INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106
NASSEN, Paula Jane, 1947-
PINDAR: A LITERARY STUDY OF OLYMPIAN IX AND OLYMPIAN X.
The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1973
Language and Literature, classical

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

© Copyright by
Paula Jane Nassen
1973

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED.
PINDAR: A LITERARY STUDY OF OLYMPIAN IX
AND OLYMPIAN X

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Paula Jane Nassen, B.A.

The Ohio State University
1973

Reading Committee: Approved By

Dr. John W. Shumaker
Dr. Robert J. Lenardon
Dr. Mark P. O. Morford

Department of Classics
Dedicatio
Parentibus meis et
sorori et fratri
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my adviser, Professor John W. Shumaker, I owe a debt of gratitude for the inspirational introduction to Pindar and for guidance in my pursuit of this study.

To Professor Robert J. Lenardon, I wish to express my appreciation for his constructive suggestions and continual encouragement throughout the preparation of this dissertation.

I am grateful to Professor Mark P. O. Morford for his perceptive comments and helpful criticisms and for his thoughtfulness and concerned interest in my work.
VITA

February 19, 1947 • • • • Born - Hibbing, Minnesota

1965-1969 • • • • • • B.A. summa cum laude, Classics Luther College, Decorah, Iowa

1969-1973 • • • • • • University Fellow, Teaching Associate, Department of Classics The Ohio State University Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Greek Lyric Poetry

Latin Language and Literature. Professors
Kenneth M. Abbott, Charles L. Babcock,
Vincent J. Cleary, John T. Davis, Mark
P. O. Morford, Jane M. Snyder

Greek Language and Literature. Professors
Clarence A. Forbes, David E. Hahm,
Robert J. Lenardon, John W. Shumaker,
Stephen V. Tracy

Philological Studies. Professors Angeliki
Drachmann, Francis Newton
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. <strong>OLYMPIAN IX</strong>: FOR EPHARMOSTOS, THE OPOUNTIAN WRESTLER</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Study of Theme and Structure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. <strong>OLYMPIAN X</strong>: FOR HAGESIDAMOS OF EPIZEPHYRIAN LOKRIS, THE BOY BOXER</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Study of Theme and Structure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. <strong>Olympian IX</strong>: Internal Structure</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. <strong>Olympian X</strong>: Internal Structure</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Over the past century and a half, Pindaric scholarship has addressed itself chiefly to one basic question, "Do Pindar's epinician odes have poetic unity?" In an attempt to find the answer, criticism has alternately given affirmative and negative responses, cresting first on the wave of the unitarian movement (ca. 1821-1894), then on that of the anti-unitarians (ca. 1886-1922), and now, once again, on that of the unitarians (ca. 1928 to the present). ¹

The approaches have varied. Earlier scholars discovered unity through a Grundgedanke—one central thought which succinctly expressed the theme of an ode—or through verbal repetition, or through consistency of structure, either internal, which often emphasized the laudator—laudandus element, or external, ² which marked the myth as the omphalos (central point) of an ode, supported by both the introductory and concluding verses. Other


² Internal structure refers to the pattern of thought and imagery in the ode, and external structure to the triadic framework.
critics, as we shall see below, did not sense the artistry of the poetry but rather viewed each poem as a loosely connected sequence of unrelated ideas and irrelevancies or as a context in which to make sociological, biographical, psychological, philological, or historical judgments on a more superficial level.

The major thrust of recent scholarship, however, has been to counter those who argue against unity in Pindar's songs by illustrating how the various themes, words, images, and conventional topoi are interlaced throughout each poem to create a unified whole. There is no single unifying factor, then, as the earlier critics proposed, but rather a single impression of unity made by the ode on the reader; for themes have been modified, enlarged, intensified, and interwoven in their progression from the opening strophe to the closing epode.

Since this move to treat Pindar's epinicia as complete literary units is a relatively recent development, only a few of the forty-five odes have been discussed thus far in this new light. Three scholars have made particularly important studies: R. W. B. Burton, Elroy L. Bundy, and David C. Young. While Burton's analyses of the coherency of thought and structure in the Pythian odes emphasize each song's unity, he does not fully examine the various

\[\text{3R. W. B. Burton, } \textit{Pindar's Pythian Odes} \text{ (Oxford 1962).}\]
facets of the relationship between the primary and secondary themes in the individual odes.

Bundy, in his two perceptive monographs on the conventional elements in Pindar's lyric poetry, has helped to reinforce the concept of unity by freeing Pindar from the charge that his transitions are rough and abrupt and that he devotes much time to personal preoccupations, triumphs, embarrassments, and other irrelevancies. Bundy, rather, regards these passages as rhetorical devices, as priamels and foils to the main themes. He presents his idea too forcefully at times, however, and we must be careful not to view Pindar as a mechanical sifter of topoi and conventions; for this would destroy the artistry through which Pindar speaks of his association with the victor and his city and draws special attention to his words of praise.

In David C. Young's discussions of several of the odes, the complex unity of Pindar's epinician poetry has been most clearly illustrated. By systematically tracing the words, themes, imagery, and conventions, where appro-

4 E. L. Bundy, "Studia Pindarica 1 (Q. 11) and 2 (I. 1)," CPCP 18.1.1-34 and 18.2.35-92 (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962).

priate, in all of their intricacy, he has demonstrated a most successful way of dealing critically with Pindar and his work.

Young has incorporated several techniques of previous Pindaric scholarship in his studies. Although he finds more than one central thought in an ode, he yet adopts the Grundgedanke and then expands it to make it more inclusive; for he views unity as coherency of thought rather than tautology of thought. Where an historical reference is made in an ode, he notes it but does not develop his interpretation around it; his concern is rather with the poetry itself. He also treats the conventions in an ode, but, unlike Bundy, he sees them more as artistic representations of Pindar's thought than as conventional rhetorical devices.

Young looks at each ode, therefore, from different perspectives. As he has demonstrated in his studies, this multiple approach has led to new interpretations and fresh insights. Our first concern, therefore, should be to treat the rest of the odes in like manner so as to capture, as truly as possible, Pindar's tone and message.

It is with this intent, then, that I have undertaken the study of Olympian IX and Olympian X. I have dealt here with each of them independently, in separate chapters, analyzing first the external framework of the ode and then the internal, thematic structure. In my introduction to
Pindar in a graduate seminar, I was struck by the uniqueness of the commercial imagery in Olympian X and have chosen now to give further study to its use and place in the ode as a whole. I have selected Olympian IX for analysis because of its two myths, vivid metaphors, close construction, and powerful theme. The fact that both poems celebrate Zeus and an Olympian victory, praise members of a Lokrian tribe (the Opountians in IX and the Epizephyrians in X), and concentrate on Herakles in their myths, should hold no special significance for us here.

At the beginning of each chapter, I have placed my own translation of the ode to be discussed with the hope that, through my choice of phrasing and vocabulary, it will serve as an epitome of my interpretation of the song. I have tried to maintain the Greek word order, as often as sense will allow, and to reflect in my verses the color and feeling of the original as vividly as possible.

The literary study, which follows in each case, is an elaboration of the text of the ode, developed systematically from the first line—word by word and line by line—to the last; for it is my purpose to show, by close analysis, the intricacy of Pindar's style with its interlacing of images and themes and the resultant effect of unity. Pindar's achievement of this effect is graphically displayed in Appendices A (O. IX) and B (O. X) where a catalogue is given of the significant words and images of each
ode, arranged by verse according to theme. The compilation of these lists proved to be helpful to me in making my analyses and in tracing the movement of the poems.

The best survey of the literature dealing with Olympians IX and X can be found in Douglas E. Gerber's two bibliographies of Pindar's works. These tools were valuable in locating the necessary secondary sources and commentaries. Joannes Rumpel's Index Verborum was also of great use for analyzing passages with words or sentiments which could be made less ambiguous or more readily interpretable by citing parallels elsewhere in his poetry.

Among the secondary sources, there are several books and articles which offer a general, but diverse, overview of Pindar's poetry; from their references to Olympians IX and X it is obvious that Pindar's content and style are considered from different standpoints and multifarious perspectives. We have seen how Bundy places the emphasis on lyric conventions and topos. Wilamowitz, on the other hand, is more geographical and historical in his outlook.

For instance, in Ο. IX establishing the genealogy of the

---


8 Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Pindaros (Berlin 1922).
myth is his prime concern, and in O. X speculating on the names and places of the first victors of the Games. He does not treat the odes as poetry or as units.

Leopold Schmidt has adopted a biographical approach. It is his contention that O. IX was written in the third period of Pindar's life when his poetic art was waning, since Pindar asks for assistance in his writing. He also feels that the mythical passages are loosely constructed. With regard to O. X, he claims that Pindar was unsuccessful in his first attempt to write it because of his intense desire (love) for the beautiful, young victor. Artistic perfection is lacking too, he says, because of a poorly chosen myth. Such biographical interpretations, however, do not do justice to Pindar's odes. We should not confuse Pindar, the man, and Pindar, the poet.

Gilbert Norwood, in a series of Sather Classical Lectures, speaks of Pindaric unity, but in a much too limited and narrow sense. There is unity, for him, in almost every ode because of a symbol to which the vocabulary and imagery can be referred. In O. X that symbol is the pebble; he does not give one for O. IX. Although this


10 Cf. page 10 below for K. Bossler's refutation of several of these claims. I will deal with Schmidt's criticisms as they pertain to the odes in the following study.

symbol is a type of Grundgedanke, it is not sufficiently inclusive to explain an ode in its various aspects.

In C. M. Bowra's *Pindar*,\(^{12}\) we find an excellent, detailed presentation of Pindar's thought and perception of poetry. He explains, in the chapters on the myths and the gods, how Pindar bridges the gap, through his epinician songs, between the transient world of man and the radiant and glorious divine and semi-divine world of the heroes and the immortals. Since Bowra takes his illustrations from the odes, there are numerous references to *Olympians* IX and X throughout his book, particularly in his chapter entitled "The Athletic Ideal," where the beauty of the victory and the victor are discussed.

Turning how to the sources which benefitted me more directly, I should mention several commentaries.\(^{13}\) L. R. Farnell's critical commentary was immensely helpful for its full treatment of disputed passages and readings. The analyses were often perceptive and gave useful direction to my thinking. There are times, however, when they serve as foils to my arguments. In B. L. Gildersleeve's commentary on the *Olympian* and *Pythian* odes there are excellent introductions to both of the odes and sensible interpretations of many of the verses; he is more extensive than Farnell in


\(^{13}\)For complete references, see the bibliography.
the points which he takes under consideration, but he some-
times dwells upon those that are obvious.

There were three commentaries of lesser importance to me. C. A. M. Fennell was generally prosaic in his inter-
pretations, but his acute sensitivity to some passages was
evident in the short translations which he rendered to con-
vey their meanings. August Boeckh's commentary in Latin
stressed the unity of each ode achieved through the theme
of praise--both poet and victor. He uses the method of
historical allegory, however, when making some of his
analyses. Thus, Herakles' battles in Q. X are said to
represent the victor's own struggles in the contests, and
Pindar's request for poetic power in Q. IX represents his
wish to be a good writer. I found W. Christ's commentary
helpful in looking at the myths in Q. IX and in making a
decision on an uncertain reading of the text in Q. X.

The scholia provided the ancient commentary, not only
on the texts of the odes, but also on the meters and dates
of the Games. They were helpful in dealing with some
of the mythological problems and old traditions. Although
the scholiasts were troubled, too, by the ambiguity of
many of the details, it is good to have a record of their

14 I will deal with Boeckh's comments in the following
study of the odes.

15 A. B. Drachmann, ed., Scholia Vetere in Pindari
suggested elucidations.

There are very few articles which concentrate specifically on either Olympian IX or Olympian X. In fact, I shall mention only three here dealing with each of the odes. Since I shall be concerned with these articles in the following chapters, I shall simply state their theses here.

The purpose of Karl Bossier's paper on O. IX is to refute Leopold Schmidt's contentions that Pindar was writing his poetry in a period of artistic decline (cf. page 7 above). He claims, rather, that there is unity in the ode. First, since the myths support the gnome, they are fundamental to the construction of the ode and, thus, help in producing a grand whole. Second, he interprets Pindar's requests for inspiration and strength as indications, not of modesty or uncertainty of his talents, but of bold confidence in his poetry.

A. Puech, in his special treatment of the myths in O. IX, claims that obscurities remain in them because scholars are preoccupied with reconciling the poet's words with information from other sources, such as the

---

16 The footnotes for chapters one and two will contain references to any others which I consulted.


scholiasts and commentators. He cautions us to rely rather on Pindar's words and to take recourse to outside sources only as a last resort. He stresses the divine grace manifested in each of the myths and likens the stories to epic; they should not be expected to be arranged logically and chronologically but to rest solely on essential facts which highlight the early history of the Lokrian people. That which links them or explains them should be short and almost parenthetical.

According to Michael Simpson, the central theme of 0 IX is the replacement and introduction of people into new situations for their benefit so that honor and renown may come to the victor and his city. There are, certainly, numerous references to the "new" in this poem, such as a new stone race, new line of progeny through Zeus, new glory, and new song, but Simpson tends to overemphasize their significance. It would appear that this theme should rather be subordinated to the gnomic statements of the ode.

Two unique analyses of the myth in 0 X, one historical and one biographical, can be found in E. Luebbert's essay comprised of two chapters. The first defends


20 E. Luebbert, Dissertatio de Pindari carmine Olympico decimo (Kiel 1881).
Pindar for giving the detailed account of the institution of the Olympian Games by stating that the poet was countering the tradition which the Eleian priests had invented, attributing the establishment of the Games to an Idaian hero; he does this by proving, at length, that Idaian sites in the Peloponnesos precede Pindar's time of writing. The second chapter gives four interpretations of a precept which Luebbert ascribes to Pindar, that "victory and salutary power come with a second effort," referring, of course, to Herakles' defeat by Kyknos followed later by a win; Boeckh and Mezger see this as an illustration of Hagesidamos' struggle with his opponents, and L. Schmidt and Luebbert of Pindar's inability to compose this ode at the first time of writing.

When G. Karl Galinsky speaks of Pindar's use of Herakles in his odes, he cites a hero caught in an age of transition. Claiming that Pindar took the mythical form and gave it new life by spiritualizing Herakles, he views this Herakles as a representative of all that is noble and aristocratic in archaic Greece and as an avenger of injustice and wrong. Galinsky's chapter provides a good, concise treatment of Herakles' heroism.

In a long commentary on Olympians X and XI, G. Van N.

---

Viljoen divides his work into two parts, the first dealing with the events and people of the odes, and the second with the myth of Herakles' founding of the Olympic Games. Although Viljoen writes in Afrikaans, he gives a detailed summary of his subject in English at the end of his book. He attempts to solve the problem of the composition date of O. X before attending to the question of the delay, commercial imagery, and the myths. He uses biographical and historical arguments in his interpretations, particularly in regard to Pindar's relationship with the victor and the literary sources which may have influenced the foundation story. Although his treatment is extensive, it is more concerned with these details than with the artistry of Pindar's poetry.

It becomes readily apparent, then, from this brief survey that literature which addresses itself to Olympians IX and X is limited in scope, pursuing individual problems of theme and style rather than sensing the total impact of each ode. Let us make a fresh start, therefore, in the study of each of these epinician songs, and analyse closely the different elements which result in the creation of unity.

