

*aoide* only as a sideline to farming, though that might have been because farming provided a better living. Nor do we know the comparative standards or supply of *aidoi* in different parts of the Greek world and whether a performer reckoned indifferent in Aeolis would have had a more appreciative reception in Boeotia. But argument of this sort is bound to be nebulous. The one merit of the suggestion is that it explains how Hesiod learnt the technique of *aoide* without the need to postulate sufficient rhapsodic activity in Thespiæ or a regular celebration of Mouseia near Ascra.<sup>2</sup> It may be objected that, if Hesiod had learnt *aoide* from his father, he would have said so; but it would hardly have been relevant information or even perhaps proper, since it is the Muses he credits with his teaching (*Th.* 22).

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<sup>2</sup> So M. L. West, though tentatively (*Hesiod, Works and Days* [Oxford, 1978] 31). On the puzzling Doric elements in Hesiod's dialect, to which also he refers, I offer no opinion.

### Pelops and Sicily: The Myth of Pindar *Ol.* 1

In the myth of Pelops in *Ol.* 1.25–93, Pindar makes various selections, elaborations and innovations<sup>1</sup> of the mythic material available to him. Kakridis has shown that the mention of Zeus' house (line 42), of the anxiety of one of Pelops' parents (46) and of wondrous horses (87) makes the story conform to that of Ganymede, which Pindar cites as a parallel in lines 43–5, while other choices, which cannot be so explained, Kakridis attributes to Pindar's striving for variation.<sup>2</sup>

Krischer has further shown that in lines 65–94, the explicit parallel with Ganymede is replaced by an implicit parallel with Achilles. Achilles has an ally in battle (Thetis), a divinity to whom he prays alone by the sea-shore (*Il.* i 349–50), who suddenly appears to him (*Il.* i 359), and to whom he claims to prefer a short life with honour to a long inglorious one (*Il.* xviii 155–21). So too, Pelops has a divine patron (Poseidon) as a result of his earlier erotic liaison. He prays to him alone by the shore (*Ol.* 1.71–2), claiming not to want to 'sit in darkness and digest a no-name old age in vain apart from all glory' (82–4). According to Krischer, Pindar's reasoning in choosing Achilles as a model is this: Pelops defeats Oenomaus not through the treachery of Myrtilus but by receiving a magic chariot from a patron god as Achilles received magic armour from a patron goddess. The best god to give horses is Poseidon Hippios, but Pelops is not his son as Achilles was Thetis', therefore the relationship of Pelops to Poseidon could have been erotic (on the model of Ganymede), a

motivation that allows the poet to deny that gods are cannibals.<sup>3</sup>

As Pindar has shaped his myth, it can be seen to have five 'acts'. (1) Poseidon sees the young Pelops and, falling in love with him on account of his ivory shoulder, which is a birth-mark,<sup>4</sup> abducts him 'on golden horses'<sup>5</sup> (line 41) to Zeus' house on Olympus (lines 36–45). (2) A search-party fails to bring him to his mother (46). (This lets a jealous neighbour spread the rumour that the gods have eaten Pelops, 47–51.) (3) Tantalus cannot control his delight at his new connection with the Olympians, tries to feed nectar and ambrosia to mortals, and is punished (54–64). (4) As a corollary to his punishment, the gods send Pelops back to earth (65–6). (5) Although returned to earth, Pelops retains a connection with Poseidon. When he seeks to defeat Oenomaus and win the hand of Hippodameia, he appeals to Poseidon, who provides the chariot he needs to win (67–89).

This myth is integrated with the local mythology of Sicily. One myth dominates all others in Sicily: that of Demeter and Kore, who in another facet of her personality is Persephone, the queen of Aidoneus in the underworld.<sup>6</sup> Sicily's fruitfulness (πολυμάλω/ Σικελία *Ol.* 1.12–13) is attributed to Demeter Μαλοφόρος<sup>7</sup>. *Insulam Siciliam totam esse Cereri et Liberae consecratam*, writes Cicero (*Verr.* ii 4.48 [106]; cf. *Diod.* v 2.3). Zeus gave Sicily to Persephone (*Nem.* 1.13–18) as a wedding gift (τοῖς ἀνακαλυπτηρίοις Schol. ad *Nem.* 1.16) after Aidoneus had raped her on the slopes of Aetna (Schol. ad *Nem.* 1.20). The Sicilian setting for the rape is maintained (against the vaguer account of the *Hymn.*

<sup>3</sup> T. Krischer, *Grazer Beiträge* x (1981) 69–75.

