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CYRENE AND THE ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑ OF MARRIAGE IN PINDAR'S NINTH PYTHIAN ODE

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The occasion of the poem is a victory won in the hoplite-race at Delphi in 474 by Telesicrates of Cyrene, and the ode is an epinician, in praise of the victor and his achievement.[1] Being composed for this occasion and purpose, the poem exhibits the conventional form of a praise-poem for a victor in the games. But it is shot through with a pervasive erotic colour and, in particular, it dwells upon a marriage, and upon the purpose of marriage, which is the procreation of children.[2] So insistent is the recurrence of this theme in the structure of the ode that it becomes desirable to conjecture, if one assumes that literary forms and structures have their origins in people and in society, that Telesicrates himself is, not only young, but also eligible to marry, if not promised in marriage. On that hypothesis, as least, it is possible to understand the relevance of love and marriage to the victor's praise.

The chief myth of the poem tells of the marriage, by abduction, of Apollo to Cyrene and the birth of their child, Aristaeus, the Libyan divinity of herdsmen and farmers. The most memorable incident of the narrative is the advice that the young god seeks and receives from his wise tutor, the Centaur Cheiron, concerning his love for Cyrene. Cheiron's attitude, shown by his gentle and benign smile, as was recognised by Basil Gildersleeve,[3] is that of the sage and kindly teacher,

[1] I am grateful for suggestions and discussions concerning the interpretation of this poem to Anne Carson Giacomelli, who will, I hope, soon publish her own views on this general topic.

[2] The Athenian formula of betrothal, as used by Menander, *Perikeiromene* 1013–14, was *ταύτην γνησίων / παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ σοι δίδωμι*: see other forms in A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (Oxford 1973) 531. Xenophon's Socrates affirms, at *Mem.* 2.2.4, that "it is evident that we consider what women will bear us the best children, and we form unions with them and so beget children." Demosthenes states plainly (59.122) that "we have wives for the sake of begetting children" and defines cohabitation as a begetting of children, the registration of sons, and the bestowal of daughters. See also Solon fr. 27.9–10 *IEG*, Antisthenes ap. Diog. Laert. 6.11, Luc. *Tim.* 17.

[3] B. L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York 1885) 342.

while the motive that Cheiron detects in his youthful pupil is, as Hermann Fränkel perceived, that of sexual shyness, or *aidôs*.[4] I have myself offered elsewhere an interpretation of the passage that takes its beginnings from these two insights and suggests that the god's elliptical questions and the Centaur's oracular answer respectively exhibit and explain the *aidôs* of the well-bred young Greek in sexual matters, and in particular upon first falling in love.[5]

In my earlier paper I compared Apollo's shyness, which inhibits him from saying what his omniscience makes him perfectly able to say, with the similar reluctance shown by the maiden Nausicaa in Book Six of the *Odyssey* to speak openly to her father concerning the subject of her own thoughts, which is the nearness of the time of her marriage.

I wish now to point to a nearer parallel, in the latter part of the present ode. In a passage (96–100) that has been shown to be part of the poem's victory-catalogue,[6] the poet speaks of the maidens who, having been spectators of Telesicrates' victories at the local games of Pallas,[7] prayed,

[4] H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (New York and London 1973) 446 = page 567 of the original German edition, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* (New York 1951).

[5] "Apollo's First Love: Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.26 ff.," *TAPA* 102 (1972) 561–78, where I should have called attention to Fränkel's suggestion.

[6] O. Schroeder, *Pindars Pythien* (Leipzig and Berlin 1922) 85–87, H. J. Rose, "Iolaus and the Ninth Pythian Ode," *CQ* 25 (1931) 156–61, R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford 1962) 45–57, and G. M. Kirkwood in *Ill. Class. Stud.* 6.1 (1981) 18–22. For different views of the passage, cf., e.g., U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 263–66, C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 143–44, 330–32, E. D. Floyd, "The Première of Pindar's Third and Ninth Pythian Odes," *TAPA* 99 (1968) 181–202, and J. Péron, "Pindare et la victoire de Télésicrate dans la IX^{e} Pythique (v. 76–96)," *RPh* sér. 3, 50 (1976) 58–78.

[7] The Scholiast (2.236 Drachmann) takes the reference in 98 to be to the Panathenaea at Athens, and he is followed by L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar: Critical Commentary* (London 1932) 210–11, who asserts that "by the words at the outset of his sentence, ὡρίαις τελεταῖς Παλλάδος, he would be taken by every Greek who heard him to refer to the Panathenaea of Athens, which was the most famous international athletic contest after the four great ones." But it is not at all clear that Athens is the place in question: *Nem.* 10.34 (ἐν τελεταῖς δὶς Ἀθαναίων) differs precisely in making the place-name explicit, so that it cannot be adduced as a supporting parallel for this interpretation of a passage that lacks such a specification. Furthermore, if (as Farnell agrees) the Panathenaea came next in order of status after the four great games, it is odd that Telesicrates' victory there should come so late in Pindar's victory-list, following, not only the Pythian victory, but also other triumphs at Thebes, Aegina, and Megara, and in company with the local glories at the very end. Finally, though I find no sufficient reason to argue (as some have done) that women at Cyrene had, while women at Athens had not, opportunities to observe the results of the games, the mention of the women's admiration has more point, if it is a reference made at a local celebration to a known local event and, above all, if (as will be argued) the wedding of Telesicrates to a Cyrenean girl is a subject of public attention. So, in general rightly, Schroeder 87 and Burton 56–57 (above, note 6). Herodotus (4.180.2) knows of an indigenous Libyan goddess, called "Athena" by the Greeks; cf. also 4.189.

