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" Pythian 1: A Brief Commentary"

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Note: Boldface line numbers and Greek words in boldface refer to this ode alone; the line numbers are those assigned by Boeckh. Many thanks go to Gregory Nagy and my fellow students of his Autumn 2009 Pindar seminar for their ongoing discussions and feedback.

Line 1. Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ: At the beginning of *Olympian* 1 (composed in celebration of Hieron's victory in the chariot race), the *phorminx* also enters the ode at an early point: ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου | λάμβαν' (*Olympian* 1.17-18). By directing attention to this instrument here and in *Olympian* 1, Pindar draws attention also to his persona as an *aoidos* with the full tradition that the word draws in its train: it is the *phorminx* that Demodokos, the 'prototypical epic performer', removes from a peg at the beginning of the eighth scroll of the *Odyssey*¹ and that accompanies the epic performer as he sings of κλέα ἀνδρῶν (*Odyssey* viii 73; cf. *Iliad* IX 186-189, of Achilles singing to his intricately crafted lyre, and the expansion of κλέα ἀνδρῶν to κλέα ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων at *Iliad* IX 524-525). Thus, by identifying the *phorminx* and giving it a prominent position in *Pythian* 1, Pindar also merges the *klea* that are the theme of the *phorminx*-singer with the achievements of his subject, a combination especially well-suited to an ode in which Pindar celebrates and conflates the deeds of his subject as a military victor and as an athletic victor.²

A *phorminx* of gold appears only once elsewhere in literature before Pindar, upon the shield of Herakles in the Hesiodic corpus, and the passage's contents do not surprise:

¹ *Odyssey* viii 67-69. Minutes for 15.9.2009, under 'Line 17': *phorminx* is a 'stylised, Homeric way' of referring to the *kithara*, 'the fifth-century concert lyre'. Indeed, the Scholia refer to it explicitly as a *kithara* (P.1.inscr. a.4 DEFGQ and P 1.1a.1 DEFGQ). The Scholia also report that, according to the historian Artemon (P 1.inscr. a.1-5 = *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* IV p.341), Hieron gifted Pindar with a golden *kithara*. If this is taken into consideration, the reference to Apollo's lyre in this ode becomes even more layered: if an actual lyre given by Hieron 'becomes' the instrument of Apollo, then a parallel between Apollo, as the legendary founder of the Pythian games, and Hieron, as the founder of Aitna, arises. A further parallel exists between the ability of the god's lyre to quell what is warlike and the situating of this poem as the beginning of peace for Hieron and his people (cf. **lines 36-50**, a wish for the city to become known for athletic victories and for toils [καμάτων, 46] and wars to become memories, and the sentiment that a ruler can turn the *dêmos* to peace [τράποι . . . ἐς ἡσυχίαν, 69-70]).

² Even if Hiero did not himself drive the chariot, the athletic victory of the chariot race still belongs to him and is so celebrated (cf. *Olympian* 1.22, where Hieron's winning horse is said to bring *kratos* to his master: κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπότην).

Ἐν δ' ἦν ἀθανάτων ἱερὸς χορὸς· ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσσω
 ἡμερόεν κιθάριζε Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱὸς
 χρυσεῖη φόρμιγγι· [θεῶν δ' ἕδος ἀγνὸς Ὀλυμπος·
 ἐν δ' ἀγορῇ, περὶ δ' ὄλβος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωτο
 ἀθανάτων ἐν ἀγῶνι.] θεαὶ δ' ἐξῆρχον ἀοιδῆς
 Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, λιγὺ μέλομένης εἰκυῖαι.
 Hesiod, *Shield* 201-206

The presence of the *choros*, of Apollo playing the *phorminx*, and of the Muses beginning (ἐξῆρχον) the choral performance by song and dance³ together create the same setting that figures in the *Homeric Hymn (3) to Apollo* (HHAp. 182-206). In the Hymn, to refer to Nagy 2008.2 ¶53, the god emerges as the leader of a divine choral ensemble and, as this happens, the god also

emerges as the absolutely perfect model of the *humnos*. His performance makes him the perfect maker of the *humnos*, not only the perfect subject of this *humnos*. As the perfect maker of what must be the perfect *humnos*, he becomes the model for the eternal remaking of his *humnos*, season after season. This *humnos* must not stop. It must keep looping back to its perfect beginning. It is as the continuator of this *humnos* that Homer experiences his two aporetic crises in the *Homeric Hymn (3) to Apollo*.

