

Charis and Hybris in Pindaric Cosmology

by

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B.Sc., Simon Fraser University, 1987
B.A., University of Victoria, 2013

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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Although Pindar's victory songs, or *epinikia*, were commissioned and performed to celebrate athletic victories, they present persistent reflections on the narrow limits of human prosperity, the inexorable cycle of success and failure, and the impossibility of appropriating any aspect of a godly nature. The present work provides a close reading of the *Pythian* series to illustrate how Pindar uses prayer, myth and *gnomai* to secure the moral and psychological reintegration of the athletic victor back into his close-knit community upon his homecoming (νόστος). As a re-integration rite, the challenging and dark elements of mortal limitation and failure are read as prophylactic statements against the destructive effects of *hybris* (ὑβρις). The Odes rest upon an archaic cosmology of reciprocal and harmonious exchange between humans themselves and between humans and the gods which is captured by the principle of *charis* or grace (χάρις). Ὑβρις is a breach of this reciprocity and the antithesis of χάρις since it is the unilateral claim of property, prestige, or privilege as well as the transgression against the divine dispensation which governs the cosmos (κόσμος). Modern psychological research shows how such concern for, and such precaution against, ὑβρις may be prudent given that victory fosters a drive for dominance.

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Dedication

πρῶτος,

Ρεβεκκα φιλᾶ, ἣ ἤρξε ἐμέ ἐπι τῆ ὁδῶ·

καί ἔπειτα,

Θαλια ἐρασίμολπω, ἣ τρέφει ἐμέ·

ἀμφότεραι σύν μοι ἀεὶ, διά παντός.

Chapter 1: Their *hybris* and Godless Thoughts

καὶ γὰρ
ἐτέροις ἐτέρων ἔρωτες ἔκνιζαν φρένας:
τῶν δ' ἕκαστος ὀρούει,
τυχῶν κεν ἀρπαλέαν σχέθοι φροντίδα τὰν παρ ποδός:
τὰ δ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀτέκμαρτον προνοῆσαι. (*Pythian* 10.59-63)

And further, desires for different things excite the minds of different men: and whatever each strives after, having obtained it, let him grasp it eagerly that which is close at hand: but there is no foreseeing those things in a year's time.

ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν
τὸ τερπνὸν αὔξεται: οὕτω δὲ καὶ πίτνει χαμαί,
ἀποτρόπῳ γνώμα σεσεισμένον.
ἐπάμεροι: τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ
ἄνθρωπος. (*Pythian* 8.92-96)

In a short time, the delight of mortals grows: but so too does it fall to the ground, shaken by contrary purpose. Creatures for a day: but what is a man? What is no one? Man is a dream of a shadow.

According to current scholarship, these passages come from two Odes which frame Pindar's epinician *oeuvre*.¹ *Pythian* 10 was his very first victory ode, composed in 498 BCE when the poet was just twenty years of age.² It celebrates Hippokleas' Pythian victory in the boy's *diaulos*, or double-pipe, competition and, even at this early age, Pindar displays all the distinctive features which persist throughout his career. *Pythian* 8, on the other hand, is the last surviving ode, for another Pythian victory in 446 BCE.

¹ Secure dates for Olympian odes are mostly provided by P. Oxy. 222, and Aristotle composed a list of Pythian victors, so that both these dates are well established; sadly no such evidence survives for the Nemeans or the Isthmians: Gaspar, Camille, *Essai de Chronologie Pindarique* (Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1900); Christesen, Peter, *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007);

² From all available sources, the most likely year of Pindar's birth is 518 BCE; his death is set at 438 BCE since the *Vita Metrica* gives the only span of 80 years that is long enough to encompass all dated odes; for a thorough outline, see Race, W.H., *Pindar*, Vol. 1, *Olympian and Pythian Odes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 4.

Spanning more than half a century, these passages also illustrate the dominant dark colouring within songs which are ostensibly meant to celebrate athletic triumph.

Even a cursory reading of the Odes indicates that they are not exclusively encomiastic, contrary to Bundy's "master principle."³ The first passage from *Pythian* 10 warns of the fleeting nature of any success. The second, coming from the wizened old man, is a much stronger sentiment, derogating human endeavour and success as ephemeral and ultimately meaningless. Indeed, for victory songs, it is striking how Pindar includes so many different myths and *gnomai* which reiterate the limits of human conduct and prosperity, the inescapable cycles of fortune and failure, and the inexorable nature of humanity in contrast to the alluring and unending bliss of the gods. What function do such apparently defeatist sentiments play in these celebratory odes? How is the modern reader to understand this persistent darkling theme?

In his book *Song and Action*, Kevin Crotty outlines the strongly ambiguous nature of the returning hero or victor through epic and myth, such as Odysseus and the destruction of Phaeacians and the retribution against the suitors, Oedipus and the Theban plague, Theseus and the death of his father, Orestes and his mother, as well as Perseus and Polydectes. These examples show how the Greeks constructed the mythic νόστος as an event that entails either retributive justice or devastating ruin, and sometimes both.⁴ In Crotty's sociological and anthropological understanding of the Odes, the *epinikion* ode serves the crucial social function of "securing a happy *nostos* for the returning victor/hero" and re-establishing his customary values and limits, for the benefit and

³ Bundy, Elroy L., "Studia Pindarica, I and II." *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, Vol. 18, no. 1-2 (1962), 3.

⁴ Crotty, Kevin, *Song and Action: The Victory Odes of Pindar* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 110-12.

protection of both the victor and his community.⁵ Unfortunately Crotty offers no close reading to support just how the poetry achieves this important social function. The present work will provide a close reading of the Odes to illustrate how Pindar makes use of myth and *gnomai* to achieve the moral and psychological reintegration of the athletic victor upon his νόστος. In addition, I will show that Pindar was very aware of ὕβρις not only from athletic victory but also from the dislocation of the athlete from his familiar household (οἶκος) and its *mores* (ἦθος).

Athletic competitions in ancient Greece were enormously disruptive not only to the athlete's life but also to his tightly knit community.⁶ The athlete travelled significant distances over several months, through alien communities with different customs, to wage unchecked aggression in the pursuit of prestige (κλέος) for himself, his household (οἶκος) and community (πόλις). The returning victor may appear to be familiar to his community and yet there is evidence that the Greeks recognized, and felt anxiety for, the potential for change after his arduous travels and his exalting victory. The athlete's journeys and competition are relatively rare and privileged experiences that differentiate him from others of this community. In *Pythian* 4, Pindar alludes to this ambiguity when he recounts the oracle warning Pelias against a man with one sandal, coming from far away in the high mountains, appearing either as a stranger (ξεῖνος) or citizen (ἄστος; 75-8). This oracle refers to Jason who, soon after his birth in Iolcus, was spirited away to be raised by Cheiron in his rocky dwelling (λιθίνῳ... ἔνδον τέγει) of mount Pelion in

⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁶ Golden, Mark, *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 35; Potter, D.S., *The Victor's Crown* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 62-3; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.13.5-6

order to escape death at the hands of Pelias who usurped the throne from Jason's father, Aeson. Being Iolcian then, yet long absent, Jason had an ambiguity of recognition.

In this way, the returning victor shares the same liminal status as pre-initiation youths. Adolescents, being neither child nor adult, neither a member nor a stranger, remain liminal until a communal ritual firmly establishes them, for all to see, as fully integrated members and participatory citizens.⁷ In a very similar way, the victory ceremony functions as a ritual to contain the victor once again within the identifiable role that he had prior to departure and within the accepted values and customs of his community. Thus, the victory ceremony can be understood as an act of definition that attempts to resolve the dangerous uncertainty around the returning hero. If the venture for athletic glory necessitates communal disruption, the victory ceremony attempts to reinstate traditional order. As Mary Douglas suggests, "order implies restriction," something that we shall see again and again in Pindar's victory songs.⁸

Additionally, for the ancient Greeks, "more or less grave dislocations of normal life" could cause the dreadful and contagious phenomenon of pollution, or μίασμα.⁹ These disruptions ranged from sexual intercourse, childbirth, incorrect performance for rites, to death and the extreme of murder. All of these events, and lesser improprieties, required purification rites to remove the stain of *miasma* and its threat of ensuing misfortune. With its strong emphasis on predictable order, then, it is understandable that

⁷ Gennep, Arnold van, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. M. Vizedom and G. Caffee (London: Routledge & Paul, 1960), 26.

⁸ Douglas, Mary, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, Routledge & K. Paul, 1966), 94.

⁹ Burkert, W., *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. John Raffan (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1985), 78.

ancient Greeks would treat a victor, upon his return from a disruptive quest, to a ceremony with some ameliorative intent.

