

Zeitschrift: Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique
Herausgeber: Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'Antiquité classique
Band: 31 (1985)

Artikel: Pindar's Pythian V
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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-660736>

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II

MARY R. LEFKOWITZ

PINDAR'S *PYTHIAN* V

Pindar never wrote a 'typical' ode that would suit one occasion and could then be quickly re-applied to another. Even in odes written in the same year for brothers-in-law who won at Olympia, when he uses the same analogy about the preeminence of water and of gold, he manages to leave the distinct impression that Hieron, who won what would have been regarded as a lesser victory than Theron's, has achieved the greater degree of success (*O.* I 1-7; III 42-45). In none of the extant odes does Pindar make more precise reference to the customs and topography of the city he celebrates than in *P.* V, or offer more praise to a man who was not the official victor. He gives comparatively little space to the narration of the myth, and his choice of metaphor throughout seems far less daring than in some of his more famous odes.

In this paper I shall concentrate on the qualities that make this ode distinctive, and yet at the same time characteristically Pindaric. I shall discuss the ode stanza by stanza, not because I think these musical divisions always have a direct connection with the words of the ode, but because for the ancients at least the triad was a recognized unit of

presentation.¹ I hope to show how Pindar contrives to raise the specific to the level of the generic, and to condense into a few graphic details whole sequences of events; I shall argue that throughout this—and every other—victory ode the voice of the speaker must be Pindar's own; and I shall call attention, in conclusion, to how the poet's language helps to indicate how he has organized his song.

Vast is the power of Wealth, when a mortal man brings it—if fate puts it into his hands—combined with pure excellence as a comrade with many friends. Arcesilaus, with the god's good fortune, you have sought such wealth from the first starting lines of your celebrated life, thanks to Castor of the golden chariot; Castor who after the winter storm showers your fortunate house with fair weather. (str. 1, 1-11)

The opening statement expresses the familiar principle that wealth brings happiness and endures only if it comes with the god's support (cf. Solon fr. 13, 9-13 West), but Pindar's phrasing emphasizes the connection between great wealth and the victory his song celebrates. The power (*σθένος*) of Ploutos is vast, and it is combined with pure excellence (the *ἀρετή* of the winner). As in *O. II* for Theron, another king of a prosperous city, "wealth intricately wrought with excellences brings the opportunity now for one thing now another; it is a brilliant star, the truest light for men" (53-55). But in *P. V*, Pindar has expressed this traditional thought in a way that is particularly appropriate for a young king and his trusted friends—one of whom the poet will soon mention—: wealth is a "comrade with many friends", like the *κῶμος* composed of the victor's contemporaries (22) at the celebration of his victory.

As Solon said, "men do not recognize a final goal for wealth, but those of us who have the greatest means strive twice as hard" (fr. 13, 71-3), so Arcesilaus' search for wealth began at the "starting lines of his celebrated life"; but for this occasion Pindar chooses *βαθμίδες*, a term used

¹ Cf. MULLEN 1982, 135-36, with BURNETT 1984, 155-58.

of race tracks, rather than some more general word for beginnings.² He emphasizes that Arcesilaus has the gods' support, "when fate puts [wealth] into one's hands", "thanks to Castor of the golden chariot", since the danger of reversal, or defeat, or poverty, because of the god's powers, always remains and, like Solon, he describes good fortune as fair weather after a storm, in order to give the victory its greatest possible ethical significance. Perhaps, as Chamoux suggested, the reference to sunshine after a storm alludes to the spring rainy season in Cyrene. But since at the end of the ode the poet asks that no "stormy autumn wind" (φθινοπωρίς ἀνέμων / χειμερία ... πνοά, 120-1) crush the victor's good fortune, using a metaphor more appropriate for mainland Greece than for the Cyrenean climate, where a second harvest was sown in autumn (Hdt. IV 42,3), Pindar probably has in mind human fortune in general, as in *O. I*, "the victor for the rest of his life has sweet fair weather on account of the games" (97-99).³

Wise men, you know, carry off better also the power that the gods give; but when you go in justice great happiness surrounds you, first because you are a king of great cities, since this, a most awesome privilege when in your possession, is a glory belonging to your family; and then you are fortunate now as well, because having won the triumph from the famous Pythian games with your horses, you have received this victory procession of men, the delight of Apollo. (ant. 1, 12-22; ep. 1, 23)

Here, as in many odes, direct praise of the victor, his family, and his country is postponed till the second stanza.

² Hesych. s.v. νύσσα; cf. Hom. *Il.* XXIII 758; *Od.* VIII 121. Like τέρμα it can connote a stone sill, *N. V* 1; cf. ἀπὸ βαλβίδων, Eur. *Med.* 1245; *HF* 867; Ar. *Vesp.* 548.

³ CHAMOUX 1953, 182; but cf. BURTON 1962, 139; BOWRA 1964, 249-50; MITCHELL 1966, 109 n. 56. For φθινοπωρον cf. Hdt. IX 117; Arcestratus Gelensis fr. 166, 1, ap. *Supplementum Hellenisticum* edd. H. LLOYD-JONES & Peter PARSONS (Berlin 1983), 62, with Hes. *Op.* 615; 619-20. Cf. also *P.* IV 64-5; *I.* I 39-40; IV 17b-19; VII 37-38, with YOUNG 1971, 26.

Since Arcesilaus is not just an ordinary aristocrat, but a king, like Hieron, who in *O. I* is said "to wield a staff of justice in Sicily" (12), and at the opening of Bacchylides *Ode 5* to have "a mind straight-in-justice" (6), he is praised for his glory both as a ruler and as a victor, though with special stress on the role of the gods in his good fortune, and on the importance of using his power wisely.⁴ Also unlike Hieron who remains with the poet and the horse Pherenicus the center of attention in the openings of *O. I* and Bacch. 5, the credit for Arcesilaus' success belongs also to his family, whose γένος Pindar speaks of as an ὀφθαλμός in a striking variation of the Homeric saving light (φάος, e.g., *Il. VIII* 282).⁵ As a result, where in *O. I* the poet contrived to say almost as much about his own art as his patron's accomplishment, in *P. V* he keeps the focus on the victory and its celebration, "this procession of men" (κῶμος ἀνέρων, 22). The concluding lines of the stanza indicate the specific occasion of the victory, "at the Pythian games, with horses"; such data are always given at some point in every ode, but only rarely with many adumbrating details, and virtually never with the kind of extended description that Pindar will give it in the stanzas to come.⁶

So you must not forget when you are sung of in Cyrene in Aphrodite's sweet garden first to hold the god responsible in every thing, then to cherish Carrhotus most of your comrades. He did not bring late-thinker Epimetheus' daughter Prophasis when he returned to the home of the Battidae who rule with justice. But after he was entertained at the stream of Castalia he bound your hair with the prize of the best chariot. (ep. 1, 24-31)

⁴ Cf. also *P. I* 86-87; *O. VI* 93; Bacch. 4, 3, with MAEHLER 1982, II 88, and the ideal portrait in Hes. *Theog.* 85-86; GERBER 1982, 33.

⁵ Cf. *O. II* 11; *VI* 16; *P. III* 75; MALTEN 1911, 19-20; BOWRA 1964, 254-55. I read with Gildersleeve Hermann's ἐπεὶ for ms. ἔχει, as in *O. X* 88-90; *IX* 37; *I. I* 45-46.

⁶ HAMILTON 1974, 15; LEFKOWITZ 1976, 164.

In the epode Pindar once again reminds the victor to give the gods credit for his success; the first phrase designates the victory as the "delight of Apollo".⁷

Arcesilaus is "sung of" in the garden of Aphrodite, perhaps literally the *temenos* of the goddess' temple, as in Sappho 2.⁸ But as always the gods act through or alongside mortal men, and praise is also due to the man who drove the victorious chariot, Carrhotus. The poet makes his success seem more impressive by first referring to what would have happened if he had returned home without having won. Pindar uses a similar comparison to great effect in *P.* VIII where the victor is contrasted with the four boys he defeated in the wrestling contest returning home in disgrace (83-87; cf. *O.* VIII); in *P.* V Pindar suggests that instead of bringing home the goddess Victory, as in *P.* VI 19 or as on many coins commemorating chariot victories, he might have brought back to Cyrene "Excuse" the daughter of "Afterthinker" Epimetheus.⁹ Also, where in *P.* VIII Pindar after describing the defeated contestants immediately states that human joy is ephemeral, in *P.* V he comments only on the recognition of Carrhotus' success: he was entertained and crowned at Delphi.¹⁰

—with reins undefiled through the precinct of the twelve swift circuits. He did not shatter at all the strength of his equipment, but he

⁷ ἄθρομα is used of song in Bacch. 9, 87; *Epigramm.* 1, 3; cf. *I.* IV 39; JEBB 1905, 311; MAEHLER 1982, II 173-74.