each to herself voicelessly, that she might have such a son or a husband.[8] The girls, in the well-brought-up Greek way, see their fulfilment in marriage and the bearing of an outstanding son.[9] But in their case at Cyrene, as in the case of the young Apollo on the Thessalian hillside, a virginal *aidôs* prevents them from giving expression to what they feel most urgently. The inhibition here affects the girls very much in the way that in the myth it affected the male god, and the parallel shows that the theme is the *aidôs* of *erôs* generally, and not a masculine characteristic alone. The interpretation offers also a confirmation of the reading suggested for the passage from the myth, and the correspondence thus revealed between myth and actuality equally gives support to the conjecture, made earlier, of a connection between theme and occasion. If the girls among the spectators appear in a female role that is the counterpart, as it were the mirror-image, of the male role played by Apollo in the myth, it is possible to recognise in the pattern the poet's praise of the victor's demeanour and attractiveness, as lover and as beloved.

An additional confirmation of the theme of *aidôs* in *erôs* in Cheiron's speech is found in the description (9–13) of the reception by Aphrodite in Libya of the god and his abducted bride:

> ὑπέδεκτο δ' ἀργυρόπεζ' Ἀφροδίτα
> Δάλιον ξεῖνον θεοδμάτων
> ὀχέων ἐφαπτομένα χερὶ κούφᾳ·
> καί σφιν ἐπὶ γλυκεραῖς εὐναῖς ἐρατὰν βάλεν αἰδῶ,
> ξυνὸν ἁρμόζοισα θεῷ τε γάμον μειχθέντα κούρᾳ θ'
> Ὑψέος εὐρυβία·

There can be no doubt that it is a marriage that is depicted, for Pindar speaks explicitly (66) of "the sweet consummation of *gamos*" in this connection, and at the close of the ode, in the matching myths of Danaus and of Antaeus, the one from the traditional store of old Greece, the other from the colonists' Hellenisation of indigenous lore, he speaks, first

[8] The Scholiast (2.236 Drachmann) wished to understand αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες before υἱόν in 100, as if on the grounds that the prayer would be appropriate only to married women. But the implied ellipsis is harsh and the poem assumes, as will appear, that a girl finds her fulfilment in bearing a son. Gildersleeve (above, note 3) 346 and Wilamowitz (above, note 6) 266 accepted the Scholiast's view and the latest translator into English follows them: F. J. Nisetich, *Pindar's Victory Songs* (Baltimore and London 1980) 211, renders as follows: "girls who wished, in silence, that you were their husband; and women, Telesicrates, who prayed that you might be their son."

[9] Alc. fr. 42 L–P, Voigt contrasts the destructiveness caused by Helen with the happiness of Thetis, and D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry: A Selection* (London 1967) 292, raises the question in what her happiness consists. On the view presented here, the answer to that question is given by the poet himself in lines 13–14 (παῖδα γένναθ' αἱμιθέων [φέριστον] / ὄλβιον ξάνθαν ἐλάτη[ρα πώλων]). Contrast Theocr. 18.21 on Helen: ἦ μέγα κά τι τέκοιτ', εἰ ματέρι τίκτοι ὁμοῖον.

of an "exceedingly famous," and then of a "most swift *gamos*" (112, 114).[10] In both points the descriptions here match the facts of the union of Apollo and Cyrene in the central myth of the ode, so that we are not left in doubt what is the mythical subject of the poem. So too, the truth that Apollo recognised in himself but his *aidôs* prevented him from declaring, so that the wise Centaur had to find for it a kindly expression, was just that the god was to become husband (πόσις, 51) to Cyrene and to beget on her a marvellous and immortal child. And here again the girls watching the local victories mentioned in the catalogue give corroboration, for they wish to have just such a husband or son, thereby making evident that it is marriage that they have in mind (97–100).

To return then to Aphrodite earlier in the poem, we may note that her light touch on the chariot in which the god conveyed the nymph has the effect of shedding upon the sweetness of their embraces the loveliness of *aidôs* (ἐρατὰν . . . αἰδῶ, 9–12). This manifestation, to be sure, cannot be just the sexual shyness of Apollo, or of the virginal spectators of the games, or of the princess Nausicaa, for that *aidôs* is cast aside in the consummation of marriage. What the poet wishes here to represent is then the adaptation of *aidôs* to marriage, whereby it perishes as a barrier between the husband and wife individually[11] to be recreated as a protection for both against external interference and a safeguard of privacy and intimacy within.[12] In this transformation *aidôs* deserves the epithet, ἐρατός, "lovely," which it here unusually receives,[13] for it is only *erôs*, the former antagonist of *aidôs*,

[10] Evidences of Hellenisation, apart from the myth of Antaeus, are easily recognisable. At 64 Aristaeus is identified with Zeus and Apollo, at 98 ff. we appear to hear of local festivals for Athena and the Olympians, while at 106 the local chieftain of the myth has the name of Heracles' antagonist, and at 125 the Nomads are said to have a tradition of athletic competition. Most interesting, perhaps, in this connection is the myth of Cyrene, which is Thessalian in origin, so that the nymph must be transported physically to the African shore to become mistress in a new land (7). But, *en revanche*, her lions, which may be thought to have been Libyan to begin with (cf., e.g., Callim. *Hymns* 2.91–92), are imagined to range with her over the Thessalian hillsides.

[11] Cf. Hdt. 1.8.3, ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ, and Diog. Laert. 8.43. Contrast, however, Plut. *Conj. Praec.* 46:144e.

