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PINDAR'S
SEVENTH OLYMPIAN ODE
A COMMENTARY

W. J. VERDENIUS

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The study of Pindar has made a considerable progress in recent years, but it cannot be said that the right approach to his poetry has now been definitely established. Such an approach is even hampered by a tendency which threatens to develop into a new kind of dogmatism. The search for unity in Pindar's poems, which in the nineteenth century centred in the assumption of a 'Grundgedanke'¹, now focuses on "the interconnection and interdependence of recurrent and developed ideas, thoughts, words, and images"². This point of view seems to imply the belief in organic unity, a principle which is difficult to reconcile with Pindar's method as described by himself (*P.* 10, 33-4): *ἐγκομίον γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων|ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον*³. This general objection is confirmed by the practical results of the new criticism. Recurrence of words is rashly considered to be a sign of interconnection, and 'motifs' are constructed out of superficial resemblances. Thus 'close reading' turns out to lead to 'hyper-interpretation' and Jurenka's admonition (*W.S.* 17, 1895, 1), "so gilt es vor allem, das wuchernde Geranke, das die Hyperexege ge trieben, mit kühnem Messer abzuschneiden", has become relevant again. The most efficient way to perform this task seems to be to write a running commentary on a special poem⁴.

¹ The history of this belief has been admirably described by D. C. Young in his essay *Pindaric Criticism* included in W. M. Calder III and J. Stern (edd.), *Pindaros und Bakchylides* (Darmstadt 1970), 1 ff. Cf. also A. Köhnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin 1971), 1 ff.

² Young, *op. cit.*, 35. Cf. 27: "Mezger's theory of the recurrent word is basically correct (though not in the form in which he gave it) and, I believe, is the greatest single aid for an understanding of a Pindaric ode".

³ For *λόγος* 'subject-matter' cf. LSJ III.

⁴ The well-known editions, commentaries and translations will be referred to by author's name only. In addition the following abbreviations will be used:

- Becker = O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges und verwandte Vorstellungen im frühgriechischen Denken* (Hermes Einzelschr. 4, Berlin 1937).
 Bowra = C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964).
 Bruhn = E. Bruhn, *Sophokles, Anhang* (Berlin 1899, repr. 1963).
 Denn. = J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (2Oxford 1954).
 Dornseiff I = F. Dornseiff, *Pindar, übersetzt und erläutert* (Leipzig 1921, repr. 1965).
 Dornseiff II = F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Olympische Hymnen* (Leipzig 1947).
 Dornseiff, *P.S.* = F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* (Berlin 1921).
 Duchemin = J. Duchemin, *Pindare, poète et prophète* (Paris 1955).
 van Groningen = B. A. van Groningen, *La composition littéraire archaïque grecque* (Amsterdam 1958).
 Gundert = H. Gundert, *Pindar und sein Dichterberuf* (Frankfurt 1935).

1: *φίαλαν*. Dornseiff and Puech take this to imply that the ode was performed at a banquet. But then it should be concluded from the beginning of *O.* 6 that that ode was performed in front of a palace.—For the comparison of poetry with a drink cf. *N.* 3, 77–8, *I.* 5, 24 and 6, 2, Dornseiff, *P.S.*, 62. I do not believe that wine is meant here as a “breuvage d’immortalité”⁵. It is true that Pindar uses *νέκταρ* in line 7, and this certainly implies that the song of praise makes the victor immortal (cf. 11 *ζωθάλλμιος* and *I.* 4, 58). But we should not press the details of the comparison, as is done by Bowra (25), who writes that the young bridegroom “passes into a new life”, and by Young (74), who argues that the offering of the cup symbolizes the continuity of the family. He refers to Hom. *Z* 220–1, but there the cup establishes a bond between two families and this is also the case in the present passage, as is shown by 4 *οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε*. There is an ambiguity in the use of *νέκταρ*, for the word may also denote ordinary wine (*I.* 6, 37–40). Accordingly, the main point of the comparison is that both wine and a song of praise create an atmosphere of refreshment and festivity⁶.

1: *ἀφνειᾶς*. Not an enallage, for the meaning is ‘munificent’ (Young, 72, who refers to Soph. *El.* 457 *ἀφνεωτέραις χειρσί*). The phrase implies that the poet, too, is munificent, i.e. lavish of his praise. Cf. *O.* 11, 7 *ἀφθόνητος αἴνος*, *N.* 3, 9, *I.* 5, 24.

1: *ἀπὸ χειρός*. This cannot be connected with *ἐλών* and taken to mean ‘taking in his hand’ (Fennell, Puech, Farnell, Dornseiff II, Ruck-Matheson), for the instrumental use of *ἀπὸ χειρός* is post-classical (LSJ A III 3)⁷. The connection with *δωρήσεται* simply

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- K.G. = R. Kühner-B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Satzlehre* (Hannover-Leipzig 1898–1904, repr. Darmstadt 1966).
- Lawall = G. Lawall, *The Cup, the Rose, and the Winds in Pindar's Seventh Olympian*, *Riv. Fil.* 39 (1961), 33–47.
- Norwood = G. Norwood, *Pindar* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1945).
- Ruck-Matheson = C. A. P. Ruck-W. H. Matheson, *Pindar, Selected Odes* (Ann Arbor 1968).
- Rumpel = J. Rumpel, *Lexicon Pindaricum* (Leipzig 1883, repr. 1961).
- Schw. = E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (München 1939–50).
- Slater = W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969).
- Smith = O. Smith, *An Interpretation of Pindar's Seventh Olympian Ode*, *Cl. Med.* 28 (1969), 172–85.
- Thummer = E. Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars* (Innsbruck 1957).
- Wilamowitz = U. von Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922, repr. 1966).
- Young = D. C. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar* (Leiden 1968).

⁵ Duchemin, 249; cf. 274. See further K. Kircher, *Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum* (RGVV, IX 2: 1910).

⁶ Even if the giving of the wedding-cup should have a religious significance (cf. Young, 73 n. 4), I do not believe that Pindar intends the gift of the song to be regarded as a rite, as is suggested by Bowra (25).

⁷ Fennell's explanation, “almost as if in the *Dat.*, but indicating that wealth is the antecedent of which a rich present is the consequence”, is forced.

implies the idea of handing over and does not have the connotation of 'freely' (as is assumed by Gildersleeve, who refers to *O.* 6, 13 ἀπὸ γλώσσας, but this is pleonastic, just as *P.* 3, 2 ἀπὸ γλώσσας εὔξασθαι ἔπος). Cf. also Young, 70 n. 3.

1: ἐλών. Cf. Hom. *A.* 139 ἄξω ἐλών, etc. Young (70 n. 3) argues that ἐλών in Homer always implies violence, but cf. *Γ* 72 κτήμαθ' ἐλών εὖ πάντα γυναικὰ τε οἴκαδ' ἀγέσθω, *I* 126 σίτον ἐλών ἐπένειμε, etc. He further argues (71) that the order of the words points to ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἐλών, but it is well-known that the order of words is often very free in Pindar. Young finally points out that Pindar has received his gift from somebody else (*7 Μοισᾶν δόσω*) and that χειρὸς refers to the slave who pours out the wine. But this would rank the Muse with a slave!⁸

2: ἀμπέλου. Lawall (40) wrongly assumes a motif of vegetation recurring in 8 καρπὸν, 11 ζωνθάμιος, 48, 93 σπέρμα, 34 βρέχε, 50 ὄσε, 69 βλάστε. It can only be said that Pindar has a predilection for metaphors taken from the domain of vegetation, but this does not yet constitute a motif.

2: δρόσω. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1390 φωνίας δρόσον, Eur. *Andr.* 227 ὑπαιθρίας δρόσον, and LSJ I 3^{8a}.

3: δωρήσεται. Not a future (Mezger, Bowra)⁹ but a subjunctive. The shift to the indicative θῆκε (6) is to be explained from the fact that the poet gradually lost sight of the relative beginning of his sentence (just as in Homeric comparisons). This is also shown by 7 καί. Cf. *O.* 10, 86 ὅτε... 91 καί. —Lawall (37–8) wrongly thinks that there is a motif of gift recurring in 50 and 68. The only real implication is that the laudatory poem, too, is a gift. Cf. *P.* 3, 72 and below on 4 γαμβρῶ.

4: γαμβρῶ. This may allude to the fact that Diagoras' father Damagetus became the son-in-law of the famous Messenian hero Aristomenes^{9a}. However, the main function of the comparison is to emphasize the friendly relation between the poet and his patron.

⁸ The difficulty is evaded by Bowra when he writes (25): "the poet receives it [the cup] from someone else who is not named beyond the hint of his wealth and must be some divine patron".

^{8a} For kennings in Pindar cf. I. Waern, *ΓΗΣ ΟΣΤΕΑ* (Uppsala 1951), 84–5, 123–5.

⁹ M. Bernard, *Pindars Denken in Bildern* (Pfullingen 1963), 19, maintains that the future emphasizes the disposition from which the action proceeds. But in the present context the action itself is more relevant than the intention. Fennell assumes a gnomic fut. (cf. K.G., I, 171–2), but the present situation does not have a gnomic character. See also K.G., I, 162.

^{9a} As is suggested by B. Lavagnini, *Da Mimnermo a Callimaco* (Torino 1949), 89. For Damagetus and Aristomenes cf. Wilamowitz, 361.

Pindar likes to represent his odes as friendly gifts: cf. *P.* 1, 60 *φίλιος ὕμνος* and Gundert, 33 ff.¹⁰

4: *προπίνων*. Bowra's translation 'to pledge him' is impossible, for one does not first give the cup to a person and then drink his health. 'Drinking his health' (Puech, Lattimore) is equally impossible, for the giving and the drinking cannot be synchronous¹¹. Mezger and Farnell adopt the scholiast's explanation, *προπίνειν ἐστὶ κερῖως τὸ ἅμα τῷ κοράματι τὸ ἀγγεῖον χαρῆζεσθαι*, but this use seems to be post-classical¹². The difficulty is solved if it is borne in mind that the present participle can express a preceding action: cf. Hom. *Γ* 425 *δάρρον ἐλοῦσα . . . κατέθηκε φέρονσα*, K.G., I, 200¹³.

4: *πάγχρυσον*. I doubt whether golden bowls of this kind were so rare that Pindar intended the comparison to carry the suggestion "that the gift of his song is fit only for the great ones of the earth" (Bowra, 25).

5: *χάρον*. 'Des Gelages wegen' (Dornseiff II; cf. I 'beim Gelage'; similarly Slater) is too weak. 'For the sake of the guests' (Gildersleeve) is still worse. 'Zur Freude des Mahles' (Mezger), 'joy of the revel' (Bowra)¹⁴ could be taken as an apposition to the (unexpressed) inner object of *δωρήσεται* (see below on 16 *ἄποινα*), but the double *τε* seems to show that *χάρον* depends on *τιμάσαις*. Rightly Puech 'l'éclat de la fête' (cf. *O.* 13, 19 *Διωνύσου χάριτες* denoting

¹⁰ Cf. also Bernard, *op. cit.*, 19, H. Maehler, *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechenland* (Göttingen 1963), 88. Wilamowitz (360) writes: "Es macht ganz den Eindruck, dass Pindar keine persönlichen Beziehungen zu ihnen [Diagoras and his family] hatte", and concludes (361): "das Herz des Dichters ist unbeteiligt". But the fact that Pindar speaks about Diagoras' victories more elaborately than about his personal qualities does not imply that he did not take a personal interest in him (cf. Young, 77 n. 4). The fact that Rhodes is so prominent in the poem may have something to do with the political situation (Wilamowitz, 362; cf. Thummer, 62-3), but the main reason is the poet's wish to give a new interpretation of the history of the island. See below on 21 *διορθῶσαι* and 71 *λύτρον*.

¹¹ Ruck-Matheson evade the problem by omitting *δωρήσεται* from their translation.

¹² The original meaning of the verb probably was 'to drink the cup of wine before the one who is honoured by the challenge of the first drinker' (cf. Athen. 193 A *προεκπιεῖν*) and it may be true that "often the cup itself is presented to the one who has taken it to drink from", as is argued by G. H. Macurdy, *The Grammar of Drinking Health*, A. J. P. 53 (1932), 168-71, esp. 170, but it does not follow that the use of the verb always implies the presenting of the cup as a gift. Xen. *Cyr.* VIII 3, 35 *προσπινε καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο* seems to show that at that time *προπίνω* did not yet have such an implication (as it does have, e.g., in Plut. *Alex.* 39).

¹³ See further my notes on Pl. *Phdr.* 228 e 5, *Mnemos.* 1955, 267, Pl. *Phd.* 59 e 8, *Mnemos.* 1958, 195, Eur. *Ba.* 1218, *Mnemos.* 1962, 362, Arist. *Top.* 157 a 37, in G. E. L. Owen (ed.), *Aristotle on Dialectic* (Oxford 1968), 40-1.

¹⁴ Similarly Lattimore, Gundert, 45 ('Zier und Ehrengeschenk des Mahles'). Ruck-Matheson's translation, 'This banquet elegance to honor his new alliance' is unintelligible.

a feast). The original meaning of *χάρις* is, as Rumpel said, 'quidquid efficit gaudium'¹⁵. The *χάρις* of festivity can be honoured, because, just as the *χάρις* of poetry (11), it is a divine power.