⁸ PAGE 1955, 40; cf. CHAMOUX 1953, 267-69—unless it is the site of the union of Apollo and Cyrene, where Ladice set up a votive statue of Aphrodite, Hdt. II 181, 5.

⁹ See e.g., KRAAY 1976, nos. 800, 837. Prophasis' genealogy may be Pindar's own invention; MEZGER 1880, 222; cf. *schol. ad Hes. Op.* 83; Pind. fr. 228; WILAMOWITZ 1922, 381 n. 3; BURTON 1962, 142-43.

¹⁰ Reference to the spring identifies the victory site; FRAENKEL 1962, 537; TARRANT 1976, 235; *xenia* designates celebration in general, cf. *O.* IX 83-84; *N.* IX 2; *P.* X 64; *O.* I 103; *P.* III 109; LLOYD-JONES 1973, 135. Water was used for purification after the games, PARKER 1983, 226, e.g. *N.* IV 4-5.

passed the hill of Crisa into the god's grove that lies in the hollow and brought what hangs [in the temple], the artifice of skilled craftsmen. The cypress beams hold it, close to the statue made from a single tree that the archer Cretans set up in the chamber of Parnassus. (str. 2, 32-42)

The narrative of Carrhotus' victory began at the end of the first triad with conclusion first, for dramatic effect, as in O. I, where Pindar offers a new version of the story of Pelops, "whom Poseidon Earth-holder fell in love with, when Clotho took him out of a shining cauldron, his splendid shoulder fitted with ivory" (25-26).¹¹ The poet now shows that Carrhotus' victory was by every standard remarkable; his reins were "undefiled";¹² his equipment was not 'shattered', a highly unusual achievement, to judge from the description of the fictitious chariot race at the *Pythian* games in Soph. *El.*, where nine of the ten competing chariots were wrecked, and even the winner's damaged.¹³ Apparently Carrhotus regarded the manner of his victory as something like a miracle, since he dedicated the chariot to the god,¹⁴ and the poet mentions his journey to the god's sacred grove on the hill of Crisa from the plain near Itea where the races were run.

As Bacchylides in *Ode* 3 tells how Hieron's gold shines from tripods in front of the temple of Apollo, in *P. V* Pindar indicates for an audience who might never see it how Arcesilaus' chariot was hung as a votive offering from the cypress-wood roofbeams of what appears to have been the temple of Apollo, because it contains an ancient ξόανov

¹¹ GERBER 1982, 55-56. Cf. KOEHNKEN 1983, 66-76.

¹² *I.e.*, not impaired in form or integrity, see PARKER 1983, 3. Cf. Bacchyl. 5, 44-45 with MAEHLER 1982, II 100; Call. fr. 254, *ap. Supplem. Hellenist.*, 101; and victories *akoniti*, MORETTI 1957, nos. 160, 202; Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 36 a 14, b 7; Philippus, vv. 3068-69 Gow-Page.

¹³ In *Il.* XXIII only one chariot was wrecked, because Menelaus holds back to avoid an accident that would have wrecked two others, 426-27.

¹⁴ Cf. Bacch. 3, 21-22.

(μονόδροπον φυτόν) placed there by Cretans, τοξοφόροι like Apollo himself in *b. Hom. Ap.* (III) 13, 126, which describes their arrival in Pytho as the first priests of his new temple (538-41).¹⁵ The old statue is an ἀνδριάς, an anthropomorphic representation of a god; the bronze statue of Apollo dedicated by the Greeks after the Persian war was known as the μέγας ἀνδριάς in order to distinguish it from the ξόανον.¹⁶ If Arcesilaus' chariot deserved the distinction of being hung next to the old statue of the god, his victory must have been considered particularly significant.

So with willing mind you must meet your benefactor; son of Alexibios, the fair-haired Graces set you alight. Fortunate, since you have also after a great labor a memorial of the greatest words of praise. For among forty chariots that fell you brought back your chariot whole with heart unafraid; and then you returned to the plain of Libya from the glorious contests and to the city of your fathers. (ant. 2, 43-53)

Now Pindar returns to Arcesilaus, but with the advice that introduced the account of the victory, "to cherish Carrhotus most of all your comrades" (26). Like Strep-siades in *I. VII* 12, Carrhotus is "illuminated" by his glory, but where praise for Strep-siades and Arcesilaus himself later in this poem remains general, and derives in part from the achievements of his family, the circumstances of Carrhotus' race merit special mention, "for among forty chariots that fell you brought back your chariot whole, with heart unafraid".¹⁷ Pindar and Bacchylides describe the victory itself only when the circumstances are extraordinary, as in the case of the horse Pherenicus' win at Olympia in 476 (*O. I* 20-22; *Bacch.* 5, 37-39), or of four consecutive

¹⁵ See esp. ROUX 1962, 378-79, and cf. *Phoronis* fr. 4 Kinkel.

¹⁶ ROUX 1962, 366-80; cf. CHAMOUX 1953, 139; BURTON 1962, 143-44. On Cretans at Delphi, cf. ALLEN-HALLIDAY-SIKES 1936, 261-62.

¹⁷ The plain below Delphi, like the race course beside the Alpheus, had room for a large entry, as is suggested by Alcibiades' being able to enter seven chariots at a time (Thuc. VI 16, 2; Euripides, in *Poetae Melici Graeci*, fr. 755 Page). Cf. FINLEY & PLEKET 1976, 28.

and decisive wins in wrestling (Bacchyl. 11, 22-23; O. IX 91),¹⁸ or if there are many victories in one family, like the Oligaethidae in O. XIII.¹⁹

The extraordinary circumstances of Carrhotus' victory explain why Carrhotus the charioteer merits such extended praise in an ode for the official victor Arcesilaus. Didymus offered an 'historical' explanation, based on information that he says he got from Theotimus' first book on Cyrene (*schol. ad Pind. P. V* 34: II pp. 175-6 Drachmann/*FGrHist* 470 F 1): Carrhotus was Arcesilaus' brother-in-law, and received this extended tribute from Pindar because he took over the role of another friend of Arcesilaus', Euphemus; Euphemus had been sent by Arcesilaus to compete in the chariot races at the great games and to raise money for an army in Greece (cf. also *schol. ad P. IV* 455 e: II p. 161 Drachmann).²⁰ Euphemus won at the Pythian games, had Cyrene proclaimed victorious, and collected settlers for the Hesperidae (or Euhesperides, near modern Benghazi), but then died, and Carrhotus took over the leadership of the colony, and "Pindar, in addressing Arcesilaus' comrades, attributes Euphemus' achievements to Carrhotus; for he says that he alone collected money for the army". But since Pindar in the text of *P. V* says nothing about Euphemus, fund-raising, or the Euhesperides, I suspect that Didymus, like so many ancient commentators, read into the references to wealth in the ode, and the greeting of Arcesilaus as a 'benefactor' a double meaning that such conventional topics of praise never originally had,²¹ and then conflated

¹⁸ Cf. O. VIII 67-69; *P. VIII* 81-82; Bacchyl. 9, 36-38; POLIAKOFF 1982, 107.

¹⁹ Cf. the trainer Melesias' thirtieth victory, O. VIII 65-66. What would Pindar have said about Theagenes, Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 36; cf. Athen. X 412 d-e; Posidippus, vv. 3126 sqq. Gow-Page; Paus. VI 6, 5; 11, 5 (1300 victories)?

²⁰ Cf. MITCHELL 1966, 108-10; HORNBLOWER 1983, 62.

²¹ Cf. LEFKOWITZ 1981, 50-52; the absurdity of figures in these stories also suggests unreliability; GZELLA 1971, 192-3; but cf. PAVESE 1983, 295-99.

two separate historical events in order to provide an explanation for an interpretative problem that he created for himself by failing to understand the relevance of the special praise for the charioteer.²² Didymus seems to have believed that kings and tyrants readily had others compete on their behalf, and perhaps he imagined that charioteers would ordinarily be of low birth, as they were in the Roman world. (Cf. *schol. ad N. VII* 1 a: III p. 116 Drachmann.)

