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PINDAR: A LITERARY STUDY OF PYTHIANS 4 AND 5

DISSERTATION

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

By

Michelle Pach Wilhelm, B.A., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1973

Reading Committee:
John W. Shumaker
Robert J. Lenardon
David E. Hahm

Approved by

Adviser
Department of Classics
MEIS PARENTIBUS AVISQUE
ET
MARITO CARISSIMO
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere and grateful appreciation to Professor John W. Shumaker for the inspiration to write this dissertation and for his many invaluable suggestions and criticisms. I am also grateful to Professors Robert J. Lenardon and David E. Hahm for their many helpful and perceptive comments.
VITA

August 6, 1948. Born - Queens, New York City
1969. B.A., cum laude, Queens College, City University of New York
1969-1973 University Fellowship, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1970. M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1970-1972 Teaching Associate, Department of Classics, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Greek Poetry

Greek Literature: Professors David E. Hahm, Robert J. Lenardon, John W. Shumaker, Jane Snyder


Philological Studies: Kenneth L. Abbott, Clarence A. Forbes
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INTRODUCTION

Pindar's Fourth and Fifth Pythian odes, both written for the same victory, are unique among his extant epinicians. Only two other odes, Olympians 2 and 3, were composed by Pindar to commemorate one athletic triumph; what is more, each of these odes contains distinct characteristics which set it apart from Pindar's other poems, and together they offer an unequaled tribute to the victor, his ancestors and his home city.

The victory which Pythians 4 and 5 celebrate is that of king Arcesilaus IV of Cyrene in the chariot race at Delphi in 462 B.C. Pythian 5 has been called the "real epinician" for Arcesilaus' triumph, composed for public performance in Cyrene. It contains the conventional elements of praise for Arcesilaus, his forefathers and Cyrene; the usual myth is absent, however, and in its place Pindar gives us a rare description of the athletic contest itself and of the prowess of the charioteer Carrhotus. Pythian 4, on the other hand, is a much more personal poem which was probably sung in

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the palace of king Arcesilaus. It is not a traditional epinician, but rather an appeal to king Arcesilaus to bring a certain Damophilus back from exile. This unparalleled request on the part of Pindar for Damophilus is contained in the final thirty lines, while the major portion of the ode recounts the tale of the Argonautic expedition in quest of the Golden Fleece and of the founding of Cyrene by Arcesilaus' ancestor Battus. The central myth about Jason and the Argonauts comprises eight triads of this longest ode of Pindar, and it is the only complete heroic narrative in lyric form extant. It is Pindar's most ambitious and impressive ode, unique in its length, scope and in Pindar's personal intervention into politics.

Pythians 4 and 5 are thus markedly different in content, and because of this diversity scholars in general have treated these odes as two distinct epinicians, opposite in purpose and theme. A review of past studies of Pythians 4 and 5 will establish the extent to which this theory of the basic dissimilarity of these odes has prevailed; such a review will also reveal the tendency of some scholars to interpret these odes solely in light of the contemporary political situation in Cyrene, a method which completely overshadows Pindar's poetic art. Finally, such a survey will aid in pointing this present
inquiry into the meaning of these odes in a different direction, namely to the conclusion that Pythians 4 and 5, with many themes in common, can in fact be considered companion pieces to be read as a single encomium to Arcesilaus and to Cyrene, and also as a single message to Arcesilaus concerning the plight of Damophilus.

Two commentaries which provide a basic foundation for the study of Pindar's odes are those of B. L. Gildersleeve and L. R. Farnell. Neither scholar gives any indication in his introduction to Pythian 4 and Pythian 5 that these odes have anything more in common than the fact that they were written for the same Pythian victory. Gildersleeve is very aware of the poetic artistry of Pindar, and he points out the many images and themes prevalent in each individual ode; but he also is inclined toward historical and biographical interpretations of some elements in these odes. For example, he explains the presence of a thirty-line tribute in Pythian 5 to the charioteer Carrhotus as having been requested by Arcesilaus; as for the extreme length of the myth of Jason and the Argonauts in Pythian 4, Gildersleeve

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4 *The Olympian and Pythian Odes*, p. 306.
states emphatically: "In the length of the myth nothing more is to be seen than the costliness of the offering. If the poem was to be long, the myth must needs be long."\(^5\) Farnell has also compiled a significant commentary to the text of Pindar's odes. His introduction to *Pythian 4* consists of an investigation into the possible sources Pindar might have employed for his version of the Argonautic legend; he also attempts to distinguish which elements Pindar might have invented. This approach to *Pythian 4* offers many difficulties, since all earlier Greek literature concerned with the Argonautic expedition is either lost or in very fragmentary form. I shall not be concerned with the problem of whether or not a certain event in *Pythian 4* is original in Pindar, but rather I should prefer to illustrate how the many elements of Pindar's narrative are woven together to form a complete account. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in his book on Pindar,\(^6\) is also concerned with the sources of Pindar's myth, as well as with a history of the family of Arcesilaus and all of the historical and biographical elements that he can even remotely relate to the composition and recital of the two odes. His approach

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 280.

\(^6\)Pindaros (Berlin: 1922), pp. 376-393.
to the odes of Pindar was widely accepted by scholars and his work was very influential on subsequent interpretations of Pindar's odes. My approach to Pythians 4 and 5, however, will not be historical.

Two brief articles on Pythian 4 are significant for their diametrically opposed views of the relationship between Pythians 4 and 5. E. Delage begins his discussion of the Argonautic myth of Pythian 4 with a short summary of the structure of Pythian 5 in order to demonstrate how dissimilar in content the two odes are, and he concludes: "La IVe Pythique est tout le contraire de la Ve." More specifically, Delage summarizes Pythian 4 as being divine and impersonal, whereas Pythian 5 is human and personal. In contrast to most earlier studies, R. Lattimore gives a detailed analysis of Pythian 4 in terms of the many narrative techniques at work in this ode and also in comparison with some of the themes in Pythian 5. Of special note is Lattimore's

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9Ibid., p. 123.

10Ibid., p. 124.

discussion of the encomium to wealth at the opening of Pythian 5 and Pindar's praise of Arcessilus' character in Pythian 5.107-115 in relation to Pindar's portrayal of Jason and his appeal to Arcessilus on behalf of Damophilus in Pythian 4.

Several books by prominent scholars on the general nature of the poetry of Pindar must be mentioned, although they do not contain specific studies of Pythians 4 and 5. G. Norwood,12 in a chapter entitled "His Subjects; His Vision of the World," points out with great insight that in Pindar's picture of Jason, for the first and only time in classical literature, we have a full expression of the concept of chivalry; Jason displays "courage, high breeding, courtesy, a passion for adventure, joy in song, a deep sense of knightly comradeship, pity and protection bestowed on the weak and helpless, love of woman and utter reliance upon God."13 In his tendency to oversimplify many of the odes of Pindar, however, Norwood sees as the unifying symbol of the entire ode the concept of ποσεος,14 which indeed can be seen as one of the recurring themes, but not the

12Pindar (Berkeley: 1945), pp. 36-43.
13Ibid., p. 39.
14Ibid., p. 42.
only one. J. H. Finley, in a book noted for its obscure eloquence, emphasizes in a very brief analysis the presence of Apollo in Pythians 4 and 5 and the recurrence of the ideas of prophecy, music and healing in Pythian 4, three themes which can also be found in Pythian 5 in connection with Apollo. C. M. Bowra's book surveys certain aspects of the odes, such as Pindar's theory of poetry, imagery, and treatment of myth, and therefore it does not lend itself to the comprehensive treatment of individual odes. In his chapter "Echoes of Politics," however, Bowra does devote six pages to a survey of Pindar's views of the kingship of Arcesilaus as revealed by both Pythians 4 and 5. He also speculates about whether or not Pindar's appeal to Arcesilaus for Damophilus' return from exile succeeded, and this speculation leads him into a discussion of the revolution from monarchy to democracy in Cyrene.

G. Meautis states emphatically that Pythians 4 and 5 can be explained by the political situation in

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18 Ibid., pp. 138-142.
Cyrene at the time they were composed, and that the major theme of these odes is the legitimacy and the continuity of the power of Arcesilaus; his discussion of these two odes, in which he too affirms their essential difference, is little more than a mere summary or paraphrase.

J. Duchemin has published an edition, with an introduction and commentary, of four of the Pythian odes, including Pythians 4 and 5. Her introduction, entitled "Circonstances et Rapports des IVe et Ve Pythiques," is a recapitulation of the historical background as surveyed by Chamoux. She also includes a section on Pindar and his mythological sources, and on the archaeological evidence for Pindar's description of Cyrene in Pythian 5. Her commentary on the text itself adds little more to the notes of Gildersleeve and Farnell.

The most comprehensive examination of Pythians 4 and 5 is that of R. W. B. Burton. In two chapters,

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20 Ibid., p. 217.
one entitled "Pythians 4 and 5" and the second "Pythian 4." Burton analyzes each ode in detail. In the first chapter he discusses the circumstances surrounding the composition and performance of the odes, a topic which has intrigued many editors and commentators, as we have seen. Burton's introduction to the two epinicians consists of speculations concerning the following questions: In what order did Pindar write these odes? Did he compose one or both at Thebes, his home city, or did he pay a personal visit to Cyrene? In what order were these odes performed? Such questions, however, are impossible to answer unequivocally, despite the evidence of the scholia. Burton's judgement of Pythian 5 is that it "is constructed on conventional lines and includes all the ingredients of a festal ode in the expected order."\(^{24}\) Thus his analysis of Pythian 5 is conventional and unimaginative, devoted primarily to textual problems and offering little insight into the relationship between the individual elements in the ode and the total picture Pindar has drawn in words. Burton's study of Pythian 4 offers a clearer understanding of the meaning and artistry of the ode; I am

\(^{24}\textit{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 137.$
very much indebted to his chapter on *Pythian* 4 for my own interpretation of the epinician. Burton's examination, however, does have its shortcomings, as can be seen in his final statement:  

> It is thus legitimate to suggest, as has been done in this chapter, that Pindar has treated certain features in his narrative, particularly the idea of νόστος and the character of Jason, in such a way as to dispose the king favourably towards his appeal. What unity there is in the poem should probably be looked for along these lines.

This conclusion which Burton does not develop at all is crucial to the comprehension not only of *Pythian* 4, but of *Pythian* 5 as well. The idea of nostos in *Pythian* 4, and many other themes which occur again and again in this ode, are brilliantly underscored by C. A. P. Ruck and W. H. Matheson in a collection of translations and interpretive essays of selected odes of Pindar. Their introduction to *Pythian* 4 reveals the important repetitions of several motifs and images: nostos, hospitality and friendship, plant imagery, and prophecy. No interpretation of *Pythian* 5 is included in their collection.

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It is these last two works, along with R. Lattimore's article, which have been the most helpful to me in my study of Pythians 4 and 5, and which led me to look for the recurrent themes of Pythian 4 in Pythian 5. It is evident from the above review of past treatments of these odes that very little has been written about the thematic parallels between Pythians 4 and 5; but such affinities become quite apparent with a close examination of the recurrent motifs of Pythian 5, and then with an in-depth study of the many images, themes and structural techniques at work in Pythian 4. It is the purpose of this thesis to demonstrate first that Pythian 4 and Pythian 5 have much more in common than simply the basic objective of praising Arcesilaus, his family and his Pythian victory; secondly, with an analysis of Pythian 5 as a foundation, to make an extensive study of Pythian 4, a lyric poem of epic proportions, in order to reveal and to comprehend the complexity of Pindar's genius.

I have included before my analysis of each ode my own translation of the ode so the the reader can more fully appreciate Pindar's paratactic and vivid style. I have tried, wherever possible, to preserve Pindar's word order within each line and stanza to aid in this appreciation.
CHAPTER I
PYTHIAN 5

Wealth has wide strength, whenever, mixed with pure virtue, a mortal man leads it home, destiny permitting, as a most dear companion. O blessed by the gods Arcesilaus, you, from the high steps of your famous life seek wealth and glory with the help of Castor of the golden chariot; who, after a wintry storm sheds calm on your happy hearth.

The wise more nobly bear the power given by god. You, as you walk in the path of justice, great prosperity surrounds. First, because you are king of great cities, the eye of your ancestry considers this a most revered privilege when mixed with a soul such as yours. Blessed also now because, from the famous Pythian festival where you drove your horses you have received this glory of a komos from men, Apollo's delight; therefore, do not forget, as you are being sung in Cyrene's sweet garden of Aphrodite, to give all credit to god, and to love Carrhotus above all your companions; who did not lead home Excuse, the daughter of Epimetheus, wise too late, when he returned to the home of the Battiaedae, ruling by right;
But his prize for the best chariot,*
when welcomed at the water of Castalia, he threw
around your hair,*

his reins untangled
in the sacred precinct of the twelve swift-footed
courses.
For he did not break the strength of his equipment
at all; but it hangs,*
all the craftsmen's intricate
handiwork which he took past
the hill of Crisa,*
in the hollow glen
of the god; a cypress-wood chamber
holds it, near the statue,*
which the Cretan bowmen under the Parnassian roof
dedicated, grown in one piece.

Therefore it is fitting for you
to greet him, the doer of a good deed, with a glad
heart.
Son of Alexibius! The fair-haired Graces shine over
you.
Blessed, you who have,
even after great toil,
the remembrance of noble
words; for through forty
fallen charioteers safely
did you drive your chariot with unshaken spirit,
and you have come to the plain of Libya from the
glorious
games and to your fathers' city.

No one is without his share of troubles, nor will he
be;
The ancient prosperity of Battus follows, its
course various,
as the tower of the city and an eye shining bright
for strangers. Even the loud-roaring
lions fled in fear of him,
when he brought against them his tongue from
overseas;
And Apollo the founder brought
to the beasts great fear,
so that he might not be false in prophecy to the
master of Cyrene.
And for grievous diseases
he allots remedies to men and women,
he gave them the cithara, and he gives the Muse to
whomever he wishes,
bringing into their hearts
good order without war,
and he rules over the recess
of prophecy; in Lacedaemon,
in Argos and in sacred Pylos
he established the valiant descendants
of Herakles and Aigimius. He sings of my
lovely glory from Sparta,

from where men
came to Thera, the Aigeidai,
my fathers, not without the gods, but some fate led
them;
having received from there
a communal sacrifice
at your banquet, Carneian
Apollo, we worship
Cyrene, a well-built city;
which is also held by bronze-armed strangers,
Trojans, the sons of Antenor; with Helen they came,
when they saw their homeland smoking

with Ares. And their race, a people of horses
were welcomed kindly with sacrifices by men
bearing gifts,
whom Aristoteles brought in swift ships,
opening a deep path in the sea.
And he founded the greater groves of the gods,
and he established, with processions for Apollo
who averts ills, a straight
paved path in the plain to be trampled by horses,
where apart, at the edge of the agora, he lies in
death.