5: *κᾶδος*. Not the wedding or the nuptial tie, which do not go very well with *τιμάσαις*, but his son-in-law (Puech). For *κῆθος* = *κηδεστής* cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 331, Soph. *O.C.* 379 (and probably Hom. *λ* 542) and the similar use of *κῆδευμα* (Soph. *O.R.* 85, Eur. *Or.* 477). The alteration of *έόν* into *νέον* (Snell, Werner, Lattimore, Ruck-Matheson) is unnecessary.

5: *έν*. "Amidst the gathering of the friends" (Farnell; similarly Werner, Lattimore) is impossible. 'Thereby' (Mezger, Gildersleeve) is possible, but I should prefer 'and in addition'. Cf. *Dith.* 2, 9–10 *ρόμβοι τυπάνων/έν δέ κέχλαδεν κρόταλα*, *O.* 10, 73, Soph. *Ai.* 675, *O.R.* 181, Hdt. I 185, 1¹⁶.

6: *ζαλωτόν*. This is more than 'makes him blessed' (Young, 74, following Fraenkel, *Dichtung und Philos.*, 490 n. 12). The implication is that the victor is envied, a common motif in Pindar (*O.* 6, 74–6, Gundert, s.v. 'Neid').

6: *δμόφρονος*. The present is not 'a pledge of an harmonious wedlock' (Gildersleeve) but the epithet is a reminiscence of Hom. *ζ* 182–4 *ού μέν γάρ του γε κρείσσον και ἄρειον, | ἦ ὄθ' δμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχρητον/άνηρ ἦδὲ γυνή* and the meaning is purely conventional¹⁷.

7: *χυτόν*. Not 'liquid' (LSJ, Gildersleeve a.o.), for this meaning is post-classical, nor 'limpide' (Puech), but 'poured out', which does not mean that "his song travels far, across the sea" (Norwood, 144), but that it has been carefully prepared before it could be 'served'. Cf. *O.* 6, 91 *κρατήρ αοιδᾶν*, *I.* 5, 25 *κιρνάμεν*, 6, 2–3 *κρατήρα Μοισαίων μελέων/κίρναμεν*. These parallels show that the schol. *αυτόματον και ἄκρατον* is completely wrong.

7: *Μοισᾶν*. Pindar uses the plural and the singular without much difference of meaning. Cf. Duchemin, 26–7, who observes: "L'idée seule lui importe".

8: *γλυκύν*. A stereotyped characterization: cf. *O.* 1, 109, *O.* 10, 3, *P.* 10, 56, *N.* 9, 3, *I.* 2, 7.

8: *φρενός*. Pindar is very self-assured and conscious of his originality: cf. *O.* 2, 99 *έκ μαλθακάς φρενός*, *N.* 4, 8 *φρενός εξέλη βαθείας*, *N.* 3, 9 *μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἄπο*, *O.* 3, 4 *νεοσίγαλον εύρόντι τρόπον*,

¹⁵ On *χάρις* in Pindar cf. Gundert, 30 ff., Duchemin, 54 ff. I do not believe that the word implies "die unlösbare Einheit des Künstlerischen und Sittlichen" (Gundert, 45).

¹⁶ Slater (174) rightly classifies the present passage under 'dabei' but wrongly translates it by 'there'. K.G., I, 535 wrongly assume tmesis.

¹⁷ Lattimore's 'for the bride's consent' (similarly Ruck-Matheson) is obviously wrong.

O. 9, 52 ἀνθεα δ' ὕμνων νεωτέρων, *N.* 8, 20 νεαρά δ' ἐξευρόντα 18. The poet's invention is at the same time something received from the Muses (7), because human activity and divine activity are complementary aspects of one and the same process. Similarly Hom. *χ* 347–8 αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεός δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας/παντοίας ἐνέφρυσεν 19. The complementary character of divine inspiration and human invention is interpreted by the poet as a kind of collaboration: *O.* 10, 95–7 τρέφοντι δ' εὐρὴν κλέος/κόραι Πιερίδες Διός./ἐγὼ δὲ συνεραπτόμενος... , *O.* 3, 4 Μοῖσα δ' οὕτω ποι παρέστα μοι 20.

9: ἰλάσκομαι. Not 'pay homage to' (Gildersleeve, Dornseiff, Puech) 21, but 'win their favour' (Farnell). The object is not the gods 22 but the victors. Cf. *O.* 10, 12 ἐς χάριν ('gratitude'), *P.* 1, 76 ἀρέομαι... Ἀθηναίων χάριν μισθόν.

10: νικώντεσσιν. Not to be connected with ἰλάσκομαι (Werner) but with ἀνδράσιν. A nice example of the archaic custom of putting the main things first and appending the details 23.

10: δέ. Motivates the victor's gratitude implied in ἰλάσκομαι.

¹⁸ Cf. Maehler, *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs*, 99 ff., B. Snell, *Dichtung und Gesellschaft* (Hamburg 1965), 127 ff., espec. 135.

¹⁹ See further O. Falter, *Der Dichter und sein Gott bei den Griechen und Römern* (Würzburg 1934), 7 ff., Maehler, *op. cit.*, 22 ff. (and my review, *Mnemos.* 1967, 184), A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg 1965), 11 ff. (and my review, *Mnemos.* 1967, 458–9).

²⁰ Cf. Falter, *op. cit.*, 28–9, Gundert, 29, 61–2, H. Strohm, *Tyche* (Stuttgart 1944), 24–8, Duchemin, ch. I. Fr. 150 μαντεύο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγὼ (cf. *Pae.* VI 6 Πιερίδων προφάταν) has caused some misunderstanding. Dodds (*The Greeks and the Irrational*, 82) writes: "the poet does not ask to be himself 'possessed', but only to act as interpreter for the entranced Muse". Similarly Bowra, 4: "Pindar distinguishes between what the Muse gives him and what he has to do with it"; 8: "the poet has a task to perform by his own efforts through his inborn skill"; 13: "For Pindar it is not the poet but the Muse who is possessed"; 14: "the poet, though not ἐνθεός in the fullest sense, is the prophet of the Muses". But the poet is unable to interpret the message of the Muses without their constant help: fr. 16 τυφλαὶ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν φρένες, / ὅστις ἀνευ θ' Ἑλικωνιάδων / βαθεῖαν ἐλθόντων ἐρενήσσοιαις ὁδόν (cf. also *Pae.* VI 51–5). In other words, the poet's own skill is identical with the inspiration given by the Muses. Bowra himself seems to recognize this when he concludes from *N.* 7, 77–9 "how closely the different materials must be worked together. Yet it is not he but the Muse who does it. It is she who supplies the rare and rich themes and brings them together, and his task is to act as her agent... His conception of inspiration is of a power which engages his whole being and carries him through his task to the end" (16–7).

²¹ Lattimore's 'offer it up to' is quite impossible.

²² As is assumed by Fraenkel, *Dichtung u. Philos.*, 490, *Wege u. Formen*, 359, who is followed by Slater and D. Korzeniewski, *Gymn.* 75 (1968), 465. The latter refers to Hes. *Op.* 338 for the ellipse of θεούς, but there the object has been mentioned two lines before.—Lawall (36) thinks that the use of ἰλάσκομαι "seems to elevate the victors to the ranks of heroes or even gods". But ἰλάσκομαι can have a human being as its object (e.g. *Hdt.* VIII 112, 3, *Pl. Phd.* 95 a) without any hint at deification.

²³ Cf. my note on Hes. *Th.* 519, *Mnemos.* 1971, 2. To the examples mentioned there may be added *Hdt.* VIII 32, 2 πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔχειον,

10: ὄλβιος, ὄν. A traditional formula of beatification: cf. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 100 n. 1, Young, 74 n. 6. The word usually implies the ideas of abundance and permanent property²⁴.

10: κατέχωντι. This reading is supported by *P.* 1, 96 ἐχθρὰ Φάλαρον κατέχει παντᾶ φάτις.

11: ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλον. For this *topos* cf. Hom. δ 236, Slater, *s.v.* ἄλλοτε, Becker, 93, 184. Young (75) rightly points out that the idea of vicissitude implies the precious nature of victory²⁵. The fact that now this man, now another is elected by the gods to become a victor is quite another kind of vicissitude than the alternation of good fortune and bad fortune mentioned at the end of the poem. This difference has been overlooked by Smith (174–5), who assumes a ring-composition (although he admits that 11 is “rather optimistic” and 94–5 “somewhat ominous”). — As the φᾶμαι ἀγαθαί depend on the laudatory poem, δέ has explanatory force.

11: ἐποπτεύει. Usually ‘keep a watchful eye on’, here ‘watch over’, ‘look with favour at’. Cf. *P.* 3, 85–6, *I.* 2, 18, Hes. *Th.* 82, and Headlam on Herond. 4, 73. The poet sees his own activity as an extension of the divine grace which granted the victory²⁶.

11: Χάρις. The divine power which makes poetry delightful. Cf. Gundert, ch. II.

11: ζωθάλμιος. ‘Causing life to bloom’. Pindar likes to use adjectives in a causative sense: e.g. *O.* 2, 90 εὐκλέας οἰστούς, *O.* 10, 4 ὀρθᾶ χειρὶ (‘rectifying’), *P.* 9, 36 κλυτὰν χέρα, fr. 30, 6 ἀλαθέας Ὠδρας (‘bringing to light’). The meaning is that poetry keeps the memory of an achievement, and consequently the achievement itself, alive. Cf. *O.* 10, 91–6, *N.* 6, 30, *N.* 7, 12, *N.* 8, 40, Duchemin, 283–4²⁷.

καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερά (Powell wrongly suggests to transpose ἐπέφλεγον and ἔκειρον). See also Schmid, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.*, II, 649 n. 6.

²⁴ Cf. C. de Heer, *Μάκαρ, εὐδαίμων, ὄλβιος, εὐτυχής* (Amsterdam 1968), 53–4. The word does not always imply divine favour, as is assumed by Thummer, 68 and n. 4.

²⁵ See also E. L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica*, I (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1962), 7.

²⁶ There is no self-irony in this view, as is assumed by Becker, 93 n. 107: “der Dichter spielt das Schicksal; mit überlegener Ironie wird der feste Gang der Dichtung zum scheinbar regellosen Zickzack”. The last remark is equally wrong: there is no zigzag in the course of poetry itself, but only in the way in which it addresses itself to one person rather than to another.

²⁷ Pindar could base himself on the fact that the Charites originally were goddesses of fertility (Paus. IX 35, 2, Duchemin, 73 ff., W. Fauth in *Kleine Pauly*, I, 1135). Duchemin (77–8) takes ζωθάλμιος to refer to the creative power of their inspiration (cf. fr. 70a, 14 ἀέξει' ἐτι, Μοῖσαι, θάλος αἰοιδᾶν), but the context shows that Charis is considered here in respect of her influence on the victor, not on the poet. Young (101) wrongly extends the scope of the vegetative point of view: “The admiration, festivities, and honor resulting from the victory (closely associated with χάριτες) are essentially like blossoms or shoots in Diagoras' life” . . . “the poet also, like the father in the simile, lives on in his ‘children’ (ἔκγονα, as Plato calls the poems)”.

12: *θάμα*. So rightly Gildersleeve, Farnell (= *ἄμα*). Similarly *N.* 2, 9 *θάμα μὲν . . . τε*. This use seems to have originated from such passages as *P.* 12, 25 *λεπτοῦ διανισόμενον χαλκοῦ θ' ἄμα* (so rightly Puech, Turyn) *καὶ δονάκων* and *I.* 2, 11 *κτεάνων θ' ἄμα λειψθεὶς καὶ φίλων*. It would be inconsistent with Pindar's self-confidence to say that his poetry 'often' (i.e. not always) gives permanence to the victor's renown²⁸.

12: *μὲν*. For *μὲν . . . τε* cf. Gildersleeve on *O.* 4, 12: "*μὲν . . . δέ* balances, *τε . . . parallels*, *μὲν . . . τε* shifts from balance to parallel". Instead of 'parallel' it would be more correct to say 'complement'. Cf. J. Gonda, *The History and Original Function of the Indo-European Particle K^uE, especially in Greek and Latin*, *Mnemos.* IV 7 (1954), 177–214, 265–96, esp. 267. See also K.G., II, 271, Denn., 374–6, Bruhn, § 188 II.

12: *παμφώνοισι*. Said of the *αὐλός* also *P.* 12, 19, *I.* 5, 27. Fennell: " 'playing all the melody', while the cithern only played some passages or did not follow the voice so closely"²⁹. However, the use seems to be purely ornamental: cf. *P.* 3, 17 *παμφώνων ἰαχὰν ὑμεναίων*. The meaning is 'with all kinds of sounds' (cf. *παραρμόνιος* and *O.* 3, 8 *φόρμιγγά τε ποικιλόγαρυν*) rather than 'full voiced' (Slater).