[12] The idea is imagined in the Homeric description (*Il.* 14.330 ff.) of the ἱερὸς γάμος of Zeus and Hera. She suggests that they go inside, to her secluded chamber, and he prefers the screen of a golden cloud. Similar is the convention of a cloak, in which the lovers are enveloped, as apparently in the new Cologne fragment of Archilochus (29–30), the story told concerning Sophocles by Hieron. Rhod. (fr. 35 Wehrli, *Sch. d Arist.*) ap. Athen. 604d, Soph. *Trach.* 539, fr. 483 Pearson (with P.'s note), Eur. fr. 603.4 Nauck², Antiphanes fr. 75 Kock and Edmonds, Plato, *Symp.* 219b,c, Theocr. 18.19, Asclep. 1.3–4 Gow-Page *HE*, and Meleager 51.3 Gow-Page *HE*.

[13] ἐρατός combines here with αἰδώς unusually, to the accompaniment of some stress, and it is subject to even greater stress in *Ol.* 6.43, where it is used of labour-pains, in *Isth.* 8.44–45, where we find ἐρατὸν . . . χαλινὸν . . . παρθενίας and perhaps in *Nem.* 6.12, in connection with the Nemean contests.

that has the power, in marriage, to work the miracle and it is Aphrodite who sheds "lovely *aidôs*" upon the lovers. The old, balanced tension in which *erôs* traditionally kept the two, lover and beloved, is thought to be resolved in a new moral and social relation, by which they are joined to one another as persons, while being set apart from the society by which they are surrounded.[14] The *aidôs* of the maidens who were spectators of the games sealed their lips against any expression of their deepest desires, but of the presence of the married women on the same occasion we hear not a word, presumably because their *aidôs* bound them to their husbands, and so kept them away from the games altogether or else prevented the formation of even wordless thoughts and wishes.[15]

With this understanding of the roles of *erôs* and *aidôs* in marriage we are now prepared to approach a real, but generally unobserved, problem in the narration of the central myth. This concerns the nature of the description of Cyrene herself and the ground of Apollo's feeling for her.

In regard to the nymph, Pindar begins with a conventional epithet borrowed from the epic, in order to suggest her physical beauty: like Nausicaa, and others, she is said to have lovely arms or elbows.[16] But so much said, he proceeds at once (17–25) with an extraordinary description of a girl who abhors women's work:

ὁ δὲ τὰν εὐώλενον
θρέψατο παῖδα Κυράναν. ἁ μὲν οὔθ' ἱστῶν παλιμβά-
μους ἐφίλησεν ὁδούς,
οὔτε δείπνων †οἰκουριᾶν μεθ' ἑταιρᾶν τέρψιας,
ἀλλ' ἀκόντεσσίν τε χαλκέοις
φασγάνῳ τε μαρναμένα κεράϊζεν ἀγρίους
θῆρας, ἦ πολλάν τε καὶ ἡσύχιον
βουσὶν εἰρήναν παρέχοισα πατρῴαις,
τὸν δὲ σύγκοιτον γλυκὺν
παῦρον ἐπὶ γλεφάροις
ὕπνον ἀναλίσκοισα ῥέποντα πρὸς ἀῶ.

[14] The unifying function of αἰδώς here is well recognised by Gildersleeve (above, note 3) 340, who writes, "This αἰδώς is the ἁρμός that binds the pair in wedlock. This intimate union is emphasized by ξυνόν, ἁρμόζοισα, μιχθέντα." Gildersleeve compares ἁρμόζων at 127, where it is used of marriage. Cf. also ἁρμοστής of a betrothed husband at Poll. 3.35, and Eur. *Troad.* 665–66. The general interpretation of *Pyth.* 9.9–12 proposed here is also presented in a different context of explanation by A. Carson Giacomelli in her dissertation, *Odi et amo, ergo sum* (Toronto 1981). Though perceived from a great distance both in time and in spirit, there is a suggestive analogy with the familiar dictum of Rainer Maria Rilke, that "love consists in this, that two solitudes protect, and touch, and greet each other."

[15] According to one passage in our text of Pausanias (6.20.9), unmarried girls (παρθένοι) were not excluded from the great games at Olympia, but elsewhere (5.6.7) the same author speaks of an Elean law that prescribed the execution of women (γυναῖκες) who were caught entering Olympia or crossing the Alpheus.

[16] *Od.* 6.101 and elsewhere.

Weaving is, of course, traditionally one of the skills of women, as we see (for instance) in passages of Homer in which women follow what Pindar here calls "the backward-pacing track of the loom," by the hearth in the central hall of the house.[17] The pleasures of dinners enjoyed among home-keeping companions are, on the other hand, almost unknown to us elsewhere, unless we can imagine that the girls of an ἀγέλα such as Alcman's maiden-chorus at Sparta or those of Sappho's θίασος at Mytilene enjoyed such entertainments. But whatever social relation between females may be the reference here, it is certain that these, like the normal feminine skill in weaving, are repudiated in this passage, in favour of the strenuous pleasures of hunting or, more probably, of repelling attacks made by wild beasts upon the domestic herds of cattle.[18] Indeed, Apollo's first sight of Cyrene is one of her wrestling, unarmed, with a mighty lion. He is at once captivated, and calls Cheiron out from his cave to witness the wonder (26–35):

κίχε νιν λέοντί ποτ' εὐρυφαρέτρας
ὀβρίμῳ μούναν παλαίοισαν
ἄτερ ἐγχέων ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.
αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ μεγάρων Χίρωνα προσήνεπε φωνᾷ·
"σεμνὸν ἄντρον, Φιλυρίδα, προλιπὼν θυμὸν γυναικὸς
καὶ μεγάλαν δύνασιν
θαύμασον, οἷον ἀταρβεῖ νεῖκος ἄγει κεφαλᾷ, μό-
χθου καθύπερθε νεᾶνις
ἦτορ ἔχοισα· φόβῳ δ' οὐ κεχείμανται φρένες.
τίς νιν ἀνθρώπων τέκεν; ποίας δ' ἀποσπασθεῖσα φύτλας
ὀρέων κευθμῶνας ἔχει σκιοέντων;
γεύεται δ' ἀλκᾶς ἀπειράντου."

