PINDAR

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PINDAR

OLYMPIAN ODES
PYTHIAN ODES

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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PREFACE

My aim has been to produce a readable, clear translation that reflects the grammar of the original Greek, while following the lineation of the Greek text as closely as normal English word order allows. When enjambment of a word is natural to the English, I have imitated the Greek by preserving it; when not, I have maintained the Greek grammatical structure.

Whenever possible I have used the Greek form of names (e.g., Kronos), unless their English form is so common that it might be confusing not to do so (e.g., Athens, Syracuse, Thebes, Priam, and Helen). In transliterating I have used ch for χ and y for υ, unless the latter occurs in a diphthong. I have preserved the Doric form of names, except when the Ionic forms are very familiar (e.g., Aphrodite, Danaë, Delos, Leto, Pegasos, Persephone, and Semele) and have avoided Aeolic forms (e.g., Moisa and Medoisa).

This edition does not provide the alternate verse numbering of Heyne's edition, whose sole purpose is to facilitate reference to the scholia. It also is very sparing in its citation of secondary literature for two reasons: such references quickly become outdated and students of Pindar are fortunate to have an excellent historical survey of Pindaric scholarship by D. C. Young and annotated bibliographies by D. E. Gerber and others.

INTRODUCTION

"Of the nine Greek lyric poets Pindar is by far the greatest for the magnificence of his inspiration, his precepts, figures of language, lavish abundance of matter and words, and river (so to speak) of eloquence." This assessment by Quintilian in his survey of Greek poets (*Inst. Or.* 10.1.61) was the standard evaluation of Pindar in antiquity and helps to explain why nearly one fourth of his odes are well preserved in manuscripts, whereas the works of the other lyric poets have survived only in bits and pieces.

The ancient editors divided Pindar's poems into seventeen books (papyrus rolls) by genres: 1 book of hymns to various gods; 1 of paeans (hymns addressed mainly to Apollo); 2 of dithyrambs (hymns addressed mainly to Dionysos); 2 of prosodia (hymns for approaching a god's shrine); 3 of partheneia (hymns sung by maidens); 2 of hyporchemata (dancing hymns); 1 of encomia (songs in praise of men at banquets); 1 of threnoi (songs of lament); and 4 of epinikia (victory songs). Although numerous fragments of his paeans and other poems have survived on papyrus or through quotation by ancient authors, only the four books of epinikia, comprising forty-five odes in celebration of athletic victors, have been preserved almost intact in a continuous manuscript tradition, and it

is upon them that his reputation has largely rested as Greece's greatest poet of praise.

The victory odes are, however, notoriously difficult to understand. They are complex mixtures of praise (and blame), mythical narratives, prayers and hymns, advice, athletic triumphs (and failures), and even current events, conveyed in a highly artificial language in often very complicated poetic meters, all designed to be sung and danced to the accompaniment of lyres and pipes. They represent the apex of their genre, in much the same way that Bach's works are a culmination of baroque music. Pindar's art, like Bach's, presents a constant tension between the constraints of form and the freedom of innovation; it too exhibits tremendous energy, great variety within its genres, and reveals ever-new depths upon repeated hearings.

Our understanding of Pindar's odes has been complicated by what Hugh Lloyd-Jones has called a "fatal conjunction of nineteenth-century historicism with nineteenth-century Romanticism."[1] The former, already employed by ancient commentators, seeks to explain details in the odes as reflections of historical (and all too often pseudo-historical) events. The latter interprets the poems as expressions of the poet's personal opinions and subjective feelings. There is no doubt that the odes refer to historical persons and events (indeed every ode has an actual victory as its occasion) and that Pindar presents a distinctive personality, but these aspects of the poems are subsidiary to their generic function of praising men within the religious and ethical norms of aristocratic fifth-century Greece. In E. L. Bundy's formulation, they constitute "an oral, public, epideictic literature dedicated to the single purpose of eulogizing men and communities."[2]

Pindar's poetry expresses the conservative, so-called "archaic," mores of the sixth and early fifth century. His thought is ethically cautionary and contains frequent reminders of man's limitations, his dependence on the gods and nature, and the brevity of life's joys. He espouses moderation ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\sigma\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{o}s$), the aristocratic ("Doric") values of civic order ($\epsilon\grave{\upsilon}\nu\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$) and peaceful concord ($\acute{\eta}\sigma\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$), and reverence for the gods ($\epsilon\grave{\upsilon}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$).[3] His gaze is primarily backwards toward the models of the past, as they are exemplified in the legends from Hellenic myth, and it is against these that the victors' achievements are measured. To help guide the reader, I provide some key terms that point to recurring themes in the epinikia.[4]

$\dot{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ the realization of human excellence in achievements

$\dot{\phi}\upsilon\acute{\alpha}$ one's inborn nature (also $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\gamma\sigma\nu\sigma s$/$\sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}s$)

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[1] Lloyd-Jones, "Pindar," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 68 (1982) 145; the entire address provides an excellent assessment of Pindar's qualities. For a good, brief overview of trends in Pindaric scholarship, see the same author's "Modern Interpretation of Pindar: The Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Odes," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 93 (1973) 109–117.

[2] Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* (Berkeley 1962; repr. 1986) 35.

[3] See E. Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars* (Innsbruck 1957).

[4] Often these positive elements are set in contrast to the envy ($\dot{\phi}\theta\acute{o}\nu\sigma s$) of ill-wishers and the darkness ($\sigma\kappa\acute{o}\tau\sigma s$) and silence ($\sigma\iota\gamma\acute{\alpha}$) that attend failure.

A number of anecdotes preserved in ancient sources, although of little or no historical value, serve to illustrate aspects of Pindar's career and poetic art. Two reported in the *Vita Ambrosiana* point to his poetic precociousness. One, attributed to the early Hellenistic biographer Chamaileon, tells that when Pindar was a boy hunting near Helikon, he fell asleep and a bee built a honeycomb on his mouth. While the honey points to the sweetness of his song (cf. *Ol.* 11.4 and *Pyth.* 3.64), the site of Helikon links Pindar with his Boiotian predecessor Hesiod (c. 750 B.C.), who received his poetic commission while shepherding sheep at the foot of that mountain. The other relates that when his Athenian instructor Apollodoros had to be out of town and turned over the training of a chorus to the young Pindar, he did so well that he became immediately famous. Plutarch informs us that the Boiotian poet Korinna criticized the young Pindar for priding himself on stylistic embellishments rather than on mythical topics. He then composed the hymn that begins, "Shall it be Ismenos, or Melia of the golden spindle, or Kadmos . . . that we shall hymn?" (*fr.* 29). When he showed it to her, she laughed and said, "One should sow with the hand, not the whole sack."[7] The story illustrates Pindar's generous use of mythical catalogs, especially to introduce poems (cf. *Nem.* 10 and *Isth.* 7), and the frequent references to myths and legends throughout his works.

Three anecdotes in the *Vita Ambrosiana* point to Pindar's close relationship with the gods. We are told that

[7] Plut. *de glor. Ath.* 4.347F–348A. Korinna may, however, actually belong to the 3rd cent. B.C.; see M. West, "Dating Corinna," *Classical Quarterly* 84 (1990) 553–557.

Pan was once heard singing one of Pindar's paeans between the two Boiotian mountains of Kithairon and Helikon, and that in a dream Demeter blamed him for neglecting her in his hymns, whereupon he composed a poem in her honor. It is also reported that the priest at Apollo's temple in Delphi announced upon closing each day, "Let the poet Pindar join the god at supper." The 2nd century A.D. traveler Pausanias claims to have seen the iron chair at Delphi upon which Pindar sat to sing his poems to Apollo (10.24.5). All these anecdotes reflect the deeply religious nature of his poetry and his special devotion to Apollo, who figures so prominently in his works.

Finally, there is the famous story of Pindar's house being spared when Alexander the Great razed Thebes in 335 B.C.,[8] familiar to English readers from Milton's lines in Sonnet 8: "The great Emathian conquerer bid spare | The house of Pindarus, when temple and tow'r | Went to the ground." Although some have rightly questioned the historical validity of the story,[9] it serves to illustrate the Panhellenic reputation Pindar enjoyed in the century following his death.

The most important historical event during Pindar's career was the Persian invasion under Xerxes that culminated in two decisive battles, one at sea near Salamis in 480 and the other on land at Plataia in 479. There are

[8] The story is mentioned in numerous places besides the lives and the *Suda*: Plutarch, *Alexander* 11; Arrian, *History of Alexander* 1.9.10; Pliny, *Natural History* 7.29; and Dio Chrysostom 2.33. Some sources mention a previous sparing by the Lakedaimonians.

[9] See W. J. Slater, "Pindar's House," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 12 (1971) 146–52.

three references in the epinikia to these Greek victories. In *Pyth.* 1 Pindar mentions the Athenian and Spartan pride in the battles of Salamis and Plataia, in *Isth.* 5 he praises the Aiginetan sailors for the part they played at Salamis, and in *Isth.* 8 he expresses his relief at being free from the Persian threat, which he calls the "rock of Tantalos, that unbearable labor for Hellas." His own city of Thebes had unfortunately sided with the invaders and actually fought against the Athenians at the battle of Plataia. We have no way of knowing Pindar's private reaction to his city's policy, but he publicly lauded the victors, even going so far as to call Athens the "bulwark of Hellas" (*fr.* 76) for her part in the war effort.[10] The story in the *Vita Thomana* that tells of his being fined by his own city for praising Athens reflects what must have been a sensitive issue for him, but the evidence of his poetry shows that he remained a Panhellenic poet, consistent with his wish at the end of *Ol.* 1 to be "foremost in wisdom among Hellenes everywhere."

While the mainland Greeks were confronting the Persians, the Greeks in Sicily were facing a Carthaginian threat. In 480 Gelon of Syracuse (whose younger brother Hieron succeeded him two years later as tyrant of Syracuse) joined forces with Theron of Akragas to defeat a Carthaginian army numbering 100,000 at the battle of Himera, spoils from which greatly enriched both cities. At *Pyth.* 1.75–80 Pindar ranks this battle on the same level as Salamis and Plataia.