12: *ἐν*. Cf. *O.* 5, 19 *ἐν αὐλοῖς*, *O.* 1, 15, *O.* 2, 63, LSJ A III, K.G., I, 465–6. The local force is often still glimmering through the instrumental use, e.g. *P.* 2, 8 *ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χερσὶν ποικιλανίους ἐδάμασσε πώλους*. The preposition should probably be connected both with *φόρμιγγι* and *ἔντεσιν* (cf. *I.* 5, 27 *κλέονται δ' ἐν τε φορμίγγεσσι ἐν αὐλῶν τε παμφώνοις δημοκλαῖς*). For prepositions used *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* cf. *I.* 1, 29 *ῥεέθροισί τε Δίρκας ἔφανε καὶ παρ' Ἐδρότα*, Gildersleeve on *O.* 9, 94, K.G., I, 550, Bruhn, § 171 VI³⁰.

13: *καί*. Has specifying force: cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 8 *καὶ νῦν* and Fraenkel *ad loc.* It sometimes approaches the sense of 'for example' (Verdenius-Waszink, *Aristotle, On Coming-to-be and Passing-away*, 7).

13: *ἄν*. Not purely temporal (Puech 'aujourd'hui') but rather 'in the present case'. Cf. *O.* 11, 11, Aesch. *Ag.* 8 quoted above, Hes. *Th.* 22, Young, 75 n. 4, who refers to Bundy, *Studia Pindarica*, I, 5 n. 18. For the enclitic form used in spite of the emphatic

²⁸ Bury (*Isthmian Odes*, 156) argues that *τε* is equivalent to *θαμὰ δέ*, but *O.* 3, 8, *O.* 10, 94, *N.* 9, 8 seem to show that Pindar used a combination of lyre and flute. In *N.* 2, 9 it would be too confident a prophecy to say that Timodemus is destined to win many victories in the Isthmian games and many victories in the Pythian games.

²⁹ Ruck-Matheson's 'the counterpoint of the flutes' is a ridiculous anachronism.

³⁰ See also my notes on Thuc. VI 9, 2, *Mnemos.* 1965, 304, and on Semon. 7, 95, *Mnemos.* 1968, 152.—Lattimore's 'bestowing favor frequently to the melodious lyre' is obviously wrong.

meaning cf. *O.* 10, 78, *P.* 11, 44, LSJ II, Schroeder, *Prolegomena*, 34.

13: *ὑπό*. 'To the accompaniment of' (cf. *O.* 4, 2, LSJ A II 5). Young (75 n. 3) wrongly concludes: "The lyre and the flute are objects with power on which the poet senses his own dependence".

13: *σὺν Διαγόρα*. Smith (175) concludes from this phrase that "the subject of the poem is clearly Rhodes, not Diagoras". But it is methodically wrong to assume that a Pindaric ode can have only one subject.

13: *κατέβαν*. Cf. *P.* 4, 22 *πρόραθεν καταβαίς*, *P.* 3, 73 *κατέβαν* (for arriving at Sicily). Wilamowitz (363) concludes from 8 *πέμπων* that Pindar did not go himself to Rhodes, but Farnell rightly remarks that in 8 "he is describing his profession in general" (cf. *N.* 3, 77, fr. 124, 2). On the other hand, it cannot be said that "the description of Rhodes as *πέλας ἐμβόλω Ἀσίας εὐρυχόρου* (18-9) suggests an eye-witness" (Farnell). In many cases the coming of the poet seems to be equivalent to the coming of his poem, for Pindar likes to identify himself with the chorus³¹. So the question must remain undecided. — For the use of the aorist cf. P. von der Mühl, *M.H.* 21 (1964), 55 n. 15, who refers to *Rigveda* 'ástōṣi' 'I praise' (mentioned by Schw., II, 282) and suggests that "im Preislied Pindars eine alte indogermanische Tradition fortlebe". But it is much simpler to assume (with Fennell on *O.* 8, 54) that the aorist refers to the time before the ode was performed. Cf. also W. J. Slater, *C.Q.* 19 (1969), 88: "Pindar formulates his song by convention roughly for a time, when his chorus is arriving at the place where they are to sing, but at a moment before the song is to be sung"³².

13: *ποντίαν*. Rightly connected with *παῖδα* (according to the scholia the father was Poseidon) by Gildersleeve, who compares *O.* 2, 13 *ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ Πέας*. Accordingly, no comma should be put after *ὑμνέων*.

14: *Ἀφροδίτας*. Wilamowitz (364) plausibly suggests that this genealogy was invented by Pindar to emphasize the beauty of Rhodes. Similarly *Ἀλάθεια* is made the daughter of Zeus (*O.* 10, 4) and *Ἀγγελία* the daughter of Hermes (*O.* 8, 82). See also below on 53 *ἄδολος*.

15: *εὐθνομάχαν*. Not 'fighting fairly' (LSJ, Fennell, Werner, Slater, Ruck-Matheson) but 'a fighter who goes straight at his adversary' (Farnell, Puech, Lattimore). Cf. Hom. *P.* 168 *ἰθὺς*

³¹ Cf. Becker, 81-2, Bowra, 360-1, Thummer on *I.* 2, 34, P. von der Mühl, *M.H.* 20 (1963), 101-2.

³² I do not believe, however, that 20 *ἐθελήσω* is to be explained from this convention (see below *ad loc.*). For the conventional use of the future see also Bundy, *Studia Pindarica*, 20-2, who is wrong, however, in taking 16 *αἰρέσω* to be a future.

μαχέσασθαι, 11, 95 ἰθὺς μεμαῶτα. Similarly Hdt. IV 102, 1 and 120, 1 ἰθυμαχίη (LSJ wrongly 'fair fight').

15: πελώριον. A stature of 1.96 m. (schol.) must have been an exception. The Greeks were a comparatively small race³³.—For Homeric phrases in Pindar cf. Bowra, 215.

15: στεφανωσάμενον. 'Had himself crowned' (similarly 81, O. 12, 17, N. 6, 21). Cf. διδάσκομαι, 'have oneself instructed' and K.G., I, 113, Schw., II, 232^{33a}.

16: ἄποινα. Apposition to the unexpressed internal object of στεφανωσάμενον. Similarly I. 3, 7, P. 1, 59, Eur. H.F. 180. Cf. Bruhn, § 11, and my note on Eur. Ba. 66, Mnemos. 1962, 338.—For the idea of victory as a recompense cf. W. Schadewaldt, *Der Aufbau des pindarischen Epinikion* (Halle 1928, repr. Darmstadt 1966), 20 n. 1.

17: ἄδόντα. Gildersleeve reads ἄδόντα (Aeolic *psilosis*)³⁴. The MSS usually have the unaspirated forms (Schroeder, *Prolegomena*, 15), but it is difficult to decide whether these are original. Homer has ἄδε as well as εὔαδε (cf. Chantraine, *Gramm. hom.*, I, § 74).

17: Δίκη. He probably was a *prytanis*³⁵. It is typical of Pindar's religiosity to say, not "he liked justice" but "Justice liked him", but the religiosity borders on mannerism: cf. I. 3, 33 Ἄρει ἄδον (but O. 10, 14 μέλει τέ σφισι Καλλιόπα καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης), and below on 53 κέλευθοι, 83 ἔγνω³⁶.

18: εὐρύχορον. Not 'broad for dancing' (Slater; cf. Ruck-Matheson: 'vast dancing Asia's promontory') but 'spacious': Sparta is called εὐρύχορος (Hom. ν 414) as well as εὐρύς (λ 460). I doubt whether the word ever meant 'with broad dancing-places'. Similarly καλλίχορος (Hom. λ 581 of Panopeus, Bacch. 10, 32 of Olympia). It is unnecessary to assume that χορός originally meant 'open space' (Fennell). The form of the adjective is obviously due to metrical compulsion.

18: τρίπολιν. Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus (Hom. B 655).

18: πέλας. This need not imply that "Pindar sees Rhodes as on guard against Persia" (Bowra, 146).

19: ἐμβόλω. 'Tongue of land', 'cape' (*i.c.* Κυνὸς σῆμα). The original meaning is not 'ship's beak' (Bowra, Stein on Hdt. IV

³³ Cf. my notes in Mnemos. 1949, 296–7.

^{33a} Schw., I, 757 assumes a passive sense, but I fail to see why "sich bekränzen (lassen)" sachlich nicht passt" (*ibid.*, n. 1).

³⁴ See also B. Forssman, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars* (Wiesbaden 1966), ch. I, and the review by S. L. Radt, Gnom. 41 (1969), 408–9.

³⁵ Thummer (114) wrongly suggests that the phrase may be "eine Anspielung auf eine schon unter Beweis gestellte und von Pindar sich gegenüber erwartete Gastfreundschaft".

³⁶ For deified abstractions in Pindar cf. Dornseiff, *P.S.*, 50 ff., Thummer, 27–31, Duchemin, 125 ff. For *δίκη* cf. Thummer, 113–6.

53, 6) but 'anything pointed so as to be easily thrust in' (LSJ).

19: *αἰχμᾶ*. For *αἰχματαῖς* (also Eur. *Heracle*. 276). Similarly *λόγχη* (Eur. *Phoen*. 442), *ἀσπίς* (Hdt. V 30, Xen. *An.* I 7, 10). Cf. K.G., I., 12-3, Schw., II, 42.

20: *ἐθελήσω*. The will itself is actual at the present moment, but the speaker's mind is dominated by the thought that the object of his will lies in the future. Cf. *O.* 6, 21, *O.* 8, 57, *O.* 11, 16, Hom. A 181 *ἀπειλήσω δέ τοι ὄδε*, K.G., I, 172-3, Schw., II, 292³⁷, Bruhn, § 106.

20: *τοῖσιν*. Not to be connected with *ἐξ ἀρχᾶς* (Fennell, Gildersleeve) or with *ἀπὸ Τλαπολέμου* (Farnell) but prospective and explained by *Ἡρακλέος γέννα* (Mezger, Dornseiff, Puech), the family of the Eratidae to which Diagoras belongs.

20: *ἐξ ἀρχᾶς*. Explained by *ἀπὸ Τλαπολέμου*³⁸.

21: *ξυνόν*. The ode concerns the victor, his family, and his native town. Cf. *O.* 10, 11 *κοινὸν λόγον*, I. 1, 46 *ξυνὸν καλόν*, I. 6, 65 *ξυνὸν ἄσκει κόσμον*. The poet is *ἴδιος ἐν κοινῷ σταλείς* (*O.* 13, 49; Puech: 'un simple particulier, mais chargé d'une mission publique'). See further Gundert, 32-3. We should not connect *ξυνόν* with *τοῖσιν* (Fennell, Puech, van Groningen, 354 n. 2) or with *γέννα* (Werner, Bowra), for the above parallels show that the word has a wider relevance.

21: *ἀγγέλλων*. Not pleonastic (Mezger), for the meaning is 'making a public announcement'. Cf. *P.* 2, 4, *P.* 9, 2, *N.* 4, 74, *N.* 6, 57³⁹.

21: *διορθῶσαι*. Not 'tell my tale aright' (LSJ and most editors) or 'exalt' (Young, 78), for *διορθῶ* and *διόρθωσις* always imply the idea of correction⁴⁰. This does not refer to 24 *Ἀστυδαμείας* instead of *Ἀστυόχεια* (Hom. B 658), for "ce ne sont guère que des variantes d'un même nom" (Puech), but to the following points:

(1) In Homer's version of the story (B 665-6) Tlepolemus takes

³⁷ His explanation, "So steht das Futurum auch für die unmittelbarste Zukunft", does not seem to me correct. He gives more examples on p. 294 and another explanation on p. 293: "indem die futurische Bedeutung der formell nicht futurischen Verbindungen auch zu einem formellen Ausdruck drängt", which is too vague.

³⁸ Ruck-Matheson's 'from that first Tlepolemos' is absurd.

³⁹ Becker, 80-1, rightly criticizes Dornseiff's explanation (*P.S.*, 64: "der Chordichter, der herumreist als Fahrender"), but wrongly concludes: "Vor der grossen Zahl der betrachteten Stellen, in denen das Lied selbst als ein Gang gesehen ist, erweist sich diese Botenvorstellung als ein Spiel mit der Wirklichkeit, indem die abstrakte 'Fahrt des Liedes' durch das Hereinziehen der scheinbaren Reise des Dichters erst recht gerundet und belebt wird". Not every traveller is a messenger. Pindar feels himself a messenger, not in his quality of being a (fictitious) traveller but in performing a public task (*O.* 13, 49 quoted above).

⁴⁰ Cf. Gundert, 128 n. 230, van Groningen, 355, Norwood, 139, who is wrong, however, in translating *ξυνὸν λόγον* by 'the current story'.

to flight before the family of Licymnius, but Pindar makes him consult the oracle of Apollo (31), i.e. emphasizes the guidance of the gods (Young, 83).

(2) In the traditional story the murder was unintentional (schol. and Apollod. II 8, 2; Homer does not mention a motive), but Pindar adds *χολωθείς* emphatically at the end of the sentence (30). I do not believe that he "is alluding to some fuller version than Homer's, probably to Hesiod's" (Farnell)⁴¹, but that he invented the motive in order to strengthen the contrast with the happy issue of the story.

