμα πάν· δόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρέμαται,
ἐλίσσων βίου πόρον· ἰατὰ δ' ἐστὶ βροτοῖς σύν γ' ἐλευθερίᾳ
καὶ τά. χρὴ δ' ἀγαθὰν ἐλπίδ' ἀνδρὶ μέλειν.
χρὴ δ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοισι Θήβαις τραφέντα
Αἰγίνᾳ Χαρίτων ἄωτον προνέμειν,
πατρὸς οὕνεκα δίδυμαι γένοντο θύγατρες Ἀσωπίδων
ὁπλόταται, Ζηνί τε ἅδον βασιλέϊ.
ὃ τὰν μὲν παρὰ καλλιρόῳ
Δίρκᾳ φιλαρμάτου πόλιος ᾤκισσεν ἀγεμόνα·

στρ. γ′ σὲ δ' ἐς νᾶσον Οἰνοπίαν ἐνεγκὼν
κοιμᾶτο, δῖον ἔνθα τέκες
Αἰακὸν βαρυσφαράγῳ πατρὶ κεδνό-
τατον ἐπιχθονίων. ὃ καὶ
δαιμόνεσσι δίκας ἐπείραινε· τοῦ μὲν ἀντίθεοι

ἀρίστευον υἱέες υἱέων τ' ἀρηΐφιλοι παῖδες ἀνορέᾳ
χάλκεον στονόεντ' ἀμφέπειν ὅμαδον·
σώφρονές τ' ἐγένοντο πινυτοί τε θυμόν.
ταῦτα καὶ μακάρων ἐμέμναντ' ἀγοραί,
Ζεὺς ὅτ' ἀμφὶ Θέτιος ἀγλαός τ' ἔρισαν Ποσειδὰν γάμῳ,
ἄλοχον εὐειδέα θέλων ἑκάτερος
ἑᾶν ἔμμεν· ἔρως γὰρ ἔχεν.
ἀλλ' οὔ σφιν ἄμβροτοι τέλεσαν εὐνὰν θεῶν πραπίδες,

στρ. δ' ἐπεὶ θεσφάτων ἐπάκουσαν· εἶπεν
εὔβουλος ἐν μέσοισι Θέμις
οὕνεκεν πεπρωμένον ἦν φέρτερον πα-
τέρος ἄνακτα γόνον τεκεῖν
ποντίαν θεόν, ὃς κεραυνοῦ τε κρέσσον ἄλλο βέλος
διώξει χερὶ τριόδοντός τ' ἀμαιμακέτου, Δί τε μισγομέναν
ἢ Διὸς παρ' ἀδελφεοῖσιν. "ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν
παύσατε· βροτέων δὲ λεχέων τυχοῖσα
υἱον εἰσιδέτω θανόντ' ἐν πολέμῳ,
χεῖρας Ἄρεϊ ⟨τ'⟩ ἐναλίγκιον στεροπαῖσί τ' ἀκμὰν ποδῶν.
τὸ μὲν ἐμόν, Πυλέϊ γέρας θεόμορον
ὀπάσσαι γάμου Αἰακίδᾳ,
ὅν τ' εὐσεβέστατον φάτις Ἰαολκοῦ τράφειν πεδίον·

στρ. ε' ἰόντων δ' ἐς ἄφθιτον ἄντρον εὐθὺς
Χίρωνος αὐτίκ' ἀγγελίαι·
μηδὲ Νηρέος θυγάτηρ νεικέων πέ-
ταλα δὶς ἐγγυαλιζέτω
ἄμμιν· ἐν διχομηνίδεσσιν δὲ ἑσπέραις ἐρατὸν
λύοι κεν χαλινὸν ὑφ' ἥρωϊ παρθενίας." ὣς φάτο Κρονίδαις
ἐννέποισα θεά· τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ γλεφάροις
νεῦσαν ἀθανάτοισιν· ἐπέων δὲ καρπὸς
οὐ κατέφθινε. φαντὶ φὰρ ξύν' ἀλέγειν
καὶ γάμον Θέτιος ἄνακτε. καὶ νεαρὰν ἔδειξαν σοφῶν
στόματ' ἀπείροισιν ἀρετὰν Ἀχιλέος·
ὃ καὶ Μύσιον ἀμπελόεν
αἵμαξε Τηλέφου μέλανι ῥαίνων φόνῳ πεδίον,

στρ. ς' γεφύρωσέ τ' Ἀτρεΐδαισι νόστον,
Ἑλέναν τ' ἐλύσατο, Τροΐας
ἵνας ἑκταμὼν δορί, ταί νιν ῥύοντό
ποτε μάχας ἐναριμβρότου
ἔργον ἐν πεδίῳ κορύσσοντα, Μέμνονός τε βίαν
ὑπέρθυμον Ἕκτορά τ' ἄλλους τ' ἀριστέας· οἷς δῶμα Φερσεφόνας
μανύων Ἀχιλεύς, οὖρος Αἰακιδᾶν,
Αἴγιναν σφετέραν τε ῥίζαν πρόφαινεν.

τὸν μὲν οὐδὲ θανόντ' ἀοιδαί τι λίπον,
ἀλλά οἱ παρά τε πυρὰν τάφον θ' Ἑλικώνιαι παρθένοι
στάν, ἐπὶ θρῆνόν τε πολύφαμον ἔχεαν.
ἔδοξ' ἆρα καὶ ἀθανάτοις,
ἐσλόν γε φῶτα καὶ φθίμενον ὕμνοις θεᾶν διδόμεν.

στρ. ζ΄ *τὸ καὶ νῦν φέρει λόγον, ἔσσυταί τε*
Μοισαῖον ἅρμα Νικοκλέος
μνᾶμα πυγμάχου κελαδῆσαι. γεραίρε-
τέ νιν, ὃς Ἴσθμιον ἂν νάπος
Δωρίων ἔλαχεν σελίνων· ἐπεὶ περικτίονας
ἐνίκασε δή ποτε καὶ κεῖνος ἄνδρας ἀφύκτῳ χερὶ κλονέων.
τὸν μὲν οὐ κατελέγχει κριτοῦ γενεὰ
πατραδελφεοῦ· ἁλίκων τῷ τις ἁβρὸν
ἀμφὶ παγκρατίου Κλεάνδρῳ πλεκέτω
μυρσίνας στέφανον. ἐπεί νιν Ἀλκαθόου τ' ἀγὼν σὺν τύχᾳ
ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τε νεότας δέκετο πρίν·
τὸν αἰνεῖν ἀγαθῷ παρέχει·
ἦβαν γὰρ οὐκ ἄπειρον ὑπὸ χειᾷ καλῶν δάμασεν.

1. For Kleandros and for his youth, young friends,
someone must go to the grand
outer gate of his sire, Telesarchos, there to
rouse up the revel that brings
glorious ransom from toil—repayment for
victory taken at Isthmia
and for his Nemean dominance! So
I am required, though I sorrow,
to call on the golden Muse. Released as we are
from giant griefs, we must not
orphan ourselves of garlands,
nor should we nurse our losses and cares.
Recovered from stubborn evils,
let us combine, after such pain, in sweet
civic rejoicing. Once suspended above
our heads, the Tantalos stone has been
shifted away by some god—that

2. task beyond daring set for Greece! But—fear
yet persists, drawn from the past,
halting my inspiration. Best keep one's
eyes where the foot goes next, since a
treacherous life-span hangs
over each man, ready to
twist his path. Still, where Freedom is,

even such fear has its cure!
We should encourage good hope, and the man
brought up in Thebes of the Seven Gates must
offer the Graces' best blooms to
Aigina! Those two were the youngest
daughters of Asopos,
both of them pleasing to royal Zeus, who
settled the one at Dirke's swift stream,
queen of a town that loves chariots, while

3. you he transported to Oinopa's isle,
couched you, and there you bore
Aiakos, trusted beyond all men
by his thunderous father! He
settled disputes among gods, and
his sons and their sons, all of them
godlike warriors, were deemed
best among men in the bold
practice of bronze-clashing war, while yet
temperate ever, and wise at heart.
All this the assembled gods recalled,
that time when Zeus and splendid Poseidon
fought over Thetis' bed,
each determined that she should be
his own well-favoured bride. Lust raged,
but the ambrosial wits of the gods
let neither enjoy her couch,

4. for they listened well to the words
wise Themis spoke in their midst,
telling the fate of the sea-goddess, how she must bear
a lordly son, mightier than his sire,
whose hand would cast a different dart—
harsher than thunderbolt's fire
or the invincible trident, should she be
mated with Zeus or with
one of his brothers. 'This you must stop!
Let her lie in a mortal's bed; let her watch
as her son dies in battle, though he be
like Ares in strength of hand, like
lightning in swiftness of foot!
This is my counsel: send her away as a
fateful bride-prize for Aiakid Peleus! He is
rumoured to be the most god-fearing mortal
Iolkos' plain ever nourished.

5. Let messengers go at once, straight to
Chiron's unchanging cave!
This daughter of Nereus must not
twice bring her dowry of discord among us.
Let her instead, on some
evening at midmonth,
loosen her virgin halter, tamed by
that hero!' Thus spoke the goddess,
urging the children of Kronos, and
their divine brows gave consent,
nor were her words without fruit,
for we're told that the two Lords
agreed to this marriage for Thetis, and
poets' tongues told ignorant men
of the youthful deeds of Achilles, how he
bloodied the vine-rich Mysian plain
with black gore, how he

6. bridged the return of the Atreids,
set Helen free, and with his lance
cut out the sinews of Trojans who had
briefly resisted when on that field
he brought his murderous work to its crest—
fierce Memnon, angry
Hektor and other great lords. These he
sent to Persephone's palace—
Achilles, the Aiakids' following wind—while
Aigina and his familial stem he made bright.
Songs, when he died, did not desert him,
for maidens of Helikon stood at his pyre
and circled his tomb
pouring libations of many-voiced threnody.
So the immortals resolved that fine men,
when they die, may be assigned as a theme
even when goddesses sing!

7. Such is the rule today, as the car of the Muses
speeds out for Nikokles,
making a song that remembers his boxing.
Honour him who, in the Isthmian vale,
took the Doric celery crown,
the same who long ago
trounced all opponents from round about, his
fists like the tireless surf.

Nor does the line of his father's
brother belie his fame, so let some
age-mate confect for Kleandros a sweet
pankratic garland of myrtle, for surely
Alkathoös' games gave him success
as did, in the past, the Epidaurian lads.
Him the good man will praise: this is no
youth-time untried in fine deeds that he thrusts
into the lair of a snake!

The special problems Pindar had faced in making a post-Salamis song for Lampon were intensified when, a few years later, another Aiginetan father, Telesarchos, commissioned an ode for his son, Kleandros. This time the celebration is to take place, not in a moment of success but against a background of subsequent events:[1] the ravaging of Attica, the burning of Athens and other cities, the occupation of Boiotia, and the closely drawn battle at Plataia, where something like 1,500 Greeks were killed.[2] Worse yet, the song is to celebrate not just the youth, Kleandros, but also his father's nephew, Nikokles, a victorious athlete who seems to be recently dead.[3] Whether or not he died in battle, this regretted cousin is an adult figure (65), in contrast to a Kleandros who only now 'buries his youth' like an abandoned toy (77)[4]—

[1] Thummer (1968–9) ii. 127 entertained the possibility of a performance just after Marathon, and Lefkowitz (1991*b*) 44 n. 71 concludes that no precise dating is possible, but there is nevertheless general agreement on a post–480 BC date, disagreement on whether the ode was made before or after Plataia. J. Finley (1958) 121–31 sensed mild gloom and put the song before the battle; others perceive embarrassment on the part of the poet and assume composition after Pausanias' retaliation upon Thebes (e.g. Carne-Ross (1985) 125). It would seem, however, that the term *eleutheria* (15) could have been employed only after the Persian withdrawal.

[2] Plut. *Arist*. 19. 5; cf. Diod. 11. 32. 5–33. 1.

[3] Kleandros is 'of the line of Nikokles' father's brother' (65a–66), so Telesarchos is either that brother, or the son of that brother, either uncle or cousin to Nikokles. Lost relatives are mentioned by schol. 12a III Dr., and Nikokles' death in recent action against the Persians is often taken for granted because of the ode's sequence (66–7) from the dead Achilles to this remembrance for him. Thus Bury (1965*a*) 133 called *I*. 8 'a monument in verse to . . . Nikokles who had fallen in war'; cf. Ruck (1968) 672 who reports Nikokles as 'perhaps killed in the war'; Köhnken (1975) 25–36 speaks of 'mourning for a dead relative (who was perhaps killed in the wars)', while Ledbetter (2003) 67 mentions Nikokles' 'bravery in the battles of the Persian War'. In contradiction, Carne-Ross (1985) 122 observes that Nikokles is praised only as an athlete, and finds no reason to suppose even that he is dead.

[4] The line is corrupt, and even with its most common emendation (ὑπὸ χειᾷ,

who has, in other words just finished his last season in the 'beardless class', i.e. among the *ἀγένειοι*.[5] These are conspicuous obstacles to a fully joyous performance, and behind them are two others that are unmentionable but also undeniable: Thebes, the poet's city, has collaborated with the Persian enemy, and Aigina has been far from prominent in the final defeat of Mardonius. Herodotos' report of a false tumulus raised by craven Aiginetans (9. 85) is typical of his prejudice, but the charge could never have been made if the islanders had been conspicuous for bravery at Plataia. Aigina will be named on the Serpent Column, along with

as in SM, after Triclinius) it is ambivalent. The snake-hole recommends itself by its very oddness, but the application of the negative remains a question; either 'he does not force into a snake's hole an adolescence inexperienced in fine deeds', or 'it is an adolescence not inexperienced in fine deeds that he, etc.' The first would deny a shameful hiding of cowardice (like that of the man who feeds an undistinguished old age in the dark at *O.* 1. 82–3), and for a strong recommendation of this sense see Thummer (1968–9) ii. 127; also Race (1990) 69. This understanding, however, demands the dismantling of the peculiarly Pindaric negative plus alpha-privative , *οὐκ ἄπειρον* , and this makes the second version more attractive: 'it is a not unadventurous adolescence that Kleandros now masters and buries' as he moves into adulthood. (At *P.* 6. 48 it is a youth neither unjust nor outrageous that Thrasyboulos harvests.) In other contexts a snake in his hole may represent anger (*Il.* 22. 93–5) or simply a spot to be approached with caution (Plut. *De Superstit.* 169E), but here the metaphor would reflect the childish love of hiding things in holes. To some the snake-hole is simply unacceptable; Young (1973) 319–26; Slater (1977) 348–9, and Papillon (1989) 1–9 have proposed various forms of *κόλπος* in the sense of 'pocket', and for emendations with forms of *χείρ* see Galiano (1943) 134–41 and Schwenn (1940) 230f. Carey (1981) 205 follows Farnell in reading *χρείᾳ*, 'for he did not enslave his youth, untried, to a dearth of achievement.' Taking another tack, Bury (1965*a*) ad loc. understood *ἥβα* as representing all the youths whom Kleandros has defeated, with the negative doubly applied: the victory was not hidden and was won over not unskilled rivals. Further pursuing this notion Norwood (1952) 161–2 emended further to produce 'by mastery of hand he conquered the skilled vigour of youthful adversaries'. Finally one may note Borthwick (1976) 198–205, who remarked that snakes were thought to change an old skin (*γῆρας*) for a new one (*ἥβη*) as they came out of their holes, thus achieving, 'it is not a youth-skin unscarred by experience that the boy now sloughs off.'

[5] Along with Kleandros the ode celebrates youth itself, his and that of his agemates (1); the chorus call themselves *νέοι* (2); at 75 Kleandros' former rivals are explicitly youths; at 77 it is *ἥβα*, puberty (as at *O.* 6. 58), that is buried. All of which seems to point to a victory won by a boxer who is leaving the class of the 15–18-year-old *ἀγένειοι* and must in future compete among the men; Privitera (1982) 117. Nevertheless Carey (1981) 185, though he takes it to be puberty that is buried at the end of the song, then follows Wilamowitz (1922) 196–7 to conclude that the present victory was probably 'won as a man'. And on the other hand Thummer (1968–9) ii. 127 argued that *ἥβα* here means childhood and that Kleandros, having taken this crown among the boys at Isthmia, is just now passing out of that class and into that of the 'beardless'.

Sparta, Athens, Korinth, and Megara, but the glory that Aiginetan sailors won at Salamis has been tarnished.[6]

Pindar's response to these difficulties is to dramatize them in a fast but elaborate opening movement. Not that *Isthmian* 8 boasts a grand initial decoration; there is no all embracing simile ('Like men when the banquet reaches its peak . . .'), no programmatic declaration ('I am no sculptor . . .'), no invocation of a powerful presence ('Holy Theia . . .'). Indeed, one commentator speaks of an 'inconspicuous' beginning, while another dismisses these first lines as 'plain and commonplace'.[7] Leaving such judgements aside we, like Telesarchos' guests, can at any rate recognize a familiar choral conceit by which well-rehearsed performers mime the spontaneity of a *kōmos* as they begin to sing.[8] It is as if the last words uttered just outside the dining hall have been put to music so as to become the first sung phrases of their entrance: 'Let's get going! We're supposed to dance at Telesarchos' house!'[9] The trick is traditional, belonging to the essential choral function of miming the impulsive reaction of a group, but the illusion of the impromptu is here increased by a non-triadic form and prolonged well past the opening as the singers question the timeliness of their performance in a kind of curtain-raiser. Where other choruses may start by saying, 'How I long to sing!' these young performers (*νέοι*, 2) present themselves as divided in their impulse—needing to rejoice but not quite ready to do so. 'I am called upon to sing,' they say,[10] 'and there are good reasons

[6] In later times the festival of Eleutheria featured a ritual debate wherein Aigina had no part, while Spartans and Athenians argued over which group should lead the procession; N. Robertson (1986) 88–106.

[7] 'Inconspicuous', according to Köhnken (1975) 25–36; 'schmücklos und sachlich', Thummer (1968–9) ii. 127.

[8] Cf. Alkman 3 *PMG*; Ba. 19. 1–14; P. *N*. 9.1; Pa. 6. 1–18; fr. 84. 5–11 B = 94b 6–15 SM; fr. 96B = 107ab SM, and the common metapoetical rhetoric of 'How shall I sing?' (e.g P. *O*. 2. 1–2; *I*. 7. 1–3, etc.). Carey (1981) 5 terms this 'oral subterfuge'; Kurke (1991*a*) 113 speaks of 'scripted spontaneity'. For parallels, esp. at P. Pa. 6. 1–18, see Burnett (1998) 493–501, and for the relation of this device to choral self-correction, Scodel (1996) 59–79; Bonifazi (2000) 69–86. Tragic imitations are discussed by Henrichs (1993–4) 56–111; (1996) 48–62.

[9] The opening call for a move to Telesarchos' house to organize a celebration (1–4) is echoed in Themis' call for a move to Chiron's cave to organize a wedding (45–8), and one may note a parallelism between the victor's 'release' from the toil of contest (*λύτρον*, 1), the Greek 'release' from the pain of war (*λυθέντες*, 6), and Thetis' act of releasing herself from virginity (*λύοι*, 45).

[10] Taking *αἰτέομαι* (5a) as passive, 'I (poet + chorus + song) am asked to invoke the Muse for the same purpose, that of rousing a celebration.' Though it

for dancing, but yet I am oppressed at heart by my grief' (*καίπερ ἀχνύμενος θυμόν*, 5). Perhaps they should not begin . . .?

The last half of the first strophe and the first half of the second are made to move haltingly,[11] as an inner reluctance challenges the inauguration of the performance. From the admission of grief (5) to the reminder that god has removed the tantalizing threat (10), the self-described celebrant is obedient to his duty, though not eager. He defines his resistance negatively as a wish to hold on to pain and orphan the city of its proper glory (7), while he presents the act of singing in a positive way. It will be the 'ransom' needed to reclaim the victor from his dedicated exertions (4), the right response to release (6), and a shared sweetness after toil (8). By these means the singers are, at the end of the first strophe, self-convinced that dancing is their proper business; they are a choral embodiment of the standard elegiac call to put aside care (e.g. Sem. fr. 1. 22–4 W). The inter-strophic pause, however, brings a change, and when they recommence, their inner discomfort breaks out again with a dramatic objection: 'But . . .!' (12). Song, like athletic competition, demands a bold ambition (*μέριμναν*, 14),[12] and recent events have left this

need not carry an adversative sense (cf. P. Pa. 4.19) the phrase *τῶ καὶ ἐγώ* is usually taken to mean either 'therefore I too, separately from and in addition to the members of the troupe', or else 'even I, (the shamefaced Theban poet)'. J. Finley (1958) 129 found here a pre-Plataia Pindar 'dejected' because of the Persian occupation of his city; Lefkowitz (1963) 211 hears the phrase as 'stressing separation . . . as a Theban'; Carne-Ross (1985) 125 discovers the poet's embarrassment at 'coming from a city which disgraced itself'. This notion may then be developed to produce a cringing poet who dares not show himself on Aigina but begs to be allowed to send his ode; so Wilamowitz (1922) 195–8. There is however no evidence that Pindar was associated with the Medizers; see Ruck (1968) 661–74. With *ἐγώ* speaking for the poet-created chorus and song, the grief expressed becomes that felt by every Aiginetan (and all Greece) over recent events; it may refer also to particular losses in the family, perhaps that of Nikokles, but no such specific sense is evident.

[11] Theunissen (2000) 117–18 notes the play of alternating negative and positive sentiments. There is a certain likeness between this inner debate and the standard Homeric battlefield monologue (e.g. *Il.* 11. 404 ff. 'to run away would be shameful, but to stay . . .'). More frivolously one might compare Fred Astaire's routine, 'I won't dance!' in *Roberta*.

[12] The overall movement of the passage at 12–16 depends upon the sense given to *μέριμναν* at 14. For Pindar this term usually indicates the concerned ambition that moves athletes and heroes to their best performances (*O.* 1. 108; *O.* 2. 54; *P.* 8. 92; *N.* 3. 69; fr. 94b. 62 SM; fr. 227.1 SM; cf. Ba. 19.34). For this reason Gundert (1935) 112 understood 'der Mut zu schönen Tat'; Thummer (1968–9) ii. 130 suggested 'Tatendrang' or 'Streben (nach Erfolg und Glück)';

chorus with nothing but desolate caution. They can't risk dancing because fear teaches a man to keep his eyes on the ground (14–15).[13] Fear, indeed, recognizes a general threat of fickle destiny (δόλιος . . . αἰών, 15) as replacing the particular Persian threat that some god has removed (11),[14] and when life's path is difficult, one must step cautiously. In effect, this cowardly voice urges the same 'nursing of care' which has just been repudiated (8); if it were allowed to dominate there would be no celebration, but the earlier sickbed image suggests a triumphant response. 'Yet there is a cure, even for such crippling fear! It comes with Freedom and is contained in the imperative of Good Hope' (16).

The two key concepts, Good Hope and Freedom, produce a turn of thought that is half commonplace, half timely innovation. In Greek thinking, hope was notoriously unstable, even deceptive (as at P. *O*. 12. 6, *O*. 13. 83, *P*. 3. 23, *N*. 8. 45),[15] but at the same time a good *elpis* had ever been the standard response to

Wilamowitz (1922) 198 understood 'Kraft des Denkens', a reference to the poet's own inner powers; Schadewaldt (1928) 279 heard 'der Schrecken, der nun vorüber ist, die Kraft des Geistes gelähmt hat'. If the word carries this positive sense then the progress of thought is as follows: (*a*) 'the stone is gone *but* (ἀλλ' 12) fear (δεῖμα μέν, 13) originating from events just past stops my song-project; caution seems best when life is uncertain' (*b*) *and yet* this fear can be cured (ἰατὰ δ', 16)!' Those who find a negative sense of anxiety in μέριμναν tend to read παροιχόμενον (13) in agreement with δεῖμα (against *P*. *Oxy*. 26.2439) and to understand: 'the stone is gone and fear, having departed, stops my mighty anxiety'; cf. Lefkowitz (1963) 213, 'the passing of the fear has put an end to my heavy concern'; also Carey (1981) 190–91. This however leaves nothing in need of the 'cure' that comes so emphatically at 16.

[13] 'In all matters it is best to look at what is before your foot' (14–15). This precept seems to be the verbal instrument with which fear silences the ambition to sing; it cannot be advice valued by the present song (like similar sayings at *P*. 3. 60; *P*. 10. 61–3; *N*. 3. 75) because it is in need of correction or 'healing' (16). In the present case keeping one's eyes on the ground would mean continuing to be absorbed in immediate griefs, and taken literally it would mean: 'Walk! Don't leap or dance!' The majority opinion is, however, that this is the voice of the ode giving valued advice; see Carey (1981) 190–2; Day (1991) 47–61 reviews various readings and concludes that the saving 'hope' belongs to a Pindar who urges himself to get to work on the job at hand. Theunissen (2000) 117–19 finds a hint of optimism in the old saw by identifying 'what is just at one's foot' as a future reality produced by a tricky time-span, the sense being 'We must look towards a change for the better'.

[14] This life-fate (15) is suspended (κρέμαται) in threatening fashion like the 'blame' of *O*. 6. 74, and conceptually it is like the Tantalos-stone just sung at *I*. 8.11. Compare the 'tearless αἰῶν ' of the blessed at *O*. 2. 66–7, and see Theunissen (2000) 100–6.

[15] Those who trust in hope are fools (Sim. 20 *IE*) for it is a δαίμων χαλεπός (Theogn. 637–8; cf. Eur. *Supp*. 479).

painful cares (*κήδεα λυγρά*, Hesiod *WD* 95, cf. the *κάδεα* here, 8). A familiar passage from the Theognidea (1135–50) responded to the Pandora tale with praise of an Elpis who was the partner of right reverence among men. Now in *Isthmian* 8 this same reverent hope,[16] derived from the disappearance of the Tantalos Stone, is recommended as the best support for a phenomenon that has only just come into being—Eleutheria. It is hard to appreciate the novelty of this now hackneyed and exploited notion of an abstract Freedom, but it was taking shape only at this moment. With the Persians in retreat, the threat of a foreign ruler for Greece dissolves, and this new circumstance creates its own terminology, derived from a sense of slavery escaped.[17] An offering was made to a Zeus Eleutherios (Thuk. 2. 71. 2), and later the inscription for his altar[18] explained this new title (Plut. *Mor*. 873 B *De Malig. Hdt*.):[19]

> Victorious Greeks who carried out Ares' command and
> drove the Persians away now
> Set up this altar for free (*eleuthera*) Greece, honouring
> Zeus Who Brings Freedom (*Eleutherios*).

In this context a generalized condition of freedom from outside masters (to be reconfirmed every fourth year in a festival held at Plataia)[20] would naturally be called *eleutheria,* a word that enters

[16] In fr. 214 SM Pindar speaks of a 'sweet fostering Elpis' who is, for those who have lived in justice and piety, a 'nurse for the elderly'. This is presumably hope for some sort of life after death, as promised by various mysteries; see Cumont (1949) 401 ff.; Newman (1987) 89–91. Joined as it is with Eleutheria, the Good Elpis of *I*. 8.16 is almost certainly secular but it nevertheless depends on a continuing faith in the divine favour that removed the Tantalos Stone. Day (1991) 47–61 points also to the narrower sense in which a poet/athlete needs hope in order to attempt new contests.

[17] For *ἐλευθερία* as opposite to *δουλία* understood as submission to a foreign power, compare P. *P*. 1. 61 and 75; Aisch. *Pers*. 403; Hdt. 1. 95, 4. 137; Thuk. 3. 58. 5; *IG* 3. 127.

[18] How soon after the battle the altar was established is not known; Raaflaub (1985) 126 says simply 'nicht aus dem Jahre 479 BC'. Plut. *Aristid*. 19 puts the first offering to Zeus Eleutherios on the day of the battle and tells of Delphic instructions for a permanent altar where the first sacrifice is to be offered only after all sacred fires polluted by barbarians have been extinguished and re-lit with fire from Delphi.

[19] Compare the dolled-up version at *AP* 6. 50. Plutarch cites a line from Timotheos' *Persai* that seems to derive from or influence this dedication (*Philopoem*. ii. 2. 2. 15 LZ; cf. Paus. 8. 50. 3 and 9. 2. 7, probably a later altar). For Zeus Eleutherios cf. P. *O*. 12. 1, at Himera, 466 BC.

[20] Aristides (Plut. *Aristid*. 21) proposed panhellenic delegations every year

Greek literature[21] when it is sounded out by the chorus that now praises Kleandros. It is strongly emphasized in this, its first appearance, where it is given the metaphoric sense of a balm or cure for widespread fear,[22] while it signifies the status of those who are not, after all, to serve foreigners.

Eleutheria was the gift of the few who died resisting the Persians but it has come to all Hellenes, all of whom may now make ambitious attempts, whether military, athletic, or musical, and entertain fair hopes for success. It is reasonable, then, that once these emancipating syllables are sung the choral drama of hesitation should collapse, for if Eleutheria means slavery's end then the singers must similarly release their city from its thrall to recent pain (8). Furthermore, since this freedom has been granted to all Greeks, a Theban song-maker is not an embarrassment as he brings his best work to Aigina, his city's sister (17–18). Indeed, in the form of a pair of accommodating nymphs, the two cities now let the song move into the company of Aiakid warriors who are courageous, healthy-minded, and intelligent (27–8),[23] then on into a mythic narrative. Nevertheless, though the couching of Aigina and the birth of Aiakos seem to promise an episode filled with clashing bronze (25), Telesarchos' friends are presented, not with the deafening sounds of war, but instead with a disciplined Olympian council. The

and games every fourth, but it is not known when the first festival was held. It has been suggested that Simonides' Plataia song may have been composed for its inauguration; see Rutherford (1996) 174. The festival was expanded by Philip and Alexander in the late 4th cent. (Paus. 9. 2. 5; Plut, *Alex*. 34. 2); see Raaflaub (1985) 127.

[21] Compare the roughly contemporary P. fr. 65B = 77 S, which praises the Athenians for Artemisium where the 'bright foundations of Eleutheria were laid'; also *O*. 12. 1–6, where Tyche Soteira, Daughter of Zeus Eleutherios, permits sailing, wars, markets, and hopes of all sorts. The fallen Megarian dead allow others the sight of a 'day of freedom' in an inscription from the end of the 460s (*IG* 7. 53 = Tod 1. 20 = Sim. 96 D); cf. the release from 'the day of slavery' in the Simonidean epigram for the Athenian dead at Salamis and Plataia (*IG* 1^2 763 = 26 ML), so identified by Pritchett (1960) 160–8; cf. Welwei (1970) 295–305. A skolion inscribed on a cup from the Akropolis mentions 'the lovely garland of Eleutheria', and Peek (1933) 118–21 would associate this with the victory celebrations of 480/79, but see Raaflaub (1985) 77, who thinks the cup possibly as late as the 460s.

[22] Compare the Euphrosyna of *N*. 4. 1, who is *πόνων . . . ἰατρός*. Eleutheria is Hieron's gift to his new city at *P*. 1. 61.

[23] Their virtues are *ἀνορέα* (27), *σωφροσύνα* (28), and *φρόνησις* (28), to which Peleus adds *εὐσέβεια* (40).

official marvel proves to be the voice of a goddess, heard by a double audience of immortal divinities and mortal Aiginetans, as it urges an act of self-preservation. Or more accurately, the *thauma* is the monster revealed as lurking inside Thetis' womb. The reported words of Themis (36–8) make this Chaos-Power apparent to both groups of listeners, and his imminence directs the continuing mythic action as the gods give their vote for the creation of an alternate power, the supreme but mortal Achilles (36–40).

As a representative of established order,[24] Themis is almost as abstract as the notions of Good Hope and Eleutheria but she is worshipped on Aigina as 'Soteira, throne-mate of Zeus Xenios (P. *O*. 8. 21–2), and Pindar here puts her in momentary command of the cosmic order. He also places her like the apex figure in a pediment, with flanking sets of Zeus and Poseidon pairs—first quarrelling (30), then in agreement (52)[25]—all surrounded by balancing wars, Greeks against Persians (6–11) being answered by Achilles' war against Trojans (56–60), while mirroring representations of athletic success (1–5, 69–75) fill the gable angles, as it were. Themis plays the role of the folk-tale figure who issues a warning, while she also functions as author of the saving trick that substitutes an Aiakid for the divinity who would otherwise have fathered Thetis' son. Her essential work is thus done when she names Peleus (42–3) and schedules an earthly end to the Nereid's virginity (48–9),[26] yet hers is one of the longer speeches to be found in all the Pindaric odes,[27] and it is moreover set

[24] Her daughters are Eunomia, Dika, and Eirena (P. *O*. 13.7) and at *Il*. 20. 4 it is she who calls the gods together; see Rudhardt (1999) 56, 'Themis n'est pas la loi . . . pas la règle établie mais l'exigence qui conduit à la découverte d'une règle et à son observation'; cf. Pötscher (1960) 31 ff. At Thebes the sanctuary of Themis was close to those of the Moirai and Zeus Agoraios because she inspired the deliberations of men in council (Paus. 9. 25. 4). She is traditionally as beautiful as Artemis, Leto, Aphrodite, Athena, and the Graces (*Hom. h. Aphr*. 90–9).

[25] Reading Triclinius' *ἄνακτε* (52) as referring to Zeus and Poseidon; only with their explicit agreement can the discord be ended. Von der Mühll (1965) 49–52 urged *ἄνακτα*, referring to Peleus, and was followed by Thummer (1969) ad loc. and Privitera (1982) ad loc. Against this notion see Carey (1981) 199, who argues that if the mortal groom were suddenly introduced at this point he would have to be named (and why should the gods seek his consent?).

[26] The dissolution of the threat, effected by the bride's letting go of her virginity-curb (49), responds to the description of the threat itself (38).

[27] In odes of comparable length her 18 lines are surpassed only by Chiron's speech at *P*. 9. 39–65.

between a generous introduction (29–34) and a yet more extended résumé of its effects (50–66). Such length and passion are explicable in part because the whole episode is an innovation—this is the first time in surviving art or literature that Themis is involved in arranging the marriage of Thetis with Peleus.[28] It is also the first time that the motif of Thetis' father-surpassing son is made explicit,[29] which means that the most arresting feature of this mythic narrative—the potential chaos-divinity who waits in Thetis' womb—may be a fresh Pindaric invention.[30] But whether that is or is not the case, it is clear that this Themis is no tricky fairy-tale creature but a goddess whose prolonged voice is demanded by the horror of the threat and the magnitude of the salvation that she contrives for the Cosmos.

This imposing goddess brings a solution to the difficulties of the present performance, too, for in her presence boy victor, deceased uncle and Aiakid hero are all reduced to a similar status, all part of a heavenly plan that substitutes mortal for immortal combat. The song doesn't let Themis name Achilles, but like a fairy godmother (like Herakles in *Isthmian* 6) she fixes his fate,[31] and her proleptic demand for his conception effectively brings him into being,[32] as the ode proves by leaping from the gods'

[28] In the *Kypria* (2 Allen) and at Hes. *Cat*. fr. 210 MW there is no need for Themis because Thetis honours Hera by refusing Zeus, who then gives her to Peleus. The beginnings of Themis' involvement in the wedding may perhaps be seen on the early 6th-cent. dinos of Sophilos (*LIMC* s.v. Peleus 211), where she follows immediately after Chiron in the wedding procession; a mediator of some sort is implicit in the abandoned rivalry of Zeus and Poseidon, as seen at *N*. 5. 37.

[29] Compare the parallel tale of the child of Metis (Hes. *Theog*. 886–900) where Ge and Ouranos give warning, and see West ad loc. A Thetis who is a source of potential destruction is an essential reverse concept to that of the Thetis creatrix possibly indicated in the so-called cosmogonic poem of Alkman (fr. 5. 2. ii *PMG*).

[30] The schol. at *I*. 8 57b, 67 Dr. took the quarrel of Zeus and Poseidon, as well as Themis and her warning, to be Pindaric inventions, and many agree; see e.g. Köhnken(1975) 25–36; Hubbard (1987) 5–22. Others believe that Pindar adapted a known tale; e.g. Solmsen (1949) 128 n. 19; Stoneman (1981) 58–82. The author of *PV* seems to have been working from this passage when he produced his expanded descriptions of the surpassing god (920–30). It is nevertheless possible that an epic version provided a common source; see Lesky *RE* s.v. Peleus 296; for epic expressions in *I*. 8 see Stoessl (1988) 57 n. 128.

[31] Compare *Hom. h. Ap*. 90–2 and 120–6, where Themis gives the newborn Apollo his first taste of nectar, ensuring his immortality.

[32] According to widespread Mediterranean belief women were fertile at full-moon, as at Eur. *IA* 717, but note Hes. *Erg*. 800 and West ad loc.

affirmation (50) directly to the marriage (52), and then to the songs men still sing about the deeds of the son who was conceived according to her divine advice (53). Not so much a hero as a 'following wind',[33] Achilles moves without gesture or weapon, nor does he kill—he merely shows his enemies the way to Persephone's house (60). Indeed these reported bardic versions of his doings are so vague and exaggerated that they can make him rescue Helen and bring the Atreids home, as he must, if he is to embody the earthly war that replaced a cosmic catastrophe. Nevertheless, Themis' deeper concern, as Pindar shapes it, is with death and its place in the order she represents. Achilles' deeds of destruction at Troy will be an earth-bound reflection of what a father-surpassing son of Zeus or Poseidon might have done; his strength is almost monstrous, but the Olympian order is safe because he, like Peleus, will die. As soon as she begins to speak directly Themis affixes the word 'dying' (*θανόντ'*, 40) to a son of Thetis who is as yet only a saving hypothesis, and this essential definition is echoed and confirmed by the same participle two stanzas later (62, sung to the same musical notes; and followed by *φθίμενον* at 66). Death preserves the cosmic order, makes heroes, and confers upon men a privilege that the gods are denied—the joy of looking upon sons stronger and more glorious than themselves.

The mythic episode shows a heavenly war replaced by a surrogate war on earth, but the audience, like the congress of divinities, has nevertheless been asked to envisage an immortal agent of Chaos whose weapon of mass destruction is more dreadful than Zeus' thunderbolt or Poseidon's trident (37–8, the central lines of the central stanza). Within the narrated episode this monster is disallowed, while he serves nonetheless as an exaggerated model, both positive and negative, for Achilles. More generally, however, his potential for destruction measures the magnitude of the cosmic escape, and also provides the solution to Pindar's immediate dilemma. Once entertained, the notion of supreme cosmic violence lingers, and with such a background

[33] Taking *οὖρος* at 55a to mean 'wind that gives purpose and direction' (as at P. *O*. 13. 28 and *I*. 4. 5, and cf. *P*. 1. 34 and *P*. 4. 292) rather than as 'guardian' or 'oveerseer', which would carry inappropriate Nestorian associations. There may be a whispered reminder of the Hellespontine wind that injured the Persians before Artemisium (Hdt. 7. 188–9), for this was said to have come from the Tomb of Achilles; see Nagy (1990) 190 n. 200, and (1979) 344.

even the recent Persian invasions, like Achilles' skirmishes at Troy, grow less horrific.[34] When the singers claim that Achilles 'bridged' (56) a return for the Atreidai, the legendary Greek return from Ilion is superimposed upon the present Persian return to Asia,[35] with a vague suggestion that the actual struggle with Mardonios was, like the deeds of Achilles, a saving replacement for the violence of a universal destruction. Even athletic contests that imitate and prepare for battle serve as proxies, and in proof the singers cite the continuing rule (67) that grants victors a version of the divine praise offered to Achilles.[36] In a line that responds to the 'bridging', they cause the Muses' car to drive across the final stanza break, from Achilles' tomb directly into the present world of athletes and victory celebrations (61).

Today's praise echoes the gods' praise of a dead hero (67) and this notion allows the chorus an easy approach to Nikokles, the second subject of its immediate attention. Whether or not he died as a warrior, his death presumably contributed to the initial civic grief that weighed upon the dancers (the *kadea* of line 8), but now the mood of the opening has been reversed. Among men who must die, contest is an ordained privilege whether it be exercised in actual battle against foreign invaders, or at the least of local festivals (70–1, cf. 74–5), because it is a saving substitute

[34] Carne-Ross (1985) believes that Pindar's Theban identity was what had to be diminished by 'creating a myth so vast in its implications that the differences between one Greek city and another fade into insignificance'.

[35] The sacred figures of the Aiakids had been present at Salamis and the hymn that opens Simonides' *Battle of Plataia* (*P. Oxy.* 3965 + 2327) proves that contemporaries could easily associate this hero with present-day events; see West (1993) 1–14. The elegy, like the epinician, seems to have been made soon after the battle of Plataia, but there is no way to establish the relative chronology of the two pieces. Like Pindar, Simonides makes the legacy of Thetis significant: at Sim. 11. 1–20 W Achilles is not 'son of Peleus' but 'powerful son of the goddess-daughter of watery Nereus' (cf. 10. 5). In that elegy, as at *I.* 8. 56, Achilles is the single hero who sends Achaians home from Troy (Sim. 11. 13); both accounts omit the actual taking of the city (though Simonides credits Athena with its fall, 11. 9), and both culminate in song: at Sim. 11.13, Homer's singing of all who fought; at P. *I.* 8. 63–4, the Muses' singing of Achilles. It is further notable that Simonides speaks of Spartan forces that save Greece from the 'day of slavery' (11. 30–31, cf. 25 ff.). On the elegy's performance, see Rutherford (1996) 167–92, who supposes a festival occasion rather than the sympotic one proposed by West.

[36] Taking *φέρει λόγον* in its commonplace sense of 'holds true', 'proves right'; some suppose that *ἅρμα* must be the subject: 'wherefore the Muses' chariot even now carries praise' (Köhnken (1975) 29). For a summary of readings, see Carey (1981) 202 ad loc.

for the chaos of competing divinities. Freedom and Good Hope direct that men should strive to fulfil their ambitions (12), stretch their courageous strength (ἀνορέᾳ, 27) to its fullest, like the Aiakids, and then celebrate by giving free rein to healing song that imitates that of the Muses (68; cf. 5–6). And Kleandros is ready to take on these responsibilities, for he moves into the adult state after a youth devoted to the harsh challenge of the pankration (73), the most warlike of contests. Or, as his age-mates prefer to say, it is an adolescence not ignorant of trial that he now puts away as a childish thing (77).

8. *Nemean* 4: Wrestling with a Form-Changer

For Timasarchos, son of Timokritos (deceased), grandson of Euphanes; of the Theandrid tribe; nephew on his mother's side of deceased victor Kallikles; victor in wrestling; late 470s or early 460s. Repeating single stanzas.

στρ. α′ *Ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκριμένων*
ἰατρός· αἱ δὲ σοφαὶ
Μοισᾶν θύγατρες ἀοιδαὶ θέλξαν νιν ἁπτόμεναι.
οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τέγγει
γυῖα, τόσσον εὐλογία φόρμιγγι συνάορος.
ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει,
ὅ τι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχᾳ
γλῶσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας.

στρ. β′ *τό μοι θέμεν Κρονίδᾳ τε Διὶ καὶ Νεμέᾳ*
Τιμασάρχου τε πάλᾳ
ὕμνου προκώμιον εἴη· δέξαιτο δ' Αἰακιδᾶν
ἠὔπυργον ἕδος, δίκᾳ ξεναρκέῃ κοινὸν
φέγγος. εἰ δ' ἔτι ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἁλίῳ
σὸς πατὴρ ἐθάλπετο, ποικίλον κιθαρίζων
θαμά κε, τῷδε μέλει κλιθείς,
υἱὸν κελάδησε καλλίνικον

στρ. γ′ *Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος ὅρμον στεφάνων*
πέμψαντα καὶ λιπαρᾶν
εὐωνύμων ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν, Θήβαις τ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοις
οὕνεκ' Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀγλαὸν παρὰ τύμβον
Καδμεῖοί νιν οὐκ ἀέκοντες ἄνθεσι μείγνυον
Αἰγίνας ἕκατι. φίλοισι γὰρ φίλος ἐλθὼν
ξένιον ἄστυ κατέδρακεν
Ἡρακλέος ὀλβίαν πρὸς αὐλάν.

στρ. δ′ *σὺν ᾧ ποτε Τροΐαν κραταιὸς Τελαμὼν*
πόρθησι καὶ Μέροπας
καὶ τὸν μέγαν πολεμιστὰν ἔκπαγλον Ἀλκυονῆ,
οὐ τετραορίας γε πρὶν δυώδεκα πέτρῳ
ἥροάς τ' ἐπεμβεβαῶτας ἱπποδάμους ἔλεν
δὶς τόσους. ἀπειρομάχας ἐών κε φανείη

λόγον ὁ μὴ συνιείς· ἐπεὶ
ῥέζοντά τι καὶ παθεῖν ἔοικεν.

στρ. ε′ τὰ μακρὰ δ' ἐξενέπειν ἐρύκει με τεθμὸς
ὥραί τ' ἐπειγόμεναι·
ἴϋγγι δ' ἕλκομαι ἦτορ νεομηνίᾳ θιγέμεν.
ἔμπα, καΐπερ ἔχει βαθεῖα ποντιὰς ἅλμα
μέσσον, ἀντίτειν' ἐπιβουλίᾳ· σφόδρα δόξομεν
δαΐων ὑπέρτεροι ἐν φάει καταβαίνειν·
φθονερὰ δ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ βλέπων
γνώμαν κενεὰν σκότῳ κυλίνδει

στρ. ϝ′ χαμαὶ πετοῖσαν. ἐμοὶ δ' ὁποίαν ἀρετὰν
ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ,
εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἕρπων πεπρωμέναν τελέσει.
ἐξύφαινε, γλυκεῖα, καὶ τόδ' αὐτίκα, φόρμιγξ,
Λυδίᾳ σὺν ἁρμονίᾳ μέλος πεφιλημένον
Οἰνώνᾳ τε καὶ Κύπρῳ, ἔνθα Τεῦκρος ἀπάρχει
ὁ Τελαμωνιάδας· ἀτὰρ
Αἴας Σαλαμῖν' ἔχει πατρῴαν·

στρ. ϛ′ ἐν δ' Εὐξείνῳ πελάγει φαεννὰν Ἀχιλεὺς
νᾶσον· Θέτις δὲ κρατεῖ
Φθίᾳ· Νεοπτόλεμος δ' ἀπείρῳ διαπρυσίᾳ,
βουβόται τόθι πρῶνες ἔξοχοι κατάκεινται
Δωδώναθεν ἀρχόμενοι πρὸς Ἰόνιον πόρον.
Παλίου δὲ πὰρ ποδὶ λατρίαν Ἰαολκόν
πολεμίᾳ χερὶ προστραχὼν
Πηλεὺς παρέδωκεν Αἰμόνεσσιν

στρ. η′ δάμαρτος Ἱππολύτας Ἀκάστου δολίαις
τέχναισι χρησάμενος.
τᾷ Δαιδάλου δὲ μαχαίρᾳ φύτευέ οἱ θάνατον
ἐκ λόχου Πελίαο παῖς· ἄλαλκε δὲ Χίρων,
καὶ τὸ μόρσιμον Διόθεν πεπρωμένον ἔκφερεν·
πῦρ δὲ παγκρατὲς θρασυμαχάνων τε λεόντων
ὄνυχας ὀξυτάτους ἀκμὰν
καὶ δεινοτάτων σχάσαις ὀδόντων

στρ. θ′ ἔγαμεν ὑψιθρόνων μίαν Νηρεΐδων.
εἶδεν δ' εὔκυκλον ἕδραν,
τὰν οὐρανοῦ βασιλῆες πόντου τ' ἐφεζόμενοi
δῶρα καὶ κράτος ἐξέφαναν ἐς γένος αὐτῷ.
Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον οὐ περατόν· ἀπότρεπε
αὖτις Εὐρώπαν ποτὶ χέρσον ἔντεα ναός·

ἄπορα γὰρ λόγον Αἰακοῦ
παίδων τὸν ἅπαντά μοι διελθεῖν.

στρ. ι′ Θεανδρίδαισι δ' ἀεξιγυίων ἀέθλων
κάρυξ ἑτοῖμος ἔβαν
Ὀλυμπίᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ Νεμέᾳ τε συνθέμενος,
ἔνθα πεῖραν ἔχοντες οἴκαδε κλυτοκάρπων
οὐ νέοντ' ἄνευ στεφάνων, πάτραν ἵν' ἀκούομεν,
Τιμάσαρχε, τεὰν ἐπινικίοισιν ἀοιδαῖς
πρόπολον ἔμμεναι. εἰ δέ τοι
μάτρῳ μ' ἔτι Καλλικλεῖ κελεύεις

στρ. ια′ στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν·
ὁ χρυσὸς ἐψόμενος
αὐγὰς ἔδειξεν ἁπάσας, ὕμνος δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
ἐργμάτων βασιλεῦσιν ἰσοδαίμονα τεύχει
φῶτα· κεῖνος ἀμφ' Ἀχέροντι ναιετάων ἐμὰν
γλῶσσαν εὑρέτω κελαδῆτιν, Ὀρσοτριαινα
ἵν' ἐν ἀγῶνι βαρυκτύπου
θάλησε Κορινθίοις σελίνοις·

στρ. ιβ′ τὸν Εὐφάνης ἐθέλων γεραιὸς προπάτωρ
ἑοῖς ἄεισε κ' ἑταῖς,
ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλικες ἄλλοι· τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἀντιτύχῃ,
ἔλπεταί τις ἕκαστος ἐξοχώτατα φάσθαι.
οἷον αἰνέων κε Μελησίαν ἔριδα στρέφοι,
ῥήματα πλέκων, ἀπάλαιστος ἐν λόγῳ ἕλκειν,
μαλακὰ μὲν φρονέων ἐσλοῖς,
τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἔφεδρος.

