

PINDAR THE PIOUS POET: PRAYER AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN PINDAR'S
EPINICIAN ODES

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Scholars studying Pindar's epinician odes have often focused on the relationship of the victor with his family, his community, and the poet. The odes have even been labeled secular poems because of this perceived emphasis on mortal parties. An athletic victory is a moment of divine favor, however, and Pindar's epinician odes deal with the relationship between the victor and his gods. The victor has received favor from the gods in the form of his victory, and now must discharge his debt to the gods through praise and thanks. He may then reassess his relationship with the gods, and attempt to secure future favors from them. Pindar uses the epinician performance as a medium in which to mediate this interaction.

Prayers act as a nexus of communication between men and the gods. By studying the prayers of five of Pindar's epinician odes (*Pythian* 8, *Isthmian* 6, *Nemean* 9, and *Olympian* 13), I show how Pindar uses his position as an *aoidos*, an intermediary between men and gods, to facilitate communication between them. Acting on behalf of the victor, Pindar frequently calls the gods to attention and reminds them of their previous relationship with the victor, especially the previous victories they have bestowed on him. He also assures the gods that the victor embraces the positive qualities that make him a worthy candidate for further favor, as he shows the gods that the victor will offer the gods their due of thanks for success, and that the victor will not attempt to transgress the limits

the gods have set on mortal men. At the same time, Pindar acts on behalf of the gods by reminding the victor of those very conditions that accompany their divine favor. These elements are woven together neatly into the larger structure of the odes, and allow Pindar, and the victor, to feel hopeful that the gods will continue to show favor to the victor, his family, and his community in the future. The epinician ode is a numinous moment when communication between men and gods is possible, and Pindar takes care to facilitate these negotiations.

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Dedication

To Andy: without your love, support, and encouragement, I would still be on
Chapter 1.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

I. Introduction

Pindar's epinician odes have long held a reputation for density. Indeed, early scholarship argued that in order to understand these odes, one must first discover the 'key' to the poem, a signifier such as a word or image that would make its meaning clear. This approach has since been abandoned; as Young observes, "poetry does not make a simple prose statement".¹ In the place of a unitarian approach came a holistic one, in which every aspect of Pindaric epinician is studied in an attempt to build a rounded understanding of the genre. The poetry of Pindar cannot be understood simply by knowing the social circumstances of the victor or the ways Pindar manipulates traditional epinician features; each of these aspects is only part of our overall understanding of the poem as a complex whole. Multiple approaches are necessary; more than one lens must be applied. In recent years, however, these approaches have tended to focus on the people involved in an epinician performance. It is perhaps the influence of Bundy, who told us that every epinician ode attempts, in its every part, to praise the victor;² while this idea has not been embraced wholesale by scholars of Pindar, recent trends in scholarship have shown a marked interest in the status and relationships of men. Consider, for instance, the studies that explore the ways epinician negotiates the relationship between the victor and his community: Crotty and Kurke have examined the way epinician facilitates the victor's reintegration into the community after his victory;³ Currie has suggested epinician can establish grounds for the later heroization of the victor;⁴ and the

¹ Young (1970) 7.

² Bundy (1962) 35.

³ Crotty (1982) and Kurke (1991).

⁴ Currie (2005).

debates over whether citizen choruses performed the epinician odes have raised questions about the benefits and obligations owed to the victor and community. Epinician has emerged in these cases as a medium by which the poet can confront the status of the victor, a man who has become marked by his great achievement, in his community.

While this trend in scholarship has certainly produced important studies that have improved our understanding of epinician poetry, it has not exhausted the functions of the genre. In this dissertation, I would like to look at the way in which epinician odes can negotiate another set of relationships, namely those between the victor and the gods. In the world of archaic Greece, men and gods are bound together in a relationship predicated on *χάρις*, favor, in which each party acts to benefit the other in order to create and repay obligations or debts.⁵ Men honor the gods with sacrifice and praise, and the gods in turn grant the requests of men for peace, prosperity, and other desires. When a man achieves an athletic victory, it is because the gods have favored him, and just as men must celebrate a victor and recognize the favor he has performed for his community,⁶ so must the victor acknowledge the gods and pay the debt he now owes them. The

⁵ As Bulman (1992) 11 comments, "Reciprocity between human and divine action is one of Pindar's great themes." Furley (1995) 32, in looking at Greek hymns, explained that, "ritual and choral worship combined to flatter, woo, charm and persuade a single god or a group of gods that the worshipper(s) was deserving of sympathy and aid. The relationship aimed at between worshipper and deity was one of *χάρις*...As Race has shown, *charis* denotes both the adoring worship by people of a god, and, conversely, the reciprocal grace or favour with which the people hope a god will reward them in turn. Everything about the ceremony and the choice of words used in worship goes toward establishing this essential relationship of mutual *charis*." Similarly, Gould (1985) 15 says: "Behind the [second aspect of prayer] lies a more fundamental assumption still, one that is central to ancient Greek culture: the assumption of reciprocity, the assumption that lies behind the Greek use of the word *charis*, which is both the doing of good by one person to another but also the (necessary) repayment of that good, the obligation that exists until it is repaid and the feelings of gratitude that should accompany the obligation. The assumption is that any action will be met by a matching and balancing action...and therefore the implication that divinity will respond in kind and reciprocate human action for good or ill, is one that locates the divine powers squarely within the conceptual framework by means of which ancient Greeks understood the ordering of their world..."

⁶ The theme of the community's obligation to praise the victor is hinted at in Pindar. Modern scholars explain that the victor's achievement reflects honor upon the entire community: thus, for instance, Carne-Ross (1985) 13, Burnett (2010) 5 describe how the athletic victory benefits the community, while Kurke (1991) 102 discusses the debt formed by the athlete's achievement.

celebration of the victory, the epinician ode itself, is a perfect moment for the victor, family, and *polis* not only to pay their debts by praising the gods, but also to elicit future favors; it is a moment to settle debts and renegotiate the relationship with a new set of favors, promises, and requests.

The religious elements of Pindar's epinician odes have not necessarily been overlooked. Many scholars have discussed the importance of religion in Pindar, a poet who spends much time recounting myths and who seems ever conscious of not offending the gods. Thus Hutchinson says broadly: "The god of the festival and others have granted the victory; the relation of man and gods usually concerns every part of the poem,"⁷ while Easterling similarly notes, "The many surviving poems composed...for victorious athletes shows very clearly that the gods and their worship were ever-present in people's minds."⁸ There is a tendency, however, to think about these religious elements as ornamental rather than functional. For a religious element to be functional, I mean that it seeks to facilitate communication and negotiation between the gods and men, acting upon their *χάρις* relationship in order to manage and modify it, either reminding the parties of their obligations and relational conditions or asking the parties to act in a certain way on the basis of their relationship. When, however, scholars discuss religious elements as ornamental, I mean that they see, for instance, references to the gods and heroes in myths and invocations as devices that decorate the ode, recognizing the existence of the gods but not engaging the relationship between them and the victor and audience.

⁷ Hutchinson (2001) 364-65.

⁸ Easterling (1985) 41.

For an ornamental approach to religious elements in Pindar's epinician odes, we can look to Bundy, who wrote, "We forget that this is an oral, public, epideictic literature dedicated to the single purpose of eulogizing men and communities...that the environment thus created is hostile to an allusiveness that would strain the powers of a listening audience, hostile to personal, religious, political, philosophical and historical references that might interest the poet but do nothing to enhance the glory of a given patron".⁹ If the victor is the focus of every part of the ode, Pindar heightens his prestige by juxtaposing him with the gods and heroes of legend without ever establishing any kind of real relationship or communication between them.¹⁰ Nor does Bundy stand alone in this conception of epinician poetry. Race, who has extensively studied the hymnic elements of Pindar's epinician odes – in other words, those elements most characteristic of poetry with religious function¹¹ – points out that the odes have strong religious content and context. They are, after all, celebrated in response to athletic games, which occurred within a religious festival, and Pindar constantly includes the gods in his epinicians and reminds the audience of the importance of those gods. Nevertheless, Race tends to interpret these religious elements as ornamental: he discusses introductory hymns, for instance, as providing a context for the praise of the victor that makes the praise more potent, and his study of prayers suggests that they are ultimately transitional devices.¹² Hubbard adopts a similar attitude: when he argues that prayers in Pindar's odes "are merely rhetorical, invoking the god as a witness of the propriety of the poet's own

⁹ Bundy (1962) 35.

¹⁰ Thus Bundy (1962) 41 interprets the opening of *I.* 1, in which Pindar apologizes to Delos and Apollo for composing the victor's epinician rather than their paian, as indicative not of any real embarrassment on Pindar's part, but as a foil to heighten the importance of the victor's deed.

¹¹ See below on hymnic structures and their significance, p. 34.

¹² Race (1986) 24-29.

behavior,”¹³ he suggests that the inclusion of this religious device was meant not to communicate with the gods, but to suggest the performance had the gods’ approval. These arguments reduce religion in epinician poetry to something approximating a rhetorical element, one that has no function beyond its ability to ornament the victor.

Other scholars have recognized a religious functionality in the epinician odes. Certainly multiple scholars have suggested that epinicians are at least capable of a religious function. Currie explains, appealing to the origins of epinician poetry: “It may be that epinician has its roots in religious songs...As chorally performed poetry, moreover, epinician may be granted an intrinsically religious dimension.”¹⁴ Kowalzig appeals to the circumstances of performance: “Victory odes, too, belong for the greater part, if not entirely, in the category of religious song, as performances often staged in the context of public festivals and sharing many formal features with the songs addressed to the gods alone.”¹⁵ Mackie goes further and highlights an actual example of religious functionality, as she studies the way that epinician odes make a point of thanking the gods for their part in the victory in order to minimize the risk of divine envy and retribution: “Insofar as [epinician] praises the gods and thanks them for the victory, the epinician ode repays the athlete’s debt to the gods,”¹⁶ and, “The epinician ode aims to assuage the *φθόνοϛ* of the gods by gratefully acknowledging their victory, and the debt the victor owes them.”¹⁷ Here we have a clear example of a religious function, as the ode is used to communicate thanks from the victor to the god for the favor he was shown.

¹³ Hubbard (1983) 287-88.

¹⁴ Currie (2005) 408.

¹⁵ Kowalzig (2007) 3.

¹⁶ Mackie (2003) 103.

¹⁷ Mackie (2003) 101. Nor is Mackie the only scholar to touch on this aspect of Pindar’s epinician poetry: Most (1985) 88 has written that “because success is bestowed by the gods, to praise it is to confirm the

In this study, I wish to add to the work of these scholars investigating the religious functionality of Pindar's epinician poetry. Whereas Mackie focused on the way that the epinician odes offer thanks to the gods, I will focus on prayers. Graf has written that prayer "was, and still is, regarded as the quintessence of religion".¹⁸ Prayers represent the very heart of interaction between men and the gods: when a person prays, he is engaging the *χάρις* relationship between him and the gods, recalling favors owed, earned, and promised in order to obtain his desires. In examining prayers in Pindar's epinician odes, I am investigating the ways that the odes attempt to communicate the desires of the victor, his family, and his community to the gods, and to secure the gods' favor so that those desires may be fulfilled. I hope through this study to demonstrate another religious function, besides thanksgiving, of which the epinician odes are capable.

In this study, I will examine four odes: *Pythian* 8, *Isthmian* 6, *Nemean* 9, and *Olympian* 13. My method will not simply be to point out the prayers that Pindar inserts into each ode: instead, I want to provide a close reading of the ode as a whole in order to illuminate how Pindar uses the ode not only to make a request, but also to call the gods to attention and recall the relationship between them and the victor in order to persuade them to grant their favors. In other words, I will show how Pindar weaves into the epinician ode a program of renegotiating the relationship between the victor and the gods.

II. Religious Aspects of Epinician Poetry

The idea that Pindar engages in negotiation with divine addressees in his epinician odes in order to achieve the granting of prayers on behalf of his patron and audience does

divine order," suggesting that the very act of praising the victory is an act of praising the gods who bestowed it.

¹⁸ Graf (1991) 188.

not perhaps seem a radical suggestion. Given, however, the tendency in scholarship to focus on the decorative rather than the functional aspect of religious elements in the odes, there seems to have arisen a latent idea that epinician poetry is secular, and thus incapable of religious functionality. After all, the obvious objective of epinician poems is to praise the victor, so when a scholar looks at religious references as ornamental, he or she can read them as working toward the victor's praise rather than establishing some kind of communication with the gods. In this case the praise of the victor is the focus of the poem, to the exclusion of anything else. Yet such a view truly limits epinician's capabilities. This has become another unitarian approach to the genre, the key to interpretation being its singular function. We may indeed accept this function as valid, but we may also continue to examine the odes to uncover other possible uses of religious structures.

Before I examine the way that prayers provide evidence for religious functionality in the epinician odes, therefore, I must establish the hypothesis that epinician odes are in fact capable of having religious functionality. I believe that modern scholars have accepted that epinician poetry lacks a religious functionality because of the influence of eidographical traditions that have labelled it secular poetry. By eidography, I refer to the practice of classifying poetry according to genre. These traditions are misleading, however, because their basis lies in the work of scholars who are hundreds of years removed from the original time of composition, who tasked themselves with finding satisfactory methods for sorting poetry rather than uncovering the way that the poets and original audiences thought about their poetry in its specific cultural context. After discussing the problems with this tradition, I shall then look at four aspects of epinician

poetry that suggest it did indeed engage the relationship between the gods and men. First, I consider how an athletic victory is a moment in a man's life, similar to other moments such as birth and marriage, that mark a change, one that necessitates communication with the gods in order to reaffirm and renegotiate the relationship between man and god. I then look at the origin of victory songs as hymns to the gods, and suggest that these hymns reflect a need arising from victory to acknowledge and thank the gods for their assistance, a need that continues in Pindaric epinician. After that, I consider epinician performance, and how its setting at temples and rites, and its mode of choral singing and dancing, indicate that the poet intended to use the moment of performance to establish dialogue with the gods. Finally, I look at hymnic structures: the invocation, argument, and prayer. In hymns to the gods these structures work together to achieve a negotiation in the relationship between the worshippers and the gods, and Pindar uses them similarly in his epinician odes.

A. The Tradition of Sacred and Secular Poetry

The classification of epinician as secular poetry, distinct from poetry that dealt with the gods, began in the ancient world. Proclus' *Chrestomathia*, a work by the 2nd c. AD sophist, lays out a system of classification for lyric poetry. In the passage which discusses lyric poetry we learn of the various divisions:

Ἄ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς μεμέριται θεοῖς, ἃ δὲ <ἀνθρώποις, ἃ δὲ θεοῖς καὶ> ἀνθρώποις, ἃ δὲ εἰς τὰς προσπιπτούσας περιστασεις. Καὶ εἰς θεοὺς μὲν ἀναφέρεσθαι ὕμνον, προσόδιον, παιᾶνα, διθύραμβον, νόμον, ἄδωνίδια, ἰόβακχον, ὑπορχήματα. Εἰς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐγκώμια, ἐπίνικον, σκόλια, ἐρωτικά, ἐπιθαλάμια, ὕμναίους, σίλλους, θρήνους, ἐπικήδεια. Εἰς θεοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπους παρθενία, δαφνηφορικά, τριποδηφορικά, ὠσχοφορικά, εὐκτικά.

For some belong to the gods, some to men, some to men and gods, and some to the

circumstances as they happen to be. And to the gods are assigned the hymn, *prosodion*, paian, dithyramb, *nomos*, *adonidia*, *iobacchon*, and *hyporcheme*. To men are the *encomia*, epinician, *skolia*, erotic songs, *epithalamia*, *hymeneia*, *silloi*, *threnoi*, and *epikedeia*. To gods and men are the *partheneia*, *daphnephorika*, *tripodaphorike*, *oschophorika*, and *euktika*.¹⁹

Four major types of poetry emerge, of which three are intimately concerned with the subject of composition, whether it is a god, a man, or both: poetry, then, can attempt to communicate a message to a god, as paians and dithyrambs do; to men, as *encomia* and *threnoi* do; or to both gods and men, as a *partheneion* does. The designation of epinician in this system is unambiguous: it is composed for men, not gods, carrying a message of praise for a mortal victor.

The problem with Proclus' designations is obvious from the outset. That the *Chrestomathia* only survives in summarized form is not an insurmountable obstacle: Treadgold's analysis of Photius' text concludes that Photius has recorded phrases taken directly out of Proclus' work.²⁰ The greater difficulty is the gap between Proclus and the archaic poets composing the poetry he attempts to classify. Not only is Proclus writing over 500 years after this poetry was first composed, in an entirely different social and cultural context from that of the poet, but he reflects the ideas of a scholar rather than those of the original poets and audiences. His eidographical system is not necessarily meant to correspond to the way in which the poetry was originally conceived, but to act as a system to organize it in an accessible way.

Though he does not directly say so, Proclus derives his classificatory system from an earlier source. The distinction he draws between a ὕμνος, performed by a stationary

¹⁹ Proclus *Chrest.* = Photius *Bibliographia* 319b32-320a9.

²⁰ Treadgold (1980) 6.

group, and προσόδιον, performed by a group in procession,²¹ is credited in the *Etymologicum Magnum* to Didymus,²² an Alexandrian scholar of the 1st c. BC.²³ This Didymus was part of a group of scholars working in Alexandria who were responsible for compiling and editing the works of the Greek lyric poets. Other aspects of Proclus' system also derive from these earlier Alexandrian scholars. The Ambrosian *Vita* of Pindar preserves a list of seventeen books produced by the Alexandrian compilers in the process of organizing and publishing Pindar's poetry. This includes one book of hymns, one of paians, two of dithyrambs, two of *prosodia*, three of *partheneia*, two of *hyporchemata*, one of *threnoi*, one of *encomia*, and four of epinician.²⁴ The order reflects Proclus' system: genres for gods (the hymn through the *hyporchemata*) come first, then those for men (*threnoi* through epinician). This was not, of course, the only method of organizing poetic genres;²⁵ the Oxyrhynchus *Vita* and the Suda offer different schemes for Pindar's *oeuvre* that do not follow Proclus' system so neatly.²⁶ Nevertheless the Ambrosian *Vita* shows that the eidographical system that Proclus describes goes back to the time of Didymus or further.²⁷

Even though Proclus' system derives from Hellenistic eidographers, we are in no better position to accept it as a reflection of the original understanding of archaic poetry.

There remains a significant gap between the social and cultural context of the composer

²¹ Proclus *Chrest.* = Photius *Bibliographia* 320a17ff.

²² *Et. Magn.* 690.35 = 4.9.4, 390 Schmidt.

²³ The claim that Proclus is using Didymus' classification system was made by Smyth (1906) xxiv-xxv. Scholars have supported the claim, including Severyns (1938) v. 2 114, who claimed that the material Proclus used came from Didymus' *περὶ λυρικῶν ποιητῶν*. Others have claimed that Proclus' sources go back to Apollonius ὁ εἰδογράφος; see Rutherford (2001) 101.

²⁴ *Vita Ambrosiana*.

²⁵ Some scholars have taken the list in the *Vita* as the definitive one produced by Aristophanes of Byzantium, the compiler of Pindar's poetry; see Bowra (1964) 159-60, Nisetich (1980) 17.

²⁶ *POxy* 2438, Suda s.v. Pindar. Race (1987) 407-10 has argued that the existence of lists such as these indicates that the *Vita Ambrosiana* should not be considered the definitive and original arrangement of Pindar's books.

²⁷ See Lowe (2007) 172.

and that of the compiler, so that these scholars were no more likely than Proclus to be aware of the intentions and expectations of the original poet and audience. Even if they did have access to such information, moreover, it is unclear if they would have drawn on it in carrying out their task. Harvey, in an important investigation of the methods of the Hellenistic scholars, laid bare the fundamental problem with Hellenistic eidography: “It tells us, not of the differences between certain types of poetry which were important when the poetry was written, but only of those differences which were regarded as distinctive when it came to be edited. It reflects, not the original principles of artistic composition, but the posterior principles of Alexandrian classification”.²⁸ The task of the Hellenistic scholars was to organize the works of the Greek lyric poets in such a way that they could be divided into books and made accessible to readers. The methods they employed in achieving this did not necessarily, therefore, need to mirror the ideas that the poets themselves had about their poetry, so long as they created the desired effect, reader accessibility and facility of comprehension. The distinctions that the compilers made between genres, including the distinction between songs for gods and songs for men, are arbitrary ones that should not affect the way we understand Pindar’s epinicians.

The preoccupation with gods and men as a basis for classification may go even further back than Proclus or Didymus and the Hellenistic eidographers, as a version of this idea can be seen in Plato. For Plato – and indeed for much of the Greek world – music was infused with a moral quality, able to impart to those who performed it proper values for citizens or, if the music was not of a suitable standard, likely to make its

²⁸ Harvey (1955) 157.

performers poor members of society.²⁹ It was therefore a concern to Plato, as he discoursed on ideal city-states in works like the *Republic* and the *Laws*, that music be regulated. It should, for instance, adhere to proper, traditional forms, and in considering these forms and their distinctions from each other Plato sets out an early system of classification. In the *Laws* he tells us: διηρεμένη γὰρ δὴ τότε ἦν ἡμῖν ἡ μουσικὴ κατὰ εἶδη τε ἑαυτῆς ἅττα καὶ σχήματα, καὶ τι ἦν εἶδος ᾠδῆς εὐχαὶ πρὸς θεοῦς, ὄνομα δὲ ὕμνοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ἐναντίον ἦν ᾠδῆς ἕτερον εἶδος θρήνους δέ τις ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐκάλουν, ‘For then indeed music was divided by us according to its class and form, and one class of song was prayers to the gods, and these were called ‘hymns’, and against this was another class of song which is best called ‘dirges’’.³⁰ The speaker goes on to list more genres than just the hymn and *threnos*, but these two are specifically set up as opposites: whereas hymns as prayers to the gods mark an interaction with the divine, the *threnos*, we may assume, deals with mortals, specifically the death of mortals, a sphere far from the changeless and deathless world of the gods. A passage from the *Republic* provides an even more reductive view of poetry (*Republic* 10.607a): ὅτι ὅσον μόνον ὕμνους θεοῖς καὶ ἐγκώμια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ποιήσεως παραδεκτέων εἰς πόλιν, ‘Of poetry, only hymns for the gods and encomia for good men may be allowed in the city’. The division hinted at in the *Laws* is here clear: a poem may either communicate with a god or a man, and in the ideal city there will be one kind of song suited to either class of addressee, with hymns praising gods and encomia praising men.

²⁹ As Vlastos (1968) 295 has noted, Plato was, “convinced that this [moral deterioration after the Persian Wars] was due in no small part to the corrupting effects of innovations in music. Plato has high expectations of the morally improving effects of the controlled music and games he lays down for the young in his utopia.” The interplay between music and ethics has been widely discussed; see, for instance, Lippman (1964) 45-86 and Anderson (1966).

³⁰ Plato *Laws* 700a-b.

Yet Plato's testimony is inherently problematic. Though he writes only a short time after Pindar composed his poems and might therefore better understand the poet's intentions in composing his epinician poems, Pindaric works do not necessarily reflect these ideas. Just as the Hellenistic eidographers were tasked with creating a reasonable system for organizing and publishing that poetry, so Plato has a preempting concern, namely his own philosophical ideas. Indeed, the very sources where we find Plato's early eidography are the *Republic* and the *Laws*, two works that sought not to explicate the world as the Greeks knew it, but to explore the conditions for an ideal city. His comments must then be considered firmly within this context. As Ford has observed, "To reduce all permissible poetry to these two kind lays bare [Plato's] fundamentally metaphysical approach to genre: even when reduced to a minimum, his sense of poetic forms affirms an unbreachable gulf between humanity and the divine from which all other considerations must follow."³¹ This ideal city is far removed from the cities of Plato's day; it is ordered according to certain philosophical principles he held, and every aspect of life under examination in the works is shaped by these biases. Strong among them is Plato's metaphysical understanding of the world as inherently dual, comprised of a mortal world which is impermanent and subject to change, and a divine world which is transcendent and eternal. While the average ancient Greek person may have agreed with Plato's distinction between mortal men and the divine gods, this difference did not for them demand a divide; in other words, mortal and immortal mingle in the world, as gods regularly play a role in mortal affairs. For Plato, however, the two worlds were to be kept separate. The classification of poetry he sets forth follows this divide: thus in the *Laws* poetry is discussed as hymns and *threnoi* opposed to each other, the first celebrating the

³¹ Ford (2002) 259.

majesty of the gods and the latter mourning the defects of the mortal world, while the *Republic* allows only hymns to gods and *encomia* to men. Plato's philosophy is at the heart of his eidography; as such we cannot accept his testimony as firm evidence for the way that Pindar, his patrons, or his audience viewed the epinician odes.

Indeed, the tradition of classification of poetry that labels epinician a secular genre is based upon functional principles, ones that seek to achieve a certain agenda, be it philosophical or practical. As they neither know nor seek to know the poet's intentions, nor the original audience's expectations, we cannot use these systems as a guide in interpreting the significance and function of the poems or their component parts in the context of their original performances.

B. The Religious Aspect of Victory

The ancient tradition which distinguishes between sacred poetry composed for gods and secular poetry composed for men is, as I hope to have shown, problematic. While I have discussed the difficulties with each strand of this tradition, the very idea of forcing a dialectic of sacred and secular on archaic poetry runs counter to the way Greeks of that period conceived of their world. For them, the world was fundamentally connected with the divine, and no aspect of their life existed without some intervention from the gods. Parker explicated this idea when he spoke of Greek religion as 'embedded', borrowing the term from Karl Polanyi and retaining his sense, as religious activity, like economic, was in the ancient Greek world effected by social forces;³² to put it another way, religion suffuses every aspect of Greek life. Bremer, adopting Parker's view in his monograph on Greek religion, describes how, "in ancient Greece, too,

³² Parker (1996) 265.

religion was totally embedded in society – no sphere of life lacked a religious aspect...war and peace, agriculture, commerce, and politics – all these events and activities were accompanied by religious rituals or subject to religious rules.”³³ Battle was not joined unless sacrifices revealed the favor of the gods, nor was a military victory celebrated without recognizing the role those gods had played in bringing success.³⁴ The success of the crops was seen to depend upon the gods, and festivals were held to ensure their favor; people suffering from plague and other disasters vowed offerings to the gods in the hope of securing relief.³⁵

Specific moments in a person’s life also demanded ritual to mark them, and to involve the gods at important junctures. As a person reaches milestones such as birth, marriage, and death, there is a need to recognize the transition and to prepare for the change to one’s life. Thus birth and marriage were marked by rites including sacrifice and prayer.³⁶ As a person passes from one phase of life to another, his needs change, and he must adjust or even renegotiate the terms of his relationship with the gods, establishing a new set of favors and obligations in order to receive from the gods a healthy child, a successful marriage, or a peaceful afterlife. While not every person will attain an athletic victory, such a victory is still a kind of milestone in life, one that is capable of changing the victor. It sets the victor apart from other men, for the feat of

³³ Bremer (1994) 2.

³⁴ Pritchett (1975) 186 explains, “The sacrifice which attended the erection of the victor’s battlefield trophy was termed ἐπινίκια...There can be little doubt that the τρόπαιον raised after the battle was viewed as a thank-offering to the god to whom it was dedicated.” He provides a list of examples which includes Thucydides 4.116, 7.73.2, Strabo 9.2.4 CXXX, Diodoros 16.55.1, 20.63.1, Arrian 1.4.5, and Plutarch *Pyrrhos* 22 and *Agessilaos* 33.

³⁵ Rouse (1975) 187-192 offers many examples.

³⁶ The birth of a child was marked on the tenth day by the Dekate, an all-night celebration that included sacrifices (Dillon [2001] 233). In preparation for marriage, brides and grooms both offered sacrifices to the gods; as Oakley and Sinos (1993) 11 observe, “Sacrifices to the gods preceded every major undertaking in ancient Greece, and the wedding was no exception. Both the bride and the groom propitiated the gods with sacrifices and offerings, since their future happiness...depended upon divine help.”

victory is a moment in which a man displays abilities beyond those of normal men, abilities closer to those of the heroes and gods. As with other milestones, it creates a need to reshape the relationship between man and god. The victor's achievement can rouse the god's envy, given both its scope and the integral role played by god's favor, and so necessitates compensation or reparation for that adjustment or debt through sacrifice, praise, and thanksgiving. At the same time the victory can rouse the envy of other men because of the great honor bestowed on the victor. The victor must pray, therefore, that his success is not followed by ruin because of the jealousy of either men or gods. An athletic victory is therefore regularly accompanied by sacrifices and rites of dedication to the gods,³⁷ thanking them for what has come and praying to ensure the continuing prosperity of the victor as he moves forward in life. Archaic and classical Greece viewed religion as a fundamental part of their life, permeating its every aspect. Success depended upon the favor of the gods, and was courted through certain rituals, while the life of each person was marked at every stage by appropriate ritual. Victory was a moment that could demand prayer and negotiation as much as other milestones in a man's life.

C. The Nature of Victory Songs

I want to turn now to examining some of the features of epinician poetry which indicate that these odes were interpreted by poet and audience alike as having a religious function, the odes seeking in some way to affect the relationship between man and god. I shall focus on those three aspects of epinician which seem to me the most persuasive.

³⁷ Athletic festivals regularly ended with rites to the patron god, including a procession of the victors to the altar of the god to make sacrifice and dedicate their crowns in acknowledgment of the favor granted to them. See Kyle (2007) 119 and Easterling (1985) 42.

The first is the origin of the genre, that derives in part from earlier hymns to Herakles and Kastor, which themselves imparted to epinician the obligation to acknowledge the assistance of the gods in achieving victory. I will next consider a more complicated aspect, namely the performance of epinician odes, a subject which in recent years has enjoyed a great deal of scrutiny. My approach here will be multiple, as I look at the location of performance, which could often occur within the context of a religious rite or festival; at who performed the odes, especially whether they were sung by a single person or by a chorus; and at the mode of performance, by which I mean the use of dance and gesture to accompany the singing. Finally I will consider the occurrence of hymnic features within the odes. Studies of hymns, defined in the strict sense as poems specifically addressing the gods and seeking to derive some favor from them, have identified a tripartite structure which allows the hymn to achieve a successful interaction with the gods, and I consider how Pindar incorporates these three features into his epinician poetry.

The evolution of epinician poetry is still not fully understood. Simonides has traditionally been hailed as the earliest known writer of epinician and even as its inventor,³⁸ though its earliest surviving occurrence may perhaps be pushed back to

³⁸ Thus, for instance, Kurke (1991) 59. Ancient sources tell us that he wrote epinician poems for Glaustos of Karystos and Krios of Aigina. For Glaustos' poem, see Quintilian *Inst.* 11.2.11-16; Cicero *De oratore* 2.86; Phaedrus *Fabulae* 4.25. The Ciceronian version of the story names Scopas of Thessaly as the victor, while the Quintilian passage notes that people argue over whether the poem was in fact for Glaukos, as others believe it was written for either Leokrates, Agatharchus, or Scopas. Molyneux (1992) 54 n.2 suggests that Quintilian was indicating that Simonides wrote epinician poems of a similar nature for all four men, so that it is difficult to know which precisely brought about the recorded story; this idea is not, however, universally held – see, for instance, Huxley (1978) 237. For Krios' epinician, see Ar. *Clouds* 1355-56, which mentions the poem, while the scholia (Leidensis 34 (XVIII 61.C), Harleianus 5725) identify the song as an epinician for a wrestler. The Krios poem is admittedly a more problematic example, as the title found in Aristophanes hardly seems appropriate to an epinician ode (τὸν Κρίδον ὡς ἐπέχθη, 'how the Ram was shorn'), and it may have in fact been a parody. Molyneux (1992) 62 n. 99, for instance, accepts it as an epinician but admits the possibility of a satire.

Ibykos, as Barron has suggested.³⁹ If his argument is accepted, the earliest known epinician poetry may be dated as early as the early 6th century BCE. The precise date for the creation of epinician poetry and its inventor are most likely impossible to recover. Nor must we specify them. I am concerned rather with how epinician came to exist in its particular form, as exemplified by the works of Pindar and Bacchylides. While we cannot know when epinician odes were first performed, we can consider the poetic and social influences that shaped it. Several of Pindar's odes point to the predecessors to the epinician form, hymns to Herakles, Kastor, and Iolaos. These songs did not have the same form or content as epinician as we later know it, but were, nevertheless, sung in honor of an athletic victory. By examining these forerunners of epinician, we may gain insight into the functions that victory songs performed for the victor, functions that were expanded and modified as the nature of victory songs changed.

The hymn to Herakles is mentioned in the opening to *Olympian* 9. Pindar refers to it as the καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος that Arkhilokhos sang, and the scholiasts associate it with Herakles. According to them, Arkhilokhos composed the song for Herakles as he traveled to Olympia. Its content is simple, and while different scholiasts offer slight variations, the basic refrain is: τήνελλα καλλίνικε χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεις, αὐτός τε καὶ Ἴολαος, αἰχμητὰ δύο. τήνελλα καλλίνικε χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεις, 'Tenella, hail lord Herakles the victor, he himself and Iolaos, two warriors. Tenella, hail lord Herakles the victor'.⁴⁰ The word *tenella*, we learn, was meant to mimic the sounds of a kithara, which

³⁹ Barron (1984) 19-22 has made an argument for identifying fragments of Ibykos as epinician based on their agonistic content. In *POxy* 2735 (S 166-219), he points out references in S 166 to wrestling, running, and a contest, and notes a mythological section which concerned the archetypal athletes Kastor and Polydeuces, while in S 176 he observes references to the funeral games of Pelias. Hornblower (2004) 21 supports the theory.

⁴⁰ Σ Pind. *Ol* .9 1c.

Arkhilokhos was unfortunately lacking at the time; the song was sung by a chorus, with Arkhilokhos intoning the *tenella* and the chorus singing the refrain.⁴¹ It is τριπλόον simply because it was repeated three times. The hymn's function is less clear. Schol. 1a tells us that it was composed as a hymn for Herakles, but others make it clear that it was used to praise victorious athletes (whether it was originally meant simply as a hymn and only later adapted to praising athletes, or whether it always performed both functions, is unclear).⁴² Schol. 1d indicates that the victor led a κῶμος of his friends to the altar of Zeus while singing that song, with the victor taking the part of Arkhilokhos and his friends singing the chorus' refrain.⁴³ These interpretations, of course, may simply be derived from the evidence of the text of *Olympian* 9 itself, but in the ode Pindar certainly supports such readings when he suggests that, while the *tenella*-song sufficed to celebrate the victory at Olympia, his song will now offer even greater praise. We may accept that such a song existed in connection with athletic victory, and that it was ascribed to an earlier period.

Pindar's epinician odes provide evidence for two other types of songs sung in the context of the celebration of an athletic victory, also hymns: the Kastor-song and the Iolaos-song.⁴⁴ In *Pythian* 2 Pindar mentions a Kastor-song,⁴⁵ and in *Isthmian* 1 he

⁴¹ Σ Pind. *Ol.* 9 1c: ἀπορήσας κιθαρωδοῦ διὰ τινος λέξεως τὸ μέλος ἐμμήσατο. Συντάξας οὖν τοῦτο τὸ κόμμα. τήνελλα, οὕτως τὰ ἐξῆς ἀνεβάλλετο, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ μέλος τῆς κιθάρας ἐν μέσῳ τῷ χορῷ ἔλεγε, τὸ τήνελλα, ὁ δὲ χορὸς τὰ ἐπίλοιπα.

⁴² Σ Pind. *Ol.* 9 1f: κεκράτηκεν οὖν ἐπὶ πάντων νικηφόρων παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς νίκης ἐπάδεσθαι τὸ κόμμα.

⁴³ Σ Pind. *Ol.* 9 1d: κωμάζει δὲ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς βωμὸν ὁ νικήσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων, αὐτὸς τῆς ᾠδῆς ἐξηγούμενος.

⁴⁴ A number of scholars point to songs to the Dioskouri as predecessors to epinician. See Fränkel (1973) 435, Robbins (1997) 244, and Currie (2005) 408.

⁴⁵ *P.* 2.69-71: τὸ Καστόρειον δ' ἐν Αἰολίδεσσι χορδαῖς θέλων | ἄθρησον χάριν ἐπακτύπου | φόρμιγγος ἀντόμενος. Whether Pindar is calling his own epinician ode a Kastor-song, or using the term to refer to a separate song, is debated, but the latter interpretation is preferred. Bowra (1937) 19 points out that there is a μέν/δέ construction, in which the μέν clause refers to τόδε μέλος, and the δέ clause refers to the Kastor-song, suggesting they must be different. See also Gentili (1995) 391-92.

compares his work to a Kastor-song or a hymn of Iolaos.⁴⁶ In *Pythian* 11 he compares the glory of his victor with that of Iolaos, Kastor or Polydeukes.⁴⁷ There was an association between these heroes and victory songs outside of Pindar as well. Quintilian records a legend about Simonides involving the Dioskouroi: cum pugili coronato carmen, quale componi victoribus solet, mercede pacta scripsisset, abnegatam ei pecuniae partem quod more poetis frequentissimo degressus in laudes Castoris ac Pollucis exierat, ‘He had composed a victory ode of the customary kind for a boxer who had won the crown. The price had been agreed, but part of it was withheld because Simonides, following the common poetical practice, had digressed into an encomium of Castor and Pollux’.⁴⁸ Simonides, in this anecdote, makes Kastor and Polydeukes the main focus of his epinician poem, suggesting that they were believed to be linked to the victory or were at least archetypal athletes. The fragments of Ibykos that Barron tentatively identifies as epinician poems also appeal to these heroes who would later be divinized: S 166 has a mythological section that deals with Kastor and Polydeukes while S 176, describing the funeral games for Pelias, names Iolaos as a victor in the chariot race.

The Dioskouroi and Iolaos, along with Herakles, were connected with victory songs: it is not difficult to explain why that would be so. All of these figures were associated in the Greek imagination with athletic victory, both earning it and bestowing it. Herakles is the traditional founder of the Olympic Games, and he passed the care of

⁴⁶ *I.* 1.15-17: ἐθέλω | ἢ Καστρορείῳ ἢ Ἰολάῳ ἔναρμόξαι μιν ὕμνον. | κεῖνοι γὰρ ἡρώων διφρηλάται Λακεδαίμονι καὶ Θήβαις ἐτέκνωθεν κράτιστοι. ἔν τ’ ἀέθλοισι θίγον πλείστων ἀγώνων, | καὶ τριπόδεσσιν ἐκόσμησαν δόμον | καὶ λεβήτεσσιν φιάλαισί τε χρυσοῦ, | γευόμενοι στεφάνων | νικαφόρων.

⁴⁷ *P.* 11.59-62: ἄ τε τὸν Ἰφικλείδαν | διαφέρει Ἰόλαον | ὕμνητὸν ἐόντα, καὶ Κάστορος βίαν, | σέ τε, ἄναξ Πολύδευκες, υἱοὶ θεῶν. Polydeukes is addressed, but this does not seem to be a formal invocation.

⁴⁸ Quintilian 11.2.11ff. The story is recorded elsewhere; see n. 26 above.

the games on to Kastor and his brother Polydeukes.⁴⁹ The Dioskouri are elsewhere associated with athletics; Pausanias reports that when Herakles celebrated the Olympic games, the first victors included Iolaos in the chariot race, Kastor in the foot race, Polydeukes in the boxing match, and Herakles himself in the pankration and wrestling.⁵⁰ Iolaos is both an Olympic victor as well as the nephew of the games' founder, and he is the patron of a set of games himself, the Iolaia celebrated in Thebes. Given this strong association with games, both as archetypal athletic victors and as overseers of the contests, I suggest that it would be plausible for athletes to appeal to these gods in praying for success, and natural to acknowledge their aid when a victory had been won. A hymn to any of these figures would be an obvious way of achieving this end. At the same time, such a song would also offer indirect praise of the victor's achievement by demonstrating how the victor has a legendary precedent, a hero whose deeds, both athletic and otherwise, are renowned. By praising these heroes, the poet was praising the very act of athletic victory.

We can understand how such hymns became associated with victory celebrations, but the problem remains of their relationship with epinician. Pindar speaks of the *tenella* song/Herakles hymn as a different kind of song from his epinician odes, and while he compares his poetry to songs for Kastor or Iolaos he does not adopt their basic content, for he does not focus exclusively on praising or thanking these athletic heroes or deities;

⁴⁹ O. 3.34-38: καὶ νυν ἐς ταύταν ἑορτὰν Ἰλαος ἀντιθέοισιν νίσεται | σὺν βαθυζώνοιο διδύμοις παισὶ Λήδας. | τοῖς γὰρ ἐπέτραπεν Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἰὼν θαητὸν ἀγῶνα νέμειν | ἀνδρῶν τ' ἀρετὰς πέρι καὶ ῥιμφαρμάτου | διφρηλασίας.

⁵⁰ Pausanias 5.8.4: ἡνιόχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Ἰόλαος Ἡρακλεῖ τὰς ἵππους... Τυνδάρεω δὲ οἱ παῖδες ὁ μὲν δρόμῳ, Πολυδεύκης δὲ πυκτεύων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἡρακλέα ὡς πάλης τε ἀνέλοιτο καὶ παγκρατίου νίκας; Race (1989) 37 refers to this passage when he declares "Iolaus and the Tyndaridae... seem to have been traditional models for all-around athletic ability." Pindar's list of the first Olympic victors in *Olympian* 10 has none of Pausanias' victors; Oionos son of Likymnios won the foot race, Doryklos of Tiryns the boxing match, and Samos of Mantinea won the chariot race.

in his epinician odes, after all, praise of the victor is the primary goal. Indeed, there has been a shift from a victory song that focuses on traditional athletic heroes, to a victory song that to some degree attempts to heroize the actual mortal victors. Rather than praise the victor by focusing on a mythical example of athletic achievement, Pindar's epinicians praise the victor directly. This change reflects, as Thomas suggested, a desire for individual praise rather than generic hymns,⁵¹ most likely arising from a social context in which aristocrats compete and distinguish themselves.

While Pindaric epinician represents a new kind of victory song centered on the victor, he certainly does retain features of these earlier hymns. The epinician odes regularly contain a mythological narrative that links the victor's achievement to that of a legendary forerunner, and while these narratives may examine wars and other conflicts as well, athletic success, especially of figures like Herakles and the Dioskouroi, appear regularly. And though Pindar does not always recognize the aid of Herakles, Iolaos, or the Dioskouroi in the victory being celebrated, he does regularly acknowledge the role of the gods in a victor's success. Thus Alkimidas of Aigina is described as ταύταν μεθέπων Διόθεν αἶψαν, 'following this fate from Zeus' (*N*.6.13a), while Poseidon is credited with an Isthmian victory as Pindar proclaims ἀεῖδω Ἴσθμίαν ἵπποισι νίκαν, τὰν Ξενοκράτει Ποσειδάων ὀπάσαις, 'I sing of the Isthmian victory in horses, which Poseidon granted to Xenokrates' (*I*.2.12-14);⁵² likewise he reminds us in a *gnomē*, ἵστω λαχὼν πρὸς δαιμόνων

⁵¹ Thomas (2007). Other scholars have also attempted to isolate the specific social changes in the ancient Greek world which shaped the form and content of epinician poetry. Most notably, perhaps, are Rose's theory that epinician arose as a response of aristocrats to the rise of democracy, a genre embodying their ideals and their desire for large-scale display (Rose 1982) and Hornblower's theory that colonization led to a need for those people on the outskirts of the Greek world to find a way to celebrate their identity as Greek, and that epinician emphasized the traditional Greek value of athletic prowess (Hornblower 2004).

⁵² For further examples of athletic victories or great deeds generally being attributed to a god, see *O*. 8.16-18; *O*. 13.16-17, 104-5; *P*. 5.23-5; *I*. 3.4-5; *I*. 4.19-23 (Pindar credits the hymn to Poseidon, by which he means that Poseidon granted the victory, the reason for the hymn); *I*. 6.3-4.

θαυμαστὸν ὄλβον, ‘let him know he has received wondrous prosperity from the gods’ (N.9.45).⁵³ While we know very little about these older songs connected with athletic victory, we can see that Pindar has retained two important features of these hymns in crafting his odes, the recognition of the assistance of the gods in a man’s success, and the linking of a victory to a mythological precedent to enhance praise of the victor’s achievement. The former aspect is an example of religious functionality, as Pindar acknowledges the gods’ role in the victory and offers thanks for it in order to pay off the victor’s debt to them, and regain the balance of χάρις between god and man so that he may then capitalize upon it.

D. Epinician Performance

Epinician performance attests to a poetic form that sought to draw the gods into its audience. Of course, the subject of performance is complex, comprising factors including the performers, the accompaniment, the setting, and so on. It will suffice here to focus on two aspects in particular: the location and the mode. For the location one might consider both the general location, be it the site of the athletic festival or the hometown of the victor, and the specific, whether the performance occurred at a temple, a home, a public space, or another venue.⁵⁴ Mode includes the question of whether the poem was sung by a solo artist or a chorus, and whether the poem was danced. Performance has become an especially contentious topic of debate in recent scholarship⁵⁵, but I do not intend to discuss every argument that has been put forth, and will instead

⁵³ Other gnomic statements of man’s dependence on the gods include *O.* 2.19-22; *O.* 9.103-4; *O.* 11.9-10; *P.* 1.41-2; *I.* 5.11.

⁵⁴ I will not be considering the problem of reperformance of epinician odes, which is a separate issue.

⁵⁵ For an overview of the recent debate, see below, n. 63.

confine myself to the evidence relevant to illustrating how epinician performance might indicate a desire to enter into communication with the gods.

It has often been suggested that there was some kind of victory celebration at the site of the games: the festival program at Olympia, for instance, ended with a ceremony in which the victors processed to the Temple of Zeus to receive their crowns and make sacrifices to the gods.⁵⁶ Scholars have assigned a certain number of Pindar's odes to these celebrations, suggesting that they were performed following the rites of thanksgiving. The fact that *Olympian* 8 begins by invoking Olympia itself, and asking the grove of Alpheos at Olympia to receive the crown-bearing procession, has been used as evidence by Farnell, for instance, to identify the poem as one performed at Olympia.⁵⁷ Other scholars have suggested that, in the cases of pairs of odes composed for the same victory in which one is shorter and one longer, the shorter odes were performed at the site of the games while the longer odes were performed at the hometown of the victory; thus *Olympian* 11 celebrates the same victory as *Olympian* 10 but is much shorter, indicating to some that they were intended for different venues.⁵⁸ The evidence of these pairs is not always strong, however. *Olympian* 4 and 5 were both composed for Psaumis of Kamarina's victory in the mule cart race, but the length of the two odes is similar, and *Olympian* 5 has been suspected of being a later forgery.⁵⁹ In the case of *Olympian* 2 and 3, both composed for Theron of Akragas' chariot victory, *Olympian* 3, the shorter poem, begins with an invocation of Helen and the Dioskouroi, indicating that the ode was

⁵⁶ Spivey (2004) 129-30 argues for such a program.

⁵⁷ Farnell (1932) 59, in which he is in line with earlier commentators such as Gildersleeve (1885) 192. Farnell believes that the rest of the poem shows sign of hasty composition, in line with the short time Pindar would have had to complete the ode.

⁵⁸ See, for instance, Farnell (1932) 76.

⁵⁹ Von Leutsch (1846) 116-27 first argued against the authenticity of the ode; numerous scholars have followed him, including Jurenka (1895) 12, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1922) 421, and Bowra (1964) 419/

composed for performance at the Theoxenia, which suggests that two different odes were composed because they were needed for two different venues in Theron's hometown. Even with *Olympian* 10 and 11, *Olympian* 11 bids the Muses to join the revels in Western Lokroi (17-19), putting the location in doubt.

While there is some evidence for assigning epinician odes to the site of the athletic games, it is safer to ascribe most of Pindar's odes to the victor's hometown. This setting is most obviously indicated in an ode by the invocation of a local deity,⁶⁰ or by some other reference to a physical location.⁶¹ In these cases the specific location can be one of several possibilities. Some odes clearly reference performance at the home of the victor during a feast or banquet: thus in *Olympian* 1 Pindar refers to (10-11):

ἐς ἀφνεὰν ἱκομένους
μάκαιραν Ἱέρωνος ἐστίαν...

arriving at the rich,
blessed hearth of Hieron...⁶²

People arrive at the home of the victor Hieron in order to celebrate his victory with an epinician ode. Other poems, however, indicate performance within the context of a religious rite or festival. Some odes seem to be part of a religious rite in which the victor made a thanks-offering to a god, perhaps in the form of the crown he won at the games. *Olympian* 9 provides the clearest example. It ends with an exhortation to the singers to declare that (108-112):

⁶⁰ This occurs most commonly as an opening invocation to a nymph who is associated with the city, asking her to welcome the victor back, or as an invocation of the city itself. Thus *O.* 5.1-3 calls on the nymph Kamarina to welcome Psauis into her city; *P.* 11.1-16 on the daughters of Kadmos to come to Thebes to join the celebrations; and *P.* 12.1-6 on the city of Athens to welcome the victor. In *P.* 8.1-5, Pindar addresses *Hesychia*, the personification of peace or good order which he associates with Aigina, to welcome his song.

⁶¹ Thus in *P.* 2.1-6 Pindar explicitly says he has come to Syracuse to praise Hieron, and in *N.* 9.1-3 he bids the Muse accompany him to Aitna to aid him in praising Khromios.

⁶² See also *N.* 9.1-3, in which Pindar bids the Muse come with him to the ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίου δῶμα(α), 'the rich house of Khromios'.

τοῦτο δὲ προσφέρων ἄεθλον,
 ὄρθιον ὄρυσαι θαρσέων,
 τόνδ' ἀνέρα δαιμονία γεγάμεν
 εὐχαιρα, δεξιόφυιον, ὀρῶντ' ἀλκάν,
 Αἴαν, τεόν τ' ἐν δαιτί, Ἰλιάδα,
 νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε βωμόν.