<sup>4</sup> I interpret the narrative of *Ol.* 1.25–51 as follows. Lines 25–6 (kephalaion): the third event of the true story; Poseidon abducts Pelops. Lines 26–7 (archa): this may be interpreted either as the first event of the true story, in which case it would be translated as, 'since from an untainted bath, the goddess of birth had drawn him . . . with an ivory birthmark,' or as the fourth and last event of the false story, in which case it would be translated as, 'when from a purifying stew-pot, the goddess of rebirth (?) drew him . . . with an ivory prosthesis'. On a second reading, we must choose the first interpretation, but on a first it remains ambiguous. Lines 28–36 (gnome): Pindar will tell the true story for the first time. Lines 37–9: the second event of the true story, which is the same as the first event of the false story; Tantalus invites the gods to dinner. Lines 40–5 (kephalaion-ring): the third event of the true story; Poseidon abducts Pelops. Lines 46–7 (beginning of the terminal exploits): the fourth event of the true story; a jealous neighbour circulates the false tale. Lines 48–50: the second event of the false tale; the gods cook Pelops. Line 51: the third event of the false tale; the gods eat Pelops.

This interpretation (above all as regards the ivory shoulder) is not universally accepted. See G. Kirkwood, *Selections from Pindar = American Philological Association Textbook Series* vii (Chico, Ca. 1982) ad 26–7 and D. E. Gerber, *Pindar's Olympian One: a commentary* (Toronto 1982) note ad 27 (page 58). This is an important point for the interpretation of the ode, but it does not effect the present argument.

<sup>5</sup> The importance of horses in various parts of the poem has been well discussed by A. Köhnken, *CQ* xxiv (1974) 199–206.

<sup>6</sup> See E. A. Freeman, *History of Sicily from the earliest times* (Oxford 1891) appendix xi 1.530–542; T. J. Dunbabin, *The western Greeks: the history of Sicily and South Italy from the foundation of the Greek colonies to 480 BC* (Oxford 1948) 176–81; and G. Zuntz, *Persephone: three essays on religion and thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford 1971) 70–5.

<sup>7</sup> See W. M. Calder III, *The inscription from Temple G at Selinus, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Monographs* iv (1963) 31–32, and A. Landi, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Napoli* xxv (1972–3) 19–22.

<sup>1</sup> The exact nature and degree of Pindar's innovation in the myth of *Ol.* 1 is uncertain. It is clear, however, that some degree of innovation has taken place (cf. σὲ δ' ἀντία προτέρων φθέγγομαι 36). For a review of the evidence, see J. G. Howie, in F. Cairns, ed., *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* iv (1984) 277–313.

<sup>2</sup> J. T. Kakridis, *Philologus* lxxxv (1930) 463–77 = W. M. Calder III and J. Stern edd., *Pindaros und Bakchylides, Wege der Forschung* cxxxiv (Darmstadt 1970) 175–90, esp. 183 (this and subsequent references are to the pages in the *Wege der Forschung* volume).

*Hom. Cer.* with its strong Eleusinian bias)<sup>8</sup> by Carcinus fr. 5 Nauck<sup>2</sup> (= 70 F 5 TrGF), Timaeus *FGrH* 566, 164, Diodorus v 2.5, Cicero *Verr.* ii 4.48–9 [106–8] and later authors dependent upon these sources.<sup>9</sup>

The worship of Demeter and Kore found its deepest roots in Syracuse. When Aidoneus raped Kore, the earth opened to receive them at Kyane in Syracuse, which remained a natural fountain and lake (Diod. v 4.2). At this spot was a cult of Kore whose antiquity is guaranteed by the primitive rites practised there (bulls were dropped into the lake, Diod. iv 23.4) and by the Laganello head, the remains of a statue of Kore that stood there a century before Pindar.<sup>10</sup>

The goddesses were also intimately associated with the Syracusan kings. Hieron was a priest of Demeter and Kore (*Ol.* 6.94–5) and his name is probably short for 'ἱερώνυμος, referring to the 'sacred name' of Demeter, of whom the Deinomenids were ancestral priests at least since the time of Telines (Hdt. vii 153).<sup>11</sup> Pindar alludes to the speaking-quality of Hieron's name by means of a pun: Σύνες δ' τοι λέγω/ ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε/ πάτερ, κτίστορ Αἴτῳς (fr. 105a Snell-Maehler).<sup>12</sup> Hieron would have officiated at the two temples that Gelon had dedicated to the goddesses in a single precinct in Syracuse after his victory over the Carthaginians in 480 BC four years before *Ol.* 1 was produced (Diod. xi 26.7, cf. xiv 63.1).

