ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΤΑΝΥΣΑΙΣ: LANGUAGE AND MEANING IN *PYTHIAN* 1

S. D. SKULSKY

PINDARIC criticism has been characterized by the attempt to establish principles of unity in the individual Odes,[1] and in this search *Pythian* 1 has seemed to present little difficulty. The image of the lyre occurs at the beginning and again at the end of the poem, and its import—the echoing of divine harmony in the governance of the city Aetna—is clear. Yet the lyre is not, in point of fact, a unifying element, for it does not make the poem "one"; the majority of verses cannot be explained in terms of it. In order to avoid drawing the unpleasant and improbable conclusion that Pindar is incoherent, many recent scholars have adopted Norwood's suggestion that a dominant image in Odes like *Pythian* 1 functions as a symbol with a unifying power extending beyond its immediate context. A poem thus integrated has "something airy and alluring," its coherence is "not logical but aesthetic," for "in lyric poetry . . . the emotions conveyed are by their nature such that they enter one's consciousness indirectly, or not at all. Force upon them the shape of explicit syllables, and you make them too gross to enter the pores of the soul."[2] This approach is not novel. It lends a new name, "symbol," to the function of a dominant image already described by Gildersleeve, and it attempts to legitimize the mystique that had impelled Croiset to protest, in the belief that his contemporaries were too much preoccupied with logical analysis, "the heart has its reasons . . ."[3] But *Schwärmerei*, however ingratiating as an antidote to positivistic fact-mongering, is not literary criticism. There is no locus of meaning, no source of aesthetic effect, apart from the "explicit syllables" of a poem. Pindar, if we are to follow the indications he gives, was not interested in writing "something airy and alluring." He frequently compares himself to a javelin-thrower or an archer sending a shaft hurtling toward a precise mark:

πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη
ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας
φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἑρμανέων
χατίζει   [*Ol.* 2. 83–86].[4]

One readily understands what Pindar is "aiming at" in the lyre image in *Pythian* 1. But the lyre is but one of many "arrows." It is at the center of a nexus of images, all of which must be examined if we are to understand the poem fully. Pindar did not intend that his *Odes* "enter one's consciousness indirectly, or not at all": some of the carefully aimed arrows would find their mark in the immediate comprehen-

1. This undertaking is chronicled by D. C. Young, "Pindaric Criticism," *The Minnesota Review*, IV (1964), 584–641.

2. G. Norwood, *Pindar* (Berkeley, 1945), pp. 116, 99, 115.

3. B. L. Gildersleeve (ed.), *The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York, 1885), p. 240; A. Croiset, *La Poésie de Pindare et les lois du lyrisme grec* (Paris, 1886), p. 344. Gildersleeve uses the term "constellation." An image such as the lyre is called a *motif générateur* by B. A. van Groningen, *La composition littéraire archaïque grecque* (Amsterdam, 1958), p. 336; the term is borrowed from Barigazzi. The lyre has also been called "eine sinntragende Mitte, die die Teile des Liedes zusammenhält" by M. Bernard, *Pindars Denken in Bildern*

(Pfullingen, 1963), p. 40, and a unifying symbol that "radiates from its golden nucleus a synoptic series of particularized manifestations" by C. A. P. Ruck and W. H. Matheson, *Pindar: Selected Odes* (Ann Arbor, 1968), p. 159. These and similar formulations by other critics fail to identify and explain all the other "motifs," "Teile," and "particularized manifestations" in the poem, since many of these are connected with the lyre only indirectly.

4. All quotations from Pindar, unless otherwise noted, are taken from the edition of B. Snell, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (Leipzig, 1953).

sion of an intelligent audience, the συνετοί. But the rest, the other βέλη, need interpreters. What follows, then, is an interpretation of the "arrows," the "explicit syllables," of *Pythian* 1. This analysis will, in turn, suggest an approach to the general problem of Pindaric "unity."

It is important, first of all, to note the way in which the effect of the lyre's music is described. τᾶς ἀκούει μὲν βάσις (2) is a striking metonymy, the step for the dancer. The foot "hears" and "obeys" the lyre, stepping out as the prelude is struck up (4) as it were automatically. The singers, too, "obey" (3), and it is the song itself, not a human director, that leads the chorus: ἀγησιχόρων ὁπόταν προοιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς ἐλελιζομένα (4). The performers thus announce that their movements and voices are controlled by the lyre, the instrument of Apollo and the Muses (1 f.). They are divinely inspired by the music—dancers, singers, and musicians submitting to the lyre to make a harmonious performance embodying the divine order of which they sing. This small group of people is a microcosm of the larger society, the city of Aetna, as that earthly polity reflects the order that prevails in the universe. For the beginning of the celebration, ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά (2), in this case also marks the beginning of a glorious future for the city under the protection of the gods.[5]

As Pindar moves from Hieron's court to the heavenly realm (5 ff.), the music of the lyre is again described as having the irresistible force that will be summed up in the words κῆλα δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων θέλγει φρένας (12): "for [thy] shafts bind with a magic spell the minds of the gods, too [as

well as those of men]," minds that might otherwise incline to discord and violence. But the word θέλγει seems to have misled commentators into apprehending the effect of the lyre as gentle and insinuating, whereas an examination of what Pindar says reveals that it is not so much persuasive as compelling. As soon as the performers hear the opening notes of the music, they "obey"; the ambiguity of ἀκούω in 2 is significant. In 5 f. Pindar gives us another complex metaphor that, like the "sentient footstep," requires analysis. The thunderbolt of Zeus is described as a spearsman of ever flowing fire, which the lyre extinguishes: καὶ τὸν αἰχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις / αἰενάου πυρός (5–6). αἰχματάν functions as an adjective—the thunderbolt is "warlike" and is, moreover, shaped like a spear—but the nominal form conveys the image of a warrior Zeus hurling the bolt; cf. Ζηνὸς ἐγχεικεραύνου (*Ol.* 13. 77) and ἐγχεικέραυνον Ζῆνα (*Pyth.* 4. 194). αἰενάου πυρός presents difficulties. Why is the fire described as eternally *flowing*, and how, if it is eternal, can it be said to be extinguished? Although sand may be used to put out a fire, one normally thinks of water used for this purpose, and κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις αἰενάου πυρός evokes the image of a hot liquid being extinguished by a cool one. But since the fire is eternal, it cannot be subdued permanently; the remission of Zeus's anger, while complete, is only temporary. Pindar proceeds to develop both themes, a liquid extinguished by a liquid (or something conquered by another aspect of itself) and the impermanence of the lyre's benign effect, in the description of the sleeping eagle.

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5. Thus it is the entire performance that is significant, not just the lyre alone. It is generally thought that the celebration referred to in 1–4 is taking place in the heavenly realm, with Apollo actually leading the Muses in song. But the effect of the lyre's music on the divine forces specifically mentioned by Pindar is different from the effect that is revealed at Hieron's court. As the earthly performers begin to dance, sing, and make music, the thunderbolt is extinguished and the eagle and Ares droop in slumber (5–12). In order to achieve this elegant pseudo-paradox—a simultaneous quickening and relaxation in response to the lyre—Pindar has the heavenly listeners represented only by forces of hostility and violence.

The interpolation of ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν (7) into the description of the now slumbering bird is not ironic, for it recalls ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά (2): the relaxation of warlike vigilance on the part of the foremost of birds is indeed the beginning of a greater glory, peace.[6] The fierce predator is surrounded by a black cloud like that which mists the eyes of Homeric warriors in their moment of death, but this cloud is "sweet" (8) and the rising and falling of the eagle's back (9) reveals that the bird is, after all, merely asleep. The lyre can work miracles, but only while it is heard: if the music stops, the eternal fire will be rekindled and the eagle will awaken.

The music that quenches the thunderbolt was implicitly described as a liquid, and here the lyre "pours down" the black mist about the head of the eagle (κατέχευας, 8). The bird's back is called ὑγρόν (9), suggesting the rippling of water, so that here again both the agent and the thing acted upon are described as liquids. But in the latter half of the antistrophe Pindar makes explicit another paradox of this type (the agent acted upon in kind), one that is more important thematically. Music had force enough to compel the performers' obedience (1–4); the lyre overcame a spearsman in 5 f. Now these

ideas are combined in the image of music as a warrior conquering warriors, a paradox when translated into the metaphorical language of the poem: peace is a more powerful warrior than war itself. The transition from the "liquid" metaphor to that of the warrior is made in 7–10. The lyre binds fast the eyes of the eagle, the oxymoron ἁδὺ κλάϊθρον (8) conveying both the charm and the ineluctable firmness of music's influence. Then the bird's back ripples gently, τεαῖς ῥιπαῖσι κατασχόμενος (9–10). Perhaps because of the imagery of the preceding lines, ῥιπαῖσι has been interpreted as referring to water, and the entire passage has been thought to mean something like "spellbound by the wavelike vibrations of your music," which gives the impression of gentle, lulling sounds. It is generally pointed out in support of this interpretation that Pindar uses ῥιπαί of wind and waves. But examination of the relevant passages suggests that the word retains its etymological sense of a thrust with some force behind it: in *Pyth.* 4. 195, *Pyth.* 9. 48, and *Nem.* 3. 59 Pindar refers to a driving impulse, in the first and last instances one sufficient to propel a ship. In *Frag.* 166. 2 ῥιπά describes the effect of wine assailing men like a blow, and in *Pyth.* 3. 57 ῥίπτω is

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6. It is essential to note, in connection with the derivatives of ἀρχω (as, further on, with the compounded forms of ἔχω, and with βάλλω, λόγος, and other words), that, although we may be obliged to *translate* related words differently each time they appear, the Greek word or root is the same. Pindar's listeners were unacquainted with the lexical resources of the English language.

That the study of verbal repetition is essential to the study of Pindar was first stressed by F. Mezger, *Pindars Siegeslieder* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. vii–viii. Mezger was impeded in the application of his principle by his belief that the repetition of words occurred in passages that were metrically identical, which is not always the case. Nevertheless, his suggestion was taken up by J. B. Bury (ed.), *The Nemean Odes of Pindar* (London and New York, 1890) and *The Isthmian Odes of Pindar* (London and New York, 1892). Bury saw clearly the need for close textual analysis: "For appreciating Pindar a susceptibility to the effect of words is eminently necessary; for each of his is, as it were, a gem with a virtue of its own which the poet has fully appreciated before he set it in its place" (*Nemean Odes*, p. xii).

The pervasiveness of "echoes and responses" in Pindar's

Odes cannot, Bury says, be accidental (*ibid.*, p. xxii). Yet he assigns to them the function of mnemonic devices for the benefit of the performers, imperceptible to the audience and hence not part of the artistic effect of the poetry (*Isthmian Odes*, pp. viii f.). That the responsions may not always be obvious is the basis of what amounts to the rejection of Bury's approach by Van Groningen, *op. cit.*, p. 300. But it must be borne in mind that Pindar was writing for an audience which, though literate, was trained to apprehend poetry through the spoken word. This mode of apprehension, entailing extraordinary feats of memory on the part of both poets and listeners in the oral tradition, can scarcely be imagined, much less duplicated, by modern readers whose experience of poetry, dependent on the printed word, is visual, whose memory is eidetic rather than auditory. Cultured audiences in Pindar's day possessed, to some degree, the ability to apprehend the poem as a totality. A few modern scholars have memorized the *Odes*; but, even if the poems are simply read aloud, the significance of verbal response will be perceived.

used, significantly, of Zeus hurling the lightning-bolt. The most important passage is *Nem.* 1. 68, in which the word is used of the force of the arrows shot by Hercules during the battle with the Giants. The relevance of this Ode to *Pythian* 1 will be discussed below; for the present it will suffice to note that here, as in the previous passage, ῥιπά refers to the force of a missile in a context similar to the one that Pindar will develop in 12 ff. of *Pythian* 1. But it is not, in the end, necessary to adduce instances of the word in other poems; one need simply read further in the present Ode, for in 44 f. Pindar compares his effort to praise Hieron to the casting of a javelin, concluding [ἔλπομαι] μακρὰ δὲ ῥίψαις ἀμεύσασθ᾿ ἀντίους. It seems clear, then, that ῥιπά refers to the hurling of a missile in 10. The fact that Pindar is speaking of a lyre, a stringed instrument, and will go on to speak of κῆλα in 12, suggests that an arrow shot from a bow is specifically meant; Apollo and the Muses are not only musicians but archers: cf. *Ol.* 1. 112, *Pyth.* 8. 61, Frag. 2. 2, and especially the following verbal collocations: γάρ σε λ[ι]γυσφαράγων κλυτᾶν ἀυ-/ τά, Ἑκαβόλε, φορμίγγων (Frag. 140a. 60 f.); ἑκαταβόλων Μοισᾶν ἀπὸ τόξων / Δία ... φοινικοστερόπαν ... ἐπίνειμαι and πτερό- εντα δ᾿ ἵει ... ὀϊστόν ... ἀνδρὸς ἀμφὶ παλαίσ- μασιν φόρμιγγ᾿ ἐλελίζων (*Ol.* 9. 5 f. and 11–13; cf. *Pyth.* 1. 4). In *Ol.* 14. 10 ff., Pindar describes χρυσότοξον Πύθιον᾿ Ἀπόλ- λωνα, beside whom are enthroned the Graces, foremost among them being πότνι᾿ Ἀγλαΐα (cf. *Pyth.* 1. 1 f.).

