THE ANTAIOS MYTH IN PINDAR

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This essay seeks to demonstrate a simple point, that the Antaios who appears in the wrestling myth of *Isthmian* 3/4 was for Pindar the same Antaios who gives away his daughter in the bride-race myth of *Pythian* 9.[1] It is however only after reviewing material of a diverse and many-faceted character that one sees the point clearly. The labor expended is nevertheless not out of proportion to the goal, for demonstration of the primary point involves questions of the myth-making process in general, of Pindar's use of myths and its relation to his poetic purposes, and of the proper use of mythic material, literary and artistic, to be made by those who investigate a particular myth at a specific moment in its historical development.

I introduce as comparative material only those myths which we know from extant sources either predate Pindar's work or are very close in time to it. Mention of any myth not appearing until some considerable time after Pindar is made only to illustrate, and not to substantiate, points of the analysis. This restriction is necessary if one is to understand the character of the Antaios myth for Pindar, although it would not be required in a more general discussion.

It would, for example, be possible to examine the Antaios myth using the insights and findings of Stith Thompson in his monumental

[1] All citations of Pindar are from Bruno Snell's *Pindari Carmina* I (Leipzig 1971). The following works on Pindar will hereafter be cited by the author's last name: C. M. Bowra, *Pindari Carmina* (Oxford 1947); E. L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* I–II (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1962); R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford 1962); Jacquelin Duchemin, *Pindare* (Paris 1967); L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar* I–III (London 1930–32); Basil L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York 1890); Gilbert Norwood, *Pindar* (Berkeley 1945); Aimé Puech, *Pindare II: Pythiques* (Paris 1922); W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969); Alexander Turyn, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis* (Cracow 1948). The scholia are cited from the edition of A. B. Drachmann, *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina* (Leipzig 1910).

work on folktales. Such in fact has been done, in modest form, by Mary Grant and, from a different perspective, by Joseph Fontenrose.[2] This approach however rests on a comparative analysis which is not primarily concerned with the diachronic aspect of mythology, that is, isolating a myth in a moment of its history. Although I will employ the term "motif" and use "pattern" where one might be pleased to find the more defined term "type," I do so in order to preserve the independence of the inquiry and to allow larger patterns to emerge gradually.

The Antaios myths of *P.* 9 and *I.* 3/4 neither are the same myth (in sequential form) nor do they at first appear to exhibit related patterns, be they called "Ogre" or "Suitor-contest" types.[3] What becomes clear however is that the two patterns of these myths, or the mythical narrations, are cross-fertilized by certain motifs. It will be seen that Pindar understood the patterns as closely related and therefore presented the myths with crossing motifs.

It has however been argued by some, from the Pindaric scholiasts to modern commentators, that these two Antaios myths were radically different, and although many other commentators have assumed or posited that Antaios of *P.* 9 was for Pindar the same mythological figure as Antaios of *I.* 3/4, no evidence has previously been offered to substantiate this view.

At first glance Antaios of *P.* 9 appears to be quite distinct from Antaios of *I.* 3/4. In *I.* 3/4 (of uncertain date)[4] in honor of the Theban Melissus' victory in the pankration Antaios is depicted as the gigantic and barbaric opponent of Herakles in a wrestling match. The immediate applicability of the mythological exemplum is therefore obvious. Those, however, who emphasize the simile of the fox and the eagle, which precedes the myth, arrive at the conclusion that Melissus is like Antaios in his use of trick wrestling, whereas of course

[2] Mary Grant, *Folktale and Hero-Tale Motifs in the Odes of Pindar* (Lawrence 1967); Joseph Fontenrose, *Python* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1959) 330–33; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Bloomington 1955) and *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography* (*FF Communications* No. 184: Helsinki 1951).

[3] *Pythian* 9 bride-race myth might be called Thompson's tale type 507a (with decapitation motif H901.1) with variations on the contest found in motif H331 (Suitor contests). *Isthmian* 3/4 would be thought of as tale type 1070–71 (Hero wrestles ogre) with motif G315 (skulls).

[4] The chronological relation of *P.* 9 and *I.* 3/4 and its bearing on the question of influence is unsettled. *P.* 9 is generally dated to 474 and *I.* 3/4 is thought to be earlier.

Herakles is intended by Pindar to be the mythological example for Melissus' struggle and victory.[5] Antaios is also said to reside in Libya and to roof a temple to Poseidon with the skulls of strangers.

The Antaios myth of *P.* 9, composed in 474 for the hoplitodromos victory of Telesicrates of Cyrene, closes the ode with a mythological exemplum (or legendary exemplum) of Alexidamus, the ancestor of Telesicrates, winning the much-wooed daughter of Antaios in a foot-race. Once again the immediate relevancy of the exemplum is clear. Antaios, we are told, lives in Libya, specifically in Irasa, and using the example of Danaus offers his daughter, who is sought after by Greeks and Libyans, to the man who proves himself best in foot-racing. This "king" of *P.* 9 appears to be quite different from the "ogre" of *I.* 3/4.

The patterns, or plots, of these myths may be titled the Challenge pattern (*I.* 3/4) and the Contest pattern (*P.* 9). The Challenge pattern concentrates on the right to control a territory, which right is decided upon in an athletic contest accompanied by death for the defeated. The pattern also includes, as we will see, military action as an alternative for the athletic contest and frequently a subsequent rape of a female by the conqueror, as well as a decapitation motif. The Contest pattern focuses attention on a bride figure who is to be won in competition (the competitors vary). This pattern also frequently includes the decapitation motif and transference of control accompanying the victory.

This is the barest outline of the two patterns, containing only those characteristics or motifs found in the myth narratives of *P.* 9 and *I.* 3/4. This outline can be filled in by analyzing the Danaus and Oenomaus myths in Pindar, as well as other myths, but first attention must be directed to the arguments of those who maintain that the myths are quite distinct in Pindar.

The only argument based on internal evidence which seeks to keep the myths separate concerns the punctuation of *P.* 9.105–06:

> *οἷοι Λιβύσσας ἀμφὶ γυναικὸς ἔβαν*
> *Ἴρασα πρὸς πόλιν Ἀνταίου μετὰ καλλίκομον*
> *μναστῆρες ἀγακλέα κούραν.*

[5] E. N. Gardiner, "The Pankration and Wrestling," *JHS* 26 (1906) 20 and repeated in *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1930) 217, followed by Sir John Sandys in his Loeb edition of Pindar (reprint 1946 of 1919 second edition) 465.