Given the close connection that Syracuse and Hieron enjoyed with Demeter, we see that Pindar aptly rejects (in lines 52–3) the tale that the gods ate Pelops. In the version of that tale that Bacchylides among others had told (Bacchyl. fr. 42 Snell), Demeter alone consumed the boy's flesh (Schol. *Ol.* 1.38 and 40) when her omniscience had been temporarily impeded by her mourning for Kore (Schol. *Ol.* 1.38).<sup>13</sup> Whoever recognizes Demeter's presence in *Ol.* 1 in the singular indefinite pronoun γαστριμάργον μακάρων τιν' (52)<sup>14</sup> will note that Pindar absolves her of blame.

The myth of Demeter into which the disappearance of Pelops is usually integrated and from which it is so deliberately severed by Pindar (ἀφίσταμαι κτλ. *Ol.* 1.52) takes place in five acts. (1) Aidoneus abducts the young Kore upon his golden car (*Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 19, cf. Pindar fr. 37 Snell-Maehler)<sup>15</sup> to his kingdom in the underworld. (2) Demeter lights a torch upon the fires of Mount Aetna<sup>16</sup> and searches for her daughter far and

wide, but in vain (*Hymn. Hom.* 47–50). (It is at this moment, distracted by her grief, that she eats the shoulder of Pelops when Tantalus serves him to the immortals in a stew [Schol. *Ol.* 1.38], so compelling them to provide the boy with an ivory prosthesis when they reconstitute him).<sup>17</sup> (3) In the underworld, Persephone eats pomegranate seeds of variously reported number (one seed: *Hymn. Hom.* 372, 411–13; three seeds: *Ov. Fast.* iv 607–8; seven seeds: *Ov. Met.* v 534–41) and in this way is magically tied to Aidoneus forever. (4) Aidoneus heeds the command of Zeus (*Hymn. Hom.* 334–9) and returns Persephone to the earth (*Hymn. Hom.* 375–86). (5) Yet even so, because she has eaten the seed(s), she must return to spend a third (or some other fraction)<sup>18</sup> of every year in the underworld (*Hymn. Hom.* 398–9; *Apollod. Bibl.* i 5.3). The abduction of Kore from earth to the underworld, followed by her return, is echoed by the withdrawal of Demeter from Olympus to earth (*Hymn. Hom.* 91–7) and her eventual return.

When the myth of Demeter and Kore is placed next to Pindar's story of Pelops, we cannot fail to be struck by the close structural parallel between the two stories. To a certain extent, both stories correspond to a narrative-pattern widespread in Greek mythology. Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as well as countless other stories, are built upon the structure of withdrawal followed by return. Achilles withdraws from the Greek forces, but returns when Patroclus is killed; Odysseus leaves home, goes to Troy, and then returns.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, the myth of return is one of the most important story-motifs both for epic<sup>20</sup> and for epinician verse.<sup>21</sup> This pattern is sometimes maintained when the withdrawal is made unwillingly and by force. So Helen is carried from Sparta to Troy and back again ten years later. Usually, however, the motif of abduction is not combined with that of return. Cyrene does not return to Thessaly once Apollo has carried her off in *Pyth.* 9. Nor does Ganymede, whom Pindar explicitly cites as a parallel for Pelops in *Ol.* 1.43–5, ever return to earth or to his former mortal state (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 214; *Pind. Ol.* 10.105). In other words, the close similarity between the myth of Demeter and Kore and Pindar's myth of Pelops cannot be explained away by invoking some more widespread narrative-pattern. No other story in Greek myth exactly follows the pattern shared by the stories of Kore and Pelops as Pindar tells it.

A five-fold pattern is present in both stories. This pattern consists of (1) the abduction of a youthful mortal by a male god upon his golden chariot; (2) the search for the child conducted for or by the mother (μαϊόμενοι *Ol.* 1.46 ≅ μαϊομένη *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 44)—a detail apparently unmotivated in the context of Pelops' story, in which only the father is elsewhere mentioned; (3) a mortal's eating in error of inappro-

<sup>8</sup> The Hymn sets the rape 'upon the Nysian plain' (line 17) but this information is as good as useless owing to the large number of sites throughout the Greek world which bore the name of Nysa. See N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) note ad 17.