[10] In *fr.* 77 he also praised the Athenians for their naval action at Artemision earlier in 480, where they "laid the bright foundation of freedom."

The 76th Olympiad in 476, the first following these three great battles, marks a high point in Pindar's career as an epinikian poet. Five of the fourteen Olympian odes are to victors in that Olympiad, including two of his major poems, *Ol.* 1 to Hieron of Syracuse (whose horse Pherenikos won the single-horse race) and *Ol.* 2 to Theron of Akragas (who won the chariot race). In 476/5 Hieron founded the city of Aitna and in 474 his ships defeated an Etruscan fleet at Kyme near the Bay of Naples. The poets who enjoyed his patronage included Aeschylus, who wrote the *Aitnaiai* (*Women of Aitna*) to celebrate the founding of that city, Simonides, Bacchylides, who wrote three epinikia (3, 4, 5) and an encomium (*fr.* 20C) for him, and, of course, Pindar, who honored him with *Ol.* 1, *Pyth.* 1, 2, 3, a hyporchema (*fr.* 105), and an encomium (*fr.* 124d). In *Pyth.* 1 Pindar compares Hieron to Philoktetes and praises him for his victory at Kyme, in which he "delivered Hellas from grievous slavery." In *Pyth.* 2 he mentions the gratitude of the Western Lokrians for Hieron's deliverance of them from war; the scholia claim that Hieron intervened to stop Anaxilas of Rhegion (d. 476) from attacking Lokroi (probably in 477), but the date and circumstances of the poem remain uncertain. In addition, Pindar wrote odes for Theron's brother Xenokrates and nephew Thrasyboulos (*Pyth.* 6 and *Isth.* 2), for Hieron's general, Chromios (*Nem.* 1 and 9), and for his fellow Syracusan, Hagesias (*Ol.* 6).

The geographical dispersion of the victors celebrated by Pindar indicates how broadly his reputation and associations had spread. Of the 45 odes, only five are to Thebans. Seventeen are for victors from cities in Sicily and

southern Italy (Syracuse, Akragas, Kamarina, Himera, and Western Lokroi), eleven for victors from the island of Aigina (the most by far for a single city), seven for victors from cities on mainland Greece (Corinth, Opous, Orchomenos, Pelinna, Athens, Acharnai, and Argos), three for victors from Kyrene on the coast of north Africa, and one each for victors from the islands of Rhodes and Tenedos. Victors mentioned in the epinikian fragments are from Rhodes, Aigina, and Megara; paeans are composed for the people of Thebes, Abdera, Keos, Delphi, Naxos, Aigina, and Argos; dithyrambs for Argos, Thebes, and Athens; and encomia for individuals from Akragas, Macedonia, Corinth, Tenedos, and Syracuse.

Other than anecdotal comments in the scholia, we have no details about how contracts were arranged,[11] whether Pindar was present at the athletic contests (although at *Ol.* 10.100 he says that he saw the victor win at Olympia), or whether he oversaw any of the performances (at *Ol.* 6.88, however, he addresses one Aineas, identified by the scholia as the chorus trainer). Even when there is a statement in an ode such as "I have come," it is not always certain that this is meant literally.

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[11] The scholia provide two fanciful attempts to explain the opening of an ode in terms of contractual arrangements. Inscr. a to *Pyth.* 1 reports: "According to the historian Artemon, Pindar begins with 'golden lyre' because Hieron had promised him a golden kithara." Schol. 1a on *Nem.* 5 recounts: "They say that Pytheas' relatives approached Pindar to write an epinikion for him, but when he asked for three thousand drachmas, they said that for the same price it was better to have a statue made; later they changed their minds and paid the sum; to chide them he began with 'I am not a sculptor.'"

For example, *Nem.* 3 opens as if the poet were present at the celebration, but at line 77 he says, "I am sending" ($\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\omega$) the song. At *Pyth.* 2.4–5 the poet says, "I come bearing the song" ($\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda os\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi o\mu\alpha\iota$), while at line 68 he says, "the song is being sent" ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda os\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$).

The dating of most of the Olympian and many Pythian odes is relatively sound, thanks to the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus list of Olympic victors (P. Oxy. 222) and to the fact that Aristotle had compiled a list of Pythian victors upon which the ancient commentators drew.[12] The dates of the Nemeans and Isthmians are another matter. Occasionally there is a clear historical reference in the poem (e.g., the allusion to the battle of Salamis in *Isth.* 5), but the dates given in the manuscripts are often inaccurate or contradictory.[13]

The Epinikian Genre and Greek Athletics

The brief but brilliant flowering of epinikian poetry spans the careers of three poets. Simonides began the practice of composing elaborate odes in honor of athletic victors in the generation before Pindar, while Bacchylides, Simonides' nephew, appears to have continued writing epinikia somewhat later. The three poets moved in the same circles and praised the same men. Simonides'

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[12] The list of Olympic victors (cf. note 6, above) perhaps derives from one the 5th cent. sophist Hippias compiled (cf. Plut. *Numa* 1.4). An inscription at Delphi thanks Aristotle for compiling a list of Pythian victors; cf. M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1948) 2.246–248.

[13] For an extensive treatment, see C. Gaspar, *Essai de chronologie pindarique* (Brussels 1900).

most famous patrons were Thessalian nobility, for one of whose members Pindar composed his first dated ode in 498 (*Pyth.* 10). Like Pindar, Simonides wrote an ode for Xenokrates of Akragas (*fr.* 513 Campbell), while Bacchylides composed odes for Hieron (3, 4, 5) and Pytheas of Aigina (13). Although a few victory odes from the later fifth century are mentioned, by 440 the genre seems to have been moribund.

The apex of dozens of athletic contests throughout the Greek world were the four major Panhellenic festivals established at Olympia (776), Delphi (582), the Isthmos (c. 581), and Nemea (c. 573). They were called crown games because the victors received crowns of wild olive, laurel, dry parsley (or pine), and green parsley, respectively.[14] The Olympic and Pythian games (the latter held at Delphi) were celebrated every four years, the Isthmian and Nemean every two, all staggered so as to produce a continuous succession of contests. Thus the 76th Olympiad would have included the following crown games: 476, Olympic (August); 475, Nemean (July); 474, Isthmian (April), Pythian (August); 473, Nemean (July); 472, Isthmian (April). The 77th Olympiad then began in August 472.

During Pindar's time the non-equestrian events at

[14] The prizes awarded at lesser games included silver cups at Sikyon and Marathon, bronze shields at Argos, woolen coats at Pellana, and prizes of money, bulls, and olive oil at the Panathenaic games. According to the calculations of D. C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago 1984) 115–127, the prizes at the Panathenaia would have been very valuable in purely monetary terms. In addition, home towns awarded victorious athletes money, free meals, and other honors.

Olympia consisted of the stadion (200 meter race), diaulos (one-lap 400 meter race), dolichos (4,800 meter race), hoplites dromos (400 meter race in armor), pentathlon (consisting of stadion, discus throw, javelin throw, long jump, and wrestling), wrestling, boxing, pancratium (combination of wrestling and boxing), and boys' stadion, wrestling, and boxing. The equestrian events were the mule car race (*apene*), bareback single-horse race (*keles*), and four-horse chariot race (*tethrippon*). P. Oxy. 222 lists the following winners for the 76th Olympiad:

[76th. Ska]mandros of Mitylene, stadion
[Da]ndis of Argos, diaulos
[. . . . . . .]of Sparta, dolichos
[. . . . .] of Taras, pentathlon
[. . . . . . of Ma]roneia, wrestling
[Euthymos of Lok]roi in Italy, boxing
[Theagenes of Th]asos, pancratium
[. . . . .] of Sparta, boys' stadion
[Theognetos of Aigi]na, boys' wrestling
[Hag]esi[da]mos of Lokroi in Italy, boys' boxing
[Ast]ylos of Syracuse, hoplites
[Ther]on of Akragas, owner, tethrippon
[Hier]on of Syracuse, owner, keles

The list omits the mule car race, perhaps because it was included in the Olympic program for some fifty years only (c. 500-444) and was of inferior status (cf. Paus. 5.9.1–2). Naturally, great men like Hieron and Theron hired jockeys and drivers to do the actual driving that won them their victories. Only one victor is praised for driving his own chariot, Herodotos of Thebes (*Isth.* 1). Three drivers are mentioned by name: Phintis, Hagesias' mule car

driver (*Ol.* 6), Nikomachos, Xenokrates' charioteer (*Isth.* 2), and Karrhotos, Arkesilas' charioteer (*Pyth.* 5). The chariot races consisted of twelve laps around the hippodrome (cf. *Ol.* 2.50, 3.33, and *Pyth.* 5.33).

Whereas the Olympic games had only divisions of men and boys in certain events, the Nemean and Isthmian games had a third, intermediate category for youths. Trainers played an important role in the formation of young athletes and four are mentioned in the epinikia: Melesias (*Ol.* 8, *Nem.* 4 and 6), Menandros (*Nem.* 5), Ilas (*Ol.* 10), and Orseas (*Isth.* 4). The victory of Alkimedon in the boys' wrestling at Olympia (*Ol.* 8) was the thirtieth won by the trainees of Melesias, who had himself been a victorious pancratiast at Nemea. Many families and clans were devoted to athletic competitions, and some dominated certain events. Three sons and two grandsons of the boxer Diagoras of Rhodes, celebrated in *Ol.* 7, won Olympic crowns. Alkimidas of Aigina won his clan's twenty-fifth crown victory (*Nem.* 6), while the clan of Xenophon of Corinth boasted a total of sixty Nemean and Isthmian victories (*Ol.* 13).