---

22G. Van N. Viljoen, Pindaros se tiende en elfde Olympiese odes (Leiden 1955).
str. 1  The song of Archilochos
      resounding at Olympia,
      the triumphal hymn's thrice exulting refrain,
      was sufficient to lead to the hill of Kronos
      Epharmostos revelling in festal procession with
      his beloved companions;
      but now from the far-shooting bows of the Muses
      shower Zeus, the hurler of red lightnings, and
      the sacred
      hill of Elis
      with these arrows,
      the hill which the Lydian hero, Pelops, once
      won as the fairest dowry of Hippodameia;

ant. 1  send a winged, sweet
      shaft to Pytho, too; you will not
      touch upon words falling to the ground,
      while making the lyre quiver for the wrestling
      of the man
      from illustrious Opous, by praising her and her
      son,
      the city which Themis and her daughter protect,
      the Preserver,
      very glorious Eunomia. She blossoms with
      valorous achievements
      beside your stream, Kastalia,
      and the river Alpheos;
      whence the choicest crowns to fame
      exalt the mother of the Lokrians with her beauti-
      ful trees.

ep. 1  I, then, setting a city dear to me
      ablaze with fiery songs,
      swifter than the masterful steed
      and winged ship will send
this message everywhere,
if with some hand blessed by destiny
I tend the special garden of the Graces;
for it is they who give delightful things; but
noble and wise, according to god, men

become; how else against
the trident could Herakles have shaken the club with his hands,
when near Pylos Poseidon taking a stand set upon him,
and driving with his silver bow Phoibos pressed him
hard, nor did Hades hold his sceptre unmoved,
by which he leads mortal bodies down to the
hollow street
at death. Put this story,
my lips, away;
since hateful is the art
that reviles the gods, and boasting unseasonably

is in harmony with madness.
Do not babble now about such
things; let war and all fighting be
apart from the immortals; and bring to
Protogeneia's
city your speech, where by a decree of Zeus,
the wielder of lightning,
Pyrrha and Deukalion coming down from Parnassos
set up the first home, and apart from the
marriage bed as a kindred folk
established the stone race;
and they were named "people."
Rouse up for them the clear-toned path of poetry,
and while praising old wine, praise also the
flowers of songs

that are new. For they say that
the black earth was deluged
by the force of water, but that
by the devices of Zeus the ebb tide suddenly
drained off the flood. Of these
came your bronze-shielded ancestors
from the beginning, of the Iapetos stock
sons of the daughters and of the mighty sons of
Kronos, native kings always,

until the Olympian lord
snatching up from the land of the Epeians
the daughter of Opous, peacefully lay with her on the Mainalian slopes, and brought her

60 to Lokros, lest time should destroy him fixing a fate bereft of children. The greatest seed bore his wife, and the hero rejoiced looking on his adopted son, and he called him by his maternal uncle's very same name,

65 a man above speech in appearance and accomplishments. The city he gave him and the people to govern.

ant. 3 There arrived before him strangers from Argos and from Thebes, Arkadians and Pisatans; but the son of Aktor, especially, he honored of the settlers

70 and Aigina's Menoitios. He whose child together with the Atreidai to the plain of Teuthras came and stood fast with Achilles alone, when putting the valiant Danaans to flight against the beached ships Telephos charged; so as to show to any discerning man

75 clearly the indomitable spirit of Patroklos; thereafter, Thetis' son in baneful war

ep. 3 exhorted him never to engage in battle apart from his own man-slaying spear.

80 May I be creative in words to advance a worthy companion in the Muses' chariot; and may boldness and encompassing power attend me. With respect for state-friendship and his excellent strength I have come now upholding honor for Lampromachos' Isthmian chaplets, when both men won

str. 4 an event on a single day.

86 And two others at the gates of Korinth were, thereafter, delights of victory, and some also for Epharmostos in the vale of Nemea; at Argos, too, he gained the glory of men, and as a boy in Athens,
then taken out of the rank of the beardless in Marathon how great
90 a contest did he maintain with the older ones for silver cups; vanquishing the men with quick-shifting maneuvers that saved him from a fall
he passed through the ring with such great acclaim,
in youthful prime a victor and handsome, achieving the noblest feats.

ant. 4 Then again before the Parrhasian host a wonder he appeared to be
96 at the festival of Zeus Lykaios, and when the warm remedy of the chill breezes he carried off at Pellene; a witness also to him is Iolaos' tomb and Eleusis on the sea to his shining glory.
100 That which is by nature is best; but many men glory by learned excellence have striven to win; that which is apart from god is none the worse veiled in silence; for some

ep. 4 roads lead further than others, 106 and no one discipline will make all of us prosper; skills are steep heights; but presenting this as a prize, loudly cry out
110 with boldness, that this man by the blessing of heaven has been born with deftness of hand, agility of limb, and eyes of valor, and Aias, at the feast, son of Oileus, victorious he crowned your altar.
Pindar has composed in Olympian Nine a magnificent tribute of praise to an Olympic victor from Opountian Lokris. Winning acclaim in the wrestling competition at the Games in 468 B.C., Epharmostos brought honor home to his family and to the city of Opous, a town of the Eastern Lokrians in the district north of Boiotia.

This beautifully wrought encomium is constructed in the conventional framework of Pindar's epinician poetry: in the opening lines we find not only the introduction of the victor and an invocation of the Muse, praise of Olympia and Zeus and of fair Opous and her government (lines 1-20), but also special words of praise for the beauty and power of song and Pindar's quiet confidence in himself as a poet (lines 21-28); then follow the gnomic bridge in lines 28-29 and the two myths central to the ode, the one describing Herakles in his encounters with the gods and the other recounting the origin of Opous and the history of her peoples in lines 29-79; finally in the closing lines 80-112, Pindar voices his hope for poetic power, celebrates the numerous victories of Epharmostos and his kinsman, and

---

1 This date is determined by the entry in P. Oxy. ii. 222.37 (London 1899), [Εφα]ρμοστος οπου[νιος παλην. See also the scholiast's note on O. 9 in A. B. Drachmann, ed., Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina 1 (Leipzig 1903, repr. Amsterdam 1964) 17c., ευίκητας δε ο' Εφάρμοστος και 'Ολυμπία . . . έβδομηντή δύση ο' Ολυμπιάδει.
extols the excellence of man which comes from nature and is a gift of god.

Placing all of this in an even broader framework, we note generally that the first triad comprises the introduction, the second and third the myths, and the fourth the conclusion. Since there is considerable grammatical overlapping in Olympian 9 both between the triads themselves and within the individual units, it is not surprising that the close of the third epode fits together most naturally with the last triad.²

To give substance to this formal, external structure, Pindar composed an ode which takes as its primary theme the power of the divine, the gods' assistance to man, and the fulfillment of fate and destiny. Through single illustrations, generic statements, and mythological exempla, he recasts his theme throughout the ode, sometimes with simplicity and other times with complexity and rich elaboration, creating for us a unified expression of thought and imagery.³ As recipients of divine favor in both the past and the present, it is thus Epharmostos and his city who are given praise and hailed as true witnesses of the goodness


³See Appendix A for a catalogue, by verse, of the significant words and images of Olympian IX according to theme.
of the gods.

It becomes immediately clear, as Pindar begins his tribute, that his song in honor of the victorious wrestler will be full and powerful. It will be in marked contrast to the short, triumphal strains of Archilochos which, as the scholiast tells us, are appropriate for every victory since they neither bear the name of a contest nor make special mention of any particular feature. This type of encomium, however, is sufficient for an evening procession at Olympia, Pindar says, with its thrice sung refrain 
\[\text{thvella kalliyine (lines 1-4).}\]
Such a song is suitable accompaniment for Epharmostos as he revels with his friends in the precinct of Zeus, when no special ode has yet been prepared in praise of the victor. It does lend a festive air to the joyfulness of the occasion when all of Epharmostos' companions gather around him and sing their chant as they make their way to that venerable hill, named after the father of Zeus.

4 Two lines of the chant of Archilochos, traditionally known as the 
\[\text{kalliyinoc and first composed in honor of Herakles (fr. 119 Bergk), have been preserved by a scholiast, la: thvella kalliyine xaire anat 'Hrakleis, avtoe te kali, lIdaos, axymita doo.}\] The word thvella, imitating the twanging of lyre strings, lc., was added to the chant when there was an absence of music.

5 Schol., li.

6 According to Aristarchos, 3g., the word 
\[\text{triplados refers to a hymn with three strophes, but Eratosthenes, 1k., claims that it was the word kalliyine which was thrice repeated; Pindar's phrase seems to support this.}\]
It is indeed most fitting that such a song be sung in Epharmostos' behalf following in the tradition of the very first Games when Herakles was celebrated by the jubilant crowd. Epharmostos is deserving of his place in that noble tradition. It is right that everyone share with him the happiness of the moment. It is not difficult to sense the real rejoicing when we look at the words which Pindar uses in the first four lines to describe the scene at Olympia: τῷ Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος φωναῖν, καλλίνικος δ... κεκλαμένος, καὶ κωμάζοντε; and the whole celebration centers on the victor, whom the poet refrains from introducing by name (line 4) until after he has set the festive stage.

By the transitional words ἄλλα νῦν positioned at the beginning of line 5 and set in parallel construction to the article μέν in line 1, Pindar indicates to us that his song will be different. Not only does he contrast Olympia (Ὀλυμπία, line 2) with now (νῦν) but also the song of Archilochos (τῷ Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος, line 1) with his own encomium as he describes it in lines 5-27.

The first comparison is made when, in addressing himself (or perhaps the chorus), he requests that this ode come in a shower of arrows sped from the far-shooting bows of the Muses (lines 5 and 8). Unlike the short, mechanically sung καλλίνικος which was repeated from memory, his work must be inspired by the patronesses of poetry so that he may create a worthy, lasting composition.
Without making a direct invocation to the fount of his poetic genius, he yet acknowledges his need of their help with his task, the help to be bold in capturing the glory and splendor of this victory celebration.

As a second comparison he asks that his encomium be all-inclusive in its praise rather than a single arrow shot in honor of Epharmostos. The archery metaphor serves Pindar well here, for it allows him to shoot in many directions after establishing his different targets. The fact that these slender-shafted missiles will be released from the bows of the Muses is tacit assurance that they will be carefully aimed and not veer from their courses.

Pindar has chosen a hapax legomenon of his poetry ἐπινευματί (line 6) as the imperative verb here. It is a fitting word in this context, for its meaning "to encroach, spread over, or spread" implies that the arrows will fall everywhere; there will be a thick cover of praise on each target. When the verb comes to be used in the destructive sense of fire and disease, however, these lines take on even more significance; these arrows will hit their marks swiftly, deliberately, and steadily; they will be all-encompassing and forceful. Moving like fire, they will also be a vivid source of light, visible themselves, and

---

7 Homer's use of the word denotes spreading a table with food in II. 9.216, 24.265, Od. 20.254. For fire, see Hdt. 5.101, Diod. Sic. 14.51; for plague, see Thuc. 2.54, Diod. Sic. 12.12.
illuminating their subjects as well. Such will be the poet's song.

Pindar directs his first arrows in special honor of Zeus; for as lord of the Games, he has smiled with favor upon Epharmostos and made the victory possible for him (line 6). Zeus is mighty and strong, as the epithet φωστήρεως suggests, for, by his auspicious thunder and lightning, he grants success to a man. The image of fire is apparent in this epithet, too. As the term "hurler of red lightnings" indicates, it is Zeus' red-hot, blazing bolt which designates the man who will stand in the spotlight; so now, in turn, the father of the gods will be made resplendent in Pindar's light.

Zeus' holy precinct and the inviolable territory of Olympia must also be showered with arrows of praise, Pindar says, since it was in this sacred area that Epharmostos triumphed (line 7). This is also the Olympia, the poet reminds us in lines 9-10, which Pelops once acquired as part of the dowry of his bride, Hippodameia, after winning the race against Oinomaos for the hand of his daughter. By making this reference, Pindar wants us to recall that Pelops, like Epharmostos, also depended on a god for his victory; in the case of Pelops it was Poseidon who heard

---

8 Cf. P. 4.197-200 and O. 10.79-83 for other illustrations.
the prayers of the hero and gave him the win.⁹

As the first antistrophe opens, Pindar makes yet another request. Though it is unclear once again whether he is addressing the chorus or himself, there is no mistaking the fact that he wants one single arrow, one sweet arrow, released in the direction of Pytho, since Epharmos-tos was victorious in the Pythian Games there in 466 B.C.¹⁰

Although the praise sent to Pytho is not as full as that given to Olympia in this ode, it will, nevertheless, strike the center of the target and bring welcome delight.¹¹

Pindar makes one more allusion to the archery metaphor before he lays it aside. When introducing next the city which has raised the wrestling victor, he assures his addressee that he will not touch upon words that fall to the ground (χαμαίπετέων λόγων, line 12b) by offering up a song to Opous; his words will not be sung in vain. They will rather reach the city with speed and accuracy. In this allusion, Pindar is implying that Opous is not only

⁹Cf. O. I.71-96 where Pindar gives the account of Pelops' race with Oinomaos. With Poseidon's gift of a golden chariot and unwearying horses, Pelops was able to take the maiden as his wife. Upon his death, his tomb was situated beside the Alpheos River at the future site of the Olympian Games.

¹⁰That would be the thirtieth Pythiad according to the scholiast, 18b., or 466 B.C., just two years after his win at Olympia. The present ode must have been written, therefore, after that time.

¹¹Note the antithesis of γλυκὺν...δίστον (lines 11-12).
most deserving of this honor but that the poet's praise, carried on the quivering strings of the lyre, will also be a fitting tribute to her magnificence.

The greatness which he ascribes to Epharmostos' city is the subject of lines 14-20. He calls her illustrious Opous, the place which Themis and her very glorious daughter, Eunomia the Preserver, keep for their own. Under these tutelary deities, reverence for what is right, justice and concord, and respect for law and order prevail. In addition to good government, Opous prospers from the athletic successes won by her men and boys at both Pytho, represented here by the river Kastalia, and Olympia, represented by the river Alpheos. Wreaths of bay leaves and the choicest crowns of wild olive are familiar to the mother city of the Lokrians, herself adorned with beautiful trees.

Pindar's language in these lines illustrates clearly the fine attributes of this city: she is renowned, κλειστή ...'Οπόστος (line 14), κλυταύ Λακράν ἐπαείφοντι ματέρα (lines 19-20); she has the divine protection of noble goddesses, θέμις...σῶτειρα λέλογχεν μεγαλόδοξος Εὐνομία (lines

12 Cf. Hesiod's Theogony 901-902 for the genealogy.

13 Opous was the chief city and capital of the Opuntian Lokrians. It was governed by an assembly of the Thousand which was drawn from the noble families. Colonists from this Lokrian state were sent to southern Italy to settle Epizephyrian Lokris.
15-16); she is bodily strong and capable in competitions, ἡλλει ἄρεταις (line 16), στεφάνων οὖσοι (line 19); and she is beautiful, ἄγλαδδευδρον (line 20). Flourishing and thriving with activity, she is a good mother, raising and training good children, like Epharmostos. Without giving a conventional catalogue of the eminent qualities of a people, Pindar, nevertheless, makes us aware of those that mark Opous with distinction.

The poet thus opens the first epode with a promise: he will set the dear city ablaze with glowing, fiery songs and send his message far and wide. Now there is no longer any doubt as to who will sing, for Pindar tells us in the pronoun ἐγὼ at the beginning of line 21; he will personally compose this encomium for the Lokrians because of his fondness for them. (If we reflect at this point on Pindar's earlier directives in lines 6, 11, and 12b, perhaps some of the ambiguity may be lessened by assuming that he is also the one to send the arrows).

The use of fire imagery (lines 21-22) is effective here, too, recalling for us the subtle implications of the imperative ἐπιλευμα in line 6. As we look at the words μαλαράς ἐπιφλέγων αὐτῶν in their literal sense, we see the city emblazed by fiery, raging songs (a striking juxta-

14See Q. 10.13-15 and Q. 11.16-19 for examples of such conventional catalogues.
position of words once again). We can feel the intense heat, be dazzled by the bright light, and witness the strength and force and speed of the fire. Looking again, this time at the figurative meanings of the words, we see that Pindar intends to make Opous illustrious with glowing words of praise in honor of the Lokrians, praise as sweeping as the burning flames and more swiftly moving than a masterful steed or a winged ship (lines 23-24). His epinician song will reach beyond the immediate bounds of Lokris, spreading over both land and sea. As Pindar says in lines 24-26, he will send this (ταῦτα) message everywhere: the message of glorious Opous, the message of her noble son victorious in the Games, and the message of Zeus' power and majesty of Olympia (cf. line 14).