<sup>9</sup> See Richardson, 76–7.

<sup>10</sup> Zuntz 71–2 and E. Langlotz and M. Hirmer, *Die Kunst der Westgriechen in Sizilien und Unteritalien* (Munich 1963) plate 3.

<sup>11</sup> See W. W. How and J. Wells, *A commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford 1928) ii 192.

<sup>12</sup> See B. Lavagnini, *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale* series ii (1933) 9.5–14 at 7.

<sup>13</sup> Δημήτηρ ἔλθοῦσα ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς ζητήσεως, καὶ ἀγνοοῦσα, τὸν ὄμιον κατέβρωξεν.

<sup>14</sup> Gerber writes ad 52 (page 89), 'It is probable that Pindar wrote γαστριμάργον μακάρων τιν' instead of γαστριμάργους μάκαρας because he was thinking of the version according to which only one deity actually ate any of the flesh.'

<sup>15</sup> The golden car is a common feature of divine rapes; see Richardson on *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 19.

<sup>16</sup> This detail is mentioned by Diod. v 4.3., Cic. *Verr.* ii 4.48 [106], *Ov. Fast.* iv 491–4, *Met.* v 441–3, *Stat. Theb.* xii 270–3, etc.

<sup>17</sup> See H. L. Lorimer, *Greek poetry and life: essays presented to Gilbert Murray* (Oxford 1936) 14–33 at 30–3.

<sup>18</sup> See Richardson on *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 399 ff. for the proportion of the year which Persephone must spend below the earth according to various accounts and for the various possible significances of this stay.

<sup>19</sup> See A. B. Lord, *The singer of tales* (Cambridge, Mass. 1960) 186 and M. L. Lord, *CJ* lxii (1966–67) 241–8.

<sup>20</sup> See D. Frame, *The myth of return in early Greek epic* (New Haven and London 1978).

<sup>21</sup> See K. Crotty, *Song and action: the victory odes of Pindar* (Baltimore 1982) 104–38.

priate food (Tantalus feeds his friends on the food of Olympus; Persephone is fed upon the food of the underworld); (4) the child's return to earth, ordered by Zeus, or by the immortals in general; and (5) the obligation that continues to bind the lovers even after the return to earth of one of them.<sup>22</sup>

It seems probable that, having selected the Pelops-story as a paradigm for the chariot-victory that Hieron hoped to win at Olympia, Pindar modified it in order to accentuate its structural similarity to the central myth of his laudandus' patron goddess (using the stories of Ganymede and Achilles as subordinate structural models). In this sense, we could say that he used the Demeter-myth as a 'hypogram' for his version of the Pelops-story.<sup>23</sup>

Two things are particularly remarkable about the structural similarity of the Demeter-myth and Pindar's Pelops-myth. The first is that the similarity accounts for the residue of details in Pindar's text that are not explained by the Ganymede-paradigm: the means of abduction (golden car rather than whirlwind), the parent most grieved by the abduction (mother rather than father), and above all the ultimate fate of the raped mortal (returned to earth rather than remaining forever on Olympus). The second point to be noted is that, by modelling the figure of the young Pelops upon Ganymede and the figure of the mature Pelops upon Achilles, Pindar has accentuated the notion of a *rite de passage* from boyhood to sexual knowledge. In so doing, he has created a figure with two distinct aspects. Krischer writes, [*h*]aben wir doch gewissermassen zwei Pelopsgestalten vor uns, den Knaben, der Ganymed gleicht, und den Herangewachsenen, der, selbst um den Preis des Lebens, zum Kampf entschlossen ist.<sup>24</sup> This aspect of Pindar's Pelops-narrative is loosely paralleled by the Demeter-myth, for the daughter of the goddess who is raped and carried off as Kore, the Girl, returns to the earth after her sexual initiation in a form sufficiently changed by her underworld experience that she even bears a new name, Persephone.<sup>25</sup>

The structural similarity between the two stories highlights the emotional difference between them. The story of Demeter is a frankly ghoulish form of 'Tod und das Mädchen'. By contrast, the myth of Pelops is bright, even in spite of the customary Pindaric *chiaroscuro* that plays the light of victory off against the darkness of human mortality (esp. lines 97-9 where the victor's 'good weather' is limited by his state as a mortal, subject to the day). The basic movement of the myth of Demeter is one of descent and return. The basic movement of the Pelops-myth, by contrast, is one of ascent and return. This movement is emphasized by two

<sup>22</sup> Three of these stages are also continued in different form in the Ganymede-myth, namely [1] abduction (by whirlwind instead of chariot) (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 202-3 and 208), [2] grief and uncertainty of parent (father) over whereabouts of child (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 208-9) and [5] connection between worlds established by love (Zeus' gift of horses to Tros) (*Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 210-7). See Kakridis 176-7.