Pindar's ode acts in a way similar to the *Homeric hymn*. Apollo's signature instrument (Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ . . . | σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον, 1-2) takes the place of the god himself and commands or rather initiates, as in the *Homeric hymn*, the dance-step (βάσις, 2) and song (specifically, its singers, ἀοιδοί, 3). The βάσις that sets the dance in motion listens to or heeds (ἀκούει, 2) the god's instrument and is the beginning of the splendour of the celebration (βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά, 2; cf. ἀγησιχόρων . . . προοιμίων, 4), just as Apollo leads – the regular term for which is *ex-arkhein*, as above at Hesiod, *Shield* 205 – choruses mortal and divine in the *Homeric hymn* (HHAp. 514-523 and 182-206, respectively). The golden *phorminx* of the epinician becomes the perfect beginning to the performance (cf. line 4), and just as the *Hymn* to Apollo returns to its beginning more than once, so too does *Pythian* 1 refer back to its

³ Nagy 2008.2 ¶72: 'As we see from this description [*Homeric Hymn (3) to Apollo*, 514-23], the individuated performance of the choral leader or *ex-arkhōn* is not only the act of singing . . . but also the act of dancing, along with instrumental accompaniment, all of which leads into a collective performance by the singing as well as dancing chorus.'

perfect initiation twice, at **lines 12** and **39**, so that the god's good will for the *laudandus* is renewed.

Line 2. βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά: The dance-step begins splendour both metaphorically (the splendour of the occasion, the 'beginning of a kingly occasion'⁴) and literally, as the feet of the dancers sparkle and create a glimmer with their quick movement. To return to the *Homeric Hymn (3) to Apollo*, the god's performance amongst the ensemble of divinities exemplifies how the movement of dancers appears in poetry:

αὐτὰρ ὁ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐγκιθαρίζει
καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς, αἴγλη δέ μιν ἀμφιφαίνει
μαρμαρυγαί τε ποδῶν καὶ ἐϋκλώστοιο χιτῶνος.
HHAp. 201-203⁵

Yet Pindar dwells no further on the splendour of the dance but continues to hymn, as it were, the *phorminx* of Apollo, and the theme becomes the ability of the instrument, in combination with the choral performance that it initiates, to lull to rest martial violence (**lines 5-29**). Similarly at Sappho fr. 16⁶ the footstep and bright gleam of the beloved's features (ἔρατον . . . βᾶμα | κάμαρυγμα λάμπρον . . . προσώπω, fr. 16.17-18), a combination suggestive of the choral dancer in motion,⁷ surpass (for the speaker) the beauty, or perhaps radiant beauty, of chariots (in swift motion?) and (gleaming?) weaponry of soldiery.⁸ A slightly more distant possible influence for this Pindaric passage may be Achilles, as he sits withdrawn from battle and sings of the κλέα ἀνδρῶν (*Iliad* IX 189) to his lyre.

Line 4. ἀμβολάς: The cognate verb, ἀναβάλλω, refers specifically to 'striking up' or beginning a song: e.g., *Odyssey* i 155 (ἀναβάλλετο καλὸν αἰεῖδεν), and cf. *Nemean* 7.77 (ἀναβάλεο), where Pindar uses the word to open and enact mimetically a new prelude in the midst of the song itself.

ἐλελιζομένα: ἐλελίζω may refer to weapons of war (brandished spear, e.g. *Iliad* XIII 558) and the powerful or violent motions of Zeus (e.g., *Iliad* I 530, of his nod; *Nemean* 9.19

⁴ Minutes for 16.11.2009, under 'Line 2'.

⁵ In a word, 'twinkle-toes' (G. Nagy in Minutes for 1.12.2009).

⁶ Lobel and Page's numbering.

⁷ Emphasis on 'combination'; the radiance emanating from the face suggests also the sparkling glance of the eyes.

⁸ Of foot-soldiers in particular, if Rackham is correct (πεσδομ]άχεντας, fr. 16.20), which would contrast the (marching) feet of the soldiery to the (dancing) feet of Anaktoria.

of his thunderbolt, which is laid to rest here [*Pythian* 1, **line 5**]), but also, as here, the vibrating strings of a lyre (*Olympian* 9.13). The ambivalence of the word highlights the paradoxical nature of the song that both soothes martial force and yet tells of martial valour (as this ode does; cf. **lines 47-66, 69-80**).

Line 6. αἰνάου πυρός: Pindar again transfers the attributes of water to fire in the description of the thermal springs above Typhos at **lines 21-26**; here the poet begins to form the parallel between the king of gods and the king of men that he will elaborate as the ode progresses (cf. notes on **lines 7** and **21-24**). On the roaring thermal geysers of the region near Aitna, see Diodorus Siculus XI.89.1.