But in Pindar on occasion charioteers are accorded special praise, like Thrasybulus who appears to have driven the chariot for his father Xenocrates in *P. VI*, though in *I. II*, an ode for a different victory by Xenocrates, Pindar says explicitly that the charioteer was Nicomachus (22), and pays him tribute along with Xenocrates' son Thrasybulus.²³ In *O. VI* for Hagesias of Syracuse Pindar addresses Phintis and asks him to yoke "the strength of mules"—presumably he was the driver in the winning race (*schol. ad O. VI* 37 b, c, e). If in *P. V* Carrhotus was a relative of Arcesilaus', Pindar doesn't mention it, but then in neither ode for Xenocrates does he specify that Xenocrates was Theron's brother. Perhaps he assumed that everybody knew it, especially since Theron was a tyrant and a public figure.²⁴ But Pindar also states that Carrhotus was one of Arcesilaus' comrades (ἑταῖροι), and some of the *aristoi* drove chariots themselves, like Psaumis of Camerina in *O. IV* and *V*, Chromius of Aetna at Nemea (*N. I*) and at the Pythian games at Syracuse (*N. IX*), and Hieron himself at what

²² Cf. his interpretation of the reading *Alis* in *O. X* 46, based on the annexation of Pisa by Elis 130 years after the event which the ode celebrates, *schol. ad loc.* 55 c: I p. 324; S. WEST 1970, 288-96. Or the two Euphemuses, *schol. ad P. IV* 455 d: II p. 161; LEFKOWITZ 1975, 180.

²³ Cf. *schol. ad P. VI* 15: II p. 196, which claims on the basis of *I. II* that Nicomachus was obviously (δηλός ἐστιν) the charioteer in *P. VI* as well.

²⁴ On the *P. VI* victory, see DUNBABIN 1948, 413, and on the Emmenidae, 484; cf. BARRETT 1978, 20 n. 34.

might be most easily explained as local games in Syracuse (*P.* II).²⁵ The political power of the tyrants and the wealth of Western Greek colonies enabled them to sponsor the great majority of odes for chariot victors. Only three mainland Greeks commissioned odes from Pindar, Megacles of Athens, from a family "vast in strength" (*P.* VII 2), the Alcmeonidae; Herodotus of Thebes (*I.* I), and Melissus of Thebes (*I.* III/IV), from a family of "raisers of horses", the Cleonymidae.²⁶ Even in Orestes' imaginary race, two of the ten charioteers, whom he calls "masters of yoked chariots" come from Cyrene (Soph. *El.* 701-702).²⁷ Perhaps the political situation in cities like Cyrene and Syracuse made prolonged absence of the king inadvisable; Hieron too got someone else to drive the chariot for him on the mainland (*P.* I).

There is no one without a share in troubles nor will there ever be. But Battus' ancient prosperity attends you, bringing one thing, then another; it is the tower of your city, the brightest light to friends. Even lions with their loud roaring fled in fear from Battus after he brought the [Therans] an utterance from beyond the sea. But Apollo the leader sent dread fear on the wild beasts, so that he would not fail the keeper of Cyrene in his prophecies. (ep. 2, 54-62)

Pindar ended the second antistrophe with a statement that Carrhotus had now returned to Libya and his ancestral city, but before proceeding with the story of Cyrene's founder, Battus, Pindar begins the second epode with a reminder, expressed in the plainest language, about human limitations. All Greeks, Dorians and Ionians alike, believed

²⁵ LEFKOWITZ 1976, 164-65, with CAREY 1981, 21.

²⁶ On victories in the crown games by wealthy Athenian families, see esp. DAVIES 1971, xxv-xxvi n. 7. But Sparta seems to have produced more victors than any other *polis*; de STE CROIX 1972, 354-55; on horsemanship and athletics as aristocratic pursuits, *ibid.*, 115.

²⁷ Cf. esp. *P.* IV 17-18; IX 4; Hesychius, s. v. Βαρκαίοις ὄχοις, "they are believed to be the first to use chariots, having been taught by Poseidon". Cf. the Cyrenean Berenice's victory at Nemea in the 3rd c., 254 *Supplem. Hellenist.*

that those who seem most fortunate and successful stand in need of constant warning about the fragility of every human accomplishment. The brilliance of Arcesilaus' ancestors (17) is now "the tower of your city, the brightest light (φαεννότατον ὄμμα) to friends", but unlike the Homeric φάος or φέγγος, the light from an eye (ὄφθαλμός or ὄμμα) can shine only intermittently, like Hieron's gold at Delphi, which shines in flashes (ὕπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς, Bacchyl. 3, 17).²⁸ But Pindar's account of Battus' founding of the city concentrates only on the moment of his triumph, and, as in his reiterated advice to Arcesilaus, the god's guidance and support. Pindar does not mention the Therans' first abortive attempts to colonize the area, or the story that Battus was "weak-voiced and a stammerer" (Hdt. IV 155, 1). The ὑπερποντίαν γλῶσσαν that he brings is not the strange sound of the Greek language, nor of his stammer (as Aristarchus and Didymus assumed, from the later rationalization of the story), but the prophecy from Delphi; ἀπένεικεν is regularly used of 'delivery' of oracles, and ἀρχαγέτας is the customary epithet of Apollo as initiator of a colony.²⁹ Once again, as in *O. I* or *P. III*, Pindar tells a myth in a way that shows the gods to be foresighted and honorable; Demeter was not foolish enough to eat human meat and Apollo did not need a raven to inform him about the infidelity of Coronis.³⁰ In *P. IX*, another ode for a Cyrenean, Apollo's omniscience is emphasized by Chiron, when Apollo asks him to identify the maiden Cyrene: "you ask me about the girl's family, o lord? you who know the outcome of everything and all the

²⁸ See LYDE 1935, 9 on the distinction between φάος (mid-day, short-wave light) and φέγγος (early or late day, long-wave light).

²⁹ Cf. Hdt. I 66, 3; 160, 1; and the ἄμβροτος φάμα of Soph. *OT* 158; PEARSON 1924, 154. Callimachus also avoids the story of the stammer, *Hymn. Ap.* (II) 75-76; WILLIAMS 1978, 69-70; it is an aetiological myth, BRELICH 1958, 316-17.

³⁰ Cf. Hes. fr. 60 M.-W. See esp. KOEHNKEN 1974, 202-204; 1983, 75 n. 42.

means of accomplishment" (43-45). The cult of Apollo was from the time of its founding by Battus the principal civic cult in Cyrene: "there is no god whom the descendants of Battus themselves honor more than Apollo" (Call. *Hymn. Ap.* 94-95).³¹

Apollo who brings men and women cures from painful diseases, and gave them the lyre, and bestows the Muse on those he selects, when he puts peaceful respect for the law in their minds, and he controls the cavern of prophecy. In Lacedaemon and in Argos and in holy Pylos he settled the mighty descendants of Heracles and Aegimius. But it is my part to speak of delightful fame from Sparta— (str. 3, 63-73)

Pindar opens the third triad by recalling Apollo's gifts to man of medicine, song, civic order, and prophecy; he was still worshipped in Cyrene for these gifts in Callimachus' day (*Hymn. Ap.* 9-11; 42-46). Pindar then adds that Apollo is also the god of colonists; he established settlements of Dorians in Argos and Pylos and in Sparta. The history of the Dorian migrations must have been familiar to his audience, because he alludes to them only briefly, without explaining why it would be natural for him to say, "it is my part to speak of delightful fame from Sparta" (reading γάρυειν, 72).³² Callimachus, in the more leisurely pace of a hymn in hexameters, tells the story in more detail: Apollo, founder of colonies is worshipped as Carneius in Cyrene, especially by the Battiads, because they are descended from Spartans, where the first cult of Apollo Carneius was established; from there they took the cult to Thera and from Thera to Cyrene. But the cult of Apollo had originally been brought from Sparta to Thera by *Thebans*, the sixth generation after Oedipus, and from Thera to Cyrene by

³¹ Battiades in Call. *Epigr.* 35 Pfeiffer (= 1185-1186 Gow-Page) is probably a generic term like Erechtheides, Eur. *Med.* 824-25, with PAGE 1938, 131. But he seems to have come from an aristocratic family (*SEG* IX 50, 45; I, 77; I, 86; MEILLIER 1979, 335).