Clear notions of the music, dance, and performance of the victory odes were already lost by the time of the scholia; what little we know about their performance must be inferred from internal evidence. Pindar speaks of his odes as hymns (ὕμνοι), revels (κῶμοι), and songs (ἀοιδαί, μέλη); he mentions accompaniment by lyres (φόρμιγγες, λύραι) and pipes (αὐλοί); he occasionally refers to the celebrants as men (ἄνδρες), young men (νέοι), or boys (παῖδες). The relationship between the revel and the actual performance of the ode is not clear, and there has been considerable controversy over whether the

epinikia were sung by a chorus or by a soloist. The fact that Pindar never refers directly to the performance of his epinikia by a chorus (χορός) has led some scholars to question whether a chorus performed them at all. The evidence for choral or solo performance is not conclusive either way,[15] but given the fact that other Pindaric genres such as paeans, dithyrambs, partheneia, and hyporchemata were performed by choruses and that the formal features of the epinikia are similar to those of tragic choruses, it seems probable that at least some of the epinikia were performed by a choir that sang in unison and danced to the accompaniment of lyres or *auloi* or both combined. Late sources say that choruses danced the strophe ("turn") in one direction, reversed the steps for the antistrophe ("counterturn"), and stood in place for the epode ("after song"), but even that must remain a conjecture.[16]

The location of the performance is often indicated by the deictic article ὅδε "this" and is usually at the hometown of the victor (e.g., "this island" at *Nem.* 3.68 and 6.46). It is often claimed that shorter epinikia (e.g., *Ol.* 11 and *Pyth.* 7) were improvisations performed at the site of the victory and that monostrophic odes (e.g., *Pyth.* 6 and *Nem.* 2) were processional, but there is no conclusive evidence for such assumptions.

[15] For a review of the evidence and positions, see M. Heath and M. Lefkowitz, "Epinician Performance," *Classical Philology* 86 (1991) 173–191 and C. Carey, "The Victory Ode in Performance: The Case for the Chorus," *Classical Philology* 86 (1991) 192–200.

[16] The evidence is collected and translated in W. Mullen, *Choreia: Pindar and Dance* (Princeton 1982) 225–230.

Elements of the Epinikia

In generic terms, the epinikia are occasional poems that invoke shared social values to praise victors and offer them immortality in verse. For this task there is no set prescription, and each ode is a unique blend of praise, myth, and argumentation. Certain elements, however, are bound to recur, and a fundamental understanding of any ode must begin with them.

An epigram attributed to Simonides succinctly sets forth the basic facts of an athletic victory (*A.P.* 16.23):

εἶπον, τίς, τίνος ἐσσί, τίνος πατρίδος, τί δ᾽ ἐνίκης.
Κασμύλος, Εὐαγόρου, Πύθια πύξ, ῾Ρόδιος.

Tell your name, your father's, your city, your victory.
Kasmylos, son of Euagoras, boxing at the Pythia, Rhodes.

These elements, three identifying the victor (name, father, city) and two the victory (games, event), are, with the occasional exception of the patronymic, normally given in each epinikion; they ultimately derive from the herald's proclamation at the games and were preserved on papyrus and in stone inscriptions.[17]

Pindar shows great ingenuity in incorporating such

[17] An inscription from the first half of the 4th cent. B.C. from Ioulis on Keos (IG XII 5.608) which lists Keans who won victories at the Panhellenic games is quoted and discussed by H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides II* (Leiden 1982) 1–3. For a detailed treatment of verse inscriptions for athletes, see J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (Berlin 1972).

facts into his grand-style verse. One way is to vary the timing and placement of the information. In *Pyth.* 9, for example, all the facts of victory (except the father's name, which comes at 71) are provided in the first sentence, which reserves the name of the city until the last word, thus forming a bridge to the narrative. In *Ol.* 11 the information comes in the middle of the ode (lines 11–15) and concludes with the city, whose people are then praised in the final lines of the poem. *Ol.* 13 reserves the event for emphatic last place (at line 30) because Xenophon had achieved an unprecedented double victory in the stadion and pentathlon.

Another means of varying the presentation of the basic information is by allusive references. In *Pyth.* 9 the victor is called "bronze-shielded" (1), indicating that he won the race in armor. In *Ol.* 12 only the word "feet" (15) alludes to the fact that the victor was a runner. Pindar uses many circumlocutions for places, especially game sites. References to the Olympic games are made in terms of: Pisa (the town nearest Olympia), Alpheos (the river at Olympia), the hill of Kronos (the adjacent hill), or such phrases as "Zeus' greatest games." The Pythian games are signified by the mention of Delphi or Pytho (the site), Krisa or Kirrha (nearby towns), Parnassos (the adjacent mountain), Kastalia (the spring), the "navel of the earth," or the "games of Apollo." The "valley of the lion" invokes Nemea (where Herakles slew the Nemean lion), and "the bridge at Corinth" denotes the Isthmos. Alternatively, the mention of the patron god or the type of crown won may indicate the place of victory.

Pindar often refers to his poems as hymns, and there is not a single ode without some reference to divinity. Both

hymns and prayers underscore the essentially religious nature of the athletic contests and of the celebrations associated with them. Pindar draws upon a long tradition of hymns and masterfully adapts both cultic and rhapsodic elements to his poems.[18] Some begin with elaborate hymns to various minor gods: Olympia (*Ol.* 8), Fortune (*Ol.* 12), the Graces (*Ol.* 14), Peace (*Pyth.* 8), Eleithuia (*Nem.* 7), Hora (*Nem.* 8), Theia (*Isth.* 5), and Thebe (*Isth.* 7). Although the major Olympian gods are continually mentioned, there is, surprisingly, no opening hymn to any of them.

Prayers abound in the odes, and their function is invariably transitional: they conclude a topic, introduce a new one, or pass from one to another. The poet often prays for continued blessings for the athlete and his city or asks for assistance in his task of praising adequately. Many prayers are expressed negatively, asking that something bad may not happen, especially in the wake of the present success.

Pindar also draws upon the earlier didactic tradition, represented by Hesiod, Theognis, Phokylides, and a collection of the "Sayings of Cheiron." A hallmark of epinikian style is its frequent use of maxims, which are often among Pindar's most memorable verses.[19] Examples include "great risk does not take hold of a cowardly man" (*Ol.* 1.81), "wise is he who knows many things by nature" (*Ol.* 2.86), "trial is the test of mortals" (*Ol.* 4.18), "about the minds of humans hang numberless errors"

[18] For the features of cultic and rhapsodic hymns, see W. H. Race, "How Greek Poems Begin," *Yale Classical Studies* 29 (1992) 19–34.

[19] Cf. H. Bishoff, *Gnomen Pindars* (Diss. Wurzburg 1938).

(*Ol.* 7.24–25), "one cannot conceal the character that is inborn" (*Ol.* 13.13), "even wisdom is enthralled to gain" (*Pyth.* 3.54), and "the word lives longer than deeds" (*Nem.* 4.6).

Pindar's debt to the epic tradition represented by Homer, Hesiod, and the Homeric Hymns is most apparent in his narratives, loosely called "myths," which are taken from the great store of Hellenic legend. He normally selects an episode from a larger story, which he elaborates with striking details. Often the narratives concern heroes connected with the victor's city, like those telling of the birth and colonization of Rhodes in *Ol.* 7, the origins of Opous and its heroes in *Ol.* 9, and Corinthian heroes in *Ol.* 13. Sometimes the narrative tells about an ancestor of the victor (Iamos in *Ol.* 6 and Alexidamos in *Pyth.* 9). Eight of the eleven odes to Aiginetans relate episodes from the sagas of Aiakos and his descendants, heroes closely associated with that island. Herakles is a frequent subject, especially in his role as founder of the Olympic festival (*Ol.* 3 and 10) and as exemplar of one who has reached the limits of human success (*Nem.* 3); his whole life from infancy to apotheosis is briefly sketched in *Nem.* 1. At times a short narrative makes a specific point: Erginos succeeds in spite of his appearance (*Ol.* 4); Philoktetes' situation resembles that of Hieron (*Pyth.* 1); Antilochos, in dying to save his father, is a model of filial piety (*Pyth.* 6); and Aias receives posthumous fame after disgrace (*Isth.* 4). Occasionally narratives depict examples of behavior to be avoided: Tantalos (*Ol.* 1), Ixion (*Pyth.* 2), Koronis and Asklepios (*Pyth.* 3), Klytaimestra (*Pyth.* 11), and Bellerophon (*Isth.* 7).

Especially memorable scenes or tableaux in the narratives include Pelops praying to Poseidon for assistance in defeating Oinomaos (*Ol.* 1), the birth of Iamos in a thicket (*Ol.* 6), the first Olympic competitors (*Ol.* 10), Typhos' eruptions from beneath Mt. Aitna (*Pyth.* 1), Apollo's love for Kyrene (*Pyth.* 9), the festivities of the Hyperboreans (*Pyth.* 10), the panic of Alkmene when the snakes attack Herakles (*Nem.* 1), the exploits of youthful Achilles (*Nem.* 3), Peleus' resistance to the blandishments of Hippolyta (*Nem.* 5), the expedition of the Seven against Thebes (*Nem.* 9), Polydeukes' decision to share his immortality with Kastor (*Nem.* 10), Herakles' visit to Telamon (*Isth.* 6), and the quarrel of Zeus and Poseidon over marrying Thetis (*Isth.* 8). By far the most complex and extensive narrative (of almost two hundred verses) is the depiction of Jason's career in *Pyth.* 4.

Many myths are demarcated by ring composition, a technique common in epic.[20] By means of a summary statement (κεφάλαιον) or brief allusion (often in relative or temporal clauses) the poet sketches the coming narrative. He then takes up the topics in greater detail, usually in reverse chronological order. After retracing his steps to the initial point, often with echoing vocabulary, he may add an epilogue. For example, in *Ol.* 1.24–27 Pindar briefly mentions Pelops, Poseidon's love for him, his being taken from a cauldron, and his ivory shoulder. In lines 37–87 he gives his own version of Tantalos' feast and relates at greater length Poseidon's love for Pelops, which culminates in his helping Pelops win Hippodameia. A

[20] The pioneering work on ring composition in Pindar is by L. Illig, *Zur Form der pindarischen Erzählung* (Berlin 1932) 55–67, who cites the story of Niobe at *Il.* 24.601–619 as a model.

brief epilogue (88–96) tells of Pelops' success and glorification at Olympia. The beginning of *Pyth.* 3 offers a more elaborate example of ring composition. In lines 1–11 the poet makes the following points: he wishes Cheiron were still alive; it was Cheiron who raised Asklepios to be a doctor; Asklepios' mother Koronis died before he was born. After relating the stories of Koronis' love affair and death (12–42) and Asklepios' career as a doctor (43–58), he returns to his wish that Cheiron were still alive (63–67). Other examples include *Ol.* 3.13–34 (Herakles' bringing the olive tree to Olympia); *Ol.* 7.27–80 (history of Rhodes); *Ol.* 13.63–90 (story of Bellerophon); *Pyth.* 6.28–42 (Antilochos' rescue of his father); *Pyth.* 9.5–69 (story of Kyrene); *Pyth.* 10.31–48 (Perseus' visit to the Hyperboreans); *Pyth.* 11.17–37 (Orestes' revenge on his father's murderers); *Pyth.* 12.6–24 (Athena's invention of the pipe); and *Nem.* 10.55–90 (Polydeukes' decision to share his immortality with his brother Kastor).