1. Joy is best healer, once toil is judged!
Songs artfully made, the daughters of Muses,
charm as they touch, nor does warm water
such comfort bring for limbs as praise does,
sounded in concert with the lyre! Fame
cast into speech lives longer than deeds
when, with the help of the Graces, the tongue
draws from the depths of the heart.

2. May such be my way as, for Kronian Zeus,
Nemea, and Timasarchos' skill in the ring, I
arrange a loud prologue to my song! May it be
welcome here at this towering Aiakid throne, this
beacon of justice for strangers! If the sun's warmth
yet touched Timokritos, your father, he would

finger his lyre, lean to this tune, and
give out the victory cry for this son who

3. now from the games at Kleonai sends back
a garland of crowns, and from Athens, rich and
much praised, and from Thebes, Seven-Gated, where,
near to Amphitryon's vaunted tomb, descendants of
Kadmos were not loath to deck him with flowers,
honouring Aigina. There, as friend among
friends, he surveyed the welcoming city,
standing beside the blest hall of Herakles,

4. with whom, time past, strong Telamon sacked Troy,
conquered the Meropes and, too, that horrible
enemy, fearsome Alkyoneus—though
not before he, with one stone, had smashed
twelve four-horse chariots and, as well,
twice that number of drivers! He who
misses the point is revealed as untried in war, where
pain once inflicted tends to return to the doer!

5. Custom forbids any lengthy account, as do
hastening hours, yet my heart is drawn, as
by new-moon magic, to touch upon grandeur.
Sea-depths may swirl at the ship's waist,
but with treacherous plots once foiled, we
think to arrive in full daylight, stronger than rivals,
while he of the envious glance sits in shadow,
rolling his empty proverbs out, to see them

6. fall flat. For my part, I know this well:
whatever strength Lord Destiny grants,
creeping Time will bring to fulfilment.
Weave, then, sweet lyre, this present song!
Mix in a Lydian harmony, making it
dear to Oinona and far away Kypros, where
Teukros, Telamon's son, holds sway while
Ajax keeps Salamis as his paternal realm,

7. and off in the Euxine Achilles inhabits his
radiant isle; Thetis has power in Phthia,
Neoptolemos out on the vast headland
where cattle-rich heights stretch
down from Dodona to reach the Ionian strait. At
Pelion's foot lies Iolkos, city enslaved

and consigned to Thessalian rule by
Peleus' warlike hand, after he'd dealt with the

8. crafty schemes of Hippolyta—she who was
wife to Akastos. That man, Pelias' son,
engendered an ambushed death to be
wrought upon him with Daidalos' knife, but Chiron
rescued his friend and accomplished the fate that
Zeus had determined. Fire all-devouring,
sharpness of fierce lion-claws and
edges of teeth most dire he endured, then

9. married a high-throned Nereid!
He saw the circling chairs where sat
Rulers of Sky and Sea, displaying the gifts
and the power that would come to his race.
But no one may pass to the west, beyond Cadiz!
Let's come about and fix our course for
Europe's shores—never could I explore
the whole of the legend of Aiakos' sons!

10. I come to Theandrids, engaged as prompt
herald of limb-stretching games
held at Olympia, Isthmia, Nemea too,
whence they return after trials of strength
not without fame-fruited crowns.
Rumour reports, Timasarchos, that your clan is
viceroy to Victory's songs! If from me
you command for Kallikles, your mother's brother,

11. a monument whiter than Parian stone,
know this! Gold that is polished shows each
bright gleam, but a hymn that honours fine deeds
gives a man bliss like that of a king.
So may the one who dwells beside Acheron
hark to my tongue as it now sings
here where he once, in games for the thundering
Trident God, wore the bloom of Corinthian parsley!

12. Him Euphanes, your ancient grandsire,
did gladly sing, my boy. Others have other
age-mates and each may expect to describe best
what he has himself confronted. Yet what a
match it would be for one chosen to praise Melesias—
twisting his phrases, hoping to grasp with a word,

himself still upright and gentle with good men but, 95
for those of ill-will, a harsh opponent-in-waiting!

Composed about a decade after *Nemean* 5, this song once again takes Peleus as the figure through whom a victorious boy (90) may discover his new identity. It was made for Timasarchos, a young wrestler who has won in Athens and Thebes as well as at Nemea (17–19), having been coached in this most devious of Greek sports by the famous trainer, Melesias (93). The paternal family is Theandrid (73) and perhaps the maternal as well, for the Nemean victory of a mother's brother, now dead (80–8), is associated with this clan's record of athletic successes (which incidentally included a crown taken at Olympia, 73–4). Timasarchos' prizes have been brought back to his grandfather, his father, Timokritos, being dead (13–15),[1] and it is this grandfather, Euphanes (89),[2] who celebrates the boy's victory with an ode that addresses an audience explicitly divided in age and experience (91). Nevertheless, though the middle generation is missing in Timasarchos' family, there is no suggestion of war or of recent loss, as there was in *Isthmian* 8. The boy has been able to travel to Kleonai and Athens and even to Thebes, as well as to Nemea, all of which seems to place his present victory in the prosperous later 470s.[3]

Nemean 4 announces itself as an agent of Euphrosyna, the high-spirited sense of Joy that rules during the spontaneous victory night celebration (11, 16) and also in the more mature

[1] Lines 20–4 may suggest that Timokritos had been proxenos for Thebans at Aigina, but this cannot be proved.

[2] Euphanes is named as grandfather at 89; he cannot be the maternal grandfather, as one schol. had it, because that would make him father, not age-mate (89–90) of the maternal uncle, Kallikles. On the other hand Kallikles, if considerably older than his sister, could be treated as belonging to the generation of her father-in-law; Nicholson (2002) 42 ignores the question of generations. Line 90 is corrupt but the near conjunction of *γεραιός* and *παῖ* (codd.) seems to represent Pindar's intention and it is hard to see how an original *ἄεισεν* (so SM following Boeckh) could have produced the *ἀείσεται* read by the scholiasts. The best reading seems to be Mommsen's *ἀείσεται, παῖ, ὁ σός*, a performative future as the old man now joins in the ode that he has commissioned, having himself witnessed Kallikles' past triumphs. Some have heard references, here and at 15, to independent songs composed by Euphanes and Timokritos, to conclude with Cole (1992) 97 that this is 'a family of poets'.

[3] Bernardini (1983) 95–120 follows Gaspar (1900) 117–19 and Bowra (1964) 409, 412 in assigning *N.* 4. to 473 BC; Figueira (1993) says simply pre–458 BC.

and inhibited symposium.[4] Like a *kōmos* song,[5] the ode moves rapidly, being made not of triads but of single stanzas (as was *Isthmian* 8), and the choreography must have followed this rush of repeated melodies. Such an ode will have been easy to teach to singers who are almost certainly boys, given the lines about praising members of one's own age-group (90–1). What is more, as if offering instruction to untried performers, this song discusses its own design and effects to an extent that is notable even for Pindar. Indeed, there are moments that come close to self-parody, as when the dancers, having announced a performance that will work like a warm bath (1–5),[6] toss an unlikely monster, Alkyoneus (27), into their tub and then engage in a sixteen-line metaphoric discussion of their own practice (33–46).

The singers of *Nemean* 4 confess that they are drawn to grand mythic subjects, in spite of their treacherous undercurrents. They promise a splendid traverse and a brilliant arrival, while more cautious performers sit in obscurity, toying with platitudes (36–41).[7] Fulfilling this boast, their song will engage with the magnificence of the Aiakids (44ff.), specifically with Peleus'

[4] To this opening compare Ba. 3. 85–90, a priamel made of caps from other priamels: deep air knows no taint, sea-water cannot rot, gold is *εὐφροσύνα*, but no man returns to youth from old age. In that passage *εὐφροσύνα* includes all bought pleasures such as music, comfort, drink, companionship, as it seems to do here in *N*. 4; see Carey (1977) 69–71; also Slater (1981) 207–14. Bundy (1986) 2 heard the *δέ* of line 2 as marking an opposition between today's joyful revel and 'song as a permanent record of achievement', but in these opening lines the 'magic of the Muses' daughters' is plainly located within the area where *εὐφροσύνα* works.

[5] In its plainest form the on-the-spot victory song repeated the three-line stanza attributed to Archilochos (324 W), wherein the syllables of *τήνελλα* are supposedly an imitation of an accompanying lyre;. P. *O*. 9. 1 and schol. ad loc.

[6] Hot springs were associated with Herakles; at Thermopylai they were said to have been created by Athena to relax the hero after his labors (see Meautis (1962) 296); at Himera he stopped to bathe at local springs on his return from the West.

[7] Wilamowitz, Thummer, and Köhnken followed a scholiast's suggestion to take this sea of mythic possibilities as an actual body of water dividing the poet from Aigina. Similarly the threatening 'plots' have been taken literally as coming from Pindar's enemies, though Köhnken (1971) 206–7 has suggested plots aimed at Timasarchos by those envious of his victory. Bundy (1986) 42 understood these as the work of the poet's inner inhibitions, which might include temptations towards irrelevant or magniloquent subjects. In the same way, the jealous 'other' who will fail has often been taken to be a particular rival; see e.g. Norwood (1945) 179; Puech (1958) iii. 50–2; Méautis (1962) 311–12. Most recent scholars, however, recognize a hypothetical opposite: any poet who would not risk what Pindar risks.

struggle with the Thetis-monster, but the advertised grandeur of these matters is from the start a bit reduced by the semi-comic curtain-raiser that is cued to a mention of Herakles' name (24). This initial glimpse of the mythic world proves to be a fast and irreverent doublet of the major scene, with the Aiakid hero played here by a presumptuous youth,[8] while a giant takes the Nereid's part. Like Peleus, his younger brother Telamon wanders in an exotic place with a powerful companion and does battle with a non-human enemy, but the effect is dubious because, as these singers tell it, the monster comes off best in this preliminary encounter, and meanwhile the 'hero' is diminished by over-praise. Telamon is introduced (like his namesake on the East Pediment of the Aphaia temple) as the principal in exploits traditionally Heraklean, and this with considerable swagger. It was 'strong Telamon', according' to these performers, who (with a bit of help from his friend) 'destroyed' (26) Troy and the Meropes, as well as an 'enormous, warlike and astounding' (27) Alkyoneus.[9] Such exaggerated claims rouse the listener's appetite, but the song does not pretend to show its lesser Aiakid actually engaged in any of these triumphs. Instead, the moment chosen for evocation is one in which the youth stands apparently paralysed while the giant's strength is demonstrated through an arithmetical tally of battle-cars and warriors, all crushed by a single stone. The size of this heap serves to measure the might of the fairy-tale monster,[10] but as the spectator stops to multiply twelve four-horse chariots by two drivers each, he necessarily pulls away from the scene and at once senses a certain absurdity. This is a tableau from a satyr-play or a south-Italian vase, and its boulder paradoxically lacks weight because it is a fresh invention[11]

[8] In an attempt to find an occasional function for this first mythic glimpse, Farnell (1932) ii. 266 suggested that perhaps Timasarchos, like the warriors who accompanied Telamon and Herakles, had suffered in the preliminary phases of his contest; Köhnken (1971) 206 supposes that the Alkyoneus episode is meant to represent the pains and trials that precede any athlete's victory; Cole (1992) 93 finds reference to 'troop losses during a heroic campaign'.

[9] Compare *I.* 6. 31–3 where Herakles, in company with Telamon, achieves the same three exploits in the same order; that passage and the present one constitute the earliest known literary references to Alkyoneus.

[10] For Koepp (1884) 31–46 the enumeration was Pindar's way of drawing attention to his mythic innovation.

[11] A black-figure drinking cup from Tarquinia (*LIMC* s.v. Alkyoneus 16, 500–490 BC) shows the attacking Herakles backed by a second warrior and, on the reverse, two quadrigas with cattle cavorting about them, but there is no sug-

appended to a little-known exploit from the *athla* of Herakles.[12] All in all, the scene is cartoonish rather than awesome, and its dubious quality is enforced by a version of the choral trick of self-censorship: 'If you know anything about battle,' the singers say in effect, 'you can do the last bit for yourself—we will say only that he got what was coming to him!' (30–2).[13]

Like singers in general, this chorus is not eager to treat the death of Alkyoneus, but the audience can be trusted to picture it because it was a beloved motif among vase-painters. In their illustrations, the folk-tale giant was killed as he slept, and this detail inspired repeated semi-comic scenes of inglorious trickery. Propped against a tree, even upon cushions, the monster cradles a club of appropriate scale while enjoying a nap—he is often turned full face to show eyes that are shut, and the small winged figure of Hypnos may be present as proof that the giant is wholly disempowered.[14] Towards this helpless enemy Herakles creeps, armed with arrows or sword, and though Athena may make an approving gesture,[15] the victim's insensibility labels the attack as an inglorious deed of almost comic guile. This is what Pindar (like other poets) chose not to describe, replacing it with the initial forty-eight fallen horses and twenty-four heroic corpses, and challenging his audience to supply the dénouement.

gestion of the boulder. Its only possible painted representation would be a lumpish shape held in the arms of a large seated figure approached by two warriors on a black-figure Pontic vase from Vulci, *c*.550 (*LIMC* s.v. Alkyoneus 34). The stone may have been borrowed from folk-tale, for the schol. knew a later story from the Isthmos concerning a stone that killed the giant; in that version, however, Herakles used his club like a cricket bat to send the boulder back upon Alkyoneus.

[12] Robert (1884) 473ff. attempted to reconstruct the history of the tale, beginning with a pre-Doric cosmic legend in which Alkyoneus stole the cattle of Helios; cf. Andreai (1962) 130–210. Later the story was drawn into the Gigantomachy complex (as at schol. *N*. 4. 25, schol. *I*. 6. 32, and Apollod. *Bib*. 1. 6. 1a), but there is no sign that Pindar made this association; see Vian (1952) 217–21.

[13] The proverb is ambivalent: either 'he who does (harm) is likely to suffer in return', or 'one suffers in the course of doing (something worthwhile)'. With the latter sense the schol. heard reference to pains suffered by an athlete in preliminary trials, but the former is clearly meant here, its vengeful sense emphasized by the challenge to the audience to understand correctly or seem unmanly. Compare *Il*. 5. 2236, 'They are women who don't know the ways of war,' or P. fr. 99a B = 110 M: 'War is sweet to those who haven't tried it.'

[14] *LIMC* s.v. Alkyoneus 7, 11, 12, 16–21, 23, all earlier than 470 BC. In this form the episode resembles Odysseus' tricky blinding of the Kyklops.

[15] *LIMC* s.v. Alkyoneus 17, cf. 5, 6, 11.

In this way each onlooker becomes an accomplice as the song steals one of Herakles' less than heroic exploits and hands it over to a pretentious adolescent, letting him avenge the death of comrades upon a monster who is . . . having a nap.

With Alkyoneus in place as a gross premonition of the Thetis-opponent, the song turns away from Telamon (33), though not, as the chorus hastens to assure us, from all mythic matters (35–41).[16] The proximity of the central scene is announced first by a call to the lyre (44–5), and then by an extended priamel (46–53) in which, not the usual two or three, but five foil figures are set aside in favour of an ultimate sixth. This is the passage mentioned earlier (Ch. 1, p. 26), in which Aiakid rulers spread their power over the whole Hellenic world while encircling Aigina, and its exaggerated length puts tremendous pressure upon the figure who is finally chosen as cap. Consequently, when 'Peleus' takes command of the series (his name further emphasized as first word in a final line, 56), the formal oddity of his citation cannot be overlooked. In priamels of the most elegant sort, the superb item will twist into a new realm of excellence, but it will not appear as a blatant aberration. Here, however, where five preliminary Aiakids are hailed as still holding their ghostly geographical power, Peleus betrays the series, for he is cited, not as one who rules but instead as one who gives up the sovereignty he has gained (56).[17] And it is with this anomalous

[16] The fifth stanza contains a compound of break-off and transition formulae: in effect the chorus says, 'epinician convention and limited time tell me not to continue this (initial) tale', 'yet I am drawn as if by magic to extend my song with a major narrative'. Thus Bury ad loc. takes the *ἴυγγι* at 35 as agent with *ἕλκομαι*, *τὰ μακρά* as implied object of *θιγέμεν*: 'I am drawn on by a new-moon charm to touch thereon (that is upon the tale of the Aeacidae).' The limitless subject of Aiakid virtues has its dangers, but the poet/singers will resist false courses and outdo the songs that stick to gnomic praise. That this is a metaphoric journey (not a contest, though *καταβαίνειν* 38, might so suggest) is confirmed when at the end of this Aiakid section the song exhorts itself not to sail further but to make for land (69–70). Some commentators, however, have made *ἐρύκει* and *ἕλκομαι* parallel to produce three sources of inhibition: rule or contract, time, and an inner need, either to finish the song (Bundy (1986) 3 n. 11), or to participate in an otherwise unknown New Moon Festival (von der Mühll (1959) 128). All three conspire against a poet who must nevertheless extend his praise; see Carey (1980) 143–62; Race (1997) ii. 37 n. 4, and for a summary of opinion A. Miller (1983) 202–20. As for the magic of the new moon, note Theophrastos *Char.* 4. 12 where to 'keep the Noumenia' = to party wildly, so that the sense here would be a magic that calls one to join in a revel.

[17] Five instances of 'X holds power in Y locality' are capped by 'A does not

bit of rhetoric that the singers unveil their mythic episode—a stanza and a half in which three glimpses of a curiously ill-defined Peleus are swiftly superimposed.

From the priamel's Iolkos the song moves back to an unpopulated mountainous spot where the city-conqueror Peleus comes close to being ambushed by wild centaurs.[18] That non-event, however, is expressed in syntax so tortured that its carefully chosen Aiakid hero appears only as an anonymous dative pronoun (59) to whom no deed is attributed. His enemy, Akastos, is credited with having engendered a death-plan[19] that turned on the knife that Daidalos made (59),[20] but here Peleus is no more than the passive object, first of this plot and then of a rescue. Nor is there a realized scene of attack, for the awkward tale[21] of a disarmed Peleus enticed into a place of danger is compressed into six syllables (*θάνατον ἐκ λόχου* 59–60). Chiron is the single agent present, but even the saving centaur remains abstract, his action simply the fulfilment of a Zeus-made destiny (61). Zeus has decided everything and once his name sounds the enemy, the knife, the hero and the centaur all dissolve into fire and strange beast-forms (62–4). Now there are words with sensory affect, but still nothing that the listener can see, as three detached attributes

hold power in B'. To moderate this effect Köhnken (1971) 203 n. 58 took Peleus as subject at 61, though nothing suggests that Chiron has been replaced.

[18] This at any rate is the usual later version (Apollod. *Bib*. 3. 13. 3); Pindar's lines make Akastos and the knife the sole enemies.

[19] The reference to Hippolyta's deceit (57) has been taken in various ways due to the difficulty of the phrase with *χρησάμενος* (58). The scholiast understood 'taking her tricks as an excuse'; Bury (1965b) ad loc. translated 'having dealt with her tricks'. Others, after Dissen, understand 'having experienced' these tricks; so Bowra (1964) 114; Slater (1969*a*) s.v. *χράω*; Race (1997) ii. 39. On the other hand Carnes (1999) 1–9 supposes the sense to be 'turning her tricks against her, using them to his own advantage', which is more or less accepted by Nicholson (2002) 31–59, so that Peleus himself becomes an active trickster. With the opposite effect Schroeder (1900) ad loc. put a full stop at the end of 56, and in 59 wrote *τε* for *δὲ*, *Ἄκαστος* for *Ἀκάστου*, making him the subject. Köhnken (1971) 202–3 proposed a gen. absolute, *Ἀκάστου . . . χρησαμένου* (57–8).

[20] The schol. at Ar. *Nub*. 1063 explains that the gods presented Peleus with this knife when he was lost in the woods; the schol at P. *N*. 4. 59 cites Xenobius *Paroem*. 20, where the knife, which has a magic blade, is a reward for *σωφροσύνη* and the basis of the proverb 'Prouder than Peleus when he received his knife.' Its magical power is here suggested by its responsion with the magical song of the Muses (3) and the magical attraction of the *ἴυγξ* (35).

[21] To be reconstructed from Hes. fr. 209 MW + schol. AR 1. 224; cf. Apollod. *Bib*. 3. 13. 3: Akastos steals and hides the knife so that Peleus, seeking it, will go defenceless where centaurs can attack him.

(fire, tooth, claw) belonging to a shifting unspecified force are met, at stanza end, by an anonymous Aiakid who simply 'holds on', not, be it noted, with a finite verb but with a mere participle (*σχάσαις*, 64).

This featureless Peleus has passed through a tripartite trial under the protection of his old teacher, Chiron, for he has engaged with men of a strange city, with wilderness enemies, and finally with an opponent who is neither man nor beast. He has somehow held out against a congeries of all that is most fearful and so, with the opening word of the succeeding stanza, he comes of age and makes his first finite move since he relinquished Iolkos (56)—he marries (*ἔγαμεν*, 65) 'a single high-throned Nereid'. The fact that this heavenly mate is the same as the previous horrifying form-changer is not expressed, but this only makes the inter-stanza transformation the more provocative, as the spectator explains it to himself. An effect so blatant can be risked, however, because the couch in which a hero-son will be made is not, this time, the wonder towards which the narrative aims. Having looked upon the gathered gods, Peleus reverts at once to his passive status while the divine guests capture the action. They show him their gifts, and it is this solemn transfer of 'riches and rule' (68) that is marked as the official marvel of the song. This is the destination of the promised voyage across dangerous poetic waters, and the singers mark their arrival 'in brightness and superior to enemies' (38),with a formal admonition against sailing further (69).

The mythic section completes a circle with the revelation of the wealth and power that came to the race of Peleus, for this is the origin of the extended web of Aiakid holdings that was sketched in the introductory priamel (46–56). Nevertheless, one can't but notice that in this formally supreme passage the language is spare, if not flat. To begin with, the event is entirely without ethical colour; no syllable makes Peleus fearful, or deserving, or even glad. Nor is he an explicit example of blessedness. In other odes festivity shared with gods represents happiness raised to its extremest height (e.g. *ὄλβον ὑπέρτατον*, *P.* 3. 89),[22] but here Peleus is no more than a neutral witness. He

[22] At *N.* 5. 23 the Muses sing his wedding song; at *O.* 2. 78 he is on the Isle of the Blessed with Kadmos, who likewise entertained divine guests at his wedding; at *I.* 6. 25 he is *γαμβρὸς εὐδαίμων*.

doesn't drink nectar from the gods' table, as the bridegroom seems to do in Paian 15;[23] these thrones are not specifically gold; the Muses do not sing, nor do divinities cry out, 'O thrice blessed Aiakid Peleus, o blessed four times over!' as Hesiod had them do (*Cat.* 211 MW). And finally, though the gifts are 'shown' they remain abstract—here are no magical horses, no lance of polished ash.[24] For the Aiakids, the divine endowment is of primary importance, but the song offers no word or concept to make it tangible. The initial place-names still echo dimly ('Kypros, Salamis, Phthia, Euxine, Dodona, Iolkos') but nothing in this moment of official sublimity can challenge the much sharper effects of the appearances just evoked—the murderous god-made knife and the devious form-changing wrestling-mate.

The three lines (62–4) in which an unnamed Peleus struggles with an equally nameless tangle of fire, claw, and tooth will have been particularly impressive because this wrestling match was not, at the time, as notorious as it later became. This, indeed, is the first poetic version to survive, though sculptural and painted representations suggest that the struggle with Thetis was treated in at least one of the post-Homeric epics.[25] In its early form the tale evidently concerned a hero who caught sight of a bevy of Nereids, pursued them as they ran to their father for protection, and caught the one who turned out to be Thetis.[26] The motif of

[23] This according to the suggestions of SM, but see Rutherford (1992) 62–72, who supposes that the fragment describes an unidentifiable mythic event centering on Aiakos, possibly his marriage with Psamathe.

[24] Horses: *Il.* 16. 886–7; 17. 443–4; 23. 177–8; schol. P. *P.* 3. 167. Lance: *Il.* 16. 143–4; 19. 390–91; *Kypria* F 3 *EGF* D. Both: Apollod. 3. 13. 6.

[25] It is assumed that the wrestling match was described in the *Kypria*; this at any rate is the implication of schol. TV *Il.* 18. 433–5, where the match is located in the works of the *neoteroi*; see Jouan (1966) 66–87. Because the wedding always takes place on Mt. Pelion, the wrestling on the shore (sometimes in Asia Minor), the usual conclusion is that there were originally two separate accounts, the rape story coming from an early 'Thetis poem' and combined with the wedding by way of the figure of Chiron (Reitzenstein (1900) 73–105; Séchan (1930–1) 673–88; Lesky (1956) 216–26). At Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 13. 5 he intervenes at the shore and at once leads the pair to the gathered gods, which is what Pindar indicates with his inter-strophic switch of locations (*N.* 4. 64–5).

[26] The scene is usually set near a flaming altar with a palm tree behind; see some forty black-figure and red-figure examples at *LIMC* s.v. Peleus nos. 51–93. The shore location may be indicated by a fish or dolphin, carried by Nereus or one of the girls; see e.g. *LIMC* s.v. Nereus 71, 87, 88, 90; s.v. Peleus 175.

pursuit made Peleus a doublet of Zeus in the rape of Aigina, or Poseidon in that of Amymone,[27] and it is the favoured moment for depiction throughout the sixth century and into the fifth. At the time of the performance of *Nemean* 4, however, the wrestling match had become popular, usually shown within the older scene,[28] so that there are still fleeing sisters and a watching Nereus; Chiron may on occasion supervise or even intervene, and once a satyr looks on.[29] For Thetis the form-changer, however, there was no fixed iconography.[30] In earliest appearances she was depicted in the process of turning into a snake, as on the early sixth-century chest of Kypselos (Paus. 5. 18. 5), and a bronze shield-band from Olympia (*c*.550–540 BC) presents her, still running away but with a snarling lion's head growing from her own high brow.[31] Quite often, first in black-figure and then in red-figure examples, the animal forms (most frequently snake, then lion, panther, or small hybrid monster) detach themselves from her body to leap like demon creatures upon Peleus' back, or snap at one of his legs.[32] Though it is hard to render, a number of painters show flames that flicker up from Thetis' shoulders or arms, or even from the top of her head.[33] And the Peleus of these later scenes, by contrast to his occasional early bearded representations,[34] is now almost invariably a youth; in his wrestling stance he is reminiscent of Herakles, but he is smooth-faced,

[27] Note Pindar's phrase at *N*. 3. 35, *καὶ ποντίαν Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν*. For a similar scene of Zeus pursuing Thetis, see *LIMC* s.v. Nereus 104, 105.

[28] Exceptions occur where space is limited, as in the scene on a late 7th-cent. Kretan dish from the Museum at Herakleion which, if correctly identified, is the first example both of the isolation of the struggle and also of the motif of transformation. On it an enormous Thetis with a small fish growing out of her back is clasped by a tiny Peleus; see Schefold (1964) 133 and fig. 128.

[29] Chiron, *LIMC* s.v. Peleus 158, 159, 163; satyr, ibid. 161.

[30] After the doubtful Kretan dish (above, n. 28) and the chest of Kypselos (Paus. 5. 18. 5), the first representations of form-changing appear in the mid-6th cent.; see e.g. *LIMC* s.v. Peleus 64, an Attic black-figure krater in the Louvre, where, in the presence of Nereus and a Nereid, a beardless Peleus chases a fleeing Thetis from whose left shoulder a small lion's head grows. The iconography remains the same, whether or not there are indications of transformation; compare nos. 113, 114, 115, 162.

[31] *LIMC* s.v. Peleus 71, where the metopic decoration frame allows only two figures, a bearded Peleus who pursues a nearly naked Thetis, a lion growing from the front of her head, a snake from the back.

[32] *LIMC* s.v. Peleus 114, 164, 177, 188.

[33] *LIMC* s.v. Peleus 163, 167, 169.

[34] *LIMC* s.v. Peleus 47, 61, 81, 83, 84, 109, 121, 122.

sometimes sporting a leafy crown,[35] on occasion even wearing a childlike *chiton*.[36] He may carry a sword that looks too big for him, and he is frequently depicted as smaller, both in height and in breadth, than his female opponent.

Such was the match with Thetis that Pindar chose and transformed so as to give his song an instant in which the listener was drawn into a kind of mystery. He has eliminated all that is litoral and picaresque—the fish, the fleeing sisters, the protective father—though a scheming Akastos, a magical implement, and a beast-man are to be seen in the near background. The poet has also entirely desexualized the encounter, for there are no entangled arms and legs here. Where the painted boy-Peleus clasps a large female whose breasts are well delineated, the invisible youth of *Nemean* 4 faces pure fire and bestial ferocity in an abstract and defensive confrontation with all that is fearsome, unnatural, and inconstant. What the ode presents, then, is a struggle from which even the contestants are absent, a testing of one form of vitality against another, and in this de-mythologized state the match with Thetis becomes an emblem appropriate to any athlete and especially to a child. It represents the moment in all contests when trainer and onlookers disappear and a partner who embodies opposition becomes a metaphysical problem to be seized and held. Endured with courage, as it was by Peleus, and also by the boy-wrestler now being saluted, such a moment is followed by celebrations and the empowerment of the victor's family.

With the Aiakids assured of their eternal geographical presence, thanks to Peleus' victory, the chorus of *Nemean* 4 returns to the present occasion (73, beginning of ninth stanza), praising Timasarchos for belonging to a praiseworthy family, naming as well his mother's brother, and also the grandfather who has asked for this song. Then, because the victor is young (and because this was presumably part of the poet's commission) they append one final element—a formal recognition of the trainer Melesias.[37] An athlete himself, the distinguished Athenian was

[35] This may mark him as having just come from the funeral games for Pelias; crown, *LIMC* s.v. Peleus 110, 162, 170, 188; youth, 113–15, 166–70.

[36] *LIMC* s.v. Peleus 170,189, *c.*470 BC.

[37] Himself a famous pankratist (P. *O*. 8. 54–9), Melesias was probably the Athenian father of Thukydides; see Wade-Gery (1958) 243–52; Davies (1971) 231; this praise was presumably requested by Euphanes. Those who believe in

the greatest wrestling master in Greece and would claim, in 460 BC, to have brought thirty trainees to victory (*O*. 8. 66). At the time of the present performance he was probably in his 60s, the contemporary of Euphanes and like him an aristocrat who could boast Aiakid connections (through Kimon, Paus. 2.29.4). He must have been in the house during Timasarchos' training and he probably went with him to the mainland contest, which makes it very likely that he is among the guests at today's celebration. Perhaps, then, the singers actually turn to face him as, with their closing lines, they suggest one more wrestling bout, an unthinkable contest something like that of Peleus with the form-changer Thetis (and sung to the same melodic phrases) in which a mere maker of praise is matched against Melesias' indescribable excellence. A singer could try all his tricks as he grappled with this superb subject, but what a struggle he would face as he tried to do justice to such powers without exaggerating or falling short, so as to finish, unthrown[38] and still able to sing! Fortunately, this particular chorus does not need to make the attempt because they are young and he is old (91), and also because Melesias has already been given timeless renown through his mythic doublet, Chiron. As a trainer guides his pupil from local into panhellenic competition, so Chiron has sent Peleus from an outlandish contest into the Zeus-decreed wrestling match that prepared permanent fame for his family. The centaur's action has moreover been conveyed by a verb suggestive of protection against sickness, agony, beasts, or magical attack (*ἄλαλκε*, 60), and in this way the audience is reminded that Chiron, the teacher

an aristocratic anti-trainer prejudice (most recently N. Nicholson (2002) 34, 37, 39, 41, 44, 51) are sure that Melesias must have been particularly odious to the Aiginetan élite, as an Athenian, though the three passages in which Pindar praises him (*N*. 4. 93–6; *N*. 6. 64–6; *O*. 8. 54–64) can only be read as invidious by severe distortion; see Robbins (1986) 321 n. 23. On wrestlers and their trainers, and for vase-painting depictions, see Poliakoff (1987) 38–43.

[38] For wrestling terminology, esp. *ἕλκειν* (94), see Gardiner (1905) 14–31 and 263–93, esp. 266; Poliakoff (1982) 137–41. Bury ad loc. supposed the sense to be, 'What an adversary in speech were he who learned a lesson from Melesias! How he would wrestle . . .!' and it is true that *αἰνέων* might mean 'imitating,' as at *I*. 7. 32; nevertheless it is impossible to maintain the notion of a poet-opponent as the passage continues. The figure is rather of a poet/chorus that wrestles with the object of praise (as at *N*. 7. 70–3 and 103), attempting to grasp his excellence with words; success would leave them ready to contend with others, either in praise or in blame. With this fantasy the actual chorus achieves what it describes as impossible.

of Asklepios (*N.* 3. 54–5), shared functions with the real-world trainers who dealt in diet, exercise, sprains, and broken bones, as well as in confidence and clever moves.[39]

Like a smaller Telamon or Peleus, Timasarchos has left home in the company of friends and crossed the water—to Zeus' games at Nemea, as well as to Thebes and Athens. He has measured himself against foreign opponents and returned victorious and now, being sung, he knows a bliss equal to that of kings (84). He is being praised among men of his grandfather's age, but he is still a child and Pindar has made a song that insists on this fact. Peleus wrestled his way to a bride and a solemn reception among the gods, but Timasarchos comes home to jokes and good cheer (*εὐφροσύνα*, 1) created by eager young singers who imitate the rowdy victory-night song (11, 16). First they offer a mythic sketch that is less than heroic because its giant is not confronted (and will be asleep when he is), less than lyrical because of its arithmetic and its focus on a single smashing rock. Then they propose a second, a botched ambush that produces, by poetic sleight of hand, a wrestling bout with a set of horrific but fugitive abstractions. Sung by his age-mates, these slightly puerile mythic matters are offered as a bracing liniment of good cheer for Timasarchos' tired limbs (4–5), while the grandfather and his guests enjoy their own forms of cheer. Aigina is safely placed among its Aiakid protectors (46–56), Theandrid triumphs are revived (73–9), a victor of the middle generation is named (80) and sung, though he is now in Hades (85). Finally, by a clever feint, the dancing boys have managed to praise the trainer Melesias, an embodiment of elderly virtues (likened to Thetis by the song's design), by ostentatiously refusing to attempt a 'match' with such a one (93–6).

[39] Herodikos, well known as physician-trainer, is mentioned by Plato (*Rep.* 406b, *Protag.* 316 d) and also by Arisotole (*Rhet.* 1361); see Jüthner (1909) 5; Gardiner (1930) 89.

9. *Nemean* 3: The Education of Achilles

For Aristokleidas, son of Aristophanes; victor in the pankration; tribe and date unknown. Triads.

στρ. α′ *Ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἁμετέρα, λίσσομαι,*
τὰν πολυξέναν ἐν ἱερομηνιᾳ Νεμεάδι
ἵκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν· ὕδατι γὰρ
μένοντ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες
κώμων νεανίαι, σέθεν ὅπα μαιόμενοι. 5
διψῇ δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου,
ἀεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ' ἀοιδὰν φιλεῖ,
στεφάνων ἀρετᾶν τε δεξιωτάταν ὀπαδόν·

ἀντ. α′ *τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὄπαζε μήτιος ἁμᾶς ἄπο·*
ἄρχε δ', οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλᾳ κρέοντι θύγατερ, 10
δόκιμον ὕμνον· ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ νιν ὀάροις
λύρᾳ τε κοινάσομαι. χαρίεντα δ' ἔξει πόνον
χώρας ἄγαλμα, Μυρμιδόνες ἵνα πρότεροι
ᾤκησαν, ὧν παλαίφατον εἶραν
οὐκ ἐλεγχέεσσιν Ἀριστοκλείδας τεὰν 15
ἐμίανε κατ' αἶσαν ἐν περισθενεῖ μαλαχθεὶς

ἐπ. α′ *παγκρατίου στόλῳ· καματωδέων δὲ πλαγᾶν*
ἄκος ὑγιηρὸν ἐν βαθυπεδίῳ Νεμέᾳ
τὸ καλλίνικον φέρει.
εἰ δ' ἐὼν καλὸς ἔρδων τ' ἐοικότα μορφᾷ
ἀνορέαις ὑπερτάταις ἐπέβα 20
παῖς Ἀριστοφάνεος, οὐκέτι πρόσω
ἀβάταν ἄλα κιόνων ὕπερ Ἡρακλέος περᾶν εὐμαρές,

στρ. β′ *ἥρως θεὸς ἃς ἔθηκε ναυτιλίας ἐσχάτας*
μάρτυρας κλυτάς· δάμασε δὲ θῆρας ἐν πελάγεϊ
ὑπερόχους, ἰδίᾳ τ' ἐρεύνασε τεναγέων
ῥοάς, ὁπᾷ πόμπιμον κατέβαινε νόστου τέλος, 25
καὶ γᾶν φράδασσε. θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἀλλοδαπὰν
ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβεις;
Αἰακῷ σε φαμὶ γένει τε Μοῖσαν φέρειν.
ἔπεται δὲ λόγῳ δίκας ἄωτος, "ἐσλὸν αἰνεῖν",

ἀντ. β′ οὐδ' ἀλλοτρίων ἔρωτες ἀνδρὶ φέρειν κρέσσονες·
οἴκοθεν μάτευε. ποτίφορον δὲ κόσμον ἔλαχες
γλυκύ τι γαρυέμεν. παλαιαῖσι δ' ἐν ἀρεταῖς
γέγαθε Πηλεὺς ἄναξ, ὑπέραλλον αἰχμὰν ταμών·
ὃς κἰαολκὸν εἶλε μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς,
καὶ ποντίαν Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν
ἐγκονητί. Λαομέδοντα δ' εὐρυσθενὴς
Τελαμὼν Ἰόλᾳ παραστάτας ἐὼν ἔπερσεν·

ἐπ. β′ καὶ ποτε χαλκότοξον Ἀμαζόνων μετ' ἀλκὰν
ἔπετό οἱ, οὐδέ νίν ποτε φόβος ἀνδροδάμας
ἔπαυσεν ἀκμὰν φρενῶν.
συγγενεῖ δέ τις εὐδοξίᾳ μέγα βρίθει.
ὃς δὲ διδάκτ' ἔχει, ψεφεννὸς ἀνὴρ
ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα πνέων οὔ ποτ' ἀτρεκεῖ
κατέβα ποδί, μυριᾶν δ' ἀρετᾶν ἀτελεῖ νόῳ γεύεται.

στρ. γ′ ξανθὸς δ' Ἀχιλεὺς τὰ μὲν μένων Φιλύρας ἐν δόμοις,
παῖς ἐὼν ἄθυρε μεγάλα ἔργα· χερσὶ θαμινὰ
βραχυσίδαρον ἄκοντα πάλλων ἴσα τ' ἀνέμοις,
μάχᾳ λεόντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις ἔπρασσεν φόνον,
κάπρους τ' ἔναιρε· σώματα δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδαν
Κένταυρον ἀσθμαίνοντα κόμιζεν,
ἑξέτης τὸ πρῶτον, ὅλον δ' ἔπειτ' ἂν χρόνον·
τὸν ἐθάμβεον Ἄρτεμίς τε καὶ θρασεῖ' Ἀθάνα,

ἀντ. γ′ κτείνοντ' ἐλάφους ἄνευ κυνῶν δολίων θ' ἑρκέων·
ποσσὶ γὰρ κράτεσκε. λεγόμενον δὲ τοῦτο προτέρων
ἔπος ἔχω· βαθυμῆτα Χίρων τράφε λιθίνῳ
Ἰάσον' ἔνδον τέγει, καὶ ἔπειτεν Ἀσκλαπιόν,
τὸν φαρμάκων δίδαξε μαλακόχειρα νόμον·
νύμφευσε δ' αὖτις ἀγλαόκολπον
Νηρέος θύγατρα, γόνον τέ οἱ φέρτατον
ἀτίταλλεν ⟨ἐν⟩ ἁρμένοισι πᾶσι θυμὸν ἄξων·

ἐπ. γ ὄφρα θαλασσίαις ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι πεμφθεὶς
ὑπὸ Τροΐαν δορίκτυπον ἀλαλὰν Λυκίων
τε προσμένοι καὶ Φρυγῶν
Δαρδάνων τε, καὶ ἐγχεσφόροις ἐπιμείξαις
Αἰθιόπεσσι χεῖρας, ἐν φρασὶ πά-
ξαιθ', ὅπως σφίσι μὴ κοίρανος ὀπίσω
πάλιν οἴκαδ' ἀνεψιὸς ζαμενὴς Ἑλένοιο Μέμνων μόλοι.

στρ. δ′ τηλαυγὲς ἄραρε φέγγος Αἰακιδᾶν αὐτόθεν·
Ζεῦ, τεὸν γὰρ αἷμα, σέο δ' ἀγών, τὸν ὕμνος ἔβαλεν
ὀπὶ νέων ἐπιχώριον χάρμα κελαδέων.

βοὰ δὲ νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδᾳ πρέπει,
ὃς τάνδε νᾶσον εὐκλεΐ προσέθηκε λόγῳ
καὶ σεμνὸν ἀγλααῖσι μερίμναις
Πυθίου Θεάριον. ἐν δὲ πείρᾳ τέλος
διαφαίνεται ὧν τις ἐξοχώτερος γένηται,

ἀντ. δ΄ *ἐν παισὶ νέοισι παῖς, ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνήρ, τρίτον*
ἐν παλαιτέροισι, μέρος ἕκαστον οἷον ἔχομεν
βρότεον ἔθνος· ἐλᾷ δὲ καὶ τέσσαρας ἀρετὰς
ὁ θνατὸς αἰών, φρονεῖν δ' ἀνέπει τὸ παρκείμενον.
τῶν οὐκ ἄπεστι· χαῖρε, φίλος· ἐγὼ τόδε τοι
πέμπω μεμειγμένον μέλι λευκῷ
σὺν γάλακτι, κιρναμένα δ' ἔερσ' ἀμφέπει,
πόμ' ἀοίδιμον Αἰολῆσιν ἐν πνοαῖσιν αὐλῶν,

ἐπ. δ΄ *ὀψέ περ. ἔστι δ' αἰετὸς ὠκὺς ἐν ποτανοῖς,*
ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος,
δαφοινὸν ἄγραν ποσίν·
κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται.
τίν γε μέν, εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς ἐθελοί-
σας, ἀεθλοφόρου λήματος ἕνεκεν
Νεμέας Ἐπιδαυρόθεν τ' ἄπο καὶ Μεγάρων δέδορκεν φάος.

1. Mother of singers, sovereign Muse, I beg you,
now in the sacred Nemean month,
come to this Doric isle, to guest-loving Aigina!
Here beside Asopos' waters young craftsmen of
sweetly sung revels await, mad for a signal from you.
Each deed has its separate thirst and
triumph in contest craves song, best
comrade of courage and crowns, so

send an abundance, drawn from my skill!
You are his daughter—open a hymn
for the Ruler of cloud-covered heaven, while I set
parts for these echoing voices, and for the lyre!
Theirs will be sweet work, for they embellish a land
first held by Myrmidons whose ancient councils,
thanks to your favour, Aristokleidas did not defile with
mildness, when he was tried in that savage

pankratic company! Sung in the deep Nemean fields,
the victory strain puts poultice to
injuries he brings away.
Being fair, Aristophanes' boy matches his beauty
with deeds and mounts to the heights

of courage, but one does not easily
enter the untried sea beyond Herakles' pillars, those

2. witnesses set by the Hero-God, marking the sailor's
furthest stretch. He mastered proud maritime beasts;
alone, he charted the shallows, reached the goal that
turned him towards home, and mapped
the lands he had found. But, O my heart,
why beach me on this strange shore?
To Aiakos and to his race must I carry my Muse.
Justice follows the precept, 'Praise what is noble!'

nor are exotic ambitions the best a man can pursue.
Seek nearer home! Fit decoration for sweet song is
part of your portion. Primitive virtues brought
joy to lord Peleus, cutting his conquering shaft,
he who alone and bereft of an army
took Iolkos, he who subdued ocean-born Thetis,
though she resisted. Standing beside Iolaos, bold
Telamon stormed Laomedon's walls, then

followed his friend to attack bronze-armed
Amazon archers, nor did fright ever stop him
or blunt his intention!
Fame inborn gives weight to a man, but
one who needs teaching pants blindly after
this and that, his foot never sure
as he foolishly samples ten-thousand exploits.

3, Pale-haired Achlles, still in Philyra's care,
toyed with bold deeds, twirling his small spear
and sending it swift as the wind to
bloody the coats of furious lions, or to kill boar.
He carried their gasping corpses
back to the Kronian centaur, first
when he was six, and all through the following years.
Artemis marvelled, and warlike Athena as well,

for he took deer, not with dogs or entangling nets, but
racing on his two feet! Hear next an oft-told tale,
how in his troglodyte cavern deep-thinking Chiron
housed Jason, Asklepios too, whom he
trained in the soothing practice of pharmacy.
He gave to her bridegroom the daughter of Nereus
(hers was a glorious womb!) then, taking her strong son
into his care, nurtured his temper in all fit ways, that

when he was carried by gusting sea-winds
over to Troy, he might resist the screaming hosts—
Phrygians, Lykians, Dardanians too—and,
mixed in close combat with Ethiope warriors, might
hammer this purpose into his will:
'No return home for
Helenos' cousin, Memnon, their mighty lord!'

4. Forth from his deeds an Aiakid light stretches far.
Zeus, yours is the blood, yours the contest
tossed by this hymn to the voices of boys
to be sung as a local joy! Wild shouts suit Aristokleidas,
victor whose triumph adds fame to this isle and
splendid concerns to the august house of the
Pythian Thearoi. Perfection appears in mid-trial;
where one is meant for pre-eminence,

child prevails over child, man among men and
elder is first with the old. These three portions
mortality shares, but Fate holds four virtues in harness,
the last being care for whatever lies near.
Of these not one is absent today! Farewell, friend.
I offer this toast of honey well mixed
with white milk, frothing with dew and
borne on the breath of Aeolian flutes, but—

a bit late. Wild for his distant prey, the eagle
is swift in his flight and sudden when claw
strikes at the bloodied kill, while
chattering jackdaws huddle below.
Now by the favour of Klio whose throne is high, and
because of your prize-winning temper, from
Nemea, Megara, and Epidauros, light falls upon you!

Nemean 3 is a song of unknown date,[1] made for Aristokleidas, a young pankratist (17) whose tribe is not named and whose father, Aristophanes (20), may or may not be alive. Its peculiarities, moreover, are internal as well as external, for the chorus, now singing and dancing, begins by pretending that it has not yet begun. This, then, is another artful representation of a pre-performance moment, like that found at the opening of *Isthmian* 8, though the poet here claims a stronger role for himself, as his performers depict an imaginary instant in which inspiration,

[1] Stylistic analyses have generally yielded dates in the late 470s; for a survey of the bibliography see Pfeijffer (1999) 197.

composition, musical scoring, and hours of rehearsal combine to become today's unique celebration.[2] The singers 'wait . . . here' as they beg for the present arrival of the Muse ('Come to this Doric island!' 3), but then they embrace the past duties of the poet in a promise to split the song between lyre and their young voices (11–12). The ultimate blending of all these elements is achieved by the Muse; she is to come (3), she is to sing the first note (5) for she is to lead the dance, and her arrival is marked when the poet/chorus at last cries out to her, 'Begin!'(10).[3] At last the achieved song is ready and the singers (the *χώρας ἄγαλμα*, 13)[4] no longer wait, for their work (*πόνος*, 12) has been assigned. They dance now upon ground that once belonged to followers of Peleus, and this contact with the mythic past brings the name of Aristokleidas into their mouths. They are here because Aristokleidas is worthy of the Myrmidons (15), and with that assertion the fragmentary parts of a hypothetical ode join to become a unified performance. The victory-night celebrations are revived (17–18) and the Muse-charged song moves ahead to fulfil all the functions of praise.

This ode that passes from potential into actuality is pervaded with images which suggest a parallel passage from youth to maturity. There is a swift sketch of Herakles (patron of youth and the palaistra) as he explores the furthest reaches of the sea, defeats monsters, learns the shape of a strange land, then returns with task complete (22–6). He does this without a syllable of

[2] Carey (1980) 152 reports, 'By a familiar fiction . . . Pindar represents the chorus as waiting for the arrival of his song'; cf. Carey (1989*a*) 545–65, esp. 552–7; cf. Race (1997) ii. 112, 'Pindar has invested the moment of performance with dramatic tension.' For the chorus that invents itself see above, Ch. 7, p. 109 n. 8.