The ground of his admiration is touched upon with insistent repetition when he says that her head is "dauntless," that "her spirit is unshaken by

[17] Cf., e.g., Penelope at *Od.* 1.355–57 and 2.94–95, Calypso at 5.61–63, Arete at 6.52–53 and 305–307, the Phaeacian serving-women at 7.105–11, Circe at 10.222, and Andromache at *Il.* 6.490–93, 22.440. For the Greek contrast between women who sit at home and weave and their husbands who go out to earn a livelihood, see Soph. *Oed. Col.* 339 ff., where 343 (κατ' οἶκον οἰκουροῦσιν ὥστε παρθένοι) recalls Pindar's †οἰκουρῶν μεθ' ἑταιρᾶν (19) in emphasising the demarcation of the feminine from the masculine space. On the function of the door in marking the limit of the *oikos*, and so of the women's world, see my remarks in *TAPA* 108 (1978) 297, note 35. In *Pyth.* 9.6 Cyrene is ἀγροτέρα precisely in transgressing any such limit.

[18] Cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.548–54, where men and dogs, πάννυχοι ἐγρήσσοντες, repel until dawn the attacks of a lion upon the cattle. Rightly, Burton (above, note 6) 42; contrast Farnell, *Commentary* (above, note 7) 203, who thinks of hunters that start at dawn. Note that Agave, in Euripides' *Bacchae* (1236–37), is said to desert the loom for the hunting of wild beasts. But Plutarch (*Mul. Virt.* 19:257e) has a story of one Aretaphila of Cyrene who, after saving her city from tyranny, withdrew into the women's quarters, where she worked quietly at her loom in the company of friends.

storms of fear," and that she "enjoys an unbounded might of valour." The language and imagery are those of traditional verse, but ordinary Attic prose would call the virtue in question *ἀνδρεία*.[19] That virtue may be shown both by men and by women, but its common name reveals that it is thought to be essentially male, a manly courage. It is for this reason that Cheiron calls Apollo's attention pointedly to "a *woman's* spirit and mighty powers" (30).

The question must now arise: why is the first *erôs* of the youthful Apollo roused by this girl, who eschews the female role, and flies instead to an opposite extreme, that of a rugged, masculine fearlessness? In seeking an answer, one is likely to hit immediately upon male homosexuality and the male image of Eros, both in poetry and in fine art. But fearlessness, in spite of Greek military homosexuality and the claims of its supporters,[20] is not a traditional characteristic of the god Eros, nor of the *erômenos*, in whom the divinity is embodied.[21] It is even more to the point that homosexuality is not in place in the myth of Cyrene and that there is nothing to show that the girl must be accommodated to the male erotic model in order to awaken the ardour of the god. On the contrary, Apollo's mind, as has been shown, is fixed upon marriage and the procreation of a son, so that we are left to wonder why Cyrene, the object of his desire, is conceived as she is.

Here a key-insight is again offered by Hermann Fränkel, who points out that *ἀπειράντου* is naturally taken to signify an evasion or denial of purpose and compares a similar passage on Atalanta in a poem from the Second Book of the Theognidea (1287–94):[22]

ἀλλά σ' ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με, ὥς ποτέ φασιν
'Ιασίου κούρην παρθένον 'Ιασίην
ὡραίην περ ἐοῦσαν ἀναινομένην γάμον ἀνδρῶν
φεύγειν· ζωσαμένη δ' ἔργ' ἀτέλεστα τέλει
πατρὸς νοσφισθεῖσα δόμων ξανθὴ 'Αταλάντη·
ὤιχετο δ' ὑψηλὰς εἰς κορυφὰς ὀρέων
φεύγουσ' ἱμερόεντα γάμον, χρυσῆς 'Αφροδίτης
δῶρα· τέλος δ' ἔγνω καὶ μάλ' ἀναινομένη.

[19] The word *ἀνδρεία* may sometimes be used of women, as in Soph. *El.* 983 and Arist. *Pol.* 1.5.8:1260a22. By contrast *γυναικεῖον θάρσος* is pejorative in Pind. fr. 123.8 Snell-Maehler; cf. also Aesch. *Choeph.* 630, *γυναικείαν <τ'> ἄτολμον αἰχμάν*, Soph. *Trach.* 898, and Lys. 2.4.

[20] See, e.g., Phaedrus ap. Plat. *Symp.* 178e ff. and K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978) 192–96.

[21] Dover 123–24: "*andreios*, 'brave', cognate with *anēr* '(adult) man', suits the senior partner in the (homosexual) relationship rather than the junior."

[22] *Early Greek Poetry* (above, note 4) 442, note 4. So Helen's evasion at Aesch. *Agam.* 744–45 produced a bitter outcome (*τελευτάς*) of marriage. The Attic myth of Cecrops found the purpose of the institution of marriage in the transition from wildness to domestication: see Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 773.