Shifting to the metaphor of gardening, Pindar finds it necessary to attach a qualification to the promise which he has just made in all good faith; he will be able to make his encomium heard in the farthest regions only if he, blessed by some hand in accordance with destiny (σὺν τινὶ μοιριδός παλάμη), tills the select garden of the Graces,

---

15 Cf. N. 6.26-28 and 31-34 for a similar shift in metaphors from archery to gardening.

16 The scholiast, 38a., suggests that this type of skill is granted by the Fates (Moirai) themselves.
the administrants of delightful things (lines 26-28).\(^{17}\)

For it is the Graces who lend the quiet charm and elegance to the pieces inspired by the Muses in order to enhance them with splendor and to make them appealing to a wide audience.\(^{18}\) Pindar's song will thus abound and flourish after he has cultivated and picked the best of the poetic fruits from this fine garden with the help of a supernal force.

Pindar has devoted the entire first epode to this impressive description of the power of song. As he catches us up in the vividness of his metaphors and adjectives, the strength of his poetry, both restrained and unrestrained, is markedly felt. In the fire imagery and in the speed of the magnificently strong (ἄγανωρός) horse and the winged (ὑποπτέρων) ship, we sense a power that is struggling to break free from all bounds so that it can race ahead to the end in spite of all obstacles. In the well-ordered garden of the Graces, however, we sense a subdued strength, quiet in its time of growth and soft in its display of beauty. What better means could Pindar have by which to praise the disciplined strength of the wrestler, Epharmos—

\(^{17}\) See P. 6.2 and N. 10.26 for other references to tending the gardens of the Graces and Muses. Cf. O. 14.5-7 where Pindar describes the duties of the Graces.

\(^{18}\) In Hesiod's Theogony 64 the Muses and Graces dwell side by side on Mt. Olympus.
tos, and his kinsman.

By expressing this appreciation of the beauty and effectiveness of song and by acknowledging his special needs and tasks as a poet (lines 21-28), Pindar has brought the introductory verses to a close. Passing now to the gnomic sentiment in lines 28-29, we hear him saying that men become noble and wise (ἄγαθος καὶ σοφός) according to divine power (ματά δαίμων). By "noble and wise," Pindar is referring to men courageous in spirit and prudent in thought and understanding\(^{19}\)--strong men like Epharmostos and the valiant hero, Herakles, and clever men like himself, skilled in poetic artistry. It is under the providence of god that man is able to realize his full potential and to achieve highest excellence.\(^{20}\)

With this generic statement, Pindar has constructed a bridge, grammatically and analytically, from the first triad to the second. He does this, first, by placing the final word of the gnome, the verb, at the beginning of a new strophe (line 29); this overlapping provides a crucial external link between the triads. Second, the central thought of the gnome is developed in the lines situated on both sides of it. A chiasmic structural relationship

---

\(^{19}\)Schol., 42.

\(^{20}\)For other passages dealing with this theme, see O. 13.104-106, P. 1.41-42, and P. 10.10.
results from this; in lines 25-27, Pindar speaks of a poet in need of divine aid; next comes the gnome with its "noble men and wise men" (lines 28-29), followed in lines 29-35 by the tale of a hero who benefits from godly favor; in short, we have this "abab" arrangement—wise man (poet) ...ἀγαθοὶ...σοφοὶ...noble man (hero).

It is with ease, then, that Pindar moves into the myth (lines 29-35) using the account of Herakles' encounters with the gods as an illustration of the generic sentiment. When the poet confronts us with the question as to how Herakles could possibly have fought against Poseidon, Apollo, and Hades at one time and have been successful,21 it is completely natural for us to think back to the lesson in the aphorism (as we have noted by the structural analysis above) and to assume that he, too, must have been supported by the grace of the divine. Since Herakles was

21 According to the scholiast, 44a., Didymos claims that Pindar combined three separate combats together into one historical battle. In 43., we read that the three events were: Herakles' fight with Poseidon in Messenian Pylos because Neleus, the sea god's son, would not cleanse him of his bloodguilt for murdering Iphitos; the fight with Apollo at Delphi because he had stolen a tripod in anger when an oracle was refused; and a fight with Hades in Eleian Pylos because he had carried off Kerberos.

Some literary passages and vase paintings treat the same events: Herakles and Poseidon—II. 11.690ff.; Scut. 359ff.; Herakles and Apollo—Paus. 3.21.8, 8.37.1, 10.13.7, Attic black-figure and red-figure vases, as shown in J. D. Beazley's Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters (Oxford 1956) and Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters 3 (2nd ed. Oxford 1963); Herakles and Hades—II. 5.397-399.
able to withstand the gods themselves, it is clear that there had to be a greater god within him.

Although this heroic man possessed colossal strength in his own right, it would not be sufficient to enable him to prevail in battle with the deities. Only a god can fight another god and overcome him. It must have been in accordance with the will of his father, Zeus, therefore, that Herakles was given the victory. Only then could his club have been a match for the sceptre, the bow, and the trident. Just as the poet needs a force greater than himself to compose a good song (line 26) so does the hero when facing an arduous challenge such as this.

At this point (lines 35-36), Pindar stops short and curtly exhorts his lips to refrain from speaking further on this topic. Continuing in this vein for the next five verses, he explains that an art which reviles the gods

---

22Hades' sceptre is similar to the caduceus of Hermes, the psychopompos; cf. II. 24.343 and Od. 5.48.

23The fact that the battles were combined may have been, as Didymos suggests, because Pindar wanted to praise Herakles more splendidly or to praise him with the truth. It may be, as Christ says in Pindari Carmina prolegomenis et commentariis instructa (Leipzig 1896) 72, that the poet wished to increase the virtue of Herakles. It appears, however, that the emphasis should rather be placed on man's ability to be successful in the face of overwhelming adversity as a result of being blessed with power from on high, especially when dispensed by Zeus himself, the father of the gods.
is hateful,\textsuperscript{24} cautions against presumptuous boasting, enjoins his babbling tongue not to mention strife and the gods in the same context, and urges it to take up a new theme instead. Here, in lines 35-41, we thus see Pindar using a familiar convention of his epinician songs—a transitional passage marked by hesitation.\textsuperscript{25}

In his remarks concerning the gods and poetry (σοφία, line 38), he makes it apparent that he regards inglorious and boastful words which bring dishonor to the deities as impious, sacrilegious, and tantamount to madness. The very fact that Pindar expresses such indignation is a certain indication to us that he, as a good poet (σοφός, cf. line 28), has not yet overstepped the bounds (παρά καρδίαν, line 38) in this encomium; before he reaches that point, he will proceed to something new.

This conventional transition is rather like a Pindaric praeteritio; he will make mention of a battle between the gods (or a hero inspired by a god) to support his thesis that man's success comes as a result of divine favor; but

\textsuperscript{24}See O. 1.35-36 and O. 1.52 for similar cautionary remarks.

\textsuperscript{25}Other examples are: N. 4.33-46, N. 5.14-21, and N. 8.19-39. In passages of this type, Pindar pauses in his narrative and excuses himself from proceeding further. His excuses vary, claiming sometimes that the hour is late and he must move on to more pressing topics or subjects of praise, other times that the laws of poetry do not permit him to be more elaborate in his song or speech, and other times that reverence or propriety restrain him.
he does not elaborate on the subject. His purpose for
telling (creating) this story is not to draw attention to
conflict or to exult in it but to emphasize the power
which man can have when he works together with the gods
rather than against them, whether he be a hero or poet,
a wise man or a noble man. In order to make his inten-
tion clear, Pindar, therefore, admonishes himself not to
chatter now (φῦν λαλάγει) about such things (lines 40-41);
he has made his point; now he should move on.

L. R. Farnell, in his commentary, looks at this pas-
sage (lines 28-41) from a different perspective. He
believes that there is a glaring incongruity when Pindar
states an aphorism as generally true, then narrates a
story to prove or illustrate it (a story which is actually
contradictory to it), and then rejects the story with
vehemence; in his view, the fact that Herakles stands up
against three divinities "knocks the bottom out of the
aphorism."

26 B. L. Gildersleeve in Pindar. The Olympian and
205, states that Pindar uses Herakles as proof of the
gnome but leaves "the wise men" untouched so as to avoid
presumptuousness. From the above discussion, however, we
must surely admit that Pindar makes specific reference to
the poet receiving divine assistance in lines 25-27 and a
general allusion to this fact in the myth and transition.
The chiasmic structure is our key to understanding.

27 L. R. Farnell, The Works of Pindar 2: Critical
He removes what he believes to be an incongruity, however, by translating the complex of particles in lines 29-30 as "how could it have been true that Herakles successfully defied gods in battle?" In other words, the protasis of the condition for him is positive rather than negative.

This argument is specious, but it is not likely that Pindar would invent a new myth by combining three stories and narrate it so fully and skillfully merely to reject it as absurd. With his religious philosophy of never speaking evil about the gods, he would not even bring such a story to our attention solely to denounce it.\textsuperscript{28} We should also remember at this point that the poet is not actually rejecting or repudiating the myth here; he is not chastising himself for being inappropriate in his poetry or for being blasphemous against the gods. He is simply putting this story aside, after exemplifying the noble thought of the gnome, so as not to overstate his case or to be misunderstood.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{28}As Gilbert Norwood says in Pindar (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1945) 236, Farnell's interpretation is instantly destroyed by recognizing that the myth as Pindar tells it was not the popular version; it was a newly created myth, so it did not require repudiation.

\textsuperscript{29}Farnell does have adherents to his view. C. M. Bowra, in Pindar (Oxford 1964) 56, writes that the poet combines the different stories in order to make the account of a hero fighting the gods more detestable. On page 55, he remarks that Herakles cannot possibly have been so unwise or so impious as these stories suggest. G. Karl
Leaving this heroic exemplum behind, the poet thus entreats his voice to sing of the city of Protogeneia, Epharmostos' home. It is in compliance with this request, then, that the account of Opous' origin and the history of her peoples ensues (lines 41-79). In spite of the problematic nature of this myth, due chiefly to the ambiguity of its genealogy, Pindar's theme, nevertheless, emerges free and clear, unhampered by the uncertainty of the numerous details.

As he describes the city to be praised now, we recognize his theme as already familiar to us in this ode; for it was by a decree of Zeus (Δίσε Σαρος, line 42), Pindar says, that Pyrrha and Deukalion came down from the top of Mount Parnassos after the flood to set up their home, at the place soon to be named Opous, and to serve as Zeus' instruments in the process of creation. Picking up the

Galinsky in *The Herakles Theme* (Totowa, New Jersey 1972) echoes these same thoughts when stating that the credibility of the myths that pit a hero against a god is undermined by the synthesis, and they are not to be taken seriously on principle; Herakles would not turn against the very dispensers of qualities that produce wise and good men. A more biographical interpretation is given by L. Schmidt, *Pindar's Leben und Dichtung* (Bonn 1862), who suspects that Pindar may have used the myth to speak against Aeschylus' use of battles between gods in poetry.

In Strabo's *Geog.* 9.4.2 Deukalion is said to have lived at Kynos, the naval arsenal located about eight miles from Opous. Pyrrha's tomb was later situated there, but Deukalion's was at Athens. See also Farnell, 70-71, for treatments of this theme of the flood and second creation in literature earlier than Pindar.
stones at his behest and tossing them to the ground, they became witnesses of a glorious miracle—the miracle of cold, hard stones coming to life and rising up transformed with warmth and breath into mortals (λέινον γόνον, line 45) who would live with them as a kindred people.  

Such is the greatness of Zeus, and so marvelous his deeds. As the epithet αὐλοβρόντα in line 42 indicates, Zeus is strong and mighty, the wielder of lightning, the same powerful god as is honored in line 6. He can create life apart from life, alone, without the marriage bed, and bring renewal and growth to utter waste and destruction.

It is in praise of the stone race, then, and the majesty of Zeus that Pindar bids the sweet path of song be filled with beautiful strains. Like old wine (παλαιὸν μὲν οἶνου) which is of the most delectable and finest vintage, these blossoms of his new hymns (ἀνθέα δ’ ὑμνῶν νεωτέρων), just now composed, will also deserve the commendation reserved solely for the best (lines 47-48);  

---

31 C. A. M. Fennell in Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes (Cambridge 1879) 80, suggests that this myth is probably etymological in origin, based on an association between the words λαός (people) and λάσις (stone). He claims that it is unlikely, however, that they are connected even though their roots are similar in sound.

32 The scholiast, 74b., implies that Pindar, by comparing old wine and new songs, may be making a retort here to a remark made by Simonides when Pindar defeated him in some competition with a new version of a myth: fr. 75 (Bergk)—ἐξελέγχει ὁ νέος οἶνος οὔτωι πέρυς δ’ αὐτῷ ἀμφέλου· ὁ δὲ μύθος ὧδε κενεδρήσων ("New wine does not make proof yet of last year's gift of the vine; this story is empty—
garden of the Graces, only the prettiest flowers flourish, giving delight to their beholders with their lasting beauty (cf. lines 27-28).

Pindar, therefore, picks up the common account of the flood at this point (λέγοντες, line 49) and, enhancing it with his poetry, relates how the onrush of water inundated the earth (cf. line 6). The force (οθένος) of the waters, however, was quickly overcome by the wise devices of Zeus (Ζηνός τέχναις, line 52) who sent the ebb tide to draw it off. So the father of the gods, even before the creation miracle, was making manifest his divinity and power to restore order from chaos for the benefit of all mortals.

The fact that Zeus played such a prominent role in their past becomes even more evident to Epharmostos and the Lokrian tribe when Pindar reminds them that their stalwart ancestors, the men with the bronze shields, were, indeed, the descendants of the stone people (μελυσων, line 53) from the very beginning;\(^{33}\) they were, as he goes on to say in lines 55-56, sons of both the daughters of the race

\(^{33}\) The antecedent of this pronoun is much disputed. Gildersleeve, 207, argues that it is more likely "Deukalion and Pyrrha" because of the emphasis on "the race of Iape-tos." The emphasis should rather be on the whole appositional phrase, "the sons of the daughters...Kronos," which would be the stone people.
of Iapetos (in other words, Pyrrha) and of the noble sons of Kronos (in other words, Zeus)—they were sprung from the "seed" of Zeus which was planted by Pyrrha and Deukalion.

Opous' past becomes even more glorious when Pindar explains that just as the purely native line of kings which reigned in Lokris was about to die out, the Olympian lord (Ὀλυμπιός ὁ θεός) stepped in and changed the course of her history once again (lines 57-66). In order to prevent King Lokros from suffering the gloomy fate of approaching death childless, Zeus snatched up the daughter of Opous, the king of the Epeians in Elis, lay with her on the Mainalian slopes in Arkadia, and then brought her to Lokros for his wife.}

34 There is considerable discussion as to the identity of the "daughters of the race of Iapetos." Pindar is, no doubt, representing the singular number by the plural here, but as Gildersleeve, 207, and Fennell, 81, suggest, it may also be poetic extension for the Epeian maiden (assumed to be the younger Protogeneia) and Zeus in lines 57-58.

35 Since Pindar does not name the "daughter of King Opous of Elis," much controversy abounds as to her identity. From his reference to the "city of Protogeneia" in lines 41-42, it has been assumed that this is her name. Confusion arises, however, with the tradition (cf. Hellanikos, according to schol., 62b.) that Protogeneia was also the name of the daughter of Deukalion and Pyrrha. See Farnell, 71, for a discussion of the difficulty of bringing these two genealogies into harmony.

Scholars, such as Boeckh, Bossler, Gildersleeve, Fennell, and Puech, have attempted to reconcile the problem by admitting that there were two Protogeneias (see footnote 38 for full references), by extrapolating "evidence" from numerous statements in the scholia, 79c. In summary, the genealogy is as follows: Protogeneia was the daughter of
It was with joy and delight, then, that Lokros first looked upon his son, born of the mighty seed of Zeus (σπέρμα μέγιστον, line 61), the son whom he would call his own and raise to manhood, the son who would bear his maternal grandfather's name, Opous. Unlike the stone men, Zeus' child this time was born of a living seed, just like the beautiful flowers which blossom in a well-tended garden (cf. 19, 27, 48). True to his divine inception and noble upbringing, he, therefore, grew to be a man unspeakably great in stature and accomplishments (ὑπέρφατον ἄνδρα μορφῇ τε καὶ ἔργοις, lines 65-66), fit to rule the city of Deukalion and Pyrrha, the grandchildren of the Titan Iapetos. Opous in Elis was the son of Protogeneia who, in turn, fathered Protogeneia the younger, the mother of Opous of Lokris by Zeus and the wife of Lokros. Wilamowitz in Pindaros (Berlin 1922) 359-360, speaks of a conflation of myths. He explains that Pindar, aware of the genealogy set forth in a history of the Ozolian Lokrians in which the Eleian mother of Opous was named Kabya, placed her in this myth here and gave her the name of a famous Opountian Lokrian ancestress, Protogeneia.