Blessed among men
did he live, and thereafter as a hero he is
worshipped.
And apart, in front of homes, others with death as
their lot,
holy kings,
lie, and of great prowess
drenched with delicate dew
of the outpourings of hymns,
they hear, with their minds under the earth,  
their own prosperity and glory shared  
and deserved by their son Arcesilaus; in a song of  
young men  
it is right to praise Apollo of the golden sword.

holding from Pytho  
the cost-releasing splendor of victory,  
the grace of song. That man is praised by the  
wise;  
I shall say what is said;  
greater than his youth  
are the mind and  
tongue he cherishes; in courage he is a wide-winged  
eagle among birds;  
in strength in the games, he is like a wall;  
among the Muses he is light-footed from his  
mother's lap, he has proved himself a wise  
charioteer;

whatever entrances to noble deeds in his homeland  
there are,  
he has dared. And now god readily completes his  
power,  
and for the future, blessed sons of Cronus,  
may you allow him to have such blessings in deeds  
and in counsels,  
lest an autumn storm of winds  
make havoc on his life.  
The mighty mind of Zeus guides  
the fate of the men he loves.  
I pray that at Olympia he will grant this glory to  
Battus' race.
In Pythian 5 Pindar acclaims the kingship of Arcesilaus, who, because of his noble ancestry and his own heroic character, has been favored by the gods with the ability to rule honorably. Pindar has great respect for Arcesilaus' uprightness; the king's victory in the chariot race at Delphi is one more indication to Pindar that Arcesilaus and his family are truly blessed by heaven and destined for singular renown. One of Arcesilaus' many distinctions is that of wealth, and Pythian 5 begins with an encomium to wealth, ὁ πλοῦτος, which is of far-reaching power and a gift from the gods when combined with unblemished virtue, ἀρετὴ καθαρὴ (1-4):

Ο πλοῦτος εὖρυσθενής,
ὅταν τὶς ἀρετὴ κεκραμένον καθαρὴ
βροτὸς αὐτὸν ἄνηκός ποτίσαντος αὐτὸν ἀνάγη
κολύφιλον ἐπέταν.

Wealth, power and virtue are three possessions of the king which Pindar emphasizes throughout this ode, for he wants to remind Arcesilaus that along with this divinely-sent prosperity comes a definite responsibility to others. This appeal to Arcesilaus to be conscious of the worth of the men around him and of his duty toward them becomes one of the major themes of both Pythian 5 and Pythian 4.

The first four lines of Pythian 5 contain several other essentials in Pindar's message to Arcesilaus. As
a part of his glorification of wealth Pindar adds that a mortal man leads wealth home as a companion or follower who has many friends, πολύφιλον ἐπέταν (4). Pindar personifies wealth as a companion in order to tell Arcesilaus that a man who has riches along with honor is a man who has many friends.¹ This concept of friendship and of being loved and loving (φιλεῖν) is a significant one in the relationships of the people Pindar sings about in these two odes. Another important theme which is introduced is the motif of leading home, suggested in the verb ἀνάγγελ (3). Although Pindar does not actually use a word for "house," he does seem to convey a picture of a man wanting to have wealth near him and leading this companion to his home to be beside him.² With the verb ἀνάγγελ, therefore, I believe Pindar first hints at the idea of homecoming, a primary theme of Pythian 5, and the urgent goal of Pythian 4.

Pindar addresses in line 5 the unnamed mortal of line 3: Ὁ θεόμορφον Ἀρκεσίλα. Arcesilaus is the true object of Pindar's praise, while the tribute to wealth was but an effective foil to the introduction of the king. In the remaining lines of the first strophe


²This usage of the verb ἀνάγγελ is attested in Od. 3.272 (see B. Gildersleeve, The Olympian and Pythian Odes, p. 307). See also the translations of Lattimore and Sandys.
Pindar expands upon the idea that Arcesilaus has been granted his good fortune through the good will of the gods. The adjective θεομορ' recalls πόρμου παραδόντος (3), and at line 9 Pindar states that Arcesilaus has been able to seek riches and fame with the help of Castor of the golden chariot. Pindar refers to Castor for several reasons: he is the patron god of chariot racing (χροσομάρυ) and also of sailors; along with his twin brother Polydeuces, Castor brings calm after a storm at sea. Since Arcesilaus' Pythian victory was in the chariot race, it is very appropriate that Castor be given credit for this triumph. As for Castor's function as a guide to mariners, several interpretations can be offered. In lines 10-11, Pindar adds of Castor:

εὖσαν ὃς μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεὰν
καταστάσει μᾶκαραν ἐστίν.

Many commentators have explained this amplification as an allusion to the political storms that had just recently battered Cyrene.³ Chamoux objects to this political interpretation, however, and believes instead that these lines indicate the time of year in which this ode was sung, the time when the constellation Gemini rises in the

spring after the bad weather of winter. Since there are no other references in this ode to political events at Cyrene, this meaning seems quite plausible. But Pindar may simply be alluding to the hazards of sea travel. Castor and Polydeuces accompanied Jason on his voyage in quest of the Golden Fleece (Pythian 4.171-172), a voyage beset with perils (Pythian 4.70-71). The Dioscuri were worshipped by the people of Cyrene, and this cult was brought to Cyrene from Thera, just as the race of Battus, and thus of Arcesilaus, came to Cyrene by way of Thera (Pythian 4). Thus Pindar seems to be looking forward to the narrative of Pythian 4 in his description of Castor's functions. Another explication concerning Castor is that Pindar may be referring to a calm of happiness that will come over Arcesilaus now that he has gained such a splendid victory, a sentiment he expresses in Olympian 1 as well (97-99): 6

\[ \text{Εν} \text{νικών δὲ λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βιοτον} \\
\text{ἔχει μελιτῶσσαν εὐδίαν} \\
\text{ἀθλοὺς γ' ἑνεκεν.} \]

4F. Chamoux, Cyzène, pp. 181-183.


6R. W. B. Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes, p. 139.
And the victor for the rest of his life
has the sweetest calm
as far as the games are concerned.

When these lines are understood in this way, they underscore the importance of a quiet happiness at home (εὐσταθίον). Again Pindar gives us the picture of a man wishing to enjoy his lot in his own home; it is not by chance that the word εὐσταθίον is the last in the first strophe.

In the first antistrophe Pindar goes on to explain why Arcesilaus has cause to be so joyful. His power comes from the gods, θεόσσον δύναμιν (13), and he has great riches, πολὺς ἐλβος (14), because he walks in righteousness, ἐρχόμενον εὖ ὁίκα (14). Here again Pindar emphasizes Arcesilaus' wealth and might, which he has been allotted by the gods because of his moral uprightness, a theme reiterating the opening lines of the ode. More specifically, Arcesilaus is the king of great cities, and this rule is an ancestral privilege or glory (15-19):

τὸ μὲν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς
ἐσθὶ μεγαλὺν πολίων,
ἐχεί συγγενής
ὁφελόμοις αἰδοιοτάτον γέρας
τεξὶ τούτῳ μειγνύμενον φρενὶ.

Arcesilaus' kingship is an inherited one, a fact which is amplified several times in Pythian 4: Arcesilaus' ancestor Battus was told by Apollo to bring cities to Africa
Thera, the island from which Cyrene was founded, is called the mother-city of great cities (μεγάλων πολίων ματρόπολιν, 19-20); and in her prophecy Medea describes Libya as the root of cities (Ἀστέων βίζαν, 15). Pindar's description of Arcesilaus as the king of great cities, βασιλεύς μεγάλων πολίων, in Pythian 5 looks back to the founding by Battus of Cyrene as the center of a wide dominion, a tale recounted fully in Pythian 4; and the words συγγενῆς γέρας allude to the divine protection and aid accorded to the Battiaid race, a theme prominent in both odes. Another reason why Arcesilaus can rejoice at this time is that he has just won a victory in the Pythian games and the honor of a komos (20-23):

μάκαρ δὲ καὶ γῦν, κλεεννάς ὁτι
εὔχος ἢθη παρὰ Πυθιάδος ἵπποις ἐλῶν
δέδεξα τόνδε κόμων ἀνέρων,
'Απολλώνιον ἀθυρμα·

The importance of song in insuring the victor's fame and therefore his immortality is a theme present in many of Pindar's odes, and it is no less evident in Pythian 5. In this ode, as well as in Pythian 4, the function of the epinician as a means of guaranteeing that the glory of a

victor endure after his death is accentuated by the presence of Apollo, the god of music, the patron god of the Pythian games, and the god whose oracle at Delphi ordered the founding of Cyrene. Delight and skill in song are also marks of a noble hero, traits that are stressed at the ends of both of these odes (Pythian 5.114-116; Pythian 4.295-296).

Accordingly, Pindar advises Arcesilaus, as he is lauded in song, not to forget that the source of this celebration is a god, and that one of Arcesilaus' comrades, who may also be his brother-in-law, is also responsible for this Pythian victory. This friend and relative is Carrhotus, Arcesilaus' charioteer in the race. Pindar's admonition to Arcesilaus, μὴ λαθέτω ..., φιλεῖν δὲ Κάρρωτον ἔξοχ' ἑταῖρων (23-26), echoes several of the sentiments found in the first lines of the ode. Arcesilaus must not think only of himself, but rather he should also acknowledge the deeds and worth of others. The words φιλεῖν and ἑταῖρων recall the words πολὺφιλον ἐπέταμ of the first sentence; the importance of friendship cannot be overlooked. This mention of Carrhotus at the beginning of the first epode introduces a passage of thirty lines paying tribute to

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8 See below, pp. 32-33.
Carrhotus and describing in detail the athletic contest itself. This passage has puzzled many commentators, for Pindar very rarely devotes space to an account of the games themselves. It has been stated that Carrhotus "occupies almost as important a place as Arcesilaus himself," and one explanation that has been offered for this is that "such details were doubtless nominated in the bond." Perhaps a request was made by Arcesilaus that Pindar pay a special tribute to Carrhotus, since there was a terrible accident during the race and only Carrhotus, with great daring, reached the finish-line. But a closer examination of this passage will show that Pindar has very cleverly complied with this demand, if there was one; he has made the feat of Carrhotus serve as an illustration to Arcesilaus of the effect of quick-thinking courage. Pindar's initial description of Carrhotus is very telling (27-33):

ος ου ταν Ἐπιμαθέους ἄγων
ψυνοι θυγατέρα Πρόφασιν Βαττιδάν
ἀφηνε τό δόμους θεοίκριταντων;
ἀλλ' ἀρισθάρματον
ὑδατι Κασταλίας ξενωθείς γέρας ἀμφέθαλε τεατίν
κόμαις;
ἀκηράτοις ἀνίατος
ποδαρκέων δώδεκ' ἄν ὀρόμων τέμενος.

9 R. W. B. Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes, p. 137.
Pindar does not yet recount the details of the mishap on the race course, but he begins at the end, by stating that Carrhotus returned home, and that he did not bring with him Excuse, the daughter of After-Thought, wise too late (27-29). Pindar's personification of Ἀντεργνώμονας as the daughter of Epimetheus seems strange at first, but this sentiment may ultimately come from the proverb ἀγὼν πρόφασιν οὐκ ἐπιδεχέσται οὐτε φιλίη: "neither contest nor friendship admit of excuse." If Carrhotus had been injured or killed, he still would not have had any excuse for not winning the race, because Excuse is ὑποστοχος, late-observant or remiss. The representation of Excuse as a person serves to underscore Pindar's message, and his use of the harsh adjective ὑποστοχος to characterize Excuse reports the cruel reality of the way things are when a person makes a mistake or fails. In his sketch of the actual crash of chariots (49-51) Pindar gives the impression that if Carrhotus had delayed one second longer in swerving to miss the pileup of chariots and horses, he would have been too late. The picture of delay and of being too late, so vividly drawn here, becomes a very dominant theme in the story of the setbacks which

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plagued the founding of Cyrene and the Argonautic expedition in Pythian 4. Carrhotus acted quickly, and so he was able to return home, his mission accomplished. The words ἄφεστο ὁμοίως (29) are very striking, for they indicate to us the one act of Carrhotus that Pindar considers most crucial. At the conclusion of his tribute to Carrhotus Pindar again tells us that the charioteer was able to return to Libya and to his home city (52-53):

Ἡθες ἐν Λιβύσι πεδίου ἐξ ἀγλαίων ἀεθλῶν καὶ πατρίδαν πόλιν.

Pindar encircles the account of the prowess of Carrhotus with the one achievement which is the most crucial: Carrhotus' homecoming.

A victor's return home is one of the most important events associated with his success, as evident in several of Pindar's other odes. It is upon his return to his homeland that the victor receives the praise and glory which were the main objects of his participation in the games; there is no great prize of money waiting for the winner, but merely a simple wreath of olive, bay or celery leaves. This wreath the victor receives at the site of the games; the greater prize of honor and fame,
which will endure even after his death, is the reward which manifests itself upon his return to his family and friends, who take great pride in his accomplishment. Celebration and recognition are reserved for the winner alone; there are no second and third prizes, and no excuses or sympathy for the losers. The significance of the victor's illustrious nostos, in contrast to the agonizing defeat of those who lost in the games, is emphasized twice by Pindar in other odes. In Pythian 8 Pindar describes the disgrace felt by four youths who were defeated by Aristomenes in the wrestling-match; they did not enjoy the happy homecoming granted to Aristomenes for his prowess (81-87):

\[
\text{τέτρας; δ' ἐμπέτες ὑψόθεν}
\]
\[
\text{σωμάτεσσι κακᾶ φρονέων,}
\]
\[
\text{τοῖς οὖσι νόστος ὄμος}
\]
\[
\text{ἐπαλπόνος ἐν Πυθιδίῳ κρηθείη.}
\]
\[
\text{οὗδε μολόντων πάρ ματέρ' ἀμφὶ γέλως γλυκὺς}
\]
\[
\text{φρονὲν χάριν· κατὰ λαύρας δ' ἐξήρθην ἄποροι}
\]
\[
\text{πτάσοντι, ὁμφορῇ δεδαγμένοι.}
\]

And you fell on top of four bodies, meaning them harm, for whom no happy homecoming was ordained at the Pythian festival, nor as they returned to their mothers did sweet laughter arouse delight. But along back ways in fear of enemies they shrink, wounded by their misfortune.