F. Chamoux,[6] followed by others, proposed a comma following *Ἀνταίου* and suggested that there is no reference in this ode to Antaios' daughter but only to Antaios' city, the maiden being simply a much-admired resident of Irasa. Although most readers have understood here a reference to Antaios' daughter, placing punctuation after *πόλιν*, no internal proof has been offered to justify either reading.[7]

Two elements within the poem, however, strongly indicate that Pindar was speaking of Antaios' daughter. If one reads the sixth verse of the antistrophe, which corresponds to this line of the strophe, one finds the caesura after the sixth syllable:

ὠκύτατον γάμον. ἔστασεν γὰρ ἅπαντα χορόν

A corresponding break in v. 106 then separates *πόλιν*, which has been identified as Irasa, from *Ἀνταίου*, leaving this name to modify the "famous fair-haired *κούραν*," as the "daughter of Antaios."

Second, this manner of identifying the ancestress of the victor's family is also used by Pindar at the beginning of the ode to designate the eponymous ancestress of the city, Cyrene. Pindar first introduces this name (v. 4) as applying both to the city (of which Telesicrates is the *στεφάνωμα*) and to the maiden (*τάν*, whom Apollo carries off, v. 5). Before he names her, without the ambiguity of referring at the same time to the city, Pindar identifies her as *κούρᾳ θ' Ὑψέος* (v. 13), the same pattern used to identify Antaios' daughter.

Once it is clear that Antaios' daughter is referred to, one may still argue, as some scholiasts did, that this Antaios is distinct from the giant of *I.* 3/4. The arguments are as varied for the scholiasts as they are for modern commentators, relying on matters of chronology better suited to the historical than the mythological perspective, on matters of taste (what Pindar *could* say) and on other such external considerations. The probability however of Pindar's dealing with two figures named

[6] François Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris 1953) 283–85. See also the punctuation and comments of Puech 140 note 1, Duchemin 62, Slater s.v. *Antaios* and Turyn. The scholiasts at *P.* 9.185 anticipated most of the modern objections and Didymus, cited in scholia 207b, even offered the creative reconstruction which brings to birth a certain "Libys" as father of the maiden.

[7] F. Studiczka, *Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin* (Leipzig 1890) 121–27, developed the theory of one Antaios who underwent an evolution in the myth effected by socio-historical pressures. A similar view is found in Preller-Robert 2.2.514 and in Farnell 2 (1932) 212. Gildersleeve 347 stated simply that "both" figures had the same name.

Antaios (only one of whom is known in the literary tradition), both of whom dwell in Libya (in fact in Irasa as we learn from Pindar's contemporary Pherecydes, 3 *FGrHist* 75), is most remote and vanishes entirely when the context of the myth in *P.* 9 is closely examined.

Although we know that the father of the prized maiden in *P.* 9 is Antaios, we are told nothing more about him. The daughter herself, although unnamed, is the focus of considerable praise and attention, as is to be expected for the ancestress of the Cyrenaean victor. This emphasis on the central role of the woman at the close of the ode completes a theme which runs through the entire poem and which contributes directly to the overall joyous tone of the work.

Cyrene is carried off by Apollo at the very beginning in his golden chariot to be made queen of a new city; she is welcomed to the land by its queen, Libya. The city of Cyrene is the homeland of fair women, and Telesicrates, the victor, is the answer to every woman's prayers. Just as "queen Libya will kindly welcome the famous maiden" Cyrene (vv. 55–56), so too "Cyrene will kindly welcome Telesicrates bringing long-desired fame" (vv. 73–77); and just as Apollo and Cyrene "mated" in sweet love (v. 68), so too Telesicrates "mated" Cyrene to flourishing fame (vv. 71–72).[8] This erotic theme throughout the ode unites, or mates, the concepts of "victory," "rule" and "love." Apollo therefore snatches up his prize in a chariot (v. 6) while Telesicrates' ancestor, Alexidamus, was "eager to pluck the blooming flower of golden-crowned Hebe" (vv. 109–111), that is the bride and victory, as Telesicrates himself gains in the foot-race full-flowering fortune.[9]

The pervading mood of the poem is joyful and has led Norwood to suggest that Alexidamus' victory in the Antaios bride-race myth is the single possible instance in Pindar where victory is not painted against a

[8] *Λιβύα δέξεται εὐκλέα νύμφαν . . . πρόφρων* (55–56)
(*Κυράνα*) *ἅ νιν εὔφρων δέξεται . . . δόξαν ἱμερτὰν ἀγαγόντ'* (73)
θαλάμῳ δὲ μίγεν (68)
υἱὸς (*Τελεσικράτης*) *εὐθαλεῖ συνέμιξε νιν τύχᾳ* (72)

[9] *χρυσοστεφάνου δέ οἱ Ἥβας*
καρπὸν ἀνθήσαντ' ἀποδρέψαι ἔθελον. (109–11)

Some attention is paid to these elements of thematic unity by Burton 42–44, C. A. P. Ruck and W. H. Matheson, *Pindar: Selected Odes* (Ann Arbor 1968) 207–16, and R. P. Winnington-Ingram, "Pindar's Ninth Pythian Ode," *BICS* 16 (1969) 9–15.

dark background.[10] This exception is however but apparent, for dark allusions do accompany the myth.

In the fourth triad of the ode, preceding the fifth and final triad which contains the Antaios myth, Pindar alludes to the heroes of Thebes. Iolaus is recalled as having cut off the head of Eurystheus before going to his final rest beside chariot-driving Amphitryon. This gory detail, passed over by Euripides, is noteworthy.[11] Pindar then passes on to mention of Iphicles, and Herakles is singled out only to be put aside once "the brief themes are deftly fashioned."

The catalog of Telesicrates' victories, which bridges the two triads, is now introduced with two intertwined gnomic remarks. The first is Pindar's own which he validates with the second, attributed to the "old man of the sea:"

εἰ φίλος ἀστῶν, εἴ τις ἀντάεις
τό γ' ἐν ξυνῷ πεπoναμένον εὖ
μὴ λόγον βλάπτων ἁλίοιο γέροντος κρυπτέτω·
κεῖνος αἰνεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐχθρόν
παντὶ θυμῷ σύν τε δίκᾳ καλὰ ῥέζοντ' ἔννεπεν.

In the first gnomic utterance Pindar uses the most rare word ἀντάεις which may be heard as a verbal echo in Ἀνταίου (v. 106).[12] In the second gnome we find the common term ἐχθρόν which however also appears in the gnomic remark introducing the myth of Antaios in *I.* 3/4 and which characterizes, in *Nemean* 1, an archenemy of Herakles whom the scholiasts are surely correct in identifying as Antaios.

In the final triad itself Alexidamus is eager "to pluck the blooming flower of Hebe," in which desire he was successful, as was Herakles in *I.* 3/4.77 (and in *N.* 1.71) after completing his Antaios and other

[10] Norwood 93.