<sup>23</sup> The term 'hypogram' is suggested to me by Professor Emmet Robbins. M. Riffaterre writes, *Semiotics of poetry* (Bloomington and London 1978) 23, '... the production of the poetic sign is determined by hypogrammatic derivation: a word or phrase is poeticized when it refers to (and, if a phrase, patterns itself upon) a preexistent word group. The hypogram is already a system of signs comprising at least a predication, and it may be as large as a text.'

<sup>24</sup> Krischer 72.

<sup>25</sup> Zuntz 75-83; Richardson pp. 16-20.

factors. First, the punishment of Tantalus (*Ol.* 1.56-8) arguably takes place upon Olympus and not in the underworld, as some have thought.<sup>26</sup> If so, the Olympian brightness remains even in the darkest corner of Pindar's myth. Second, Pindar establishes this movement by rejecting the usual version of the story in which Pelops is killed (line 49) upon Sipylus (38), thereby entering the underworld, and then resurrected to continue his earthly existence. The movement of the hero in this version parallels the descent and return in the Kore-myth, and Pindar's overt rejection of this version emphasizes the contrasting movement in the version he champions.

In this context it is worth noting that the ode Bacchylides wrote for the same victory as *Ol.* 1 also contains an allusion to the Demeter-myth. Bacchylides *epin.* 5.16-30, which describes the poet flying like an eagle in spite of all obstacles to carry the message of Zeus, is modelled on *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 380-3, which describes the chariot of Aidoneus returning Persephone to the earth.<sup>27</sup> Like the Persephone-myth, the central myth of Bacchylides' ode (the *κατάβασις* of Heracles, lines 56-175) features an explicit descent to the underworld followed by an implicit return.

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<sup>26</sup> See *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* xxvii (1986) 5-13.

<sup>27</sup> Bacchyl. *epin.* 5.16-30:

..... βαθύν  
δ' αἰθέρα ξουθαῖσι τάμων  
ύμοῦ πεπερύγεσσι ταχεί-  
αις αἰετός ...  
.....  
οὐ νιν κορυφαὶ μεγάλας ἰσχοῦσι γαίας,  
οὐδ' ἄλός ἀκαμάτας  
δυσπαίπαλα κύματα· νομά-  
ται δ' ἐν ἀτρύτῳ χάει  
λεπτότριχα σὺν ζεφύρου πνοι-  
αῖσιν θειραν. ...

*Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 380-3:

ρίμφα δὲ μακρὰ κέλευθα διήνυσαν, οὐδὲ θάλασσα  
οὐθ' ὕδωρ ποταμῶν οὐτ' ἄγκρα ποιήεντα  
ἵππων ἀθανάτων οὐτ' ἄκριες ἔσχεον ὀρμήν,  
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν βαθύν ἤρα τέμνον ἰόντες.

The similarity of the two passages has been discussed by H. Maehler, *Bacchylides: Lieder und Fragmente* (Berlin 1968) 13, and *Die Lieder des Bacchylides, I: Die Siegeslieder*, vol. II *Kommentar* (Leiden 1982) ad 5.16-30 (page 93), M. R. Lefkowitz, *HSCP* lxxiii (1969) 45-96 at 95-6, and *The victory ode* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1976) 46, and Richardson ad *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 383 (page 280).

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### Sophocles and the Cult of Philoctetes\*

Amongst the legendary heroes who appear in leading roles in the surviving plays of Sophocles, it is noteworthy that Oedipus, Ajax and Heracles all received some form of divine worship in Attica, not to mention localities more readily associated with each of them.<sup>1</sup>

My thanks to Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Dr Emily Kearns, Dr Oliver Taplin and anonymous referees for some most helpful amendments and suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Sample evidence for the Attic cults of Sophoclean heroes: Pausanias i 30.4 (Oedipus), Diodorus Siculus iv 39.1 (Heracles), Pausanias i 35.3 (Ajax).