

gain not only some extra snippets of his doctrine, but also the interesting knowledge that even so original a thinker as he was prepared to dilute his doctrine to join the *turba profitentium* – a fact which might make us take more seriously the claim to authenticity of the school grammars attributed to those other eminent teachers of Antiquity, Augustine, Asper and Remmius Palaemon.

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PINDARICA

The melancholy tone of the eighth Isthmian has often been attributed to Pindar's personal regrets about the medizing of his native city in the national struggle against the invading Persians. Recently, a reaction against this 'personal' explanation has set in, and it has been suggested that Pindar's gloomy language in this ode is inspired by sympathy with his patrons. It is possible, especially in the shadow cast by the myth of mortal Achilles, that the victor's cousin Nicocles, mentioned in the poem, was dead, perhaps even as a casualty in the fighting¹).

A telling phrase which might have helped in this debate seems to have been overlooked. Pindar reflects, in the course of the second strophe (vv. 14 ff.), on man's treacherous life and troubles, which yet may be cured with the help of freedom. 'It is right for *good hope* to be a man's concern; it is right for one nurtured in seven-gated Thebes to offer the fine essence of the Graces to Aegina ...' (vv. 15a–16a Sn.-M.). But *ἀγαθὴ ἐλπίς* here is a well-known term of Greek religion. Many examples of this and similar phrases are adduced by F. Cumont²). 'Good hope' is the assurance afforded by a life well lived that all will be well in the world to come. Cumont traces this consolation to the Eleusinian mysteries. If this is correct, one can see why this ode after all offers some relief. 'The house of Persephone' (v. 55) is not wholly closed.

1) E. Thummer, Pindar: Die Isthmischen Gedichte II, Heidelberg 1969, p. 126; cf. A. Köhnken, Gods and Descendants of Aiakos in Pindar's Eighth Isthmian Ode, BICS 22 (1975), pp. 25–36. A recent general discussion of the ode is offered by J. Pörtulas, Lectura de Pindar, Barcelona 1977, pp. 21 ff.

2) Lux Perpetua, Paris 1949, pp. 401 ff.

To Cumont's Platonic passages one may be added where Plato and Pindar specifically cross paths. In the first book of the *Republic* (329 e ff.), Cephalus notes – though without expecting many men to find his argument plausible – that the chief advantage of possessing wealth is that it frees the wealthy man, 'not every man, but the decent and orderly', from the temptation to do wrong or avoid paying his debts. This is why wealth is most useful to the man of intelligence.

Such a man has good hope in his old age (Rep. 331a): ἡδεῖα ἐλπίς ἀεὶ πάρεσι καὶ ἀγαθῇ, γηροτρόφος, ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος λέγει (fr. 214)³. If indeed Pindar in the eighth Isthmian was addressing a family in bereavement (μήτ' ἐν ὀρφανία πέσωμεν στεφάνων v. 6a), we can see why his exhortation to ἀγαθῇ ἐλπίς at the start of the mythical narrative, where the mortality of Achilles is so underscored, was more than cliché. Since however such 'good hope' has nothing directly to do with a wrong political decision by Thebes, it seems that Thummer and Köhnken, who emphasize rather the theme of Nicocles' death, must be right.

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This point might not be worth labouring, were it not that Cephalus' morality (he was after all a Syracusan migrant to Athens) seems to be shared by Pindar in an ode written for a Sicilian patron. A famous passage in the second Olympian declares that 'wealth adorned with virtues brings opportunity for this and that . . . it is a bright star, the truest light for a man: if the one who has it knows the future . . .' (vv. 53 ff.) – and then the poet launches into an eschatology which contrasts the fate of the just and of the damned. His conditional sentence has an unspoken apodosis⁴).

This unspoken apodosis presumably expressed something like Cephalus' views in the *Republic*. The man with wealth, if he uses his wealth rightly, has nothing to fear in the next world, of which both authors describe the punishments. Later, the thought that wealth is an important adjunct to and extension of virtue would become a commonplace⁵). Yet Cephalus did not expect to

3) On the predicative function of γηροτρόφος in this sentence see J. Adam, *The Republic of Plato I*, Cambridge 1938, p. 10 on 331 a 1.