[11] Iolaus and the beheading of Eurystheus: although the expression used by Pindar, κεφαλὰν ἔπραθε φασγάνου ἀκμᾷ (80–81), could be understood to mean "he destroyed his life with his sword," the scholiasts all refer specifically to beheading: ἀπεκεφάλισεν (137c), τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψας (138), κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν (139). This motif was known to Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.8.1 (Hyllus does the beheading) and to Pausanias 1.44.9 (the head was buried), but was avoided by Euripides, *Heracl.* 843 ff., for the reasons stated by T. B. L. Webster in *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London 1967) 105.

[12] ἀντάεις appears in Pindar only in this verse. The conventional character of the lines, which has been demonstrated by Bundy 2.61 and note 69, in no way detracts from the possible verbal play here on ἀντάεις and Ἀνταίου.

contests. The verbal choice which most puzzled the scholiasts was actually in Pindar's description of Alexidamus' race:

ἔνθ' Ἀλεξίδαμος, ἐπεὶ φύγε λαιψηρὸν δρόμον (121)

The scholiasts were troubled by φύγε for, as they point out, no pursuer is mentioned. That the word must carry some such meaning as "outstrip," which has been suggested by commentators and translators, is probably correct. This extended, and in Pindar unique, meaning is however secondary to a primary significance of "escape" which echoes the poet's own "escape" (φυγών) in v. 92.

I am suggesting therefore that a number of allusions and phrases in *P.* 9 do in fact create a dark background for Alexidamus' victory and that the "escape," the "beheading," the allusion to Herakles and the reward itself in *P.* 9 are fully comprehensible when viewed from the perspective of the bride-race pattern and its associations with the Challenge pattern.

The Danaus bride-race myth, in which he gave away his forty-eight daughters, is offered as the precedent for the Antaios bride-race of *P.* 9. We cannot state with any certainty which myth may have been for Pindar the model and which the copy, for neither appears in extant literature or art before Pindar.[13] One might conjecture that if Pindar did create the Antaios bride-race myth, or fashion it from family legends provided to him, he did so on the model of the Danaus myth which, unlike the Antaios myth of *P.* 9, does appear in later writings. Pausanias (3.12.2), for example, suggested that Icarius followed the example of Danaus when he awarded his daughter Penelope to the winner of a foot-race. Furthermore, the Danaus myth was treated at great length by Pindar's contemporary Aeschylus, although we do not know that Aeschylus mentioned the bride-race.[14]

Pindar's precise allusion to the forty-eight daughters of Danaus indicates, as the scholiasts saw, that Pindar located this myth element at

[13] Neither bride-race appears in Attic vase painting, although Danaus and his daughters do appear in other contexts. See Frank Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* (Marburg 1973[3]) 522–23.

[14] A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus' Supplices: Play and Trilogy* (Cambridge 1969), provides all the information one could ask for on the question of Aeschylus' treatment of the myth, including the possible appearance of the bride-race, 226. The reader is also reminded (178) of Wilamowitz's interesting conjecture that the epic poem, *Danais*, was composed in Cyrene.

a specific point in the long mythical narrative of Danaus and his daughters. The bride-race is set after the first marriage of the daughters which ended with all but Hypermnestra killing their husbands, as Pindar states in *Nemean* 10. Explicit reference to the daughters' beheading their husbands is not found in extant literature until Pausanias (2.42.2) and Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 2.1.5), but the motif is thought to belong to the oldest version of the myth (Preller-Robert 2.266).

This second marriage proved more harmonious for the daughters, for they are in *Nemean* 10 "bright-throned," but it was Lynceus, the first and only husband of Hypermnestra, the "much-wooed one," who succeeded Danaus to the throne. We find him in this position in *N.* 10.12 and in a fragment attributed to Archilochus he is said to have killed Danaus and seized both the daughter and the throne. The sources are late which tell of Danaus' being informed by an oracle that he would die at the hands of his son-in-law, a motif which was attached also to the Oenomaus myth as explaining the father's reluctance to marry off his daughter.[15]

My reason for dwelling on the Danaus bride-race myth, used in *P.* 9 as an exemplum for the Antaios myth, should be manifest. The exemplum carries dark undertones not the least of which is the antipathy of the father towards his daughters' suitors, expressed in the slaying (decapitation) motif.

The Oenomaus bride-race myth, presented by Pindar in *Olympian* 1, is the most famous example of the pattern. The much-wooed daughter, as well as control of the kingdom, is the prize for the suitor who escapes the pursuing father in the chariot-race and thereby escapes decapitation, the penalty so prominently advertised by the display of skulls of unsuccessful suitors.[16]

[15] Sch. Aesch. *PV* 855; sch. Eur. *Or.* 872; Eust. on *Il.* 1.42. As the oracle presupposes the appearance of Lynceus, it may also date back in the tradition to the Archilochus citation, fr. 305 (West). The oracle is given as Oenomaus' motivation in: Diod. 4.73; Apollod. *Epitome* 2.3–10 (also incest); sch. Ap. Rh. 1.752 (which mentions Pindar and Pherecydes, but not explicitly for this motif). Incest is the motivation in: sch. Lycoph. *Alex.* 156; sch. Eur. *Or.* 990. It is uncertain what motivation Accius, Sophocles and Euripides offered, but see William M. Calder III, "Sophocles, Oinomaos and the East Pediment at Olympia," *Philologus* 118 (1974) 203–14.

[16] Oenomaus: O. 1.67–89; sch. *I.* 3/4.92a (roofed a temple with skulls); Sophocles fr. 473 (Pearson) (skulls); Apollod. *Epit.* 2.5 (nailed skulls to his house); sch. Lycoph. *Alex.* 160 (built temple with skulls); Paus. 6.21.9 (burial of suitors). In vase painting:

Pindar's contemporary Bacchylides offers still another example of this Contest pattern in the myth of Euenus-Idas-Marpessa. Idas is said to escape (*φυγών*) from Euenus who had set his daughter as the prize in a chariot-race and had established decapitation as the penalty. Euenus died in this race (as did Oenomaus), but Idas did not succeed to the throne (as did Pelops) for he was linked in mythology to a second bride-contest in which he faced, bow in hand, Apollo for Marpessa.[17] Simonides (*PMG* 563) is said to have presented both these contests in a single narrative, in which Idas snatched away Euenus' daughter, a form which suggests bride-stealing.[18] In Pindar's time however there was a tendency to present the Euenus-Idas chariot-race myth in literature and the Apollo-Idas contest myth in art, providing complementary information on the myth.[19]

The differences between the Danaus and Antaios myths (set I) and the myths of Oenomaus and Euenus (set II) should be obvious. The contestants in the first set are the suitors alone, while the father competes in the second set; the contest in the first is a foot-race, in the second a chariot-race; the penalty is not explicit (stressed) in the first set, while in the second set the decapitation motif is prominent.