Bearing forth this prize,
 being bold proclaim aloud
 that this man was born, thanks to a god,
 strong in hand, able in limb, with a mighty look,
 and at the feast, Ajax Oileus,
 he with his victory crowned your altar.

It is possible easy to imagine this poem accompanying the offering of the victor's crown (or a different crown representative of the original), perhaps during a procession to the temple and altar, or, more likely given the use of ἐπεστεφάνωσε, 'he crowned,' in front of the temple after the actual dedication. *Olympian* 9 also mentions a feast in honor of Ajax Oileus, providing a third possibility of performance during ritual dining after the rite. As with the odes performed at the games, the setting of these odes suggests a desire to draw the gods into the performance, and the intention to enter into communication with them. The victor's dedication is itself an act that calls the gods to witness and offers a clear statement of thanks to them, and the epinician poet can capitalize upon this moment, using the ode as a medium with which to engage the relationship between man and god and negotiate its terms, correcting the balance of debts and favors and drawing on it to secure future favor for the victor, family, and *polis*.

I turn now to the mode of performance, an issue which has in recent year divided scholars between those who subscribe to the traditional view, that epinician odes were performed by choruses, and those who have challenged it and proposed the possibility of

performance by a solo singer.⁶³ The external evidence is not overwhelming for either side. We have no contemporary accounts of the performance of an epinician ode, of course, though Hellenistic scholiasts do assume choral performance.⁶⁴ Turning to internal evidence, we find that Pindar is never precise in describing the performers or performance, and the room left for interpretation has been the basis for the debate between solo and choral performance. I cannot, of course, hope to resolve the issue here; rather I wish to offer my interpretation of the evidence to make my approach and understanding of the issue clear.

Pindar's epinician corpus contains numerous references to choral singing:

- In *Pythian* 5, Pindar discusses the benefits which have accrued to the victor, noting that, τὸν ἐν αἰοιδῇ νέων πρέπει χρυσάορα Φοῖβον ἀπύειν, 'it is fitting that he praise Phoibos of the golden sword in the song of young men,' (103-104), which suggests that a chorus of youths sings.

- *Pythian* 10 opens with Pindar noting that Pytho and Pelinna, the site of the victory and the hometown of the victor, urge him on, Ἴπποκλέα θέλοντες ἀγαγεῖν ἐπικωμίαν ἀνδρῶν κλυτὰν ὄπα, 'wishing me to lead the glorious voice of men in celebration for Hippokles' (5-6). The reference to the voice of multiple men suggests that he has a chorus of men to perform his song. Later in the ode he adds that, ἔλπομαι δ' Ἐφυραίων ὅπ' ἀμφι Πηνειὸν γλυκεῖαν προχεόντων ἐμάν, 'I hope, as the Ephyrians pour

⁶³ Lefkowitz (1988) 1-11 first challenged the choral model, and was soon after followed by Heath (1988) 180-95. Numerous scholars have responded to their arguments in defense of the traditional model, most notably Burnett (1989) 283-93 and Carey (1989) 545-65. The argument entered a further phase, with solo performance upheld in Heath and Lefkowitz (1991) 173-91, and choral performance by Carey (1991) 192-200. Morgan (1993) sought to mediate between the two sides by suggesting that Pindar alternates between identifying himself with and separating himself from the κῶμος in order to achieve different rhetorical effects.

⁶⁴ Scholiasts often equate the κῶμος with the χόρος, as at Σ Pind. *Pyth.* 8 99a.

out my sweet song about Peneos,’ (55-56), again strongly indicating that his song is being performed by a chorus of local men.

- Pindar ends *Nemean* 2 by calling upon the men of Akharnai to sing in honor of the victor’s success, saying, τόν, ὃ πολῖται, κωμάξατε Τιμοδήμῳ σὺν εὐκλεί νόστῳ. ἀδυμελεῖ δ’ ἐξάρχετε φωνᾷ, ‘O citizens, celebrate him [Zeus] with well-famed Timodemos’ return; begin with a sweet-sounding song’ (24-25). The passage suggests that there is a citizen chorus which is being urged to sing.

- Nemean* 3 opens by asking the Muse to come to Aigina, and notes that ὕδατι γάρ μενοντ’ ἐπ’ Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες κόμων νεανῖαι, σέθεν ὅπα μαιόμενοι, ‘for young men, craftsmen of honey-voiced *komoi*, wait by the waters of Asopos, seeking your voice,’ (3-5), indicating that a chorus of youths awaits the song so they might perform it. A few lines later Pindar assures that, ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ μιν ὁάροις λύρα τε κοινάσομαι, ‘I will share it [the song] with their voices and the lyre’ (11-12).

- In the opening of *Isthmian* 1, Pindar asks Delos not to be angry that he has privileged the task of composing an epinician for a Theban victor over composing a paian for Apollo. He explains that he will accomplish both, καὶ τὸν ἀκερσεκόμαν Φοῖβον χορεύων ἐν Κέῳ ἀμφιρύτῃ σὺν ποντίοις ἀνδράσιν, καὶ τὰν ἀλιερκέα Ἰσθμοῦ δειράδ’, ‘dancing at wave-girt Keos in honor of Phoibos with the unshorn hair with marine men, and at the sea-fencing reef of the Isthmos’ (7-10). The same verb, χορεύων, to sing and dance as a chorus, is used to describe both performances, indicating that both the paian and the epinician will be performed by a chorus.

The question emerges of how to interpret these passages. Scholars who support solo performance have argued that the word κῶμος, which is often used for the chorus,

refers to groups of men engaged in impromptu revelries, not organized musical performances, and as such references to these must be to groups of performers separate from the epinician odes.⁶⁵ Yet that is not the only possible sense of the word; in some contexts it clearly refers to an organized group performance in honor of a deity.⁶⁶ Nor is κῶμος, as we can see from the examples cited above, the only word that Pindar uses to refer to the chorus. The soloist camp thus argues that references to a chorus in the epinician odes look to other performers. In this scenario the victory celebration comprised multiple elements of which Pindar's ode is one and choral performances another, and when Pindar mentions these other performers, he does so to intimate the greatness of the celebration and, by extension, the victor and his achievement. While it is certainly possible that the victory celebration took on multiple forms, this theory does not adequately explain every passage, especially those where Pindar refers explicitly to 'my' song, as in *Pythian* 10. Indeed, one wonders at the likelihood that Pindar, who presents himself as an artist whose skills derive from the gods, and who is, therefore, especially suited to praise the victory and render the feat of his victory immortal in song, would direct attention to other artists.⁶⁷ His patrons may have erred on the side of caution and

⁶⁵ Thus Heath (1988) 180-82 cites references in Plato *Symposium* 176a-e, Theognis 1045-46, Alcaeus 374 L-P, and Theocritus 2.118-24 in which κῶμοι are groups of men engaged in drunken revelry, generally asking for admission to a house.

⁶⁶ Carey (1991) 193 refers to a scene in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae* where Agathon bids a chorus of girls to dance and refers to them as a κῶμος: Ἱερὰν Χθονίαις δεξάμεναι λαμπάδα, κοῦραι, ξὺν ἐλευθέρα πατρίδι χορεύσασθε βοῶ. Τίνι δὲ δαιμόνων ὁ κῶμος (101-04). There is also a scene in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, in which Aphrodite watches Hippolytus and an accompanying chorus of singers process to make an offering to Artemis, and refers to the group as a κῶμος: πολλὺς δ' ἅμ' αὐτῷ προσπόλων ὀπισθόπους κῶμος λέλακεν, Ἄρτεμιν τιμῶν θεῶν ὕμνοισιν (54-56).

⁶⁷ Pindar often describes himself as holding a special status, either through his special relationship with the family as a friend or *xenia/proxeny*, or by his relationship with the gods, namely the Muses and Graces, who aid him in making his song. For examples in which Pindar refers to his relationship with the victor or the victor's family, see *O.* 6.84-85, *O.* 9.83-84, *P.* 10.64, *N.* 7.61, *I.* 1.1-2, *I.* 8.15b-18; for examples in which Pindar talks about himself as working with the Muses and Graces, or in which he bids them to act, see *O.* 1.111-12, *O.* 6.21, *O.* 9.80, *O.* 11.16-18, *O.* 13.96-97, *P.* 1.58-59, *P.* 9.1-4, *N.* 3.1-3, *N.* 6.28-29, *N.* 8.46-48, *N.* 9.1-3, *I.* 5.21-22, *I.* 8.5-5a.

hired multiple performers, but it seems doubtful that Pindar would stress the power of his song while observing that his performance was only one among many. While the evidence for epinician performance is meager and, as we have seen, open to various interpretations, on reading passages such as those cited above one's first reaction is to understand them as referring to the performers of the ode itself. To read them instead as referring to a separate performance relies upon a conception of victory celebration for which there is no external evidence, and ignores known characteristics of Pindaric epinician. This is not to say that choral performance is the only possible mode for performance of epinician poetry, but rather that, when there is clear reference to a chorus in an ode, we should accept the evidence of the text rather than postulate evidence to explain its occurrence.

I also want to consider the idea of dance. That epinician poetry was danced has also been a widely accepted model for performance, and it too has been called into question in the recent reassessment of epinician performance. Unfortunately, the evidence for dance is perhaps even less adequate than that for choral performance. Externally, we have only the scholiasts to assist us in recreating the circumstances of performance, and it was certainly their understanding that the epinician odes were sung and danced. In multiple places the scholia explain passages as referring to the danced choral performance of the epinician odes. Heath, for instance, singles out *Pythian* 8, where the scholiast explains the line κόμῳ μὲν ἀδυμελεῖ Δίκη παρέστακε, 'Dikē stands by the sweetening-singing κῶμος' (70) by saying τῷ μὲν χορῷ ἡμῶν δικαιοσύνη παρέστηκε, 'Justice stands by our chorus';⁶⁸ the scholiast labels the κῶμος a χορός, a term that refers to a chorus of men who sang and danced the ode. As I have noted,

⁶⁸ Σ Pind. *Pyth.* 8 99a.

however, the scholiasts were not present at the original performances of these odes, and they are prone to explaining the text by inference rather than by solid evidence.

I must turn once more to the internal evidence of the epinician odes. I have already looked at the opening of *Isthmian* 1, in which Pindar equates the performance of a paian on Delos with the performance of an epinician in Thebes, and describes both with the verb χορεύων. The construction strongly suggests that a chorus of singers and dancers was involved in the performance of both the paian and the epinician ode. While Heath argues that the word might refer to the spontaneous dance of the κῶμος, that separate group of performers he has posited celebrating the victory separately from Pindar,⁶⁹ there is no evidence for this usage, nor does Heath's interpretation explain why, if Pindar is referring to a different group of performers, he describes himself as providing them. In *Pythian* 12, moreover, Pindar refers to the daughters of Kēphisos who inhabit Akragas, and who are πιστοὶ χορευτῶν μάρτυρες, 'trustworthy witnesses of the dancers' (27). The word χορευτής is generally used to refer to choral dancers, and Pindar seems to mean that the daughters of Kēphisos will witness the dancers, a comment that best makes sense if understood to refer to the performers of the ode. The opening of *Pythian* 1 provides further evidence, as Pindar writes (1-5):

Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων
 σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον. τᾷς ἀκούει
 μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,
 πείθονται δ' αἰδοὶ σάμασιν
 ἀγησιχόρων ὅποταν προοιμίων
 ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς ἐλελιζομένα.

Golden lyre, common possession
 of Apollo and the bright-haired Muses. To which the dance-step,
 start of the festivities, listens,
 and the singers obey your notes

⁶⁹ Heath (1988) 185.

whenever you, strings quivering, fashion
the striking up of chorus-leading preludes.

The lyre which Pindar addresses must form some part of the performance of the song, or else its place in the ode is difficult to understand. Heath argued that the description of the lyre is a general observation on its power, rather than a description of the performance;⁷⁰ but that Pindar describes the lyre leading the dancers is hard to accept as a comment on its power unless there is a lyre player involved in the performance who takes the lead in guiding the dancers. To have a solo singer unaccompanied by a dancing chorus open the ode by extolling the ability of his lyre to guide a dance would seem a poor choice. As with choral singing, the evidence for choral dancing is not overwhelming; we can say only that dancing was a performative mode that Pindar's epinicians could use, if it did not employ it universally.

If epinician odes were performed with a dancing chorus, the mode of performance suggests that the odes had some measure of religious significance. In the ancient world we find the idea that choral singing and dancing was meant to please the gods. In Plato's *Laws* the Athenian argues: Παίζοντά ἐστι διαβιωτέον τινὰς δὴ παιδιὰς θύοντα, καὶ ἄδοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἵλεως αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν δυνατόν εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν μαχόμενον, 'Life should be lived playing at certain past-times, sacrificing, singing and dancing, so that it is possible to dispose the gods favorably towards us, and to ward off our enemies and conquer them in battle'.⁷¹ While we might question whether this statement reflects the way all Greeks viewed choral singing and dancing or whether it is just the Athenian who believes this, it indicates that the Greeks believed that choral performance was a viable way to please the gods, and

⁷⁰ Heath (1988) 185.

⁷¹ Plato *Laws* 801e1-3.

would dance and sing in unison to attract the attention and favor of the gods.⁷² The connection between choral performance and religious significance has been recognized by many modern scholars as well. Gentili writes that, “Choral poetry...had a celebratory, religious function.”⁷³ Burnett goes further, describing a process by which she sees choral performance taking on a religious force. For her, a chorus is imbued with an almost magical power: it recreates an event through singing and dancing, imbuing the present moment of performance with the supernatural force of the moment recalled – a moment in myth, or a moment such as an athletic victory in which the athlete touched the divine.⁷⁴ In this way the performance gains a kind of power, one which can be used to communicate with the gods, for such communication is at the heart of choral performance. Calame too, in his study of choruses of young women, observed that, “The lyric chorus is...the line of communication between the deity and its followers”.⁷⁵ The chorus, involved in creating a numinous moment, discharges the power it collects by directing it towards a god, and so creates, in the Greek mind, a line of communication with the divine, allowing the worshippers to call on the gods, pray to them, and attempt to curry their favor.

E. Hymnic Structure

⁷² Naerebout (2006), in describing the functions of dance in ancient Greece, explains that “dance distinguished the occasion as other than ordinary,” (62), and that “the effort being made pleases the gods, who might be in the audience” (64).

⁷³ Gentili (1988) 115.

⁷⁴ Burnett (1985) 6-15. Kowalzig (2004) 56 expresses a similar idea when she argues that the social significance of the chorus allows it to recreate a past moment of the city in the present moment of performance. Heinrichs (1994-1995) 59 says simply, “Choral dancing in ancient Greek culture always constitutes a form of ritual performance.”

⁷⁵ Calame (1997) 207.

The appearance of hymnic structures in Pindar's epinician odes further suggests that he intended for his poems to act as a medium of communication with the gods, as the epinician odes feature the same components that, in hymns, call on the gods and attempt to negotiate some favor from them. It would be helpful to begin this section by first explaining what is meant by a hymn. While the Greek word ὕμνος originally could refer to any song (including Pindar's epinician odes),⁷⁶ in the works of Plato it begins to refer only to a song for a god, as opposed to one for a man.⁷⁷ The Alexandrians adopt this usage for their classification of ancient poetry, applying the word to any song written for a god; in this system, the *prosodion*, paian, and dithyramb are all types of hymns.⁷⁸ There is some evidence that the word referred as well to a particular genre of song dedicated to a god, but distinguished from *prosodion*, paian, and dithyramb.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, I am drawing on the former sense here: when I say hymn, I mean any of those types of poems traditionally addressing the gods.

The hymn may be further divided into two subgenres, the rhapsodic hymn and the cultic hymn. Rhapsodic hymns seek to sing about the gods, and generally involve a narrative about the deeds of the god, sandwiched between an introduction in which the

⁷⁶ Several examples in archaic poetry show the term applied to a song which must surely have addressed men or heroes. Consider, for instance, *Od.* 8.429 (δαιτί τε τέρπεται καὶ αἰοιδῆς ὕμνον ἀκούων); Pindar *O.* 3.3-4 (Θήρωνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ὕμνον ὀρθώσας); Aiskhylos *Agam.* 709-12 (μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον Πριάμου πόλις γεραῖα πολύθρηνον μέγα που στένει κικλήσκουσα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον). Indeed, Pindar uses the term to refer to his epinician odes, as in the example above.

⁷⁷ The passages considered above (*Laws* 700a-b, *Republic* 607a) both show this usage.

⁷⁸ Orion (p. 155-56 Sturz) records a passage from Didymus' *Περὶ λυρικῶν* in which the distinction is made: "Ὑμνος...κεχώρισται τῶν ἐγκωμίων καὶ τῶν προσοδίων καὶ παιάνων, οὐχ ὡς κάκεινων μὴ ὄντων ὕμνων, ἀλλ' ὡς γένος ἀπὸ εἰδους. Πάντα γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας γραφόμενα ὕμνους ἀποφαινόμεθα, καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν τὸ εἶδος τῷ γένει, ὕμνος προσοδίου, ὕμνος παιᾶνος."

⁷⁹ Thus we may recall the ὕμνος is distinguished as a separate genre in Proclus' system of classification, distinct from the paian, *prosodion*, and other religious songs. Furley (1995) 32 believes that hymn originally had the broad meaning of any song to a god, and that when the Alexandrian editors found a poem which was addressed to a divinity but did not clearly belong to one of the genres they recognized, they set it in a genre of 'hymns', so that the term could designate any religious song, and a specific 'genre' of miscellaneous songs dedicated to a god.

poet announces that he will sing about a god, and a closing that hopes for the god's approval. These hymns discuss the god in the third person, in what is known as the "Er-Stil". The best examples of rhapsodic hymns are the so-called Homeric Hymns, each of which focuses on describing the deeds of a particular god. Cultic hymns, on the other hand, are primarily concerned with communicating a specific request. They address the god in the second person, the "Du-Stil," and focus upon persuading the god to grant that request.⁸⁰ While we may see elements of both types of hymn in Pindar's odes, the cultic hymn is more important for this study: these hymns sought not only to praise the gods by recalling their deeds, to communicate with them, expressing the needs of the community and attempting to persuade them to show favor to the worshippers. Cultic hymns therefore provide a template for how a poem cultivates a convergence between the mortals who perform a song and the gods who are its intended audience, a template that we may compare with Pindar's epinicians.

The program of communication found in hymns was achieved through a tripartite structure, one first analyzed by Ausfeld, who named the parts *invocatio*, *pars epica*, and *precatio*.⁸¹ They may be understood generally as the invocation by which a god is called to give attention, a recounting of a myth involving the god, and a request for something, a pattern that derives from rhapsodic hymns. Later scholars focusing on cultic hymns modified the schema in some respects. While the elements of invocation and request were retained, the concept of the *pars epica* was replaced, as a cultic hymn, rather than emphasizing the telling of a myth, stresses the reasons why the god should show favor to the song. As such Bremer has adopted the term *argument* for this element, and Race the

⁸⁰ Race (1990) 102-03.

⁸¹ See n. 4 above.

similar concept of *hypomnesis*.⁸² Whatever the name, it refers to the ways the poem reminds the gods of some reason why they should grant the favor being asked. These three components work together to achieve a negotiation between god and worshipper: the invocation calls the god to listen and participate, the argument reminds him of the *χάρις* relationship existing between the parties, and of the debts owed, and the request, the culmination of the hymns, lays out the favor the worshippers hope the god will grant. In this way the hymn acts as a compact unit of religious communication.

I want now to examine each of these three components – invocation, argument, and request – more closely, first discussing them generically and then considering how Pindar uses them in his epinician poetry, and what implications their appearance may have for the way those odes function. The first element of hymnic structure has been called the *invocatio* or *epiklesis*; as Bremer and Furley explain, it is “the invocation which establishes contact between the speaking person(s) and the divine addressee”.⁸³ Such invocations, given this important function, typically open a poem and generally involve a complex structure. Race organizes the possible parts of an invocation into the names of the god, adjectives generally used to describe him, his relations to other gods, locations sacred to him, and his sphere of influence.⁸⁴ An invocation of this magnitude, while it may seem overblown, has several advantages for the speaker: listing names and powers shows the god that the speaker is knowledgeable about the god and respectful of

⁸² Bremer (1981) 186, Race (1990) 86 (though Race’s breakdown of the features of a hymn is more complex than the traditional tripartite schema).

⁸³ Furley and Bremer, (2001) 51.

⁸⁴ Race (1986) 27. In his later book, (1990) 85-86 he reworks his definition, and invocations include: “A. Basic Topics 1. Name(s) (often an apostrophe) 2. Attributes (epithets and titles) 3. Genealogy 4. *Sedes* (abodes, haunts, places of worship) 5. Powers (over areas, actions, individuals) 6. Deeds B. Expansions 1. Relative clauses 2. Participial clauses 3. Appositives 4. Repeated addresses 5. Explanations 6. Gnomēs 7. *Hypomnesis* (‘reminders’ of the god’s past actions) 8 *Ekphraseis* (of the god, his haunts, actions, etc.) 9. Narratives 10. Companion deities 11. Amplification (superlatives, doublets, lists).” This definition expands upon the earlier one, and merges the *hypomnesis* into the invocation.

his power, and that he is the deity most suited to the request to come, while naming the important sites connected to the god can either stress the connection between the god and the site of performance or, if the performance is not in any location usually associated with the god, call him from one of his more usual haunts. While the god is usually addressed in the vocative, the rest of the invocation occurs through expansions that can take the form of relative clauses, participial clauses, and appositives.

Pindar frequently opens his epinician odes with an invocation.⁸⁵ *Olympian* 4 provides a good example (1-9):

Ἐλατὴρ ὑπέρτατε βροντᾶς ἀκαμαντόποδος
 Ζεῦ: τεαὶ γὰρ ἽΩραι
 ὑπὸ ποικιλοφόρμιγγος ἀοιδᾶς ἐλίσσόμεναί μ' ἔπεμψαν
 ὑψηλοτάτων μάρτυρ' ἀέθλων:
 ξείνων δ' εὖ πρασσόντων
 ἔσαναν αὐτ' κ' ἀγγελίαν ποτὶ γλυκεῖαν ἐσλοί:
 ἀλλὰ Κρόνου παῖ, ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις
 ἵπον ἀνεμόεσσαν ἑκατογκεφάλῃα
 Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου,
 Οὐλυμπιονίκαν
 δέξαι Χαρίτων θ' ἑκατι τόνδε κῶμον...

O highest driver of never-tiring lightning, Zeus; for your *Horai*
 whirling to the song of the *phorminx* have sent me,
 a witness of mightiest deeds.
 When friends succeed
 the noble at once welcome the sweet message.
 But son of Kronos, you who hold Aitna,
 the windy weight upon mighty hundred-headed Typhos,
 welcome
 this Olympic victor and his *kōmos* on behalf of the Charites...

⁸⁵ Examples include *Ol.* 4.1-9 (Zeus), *Ol.* 5.1-7 (Kamarina), *Ol.* 8.1-11 (Olympia); *Ol.* 11.1-6a (*Tychē*); *Ol.* 14.1-17 (the Kharites); *P.* 1.1-12 (the lyre); *P.* 2.1-12 (Syracuse); *P.* 8.1-13 (*Hesychia*); *P.* 11.1-8 (daughters of Kadmos); *P.* 12.1-6 (Athens); *N.* 1.1-7 (Ortygia); *N.* 3.1-5 (the Muse); *N.* 8.1-3 (Hora); *N.* 11.1-7 (Hestia – though this ode is admittedly not an epinician, celebrating not an athletic victory but the installation of a certain Aristagoras in the prytany); *I.* 1.1-3 (Theba); *I.* 5.1-10 (Theia).

The ode begins by calling upon Zeus in the vocative, coupled with a title referring to his association with thunder and lightning. This invocation is interrupted, however, as Pindar shifts to the *Horai*, linking them to Zeus by calling them *τεαὶ Ὠραι*, ‘your *Horai*,’ as they are Zeus’ daughters, and using them as a basis for explaining his purpose in singing. He then returns to Zeus with a fresh invocation, referring to Zeus as the son of Kronos and linking him to Aitna, a move meant not only to indicate one of his seats but also to recall that he conquered the beast Typhos and imprisoned him beneath the mountain. Thus we see all of Race’s qualifiers - names, adjectives, genealogy, locations, and powers – in these few lines. Nor need we doubt that Pindar is doing anything other than establishing communication with the god. He ends the invocation by asking Zeus to receive the victor and the poem, in other words, to acknowledge the deeds of both the athlete and poet, and only a few lines later he asks *θεὸς εὖφρων εἴη λοιπαῖς εὐχαῖς*, ‘may the god be well-minded to the coming prayers’ (12-13); though he uses the generic *θεός* we may understand it as meaning Zeus.

The second element of hymnic structure, at least for cultic hymns, is the argument. Race argues that the argument is often folded into the invocation, so that among the names, haunts, and attributes of a god, the poets also mention past deeds performed by the god and by the worshippers that establish the relationship between the parties.⁸⁶ Alternatively, Bremer lists four possible forms for the argument: the *da quia dedi*, which reminds the god that the worshipper has previously done something for the god that puts him into the worshipper’s obligation; the *da ut dem*, which promises the god that, if he now fulfills the worshipper’s request, the worshipper, being in the god’s debt, will later show him some favor; the *da qui dedisti*, which asks the god to show favor to

⁸⁶ Race (1986) 27.

the worshipper now just as he has done the past, suggesting that the worshipper has reliably worked off previous obligations; and the *da cui hoc tuum dare est*, which asks the god to show favor because the request falls under his domain.⁸⁷ In each case, the poet recalls the status of the χάρις relationship between the god and the person or people who want the prayer to be made, and draws upon the debts owed to persuade the god to act.

In Pindar's epinician odes, the argument for the god's favor often comes (though not exclusively) from the victory itself. In prayers occurring at the start of an ode and requesting the favorable reception of the victor, there is in most cases a reference to the honor that the victor brings to the community. In *Olympian* 5 Pindar begins by asking Kamarina to receive the victor Psaumis, noting (4-8):

ὅς τ' ἄν σ' ἄν πόλιν αὔξων, Καμάρινα, λαοτρόφον,
βωμοὺς ἔξ διδύμους ἐγέραρεν ἑορταῖς θεῶν μεγίσταις
ὑπὸ βουθυσίαις ἀέθλων τε πεμπαμέροις ἀμίλλαις,
ἵπποις ἡμιόνοις τε μοναμπυκία τε. τὴν δὲ κῦδος ἄβρὸν
νικάσας ἀνέθηκε, καὶ ὃν πατέρ' Ἄκρων
ἐκάρυξε καὶ τὴν νέουκον ἔδραν.

Who glorified your people-nourishing city, Kamarina,
when at the great festival of the gods he honored you at the six double altars
with sacrifices, and at the races on the fifth day,
the chariot and mule and single horse. For you luxuriant acclaim
he secured, having won, when he gave cause for his father Akron
and his newly rebuilt city to be proclaimed.

Following the reception request Pindar details how Psaumis brought glory to the city, exalting it with sacrifices and by having his city's name announced when his victories were proclaimed at Olympia.⁸⁸ Likewise in prayers hoping for the future prosperity of a

⁸⁷ Bremer (1981) 196.

⁸⁸ Similarly *P.* 11.11-16 asks the daughters of Kadmos to attend the celebration because the victor Thrasydaios honored his homeland by having his city proclaimed at the games and by bringing back a crown, and *P.* 12.5-9 asks Akragas to receive the victor Midas because he outshone all others in his contest.

victor, Pindar appeals to the achievement of the victor as sufficient cause for favor. In *Pythian 5* he prays (117-120):

θεός τέ οἱ
τὸ νῦν τε πρόφρων τελεῖ δύνασιν,
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμοῖα, Κρονίδαι μάκαρες,
δίδοιτ' ἐπ' ἔργοισιν ἀμφὶ τε βουλαῖς
ἔχειν

A god now
willingly brings fulfillment to him,
and for his remaining days, blessed children of Kronos,
may you give him likewise in return for his deeds and counsels...

Again Pindar refers to the victor's achievement as proof that he is worthy of the gods' favor.⁸⁹ In this passage we can also see why an athletic victory provides a compelling reason for the gods to favor the victor. It is the *da qui dedisti* motive: the fact that the victor won is proof that the gods have favored him in the past, and now Pindar wants them to continue such treatment. The victor repaid the favor of victory with the recognition of the gods in song, and can be trusted with divine favor again. While other modes of argument occur in the epinician odes, this type should serve to prove that Pindar incorporates this particular hymnic activity.

The final hymnic structure is the request, the culmination of the hymn. Invocation and argument set up the request, calling the god to attention and attempting to dispose him favorably toward the worshippers so that he is more likely to grant the request. The request thus generally occurs at the end of the hymn, drawing it to a close. While the nature of the requests may vary greatly, Race has distinguished two main types: the general summons, which calls upon the god to be present or to pay attention,

⁸⁹ Similarly *O.* 13.114-15 asks Zeus to favor the family of the victor, a request which follows a catalogue of the victories the family has achieved.

and the specific petition, which bids the god to perform a specific action.⁹⁰ Other distinctions could of course be made. Perhaps most notably, requests have two main temporal forms, those pertaining to the circumstances of the performance itself, such as requests that the gods be present or aid in crafting the song, and those pertaining to the future, such as requests that hope the worshippers will continue to enjoy prosperity. Grammatically, requests generally take one of two forms: either the imperative, which directly bids the god do something, or the optative, which hopes that some action will occur. The vocabulary of requests is not uniformly consistent, but certain requests occur repeatedly and use similar language. In asking a god to listen to the hymn, for instance, words such as κλῦτε, ἄκουσον, ἴκεο, and ἴτε are common, while the request that a god receive the performance almost always uses δέξαι or a related form, and those which request the assistance of the gods in crafting the song tend to use ὑμνεῖτε or a related form.

There are sixty-six examples of requests in the epinician odes of Pindar. Seventeen occur at the end of a poem, while most appear somewhere in the middle. Grammatically the imperative and optative dominate, as would be expected, and the vocabulary of listening, arriving, and receiving, which Race noted as being consistently in use, appears in these requests as well. The types of request that I discussed above are also represented. Of present requests, two aspire to please the gods, seven hope that the victor and his celebration will be well received, six ask that the gods attend to the song by listening or being present at the celebration, and five ask that they play some part in

⁹⁰ Race (1990) 86.

ensuring the success of the song being performed.⁹¹ Of those requests directed at the future, most are general, asking simply that the victor, his family, and his city know good fortune and prosper, but Pindar does occasionally formulate specific requests. These include a request for a specific victory in the future, such as a chariot victory for Hieron or an Olympic victory for Phylakidas,⁹² and a request that the city of Aitna not be attacked by the Phoinicians.⁹³ The grammatical form, the vocabulary, and the nature of requests in the epinician odes match what we would expect in hymns.

We have seen how Pindar incorporated the hymnic elements of invocation, argument, and request into his epinician odes. Their appearance is obvious; more difficult is understanding why he used them. Two possibilities immediately arise: Pindar may use hymnic structures in order to engage in divine negotiation in the same way that cultic hymns do, or he may insert them into the epinician odes as a rhetorical strategy to make his themes seem loftier through contact with the gods (or, indeed, he may do both). One might point out a difficulty in interpreting these elements, in that Pindar does not use them consistently, nor do all three necessarily appear in the same poems to form a complete unit. Yet even a cursory examination of Pindar's cultic hymns shows a similar usage: they are not so neatly employed as the ideal suggests. Invocations may be addressed to places and even to objects, such as the invocation of the sun in *Paian 9*; arguments may take subtle forms and draw upon reasoning not always immediately

⁹¹ Please the gods: *O.* 3.1-4 and *P.* 1.29-32. Receive the victor: *O.* 4.1-10; *O.* 5.1-8; *O.* 8.1-11; *O.* 14.1-7; *P.* 8.1-13; *P.* 12.1-6; *N.* 11.1-7. Attend to the song: *P.* 1.58-60; *P.* 11.1-6; *N.* 3.1-12; *N.* 7.1-8; *N.* 9.1-3; *N.* 10.1-2. Ensure success of the song: *O.* 6.103-05; *P.* 8.61-69; *N.* 3.1-12; *N.* 9.1-3; *N.* 9.53-55.

⁹² *O.* 1.109-11 and *I.* 6.7-9.

⁹³ *N.* 9.28-32.

obvious to the reader (though perhaps more comprehensible to the audience);⁹⁴ requests may center upon the present moment of celebration and the future of the worshippers, and appear in various parts of the song. Whether Pindar's cultic hymns could leave out an element entirely is uncertain, as we do not have a complete example of those poems extant. If Pindar follows the same practices in regards to these hymnic elements in both epinicians and cultic hymns such as paians, we have then the strong possibility that he saw these features serving similar functions in both settings. Hymnic elements allow Pindar to engage in interaction with the divine audience in his epinician odes, to call upon the gods, put them in the mindset of the *χάρις* relationship between them and their worshippers, and draw upon that relationship to request favors. Though this may not be the primary program of an ode, it is certainly a viable auxiliary program of the ode, and through close readings of select poems I hope to show how Pindar achieves these negotiations within the context of epinician.

I have shown how the eidographical tradition that labeled epinician as secular poetry is inadequate, and has allowed scholars to misunderstand the full nature and function of the genre, dismissing apparently religious content as decorative. Epinician is in fact capable of religious functionality - and of genuine communication with the gods, and there is little doubt that Pindar intended to exercise such a function in his odes. The setting of the poems at rituals and temples evinces a desire to interact with the gods, as does their performative mode of danced choral singing, a traditional form used to establish communication with the gods; the odes have inherited the need to recognize and thank the gods for their assistance from their victory-song predecessors; and the inclusion

⁹⁴ Thus in *Paean* 6, Pindar beseeches Pytho to receive him (1-6), and explains that he was called by the Pythians and obeyed as a son obeys his mother (12), suggesting to her that she should receive him because he acts out of duty and piety.

of hymnic structures allows the odes not only to pay the victor's debt to the gods, but also by balancing the χάρις relationship to request further favor.

III. Greek Prayer

After reviewing the above evidence, we may believe that Pindar and his audience viewed epinician poetry as capable of religious functionality, participating in the kind of religious communication modern scholars have traditionally reserved for hymnic genres such as the paian or dithyramb.⁹⁵ In the following chapters I hope to show specifically how certain odes engage in communication and negotiation with a divine audience through the use of prayer. Before I begin my close readings, however, I would briefly like to examine the concept of prayer in ancient Greek religion in order to provide a working definition of it for the study. In analyzing prayer, I shall consider not only its internal aspects – that is, the elements that are included in crafting it – but also its external aspects – here I think of the prayer's context, in what situations it might occur, and what acts might accompany it.

The formal structure of a prayer is a difficult concept to approach, not least of all because of the common conflation between prayers and hymns. As every hymn has as one of its aims the fulfillment of a request, for some scholars prayer and hymn are synonymous, differing only in that prayers are uttered and hymns are sung.⁹⁶ In this formulation, a prayer would need an invocation to a god, an argument as to why the god should show favor to the worshippers, and a particular request. These three elements combine to form a single unit of request, each part fulfilling some function – calling the

⁹⁵ Mackie (2003) 92 argues that “One function of the epinician ode is to negotiate with the gods on behalf of the victor, his family, and his city.”

⁹⁶ Bremer (1981) 182.

god to attention, explaining why he should listen, and so on. Alternatively, some scholars identify prayers as just requests; any desire uttered by a person to a god or hero then becomes a prayer.⁹⁷ There exists a middle road as well. Aubriot-Sévin, in her extensive study on Greek prayer, writes that a prayer is “toute démarche par laquelle l’homme, ou bien s’adresse à la divinité, ou bien tente de recourir à des puissances supérieures pour obtenir un résultat”.⁹⁸ In this formulation, prayer is more than just a request, for it needs to be addressed to a god; in other words, for her a prayer must combine an invocation and a request, but does not necessarily require an argument. Pulleyn, following Aubriot-Sévin’s lead in discussing the formal structure of prayer, identifies the basic structure shared by all Greek prayers as an invocation combined with a request.⁹⁹ In this way the request is not simply uttered but is directed at a particular god, drawing him into communication with the speaker; at the same time the argument element seen in hymns is discarded as not absolutely necessary to the interaction, for the request is predicated upon the *χάρις* relationship between god and worshipper that may be understood by both parties without expressing it verbally, or that relationship may be affirmed through an accompanying dedicatory act.¹⁰⁰

Examining the internal structure of prayer, however, does not provide a complete picture. After all, prayer exists in some kind of context, and this too should be addressed. As Depew notes, “The function and characteristic form of an ancient Greek prayer must certainly have depended upon elements inseparable from the occasion of its utterance: the

⁹⁷ Hamilton (1974) 17 describes his Future Prayer as a simple request with the optative.

⁹⁸ Aubriot-Sévin (1992) 24.

⁹⁹ Pulleyn (1997) 7.

¹⁰⁰ Pulleyn (1997) 37.

location where it was spoken...[or] accompanying ritual action”.¹⁰¹ Depew suggests that prayers would have been uttered in specifically sacred spaces such as the *temenos* of a temple, a location infusing speech and action with a sacred quality.¹⁰² The prayer also should not stand alone, as it were, but accompany a ritual act such as a sacrifice or dedication to a god. In this Depew follows Pulleyn, who argues that uttering a prayer is not enough to make it effective; it must be associated with a sacrifice. As noted above, such ritual acts may take the place of an argument: an argument normally reminds the gods of the status of the *χάρις* relationship in order to charge them to act, but a sacrifice or dedication may equally put the gods in debt and urge them to grant favors.¹⁰³

I would now lay out my own conception of prayer. Following Aubriot-Sévin and Pulleyn, I define prayer as a combination of invocation and request. The inclusion of an invocation shows that the poet is specifically intending to communicate a request to a particular god; in other words, that he wants a god to hear the request and be persuaded to act upon it. The vast majority of these prayers contain invocation in the vocative, following the ‘Du-Stil’.¹⁰⁴ A small number of the prayers in Pindar’s epinicians refer to the god in the third person, following the ‘Er-Stil,’ more commonly associated with rhapsodic hymns;¹⁰⁵ I include these among the prayers as they have a clear addressee.

I want to contrast prayers with what I am terming a ‘religious wish’. A religious wish is a request spoken without any invocation, though sometimes the unspecified *θεός* is named. Without a specific addressee we cannot be certain that Pindar intended to

¹⁰¹ Depew (1997) 229.

¹⁰² Depew (1997) 229.

¹⁰³ Pulleyn (1997) 8.

¹⁰⁴ Norden (1956) 143-63. See also Race (1990) 103.

¹⁰⁵ Norden (1956) 163-68. See also Race (1990) 103. Race (1990) 102-03 argues that Pindar drew on the traditions of both cultic and rhapsodic hymns in writing his epinician odes, but that cultic hymns dominate; this analysis accords with my findings in the epinician prayers.

communicate these religious wishes to a divine audience, or if he is using them in an offhand or rhetorical way. He may, of course, have used some rhetorically and some sincerely, but as it is more difficult to discern intent, I will not focus on them when they appear in the odes.¹⁰⁶

This definition of prayer is not meant to deny the possibility that Pindar could utilize the form of a prayer without intending to make an authentic request of the gods. Pindar is a master poet and has the skill to manipulate conventional forms for artistic ends. There are certainly examples of prayers in the epinician odes that fit my technical definition but that are of doubtful religious functionality. When Pindar addresses places – not a nymph or hero associated with a location, but the place itself – we are right to question whether the ancient Greeks actually believed a city or a location, however holy, was sentient or imbued with any kind of power, and thus whether they could worship it as they might a god. When in *Isthmian* 1 Pindar addresses the island of Delos, praying that it might forgive him for privileging his native Thebes above the sacred haunt of Apollo, it is far more likely apostrophe than a sincere prayer. In these cases, prayers may indeed fulfill a rhetorical function. It is not my desire to force every prayer that appears in an

¹⁰⁶ In my definition of prayer I differ in my terminology from Race, who has also studied and classified the prayers of Pindar's epinician odes. Race identifies those passages of hymnal invocation in the epinician odes as hymns, including those invocations that terminate in a request to the god; his 'hymn' thus corresponds to my conception of 'prayer'. Moreover, he distinguishes hymns from what he calls prayers, which are requests made to an unspecified divinity; thus his 'prayers' correspond to my 'religious wishes'. Given the importance of the request component to a hymn (cf. Race [1990] 103, where he notes that cultic hymns "emphasize the request," and Bremer and Furley [2001] 60, who say that "the prayer is the climax, the point of the hymn as a whole."), studies of hymns have tended to blur the line between prayer and hymn. I am attempting to preserve a clear distinction between a hymn and a prayer. A hymn is more complex than a prayer and contains an entire program for disposing the god favorably to the request (cf. Pulleyn [1997] 55, who makes a similar distinction, noting that a hymn attempts to negotiate with the gods and create χάρις, but a prayer does not), as well as a dimension of performance through song and/or dance. I realize that my definition of prayer, which combines the hymnic elements of invocation and request, may still create some confusion, so I use 'request' of any petition uttered by a worshipper, but 'prayer' only of those requests whose addressee is clearly delineated by an invocation. Requests, not prayers, form the third element of hymnic structure.

epinician ode into an example of a sincere moment of religious communication; to do this would be to stretch Pindar's compositions and rob him of an artistry that is able to look beyond the literal. Equally, however, it would not be prudent to deny every example of prayer the possibility of religious functionality on the basis of certain counterexamples. When Pindar addresses a god such as Zeus with a prayer asking that the victor, the victor's family, or his community prosper in the future, it is difficult to believe that this is merely rhetorical, and would require us to view Pindar, traditionally considered the most pious of poets for his conservative attitude towards the gods (at least in comparison to his Attic contemporaries), as calling upon them simply to associate them with the victor and amplify the glory of the celebration. It is easier to believe, and more likely, that Pindar is making an actual prayer.

In this study, I intend to offer readings of Pindar's epinician poems which highlight the way that the odes act as a mode of communication between men and the gods. In Chapter 2, I will examine *Pythian* 8, written for an Aiginetan victor in a period when Aigina was subject to Athenian rule. In this poem, Pindar reminds the gods of their role as arbiters of justice and highlights the inherent qualities of the Aiginetan people in order to persuade the gods to redress the injustice done by men in stripping Aigina of its autonomy. In Chapter 3 I will look at *Isthmian* 6, one of three of Pindar's surviving poems dedicated to a son of Lampon, in which Pindar negotiates for continued success for Lampon's family, and the permanence of the fame the family has already accrued. Chapter 4 focuses on *Nemean* 9, composed for Khromios, the governor of Aitna, and uses the qualities of both ruler and city to persuade the gods to grant the city their favor and protection. In Chapter 5 I turn to *Olympian* 13, a poem that stresses the excellence of the

victor's family and community while asking the gods to allow that excellence to continue in future generations. Through these four studies, I hope to show that Pindar mediates between the mortal worshippers and divine audiences, communicating messages to each party and negotiating for the status of the future relationship between them.

Chapter 2: Pythian VIII

<p>Φιλόφρον Ἥσυχία, Δίκας ὦ μεγιστόπολι θύγατερ, βουλᾶν τε καὶ πολέμων ἔχοισα κλαῖδας ὑπερτάτας Πυθιονικὸν τιμὰν Ἀριστομένει δέκευ. τὺ γὰρ τὸ μαλθακὸν ἔρξαι τε καὶ παθεῖν ὁμῶς ἐπίστασαι καιρῷ σὺν ἀτρεκεῖ· τὺ δ' ὁπότεν τις ἀμείλιχον καρδίᾳ κότον ἐνελάσῃ, τραχεῖα δυσμενέων ὑπαντιάζαισα κράτει τιθεῖς ὕβριν ἐν ἄντλῳ, τὰν οὐδὲ Πορφυρίων μάθεν παρ' αἷσαν ἐξερεθίζων. κέρδος δὲ φίλτατον, ἐκόντος εἴ τις ἐκ δόμων φέροι. βία δὲ καὶ μέγαλαυχον ἔσφαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ. Τυφῶς Κίλιξ ἐκατόγκρανος οὐ μιν ἄλυξεν, οὐδὲ μὲν βασιλεὺς Γιγάντων· δμᾶθεν δὲ κεραυνῷ τόξοισί τ' Ἀπόλλωνος· ὅς εὐμενεῖ νόφ Ξενάρκειον ἔδεκτο Κίρραθεν ἐστεφανωμένον υἷὸν ποίᾳ Παρνασσίδι Δωριεῖ τε κώμῳ.</p>	<p>Triad A</p> <p>5</p> <p>10</p> <p>15</p> <p>20</p>
<p>ἔπεσε δ' οὐ Χαρίτων ἐκάς ἀ δικαιοπόλις ἀρεταῖς κλειναῖσιν Αἰακιδᾶν θιγοῖσα νᾶσος· τελέαν δ' ἔχει δόξαν ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς. πολλοῖσι μὲν γὰρ αἰεῖδεται νικαφόροις ἐν ἀέθλοις θρέψαισα καὶ θοαῖς ὑπερτάτους ἥρωας ἐν μάχαις· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐμπρέπει. εἰμὶ δ' ἄσυχλος ἀναθέμεν πᾶσαν μακρογορίαν λύρα τε καὶ φθέγματι μαλθακῷ μὴ κόρος ἐλθὼν κνίσῃ. τὸ δ' ἐν ποσὶ μοι τράχον ἴτω τεδὸν χρέος, ὦ παῖ, νεώτατον καλῶν, ἐμᾶ ποτανὸν ἀμφὶ μαχανᾷ. παλαισμάτεσσι γὰρ ἰχνεύων ματραδελφεοῦς Οὐλυμπία τε Θεόγνητον οὐ κατελέγχεις, οὐδὲ Κλειτομάχοιο νίκαν Ἴσθμοι θρασύγυιον· αὖξων δὲ πάτραν Μειδυλιδᾶν λόγον φέρεις, τὸν ὄνπερ ποτ' Οἰκλέος παῖς ἐν ἐπταπύλοις ἰδὼν υἱοὺς Θήβαις αἰνίζατο παρμένοντας αἰχμᾷ,</p>	<p>Triad B</p> <p>25</p> <p>30</p> <p>35</p> <p>40</p>
<p>ὁπότε ἄπ' Ἄργεος ἦλυθον δευτέραν ὁδὸν Ἐπίγονοι.</p>	<p>Triad Γ</p>

<p> ῶδ' εἶπε μαρναμένων· 'φυῶ τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα. θαέομαι σαφές δράκοντα ποικίλον αἰθᾶς Ἀλκμᾶν' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος νωμῶντα πρῶτον ἐν Κάδμου πύλαις. ὁ δὲ καμὼν προτέρα πάθα νῦν ἀρείονος ἐνέχεται ὄρνιχος ἀγγελία Ἄδραστος ἥρω· τὸ δὲ οἴκοθεν ἀντία πράξει. μόνος γὰρ ἐκ Δαναῶν στρατοῦ θανόντος ὅστέα λέξαις υἱοῦ, τύχα θεῶν ἀφίξεται λαῶ σὺν ἀβλαβεῖ Ἄβαντος εὐρυχόρους ἀγνιάς.' τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐφθέγγετ' Ἀμφιάρηος. χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτός Ἀλκμᾶνα στεφάνοισι βάλλω, ραίνω δὲ καὶ ὕμνῳ, γείτων ὅτι μοι καὶ κτεάνων φύλαξ ἐμῶν ὑπάντασεν ἰόντι γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν παρ' αἰοίδιμον. μαντευμάτων τ' ἐφάψατο συγγόνοισι τέχναις. </p>	<p>45</p> <p>50</p> <p>55</p> <p>60</p>
<p> τὸ δ', Ἑκαταβόλε, πάνδοκον ναὸν εὐκλέα διανέμων Πυθῶνος ἐν γυάλοις, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον τόθι χαρμάτων ᾧπασας, οἴκοι δὲ πρόσθεν ἀρπαλέαν δόσιν πενταεθλίου σὺν ἐορταῖς ὑμαῖς ἐπάγαγες· ῶναξ, ἐκόντι δ' εὐχομαι νόῳ κατά τιν' ἀρμονίαν βλέπειν ἀμφ' ἕκαστον, ὅσα νέομαι. κώμῳ μὲν ἀδυμελεῖ Δίκη παρέστακε· θεῶν δ' ὅπιν ἄφθονον αἰτέω, Ξέναρκες, ὑμετέραις τύχαις. εἰ γάρ τις ἐσλὰ πέπαται μὴ σὺν μακρῷ πόνῳ, πολλοῖς σοφὸς δοκεῖ πεδ' ἀφρόνων βίον κορυσσέμεν ὀρθοβούλοισι μηχαναῖς· τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κεῖται· δαίμων δὲ παρίσχει, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὑπερθε βάλλον, ἄλλον δ' ὑπὸ χειρῶν μέτρῳ καταβαίνει· {έν} Μεγάροις δ' ἔχεις γέρας, μυχῶ τ' ἐν Μαραθῶνος, Ἥρας τ' ἀγῶν' ἐπιχώριον νίκαις τρισσαῖς, ὧ Ἀριστόμενες, δάμασσας ἔργῳ· </p>	<p>Triad Δ</p> <p>65</p> <p>70</p> <p>75</p> <p>80</p>
<p> τέτρασι δ' ἔμπετες ὑψόθεν σωμάτεσσι κακὰ φρονέων, τοῖς οὔτε νόστος ὁμῶς ἐπαλπνος ἐν Πυθιάδι κρίθη, οὐδὲ μολόντων παρ' ματέρ' ἀμφὶ γέλως γλυκύς ᾧρσεν χάριν· κατὰ λαύρας δ' ἐχθρῶν ἀπάοροι </p>	<p>Triad E</p> <p>85</p>

πτώσسونτι, συμφορᾷ δεδαγμένοι.
 ὁ δὲ καλὸν τι νέον λαχὼν
 ἀβρότατος ἔπι μεγάλας
 ἐξ ἐλπίδος πέταται 90
 ὑποπτέροις ἀνορέαις, ἔχων
 κρέσσονα πλούτου μέριμναν. ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν
 τὸ τερπνὸν αὖξεται· οὕτω δὲ καὶ πίτνει χαμαί,
 ἀποτρόπῳ γνῶμα σεσεισμένον.
 ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ 95
 ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ὅταν αἶγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ,
 λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μείλιχος αἰὼν.
 Αἶγινα φίλα μᾶτερ, ἐλευθέρῳ στόλῳ
 πόλιν τάνδε κόμιζε Δὶ καὶ κρέοντι σὺν Αἰακῷ
 Πηλεῖ τε κάγαθῷ Τελαμῶνι σὺν τ' Ἀχιλλεῖ. 100

Gracious-minded *Hesychia*, O daughter
 of *Dikē*, you who makes cities great,
 holding the highest keys
 of counsel and war,
 receive this Pythian honor for Aristomenes. 1
 For you know when to perform gentle deeds
 and when to suffer, with certain timing.
 Whenever someone holds
 relentless anger in his heart,
 you, harsh to your enemies, 5
 meeting him with strength set
 his insolence into the flood, you whom Porphyryion did not perceive
 angering beyond measure. Gain is dearest,
 if one carries it from the home of a willing giver.
 Violence overcomes the arrogant in time. 10
 Cilician Typhos, the hundred-headed, did not evade it,
 nor the king of the Giants; they were subdued by the lightning-bolt,
 and by the arrows of Apollo; Apollo who, with a favorable mind,
 received from Kirrha the son of Xenarkes crowned
 with Parnassian grass and a Dorian song. 15
 20

Not far from the Charites falls
 the island with her just cities,
 touching upon the famed virtues
 of the Aiakidai; it holds a perfect
 reputation from its beginning. It is sung of by many, 25
 having nourished heroes mighty in the prize-bearing contests
 and in swift battles;
 and it is also distinguished in these matters for its men.
 But I am without leisure to dedicate

the whole long-winded account 30
 with lyre and soft voice,
 lest satiety coming on irritate. But let my debt to you,
 O youth, the latest of your victories, which runs at my feet,
 go forth winged by my skill.
 In wrestling you follow your mother's brothers, 35
 and do not shame Theognetos at Olympia,
 nor the strong-limbed victory of Kleitomachos at Isthmia.
 Exalting the Meidylid clan you prove the saying,
 which once the son of Oikles, looking upon seven-gated
 Thebes at the sons standing by their spears, riddled, 40

when the Epigonoι came
 from Argos, a second campaign.
 Thus he spoke while they fought,
 "The inborn will of their fathers
 is clear by nature in the sons. I see clearly 45
 Alkmeon wielding the mottled serpent on his shining shield,
 first at the gates of Kadmos.
 And the hero Adrastos,
 suffering from the previous misfortune,
 now meets with the message 50
 of a better omen; but at home
 he will endure the opposite. He alone of the army of the Danaans
 will gather the bones of his dead son, and by the will of the gods
 will return with his army unharmed
 to the broad streets of Abas.' Amphiaraios 55
 said such things. I myself rejoicing
 cast crowns upon Alkmeon, and I shower him with hymns;
 as he, my neighbor and the guardian of my possessions,
 appeared to me going to the famous navel of the earth,
 and spoke prophecies with his inborn talents. 60

And you, Far-shooter, who is lord
 of the well-famed temple receiving all
 in the vale of Pytho,
 there you granted this greatest of joys,
 and again at home you led forth to him 65
 an alluring gift for the pentathlon at your festival;
 Lord, I pray to you, with willing mind
 oversee some harmony
 in each step as I go.
Dikē stands by 70
 the sweet-singing chorus. I ask
 that the regard of the gods be without envy, Xenarkes, toward your fortunes.
 For if someone achieves noble deeds without great toil,

he seems to many to be a wise man among fools,
 arming his life with right-counseling devices. 75
 But these things do not rest with men; a god grants them;
 casting up now one man and then another, another down under his hands,
 he enters the contests in proportion; you hold a prize at Megara,
 and in the valley of Marathon, and at Hera's local contest
 you gained mastery in the action, O Aristomenes, with three victories. 80

from above you fell upon four
 bodies, thinking grim thoughts,
 nor is a sweet homecoming is judged
 for them at Pythia, as for you,
 nor will sweet laughter rouse joy when they returned 85
 to their mothers; along alleyways apart from their enemies
 they cower, bitten by misfortune.
 But he who was allotted some new fortune
 in his great splendor
 flies beyond hope 90
 on the wings of his prowess, having
 a pursuit greater than wealth. In a short time the pleasure
 of mortals grows; and thus it falls to the ground,
 shaken by an averting thought.
 Creatures of a day; what is someone? what is no one? 95
 Man is the dream of a shadow. But when a god-given gleam comes,
 there is for men a shining light and a sweet lifetime.
 Aigina, dear mother, guide this city
 on a free course, with Zeus and lordly Aiakos,
 and Peleus and brave Telamon and Achilles. 100

I. Overview

Pythian 8 has long captured the attention of scholars, thanks both to its apparent connection with political developments of the period, composed as it was for an Aiginetan victor at a period when Aigina was suffering under Athenian hegemony, and to what are arguably the most famous lines in all of Pindar (95-96):

ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ
 ἄνθρωπος¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Carne-Ross (1985) 183 calls the lines “the greatest perhaps in Greek”.