Pindar's Apollo, Fränkel suggests, has the same idea as the Theognidean lover, who rejects as ἔ̓ργ᾽ ἀτέλεστα the life of a virgin-huntress, because it denies that marriage is the proper end (τέλος) of women.[23] But, Theognis adds, Atalanta had at last to accept that end, recalcitrant though she was (τέλος δ᾽ ἔ̓γνω καὶ μάλ᾽ ἀναινομένη).

A similar implication may be found in the vegetative imagery in which Apollo expresses his question concerning the girl: ποίας δ᾽ ἀποσπασθεῖσα φύτλας / ὀρέων κευθμῶνας ἔ̓χει σκιοέντων; (33–34). The verb used here in the form of a participle yields a strong sense in combination with φύτλας: "from what stalk is she *torn*?" But the phrase is sufficiently rare to justify its being called "strange,"[24] and we are once more grateful to Fränkel for pointing out the parallel with the participle νοσφισθεῖσα in the same Theognidean poem on Atalanta. That nymph had "separated herself" from the tutelage of father and family and is thereby shown to be out of place, avoiding her τέλος, as it were. The effect of the Pindaric passage is likely to be similar, and both passages recall Pindar's account of the fault of Coronis in the Third Pythian (12 ff.). For she, unlike Cyrene, anticipated the proper and public rites of marriage, fell in love with "what was not to hand" or "what was out of reach" (τὰ ἀπέοντα and τὰ πόρσω) and, by implication, failed to limit herself to what she could hope to accomplish (23, 62). She betook herself to a marriage that was improper because it lacked her father's knowledge and consent and because she was bearing the seed of the god.[25] There was to be a proper time and place for her marriage to a mortal man, but she, by her imprudent action, had attempted to evade and forestall that issue of events. Her rashness in regard to *gamos* may be set over against Cyrene's reluctance to play the woman's role, but the girls are alike in seeking to escape their natural and proper fulfilment. Like the Atalanta of the Theognidean verses, they are brought to terms, Coronis harshly, Cyrene lovingly, for the gods make their dispensations for us now in the one way, now in the other, as they see fit.

If then the parallels between Cyrene and Atalanta hold, as they appear to hold, Cyrene is to be thought of as defying, by her acts of heroism, the τέλος, or πεῖρας, of her being as a woman.[26] Her fulfilment, that is to say,

[23] The cognate synonym, τελευτά, is used of the consummation of the marriage of Apollo and Cyrene at *Pyth.* 9.66.

[24] As by Burton (above, note 6) 44.

[25] Cf. Hom. *Od.* 6.286–88, where Nausicaa expresses her disapproval of any girl who should, without the consent of father and mother, have anything to do with men before reaching the time of public marriage.

[26] It is possible that Pindar associates her heroism with her virginity, as alike defying her τέλος as a woman, just as Atalanta's acts are dismissed as ἀτέλεστα (Theogn. 1290). Herodotus (4.180.2), at any rate, knows of a combat-ritual among the Libyans that is performed by virgins, in which those who die of wounds received are called "false virgins"

is to be found in her roles as wife and as mother of a son. The inference concerning Cyrene's defiance finds confirmation, at the end of the ode, in the myth of Danaus, for that hero, according to the story, overcame by the device of a race the objections of his daughters to marriage. And, by reverse, in the parallel myth of Antaeus, the girl is set at the end of the race-course to be the τέλος ἄκρον of her competing suitors. There is an end appointed in marriage, it appears, both for men and for women, one that is to be sought for and not to be avoided.

So much for Cyrene's fighting-spirit. But to the Greek observer, schooled in traditional Greek wisdom, anything human that is boundless cries out for limitation.[27] For all of us the τέλη, or πείρατα, that lie in the lap of the gods in the inscrutable future, are indubitably ahead: no one may escape them. Every human being must, willy-nilly, face the encounter with his τέλος,[28] as Theognis' Atalanta had to meet her fate. If he can learn in no other way, he must learn in the school of hard knocks.

Apollo, as a well-brought-up Greek, must be thought to see that matter in no other way. It is the fate and the fulfilment of Cyrene to be a wife and mother, and to behold her marvellous feats of courage and strength is to understand what kind of son she can bear.[29] In just this way, it was told of Atalanta (Apollod. 1.8.2) that Meleager, who fell in love with her, longed, not simply to possess her, but to have a child by her.[30] Apollo, I

(ψευδοπάρθενοι). If this idea is present in the Pindaric passage, then Cyrene's fight with the lion is proof, not only of her fearlessness, but also of her fiercely-guarded virginity.

[27] Cf., e.g., Arist. *Gen. An.* 1.1.:715b: ἡ δὲ φύσις φεύγει τὸ ἄπειρον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄπειρον ἀτελές, ἡ δὲ φύσις ἀεὶ ζητεῖ τέλος.

[28] So at 66 Apollo is urged to accomplish the τελευτά of marriage. For the idea of τέλος, τελευτά, and πεῖραρ, see, e.g., Archil. frr. 111, 298, Semon. fr. 1.1–2, 5, Sol. fr. 13.17, 28, 58 *IEG*, Theogn. 136, 594, 660, and Eur. *Or.* 1545–46.