Most narratives occur in the middle of their odes between initial and concluding treatments of the occasion (ABA structure). No ode opens immediately with a mythical narrative, but in two striking cases (*Nem.* 1 and 10) the myths begin in the middle and continue to the very end, while *Pyth.* 9 concludes with an additional narrative about an ancestor of the victor. The transition to the myth is sometimes elaborately executed, but often it is effected, with varying degrees of abruptness, by a relative pronoun or adverb, as in the Homeric Hymns.

Catalogs are common in archaic poetry, whether as lists of epithets or places in hymns, contingents in the *Iliad*, or women in Hesiod's *Ehoiai*. Lists of victories (e.g., *Ol.* 7.80–87), heroes (e.g., *Pyth.* 4.171–183), places

(e.g., *Ol.* 9.67–68), legendary exploits (e.g., *Nem.* 10.4–18), and virtuous attributes (e.g., *Pyth.* 6.45–54) abound in the odes. Pindar skillfully adapts them to his complex meters and varies them by means of circumlocutions, allusive references, metaphors, negative expressions, and digressions.

Another distinctive aspect of Pindar's composition is the sudden, sometimes startling, curtailment or outright rejection of a topic. Often labeled *Abbruchsformeln* or *recusationes*, such interjections by the poet give a sense of spontaneity, as if allowing us to witness him in the process of deciding which topic to treat or how to treat it. Often he provides justifications for his decision, thus giving such passages an apologetic tone. Examples of break-offs from and rejections of narratives include *Ol.* 1.28–35 (rejection of the popular story of Tantalos' feast), *Ol.* 9.35–41 (rejection of Herakles' battles against gods as an unsuitable theme), *Ol.* 13.91–92 (refusal to treat Bellerophon's death), *Pyth.* 4.247–248 (abridgment of the narrative), *Pyth.* 10.48–54 (curtailment of Perseus' deeds), *Pyth.* 11.38–40 (turning from the narrative to praise of the victor), *Nem.* 3.26–32 (turning from Herakles to more relevant heroes), *Nem.* 4.69–72 (curtailment of stories about the Aiakidai), and *Nem.* 5.14–21 (refusal to tell why Peleus and Telamon were exiled). A similar technique is used to terminate catalogs, as at *Ol.* 13.40–48, *Nem.* 7.50–53, *Nem.* 10.19–20, and *Isth.* 1.60–63.

Twentieth century scholars have identified and studied a poetic device widespread in Greek and Latin poetry called a priamel.[21] The form consists of two parts: foil

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[21] F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* (Berlin 1921) 97–102 provides

and climax. The purpose of the foil is to lead up to and highlight the climactic element by adducing other examples, which yield to that element with varying degrees of contrast or analogy. The foil may consist of two or more items, even a full catalog, or it may be summarized by such words as "many" (πολύς) or "various" (ἄλλοτ' ἀλλοῖος). Priamels may occur at the beginning of an ode, as in *Ol.* 1, where water and gold (both supreme in their realms) yield to the item of real interest, the Olympic games, supreme among athletic contests, and in *Ol.* 11, where the need for winds or rains is capped by the need for song to celebrate great achievements; but priamels occur throughout the extant works whenever the poet wishes to introduce or emphasize a particular subject. For example, at *Ol.* 9.67–70 a list of places from which foreign settlers have come to Opous culminates in its most distinguished immigrant, Menoitios.

Meter, Form, Dialect, and Style

There are three basic meters in the poetry of Pindar. By far the most frequent are dactylo-epitritic and Aeolic; the third, derived from an iambic base, is represented only by *Ol.* 2 and *frr.* 75, 105, and 108. The dactylo-epitritic combines the dactyl ($-\smile\smile$), often in the larger unit of the hemiepes ($-\smile\smile-\smile\smile-$), with the epitrite ($-\smile--$). It is a stately rhythm (called "Doric" by Pindar), and although used in all the genres, it is especially frequent in those celebrating humans: epinikia, encomia, and

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the initial treatment of priamels in Pindar. For an overview, see W. H. Race, *The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius* (Leiden 1982).

threnoi. The dactylo-epitritic epinikia are: *Ol.* 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13;[22] *Pyth.* 1, 3, 4, 9, 12; *Nem.* 1, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11; *Isth.* 1, 2, 3/4, 5, and 6. The major dactylo-epitritic fragments are: *Isth.* 9; *Hymn.* 1; *Pae.* 5; *Dith.* 2; *Thren.* 7; *frr.* 42, 43, 122, 123, 124, 131b, and 133. The Aeolic rhythm permits greater variety and is composed mainly of iambs (⌣ –) and choriambs (– ⌣ ⌣ –). It is especially frequent in the paeans. The Aeolic epinikia are: *Ol.* 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 14; *Pyth.* 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11; *Nem.* 2, 3, 4, 6, 7; *Isth.* 7, and 8. The major Aeolic fragments are: *Pae.* 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9; *Parth.* 1, 2; and *fr.* 169a.

The odes are built of stanzas called strophes, antistrophes, and epodes. The first stanza, varying in length from three to twenty lines, is called a strophe. Seven epinikia (*Ol.* 14; *Pyth.* 6, 12; *Nem.* 2, 4, 9; and *Isth.* 8) and a few fragments (*Pae.* 5, *frr.* 122 and 124ab) repeat the metrical pattern of the strophe two to twelve times and are called "monostrophic." The remaining thirty-eight epinikia, most paeans, *Dith.* 2, *Parth.* 1 and 2, *frr.* 123, 140a, and 169a are "triadic," in that the strophe is followed by a metrically identical stanza called an antistrophe, which in turn is followed by a metrically distinct stanza called an epode, the three forming a unit called a triad. Each successive triad is metrically identical. Five epinikia consist of one triad (*Ol.* 4, 11, 12; *Pyth.* 7; and *Isth.* 3); most have three to five triads, except for the exceptionally long *Pyth.* 4, which has thirteen.

Pindar's dialect is a highly artificial idiom which contains such a complex mixture of epic, Doric, and Aeolic forms that only a very superficial sketch can be given here.[23] Epic vocabulary and forms familiar from Homeric verse are evident throughout (although Pindar avoids forms in -φι). The most obvious feature of the Doric dialect is a long α for Ionic η (e.g., ἀρετά for ἀρετή and Κυράνα for Κυρήνη) and -ᾶν for -ῶν in genitive plurals of the first declension (e.g., τᾶν ἀρετᾶν πασᾶν for τῶν ἀρετῶν πασῶν). Aeolic forms are most apparent in the use of οι instead of ου in some nouns (e.g., Μοῖσα for Μοῦσα), verbs (e.g., τρέφοισι for τρέφουσι), and aorist participles (e.g., ἰδοῖσα for ἰδοῦσα).

In his discussion of the austere style (whose practitioners include Aeschylus, Pindar, Antiphon, and Thucydides), Dionysios of Halikarnassos makes many observations applicable to Pindar's style (*de Compositione* 22).

[The austere style] is not loath to use frequent harsh and dissonant collocations, like stones put together in building that are not squared or polished, but rough and improvised. It generally likes expansion with big, long words,[24] for it is averse to being constrained to few syllables unless compelled to do so ... In its clauses it chooses stately and grand rhythms; it does not like clauses of equal length, of similar sound, or slaves to a necessary order,[25] but ones that are noble, brilliant, and free;

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[22] *Ol.* 13 is the only epinikion to have strophes and antistrophes in Aeolic, epodes in dactylo-epitritic.

[23] For more details see the introductions to the editions of Gildersleeve and Fennell and B. Forssman, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars* (Wiesbaden 1966).

[24] Particularly compound epithets.

[25] Reading οὔτε ἀναγκαίᾳ δουλεύοντα ἀκολουθίᾳ, ἀλλ' εὐγενῆ. Dionysios probably has in mind the smoothly balanced clauses of Isocrates' Gorgianic style.

it wishes them to resemble nature rather than art and to reflect emotion rather than character ... The austere style is further marked by flexibility of cases, variety of figures, use of few connectives and no articles, and frequent disregard for normal sequence. Far from being polished, it is high-minded, outspoken, blunt—its beauty being the patina of old-fashionedness.

The best known characterization of Pindar's style is by Horace in *Odes* 4.2.5–12: "Like a river rushing down a mountain which rains have swollen above its normal banks, the deep-voiced Pindar seethes and floods far and wide, sure to win Apollo's laurels when he tumbles new words through his daring dithyrambs, and is carried along by rhythms freed from rules." From these descriptions we can isolate the following general characteristics of Pindar's style: it is abundant, creative of new words and expressions, bold, passionate, old-fashioned, tinged with aristocratic bluntness, disdainful of the ordinary, and displays a rough strength typical of nature rather than of balanced art.