κατασχόμενος (10) has been translated "spellbound," no doubt in consideration of θέλγει. If this meaning is to be retained we must emphasize the "bound" element in the word, since the image conveys the notion of a forceful subduing and its primary significance is the etymological one, "held down," "restrained," as if the eagle has been pinned down by an onslaught of arrows (cf. the Giants in *Nem.* 1. 68). Throughout the strophe and antistrophe Pindar has been developing to its climax the description of the lyre as a warrior. At last War itself, the god Ares, yields to its power (10–12). Overcome by the weapons of divine concord, the embodiment of divine discord lays aside his own weapons, for the gods, too—even they—are enchanted by the arrows of Apollo and the Muses. The extinguishing of the fiery thunderbolt in 5 f. suggested the cooling of extreme heat. Here, that which was cold is warmed: Ἄρης ... ἰαίνει καρδίαν / κώματι (10–12). Yet Pindar is not saying that music tempers extremes or reconciles opposites. We may compare the well-known but problematic Fragment 51 of Heraclitus: οὐ ξυνιᾶσιν ὅκως διαφερόμενον ἑωυτῷ ξυμφέρεται· παλίντονος ἁρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης. Heraclitus, so far as we can tell, believed that the structure of the world consisted in an equilibrium of opposing forces; the tension created when the string of the bow or lyre is pulled back is necessary in order that the instrument may function—emit an arrow or a musical note—when the string is released. For Pindar, the lyre does not represent a state of equilibrium between opposing forces: it *imposes* concord upon dissonance, peace upon war. Strife may break out again, on earth if not in heaven, but it is not, as in Heraclitus, a permanent characteristic of the universal scheme. The opposing forces in the first twelve lines of *Pythian* 1 are presented as obverse manifestations of a single image—the two liquids, the two warriors with their similar missiles (αἰχμά, ἔγχεα; κῆλα), the eagle, bird of prey par excellence, himself held fast—but not in order to illustrate a theory about the structure of the cosmos. Rather, as is his wont, Pindar delights and stimulates his

audience with paradoxes: the agent acted upon in kind and the attribution of mutually exclusive effects to the same cause (the lyre "quickens" the performers as it "kills" the thunderbolt; it cools and warms). Akin to these paradoxes is the oxymoron ἀδὺ κλάϊθρον (8). The "reconciliation of opposites" is performed not by the lyre but by the mind of the listener as he makes sense of these apparent contradictions: thanks to Hieron's prowess, peace "prevails" in Aetna, i.e., has proved to be stronger than war.

So, too, in the macrocosm, Zeus has overcome his enemies. The subduing of Typhon is related in the epode and continues into the second triad. It is not necessary, in order to justify Pindar's use of βοά (13) as a description of the lyre's sound, to appeal to other instances in which the word is used of music. In view of the foregoing discussion of the lyre as warrior, it is clear that βοά is appropriate, not because it is used in passages where it has no connotation of "war cry," but precisely because this meaning is intended here. The βοὰ Πιερίδων is the signal of an attack on all those creatures that Zeus has not loved, ὅσσα μὴ πεφίληκε Ζεύς (13). In their case the Muses, warriors in the cause of divine harmony (12), did not quench the thunderbolt and lull the eagle and Ares to sleep, but awoke them to do battle when that harmony was threatened; for they, too, are instruments of divine justice, the obverse, not the opposite, of the lyre. At the sound of the lyre the enemies of Zeus are terror-stricken (ἀτύζονται, 13), a reaction that differs from both the joyous activity of the performers at Hieron's feast and the gradual stillness descending upon the warlike forces on Olympus. The victory achieved by these forces over Typhon is contrasted with that imposed on them in turn by the lyre. The eagle was surrounded by a sweet mist,

Ares by a gentle warmth, but Typhon is not granted this easy repose. The eagle slumbers on the lofty scepter of Zeus (6); Typhon lies below the earth in dread Tartarus (15). The idea of restraint, introduced by κατασχόμενος (10), reappears in ἁλιερκέες and πιέζει (18 f.), while συνέχει (19) is virtually synonymous with an active form of κατασχόμενος. The eagle is spellbound by music; the giant is crushed by the huge mountain. This κίων οὐρανία (19) thrust down upon Typhon is the visual and conceptual counterpart of an arrow shot from the lyre to pin down the eagle. But the violence of the lyre is benign, since it ensures universal peace, whereas the violence of Typhon is destructive of divine order. The contrast between Typhon's rebellion and the restraint imposed by the gods is presented through the juxtaposition of Typhon's former abode and his present one. Κιλίκιον (17) and Σικελία (19) sound alike and occupy the same position in their respective lines; the contrast turns on the notion of fostering or nurturing expressed in the words θρέψεν and τιθήνα. The Cilician cave had reared the rebel Typhon. Now the mountain that imprisons him is the "nurse" of perpetual snow (20).

Aetna has a dual role. With its "sharp," stinging snow and "unapproachable" fire (20 f.), it is at once the instrument of Typhon's punishment and the manifestation of his rage that continues to threaten mankind. The giant was struck down by Zeus's thunderbolt (cf. Pyth. 8. 17), the instrument of righteous anger. The bolt was depicted in 5 f. as ever flowing fire, hurled as if by a spearsman. Now the fire representing the impious rage of Typhon is described as a liquid (παγαί, προχέοντι, ῥόον, κρουνούς, 21–25) hurled up from the depths of the mountain (cf. ἀναπέμπει, 26) in contrast to the downward thrust of the thunderbolt. The black mist that the lyre

poured around the eyes of Zeus's bird has as its antitype the lurid smoke that Typhon (the "Smoky One") pours forth: cf. κατέχευας (8) and προχέοντι (22). But the fiery volcano that expresses Typhon's fury is also the κίων οὐρανία that crushes him with its mass. The mountain spews forth flames and rock as the giant heaves beneath it, yet these struggles cause him agonizing torture: his rough bed scrapes and goads him (στρωμνὰ δὲ χαράσσοισ' ἅπαν νῶτον ποτικεκλιμένον κεντεῖ, 28). The entire passage 27–28 recalls 6–10: δέδεται corresponds to κατασχόμενος; the black leaves of Aetna to the black mist; στρωμνὰ χαράσσοισ' to the eagle's bed on the scepter of Zeus; the thrashing of the giant's tortured back to the gentle rising and falling of the eagle's (νῶτον, 9 and 28); the sharp rocks that goad Typhon, like an animal recalcitrant to the will of its master, to the shafts of the lyre's music. ἑρπετόν (25), usually translated "monster," emphasizes the fact that Typhon, who had dared to challenge Zeus, has been "brought low" literally and figuratively, even as he sends up Ἀφαίστοιο κρουνοὺς δεινοτάτους.

The other superlative used of these flames, ἀγνόταται (21), has caused some difficulty; the word seems unusual in a description of the impious giant. Commentators have accounted for it by noting that sulphur is used in purification rituals or, alternatively, that fire from the depths of the earth is purer than fire kindled by mortals. Neither view explains why Pindar chose to call attention to the sacred character of these flames. The word must be explained in the light of the dual role of Aetna as the symbol of Typhon's rage

and of his punishment. The streams of fire are ἀγνόταται because, like the flowing fire of the lightning-bolt, they manifest the force of Zeus's wrath. They are "unapproachable" because they are "most holy." Thus Ἀφαίστοιο does not, as has been assumed, function as a common noun equivalent to "fire," but refers to the god of fire himself, who kindles in the depths of the volcano the sacred fires that Typhon, in his violent heaving, sends shooting upward.[7] Pindar believes profoundly in the supremacy of Zeus. His theology does not admit of dualism, of the existence of an evil force unconquered by the highest god. With its snow and fire existing simultaneously, Aetna recalls the lyre that cools and warms, and, like the lyre, it is a symbol of divine providence. If Zeus allows Aetna to erupt, it is not because he cannot control Typhon, cannot punish him in a way that would not also threaten man. The volcanic eruption is a portent (τέρας, 26), an example of controlled yet fearsome violence, put on earth that men may wonder at it (θαυμάσιον, θαῦμα, 26) and may learn not to take for granted the sway of divine harmony: the "quenched" thunderbolt is eternal, the eagle and Ares merely asleep.

Pindar will go on to speak of other portents. But the eruption of Aetna, which he has just vividly recalled, was a kind of epiphany, a revelation of the dread wrath of Zeus; and the poet's immediate response is to worship Zeus, to pray that Hieron and his city may find favor with him:

> εἴη, Ζεῦ, τὶν εἴη ἀνδάνειν,
> ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, εὐκάρποιο γαί-
>   ας μέτωπον, τοῦ μὲν ἐπωνυμίαν
> κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκύδανεν πόλιν

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7. Cf. G. Nebel, *Pindar und die Delphik* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 114: "Das Feuer ist nicht sein [Typhons] Beitrag, sondern Waffe des Zeus . . . Freilich liefert der Leib des Typhons den Brennstoff . . ." Similarly E. Boehmer, *Pindars sicilische Oden* (Bonn, 1891), p. 51, glosses ἀγνόταται "lauterste weil des He-

phaistos." It should be noted that according to W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin, 1969), *ad loc.*, there is no instance of ἀγνός meaning "pure" in Pindar; the word means "holy" or "belonging to or administered by divinities." Slater also connects ἀγνόταται with Hephaistus.

γείτονα, Πυθιάδος δ᾽ ἐν δρόμῳ κά-
ρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλ-
λων Ἱέρωνος ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου
ἅρμασι   [30–33].

It is of course Zeus, not Typhon, who is the lord of Mount Aetna: Zeus Aitnaios appears in *Ol.* 6. 96 and *Nem.* 1. 6; cf. *Ol.* 4. 6. Hieron, whom Pindar is portraying as the vicar of Zeus, is the earthly lord of the city named after the mountain. As a manifestation of divine providence the volcano has made the soil of the region fertile: the κίων οὐρανία is the εὐκάρποιο γαίας μέτωπον. Zeus has thus favored the city, and Hieron has, for his part, brought it glory through his victory at the Pythian games ... But this latter is not precisely what Pindar is saying. Insufficient attention has been paid to the μὲν ... δὲ construction in these lines. Two ideas that balance each other are being stated; the construction presents paratactically elements one of which is in fact subordinate to the other. Pindar says: Hieron brought renown to the city *and* it was named by the herald on the occasion of the victory, not *because* it was proclaimed at that time. The announcement, the public proclamation, is syntactically equivalent to the glory because the two are equivalent conceptually as well. Pindar for the first time calls our attention to what will emerge as one of the fundamental points of this Ode: the lyre, instrument of Apollo and the Muses, is to Zeus Aitnaios what public acclaim—be it of the Pythian herald, of poets and historians, or of mankind in general—is to the king of the city Aetna. The lyre proclaims the glory of Zeus, the harmony and benevolence of his reign: the king must act in such a way that he will be similarly praised.

Accordingly, Pindar goes on to say, the *proclamation* of Hieron's victory at the games is a favorable omen for the sub-

sequent *renown* of the new city:

ναυσιφορήτοις δ᾽ ἀνδράσι πρῶτα χάρις
ἐς πλόον ἀρχομένοις πομπαῖον ἐλθεῖν
οὖρον· ἐοικότα γάρ
καὶ τελευτᾷ φερτέρου νόστου τυχεῖν. ὁ δὲ λόγος
ταύταις ἐπὶ συντυχίαις δόξαν φέρει
λοιπὸν ἔσσεσθαι στεφάνοισί ν⟨ιν⟩ ἵπποις τε κλυτάν
καὶ σὺν εὐφώνοις θαλίαις ὀνυμαστάν   [33–38].