The pattern displays two further variations in the myths of Atalanta and Eurytus. In the Atalanta myth the contest is the same as in the

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Marie Louise Säflund, *The East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 27: Göteborg 1970); Brommer (above, note 13) 539 lists 1 (2) bf (black-figure) and 3 (5) rf (red-figure).

[17] Bacchylides 20 (race with death penalty); sch. *I.* 3/4.92a (Bacchylides as source for building temple with skulls); scholia and Eustathius on *Il.* 9.557 (nailed skulls to palace); sch. Lycoph. *Alex.* 160 (built temple with skulls). There is a discussion of Bacchylides' treatment of the theme in Bruno Snell, "Bakchylides' Marpessa-Gedicht (Fr.20A)," *Hermes* 80 (1952) 156–63.

[18] Neither bride-race nor bride-stealing can be called a frequent theme in Attic vase painting, but similarities may be found in the artistic representations of the themes, as in the Theseus-Antiope of New York hydria 12.198.3 and the flamboyant treatments by the Meidias painter (or one near him) of the Pelops-Hippodameia myth (Arezzo 1460) and the Rape of the Leucippidae (London BM E 224).

[19] The Idas-Apollo myth was of course told in *Il.* 9.557–64. It appeared in art on the Chest of Cypselus (Paus. 5.18.2) and was perhaps the subject of a vase painting by the Amasis painter. Red-figure painters included Euenus in the scene at times, thereby conflating the myths. The earliest red-figure painter to present the scene (*c.* 480) was the Triptolemus painter who was also one of the few red-figure artists to present a Herakles-Antaios scene. See J. D. Beazley, "Marpessa," in *Charites*, ed. K. Schauenburg (Bonn 1957) 136–39.

first set (foot-race), but the penalty is explicit (decapitation) and the suitors compete with the bride herself.[20] Atalanta however is known in vase painting as a wrestler, rather than a runner, in her successful bout with Peleus, although some literary information exists which may suggest that this bout was a bride-contest, in one line of the tradition.[21] Peleus himself fared better in a second wrestling match, which was a bride-contest, since he won Thetis.

In the Eurytus myth, as found at the close of the fifth century in Herodorus in a form which may be traced back through Sophocles to the epic *Sack of Oechalia*, the father competes with the suitor (Herakles) in an archery contest, with the daughter as prize and the penalty not stressed.[22] The development of this myth is most interesting for the light it sheds on the Contest pattern and the crossing of this pattern with the Challenge pattern.

In the *Odyssey* (8.224–28) Herakles and Eurytus are cited by Odysseus as the paradigms of archers, although Odysseus prides himself on being not far inferior to them, a boast proven by his success in the archery bride-contest for Penelope in which the unsuccessful suitors are rewarded with death. Eurytus in the *Odyssey* however dies in an archery contest with Apollo; although Apollo is known to have engaged in contests with rival lovers for brides (*Hom. Hymn* 3.207–13), and specifically with Idas in archery for Marpessa, we have no firm evidence to suggest that Apollo's contest with Eurytus was originally thought of as a bride-contest.

The crossing of the Contest pattern with the Challenge pattern in the Eurytus myth is suggested in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, where the contest precedes the challenge (sack) in the narrative. It also appears in a vase

[20] Hesiod frr. 74–76 (M-W), father sets contest; Ovid, *Met.* 10.560–680 and Servius on *Aen.* 3.113, oracle to Atalanta on danger of marrying; Hyginus *Fab.* 185 (Rose), beheading and display of skulls in race course (accepted as part of original myth by J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodea* [Leiden 1960] 362).

[21] Atalanta in vase painting: Brommer (above, note 13) 316–17, lists 7 bf and 6(7) rf for Peleus and Atalanta and 2 rf for Atalanta and Hippomenes. The Peleus painter's vase (*ARV* 1039.9) is the most interesting of these, for he shows Atalanta losing to her wrestling opponent whom he names Hippomenes, a suggestive confusion. See J. D. Beazley in *AJA* 64 (1960) 219–25. On no vase does she actually run. In a fragment attributed by Page to Ibycus one finds mention of "marrying" in close association with Peleus wrestling Atalanta, P.Oxy. 2735 fr.11 (*PCPhS* 17 [1971] 89 ff.).

[22] Herodorus, 31 *FGrHist* 37; Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 260–68 with scholia; Eust. on *Il.* 2.730; whole story attributed to Pherecydes by scholia *Od.* 21.22 (3 *FGrHist* 82).

painting by the Sappho painter, roughly contemporary with Pindar, where the patterns are compressed into one.[23] In this picture, which owes something to the compositions of the Geryonomachy, Iphitus dies at the feet of Iole. In literary tradition Iphitus dies a separate death from his father and brothers (*Odyssey* 21.15 f.) but here he falls beneath Herakles' arrows. Herakles is portrayed as cutting his way through Eurytus and his sons to reach Iole at the opposite side of the scene. The archery contest has been blended with the sack of the city; the Contest and Challenge patterns are united.

These myths are all representative of the Contest pattern which is used by Pindar for the Antaios myth of *P.* 9. The dark allusions of *P.* 9, which we have reviewed, may now be explained in the light of the complete pattern which is schematized as follows:

I. Father (or daughter) reluctant or anxious	II. Contest set Race chariot foot Archery	III. Contestants Father/suitors Bride/suitors Suitors
IV. Prize: Bride with/without control	V. Penalty: Death/Decapitation Stressed/Unstressed	

In the Antaios myth of *P.* 9 we find Antaios without characterization, but his name itself is prepared for by the appearance of ἀντάεις (the opponent). He sets a race for his daughter (no reason given) who is won by Alexidamus after he "escaped" (as Idas did in Bacchylides, φυγών). The myth itself is preceded by allusions to Herakles and the "enemy" (ἐχθρόν) and results in the gain of "Hebe," all elements found in the Herakles-Antaios myth of *I.* 3/4. Finally the otherwise curious allusion to the gory beheading of Eurystheus, who was overtaken by Iolaus, suggests the penalty motif found in other bride-race myths.