Such a naming practice was in accordance with Lokrian custom. Polybios says in 12.5.6-7 that the Lokrians adduce that all ancestral nobility is derived from women and that those are considered noble among them who are said to be of "the hundred houses" (the hundred mothers), those distinguished by the Lokrians as the leading families before the colony was sent out. Note the predominance of women in this ode, associated with Lokris: the tutelary goddesses, Themis and Eunomia (15-16), mother city (20), Protogeneia (41), Pyrrha (43), daughters of the race of Iapetos (56), daughter of Opous (58) and bride of Lokros (62), maternal grandfather's name (63), Aigina, mother of Menoitios (70), Thetis, mother of Achilles (76).
Opous and the Lokrian people and to uphold her respected tradition of government. The popularity of King Opous' rule is readily apparent to us from the brief catalogue which Pindar gives of the people who came to help settle the territory of Opountian Lokris; they migrated from Argos and Thebes, Arkadia and Pisa (lines 67-69), such places as were important in Greece, associated with Pindar's home, and acquainted with the Olympian Games. The fact that Opous placed emphasis on nobility and virtue is also clearly demonstrated by his giving special honor to one of the settlers, Menoitios, whose son, the poet says, came to be the embodiment of

The scholiast, 99b., tells us that the city was named after Opous, the son of Zeus.

For further discussion of the genealogy of this myth and the myth as a whole (lines 41-79), see Gildersleeve, 206; Fennell, 80; Wilamowitz, 353-360; A. Boeckh, Pindari opera quae supersunt: Interpretatio Latina cum commentario perpetuo 2.2 (Leipzig 1821, repr. Hildesheim 1963) 190-192; Karl Bossler, "Ueber Pindar's neunte olympische Ode," Philologus 20 (1863) 202-208; and A. Puech, "Les mythes dans la IXe Olympique de Pindare," REG 32 (1919) 417-428. Puech (page 428) and Wilamowitz (pages 353-354) agree that Pindar is probably conforming to tradition in the account of the flood, the placement of the royal family in the line of Iapetos and the sons of Kronos, and the emphasis on the importance of maternal lineage. The novel and new is probably the story of the nameless daughter and the story of Opous and his reign; their interpretation of the "new hymns" in lines 48-49 is, thus, in terms of content rather than time of composition. According to the scholiast, 79d., it does not seem possible to bring either the genealogy or the history into agreement.

Farnell, 71-72, speculates that Pindar may have derived this account of early migrations from local Opountian sources.
heroic inspiration.

Pindar tells the story, in lines 70-79, of Patroklos' bravery on the battlefield on the plain of Teuthras in Mysia. He stood his ground alone (μόνος) beside Achilles when Telephos forced the rest of the valiant Danaans (ἄλκαστας Δαναός) to retreat to the sea during the onslaught against the Greek ships. He was more courageous than the most stouthearted of his comrades, standing fast with a dauntless spirit (βιατὰν νόου). For his feat of bravery, the mighty warrior, Achilles himself, gave him due recognition when he exhorted him never to engage in future battles of woeful war apart from him, apart from his own man-slaying spear (δαμασιμβρότου αλχράς). Together they would encounter the enemy, be steadfast in encouragement of one another, and typify heroic excellence.

With the relating of these events, Pindar has brought this portion of his tribute to the Opountian Lokrians to a close. As we reflect momentarily on the significance of the myth recounting the origin and early beginnings of the city, the birth and adoption of her eponymous hero Opous,

---

40 The account of this battle may have been influenced by the Kypria. The fact that Patroklos was allied with Opous was mentioned in 11. 23.85; in 11. 18.326 Achilles promises Menoitios that he will return his son to Opous. Cf. I. 8.47-51 for the encounter between Achilles and Telephos on the Teuthrian plain.

41 Cf. O. 10.19 where reference is made to these two heroes.
and the immigration of peoples from diverse regions of Greece, we are confronted once again with the realization that divine grace is at work here, too; Opous, like Herakles and Pindar, also owes her strength and vitality to unfailing celestial protection. She thus receives this magnificent praise here, in Pindar's immortal song, for her glorious old ancestry, for her royal blood (both human and divine), for her prosperity and eminence, for her courage and virtue, for justice and concord, and for nobility and beauty.

In spite of its profuseness, however, this encomium is not yet complete. Opous and her people are a demanding subject for the Theban poet, for they merit the highest honor that he can pay them. Pindar admits this (lines 80-83) when he pauses to make an earnest appeal to his divine patronesses for the technique, inspiration, and power to conclude his song ably (cf. epode 1); he, like Patroklos, must have strength, artistic strength, to be creative and versatile in his composition (ἐνθουσιασμὸς) and bold and forceful in his presentation and delivery (τόλμα καὶ ἀμφιλαφὴς δύναμις). He wants to be fit (πρόσφορος) to advance in the chariot of the Muses—fit to receive their grace, fit to treat his theme worthily, and fit to persevere to the end with freshness and vigor.

Pindar is skillful in making this appeal for renewed strength and increased poetic power; for, by implying that
this is necessary in order to praise the Opountian Lokrians adequately, he has actually set up a foil for their greatness and enhanced their renown. This is his way of telling us that he is justified in the fullness and elaborateness of his song; Opous is deserving of it.  

With these verses then, Pindar makes the transition from Opous' glorious mythological past to her equally splendid present. Turning from Patroklos' impressive show of bravery, he now celebrates the achievements of two other descendants of this favored stock. Pindar focuses his attention first on Lampromachos, an illustrious citizen of the Lokrian community (lines 83-85). Taking note of his dual accomplishments in both politics and sports, he praises him for upholding state-friendship through his important position as proxenos of Thebes (νποξευλ) and for winning recent recognition for both himself and his city in a test of personal athletic prowess in the Isthmian Games (Δεττ); with this dual excellence, we thus recall the wise man and noble man of lines 28-29.

42Biographical speculations arise from these lines: L. Schmidt contends that since O. 9 was written in the third period of Pindar's life when his poetic art was waning, Pindar doubts his talents here and must, therefore, seek new strength. Boeckh, 192, says that Pindar makes this request because he wishes that he might be a good writer. Bossler, 208-209, refutes these claims by interpreting the request as Pindar's bold confidence in his own poetry, not as an expression of modesty or uncertainty of talent.

43According to a scholiast, 123c.
It was at these Games, Pindar says, that Lamprómachos had to share the winner's circle with a kinsman who was also victorious on the very same day. Although Pindar does not mention Epharmostos specifically by name until line 87, we are, nevertheless, struck by the subtle reintroduction of him here by means of the pronoun ἄμφοτεροι, line 84b (cf. lines 4 and 14). Taking advantage of this opportunity then to make Epharmostos the cynosure of all eyes, Pindar proceeds with a lengthy catalogue of his numerous athletic triumphs (lines 83-99). As he recounts the exploits of Epharmostos here in the final strophe and antistrophe, it becomes exceedingly clear that this man is remarkable and certainly worthy of the highest praise.

Included in Pindar's list, then, are victories which were won in both the national and local contests. As we take note of the words and phrases which he uses to describe them, we see that Epharmostos came to know two other delightful moments of success (ἄλλας δὲ 86'...χάρμαι, line 86) at the Isthmian Games in addition to the one which he enjoyed with Lamprómachos (κράτησαν...Εργον, lines 84b-85), moments when he felt the joy of victory and heard the glad shouts of the enthusiastic crowd; and we observe that his studied excellence was exhibited in the Nemean vale,

44The fact that Epharmostos and Lamprómachos were kinsmen appears in schol., 125c.
too, on more than one occasion (ταῦτα δὲ καὶ [χάρμα], line 87). While Argos witnessed the glory which he gained in competition with men (ἔσχεθε κύδων ἄνδρῶν, line 88), Athens could bear testimony to his good fortune as a boy (line 88).

Pindar goes on to say that, in the contest at Marathon, Epharmostos was exuberantly acclaimed for his performance in wrestling (ὁλο...μένεις ἄγων, lines 89-90). After being removed from the ranks of the beardless youths, he competed with men for the prize of silver cups, instead, and vanquished his opponents with a deftness of maneuvering which kept him from a fall (φῶσας δ᾽ ἐξερευνεὶ δόλῳ ἀπτωτί δαμάσσας, lines 91-92). Walking through the ring, then, to the loud cheering of the spectators (ὅσοι βοῶ, line 93), Epharmostos was regarded highly as a vibrant young man in the prime of his youth, comely in appearance, and outstanding in skill and endurance (ἀφαίος ἐνν καὶ καλὸς κόλλιστα τε βέαις, line 94).

45 The phrase σωλαθείς ἄγων (line 89) presents difficulty in interpretation. According to Farnell, 73, and Wilamowitz, 350, the harshness of the participle seems to imply more than the simple passing from boyhood to manhood. They posit the belief that Epharmostos' size prompted the judges to place him in the men's division rather than the youths'. Such decisions did fall under the jurisdiction of the judges according to Pausanias 6.14.1-3.

46 Cf. O. 10.72 and P. 5.49-51 where Pindar also describes competitions in greater detail than is characteristic of his style.

47 Pindar also praises the personal beauty of the
Pindar remarks that he was a striking figure (θαυμαστὴς ἰὼν, line 96), too, not only in Arkadia as he mingled with his Parrhasian host at the festival of Zeus Lykaios but at the winter games in Achaia, also, where he won a warm cloak as a prize at Pellene. As Pindar looks, finally, to the games held at Thebes near the tomb of Iolaos (Herakles' nephew and companion) and to the Eleusinian contests to serve as vouchers for Epharmostos' glorious achievements (σύναικος δ' αὐτῷ...ἄγλαταιςι, lines 98-99), he adds the last names to an already impressive list of victories.

It is not difficult for us to sense the admiration which Pindar feels for this man who gave repeated proof of his athletic prowess, this man who even understood the joy of being hailed as a περιοδουλίας for winning the coveted prizes in all four of the national festivals (cf. lines 2, 12, 84, 86, 87); for the language and vocabulary in Pindar's catalogue testify to his greatness. It is the combination of beauty and strength put effectively into action which this poet regards with highest esteem; for when a man meets with success and brings glory to himself and his people, as Epharmostos has done, he has made the best use of his natural talents, thus accomplishing what the gods

victors in Ο. 8.19, Ο. 10.100, 103, 104, and Ν. 3.19.
have enabled him to do. For showing his mettle, therefore, in the supreme moments of testing, he deserves to be greeted with jubilation and praise.

Choosing now to elaborate on this formula of success which served Epharmostos so well, Pindar speaks in more generic terms. In a series of short apothegms, he restates the sentiment of the gnome (cf. lines 28-29) and extols once again the wonder of man when blessed by the gods (lines 100-108).

Secure in the belief that the best of everything in life results from the genius implanted in every man at his birth, as a gift of god (τὰ δὲ φυ(qu) κράτειν άπαν, line 100), Pindar is skeptical of those who place their trust in only that which is learned to achieve their glory (πολλοὶ δὲ διδακταῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀρεταῖς κλέος/ ἄροουσαν ἀρέσχατ, lines 100-102); it would rather be better that all deeds, which boast of independence from god (ἀμέν Ἄθος, line 103), be veiled in silence forever (σεσιγαμένου).

By stating that a man is wise, strong, or accomplished on the basis of something that is within him by divine origin or divine dispensation, Pindar is not saying that this is all that is needed in life; for although it is essential for eventual success, it is not always sufficient to en-

able man to realize his full potential. It is at this point, then, that nature must be supplemented by learning and training and continual striving for perfection. While it is true that, apart from the gods, man can do nothing, even with their help, there are times when he needs someone to prompt and guide him to achieve his excellence.49

Each individual must determine for himself, though, the course which he will take in finding it, Pindar says (lines 104-108); for some paths will carry him further than others as he recognizes his natural ability and pursues his goals. Since it is impossible, of course, for every man to be fostered (θρήσκεια) by the same occupation,50 he must be discerning in his choice of what he will do; for, whether an athlete, a poet, a king, or a hero, the climb to the top is steep (σωφρατι μένυ αἰσχροφιανω).51 Pindar has generalized for all skills (σωφρατι) here what he has experienced with his own particular skill. Aware of the energy and preciseness which his own poetry (σωφρατι, cf. lines 35-40) requires in order to avoid overstepping bounds of propriety, he understands the difficulties that

49 For the important role which the trainer plays in developing an athlete's skill, see O. 8.59-64 and O. 10. 16-23.

50 Cf. II. 13.730-734 where the same theme occurs.

51 As Hesiod cautions Perses in Works and Days 289-292, the path is long and steep that leads to Goodness, but when she is reached, the way becomes easy.
lie along the way; but, for a man who has chosen wisely, he knows that the obstacles are surmountable.

Pindar confidently proclaims that the ascent was not too arduous for Epharmostos as he made his way to the pinnacle of success. With instructions to the chorus now to bring his song forward as a prize (ἐξολοθρεῖν, line 108), a lasting memorial to Epharmostos' achievements, he entreats them to shout out here in bold declaration (ὁρθίου ὑπερσωλέων) that this man was born by the blessing of heaven (τῶν δ' ἀνέρα δαίμονια γεγάμεν) with deftness of hand (εὐχερεία), agility of limb (δεξιόγυνον), and with valor in his eyes (ὁρῶντ' ἀλκήν), lines 109-111. Pindar does not want the account of Epharmostos' deeds to slumber in silence (cf. line 103) but to be forceful (cf. line 82) and far-reaching and to reverberate, instead, from the mountains and valleys with the loudness and clarity of the cries of the animals (ὑφευσαί).

Pindar skillfully epitomizes the theme of this encomium for the last time now as he places the words τῶν δ' ἀνέρα δαίμονια in careful juxtaposition. This time, however, the statement is no longer generic (cf. lines 28-29), for the pronoun τῶνδε makes it very clear that it is Epharmostos from Opountian Lokris who is the recipient of divine favor. As the words describing his physical prowess indicate, Epharmostos, indeed, shared a close kinship with the gods (cf. line 94). It was in commemoration of his victory,
therefore, and in thankfulness for the grace which the deities bestowed on him that Epharmostos crowned the altar of Aias, the son of Oileus, on his feast day.\textsuperscript{52}

With the analysis of \textit{Olympian} IX almost completed, let us review briefly the movement of the ode. In the opening lines, Pindar focuses immediately and specifically on Epharmostos, the subject of his tribute (lines 1-4). Beginning to expand his focus, at this point, to include praise of the Muses, the location and lord of the Olympian Games (lines 5-10) and Pytho (lines 11-12), he widens it even further as he describes, in full detail, Epharmostos' home and her people (lines 13-20) and the beauty and power of song with which he will honor the Opountian Lokrians in glowing phrases (lines 21-28).

Passing now from the introduction to the gnomic bridge (lines 28-29), the breadth of Pindar's scope becomes all-inclusive. In the two myths which follow, however, our

\textsuperscript{52}Cf. \textit{II.} 2.527-531 where Aias is listed as the king of the Opountian Lokrians. Georges M\textsuperscript{é}autis in \textit{Pindare le Dorien} (Neuchâtel 1962) 418, claims that the name of the Lokrian hero is withheld until the last line of the ode as a protest against Aias' vainglorious attitude when, shipwrecked on his return from Troy, he survived the sea, in spite of the gods. Since \textit{O.} 9 does affirm the all-powerful divine, such an interpretation would not be out of place. It is also consistent with Pindar's remarks in the Herakles episode. On the other hand, Aias could also be mentioned here as just another example of a famous Opountian citizen, the leader of the Lokrian contingent during the Trojan War. In the context in which Pindar speaks of him, the latter appears more likely.
attention is immediately drawn to specific exempla of the
generic statement; figures such as Herakles, Pyrrha and
Deukalion, Lokros and Protogeneia, Opous, and Patroklos all
illustrate the strength and glory which belong to man when
he is favored with grace from on high (lines 29-79).