αἰνάου . . . αἰετός: Assonance (αἰε-) within the same line strengthens the connexion between the avian manifestation of Zeus (**αἰετός**, 6) and the material of his manifestation in the natural world (**αἰχματὰν κεραυνὸν . . . αἰνάου πυρός**, 6).

Line 7. ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν: Cf. *Olympian* 13.21: οἰωνῶν βασιλέα and Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 114 (produced over a decade later): οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς βασιλεῦσι νεῶν ('the king of birds [appeared] to the king of ships'). Whilst in Aeschylus the two eagles represent the two kings (Agamemnon and Menelaus), so here the regal nature of the eagle of Zeus is relevant in praising the ruler of Syracuse and Aitna. Music from an Apolline lyre may begin peace for both Hieron and Zeus, but when Zeus' foes hear the song of Apollo (**line 13-14**) they are stricken with fear (**ἀτύζονται**, **line 13**), even (or especially) Typhos (**lines 15-28**), who has been confined and defeated by Zeus. Likewise, it is prayed on behalf of Hieron that his foes may remain confined at home (**κατ' οἶκον**, **72**) after experiencing defeat at the hands of Hieron (**lines 71-80**).

The inclusion of Zeus' eagle bears additional significance for the setting of the epinician's performance in Sicily and in relation of the ode to the other performances sponsored for the occasion. According to late fifth-century and fourth-century iconography of Western Greece,⁹ Zeus takes the form of an eagle in order to abduct Thalia, a local Sicilian nymph and daughter of Hephaistos. This same nymph features in at least one known tragedy, namely Aeschylus' *Women of Aitna*, which the playwright

⁹ E.g., LIMC VII.1.897, s.v. 'Thalia II', an amphora from Nola (ca. 330 BCE) shows Thalia's abduction (and Thalia is labelled), and a bell krater fragment at the Sackler (Inv. No. 1952.33) from the late fifth-century BCE preserves part of a similar scene.

composed and staged at the request of Hieron in 470 BCE.¹⁰ Although it is not known how the abduction of Thalia was handled or referred to therein,¹¹ Aeschylean allusions to Zeus' eagle would be far from unlikely.

Line 12. κῆλα: of the *phorminx*. The more common word for the 'missiles' of song in Pindar is βέλος (in the singular or plural: *Olympian* 1.112, *Olympian* 9.8, *Olympian* 13.95); cf. also *Olympian* 2.90 (οἰστούς), *Isthmian* 5.47 (τοξεύματα). In the Hesiodic and Homeric texts, κῆλα applies only to the missiles two Olympians: Zeus (Hesiodic fr. 204. 138; snow, *Iliad* XII. 281; thunder and lightning [βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν, | κῆλα Διὸς μέγαλοιο], *Theogony* 707-708) and Apollo (of his destructive arrows, *Iliad* I 53 and 383; as pertaining to his radiance, *HHAp.* 445). Speaking of the effect of the music reinforces the instrument's divine ownership and, like **ἐλελιζομένα (line 4, q.v.)** points to the song's somewhat paradoxical nature as the missiles of song overcome the missiles of Zeus and Ares (**κεραυνόν, 5; ἐγγέων ἀκμάν, 11**).

Line 18-19. Κύμας: Not only Sicily, but also Kyme, the site of Hieron's victory over the Etruscans and Carthaginians (**lines 72-75**), oppresses Typhos. The common location of Zeus' domination of the monster and Hieron's victory over his own foes further emphasises the correspondence between the two sets of enemies and two kings (cf. notes for **lines 7** and **72**) by supplying Hieron with a divine precedent for victory in the same region.

¹⁰ According to the *Life of Aeschylus*, the play debuted whilst Hieron was founding Aitna; Diodorus Siculus (XI.49) constitutes the only extant source for the date, which he gives as 476/5 BCE according to the *Life of Aeschylus* (cit. Smyth [1926] 381; the date of the founding belongs to Diodorus Siculus XI.49 alone) for the founding of the city of Aitna, but 470 BCE is commonly accepted. Herington 1967.76 points out that (1) founding – especially when it involves the relocation of thousands of people – may conceivably take several years, (2) that the celebrations may have been delayed until Hieron's son (Deinomenes) was 'able to assume *de facto* his kingship of Aetna', and (3) that **Pythian 1**, 'which also – to use the words of the *Vita* about the *Aitnaiai* – οἰωνίζεται βίον ἀγαθὸν τοῖς συνοικίζουσι τὴν πόλιν, refers to a victory which is dated on good grounds to 470 B.C.' He therefore concludes, with others before him (e.g., Wilamowitz, *Aischylos-Interpretationen* [Berlin 1913] and E. Fraenkel, 'Vermutungen zum Aetna – Festspiel des Aeschylus' [*Eranos* lii, 1954], both cit. by Herington 1967.76, n. 19) and after him (e.g., Sommerstein 1996.21-22; cf. Rehm 1989.31) 'that the *Aitnaiai* resulted from the same visit as that which saw the reproduction of the *Persae*, some time between the springs of 472 and 468', between which 470 BCE would be the most likely date.