(3) In the original version Rhodes was founded not by Tlepolemus himself but by the third generation after him.

(4) Pindar divides the history of Rhodes into three episodes each of which starts with some misfortune but has a good ending (cf. Young, 79–81, who rightly criticizes some details in this interpretation but wrongly rejects the scheme itself; van Groningen, 355).

23: *Δίος*. Father of Heracles, who was the father of Tlepolemus.

23: *εὔχονται*. For the ellipse of *εἶναι* cf. Hom. ξ 199, Pind. P. 4, 97, LSJ III 1.

23: *Ἀμνυτορίδα*. Amyntor, king of Thessaly, was father of Astydameia (mother of Tlepolemus).

24: *Ἀστυδαμείας*. Not an apposition to *ματρόθεν* (Fennell)⁴² but depending on *εὔχονται*.

24: *ἀμπλακία*. This does not refer to "human inability to foresee outcomes" (Young, 81), for the word always has a moral sense, here taken up by *φρενῶν ταραχαί* (30) which Young admits to refer to Tlepolemus (while rightly rejecting the assumption that the phrase is a veiled excuse for Tlepolemus' deed). Smith (197) refers to P. 3, 13 *ἀμπλακίαισι φρενῶν* and to Emp. B 115, 3, where the word, just as in the present passage, refers to murder. Norwood (142) wrongly follows Boeck in regarding the sentence as "a warning to the Rhodians against political folly". It is equally wrong to assume that Diagoras had killed an opponent in the boxing match (schol., Fennell). See also below on 77 *λύτρον*.

25: *κρέμονται*. Gildersleeve takes the verb to allude to lures or nets, but these can hardly be said to 'hang around' their victims.

⁴¹ J. M. Bremer, *Hamartia* (Amsterdam 1969), 117 n. 9, wrongly suggests that Apollod. II 8, 2 "may be a later version of the story". Bowra (301) writes that "Pindar faces the facts" and suggests that there was a family feud (similarly Dornseiff I, 187), but we do not know anything about this. Rightly Puech: "les scholies, qui parlent 'd'une rivalité d'honneur et de pouvoir', ne faisaient sans doute qu'une induction, tirée de ce texte même".

⁴² Similarly Ruck-Matheson 'these Amyntorids, whose mother was Astydameia'.

The reference is more likely to be to dark clouds obscuring the steerman's vision (cf. 45 *νέφος* and Young, 81–2, 85). Smith (176) objects that the verb without any further qualification cannot refer to clouds. But Becker (95) rightly compares *I.* 8, 14–5 *δόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρέματα, | ἐλίσσω βίου πόρον*, where the nautical metaphor is more explicit. The same metaphor seems to underly *O.* 6, 74–5 *μῶμος ἐξ ἄλλων κρέματα φθονεόντων | τοῖς* and *I.* 2, 43 *φθονεραὶ θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἐλπίδες*, for *μῶμος* and *φθόνος* are dark and darkening powers (*N.* 4, 40, *N.* 7, 61, Hes. *Th.* 214).

25: *τοῦτο*. Subject of the sentence. Cf. *ἄξιος θανμάσαι, ῥάδιος μαθεῖν*, etc. (K.G., II, 15–6). Similarly 26 *ὁ τι*.

26: *καί*. For the transposition of copulative *καί*, "which gives special emphasis to the second member" (Gildersleeve), cf. Denn., 325–6⁴³.

29: *Μιδέας*. His mother. Then *θαλάμων* is the woman's apartment (LSJ I 1). But (1) *ἐλθὼν ἐκ* cannot mean 'originating from' (born in), and (2) if it simply means 'coming out of', Midea would be still alive, which is scarcely possible, because Licymnius was Tlepolemos' great-uncle. Farnell adopts the second interpretation mentioned by the schol., 'having come from the habitations of Midea'⁴⁴ (a town in Argos mentioned in *O.* 10, 66). I prefer to take *θαλάμων* to refer to Licymnius' house (cf. *P.* 4, 160 and LSJ I 3) and *Μιδέας* as a geographical partitive genitive (cf. Xen. *An.* II 2, 6 *ἦλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας*, K.G., I, 338).

30: *δέ*. Has explanatory force.

30: *ταραχαί*. Smith (178) maintains "that *ταράσσειν, ταραχῶδες* and *ταραχή* are normally used at this time to denote supernatural interference" and that accordingly "some supernatural force took possession of Tlepolemos' mind and caused him to stray". He refers to Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 51 n. 3: "*Ταράσσειν* is regularly used of supernatural interference". A look into LSJ shows that this use is not predominant but simply one of many possibilities.

31: *παρέπλαγξαν*. Cf. Hom. *v* 346 *παρέπλαγξεν δὲ νόημα* and Becker, 157–8.

31: *μαντεύσατο*. Smith (178) writes: "As Tlepolemos was *σοφός*, he went to the god; this is the effect of the juxtaposition *σοφόν· μαντεύσατο*". However, the consecutive force of *δέ* ('hence') does

⁴³ Pindar seems to be the only author who uses this transposition, for Denn. rightly points out that in Aesch. *Prom.* 51 *τοῖσδε* should be connected with *ἔγνωκα*.

⁴⁴ Similarly H. Fraenkel, G. G. A. 1922, 196 n. 5.—In his translation Farnell seems to combine both views: 'having come from his mother's home in Midea'.

not refer to Tlepolemus' wisdom but to the fact that he felt anxious about the consequences of his deed.

31: *ἐς θεόν*. It is not entirely correct to say that "the person is the place" (Gildersleeve): *εἰς* is used with regard to persons if emphasis is put on the place where these persons are dwelling or staying (K.G., I, 468, Schw., II, 459).

32: *μέν*. Emphatic (originally a weak form of *μήν*): cf. Denn., 360-1, Schw., II, 570, M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften* (Zürich 1959), 229 ff.

32: *χρυσοκόμας*. Gold is a symbol of radiance and imperishableness, and therefore a characteristic of the gods (cf. fr. 222)⁴⁵. — Pindar is more interested in nuances of light than of colour⁴⁶.

32: *εὐώδεις*. This refers either to the sweet odors rising from the cleft in the earth covered by the tripod (Plut. *Def. orac.* 437c) or to the laurel standing beside the tripod (Hom. *H. Ap.* 396, schol. Ar. *Plut.* 212-3, Lucr. I 739).

33: *εἶπε*. Not 'prescribed' but 'spoke of' (Mezger: "Nachahmung der Orakelsprache"). When the verb is used in the sense of 'to command', it is always followed by an infinitive or by *ἵνα* (LSJ III 5). The reading *εὐθύν(αι)* is impossible for metrical reasons and *εὐθὺς πλόος* is also found at *O.* 6, 103.

33: *Λερναίας*. Lerna lies on the coast south of Argos.

33: *νομόν*. Not 'pasture land' (Slater; cf. Ruck-Matheson 'these meadows in the sea') but 'dwelling-place': cf. Hdt. V 92 a 1 *ἀνθρώποι νομόν ἐν θαλάσση ἔξουσι* and LSJ II 1. Mezger and Gildersleeve observe that such circumlocutions belong to the oracular style. But they are also characteristic of Pindar's mannerism: cf. *I.* 3, 12 *κοίλα λέοντος βαθυστέρνου νάπα* (for Nemea) and Dornseiff, *P.S.*, 28-32, Bowra, 209-11.

34: *ἔνθα*. Young (84; similarly Smith, 178) thinks that we are "never quite sure where the response of the god ends and the poet's narrative of the second myth begins", but it is obvious that the story introduced by *ἔνθα* does not form part of the oracle.

34: *ποτε*. Pindar tells the history of Rhodes in a regressive order, now turning to the period immediately preceding the arrival of Tlepolemus. Regressive order is a characteristic of archaic narrative⁴⁷ but in the present case it has a special relevance.

⁴⁵ See further H. L. Lorimer, *Gold and Ivory in Greek Mythology, in Greek Poetry and Life* (Oxford 1936), 30 ff., Duchemin, 193 ff.

⁴⁶ Cf. Dornseiff, *P.S.*, 43, E. des Places, *Pindare et Platon* (Paris 1949), Ch. VI, esp. 77, Duchemin, 193 ff. Schmid (*Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, I, 613) is completely wrong in maintaining: "um Farbenwirkungen ist er bemüht".

⁴⁷ Cf. B. A. van Groningen, *Over het ordenend verband in Herodotus' Historiën*, in *Exuli: Amico Huizinga amici non historici* (Haarlem 1948), 41 ff., id., *In the Grip of the Past* (Leiden 1953), ch. IV, espec. 44-5, where he refers to Pind. *P.* 3, *P.* 4, *N.* 10.

Gildersleeve (184) rightly observes that the parallelism of the three periods (misfortune followed by a happy issue) is combined with a double climax: (1) in the rank of the persons (Heraclidae—sons of Helios—Helios himself), and (2) in the diminishing grade of the fault (murder—forgetfulness—absence). There is a third climax in the greatness of the boon following on the misfortune (colonization—prosperity—the island itself), in accordance with the archaic idea that things more remote in time are more valuable (van Groningen, 353)⁴⁸.

34: *βρέχε*. A literal interpretation of Hom. B 670 *καί σφιν* (the Rhodians) *θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων* (cf. *Ψ* 408 *μὴ σφῶν ἐλεγχείην καταχεύη*)⁴⁹. Pindar may also have had in mind Hom. *H. Ap.* 135–6 *χρυσῶ δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἄπασα/βεβρόθει καθορῶσα Διὸς Λητοῦς τε γενέθλην* (cf. 98 *ἦστο γὰρ ἄκρω Ὀλύμπω ὑπὸ χρυσεόισι νέφεσσι*). Similarly, Pindar transfers the traditional motif of Zeus approaching Danae in a rain of gold to his union with Alcmena (*I.* 7, 5).

36: *χαλκελάτω*. According to Fraenkel (*Dichtung u. Philos.*, 565 n. 22), this means that “das Erz der Axt in den Schädel getrieben wurde” (cf. Soph. *El.* 484–5 *χαλκόπλακτος γένυς*, Eur. *Phoen.* 1577 *χαλκόκροτον φάσγανον*). But *χαλκήλατος* always means ‘forged out of brass’.

36: *πελέκει*. Does not depend on *τέχναισι* (Mezger) but the causal *τέχναισι* is followed by the instrumental *πελέκει*. Similarly, a modal dative may be followed by an instrumental one: cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 207 *δρόμω πτεροῖς* and K.G., I, 411. The converse order is found in *P.* 3, 9–11 *τόξοισιν ὑπ' Ἀρτέμιδος . . . τέχναις Ἀπόλλωνος*, which shows that *τέχναις* is almost equivalent to ‘through’ (cf. *πάση τέχνῃ* etc.).

36: *κατ' ἄκραν*. “We should expect *ἐξ*, but Athena makes her sire's head the stage of her first appearance” (Gildersleeve). Farnell wrongly ‘running down’ (similarly Ruck-Matheson ‘down from’).

37: *ἀλάλαξεν*. As a goddess of war (Mezger): cf. 38 *ἔφριξε* and *ἀλάλα* (*N.* 3, 60, *I.* 7, 10, fr. 78, 1) and *ἀλαλατός* (*P.* 1, 72).

37: *ὑπερμάκει*. Not ‘langdauernd’ (Werner) but ‘exceedingly loud’ (LSJ). Cf. Hom. B 224 *μακρὰ βοῶν*, *Γ* 81 *μακρόν ἄνσε*, LSJ I 3 and V. The meaning is not ‘so as to be heard afar’ (LSJ), but in archaic thought intensity is expressed by means of quantity: cf. Hom. *μέγα χαιρειν, πολλὰ ἀρᾶσθαι*, etc., and B. Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*, 37–8.

⁴⁸ See further *In the Grip of the Past*, 47 ff., 82 ff. Cf. also Norwood, 142–3, A. Rivier, *Lettres d'hum.* 9 (1950), 77–80.

⁴⁹ It is unnecessary to assume that Pindar adopted the motif “from some other poem which picked up a hint from Homer” (Bowra, 283).

39: *φανσίμβροτος*. Aeolic for *φασίμβροτος* (Hom.).

39: *Ὑπεριονίδας*. Hyperion is the father of Helios (Hom. *μ* 176, Hes. *Th.* 374, Hom. *H. Dem.* 26). Elsewhere the name is an epithet of Helios or is used for Helios himself (Hom. *α* 8, 24, etc.). The word may originally have been an adjective equivalent to (properly, a comparative of) *ὑπερος*⁵⁰ and have been misunderstood as a proper name from the formula *ὑπερίονος Ἡελίοιο* (Hom. *α* 8, *μ* 263, *Θ* 480).

40: *μέλλον*. Not to be connected with *φυλλάσθαι* (Puech, Lattimore)⁵¹ but used absolutely: 'soon to become due' (Fennell), i.e., after Athena's birth.

40: *χρέος*. 'Duty' (LSJ IV).

41: *παισίν*. Pindar takes it for granted that the oldest population of the island was descended from Helios and the nymph Rhode.