In a similar picture in Olympian 8 Pindar tells us that the nostos of the losers of this wrestling-match was
most hateful in comparison to the winner's (67-69):

ος τυχα μεν δαμονος, άνορεας δ' όμι άμπλασον,
εν τετρασιν παιδων άπεθήκατο γυνοις
νόστου εξοθου και άτιμοσεαν γλώσσοιν και
έπικρυφον όμον.

He, by the good fortune of the gods, and
not failing in courage,
he forced on the bodies of four youths
a most hateful homecoming, no honorable
speech, a secret path.

Two additional statements, although much briefer,
further indicate the prestige connected with a victorious
homecoming. In Nemean 2 Pindar commands Timodemus' fellow-citizens to honor him with a song of triumph as he returns in glory (24):

τόν, οι πολιται, καμάξατε Τιμοδημφ
ούν εύκλετ' νόστῳ.

Sing praises of him, citizens, at the glorious homecoming of Timodemus.

In Pythian 1 Pindar compares the return home of the victor to the prosperous return of seamen (35):

και τελευτη φερτὼν νόστου τυφεῖν.

And in the end they may gain a prosperous return home.

Nemean 11, which is not a true epinician but an ode in honor of Aristagoras' installation as president of the Council of Tenedos, also contains a statement which reveals
the great distinction associated with a victor's nostos. As an additional declaration of praise Pindar claims that if it had not been for the fear of his parents, Aristagoras would have been a victor in the Pythian and Olympian games, and he adds that Aristagoras would surely have returned home with greater glory than his rivals (26):

κάλλιον ἄν ὡν ζηρίστων ἕνδυσε στρατήν ἀντιπόλων,

He would have returned home in greater glory than his rivals.

Finally, in one further statement about the nostos of a victor, Pindar employs a nautical metaphor to acclaim the prowess of the winner. He asserts in Nemean 3 that Aristocleides has embarked on the highest achievements of courage (20); but Aristocleides must know his limit, just as Herakles knew to turn back when he reached the pillars of Herakles (25):

πομπιμον κατέβας νόστου τέλος,

He reached the limit to guide him home.

This limit was a guide to a safe return home, which should always be the goal of Aristocleides as well. These six accounts of the nostoi of other victors serve to enhance the great importance Pindar attaches to Carrhotus' return home; but none of the above descriptions
of other victories and homecomings is as elaborate as Pindar's narration of Carrhotus' achievement. The fact that Carrhotus was the only charioteer to reach the finish-line and escape injury is an additional reason for Arcesilaus to be thankful for Carrhotus' victory. Carrhotus' swift action in the face of danger is as significant in the eyes of Pindar as is the fact that he won the race. The combination of Carrhotus' quick response to peril and his glorious return home is what Pindar wishes Arcesilaus to comprehend and keep in mind.

After Pindar tells us that Carrhotus came home, he goes on to say that Carrhotus was welcomed back beside the water of Castalia and that he dedicated his equipment in a sanctuary in Cyrene as a memorial and an offering for his victory (30-42). One of the key words in this account is ξενωθείς (31), "welcomed;" a warm reception is an essential part of a happy homecoming. Hospitality, or lack of it, is a sign of a good or bad relationship between men, and an indication of actions to follow. Arcesilaus was happy to welcome the komos of men celebrating his Pythian victory (20-22):

μὴν δὲ καὶ νῦν, κλεεννᾶς ὅτι
εὕχος ἢ ἢ παρὰ Πυθιαδὸς ἕκκοι ἐλὼν
δεδέξατο τόνδε κῶμον, ἀνέρων,

Pindar also tells Arcesilaus that it is fitting to
welcome the doer of a good deed (Carrhotus) with a ready mind (43-44):

δέκαντι τοὺςν πρέπει
νόθ τὸν εὐεργέταν ὑπαντίδσαι.

Furthermore, Pindar calls Cyrene a light shining most brightly for strangers: δύμα τε φανενότατον / ἦνοις (57-58). Cyrene gladly welcomes not only Carrhotus, but strangers as well, and men's reactions to other people, especially to strangers, is a recurring motif in Pythian 5, and to a greater degree in Pythian 4.

One last comment on this passage devoted to Carrhotus is appropriate. In the brief but very vivid and intense summaries of the fatal collision of chariots on the course, there is an overall sensation of death, daring, speed and excitement:

ἀχράτοις ἀνίκας
ποδαρκέων δόθηκ' ἀν ὀργών τέμενος.

(32-33)

ἐν τευσσαράκοντα γὰρ
πετόντεσσιν ἀνίδχοις ὀλον
ξύρων κομίζας ἀταρβεῖ φρενίς.

(49-51)

This feeling of adventure and risk is not unlike the atmosphere surrounding the voyage of Jason and his men described in Pythian 4. Indeed, the other picture of
speed and challenge in Pythian 5 is that of Battus, Arcesilaus' ancestor, as he led colonizers across the open sea to Cyrene (85-88), an event detailed in Pythian 4. One cannot help associating the speed of Carrhotus' chariot with the speed of the ship of Battus and of the Argo. Considering the above analysis of Pindar's encomium to Carrhotus, I do not think that it can be stated with any conviction that this passage is included merely to comply with the request of Arcesilaus to sing great praise of his brother-in-law because of his outstanding athletic accomplishment. Carrhotus' feat symbolizes all that is noble and heroic, and he occupies as important a place as Arcesilaus in this ode because he acted quickly and because his victory meant his glorious, well-deserved return home, his νόστος.

In the second epode Pindar turns to a brief history of Cyrene and to Battus, the founder of Cyrene; his mission of colonization was also a kind of νόστος, a search for the homeland of the future Battia line which eventually produced Arcesilaus. Apollo was the god whose oracle told Battus to found Cyrene, and in lines 63-69 Pindar gives a list of Apollo's gifts to mankind:

\[\text{ὅ καὶ βαρσίλιν νόστον}
\text{ἀκέρατ' ἀνθρωπος καὶ γυναιξὶ νέμει,}
\text{πόρεν τε κίθαριν, δίκαιον τε μοῦ σαν ὅς ἂν ἔθελη,}
\text{ἀπόλεμον ἀγαφήν}
\text{ἐς πραπτάς εὐνομῶν,}\]
These gifts, the power for curing diseases, the cithara and the Muse, and good order without war, are important and necessary characteristics of any noble people in the eyes of Pindar. Later in this ode Pindar again cites the healing powers given by Apollo: Ἀπόλλωνι τινὰ ἀλέξιμβρότοις πορπατές (90-91), and in his appeal to Arcesilaus to recall the exiled Damophilus in Pythian 4, Pindar calls the king a most timely healer who can take care of a festering wound: ιατὴρ ἐπικαρδότατος ... τρώμαν ἔλκεος ἀμφιπολεῖν (270-271). The gift of music is an even more significant bequest, for the word μουσικὴ embodies in it the ideas of harmony and tranquillity as symbolized by the music of the lyre, which in turn leads to ἀπόλεμον εὐνομίαν. The relationship between music and peace is expressed several times by Pindar in his odes, the most famous passage being his glorification of the lyre at the opening of Pythian 1:

Χρυσὰ φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἱοπλοκάμων σύνδικον Μοίσιον κτέανον.

Golden lyre, of Apollo and the violet-haired Muses a joint possession.

(1-2)

καὶ γὰρ βιατὰς "Ἀρης, τραχεῖαν ἄνευθε λίπων

- ἐγχέων ἀκράν, ἡλιγνεὶ καρδίαν
κατὰ, κήλα δὲ καὶ δαίμόνων θέλγει φρένας, ἀμφὶ
tε λατοφίδα σοφία βαθυκόλπων τε Μοῖσαν.

For even strong Ares,
setting aside the savage
point of his spears, warms his heart
in deep sleep, and the shafts (of music)
soothe even the minds of the gods,
by the grace of the skill of Leto's son
and the deep-bosomed Muses.  
(10-12)

Hence Pindar often attributes a love and appreciation
of music to the friends he praises.  This he does for
Arcesilaus in Pythian 5.114:

ἐν τε Μοίσαις ποτανὸς ἀπὸ ματρὸς φίλας,

and for Damophilus in the closing lines of Pythian 4
where he again associates the harmony of music with
peace (295-297): 14

The final blessing of Apollo to the Battiaid race is the
Delphic oracle (69), which was the principal cause of
the foundation of Cyrene.  Oracles and prophecies are
major elements in the history of Cyrene, and Pindar not
only mentions them in this ode as a part of a general

14 See also Olympian 1.14-15 and Pythian 6.49.
glorification of the family of Arcesilaus; he also employs the idea of prophecies and their fulfillment for a unique plot-structure in *Pythian 4,*¹⁵ to be discussed in detail in the next chapter. This description of Apollo is therefore more than a simple catalogue of his various functions in relation to mankind. Pindar's eulogy of Apollo's aid and guidance to the Battiads is at the center of this ode. Pindar has lauded in succession Arcesilaus (1-25), Carrhotus (26-54), Battus (56-62) and now Apollo (63-69); he will go on to pay further tribute to Battus (70-95), to Battus' successors (96-103), and finally to Arcesilaus once more (103-123). Apollo and his gifts are at the core of this ring-composition of praise, so that the kingship of Arcesilaus, divinely sanctioned for many generations, and the obligations that accompany such rule, are given special emphasis.

Pindar next proceeds to another review of the origins of Cyrene and the deeds of Battus. Pindar states that he must sing of the glory of his own forefathers, who came from Sparta and helped to colonize Thera, from which Cyrene was eventually settled. This indicates an added personal interest on the part of Pindar in Cyrene

and her beginnings. What is more, Pindar recounts an obscure legend that before the arrival of Battus Cyrene had been settled by Antenor and his followers after the Trojan war. Many years later these heroes, called ξένοι by Pindar, were worshipped at their tombs by Battus and his men. Pindar states that Battus and his men, bearing gifts, welcomed these heroes with sacrifices (82-88):

εἴχοντες τὰν χαλκοχάρμαν ἔνοι
Τρώης Ἀρτανορίδας σὺν Ἑλένη γὰρ µύλον,
κατεχθένταν πάτραν ἐπεὶ ἔδον
ἐν Ἀρείῳ τῷ 5 ἐλάσιππον ἑθνὸς ἐνδυκέως
δεξιόντας θυσίασιν ἄνδρες οἰκνέοντες σφε δαρμοφόροι,
tοὺς Ἀριστοτέλης ἀγαγε γαυσὶ θοᾶς
ἀλὸς βαδεῖν κέλευθον ἄνοιγων.

Pindar seems to have included this little-known story in Cyrene’s past as another example of hospitality and the treatment of strangers; Arcesilaus’ ancestors readily accepted these earlier settlers as native heroes who were truly part of Cyrene’s heritage. In turn, Arcesilaus and the people of Cyrene are now honoring Battus and his successors with Pindar’s song celebrating the king’s Pythian victory (94-103), for this athletic triumph is a sign that their race has been especially blessed by the gods: σφόν ἀλμὸν υἱῷ τε κοινὰν χάριν / ἐνοικίων
t’ Ἀρκεσίλᾳ (102-103). The word ἀλμὸν here recalls the first word of this ode, ὅ πλούτος, and since
Pindar states that the ancient kings' wealth stems from their joy at the great virtue, μεγάλα ἀρετα (98), of their descendant Arcesilaus, again Pindar associates wealth with virtue: 'Ὁ πλούτος ἀρετή κεκρομένος καιθαρὰ (1). Arcesilaus' prosperity consists not only of material riches, but also of spiritual and moral wealth.

The indigenous noble character of Arcesilaus and his ancestors is therefore the one factor which has gained prosperity and fame for them. In the final triad Pindar presents a second tribute to Arcesilaus and to his nobility. Pindar says that he is repeating what has been said by others about the king, but his description is not a mere repetition of common talk; rather it is a very vivid, brief and striking character-sketch in the Pindaric manner (109-117):

κρέσσονα μὲν ἄλκιβας
νόον φερβεταί
γλῶσσαν τε· ἑδρογος δε· τανύπτερος
ἐν ὄργισι· αἰετός ἐξεπτετο·
ἀγωνίας δ'· ἐρμος οίον· σφένος·
ἐν τε ἰμόσαις· ποτανός ἀπο· ματρὸς· φίλας·
πεφαντας· θ'· ἀρματηλάτας· σφόδρας·
όσαι τ'· εἰσίν· ἐπίχωριϊν· καλῶν· ἔσοδος·
tetòlmakè.

Pindar praises Arcesilaus' wisdom, eloquence, courage, strength, aptitude in the arts, and ability in chariot racing. This picture of Arcesilaus is much more personal than the majestic introduction, and it is a very fitting
conclusion to an ode in honor of a man whom Pindar believes to be a righteous king, capable of fulfilling his obligations and of keeping good order. But Pindar does not end on this note of great praise. Pindar adds a prayer to the gods to continue granting Arcesilaus such good fortune, and to not allow an autumn gale to wreak havoc on his life (118-121):

This Χειμερία πνοὰ calls to mind the Χειμέριος ὠμβρος of the first strophe, and also echoes the sentiment of line 54:

This possibility of a reversal of fortune at any moment is a theme common to many of Pindar's odes and to Greek literature in general, and it stands as a serious warning to Arcesilaus not to wallow in his power and glory without thinking about what may happen in the future. Pindar concludes with a plea to Zeus to grant Arcesilaus and the race of Battus one more honor, a victory at the Olympic games (122-124):
Pindar describes the great mind of Zeus as φίλων; again the importance of love and friendship is brought to the foreground. One other word that is very significant here is κυβερνητα; Zeus acts as a helmsman, a guide for men, and I believe Pindar has purposely chosen such a nautical verb in an ode having little to do with the sea in order to look forward to the major nautical theme of Pythian 4, where Jason and his men will need a good deal of guidance on their long journey. The very last words of this ode also point to Pythian 4: γέρας ἐπὶ Βάττου γένεται (124). In Pythian 5 Pindar goes back no further than Battus in his tale of the foundation of Cyrene; but the story begins much earlier, with Euphemus and the Argonauts, and Pindar recounts the history of Arcesilaus’ ancestors before Battus in his second ode for Arcesilaus’ Pythian victory, Pythian 4.
CHAPTER II

PYTHIAN 4

Today halt at the side of a friend,
the king of Cyrene, renowned for horses, so that,
as Arcesilaus celebrates,
Muse, you may swell the fair wind of songs owed
to Leto's children and to Pytho,
where once the priestess, sitting beside the
golden eagles of Zeus,
at a time when Apollo was not far away,
prophesied that Battus would be the founder of
fruit-bearing Libya,
how, immediately leaving his sacred island, he
might found
a city of noble chariots on a shining breast of
land,

and fulfill the word of Medea
at Thera in the seventeenth generation, which the
raging daughter of Aeetes
breathed forth from her immortal mouth, the
queen of the Colchians. In this way she
spoke
to the demigod warriors of the spearman Jason:
"Listen, sons of high-spirited men and of gods:
I say that from this sea-beaten land the daughter
of Epaphus some day
will be planted as a root of cities cared for by
men
amid the foundations of Zeus Ammon.