³² See esp. KIRKWOOD 1981, 17.

Aristoteles (who was also called "Battus"), "whole" in mind and body (*Hymn. Ap.* 55-79).

Pindar ends the strophe without explaining why it is "his part to speak" about the Dorians in Sparta, but he makes the connection explicit in the first lines of the antistrophe:

since there the Aegidae were born, and thence came to Thera, my ancestors, not without the gods, but some Fate brought them. There they received their portion of the feast with its many sacrifices, Apollo Carneius, and at your festival we honor the well-built city of Cyrene ... (ant. 3, 74-81)

Members of Pindar's *πάτρα*, the Aegidae, came to Thera from Sparta—again, he notes, with the guidance of the gods and of Fate, and from Thera they brought the festival of the Carneia to Cyrene.³³ And it is at this festival, during the banquet, the feast of many sacrifices, that "we honor the well-built city of Cyrene". As Callimachus describes it, in Cyrene the offerings to Apollo Carneius are made throughout the year (*τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον*, *Hymn. Ap.* 78) with sacrifices of cattle and gifts of flowers even in winter.³⁴ The city Cyrene itself is honored in the festival, because the story of the nymph Cyrene and Apollo is commemorated in a special choral dance (*Hymn. Ap.* 85-95, esp. 93).

There is nothing surprising about Pindar's stating that he is, as an Aegid, distantly related to the Cyrenean aristocracy, or that he wishes to join with them in celebrating their city at the Carneia; "all Dorians worship Apollo Carneius" (Paus. III 13, 4). In his odes for Aeginetan vic-

³³ For Aegidae in Sparta, cf. *I.* VII 12-15; MALTEN 1911, 170-82. On archaic myths of Dorian migrations, NILSSON 1951, 68-69; TIGERSTEDT 1965, 35; 324-25 n. 127; ROUSSEL 1976, 224-25. *πάτραι* (for the term, ROUSSEL 1976, 52) can be either real or, like the Gephyraeans (Hdt. V 57), mythical; DICKIE 1979, 205-207.

³⁴ WILLIAMS 1978, 67, 71; Carneia is also a harvest festival in Sparta, L. R. FARNELL, *The Cults of the Greek States* IV (Oxford 1907), 134; WIDE 1893, 86.

tors, who commissioned more of his victory odes than citizens of any other city, including Thebes, Pindar always has special praise for Aegina and her heroes.³⁵ In every ode the poet expresses *xenia* for the victor, in some cases more strongly than others, perhaps because he liked some sponsors better.³⁶ In the odes for Aeginetan victors he speaks of his *syngeneia* rather than of ordinary *xenia*: "a man raised in seven-gated Thebes must make first offering of the flowers of the Graces in Aegina, because they (Aegina and Thebe) were the twin daughters and youngest of the Asopides, and they were pleasing to king Zeus" (*I.* VIII 16-18); Aeacus is "guardian in the city of my fair-named *πάτρα*" (*N.* VII 84-85).³⁷ In an ode for a Theban victor, whose uncle was killed fighting for his country, Pindar could speak with the family in expressing his sorrow (37) just as at the somber conclusion of his last ode for an Aeginetan victor, *P.* VIII, he can join with the family with whom he feels such close kinship in addressing Aegina as "dear mother" (98).³⁸

Even the scholia to *P.* V, although they state that either the chorus or the poet is speaking, offer confirmation only for the poet, since they know from Callimachus (99 a: II p. 184) that some Thebans settled in Lacedaemon: "Pindar is very concerned to demonstrate that he is kin to the Lacedaemonians and the Cyreneans, and thus to the winner of the victory" (99 b). The ancient commentators' suggestion here, as elsewhere, that the chorus may be speaking is based not on historical information, but on conjecture: the

³⁵ HAMILTON 1974, 37-38; 41-42.

³⁶ Literally interpreted in the story of his love for Theoxenus, *Suda*, s.v. Πίνδαρος, IV p. 133, 2 Adler; LEFKOWITZ 1981, 60; cf. modern speculation about Pindar and Thrasybulus, VETTA 1979, 87-90, or Artemon's idea (*FGrHist* 569 F 3) that Hieron actually gave Pindar a golden lyre, *schol. ad P.* I inscr. a: II p. 7 Drachmann.

³⁷ LEFKOWITZ 1980, 44.

³⁸ LEFKOWITZ 1980, 34-35. The term need not be taken literally, cf. Θησέως τόκοι the Athenians, Aeschyl. *Eum.* 402; MACLEOD 1982, 125 n. 6.

possibility of a choral speaker arises only when the commentators are uncertain whether an "I"-statement is appropriate for the poet.³⁹ But the "I"-statements in the odes do not resemble in style or even in content the first person utterances in songs where we know the chorus spoke in its own person, like Alcman's or Pindar's *partheneia* or Pindar's *Paeans* II or IV.⁴⁰

Moreover, outside of the Pindar scholia, there is no direct evidence that *every* ode of Pindar was sung by a chorus. The division of lyric into 'monodic' and 'choral' is modern; and there is no longer any reason automatically to assume that all early triadic poetry was choral just because all early monostrophic poetry was monodic.⁴¹ Pindar speaks, though only in about half the odes, of a κῶμος participating in the victory celebration; these κῶμοι need not always have been involved in the performance of the ode, though they were ancillary to it, and featured in the victory celebration both at the site of the contests⁴² and at the victor's home.⁴³ In some odes, like O. I, Pindar speaks of himself as if he were the sole performer.⁴⁴ In others, like

³⁹ LEFKOWITZ 1975, 173-85.

⁴⁰ LEFKOWITZ 1963, 177-253; with KIRKWOOD 1981, 16. Cf. BUNDY 1962, 69-70, n. 84; CAREY 1981, 16-17; MULLEN 1982, 234 n. 37; SLATER 1969, 89-90; 1979, 69-70.

⁴¹ HARVEY 1955, 159, esp. n. 3; DAVIES 1982, 210 n. 12. The terms strophe, etc. are post-Aristotelian and refer to music rather than to dance; KRANZ 1933, 115; SCHROEDER 1929, 42; cf. Mullen's naive acceptance of Ptolemy's ingenious aetiology (*schol.* Epimetr.: III p. 311 Drachmann).

⁴² O. VIII 10; IX 4; N. XI 28; O. X 77; I. III 8 (?). χορεύων, I. I 7-8 refers to the performance of *Pae.* IV = fr. 52 d; THUMMER 1969, II 12; which puzzled an ancient commentator, *schol. ad I.* I 6 d: III p. 198 Drachmann.

⁴³ O. XIV 16-17; N. IX 1; 50; II 24-25; I. VII 20; P. IV 2; Bacch. 11, 12 (cf. fr. 4, 68); I. VIII 4 (cf. 62, 66; LEFKOWITZ 1980, 31; cf. CAREY 1982, 183); O. IV 9; VI 18; 98; I. II 31; O. III 6; N. I 7.

⁴⁴ A distinction noted by WILAMOWITZ 1922, 233; cf. 240; 282-83; 298; 1913, 238. Cf. the portraits of poets in Paus. I 8, 4; Aeschin. *Ep.* 4, 3; RICHTER 1965, 142-143; cf. N. IV 13-19. See now also C. J. HERINGTON, *Poetry into Drama* (Berkeley 1985), 27-31.

P. V, the victory song and the chorus appear to be distinct but related entities; Arcesilaus is asked to welcome “the κῶμος of men, the delight of Apollo” (22-23); later in the poem Pindar speaks of “great excellence sprinkled with the soft dew of songs beneath the streams of κῶμοι” (98-100). In *I.* VIII he asks someone to go and awake a κῶμος at the victor’s house in Aegina (3-4); in *P.* III he tells Hieron that he wishes that he could have come to Syracuse himself, “leading a κῶμος”.