42: *πρῶτοι*. Another point taken to be common knowledge is that the new goddess "would abide for ever with the people who first duly performed her rites" (Fennell; cf. Young, 85 n. 1).

42: *ἐναργέα*. Not 'brilliant' (Puech, LSJ) but 'visible from afar', i.e. on the acropolis of Lindos (cf. 48 *ἀέβαν*). Similarly Alc. 129, 2 *εὔδειλον τέμενος*⁵².

42: *θυσίαν*. Ruck-Matheson (55) maintain that here "the festival motif reappears" and that this motif "also suggests the ceremonies honoring Tlepolemos at Rhodes [v. 80]". The same motif is said (53, 58) to close the poem (v. 94). But there is nothing in the text to suggest that these scenes have something in common; so we are not justified in speaking of a recurrent motif.

42: *θέμενοι*. Not 'establish' (Lattimore), 'instituter' (Puech), for *τίθεσθαι* is equivalent to *ποιεῖσθαι*: cf. *P.* 4, 29 *πρόσοψιν θεγάμενος*, *P.* 4, 112-3 *κᾶδος . . . θεγάμενοι*, *O.* 13, 53 *θεμέναν γάμον*, Hom. *α* 116 *σκέδασιν τίθεσθαι*, Solon 1, 46 *φειδωλήν τ.*, Aesch. *Prom.* 782 *χάρον τ.*, *Ag.* 1059 *σχολήν τ.*, Soph. *Ai.* 13 *σπονδήν τ.*, Eur. *Med.* 66 *σιγήν τ.*, LSJ C 4⁵³.

43: *ἐγχειβρόμω*. For *βρέμω* used of clashing arms cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 832, *Phoen.* 113.

43: *ἀρετάν*. Not 'virtue', for this is rather the basis than the result of *αἰδώς*. In Pindar *ἀρετή* often means 'success' (e.g. 89 *ἀρετάν*

⁵⁰ Cf. H. Usener, *Götternamen*³ (Frankfurt 1948), 19 ff.

⁵¹ Ruck-Matheson's 'perpetual commemoration' is still worse, for 'perpetual' is contradicted by *πρῶτοι*.

⁵² Ruck-Matheson's 'altar monstrosity' is a curious product of their attempt "to see Pindar not with our own eyes but with his" (10).

⁵³ For *σπονδᾶς τίθεσθαι* = *σπένδεσθαι* cf. W. Vollgraff, *Le decret d'Argos relatif à un pacte entre Knossos et Tyllissos* (Verh. Kon. Ned. Akad. v. Wet., afd. Lett. N.R. 51: 1, 1948), 23.

εύροῖντα, *N.* 5, 52–3 ἐλεῖν ἀρετάν) but it also denotes the ability to achieve success (cf. *I.* 3, 13 ἀρετάν σύμφυτον, Gundert, 118 n. 106). In the present case the latter aspect predominates, as is shown by ἐν ἔβαλεν ἀνθρώποισι. Accordingly, 'Stärke' (Dornseiff I) is better than 'Gedeihen' (Dornseiff II)⁵⁴.

44: χάματα. Not 'wohlgefällige Taten' (Wilamowitz, 366 n. 3), for the word never has such a causative meaning (as was pointed out by C. E. von Erffa, *ΑΙΔΩΣ*, Leipzig 1937, 78), but the joys caused by the success implied in ἀρετάν.

44: αἰδώς. 'Reserve which keeps at a respectful distance'⁵⁵. Here it denotes the prudence of the man who avoids excessive risks. Cf. *N.* 11, 45–6 δέδεται γὰρ ἀναιδεῖ/ἐλπιδί γυνία προμαθείας δ' ἀπόκεινται ῥοαί.

44: προμαθέος. The parallel just quoted shows that such translations as 'en respectant Prométhée' (Puech), 'respect for forethought' (Lattimore)⁵⁶, 'reverence but forethought' (Ruck-Matheson) are wrong. We may take the genitive either as a subjective genitive (v. Erffa, *op. cit.*, 78: 'eines Vorherbedenkenden', Becker, 94: 'eines vorausschauenden Sinnes') or as a genitive of origin (Farnell: 'born of Forethought'), which seems the most attractive interpretation: cf. *P.* 5, 25 Ἐπιμαθέος θυγατέρα πρόφασιν⁵⁷. The function of this maxim is to form a foil to the next sentence. It is wrong to think that prudence is a recurrent motif in the poem^{57a}.

45: ἐπὶ . . . βαίνει. Not 's'avance' (Puech) or 'spread' (Ruck-Matheson) but 'bears down upon' (cf. Slater: 'come over'), *scil.* men. Cf. *O.* 2, 95 αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος, LSJ III 2. For the conception

⁵⁴ Ruck-Matheson's 'joy in perfection' is obviously wrong.

⁵⁵ Cf. my article *ΑΙΔΩΣ bei Homer*, *Mnemos.* III 12 (1944), 47 ff. Wilamowitz (366 n. 3) takes the word to be a genitive: 'wohlgefällige Taten einer vorbedachten Respektbezeugung', and καί to mean 'also': "auch mit solcher Höflichkeit erreicht man dasselbe wie mit dem mutigen Kämpfen". But Farnell rightly observes that this "is nearer to the style of modern journalism than to anything Hellenic".

⁵⁶ Similarly Bowra: 'If forethought is honoured'. It is true that foresight is the contrary of forgetfulness (Bowra, 225), but 'respect for foresight' would be a strange way to denote keen foresight. — Young (85 n. 2) maintains that "it is difficult not to think of Prometheus' connection with fire, when the story turns on the failure of the Heliadae to bring fire for the sacrifice with them". But it is more difficult to imagine that the Heliadae would not have forgotten the fire if they had in some way 'respected' Prometheus.

⁵⁷ For Προμηθεύς = προμήθεια Farnell refers to Aesch. *Prom.* 86 αὐτὸν γὰρ σε δεῖ Προμηθέως, but there the meaning is 'you are yourself in need of a Prometheus'.

^{57a} As is suggested by Fraccaroli (*I.*, 292), who refers to 53 and 72 (but σοφία and σοφώτατα refer to artistic skill), 90–1 (where moral virtue, not intellectual attentiveness, is meant), and to the fact that Tlepolemus obeyed the oracle (which is only natural) and that the Heliadae followed the advice of their father (which is not remarkable either).

of mental states as coming upon man from the outside cf. Hom. B 33 *μηδέ σε λήθη αἰρείτω* and Becker, 95.

45: *μάν*. Gildersleeve: "Surprise is shown by tmesis and *μάν*". But *μάν* has its usual adversative force and here implies the connection with the preceding sentence: if reserve is carried too far, it may degenerate into forgetfulness.

45: *ἀτέκμαρτα*. Not 'bafflingly' (Gildersleeve, LSJ) but 'unawares'⁵⁸.

45: *νέφος*. Young (85-6) rightly observes that the dark cloud is followed by a bright one (49). He is wrong, however, in suggesting that the poet interpreted Hom. B 670 in a literal way in order to create a meteorological imagery pervading the whole poem.

46-7: *παρέλκει ἔξω φρενῶν*. 'Withdraws from the field of mental vision'. Cf. the similar use of *ὀφθαλμός* for 'field of vision' (Hom. Γ 306 *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὄρασθαι*, LSJ I).

46: *πραγμαίων*. We should expect 'the right course of action', but I do not believe that *πράγμα* here means 'deed' or 'action' (as is assumed by LSJ I and most translators). Pindar likes to regard human actions from an objective point of view, as things that happen⁵⁹. Accordingly, a way of action is seen as the way in which things work. Similarly in *O.* 13, 75 *πράγμα* denotes the things that will happen to Bellerophon as well as his own actions.

48: *σπέρμα*. No metaphor, for fire was regarded as a living being: it has *μένος* (Hom. Z 182 etc.), it devours (*Ψ* 183 *δάπτει*) and cries (*Ψ* 216 *ἴαχε*⁶⁰). These parallels are especially relevant as Pindar adopted the phrase 'seed of fire' from Homer (*ε* 490 *σπέρμα πυρός*). Cf. also *P.* 3, 36-7 *πῦρ ἐξ ἐνός σπέρματος ἐκθορόν*.

48: *ἀνέβαν*. To the acropolis (49).

48: *οὔ*. For the emphatic position at the end cf. Soph. *Ai.* 545, *Ant.* 255, K.G., II, 179, Schw., II, 596.

49: *ἄλσος*. The use of this word does not necessarily imply the existence of trees: cf. *O.* 3, 17-18 (there was an *ἄλσος* before there was *φύτευμα*) and the schol. on *O.* 10, 45: *ἄλσος δὲ τὸ ἀνιερωμένον τῷ θεῷ γῆς μέρος, εἰ καὶ ψιλὸν εἴη φυτῶν*. In Hom. B 506 Onchestos is the *ἄλσος* of Poseidon (Ameis-Hentze wrongly note: "weil bei der Stadt viele Waldungen waren"), Soph. *Ant.* 844 Thebes is the *ἄλσος* of Dionysus, Aesch. *Suppl.* 558 Egypt is the *ἄλσος* of Zeus,

⁵⁸ From Aesch. *Pers.* 909-12 *δύστηνος ἐγὼ στυγερᾶς μοίρας/τῆσδε κυρήσας ἀτέκμαρτοτάτης, /ὡς ὠμοφρόνως δαίμων ἐνέβη/Περσῶν γενεᾷ* Smith (180) concludes that *ἀτέκμαρτα* "clearly denotes a special characteristic of the operation of a daimon". He seems to forget that the word is used elsewhere (see LSJ) without such a reference.

⁵⁹ Cf. H. Strohm, *Tyche* (Stuttgart 1944), 22-3.

⁶⁰ See further my article *Archaische denkpatronen*, *Lampas* 2 (1969), 97 ff.

Pers. 111 the sea is πόντιον ἄλσος (cf. *Suppl.* 868, Bacch. 17, 84).

49: ἀκροπόλει. *Scil.* of Lindos, where there was a famous temple of Athena⁶¹.

49: κείνοισι μὲν. Fennell, Gildersleeve, Schroeder read κείνοισι ὁ μὲν, but it is evident from the context (34 and 43) that the subject is Zeus. Besides it was commonly assumed that rain comes from Zeus (cf. Hom. *M* 25, Alc. 338, 1, Ar. *Nub.* 368).

49: ξανθάν. Duchemin (197) rightly observes that "les notions de couleur et d'éclat sont étroitement associées". Cf. *P.* 4, 225 βόας, οἱ φλόγ' ἀπὸ ξανθᾶν γενύων πνέον, *O.* 6, 55 ἴων ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀκτίσι, fr. 70b, 10 αἰθόμενα τε δαῖς ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις, *Ba.* 3, 56 σβέννυνεν ξανθὰ[ν φλόγα.

50: χρυσόν. For the cognate acc. cf. LSJ ὕω I 4, K.G., I, 308–9. The fact that another shower of gold has been mentioned before does not make the golden snow motif "the ring-structure frame for the birth of Athena", as is assumed by C. A. P. Ruck, *Herm.* 96 (1968), 131 (cf. Ruck-Matheson, 60, where the birth of Athena is called "the mathematical centre" of the poem). Smith (180) argues that "the cloud of 1.49 is in the first place an iteration of 1.34"⁶². However, the two showers cannot be identical, as the first takes place at the moment of Athena's birth (35 ἀνίχα) and the second after the Heliadae had established a sanctuary for her (48–9). Smith (180–1) further thinks that "Zeus gave wealth to the Rhodians through the τέχνη formally given by Athena. This logical interpretation of the golden cloud through this causal relation has been expressed paratactically in the μὲν . . . δέ sequence". However, Pindar does not say that their craft made them rich, but that it made them renowned (52).

50: τέχραν. This might be taken as an acc. of reference (cf. *Soph. O.R.* 1522 πάντα μὴ βούλου κρατεῖν), but such parallels as *O.* 9, 66 πόλιω δ' ὤπασεν λαόν τε διαιτᾶν and Hom. *Ψ* 151 Πατροόλω ἥρωϊ κόμην ὀπάσαιμι φέρεσθαι show that κρατεῖν is epexegetic: 'to excell therein'⁶³.

51: πᾶσαν. 'Every kind of' (cf. Hom. ζ 233–4 ἴδρις, δν Ἥφαιστος δέδαεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη|τέχνην παντοίην). For πᾶς = παντοῖος cf. Hom. E 11 μάχης ἐν εἰδότε πάσης, 60 δαίδαλα πάντα, and my note on *Semon.* 7, 78, *Mnemos.* 1968, 149. Other examples in Pindar are *O.* 1, 116, *O.* 10, 23 and 82, *N.* 4, 83.

⁶¹ Cf. P. Von der Mühl, *M.H.* 20 (1963), 199 n. 9a.

⁶² Similarly P. Von der Mühl, *M.H.* 20 (1963), 200: "49 f. gibt den Zeitpunkt für 34".

⁶³ For the evaluation of τέχνη in Pindar cf. Becker, 63, Bowra, 4–5. See also R. Schaerer, *ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ et TEXNH. Étude sur les notions de connaissance et d'art d'Homère à Platon* (Macon 1930), espec. 4–5.