4) A similar colloquialism in eschatological argument is found in *Acta Apost.* 23. 9 (Nestle – Aland).

5) Aristotle, *NE* 1178 a 28 ff.; Panaetius, fr. 110 van Straaten (also Posidonius). Our passage of Plato is already adduced by Boeckh in his edition of Pindar, Leipzig 1821, II. 2, p. 129.

convince many (330 d 4: cf. 331 b 6–7). But Pindar's reservations are exactly the same (εἰ ... τις οἶδεν 56; φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν 85).

Pindar's ἀστήρ and φέγγος in this passage may be compared with similar language used in the *Frogs* by the chorus of Initiates (W. B. Stanford's edition: ἀστήρ 342; μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος καὶ φέγγος ἱερὸν ἔστιν 454–55: Ol. 2. 62, ἄλιον ἔχοντες). Like Pindar, Aristophanes' μύσαι make it clear that these rewards in the next world depend on a life of piety here (456–59).

The role of wealth in this eschatology is to banish fear, as Plato emphasizes. Must not then the crux of Ol. 2. 54, which was not translated above, mean the same thing?

53 ὁ μὰν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν
καιρὸν βαθεῖαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἄγροτέραν,
ἀστήρ ἀρίζηλος, ἐτυμώτατον
ἀνδρὶ φέγγος

In spite of Snell-Maehler's obelisk, there is nothing wrong here with ἀγροτέραν, one of Pindar's favourite words. Goes' ἀβροτέραν, reconjectured by Stadtmüller and approved by Wilamowitz⁶), misses the point: cf. Plato's ὑποψίας ... καὶ δείματος μεστός ... ζῆ μετὰ κακῆς ἐλπίδος (Rep. 330 e 4 ff.).

But what does ὑπέχων mean here? Van Leeuwen translates "in stand te houden"⁷), essentially 'sustains'. But if μέριμνα is bad, how can wealth, which is obviously good, sustain it? Some scholars have argued that μέριμνα is good ('ambition': cf. Bacchylides, *Encomia* 20 B. 10 Sn.-M.). But then ἀγροτέραν makes no sense, and the whole argument of the passage, that wealth offers consolation and assurance in the face of natural anxiety about coming death and judgment, collapses. What wealth should do with care is 'control' or 'check' it.

C. C. J. Bunsen's conjecture ἐπέχων is correct⁸). The verb is used later in this ode (v. 89). There is a similar confusion in the transmission of Plato, *Republic* III 399 b 6 (see Burnet's apparatus).

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6) D. E. Gerber, *Emendations in Pindar 1513–1972*, Amsterdam 1976, p. 33.

7) Pindarus' *Tweede Olympische Ode*, Assen 1964, I, p. 33.

8) Gerber, *loc. cit.* I am deeply grateful to Professor Gerber for supplying me with a copy of the relevant pages in Bunsen's work.

In this same ode, a small footnote may be added to the literature on vv. 78 ff. In telling us that Achilles lives in the Isles of the Blest, Pindar embroiders his story:

Ἄχιλλέα τ' ἔνεικ', ἐπεὶ Ζηνὸς ἦτορ
λιταῖς ἔπεισε, μᾶτηρ.

The pathetically positioned μᾶτηρ at the end of the triad here hints at a world of sorrows.

But it was not in fact Thetis so much as Eos, the mother of Memnon, who obtained immortality for her son by an appeal to Zeus. The story was told by Arctinus in the *Aethiopsis*: ἔπειτα Ἄχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα κτείνει καὶ τούτῳ μὲν Ἥως παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη ἀθανασίαν δίδωσι. (Proclus, Chrest. 2: G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. 33. The appeal is elaborated by Ovid, *Met.* 13. 583 ff.). The beautiful cup by Douris, preserved in the Louvre, which shows Eos bearing her dead son away, is rightly called a Pietà by Pfuhl, who also notes that the artist's model was "probably a panel or a wall-painting, which must have attracted attention at the time"⁹). Douris' copy is attributed to 490–480. For Achilles, Arctinus had quite a different story (Kinkel, p. 34). This is the version followed by Pindar himself at N. 4. 49, where the economy of his poem does not require any change. If any god had to be persuaded by Thetis, it was perhaps Poseidon¹⁰).