In addition, there is no external evidence that the κωμασταί sang. In vase paintings dancers are depicted on either side of a lyre-player (and sometimes also of an αὐλητής); Pindar in Hellenistic sculpture was portrayed as a seated lyre-player, looking out at his *choros*.⁴⁵ The odes themselves contain no direct allusion to a chorus singing in unison. In *O.* VI Pindar asks an Aeneas to encourage his comrades (88); he is designated in the scholia as the χοροδιδάσκαλος (148 a: I p. 186), but he could also have been the singer of the song in the poet’s absence, like Nicasippus, who in *I.* II is urged simply to deliver the poet’s message when he gets to his patron’s house (47)—the scholia there say nothing about his being a chorus leader, because no “comrades” are mentioned.⁴⁶ Eratosthenes (*FGrHist* 241 F 44) thought that the τήνελλα καλλίνικε for the victor was performed by a leader (ἔξαρχος) reciting τήνελλα extra metrum when no αὐλητής or lyre-player were present, and that the chorus of κωμασταί chime in with καλλίνικε (*schol. ad. O.* IX 1 k: I p. 268) three

⁴⁵ See esp. SCHEFOLD 1965, 14; cf. WEBSTER 1970, 12; in the Hellenistic age and after the *enkomion* was a monodic genre; HARDIE 1983, 16-30. MULLEN 1982, 38 compares Demodocus in Hom. *Od.* VIII but assumes that the dancing youths must also be singing.

⁴⁶ Cf. the idea of Simonides as χοροδιδάσκαλος, invented to explain his epigram about Epeius *epigr.* fr. 70 Diehl (Athen. X 456 e-f); ERBSE 1977, pp. 468-70 on *schol. ad Il.* XXIII 665 a. In any case the term denotes a trainer of dramatic, comic, or dithyrambic choruses (e.g., Ar. *Av.* 1403); cf. SLATER 1969, 90.

times.⁴⁷ Might the κωμασταί that Aeneas brought also be chanting something like καλλίνικε or hip-hip-hooray?

Even in odes where he mentions the voices of the κωμασταί there is no reason to assume that they always *sang* the words with him in unison, just because a highly trained chorus seems to have sung the lyric songs of Greek tragedy, especially in the case of some of the longer odes, and particularly of *P. IV*, with thirteen triads.⁴⁸ The odes themselves refer only occasionally to the voices in κῶμοι. In *P. X* Pindar says that he hopes to make the victor admired because of his success when the Ephyraeans in Thessaly “pour forth” his voice *and* in his songs as if he were speaking of two different types of song. Earlier in the ode he speaks of leading “the sounding voice of men in a κῶμος” (5-6). In *N. III* he tells the Muse that “the artisans of sweet-speaking κῶμοι, young men, are present at the Asopeian water, seeking their voice from you” (4-5); then he says that he will “associate [the Muse’s song] with the soft talk (ῥάποις) of young men and with the φόρμιγξ” (11-12). Here the voices and lyre could both be a means of accompanying the song, since ῥαπος does not denote a singing voice but rather the sound of quiet conversation.⁴⁹ In *P. I* Pindar speaks of φόρμιγγες with the association of the ῥαποι of boys welcoming a king, but not in the context of the performance of a victory ode (97-98). Could these ῥαποι be humming an accompaniment or providing a rhythmic background like the Delian girls’ κρεμβαλιαστύς in *b. Hom. Ap. (III)* 162?

⁴⁷ See esp. WEST 1974, 138-39.

⁴⁸ LLOYD-JONES 1982, 143. No contemporary evidence survives for the performance of fifth-century drama; LEFKOWITZ 1984, 143-153.

⁴⁹ The “Asopeian water” (cf. Bacchyl. 5, 71, with JEBB’s note, 1905, 278) is the river Nemea, daughter of the Phliousian Asopus (Bacchyl. 9, 39), not a river in Aegina, despite *schol. ad N. III* 1 c, 6 a: III pp. 41-43; LEFKOWITZ 1975, 180-81; cf. MULLEN 1982, 237 n. 53.

Pindar concludes the third antistrophe by introducing the account—which he continues in the epode—of another instance of the generosity of the house of Battus, their inclusion of the worship of the sons of Antenor in the celebration of the Carneia. He does not take time to remind his audience that Antenor was the Trojan most friendly to the Greeks, host to Menelaus and Odysseus when they tried to bring back Helen before the war or that Antenor's house was spared by the Greek army when the rest of Troy was destroyed. He only alludes briefly to the story that the sons of Antenor came to Cyrene with Menelaus and Helen.⁵⁰

This city Trojan strangers who delight in horses inhabit, the sons of Antenor. For they came with Helen after they saw the land of their fathers in smoke in the war. (ant. 3, concl., 82-84)

The race of horsedriviers received them at their sacrifices respectfully and come to them offering gifts, the men Aristoteles brought in his swift ships, opening a deep path in the sea. He founded a greater grove for the gods, and set down for the festivals of Apollo that bring help to mortals that there be a straight-cut flat paved road that resounds with horses' hooves, and now he lies there in death, apart [from the others] at the edge of the market-place. (ep. 3, 85-93)

The Cyrenaeans, a horse-driving race like the Trojans (cf. *Il.* X 431) "welcome" (δέκονται) the Antenorids as the Plataeans called the dead heroes of the Persian war to dinner and blood sacrifice (Plut. *Arist.* 21) and Pelops himself is said to be dining (κλιθείς) at the sacrifices held in his honor at Olympia (*O.* I 90-93).⁵¹ Οἰχνέοντες implies that there was a procession across the city to their tombs;

⁵⁰ Cf. CHAMOUX 1953, 62-63; PEARSON 1917, I 86-89; BEAZLEY 1958, 233-44; PARKER 1983, 337. Herodotus expresses his doubts about the story of Menelaus at Cyrene with the disclaimer that he had heard it at third hand, STINTON 1976, 66-68.

⁵¹ GERBER 1982, 141-42; cf. *schol. ad N.* VII 68 a: III p. 125-26; *Alcmaeonis* fr. 2 Kinkel, and the dead Pindar being called to dinner at Delphi, *Vita*: I p. 2, 14-16 Drachmann. See esp. VIAN 1955, 307-10; BRUNEL 1964, 11.

apparently there was a "hill of the Antenorids" between Cyrene and the sea.⁵²

Pindar then lists the other civilizing acts that followed Battus' journey to Cyrene, "which opened a path in the sea", and so brought Libya into the inhabited world. Battus established the sites of the temples, with a special chariot road for the festivals of Apollo;⁵³ his own *heroön* is perhaps now identifiable as a sixth-century tumulus of the hero Opheltes (Ephialtes).⁵⁴ Since no other ode refers so frequently to the topography of a patron's homeland, it is tempting to conjecture with Chamoux that Pindar had visited the site himself and was present—as he appears to be saying in this ode—at the celebration of the victory at the Carneia, having travelled the path in the sea first opened by Battus; unless someone had described the site to him so carefully that he knew about its principal features.⁵⁵ Pindar does not always indicate whether he is present at an ode's performance, but even if he did not actually go to Cyrene his success in expressing civic pride demonstrates as effectively as any of the great Sicilian odes his skill as an occasional poet.

He was fortunate when he dwelt among men, and then he was a hero honored by the people. But apart from him before the palace are the other holy kings who have died. But with their minds beneath the earth they hear—I think—that your great excellence is sprinkled with the soft dew of songs beneath the streams of celebration; [this is] their prosper-

⁵² *Schol. ad P. V* 110: II p. 186 Drachmann, citing Lysimachus of Alexandria (200 B.C.), *Nostoi*, *FGrHist* 382 F 6; CHAMOUX 1953, 279 n. 6; cf. the λόφος of Nisus at Megara (*P. IX* 91).

⁵³ Cf. STUCCHI 1975, tbl. I; GOODCHILD 1971, 64 ff.; CHAMOUX 1953, 133; for its importance in the Carneia, NILSSON 1906, 128-29.

⁵⁴ GOODCHILD 1971, 94, with map p. 99.