51: ἐπιχθονίων. Usually connected with κρατεῖν. But κρατεῖν in the sense of 'surpass' has the acc. So the genit. probably depends on ἀριστοπόνους. For κρατεῖν used absolutely cf. Soph. *O.R.* 1522 quoted above, LSJ II 1.

52: δέ. Has explanatory (specifying) force.

52: ἐρπόντεσσι. For the meaning 'to move' cf. fr. 106 where a dog is called πικνωτάτον ἐρπετόν, Hom. P 447 ὄσσα τε γαῖαν ἐπὶ πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει. Herodotus first uses ἐρπετόν for 'reptile' (I 140, 3, IV 183, 4). There is no evidence for the supposition that the primary meaning of ἔρπω is 'to move slowly' (LSJ) or 'ramper, glisser'⁶⁴. The pregnant sense of 'to creep' (cf. ἐρπύζω) seems to have developed from an original sense 'to move steadily'⁶⁵.

52: τε. 'And particularly'. Cf. *O.* 3, 38-9 Ἐμμενίδαις Θήρωνί τε, Aesch. *Ag.* 513-5 τούς τ' ἀγωνίους θεοὺς/πάντας προσανδῶ, τόν τ' ἐμὸν τιμάσορον/Ἐρμῆν.

52: κέλευθοι. Gildersleeve: "the statues were set up in the streets" (similarly Farnell a.o.). Dissen, however, was certainly right in taking the phrase to refer to the walking of the statues. The art of making walking statues was ascribed to Hephaestus (*Hom.* Σ 417), Daedalus (Eur. *Hec.* 838, Pl. *Euth.* 15 b, *Meno* 97 d), and the Rhodian Telchines (Strabo XIV 2, 7), and the last were apparently identified by Pindar with the Heliadae. The phrase 'the roads carried them about' is equivalent to 'they went their own way' and is to be explained from Pindar's tendency to transpose the functions of subject and object (see above on 17 ἀδόνητα Δίκα). For κέλευθος implying the idea of movement cf. Becker, 11-4.

53: κλέος. This is connected by Smith (181) with "the key-motif of giving and the fame resulting from the gift". But there is no such key-motif, for 6 ζαλωτόν does not necessarily imply fame.

53: βαθύ. Not 'deep' (Bowra, Lattimore, Slater ['profound'], Ruck-Matheson ['deep were they embued in glory']) but 'high' (Farnell). Cf. *N.* 9, 40 βαθύκρημνος and Hom. Θ 192 etc. κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει. Similarly *P.* 1, 66 βαθύδοξοι (Fennell wrongly: "βαθν- seems to have reference to the secluded, impenetrable and secret character of the Spartan community").—Pindar suppresses the fact that Athena did not choose her domicile in Rhodes but in Athens. Cf. *N.* 5, 18 τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώτατον ἀνθρώπων νοῆσαι, fr. 180, 2 ἔσθ' ὅτε πιστόταται σιγᾶς ὁδοί, Gundert, 47-8.

⁶⁴ Chantraine, *Dict. étym.*, who suggests that "le sens d' 'aller' en grec résulte d'un emploi dialectal expressif, favorisé parce que le mot s'oppose volontiers à la notion de 'voler'". Cf. also C. J. Ruijgh, *L'élément achéen dans la langue épique* (Assen 1957), 133-4.

⁶⁵ Cf. Bowra, 195: "He [Pindar] always uses the word for some orderly and ordinary progress".

53: *δαέντι*. Not 'to a good judge' (Mezger, Fennell, Gildersleeve, van Groningen, 354 n. 1) but 'in a skilled artist' (cf. Hom. *O* 411 *τέκτονος ἐν παλάμῃσι δαήμονος*). The dat. does not mean 'in the eyes of' but 'in the case of' (K.G., I, 429, Schw., II, 189).

53: *σοφία*. 'Skill' (Hom. *O* 412 of a *τέκτων*)⁶⁶.

53: *καὶ σοφία μείζων ἄδολος τελέθει*. 'Even superior skill', i.e. even that skill which surpasses mediocrity and therefore evokes the suspicion of trickery, 'is honest'⁶⁷. Fennell wrongly thinks that "the fair fighting of Diagoras is glanced at". Gildersleeve rightly points out that the Telchines were reputed to be wizards and that Pindar opposes this tradition. Cf. also Bowra, 339. C. A. P. Ruck, *Herm.* 96 (1968), 129 argues that "the difficulty of this interpretation is that the Telchines have not been mentioned". But Pindar on purpose does not call them by their name in order to identify them with the Heliadae⁶⁸. For the same reason in v. 14 Halias, the sister of the Telchines as mother of Rhodos is replaced by Aphrodite.

54: *δέ*. Dornseiff: "unvermittelt folgt eine rhodische Sage". Gildersleeve: "The reputation of this charge [the bad repute of the Telchines] naturally brings up the story of the birth of Rhodes". But there is a much closer connection: Pindar wants to answer the question, "What made such skilful artists choose Rhodes as their domicile?" (53 *σοφία* is taken up by 72 *σοφώτατα*).

55: *ῥήσιες*. Wilamowitz (368): "Wir durchschauen, dass die hellenischen Ansiedler vor sich selbst rechtfertigten, dass sie den Sonnenkult von den früheren Bewohnern übernahmen". However,

⁶⁶ Cf. B. Snell, *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonischen Philosophie* (Berlin 1924), 1 ff., B. Gladigow, *Sophia und Kosmos* (Hildesheim 1965), 9 ff.

⁶⁷ Cf. Wilamowitz, 367. Later he changed his opinion and took *μείζων* to be the predicate, *ἄδολος* the attribute (*Kl. Schriften*, V 2, 33). This view, however, does not lead to a satisfactory interpretation. Bowra (339) thinks that Pindar wanted to suggest "that these Heliadae were all the better artists because, unlike the unnamed Telchines, they were honest", but this leaves *καὶ* unexplained. The same objection applies to C. A. P. Ruck, *Herm.* 96 (1968), 130-2, who argues that *σοφία* refers to the art of Pindar himself. Besides, it is not correct to say that "the position of the passage at the end of the Homeric exegesis clearly marks it as a variation of the opening claim to correct the emphasis in the epic [v. 21]" (Ruck-Matheson, 57), for the preceding words do not form the end of Pindar's version of the story of Rhodes. Young (86 n.2) translates: "If a man has learned knowledge, his native wisdom becomes greater also" and takes this to mean "the *τέχνη* given by Athena to the Heliadae augmented their native talent" (cf. schol. *τοῦτο δὲ λέγει ὡς τῶν Ῥοδίων εὐφυνῶν μὲν ὄντων κατὰ φύσιν προσδεξάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην, οὕτως ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων, τῶν μαθήσεων καὶ τῶν φύσεων, ἐχορήγησαν τὰ μέγιστα*). However, (1) *ἄδολος* sometimes means 'unmixed', 'natural', but this is not the same as 'native'; (2) according to Pindar, man gets his *σοφία* from the gods (*O.* 9, 28, *O.* 11, 10, *P.* 1, 43).

⁶⁸ See also H. Herter, *Telchinen*, RE V A (1934), 209, 224, P. Von der Mühl, M.H. 20 (1963), 200 and n. 14.

the attempts made to reconstruct a *Ῥόδον Κτίσις* which could have been used by Pindar⁶⁹, have produced mere hypotheses. This part of the story was probably invented by the poet himself (Young, 87). Smith (181) thinks that the addition of *ἀνθρώπων* implies "a reservation as to truth of the myth". But 21 *διορθῶσαι* shows that Pindar was firmly convinced of the truth of the myth. In order to mask the fact that he partly invented it he applies the same trick as Plato, viz. emphasizing its remote origin (cf. *Tim.* 21 a *παλαιὸν ἀκηροῶς λόγον οὐ νέον ἀνδρός*).

55: *καί*. There is no ellipse of 'other' but *καί* means 'and generally'. Cf. Hom. *O* 449 *Ἐκτορι καὶ Τρώεσσι* and my notes in *Mnemos.* 1954, 38 and 1955, 278 (on Pl. *Phdr.* 246 e 3).

56: *ποντίῳ*. Not pleonastic, for *πέλαγος* denotes the sea as a plain (cf. *πέλανος* 'flat cake'), *πόντος* as a place for traffic (cf. *πάτος*).

58: *ἀπεόντος*. Young (87 n. 3) says that the assumption of an eclipse "is improbable, but not impossible". It is especially improbable because in that case the absence of Helios would not have been a mischance (cf. *Pae.* 9, 1 *Ἀκτις ἀελίου, τί πολύσκοπε μήσεαι*);

58: *ἔνδειξεν*. 'Assigned' (cf. Pl. *Polit.* 308 e). See further Farnell. Fraccaroli (I, 289) wrongly assumes that the gods intentionally forgot Helios. His suggestion that this part of the story is an illustration of the maxim expressed in 53 ("v'è uno che conosce, ed è Elio . . . v'è un'apparenza d'inganno . . . per chi è prudente non v'è abilità che lo inganni") is a mere fabrication.

59: *χώρας*. Such genitives (K.G., I, 401-2) are usually explained as an objective gen. or a *separativus*, but it is more natural to assume the existence of a 'genitive of reference', the gen. (properly an ablative) denoting the point of view from which a situation is considered⁷⁰.

61: *μνασθέντι*. *Scil.* *Ἀελίῳ*.

61: *ἄμπαλον*. 'A new shaking of lots' (schol. *ἀνακλήρωσιν*). Farnell prefers to read *ἄμ πάλον*, but *ἀνατίθημι* never means 'to do over again'⁷¹.

61: *θέμεν*. The aor. after *μέλλω* is not to be explained as 'momentary' (K.G., I, 179), but it denotes the action as such, irrespective of the perspective in which it might be seen by the subject⁷².

⁶⁹ Cf. P. Von der Mühl, *M.H.* 20 (1963), 197-202.

⁷⁰ Similarly, in such expressions as *ἐν ἧμεν τινος* the gen. has not developed from a partitive use (K.G., I, 382) but denotes the point of view from which the action is considered.

⁷¹ Wilamowitz (368 n. 1) wrongly suggests that *ἀνά* in *ἄμπαλον* not only implies the idea of doing over again but also "die Losung für ungültig erklären". See also Bechtel, *Griech. Dialekte*, II, 71, K. Latte, *Gnom.* 9 (1933), 404.

⁷² Cf. W. F. Bakker, *The Greek Imperative* (Amsterdam 1966), Ch. I.

—For *τίθημι* with substantive equivalent to a verb see above on 42 *θυσίαν θέμενοι*.

62: *αὐτός*. Not to be connected with *εἶπε* (Dornseiff) but with *ὄρᾶν*. The implication is: "You need not look out for something to be given to me: I see it coming myself".

62: *ἀξομέναν*. Young (88) writes: "Here all the weather-imagery becomes clear and reaches a climax. What else could happen to a 'growing Rose' which has received two showers from above, first of snow, then of rain, when the Sun finally appears and is united with the 'Rose'? Naturally it sprouts". He admits that "such a use of imagery is bold, indeed, especially since it operates virtually independently of the historical sequence of the events which provide a vehicle for its expression". The term 'bold' seems to me a euphemism covering the weakness, or rather, the absurdity, of this interpretation: a poet who makes a thing which is still under water (*ἔνδον θαλάσσης*) undergo the influence of three events which took place much later in its development is not bold but muddle-headed. Pindar is completely clear about the facts; snow and rain have their own place in the history of the island and the role of Helios is distinguished into three phases: at the present moment he is only looking at (*ὄρᾶν*) the growing piece of land; he is beginning to shine after it has emerged from the water (69–70); and at some time afterwards (71 *ποτε*) he unites with the nymph.

62: *πεδόθεν*. Cf. Young, 88 n. 3: "only Helios *πανόπτης*, *ὁ πάντα ὄρῶν*, would have noticed anything growing beneath the sea".—Pindar obviously alludes to *ῥόδον* 'rose' (cf. 69 *βλάσσει*), but it is wrong to make this 'etymology' the centre of the poem, as is done by Norwood (141: "With this picture before him he studies the whole mass of Rhodian story").

63: *πολύβοσκον*. Cf. Hom. *Λ* 770 *Ἀχαιίδα πολυβότειραν*, *λ* 365 *βόσκει γαῖα . . . ἀνθρώπους*.

64: *χρυσάμπυκα*. Cf. above on 32 *χρυσοκόμας*.

64: *Λάχεσιν*. Cf. 58 *λάχος*.

65: *θεῶν*. The gods swear by the Styx (Hom. *Ο* 37, *ε* 185, Hes. *Th.* 400, Hom. *H. Ap.* 83), which represents the underworld (cf. Hom. *Θ* 369 Heracles *ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα*)⁷³. A god who pronounces this oath delivers himself to the underworld in case of perjury (cf. Hes. *Th.* 793 ff.).

66: *παρφάμεν*. 'Speak insincerely' (LSJ 2), properly 'to speak beside one's thoughts'. Cf. *P.* 9, 43 *παρφάμεν* and Becker, 97.