¹¹ What is known of the play is that (1) it took place in different parts of Sicily (Rehm 1989.33), and (2) Thalia, with child by Zeus and 'in fear of Hera's wrath prayed that the earth might open and swallow her up. Her prayer was granted, but when the time of her delivery was at hand, the earth opened again and twin boys came forth, who were called Palîci, because they had "come back" (ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλιν ἰκέσθαι) from the earth,' Smyth 1926.381.

Line 20. Αἴτνα: The αἰ of Αἴτνα resonates through the next three lines, in **ἀγνόταται (21) . . . παγαί (22), ἀμέραισιν (22), and αἴθων' (23)**, thus verbally connecting the volcanic nature of the countryside with the (volcanically active) mountain itself and hence the eponymous city.

Lines 21-24. ἀπλάτου . . . πατάγωι: Consonance of labials begins at **line 21** (ἀπλάτου πυρὸς), continues through **line 22** (παγαί ποταμοὶ . . . μὲν προχέοντι ῥόον καπνοῦ) and **line 23** (ὄρφναισιν πέτρας) and at last crescendos in **line 24** (φοίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλόξ ἐς βαθεῖαν φέρει πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγω) with the vast noise caused by the imprisoned Typhos. Meanwhile the eagle of the god who imprisoned Typhos slumbers serenely (**lines 6-8**). Comparable to this is the wish that the noise of Hieron's enemies, their **ἀλαλατός (72)**, an onomatopoetic word for the battle-cry) remain at home (cf. note on **line 7** above), in contrast to the harmonious serenity (**σύμφωνον . . . ἡσυχίαν, 70**) towards which Hieron's people are governed.¹²

Line 26. τέρας . . . ἀκοῦσαι: Pindar takes the epic θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι (which occurs fifteen times in the Homeric and Hesiodic works)¹³ and causes it to branch into two separate but related expressions, **τέρας μὲν θαυμάσιον προσιδέσθαι** and **θαῦμα δὲ καὶ παρεόντων ἀκοῦσαι** to describe the marvel of the thermal geysers. Of these, only the latter version appears in extant verse outside this ode; significantly, it occurs in the description of the din from Typhoeus (Pindar's Typhos) in *Theogony* (θαύματ' ἀκοῦσαι, 834). The immediately preceding lines of this *Pythian* have been devoted to the vivid visual representation of Typhos' effect on the landscape as well as to a verbal representation (see note on **lines 21-24** above) of the sounds of the monster. The θαῦμα προσιδέσθαι becomes a θαῦμα ἀκοῦσαι because the choral performers (according to the poetic conceit) are amongst 'those who were present' (**παρεόντων, 26**) and who have the skill to imitate, that is, to (re)present the wonder mimetically. Similarly,

¹² The monster and the war-cry are famously bound together in the 467 BCE production of Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, in which the shield of the attacker Hippomedon depicts the 'fire-breathing' (πυρπνόον . . . στόμα, 493) Typhon (= Typhos). The description of the blazon is framed by the battle cries of the man to whom it belongs: he stands ξὺν βοῆι when he is introduced, and at the end of the shield description 'he himself raises the war-cry' (αὐτὸς . . . ἐπιλάλαξεν, 498) as he is inspired by Ares (*Septem* 497) and has a gaze reminiscent of the Hesiodic serpent (φόβον βλέπων, 498).

¹³ *HHDem.* (2) 428; *HHAph.* (5) 91; *Iliad* V 726, X 440, XVIII 84, XVIII 378; *Odyssey* vi 307, vii 46, viii 367, xiii 109; *Theogony* 576, 582; *Shield* 141, 225; Hesiodic Fragment 33a.16. The phrase always fills the last dactyl and spondee of the hexameter line.