In the transitional passage Pindar provides an
exemplum, too, a poetic exemplum, as he anticipates the
greatness of his epinicia when divine aid will empower him
to speak with boldness (lines 80-83). With the mention of
the Opountian citizen, Lampromachos (line 84), the pronoun
"both" (line 84b), and, finally, Epharmostos (line 87), it
becomes apparent that Pindar is making the focus more nar-
row and specific after leaving the myths; for moving in
reverse order from the introduction (poet, Opountian,
Epharmostos), he treats these men as further exempla of
the generic sentiment, celebrating with them their numerous
victories (lines 83-99).

As though he needs to reinforce the general statement
expressed in lines 28-29, Pindar speaks once again here in
universal terms, concentrating on the natural gifts of the
generic man (lines 100-108); making a slight allusion then
to those gifts of the poetic man (lines 108-109), he
finally redirects our attention to Epharmostos, the divine-
ly blessed, victorious man and the subject of his encomium
(lines 110-112).

By referring to his song, then, as a prize to be
awarded to the winner (line 108), Pindar is certain that his composition will be a glorious capstone for Epharmostos' victories. Unlike Olympia's crown of wild olive and the brief chant of the τηνελλα καλλινε, his divinely inspired song will not wither or fade; it will rather live on in the hearts and memories of man and serve as a splendid testimony to both the man whom it praises and the man who created it; for Pindar's genius is his own avowal that he, too, is familiar with the wonderful workings of the immortal gods.
CHAPTER II

OLYMPIAN X: FOR HAGESIDAMOS OF
EPIZEPHYRIAN LOKRIS, THE BOY BOXER

str. 1 The name of the Olympian victor read to me,
the son of Archestratos, where in my heart
it is written; for that I owed a sweet song to
him I forgot; O Muse, but you and the
daughter
of Zeus, Truth, with a rectifying hand
5 deliver me from broken promise's
reproach for wronging a friend.

ant. 1 For coming up from afar the future time
has shamed my deep debt.
But yet, to cancel the bitter, censuring charge
interest has the power; now see then the
pebble being rolled along,
10 how the flowing wave washes over it,
and how the mutually agreed upon account
we will pay as a loving favor.

ep. 1 For Precision holds sway in the city of the
Western Lokrians,
and dear to her are Kalliope
15 and bronze Ares. Kyknos in
battle turned back even the overwhelmingly
strong
Herakles; let the boxer, then, victorious in the
Olympic Games
give thanks to Ilas,
Hagesidamos, as
Patroklos did to Achilles.

20 Sharpening one born for excellence,
him a man could prompt to great glory with the
help of god.

str. 2 Without toil few have gained happiness,
for all their labors a light for life.
Of the glorious contest the decrees of Zeus have urged me to sing, which beside the olden tomb of Pelops,

25 with its events six in number, he established, when Poseidon's son he killed, Kteatos without blemish,

ant. 2 and slew Eurytos, too, that, from overbearing Augeas unwilling, he might readily exact his wage for service, and watching closely from the thickets below Kleonai, Herakles overcame them by the road, since once before his Tirynthian army they destroyed encamped in the recesses of Elis,

ep. 2 the presumptuous Moliones. And indeed the beguiler of guest-friends, king of the Epeians, not long after saw his home exceedingly rich under relentless fire and blows of iron into the deep trench of ruin settling, his own city. From confrontation with the stronger there can be no release. And he, also, by ill counsel at last encountering destruction did not escape the precipice of death.

str. 3 He, then, in Pisa gathering together his whole host and all the booty, Zeus' strong son, measured the sacred precinct for his mighty father; and fencing around the Altis in an open space he marked it off, and the area circling he made a resting place for banquets, giving honor to the crossing of Alpheos amid the twelve lordly gods; and the hill of Kronos he called by name; for hitherto nameless, the place which Oinomaos ruled, was wet with heavy snow. And at this first-ordained festive rite the Fates were standing near at hand and that which alone computes actual truth,
ep. 3  Time. The plain story it has declared going forth,
how the gift of war
the first-fruits he divided and sacrificed and how, then, the quadrennial festival he set up with the first Olympic Games and the prizes for victory.

Who, now, was the new crown's recipient for hands and feet and chariot, in thought setting before himself the glory of the contest, and in deed achieving it?

str. 4  In the stadium he was best, a straight course running with his feet, Likymnios' son Oionos; he came from Midea marching with his host; and in wrestling Echemos brought honor to Tegea; and Doryklos carried off the boxing prize, who dwelt in the city of Tiryns; and with the four horses

ant. 4  Samos of Mantinea, Halirothios' son; with the javelin Phrastron hit the mark; and Nikeus whirling his hand around with the stone threw far beyond all others, and the assembly of comrades raised a mighty cheer. In the evening shone the fair-faced moon's lovely light.

ep. 4  The whole precinct in the delightful festivities was filled with songs in a fashion that praises the victors. Keeping the tradition of the early beginnings now also the favor that goes with the naming of the proud victory we will celebrate, the thunder
and the fire-wrought lightning of Zeus, the rouser of thunder, in every victory the blazing thunderbolt a befitting emblem; and the singing of lyric strains swelling will give answer to the reed pipe,

str. 5  which strains by famed Dirke at last have appeared; but as welcome as when a wife's child born to a father
is much desired, to him already approaching the
opposite of youth, and greatly warms his
heart with love;
since wealth falling to a master
alien and brought in from without
is most hateful to one dying;

90 ant. 5 and when achieving noble things, without song,
Hagesidamos, to Hades' abode
a man comes, he has spent his breath in vain and
received for his effort some small delight.
But upon you the soft-sounding lyre
and the sweet flute sprinkle favor;

95 ep. 5 and wide-spread glory is fostered
by Zeus' daughters, the Pierides.

And I taking part eagerly, the famed tribe
of the Lokrians have embraced, with honey
the city of good men drenching;
the handsome son of Archestratos, also,
I have praised, whom I saw win by strength of
hand
beside the Olympian altar
on that day
fair to behold
and endowed with the comely bloom of youth, which
once

105 saved Ganymede from ruthless death with the
blessing of Cypros-born Aphrodite.
In recognition of a young boy's triumph in a boxing contest at the Olympic Games, Pindar composed the Tenth Olympian. Hailed for his victory there in 476 B.C.,¹ Hagesidamos, the son of Archestratos, brought honor to his family and the people of Epizephyrian Lokris in southern Italy.

This beautiful ode of Pindar is constructed in the familiar, conventional form characteristic of his epinician poetry: in the opening lines, we see that the stage is set for his composition, complete with an invocation of the Muse attended by Truth and a description of his relation to the victor in lines 1-12 as well as specific facts regarding the victor's home, his trainer, and his success in lines 13-21; then come the gnomic bridge in lines 22-23 and the central myth recounting the institution of the Olympian Games by the Theban Herakles in lines 24-77; finally in the concluding lines 78-105, Pindar celebrates Zeus, the god of the Games, and lavishes praise on the victor, placing him in the noble tradition of Olympian winners and assuring him of immortality through his own

¹This date has been determined by an entry in P. Oxy. ii.222.16 (London 1899), [αγήσθα]μος λοχρος απ' Ιταλιας παιδ πυε. See also the scholiast's note on ο. 10 in A. B. Drachmann, ed., Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina 1 (Leipzig 1903, repr. Amsterdam 1964) Inscr. a., ουτος ενληθε έκτην και εβδομηκοστην ’Ολυμπιάδα.
glorious song. Of the five triads found here, then, the first is occupied with the introduction, the fifth with the conclusion, and the central three with the account of the Olympian Games. There is a restrained use of overlapping between the triads in this ode with only one instance of a syntactical association, between the fourth and fifth triads, and one instance of a direct nexus of thought between the third and fourth.²

Within this basic framework, there exists an intricately interwoven, artistically contrived internal structure. This structure is achieved primarily by a recurrence of imagery, thought, and vocabulary and by a progression and expansion of themes throughout the ode which result in Pindar's creation of a unified whole;³ and it all begins and ends with the victor, the son of Archestratos.

Olympian X opens with Pindar's request that the name of Hagesidamos, the Olympian victor, be read from the ledger of his heart (lines 1-12):

```
Τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτε μοι
Ἄρχεστράτων παῖδα, πόθι φρενὸς
ἐμὸς γέγραπται; γλυκὸ γὰρ αὐτῷ μέλος
ὁφείλων ἐπιλέλαθο'; ὃ Μοῖος,
ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ θυγάτηρ
Ἀλάθεια Δίδς, ὅρθεν χερὶ
```


³See Appendix B for a catalogue, by verse, of the significant words and images of Olympian X according to theme.
The name of the Olympian victor read
to me,
the son of Archestratos, where in my
heart
it is written; for that I owed a sweet
song to him I forgot; O Muse, but
you and the daughter
of Zeus, Truth, with a rectifying hand
deliver me from broken promise's
reproach for wrongdoing a friend.

For coming up from afar the future time
has shamed my deep debt.
But yet, to cancel the bitter, censuring
charge interest has the power; now
see then the pebble being rolled
along,
how the flowing wave washes over it,
and how the mutually agreed upon account
we will pay as a loving favor.

In the commercial imagery which pervades this first strophe
and antistrophe, Pindar couches his request for the victor's name, calling to mind for us Hagesidamos' place on
the official list of Olympian winners. He asks, in bookkeeping terms, how the account stands between the debtor
and creditor (ἀνάγνωτε and γέγραπται, lines 1 & 3);
claiming that he forgot the sweet song which he owed
(δεῖλαν, line 3) Hagesidamos, he now seeks pardon.
There can be no doubt in our minds as to the identity of the victor, for Pindar names him for us in line 2. The particular attribute which has earned special recognition for the son of Archestratos, however, is set in line 1, positioned prominently and emphatically at the head of the first sentence—Hagesidamos was a victor in the Olympian Games. This is a young man who has known the winner's circle; this is what Pindar wants us to know first.

Yet the poet claims that he has forgotten to sing the praises of one so deserving of honor. In an earnest appeal to the Muse, therefore, who is the daughter of Memory, and also to Zeus' daughter, Truth, he implores them to find the entry in the record and to erase the charge (ἐνυπάγα, line 6) brought against him. He wishes that they might free him from the accusation of entering into a contract in poor faith (ψευδέων, line 5) and of dealing falsely with the creditor and a friend, the victor (ἀλητόβενον, line 6). If they would exonerate him with the hand which could set all things right again (δρεπά χερί, line 4), the account would balance, and he would be spared the reputation of being untrue to his word.

The fear of acquiring such a reputation is synchronously compounded, moreover, by his great embarrassment over the tardiness of his payment; for he feels that he has brought dishonor on himself by letting the due date for discharging his obligation to the victor (ὅ μελλὼν
7) find him markedly in arrears (βαθθ χρέος, line 8).

The emotional tension of lines 1-8 finally peaks and is resolved, however, with the conjunctions ὁμως δὲ in line 9. Recognizing that there is a way to make amends for his tardiness, Pindar puts aside his embarrassment for the moment and determines to make his promise good. In the now familiar financial phrases, Pindar pledges, therefore, not only to pay the principal which he owes but also to pay it back with interest (τόκος, line 9b), a sum sufficient to clear him of any bitter reproach. The poet explains that he, with a little extra effort (τόκος), will deliver a product of high enough quality to free himself (λύσαι, line 9) from his plight. The ode which he will present in full payment of the overdue debt will be so bold in heralding the fame of Hagesidamos that the delay will no longer be remembered.

4 See E. L. Bundy's "Studia Pindarica 1: The Eleventh Olympian Ode," CPCP 18.1 (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962) 33 for a cross-reference of τόκος with Themistios' βέλτιον. G. Van N. Viljoen in Pindaros se tiende en elfde Olympiese odes (Leiden 1955) 207 claims that τόκος is a phrase which Pindar merely uses to maneuver himself out of his guilty position and that, once the poem is delivered, the Lokrians will surely be so pleased that nobody will bother to find out what the "interest" means.

A fuller interpretation of τόκος will follow on pages 88-89.

5 Since τόκος serves as a foil here for the fullness of the victor's praise, it does not refer beyond its own context to a future song, namely Ο. 11, as the scholiast suggests in his opening comments on Ο. 11, Inscr. a.
With the words \( \omega u \nu \nu \nu \) (line 9b), then, Pindar indicates to us that his song, this very ode, is now ready for delivery. Just as a wave washes over a stone rolling in its path along the sand and other stones, so now his wave of song (\( \kappa \nu \mu a \)) will, likewise, wash away the accurate pebble counters (\( \psi \alpha \phi o u \), line 9b) now worn smooth by time and repeated calculation; he will honor the common agreement made with Hagesidamos and his city; he will settle the account with a complete, forceful statement of the excellence of the victor.

In line 12, Pindar's reason for composing this enco-

---


7 Song is likened to the flowing of water in N. 7.12 and I. 7.19, also.

8 G. Norwood, in Pindar (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1945) 111-114, recognizes the pebble, which the Greeks used in money-calculations, as symbolic of accuracy and part of a "brilliantly effective phrase" (lines 9b-10). He makes an over-statement, however, when he selects the pebble as the key symbol of the ode. The theme of accuracy and precision is, indeed, prominent in the poem, but not to the point that the other themes (immortality, the gods' favor, the glory of victory) fall subordinate to it.

9 In agreement with Farnell's analysis, 80, of \( \kappa o u \nu \nu \nu \lambda \gamma o u \) in line 11, I have also adopted the explanation, "I will pay an account agreed upon between us." Although the scholiom (based on Aristarchos), 15a., offers, "We will repay him with a tale that concerns all men" (cf. O. 7.21), it does not fit the context of the commercial imagery as well. Regardless of interpretation, the end result is the same; Pindar will praise Hagesidamos and all of the Lokrian people.
mium is clearly stated; he will praise Hagesidamos as a loving favor to him (φιλαν τελομεν ες χάριν). The word χάριν has several implications for us here; for it describes not only the graciousness with which the poet offers his song to the athlete and the gratitude with which he will receive it, but also the quiet charm and beauty of its strains.

As the verb τελομεν indicates, Pindar will not offer up his praises alone. In his joint appeal to the Muse, Memory's daughter, and Truth, he requests assistance with this large assignment. While he invokes the Muse for inspiration, he will rely on Truth, who is the daughter of mighty Zeus, for endorsement of the claims which he is about to make regarding the victor and his city. These impressive figures represent, for Pindar, not only the power needed to ward off the strong accusations made about him as to his laxness in meeting his commitment but also the eloquence to tell of this winner's boxing victory in the Olympian Games. He needs help to do justice to the son of Archestratos and the Epizephyrian Lokrians.

Looking in retrospect at these opening lines, it is difficult for us to determine whether Pindar's admission of his forgetfulness and embarrassment has biographical significance or whether it should be regarded as a

10 Viljoen, 207, suggests that Pindar seems quite serious with his excuse of having forgotten his debt,
poetic conceit. Although commentators have spoken in favor of both interpretations, it would appear here that the fact of delay (for whatever reason it developed) must be accepted since Pindar's audience, at least in part, would have been aware of the terms under which Pindar agreed to write this ode. We need not assume that the delay was unduly long, however, since there was a customary lapse of time between the victory and the performance of the song at an anniversary celebration or at a feast in honor of a local hero or god.

Yet there is, undoubtedly, a measure of poetic exaggeration and manipulation at work here. It is unlikely that Pindar is making a public confession of guilt in these lines but rather skillfully and strikingly calling our attention to the subject of his encomiastic tribute in words that a commercial people would appreciate and understand. With this lapse of memory and deep embarrassment and his resultant promise to compose the song with whether it is true or not. C. A. M. Fennell in Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes (Cambridge 1879) 90-91 states that the tone of the apology seems to suit the long period of delay.

B. L. Gildersleeve in Pindar. The Olympian and Pythian Odes (2nd ed. New York 1890, repr. Amsterdam 1966) 213, remarks that the poem was written in payment of a debt which the poet poetically feigns that he has forgotten. Bundy, 1 n.4, states that the embarrassment in lines 1-8 serves as a foil to heighten the force of the opening crescendo introduced in line 9. For a further discussion of poetic embarrassment, see pp. 3-4 of his study.
extra care, he has actually set up a foil for the greatness of young Hagesidamos; the more embarrassment he displays over the tardiness of paying his obligation, the more justification he has for the profuseness of his song, for the elaborateness of his praise of the victorious son of Archestratos.