Perhaps the most pervasive aspect of Pindar's style is ποικιλία (variety), a term he himself applies to his poetry (e.g., *Ol.* 6.87 and *Pyth.* 9.77). His verse gives the impression of ever new creativity. In the epinikia, a genre which requires that similar points be repeated, he is especially adept at finding alternate wordings, different metaphors, allusive references, synonyms, circumlocutions, or negative expressions to vary the idiom. For example, on nine occasions he mentions the relationship between someone's performance and his appearance; ten times he states

that an individual has reached the limits of human success. Yet by variations of wording, rhythm, and emphasis, he avoids exact repetition and produces strikingly new formulations.[26]

A major component of Pindar's ποικιλία is what J. E. Sandys called "a constant and habitual use of metaphor."[27] There are hundreds of metaphorical expressions, some so slight as to be barely perceptible, others extremely bold. Pindar is not averse to mixing metaphors and occasionally piles them up at a confusing rate. For example, at *Ol.* 6.90–91 he calls his chorus trainer "a true messenger, a message stick of the Muses, a sweet mixing bowl of songs." In order to express the exaltation of being celebrated in poetry, he describes the victor as "lifted on the splendid wings of the melodious Pierians" (*Isth.* 1.64–65). This expression contains three perceptual categories—height, brightness, and sound—from which Pindar constantly draws metaphors to designate the joy and celebration of victory, while, conversely, images of depth, darkness, and silence are used to characterize the disappointment of defeat. To describe his poetic art, he draws metaphors from farming, sailing, chariot driving, archery, flying, wrestling, building, sculpture, weaving, javelin throwing, and business. The song can be a crown, mirror, building, storehouse, drink, toast, wave, flame, breeze, doctor, remedy, or charm.

[26] For an analysis of these two topics, see "Appendix 3" in W. H. Race, *Style and Rhetoric in Pindar's Odes* (Atlanta 1990) 187–195.

[27] In the previous Loeb edition of *Pindar* (1915) xviii. For many examples, see D. Steiner, *The Crown of Song: Metaphor in Pindar* (Oxford 1986).

Stated comparisons are frequent in the poems. Gold shines "like fire blazing in the night" (*Ol.* 1.1–2), mere learners are "like a pair of crows" (*Ol.* 2.87), the poet is "like a cork" (*Pyth.* 2.80) or a "wolf" (*Pyth.* 2.84), and his song "flits like a bee" (*Pyth.* 10.54). Pindar opens three odes with similes that compare his poetry to a splendid palace (*Ol.* 6.1–4), to the toast given by a father to his son-in-law (*Ol.* 7.1–10), and to libations at a symposium (*Isth.* 6.1–9). At *Ol.* 10.86–90 he compares his late-arriving poem to a son finally born to an aged man. Often, however, the comparison is left implicit or unstated.[28] For example, at *Nem.* 6.26 he acts like (ὥτ') an archer, but at *Ol.* 2.83 and *Ol.* 9.5 he simply appears as one; at *Ol.* 13.93 he is a javelin thrower, whereas at *Pyth.* 1.44 the ὡσείτ' makes the comparison explicit.

Pindar is much more sparing than authors such as Aeschylus or Lucretius in the use of alliteration. One place, however, where he uses it to obvious effect is in the description of the eruption of Mt. Aitna at *Pyth.* 1.23–24, which ends with ἀλλ' ἐν ὀρφναισιν πέτρας | φοίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλὸξ ἐς βαθεῖαν φέρει πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγῳ ("but in times of darkness a rolling red flame carries rocks into the deep expanse of the sea with a crash"), in which the φ's and π's imitate the sound of the crashing rocks (and perhaps the σ's echo the hissing of the flames). At times there appears to be an intentional correspondence between rhythm and sense, as in *Ol.* 1, where there is an unusually long string of seven short syllables in the eighth verse of each strophe and antistrophe,

[28] F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* (Berlin 1921) 97 labels this phenomenon "Vergleich ohne wie."

in three of which the word "swift" (ταχυ-) occurs: μετὰ τὸ ταχύποτμον (66), ἐμὲ δ' ἐπὶ ταχυτάτων (77), Πέλοπος ἵνα ταχυτάς (95).

There are a number of puns on names, such as Iamos and ἴων (violets) at *Ol.* 6.55, Aias and αἰετόν (eagle) at *Isth.* 6.50, Orion and ὀρειᾶν (mountain) at *Nem.* 2.11, Hieron and ἱερῶν (temples) at *fr.* 105a2, and perhaps Athens and ἀεθληταῖσιν (athletes) at *Nem.* 5.49. In *Isth.* 2 the recurrence of the word ξένος (24, 39, 48) in an ode praising Xenocrates for his lavish hospitality seems deliberate. Pindar sometimes employs riddles or kennings; for example, a honeycomb is "the perforated labor of bees" (*Pyth.* 6.54) and Panathenaic amphoras are "richly wrought containers of earth baked in fire" (*Nem.* 10.36).

Certain images, themes, or related words are particularly prevalent in some odes: for example, words related to eating in *Ol.* 1; an unusual number of pairs in *Ol.* 6; gold, plants, and weather in *Ol.* 7; time in *Ol.* 10; music in *Pyth.* 1; numerous words pertaining to knowledge and the mind in *Pyth.* 3; references to medicine in *Pyth.* 3 and *Pyth.* 4; and courtship and athletics in *Pyth.* 9. Nautical imagery occurs throughout the odes.[29]

The odes are also rich textures of verbal echoes, and scholars have carefully listed many occurrences of repeated words and sounds, especially in metrically equivalent parts of an ode. But while the frequency of

[29] For the imagery of *Ol.* 7, see D. C. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar* (Leiden 1968) 69–105; for nautical imagery, see J. Péron, *Les images maritimes de Pindar* (Paris 1974); in general, see C. M. Bowra, "The Scope of Imagery," in *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 239–277 and M. S. Silk, *Interaction in Poetic Imagery* (Cambridge 1974) 179–190.

recurrent words is indisputable—Fennell lists over sixty words recurring one or more times in *Ol.* 1 alone—there is considerable disagreement about the significance of individual cases, and attempts to discover meaning in them often create ingenious but implausible interpretations.

Because of the pliability of Greek as an inflected language and the requirements of intricate metrical patterns, Pindar often places great strains on word order. As a result, many sentences must be pieced together like puzzles (e.g., *Isth.* 4.18–18a).[30] Hyperbaton, a lengthy separation of two grammatically connected words, occurs frequently. Two extreme examples are at *Pyth.* 4.106–108, where ἀρχαίαν is separated from its noun τιμάν by fifteen words, and at *Ol.* 12.5–6a, where the article αἱ is separated from its noun ἐλπίδες by thirteen words. Often, important words are withheld for climactic effect until the end of a sentence, or are enjambed at the beginning of a line or stanza.[31]

Enallage (hypallage) or transferred epithet, by which an attribute belonging logically to one thing is grammatically given to another, is very common.[32] Some examples are so slight as to be barely noticeable, such as "the tawny herds of cattle" (*Pyth.* 4.149); others are much bolder, such as "your honor of feet" (= "the honor of your feet," *Ol.* 12.13) and "fearless seed of Herakles" (= "the seed of

[30] See A.-I. Sulzer, *Zur Wortstellung und Satzbildung bei Pindar* (Bern 1970).

[31] See R. Nierhaus, *Strophe und Inhalt im pindarischen Epinikion* (Diss. Leipzig 1936).

[32] See V. Bers, *Enallage and Greek Style* (Leiden 1974) 45–48 and the Index Locorum s.v. Pindar.

fearless Herakles," *Nem.* 10.17). The so-called *schema Pindaricum*, in which a singular verb is used with a masculine or feminine plural subject, is infrequent in the epinikia, but particularly noticeable in *Dith.* 2, where there are three instances in the first thirteen verses. There are also striking examples of zeugma (the use of one verb with differing meanings for two objects) as at *Ol.* 1.88, where Pelops took (i.e. defeated) Oinomaos and took (i.e. won) Hippodameia as a bride (cf. also *Pyth.* 1.40).

Other figures include hendiadys, two nouns that express a single thought, (e.g., *Pyth.* 1.37: στεφάνοισι ἵπποις τε, "crowns and horses" = "victorious horses"), and various kinds of brachylogy or ellipsis, in which connecting elements have been omitted. A complex example of brachylogy occurs at *Ol.* 12.13–15: "truly would the honor of [i.e. won by] your feet, like [that of] a fighting cock ... have [like a tree or wreath] dropped its leaves ingloriously." Finally, Pindar scrupulously avoids precise grammatical symmetry of terms in pairs or series. For example, instead of a simple "day and night" we find ἀμέραισιν μὲν ... ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ὄρφναισιν (*Pyth.* 1.22–23), ἆμαρ ἢ νύκτες (*Pyth.* 4. 256), and ἐφαμερίαν ... μετὰ νύκτας (*Nem.* 6.6).

Pindar's Legacy

Since choral epinikian poetry ceased to be written soon after Pindar's death, his style and subject matter exerted more influence on subsequent Greek and Roman authors than did his genre. In the 4th century Isocrates adapted many Pindaric poetic strategies and topics to his

prose works, particularly those praising individuals (e.g., *Evagoras*) or advising them (e.g., *To Demonikos*, *To Nikokles*, and *To Philip*).[33] In the Hellenistic period Callimachus (in his *Hymns*) and Theocritus (in his *Idylls*) exhibit Pindaric influence, especially the latter in his panegyric of Hieron II (*Id.* 16) and in his portrayal of the infant Herakles' fight with the snakes sent by Hera (*Id.* 24), an episode treated by Pindar in *Nem.* 1.

The Roman poet most indebted to Pindar was Horace, whose eulogy of Augustus (*Odes* 1.12) opens with a quotation from Pindar's *Ol.* 2: "What man, what hero do you undertake to celebrate on the lyre or shrill pipe, Clio, and what god?" His hymn to Calliope (*Odes* 3.4) is to a considerable extent modeled on *Pyth.* 1. Horace's greatest tribute to Pindar, however, is in *Odes* 4.2, which opens with Pindar's name and describes the dangers of trying to emulate him: "Whoever strives to rival Pindar, Julus, relies on wings waxed by Daedalus' craft and will give his name to a transparent sea." In the next five stanzas Horace describes Pindar's poetry in terms of its power, range, and grandeur, and compares it to a rushing river. He then goes on to contrast Pindar, "the Swan of Dirce," soaring among the clouds, with himself, the small "Bee of Matinus," staying low to the ground and laboriously gathering thyme. This exaggerated characterization of these two styles provided the Renaissance with its distinction between the "greater" Pindaric and the "lesser" Horatian odes.

[33] For an examination of Isocrates' adaptations, see W. H. Race, "Pindaric Encomium and Isokrates' *Evagoras*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 117 (1987) 131–155.