After *Song and Action*, Leslie Kurke took Crotty's approach in another direction in her book, *The Traffic in Praise*. There, Kurke brings a formidable knowledge of sociology and economics to bear upon her reading of Pindar's Odes. First employing the theories of the economic historian Karl Polanyi, Kurke places the poet during the advent of coinage which destabilizes the archaic *embedded economy* with its exchange controlled by kinship as well as religious and political institutions for the purposes of redistribution and reciprocity. Kurke's study goes beyond monetary economics by including Bourdieu's broader concept of "symbolic capital" such as honour and prestige (κλέος). For Kurke, then, "the epinikion was the marketplace for the negotiation of symbolic capital," for the οἶκος, the aristocracy, and the πόλις.¹⁰ Far from Crotty's original anthropological and religious approach, Kurke construes the reintegration of the victor "as a whole series of social exchanges whose goal is the management and reapportionment of an influx of this precious commodity."¹¹

Furthermore, through her analysis which is predominantly economic and political, Kurke sees the danger of *hybris* (ὑβρις) from athletic victory operating only at the state level with the threat of tyranny and thus it is only within the concrete political context that "it breeds the suspicion of tyrannical aspirations."¹² Here this author overstates the case since one crucial pre-condition for the advent of a tyrant is political stalemate, or στάσις, amongst the aristocratic clans which was eventually broken by a single

¹⁰ Kurke, Leslie, *The Traffic in Praise* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Kurke, 195.

disaffected or ambitious aristocrat recruiting the support of the new middle class, or οἱ μέσοι.¹³ Historical evidence also shows that “the tyrants were not initiators so much as catalysts for forces which would have erupted in some form anyway” given the greater freedom of thought and increased flexibility in social relations that came with economic change.¹⁴

Pindar's frequent admonishments for due measure and against excess, though, are more suggestive of a general ethical concern commensurate with the intention within initiation rites: the benefit and protection of the communal concord. If a central concern of the victory ode is the healing of the disruption from an athletic quest and the harmonious inclusion of the exultant victor back into his community, then its main confrontation will be against the potential transgressions related to ὕβρις. In a society where prestige holds a "universally accepted significance," its pursuit can easily become hubristic, disruptive and violent with the result that *hybris* takes on "considerable moral and social significance."¹⁵ A quick review of the literature, from Homer to some of Pindar's contemporaries, will show how the threat and management of ὕβρις was a great concern to the ancient Greeks.

First, though, a brief word of clarification is required concerning the addressee of the *epinikion*. For the most part, Pindar's victory odes are addressed to the young Greek men who leave their homes to compete against others in various sports as described above. A small but important number of the poems, however, are not addressed to the

¹³ Aristotle, *Politics* 5.1309b.

¹⁴ Snodgrass, A.M., *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (London: J.M. Dent, 1980), 97; Murray, O., *Early Greece* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 141.

¹⁵ Gould, J., "HIKETEIA," in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 93 (1973), 75; Fisher, N.R.E., *Hybris* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1992), 1.

victorious athletes themselves but to the wealthy sponsors of expensive events like the four-horse chariot race (τέθριππος) or the single-horse race (κέλης). These poems are typically commissioned by the ruling tyrants, such as Hieron of Syracuse, and Theron of Akragas, or members of aristocratic families like Megakles of Athens, the nephew of Kleisthenes. Despite this difference, the poet treats the *laudandus* identically, with the very same admonishing dark tone, just as if the victory ceremony must also re-integrate the sponsor into his familiar position and status after an exhilarant victory. As we shall see, in these poems, Pindar uses myth and *gnomai* in an identical fashion.

Since Greek literature is rife with *exempla* exhibiting ὕβρις, a few representative passages will be selected from the major writers up to Pindar's era. Although its first word is μῆνις and its central theme is the wrath of Achilles, the plot of the *Iliad* pivots upon ὕβρις. The narrative starts with Agamemnon's rough rejection of the priest of Apollo and his pleas for the return of his daughter. The ensuing plague forces Agamemnon to return Chryseis and then, instead of accepting his mistake, he questionably compensates himself for this loss by taking back Achilles' γέρας, Briseis. Achilles begins to draw his sword when Athena seizes his fair hair and he asks her:

τίπτ' αὖτ' αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς τέκος εἰλήλουθας;
ἦ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο;
ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἔρέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τελέεσθαι ὄϊω:
ἦς ὑπεροπλήσι τάχ' ἄν ποτε θυμὸν ὀλέσσει. (1.202-05)

Why have you come again, child of aegis-bearing Zeus?
So that you may see the *hybris* of Agamemnon, son of
Atreus? But I will say to you, and I think it will be done:
by these acts of arrogance, he may soon lose his life.

Here *arrogance* is used for the Greek ὑπεροπλία, one of the many ὑπερ-compounds very often used in the same context as ὕβρις to reinforce the excessive and transgressive nature

of *hybris*.¹⁶ In the end, Achilles realizes the devastation of his wrath, accepts proper limits to wrath and grief, and recognizes the similarity between the aged enemy king, Priam, and his own father. Together they find some consolation in their shared humanity under the rule of mighty Zeus with his two *πίθοι*, one dispensing ills (*κακά*), the other gifts (*δῶρα*; 24.527-28). The *Iliad* concludes by illustrating the crucial importance of self-restraint to overcome the centrifugal effects of individual pursuits for *κλέος* which, taken too far, reach into *ὑβρις* and destroy group cohesion and order.¹⁷ The funeral games of Book 23 demonstrate this newly established order.

An important passage in Book 13 shows the strong connection not only between *hybris* and divine retribution (*φθόνος*) but also surfeit (*κόρος*). When the Achaeans are defending their ships, Menelaus kills Peisandros and proclaims:

λείπετέ θην οὔτω γε νέας Δαναῶν ταχυπῶλων
 Τρῶες ὑπερφίαλοι δεινῆς ἀκόρητοι αὐτῆς,
 ἄλλης μὲν λώβης τε καὶ αἴσχεος οὐκ ἐπίδευεῖς
 ἦν ἐμὲ λωβήσασθε κακαὶ κύνες, οὐδέ τι θυμῶ
 Ζηνὸς ἐριβρεμέτεω χαλεπὴν ἐδείσατε μῆνιν
 ξεινίου, ὅς τέ ποτ' ὕμμι διαφθήρσει πόλιν αἰπήν: (620-25)

So, surely, you will leave the swift Greek ships,
 overbearing Trojans, unsated with the grim war cry, you
 are not lacking in shame and other outrage (*λώβη*) with
 which you outraged me, evil bitches, nor do you fear in
 your heart the grievous wrath of loud-thundering Zeus
 Xeinios, who will one day destroy your lofty city:.

After recounting some of their offensive deeds, Menelaus continues:

ἀλλὰ ποθὶ σήσησθε καὶ ἐσσύμενοί περ Ἴαρος.
 Ζεῦ πάτερ ἦ τέ σέ φασι περὶ φρένας ἔμμεναι ἄλλων
 ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ θεῶν: σέο δ' ἐκ τάδε πάντα πέλονται:

¹⁶ Fraenkel, J.J., *Hybris* (PhD diss., Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1941), cited in Fisher 1992, 4; Fisher 1992, 152, n.4; "To crave for the *λίαν*, the *ἄγαν*, is *ὑβρις* in the true sense of the word": Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, Vol. II, *Commentary 1-1055*, ed. by Eduard Fraenkel (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1950), 349.

¹⁷ Richardson, N., ed., *The Iliad: A Commentary*, Vol. 6, *Books 21-24* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 165.

οἷον δὴ ἄνδρεςσι χαρίζεαι ὕβριστῆσι
 Τρωσίν, τῶν μένος αἰὲν ἀτάσθαλον, οὐδὲ δύνανται
 φυλόπιδος κορέσασθαι ὁμοίῳ πολέμοιο. (630-35)

But you will be checked somewhere, despite being so eager for Ares. Father Zeus, they say that you are above others in wits, both men and gods: and all these things are from you: you do such favours for the arrogant Trojan men (ὕβριστῆς) whose μένος is always reckless, and they cannot be satisfied (κορέννυμι) with the battle-cry of evil war.

Despite the Trojan's current advance, Menelaus is certain that Zeus, as the guardian of ξένιος, will take revenge for all the outrageous crimes of these Trojan ὕβρισταί.

Of course Menelaus has good first-hand experience of Trojan impiety. Paris first initiated the conflict when he dishonoured Menelaus' ξενία by snatching his wife Helen away to Troy, but also, in Book 4, Pandaros treacherously breaks a truce by wounding Menelaus with an arrow. In these two passages above, Menelaus uses two words to express the Trojan's lack of respect for generally accepted boundaries: the adjective ἀκόρητος and the verb κορέννυμι. Both of these are related to the word κόρος which is later often taken as either cause or consequence of ὕβρις.¹⁸ For instance, Theognis states this very succinctly:

τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἔπῃται
 ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦ. (153-54)

Certainly surfeit begets ὕβρις, when prosperity comes to a base man, and indeed whose mind is not fit.

As we shall see, Pindar echoes this idea, but Theognis here also alludes to the valued quality of self-restraint or σωφροσύνη.

The penultimate book of the *Iliad*, where funeral games are performed in honour of Patroklos, also offers a good example of the effect of success on an imprudent mind. This is an especially illuminating example for the context of the victory ode. The first

¹⁸ LSJ s.v.

third of the book describes the lavish funeral while the remaining verses outline the games, half of which are taken up with the spectacular chariot race. The last seven events include boxing, wrestling, running, close combat, weight-throwing, archery and javelin. Each of these episodes takes the following general form: Achilles sets forth the prizes, he calls for the contestants to rise, they rise silently and contend, and finally the prizes are claimed. The second event, however, stands out quite curiously from this pattern. It is only at the start of the boxing match that a competitor, Epeios, gives an extremely boastful speech:

ὡς ἔφατ', ὄρνυτο δ' αὐτίκ' ἀνὴρ ἠὺς τε μέγας τε
 εἰδὼς πυγμαχίης υἱὸς Πανοπῆος Ἐπειός,
 ἄψατο δ' ἠμιόνου ταλαεργοῦ φώνησέν τε:
 ἄσσον ἴτω ὅς τις δέπας οἴσεται ἀμφικύπελλον:
 ἠμίονον δ' οὐ φημί τιν' ἀξέμεν ἄλλον Ἀχαιῶν
 πυγμῆ νικήσαντ', ἐπεὶ εὐχομαι εἶναι ἄριστος.
 ἦ οὐχ ἄλλῃς ὅττι μάχης ἐπιδεύομαι; οὐδ' ἄρα πως ἦν
 ἐν πάντεσσ' ἔργοισι δαήμονα φῶτα γενέσθαι.
 ὧδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται:
 ἀντικρὺ χροῖα τε ῥήξω σὺν τ' ὅστέ' ἀράξω.
 κηδεμόνες δέ οἱ ἐνθάδ' ἀολλέες αὐθι μενόντων,
 οἳ κέ μιν ἐξοίσουσιν ἐμῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμέντα.'
 ὡς ἔφαθ', οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῆ. (664-76)

So he spoke, and at once a man, both huge and noble, came forth, skilled in boxing, the son of Panopeus, Epeios, he grasped the labouring mule and spoke out: "Let him come near who will carry off the two-handled goblet: and I say that no other of the Achaians will lead away the mule having prevailed in boxing, since I claim to be the best. Is it not enough that I fall short in battle? It is not at all that a man is accomplished in all endeavors. For I will proclaim thus, and it will be a accomplished fact: I shall tear his skin utterly and shatter his bones on each other. Let those caring for him stay here on the spot, so that they may carry him out, after having been subdued by my fists.' So he spoke, and all of them became hushed in silence.