As Pindar moves to the first epode now, he indicates to us, through the use of the epexegetical particle γνὸ in line 13, that he intends to fulfill the promise made in the ἰον ὑπὸ λόγου of line 11. For the moment, then, he hastens to concentrate on the assets of Epizephyrian Lokris, Hagesidamos' home.

As Pindar extols the Lokrians' sense of justice in human affairs (line 13), their appreciation of the Muse (line 14), and their prowess in war (line 15), we recognize a familiar convention of his epinician poetry—the praise of a people through a catalogue. Although there is an abbreviated number of eulogistic items in this laudatory catalogue, it is sufficient to highlight the Lokrian virtues. Selecting from the conventional categories the particular qualities which he finds ingrained in the Epizephyrian Lokrians, Pindar pauses to reflect on their high ethics, their cultural sophistication, and their success in

12See Bundy, 24-27, for the discussion and illustration of such catalogues; cf. Ο. 11.17-19 and Ο. 13.2-23.
military exploits, admiring tacitly, to be sure, their discerning minds and bodily strength.

By using the word ΑΤΡΕΧΕΙΑ (line 13) to refer to the Lokrians' handling of human affairs, Pindar emphasizes their respect for precision. He is telling us that they believe in preciseness of government, wise counsel from those who rule them, and reverence for what is right;¹³ that they require precision in commercial dealings, whether public or private, since their position as a thriving commercial center demands an understanding of the importance of fair trade, accuracy in the exchange of goods and money, and just bargaining; and that their sense of precision carries over into the personal sphere of activity, too, where individuals, such as Archestratos (or Hagesidamos) and Pindar, make commitments to one another.

With his mention of Kalliope in line 14, he is implying that they are not only a people with artistic sensitivity and refinement but one which will know how to accept the song which he has composed in their honor. In regard to the Lokrians' capability in battle, also, he impresses us with the great strength of their war god, Ares; not even Herakles, the mighty (οπέρβιον) son of Zeus, was able to stand firm in his confrontation with

¹³The historical Lokrians had an oligarchy, and The Hundred Houses reputedly governed with excellence. They also possessed the written law code of Zaleukos known for its strictness.
Kyknos when this giant was aided by his father, Ares.  

It is with high esteem, then, that Pindar regards the young victor's city, for it is she that has instilled in him his desire to excel. Like Kyknos, however, the son of Archestratos did not achieve his success on his own. As we recall the commercial imagery of the opening lines and remember Pindar's debt to the Lokrians as well as Kyknos' indebtedness to his father for his victory over Herakles, we see now that another victor, Hagesidamos, also has a debt to pay, to Ilas his trainer. The poet exhorts him, therefore, to give thanks to Ilas for the preparation which enabled him to be triumphant in the boxing victory at Olympia, just as Patroklos gave thanks to Achilles for his armor and knowledge of warfare.

Pindar makes it clear, with the word χάριν in line 17, that Ilas is deserving of special consideration for the essential part which he, as a trainer, played in Hagesida-

14 This account is given by the scholiast, 19a., in a quotation from fr. 12 of Stesichoros. He goes on to say, in 19b., that Herakles later defeats and kills Kyknos for his seizure of the victims enroute to the Delphian shrine.

15 The scholiast, 19a., states that the Kyknos-Herakles story is intended to illustrate how Hagesidamos rallied to win the victory after encouragement from Ilas when he wanted to give up in the face of too great an opponent. Boeckh accepts this interpretation in his Pindari opera quae supersunt: Interpretatio Latina cum commentario perpetuo 2.2 (Leipzig 1821, repr. Hildesheim 1963) 199 as does Edward Luebbert in Dissertatio de Pindari carmine Olympico decimo (Kiel 1881) 24. Biographical speculation, however, is dubious.
mos' victory. It is the young boy's duty to show appreciation to him for his effort and support. For the trainer's joy is in the victor's joy, conveyed in his word of thankfulness (cf. line 12).

Pindar reminds us, though, in the gnomic expression in lines 20-21, that there is more to the formula of success than fine training. Only the man who is already naturally inclined to achievement (φύντι ἀρετῇ) and blessed by god (θεοῦ ὁν παλάμῳ) can be sharpened (θάξας) and prompted to great glory (πελάριον κλέος). In other words, Pindar is intimating to us, in this generic statement, that Hagesidamos, as a talented young boxer, has provided good raw material for the reputable trainer, Ilas, to mould.

With the conclusion of the first introductory triad, let us pause briefly and review the movement of the ode thus far. In lines 1-2 Pindar focuses immediately and specifically on the subject of his tribute—the son of Archestratos, the Olympian victor. After laying aside the personal embarrassment which serves as a foil for Hagesidamos' greatness (lines 1-8), he now offers up his song in celebration of the victory (lines 9-12). At this point, Pindar widens the focus from the victor himself to praise the city from which he comes, pausing to single out


17 Cf. a trainer with the Naxian whetstone in Ι. 6.73.
Hagesidamos' trainer for special recognition (lines 13-19).

Now as we come to the close of the triad and expect to reach out even further through the gnomic statement in lines 20-21, Pindar catches us up short and again focuses our attention upon Hagesidamos (φύτ' ἀρετῇ).

The generic sentiment expressed at the beginning of the second strophe, however, is very broad and general in scope. Reminding us that few people have gained happiness without toil, it accentuates the joy (χάριμα) which hard work brings, the light (φῶς), as Pindar says, to brighten man's life with satisfaction for his own success and to attract the notice of others of his accomplishments (lines 22-23). With this thought, then, a good transition is made from the praise of Hagesidamos' endurance of the rigors of the boxing competition to the praise of the efforts and trials of Herakles as recorded in the central myth (lines 24-77).

Pindar moves easily into his mythological theme by explaining that a decree of Zeus (line 24) has prompted him to sing of the glorious contest (with its six athletic events) which Herakles established beside the ancient

---

18In this passage of great critical difficulty (lines 24b-25), I have accepted the reading πόνων in place of βραβοῦ. Farnell, 81-82, makes a thorough and sensible analysis of both of the words and concludes that βραβοῦ probably strayed into the text from a marginal interpretation of σωματί and was then changed to βραβοῦ to suit the meter. The best suggestion for the word that it displaced is Christ's πόνων in Pindari carmina prolegomenis et com-
This decree of Zeus holds double significance for this passage. First, the θέμιτες Διός enable the poet to speak boldly of the sacredness, majesty, dignity, and excellence of the Olympian Games, for they are Zeus' Games. No praise can be too great for a contest given in honor of the lord of Olympus, the awesome and powerful father of the gods. Therefore, with reverence and deep humility, Pindar will offer up his song. Second, the θέμιτες Διός are Zeus' way of expressing his appreciation to Herakles for establishing the Games. Just as the hero brought this honor to his father as grateful payment of his debt for his victory over arrogant King Augeas and his kinsmen, so now will great Zeus repay his valorous son, in return, by securing for him the fame and glory which he so nobly deserves, through Pindar's eternal song (cf. lines 20-21).

In ready compliance with the will of Zeus, then, Pindar describes the events which, though pitiable in themselves, will result in the founding of the magnificent Games. It was at the behest of Eurystheus that Herakles

19 Cf. Q. 1.90-93 for a description of the tomb at Olympia.

20 Note the dramatic effect of suspending mention of the subject until line 30b.
undertook and succeeded in the cleansing of King Augeas' stables in Elis. As we read in lines 26-34, though, the king's haughty nephews, Kteatos and Eurytos, prevented him from exacting the payment due him for his menial services (expressed in the financial terms of lines 28-30: \( \lambda \tau \rho \iota \omicron \upsilon \) by attacking him and slaying the army which he had brought with him from Tiryns. It was thus in requital for the shameless wickedness of this deed that Herakles ambushed and killed them on the road near Kleonai as they made their way back from Elis to the Isthmus.

Their perfidious uncle also met with grievous disaster (lines 34-42) for violating \( \xi \nu \lambda \) by attempting to cheat Herakles out of his well-earned reward. (This reminds us of the fear which Pindar, himself, expressed in line 6, that he would suffer ill repute for dealing falsely with a friend, \( \delta \lambda \iota \tau \theta \xi \epsilon \nu \omicron \).) Beholding the devastation of

\[21\] He was to receive one-tenth of Augeas' herd as a reward.

\[22\] Note the effective chiasmic positioning of the words in lines 28-30: \( \omicron \varphi \epsilon \rho \beta \iota \omicron \upsilon \) This should relieve the ambiguity for those translators who combine \( \mu \iota \sigma \theta \omicron \upsilon \) and \( \upsilon \rho \epsilon \beta \rho \iota \omicron \upsilon \). Fennell, 94, claims that \( \upsilon \rho \epsilon \beta \rho \iota \omicron \upsilon \) is adverbial as in Homer. The two central adjectives epitomize succinctly the reason for the struggle.

\[23\] See Farnell, 82, for his suggestion that Pindar must have derived this account of Herakles' defeat by the Moliones and his vengeance upon them from some early prose source since it does not resemble his epic adventures or the stories of his twelve labors.
his very rich city as it settled into a deep gulf of ruin and woe (line 37)—as deep as the debt which brought shame to Pindar (cf. line 8)—Augeas, too, like his presumptuous nephews before him, had to succumb at last to the finality of death (line 42), plunging headlong over the precipice (Θανατον αλπόν) into the same deep trench with his city. Even though he was a king, there was no hand of god to help and save him (cf. lines 21, 24), for he had yielded to ill-counsel and disregarded the laws of Zeus.

As Pindar remarks in the pithy gnome tucked between the destruction of the city and of Augeas himself (lines 39-40), there can be no release from confrontation with those who are stronger; once the encounter has been made, the struggle can only end in defeat for the weak. The connotation of θρεσσόνων is obviously physical here, but the adjectives used to describe Augeas and the Moliones suggest, also, a moral superiority; for while Herakles is acting on the side of what is just and what is right, Augeas and his kinsmen reflect a different ethic: Αὐγεας...ὑπέρβιον (lines 28-29), Μολίονες ὑπερφαλοι (line 34), ξενακάτασ...βασιλεὺς (lines 34-35), and κεῖνος άθουλη (line 41); they are overbearing, presumptuous, beguiling in guest-friendship, and lacking good counsel.

Herakles, therefore, as the son of Zeus, rose up against his enemies, men who were making a mockery of law, both human and divine, and brought them to ruin. This was
Zeus' plan for him, Hesiod tells us, when he fathered Herakles; his son was to be a defender against destruction for both gods and men alike. As Zeus' instrument, then, Herakles killed the Moliones for their murderous crime and their violation of guest-friendship and, laying siege to Augeas' city, sent the king also to his death.

Just as he prevailed over Kyknos for his sacrilegious impiety and evil, so now he metes out punishment to his enemies here; for they defied the laws which Zeus gave to man to insure universal order. Herakles' victories are not easily won, though, since his opponents are stalwart fighters. Only with overwhelming strength (περβιον, line 15b, used in the good sense of the word) does he succeed in overcoming them and, thus, bring glory to himself and the cause of justice.

It was with deepest gratitude, then, that the strong (αλκιως, line 44) son of Zeus came to Pisa to bestow honor on his father. In thankfulness for his triumph (cf. lines 16-19), Pindar tells us, he first plotted out a holy (ξαθεον, line 45) precinct for mighty Zeus (πατρί).

24 Cf. Scutum 28-29.


26 For a good, concise summary of Pindar's view of Herakles, see G. K. Galinsky's The Herakles Theme (Totowa, New Jersey 1972) 23-39.

27 Cf. O. 3.17, 18, 23 for the lack of trees in early times at Olympia.
μεγάλων), fencing it off in an open space. Then giving honor to the twelve sovereign deities (ἂνάκτων θεῶν, line 49) beside the ford of Alpheos, he made a resting place for the evening meal. To Zeus' noble sire, too, he granted worthy praise by giving its name to the hill of Kronos, which was nameless before this time. 28

With the description of these acts, Pindar begins the narrative account of the institution and celebration of the Olympian Games (lines 43-77), 29 emphasizing their solemnity and sacredness (cf. line 24). By his declaration that the Molpai were in attendance at the first ordination of these

28Cf. O. 3.24. Here the hill is described as bathed in sunshine in the time of Herakles.

29Luebbert, 5-6, writes that Pindar gives this detailed account of the institution of the Olympian Games by Theban Herakles in order to counter the ascription of this honor to other heroes supported by jealous and envious rivals—namely, the tradition which the Eleian priests invented attributing the establishment of the Games to Idaian Herakles and his brothers, the Daktyls, as recorded by Pausanias 5.7.6. Luebbert proves in his essay that the Idaian sites in the Peloponnesos precede the time of Pindar's writing and, therefore, refutes Lobeck and others who consider the Eleian legend to be a late invention. Viljoen, 209, claims that Pindar is writing against a tradition that connected Pelops with the founding of the Games since Olympia and its cults had more visible associations with Pelops than with Theban Herakles, who was introduced there later.

Farnell, 82, states that, though Pindar probably did not invent the version we have here, he is our first authority for it; and it did become the authorized version maintained by tradition (cf. Apollod. 2.7 & Diod. Sic. 4.14). Cf. O. 1 and O. 3 for other commemorations of the Olympian Games.
festive rites, he attests to the fact that all of this is taking place in accordance with fate and destiny (lines 51b-52); the Olympic festival will, thus, certainly enjoy a prosperous future.

Pindar says that Time (Χρόνος) was there, too, which alone can compute (ἐξελέγχων) actual truth (ἀληθείαν).

Here at the central moment of the ode (lines 54-55), we find the Time and Truth of lines 7 and 4 appearing side by side once again in a context recalling the commercial imagery of the first strophe and antistrophe. Just as Time took Pindar to task by revealing to him his outstanding debt to Hagesidamos and the Lokrians, so now does Time testify to the events associated with the pride of the Games; for only that which is genuine and true has withstood the test of time.

As Time declares, here, the glowing details of the first Olympic celebration, we hear how Herakles, with all the precision required in business transactions, divided the first-fruits of war and, sacrificing them to the gods,

---

30 Cf. O. 6.42 for their attendance at the birth of Iamos.

31 Cf. N. 10.46 where the same verb refers to computation and reckoning.

32 Cf. Simonides, fr. 175 (Bergk): ὁ ἐστιν μελέων βάσανος Χρόνον σύνεσις ἔργον. In O. 2.15-17 Pindar reminds us that time sees things as they really are; not even time, the father of all, can undo the accomplished end of things that have been finally completed, whether in right or in wrong.
set up this quadrennial festival and the prizes for the athletic contests (lines 55-59). Time is significant here for Pindar, not because it has disclosed to him which account of the origin of the Games is true or the manner in which it was set up, but because Time has borne testimony to the glorious tradition of the Olympian Games from its very inception to this very moment when Pindar bestows honor on the son of Archestratos.

As Time further reveals the names of the men who were victorious in the first athletic events, the splendor of the Olympian tradition is enhanced even more (lines 64-72). As a witness to the epitome of human greatness, Time has seen the men who have proved their worth in action, men who have attained glory because of their fine quality, perseverance, training, and divine favor (cf. lines 20-21).

Pindar is the prophet of this human excellence as he captures its spirit in the words which describe the victory of each man: Oionos, στάδιον ἄγιοι (line 64), Echemos, πάλη κυδαίνω (line 66b), Doryklos, ἐςφερε πυγμαῖσ τέλος (line 67), Phrastor, ἀκουτὶ ἐλασε σκοπόν (line 71), and Nikeus, μάκος ἔδικε πέτρῳ...ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων (line 72).

33 Cf. O. 1.33-34 for the thought that the days still to come are the wisest witnesses.

34 See Farnell, 83-84, for a thorough discussion of the identity of the victors and of the textual difficulty with the names, Samos and Olirothios. He also summarizes the speculations of commentators on Pindar's possible source for the chronicle of the victors.
It is not the names of the competitors and their cities that Pindar is emphasizing here but rather the fact that each man has won through hard competition. His aspirations for glory have been realized in victory since, with the blessing of god, he has devoted his will and strength to the attainment of success; he has excelled over all of the others (ὑπέρ ἀντίνων) in his field, just as Herakles, with his great strength (ὑπέρβιον), once proved to be too strong a match for his opponents. Now the applause and cheers from the crowd ring euphonious in each man's ears.