No study of the ode has focused exclusively on its prayers, however, and I hope in this chapter to provide a reading that illustrates how Pindar mediates with the gods on behalf of the victor and his community in response to the political situation affecting these people, creating a program of negotiation visible not only in the prayers themselves but throughout the ode. I do not intend to suggest that this is the only possible reading of the prayers or the ode: Pindar may allude to various themes in his compositions, weaving together themes of praise, warning, thanksgiving, and other concerns along with thoughts of the future. Rather, by uncovering Pindar's program of negotiation, I want to show that epinician odes are capable of religious value as a medium for communicating with the gods.

In order to analyze the ode, I have broken it into six sections. In the Prayer to *Hesychia* (1-18), I show how Pindar establishes the problem of injustice as a theme for the ode through an invocation of *Hesychia*, the personification of civic peace, that recalls the injustices that Aigina has suffered at the hands of Athens. The *gnomē* that follows establishes that Aigina, represented by Aristomenes, earns its gains, while others, such as Athens, take their gains by force, a rule seen in the struggles of Typhoeus and Porphyryon; it lies with the gods, moreover, to oppose the latter kind, as *Hesychia* and Apollo have done. In the Warning about Unearned Gains (18-20), Pindar promises the audience that the gains of violent men are fleeting, and reminds both men and gods that the time will come for Athens to fall. In a lengthy section on Inherited Excellence (21-60), Pindar establishes the qualities of the Aiginetans, ones they have espoused from the beginning of their line to its latest representative, ones that both earn the favor of the gods, and prove that they are favored by them. In the Prayer to Apollo (61-71), Pindar

asks the god to ensure that his praise of the victor is proper so that he does not offend the gods. Pindar then spends much of the final triad considering the Role of the Gods in Mortal Life (71-97). He counsels the audience on the vicissitudes of mortal life, as all fortune and success that men enjoy lie ultimately with the gods to grant and withdraw. With the gods' role and the Aiginetans' quality well established, Pindar ends with a Prayer to Zeus and Aigina (98-100), calling on the gods to grant Aigina its freedom once more, opposing *hubris* and allowing the wheel of fortune to continue to turn, moving back toward a cosmically ordained station. Politics is in the mind of Pindar and his audience, and by linking those circumstances to the universal truths that he as a poet is privy to, Pindar can assert the prayers of the victor and his community and assure them that those requests are worthy of the gods' favor.

II. The Circumstances of the Ode

The date of *Pythian* 8 has been the focus of much debate. A scholiast provides us with a precise date: Aristomenes' victory was in the λε', or 35th, Pythian Games, those held in 446 BCE. Most scholars accept this date,¹⁰⁸ not just because of the scholiast's note but also because it accords with the victory of Theognetos, Aristomenes' uncle. Theognetos won an Olympic victory in wrestling in 476 BCE,¹⁰⁹ and it is reasonable to believe that thirty years might pass before his nephew could compete in the games. Scholars also point to historical events to support the date. In the closing prayer, Pindar prays to Aigina, along with Zeus and the Aiakid heroes, that she might ἐλευθέρω στόλῳ

¹⁰⁸ The date has been accepted by Bornemann (1891) 230-247 and Gaspar (1900) 165-167, Farnell (1932) 192, Burton (1962) 174, Lefkowitz (1977) 209, Kirkwood (1982) 201, Cole (1992) 101, Gentili et al. (1995) 211, and Mosshammer (1982) 15-30.

¹⁰⁹ Robert (1900) 141-95 restored Theognetos' name in the Olympian victor list (P.Oxy. II 222.10), setting him in the 76th Olympiad, or 476 BCE.

πόλιν τάνδε κόμιζε, ‘guide this city on a free course’ (98-99). In order to understand the implications of this phrase, let us consider the political situation of Athens and Aigina at the time.

The relationship between Athens and Aigina was historically hostile. A period of peace did follow the Persian War, but that ended with the growing power of Athens, especially at sea, and the beginning of the “First Peloponnesian War” in 459/8 BCE. After Megara left the Peloponnesian League for the Delian League, war soon broke out between Athens and Corinth. Aigina feared that an Athenian victory over Corinth would give the city control over the Saronic Gulf, and Athens engaged Aigina at sea near the island of Kekryphaleia. There Athens won a major naval victory, and followed it by besieging Aigina itself.¹¹⁰ In 457 BCE Aigina capitulated, and the city was forced to remove its walls, give up its fleet, and pay a yearly tribute to Athens.¹¹¹ These conditions were hard on the Aiginetans, who surely resented being under the control of their ancient enemy.

In 447 BCE Athens’ power showed signs of weakening as Boiotia, which had fallen to Athenian leadership after the Battle of Oinophyta in 457 BCE, was the scene of an Athenian defeat at the Battle of Koroneia and regained its independence, an event that was soon followed by the revolts of Euboia and Megara.¹¹² A Spartan expeditionary force had reached Eleusis before it retreated. Athens was induced to seek peace, and it entered into negotiations that resulted in the Thirty Years’ Peace, a treaty struck in 446

¹¹⁰ Thuc. 1.105.2.

¹¹¹ Thuc. 1.108.4.

¹¹² Thuc. 1.114.1.

BCE. Under the terms of the treaty, Aigina remained subject to Athens.¹¹³ If Aristomenes' victory belongs to that same year, then we may interpret the prayer at the end of the ode as referring to the hopes of Aigina, and Aristomenes' family in particular, to be free from Athenian subjugation. Whether the ode came before or after the outcome of the treaty was known is difficult to determine, but either suits the closing prayer: if before, then the ode may look to the treaty with the hope that it will reinstate Aigina's freedom,¹¹⁴ and, if after, it prays for the freedom Aigina deserved but was denied. While both sentiments are equally able to account for the closing prayer, I prefer the second interpretation.¹¹⁵ The ode, as we will see, deals heavily with the themes of justice and the influence of the gods in the lives of men, and so suggests a moment when Aigina, denied justice by men, turned to the gods to distribute it.¹¹⁶

The ode may also deal with internal strife at Aigina. Following Athens' subjugation of Aigina in 457 BCE, it no doubt installed pro-Athenians in power to secure its influence. With the Athenian defeat at Koroneia, however, the traditional elite that

¹¹³ Under the Thirty Years' Peace Aigina did admittedly preserve its autonomy (αὐτονομία), but the precise implication of that term is difficult to understand: it certainly did not preclude the loss of its walls and fleet and the burden of paying tribute to Athens, and indeed Aigina complains to Sparta in 432 BCE that Athens has violated the condition of autonomy anyway. For a fuller explanation, see Figueira (1990 ~ 1993, 255-88).

¹¹⁴ Brown (1951) 5 believes that the mood of the ode is better suited to prior composition, as there is throughout anxiety about 'the uncertain future'; similarly, Mullen (1973-74) 476 argues that it preceded the treaty given the prayer for Aigina's freedom, a hope which would be more understandable while awaiting the outcome of the discussions.

¹¹⁵ The second interpretation is favored as well by Figueira (1993) 216: "although the victory of the honorand Aristomenes is dated to 446, it is sensible to conclude that the terms of the Thirty Years' Peace were already known at the time of the performance."

¹¹⁶ Some scholars, reading κόμισε as 'preserve' rather than 'restore,' posit an earlier date for the ode, pushing it back to a period when Aigina's freedom was merely threatened, not lost. Müller (1817) 177 emends the scholiast to read λγ' for a date of 458 BCE, around the time of the battle of Kekryphaleia, and Fennell (1883) 235 emends to λβ', 32nd, for 462 BCE, a period when Athens' subjugation of Thasos had roused fears of its growing power. A funerary monument discovered on Aigina for an Aristouchos, son of Aristomenes, may disqualify these earlier dates: Polinskaya (2002) 403-05 suggests the Aristomenes may be the victor of *Pythian* 8 (but concedes that such an identification is impossible to be certain of) and as the monument is dated to the 4th c. BCE it becomes a stretch to set Aristomenes alive as early as 478 BCE, even as a youth.

previously held power may have been able to regain some of that control. Aristomenes' victory comes at this time, and, if he is indeed a member of a family that participated in the previous oligarchy, as I suggest below, provides the traditional elite with an achievement symbolic of their former glory and power. At the same time, however, such a moment would be dangerous to the island, as the traditional rulers and the pro-Athenian elements would now be in conflict. Thus Pfeijffer argues that Pindar's references to *Dikē*, whom he describes as, "often invoked in justification of maintaining the existing situation or of returning to a previous *status quo*,"¹¹⁷ suggest that Pindar uses the ode to pray for a restoration of the previous order in which the traditional elite ruled Aigina.

Some scholars have tried to divest *Pythian* 8 of any political significance; Lefkowitz, for instance, writes, "I think it is a mistake...to see in the ode a sense of despair, either because the poet supposedly senses that aristocratic values are decaying, or because he resents Aegina's subjection to Athens...In fact he does not place any emphasis on any of these matters, but rather on the nature of heroism".¹¹⁸ Lefkowitz's position likely arises as a reaction to historical readings of Pindar, in which scholars used the epinician odes as evidence attesting to the historical circumstances surrounding the poet, the victor, or the community.¹¹⁹ Yet while this approach has yielded poor results, we should not hasten to the opposite extreme and declare that ancient Greek poetry was unconcerned with current affairs, especially when the poetry so strongly suggests otherwise. *Pythian* 8 contains a number of signs of interest in the current circumstances of the victor and his community: the references to hubristic powers such as Typhoeus and

¹¹⁷ Pfeijffer 1995b 159.

¹¹⁸ Lefkowitz (1977) 219.

¹¹⁹ This is, for instance, the approach of the ancient scholiasts, whose analytical efforts resulted in conjectures that are today rejected; see Lefkowitz (1985), in which she dismantles this approach.

Porphyryon suggest allusions to Athens, and the closing prayer, which appeals to Zeus, Aigina, and the Aiakid heroes to restore Aigina's freedom (98-100), clearly is in touch with the present concerns of the Aiginetans. Indeed, many scholars have read the poem as a commentary on Aigina's troubles, or a denunciation of Athenian actions.¹²⁰ We may look instead to the approach of Carne-Ross, who advocates a middle-ground, as a guide to reading the poem. For him, we cannot read *Pythian* 8 as simply encoding political issues, but neither should we preclude references to the 'issues of the day'; instead, we should see how Pindar refers to immediate problems and links them to universal laws of the world by juxtaposing them with gnomic statements or myths that illustrate legendary examples of these problems.¹²¹

The victor of *Pythian* 8 is Aristomenes, the son of Xenarkes, a member of the Meidylid clan of Aigina. The scholiasts tell us only that the Meidylids were a clan¹²² on Aigina named after an early hero Meidylos,¹²³ and we do not possess other evidence for the family, its members, or its activities. Scholars have argued generally that athletes participating in the crown games must come from aristocratic families as laborers and farmers could hardly afford either the time necessary to train for and attend the games, nor could they afford lavish celebrations to mark a victory such as a Pindaric epinician

¹²⁰ Notable are the studies of Farnell (1932), Brown (1951), Mullen (1973-1974), Figueira (1993) 216-217 and Pfeijffer (1999).

¹²¹ Carne-Ross (1985), 185-189. As he puts it (189): "If Pindar praised men and their communities in a way never done before or since...he did not do so by tying one hand behind his back and excluding much of what most deeply concerned them."

¹²² The Meidylids were an Aiginetan *patra*. The term *patra* has come under scrutiny, with various suggestions offered as to its true scope. Burnett (2005) 15 has suggested they were akin to tribes, and that Aigina had ten ruling *patrai*. Better, however, is the idea described by Morrison (2011) 318-21, that the *patra* includes a patrilineal group larger than the *oikos*, but smaller than the tribes suggested by Burnett.

¹²³ Σ Pind. *Pyth.* 8 53a.

ode.¹²⁴ The Meidylid clan must have been wealthy, then, and one could infer that they were one of the merchant families of Aigina that prospered through trade. It is even possible that the Meidylids participated in the oligarchy that ruled the island before it fell to Athens in 457 BCE. If these suppositions are correct, then at the time of the composition of *Pythian* 8 the Meidylid clan would especially have been affected by the reaffirmation of Athenian hegemony over Aigina, as it would have confirmed the loss of their traditional political power.

The performance of a Pindaric ode, as I have noted, is difficult to reconstruct, but *Pythian* 8 provides us with certain clues to its circumstances, suggesting that the ode was performed in Aigina by a chorus of Aiginetan citizens. That *Pythian* 8 was performed in Aigina rather than Delphi at the conclusion of the Pythian Games is obvious from the text. In the first triad Pindar explains how Apollo received Aristomenes when he was crowned for his victory (18-20):

ὅς εὐμενεῖ νόῳ
Ξενάρκειον ἔδεκτο Κίρραθεν ἑστεφανωμένον
υἱὸν ποίᾳ Παρνασσίδι Δωριεῖ τε κώμῳ.

who, with a favorable mind,
received from Kirrha the son of Xenarkes crowned
with Parnassian grass and a Dorian song.

Here Pindar describes the celebration of Aristomenes' victory that took place when the victor accepted his crown at Apollo's temple in Delphi: thus Apollo himself receives Aristomenes, and the victor wears a crown woven from the grass of Parnassos, one of the two peaks overlooking Delphi. The current ode is the epinician composed for

¹²⁴ Pritchard (2003) 293-349 and Kyle (1987) 102-23, (2007) 209, though others, especially Young (2004) 92-101, suggest that the idea that athletics were reserved for a leisured upper-class is a Victorian development (championed especially by Gardiner [1910]) and that athletes of all social classes participated in the games. Nevertheless, given the need to commission a poem and hire and train a chorus to perform, celebrations of athletic victories such as Pindaric epinician must have been costly.

Aristomenes' homecoming. Indeed, Pindar takes care in *Pythian* 8 to praise the island, calling Aigina a city favored by the Charites and filled with men valiant in athletics and war.¹²⁵ The emphasis on Aigina's excellence suits a performance on the island with an audience of Aiginetans, where the lavish praise can unify the victor and the viewers in shared pride of the city glorified anew by Aristomenes' achievement.

The performers of the ode were most likely a chorus of Aiginetan citizens. Pindar refers to a κῶμος in lines 70-71:

κῶμος μὲν ἄδυμελεῖ
Δίκη παρέστακε.

Dikē stands by
the sweet-singing chorus.

Pindar has just prayed to Apollo for assistance in composing the song, asking that the god assure its harmony, and now thinks of those performing the ode; the κῶμος must then refer to the performers.¹²⁶ That the κῶμος comprised Aiginetan citizens is also suggested by the ode. Kurke has suggested that epinician odes performed in a victor's hometown would naturally be performed by a citizen chorus, given that epinician functions in part by allowing citizens to recognize and receive the glory the victor has earned.¹²⁷ At the very least, even if Pindar or the patron hired some professional singers, the chorus was

¹²⁵ See vv. 21-27.

¹²⁶ *Pythian* 8 has been nominated for solo performance by Lefkowitz (1988) 10n.35, who points to a passage in which the speaker protests that he cannot recount all the glories of Aigina, adding λόρα τε καὶ φθέγματι μαλθακῶ (P.8.31). Lefkowitz supposes that this speaker, therefore, plays the lyre and sings the epinician along with it. Carey (1989) 552, however, identified this same passage as an example of 'oral subterfuge,' the process wherein Pindar speaks as though he is in the process of composing the song, though the composition will have been completed by the time of the performance. Pindar inserts this lament not because it reflects reality, but to heighten the praise of Aigina. Indeed, Carey argues for a technique he calls 'scene-setting,' in which the fictive composition stresses a point, such as the difficulty of praising a patron adequately. Alternatively, one may follow Morgan (1993), and consider this passage as an example of Pindar removing himself from the song so that it has value in its performances, both the original and any future reperformance: "It is Pindar's personal presence that guarantees the victor's, and he must continue to be master of the revel" (13).

¹²⁷ Kurke (1991) 102.

certainly meant to represent the community as it worked through the reception of the victory. There is an emphasis upon the excellence of Aigina and its men, as I discussed above, an attitude that befits an ode performed by and for Aiginetans. The strongest evidence for a citizen chorus, however, comes in the final lines of the ode when the chorus calls upon Αἴγινα φίλα μήτηρ, ‘Aigina, dear mother’ (98). Such an address is natural for performers native to Aigina who consider either the island itself, or the nymph who began the line of Aiakid heroes and who gave the island its name, a mother to them.

III. The Prayer to *Hesychia*

Pythian 8 opens with an invocation and prayer to *Hesychia*. Ancient evidence for the deity is limited; the only other references to her in Greek literature occur twice elsewhere in Pindar’s corpus (at *O.* 4.16 and fr.109), and once in Aristophanes (*Birds* 1321-21). These passages suggest that *Hesychia* was a deified concept who represented the virtue of civic peace, the quality of a city free from *stasis*.¹²⁸ By calling upon *Hesychia* in the opening line of the ode, Pindar is establishing the idea of the island’s former civic peace as a theme. Throughout the ode, Pindar will point to the ways in which Aigina’s peace has been disturbed, either through the violence of Athens in subjugating the island, or the conflict between pro- and anti-Athenian parties, and will ask the gods to redress these problems.

The prayer follows a very traditional format, with an invocation in the vocative along with epithets and the goddess’ lineage, a description of her powers, and finally the request. Starting with an invocation, Pindar calls upon *Hesychia* and describes her

¹²⁸ The concept of ἡσυχία was in use in the vernacular of the day to signify a city enjoying internal peace: see Wade-Gery (1932) 224, Mullen (1973-1974) 479, and Carne-Ross (1985) 170.

qualities, as well as the circumstances under which a city might enjoy them. The goddess is called μεγιστόπολις, ‘you makes cities great’ (2), an adjective suggesting that when a city is free of στάσις, and instead enjoys civic peace, it will prosper.¹²⁹ Pindar also refers to *Hesychia* by the epithet φιλόφρον¹³⁰, ‘gracious-minded’ (1),¹³¹ which suggests that *Hesychia* is a positive quality associated with divine favor, or arising from it. The epithet also subtly reminds the goddess that the Aiginetans have experience of her gracious mind: before, when the Aiginetans maintained their traditional government, they enjoyed political tranquillity and the city thrived. In this way Pindar establishes that Aigina has previously received divine favor, a favor that manifested itself as civic peace.

Pindar goes on to describe *Hesychia*’s lineage, another common device in prayer. *Hesychia* is the daughter of *Dikē*, ‘Justice’ (1-2); elsewhere in Pindar we learn that *Dikē* is the sister of *Eunomia* and *Eirēne*, and all three are the daughters of *Themis*, ‘Law’.¹³² The inclusion of *Hesychia*’s pedigree helps him to show why the Aiginetans’ concerns fall into her sphere. *Dikē*, like her mother *Themis*, establishes what is right, in the sense of what is owed to each person; Pindar suggests that *Hesychia* too is connected with

¹²⁹ The scholiasts render μεγιστόπολις in two ways. Σ Pind. *Pyth.* 8 3b reads it as meaning that *Hesychia* is considered the highest virtue by cities, while Σ Pind. *Pyth.* 8 3c interprets it as meaning that when cities are rid of στάσις, and enjoying ήσυχία, they are then great. Pindar may in fact have had both senses in mind, but the latter fits strongly with the theme of the disruption to civic order that Aigina has suffered which runs throughout the ode.

¹³⁰ The word is echoed later with other gods: Apollo is described as having a εὐμενεῖ νόφ during the celebration of Aristomenes’ victory at Delphi (18) and a ἐκόντι νόφ for Pindar’s later request (19) (though scholars disagree over whether the ἐκόντι νόφ applies to Apollo or Pindar; see below, n. 154). These reminders of the favorable dispositions of the gods help not only to remind them of times when they were gracious before, but also to suggest that they should be gracious again in the future.

¹³¹ The sense of this epithet is recalled in the other instances of *Hesychia* in Greek literature: in *O.* 4.16 Pindar refers to her as φιλόπολις, and in Aristophanes *Av.* 1321 she is called ἀγανόφρονος.

¹³² *O.* 13.6-8: ἐν τᾷ γὰρ Εὐνομία ναίει κασιγνήτα τε, βάθρον πολίων ἀσφαλές, | Δίκαι καὶ ὁμότροφος Εἰρήνη, τάμιν’ ἀνδράσι πλούτου, | χρύσειαι παῖδες εὐβούλου Θέμιτος. Pindar borrows this lineage from Hesiod, *Theog.* 901-06; see above n. 18.

justice, arising when each person receives what he deserves.¹³³ Athens in subjugating Aigina and the Thirty Years Peace in upholding what must have seemed to the Aiginetans an unfair allotment of their island to Athens failed to respect *Dikē*. At the same time Athens has brought about *stasis* on Aigina, as the people split into pro- and anti-Athenian factions, and so destroyed their *hesychia*. The civic peace that Aigina had previously enjoyed has been lost, and it falls to the gods to restore it.

Pindar asks *Hesychia* to receive the τιμή, ‘honor,’ (5) due to Aristomenes from his victory. The request is traditional: asking a god to receive a victor is a common feature of opening prayers in epinician, and the use of a form of δέχομαι – here the imperative δέκευ – is characteristic of these prayers.¹³⁴ The reception motif may function by asking the god to accept the victor’s achievement, and not to become jealous of the praise and honor bestowed on a mortal athlete.¹³⁵ When the god invoked is representative of the community – some kind of patron, such as a nymph associated with the area¹³⁶ – the god may also, by receiving the victor, offer the audience an example, directing them to recognize and praise the victory, lest they become jealous of the glory he has accrued.¹³⁷ If a god shows that he or she is pleased with the victor and not jealous of his accomplishment, then the god may signal to the audience that they need not fear or envy the victor either. The invocation of *Hesychia* in particular may hold further significance. The goddess, as we will soon learn, knows when to perform gentle deeds and when to

¹³³ As Gildersleeve (1885) 328 observes, “Ἡσυχία, domestic tranquility, is eminently the daughter of right between man and man.” See also Pfeijffer (1995a) 160-62.

¹³⁴ *O.* 4.1-10, *O.* 5.1-8, *O.* 8.1-11, *O.* 14.1-17, *P.* 12.1-6, *N.* 4.9-13 and *N.* 11.1-7 all display an opening prayer with a reception motif; of these all but *N.* 4 use a form of δέχομαι.

¹³⁵ Mackie (2003) 23-24 warns that “there is a danger that the gods, if provoked by the celebration and magnification of the victor, may even out the balance and reverse the victor’s success by inflicting a bout of ill-fortune.”

¹³⁶ Kamarina in *Olympian* 5, Syracuse in *Pythian* 2, the daughter of Kadmos in *Pythian* 11, Ortygia in *Nemean* 1, and Theba in *Isthmian* 1 and 7 are such patrons.

¹³⁷ See Bulman (1992) 13 and 20, and Mackie (2003) 18 for the envy that a victor’s community may feel.

stand strong (6-7); specifically, she stands strong against violent and hubristic men (8-12). By receiving Aristomenes' τιμή,¹³⁸ *Hesychia* may signal to the audience that Aristomenes is not a hybristic man, seizing what is not his by force – he has earned his gains rightfully through competition. He (and his family and peers, presumably) receives what is allotted to him by the gods, and this very quality of respecting the gods' role in meting out fortunes proves to the gods that he is worthy of their favor. Aristomenes is, moreover, representative of his *patra*, and to a certain extent the traditional elite of Aigina, and his victory both shows that he and his peers embody the virtues favored by the gods, and suggests that the gods may well favor them again.

The warning against seizing gains by force rather than earning them or being allotted them is expanded through a gnomic passage. Pindar uses *gnomai* not only in order to provide advice to his victor and audience, but also to assert the universality of certain situations and thus predict consequences.¹³⁹ He warns that gains accrued through force are fleeting (13-15):

κέρδος δὲ φίλτατον,
ἐκόντος εἴ τις ἐκ δόμων φέροι.
βία δὲ καὶ μέγα λυχὸν ἔσφαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ.

Gain is dearest,
if one carries it from the home of a willing giver.
Violence overcomes the arrogant in time.

¹³⁸ This word, as Pfeijffer rightly notes, can refer to any external evidence of the victory, and as such could apply to a crown as well as to the celebration. Because there is no evidence for a temple or shrine to *Hesychia*, Aristomenes can hardly dedicate his crown to her, and as such τιμή is better understood as the celebration surrounding the victor's return. This is the only instance in a reception prayer where Pindar asks the god to receive τιμή specifically; elsewhere he asks the god to receive the κῶμος (*O.* 4.9, *O.* 8.10, *O.* 14.16), the φάος (*O.* 4.10 – referring to the song), the ἄωτον/δῶρα (*O.* 5.1-3, presumably referring to the honor of victory), the στεφαναφορίαν (*O.* 8.10, referring to the crown), and the victor himself (Aristagoras in *N.* 11.3).

¹³⁹ As Carne-Ross (1985) 19 explains, “gnomic sentences...are a means of understanding the local and particular in the timeless terms of general truths.” Mackie (2003) 88 thus likens Pindar to a prophet, “...the prophet understands the way the cosmos works. He knows what actions performed by mortals are likely to cause what kinds of response from the gods.”

He then provides mythical exempla to provide proof that the maxim has always been true, in the stories of Porphyryon, one of the Giants who sought to overthrow the Olympian gods,¹⁴⁰ and Typhoeus, the beast that nearly overcame Zeus early in his reign. Both desired sovereignty in the world, but Zeus alone had the right to it, and when they attempted to take it by force both were overcome. For an Aiginetan audience, the idea of violent gain would likely have led them to think of Athens,¹⁴¹ especially as Pindar's mythical exempla are rooted in the idea of rightful sovereignty being disrupted. The *gnomē*, by asserting that such gains are always lost, offers an assurance to the Aiginetans that Athens' actions will someday be reversed.

At the same time, the gnostic passage also addresses the divine audience of the gods. While they, as gods, already know the laws that govern the world, Pindar gently reminds them that it is in their hands to uphold those laws. Aristomenes achieved his victory at the games because of his own talents and the favor of the gods; his gains must therefore be protected. We might also think of Aigina's conflict with Athens, of course: Athens did not take what the gods granted to them, but seized Aigina by brute force. The *gnomē* reminds the gods that such gains are not lasting, and suggests to them that they should oppose Athens, which flouted not only wisdom but the gods in using *hybris* to gain its ends.

¹⁴⁰ Porphyryon is here identified as the king of the Giants, but nowhere else is called this, and was traditionally simply one of the Giants involved in the Gigantomachy, albeit one who has been depicted locked in combat with Zeus on Berlin F2531, a *kylix* dated to around 410-405 BCE. In [Apoll.] *Biblio*. 1.6.2 Porphyryon attacked Heracles and Hera and, overcome with lust for Hera, tried to rape her, at which point Zeus struck him with a lightning bolt and Herakles shot him with an arrow; Tzetzes *Lycophr.* 63 agrees in this.

¹⁴¹ Pfeijffer (1999) 433 suggests that the hybriatic man is representative of Athens – after all, Athens seized its power from unwilling sources such as Aigina – and considers the possibility that Koroneia stood as an example of *Hesychia* standing against Athens.

IV. A Warning about Unearned Gains

The gnomic passage (13-15) serves a structural function as well by shifting the focus of the poem from *Hesychia*, whose invocation allowed Pindar to set out the problem of the civic peace that Aigina had lost, and mark the dichotomy Athens as overreaching and Aigina as accepting of the gods' will, to Apollo, an Olympian god whom the Aiginetans regularly worshipped (as is evidenced by the existence of a temple to Apollo at Cape Kolonna). Apollo, Pindar reminds the audience, has also opposed violent men and restoring order. Pindar names him and Zeus as the ones who defeated Typhoeus and Porphyryon, and thus as being concerned with opposing violence and preserving traditional power structures.¹⁴² Through this brief mythical account, then, Pindar not only reminds Apollo of his previous actions, but suggests that he will always act in situations of injustice. He then reminds Apollo of a more recent act, for it was that god who gave to Aristomenes the strength to overcome his opponents; as Aristomenes competed in the Pythian Games at Delphi, where Apollo presides, it must be Apollo who grants his favor and ensures victory. It was Apollo too who received the crowned boy victor at his temple in Delphi (18-19):

ὃς εὐμενεῖ νόῳ
Ξενάρκειον ἔδεκτο Κίρραθεν ἐστεφανωμένον...

who, with a favorable mind,
received from Kirrha the son of Xenarkes crowned...

¹⁴² The line has in fact caused some confusion: it seems to say that both Typhoeus and Porphyryon were destroyed by Apollo, one by the bolt and one by the bow. Of course, the bolt belongs rightly to Zeus, and in myth Typhoeus is felled by Zeus, Porphyryon by Zeus and Herakles, with Pindar being the only source who substitutes Apollo for Herakles. The line indicates this division, although in a cramped way. Both were overcome, the former by the lightning bolt of Zeus, the latter by the bow of Apollo. Zeus, like much of the myth, has been elided, while Apollo is named, and perhaps set down as Porphyryon's killer, in order to effect the transition to the next thought.

Apollo has granted his favor to Aristomenes before – indeed, more than once before, as Pindar recalls that (65-66):

οἴκοι δὲ πρόσθεν ἀρπαλέαν δόσιν
πενταεθλίου σὺν ἑορταῖς ὑμαῖς ἐπάγαγες.

and again at home you led forth to him
an alluring gift for the pentathlon at your festival.

These repeated instances of divine favor show that Aristomenes is well-regarded by Apollo, and worthy of his favor again.

The description of the earlier reception mirrors to an extent the prayer for reception that opened the triad. Apollo, we are told, acted with εὐμενεῖ νόῳ, ‘a gracious mind’ (18), for he had favored Aristomenes in the games, allowing him to reach the crowning ceremony, while *Hesychia* is similarly φιλόφρων, ‘gracious-minded’ (1). Aristomenes is named in the opening prayer, and here Pindar refers to Ξενάρκειον...υἱὸν, ‘the son of Xenarkes’ (19-20).¹⁴³ Pindar uses ἔδεκτο (19) for Apollo’s reception of Aristomenes, another form of δέχομαι. The description of the Delphic ceremony most likely resembles the current rites: at Delphi, Aristomenes came up from Kirrha to the temple, adorned in his crown and accompanied by a κῶμος celebrating his victory, while in Aigina Aristomenes returns from his long journey to Kirrha, wearing his victory crown and accompanied by a chorus that sings his praises. By inserting these details in the description of the Delphic ceremony, Pindar emphasizes the similarity between the two rites, and the justness of bestowing favor upon the victor again in the course of the ode – after all, Apollo has given his approval to the victor already in nearly identical circumstances.

¹⁴³ Pindar may choose to refer to Aristomenes by way of his father’s name because he wants to emphasize Aristomenes’ family relations who share in his honor, especially given that Aristomenes was still a youth, and his father and family were paying for the celebration.

V. Inherited Excellence

Pindar has established that Aristomenes is worthy of the continued favor of the gods, as he has already won that favor in the form of the victories granted to him by Apollo; now he will extend that judgment of Aristomenes to his peers. By showing that Aristomenes' community shares in his virtues, Pindar provides a *hypomnesis* for the prayer: the people of Aigina have been favored by the gods before and deserve their favor still. The second triad opens, then, with abundant praise of Aigina. Pindar writes that the island ἔπεσε δ' οὐ Χαρίτων ἐκάς 'not far from the Charites falls' (21),¹⁴⁴ referring to the goddesses who imbue song with its pleasing aspect.¹⁴⁵ This suggests that Aiginetans are often sung of in praise, and therefore that they often achieve feats worthy of being sung, and indeed Pindar specifies that the people of Aigina are often the subjects for song because of their victories in athletics, and their legendary heroes, the Aiakids. In fact the island, we learn (24-25):

τελέαν δ' ἔχει
δόξαν ἀπ' ἀρχαῖς.

holds a perfect
reputation from its beginning.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ The image behind ἔπεσε δ' οὐ Χαρίτων ἐκάς has frequently been described as that of casting lots; cf. Gildersleeve (1885) 329, Kirkwood (1982) 209, Burton (1962) 180. Pfeijffer (1999) 504, however, has observed that the specification of ἐκάς would be unnecessary, as it did not matter where the lot fell, and suggests that the phrase simply means to 'fall into.' Even so, the idea of the lot also suggests the role of the gods in Aigina's fortunes, an idea that will play a major role later in the ode.

¹⁴⁵ Mullen (1982) 83-84 notes the distinction between the Muses and the Kharites in Pindar: while the Muses provide the content of a song, the Kharites imbue the song with its beauty and persuasive power.

¹⁴⁶ Pfeijffer (1999) 505 suggests that there is a link between the claim of a perfect reputation for Aigina and approval of the traditional aristocratic government that traces its lineage back to Aiakos. The political overtone is perhaps there, but more important is the idea that Aigina has had a long line of prestigious citizens as exemplars, an idea that carries on throughout the ode.

For its entire history, Aigina has produced men worthy of praise in song, of which Aristomenes is merely the latest example. Not only does Pindar offer praise to the island and its people – his current audience – but he also suggests to the gods that they have long given their favor to the Aiginetans, and therefore that those people are worthy of their favor and protection again.

In the next lines Pindar effects a transition from his praise of Aigina in general to his praise of Aristomenes in particular, both in order to continue his praise of the victor and in order to illustrate how Aristomenes' victory can stand as proof of the excellence of his *patra* (and thus, perhaps, of the traditional elite to which that *patra* belongs). Pindar indicates that Aristomenes' Pythian victory is only the latest in a line when he refers to it as νεώτατον καλῶν, 'latest of your victories' (33). He then turns to Aristomenes' *patra*, and shows how this victory is also the latest in a line of the Meidylids' many athletic successes. Aristomenes' uncles, Theognetos and Kleitomachos, were distinguished athletes, having both won victories in wrestling: Theognetos won his victory in the Olympic Games,¹⁴⁷ Kleitomachos in the Isthmian Games. The victory of Aristomenes carries the excellence displayed by his uncles forward, reasserting the glory of the Meidylid family in a new generation. At the same time, it may suggest the worthiness of the traditional elite, for the victory proves that at least this *patra* retains their own excellence and the favor of the gods, qualities some might have believed to be diminished with a loss in political influence.

While the catalogue of Meidylid victors suggests that excellence is passed from generation to generation in the present day, Pindar will now emphasize that point by providing a parallel from myth, and draws from the story of the Epigonoι, the sons of the

¹⁴⁷ Cf. above, n. 109.

Seven against Thebes who attacked Thebes in order to avenge their fathers' deaths and the shame of their defeat. While there is not an absolute equivalency between the situation of the Epigonoι and that of Aristomenes, there are strong similarities. The Seven against Thebes were aggressors, but they sought to restore a previous political order. Eteocles and Polyneikes, the sons of Oedipus, had agreed to share the rule of Thebes, exchanging the throne every year; when Eteocles' first year had ended, however, he refused to yield his power to his brother, and exiled Polyneikes from Thebes.¹⁴⁸ Like Polyneikes and his Argive force, the Meidylids sought to redress a disruption to previous accepted order, when pro-Athenian elements drove them from power. When the Seven fail, the Epigonoι take up their cause and win a victory that erases the shame that had fallen upon their fathers; similarly, Aristomenes' victory proves the excellence of his family, though it may have fallen upon hard times.

The idea of the succession of virtue within a family is crystallized by the words of Amphiaraos. Amphiaraos, we learn, was looking upon Thebes when he spoke,¹⁴⁹ watching the fighting of the νιοῦς (40). As he watched his own son Alkmeon fighting bravely before the gates of Thebes, he explained (44-45):

φυᾷ τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει
ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα.

The inborn will of their fathers
is clear by nature in the sons.

¹⁴⁸ [Apollod.] *Bibliotheca* 3.6.1, Diod. Sic. 4.65.1-2.

¹⁴⁹ The context for Amphiaraos' utterance has in fact been much debated among scholars, as the lines are ambiguous. Amphiaraos, we know, was swallowed up by the earth during the first siege of Thebes, and thus could hardly be present at the attack of the Epigonoι. It has been suggested, then, that we should understand the words as part of a prophecy (Pfeijffer (1999) 528 argues that αἰνίξατο can be rendered 'prophecy' (*sic*)) given by Amphiaraos as an oracle after his death; cf. Gildersleeve (1885) 330, Kirkwood (1982) 210.

Here then is the idea we have seen in the Meidyliid family, that each generation inherits the excellence of the preceding one. The Epigonoι not only achieve what their fathers could not and redress the misfortune of the earlier defeat, but by the display of their own valor they prove that the Seven were in fact valorous. While Aristomenes' predecessors in his family were successful in their trials in athletic competition, his *patra* undoubtedly suffered a setback in Aigina's defeat by Athens. His victory in the Pythian Games proves not only his own worth, but that of his *patra* and their peers. Pindar¹⁵⁰ pushes the parallel when he announces he will honor Alkmeon (56-57):

χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτός
Ἀλκμᾶνα στεφάνοισι βάλλω, ῥαίνω δὲ καὶ ὕμνῳ.

I myself rejoicing
cast crowns upon Alkmeon, and I shower him with hymns.

Both Alkmeon and Aristomenes have lived up to the virtues of their family, and both have proven their family's excellence after a setback; as such, both are honored for their achievements with crowns and songs.

The material of the second and third triads flows neatly as it fulfills Pindar's program of negotiation: Pindar describes how Aigina is a city of the Charites, a place where men are frequently praised in song for their deeds; he acknowledges Aristomenes' contribution to this tradition, and specifically to his *patra*'s tradition of victorious athletes. Aristomenes' deed proves the words of Amphiaraos true, when he said that sons

¹⁵⁰ There has been disagreement about who exactly is speaking in these and the following lines. Some scholars suggest that Pindar is speaking, which would mean that Alkmaeon must have had some shrine near Thebes for Pindar to characterize him as his γείτων (58). He would then, according to vv. 59-60, have met Alkmaeon on the road from Thebes to Delphi and received a prophecy. Other scholars believe that the speaker here is the chorus representing the victor, which suggests that Alkmaeon had a shrine on Aigina. In this scenario, Alkmaeon would have appeared to Aristomenes and prophesied to him, perhaps about his victory. Yet this latter scenario would have Aristomenes meet Alkmeon on the road to Delphi, when his shrine, presumably, is on Aigina; worse, it would demand that the chorus speak for the victor, a phenomenon without parallel in the rest of the epinician odes. For a fuller discussion, see Pfeijffer (1999).

carry on the qualities of their fathers, and as Alkmeon proved the valor of his father and righted the wrong of his defeat, so, we may understand, Aristomenes proves the virtue of the Meidylids and stands as a sign that the wrongs they suffered can be overturned. The material is woven together tightly, and from it we can draw out not only the particular intricacies of epinician style, but also the program of negotiation, as Pindar emphasizes that Aigina is a place that, though its people have suffered a setback, still produces men of virtue such as the gods traditionally favor.

VI. A Prayer to Apollo

With the opening of the fourth triad Pindar begins a new prayer to Apollo. By setting it immediately at the beginning of the triad, Pindar makes the prayer fulfill an important and common rhetorical function as a break-off that ends the previous material and creates a platform from which to begin a new section or theme.¹⁵¹ We turn away now from the myth and its implications, and enter the final section of the ode in which Pindar closely examines the nature of mortal life, specifically the way the gods direct men's lives, as Apollo himself directed Aristomenes' when he granted him a Pythian victory. By acknowledging the gods' role in Aristomenes' success Pindar offers the gods their due portion of praise to ward off their envy, reminds them of the favors they previously granted to indicate Aristomenes' virtue, and suggests that the fate of Aigina lies, as it should, with the gods to decide, a complex of thought that sets up the final prayer of this ode, in which Pindar asks the gods to give aid to Aigina.

Pindar's prayer to Apollo follows a traditional course. He opens with an invocation in which he addresses the god as Ἐκαταβόλε, 'Far-shooter' (61), a standard

¹⁵¹ Race (1986) 29 and (1990) 129.

epithet, and one that recalls his role in the Gigantomachy mentioned above. Pindar then localizes Apollo, tying him to the vale of Pytho, by which he means Delphi (61-63):

πάνδοκον
ναὸν εὐκλέα διανέμων
Πυθῶνος ἐν γυάλοις...

who is lord
of the well-famed temple receiving all
in the vale of Pytho...

References to a god's regular haunts are meant to seek the god out in his realm and call him to attention.¹⁵² This identification serves not only to call the god forth, however, but also to remind him of his ties to Aristomenes, which draw him into a relationship of favor and reciprocation that requires his attention. After all, the verb used, διανέμων, indicates not only that Apollo dwells in Delphi but that it is his domain, in that the functions typically associated with Delphi such as prophecy and the Pythian Games are part of his sphere. Aristomenes' Pythian victory is the basis for both the celebration and the prayer, proof of Apollo's favor which Pindar again recalls in the next line when he reminds us that Apollo granted Aristomenes his victory, calling it τὸ...μέγιστον...χαρμάτων, 'the greatest of joys' (64).¹⁵³ Nor was this the only instance of Apollo's favor to the boy, for Aristomenes, as Pindar tells us, had won a victory in the pentathlon of the Delphinian games held on Aigina, games that were also dedicated to Apollo (65-66), and provide a second example of the god's favor. Within this invocation, then, we see Pindar repeatedly reminding Apollo that he has granted his favor to Aristomenes, and thus suggests that the boy is worthy of favor again.

¹⁵² Bremer and Furley (2001) 54-55.

¹⁵³ The epinician praise of the victory is emphasized by the use of superlatives, as here and v. 33.

The request itself follows. Pindar begins by renewing his invocation of Apollo, then using a verb of request, εὔχομαι (67). He qualifies his request by addressing Apollo as having a ἐκόντι...νόῳ, ‘willing mind’ (67),¹⁵⁴ a phrase that recalls the earlier Delphic ceremony at which Aristomenes received his victory crown, where Apollo received Aristomenes εὐμενεῖ νόῳ, ‘with a favorable mind’ (18). The idea of willingness has occurred earlier in the poem: in the *gnomē* of the first triad, Pindar showed us that the best gain comes from a source that is ἐκόν (14), for those gains are lasting. For Pindar to pray that Apollo give out his favors willingly signals that Pindar (and, presumably, Aristomenes) wants to receive only what the gods allot, so that those gains will be both just and lasting.

The next lines contain the complement to εὔχομαι: βλέπειν, along with a participial phrase qualifying the infinitive (68).¹⁵⁵ Here Pindar sets out the actual request,

¹⁵⁴ Scholars have long debated whether this phrase describes Pindar as he prays or Apollo as he watches over the song. Hubbard (1983) 287, for instance, argues that the phrase more likely goes with εὔχομαι, as it surrounds the word, while Kirkwood (1982) 211-212 notes that it had been used of a first person speaker before (*O.* 13.96), where its meaning was closer to earnestness, and Pfeijffer (1999) 554-55 adds that the phrase is a self-contained unit, and anyone hearing the poem being performed would naturally take the three words together. Yet one wonders if position was such a determining factor for Pindar or for his audience, as elsewhere they have held out before being able to understand fully Pindar’s intent in a sentence or phrase. Furthermore, while the phrase brackets εὔχομαι, it also closely follows ὦναξ, so that one might assign the phrase to the lord who is here invoked – ‘O Lord Apollo, to your willing mind I pray’. One wonders too why the person praying would need a willing mind – if someone is making a request, then he is certainly willing, or else he would not be praying.

¹⁵⁵ This line has also produced a great deal of debate. First, there is the question of whether Apollo or Pindar is the subject of the infinitive. Scholars have often attributed the infinitive to Pindar on the grounds that the infinitive should have the same subject as the finite verb (cf. Hubbard (1983) 287, Gildersleeve (1885) 331, Farnell (1932) 196), but Pfeijffer (1999) 556-57 points out that in prayers, a deity has been invoked in order to ask him or her to carry out a specific action, so in this context it makes sense to interpret the infinitive as specifying the action being prayed for, and notes that λίσσομαι, another indicative verb of praying consistently displays this syntactical structure in Pindar (*O.* 12.1, *P.* 1.71, *N.* 3.1). Scholars also disagree over the precise connotation of the word ἁρμονία. The word has a technical musical sense, referring to a melodic progression of high and low notes, that appears elsewhere in Pindar (*N.* 44-45, fr. 140b.2). That meaning may certainly be at play here, as Pindar is praying to Apollo, whose sphere includes music, for aid in his composition; nevertheless, I would prefer to think of it in a more general way. ἁρμονία can simply mean ‘harmony,’ in the sense that the song is pleasing (not grating, as Pindar feared in *P.* 8.32) to its audience, both mortal and divine. As Burton (1962) 186 notes, “This need not, however, imply that all metaphorical overtones should be rigidly excluded, especially those which are inherent in the

asking Apollo to ensure that each step forward Pindar takes is carried out in harmony. We may have here an example of choral self-reference, as the chorus comments on its own dancing and prays that Apollo ensure they move with harmony.¹⁵⁶ At the same time, there is a metaphorical aspect to this request, as the composition of the song also moves forward, hopefully in harmony.¹⁵⁷ The precise meaning of that metaphorical harmony is perhaps better understood by considering the next line, in which Pindar declares that *Dikē* stands with the κῶμος (70-71). The κῶμος sings the praise of Aristomenes justly, providing to the victor what he is due: Aristomenes has earned his victory through his own effort and the favor of the gods, and his feat is great enough to be worthy of song, so the chorus is right in singing his praise. Apollo must ensure that Pindar's ode properly fulfills this task of praise and does not threaten to irritate in its excesses – in other words, that Pindar does not praise the victor too highly, for that would suggest he is not properly acknowledging the role of the gods. Given the emphasis upon *hybris* earlier in the ode, and the concern with those who overreach rather than accept what a god ordains, it is important that Pindar avoid this in his praise of the victor.