To men commencing a sea voyage a favorable wind is the πρῶτα χάρις. Pindar uses χάρις to mean not an intrinsic quality—"grace," "loveliness," or the like—but a reward or blessing coming from without; the Χάριτες are this external source. In view of the significance of the notion of χάρις in *Pythian* 1 we must note the distinction between χάρις and ἀρετά: cf. αἰὼν δ᾽ ἔφεπε μόρσιμος, πλοῦτόν τε καὶ χάριν ἄγων / γνησίαις ἐπ᾽ ἀρεταῖς (*Ol.* 2. 10 f.). In the present passage χάρις refers, metaphorically, to the glory attendant upon victory in the games, not to the merit that led to the victory. The following passages may be compared: Πίσας τε καὶ Φερενίκου χάρις (*Ol.* 1. 18, of another of Hieron's victories); [τίμα] ἄνδρα ... πὺξ ἀρετὰν εὑρόντα. δίδοι τέ οἱ αἰδοίαν χάριν / καὶ ποτ᾽ ἀστῶν καὶ ποτὶ ξείνων (*Ol.* 7. 88–90; ἀρετά is used in an aberrant sense here but still refers, by metonymy of cause for effect, to a quality of the athlete himself, whereas χάρις comes from without); Ἐρατιδᾶν τοι σὺν χαρίτεσσιν ἔχει / θαλίας καὶ πόλις (*Ol.* 7. 93 f.; cf. *Pyth.* 1. 38); καὶ Νεμέᾳ γὰρ ὁμῶς / ἐρέω ταύταν χάριν (*Ol.* 8. 56 f.); ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν (*Ol.* 10. 78);[8] τὶν δ᾽ ἀδυεπής τε λύρα / γλυκύς τ᾽ αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν· / τρέφοντι δ᾽ εὐρὺ κλέος / κόραι Πιερίδες Διός (*Ol.* 10. 93–96); ἀκούοντι ... σφὸν ὄλβον υἱῷ τε κοινὰν χάριν (*Pyth.* 5. 101 f., where χάρις, paired with ὄλβος as in *Ol.* 2. 10, is the reward of ἀρετά [98]; cf. also μέλος χαρίεν [107], the victory song).

8. The wording of the entire passage *Ol.* 10. 76–83 should be compared with that of *Pythian* 1.

The πρῶτα χάρις, then, corresponds to the first glory conferred on Aetna by the proclamation of Hieron's Pythian victory at the time of the founding of the city. In terms of the analogy, it is a wind that propels the ship, bearing to the ship with its intrinsic capacity for sailing the same relationship that the laudatory χάρις does to the ἀρετά of athletes. Such a wind at the outset bodes well for the rest of the voyage, for it suggests that favorable winds will continue to speed the ship on its way. On the literal level: the "ship of state" Aetna will continue to receive praise and glory.[9] πότνι᾽ Ἀγλαΐα was mentioned along with Pythian Apollo in Ol. 14. 10 ff. There being no clear distinction between the Graces and the Muses in Pindar, the Graces surrounding Apollo in Olympian 14 recall Pyth. 1. 1–3. In Pyth. 1. 2 ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά refers to the victory song that marks the beginning of a splendid future for Aetna, and hence πότνι᾽ Ἀγλαΐα, the foremost of the Χάριτες, is the ἀνδράσι πρῶτα χάρις ἀρχομένοις in 33 f., who will be followed by her sister θαλία (cf. Ol. 14. 15) in the future (38); their relative Οὐρανία appeared (by way of equivoque) in 19, the κίων being one of the κῆλα of the Muses (12).

Pindar continues: given the coincidence of these two events, the Pythian victory and the founding of the city (ταύταις ἐπὶ συντυχίαις, 36), this popular saying about the fair wind at the beginning of a voyage (ὁ δὲ λόγος, 35) brings fame to the city (δόξαν φέρει, 36), that is, guarantees it for the future a brilliant reputation as the city renowned for victorious horses and named together with sweet-voiced festivities (λοιπὸν ... ὀνυμαστάν, 37–38). δόξαν φέρει has almost universally been interpreted as "conduces to the belief," "lends credence to the opinion," and the like.[10] But in the light of the foregoing remarks it would seem, rather, that the words refer to the idea expressed in ἐκύδανεν πόλιν (31), δόξα being the subsequent fame, that which succeeds to the πρῶτα χάρις.

There is an antecedent unlikelihood that Pindar, who is known for the (apparent) obscurity of his transitions, should at this point—where it is perfectly clear that there is an analogy between the ship and the city—offer us a detailed glimpse into the process by which he comes to this conclusion. "Warrants the opinion" and similar translations are not only superfluous but prosaic: a brief lesson in reasoning is inappropriate to the lofty tone of the passage that will culminate in the prayer to Apollo. But the soundest evidence for the assumption that δόξα means "glorious reputation" is Pindar's use of the word. There is only one case, Nem. 11. 24, in which δόξα clearly means "opinion," but many in which it clearly means "renown."[11] Of these, four merit

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9. The wind of fortune is a familiar metaphor, occurring at Ol. 7. 95; Ol. 13. 28 (with a nautical metaphor); Pyth. 3 104 f.; Pyth. 4. 3 (οὖρον ὕμνων); Pyth. 4. 291–93 (in the context of Atlas and the Titans, a nautical image, and Apollo); Pyth. 5. 120 f.; Pyth. 6. 12; Nem. 7. 17 (with a nautical metaphor in the context of winning glory through song); Isthm. 4. 5 f. (in a nautical metaphor). In view of the frequent connection of the theme of the wind of fortune with that of seafaring, Ol. 4. 6 f. suggests why Pindar found the image of the ship of state particularly apt in the case of Aetna: Κρόνου παῖ, ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις, / ἴπον ἀνεμόεσσαν ἑκατογκεφάλα Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου; the city, located near the mountain, is exposed to the winds.

10. An exception is J. A. Hartung (ed. and trans.), Pindar's Werke, (Leipzig, 1855–56), II, 198. Hartung's comment may be read along with the scholia, which are ambiguous; see A. B. Drachmann (ed.), Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina, II (Leipzig, 1910), 16.

11. For δόξα as "opinion," ἀγώνιον ἐν δόξᾳ θέμενος εὖχος (Ol. 10. 63) has been adduced, but the scholiast's interpretation, ἔνδοξον νομίσας τὸ νικῆσαι, is compelling if not conclusive (for the scholium see Drachmann, Scholia, I [Leipzig, 1903], 329). Similarly, δόξαν ἔχω τιν᾽ ἐπὶ γλώσσᾳ λιγυρᾶς ἀκόνας (Ol. 6. 82) may well mean "I have a reputation for," "am famous for." Passages in which δόξα clearly means "renown," apart from those to be discussed, are Pyth. 2. 64; Pyth. 9. 75; Pyth. 11. 45; Nem. 9. 34 (φέρει δόξαν; see n. 26 below); Nem. 11. 9; Isthm. 1. 68; Isthm. 4. 11; Frag. 227. 2. For the similarity between χάρις and δόξα, we may consider the phrase παλαιὰ χάρις in Isthm. 7. 16 f., referring specifically to the capture of Amyclae (14), a deed mentioned in Pyth. 1. 65 f., where the victors are βαθύδοξοι and manifest κλέος. With παλαιὰ χάρις we may also compare παλαιὰν δόξαν (Pyth. 9. 105) and δόξαν παλαιάν (Isthm. 3. 16).

special attention. The first occurs in 92 ff. of the present poem:

ὀπιθόμβροτον αὔχημα δόξας
οἶον ἀποιχομένων ἀνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύει
καὶ λογίοις καὶ ἀοιδοῖς.

The entire passage 90–94, which will be discussed in more detail below, refers specifically to 33–38. There is another metaphor from seafaring, in which the "helmsman," the head of state, is urged to unfurl his sail to catch the wind, that is, the πομπαῖον οὖρον identified as the πρῶτα χάρις in the earlier passage. δόξα in both cases is the glorious reputation the city and its king will continue to enjoy after this auspicious beginning. One continues to receive praise after death: this explains τελευτᾷ and νόστου in 35; for the voyage is not only that of the "ship," which will, Pindar trusts, continue indefinitely (67 f.), but also that of the ruler's life, which will come to an end.

Should there remain any doubt that δόξα in 36 means "renown," the following passages may also be considered: δόξαν φέρειν, the same phrase as in *Pythian* 1, occurs in *Ol.* 8. 64 and clearly means "to win fame." *Olympian* 8 was written for an Aeginetan; in *Pythian* 8, an Ode whose kinship to *Pythian* 1 will be discussed later, Pindar says of Aegina:

τελέαν δ' ἔχει
δόξαν ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς. πολλοῖσι μὲν γὰρ ἀείδεται
νικαφόροις ἐν ἀέθλοις θρέψαισα καὶ θοαῖς
ὑπερτάτους ἥρωας ἐν μάχαις·
τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐμπρέπει   [*Pyth*. 8. 24–28].

It will not escape the careful reader of the *Odes* that Pindar speaks of Aegina and Aetna in much the same terms. The language of the first lines of the passage from *Pythian* 8 (τελέαν, δόξαν, ἀρχᾶς) recalls τελευτᾷ, χάρις / δόξα, ἀρχομένοις in *Pyth*. 1. 33 f.: the glory that attends the founding of the city will endure. Like Aegina, Aetna will be celebrated in song for its athletic victories and, with Apollo's favor, will be blessed with brave men (40). The last passage to be examined is from *Isthmian* 6, another poem in honor of an Aeginetan:

εἰ γάρ τις ἀνθρώπων δαπάνᾳ τε χαρεὶς
καὶ πόνῳ πράσσει θεοδμάτους ἀρετάς
σύν τέ οἱ δαίμων φυτεύει δόξαν ἐπήρατον, ἐ-
σχατιαῖς ἤδη πρὸς ὄλβου
βάλλετ' ἄγκυραν θεότιμος ἐών   [*Isthm*. 6. 10–13].

The full relevance of these lines will emerge in the course of this discussion. Here we may compare δαπάνᾳ and πόνῳ with μὴ κάμνε λίαν δαπάναις (*Pyth*. 1. 90), θεοδμάτους with the same word used of the Aetnean constitution in *Pyth*. 1. 61, the last two lines of the quoted passage with the conclusion of *Pythian* 1. The distinction between ἀρετά and δόξα corresponds to that between ἀρετά and χάρις noted above.[12]

δόξα in 36, then, refers, like χάρις in 33, to the praise of Aetna. The city will not only be glorious but *be said to be* so. The herald's proclaiming Aetna as the city of the victorious Hieron was the πρῶτα χάρις, and the δόξα to follow will also consist in good reports: Aetna will be "heard of" (κλυτάν, 37, from κλύω / κλέω) and "named" (ὀνυμαστάν, 38). This latter word recalls ἐπωνυμίαν (31): Hieron had brought glory to Aetna so that the name of the city reflected the majesty of Zeus

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12. Norwood believes that Pindar "put himself hopelessly out of court as an exponent of ethics" by using ἀρετά "both of excellence and of the success won thereby" (*op. cit.*, p. 49). He gives two examples, *Ol.* 7. 89 (quoted above, p. 14) and *Nem.* 5. 53, of ἀρετά meaning "glory won by prowess"; to these might be added *Ol.* 8. 6 and *Nem.* 8. 40. These four instances are exceptional when compared to the dozens in which the word refers to excellence or to deeds of prowess;

they represent, as was noted, metonymy of cause for effect. But even as such they exemplify a dominant strain in the thinking on practical ethics in the classical world. Norwood objects to the emphasis on success as a measure of excellence. But Pindar admired not the "violet by a mossy stone" but the manly exercise of talent in the public sphere: "possunt quia posse videntur."

Aitnaios rather than the horror of Typhon's volcano. We may contrast the naming of the city in songs of praise with the πολυώνυμον ἄντρον in which the monster was born (17). The songs at the victory banquets (38) will assimilate the city to the cosmic harmony represented by the sound of the lyre. And so the epode—and the expository portion of the poem—concludes with a prayer to Apollo, bringing the future of Aetna (ταῦτα, 40) into the context of 1 ff. and 12, the lines that began and ended the description of the divine music. Here the Muses are not mentioned explicitly, although their presence is implied in the phrase κράναν Κασταλίαν, this spring contrasting with the παγαί and κρουνοί of molten lava (22, 25) as Parnassus contrasts with the volcano. Apollo loves (cf. φιλέων, 39) his mountain and the Muses' spring, whereas Typhon's prison, Aetna, symbolizes the conquest of those whom Zeus has not loved (13), those against whom the Muses have declared war. Through his victory Hieron has merited the good will of Apollo, patron of the Pythian games and of heavenly music. As if to ensure the manifold blessing of this god, Pindar invokes him by his several names: Ἀπόλλων (1), Λατοίδας (12), Λύκιος, Δάλοι' ἀνάσσων Φοῖβος (39).