This is the first mention of Epeios in the epic and yet he eventually plays a key role in expertly building the immense wooden horse, with the help of Athena, which brings an end to the conflict (*Od.* 8.492-93, 11.523). As he mentions here, his talents lie in other areas besides combat, i.e. boxing and carpentry, while he has been occupying the shadows through the ten-year ordeal. His motivation and aggression, therefore, are understandably aroused at this almost certain chance of redemption before the eyes of his comrades. Epeios quickly knocks his opponent out with an uppercut which lifts him up off the ground much like, the poet says, a fish jumping onto a weed-strewn beach (θίν' ἐν φουκιόεντι, 23.693). The aftermath of this episode is also very telling for this study of the victory ode.

A little later in the games, with the weight-throwing competition, several men come forth including δῖος Ἐπειός. This time, more in keeping with the usual orderly queue without a boastful speech, Epeios is the first to take up the weight and throw, still stimulated by his recent knock-out. The poet's description is very brief: Epeios takes the weight (σόλος) and, after whirling around (δινεύω), he flings it (ῥημι), but then all the Achaeans laugh at him (γέλασαν δ' ἐπὶ πάντες Ἀχαιοί, 23.839-40). In this brief episode, this character steps outside his self-described domains of expertise and is at once humiliated. Thus, "typical of heavyweight boxers at all times", his recent victory heightens Epeios' confidence and aggression so that it eclipses his own prudence with the result that he seeks another victory within an ill-fitting contest.¹⁹ In other words, he shows no restraint to remain within the limitations of his own talents, or φουή, when he finally experiences the abundance (κόρος) of victory. This unfortunate outcome of

¹⁹ Richardson, 241; for recent studies of this behavioural phenomenon, see Robertson, Ian H., *The Winner Effect: The Neuroscience of Success and Failure* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012).

athletic victory illustrates clearly what Pindar is attempting to assuage with his dominant tones of caution and his recurrent theme of boundaries of behaviour for the maintenance of communal harmony. Other sources are explicit about the need for restraint in such a state of plenitude (κόρος).

After ten years of brutal fighting far from home, which includes plundering Troy with all its vast wealth, Odysseus' νόστος immediately begins with a raid on Ismarus in Thrace, the very first stop after leaving Ilion. Odysseus simply states he sacked (ἔπραθον) the city and killed the men (ᾠλεσα, 9.40) which is not unexpected since the Kikonians were identified in the *Iliad* as Trojan allies (2.846; 17.73). The result of this raid, however, can be construed as programmatic for the remainder of Odysseus' *nostos*. The recklessness of his men, who are described as νήπιοι, has serious consequences,:

ἔνθ' ἦ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ διερῶ ποδὶ φευγέμεν ἡμέας
 ἠνώγεα, τοὶ δὲ μέγα νήπιοι οὐκ ἐπίθοντο.
 ἔνθα δὲ πολλὸν μὲν μέθυ πίνετο, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα
 ἔσφαζον παρὰ θῖνα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς: (43-46)

There I had surely ordered us to flee with fleet foot, they did not obey, being greatly foolish. But there, much wine was drunk, and they slew many sheep by the shore, and shambling curved-horned cattle.

Despite Odysseus' wise council for a quick departure, the insatiability of his men in the face of this κόρος gives the inhabitants plenty of opportunity to organize and launch a counter-attack.

Odysseus himself is also victim to his own recklessness. In Book 9, after he has blinded Polyphemus and escaped without possibility of retribution by cleverly saying his name was "Nobody" (Οὐτις; 366), Odysseus fails to restrain his prideful jubilation in much the same way as we see Epeios do in the *Iliad*. Once offshore, he rebukes Polyphemus for eating his men and thus he gives away his position to the blinded giant

who then breaks off the mountain peak and throws it at Odysseus with a dangerous near miss (τυτθόν: 481-86). Undeterred by even his more prudent comrades who could not persuade his great-hearted, or proud, *thumos* (μεγαλήτορα θυμόν: 500), Odysseus then identifies himself, his epithet, his father's name, and his home.²⁰ The Cyclops quickly uses all this information in a prayer to his father which invokes the baneful wrath of Poseidon. Tiresias therefore gives Odysseus the most fitting advice later in the underworld:

ἀλλ' ἔτι μὲν κε καὶ ὧς κακὰ περ πάσχοντες ἴκοισθε,
αἶ κ' ἐθέλης σὸν θυμόν ἐρυκακέειν καὶ ἐταίρων... (11.104-05)
but still, even also suffering evils, you may return, if you
can restrain your desire and that of your comrades...

We see Odysseus' assimilation of this advice only after many trials when he reaches Ithaka.

Odysseus' home turns out to be a scene of unrestrained and irreverent indulgence. Unruly suitors have been exploiting the hero's long absence by eating and drinking most of Odysseus' wealth. For his own safety, Odysseus approaches his house disguised as a destitute vagrant in marked contrast to the pride in Book 9. When the insolent beggar, Iros, challenges him, Odysseus quickly lays him flat, much like Epeios had done but the outcome is quite different, owing to his transformative travels.²¹ Appreciative for the entertainment, the suitors serve him a feast: great black-pudding (μεγάλην γαστέρα) filled with fat and blood (κνίσης τε καὶ αἵματος) and two loaves of bread. Odysseus replies to wishes of prosperity for him with a majestic account of man's ephemerality:

²⁰ *μεγαλήτορα* literally means great-hearted, but Autenrieth fittingly suggests *proud*, *s.v.*

²¹ Holtsmark, Erling B., "Spiritual Rebirth of the Hero: Odyssey 5," *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 61, No. 5 (1966): 206-210.

οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο,
 πάντων ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει.
 οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτέ φησι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ὀπίσσω,
 ὄφρ' ἀρετὴν παρέχωσι θεοὶ καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη:
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ λυγρὰ θεοὶ μάκαρες τελέσωσι,
 καὶ τὰ φέρει ἀεκαζόμενος τετληότι θυμῷ:
 τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
 οἷον ἐπ' ἡμαρ ἄγησι πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτ' ἔμελλον ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὄλβιος εἶναι,
 πολλὰ δ' ἀτάσθαλ' ἔρεξα βίη καὶ κάρτει εἰκῶν,
 πατρί τ' ἐμῷ πίσυρος καὶ ἐμοῖσι κασιγνήτοισι.
 τῷ μὴ τίς ποτε πάμπαν ἀνήρ ἀθεμίστιος εἶη,
 ἀλλ' ὅ γε σιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι, ὅττι διδοῖεν. (18.130-42)

The earth nurtures nothing more feeble than man, of all those things that breathe and creep upon the earth. For he says that he will never suffer evil again, as long as the gods provide prosperity and his knees give chase: but when the blessed gods grant pains, these too he carries unwilling with a patient heart: for the minds of men upon the earth are such as the father of gods and men brings upon them each day. For I too was once destined to be prosperous among men, but I did many foolish things, yielding to my violence and power, and relying on my father and my brothers. Thus let no man at all ever be lawless, but let him keep the gifts of the gods in silence, whatever they give.

Here Odysseus draws an important dialectic, which is inherent in the Greek view of life, between κόρος, the abundance granted by the gods in fortunate times, and their imposition of misery and grief, or λυγρὰ, in less fortunate times. The former, without σωφροσύνη, often induces forgetfulness of the latter and the vain expectation of continued success beyond the inescapable variations of life. This expectation for an exceptional transcendence of proper human limits invites the enmity (φθόνος) of the gods. Odysseus also displays an important inner self-awareness by describing his overpowering impulse for violence (βία, 139) and power (κάρτος, 139) which, unchecked by self-restraint, led to presumptuous foolishness (ἀτασθαλία, 139). At this late point, he has learned reverence (αἰδώς) and piety (σέβας) which gives σωφροσύνη in order to

protect against both ὕβρις and φθόνος. "The trials and labours of Odysseus, like those of Heracles, were seen by the ancients as both a moral training and a testing-ground for virtue."²²

A bit later in the corpus of Greek literature, in the *Works and Days*, Hesiod echoes Odysseus' call for silence in the face of κόρος. A central theme in eighth century epic was the transcendent, and therefore inscrutable and unchallenged, origin for the rule of law. Hesiod states this forcefully to his errant brother, Perses, when he says that Zeus ordained law (νόμος) for mankind, but animals eat each other since there is no justice (δίκη) among them, by far the best thing (πολλὸν ἀρίστη; 276-80). He explains that, long ago, members of the Golden Race were peaceful (ἤσυχτοι) and deferential (ἐθελήμοι) while they also lived with many blessings (σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν; 118-19). By contrast, the subsequent ignoble Silver Race exemplifies the effects of excessive nurture, an important aspect of κόρος:

ἀλλ' ἑκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ
 ἐτρέφετ' ἀτάλλων, μέγα νήπιος, ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.
 ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἄρ' ἠβήσαι τε καὶ ἠβης μέτρον ἴκοιτο,
 παυρίδιον ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον, ἄλγε' ἔχοντες
 ἀφραδίης: ὕβριν γὰρ ἀτάσθαλον οὐκ ἐδύναντο
 ἀλλήλων ἀπέχειν, οὐδ' ἀθανάτους θεραπεύειν
 ἠθέλον οὐδ' ἔρδειν μακάρων ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ βωμοῖς,
 ἢ θέμις ἀνθρώποις κατὰ ἤθεα. (130-37)

But a playing child was raised for a hundred years by his careful mother, very childish, in his home. But when he reached his prime and came to the full measure of youth, they lived for a short time, having sorrow due to their foolishness: for they were not able to restrain their hubris and recklessness from one another, nor did they wish to serve the immortals or offer sacrifice on the holy altars of the blessed ones, which is right for humans by custom.