VII. The Role of the Gods in Mortal Life

The ode now spends some time considering the basic condition of human life, especially its mutability. This idea is repeated not only in Pindar's poetry elsewhere, but throughout archaic Greek thought generally; one can see in multiple places that the

derivation of the word; and there is no reason why τις ἀρμονία should not convey such ideas as rightness, suitability of tone or mode to the subject-matter".

¹⁵⁶ For the concept of choral self-reference see Heinrichs (1994-1995), especially 56-59.

¹⁵⁷ The composition, of course, is already complete; this is an example of oral subterfuge (cf. Carey (1981) 5 and (1989) 552). It is comparable to Bundy (1962) 21-22, where he delineates a category of future verbs used by Pindar to refer to present action, as when in *Olympian* 11 Pindar says κελαδήσω, 'I will praise' (14) while referring to praise that is ongoing.

fortunes of men were not stable, so that a person who enjoyed success and riches needed to beware a fall into destitution, while a person suffering hardships might hope that time would improve his lot.¹⁵⁸ Central to this idea are the gods, for people cannot hope to make significant changes in their fortunes through their own efforts and powers; rather, the gods grant these favors and take them away.¹⁵⁹ Men are at the mercy of the gods, and must appeal to them to bring about changes in their fortune. This idea is obviously of importance to the negotiation we have been tracing throughout *Pythian* 8, in which Pindar hints at Aigina's current political situation, its freedom taken away by Athens' violence, and tries to persuade the gods to grant their favors once more to Aigina. By acknowledging that these matters lie ultimately with the gods, Pindar reminds them of their power to grant their favor to a people who have proven their worthiness.

The request to Apollo ends the prayer proper, and in the next lines Pindar turns his attentions to the victor's family, specifically Aristomenes' father Xenarkes. He makes a request on behalf of Xenarkes, but this request does not take the form of a proper prayer. Rather than calling upon Apollo or some other god and making a request with the imperative or even optative, Pindar here announces his intention to ask the gods for a

¹⁵⁸ Numerous formulations of this idea can be found in Greek literature. In the *Iliad*, Achilles tells Priam that Zeus has a jar of blessings and a jar of misfortunes, and that μέν κ' ἀμμείζας δῶη Ζεὺς τερπικέρανος | ἄλλοτε μέν τε κακῷ ὃ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῷ, 'if Zeus who delights in thunder mixing these should give them out, then this man at one time is granted evil, and at another time good' (24.529-30). Odysseus describes the changing lot of men in the *Odyssey*: οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτέ φησι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ὀπίσσω, | ὄφρ' ἀρετὴν παρέχῃσι θεοὶ...ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ λυγρὰ θεοὶ μάκαρες τελέσωσι, | καὶ τὰ φέρει ἀεκαζόμενος τετληότι θυμῷ, 'he does not think he will ever afterward suffer evil, so long as the gods provide him with success...but when the blessed gods decree sorrow, then he unwilling bears it with a suffering heart' (18.132-135). Archilochus provides an early example in lyric poetry, when he describes the woes men encounter in life: ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει τόδε· νῦν μὲν ἐς ἡμέας...ἐξαῦτις δ' ἐτέρους ἐπαμείνεται, 'one man, then another, has it; now it falls on us...it will pass back to others' (13 (West) 5-9). The idea even appears in prose; in Herodotos, Solon explains to Croesus that πᾶν ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπος συμφορῇ, 'man is entirely a being of chance' (1.32.4).

¹⁵⁹ Two famous examples include the aforementioned passages at *Iliad* 24.525-530 where Priam describes how Zeus allots goods and evils to men in turn, and at Hdt. 1.32, where Solon explains to Croesus that the gods can ruin a fortunate man, and give happiness to a suffering man.

boon for Xenarkes. In the sense that it has a marked audience (here the general θεῶν) and request, it is a kind of prayer, but because it does not call upon the gods directly it is of a type I have termed ‘indirect prayer.’ Pindar speaks not to the gods but to Xenarkes, and tells him that he will ask that the gods look favorably upon the fortunes of his family.¹⁶⁰ We see again that the ode is concerned primarily with Aristomenes, but not solely with him: his victory creates a moment when the concerns of both the victor and his family can be communicated to the gods, for their attention is upon the victor and their favor to these parties has been proven.

The indirect prayer leads Pindar to a new thought about how men earn their fortunes. He opens the next line with εἰ γάρ τις, ‘for if someone’ (73), indicating that this passage will explain some aspect of the preceding prayer. People often, we learn, believe that a man who enjoys success does so because of his own wisdom, but that is not true: τὰ δ’ οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀνδράσι κεῖται· δαίμων δὲ παρίσχει, ‘But these things do not rest with men; a god grants them’ (76).¹⁶¹ Those who hear about Aristomenes’ victory may think that he is himself to credit, or his father who raised him. In these lines, Pindar reminds Aristomenes and Xenarkes that they must not take credit for their success but acknowledge that fortune ultimately lies in the power of the gods.¹⁶² At the same time the statement also assures the gods that Pindar has passed on this wisdom to the victor, so that they need not be jealous nor fear that Aristomenes will later fall prey to this kind of

¹⁶⁰ That Pindar is concerned with the fortunes of the larger Meidyliid family and not just Xenarkes is clear from his use of ὑμετέρας. It is even conceivable that he means to include not just Xenarkes’ family but his community, for it too has suffered a loss of fortune.

¹⁶¹ Pindar goes on to describe the δαίμων tossing up first one then another man, and throwing another down (77-78). The image suggests the fortunes of mortal men: someone who has suffered misfortune, as for instance Aigina has, will, in time be thrown back up, while someone on top, such as Athens, will inevitably fall. The image has been seen as deriving from wrestling: thus Kirkwood (1982) 212, Burton (1962) 188 and Pfeijffer (1999) 572-75, though Gildersleeve (1885) 332 and Farnell (1932) 198-99 instead interpret the image as one of a man tossing balls.

¹⁶² This idea is common in Pindar: cf. *O.* 9.100-04, *O.* 10.20-21, *P.* 1.41, *N.* 9.45, *I.* 3.4-5, *I.* 5.11.

thought; rather, they should feel safe in providing their favor to the Meidylids as they have done before. In this way the passage relates back to the prayer, providing reasons for the gods to favor the family by assuring them that those asking acknowledge the gods' power and their own limits.

Pindar now considers Aristomenes' other successes by providing a catalogue of his athletic victories.¹⁶³ He had, of course, previously mentioned a victory at the Delphinian Games on Aigina during his prayer to Apollo; as I have discussed, that was mentioned within the prayer because the Delphinian Games were dedicated to Apollo, and, as such, a victory there stood as proof of Apollo's previous favors to Aristomenes. Now Pindar produces three others, and at first glance the catalogue is hardly related to the previous passage - indeed, Pfeijffer calls it a "substantial incision in the train of thought".¹⁶⁴ The topic shifts from the gods' role in mortal lives to Aristomenes' personal victories, the subject shifts from the δαίμων to the victor (marked by the introduction of ἔχεις, which emphasizes the switch to the second person addressing the victor), and yet the inclusion of δ' indicates that Pindar is here continuing a sequence of thought.¹⁶⁵ By citing these victories, Pindar is supplying an example of the concept he has just discussed. It is the gods who provide good fortune to men, fortune such as the victories

¹⁶³ Three sets of games are named. The first occurred in Megara, and Pfeijffer (1999) 577 suggests that these were the Pythian Games held there, for which reason Pindar did not feel the need to specify the name of the games or the god honored by them, as they were the same in nature as those held at Delphi. While this is possible, and while Pindar often specifically names the games at which his victories have previously had successes, he also fails to name the games at Marathon. There are at least four other Megarian athletic festivals of which we know and which may be the games in question, but no way to determine which of these five are correct. The second victory was at Marathon, and the scholiast writes that this refers to the Panathenaia, but this identification is problematic, as we have no record that any events of the great Athenian games were held outside of the city itself. The Herakleia, however, are well attested as being held at Marathon, and are therefore more likely. Finally Pindar mentions a triple victory in a local, that is Aiginetan, game held in honor of Hera. The scholiast tells us that these Heraia were held in imitation of games held in Argos, as the original Aiginetan colonists were Argive.

¹⁶⁴ Pfeijffer (1999) 577.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Pfeijffer (1999) 577.

he has listed. Pindar both illustrates the observation he has just made in the preceding lines, and again assures the gods that he and the victor alike recognize the part they played in those victories.

Pindar now describes the benefits that Aristomenes garners from his victories. The passage recalls lines 32-34, as Pindar employs similar language and images to describe the victory and its celebration. Aristomenes, who is once more the subject, is first described as having been λαχών, ‘allotted’ (88) his victory, a word which reminds the audience that the gods granted him his victory. He has been allotted καλόν τι νέον, ‘some new fortune’ (88) which recalls how Aristomenes holds the νεοτάτον καλῶν, the ‘latest of victories’ (33). The victory is the good thing, and Pindar next describes how, by means of this good thing, Aristomenes πέταται, ‘flies’ (90). In this action he may be contrasted with the losers, who we have just seen πτώσσοντι, ‘cower’ (87) as they slink back to their homes. Aristomenes has been lifted up in his success, as the δαίμων is described as tossing up those who have good fortune. As Aristomenes is representative of his *patra*, his success provides a model for the fortune they hope to enjoy: just as the victory the gods provided to Aristomenes rose him up into success, so does Pindar pray they will raise up the rest of his family. The victory is also called κρέσσονα πλούτου μέριμναν, ‘greater than wealth’ (92). Wealth can be accumulated and used to provide luxuries, but wealth is open to the vagaries of fortune: wealth can be lost, and the delight derived from it cannot provide any lasting service to those who once commanded it. The victory, on the other hand, is lasting: it was granted to him by the gods and his own effort, and so it can never be taken away from him, never stolen by another or lost

through misfortune; even many years later, long after the victory, it will endure as a mark of his excellence.

The contrast between wealth and athletic victory leads Pindar to a related line of thought, and so we arrive at the most famous passage in *Pythian* 8, and perhaps in all of Pindar's poetry (95-97):

ἐπάμεροι: τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ
 ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ,
 λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μείλιχος αἰὼν.

Creatures of a day; what is someone? what is no one?
 Man is the dream of a shadow. But when a god-given gleam comes,
 there is for men a shining light and a sweet lifetime.

The lines have come under a great deal of scrutiny by scholars attempting to discern their precise meaning and their precise relation to the overall themes of the odes, and here I want only to discuss their significance as it relates to the process of interaction that Pindar carries out in the ode. With ἐπάμεροι, Pindar makes clear the changeable nature of mortal life: Fränkel defined the word as pertaining to “our thoughts and feelings, our attitude and behavior, our ways and actions – in short, our entire personality is shifting and at the mercy of the day”.¹⁶⁶ Most scholars have accepted Fränkel's definition and have seen Pindar emphasizing how the changing of fortunes central to life – a theme he has discussed at length in the ode – means a man can be a different person every day, one day happy in his success and the next day miserable in his failure.¹⁶⁷ Pindar judges men to be ‘beings of a day,’ then puts it to the audience to think through why this is so.

Pindar now provides a counter to this mutable mode of life. To be a mortal man is to be impermanent, but there is a way to counteract that condition: one may achieve

¹⁶⁶ Fränkel (1946) 133.

¹⁶⁷ Dickie (1976) 7-14 has questioned this definition, interpreting the word literally to mean ‘lasting a day’ and so emphasizing the fleeting nature of life.

something of sufficient glory that will exist in a state of permanence, not subject to change every day, to loss or misuse. This achievement is described as an αἴγλα διόσδοτος, a ‘god-given gleam’ (96) for no man could attain such honor by himself, but must wait for the gods to endorse it. Segal has described it as “the metaphorical illumination associated with the eternity and brilliance of the gods,”¹⁶⁸ and has shown how Pindar creates this image in response to Mimnermus’ musings on old age: ὃ τ’ αἰσχρὸν ὁμῶς καὶ κακὸν ἄνδρα τιθεῖ...οὐδ’ αὐγὰς προσορῶν τέρπεται ἡελίου, ‘which makes a man both shameful and ugly...nor does he take pleasure in seeing the rays of the sun’.¹⁶⁹ The ‘god-given gleam’ saves a man from this fate; the hand of the god elevates him above the cycle of fortune and hardship by providing him with an enhancement that cannot be lost. A man so favored by the gods is also granted a μείλιχος αἰών, ‘sweet lifetime’ (97). The word μείλιχος puts us in mind of the beginning of the ode, where *Hesychia* is set against the man with ἀμείλιχον...κότον, ‘relentless anger’ (8-9). A person who nurses harsh anger is overthrown, as Porphyreon was overcome by Apollo.

These lines ultimately describe not just the condition of mortal men in general, but the victor in particular. We are first of all reminded that fortune is mutable, changing from day to day. This idea may be discouraging, as the success of no person is assured, but for a family that has suffered losses as the Meidylids did, the thought may well be heartening, reminding them that those who have suffered hardship may be brought back into happiness. The victory of Aristomenes, moreover, corresponds to that god-given light that dispels shadowy existence. An athletic victory is a lasting good, more permanent than wealth, and may symbolize to the family the god-given fortune that they

¹⁶⁸ Segal (1998) 152.

¹⁶⁹ Mimnermus 1 (West) 6-8.

desire, their restoration to power. The Meidylids have acknowledged the role of the gods in mortal affairs, and have waited for the gods to grant them fortune; in return they have received an athletic victory that emphasizes their excellence and the success they crave.

VIII. The Prayer To Zeus and Aigina

Pythian 8 closes with a third and final prayer, one that looks not to the present moment of composition or performance, as the prayer to *Hesychia* or the prayer to Apollo did, but to the future.¹⁷⁰ The chorus prays to Aigina, the nymph for whom the island is named, along with Zeus, their son Aiakos, his children Peleus and Telamon, and his grandchild Achilles, and asks these gods and the Aiakidai heroes to restore the city to freedom. Aigina comes first, as both a subject and object of the prayer – after all, the word can refer both to the island whose freedom is being sought and to the nymph who lent the island its name.¹⁷¹ She is called φίλα μήτηρ, ‘dear mother’ (98), just as Pindar in *Isthmian* 1 refers to Thebes as μήτηρ ἐμὰ, ‘my mother’ (1). It seems that a city could be conceived of as a kind of mother to its people. μήτηρ is not used simply as an epithet for Aigina, then, but serves a much more fundamental purpose in the prayer. While descriptions of a god’s lineage elsewhere proves the worshippers’ attentiveness to the god, as they know his or her relationships among the divine realm, here the lineage proves the god’s relationship with the worshippers themselves. That Aigina is a kind of mother to them implies that she has certain responsibilities towards them, that she owes them a certain measure of attention and care, and so the relationship between worshipper

¹⁷⁰ Prayers for the future often occur at the end of an ode: *O.* 1, *O.* 6, *O.* 7, *O.* 8, *O.* 13, *P.* 2, *P.* 3, *P.* 5, *N.* 7, *I.* 1 and *I.* 7 all contain such a prayer. See Hamilton (1974) 17.

¹⁷¹ The island was, of course, previously named Oenone, but when Zeus took the nymph Aigina, the daughter of the river god Asopos, there to rape her, the name was changed. Cf. [Apollod.] *Bibliotheca* 3.112, Pindar *N.* 8, *I.* 8.

and god upon which the prayer's strength is predicated is distilled into a single word. No further argument is needed, for the basis for favoring these people has simply and efficiently been established.

The rest of the Aiakid heroes are mentioned along with Aigina in this prayer. None of these other deities are addressed directly, but rather are added on to her through a series of datives, some with σύν, naming them as assistants to her in carrying out the request. Zeus is mentioned first, not only as he is the king of all gods and the ultimate arbiter of the fortune of mortals, but as he is of the same generation as Aigina, for he kidnapped and raped her. Following Zeus is the son whom he sired, Aiakos, who is here called κρέοντι, 'lord' (99), a term that emphasizes his role as the first king of Aigina. The next generation follows, Peleus and Telamon, the sons of Aiakos, and the prayer ends by naming Peleus' son Achilles, the most famous Aiakid hero.¹⁷²

The request itself is simple: preserve the city on a course of freedom. As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the request undoubtedly refers to the political circumstances in which Aigina currently suffered. While technically autonomous, the island was nevertheless subject to Athens, and its freedom was at the moment either a topic of debate among the city-states of Greece or a matter that had been settled (unsatisfactorily to the minds of the Aiginetans and their friends). If the former, then the prayer is meant to guide the negotiations toward an end of freedom. If the latter, then the prayer may be seen as a last appeal: Aigina looked to men to resolve its situation justly,

¹⁷² None of their epithets, attributes, or deeds are discussed in this condensed prayer, nor would this absence be noteworthy if the ode made any other reference to the deeds of the Aiakidai. Every other Aiginetan ode contains some myth or catalogue that recounts the legends associated with the Aiakid heroes, and while earlier in the ode Pindar praised Aigina for its υπερέτατους ἥρωας, he confesses that he has no time to go through their deeds, and decides instead to tell a story involving the heroes of Argos. Thus this tiny catalogue, devoid of any praise or narrative, stands as the only acknowledgement of the Aiakids in an ode for an island that Pindar calls οὐ Χαρίτων ἐκάς...ἀρεταῖς | κλειναῖσιν Αἰακιδῶν.

as the city itself has always acted justly, but in that it failed. Now it turns to the gods, for they, as we have been reminded again and again throughout the poem, grant fortune. It is on them that the hopes of Aigina rest.

Conclusion

Pythian 8 contains a program of negotiation, the goal of which is to persuade the gods to restore the previous political order and peace that Aigina once enjoyed. Pindar weaves together multiple elements in formulating and building up to his ultimate request. His invocation to *Hesychia* evokes a time when Aigina, ruled by its traditional elite (including, perhaps, the Meidylid *patra*), enjoyed civic peace; such peace, we may understand, was broken by Athenian subjugation and the introduction of pro-Athenian elements into power, displacing the old order. The victor Aristomenes is shown to be a successor to his family's earlier excellence, and as such his victory renews his *patra*'s claim to both virtue and the favor of the gods. Aristomenes' position is made clear not only through a catalogue of the Meidylid victory, but especially through a mythical parallel. The lot of the Epigonoι, who avenge their fathers' losses at Thebes and prove the valor of their family, recalls Aristomenes' own position as a member of a family that has suffered political losses, and now looks to have their power and position renewed. The victory, provided as it was by the gods, creates a moment for the victor and his family to look to the future and pray for that favor to be extended. Aristomenes' victory represents a renewal of Meidylid glory, and the family hopes that glory will continue with a restoration of their former fortunes. Thus Pindar prays for a free course for

Aigina, which suggests freedom from Athens' rule, as well as freedom from the internal strife between the old elite and the pro-Athenian elements.

Chapter 3: *Isthmian* VI

Θάλλωντος ἀνδρῶν ὥς ὅτε συμποσίου δεύτερον κρατῆρα Μοισαίων μελέων κίρναμεν Λάμπωνος εὐαέθλου γενεᾶς ὕπερ, ἐν Νεμέα μὲν πρῶτον, ὦ Ζεῦ, τὴν ἄωτον δεξάμενοι στεφάνων, νῦν αὖτε Ἴσθμοῦ δεσπότη Νηρείδεσσί τε πεντήκοντα παίδων ὀπλοτάτου Φυλακίδα νικῶντος. εἴη δὲ τρίτον σωτήρι πορσαίνοντας Ὁ- λυμπίῳ Αἴγιναν κάτα σπένδειν μελιφθόγοις ἀοιδαῖς. εἰ γάρ τις ἀνθρώπων δαπάνᾃ τε χαρεῖς καὶ πόνοι πρᾶσσει θεοδμάτων ἀρετάς σὺν τέ οἱ δαίμων φυτεύει δόξαν ἐπήρατον, ἐ- σχατιαῖς ἤδη πρὸς ὄλβου βαλλετ' ἄγκυραν θεότιμος ἐών. τοίαισιν ὀργαῖς εὖχεται ἀντιάσαις Αἶδαν γῆράς τε δέξασθαι πολίον ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς· ἐγὼ δ' ὑψίθρονον Κλωθὴ κασιγνήτας τε προσ- εννέπω ἐσπέσθαι κλυταῖς ἀνδρὸς φίλου Μοίρας ἐφετμαῖς. ὔμμε τ', ὦ χρυσάρματοι Αἰακίδαι, τέθμιόν μοι φαμί σαφέστατον ἔμμεν τάνδ' ἐπιστείχοντα νᾶσον ῥαινέμεν εὐλογίαις. μυρίαί δ' ἔργων καλῶν τέ- τμανθ' ἐκατόμπεδοι ἐν σχερῶ κέλευθοι καὶ πέραν Νεῖλοιο παγᾶν καὶ δι' Ὑπερβορέους· οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτω βάρβαρος οὔτε παλίγγλωστος πόλις, ἅτις οὐ Πηλῆος αἰεὶ κλέος ἦ- ρωος, εὐδαίμονος γαμβροῦ θεῶν,	Triad A
οὐδ' ἅτις Αἴαντος Τελαμωνιάδα καὶ πατρός· τὸν χαλκοχάρμαν ἐς πόλεμον ἄγε σὺν Τιρυνθίοισιν πρόφρονα σύμμαχον ἐς Τροίαν, ἦρωσι μόχθον, Λαομεδοντιᾶν ὑπὲρ ἀμπλακιάων ἐν ναυσὶν Ἀλκμήνας τέκος. εἴλε δὲ Περγαμίαν, πέφνεν δὲ σὺν κείνῳ Μερόπων ἔθνεα καὶ τὸν βουβόταν οὔρει ἴσον Φλέγραισιν εὐρὼν Ἀλκυο- νῇ, σφετέρας δ' οὐ φείσατο χερσὶν βαρυφθόγοιο νευρᾶς	Triad B

μέτρα μὲν γνώμα διώκων, μέτρα δὲ καὶ κατέχων,
 γλῶσσα δ' οὐκ ἔξω φρενῶν, φαί-
 ης κέ νιν ἄνδρ' ἐν ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν
 Ναξίαν πέτραις ἐν ἄλλαις χαλκοδάμαντ' ἀκόναν.
 πίσω σφε Δίρκας ἄγνὸν ὕ-
 δωρ, τὸ βαθύζωνοι κόραι
 χρυσοπέπλου Μναμοσύνας ἀνέτει-
 λαν παρ' εὐτειχέσιν Κάδμου πύλαις.

75

Just as at a flourishing symposium of men, 1
 we mix a second *krater* of the Muses' songs
 on behalf of the athletic offspring of Lampon, first
 at Nemea, O Zeus,
 receiving from you the fairest of crowns,
 and now again from the lord of the Isthmus 5
 and the fifty Nereids, as the youngest son
 Phylakidas is victorious. May it be for us to prepare a third
 libation with sweet-voiced song
 to pour out over Aigina
 to the Olympian savior.
 For if someone of men rejoicing in expense 10
 and toil achieves god-built virtues,
 and also a god sows for him a lovely reputation,
 and already he being honored by the gods
 casts his anchor upon the farthest shore.
 The son of Kleonikos prays that
 with such feelings he meet Hades and welcome 15
 gray old age; I call upon
 lofty-throned Klōthō and her sister
 Moirai to heed the noble
 prayers of my dear friend.
 And you, O Aiakids in your golden chariots,
 I say it is the clearest law for me 20
 coming to this island to shower you with praise.
 Countless paths of great deeds
 a hundred-feet wide have been cut, one after another,
 beyond the sources of the Nile and through the Hyperborean lands;
 nor is there a city so barbaric
 or of such foreign tongue,
 that it does not know the fame of the hero 25
 Peleus, blessed son-in-law of the gods,

nor of Ajax, son of Telamon,
 or his father; whom the son of Alcmene
 led with the Tyinthians into bronze-loving war, an eager ally,

to Troy, the toil of heroes,
 because of the treacheries of Laomedon,
 aboard ships. 30
 He took Pergamos, and with him he slew the tribes
 of the Meropes and the ox-herder equal to a mountain,
 Alcyoneus whom he found at Phlegra,
 nor did Herakles use sparingly
 the loud-sounding bowstring in his hands
 But when he came to call the descendant of Aiakos 35
 to sail he found them feasting.
 Mighty Telamon bid him, standing in his lion-skin,
 the strong-speared son of Amphitryon,
 to begin the honeyed libations,,
 and gave to him the wine-bearing
 bowl bristling with gold. 40
 And he, stretching out his undefeated hands towards heaven
 spoke such words:
 "If ever, O father Zeus
 you have heard my prayers with willing heart,
 now, now with prayers to the gods I supplicate you,
 bring about a mighty son from Eriboia, 45
 destined to be my guest friend, for this man;
 give him an unbreakable nature, just like
 the skin of the beast that now wraps around me,
 which I killed at Nemea, first of my deeds;
 let him have this spirit." The god
 sent to him speaking these words
 a great eagle, king of birds; and 50
 a sweet joy thrilled him within,

and he said, speaking just as a prophet,
 "There will be to you the son for which you asked, O Telamon;
 call him after the bird that appeared,
 mighty Ajax, wonder
 among the people in the toils of Enyalios."
 Saying these things he 55
 sat immediately. It is a long deed for me to go through all these glories;
 I have come, O Muse, as the steward of song
 for Phylakidas and for Pytheas and Euthymenes;
 It will be spoken in the Argive
 manner, with few words.
 They have won victories in the pankration, 60
 three from the Isthmos, and others from well-wooded Nemea,
 the illustrious children and their maternal uncle. Such a share
 of songs they have led into the light;
 they water the clan of the Psalychiadai

with the sweetest dew of the Charites,
 and they holding up the house of Themistios inhabit 65
 this city beloved by the gods; and Lampon giving care
 to work honors
 this saying of Hesiod,
 and telling it he recommends it to his sons;
 bringing forth shared glory for his city
 he is loved by strangers for his benefaction; 70
 following measure in his thought, and achieving measure;
 his speech is never outside his thoughts; you would say
 that he, as a man, is among athletes
 the bronze-subduing Naxian whetstone among other rocks.
 I give to them¹⁷³ to drink the sacred water
 of Dirke, which the deep-girdled daughters
 of golden-robed Mnemosyne have drawn up 75
 by the well-walled gates of Cadmus.

I. Overview

Isthmian 6 draws our attention to another Aiginetan victor, Phylakidas of Aigina.

Scholars have pointed out ways that this ode references the political atmosphere at the time of composition: given the accepted date of 480 BCE, one might look for some reference to the ongoing hostilities with Persia, and some sign that the victor and his community were anxious about them. Yet the program of prayer that runs throughout the ode is not concerned with those events, nor indeed with the welfare of the Aiginetan community as a whole. Instead, Pindar uses *Isthmian* 6 as a platform for praying not for Phylakidas alone but for his whole family, especially his brother Pytheas and father Lampon. The goal of these prayers is not simply to secure the god's favor so that the family may enjoy prosperity despite the good fortune they have already experienced, but

¹⁷³ There is some debate as to whether Lampon, or the whole family, is meant. The pronoun σφε is usually plural, so the scholiasts, and the majority of scholars, have rendered it as 'them' (thus Bury [1892] 118-19, Kirkwood [1982] 297, Carne-Ross [1985] 48, Race [1997]). Others see the natural antecedent of the pronoun as Lampon and therefore render the word as singular (thus Myers [1892], Nisetich [1980] 319, Cole [1992] 64, Faraone [2002] 259ff). I choose to follow the latter school of thought that, while violating the usual sense of the word, better preserves the sense of the passage.

specifically to secure future victories that bring honor to the victor and his father alike.

Lampon was not himself an athlete, but he respects the glory that falls to athletic victories, and he has raised two sons who have won at the Nemean and Isthmian Games. Pindar uses Phylakidas' victory as an opportunity to ask the gods to favor Pytheas and Phylakidas not only so that they may accrue further victories, but also so that their father (and the community) will enjoy the reflected glory of their success.

I have broken the poem into three major sections. In the Opening Prayers (1-18), Pindar opens the ode with a metaphor comparing the victories of Lampon's sons with libations given during the course of a symposium. There are traditionally three libations offered at a symposium, but the sons of Lampon have only earned two victories; in order to complete the run, Pindar prays for a further victory. This request gets unpacked in the antistrophe, where Pindar extends the force of the prayer from Phylakidas and Pytheas to their father Lampon and asks that the fortunes of the sons affect the life of their father. In the following section, the Myth of Herakles and Telamon (19-56), Pindar moves rather abruptly to the Aiakidai and uses them to transition into a myth that provides a close parallel to the situation of the victor and his own family. Herakles and Telamon act as models for Pindar and Lampon: Herakles' prayer for Telamon's son recalls Pindar's own prayers and provides a template for how the situation will be resolved, with Lampon's son, like Telamon's, being mighty and knowing victory. This myth provides a precedent to both Lampon, offering him evidence that such a request has been granted before among the Aiginetans, and to the gods, reminding them of Ajax in order to help them understand what Lampon desires. Following the myth, in the Catalogue and Closing (56-76), Pindar turns once more to the Aiakidai to provide a transition back to the victor and

his family in the present. He continues his praise of the Psalychiadai and ends the ode with the image of a drink offered to the family, a promise of favor that recalls the hoped-for drink in the libation metaphor at the opening of the ode. There is, then, a clear motion in the ode from the victor to his mythic exemplar (via the Aiakidai, his mythic forebears) and back again. This movement not only allows Pindar to suggest a legendary parallel for the family and so immortalize their deeds, but also energizes Pindar's prayer for Phylakidas and his family by echoing them through the divine figure of Herakles, and creates a promise of favor based on the outcome of the mythic alter-egos.

II. Date and Circumstances

The date of *Isthmian* 6 is traditionally set to 480 BCE. While the scholia to *Isthmian* 6 do not provide a date for the poem, certain external factors help us to set a date. The ode is the second in a series of poems that Pindar composed for Lampon's sons – a series that also includes *Nemean* 5, celebrating a victory of Pytheas, and *Isthmian* 5, celebrating a second victory of Phylakidas. It is clear that *Isthmian* 6 follows *Nemean* 5 as it mentions that earlier victory; it is equally clear that the ode precedes *Isthmian* 5, as the latter poem mentions both Pytheas' Nemean victory and Phylakidas' first Isthmian victory. *Isthmian* 5 also makes clear reference to the battle of Salamis¹⁷⁴; as such it is dated to a victory in the first Isthmian Games following the Battle of Salamis, those of 478 BCE. *Isthmian* 6 is then ascribed to a victory in the preceding Isthmian Games, those held in 480 BCE.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ I.5.48-50: καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἄρει μαρτυρήσαι κεν πόλις Αἴαντος ὀρθωθεῖσα ναύταις | ἐν πολυφθόρῳ Σαλαμῖς Διὸς ὄμβρῳ | ἀναρίθμων ἀνδρῶν χαλαζᾷεντι φόνῳ.

¹⁷⁵ Alternate reconstructions have also been forwarded. Bury (1892) 173-75 suggests that the victory of *Isthmian* 5 occurred in the Isthmian Games held in the spring of 480 BCE, while the ode itself was not

Some scholars have suggested that *Isthmian* 6 contains internal clues to its date as well in the form of references to contemporary events. The main myth in *Isthmian* 6 concerns Heracles arriving at the house of Telamon and making a prophecy about Telamon's son. As we will see later in this chapter, this moment from legend provides a neat parallel to the victor's family, for as Lampon hopes that his sons will know athletic success and bring their family glory, so does Telamon hope he will have a mighty son who will bring glory to his family. Cole has argued that another theme runs through the myth, however, as Herakles has come to Telamon to call him to war against Laomedon, king of Troy; similarly, Pindar has arrived in Aigina on the eve of war, when the island was preparing a military retinue to participate in the campaign against the Persians.¹⁷⁶ Both Telamon and Lampon face war, the former against the Trojans, the latter against the Persians (Greek enemies who are both representative of the hostile east). It is unlikely, however, that there was enough time between the victory and the mobilization of the Aeginetan fleet for the epinician ode to be prepared and performed.¹⁷⁷

performed until the winter, following the Battle of Salamis, which occurred in the fall; in this case *Isthmian* 6 would belong to the previous Isthmian Games, those of 482 BCE. In support of this reconstruction Bury points out that the pankration victor of the Isthmian Games of 478 BCE was probably Cleander of Aigina, the victor of *Isthmian* 8, not Phylakidas. This problem is resolved if we understand Phylakidas as the victor in the men's division and Cleander as the victor in the boys', as seems likely given *Isthmian* 8's emphasis on youth (consider, for instance, *I*.8.70: ἦβαν γὰρ οὐκ ἄπειρον ὑπὸ χειρὶ καλῶν δάμασεν).

¹⁷⁶ Cole (1992) 66-67 concedes that the prophecy Herakles makes is more appropriate to a wedding feast, and suggests that Pindar changed the traditional setting for the myth in order to create a close parallel between it and current events. He takes his political reading even further, arguing that Pindar is making a claim of allegiance to Aigina and its cause, and acting as representative of an anti-Persian faction of Thebans. That belief derives from the lines at the end of the ode, in which Pindar offers Lampon a drink from Dirke's waters (vv. 74-75), but, as we will see, the drink signifies not a pledge of Pindar's personal support but the gifts which poetry bestows; moreover, it is hazardous to guess at Pindar's personal beliefs from his epinician poems.

¹⁷⁷ Jebb (1882) 177-78 suggested that Pindar chose this myth because its aftermath – Herakles' war against Troy – was depicted on the east pediment of the recently reconstructed Temple of Aphaia on Aigina, where he believes *Isthmian* 6 was performed. The pedimental figures may have been completed around the time of Phylakidas' victory (Bankel [1993] 170 suggests a date of around 485 BCE for the pedimental sculptures; for a review of recent scholarship on the dating of the temple, see Burnett [2005] 25 n. 29) and were certainly a point of pride for the Aeginetans. Given the emphasis on family over community throughout the ode, however, I will argue that the performance was more likely at the victor's home than

The ode celebrates Phylakidas' victory in the boys' pankration. The pankration was, it seems, a specialty of Phylakidas' family: the boy himself goes on to win a second such victory at the Isthmian Games (the subject of *Isthmian* 5), his brother Pytheas and his uncle Euthymenes have already won pankration victories at the Nemean Games, and his grandfather Themistios won a pankration (and boxing) victory at Epidauros.¹⁷⁸ Pindar also suggests the family's affinity for the pankration through the myth of Herakles and Telamon: the Aiakid hero Ajax, the son of Telamon whom Herakles prays for, was a regular archetype for pankratists given his nature as a mighty warrior.¹⁷⁹

The victor and his family deserve closer scrutiny, as the victor's family is of central importance in this ode. Our evidence for the family comes entirely from the three Pindaric poems that celebrate their victories. The victor of *Isthmian* 6 is, as I have noted, Phylakidas of Aigina, a member of the Psalychiad clan.¹⁸⁰ His older brother is Pytheas: that Pytheas is older is obvious not simply as his victory occurred earlier, but as he himself trained Phylakidas in the pankration,¹⁸¹ and in *Isthmian* 6 Phylakidas is described as ὀπλοτάτου (6).¹⁸² The father of Phylakidas and Pytheas is Lampon, a man named in all three odes. In the catalogues of the athletic accomplishments of the family Pindar makes no mention of Lampon, so either he was not himself an athlete, or at least he was not successful in athletics. Lampon is instead praised as a man who spurs others on to

the temple. In that case the link between the temple sculptures and the myth may be coincidental. This myth was already an established story of an Aiakid hero, so Pindar could have chosen it for other reasons.

¹⁷⁸ For Pytheas' victory see *N.* 5.5-6; for Euthymenes, *N.* 5.42-44; for Themistios, *N.* 5.51-54.

¹⁷⁹ Race (1986) 94-95.

¹⁸⁰ The identification of Phylakidas with the Psalychiad clan comes at *I.* 6.64-65. For the idea of the *patra* at Aigina, see above, n. 122.

¹⁸¹ See *I.* 5.59-61: αἰνέω καὶ Πυθέαν ἐν γυιοδάμαις | Φυλακίδα πλαγᾶν δρόμον εὐθυπορῆσαι, χερσὶ δεξιόν, νόφ' ἀντίπαλον.

¹⁸² Despite this rather firm indication, Bury (1892) 174 argues that we cannot be certain which of the brothers was the elder.

victory; this idea is seen most clearly when Pindar likens him to a whetstone who hones the skills of others (72-73):

φαί-
ης κέ νιν ἄνδρ' ἐν ἀεθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν
Ναξίαν πέτραις ἐν ἄλλαις χαλκοδάμαντ' ἀκόναν.

you would say
that he, as a man, is among athletes
the bronze-subduing Naxian whetstone among other rocks.

Lampon is perhaps not entirely without distinction, however: Herodotos mentions a Lampon, a leading man of Aigina, who counsels Pausanias to impale Mardonios as a sign to others who considered invading Greece.¹⁸³ This Lampon is called the son of Pytheas, however, and Pindar refers to Lampon as the son of Kleonikos.¹⁸⁴ How and Wells have suggested that Kleonikos may be a more remote ancestor, or even a title given to Lampon's father for his achievements;¹⁸⁵ the suggestion, while attractive, stretches the evidence in Pindar and Herodotos in order to merge the two figures into a single man, and must be deemed a possibility rather than historical actuality.

Two more relatives of the victors are mentioned in the odes, Euthymenes and Themistios. Euthymenes, as I have mentioned, is another victorious pankratiast in the family, and is clearly identified as the μάτρως, the maternal uncle of Phylakidas and Pytheas in the odes.¹⁸⁶ Themistios is named in *Nemean 5* as a relative who took victories at Epidauros in boxing,¹⁸⁷ and in *Isthmian 6* Pindar speaks of Phylakidas, Pytheas, and Euthymenes as glorifying his house. The scholia identify him as the grandfather of

¹⁸³ Herod. 9.78-79; see also Paus. 3.4.10.

¹⁸⁴ *I.* 6.16: ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς; while in *I.* 5.55 he refers to Phylakidas and Pytheas as belonging to the γενεάν Κλεονίκου.

¹⁸⁵ How and Wells (1990 v.2) 321.

¹⁸⁶ In *Nemean 5*, Pindar first describes Euthymenes' victories at the Aiginetan games, and then describes him as Pytheas' μάτρως (43); likewise in *Isthmian 6* Pindar announces that he has come to sing of Phylakidas, Pytheas, and Euthymenes, and then refers to them as ἀγλαοὶ παῖδες τε καὶ μάτρως (62).

¹⁸⁷ *N.* 5.50-53.

Phylakidas and Pytheas and father of Euthymenes, and this is the general consensus among scholars.¹⁸⁸ These relatives, moreover, are described as belonging to the Psalychiad clan, the clan with which Pindar identifies Phylakidas and Pytheas. While it may seem natural to assume that Pindar would call the victors after their father's clan, and that Lampon is thus a Psalychiad, Fenno has made a convincing argument that the boys are in fact Psalychiads through their mother. In *Isthmian* 6 Pindar speaks of Phylakidas, Pytheas, and Euthymenes as glorifying the Psalychiadai;¹⁸⁹ it is difficult to believe that Euthymenes' victory would glorify the clan of his brother-in-law, and so it is more natural to assign him, and thus the boys' maternal line, to the Psalychiadai.¹⁹⁰ Of course, there is no reason why both Lampon and his wife could not belong to the same *patra*, so that Pytheas and Phylakidas are Psalychiadai through both their mother and father. No matter what the precise genealogy of the boys, it is through the Psalychiadai that the trait of athletic excellence runs down to Pytheas and Phylakidas, a fact that Pindar seems to recognize in associating them consistently with that clan.

Clues about the victor and the date of composition are readily available in the text of *Isthmian* 6 and its partner odes. When we consider performance, however, we find no obvious markers for the nature of the performance of the ode, neither its setting nor its mode. Pindar does not open with an invocation of a deity, nor does he refer to any kind of dedication or rite, nor even directly acknowledge the aid of a god in Phylakidas' victory; as such it is difficult to join the performance of the ode to a rite at a temple. Indeed, the imagery of *Isthmian* 6, rather than relating to a temple or rites, is sympotic: the poem opens with a description of libations offered throughout the course of a

¹⁸⁸ Σ Pind. *Isth.* 6 95, with which Bury (1892) 110, Farnell (1932) 362 and Kirkwood (1982) 296 agree.

¹⁸⁹ *I.* 6.63-64: τὰν Ψαλυχιαδῶν δὲ πάτρην Χαρίτων | ἄρδοντι καλλίστα δρόσφ.

¹⁹⁰ Fenno (2005) 295.

symposium (1-7), its myth recounts a domestic scene in which Herakles attends a feast at the house of Telamon and makes a libation (35-36), and at the end of the ode Pindar praises Lampon for his hospitality and offers a further drink (69). Given the repetition of feasting imagery, one could easily imagine a sympotic setting for the performance of the ode, perhaps at the house of Lampon, the father of the victor and surely the commissioner of the ode.¹⁹¹ This feast could follow a rite of thanksgiving at a temple, or, given the emphasis on the Psalychiadai clan, rites at a cult place associated with the *patra*; alternately, the victor may have eschewed a public rite at a temple in favor of a celebration localized to his home, attended by select family, friends, and peers.¹⁹² Surely the victor (or his patron) could decide on the nature and arrangement of the celebration, and could order its location and manner.

We are similarly lacking evidence about the mode of performance. There is no clear reference to choral performance in the ode, neither a mention of a chorus celebrating the victory nor a sense of a voice emanating from the Aiginetan community as a whole, as in *Pythian* 8 where the poetic voice reflects a shared interest in Aigina. The concern of *Isthmian* 6 is primarily with the family of Lampon rather than the Aiginetan community, so it is not surprising to find the choral voice suppressed, but whether we can deduce from this stylistic feature that the ode was performed by a solo artist is less clear. Lacking positive evidence we are better off reserving judgment.

¹⁹¹ Clay (1999) argues that Pindar's epinician poems could be performed in a sympotic context, but Carey (2007) 205, argues against attaching an epinician performance to an informal setting, "It is inherently implausible that a grand song of praise like this one [*Olympian* 1] was squandered on an informal gathering. Pindar's feasts are probably grand affairs, and his representation of them as informal symposia is a fiction." Thus, while epinician performances may have occurred at feasts, it is unlikely they would have occurred at the intimate and informal setting assumed by a symposium.

¹⁹² This may explain why the Aiakids receive less praise and attention in the ode. If the audience of *Isthmian* 6 was composed of people with a personal relationship to the victor and his family, then there is no pressing need for Pindar to appeal to a shared nationality, as he did in *Pythian* 8, in order to render the victory a common good for victor and audience alike.

III. The Opening Prayers

The ode opens immediately with a prayer, not one that follows the traditional format seen in the prayer to *Hesychia* in *Pythian* 8, but one that is folded into the imagery of a series of libations. As it contains definite invocations and a request, it qualifies for inclusion in this study. Pindar describes a symposium at which two libations are offered, and then hopes to be able to offer a third.¹⁹³ These libations represent the victories of Pytheas and Phylakidas – a libation acknowledges a god's aid and thanks him for it, and an athletic victory, arising through the favor of a god, demands recognition and thanks to the god or gods who bestowed it. The first libation corresponds to Pytheas' Nemean victory, and Pindar first directs his words to Zeus with a simple invocation: ὦ Ζεῦ, 'O Zeus' (3). He thus calls Zeus to attention, and though he does not provide explicit epithets or descriptions of the lineage or powers of the god, he nevertheless hints at them: after all, this first libation represents a victory at the Nemean Games, over which Zeus presides.¹⁹⁴ The people celebrating now receive the victory crown τὴν, 'from you' (4),¹⁹⁵ referring here to Zeus and indicating clearly to the audience Zeus' role in awarding victory to Pytheas. Pindar thus not only provides the acknowledgment due to the god,

¹⁹³ The scholia tell us that symposia traditionally had a series of three libations: the first was offered to Olympian Zeus (citing Aiskhylos' *Epigonoï*, fr.54 Nauck), the second to Gē and the heroes, and the third to Zeus Sōtēr (citing Sophokles' *Nauplion*, fr. 389 Nauck). Bury (1892) 105 suggests that the second libation was in fact variable, decided not by tradition but rather by the needs of the occasion, thus allowing Pindar to call on Poseidon and the Nereids.

¹⁹⁴ In this way Pindar deviates from what the scholia present as the traditional invocation for the first libation, calling on Zeus as Nemean lord rather than Zeus Olympios. He does call him Olympios in describing the third libation he hopes will be poured out in honor of an Olympian victor (v. 7). Pindar plays on traditional forms and makes the epithet significant of the games, carrying this idea through the rest of the libations.

¹⁹⁵ Bury (1982) 105-106 and Farnell (1932) 358-58 both argue that τὴν must be parallel to δεσπότη and Νηρείδεσσιν, and note that δέχομαι is only used with dative of the giver when the dative is a personal pronoun. Kirkwood (1982) 29, however, renders τὴν 'at your hands,' in conjunction with δεξάμενοι, and in this agrees with Privitera (1982).

but also uses the victory as a *hypomnesis*, reminding Zeus of a time when he assisted the sons of Lampon. Pytheas has already received the favor of Zeus, and Pindar will soon ask the god to grant such favor again.

In the next lines (5-7) Pindar turns his attention to the second victory of Lampon's sons, the Isthmian victory of Phylakidas which is the central focus of the current ode. In doing so, however, he avoids any direct invocation of Poseidon, the patron god of the Isthmian Games; this is perhaps because the actual request will be directed to Zeus, and Pindar wants him singled out as the audience for this prayer. Pindar extends the grammatical construction that recognized Zeus as the bestower of the first victory to Poseidon, making him the agent of the second (5), and so offering him credit for his part in Phylakidas' achievement. Poseidon, unlike Zeus, is linked directly to the Isthmian Games when he is called Ἰσθμοῦ δεσπότης, 'the lord of the Isthmus' (5), making clear his connection with Phylakidas' victory and again reminding the gods of the favors they have shown the sons of Lampon. By acknowledging the role of the gods in Pytheas' and Phylakidas' victories, moreover, Pindar is suggesting that the gods need not fear to extend their favor again, as the sons of Lampon always recognize the thanks they owe the gods, and would do so again if they received more favors in the form of future victories.

The third libation brings us to the request of the prayer. Traditionally a symposium had three libations throughout the night, but Lampon's sons have achieved only two victories, so a third must be obtained to complete the run. The request, then, focuses on attaining this third victory, though it is expressed in a roundabout manner. On a superficial level, the request merely hopes that those people now offering libations for

the first two victories of Lampon's sons will also be able to celebrate a future victory for them (7-9):

εἴη δὲ τρίτον
σωτῆρι προσαίνοντας Ὀ-
λυμπίῳ Αἴγιναν κατά
σπένδειν μελιφθόγοις ἀοιδαῖς.

May it be for us to prepare a third
libation with sweet-voiced song
to pour out over Aigina
to the Olympian savior.

The indirect format of the prayer may be compared with the request at the end of *Olympian* 1 in which Pindar hopes to be called upon to celebrate a future victory of Hieron.¹⁹⁶ In both cases the main intention, of course, is to pray for a future victory for the current victor, though Pindar couches the request in terms of fulfilling a future act, be it the libation or his own song (a device that also allows him to mitigate his presumption in naming himself the composer of those future odes). That the act of thanksgiving is emphasized over the actual victory also adds to the image Pindar is building of Lampon's sons, for it reminds the gods that Pytheas and Phylakidas recognize that they will only achieve a victory with the gods' help.

Pindar prays that the sons of Lampon may win victory at the Olympian Games, the most prestigious of the four crown games. Since Zeus is the patron of the Olympian Games, he is named in the prayer as the god who can grant the request, called now Ὀλυμπίῳ not only because Olympian Zeus traditionally receives one of the libations at a symposium,¹⁹⁷ but also because he is the appropriate god to address for such a request.

¹⁹⁶ *O.* 1.115-116: εἴη σέ τε τοῦτον ὑψοῦ χρόνον πατεῖν, | ἐμέ τε τοσσάδε νικαφόροις | ὁμιλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφίᾳ καθ' Ἑλλανας ἐόντα παντῶ.

¹⁹⁷ Olympian Zeus traditionally receives the first libation (see above n. 22); the change of lineup reflects Pindar's desire to cast the libations in an epinician mold.

Zeus is also here called σωτήρ (8), again not only because Zeus Sōtēr is the usual recipient of the third libation, but because he is being called upon to give his aid to the sons of Lampon.

The prayer, as we have seen, follows a non-traditional format, down to the use of an optative, εἴη. The imperative is used in the majority of prayers in Pindar's epinician odes, while the optative appears in only six instances,¹⁹⁸ being generally reserved for what I have termed 'religious wishes'. Nevertheless, the optative is a valid form that appears in more traditional prayers as well. Despite its atypical composition and the presence of layers of intent, we may discern in this prayer a sincere desire to negotiate for a future victory, by calling upon the gods, thanking them for their previous favor, reminding them that the sons of Lampon are worthy of that favor again, and asking for an Olympian victory.

Pindar follows the metaphor of the libations with a *gnomē* that describes how the man who puts money and expense into a work can achieve virtue and happiness (10-13):

εἰ γάρ τις ἀνθρώπων δαπάνῃ τε χαρεῖς
καὶ πόνῳ πράσσει θεοδμάτων ἀρετάς
σὺν τέ οἱ δαίμων φυτεύει δόξαν ἐπήρατον, ἐ-
σχατιαῖς ἤδη πρὸς ὄλβου
βάλλετ' ἄγκυραν θεότιμος ἐών.