[3] The singers wait for a vocal signal from the Muse (5, 10); she, like a lyre-playing chorus-leader (*χορηγός*), is to sound the first note, but later they will control a song which can be called their Muse (28). Both notions are commonplace (cf. Ba. 12. 1–3; 3. 3 and 92) but the final compliment to Klio (83) suggests a special relation with this Muse; Bury suspected that a pun was being made between her name and that of the victor. Alternatively Aristokleidas may have distinguished himself as a choral performer.

[4] Wilamowitz (1922) 277 n. 13 cited Eur. *Supp*. 631 where the chorus calls itself the *ἄγαλμα* of Zeus; to this compare Eur. *Supp*. 373 and 1164, where a son is a mother's 'ornament'; with the same sense Aisch. *Agam*. 205; cf. Eur. *Hel*. 206, heroes ornament their native land. Those who do not recognize the chorus in this phrase must supply Aigina (so schol.) or *hymnos* (so Erbse (1969) 272–91, after Bury) as subject. The *πόνος* here assigned is clearly the singing of the present song, but Steiner (1993) 165 would nevertheless identify the *ἄγαλμα* as a (very early and rapidly made) victor-statue standing in the town square.

effort, though his isolation is emphasized, and the same lightness marks two further examples of status-change, first as Peleus takes Iolkos and then Thetis (33–6), and next as a fearless Telamon joins a handsome young friend to sack Troy and even outface Amazons (38–9). Then comes a central episode in which a 6-year-old Achilles emerges from the women's hut, hurls a tiny spear, passes into the care of a wilderness trainer, and finally moves across the sea to a meeting with his own double at Troy (43–63). To these models the present victory of Aristokleidas closely conforms, for he has become worthy of his elders, the Myrmidons (13), by crossing to the mainland and taking on a 'fierce band of pankratists' (16), in this way reaching 'the heights of courage' (20). He is hailed both as 'fair' (*καλός*) and as 'boy' (*παῖς*) (19–20)[5] by singers self-described as a group of slightly rowdy youths (5, 66–7), and he seems to be clearly labelled as about to enter his ephebic years. Nevertheless, in spite of all these sung indications of happy advancement, *Nemean* 3 is routinely described as a gloomy warning sent by a presumptuous poet to a man who is too old, too sick, or too untalented to continue as an athlete.[6]

This influential (mis)reading is derived from a passage in the final triad, where Aristokleidas is said to deserve the shouts of youth because he has brought fame to Aigina and has 'linked the Thearion of the Pythian god to splendid ambitions' (67–70).[7] According to the scholiasts this is a reference to a meeting-house

[5] Compare P. *I*. 2. 4–5 where being *καλός* means having 'that sweetest late-summer bloom which woos Aphrodite'; cf. *N*. 5. 6, also of pre-beard state. The singers too are young, for their tones are still light enough to be called *ὀάροι* (11), whisperings or lovers' sounds.

[6] Mezger (1880) 384 reported that Aristokleidas 'bereits in höheren Lebensalter stand', because of the reference to old age at 72; Fennell (1899) 23 called the victor 'a member of the college of *theoroi* . . . well advanced in age'; Wilamowitz (1922) 277, 'Mitglied des Collegiums'; Bury (1965*b*) 38 placed him in 'years of later manhood'; Pfeijffer (1999) 226–7 concluded that this victory 'in fact did put an end to his athletic career . . . severely injured'. As a partial exception see Ruck (1972) 156–8 who notes that the *καλός* at 19 'should make it improbable that the victor is an old man'; cf. Erbse (1999) 32 who refers in passing to *N*. 3, 'wo dem Knaben Aristokleides, einem tapferen Pankrationsieger aus Aigina, die erstaunlichen Leistungen des jungen Achilleus vor Augen gehalten werden'.

[7] Pfeijffer (1999) 378 destroys the parallelism of the phrasing by making Aristokleidas add the 'Thearion . . . to his bright concerns', which is supposed to mean that 'his new public function . . . is presented as a result of his athletic victory' (ibid. 227); injured and incapable of further competition, he has been

and dining-place belonging to officials of the temple of Apollo, men who also served as delegates (*θεαροί*) to other Apolline cults. If, say the critics, Aristokleidas brings bright expectations to such a building, then he must belong to the group that gives it its name, and consequently he must be a man of mature years. Some then go on to cite the transition passage at the end of the first triad where the chorus suggests that their victor cannot pass through the pillars of Herakles (21). This is the epinician way of saying that Aristokleidas' success is as full as any mortal success can be,[8] but certain scholars have nonetheless heard these pithy lines—in spite of their reference to the victor's beauty (19)—as a warning issued to an ageing or ailing patron. Aristokleidas, they say, is being told, 'It is time for you to give up athletic competition!' (As if Theron, at the end of *Olympian* 3, were being advised to give up chariot racing.)

The pillars of Herakles say nothing about the age of Aristokleidas, but his connection with the Thearion must be considered. There was a building on the lower terrace of the Apollo precinct, beside the Asopos well-head;[9] it was smaller and earlier than the great temple, and some of its reused blocks carry inscriptions from Hellenistic and Roman times identifying it as a place for common meals.[10] It must have belonged to a college of officials and it is natural to see it as the Thearion that Pindar names. Whatever their precise functions,[11] the men who dined here will represent the island's most ancient families (or one of

given a place among the *θεαροί* as 'compensation' (see also 219–20). The song says rather that Aristokleidas connects the Thearion with athletic concerns as he brings Aigina into contact with his pankratic fame.

[8] The 'if' form being an example of Bundy's 'encomiastic conditional' (1986) 59), while the pillars motif represents the 'categorical vaunt . . . introduced to enhance the glory of Aristokleidas' (ibid. 44).

[9] This was the goal of Apollo's favourite contest, the Hydrophoria; Nilsson *GF* ii. 172–3; Graf (1979) 18–19. For a summary of the arguments about the nature and location of the Aiginetan Asopos, see Pfeijffer (1999) 247–8 and nn. 19–22. Its identification with the collection basin on the lower terrace of the Apollo temple was made by Privitera (1988) 63–70, who cites H. Fahlbusch, *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 25 (1905) 557 ff. on the water supply of ancient Aigina. For the location of the well-house attached to the north retaining wall of the temple, see Hoffelner (1999) 179, where the well-house if reported as older than the Thearion, which is dated *c.*520 BC.

[10] See Welter (1938*a*) 87; Walter (1993) 63 fig. 49; Hoffelner (1999) 135 ff. On the identifying inscriptions, see Wurster (1975) 50.

[11] For supposed parallels from Naxos and Miletos (Thuk. 6. 3. 1), see Bultrighini (1980) 123–46.

them), for the cult of Apollo Pythaieus had been in existence at least since the time of the Epidaurian hegemony.[12] And Aristokleidas must be linked to this group, for his glory is brought back, not in the usual way to his *patra* and his father's hall, but instead to the overseers (*θεαροί*) and their place of meeting. Indeed, since the chorus announces itself as assembled at the Asopos well-head (4) which stands alongside the Thearion, it may be that they literally bring his crown to the august body of supervisors, in which case one function of the opening choral self-portrait will be to emphasize and incorporate an unusual performance spot. But does such a setting, whether physical or only symbolic, impose middle-age and college membership upon Aristokleidas? Since he is 'fair' and 'a boy' (*καλὸς . . . παῖς*, 19–20) while his chorus is explicitly youthful (5, 66),[13] and since the virtues of all three ages are emphatically present (76), the most efficient conclusion is that he is himself a youth, the son (or grandson) of a college member. He alone among the Aiginetan victors has been left without tribal identification, apparently because the college that serves the shrine of Apollo Pythaieus is for him a yet more magnificent family, to whom his garlands and his glory are due.

When *Nemean* 3 is recognized as a song for an adolescent whose trials have brought him into the company both of Myrmidons and also of Apollo's overseers (*θεαροί*)—to the heights of courage (20)[14]—its seeming problems disappear. One such is the sly exaggeration given to the exploits of Telamon. Reduced in age and scale by being paired with Iolaos, Telamon is nevertheless placed so as to eclipse Peleus in the Aiakid catalogue (32–9) that prepares for the major myth. After which he is blatantly announced as the one who 'destroyed Laomedon' (with *ἔπερσεν* emphasized as last word in the stanza, 36–7), though epic tradition (*Il.* 5. 640–42) as well as the East Pediment of the Aphaia temple made Herakles the one who put an end to the

[12] Graf (1979) 2–22 argues that the Aiginetan god was a conglomerate, a pre-Doric Delphinios joined with a Doric Apollo, both originally initiation deities. On the Argive Apollo Pythaieus, see Barrett (1954) 421–44.

[13] They call themselves 'builders of revels' (4–5) which, according to Kurke (1991*a*) 192–3, calls attention to the song as the patron's gift to the whole of his city.

[14] Much as Spartan youths arrived at manhood through a difficult *ἄσκησις* (Thuk. 2. 39. 1).

Trojan king.[15] Worse, the singers go on to boast that, again with Iolaos, he pursued the bronze-bowed might of the Amazons, insisting (as if some objection had been raised) that he did this without ever feeling the effects of 'man-crushing fear' (39).[16] Set loose from any evident senior leadership, these two brash lads (the term *παραστάτας* at 37, makes them equals), both favourites of Herakles,[17] take the credit for that hero's only military exploits, and by doing so transform the Amazon campaign and the first siege of Troy into adolescent pranks.[18] Such foolishness would be unsuitable in an ode for an ageing athlete, but coming from the mouths of young revellers who praise a happy friend it is quite in order, as were the same effects in praise of the lad, Timasarchos, in *Nemean* 4.

Again, if *Nemean* 3 is a song about the move from pre-adulthood into the company of men both mature and old, Memnon's prominence can be appreciated. His name stands at the peak of the mythic section (closing the third of four triads, 63) and his failure to go home expresses the entire purpose of Achilles' training and his years on the field of Troy. Why has this single Ethiopian been selected as the supreme victim of the Aiakid hero?[19] In parallel passages other names may cap a list of his foremost opponents—Hektor, or Kyknos, or even Telephos[20]—but here three hosts, Lykians, Phrygians, and Dardanians,

[15] Compare *N*. 4. 25–6. There is later evidence of a story in which Telamon was the first to enter the city, to the disgust of Herakles (Tzetzes ad Lyk. 469; Diod. Sic. 4. 32. 5; Apollod. 2. 6. 4).

[16] The West Pediment of the Temple of Apollo on Aigina showed Telamon as assistant to Herakles in this battle; Walter-Karydi (1987) 136–7; Walter (1993) figs. 41, 43.

[17] Iolaos was explicitly the beloved of Herakles only later (Plut. *Amat*. 761 D–E; *Pelopidas* 1. 18. 5 = (Arist.) fr. 97 : lovers exchanged vows at his tomb) but he is usually shown by 6th- and 5th-cent. vase-painters as beardless and boyish, often with no weapon of his own (*LIMC* s.v. Iolaos *passim*), as he is on the East Pediment of the Aphaia Temple; he may be bare-headed or wearing a little hat.

[18] Somewhat like the brother of Alkaios who single-handedly rescued the Babylonians and killed an enemy almost eight feet tall (350 V).

[19] Wilamowitz (1922) 280 n. 2 asked why Helenos is named and answered that this was an idle rhetorical trick, Helenos being Memnon's paternal uncle, as Helios was his maternal. Farnell (1932) ii. 260 likewise complained that Helenos was 'only distinguished as a prophet' but it seems probable that in the *Kyklos* Helenos associated the return/non-return of Memnon with the survival/fall of Troy.

[20] At *N*. 6. 50, as here, Memnon is the single most glorious victim; at *O*. 2. 81–2, the representative opponents of Achilles are Hektor, Kyknos, Eos' son; at

serve as rejected foils (60–1), before this single most glorious opponent is named. Memnon seems, according to this song, more formidable than three armies, which means that Achilles, as his destroyer, receives equal magnification. In this way the entire Trojan war is compressed into one duel which the singers do not describe but offer for completion to an audience all under the spell of a set tradition. It will appear to each listener as the confrontation of a pair of age-mates who are mirror images of one another. Both are young,[21] beautiful, half-immortal, and famed for horses and weapons made by Hephaistos,[22] and each is moreover inalienably associated with a grieving immortal mother[23]—a Nereid and a sister of Helios.[24] Thetis and Eos are not named here, but their maternal ghosts enhance the youth of the contestants, while they also suggest the motif of immortality—failed, in Achilles' case, but achieved in that of Memnon. This, then, is a matched pair who test one another in a far off place;[25] both display an inborn potential for glory (*συγγενεῖ . . . εὐδοξίᾳ*, 40),[26]

I. 5. 39–41, Kyknos, Hektor, Memnon, Telephos; at *I*. 8. 55–60, Telephos, Memnon, Hektor, and others. Memnon marks the furthest leap of Aiakid fame at *N*. 6. 50, and the preliminary circumstances of his death are related at *P*. 6. 30–2 (without mention of Achilles). According to Proklos, the Thetis of the *Aithiopis* predicted Memnon's death (T 3. 15 Davies *EGF*). On the possibility of a post-Iliadic *Memnonis*, see West (2003) 13, and in general on the pair Achilles/Memnon see Privitera (1977) 263–6.

[21] Vase-painters usually show one or both as beardless (*LIMC* s.v. Memnon, esp. 44, 66, 75, 78). Note Philostr. *Im*. 1.7 where the painter has given Memnon 'the downy first beard growth that makes him the same age as his killer'.

[22] Memnon's beauty, *Od*. 4. 187–8; arms, *Aithiopis*, Procl. Enar. 14 Davies *EGF*, cf. *Hom*. *h* .*Herm*. 220; horses, Ar. *Ran*. 961; mother, Hes. *Theog*. 984–5. Both had famous tomb monuments as well, though Memnon's Phrygian colossi are known only from late sources, Ovid *Met*. 13, Plin. *NH* 10. 74; Philostr. *Im*. 1. 7.

[23] The two faced each other in the presence of Eos and Thetis on the chest of Kypselos (Paus. 5. 19. 1); the decorations of the Siphnian treasury (*c*.525 BC) combined the combat with the *psychostasia*, and the two scenes were often shown on opposite sides of a vase (*LIMC* s.v. Memnon nos. 14–24). The weighing of the souls may have been included in the *Aithiopis*, and one of the plays in Aischylos' Memnon trilogy was a *Psychostasia*.

[24] Thetis' name has been strongly sounded in responding passages: she is 'of the sea' and 'unwilling' at 35–6, 'Nereus' daughter of the shining crown' at 57.

[25] Their confrontation suggests the ritual duel sometimes found in reintegration ceremonies marking entry into a phratry; see Jeanmaire (1939) 380–3.

[26] Responsion superimposes Memnon (62–3) upon the pillars of Herakles which represent the furthest stretch of manly courage (*ἀνορέα*) at 20–1; it also associates him (as source) with the ultimate flood of light that strikes today's victor (83–4).

but neither returns to his grieving maternal parent. Instead, Memnon will move into the company of the gods, while Achilles brings a new illumination to Aiakids who, through him, inherit light borrowed from the son of Dawn[27]—light that today rests upon Aristokleidas (84).

And yet it is not this ultimate contest, but rather a short but perfect *Education of Achilles* that Pindar has placed in the central triad of his ode. Those who would hear a song for an ageing athlete are troubled, as are those who believe in an aristocratic prejudice against trainers,[28] for the third triad (43–63) is filled with what is for them 'inappropriate' material. Appropriate or not, it is certain that in this passage, strophe depicts a pupil as nature made him; antistrophe sketches a cave-dwelling teacher who strengthens the pupil's temper, and epode promises a moment when instruction and innate potential will combine to produce a superb action. The whole exemplum is perfectly balanced and conspicuously set between a grandiloquent introduction (ending in a tight gnomic preface, 31–9 + 41–2) and a closing acclamation of Zeus (65–6). The audience is prepared, as so often, by a kind of priamel. 'Peleus took Iolkos, Telamon conquered Troy, but,' the chorus says in effect, 'for an inbred, Zeus-sponsored impulse toward glory, consider Achilles, when he was a tow-headed, 6-year-old boy!'[29] This produces the one mythic

[27] Taking *αὐτόθεν* at 64 to refer to the place where Memnon fell; so Privitera (1977) 266; cf. Slater (1969*a*) s.v. 'location last mentioned'. Compare Bury (1965*b*) ad loc. 'Pindar seems to conceive that when Achilles killed the son of Morning he spoiled him of his light.' Others would understand the Aiakids' light as coming from themselves, or from 'this place' (i.e. Aigina); Kurke (1991*a*) 25 n. 31 suggests that it comes from the tomb of Achilles, representing his steady fame.

[28] Pfeijffer (1999) 228–31 summarizes the discussion and finds Chiron's presence so strange that he can only suppose the poet meant 'to imply the hope or expectation that Aristoclidas may one day exploit his fighting experience and become a trainer'.

[29] Achilles is *ξανθός* at *Il.* 1. 197 and 23. 141; elsewhere in Pindar the epithet is given to Menelaos (*N.* 7. 28), Athena (*N.* 10. 7; fr. 15 B), the Graces (*N.* 5. 54). Köhnken (1971) 62 n. 125 notes that with Pindar this word always indicates an aspect that is '(jugendlich-) schönes'. There is no unity of tradition as to the age at which Achilles came to Chiron; at Hes. *Cat.* 204. 89 he is 'still a child'; on vases it is sometimes an infant in arms but more often a young adolescent who is handed over to Chiron (*LIMC* s.v. Achilleus 19–49), and these two ages are reflected in two story types, one in which the baby's immortalization is interrupted by Peleus (AR 4. 869–79; Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 13. 6), another in which Thetis abandons her son at the age of 12; see Mathé (1995) 45–62.

scene to be fully evoked, an episode from Achilles' earliest childhood which is nowhere else depicted. The small hero still lives among women,[30] but he undertakes the initiate's *chasse solitaire* and matches himself against fierce creatures of the wilderness;[31] then, as if asking to advance, he carries their corpses to the deep-witted creature who will be his trainer.[32] This action, the official marvel of the mythic section, is offered directly to the spectator's senses with the 'gasping' (*ἀσθμαίνοντα* 48) of the stricken animals and the audience, following the example of a pair of divine witnesses (50), will respond with wonder.

Achilles enters the cave of his trainer self-prepared for masculine company,[33] though he scorns the wiles of ordinary youths. Already he pursues his prey with more purity even than Plato's ideal huntsman[34]— not with nets or traps, and not even with dogs (51). Nevertheless, the boy who knew at 6 how to use hand and foot must learn to use his intelligent will (*φρήν*, 62) as well, and for this he needs a teacher. It is by Chiron's arrangement that he is son of Peleus and descendant of Zeus (56–7, 65), and now the old shaman of Pelion[35] must finish the work, drawing the boy away from the women's quarters and preparing him for coming exploits at Troy. Chiron is presented as a generalized

[30] Only Pindar brings Achilles and Philyra together; not only is she sister to Thetis, but as an Okeanid she is a proper protector of pre-pubescent males (Hes. *Theog*. 347 and West ad loc.).

[31] Detienne (1979) 24–6; Vidal-Naquet (1981) 170; for Kretan examples which emphasize the carrying of animals, see Marinatos (2003) 130–5. Responsion superimposes this childhood campaign against forest beasts (opening of third triad) upon Herakles' campaign against monsters of the sea (opening of second triad).

[32] Recognizing the initiatory quality of this tale, later writers sometimes made Chiron feed the infant Achilles on the flesh of lions and swine and the marrow of bears; so Apollod. *Bib*. 3. 13. 6; Statius *Achill*. 2. 382 ff.; and Philolstr. *Her*. 20.2, where the food is honeycombs and the marrow of fawns; see D. S. Robertson (1940) 177–80.

[33] Xen. *Kyneg*. 2. 1 proposes that a boy should begin to hunt when moving out of childhood into adolescence; at *Kyrop*. 1. 2. 8 he reports that Persian boys concentrated on the use of bow and spear until the age of 16 or 17, when they entered among the ephebes. Athen. 1. 18a cites Hegesandros for a Makedonian custom which permitted a young man to recline at the men's banquets only after he had speared a boar without using a net.

[34] At *Leg*. 7. 824a–b Plato speaks of those who use only their own powers and 'make divine courage their concern'.

[35] Chiron's name contains a 'hand', like that of the Kretan Daktyls who initiate Zeus, and Jeanmaire (1949) 261 calls him 'maître d'initiations', noting his knowledge of herbs; cf. (1939) 290, 'l'antique chamane du Pélion'.

teacher[36]—he could train an Asklepios as well as a Jason—and with Achilles he simply 'increases the spirit' of his pupil (58), so that wild elements are not extinguished but exploited.[37] The youth learns the pure concentration that Xenophon describes as essential to both hunter and warrior (*Kyneg*. 1. 5, 2. 1), a state in which *ἐπιμέλεια,* attentive care for every detail, is combined with *προθυμία,* one's own particular eagerness (cf. Lampon's teachings from Hesiod at *I*. 6. 67–8). He is to be equipped with a single, almost artisanal skill—the ability to hammer a developed purpose into his own active will (62)—and this he is to use on the field of Troy against his fated opponent. The teaching of Chiron is, in other words, the precise opposite of the scorned 'learning' that makes an unsteady man taste now this, now that (42).[38] Rather, it is a technique for activating the innate thrust towards glory (40) that is here exemplified by a 6-year-old who displays the still moving victims of his solitary hunt.

Returned to the festive present in the fourth triad, the ode produces a toast to the victor, as one who has brought added splendour to the island and to the Thearion, and also as one who has, like Achilles, proved his inborn powers in contest with his age-mates (71–4). This is no more than the generically required direct praise, but it is shaped by a gnomic statement that is more than usually indigestible.[39] 'The perfection for which one will be distinguished appears only in trial, as boys strive against boys, men against men, and elders with others of their third group,

[36] The idea that Chiron taught more than hunting was becoming popular at this time, witness the *Chaironos Paraineseis* which appeared *c*.480 BC, addressed to Achilles and often attributed to Hesiod, according to Pausanias (9. 31. 5). Later Chiron's curriculum would be expanded by the Romans to include horsemanship, use of lance and discus, music, and reading.

[37] Achilles is not to be an orderly member of a fighting group but rather an individual warrior characterized by *furor*, *lyssa*, *celeritas*, and *menos*, as at Dumezil (1958) 57–8.

[38] On parallel passages at *O*. 2. 86 and *O*. 9. 100–1 see Bundy (1972) 90 n. 113: 'the "learning" he speaks of is mere rote imitation of things not understood.'

[39] Literally 'Perfection (completion, *τέλος*) appears during trial of those matters (in which) one will become pre-eminent, child among children, man among men, thirdly (old man) among the old, (in respect to) each portion such as we the race of man hold. But surely a mortal life-span drives along behind four virtues and demands attention to the present task, and of these not one is absent here' (70–6). Stoneman (1979) 71 translates: 'The consummation of that in which each man excels is apparent in the test: a boy among boys, a man among men, and thirdly among the older men, each division which our mortal life has.'

according to each mortal portion. But man's life-span drives four virtues and commands attention to what is immediate.' Such is the 'shout' (67) of Aristokleidas' enthusiastic young friends. They suggest that a glimpse of ultimate excellence comes only during contest—contest held among peers in the exercise of powers and virtues proper to each age-group. The singers do not specify, but everyone knows that among youths one strives to be first in daring and courage, among men, in justice or policy, and among elders in wisdom, moderation, or piety.[40] This much is commonplace, but just here the demonstration takes a witty swerve: '(in each age-group one strives to be appropriately best) *but* the full lifespan of every mortal drives a team of four virtues!' (74). The notion of age-determined rivalry, in each of three virtues, is thus trumped by a fourth virtue over which there can be no rivalry, since there is no age-class left.[41] Concentration on the immediate task (*φρονεῖν . . . τὸ παρκείμενον*, 75) is the overarching mortal quality, the one that determines success in a trial of any of the other three, and the auditor immediately equates this fourth virtue with the skill that Chiron taught. In any endeavour one must be able to shape one's action according to a sharp resolve. Those who take Aristokleidas to be a tired old man understand this fourth virtue to be the modesty that should inhibit any and all mortal ambitions,[42] but this cannot be its sense in a song that praises brash youths who besiege cities (33),

[40] Virtues were variously assigned to the various age-groups: Hes. fr. 321 MW specifies *ἔργα νεῶν, βουλαὶ δὲ μέσων, εὐχαὶ δὲ γέροντων*; cf. P. fr. 199 SM = 189 B of Sparta 'where the counsels of the elders and the spears of the young are best'. There was not yet a fixed list, but the notion of four cardinal virtues was becoming popular, as evidenced by Pindar's play between the numbers three and four; see Ruck (1972) 153–8; Stoneman (1979) 70–5, both of whom recognize intentional humour in the 'faulty rational parallelism' of the fourth virtue. The extensive discussion of this passage is reviewed by Pfeijffer (1999) 638–47, cf. 218–20.

[41] To a sequence such as Boldness/ Justice/ Wisdom there is added a fourth virtue, Concern for what is immediate. In Pindaric usage *φρονεῖν* refers to willed mental action that shapes physical action, as at *N*. 4. 95. This act of concentration will be effective in any endeavour, as would the other frequently mentioned fourth virtue, Sophrosyne; cf. *I*. 8. 28; Pl. *Lach*. 198a.

[42] Those who understand *τὸ παρκείμενον* as 'one's mortal condition' (presumably parallel to *τὸ πὰρ ποδός* at *P*. 3. 60) sometimes point to *οἴκοθεν* at line 31 as evidence that Pindar was urging modesty, though the Aiakid tales that the poet there urges himself to tell are 'homely' only by a kind of joke. The real sense of this 'what is in front of one'(*N*. 3. 75) is evidently 'the present opportunity' or *καιρός*.

chase Amazons (38–9), and drag home panting animal corpses (48). Where the man of innate glory is to be described in contrast with him whose appetites are tutored, the issues of modesty and a due sense of mortality are irrelevant, for neither the one nor the other checks himself (40–2). Instead, the fellow whose ambitions are tutored attempts everything, both great and small, while the one bursting with inherited power concentrates on a single trial that is almost cosmic in scope.

However they take the lesson of the fourth virtue, scholars almost always assume that this gnome is offered directly to Aristokleidas. 'No one of these virtues is lacking in *you*!' the chorus is reported as saying, and sometimes the line that closes the passage is rewritten so as to make this explicit (ἄπεστι in 76 is changed to ἄπεσσι).[43] From which an ostensibly inevitable conclusion is drawn: this victor who has the virtues of all the ages can only be one of the elders! If, however, the statement, 'of these four no single one is missing', is given full value as a mode of transition its application will be, not just to the victor, but to an occasion that includes patron, singers, and audience as well. Here at this celebration (here at the Thearion?) all the virtues gather as a band of trained youths performs before an audience of mature and elderly temple-administrators, to honour a victor who has made deliberate trial of his boldness in contest with youthful rivals. Aristokleidas has discovered his special area of excellence in the pankration, and now (like Achilles to Chiron) he brings his fame and his new-found ambitions (μέριμναι) back to Aigina and to the select group of island nobles who serve Apollo Pythaieus (68–70).

The ode closes with a proud metaphor and a final flood of light. A swooping eagle (80–2) appears with an obvious propriety since the games at Nemea belong to Zeus, as do all members of the race of the Aiakids, as does also this present hymn (65–6). Though late,[44] the royal bird seizes his quarry with the same eagerness

[43] The change, first made by Bergk, is repeated by many editors, including SM but not Bowra. Like Bury, Pfeijffer (1999) 219–20 would keep the third-person form while nevertheless insisting that the line 'explicitly ascribes all three of the virtues' along with the fourth to Aristokleidas.

[44] From this announced lateness Fennell (1899) 23 concluded, 'he won this victory many years before the composition of the ode.' Others hear an apologetic Pindar who is years late in fulfilling his commission, as reflected in the waiting chorus of the opening, and Figueira (1981) 318 finds lateness everywhere: a late

that marked the chorus at the opening, when it longed to seize the Muse's voice (*μαιόμενοι*, 5, *μεταμαιόμενος*, 81), and the echo is full of sense because this eagle is the ode itself, seizing upon the youth who is the subject of its praise.[45] As the bird swoops, however, the repeating melody likens the eagle/song to the Achilles of line 59, borne along towards Troy by gusts of sea-wind, and meanwhile lesser echoes compare its swift attack to that of the child Achilles' short lance, shot towards lions and wild boar with the speed of wind (45). There is even a dim conceptual likeness between the bird that comes from a great distance (*τηλόθε*, 81) and the far-spreading (*τηλαυγές*, 64) Aiakid light that now reaches Aigina and the Thearion, thanks to this present victory (84)—light that seems to originate from the fallen Memnon (63–4). And finally, stretched to its largest sense, the bird's clean swoop figures the concentrated intention of any man of inborn fame, be he old or young, singer, hero, or athlete, as he seizes upon the deed of glory that lies before him, while the chattering low-flying daws represent those whose ambitions are learned.[46] All in all, the eagle emblem illustrates the fullest sense of this ode for Aristokleidas, while it also gives pictorial proof that, within this performance at any rate, the fourth virtue has nothing to do with modesty or staying close to the ground.

victory, celebrated late, won by a victor who came to office late. By contrast Ruck (1972) 153–8 understands this motif as part of a metapoetic conceit in which a song that got off track (going towards Herakles instead of towards the Aiakids) has been tardy in getting back to praise of its subject. The only certainty is that this emphasized lateness, real or rhetorical, sharpens the sense of swift finality that invests the eagle's arrival.

[45] At 77–9 the singers toss a song-drink into the air, to be borne up on the breathings of flutes; in the passage from antistrophe to epode this convivial image is transformed and completed, becoming the eagle in its descent. Pindar likes to establish a playfully aggressive relation between song and subject: e.g. the 'wrestling match' with Melesias (*N*. 4. 93; cf. *N*. 7. 103) and the ubiquitous 'shafts' of song (*O*. 1. 112; *O*. 2. 83; *O*. 9. 8; *O*. 13. 95, etc.).

[46] Contrast the one-dimensional eagle at *P*. 5. 111–12, who simply figures boldness; other eagles are discussed by Pfeijffer (1994) 305–17; (1999) 221–3. The jackdaws are often identified as particular rival poets whom Pindar scorns; e.g. Ruck (1972) 156–8 who cites in comparison the crows at *O*. 2. 86–8.

10. *Nemean* 6: Athletes as Heroes

For Alkimidas, grandson of Praxidamas (first Aiginetan Olympic victor); member of the Bassid tribe; victor in boys' wrestling. Date unknown. Triads.

στρ. α΄ Ἓν ἀνδρῶν,
ἓν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν
ματρὸς ἀμφότεροι· διείργει δὲ πᾶσα κεκριμένα
δύναμις, ὡς τὸ μὲν οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ χάλκεος
ἀσφαλὲς αἰὲν ἕδος
μένει οὐρανός. ἀλλά τι προσφέρομεν ἔμπαν ἢ μέγαν
νόον ἤτοι φύσιν ἀθανάτοις,
καίπερ ἐφαμερίαν οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μετὰ νύκτας
ἄμμε πότμος
ἄντιν' ἔγραψε δραμεῖν ποτὶ στάθμαν.

ἀντ. α΄ τεκμαίρει
καὶ νῦν Ἀλκιμίδας τὸ συγγενὲς ἰδεῖν
ἄγχι καρποφόροις ἀρούραισιν, αἴτ' ἀμειβόμεναι
τόκα μὲν ὧν βίον ἀνδράσιν ἐπηετανὸν
ἐκ πεδίων ἔδοσαν,
τόκα δ' αὖτ' ἀναπαυσάμεναι σθένος ἔμαρψαν. ἦλθέ τοι
Νεμέας ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἀέθλων
παῖς ἐναγώνιος, ὃς ταύταν μεθέπων Διόθεν αἶσαν
νῦν πέφανται
οὐκ ἄμμορος ἀμφὶ πάλᾳ κυναγέτας,

ἐπ. α΄ ἴχνεσιν ἐν Πραξιδάμαντος ἑὸν πόδα νέμων
πατροπάτορος ὁμαιμίοις.
κεῖνος γὰρ Ὀλυμπιόνικος ἐὼν Αἰακίδαις
ἔρνεα πρῶτος ⟨ἔνεικεν⟩ ἀπ' Ἀλφεοῦ,
καὶ πεντάκις Ἰσθμοῖ στεφανωσάμενος,
Νεμέᾳ δὲ τρεῖς, ἔπαυσε λάθαν
Σαοκλείδα', ὃς ὑπέρτατος
Ἀγησιμάχοι' ὑέων γένετο.

στρ. β΄ ἐπεί οἱ
τρεῖς ἀεθλοφόροι πρὸς ἄκρον ἀρετᾶς
ἦλθον, οἵ τε πόνων ἐγεύσαντο. σὺν θεοῦ δὲ τύχᾳ

ἕτερον οὔ τινα οἶκον ἀπεφάνατο
πυγμαχία ⟨πλεόνων⟩
ταμίαν στεφάνων μυχῷ Ἑλλάδος ἁπάσας. ἔλπομαι
μέγα εἰπὼν σκοποῦ ἄντα τυχεῖν
ὥτ' ἀπὸ τόξου ἰείς· εὔθυν' ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἄγε, Μοῖσα,
οὖρον ἐπέων
εὐκλέα· παροιχομένων γὰρ ἀνέρων

ἀντ. β′ ἀοιδαὶ
καὶ λόγοι τὰ καλά σφιν ἔργ' ἐκόμισαν·
Βασσίδαισιν ἅ τ' οὐ σπανίζει, παλαίφατος γενεά,
ἴδια ναυστολέοντες ἐπικώμια,
Πιερίδων ἀρόταις
δυνατοὶ παρέχειν πολὺν ὕμνον ἀγερώχων ἐργμάτων
ἕνεκεν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀγαθέᾳ
χεῖρας ἰμάντι δεθεὶς Πυθῶνι κράτησεν ἀπὸ ταύτας
αἷμα πάτρας
χρυσοπλοκάμου ποτὲ Καλλίας ἁδὼν

ἐπ. β′ ἔρνεσι Λατοῦς, παρὰ Κασταλίᾳ τε Χαρίτων
ἑσπέριος ὁμάδῳ φλέγεν·
πόντου τε γέφυρ' ἀκάμαντος ἐν ἀμφικτιόνων
ταυροφόνῳ τριετηρίδι Κρεοντίδαν
τίμασε Ποσειδάνιον ἂν τέμενος·
βοτάνα τέ νίν ποθ' ἁ λέοντος
νικῶντ' ἤρεφε δασκίοις
Φλειοῦντος ὑπ' ὠγυγίοις ὄρεσιν.

στρ. γ′ πλατεῖαι
πάντοθεν λογίοισιν ἐντὶ πρόσοδοι
νᾶσον εὐκλέα τάνδε κοσμεῖν· ἐπεί σφιν Αἰακίδαι
ἔπορον ἔξοχον αἶσαν ἀρετὰς ἀπο-
δεικνύμενοι μεγάλας,
πέτεται δ' ἐπί τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσας τηλόθεν
ὄνυμ' αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐς Αἰθίοπας
Μέμνονος οὐκ ἀπονοστήσαντος ἔπαλτο· βαρὺ δέ σφιν
νεῖκος Ἀχιλεὺς
ἔμπεσε χαμαὶ καταβὰς ἀφ' ἁρμάτων

αντ. γ′ φαεννᾶς
υἱὸν εὖτ' ἐνάριξεν Ἀόος ἀκμᾷ
ἔγχεος ζακότοιο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν παλαιότεροι
ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτὸν εὗρον· ἔπομαι δὲ καὶ
αὐτὸς ἔχων μελέταν·
τὸ δὲ πὰρ ποδὶ ναὸς ἑλισσόμενον αἰεὶ κυμάτων

λέγεται παντὶ μάλιστα δονεῖν
θυμόν. ἑκόντι δ' ἐγὼ νώτῳ μεθέπων δίδυμον ἄχθος
ἄγγελος ἔβαν 57[b]
πέμπτον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι τοῦτο γαρύων

ἐπ. γ΄ *εὖχος ἀγώνων ἄπο, τοὺς ἐνέποισιν ἱερούς·*
Ἀλκιμίδα, τὸ δ' ἐπάρκεσας 60
κλειτᾷ γενεᾷ· δύο μὲν Κρονίου πὰρ τεμένει,
παῖ, σέ τ' ἐνόσφισε καὶ Πολυτιμίδαν
κλᾶρος προπετὴς ἄνθε' Ὀλυμπιάδος.
δελφῖνί κεν τάχος δι' ἅλμας
ἰσάζοιμι Μελησίαν 65
χειρῶν τε καὶ ἰσχύος ἀνίοχον.

1. One is the race of men and of gods: both take
breath from one mother, yet powers distinct
keep us apart, for men are as nought,
while the bronze throne of heaven
rests safe forever. True, we sometimes resemble
the deathless in grandeur of mind
or of body, but we cannot know,
by day or by night, what
course marked by destiny we are to run.

Alkimidas now proves this kinship to be
like to a fruitful field where the soil for a time
sends up rich nurture to men, then rests,
hoarding its forces. He comes
back from beloved Nemean strife, a boy
well tried in contest who,
true to this Zeus-made rule, returns
from his match, not as a
hunter deprived of his prey, but

fitting his foot to the track of Praxidamas,
his father's sire, that one who first,
as Olympian victor, brought
garlands from Alpheos back to the Aiakids.
Crowned five times at Isthmia, thrice too at
Nemea, he put an end to
Sokleides' obscurity, making him
first among Hagesimachos' sons.

2. His three winners then scaled virtue's peak,
having tasted of toil, and aided by god their

art in the ring illumined a house
unrivalled in all the Hellenic realm
for its treasure of boxing crowns. I trust
my boast will strike home like an arrow
loosed from the bow! Bring a glorious
wind-blast of words, O Muse, for,
as men pass and then disappear,

stories and songs revive noble deeds,
nor is the fabled race of the Bassids
lacking in legend! They sail with a cargo of
praise-songs, supplying Pieria's ploughmen
with plentiful hymns inspired by their lordly
exploits. So did one of this blood, first
binding his fists, conquer on Pytho's holy field—
Kallias, bringing delight to the
nurslings of Leto whose spindle is gold! At

Kastalia, 'mid shouts of the Graces, he
blazed in the night, and so too
did the bridge of the tireless sea give
praise to Kreontidas when, at Poseidon's shrine,
men met for the third-year killing of bulls,
and the parsley-crown of the lion
shadowed his conqueror's brow in the
bosky age-old mountains of Phleious!

3. Broad highways of legend open when
one would embellish this famous isle, for
in their display of magnificent virtue
Aiakids show the fated way.
Their name soars high above earth and sea:
it leapt even to Ethiope lands when
Memnon failed to return—heavy
the strife that fell upon him
as Achilles jumped from his car

and with the point of his angry spear
stripped the son of bright Eos! Poets of old
have driven this track and I follow,
strong in my purpose. The wave that
breaks in the rigging, so proverbs tell,
ever gives sharpest pitch to the heart.
I come with a double burden
strapped to my willing back,
a herald who voices this twenty-fifth boast

brought from the sacred contests by you,
Alkimidas, to furbish your glorious line,
though the lot's early fall in the Kronian shrine
did rob you, my boy—Polytimidas too—
of a pair of Olympian garlands !
To a dolphin that swiftly cuts through the sea
would I liken Melesias, skilled
driver of science and strength!

This ode of unknown date[1] is unlike any of the other Aiginetan songs because it is performed to honour, not just one victor or even a pair, but five generations of Bassids who have assembled, in all, twenty-five victories taken in the four major contests.[2] What is more, this accumulated glory has a special quality because the family traces itself back to an early sixth-century ancestor named Hagesimachos (22) whose grandson, Praxidamas, became, in 544 BC, the first Aiginetan ever to take an Olympic crown (15–17).[3] He alone added nine victories to those of his grandfather, great-uncles, brothers, and cousins, and in his time the family total had reached twenty-four, where it had rested. Now at last one more crown has been won and though the burden of the present song is ostensibly double (57)—it must praise this fresh victory, and also those of the past[4]—the newly crowned lad,[5]Alkimidas, shrinks to little more than a statistic when the singers proclaim the astounding total, *πέμπτον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι* (58).[6] With these syllables it is numerically proved that the athletic fame of this family is unmatched, and yet today's

[1] Wade-Gery (1958) 239–70 used the praise of Melesias and a calculation from Praxidamas' victory to date this ode to 484 BC, but his preliminary assumptions are open to doubt; Bowra (1964) 412 suggested *c.*461 BC; SM give *c.*465. For a review of the question see Gerber (1999) 34–6, who favours a date *c.*475 BC.

[2] Only thirteen of these Bassid victories are specified as won in major contests; compare *O.* 8. 76 where the Blepsiads are praised for having reached a total of six victories in the four crown games.

[3] Pausanias 6. 18. 5 reports seeing Praxidamas' statue at Olympia, from which he presumably took the date he gives, 544 BC. If this victory was won as a boy, his grandson could have been competing as late as the early 460s .

[4] Bury ad loc supposed the double burden to be praise of Bassids and Aiakids; for other explanations see Gerber (1999) 81–2 who understands the burden as praise of both Alkimidas and Melesias.

[5] He is *παῖς* at 13 and again at 62 and he has been trained by Melesias; cf.14, where he (metaphorically) still hunts with dogs.

[6] The song as a whole shows an unusual density of numerical expressions: 1, 18, 19, 20, 23, 58, 61.

praise-singer faces a painful problem because neither the father nor the great-grandfather of the present young wrestler was a successful athlete. The poet must somehow devise a victory celebration that illuminates the sum of Bassid glory without deepening the shadow that lies upon the uncrowned men of this brilliant line. In particular it must not shame the obscure sire of today's victorious boy.[7]

Pindar's approach is seemingly self-contradictory. First he discovers a philosophical stance that recognizes no difference between failure and success ('mortal powers are as nothing', 3), then he uses the traditional epinician design to describe athletes of the past as if they were mythic heroes whose stature could not embarrass an ordinary mortal. These extremes would seem to be irreconcilable, but a principle of alternation is proposed as a bridge between them. The young dancers begin with a definition of mortality that makes weakness its prime characteristic. Men, like the gods, derive originally from Gaia,[8] yet in existential terms their separation from the immortals is absolute. They can be godlike in ambition and strength, but they are blind and ignorant of fate, weak and time-bound before the power and permanence of the divine (3–7). This premise[9] fills the first stanza but, as so often happens, a shift in attitude and tone is achieved during the pause at its end. With the name of Alkimidas (8), the

[7] In all other odes for boy victors the father is named, even if he is dead. Concerning this father the scholia report that Asklepiades found an 'Alkimidas, Kretan, son of Theon' in the Nemean victory lists, but this can hardly be the present Bassid victor, unless his father was a Kretan adopted into that tribe, or a Bassid who had settled on Krete. Carey (1989*c*) 6–9 rightly judges such explanations improbable, the Kretan victor irrelevant, and concludes that Alkimidas' father is not mentioned because he belonged to a 'fallow' generation.

[8] The common descent from Gaia may be offered as proof of a single race, or as qualification of the notion of separation. Arguments for the sense 'one common race' are found at Bury ad loc.; Farnell (1932) ii. 282; J. Finley (1955) 73; Duchemin (1955) 185; Fränkel (1962) 602; Bowra (1964) 96–7; Gentili (1995) 202. For the sense 'one of men, another of gods', see Mezger (1880) 414; Wilamowitz (1913) 240; Puech (1958–61) iii. 79 n. 1; von Kloch-Kornitz (1961*a*) 370–71, (1961*b*) 155–9. Bundy (1986) 37 found 'separate and distinct categories' which are 'grouped in a single category' by the 'climactic term', i.e. the motherhood of Gaia. See the discussion of Gerber (1999) 43–5. Whether the initial state is one of singleness or separateness, the thought sequence after the opening line is: common mother, *yet* separate powers; like in mind and nature, *yet* separate in knowledge/ignorance of fate.

[9] Kurke (1991*a*) 39 calls this a 'bleak image', but that is to ignore one half of its sense.

cloud of metaphysics disappears and the notion that man's greatest successes yet contain a definitional failure is brought down to earth in a curiously distorted but positive form. 'Look at this Bassid line!'[10] the singers continue: in their case time discriminates, so that man's kinship with the immortals appears, not in conflation with his separation from them, but in alternate displays. Within this family, godlike strength (drawn from Gaia) is now made richly manifest, now again stored up unseen like the fertility of a field that rests between crops.[11] The boy Alkimidas brings in a harvest of crowns today because fathers and uncles have allowed the innate talent for success a season of rest in which to grow strong (11).

The image of the field that is now unproductive, now rich in its crop, allows the singers to consider a glory that stretches over five generations of alternating appearance and disappearance. The simile is auspicious but even so the singers do not choose to name Alkimidas' father. Instead, as representative of those in whom family strengths remain underground, the great-grandfather Sokleidas is made to serve—a man of the previous century whose obscurity (20) was transformed into pre-eminence by sons who became the greatest boxers in all Greece (23–6). This move into the familial past draws attention from the immediate family while it also permits the identification of today's boy with Aigina's all-time best-known athlete, Praxidamas. It cannot be accident that this grandfather takes the island's first Olympic crown in lines that are precisely echoed, in the final epode, by the granting of 'might-have-been' Olympic garlands to Alkimidas and a certain Polytimidas (a youthful

[10] Standing in the first line of the antistrophe, *τὸ συγγενές* (8) looks in both directions: backwards to the kinship with gods announced in line 1, forward to the investigation of Battiad kinship. Alkimidas in his success exemplifies the mortal who is like to the gods in mind and form; he will also, however, prove the next point—the likeness of his particular race to a cultivated field.

[11] The essential element in the simile is the persistence of godlike force through manifestations alternately present and absent. The term *ἀναπαυσάμεναι* (11) suggests (though it does not impose) the notion of fallow seasons determined by a cultivator, and at least in later times certain sorts of land were given regular rests (Varro *RR* 1. 44. 2; Columella 2. 4. 1). Stoneman (1979) 77 asserts that 'the point here is not that crops were alternated', which is surely true, but he then discounts the regularity implicit in *ἀμειβόμεναι* (9) to conclude that the 'point' is that men are helplessly ignorant: only the gods know when a field will bear fruit. It seems to be rather that men know, of certain fields, that they must rest in a regular way.

Bassid, a brother or a cousin, 61–3). By the end of the first triad, then, Alkimidas has been named, placed in a generation productive of godlike deeds, then glimpsed (14–16) as an athlete-hunter who follows his grandfather's tracks (a wise practice when a mortal does not know what course destiny has set, 7). And that grandfather, the Olympic victor, has been represented, as if by a stele, in a tight catalogue of eight victories (17–20) that reflect the success of *his* grandfather, Hagesimachos (22), the original Bassid victor. The paternal family has been traced back to its illustrious founder, and at last the singers are able to recognize obscurity as well as notorious glory. They do this with an easy reference to an entire generation of sixth-century non-victors, 'sons of Hagesimachos' whose safe repute was derived exclusively from the success of their offspring (22).[12]

In an ode made of three triads, the central system is ordinarily occupied by mythic matters, perhaps an introductory glimpse first, then a more developed passage that proposes a moment of magical permanence. Here in *Nemean* 6, however, the second triad holds a surprise. It opens with a return to the household of Alkimidas' non-victorious great-grandfather, Sokleidas, where the brothers of the Olympic victor join him to amass more boxing victories than those of any other house in Greece (23–6).[13] This initial boast is then formally put aside, as a preliminary myth might have been, but the singers nevertheless use an attention-seeking invocation of the Muse (27–8) to announce a change: their tales about men of the past will concern, not the heirs of Aiakos but instead 'Bassids of antique repute', for they too provide subjects for songs (30–5).[14] With their innovation thus clearly marked, they produce a pair of ordinary mortals and invest them with the same lyric immediacy that is usually given to heroes of legend and cult.[15] Kallias and Kreontidas are actual

[12] The line of descent goes: (1) victor Hagesimachos; (2) three sons including Sokleidas, who do not take victories; (3) sons of these, including Praxidamas, who make their fathers' houses glorious; (4) a son of one of these, unnamed; (5) his son, Alkimidas, the present victor.

[13] So schol. 38a and most commentators; others, however, take *οἱ* at 23 to refer to Hagesimachos, so that these boxers are Sokleidas and his brothers; see Fraccaroli (1914) ii. 254, followed by Sandys (1937) 366 and Puech (1958–61) iii. 74. This identification would destroy the premise of alternating generations.

[14] The Bassid 'race of ancient renown' at 31 is in responsion with the Aiakidai of 46.