⁵⁵ CHAMOUX 1953, 176. Cf. *O. X* 43-54, the Altis at Olympia, which Pindar would have visited often; and the briefer references to sites of celebration in *O. I* 90-93; *III* 33-35; *IX* 112; *N. I* 19-23; *III* 4; *I. VIII* 1-4.

ity, a common joy for their son and belonging to Arcesilaus. He should call on Phoebus of the golden bow in the songs of young men... (str. 4, 94-104)

The story of the founding of Cyrene, which began in the second epode, is now brought to a conclusion at the beginning of the fourth triad, with a description of Battus' *heroon*. Pindar had punctuated the narrative with praise of Apollo and with an expression of his own kinship with the Cyrenaeans, before returning to Battus and the establishing of the cult of Apollo Carneius and the building of the city of Cyrene. I am using the term 'punctuated', as if Pindar had employed dashes or parentheses in his narration, in place of ancient critical terms like 'interrupted' (*ἐπιλαμβάνεται*) because they imply that an excursus (*parekbasis*) is a digression *away* from the subject, whereas in practice *parekbases* are *expansions*.⁵⁶ The narration of the myth of Pelops in *O. I* concludes in a similar way, after being punctuated by the poet's calling attention to how he has recast the myth, there as here, so as to demonstrate the god's omniscience and his powers to bring out the best in human life.⁵⁷

Reference to the other kings of Cyrene, who are buried apart from Battus' tomb, near the palace,⁵⁸ begins a transition back to the present occasion, since Pindar imagines that they are able 'somehow' to hear, even in death, of their descendant Arcesilaus' victory, as in *O. XIV* the victor's father in the "black-walled home of Persephone" will hear of his son's Olympic victory when Echo brings him the news (20-24).⁵⁹ Pindar speaks of the victory ode as if it were

⁵⁶ E.g., *schol. ad N. III* 45 b: *III* p. 49; YOUNG 1968, 5; LEFKOWITZ 1985.

⁵⁷ KOEHNKEN 1983, 75 n. 42. Cf. SLATER 1979, 64-65.

⁵⁸ Only heroes have tombs within the city walls; BRELICH 1958, 131-32; 139 n. 194; SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1983, 43-44.

⁵⁹ SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1983, 46; cf. *O. VIII* 79-84.

water sprinkled before sacrificing—a bold metaphor that compares Arcesilaus' victory to a ritual offering in hero cult.⁶⁰

The strophe ends with advice to Arcesilaus to offer thanks to Phoebus for his victory in the celebration; he had introduced his description of Carrhotus' achievement by reminding Arcesilaus not to forget "to hold the god responsible for everything" (23-25). Such reiteration was certainly meant to suggest to the audience that the poet was about to introduce his concluding praise of the victor.

Since it was at Pytho that Arcesilaus won the joyful victory song that brings requital for his expense. He is a man whom the wise praise. I will say what is said by all. He sustains an intelligence greater than his years and speech also; in courage he is an eagle swift-winged among birds and in strength in competition like a bulwark. He can fly among the Muses because of his mother, and he has shown himself to be a skilled driver of chariots. (ant. 4, 105-115)

In *O. I* description of his song had introduced the first reference to Hieron's victory (16), and when he returns to this theme after the myth, "but now I must place a crown on him in the horseman's mode, the Aeolic song" he adds specific compliments to Hieron, "I know that I shall decorate in the folds of song no other man so understanding of the beautiful or so masterful in power" (102-105). In *P. V* his praise for the young Arcesilaus is more muted, allowing him room to grow; in *P. VI* the victor's son Thrasybulus "controls his wealth with his intelligence, harvesting a youth neither unjust nor excessive, harvesting also skill in the caverns of the Muses; his soul is sweet and in conversation with his comrades he surpasses the intricate labor of the bees" (45-54).⁶¹ Arcesilaus is represented in this requisite praise as a more forceful character than Thrasybulus;

⁶⁰ Cf. esp. *P. VIII* 57 (the hero Alcmaeon) and *I. VI* 21 (Aeacids); O. SCHROEDER, *Pindars Pythien* (Leipzig 1922), 56. STENGEL 1920, 103.

⁶¹ Cf. BUNDY 1962, I 25-26.

the metaphor of the eagle in particular always suggests strength.⁶² Apparently also, his mother has taught him poetry.⁶³ Educated women are not often so explicitly mentioned in fifth-century literature, where mothers are spoken of because of their sons or brothers, especially in the poignant moment of their leaving home (*Pae.* VI 105; *P.* VIII 85).⁶⁴ Arcesilaus' mother is a less surprising exception, because she is from Cyrene, where royal women tended to be memorable.⁶⁵ Finally, like Carrhotus and other Cyrenaean aristocrats, Arcesilaus has shown himself to be a skilled driver of chariots.

For every approach to splendor that the country offers he has found the courage. The god willingly grants him success now; and in the future, blessed sons of Cronus, give him similar powers in his deeds and in his counsels. May no autumn blast, a storm wind, break down the time to come. Zeus' great mind, as you know, controls the fate of men he loves. I pray that he continue to give at Olympia this prize to the race of Battus. (ep. 4, 116-24)

In the last epode Pindar pays Arcesilaus yet another compliment, without saying explicitly which of the "local splendors"—contests or festivals—he has in mind. The emphasis instead falls on his present victory and his hopes for the future.⁶⁶ Again Pindar states that such powers ultimately belong to the gods, and again, as in the poem's opening strophe (10-11), there is a reference to the storms that precede and follow fair weather, Arcesilaus, like Hieron in *O. I.*, hopes to win a chariot victory at the next

⁶² BERNARDINI 1977, 124-26.

⁶³ *Schol. ad* 152 a: II p. 191 suggests that ἀπὸ μητρός φίλας might mean "from his earliest youth", but cf. WILAMOWITZ 1922, 383.

⁶⁴ Cf. also H. FRAENKEL 1955, 97-99.

⁶⁵ E.g., Cyrene herself (*P.* IX 31-35; 74); Ladice (*Hdt.* II 181, 2-5; MITCHELL 1966, 99 n. 4); Eryxo (*Plut. Mul. virt.* 260 D-261 D; *Hdt.* IV 160, 4; CHAMOUX 1953, 138); Pheretima (*Hdt.* IV 162, 2-5; 165, 2-3; Menecles, *FGrHist* 270 F 3; MITCHELL 1966, 104).

⁶⁶ Reading Heyne's ἔτι for ἔπι in 124.

Olympiad (110-111), but the prayer "may no stormy blast, an autumn wind, break down the time to come", concludes this ode on a less positive note than the odes that celebrate Pherenicus' victory fourteen years before, where "the victor for the rest of his life has sweet fair weather on account of the games" (*O.* I 97-99). But then by 462 Pindar had seen the collapse of Hieron's dynasty, and his final illness and death; Arcesilaus won the chariot race at Olympia in 460, but as Herodotus remarks, the Cyrenean people were not particularly obedient to their kings (*IV* 167, 3), and his regime had been overthrown by 440 B.C.⁶⁷ No one who lived in the sixth or fifth centuries could be unaware of the instability of kings or tyrants, and the frequent prayers in victory odes for the continuation of the gods' support are no more formalistic and conventional than the unhappy exclamations of messengers who remark on the sudden fall of their masters' houses in Attic tragedy (*e.g.*, *Eur. Ba.* 1024-28).⁶⁸

Often the process of explaining what the poet is saying (or explaining away what he is thought to have said) takes away any sense of the occasion or of the effect of the poetry itself. Although it is usually possible to recognize Pindar's distinctive style, it is much harder to say *why* it is distinctive. Professor Lloyd-Jones has suggested that an important feature is the poet's choice of significant detail; his ability to select from familiar themes or conventional expressions some means of saying what is needed with particular force or economy.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *Schol. ad P.* IV inscr. b: II p. 93; Arist. fr. 611, 17 Rose; CHAMOUX 1953, 202-209; MITCHELL 1966, 99; 110-13; HORNBLLOWER 1983, 61.

⁶⁸ Such prayers are not meant as warnings (GERBER 1982, 163-64), but they occur primarily in cases of extraordinary success, *e.g.* in odes for Hieron, Theron, of multiple victories in one family (*O.* V 9; 13; *P.* VIII), or of temporary setback (*N.* VI 7; *I.* VII 8).

⁶⁹ LLOYD-JONES 1982, 154-55.