For if someone of men rejoicing in expense
and toil achieves god-built virtue,
and a god sows for him a lovely reputation,
already he being honored by the gods
casts his anchor upon the farthest shore.

As we saw in *Pythian* 8, the *gnomē* is a piece of wisdom that Pindar, in his role as a poet and thus a mediator between men and gods, offers men to guide them to a life that will

¹⁹⁸ The optative is used in *O.* 8.84-88 (θέλοι and ἀέξοι), *O.* 13.24-30 (γένοιο), *P.* 1.29-32 (εἴη), *P.* 5.117-21 (διδόιτ'), *N.* 7.94-101 (ἔχοιεν), and *N.* 8.35-37 (εἴη).

earn the favor of the gods. Pindar here reminds Lampon and his sons how exactly they have attained their fortune, as they put great effort and, presumably, money, into training and preparing for the games, and that effort has paid off with two victories so far. Pindar does not mean to suggest that men can achieve success on their own, however. He describes the virtue that the people described by the ode cultivate as θεοδμάτων, ‘god-built’ (11), referring to the fact that the gods ultimately grant the virtues for which men strive. The role of the gods is further emphasized when Pindar adds a further condition in the *gnomē* beyond labor and expenditure: σὺν τέ οἱ δαίμων φυτεύει δόξαν ἐπήρατον, ‘and also a god sows for him a lovely reputation’ (12). Without the help of a god, a man’s efforts still bear no fruit. By understanding what is necessary for success, and what brought about their previous successes, Lampon and his sons are better able to secure their desired Olympian victory, by combining their own efforts with a respect for the gods.

The *gnomē* contains an important message Lampon and his sons, but it also appeals to a divine audience, both showing the gods that the victor already understands the wisdom contained in the ode, to the point that his past behavior exemplifies it, and assuring the gods that the victor and his family will continue to practice the virtues necessary for earning divine favor. In this way Pindar attempts to assuage the potential anxieties of the gods: even if the gods grant Lampon and his sons more favors, even if they grant a glorious victory at Olympia, Lampon and his sons will continue to show due respect to the gods. The *gnomē* thus becomes integral to the program of negotiation in the ode, both preparing those making the request to earn the favor of the gods and convincing the gods themselves to grant that favor.

After the *gnomē*, Pindar announces a new ‘prayer’, this one focusing on the desire of Lampon rather than his sons, or at least on how he may profit from a future Olympian victory earned by his sons. This is not a true prayer according to the definition of this study: it has no addressee, and rather than make a request it describes a request Lampon hopes the gods will heed. As such it is an indirect prayer rather than a prayer proper. Lampon hopes, we learn, to reach death and old age having achieved happiness (14-16):

τοίαισιν ὀργαῖς εὐχεται
ἀντιάσαις Αἴδαν γῆράς τε δέξασθαι πολίων
ὁ Κλεονίκου παῖς.

The son of Kleonikos prays that
with such feelings he meet Hades and welcome
gray old age.

Given the request in the opening prayer (7-9), it is clear that Lampon believes he achieves the happiness described in the *gnomē* when his sons, through their efforts and the favor of the gods, earn victories. Since Lampon’s request to enjoy further happiness is tied directly to the prayer for his sons’ success, Pindar may have felt no need to insert a new prayer just for Lampon; if the gods grant Pytheas and Phylakidas future victories, especially prestigious victories at the Olympian Games, then they also grant Lampon his future happiness.

Immediately after announcing Lampon’s wish, however, Pindar himself prays for the fulfillment of that wish (16-18):

ἐγὼ δ’ ὑψίθρονον
Κλωθὴ κασιγνήτας τε προσ-
εννέπω ἐσπέσθαι κλυταῖς
ἀνδρὸς φίλου Μοίρας ἐφετμαῖς.

I call upon
lofty-throned Klōthō and her sister
Moirai to heed the noble

prayers of my dear friend.

Pindar begins his prayer with ἐγὼ, emphasizing the change of subject from Lampon to himself and identifying him as the speaker of the prayer. He then makes an invocation, the formal feature lacking in Pindar's description of Lampon's prayer, to Klōthō and her sister Moirai, granting Klōthō the epithet ὑψίθρονον, 'lofty throned,' and noting her identity as one of the Moirai, the trio of sister deities who allot people's fates. They are the goddesses who control the length and quality of one's life, and are well suited to respond to Lampon's desires. Pindar does not repeat Lampon's request, nor even reformulate it, but rather directs the gods to listen to it, suggesting that he is in a special position to facilitate communication between Lampon and the gods.

In taking Lampon's desires and translating them into a prayer, Pindar fulfills the poet's role as an intermediary between god and worshipper, someone who makes possible successful communication between the two parties. In line 18, ἀνδρὸς φίλου is juxtaposed directly with Μοίρας, perhaps indicating that Pindar, who stands at the beginning of the sentence in ἐγὼ, has brought together Lampon and the Fates in order to facilitate Lampon's prayer, both by making Lampon's desire known to the Fates and by urging the Fates to heed it. This desire for glory such as will arise from the athletic achievements of his sons, and will carry him in happiness to old age, must reach the ears of the Fates, the goddesses who are best disposed to grant it. Pindar is an αἰτιδός, and as such he has powers beyond simply composing and perhaps performing songs. He stands between men and gods,¹⁹⁹ aiding communication between them. Pindar acts as a source

¹⁹⁹ Mackie (2003) 78-92 examines how the poet, like a prophet, acts as an intermediary between gods and men: "This task of mediating or interceding between the gods and his fellow mortals is one more feature that aligns the epinician poet with the prophet. Like poets in other archaic Greek genres, the epinician poet is portrayed as a figure who facilitates communication between gods and men" (91). Murray (1981) 92, 97,

of knowledge for the victor, as he uses *gnomai* to explain the nature of the relationship between men and gods, and so point out the qualities expected of men if they wish to maintain the favor of the gods.²⁰⁰ At the same time Pindar communicates the wishes of his patrons to the gods through his songs, especially through the prayers in his songs; as an *ᾠοιδός* he is able to express those desires in a mode that is specifically suited to calling upon the gods, and therefore can better ensure that those requests are heeded. Here in this ode Pindar takes Lampon's wish and directs the gods to hear it; as the prayer is made by an *ᾠοιδός*, it better captures the attention of the gods and so strengthens the power of the prayer.

IV. The Myth of Herakles and Telamon

In the opening lines of the ode Pindar establishes the athletic history of the brothers Phylakidas and Pytheas and looks to a future in which their success continues. With the fortunes and hopes of the Psalychiads laid out he turns now to a myth that mirrors the present circumstances of the victor and his family quite closely. Following the opening prayer Pindar shifts from the victor and his family to the Aiakidai heroes, who provide the mythical counterparts to the victor and his family. An Aiginetan victor would naturally look to the deeds of Aiginetan heroes to find a legendary model for their present situation as they are the cultural heroes for the Aiginetan people: they stand at the

also discusses Pindar's conception of his profession, and refers to him both as a 'prophet of the Muses' and an 'intermediary between gods and men,' claiming for him a special position among men in his interaction with the gods. The idea is found earlier as well in Bowra (1964), who discusses Pindar's conception of poetry at length and concludes that Pindar views his song as deriving from the Muses, and thus himself as standing as, again, 'an intermediary between gods and men' (8).

²⁰⁰ See Boeke (2007). At 191-92 she explains, using *Olympian* 13 as an example: "His success in praising [the family] demonstrates to the Oligaithidai the attitudes towards god and man they should follow in their pursuit of further victories." While, as Boeke notes (194), Pindar can manipulate the *gnomai* in order to emphasize the virtues of his victor, they nevertheless do express an important truth that will help them, especially in securing the favor of the gods.

beginning of Aiginetan history, and their deeds hold significance for the lives of later Aiginetans. They are proof of the excellence that Aigina can achieve.

The particular myth of the Aiakidai that Pindar describes is Herakles calling Telamon to war. Herakles' wrath was roused against Troy when its king, Laomedon, failed to pay Herakles for killing the sea monster sent by Poseidon to ravage the town – a sea monster sent when Laomedon denied Poseidon his payment for building the walls of Troy. Deciding to go to war against Laomedon, Herakles seeks out allies and comes to Aigina to enlist the aid of the hero Telamon. When Herakles reaches the home of Telamon, however, he finds him holding a feast. Already the reader may be struck by the similarity between the myth, in which a Theban man, Herakles, comes to the home of his Aiginetan friend, Telamon, during a feast or celebration, and the performance, in which a Theban man, here Pindar, has either himself come to the home of his Aiginetan friend Lampon, or come symbolically through his song. The similarity between the two events is strong enough as to suggest that Pindar intended it, and chose this particular mythic moment because of its resonance with the circumstances of the victor and his family²⁰¹; we may therefore feel justified in exploring the myth more deeply in order to find further points of comparison with the ode that can expand our understanding of its significance.

The connection between Herakles and Pindar is deeper than a shared Theban origin. At the feast of Telamon, Herakles makes a prayer to Zeus on behalf of his host Telamon and his family. In the context of the epinician ode, Pindar, at a feast held by Lampon, prays on his host's behalf that his son will be mighty by continuing his athletic success. Herakles is no mere mortal: he is the son of Zeus, an affiliation he emphasizes

²⁰¹ Cole (1992) 63 lists three examples of overlap between the performance and the myth: Pindar and Herakles are both Theban guests, Lampon and Telamon are both Aiginetan hosts, and both Pindar and Herakles make a prayer on behalf of the host's son.

when he calls upon Zeus as *πάτερ*, ‘father’ (42). As such he holds a special position between man and god, and is better able to call the gods to attention. Pindar of course makes no claim on the gods because of a familial relation, but, as I have discussed, he does make a claim because of his profession, that of the *ᾠοιδός*, the poet. Pindar, like Herakles, stands between men and gods and acts as a mediator between the two, so he, like Herakles, is uniquely able create an effective prayer to the gods. The gods will heed his words just as Zeus will heed the prayer of his own son, for the poet effects communication between men and the gods.

The prayer of Herakles shows marked similarities to Pindar’s own prayers in *Isthmian* 6. Telamon, upon Herakles’ arrival, asks his guests to make a libation, and Pindar opened the ode by describing a series of three libations that might be made by the victor at the celebration. Herakles then makes a prayer following a traditional pattern, beginning by invoking the god with his name and epithets that establish a relationship between the god and the worshipper, then reminding that god of previous times the relationship between the two was established, and finally making a request. Herakles first stretches his arms to the sky, then calls upon Zeus: *ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ*, ‘father Zeus’ (42). The epithet *πάτερ* is used generally of Zeus because of his role as lord of gods and men,²⁰² but here it also refers to the personal relationship between Zeus and Herakles, as Zeus was Herakles’ actual father. Interwoven with the invocation is the *hypomnesis*, as Herakles recalls those previous times when Zeus heard and granted his prayers (42-43):

Εἴ ποτ’ ἐμᾶν, ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ,
θυμῷ θέλων ἄρᾶν ἄκουσας...

If ever, O father Zeus

²⁰² Pindar uses *πάτερ* in two other instances, *N.* 8.35 and *N.* 9.53, both of which are spoken by the performer.

you have heard my prayers with willing heart...

By recalling those instances, Herakles establishes that he and Zeus are bound in a *χάρις* relationship in which the two parties exchange worship and favor. Pindar likewise joins a prayer to his metaphorical libations (2-9) though, as I have shown, the prayer lacks the strict form of its mythical counterpart. Nevertheless, Pindar first invokes Zeus (3), and later uses his epithet Ὀλυμπίῳ (8) to clarify the relationship between worshipper and god, as the worshipper hopes that Zeus will favor him in his role as patron of the Olympian Games. Pindar also establishes the existing relationship between Pytheas and the gods when he recalls the victories of Pytheas and his brother, providing evidence of the favor that the gods have already shown them. As Herakles prays himself on behalf of his host, invoking his own relationship with Zeus to create goodwill for Telamon, so does Pindar when he utters Lampon's desire as his own prayer.

The requests of Herakles and Pindar are also similar. Herakles prays to Zeus that Telamon might sire a mighty son, one who will grow up to be a man whose strength is comparable to that of the Nemean Lion (45-47):

λίσσομαι παῖδα θρασὺν ἐξ Ἐριβοίας
 ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ξεῖνον ἄμὸν μοιρίδιον τελέσαι
 τὸν μὲν ἄρρηκτον φύαν, ὥς-
 περ τόδε δέρμα με νῦν περιπλανᾶται
 θῆρος...

I supplicate you,
 bring about a mighty son from Eriboia,
 destined to be my guest friend, for this man;
 give him an unbreakable nature, just like
 the skin of the beast that now wraps around me...

Telamon hopes to have a mighty son because such a child will bring him honor and thus happiness. Pindar, likewise, prays that Pytheas and Phylakidas, the sons of Lampon,

Pindar's patron and the likely host of the victory celebration, might gain another victory, this time at Olympia. While the parallel with Herakles' prayer is not exact, as Lampon's sons are already young men who have proven themselves in competition, the general sense and imagery of the two requests have certain correspondences. Herakles, who is elsewhere in Pindar named as the founder of the Olympic Games and thus stands as one of its patrons,²⁰³ hopes that Telamon's son will be as mighty as the Nemean Lion, the beast whom Herakles overcame as one of his labors; Olympia and Nemea are joined in the figure of Herakles, and these pass on into Ajax, images suggestive of Herakles' current and Ajax's future strength. Pindar looks back to the first victory awarded to Lampon's sons, that of Pytheas at Nemea, and forward to a hoped-for Olympian victory, so that in his prayer as well the realms of Olympia and Nemea become joined together as a representation of the strength Pytheas and Phylakidas have already proven through their victories and the strength they still hope to achieve.

The close parallel between the myth and the epinician performance not only heightens the praise and immortalizes the deeds of Pytheas and his family, but also offers them hope that their own prayers may be received as the prayers of Herakles for Telamon and Ajax were. When Herakles finishes his prayer Zeus sends down an eagle: ὄρνις φανέντος, 'the bird that appeared' (53).²⁰⁴ Herakles interprets this omen as a sign that Zeus has both heard the prayer and is willing to grant it; Eriboia will give birth to a son, Ajax, who will be a mighty warrior among the Greeks. In his prayer Pindar seeks a similar assurance from the gods that Zeus will heed the prayers of Lampon and his sons and grant the victories for which they hope. The mythic exemplum also provides a

²⁰³ See *O.* 3. 33-34 and 10. 43-59 for myths about Herakles founding the Olympic Games.

²⁰⁴ That it is an eagle in particular is made clear insofar as Herakles, on seeing the bird, bids Telamon to name his future son Ajax after the omen – Αἶας from αἴετος.

second kind of assurance: by looking back to this particular moment, Pindar shows how the people of Aigina have enjoyed the favor of the gods from the very beginning. As Carne-Ross observes, “The epiphany of the eagle heralding the birth of the ancestral hero Aias was a mark of divine favor granted to the Aiakidai, a favor still at work in their descendants; it is...the cause of Phylakidas’ triumph today, the seed from which it sprang”.²⁰⁵ Lampon and his sons may take comfort in the myth, knowing that they face a situation like that of their ancestors, and knowing too that they enjoy the same favor that those ancestors did; as such they may safely hope that Zeus will grant their prayers.²⁰⁶

The prayer of Herakles is not the only example of an embedded prayer in Pindar; two others occur within his epinician corpus, in *Olympian* 1 and *Nemean* 10. These two prayers, like the prayer under discussion here, provide mythic parallels to the prayers Pindar makes on behalf of the victor in the respective odes. In *Olympian* 1, Pelops prays to Poseidon for aid in beating Oinomaos in the chariot race that he has ordained for suitors of his daughter Hippodameia (75-78, 85):

φίλια δῶρα Κυπρίας ἄγ’ εἴ τι, Ποσειδάων, ἐς χάριν
τέλλεται, πέδασον ἔγχος Οἰνομάου χάλκεον,
ἐμὲ δ’ ἐπὶ ταχυστάτων πόρευσον ἁρμάτων

²⁰⁵ Carne-Ross (1985) 46.

²⁰⁶ Cole has suggested that another parallel between the myth and the epinician ode itself may be found in their context, for both seem to occur on the eve of war. Herakles in this ode comes to Telamon to call him to war against Troy; if the date of 480 BCE, between the Isthmian Games and the departure of the Aiginetan fleet for war, is correct, then Lampon too would stand on the eve of battle. Cole (1992) 66-67 argues that the celebration of the victory occurred just before the departure of the Aiginetan forces, and that Pindar chose the eve of the first Trojan War as his setting to strengthen the similarity between the two myths, even changing the traditional setting of this mythic episode from a wedding banquet, a more logical venue for such a prophecy – one thinks of the much later Catullus 64 and the prophecy about Peleus and Thetis’ future child – in order to strengthen the similarities between the two situations. If this is so, Pindar may also be making a prediction: Herakles and Telamon are successful at Troy, and Lampon and the Aiginetans, Pindar may be suggesting, will likewise be successful against Persia. While this is an attractive possibility, Pindar does not elsewhere in the ode pray for the fate of Lampon and Aigina in regards to their upcoming military campaigns, which itself suggests that they did not have pressing anxiety over a coming war. As I noted above, pp. 8-9, there probably was not enough time between the games and the departure of the fleet for an ode to be prepared and performed, rendering Cole’s argument moot. If Pindar is hinting at the campaign in which Aigina is involved, it is far more likely to be retrospective.

ἐς Ἄλιν, κράτει δὲ πέλασον...
τὸ δὲ πρᾶξιν φίλαν δίδοι.

Come, if the dear gifts of the Kyprian goddess bring me into your favor,
Poseidon, bind the bronze spear of Oinomaos,
bring me on the swiftest chariot
to Elis, and draw me near to power...
Grant me this dear accomplishment.

As Gerber notes, “this prayer is the high point of the myth and provides the main analogy between Pelops and Hieron”.²⁰⁷ Both Pelops and Hieron desire to compete in and win a chariot race, Pelops against Oinomaos and Hieron at Olympia, as suggested by Pindar’s words (109-111):

ἔτι γλυκυτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι
σὺν ἄρματι τοῦ κλεί-
ζειν...

still I hope to celebrate
an even sweeter moment with the
swift chariot...

Pelops receives from Poseidon a special team of horses that allows him to succeed in his venture; so too, we may understand, will Hieron’s prayer be granted.

A similar embedded prayer appears in *Nemean* 10 when, after the death of Kastor, Polydeukes asks his father Zeus to let him share his brother’s fate (76-79):

Πάτερ Κρονίων, τίς δὴ λύσις
ἔσσεται πενθέων; καὶ ἐμοί θάνατον σὺν τῷδ’ ἐπίτειλον, ἄναξ.
οἷχεται τιμὰ φίλων τατωμένῳ φωτί· παῦροι δ’ ἐν πόνῳ πιστοὶ βροτῶν
καμάτου μεταλαμβάνειν.

Father, son of Kronos, what release
is there from pain? Set death upon me along with him, lord.
Honor leaves the man deprived of his loved ones. Amid labor few mortal men are
trustworthy to share the struggle.

²⁰⁷ Gerber (1982) 177.

The connection with the victor's desires is perhaps less obvious in this example – after all, Polydeukes seems to pray for death. The victor, Theaios, does not want to die, but there are, nevertheless, important parallels between the victor and the hero in regards to their prayers. Theaios desires the favor of Ζεῦ πάτερ, 'Father Zeus' (29), as Polydeukes does. He wants, specifically, future victories, achievements that Pindar has described earlier in the poem as λάθαν πόνων, 'forgetfulness of labors' (24); similarly Polydeukes seeks death as a release from the pain of the loss of his brother.²⁰⁸ Both hero and victor have undertaken great toil, and both now seek the ultimate reward for their labor. Polydeukes receives this reward, as Zeus shares his immortality with Kastor; the audience may hope that Theaios will likewise be favored.

We can see that Pindar's embedded prayers act as mythic parallels for the prayers of the epinician odes in which they are contained. In all three cases the desire of the victor and hero intersect, and by portraying a moment in which a hero prays to the gods and receives the object of his request Pindar suggests that the victor's desire is equally likely to be granted. In each prayer, moreover, the person praying has a special position in relation to the god invoked: Herakles is Zeus' son, as is Polydeukes, and Pelops was Poseidon's lover. Pindar aligns himself with these figures, recalling his position as ἄοιδός, an intermediary between gods and men who, like the heroes, facilitates communication between the divine and mortal world. The prayer of *Isthmian* 6 nevertheless stands out, as Herakles prays on behalf of a man whose relationship with the

²⁰⁸ Bury (1890) 193 describes the parallel between the two requests slightly differently: "The heart's desire of Polydeukes was that he and his brother should share Olympos together, even though this implied a mixture of hardship with happiness. The heart's desire of Theaeus was a victory at Olympia, for which he was prepared to endure travail." The victor and the hero both show that they are willing to suffer in order to gain their desires. Yet Pindar implies that Theaios already had undergone toil: οὐδ' ἀμόχθῳ καρδίᾳ προσφέρων τόλμαν, 'nor bearing the boldness of a heart free from trouble' (30), likely in the form of his training, and now only seeks the release of victory.

gods is less direct (Telamon is a grandson, not son, of Zeus), and who therefore needs the aid of an intermediary to lend strength to his prayers. Pindar prays on behalf of Lampon and other victors and their families because his vocation and therefore his song are able to call the gods to attention in a way that a man alone cannot.

V. Catalogue and Closing

Following the myth of Herakles and Telamon, Pindar turns back to the present moment and the particular subject of the ode. He not only praises the victor Pytheas, however, but his entire family, proving a history of athletic success and, in the case of Lampon, a history of spurring others on to success. Through the catalogue and praise of the Psalychiads Pindar provides more reasons for Lampon and his sons to receive the favor of the gods, reminding the gods of favors already given, and showing them how these three live up to the qualities expected of men who would enjoy lasting happiness such as Lampon desires. In his final lines Pindar continues the water imagery of the ode with a drink from the spring Dirke that he offers to the Psalychiads, a drink that completes the trio of libations that open the ode. In this way the end of the ode mirrors the beginning: the focus now moves out from the Aiakids and forward to the Psalychiads and returns to the imagery of drinking: whereas the libations of the opening lines represented the victories earned, however, the drink of the closing lines represents a victory and happiness yet to come.

With the mythic narrative completed Pindar returns to the broader theme of Aiakid deeds that was originally set up in lines 20-22, but only to declare his inability to do justice to the task. This *recusatio* is, of course, a common device for enhancing

praise, but here it serves a secondary purpose in allowing Pindar to transition from the deeds of the Aiakids back to those of the Psalychiadai. The myth stands at the center of the ode, providing a parallel to the victor and his family, and Pindar moves into it and out of it through the Aiakidai, who provide the link between a contemporary Aiginetan family and a particular legendary instance of prayer and divine favor that occurred in that heroic line. As soon as he has excused himself from recounting every Aiakid deed Pindar turns back to the victor and his family, indicating that rather than list every achievement of the Aiginetan heroes he will focus only on the most recent, those of Phylakidas, his brother, and uncle; thus Pindar transitions back to the present and the praise of the victor.

There follows a catalogue of the family's athletic victories. Such a device is not uncommon in Pindar's epinician odes, and the Aiginetan odes especially favor it. Pindar names victories for the family at Isthmia and Nemea,²⁰⁹ focusing on the crown games to the exclusion of other, local victories.²¹⁰ The catalogue allows Pindar to emphasize once again the family of the victor. *Isthmian* 6 intends, by Pindar's own admission, to praise not only the victory of Phylakidas, but the victories of his brother and uncle as well (57-58):

²⁰⁹ The number and locations of the victories of Phylakidas, Pytheas, and Euthymenes are the subject of scholarly debate. In *Nemean* 5, we have Pytheas' victory at the Nemean Games; Euthymenes' two victories at Aigina, one victory at Megara, one victory at Nemea and one victory at Delphi (if that is the meaning of v.44: ἡ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν μείζ τ' ἐπιχώριος, ὃν φίλησ' Ἀπόλλων). Later, in *Isthmian* 5, Pindar tells us that, with Phylakidas' new Isthmian victory, he had two Isthmian victories, while he and Pytheas each had a Nemean victory. The catalogue in *Isthmian* 6 tells us: ἄρα νῖκας ἀπὸ παγκρατίου | τρεῖς ἀπ' Ἰσθμοῦ, τὰς δ' ἀπ' εὐφύλλου Νεμέας, | ἀγλαοὶ παῖδες τε καὶ μάτρως (60-62). Some scholars, such as Bury (1892) 117, have put a comma after τρεῖς, and interpreted the line as saying that Pytheas, Phylakidas, and Euthymenes have earned three victories in total, this victory of Phylakidas at the Isthmian Games, Pytheas' Nemean win, and another Nemean win for Euthymenes; in this, Bury is followed by Thummer (1968-69) 109 and Cole (1987) 554. Pfeiffer (1995) 321, however, argues that τρεῖς is balanced by τὰς, so we should instead understand that the family had three wins at Isthmia, and one or more at Nemea; his is the reading I adopt.

²¹⁰ For instance, in *Nemean* 5 we learn of Euthymenes' two victories at Aigina (N. 5.41) and Themistios' two victories at Epidauros (N. 5.52-53). This is likely to keep the list compressed: Pindar focuses on the most prestigious victories, those that have brought the most glory to the family.

Φυλακίδα γὰρ ἦλθον, ὦ Μοῖσα, ταμίας
Πυθέα τε κώμων Εὐθυμένει τε

I have come, O Muse, as the steward of song
for Phylakidas and for Pytheas and Euthymenes.

The Psalychiad family is interlinked, so that the glory of one is reflected on all. This idea is made explicit when Pindar describes how the victors bring glory to their family line (63-65):

τὰν Ψαλυχιαδᾶν δὲ πάτραν Χαρίτων
ἄρδοντι καλλίστα δρόσῳ
τόν τε Θεμιστίου ὀρθώσαντες οἶκον...

they water the clan of the Psalychiadai
with the sweetest dew of the Charites,
and they holding up the house of Themistios...

We once more find Pindar using the image of water to represent the glory of victory: just as the libations in the opening of the ode represent the victories earned or to be earned by the sons of Lampon, so does this dew. While the libations connected the victories with the gods, offering thanks for them and hoping the gods would grant more, the dew connects the victories with the family, showing how the victory of one reflects on all. This connection is important to Pindar because, as we have seen, Lampon prays to achieve happiness through the victories of his children. Since glory can be spread from one family member to another, Lampon's hopes are valid.

The focus upon the victor's family continues past the catalogue as Pindar shifts his attention in the final lines to Lampon. It was Lampon's desires that dominated the opening complex of prayers, and it is Pindar's praise of him that will now close it. As Lampon makes prayers along with his sons, Pindar must make some claim for his worthiness to receive the gods' favor. There is no evidence that Lampon was ever an

athletic victor, however, so that Pindar cannot simply include him among the family's athletes whose victories have brought glory to the family, not having such success to provide a source of the happiness he seeks. Pindar explains how Lampon upholds the advice of Hesiod,²¹¹ that a person should work hard to achieve success. This idea recalls the *gnomē* we saw in the opening triad which showed that the hard-working man will achieve lasting happiness. Lampon has also passed his work ethic onto his sons: his drive has pushed them to achieve the feats that have netted them victories. Though not a victor himself, Lampon nevertheless creates victors (72-73):

φαί-
ης κέ νιν ἄνδρ' ἐν ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν
Ναξίαν πέτραις ἐν ἄλλαις χαλκοδάμαντ' ἀκόναν.

you would say
that he, as a man, is among athletes
the bronze-subduing Naxian whetstone among other rocks.

In other words, Lampon hones men into athletes, training them in the pankration. He has already proven his success, too, as his son Pytheas has won a victory at Nemea. Pindar not only praises Lampon, then, but also establishes some grounds for Lampon to attain his desires.²¹² By repeating the promise contained within the earlier *gnomē*, and positing Lampon as an example of that *gnomē*, he suggests to Lampon – and to the gods – that Lampon can and will attain his desire. As the force behind his sons' athletic achievements, moreover, Lampon deserves the reflected glory of victory, more directly even than is implied by the image of the watering dew.

²¹¹ By this Pindar is perhaps referring to Hesiod's *Works and Days* 412, μελέτη δέ τοι ἔργον ὀφέλλει.

²¹² Pindar also praises Lampon along more traditional epinician lines for his qualities as a host (70).

In the final two lines of the ode Pindar states that he will give to Lampon a drink from the waters of Dirke, the famed spring of Thebes.²¹³ Faraone has interpreted this passage as a reference to Orphic cult. He compares the spring of Dirke, which is here guarded by the daughters of Mnemosyne, with the waters of Mnemosyne that the Orphic initiate will encounter in the afterlife. Among the surviving Orphic tablets we find the following instructions for the dead soul: “Further on you will find chill water flowing from the pool of Memory; over this stand guardians...Say, ‘...give me quickly the chill water flowing from the pool of Memory’”.²¹⁴ In this rite the Orphic initiate can regain his memory in the afterlife, and the happiness the initiate knew in life can continue to bring him or her joy after death. Similarly the victories of Lampon’s children bring about a happiness that Lampon can enjoy even after his death. While there is a similarity in the imagery of these two passages, this resemblance alone does not prove, as Faraone believes, that Lampon was an Orphic initiate, or that Pindar was playing to such beliefs, promising him glory in the afterlife. After all, the Orphic tablets all derive from periods later than this poem, most of them much later,²¹⁵ and were discovered far from Aigina, largely in Crete and Southern Italy.²¹⁶ There is no positive evidence for an Orphic cult on Aigina, nor is there any hint elsewhere in this poem, or in the earlier *Nemean 5* or later *Isthmian 5*, written for the same family and likely all commissioned by Lampon, that Lampon subscribes to Orphic ideas and wants them expressed in the odes, or seeks from Pindar such gifts as an Orphic initiate might desire. As such, we as scholars can hardly

²¹³ See above, n. 164.

²¹⁴ Faraone (2002) 266, using the translation of Janko (1984), which is itself based on his composite fifth-century archetype Ω, compiled from five different texts dating between 400 and 240 BCE.

²¹⁵ The tablets range in date from as early as the end of the 5th c. BC, for which there is one example, to as late as the 2nd c. AD. The largest part date from the 4th through the 2nd c. BC; see Graf 1993.

²¹⁶ The tablets come from ten different locations, including Thurii, Rome, Petelia, Pharsalus, Eleutherna, Mylopetra, Strathatos, Thessaly, Hippanium, and Pelinna; see Graf 1993.

posit Lampon's Orphism as a historical fact, especially when the drink is easily interpreted in a different manner that aligns with the ideas in the rest of the ode without any forced suppositions about Lampon's religious belief.

This drink of Dirke clearly continues the complex of images that connect water and victory that we have seen throughout the ode. In the opening lines, libations were poured in honor of the victories of Pytheas and Phylakidas (an act described by the verb κίρναι, which signifies the act of mixing water into wine), and after the Psalychiad catalogue the dew of victory watered the family line; the drink of Dirke suggests the song that immortalizes a victory.²¹⁷ The water is of Dirke as that is the famed spring of Thebes and Pindar is a Theban man, and it is guarded by the Muses as they are patrons of song (they are called here the daughters of Mnemosyne to emphasize the way the song creates a lasting memory of the deed).²¹⁸ Athletic victory brings glory to the victor, but it is song that renders that glory everlasting, and this particular ode will immortalize not only the glory of Phylakidas but also of Lampon, who has now been singled out as a driving force of this victory (besides being likely the patron of the ode); similarly, a future victory will warrant a future song that will achieve the same ends. Lampon will receive Pindar's song, he will drink of the waters of Dirke, and in this way his reputation, as well as that of his son, will live on, and the happiness he prayed for comes to him now, and will come again when his sons achieve their hoped-for victory.

Conclusion

²¹⁷ Kirkwood (1982) 297 says, "The waters, the gift of the Muses, here symbolize Pindar's song." Similarly, Berman (2007) 25 explains, "The water of Dirce is divinely inspired, and drinking it can bring health and poetic inspiration."

²¹⁸ This must be the reason for the link, as the Muses are not elsewhere connected with Dirke in surviving local legend.

We see in *Isthmian* 6, then, a complex of prayers that acts upon the entire family of the victor, treating them as a single unit capable of receiving the continuing favor of the gods. The prayer for a future Olympic victory applies to either son of Lampon, and the previous accomplishments of both are offered up as proof of previous grace. Those victories, moreover, engender Lampon's own desires for glory and happiness. After a myth illustrating a legendary example of a Theban man ensuring the gods' favor for his Aiginetan friend, which acts as a template for the current celebration, Pindar returns to praise of the victor's family, first through a catalogue and then through a description of the virtues of Lampon, the instigator of those victories. He ends then with a metaphorical drink for Lampon, the gift of that song which will imbue the glory of the victories with the eternal, a sign of the favor of the gods that will come to Lampon in fulfillment of his prayer.

Chapter 4: Nemean IX

- Κωμάσομεν παρ' Απόλλωνος Σικυωνόθε, Μοῖσαι,
τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἶτναν, ἔνθ' ἀναπεπταμέναι
 ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι,
ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίου
 δῶμ'. ἀλλ' ἐπέων γλυκὺν ὕμνον πρᾶσσετε.
τὸ κρατήσιππον γὰρ ἐς ἄρμ' ἀναβαίνων
 ματέρι καὶ διδύμοις παίδεσσιν αὐδὰν μανύει
Πυθῶνος αἰπεινᾶς ὁμοκλάρους ἐπόπταις. 5
- ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ἀνθρώπων, τετελεσμένον ἐσλόν
μὴ χαμαὶ σιγᾷ καλύψαι· θεσπεσία δ' ἐπέων
 καύχας ἀοιδὰ πρόσφορος.
ἀλλ' ἀνὰ μὲν βρομίαν
 φόρμιγγ', ἀνὰ δ' αὐλὸν ἐπ' αὐτὰν ὄρσομεν
ἱππίων ἀέθλων κορυφάν, ἃ τε Φοῖβῳ
 θῆκεν Ἄδραστος ἐπ' Ἀσωποῦ ρέεθροις· ὧν ἐγὼ
μνασθεὶς ἐπασκήσω κλυταῖς ἥρωα τιμαῖς. 10
- ὃς τότε μὲν βασιλεύων κεῖθι νέαισιν θ' ἐορταῖς
ἰσχύος τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀμίλλαις ἄρμασί τε γλαφυροῖς
 ἄμφαινε κυδαίνων πόλιν.
φεῦγε γὰρ Ἀμφιαρῇ
 ποτε θρασυμήδεα καὶ δεινὰν στάσιν
πατρίων οἴκων ἀπὸ τ' Ἄργεος· ἀρχοὶ
 δ' οὐκ ἔτ' ἔσαν Ταλαοῦ παῖδες, βιασθέντες λύα.
κρέσσων δὲ καππαύει δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν ἀνήρ. 15
- ἀνδροδάμαντ' Ἐριφύλαν, ὄρκιον ὡς ὅτε πιστόν,
δόντες Οἰκλείδα γυναῖκα, ξανθοκομᾶν Δαναῶν
 ἦσαν μέγιστοι < - - - >
καὶ ποτ' ἐς ἑπταπύλους
 Θήβας ἄγαγον στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν αἰσιᾶν
οὐ κατ' ὀρνίχων ὁδόν· οὐδὲ Κρονίων
 ἀστεροπὰν ἐλελίζαις οἴκοθεν μαργουμένους
στείχειν ἐπώτρυν', ἀλλὰ φείσασθαι κελεύθου. 20
- φαινομένην δ' ἄρ' ἐς ἅταν σπεῦδεν ὄμιλος ἰκέσθαι
χαλκείοις ὅπλοισιν ἱππείοις τε σὺν ἔντεσιν· Ἴσ-
 μηνοῦ δ' ἐπ' ὄχθαισι γλυκύν
νόστον ἐρεισάμενοι
 λευκανθέα σώμασι πíanαν καπνόν·
ἐπτα γὰρ daίσαντο πυραὶ νεογυίους
 φῶτας· ὃ δ' Ἀμφιαρεῖ σχίσσεν κεραυνῷ παμβία
Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα, κρύψεν δ' ἅμ' ἵπποις, 25

δουρὶ Περικλυμένου πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατάν
 θυμὸν αἰσχυνθῆμεν. ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις
 φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν.
 εἰ δυνατόν, Κρονίων,
 πείραν μὲν ἀγάνορα Φοινικοστόλων
 ἐγγέων ταύταν θανάτου πέρι καὶ ζω-
 ᾶς ἀναβάλλομαι ὥς πόρσιστα, μοῖραν δ' εὖνομον
 αἰτέω σε παισὶν δαρὸν Αἰτναίων ὁπάζειν,

30

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀγλαίαισιν δ' ἀστυνόμοις ἐπιμεῖξαι
 λαόν. ἐντί τοι φίλιπποί τ' αὐτόθι καὶ κτεάνων
 ψυχὰς ἔχοντες κρέσσονας
 ἄνδρες. ἄπιστον ἔειπ'.
 αἰδῶς γὰρ ὑπὸ κρύφα κέρδει κλέπτεται,
 ἃ φέρει δόξαν. Χρομίῳ κεν ὑπασπί-
 ζων παρὰ πεζοβόαις ἵπποις τε ναῶν τ' ἐν μάχαις
 ἔκρινας, ἂν κίνδυνον ὀξείας αὐτᾶς,

35

οὐνεκεν ἐν πόλεμῳ κείνα θεὸς ἔντυεν αὐτοῦ
 θυμὸν αἰχματὰν ἀμύνειν λοιγὸν Ἐνυαλίου.
 παῦροι δὲ βουλευῶσαι φόνου
 παρποδίου νεφέλαν
 τρέψαι ποτὶ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν στίχας
 χερσὶ καὶ ψυχᾷ δυνατοί· λέγεται μὰν
 Ἕκτορι μὲν κλέος ἀνθῆσαι Σκαμάνδρου χεύμασιν
 ἀγχοῦ, βαθυκρήμνοισι δ' ἀμφ' ἄκταις Ἐλώρου,

40

ἔνθ' Ἀρείας πόρον ἄνθρωποι καλέοισι, δέδορκεν
 παιδὶ τοῦθ' Ἀγησιδάμου φέγγος ἐν ἀλικίᾳ
 πρώτᾳ· τὰ δ' ἄλλαις ἀμέραις
 πολλὰ μὲν ἐν κονίᾳ
 χέρσῳ, τὰ δὲ γείτονι πόντῳ φάσομαι.
 ἐκ πόνων δ', οἳ σὺν νεότατι γένωνται
 σύν τε δίκᾳ, τελέθει πρὸς γῆρας αἰὼν ἡμέρα.
 ἴστω λαχὼν πρὸς δαιμόνων θαυμαστὸν ὄλβον.

45

εἰ γὰρ κτεάνοις πολλοῖς ἐπίδοξον ἄρηται
 κῦδος, οὐκ ἔστι πρόσωθεν θνατὸν ἔτι σκοπιάς
 ἄλλας ἐφάψασθαι ποδοῖν.
 ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ
 μὲν συμπόσιον· νεοθαλῆς δ' αὔξεται
 μαλθακᾷ νικαφορία σὺν αἰοιδᾷ.
 θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται.
 ἐγκιρνάτω τίς μιν, γλυκὺν κόμου προφάταν,

50

ἀργυρέαισι δὲ νωμάτῳ φιάλαισι βιατάν
 ἀμπέλου παῖδ', ἅς ποθ' ἵπποι κτησάμεναι Χρομίῳ
 πέμψαν θεμιπλέκτοισι ἀμᾶ
 Λατοίδα στεφάνοις
 ἐκ τᾶς ἱερᾶς Σικυῶνος. Ζεῦ πάτερ,
 εὖχομαι ταύταν ἀρετὰν κελαδῆσαι
 σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν τε τιμαλφεῖν λόγοις
 νίκαν, ἀκοντίζων σκοποῖ' ἄγχιστα Μοισᾶν.

55

Let us go forth from the shrine of Apollo in Sikyon, Muses,
 to newly-founded Aitna, where the thrown-open
 doors are overcome by guests,
 to the happy home
 of Khromios. Make a sweet hymn of words.
 He mounting his strong-horsed chariot
 bids us proclaim the mother and her twin children,
 joint overseers of steep Pytho.

5

There is a certain saying among men, not to hide a noble deed
 which has been accomplished silent in the ground. Godly
 song is fitting for boasting.
 But let us rouse the noiseless
 lyre, and the flute for this
 pinnacle of horse contests, which Adrastus
 established for Phoibos on the banks of the Asopus; and I
 recalling these things will adorn the hero with glorious honor.

10

Adrastus who, ruling here then, with new festivals,
 and contests of men's strength and hollow chariots,
 glorified his city.
 For he once fled from bold-thinking
 Amphiaraios and terrible strife,
 from his home in Argos; the sons
 of Talaos were no longer rulers, having been overcome by sedition.
 The stronger man ends the previous order.

15

But giving man-conquering Eriphyle as a trusty pledge,
 a wife to the son of Oikles, they were then the greatest
 of the yellow-haired Danaans.
 They led an army of noble
 men to seven-gated Thebes,
 not along a well-omened road; the son of Kronos did not
 whirling his lightning-bolt urge those eager men
 to go, but to refrain from the journey.

20

That host hastened to arrive at manifest doom,
 with their bronze arms and horse tackle; on the banks
 of the Ismenos they yielding
 sweet return
 fattened the white-blooming smoke with their corpses.
 Seven pyres feasted on young-limbed
 men. But for Amphiareos Zeus, with his all-powerful
 bolt, divided the deep-breasted earth, and hid him along with his horses, 25

before his warrior spirit could be shamed, struck in the back
 by the spear of Periklymenes. Amid god-sent fear
 even the children of the gods flee.
 If you are able, son of Kronos,
 I would put off as long as possible
 this fierce life and death trial of Phoenician
 spears, and I pray to you to grant
 a long, well-ordered fate to the children of Aitna, 30

father Zeus, and to join the people in shining
 celebrations. There are horse-lovers here and men
 with souls greater
 than wealth. The words are hard to believe;
 reverence, which brings renown,
 is hidden in secret by love of gain. If you were a shield-bearer
 to Khromios among the foot-soldiers and horses and in the battles
 at sea, you would judge the danger of the sharp battle-cry, 35

when in battle that goddess armed him
 with a warrior spirit to ward off the ruin of Enyalios.
 Few keep counsel amid
 the cloud of bloodshed,
 able with hand and spirit to turn away
 the lines of hostile men. It is said
 that fame bloomed for Hektor at the streams of Skamander,
 and along the deep banks of the Heloros, 40

which men call the passage of Areia, a light
 shone for the son of Hagesidamos in his first
 prime; I will make known
 many other deeds from other days
 on dusty land and nearby sea.
 From these labors, which are done with youth
 and justice, a gentle life heads to old age.
 Let him know he has been allotted wondrous happiness from the gods. 45

If someone with many possessions wins glorious

renown, he cannot, being mortal, set foot upon
another peak.

Peace loves

the symposium. New-flowering victory
is glorified by gentle song;
the voice becomes bold by the wine bowl.

Let someone mix it, sweet prophet of revelry, 50

and dispense the powerful child of the vine
in the silver cups which once Khromios' horses won
and sent along with the rightly-woven
crowns of the son of Leto

from the sanctuary at Sikyon. Father Zeus,
I pray that I will celebrate this excellent deed
with the Charites, and honor the victory greatly
with my words, casting my javelin nearest to the Muses. 55

I. Overview

Nemean 9 was composed to commemorate the victory of Khromios, son of Hagesidamos and regent of the city of Aitna on Sicily, in the chariot race of the Pythian Games held at Sikyon. While the ode celebrates an athletic victory, Pindar is concerned not only with praising the victor and glorifying his achievement, but also with highlighting the fortunes of the city of Aitna that Khromios currently governs, creating a poem which deals as much with the virtues and desires of Khromios as those of Aitna. The city of Aitna had been newly re-founded by Hieron shortly before the composition of *Nemean 9*, and the concerns of the young city are a driving force in the ode. We see repeated throughout a desire for the city to avoid both external and internal strife, and for it to have a sturdy foundation so that it can enjoy a long and prosperous history. Such requests are of obvious benefit to both Khromios as ruler and to the people of Aitna as citizens. Pindar uses Khromios' victory, a moment of glory that demands the attention of the gods, to appeal to those gods: Khromios has through his accomplishment provided

Aitna with a foundation of glory, one that Pindar now hopes to extend into the future through his negotiations with the gods. Within the ode he appeals to the gods on behalf of victor and city alike, proving to the gods that both are worthy of their favor by naming their virtues directly and by juxtaposing them with mythical exempla and *gnomai* that prove their excellence, a technique that also simultaneously offers warnings to Khromios and Aitna on how to behave in order to attain the gods' favor. Through this mediation he secures the gods' goodwill towards victor and city alike.

For the purpose of examining this ode I have broken it into five sections. In An Invocation of the Muses (1-10) Pindar calls on the Muses, calling on them to join in leaving Sikyon and moving to the current celebration Aitna. In so doing he immediately provides the audience with the name of the victor and the name of his homeland, and establishes these entities as the twin foci of the ode. Myths of Adrastos (11-27) follows, in which Pindar describes the internal strife that once erupted in the city of Argos, as well as the attack of the Argives on Thebes. The myth highlights the tumult of war, and allows Pindar to transition smoothly into the Triple Prayer to Zeus (28-34), in which he makes a tripartite prayer on behalf of the city of Aitna, asking first that it avoid war, then that it have good order, and finally that it enjoy festivities. The Triple Prayer then ends with a *hypomnesis* proving the worthiness of the people of Aitna to receive the favor of the gods. Pindar next turns away from the city generally and to the victor Khromios specifically in a section of Victor Praise (34-47), in which he recounts Khromios' martial achievements. This section allows Pindar to extend his praise of Khromios to military feats and prove that Khromios is not only an athlete, but a warrior who is worthy of Zeus' favor. The ode ends with a Closing Prayer (48-55) in which Pindar draws together the

twin audiences, Khromios and the Aitnaian people, by invoking the symposium, an image embodied in the ongoing celebration of Khromios' victory, and by praying that the song, which has expressed the hopes of the entwined parties, will be successful.

II. Date and Circumstances

The city of Aitna, the hometown named for Khromios in *Nemean 9*, only came into existence in 476/5 BCE through the hegemonic maneuvers of Hieron. After transplanting the inhabitants of Katana and Naxos to the city of Leontini, Hieron filled the city of Katana with 10,000 new settlers, half drawn from Sicily and half drawn from the Peloponnese. Diodorus Siculus tells us that Hieron's purpose in this was to create for himself a ready supply of loyal fighting men close at hand, and, perhaps more importantly, to found a city so that he might receive the honors due to an oikist – honors which he did receive after his death.²¹⁹ Khromios, the victor of *Nemean 9*, was a brother-in-law of Gelon, the brother of Hieron, and was appointed regent of the city until Hieron's son Deinomenes was of an age to take up rule.

Khromios is known to us only through the poems Pindar wrote for him,²²⁰ but despite this dearth of sources, we can still say a good deal about him and his career. We know that he was the son of a Hagesidamos,²²¹ and that he had a long political and military career in Sicily under the Deinomenid family. He fought at the battle of the Heloros in 492 BCE²²² in the army of Hippokrates, tyrant of Gela, serving under Gelon, who was Hippokrates' cavalry commander. After Hippokrates' death Khromios seems to

²¹⁹ Diod. 11.49. See also Dougherty (1993) 84-85.

²²⁰ *Nemean* 1 and 9.

²²¹ *N.* 1.29, *N.* 9.42.

²²² See *N.* 9.42. Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9 95a also mentions Khromios' service, citing lost works of the historians Didymos and Timaios.

have served under his successor Gelon, following him to Syracuse when Gelon became tyrant of the city in 485 BCE, for Gelon gave Khromios one of his sisters as a wife.²²³ After Gelon's death Khromios served his brother and successor Hieron, and, as noted above, came to be appointed *epitropos*, 'regent,' of Aitna on behalf of Hieron's son, Deinomenes.²²⁴ The victor's fortunes and prosperity, which are the usual concerns of epinician odes, are, because of his position as regent, inextricably bound with those of the young city.

Khromios' victory was in the chariot race of the Pythian Games of Sikyon, athletic games held in honor of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.²²⁵ Pindar attributes the foundation of these games to the hero Adrastos, though historically their establishment was credited to Kleisthenes, the tyrant of Sikyon.²²⁶ Kleisthenes likely appropriated an earlier festival for Adrastos, however: Robertson, for instance, suggests that Kleisthenes renamed and modified an older celebration of Apollo associated with Adrastos.²²⁷ This idea finds support in Herodotos, who tells us that Adrastos was celebrated at Sikyon with sacrifices, festivals, and tragic choruses until Kleisthenes, attempting to diminish the pro-Argive cultural elements at Sikyon, transferred these honors to the hero Melanippos and the god Dionysos.²²⁸ Scholars struck by Pindar's choice to highlight Adrastos' role in the games over that of Melanippos have put forth various reasons to explain it. The scholiasts simply say that Adrastos is *ἐνδοξότερος*, 'more esteemed,'²²⁹ suggesting that Pindar is attempting to inflate the value of a victory at these local games by referencing

²²³ Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 9 95a.

²²⁴ Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9 95a.

²²⁵ Pindar mentions Apollo alone at *N.* 9.1 and 9, but all three gods at *N.* 9.4.

²²⁶ Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9 20.

²²⁷ Robertson (1991) 28.

²²⁸ Hdt. 5.67.5.

²²⁹ Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9 20.

their legendary foundation by the well-known hero. We may recall that Adrastos as a member of the Seven against Thebes was also involved in establishing the Isthmian Games,²³⁰ a parallel that should reflect favorably on other games sharing him as a founder.