The parallel Eos / Thetis was exploited by Aeschylus in his *Psychostasia* (p. 375 Radt), and by the time of Ovid was a commonplace (*Am.* 3. 9. 1). Both black-figure and early red-figure vases show the weighing of the *keres* of the two heroes¹¹). According to Quintus Smyrnaeus (*Posthom.* 2. 651), Memnon himself was perhaps (πov) to be found in the Elysian Fields, identified by scholars with the Islands of the Blest. The story that Achilles lived

9) Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting, Engl. tr. by J. D. Beazley, London 1955, pp. 51–52. See also P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, London 1962, plate 144 with the commentary on p. 341.

10) Quintus Smyrnaeus 3. 766 ff. The degree of dependence on Arctinus by the later poet is hard to assess.

11) M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion I*, Munich 1955, p. 224 with footnote 3 (F. Studniczka, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 26 [1911], pp. 131 ff.). K. Scheffold however notes (*Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst*, Munich 1978, pp. 241–42): „Nur die Seelenwägung für Memnon wird in der archaischen Kunst seit etwa 540 dargestellt, nicht die für Achill und Hektor.“

in the Elysian Fields, with Medea as his wife, was first told by Ibycus and Simonides (fr. 10 and 53, Page PMG). Both these poets had Western Greek connections, and Simonides indeed was buried in Acragas. After the expulsion of the tyrants, the story was well enough known in Athens to form part of a skolion (Carmina Convivialia 11, Page PMG p. 475).

But Thetis is not said to have 'persuaded' Zeus to grant this privilege to Achilles. The nearest suggestion to such a motif comes in Od. 24. 85 αἰτήσασα θεούς. But there the goddess asks the other gods only for prizes for her son's funeral games (cf. Il. 1. 427 and 500). The motif of persuasion is transferred from the account in the *Aethiopsis* of the death of Memnon (παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη of Eos, Proclus, loc. cit.; ἐπεὶ Ζηγὸς ἦτορ λιταῖς ἐπεισε μάτηρ Ol. 2. 79–80 of Thetis)¹²).

The poetic reason for this transfer in Pindar is the parallelism it affords here between conqueror and conquered, since Memnon is himself shortly to be mentioned at the end of the list of Achilles' victims (83). But it is characteristic of Pindar's imagination to think in pairs: Pelops / Ganymede (Ol. 1); Psamatheia / Thetis (N. 5); Danae / Alcmene (I. 7. 5); Zeus / Poseidon (I. 8: see Köhnken's article mentioned above, footnote 1).

Pindar had already used what is commonly thought to be a story from the *Aethiopsis* in the sixth Pythian, where he narrates the death of Antilochus in defence of his father, Nestor (Homeri Opera recognovit Thomas W. Allen, vol. 5, repr. Oxford 1965, p. 126). This ode too, like the second Olympian, was written for a royal Acragantine. Perhaps there was something which made Arcinthus' poem attractive to the Emmenidae. But perhaps too another hand had intervened. Simonides had written a *Memnon*, possibly for the Delians¹³). The pathos in Pindar's lines may owe something to his great predecessor. *Paulum quid lubet adlocutionis / maestius lacrimis Simonideis*.

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12) Schefold, *loc. cit.* with plates 322 and 324, shows that the parallelism Thetis / Eos had already been developed before Pindar in the graphic arts. Pindar's originality lies in the fact that he has not modelled Memnon on Achilles, but Achilles on Memnon, and Thetis on Eos.

13) Page, PMG 539. The emendation Δαλιακῶν is not entirely secure. The non-Ionic form in Strabo's text could point to some obscure local festival, perhaps nearer to Acragas.