After exchanging short-winged dolphins for swift
horses,
and oars for reins, they will steer chariots of
whirlwind speed.
That prophecy will bring it to pass that of great
cities
Thera will become the mother city, an omen which once, at the mouth of lake Triton, from a god in the guise of a man, offering earth as a gift of hospitality, Euphemus received after jumping down from the prow. And at this Cronian Zeus the father clashed his auspicious thunder.

It was when we were hanging the bronze-toothed anchor on the side of the ship, the bridle of the swift Argo, that he came. Before then for twelve days from the Ocean we had carried over lonely ridges of land our timber of the sea, for we had drawn it up on land at my counselling. Then the god, alone, came near with the radiant appearance of a venerable man, and with friendly words did he begin to speak, just as do noble men to strangers who visit when they announce dinner first.

But the plea of our sweet return home prevented us from lingering. He said that he was Eurypylus, the son of the immortal earth-upholding earthshaker; and he realized that we were in a hurry; after quickly snatching up some soil, whatever came to hand, he gave it to Euphemus as a gift of friendship. Nor did Euphemus refuse, but the hero leaped ashore, and clasping hand to hand, he received the fateful clod of earth. But I hear that it was washed overboard going into the sea along with the spray at evening, following the wet sea. To be sure I often urged the labor-lightening servants to guard it; but their minds were forgetful. And now to this island the immortal seed of wide Libya is thrown before its time. For if he had thrown it under that earth at his home
at the mouth of Hades, coming to Taenaron,-
Euphemus,
royal son of Poseidon, ruler of horses,
and whom Europa the daughter of Tityos bore
beside the banks of Cephisus—
then after the fourth generation came into being
his blood would have taken hold of this wide
continent with the Danaans. For then
men will emigrate from great Lacedaemon, from
the gulf of Argos and from Mycenae.
Now, as things are, it is in the beds of foreign
women that he will find
a chosen race, who with the aid of the gods,
after coming to this island, will produce a man
to be
lord of the plains black with clouds. This man
one day
Apollo, in his golden house, will mention in
oracles,
when, at a later time, he comes down to the
temple of Pytho,
to bring cities in ships to the fertile precinct
of the Nile, the son of Cronus." 
Such were the rows of Medea's words, and,
crouched motionless in silence,
the godlike heroes listened to her profound
counsel.
O blessed son of Polymnastos, it was you, in
accordance with this word
of prophecy, the Delphic bee exalted in
spontaneous outcry;
she who three times proclaimed you as destined
to be king of Cyrene,
when you were asking what release from the gods
there could be for your ill-sounding
voice.
To be sure, thereafter and now, just as in the
prime of a spring with purple flowers,
eighth in line blooms Arcesilaus.
To him did Apollo and Pytho grant glory in the
chariot race from among those who dwelt
around.
And I shall restore him and
the ram's golden fleece to the Muses; for when
the Minyae set sail in quest of it, then were
heaven-sent honors planted for his race.

For what was the first cause of their voyage? What danger bound them with strong bolts of adamant? It was prophesied that Pelias would die by the hands of the proud Aeolidae or by their unbending counsels. The chilling oracle came to his shrewd heart, spoken beside the center stone of well-wooded mother earth; by all means to be on his guard against a one-sandalled man, whenever he should come down from the high homes into the far-seen land of famous Iolcus,

whether stranger or citizen. And indeed in time he came, an awe-inspiring man with two spears; and he wore two styles of clothing, the native Magnesian, closely fitting his admirable limbs, and he was covered by a leopard skin from shivering rains; nor were his shining locks of hair cut off and gone, but they floated down his entire back. And immediately he quickly went and stood, in test of his unflinching spirit, in the agora, filled with a crowd.

And no one knew him; nevertheless, as they were looking on in awe, one spoke: "He is surely not Apollo, not the bronze-chariot husband of Aphrodite; in bright Naxos they say the sons of Iphimeadeia died, Otus, and you, bold king Ephialtes. And the swift arrow of Artemis hunted down Tityos, rushed from her unconquerable quiver, so that a man might desire to touch loves only within his reach."

They were exchanging such words with each other; headlong
in his polished chariot, driving his mules, Pelias came speeding; and immediately he was astonished, gazing at the infamous sandal alone, on the man's right foot. Hiding fear in his heart he spoke, "What country, stranger, do you boast as your homeland? What groundling bore you from her old belly? Tell me of your birth without defiling it with hateful lies."

Courageously, and with gentle words he answered in this manner: "I say that I shall give proof of Cheiron's education. I come from his cave, from the presence of Charilco and Philyra, where the pure daughters of the Centaur raised me. After completing twenty years, saying nothing devious to them in deed or in word, I have come to my home to recover the ancient kingship of my father now held unlawfully, an honor which Zeus once granted to lord Aeolus and to his sons.

For I hear that lawless Pelias, yielding to his envious mind violently robbed my parents, rightful rulers. To be sure when I first saw the light, fearing the insolence of an arrogant ruler, they made dark mourning as if for someone dead in the house, mixed with the wailing of women; secretly they sent me away in purple swaddling clothes, sharing the road with night, and they gave me to Cheiron, son of Cronus, to rear.

But you know the main points of my story. Show me clearly, dear citizens, the home of my fathers of the white horses. For as the son of Aeson, a native, I have come to no strange land. The divine beast called me by the name Jason." So he spoke; as he entered, his father's eyes recognized him; and tears gushed forth from his ancient eyelids; he rejoiced with all his heart upon seeing his son,
the choicest and noblest of men.

And Aeson's two brothers both came
at the news of Jason; soon Pheres left the
    Hypereian fountain,
and Amythaon from Messene; and quickly Admetus
    came and Melampus,
feeling kindly toward their cousin. As they
shared in the banquet,
Jason, welcoming them with gentle words, and
offering befitting hospitality, stretched out
all the festivity
for five whole days and nights, plucking the
sacred flower of good living.

But on the sixth day in earnest the hero shared
the whole story from the beginning
with his kinsmen; they followed; quickly he rose
up from the hut
along with them; they came to the palace of
Pelias;
hastening, they stood inside; when he heard
them
he himself, the son of the lovely-haired Tyro,
met them; and Jason,
with a soothing voice and letting fall gentle
words,
laid the foundation of wise words: "Son of
Poseidon of the rock,

the minds of mortals are more quick
to praise crafty gain instead of justice,
although they creep along toward a harsh
reckoning;
But you and I must, as we rule our tempers with
right, weave prosperity for the future.
I will tell you what you already know; one
heifer
was the mother of Cretheus
and daring Salmoneus; and in the third generation
we were planted from them, we who now look upon
the golden light of the sun.
The Fates stand aside if anyone is hostile to his
kinsmen and thus disregards shame.

It is not fitting for the two of us to divide the
great honor of our forefathers
by means of bronze swords or javelins. As for
the flocks
and yellow herds of cattle and all the fields,
I hand them over to you, who, having
robbed my parents, hold on to them and feed fat
on the wealth.
And it does not irk me at all that they provide
your household with too much.
But, as for the royal sceptre and throne, upon
which Cretheus' son once
sat guiding his horsemen with justice,
these at least, without sorrow on either side
release to us, so that no fresher evil rises up
from them."
So he spoke, and softly did Pelias reply: "I
will be
as you wish; but already the old part of life
follows me; but the bloom of youth now swells
in you; you have the power to remove
the wrath of the gods below. For Phrixus
commands that his soul be recovered
by going to the halls of Aeetes
and bring back the thick-fleeced skin of the
ram, upon which he was once saved from the
sea
and from the godless arrows of his step-mother.
Such things a wondrous dream speaks loudly to me.
I have consulted the oracle at Castalia
whether this matter ought to be searched out
further; and it orders me as quickly as
possible to make ready for his return
home by ship.
Willingly carry out this task; and sole rule
and kingship I swear to give up to you. As a
mighty
oath, may the Zeus of our common ancestors be my
witness."
They approved such an agreement and departed;
And Jason himself quickly
sent out messengers to tell everyone
there would be a voyage. And quickly the
three weariless sons of Cronian Zeus by
Alcmene and bright-eyed Leda came, and two
long-haired
heroes, offspring of the earthshaker, honoring
strength,
from Pylos and the summit of Taenarus; and noble
honor
was achieved by both Euphemus and you, wide-
powered Periclymenus;
Apollo's own lyre-player, the father of songs
came, famous Orpheus.

And Hermes of the golden-wand sent his two sons
on this unabating labor,
Exion and Eurytus, exulting youth. Swiftly
came those living at the foot of Pangeos;
for willingly, with a happy heart, and swiftly
did the king of the winds,
father Boreas, equip Zetus and Calais, men
with both of their backs bristling with purple
feathers.
An all-persuasive sweet desire was enkindled in
the demigods by Hera

for the ship Argo, so that no one would be left
behind
to stay by his mother's side cherishing a life with
no danger, but even in the face of death
he will find the best medicine for his excellence
in the company of comrades.
When the flower of seamen came down into Iolcus,
Jason counted and praised them. Next
the seer, prophesying with birds and sacred lots,
Mopsus, earnestly launched the host. When they
hung the anchor over the prow,

taking a golden goblet in his hands
the leader at the stern called to Zeus, the
thunderbolt-hurling father of the sons
of heaven, and to the swift
rushings of waves and the winds, to the nights
and paths of the sea,
to propitious days and to the cherished fate of
a return home;
from the clouds answered the auspicious sound
of thunder; and bright beams of lightening came
breaking forth.
The heroes breathed easy as they stood, trusting
in the signs of the god.
The seer ordered them to take the oars, inspiring them with sweet hopes. Ceaseless rowing kept on under their swift palms. Sent on by the breezes of Notus, to the mouth of the In hospitable Sea they came; there they established a holy precinct of Poseidon of the sea; a dark red herd of Thracian bulls was there and a newly built hollow altar stone. As they went on into deep peril they beseeched the lord of ships, so that they might escape the irresistible onset of the clashing rocks. For they were two, and alive, which tossed more quickly than the ranks of the loud-roaring wind; but their death that voyage of the demigods achieved. Then to Phasis they sailed, where they mixed strength with the black-faced Colchians beside Aeetes himself. And the queen of swift arrows, the many-colored wryneck from Olympus, yoked to a four-spoked continuous wheel, this raving bird the Cyprus-born goddess brought first to men, and taught the wise son of Aeson prayers and charms so that he might rob Medea of respect for her parents, and a longing for Hellas might drive her, mind aflame, with the whip of Persuasion. And quickly she revealed the trials of her father's tasks; with oil she concocted antidotes against severe pains and gave them to him to anoint himself. They pledged to join with each other in mutual sweet marriage. But when Aeetes set up in their midst the adamantine plough
and oxen, which breathed forth from their tawny jaws the flame of burning fire, and struck the ground in turn with their brazen hoofs, he led them and brought them under the yoke alone, stretching out straight furrows, he drove them, and clave a ridge of clodded earth one fathom deep. He spoke as follows: "This task let the king, whoever he is who commands the ship, complete for me, and let him carry away the immortal hide, the bright fleece with its golden fringe."

After he spoke Jason threw off his saffron cloak, and trusting in god set to the task; and the fire did not cause him to waver, because of the counsels of the strange woman skilled in all charms; snatching up the plough, and binding the necks of the oxen by necessity in the harness, and thrusting into their stout frame the unwearied goad, the strong hero accomplished the allotted task. Aeetes shouted, although in voiceless anguish, amazed at Jason's ability.

His comrades stretched forth their friendly hands toward the strong hero, and with garlands of grass crowned him, with gentle words greeting him. At once the wondrous son of Helios spoke of the shining fleece, telling where the knives of Phrixus stretched it out. He hoped that this labor he could not accomplish. For it lay in a thicket, held by the violent jaws of a serpent, which in thickness and height surpassed fifty men, built by blows of iron.

It's too long for me to travel the high-road by chariot; time presses; and I know a short cut; I am a guide of poetry for many others.
He killed the green-eyed serpent with various colors on its back by means of guile; Arcesilaus, and stole Medea with her own help, the death of Pelias; They mingled with the streams of Ocean and the Red Sea and the race of Lemnian women, husband-murderers. There they showed the strength of their limbs in athletic contests, for a prize of raiment.

And they slept with them. And in foreign fields at that time were the seeds of your bright prosperity received by that fated day, day or nights. For there the race of Euphemus was planted and came forth for all time. And after mingling with the customs of the Lacedaemonians, at some later time they emigrated to the Callistean island; from there, for you, the son of Leto caused the plain of Libya to increase with honors from the gods, to rule over the divine city of golden-throned Cyrene, after you found right counsel.

Now know the wisdom of Oedipus; for if someone, with a sharp-cutting axe, were to cut off the branches of a mighty oak, were to defile its beautiful form, bereft of its fruit, it would give proof concerning itself, if ever it comes to a wintry fire at last, or, resting against the upright pillars of a lord’s palace, it tends to its slavish toil amid foreign walls, having abandoned its own place.

You are a most timely healer, and the god of healing honors your light. It is necessary to apply a gentle hand in attending an ulcerous wound. It is easy to shake down a city, even for the feeble; but to set it up in its place again becomes a
difficult struggle, unless suddenly
a god becomes a guiding helmsman for its rulers.
For you the Graces are finishing their weaving.
Be patient in devoting all of your attention to
blessed Cyrene.