Then the evening comes, and there is deserved rest for the victor; and the lovely moon, a wonder to behold (εὐφέριος), shines down in full radiance (ἐφέλεκεν... ἐρατόν φῶς) on him below, crowning a day of excitement and happiness for him (lines 73-75); illuminating the evening with her beauteous light, she fixes a steady spotlight on the victor so that all may see the man whose victory has brought him joy. With the fair-faced moon beaming

35 Concerning Pindar's purpose for including this catalogue, Gildersleeve, 219, remarks that it would not be strange if the whole description were composed to save the neglected memory of Doryklos, Phrastor, and Nikeus; and Viljoen, 209, claims that it serves as a substitute for the usual list of the previous successes of the victor and his family. (This coincides with his statement on p. 206 that Pindar delayed the delivery of Ο. 10 because he was not particularly impressed by the victor's performance or by his family's arete.)

36 Cf. Ο. 3.19b-20 for another description of the full moon at the time of the contest.
down on him from above, he now has that inner light of life, too (as the gnomic sentiment of lines 22-23 describes it), as his reward for achievement. The whole festive assembly also rejoices with him in his happiness, making the precincts resound with the encomiastic strains of their triumphal songs in praise of the glorious success of the victor (τὸν ἐγκύμιον ὧμιὶ τρόπον, line 77).

In this pretty setting, Pindar concludes the account of the institution of the Olympic festival. As he has depicted the various stages of the inaugural activities, we have seen a change in Herakles' role. In the deplorable events which preceded the actual founding of the Games, he represented strength in virtue, strength in a just cause. Then, as he made manifest his gratitude to Zeus for his victory, he became a symbol for filial piety, displaying on both occasions the toil and labor necessary to achieve such virtue. Now Pindar is ready to leave Herakles and the myth behind, with its emphasis on a general description of the first Olympian contest, and to give singular recognition to a victor in recent Games.

The poet makes this transition easily. Through the use of the familiar conventional expression καὶ νῦν plus

37 It does not appear that, because this account of the first Olympian Games is marked by straightforwardness and simplicity of style, it should be described as "austere and rather jejune in content," as Bowra says in *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 284.
the future verb ἡλαθησόμεθα in lines 78b-79 (cf. line 9b and Ω. 11.14), he promises to keep in the tradition of old (ἀρχαῖς προτέραις ἔπομενοι) — a tradition which saluted the victors with epinician songs of praise (cf. lines 76-77) — and to offer up his song now in celebration of Hagesidamos' success.

It may surprise us that Pindar should pause momentarily to honor the fiery thunderbolt of Zeus (lines 78-83) before lauding the victor himself; but, if we reflect on the significance of Zeus' insignia, his reason for doing this will become clear. Since the Games are conducted under the mighty aegis of powerful Zeus, all of the achievements in the Games are necessarily won in accord with the supreme will of Zeus, the father of the gods and lord of Olympia.

With the propitious peals of thunder (βροντάν) and the

38Line 78 is a difficult phrase to interpret because of the ambiguity of the words. If we associate it with the singing of encomiastic songs in lines 76-77 directly above it, however, I believe that it becomes clearer. It is also logical to speak here in terms of a tradition which was begun long ago because of the recounting of the first Games.

Parnell, 85, compared this phrase to Ω. 2.1-3 and suggests that it is referring to the invocation of Zeus (his thunder) with which ancient poets began their songs; but he feels that it is out of place here toward the end of the ode. I find this interpretation too topical to accept in the context of the ode.

39Cf. Ω. 9.1-4 where Pindar alludes to the two lines preserved from Archilochos' hymn to Herakles. This hymn which begins with the words ὁ καλλινικός is known as the καλλινικος and was traditionally sung at the Games whenever no special ode had been prepared in honor of the victor.
fire-wrought lightning flashes (πυρηναμον βελος) of his blazing thunderbolt (αἰθωνα μεραυνόν), Zeus shows favor to those who will emerge victorious. His thunderbolt, in all of its brilliance and light, goes hand in hand with triumphant success (cf. lines 23, 75), a fitting emblem, indeed, in every victory (ἐν ἀπαντι κρατεὶ...μεραυνον δραβώνα, lines 82-83).

This phrase is helpful in explaining the difficult ἐπωνυμιαν χάριν νικα in lines 78b-79 because the two nouns, χάριν and μεραυνόν, are set in apposition to each other; the favor of Zeus is represented here by the fitting emblem, the thunderbolt. Since Zeus "selects" the man who will win, Pindar speaks of it as "favor that goes with the naming of the proud victory" (ἐπωνυμιαν χάριν νικα); his favor, which is the essence of victory, thus brings delight and glory to the victor (cf. lines 12, 17). Pindar is, therefore, honoring the god who dispenses this divine blessing to those victorious in the contests (which includes Hagesidamos, of course) just as the joyous celebrants praised Zeus when they witnessed his favor to those who competed in the first Games (cf. line 21).

In conjunction with his promise to celebrate the thunderbolt of Zeus (line 79), Pindar declares that his

40 Cf. P. 4.197-200 for an instance of Zeus answering from the clouds with auspicious thunder and lightning.
sweet, delicate song (χλιδώσα μολή...μελέων, line 84) will now answer the pipe. The future verb ἀντίδεξι here, like the future ἡκλαδησόμεθα, is the poet's conventional way of expressing his present intention. His debt will now be paid, and Time can attest to the settling of the account; for the song which has finally (χρόνως, line 85) come to rest beside the famed stream of Dirke, the fountain of Pindar's home, will now be sung. Time, coming upon him from afar (cf. line 7), has caught up with him at last, and time which reveals the truth (cf. line 55) will give a full account, without further delay, of the greatness of the victor, Hagesidamos, and his city.

Since the ode is long awaited, Pindar claims that it will receive a warm welcome. It will be as warmly received by the heart as the birth of a much desired child (παις...ποθεινός) to a man who has already passed the prime of his life (lines 85-87b), for that man can then rest back in comfort, confident that he has an heir (ποιμένα) worthy of his fortune (πλοῦτος). Expressing this thought in familiar commercial imagery (lines 88-90), Pindar states that the older man no longer has to fear that death will mean the loss of all that he has worked for in life; for he now has a son who, bearing his name, will be the able steward of his inheritance and assure his father of immortality.

Comparing his song to this tender simile, Pindar has visualized the happiness with which it will be received and
now praises its power, in turn, in the final antistrophe (cf. lines 9b-10). He does this by giving a negative illustration of what happens to a man who, although he has accomplished great things in life, descends to Hades without a song surviving him (ἀοιδάς ἄτερ, line 91).

Unlike the father with his son, this man has spent his strength in vain (κενεὰ πνεύσαις, line 93), for the memory of his name and deeds will be kept alive only as long as he has close friends to remember and praise him.

Fortunate is the man, however, who is celebrated in song; for, like a son who relieves a dying father of his most anxious and bitter fear (line 90), it removes the dread of short-lived glory for a person who has achieved noble things (καλὰ ἔργα, line 91). Just as song brought praise to the winners in the first Games for their successes, so now it will perpetuate his memory, too, as he truly deserves, by bestowing on him the gift of immortality.

The fact that Pindar addresses Hagesidamos directly, when describing the plight of the unsung man (line 92), prepares us for the climactic reversal in the pronoun τὸν (ὡς) in line 93b. This is the point toward which his entire epinician has been moving. He is saying that it will be different for you, Hagesidamos, for the instruments and Muses are taking care of you (lines 93b-96); the soft-sounding lyre (ἀδυνητὴς λύρα) and the sweet flute (γλυκὸς αὐλὸς) are already gracing you, the victor, with favor
(χάριν, line 94), as they tunefully offer the song which is owed (cf. line 3).

So the small delight (βραχύ τι τερπνόν, line 93b) of the man deprived of song gives way to the far-spread glory (εὑρὸς κλέος, line 95) of the son of Archestratos; for the daughters of Zeus, the Pierides, are fostering (πρέφοντι) his fame abroad. They have responded to Pindar’s summons (cf. line 3b), by locating the name recorded in the ledger, and are now giving him help in fulfilling his obligation. While promoting and safeguarding their father’s wish that this song be sung (cf. line 24), they are immortalizing Hagesidamos as a legitimate heir of Olympia’s glory.

The word χάριν describes here, then (cf. lines 12, 17, 78b), both the beauty of the encomium and the beauty of the victor. As this ode honors Hagesidamos as a young man born for excellence, fit in body and spirit to triumph in competition, it sprinkles favor on him (line 94); and favor is also sprinkled on the victor as the sweet music of the instruments lends delightful charm and grace to the poetry, and as the inspiration of the Muses confers quiet dignity and elegance; for a song with this appeal will surely make Hagesidamos the cynosure of eyes and ears for all time.

With the musical instruments as his accompaniment and the Muses as his counsel and ambassadors, Pindar now announces that he is the poet (laudator); he does this by emphat-
ically positioning the pronoun ἔγω at the head of the first line of the final epode, just as he declared climactically in line 93b that τὰν is the subject (laudandus) of this epinician ode. As Pindar now brings his song to a close, he pauses one final time to praise Epizephyrian Lokris.

Speaking in more general terms here (lines 97-99) than he did in lines 13-15, he expresses the warmth which he feels in his heart for the famous tribe of Lokrians (κλαυτύν ἔθνος) who produce such good men (εὐάνωρα πόλιν). His heart, which had forgotten where the entry had been written has now zealously embraced (ἀμφιέπεσον) both the victor and the city alike. He has displayed the same eagerness (σπουδῇ) to grant full payment to his patron as Herakles once showed in his endeavor to collect the wages owed to him (cf. line 29); for he has drenched (καταβρέχων) the city with his sweet song (μέλιτι).

Now as we approach the end of the ode, we have come full circle. Pindar's request for the reading of the name of the son of Archestratos (cf. line 2) has now given way to the fulfillment of his promise, "I have praised the handsome son of Archestratos whom I saw win by strength of hand on that day beside the Olympian altar, fair to behold and endowed with the comely bloom of youth" (lines 99b-104). He has finally bestowed fullest glory (ἀἵνησα) on Hagesidamos.

Pindar is not sparing in the complimentary adjectives
which he uses to laud the victor. In line 100, he commends him for his athletic skill, emphasizing the strength which he needed to win (κρατέουσα χερσὶ ἀληξ.). This is the excellence which makes him a part of the tradition of the Olympian Games.

He also praises his handsome appearance (ἐπαγόμενον, line 99b), beautiful physique (ἀγέλεντα καλὸν, line 103) and youthful age (ἀγράκεφα μακραμένον, line 104). Pindar uses a very vivid metaphor in this last phrase, one which refers to the mixing of wine. He is telling us that Hagesidamos is "in the vintage time of youth;" he is at that age when the fruit is just ripe for picking.

Pindar wrote these glowing phrases of praise perhaps because he was struck by the comeliness of the young man, but more importantly because Hagesidamos had trained his body for the endurance which he would need in the rigorous contest and had developed it to its fullest strength and vigor; for this is essential for the achievement of human

---

41 According to L. Schmidt in Pindar's Leben und Dichtung (Bonn 1862), Pindar was so struck by the beauty of Hagesidamos that he was not able at the time of the victory to compose a greater song; he had to put it off until a later date. Only when peace of heart and mind was restored could he sing, when "the heat of passion had given way to a more pure and splendid image" (lines 99-105). Luebbert, 26, says that Pindar had once attempted to compose an ode, but his mind, disturbed by Hagesidamos' beauty, made it futile. He was able to compose it for a later anniversary, though, with a peaceful spirit and to make "the mortal beauty immortal," as he had already done in his own spirit. Biographical speculation, however, is dubious.
excellence in the Games.

Since Hagesidamos shares the beauty of Ganymede, he will certainly escape a common end. Just as Ganymede was spared from meeting ruthless death (ἀναίδεα...οδυτοῦ, line 105) because Aphrodite blessed him (οὐ Κυπρογενεῖ, line 105) with a handsome appearance, ⁴² so will the son of Archestratos also be spared; for he has been favored with victory by the king of the gods for his athletic prowess and physical strength and will thus live for all eternity in Pindar's immortal epinician song.

With the analysis of Olympian X almost completed, let us review briefly the movement of the ode from the close of the first triad to the end. We will remember that Hagesidamos and his city are the focal point of lines 1-21 (cf. pages 68-69 above). With the gnomic statement in lines 22-23, however, the scope of the poem becomes universal, serving as a transition from the praise of Hagesidamos' rigorous contest to Herakles' hardship and trials.

As we pass to the myth which follows in lines 24-77, our attention is drawn to specific exempla of the generic sentiment. The hero Herakles is praised in song for overcoming the difficult encounters with the Moliones and King Augeas which resulted in the founding of the magnificent

---

⁴²He escaped death by being whisked away to serve as cupbearer among the immortals on Mt. Olympus. Cf. O. 1.40-45 where Poseidon steals Pelops away to Mt. Olympus.
Olympian contest; and Pindar expresses great admiration for the Games and the excellence which they represent, as he honors the first victors who, like Herakles, won their achievements after hard struggles. Turning from the myth, Pindar makes the transition (lines 78-79) from the general description of the first contest to the praise of Hagesidamos, a recent winner in the Games, by placing him in the strong, noble tradition.

From this point to the close of the ode, the focus becomes increasingly more narrow. Pindar gives honor to Zeus, the god who bestows favor on all victors (which includes Hagesidamos), in lines 78-83 and claims that the song which he has promised to one particular young victor is now ready (lines 84-85). The poet pauses momentarily here to glorify song per se for its power, beauty, and richness (lines 86-96); his song will befit the fame of young Hagesidamos. Finally, with the mention of the pronoun "you" in line 93b, Pindar focuses all of his attention on the subject of his epinician ode; and he concludes his encomium with elaborate praise of Hagesidamos (99b-105), stopping in passing to laud his people, the Epizephyrian Lokrians one last time (lines 97-99).

As we can see then, Pindar has constructed a symmetrical external structure for his ode: he begins by expressing admiration for Hagesidamos and his city, then fully develops the glorious tradition of the Olympian Games.
imbued with excellence, and closes with admiration for the city and Hagesidamos (in reverse order from the introduction); the son of Archestratos now ably takes his place in that tradition, assured of immortality through this glorious song.

The mention of immortality prompts me to look back once again at the word τόκος (line 9b). If we put aside, for a moment, the metaphorical meaning which we gave it in that line and reinterpret it now in terms of its literal meaning, too, the discovery is pleasing. We translated τόκος in line 9b, within its context of commercial imagery, as "interest paid on principal which is owed." In light of the references in the last triad to both the son who grants immortality to his father (lines 86-90) and the Muses who "nourish and rear" the glory of Hagesidamos abroad (lines 95-96), we will find that its literal meaning "offspring, child, son" fits very well here, too.