²² Rutherford, R.B., "The Philosophy of the Odyssey," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 106 (1986), 146.

A hundred years of careful mothering, without integrative socialization or initiation rites, suggests a surfeit of external validation whereby the child has no chance to learn the effects of his ὕβρις and ἀτασθαλία. Freud knew this phenomenon personally and he noted, “A man who has been the indisputable favourite of his mother keeps for life the feeling of a conqueror.”²³ Hesiod then describes a state of conflict where everyone believes he is the conqueror and no one can retreat, not unlike the flare up between Agamemnon and Achilles which caused so much carnage, and not unlike the Giants sprung from serpent teeth only to kill one another (ὀλέκοιεν ἀλλήλους, *Argon.* 3.1058-59): the result is annihilation. Much later, in Plato’s *Symposium*, Aristophanes describes the original state of humanity as having terrible strength (ἰσχύς) and force (ῥώμη) while similarly holding lofty thoughts (τὰ φρονήματα μεγάλα; 190β). They, however, were cut down to size for their insolence. In this aspect of ὕβρις, *overweening* is a particularly apt translation since its root word, *ween*, comes from the High Old German for the act of thinking, supposing, expecting, and thus it is a synonym for ὑπερφρονέω, literally *to over-think*.²⁴ This verb features in the next work which will suffice for this overview, a particularly significant example.

Aeschylus was a close contemporary of Pindar’s and his play, *Persians*, was produced well within Pindar’s lifetime. The play portrays the aftermath of the Persian invasion, providing some of the greatest examples of ὕβρις within Greek literature. John Jones even describes the work as, “the one play in the entire extant literature - not just in Aeschylus - which is genuinely and fully founded upon *hubris*.”²⁵ This perception is

²³ Quoted in Jones, Ernest, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud* (New York: Basic Books, 1953), 5.

²⁴ OED *s.v.*

²⁵ Jones, J., *On Aristotle and Greek Tragedy* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962), 72.

chiefly due to these facts: that Xerxes plans to transcend the boundaries of his current realm, as well as the wishes of his father, in order to add Greece to his empire; that he assembles an enormous army for this task while spending immense sums of wealth; that he overcomes the natural separation between Asia and Europe by bridging the Hellespont; and finally his army sacked and destroyed many Greek temples and shrines along the way.

The play begins as the chorus of old men and the anxious Queen Mother, Atossa, await news of Xerxes and his great expedition. Soon a messenger arrives with a graphic and gory account of the Battle of Salamis and the defeat of the Persian army. Atossa and the Chorus then summon the ghost of her dead husband, the previous king and Xerxes' father, Darius, in the hope that he may help in recovering from this monstrous ruin. Besides filling in more detail about the present circumstances, Darius brings together all of the elements of ὕβρις in a very striking way:

μῖνονσι δ' ἔνθα πεδίον Ἀσωπὸς ῥοαῖς
 ἄρδει, φίλον πίασμα Βοιωτῶν χθονί:
 οὐ σφιν κακῶν ὕψιστ' ἐπαμμένει παθεῖν,
 ὕβρεως ἄποινα κάθ' ἑω φρονημάτων:
 οἱ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη
 ἦδοῦντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς: 810
 βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι, δαιμόνων θ' ἰδρύματα
 πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων.
 τοιγὰρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα
 πάσχουσι, τὰ δὲ μέλλουσι, κοῦδέπω κακῶν
 κρηνὶς ἀπέσβηκ' ἄλλ' ἔτ' ἐκπιδύεται. 815
 τόσος γὰρ ἔσται πέλανος αἵματοσφαγῆς
 πρὸς γῆ Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος λόγχης ὕπο:
 θῖνες νεκρῶν δὲ καὶ τριτοσπόρω γονῆ
 ἄφωνα σηματοῦσιν ὄμμασιν βροτῶν
 ὡς οὐχ ὑπέρφευ θνητὸν ὄντα χρῆ φρονεῖν. 820
 ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσεν στάχυν
 ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶ θέρος.
 τοιαῦθ' ὀρῶντες τῶνδε τὰπιτίμια
 μέμνησθ' Ἀθηῶν Ἑλλάδος τε, μηδέ τις

ὑπερφρονήσας τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα 825
 ἄλλων ἐρασθεὶς ὄλβον ἐκχέη μέγαν.
 Ζεὺς τοι κολαστὴς τῶν ὑπερκόμπων ἄγαν
 φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν, εὖθυνος βαρὺς. (805-28)

They are waiting where the Asopos waters the plain with its streams, the dear enrichment to the land of Boeotia: where they wait to suffer the worst of evils, the payment for their ὕβρις and godless thoughts: for coming to Greece, they had no reverence to strip the wooden images of the gods and to set fire to the temples: but altars were destroyed, shrines of the gods were uprooted in utter confusion and torn up from their bases. Therefore, acting wickedly, they suffer no less, and other evils are destined, the spring of evils is not yet quenched but it still gushes forth. For the mass of bloody gore will be so great from the Dorian spear on the land of the Plataeans: heaps of dead, even in the third generation, will silently signify to the eyes of men that, being mortal, it is necessary not to think excessively. For ὕβρις, blooming forth, bears a crop of ruin, whence it reaps a most tearful harvest. Seeing the penalties for such things as these, remember Athens and Greece, and may no one, despising his present lot and lusting for other things, squander his great prosperity. For certain, Zeus very much is the punisher of overweening minds, a severe judge.

This is a most stern warning against ὕβρις and one that will be followed again by Herodotus in his version of the Persian invasion, as well as his earlier story of Solon and Croesus. Aeschylus is clear that Zeus sits in stern judgement of ὕβρις and ἄθεον φρόνημα, just as he watches over ξενία, and there are grim consequences for these kinds of thoughts and behaviour which are beyond the mortal ken: a crop of ruin (στάχυς ἄτης; 821-22). Once again we see a collection of ὑπέρ-compounds gathered together in this admonishment which strongly reiterates the act of transgression, i.e. ὑπέρφεν (820), ὑπέρκομπος (827), as well as the adverb ἄγαν (827). In addition, this behaviour is associated with godlessness (ἄθεος, 808) and shamelessness (οὐ αἰδέομαι, 809-10), baseness (κακῶς, 813), and lusting for more (ἄλλων ἐρασθεὶς, 826), attitudes which disregard the limits and customs of established order and which lead to disorder (φύρδην, 812).

To summarize then, the ancient Greeks conceive *hybris* as a transgression against either the gods or mortals, either in thought (μέγᾱ φρονεῖν), in word, as we saw with Epeios' boastful speech, or deed (κακῶς δράω). In this way, the offender is perceived attempting to transcend mortal boundaries of propriety, or θέμις, in order to approach the prerogatives and status of a god. The excess of κόρος is often seen to be a cause and this aspect is also repeatedly captured with accompanying ὑπερ-compounds. In response, the gods react with φθόνος and punish the offender in a variety of ways so that *hybris* has the same religious import as ξένια. This is the 'traditional view' of *hybris* which finds chief support in work by such scholars as Dickie and Cairns, but which was vigorously challenged by Fisher in his extensive study.²⁶ Fisher bases his examination squarely upon the "most hard-headed, and down-to-earth definition and account of the concept of *hybris* that has come down to us, that of Aristotle."²⁷ With this foundation, however, his conception is far too restrictive for Pindar as well as much of Greek poetry.

Since he derives it directly from the Athenian legal action of *graphe hybreos* (γραφὴ ὕβρεως), Aristotle's account is strictly juridical in concern (*Rhetoric* 2.2.3-5). This secular or unmoralized view severely reduces *hybris* to the simple act of dishonouring another for the sake of increasing one's own esteem. Although this is the indictable offence, our literary examples demonstrate a much wider phenomenology, as we have seen, in the manifold pursuits of κλέος. Crucially for any study of poetry as well as the vital features of the Pindaric ode, Fisher denies the importance of the dispositional aspect of *hybris*, despite innumerable accusations in our sources of τὰ φρονήματα μεγάλα

²⁶ Dickie, M.W., "Hēsychia and Hybris in Pindar," in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury*. Edited by Douglas E. Gerber. Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984; Cairns, D.L., "Hybris, Dishonour, and Thinking Big," in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 116 (1996), 1-32; Fisher 1992.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

or ὑπέρφεν φρονεῖν. Even more importantly, as we shall in Pindar's *Pythian 2*, cosmic harmony is presented within a delicate balance of stabilizing reciprocity, or χάρις, and destabilizing centripetal ὕβρις. As a result, Fisher's view shifts the emphasis significantly away from the importance of moral pedagogy for the benefit of society and the prevention of anti-social offensiveness, a very important facet of poetry for the ancient Greeks, towards an exclusive reliance on punishment through the *graphe hybreos*.²⁸ As Jaeger said, “The Greeks always felt that a poet was in the broadest and deepest sense the educator of his people,” and Pindar is one of the pillars of ancient Greek moral pedagogy. It is then most appropriate that this thesis will work within the so-called 'traditional view' of *hybris*.