Hubbard has suggested a more political explanation of Pindar's use of the foundation story. The city of Aitna had recently been reestablished by Hieron at the site of Katana after displacing its original population; he repopulated the city through an influx of thousands of Dorian settlers from Syracuse and the Peloponnese. Hubbard argues that Pindar, in recalling Adrastos' foundation of the Sikyonian Pythian Games, is trying to create links between the native Sicilian people and the Dorians of the Peloponnese.²³¹ Such a proposition is far from certain, however: as Braswell points out, the Syracusans were also (ostensibly) of Dorian origins.²³² Given the common background of the two groups, the need to acclimate the Peloponnesian settlers does not seem pressing. The choice of Adrastos over Melanippos may, moreover, simply have fit Pindar's plans for the ode better, as the figure of Adrastos allowed him to discuss *stasis* and war, two important themes of *Nemean* 9.

While Pindar attempts to make the Sikyonian Pythian Games a prestigious venue, scholars have nevertheless wondered what drove Khromios, a wealthy and influential figure, to participate in these smaller local games. Morrison has suggested that Hieron's subordinates were barred from competing in the crown games so that, it seems, they could not rival the tyrant in glory and praise.²³³ There is certainly no ancient evidence

²³⁰ [Apoll.] *Biblio.* 3.6.4.

²³¹ Hubbard (1992) 80-81.

²³² Braswell (1998) 60.

²³³ Morrison (2007) 105.

that Hieron made any such restriction, nor does a hypothetical ban on participation explain *Nemean* 1, in which Khromios celebrates a chariot victory from the Nemean Games.²³⁴ Hubbard, concerned as he is with the political significance of the ode, suggests that: “Khromios’ whole purpose in entering the contest at Sicyon and then commissioning an ode to celebrate his victory may have been to help solidify his links with the Dorians of the Peloponnese, who formed half of Aetna’s new population”.²³⁵ As with the reassignment of the foundation of the games to Adrastus, Hubbard conceives of Khromios’ participation as an act of integration meant to appeal to Aitna’s new, non-Sicilian settlers. The same objection applies here, that the need for integration in Aitna is not as clear as Hubbard suggests.

The real question is not why Khromios should choose to participate in the Sikyonian games. Multiple reasons are possible: Khromios may simply have believed that he had the best chance of winning at these games, or he may have had some pre-existing connection through his family or as a *proxenos*. We should instead ask why Khromios would choose to celebrate a minor victory in what seems a grand fashion. I would suggest that Khromios has celebrated this local victory in order to have an occasion to celebrate the young city of Aitna. Given Hieron’s concern with earning the honors of a city founder, it is sensible that he would want to commemorate that foundation, especially through public performances. Epinician odes often seek to disperse the glory of the victor among the members of his community; this process is at play in *Nemean* 9, but does not merely create a shared moment for the Aitnaian community. Rather, the ode makes a claim about the city, celebrating its existence and

²³⁴ One might, of course, argue that Khromios had retired from political life when he earned his Nemean victory, as Braswell (1992) 26 does.

²³⁵ Hubbard (1992) 80.

establishing Khromios' achievement as an example of the excellence of the Aitnaian people as a whole. Pindar, as we will see, will use Khromios as a reason for the gods to heed his prayers, and grant peace and prosperity to the city in the years to come.

The date of the ode is difficult to determine precisely. We have no victor's list for the Sikyonian Pythian Games to help us pinpoint a year. Within the ode itself Pindar mentions two dateable events, the battle of the Heloros, dated to around 492 BCE, which is presented as having occurred much earlier; and the founding of Aitna, which is dated to 476/475 BCE, and which must be a relatively recent event given the city's epithet of νεοκτίσταν.²³⁶ To fix a more precise date we must consider *Nemean* 9 in relation to *Pythian* 1, which celebrates Hieron's victory at the Pythian Games and focuses on the city of Aitna using similar imagery. Wilamowitz suggested that *Pythian* 1, with its emphasis upon Aitna and its references to Hieron's son Deinomenes,²³⁷ was written not just in honor of Hieron's victory, but also in honor of the installation of Deinomenes as the regent of Aitna in 470 BCE, thus signaling the retirement of Khromios. The question then becomes whether *Nemean* 9 should be seen as preceding or following *Pythian* 1. Carey has argued that it followed *Pythian* 1, as the themes which Pindar presented in that ode were continued in *Nemean* 9.²³⁸ Yet *Nemean* 9 strongly suggests that Khromios was still in power when it was celebrated, given the emphasis on governance in the ode (thus the prayer in v. 29 for μοῖραν δ' εὖνομον).²³⁹ That Pindar uses the same imagery in an ode to Hieron as he did previously in an ode to Hieron's lieutenant need not worry us;

²³⁶ *N.* 9.2: τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν.

²³⁷ We see, for instance, Pindar calling for the Muses to sing at Deinomenes' side (58), and calling for, in reference to Deinomenes, Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ φίλιον...ῥμόνον (60).

²³⁸ Carey (1993) 107 suggests that it is odd to have no mention of Hieron in *Nemean* 9, given his ultimate lordship over Khromios, and that such an oversight is only possible if there had already been a celebration of Aitna in connection with Hieron in *Pythian* 1.

²³⁹ See Braswell (1992) 26.

Morrison suggests that Hieron heard *Nemean* 9 and wanted “a similar, but grander ode” after his Pythian victory.²⁴⁰

We may tentatively suggest dates: as *Pythian* 1, with its suggestion of Deinomenes’ installation as ruler of Aitna, belongs to 470 BCE, *Nemean* 9 must belong just before 470 BCE.²⁴¹ As *Nemean* 9 sits so close to the refounding of Aitna, it is natural for Khromios to want the ode to address the hopes of the city and its people for the future, and to use his moment of athletic glory to call the gods to attention to listen to those hopes.

When we consider the problem of performance, we find ourselves, as usual, without much evidence on which to stand. Given the stress on Aitna itself, the performance surely occurred in that city,²⁴² while the poem itself suggests a sympotic atmosphere.²⁴³ The ode opens by calling the *kōmos* to come not just to Aitna but to the home of Khromios specifically, a home that is described as being ἐνθ’ ἀναπεπταμέναι ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι, ‘where the thrown-open doors are overcome by guests’ (2). This home welcomes all people, a sign of Khromios’ hospitality. The poem ends by invoking the symposium overtly, bidding someone mix and distribute wine to those gathered for the celebration (50-52). While the image of the symposium occurs elsewhere in Pindar’s epinician odes,²⁴⁴ in *Nemean* 9 it also allows him to hint at the prize for victory at the Sikyonian Pythian Games, a silver cup, and indeed he refers to

²⁴⁰ Morrison (2007) 105.

²⁴¹ Alternate dates have been suggested, of course. Bury (1890) 159 proposes 472 BCE, in line with a supposed trip of Pindar’s to Sicily, and Snell (1959) 152 tentatively suggests 474 BCE.

²⁴² Aitna is named as the destination of the *kōmos* in *N.* 9.2, though that is part of a strategy to name the victor and his homeland in the opening lines; Pindar prays on behalf of the παῖσιν...Αἰτναίων, the people of Aitna, in *N.* 9.30; and he praises those people in *N.* 9.32-33 for their virtues.

²⁴³ Currie (2005) 17 refers to this ode as an example of a sympotic setting.

²⁴⁴ The symposium is suggested, for instance, in *O.* 1.10-11, 14-17; *O.* 6.96-99; *O.* 7.1-10; *N.* 1.19-24; *I.* 6.1-9.

those prize cups specifically in the line. Given the strong use of themes of celebration and hospitality in the opening of the ode, we may take him as linking the victory to the mode of celebration through the cups. This mode of performance before an audience of citizens, combined with the victor's connection to the city and the date around the time of its refounding, strongly suggest that the ode was concerned not just with celebrating the victor Khromios, but with showing how his victory bespoke the qualities of the entire community, and thus how Aitna is a well-founded city – a point that Hieron, though he is absent from this particular ode, seemed at pains to make.²⁴⁵

III. An Invocation of the Muses

The ode opens with an invocation of the Muses, a gesture not reducible to the traditional epic call for assistance but the epinician call to join the festivities.²⁴⁶ The verb *κωμάσομεν*²⁴⁷ not only tells the audience that the singers are celebrating Khromios' victory, but also suggests that the Muses, addressed at the end of the line, should join them in commemorating the deed, both by favoring the performance and by helping to craft the song.²⁴⁸ This first sentence does more than just draw the Muses into the performances; Pindar uses these opening lines to mark locations and orient the audience. The *kōmos* goes *Σικυωνόθε*, 'from Sikyon' (1), the site of the games where Khromios won his victory, and from there both *τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν*, 'to newly-founded Aitna'

²⁴⁵ Dougherty (1993) 85 observes, "Hieron also takes full advantage of the many representational strategies available to celebrate and consolidate a colonial foundation, especially poetry." She has in mind both the current ode and *Pythian* 1, both of which celebrate the victories of rulers of Aitna and attest to the glory of the new city, as well as Aiskhylos' *Women of Aitna*, which sought to give the city a foundation myth in line with that of other, older cities.

²⁴⁶ For other instances of Pindar opening an epinician ode by calling upon deities to join the celebration, see *P.* 11.1-6, where he calls on the daughters of Kadmos, and *N.* 3.1-12, where he calls on a Muse.

²⁴⁷ *N.* 9.1.

²⁴⁸ Thus Pindar bids them in v. 3 *ἐπέων γλυκὺν ὕμνον πρᾶσσετε*. Similarly in *N.* 3.3-5 he suggested that the chorus received its *ὄπα*, 'voice,' from the Muses.

(2), the city of Khromios where the celebration will occur (in fact, is now occurring), and ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίου δῶμ', 'to the happy home of Khromios' (3), the victor's own home and the likely setting, if not for the epinician performance, at least for the symposium that is envisaged as happening. Pindar here establishes a double setting, the general and the particular, which correlates to a doubling of object (the audience to whom the poem is directed) and subject (the people being discussed in the poem, either by being praised or by expressing their hopes through prayer). Khromios has commissioned the ode, and the citizenry of Aitna witness the performance, so Pindar may address both, praising both parties and voicing their preoccupations. The praise that Pindar bestows on Khromios because of his athletic victory naturally reflects upon the city as a whole, as a city gains renown when any of its citizens achieves a deed worthy of note.

Kurke has suggested that the epinician ode seeks to share the victor's glory with his community in order to diffuse the envy that threatens to arise from the victor's fellow citizens: "The poet's strategy to allay the envy of the victor's fellow citizens is to include them emphatically".²⁴⁹ Pindar may also be using the glory of the victory as evidence supporting Khromios' right to rule, reminding the citizens of Aitna of the superior wealth and excellence that makes him a worthy ruler. Alternately, and tying into Kurke's idea, Pindar may be diffusing Khromios' glory by establishing him as an example of the excellence that he hopes will become the model for other Aitnians, and that he will pray to the gods to preserve. Khromios and the citizens of Aitna are in these opening lines connected, as they will be throughout the ode: Khromios brings glory to the entire young city, and prays for a future that will serve not only him but the Aitnians.

²⁴⁹ Kurke (1991) 196; see generally 195-209.

IV. Myths of Adrastos

The mythic section of *Nemean* 9 can be divided into three connected episodes: the founding of the Pythian Games in Sikyon by Adrastos, the civil strife in Argos that drove Adrastos to Sikyon and the reconciliation that followed, and the campaign of the Seven against Thebes. Pindar does not respect chronological order in telling these stories, but that is hardly unusual: consider, for instance, *Olympian* 7, in which the founding of Rhodes is broken into three main events, which are presented in reverse order.²⁵⁰ The audience was surely familiar with the story of Adrastos, and by observing the poet's choices of what to relate and what to omit, as well as the arrangement of the material, they could gain clues as to the themes and connections he wanted to emphasize. In the case of this ode the arrangement of the myth connects the occasion of the victory (Adrastos first founds the Pythian Games of Sikyon) to the main mythic event (the death of Amphiaraos), while all three mythological moments play into the themes of the ode.

The figure of Adrastos dominates the first two mythical vignettes, paving the way for the third, extended section on the Seven against Thebes by acting as a link between Sikyon, the site of the games where Khromios won his victory, and the Argive myth which he wants to highlight. Pindar first mentions the foundation of the Sikyonian Pythian Games, then moves back in time to the period of civil strife in Argos that first drove Adrastos to Sikyon. We learn that the sons of Talaos (the family to which Adrastos himself belonged) were forced out of Argos by Amphiaraos.²⁵¹ Pindar's

²⁵⁰ In *Olympian* 7, Pindar first describes how Tlepolemos settled the isle of Rhodes (vv. 20-33), then how, when Athena was born, Helios told his children to build a shrine in her honor, which led the goddess to bless Rhodes with art and skill (vv. 34-53), and finally how Helios, having been passed over in the allotment of the world, received Rhodes, which had not yet risen above the sea (vv. 54-68). In this way he moves in backward order from the settlement of the island to a time before the island even existed.

²⁵¹ The scholia fill in other details, though they relate two versions of the story. In Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9 30b, rule in Argos was once divided between three families, the family of Melampos, the family of Bias, and the

attitude toward this mythical example of *stasis* is ultimately ambivalent:²⁵² he neither condemns nor applauds either party. The *gnomē* that follows, in which Pindar tells us that κρέσσων δὲ καππαύει δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν ἀνὴρ, ‘The stronger man ends the previous order’ (15), may at first seem to be a condemnation of Amphiaraios’ action,²⁵³ but given that this ode, as I have noted, is celebrating not only Khromios but the city of Aitna, recently re-founded by Hieron, we would be better not to take it negatively. The stronger man may put an end to the previous order of things, but that does not mean he destroys all order; instead, he may replace it with a different, even better one. The transition from Sikyon to Argos through the figure of Adrastus does not simply allow Pindar to discuss the Argive civil strife, but also allows him to make a comparison between Argos and Aitna, insofar as both underwent changes of regime through the workings of strong men – Amphiaraios for Argos, and Hieron for Aitna.

The *stasis* in Argos is ultimately settled when Adrastus gives his sister Eriphyla in marriage to Amphiaraios. The comparison between Argos and Aitna is still in Pindar’s mind, as he shows that civil strife may be settled amicably. Amphiaraios and Adrastus move past their previous conflict and establish an accord, using Adrastus’ sister to establish a common link of family between them. Similarly, the overturn that has occurred at Aitna, as the original population was driven out and two new groups brought in, has a peaceful resolution. The Syracusans and Peloponnesians join together, bound by the link of citizenship as all are now Aitnaians.

family of Proitos. Amphiaraios, the heir of Melampos, and Adrastus, the heir of Bias, fought, and Amphiaraios slew Adrastus’ father Talaos; Adrastus then fled to Sikyon where he married the daughter of Polybos, the king of Sikyon, and became king after Polybos’ death. In another version in Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9 30a, which the scholiast attributes to Menaichmos, the Sikyonian historian (*FGrHist* 131 F10), Pronax, Adrastus’ brother, was ruling Argos but was overthrown and killed by the Melampodidai and the Anaxagoridai, and Adrastus himself fled to Sikyon, where his grandfather Polybos was king.

²⁵² Thus Braswell (1998) 67 says, “Pindar’s account of the strife in Argos is basically neutral and realistic”.

²⁵³ Braswell (1998) 65.

Pindar moves now to the campaign of the Argive leaders against Thebes. Aitna has not partaken in any kind of military campaign that may be seen as a parallel to the Seven's attack on Thebes, and Pindar does not in fact extend the comparison between Aitna and Argos any further. Instead, he uses the myth to illustrate the effects that war can have upon the city, leaving an audience with an image that will allow him to transition smoothly into a prayer to keep war from Aitna, fearing for the future of the young city if it were to become embroiled in a conflict such as that the Argives and the Thebans suffered.

The campaign is doomed from the beginning. Pindar observes that the Argive army set out with bad omens, as Zeus sent a strike of lightning warning them against setting out on the endeavor (19-20):

οὐδὲ Κρονίων
ἀστεροπὰν ἐλελίξαις οἴκοθεν μαργουμένους
στείχειν ἐπώτρυν', ἀλλὰ φείσασθαι κελεύθου.

the son of Kronos did not
whirling his lightning-bolt urge those eager men
to go, but to refrain from the journey.

Scholars have interpreted these lines in two ways. Farnell and Braswell take οὐδὲ as negating both the participle and the finite verb:²⁵⁴ Zeus does not throw a lightning bolt, and this lack of an omen indicates that he does not support the army in its mission. If, as they argue, Zeus had sent a lightning bolt, the Argive army would have interpreted it as a favorable omen, as it occurs elsewhere in Greek literature.²⁵⁵ There are, however, instances in Greek literature where a lightning bolt could indicate the gods'

²⁵⁴ Farnell (1932) 312-13 and Braswell (1998) 83.

²⁵⁵ Within Pindar we have the example at *P.* 4.23; other examples include *Hom. Il.* 2.353 and 9.236 (both instances citing specifically lightning bolts appearing on the right), *Xen. Cyr.* 1.6.1, and *Paus.* 4.21.7 (again, specifically lightning appearing on the right).

displeasure.²⁵⁶ If we see the current lines as an example of a negative lightning bolt, then we can take οὐδὲ as negating only the finite verb, so that Zeus sends a lightning bolt, but it signals his condemnation, not favor, of the Argive expedition.²⁵⁷ While the lines are not clear, the absence of a lightning bolt is not necessarily a bad omen, while its presence always indicates that the gods are trying to communicate their will – a will that, in these lines, is made clear by Pindar with the clause ἀλλὰ φείσασθαι κελεύθου. Despite the difficulties presented by this line we may understand the general significance of the moment: the gods communicated their will to the Argive captains, and that will was opposed to their mission.²⁵⁸

The battle itself is largely passed over. Pindar explains how the army φαινομένην δ' ἄρ' ἐξ ἅταν σπεῦδεν, 'hastened to arrive at manifest doom' (21), emphasizing the devastation of war. The ill-fortune that it brought to the Argive army is stressed when Pindar describes how the leaders died at Thebes (22-23):

Ἴσ-
μηνοῦ δ' ἐπ' ὄχθαισι γλυκύν
νόστον ἐρεισάμενοι
λευκανθέα σώμασι πίαναν καπνόν.

on the banks

²⁵⁶ At Hom. *Il.* 8.133 Zeus' lightning bolt strikes as a warning to Diomedes, while in Ap. Rhodes 4.510 Hera sends a lightning bolt as a warning.

²⁵⁷ This is the reading of Carey (1993) 100.

²⁵⁸ It is perhaps possible to go a step further in the interpretation of the myth by recalling aspects that Pindar elides. As Cole (1992) 118 reminds us, the story of the Seven against Thebes is equally about *stasis*, this time as Polyneikes and Eteokles fight over the right to rule Thebes. In this case, however, Polyneikes is the wronged party, as Eteokles refused to give him his share of rule, but his expedition is unsuccessful. Pressing those points would change the themes of the myth so that they no longer were in accord with the ideas Pindar attempts to convey in the rest of the ode.

Others see specific political messages in the choice of the myth. Fraccaroli (1894) 614-16 saw the marriage of Eriphyle and Amphiaraos as recalling the marriage of Theron's niece to Hieron, and Cole suggests that the absent figures of Eteokles and Polyneikes could recall Hieron and Polyzelos. We can hardly expect Pindar to be critical of his patrons, however, especially wealthy and influential ones, nor should we expect Pindar to make a strong point through figures he has left out (one may argue that the absence of these figures in a recounting of the Seven against Thebes is telling, but not when one of the seven Argive leaders has already been singled out for emphasis).

of the Ismenos they yielding
sweet return
fattened the white-blooming smoke with their corpses.

Of the Argive leaders only one, Adrastus, returned to Argos; the rest died in battle, though Amphiaraios, by virtue of Zeus' favor of him, was saved from the ignominy of being killed by a blow to the back, and was instead swallowed up by the earth. The city of Argos is devastated by this campaign, deprived of its leaders and warriors. Pindar presses the idea of the terror of war again as he comments that ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν, 'Amid god-sent fear even the children of the gods flee' (27). The image of war that Pindar has crafted is one of destruction and shame, where even great men from noble lines, men who enjoy the favor of the gods, can suffer disgrace in defeat and, ultimately, death.

The myth of the Seven against Thebes sets up two later parts of the ode. More immediately, the description of war provokes Pindar to pray that Aitna may avoid conflict, tying in with his program of appealing to the gods to preserve Aitna and to let it flourish. Later, the implicit warnings about the fear that men, even the children of the gods, fall prey to in battle, will allow Pindar to enhance his praise of Khromios; in cataloguing his military exploits, Pindar will claim that *aidōs*, the fear of being shamed, helped Khromios to overcome the terror of battle (36-37):

οὔνεκεν ἐν πολέμῳ κείνα θεὸς ἔντυεν αὐτοῦ
θυμὸν αἰχματὰν ἀμύνειν λοιγὸν Ἐνυαλίου.

when in battle that goddess [*Aidōs*] armed him
with a warrior spirit to ward off the ruin of Enyalios.

Such a claim, of course, helps Pindar to achieve his main objective in the ode, to praise Khromios, but it also plays into his argument as to the worthiness of Khromios who has

enjoyed the favor of the gods before, continues to enjoy it, as seen through his athletic victory, and prays to enjoy it, not simply as an individual but as representative of the city of Aitna, for all time.

V. A Triple Prayer to Zeus

The myth of the Argive heroes gives way to a prayer that can be broken into three sections according to the three particular requests that Pindar makes. The first request, expressed through an indirect prayer, concerns the desire to ward off hostilities between Aitna and the Phoinicians. The second request hopes that the city of Aitna will enjoy good order. The third request, which operates in conjunction with the second, hopes that the people of Aitna will enjoy celebrations. While Khromios as the regent of Aitna would benefit either directly or indirectly from each of these requests, they are more relevant to the welfare of the citizens of Aitna. Peace, both external and internal, may mark Khromios as a competent ruler worthy of praise, but for the people of Aitna it offers a chance to live their lives without interference from foreign invaders or civil strife. The requests in this prayer are indicative of the double audience, whose desires are entwined.

The prayer begins in a rather unusual way, one which differs radically from the traditional forms of prayer we have seen elsewhere in Pindar, and even from other indirect prayers in the epinician corpus; despite this, it is clear that Pindar is making a request of a god. He first addresses Zeus directly, naming him as Κρονίων, ‘son of Kronos’ (28), but he does not command him or ask him for a boon. Rather, he states that, if it is possible, he will cast off the threat of the Phoinicians. The verb used for the actual action of the request is ἀναβάλλομαι (29), a form that at first seems to suggest the poet

himself would do the work of averting the threat of war, but it depends upon the impersonal opening εἰ δυνατόν, ‘if it is possible’ (28). This construction, juxtaposed with Κρονίων, shows us that Zeus could make possible the action – after all, the outcome of human activity depends upon the gods. The uncertainty expressed by εἰ δυνατόν should not, however, be taken as an admission that certain events are beyond the gods’ ability to control; it would be better to say that, while Pindar would prefer that Aitna avoid the conflict, he believes that Khromios and the Aitnaians would be equal to the task of meeting the Phoinicians in battle, given that he soon turns to the theme of Khromios’ martial exploits. While this prayer does not employ a traditional structure, it nevertheless manages to convey the basic aspects of a prayer: a god is positioned as the intended audience, (here Zeus called upon in the vocative) and a request is made of him (indicated in the phrase εἰ δυνατόν). Pindar is unsure whether it is possible for war to be avoided but acknowledges that Zeus does know, and that he ultimately has the power to avert the Phoenician threat.

The request of this first part of the prayer is to ward off the threat of an attack by the Phoinicians. We have just heard about the terrible war of the Argives against Thebes, and Pindar now hopes the young city can avoid such hostilities and instead enjoy peace. Sicily had been in conflict with the Carthaginians before²⁵⁹ and feared that hostilities might arise again,²⁶⁰ threatening the peace and security of the island. The specificity of the request is interesting, for it both breaks from the general requests seen frequently in other odes,²⁶¹ and provides strong evidence that the performance of an epinician ode was

²⁵⁹ Most recently in 480 CE at the battle of Himera, when Gelon defeated the Carthaginian forces.

²⁶⁰ Consider the prayer at *P.* 1.71-72, which expresses the same desire to avoid war with the Phoinicians.

²⁶¹ See Appendix. Most future requests in prayers in Pindaric epinician are general, asking for non-specific boons such as prosperity.

truly an opportunity not simply to praise the victor with traditional forms, but to create a moment of communication with the gods in which the patron and the celebrants could tell the gods their concerns.

It is perhaps for this very reason, that specific requests are generally uncommon in Pindar, that scholars have doubted the passage. While commenters on the ode have agreed that the fear of a Phoenician invasion ultimately drives this first request, they disagree as to whether or not Pindar was direct in forming it. The debate hinges on the word Φοινικοστόλων: much has been written on it, but the division can be boiled down into two camps. One set of scholars argues that Pindar would not make a specific request, and so renders the word ‘purple’ or ‘purple-clad’, a poetic phrase for ‘bloody’, which suggests only that Aitna hopes to avoid enemies and war generally.²⁶² Against this interpretation is the more obvious one, in which the word is rendered as ‘Phoenician,’ referring specifically and primarily to the Carthaginians who had already been involved in battles with the Greek people of Sicily, and remained a threat to them.²⁶³ The evidence of the odes favors the latter interpretation. While the first camp may claim that a direct reference would be artless and unlike Pindar,²⁶⁴ they offer no support for their critique, and ignore references elsewhere in the prayers of the epinician corpus to specific people and events. Most prayers make broad requests, but that does not mean Pindar cannot be specific: prayers for future victories can specify the games and even events, as in

Olympian 1, where Pindar prays that Hieron will win a victory at the next Olympics in

²⁶² The suggestion that the word referred to bloody battle generally rather than the Phoenicians specifically begins with Mezger (1880) ad. loc., who took the word as meaning essentially ‘mit Blut überzogen.’ It was adopted by Bury (1890) 177, Lendrum (1908) 242, Sandys (1915) 409 (‘enpurpled’), and Slater (1969) ad. loc. (‘with blood red spears’). Admittedly, scholars who have taken this approach allow that Pindar likely had the Phoenician threat in mind, though he did not intend it as the primary meaning.

²⁶³ This group includes the scholia (Sch. 73c), Farnell (1932) 314, Braswell (1998) 100, and Morrison (2007) 105.

²⁶⁴ Bury (1890) 165.

the chariot race.²⁶⁵ Even more relevant is *Pythian* 1, wherein Pindar prays to Zeus to ward off war with the Phoinicians for Aitna,²⁶⁶ a traditionally formatted prayer over which there has been no disagreement on interpretation by scholars. Furthermore, what the former camp suggests is that we must interpret the Greek by ignoring the obvious meaning of the word Φοινικοστόλων and accepting a less clear secondary meaning. The translation of ‘purple-clad’ has no parallel elsewhere in Pindar’s corpus or Greek literature, not in itself or as a metaphor for ‘bloody’. Given the recent history of Sicily, the Phoinicians would surely leap to mind as the intended referent, so that in order for the first reading to prevail the audience would have to shelve the obvious sense of the word and accept a secondary, artistic one, while remembering the primary sense as a hidden secondary meaning. It is a complicated process for someone to undertake in the middle of the song, and surely more confusing than using the word to refer directly to the Phoenician armies.

The second section of the prayer adopts a far more traditional form than the first section, a form that we have seen elsewhere in Pindar’s epinician prayers. Pindar uses a verb of request in the indicative, αἰτέω, ‘I ask’,²⁶⁷ and completes it with a request in the infinitive, here ὀπάζειν (30), a verb simply meaning ‘grant’ that is found in Pindar’s prayers, used, like forms of δίδωμι, in asking the gods to provide some boon.²⁶⁸ Zeus is firmly retained as the explicit intended audience through σε (30), referring back to the god who was properly invoked two lines earlier. While this section begins a more formal prayer, it, nevertheless, represents a continuation which builds upon the preceding

²⁶⁵ *O.* 1.108-11.

²⁶⁶ *P.* 1.71-72: λίσσομαι νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἡμερον | ὄφρα κατ’ οἶκον ὁ Φοῖνιξ ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ’ ἀλαλατὸς ἔχη

²⁶⁷ αἰτέω occurs at *P.* 12.1 in the prayers, and once in a religious wish, at *P.* 8.72.

²⁶⁸ Here and at *N.* 3.9.

section, a movement signaled by the δ' of line 29: the granting of this current request (the desire for a well-ordered city, as we will see) will come about hand in hand with the previous request (the desire to avoid war), in that by avoiding war the people of Aitna also avoid the disruption to their peace, and by praying for well-ordered peace they necessarily also hope for freedom from war.

The request that Pindar makes is for Aitna to have a $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$, ‘well-ordered fate’ (29), a virtue appropriate to a young city. Aitna has no long tradition of laws and rule to fall back upon that provide a stable base for its future; as such it is only natural to hope to establish a lasting order. We might think of *Pythian* 1, in which Pindar declares that Hieron founded the city of Aitna in accordance with the traditions of Dorian law: $\Upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \Upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon$, ‘Hieron established the rule of Hyllis in the law’ (*Pyth* 1.62). In this passage Pindar suggests that Hieron has ordered or administered Aitna well, structuring it in accordance with a law that has an established tradition in order to provide the city with a sturdy foundation; in the passage in *Nemean* 9, Pindar asks Zeus to ensure that the order remains in place. This second prayer also guards against upheaval, bringing to mind the earlier *gnomē* of line 15, that a strong man destroys the order that is in place: Zeus should not only grant good order to the city in the form of just laws, but preserve it against any change such as it recently underwent, and so allow Aitna in its current configuration to continue.²⁶⁹

The third and final request concerns festivities. The construction follows that of the previous request, built around a second infinitive dependent on $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ (31-32). Pindar

²⁶⁹ Thus Braswell (1998) 103 notes that the form of the prayer is “asking for a state which is to continue for an indefinite length of time.” See also Bakker (1966) 116-18.

requests that Zeus, who is invoked anew in Ζεῦ πάτερ', 'father Zeus' (31),²⁷⁰ join the people, meaning the citizens of Aitna, in festivities that are ἀστυνόμοις (31). The *LSJ* translates the word in this instance as 'public'.²⁷¹ In other contexts, however, it offers different meanings: in Aiskhylos, for instance, it is rendered as 'protecting the city',²⁷² while in Sophokles it is 'law-abiding',²⁷³ definitions that play on the -νομος element of the word, which derives from the verb νέμω, 'to deal out,' or, more generally, 'to manage.' The word suggests, then the management of a city: in the Aeschylean example, the gods manage and thus protect the city, while in Sophokles it describes feelings in accordance with the law, as such feelings will maintain the city. Such meanings are pertinent here as well. Pindar has already presented us with the picture of the Aitnaian society he prays for, one that is at peace, free from foreign enemies like the Phoinicians; one that is orderly, free from civil strife as Argos underwent; and now one that has orderly celebrations, festivals that are ordained by the gods. Indeed, the current celebration of Khromios' victory surely represents such a celebration, festivities that are appropriate and even necessary given his achievement. The third request thus acts to ensure the other two, as the ongoing festivities suggest the likelihood that peace, external and internal, can exist in Aitna as well.

With the requests laid out, requests pertaining as much to the citizenry of Aitna as to the victor, Pindar now characterizes those people in a line that sets up a delayed *hypomnesis*. Khromios will soon be praised on his own, but at this point in the ode he is almost out of place: the god addressed is not the god of the games where he earned his

²⁷⁰ πάτερ appears as an epithet elsewhere in prayers: O. 7.87, N. 8.35, N. 9.53, and I. 6.42.

²⁷¹ *LSJ* s.v. ἀστυνόμος.

²⁷² Aesch. Ag. 88-91: πάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων...βωμοί. Braswell (1998) 104-05 renders the word in this passage as 'dwelling in the city,' and applies the same meaning to the word as it appears in *Nemean* 9.

²⁷³ Soph. *Ant.* 355-56: ἀστυνόμους | ὀργᾶς.

victory and the requests are not for his fortune or prosperity, except insofar as the prosperity of Aitna reflects upon him, so that the reasons for heeding these requests are related first to the Aitnaians rather than to him. The people of Aitna are described as φίλιπποι, ‘horse-loving’ (32), a quality that relates them to the chariot victory that spurred this ode. The Aitnaian people also have souls κτεάνων...κρέσσονας, ‘greater than wealth’ (32). The *gnomē* that follows clarifies the importance of this quality. As Pindar explains (33-34):

αἰδῶς γὰρ ὑπὸ κρύφα κέρδει κλέπτεται,
ἃ φέρει δόξαν.

reverence, which brings renown,
is hidden in secret by love of gain.

If the citizens of Aitna reject greed and the pursuit of profit by any means, then they continue to be guided by *aidōs*. *Aidōs* is a difficult word. It is generally translated as ‘shame,’ but Cairns, in his study of the word, provided a much more rounded explanation of the concept as “a prospective, inhibitory emotion focusing on one’s idea of oneself, especially as that idea is affected by or comes into contact with others,” and adds that it is “concerned not only with one’s own prestige, but also with the concepts of moderation and appropriateness in the pursuit of prestige”.²⁷⁴ If the people of Aitna do not value profit, then they are abiding by *aidōs*, and they are pursuing their honor without excess or *hubris*. Knowing this, the gods may be assured that the Aitnaians are worthy of their favor. Indeed, Pindar highlights that this quality is both unique and respectable when he calls it ἄπιστον, ‘unbelievable’ (33).

In the main prayer of the ode the figure of Khromios is largely absent, and the focus is rather Aitna, the city and its people, whose interests intertwine with those of

²⁷⁴ Cairns (1993) 432.

Khromios, but who stand out as the dominant personalities of that section. Khromios will be treated in the next section, his accomplishments praised and his virtues shown to the gods in order to win him favor. Within this prayer, however, Pindar has concentrated his attention upon the cares of the Aitnaian people, voicing hopes that represent them even more than they represent Khromios (indeed, that represent his circumstances only insofar as he is the ruler of these people and, therefore, responsible in some measure for their welfare), and characterizing them as worthy of the favor of the gods. The prayer truly acts as a reflection of the particular cares of the community, and strongly suggests that the epinician ode can act as a medium for communicating the pressing concerns of the victor or his community to the gods.

VI. Victor Praise

The next section shifts the focus of the ode away from Aitna in general and back to the particular subject, the victor Khromios. The Main Prayer, as we saw, was followed by a *hypomnesis* of praise and a *gnomē* that worked together to provide the gods with proof of the worthiness of the broad audience of Aitnaian citizens, one of the two parties to which the requests of the prayer pertain. Now Pindar focuses on the virtues of the victor that make him, the second party, worthy of the attention and favor of the gods. He accomplishes this first by listing the martial feats of Khromios, and then by using a *gnomē* to assure the gods that Khromios will respect their part in his success and not act in such a way as to rouse their jealousy. The pattern of the *hypomnesis* is thus repeated with our second subject, drawing the prayer to completion.

We may find it odd that Pindar chose to focus on Khromios' martial feats rather than other qualities, especially athletic victories. It is of course possible that Khromios had no other athletic victories to speak of: he had not yet won his Nemean victory, and there is no mention in either this ode or *Nemean* 1 of any other victories at crown or local games, either for himself or for members of his family (other than related to Hieron). Nevertheless, while it is certainly not unheard of to mention military achievements in the praise of victors in epinician odes,²⁷⁵ Pindar's focus here does stand out. We cannot say that Pindar distinguishes Khromios as a ruler, a man whose main accomplishments are on the battlefield, as rulers such as Hieron and Theron do not focus on their military achievements.²⁷⁶ As we have seen in the prayer, war was a major concern for the young city, and is an important theme of the ode. At the same time, Pindar may also be concerned with entreating Zeus in particular. The god invoked in a prayer in an epinician ode may be the patron of the athletic games where the victory occurred,²⁷⁷ so that a precedent for favor granted to the victor is obvious²⁷⁸ as the god must have favored the victor before when he granted victory. As the patrons of the Pythian Games were Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, Pindar must find another way to prove to Zeus a history of favor, and Khromios' successful military career provides a precedent. The martial praise allows Pindar to draw together a driving concern of the ode, the desire to put off war with the Phoinicians, by recalling the myth of the Seven against Thebes and displaying the virtues of the victor in the same context.

²⁷⁵ We hear of Hieron's military accomplishments in *P.* 1.50-57, 71-75, and 79-80. In *I.* 7.31-36 Pindar praises the military might of the victor's uncle, and in *I.* 5.48-50 he praises the military achievements of Aigina generally.

²⁷⁶ The exception is *Pythian* 1, where Pindar describes Hieron's military achievements at 47-50, and in detail at 72-75.

²⁷⁷ Mullen (1982) 87.

²⁷⁸ Examples include *O.* 2.12-15, 4.1-10, 5.17-22, 7.1-11, 8.84-88, 12.114-15, *P.* 1.39-40, 8.61-69, and *N.* 8.35-37.

In the description of his military achievements, Pindar describes Khromios as receiving the tacit approval of the gods. When Pindar begins his praise of Khromios, he starts by stating that someone who served with Khromios would judge his value (34-35). Zeus, who was previously invoked and addressed in the prayer, is still in mind as the addressee for this statement. The prayer was made to him, and just as the flattering description of the Aitnaian people was meant to persuade him to grant his favor, here the description of Khromios' valor is directed to him, as further evidence to convince Zeus to heed the requests of the prayers in which the victor and the community are both concerned. The line implies that Zeus himself would approve of Khromios' conduct in battle, contrasting the earlier description of the Argive army setting out without omens assuring them of the will of the gods: in this way Pindar assures the gods that the victor's behavior is in accordance with the will of the gods. Pindar also describes how the goddess *Aidōs* armed Khromios for battle (36). As we have seen, *aidōs* refers to the fear of shame that drives men to act nobly, and the image of her arming Khromios for battle suggests his bravery and prowess, while also establishing him as an example of the Aitnaian people, whose *aidōs* was discussed in the earlier *gnomē* (33-34). There is also some resonance with the myth of the Seven against Thebes, in which Pindar lamented that the terror of war can disturb even the children of the gods (27). That Khromios, aided by *Aidōs*, could ἀμύνειν λοιγὸν Ἐνυαλίου, 'ward off the ruin of Enyalios' (37), marks again how great he is.

While the comparison between Khromios and the heroes of the Seven is hinted at, Pindar picks another mythological figure to act as an explicit parallel to the victor. He chooses Hektor, a hero who was lauded by the ancients for acting bravely in defense of

his country. Some scholars have criticized this comparison, given that the battle at the Heloros River in which Khromios first won renown was Hippokrates' attempt to seize Syracuse.²⁷⁹ Indeed, the most obvious point of comparison for the two in this passage is that both fought next to rivers, Hektor by the Skamander and Khromios by the Heloros. Pindar here clearly manipulates the information given to his audience: he chooses a mythological parallel for Khromios based on one notable but superficial trait, battle by a river,²⁸⁰ and allows the audience to conjecture a deeper parallel between the two, viewing Khromios as a brave defender who enters battle in accordance with the will of the gods.²⁸¹

Pindar does not simply list Khromios' martial accomplishments in this section; he also assures him that the deeds he has accomplished represent all a mortal man can hope to attain. The idea appears in vv. 44-47, in a gnomic passage that plays out in three steps. First Pindar states that a man who has achieved great deeds in his youth reaches a gentle old age, comforted by the fortune and glory those deeds have brought: ἐκ πόνων δ', οἷ σὺν νεότατι γένωνται σὺν τε δίκῃ τελέθει πρὸς γῆρας αἰὼν ἡμέρα, 'From these labors, which are done with youth and justice, a gentle life heads to old age' (44). This assertion also works to some degree to excuse Pindar for drawing in Khromios' older accomplishments, such as his participation in the battle by the Heloros, to praise the man. Such inclusions are relevant, we learn, because they establish the quality of a man's later life. The youthful feats of Khromios prove him to be worthy of the status and fortune he

²⁷⁹ Braswell (1998) 121 observes that the battle was against the Syracusans, not foreign invaders like the Carthaginians. At 121-22, he suggests that the parallel between Khromios and Hektor comes not simply from defending their homes from invaders, but from acting as the pillar of the army, and cites O. 2.81f.

²⁸⁰ Carey (1993) 104 notes as well that the Argive leaders fell on the banks of the Ismenos: Ἰσμηνοῦ δ' ἐπ' ὄχθαισι γλυκύν | νόστον ἐρεισάμενοι λευκανθέα σώμασι πίαναν καπνόν (N.9.22-23).

²⁸¹ The scholia seem fooled: Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9 93b recalls this battle as having been waged against the Carthaginians.

now enjoys. Pindar next proclaims that a man such as the one described in the *gnomē* has been blessed by the gods: ἴστω λαχὼν πρὸς δαιμόνων θαυμαστὸν ὄλβον, ‘Let him know he has been allotted wondrous happiness from the gods’ (45), and finally he warns that such a man, who has gained both wealth and glory, cannot hope for anything more (46-47):

εἰ γὰρ ᾗμα κτεάνοις πολλοῖς ἐπίδοξον ἄρηται
κῦδος, οὐκ ἔστι πρόσωθεν θνατὸν ἔτι σκοπιᾶς
ἄλλας ἐφάψασθαι ποδοῖν.

If someone with many possessions wins glorious
renown, he cannot, being mortal, set foot upon
another peak.

In writing this *gnomē*, Pindar has in fact two addressees in mind – not the victor and the citizens of Aitna, as I have previously discussed, but the victor, who is the obvious addressee in the third-person imperative ἴστω, and Zeus who, though last addressed in line 34, is still held in mind while the explanation of Khromios’ value, directed to the god, is ongoing. For Khromios, the passage acts as a warning. The fortune he has enjoyed is, first of all, not due simply to his own efforts, but is rather a gift of the gods; as we have seen, this is an important idea in Pindar’s epinicians, one that we examined in *Pythian* 8 and *Isthmian* 6.²⁸² Khromios is also warned against hoping to achieve anything greater, for he has reached the limits of glory allotted to mortal men, and to transgress that boundary would be to become a threat to the gods and to risk punishment. At the same time, these warnings serve to ward off the jealousy of the gods, especially Zeus, and thus ensure their favor. If the gods are listening, as Zeus has been called to do, they will see that Khromios understands the limits of his mortal condition, and they can expect that he will abide for the rest of his life within those restrictions. Such assurance may ease the

²⁸² See above pp. 81 and 103-04.

potential jealousy of the gods toward a man receiving praise, and dispose them to heed the prayers of the victor and bestow their favor upon him.

The Victor Praise section provides Pindar with a space in which to highlight the achievements of Khromios' victory and thereby prove to the gods his worthiness to receive their favor. Pindar constructs a *hypomnesis* for Khromios similar to that for the Aitnaian citizens, in which a description of their virtue is followed by a *gnomē*. Here the discussion of Khromios' military accomplishments is followed by a *gnomē* telling us that the deeds a man performs in his youth pave the way for a peaceful old age. Khromios must be himself reaching old age by the time of this ode, and as the ruler of a city that is free of both internal and external conflict, the peaceful quality of his old age proves the virtue of his earlier deeds, while his earlier deeds have earned him his quiet old age. The ruler of Aitna, like its people, has virtues that should ensure the favor of the gods, expressed through civil and foreign peace.

VII. Closing Prayer

The end of the ode is marked heavily by the imagery of the symposium. In a way it mirrors the opening lines, though the opening lines merely alluded to the symposium by describing the arrival of the *kōmos* at the home of Khromios, and his generous hospitality, whose doors welcome all guests. Here at the end we have more traditional and explicit markers of the symposium. Pindar begins by stating ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ μὲν συμπόσιον, 'Peace loves the symposium' (48), a statement suggesting that Khromios' accomplishment has already created a peaceful environment within the city that can give way to celebration in the symposium. Given the promises latent in the prayers and

gnomai of the ode, moreover, the audience may hope that this peace will extend for years to come.

Pindar goes on to bid someone to distribute wine in silver cups (51), an image serving to draw together the twin audiences once more. Throughout the ode the Aitnaian people and Khromios acted as together as the subject and object of the ode, insofar as both their desires were communicated, and both their virtues were described. Though their desires intertwined, however, the prayers and the praise of the two parties were kept separate. Now in the symposium Pindar brings them together once more, an artistic movement that likely reflected the actuality of the first performance, an ongoing celebration at which the victor and the Aitnaian people were present. The silver cups were the prizes given out to victors at the Sikyonian Pythian Games,²⁸³ the physical manifestation of Khromios' glorious moment. As they are distributed throughout the gathered company, that glory is passed on to all the people present, an act that helps to diffuse the envy of Khromios' community. The victor brings home glory and shares it with his homeland and its people, adding to the great store of honor: Khromios' victory brings glory to Aitna, an act that is expressed through the image of the shared wine. Ruler and people are drawn together as a single unit once more.

The final lines of the ode comprise a secondary prayer, one which is structured with a much more traditional format and request than we saw in the main prayer. The intended audience is clearly delimited, as Pindar begins by addressing Ζεῦ πάτερ, 'father Zeus' (53). The grammatical construction is straightforward: εὐχομαι is completed with

²⁸³ Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9 121. This idea is seen in Steiner (1993) 175 n. 56.

an infinitive, *κελαδῆσαι* (54). While this construction is far more common²⁸⁴ than the one we saw in the beginning of the main prayer, there is a certain similarity in their rhythm, as both call on Zeus and hope that the speaker may perform some act that cannot be successful without the aid or favor of the gods. Before it was turning away the Phoenician hosts, and now it is honoring the victory well in song; while the former may seem impossible without the aid of the gods and the latter more attainable, each act does in fact require divine aid. The request itself, the desire to praise the victor and his achievement well, is a common one found throughout the epinician corpus.²⁸⁵ When it occurs at the end of the poem,²⁸⁶ it sets a seal on the ode, validating all that has passed before it by calling on the gods to acknowledge and favor the song.

Pindar demonstrates how his ode forms part of the larger celebration of the symposium, a symposium filled with the peace that he has prayed for the community to enjoy. Brought together in celebration of the glory bestowed on their city through their ruler, the people of Aitna are enjoying good order and festivities, as the main prayer hoped (31-32), and this current celebration becomes a sign and promise for continued peace and prosperity. The song must then be a success, pleasing to the gods, speaking truths (such as the nature of the citizens and Khromios as Pindar represented them to the gods), and honoring Khromios (for his glory will extend to them all). The prayer ends the poem but also looks forward to the future, hoping that by the success of the celebration they are currently enjoying they may hope for the continuation of the feeling the poet has attempted to extend by rendering it in song.

²⁸⁴ It is found elsewhere in the epinician odes at *O.* 3.2, *P.* 8.67 and *I.* 6.14, and in the paians at 7b.15 and 16.2.

²⁸⁵ *O.* 6.103-105, 7.87-94, 13.24-30, *P.* 8.61-69, *N.* 3.1-12, and 9.1-3.

²⁸⁶ As at *O.* 6.103-10, 7.87-94, and here.

VIII. Conclusion

Throughout *Nemean 9* Pindar mediates between Aitna and the gods. The young city is concerned about the future, and hopes to establish an order that will carry it in peace and prosperity for many years. Khromios' victory represents the first step in that tradition, a moment of glory that the people of Aitna can build upon for years to come. Pindar uses that moment to negotiate with the gods. He calls upon the gods and offers them overwhelming evidence of the virtues of Khromios and the people of Aitna, evidence that should persuade the gods that these people are worthy of divine blessings; at the same time, he uses mythical figures and gnomic statements to remind the Aitnaians of the behaviors needed to secure the favor of the gods and achieve the city that they hope for. In this way he reminds both parties of the demands of the other and brings the two into an agreement about the future.

Πυθοῖ τ' ἔχει σταδίου τιμὴν διαύ-
 λου θ' ἀλίῳ ἄμφ' ἐνί, μηνός τέ οἱ
 τούτου κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθά-
 ναισι τρία ἔργα ποδαρκῆς
 ἡμέρα θῆκε κάλλιστ' ἄμφι κόμαις,
 Ἑλλώτια δ' ἐπτάκις· ἐν 40
 δ' ἀμφιάλοισι Ποτειδᾶνος τεθμοῖσιν
 Πτοιοδώρῳ σὺν πατρὶ μακρότεραι
 Τερψίᾳ θ' ἔψοντ' Ἑριτίμῳ τ' ᾠοδαί·
 ὅσσα τ' ἐν Δελφοῖσιν ἀριστεύσατε,
 ἥδ' ἐλχόμενοι ἐν λείοντος, δηρίομαι πολέσιν
 περὶ πλήθει καλῶν· ὥς μὲν σαφές 45
 οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην λέγειν ποντιᾶν ψάφων ἀριθμόν.

ἔπεται δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ Triad Γ
 μέτρον· νοῆσαι δὲ καιρὸς ἄριστος.
 ἐγὼ δὲ ἴδιος ἐν κοινῷ σταλαῖς
 μῆτιν τε γαρύων παλαιγόνων 50
 πόλεμόν τ' ἐν ἡρώϊαις ἀρεταῖσιν
 οὐ ψεύσομ' ἄμφι Κορίνθῳ, Σίσυφον
 μὲν πυκνότατον παλάμαις ὥς θεόν,
 καὶ τὰν πατρὸς ἀντία Μή-
 δειαν θεμέναν γάμον αὐτᾷ,
 ναὶ σώτειραν Ἀργοῖ καὶ προπόλιν· 55
 τὰ δὲ καὶ ποτ' ἐν Ἀλκᾷ
 πρὸ Δαρδάνου τειχέων ἐδόκησαν
 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω μαχᾶν τάμνειν τέλος,
 τοὶ μὲν γένει φίλῳ σὺν Ἀτρέος
 Ἑλέναν κομίζοντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ πάμπαν 60
 εἵργοντες· ἐκ Λυκίας δὲ Γλαῦκον ἐλ-
 θόντα τρώμεον Δαναοί. τοῖσι μὲν
 ἐξεύχετ' ἐν ἄστει Πει-
 ράνας σφετέρου πατρὸς ἀρχάν
 καὶ βαθὺν κλᾶρον ἔμμεν καὶ μέγαρον·
 ὃς τᾶς ὀφιδέας υἱ-
 ὄν ποτε Γοργόνος ἦ πόλλ' ἄμφι κρουνοῖς
 Πάγασον ζευξάιν ποθέων ἔπαθεν,
 πρὶν γέ οἱ χρυσάμπυκα κούρα χαλινόν 65
 Παλλὰς ἦνεγκ', ἐξ ὀνείρου δ' αὐτίκα
 ἦν ὕπαρ, φώνασε δ'· 'Εὐδεις Αἰολίδα βασιλεῦ;
 ἄγε φίλτρον τόδ' ἵππειον δέκευ,
 καὶ Δαμαίῳ μιν θύων ταῦρον ἀργάεντα πατρὶ δεῖξον.'