The scholiasts of *I.* 3/4 associated the Contest pattern of Oenomaus

[23] This is the clearest example in black-figure although 3(4) others are attested as well as 5 rf and the famous Corinthian vase, Brommer (above, note 13) 55. P. Hartwig, "Herakles and Eurytos," *JHS* 12 (1891) 334–49 (338), adopts the view that both contest and challenge are represented on the vase, and draws the viewer's attention to the archery target behind Iole's head. No other vase joins the two patterns. The vase is Madrid amphora 10916 (*ABV* 508).

and Euenus with the Challenge pattern of Antaios and others on the basis of the skull motif (decapitation penalty), but the two patterns cross at a number of other points, as I have indicated and will now make clear in turning to the Challenge pattern and the Antaios myth of *I.* 3/4.

The Challenge pattern is primarily concerned with control or the right to control a territory. The Challenge itself may take the form of military activity (sack) or an athletic contest and frequently has attached to it a rape victim (bride-figure). The Pindaric scholiasts name Diomedes as a famous example of acting like Antaios of *I.* 3/4 in using the skulls of defeated opponents, and Cycnus is named in this role by the scholiasts on Lycophron (*Alex.* 160). The Diomedes myth[24] is very poorly attested, although alluded to by Pindar in fr. 169, but on Cycnus we are much better informed.

Stesichorus composed a poem dealing with the Cycnus myth which included the decapitation motif, and the Hesiodic *Shield* told the story in some detail.[25] Cycnus, who controlled the road, challenged Herakles to combat and Herakles killed him, thereby stopping his outrages. Pausanias (1.27.6) knew the myth from a statue on the Athenian Acropolis and mentioned that Cycnus had proposed prizes for the winner of the duel. In the literary tradition no bride-figure is to be found, but F. Vian has suggested,[26] on the basis of Attic vase painting, that such a motif may have existed in the tradition at least as early as the close of the sixth century. One such vase is by a painter of the Group of Vatican 424, a wing of the Leagros Group, who provided a distressed female not just for Cycnus but also for Geryon and for Antaios, a feature to which we will return.[27]

[24] Diomedes is alluded to in Eur. *Alc.* 481–98 and by Philostratus in *Imagines* 2.25, where it is said that chariot-races were forbidden in the area after Herakles' victory, indicating perhaps that chariot-racing was part of this challenge myth.

[25] Stesichorus ap. sch. *O.* 10.21a where Thomas Magister was the first to see that we should read "Ares" for "Apollo" as the owner of the temple being roofed. Is it a coincidence that Oenomaus, Euenus, Diomedes and Cycnus are all sons of Ares? On Stesichorus' treatment of the myth and Ares as the recipient of the temple see R. D. Dawe, "Stesichorus, fragment 207P," *PCPhS* 198 (1972) 28–30.

[26] François Vian, "Le Combat d'Héraklès et de Kyknos," *REA* 47 (1945) 5–32 (28–29).

[27] Florence 3822 amphora: *ABV* 367.88; Vian, No. 48 (Cycnus). Delos 547 lekythos: *ABV* 379.274 (Geryon). Munich 1708 hydria: *ABV* 360.5 (Antaios). M. Robertson, "Geryoneis: Stesichoros and the Vase Painters" *CQ* N.S. 19 (1969) 207–21, does not mention Delos 547 in his fine discussion of this figure in Geryon vase paintings (214–18).

Herakles of course was no stranger to such military challenges. His second encounter with Eurytus we have already reviewed. In addition he attacked Cos, killed king Eurypylus and raped the princess Chalciope; he destroyed Ormenium, killed Amyntor and raped Astydameia.[28] This list could be indefinitely extended by referring to later literature.

Athletic contests were also challenges in which Herakles won consistently, especially in wrestling. His early opponents were however more frequently beasts (Triton and Nemean Lion) than humans (Nereus for information and Eryx[29] for control). His match with Achelous is of particular interest.[30] Here we find him once again in a bride-contest, followed shortly by a bride-stealing myth in which he kills the centaur Nessus who attempts to rape Deianeira at the Euenus river (which took its name from Marpessa's father who died here at the end of his pursuit of Idas[31]). The myth attracted the attention of the Attic black-figure vase painters, among whom Painter S of the Leagros Group presented the myth clearly as a bride-contest by including Deianeira and her father in the scene.[32] The wrestling match with Antaios however is extraordinary both in Pindar and in vase paintings of Herakles' deeds.

The Antaios myth of *I.* 3/4 may be titled an "ogre" myth and clearly presents the Challenge pattern. Pindar attributes to Herakles the altruistic motive of setting off to Libya in order to stop Antaios from roofing a temple to Poseidon with the skulls of foreigners. This

[28] Eurypylus: *Il.* 2.678 (Thessalus, son of Herakles); Pherecydes 3 *FGrHist* 78; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.1; sch. *N.* 4.40. Amyntor: the myth of Ormenium is confused with that of Ephyra in the tradition: *O.* 7.23 (with scholia); Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.7; Diod. 4.37.4.

[29] The Eryx myth is first found in Diodorus 4.23.2 where, however, it is said to have been used in the late sixth century as a precedent for control in a Sicilian territory (Herodotus 5.41–48). Pausanias (3.16.4, 4.36.4) said the contest was for control of the territory while Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.10 offers only the cattle dispute. Eryx' wife, Psophis, is sometimes said to have been raped by Herakles in the sequel.

[30] The appearance of the Achelous myth in art has been well treated by H. P. Isler, *Acheloos* (Bern 1970). In literature: Archilochus fr. 147 (Bergk) (joined to the Nessus myth); Soph. *Trach.* 506–30 (joined to the Nessus myth, 555–81); scholiasts on *Il.* 21.194 attributed the story to Pindar, fr. 249a.

[31] The aetiological myth of the Euenus river appears in late sources: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7; scholia and Eustathius on *Il.* 9.557. See also Charles Dugas, "La mort du centaure Nessos," *REA* 45 (1943) 18–26.

[32] London B313: *ABV* 360.1.

suits Pindar's poetic purposes of portraying Herakles not just as a paradigm of the wrestler (for Melissus the Theban wrestler) but also as the *alexikakos* who is rewarded in the ode with immortality and eternal youth (Hebe).

It may also have been Pindar's intention to imply that Antaios was a *contemptor divum* (as he appears to be in his association with the god-challenging giants of *N.* 1.64–68), although Pherecydes and Aristias knew Antaios as the son of Poseidon.[33] A hydria by the Leagran Group of Vatican 424 confirms this parentage by placing a distressed Poseidon in the portico of Antaios' palace (Munich 1709). It may also be recalled that Cycnus was most likely in the practice of performing this same filial duty to his father Ares, rather than to Apollo.