As we discovered early in this study, the word τόκος, meaning interest, signifies the little extra effort which Pindar must add to the principal, his song, in order to praise the son of Archestratos with fullness. Now the word τόκος, referring to a child, represents assurance of immortality; the elaborate ode of Pindar, therefore, equals the promise of immortality for Hagesidamos and the Lokrian people. Since Pindar is the father of this child, he has
assured himself of his own immortality in his song, as well; for the child which he has raised with such painstaking efforts, by coddling it, disciplining it, moulding it, and refining it, will also give credit to its hard-working father. Full expression is thus given now to line 9:

Pindar's child, however, is no ordinary child, for conceived in his mind and fostered tenderly by his creativity, it achieves its full stature only in the heart of its receiver. Since the possession of the heart is a possession forever, death will never overtake this child. It will live, instead, to give the highest honor to its loving father for escaping the sad fate of oblivion; to it will belong the priceless possession which eternity holds: immortality.
APPENDIX A

The following is a catalogue, by verse, of the significant words and images of Olympian IX according to themes:

**Epharmostos**

4— 'Εφαρμόστω
14— υλόν
84b— ἀμφότεροι
87— 'Εφαρμόστω
88— παῖς
110— τόνδ' ἄνερα

**Lokrians**

4— ηταλροῖς
14— Οπάευτος
20— Δοκρῶν...ματέρα
21— πόλιν
41-42— Πρωτογενείας ἁστεί
66— πόλιν...λαδὺ

**Song, Accounts**

1— 'Αρχιλόχου μέλος
2b— καλλιεργηκὸς τριπλός
12b— λόγων
Archery=Song

5-- ἐκαταβόλων...τόξων
8-- βέλεσσιν
11-12-- πτερόεντα...δίστον
12b-- χαμαιπετέων

Sound, Praise

2-- φωνάειν
2b-- κεκλαδώς
4-- κωμάζοντι
13-- φόρμιγγ' ἐκελείζων
14-- αἰνήσαις
20-- ἑπαελροντι
36-- στῶμα
39-- ὑποκρέεις
40-- λαλάγει
42-- γλῶσσαν
48-- αἰνεῖ
62-- εὐφράνθη
69-- τίμασεν
84— τιμάρος
109— ορθίους ἅρματα

**Beauty, Sweetness**

4— φίλοις
11— γλυκύν
14— κλεινάς
16— μεγαλόδοξοις
21— φίλαν
27— ἐξαλετούν
27— Χαρίτων
28— τέρπεα
47— λιγύν
69— ἐξόχως
94— ὄφρατος...καλός
96— θαυμαστός
111— εὐχείρα, δεξιόγυνον, ὄρηντ' ἄλκαν

**Flowers, Flourish**

16— θάλλειν
19— ἄωτοι
20— ἀγλαδδενδρον
27— νέμομαι κάποιον
48— ἀνθεά
50— μέλαιναν
61— σπέρμα
Banquet, Wine

48—οἶνος
96b—Ζηνός...πανάγυριν Δυκαλίου
112—δαίτι

Struggle, Win

10—δξάρατο
30b—τίναξε
31—ήρειδε
32—ήρειδεν...πελεμίζων
40b—πόλεμον μάχαν τε πάσαν
51—οῦδατος σθένος
58b—ἄναρπάσαις
78—ταξιοθεθαί
84–85—κράτησαν...Έργον
92—δαμάσσαις
102—ἄφοισαν ἄρεθθαί

Strength, Victory

13—παλαίσμασιν
16—ἄρεταίσιν
23—ἀγάνορος
65–66—ὑπέρφατον ἄνδρα μορφῇ τε καὶ ἐργοῖσι
72—ἀλκάεντας
75—βιατὰν νόου
83—ἀρετῇ
86b—χάρμαι
90—ἀγώνα
94— κάλλιστα δέξαις
100— κράτιστον
101— ἀρεταῖς

Honor
19— αὐτοί στεφάνων
84b— μέτραις
88— κόδος
90— ἀργυρίδεσσιν
93— θεσπι βοᾷ
97–98— εὐδιαυδύν φάρμακον...φέρε
99— ἀγλαϊαίσσιν
101— κλέος
112b— νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε

Gods, Fate
3— Κρόνιου ὄχθον
15— Θέμις
15–16— θυγάτηρ σωτείρα Εὔνομα
26— σοῦ τινὶ μοιριδῇς παλάμῃ
27— Χαρίτων
28b— κατὰ δαίμονα
31— Ποσειδάν
33— Φοῖβος...Ἀδάς
37— θεοῦς
41— χωρὶς ἀθανάτων
60— πότμου
103-- ἀνευ θεοῦ
110-- δαιμονία
112b-- βωμόν

Muses
5-- Μοισάν
81-- Μοισάν

Zeus
6-- Δία φοινικοστερόπαυ
42-- αἰολοβρόντα δίδα αἴσθ
52-- Ζηνός τέχναις
56-- φερτάτων Κρονίδαν
57-- Ὀλυμπίος ἀγεμὼν
61-- σπέρμα μέγιστον

Heroes
9-- Δυνᾶς ἡρως Πέλοψ
28-- ἄγαθοι ἄνδρες
30-- Ἡρακλῆς
43-- Πόρρα Δευκάλιων
60-- Δοκρῆ
62-- ἡρως
69-- Ὁκτωρος
70-- Μενολίτου... Ἀτρείδαις
71-- Ἀχιλλῆς
73-- Τήλεφος
75-- Πατρόκλου
Race, Ancestors
44-45— ὄμοιδαμοὺν...λῆθινον γόνου
46— λαοί
54— πρόγονοι
55-56— Ἱαπετιοῦνδος φύτλας...φερτάτων Κρούιδαν

Guests
67— ξένοι
83— προξενιά

Women
10— Ἰπποδαμέλας
15— Θέμις
16— Εὔνομα
20— ματέρα
27— Χαρίτων
41— Πρωτογενέλας
43— Πύρρα
56— κοράν
58— Θυγατρα
62— ἄλοχος
63— μάτρωος
70— Αἰγίνας
76— Θείος
Marriage, Children
10 -- κάλλιστον ἔδων
20 -- ματέρα
41 -- Πρωτογενείας
44 -- δόμον...ατερ εὐνάζ
56 -- κούροι κορᾶν
58 -- θύγατρα...Ὀπδευτος
59 -- μελήθη
61 -- δροσανδυν γενέας
61-62 -- σπέρμα...ἀλοχος
62 -- θετὸν υἱόν
63 -- μάτρωος
69 -- υἱόν
70 -- παις
76 -- θέτιος γόνος
106 -- θρέψει
110 -- γεγάμευ

Nature, Nurture
100 -- φυζ...διδακταῖς
110 -- γεγάμευ

Time, Age
5 -- νῦν
9 -- ποτε
34–35 -- βρότεα σώματα...θυρακδυτων
40 -- νῦν
44 -- πρῶτου
48—παλαίδων
49—νεωτέρων
55—ἀρχάθεν
56b—αἰς
57—πρὸ
60—αἰῶν
76—ἐκ οὐ [χρόνου]
85—μιν ἀν' διήραυν
86b—ἐπείτα
88—ἀνδρῶν, παῖς
89-90—ἀγενεῖλοι...πρεσβυτέρων
94—δραῖος

**Imperatives, Wish**

6—ἐπιλειμαί
11—τεί
36—ῥίψου
40—μὴ λαλάγει
40b—ἐα
41—φέροις
47—ἐγειρε
48—ἀίνει
80—εἴην
83—ἐποίητο
109—ἀφυσαι
Places, Rivers

2-- Ὀλυμπία
6-7-- σεμνὸν...ἀκρωτήριον Ἀλέσ
12-- Πνθεύναδε
17-18-- Κασταλία...Ἀλφεοῦ ἱέεθρον
31-- Πόλον
43-- Παρνασσόν
58-- ἀπὸ γᾶς Ἐπειδῶν
59-- Μαυναλαισίων δειραῖς
68-- ἐκ Ἀργεῶν

68b-- ἐκ θηβάν...οὶ Ἀρκάδες...Πισάται
71-- Τεθραυστὸς πεδίον
84-- Ἰσθμιαίοι
86-- Κορινθίου
87-- Νεμέας
88-- Ἀργεῖ...Ἀθάνατος
89-- Μαραθῶνι
95-- Παρρασίῳ στρατῷ
98-- Πελλάνη

Wisdom, Skill, Art

28-- σοφοί
38-- σοφία
83-- προξενία
107-- σοφίαι
Fitness, Boldness

38-- τὸ καυχᾶσθαι παρὰ καιρῷ
80-- εὐρησιεπῆς
81-- πρόσφορος
82-- τόλμα καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆς δύναμις
110-- θαρσέως

Fire

6-- ἔπινειμαι
6-- φοινικοστερόπαυ
22-- μαλεραῖς ἐπιφλέγων

Path

34-- κολλαν πρὸς ἄγυιαν
47-- οἴμου
105-- δῶν δῶι

Vehicles

23-- ᾦπτουν
24-- ναός
73-- πρύμναις
82-- διφρῷ

Lead, Advance

3-- ἀγεμονεύσαι
34-- κατάγει
80-- ἀναγείσθαι
105-- περαλτεραι
108-- προσφέρων
Weapons

30— τρισδουντος
30b— οκταλον
32— αργυρεω τδξυ
33— βάβδου
54— χαλκασπιδες
79— αλχμας
APPENDIX B

The following is a catalogue, by verse, of the significant words and images of Olympian X according to themes:

**Hagesidamos**

2— 'Αρχεστράτου παιδα
18— 'Αγησόδαμος
92— 'Αγησόδαμε
93b— τιν
99b— παιδ' 'Αρχεστράτου

**Lokris**

13— πόλιν Λοκρῶν Ζευρίων
97-98— Ἐθνὸς Λοκρῶν
99— εὐάνορα πόλιν

**Commercial Imagery**

1— ἀνάγνωστε
3— γεγραπται...δὲιλων
4— ὄρθι χερί
8— βασι χρέος
9— λύσαι
9b— τόκος...ψάφου
11— κοινὸν λόγον

102
12— τεσσομεν
13— Ἀτρέκεια
28-30— λάτριον...μισθόν...πράσοιτο
37— βαθὺ εἰς ὀχετὸν ἂτας
53-54— ἔξελογχων...ἐτήτυμον
88-90— πλοῦτος...ποιμένα

**Shame, Guilt**

3b— ἐπιλέλαθα
5-6— ψευδέων ἐνιπάν ἀληθὲς
8— κατασχυνε
9— δὲ έταυ ἐπιμομφάν

**Truth**

4— Ἀλάθεια
5— ψευδέων
13— Ἀτρέκεια
54— ἀλάθειαν ἐτήτυμον
55— τὸ σαφανὲς

**Time, Age**

7— μέλλων χρόνος
9b— ἐλισσομέναν
24b— ἀρχαὶ
41— οὐστατὸς
51b— πρωτογόνω
55— Χρόνος
58— πρῶτα
60—ποταίνιον
78—ἀρχαῖς προτέραις καὶ νῦν
85—χρόνῳ
87—παθεινός...νεδιατος τὸ πάλιν ἡδή
90—θυάσκοντι
92-93—εἰς Ἀθήνα...ἲνηται
102—κατὰ χρόνου κείνου
104—ὡρα
105—θάνατον

First
56-57—δόσιν ἀκράθεινα
58—'Ολυμπιάδι πρώτῃ
78—ἀρχαῖς προτέραις
78b—ἐπωνυμών

Gods, Religion, Divine Help
3b-4—θυγάτηρ Ἀλάθεια Διός, ὀρθῇ χερὶ
14-15—Καλλιόπα καὶ Ἀρης
21—θεοὺς σὺν παλάμῳ
24—θέμιτες Διός
41—ἀβουλία
44-45—Διός...υἱὸς
45—πατρὶ μεγίστῳ
48-49—τιμάσαις...ἀνάκτων θεῶν
49-50—πάγων Κρόνου
52—Μοῖραι
57—ἐθνε
79-81 -- βρουτάν...Διός
96 -- κόραι Διός
101 -- βωμόν 'Ολυμπίου
105 -- σὺν Κυπρογενεῖ'

Muses
3b -- Μοίσα
96 -- κόραι Πιερίδες Διός

Song
3 -- γλυκό μέλος
10 -- κῦμα
24 -- δεῖσαι
76-77 -- δέσδετο...τὸν ἐγκώμιον τρόπον
79 -- κελαδησῳμεθα
84 -- χλίδωσα μολη μελέων...πρὸς καλαμον
86 -- παῖς
91 -- ἄοιδας
93-94 -- λύρα...αβλὸς
100 -- αὐνησα

Sweetness
3 -- γλυκό
76 -- τερπναῖσί
87 -- ποθεινός...φιλοτατί
93b -- ἀδουπῆς
94 -- γλυκύς
98 -- μέλιτι
Favor, Delight, Thanks
12— χάριν
17— χάριν
78b— χάριν
94— χάριν

Beauty, Handsomeness
74— ευώπιδος
75— έρατόν
99b— έρατόν
103— ίδέα καλόν
104— ὧρα

Light
23— φῶς
74-75— ἐφλέξεν εὐώπιδος σελάνας έρατόν φῶς
80— πυρπάλαμον βέλος
83— αἰθωνα

Eagerness
29— ἀξιοθυ’ ἐκάν
97— σπουδά

Sprinkle, Drench
94— ἀναπάσσει
99— καταβρέχων

Childbirth, Children, Foster
9b— τόκος
20— θάξαις φύτ’ ἀρετα
52— παρέσταν Μοῖραι σχεδοῦ
86— παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρὶ
94— ἀναπάσσει
95— τρέφομαι
98— ἀμφεπεσον
99— καταβρέχων

**Heart**
2— πάθει φρενός
87b— νόσον
98— ἀμφεπεσον

**Victors**
1— τῶν 'Ολυμπιονίκων
65-66— παῖς ὁ Δικυμνίου Οἰωνὸς
66b— Ἑκέμος
67— Δόρυκλος
70— Σάμος
71— Θράστωρ
72— Νικεθής

**Glory, Fame**
21— πελάριον κλέος
22— χάρμα
48— τιμάσαις
59— νικαφορίαις
60-61— ποταλύιον στέφανον
63— ἀγώνιον εὖχος
66b— κυδαλων
67— τέλος
72a— ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων
72–73— θόρυβον παραθένει μέγαν
85— εὐκλέει
91— καλὰ ἔρξαις
93b— βραχὺ τι τερπνόν
95— εὐρὸς κλέος
97— κλυτὸν ἔθνος
99— εὐάνορα πόλιν

Contest, Fight, Effort
15— τράπε Κύκνεια μάχα
16— νικῶν ἐν Ὁλυμπιάδι
22— ἄπονον
24— ἀγώνα ἐξαιρετοῦ
25— πόνων
27— πέφυε
30b— δάμασε
32— ἐπερσαν
39— νεῖκος
42— ἀλώσιος
56–57— πολέμου τὸν ἄκραθυνα
82— ἐν ἄπαντι κράτει
93— μῆχθψ

Strength, Excellence, Victory
15b— ὑπέρβιον
20— ἀρετᾷ
39— κρεσσόνων
44— ἀλκιμὸς
59— νικαφόρλαισι
64— ἀριστευσεν
82— κράτει
91— καλὰ ἔρξαις
100— κρατέοντα ἀλκᾷ

Presumption
29— ὑπέρβιον
34— ὑπερφαλοι
34— ἕναπάτας
41— ἀθυμλῇ

Perfidy
6— ἀλιτόζενον
34— ἕναπάτας

Olympia, Places
16— ἌΟλυμπιάδι
30— Κλεωνὰν
31— Τιρυσθίον
33— μυχοὶς Ἀλιδὸς
43— ἐν Πλοῇ
45b— Ἁλτὶν
58— σὺν Ὅλυμπιάδι πρῶτῃ
66— Μιδέαθεν
66b-- Τεγέαν
68-- Τίρυνθα
70-- Μαυτυνέας
101-- "Ολύμπιον

Heroes
15-- Κόνωεια
16-- 'Ηρακλέα
19-- 'Αχιλέω Πάτροκλος
24b-- Πέλοπος
26–27-- Ποσειδάνιον...Κτέατον
28-- Εὔρυτον...Λυγέαν
30b-- 'Ηρακλέης
34-- Μόλισως
35-- 'Επειδώ βασιλεύς
44–45-- Διός...υλός
51-- Οινομασί
105-- Γαλαγήδει
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES


II. SECONDARY SOURCES

Boeckh, A. *Pindari opera quae supersunt: Interpretatio*

Bowra, C. M. Pindar (Oxford 1964).


Christ, W. Pindari Carmina prolegomenis et commentariis instructa (Leipzig 1896).


Fennell, C. A. M. Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes (Cambridge 1879).

Galinsky, G. K. The Herakles Theme (Totowa, New Jersey 1972).


Girard, P. "Ajax fils de Téléamon," REG 18 (1905) 1-75.

Grenfell, B. P. and Hunt, A. S. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri 2 (London 1899).


Luebbert, E. Dissertatio de Pindari carmine Olympico decimo (Kiel 1881).

Norwood, G. *Pindar* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1945).


Rauchenstein, R. "Zu Pindaros," *Philologus* 27 (1868) 332-335.


Sandys, Sir J. *The Odes of Pindar* (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge 1968).

Schmidt, L. *Pindar's Leben und Dichtung* (Bonn 1862).


Viljoen, G. Van N. *Pindaros se tiende en elfde Olympiese odes* (Leiden 1955).