κυάναιγιν ἐν ὄρφνῃ Triad Δ
 κνώσσοντί οἱ παρθένος τόσα εἶπεῖν
 ἔδοξεν· ἀνὰ δ' ἔπαλτ' ὀρθῶ ποδί.

παρκείμενον δὲ συλλαβὸν τέρας, ἐπιχώριον μάντιν ἄσμενος εὔρεν, δειξέν τε Κοιρανίδα πᾶσαν τελευ- τὰν πράγματος, ὥς τ' ἀνὰ βομῶ θεᾶς κοιτάξατο νύκτ' ἀπὸ κεί- νου χρήσιος, ὥς τέ οἱ αὐτά Ζηνὸς ἐγγεικεραύνου παῖς ἔπορεν δαμασίφρονα χρυσόν. ἐνυπνίῳ δ' ἅ τάχιστα πιθέσθαι κελήσατό μιν, ὅταν δ' εὐρυσθενεῖ καρταίποδ' ἀναρύη Γαιαόχῳ, θέμεν Ἰππία βομὸν εὐθὺς Ἀθήνα. τελεῖ δὲ θεῶν δύναμις καὶ τὰν παρ' ὄρ- κον καὶ παρὰ ἐλπίδα κούφαν κτίσιν. ἦτοι καὶ ὁ καρτερὸς ὄρ- μαίνων ἔλε Βελλεροφόντας, φάρμακον πραὺ τείνων ἀμφὶ γένυι, ἵππον πετρόεντ' ἀναβαῖς δ' εὐθὺς ἐνόπλια χαλκωθεῖς ἔπαιζεν. σὺν δὲ κείνῳ καὶ ποτ' Ἀμαζονίδων αἰθέρος ψυχρῶν ἀπὸ κόλπων ἐρήμου τοξόταν βάλλον γυναικεῖον στρατόν καὶ Χίμαριαν πῦρ πνέοισαν καὶ Σολύμους ἔπεφνεν. διασωπάσομαί οἱ μόρον ἐγώ· τὸν δ' ἐν Οὐλύμπῳ φάτναι Ζηνὸς ἀρχαῖαι δέκονται.	75
ἐμὲ δ' εὐθὺν ἀκόντων ιέντα ρόμβον παρὰ σκοπὸν οὐ χρή τὰ πολλὰ βέλεα καρτύνειν χεροῖν. Μοίσαις γὰρ ἀγλαοθρόνοις ἐκὼν Ὀλιγαιθίδαισιν τ' ἔβαν ἐπίκουρος. Ἴσθμοῖ τά τ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ παύρῳ ἔπει θήσω φανέρ' ἄθρό', ἀλαθῆς τέ μοι ἔξορκος ἐπέσσεται ἐξηκοντάκι δὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀδύγλωστος βοᾷ κάρυκος ἐσλοῦ. τὰ δ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ αὐτῶν ἔοικεν ἤδη πάροιθε λελέχθαι· τά τ' ἐσσόμενα τότε ἄν φαίην σαφές. νῦν δ' ἔλπομαι μὲν, ἐν θεῷ γε μάν τέλος. εἰ δὲ δαίμων γενέθλιος ἔρποι, Δι τοῦτ' Ἐνυαλίῳ τ' ἐκδώσομεν πράσσειν. τὰ δ' ὑπ' ὀφρύι Παρνασσία ἔξ. Ἀργεῖ θ' ὅσσα καὶ ἐν Θήβαις· ὅσα τ' Ἀρκάσιν ἀνάσσων μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίου βομὸς ἄναξ· Πέλλανά τε καὶ Σικυῶν	Triad E 95 100 105

καὶ Μέγαρ' Αἰακιδᾶν τ' εὐερκὲς ἄλσος
 ἅ τ' Ἑλευσίς καὶ λιπαρὰ Μαραθῶν 110
 ταί θ' ὑπ' Αἴτνας ὑψιλόφου καλλίπλουτοι
 πόλιες ἅ τ' Εὐβοία· καὶ πᾶσαν κάτα
 Ἑλλάδ' εὐρήσεις ἐρευνῶν μάσσον' ἢ ὥς ἰδέμεν.
 ἄγε κούφοισιν ἐκνεῦσαι ποσίν·
 Ζεῦ τέλει', αἰδῶ δίδοι καὶ τύχαν τερπνῶν γλυκεῖαν.

Praising a house
 with three Olympian victories, gentle to her citizens,
 hospitable to strangers, I will make known
 fortunate Corinth, the gates 5
 of the Isthmos of Poseidon, glorious in its youth.
Eunomia dwells in it and her sisters,
 sure foundation of cities,
Dikē and *Eirēne* raised with her,
 steward of the wealth of men,
 the golden children of well-counseling *Themis*;
 They wish to ward off 10
Hubris, mother of bold-speaking *Koros*.
 I have good things to speak, and straightforward
 boldness bids my tongue to speak.
 It is impossible to conceal one's inborn nature;
 to you, children of Aletes, often
 the many-flowered *Horai* have given 15
 victorious splendor for the height of virtue which you won
 in the sacred games,
 and often they have cast in the
 hearts of men ancient
 wisdom. Every deed has its inventor.
 From where did the graces of Dionysos
 appear with the ox-driving dithyramb?
 Who set the bridle among the horse's gear, 20
 and who the double king of the birds on the temples
 of the gods? Here the sweet-breathing Muse
 and Ares, with the deadly spears of young men, blossom.

Father Zeus, mighty, wide-ruling
 lord of Olympia, be not envious 25
 against my words at any time,
 guide this people unharmed,
 and direct the wind of Xenophon's fortune;
 receive the ordained praise
 for his crowns, who comes from the plains of Pisa, 30
 having won the pentathlon along with

the stadion race; he attained
 what no other mortal man ever did before.
 Two wreaths of wild celery
 crowned him appearing
 at the Isthmian games; nor does Nemea oppose this;
 his father Thessalos at the streams 35
 of the Alpheos laid up glory for his feet,
 and he holds at Pytho honor for the *stadion*
 and *diaulos* in a single day, and in the same
 month at rocky Athens
 three times a swift-footed
 day set a great prize about his locks,
 and Hellotia did so seven times; in 40
 the sea-girt rites of Poseidon
 the songs are too long for Terpsios and
 Eritimos and their father Ptoiodoros,
 as often as you were excellent at Delphi,
 or in the pastures of the lion - I will contend with many
 concerning the number of these good deeds; so would I not 45
 know clearly how to say the number of pebbles in the sea.

Measure follows in each
 matter; to know propriety is best.
 I alone set sail in common,
 singing the cunning of the ancients 50
 and the battles of heroic excellence
 will not lie about Corinth, about Sisypheos
 shrewd in his devising like a god,
 and Medea setting her marriage
 against her father,
 savior of the Argo and its crew;
 and these people, in the battle 55
 before the walls of Dardanus, seemed
 to decide the outcome of the battle on both sides,
 some with the dear race of Atreus
 trying to recover Helen, others working
 wholly against them. The Danaans trembled 60
 before Glaukos, coming from Lycia. To them
 he boasted that the rule of his father
 lay in the city of Peirene,
 and that his hall and estate were abundant.
 His father who once
 by the spring suffered much desiring
 to yoke Pegasos, son of the snaky Gorgon,
 before the maiden Pallas Athena brought to him the 65
 bridle with golden cheek-pieces, and appeared to him

in a dream which was then real. ‘Why do you sleep, Aiolian king?
Come and receive this horse charm,
and sacrificing a white bull show it to your father Damaios.’”

The maiden goddess of the dark aegis 70
seemed to say such things to him sleeping
in the dark. And he leapt straight to his feet.
Seizing the wonder lying beside him,
he gladly sought out a local seer,
and showed to the son of Koiranos all 75
of the matter, how, because of the oracle,
he slept by the altar of the goddess all night,
how the daughter of Zeus
of the lightning-bolt spears gave to him
the spirit-subduing bronze.
He bid him as swiftly as possible to obey
the dream, and when he had sacrificed 80
a strong-footed bull to the wide-ruling Earth-Shaker,
at once to erect an altar to Athena Hippias.
The power of the gods accomplishes lightly that achievement
which is beyond hope or promise.
Strong Bellerophon hastening to
stretch the gentle charm
along its cheeks seized 85
the winged horse; and he climbing on him
at once, armed in bronze, played with his weapons.
With him he slew the Amazons,
from the cold bosom of the empty air,
casting his arrows at the army of women,
as well as the fire-breathing Chimera and the Solymoi. 90
I will keep silent on his fate;
the ancient stables of Zeus received Pegasos into Olympos.

It is necessary for me casting the whirling
of the javelins straight not to exceed the mark,
throwing strongly many shafts with my hands. 95
I have come a willing ally to the Muses
on their shining thrones and to the Oligaiithidai.
I will make clear in few words their many victories
at Isthmia and Nemea: sixty
times at each, and a truthful witness to me
is the sweet-tongued voice of the noble herald. 100
Their victories at Olympia
seemed already to have been spoken;
those to come I would make clear then.
Now I hope, but the end

lies with a god. If their good fortune continues, 105
 we will leave it to Zeus and Enyalios
 to accomplish. Six victories under the brow of Parnassos,
 as many again at Argos
 and in Thebes. The royal altar ruling
 the Arkadians testifies to so many;
 Pellana and Sikyon,
 Megara and the well-enclosed grove of the Aiakidai,
 Eleusis and splendid Marathon, 110
 the wealthy cities under lofty Aitna
 and Euboea: you seeking
 all through Greece would find more than one can see.
 Come and swim out with light feet.
 Zeus the Accomplisher, grant reverence and the sweet fortune of delight. 115

I. Overview

Olympian 13 has not fared well under the scrutiny of scholars. Bowra accuses it of being inartistic, “lack[ing] subtlety and suppleness”.²⁸⁷ The most common complaint concerns the perceived relationship between Pindar and his patrons, a strained one if we are to believe modern scholars. There is, it is believed, a greater emphasis upon the family than the current victor, and upon the city than the patrons, which suggests that Pindar cared little for Xenophon and the Oligaithidai (indeed, Xenophon is not named until the second triad, and is mentioned by name only once in the entire poem).²⁸⁸ At the end of the first catalogue of Oligaithidai victories, moreover, Pindar describes himself contending with the sheer number of achievements to name and thus breaks off; Méautis scolds the family, “à leur exigence d'indiquer les victoires les plus infimes”.²⁸⁹ Finally, the general emphasis in the poem on restraint, seen in gnomic lines such as 47-48:

²⁸⁷ Bowra (1964) 351.

²⁸⁸ Bowra (1964) 352, Schadewaldt (1966) 12, and Norwood (1945) 20 who declares, ‘He did not love Xenophon’; but Gildersleeve (1885) 228 describes the distribution of praise to various parties in the ode as normal.

²⁸⁹ Méautis (1962) 399; similarly, Farnell (1932) 373 suggests that “Pindar evidently found [the catalogue] a weary task, and broke down under the effort”.

ἔπεται δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ
μέτρον· νοῆσαι δὲ καιρὸς ἄριστος.

Measure follows in each
matter; to know propriety is best.

It is also seen in the ending prayer which asks Zeus to grant αἰδῶ, ‘modesty’ (115), is interpreted as Pindar’s attempt to correct the ignoble ways of the Oligaitheidai.²⁹⁰

The modern view of *Olympian* 13 outlined above is hardly favorable, but this is perhaps not because of inherent defects in the poem but to a misunderstanding of the epinician genre and possibly a certain measure of prudishness. Today we would hardly take a line like vv. 44-45:

δηρίομαι πολέσιν
περὶ πλήθει καλῶν

I will contend with many
concerning the number of these good deeds

as indicative of Pindar’s exasperation with his victor; instead we identify this as a type of break-off, a mechanism that Pindar uses to *increase* the glorification of his subject by implying that they have achieved glories beyond telling.²⁹¹ The persistence of the theme of restraint is also a traditional epinician device rather than a condemnation of the behavior of the victor and his family; after all, Pindar has warned many victors of the importance of not transgressing the limits set upon mortal men as their achievement has elevated them so high that they are in danger of the gods’ jealousy, and not because of

²⁹⁰ Norwood (1945) 19, Méautis (1962) 390-92.

²⁹¹ Hubbard (1986) 40-41 takes this precise reading. The interpretation of the break-off formula by scholars like Méautis and Norwood represents an older view, one which takes the formula at face value and claims Pindar switched subjects either because of a lack of artistic skill or disapproval of a particular topic. The formula has since been rehabilitated. Bundy (1962) 40 demonstrated how it is a conventional rhetorical strategy that serves as a “means of amplification”. As Kyriakou (1996) 17 explains: “When Pindar uses break-offs, they function in a meaningful and elegant way and are not to be taken at face value as expressions of genuine ἀμηχανία on the poet’s part or recognition of a problem in the composition.” See further Bundy (1962) 40-42, Kyriakou (1996) 17 n.2, Race (1990) 41-57, and Mackie (2003) 9-37.

any personal faults in the victors' character.²⁹² The accusation of marginalizing the victor and his family is perhaps more credible, but the family's victories actually take up much of the poem, with triads B and E largely dedicated to two separate catalogues of Oligaithidai victories.

The problems that early scholars had with this ode derive perhaps not from *Olympian* 13 itself but from another of Pindar's poems, fr. 122 S-M. This fragment comes from a *skolion* that Pindar wrote for Xenophon to commemorate, it seems, his dedication of one hundred "courtesans" to the temple of Aphrodite in fulfillment of a vow made to the goddess in return for his Olympian victory.²⁹³ Some scholars seem to have found the idea of a dedication of temple prostitutes distasteful and projected the same aversion to Pindar, citing his line σὸν δ' ἀνάγκη πᾶν καλόν, 'with necessity, everything is beautiful' (fr. 122.9) as indicative not only of the lot of the courtesans, but also Pindar himself, who has been paid for a shameful commission.²⁹⁴ It is difficult, however, to be sure that this is the correct translation of this phrase, especially given that the text breaks off immediately after. Further, Budin has argued strongly that Pindar is not describing the dedication of courtesans at a temple of Aphrodite, but is instead speaking metaphorically, and referring to the presence of prostitutes at a symposium.²⁹⁵ We have no actual evidence of Pindar's feelings about Xenophon or his family, and we cannot reasonably posit that a poet would express antipathy towards a patron in an epinician ode, which is after all a form of praise poetry. It is better, therefore, to approach the ode

²⁹² See *O.* 1.114, *O.* 3.44-45, *O.* 5.24, *P.* 2.34, *P.* 3.59-62, *N.* 9.47, *I.* 5.14, *I.* 7.42-47.

²⁹³ Athen. *Deipnosophists* 13.573e-f. See also Kurke (1996).

²⁹⁴ Norwood (1945) 20, Svenbro (1976) 182.

²⁹⁵ Budin (2008) 140: "Although the poem addresses Aphrodite, there is nothing in the text that affirms that the prostitutes were a dedication of any sort to this goddess. The sacrifice is symbolic, just as the *alsos* is not really a grove or sanctuary...the *alsos* was an *andrōn*, the recipients were mortals, and the overall tone festive and tongue-in-cheek."

without assuming any preconceived bias against the victor – indeed, one may more safely suppose that Pindar is actively trying to cultivate the Oligaithidai, a wealthy, elite family, as patrons and establish himself at Corinth as he has at Aigina, than believe he is trying to offend them.

In the following discussion of *Olympian* 13, I will, as before, examine how Pindar works with prayers within the ode, and I hope to show that some of these tropes that have caused vexation to earlier scholars, such as the continued emphasis upon restraint, actually play into his negotiations between Xenophon and his family and the gods. In looking at *Olympian* 13, I break the ode down into four sections. The structure of the poem can be seen as a series of crescendoes of praise that are deflated by a reminder of the need for restraint in a mortal life, a check that may be expressed in various ways. In each case Pindar selects a particular group for praise, describes their accomplishments, and then rounds the section out with a sentiment that balances that glorification. In the opening section, Corinthian Ingenuity (1-23), though Pindar first recalls the achievements of the Oligaithidai in particular, he quickly gives over to the praise of the people of Corinth in general, noting especially their cleverness and ingenuity as seen in three Corinthian inventions. With the opening of the second triad, Pindar makes a Tripartite Prayer to Zeus (24-29) to guide these people, suggesting that they are in danger of erring. The second section, The Greatness of the Oligaithidai (29-48), contains a catalogue of the crown game victories of the Oligaithidai follows, and praises the family for its frequent and notable athletic achievements, but the first two lines of the third triad contain a *gnomē* that warns of the need for measure and restraint. In the third and fourth triads, in the section on Corinthian Heroics (49-92), Pindar takes up mythical themes, describing

the great deeds of various Corinthian heroes including Sisyphos, Medea, Glaukos, and especially Bellerophon, whose capture of Pegasos is described in detail. At the end of the fourth triad, however, Pindar indirectly recalls Bellerophon's end, cast down because of his attempt to reach Olympos, suggesting by silence the end that comes to those who overstep their bounds (91). With the final section, the Second Oligaithidai Catalogue (93-115), Pindar begins the fifth triad comprises a stronger check, as Pindar invokes the metaphor of the poet as athlete, here one whose javelin is missing the mark (93-95), indicating that he has gone off course and needs to be checked. The remainder of the poem is devoted to a second catalogue of Oligaithidai victories, the scope now expanded to smaller local games as well, both those which have been won and those which they hope future members of their family will win. The poem ends with a brief prayer that asks Zeus to grant αἰδῶ (114-115); this word can have multiple connotations, but suggests the need for restraint in order to earn the favor of the gods and, by that favor, future victories.

What will become clear in studying this ode is that Pindar does not use Xenophon's victory simply as a moment to praise his accomplishment, but also as an occasion to negotiate with the gods in order to gain future favors for the Oligaithidai. The family has a long tradition of athletic success that stands as a mark of the gods' earlier favor, and Pindar wants to look not only at the past and present to recount these successes, but also to the future to secure continued prosperity. He catalogues the Oligaithidai's victories in order to recall the previous favors that the gods have given the family, and repeatedly acknowledges the gods as the ultimate source of this fortune. Restraint becomes a theme of the ode as the Oligaithidai must prove themselves able

stewards of the gods' gifts; Pindar articulates the gods' concern that such a family will, given outstanding fortune, bow to *hubris* and transgress the limits set on mortal men. Pindar also speaks on behalf of the family to assure the gods that that is not the case, as he has transmitted the gods' conditions to the Oligaithidai in the form of gnomic warnings about excess and myths that illustrate the consequences of transgression. The actual requests for further success are expressed in two prayers and a religious wish: the first prayer asks Zeus to guide the people and Xenophon in particular, the religious wish hopes for future victories, and the second prayer asks that the Oligaithidai continue to behave with reverence towards the gods and enjoy good fortune as a result. The epinician ode acts as a clear moment of religious communication in which Pindar becomes a nexus between divine and mortal, communicating the messages of each party to the other in the hopes of a successful negotiation of the relationship between the Oligaithidai and the gods.

II. Date and Circumstances

The victor of *Olympian* 13 is Xenophon, a man of the Oligaithidai family of Corinth. By virtue of their victories and obvious wealth (seen not only by their epinician celebrations, but much more by the lavish dedication recorded in fr. 122 S-M), the Oligaithidai must have been among the Corinthian elite. The family certainly has a long tradition of athletic victory: Pindar says they have earned sixty victories at Nemea and Isthmia each, and many others beside (99). The current ode celebrates a double Olympic victory of Xenophon, and Pindar attributes earlier victories at Isthmia and Nemea to him (32-34). Xenophon's father Thessalos won victories at the Olympian and Pythian games,

as well as at local games (35-40). Other family members, Ptoiodoros, Terpsios, and Eritimos, are identified as victors at Isthmia and Nemea (40-42),²⁹⁶ while a scholiast names two further Oligaithidai, Namertidas and Autolykos, who may have had victories as well.²⁹⁷ This tradition of athletic achievement figures largely in the ode: Pindar produces two catalogues of victories earned by the Oligaithidai, and the number of victories awarded to the family over generations acts as proof of the gods' continuing favor. Nothing is known of the Oligaithidai outside of the clues found in this ode, but their frequent involvement in games suggests a wealthy, aristocratic family that can afford the leisure and expense needed to train for and enter so many contests. The supposition is bolstered by Xenophon's dedication of one hundred prostitutes to the temple of Aphrodite in acknowledgment of his Olympian victory. Given not only the wealth of the family but also the references in the ode to the *Horai*, goddesses of political order, Boeke concluded that the Oligaithidai were part of the ruling Corinthian oligarchy.²⁹⁸ While we have no independent evidence for this assertion, it is certainly possible.

Xenophon's victory was in fact two victories achieved on the same day, in the *stadion* race and the pentathlon. Running may have been his family's specialty, given that his father won both the *stadion* and *diaulos* races at Pythia (37) and races at Athens (37-39); while the final image of the ode urges us κούφοισιν ἐκνεῦσαι ποσίν, 'to run

²⁹⁶ The family tree of Xenophon has caused some confusion: the 'natural interpretation' of the text suggests that Ptoiodoros is the father of Terpsios and Eritimos, but Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13 58b explains instead that Ptoiodoros and Terpsios are brothers: Ptoiodoros sired Thessalos, who sired Xenophon, while Terpsios sired Eritimos and Namertidas. Barrett (1978) 4 attempted to reconcile the accounts by positing that Πτοιοδώρῳ σὺν πατρὶ refers back to Thessalos who, given his accomplishments elsewhere, was surely an Isthmian victor, as was his father Ptoiodoros.

²⁹⁷ Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13 58b and c. Barrett (1978) 5 suggests that other poems were written to celebrate the victories of other members of the family, and these odes could inform the scholiasts as to family relations.

²⁹⁸ Boeke (2007) 139.

away on light feet' (114).²⁹⁹ The attainment of multiple victories is a recurrent theme with his family: the opening word of the entire ode is τρισολυμπιονίκαν...οἶκον, 'house with three Olympian victories' (1-2), referring to the three Olympian victories earned by Xenophon and Thessalos together; Thessalos is described as having won two events at the Pythian games on the same day (37), and three victories at Athens in one month (37-39); and the family as a whole has been announced as victorious sixty times (99). Though foot-racing does not have the same association with wealth and social status as equestrian events, Pindar's focus on numbers highlights the grandeur of the family's achievements, and the uniqueness of their achievements,³⁰⁰ an important idea in an ode that praises Corinth above all for its innovation.

The date of the ode is not at all in doubt. The scholia tell us that the victory belongs to the 79th Olympiad, which puts it at 464 BCE,³⁰¹ and no scholars have raised any arguments against the given date. The ode does not seem interested in circumstances beyond the athletic victory, insofar as it does not seem to refer to current political or military events. Even the mention of the *Horai*, goddesses who govern political order, does not lead the audience to think deeply about Corinthian politics or their value. Bowra tentatively suggested that the *Horai* are invoked as a response to anxiety in the city

²⁹⁹ The verb ἐκνέω is often associated with swimming: the LSJ gives as its primary definition 'swim out, swim to land', and numerous translations reflect this (thus, for instance, Nisetich [1980] renders the line 'swim out with agile strokes', and Svarlien [1990] 'swim away with agile feet'). Pearson (1924) 151-52 argued that the imagery is not of swimming but of racing, given the scholiasts' glosses of ἀποστήναι (Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13 163b) and ἀποδραμεῖν (Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13 163a). The word may very well be a technical term for running, which makes better sense in this ode.

³⁰⁰ Consider vv. 30-31: ἀντεβόλησεν | τῶν ἀνὴρ θνατὸς οὐπὼ τις πρότερον. As Race (1986) 110 says, "[Xenophon] exemplifies Corinthian inventiveness with this 'first-ever' achievement."

³⁰¹ This is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus 11.70 (Ὀλυμπιάς δ' ἦχθη ἐβδομηκοστὴ καὶ ἐνάτη, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Ξενοφῶν Κορίνθιος) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* 9.61 (Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα Ξενοφῶν Κορίνθιος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχεδημίδου).

arising from the earthquake at Sparta and subsequent helot revolt,³⁰² but there is no evidence for any such tension in the ode.

While the dating of the ode may be on firm ground, we have as usual little evidence to inform us about the performance of the ode. The emphasis upon the Oligaithidai suggests that the performance occurred at the victor's family home, with an audience composed of the victor's family and aristocratic peers. While the sole direct reference to the audience only tells us that they were Corinthians,³⁰³ the opening line declares that Pindar will celebrate not a victorious man but a τρισολυμπιονίκαν...οἶκον, 'house with three Olympic victories' (1-2), and goes on to praise the family's hospitality to fellow citizens and to guests alike (2-3), implying that the family has gathered together such a group to witness the celebration of their latest victory.³⁰⁴ There are no indications in the ode that suggest monodic or choral performance, so either is possible, but one may imagine that a chorus composed of members of the Oligaithidai clan and their friends seems suitable for the occasion.

III. Corinthian Ingenuity

In the opening lines of the ode Pindar focuses on the city of Corinth, indicating from the outset that the ode, while celebrating the victory of a single Corinthian, will be used as a medium for communicating the needs of a larger community. Admittedly, the very first words name the τρισολυμπιονίκαν...οἶκον, 'house with three Olympian victories' (1-2), referring to the Oligaithidai family which has earned three Olympic

³⁰² Bowra (1964) 145.

³⁰³ ὕμνιν...παῖδες Ἀλάτα (14), referring to Aletes, a Herakleid king of Corinth.

³⁰⁴ Fenno (2003) 344 argues that Xenophon held a triumphal parade to dedicate his crown to Zeus, given the reference to Zeus receiving the song (v. 29 δέξαι τέ οἱ στεφάνων ἐγκώμιον τεθμόν).

victories through Xenophon and his father Thessalos; but the ode turns quickly to the city in general, declaring that the poet will make known ὀλβίαν Κόρινθον, ‘fortunate Corinth’ (4).³⁰⁵ The greatness of Corinth is subsequently expounded upon by describing the inborn qualities of Corinthians. Pindar feels compelled to describe the achievements of the Corinthians, implying that their excellence cannot be hidden because they are born with it: ἄμαχον δὲ κρύψαι τὸ συγγενὲς ἦθος, ‘It is impossible to conceal one’s inborn nature’ (13). This συγγενὲς ἦθος, ‘inborn nature,’ is the quality of ingenuity, an inventiveness that is illustrated by three discoveries credited to the Corinthians: the dithyramb,³⁰⁶ the horse’s bit, and the eagle pediment. While Pindar says that ἅπαν δ’ εὐρόντος ἔργον, ‘Every deed has its inventor’ (17), and suggests that all the works derive from Corinthians, he does not ascribe any of these inventions to a particular person,³⁰⁷ probably so that he does not have to extend the focus of his praise beyond the victor and his family. He treats Corinth in this first triad as a general entity, the characteristics of which will be demonstrated in a particular instance, the Oligaithidai; in other words, Corinth’s excellence provides the context by which the audience may understand the success of the victor and his family.

³⁰⁵ There has been some dispute among scholars as to whether Pindar means by γνῶσομαι ‘I will make known’ or ‘I will get to know’. Gildersleeve (1895) 229 and Farnell (1932) 89 support the latter reading, arguing that Pindar has never before been to Corinth and intends to learn more about it; yet Schol. 1b explains that εἰς γνῶσιν ἄξω, and *LSJ* s.v. γιγνώσκω adopts that meaning. Hubbard (1986) 47 suggests that Pindar may have intended both meanings, while Wasserstein (1982) 278-79 finds neither reading plausible, and emends to ἀγγνῶσομαι. I follow the scholiast: the concept of making a subject known corresponds well with epinician poetry, and though I agree, as Wasserstein argued, that it would be ridiculous to think Corinth was not well known, I would argue that Pindar only means he will proclaim Corinth because of this latest proof of its greatness.

³⁰⁶ Admittedly, Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13 25c tells us that Pindar credited Naxos with the dithyramb in a hyporchema (fr. 115) and Thebes with it in a dithyramb (fr. 71). Farnell (1932) 91 suggests that Pindar simply followed local traditions as he needed, while Adams (1955) 171 credits Athens with the dithyramb, and argues that in this passage Pindar is manipulating tradition in order to praise the city of Corinth.

³⁰⁷ Pliny *NH* 35.43 credits Boutades of Sikyon, while working at Corinth, with adorning temple-roofs with akroteria, an innovation perhaps connected to the eagle-pediments that Pindar describes.

The Corinthian people themselves are framed within an ancient tradition of ingenuity, a tradition that provides a firm foundation for continuing success. Pindar tells us that the *Horai* live in Corinth: *Eunomia* (Good Order), *Dikē* (Justice) and *Eirēne* (Peace) (6-7). These goddesses are connected with the political sphere,³⁰⁸ and their presence in the city suggests that Corinth is a stable land. *Eunomia*, for instance, is described as the βάθρον πολιῶν ἀσφαλές, ‘sure foundation of cities’ (6).³⁰⁹ Not only do the *Horai* provide a moral foundation for the city, they also protect it from the anger and punishment of the gods by guarding its citizens from *hubris* (9-10):

ἐθέλοντι δ’ ἀλέξειν
ὕβριν, Κόρου ματέρα θρασύμυθον.

They wish to ward off
Hubris, mother of bold-speaking *Koros*.³¹⁰

With a people committed to *eunomia* and *dikē*, and free of *koros*, Corinth has been able to cultivate a long tradition of outstanding citizens. The city also has another set of antecedents, these non-divine, that contribute to its legacy. Pindar refers to the Corinthians as the παῖδες Ἀλάτα, ‘children of Aletes’ (14). Aletes was a Herakleid who did not found the city, but who expelled the original Aiolian Sisypheid kings and seized

³⁰⁸ In the *Theogony*, Hesiod tells us of the *Horai*: αἱ ἔργ’ ὠρεῦνται καταθνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι (901), referring, it seems, to the work of the field. They are often found in the ancient world connected with the Kharites in dancing and celebration (*h.Ap.* 194, Hes. *Op.* 75, Pind. *O.* 4.1-2), while, much later, Pausanias (9.35.2) tells us that they were in Attica named Thallo and Karpo, and were connected to the growth of crops. Bowra (1958) 238 argues that, while originally goddesses governing the seasons, they later became connected to the political realm as stable government was related to successful harvests, a position echoed by West (1966) 406. Certainly there seems to have been some consensus that they had political significance, as Thallo appears in the ephebic oath (Tod, *GHI* 204.16-19), and both Pindar (*O.* 9.15-16) and Bacchylides (13.186-89, 15.53-55) discuss *Eunomia* and *Dikē* in political context. It may simply be that the concepts of *eunomia* and *dikē* had become key political terms and so effected a politicization of the goddesses; as Bowra (1958) 239 notes, aristocrats championed *eunomia* (consider Tyrtaeus’ *Eunomia*, mentioned in Arist. *Politics* 1306b).

³⁰⁹ Thus Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13 6a explains the goddesses as ἐφ’ ὧν πᾶσα πόλις ἀσφαλῶς βέβηκεν.

³¹⁰ See Boeke (2007) 140. It may simply be that *Koros*, a name suggesting a degree of satiety that threatens to irritate, may be avoided by possessing a quality like *Dikē* or *Eunomia*, terms that suggest fair apportionment.

rule for himself;³¹¹ he represents the beginning of Corinth's Dorian constitutional tradition. Indeed, both the *Horai* and the Herakleids uphold an aristocratic, oligarchic political order, one that has become synonymous with innovation and achievement. If indeed the Oligaitidai are members of that aristocracy, praise of the political order that fostered Corinth's excellence acts as indirect praise of those involved with that order. The family represents a continuation of that line of rulers who are upheld by the very precepts of justice and good order, suggesting that they are well-established and will continue in their prosperity.

The praise of Corinth in this first triad threatens to grow to excess, but Pindar checks it by recognizing the gods' role in fostering Corinth's greatness. The political stability of the city derives not just from the actions of its citizens, but ultimately from the presence of the *Horai*, who, as noted, both provide a stable basis for the city and hold it back from transgression. The ingenuity of the Corinthians may be called τὸ συγγενὲς ἥθος, 'the inborn characteristic' (13), but it was originally provided to them by these same *Horai* (16-17):

πολλὰ δ' ἐν καρδίαις ἀνδρῶν ἔβαλον
Ἵρραι πολυάνθεμοι ἀρ-
χαῖα σοφίσμαθ'.

and often they [the many-flowered *Horai*] have cast in the
hearts of men ancient
wisdom.

Pindar also describes the Muses and Ares as flourishing in the city (22-23), suggesting that Corinthian achievements in art and war are due to the presence of the gods in their lives. Even the discoveries that were earlier named as evidence of Corinthian

³¹¹ Thuc. 4.42.2: ἐφ' ὃν Δωριῆς τὸ πάλαϊ ἰδρυθέντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορινθίοις ἐπολέμουν οὕσιν Αἰολεῦσιν; see also Paus. 2.3.4, Strabo 8.8.5.

inventiveness show the hand of the gods in their design. The dithyramb belongs to Dionysos, and was created in order to praise him, while Pindar's use of the word *χάριτες* to describe the song suggests the influence of the Charites, the goddesses who add beauty to poetry.³¹² The horse's bit was given to Bellerophon by Athena, as we will learn in the mythic narrative of this ode (65-66). While no god is named directly in connection with the pediment, Pindar is referring to an architectural feature found on the temples of the gods (21); this not only sets the invention in the sphere of the gods, but suggests that the worship of the gods spurred the Corinthians to create the eagle pediment in their honor. Whatever innovation or talent the Corinthians may be credited with, the ultimate accomplishment lies with the gods.

IV. A Tripartite Prayer to Zeus

Pindar opens the second triad with an even stronger check, a prayer that rounds off the preceding praise of Corinth by connecting it once more to the gods. The prayer follows a very common formula: Zeus is invoked with multiple epithets that remind the god of his pre-existing relationship with the victor, and requests are made with imperatives. Zeus is an obvious choice here, both because he is the lord of the Olympic games at which Xenophon has just won his victories, and because he is the highest arbiter of men's fortunes. Given that the Oligaitheidai are seeking to continue their tradition of athletic success, it is appropriate to petition a god who deals in both fates and games, and who has already shown favor to the family. The god's mastery over all aspects of mortal men's life is recognized by the invocative epithet that opens the prayer (24-25):

ὑπατ' εὐρὸν ἀνάσσων

³¹² See Mullen (1982) 83.

Ὀλυμπίας...

mighty, wide-ruling
lord of Olympia...

While the word εὐρύ often implies ‘mighty’, as in the compounds εὐρυσθενής and εὐρυβία,³¹³ here the word has its original meaning of ‘wide’ in reference to the extent of Zeus’ rule, which covers all the world and all of life – we may recall what Pindar is already making obvious, that the achievement of men’s desires lies in the gods’ powers. The word Ὀλυμπίας locates us, setting focus upon Olympia in particular because here Zeus has already shown his favor to the Oligaitheidai when he granted victories to Xenophon and Thessalos. After the first request, Zeus is named directly and coupled with πάτερ, ‘father’ (26), another word suggesting the god’s control over the lives of the worshipper.

The prayer contains three requests which are interrelated. First Pindar asks that Zeus not be jealous of his words (25-26):

ἀφθόνητος ἔπεσσιν
γένοιο...

be not envious
against my words...³¹⁴

The possibility of the gods becoming jealous because of the words of the ode can be found elsewhere in Pindar’s corpus.³¹⁵ After all, epinician odes celebrate the achievements of a mortal man, offering him the kind of praise that is otherwise reserved for the gods, and the gods may feel that the victor and the poet have transgressed the

³¹³ See Farnell (1932) 93.

³¹⁴ Farnell (1932) 93 argues that Pindar does not fear the gods’ envy, but rather asks them to “be ungrudging”. In other words, Pindar wants the gods to “grant me an abundant flow of poetic speech”, and thus grant their favors freely. Farnell offers *N.* 3.9 as a parallel. This interpretation is less obvious, however; it is more likely that Pindar, having already celebrated Corinth and the Oligaitheidai, and knowing he will continue to do so in the ode, prays to avoid the envy of the gods for praising mortal men so highly.

³¹⁵ *P.* 8.71-72, *P.* 10.19-21, *I.* 7.39. See also Bulman (1992) 11-12.

limits set on men in this celebration, the victor in performing a feat that sets him above his fellow men, and the poet in celebrating him in song. The poet employs various strategies in order to prevent the epinician ode itself from bringing down the jealousy of the gods upon the victor, and a prayer such as this is one of them. Of course, while the prayer is addressed to Zeus, Pindar may also intend for the audience to heed this request. Mortal men are as likely to be jealous of victors as the gods, since victors distinguish themselves. The Oligaithidai have known many victories, and Xenophon's current achievement of a double Olympic victory is especially worthy of note; Pindar would surely be wary of the threat of jealousy, and so opens his prayer by averting this outcome, paving the way for the gods to grant their favor.

In the second request Pindar combines the concerns of the victor and the city, asking Zeus to favor both. The first section of this request, which is subordinated to the main verb through a participial phrase, asks Zeus to guide the people, meaning here the people of Corinth³¹⁶: τόνδε λαὸν ἀβλαβῇ νέμων, 'guide this people unharmed' (27). The idea here is general, hoping simply that the Corinthians know a life without harm and injury, perhaps suggesting an existence that avoids the damage of both external strife and internal *stasis*. Corinth has enjoyed such a life since the *Horai* inhabit the city, and now Pindar hopes to extend that stability into the future. Pindar may also be hinting at the political leadership of the Oligaithidai who, the audience may understand, have led the people ably, following the dictates of Zeus; the victory confirms that they enjoy the favor of the gods and so are fit to rule, and as their fortune continues so will the fortune of the

³¹⁶ Farnell (1932) 93 suggests that λαὸν should be taken with Ξενοφώντος, which would indicate the Oligaithidai particularly rather than the Corinthians generally. Given that the previous lines were devoted to the character and achievements of the Corinthians, it seems more natural to associate the word with them.

city. In the second section, Pindar similarly bids Zeus to guide Xenophon: Ξενοφῶντος εὖθυνε δαίμονος οὔρον, ‘direct the wind of Xenophon’s fortune’ (28). Again the prayer is general, suggesting a desire for Xenophon to know prosperity in the future. The fact of his Olympian victories, already announced at the opening of the ode, recalls that the gods have previously granted such favor, and, as with Corinth, Pindar hopes to negotiate a continuation of the victor’s prosperity with the gods.

The final request is one that we have seen elsewhere in introductory prayers, the request to receive the victory. Here Pindar asks Zeus to accept specifically the στεφάνων ἐγκώμιον τεθμὸν, ‘the ordained praise for his crowns’ (29), referring to the praise which has been given to the victor by virtue of the crown he won - that is, to the epinician ode itself. Zeus’ acceptance of the ode would indicate that he does not begrudge the victor his praise: in other words, that he is not envious of the praise inherent in the ode, as the first request asks, and that consequently he will continue to favor the victor, as the second request asks. The three requests of the prayer function together to remind the god of the favors he has already bestowed, ask for that favor to be extended, and assure him that the recipients will not abuse the favor given.

V. The Greatness of the Oligaihidai

After the prayer to Zeus, Pindar narrows his focus, settling on the Oligaihidai family of Corinth in particular as the subject of praise. The prayer aids in this transition as it combines the needs of the city with the needs of the victor, and then uses this reference to the victor to begin a new strain of thought centering on him and his family (29-30). Pindar now offers the audience a catalogue of Oligaihidai victories, one of two

in the poem. This first catalogue focuses on victories in the crown games of Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia and Nemea, victories which were considered in the ancient world the most prestigious as these games involved more and better trained competitors than local ones and took place during important festivals at major Panhellenic sanctuaries. We learn that Xenophon not only enjoyed a victory at Olympia, the most esteemed of the games, but that his victory was of a nature unparalleled in the history of the games, as he won both the stadion race and the pentathlon (30-31). To this victory can be added two at Isthmia, and one at Nemea (32-34).³¹⁷ Pindar turns then to Xenophon's father Thessalos, who had an Olympian victory of his own (35-36) and, like his son, had a remarkable victory at Pythia, winning both the *stadion* and *diaulos* races in the same day (37). Remarkable too are Thessalos' feats in Athens,³¹⁸ wherein he received three victories for racing in the same month (37-39). The victories of three more members of the family are mentioned, but they are moved over more quickly, until at last Pindar declares (44-46)"

δηρίομαι πολέσιν
περὶ πλήθει καλῶν· ὥς μὲν σαφές
οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην λέγειν ποντιᾶν ψάφων ἀριθμόν.

I will contend with many
concerning the number of these good deeds; so would I not
know clearly how to say the number of pebbles in the sea.³¹⁹

suggesting that the number of Oligaitheidai victories is so great as to be beyond the scope of the poet to recount.

³¹⁷ While Pindar does not explicitly state the number of victories at Nemea, he does for Isthmia, suggesting that any number greater than one would be mentioned.

³¹⁸ Presumably at the Panathenaia. While the Panathenaia was not technically a crown game, it was nevertheless respectable: "in terms of finances, fans, and fanfare, the Panathenaia was by far the greatest of the so-called 'chrematitic' athletic festivals" (Kyle (2007) 150).

³¹⁹ The translation of the first phrase is debated. Traditionally scholars have suggested that Pindar is declaring he will contend with many people as to the number (thus, for instance, Sandys (1915) 137). I prefer to follow Farnell (1932) 94, who sees the image as Pindar fighting against the sheer number of victories. The image of counting grains of sand is found in *O.* 2.99, of Theron's achievements.

The praise of the Oligaithidai is swelling: Pindar has recalled numerous prestigious victories - a number beyond the ability of men to count - some of which are otherwise unparalleled among men. The threat of transgression is consequently high: as the men of this family distinguish themselves from all other mortal men, they draw themselves nearer to the state of the gods. Pindar begins the third triad by checking this movement, this time with a gnomic utterance (47-48):

ἔπεται δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ
μέτρον· νοῆσαι δὲ καιρὸς ἄριστος.

Measure follows in each
matter; to know propriety is best.

This *gnomē* urges restraint, a theme that runs throughout the ode,³²⁰ and suggests that matters such as praise are best not when they become excessive but when they are kept in due proportion. The warning is not just a warning to the poet himself, nor does it apply to praise alone. After all, while Pindar is prone to admonish himself, as when he is about to speak ill of the gods,³²¹ he is not the primary audience for the ode; the audience is instead the victor, his family, his community, and the gods. Keeping this in mind, we can read the *gnomē* as not only a modulation in the praise of the victor and his family, but a reminder to them that there are limits on all things, including fortune and success.

This emphasis on restraint is not because, as early modern scholars suggested, Pindar is shaming the Oligaithidai, telling them that gods will not grant their favor to a family that has already shown great achievement. Rather, he is reminding them that such a family must take care not to misuse their achievements as grounds for pushing beyond the limits set on mortal men. The gods demand that the gap between them and mortal

³²⁰ Gildersleeve (1885) 232 calls it “The central thought of the poem”; see also Hubbard (1986) 27, Boeke (2007) 140.

³²¹ *O.* 1.52, *O.* 9.35-37, *N.* 5.14-16.

men be observed, and they have set down limits on men which they make clear in various ways: examples may be made of men who transgress these limits – as when Bellerophon meets an untimely end – or an intermediary may relate the message of the gods to men, as here Pindar, privileged in his position as an *aoidos*, enjoins his audience to observe measure in all matters. The will of the gods is communicated in this *gnomē*, so that the gods may be assured that the victor and his family, even if granted still further success, will continue to respect the natural relationship between men and gods.³²²

VI. Corinthian Heroics

Pindar has provided us with a catalogue of Corinthian inventions and a catalogue of Oligaithidai athletic victories, both of which attested to the inborn prowess of the Corinthian people, a gift that was bestowed upon them by the gods. Now he begins a third catalogue with the same objective, this time listing specific Corinthian heroes whose feats in wit and strength also demonstrate the excellence of the city and its people. While this catalogue praises the Corinthians for their legendary achievements, the heroic acts the poet recalls have, in some cases, a negative outcome. Though Pindar may not explicitly describe these outcomes, the audience would surely think of them, as these myths are important cultural stories for the Corinthians. The catalogue itself becomes an example of the alternation of praise and restraint that Pindar uses throughout *Olympian* 13, and myth now functions as a way to communicate the gods' will to the victor and his family. Just as the Oligaithidai cite their earlier victories as the basis for the gods to act a certain way – granting favor to men who have already known that favor and treated it

³²² At the same time, of course, the mortal audience is assured that the Oligaithidai will also respect the relationships between men, and not by virtue of their god-given success try to extend their power, a fear commonly associated with athletic victory; see Kurke (1991) 195-209.

with respect – so too does Pindar cite the example of other men who knew the favor of the gods to call the family to act a certain way, in this case to accept the aid of the gods and not attempt to act beyond the scope of that aid. If we map the movement of this ode on the pattern for gnomic exempla that I have outlined in other odes,³²³ moreover, this catalogue provides a negative exemplum that balances the positive one Pindar has already posited: measure is needed in all things; the Oligaithidai have enjoyed great success because they have not transgressed their limits; the Corinthian heroes did transgress those limits and were punished. The lesson is clear, that the Oligaithidai should keep the Corinthian heroes in mind and observe moderation in order to avoid punishment.

Four heroes are named in this catalogue: Sisypheos, Medea, Glaukos, and Bellerophon, whom Pindar selects for embellishment.³²⁴ He begins with Sisypheos, describing him as *πικνότατον παλάμαις ὡς θεόν*, ‘shrewd in his devisings like a god’ (52). The phrasing suggests that Sisypheos had qualities that set him close to the gods, pushing the highest limits of mortal achievement. Yet Pindar does not name Sisypheos’ feats nor his end: in fact, Sisypheos was not only as clever as a god, but set his wits to work against the gods when he tried to cheat death. In one tale he bound Thanatos so that no one could die; later, when the god was released by Ares and sought out Sisypheos, he instructed his wife not to conduct proper funerary rites for him after his death, and on reaching the underworld complained to Hades until he was allowed to return to the upper

³²³ See, for instance, above, pp. 66-67 on the *gnomē* using the mythological figures of Porphyreon and Typhoeus as a negative exemplum, and the victor and his family as a positive.

³²⁴ Another Corinthian is referred to, though not named explicitly. When Pindar mentions that Corinthians fought on both sides of the Trojan War, he names Glaukos, a Trojan ally, but omits the ally of the Atreidai: this must be Euchenor, the son of Polyidos the seer (*Il.* 2.570, 13.663). There are no great exploits attached to him, though he does choose death in battle over death by disease, and is killed by Paris.

world to redress the situation, but then refused to return.³²⁵ Through his wits Sisyphos attempts to achieve for himself the deathless condition of the gods, and he is punished for his *hubris*, sent to Tartaros after his death and tormented.³²⁶

Pindar turns next to Medea, who is called ναὶ σώτειραν Ἀργοῖ καὶ προπόλοις, ‘savior of the Argo and its crew’ (54). Her ingenuity allowed the Greek heroes of the Argo to escape Kolchis with the Golden Fleece, for she aided Jason in overcoming the tasks set by her father King Aeetes, and in dealing with the usurper Pelias back in Iolcos. Indeed, we may wonder why Pindar has named her as a Corinthian hero, as, in the most popular tellings of her story, she spends a brief period of time in Corinth, where she murders king Creon and his daughter Glauke.³²⁷ The scholiasts remind us that this was not the only version of Medea’s life, however, and in fact she had close associations with the city. Eumelos, an 8th century epic poet whose *Korinthiaka* is preserved only in a two paragraph summary in Pausanias,³²⁸ said that Helios gave Corinth to his son Aeetes, who then left it in the care of a deputy while he founded Kolchis;³²⁹ later the Corinthians called on Medea (currently in residence at Iolcos with Jason) to return and take up rule.³³⁰ She bore children to Jason and hid them in the temple of Hera in order to make them immortal; when this failed, Jason grew angry and returned to Iolcos.³³¹ There was, it seems, a Corinthian Medea, a local figure who became at some point merged with the

³²⁵ Alc. fr. 38a.5ff, Theog. 1.701-12, Schol. *Od.* 11.593, [Apollod.] *Biblio.* 1.9.3, Paus. 2.5.1, Σ Pind. *Ol.* 1 97.

³²⁶ Odysseus sees Sisyphos in Hades (*Od.* 11.593-600), charged with pushing a boulder up a hill but never succeeding.

³²⁷ Eur. *Medea* 1136-1221.

³²⁸ Paus. 2.3.10-11.

³²⁹ Aeetes was either displeased with his lot (Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13 74f., following Eumelos) or obeying an oracle (Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13 74d).

³³⁰ Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13 74d and f.

³³¹ Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13 74g adds another detail not found elsewhere: Zeus attempted to seduce Medea but the girl refused, and Hera rewarded her by promising to make her children immortal.

epic figure associated with the Argonauts.³³² Pindar is clearly referring to the epic version of Medea, as he cites the aid she gave the Argonauts, but the audience would surely be familiar enough with her Corinthian pedigree to accept Pindar's identification of her as a Corinthian. Though Pindar does not explicitly spell out the artifices of Medea, he mentions how she privileged her lover over her father to save the Argo, suggesting the help she gave to Jason in stealing the Golden Fleece from her father: her potions made Jason resistant to the breath of the fire-breathing bulls, and her spells put to sleep the dragon which guarded the fleece.³³³ Medea, like Sisyphos, displays a cunning beyond that of other mortals.