Phrases like “forge your tongue on the anvil of truth” (*P. I* 87) make sense in context, although they seem extreme in isolation, because they are based on ideas that in Greek at least are recognizably linked, song and arrows, bow and lyre.⁷⁰ *P. I* began with an invocation to a golden lyre whose missiles (κῆλα) charmed the heart of the war-god with sleep, and so the advice to Hieron to “forge your utterance” expresses in the briefest possible space the Hesiodic notion that kings like poets must be careful and effective speakers.⁷¹ There are no such apparently bizarre extensions of metaphor in *P. V*, but nonetheless there are some turns of phrase that are at once too bold and too precise for the imagination of even such a competent poet as Bacchylides. In line 1, πλοῦτος is not merely an abstraction, but a powerful follower, like Carrhotus; victory is fair weather after a storm; Arcesilaus’ wealth and kingdom is an ancestral ὀφθαλμός (18), at once brilliant and mortal. Carrhotus did not bring home to Arcesilaus Epimetheus’ daughter Prophasis in place of Victory (27-28); Carrhotus did not shatter “the strength of his equipment” (34), a phrase that expresses at once the positive result and the possible negative consequences of his achievement; Battus’ ancient ὄλβος is bulwark of the city Cyrene and brightest eye (ὄμμα, 56) to her friends—the phrase at once recalls the ancestral ὀφθαλμός earlier in the poem and makes explicit the notion of defense inherent in the notion of Homeric saving light. The statement “it is my part to speak of lovely fame from Sparta” (72-73) at once describes the heroism of the Aegidae in Sparta and expresses the poet’s kinship with the victor; all the reasons why the sons of Antenor wished to settle in Cyrene are expressed in a single phrase, “after

⁷⁰ Cf. Hom. *Od.* XXI 406-409; *Fragm. adespota* 33, *PMG* 951 p. 512; Heraclit. fr. 51 Diels-Kranz (*Vorsokr.* I 22 B 51); GERBER 1982, 169-70.

⁷¹ Cf. the metaphor δόξαν ἔχω τιν’ ἐπὶ γλώσσα λιγυρᾶς ἀκόντας (*O.* VI 82-83), perhaps anticipated by τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον (6); GILDERSLEEVE 1885, 179.

they saw the land of their fathers in smoke"(84). The metaphor of victory song as lustral water sprinkled on the victory vividly and succinctly suggests how Arcesilaus' ancestors can regard his victory as "their prosperity" and be able to learn even beneath the earth of his success (98-103). At the end of the ode once again misfortune is characterized as bad weather, "may no stormy blast, an autumnal wind, break down the time to come" (121). I would argue that this last metaphor of misfortune as a φθινοπωρίς χειμερία πνοά makes immediate sense because it is preceded in the ode by a more general version of the same metaphor, "because of Castor of the golden chariot who after the winter storm showers your fortunate house with fair weather" (9-11).

Other statements in the odes gain momentum, or reinforcement from reiteration, especially the many references to the need for the gods' support in all successful endeavours, πότμου παραδόντος (3), θεόσδοτον δύναμιν (13), παντὶ θεὸν αἷτιον (25), ἔδωκ' Ἀπόλλων (60), οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ (76), πρέπει Φοῖβον ἀπύειν (104), θεὸς τελεῖ δύνασιν (117), Κρονίδαι διδοῖτε (118-19), Διὸς νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ δαίμον' ἀνδρῶν φίλων (122-23). Perhaps 'reiteration' is too crude a term for these different allusions to a constant theme, which never employ exactly the same words. Another theme, most appropriate for chariot racing, is the power of wealth (the ode's opening phrase), which is mentioned again in πολὺς ὄλβος ἀμφινέμεται (14), παλαιὸς ὄλβος τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων (55), σφὸν ὄλβον (102). I will not claim that these recurrences act as a kind of glue that holds the ode together, since the poet's train of thought can be discerned clearly enough without them.⁷² But if we try to ask why one ode sounds different from another, these small distinctions in diction are significant.

⁷² LEFKOWITZ 1979, 49.

Since 1963 scholars have concentrated primarily on what the odes have in common, so that the larger part of an analysis of any one ode has tended to refer to many other odes, in order to describe the basic function of particular metaphors or myths. Now that we have agreed on what many of these building blocks consist of, it is time to say again what makes each ode distinctive. Perhaps, as a result, Pindar will begin to seem once again less like an itinerant oral poet than an artist who wrote for individual patrons with whom he had more or less productive relationships in particular places and times.⁷³ Scholars will do less than justice to the memory of the man the Greeks themselves considered to be the greatest lyric poet if they do not inquire with greater precision why his language is so particularly exciting and effective, and how, using over and over again the same basic materials and formulae, he can write for the Cyrenean victors three odes as different from one another as *P.* IV, V, and IX. And they might also begin to ask to what extent the type of victory, and—if it is known—occasion, determine the tone and content of each poem.⁷⁴

⁷³ Cf. WIND 1963, 88-94.

⁷⁴ Cf. esp. the methodological considerations suggested by BERNARDINI 1983, 87-92.

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DISCUSSION

M. Köhnken: I am convinced by your explanation of the striking passage on Karrhotos, of the role of Apollo, and of Πρόφασις θυγατὴρ Ἐπιμαθήος (which seems to me the most memorable phrase in the poem). There are two small details I should like to ask about:

1) on line 10: Is not Chamoux' suggestion that "bright weather after rain" could refer to conditions in Cyrene excluded by Pindar's use of the same concept elsewhere (e.g. *I. IV* 18)?

2) line 23: Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα: Does this really mean "Apollo's delight", and not rather "inspired by Apollo" (cf. the following τῷ)?

Mme Lefkowitz: An adjective like Ἀπολλώνιος (line 23) can be active and passive, and in English translation one needs to make a decision "by" or "for", which may narrow the original meaning too much.

M. Hurst: Τό du v. 39 peut-il être le démonstratif annonçant κυπαρίσσινον μέλαθρον (cf. des tours homériques comme αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν ἱέρυσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων *Il. II* 402)? Gildersleeve (*ad loc.*, p. 309) admet une correction en τοῦ de Bergk mais interprète τό des mss. par "therefore".

Autre chose: faut-il vraiment, au v. 40, serrer d'aussi près le sens de ἀμφ' ἀνδριάντι? Ne pourrait-on comprendre d'une façon plus générale que cela signifie "dans le sanctuaire" *vel sim.*? (Voir la discussion au sujet de *O. XIII* 111 et l'interprétation de H. Lloyd-Jones *infra* p. 326.)

Mme Bernardini: Non vedo perché non si debba dare credito alla testimonianza dello storico Teotimo, autore di un'opera su Cirene, che spiega e giustifica la particolare enfasi posta da Pindaro nell'elogio di Carroto. Le notizie fornite da Didimo e che derivano appunto da Teotimo sono in questo caso circostanziate e, a mio avviso, non deducibili dal testo poetico (allusione alla ricchezza, apostrofe di Carroto

come benefattore ecc.). Soprattutto esse trovano una conferma nella situazione storica di Cirene ricostruibile attraverso altre fonti che concordano nel delineare un quadro di instabilità politica della città intorno al 462 e spiegano la necessità di Arcesilao di procurarsi altrove un contingente di mercenari. A questi risultati sono del resto pervenute alcune delle ricerche più recenti, da B. M. Mitchell, in *JHS* 86 (1966), 108 sgg. a P. Giannini, in *QUCC* 31 (1979), 43-48, a E. Cingano, *ibid.*, 172-74.

Mme Lefkowitz: But was Theotimus a historian in our sense of the word, who did careful research and refused gossip? Can we tell whether Didymus, who elsewhere is hardly a model of accuracy, cited him correctly? The name Euphemus might have been drawn from the myth of *P. IV*, and Didymus' notice that Cyrene (the city) was proclaimed victorious, rather than the man who provided the chariot, has no practical parallel. One cannot insist that the information in the scholia is historically accurate without examining the type of documentation on which it is based; you must try to show why the doubts raised by Mrs West and myself in the *art. cit.* are without foundation.

Mme Bernardini: Non si può escludere che anche l'Eufemo menzionato da Teotimo, fosse imparentato con i Battiadi e che portasse il nome del progenitore di Batto I più volte celebrato nella *P. IV*. Quanto all'espressione di Didimo τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐστεφάνωσε, essa può avere, come molte volte nel linguaggio degli epinici e delle iscrizioni agonistiche, un senso generico e riferirsi alla gloria ed alla fama che l'atleta vincitore porta alla propria città (cfr. vv. 30-31). Telesicrate, ad esempio, è definito nella *P. IX* 4 στεφάνωμα Κυράνας. Per venire ad un altro argomento, l'uso di guidare il proprio carro era piuttosto raro. I grossi proprietari di cavalli nelle competizioni pubbliche si servivano di aurighi e i casi di Erodoto in *I. I* e di Trasibulo in *P. VI* sono piuttosto eccezionali. Talvolta il poeta poteva immaginare il committente alla guida del suo carro (*P. II*; *N. I*), ma si tratta di immagini allegoriche, come si evince dal contesto stesso in cui si inseriscono (vedi in particolare *N. IX*).