Antaios is Herakles' only human wrestling opponent in Pindar. Pherecydes also emphasized the uniqueness of this match by saying that Herakles had by Antaios' widow, Iphinoe, a son who was named Palaemon (a title carried by Herakles himself from his encounter with Antaios or Achelous).[34] The uniqueness of the match is further stressed by Attic vase paintings in which Herakles consistently stripped for action in representations of the Antaios myth as he does in no other contest but that of the Nemean Lion.[35]

I must insert a note at this point on the justifiable use of vase paintings

[33] Aristias fr.1 (Nauck²); Pherecydes ap. sch. Ap. Rh. 4.1396; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.11. Phrynichus also wrote a play entitled *Antaios*. The scholiasts say Pindar was unusual in including the skull motif in the Antaios myth. It is possible that he used it a second time in fr. 111 where if we read ἐνέπηξε (with Heringa) κεκαρμέν' αἵματι we find a verbal echo in Sophocles on Oenomaus, fr. 473 (Pearson):

Σκυθιστὶ χειρόμακτρον ἐκκεκαρμένος

For a different reading see G. Zuntz, "A Pindar Fragment," *Hermes* 85 (1957) 401–13.

[34] Pherecydes, 3 *FGrHist* 76 (also for Herakles' title). Later tradition set the myth further west and had Herakles rape Antaios' widow Tinga who bore a son Sophax (a right-to-control myth): Plutarch *Sertorius* 9 (572), which comes from Gabinius through Strabo 17.3.8.

[35] All of the Antaios vases appear during *c.* 515–475. Brommer (above, note 13) 25–27 lists 26 bf as certain, 4 bf as unseen and rejects 4 bf; in addition he lists 7 rf as certain and 2 rf as doubtful. Of the 4 bf he rejects I accept 2 (below, note 39); of the 4 bf unseen, one (Rome, Art market, neck-amphora (*AJA* 61 [1957] 105)) is most probably Brommer A21. Of the 2 rf doubtful, one is certainly not Antaios (*ARV* 285.8). My remarks therefore are based on my knowledge of 35 of the 41 vases. For convenience I will refer to them by Brommer's numbers ("A" means bf and "B" rf). The myth appears in other arts: Frank Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* I (Marburg 1971) 24–28. Of these, only the Heraion metope (Brommer p. 4) and the shield band (Brommer p. 26 no. 4) have any bearing on the vase-painting tradition and the myth for

for interpretation of mythological themes. Herakles' nudity (and the absence of the lion-skin[36]) in the Antaios scenes has been read by some as proof that the Antaios myth was visually modelled on the Lion myth. One need but point out however that only two Antaios scenes bear close resemblance to the "Liegeschema" of the Lion fight (the preferred schema of vase painters during the period of the Antaios myth in vase painting[37]). The vast majority of the Antaios scenes have little or no connection with the Lion schema. The nudity of these two scenes stresses the wrestling motif itself rather than a model-copy relation of the scenes.

In addition, although there is a tendency in late black-figure and in red-figure vase painting toward nudity or the draped lion-skin for Herakles, Painter S, for example, will portray Herakles nude against Antaios but either fully clothed with lion-skin or wearing it like a cape in his wrestling match with Achelous. The fashion of late black-figure and red-figure explains Herakles' nudity no more than does the Lion scene. It is wrestling that is stressed uniquely in the Antaios scenes.[38]

Pindar. The faience vase, discussed by R. A. Scheurleer in *BVAB* 46 (1971) 100–04, resembles more closely the Andocides painter's wrestlers (Berlin 2159 amphora) than any Antaios scene.

Herakles wears the lion-skin only in the crude drawing of A19, which is of dubious value, and is said to wear it on the Greifswald fragment (non vidi). On 7 bf (A1, 3, 10, 14, 15, 25 and Laon pelike 37.978) Herakles wears a loin cloth; on 2 bf (A13 and Taranto skyphos 7030) he wears a sword belt, on 1 bf a bow, quiver and strap (A8), on 1 bf his quiver and sword (A26) and a sword on 1 bf (A1). A26 is the only vase on which Herakles attacks with a club, as he does on the shield band mentioned above.

[36] The lion-skin appears in the background on Euphronios' vase (B1) and on a vase by the Edinburgh painter (A13).

[37] The Lion schema is used for the Antaios scene on A2 and A8; some similarities may be seen, at least for Antaios' position, on A6, A7 and A9. See S. B. Luce, "The Nolan Amphora," *AJA* 20 (1916) 439–74, updated by Brommer (above, note 13) 109–43 (116–18, Liegeschema).

[38] Painter S: London B313 (*ABV* 360.1), fully clothed; Louvre F211 (*ABV* 368.104), draped lion-skin. Dietrich von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford 1957) 61 and 138, mentions the fashion set by Euphronios for draped lion-skin as seen in Amazonomachy vases by painter near Painter of Munich 1519 (who painted the Antaios vase A4). E. N. Gardiner (above, note 5) 220 noted the curious fact that the vase painters avoided representing the Antaios scene in traditional pankration compositions and instead favored ground-wrestling compositions, which are mostly limited in vase painting to the Antaios scene. Certain similarities can be noted between the boxers on Douris' vase (*ARV* 430.29) and the Copenhagen painter's Antaios vase (B2), but it is curious that Douris did not choose such a schema for his own Antaios vases (B4 and B6) and instead emulated Euphronios' art (B1) rather than life.

The extraordinary qualities of this match however do not sever the Challenge pattern of the Antaios myth from the Contest pattern. We have seen these patterns cross in the Eurytus myth (first bride-contest, then sack and rape) and noted with the scholiasts the motif of decapitation as part of the bride-contest (Oenomaus, Euenus and Atalanta) and the challenge (Cycnus, Diomedes, Antaios and Iolaus). The motif of bride as object in the Challenge pattern has been noted in the literary tradition of the Eurypylus and Amyntor myths and in the vase painting traditions of the Cycnus and Geryon myths. For the Antaios myth we have Pherecydes' testimony that Herakles raped Antaios' widow, Iphinoe (in later tradition his widow Tinga). It is however not stated in the tradition, as some commentators have suggested, that Herakles had a liaison with Antaios' daughter, Alkeis or Barke, although it is the princess-figure rather than the queen who usually fills this role. Antaios' daughter was reserved for Alexidamus.

The surviving literary sources provide little information on the Antaios myth, but we are fortunate in the evidence provided by vase paintings of this theme.

All the vase paintings depict the Challenge pattern and none can be identified as representing the bride-race (Contest) of *P.* 9, just as there are no known representations in vase painting of the Danaus or Euenus or Atalanta bride-races. There are however elements in the vase painting tradition which suggest points of contact between the two patterns for the Antaios myth.