These first two triads establish the conceptual framework of the poem, introducing all the images that will appear in the sequel. Pindar goes on to speak of what preceded the Pythian triumph—Hieron's military exploits and the founding of Aetna—and of what is to follow it—the career of Hieron's son Deinomenes as the leader of the new city. In seeking the blessing of Zeus and Apollo for Aetna, Pindar has assumed the role (29 f., 39 f.) of intermediary between the heavenly lyre and its earthly counterpart. The music of the former will be echoed in a harmonious polity free from strife, and this in turn will

be celebrated in songs that glorify Aetna and its rulers (38, 94, 97 f.). Like Hieron's martial encounters, the athletic contest revealed his prowess in defeating his opponents. The Pythian victory, the "occasion" for the poem, will now be assimilated by Pindar to the context of the military achievements, for these are to be compared with the conquest of Typhon by Zeus. The common element in these events is the lyre, which was described as overcoming its foes. Hence the poet, who composes music for the earthly lyre, compares the exercise of his craft to a contest in javelin-throwing:

$$\text{ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ κεῖνον}$$
$$\text{αἰνῆσαι μενοινῶν ἔλπομαι}$$
$$\text{μὴ χαλκοπάρᾳον ἄκονθ' ὡσείτ' ἀγῶ-}$$
$$\text{νος βαλεῖν ἔξω παλάμᾳ δονέων,}$$
$$\text{μακρὰ δὲ ῥίψαις ἀμεύσασθ' ἀντίους} \quad [42\text{-}45].$$

This is a familiar metaphor, but here it has particular significance. Pindar has just said that all excellence among men is of the same (divine) origin (41 f.), and so he may speak of himself as engaged in the same endeavor, athletic competition, as his patron. The javelin corresponds to the κῆλα of Apollo and the Muses, and to the spearlike thunderbolt and the κίων οὐρανία that conquered Typhon, who is the θεῶν πολέμιος (15) corresponding to Pindar's opponents (ἀντίους, 45). These have been assumed to be actual poets competing with Pindar for Hieron's patronage, but Pindar is not concerned here to tell us about his professional difficulties. He is, instead, establishing himself as the paraclete, the intermediary of divine grace (χάρις): like Apollo, the source of the lyre's music and of its arrows, Pindar too hurls a missile as he composes his song: ῥίψαις echoes ῥιπαῖσι (10). βαλεῖν (44) will be echoed later in the throwing that made Hieron victorious in war (74) as it echoes in turn ἀμβολάς (4), the "throwing" or lifting up

of the lyre and the voices in concert. Pindar hopes that he will not cast his javelin ἀγῶνος ἔξω (44), a difficult phrase but one that, regardless of its exact translation, here signifies a cast that is beyond a prescribed limit. This idea will reappear in καιρὸν εἰ φθέγξαιο (81). Thus all three ἀρεταί mentioned in 41 f.—poetic inspiration, strength of hands, and eloquence— are claimed by Pindar, χερσὶ βιαταί (42) corresponding to παλάμᾳ δονέων (44), μα- κρὰ δὲ ῥίψαις (45) and περίγλωσσοι (42) to the rhetorical virtue of moderation in oratory. With the entire passage 43 ff. we may compare *Nem*. 6. 26–32:

ἔλπομαι
μέγα εἰπὼν σκοποῦ ἄντα τυχεῖν
ὦτ' ἀπὸ τόξου ἱείς· εὔθυν' ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἄγε, Μοῖσα,
οὖρον ἐπέων
εὐκλέα· παροιχομένων γὰρ ἀνέρων,
ἀοιδαὶ καὶ λόγοι τὰ καλά σφιν ἔργ' ἐκόμισαν·
Βασσίδαισιν ἅ τ' οὐ σπανίζει, παλαίφατος γενεά,
ἴδια ναυστολέοντες ἐπικώμια . . .

ἔλπομαι . . . ἱείς echoes ἔλπομαι . . . δονέων in *Pyth*. 1. 43 f., while the wind of fame, i.e., praise of the victor, is the πομπαῖος οὖρος of χάρις in *Pyth*. 1. 33 f. παροιχομένων . . . λόγοι, for which there is an alternative reading λόγιοι, parallels *Pyth*. 1. 92–94. The nautical metaphor expressed in *Pyth*. 1. 33 f. and associated with 92–94 (91 f.) of that same poem corresponds to the image of the Bassidae as a ship laden with their own praise.

In accordance with the role of Pindar as the representative of the divine power that glorifies Hieron, the παλάμα that wields the lyre / weapon in 44 reappears as the poet tells of the prowess in battle of Hieron and his brothers:

εὑρίσκοντο θεῶν παλάμαις τιμάν
οἵαν οὔτις Ἑλλάνων δρέπει
πλούτου στεφάνωμ' ἀγέρωχον . . .   [48–50].

These lines will be echoed in 99 f. τιμά is akin to χάρις and δόξα; cf. the passage from *Isthmian* 6 on page 16 and the wording

of *Ol*. 2. 10 f., *Ol*. 7. 88–90, *Ol*. 10. 78–84 (particularly the apposition of χάριν νίκας ἀγερώχου with πυρπάλαμον βέλος Διός). The hand image thus effects the transition from the athletic to the military sphere at the same time as it identifies Pindar's praise with the divine τιμά. κτεάνων in 46 recalls κτέανον, the lyre, in 2.

It is necessary to take into account the range of imagery associated with the lyre in order fully to understand the reference to Philoctetes in 50–55. The brevity of this "myth" element in the poem has often been mentioned, and its relevance has been thought to be correspondingly meager: like Philoctetes, who according to Pindar fought despite his severe wound, Hieron went into the field of battle when he was painfully afflicted with kidney-stones. Some commentators have also attempted to discover in Hieron's military career an incident corresponding to the embassy to Philoctetes in 51 f. But in this Ode devoted to expounding the notion of divine harmony as echoed in the earthly city, Pindar does not focus his attention on kidney-stones. That Hieron suffered intense pain lends a special poignancy to the myth of Philoctetes, and the possible existence of an embassy to Hieron, which we cannot and need not identify, enhances the aptness of the choice. But that choice was made on other grounds. Hieron went to battle τὰν Φιλοκτήταο δίκαν ἐφέπων (50). This is not simply "following the manner" but "pursuing the just cause" of Philoctetes. Philoctetes was brought from Lemnos because the Trojan war, then in its tenth year, could not be won without him. Thus Hieron is flatteringly depicted as the only one who could save his country after prolonged warfare. But the profoundest significance of the myth lies in the fact that Philoctetes was needed because he was a τοξότας μοιρίδιος (cf. 53, 55): he possessed the bow of Hercules. *Nemean 1*,

a poem closely related to *Pythian* 1, tells us that Hercules used his arrows to conquer the Giants (67 ff.). Legend has it that the gods could not accomplish this task without his aid, a parallel to the story of Philoctetes at Troy[13] and to the metaphorical schema of *Pythian* 1, for Hercules' arrows correspond to those of Apollo, that is, to the sounds of the lyre triumphing over discord as exemplified by the gigantic Typhon. We may compare the lines in which Hercules' bow is described in terms of its sound as it is used against the Giants: σφετέρας δ' οὐ φείσατο / χερσὶν βαρυφθόγγοιο νευρᾶς / ʿΗρακλέης (*Isthm.* 6. 33–35). Invoking Zeus, Pindar had spoken of the divine providence that had made the dread volcano into a source of fertile soil, a promising site for the new city: Ζεῦ ... ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος (29 f.). Now Philoctetes, despite his physical infirmity, is the fated savior of his countrymen. And like Philoctetes, Hieron δίκαν ἐφέπων / ἐστρατεύθη (50 f.).

In 59 f. Pindar tells Deinomenes that he must, so to speak, "follow the just way" of his father. As Hercules bequeathed his bow to Philoctetes, and Philoctetes, metaphorically, to Hieron, so Hieron has, by conquering his enemies, established for Deinomenes (τῷ ... ἔκτισσε, 61 f.) a city thus far secure from discord, a city whose governance echoes the cosmic harmony symbolized by the lyre. The proclamation of Aetna at Pytho was the πρώτα χάρις in the glorious future of the city; χάρμα νικαφορία (59) recalls that notion as Pindar reminds Deinomenes that it pertains to him, as the new ruler of Aetna, that it is οὐκ ἀλλότριον (59). Pindar had identified himself with Hieron the athletic victor and with Apollo the archer in the javelin metaphor. Now, as his attention turns to Deinomenes, he retains his role

as the surrogate of Apollo, but the common element is not the hurling of a missile but friendship: Hieron's turbulent military career has cleared the way for an era of peace. Pindar has composed this Ode, for the first of the εὔφωνοι θαλίαι (38) that will celebrate the glory of Aetna, as a gesture of sincere friendship (φίλιον ὕμνον, 60; cf. ὦ φίλε, 92) akin to the love of Zeus and Apollo (15, 39) and unlike the fawning attentions of the hypocrite (σὺν δ' ἀνάγκᾳ μιν φίλον / καί ... ἔσανεν, 51 f.).

The poet goes on to say in 61–66 why it is that the city of Aetna exemplifies divine concord. It was founded θεοδμάτῳ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ / ʿΥλλίδος στάθμας ... ἐν νόμοις (61–62). The second phrase explains the first: Hyllos was Hercules' son. Hieron did not follow his "rule" as a loose guideline but rather ἐν νόμοις, within the limits set forth by that rule, a principle observed by Pindar in hurling his javelin (44). In *Pythian* 2 Pindar had told Hieron that those who stretch the measuring line beyond its just limits (στάθμας δέ τινες ἑλκόμενοι / περισσᾶς, 90 f.) fight against god (88), impugning his providential wisdom. The freedom that prevails in Aetna is not arbitrary but θεόδματος, since the στάθμα of the "architect" Hyllos, like the τεθμοὶ Αἰγιμιοῦ (64), is itself true to the divine purpose. The Dorian state is able to unite diverse peoples into a harmonious whole. Even the Hylleis, the descendants of Hercules, though they dwell apart, wish to abide by its ordinances (63–65). Hieron is thus associated with Hercules not only by virtue of the comparison with Philoctetes, but also because as a Dorian prince he acknowledges and is acknowledged by Hercules' descendants. These two strands are brought together as Pindar mentions the spears of the Herakleidai, Τυνδαριδᾶν

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13. See the scholium, Drachmann, *Scholia*, II, 19. For the legend of Hercules, see Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 6. 1.

βαθύδοξοι γείτονες, ὧν κλέος ἄνθησεν
αἰχμᾶς (66). These spears bring the Hylleis
into the conceptual nexus that includes
the thunderbolt, the arrows of Apollo
and those of Hercules, the κίων οὐρανία,
and Pindar's javelin. βαθύδοξοι (66) echoes
βαθυκόλπων Μοισᾶν (12); the collocation
βαθύδοξοι – κλέος recalls δόξαν – κλυτάν
(36 f.). Apollo's lyre, its gift of peace under
the rule of law, and the fame of Hercules'
descendants and their allies appear to-
gether in *Pyth.* 5. 65–73:

πόρεν τε κίθαριν [*sc.* Ἀπόλλων], δίδωσί τε Μοῖσαν οἷς
                                          [ἂν ἐθέλῃ,
ἀπόλεμον ἀγαγών
ἐς πραπίδας εὐνομίαν,
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
ἔνασσεν ἀλκάεντας Ἡρακλέος
ἐκγόνους Αἰγιμιοῦ τε. τὸ δ᾽ ἐμὸν γαρύει
ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐπήρατον κλέος.[14]

The δόξα–κλέος of the Dorian founders
will, Pindar hopes, be the lot of this newest
outpost of Dorian civilization. In the first
prayer Zeus Aitnaios was asked to look
with favor on the city. Now Zeus Teleios
is invoked: Ζεῦ τέλει᾽, αἰεὶ δὲ τοιαύταν
Ἀμένα παρ᾽ ὕδωρ / αἶσαν ἀστοῖς καὶ βα-
σιλεῦσιν διακρίνειν ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων
(67 f.). τέλει᾽ recalls καὶ τελευτᾷ (35), the
future success of the "ship of state" beside
the waters of the Amenas. Philoctetes,
Hieron's spiritual predecessor, was also
one who brought things to their appointed
end (cf. τελεύτασεν, μοιρίδιον, 54 f.).
ὁ δὲ λόγος in 35 was "this (popular)
saying"; here the λόγος ἀνθρώπων is
"what people say," the judgment of men
about Aetna. Pindar asks that this λόγος
be able to discern, truthfully, that the city

continues to manifest the same divine
dispensation (τοιαύταν αἶσαν, 67 f.), that
is, the κλέος of the original βαθύδοξοι
Dorians. For αἶσα as consisting in κλέος or
δόξα the following passages may be noted:
θεός . . . κλυτὰν αἶσαν παρέχοι φιλέων (*Ol.*
6. 101 f., shortly after mention of Hieron
and Zeus Aitnaios); χρή . . . φέρειν / βαθύ-
δοξον αἶσαν (*Paean* 2. 57 f.); γαρύσομαι . . .
ἀγακλέα . . . αἶσαν (*Isthm.* 1. 34). In 35 the
λόγος suggests that Aetna's glory will
endure, and in 68 it is to determine that the
city has, indeed, continued to deserve a
brilliant reputation.