Soon after Pindar's epinikia were published in Europe in the early 16th century, the French poet Ronsard, who aspired to become the "French Pindar," published a collection of fourteen Pindaric odes in praise of contemporaries in 1550.[34] The first important Pindaric adaptation in English poetry is Ben Jonson's "To the Immortal Memory and Friendship of that Noble Pair, Sir Lucius Cary and Sir H. Morison" (1630), which imitates Pindar's triadic structure with "Turns," "Counter-Turns," and "Stands." In 1656 Abraham Cowley published his "Pindarique Odes." He began his preface with the famous statement: "If a man should undertake to translate Pindar word for word, it would be thought that one mad-man had translated another." Taking as his point of departure Horace's description of Pindar in *Odes* 4.2, Cowley emphasized Pindar's "enthusiastical manner" and produced irregular verse without regard for triadic structure.

After Cowley, "Pindaric" became a label for any poem of irregular form with pretensions of grandeur. Boileau's "Ode sur la Prise de Namur" (1693) and Dryden's "Alexander's Feast" (1697) are examples, as are Gray's "Progress of Poesy" and "The Bard" (1757). The early German Romantics admired Pindar (especially Hölderlin, who translated a number of his epinikia), but afterwards his influence began to diminish. Although English Romantic poems such as Wordsworth's "Ode: Intimations of Immortality" (1807) and later poems such as G. M. Hopkins' "The Wreck of the Deutschland" (1875) are sometimes called Pindaric odes, they bear little resemblance in form or content to Pindar's poems.

[34] See T. Schmitz, *Pindar in der französischen Renaissance* (Göttingen 1993).

History of the Text

The most important early editor of Pindar's works was Aristophanes of Byzantion, head librarian in Alexandria c. 194–180 B.C., who divided the individual poems into short lines based on metrical cola and the entire corpus into seventeen books. The numerous epinikia were separated into manageable rolls according to the four major games at which the victories were won. Within each roll the odes were ordered by the categories of events, beginning with the equestrian (in the order of chariot race, horse race, mule car race) followed by the gymnastic (in the order of pancratium, wrestling, boxing, pentathlon, and foot races).[35]

Since only the wealthy could afford to raise and train horses of the caliber to win at the great games, this arrangement favored Pindar's powerful patrons and placed more impressive odes at the beginning of each roll. Deviations from this system are instructive. If strict order were followed, *Ol.* 2 and 3 celebrating Theron's chariot victory should precede *Ol.* 1 celebrating Hieron's single-horse victory, but we are told that Aristophanes placed the latter first because it contained praise of the Olympic games. The eminence of Hieron and the scale of the ode must have been factors in this reversal as well, because *Ol.* 3 also tells of the establishment of the Olympic games. It is questionable whether *Pyth.* 2 celebrates a Pythian victory at all, while *Pyth.* 3, not an

epinikion in any strict sense, merely refers in passing to a previous single-horse victory at Pytho. Yet these two poems were placed ahead of *Pyth.* 4 and 5 that celebrate Arkesilas' chariot victory, presumably to form a group of odes to Pindar's greatest patron. Anomalous odes were placed at the end of books. The final Pythian ode, *Pyth.* 12, celebrates a victory in pipe-playing, and the last three Nemeans were not composed for Nemean victories. *Nem.* 9 celebrates a chariot victory in the Sikyonian games, *Nem.* 10 a wrestling victory in the Argive games (although previous victories in the crown games are mentioned), and *Nem.* 11 celebrates the installation of a former athlete as a magistrate in Tenedos.

Two Pindaric scholars of note who followed Aristophanes of Byzantion were Aristarchos of Samothrace (c. 217–145 B.C.) and Didymos (c. 80–10 B.C.), the latter of whom composed lengthy commentaries, bits of which have come down to us as scholia (marginal notes) in our MSS. In the 3rd century A.D. the other books began to drop out of circulation and only the four books of epinikia continued to be read.[36] About this time they were transferred from papyrus rolls to codices, apparently in the order of the founding of the games: Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean. At some point the last two books were interchanged and some of the final pages of the Isthmian odes were lost.

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[35] Simonides' epinikia were arranged by events won; apart from the fact that odes for the same victor are grouped together, no particular order is apparent among Bacchylides' epinikia.

[36] See J. Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare* (Paris 1952). Eustathios, *Praefatio* 34 reports that the epinikia were especially popular because they were more concerned with human affairs (ἀνθρωπικώτεροι), contained fewer myths, and were not as difficult as the other genres.

In the 4th and 5th century A.D. two recensions of the epinikia took shape: the Ambrosian recension, represented by a single MS in the Ambrosian Library in Milan (end of 13th cent.), and the Vatican recension, best represented by two MSS, one in the Vatican Library (end of 12th cent.)[37] and the other in the Laurentian Library in Florence (early 14th cent.). Although both recensions derive from the same source (probably a 2nd cent. edition), they differ, especially in their scholia. Two lesser recensions are the Parisina, best represented by a MS in Paris (late 13th cent.), and the Gottingensis, by a MS in Göttingen (mid-13th cent.).

The late Byzantine period saw a revival of editorial work on Pindar. Eustathios (d. c. 1194) wrote a commentary, but only the preface has survived. A century later editions were prepared by Thomas Magister (c. 1280–1350), Manuel Moschopoulos (fl. 1300), and Demetrios Triklinios (c. 1280–1340). Modern editors have adopted many of their readings, and many of the more than 180 extant MSS exhibit their editorial work.

The following table provides the sigla for the principal MSS.

Recensio Ambrosiana

| A | Ambrosianus C 222 inf. | c. 1280 | *Ol.* 1–12 |

Recensio Parisina (= ζ)

| C | Parisinus graecus 2774 | c. 1300 | *Ol.* 1–*Pyth.* 5.51 |
| N | Ambrosianus E 103 sup. | late 13th cent. | *Ol.* 1–14 |

[37] For a facsimile of the Olympian odes in this MS, see J. Irigoin, *Pindare Olympiques* (Vatican 1974).

O	Leidensis Q 4 B	c. 1300	*Ol.* 1–13
U	Vindobonensis graecus 130	early 14th cent.	*Ol.* 1–*Nem.* 2
V	Parisinus graecus 2403	late 13th cent.	*Ol.* 1–*Nem.* 4.68; 6.38–44

Recensio Vaticana (= v)

B	Vaticanus graecus 1312	late 12th cent.	*Ol.* 1–*Isth.* 8.53 (with some lacunae)
D	Laurentianus 32, 52	early 14th cent.	*Ol.* 1–*Isth.* 9.8
E	Laurentianus 32, 37	c. 1300	*Ol.* 1–*Pyth.* 12.25
F	Laurentianus 32, 33	late 13th cent.	*Ol.* 1–*Pyth.* 12.32
L	Vaticanus graecus 902	early 14th cent.	*Ol.* 1–10

Recensio Gottingensis (= γ)

| G | Gottingensis philologus 29 | mid-13th cent. | *Ol.* 1–*Nem.* 3 |
| H | Vaticanus graecus 41 | early 14th cent. | *Ol.* 1–*Pyth.* 12 |

In addition, α = ζ + v; β = EFL + γ; Σ = scholion; Π = papyrus; paraphr. = scholiastic paraphrase; Byz. = readings in the Byzantine interpolated MSS. The most important papyri are P. Oxy. 408 (*fr.* 140a-b), 659 (*Parth.* 1–2), 841 (*Pae.* 1–10), 1604 (*Dith.* 1–3), 1792 (*frr.* of paeans), and 2450 (*fr.* 169a). Those cited in the critical apparatus of the epinikia are:

Π^1 P. Oxy. 13.1614
Π^2 P. Oxy. 17.2092
Π^{22} PSI 1277
Π^{24} P. Oxy. 26.2439
Π^{39} P. Ant. 2.76 + 3.212
Π^{41} P. Berol. 16367
Π^{42} P. Oxy. 31.2536

The *editio princeps* is the Aldine (Venice 1513). The first Latin translation is by Lonicerus (Basel 1535). Erasmus Schmid's edition (Wittenberg 1616) is a landmark of Renaissance scholarship on Pindar, notable for its rhetorical schemata of each ode and many sound emendations. It was closely followed by Iohannes Benedictus' text (Saumur 1620), the most widely used edition in the 17th century (John Milton owned and annotated a copy). The next edition of note was C. G. Heyne's (Göttingen 1798), soon superseded by the monumental edition of August Boeckh (Leipzig 1811–1821), which first set forth the division of Pindar's verse into periods rather than cola and provided extensive commentaries (those on the Nemeans and Isthmians were written by Ludwig Dissen). Dissen soon followed with his own edition (Gotha 1830). Tycho Mommsen (Berlin 1864) provided the first systematic examination of the Byzantine MSS. Otto Schroeder produced an important critical edition (Leipzig 1900). Alexander Turyn's edition (Cracow 1948; Oxford 1952) is notable for its scrupulous examination of manuscripts and copious testimonia. Although differing in many details and numerous readings adopted, the present text is based primarily on the eighth edition of Snell-Maehler's Epinicia (1987) and H. Maehler's Fragmenta (1989), to which the reader is referred for additional details.

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ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝΙΚΑΙ

OLYMPIAN ODES

OLYMPIAN 1

Olympian 1 celebrates Hieron's victory in the single-horse race (*keles*) in 476 (confirmed by P. Oxy. 222). The more prestigious four-horse chariot race (*tethrippon*) was won by Theron of Akragas and celebrated by Pindar in *Olympians* 2 and 3. In the normal order established by the Alexandrian editors, it would have followed the odes to Theron, but the *Vita Thomana* reports (1.7 Dr.) that Aristophanes of Byzantion placed *Olympian* 1 first in the collection because it "contained praise of the Olympic games and told of Pelops, the first to compete in Elis."

The ode opens with a priamel, in which water and gold, best in their respective realms, serve as foil for the greatest of games, the Olympics (1–7). Hieron is briefly praised for his wealth, hospitality, political power, achievements celebrated in song (8–17), and in particular for the Olympic victory of his horse Pherenikos (17–23).