[15] Hamilton (1974) 59 recognizes this as a 'mythic complex', and Gerber

Basssid athletes (if they were of Praxidamas' generation they may even have been known to some of the elder spectators),[16] but they here take on heroic proportions, partly because of their position in the ode, but essentially because each is presented to the listener as a marvellous yet immediate presence. Hands bound with thongs (a threat of pain)[17] enforce a sense of actuality as the first Bassid boxer destroys a rival at Delphi, after which this same Kallias flames out like a torch during his noisy victory-night revel.[18] That moment of combustion (38) replaces the formal marvel of the ordinary mythic episode, and it generates a second marvel as, in an unexpected shift of scene, another familial victor, Kreontidas, seems to appear simultaneously at Isthmia and Nemea, frozen in the moment of his crowning, like a victor's commemorative statue. Taken together, the two tableaux resume every phase of contest, from preliminary preparation (35), through actual mastery (35), past the descent of crown upon head (44), to the ultimate near-apotheosis of the victory-night revel (38). Today's victor, Alkimidas, has been sketched only metaphorically as a boy huntsman, and the Olympic winner, Praxidamas, is no more than a list of victories,

(1999) 73, though critical of such a 'misuse of terminology', concedes that Pindar 'wished to draw an analogy' between Bassids and Aiakids. Cf. Ba. 9. 26 where the victor's body is displayed as a kind of marvel.

[16] It is sometimes assumed (e.g. Wilamowitz (1922) 399) that these are brothers of Praxidamas, other sons of Sokleidas who make up the 'three' mentioned at 23, and Carey (1989*c*) 8 approves: 'we should expect the other two sons of Sokleidas to be named.' On the contrary, since numbers are essential, and since the whole tribe is being honoured, we should expect reference to as many different victors as possible. The two directly celebrated in the central triad are more probably the cousins of Praxidamas who for a time rendered their fathers more honourable than Sokleidas (20–2), though it is also possible that one or both belonged to the earlier generation of Hagesimachos. The evocation of the two victors functions, in relation to the passage on the house of Sokleidas, as major myth to introductory sketch, which means that it is not likely to be a simple continuation or expansion. Schol. 58b, incidentally, finds in this passage not two but only one Bassid victor of old, a Kallias son of Kreon (= Kreontidas).

[17] For the use of thongs see Pl. *Prt.* 342; Paus. 8. 40. 3–4; Philostr. *Gymn.* 9–10. Poliakoff (1987) 68–73 and fig. 70 remarks that they are meant to cut into an opponent's flesh.

[18] Cf. P. *P.* 5. 45. The intransitive use of the verb *φλέγειν* at 38 is unusual enough to suggest a parallel between Kallias (or any other Pythian victor with his komasts and fires) and the legendary Phlegyas with his invading followers (Paus. 10. 7. 1); see Nagy (1979) 121–2. For fire at Delphi as symbol of purification, renewal and divinization, see Burkert (1966) 436–7, a review of Delcourt (1965).

but these two boxers are visible, almost tangible embodiments of athletic triumph. They are men who approached the immortals in splendour of stature and mind (cf. 4–5), though they were but creatures of their day (6), distillations of Bassid excellence as it appeared in past seasons of fruitfulness.

The central passage gives mythic status to two figures from an earlier generation (or generations?), but Aigina must still hear some celebration of the Aiakid source of its glories (45–9). Consequently *Nemean* 6 arranges a fleeting appearance, just where we anticipate a return from narrated past to immediate present, for Achilles. He occupies only seven lines, in comparison with the twelve given to Kallias and Kreontidas, but he adds an element of direct violence to their embodiment of the ideal victor as he falls upon his opponent with a pointed and furious sword (52–3)—the only fully actualized object in the entire ode. The hero himself is hardly more than an embodiment of battle: he drops from his chariot as an embodiment of 'heavy strife' (*βαρὺ . . . νεῖκος*, 50), while the Memnon whose corpse he strips is nothing more than an absence, one whose non-return paradoxically carries someone else's fame into Ethiopia (50). The pair of flesh-and-blood Bassids still dominate the ode, even after Achilles has won his match, but the idea of contest has now been touched with death, and the audience has been reminded that even a son of Eos does not know what course Fate may have marked out for him.

As the product, not just of fruitful but also of fallow generations, Alkimidas' crown can now be claimed by the twenty-four previous Bassid crowns as their necessary complement. The stupendous total, twenty-five, is ritually announced ('I come announcing!' 58) in the final line of the third antistrophe, which leaves the auditor wondering what can follow. He expects, perhaps, some ultimate recognition of the boy's victory as significant in itself, but what the chorus brings forth instead is an unexpected, half-bitter fantasy of 'what might have been'. If destiny had decided otherwise—'if it weren't for the luck of the draw'[19]—we would now be celebrating a success twice as great as

[19] The schol. at 104a understood the 'premature leaping forth of the lot' (63) as an early show of facial hair that had eliminated the two from the boys' class. It is more reasonable, however, to suppose reference to the actual lot that set the contestants in order and assigned a particular opponent or perhaps a bye; see

that of Hagesimachos, for Alkimidas and Polytimidas[20] would have brought paired Olympic crowns into the family (61–3)! A contrary-to-fact boast, offered in full seriousness, would be a poetic error since a praise song must not exaggerate, but here the young singers drop a familiar 'my boy!'(62) into their assertion, as if giving their friend a nudge.[21] This is the sort of over-confident claim that one youth can make for another, and though it seems to illustrate the inscrutability of the courses fixed by destiny (*πότμος*, 6b–7), it is a far cry from the solemn thoughts about man's condition that opened the ode. A boyish defiance of both fate and epinician good taste is possible here because the intervening stanzas have identified the present Bassid generation as one in which kinship with the gods springs up like a rich crop, and this is only the opening of its season. The current pair of athletes are probably not yet 14 years old[22] and what is more, they are in the hands of the famous trainer, Melesias.[23] He is an outsider, yes—a dolphin (64–6) in this green familial field[24]—but he is also a charioteer of skills[25] as he shapes their burgeoning Bassid virtues. Which means that, with better luck, the near future may soon provide what the recent past almost gave.

Lefkowitz (1984) 5–12; Bernardini (1985) 140 and n. 3; Crowther (1992) 68–74. S. Miller (1991) 71 n. 71 notes the Olympic victor who boasts on his statue base that he was winner, not by the luck of the *κλῆρος,* but without a bye.

[20] Schol.104a identifies Polytimidas simply as a member of Alkimidas' household; he is evidently another member of the present potentially successful generation who seems to share in the benefits of Melesias' training.

[21] It is likewise to a boy that Bakchylides' chorus grants a might-have-been Olympic crown at 11. 24–7. At Ba. 4. 11–13 Hieron is reminded that this, his third Pythian chariot victory, might have been his fourth if the scales of justice had been differently held, but Maehler (2002) 19–21 suggests that the reference there is not to a loss but to Hieron's decision to cede a victory to Polyzalos.

[22] At Nemea one passed from the boys' class into that of the 'beardless' (*ἀγένειοι*) at about age 14; see Golden (1990) 67–9; Pfeijffer (1998) 21–38.

[23] Melesias was also employed by the Theandrids (*N*. 4. 93) and the Blepsiads (*O*. 8. 54); see above, Ch. 8, pp. 133–4, n. 38.

[24] At P. fr. 140b 15–17 S the dolphin is a creature who loves music and calm seas; see Henderson (1992) 148–58.

[25] Compare Ebert (1972) no. 12.2 (first half of 5th cent.) where Theognetos of Aigina, a boy wrestler, is called *παλαιμοσύνης δεξιὸν ἡνίοχον* and for an erotic parallel, cf. Anak. 360. 4 PMG.

11. *Nemean* 8: Slander and Praise

For Deinias and his father, Megas (now dead), both victors in the double-course footrace; Chariad tribe; *c*.460 BC. Triads.

στρ. α′ Ὥρα πότνια, κάρυξ Ἀφροδίτας
ἀμβροσιᾶν φιλοτάτων,
ἅ τε παρθενηΐοις παίδων τ' ἐφίζοισα γλεφάροις,
τὸν μὲν ἁμέροις ἀνάγκας χερσὶ βαστά-
ζεις, ἕτερον δ' ἑτέραις.
ἀγαπατὰ δὲ καιροῦ μὴ πλαναθέντα πρὸς ἔργον ἕκαστον
τῶν ἀρειόνων ἐρώτων ἐπικρατεῖν δύνασθαι.

ἀντ. α′ οἷοι καὶ Διὸς Αἰγίνας γε λέκτρον
ποιμένες ἀμφεπόλησαν
Κυπρίας δώρων· ἔβλαστεν δ' υἱὸς Οἰνώνας βασιλεὺς
χειρὶ καὶ βουλαῖς ἄριστος. πολλά νιν πολ-
λοὶ λιτάνευον ἰδεῖν·
ἀβοατὶ γὰρ ἡρώων ἄωτοι περιναιεταόντων
ἤθελον κείνου γε πείθεσθ' ἀναξίαις ἑκοντες,

ἐπ. α′ οἵ τε κραναοῖς ἐν Ἀθάναισιν ἅρμοζον στρατόν,
οἵ τ' ἀνὰ Σπάρταν Πελοπηϊάδαι.
ἱκέτας Αἰακοῦ σεμνῶν γονάτων πόλιός θ' ὑπὲρ φίλας
ἀστῶν θ' ὑπὲρ τῶνδ' ἅπτομαι φέρων
Λυδίαν μίτραν καναχαδὲ πεποικιλμέναν,
Δείνιος δισσῶν σταδίων
καὶ πατρὸς Μέγα Νεμεαῖον ἄγαλμα.
σὺν θεῷ γάρ τοι φυτευθεὶς
ὄλβος ἀνθρώποισι παρμονώτερος·

στρ. β′ ὅσπερ καὶ Κινύραν ἔβρισε πλούτῳ
ποντίᾳ ἔν ποτε Κύπρῳ.
ἴσταμαι δὴ ποσσὶ κούφοις, ἀμπνέων τε πρίν τι φάμεν.
πολλὰ γὰρ πολλᾷ λέλεκται, νεαρὰ δ' ἐξευ-
ρόντα δόμεν βασάνῳ
ἐς ἔλεγχον, ἅπας κίνδυνος· ὄψον δὲ λόγοι φθονεροῖσιν,
ἅπτεται δ' ἐσλῶν ἀεί, χειρόνεσσι δ' οὐκ ἐρίζει.

ἀντ. β′ κεῖνος καὶ Τελαμῶνος δάψεν υἱόν,
φασγάνῳ ἀμφικυλίσαις.

ἦ τιν' ἄγλωσσον μέν, ἦτορ δ' ἄλκιμον, λάθα κατέχει
ἐν λυγρῷ νείκει· μέγιστον δ' αἰόλῳ ψευ- 25
δει γέρας ἀντέταται.
κρυφίαισι γὰρ ἐν ψάφοις Ὀδυσσῆ Δαναοὶ θεράπευσαν·
χρυσέων δ' Αἴας στερηθεὶς ὅπλων φόνῳ πάλαισεν.

ἐπ. β′ *ἦ μὰν ἀνόμοιά γε δᾴοισιν ἐν θερμῷ χροΐ*
ἔλκεα ῥῆξαν πελεμιζόμενοι
ὑπ' ἀλεξιμβρότῳ λόγχᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἀμφ' Ἀχιλεῖ νεοκτόνῳ, 30
ἄλλων τε μόχθων ἐν πολυφθόροις
ἀμέραις. ἐχθρὰ δ' ἄρα πάρφασις ἦν καὶ πάλαι,
αἱμύλων μύθων ὁμόφοι-
τος, δολοφραδής, κακοποιὸν ὄνειδος·
ἃ τὸ μὲν λαμπρὸν βιᾶται,
τῶν δ' ἀφάντων κῦδος ἀντείνει σαθρόν. 34[b]

στρ. γ′ *εἴη μή ποτέ μοι τοιοῦτον ἦθος,* 35
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀλλὰ κελεύθοις
ἁπλόαις ζωᾶς ἐφαπτοίμαν, θανὼν ὡς παισὶ κλέος 36
μὴ τὸ δύσφαμον προσάψω. χρυσὸν εὔχον-
ται, πεδίον δ' ἕτεροι
ἀπέραντον, ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἁδὼν καὶ χθονὶ γυῖα καλύψαι,
αἰνέων ἀινητά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς.

ἀντ. γ′ *αὔξεται δ' ἀρετά, χλωραῖς ἐέρσαις*
ὡς ὅτε δένδρεον οἴνας, 40[b]
⟨ἐν⟩ σοφοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀερθεῖσ' ἐν δικαίοις τε πρὸς ὑγρὸν 41
αἰθέρα. χρεῖαι δὲ παντοῖαι φίλων ἀν-
δρῶν· τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ πόνοις
ὑπερώτατα, μαστεύει δὲ καὶ τέρψις ἐν ὄμμασι θέσθαι
πιστόν. ὦ Μέγα, τὸ δ' αὖτις τεὰν ψυχὰν κομίξαι

ἐπ. γ′ *οὔ μοι δυνατόν· κενεᾶν δ' ἐλπίδων χαῦνον τέλος·* 45
σεῦ δὲ πάτρᾳ Χαριάδαις τ' ἐλαφρὸν
ὑπερεῖσαι λίθον Μοισαῖον ἕκατι ποδῶν εὐωνύμων
δὶς δὴ δυοῖν. χαίρω δὲ πρόσφορον
ἐν μὲν ἔργῳ κόμπον ἰείς, ἐπαοιδαῖς δ' ἀνὴρ
νώδυνον καί τις κάματον 50
θῆκεν· ἦν γε μὰν ἐπικώμιος ὕμνος
δὴ πάλαι καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι
τὰν Ἀδράστου τάν τε Καδμείων ἔριν. 51[b]

1. Hora, mistress of love's holy sweets,
herald of Aphrodite,
throned upon eyelids of boys and maids,

one suitor you raise with gentle force,
another you treat in an opposite fashion.
True pleasure comes, in any affair, when a timely choice,
made among nobler desires, is triumphant.

As when her shepherds bore to the couch where
Aigina lay with Zeus
gifts sent by Kypris, whence grew a son,
Oinona's king, foremost in counsel and might.
Many and often did men come to
beg for a glimpse of him; unasked, the flower of
neighbouring bravery chose to obey his command,

men who controlled the forces of rocky Athens, and
Pelopids drawn up from Sparta. I too
touch Aiakos' sacred knees in behalf
of the city he loved and of these
townsmen, a suppliant bringing a
Lydian crown inlaid with music, the prize
Deinias gained at Nemea, like Megas, his father,
running the double course.
Blessedness planted by god stops
longest with men. Such bliss did

2. Kinyras know, covered with wealth on
Kypros, his sea-circled land.
Light feet at a standstill, I take breath, then speak!
Many the tales told and many their forms, but
fresh invention, put to the test, is
ever at risk. Renown is a feast for envious men
who devour what is noble, leaving the base.

Envy it was that bit into Telamon's son,
twisting him onto his sword.
The man without words, but bold at heart, oblivion
pins down in ugly strife, while a great prize
exalts an insidious lie!
Casting their secret ballots, Greeks fawned on Odysseus:
robbed of the golden arms, Ajax wrestled with gore.

Unequal too were the wounds that they wrought
in warm enemy flesh, making their slow retreat
before the attacking lance, defending the new-killed
corpse of Achilles, and
labouring through long days of destruction!
Yes, loathsome slander is ancient, the ally of

ugly suggestions, scheming and ever inventing
injurious taunts, damaging
all that is bright and fostering rotten fame
where no deeds can be shown!

3. Never let this be my chosen mode,
Father Zeus, but let me follow
life's gentler paths and dying bequeath to my sons, not
evil repute, but good fame! Some pray for gold, some
for a stretch of land, but I would
gladden the city, then cover my limbs with earth,
praising the praiseworthy, scattering blame upon wrong.

Excellence grows like the stalk of a vine
under fresh dew; it is
raised to the liquid heights of the sky by
men who are just and wise. The need for a friend is
various, greatest in trouble, but
joy too seeks a pledge from a friendly eye.
To bring back your life, Megas, this

I cannot do (it were the aim of an empty hope)
but to raise, for Chariads and for your land,
a Muse-stone marking the work of
two pairs of feet—that is an easy task!
In full joy I shout out this boast
earned by your deed, for a chanted spell can
deaden the pain of hard toil.
The victory hymn with its revel
was born long ago, even before lord Adrastos
attacked the kinsmen of Kadmos!

Nemean 8 was performed to honour an adolescent boy who had chosen his father's event, the double-stade race,[1] and repeated his father's mainland victory. Beyond this no details are known, and certainly not the date, for earlier scholars assigned the ode to the '90s, the '80s, the '50s, and even the '40s of the fifth century,[2]

[1] Runners went up, then back down the length of the stadium, *c*.400 yards in all; Gardiner (1930) 36.

[2] Mezger suggested the time of Marathon, when Athens denounced Aigina, and he was followed by Bury (1965*b*) 145, 'written in the day of her humiliation', 'the allusion to the political situation could scarcely be clearer'. Fennell and Puech thought that *N*. 8 came soon after *N*. 7, presumably in the 480s, while Bowra (1964) 412 followed Wilamowitz and Farnell to associate the ode with the Athenian conquest: 'war between Athens and Aegina may not have broken out but it cannot be far off.' N. O. Brown (1951) 10–15 likewise argued for

on the assumption that the Ajax who occupies its central triad must represent an Aigina dishonoured or under attack.[3] More recent studies[4] have left the date even more uncertain, but have at any rate made it plain that the song identifies Aigina, not with a despised Ajax, but with an admired Aiakos sought out by all as a panhellenic leader (8–12). It calls itself a gift brought to this legendary hero-founder in behalf of the island-city that he loves (13–16), a city that—much like the Kypros of Kinyras (18)[5]—enjoys a permanence of god-given bliss (17—18). These are the announced conditions in which the present performers greet a youth who is entering his first season of love,[6] and its initial tone of rich promise stands in stark contradiction to all readings and chronologies based upon a mistreated Aigina–Ajax and a dishonourable Athens–Odysseus. This chorus addresses a happy gathering where choice amongst the finest of desires is open (4–5), and where a poet may take the novel poetical risk (21)[7] of bringing a bloodied hero, skewered on his sword, into the presence of a flower-decked Spirit of Youth.

Hora, the opening figure of *Nemean* 8, is strongly eroticized. She rests on the eyelids of desirable youths (2),[8] tells of their readiness for love (1), and decides when a suitor may be successful (with a slightly suggestive action of raising and letting fall, 3). She fixes the moment (*καιρός*) in which a young creature may be approached (4) and decides whether a lover may triumph (5).

composition soon after 446 BC. In the early 19th cent. it was fashionable to make an Ajax–Pindar equation, with a poet who suffered from the ill-will either of rivals, or of Aiginetans because of Pa. 6.

[3] E.g. N. O. Brown (1951) 13, 'The myth of Ajax must be interpreted politically'; Bowra (1964) 412, 'Aegina is being attacked in words if not in fact.'

[4] Köhnken (1971) 19–24 disputes the pretended historical allusions point by point; cf. Carey (1976) 26–41; A. Miller (1982) 111–20. In general see Bulman (1992) 37–55.

[5] At *N*. 4. 46 Kypros is an Aiakid island; Kinyras is the beloved of Apollo and a priest of Aphrodite at *P*. 2. 16; cf. Pl. *Leg*. 660e; Hyg. *Fab*. 270.

[6] The salute to a power that resides upon the eyelids of desirable youths can only be appropriate for a victor in the 14–17 year group. For *ὥρα* as specifically the time when a boy is attractive to an *ἐραστής* cf. e.g. Ar. *Av*. 705; Thuk. 6. 54. 2; Pl. *Rep*. 474d; *Alk*. 131e; Arist. *EN* 1157^{a}8.

[7] The two passages are in responsion, suggesting a comparison between the taking of this poetic risk (21–2) and the timely pursuit of finest passion (4–5).

[8] Eros looks out from beneath shadowed eyelids at Ibyk. 287 *PMG*; cf. Alkm. 58 *PMG* where Eros perches in the garland of the beloved. Rudhardt (1999) 92 sums up the Horai as, 'En bref, liées à la floraison, à l'amour et à la séduction.' Other Pindaric references at *O*. 4. 2; *P*. 9. 60; Pa. 1.6; fr. 30. 6 M.

She determines fertility, too, for the bevy of Erotes who carried gifts to the couch where Aiakos was conceived seem to emanate from her.[9] The Horai were daughters of Zeus and Themis (Pa. 1. 6), and their Hesiodic names, Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene, reflect their maternal heritage,[10] but this present nymph probably answers to one of the more popular rustic names—Thallo, Karpo, or Auxo—for she is allied to Kypris and has power over liquid processes of growth and change.[11] Seen in this aspect Hora and her sisters are ever in motion, three dancing[12] flower-decked girls who specialize in preparing youths for sexual experience and brides for their weddings.[13] It is their privilege to open gates, those of Olympus when rain is to fall (*Il*. 5. 749–51 = 8. 393–5), and those of the garden of youth when its flowers are ready for picking.[14] Here it is the ode for a boy victor that Hora opens, and in her character as herald of Aphrodite (1) she marks Deinias' appearance among the adult guests as a moment of erotic opportunity when the best sorts of love may be chosen and won (4–5, cf. the song for Theoxenos).[15] All of which makes the subsequent introduction of Ajax the more baroque.[16]

Protected by Aiakos, today's hall and the city of Aigina are filled with a promise of god-given blessedness at the end of the first triad (17). To this the singers add a consummate image of prosperity laced with eroticism, that of Kinyras, Apollo's beloved, as he lies smothered in gifts from heaven (18). Then they mark a sudden stop (19). They are going to take a great leap,

[9] This is the earliest appearance of *ἔρως* in its pl. form; see Rosenmeyer (1951) 17.

[10] These names are used by Pindar at *O*. 13. 6–8; cf. Pa. 1. 6–10. Pausanias 5. 1 notes, close to the Hera temple at Olympia, a figure of Themis and also figures of the Horai made by the Aiginetan sculptor, Emilos.

[11] The song as a whole favours the language of rural nurture: *ποιμένες*, 6b; *ἔβλαστεν*, 7; *ἄωτοι*, 9; *φυτευθείς*, 17; *ἐπισπείρων*, 39; *χλωραῖς ἐέρσαις . . . δένδρεον*, 40.

[12] Cf. *ἑλισσόμεναι*, *O*. 4 4; *πολυάνθεμοι*, *O*. 13. 17.

[13] In the *Kypria* F 4 Davies *EGF* they dress Thetis for her wedding in clothing perfumed with the blossoms they carry, and at Hes. *Erg*. 74–5 they crown Pandora with flowers.

[14] At. P. Dithy. fr. 63 B = 75 SM the Horai open their purple chamber, that Spring may bring out perfumed flowers for Semele's bridal ceremony; cf. Alk. 296b V.

[15] Cf. P. fr. 108 B = 123 SM; compare also *O*. 10. 99–105 with its reference to Ganymede. In some Hellenistic works of art the Horai were accompanied by putti-like Kairoi (*LIMC* s.v. Kairos nos. 2–5).

[16] Carey (1976) 30 speaks of a 'blithe idyllic atmosphere . . . about to be shattered'.

and in fact within nine lines they will have capped the figure of the divine favourite reclining on his isle with that of Telamon's son as he writhes in a final pool of blood (the two names in responsion at 18 and 23). The juxtaposition is harsh, but *Nemean* 8 is not addressed exclusively to its youthful victor; it describes itself rather as a double crown, freshly won by young Deinias in the two-stade race at Nemea, but also won long ago by his father, Megas, in the same event (16).[17] They are two who share a single garland, and at the song's end they are again paired with play on the number two (δὶς δὴ δυοῖν, 48), but nevertheless, while the one can wear a tangible wreath, the other lies buried, so that a proper song-repayment for the pair of them is best likened to a doubly inscribed memorial stone (46–7).[18] The son can be saluted as a fresh erotic object, but what, the singers ask, can praise do for someone who is underground? According to its own principles the present ode should—like Hora—water the reputation of (a formerly unsung?) Megas until it grows like a tree, thus sending his revitalized 'excellence' (ἀρετά) soaring into the upper air (41–2).[19] And yet a song that attempted to exalt such a one as he once was—victor, inhabitant of Aiakos' blessed isle and one whose name, moreover, was Megas—would certainly excite envy.[20] And so the chorus—after proudly insisting on

[17] Puech (1958–61) iii. 104 persuaded himself that the victories were double for each, but not won in the two-stade race, taking lines 47–8 to mean 'les jambes glorieuses de vous deux, par deux fois (pour chacun)'.

[18] The ode seems to imply that, for whatever reason, Megas was not granted a song celebration at the time of his victory. Bury (1965*b*) ad *N*. 8. 16 connected the λίθος at 47 with the ἄγαλμα at 16, supposing a metaphor that makes the song 'a statue for Deinias and a sepulchral stele for Megas', but the ostensible image at 13–16 is of a doubly won crown now offered to Aiakos.

[19] Reading ἀΐσσει at 40 with SM; forced from its prominent position by an explanatory αὔξεται, the verb was evidently thrust into the next phrase; for a contary argument in support of αὔξεται, see Carey (1976) 35 f.

[20] On the opposition φθόνος/μέγας see Mette (1961) 332–44. For Bundy (1986) 40 n. 16, 'O Megas!' at 44 was the 'climactic name cap' set up by the 'foil' of 20–1, and also by the 'praiseworthy object of praise' at 39; he nevertheless supposed as well (31 n. 75) that lines 20–2 expressed 'fear of detraction aimed at the victor', and he is followed by Carey (1976) 32–4, who refers to a 'danger which the *phthoneroi* present to Deinias'. Bury (1965*b*) 147 assumed that Pindar, like Aigina, had envious rivals, and many have agreed, but if the *phthonos* motif derives from actuality, the song's design strongly suggests that the reference is to some event in the life of Megas. The mythic passage is enclosed by two mentions of his name (16, 44), and it is notable that 'Megas' at 44 stands in responsion to 'Aias' at 27, while the slander of 34 and the reviving epinician song of 50 both echo the first mention of Megas at 16.

the novelty of its stratagem (20–1)[21]—produces a mythic example of the opposite process. They give a moment of poetic life to a jealous slander that killed (23–7), then ask, in a responding passage (35–9), for the power to distribute praise and blame correctly, thus offering celestial life to splendid actions (40–2).

The reference to envious men that introduces the Ajax section of *Nemean* 8 seems to put the listener on familiar epinician ground. Envy (*φθόνος*) is elsewhere a favourite motif because envy is a natural measure of successful excellence, an ugly twin to the epinician ode.[22] Or, to put it another way, one purpose of a praise-song is to expose its subject to envy. Envious impulses flutter in all men's minds, but this is no reason that either son or singer should skimp in praise of a father's excellence (*ἀρετά*) (*I*. 2. 43).[23] Nor should the universality of this unpleasant tendency ever affect a man's impulse towards splendid achievements (*P*. l. 85–6). There was, after all, a good form of envy (*ζῆλος*), the spirit of emulation that could make others try to imitate the man of excellence (*O*. 7.6), and Pindar elsewhere repeats the commonplace conclusion that to be envied was always better than to be pitied (*P*. l. 85).[24] In its lesser appearances, then, this Pindaric envy is unlovely but sometimes useful, an aspect of human nature that for the most part merely mutters in the dark.[25] The man who doesn't inspire it is probably mediocre (fr. 94a 11), while the man who never feels it must be, like Hieron, divorced from ordinary mortality

[21] Following Bundy (1986) 40, A. Miller (1982) 113–14 asserts that *νεαρά* at 20 refers to the freshly won honours of Deinias, but singers who announce that they will catch their breath before beginning on what comes next (19) clearly emphasize what follows:'Watch for an innovation in the tale you are about to hear!' Bulman (1992) 44 would have it both ways: when first heard of, these 'novelties' will seem to refer to the present victory; then the sense will change when the listener is confronted with something new in the myth.

[22] Thummer (1968–9) i. 81; Adkins (1972) 77 describes *phthonos* as 'the tribute that failure pays to success'; see the survey of passages at Bulman (1992) 17–31.

[23] For *areta* as the natural prey of *phthonos*, cf. P. *N*. 4. 39; *I*. 1. 44; Parth. 1 = fr. 94a 9–11; for victor as object, *O*. 6. 74; all success as object, *P*. 2. 89–90. For the ultimate ineffectiveness of *phthonos*, note *N*. 4. 39; Pa. 2. 56.

[24] Attributed to Thales, 64 Z 9 Diels I; cf. Epicharmos 23 B 34 DK; Hdt 3. 52. 5; see Milobenski (1964) 1–2; Eitrem (1953) 531 ff. This is the capping argument in the exhortation of Deinomenes at P. *P*. 1. 85; cf. Aesch. *Agam*. 939.

[25] At Thuk. 6. 16.1, Alkibiades remarks that conspicuous honours and expenditure cause *phthonos* among fellow-citizens, 'according to nature'.

(*P.* 3. 71).[26] Here in *Nemean* 8, however, what Pindar depicts is not simply *phthonos* but the partnership of envy and slander, as ill-will is whipped into destructive action by an evil misuse of speech.

Envy is the understood grammatical subject, as the mythic episode of *Nemea*n 8 is introduced. It derives syntactically from the previous transitional gnome that announced an innovation, being distilled from a category of 'envious men' who necessarily dislike what is new (20–22).[27] This envy is however nameless (a mere *κεῖνος*, 23) as it rolls the son of Telamon upon his own sword,[28] and when oblivion (*λάθα*, 24) joins envy in its ugly quarrel with a speechless hero the scene grows yet more obscure as a generalized 'refusal to remember' wrestles Ajax to the ground. The listener knows that the singers refer to the suicide of Ajax (though this is not yet, in the first half of the fifth century, an inevitable part of the hero's story), but midway through this choral telling the evil cause of this bloody action remains non-explicit, while the opposite great prize 'offered to squirming falsehood' (25) likewise comes from no one in particular. The audience has been promised a Pindaric invention (20), but so far no visible tableau has been created, no characters have been delineated, and the determining envy has almost dissolved. After four lines of such dizzying insubstantiality the names of Odysseus and Ajax, finally heard (26–7), bring a sense of satisfaction, while the 'hidden votes' (*κρυφίαισι . . . ψάφοις*, 26) at last supply the passage with a precise and exclusive detail. The sword, golden armour, and gore all remain generalized, but these secret ballots are both finite and peculiar, and they are forced into rhetorical prominence as the opening of a sentence that opens a line (26). They are the mechanism on which the episode turns, the means by which the craven Greeks steal from Ajax to flatter Odysseus, and they have the shock of newness because they make their first literary appearance here.

[26] The singer of praise specifically renounces what would be his natural envy at P. *P.* 7. 15; *I.* 1. 44; *I.* 5. 24.

[27] Bowra (1964) 344 heard these lines as 'excuses for telling an old story again'.

[28] Contrast *I.* 4. 38–40 where Ajax actively wields the sword and thereby casts blame upon the Greeks. Here in *N.* 8 he is the entirely passive victim of *κεῖνος* (= *φθόνος*, 23), whose work is completed by men's refusal to remember and praise (*λάθα*, 24).

Anyone who would tell this story had to explain why the arms were given, not to Ajax, but to Odysseus. The Cyclic poets had brought in Trojans to act as judges,[29] which at any rate exonerated the Greek leaders, but in the course of the sixth century a less fanciful judgement tale began to be told, one in which the Achaian chieftans themselves—the leaders and the shepherds of the people, as Aischylos insisted (fr. 284. 8–9)—awarded the arms to Odysseus because of his eloquence. Such a decision may have been imagined originally as following a Homeric pattern by which the assembled men roared out their opinions, as first one warrior and then the other presented himself. Towards the end of the sixth century, however, a decision by open ballot had a sudden vogue among vase-painters,[30] presumably reflecting an influential retelling of the story at that time. The vote by ballots meant that the decision could be represented visually as a large pile of tokens to one side, a small pile to the other, while it also became more solemn and inarguable. Reached in this way, the choice of Odysseus was no longer an act of temporary enthusiasm, but was instead an expression of the true will of the group, reduced to numerical terms. And, as shown by the painters, it was also a public event directly overseen by an imposing Athena who, as central figure seemed to decide the question of the arms herself and so, in effect, to condemn the son of Telamon. The iconography was satisfying, but it amounted to an indictment of Ajax for having offended the goddess, and at some point before the time of Sophokles (*Aj*. 1135) a storyteller with more sympathy for the hero hit upon the notion of a bought or fraudulent vote. Narrated with this detail, the punitive act of divine anger became instead a matter of sordid mortal corruption.

It is clear that whenever exactly Pindar was composing *Nemean* 8, the death of Ajax could have been attributed to Trojan ill-will, to Greek impressionability, to Odysseus' superior

[29] *Il. parv*. F 2A Davies *EGF* = schol. Ar. *Eq*. 1056 tells of spies who overhear the comments of two Trojan women, the second insisting that Odysseus did the actual fighting while Ajax merely carried the corpse of Achilles. The notion of counting wounds may have derived from another cyclic poem (see schol. *Od*. 11. 547, attributed to the *Aithiopis* by Jebb) in which Trojans wounded in the battle for the corpse were asked to testify. At any rate Pindar seems to have known the *Aithiopis*, for at *I*. 4. 39 he puts the suicide at the end of the night, as did that poem.

[30] See the series of seven vases from the first quarter of the 5th cent., *LIMC* s.v. Aias I nos. 81–6.

eloquence, to Athena's dislike, or to bought votes. And it is equally clear that none of these motifs would serve the song the poet meant to make for Deinias and Megas. Insisting that he had 'discovered something new' (20), Pindar adopted the legalistic ballots but refused both divine power and mortal fraud as determining influences.[31] His core topic was speech, its use and misuse, and this necessarily gave silence an equal interest. Tradition provided the motif of the smooth-talking man who defeats one whose language is rough, but Pindar now creates an absolute opposition by posing a liar (Odysseus is *αἰόλον ψεύδος,* 'shifty falsehood' personified, 25) against a man who is mute (*ἄγλωσσος*, 24).[32] His contest is between Slander and Speechlessness, which explains why he chose the silent ballot as a substitute for an open decision by voiced acclamation.[33] Further, by specifying ballots that were 'hidden',[34] and by dismissing the inimical Athena, he was able to describe an act of injustice that depended, not upon piety, or fear, or a corrupt expectation of profit,[35] but exclusively upon the words of Odysseus. By way of their secret votes, these Achaians transpose malignant dispraise (30–4) into an activated forgetfulness that is lethal and wholly silent (24–5). Led by Odysseus they are thus the mirroring opposites of the present

[31] For an opposite understanding see Hubbard (2000) 330–42 who asserts that Pindar refers to a 'rigged voting' motif that had first appeared, according to him, in the Aischylean *Hoplon krisis*. That play, however, seems rather to have set Ajax and Odysseus before an assembly of Achaians to argue their claims; see Weir Smyth and Lloyd-Jones *Aeschylus*, ii (London 1963) 438–9. A contemporary painted scene (*LIMC* s.v. Aias I, no. 80) shows the arms of Achilles centrally piled, flanked on the left by a self-assured Odysseus standing on a podium in mid-speech, on the right by a listening Ajax (who has just finished speaking? must speak next?). Antisthenes composed a pair of speeches, one for Ajax and one for Odysseus, and the two became models for later rhetorical contests, as reflected at Ov. *Met*. 13.

[32] This speechlessness is a concept peculiar to Pindar; see Calabrese De Feo (1984) 120–32.

[33] Another alternative, if silence were not essential to Pindar's purposes, might have been a vote by individual voice, as in the Peloponnesian League (Thuk. 1. 125. 1); see Larsen (1949) 164–81.

[34] Pindar's vision need not have conformed either to Athenian actualities or to the practice indicated by Aischylos in the *Eumenides;* for various modes of secrecy in voting, see Boegehold (1963) 366–74.

[35] It is sometimes said that *κρύφιος* (26) must mean 'fraudulent' because the poet cannot be saying that Odysseus won by a fair vote; so N. O. Brown (1951) 15 n. 3. A bought vote, however, would be open, so that the buyer could know who had delivered; such a vote is termed 'stolen,' not 'hidden' (Soph. *Ajax* 1135).

epinician singers who, under their poet's direction, 'praise what is praiseworthy' (39) and by doing so bring their subject a release from pain (50).

Odysseus' slanders leave Ajax wrestling with an oblivion that has already given him a fall (27, cf. 24), but the stanza that follows rouses him and restores his fame, for such is the power of song. Or rather the singers, by demanding that certain images be used in a certain way, cause each listener to raise the bloodied hero in his own imagination. This is choral coercion at its most blatant, and the first thing to note is that, though the subject is epic, the means are not.[36] The battle-virtue of Ajax is here demonstrated, as it was traditionally, in the struggle for Achilles' corpse, but painted scenes, compositions dense with strenuous bodies,[37] underline the surreal absence of the physical in this lyric version (28–34). Warriors, wounds, and a lance are indicated (30), but no living creature is offered to the spectator's vision, nor is either of the two men who are set up for comparison represented by so much as a pronoun. Indistinguishable in their non-presence, they exist in perfect equality as a pair of syntactical abstractions. Neither makes a gesture peculiar to himself: just as they fall back in combination, so do they inflict wounds in combination (*ῥῆξαν πελεμιζόμενοι*, 29),[38] and this is because the listener is asked, not for a physical response, but for one that is exclusively intellectual. He is not to compare two warriors but instead to make a statistical survey of their work, quantified in the number of wounds each inflicted. The previous stanza indicated that, once counted, many Greek ballots favoured Odysseus, few Ajax, but now the singers demand a count of another sort. Ruptures (*ἕλκεα*, 29) torn in an amorphous expanse of warm enemy flesh (28) are offered, not to the listeners' senses

[36] Bowra reported not quite accurately that 'Pindar's account of Ajax' is 'confined to his death'; on the other hand Carey (1976) ad loc. speaks of this passage as an 'aristeia' of Ajax, though it is precisely not that, since no single specific action is attributed to him.

[37] For earlier or roughly contemporary examples, see *LIMC* s.v. Achilleus nos. 88–52. In a special category are thirty-two depictions of Ajax as he carries the gigantic corpse, a motif Pindar does not wish to revive because it had served in arguments for the superiority of Odysseus; a few further vases mix the two scenes as Ajax takes Achilles upon his shoulders during the battle; see Padgett (2001) 3–17.

[38] Note the generalizing combination of plural participial subject (29) with singular weapon (30).

but in order that each should in fancy sort and enumerate. Or rather that each should accept the singers' tally and discover a reversed inequality (ἦ μὰν ἀνόμοιά γϵ, 28)—many for Ajax and few for Odysseus. If these open wounds (mute like Ajax) could have replaced the hidden ballots, the golden armour would have gone to a hero who was truly second only to Achilles. Of course, epic 'truth' cannot be contradicted, but a danced sequence can cause the single self-inflicted wound of the antistrophe (23) to be capped and replaced by the innumerable slashes that the epode evokes (28–30). What is more, this actual, audible praise sung for the warrior Ajax can destroy the oblivion (24) that was his most effective enemy.

The battle reminiscence has shifted quickly from the particular struggle for the corpse to 'other such engagements' (31), and in the same way the wound-count and the revival of Ajax at once produce a broadened focus that prepares for a general statement about spoken language. The listener still has Odysseus' name in his ears but the singers now describe an abstraction as they move into an impassioned condemnation of evil persuasion: it is a speech-form that 'keeps company with pernicious tales, intends trickery, and destroys with slander' (33).[39] This is not ordinary blame, which can be salubrious (39), but a verbal action that poisons valid reproach by encouraging what is rotten while it violates what is naturally bright (34). The mythic section has brought those who celebrate Deinias and Megas first into shared contact with the blood of a hero self-destroyed (27), then into shared assessment of openings made in enemy flesh, and these experiences are now transformed to yield a shared disgust at the outrages that are wrought upon the splendid language of praise and blame.

The prayer that opens the final triad—'Oh let this never be my way!' (35)[40]—explicitly identifies the present praise-poet and his chorus as reverse-figures to Odysseus. Slander of Ajax and praise of Megas are opposed versions of the same essential act, and this truth is made evident in the echoing structures of

[39] The term ὄνειδος (33) is probably a souvenir of Thersites at *Il*. 2. 222. Odysseus' false blame of Ajax is the conceptual counterpart of Homer's false praise of Odysseus at *N*. 7. 20- 23.

[40] On the first person expressions in this stanza see Carey (1976) 33, who cites E. Des Places *Le Pronom chez Pindar* (Paris 1947) 9.

Nemean 8 . In the early transition into the myth, envious slander ever seizes upon the noble (22) but has no quarrel with the base; then, in the responding line of the final triad, singers who have followed their vocation (35–6) reverse this process, praising (39) the praiseworthy and sowing blame among doers of wrong. The two names, Ajax and Megas, stand in exact correspondence and are emphasized by position, being sounded in the closing lines of the second and the third antistrophes (27, 44; cf. 10 where *κείνου* in the same position refers to Aiakos). In the same way the 'son of Telamon' who opens the second antistrophe (23) has the same melody as the generalized excellence (*ἀρετά*) that opens the same stanza of the song's final section (40)—the first destroyed by bad fame, the second exalted by celebration. Again, the Greek toadies who flatter Odysseus with their ballots (26) appear in echoing position to their subsequent opposites, the true friends who gather around a man to share either misfortune or joy (43–4). And note the imagery: envy devours the man of magnificent deeds (21–2), while the excellence of a praiseworthy man is nourished by those who are wise and just (41). Within this conceptual system the liquid gore (27) into which Ajax falls, deprived of the armour, finds its opposite in the fresh dew of praise (40) that causes the virtue-tree to stretch upwards (both in the dative but not in responsion). And finally there is the categorical contrast (and metrical matching) between the two summary sections (32–3 and 49–50), where 'false speech' and 'hymns of praise' (*πάρφασις* and *ἐπαοιδαί*, 32 and 49), are musically matched, as are also the 'evil-working slander' and the 'revellers' song of praise' (*κακοποιὸν ὄνειδος* and *ἐπικώμιος ὕμνος*, 33 and 50), both of which have their beginnings in the deep past (32 and 51), though praise is the elder.[41]

What then of Hora and the boy who now comes of age by winning his father's crown? One of the two pairs of feet commemorated on the metaphorical stone of the Muses obviously belongs to him (47–8), and the song's magical remedy for pain and fatigue (49–50) can be felt only by one who still lives, but Deinias has received no direct reference after his first mention as victor (16), nor do the singers use their closing lines for a last salute to victor or trainer. Instead of sacralizing the immediate

[41] Since Aphrodite was named in the opening line of the song it is worth remembering the loving *πάρφασις* that was one of her gifts at *Il*. 14. 217.

ceremony with sung commands, they spend their final phrases on a nutshell defence of their own procedure, should anyone have failed to understand it. They have sung about invidious blame, a monstrous misuse of speech that goes back to Odysseus, but they would insist that their own high-spirited and festive praise (50) is more powerful because it is older yet, more ancient even than the founding of the games at Nemea. The younger genre, slander, is in a sense no more than a nasty imitation of the elder, and this means that defamation may be undone and corrected by words of the opposite character. Singers cannot bring the dead back to life (44–5), but anyone may superimpose a healing vaunt (49–50) upon pain, even the pain of slander and oblivion, as this ode has just demonstrated.

What Deinias receives, then, on his entrance into adolescence, is a revelation about the nature of adult speech. Words may be used as Odysseus used them when he caused the Greeks, with their secret votes, to violate the manifest glory of a wordless Ajax and offer a rotting notoriety to his own seductive self (32–4). But words may also be used in an opposite way—to praise the praise-worthy and rebuke wrongdoers (39), to ease the pain of exertion (49–50), and bring excellence into the light. And the final word, here, belongs to the praise-mode, for it has just destroyed the oblivion (*λάθα*) that obscured the courageous heart of Ajax (24), while commemorating the excellence of (a possibly defamed?) Megas. Aigina is now truly as blessed as Kinyras' island, for envy (*φθόνος*) and slander have been driven out, that Aphrodite may enter, lured by Hora and the charms of a youthful victor.

12. *Nemean* 7: Neoptolemos at Delphi

For Sogenes, son of Thearion, of the Euxenid tribe; victor in the boys' pentathlon; *c*.461 BC. Triads.

στρ. α′ Ἐλείθυια, πάρεδρε Μοιρᾶν βαθυφρόνων,
παῖ μεγαλοσθενέος, ἄκουσον, Ἥρας, γε-
νέτειρα τέκνων· ἄνευ σέθεν
οὐ φάος, οὐ μέλαιναν δρακέντες εὐφρόναν
τεὰν ἀδελφεὰν ἐλάχομεν ἀγλαόγυιον Ἥβαν.
ἀναπνέομεν δ' οὐχ ἅπαντες ἐπὶ ἴσα·
εἴργει δὲ πότμῳ ζυγένθ' ἕτερον ἕτερα. σὺν δὲ τὶν
καὶ παῖς ὁ Θεαρίωνος ἀρετᾷ κριθεὶς
εὔδοξος ἀείδεται Σωγένης μετὰ πενταέθλοις.

ἀντ. α′ πόλιν γὰρ φιλόμολπον οἰκεῖ δορικτύπων
Αἰακιδᾶν· μάλα δ' ἐθέλοντι σύμπειρον
ἀγωνίᾳ θυμὸν ἀμφέπειν.
εἰ δὲ τύχῃ τις ἔρδων, μελίφρον' αἰτίαν
ῥοαῖσι Μοισᾶν ἐνέβαλε· καὶ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἀλκαὶ
σκότον πολὺν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δεόμεναι·
ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἔσοπτρον ἴσαμεν ἑνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ,
εἰ Μναμοσύνας ἕκατι λιπαράμπυκος
εὕρηται ἄποινα μόχθων κλυταῖς ἐπέων ἀοιδαῖς.

ἐπ. α′ σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα τριταῖον ἄνεμον
ἔμαθον, οὐδ' ὑπὸ κέρδει βλάβεν·
ἀφνεὸς πενιχρός τε θανάτου πέρας
ἅμα νέονται. ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον' ἔλπομαι
λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν
διὰ τὸν ἄδυεπῆ γενέσθ' Ὅμηρον·

στρ. β′ ἐπει ψεύδεσί οἱ ποτανᾷ ⟨τε⟩ μαχανᾷ
σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι· σοφία δὲ κλέπτει παρ-
άγοισα μύθοις· τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει
ἦτορ ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν
ἔ τὰν ἀλάθειαν ἰδέμεν, οὔ κεν ὅπλων χολωθεὶς
ὁ καρτερὸς Αἴας ἔπαξε διὰ φρενῶν
λευρὸν ξίφος· ὃν κράτιστον Ἀχιλέος ἄτερ μάχᾳ
ξανθῷ Μενέλᾳ δάμαρτα κομίσαι θοαῖς
ἂν ναυσὶ πόρευσαν εὐθυπνόου Ζεφύροιο πομπαὶ

ἀντ. β′ πρὸς Ἴλου πόλιν. ἀλλὰ κοινὸν γὰρ ἔρχεται
κῦμ' Ἀΐδα, πέσε δ' ἀδόκητον ἐν καὶ δο-
κέοντα· τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται
ὧν θεὸς ἁβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων.
βοαθοῶν τοι παρὰ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλπου
μόλεν χθονός—ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις
κεῖται—Πριάμου πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πράθεν,
τᾷ καὶ Δαναοὶ πόνησαν· ὁ δ' ἀποπλέων
Σκύρου μὲν ἅμαρτε, πλαγχθέντες δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν ἵκοντο.

ἐπ. β′ Μολοσσίᾳ δ' ἐμβασίλευεν ὀλίγον
χρόνον· ἀτὰρ γένος αἰεὶ φέρει
τοῦτό οἱ γέρας. ᾤχετο δὲ πρὸς θεὸν
κτέατ' ἄγων Τροΐαθεν ἀκροθινίων·
ἵνα κρεῶν νιν ὕπερ μάχας
ἔλασεν ἀντιτυχόντ' ἀνὴρ μαχαίρᾳ.

στρ. γ′ βάρυνθεν δὲ περισσὰ Δελφοὶ ξεναγέται.
ἀλλὰ τὸ μόρσιμον ἀπέδωκεν· ἐχρῆν δέ
τιν' ἔνδον ἄλσει παλαιτάτῳ
Αἰακιδᾶν κρεόντων τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμμεναι
θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχέα δόμον, ἡροΐαις δὲ πομπαῖς
θεμισκόπον οἰκεῖν ἐόντα πολυθύτοις.
εὐώνυμον ἐς δίκαν τρία ἔπεα διαρκέσει·
οὐ ψεῦδις ὁ μάρτυς ἔργμασιν ἐπιστατεῖ,
Αἴγινα, τεῶν Διός τ' ἐκγόνων. θρασύ μοι τόδ' εἰπεῖν

ἀντ. γ′ φαενναῖς ἀρεταῖς ὁδὸν κυρίαν λόγων
οἴκοθεν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνάπαυσις ἐν παντὶ
γλυκεῖα ἔργῳ· κόρον δ' ἔχει
καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίσια.
φυᾷ δ' ἕκαστος διαφέρομεν βιοτὰν λαχόντες,
ὁ μὲν τά, τὰ δ' ἄλλοι· τυχεῖν δ' ἓν' ἀδύνατον
εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἀνελόμενον· οὐκ ἔχω
εἰπεῖν, τίνι τοῦτο Μοῖρα τέλος ἔμπεδον
ὤρεξε. Θεαρίων, τὶν δ' ἐοικότα καιρὸν ὄλβου

ἐπ. γ′ δίδωσι, τόλμαν τε καλῶν ἀρομένῳ
σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀποβλάπτει φρενῶν.
ξεῖνός εἰμι· σκοτεινὸν ἀπέχων ψόγον,
ὕδατος ὥτε ῥοὰς φίλον ἐς ἄνδρ' ἄγων
κλέος ἐτήτυμον αἰνέσω·
ποτίφορος δ' ἀγαθοῖσι μισθὸς οὗτος.