In both cases Pindar emphasizes not so
much that the city will be glorious but that
it will be said to be so. But why does he
use διακρίνειν, a word with judicial over-
tones, to mean "perceive and assert that
this is the case"? The word calls attention
to itself and reminds listeners of an earlier
instance of a legal term: the lyre was
described at the outset as Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ
ἰοπλοκάμων / σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον
(1–2). σύνδικον κτέανον means "joint pos-
session"; but a σύνδικος is also an advocate
in a court of law, one who makes common
cause with a party to a lawsuit (δίκη).
Apollo and the Muses use the lyre in
order to advance a joint concern, divine
harmony. Hieron, following the δίκη of
Philoctetes, had made common cause with
the archer whose divine arrows conquered
Troy as the "arrows" of the lyre overcame
Zeus's enemies. Now Hieron's son rules
over a heterogeneous population that in-
cludes the descendants of Hercules; this
association is voluntary, involving no
constraint (θέλοντι, 62; contrast σὺν ἀνάγκᾳ
μιν φίλον, 51). In upholding the principle

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14. As further evidence that Pindar had Hercules in mind
when writing this portion of the poem, we may compare the
language of 55–56 with that of *Olympian* 3, written six years
earlier and chiefly concerned with Hercules:

Pythian 1	*Olympian* 3
ὀρθωτήρ	ὀρθώσαις (3), Ὀρθωσίας (30)
πατέρος	πατρί (19; filial piety shared by
	Hercules and Deinomenes)
ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον	εὑρόντι τρόπον (4)
θεοδμάτῳ	θεόδματον (7)
Ἡρακλειδᾶν	Ἡρακλέος (11)
Ταϋγέτου	Ταϋγέτα (29)
Δωριεῖς	Δωρίῳ (5)
Τυνδαριδᾶν	Τυνδαρίδαις (1), Τυνδαριδᾶν (39)
βαθύδοξοι	βαθυζώνοιο (35)

of θεόδματος ἐλευθερία (61) observed by
his father, Deinomenes will be making
common cause with the people of Aetna,
for a constitutional government in the
Dorian tradition is a σύνδικον κτέανον
safeguarding the rights of both subjects
and rulers (cf. ἀστοῖς καὶ βασιλεῦσιν, 68).
Hieron, in his own realm and in his
advice to his son, will honor the rights of
subject citizens, so leading them, with the
help of Zeus, to harmonious tranquillity un-
marred by civil discontent: σύν τοι τίν κεν
ἀγητὴρ ἀνήρ, / υἱῷ τ' ἐπιτελλόμενος, δᾶμον
γεραίρων τράποι σύμφωνον ἐς ἡσυχίαν
(69 f.). σύμφωνος ἡσυχία (70), the result of
Hieron's military prowess, echoes the
εὔφωνοι θαλίαι in honor of his and subse-
quent athletic victories (38); δᾶμον γεραίρων
(70) recalls ἐκύδανεν πόλιν (31). Hieron as
ἀγητὴρ ἀνήρ (69) brings to mind Apollo
Μοισαγέτας (Frag. 116). Apollo leads the
Muses yet shares the lyre with them; so
Hieron and Deinomenes must share their
glory with their people. Posterity, in the
form of what men say, will like a judge
hand down a sentence, a λόγος (cf. δικάζει
τις [sc. Rhadamanthys] . . . λόγον φράσαις,
Ol. 2. 59 f.) that will accurately discern
(ἔτυμον λόγον διακρίνειν, 68) whether the
city has maintained this glory that goes
back to its founders. With 61 ff. we may
compare another Ode from the Aegina
cycle:

Κλεινὸς Αἰακοῦ λόγος, κλεινὰ δὲ καὶ ναυ-
σικλυτὸς Αἴγινα· σὺν θεῶν δέ νιν αἶσα
Ὑλλου τε καὶ Αἰγιμίου
Δωριεὺς ἐλθὼν στρατός
ἐκτίσσατο· τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ στάθμᾳ νέμονται
οὐ θέμιν οὐδὲ δίκαν
ξείνων ὑπερβαίνοντες   [Isthm. 9. 1–6].

Lines 4–6 of this passage make explicit
the relevance of στάθμας ἐν νόμοις (62) to
[ἔλπομαι] μὴ ἀγῶνος βαλεῖν ἔξω (44).

15. A. Turyn (ed.), *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (New
York, 1944), p. 78.
16. H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen*

Pindar returns at *Pyth.* 1. 71–73 to the
theme of Hieron's military triumphs:

λίσσομαι νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἥμερον
ὄφρα κατ' οἶκον ὁ Φοίνιξ ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ' ἀλαλατὸς
          ἔχῃ, ναυσίστονον ὕβριν ἰδὼν τὰν πρὸ Κύμας,
οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῷ δαμασθέντες πάθον.

ὁ Φοίνιξ (72), one of Hieron's foes, re-
calls the φοίνισσα φλόξ (24) associated with
Typhon. ἀλαλατός (72) echoes βοάν (13),
the former war cry raised by the enemies
of Hieron, the latter by the Muses against
the enemies of Zeus. ὕβριν and Κύμας (72),
as has often been noted, recall the arrogant
giant imprisoned in that region (18), while
ἀρχῷ (73) compares Hieron to the eagle
as the representative of Zeus's righteous
anger (7) and at the same time, echoing
ἀρχομένοις in 34, anticipates the imagery
of the following lines, 74 f.

The parallels are clear. The precise
manner in which the lines are to be under-
stood, however, is not. I have given the
reading favored by Turyn[15] and the
majority of editors. Snell, however, agree-
ing with Hermann Fränkel,[16] places the
comma after ὕβριν, not after ἔχῃ (72).
Fränkel also replaces τάν in 72 (referring to
ὕβριν) with τά (referring to οἷα πάθον). He
states that ἔχω is never intransitive in
Pindar and that, moreover, οἷα δαμασθέντες
πάθον (73) is not connected to the -στονος
element in ναυσίστονον ὕβριν (72); for this,
he believes, refers to the groaning that the
fleet of the Carthaginians and the Etrus-
cans hoped to inflict upon Hieron's men.
Fränkel therefore translates: "gewähre
daß der Phoiniker / und der Schlachtruf
der Tyrsener zahm zu Hause halte die
übermutige Kriegsflotte." Pindar, how-
ever, explains the unusual adjective
ναυσίστονος in 73 f.: the foe *suffered* (πάθον)
at Hieron's hands because the young men

Griechentums (New York, 1951), p. 579, n. 20; the translation
is on p. 578.

were thrown from the *ships* (ἀπὸ ναῶν): ναυσίστονος ὕβρις is, then, the arrogance that made the fleet attack Hieron and that brought grief to the survivors. As was the case with Typhon, ὕβρις brings its own punishment to an enemy of divine order. If one is to retain Snell's punctuation, therefore, the translation must read: "keep at home the overweening pride that brought woe to their ships."

But another possibility must be considered. Fränkel correctly thinks that intransitive ἔχω is not in Pindar's manner. Yet, if we are to consider Pindar's usage, it must be noted that he never uses the phrase κατ' οἶκον to mean "at home"; he prefers οἴκοι (*Pyth.* 4. 43, *Pyth.* 8. 65, *Nem.* 2. 23, *Nem.* 5. 45). The scholium is interesting: ἐπίνευσον, ὅπως ὁ . . . θόρυβος ἥσυχον καὶ εἰρηναῖον ἔχοι τὸν οἶκον.[17] This gives ἔχω its object and does not presuppose the phrase κατ' οἶκον, but it leaves κατ' unaccounted for. Several modern commentators have suggested that the verb is, by tmesis, κατέχῃ.[18] This verb may mean "dwell at" home in peace, but in that case the uncompounded ἔχῃ would have done as well (cf. *Pyth.* 5. 82 and *Pyth.* 9. 34). There is, however, a reason why Pindar should have preferred κατέχῃ at this point. ἥμερον (71) is proleptic: the home of the enemy will become calm, will no longer be a source of aggression directed against Hieron. The ἀλαλατός (72), then, will *be* stilled, although it is the subject of κατέχῃ. The restraining of the enemy with his savage cry is implied. The wording of these lines presents this difficulty in any interpretation, but there is a distinct possibility—if no more than that—that Pindar intended κατέχῃ in view of the fact that this

word is associated with the subduing of the enemies of divine harmony: κατασχόμενος (10), the synonymous συνέχει (19), and κατέχει (96): Hieron's defeated foe clearly belongs in this series.

In the following lines Pindar describes the victory: ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν ὅ σφιν ἐν πόντῳ βάλεθ' ἁλικίαν, / 'Ελλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας (74 f.). βάλετο, the middle, is used where we should expect the active, but few commentators have noticed this anomaly. Hartung emends to βάλεν, denying that the middle makes any sense and citing by way of contrast κρηπῖδα βαλέσθαι ἐλευθερίας (Frag. 77). Fennell ingeniously points out that, as admiral of the fleet, Hieron would have had the actual casting done on his behalf by his subordinates. Gildersleeve adduces βάλλετ' ἄγκυραν (*Isthm.* 6. 13), noting that Pindar speaks of the ἁλικία as if it were an anchor.[19] This observation, which Gildersleeve does not develop, is suggestive, for the city of Aetna was compared to a ship in 33–35. By hurling into the sea the young warriors —the strongest of the enemy, presumably, and the basis of their strength in succeeding generations—Hieron as it were anchored his new city securely, preserving its Greek citizens from the threat of foreign domination. To which of the two contending sides in the sea battle does the phrase ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν refer? It is not clear to us, as it must have been to the original audience, whether the enemy had managed to board Hieron's ships and were repulsed, or whether they were disabled while fighting on their own ships. The former case more readily suggests the implicit metaphor of the anchor. But it is well within the range of the Pindaric con-

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17. Drachmann, *Scholia*, II, 23.
18. Commentators who favor κατέχῃ are A. Boeckh, *Pindari interpretatio latina* (= *Pindari opera*, II.2, Leipzig 1821), p. 236; L. Dissen-F. G. Schneidewin (eds.), *Pindari carmina*² (Gotha, 1847). p. 190; J. W. Donaldson (ed.),

Pindar's Epinician or Triumphal Odes (London, 1868), p. 102; C. A. M. Fennell (ed.), *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (Cambridge, 1893), p. 153.
19. J. A. Hartung (ed.), *Pindar's Werke*, II (Leipzig, 1855), 203; Fennell, *op. cit.*, p. 154; Gildersleeve, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

ceit for the anchor of Hieron's "ship of state" to be the hurling of the enemy from their own vessels. ἐξέλκω, "draw out," is the opposite of βάλλομαι [ἄγκυραν] ἐν πόντῳ, "cast in." By securing his "ship," Hieron released his people, a pseudo-paradox reminiscent of those associated with the lyre in 1–12; the shooting of arrows as if in warfare actually marks the end of war. A link between the two passages, as was noted, is ἄκοντα βαλεῖν (44). The idea resonated again as Hieron was compared to the archer Philoctetes; but here, finally, at 74 f. Hieron joins Zeus and Apollo, and their representative Pindar, as one who "throws" in order to overcome his opponents.[20] His act recalls particularly that of Zeus, who hurled Typhon down to the depths of the earth: Hieron has accomplished in the microcosm what Zeus had achieved in the macrocosm. At this point the verbal sequence of *Pyth.* 4. 191–204 may be noted: ἐμβόλου— —ἀγκύρας—ἐγχεικέραυνον Ζῆνα—ὠκυπόρους—ῥιπάς—νόστοιο μοῖραν (cf., in *Pyth.* 1, τελευτᾷ . . . νόστου, 35; τελεύτασεν . . . μοιρίδιον, 54 f.; αἶσα, 68; μοῖρα, 99)—βροντᾶς αἴσιον φθέγμα (cf. φθέγξαιο [*Pyth.* 1. 81], the poet's words having been compared to a javelin, an avatar of the thunderbolt; cf. also βαρυφθόγγοιο νευρᾶς [*Isthm.* 6. 35] of Hercules' bow)—θεοῦ σάμασιν πιθόμενοι (cf. *Pyth.* 1. 3)—κάρυξε τερασκόπος (cf. *Pyth.* 1. 26, 32: the herald announced Hieron's victory, which, like the conquest of Typhon, was an omen for the future)— σὺν Νότου δ' αὔραις . . . πεμπόμενοι ἤλυθον (cf. πομπαῖον ἐλθεῖν οὖρον [*Pyth.* 1. 34]).