The central portion of the poem contains Pindar's re-fashioning of the story of Pelops. Little is known about this myth before Pindar, but a former version (cf. 36) seems to have been that Tantalos served his dismembered son Pelops at a banquet for the gods, who, upon discovering this, resurrected him from the cauldron, replaced part of his shoulder (supposedly eaten by Demeter) with ivory, and punished Tantalos in Hades. Pindar attributes the appeal of such a tale to the charm of exaggerated story-telling (28–32) and its details to the gossip of an envious neighbor (46–51). In Pindar's version, Pelops was born with an ivory shoulder (26–27) and Tantalos gave a most proper feast (38), at which Poseidon fell in love with Pelops and took him to Olympos as Zeus later did with Ganymede (37–45). Tantalos' punishment resulted from stealing nectar and ambrosia from the gods and sharing them with his human companions (55–64). As a consequence, Pelops was returned to earth (65–66). When he grew to young manhood, he desired to win Hippodameia in the contest contrived by her father Oinomaos, who killed all suitors unable to beat him in a chariot race. He called upon his former lover Poseidon for help and the god gave him a golden chariot and winged horses, with which he defeated Oinomaos, thereby winning Hippodameia, by whom he had six sons (67–89). Pelops' tomb now stands beside the altar of Zeus at Olympia (90–93).

Pindar mentions the fame and satisfaction belonging to Olympic victors (93–99), praises Hieron as the most knowledgeable and powerful host of his time (100–108), and hopes that he will be able to celebrate a future chariot victory (108–111). In a brief priamel, he declares that kings occupy the apex of greatness, and concludes by praying that Hieron may enjoy his high status for the rest of his life and that he himself may celebrate victors as the foremost Panhellenic poet (111–116).

1. ΙΕΡΩΝΙ ΣΤΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΙ

ΚΕΛΗΤΙ

A'   "Αριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ
    ἅτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μεγάνορος ἔξοχα πλούτου·
    εἰ δ' ἄεθλα γαρύεν
    ἔλδεαι, φίλον ἦτορ,
5   μηκέτ' ἀελίου σκόπει
    ἄλλο θαλπνότερον ἐν ἁμέρᾳ φαεν-
      νὸν ἄστρον ἐρήμας δι' αἰθέρος,
    μηδ' Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα φέρτερον αὐδάσομεν·
    ὅθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται
    σοφῶν μητίεσσι, κελαδεῖν
10 Κρόνου παῖδ' ἐς ἀφνεὰν ἱκομένους
    μάκαιραν Ἱέρωνος ἑστίαν,

    θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμήλῳ
    Σικελίᾳ, δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἄπο πασᾶν,
    ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καί
15 μουσικᾶς ἐν ἀώτῳ,

12 πολυμήλῳ AˢCˢH: πολυμάλῳ rell.

1. FOR HIERON OF SYRACUSE

WINNER, SINGLE-HORSE RACE, 476 B.C.

Best is water, while gold, like fire blazing   Str. 1
in the night, shines preeminent amid lordly wealth.
But if you wish to sing
of athletic games, my heart,[1]
look no further than the sun   5
for another star shining more warmly by day
   through the empty sky,
nor let us proclaim a contest greater than Olympia.
From there comes the famous hymn that encompasses
the thoughts of wise men, who have come
in celebration of Kronos' son[2] to the rich   10
and blessed hearth of Hieron,

who wields the rightful scepter[3] in flock-rich   Ant. 1
Sicily. He culls the summits of all achievements
and is also glorified
in the finest songs,   15

[1] Pindar regularly addresses himself or uses the first person (often an emphatic pronoun) at climactic or transitional points in an ode (e.g., 17, 36, 52, 100, 111, and 115b). His addresses to Pelops (36) and Hieron (107, 115) also signal climactic passages.
[2] Zeus, patron god of the Olympic games.
[3] Or *scepter of law* (cf. *Il.* 9.99: σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας).

οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν
ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν. ἀλλὰ Δω-
ρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου
λάμβαν’, εἴ τί τοι Πίσας τε καὶ Φερενίκου χάρις
νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτάταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν,
20 ὅτε παρ’ Ἀλφεῷ σύτο δέμας
ἀκέντητον ἐν δρόμοισι παρέχων,
κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπόταν,

Συρακόσιον ἱπποχάρ-
μαν βασιλῆα· λάμπει δέ οἱ κλέος
ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικίᾳ·
25 τοῦ μεγασθενὴς ἐράσσατο Γαιάοχος
Ποσειδᾶν, ἐπεί νιν καθαροῦ λέβη-
τος ἔξελε Κλωθώ,
ἐλέφαντι φαίδιμον ὦμον κεκαδμένον.
ἦ θαύματα πολλά, καί πού τι καὶ βροτῶν
28b φάτις ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀλαθῆ λόγον
δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις
ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι.

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[1] Since there is no evidence for a specifically Dorian lyre and since the meter of the ode is Aeolic, the reference may apply to the Dorian character of Syracuse (cf. *Pyth.* 1.61–65) and, perhaps, to the presence of the Doric dialect in Pindar's choral lyric.
[2] The district around Olympia.
[3] Hieron's horse "Victory-Bringer," also victorious at Delphi (cf. *Pyth.* 3.74).

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such as those we men often perform in play
about the friendly table. Come, take
  the Dorian lyre[1] from its peg,
if the splendor of Pisa[2] and of Pherenikos[3] has indeed
enthralled your mind with sweetest considerations,
when he sped beside the Alpheos,[4]   20
giving his limbs ungoaded in the race,
and joined to victorious power his master,

Syracuse's horse-loving   Ep. 1
  king. Fame shines for him
in the colony of brave men founded by Lydian Pelops,[5]
with whom mighty Earthholder Poseidon   25
fell in love, after Klotho[6] pulled him
  from the pure cauldron,
distinguished by his shoulder[7] gleaming with ivory.
Yes, wonders are many, but then too, I think, in men's talk
stories are embellished beyond the true account   28b
and deceive by means of
  elaborate lies.

[4] The river that runs through Olympia.
[5] Pelops came from Lydia to colonize the Peloponnesos ("Pe-lops' Island"), later settled by Dorians, renowned for bravery.
[6] One of the three Fates, associated with births. Pindar here implies that Pelops was not boiled in a cauldron nor was his shoulder replaced with ivory (as in the rejected version of the story), but he was bathed in one (hence "pure") and was born with an ivory shoulder.
[7] Or *furnished with a shoulder.*

Β΄ Χάρις δ᾽, ἅπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μείλιχα θνατοῖς,
31 ἐπιφέροισα τιμὰν καὶ ἄπιστον ἐμήσατο πιστὸν
ἔμμεναι τὸ πολλάκις·
ἀμέραι δ᾽ ἐπίλοιποι
μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι.
35 ἔστι δ᾽ ἀνδρὶ φάμεν ἐοικὸς ἀμφὶ δαι-
μόνων καλά· μείων γὰρ αἰτία.
υἱὲ Ταντάλου, σὲ δ᾽ ἀντία προτέρων φθέγξομαι,
ὁπότ᾽ ἐκάλεσε πατὴρ τὸν εὐνομώτατον
ἐς ἔρανον φίλαν τε Σίπυλον,
ἀμοιβαῖα θεοῖσι δεῖπνα παρέχων,
40 τότ᾽ Ἀγλαοτρίαιναν ἁρπάσαι,

δαμέντα φρένας ἱμέρῳ, χρυσέαισί τ᾽ ἀν᾽ ἵπποις
ὕπατον εὐρυτίμου ποτὶ δῶμα Διὸς μεταβᾶσαι·
ἔνθα δευτέρῳ χρόνῳ
ἦλθε καὶ Γανυμήδης
45 Ζηνὶ τωὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ χρέος.
ὡς δ᾽ ἄφαντος ἔπελες, οὐδὲ ματρὶ πολ-
λὰ μαιόμενοι φῶτες ἄγαγον,
ἔννεπε κρυφᾷ τις αὐτίκα φθονερῶν γειτόνων,
ὕδατος ὅτι τε πυρὶ ζέοισαν εἰς ἀκμάν
μαχαίρᾳ τάμον κατὰ μέλη,

41 χρυσέαισί τ᾽ ἀν᾽ E. Schmid: χρυσέαισιν ἀν ANᵃᶜv: χρυ-
σέαις κἀν C: χρυσέαισιν κ᾽ ἀν᾽ Nᴾᶜ

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[1] Here personified. One of Pindar's favorite words, the
meanings of χάρις range from "beauty/grace/charm," to "splen-

For Charis,[1] who fashions all things pleasant for mortals, Str. 2
by bestowing honor makes even what is unbelievable 31
often believed;
yet days to come
are the wisest witnesses.
It is proper for a man to speak 35
well of the gods, for less is the blame.
Son of Tantalos, of you I shall say, contrary to my
predecessors,
that when your father invited the gods
to his most orderly feast and to his friendly Sipylos[2]
giving them a banquet in return for theirs,
then it was that the Lord of the Splendid Trident seized 40
you,

his mind overcome by desire, and with golden steeds Ant. 2
conveyed you to the highest home of widely honored
Zeus,
where at a later time
Ganymede came as well
for the same service to Zeus.[3] 45
But when you disappeared, and despite much searching
no men returned you to your mother,
one of the envious neighbors immediately said in secret
that into water boiling rapidly on the fire
they cut up your limbs with a knife,

dor/glory" (cf. 18), to "favor/gratitude" (cf. 75). *Olympian* 14
contains a hymn to the three Charites (Graces).
[2] A Lydian city near Smyrna. The adjective "most orderly"
corrects the older version, which told of a cannibal feast.
[3] As cupbearer and adolescent lover.

50 τραπέζαισί τ' ἀμφὶ δεύτατα κρεῶν
   σέθεν διεδάσαντο καὶ φάγον.

   ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαρ-
      γον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι·
   ἀκέρδεια λέλογχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρους.
   εἰ δὲ δή τιν' ἄνδρα θνατὸν Ὀλύμπου σκοποί
55 ἐτίμασαν, ἦν Τάνταλος οὗτος· ἀλ-
      λὰ γὰρ καταπέψαι
   μέγαν ὄλβον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη, κόρῳ δ' ἕλεν
   ἄταν ὑπέροπλον, ἅν τοι πατὴρ ὕπερ
57b κρέμασε καρτερὸν αὐτῷ λίθον,
   τὸν αἰεὶ μενοινῶν κεφαλᾶς βαλεῖν
      εὐφροσύνας ἀλᾶται.