Pindar can describe a *hymnos* as having the qualities of a *thauma* at *Isthmian* 4.21, where he calls his *hymnos* a θαυμαστὸν ὕμνον. Pindar's performers elsewhere speak directly of their mimesis: the speaker (singer) of *Partheneion* 2 says that in her *hymnos* (cf. ὑμνήσω, 94b.11) she will mimetically represent by her songs, to the music of the *aulos*, the loud sound of the Sirens (σειρηνα δὲ κόμπον | ἀλίσκων ὑπὸ λωτίνων μιμήσομ' αἰοδαῖς, fr. 94b.13-15 Maehler, P. Oxy. 659 [4, 1904]). In a hypochorema (fr. 107ab, Plut. *quaest. symp.* 9.15.748B), the speaker makes an exhortation to 'imitate' (μιμέο, fr. 107ab.3) by the dance movements of the feet (ἐλελιζόμενος ποδί, fr. 107ab.3) a Pelasgian horse or dog in pursuit of a deer. The choral presentation of Typhos in *Pythian* 1 certainly includes vocal mimesis (cf. notes on **lines 21-24**), and very likely includes the support of the musical accompaniment to heighten the effect (as in *Partheneion* 2, the din of a terrible monster is represented) as well as the dance motions. Like the Delian maidens capable of imitating the voices and music of men (πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιαστὸν | μιμεῖσθ' ἴσασιν, *Homeric Hymn* (3) to *Apollo*, 162-3) and who thereby become a θαῦμα themselves (τόδε μέγα θαῦμα, *HHarp.* (3) 156), the chorus of *Pythian* 1 both create a θαῦμα ἀκοῦσαι and become a θαῦμα ἀκοῦσαι.

Line 27. δέδεταί: Compare the domination of the Hekatonkheires by Zeus in the *Theogony* (*Th.* 617-623) as well as of the Titans by the Hekatonkheires (*Th.* 717-721, once the latter have been reconciled to Zeus). In both instances, the monsters are bound (δῆσε κρατερῶι ἐνὶ δεσμῶι, *Th.* 618; δεσμοῖσιν ἐν ἀργαλέοισιν ἔδησαν, *Th.* 718) by being confined beneath the earth, as with Typhos in *Pythian* 1.

Line 31. κλεινὸς οἰκιστῆρ: Hieron; cf. footnote 1 above.

Line 37. σὺν εὐφώνοις θαλίαις: Of which festal occasions this piece is part; the ode therefore contributes to and forms an important part of the city's peace that is both literally and metaphorically harmonious (cf. σύμφωνον ἐς ἡσυχίαν, 70), and the achievements of the laudator and the laudandus merge together.

Line 41-45. ἐκ θεῶν . . . ἀντίους: The μαχαναὶ πᾶσαι βροταῖς ἀρεταῖς (line 41) diverge to characterise three types of men, the latter two of which are closer syntactically (see Smyth §2978 and Fennel 1879 *ad loc.*)¹⁴ and constitute one group: the

¹⁴ 'After καί, τε is not coordinate, but the idea coupled by the τε goes more closely with that coupled by the immediately previous καί than with the idea that precedes this καί.' Fennel 1879.133. From the

eloquent warrior (i.e., ruler), whereas the other are poets.¹⁵ Immediately, however, Pindar reclaims, as it were, the **χερσὶ βιαταὶ περίγλωσσοι (line 42)** for his own group by speaking of his eloquence in praise as similar to a javelin thrown in competition: athletics, which are, like war, the realm of men who are **χερσὶ βιαταί** (if taken in a general sense of ‘strong’ rather than ‘forceful/violent’) become interwoven with the poet’s craft of speaking fittingly. The poet becomes an athlete, becomes perhaps a warrior, and becomes **περίγλωσσος** as well. The passage illustrates the Pindaric tendency to interweave the endeavours and achievements of the athletic victor/patron with those of the poet.¹⁶

Lines 46-51. Hieron as athletic victor and Hieron as military victor interplay and overlap here, as Pindar first speaks of his patron’s **κάματοι (line 47)**, ambiguously either those of battle or those of competing, then of Hieron’s military expeditions (**line 47**), and finally of the garland of wealth (**πλούτου στεφάνωμ’**, **50**), which suggests the garland bestowed upon the athletic victor (cf. **line 37**; additionally, its adjective, **ἀγέρωχον**, elsewhere in Pindar describes *καλὰ ἔργα* [*Nemean* 6.33] and athletic victory [*νίκη*, *Olympian* 10.79]).

Line 50. The parallel drawn between the ailing Philoctetes and the sick Hieron reinforces the importance of the latter’s victory for the Hellenes (cf. **lines 75-80**). The retrieval of the hero from Lemnos has an additional measure of appropriateness for the

minutes for 16.11.2009: ‘*Sophia* is . . . a special skill given to the wise with an emphasis on the mastery of *technē*’; a suitable comparison from within the ode is **line 12**, at which *sophia* belongs to the Muses, but compare especially *Olympian* 1. 8-9.

¹⁵ In this sentence I follow and agree with Fennel 1879.133.