Several vase paintings, as others have noted, include distressed female(s) in the Antaios scenes. These range from the standard distressed "audience" on the famous Euphronios vase (B1) through concerned single observers (Laon pelike[39] and A5) to severely distraught

[39] The Laon pelike 37.978 was rejected by Brommer as an Antaios scene and titled by him instead (244) a Theseus-Periphetes scene. Space does not permit a full exposition of the problems involved in identification, but some remarks are called for. The Laon pelike uses a schema closely related to that of the Edinburgh painter (A13) and the Michigan painter (A21) for the Antaios scenes. It is listed as the only bf of the Periphetes scenes (with one certain rf) and is not similar to the schema of the Hephaisteion metope(s) thought to depict the Periphetes myth; see C. H. Morgan, "Sculptures of the Hephaisteion," *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 210–19, for recent discussion.

Brommer also rejects the Taranto skyphos 7030 (*ABL* 250.17) by the Theseus painter, and, because cattle are represented on the reverse, he concluded that the Alcyoneus myth was here represented. In this Brommer was following the reasoning of Bernard Andreae,

women (A6, A7, B2), some of whom watch from Antaios' palace (A3, A14).[40] The most interesting perhaps is "Andriosoi" who appears on an exceptional Leagran vase which labels everyone (A1). Although this Leagran painter has no name, a second work by his hand is recognized where the bride-stealing myth of Theseus and Antiope is depicted and the same interest in name-identification is evident. That the painter decorates his two known vases with Theseus' bride-stealing and Herakles' wrestling is a suggestive association of themes.[41]

Although some of these concerned women can be explained away as conventional devices, many are presented as an integral part of the myth's representation. This is clearly the case for Andriosoi, for Poseidon's companion (A5) and for the women of Painters A and S (A14 and A3) who reside in Antaios' palace. We may safely conclude that there was a strong tradition in pictorial art, preceding Pindar, which included a female in the Antaios Challenge pattern, thereby linking it through the bride motif with the Contest pattern. Pindar himself ignored this, but Pherecydes recorded it.

The second informative element from the painting tradition on the link between the two Antaios patterns is the representation of Antaios' palace. This occurs but four times on the vases and cannot therefore be called an established feature. In two instances it is summarily

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in his otherwise exemplary article, "Herakles und Alkyoneus," *JDAI* 77 (1962) 130–210, who also titled, for different reasons, Makron's Antaios (B3) an Alcyoneus scene. The Taranto skyphos by the Theseus painter however uses a schema like, though not identical with, that of the Antiope Group (A10) and the Basel vase (A24) for the Antaios scene. The schema is however entirely different from the Theseus painter's perfectly normal representation of the Alcyoneus scene (*ABL* 251.57). This is not to suggest that confusion or contamination is not connected with Antaios representations. The Palermo bf (A26) raises, for example, a variety of difficulties because it treats the Antaios scene like a Theseus-Minotaur scene (Herakles holds club as Theseus holds sword and Antaios, like the Minotaur, holds a rock in his raised hand). Reasonable guide-lines can however be established, as I hope to demonstrate elsewhere.

[40] B1: Louvre G103; A5: Group of Vatican 424, Munich 1708; A6: Painter A, London B322; A6: Leagran, Boulonge 410; B2: Copenhagen painter, Warsaw 142330; A3: Painter S, London B196; A14: Painter A, Munich 1710.

[41] A1: Leagran, Munich 1417; Theseus-Antiope, Munich 1414. The reverse sides of these vases depict, respectively, a rather bare Achilles and Ajax at play and a standard Herakles and Lion. The inscriptions of Munich 1414 identify Antiopeia, Poseidon (twice), Theseus and his helper, Ponidas. This artist is one of the three who labelled his Antaios scene. It is interesting that none of the inscriptions is of the "non-sense" variety.

represented (A21, B2), but in two further instances the presence of the portico is substantial (A3, A14).[42] In these last two compositions the distressed family of Antaios watch the pummeling of Antaios from their porch.

One might object that the Leagran painters' fondness for architecture as design compels us to view the porch in the Antaios scene as a conventional device with no direct bearing on an understanding of the myth. Two responses may be given to this objection.

Painters A and S, the Leagrans in question, were in fact quite selective in their representations of architecture. Painter A uses architecture only in this Antaios scene (A14), although he was free to do as his distant colleague, the Priam painter, did in adding architecture to his Alcyoneus vase painting where instead Painter A provided that giant with a unique cave.[43] Painter S uses architecture in no other scene but the Antaios scene.[44]

Second, the Leagrans have been noted for their effective, rather than indiscriminate, use of architectural representation. The Antiope Group (Leagran), which presents one of the most brutal Herakles-Antaios scenes (A10)[45] (illustrating Pindar's maxim in *I.* 3/4 that one can do anything to destroy one's foe), used architecture to heighten the pathos of two Trojan War themes. In the Dragging of Hector[46] the traditional family farewell scene in the portico is transformed into

[42] A21, by Michigan painter who frames the wrestling match with slender columns; B2, by Copenhagen painter who sets a slender column behind Herakles; A3, by Painter S and A14 by Painter A.

[43] The Priam painter's Alcyoneus vase: *ABV* 322.22 and Andreae (above, note 39) no. 7; Painter A's Alcyoneus vase: *ABV* 360.2 and Andreae no. 14. Painters A and S formed the "heart" of the Leagros Group and are in many ways quite close to one another, and this is easily seen in their very similar Antaios vases.

[44] Although I have seen 12 of the 13 vases attributed to (or near) Painter S, I have not seen one of his Cerberus vases (*ABV* 360.11) where he may have used architecture as design, as did other Leagrans for this myth. A second Cerberus vase by Painter S (*ABV* 364.59 and *Paral.* 160) however avoids the use of architecture.

[45] The Antiope Group (*ABV* 380.296) portrays Herakles gouging Antaios' eye, a practice which Gardiner (above, note 5) showed was forbidden in the pankration. The Antiphon painter, who painted a doubtful Antaios scene (*ARV* 341.87), presented a pankration in which mouth-gouging is depicted (*ARV* 340.65) and Douris showed Herakles throttling Antaios (B4).

[46] *Paral.* 164.31 bis; discussed by Emily Vermeule, "The Vengeance of Achilles," *BMusB* 63 (1965) 34–52.

the pathetic farewell of the family to Hector's body. In the Sack of Troy[47] (or Achilles-Troilus) scene the violence of the main picture is set off against the ignorant conviviality of the Trojans depicted in false security behind the ramparts of their doomed city.