The following chapters examine the mythic, gnomic and precatory elements of the *Pythian Odes* to see, primarily, how they are used as prophylactic illustrations against the destructive effects of ὕβρις. Pindar began and ended his *corpus* of victory songs with works for the Delphic festivals and this series provides a rich representative sampling of his work. The series includes poems for the Syracusan dynasty, a unique poetic epistle to the ailing Hieron, the lengthy *Pythian 4*, the first of two songs celebrating the same win which recounts the travels of Jason and his Argonauts in grand epic style, as well as an important ode to an Aiginetan athlete that offers, as far as we know, the poet's last ruminations on human accomplishment. The earliest of these odes, *Pythian 10*, will be shown to be largely programmatic for the rest of the *oeuvre* since it echoes in later songs as we explore the rich landscape of Pindar's work.

²⁸Jaeger, W. W., *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, vol. 1, *Archaic Greece: The Mind of Athens* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943), 35.

The second chapter initially studies *Pythians* 2 and then 1, in their reverse numerical order. These two odes offer a striking depiction of ὕβρις as a crucial element in the ancient Greek cosmology. These two poems present, using Seneca's phrase, *the beauty of the whole* which is sustained by χάρις but which is also spoiled by ὕβρις. Chapter 3 then surveys four odes which illustrate how the gentle hand of a noble leader can restore the harmonious cosmic whole when it has been damaged by some transgression, and Pindar provides many such examples. As the authoritative exponent of the tradition of αἰδώς (reverence, shame) and σωφροσύνη (discretion, self-restraint), the most righteous Cheiron (δικαιότατος, *Iliad* 11.832) figures importantly in these songs. Lastly, the fourth chapter looks at the five remaining *Pythians* and their portrayals of the limits inherent in the human condition which every victor must remember and faithfully embrace for his harmonious re-integration into his community.

Chapter 2: The Beauty of the Whole

Pythian 2 (475 BCE)

This chapter will illustrate, using two of Pindar's more preeminent victory songs, how *hybris* has wider cosmological implications than a simple transgression which brings certain retribution. To begin, we examine *Pythian 2* (475 BCE), "one of the most difficult" of his works.²⁹ Nisetich equates its obscurity and difficulty with *Nemean 7*, which Gildersleeve calls "the touchstone of Pindaric interpretation."³⁰ One of the mysteries of *Pythian 2* is that it does not include the usual identifying data which are crucial to the victor's celebration and prestige. For instance, the poet names the *laudandus*, Hieron of Syracuse, along with an elaborate description of his chariot and horses, but there is no mention of where the competition was won, a puzzling and unique feature of this poem.³¹ These three pieces of information, name, event, and games, are recited without fail in Bacchylides' odes, in undamaged agonistic epigrams, as well as in the victor lists, making this exception "intolerably anomalous."³² Consequently, debate continues on the location of the games; some scholars wonder if this ode is not an *epinikion* at all but an epistolary poem, much like *Pythian 3*, also addressed to Hieron.³³ Regardless of these questions, as a choral ode, it presents a compelling view of ὕβρις

²⁹ Race 1997, 234.

³⁰ Nisetich, Frank J., *Pindar's Victory Songs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 234; Gildersleeve, B.L., "The Seventh Nemean Revisited." *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 31 (1910), 126.

³¹ Hamilton, R., *Epinikion: General Form in the Odes of Pindar* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 15.

³² Most, G.W., *The Measures of Praise* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 68.

³³ 67-68: "τόδε μὲν ... / μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἀλὸς πέμπεται" (this song is sent over the grey sea)

within the frame of the greater cosmic order of the gods, mortals, and animals. In this system, χάρις enhances, and contributes to, this cosmic order while ὕβρις threatens to destabilize it. First, though, it will be instructive to revisit Homer and Hesiod.

Firstly, in Homer, it is important to remember that the Olympian gods, despite their power, are always subject to Fate (Μοῖρα). In the *Iliad*, Zeus laments that he can do nothing to protect the dearest of men (φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν) when it is fated (μοιράω) that Sarpedon must die at the hands of Patroklos (16.433-34). In the *Odyssey*, when the young Telemachos converses with old wise Nestor about his father, the latter says that a willing god can easily (ῥεῖα) save a man (3.231),

ἀλλ' ἦ τοι θάνατον μὲν ὁμοίον οὐδὲ θεοὶ περ
καὶ φίλῳ ἀνδρὶ δύνανται ἀλαλκέμεν, ὅπποτε κεν δῆ
μοῖρ' ὀλοῆ καθέλησι τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο. (3.236-238)

But death is alike for all and not even the gods are able to ward it off from a dear man, when the deadly fate (μοῖρα) of woeful death seizes him.

Pindar confirms this point in the fragmentary sixth *Paean* as its main narrative recounts Apollo's attempts to delay Troy's fall and he states that Zeus, the watcher of the gods, did not dare (οὐ τόλμα) to undo (ἀναλύεν) the fated things (μόρσιμα, 94).

Μοῖρα, however, is not simply a pre-ordained barrier of impossibility, but a moral decree which demarcates the limit between right and wrong. Etymologically, μοῖρα signifies the "lot, portion or share which falls to one, especially in the distribution of booty," but this sense is extended metaphorically to include one's lot in life and it is tightly tied to the implication of moral propriety.³⁴ Indeed, Fate and Right can hardly be

³⁴ LSJ s.v.; *Iliad* 9.318: "ἴση μοῖρα μένοντι καὶ εἰ μάλα τις πολεμίζοι" (the same share for those dawdling and if one fights hard); *Odyssey* 19.592: "ἐπὶ γάρ τοι ἐκάστῳ μοῖραν ἔθηκον ἀθάνατοι" (the immortals have given a fate to each)

distinguished.³⁵ This relation is keenly felt in such Homeric phrases as ὑπὲρ μόνον and especially ὑπὲρ αἴσαν, meaning “beyond due measure” or “improperly”, and its contrary κατ’ αἴσαν, meaning “properly.”³⁶ For instance, after Hektor scolds Paris for shrinking away from combat with Menelaus, Paris admits that his reprimand is right (κατ’ αἴσαν) and not beyond due measure (οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ αἴσαν, *Iliad* 3.59).³⁷ These limits are not utterly inflexible and occasionally men or events transgress propriety, as when the Achaeans prevail against the Trojans for a time, ὑπὲρ αἴσαν (16.780), contrary to Zeus’ promise to Thetis (1.493-530). Zeus himself describes this scenario as the *Odyssey* begins, saying that men blame (αἰτιόομαι) the gods for their troubles and yet it is by their own recklessness (ἀτασθαλία) that they gain suffering beyond what is ordained (ὑπὲρ μόνον ἄλγεᾶ, 1.34). This passage illustrates how, in the ancient Greek mind, a clear transgression against a moral boundary incurs swift vengeance to redress the proper order (κόσμος).

Elsewhere, the reciprocity between nature and human conduct, for the purpose of maintaining the cosmic order, is stated very clearly. In his *Works and Days*, Hesiod states that, for kings who give straight justice (ἰθύς δίκη) to strangers and neighbours and do not deviate (παρεκβαίνω) from the customary rule or righteous way (δίκαιος), their city flourishes (θάλλω) and the people thrive (ἀνθέω) within it (225-27). In this way, *dikē* is not only "justice" but its semantic field extends to the "manner of a thing" and even to the "normal course of nature," so that just acts ultimately accord with the

³⁵ Cornford, F.M., *From Religion to Philosophy: A Study in the Origins of Western Speculation* (New York: Harper, 1957), 13.

³⁶ Cunliffe, R.J., *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), , s.v. (αἴσα and μοῖρα are synonyms)

³⁷ See also *Iliad* 6.333, 10.445, 17.716

traditional law that governs the cosmos.³⁸ As Pythagoras says, a single law of justice (δικαιοσύνη) governs the entire cosmic hierarchy (τόπος ἅπας), including mortals, their society, the natural world, and the gods themselves: *Themis*, in the realm of Zeus, and *Dikē*, with Pluto, hold the same rank (τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν) as *Nomos* in the cities,

ἵνα ὁ μὴ δικαίως ἐφ' ἅ τέτακται ποιῶν ἅμα φαίνεται πάντα τὸν κόσμον
συναδικῶν.³⁹

so that he who does not deal justly/rightly with the things
he does, he is shown to harm the entire cosmos as well.

It follows from this principle that the encouraging repercussions of respecting and following traditional law, as well as the afflictions that follow its neglect and offence, are greater for those with a higher status and more social responsibility. In Book 19 of the *Odyssey*, when Penelope questions Odysseus who is in the guise of an old beggar, he praises her as someone in whom no one could find fault, for her fame (κλέος) reaches high heaven,

ὥς τέ τευ ἢ βασιλῆος ἀμύμονος, ὅς τε θεουδῆς
ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἀνάσσω
εὐδικίας ἀνέχησι, φέρησι δὲ γαῖα μέλαινα
πυροῦς καὶ κριθάς, βρίθησι δὲ δένδρεα καρπῶ,
τίκτη δ' ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχει ἰχθῦς
ἐξ εὐηγεσίης, ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. (109-14)

just like a blameless king, who, fearing god and ruling over
many strong men, upholds the just/right way, and the black
earth bears wheat and barley, and the trees are heavy with
fruit, and livestock bear young without fail, and the sea
provides fish, from the good governance, and the people
prosper under him.

In this passage, the blameless king is one who lives in accord with the traditional *dikē* and, therefore, he keeps his realm within the natural order through his fear of the gods

³⁸ LSJ s.v.

³⁹ Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life*, 9.46

and fair dealing. Within this broader philosophical context, we can see further the cosmic implications of ὕβρις and the way it can potentially threaten a whole society when a ruler, like Xerxes, fails to respect the natural order (p. 17-18).