⁷³ J. Bollack, REG 71 (1958), 1 ff., argues that the Styx originally was the chain of rocks encircling the world and as a *ἔρκος* became a *δρκος*.

67: *αἰθέρα*. This phrase and such passages as Emp. B 100, 5, Eur. *Ba.* 150 show that *αἰθήρ* may denote the air immediately above the surface of the earth. Ch. H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (New York 1960), 140 ff., convincingly shows that the difference between *αἰθήρ* and *ἀήρ* is not a difference of place (upper air—lower air) but of brightness.

67: *κεφαλῆ*. 'Person' (cf. Hom. Σ 81–2 τὸν ἐγὼ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἑταίρων, ἴσον ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ, LSJ I 2). The head could represent the whole person because it was thought to be the centre of vital power⁷⁴.

68: *ἔξοπίσω*. The future was regarded as behind us, not because "it is unseen" (LSJ II) but because the Greek in general imagined himself to stand in the course of events his face directed towards the past⁷⁵. In Hom. A 343 (cf. Γ 109) *πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσω* is not "das Vorige und das was hinterher kommt" (Ameis-Hentze) nor "the immediate future and the more distant future" (M. M. Willcock, *A Commentary on Homer's Iliad*, Books I–VI, London 1970, 24), but 'what is before him (the past) and what is behind him (the future)'⁷⁶. Similarly *ὀπισθεν, κατόπισθεν*.

68: *τελευταίαν*. This (the original reading of the MSS) is to be preferred to *τελεύταθεν*. Cf. Eur. *Ba.* 907–8 *ἐλπίδες . . . τελευτῶσαν*. Similarly *τελέω* may be used intransitively (LSJ I 8).

68: *κορυφαί*. Not 'the high words' (Bowra)⁷⁷ but 'le point où ils culminent, leur sens essentiel' (Puech). Cf. *P.* 3, 80 *λόγων κορυφὰν ὀρθάν* 'the true and essential meaning', *Pae.* VIIIa, 13, Emp. B 24, and *κορυφώω* 'to sum up' in later Greek (LSJ III). It is obviously wrong to ask: "Are we to suppose that Zeus, Lachesis, and Helios blundered about details?" (Norwood, 140).

69: *ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ*. For *ἐν* with substantive = adverb cf. *O.* 2, 16 *ἐν δίκᾳ*, Soph. *O.R.* 765 *ἐν τάχει*, LSJ A II 3. For *ἀλήθεια* = 'reality' cf. Hdt. III 64, 1 *ἡ ἀληθείη τοῦ ἐνπνίου* ('the fact that the dream had come true'), Thuc. II 41, 2 *ἔργων ἀλήθεια* (opposed to *λόγων κόμπος*), LSJ I 2. Smith (182) argues that the word contains a reference to 45 *λάθας* and that the poet "ironically ascribes the error [of the gods] to the same cause that operates on the human plane". But Pindar does not represent the initial event as an error of the gods but as a mischance of Helios (58 *ἀπεόντος*).

⁷⁴ See further my article *Archaische denkepatronen*, *Lampas* 3 (1970), 104–5.

⁷⁵ Cf. van Groningen, *In the Grip of the Past*.

⁷⁶ F. Muller, *Grieksch woordenboek* (³Groningen 1933), 558 rightly translates *ὀπίσω* in Hom. Z 352, a 222, Soph. *O.R.* 488 by 'in the future', but wrongly takes the word in A 343 and Γ 109 to refer to the past.

⁷⁷ Similarly Dornseiff I 'erhaben', Norwood, 140 'crowning', 'supreme', explained (144) as "the gods' converse reaches perfection as the plant reaches full efflorescence"(!).

69: *πετοῖσαι*. Cf. *O.* 12, 10 *παρὰ γνώμαν ἔπεσεν*, Hdt. VII 163 *καραδοκήσαντα τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται*, and *εἰ πίπτειν* 'turn out well' (LSJ V 2). Accordingly, *ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ πίπτειν* means 'to be realized'. That the image is derived from dice-playing appears from Aesch. *Suppl.* 90–1 *πίπτει δ' ἀσφαλὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ νότῳ* (cf. Pollux 7, 204 *ὑπτιάζων βόλος* for an unlucky cast), *Ag.* 32–3 *εἰ πεσόντα . . . τρίς ἐξ βαλοῦσης*, and Soph. fr. 895 P. *ἄει γὰρ εἰ πίπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι*. This refutes the view put forward by Norwood (140, 145), that *πετοῖσαι* refers to the planting of seed and that *ἀλάθεια* is the soil that receives it.

69: *βλάστε*. Pindar may have thought of *ῥόδον* 'rose' (see above on 62 *πεδόθεν*), but it should be added that the verb is also used in the general sense of 'to be born', 'to originate' (even of non-living beings) (LSJ I 2).

69: *ὑγρᾶς*. For the pleonasm cf. *P.* 4, 40 *ὑγρῶ πελάγει*, Hom. δ 458 *ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ*, Aesch. *Suppl.* 259 *ὑγρᾶς θαλάσσης* ⁷⁸.

70: *ἔχει*. 'Has under his care', often said of tutelary gods and heroes (e.g. Thuc. II 74, 2, Xen. *Cyr.* VIII 3, 24).

70: *τε*. Introduces the completion of the narrative: cf. *P.* 1, 54 and Gonda, *op. cit.* (above on 12 *μέν*), 198.

71: *μιχθεῖς*. Young (89) suggests that there is some connection with the marriage described at the beginning of the poem. Similarly Ruck-Matheson, 55: "The wedding banquet is, of course, suggestive of the marriage of the Sun and Rhodes", Smith, 174: "the wedding motif". This view is a clear example of 'hyper-interpretation'.

71: *τέκεν*. Of the father: Hom. N 450, γ 489, etc.

72: *σοφώτατα*. Not 'wise' (Dornseiff, Werner, Bowra) but 'skilful'. See above notes on 53 *σοφία* and 54 *δέ*.

73: *ἐπί*. 'At the time of' (Hom. E 637 *ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων*, LSJ A II 1), 'among', to be connected with *σοφώτατα*.

73: *παραδεξαμένους*. *Scil.* from him.

74: *πρεσβύτατον*. Pindar sets him off, because Diagoras came from Ialysus ⁷⁹.

74: *ἀπάτερθε*. 'Apart', 'each for himself'. Cf. Hom. B 587 *ἀπάτερθε δὲ θωρήσσοντο*, Schw., II, 537.

76: *ἀστῶν μοῖραν*. 'Their share in the (available) cities'. Snell and Werner read *μοίρας*, but the subject of *ἔχον* is equivalent to *ἐκαστος*. A plural is often followed by a (collective) singular, and

⁷⁸ Norwood (141) argues that *άλος* means 'salt' and that Pindar "inserts *ὑγρᾶς* precisely to prevent us from taking *ἅλας* as 'sea' . . . Pindar's Rose is no plant of every day: it grows in his quickening imagination to a symbol of our life, of sorrow turned into joy, of a miraculous burgeoning from a spot without fertility or sunlight into final radiance". The 'quickening imagination' here, as so often, is Norwood's, not Pindar's.

⁷⁹ Cf. Wilamowitz, 362, P. Von der Mühl, M.H. 20 (1963), 201 and n. 21.

conversely: cf. Hom. H 175 οἱ δὲ κληῖρον ἐσημίησαντο ἕκαστος, K.G., I, 86–7, 286–7, Verdenius-Waszink, *Aristotle, On Coming-to-be and Passing-away*, 28–9.

76: σφιν. 'In their honour', 'by their names'. Cf. δέχομαί τί τινι = ἀπό τινος (K.G., I, 419).

77: λύτρον. 'Compensation'. Cf. *I.* 8, 1: the song of praise is λύτρον καμάτων, *P.* 5, 106 λυτήριον δαπανᾶν, and λῶω 'undo, bring to naught' (LSJ II 4) and 'make up for' (LSJ IV).—Gildersleeve suggests that the implication is: should Diagoras ever have bad luck, it will take a turn for the better, but the text does not contain any hint in this direction (cf. v. Groningen, 353–4, Young, 100 and n. 3). Mezger (447) argues that Diagoras "erscheint als das letzte Glied in der Reihe der um ihrer Frömmigkeit willen so hochbegnadigten Ahnen", but Pindar does not emphasize the connection between the Eratidae (93) and the Heraclidae, nor does he connect the good fortune of the Heliadae and Tlepolemus with their piety. It is true that the myth sometimes has a paradigmatic function (cf. Gundert, 48–9), but in the present case it simply serves to glorify the victor's native country (cf. v. Groningen, 355–6).

77: συμφορᾶς. Young (90) maintains that "the word probably refers specifically to Tlepolemos' exile and generally to the whole of his misfortune", but the term is a common euphemism for 'murder' or 'offence' (e.g. Hdt. I 35, 1, III 50, 1, Soph. *O.R.* 99, 833, Pl. *Leg.* 854 d). Young further argues that there is a parallel between the misfortune of Tlepolemus and the "grueling boxing match", but the latter could hardly be called a συμφορᾶ.

77: Τλαπολέμω. Mezger (445) rightly observes that Tlepolemus is mentioned by name only twice, at the beginning (20) and at the end of the myth, both times at the end of the first line of a strophe, and that similarly τρέπολιω (18) corresponds to τρίχα (75).

78: ἴσταται. Gildersleeve rightly: "Not historical present. The offering is still kept up" (games in honour of Tlepolemus took place as late as the second cent. B.C.: *Syll.* 1067). For the present denoting a lasting effect cf. K.G., I, 135–7, Schw., II, 273–4.

79: θεῶν. Fennell observes that "the deification of founders of colonies lasted until after Miltiades' death" (cf. Hdt. VI 38, 1)⁸⁰. The use of θεός does not necessarily imply that the offerings to Tlepolemus were not completely burnt (as is assumed by H. von Geisau, *Kl. Pauly*, II, 1105), for θεός means 'divine being', which comprises both gods and heroes⁸¹.

⁸⁰ See further C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (2München 1970).

⁸¹ This seems to me a more correct formulation than Farnell's note,

80: *κνισάεσσα*. Not 'von Vieh ein fettdampfender Zug' (Dornseiff II; cf. Lattimore: 'the smoking processional of sheep'; Bowra: 'the strong reek of the flocks' procession'; Ruck-Matheson: 'procession and aroma of sheep sacrificed') or 'procession of sheep for burnt-sacrifice' (Farnell; similarly Slater), but 'a procession of fat sheep' (Puech). The word is not used here in its specific (Homeric) sense of 'full of the steam of burnt fat' but simply means 'fat'.

80: *κρίσις*. Not 'decision about', for (1) in that case we should expect *περί*, not *ἀμφί*; (2) Tlepolemus does not act as an umpire. Bowra rightly 'trial': cf. *O.* 3, 21 *ἀέθλων ἀγνὰν κρίσιν*, *Soph. Trach.* 266 *τόξον κρίσις*, LSJ II 2.

80: *ἀμφί*. 'With regard to', 'in': cf. *I.* 1, 50 *ὃς δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις ἦ πολεμίζων ἀρηται κῶδος*, *I.* 5, 55, *N.* 2, 17, Rumpel B 3, Slater III 3, Hdt. VI 129, 2 *ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφί μουσικῆ*.

81: *ἔστεφανώσατο*. See above on 15.

82: *ἄλλαν*. *Scil.* *ἐντυχίαν*, to be supplied from *ἐντυχέων*. Cf. *Hom.* a 392-3 *οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι κακὸν βασιλευμένῃ αἴψα τέ οἱ (= βασιλεῖ) δῶ/ἀφνειὸν πέλεται*, K.G., I, 34.

82: *ἐπ' ἄλλα*. I.e., 'twice', probably in succession (schol.).

82: *κρανααῖς*. A common epithet of Athens (LSJ 1).

83: *χαλκός*. A bronze shield as the prize.

83: *ἔγνω νῦν*. Cf. *O.* 6, 96-7 *ἀδύλογοι δέ νῦν/λόροι μολπαί τε γινώσκοντι*. See further above on 17 *Δίκα*.

84: *ἔργα*. 'Works of art' (cf. *O.* 13, 37), *i.c.* tripods.

84: *ἐννομοι*. Not 'traditional' but 'fixed in the calendar and regulated by law' (Farnell)⁸². Cf. *I.* 2, 38 *ἵπποτροφίας τε νομίζων ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμῳ* (Puech: 'pour se conformer aux règles des fêtes panhelléniques'), *N.* 10, 28 *ἐν Ἀδραστείῳ νόμῳ*. The regular contests are implicitly contrasted with games incidentally held.

86: *Πέλλανα*. For the games at Pellene cf. *O.* 9, 98, *O.* 13, 109, *N.* 10, 44. For the Aeolic shortening of the final *a* cf. Gildersleeve, LXXXII.

86: *Αἴγνα*. *Scil.* *ἔγνω νῦν*. Gildersleeve rightly points out that the transmitted reading *Αἰγίνα* makes *νικῶντα* impossible to construe. For the choriamb instead of the epitrite cf. *P.* 3, 6, *P.* 4, 184, *Alcm.* 1, 91, *Bacch.* 5, 151; we find a choriamb between epitrites *O.* 13, 19, *P.* 1, 2, an epitrite between choriamb Ar. *Nub.* 516. Irregular responson is rightly accepted by Wilamowitz (*Griech. Verskunst*, 433-4) and Schroeder (*Appendix*, 502-5).