M^{me} Lefkowitz: But how can you be certain that the references in *N. I* and *IX* are allegorical and not literal? And what do you do about *P. II*, where Hieron appears to have driven the chariot himself? Certainly it was possible to transport chariots by ship—did the Achaeans purchase their chariots from the Trojans?

M. Vallet: J'ai beaucoup admiré 'l'explication de texte' de *M^{me} Lefkowitz*: vous savez l'importance qu'a eue dans les études en France cet exercice privilégié qui met face à face auteur et commentateur, ce dernier s'efforçant de comprendre et d'expliquer non seulement le sens littéral des mots et des phrases (ce qui n'est pas toujours facile, comme le montre votre discussion), mais les intentions, les choix, la démarche de l'auteur et, surtout, les allusions, conscientes ou non, à son monde, au monde de l'événement, au monde de sa sensibilité, au monde de la vie.

On connaît la place que tient dans les odes de Pindare, et plus précisément dans les *Pythiques*, ce monde de Cyrène qui rappelle, à bien des égards, le monde sicilien. Mais, si la *IX^e Pythique*, celle qui est dédiée à Télésicrate de Cyrène, est en gros contemporaine des odes qui célèbrent les victoires ou la gloire de Hiéron et de Théron, puisqu'elle est de 474, la victoire d'Arcésilas, que chante Pindare dans la *IV^e* et la *V^e Pythique*, est nettement postérieure, puisqu'elle eut lieu en 462, et que ces deux odes sont donc plus ou moins contemporaines de ce que j'ai appelé, à tort ou à raison, la troisième phase des poèmes siciliens de Pindare. Voilà, me semble-t-il, un point particulièrement important: au moment où les tyrannies siciliennes n'existent plus, au moment où elles ont sombré dans la violence et dans la haine, Pindare peut encore évoquer «son ami, le roi de Cyrène aux beaux chevaux» (*P. IV* 1-2), la ville célèbre par ses chars (vv. 7-8), cette grande colonie agraire dont les premiers habitants ont «échangé les dauphins aux ailes courtes contre les cavales agiles, et les rames contre les rênes» (vv. 17-18). De là, le bonheur qu'éprouve Pindare à chanter le «foyer heureux» d'Arcésilas (*P. V* 11) et le présent lumineux, malgré quelques difficultés récentes, de cette grande colonie doriennne qui, après la débâcle sicilienne, symbolise maintenant ce monde colonial d'ordre et de puissance qui a tellement

séduit Pindare. D'où l'importance des allusions historiques, importance que le commentaire de M^{me} Lefkowitz a, chemin faisant, parfaitement soulignée. De fait, l'éloge d'Apollon Carnéios prend une signification particulière, avec celui des héros spartiates et le rappel du culte héroïque de Battos: ce Battos, le fondateur de la cité, qui, «pour les cortèges en l'honneur d'Apollon, avait tracé, droit à travers la plaine, la route de pierre où résonne le pas des chevaux et qui, après sa mort, repose seul à l'extrémité de l'agora» (*P. V* 90-93).

Je ne reviens pas ici sur l'importance du culte du héros fondateur (cf., pour Cyrène, les références à F. Chamoux et à S. Stucchi dans G. Vallet, F. Villard et P. Auberson, *Mégara Hyblaea*, I: *Le quartier de l'agora archaïque* [Paris 1976], 412-413 n. 6, ainsi que pour le texte de Pindare et les scholies). Il est vrai que les scholies apportent à l'historien une information importante en commentant l'opposition que fait le poète entre Battos, le fondateur, dont le tombeau est à l'intérieur de la ville à la pointe de l'agora, et les «autres rois» qui sont enterrés devant les maisons, c'est-à-dire à l'extérieur de la polis. Ce qui importe ici, c'est que, avec Battos et avec Arcésilas, nous sommes encore dans ce monde colonial prospère, dorien, rigoureux, qui a toujours fait l'admiration de Pindare.

M. Pòrtulas: L'insistance avec laquelle, dans *P. V*, Pindare exalte la fortune exceptionnelle d'Arcésilas étonne quand on songe à l'impact que la notion de φθόνος τῶν θεῶν avait sur l'esprit des Grecs à l'époque archaïque. Le ton hardi du poète, quand il proclame les exploits du roi de Cyrène, n'implique-t-il pas qu'il se sent libre face à cette envie qui obsède le vulgaire?

M. Lloyd-Jones: For a believer in archaic Greek religion, to praise a mortal man was a dangerous enterprise, requiring all sorts of precautions, cf. *PBA* 68 (1982), 146 f.

M. Köhnken: The 'raison d'être' of Pindar's precise description of Cyrene is the heroon of Battos, Arcesilas' ancestor, which it is leading up to. The description is therefore immediately relevant for the poet's

objective (to glorify the victor and his family) and strictly functional within the framework of the ode.

M. Hurst: Sur la méthode qui consiste à découper le texte selon des segments qui correspondent aux unités métriques, il me semble qu'on ne peut que vous approuver, avec toutefois un regret. Il vous arrive de donner au lecteur l'impression d'avoir cité une strophe (ou antistrophe, ou épode), alors que tel n'est pas le cas: en effet, le poète ne fait pas toujours coïncider les articulations du sens avec celle des unités métriques: il joue de leur interaction. Un cas frappant est l'enjambement de Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθρυμα du v. 23: ne vous privez-vous pas d'un critère formel important en ne prenant pas en compte cet aspect du texte?

Mme Lefkowitz: Unfortunately in English one can't leave parts of sentences dangling, so I put Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθρυμα (line 23), where it belongs syntactically, with the second anastrophe. But certainly its actual position is emphatic, as you say. On the other hand, I think it's probably better to avoid speculation about the possible effects of arrangement of words in different stanzas, since we know virtually nothing about the circumstances of performance.

M. Hurst: Il convient d'orienter notre discussion vers un second point important soulevé par Mme Lefkowitz: la question de l'exécution chorale.

M. Köhnken: My opinion is: 1) the first statement is negative: the 'I' is not always the chorus; 2) the second statement seems to me too exclusive: the 'I' sometimes includes the position of the addressee (cf. e.g. P. IX 89).

Mme Lefkowitz: To recapitulate:

1) There is no reliable ancient evidence for the performance of the odes. The ancient commentators assumed that a chorus was speaking in places where they found it difficult to understand how the 'I' might be the poet.

2) After the discovery of Alcman's *Partheneion*, modern editors assumed that triadic poems were choral; but the discovery of Stesichorus' poem about the sons of Oedipus has shown that the assumption is false.

3) In many or most cases, there are practical reasons for assuming that the most convenient arrangement would have been a solo singer, the poet himself or his delegate, with an accompaniment by a dancing κῶμος (especially for the longer odes like *P. IV*). But there too, we have only negative evidence.

4) A final argument against the notion of multiple speakers (or 'voicing') in an ode is also practical: How could an ancient audience, hearing the ode for the first time, have known who was speaking? The character of the speaker in odes where the chorus is speaking in its own person, like *Paeon II* and *IV*, or in tragedy or comedy, is clearly defined, as it is in amoebic poetry, like *Theoc. I*.

Mme Bernardini: Sono perfettamente d'accordo che nei vv. 72 sgg. si tratta dell'io del poeta e non del coro, così come credo della possibilità che allusioni personali o riferimenti biografici siano presenti nella trama compositiva dell'epinicio. Un'uguale certezza, purtroppo, è impossibile per quanto riguarda la persona e/o le persone che eseguivano il canto. Un'ipotesi poco credibile, mi pare, comunque, quella di un'esecuzione alternata tra coro e corifeo per alcuni epinici pindarici (cfr. in tal senso E. D. Floyd, in *GRBS* 6 [1965], 187-200) sul tipo della *performance* ipotizzabile per il ditirambo 4 (= 18) di Bacchilide.

M. Hurst: La lecture 'à distance' qui permet une vision globale du texte démontre une fois encore son efficacité jusque dans l'interprétation la plus serrée des détails. La question de l'énonciation de l'ode, de son mode d'exécution, ne peut être traitée que de cette façon, et *Mme Lefkowitz* l'illustre admirablement: on peut en dire autant de la lecture de *P. V*, sur laquelle cette digression est venue se greffer. C'est sans doute le dénominateur commun des deux étapes de notre discussion, mais c'est surtout la perspective dont *Mme Lefkowitz* nous démontre qu'elle continue de faire ses preuves.