Γ' ἔχει δ' ἀπάλαμον βίον τοῦτον ἐμπεδόμοχθον
60 μετὰ τριῶν τέταρτον πόνον, ἀθανάτους ὅτι κλέψαις
   ἀλίκεσσι συμπόταις
   νέκταρ ἀμβροσίαν τε
   δῶκεν, οἷσιν ἄφθιτον
   θέν νιν. εἰ δὲ θεὸν ἀνήρ τις ἔλπεταί
      <τι> λαθέμεν ἔρδων, ἁμαρτάνει.
65 τοὔνεκα προῆκαν υἱὸν ἀθάνατοί οἱ πάλιν
   μετὰ τὸ ταχύποτμον αὖτις ἀνέρων ἔθνος.
   πρὸς εὐάνθεμον δ' ὅτε φυάν

and for the final course distributed your flesh 50
around the tables and ate it.

But for my part, I cannot call any of the blessed gods Ep. 2
   a glutton[1]—I stand back:
impoverishment is often the lot of slanderers.
If in fact the wardens of Olympos honored any mortal
man, Tantalos was that one. He, however, 55
   could not digest
his great good fortune, and because of his greed he won
an overwhelming punishment in the form of a massive
rock which the Father[2] suspended above him; 57b
in his constant eagerness to cast it away from his head
   he is banished from joy.[3]

He has this helpless existence of constant weariness, Str. 3
the fourth toil along with three others,[4] because he stole 60
from the deathless gods the nectar and ambrosia
with which they had made him immortal,
and gave them to the companions who drank
with him. But if any man hopes to hide any deed
   from a god, he is mistaken.
And so, the immortals cast his son back 65
once again among the shortlived race of men.
And toward the age of youthful bloom,

[1] Perhaps a euphemism for cannibal.
[2] Zeus.
[3] In Homer's account (*Od.* 11.582–592) Tantalos stands in the midst of food and water that elude his grasp.
[4] I.e., the punishments of Tityos, Sisyphos, and Ixion, the other three arch-sinners. Alternatively, the expression may be proverbial, meaning toil upon toil.

λάχναι νιν μέλαν γένειον ἔρεφον,
ἑτοῖμον ἀνεφρόντισεν γάμον

70 Πισάτα παρὰ πατρὸς εὔδοξον Ἱπποδάμειαν
σχεθέμεν. ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν πολιᾶς ἁλὸς οἶος ἐν ὄρφνᾳ
ἄπυεν βαρύκτυπον
Εὐτρίαιναν· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ
πὰρ ποδὶ σχεδὸν φάνη.
75 τῷ μὲν εἶπε· "Φίλια δῶρα Κυπρίας
ἄγ' εἴ τι, Ποσείδαον, ἐς χάριν
τέλλεται, πέδασον ἔγχος Οἰνομάου χάλκεον,
ἐμὲ δ' ἐπὶ ταχυτάτων πόρευσον ἁρμάτων
ἐς Ἆλιν, κράτει δὲ πέλασον.
ἐπεὶ τρεῖς τε καὶ δέκ' ἄνδρας ὀλέσαις
80 μναστῆρας ἀναβάλλεται γάμον

θυγατρός. ὁ μέγας δὲ κίν-
δυνος ἄναλκιν οὐ φῶτα λαμβάνει.
θανεῖν δ' οἷσιν ἀνάγκα, τά κέ τις ἀνώνυμον
γῆρας ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος ἕψοι μάταν,
ἁπάντων καλῶν ἄμμορος; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ
μὲν οὗτος ἄεθλος
85 ὑποκείσεται· τὺ δὲ πρᾶξιν φίλαν δίδοι."
ὣς ἔννεπεν· οὐδ' ἀκράντοις ἐφάψατο
86b ἔπεσι. τὸν μὲν ἀγάλλων θεός
ἔδωκεν δίφρον τε χρύσεον πτεροῖ-
σίν τ' ἀκάμαντας ἵππους.

71 ἐγγὺς Bergk: ἐγγὺς δ' codd.

when downy hair began covering his darkened chin,
he took thought of the marriage that was open to all,

to winning famous Hippodameia from her father,   Ant. 3
the Pisan. He approached the gray sea alone at night   71
and called upon the deep-thundering
Lord of the Fine Trident, who appeared
right by his feet.
He said to him, "If the loving gifts of Kypris[1]   75
count at all for gratitude, Poseidon,
come! hold back the bronze spear of Oinomaos
and speed me in the swiftest of chariots
to Elis[2] and bring me to victorious power,
for having killed thirteen suitors
he puts off the marriage   80

of his daughter. Great risk   Ep. 3
does not take hold of a cowardly man.
But since men must die, why would anyone sit
in darkness and coddle a nameless old age to no use,
deprived of all noble deeds? No!
that contest shall be mine
to undertake; you grant the success I desire."   85
Thus he spoke, and wielded no unfulfilled
words. The god honored him   86b
with the gift of a golden chariot
and winged horses that never tire.

[1] Aphrodite.
[2] The region in which Olympia and Pisa are located.

Δ' ἕλεν δ' Οἰνομάου βίαν παρθένον τε σύνευνον·
ἔτεκε λαγέτας ἐξ ἀρεταῖσι μεμαότας υἱούς.
90 νῦν δ' ἐν αἱμακουρίαις
ἀγλααῖσι μέμικται,
Ἀλφεοῦ πόρῳ κλιθείς,
τύμβον ἀμφίπολον ἔχων πολυξενω-
τάτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ· τὸ δὲ κλέος
τηλόθεν δέδορκε τᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις
95 Πέλοπος, ἵνα ταχυτὰς ποδῶν ἐρίζεται
ἀκμαί τ' ἰσχύος θρασύπονοι·
ὁ νικῶν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοτον
ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν

ἀέθλων γ' ἕνεκεν· τὸ δ' αἰεὶ παράμερον ἐσλόν
100 ὕπατον ἔρχεται παντὶ βροτῶν. ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι
κεῖνον ἱππίῳ νόμῳ
Αἰοληΐδι μολπᾷ
χρή· πέποιθα δὲ ξένον
μή τιν' ἀμφότερα καλῶν τε ἴδριν †ἄ-
μα καὶ δύναμιν κυριώτερον
105 τῶν γε νῦν κλυταῖσι δαιδαλωσέμεν ὕμνων πτυχαῖς.
θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν τεαῖσι μήδεται
ἔχων τοῦτο κᾶδος, Ἱέρων,

89 ἔτεκε Boehmer: τέκε τε Byz.: ἀ τέκε vett.
104 ἄμα vett.: ἄλλον Byz.: ἀλλὰ Hermann
107 κᾶδος Boeckh: κῦδος CE^{γρ}L: κῆδος rell.

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[1] The altar of Zeus.

56

He defeated mighty Oinomaos and won the maiden as his   Str. 4
    wife.
He fathered six sons, leaders eager for achievements.
And now he partakes   90
of splendid blood sacrifices
as he reclines by the course of the Alpheos,
having his much-attended tomb beside the altar
    thronged by visiting strangers.[1] And far shines that
fame of the Olympic festivals gained in the racecourses
of Pelops, where competition is held for swiftness of feet   95
and boldly laboring feats of strength.
And for the rest of his life the victor
enjoys a honey-sweet calm,

so much as games can provide it. But the good that   Ant. 4
    comes each day
is greatest for every mortal.[2] My duty is to crown   100
that man with an equestrian tune
in Aeolic song.[3]
For I am confident that there is no other host
both more expert in noble pursuits and
    more lordly in power
alive today to embellish in famous folds of hymns.   105
A god acting as guardian makes this his concern:
to devise means, Hieron, for your

[2] Although satisfaction for great achievement may last a lifetime, humans must live each day and not rest on laurels.

[3] The equestrian tune, also called the Kastor Song (cf. *Pyth.* 2.69 and *Isth.* 1.16), was sung to honor horsemen. "Aeolic" may refer to the meter or possibly to the musical mode.

57

μερίμναισιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ λίποι,
ἔτι γλυκυτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι

110 σὺν ἅρματι θοῷ κλεΐ-
    ξειν ἐπίκουρον εὑρὼν ὁδὸν λόγων
παρ᾽ εὐδείελον ἐλθὼν Κρόνιον. ἐμοὶ μὲν ὦν
Μοῖσα καρτερώτατον βέλος ἀλκᾷ τρέφει·
ἐν ἄλλοισι δ᾽ ἄλλοι μεγάλοι· τὸ δ᾽ ἔ-
    σχατον κορυφοῦται
βασιλεῦσι. μηκέτι πάπταινε πόρσιον.
115 εἴη σέ τε τοῦτον ὑψοῦ χρόνον πατεῖν,
115b ἐμέ τε τοσσάδε νικαφόροις
ὁμιλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφίᾳ καθ᾽ Ἑλ-
    λανας ἐόντα παντᾷ.

      113 ἐν V: om. rell.: ἐπ᾽ Byz.

aspirations, and unless he should suddenly depart,
I hope to celebrate an even sweeter success

with a speeding chariot,[1] having found   Ep. 4
    a helpful road of words[2]
when coming to Kronos' sunny hill.[3] And now for me   111
the Muse tends the strongest weapon in defense:
others are great in various ways, but
    the summit is crowned
by kings. Look no further.[4]
May you walk on high for the time that is yours,   115
and may I join victors whenever they win   115b
and be foremost in wisdom
    among Hellenes everywhere.

    [1] Hieron won the chariot race two Olympiads later (468), but Bacchylides (in Ode 3), not Pindar, celebrated it.
    [2] The road to Olympia will be helpful to the poet by providing ample material for praise.
    [3] The hill of Kronos was adjacent to the precinct of Zeus at Olympia.
    [4] Regardless of whether Hieron furthers his athletic success, he has reached the pinnacle of political power by being king.