[29] This interpretation of the Pindaric passage may shed some light on the Homeric habit of applying ἰφθίμη to women and the Greek practice of giving to girls names such as Iphigeneia. For the adjective is readily intelligible when used of a monster such as the Laestrygonian princess (*Od.* 10.106), but puzzling when given (e.g.) to Penelope (16.332, where LSJ suggest, imaginatively, "comely, stately"). It is suggestive in this connection to notice that, at *Od.* 11.287, Pero, who bears this epithet, was the daughter of Amphion, who "ruled by might" (ἶφι ἄνασσεν) in Minyan Orchomenus, had three glorious brothers, was much sought after by suitors, but was reserved by her father for the man who could drive the cattle of "mighty Iphicles" (βίης Ἰφικλείης). The suggestion that the girl was good breeding-stock is strong. So also, at Apollod. 2.1.4, Iphinoe and Iphianassa are daughters of Stheneboea. Further, it may be that the problem presented by the use of δαίφρων at *Od.* 15.354 of Antikleia, the mother of Odysseus, may be solved by the same hypothesis, for Alcmena, who is described by this same epithet at line 84 of the Ninth Pythian, is there acknowledged as the mother of Heracles and Iphicles (διδύμων κρατησίμαχον σθένος υἱῶν); cf. Hes. *Theog.* 143. See however the discussion of this epithet by P. Chantraine, *Dict. Etym. de la Langue Grecque* 1 (1968) 248.

[30] Another parallel is offered by the story of Meleager, as told in Bacch. 5.68–175. Meleager's father is said to be θρασυμέμνων (69), and his mother δαίφρων and an ἀτάρβακτος γυνά (137 and 139). Heracles, upon first seeing Meleager in the underworld,

take it, understood the same compulsion when he stood in the presence of Cyrene. It seems clear that marriage and procreation are on his mind, and his omniscience, which is praised by Cheiron, reveals to him with perfect clarity the τέλος that his youthful *aidôs* prevents him from mentioning.[31] The object of his desire is identical with Cyrene's fulfilment, and with fate.

This is not, of course, to say that there is not a sexual element present. The candid anthropomorphism that pervades Pindar's description of the young god makes such an assumption unlikely, and it may well be that this element is present in the image of the girl wrestling unarmed with the lion. The image presumably owes much to traditional Cyrenean iconography and belief,[32] but something more than an emblem may seem to be exhibited here, if we recall another incident from the myth of Atalanta. For Apollodorus relates (3.9.2) that, after Atalanta was married to Melanion, once when the pair were hunting they entered the precinct of Zeus and in that place, while enjoying the pleasures of love, were transformed into lions.[33] The transformation must be thought to have been appropriate to a pair of ardent lovers, and it certainly can have no connection with Libyan life or emblematics, so that the lions in Atalanta's story must serve as a symbol of sexual power.[34] If that is so, Apollo in Pindar's myth may be thought to feel as well as to know the end for which he makes. The fierceness with which Cyrene guarded both her own virginity and her father's cattle is a force that re-appears in the *erôs* that it inspires in the god, much as the shy, individual *aidôs* of god and maiden was reformed by *erôs* into a bond of unity under Aphrodite's hand.

As in his *aidôs*, so in his *erôs* Apollo resembles the Cyrenean girls whose eyes follow the victorious Telesicrates at the local games. He sees in

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was filled with wonder and asked at once about his parentage (84 ff.). Then, after hearing the story of the fierce and fearless Althaea, who in her anger condemned her son to death, for once Heracles wept tears of pity and asked whether Meleager had at home, in the house of Oeneus, a maiden-daughter, σοὶ φυὰν ἀλιγκία, whom he might make his bride (155 ff.). Nothing is said in Bacchylides' narrative of the procreation of a son, though it was known to hearers of the poem that Hyllus was born to Heracles and Deianeira. But reverence for φυά and recognition of its importance to marriage are prominent. Like Cyrene, Althaea is the fearless mother of an heroic son; like Apollo, Heracles finds it worthwhile to make an enquiry about lineage. Cf. however G. Devereux in *SO* 42 (1968) 83, who finds homosexuality in the incident.

[31] Cf. the phrase, ὃς πάντων τέλος οἶσθα, in Cheiron's description of Apollo's omniscience (44).

[32] For illustrations of graphic representations of Cyrene's fight with the lion, see L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar: Translation* (London 1930) facing pages 137 and 138. See also E. Robbins in *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 98, note 24.

[33] For other sources of the story, see the learned note of J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus: The Library* I (Cambridge, Mass. 1921) 398, note 2.

[34] For a different explanation, provided by the ancient mythographers, see Frazer 1.401, note 2.

Cyrene a lovely wife and the mother of an immortal son, just as they, from their side, see in the male victor a desired husband or the triumphant son that they would wish to bear to him.

The themes of the Pindaric myth are *erôs*, *aidôs*, and *gamos*, and the pattern of their relations is instructive. The desire that is *erôs* aims, through *gamos*, at the procreation of children, which is the natural and desired fulfilment both of men and of women. *Aidôs*, which serves the individual and his society through the protection and the adornment of virgins, male as well as female, is reformed in *gamos* to protect and enhance the union into which *erôs* has brought the lovers. The pattern of the themes is repeated in myths that are told in the poem and imposes itself crisply upon the listener. It is not easy to believe that this effect is without relation to the expectations both of the victor Telesicrates himself and of the citizens of Cyrene in regard to him,[35] and we recall that the poet reserves his pointed apostrophe of Telesicrates for the passage in which the girls of Cyrene are said to pray, without uttering a word, for such a husband or son.

The closing scene from the indigenous myth, in which Alexidamus, victorious in the race for a bride, conducts his new wife by the hand through the ranks of the Libyan Nomads, is then seen as a *gamos* that is a mythical analogue of the actualities of 474.[36] If this is right, then the repeated emphasis in the poem on the speed and immediacy of actions may refer to a marriage that followed closely upon a victory. The application of the parallel is not so difficult as to be incredible without confirmation, but it is in fact immediately supported by the force of the concluding word, for Alexidamus is said to have enjoyed many earlier triumphs of the same kind. But the long celebration of Telesicrates' earlier victories still rings in our ears, so that the identification of the Libyan victor of the myth with his descendant, the Cyrenean victor of the occasion, comes inevitably to mind.[37] But if the identification of the two victors is justified, it is easy to find a parallel between two bridegrooms as well.