The ship of state metaphor was introduced in the context of Hieron's athletic victory. Now, when it reappears in the (implicit) anchor image, his military triumph is praised. Hieron is not only an athlete and a general but also a wise statesman. He had founded Aetna θεοδμάτῳ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ (61), but this freedom was not, in practice, fully secured until the victory near Cumae at which he had "cast the anchor." In order fully to perceive the nexus of ideas that lay behind Pindar's choice of the middle form βάλετο, passages from other Odes must be considered; for βάλετο implies both metaphors that describe the city, a ship (βάλλομαι ἄγκυραν), and an edifice, 61 f. (cf. βάλλομαι κρηπῖδα). The first of the passages is the one referred to by Gildersleeve, *Isthm.* 6. 10–13, which was quoted above (p. 16). Here the focus of interest is the close conjunction of θεοδμάτους with βάλλετ' ἄγκυραν. The second instance, curiously, is the one mentioned by Hartung as different in sense from *Pyth.* 1. 74. It refers to the victory at Artemisium: ὅθι παῖδες Ἀθαναίων ἐβάλοντο φαεννάν / κρηπῖδ' ἐλευθερίας (Frag. 77; cf. *Pyth.* 1. 79). In his own military victory Hieron, too, had laid the foundation of freedom.

A technique by which Pindar achieves coherence in the *Odes*—one that deserves further study—may be called, for want of a more elegant term, the "missing link." It will have been observed in the course of this discussion that two apparently dissimilar passages will be connected by a third, in the same poem or in another, that combines elements of both. Thus, for example, βαθύδοξον αἶσαν in *Paean* 2. 58 links βαθύδοξοι and αἶσαν in *Pyth.* 1. 66 and 68. In the same way the passage mentioned above from *Isthmian* 6 combines the notions of building on a divine foundation and casting an anchor, thus linking *Pyth.* 1. 61 f. and 74. Fragment 77 completes the nexus, so that we may arrive at a compound meaning for βάλετο in 74: βάλετο

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20. The verbal repetition (βάλλω, ῥίπτω) may well have been emphasized by similar gestures repeated by the chorus at the appropriate points.

ἄγκυραν–κρηπῖδα θεοδμάτου ἐλευθερίας. Then, within *Pythian* 1 itself, this βάλετο becomes the link between 61 f. and 4: ὁπόταν προοιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς [*sc.* φόρμιγξ] ἐλελιζομένα. Why did Pindar use the abstruse ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς instead of ἀναβάλλῃ? The harmonious beginning of his song corresponds (literally, in point of time, and figuratively, in terms of the significance of the lyre) to the founding of the city of Aetna, ἀρχά (2) corresponding to ἀρχομένοις (34, the nautical metaphor). The lyre "builds" the prooemium as Hieron built Aetna, according to the principle of divine order. The prooemium "leads the chorus," blending music, dance, and song into a harmonious performance, just as the Dorian constitution is able to reconcile the interests of a heterogeneous population and its rulers. ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς, then, conveys the same meaning as *Pyth.* 7. 1–3:

     Κάλλιστον αἱ μεγαλοπόλιες Ἀθᾶναι
     προοίμιον Ἀλκμανιδᾶν εὐρυσθενεῖ
     γενεᾷ κρηπῖδ᾽ ἀοιδᾶν ἵπποισι βαλέσθαι.

Likening the prooemium to an edifice is a familiar device. With the wording of *Pyth.* 1. 1–4 we may compare *Ol.* 6. 1–4: χρυσέας, εὐτειχεῖ, ἀρχομένου; *Pyth.* 6. 7–9: ὕμνων θησαυρὸς ἐν πολυχρύσῳ / Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τετείχισται νάπᾳ; *Pyth.* 6. 14–18, especially λόγοισι θνατῶν εὔδοξον . . . νίκαν . . . ἀπαγγελεῖ (16–18; cf. *Pyth.* 1. 32, 35 f., 68, and Frag. 51*a*. 4); *Nem.* 1. 8: ἀρχαὶ βέβληνται θεῶν; *Nem.* 2. 3–4: ἄρχονται, Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου. . . καταβολάν; *Nem.* 4. 1–5: the ellipsis τόσσον εὐλογία φόρμιγγι συνάορος (5) conceals τεύχει, while θέλξαν (3) recalls *Pyth.* 1. 12; Frag. 194: χρυσέα κρηπὶς ἱεραῖσιν ἀοιδαῖς, τειχίζωμεν (which, like other forms of τείχω in *Ol.* 6. 1 and *Pyth.* 6. 9, is related in sound and sense, though

not etymologically, to τεύχω). A similar metaphor occurs in *Pyth.* 4. 138: βάλλετο κρηπῖδα σοφῶν ἐπέων. Finally, we may compare *Pyth.* 3. 112–14, also written for Hieron: ἀνθρώπων φάτις (112) brings renown as does the λόγος ἀνθρώπων in *Pyth.* 1. 66–68; and poets are called τέκτονες (113). For *Ol.* 11. 4–6, see below, page 27. As βάλετο κρηπῖδα, βάλετο in 74, referring to Hieron, is the link between πόλιν Ὑλλίδος στάθμας ἐν νόμοις ἔκτισσε (61 f.) and μὴ ἀγῶνος βαλεῖν ἔξω (44); in both cases the speaker acknowledges certain preordained limits.[21]

     Pindar then proceeds to compare the battle of Himera to the battles of Salamis and Plataea (75–80). The χάρις he seeks from the Athenians and the Spartans will be followed by further rewards from Aetna, and is thus analogous to the πρῶτα χάρις in 33. Μήδειοι ἀγκυλότοξοι (78) recalls ἀγκύλῳ κρατί (8) used of the eagle subdued by the "arrows" of the lyre. The Medes are compared to Hieron's defeated foe (κάμον, 78; καμόντων, 80) while πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν (80) echoes πολέμιος (15), further underlining the similarity of Hieron to Zeus. At the same time, τελέσαις (79) assimilates Pindar to the group of "fulfillers of divine providence" that includes Zeus Teleios and also Philoctetes / Hieron (54), all of whom are involved in the ultimate success of the new city (τελευτᾷ, 35). τελευτᾷ occurred in the context of the ship of state metaphor. Here, interestingly, Pindar represents himself as singing *beside* the river Himeras: παρὰ . . . τὰν εὔυδρον ἀκτὰν Ἱμέρα . . . ὕμνον . . . τελέσαις (79). The river is not just the subject or occasion of his praise but the site at which he composes it; there is an explicit contrast between παρὰ governing the accusative

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21. Bury's note on *Nem.* 1. 8 (*Nemean Odes*, pp. 11 f.) is instructive on the meaning of ἀρχά in this context. Van Groningen cites the passages from *Olympian* 6, *Pythian* 7, *Nemean* 2, and *Nemean* 4 but, remarkably, does not perceive either that they are related or that they are significant: "Ces quatre passages ne nous apprennent . . . rien qui vaille"

(*op. cit.*, p. 329). Of the prooemium to *Pythian* 7 he remarks: "Il faut bien qu'une ode commence d'une façon ou autre; celle-ci commencera par la mention d'Athènes. Il n'y a rien là-dedans qui fasse songer à une des fonctions unificatrices que le proème au sens technique du terme est appelé à exercer. Il n'y a qu'une métaphore" (p. 328).

in 79 and the genitive in 76. The wording recalls Ἀμένα παρ' ὕδωρ / αἶσαν διακρίνειν λόγον ἀνθρώπων (67–68): the "accomplishing" of the hymn by the banks of the Himeras is an omen, like the Pythian herald's proclamation, suggesting that Zeus the Accomplisher will cause Aetna to be praised in the future by the waters of the Amenas. Pindar emphasizes that both cities are located on rivers in order to enhance the ship of state metaphor.[22]

In the first lines of the final triad the poet announces that he will sum up the various images and themes he has used in the course of the poem, πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις / ἐν βραχεῖ (81–82), stretching taut and drawing together the "loose ends" into a concise statement of their import. At the same time, by speaking opportunely (καιρόν, 81) and briefly (ἐν βραχεῖ, 82) in order not to incur censure (μῶμος ἀνθρώπων, 82), Pindar presents in his own spheres of activity a model that Deinomenes ought to emulate in his; in *Pyth.* 4. 281 ff. the poet describes Damophilos as a paradigm of the wise and incisive statesman, ending with the words, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπων βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχει (286). The notion of καιρός was introduced after the comparison of Hieron to Philoctetes. Pindar prayed that the θεὸς ὀρθωτήρ might give the ailing ruler ὧν ἔραται καιρόν (56 f.). ὀρθωτήρ anticipated the architectural imagery shortly to follow, which in turn conveyed the notion of καιρός as observed by Hieron in his founding of the city; Hieron, like Pindar (44, 81), was aware of the "due measure" that has its origin in the harmony of the cosmos.

μείων ἔπεται μῶμος (82) recalls δίκαν ἐφέπων (50) and, ultimately, ὅς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος (30). μῶμος ἀνθρώπων (82) echoes λόγος ἀνθρώπων (68), for Pindar knows that his song is meant to glorify Aetna's

rulers, not detract from their reputation. To exceed the limits of the permissible, to redefine them in terms of one's own inclination (contrast *Pyth.* 2. 90 f. with *Pyth.* 1. 62), is arrogant and will alienate an audience whose approval might be won by a more temperate approach. The significance of κόρος αἰανής (82 f.) in the context of *Pythian* 1 may be more clearly perceived by comparing *Isthm.* 3. 1–3:

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

Εὐτυχήσαις corresponds to φερτέρου . . . τυχεῖν (*Pyth.* 1. 35); the other points of similarity are obvious. A surfeit of praise, Pindar continues in *Pythian* 1, blunts the edge of expectation (ἀμβλύνει . . . ταχείας ἐλπίδας, 82–83); the poet's wish to avoid excess (ἔλπομαι, 43) is shared by his listeners (ἐλπίδας, 83). In the earlier passage Pindar had described himself as an athlete wielding a javelin. Now he is a blacksmith forging a sharp missile, that is, "whetting" the expectations of his audience (ταχείας in 83 indicates that a missile is meant, not, for example, a sharp knife). The response of the audience, honed by the wordsmith Pindar, will be a shaft flying swiftly to its mark, i.e., the praise of Aetna, like the κῆλα of the lyre asserting the divine harmony of the macrocosm.

If praise is excessive, envy will result: ἀστῶν δ' ἀκοὰ κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύνει μάλιστ' ἐσλοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις (84); there is a contrast with Deinomenes' own ungrudging spirit when he hears the hymn of praise sung in honor of his father: χάρμα δ' οὐκ ἀλλότριον (59). βαρύνει (84) recalls ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας (75): the citizens must not be oppressed either by foreign domination or by divisive elements within the state.[23] Further on, the blacksmith

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22. It is for this reason that Pindar mentions the Amenas and not, as Norwood contends (*op. cit.*, pp. 103, 241, n. 17), because of the etymology of the name.