στρ. δ′ ἐὼν δ' ἐγγὺς Ἀχαιὸς οὐ μέμψεταί μ' ἀνὴρ
Ἰονίας ὑπὲρ ἁλὸς οἰκέων· προ-

ξενίᾳ πέποιθ'· ἔν τε δαμόταις
ὄμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν, οὐχ ὑπερβαλών,
βίαια πάντ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἐρύσαις, ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς εὔφρων
ποτὶ χρόνος ἔρποι. μαθὼν δέ τις ἀνερεῖ,
εἰ πὰρ μέλος ἔρχομαι ψάγιον ὄαρον ἐννέπων.
Εὐξένιδα πάτραθε Σώγενες, ἀπομνύω
μὴ τέρμα προβὰς ἄκονθ' ὥτε χαλκοπάραον ὄρσαι

ἀντ. δ' *θοὰν γλῶσσαν, ὃς ἐξέπεμψεν παλαισμάτων*
αὐχένα καὶ σθένος ἀδίαντον, αἴθωνι
πρὶν ἁλίῳ γυῖον ἐμπεσεῖν.
εἰ πόνος ἦν, τὸ τερπνὸν πλέον πεδέρχεται.
ἔα με· νικῶντί γε χάριν, εἴ τι πέραν ἀερθεὶς
ἀνέκραγον, οὐ τραχύς εἰμι καταθέμεν.
εἴρειν στεφάνους ἐλαφρόν· ἀναβάλεο· Μοῖσά τοι
κολλᾷ χρυσὸν ἔν τε λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ' ἁμᾷ
καὶ λείριον ἄνθεμον ποντίας ὑφελοῖσ' ἐέρσας.

ἐπ. δ' *Διὸς δὲ μεμναμένος ἀμφὶ Νεμέᾳ*
πολύφατον θρόον ὕμνων δόνει
ἡσυχᾷ. βασιλῆα δὲ θεῶν πρέπει
δάπεδον ἂν τόδε γαρυέμεν ἁμέρᾳ
ὀπί· λέγοντι γὰρ Αἰακόν
νιν ὑπὸ ματροδόκοις γοναῖς φυτεῦσαι,

στρ. ε' *ἑᾷ μὲν πολίαρχον εὐωνύμῳ πάτρᾳ,*
Ἡράκλεες, σέο δὲ προπράον' ἔμεν ξεῖνον
ἀδελφεόν τ'. εἰ δὲ γεύεται
ἀνδρὸς ἀνήρ τι, φαιμέν κε γείτον' ἔμμεναι
νόῳ φιλήσαντ' ἀτενεῖ γείτονι χάρμα πάντων
ἐπάξιον· εἰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ θεὸς ἀνέχοι,
ἐν τίν κ' ἐθέλοι, Γίγαντας ὃς ἐδάμασσας, εὐτυχῶς
ναίειν ματρὶ Σωγένης ἀταλὸν ἀμφέπων
θυμὸν προγόνων ἐϋκτήμονα ζαθέαν ἄγυιαν.

ἀντ. ε' *ἐπεὶ τετραόροισιν ὤθ' ἁρμάτων ζυγοῖς*
ἐν τεμένεσσι δόμον ἔχει τεοῖς, ἀμφο-
τέρας ἰὼν χειρός. ὦ μάκαρ,
τὶν δ' ἐπέοικεν Ἥρας πόσιν τε πειθέμεν
κόραν τε γλαυκώπιδα· δύνασαι δὲ βροτοῖσιν ἀλκὰν
ἀμαχανιᾶν δυσβάτων θαμὰ διδόμεν.
εἰ γὰρ σύ ἵν' ἐμπεδοσθενέα βίοτον ἁρμόσαις
ἥβᾳ λιπαρῷ τε γήραϊ διαπλέκοις
εὐδαίμον' ἐόντα, παίδων δὲ παῖδες ἔχοιεν αἰεὶ

ἐπ. ε' *γέρας τό περ νῦν καὶ ἄρειον ὄπιθεν.*

τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὔ ποτε φάσει κέαρ
ἀτρόποισι Νεοπτόλεμον ἑλκύσαι
ἔπεσι· ταὐτὰ δὲ τρὶς τετράκι τ' ἀμπολεῖν
ἀπορία τελέθει, τέκνοι-
σιν ἅτε μαψυλάκας "Διὸς Κόρινθος".

1. Birth Goddess, throne-mate of deep-purposed Moirai,
daughter of powerful Hera, listen,
O maker of children! Without you,
no one sees light and the kindly dark, or takes up his
portion of supple youth, gift of your sister Hebe. And yet
men do not draw that first breath as equals, for
each is yoked to a fate apart. Marked,
thanks to you, by high courage, the son of Thearion,
Sogenes, hears himself praised for pentathlon fame.

He dwells in a song-loving city where Aiakid
heroes with clashing spears honour a temper
well tried in contest. When a man
acts and succeeds, he tosses a sweet
subject for song into the Muses' stream, but
even magnificent boldness lies shadowed,
if praise fail. We can mirror a noble deed
only when garlanded Memory finds
ransom for toil in chant and echoing melody.

Wise men foresee the third wind
in its coming; their wits are not dulled by gain:
rich man and pauper alike move towards death's
boundary stone. I find that the fame
of Odysseus outstrips his deeds, thanks to
Homer's honey-sweet tongue.

2. With lies and winged devices, a certain
grandeur enwraps him, for poets'
tales lead men astray.
A mortal mob is blind at heart. Could it see truth,
great Ajax had never been angered, had never
thrust the pale blade through his lungs, for
he was the mightiest, after Achilles, of those who
went off to claim the woman of fair Menelaos,
their swift ships sent by the breezes of Zephyros

out against Troy! But the billow of Hades
breaks over all, him who expects it and

him who does not, while honour attends
only where god fosters a fair report of the dead.
An ally, he came to the navel of deep-wombed earth—
he lies there in Pythian soil!—Neoptolemos,
after he'd sacked Priam's city, where
Danaans too had suffered. Sailing home, he missed
Skyros, wandered, and struck the Epirote shore.

A brief while he ruled as King of Molossians—
his line ever holds this, his honour—but
soon he set off to the god, carrying wealth
from the spoils of Troy, and there in strife
over the sacred meats, a man
struck him down with a knife.

3. His friendly Delphian hosts felt deep grief but he
paid what was due: Fate required, for the
god's ancient grove, one of the
powerful Aiakids, housed for ever beside the splendid
walls of the temple, maintaining order whenever
hero-processions should pass with their gifts.
For Justice of Fair Name, three words suffice:
not false is the witness marking the deeds of those, O
Aigina, whose descent is from you and from Zeus!

This I make bold to say: a sovereign highway cut by
bright acts of courage departs from their door. But
respite is ever sweet while
surfeit hides even in honey, even in petal-soft
pleasures of love! We differ in innate power as
each takes his portion of life—one granted this gift,
one given that—but no man is everywhere fortunate,
nor could I name one to whom Moira brought
fixed success. To you, Thearion, she gives

suitable wealth and a bold passion for fine deeds,
leaving your wisdom unharmed.
I am a guest; scorning the dark sneer, I bring
true fame to my friend, offering praise like
free-flowing water, for this is the proper wage
owed to all who are noble.

4. Being nigh, the man from Achaia whose
halls overlook the Ionian Sea will not fault me—
I trust in guest-friendship!—

and citizen eyes I meet with pride, not overshooting, but
spurning all violence from my path. May
Time in its coming be kind: he who listens shall
say if I sing off-key or mouth foolish platitudes!
Sogenes, born of the Euxenid line, this I do swear:
I did not toe the mark and cast my swift tongue

like the bronze-fitted spear that dismisses a man
from the ring, no sweat on his neck, his limbs
untouched by the sun!
But if there was toil, this following joy is the fuller!
Let me proceed. Roused though I was to a loud shout,
I'm not uncouth as I pay this debt to a victor.
Garlands are simple to weave, so begin! The Muse
devises an inlay of gold, pale ivory and that lily-like
bloom she draws from the foam of the sea!

Chanting the name of Zeus in honour of Nemea,
whirl out a clamour of many-voiced hymns—but
gently! The King of the Gods, in this place,
must be hailed with sounds that are suave
for he, so they say, begat Aiakos here, with seed
well received by the mother, making

5. him, for my land of the lovely name, both
founder and prince, and for you, Herakles,
a generous brother and friend. To a
man with a taste for society, a neighbor whose
love is unflagging brings joy beyond price. Should this
hold for the gods, then Sogenes—trusting in you,
O Tamer of Giants, and nursing a
tender concern for his father—may happily
dwell in the sacred street of his forebears, where

his hall is placed as if yoked to a double pair,
with precincts of yours placed on either hand,
as he goes forth. O blessed one,
you have the power to sway Hera's lord and
also the grey-eyed Maid! Often you strengthen
men when there seems no salvation. May you equip
both his youth and his lustrous old age
with a firm life-force! Weave him a
span of contentment, and may his sons' sons

ever retain, even surpass, the honour he now receives!
My heart will assert that it never employs rough

words to engage Neoptolemos, but ploughing the same
ground three times or four ends in futility,
much like the child who barks out to the others,
'Korinthos was son of Zeus!' 105

Nemean 7 ostensibly praises a boy named Sogenes, son of Thearion, a Euxenid who has been victorious in the difficult pentathlon, probably at some time in the 460s BC.[1] It is a highly polished epinician performance on a grand scale, but thanks to a remark made by a Hellenistic commentator it is often read as if Pindar had here indulged in an act of private self-vindication.[2] According to this ancient report, the poet used his commission to put himself right with Aiginetan nobles enraged by slanders against Neoptolemos which they had found in his sixth Paian.[3] Taking these remarks as primary truth, scholars have discovered in the ode a controlling 'mood'—either of defensive apology or else of defiant self-justification—that destroys the performance as an act of praise.[4] And yet this tale of a poet who employs a patron's chorus to fight his own professional battles is full of flaws. It cannot be proved that Paian 6 preceded this ode; nor can any part of that Delphic song, whatever its date, be read as

[1] The scholiast's date, as emended by Hermann, is 467 BC; see Carey (1981) 133, who concludes that there is 'no objective evidence for any of the dates that have been assigned'.

[2] See Schol. 94a: 'he wished to apologize to the Aiginetans'; at 150a the notion of earlier offence and present apology is attributed to Aristodemos. For discussion of this hypothesis, see Köhnken (1971) 37–42.

[3] Schol. 150a rendered *ἑλκύσαι* (*N.* 7. 103) as *ἐνυβρίσαι* and assumed a metaphoric reference to dogs that drag corpses; *N.* 7 was for this reason reported as an Apology for a Paian 6, supposed to have been a 'savage' poetic attack upon a 'savage' suppliant-killer, though the extensive fragments of the paian in no way support such a description; see below nn. 53–5 and Burnett (1998) 493–520. Erbse (1999) 23–4 concludes that connection between this ode and the paian is 'nicht ausgeschlossen aber doch unwahrscheinlich', and would date Paian 6 as later than *N.* 7.

[4] See e.g. D'Alessio (1994) 137 who speaks of 'the unmistakable apologetic tone about Neoptolemos' in *N.* 7. On the supposed relation between ode and paian see further Most (1985*a*) 160–9, 207–9; Poiss (1993) 85–119. As a variant, note Tugendhat (1960) 385–409, and following him Gentili (1995) 191–8, who conclude that *N.* 7 is not a palinode, but that it does refer to Pa. 6 as Pindar boasts of his ability to reshape a position according to his patron's wish. Because the last triad of Pa. 6 seems to have been used in later times as a prosodion for Aiakos, Rutherford (1997) 18 supposes that these stanzas were an early version of the 'apology' to be made later in *N.* 7, and that they were intended to articulate 'a difficult relationship between Aeginetan pilgrims and an unflattering account of an Aiakid'.

necessarily offensive to Aiginetans;[5] nor finally can anyone explain why the islanders, if they were angry, continued to give Pindar commissions. Why would Thearion bring in a hated poet, perhaps to ruin his son's celebration? The answer is that he did not. Wherever anxious or assertive self-references have been supposed to exist, a fair reading will discover recognizable (though sometimes much elaborated) choral conventions. If ancient literary gossip is put aside, *Nemean* 7 ceases to be Pindar's contorted defence of himself and becomes instead an extended and inventive celebration of Sogenes,[6] the first Aiginetan to win the boys' pentathlon at the games held for Zeus at Nemea.[7]

In its course *Nemean* 7 moves its boy victor from birth-chamber to palaistra, transferring him from the care of Eleithyia (1–8, *σὺν δὲ τίν*, 6)[8] to that of Herakles (86–101, *ἐν τίν*, 90). This large pattern, however, becomes evident only as the performance unrolls, so that the opening invocation of the birth-goddess, when first heard, seems slightly shocking. Women in labour cry out to Eleithyia and midwives greet her when a newborn appears (*h. Hymn Ap.Del* 119), but this is a chorus of boys who call out her name in a gentleman's banquet hall. Why has Pindar made her the mistress of this masculine occasion? Or, as one of the scholiasts put it, why has she been 'dragged in'?[9] The most obvious reason is that these singers (like midwives) salute the family's newborn victory, along with Sogenes' emergence from childhood.[10] Eleithyia is invoked as 'sister of bright-limbed Hebe' (4; cf. Hes. *Theog*. 922) because she was traditionally one who loved and cared for children (*φιλόπαις, φιλοτρόφος*, Orph. hymn. 2. 3. 5

[5] Köhnken (1971) 71–3.

[6] The name Sogenes, 'saviour of the race', suggests that Thearion had to wait for some time before an heir appeared; Pindar at any rate notes a special tenderness between son and father (91–2). The claim of Aristodemos (schol. p. 117 Dr. 12 ff.) that a fragment of Simonides substantiated this notion of a late-born son was questioned by Fränkel (1961) 385–97; Young (1970) 633–40.

[7] S. Miller (1975) holds that Sogenes must have competed in the men's class, there being no boys' pentathlon at Nemea at this time, but the scholia on which his argument is based are too confused to serve as evidence.

[8] For an analysis of the hymnic elements in this passage see Race (1990) 86–9.

[9] Schol. 1a used the verb *παρειλκύσθαι*; some ancient scholars supposed that Eleithyia was invoked to justify play between her powers and the boy's name; some guessed that Thearion might have been her priest; others that she had a temple nearby; others yet that she was being thanked for a late-born son; see further Köhnken (1971) 43; Race (1990) 86–9.

[10] For Kurke (1991*a*) 71–2 Sogenes 'comes to birth' for his house by winning at the great games.

K; *κουροσόος*, *AP* 6. 274), a kind of 'mother' (*γενέτειρα*, 2), and a divinity who (like the local Aphaia)[11] brought boys through their first ten years, then watched over their adolescence and their move into adult company. She carried a torch because she led children from dark into light (Paus. 7. 23. 6) and at Sparta she had a common shrine with Apollo Karneios and Artemis Hagesimone, just outside the race-course (*δρόμος*) where maturing youths made offerings to Herakles (Paus. 8. 14. 6). Eleithyia has seen the 'child of Thearion' through his boyhood trial of strength and this is the obvious reason for her supervision of his ode: she has let him 'take up his portion of bright-limbed adolescence' (4). She also, however, represents one pole in a continuing poetic meditation upon two characteristics that mark all men: common mortality and diversity of powers. Here at the opening, Eleithyia signifies the ultimate equality of men who all alike come down the birth channel (2–4) and all alike die (30).

Sogenes' transfer from Eleithyia's protection into that of Herakles is achieved, as one would expect, by way of an Aiakid, and it occurs under the patronage of a second female figure, that of Aigina. She represents, not the equality of birth, but an inequality of portion that is determined earlier, at conception. When Zeus brought Aiakos into being, it was done 'with seeds accepted by the mother' (*ὑπὸ ματροδόκοις γοναῖς*, 84),[12] and at the song's centre (50) this actively conceiving Aigina is called upon to recognize the extraordinary quality of the deeds of her offspring, as proclaimed by Delphic witness. She was a collaborator in the paternal act of begetting, and through her the present song can distance itself from the idea of mortal equality, so as to arrive at the contrapuntal notion of inherited excellence. This inborn quality is as usual exemplified by Aiakos, but in the present ode the founder of this island city (84) is wanted only as a link to his friend and brother, Herakles (86), friend and protector of all Aiakids and the recipient of a final prayer. He is to treat Sogenes as his beloved neighbour, endowing his youth and his ultimate old age with steady vitality and the power to beget new

[11] For the kourotrophic Aphaia see de Polignac (1995) 63 and bibliography cited above, Ch. 2 n. 8.

[12] At P. *P*. 4. 143 the *γονά* is a 'generation' of offspring but compare *I*. 7. 6 where Zeus approaches Alkmena with 'Heraklean seeds'. The final word of this fourth triad is *φυτεῦσαι* (84).

generations (98–100). The young victor is explicitly made a kind of ward of the god, his house held in the hero's embrace (93–4), while he is also redefined in relation to the father who will now be in his care (91). Like the Kleandros of *Isthmian* 8, Sogenes leaves his youth-time behind, and his chorus reflects his newly assumed condition by instructing themselves in how to make an adult-style hymn to Zeus (80–4), after which they reject, in their final lines, the songs that children sing (105).

For critics ancient and modern, however, it has been Neoptolemos, not Eleithyia who opens any discussion of *Nemean* 7. He is, according to the usual argument, wholly unsuitable to a praise song because of his atrocious crimes,[13] and consequently Pindar can only have had an extra-epinician reason for choosing him, i.e. apology or amelioration for the offensive Paian 6. That Neoptolemos was, in and of himself, an abhorrent hero is taken for granted, and yet a review of the evidence fails to suggest that he was loathed or even criticized in the early fifth century BC. He will, of course, have been known to Pindar's audience through a multitude of poems and stories that are lost to us, but from what survives of the literary and painted materials a single strong delineation emerges, and it is positive. Neoptolemos, 'he who went young to war', was the son who, having inherited Achilles' task and his wrath, finished what his father had begun. When Odysseus described him in Hades, where only the truth could be told (*Od.* 11. 505–37), he made him point by point the son who was all that a father could wish: in might (*μένος*) like no other, in beauty second only to Memnon, in counsel outdone only by Odysseus and Nestor, in the field always first, yielding to no opponent, and in the final attack eager and aggressive. This youth was the killer of many, in particular of Eurypylos son of Achilles' first enemy, Telephos, and he was the winner of a noble share of spoils, a conqueror who set out for home without a wound, but one who was ever submissive to the counsels of his elder companion.[14] The Neoptolemos of the Cycle was much the same, as far as one can see, a boy who followed Odysseus from

[13] Thummer (1968–9) i. 154 'nicht besonders gut geeignet, das Loblied eines aiginetischen Siegers zu schmucken'. Most (1985*a*) 160 describes Neoptolemos as 'the first great war criminal of Greek cultural history'; cf. Lloyd-Jones (1973) 136.

[14] Anderson (1997) 47–8 reaches the opposite conclusion, arguing that the

Skyros to Troy, received the arms of Achilles, spear included, and heard the instructions of his father's ghost (*Il. parv.* Enar. 12–14 D).[15] And it is notable that this epic taker of Troy was not much more than a child (*Kypria* fr. 16 D = Paus. 10. 26. 4); indeed, taken literally, the *Kypria* would force one to imagine a conqueror barely 10 years old, since in that poem his conception came only after the wounding of Telephos (Enar. 38–42 D). Even if his birth is moved back to the time when Achilles was still hiding among the girls, the Neoptolemos who went to Troy will be in his middle teens, and vase-painters generally reflect this chronology. A little boy of 6 or 7 is often included in scenes of Achilles' departure from Skyros,[16] and a beardless youth of about 16 takes his father's arms from Odysseus on a red-figure cup by Douris from about 490 BC.[17] Here the lad looks earnestly into the helmet's empty visage, as if asking instruction, for this is the son any man might want—one whose actions grow out of his father's will, converting unachieved success into finished fame. In short, the legendary Neoptolemos stands to Achilles somewhat as today's Aiginetan boy does to a father who seems not to have known victory.

This ideal son, however, is the same who killed Priam and this deed, the critics claim, disqualifies him as a mythic emblem in a song of praise. Though no syllable of *Nemean* 7 suggests this notorious killing—the singers say only that Neoptolemos had sacked Priam's city (35)—it is generally assumed that any listener must further identify Neoptolemos as the author of an impious atrocity. Certainly the sixth Paian (whether it was earlier or later) took Apollo's punishment of a crime against suppliancy as its major mythic event, but this does not mean that Priam's killing necessarily came to mind, whenever Achilles' son was named,

report of Odysseus at *Od.* 11. 519–22 suppresses the sacrilegious killing of Priam in 'implicit condemnation' of an act that contradicts Achilles' mercy in *Il.* 24.

[15] Bethe (1922) ii. 218 described Neoptolemos as the 'Ebenbild des Vaters . . . und Vollender dessen was diesem das Schicksal versagt hatte'. Fontenrose (1960) 191–266 concluded that at the deepest level father and son were 'one and the same Thessalian hero'; Nagy (1979) 118–39 notes that Neoptolemos' quarrel over honour at Delphi is a repetition of Achilles' quarrel with Agamemnon, and Anderson (1997) 39–41 concludes that the Neoptolemos of the Cycle is 'not a shadow of his father but a worthy successor', his 'first battle . . . constructed as a step by step re-enactment of Achilles' last battle'.

[16] See for example *LIMC* s.v. Neoptolemos no. 12, a small nude boy.

[17] *LIMC* s.v. Neoptolemos no. 15 = *ARV*² 429. 26.

nor that the deed could only be thought of as loathsome. The destruction of the Trojan royal family was an indispensable element in any full version of the taking of Troy, and just as Achilles was credited with the slaying of Hektor and others of the sons, symmetry suggested that Neoptolemos should finally kill the old king and the youngest heir.[18] Vase-painters sometimes coupled these deaths with the recovery of Helen, as signifying the satisfactory close of the long campaign, for these killings were simply acts of war until the notion of sacrilege was added. In the *Little Iliad*, for example (T 7 and F 17 D = Paus. 10.27.2), Priam was not slain at the altar of Zeus, but dragged away to die on his own door-sill as he himself had foreseen (*Il*. 22. 60), after which 'the glorious son of great-hearted Achilles' took Hektor's child and threw him from the walls (F 20 D). The *Ilioupersis,* on the other hand, specified the altar of Zeus Herkeios as the place of Priam's death (Enar. 19–20 D), but made Odysseus the killer of Astyanax (Enar. 30 D).[19] The death of Priam, in other words, did not have to be recounted as a religious crime, nor was the child's death (as predicted by Andromache at *Il*. 24. 735) necessarily associated with it. All the same, Priam at the altar offered a fine visual subject and black-figure vases from the very end of the sixth century may show a somewhat ignoble old man sinking back upon a sacrificial table and stretching out begging hands towards an armed attacker.[20] Soon a more complex composition became popular as painters added the figure of Astyanax, held by one foot in the left hand of the threatening warrior,[21] thus creating an image

[18] Anderson (1997) 27–48 supposes that such symmetrical actions were elaborated in lost *Ilioupersis* narratives so as to become a 'defamatory indictment' of Neoptolemos, after which they became 'more Iliadic' in the *Little Iliad*.

[19] For discussion of these differences see the bibliography cited by Burgess (2001) 214 nn. 66–7.

[20] In the earliest painted scenes the killer of Priam is an anonymous Greek warrior, often bearded; a version with a youthful Neoptolemos becomes popular in Attic black-figure *c*.510 BC; see *LIMC* s.v. Priamos nos. 87–93. Ancient scholars would argue that the killing of Priam at an altar was a just action because it answered the killing of Achilles in the temple of Apollo Thymbraios; e.g. schol. Eur. *Tro*. 16.

[21] *LIMC* s.v. Astyanax nos. 7–25; it is notable that, as in the Priam scenes, the killer of Astyanax is in the earlier exx. simply an armed warrior, sometimes bearded, whereas in the red-figure examples (with the exception of no.18) he becomes a beardless youth. For Achilles and Troilos, see Hellanikos *FHG* 135; Apollod. *Bib*. 3. 12. 5; Lyk. *Alex*. 307, 313 and schol. vet. 215 (Tzetzes ad 269); for the relation of this scene to the general iconography of city-sacking see S. Morris (1995) 221–45.

reminiscent of earlier painted scenes in which Achilles had killed Troilus at the altar of Thymbraean Apollo. For the makers and consumers of pottery, at any rate, Neoptolemos was the mirror of his father even in his sacrilege.

Pindar, at Paian 6. 83–4, matched an Achilles who was Thetis' 'violent child' with a Neoptolemos 'broad in his violence' (102). Both were threats to the gods, the might of Achilles endangering the fated programme of Zeus (89–91), the force of Neoptolemos dishonouring Apollo's altar with Priam's blood (113–14), and this was why both were destroyed by the god. Such was the story as told for a Delphic festival, but it was also possible to recount the fall of Troy without any mention of the killing of Priam, and this was what Polygnotos did, also in a Delphic setting.[22] Among the hundreds of figures that filled his painting of the Fall of Troy in the Lesche of the Knidians, Ajax and Cassandra were the most prominent, while a subordinate Neoptolemos, having dispatched Elasos, slashed away at a kneeling Astynoos, himself the only figure still engaged in combat. For Polygnotos and his audience, then, Neoptolemos was primarily the most persistent of all the Greek warriors, and Pausanias makes a point of saying that this definition was peculiarly appropriate to the hero's tomb, which was located just below (10. 26. 4).

In *Nemean* 7, Pindar asks his patrons to consider that same Delphic tomb and the Aiakid hero who occupies it, but not a whisper suggests that Neoptolemos is to be charged with any excess of violence. Instead, his story is told ostensibly as proof that an epinician song may discover an ultimate glory that epic has ignored.[23] Homer may tart up a figure like Odysseus (21), but the present ode remembers and establishes a solemn truth about Neoptolemos, one to which the young man's conquest of Troy (35)[24] is a mere preliminary. Bardic lies have been challenged (20–3), and the singers emphasize their independence of such with the first word of their mythic account. Before he has even

[22] Kebric (1983) 22–3.

[23] Pindar's insistence on a return by sea (*N*. 7. 36; Pa. 6. 110) emphasizes his divergence from epic tradition. In the *Nostoi* T 2. 20 Davies *EGF*, Neoptolemos was counselled by Thetis to return on foot and he found Peleus when he came among the Molossians; at *Od*. 3. 188 and 4. 5 he is living in Phthia with the Myrmidons; for a detailed comparison between epic and Pindaric accounts, see Wüst (1967) 155ff.

[24] The peak of his career, now to be surpassed; see Pellicia (1989) 71–101.

been named, Neoptolemos is described by a conspicuously placed participle: the hero comes to Delphi offering aid (*βοαθοῶν*, 33).[25] In other versions he might visit the shrine looking for recompense for his father's death, or asking for help in engendering a son,[26] but here he comes as king of the Molossians[27] and as an ally. His one action is to approach the god 'carrying splendid gifts' (40–1) and the continuing song shows how these time-bound spoils were transformed by Fate into the enduring tomb of a guardian hero (44–7, summed up at 34–5). The death itself is reported with absolute economy, and the audience experiences it, not as a marvel but with a sense of shock. The killer has no face, no name, no specified connection with an equally nameless Apollo; he is simply there, and nine words let the story end, like Neoptolemos himself, with a knife conspicuously placed at close of sentence, close of stanza, close of triad (42).

This emphatic weapon revives the metallic image of the blade that finished Ajax (27),[28] suggesting an ultimate parallelism between the two Aiakids, both under-appreciated by epic singers, both in final receipt of the good fame that a god brings into being with the help of mortal praise (32).[29] The major difference is that here—as if the audience as well as the Delphians were in need of consolation (43)—the 'pleasing report' follows at

[25] So Carey (1981)148–50, 'he came with helpful intentions'; cf. Köhnken (1971) 67 and n. 143 where the line is linked with line 41, the bringing of spoils; see also Pavese (1978) 669 ff. and Loscalzo (1998) 119–31. For a summary of the ways in which 33–4 had been read up to 1980, see Carey loc. cit.; to this add the bibliography of Most (1986) 262–71. Those who cannot allow Neoptolemos to arrive at Delphi as a supporter generally alter the text in one of two ways: (1) the participle is applied to the poet, the verb emended to *μόλον* or with Bundy to *μόλε*; (2) *βοαθοῶν* is read with *τεθνακότων* (32, as in SM), some supposing an official Delphic group known as 'Helpers'; cf. Erbse (1999) 26. One of the Delphic months was called Boathoos; see Homolle (1895) 63.

[26] Various motivations are catalogued by Woodbury (1979) 95–133. Later tales could bring him with hostile intent, even meaning to loot the temple treasury (Paus. 10. 7. 1; Strabo 9. 3. 9; Apollod. *Ep*. 6. 14; scholiasts at P. *N*. 7. 58, Pa. 6. 118b, Eur. *Or*. 1655).

[27] Cf. *N*. 4. 51 'Neoptolemos (rules) . . . from Dodona to the Ionian Sea.' These are the first known mentions of Neoptolemos as founder of a Molossian dynasty and Perret (1946) 5–28 notes the ambiguity of Pindar's phrase here at *N*. 7. 39–40, which he translates, 'Mais sa race lui fit toujours honneur de cette royauté.'

[28] Köhnken (1971) 61 n. 121 notes this as the only Pindaric passage in which the sword of Ajax has an attribute.

[29] Neoptolemos' return by sea (36–7) is placed in responsion with the loosely imaged voyage out of Ajax (29–30).

once, as Neoptolemos is given a glorious place in the precinct. He died in a perverted sacrifice, but now he supervises the steady arrival of glorious offerings (*πομπαῖς . . . πολυθύτοις* 46–7) for the heroes whose shrines were close to Apollo's. Here is the marvel, and in order that listeners should feel the rightness of the story's end, the description of his ultimate post beside the temple (46–7) is sung to melodies that echo the initial announcement of his arrival, with its disjointed assertion that he lies even now in Pythian soil (33–5). Neoptolemos serves there as a keeper of Delphian order (47) because 'an Aiakid had to remain in the ancient grove, by the god's well-built house, for ever!' (44–6). He has won the splendid report that god grants only after death (31–2; cf. the recompense of song at 16), with his deeds formally recognized as those of the ultimate royal Aiakid (45), his tomb seen as a confirmation of Aigina's pride in the brilliant excellence of her sons (50).

Destiny (*τὸ μόρσιμον*, 44) is served, and a summation prepares for a change of the song's subject: 'For fair-named justice, three words suffice: not false the witness that marks the deeds of the offspring of Aigina and Zeus' (48–50).[30] But what is this witness? Some have thought that it was Pindar himself, some that it was Apollo, or Neoptolemos, or even 'time as it passes',[31] but the easiest reference is to the hero's just-mentioned resting place. The verb *ἐπιστατεῖ* (49) suggests a grave-marker (an *ἐπίστημα* is a monument or tomb, Pl. *Leg.* 958e; Isok. fr. 159), and the concept has already been evoked with the 'marker of death' that is the goal of all men (reading the *σᾶμα* of the codd. at 19–20).[32] Moreover, if this is the sense of the 'witness,' the 'three words' that serve justice (48) take on a second sense; they are on the surface a 'brief convincing statement', but they also suggest an archaic inscription—something like 'Neoptolemos, Achilles'

[30] This with the punctuation of Hermann, as also Bowra and SM; Race follows Bury in making 'Aigina' begin a new sentence at 50.

[31] For the 'witness' as Pindar, Schadewaldt (1928) 54–6; Tugendhat (1960) 395 n. 1; Lloyd-Jones (1973) 133; Poiss (1993) 102 and n. 79; 'witness' as Apollo, Schwenn (1940) 115; Most (1985*a*) 176–8; 'witness' as Neoptolemos, Bowra (1964) 73. Carey (1981) 154–5 reviews the arguments and concludes, 'Apollo remains the most likely candidate,' but Carne-Ross (1985) 140 without argument takes the witness to be tomb + poet. It may be noted that at *N.* 3. 23 Herakles sets up the pillars as 'witnesses'.

[32] Note also the hero who stood at the door of Eetion (Kallim. *Ep.* 24 Pf = 60 Gow–Page), said to be *ἐπίσταθμος*.

son'.[33] This honoured grave-marker still exists at Delphi,[34] bearing permanent witness to the fame of the Aiakids (49) and offering its inscription to all who visit the sanctuary—as some of Thearion's guests will surely have done.

The third strophe ends with Neoptolemos lying in his grave and exercising the Delphic duties that give proof of the brilliant Aiakid destiny (50). The performance is now half achieved, and as they turn from legendary Aiakids to the boy-victor of today, the singers mark this as a resting point (52) for their listeners. They salute their host and patron as one in whose blessed success Nature and Moira collaborate (54–60) and then, since best praise comes from a praiseworthy source, they embark on a description (61-79) of their own song. It is, they say, a pleasing, seemly, and harmonious 'wage paid to fine deeds' (63), and so a good example of the 'mirror of fair actions' promised earlier (14; compare 16, 'repayment of exertion'). All this is conventional, but their extended meditation on epinician excellence contains two extraordinary details that suggest a special purpose. The first of these is a man from Achaia who will not blame them (64), the second a poetical 'bye' that the singers have not profited from (70–3), and both of these have provoked extensive critical discussion.

To begin with the Achaian. When first heard of, he appears to be simply one half of an all-embracing negative boast ('neither stranger nor citizen will fault my praise'),[35] but this sharply

[33] Cf. Day (1989) 16–28. For the convention of the speaking stone see Svenbro (1988) 37–42; Steiner (2001*b*) 154. It should be noted, however, that Aristarchos and several other scholiasts assumed that 'three words' meant three arguments, i.e. that Delphians grieved, that the death was fated, that Neoptolemos was a guardian; Aristodemos, by contrast, thought the poet meant 'my next three triads'.

[34] Pherekydes F 64 *FGrH* reported an original burial by the priests under the temple doorsill; Asklepiades F 15 *FGrH* = schol. P. *N*. 7. 72 noted that the remains were moved by Menelaos, and Strabo 421 added that this move was recommended by an oracle; see F. Pouilloux, *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. (1960) 49–60. Remains of Mykenaian houses under the shrine may indicate cult use from that time; see Defradas (1954) 147–9, who supposed that Paus. 1. 4. 4 meant, not that the hero cult began after the Gaulish invasion, but that it was refurbished at that time. For the role of Neoptolemos in pre-Apolline Delphi see Fontenrose (1980) 396–401, 418–22.

[35] For the stranger/citizen gamut compare P. *P*. 3. 71; *P*. 9. 108; *O*. 7. 90; *O*. 13. 2–3 and note the Attic grave epigram (*CEG* 13) cited by Day (1989) 18. In the paraphrase of Köhnken (1971) 81 the sequence of thought is 'Gastgeschenk und Belohnung für Thearion ist meine Darstellunng des Neoptolemosmythos, und sie ist so, dass selbst ein Nachkommer des Neoptolemos nichts an ihr

drawn stranger far outbalances the contrasted townsmen (66), standing as he does in the first line of a new triad, and named as he is for his place of origin. Furthermore, if his function were simply to represent 'abroad' vs. 'at home,' one would expect someone from much further away—a Hyperborean perhaps. The exactitude of this Achaian's home place makes him specifically a Molossian (cf. *N*. 4. 52–3), one who hails from the land where the descendants of Neoptolemos still dwell (38), so that the listener feels a powerful reference back to the myth just recounted. And yet this 'Achaian man' is labelled as belonging, not to the mythic but to the real world, for there are particular grounds for the singers' claim that he will not blame them: 'I trust in *proxenia*,' they say (65).[36] Their claim might, of course, be figurative, but the simplest assumption is that this man from the north-west who is bound in a formal relationship with the singers and their patron, Thearion, is a real person who is actually present,[37] nor is an Epirote visitor to Aigina unthinkable. This celebration occurs most probably in the late 460s, and envoys from Molossia had already been received at Athens, according to Thukydides (1. 135), at some time in the previous ten years.[38] A stranger to whom Thearion, the Euxenid, is

auszusetzen fände'; cf. Thummer (1968–9) i. 97 n. 82. In Bundy's more complex reading (1986) 40 the *laudator* counters imaginary criticism over the song's turn from myth to Euxenidai by bringing in an imaginary Molossian witness who pronounces himself satisfied, all of which is a tribute to the enormity of the subject (ibid. 4).

[36] Some of those who hear an apologetic-defensive poet in the song's first-person statements conclude that Pindar must have been Theban proxenos to Molossians; so Wilamowitz (1908) 328–35; (1922) 167. In a variant Most (1985*a*) 323–4 and nn. 31–2 supposes that 'proxeny' refers to Thearion's friendship for the poet: 'if Pindar feels confident it is because of the generous hospitality his host has extended to him.' Others recognize a poet who here speaks for a Thearion who is proxenos to Molossians in Aigina; e.g. Carey (1981) 163–4.

[37] Note Bury ad loc. who supposed that an Epirote chosen from the many foreigners in the streets of Aigina was present; cf. Farnell ad loc. who translated 'though he be near . . .' and suggested, not a Molossian guest, but one who, 'with the poet' was a visitor to the island. In contradiction Gildersleeve (1910) 125–53 dismissed the 'assuredly improbable case of the presence of an Epirote in the festal crowd.'

[38] This is part of the account of Themistokles' theatrical escape through the north which Gomme (1945) i. 267, 439 was inclined to accept in outline; cf. Podlecki (1975) 38–41; Lenardon (1978) 127–31. The passage proves at least that the historian could entertain the notion that Epirotes sought contacts in the area of the Saronic gulf in the years around 470 BC.

proxenos might well be welcomed at the celebration of a son's victory, and such hospitality would link him to all his fellow-guests, including the poet/chorus self-described as 'guest-friend' of this house (61). All would thus be protected from the visitor's hypothetical displeasure by the reciprocal condition of *proxenia* that the singers claim (65),[39] while his actual presence would mean that they do not say rather awkwardly, 'Were such a one here, he will not blame . . .' as some have supposed. Instead they offer a civil form of introduction: 'Here is an Achaian man from above the Ionian Sea, and he will delight in our performance just as much as you do!'[40] Finally, if today's guest is a Molossian, then Neoptolemos may have been chosen as the Aiakid hero of today's performance, not by Pindar but by Thearion, in order to please his visitor.[41] At any rate, to sing Neoptolemos as king of Molossia and also as the ultimate Aiakid is to welcome a man from Epiros, whether imaginary or real, as if he were mythically connected with every Aiginetan noble.

The Achaian man, real or hypothetical, joins local citizens to applaud a song that 'spurns all violence' from a path neither crooked nor harsh—a song that is, in other words, pleasing, straight, and melodious (66–9). This would seem sufficient self-praise, and the following invocation of the victor—'O Sogenes of the Euxenid clan!'—seems to come just where it ought, at the opening of a section of direct praise. Which means that the singers' immediate return to questions of composition suggests bad design, while it is also arresting in its obscurity. Word for word, what the performers say is this:

[39] At *I*. 4. 7- 9 the Kleonomids are called *πρόξενοι ἀμφικτιόνων*, friends and representatives of men from the neighbouring area; see Privitera (1982) ad loc.

[40] Some have held that the Molossians were at this time too 'barbaric' to have had any relations with the Greek states. Herodotos (6. 127) told of a Molossian among the suitors of Agariste but Thukydides classed the Epirotes with 'the other *barbaroi*' (2. 81. 3–8), perhaps because they used slings instead of Hellenic weapons. Plutarch (*Pyrrh*. 13) would have Greek customs, laws, and letters introduced among them only in the last quarter of the 5th cent. when they were ruled by a boy king, Tharyps, who was given Athenian citizenship and under whom divine honours were given to Achilles. The possibility of real contact between Aigina and the Molossians is denied by Perret (1946) 5–28 and by Woodbury (1979) 95–133 ('half savage highlanders' who would not speak Greek or enter into proxeny relations with a Greek); it is asserted by Hammond (1967) 465–8, 492–3, Carey (1981) 152, and Most (1985*a*) 315–31.

[41] There was a 4th-cent. Molossian king named Neoptolemos; Woodbury (1979) 122.

I swear that I have not, approaching the line, cast my swift tongue like the bronze-cheeked javelin which sends shoulder and strength from the wrestling ring sweat-free, before one limb touches the ground under the burning sun. If there was toil, joy follows more fully. Let me go on. If, over-exalted, I cried out, yet I am not rough about making repayment of thanks to a victor. (70–6)

To us who are aliens, these lines make no sense, but the sequence of javelin throw and wrestling match shows that the song here involves itself in a poetic version of the fivefold contest wherein Sogenes has taken his crown. These singers have not performed in such a way as to win exemption from a final and most strenuous trial[42]—they still must meet directly with an ultimate opponent, the victor who is the subject of their song. This much is clear, but to understand the tone of this obtrusive passage one must look more closely at the pentathlon itself.

There were five events—running, jumping, discus throw, javelin cast, and wrestling—and in the first four a contender was measured against an ever-diminishing field, whereas in the final trial he faced a single antagonist as successful as himself. It was, however, possible to finesse the final wrestling match because any three wins, whatever the events, immediately made a victor.[43] The javelin throw that avoids the wrestling is thus a winning throw in the penultimate event, made by one who already holds two firsts. A perfect cast at this point will give him the pentathlon crown before any wrestling has been done—'with

[42] A contestant in the javelin throw took running steps up to a set line (*τέρμα*, 71) and from there made his cast, as seen for example at Gardiner (1930) fig. 145. Many have supposed that the sense here is 'I swear that I have not committed a foul', i.e. by overstepping the line, though this notion would be expressed by *ὑπερβάς*, not *προβάς*. In a variant of this reading Segal (1968) 31–2 supposed a line that marked out-of-bounds, the sense being that the poet has not exaggerated; so also Poiss (1993) 109. Lee (1976) 70–9 insists that *τέρμα* must mean the line from which one throws, but he likewise finds denial of failure; Carey (1981) 165–70 follows but takes the sense as proleptic: 'I shall not throw amiss.' The sense urged here is that of Floyd (1965*a*) 139–51.

[43] See e.g. Paus. 3. 11. 6 where two men, each with two victories from the first four events must wrestle for the final crown. This was proverbially a contest in which a second-place man could win (Philostr. *Gym.* 3. 136, Peleus among the Argonauts), which suggests some form of scoring, over which there is much scholarly disagreement; see Sweet (1983) 287–90, (1987) 56–59 with bibliog. Nevertheless it is clear that if a contestant came through the first triad with two wins and then took a first in the javelin throw he was at once proclaimed victor, without having to enter the wrestling ring; see Harris (1972) 60–4; Merkelbach (1973) 261–69.

no sweat', as Pindar has it.[44] Such a victory is entirely valid, and surely welcome after a gruelling day, and yet it will not carry with it the glamour of single combat that is especially valued among boys. And what the chorus says (with a characteristically negative expression) is that they have *not* had this kind of early success; they have met multiple opponents (all those poets who would blindly follow Homer and the singers of the Epic Cycle) but they have not completely outdistanced the competition. Consequently they must now wrestle directly with Sogenes in the final match that brings both toil and best pleasure (74). Maintaining the metaphor, the singers, as if shaking off a cautious trainer, cry out 'Let me go! I know what to do!' (75–6)[45] as they turn towards the one who has, by his actual victories, made himself their 'opponent'. Then, because they know how to make a true repayment in kind for gratification (*χάρις*) received (75–6), they at once abandon the athletic metaphor and call in an artisanal Muse (77–9), causing the not quite realized image of sweat-covered bodies to be overlaid with an evocation of precious materials and sublime craft.

From a creative Muse who fixes coral and ivory into a golden ground it is an easy transit to a Zeus who plants the seed of Aiakos in Aigina's womb (80–4), and at the beginning of the ode's final section the chorus is in position to call upon Herakles as the brother of their city's great founder. Like Apollo to Neoptolemos, he stands to Sogenes as divine neighbour and friend, for the paternal house of the Euxenids lies between paired Herakles-shrines as a chariot tongue does between yoked horses (93–4). And like the Eleithyia who was addressed at the song's opening, the hero-god of its closing now receives a hymn that reminds him of his powers.[46] She can bring men into life, but he

[44] A victory won by default or exemption was termed *ἀκονιτί*, 'taken without dust' (Philostr. *Gym.* 11. 207–8); see Jüthner ad loc. who notes that these 'dustless' awards came only in wrestling. Paus. 5. 11. 4 reports that the first such was given at Olympia in 480 BC, a 'walkover' declared because Dromeus' opponent was too exhausted to face him in the final match; no loss of honour attached to the victor in such cases.

[45] See Nagy (1994) 11–25, for whom the sense is 'Your indulgence, please! If I—to reciprocate the victor—shouted something out loud as I soared too far up, I am not unversed in bringing it back down,' all sung in a 'spirit of merriment' (25).

[46] Like an Aiakid he is characterized by *ἀλκά* (96). For other prayers to neighbouring heroes see Rusten (1983) 289–97.

can rescue them from threatening danger (96–7), and he can as well act as mediator in their dealings with the Olympians (95). He knows how to be a friend, even to a mortal (89), and so the chorus begs Herakles to behave towards this family as neighbour to neighbour (*γείτον' . . . γείτονι*, 88–9), yoking strength and force to Sogenes' youth and also to an old age that will be splendid (99). Above all, he is to watch over the transformation that will make of this boy an engendering father who transfers today's glory (*γέρας*, 101), along with yet greater prizes, to grandsons of the future. In the same way, the Aiakid glory (*γέρας*, 40) that came to Achilles' son was passed on to his Molossian descendants, and this echo lets the poet/chorus make a final (and unique) statement about their mythic demonstration (102–4). The spectator is asked to recall the effects of the mythic triad, to remark their boldness, and to appreciate the artistry involved. The transformation of a Neoptolemos slain by 'a man with a knife' into the hero who proves the glory of the Aiakids has not been easy, and Pindar and his chorus insist that their daring shall be admired. Again using the language of the wrestling ring they add a final boast: 'My heart will assert that it never drags Neoptolemos into a song with untoward words' (102–3).[47] Which statement, reversed to its positive form, becomes, 'I boast that I have chosen my mythic subject well and have wrestled with him in a neat fashion!' They have not been unfair, praising the wrong man as Homer did; they have neither exaggerated nor done violence to the truth, and they have not taken the easy way, but have sung a true tale sweetly (66–9), rejoicing in the extra toil (74) of their chosen struggle.

Or is this a true report of the close of *Nemean* 7? Many scholars find here (if nowhere else) an open reference, apologetic or defiant, to harsh treatment that Pindar had supposedly given to Neoptolemos in Paian 6.[48] Following Aristodemos, they

[47] The reading of this passage has been complicated by arguments over the force of the negative *οὔ ποτε*; Slater (2001) 360–7, who negates the infinitive and applies the claim to this song, understands, 'my heart says that it has never dragged'. Compare Bundy (1986) 78 n. 103, who heard this as a prayer: '"I shall never" is a very strong "May I never".' Those who recognize a defensive poet take the negative with the verb of speaking: 'my heart will never admit or confess to having mauled Neoptolemos with outrageous words'; see e.g. Cerri (1996) 83–90. For the effects of litotes, see below, Ch. 15, pp. 243–5.

[48] As exceptions note Slater (1969*b*) 91ff. and (2001) 360–7; Lefkowitz (1991b) 127–46.

recognize in the verb ἑλκύσαι (103) a metaphor based on pariah dogs and hear a poet who says either: 'I will never admit that I mauled Neoptolemos (in my paian)' or else: 'I deny that my former brutal treatment of Neoptolemos cannot be changed (by a clever poet like me).'[49] Either way, these critics agree with the scholiast (150a) who reports that Pindar 'means "outrage" (ἐννβρίσαι) when he says "drag" (ἑλκύσαι)' and therefore must refer to charges of having 'savaged' the fame of his hero.[50] This verb, however, while it covers all actions of hauling or pulling, carries the sense of mauling a corpse only rarely,[51] and never in Pindar's odes. On the contrary, it is found in an almost allegorical passage at *Nemean* 11. 32, where a timid spirit takes a man by the hand and 'pulls' him (timidly, one assumes) away from the good things he might have had. Again, in a metapoetical passage closely parallel to the present one (*N*. 4. 35), another chorus describes itself as 'drawn' to touch upon certain matters, 'as if by a charm',[52] then goes on to liken an act of praise to that of a wrestler who must 'draw' his subject (in this case the trainer, Melesias) into his grasp (*N*. 4. 94). For Pindar, then, this com-

[49] In the first group, Aristodemos (cited by schol. 150a) and accepted by Fränkel (1961) 386–8; Lloyd-Jones (1973) 131–6. In the second, Tugendhat (1960) 385–409; followed by Segal (1967) 475; Gentili (1979) 8–16 and (1995) 198. Most (1985*a*) 203–9 concludes that the question of reference to Pa. 6 cannot be settled but is 'not decisive' because either way Pindar is claiming that he can tell a story in more than one way.