In *Pythian 2*, Pindar presents us with an elaborate picture of Hieron that evokes many allusions to a blameless king:

μεγαλοπόλιες ὦ Συράκοσαι, βαθυπολέμου
τέμενος Ἄρεος, ἀνδρῶν ἵππων τε σιδαροχαρμῶν δαιμόνιαι τροφοί (1-2)
Oh great city of Syracuse, precinct of Ares, god deep in
battle, divine nourisher of men and horses fighting in iron

The Ode thus opens with a striking salutation to Hieron's city, Syracuse, and the first word, Μεγαλόπολις, is the first reference to the righteousness of its king under whose guidance the city is clearly thriving. The next phrase refers to the city as a sacred precinct (τέμενος) of Ares. Here the second line opens with τέμενος to draw a parallel with the first word of the poem on the previous line so that its greatness is directly tied to its dedication to the god. Next, the city is a divine nourisher (δαιμονίη τροφός) of fighting men and horses, although a better rendering of δαιμονίη is "heaven-sent," or "proceeding from the Deity," since this captures the sense of divine sanction as a result of the ruler's blamelessness.⁴⁰ This first strophe continues to amplify this theme of unity between the divine and the mortal by stating that Artemis helped Hieron to master (δαμάζω) his young horses with gentle hands (ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χερσὶ, 8), an important detail for a noble character who need not rule with force (βία) when in harmony with nature. Then the second strophe states that Hermes, the lord of the games, as well as Poseidon helps prepare Hieron and his horses. This unique and extraordinary "swarm" of deities

⁴⁰ LSJ s.v.

indicates a great power of divine favour in response to a remarkable sense of *dikē* within the ruler, Hieron.⁴¹

In this rich way, the poet presents a scene of deep harmony in which "deity and humanity cooperate in a community that in its orderliness can use both mortal power and animal life to noble ends."⁴² This collaboration is also shown by a singular choice of words. Pindar states that, whenever Hieron yokes his horses to his polished car (ξεστός δίφορος), Artemis and Hermes together place the αἰγλήεις κόσμος onto them (10). Often this word κόσμος, conspicuous in this context, means "ornament" or more specifically "harness," as many scholars translate it here;⁴³ it can also mean "honour" or "glory."⁴⁴ More abstractly, κόσμος can also signify "good order," which a harness provides to a horse or team of horses, but the poet also must be alluding to the share of "world order" that Hieron enforces in his realm and in great harmony with the greater cosmic order.⁴⁵ Along with the opening references to his dedication to the divine, this image of deities entrusting him with this κόσμος creates a striking image of prosperous reciprocity between divine and mortal realms. This cosmic harmony includes all levels of nature working together according to the limits of a mutually accepted law or custom (νόμος): the divine realm, kings, mortals, and animals. Within this cycle, advice poetry and praise play key roles.

⁴¹ Most 1985, 71; Carey, C., *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar* (New York: Arno Press, 1981), 26.

⁴² Bell, J.M., "God, Man and Animal in Pindar's Second Pythian," in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy*, D. E. Gerber, ed. (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984), 2.

⁴³ Slater, W.J., *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969), s.v.; Bowra, C.M., *The Odes of Pindar* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), 146; Race 1997, 237;

⁴⁴ Lattimore, R., *The Odes of Pindar* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 51; Nisetich 1980, 163: "radiance"; *Olympian* 8.83

⁴⁵ Heraclitus, DK frag. 30: "κόσμον τόνδε, τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων, οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀεὶ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ ἔσται πῦρ ἀεὶζῶον" (no god, no man made this cosmos, the same for all, but it always was, is, and will be an ever-living fire)

Given this philosophical framework within which the king rules over his subjects according to the grand *Moirai*, we can now appreciate how advice poetry and praise attempt to reinforce the moral tenets of a community. As mentioned previously (p. 20), this didactic strain runs through much of archaic poetry, from Homer and Hesiod to Theognis, including such fragmentary works as *Precepts of Cheiron*. Often these works are ostensibly addressed to a single person, such as Hieron here or Cynrus in the *Theognidea*, but they also intend their message for a much broader communal audience. When given to a king, the advice or praise not only informs him of the community's expectations, but it also strengthens the collective *mores* which, like κλέος in an oral culture, must be continually re-iterated to remain an active stabilizing factor.⁴⁶

Pindar follows this opening picture of cosmic harmony with an explanation of the poet's role, referring to unknown poets of the past whose *laudandi* are still remembered as paragons:

ἄλλοις δέ τις ἐτέλεσσεν ἄλλος ἀνὴρ
εὐαχέα βασιλεῦσιν ὕμνον, ἅποιν' ἀρετᾶς. (13-14)

Some other man has performed a sweet sounding hymn for
other kings, compensation for their excellence.

The poet then suggests Kinyras, the mythical king of Cyprus, as an example since he was a favourite of both Aphrodite and Apollo and he was often celebrated loudly (κελαδέω, 15) by his citizens. Like Hieron, as we first hear in the *Iliad*, Kinyras was very wealthy, in fact he was rich enough to give Agamemnon, his guest-friend, a brilliant corselet made of ten layers (οἰῖμοι) of cobalt, twelve layers of gold, and twenty layers of tin (11.19-24). Later, in Tyrtaeus fragment 12, Kinyras is included alongside Midas in an opening

⁴⁶ West, M.L. ed., *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 24.

priamel as a personage of proverbial wealth (6).⁴⁷ With this excellent exemplar of reciprocity, evidently a close approximation to Hieron himself, Pindar then explains Kinyras' citizen's appreciation with this maxim:⁴⁸

ἄγει δὲ χάρις φίλων ποίνιμος ἀντὶ ἔργων ὀπιζομένα (17)
and reciprocal pious gratitude is a guide for friendly
deeds.⁴⁹

This line provides the basis for the ode's myth of Ixion, not a paragon of pious gratitude, but a pariah. The first epode ends with the advice that Ixion is compelled by the gods to recite to mortals as he is fettered to his winged wheel (ἐν περόντι τροχῷ, 22), another aphorism echoing the previous:

τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς ἀμοιβαῖς ἐποιχομένους τίνεσθαι. (24)
pay honour to your benefactor with gentle recompense.

Up to this point, in the first triad, the ode's main concern has been the mutually supportive and reciprocal relationships between, first, gods and ruler, and then the ruler and his grateful subjects, each playing his assigned role within the hierarchy. The second triad then brings in Ixion more fully as an instructive foil.

Diodorus Siculus (1st c. BCE) tells us that Ixion, in order to marry Dia, promised many gifts to her father Eioneus who later confiscated the young man's horses when the gifts were not forthcoming. In return, Ixion threw Eioneus into a pit of fire (εἰς βόθρον πυρὸς μεστόν, *Bibliotheca Historica* 4.69.3-4). Referring to this episode, Pindar says Ixion was the first hero (ἥρωος) to mix (ἐπιμίγνυμι) kindred bloodshed (ἐμφύλιον αἷμα) among mortals (32). Because of the magnitude of this transgression against *nomos*

⁴⁷ "οὐτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην ... οὐδ' εἰ Τιθωνοῖο φῆν χαριέστερος εἶη, πλουτοίη δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον" (I would not mention a man ... even if he richer than Midas and Cinyras)

⁴⁸ Currie, B., *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 258-95.

⁴⁹ Slater 1969, s.v. ἄγω

(παρανομία), no one wished the murder (φόνος) to be purified (καθαρός), but Zeus did purify him and, as the poet says, Ixion seized a sweet life (γλυκύς βίος) amongst the Olympians (25-26). This unnatural state, a mortal living amidst the blessed gods, signifies the greatest surfeit (κόρος) of fortune for a mortal and one that surely entails ὕβρις as we saw Theognis claim in the first chapter (p. 9). As we shall see, this sweet life also contravenes the natural order. Pindar says Ixion did not sustain this happy state (ὄλβος) for long and, with maddened wits (μαινομέναις φρασίν), he lusted after Hera (ἔραμαι, 26-28). Furthermore, agreeing with Theognis and once again connecting *hybris* with another important ὑπερ-compound, he says:

ἀλλά νιν ὕβρις εἰς ἀνάταν ὑπεράφανον / ὄρσεν (28-29)
but *hybris* drove him into a presumptuous delusion

Taking advantage of the hero's delusional state in which he thought it possible to mate with the supreme Olympian goddess, Zeus formed a cloud into the figure of his wife and Ixion lay with it (παραλέγω, 36). Pindar then uses this darkly comical scenario to emphasize two important *gnomai* on the structure of the cosmic order:

χρῆ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ παντὸς ὄρᾶν μέτρον.
εὐναὶ δὲ παράτροποι ἐς κακότητα' ἀθρόαν
ἔβαλον: (34-36)

one must always see one's own limit in everything.
uncustomary loves throw one into overwhelming misery:

This second line uses the adjective παράτροπος, a concatenation of the preposition παρά, meaning "beside" or more strongly "beyond" or even "against," and the noun τρόπος, denoting "the way of life" or "custom."⁵⁰ So the poet once again emphasizes the consequences of *hybris* associated with stepping outside of the natural order.

⁵⁰ LSJ s.v.

The second triad ends with the horrid consequences of this aberrant union. At this point Pindar offers, through his persistent belief in inherited nature (φυή),⁵¹ a vivid admonition against the temptation of selfish accumulation outside communal reciprocity in a state of isolation. Here he says, referring to the cloud:

ἄνευ οἱ Χαρίτων τέκεν γόνον ὑπερφίαλον,
μόνα καὶ μόνον, οὔτ' ἐν ἀνδράσι γερασφόρον οὔτ' ἐν θεῶν νόμοις:
(42-43)

for him far from the Graces, she gave birth to an arrogant
child, she on her own and himself solitary, honoured
neither among men nor in the ways of the gods.⁵²

This little passage will require some elucidation which will introduce another important aspect of ὕβρις in archaic Greek culture.