Of the sayings of Homer heed this one
and take it to heart: that a noble messenger is
one who brings the greatest honor to
everything he does;
Even the Muse is exalted by a true message.
Cyrene knew,
as did the most glorious hall of Battus, the
righteous
heart of Damophilus. For he is a young man among
boys,
but in counsels he is an elder who has lived one
hundred years,
he robs an evil tongue of its clear voice,
he has learned to hate a man who is insolent,

and he does not contend with nobles,
nor does he prolong any accomplishment. For the
right time has a brief limit in the hands
of men.
He knows this well; he is its attendant, not its
slave. But they say that it is
most grievous, knowing the good, by necessity
to be beyond it. Indeed that Atlas
struggles now with the heavens, far from his
fatherland and from his possessions.
But immortal Zeus did free Titans. And in
time,
as the wind ceases, there are changes

in the sails. But he prays, having drained out
his baneful misery, someday
to see his home, and drinking near Apollo's
fountain,
to give over his heart to youth often, and among
his wise
fellow-citizens, lifting up his cunningly wrought
lyre, to touch peace,
offering trouble to no man, and he himself suffering
none from the townspeople.
And he might tell you, Arcesilaus,
what kind of fountain of immortal words he found
recently when he was at Thebes welcomed.
Pindar begins **Pythian 4** with an intricate and lengthy sentence, a fitting introduction to an ode of considerable complexity and scope (1-12):

Σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ στάμεν, εὐπόπου βασιλῆι Κυράνας,
ὁφρα καπάλιον τὰ σὺν Ἀρκεσίλα,
Μοῖσα, Λατοῦδος ἀπειλόμενον Πυθανί
τ' αὔξης οὐρον ὑπεν,
ἐγένετο χρυσαγων Δίος αἰετῶν πάραδρος
οὐκ ἀποδόμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος ἱέρεα
χρήσεν οἰκιστήρα Βάττον καρποφόρου
Λιβύας, ἱεράν,
πάσον ὡς ἤδη λυπών, κτισσεῖν εὐάγραμαν
πόλιν ἐν ἄρχοντες μαστή,
καὶ τὸ Ἕλεσίας ἐκος ἀγκομίσας
ἐβύβας καὶ σὺν δεκάτα γενεύς θηραίον,
Αίητα το ποτε ἱμενης
παῖς ἀπενεσ' ἀθανατοῦ στόματος,
δέσποινα Κόλχων εἴπε δ' οὕτως
ημεθεοσίαν Ἐιδονος αἰχματάδο
ναυτᾶς.

The first words of the ode, Σάμερον μὲν, announce one of the principal themes of this epinician time. Commentators have attempted to uncover in **Pythian 5** an antithesis (with ὅς) to these words which would aid in determining which of the two odes was sung first.¹ But if Pindar intended Σάμερον μὲν to be correlative to another phrase of time modified by ὅς, then such a phrase would be evident at the opening of **Pythian 5**. It is not, however, and therefore the purpose of the first words of **Pythian 4** must be for an emphasis of a different kind. The particle μὲν can also be employed absolutely

to express certainty,² and a definite sense of surety is conveyed by Pindar's emphatic command to the Muse to stand beside a friend: χρή σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ στήμεν. There seems to be an air of necessity and urgency in Pindar's request, an urgency which will be defined in the rest of the poem. It is also in what follows that the real antithesis to Σάμερον μὲν can be found. Pindar tells the Muse that she must stand beside one man now, today, as this man celebrates his Pythian victory; this man's triumph was possible because of the inherent nobility of his family, a family whose history began many generations ago. Pindar recounts the history of this man's ancestors in the body of the ode, and then he returns to the present day in his conclusion. Pindar is therefore correlating the special celebration of today with happenings in the past, and this importance of time as a series of events which profoundly influence the lives of men will be emphasized again and again as this ode progresses.

Two other aspects of Pindar's appeal to the Muse are significant. First of all, Pindar tells the Muse to stand beside a man who is a friend: παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ. The position of this phrase at the end of the first line

indicates the importance of this attribute in the man who is being honored. Friendship and hospitality, two characteristics essential for the peaceful relationships emphasized in Pythian 5, are also qualities necessary for the successful establishment and preservation of the house of Cyrene, as Pindar proves in the ensuing myth. Pindar also asks that the Muse swell the storm of songs owed to the children of Leto and to Pytho as payment and thanks for Arcesilaus' Pythian victory. This nautical metaphor of a gale of songs, οὐράνιον ζυγών(3), not found elsewhere in Greek poetry, is the first indication that Pindar sees his poem in honor of Arcesilaus as a kind of journey with a mission of its own, just as the ode's chief myth concerns the Argonautic voyage with its mission of finding the Golden Fleece and then of returning home.

With the mention of Pytho, by employing the temporal conjunction ἔως (4), Pindar immediately and very skilfully takes his listeners back from the

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4 Pindar's view of this ode as a journey of his own is revealed more explicitly in lines 247-248, and these lines will be discussed in more detail below. If the verb στραφεῖν of line 2 can be interpreted as meaning "to halt" rather than simply "to stand," then perhaps Pindar reveals more immediately his feeling that his Muse is on a journey too. This is the interpretation of Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes, p. 150; but it cannot be determined if Pindar intended στραφεῖν to be understood in this way.
contemporary time of the poem's recital to the historical time of Battus, the founder of Cyrene, and then back many years earlier to the legendary occasion of Medea's prediction to the Argonauts of the future foundation of Cyrene. Both of these journeys into the past are made possible for us by the narration of two prophecies: the prophecy in the historic past of Apollo's Delphic oracle to Battus naming him as the colonizer of Libya from the island of Thera, where seventeen generations before, in the mythical past, Medea had foretold this event. Thus, Pindar recounts the past by means of predictions in the past of events in the future, events which, from a contemporary viewpoint, are already part of the past. This disruption of normal chronology serves to link the past, present and future in such a way that each concept of time seems to have direct influence and sanction upon the others. One event which is associated with all three aspects of time in this introduction is that of finding a home. The Delphic oracle instructed Battus at a time when Apollo was at home, οὖν ἀποδάμου (5) at his shrine. Apollo in turn aided Battus and his race in finding their new home by telling them to colonize Cyrene; and colonization can be considered a type of homecoming. Apollo's oracle allowed Battus to fulfill, ἀνακόμισα (9), the prediction of this
homecoming spoken by Medea many years before. This idea of ultimate fulfillment is another primary theme of Pythian 4. The establishment of Cyrene was not accomplished immediately, for there were obstacles to the fulfillment of this goal. The delay is underscored by the two prophecies, since there were seventeen generations between the times of the original forecast by Medea and the oracle of Apollo, which finally assured Cyrene's settlement. With the account so early in the ode of these two prophecies, in reverse chronological order, Pindar is able to introduce many of the principal themes of the epinician within the framework of time as a process holding considerable sway over the important events in men's lives.

Following the all-encompassing prelude Pindar relates the words spoken by Medea at Thera on the return voyage of the Argonauts. This ἐπος ἑρατον (9-10) of Medea is a preliminary summary of some of the episodes of the fuller narrative of the Argonautic expedition which begins at line 70. But Medea's speech is much more than a mere summary. Her words seem to highlight Pindar's own thoughts as to what were the most important elements of this legend, and they preview the dominant themes of the longer tale to come. Medea first states that at some time in the future Libya will find the city of Cyrene rooted within her boundaries (14-16):
She calls Cyrene a root of cities, ἀστέων βίζαν, which
Libya will find planted, φυτεύσεσθαι, in her, and
which will subsequently be taken care of by men,
μελησίμβροτον. These three agricultural words emphasize
the importance men attach to the land as part of their
heritage and as a symbol of their home, and such imagery
of planting and growth will appear again. Next Medea
asserts that the future men of Cyrene will have horses
and reins instead of dolphins and oars; they will be men
of the land instead of men of the sea (17-18):

ἀντὶ δελφίνων δ’ ἀλαχυπτερύγων ἱπποὺς
ἀμείζωντες θοάς,
ἀνά τ’ ἀντ’ ἐρετμοὶν ὀξύρους τε ναμάσσοις
ἀξέλλοποδᾶς.

This is the third time that Pindar has mentioned the
famous horses and chariots of Cyrene. In line 2 he
called Cyrene renowned for horses, εὐππος, and in lines
7-8 a city of noble chariots, εὔμρατον πόλιν. In this
way Pindar can continually allude to Arcesilaeus' victory
in the chariot race, and in a subtle manner he keeps
Arcesilaeus in the back of the minds of his listeners
at all times. There is also another significant element
in Pindar's description of these horses and chariots of
the Cyreneans: speed. Pindar uses the words θοάς and
ἀξέλλοποδᾶς to modify ἱπποὺς and ὀξύρους, and dolphins were
also celebrated for their swiftness. Speed, and the lack of it, can be critical factors in the attainement of any goal, and they will become increasingly crucial in the story of the Argonautic expedition.

Next Medea speaks of the clod of earth which was given to the Argonaut Euphemus by a god in the guise of a man (19-37). Medea actually tells the story of the clod twice, her second description being an amplification of the first. In her initial account she describes this piece of earth as a gift of hospitality, ξείνια (22), on the part of the god. When Medea expands this scene she again stresses the ideas of friendship and hospitality (28-31):

τουτάκι δ' οἰκοπόλος δαίμων ἐπήλθεν, φαιδόμαν ἄνδρῶν αἰδοίου πρὸς γεύσιν θηκάμενος· φίλων δ' ἐπέσων ἀρχετρό, ξείνοις ὑ' ἐλεοντεσιν εὐεργέται δείπν' ἐπαγγελλοντι πρώτον.

The treatment of strangers, ξείνοι, with friendly words, φίλων ἐπέσων, is a necessary characteristic of noble men, εὐεργέται. Medea also calls the clod a gift of

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5Nemean 6.64-66:

δελφίνι κεν τάχος ὑ' ἀλμας ἵσαξοιμι Μελεσίαν χειρῶν τε καὶ ἰσχύος ἀνίσοχον.

Swift as a dolphin through the salt sea
I would say is Melesias,
a trainer deft in the strength of hands.
friendship once more, ξένιον (35), and thus the importance of hospitality and of the kindly greeting of strangers is persistently kept in the foreground of this tale. Several other themes are also repeated in this section of Medea's prophecy. Chariots and ships are again linked, and Arcesilaus' victory brought to mind, when Medea calls the anchor of the ship Argo its rein: θοᾶς 'Αργόν ταυτίνον (25). The Argo is also swift, just as the chariots are swift on the race course. Medea's detailed description of the bestowal of the clod to Euphemus is also a picture of speed (34-37):

έν δ' εὐθὺς ἀρπάξας ἀρουρας
dεξιτερὰ προτυχον ξέγιον μάστευσε δοῦναι
οὐδ' ἀπίθησε ἣν ἄλλα ἤρως ἐπ' ἀκταίσιν θορῶν,
χειρὶ οἱ χεῖρ, ἀντερέσσαις δέξατο βάλακα
dαιμονίαν.

Euphemus' leap onto the beach so that the clod can be thrust quickly into his hand is a vivid sketch of great haste. The Argonauts did not have time to talk to the god who was befriending them, because the thought of their homecoming kept them from lingering too long (32-33):

ἄλλα γὰρ νόστου πρόφασις γλυκεροῦ
καλύειν μεῖναι.

Here the choice of the word πρόφασις is significant, for it is employed in a similar manner in Pythian 5, when Pindar tells us that the charioteer Carrhotus
did not bring home Ἀρδαμαί, Excuse, but rather the glory of victory (27-33). The word does not have the same connotation in this case, for Pindar seems to use it in a pejorative sense in Pythian 5; in both instances, however, he is speaking about a homecoming. Since πρόφασις occurs only once in each ode, I believe Pindar has deliberately chosen this word in order to draw a parallel between Carrhotus' quick thinking, which enabled him to return home, and the sense of speed and urgency which permeates Medea's account of the Argonauts' desire to return home.

The first setback for the ultimate foundation of Cyrene with the clod of earth as its source is the subject of the following section of Medea's speech (38-43):

"πεύθουμαι δ' αὐτὰν κατακλυσθέσαν ἐκ δοὐρατος ἔναλτας βάμεν σὺν ἀλμα ἑσπέρας ὑγρῷ πελάγει σκομέναν. ἢ μὰν νῦν ὤτρυνον θαμά λυσιπόνοις θεραπόντεσσιν φυλάξατι τῶν δ' ἐλάθοντο φρένες καὶ νυν ἐν τῷ ἀφωτότῳ νάσῳ κέχυται Λιβύας εὐρυχόρου σπέρμα πρὶν ὄρας."

Forgetfulness on the part of the Argo's crew caused them to neglect watching the clod, and it was washed overboard onto the island of Thera. The delay in the fulfillment of the implantation of the clod in Libyan soil is stressed.

in the statement that it was washed ashore on Thera before its time, πρὶν ὁρας (43). This long postponement is given additional emphasis by the contrast between what might have happened if Euphemus had taken the clod home (43-49), and what will happen, now that he has lost it. Medea predicts, as she did at the opening of her prophecy, that Cyrene will be colonized from Thera, for descendants of Euphemus and foreign women will return to Thera and produce the man (Battus) who will be told by the oracle of Apollo to found Cyrene (50-56):

The emphasis on time in this passage is unmistakable. In contrast to πρὶν ὁρας of line 43, Medea begins her final statement of the prophecy with νῦν (50), and then goes on to stress the fact that the colonization of Cyrene will finally take place at a time way in the future: ποτ' (53) and χρόνῳ υπέρ (55-56). Medea also tells us that if Euphemus had held on to the clod, the fourth generation of his descendants, τετράτων παῖδων κ' ἐπιγενομένων (47-48), would have reached Libya; whereas we already know from Pindar's introduction that
it took seventeen generations, ἔβδομαι καὶ δύν δεκατά γενεᾷ (10), for the oracle to be fulfilled. Medea's lengthy speech ends with the picture of Battus sailing to Africa; next Pindar describes the heroes of the Argo as they sat listening to Medea's explanation of the significance of the incident of the clod (57-58), and thus we are quickly taken back in time; then Pindar immediately addresses Battus as the man of Medea's prophecy, the destined king of Cyrene (59-63); and finally Pindar mentions Arcesilaus, the eighth in line of Battus' descendants (65), and we are now back in the present, celebrating this king's Pythian victory. Thus, through Pindar's skilfull control of the time element, the event which took place on the return voyage of the Argo seems to have a direct influence upon Arcesilaus' triumph, which is exactly what Pindar says next (67-69):

Ἀπὸ δ'Aυτῶν ἔγεν Μοίσαιοι δῶς
καὶ τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριοῦ· μετὰ γὰρ
κέινο πλευσάντων Μίνυαν, θεόποροι σφίσιν
τίμαι φύτευθεν.