"the distinction between the *ἦρω*s and the *θεός* was sometimes blurred". He refers to his *Greek Hero Cults*, 95-6. See also E. des Places, *La religion grecque* (Paris 1969), 119-20.

⁸² Which does not imply, however, that they were 'temperate' (Lattimore).

87: *ῥᾶφος*. List (properly 'account') of victors on a stele.

87: *λόγον*. Not 'tells another tale' (as the common translation runs), for which there is no parallel, but 'enumeration' (Wilamowitz, 365 n. 4), 'number' (LSJ I 1a).

87: *νότοισιν*. For the local dative instead of the genitive cf. Hes. *Th.* 54 *γουννοῖσιν Ἐλευθῆρος μεδέουσα*.

87: *Ἄταρβυρίον*. A mountain in Rhodes. See further Thummer, 21 and n. 1.

88: *μὲν . . . τε*. See above on 12.

88: *τίμα*. Not 'nimm zu Ehren an' (Mezger), but 'make great'. Cf. Hom. B 4, O 612, γ 379.

88: *τεθμόν*. Rightly Puech: 'cet hymne, dû, selon le rite, au vainqueur olympique', Bowra, 196: 'a hymn, rightfully made, of Olympian victory'⁸³. Cf. *O.* 13, 29 *στεφάνων ἐγκώμιον τεθμόν*, *O.* 6, 69 *τεθμόν μέγιστον ἀέθλων*. The meaning of *τεθμός ὕμνον* = *ὕμνος τέθμιος* is to be explained from the fact that *θεσμός* is not only 'institution' but also 'thing instituted' (cf. *N.* 10, 33 *Ἡρακλέος τεθμόν*, *O.* 13, 40 *Ποτειδᾶνος τεθμοῖσιν* for the Olympian and Isthmian games), 'thing performed according to a fixed rule' (cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 1034 *θεσμός ὄδ' εὔφρων* 'this propitiating cult song', *Ag.* 304 *θεσμόν πυρός* 'the pre-arranged fire-signal'). The genitives *ὕμνον* etc. have explanatory force. — Pindar is strongly conscious of the fact that his profession is subject to strict rules: cf. *I.* 6, 20 *τέθμιον μοι φαμί σαφέστατον ἔμμεν*, *N.* 4, 33 *τὰ μακρὰ δ' ἐξενέπειν ἐρύκει με τεθμός*⁸⁴.

88: *Ὀλυμπιονίκαν*. It is misleading to call the construction 'enallage', for "das Adjektiv gehört dem Sinne nach zu dem Ganzen, welches das regierende Substantiv und der Genetiv bilden" (Bruhn, § 10.1)⁸⁵.

89: *ἀρετάν*. Not 'a character for bravery' (Fennell) or synonymous with *ἀρετᾶς κλέος* (Gildersleeve) but 'success' (see above on 43).

89: *εὐρόντα*. Gildersleeve observes that "one might expect *εὐρόμενον*", but we often find *νίκην φέρειν*, *μισθὸν φέρειν* (K.G., I, 110, Schw., II, 234).

89: *δίδοι*. Imperative (*O.* 1, 85, etc.).

89: *αἰδοῖαν χάρον*. Not 'ehrfurchtgebietenden Glanz' (Dornseiff) or 'the pleasure of veneration' (Lattimore, Young, 93; cf. Bowra

⁸³ This is better than his Penguin-translation, 'the rite of Olympian victory'.

⁸⁴ See further Gundert, 65, Bowra, 196.

⁸⁵ Cf. also E. Williger, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu den Komposita der griechischen Dichter des 5. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen 1928), 22–3, K.G., I, 263, Wilamowitz on Eur. *H.F.* 468, 883.

'favour and joy')⁸⁶ but 'respectful favour' (Farnell, Puech, Werner). Similarly *O.* 13, 115 *Ζεῦ τέλει, αἰδῶ δίδοι* (often wrongly translated by 'modesty').

90: *ἀστών . . . ξείνων*. A circumlocution for 'everybody'. Cf. *O.* 13, 2-3, *P.* 3, 71, K.G., II, 587-8, Bruhn, § 228, Wilamowitz on Eur. *H.F.* 1106, and my note on Semon. 7, 9, *Mnemos.* IV 21 (1968), 135-6.

90: *ὑβριος*. *Gen. objectivus*, the object depending on the verbal idea implied in *ἐχθρός*: cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1156 *γάμοι Πάριδος ἀλέθριοι φίλων*, K.G., I, 371. For the idea cf. *P.* 4, 284 *ἔμαθε δ' ὑβρίζοντα μισεῖν*⁸⁷.

90: *δδόν*. This is regarded by Smith (183) as "a reference to *δδός* l. 46". Here the dogmatic character of the new criticism reveals itself most clearly: if a poet twice uses the same word, the one must refer to the other.—For *δδός* as a way of life cf. *O.* 6, 73, *N.* 8, 35-6⁸⁸.

91: *εὐθυπορεῖ*. Cf. *N.* 1, 25 *χρῆ δ' ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα μάρασθαι φῶϊ*, *N.* 2, 7, *N.* 10, 12, fr. 108, Becker, 65-6, 91 ff.

91: *σάφα*. 'For certain': cf. Hom. E 177 *σάφα δ' οὐκ οἶδα*, W. Luther, *Wahrheit und Lüge im ältesten Griechentum* (Borna-Leipzig 1935), 61 ff.

91: *ἄ τε*. Cf. C. J. Ruijgh, *Autour de 'TE épique'* (Amsterdam 1971), 986-7, who concludes that "l'emploi de *ὅστε* chez Pindare répond à l'usage homérique". In the present passage *τε* seems to have been added merely for metrical reasons.

91: *πατέρων*. To be connected with *ἀγαθῶν*. Cf. *P.* 8, 44-5 *φῶϊ τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει/ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα*.

91: *ὀρθαί*. Cf. *O.* 8, 24 *ὀρθᾶ διακρίναι φρενί*, *P.* 10, 68 *νόος ὀρθός*. The translation 'upright' (Farnell, Lattimore, Dornseiff II, Slater) is misleading, for the meaning is not 'sincere' (Bowra: 'a true heart', Slater: 'correct') but 'firm', 'sound' (cf. LSJ III 1).

91: *φρένες*. *Scil.* of Diagoras, not of his ancestors (Puech: 'les sages leçons qu'il tient de ses nobles ancêtres', Werner: 'trefflicher Väter rechte Gesinnung und Art', Lattimore: 'the upright mind of his fathers'), for in that case we should not expect *ἐξ*. Rightly Gildersleeve: "Diagoras is *ἀγαθός ἐξ ἀγαθῶν*", Thummer (76): 'sein von edlen Ahnen ererbter gerader Sinn'.

92: *ἔχρεον*. Not 'left, his heritage' (Lattimore) but 'suggest', as if it were an oracle.

⁸⁶ Ruck-Matheson's 'temper the grace you grant' is quite impossible.

⁸⁷ Thummer (75 n. 1) wrongly thinks that Pindar contaminates two ideas: "Er schreitet gerade und wandelt nicht auf dem verhassten Weg der Vermessenheit".

⁸⁸ See further Becker, 50 ff., Bowra, 252.

92: *μη κρύπτει*. 'Do not make obscure', addressed not to Diagoras (Lattimore) but to Zeus as the god who *ἀρετήν ἀνδρεσσιν ὀφέλλει τε μινύθει τε* (Hom. *Y* 242) and who *ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει* (Hes. *Op.* 6). Pindar likes to interpret things by means of the contrast 'visible-obscure' (cf. Gundert, 13-4, 46-7).—The connection with the preceding sentence has been rightly explained by Thummer (76): Diagoras will not obtain the favour of his fellow-citizens, if Zeus will not help to realize his abilities.

92: *κοινόν*. Neglected by Werner, Ruck-Matheson. The word does not mean 'in whom all take interest' (Fennell, who thinks this to be amplified by the next sentence) or 'allbekannt' (Mezger, who refers to the schol. *διάδηλον τοῖς πολλοῖς*; cf. Thummer, 76: 'weltberühmt') but refers to the unity of the family maintained throughout its history (cf. Slater: 'which his descendants have in common' and LSJ A IV 1).

93: *σπέρμα*. This is connected by Young (95) with the 'floral imagery' of the poem: he assumes a parallel between the growth of the island and the growth of Diagoras' family. But the point of the sentence is not the growth of the family but the continuity of its tradition.

93: *Καλλιάνακτος*. A conspicuous ancestor of Diagoras.

93: *τοι*. Probably an ethical dative referring to Zeus. Cf. *P.* 10, 34 *ὦν θαλίαις Ἀπόλλων χαίρει*.

93: *σύν*. 'In accordance with'. Cf. *P.* 9, 96 *σύν τε δίκᾳ καλὰ ῥέζοντα*, LSJ A 6.

93: *χαρίτεσσιν*. Not 'en l'honneur des Ératides' (Puech) or 'avec les Charites (amies) des Ératides' (Duchemin, 65) but 'the joys of victory' (cf. *O.* 8, 57, *P.* 5, 102).

94: *θαλίαις*. This is said by Young (97) to imply that "Diagoras has given Rhodes new growth" (cf. 101: the festivities "are essentially like blossoms or shoots in Diagoras' life and that of his city"). But Pindar never stresses the connection of *θαλία* with *θάλλω*.

94: *μιᾷ*. 'One and the same': cf. *O.* 13, 37 *ἄλλω ἄμφ' ἐνί*, Hom. *Γ* 238 *τῷ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ*, Slater c., LSJ 2 a. Young (97-8) wrongly takes the phrase to mean 'within a human life'. Fennell argues that *μοῖρα* "cannot mean 'point of time', as *ἄλλοτε* subdivides it". But Pindar is so impressed by the vicissitudes of human life (see above on 11) that he illogically combines two ideas, viz. (1) different winds occur at one and the same moment, and (2) the wind differs from moment to moment.

95: *διαιδύσσοισιν*. 'Move quickly in different directions'⁸⁹.

⁸⁹ For the idea of flickering usually implied in *αἰθύσσω* cf. W. B. Stanford, *Ambiguity in Greek Literature* (Oxford 1939), 132-6.

95: *αῖθρα*. The same imagery occurs at *P.* 3, 104, *I.* 3, 23⁹⁰. Young (98 ff.; similarly Lawall, 44) is wrong in connecting this phrase with the meteorological phenomena mentioned in the first part of the poem; he even concludes that "his [Pindar's] denial of human prescience is designed primarily as a means not to disparage man, but to magnify nature" (99; cf. 101: Pindar puts Diagoras and his family "squarely within the system of nature"). This is a projection of modern ideas not supported by anything in the text. The last sentence simply means: "Remember that human fortune is changeable". The poet "has been inculcating so strongly that good follows bad, that for truth's sake he gives the reverse in vague terms" (Fennell; cf. Wilamowitz, 365)⁹¹. Smith (183-4) observes that between the glorification of the victor and the reminder of a possible shift of fortune there is "a clear gap, a conflict of different attitudes. This is to me the main effect of the poem, the impossibility of bridging the gap, of coming to terms with the irrationality inherent in the world". This is a typically modern reaction. For Pindar there was no gap and no irrationality, because all vicissitude comes from the gods: (*θεός*) *καὶ ὑψιφρόνων τῷ ἔκαμψε βροτῶν, | ἑτέροισι δὲ κῦδος ἀγήραον παρέδωκε* (*P.* 2, 51-2)⁹². — The final words do not have a political implication, as is assumed by Mezger (447): "Die Herrschaft der Eratiden und die dorisch-aristokratische Verfassung der Insel . . . waren schwer bedroht durch die Athener und die ihnen dienenden Demagogen" (similarly Dornseiff, Bowra, 146-7, 302, Werner, 514). Farnell rightly observes that "if at this time there were political dangers threatening this aristocratic house, it would be in the worst taste in Pindar to allude to them here"⁹³.

⁹⁰ See further Bowra, 250-1, D. van Nes, *Die maritime Bildersprache des Aischylos* (Groningen 1963), 7 ff.

⁹¹ Thummer (*Pindar, Isthm.*, I, 70 n. 44) is certainly wrong in maintaining that this addition "soll das Glück aus dem Hintergrund des Unglücks besonders deutlich hervortreten lassen".

⁹² Cf. Strohm, *Tyche*, 56: "antithetische Züge sind von seinem Weltbild fernzuhalten, das vielmehr von dem Glauben an eine Harmonie, an ein Gefügtsein des Sterblichen ins Übermenschliche lebt".

⁹³ Mezger thinks that Pindar addresses himself to the people: "das Volk warnt er vor voreiligen Beschlüssen mit dem Hinweis auf die Unbeständigkeit des Glücks; was sie jetzt haben, das wissen sie: Siegesfeste auf Siegesfeste" (similarly Norwood, 142). Such an intention would be very bad taste indeed.