First of all, we hear from Hesiod that the Graces (Χάριτες) were offspring from Zeus' union with the Oceanid, Eurynome (*Theogony* 907), a name formed from εὐρύς, meaning "broad" or "far-reaching," and νομία, denoting "lawfulness" or "good order."⁵³ The name of these deities, the *Charites*, also derives from an Indo-European root word for "pleasure" (*gher-*) which has several Greek derivatives, such as χάρις (*grace*, *loveliness*, or *favour*), χαρά (*joy* or *delight*), and χαίρω (*to rejoice* or *to be glad*, also used as a greeting).⁵⁴ This genealogy then illustrates the pleasure-bestowing powers that emanate from a far-reaching lawfulness or order, and here the sense of νομία is close to κόσμος that we saw earlier in the ode. As the literature shows further, the Graces confer

⁵¹ Donlan, W., *The Aristocratic Ideal and Selected Papers* (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1999), 97

⁵² οἱ refers to Ixion: Brown, C.G., "Pindar on Archilochus and the Gluttony of Blame (Pyth. 2.52-6)." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 126 (2006), 43.

⁵³ LSJ s.v.

⁵⁴ Chantraine, P., *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968), s.v. χάρις.

blessings that ensure a harmonious social arrangement, not only between mortals but among the gods as well, by fostering the enjoyment of mutual giving.

In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle says that it is this sharing (μετάδοσις) that binds (συμμένω) people together (5.1133a), and thus he explains:

διὸ καὶ Χαρίτων ἱερὸν ἐμποδῶν ποιοῦνται, ἵν' ἀνταπόδοσις
ᾗ: τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον χάριτος: ἀνθυπηρετῆσαι γὰρ δεῖ τῶ
χαρισαμένῳ, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἄρξαι χαριζόμενον. (*ibid.*)

for this reason they make a shrine for the *Charites* in a central place, so that there may be a return for kindness: for this is the thing about grace: for it is necessary to pay back a kindness given, and again to initiate the kindness oneself.

The iconic image of the Graces, three young female nudes embracing one another, may have dated back to the fifth century BCE when Chrysippus, the original father of Stoicism, may have used a painting on the Stoa by Polygnotus (5th c. BCE) for an interpretative lesson.⁵⁵ Seneca has conveyed this to us appropriately in his *de Beneficiis* where he ponders the meaning of this dance with joined hands returning onto itself (*in se rediens*, 1.3.2-10):

Ob hoc, quia ordo beneficii per manus transeuntis nihilo minus ad dantem revertitur et totius speciem perdit, si usquam interruptus est, pulcherrimus, si cohaeret et vices servat. In eo est aliqua tamen maioris dignatio, sicut promerentium. Vultus hilari sunt, quales solent esse, qui dant vel accipiunt beneficia; iuvenes, quia non debet beneficiorum memoria senescere; virgines, quia incorrupta sunt et sincera et omnibus sancta; in quibus nihil esse adligati decet nec adstricti; solutis itaque tunicis utuntur; perlucidis autem, quia beneficia conspici volunt.

⁵⁵ Schwzenberg, E., *Die Grazien* (Bonn: Habelt, 1966), 67-70, cited in MacLachlan, B., *The Age of Grace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 51.

It is due to this, because the course of transmitted kindness is still returned to the giver and the beauty of the whole is lost if it is broken at any place, but it is most beautiful if it sticks together and the reciprocity is preserved. In this (dance) there is a special honour for the older one, just as the most deserving. Their faces are cheerful, just like as these are accustomed to be, those who give and receive kindness; they are young because the memory of kindness never ought to grow old; they are virgins because kindness is pure, genuine, and holy to all; amongst whom, it is proper that none are bound or restricted; and so they wear loose robes; they are even transparent since kindness wishes to be seen.

One indeed senses the loss of grace and beauty in this example of Ixion, especially in contrast to the image of Hieron with his gentle hands under the supervision of so many eager deities. Looking back once again to Homer, we see what may be called the *ur*-form of interrupted χάρις when Achilles cites Agamemnon's breach of reciprocity during the embassy of book 9. He says he will not be persuaded to rejoin the fighting since there has not been any *charis* (τις χάρις) for fighting (315-17); the consequences of this lack of χάρις are devastating since many valiant souls (πολλὰς ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς, 1.3) are then dispatched to Hades as a result of Achilleus' μῆνις. When embraced, however, χάρις connects symmetrical exchange not only to pleasure but also fertility and abundance.⁵⁶ Archaeology also corroborates a pervasive practice of χάρις within archaic culture for establishing stable and supportive links between individuals and οἴκοι.⁵⁷ By rejecting this important socio-cultural practice, though, Ixion truly isolates himself and his progeny.

The audience for the choral ode would immediately get the sense of this isolation right at the start of the passage (42-43) with opening words, "far from the Graces." Pindar again emphasizes this estrangement by referring to Ixion's nebulous mate and his

⁵⁶ Fisher, N., "Kharis, Kharites, Festivals, and Social Peace in the Classical Greek City" in *Valuing Others in Classical Antiquity*, ed. by R.M. Rosen and I. Sluiter (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 83.

⁵⁷ Morris, I., "Gift and Commodity in Archaic Greece," *Man*, Vol. 21 (1986), 1-17;

child as both alone, repeating the same word for both (μόνα καὶ μόνον). Then he finishes the passage with another striking image of alienation: "neither honoured among men nor in the ways of the gods." In this way, this couplet is composed most aptly in ring form since the process of conferring honour is governed by the Charites, while the kernel of the passage also connects arrogance, or ὕβρις, with isolation. Here the ὑπερ-compound, typically rendered as "arrogant," is formed with φιάλη, a kind of broad flat-shaped bowl used for libations, suggesting not only sacrilegious behaviour but, more metaphorically with the image of a bowl, conduct beyond containment of societal customs.

The poet then caps off this episode, in the opening of the third triad, with a "gnomic climax," a magnificent image of the power of the god and the futility of ὕβρις:⁵⁸

θεὸς ἅπαν ἐπὶ ἐλπίδεσσι τέκμαρ ἀνύεται,
θεός, ὃ καὶ πτερόεντ' αἰετὸν κίχῃ, καὶ θαλασσαῖον παραμείβεται
δελφῖνα, καὶ ὑψιφρόνων τιν' ἔκαμψε βροτῶν,
ἐτέροισι δὲ κῦδος ἀγήραον παρέδωκ'. (49-52)

The god accomplishes every goal according to his wishes, the god, who even overtakes the winged eagle, who even outruns the dolphin of the sea, who still bows down any of the high-minded mortals, but he also provides everlasting glory to others.

The poet stresses here the universality of the god's supremacy, as he lists animals in the air, of the sea, and on the land, and he creates a parallel with Hieron who is able to tame horses for his own uses and those of his community. By contrast, Ixion's legacy, the Centaurs, suggests the bestial and untamed sexual aspect of humans since they are begotten from wild horses in the foothills of Pelion (ἐν Παλίου σφυροῖς, 45-6) beyond civilization. This overarching rule of the god, strongly marked by the repetition of θεός on the first two lines, also evinces the primacy of rational discrimination for keeping

⁵⁸ Bundy 1962, no. 1, 10

separate what is distinct by nature and avoiding dangerous confusion.⁵⁹ Ixion illustrates the case where a mortal expects divine blessings and attempts to take more than his allotted share, or *moira*; his offspring show the consequences of humanity diluted with untamed bestiality. In both cases, ὕβρις entails the abandonment of χάρις and the violation of κόσμος.

Coming to the end of this exceedingly negative affair, the poet makes an abrupt turn once again, in the middle of the third strophe, into a contrasting topic. So that he does not pass beyond the bounds of good taste, another aspect of *charis*, in reciting the faults of Ixion, thus observing his own advice of respecting the due measure (καιρός), Pindar then states that he must flee the persistent bite of condemnation (δάκος ἀδινὸν κακαγοριᾶν, 52-53) and move on to more pleasant topics.⁶⁰ Just as Ixion is an illustrative foil for Hieron, so the poet now highlights Archilochus and blame poetry (ψόγος) in the third triad in order to stress the societal role of praise. In this example, he sees the scathing Archilochus (ψογερός) long ago in hardship growing fat (παιίνομαι) on vented words of hatred (βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν, 55-56). A few words on this adjective (ψογερός) and verb (παιίνομαι) will elucidate the final triad.

Later literary sources portray the earliest extant lyric poet, Archilochus, mostly as the exponent of bitter invective in the iambic genre, although his lyrics display a wide variety of forms and sentiments. A biographical myth persisted into later Roman sources that the poet was betrothed to a certain Neoboule whose father, Lycambes, reneged on the deal and this incited Archilochus to launch a series merciless and vindictive poems that

⁵⁹ Steiner, D., "Pindar's Bestiary: The 'Coda' Of Pythian 2" *Phoenix*, Vol. 65, (2011), 238.

⁶⁰ Mackie, H., *Graceful Errors: Pindar and the Performance of Praise* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 13ff;

precipitated their eventual suicide.⁶¹ A little after Pindar, Critias reproaches Archilochus for the exclusive practice of invective whereby important boundaries are ignored:

ὁμοίως τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ἔλεγε. (DK 44)
he spoke badly of enemies and friends alike.

Excessively negative, Archilochus confuses the important categories of friend and enemy, a crucial distinction in the archaic world.⁶² This one-sided predilection, in so far as he exacts esteem without offering it, excludes this notorious poet from the cycle of reciprocity which we saw nourished by the Graces and, thus, Archilochus is isolated much like Ixion.⁶³ Pindar underlines this state once again by the adverb ἐκάς (54), meaning "far away."