Honors from the gods were planted for Arcesilaus and his race when the Minyae sailed in quest of the Golden Fleece. With the word φύτευθεν Pindar continues the agricultural imagery which stresses the importance of the clod and of the land as symbols of one's homeland. Furthermore, Arcesilaus is seen as the choicest bloom
which grew out of this land, eight generations after Battus arrived in Libya, as is witnessed by Arcesilas' Pythian victory (64-65):

The seed, σπέρμα (43), of Libya, which was first washed ashore on Thera, was finally planted, took root, and bloomed in Cyrene, ultimately emerging with its best blossom in the person of the present king, Arcesilaus.

With the statement that he will give Arcesilaus and the Golden Fleece to the Muses (67-68), Pindar tells us the main theme of the song owed to the children of Leto and to Pytho (3), and he has returned to the starting-point of the epinician. The ring-composition of this preface (1-69)? to the main myth, an arrangement evident in almost all of Pindar's odes, serves an additional purpose in this ode aside from that of recapitulation: it enhances the effects of time upon the destinies of men, as has already been pointed out several times in the above discussion. A brief outline of this ode, divided according to the jumps in chronological time, and a diagram showing the interaction between the sequence of Pindar's narrative and the actual chronological

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?This first section of the ode can be called a complete epinician in itself, as many scholars have remarked. See R. W. B. Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes, p. 150.
time of the events he depicts, will illustrate Pindar's skilfull manipulation of the time element in this ode:

1-4 Today, at Cyrene, celebrate the Pythian victory of Arcesilaus in a song owed to Leto's children and to Pytho

5-6 where the Delphic oracle predicted to Battus

7-8 the foundation of Cyrene by Battus, fulfilling the prediction of Medea

9-18 at Thera; Medea's oracle to Jason and his crew about the fate of the clod which previously

19-25 the Argonaut Euphemus had received from the god Eurypylus on the return trip of the Argo,

25-27 after the Argo was carried across land from the Ocean to lake Tritonis.

28-40 After this, the god Eurypylus gave Euphemus the clod

41-49 which was then washed ashore onto the island Thera.

50-51 Euphemus will produce, in the beds of Lemnian women, a race

51-52 which will come to Thera and produce a man (Battus)

52-53 who will become lord of Cyrene,

54-56 after Apollo and the Delphic oracle tell him to found Cyrene;

57-58 such was the prediction of Medea to the Argonauts.

59-63 O happy Battus—it was you the Delphic oracle glorified when you asked her for a cure for your stammering.

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I am indebted to Harry and Agathe Thornton's discussion of time in Pythian 4 and their diagram of the sequence of events in this ode in *Time and Style: A Psycholinguistic Essay in Classical Literature* (London: 1965), pp. 25-35; 94-97; figure 2. I have altered considerably their diagram located under figure 2 in order to indicate all of the leaps back and forth in time in Pythian 4.
Now Arcesilaus, eighth in line of descent from Battus, glorifies his race with his Pythian victory,

a glory first planted for Arcesilaus and his race by the Argonautic expedition,

instigated by Pelias, Jason's uncle, when Jason demanded his inheritance,

which Pelias promised him, if Jason would retrieve the soul of Phrixus and the Golden Fleece at Colchis.

But time is pressing and I know a short cut to the end of this story.

Jason slew the serpent guarding the Golden Fleece; then he took Medea with him, and they sailed to the Ocean and the Red Sea and to the island of Lemnos, where Euphemus and the Lemnian women produced a race which came to Thera and then to Cyrene.

Present time: Cyrene, Arcesilaus, and Damosphilus.
Sequence of Narrative

1-4 Now

5-6 Delphic oracle

7-8 Foundation of Cyrene

9-18 Medea at Thera

19-25 Euphemos receives pod

25-27 Argo carried over land

28-40 Euphemos receives pod

41-49 Pod washed onto Thera

50-51 Euphemos and Lemnian women

51-52 Settlement of Thera

52-53 Battus-lord of Cyrene

54-56 Delphic oracle

57-58 Word of Medea

59-63 Battus-Delphic oracle-Stammering

64-67 Now-Arcesilaus' victory

67-71 Glory first planted by Argonautic expedition

71-156 Pellas

157-246 Argonautic expedition

249-250 Jason slew serpent; death of Pellas

251-256 Ocean, Red Sea

256-257 Euphemos and Lemnian women

258-259 Settlement of Thera

259-262 Founding of Cyrene

262-299 Now-Arcesilaus-Damophilus

Chronological time
In this preface Pindar also establishes the connection between the achievements of Arcesilaus and the Argonautic legend: the Argonaut Euphemus is a distant ancestor of Arcesilaus and Battus, and it was on the return trip of the Argo that Euphemus received the clod of earth destined to be the foundation of Cyrene. Yet these two links between Arcesilaus and the Argonauts do not seem important enough to require a complete review of the story of Jason and his quest. Pindar tells us that honors were planted for Arcesilaus' race on this quest, but he does not tell us what these honors were. This statement makes us want to hear much more about the Argonauts, as do several of the allusions made by Medea to events which took place on their voyage. The true relevance of the forthcoming myth is not provided for us now, but it will become apparent at the end of the ode. At this point Pindar has aroused our curiosity to hear the details of the saga, and so we are prepared for the questions Pindar asks next as an introduction to the Argonautic legend (70-71):

τίς γὰρ ἄρχα δέξατο ναυτιλίας,
τίς δὲ κίνδυνος κρατερῶς ἀδάμαντος δῆσεν ἄλοις;

Such straightforward questions at the beginning of an account are a conventional formula of epic
narrative, and they are an appropriate opening of this myth, the longest lyric narrative extant. Because of the length and scope of Pindar's tale, we are able to study some special features of Pindar's art which are not fully developed in his shorter odes. The wide range of Pindar's poetic technique is evident in his "dramatic use of dialogue, the revelation through it of character, the clash of personalities and the cunning development of plot." Another element prevalent in this myth, one which is unique in the literature of the age, is introduced in the second of Pindar's questions: a spirit of adventure and romance which pervades the events and characters of Pindar's version of the legend and which evokes several of the most vivid and memorable passages of the ode. Much of the imagery and symbolism present in the first section of the ode is continued in the main myth. A study of this imagery and of the special features mentioned above will aid in determining Pindar's purpose for composing an ode on such a large scale and in revealing the distinctive qualities of this lyric treatment of an

9Iliad 1.8.

epic theme.

The two very direct and simple queries posed by Pindar at the outset of his narrative give us a good indication of Pindar's view of the atmosphere surrounding the whole story of Jason and his quest. The first question, namely what was the cause of their sea-voyage, is one which would be expected to preface such an account. The second question, however, asking what peril bound them with strong nails of adamant, reveals that Pindar saw danger as the irresistible motive for the voyage. This striking metaphor suggests that the "Argonauts were riveted to their enterprise as the planks were riveted to the Argo." This idea that Jason and his men sought danger for its own sake, with no thought of any gain other than the experience of the challenge itself, is a concept totally alien to the motivations of the Homeric heroes. The air of daring and fascination surrounding the reasons for the Argonautic expedition is a very significant aspect of Pindar's interpretation of this legend, and it is one which will reappear several times in the course of the narrative.

Following his two questions Pindar immediately

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goes back in time to the beginning of Jason's peril, the oracle which told Pelias to beware of a one-sandalled man who would be the cause of his downfall. It is again by means of prophecy that Pindar focuses on the past and the present at the same time. The oracle warned Pelias that this man would come down from the mountains to the land of Iolcus (75-78):

τὸν μονοκρῆπτον πάντως ἐν φυλακῇ σχέσειν μεγάλην
eπὶ δὲν αἰτείναιν ἄρχο σταθμῶν ἐς εὐθείανον
χθόνα μόλη κλείτας 'Ἰαολκοῦ,
Ἑσίνος αἰτὶ δὲν ἀστός.

And in the next sentence the man has come, a hero terrible to look at (78-79):

ὁ δὲ ἡμᾶς χρόνῳ
ἐκεῖν' αἰχμαῖσιν διδύμαισιν ἀνὴρ ἐκπάγλος.

Immediately Jason walks with confidence into the crowded market-place of Iolcus (83-85):

τάχα δ' εὐθὺς ἵνα σφετέρας
ἐστάθη γνώμας ἀταρβάκτοιο πειραμένος
ἐν ἄγορῇ πλῆθοντος ὕχλου.

Pindar gives us an additional description of this awe-inspiring figure by describing the impression Jason makes on the crowd, who compare him to a god (87-92). But now Pelias appears on the scene, and his
entrance and first words are very important (94-100):

Pindar does not mention how Pelias learned of Jason's arrival in Iolcus, but he immediately describes Pelias' rushing into the market-place at top speed, spying the one sandal on Jason's right foot, and promptly beginning to question him about his home and parentage. Pelias is quite rude and insolent,12 and his behavior is in marked contrast to that of Jason who speaks next. Jason ignores Pelias' insults, and speaks bravely and gently: θαρσήσας ἀγανοσία λόγοις (101). He first states that he will give proof of Cheiron's upbringing (102), which included two very important lessons: reverence for Zeus and reverence for one's parents (Pythian 6.23-27). Jason stresses the fact that he never treated his foster parents badly either in word or deed (104-105), and then he explains his purpose in coming to Iolcus (105-108):

12 The exact meaning of Pelias' words, καὶ τὶς ἀνθρώπων σε χαμαίγενέων πόλεως / ἐξάνηκεν γαστρός; (98-99) has been the subject of much controversy, but the tone of Pelias' questions is undoubtedly insulting. See L. R. Farnell, The Works of Pindar II, p. 155; R. W. B. Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes, p. 155.
Two aspects of his explanation are important: Jason has come home after a very long absence, and he has come to recover the patrimony of his father Aeson, taken unlawfully by Pelias. This is Jason's homecoming, and he has a mission: as a child he was saved from the cruelty of Pelias by being sent secretly to the centaur Cheiron to be raised (109-115); he was saved for a special purpose, and now he has returned to recover, κομίζων (106) his inheritance. The word κομίζων is significant, for it has the same meaning as the verb ἄγκομιςα (9), used by Pindar in describing Battus' foundation of Cyrene as the ultimate fulfillment of Medea's prophecy. In both cases the accomplishment of the deed was long delayed, but finally achieved with divine help.

Jason does not speak at length about his past. He cuts off his tale by telling the townspeople that they already know his story and by asking to be shown the palace of his ancestors (116-117). In his final words he reveals his name (119):

φηρ δέ με θεῖος Ἰδόνα κυκλήσκων προσώπα.

Jason's entire speech reveals very dramatically and
cleverly his own character and keeps the figure of Pelias in the foreground. Jason gives no indication at all that he knows who Pelias is; he does not answer Pelias' questions in Pelias' rude manner; he actually ignores Pelias and refers to him in the third person, speaking directly to the citizens of Iolcus. When Jason finally reveals his name, we immediately expect to hear of Pelias' reaction to the announcement, but instead Pindar describes Jason's father's reaction to the sight of his long-lost son as he enters the palace (12-123). And so now the scene of action is drastically changed and the next episode is a feast of all of Aeson's kinsmen celebrating Jason's return (124-131).

This first section of the myth (71-119) is a telescopic view of the episodes depicted. The epic fulness of the Homeric poems is completely absent; everywhere there is an emphasis on speed. Pindar begins with the past: the oracle spoken to Pelias; then he instantly moves on to the present, with the appearance of Jason at Iolcus; Pelias speeds up in his chariot, and questions Jason; Jason answers, and quickly goes into the palace. The return of Jason's inheritance has been put off for many years, but there will be no more delay.

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13R. W. B. Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes, p. 156.
The juxtaposition of these events with no link-passages underscores the urgency of Jason's task, and it also places Jason and Pelias in direct contrast with one another. Pelias' treatment of this stranger in Iolcus is not very friendly or hospitable. Jason does not allow Pelias' behavior to bother him, however, and he emerges as more than simply the brave and handsome hero; Jason is also courteous, calm, and unflinching in his determination. Pindar continues to draw such a picture of Jason in the next scene, when Jason greets all of his relatives who have quickly, ταχέως (126), gathered to show their kind feelings toward their cousin, εὐμενεσθενες ἄνεσιν (127). Jason greets them very hospitably (127-131):

After five days of banqueting, Jason decides to get on with his mission, and he jumps up and rushes, αἰψα (133), to the halls of Pelias. Again Jason speaks politely and gently, μαλακῇ φωνῇ (137). In his speech, which spans four stanzas, Jason appeals to Pelias' sense of family loyalty by telling him that the fates hide in shame whenever there is a feud between men of the same
family (145-148). Jason then offers Pelias a compromise by demanding only the sceptre and throne for his father, leaving Pelias all the royal cattle and fields. He ends with a firm warning of new trouble for Pelias if he does not comply (149-155). Pelias next follows Jason's example and replies in a gentle tone, ἀκή (156). He appeals to Jason's youth, ἄνθος ὡβας (158), a phrase which recalls Pindar's description of king Arcesilaus: φοινικανθέμου ἱρὸς ἀκή ... ἥλλει ... Ἀρκεσίλαο (64-65). He tells Jason that it is within his power to remove the wrath of the gods by carrying out two important tasks (159-165):

κέλεται γὰρ ἐὰν ψυχὰν κομίζαι
Φρίξος ἐλεόντας πρὸς Αἰήτα ἑλαμίους
δέρμα τε κριόθι βαθύμαλλον ἄγειν, τῷ ποτ’ ἐν
πόντου σαφθῇ
ἐκ τε ματρυίας ἄθεων βελέων.
ταῦτα μοι σαυμαστός ἄνειρος ἱὰν φανεῖ,
μεμάντευμαι δ’ ἐπὶ Καστάλια,
εἰ μεταλλατόν τι· καὶ ὡς τάχος ὀτρύνει με
τεῦχειν ναὶ πομπάν.
τοῦτον ἀειθολον ἐκὼν τέλεσον•

The first task, the recovery of the soul of Phrixus, is a goal of Jason's quest which is, according to the scholiast, included only here by Pindar and by no other ancient author.¹⁴ One explanation for the inclusion of this task as a part of Jason's mission is that the

enterprise would have a religious function, because the family (and Phrixus was related to Jason) could be freed from the anger of the gods as soon as Phrixus was brought back to his home. But I believe that Pindar may also have had another reason for the addition of this task, and that is to emphasize further the importance of one's homecoming. Phrixus' nostos has been postponed for a long time, but it is a necessary event if Jason is to achieve his own nostos in Iolcus. Pindar again employs the verb ἤχος (159) to underscore the necessity of such an accomplishment, and Pelias expresses a sense of urgency when he repeats this part of his request and adds that it must be done at once: ὕτι τάχος (164).