[50] Even those who reject the idea of reference to Pa. 6 give this violent sense to ἑλκύσαι ; e.g. Lefkowitz (1991*b*) 44; Steiner (2001*b*) 157.

[51] Carey (1981) ad loc. claimed that the verb ἕλκειν 'always denotes extreme violence', but this is not the case. It is used of dogs that tear corpses in two Homeric passages (*Il*. 17. 557 and 22. 33), as well as in one from Herodotos (1. 140), but there are more than eighty other Homeric appearances in which a weaver pulls his thread, mules a plough, horses a chariot, men a ship up on the beach, an archer an arrow from his quiver, warriors the body of friend or enemy from the field, etc. The Homeric action when taken by a human contains violence only when a male drags off a female captive (*Il*. 6. 465; 22. 62; *Od*. 11. 580) or when the suitors would drag Odysseus from the door-sill (*Od*. 18. 12); Euripides, to describe the violence of Ajax, added βίᾳ to this verb (*Tro*. 70), and in the legal language of the 4th cent. it had to be intensified with βιάζειν or ὑβρίζειν to describe acts of outrage, and even qualified in this way the verb often carried a sense merely of seduction (at Dem. 21.150 impiety thus draws a man to crime, at Herondas 2. 71 a man thus pulls at a prostitute); the sense is explicitly sexual at Lys. 1. 122; 3. 97.

[52] For this magical sense, cf. Men. fr. 210.3 KT where a man may 'draw' a god to him and get power over him by means of cymbals; ἕλκειν was frequently used with ἄγειν in spells meant to bring the beloved; see Petropoulos (1993) 51 n. 52; Faraone (1999) 67 n. 118.

mon verb is associated with control, the bewitching force of sound, and the metaphor of singer as athlete, but not with slavering dogs. A choral singer may use a combination of music, magic, and words as, like a wrestler, he takes hold of a subject and pulls it/him into his power, and this has been made explicit when the present ode turned just now to wrestle with Sogenes (70–5).[53] There is no dog and no corpse here; rather, the metaphor that dominates the closing boast of *Nemean* 7 involves a pair of athletes whose moves are fixed by tradition as one attempts to get a hold on the other.[54] The ode asserts that its mythic subject, Neoptolemos, has, like its praise subject, Sogenes, been used in seemly and elegant fashion.

The performers with a final gesture point to another essential fact about their Neoptolemos stanzas: they do not contain familiar scraps from the rhapsodes. Lesser singers travel over the same ground for a third or fourth time, they say, like someone running in circles (104), but this we have refused to do. Which denial, translated into a positive statement by the complicit listener, becomes a boast: 'Our myth is not only appropriate, it is new to epinician!'[55] The penultimate lines contain a hint of professional scorn for other poets in the field, but this slight deviation into blame is covered by the momentary assumption of

[53] According to schol. 150a, 'He says that neither improperly nor inappropriately has he come to speak of Neoptolemos. Indeed, Kallistratos adds that because he said Sogenes was neighbour of Herakles and Neoptolemos neighbour of the Delphic god, it is this neighbouring that makes the mention of Neoptolemos appropriate.' This is to take 'not inappropriately' as equivalent to 'suitably', 'in a fashion relevant to the matter at hand'; contrast the reading of Tugendhat (1960) 385–409, which negates the verb of speaking and produces, 'I deny that I did my savaging with stubborn and irreversible words (look how differently I have just told the same story!)'

[54] For *ἕλκειν* as a technical wrestling term see Poliakoff (1982) 114, 137–9; Vallozza (1996) 129 n. 36 explains it as indicating the wrestler's opening move as he draws his opponent into close struggle (as at *Il.* 23. 711–12 or Ar. *Eccl.* 259). In the Slater *Lexicon* s.v., Gardiner *JHS* 1905 28 is cited as witness to a wrestling usage in which the verb is equivalent to *βιάζεσθαι*, but in fact Gardiner there explains that this was a legitimate move using no undue violence. Steiner (1986) 118 reports an athletic metaphor at line 103, but suggests that the poet there disclaims having taken his poetic victory by improper means. For terms common to wrestling and dance, see Athen. 14. 629b.

[55] The statement is an example of what Bundy (1986) 52 n. 43 called 'asseveration, overcoming real or imaginary objection'. The chorus pretends to have been accused of unsuitable innovation so that it may say, 'At any rate we didn't bore you with grandiose tales you have heard again and again!' Compare the same claim, made prospectively, at *N.* 8. 20.

a falsely infantile voice. Singers who repeat the old tales sound like children at play, endlessly crying, 'Korinthos was son of Zeus!' (105).[56] These five closing syllables sum up all the tedious songs composed for lesser boys by lesser poets, for this bit of patriotic glorification (only Korinthians believed it, Paus. 2. 1. 1) belongs to the scapegoat figure of a common children's game. He is the one who is 'It', and he yelps out his ridiculous assertion while those in the circle around him attack, crying, 'Strike him! Strike the "Korinthos son of Zeus!"' (*παῖε, παῖε*, schol. *N*. 7 155b; schol. Ar. *Ran*. 439a).[57] This playground charade had long ago spawned a proverbial usage in which 'Korinthos son of Zeus' could designate any pompous repetition of a valueless claim,[58] and antiquarians supposed that it had originated in an historical event, when a representative of Korinth was driven out by the people of Megara or Korkyra.[59] Whatever its local beginnings, however, the game was evidently popular everywhere, and the automatic response of any audience, on hearing its provocation, will be a joyous inner shout of 'Strike him!' as the purveyor of tired tales is driven out. Though young like Sogenes, the singers of Pindar's ode are well beyond children's play. They have praised Aigina, the Aiakids, and their friend, not with pretentious Homeric lies (22), but with a piece of Delphic tradition that is as true as the letters on a tomb (48–9).

[56] Sappho used the same 'barking' word to warn her tongue against (presumably childish) expressions of anger (158 V). Having read dogs into the act of dragging, Steiner (2001*b*) 157–8 discovers a consistently canine description of blame, and a boast here of having avoided, not over-familiar materials, but slander: 'The audience is reminded of the impeccably laudatory account of the hero in the song they have just heard.'

[57] For a game of similar design see *PMG* 875, the Pot Game.

[58] As at Ar. *Ran*. 439; *Eccl*. 828; fr. 434 K; Pl. *Euthy*. 292c and 439b; Heraklides Pont. 5b; Paus. 2. 1. 1.

[59] See Eitrem *RE* s.v. Korinthos.

13. *Olympian* 8: Aiakos at the Walls of Troy

For Alkimedon, son of Iphion (now dead); grandson of Timosthenes; nephew (or brother?) of Kallimachos (now dead); of the Blepsiad tribe; victor in the boys' wrestling, 460 BC. Triads.

στρ. α′ *Μᾶτερ ὦ χρυσοστεφάνων ἀέθλων, Ὀλυμπία,*
δέσποιν' ἀλαθείας, ἵνα μάντιες ἄνδρες
ἐμπύροις τεκμαιρόμενοι παραπειρῶν-
ται Διὸς ἀργικεραύνου,
εἴ τιν' ἔχει λόγον ἀνθρώπων πέρι
μαιομένων μεγάλαν 5
ἀρετὰν θυμῷ λαβεῖν,
τῶν δὲ μόχθων ἀμπνοάν·

ἀντ. α′ *ἄνεται δὲ πρὸς χάριν εὐσεβίας ἀνδρῶν λιταῖς·*
ἀλλ' ὦ Πίσας εὔδενδρον ἐπ' Ἀλφεῷ ἄλσος,
τόνδε κῶμον καὶ στεφαναφορίαν δέ- 10
ξαι. μέγα τοι κλέος αἰεί,
ᾧτινι σὸν γέρας ἕσπετ' ἀγλαόν.
ἄλλα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἔβαν
ἀγαθῶν, πολλαὶ δ' ὁδοὶ
σὺν θεοῖς εὐπραγίας.

ἐπ. α′ *Τιμόσθενες, ὕμμε δ' ἐκλάρωσεν πότμος* 15
Ζηνὶ γενεθλίῳ· ὅς σὲ μὲν Νεμέᾳ πρόφατον,
Ἀλκιμέδοντα δὲ παὶ Κρόνου λόφῳ
θῆκεν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν.
ἦν δ' ἐσορᾶν καλός, ἔργῳ τ' οὐ κατὰ εἶδος ἐλέγχων
ἐξένεπε κρατέων πάλᾳ δολιχήρετμον Αἴγιναν πάτραν· 20
ἔνθα Σώτειρα Διὸς ξενίου
πάρεδρος ἀσκεῖται Θέμις

στρ. β′ *ἔξοχ' ἀνθρώπων. ὅ τι γὰρ πολὺ καὶ πολλᾷ ῥέπῃ,*
ὀρθᾷ διακρίνειν φρενὶ μὴ παρὰ καιρὸν
δυσπαλές· τεθμὸς δέ τις ἀθανάτων καὶ 25
τάνδ' ἁλιερκέα χώραν
παντοδαποῖσιν ὑπέστασε ξένοις
κίονα δαιμονίαν—

ὁ δ' ἐπαντέλλων χρόνος
τοῦτο πράσσων μὴ κάμοι—

ἀντ. β′ Δωριεῖ λαῷ ταμιευομέναν ἐξ Αἰακοῦ·
τὸν παῖς ὁ Λατοῦς εὐρυμέδων τε Ποσειδᾶν,
Ἰλίῳ μέλλοντες ἐπὶ στέφανον τεῦ-
ξαι, καλέσανο συνεργὸν
τείχεος, ἦν ὅτι νιν πεπρωμένον
ὀρνυμένων πολέμων
πτολιπόρθοις ἐν μάχθαις
λάβρον ἀμπνεῦσαι καπνόν.

ἐπ. β′ γλαυκοὶ δὲ δράκοντες, ἐπεὶ κτίσθη νέον,
πύργον ἐσαλλόμενοι τρεῖς, οἱ δύο μὲν κάπετον,
αὖθι δ' ἀτυζόμενοι ψυχὰς βάλον,
εἷς δ' ἀνόρουσε βοάσαις.
ἔννεπε δ' ἀντίον ὁρμαινων τέρας εὐθὺς Ἀπόλλων·
"Πέργαμος ἀμφὶ τεαῖς, ἥρως, χερός ἐργασίαις ἁλίσκεται·
ὥς ἐμοὶ φάσμα λέγει Κρονίδα
πεμφθὲν βαρυγδούπου Διός·

στρ. γ′ οὐκ ἄτερ παίδων σέθεν, ἀλλ' ἅμα πρώτοις ῥήξεται
καὶ τερτάτοις." ὡς ἦρα θεὸς σάφα εἴπαις
Ξάνθον ἤπειγεν καὶ Ἀμαζόνας εὐίπ-
πους καὶ ἐς Ἴστρον ἐλαύνων.
Ὀρσοτρίαινα δ' ἐπ' Ἰσθμῷ ποντίᾳ
ἅρμα θοὸν τάνυεν,
ἀποπέμπων Αἰακὸν
δεῦρ' ἀν' ἵπποις χρυσέαις

ἀντ. γ′ καὶ Κορίνθου δειράδ' ἐποψόμενος δαιτικλυτάν.
τερπνὸν δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἴσον ἔσσεται οὐδέν.
εἰ δ' ἐγὼ Μελησία ἐξ ἀγενείων
κῦδος ἀνέδραμον ὕμνῳ,
μὴ βαλέτω με λίθῳ τραχεῖ φθόνος·
καὶ Νεμέᾳ γὰρ ὁμῶς
ἐρέω ταύταν χάριν,
τὰν δ' ἔπειτ' ἀνδρῶν μάχας

ἐπ. γ′ ἐκ παγκρατίου. τὸ διδάξασθαι δέ τοι
εἰδότι ῥᾴτερον· ἄγνωμον δὲ τὸ μὴ προμαθεῖν·
κουφότεραι γὰρ ἀπειράτων φρένες.
κεῖνα δὲ κεῖνος ἂν εἴποι
ἔργα περαίτερον ἄλλων, τίς τρόπος ἄνδρα προβάσει
ἐξ ἱερῶν ἀέθλων μέλλοντα ποθεινοτάταν δόξαν φέρειν.

νῦν μὲν αὐτῷ γέρας Ἀλκιμέδων
νίκαν τριακοστὰν ἑλών·

στρ. δ΄ *ὃς τύχᾳ μὲν δαίμονος, ἀνορέας δ' οὐκ ἀμπλακών,*
ἐν τέτρασιν παίδων ἀπεθήκατο γυίοις
νόστον ἔχθιστον καὶ ἀτιμοτέραν γλῳσ-
σαν καὶ ἐπίκρυφον οἶμον,
πατρὶ δὲ πατρὸς ἐνέπνευσεν μένος
γήραος ἀντίπαλον·
Αἴδα τοι λάθεται
ἄρμενα πράξαις ἀνήρ.

ἀντ. δ΄ *ἀλλ' ἐμὲ χρὴ μναμοσύναν ἀνεγείροντα φράσαι*
χειρῶν ἄωτον Βλεψιάδαις ἐπίνικον,
ἔκτος οἷς ἤδη στέφανος περίκειται
φυλλοφόρων ἀπ' ἀγώνων.
ἔστι δὲ καί τι θανόντεσσιν μέρος
κὰν νόμον ἐρδομένων·
κατακρύπτει δ' οὐ κόνις
συγγόνων κεδνὰν χάριν.

ἐπ. δ΄ *Ἑρμᾶ δὲ θυγατρὸς ἀκούσαις Ἰφίων*
Ἀγγελίας ἐνέποι κεν Καλλιμάχῳ λιπαρὸν
κόσμον Ὀλυμπίᾳ, ὅν σφι Ζεὺς γένει
ὤπασεν. ἐσλὰ δ' ἐπ' ἐσλοῖς
ἔργα θέλοι δόμεν, ὀξείας δὲ νόσους ἀπαλάλκοι.
εὔχομαι ἀμφὶ καλῶν μοίρᾳ νέμεσιν διχόβουλον μὴ θέμεν·
ἀλλ' απήμαντον ἄγων βίοτον
αὐτούς τ' ἀέξοι καὶ πόλιν.

1. Olympia, Mother of gold-crowned games,
Mistress of Truth, seat of prophetic men
whose fiery trials discover from
Zeus of the silver bolt
what he intends for those who,
deep in their hearts, are eager to
seize upon valour, then
capture the respite that follows toil. Yet

piety's recompense grows with men's prayers.
O leafy Pisa, there beside Alpheos' stream,
welcome this joyous crown-bearing band!
Great fame is forever his, whom
your brilliant prize attends, yet
various goods come to

various men, and with aid from the gods
multiple paths can lead to success.

Timosthenes, your clan was allotted by Fate
to a familial Zeus who, at Nemea, gave you acclaim,
then set up Alkimedon, there beside Kronos' hill,
as an Olympian victor.
A fair lad to see, his deeds matched his form when,
best of the wrestlers, he claimed as his home
    Aigina, city of long-oared ships.
There the Saving One, the throne-mate of
Zeus, lord of strangers—Themis!—receives

2. honors unique among men. Where much
hangs in the balance, judgement both fair and apt
is hard to achieve, but divine law sets up this
    land that the sea surrounds
as a magical pillar where
strangers from far away find
safety. May Time ever dawning
never grow tired of supporting her—this land kept

safe for its Dorian people since Aiakos' day!
Him did Leto's fair son and mighty Poseidon
summon as helper to Ilion
    when they prepared its
circlet of walls, for Fate had
decreed for that city an onrush of war,
battling attacks, and a
belching of turbulent smoke.

Citadel built, three gleaming snakes
assaulted it, two to fall back and
die on the spot, terror-struck, while the third
gave a shout and leapt over the wall!
Apollo considered, then answered the omen:
'Troy will be taken, o hero, where
    your hand has wrought —
so speaks this sign sent by Kronos' son,
deep-thundering Zeus—nor, apart from your

3. sons, shall its walls crack, but with the first and
third generations.' The god spoke and then,
urging his team, drove off towards Xanthos, the Ister,
    and well-mounted Amazons.
Then did the lord of theTrident aim his swift

car with its golden team out towards the
sea-bridge of Isthmos, bringing Aiakos
back to this very place, and intending to

view the famed feast-grounds of Korinth.
No mortal joy will be equal to this! If my
song did race on to Melesias' fame,
won among beardless youths,
let Envy not cast his rough stone!
Such a success, garnered at Nemea,
I shall recount and, too, a victory
won in that place against men

in the pankration. Teaching is easy for him who
knows by experience, while not to foresee is
foolish, and hearts untried are too light.
Better than others this trainer predicts
which moves, what style, will advance
one who intends to take coveted fame from
contests that honour the gods.
So now Alkimedon brings to his trainer
the prize of a thirtieth victory!

4. His luck was god-given, his courage his own
as he forced on the legs of four other boys
a hateful return, insults, and
hidden back ways, while
into his own grandsire he breathed
the strength to contend with old age.
While timely rites are performed,
Hades goes unremembered!

I must speak and awaken remembrance—how
Blepsiad hands took the flower of victory, how six
crowns circled their heads, brought from games
where garlands are won.
The dead too take a portion of
rites well observed,
nor does dust mute the
valid rejoicings of kinsmen.

Learning from Angel, daughter of
Hermes, Iphion may speak to Kallimachos,
naming the rich Olympian crown that Zeus
offers their race! May he pile more splendid deeds
upon these, may he banish sharp woe!

I pray he will not, with their portion of good,
send a Nemesis of two minds:
may he rather exalt this race and this city,
bringing them life without pain!

This is the only Aiginetan ode that celebrates an Olympic victory.[1] In 460 BC Alkimedon, a boy of the Blepsiad tribe, sailed round the Peloponnese, probably in the company of his trainer,[2] and after a month's preparation at Pisa defeated all his opponents in the wrestling ring. Through this rare triumph Zeus 'exalted' the boy's city and his tribe (*O*. 8. 88), the elder generations of which had also known major victories. Consequently, that the whole record might be permanent, the new victor's grandfather, Timosthenes,[3] commissioned the present song, to be performed among the gathered members of their tribe.[4] The occasion demanded a more than ordinarily joyous celebration, but a number of critics have reported that, for this moment of familial and general elation, Pindar provided a gloomy, commonplace, or even careless song.[5] Indeed, after Wilamowitz and Farnell had

[1] There had been earlier victories however; Praxidamas, a Bassid, was in 544 BC the first islander to win at Olympia (P. *N*. 6. 15; Paus. 6. 18. 7); for Theognetos, an earlier Olympic victor in boys' wrestling, see Ebert (1972) no. 12; at *N*. 4. 75 Pindar mentions a Theandrid victory at Olympia; finally Paus. 6. 14. 1 reports an Olympic wrestling victory taken by an Aiginetan boy, Pherias son of Chares, in 464 BC; see Ebert (1972) no. 19 where 476 BC is suggested as a more likely date.

[2] For trainers and the training month at Olympia see M. I. Finley with Pleket (1976) 61, 90–2.

[3] A scholiast identified Timosthenes (15–16) as Alkimedon's brother, citing Didymos, but Carey (1989*c*) 1–6 has shown that the ode itself makes him the patron of today's entertainment and the grandfather referred to at 70. One of the two kinsmen in Hades (81–2) is the father; Carey chose Kallimachos because he is the ultimate recipient of the ode's message, but Race (1990)160–1 and n. 47 argues that the father, named at the moment of his son's crowning, must be Iphion, the first to know; this leaves Kallimachos as most probably his brother, the victor's uncle. These two are responsible for some or all of the family's five previous crowns from the major games (76). Kurke (1991*b*) 292–8 attempts to return to the scholiast's identification but can explain the absence of a name for the grandfather only by assuming that he too was called Alkimedon.

[4] The call to Pisa at line 9 has caused some to suppose a performance at Olympia (e.g. Bundy (1986) 81). Nevertheless the singers are clearly located on Aigina at 25 and 51; Wilamowitz (1922) 403 assumed an Aiginetan celebration in a local Olympieion, but it is easier to hear the call to Pisa as equivalent to a wish to please a hypothetical distant audience as well as the present one, as at *N*. 4. 46.

[5] Wilamowitz (1922) 405; Farnell (1930) i. 46. Puech (1958–61) i. 102 excuses the ode's inferiority on the grounds that it was composed for a child.

agreed that the ode did not represent the highest plane of the poet's work, most scholars have limited themselves to identifying premonitions of the Athenian conquest,[6] or observing a detail presumably unsuitable to that looming disaster—the ode's extraordinary praise of the Athenian trainer, Melesias.[7] Above all they discover a prognostic of doom in the mention of *nemesis* at the song's close, remarking that the destruction of the island's independence is but a few years away. Just how Timosthenes was able to see this, or why Pindar might suppose him to want his grandson's ode to predict disaster in this moment of Blepsiad triumph, they do not say.

What follows will be a description of *Olympian* 8 as in its wholeness it responds, not to events yet to come, but to a long past, both legendary and familial, that culminates in the present superb occasion. As one would expect, it is a Zeus-filled song in which the god is four times formally named—as Zeus of the Silver Bolt (3), Zeus *genethlios* (16), Zeus Xenios (21), and Zeus the deep-thundering Son of Kronos (43–4)—before a final prayer in which he is summoned as one who apportions splendid things among mortals (83, 85–8). Furthermore he is specified as the loud-roaring (44) source of the prophecy that sounds out in the mythic episode. Olympia is not so much the place where men contest as the hearth where Zeus' will, as dimly read by priests, responds to mortal piety (8). This is a cosmic god who has taken as his throne-mate the goddess Themis Soteira (21–7),[8] through whom he has ensured a mysterious permanence for the island of Aigina. Because of her cult and her function as protector of strangers, a massive column rises up from the island, to stand like a roof-tree or a sky-pillar[9] supported by an ever-dawning

[6] The scholia date *O.* 8 to 460 BC (Ol. 80), three or four years before the capitulation of Aigina; even if the Battle of Kekryphaleia has already taken place it will not necessarily have signalled subjugation to Aiginetans who had known rivalry with Athens for half a century. Figueira (1993) 104, 107–8, 169 places the battle in 460 BC and at (1991) 107 n. 9 he puts the capitulation in 457–6 BC; Hammond (1977) 293 would put the battle in 458 BC, the capitulation in 457 or 456.

[7] A major exception is Race (1990) 141–64.

[8] Wilamowitz (1922) 404 n. 1 stated categorically that Themis had no cult on Aigina, but the 'honours' of line 22 suggest formal observance.

[9] Such a pillar is one element in Klytaimnetsra's metaphorical flattery of Agamemnon (Aisch. *Agam.* 896 ff.). Theunissen (2000) 582 calls the column an image of 'Standfestigkeit'; established for strangers (26), its form may derive from the columns that mark painted scenes of suppliancy; there may also be reference to Mt. Oros with its sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios, cf. P. *P.* 1. 19b of Etna.

Time. Flanked on one side by Olympia, Mistress of Zeus' Truth (1–2), on the other by Nemesis, agent of the Kronian god in overseeing men's prosperity (86), this Zeus-sponsored tower of Themis–Aigina becomes the axial prop for Alkimedon's song.

But why Nemesis at the close? In their final prayer the singers first ask that Zeus may continue the good fortune of the Blepsiads (that he should heap splendour upon splendours, 84–5), then that he may not 'set a Nemesis of two minds'[10] upon the clan's portion of fine things (86). 'May he continue, may he not discontinue,' is the form their litany takes, and this positive plea, repeated as a double-negative, has close parallels in other Pindaric passages where there is no question of impending disaster. In *Pythian* 10, for example, made in the early 490s for secure Thessalian lords, the chorus prays (20–1) that the Aleuadai, 'having got no small portion of good things, may not encounter resentful overturn from the gods'.[11] Here in *Olympian* 8 we have the same notion of hypothetical divine resentment and the same formula for turning it away, the difference being that here the possible resentment is embodied in a personified Nemesis, an agent of Zeus who may be of two minds (86).[12] This

[10] Transposed, the litotes becomes 'I pray that he set a Nemesis of single (unchanging) intention upon their portion of good things'; cf. *N*. 10. 89.

[11] The closing element of this plea for the Aleuadai is 'may god have a heart that does no harm' (*ἀπήμων*, *P*. 10. 22); cf. the prayer at P. *P*. 8. 71–2 for an 'unenvious divine eye' upon the house of Xenarkes; also the prayer on a statue base from Paros, *c*.500 BC asking for offspring and a life led in a condition of *ἀπημοσύνη* (*CEG* 414).

[12] This Nemesis set by Zeus to watch over the fortunes of the house at the end of the fourth epode (86–8) exactly balances the Themis throne-mate of Zeus who watches over Aigina at the end of the first epode (20–2). Editors of the past usually reported a personified Nemesis (e.g. Mommsen, de Jongh, Gildersleeve, Cerrato, Farnell), but more recent scholars have followed the scholiasts in finding an ordinary noun (e.g. Bowra, Puech, Slater, Snell–Maehler), and Race (1997) i. 145 translates 'I pray . . . he not make the apportionment dubious.' An apportionment, however, does not have a divisible 'plan' or 'will', whereas Nemesis at least in later times was called Aristoboule as well as Eunomia (Artemid. *Oneir*. 2. 37). On the powers of Nemesis and her cult see Gruber (1963) 65–71; Luppe (1974) 193–202; Stafford (2000) 75–110. At Rhamnous a statue attributed to Phidias showed the goddess wearing a crown embellished with deer and small figures of Nike, and carrying in one hand an apple-branch, in the other a phiale decorated with Ethiopian figures (Paus. 1. 33. 3); the first surviving representations are from the 4th cent. (K. Schefold in *Freundesgabe Robert Boehringer* (1957) 548 fig. 4). It is notable that in Roman times she, like the Themis of *O*. 8, might carry a balance; she also appeared with the wheel of Tyche and was sometimes identified with Aphrodite; see *LIMC* s.v. Nemesis *passim*.

figure is traditionally a daughter of Okeanos (Paus. 1. 33. 3), the companion of Aidos (Hes, *WD* 197–201), and she was created as a bane (*πῆμα*) that would restrict mankind to its proper shame-bound areas of activity (Hes. *Theog*. 223–5). Meanwhile, as a nymph who is Zeus' mate, she shows a close likeness to Aigina and also to Thetis, for Nemesis too is a form-changer (*Kypr*. fr. 9 Davies = Athen. 8. 334b; cf. Eur. *Or*. 1638–42).

Nemesis works to punish shameless excess, and consequently when the present chorus begs that this family be granted a 'life without pain' (*βίοτον ἀπήμαντον* (86–7), the listener is inevitably reminded of opposite cases of legendary overstepping that she has disciplined. As mother of Helen, Nemesis was the ally of Zeus in the punishment of overweening Ilium (*Kypria* fr. 7 Davies *EGF*, p. 31 5–6 D), and more recently she has seized upon Kroisos and toppled his swollen fortunes (Hdt. 1. 34. 1). What is more, she blocked the Persian advance from Marathon according to a popular tale just now in the making, which is why the head of her cult statue at Rhamnous will be described as carved from captured stone intended for the enemy's victory trophy (Paus. 1. 33. 2–3). The request for a steady-minded Nemesis to oversee an 'unruined' (87) life thus suggests that a mortal success measured by six major crowns is almost, but not quite, at the level which would bring divine resentment. The magnificence of this house is of course of interest to Nemesis, but this present glory is safe because it has been provided by an ancestral Zeus (16), won in piety at Olympia (8), then offered to a Themis-loving city (22–3).[13] As agent of Zeus (and perhaps as sister to Themis, with whom she often shares sacred space),[14] Nemesis is to treat the Blepsiads as she did the Hyperboreans (P. *P*. 10. 44), with single-minded complaisance. There is, in other words, no hint of fear in these closing lines, and certainly no reference to an Athenian naval threat. Instead, the singers end with a boast of divinely sponsored blessedness, typically rendered as an apotropaic prayer: May the mind of their divine supervisor not

[13] This is the positive side of the truth stated by Cairns (1996) 20: 'in divine resentment of human prosperity there will always be an element which focuses on the attitude of the human victim.'

[14] The temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, built some thirty years after the composition of this ode, stood cheek to cheek with a smaller older building dedicated to Themis; see Orlandos (1924) 305–20; Miles (1989) 135–44.

be divided! May the full intention of Nemesis continue to support this god-favoured city (86–8)!

Though it does not make reference to special tensions in the Saronic Gulf, *Olympian* 8 does display two risky peculiarities of content and form—a seemingly un-epinician mythic scene, and an extended 'hymn' addressed to the trainer, Melesias. First, the myth. In the nine other pre-conquest odes Pindar has followed his own self-imposed 'Law of Aiakid Praise', building narrative sections around the heroic descendants of Aiakos, while here and only here he places the aboriginal ancestor himself at the centre of a mythic scene. Perhaps this choice of the most ancient and most splendid is made in honour of Olympia, but however that may be it gives the ode an extraordinary flavour because Aiakos, unlike the violent Aiakids, was never a contender. As a man of perpetual maturity who brought order and peace wherever he went, he does not easily lend himself to the celebration of a boy wrestler, nor has Pindar given him any kind of confrontation or adventurous challenge. Instead, the song places him in a spot where the founder of the Aiakid line can only labour, listen, and then depart, having helped to make a wall that will not stand. Because the episode follows directly upon the transformation of Aigina into a sky-pillar (Aiakos' name, at line 30, serves as a hinge between civic ideology and panhellenic myth), its effect is to confront one divine structure with another—the first being abstract, eternal, and perfect, the second concrete, temporary, and fated to crumble. This contrast, however, takes effect slowly because the story-book wall (and Aiakos with it) is at once veiled in proleptic smoke (36), while the attention of the audience is drawn exclusively to a magical sign. Three shimmering snakes open the epode by leaping at the wall (*ἐσαλλόμεναι,* 37) like fish or like dancers (also like the Achilles of Priam's worst fears, *Il.* 21. 536), after which one sound is heard, the bizarre battle-cry of the single successful serpent (40). With this portent the whole course of the coming war is fixed, and Apollo has only to put his father's sinuous message into speech (40–1).

The scene at the wall has none of the elements one expects in an epinician myth; here there is no grasping of a timely risk, no expenditure of courage, to give a mythic expansion to the victor's success. Nor does a dignified tradition work to obscure its unsuitability (as with the Hippolyta tale of *Nemean* 5), for this is

the first time, as far as we know, that poet or painter has sent Aiakos to Troy. Some believe it to be pure Pindaric invention,[15] but though he may have been the first to cast Aiakos as one of the builders of Laomedon's wall, only the presence of a powerful model can explain the coexistence in this account of a portent and an ultimate prophecy that are so patently out of joint.[16] The basic story is of the Achilles' heel type, meant to explain how something that was under divine protection could yet be destroyed. Storytellers knew various explanations of how a wall built by gods could be breached (including that of the Horse), but for this ode Pindar chose a tale of rustic simplicity in which the flaw in the divine product is the work of a non-divine hand.[17] In a popular telling, this co-worker might have been a peasant, a satyr, or perhaps a clever beast, but Pindar evidently wanted to illustrate, not the difference between mortal and immortal powers, but rather the single strength of Fate as it worked through both men and gods to fix the destruction of Troy (33–6). For this purpose, Aiakos, the mortal closest to the gods, was the best representative of the non-divine because he could participate, not just in the building of a vulnerable wall, but also in its dismantling, according to the grand plans of Zeus and Nemesis.

The charm of the folk-tale about the non-divine helper was evidently lodged in its snake-prodigy,[18] which Pindar must have savoured, for he kept it in spite of the embarrassment it caused. What he really needed was a portent that was temporal as well as

[15] The scholiast at *O.* 8. 41a reports that Didymos so believed because the motif was not to be found in any earlier author; Wilamowitz (1922) 245–7 agreed, arguing that the source could not be a folk-tale because Pindar would not use such material in a song meant for the nobility. Carey (1989*c*) 5 supports the idea of innovation but Hubbard (1987) 21 admits the possibility of a 'felicitous . . . selection . . . from prior tradition'.

[16] Failure to see this conflation of old and new is responsible for much of the critical confusion about the second half of Apollo's prophecy where, in spite of the failure of the first snake, the first generation of Aiakid warriors is allowed a preliminary success; see Robbins (1986) 317–21.

[17] The version in which the wall had a section that invited entry (cf. *Il.* 6. 433–4) was the alternative to stories in which the walls were dismantled from within, as for the Horse (Proklos *Il. parv.* 29–30 Davies *EGF*). For this reason it is hard to understand why von der Mühll (1964) 51–7 insists that Pindar meant to include Epeios with Neoptolemos in the third generation's conquest.

[18] Snakes were probably associated with predictions about the timing of the fall of Troy because of Kalchas' interpretation of the sparrow-eating snake at Aulis (*Il.* 2. 323–9). They are appropriate as well to Pindar's concern, in this song, with communication with the dead.

locative, for in his version the collapse of Pergamon will occur where Aiakos' mortal hands have worked (42), yes, but more significantly the walls will be broken[19] *when* descendants of his shall come, men of the first generation (i.e. Telamon and Peleus) and of the third (i.e. Neoptolemos, 45–6).[20] Framed to explain an improbable failure, the snake-motif must now represent that failure as a success while it also explains the timing of the event, and this double sense proves awkward even for a divine interpreter. Certainly the gleaming serpent that leaps the wall does very well as Neoptolemos, but no joy can come from identifying the two campaigns so gloriously depicted on the Aphaia pediments with two snakes who fall dead, stricken with fear (39).[21] Especially not in a passage where the first generation of Aiakids is explicitly saluted as having entered the city (45). The snakes and the Aiakid takers of Troy cannot really be reconciled, and Pindar covers the course of two long wars in ten words (45–6), then moves on immediately, trusting that the lack of congruency, coming from Apollo's mouth, will pass unobserved.[22]

[19] Reading *ῥάξεται* at 45, suggested by Gildersleeve (1885) ad loc. as having 'a vigorous ring', and taken up by Wilamowitz and Bowra; von der Mühll (1964) 52 noted that the verb belongs to the language of boxing (Pollux 3. 155). Carey (1989*c*) 4 n. 17 on the other hand objects on the odd ground that the verb is 'melodramatic'; he suggests *ἔρξεται*. The impossibility of *ἄρξεται* (codd.) is demonstrated in Race's attempt to translate (1997) i. 141: 'It will begin with the first ones and also with the fourth.' For reviews of the discussion of the problem see Robbins (1986) 317–21; Hubbard (1987) 5–21; Race (1990) 151 nn. 19 and 20.

[20] SM read *τερτάτοις* in 46 after Ahrens (*Philol*. 16, 1860, 52); the ms. *τετράτοις* was perhaps influenced by the *τέτρασιν* in the responding line, 68. Those who believe that four generations are specified must take Aiakos as the first, as does Bowra (1964) 299, 'Troy will be captured first by Aiakos and later by his descendants'; see also Hill (1963) 2–4. Race (1990) 151 and n. 19 explains that Pindar left Aiakos out when counting Telamon and Peleus as the first generation, then counted him when placing Neoptolemos in the fourth. Such inclusion of Aiakos is supposed to refer to his faulty work on the wall, which makes him in a sense a collaborator with Neoptolemos; so Robbins (1986) 317–21. With four generations, however, prophecy and portent are more than ever out of joint, while Apollo's linked phrases, 'not without your children but with the first and the xth generations', clearly exclude Aiakos from the count. A Telamon who went 'first' against Troy and an Ajax who was 'second' with Achilles were sung in an Attic drinking refrain (899 *PMG*).

[21] Especially not if the story that Telamon made the first breach in Laomedon's wall was current this early; see von der Mühll (1964)51–7 and Hellanikos 4 F 109 *FGrHist*.

[22] Of course it has not; Farnell (1932) ii. 63–4, always ready to disapprove, noted that 'the omen is carelessly constructed . . . Apollo gets confused in his counting . . . The slip may well be due to hurry.'

Apollo reads the snake-portent, his words conveyed in direct speech, like those of Herakles when he reads the eagle-portent in *Isthmian* 6, but this time the prophecy is not marked as the climax of the present choral tale, for the scene is not finished. For all his inactivity, Aiakos is central here and a final marvellous truth about him is impressed upon the audience when the singers cap Apollo's departure[23] with another flight. Using twice as many words, they display the hero-founder of Aigina as he is lifted away by Poseidon, then label the event as superlative. Up to this point the hero has existed only as a relative pronoun (*τὸν*, 31, drawn from *Αἰακοῦ*, 30); Apollo has addressed him (42), but there has been no epithet and not so much as a participle to make him present to the listener. Now, however, one bright image likens this passive and faceless hero to a Herakles, a Tithonos, or a Pelops (cf. *O.* 1. 41), as a god carries him aloft in a chariot drawn by a golden team (48–52). This is the moment of crucial choral magic, the instant in which myth enters actuality, and it is marked by an explicit 'right here' (*δεῦρ'*, 51), as Poseidon returns Aiakos to the very place where the dancers are now giving their performance. After which a gnomic exclamation marks his flight as the ultimate marvel of the sung narrative: 'No joy known to mortals will be equal to this!'(53).[24] Elsewhere this inaugural Aiginetan (30) is a lover of order and an embodiment of defensive

[23] A motif familiar from the East Pediment of the Aiginetan Apollo temple; the West Pediment showed an Amazon battle scene; see Wurster (1974); Fuchs and Floren (1987) 310 and n. 20. Compare Ba. 3. 57–61 where Kroisos is lifted away by Apollo after Zeus has shown his power in an action similarly marked as supreme with a gnomic phrase.

[24] Rutherford (1992) 66–7 considers the possibility that P. Pa.15 M was composed for an Aiginetan rite commemorating Poseidon's arrival with Aiakos. *O.* 8. 53 is usually understood with the scholiasts as asserting the various tastes of men in preparation for possible objections to the trainer-praise to follow; e.g. Farnell (1930) i. 43, 'human beings are not equally happy everywhere.' For Bundy (1986) 16 this was explicit subjective foil that looked forward, the sense being 'I can't please everybody, I know, yet I hope that no one will criticize me for eulogizing Melesias.' By contrast Mezger (1880) 383 had understood 'gleich dem der Götter', the whole phrase being 'unter den Menschen findet sich kein göttergleiches Glück'; Gildersleeve (1885) ad loc. also perceived a contrast with the blessedness of the gods. Carey (1989*b*) 288 advocates the reading chosen here, '"no joy among mankind will be equally great" to that of Aiakos who associated with gods.' This provides a formal summation of the poem's mythic section, but Lloyd-Jones (1991) 240–2 labels the line 'opaque in the extreme' and emends *ἴσον* to *ἀεί* to get 'all human pleasure is evanescent' (so praise of Melesias should excite no envy).

strength; here he enjoys a kind of apotheosis because he holds within himself, in potential form, all the daring and success that the gods will demand for the destruction of Troy (45). The pause before the antistrophe catches him suspended between earth and heaven, his name sounding out (50), his course determined by a friendly god, because he is one who mediates (as in the building of the wall) between divine will and the impassioned doings of men. With this visible marvel superimposed upon Apollo's prophecy, the song's representation of Aiakos is complete, as is also its peaceable metaphor for the return of a victor.

From an Aiakos set down on Aigina by his divine chauffeur, the chorus turns directly and with a rhetorical flourish, not to Alkimedon, but to his trainer. Their challenge—'If with my song I traverse (run through)[25] the fame that Melesias found among the beardless, let resentment cast no stones!'—has been heard in a number of ways. It is sometimes described as the poet's expression of embarrassment (at praising an Athenian), or of disgust (at having been asked to do such a thing),[26] or of defiance (of aristocratic anti-trainer sentiment), etc. 'Let no one criticize', however, is easily recognized as the artfully negatived form of 'Let all take note and praise!'—the equivalent of the frequent cries of 'Watch me, now!' that mark shifts of subject in other Pindaric odes.[27] In his commission, Timosthenes evidently asked that his family's Olympic triumph should be especially

[25] The verb *ἀνέδραμον* has here a rare transitive sense and serves like a gnomic aorist. Many critics have fixed upon the envy (55) that the poet seems to expect, assuming it to mean political resentment expected from anti-Athenian aristocrats at praise of a trainer from Athens. Von der Mühll (1964) 50–5 on the other hand, takes this to be a *topos* with playful reference to the 'offence' of singing Nemean victories in an Olympian context. The parallel passage of praise for Menander at Ba. 13. 199–202 suggests a common association of *φθόνος* with trainers (perhaps because they were expensive?).

[26] Thus Wade-Gery (1958) 248 found the passage to be in Pindar's 'stickiest style', due to his embarrassment at having to praise an Athenian. On the absurdity of finding pro- or anti-Athenian sentiment in these lines see Race (1990) 154–5 and n. 27.

[27] Other examples at *I*. 1. 1; *N*. 8. 19–20; *N*. 4. 37–8; *N*. 5. 19–21 (one might compare Jack Teagarden's 'Look out folks, I'm gonna take a trombone coda!'). Bundy (1986) 40 put the present instance in a special class of 'real or imaginary objections', but found in it a sense that is playful and positive: 'I am going to tell of a glory so great that it will rouse your jealousy even of the song that announces it.' A different assumption is made by Woloch (1963) 102–4 and 121, who understands this passage as the 'heartfelt and spontaneous' reflection of a personal relationship between Pindar and Melesias.

marked as a thirtieth pupil-victory (66) for Melesias,[28] and it is possible that the chorus here salutes an aged trainer who is actually present.[29] However that may be, the passage is at any rate unlike any of the others in which a trainer is mentioned, because elsewhere there is a flavour of afterthought, as three or at most four lines, coming near the end of an ode, record a name.[30] Here, by contrast, Melesias receives a miniature hymn of his own at the centre of the victor's song—thirteen lines that include formal introduction, victory list,[31] wise generalization, and closing praise (54–66). What is more Melesias, like no other trainer, becomes an element in the ode's essential meditation—this time upon prophecy and the role of human exertion in a providential world.

Athletes, like the generations of Aiakid warriors at Troy, freely exert themselves to the utmost while they nonetheless work within a fated design. This paradox is sharply reflected at Olympia where priests use pyromancy to test what may be in store for impassioned contestants who spend all their strength (2–3),[32] though Zeus fixes the outcome of the games (16–18, 83), just as he did that of the Trojan War (43–4). Like his grandfather (15), today's handsome youth (19) receives his victory from this same god, for his reverence in prayer (8), his 'mad desire to prove his own huge excellence' (5–6), and his right use of male strength inherited from ancestors (67), have been completed with a good fortune (*τύχα*) that came from god (67). He has in other words wrought his own Zeus-made fate, and he has done so by listening, not just to fairy-tale portents or inscrutable Olympian priests, but to a trainer who reads immediate indications in the light of experience and so arrives at a kind of foresight (60–4). In

[28] According to Davies (1971) 231 Melesias, whose family claimed descent from Aiakos via Telamon,was probably about 70 years old at the time of Alkimedon's victory.

[29] So Figueira (1993) 205.

[30] Menander, at *N*. 5. 48–9, beginning of final epode; cf. Ba. 13. 190–91, the epode of the sixth of seven triads; Melesias, at *N*. 4. 93–6, final lines; at *N*. 6. 64–6, final lines; Pytheas, at *I*. 5. 59–63, final lines; Lampon, at *I*. 6. 72–3, penultimate lines.

[31] For a failed attempt to show that the victories enumerated at 54–6 were not won by Melesias, see Fowler (1953) 167–8.

[32] Farnell (1932) ii. 60 supposed that Alkimedon's family had made an actual consultation and had learned of this coming victory, but it is obvious that the priests can only have reported generally on the favorable or unfavourable aspect of whatever was burnt.

Nemean 6, this same Melesias is likened to a charioteer swift as a dolphin (64–6), and in *Nemean* 4 his excellence is projected as a wrestling opponent hard to throw (93–6), but here he is a prophet: his speciality is foresight (60)[33] and his function, like Apollo's, is to speak out (62; cf. Apollo, 41 and 46).[34] Mantic priests may indicate probable victors (2), but he can predict exactly what mortal factors will send one contestant home with the glory he longed for (62–4), while his opponents slink back without honour (68–9).[35] Here, then, is a figure who reconciles mortal exertion with a determining divine will and who, like Aiakos, transmits, to 'descendants' destined to take it, the power to destroy even what gods have built.

Alkimedon's courage, shaped by Melesias' foresight (67, cf. 60) and (like the skill of Aiakos) put into the service of divine providence, has produced an Olympic victory that condemns four boys to deep disgrace while it works something like resurrection upon an old man (67–73).[36] Timosthenes (forgetful of Hades in his present ritualized joy, 72)[37] may see his own state as a mortal reflection of the bliss of Aiakos, for he too looks forward to the deeds of future generations. And by the same token the boy conqueror who has gained an Olympic crown may feel a certain fraternity with that other youth who, in a time treated as both past and future, once took/will take Troy for the Aiakids. Even better, Alkimedon can adopt as his own special emblem a gleaming snake that howls like an Olympic herald or a *kōmos*-dancer on a victory night (40; cf. *O*. 13. 99–100; *O*. 9. 93). Nevertheless, if this consummate triumph is to be complete, it must be shared with the father and the uncle who are now in Hades, and so the entertainment continues with lines that suggest a rite for making contact with the dead (called in some places a Nemeseia).[38] First,

[33] The praise of Melesias takes the characteristic form of dispraise of one who is his opposite, a man with no sense and no foresight.

[34] Cf. Crotty (1982) 26.

[35] Lines that roused Farnell's British disgust (1930) iii. 46: 'the chief blemish . . . is the ugly passage about the shameful return of the defeated athletes.'

[36] Alkimedon won in the most exhausting way, never getting a bye but taking on four opponents; see Ebert (1972) 228–9 and nos. 32, 55, 76.

[37] It is clearly the old grandfather of the previous lines who forgets Hades as he performs (and presumably pays for) the proper household rituals (73) of victory, but for some reason Kurke (1991*b*) 293–4 asserts that 'the victor must be the *ἀνήρ* who has accomplished fitting things.'

[38] Deubner (1956) 230. Such rituals were not (*pace* Rohde (1966) i. 197 n. 91)

a general memory is activated, to revive the five older crowns won by Blepsiads (74–6); next the invigorating power of that recollection is directed towards two victors who are now in Hades, reminding them that they still partake in the family glory (79–80). Then finally, as it enters the closing stanza, the song becomes a message sent to Iphion[39] by way of a divine messenger who brings an audible grave-gift for those underground. The victory that restores an appetite for life in an aged grandfather (70) can also bring the power of speech to the dead, allowing the shade of Alkimedon's father (82) to spread the joy of victory among kinsmen who, like himself, lie beneath the dust (79).

For as long as this performance lasts, then, three generations of Blepsiads join in a common experience of the blessed life without pain that Zeus, master of a single-minded Nemesis, is asked to bestow. Nor are any premonitions of Aiginetan defeat made to undermine this happy condition. Aigina is a god-built monument that rises up supported, not attacked, by time (28), and consequently prolonged prosperity may be expected. With its central narrative, moreover, the ode has continued Pindar's manifold response to another enduring monument, the Aphaia temple and its two pediments. As *Nemean* 7 extended the roster of Aiakid heroes to include the last, Neoptolemos, so *Olympian* 8 supplies the first, the serene masculine figure from whom all the splendid violence of the two sculptured scenes was projected (45). The strengths and virtues of this island that worships Themis took their form when Aiakos was its lord (30), and they continue because, like its founder, the city and its Dorian men are employed by the thundering son of Kronos (43–4), to do his will as defenders of strangers and guests (21, 26–7).

always limited to the rousing or appeasing of the anger of the dead; more generally they let children fulfil responsibilities to deceased parents; see Dem. 41. 11 and the scholiast's description, 'they fulfilled the customary rites for the dead', which is very close to *O*. 8. 77–8 (cf. Pl. *Leg*. 717d).

[39] Angel is thus congruent with Aiakos in that she mediates between one level of existence and another. Note that she is more independent than the Echo of *O*. 14. 20–4, who uses the ode as her means of communication, and contrast *P*. 5. 96–100, where the words of the chorus drip directly into the underworld like dew; cf. Segal (1998) 133–48.

14. *Pythian* 8: A Phantom's Dream

For Aristomenes, son of Xenarkes; nephew of Olympic victor Theognetos and of Nemean victor Kleitomachos (his mother's brothers?); of the Meidylid clan; victor in wrestling (also pentathlon victor in local games for Apollo and Artemis, and victor in wrestling at Megara and Marathon); 446 BC. Triads.