23. With *Pyth.* 1. 82–86 we may compare *Nem.* 10. 20 f.: ἔστι δὲ καὶ κόρος ἀνθρώπων βαρὺς ἀντιάσαι· / ἀλλ' ὅμως εὔχορδον ἔγειρε λύραν. κόρος here is "envy," the result of excessive praise.

image is applied to Deinomenes himself (86 f.), varied so that the implement being forged is the tongue of the speaker: ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν. *Ol.* 6. 82 may be compared, but the link between this passage, 81–83, and 44 f. is *Nem.* 7. 71 f.: the poet swears μὴ τέρμα προβαὶς ἄκονθ' ὧτε χαλκοπάρᾳον ὄρσαι / θοὰν γλῶσσαν. παραιθύσσει (*Pyth.* 1. 87) recalls αἴθων' (23) and the paradigmatic forge of Hephaestus in Mount Aetna, whence come the weapons of the gods— the thunderbolt and, presumably, the shafts of the lyre. The god Hephaestus continues to work Zeus's will in the midst of the volcano that is the symbol of discord. So Deinomenes must continue to be truthful although, in the city Aetna, he is surrounded by grudging malcontents (84) who envy his position of eminence as Typhon did that of Zeus. Lines 86 f. (forging a truthful utterance) are the link between 82 f. (forging a positive impression of the subject's merit) and 68 (a truthful appraisal of Aetna's glory). The faithful witnesses, πολλοὶ μάρτυρες πιστοί (88), recall the judicial connotation of διακρίνειν, as αἰεί (90) echoes αἰεί (67) in the earlier passage: Deinomenes is presenting his case before the court of posterity. The witnesses are his subjects, whose diverse interests he must, like the Dorian founders (62–66), unite into a harmonious whole, just as Pindar is in the process of tying together the many strands of his poem: πολλῶν ταμίας ἐσσί (88) corresponds to πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις (81). This particular πεῖραρ, the blacksmith forging a weapon, is fully assimilated to the metaphorical scheme of the poem at 95–98. Phalaris is not compared to a blacksmith as such, but like one he works with burning metal: χαλκέῳ (95) echoes χάλκευε (86) and χαλκοπάρᾳον (44). Phalaris enclosed his victims in the brazen bull but is himself "held down" by the condemnation of

posterity—Pindar's bronze javelin of song, Deinomenes' bronze weapon of truthful utterance. This paradox recalls those of the first triad and particularly the case of Typhon, the Burner (καυτῆρα, 95) being compared to the Smoky One. κατέχει (96), as was noted, completes the series κατέχευας (8), κατασχόμενος (10), πιέζει (19), συνέχει (19), κατέχῃ or κατ' οἶκον ἔχῃ (72). ἐχθρὰ φάτις (96) is the same as μῶμος ἀνθρώπων (82) and both together balance λόγος δόξαν φέρει (35 f.) and ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων (68).

The other dominant image in this final triad is the image of seafaring. The metaphor of the ship of state was introduced in 33–35 and resonated at 67, 74, and 79. Here, after telling Deinomenes that it is better to be envied than to be pitied, Pindar says: μὴ παρίει καλά. νώμα δικαίῳ πηδαλίῳ στρατόν (86). Gildersleeve, anticipating the second of these sentences, translates the first "hold to thy noble course" (p. 251). But μὴ παρίει καλά, while indeed a nautical image, has to do not with steering the ship, but with catching the wind in its sails. One may compare τοῦ ποδὸς παρίει and τοὺς τερθρίους παρίει in Aristophanes *Knights* 436 and 440. In Aristophanes' metaphor the prudent sailor seeks to avoid being capsized by a storm; this "storm," like the one Deinomenes might fear, is a verbal attack. νώμα (86) echoes νόμοις (62): within the framework of the Dorian constitution a ruler may reconcile dissident elements among the citizenry. δικαίῳ and στρατόν (86) recall δίκαν and ἐστρατεύθη (50 f.): as Hieron, fighting on the side of justice, constrained the haughty man to co-operate in his military endeavor, so Deinomenes' just guidance of the "host," the populace, in peacetime will nullify the efforts of those who seek to disparage him. The admonition not to "slacken the ropes," not to relax his noble efforts (καλά), recalls Pindar's own effort,

πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις (81), to reconcile diverse elements in his poem. Pindar is the paraclete, his poem the vehicle of divine grace, of χάρις. It manifests the harmony and order that will, he prays, be found henceforth in Aetna. Deinomenes must be receptive to this grace, must spread his sails to catch the wind. In 33 f. the "ship" had received the πρῶτα χάρις, the favorable wind at the outset of its journey. Pindar went on to explain that subsequent fair winds consisted in δόξα, a glorious reputation for the city. Now he reminds Deinomenes of this:

εἴπερ τι φιλεῖς ἀκοὰν ἀδεῖαν αἰεὶ
    κλύειν, μὴ κάμνε λίαν δαπάναις·
ἐξίει δ' ὥσπερ κυβερνάτας ἀνήρ
    ἱστίον ἀνεμόεν [πετάσαις]   [90–92].

This αἰεί (90) is the same as in 67; κλύειν (90) recalls κλυτάν in 37 and κλέος in 66, ἀδεῖαν (90) the lyre's sweet music in 8. Since δόξα consists in being "heard of," the king must acknowledge Pindar's efforts on his behalf. In return, he may confidently unfurl his sail to catch the "wind" of his reputation since he has been assured that Pindar will avoid the excessive praise that might arouse discontent.[24] μὴ παρίει καλά (86) occurs at approximately the same point in the strophe as ἐξίει . . . ἀνεμόεν (91–92) in the antistrophe, and νώμα δικαίῳ πηδαλίῳ στρατόν (86) applies, of course, to the κυβερνάτας ἀνήρ (91). Likewise, ἀκοά in the fourth line of the strophe (84) is repeated at the corresponding point in the antistrophe (90). πολλῶν in the first line of the strophe (81) is echoed (twice) at that point in the antistrophe (88), while ἀψευδεῖ, etc. (86), has not a verbal but a conceptual analogue in μὴ δολωθῇς (92). The third line of the strophe and antistrophe are not

parallel, for εὐανθεῖ (89) echoes ἄνθησεν (66) as παρμένων (89) does παρέμειν' (48; cf. αἰεὶ μένειν, 64): Deinomenes is being reminded of the virtues of his forebears.

The notion of δόξα, introduced in 36 in connection with the nautical metaphor, was echoed indirectly at 48, directly at 66, the two passages just noted; for δόξα will ensue if Deinomenes maintains an equable and generous disposition. The significance of the term is recapitulated in 92–94 (see p. 16). To be renowned "in song and story" is to achieve the only kind of immortality, on this earth, that man can hope for. Croesus lives on in his posthumous glory (οὐ φθίνει, 94), but Phalaris is buried by obloquy. Like the citizens of Aetna during the king's lifetime, the λόγιοι and ἀοιδοί (94) will be μάρτυρες ἀμφοτέροις πιστοί (88). We may compare *Isthm*. 4. 7–11:

. . . . τιμάεντες ἀρχᾶθεν λέγονται
. . . . ὀρφανοί
ὕβριος· ὅσσα δ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἄηται
μαρτύρια φθιμένων ζωῶν τε φωτῶν
ἀπλέτου δόξας, ἐπέψαυσαν κατὰ πᾶν τέλος.

These lines, the vocabulary of which clearly recalls that of *Pythian* 1, continue the metaphor of the winds of fortune expressed in *Isthm*. 4. 5 f. and are thus a link between *Pyth*. 1. 88 and 91 f. Further:

εἰ δὲ σὺν πόνῳ τις εὖ πράσσοι, μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι
ὑστέρων ἀρχὰ λόγων
τέλλεται καὶ πιστὸν ὅρκιον μεγάλαις ἀρεταῖς·
ἀφθόνητος δ' αἶνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαις
οὗτος ἄγκειται   [*Ol*. 11. 4–8].

Line 5 recalls *Pyth*. 1. 2, 34 f., and 68. οὐδέ μιν φόρμιγγες. . . δέκονται in *Pyth*. 1. 97 f. contrasts with στέφανον ὕψιστον δέδεκται (100) and with τὸν [*sc*. ὕμνον] ἐδέξαντ' ἀμφ' ἀρετᾷ (80). With the mention of the φόρμιγξ in 97 the poem ends as it

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24. With μὴ κάμνε . . . ἀνεμόεν we may compare *Isthm*. 2. 39 f.: καὶ θεῶν δαῖτας προσέπτυκτο πάσας· οὐδέ ποτε ξενίαν /

οὖρος ἐμπνεύσαις ὑπέστειλ' ἱστίον ἀμφὶ τράπεζαν. An image of spreading the sails in praise of the victor occurs at *Nem*. 5. 50 f.

began. τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εὖ, Pindar says in 99, is the πρῶτον ἀέθλων, that is, the πρῶτα χάρις, Hieron's military and athletic success as a good omen for the coincident founding of the city. εὖ δ' ἀκούειν δευτέρα μοῖρ': this μοῖρα is the αἶσα, consisting in κλέος, that will be discerned by the λόγος ἀνθρώπων in future generations (66–68; cf. Isthm. 5. 13: εἴ τις εὖ πάσχων λόγον ἐσλὸν ἀκούῃ). εὖ ἀκούειν is the same as ἀκοὰν ἀδεῖαν αἰεὶ κλύειν (90), "to hear sweet things said of one," but also, literally, "to hear well," to remain attuned to the divine harmony of the lyre, to obey it as do the singers (3), to submit to its compelling force as does the dancer's step (τᾶς ἀκούει ... βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά, 2). For, if Aetna's rulers hear and obey the lyre, they will receive its rewards ἀμφ' ἀρετᾷ and the city will, in the future, be judged to be as glorious as it is now, when Pindar celebrates its beginnings.

If Pindar's Odes seem to lack intrinsic unity, it is because they are not units, not discrete and autonomous entities, but rather parts of a continuous fabric of inter-related ideas and images extending throughout the poet's œuvre. It does not follow from the fact that the Odes were composed individually as occasional poems that they are wholly self-contained. It is only by reference to the total œuvre that the semantic infrastructure of the single Ode can be shown to be coherent; indeed, the quest for unity might well be replaced by the attempt to discover coherence in this way. Thus, in the course of the discussion of Pythian 1, it was necessary to adduce passages from many other poems. But two Odes in particular, Nemean 1 and Pythian 8, must be examined in greater detail.

Nemean 1 was written for Chromius, the governor of Aetna, Hieron's brother-in-law and guardian of Deinomenes, and, like Hieron, a victor in the chariot race. It is generally thought that Nemean 1 was written in 476, so that the audience for this Ode must have been quite similar to the audience for Pythian 1, written in 470. Perhaps in view of this fact Pindar felt free to make the later Ode complement and supplement Nemean 1 to an unusual degree.

From Ortygia, he begins, ὕμνος ὅρμᾶται θέμεν / αἶνον ἀελλοπόδων μέγαν ἵππων, Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν (Nem. 1. 5 f.). Bury notes that χάριν is in apposition to αἶνον but translates "to please Aetnean Zeus."[25] He rejects "by grace of Zeus," the meaning the phrase has in Pyth. 3. 95 (an indirect reference to Hieron); but here, as in Pyth. 1. 33, χάρις is indeed the divine favor of Aetnean Zeus expressed through praise of a victor in the games. The ἀρχαί of this χάρις (Nem. 1. 8) anticipate Pyth. 1. 3 (ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά) and 33 f. (ἀνδράσι πρῶτα χάρις ἀρχομένοις); βέβληνται θεῶν (Nem. 1. 8) assimilates to this context Pyth. 1. 61 f., as was noted. So the sequence ἀρχαί, βέβληνται, ἀγλαΐαν (Nem. 1. 8, 13) corresponds to ἀγλαΐας, ἀρχά, ἀμβολὰς τεύχης (Pyth. 1. 2 f.). Overlapping this, the entire sequence Δάλου, Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν, ἅρμα, νικαφόροις, ἀρχαί, εὐτυχία, πανδοξίας and the victory song in Nem. 1. 4–12 anticipate Ζεῦ ... ὄρος, καλλινίκου, ἅρμασι, χάρις, ἀρχομένοις, τυχεῖν, συντυχίαις, δόξαν, the celebration of the victors in song, and Δάλοι', in Pyth. 1. 29–39. In both Odes ἀγλαΐα refers not only to the glory of the town but, by virtue of the hymn of praise, to the δόξα of the athlete. In both, the fertility of the region is vouchsafed by Zeus; compare εὐκάρπου χθονός (Nem. 1. 14) with εὐκάρποιο γαίας (Pyth. 1. 30) and some lines from Olympian 1, written in the same year as Nemean 1, in which Hieron

25. Nemean Odes, p. 10.

θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμήλῳ
Σικελίᾳ δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἀπο πασᾶν
ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καί
μουσικᾶς ἐν ἀώτῳ   [12–15].