This interpretation of Apollo's *erôs* is confirmed by two of the epithets that are to be given to the divine Aristaeus, who is the child that is born

[35] Cf. Gildersleeve (above, note 3) 337: "It is hard to resist the impression of a prothalamion as well as of an *epinikion*." Notice the insistent repetition: πόσις (51), γάμος (66, 112, 114), μναστῆρες (106a), γαμβροί (116), νύμφιον ἄνδρα (118), not to mention ἁρμόζω (above, note 14). The great attention given to the nymph Cyrene in *Pyth.* 9, in contrast to the silence concerning her in *Pyth.* 4 and 5, may have its origin in the victor's circumstances on the occasion of the celebration of his victory.

[36] As Alexidamus is presumably the ancestor implied at 105 (so the scholia: 2.221 and 240 Drachmann), the analogy between myth and actuality rests upon lineage.

[37] The victory of the Libyan myth is both renowned (112) and swift (114, 119–21, 123 ff.), like the Pythian victory of Telesicrates (70, 73, 90, 97). The theme of speed recurs in the poem (29, 57, 67–68, 114a), binding the myths to the actualities.

to Cyrene. He is called *Agreus* and *Nomios* in his capacities, it appears, as hunter and herdsman.[38] But these are just the functions performed by the virgin Cyrene and it was by her heroic performance of them that she awakened the wonder and love of the god.[39] The omniscience of Apollo foresaw, we must suppose, that a child conceived by this woman must possess just the same fearless powers in these two capacities. Aristaeus is "the nearest helper of flocks" (64a, ἄγχιστον ὀπάονα μήλων), just as his mother had sacrificed her sleep by night to bring peace to her father's cattle.

If this is the mother's contribution to the procreation of the child, what are we to take to be attributable to the father? Pindar's iconography, which is compelling in its symbolism, is suggestive in this regard.

ταὶ δ' ἐπιγουνίδιον θαησάμεναι βρέφος αὐταῖς,
νέκταρ ἐν χείλεσσι καὶ ἀμβροσίαν στάξοισι, θήσονται τέ νιν ἀθάνατον,
Ζῆνα καὶ ἁγνὸν 'Απόλλωνα, ἀνδράσι χάρμα φίλοις, ἄγχιστον ὀπάονα μήλων,
Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, τοῖς δ' Ἀρισταῖον καλεῖν.

In 64 the central phrase, ἀνδράσι χάρμα φίλοις ἄγχιστον ὀπάονα μήλων, is evidently chiastic in form, with its individual words following the order, abccba, for men are set against flocks, delight against protection, and friendship against ready support. Then, the first half of the phrase, being concerned with men, is reflected back upon what immediately precedes, viz., "immortal Zeus and holy Apollo," for these constitute the source of joy and friendship for men.[40] The second half, on the other

[38] See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* 1 (Basel 1956) 244–45. The two activities are prominent, explicitly or implicitly, in the odes for Cyrene: see 6a–7, 20 ff., 58; *Pyth.* 5.58 ff. Herodotus, in his account of Libya (4.168 ff.), knows of areas haunted by wild beasts (174, 181, 191–92) and he distinguishes pastoral from agricultural lands (172, 183, 191, 198–99). The native Libyans are called "Nomads" by Pindar in this poem (123), as well as by Herodotus (4.186 ff.); this implies a style of life that is appropriate to a hunting and herding people.

[39] Νόμιος is an epithet shared historically by Apollo and Aristaeus: see L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* 4 (Oxford 1907) 123–24. But in the Ninth Pythian it is Aristaeus who bears the title, and Apollo is little more than a boy, being still enrolled in Cheiron's school, so that his time as herdsman, in the service of Admetus, is still to come. He is not yet Νόμιος and could not have imparted to Aristaeus a capacity for herding. The Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes (pages 169–70 Wendel) derives the two epithets of Aristaeus from Cyrene, <'Αγρέα μέν,> ὅτι ἐν ἀγρῷ ἐμίγη τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ 'Απόλλων· Νόμιον δέ, ὅτι νεμούσῃ τῇ μητρὶ ἐμίγη, though he knows also the view that attributed the respective functions to Apollo. Pindar's understanding of the Cyrenean origin of the pastoral element in the myth seems clear enough, but perhaps historically there has been more confusion of things Greek with things Libyan (see note 10 above).

[40] It seems certain that καλεῖν in 65 is epexegetic of θήσονται in 63, as Gildersleeve saw. But if the construction is so long suspended, it is awkward and dangerous to demand that it

hand, is prospective, looking forward to the epithets *Agreus* and *Nomios*, because it is just the divinity of hunting and herding who is the first and nearest protector of sheep. But, if the attributes of the second half of the passage are the gift of the mother, it is easy to believe that the father is held to be the source of the attributes praised in the first half. Indeed, it must be the case that the identification of the Libyan divinity as Apollo is an inheritance from his father. The addition of Zeus suggests that Apollo is responsible for all that is Greek and Olympian in the new god, whereas Cyrene is, as has been argued, the source of the indigenous elements of the Libyan culture of the wild and of pastures, of hunting and herding.[41] If the matter is considered in this way, it is possible to see what bound the omniscient god thought to impose on the unbounded might of the virgin-nymph. His contribution, as god and as male, is to the joy and