στρ. α′ *Φιλόφρον Ἡσυχία, Δίκας*
ὦ μεγιστόπολι θύγατερ,
βουλᾶν τε καὶ πολέμων
ἔχοισα κλαῖδας ὑπερτάτας
Πυθιόνικον τιμὰν Ἀριστομένει δέκευ.
τὺ γὰρ τὸ μαλθακὸν ἔρξαι τε καὶ παθεῖν ὁμῶς
ἐπίστασαι καιρῷ σὺν ἀτρεκεῖ·

ἀντ. α′ *τὺ δ' ὁπόταν τις ἀμείλιχον*
καρδίᾳ κότον ἐνελάσῃ,
τραχεῖα δυσμενέων
ὑπαντιάξαισα κράτει τιθεῖς
ὕβριν ἐν ἄντλῳ· τὰν οὐδὲ Πορφυρίων μάθεν
παρ' αἶσαν ἐξερεθίζων. κέρδος δὲ φίλτατον,
ἑκόντος εἴ τις ἐκ δόμων φέροι.

ἐπ. α′ *βία δὲ καὶ μεγάλαυχον ἔσφαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ.*
Τυφὼς Κίλιξ ἑκατόγκρανος οὔ νιν ἄλυξεν,
οὐδὲ μὰν βασιλεὺς Γιγάντων· δμᾶθεν δὲ κεραυνῷ
τόξοισί τ' Ἀπόλλωνος· ὃς εὐμενεῖ νόῳ
Ξενάρκειον ἔδεκτο Κίρραθεν ἐστεφανωμένον
υἱὸν ποὶᾳ Παρνασσίδι Δωριεῖ τε κώμῳ.

στρ. β′ *ἔπεσε δ' οὐ Χαρίτων ἑκὰς*
ἁ δικαιόπολις ἀρεταῖς
κλειναῖσιν Αἰακιδᾶν
θιγοῖσα νᾶσος· τελέαν δ' ἔχει
δόξαν ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς. πολλοῖσι μὲν γὰρ ἀείδεται
νικαφόροις ἐν ἀέθλοις θρέψαισα καὶ θοαῖς
ὑπερτάτους ἥρωας ἐν μάχαις·

ἀντ. β′ *τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐμπρέπει.*
εἰμὶ δ' ἄσχολος ἀναθέμεν

πᾶσαν μακραγορίαν
λύρᾳ τε καὶ φθέγματι μαλθακῷ,
μὴ κόρος ἐλθὼν κνίξῃ. τὸ δ' ἐν ποσί μοι τράχον
ἴτω τεὸν χρέος, ὦ παῖ, νεώτατον καλῶν,
ἐμᾷ ποτανὸν ἀμφὶ μαχανᾷ.

ἐπ. β΄ *παλαισμάτεσσι γὰρ ἰχνεύων ματραδελφεοὺς*
Ὀλυμπίᾳ τε Θεόγνητον οὐ κατελέγχεις,
οὐδὲ Κλειτομάχοιο νίκαν Ἰσθμοῖ θρασύγυιον·
αὔξων δὲ πάτραν Μειδυλιδᾶν λόγον φέρεις,
τὸν ὄνπερ ποτ' Ὀϊκλέος παῖς ἐν ἑπταπύλοις ἰδὼν
υἱοὺς Θήβαις αἰνίξατο παρμένοντας αἰχμᾷ,

στρ. γ΄ *ὁπότ' ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἦλυθον*
δευτέραν ὁδὸν Ἐπίγονοι.
ὧδ' εἶπε μαρναμένων·
"φυᾷ τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει
ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα. θαέομαι σαφὲς
δράκοντα ποικίλον αἰθᾶς Ἄλκμᾶν' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος
νωμῶντα πρῶτον ἐν Κάδμου πύλαις.

ἀντ. γ΄ *ὁ δὲ καμὼν προτέρᾳ πάθᾳ*
νῦν ἀρείονος ἐνέχεται
ὄρνιχος ἀγγελίᾳ
Ἄδραστος ἥρως· τὸ δὲ οἴκοθεν
ἀντία πράξει. μόνος γὰρ ἐκ Δαναῶν στρατοῦ
θανόντος ὀστέα λέξαις υἱοῦ, τύχᾳ θεῶν
ἀφίξεται λαῷ σὺν ἀβλαβεῖ

ἐπ. γ΄ *Ἄβαντος εὐρυχόρους ἀγυιάς." τοιαῦτα μὲν*
ἐφθέγξατ' Ἀμφιάρηος. χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
Ἄλκμᾶνα στεφάνοισι βάλλω, ῥαίνω δὲ καὶ ὕμνῳ,
γείτων ὅτι μοι καὶ κτεάνων φύλαξ ἐμῶν
ὑπάντασεν ἰόντι γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν παρ' ἀοίδιμον,
μαντευμάτων τ' ἐφάψατο συγγόνοισι τέχναις.

στρ. δ΄ *τὺ δ', ἑκαταβόλε, πάνδοκον*
ναὸν εὐκλέα διανέμων
Πυθῶνος ἐν γυάλοις,
τὸ μὲν μέγιστον τόθι χαρμάτων
ὤπασας, οἴκοι δὲ πρόσθεν ἁρπαλέαν δόσιν
πενταεθλίου σὺν ἑορταῖς ὑμαῖς ἐπάγαγες·
ὦναξ, ἑκόντι δ' εὔχομαι νόῳ

ἀντ. δ΄ *κατά τιν' ἁρμονίαν βλέπειν*
ἀμφ' ἕκαστον, ὅσα νέομαι.

κώμῳ μὲν ἁδυμελεῖ
Δίκα παρέστακε· θεῶν δ' ὅπιν
ἄφθονον αἰτέω, Ξέναρκες, ὑμετέραις τύχαις.
εἰ γάρ τις ἐσλὰ πέπαται μὴ σὺν μακρῷ πόνῳ,
πολλοῖς σοφὸς δοκεῖ πεδ' ἀφρόνων

ἐπ. δ′ *βίον κορυσσέμεν ὀρθοβούλοισι μαχαναῖς·*
τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κεῖται· δαίμων δὲ παρίσχει,
ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὕπερθε βάλλων, ἄλλον δ' ὑπὸ χειρῶν.
μέτρῳ κατάβαιν'· ἐν Μεγάροις δ' ἔχεις γέρας,
μυχῷ τ' ἐν Μαραθῶνος, Ἥρας τ' ἀγῶν' ἐπιχώριον
νίκαις τρισσαῖς, ὠριστόμενες, δάμασσας ἔργῳ·

στρ. ϵ′ *τέτρασι δ' ἔμπετες ὑψόθεν*
σωμάτεσσι κακὰ φρονέων,
τοῖς οὔτε νόστος ὁμῶς
ἔπαλπνος ἐν Πυθιάδι κρίθη,
οὐδὲ μολόντων πὰρ ματέρ' ἀμφὶ γέλως γλυκὺς
ὧρσεν χάριν· κατὰ λαύρας δ' ἐχθρῶν ἀπάοροι
πτώσσοντι, συμφορᾷ δεδαγμένοι.

ἀντ. ϵ′ *ὁ δὲ καλόν τι νέον λαχὼν*
ἁβρότατος ἔπι μεγάλας
ἐξ ἐλπίδος πέτεται
ὑποπτέροις ἀνορέαις, ἔχων
κρέσσονα πλούτου μέριμναν. ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν
τὸ τερπνὸν αὔξεται· οὕτω δὲ καὶ πίτνει χαμαί,
ἀποτρόπῳ γνώμᾳ σεσεισμένον.

ἐπ. ϵ′ *ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὔ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ*
ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ,
λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μείλιχος αἰών.
Αἴγινα φίλα μᾶτερ, ἐλευθέρῳ στόλῳ
πόλιν τάνδε κόμιζε Διὶ καὶ κρέοντι σὺν Αἰακῷ
Πηλεῖ τε κἀγαθῷ Τελαμῶνι σύν τ' Ἀχιλλεῖ.

1. Kindly Tranquillity, daughter of Dika,
you who make cities great,
holding the high keys of
counsel and war, accept this
Pythian prize from Aristomenes! Soft
pleasure is your domain: you understand
its making, its taking, and its fitting hour!

Still, should a man hammer dire hatred
into his heart, you resist,

roughly thrusting his
insolence into the bilge. This truth
lord Porphyrion had not learned
when he defied you! Gain is a friend,
yes, if it come from one willing to give.

Violence trips even the proudest, in time.
Taurian Typhos, the hundred headed, did not escape,
nor did the King of the Giants; instead, one was
felled by the bolt, one by darts from Apollo—that same
god who received Xenarkes' son, come up from Kirra
crowned with Parnassian grass and Dorian revelry!

2. Not far from the Graces was this
city of justice cast, she who is linked
to the Aiakid virtues.
From the beginning her ultimate
fame was ordained: to be sung as
nurse to prize-winning victors and
heroes superb in swift battles!

She is also remarked for her men, but
my time is short; I cannot adapt the full
length of their tale to
lyre and young voices, lest
glut bring fatigue. Here at my feet,
boy, is the debt owed to your latest deed—
may it speed away on my winged machine!

Tracking your uncles into the ring, you did not
shame Theognetos' Olympian crown, nor the Isthmian
victory taken by Kleitomachos' bold limbs. You
strengthen the Meidylid clan and confirm the riddling words
spoken by Oikleos' child on seeing the Sons,
waiting, spears ready, at Thebes of the Seven Gates,

3. when they came up from Argos
making their second siege as Epigonoi.
He spoke, while they fought:
'A noble temper by nature prevails,
passing from father to son. I see it plain—
the mottled snake on Alkmaon's bright shield,
first in the action at Kadmos' gates!

He who survived the elder attack,
hero Adrastos, receives now

a happier omen, though worse for
his own familial hall. Alone of the Danaan force,
he must sift earth for the bones of his son
before, by the favour of heaven, he
returns with his host unharmed

to the broad streets of Abbas.' Such were
Amphiaraos' words, and I too in my joy would
honour Alkmaon with tossed crowns, drench him with song,
for he, my neighbour, my treasure's keeper, met me
journeying towards the much sung navel of earth
and prophesied, using his father's arts!

4. Then did you, Far-shooting God,
lord of a shrine that
welcomes all in the Pythian
glade, there grant this greatest of joys, as
earlier, here in your shared games, you
gave the coveted pentathlon prize!
Lord, I pray you shall gladly send

harmonious glances down upon
whatever path I may take!
Beside this sweet-singing throng
stands Dika. I ask that the gods take an
unjealous view of your fortunes, Xenarkes.
A man who succeeds without heavy toil seems
clever to many, his opposites fools, as if

life crested high by one's own contrivance!
These things are not man's to control. A daimon decides:
tossing one to the top, overwhelming the next, he
steps in to keep order. At Megara you took the prize,
in Marathon's hollow too, and here in Hera's lists,
o Aristomenes, three victories came to you.

5. Four bodies you fell upon,
meaning them harm, and to these
no suave return was awarded by
Pythian judges! Finding their mothers,
no sweet laughter brought joy: they came
dodging their enemies, skulking up alleys,
marked by misfortune's sting.

But that one whose portion is
fresh splendour—hope sends him

floating on softest bliss, lifted by
pinions of manliness, his strong concern
aimed far beyond wealth! And yet
such mortal joy, swift in its growth, as swiftly
falls, shaken by dire premonition.

We live day by day. Someone, no one—what are they?
Man is the dream of a phantom but whenever god-given
splendour comes, brilliance rests upon all, and a sweet life-portion.
Aigina, mother beloved, pilot this city on freedom's course!
Let Zeus and Lord Aiakos be of its convoy, Peleus and
brave Telamon too, with Achilles as their companion!

According to ancient scholars, *Pythian* 8 was performed in 446 BC, shortly before Pindar's death.[1] Ten years had passed since the Athenian conquest of Aigina, and the fleet that had dominated the Mediterranean a half-century ago was now gone from the island. For some time the city had known a period of 'enslavement', δούλωσις,[2] rule by governors appointed from Athens, perhaps with a resident garrison, and the most powerful nobles had taken refuge abroad. A few of the oligarchical families nevertheless stayed on, preserving a reduced version of their former ways, as proved by the continued celebration of island games for Apollo and Artemis ('for the two of you', 66), or the local festival of Hera (79), but mainland competition was no longer the standard test for any noble boy. Even tribes that had known panhellenic success in the old days, as had the Meidylids (36–7),[3] seem to have kept to minor contests and small-scale celebrations, for *Pythian* 8 is the first Pindaric ode known to have been performed on Aigina since the island lost its freedom.

In this year, however, the Athenians were caught at Koronea, Euboia rebelled, the occupying garrison was slaughtered at Megara, and the Spartans advanced into Attika in late May or early June (Thuk. 1. 114. 1–2). Aigina, as far as one can tell, remained on the periphery of these anti-Athenian actions,[4] but

[1] This was the scholiasts' date; see Burton (1962) 174.

[2] Wade-Gery (1945) 228 n. 34; de Ste. Croix (1954–5) 1–40, esp. 20.

[3] Theognetos was victor in boys' wrestling at Olympia in 476 BC according to *P. Oxy*. 222.15; cf. Simonides 149B, Paus. 6. 91.

[4] The Aiginetan tribute for 449 BC was not fully paid and the island is not mentioned in the 447 BC lists, facts which may or may not indicate some

Xenarkes expressed his revived optimism by sending his son with a troupe of companions[5] off to Delphi in July. The boy's victory there[6] coincided with the success of the Spartan expedition, and the father chose to celebrate in the style of better days, for Pythian crowns had ever been rare among the Aiginetans. Then in August (while Pindar was at work on the ode?) the Peleponnesians pulled out of Attika (Thuk. 2. 23. 3), significantly enriched, according to rumour,[7] after which the Athenians recovered Euboia, and the Delian League was reaffirmed. By early autumn, then, the most probable time for the performance of *Pythian* 8, the summer's sharp hopes for freedom had collapsed. There was no smiling expectation, but neither was there any definite threat, for the terms of the Thirty Years' Peace, though perhaps under discussion, were apparently not yet known.[8] The political situation was thus fluid and ill-defined, and it is matched by critical opinion about the ode that Pindar made for young Aristomenes. A few scholars hear a standard

resistance; see Wade-Gery (1945) 228. Schol. 1a reported that there had been internal disorders at the time of the ode, but this was probably inference from the figure of Hesychia.

[5] Some of these companions may well be among today's singers; see below n. 22. In the years just previous Xenarkes had sent his son to compete at Marathon as well as at Megara (78–9), which suggests that he was not strongly anti-Athenian.

[6] Aristomenes' opponents return to their mothers (85), which means that he competed in the under-18 class; if he is today for the first time introduced to a symposium of sorts he may be just entering the group of 15–18 year-olds.

[7] Meiggs (1972) 181.

[8] Wilamowitz (1922) 439 believed that the ode was composed before the terms of the Thirty Years Peace were known, in a time of high hope inspired by the freedom of Delphi; Bowra (1964) 300 and 156 would have it reflect 'a situation in which excited hopes are busy with revival and revenge'; N. O. Brown (1951) 4–6 assumed that Pindar did not know the terms of the Peace; Gentili (1995) 214 likewise seems to place the performance before the peace was concluded. Others argue for performance after the terms were known; Wade-Gery (1945) 228–9; Figueira (1993) 216. Cole (1992) 32 associates the celebration with the Spartan withdrawal from Attika in August, asking whether it came before or after, though the first of these hypotheses would crowd the sending of the commission, the composition of the ode, its travel to Aigina, and the training of a chorus into a single month. Pfeijffer (1995*b*) 156–65 first described this as a song offered to the entire population of Aigina in celebration of the victory at Koronea, then modified this notion in his commentary (1999) 451 and 455 n.62. On Aigina and the Thirty Years Peace see de Ste Croix (1972) 66, 196–9, and on the uncertain sense of *autonomia* (1954–5) 20; D. M. Lewis *CAH*[2] v (1992) 137 notes that the nature, even the existence of Aigina's autonomy under the treaty 'remains unclear'.

epinician song that is oblivious of immediate circumstances,[9] while a larger number discover a monitory poet who urges caution, or pessimism, or hope upon an audience of island nobles variously tempted either to lie low, or to revolt against Athenian overlords.[10] The present argument will try to separate the song from its uncertain context, at least to begin with, so as to consider it, not politically but poetically, as the last in the series of Pindaric odes made for the boys of this island.

In formal terms the work is impeccable. A system of five triads produces a cleanly marked sequence of invocation, turn towards Aigina and victor, *mimesis* of mythic episode, prayerful precaution, and direct praise,[11] but in every part there are anomalies and innovations. The opening is like that of five of the previous odes, an invocation addressed to a female power, but in contrast to Eleithyia, Hora, Olympia, Theia , and the Muse, Hesychia has nothing maternal or *kourotrophic* about her.[12] Instead, she promises the kind of luxury that adults appreciate (*τὸ μαλθακόν*, 6), while she also carries a bitter threat of violence, for she is Janus-faced. Her true kinship (as has often been remarked) is with the Golden Lyre of the much earlier *Pythian* 1,[13] both being smiling patrons of all that is smooth and honeyed, both violent in their suppression of enemies who are figured as threatening Giants. Both personifications are, moreover, closely associated with Apollo and through him with song and choral dancing, activities in which disorder and rebellion are unthinkable.[14] In *Pythian* 1

[9] Slater (1981) 205–14 concludes that *P*. 8 'moralizes about the circumstances of just praise' in a traditional epinician fashion; so also Dickie (1984) 83–110; Race (1990) 154 and n. 27; Erbse (1999) 27–9. Nevertheless Lefkowitz (1991*b*) 144 n. 56 admits, 'It is hard not to see in *P*. 8. 98 a reference to Aigina's subjection to Athens.'

[10] In an influential piece first published in 1932, Wade-Gery (1958) 251 asserted that the 'message' was, 'Leave Athens to the Gods . . .!' and Bowra (1964) 157 likewise found a moderating poet who warned that 'thoughtless ardour may defeat its own ends'. More recently Cole (1992) 101–4 reported an ambiguous song that either warns against insurrection, or else rationalizes the Aiginetan failure to engage in such action.

[11] One may note that each of the first four triads ends with a two-syllable dative noun of implementation (*κώμῳ*, *αἰχμᾷ*, *τέχναις*, *ἔργῳ*) capped in the fifth by *Ἀχιλλεῖ* as the song's final word.

[12] Some such quality is, however, implied at P. fr. 109 SM where Stasis is a hateful nurse.

[13] On the connection between the two passages see E. Fraenkel (1957) 276–8.

[14] Cf. P. *P*. 4. 294–7 where Damophilos dreams of home, *hēsychia*, and handling the lyre in the symposium; *N*. 9. 48 where *hēsychia* loves the symposium;

the city favoured by the Lyre is to attain to a harmonious tranquillity (*σύμφωναν . . . ἡσυχίαν*, *P.* 1. 70), thanks to the freedom (*ἐλευθερία*) of well-made Doric customs and laws (*P.* 1. 61–2), while here, in *Pythian* 8, Hesychia resides in an Aigina engaged on an expedition of freedom (*ἐλευθέρος στόλος*, 98). At the same time, however, there are striking differences in scale—one song is, after all, performed for Hieron, the other for an Aiginetan boy. The Lyre praised at a tyrant's court in Sicily is a non-anthropomorphic cosmic force that can quench a volcano, and its effects are felt by gods as well as by monsters—even Ares is charmed (*P.* 1. 10). Hesychia, on the other hand, is a lesser Olympian, a daughter of Dika (1) whose powers are essentially civic; she too can face monsters but, unlike the Lyre, she needs time (15), as well as the supporting weaponry of Zeus and Apollo (17–18), if she is to overcome. The giants of *Pythian* 8 may perhaps represent Aigina's Athenian rulers, but the passage about their defeat gives all honours to Apollo and seems to suggest a future possibility rather any accomplished event.[15] For the present moment, Hesychia is enthroned within Xenarkes' hall, but if the parallel with the Lyre of *Pythian* 1 is active in Pindar's mind (consciously or not), this may mean only that today's entertainment takes place within a private haven of Doric law and tradition (*P.* 1. 61).

As the ode continues, melody and dance render Hesychia almost identical with Aigina, the one making cities supremely great (*μεγιστόπολις*, 2), the other possessing a just city (*δικαιόπολις*, 22), the one holding the city's keys, the other touching the city's Aiakid virtues (in responding participles, 4 : 24). Both are allied with the Far-shooter who opens the fourth triad (Hesychia at 18, Aigina at 65) and, through him, with the Harmonia that is within his gift (68, in responsion with Hesychia, 1). And finally, one and the same melodic phrase first describes the Hesychia who fosters a timely enjoyment of luxury (6),[16] then the Aigina who nurtures heroes and song (26), and

fr. 109. 2 SM where one who loves the common good seeks *hēsychia* and plucks *stasis* from his thoughts.

[15] Because of the later commonplace, some have assumed that the Giants who are overcome by Hesychia must represent a particular form of Stasis, either a misguided oligarchical uprising or a pro-Athenian movement that threatens the island; Pfeijffer (1995*b*) 161 perceives the latter.

[16] Bundy (1986) 86 heard line 6 as meaning that Hesychia understands the

finally (after the shield sign that heartens Amphiaraos, 46) the Apollo who grants pleasing gifts to Aristomenes (66). This civic identity of Quietude harmonizes with the Doric associations borrowed from the Lyre, and also with the punitive powers so extensively described (8–18), and since Dika's daughter has been presented as having command of a vessel (12), the listener's imagination naturally places Hesychia on board the city-ship that moves off at the song's end (98). Her image as the serene but effective opponent of disorder seems in consequence to melt into that of Aigina, the active guardian of a *polis*-vessel as it sets out on a poetic voyage of liberty.

With her combined attributes of passive enjoyment and active punishment, Hesychia is a far more paradoxical figure than any of the powers that opened earlier odes, and the oddities of this late song do not stop here. In a quick transit from invocation to ode proper, the chorus evokes an Apollo who seems to finish off two overweening giants with one hand (16–17), while with the other he welcomes Aristomenes and his Doric *kōmos,* after the Delphic victory (18–19). Minimal mentions of Aigina and Aiakidai then bring the singers to the present task of praise, and for this—the determining responsibility of all epinician song—they find a boyish, almost irreverent metaphor. Other songs have been represented as payment, consolation, drink, medicine, mirror, warm water, or weapon aimed at a praise-mark, but always as part of a finite transaction between the poet-chorus and the victorious boy. Here, by contrast, a duty of praise (a *χρέος,* 33, owed to victor + song's patron) runs awkwardly at the dancers' feet (like a dog, or a child's toy, or an importunate creditor?) and their response is to render it airborne on a 'song-contrivance' (32–4), then order it away (*ἴτω*! 33). The metaphor is odd because it is open-ended (what is the goal of this flight?), and also vaguely disturbing because of the poet's critical dismissal, in another song, of Homer's 'lies . . . and winged machinery' (*N.* 7. 22). What is worse, two further revolutions of this present dance will directly challenge this 'machine' that lets a debt fly away, for the responding lines of the final antistrophe proclaim a fall as the inevitable end for any flight of bliss (93–4).

soft behaviour that provokes a soft return, but the following lines do not support this notion of reciprocity.

The 'song-contrivance' launched at 33 easily passes over victorious uncles and tribal glory (36–8) on its way towards mythic matters, but there the first heroic name to be sounded (39) defies the prime rule of all the earlier songs: 'When on Aigina, sing about Aiakids!' (*I*. 6. 19–21). The names of Aiakos, Peleus, Telamon, and Achilles will eventually be packed into this ode's final lines, as if in reparation,[17] but the great dialogue with the Aphaia pediments is here discontinued. No one of the sculptured heroes is brought into being, nor indeed is any comparable figure, for the Argive Alkmaon who is named is left without voice, outline, colour, or distinction as he first waits with others (40), then works with others (47), without ever commanding a finite verb. He and his father are no more than necessary figures in a *logos* (38), and the singers, as they repeat the father's pronouncement, evoke, not the son, but his bright shield—or rather, not his shield, but its insignia (46). Nor does even this painted snake[18] appear as a narrated lyric actuality (compare, for example, the immediacy of the chaos monster's potential weapons, at *I*. 8. 37–8), for it is merely the central item in a vision entertained by a distant seer who is long-since dead. Amphiaraos' words are directly spoken, but they are denied any particular immediacy by a chorus that presents them as a wise saw already many times repeated.[19] What is more, the prophet's speech continues, giving the indiscernible Alkmaon a double—another even more transparent hero-son whose nature is likewise stamped by his father's powers, but one who will return to Argos only as gathered bones (53).[20] As a result, what the audience sees in the course of this passage is a generalized gesture of attack, as it is reflected in a

[17] Or as if in a spell against bad weather; note too the passing reference at 23–4, where Aigina 'touches upon' famous Aiakid deeds or qualities.

[18] For the snake as a sign of a hero-presence see Küster (1913) 72 ff. and for the importance of curative snakes in the Amphiaraos cult, see Ogden (2001) 84–5.

[19] In comparable Pindaric episodes in which signs are interpreted, the scene is made finite with details (e.g. lion's pelt and cup in *I*. 6. 37, 40), or rendered dramatic by accompanying events (e.g. the departure of the divinities at *O*. 8. 47–52). For another gnomic pronouncement from Amphiaraos, see *O*. 6. 13–17.

[20] Responsion couples the Alkmaon seen by his father, Amphiaraos, in line 46, with the dead son of Adrastos in 53; Aristomenes is 'son' at 20, the Epigonoi are, in responsion, 'sons' at 40, while Aigialaos is 'son' at 53. On the supposed 'irrelevance' of the reference to Adrastos and his son see A. Miller (1993) 32–4 and n. 28.

dead father's eye, and paired (in the mind behind that eye) with the fall of a second very similar creature. Though the seer's explicit point is the nobility of temperament that comes in each case from the father 'by nature' (44), the pairing of the two non-figures reminds the audience that doers, however noble, inevitably die. Furthermore, as sensed poetic creations, these two have nothing in common with the vital Aiakids glimpsed in earlier odes for Aigina, for they have neither substance nor felt affect. Neither moves as a hero: instead, one is 'someone', the other 'no one', while each is literally a thing that a shadow has dreamed of (cf. 95–6).[21]

The voice of Amphiaraos falls silent (56) and the chorus, by joining directly in his (undepicted) joy, does its best to create a moment in which mythic reality touches festival actuality (as at *Olympian* 8. 51, when Poseidon brings Aiakos 'here'). Alkmaon's power was inherited (44–5) and just as the father prophesied about victory at Thebes, so did the son prophesy to those who went off to Delphi with Aristomenes—the same age-mates (more or less) who sing the present song (58–60).[22]

[21] Amphiaraos, who is dead, interprets his own dream-vision much as, in more ordinary conditions, his priests would interpret the dreams of those who slept in his temple (Hdt. 8. 134; Paus. 9. 8. 3). For the 'dream of a shade' (95) see below, n. 36.

[22] Interpretations of 56–60 depend upon the critic's view of the Pindaric use of the first person. The present treatment hears the choral voice as primary, supposing a shrine on Aigina visited at the time of departure by Aristomenes and his party, some of whom belong to the troupe of performers for which Pindar composed *P*. 8. This was the understanding of schol 82 and 83a, and it has been followed by Dornseiff (1921) 84; Thummer (1957) 32; Slater (1979) 68–70; Pavese (1991) 150–1; d'Alessio (1994) 135–6. A second interpretation follows schol. 78a to suppose that the chorus here takes on the persona of the victor; Bundy (1986) 69 thought that, though the prophecy came only to the victor, 'the chorus is here speaking urbanely as if they were he'. A third view takes the passage as a bit of Pindaric autobiography that reflects the poet's relations with a Hero-Neighbour at Thebes; so Wilamowitz (1922) 441; Farnell (1932) ii. 195; Bowra (1964) 340 ; Lefkowitz (1975) 179–85, (1977) 213–14; Krischer (1985) 123 supposed that the poet had received a prophecy numbering the days of Athenian dominance. Nagy (2000) 103 says, 'the poet himself experienced the vision', but then he expands thus: 'Pindar's song claims to have received as a gift the *manteumata* "mantic crafts" (8. 60) of the seer'; cf. Nagy (1990) 329. After a survey of opinion Pfeijffer (1999) 540–5 concludes that this was Pindar's 'personal experience,' as does Erbse (1999) 27–8; as a variant Hubbard (1993) 194–203 hears Pindar reporting on his own consultation, not of Alkmaon but of Amphiaraos at the Theban Amphiaraon, while Carne-Ross (1985) 180 supposes a metapoetical meeting: 'As I now turn towards Pythia in my song, he prophesies . . .'

Whether this hero-neighbour[23] made an unsought appearance or responded to a formal consultation, whether he came to them in daylight or in dream, whether his prophecy was received directly or through some mechanism, the singers do not say. Such a lack of specificity suggests that this was a phenomenon familiar to the audience, and it is natural to suppose some island departure rite in which one asked for safety and success as one journeyed, and protection for goods and friends who were left behind.[24] In Alkmaon's case, the significant point is that his message brought a joy that would suitably be repaid with a shower of crowns and song—it was related, in other words, to the victory now being sung.

Whatever the ritual details of Alkmaon's message, this reminder of the victor's actual embarkation when he sailed towards the omphalos (59) lets the song make its transit to Apollo and Delphi and then, by way of god-given victories brought home (61–6), back again to Aigina, where the Far-shooter must oversee the present celebration (67–9). It is he who will keep the singers' actions appropriate to their purpose of praise,[25] and appropriate also to Hesychia's mother, Dika, the patron and

[23] He is *γείτων* (58), which suggests a local hero; see Slater (1979) 69 n. 21; Rusten (1983) 289–97. In general such heroes, often called Prothuroi, were addressed on entering or leaving a household or neighbourhood (e.g. Eur. *Hel.* 1165–68; *Her.* 609; note too Ar. *Vesp.* 389–94 where Philokleon is about to jump out the window). For money or valuables left with them for safekeeping, see Rohde (1967) 152–3 and n. 105.

[24] Alkmaon had a tomb in Psophis (Paus. 8. 24. 8) and later tradition said he was a prophet in Akarnania (Clem. *Strom.* 1. 134. 4) but nothing is known about his function in popular religion. A cult of Alkmaon, not likely at Thebes, is easily imaginable wherever Peloponnesian traditions persisted; his wanderings and their eventual end by order of Delphi would make him an appropriate guardian for travellers and especially for a community of merchants.

[25] Understanding 67–9 as 'I pray that you look (send) harmony (fittingness) down upon everything that I attempt'; see the discussion of Giannini (1995) 45–53. This ocular action by Apollo will be one element in the general 'unjealous gaze' of all the gods that is requested for the Meidylids (71–2). For Apollo as subject of *κατὰ . . . βλέπειν* see schol. 67a, as followed by Wilamowitz, Schroeder, Puech, Burton, Thummer, Lefkowitz, Race, and Giannini in Gentile (1995*b*) 578–9 where there is further bibliography. Taillardat (1986) 229 reverses the force of the verb into 'apercevoir' so as to achieve a wish that the god may discover a 'justesse de propos' in every one of the poet's works. Verdenius (1983) 367–8 would take *κατά* with *ἁρμονίαν*, understanding 'look in agreement with what I do'. For the speaker as subject see, among many, Hubbard (1983) 286–92, 'I pray that I may show proportion as I fit one part of my song to the next.' Pfeijffer (1995*b*) 164 suggests *καταλιπεῖν* with poet as subject praying that he may leave behind 'the very harmony that he is now witnessing'(?).

creature of any well-ordered chorus (70–1).[26] Then, having attributed their own excellence to heavenly powers, the singers protect the magnificence of the occasion with an apotropaic gesture against the envy, both divine (71–2) and mortal (73–5), that might afflict Xenarkes and his fortunate family.[27] Finally their self-validating plea[28] is closed with a useful wisdom-passage. Mortal envy, they say, is never in order because success (like a wrestling victory) always depends upon the immortals, one of whom acts as umpire (76–8).[29] It is to be noted that this *daimon* interferes to the same melodic phrase that will be heard, at the song's end, when a god-given brilliance comes upon men (line end 76 / line end 96), and also that he enters the ring (78) to the same tune that accompanies Apollo's arrows, as they work to support Hesychia against the Giants (18). With the Meidylid successes thus explicitly subordinated to a fate determined by the immortals, praise may be applied full-strength, and at this

[26] This choral δίκα involves paying the praise that is due (as at 56–7, to Alkmaon), and also following an assigned path, dancers' movements being like the ordained movements of heavenly bodies (Hom. *Od*. 12. 34; Eur. *El*. 464; Plut. *De Defectu Orac*. 422B, etc.). Bundy (1986) 61 n. 69 explained δίκα in other passages as 'encomiastic propriety'.

[27] The possibility of divine Phthonos (71–2) stands in responsion with Hesychia's harsh action against one who outrages her (11–12). Wilamowitz (1922) 442: 'die Götter können auch den *phthonos* im Auge haben, den bösen Blick, der alles zerstört.' Kirkwood (1984) 176 translates, 'I pray, Xenarkes, that the glance of the gods be unenvious of your fortunes,' comparing Aisch. *Agam*. 947. See also Burkert (1981) 203, where this passage is listed as the only one in which the *opis* of the gods has a clearly positive sense. Giannini in Gentile (1995) 580 ad 71–2 would (like Bergk and Turyn) keep the ἄφθιτον of the mss., arguing that an original ἄφθονον could never have produced it; this, however would cause the song to wish upon its patron what an audience would hear as 'unceasing jealous attention from the gods', which is unthinkable, especially as a replacement for the very Pindaric 'unjealous jealous attention'.

[28] For an extensive analysis of the entire passage at 61–78 see A. M. Miller (1989) 461–84, though he makes this essentially a prayer for a future Olympic victory.

[29] See the discussion of Giannini in Gentile (1995) 581–2 who, like Burton, understands a decisive third-party interference between two wrestlers, made in the interest of order (μέτρῳ, 78). Giannini, however, believes that the verb καταβαίνει makes metaphoric reference to the use of lots for determining opponents, while Taillardat (1986) 232–8 supposes more probably that the *daimon* descends into the ring like a *brabeus* or umpire/trainer with his rod (μέτρῳ = ῥάβδῳ). Those who reject the notion of the divine umpire detach line 78 and rewrite it as a free-standing (and not quite comprehensible) moral command; cf. Race (1997) ad loc., 'Enter the contest in due measure!' Miller (1989) 481, following Coppola (1931) 210, understands this as a suggestion that Aristomenes' Olympic ambitions should be moderated.

point the song turns directly to the actual triumphs of Aristomenes.

The boy has had two major previous victories, at Marathon and at Megara, and three wins at the local games for Hera, all of which creates a playfully numerical background to the four opponents who have been sent home, defeated, after Aristomenes' greatest (fourth) success.[30] (Note how the *τρισσαῖς* of line 80 grows into the *τέτρασι* that opens the following line.) Pindar is clearly enjoying himself, and yet this quadrupled achievement gets a strangely contorted treatment as the ode comes to its close. First it is celebrated in reverse by singers who give very specific motions to four boys who have failed. The motif of the losers has been used before (*O.* 8. 68–9), for it brings spice to the satisfactions of a youthful victory, but only here are the defeated given enlivening poetic attention. They are negations of victors, characterized by the processions and the maternal smiles they do *not* receive (83–5), yet even as they hang in the air like ghosts (*ἄπάοροι*, 86, the first appearance of the word), their return is the one passage in this entire ode that evokes actuality. These boys become real when the victor's 'fall' upon them is enlivened by intention (*κακὰ φρονέων*, 82), more so when their 'cowering' movements are localized with a rare epic word for a filthy back-alley (*λαύρα*, 86),[31] and ultimately so when they are 'gnawed' by their sufferings (87). They are not just another rhetorical device that allows the singers, without being sticky, to say that Aristomenes won sweet laughter from his mother. Rather, these nameless boys stand to the victor as does Aigialaos, the son of Adrastos, to Alkmaon, for they are the inevitable shadow cast by any brilliant event. And finally, with an effect that borders on the bathetic, these young contenders defeated at Apollo's games offer a dim conceptual echo of the Giants Apollo shot down in support of Hesychia.

After being praised in litotes for what it is not, this glorious Pythian victory receives a direct description that is more surprising than anything that has gone before. There is one way, it seems, in which the bliss of Aristomenes' return will be not so

[30] At Delphi Aristomenes had to meet three opponents before arriving at his final match (84); on the technicalities see Bernardini (1985) 135 n. 27.

[31] Which dimly associates them with the suitors at Ithaka (*Od.* 22. 128 and 137).

different from the shame of the defeated, for it too will be short-lived. True, a victor rests for a while on a cloud of almost oriental luxury,[32] but he must still work to maintain his manliness and the purity of his ambition (88–94) and even if he succeeds, his elevated joy will not endure. The brief flight of happiness will inexorably end in a drop to the ground (93), and though in the previous triad it was a *daimon* who tossed a man up or let him fall (76–8), this subsequent reversal is not honoured by the presence of any superhuman power. Instead, the agent by which bliss (93) is overturned is merely human and surprisingly psychological, being nothing more than the victor's own perception of an opposite condition which must surely come (*γνώμα ἀποτρόπος*, 94).[33] A fatal shake is inevitably given to any ripening joy—even that of victory—by man's recognition of mutability.

Aristomenes is being sung by a group of boys who perform with perfect regard for tradition—they have Dika beside them like a trainer (71), while Apollo instils harmony into their performance (68–9), so that it is fittingly adjusted, both to themselves and to the occasion. Nevertheless, they have first likened their friend's victory to the frozen non-gesture of an Alkmaon whose double must die,[34] then described its actuality as (not humiliation but) a delicious elevation that will end in a fall. The song thus arrives, in the last line of its ultimate antistrophe, at an epinician joy that has dropped to the ground like fruit from a

[32] The schol. 126a found reference in the 'great luxury' of 89 to the wealth of Aristomenes' family; others hear a reflection of the elegance of the present ceremony (as at 6), and Nagy (1990) 263–4 supposes that this floating cloud of luxury suggests an almost effeminate joy; cf. Fränkel (1946) 133 n. 9, 'The winner flies like an oriental king.'

[33] What Fränkel (1946) 133 and n. 9 called ' a turn of the mind' or 'a reversal of his disposition'; cf. (1962) 638, 'verkehrt sich ihre Denkart im Gegenteil', explained by men's changeable nature as *ἐπάμεροι*. Others have given the phrase a more judgmental turn, e.g. Wade-Gery (1958) 251 'crooked twists of thought'; Bowra (1964) 157 'an unlucky twist of thought'. For the sense of *γνώμα* see *O.* 12. 10 and *P.* 12. 32, where the meaning is 'expectation' (generally wrong) as to the divinely determined future; it is what Elpis directs (fr. 214. 3 SM). Although this organ/locus of opinion is usually mortal (but see P. *N.* 10. 89), some suppose that it here contains a divine intention; Burton (1962) 189 suggests 'the hostile purpose of the daimon' (then exchanges this for an ordinary 'unexpectedly'); Giannini in Gentile (1995) 565 ad 93 reports it as 'il "volere" degli dei', citing [Aisch.] *PV* 1002; Taillardat (1986) 237 n. 38 would have this 'expectation' refer to the judgement issued by the daimon/umpire of 76.

[34] In responding passages Alkmaon first pursues the paternal art (60), then Aristomenes gains local victories as Meidylid ancestors have done before (80).

branch rudely shaken (94). In earlier odes the sensation of athletic triumph was comparable to that of a Peleus as he received the gods' eternal gifts (*N*. 4. 67–8), while the magic of victory was able to revive the old and rejoice the dead (*O*. 8. 70ff.; *N*. 4. 85), and strong enough to refresh an entire clan (*I*. 6. 63), reaching down even to succeeding generations (*N*. 7. 100). Success crowned by fame gave a man safe anchorage in bliss (*I*. 6. 13), for he and his city enjoyed a happiness planted by god and comparable to that of Kinyras (*N*. 8. 17–19). Excellence, watered by poets, rose into the upper air like a tree (*N*. 8. 40); triumph, well praised, led a man into a meadow of blessedness (*I*. 5. 1–13), but none of these elder horticultural metaphors contained any hint of a storm. Here, however, the singers use these penultimate lines to announce that achieved pleasures, in particular those of victory, must match their rise with a fall (93). This rule caps a song in which the familiar claim that praise can transform the momentary into something eternal (especially evident in reference to the Muses' songs, as at *N*. 7. 11, or *I*. 8. 66–8) is entirely absent. Instead of being the vehicle of an enduring glory, this present performance is merely an aspect of the impermanent luxury that Hesychia understands. It is a man-made contrivance which might remove a debt of praise (32–4), but one upon which Apollo may or may not confer *harmonia* (68). When everything mortal, even praise and the exaltation of victory, lives according to the shifting day (95),[35] always expecting a fall, can there be any distinction even between glory and obscurity—between being someone and being no one? 'Creatures of a day!' the singers chant. 'What is man, and what is no man?'(95).[36]

Then, with only five lines left, the chorus mimes a sudden revelation as they cry out, 'But. . .!' (96). Bad fortune as well as good will be subject to mutability, and just *because* we have no more

[35] Fränkel's discussion of *ἐπάμεροι* (1946) 131–2 fixes the sense as 'determined for the day by the peculiarities of that day', so that 'men are moulded and remoulded by changing events'.

[36] Understanding 95 with schol. 135ab as equating all men in their insubstantial impermanence; this seems to harmonize best with the levelling description of all as 'the dream of a shade'; see Giannini (1982) 69–76, following whom Nagy (1990) 195 translates, 'What is a someone? What is a no one?'; cf. (2000) 111. Others follow the more expansive version of Fränkel (1962) 637 : 'Was ist man, and was nicht?' (cf. Hölderlin's 'Was aber ist einer? Was aber ist er nicht?') so that man is potentially all things in succession.

substance than the dreams that haunt the dead (95),[37] a moment of brightness, when it comes, falls upon us with the effect of a lifetime flavoured with honey (96–7).[38] This is such a moment! Alkmaon, or more precisely his shield's snake-emblem, was a phantom's dream and also an omen, the promise of a return to Argos for the Epigonoi. That same Alkmaon gave a signal to the party that left Xenarkes' house for Delphi (59), presumably indicating success and a safe voyage home,[39] and Aristomenes' exercise of inherited strength (60) has in fact now brought a happy return for himself and his party. Surely, then, his extraordinary Pythian victory is a third sign, one that indicates a prosperous 'return' for this house where Hesychia dwells, perhaps even for the entire island. Hope is indicated, and the singers call the whole assembly into a final prayer: 'Aigina, pilot this city on a voyage of freedom, while Zeus and the Aiakids give it safe convoy!' (98–100).[40]

Earlier odes have closed with assertions of present bliss (e.g. *N*. 8, *I*. 8), sacralizing descriptions of present ceremonies (e.g. *N*. 5, *I*. 5), or praise of the trainers who made victory possible (e.g. *N*. 4), but always with a sense of joyous expansion. Here there is a closing prayer, something like that at the end of *Olympian* 8, but now the singers ask, not for the continuance of god-given

[37] Silk (2001) 37 notes the syntactical absolutism of the 'all-noun idiom' but does not discuss the extraordinary effect of imposing it upon an assertion of vaporous intangibility.

[38] Whether lines 96–7 are meant to encourage or discourage is debated. Wilamowitz (1922) 444 heard a bleak announcement that the joy of a happy hour cannot raise up the nothingness of human life; for Kirkwood (1984) 181 the closing expresses 'the rarity of success and the inadequacy of human resources'; Giannini in Gentile (1995) 215 finds 'l'idea . . . dei limiti imposti ai mortali e della vanita d'ogni successo umano'; for bibliography of those who find 'despair' see Lefkowitz (1975) 174 n. 3. On the other hand, N. O. Brown (1951) 4 heard 'an ambiguous juxtaposition of hope and despair', while Pfeijffer (1995*b*) 165 supposes that this is a 'joyful' song, and Segal (1998) 152 discovered 'optimism' and reference to 'a permanent and divinely given joy' that was revealed to the poet in his old age.

[39] Alkmaon's sign was encouraging and the singers associate it with their present joy (56), but of course no prophet, not even a priest at Olympia (*O*. 8. 2–3), could make an explicit promise of victory.

[40] Aigina, island/nymph/bride of Zeus (mother of Aiakos) acts as pilot of a *polis*-ship engaged upon a 'freedom voyage'; as in a *propemptikon* the essential prayer is: 'bring X safely to port' (here, to a condition of Eleutheria). Compare *O*. 6. 103–5, another journey-prayer; a more distant parallel would be a cable-loosing song of the sort Simonides is supposed to have made (535 *PMG*).

good fortune, but instead for a divine rescue. Aigina is no longer a tower that stands firm by divine ordinance, welcoming strangers throughout all time (*O*. 8. 25–7); instead she is in command of a ship that floats on a doubtful sea. This vessel is manned by insubstantial citizens dependent on the fortunes of each day, and disorder always threatens (*P*. 8. 10–12). All the same, this island-ship is engaged on a 'freedom voyage' (ἐλευθέρῳ στόλῳ, 98), the epithet suggesting that the aim of its journey is release from the 'slavery' of outside governance.[41] Like a *propemptikon*, this closing invocation would ensure a successful arrival in a chosen port, and the singers fortify the magic of their plea by calling at last upon Zeus and the Aiakids. The splendid warriors who attacked Troy have not been given any part in an ode made for the dishonoured lords of a subjugated island, but if Aristomenes' victory is recognized as a proof of continuing local vitality and an omen suggesting a coming 'return' to Freedom, then they can at last be named. Apollo figured prominently in the depiction of Hesychia, and he was the recipient of a prayer for present ceremonial success (61 ff.), but with the discovery of a moderate, albeit disenchanted, hope for Aigina, the singers turn back to the god who ruled all the earlier songs for this island. The consort of Aigina, father of Aiakos, progenitor of Aiakid heroes, is the one who may yet arrange a prosperous return to freedom (99–100), and so the present audience can be led into a final prayer that makes 'Zeus and Lord Aiakos, Peleus and brave Telamon, with Achilles' the last Pindaric words to be sung on Aigina, perhaps the last to be sounded by any chorus of his, anywhere.

[41] On ἐλευθερία and related words see above, Ch. 7 nn. 18–22; the expression στόλος ἐλεύθερος suggests a journey towards freedom, but it could alternately mean a journey freely undertaken, one that follows a free course, or one that is enhanced by freedom (like the blossom-decked στόλος at *P*. 2. 62); note the translation offered by Peron (1974) 139: 'Égine, mère chère, fais que cette ville puisse à l'avenir voguer librement.'

15. Afternote: The Audience as Participant

Pindar meant that his odes for Aigina should bring audiences into the state of healing jollity that he called Euphrosyna (*N*. 4. 1–2). This condition belonged properly to informal groups of fortunate like-minded men, and when it was joined with reputation (δόξα, *P*. 11. 45) it represented life at its song-filled best (*O*. 14. 14; *P*. 3. 98; *P*. 4. 129; *I*. 3. 10 cf. *O*. 1. 58). As distinct from the symposium, however, a victory celebration had a further and more complex aim, for the choral performance was meant to present the victor with his own triumph rendered imperishable, while it also offered that same permanent glory to his neighbours and friends. And in the Aiginetan odes (as in many others) this essential shift from the actual into a realm beyond time was accomplished by way of mythic scenes brought to life through choral *mimesis*. Audiences became witnesses, even participants, as they watched the recreation of moments in which a divine presence determined the accomplishment of a marvel. By such means an actual victory from the immediate past was linked to a world of permanence while the gathered guests, in a reflection of the winner's experience, felt the touch of immediate immortal power.

The audience, in all eleven cases, was essentially the same, a gathering of aristocrats united in wealth, commercial interests, cult duties, and devotion to the Aiakids. In all cases, however, this group was joined by an 'outside' element, for immature boys appeared among its active men and responsible elders. The young victor was present, no doubt sitting close to his father or grandfather, his ode was delivered by the mouths, hands, and feet of his age-mates, and probably other companions of his were invited as well. The celebration introduced this adolescent group to the ways of maturity, while the elders were led to accept the imminent newcomers, and spectators of all ages were brought to a common experience of the magic of success. Everyone present was to be in some degree changed, which is why these odes in particular were regularly given a ritual aspect

by phrases much like those used by magicians. The Aiginetan choruses do not chant 'I cut' or 'I stir' to enhance the witchery of their gestures, but they do chant 'I pour out praise!' (*I*. 6. 74.), 'I stand and take breath before I sing further!' and then 'I sprinkle him with my ode!' (*N* . 8. 19, 48–9).[1] With each performance something more than ordinary will be made to occur.