In the light of this last passage, we can see what lay behind the choice of δρέπει in *Pyth.* 1. 49: the fertility of Hieron's realm (in this case, Aetna) is a reward (τιμάν, 48) for his prowess and is connected with the theme of divine music. Connecting *Olympian* 1 and *Nemean* 1 with each other and with *Pythian* 1 is *Ol.* 6. 92–97: Hieron's scepter occurs in *Olympian* 1, in the context of fertility; Persephone in *Nem.* 1. 14 is mentioned in the same context. The word ἀμφέπει is used of the scepter in *Olympian* 1, of Demeter and Persephone in *Olympian* 6 along with Zeus Aitnaios. A further link between *Nemean* 1 and *Pythian* 1 is the passage from *Isthmian* 6, quoted above (p. 16), which combines the architectural and seafaring imagery of *Pythian* 1 with the notion of planting δόξαν; compare the planting of ἀγλαΐα in the fertile soil, *Nem.* 1. 13 ff.

πολλῶν ἐπέβαν καιρὸν οὐ ψεύδει βαλών (*Nem.* 1. 18) is the "missing link" between *Pyth.* 1. 44 (μὴ χαλκοπάραον ἄκονθ' ὡσείτ' ἀγῶνος βαλεῖν ἔξω), 81 (καιρὸν εἰ φθέγξαιο, πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις), and 85 (ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν). It is interesting to note that the word χαλκεντέος occurs in *Nem.* 1. 16, two lines preceding πολλῶν . . . βαλών: there is no thematic connection, but the auditory conjunction reveals the way in which Pindar composes. *Nem.* 1. 24 f., with the image of water putting out fire (literally, smoke), anticipates the water imagery associated with the lyre in *Pythian* 1 that extinguishes the fiery thunderbolt and declares war on Typhon. εὖ τε παθεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι (*Nem.* 1. 32) is echoed in *Pyth.* 1. 99.

   But the most important connection between the two Odes is more subtle.

Nemean 1 is a basis for the association of Hieron and Hercules in *Pythian* 1. In the passage from *Olympian* 1 quoted above, the phrase κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν was used with reference to Hieron. In *Nem.* 1. 34 Pindar begins the story of Hercules ἐν κορυφαῖς ἀρετᾶν μεγάλαις, ἀρχαῖον ὀτρύνων λόγον. These are the only two occurrences in Pindar of the collocation κορυφαὶ ἀρετᾶν. It will be recalled that the λόγος in *Pyth.* 1. 35 dealt with the ἀνδράσι πρῶτα χάρις ἀρχομένοις: Hieron's victory was a good omen for the subsequent renown of his city. In *Nemean* 1 the ἀρχαῖος λόγος likewise deals with the beginnings of a splendid future. Corresponding to Hieron's success, the πρῶτα χάρις, is the infant Hercules' victory: πειρᾶτο. . . πρῶτον μάχας (*Nem.* 1. 43). The serpents slain by Hercules recall the ἑρπετόν Typhon (*Pyth.* 1. 25), the archetype of ὕβρις, a word used both of Hieron's conquered foe (*Pyth.* 1. 72) and of the serpents in the Hercules story (*Nem.* 1. 50). In *Nemean* 1, too, the λόγος is an omen, interpreted by Teiresias (61 ff.). At *Nem.* 1. 66 ff., Pindar describes the demigod battling with the Giants, subduing them βελέων ὑπὸ ῥιπαῖσι, a phrase which, as was noted, corresponds to the ῥιπαί of the κῆλα in *Pyth.* 1. 10, 12. Hercules receives perpetual ἡσυχία as a reward for his efforts (*Nem.* 1. 69 ff.); τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον . . . ὀλβίοις (*Nem.* 1. 69–71) anticipates ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ὄλβον in *Pyth.* 1. 46, which immediately follows the clause μακρὰ δὲ ῥίψαις ἀμεύσασθ' ἀντίους, in which Pindar is Hieron's surrogate. *Pyth.* 1. 56 f., lines which express a sentiment similar to that of 46, immediately follow the account of Philoctetes and his divine arrows. Like Hercules, Hieron has earned serenity after a valiant military career. His efforts have guaranteed ἡσυχία for his people as well (*Pyth.* 1. 70), so that Hercules' descendants (*Pyth.* 1. 63), represented by the Dorian citizens of Aetna, enjoy on

earth the same tranquillity that their an-
cestor does in heaven. In the context of
Nemean 1, the fulfilling of the omen is
connected with the image of sowing the
seeds of ἀγλαΐα, which will, presumably,
yield a harvest of subsequent glory. In
Pythian 1 the emphasis is on the founding
of the new city, for whose future renown
the herald's proclamation at Pytho augurs
well. Thus, while many essential themes
are common to both poems, each has its
own focus.

The legend that Zeus overcame Typhon
with the thunderbolt is similar to the
legend that Hercules conquered the Giants
with his arrows. In *Pythian* 1 Hieron is
identified both with Zeus and with Her-
cules. *Pythian* 8 reveals explicitly that the
two battles were in fact connected in
Pindar's mind. *Pythian* 8 is addressed to
an Aeginetan—not surprisingly, in view
of the poet's use of similar motifs in the
Aetnean and Aeginetan cycles. It opens
with the invocation of 'Ησυχία. Just as the
lyre represented a militant peace, so
Tranquillity, the daughter of Justice (*Pyth.*
8. 1 f.), is savage when confronting her
enemies (8 ff.). She casts ὕβρις into the sea
(11 f.) just as Hieron overcame the ὕβρις
of his enemies by casting their young men
into the sea (*Pyth.* 1. 72–74). Τυφὼς Κίλιξ
ἑκατόγκρανος appears in *Pyth.* 8. 16, re-
calling Τυφὼς ἑκατοντακάρανος· τόν ποτε /
Κιλίκιον θρέψεν . . . ἄντρον at the same
point in *Pythian* 1. He is associated with

Porphyrion, the king of the Giants (*Pyth.*
8. 12, 17), and the battles of both against
Zeus are described as if they were one:
δμᾶθεν δὲ κεραυνῷ / τόξοισί τ' Ἀπόλλωνος
(*Pyth.* 8. 17–18). Porphyrion was slain by
Apollo, who plays the major role in
Pythian 8, but it was of course Hercules,
as we learn in *Nemean* 1, who enabled the
gods to prevail. In that Ode Hercules was
rewarded with ἡσυχία. Here both the
thunderbolt and Apollo's arrows represent
the power of 'Ησυχία, the counterpart of
the lyre in *Pythian* 1. In Fragment 140*a*
Apollo and Hercules are associated. As
additional evidence for the association of
Zeus Aitnaios with Apollo, we may com-
pare *Pyth.* 1. 29 f. and 39 f., *Nem.* 1. 4
and 6, and especially the wording of *Pyth.*
8. 18–22 with that of *Ol.* 4. 6–10; indeed,
the entire opening strophe of *Olympian* 4
may profitably be compared with *Pythian*
1. The relevance of *Pyth.* 8. 24–28 was ob-
served on page 16. The Ode closes with the
metaphor of the city as a ship, a theme
that may seem arbitrary in *Pythian* 8 un-
less we recall *Pythian* 1, whereupon
Tranquillity throwing her enemies into the
sea, as Hieron did from the "ship" of
Aetna, is revealed as an anticipation of
the final image of the poem.[26]

The foregoing study has been an attempt
not only to enhance the understanding of
Pythian 1, but also to suggest that there is
a finely articulated coherence throughout
Pindar's work, an organic system of

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26. At this point it may be of interest to compare several
passages from *Nemean* 9, also written for Chromius of Aetna.
ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ἀνθρώπων τετελεσμένον ἐσλόν/μὴ χαμαὶ σιγᾷ καλύψαι
(*Nem.* 9. 6 f.); cf. *Pyth.* 1. 67 f. (τέλει', λόγον ἀνθρώπων): in its
meaning "saying, proverb," the phrase λόγος ἀνθρώπων in
Nemean 9 is the link between λόγος in *Pyth.* 1. 35 ("saying")
and λόγον ἀνθρώπων in *Pyth.* 1. 68 ("judgment"). With *Nem.*
9. 11 f. we may compare *Pyth.* 1. 31, 37, 40. Κρονίων ἀστεροπὰν
ἐλελίξαις (*Nem.* 9. 19) uses of the thunderbolt the same word
that is applied to the lyre in *Pyth.* 1. 4; we may compare the
sequence Κρόνιον (the hill), Δία, φοινικοστερόπαν, φόρμιγγ'
ἐλελίζων in *Ol.* 9. 3–13. Further, *Nem.* 9. 29–32, with the
juxtaposition εὔνομον–ἀστυνόμοις, suggests that the fact that
Aetna was founded 'Υλλίδος στάθμας ἐν νόμοις (*Pyth.* 1. 62)
is responsible for the victory celebrations that bring it renown

(2, 37 f.). μοῖρα in *Nem.* 9. 29 is the same as in *Pyth.* 1. 55, 68
(αἶσα), and 99. κλέος ἀνθῆσαι (*Nem.* 9. 39) anticipates
Pyth. 1. 66. The closing lines of *Pythian* 1 recall *Nem.* 9. 46–48:

εἰ γὰρ ἅμα κτεάνοις πολλοῖς ἐπίδοξον ἄρηται
κῦδος, οὐκ ἔστι πρόσωθεν θνατὸν ἔτι σκοπιᾶς
ἄλλας ἐφάψασθαι ποδοῖν.
ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ μὲν συμπόσιον . . .

The connection of ἡσυχία with a banquet in this passage pro-
vides the link between *Pyth.* 1. 38 (σὺν εὐφώνοις θαλίαις) and
Pyth. 1. 70 (σύμφωνον ἐς ἡσυχίαν). *Nemean* 9 closes with the
image of Pindar and the Muses as javelin throwers, the
juxtaposition of ἄκων and σκοπός (*Nem.* 9. 55) bringing σκοπιά
in *Nem.* 9. 47 into the nexus of images associated with *Pythian*
1.

echoes and collocations that comprise his poetic language. Pindar writes πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις, drawing out and plaiting together many ideas and images, not all of which are fully developed in any given poem under consideration. Because of this unusual method of composition,[27] no reductivist approach, no search for a single fundamental concept or single unifying image or symbol in a poem, can do Pindar justice. Nor can the treatment of the *Odes* as self-contained units, for they are related utterances in a common language, the vocabulary and syntax of which it is the task of the critic to examine.[28] If this thesis is accepted, it is necessary to draw the conclusion that no actual audience for a given Ode at the time it was performed was able to understand it in full detail. Many of the members of the audience for *Pythian* 1 were able to increase their understanding of that poem through their recollection of *Nemean* 1, but, obviously, *Pythian* 8 was unavailable to them.

The "collected works" were known to no one in Pindar's time but the poet himself. In this sense Pindar, who has been thought to be the most public of poets, is in fact the most private. Yet one cannot speak of "public" and "private" or "exoteric" and "esoteric" aspects of the *Odes*. Everything that is needed for the interpretation of *Pythian* 1, for example, is to be found in that poem, but a particular element may not be appreciated without knowledge of other Odes. The connection between βάλετο and θεόδματος is made in the phrase ἀμβολὰς τεύχης, but it is improbable that an audience unfamiliar with *Isthm*. 6. 11–13 would apprehend it. The *œuvre* is an organic whole; parts of it are only partially—although to a high degree—accessible. But then, Pindar anticipated this difficulty: an intelligent audience, he says, will understand some of his words, his βέλη—ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἑρμανέων / χατίζει.

SMITH COLLEGE

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27. Unusual, but not unique: Rilke composes in this manner and so, *mutatis mutandis*, does Nabokov.

28. This approach is intended to complement that of E. L. Bundy as set forth in his monographs "Studia Pindarica I: The Eleventh Olympian Ode," *CPCP*, XVIII (1962), 1–34, and "Studia Pindarica II: The First Isthmian Ode," *CPCP*, XVIII (1962), 35–92. "There is no passage in Pindar," Bundy states, " . . . that is not in its primary intent enkomiastic—that is, designed to enhance the glory of a particular patron" (p. 3). He thinks that, as a result, the individual Odes possess unity, "oneness" (p. 91). I would not disagree that such broad thematic unity is present, but viewing the *Odes* as encomia does not in itself explain why a *particular* image— a liquid fire, an anvil—was chosen or how it functions in relation to the other images in a poem. For example, Bundy points out that *Ol*. 11. 1–6 conform to the structural pattern of a priamel followed by a gnome, but an analysis of the language will reveal the semantic infrastructure: as wind is needed by the sailor, so the successful athlete needs songs of praise to form the foundation of his subsequent renown. In *Pythian* 1 "wind speeding a ship on its way" is the metaphorical analogue of "song of praise bringing glory to its subject." In practice, Bundy makes extensive use of verbal echoes and collocations in order to ascertain "the thematic and motivational grammar of choral composition" which consists in "formulae, motives, themes, topics, and set sequences of these that have, by convention, meanings not always easily perceived from the surface denotations of the words themselves" (p. 92).