¹⁶ The wish to ‘hit the target’ in praise that forms part of Pindar’s epinician genre finds a later echo in an anapaestic passage of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus: the chorus of elders, upon the long-awaited return of their king from war, ask: *πῶς σε προσείπω; πῶς σε σεβίξω | μήθ' ὑπεράρας μήθ' ὑποκάμψας | καιρὸν χάριτος*; (*Ag.* 785-787). Note the two typically Pindaric words, *καιρός* and *χάρις*, which strongly evoke the language of praise. Moreover, the Argive elders’ following warning of subjects who feign goodwill (*Ag.* 789-788) is an elaborated version of Pindar’s mention at ***Pythian* 1.84** of citizens whom the news of success secretly displeases. The elders then, having opened with a question characteristic of the praise-poem and then prolonged the concern of disgruntled citizens, proceed to turn the genre of praise on its head by criticising the actions of Agamemnon as ill-founded (the pursuit of Helen, *Ag.* 799-804) and describing their sovereign as therefore similar to an aesthetically displeasing artwork (*κάρτ' ἀπομούσως ἦσθα γεγραμμένος*, *Ag.* 801). In an epinician, conversely, the poet lauds the subject’s actions and describes them in terms of radiance and beauty because of their achievements. The chorus of elders’ manipulation and then rejection of the praise genre becomes a rhetorical move to assert their own loyalty and lack of deceit towards Agamemnon, as they close their greeting with a protestation of their sincere affection for him and promise that he will soon distinguish between those who have been loyal and those who have not (*Ag.* 806-809).

equivalence of the two, since both the island of Lemnos and the island of Sicily had a reputation for their volcanic activity. Because of this shared, sub-igneous nature, both also honoured Hephaistos¹⁷ (Lemnos, e.g., Hdt. 6.140.1, Ap. Rhodes, *Argonautica* 1.857-860; cf. *Iliad* I 593, *Odyssey* viii 283-284; Sicily, e.g. Aelian, *On Animals* 11.3), who, according to the transmitted version of the *Iliad*, fell to Lemnos when Zeus flung him there as punishment (*Iliad* I 593). It is Typhos who resides beneath Aitna in this ode, and his confinement (or binding) there is as restrictive a punishment of his challenge to Zeus' authority as the lameness caused by Hephaistos' fall: both serve to limit the motion of the god and thereby the threat that they are thereafter able to present. Alternatively, Hephaistos may be the resident under Mt Aitna (as in, e.g., the later Euphorion, fr. 121 Page, and Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 11.3). Both the Lemnian Hephaistos and the Hephaistos of Sicily had twin sons, the Kabeiroi and Palikoi, respectively, who were also associated with the volcanic activity and thermal springs of the islands (on the Palikoi, cf. note on **line 66**; for the Kabeiroi, a late source is Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 14.17).

Line 57. προσέρποντα χρόνον: Time approaches (or rather 'creeps up'), and the έρπ- root recalls the earlier έρπετόν (**line 25**), Typhos: in the coming time, Pindar asks, may the θεός όρθωτήρ¹⁸ (**line 56**) be present for Hieron, so that the peace of the land, which Zeus ultimately began in the past by the subjection of Typhos, may continue under his guidance.

Line 60. βασιλεῖ φίλιον . . . ύμνον: Hypallage; the adjective applies to Deinomenes (the son of Hieron appointed Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ by him) as well as to the *hymnos*, for the *hymnos* that Hieron has commissioned honours both himself and his son. It therefore honours their *philia* and may be said to be a *philius hymnos*.

έξεύρωμεν: Pindar associates this word with praise at *Nemean* 8.20-21 as well, where his concern is with praising well and truly (πολλά γάρ πολλᾶ λέλεκται, ν<εα>ρά δ' έξευρόντα δόμεν βασάνω | ές έλεγχον, άπας κίνδυνος). He also uses the simple form of the verb for the invention of the *aulos* by Athena (*Pythian* 12.22). These two comparative usages suggest that the sense of 'finding the right words for praise' as well as musical

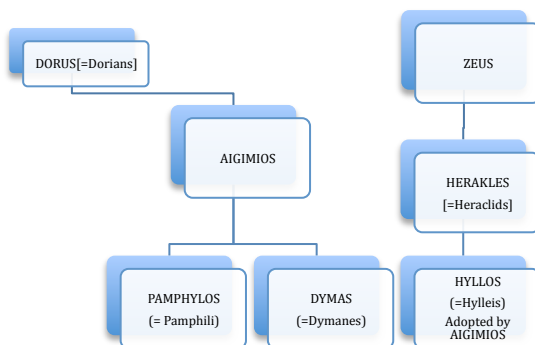
¹⁷ I owe Guy Smoot gratitude for the initial observation that Hephaistos has special ties with Sicily and Lemnos; cf. Minutes for 16.11.2009, s.v. 'line 16'.