To begin the process, a multi-aged congregation of hosts and guests, family and friends, must be transformed into a single recipient of pleasure and common illumination. Pindar knows many techniques for such unification, of which prayer is the most obvious as again and again a roomful of silent spectators are drawn into a performed plea. No one could abstain from a call like that addressed to ever-dawning Time at *Olympian* 8. 28 in behalf of the city, or the supplication of Aigina herself at the close of *Pythian* 8 ('Aigina, dear mother . . .!'), where the entire island, young, old, rich, poor, is embraced by the choral voice. By contrast, the Herakles who is called upon in the last triad of *Nemean* 7 is physically linked to Sogenes' particular house but nevertheless, when the hero is asked to intervene in behalf of all mortality, each listener necessarily joins in the cry of 'O blessed one!'(94).[2]

Spectators could also be pulled into simultaneous recognition of a divinity without the formality of prayer, as when the chorus, having produced a vision of Achilles' inborn strength, cries out for all, 'Zeus! Yours was that blood!' (*N*. 3. 65).[3] In a secular parallel, since all listeners are sharing the same hospitality, all can be caught up in any address to the occasion's host, seconding passages like that at *Nemean* 7. 58–61, 'Thearion . . . I am your guest . . .!' Finally, a more philosophic unification is achieved by the maxims that remind an audience that, though separate in age, fortune, and ambition, all adhere to Hellenic definitions of mortality. Their explosive joy can be confirmed and made safe with brief commonplaces like 'Don't seek to be Zeus!' (*I*. 5. 14), 'No one goes west of Cadiz!' (*N*. 4. 69), or 'Such things do not depend

[1] Cf. 'I send forth this song!' *N*. 3. 76–7.

[2] At *O*. 8. 84–8 all guests are drawn into the prayer to Zeus for the continued prosperity of the house; similarly with the prayer to Herakles, at *N*. 7. 98–101, though it asks particular favours for future generations to come from Sogenes.

[3] The burst of choral praise for Zeus at *I*. 5. 52–3 is similarly inclusive in effect.

upon men: a *daimon* controls them!' (*P*. 8. 76). However many spectators are present, all join in the single condition of humanity on hearing the measured words that begin *Nemean* 6, 'One is the race . . .' We should remember, however, that even unarguable wisdom will carry a hint of subversive levity when offered by boys to their elders.[4]

Among the tricks of inclusion and interaction that Pindar took over from the sacred choruses, the fiction of spontaneity is the most striking. This is a device, current at least since the time of Alkman (3 *PMG*),[5] by which a chorus pretends to improvise its song, or even to inhabit the moment that preceeded its actual performance. In Pindar's time the stance of being caught unawares probably seemed a bit old-fashioned to the experienced listener, but by making each guest a witness to the 'creation' of the event, it forced all who were present into a unifying complicity with the performers—having sanctioned its creation, all were implicated in the continuation of the ode. Nor did the illusion of improvisation necessarily demand dramatized effects like those that open *Nemean* 3 and *Isthmian* 8. It was created more economically whenever a well-rehearsed chorus interrupted itself with metapoetical advice (e.g. 'Drench that boast in silence!' *I*. 5. 51).[6] The song being invented on the spot could directly solicit approval from its audience, as at *Nemean* 7. 69, 'Let him who listens report whether I sing off-key!' but even the most ordinary aside such as 'I hope to hit the mark' (*N*. 6. 26–7) or 'I shall be Argive in brevity' (*I*. 6. 58) pretends to address an involved gathering of single-minded listeners.[7]

More overt in their unifying effects are rhetorical questions

[4] Such maxims were condemned as proper only to the vulgar or the elderly by Aristotle (*Rhet*. 1395[a]) but they were preserved in epic or pseudo-epic form and Pindar assumes that the merest hint will cause listeners to supply a given gnome (e.g. *I*. 6. 67). Slater (2001) 99–121 discusses a group of athletic/metapoetic gnomes, and it may be noted that in certain African societies initiatory learning takes the form of fresh sets of gnomes to be memorized.

[5] Cf. P. fr. 94b 6–15 SM; see above, Ch. 7, pp. 109–10, Ch. 9, p. 141 n. 2.

[6] This command is ostensibly self-addressed but in effect laid upon all present, from whom some positive response to the name 'Salamis' might be expected.

[7] Claims to be following the rules (as at *N*. 4. 33), or a response to an imagined objection (as at *N*. 7. 102–5) will have the same effect. See A. Miller (1993) 21–53, who notes these devices but does not consider their effects upon an audience.

that provoke a single unvoiced response from all listeners. So when the chorus of *Isthmian* 5, in seeming self-exhortation, calls (39), 'Speak out! Who killed Kyknos, killed Hektor . . .?' their own failure to respond is covered by a silent but unanimous shout of 'Achilles!' from the audience.[8] Parallel, though less dramatic, are cases of the 'no time to tell' convention, or its partner, the threat of surfeit (e.g. *P*. 8. 29–32; *N*. 4. 71–2), for these work to fill all listening minds with the same ghostly catalogue of the material suppressed. This device is found in exemplary form at *Isthmian* 6. 56, where the singers announce, 'for me the listing of all their deeds would be too long', thus challenging Lampon's guests to a common whirlwind review of the battle-deeds of Telamon, Herakles, and Ajax. A less magnificent example occurs at *Nemean* 4. 30–2 when the unedifying scene of Alkyoneus' death, disallowed by the Law of Song, is asssigned directly to the spectators for mental reconstruction.

When an audience is drawn into an act of numerical reckoning a similar effect of good-tempered collaboration is achieved. For the best results these challenges will be wholly unnecesary, as with the three Ages of Man and the Four Virtues (*N*. 3. 72–4), the ten thousand roads all one hundred feet wide (*I*. 6. 22), or the twelve four-horse chariots each with two drivers (*N*. 4. 28–30). Teases such as these, inflicted upon an audience of mixed ages, provoke a sense of solidarity when resolved, and this will also be the effect when humour is directly employed.[9] A pun like that between 'athletes' and 'Athens' (*N*. 5. 49) creates a shared moment of knowing levity, and the same brief disengagement from poetic enchantment is induced by bathetic juxtapositions. When, again in *Nemean* 5, the generic boast of a magnificent leap towards a grand subject (19–20) drops upon a depraved Hippolyta (26), listeners old and young share the objective amusement of an audience momentarily misled. Any lapse from full seriousness brings something of the same response, as when a bold sea-going Pindaric song meets a rival composition in

[8] This will be true, whether the two imperatives are self-addressed or directed towards a Muse extrapolated from a chariot which in turn is extrapolated from the verb *ἐλαύνω*, as Race (1997) ii. 179 n. 2 would have it.

[9] For humour in Pindar see Jurenka (1896) 92–98; Rome (1946) 424–32, on *O*. 10 and *P*. 12; Kabiersch (1999) 368–71, on *O*. 10. For the most part the examples noted have been qualified as 'geistreiche Selbstironie'; see Kurz (1974) 15.

which clichés are rolled out like knuckle-bones (*N*. 4. 40), when a song-drink wafted on the Aiolian breath of flutes arrives '. . . a bit late' (*N*. 3. 80), or when singers, taking advantage of line-end, tell themselves to 'whirl and shout / quietly!'(*N*. 7. 81–2). Even Achilles is touched with bathos when he is brought on, a tow-headed 6-year-old, to demonstrate the force of a 'weighty inborn fame' (*N*. 3. 40–3).[10]

Pindar had one more device, apparently a favourite, by which he imposed a common, unifying response upon his audience. This was litotes,[11] a denial of a negative employed in the assertion of its positive twin, so that, for example, 'not falling short of his courage' signifies 'surpassing himself in daring' (*O*. 8. 67). Or again, in the favoured alpha-privative form, 'not portionless' indicates a condition of exuberant good fortune (*N*. 6. 14). The artificiality of such 'veiled superlatives' is strongly marked, and there is a consequent negative effect upon the poetic spell wrought upon an audience,[12] yet this oblique verbal trick appears with great frequency, often in statements of supreme importance. Thus the consummate Aiakid prophecy, put in Apollo's mouth at *Olympian* 8. 45, is cast in this form: 'Not without your children will this wall crumble!'[13] Emphasized or not, each negated negative, by demanding a mental act of revision,

[10] Ostensibly opposite, exaggerations have a similarly reductive effect, as with Telamon's overblown achievements in *N*. 3. 36–8. Likewise bits of contrived ambiguity, like the confusion of Telamon with Herakles at *I*. 6. 31–5, which produce, when clarified, a psychic event much like that of getting the point of a joke.

[11] 'Laudatio non virtutibus apellandis sed vitiis detrahendis' (Gellius 3. 6. 11). Pindar is much fonder of litotes than is Bakchylides, but the elaborate passage at Ba. 13. 175–81 should not be missed. Not one of the eleven Aiginetan odes is without an example; I count 45 instances but have surely overlooked more than one. *O*. 8 shows the greatest density with seven examples in 88 lines; *N*. 7 is almost equal with eight in 105 lines.

[12] Dornseiff (1921) 78 describes the effects upon an audience: 'Die Litotes ist eine art "fishing", sie nötigt den Hörer von sich aus zu dem Gesagten etwas hinzuzutun und hat dadurch etwas Unausgedrücktes, Gedämpftes, Anregendes, Beunruhigendes, Spornendes, Kitzelndes.' See also Köhnken (1976) 62–7, an all too brief treatment with a good example in its conclusion: 'Die eigenwillige Verwendung des Stilmittels der Litotes ist also ein nicht unwesentlicher Aspekt seiner Sprache.'

[13] Cf. *N*. 3. 76, beginning of the envoi, '. . . of these no one is missing here!'; *I*. 8. 77, final line, 'it is no untried Youth that he buries now!'; *N*. 7.49, 'Not false is the witness . . .!' *I*. 5. 56–8, envoi, 'neither the great exertion, nor the amount spent . . . is kept obscure.'

creates an instant in which a predetermined and simultaneous effort occupies every listening mind. This effect varies, of course, with the difficulty of the expression; many examples reverse themselves almost automatically as 'may it not cease' becomes 'may it continue', 'he will not blame' yields 'he will praise', and 'do not grudge!' sounds a call to generosity.[14] Even these, however, may be more telling than they seem, as with the common phrase, 'X did not give the lie to the achievements of his forebears' (e.g. *I*. 8. 71; *P*. 8. 36), where the ease of interpretation seems almost to illustrate the power of ancestral influence. Compare the version at *Nemean* 3. 15, 'he did not defile the Myrmidons with mildness', which provokes each listening mind to a pleasureful recapitulation of epic deeds while it is also occupied with a vision of the fierce boy pankratist. What is more, the matter that is logically put out of mind will always remain to some degree significant.[15] A request for immortal attention that is 'not envious' (*P*. 8. 71) doesn't entirely efface the notion of divine displeasure, while the address to Eleithyia, 'Without you we see neither day nor dark night' (*N*. 7. 2–3) creates an instant of hypothetical non-being for each listener, even as he reverses it into positive praise. With similar effect, 'The hymn that my heart loves to taste is not without Aiakids' (*I*. 5. 20) invites all to sample and reject a song that lacks this essential flavour. More conducive to jollity is the boast at *Isthmian* 6. 24, 'No city is so barbaric or perverse of tongue as not to hear of Peleus' fame!' In simple reversal this produces 'Even non-Hellenic cities know his tale', but meanwhile the double emphasis brings a happy sense of superiority as audience members consider the appalling

[14] Cf. *P*. 8. 21, 'Aigina has fallen not far away from the Charites,' or the boast of being 'not rough' as a singer of praise at *N*. 7. 76. The same simplicity marks 'Do not be grudging as you pour a fitting boast into your song' (*I*. 5. 24), and *N*. 8. 4, where success in Aphrodite's realm comes to one who 'does not stray from *kairos*' (i.e. seizes the opportunity). In some cases the positive version is appended, as in Apollo's statement about Troy's fall (*O*. 8. 45), 'not without your children but in the time of the first and third generations'; cf. 'You don't disgrace . . . but rather exalt' (*P*. 8. 36–38); 'do not freeze but give out your song' (*N*. 5. 50b); 'abstaining from dark blame . . . I bring glory' (*N*. 7. 61); Zeus should 'not send a Nemesis of divided mind but rather bring a painless life' (*O*. 8. 86–7); 'the Bassids do not lack songs and tales . . . but rather supply shiploads of subjects for praise' (*N*. 6. 31–5).

[15] Fränkel (1962) 569 n. 14, 'die polare Denkart immer auch das Umgkehrte im sinne hat.'

ignorance in which those who are not Greek do, for the most part, dwell.

Prayer, spontaneity fiction, even litotes were all traditional choral techniques for manipulating an audience but Pindar employed as well one further mode of influence special to this place—reference to the sculptured decoration of the Aphaia Temple. All but one of the eleven odes revived an Aiakid tale because the exploits of these heroes were essential to the island's definition—'Aiakids . . . for whom I claim Aigina as home' (*I*. 5. 43)—and the pediments were tangible proof of this claim. In particular, the familiar presence of the huge figures meant that whenever one of them was named, any and all local listeners would entertain a common initial vision. For an instant the hero would stride, stab, or crouch as his sculptured likeness did, and Pindar played upon this programmed response in a variety of ways. Even when he pretended to set them aside, the pedimental compositions were to be present, and this he made clear in the first of his Aiginetan songs. *Nemean* 5 begins with the assertion, 'I am no sculptor', an artful negative that implies the positive claim, 'I am a singer!' while it yet carries a strong secondary suggestion, i.e. 'Keep sculpture in mind as you listen to me!' This advice, hardly necessary to an Aiginetan audience, inaugurated a Pindaric commentary on the temple's decorations that would continue until the Athenian occupation.

The great innovation of the sculptured scenes was their display of fathers and sons, two Aiakid generations at work in paired campaigns against Troy, and this notion is embraced by Pindar. The Aiakids are defined at *Isthmian* 5. 36 as those who, first following Herakles, then with the Atreids, took Troy '*twice*,' the word *δίς* emphatically placed at the beginning of a line. Nevertheless, the pedimental focus on these two groups is in the poet's eye too narrow and he adds two further generations, thus causing Apollo a certain difficulty when he reads the snake-sign in the eighth *Olympian* (45–6). A final Neoptolemos (*N*. 7) and an initial Aiakos (*O*. 8) complete the sculptured statement of innate familial virtue while they also supply one figure congruent with boy victors, another suitable to their proud grandfathers.

With Herakles, however, Pindar offers not an extension but a firm correction to the temple's version of the first Trojan campaign. In *Isthmian* 6 he provokes a vision of the archer of the East

Pediment with a conspicuous exercise of litotes—'a warrior whose hand does not spare the bowstring' (33–5)—then at once raises the sculptured hero from his oddly secondary position and brings him striding into the mythic action as Telamon's commander (28, 35). In this ode Herakles is no supporting figure but the primary warrior who imposes battle and fatherhood upon a youthful ally; as godfather to Ajax he collaborates in the making of a second Aiakid generation. He was an archer, yes, but a leader in battle, a conqueror of Troy, the brother of Aiakos (*N*. 7. 86), and even in the present day a hero-companion ready with active aid for every young Aiginetan (*N*. 7. 95–7).

The pedimental sculptures cast the special Aiakid virtue, defensive courage, in the form of a Trojan tale that Pindar embraces, though he would extend and qualify it. Nevertheless, there is one area—that of theology—in which his songs stand in emphatic opposition to the stones, for every ode made for Aigina evicts Athena from scenes of Aiakid glory and sets a pantokratic Zeus in her place. (Even *Pythian* 8 puts Aigina in his hands in the end.) In this way the songs reveal to boys still under the direction of tutors the god to whom the men of their island belong.[16] Through his son Aiakos, Zeus is progenitor ('yours is the blood!' *N*. 3. 65, cf. *N*. 5. 7; *N*. 7. 50) of the race of heroes who protect all inhabitants and are honoured by them in return (*I*. 5. 28, 34–5). This Zeus who shaped the two Trojan campaigns (*O*. 8. 44) also determines the outcome of battles in which young islanders may die (*I*. 5. 49–50), while his games fix the peak of athletic ambition (*O*. 8. 3) and, just as he keeps slander away (*N*. 8. 35), so he causes praise-songs to be sung (*I*. 5. 29). Within the world of myth, this Zeus not only rescues Order from Chaos with the movement of an eyebrow (*I*. 8. 50), but also fixes the shape and scale of the conflict that will replace war among the gods, dividing its two phases among three generations of Aiakids (*O*. 8. 43–6), and arranging for the conception of an Achilles (*I*. 8. 46–7; *N*. 5. 35; *N*. 4. 61). He is a cosmic cloud-gathering King (*N*. 5. 34), master

[16] At *O*. 8. 16 he is Genethlios, which may reflect a general claim by aristocratic families that their survival is Zeus-protected, though Wilamowitz (1922) 403 took this as a title claiming descent and used exclusively by the Blepsiads. Other usages are not decisive; at *P*. 4. 167 Zeus is *genethlios* to the two families of Pelias and Jason; at *O*. 13. 105 a family rejoices in a good fortune that is *genethlios*.

of a Nemesis who may destroy men and cities should good-fortune become excessive (*O*. 8. 86), but as Aigina's consort he may also rescue the physical island (*P*. 8. 99), while his throne-mate Themis (*O*. 8. 22) preserves its enviable order. The boys in the audience are presumably not yet much interested in civic tranquillity but the divinity central to the adult life of their island (central too to the Rape of Aigina that briefly decorated one of the Aphaia Temple's pedimental triangles) has been shown to them as Zeus, Lord of All (*I* . 5. 52–3). He will preside as Soter when they are ready to take part in the symposium (*I*. 6. 1–9).

Prepared in these many ways, Aiginetan audiences were drawn into chorally reconstructed marvels in which a divinely approved *telos* (cf. *N*. 3. 70–1) was ensured by a touch of daimonic force. In the five simplest examples these are moments of contest, and their congruence with athletic victory is schematically demonstrated in *Nemean* 6, where Achilles' fall upon a Memnon not meant to go home (49–53) redescribes and translates the victories of Kallias and Kreontidas (34–44). The extraordinary action can be rendered immediate through a particularized implement, which may belong to the victor, like the small-scale javelin of the childish Achilles (*N*. 3. 45), or to his opponent, like the fire, teeth, and claws that Peleus endures as he wrestles with Thetis (*N*. 4. 62–4).[17] And these moments of marvellous success are confirmed and sacralized by divine witnesses: by the gift-giving gods, after the Thetis-struggle (*N*. 4. 67–8), by the awed Athena and Artemis, after the 6-year-old huntsman has delivered his prey (*N*. 3. 50),[18] by Zeus, king of the immortals, when Peleus spurns Hippolyta (*N*. 5. 34–5).

The audience is more directly worked upon when the divine enters the world in the form of a voice. The Amphiaraos who looks out of his dream and reads the shield device of his son (*P*. 8. 44ff.) addresses no one within the scene, but his speech comes directly to the ears of Xenarkes' friends. It then becomes almost literally a part of their own experience through a poet's trick that confounds these words from the prophet with others from his

[17] Cf. the spearpoint at *N*. 6. 52–3, the knife at *N*. 7. 42.

[18] The goddesses 'marvel' (*ἐθάμβεον*, *N*. 3. 50); compare *P*. 9. 31, where Apollo commands Chiron to marvel. When Achilles wounds Telephos at *I*. 5. 42 the river Kaïkos seems to fulfil this function of witnessing.

son, given in an actual roadside prophecy (57–60). In another ode the strongly visualized wonder of three shining snakes (*O*. 8. 37–40) elicits words from Apollo that are heard by his two companions at the walls of Troy and overheard by guests gathered in Timosthenes' hall, after which the marvel of divine communication is confirmed, not only by the chariot-driving Poseidon, but also by the earth of Aigina, when the airborne Aiakos is set down 'right here!' (51). In *Isthmian* 6 Herakles' prayer is spoken before Telamon's wedding guests while the epinician guests in Lampon's house listen as well; thus united, the entire mixed gathering perceives a consummate marvel, Zeus' entrance in the form of an eagle (49–50). They have been prepared for this epiphany by ritualized gestures (41–2) and a memorable token object (the golden cup, 40), and its sense is confirmed by Herakles himself, with his shiver of pleasure (50). Eriboia will bear a son, and the two audiences to whom the vision comes seem to have taken part in his mysterious engendering.

By contrast, the voice of Themis in *Isthmian* 8 sounds out to a gathering of gods and also to the actual audience with an effect that is superficially opposite, since her words bring both groups into the felt presence of a cosmic danger.[19] Themis advocates not contest, but its avoidance, her own victory being one of persuasion as this single goddess convinces a congress of her peers, and with them today's audience, that chaos is close. She wins her victory by forcing on all a glimpse of the creature who might inhabit Thetis' womb; he is the inner marvel of this song, and she paradoxically makes him actual by picturing weapons that are, like himself, hypothetical (34–35a). The birth of this monster is to be blocked (for the present at least) by that of an Aiakid hero, but the singers apply to Achilles' deeds a generalizing exaggeration that drains them of any immediacy, while the potential Other maintains his obscure threat. This is the supreme opponent whom gods and mortals must recognize and strive to avoid through earthly war and contest, both of which appease the spirit of disorder.

In the two most complex odes the voice of the poet/chorus is dominant as mythic moments that seem to represent defeat, not

[19] Themis' speech is direct when urging her solution but indirect for the description of the threat, perhaps in order to guard against summoning him in any way.

victory, are revived. In *Nemean* 7 Neoptolemos falls in an uncontested contest, struck by a specific implement-weapon that is deployed for maximum shock effect (42), and the spectator's distressed response is reinforced by laments from Delphic witnesses (43). At once, however, the singers offer an interpretation that replaces this isolated and senseless event with a practice that is solemn and perennial. The perverted sacrifice is revealed as an event owed to the Aiakid fate (44), and the king who was killed when he brought spoils from Troy becomes, by dying at this spot, a guardian of the god's treasures (46). The bare knife and its single slash are overwhelmed, in the listening mind, by the perpetual arrival of rich processions, all carrying offerings for the Delphic god (46–7), all kept in order by the fallen conqueror of Troy. Without context or attribute, the murder weapon has disappeared while the ceremonial gifts continue, experienced in imagination by the epinician audience and witnessed by Aigina (50)—proof of an incomprehensible destiny which needs this island's Aiakids for its fulfilment.

A similar reversal of feeling and thought is imposed upon the audience of *Nemean* 8 as they assist in a revival of Ajax that works to cleanse Aigina of blame-speakers. This time the ultimate 'marvel' is not mythic but metapoetical as Ajax is 'raised', not by the narrative, but by the singers and their auditors. First the guests of this fatherless household are presented with an obscurely drawn figure who, though he 'wrestles' with the shedding of his own blood (27), is overcome by oblivion (24). At once, however, the troubled spectators are pulled further back in time and onto a familiar battlefield where they are made to collaborate in a reckoning of wounds dealt among enemies by that same hero (28–32). Guests who have gathered to honour a boy and his dead father are in this way made agents of reputation and success as Praise attacks Slander and resurrects a Glory that had been overcome by oblivion. The audience then joins the chorus in a vow addressed to Zeus (35), making their island a place where blame fixes only on evildoers, while fine deeds are watered by the dew of praise (39–40). In such a city the charm and the success-magic of a victor on whom Hora smiles can be saluted with unspoiled joy.

Such were the pleasures that Pindar contrived for Aiginetan audiences. In one or two cases the epinician performance may

have been capped by an informal procession, as victor, family, friends, and dancers set out towards the Aiakeion or some other sacred spot (as at *N*. 5. 53). More often, however, the company will have continued to exult in shared music and wine, encouraged by whatever benignant power had been summoned—a Muse, Hesychia, Hora, Euphrosyna, or perhaps their common kinsman, Herakles. Hosts had been lifted out of ordinary time by the happy performance of ritual, elders by contact with youthful success, boys by a glimpse of the mythic tokens that defined manhood on Aigina, and all, for this brief time, had been rendered 'forgetful of Hades'.[20]

[20] Like Timosthenes at *O*. 8. 72–3.

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INDEX OF PASSAGES CITED

AISCHYLOS
Agam. (896 ff.) 209 n. 9
Pers. (403) 112 n. 17
Fragments (284. 8–9) 173
[AISCHYLOS], *PV* (1002) 235 n. 33
ALKAIOS
Fragments (42 V) 72 n. 47; (296b V) 169 n. 14; (350 V) 145 n. 18
ALKMAIONIS
Fragments (1 *EGF* D) 24, 69 n. 37
ALKMAN
Fragments (3 *PMG*) 109 n. 8, 241; (5. 2. ii *PMG*) 115 n. 29; (58 *PMG*) 168 n. 8
ANTHOLOGIA PALATINA
12 (24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 205, 228) 62 n. 5
APOLLODORUS
Bib. (1. 6. 1a) 127 n. 12; (2. 6. 4) 40, 145 n. 15; (2. 12. 6) 14 n. 61; (3. 12. 5) 190 n. 21; (3. 12. 6) 22 n. 50, 24, 66 n. 24, 67 n. 27, 69 n. 37; (3. 13. 3) 129 n.21; (3. 13. 6) 131 nn. 24, 25, 147 n. 29, 148 n. 32; (3. 17. 20) 97 n. 14
ARISTOPHANES
Av. (705) 168 n. 6
Ekkl. (259) 201 n. 54; (828) 202 n. 58
Lys. (1237) 38 n. 37
Ran. (439) 202 n. 58; (961) 146 n. 22
Vesp. (389–94) 232 n. 23
ARISTOTLE
Ath. Pol. (7. 15. 11) 47 n. 8; (8. 4. 1) 47 n. 8; (19) 31
EN (1157a8) 168 n. 6
Met. (982^{b}) 7 n. 28
Poll (4. 4. 1291^{b} 224) 16 n. 17
Rhet. (1361) 235 n. 39; (1395^{a}) 241 n. 4

BAKCHYLIDES 3 (3) 141 n. 3; (21) 98 n. 20; (85–90) 125 n. 4
4 (11–13) 163 n. 21
11 (24–7) 163 n. 21
12 (1–3) 141 n. 3
13 (102) 83. n. 6; (164–6) 39; (175–81) 243 n. 11

DIODORUS SICULUS (4. 32) 40 n. 44, 145 n. 15; (4. 72. 6) 21 n. 47, 24, 69 n. 37; (5. 76) 30 n. 6; (13. 82–4) 33 n. 20

EPHOROS (70 F 176) 14 n. 3
EURIPIDES
Androm. (687) 22 n. 50; (796) 39; (1246–7) 26 n. 71
El. (464) 233 n. 26
Hell (6) 22 n. 50; (206) 141 n. 4; (1165–8) 232 n. 23
HF (609) 232 n. 23
Hipp. (146, 1129) 30 n. 7; (618–24) 85 n. 16
IA (717) 115 n. 32
IT (270) 69 n. 38
Or. (1638–42) 211; (1655) 192 n. 26

EURIPIDES (*cont.*)
Supp. (479) 111 n. 15; (323, 631, 1164) 141 n. 4
Tro. (16) 190 n. 20; (70) 200 n. 51

HERODOTOS (1. 34. 1) 211; (1. 95) 112 n. 17; (1. 140) 200 n. 51; (2. 178) 16; (3. 59. 1–4) 14; (4. 137) 112 n. 17; (4. 152) 16; (5. 62) 31; (5. 83. 1) 14, 15; (5.79–81) 27; (5. 87) 16; (6. 50) 42; (6. 50–85) 42 n. 56; (6. 73) 15, 42; (6. 87) 42, 43 n. 57; (6. 89–91) 43; (6. 91) 43 n. 58; (6. 92–3) 43; (7. 188–9) 126 n. 33; (8. 46. 1) 13; (9.85) 108

HESIOD
Cat. (58. 77) 21 n. 47; (203. 1) 25, 94 n. 8, 95; (204. 44–51) 25; (204. 89) 147 n. 29; (205. 1) 17; (205. 3–7) 18; (205) 65 n. 21; (210) 115 n. 28; (211) 131; (211. 7) 21; (212a) 18 n. 27; (226) 67; (231) 65 n. 20; (250) 23, 25, 84 n. 12
Erg. (74–5) 169 n. 13; (95) 112; (197–201) 211; (412) 88 n. 25; (800) 115 n. 12
Theog. (223–5) 211; (371–3) 94 and n. 6; (886–900) 115 n. 29; (922) 186; (984–5) 146 n. 22; (1003–7) 22, 69
Fragments (278 Rz.) 23; (321 MW) 150 n. 40

HOMER
Iliad (1. 197) 147 n. 29; (2. 222) 176 n. 39; (2. 557–8) 23 n. 52; (5. 639–51) 40; (6. 433–4) 213 n. 17; (6. 465) 200 n. 51; (14. 217) 177 n. 41; (16. 15) 21; (16. 140–4) 97 n. 16; (16. 886–7) 131 n. 24; (17. 443–4) 131 n. 24; (17. 557) 200 n. 51 (18. 433) 21; (20. 4) 114 n. 24; (21. 189) 19; (22. 33) 200 n. 51; (22. 60) 190; (22. 62) 200 n. 51; (23. 141) 147 n. 29; (23. 177–8) 131 n. 24; (23. 711–12) 201 n. 54; (24. 735) 190
Odyssey (3. 188) 191 n. 23; (11. 505–37) 188; (11. 580) 200 n. 51; (12. 34) 233 n. 26; (17.375) 66; (18.12) 200 n. 51

Homeric Hymns
(*Ap. Del.* (90–2) 115 n. 31; 119) 186; (151–5) 7 n. 25
(*Aphro.* 90–9) 114 n. 24
(*Hermes* 220) 146 n. 22

HYGINUS
Fab. (14) 18 n. 29, 66 n. 24; (89) 40; (101) 97 n. 14; (270) 168 n. 5

IBYKOS
Frag. 287 *PMG* 168 n. 8

ILIAS PARVA
(Proclus enar. 29–30 *EGF* D) 213 n. 17; (2A, *EGF* D) 173 n. 29; (4A and B, *EGF* D) 97 n. 14; (17 *EGF* D) 190

ILIOUPERSIS
(Enar. 30 *EGF* D) 190

KYPRIA
(*Enar.* 38–42 *EGF* D 38–42 *EGF* D) 189; (48–9 *EGF* D) 97 n. 14
Fragments (2 Allen) 115 n.28; (3 *EGF* D) 131 n. 24; (4 *EGF* D) 169 n. 13; (7 *EGF* D) 211; (9 *EGF* D) 211; (16 *EGF* D) 189

NOSTOI
Test. (2. 20 *EGF* D) 191 n. 23

OVID
Met. (7. 476) 22 n. 50; (7. 614–60) 182

PAUSANIAS
(1. 4. 4) 94 n. 34; (1. 33. 3) 211; (1. 44. 7–8) 74 n. 53; (1. 44. 9) 20; (2. 1. 1) 202; (2. 1. 3–7) 74 n. 53; (2. 2. 1) 74 n. 53; (2. 29. 5) 13; (2. 29. 6–8) 19; (2. 29. 7) 18 n. 29; (2. 29. 8–9) 18 n. 30, 24 n. 58, 69 n. 38; (2. 30. 31) 31; (3. 11. 6) 197 n. 43; (3. 26. 9) 97 n. 16; (5. 1) 169 n. 10; (5. 11. 4) 198 n. 44; (5. 18. 5) 132; (5. 19. 1) 146 n. 23; (6. 9. 68) 48 n. 15; (6. 10. 1–3) 53 n. 33; (6. 4. 1) 208 n. 1; (6. 18. 7) 208 n. 1; (7. 23. 6) 187; (8. 24. 8) 232 n. 24; (8. 40. 3–4) 161 n. 17; (8. 45. 6) 24 n. 58; (8. 45. 7) 97 n. 14; (8. 50. 3) 112 n. 18; (9. 2. 7) 112 n. 18; (9. 2. 5) 113 n. 20; (10. 7. 1) 161 n. 18; 192 n. 26; (10. 30. 4) 66 n. 22

PHILOSTRATOS
Gymn. (3. 136) 197 n. 43; (9–10) 161 n. 17; (11. 207–8) 198 n. 44; (14) 52 n. 29
Her. (20. 2) 148 n. 32
Im. (1. 7) 146 n. 21

PINDAR
Dithyrambs (fr. 75 SM) 169 n. 14
Isthmian 1 (1) 216 n. 27; (44) 171 n. 23, 172 n. 26; (64) 63
Isthmian 2 (4–5) 142 n. 5; (43) 171
Isthmian 3 (10) 239
Isthmian 4 (7–9) 196 n. 39; (38–40) 172 n. 28
Isthmian 5 Ch. 6, 89–101; (1–13) 236; (14) 240; (20) 244; (24) 172 n. 26, 244 n. 14; (28–35) 246; (36) 245; (38) 9; (43) 245; (42) 247 n. 18; (49–50) 54, 246; (51) 241; (52–3) 54, 240 n. 3, 247; (56–8) 243 n. 13; (57) 52; (113) 236
Isthmian 6 Ch. 5, 77–88; (1–3) 54; (20) 49; (13) 236; (19–21) 230; (22) 242; (26–54) 39; (31–5) 243 n. 10; (33) 53; (33–5) 246; (35–55) 53; (37–40) 230 n. 19; (49–50) 248; (56) 242; (58) 241; (67) 241 n. 4; (74) 240
Isthmian 7 (6) 187 n. 12; (45) 50; (58) 61; (67–8) 149
Isthmian 8 Ch. 7, 102–18; (26) 53; (30) 73; (34–35a) 248; (36–7) 50; (37–8) 230; (46–7) 246; (49–50) 5; (50) 246; (51–2) 731; (66–8) 236; (71) 244; (77) 243 n. 13
Isthmian 9 (1–4) 13; (5–6) 16
Nemean 2 (14) 35 n. 31; (75) 150 n. 42
Nemean 3 Ch. 9, 136–52; (4) 19; (13–16) 4; (15) 244; (21–6) 53; (35–6) 71; (35) 132 n. 17; (36–7) 38 n. 33, 243 n. 10; (38) 53; (40–3) 243; (42–63) 53; (43) 50; (45) 247; (50) 51, 247; (56–7) 50, 53; (65) 54, 240, 246; (69) 110 n. 12; (70–1) 247; (72–4) 242; (76–7) 240 n.1, 243; (80) 243
Nemean 4 Ch. 8, 102–18; n. 15; (25–6) 145 n. 15; (25–30) 53; (28–30) 242; (30–2) 242;

PINDAR, *Nemean* 4 (*cont.*)
(33) 241 n. 7; (35) 200; (37–8) 216 n. 27; (39) 171 n. 23; (40) 243; (44–56) 26; (46) 168 n. 5; (51) 192 n. 27; (52–3) 195; (60) 53; (61) 54, 246; (62–5) 50, 71, 247; (67–8) 236, 247; (69) 240; (71–2) 242; (75) 208 n. 1; (85) 236; (93–6) 134 n. 37, 152 n. 45; (94) 200
Nemean 5 Ch. 4, 57–76; (1) 245; (6) 142 n. 5; (7) 246; (10) 54; (13) 50; (14–18) 86; (16) 9; (19–21) 216 n. 27, 242; (20) 9; (34–55) 247; (35) 246; (49) 242; (53) 250
Nemean 6 (14) 243; (26–7) 241; (31–5) 244 n. 14; (34–44) 247; (49–53) 247; (64–6) 134 n. 37
Nemean 7 Ch. 12, 179–202; (2–3) 244; (6) 244 n. 14; (11) 236; (22) 229; (42–50) 249; (49) 243 n. 13; (50) 54, 246; (58–61) 240; (69) 241; (76) 244 n. 14; (80) 53; (81–2) 243; (84) 50; (86–92) 53, 246; (90) 53; (94) 240; (98–101) 240 n. 2; (100) 236; (102–5) 241 n. 7; (103) 152 n. 45
Nemean 8 Ch. 11, 164–78; (4) 244 n. 14; (17–19) 236; (19–20) 216 n. 27; (20) 201 n. 55; (19, 48–9) 240; (24–40) 249; (35) 246; (40) 236; (45) 111
Nemean 10 (89) 210 n. 10, 235 n. 33
Nemean 11 (32) 200
Olympian 1 (41) 215; (58) 239; (68–9) 62 n. 5; (108) 110 n. 12; (112) 152 n. 45
Olympian 2 (54) 110 n. 108; (66–7) 111 n. 14
Olympian 6 (13–17) 230 n. 19; (74) 111 n. 14, 171 n. 23
Olympian 7 (4) 73; (6) 171; (90) 194 n. 35
Olympian 8 Ch. 13, 203–19; (3) 246; (15–16) 54; (16) 246 n. 16; (25–7) 238; (28) 240; (30) 49; (37–40) 248; (43–6) 246; (44) 246; (45) 243, 244 n.14; (45–6) 245; (51) 231; (53) 215 n. 24; (54–9) 133 n. 37; (66) 134; (67) 243; (68–9) 234; (70) 236; (72–3) 250 n. 20; (84–8) 240 n. 2; (86–7) 244 n. 14, 247
Olympian 12 (1) 112 n. 19; (6) 111, 113 n. 21; (10) 235 n. 33
Olympian 13 (2–3) 194 n. 35; (7) 114 n. 24; (6–8) 169 n. 10; (28) 116 n. 33; (83) 111; (99–100) 218
Olympian 14 (14) 239; (20–4) 219 n. 39
Pythian 1 (lyre) 227–8; (61) 112 n. 17, 113 n. 22; (85–6) 171
Pythian 2 (16) 168 n. 5; (62) 238 n. 41; (89–90) 171 n. 23
Pythian 3 (23) 111; (60) 111 n. 13, 150 n. 42; (71) 194 n. 35; (98) 239
Pythian 4 (129) 239; (143) 187 n. 12
Pythian 7 (15) 172 n. 26
Pythian 8 Ch. 14, 220–38; (10–12) 238; (21) 244 n.14; (29–32) 242; (36) 244 and n. 14; (44) 247; (71) 244; (76) 241; (85) 50; (92) 110 n. 12; (99) 247
Pythian 9 (31) 247 n. 18; (108) 194 n. 35; (116) 73
Pythian 10 (20–1) 210; (44) 211; (61–3) 111 n. 12

Pythian 11 (45) 239
Pythian 12 (32) 235 n. 33
Pa. 1 (6–10) 169 n. 10; Pa. 2 (56) 171 n. 23; Pa. 6 (1–18) 109 n. 8; (62) 20 n. 38; (83–4) 191; (118b) 192 n. 26; (124–40) 19; Pa. 9 (1) 94; Pa. 15 131; (9) 72 n. 47
Fragments (94a 11 M) 171 and n. 23; (94b 6–15) 241 n. 5; (107b M) 5; (123 SM) 169 n. 15; (199 SM) 150 n. 40; (214 SM) 112 n. 16, 235 n. 33; (272 SM) 39

PLATO
Leges (653) 6 n. 20, 7 n. 25; (655d) 6; (660e) 168 n. 5; (663a–665c) 7 n. 25; (665c) 6; (666) 45 n. 1; (672e) 6; (717d) 219 n. 38; (833c) 62 n. 5; (958e) 193
Euthy. (292c and 439b) 202 n. 58
Protag. (316d) 135 n. 39; (342) 161 n. 17
Rep. (395–399e) 6 n. 20; (406a) 52 n. 29; (406b) 135 n. 39; (474d) 168 n. 6; (507d–508b) 95
Tht. (155d) 7 n. 28

PLUTARCH
Vitae. *Ages*. (13. 3) 49 n. 19
Alex. (34. 2) 113 n. 20
Aristid. (19) 112 n. 18, (21) 112 n. 20
Pyrrh. (13) 196 n. 40
Thes. (10) 66 n. 24; (29) 83 n. 6
Moralia
Amat. (761 D) 145 n. 17
De Superstit. (169 E) 108 n. 4; *QGr*. (301 D–E) 22 n. 48

PRATINAS
Fragments (1.15 *PMG*) 96 n. 12

SAPPHO
Fragments (16 V) 94; (97. 1 V) 66; (158 V) 202 n. 56

SENECA
Tro. (218) 97; (718) 40

SIMONIDES
Fragments (*P. Oxy*. 3965+2327) 117 n. 25; (11. 1–20 *IE*) 117 n. 35; (20 *IE*) 111 n. 15; (507 *PMG*) 42 n. 54, 46 n. 2

SOPHOKLES
Ajax (434) 39; (545) 84 n. 9; (1135) 173; (1300) 39
Troilos (fr. 618 Ll-J) 72 n. 48

THEOGNIS
(637–8) 111 n. 15; (1135–50) 112

THUKYDIDES
(1. 5. 1–3) 13; (1. 8. 1) 13; (1. 135) 195; (1. 114. 1–2) 225; (2. 23. 3) 226; (2. 81. 3–8) 196 n. 40; (3. 58. 5) 112 n. 17; (6. 54. 2) 168 n. 6

XENOPHON
Hell. (4. 1. 40) 49 n. 19; (5. 1) 23 n. 56
Kyneg. (1. 9) 83 n. 6; (1. 5, 2. 1) 149
Symp. (3. 13) 45 n. 1

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GENERAL INDEX

Achilles 22, 38, 51, 69–70, 74, Ch. 6 *passim*, 106, 115–17, Ch. 9 *passim*, 162, 188–91, 225, 247
age-classes, age of victors Ch. 3 *passim*, 45 and nn. 1–2, 62 and n. 5
  ageneioi 47 n. 12, 75, 92 n. 2, 107–8, 118, 163 n. 22
Aiakids
  mythic ancestors 19–26, 40, 49–50, 59, 79, 91, 101, 113, 121, 123, 125, 133, 135, 151, 156, 162, 193, 212, 229–31, 238, 239, 244, 245, 246
  sacred objects 26–8, 63, 69, 117 n. 35
Aiakos 19–20, 28, 75, 105, 139, 168–9, 187, 198, Ch. 13 *passim*, 225, 245
Aigina (nymph) 19, 32, 33, 50, 105, 113, 166, 183, 187, 193–4, 198, 237
Ajax 23, 25, 35, 38, Ch. 5 *passim*, 92, 122, Ch. 11 *passim*, 192, 249
Alkmaon 223, 224, 230–2, 234, 235, 237
Alkyoneus 23, 122, 125–8
Amphiaraos 230–1, 247
Angel (Angelia) 205, 207, 219 n. 39
Aphaia 29–30, 187
  temple and cult Ch. 2 *passim*; pedimental sculpture reflected in odes 45, 53, 63–4, 83, 86, 126, 144, 145 n. 17; 219, 230, 245–7
Apollo 54, 60, 206, 223, 225, 227, 229, 232, 236
  Delphinios 14, 144 n. 12
  Pythaieus 14, 142–5, 151
  Pythian Ch. 12 *passim*
Artemis 30, 50
Astyanax 190
Athena 50, 86, 173, 184, 246, 247
  in Aphaia temple pediments 33–4, 41
Athens
  relations with Aigina 17, 26–8, 42–3, 168, 195, 209, 211, 225–6

Bakchylides 38
ballots 173–4
bathos 70, 234, 242–3
beard, beardless 47 n. 12, 75, 97, 132 and n. 31, 145 n. 17, 146 n. 21, 162 n. 19, 163 n. 22, 190 n. 21
  ageneioi 47 n. 12, 49 n. 19, 62 n. 5, 75, 108 and n. 5, 163 n. 22
boxing 159–61
Britomartis 20

Chiron 53, 105, 123, 129,132, 134, 139, 147–9, 151
choral conventions 4–7, 128 n. 16, Ch. 15 *passim*
  fiction of spontaneity 9, 109–10 and n. 8, 140–1, 241

first person 8–9 and nn. 34–5, 231 n. 22
interaction with audience 96, 202, 216 and n. 27, 241–5
self-description 169–71, 177–8, 197–8, 201 and n. 55, 216, 240
self-imposed silence 68, 86 and n. 17, 98, 127, 242
self-instruction 100 n. 24

Damia and Auxesia 14, 15, 16, 63
dance 5–6, 9
Dionysos 97
Doric, Dorian 13, 16–17, 23, 26, 60, 72, 138, 206, 219, 228, 229

eagle 80, 83–4, 140, 151–2
eclipse, solar (478 BC) 92, 93 figurative 100
Eleithyia (birth goddess) 182, 186–7, 244
eleutheria (freedom) 104, 111–13, 118, 237, 238 and n. 41
elpis (good hope) 111–12, 118
Endaïs 18, 59, 66, 74, 75
envy (*phthonos*) 170–8, 216 and n. 15, 233 and n. 27, 244
Eriboia 83, 248
euphrosyna (joy) 5, 48, 113 n. 22, 121, 124–5, 135, 239, 250

fairy-tale motifs 25 n. 62, 84–5, 114–15, 213
footrace 46, 164, 167

Hektor 35, 91, 96–7, 106, 145
helkein (drag, pull) 185 and n. 3, 199–201 and nn. 51–4
Herakles 23, 32, 33, 35, 38, 40–1, 53, Ch. 5 *passim,* 91, 122, 126–8, 139, 184, 186, 187, 198, 245–6
Hesychia (tranquillity) 222, 227–9, 233–4, 236, 237, 250
Hippolyta 60, 71–2, 75, 123, 129 n. 19, 242, 247
Hora 168–70, 249, 250
hospitality (*xenia*) 6, 74, 76, 82, 240
humour (joke) 87 n. 20, 127, 135, 150, 242–3
hunting 148–9, 157 n. 5 160–1

initiation (passage, coming of age) 30–1, 44, 53, 85, 97, 130, 141–2, 145, 146 n. 25, 148 and nn. 31–5, 169, 177–8, 186–8, 199, 241 n. 4
invocation 51, 93, 227
Iolaos 38, 91, 139, 144–5
Isthmian games
as compensation for loss of Thetis 73
beardless class 47

Kinyras 169, 178
komos (victory night celebrations) 6, 109, 125, 141, 218, 229
Krios, Aiginetan oligarch 42
Kyknos 91, 96–7, 145

litotes 10, 210 n. 10, 234, 243–5
losers 218, 234

maxims, proverbs 240–1
Melesias, *see* trainers
Memnon 38 and n. 36, 91, 96–7, 106, 140, 145–7, 152, 162, 188, 247
Menander, *see* trainers
mothers 50, 62, 65–6, 70, 75, 224, 226 n. 6, 234

Muse, Muses 60, 70, 81, 104, 106, 121, 138, 141, 160, 182, 184, 198, 236, 242 n. 8, 250
Myrmidons 18, 138, 141–2, 144, 244
myth 7
  mythic marvels (*thaumata*) 7, 83, 85, 96, 114, 133, 148, 161–2, 192, 212, 215–16, 227, 239, 247–9

Nemesis 210–12, 213, 218, 219, 247
Neoptolemos 122, Ch. 12 *passsim,* 214, 219, 245, 249
Nikodromos 17, 43
numerical play 126, 234, 242

Odysseus 166, 172–6, 188, 191
Ohly, D. 33
Oinona (Oinopa) 17, 19, 59, 91, 105, 122, 166

pankration 46, 57, 59, 62, 77, 81 n. 2, 89, 91, 92 n. 2, 102, 118, 133 n. 17, 136
Patroklos 97, 101
Peleus 19, 21–4, 39, Ch. 4 *passim*, 105, 114–15, Ch. 8 *passim*, 139, 214, 225, 244, 247
pentathlon 179, 182, 196–8, 220
Phokos 18, 21–2, 24, 27, 59, 64–70
Plataia, battle of 107–8
Poseidon 51, 54, 60, 72–4, 75, 82, 105, 206, 215, 248
prayer 7, 65, 83, 176, 199, 210–12, 227, 237–8, 240
Priam 39–40, 189–91
priamel 64, 82, 94–5, 96–8, 128, 147
proxeny 195–6, 195–6 and n. 36
Psamathe 22, 59, 66, 70, 75

responsion (repetition of musical phrase) 9, 68 and n. 32, 109 n. 9, 116, 117, 134, 152, 159, 168 n. 7, 170 and n. 20, 171, 177, 210 n. 11, 228, 229, 230 n. 20, 233
rites of passage, *see* initiation

Salamis, battle of 92, 93, 95, 98
silence, the opposite of praise 68 n. 34
  speechlessness 174
slander 171–2, 174–8, 249
Sostratos 16
symposium (banquet) 45, 79, 125, 239

Telamon 23–5, 39, 68, Ch. 5 *passim,* 122, 126–8, 139, 142, 144–5, 214, 225, 248
Telephos 96–8, 188
Thearion 142–4, 149, 151
Theia 90, 93–5
Themis 51, 105, 114–16, 206, 209–10, 211, 219, 247, 248
Thetis 50, 54, 70, 72, 106, 122, 129–33, 139, 146, 211, 247
Thirty Years' Peace 226 and n. 8
trainer(s) 51–3, 87 n. 21, 88 n. 24, 92 n. 1, 134, 135 n. 39, 142, 147, 208, 233 n. 29, 235
  Melesias 52 and nn. 27, 28, 100 n. 23, 123, 124, 133–5 and n. 37, 157, 163 and n. 23, 200, 209, 212, 216–18
  Menander 52, 61, 62, 75, 217 n. 30
  Pytheas 92 n. 1, 100

virtues, three and four 150–1, 242
voice 8–9, 231 n. 22

wrestling 46, 119, 134 n. 38, 153, 197–8, 200–1, 203, 208, 220

Zeus 17, 32, 51, 53–4, 59, 68, 79, 83–4, 86, 92, 98–9, 140, 166, 184, 206, 209, 238, 246–7, 249
Eleutherios 112
Hellanios 13, 17, 44, 54, 59, 65, 67
Herkeios 190
Panhellanios 20
Soter 77
Xenios 71