Jason agrees to carry out Pelias' requests, and then he gathers up a crew. Pindar gives us a list of some of the men who will accompany Jason, a group of men whom he calls the ναυτῶν ἄχος (188), the flower of the seamen; and it is on the voyage with this crew that the honors for the family of Arcesilaus were planted (69). One of the crew members mentioned by Pindar is Orpheus, the father of song (176-177):

εξ Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ φορμιγκτάς δοιδαν πατήρ ἐμολευν, εὐαίνητος Ὀρφεύς.

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I believe that the inclusion of the poet Orpheus in this catalogue is important, and the significance of Orpheus' presence on this voyage will become clear in the discussion of the conclusion of this ode. This catalogue of heroes is very appropriate in an epic saga, but Pindar has given us an abridged list of only ten names so as to not delay the action too long. The atmosphere surrounding this gathering is one of great haste. Pindar uses a word for speed three times in his catalogue τάχα (171), ταχέως (179), and ἡμασσον (181), and so the listener continues to sense an air of intense urgency and enthusiasm in getting the expedition underway. At the conclusion of the catalogue Pindar explains the basic motive for the voyage of the Argonauts, a passage famous for the ideas it expresses (184-187):

Hera has instilled in these heroes a sweet desire for the ship Argo, a passion which has such control over them that they have no thought of their safety or of their life at home. To stay by their mothers' sides would be a sign of weakness and cowardice, showing a desire

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16See below, p. 94.
for a life without danger: ἀκήρουνον (186). The lure of danger itself has already been hinted at as the basic attraction of this whole endeavor in Pindar's question of line 71; and the inescapability from such an enticement has been emphasized in the image of the men being bound up by danger with strong bolts of adamant (71). The fact that this love of danger is unavoidable suggests that Hera has cast some kind of spell on these heroes, and the idea of magic if further implied in the word φάρμακον (187), which can mean "charm" as well as "remedy" or "cure." This passage is the first hint that magic and sorcery are going to play a part in this tale. Another concept which is important here is the spirit of comradeship which pervades this gathering of heroes, who are going to seek honor in the face of death; the feeling of friendship among these heroes has made this a common enterprise with a common goal: ἀλίξειν . . . σὺν ἄλλοις (187). As the voyage gets underway Jason prays to Zeus and to the swift waves and winds to hurry them on their journey, and most especially to allow them the good fortune of their return home (194-196):
Despite their eagerness to begin their journey, these men are even more anxious to be able to return home again.

At this point the Argonauts sail off toward an unknown land, remote and at the edge of the world. The land of Colchis, where the soul of Phrixus and the Golden Fleece lie, is beyond the In hospitable Sea, *'Aξεινος*(203), appropriately named, for the Colchians did not afford them a friendly reception (212-213).

This voyage takes Jason and his men into a strange and fantastic world: the oars under the quick palms of the men seem to row all by themselves, without being able to stop (202):

εἰρεσία δ' ὑπεξόθησεν ταχεῖαν ἐν παλαμάν ἀκορος.

The twin rocks of the Symplegades were alive, ἦσας, until the Argonauts killed them (209-210). And by means of Aphrodite’s gift of the magical wryneck bird, Jason is able to persuade Medea to help him with her magical spells (213-219):
Aphrodite's maddening bird was bound to the four spokes of a wheel just as the Argonauts were bound to their ship (71). Jason overpowers Medea with a passion for Hellas, ποθείνα δ' Ἑλλάξ (218), with the help of Persuasion, μάστιγις Πεισοῦς (219), while her heart was aflame, καυσόμεναν (219). Likewise, Hera enflamed, ένόταν (184), the Argonauts with a passion for the Argo, πόθον . . . ναός 'Αργοῦς (184–185), which was all-persuasive, πορνεαθή (184). The similarity between these two episodes, which has led one scholar to view πόθος as the unifying symbol of this epinician, is indeed quite striking. Both passages emphasize the romantic and exotic aspects of the legend: the Argonauts were overpowered by an intense passion for the ship Argo and a thirst for adventure in a remote part of the world they knew nothing about; in turn Medea, who herself had magical powers, was enchanted by Jason with the aid of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. It is significant that Pindar tells us that it was a longing for Hellas rather than for Jason that overcame Medea and subsequently made her help Jason obtain the Golden Fleece. This view of the relationship between Jason and Medea is in marked

18G. Norwood, Pindar, p. 42.
contrast to the treatment of this theme by later Greek writers, especially Apollonius. This difference can be ascribed to the possibilities that Pindar was unaware of a version of the legend that told of a burning love affair between Jason and Medea, or that such a version had not yet been developed in Pindar's time. Perhaps one of these theories is correct, but I believe that Pindar had a much different purpose in mind when he did not include any elaboration of the relationship between Medea and Jason. Pindar keeps all focus on Jason in this tale, an emphasis which would have been impossible if he had concentrated at all on the love pangs of Medea.

This emphasis on the deeds of Jason is also the underlying theme of the next section of the ode, in which Jason overcomes the obstacles put before him by Aeetes, Medea's father, who does not want Jason to obtain the Golden Fleece. In one concise line Pindar tells us that Aeetes set labors for Jason to perform before he could have the fleece, and that Medea quickly told Jason how to surmount these difficulties. (220):

\[\text{καὶ τὰχα πείρατ' ἀεθόλων ξεκυνυν πατρὼς}\]

The first two tasks are the yoking of the fire-breathing oxen and the ploughing of the field. First Pindar describes the ease with which Aeetes performs
these feats (224-229). Then Aeetes formally challenges Jason to do the same; his speech is divided between triads, and his final words, his description of the Golden Fleece, stand at the beginning of a new strophe (231):

κῦρος αἴγλαξιν χρυσέφ θυσάνφ.

These four words signify the object of Jason's quest, the goal of his dangerous voyage; the structure of Aeetes' speech underscores once more Jason's aim and intensifies the importance of the fulfillment of his objective, which is being delayed by Aeetes. Pindar's description of Jason's yoking of the oxen is quite different from his picture of Aeetes. His first account focuses on the horrible fire-breathing oxen themselves, whereas in the second sketch Pindar concentrates on a picture of the courage and faith in the gods of the hero Jason (232-237). Jason's comrades congratulate him on his success, crown him with garlands and welcome him with gentle words (239-241):

πρός δ' ἔταξεν καρτερὸν ἄνδρα φίλας
ἀφεγόν χείρας, στεφάνοισι τε νιν ποιάς ἑρπτον,
μελιχοῖοις τε λόγοις
ἀγαπάξοντι.

These scenes emphasize both the friendship among Jason's crew members and the strength and steadfastness of their leader, their καρτερὸν ἄνδρα. This focus on the hero
Jason also explains why many of the episodes which took place on the Argonautic expedition, and elaborated upon by other authors, are omitted by Pindar. Such elements as the loss of Herakles at Aphetae, the boxing match between Polydeuces and king Amycus, and the roll of Phrixus in the tale would only detract from Pindar's portrayal of Jason as the ideal hero who is not only strong, brave and handsome, but also god-fearing, wise, friendly and courteous. The reason for such a portrayal will become evident at the conclusion of the ode.

After Jason's victorious encounter with the fire-breathing oxen, Aetes tells Jason where the Golden Fleece is; but he thinks that Jason will not be able to retrieve it, because of the dragon which guards it (243-246):

\[
\text{Δίπλατο δ' οὐκετί οί κείνοι γε πράξασθαι πόνον, κέιτο γάρ λόχια, δράκοντος δ' εἴχετο λαβροτατάν γενών, οὔ πάχει μάκει τε πεντηκόντερον ναῦν κράτει, τέλεσσαν ἀν πλαγαί σιδάρου.}
\]

Pindar leaves us with this picture of the inaccessible and unretrievable fleece, without telling us right away

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20 For a discussion of all of these characteristics in Jason as the first and only expression in classical literature of the idea of chivalry, see G. Norwood, *Pindar*, p. 39.
if Jason succeeds in achieving his goal. Instead, Pindar breaks away from his narrative, stating that time is pressing and that he knows a short-cut to the conclusion of his tale (247-248):

\[\text{μακρὰ μοὶ νεῖσθαι καὶ ἀμαξίτων ἡρᾶ γὰρ}
\[\text{συγάπτει} \quad καὶ \text{τίνα}
\[\text{οἶμον ἓσαμι βραχὺν}.
\]

In one sense this break-off formula is an additional expression of the nostos theme. Pindar tells us that he too is on a journey, for he cannot travel the high-road, which would take too long. He wants to take a shorter path now to the end of the Argonautic legend and hence to the close of the epinician, which is his ultimate goal, just as a return home is Jason's goal. Pindar also says that he is a guide to others in the art of poetry (248):

\[\text{πολλοῖς δ' ἄγνωσι}
\[\text{σοφίας ἐτέροις}.
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Many scholars have interpreted this statement as a claim of originality, of discovering a new technique, namely

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21 C. Ruck and W. Matheson, Pindar, Selected Odes, p. 31.

the conciseness of narrative which he displays next in his very compressed account of Jason's killing of the dragon and return trip home.\(249-259\).\(^{23}\) Perhaps Pindar is not referring only to this account, but also to all the narrative which has preceded his break-off. This ode is the only surviving example of Greek lyric in epic form, and therefore it is impossible to ascertain if Pindar's telescopic and rapid narrative style was common to other lyric narrative, now lost, such as those of Steisichorus. But since his statement of novelty in technique in this ode is the most definite he makes on the subject,\(^{24}\) it seems that his haste to complete his story and his claim to uniqueness is directly related to the theme of speed and delay in the myth. Perhaps Pindar is telling us that his rapid jumps from one episode to another with no linking passages, his skill at allowing characters to speak for themselves, and his masterful use of leaps back and forth in time, are indeed unique in lyric narrative in that he has employed these techniques specifically to enhance the mood of speed and urgency in this ode, and to underscore the idea that time is of the utmost importance.


Pindar now returns to his main story and lists, in rapid succession, Jason's slaying of the dragon, the death of Pelias, the Argonauts' passage through the Ocean and the Red Sea, and finally their stay with the Lemnian women, to which Medea alluded in her prophecy (50). With the arrival of the Argonauts at Lemnos Pindar has come full circle in his narrative, for he now repeats to Arcesilaus a statement he made much earlier in the ode, that the seed of the race of Battus was first planted by Euphemus in a foreign land, eventually to come to Cyrene (254-257):

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοδαπας
σπέρμα ἀρουραίς τουτάκις ὑμετέρας ἀκτών
ὀλβοῦ δεξιῶτα μοιροῦν
ἄμαρ η νύκτες τοῖς τοῖς γὰρ γένος Εὐφάμου
φυτευθὲν λοιπὸν σειε
τέλλετο.

It was Apollo who caused the descendants of Euphemus to journey to Cyrene and to establish the kingship of which Arcesilaus is the eighth in line; the race of Arcesilaus caused the plains of Libya to become rich and prosperous, by means of just thinking (259-262):

ἐνθὲν δ' ὑμί ταποίδας ἔπορεν Ῥιβάς
παθίνον
σὺν θεῶν τιμάς ὑσῆλεται, ἀστὶ χρυσοθρόνου
diανέμειν θεῶν Κυράνας
dρόβδουλοιν μῆτιν ἐφευρομένοις.

This idea of prosperity, granted by the gods, σὺν θεῶν
tιμάς, because of Arcesilaus' family's righteousness.
is the main theme of the opening encomium to wealth in *Pythian* 5. Along with this divinely sanctioned prosperity comes responsibility as well, and this fact will again be emphasized by Pindar in the conclusion of *Pythian* 4. Arcesilaus and his family have found just counsel in the past, ὑφετέων μήτριν (262), and now Pindar gives Arcesilaus some more advice in the riddle of Oedipus (263–269):

> γνώθει νῦν τὰν ὀιδίπόδα σοφίαν· εἴ γάρ τις ὁδοὺς ὑποτούμφ πελεῖει ἔξερεισεὶ εἰς μεγάλας δρυὸς, αἰσχύνοι δὲ ὦ θεατῶν εἴδος· καὶ φεινόκαρπος ἐν οὐσία διδοῖ ψάφων περ' αὐτὰς, εἴ ποτε χειμέριον πῦρ ἐξικηται λοισθέον, η' σὺν ὀρθαῖς κίνδυνοις δεσποσύγαισιν ἐρείδομένα μόχθον ἀλλοις ἀμφέπη δύστανεν ἐν τείχεσιν, ἐδών ἑρμησάιοις γὰρ. 

In an ode in which prophecies play such an important role, Pindar has offered us one more, for a riddle is a kind of prophecy: like a prophecy, a riddle disguises the truth in ambiguous and puzzling language. This riddle concerns an oak-tree, which, once cut down and stripped of all its fruits, in time, λοισθέον (266), puts its own case to a vote either as a log in a wintry fire or as a beam in a palace in a strange land. Why does Pindar tell Arcesilaus to solve this riddle of Oedipus, the famous solver of riddles? The answer to

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this question remains to be found in the final lines of
the ode.

Pindar now speaks of Arcesilaus again. He calls
the king a most timely healer (270):

έσσι ὦ Ιασσήρ ἐπικατέργαστος, Παίην τέ τοι
tιμῇ φάσι.