¹⁸ A hapax, according to the LSJ and TLG searches.

composition underlie Pindar’s choice of the verb **ἐξεύρωμεν** in **line 60**. (Note that this shade of the word does not feature in the LSJ’s entry for the compound or for the simple form.)

Line 61. θεοδμάτωι συν ἔλευθερίαι: Cf. notes on **lines 18** and **57**. The freedom is divinely wrought both because the oppression of Typhos allowed it to begin and because the victory of Hieron happened with a divine precedent as well as by means divinely given (compare **lines 41-42** with **line 80, ἀρετᾶι**).

Line 62-66. Ὑλλίδος . . . αἰχμᾶς: Representatives of the three Dorian *phylai* (Hylleis, Pamphili, and Dymanes [the last of which is implicit, as Dymas was also a son of Aigimios]). According to Thucydides (I.12.3-4), it was only when Hellas had regained some measure of peace after the Dorians and Heraclids had taken the Peloponnese that colonies could begin to be sent to Italy and Sicily (*i.e.*, Western Greece). Since Hieron’s ‘new’ city of Aitna – in fact the re-settling of the former city Katane, which had been emptied of its inhabitants¹⁹ – was comprised of Syracusans and Peloponnesians, both could claim Doric descent (see chart) and therefore institutions. Pindar’s citation of the Doric invasion gives the upheaval and re-settling of Katane a more prestigious precedent.



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Line 66. Τυνδαριδᾶν: The Dioskuroi. Sicily had its own twins, the Palikoi (who featured in Aeschylus’ *Women of Aitna*; cf. note on **line 7**). If a parallelism is ‘read’ into the lines, it may give a further continuity between those appropriating Katane and their forefathers, but this should be done only tentatively (since Pindar makes no direct mention of the Palikoi).

¹⁹ Not without protestation and loss of life. Rehm 1989.31.

²⁰ Lineage reconstructed from relevant entries in the *OCD* (‘Aegimius’, ‘Heraclids’, ‘Hyllus’, and ‘Pamphilus’).

Line 70. σύμφωνον ἐς ἡσυχίαν: Cf. notes on **line 21-24** and **line 38**.

Line 72. Φοίνιξ: The word that refers to one set of enemies whom Hieron has defeated (the Phoenicians, i.e., Carthaginians) in a naval battle (**ἐν πόντῳ, 74**) also describes the flame (**φοίνισσα . . . φλόξ, 24**) of Typhos that carries rocks with it into the sea (**ἐς βαθεῖαν . . . πόντου, 24**). As Zeus confined Typhos beneath the earth, so does Hieron cast down his adversaries into the sea (**line 74**): sovereignty is expressed by literally ‘overcoming’ the enemy. The foes of the ruler again parallel the rebellious monster, and the kingly paradigm of Zeus is set alongside the reign of Hieron.

Line 72. ἀλαλατός and Line 73: See note on **lines 21-24** above.

Lines 72. ναυσίστον ὕβριν ἰδὼν τὰν πρὸ Κύμας: the messenger’s report of the disaster of the fleet and the Ghost of Darius’ words in Aeschylus’ *Persians*, re-performed for the same occasion as this ode, presents the effect of such a sight (after the battle of Salamis, six years before that at Kyme) on the mind of the foe (in this case, the Persians). It is the same theme, but dramatically expanded and with a shifted viewpoint, as that which appears in Aeschylus. An illustrative extract from the speech of Darius’ Ghost is as follows:

θῆνες νεκρῶν δὲ καὶ τριτοσπόρῳ γονῆ
 ἄφωνα σηματοῦσιν ὄμμασιν βροτῶν
 ὡς οὐχ ὑπέρφευ θνητὸν ὄντα χρὴ φρονεῖν.
 ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσεν στάχυν
 ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶ θέρος.
Persians 818-822

As in Pindar’s *Pythian* 1, the focus of the imagery is on the men dead in the sea (cf. **line 74**), and the sight (*Pers.* 819; **line 72**) of the disaster is an object-lesson against ὕβρις (*Pers.* 821; **line 72**).²¹

Line 75-80. ἀρέομαι . . . καμόντων: Pindar ranks the Battle of Kyme alongside two momentous victories against the Persians (Salamis and Plataea), by which he asserts the importance of Kyme for the Greek world.²²

²¹ Gratitude goes to Sergios Paschalis for his idea that a look at Aeschylus’ *Persians* might provide an interesting comparison to this line.