Having used Sisyphos and Medea to illustrate Corinth's predisposition to ingenuity, Pindar now focuses on another talent of Corinthians, their prowess in war (a quality already suggested in v. 23: ἐν δ' Ἄρης ἀνθεῖ νέων οὐλίας αἰχμαῖσιν ἀνδρῶν, 'Ares, with the deadly spears of young men, blossom[s]'). He explains that Corinthians fought on both sides of the Trojan War, and that they ἐδόκησαν...μαχᾶν τάμνειν τέλος, 'seemed to decide the outcome of the battle' (57). This is a grand boast, given that Pindar will soon declare τελεῖ δὲ θεῶν δύναμις, 'the power of the gods accomplishes' (83), and (104-105):

ἐν θεῶ γε μάν
τέλος.

³³² Graf (1997) 35 explains, "The Corinthian Medea had little to do with the Medea whom epic located in Colchis and Iolcos. Herbal magic was not her concern – and far less magic of any other kind. Just the opposite: whereas the Medea we meet in Iolcos could rejuvenate Aeson, the Corinthian Medea failed to immortalize her own children." Scholars suggest that there were two separate figures who became joined at some point in the archaic period: thus Johnston (1997) 64 describes "the 'Medea' of epic with whom Corinthian Medea became identified during the early archaic period". For an earlier discussion of this split, see Will (1955) 88, 118-21. Nevertheless, Pindar is here appealing to the epic Medea, the user of *pharmaka*; thus Detienne and Vernant (1978) 189 see Medea as showing "the importance of the part played in the technical intelligence".

³³³ Apollonius of Rhodes 3.1026-1062, 4.123-61.

the end
lies with a god.

Already, then, we have the suggestion that these feats tested the boundaries set on mortal men. Among the “Corinthians” who fought on the Trojan side, Glaukos is easily the most famous.³³⁴ He fought boldly in many battles, including the battle over Sarpedon’s body,³³⁵ and Pindar describes the Danaans trembling before him (60). Glaukos is not renowned for his cunning,³³⁶ but for his valor in battle, an example of how, as Pindar earlier claimed, Ares blossoms in the city. With examples of cunning and strength established in the city’s legendary past, Pindar may now transition easily into his main myth, that of Bellerophon, his ancestor.

Pindar’s last example of a Corinthian hero is Bellerophon. He tells the story of the hero’s capture of Pegasus in detail over many lines, as it illustrates well two main themes of the ode, the role of the gods in human achievement and the need for moderation. This myth has captured the attention of many modern scholars, and four studies of it have appeared in the last thirty-five years.³³⁷ I do not here want to repeat their work, only to discuss how the myth touches upon these themes and forwards the program of the ode in communicating with the gods and securing their favor.

Bellerophon provides an important example to the Oligaitidai, with the myth as a whole

³³⁴ His relationship with Corinth is, like Medea’s, not wholly straightforward. Pindar has him boast that his father’s halls lie at Peirene (60-62), but in the *Iliad* he explains his genealogy in an extended narrative (6.155-203): when Bellerophon, son of the king of Corinth, was sent into Lycia by Proitos, he distinguished himself so much that the Lykian king gave his daughter to the hero, and Bellerophon sired a son Hippolochos who was Glaukos’ father. Thus, while Glaukos was born and raised in Lykia, and headed a Lykian contingent in the Trojan War, he was Corinthian through his grandfather Bellerophon.

³³⁵ *Il.* 7.13, 12.102, 12.309, 14.426, 16.492, 17.140.

³³⁶ Indeed, scholars have argued that Glaukos is rather lacking in wits, based on his exchange of gold armor for bronze, as described in *Iliad* 6.234-236: ἐνθ’ αὖτε Γλαύκῳ Κρονίδης φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς, | ὃς πρὸς Τυδείδην Διομήδεα τεύχε’ ἄμειβε | χρύσεια χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι’ ἐννεαβοίων. Hubbard (1986) 35 comments, “in fact, Homeric tradition makes...Glaucus...the victim of *metis*”.

³³⁷ Detienne and Vernant (1978), Dickson (1986), Hubbard (1986), and Jouan (1995) all write about *Olympian* 13 strictly or largely in reference to the myth of Bellerophon and Pegasus.

acting as a template for how they want their own interactions with the gods to proceed, and including a warning on how to ensure that the interaction is successful.

This myth clearly illustrates that men depend upon the aid of the gods to succeed in their efforts. Dickson uses the plight of Bellerophon to discuss the ancient Greek conception of the divide between men and gods. For the gods, to desire something is the same as to realize it, while for men, desires cannot simply by virtue of their will be transformed into reality; indeed, this is the defining difference between mortal and divine life. As Dickson explains, “mortal *dunamis*...is fundamentally incapable of enacting the aims urged upon it by its most vital desires”.³³⁸ This basic condition of mortal life is seen clearly when Bellerophon, despite his efforts, is unable to tame Pegasus. According to Pindar, Bellerophon Πάγασον ζεῦξαι ποθέων ἔπαθεν, ‘suffered much desiring to yoke Pegasus’ (64), suggesting that he had gone to great pains in trying to tame the horse. He only succeeds, however, when he receives the help of the gods. Athena appears to Bellerophon while he sleeps and presents him with the gift of the bridle, with which the hero can at last tame Pegasus. As Pindar explains, τελεῖ δὲ θεῶν δύναμις καὶ τὰν παρ’ ὄρκον καὶ παρὰ ἐλπίδα κούφην κτίσιν, ‘The power of the gods accomplishes lightly that achievement which is beyond hope or promise’ (83). In the myth, too, the need to acknowledge the aid of the gods is important. The seer Polyidos instructs Bellerophon not only to carry out the sacrifices to Poseidon that Athena enjoined upon the hero (69, 80-81),³³⁹ but also to construct an altar to Athena Hippias (82).

³³⁸ Dickson (1986) 122.

³³⁹ See Hubbard (1986) 40. Why Bellerophon acknowledges Poseidon is debated. He had no hand in creating the bit, it seems. In Hesiod fr. 43a M-W, Poseidon gives Pegasus to Bellerophon, and Schol. ad. Hom. *Il.* 6.155 tells us that Bellerophon was secretly Poseidon’s son. Hubbard (1986) 30 sees a reference to this tradition in Pindar’s use of Δαμαίω πατρί (69). This granting of the gift of horses might also remind us of the similar favor done to Pelops in *O.* 1.86-87.

We can easily draw the parallels between myth and present circumstance.

Xenophon (indeed, all of his family) is akin to Bellerophon, a man who hopes to succeed at a particular task – here winning athletic victories – and has worked hard for success, putting money and effort into training and participating in the games, but who nevertheless cannot succeed without divine aid.³⁴⁰ In order to achieve their desires, the Oligaithidai must gain and retain the help of the gods. The fact that the family was favored is made clear by the fact of their successes. As Bellerophon must acknowledge the gods, so too do the Oligaithidai, who surely carried out rites of thanks and who, within this ode, acknowledge the role of the gods not only in their personal victories, but in all mortal efforts. The work of Bellerophon parallels their own efforts, and provides an example for them to follow as they look ahead to securing further victories.³⁴¹

Of note too is the role of the seer in Bellerophon's achievements. There is a need for a figure to act as intermediary between men, who have desires, and gods, who can accomplish them, facilitating communication between them so that the gods learn of men's needs, and men learn of the gods' conditions. When Bellerophon's own efforts do not result in the successful capture of Pegasos, he does not himself call on the gods for aid but rather seeks out the help of the seer Polyidos to guide him. It is Polyidos who bids him to sleep at the altar of Athena (75-76), and Polyidos who listens to the content of his dream and instructs him on what next to do (79-82). The desire of Bellerophon and the instructions of Athena need to be exchanged, and Polyidos facilitates this, using the

³⁴⁰ “The concept that man attains success through a combination of personal effort and divine benefaction is...consistent with the general *Weltanschauung* of Pindaric poetry” (Hubbard [1986] 32). For other examples in Pindar's poetry, see *O.* 8.67, *O.* 9.100-104, *P.* 12.28-30, *N.* 1.8-9.

³⁴¹ Jouan (1995) 287 describes Bellerophon as “modèle aux Corinthiens un jeune héros solitaire, un ingénu que seuls son courage et sa piété ont porté à la plus haute gloire”; while it is true that Pindar uses Bellerophon as a model for behavior, Jouan misses the ways in which the hero is both exemplar and warning.

altar of Athena as a nexus point where the two parties come into contact, and then explaining to Bellerophon how the gods expect him to act. Polyidos stands parallel to Pindar, whose role in the epinician ode is similar.³⁴² The desires of the victor and his family need to reach the ears of the gods, and the conditions established by the gods need to reach the mortal audience. The poet composes a song which, like the altar of Athena, is a sacred space where such communication can occur, and within that song Pindar not only utters the desires of the Oligaithidai to continue in their victories and fortune, but interprets for them the gods' commands, translating the limits the gods have set on that success into forms that men can understand, *gnomai* and myths.

With Pegasus tamed by the bit, Bellerophon is at last able to use the horse to achieve mighty deeds that would otherwise have been impossible for a mere man. Together the two defeat the Amazons (87-89), the beastly Chimaira (90), and the vicious Solymoi (90).³⁴³ Like the victor, Bellerophon received the favor of the gods and through it was able to accomplish grand feats. Yet Pindar does not end his narrative there, with the peak of the hero's glory, but continues and considers the end which Bellerophon met, an end which emphasizes once more the need for restraint. He begins to speak, but then refuses to elaborate: διασωπάσομαί οἱ μόρον ἐγώ, 'I will keep silent on his fate' (91). Despite Pindar's reticence, the audience would surely have known the whole tale: Bellerophon decides to use Pegasus to fly up to Mount Olympos,³⁴⁴ an act that would constitute a literal and physical crossing of the boundary laid down between men and gods. Bellerophon no longer observes moderation in his actions but desires godhood for

³⁴² Jouan (1995) 280-81 joins the two figures explicitly.

³⁴³ The account of Bellerophon's deeds that Glaukos gives to Diomedes in the *Iliad* names these same tasks: 6.179-186.

³⁴⁴ *I.* 7.43-47. In *Iliad* 6.191-203, Bellerophon marries the daughter of the king of Lykia, but later becomes hateful to the gods, and ends his days wandering alone over the plain of Aleios.

himself, and for this reason the gods strike him down: Pegasus throws him, and he falls to his death. Here then is the check which rounds off the myth: after a lengthy narrative describing Bellerophon's trials and successes, in one swift line Pindar brings him to an end, a single gross transgression followed by death.

Pegasus admittedly fares better: he reaches Mount Olympos and is received into the stables of Zeus: τὸν δ' ἐν Οὐλύμπῳ φάτναι Ζηνὸς ἀρχαῖαι δέκονται, 'the ancient stables of Zeus received Pegasus into Olympos' (92). Unlike Bellerophon, Pegasus did not fly to Mount Olympos in defiance of the gods' will; he was merely the tool of his rider, and so not subject to the gods' wrath. We may recall that Pindar asked Zeus to receive the epinician ode as well (v. 29 δέξαι τέ οἱ στεφάνων ἐγκώμιον τεθμόν, 'receive the ordained praise for his crowns'), which suggests a parallel between Pegasus and the song. Both come about when a mortal man receives a favor from the gods that allows them to surpass other men. Xenophon's victory is the result of the gods' favor, and it allows him not only to beat all of his competitors, but to distinguish himself from all men, especially as he has won a heretofore unknown double-victory; the song arises from the victory, and singles him out again for praise. Similarly, Bellerophon receives the bit from Athena, which allows him to tame Pegasus, and so be the first man not only to ride a horse, presumably, but the only man to have a winged steed. Pegasus, moreover, allows Bellerophon to continue to distinguish himself, as he helps him to achieve great deeds such as the slaughter of the Chimera or the Solymoi. The parallel continues, as both Pegasus and the song are capable of being misused in such a way as to offend the gods. An epinician poet like Pindar, as we have seen, praises the deeds of a mortal man, but must take care to remember the role of the gods in those deeds, and not to praise a

man too greatly, lest he offend the gods by elevating a mere mortal above the gods.

Similarly, Bellerophon can use Pegasus as an instrument to achieve great deeds, but he can also use the steed to fly to the home of the gods, a place that is normally forbidden for mortals. Both the epinician song and Pegasus, if misused, can transgress the limits set upon mankind, bringing a mortal man into a sphere reserved for the divine – be it the literal sphere of Mount Olympos or the metaphorical sphere of high praise and glory – and risking the anger of the gods.

Further, the song and Pegasus alike facilitate remembrance, insofar as the epinician ode recalls a moment of godlike excellence and allows that moment to be commemorated for all time, as the song is sung over and over even after the victor himself is dead, while Pegasus makes possible for Bellerophon achievements that ensure that men will remember him and tell the tale of his deeds long after his death. Both Pegasus and the song thus function as meeting points between men and the gods: they are not only favors of the gods, but symbols of the favors granted by the gods, be it aid in athletics or in battle, and they must ultimately be dedicated to the gods in recognition of that favor. This is a theme we may see elsewhere in ancient Greek thought, that the physical manifestations of a gods' favor must in some way be returned to the gods as acts of thanksgiving. When Minos prays to Poseidon for a sign that the gods wish him to hold the kingship of Crete, for instance, Poseidon sends a gleaming white bull, but when Minos fails to sacrifice it to Poseidon, Poseidon's wrath falls upon him.³⁴⁵ Bellerophon, though unwittingly, returns Pegasus to the gods, and Pindar must do the same. The manifestation of the gods' favor is in this case the epinician ode, the ultimate result of the

³⁴⁵ [Apollod.] *Biblio.* 3.1.3. Poseidon takes his vengeance on Minos by making Minos' wife Pasiphae fall in love with the bull.

victory granted to Xenophon, and so Pindar seeks to some degree to dedicate it to the gods, calling upon them to receive the song.

VII. The Second Oligaithidai Catalogue

The mythic narrative reaffirms the program of *Olympian* 13 by investigating the nature of men and gods and the relationship between them, and by reminding the audience that the gods are vital to all mortal achievement and must be respected. Now the work of expressing the Oligaithidai's desires is renewed, and Pindar weaves these hopes into a second catalogue of the family's athletic victories. He begins with the Isthmian and Nemean Games, where the family has earned so many victories, recalls the victories at Olympia and Delphi, and then expands into the plenitude of local victories that the Oligaithidai have earned, emphasizing both the grandeur of the family's success by setting the crown games first, and the sheer amount by listing numerous local games. Again the gods are reminded of the previous favors they have granted the family, and the emphasis on amount suggests that the victors are well-equipped to handle even more success without falling prey to *hybris*.

Before he begins the new catalogue, Pindar transitions from the mythic past to the present moment of performance, and achieves this through the use of a metaphor likening him to a javelin thrower. Metaphors likening Pindar to an athlete are common in the epinician odes, and the javelin metaphor in particular occurs five times in his corpus.³⁴⁶ Scholars have interpreted Pindar as suggesting that, like the athlete being celebrated, he

³⁴⁶ For Pindar as a javelin thrower, see *P.* 1.43-5, *N.* 7.70-2, 9.55, *I.* 2.35-37. He has recourse to a broad range of athletic games in his metaphors: for the poet as an archer, see *O.* 1.112, 2.91-100, 9.5-12, *N.* 1.18, 6.26-27, *I.* 5.46-67; as a boxer *O.* 10.3-6, *N.* 10.20, *I.* 4.19-21; as a broad-jumper, *N.* 5.19-20; as a wrestler, *N.* 4.4-5, 93-96, *N.* 8.19. See further Simpson (1969) 437 and Crotty (1982) 7.

has been successful, insofar as he has praised the victor well.³⁴⁷ This interpretation perhaps misses a finer point of the javelin metaphor, which is that the athlete who casts a javelin must hit a mark, and so requires accuracy. Pindar not only thinks of himself as a man struggling for success, but as a man who must focus on a particular point, the praise of the victor and his family.³⁴⁸ In the preceding triads he has left the Oligaithidai behind to discuss their mythological forebears, and now he must put himself back on track, returning to the present occasion and the victor in need of praise. He tells us that he has τὰ πολλὰ βέλεα, ‘many shafts’ (95), enough to cover whatever themes demand attention or people demand praise. The metaphor acts as a transitional device, and Pindar may now move forward with the ode.

Pindar begins the second catalogue, but soon breaks off to express a wish to celebrate future victories, the desire of the Oligaithidai which drives much of this ode. He declares: τὰ τ’ ἐσσόμενα τότ’ ἂν φαίην σαφές, ‘those to come I would make clear then’ (103), meaning that, as he now recounts the previous victories the family has earned, so he hopes to sing about future ones. Currently he is making known this feat that Xenophon accomplished (cf. vv. 3-4, γνώσομαι | τὰν ὀλβίαν Κόρινθον, ‘I will make known fortunate Corinth’), and when the Oligaithidai earn more victories he will likewise sing of them in epinician odes, creating lasting memorials of their achievements. Nevertheless, Pindar recognizes that the fulfillment of such a wish depends on the gods (104-105):

νῦν δ’ ἔλπομαι μέν, ἐν θεῶ γε μάν
τέλος.

³⁴⁷ Lee (1976) 72, in reference to the relevant passage in *N.7.*; see also Freeman (1939) 153-54.

³⁴⁸ Instone (1986) 90 sees these kinds of metaphors as Pindar aiming for a balance in the different elements of his odes. Floyd (1965) 139, in reference to the metaphor at *N.7.*, suggests a similar interpretation, while Farnell (1932) 98 applies it to the current passage.

Now I hope, but the end
lies with a god.

Pindar expressed this idea before in the Bellerophon story, when he told us that *τελεῖ δὲ θεῶν δύναμις*, ‘the power of the gods accomplishes’ (83), and now again we are reminded that man alone cannot achieve his desires, but depends on the gods to realize them. If the Oligaithidai are to add more victories to their catalogue, they will need the gods’ favor. This notice not only acknowledges the need for the gods but subtly entreats them, juxtaposed as it is with the wish for future victories, while at the same time reminding the Oligaithidai of their limits, for they alone cannot prosper. The pattern of the ode is again repeated: the desire for continued success is directed to the gods, concomitant with the acknowledgment of their ultimate power and the limits by which those entreating must abide.

Before expressing the family’s wish, Pindar announced that the Oligaithidai have accrued sixty victories at Nemea and Isthmia (98-100). The hope for future athletic success is sandwiched between this number, indicative of the extreme favor that the family has received from the gods, and the specific instances, the sites of local games that have borne witness to Oligaithidai excellence. The catalogue not only serves as grand praise of the family’s many accomplishments, but also proves to the gods that they have granted favor before, and that the Oligaithidai have handled it well; after all, they have chosen to celebrate their latest victory with a song that recognizes the gods as well as the victor. Like Bellerophon, this Corinthian family has accomplished great feats; unlike their “national” hero they will not test the limits imposed by the gods, but instead will move forward only with the sanction and aid of the gods.

This sanction is seen clearly in the very last line of the ode, which contains an entire, albeit simple, ending prayer. Though a mere line long, the prayer contains both invocation and two requests. Zeus is first invoked, this time as τέλειος, ‘accomplisher,’ (115), an epithet that recalls Pindar’s warnings that the τέλος of human activity lies with the gods (83, 104-05); in this god’s hands is the key to achieving what the Oligaithidai hope for. The request is uttered in the optative with a simple δίδοι, and two objects are listed. The first is αἰδῶ, a word that we have seen before, and seen to describe the concept by which a person shows concern for his own honor.³⁴⁹ Some scholars have, however, taken the word to mean something like ‘modesty,’ suggesting that the Oligaithidai have been shameful in flaunting their success, and Pindar now at the end of the ode tries to put them in check;³⁵⁰ others have suggested something closer to ‘reverence,’ such as other men may give the victor – in other words, that men look upon the Oligaithidai with respect rather than envy.³⁵¹ I would suggest something closer to ‘modesty,’ but without the pejorative connotation that scholars have attached to it. Pindar does not mean to shame the Oligaithidai, but rather hopes that they will continue to respect the gods, as that is requisite for divine favor. The second object of the prayer is τύχαν...γλυκεῖαν, ‘sweet fortune’ (115), which means not simply prosperity, but surely refers to the victories that the Oligaithidai hope to have. The two objects are inextricably bound together: in order to have fortune the family must also have respect, and so Pindar prays for both. In the final line of the ode, in only a mere few words, the themes of this ode are drawn together once more in a definitive moment of communication: the desire of

³⁴⁹ See above, Ch. 4 p. 26.

³⁵⁰ Thus Gildersleeve (1885) 236 and Méautis (1962) 399.

³⁵¹ Farnell (1932) 101.

the family is communicated directly to Zeus as the accomplisher of deeds, a desire for success tempered by reverence, which will ensure for them joy rather than punishment.

VIII. Conclusion

Throughout *Olympian* 13, Pindar has stressed excellence and restraint in turn. The victor Xenophon is marked by an outstanding achievement in the games, a double victory at Olympia, while his father and family have honors nearly as great, with multiple victories accrued to the family name. They are Corinthians, a people that Pindar has marked as having great ingenuity, able to achieve what no man before has, and the present celebration focuses on athletic feats that set Xenophon apart from other men. The gods are surely at attention, and Pindar uses this opportunity to engage in a dialogue with them. The Oligaithidai are pleased with their latest victory and indeed with their long tradition of athletic accomplishments, but they hope to see that tradition continued well into the future. Pindar will communicate that desire to the gods, but it is not a simple matter of including a prayer; rather, the poet brings the audiences of victor and gods into communication. He speaks the Oligaithidai's request and reminds the gods of the family's past victories, which serves both to remind the gods that they have shown their favor to that family before, and to suggest that the Oligaithidai have been worthy inheritors of the gods' gift. At the same time, he has woven into the ode again and again warnings to the Oligaithidai, telling them that they must exercise restraint in their lives in order to merit the favor of the gods. As an *aoidos*, Pindar mediates between men and gods, not only bringing the needs of men to the attention of the gods, but also instructing men in the gods' expectations, and here he does so by calling on the Oligaithidai to

display due reverence and measure in respect to the gifts of the gods, and not be led astray into *hubris*. The gods may indeed show them more favors, but they are at risk of *koros* and must beware where it leads.

Mortal men, we learn, cannot achieve their desires by their will alone; such realization lies only within the power of the gods. This is the cosmological basis for Pindar's message within the ode: after all, the Oligaithidai may only gain further victories if they acknowledge this fact and entreat the gods. The restraint they show is not only the measure in life that avoids *hubris* and punishment, but also the simple knowledge that mortal life is, by its nature, limited. While such a message is perhaps important for men in any circumstance, Pindar's poetic program is more effective if we accept a secondary set of addressees in the gods. It is they who hear the prayers, they who must be persuaded with proofs and assurances. The epinician ode became here more than a moment to praise Xenophon and immortalize his victory: it is a numinous moment that draws the attention of the gods and makes use of the opportunity to establish a dialogue between worshipper and deity.

Conclusion

Pindar's epinician odes are suffused with religious content. From mythical narratives on the exploits of gods and heroes, to invocations of gods, goddesses, heroes and nymphs, to prayers asking the gods to bestow their favor on the victor and his peers, the divine world is a vital component of the odes. While scholars will readily admit to the bevy of religious elements in the epinician poems, some see these elements as always subservient to the major function of epinician poetry, the praise of the victor. Certainly that praise is important, and indeed the primary goal of these odes, but that does not mean that those elements could not also be performing a function in their own right. Indeed, these elements are, as I show, capable of engaging the gods in communication with mortal men.

There are multiple reasons to believe that Pindar's epinician odes can achieve such religious functionality. The odes are not, as some ancient scholarship suggests, 'secular' poems: while ancient eidographers such as Proclus and Didymus classified epinician poetry as a genre whose focus was on men rather than on gods, these scholars were more concerned with finding a system to organize the poetry they had preserved than with uncovering the attitudes of the original composers and audiences towards the poems. In the world of ancient Greece, where religion was embedded into society and the gods were seen to have a role in every aspect of mortal life, it is difficult to believe that a poem could be thought of as ignoring the gods entirely, or addressing them only as a way to increase praise of a man.

Epinician odes also feature elements that are generally thought of as belonging to hymnic genres such as paians and dithyrambs, those types of songs that were clearly

intended to facilitate communication with the gods. The epinician odes were, at least in their original runs, performed by a chorus, a mode of performance typically associated with hymnic songs, as the joint effort of the performers in their song and dance was better able to impart the feelings of the community to the gods. Pindar also regularly uses the three basic components of cultic hymnic poetry – invocation, argument, and request – in the epinician odes. Together, these three components create a program that calls a god to attention, persuades him to favor those involved with the hymn, and grant their request, and these functions are clearly at play in the epinician odes as well.

In order to demonstrate that Pindar's epinician odes do have religious functionality, I focused on one religious element in particular, prayer. A prayer, for me, was an invocation of a god and a request. Prayers are well-suited to demonstrate religious function in a poem, as they are the heart of communication between men and gods: men need to make known their problems and consequent desires to the gods, in the hopes that the gods will listen and act. If Pindar includes prayers in his epinician odes, and not only makes requests of the gods but demonstrates a clear effort to get those requests heard and answered, those prayers would show that the epinician odes are indeed attempting to communicate with the gods, and so performing a religious function, a task beyond the usual goal of praise of the victor. A close reading of four odes – *Pythian* 8, *Isthmian* 6, *Nemean* 9 and *Olympian* 13 – allowed me to illustrate examples of sincere prayers in the epinician odes.

In studying the four odes in question, I found that Pindar not only made requests of the gods, but that he set up these requests in his odes with a program meant to persuade the gods to act. Pindar may first call the necessary gods to attention through an

invocation. Not only does an invocation ask the god to heed the performance so that he or she will hear the prayers being made, but it can also, through the use of epithets and brief descriptions of the god's lineage and powers, show the god how he or she is the most appropriate deity for granting the particular request. At the end of *Pythian* 8 Pindar calls upon the nymph Aigina to grant a prayer on behalf of the Aiginetan people and so calls her 'dear mother' (98) to remind her of the friendly relationship between her and those people. In *Olympian* 13 Pindar calls upon Zeus, naming him 'father' to indicate his power over all mortal men, and 'lord of Olympia' to recall his role as patron of the Olympic games at which the victor Xenophon (and his father) has won, suggesting that the family is historically favored by the god. An act as simple as an invocation, then, can suggest that Pindar is actively trying to engage these gods in a moment of communication.

As the relationship between men and gods is one of *χάρις*, in which each party must give and receive favors, and as the athlete's victory was the result of the favor of the gods, he must repay that favor before he can hope successfully to make new requests. Pindar, therefore, makes sure to offer thanks to the gods by acknowledging their role in the victor's success. He may do this either directly, citing the specific instance of favor, or indirectly, merely commenting upon the role of the gods in determining the fortunes of men. The former type of acknowledgment appears, for instance, in *Isthmian* 6, when Pindar credits Zeus directly with Pytheas' victory at Nemea (3-4), and Poseidon with Phylakidas' victory at Isthmia (5-7). In *Pythian* 8 Pindar names Apollo as the source of Aristomenes' Pythian victory (64). These particular gods are the patrons of the respective games, so their favor is necessary for victory; by acknowledging their part,

Pindar extends praise to them and so pays off the victor's debt to the gods. In *Nemean* 9, Pindar observes that all the fortune allotted to the victor Khromios comes from the gods (45), another direct example of crediting the gods for the happiness of men. The latter type of acknowledgment is often expressed through a *gnomē*, a general statement of a universal truth, focusing on how the gods allot all success and failure to men. In *Pythian* 8, Pindar describes how the man who gains success without effort is not wise, but rather favored by the gods, as all mortal affairs lie with the gods to decide (73-76). Similarly, in *Olympian* 13, Pindar recalls that the ultimate end of mortal affairs lies with the gods (104-05). Even indirectly, Pindar assures the gods that the victor understands that his success is not solely due to his own efforts, but that the gods themselves granted it to him.

Once Pindar has settled the victor's debt, he may ask the gods to renew their favor to the victor. In order to achieve this, he must prove to the gods that the victor is worthy of such favor, and again he has two main strategies. Frequently he recalls previous favors that the gods have granted the victor as a way to remind them that they once before knew the qualities of the victor and approved of them. These previous favors are in the form of previous victories. In *Pythian* 8, for instance, we learn that Apollo not only granted Aristomenes his victory at Pythia, but also at the Delphinian games in the god's honor at Aigina (65-66). As a family may benefit as a whole from the glory of a victory or the favor of the gods, the victories of family members can often fulfill the same function as the victor's own athletic successes. Thus in *Isthmian* 6, performed in honor of Phylakidas' victory at Isthmia, we hear of his brother Pytheas' victory at Nemea, as well as the victories of his maternal uncle Euthymenes (57-62). Similarly, in *Olympian*

13, the victories of Xenophon's father (35-40) and his kinsmen Terpsios and Eritimos (40-42) are highlighted. Through these catalogues and references to past victories, Pindar reminds the gods that the victor and his family have previously been deemed worthy of divine favor, and suggests that they still are.

Pindar may also prove the virtues of the victor through *gnomai*, which both illustrate the virtues that the victor already possesses, assuring the gods of the victor's worth, and remind the victor of the qualities he must embrace in order to secure the gods' favor. Thus in *Isthmian* 6, Pindar describes the man who exerts effort and money and who therefore, along with the help of a god, achieves success (10-13). This *gnomē* serves to show the gods that the victor Pytheas put his own effort into achieving his victory, but that he also knew that the outcome was ultimately in the hands of the gods, proving not only that he has the fortitude that is necessary for success, but that he is respectful of the gods's power, and therefore is worthy of their favor. At the same time, the statement reminds Pytheas of the hard work and humility required of him in order to win the favor of the gods anew. In *Olympian* 13, Pindar warns the audience of the importance of moderation (47-48). As with the previous example, this *gnomē* both suggests to the gods that the victor has shown moderation and not tried to surpass the limits set upon him as a mortal man, making him worthy of favor, and reminds the victor to abide by moderation so that he can retain that divine favor.

Finally, Pindar makes a request. These requests may be general, asking simply that the victor avoid the ill effects of the envy of the gods and men alike, as when he asks Zeus not to envy the words of praise given to the victor in *Olympian* 13 (24-26); or they may be specific, asking that the victor receive a particular boon, as when he prays to Zeus

in *Nemean* 9 to ward off war with the Carthaginians (28-29). Their requests may concern the victor himself, as in *Olympian* 13, when Pindar asks Zeus to grant Xenophon fortune (28); the victor's family, as when, in *Isthmian* 6, Pindar prays for an Olympic victory for either the victor Phylakidas or his brother Pytheas (7-9), a victory that would bring their father Lampon happiness (14-16); or the victor's community, as the prayer of *Nemean* 9 mentioned above asked the gods to avert a war that would disturb all of Aitna, the city of the victor Khromios. Whatever the request itself asks, and on behalf of whomever, the requests clearly reflect concerns felt by the victor, his family, and his community, be it a pressing matter of politics and war, or the general fear of the failure that may follow great success.

The previous discussion does not exhaust the ways that Pindar sets up a program of negotiation between the gods and men in order to secure favors for men, but it does outline a general pattern that we may discern in the odes. The elements described above do not always operate so neatly as suggested: some may fulfill multiple functions, as when a reminder of a previous victory given by the gods both thanks the gods for their previous favor, and suggests to the gods that the victor was and still is worthy of that favor; they do not necessarily appear in the order given above; nor indeed do they all always appear. Nevertheless, in each of the four poems I have examined, we may discern Pindar weaving into the ode a program of negotiation with the gods that seeks to secure the favor of the gods for the victor, his family, or his community. These prayers are acts of communication, and as such are indicative of the religious functionality of which the odes are capable.

Appendix: Prayers in Pindar's Epinician Corpus

There are forty prayers in Pindar's forty-eight epinician odes, according to my definition of the word³⁵² – that is, a request addressed to a deity. (There are also twenty-eight religious wishes, requests that are not directed to any particular deity.) I will provide here a brief overview of the prayers, discussing the gods who are invoked, the grammatical form of the request, the types of requests, and the placement of the prayer within the ode. A table follows (Table 1) and summarizes my findings.

Before I analyze the features of the prayers in Pindar's epinician odes, I first want to consider two special types: indirect prayers and literary prayers. In indirect prayers, the god being addressed is not directly invoked. Pindar instead expresses a hope that the god will perform the action of the request. There are three examples of indirect prayer in the corpus: in *Olympian* 3, a prayer to the Dioskouroi and Helen for the worshippers to please the gods; in *Olympian* 8, a prayer to Zeus for future prosperity and honor for the victor's family; and in *Pythian* 5, a prayer to Zeus for a future victory. Besides the indirect invocation, they tend to favor an indicative construction of εὔχομαι plus the infinitive over the more common imperative in making their requests; otherwise, they are structurally and thematically similar to regular prayers.

Literary prayers follow the regular structure of other prayers, but they are uttered by characters within a mythological section, and as such are not part of the structure of the ode. Three appear in Pindar's epinician odes: the first is Pelops' prayer to Poseidon in *Olympian* 1; the second Polydeukes' prayer to Zeus in *Nemean* 10; and the third is Herakles' prayer to Zeus in *Isthmian* 6. While they will not be included in this analysis of Pindar's prayers, they provide us with examples of traditional prayer such as Pindar

³⁵² See above, p. 46.

conceives of it. Each prayer uses the traditional tripartite structure of prayers, with clear invocations, *hypomneses*, and requests. Further, each prayer is spoken by a man with a special connection to the god being invoked: Polydeukes and Herakles are both the sons of Zeus, while Pelops was once the lover of Poseidon. In the case of Herakles the prayer is also accompanied by ritual action, as Herakles pours a libation and raises his hands to the sky.

Gods and Deities Invoked

A variety of deities are invoked in the prayers. While most prayers invoke a single deity or set of deities (such as the Charites), some prayers invoke multiple ones: the ending prayer of *Pythian* 8, for instance, calls upon Zeus, Aigina, and the Aiakid heroes. The deities found in the prayers can be divided into five categories: Olympian gods, minor deities, heroes, places and local nymphs, and abstractions.

The majority of prayers – nineteen – are directed to Olympian gods, but only a small number of those gods are represented. Zeus is the most frequently invoked by far, with fifteen prayers directed to him, and his epithets speak to his importance. He is called ‘Father’ three times, ‘Accomplisher’ twice, and ‘Savior’ once, suggesting his role as an arbiter of fate in ancient Greek life. He is also called the lord of Alpheos, Olympia, and the Hill of Kronos, titles that recall his role as the patron of the Olympian Games. Given his influence in these two spheres, it would be natural for prayers spoken on behalf of athletic victors, dealing with their hopes for an uncertain future, to be directed to him. Apollo is invoked in three prayers, an unsurprising figure given his connection with the Pythian Games – he is called the lord of Parnassos and Pytho – and his role as a god of

music. Poseidon appears once, again unsurprising given his role as the patron of the Isthmian Games. Hestia also appears once, and while this may come as a surprise given her limited role in Greek religion, the prayer to her appears in *Nemean* 11, an ode whose status as an epinician has been debated given that its ‘victor’ Aristagoras is not celebrating an athletic victory, but rather his installation as president of the prytany in Tenedos.

Nine prayers are directed to minor deities. Among these the Muses and Charites dominate, with the Muses appearing in five prayers and the Charites in two. These two sets of goddesses are, of course, closely connected to music, able to provide a song with grandeur and beauty, and the requests of their prayers are accordingly for help with the song. The Charites are in one instance asked to help make the song, and in the other to receive the κῶμος. The Muses are asked twice to join the celebration, twice to ensure the success of the song, and once to sing; elsewhere they are asked to favor the victor’s family and provide Pindar with redemption – both tasks which can only be accomplished through the creation of a song. The Moirai are invoked in one prayer: as these goddesses play a role in the course of men’s lives, they are an obvious choice in a prayer for the victor’s good fortune. Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, also appears once.

Heroes are invoked in four prayers. Herakles appears once, as do the Dioskouroi and Helen. In both cases, the heroes seem to be treated almost as gods – of course, Herakles and the Dioskouroi were all welcomed among the gods after their deaths in Greek mythological tradition, and thus were able to bestow favors and fortune upon mortals. Helen and the Dioskouroi are invoked in *Olympian* 3, moreover, a poem that may have been performed during a Theoxenia celebration in their honor, in which case

they would have already been called to attention by the rite. Heroic families are invoked in two prayers, appear not because of their ability to affect the course of men's lives, but because of their deep connection to a city and, by extension, a victor. Thus the daughters of Kadmos appear in an ode for a Theban victor, while the Aiakids appear in an ode for an Aiginetan victor. These heroes are likely invoked because they serve some tutelary function for the inhabitants of the cities.

Five prayers are directed to places, with one each for Delos, Akragas, Aigina, Olympia, and Kamarina. Akragas, Aigina, and Kamarina could also arguably be the nymphs after whom cities were named. Even if there is no nymph associated with a city, each city is treated as a personified being whose tutelary influence extended to those living there. Like the daughters of Kadmos and the Aiakids, they are invoked because they can offer recognition and favor to victors within the community. The close connection between these places and the worshippers is highlighted especially in the case of Aigina, who is referred to as 'mother,' suggesting that she and the people of Aigina share an important relationship.

Four prayers are addressed to personified concepts: one to *Hesychia*, two to *Aletheia*, and one to *Tychē*. They are not well attested in cult, but that does not mean that they were not considered to be deities by the ancient Greeks. If they were not cult figures, then Pindar may have invoked them for rhetorical reasons. For instance, *Aletheia* in both instances appears along with the Muses, and is likely included to emphasize the truthful aspect of the Muses, and by extension the song and the praise of the victor. *Tychē* is called both 'savior,' an epithet usually associated with Zeus, and 'daughter of Zeus,' emphasizing her close connection with the king of the gods in his function as the

deity who controls men's fortunes. Though Zeus himself is not invoked, *Tychē* becomes an extension of one aspect of his power, much as *Aletheia* is one aspect of the Muses' abilities.

The gods to whom prayers are directed are, by and large, those who have a connection to the celebration at hand, either by their patronage of the athletic games in which the victory was won, their connection to music and celebration generally, or their connection to the victor and his community. Their concern with the present celebration gives them a reason to heed the song and its message, and so answer the prayers.

Forms of the Request

The grammar and vocabulary of the requests reveal certain patterns. Some prayers have multiple requests, whose grammatical forms do not all have to be the same. The most common way to express a request is through the imperative, which occurs in twenty-five instances. In eight prayers, there is what I call a verb of request in the indicative, coupled with a complementary infinitive or imperative. These verbs of request include εὔχομαι (five instances), λίσσομαι (four instances), αἰτέω (one instance), and προσεννέπω (one instance). Seven prayers are expressed with the optative, and two with the subjunctive.

Besides the verbs of request just listed, there is little in the way of a common vocabulary for the prayers. The only possible example is δέξομαι, which appears, in some form, in eight prayers. All but one of these prayers requests that a god receive the victor, his crown, his honor, or his κῶμος.

Request Types

The requests of the prayers could be organized according to various criteria, such as time (when the request should be fulfilled, either at the moment of performance or sometime in the future), subject (who the request pertains to, be it the victor, his family, his community, or the singer), and content (what precisely the request asks for). I offer a typology based on content, and divide the prayers into six major categories: Reception of the κῶμος, Join the Celebration, Success of Song, Prosperity, Future Victory, and Honor. The first three are present requests, insofar as they ask for boons whose effects would be immediate, while the other three are future requests, as they hope for boons that would not come into effect until after the performance.

There are seven prayers requesting Reception of the κῶμος. I use κῶμος for the type name, but the prayers specify variously the κῶμος, victor, the victor's honor, and the victor's crown. These all, as is likely, refer to the same thing, the victor's procession to dedicate his crown at a temple. These prayers are mostly directed to Olympian gods - Zeus and Hestia each appear once - and to places, especially nymphs associated with specific places - Olympia, Kamarina, and Akragas all appear, as do the Charites in a poem for a victor of Orchomenos, a location they may have been worshipped at. As I noted above, the most common way of expressing the request is with some form of the verb δέχομαι. These requests only appear in prayers situated at the opening of an ode.

The request to Join a Celebration appears five times. I include those prayers that call upon a deity to join in on the epinician performance, and those that ask a deity to help make the song. Three of these prayers are directed to the Muses and one to the Charites, whose presence would obviously enhance the quality of the song. The fifth

prayer is directed to the daughters of Kadmos, whose connection to the victor's city of Thebes suggests they would have an interest in celebrating a man whose victory has brought glory to their city. Generally (in four of the five cases) these prayers appear at the opening of an ode.

Five prayers ask the gods to help ensure the Success of the Song. Two invoke the Muses, and one each invokes Zeus, Apollo, and Poseidon. As before, the appearance of the Muses is easy to explain, given their connection to music; similarly Apollo's role as the god of music would let him aid in the success of the performance. These prayers show no patterns in their placement within the ode, appearing at the opening, middle, and end of different poems.

I have interpreted fifteen prayers as requesting Prosperity for the victor, his family, or his city. The request for prosperity can take various specific forms, including a negative form in which Pindar hopes no ills fall upon the victor because of the jealousy of the gods or men. Eight of these prayers are directed to Zeus, one to Poseidon, one to Apollo, one to Herakles, one to the Fates, one to the Muses, one to *Tychē*, and one generally to the children of Kronos; these deities are, generally, those capable of having some effect upon the course of a man's, or city's, life. In four cases, the prayer asks for prosperity for the victor, in four cases for the victor's family, and in nine cases for the community. This type of prayer rarely appears at the opening of an ode, with only one in the opening, eight in the middle, and six at the end, unsurprising as it looks to the future rather than to the moment of celebration.

Future Victory is perhaps best understood as a subset of the Prosperity type of request; a victory, after all, suggests the continued prosperity of the victor. Only one

prayer actually requests a future victory (those other instances in which Pindar thinks about the victor's future success are all religious wishes). It is directed to Apollo, and stands at the end of its poem.

The final type of request asks for Honor. There are only three instances. All three are directed at Zeus, all three appear at the end of their respective odes, and all three ask that the honor lay upon the victor's family (in one case, that honor is to extend to the victor and song as well, and in another it is to extend to the victor's city).

There are five more requests that do not fit neatly into one of the six types listed above. Four of them may broadly be thought of as requesting that the god adopt a certain disposition. In *Isthmian* 1, Pindar asks Delos not to be angry because he chose to compose the current epinician ode rather than a paeon for the island; in *Pythian* 1, Pindar prays that Zeus may be pleased; and in *Olympian* 3, Pindar prays that Helen and the Dioskouroi be pleased; while one prayer, in *Nemean* 7, asks Eileithyia to listen to the song. The final prayer is that in *Olympian* 10 asking the Muses and *Aletheia* to grant Pindar redemption.

Placement of the Prayer

The request type can be correlated with the placement of the prayer in the ode. I have delineated three broad categories: opening (when the prayer forms part of the opening of the ode), end (when the prayer forms part of the closing of the ode), and medial (anything between these two). The prayers are fairly evenly distributed among these three categories: there are fourteen at the opening of an ode, thirteen in the middle, and ten at the end.

The opening prayers by and large deal with present requests, with a special concern in calling upon the gods to participate. Seven of these prayers are Reception of the κῶμος, three are Join the Celebration, and one is Success of Song. Conversely, prayers that appear at the end of an ode tend to ask a god for a future request, and eight of these are Prosperity, Future Victory or Honor prayers. The medial prayers represent a mix of request types, with eight Prosperity requests and two Success of Song.

Table 1: The Prayers of the Epinician Odes

Ode	Lines	Placement ³⁵³	Type	God ³⁵⁴	Epithets	Verb	Request
O.1	75-78	Literary	Prayer	Poseidon		Imperative (πεδασον, πορευσον, πελασον)	Victory
O.2	12-15	Medial	Prayer	Zeus	Son of Kronos and Rhea, Ruler of Olympia	Imperative (κόμισον)	Prosperity (community)
O.3	1-4	Opening	Prayer	<i>Dioskouroi, Helen</i>	Hospitable, Lovely-haired	εὔχομαι + Infinitive (ἀδεῖν)	Please the gods
O.4	1-10	Opening	Prayer	Zeus	Driver of thunder, Son of Kronos, Ruler of Aitna	Imperative (δέξαι)	Reception (victor, komos)
O.5	1-8	Opening	Prayer	Kamarina	Daughter of Oceanos	Imperative (δέκευ)	Reception (victor)
O.5	17-22	End	Prayer	Zeus	Savior, of Kronos' hill, of Alpheos, of Ida	Indicative (ἔρχομαι) + Participle (αἰτήσων) + Infinitive (δαιδάλειν...φέρειν)	Prosperity (victor, community)
O.6	103-105	End	Prayer	Poseidon	Ruler of the sea, Husband of Amphitrite	Imperative (δίδοι, ἄεξ')	Prosperity (community), success of song
O.7	87-94	End	Prayer	Zeus	Ruler of Mt. Atabyrian	Imperative (τίμα, δίδοι, μὴ κρύπτε)	Honor (song, man, family)
O.8	1-11	Opening	Prayer	Olympia	Mother of games, Mistress of truth	Imperative (δέξαι)	Reception(komos)
O.8	84-88	End	Prayer	<i>Zeus</i>		Optative (θέλοι) + Infinitive (δόμεν); Eὔχομαι + Infinitive (μὴ θέμεν); Optative (ἄεξοι)	Prosperity (family), Honor (family, city)

³⁵³ As literary prayers are not part of the normal structure of an ode, I do not indicate their placement.

³⁵⁴ Italics indicate a god who is invoked indirectly.

O.10	3-6	Medial	Prayer	Muse, <i>Aletheia</i>	Zeus' daughter	Imperative (ἐρύκετον)	Redemption (Pindar)
O.12	1-5	Opening	Prayer	<i>Tychē</i>	Savior, Child of Zeus	λίσσομαι + Imperative (ἀμφιπτόλει)	Prosperity (community)
O.13	24-30	Medial	Prayer	Zeus	Wide-ruling, Lord of Olympia	Optative (γένοιο ἀφθόνητος, δέξαι) + Participle (νέμων)	Prosperity (song, victor, community)
O.13	114-115	End	Prayer	Zeus	Accomplisher	Imperative (ἄγε, ἔκνισσον, δίδοι)	Honor (family)
O.14	1-17	Opening	Prayer	Graces	Of Kephisos, Queens of Orchomenos	Imperative (κλῦτ'...ἐπακοοῖτε) + Participle (ἰδοῖσα)	Reception (<i>komos</i>)
P.1	29-32	Medial	Prayer	Zeus	Ruler of the mountain	Optative (εἴη) + Infinitive (ἀνδάνειν)	Please the gods
P.1	39-40	Medial	Prayer	Apollo	Lord of Lykia, Delos and Parnassos	Imperative (τιθέμεν)	Prosperity (community)
P.1	58-60	Medial	Prayer	Muse, Truth		Imperative (πιθεο) + Infinitive (κελαδῆσαι); Subjunctive (ἐξευρωμεν)	Join Celebration
P.1	67-72	Medial	Prayer	Zeus	Accomplisher	Infinitive [as Imperative] (διακρίνειν); λίσσομαι + Imperative (νεῦσον)	Prosperity (community)
P.5	117-121	End	Prayer	Children of Kronos	Blessed	Optative (δίδοιτ')	Prosperity (victor)
P.8	1-13	Opening	Prayer	<i>Hesychia</i>	Daughter of Justice, Makes cities great	Imperative (δέκεν)	Reception (victor's honor)
P.8	61-69	Medial	Prayer	Apollo	Far-shooter, of Pytho	εὐχομαι + Infinitive (βλεπειν)	Success of Song
P.8	98-100	End	Prayer	Aigina, Zeus, Aiakos, Peleus, Telamon,	Mother	Imperative (κομίζε)	Prosperity (community)

Achilles							
P.11	1-6	Opening	Prayer	Daughters of Kadmos		Imperative (ἴτε)	Join Celebration
P.12	1-6	Opening	Prayer	Akragas	Lover of splendor, Abode of Persephone, Queen	Imperative (δέξαι)	Reception (crown)
N.3	1-12	Opening	Prayer	Muse	Mistress, Mother	λίσσομαι + Imperative (ἴκεο, ὄπαζε)	Join Celebration, Success of Song
N.6	28a-30	Medial	Prayer	Muse		Imperative (ἄγε, εὖθυν')	Prosperity (family)
N.7	1-8	Opening	Prayer	Eleithuia	Daughter of Hera, Companion of Fates	Imperative (ἄκουσον)	Listen
N.7	94-101	End	Prayer	Herakles	Blessed	Optative (ἔχοιεν)	Prosperity (victor, family)
N.8	35-37	Medial	Prayer	Zeus	Father	Optative (εἴη, ἐφαπτοίμαν)	Prosperity (Pindar)
N.9	1-3	Opening	Prayer	Muses		Subjunctive (κωμασομεν); Imperative (πράσσετε)	Join Celebration, Success of Song
N.9	28-32	Medial	Prayer	Zeus	Father	αἰτέω + Infinitive (ὀπάζειν, ἐπιμεῖζαι)	Prosperity (community)
N.9	53-55	End	Prayer	Zeus	Father	εὐχομαι + Infinitive (κελαδησομαι)	Success of Song
N.10	1-2	Opening	Prayer	Graces		Imperative (ὑμνεῖτε)	Join Celebration
N.10	76-77	Literary	Prayer	Zeus	Son of Kronos	Imperative (ἐπίτειλον)	Death
N.11	1-7	Opening	Prayer	Hestia	Daughter of Rhea, Sister of Zeus and	Imperative (δέξαι)	Reception (victor, komos)

Hera							
I.1	6-12	Medial	Prayer	Delos	Island of Apollo	Imperative (εἴξον)	Not be angry
I.6	14-18	Medial	Prayer	Fates	Enthroned on high	εὕχεται + Infinitive (δεξασθαι); προσεννεπω + Infinitive (ἐσπεσθαι)	Prosperity (family)
I.6	42-49	Literary	Prayer	Zeus	Father	λίσσομαι + Infinitive (τελεσαι); Subjunctive (ἐπέσθω)	Son
I.7	49-51	End	Prayer	Apollo	Loxias	Imperative (πόρε)	Future Victory

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