This power to heal comes from Apollo, the god of
healing and prophecy, and perhaps Arcesilaus' ability to
heal is going to depend upon his ability to solve the
riddle Pindar has just posed for him. Pindar goes on
to describe what type of wound it is which the king must
cure (271-272):

χρὴ μαλακὰν χέρα προσβάλλοντα τραύμαν
ἐλκεος ἀμφίπολετιν.
ρέθιον μὲν γὰρ πόλιν σέσαι καὶ ἀφαυροτέροις.

With a gentle hand, Arcesilaus must find a way to remedy
the pain caused by civil strife, and the end of the
pain is now in sight. Next Pindar tells Arcesilaus
to take to heart a saying of Homer (277-278):

τῶν ο’ Ὀμήρου καὶ τόδε συγθέμενος
ῥῆμα κόρουν ἅγιον ἐσόλον ἐξα τιμᾶν
μεγίσταν πράγματι παντὶ φέρειν.

Pindar is the messenger in this case, and he is acting
on behalf of a certain Damophilus (279-286):
In his character-sketch of Damophilus, Pindar indicates that Damophilus has a just heart, hates violence, gives no cause for slander, does not quarrel with the nobles, and finally, does not delay in any action. Damophilus does not delay because he knows that the right moment has only a brief limit of time (286-287):

\[ \text{δ' γὰρ καιρὸς πρὸς} \]
\[ \text{ἀνθρώπων βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχει.} \]
\[ \text{εὖ νῦν ἐγνωκέν} \]
\[ \text{θεράπων δὲ οἴ, οὐδὲράστας ὀπάσει.} \]

But it is most painful (for Damophilus) to know the good and by necessity have his feet beyond reach of it (287-289):

\[ \text{φαντὶ δ' ἔμεν} \]
\[ \text{τοῦτ' ἀναρτατον, καλὰ γινώσκοντ' ἀνάγκα} \]
\[ \text{ἐκτὸς ἔχειν πόδα.} \]

Damophilus is in exile, and so he is prevented from doing the good he is so capable of, as witness Pindar's description of him. After characterizing him in such glowing terms, Pindar compares Damophilus to Atlas, who
bears the heavy burden of heaven, banished from his native land (289-292). And optimistically Pindar adds as a hint to Arcesilaus that Zeus did set the Titans free (292). In time, however, the winds change and so the sails shift (291-293):

\[ \text{ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ μεταβολαὶ λήξαντος οὐρων ἵστῳν.} \]

This possibility of a change in the winds, a sudden reversal of fortune, is one which Pindar warns Arcesilaus about at the end of Pythian 5 (118-121). Damophilus already knows that the right time, καιρὸς, has a limit, and so he is not one to postpone any action (286-287). Arcesilaus still has this lesson to learn, however, and for this reason Pindar has put so much emphasis in this ode on the importance of acting in time: ἐπικαιρότατος(270).

What Arcesilaus has to do now in order to heal the wounds of civil strife is bring Damophilus home from exile (293-294):

\[ \text{ἀλλ' εὐχέται οὖλομέναν νοῦσον διαγνισάται ποτὲ οἶχον ἰδεῖν,} \]

Damophilus hopes that soon he will be able to see his home again, and he has expressed this hope through Pindar's ode. Pindar has already told Arcesilaus that
he must accomplish this cure with a gentle hand (271), a gentleness illustrated by the actions of Jason toward Pelias (101; 137). Indeed, Jason's name is derived from the verb ἴαωμαι, meaning "to heal," and Pindar seems to be asking Arcesilaus to become a second Jason when he calls him ἵατρος (270).26 By concentrating almost exclusively on the feats of Jason in his myth and by omitting entirely the deeds of many of the other heroes of the Argonautic expedition, Pindar has consistently kept the figure of Jason in the foreground of this ode. For Arcesilaus Jason's "spirit of compromise and non-violence in dealing with Pelias"27 is an example of the type of attitude Arcesilaus should take in settling his dispute with Damophilus. Another aspect of the story of Jason which Pindar has repeatedly emphasized for Arcesilaus' benefit is the importance and urgency of Jason's quest. His procurement of the Golden Fleece will insure Jason of his return to his homeland, just as Damophilus hopes that his acquisition of Pindar's aid will help him in his efforts to return to his home city Cyrene. The word which Pindar employs to express the task which Pelias set for Jason is significant; Pelias

sums up his request as follows (165):

τούτων δέθλον ἐκὼν τέλεσον•

The word δέθλος also means an athletic contest, and therefore it reminds the reader, as it must have reminded Arcesilaus, of the victory which prompted the composition of this ode, that of Carrhotus. In turn the stress on speed and quick action so crucial to Carrhotus' victory and to Jason's completion of his quest is also linked to Damophilus' plea to be allowed to return to Cyrene. Damophilus' feeling that he can be of great help to Cyrene if only he is permitted to return home immediately has been expressed by Pindar in both Pythian 5 and Pythian 4 in every possible manner.

Damophilus is putting his case to the vote of Arcesilaus, just as the great oak-tree in the riddle of Oedipus submitted itself to a vote concerning its quality. The oak-tree, although it cannot bear fruit any longer, still has its good qualities, whether as firewood or as a beam. So Damophilus, although stripped of his honor, is still a man of good character. But Damophilus is not a slave, as a beam is to the larger structure (267);

28 The scholiast interprets the oak-tree as Damophilus. See A. B. Drachmann, Scholia Vetera II, p. 163. The falling oak and other trees are often described by Homer in simile form as symbols of man's destruction. See Iliad 4.482; 5.560; 13.178-180, 389.
Damophilus is a willing companion, θεράπων (187), not a mere servant, δράστας (287), and so he would be very helpful to Arcesilaus. In the riddle of the oak-tree Pindar has fused the themes of nostos and hospitality and the plant imagery so prominent in the main myth.29 Pindar has employed the plant as a symbol of the growth and development of a man and his homeland. Arcesilaus is a glorious bloom of the seed of Libya (64–65); Damophilus, although he has lost some of his honor, can still bring glory to his city Cyrene if he is allowed to return home.

In the final lines of the ode Pindar reveals to Arcesilaus what Damophilus will do if he is granted his nostos (294–299):

\[
\text{ἐπ’ Ἀπόλλωνός τε κράνῳ συμποσίᾳ ἐφέπων}
\text{θυμόν ἐκδέχει πρὸς ἡβαν πολλάκις, ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ}
\text{δαιδαλέων φόρμισσα βαστάζων πολιτών ἴσωσα}
\text{θ’ γέμεν;}
\text{μὴ τὸν τίνι πῆμα πορών, ἀπεθάνει οὕτως πρὸς}
\text{ἀστῶν};
\text{καὶ κε μυθήσατο, ὁποίαν Ἀρκεσίλα,}
\text{εὑρε παγάν ἀμβροσίων ἐκένων, πρὸσφατον ἠθήψε}
\text{ἐνεῳδέας.}
\]

Damophilus will seek peace, ἴσωσα (296), the opposite of civil discord, and thus he will insure the

cure for the troubles of Cyrene. Damophilus will seek this peace among his fellow-citizens who are skilled in song; he himself will play the lyre. Here once more Pindar associates the musical harmony of the lyre with the harmony and tranquillity of peaceful government, just as he did in his list of Apollo's gifts to mankind in Pythian 5.63-69. If he is allowed to come home, Damophilus might tell the king about the fountain of immortal words he found at Thebes (298-299), and this indicates the great importance Pindar attaches to the power of poetry. For this reason the presence of the poet Orpheus was necessary on the Argo, so that the glory of the expedition could be immortalized by his song. Damophilus will enjoy his return home with his friends; he will not bring pain to anyone, nor will he suffer any at the hands of his fellow-citizens, a spirit of friendship reminiscent of the comradeship among the crew members of the Argo. The citizens of Cyrene will gladly welcome Damophilus home, just as he has recently been welcomed at Thebes by Pindar himself. It is not by chance that the final word of this long epinician is the word "welcomed": ξενωθεσίς; Pindar employs a form of the word ξενία ten times in the ode.30 Just

30 ξενία (22); ξενοις (30); ξενοις (35); ξενος (78); ξενῷ (97); ξενα (118); ξενί (129); 'Αξενοῦ (203); ξενας (233); ξενωθεσίς (299).
as Pindar tells the Muse to stand beside a friend in the opening line of this ode, so now he wants to be able to say the same words to Arcesilaus and to Damophilus.
CONCLUSION

From the above analyses of Pythians 4 and 5, it is evident that these two epinicians are indeed companion odes. Pythian 5, the "true epinician," was most likely sung first in the public celebration of Arcesilaus' victory; one of Pindar's aims in composing this ode was to prepare Arcesilaus in a subtle manner for his forthright request on Damophilus' behalf in Pythian 4, sung in a private ceremony later. Both odes have many themes in common: Arcesilaus' victory, the founding of Cyrene by Battus, friendship, hospitality, wealth, virtue, speed, delay, homecoming, adventure and risk, Apollo, healing, music, peace, and oracles and prophecy. In their length, scope, content and structure, however, Pythians 4 and 5 are very different, a difference which has deceived many scholars into believing that these odes have nothing at all in common and into misinterpreting elements in the individual odes.

Pindar's praise of wealth in the opening lines of Pythian 5 lays the foundation for his reminder to Arcesilaus that with this wealth comes the king's
responsibility to others; in *Pythian 5* Pindar tells Arcesilaus to be conscious of the worth and good deeds of Carrhotus, and in *Pythian 4* he does the same for Damophilus. Pindar's emphasis on friendship and hospitality throughout both odes points to Arcesilaus' welcoming of both Carrhotus and Damophilus back to Cyrene. Pindar sets before Arcesilaus the pictures of the hospitality of his ancestor Battus and of Carrhotus' happy welcome home in *Pythian 5*; he tells the Muse to stand beside a friend, Arcesilaus, in the opening line of *Pythian 4*; the god Eurypylus gave Euphemus the clod as a gift of hospitality or friendship; Pelias' initial behavior toward Jason is a negative example of hospitality; and Pindar even mentions his own act of hospitality toward Damophilus in his recent welcoming of the exile in Thebes. The most important thematic link between the two epinicians is one related to friendship and hospitality: a man's homecoming. The *nostoi* of Carrhotus and of Jason and his men must have emphasized to Arcesilaus the importance of such an event to a man who has been away from home and who is faced with the possibility of never being able to see his homeland again. Carrhotus and the Argonauts faced death as a possible result of their dangerous exploits; to Damophilus exile must have meant the same fate as death. The significance of the *nostos* theme in the
myth of the quest of Jason and his men has been noted by other scholars. No one to my knowledge, however, has pointed to this very same theme as the key to Pindar's inclusion of the description of Carrhotus' prowess in the chariot race in _Pythian 5_. We have seen in other odes of Pindar how important a victor's homecoming was to him and to his family. Arcesilaus would have been aware of the honor and glory which accompanied a victory in any of the great games; so Carrhotus' feat in the chariot race and the fact that he did indeed return home in triumph would have meant a great deal to the king.

Pindar's description of Carrhotus' action during the race also emphasizes the speed, danger and adventure of the charioteer's pursuit. These three elements are evident as well in Pindar's account of the quest of Jason and the Argonauts for the Golden Fleece and the soul of Phrixus. The absence of delay in Carrhotus' quick thinking also points to the many delays in the process of founding Cyrene and in Jason's quest for his patrimony from Pelias. Thus the Carrhotus episode in _Pythian 5_, although a glowing tribute to the charioteer which may have been requested by the king, is also an intricate part of Pindar's total message to Arcesilaus about his ancestors, Cyrene, and his responsibility to
them, which demands that he bring back to Cyrene immediately a man who can be of great help to his home city.

Apollo, the god of healing, music, and prophecy, is also present in both odes. Apollo is the patron deity of Cyrene, whose oracle told Battus to found that city. In *Pythian* 5 Pindar praises Apollo at the center of the ode for his gifts to mankind: the power to heal, music, good order without war, and prophecy. Arcesilaus, whose kingship has been sanctioned by Apollo, is called a most timely healer for the wounds of Cyrene at the end of *Pythian* 4. He can heal these wounds by bringing back Damophilus, a man whom Pindar characterizes as a lover of music, harmony and peace, just as he describes Arcesilaus with the same traits in the final lines of *Pythian* 5. Arcesilaus' power to heal is also emphasized in the main myth of *Pythian* 4 through the compromising attitude of Jason, the healer, toward Pelias. Apollo's final gift is prophecy, a major element in the history of Cyrene, mentioned in *Pythian* 5 and amplified in *Pythian* 4 to become not only a major theme, but also the primary technique employed in the development of the plot and in the structure of the ode. Pindar's unique utilization of prophecy in *Pythian* 4 puts the events he describes in the framework of the process of
time, within which an event in the remote past can have a profound effect upon the destinies of men in the present and future. Therefore, in this ode more than in any other, Pindar has emphasized the importance of a man's ancestry on his own fortune, a theme present in almost all of his epinicians, but never stressed to the extent that it is in Pythian 4.

One motif not present in Pythian 5 but very evident in Pythian 4 is the plant imagery employed by Pindar to emphasize the importance of the land as a symbol of men's heritage and homeland and to praise Arcesilaus as the most prestigious offshoot from his race. This imagery is exemplified by the clod of earth given to the Argonaut Euphemus, and eventually to become the root of Cyrene, Arcesilaus' city. Thus many themes of the myth of Jason and the Argonauts are appropriate to Pindar's message to Arcesilaus and to his praise of Arcesilaus, his forefathers and Cyrene; therefore, Pindar's choice of this myth should not be ascribed to a request for a long poem on the part of Arcesilaus. Pindar has omitted many elements of the Argonautic legend which he could have included if he had been aiming for extensive length, and it is clear from our analysis of Pythian 4 that Pindar has treated many aspects of the legend to suit his own purpose.
In *Pythians* 4 and 5 Pindar has composed a monumental encomium to the race of Arcesilao and his city Cyrene. The circumstances surrounding the exile of Damophilus and the reasons for Pindar's insertion of a plea to Arcesilao for Damophilus' sake are unknown to us, but we can learn from these two odes themselves that the unprecedented request at the end of *Pythian* 4 was of the utmost significance to Pindar. It prompted Pindar to compose his most ambitious and complex epinician, and to present to Arcesilao and Cyrene a pair of odes in honor of the king's victory at Delphi which express a feeling of the utmost urgency, and of the greatest hope for Cyrene's future if his message is heeded.
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