²² An importance with which Kyme was rightly credited, since the battle established Greek control over the Mediterranean. Minutes for 27.10.2009, *ad Olympian* 2.6.

Line 84 and Line 90. ἀκοά and ἀκοάν: Note that both share almost the same position in their respective stanzas, Strophe E and Antistrophe E. The first refers to what the people hear of the ruler, and the second what the ruler hears of himself; each hear the same report, but their reactions are opposite, and it may be that dance movements in contrary directions for each passage reinforced this contrast.

Line 91. ὥσπερ κυβερνάτας ἀνήρ: Cf. *δικαίωι πηδαλίωι* (line 86). Set within the exhortation to Hieron to be a good ruler, and the examples to follow (Croesus, line 94) and to avoid (Phalaris, line 96), the simile stands as a compressed version of the ‘ship of state’ metaphor (as famously at Alcaeus fr. 6). Not only does line 91 bring to the fore this connotation, it also superimposes it over the past two nautical references in the ode. The first of these is that of the *ναυσιφορήτοις . . . ἀνδράσι* (line 33) whose journey’s favourable first wind portends a favourable return, the course of which is compared to the chariot-racing success of Hieron as portending many such victories to come and to add to the renown of the *polis* (lines 34-38). When Hieron takes the comparison to a helmsman as well, the benefit of his athletic achievement to the *polis* (rather than strictly to his personal glory) becomes more emphatic. Similarly, the defeat of the Carthaginians and Etruscans (lines 71-75) at sea becomes writ large as the actions of an individual against the enemy for the benefit of Hellas as a whole (the adversaries are cast from their ships by him alone in the ode; as with the athletic victory, Hieron earns recognition for what others do on his behalf). The good helmsman of state brings glory to the *polis* by athletic prowess in peace and by martial prowess during war; because he knows that the first wind of success presages an equally successful return, he should let out the wind-blown sail (*ἔξειει . . . ἰστίον ἀνεμόεν*, 92-93), that is, continue in his (many kinds of) generosity to his people (and to poets).

Line 92. ὀπιθόμβροτον: A hapax. The LSJ rescinds their original note ‘poet. for ὀπισθόμβροτος’, presumably because there exists no such word. The choice to employ ὀπιθ- as a prefix rather than the ὀπισθ- found in all other compounds that begin with a form of ὄπι(σ)θε may raise an interesting point about the poetic language of Pindar, however (provided that the choice was not only metrical), namely that he avoids giving another sibilant to the line.

Line 95. χαλκέωι: Compare **χάλκευε** in **line 86**. Phalaris becomes the negative foil for Hieron, as the latter is exhorted to use bronze (figuratively) to forge his speech on an ‘anvil that does not lie’ (**ἄψευδεῖ . . . ἄκμονι**, **line 86**), but the latter is remembered for burning victims (he is called **καυτήρα**, **line 95**) in the bronze bull. The working of metal by fire implicit in each image recalls that both tyrants (present and past) rule(d) over an area of Sicily, the volcanic activity of which was frequently associated with the smithy of Hephaistos and his sons (cf. note on **line 50**). Hieron and Phalaris are thereby connected the more strongly with the region: the latter to its negative aspects (the danger of the thermal geysers, which many men fear to approach, according to Diodorus Siculus XI.89.1), the other to the positive (the use of *technē* involving fire – metaphorically – to increase rather than destroy his good reputation and fame).

Line 97. φόρμιγγες: The parting negative exemplum of Phalaris of Akragas contrasts not only the positive example of Croesus whose *aretē* endures in the works of *λόγιοι καὶ ᾠδοί*, but also contrasts Hieron himself: as the ode opened with the golden *phorminx* that belongs to Apollo (and his Muses) and to the poet (see footnote 1 and note on **line 1**), and which will praise Hieron, so it ends with the lyres that do not remember in song the less laudatory Sicilian tyrant of the previous century. The contrast may also have political undertones: in 472 BCE, two years before the founding celebrations of Aitna, Thrasydaios of Akragas marched against Hieron, only to be defeated, expelled by his subjects, and lose Akragas to a democracy.²³

Lines 99-100. τὸ δὲ παθεῖν . . . δέδεκται: Tricolon crescendo that compresses the entire ode into two lines; the song of Pindar is third component, the **στέφανον ὕψιστον** (**100**), as at, e.g., *Olympian* 6.86-87, where Pindar weaves (*πλέκων*, as one would a garland) a *ποικίλον ὕμνον*, for it encompasses the achievements and their prizes (in their re-telling) as well as the praise of the man who gained them.

²³ Hammond 1986.271; Diodorus Siculus XI.53.1-5.

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