General conclusions cannot be drawn from such few examples of Antaios' palace in the vase paintings, but a comment may be made. Antaios himself is a barbarian on these vases, for although Painter S may give him a head-band (as do other artists) Antaios' hair is still worn long in contrast to Herakles' short curls (the contrast so effectively used by Euphronios) and Painter S indicates the giant's hairiness by picking out hairs on his shoulder-blade. The palace itself however and the mourning family lend to Antaios a certain civilized dignity, a social status befitting the ruler of the territory. It is a touch more in harmony with the "king" of *P.* 9 than with the wild "ogre" of *I.* 3/4.

This double view of Antaios which we find in Pindar's poetry, the king and the ogre in the contest and challenge myths, is also reflected in the contrasting views offered by Euphronios' vase and the later allusions of Plato. The ogre of the vase is seen as a skilled and inventive, though disreputable, wrestler in the *Laws* (796a) and is linked with Sciron, the opponent of Theseus, in the *Theaetetus* (169b). A parallel case may be found for Sciron himself who is most frequently represented in Attic vase painting as the barbaric opponent of Theseus in a Challenge myth.[48] In Pausanias however we find Sciron, successively, as polemarch of the Megarians (1.39.6) who built the Scironian road for the use of "active men" (1.44.6) and as the dweller on the rocks who heaved travellers into the sea until Theseus stopped him (1.44.8).

I am not suggesting, as others have, that Pindar presented a savage Antaios in *I.* 3/4 only to recant in *P.* 9 by civilizing the giant in order to please his Cyrenian host, who traced his lineage from Antaios'

[47] Munich 1700: *ABV* 362.27; discussed by Matthew Wienche, "An Epic Theme in Greek Art," *AJA* 58 (1954) 285–306 (298–99).

[48] Sciron in vase painting: Brommer (above, note 13) 250–51, lists 4 bf (all by or near the Theseus painter) and 29 rf. The more "kingly" position of Sciron is reflected in the vase painting of the Penthesilea painter (*ARV* 889.169 and Brommer B25) and of the Syriskos painter (*ARV* 260.7 and Brommer B16) where Sciron sits on a throne-like rock formation talking with Theseus. The Syriskos painter was the "brother" of the Copenhagen painter who provided his Antaios scene with labels (B2) since he used a schema for this match which he also used for his Theseus-Procrustes scene (*ARV* 257.9 and Brommer 245, B18).

daughter. *P.* 9 offers a number of allusive remarks which color the Antaios bride-race myth sufficiently to demonstrate its relation to the Antaios challenge myth of *I.* 3/4. The ode also places enough emphasis on the daughter, rather than the father, to bring out the centrality of her role in the ancestry of Telesicrates' family. These Cyrenaeans need have been no more embarrassed by the father of their ancestress than were those who traced their line back to Hippodameia, whose father Oenomaus was also disreputable.

In *I.* 3/4 Pindar presented the challenge pattern of the Antaios myth to bring out immediately the glory of the Theban hero Herakles over the defeated Antaios, controller of Libya (and this pattern may be informed by the history of Greek triumphs over Libyans). In *P.* 9 he chose the contest pattern of the Antaios myth to highlight the victory of Telesicrates in the victory and "escape" of Alexidamus (and again the pattern may be informed by such historical events as the Cyrenaeans' encroachments on Libyan land control by settling a city named Barke, the alternate name for Antaios' daughter, i.e., they won Barke and gained control). When we view the two Antaios myths as variations on the same pattern or as two closely related patterns we finally arrive at a mythologem which may be outlined as follows:

P. 9	"Foreigner" poses contest	Champion wins	Bride (control not stressed)	(Death penalty not stressed)
I. 3/4			Control (bride not stressed)	Death penalty stressed

Such then is the larger pattern which subsumes under the heading of "Agon" the related patterns of Contest and Challenge used by Pindar for the Antaios myths of *P.* 9 and *I.* 3/4.

This discussion of the Antaios myth has been purposely restricted. I wished to point out the relation of the two myth treatments to each other through their relation with other myths which share motifs and patterns with the Antaios myths and which can in the final analysis be viewed as varying forms of a single mythologem. The perspective

throughout has been mythological, seeking to clarify Pindar's myth-making and its relation to his poetry. I should perhaps add in closing some brief remarks on other perspectives which might be brought to bear on these myths in these odes.

That history played some role in the formation or progressive interpretation and presentation of the Antaios myth is a reasonable conjecture. Such events as those recorded by Herodotus in which a Greek-Libyan conflict arises from settling Barke no doubt informed the myth of Antaios.[49] To reconstruct history from mythology however is a pursuit which can both narrow one's understanding of a myth and which has in the past led to the most conjectural understandings of Pindar's poetry.

That such practices as decapitation, displaying skulls, bride-contests and foot-races actually existed in or near the Greek world is amply attested to. Such real-life practices therefore may well have acted as models for the themes and motifs of these myths. This conclusion tells us little about the myths themselves, but studies of ritual and folklore on such themes and practices are at times helpful.[50]

Finally, it should be clear that while this essay relates the myths to the poetry of Pindar in a number of ways, my emphasis has been mythological rather than aesthetic or strictly literary. A number of recent works in Pindaric scholarship, perhaps foremost that of Köhnken,[51] have wrestled with the question of the function of the myths in the poems. I have indicated above that I feel in the case of *Pythian* 9 and *Isthmian* 3/4 that the function of the Antaios myths is

[49] Herodotus 4.158–60; it is also no doubt no coincidence that Irasa, Antaios' home, was the site of a major battle between Greeks and Libyans supported by Egyptians, which resulted in extended Greek control of Libyan lands.

[50] Herodotus on the Tauran and Scythian practices of building temples to Ares (4.59), of decapitation (4.80), of the use of skulls (4.26 and 4.63–64) even for decoration (4.103). On the Libyans' use of skulls see Nicolaus Damascenus 90 *FGrHist* frr. 123 and 103n–u, and the same author in *FHG* (Müller) 3.463 on the foot-race as part of kingly succession in Libya. Bride-stealing is prominent in the opening of Herodotus' history as a theme and the same historian records the famous bride-contests set by Cleisthenes of Sicyon, which included the foot-race and wrestling (6.125).

For a recent discussion of the folkloristic elements see Gerald Gresseth, "Ancient Greek Folklore: Courting Types," *Texas Studies in Literature and Languages* 15 (1974) 903–13, which includes remarks on the "matriarchal" pattern in the myths of Euenus, Oenomaus and Atalanta.

[51] Adolf Köhnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin 1971).

fairly obvious. What I believe has been less obvious is the meaning and sense of certain phrases and allusions in these two odes (especially in *P.* 9) which become clearer once the underlying patterns of the myths are revealed. For me it is enough if the mythological perspective has been sharpened by this essay, which has already gone well beyond Pindar's dictum on economy:

βαιὰ δ' ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν ἀκοὰ σοφοῖς