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change in the course of its progress, as we must if we follow many editors (Gildersleeve and Sandys are notable exceptions) in printing a comma at the end of 63 and construing "will make him immortal" before shifting to the required "will cause him to be called." Gildersleeve illustrates the true construction by citing Eur. *Phoen.* 12–13: καλοῦσι δ' Ἰοκάστην με· τοῦτο γὰρ πατὴρ / ἔθετο. One might add other examples, such as *Ion* 75: Ἴωνα δ' αὐτὸν . . . ὄνομα κεκλῆσθαι θήσεται. Sentences such as these show, as Gildersleeve observed, that τίθεσθαι and καλεῖν are not simply synonymous; in fact, the two verbs are the means of distinguishing between the institution and the use of names. In the Pindaric context the institution is the symbolic, "baptismal" act performed by Earth and the Horae, while use of the name is the consequence for men of that primal name-giving. Nor is καλεῖν distinguished as opinion from knowledge, for, by a convention of archaic language and thought, καλεῖσθαι is εἶναι: see LSJ s.v. καλέω II.2, *Pyth.* 1.67–68, where the happy fate that the poet invokes for the new city of Aetna is conceived to be determined by the ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων, and *Pyth.* 3.67, where κεκλημένον means "some one who is"; cf. *Hom. H. Cer.* 79–80. On the relation between καλεῖν and being, see my discussion in *HSCP* 63 (1958) 155–56 and note 34, and for naming and being, cf. Parm. fr. B9 *VS*. The construction suggested for the Pindaric passage also permits a symmetry in ἀθάνατον Ζῆνα and ἁγνὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, both styles having a traditional and quasi-liturgical effect. ἀθάνατος is an epithet of Zeus at *Il.* 21.2, etc. and of Thetis at *Pyth.* 3.10. Schroeder's doubts about the voice of θήσονται and inclination to derive the form from θῆσθαι, "suckle," after an indication in the scholia, are misplaced. The active form would mean "make, effect," as it does in an earlier passage of the Ninth Pythian (7), where an infinitive also follows; cf. also *Od.* 5.136: θεῖναί τινα ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήρων. The middle signifies a more particular form of causation, the act of making one's own: see LSJ s.v. τίθημι B.I.3. The Horae and Earth make the child their own by conferring on him in "baptism" his divine names; this act, by the convention mentioned, then has the effect of making him divine in regard to the functions signified by the names. Cf. the "baptism" of the infant Iamus at *Ol.* 6.56–57: τὸ καὶ κατεφάμιξεν καλεῖσθαί νιν χρόνῳ σύμπαντι μάτηρ / τοὔνομ' ἀθάνατον, where the main verb makes plain that the institutional act is one of speech.

[41] The indigenous myth of the marriage of Alexidamus commemorates the union of a Greek man with a Libyan woman, such as must have been common in the colony. Note that at Hdt. 4.16.4 Arcesilaus III is said to have had a wife who was of his own kin, though her father, who was king of Barce, had the un-Greek name of Alazir. See also Callim. *Hymns* 2.85–87. The combination of races and cultures seems therefore likely to be an element in the poem. See F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* in *BEFAR* 177 (1953) 129, 223.

friendship that unite gods and men in the Greek society, while she gives to the child the powers of the land that nurture the city. He is Greek, she Libyan;[42] his is the knowledge, hers the courage.[43] Aristotle, in his own more abstract and systematic way, might say that he is form and she, matter.[44]

[42] The Pindaric Scholiast (2.238 Drachmann) states that, according to Peisander of Cameirus (fr. 6 Kinkel), the name of Antaeus' daughter was Alkeis. This prompts a comparison with Pindar's attribution (35) to Cyrene of ἀλκᾶς ἀπειράντου and the Scholiast's knowledge (2.223 Drachmann) of a sister named Alkaia. The Libyan component in the life of the colony is thus conceived by both myths in a similar way. But the figure of Antaeus himself in our poem, if Ἀνταίου in 106 depends upon the following κούραν and Antaeus is the πατήρ of 111, is imagined in a form very different from that presented by Pindar in *Isth.* 3/4, composed for a Theban at about the same period as *Pyth.* 9. There Antaeus appears as a savage giant whose barbaric practices are terminated by Heracles. It is natural to suppose that this image of the native Libyan element was accepted in Greece itself, but much modified in Cyrene, where the settlers had intermarried with the indigenous inhabitants. Just so, Pindar varies his presentation of Neoptolemus to suit a Delphic, or an Aeginetan, audience. See my "Neoptolemus at Delphi," *Phoenix* 33 (1979) 95–133. But contrast, with regard to *Pyth.* 9, the view of W. T. Magrath in *TAPA* 107 (1977) 221–22.

[43] The images of "mixing" (13) and "fitting together" (ἁρμόζω, 13, 117), which are applied in the poem to *gamos*, are appropriate also to the notion of the combination of father and mother, Greek and Libyan, knowledge and courage in the procreation of the child.

[44] *Gen. An.* 1.20:729a10 ff.: τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν παρέχεται τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς κινήσεως, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ καὶ τὴν ὕλην. Cf. also *Gen. An.* 1.2, 22, 2.1, 4.4, *Met.* 1.6.8 with Anaxag. fr. A107 *VS*, Aesch. *Eum.* 658–61, Eur. *Or.* 552–54, Plat. *Tim.* 50d, and Diod. Sic. 1.80. A similar antithesis, that of nature and culture, is made the basis of an interpretation of the ode by E. Robbins, "The Myth of Pindar's Ninth Pythian," *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 91–104.