By only drawing away esteem from the community, moreover, Archilochus not only gets into trouble (ἀμηχανία), he also gets fat (παινομαι), a verb which commonly denotes gluttony at the expense of others while the social obligations of χάρις are ignored. For instance, when Achilles first rages at Agamemnon, he describes the leader as "heavy with wine" (οἶνοβαρής), having a "face of a dog" (κυνός ὄμμα, 1.225), the animal which is said to devour many of the dead in the proem (1.4-5). Also in this first exchange, Achilles calls Agamemnon a people-devouring king (δημοβόρος βασιλεὺς, 1.231), all of which agrees with the commander's breach of *charis*. Possibly the best use of this derogatory verb is within Semonides' misogynistic *Catalog of Women* (frg. 7) which compares various types of women to animals. The very first is like a long-bristled

⁶¹ Horace, *Epode* 6, *Epistle* 1.19; Ovid, *Ibis* 54; Podlecki, A.J., *The Early Greek Poets and Their Times* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 47-48; West, M.L., *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), 26-30.

⁶² Blundell, M.W., *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 26-59.

⁶³ Kurke 1991, 100.

sow (ὄς τανύτριχος) who, unwashed and in unclean clothes, does nothing to maintain her household but grows fat sitting on a dung heap (ἐν κοπρήσιν ἡμένη πιαίνεται, 6). Similarly, the woman made from earth only understands eating (ἔργων δὲ μούνον ἐσθίειν ἐπίσταται, 24) and the ass-woman only works under compulsion and eats all day and all night (προνύξ προῆμαρ, 47). The common trait of all these caricatures, except for the bee-woman, is that they contribute nothing to the οἶκος while consuming much until starvation (Λιμός, 101) eventually forces the man from his house. Against these literary examples, we see how Pindar is setting up Archilochus as a foil for the *epinikion* poet who conveys high regard wherever it is deserved and plays his part in the cycle of χάρις. To reinforce the point, Pindar finishes off the third triad with lush praise of Hieron's wealth, honour, his liberal spirit (φρήν ἐλευθέρα, 57), as well as his wise and mature councils (βουλαὶ πρεσβύτεραι, 65).

Pindar transitions into the last triad by juxtaposing two *gnomai*. From the preceding praise, Hieron is clearly a καλοκάγαθος, a true nobleman who need only act according to his nature (φύα) to be favoured by the gods, and to participate fully within the communal circle of *charis* to receive the gratitude of his people. The ode, therefore, continues:

γένοι' οἶος ἐσσι μαθών: καλός τοι πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἰεὶ
καλός. ὁ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθς εὖ πέπραγεν, ὅτι φρενῶν
ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον, οὐδ' ἀπάταισι θυμὸν τέρπεται ἔνδοθεν:
οἷα ψιθύρων παλάμαις ἔπετ' αἰεὶ βροτῶ. (72-75)

be that which you are, having learned what that is: the ape
is certainly pretty to children, always pretty. But
Rhadamanthus has fared well because he was granted the
blameless fruit of good judgement, and he is delighted by
no deception within himself: the kinds of things which
perpetually pursue a mortal with the devices of whisperers.

As a genuine nobleman, Hieron will prosper well if he only stays true to his nature and listens to his faultless judgement, unlike Ixion, the ignorant man (ἄιδρις ἀνὴρ, 37), who learned (ἔμαθε, 25) his human limitations much too late. Hieron is also distinct from the children who are easily charmed by a monkey's antics and forget its proverbial ugliness, a fact that is clearly emphasized by repeating καλός a second time immediately with αἰεὶ.⁶⁴ Semonides also makes this the main curse of the monkey-woman, the worst plague (μέγιστον κακόν, 72) that Zeus gave to men. He says that her face is extremely ugly (αἴσχιστα, 73), just like the base Thersites in the *Iliad* (2.216), so much so that there is laughter (γέλως, 74) throughout the city.

Extending his comments on slander and adding to his menagerie of animals, Pindar goes on to say,

ἄμαχον κακὸν ἀμφοτέροις διαβολιᾶν ὑποφάτιες,
ὄργαῖς ἀτενὲς ἀλωπέκων ἴκελοι. (76-77)

Those speaking slander are an irresistible evil to both
parties, they are very much like the tempers of foxes.

As Detienne and Vernant have shown, the fox was known as the archetypal trickster within Greek culture, and we see this once again in Simonides where the vixen-woman is said to know all things (πάντων ἴδρις) and she often mixes up good and bad (τὸ ἐσθλόν / κακόν, 8-11).⁶⁵ The second line provides a negative image of the gracious cycle of χάρις whereby, instead of the benefit to both giver and receiver, the slanderer does irreparable harm to both the slandered person and the listener.⁶⁶ The ode's first beast, the monkey, is

⁶⁴ McDermott, W.C., "The Ape in Greek Literature," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 66 (1935), 165-76; Lilja, S. "The Ape in Ancient Comedy," *Arctos*, Vol. 14 (1980), 31-38.

⁶⁵ M. Detienne and J. Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, trans. J. Lloyd (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1978), 34-37.

⁶⁶ Gildersleeve 1890, 265.

clearly false and could only deceive those of immature judgement, but the fox is cleverly deceptive so that people must avail themselves of their better judgement so that they are not deluded.

This triad contrasts the older wisdom of Hieron (βουλαὶ πρεσβύτεραι) with the innocent misjudgement of the children which, in turn, entails a serious failure of moral discernment since appearance and nobility are always linked in the Greek mind.⁶⁷ A few lines earlier, the poet singled out Archilochus as growing fat on such a lack of judgment in which he notoriously subjected everyone to the same invective. Pindar now draws a distinction between himself and the earlier poet, saying,

φίλον εἶη φιλεῖν:
ποτὶ δ' ἐχθρὸν ἅτ' ἐχθρὸς ἐὼν λύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθεύσομαι,
ἄλλ' ἄλλοτε πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς. (83-85)

Let me be friendly to a friend: but against an enemy, just
like an enemy I will make a stealthy attack taking the
nature of the wolf, stalking on twisted paths here and there.

Here Pindar uses δίκη, a word marked with cosmological significance, denoting, as we saw at the start of the ode, the “manner or nature” of a thing or even the order of universe. Just as the gods placed the harness, or orderly reign, into Hieron’s hands to govern his horses, so the poet here borrows the δίκη of a wolf to avenge his maltreatment, and so the ode comes full circle again on the grand theme of cosmic order. Yet one must wonder if there is any moral superiority attached to the wolf when compared to the fox.

Homer often expresses ferocity with the image of the wolf. When, for instance in *Iliad* 11, neither side thinks of retreat and both sides were cutting men down (δητιόω), he describes the men rushing like wolves (λύκοι ὡς θῦνον, 72-73). Perhaps the most effective use of this image, though, occurs just before the *aristeia* of Patroklos when

⁶⁷ Jaeger 1943, 13: “the chivalrous ideal of the complete human personality, harmonious in mind and body”

Homer uses an extended simile to describe the Myrmidons as wolves who eat raw flesh (ὠμοφάγος), whose hearts have unspeakable fury (ἄσπετος ἄλκή), and whose jaws are blood-red with gore (παρήϊον αἵματι φοινόν) after taking down a great horned stag (16.156-63). It is also important to remember that the wolf, although crafty, attacks in the open, in broad daylight, while the fox remains concealed under the cover of darkness and is thus associated with relative cowardice.⁶⁸ The wolf is then an appropriate image of the hostility of the ἀγαθός and his “noble violence,” so that the poet utilizes the *dikē* of the wolf to overcome enemies in the last triad while Hieron, in the first triad, tames his horses to overcome his opponents and gain prestige for his community.⁶⁹

We can now see, in the second *Pythian*, how Pindar situates the noble ruler with a cosmic harmony (κόσμος) between the gods and his subjects and alongside the animal realm, all of whom ideally operate within a system of reciprocal χάρις. Ixion, as well as his progeny, and Archilochus all provide instructive foils to illustrate *hybris* and the cosmic harm that comes from interrupting the communal cycle of *charis*. The last triad extends this theme into the effects and reparations of slander and deception while stressing the importance of good judgment. Pindar then caps off this ode with an entirely gnomic epode as a striking summary for the preceding lines, and it offers rich fodder for reflection among the citizens of Syracuse, ruler and subjects alike:

⁶⁸ Detienne and Vernant 1978, 51, n. 66.

⁶⁹ Most 1985, 117.

χρὴ δὲ πρὸς θεὸν οὐκ ἐρίζειν,
 ὃς ἀνέχει τοτὲ μὲν τὰ κείνων, τότε αὖθ' ἑτέροις ἔδωκεν μέγα κῦδος. ἀλλ'
 οὐδὲ ταῦτα νόον
 ἰαίνει φθονερῶν: στάθμας δέ τινας ἐλκόμενοι
 περισσᾶς ἐνέπαξαν ἔλκος ὀδυναρὸν ἕξ πρόσθε καρδία,
 πρὶν ὅσα φροντίδι μητίονται τυχεῖν.
 φέρειν δ' ἐλαφρῶς ἐπαυχένιον λαβόντα ζυγὸν
 ἀρήγει: ποτὶ κέντρον δέ τοι
 λακτιζέμεν τελέθει
 ὀλισθηρὸς οἴμος (88-96)

One must not struggle against the god, who sometimes
 holds up those men's affairs, and then sometimes gives
 great glory to other men. But these things do not cheer the
 mind of the envious: drawing the measure too far, they fix a
 painful wound in their own heart, before they contrive to
 obtain all the things in their thoughts. It helps to carry
 lightly the yoke that is taken on the neck, and kicking
 against the goad certainly makes for a slippery road.

For Pindar, as his chorus reminds the victorious Hieron, envious men do not
 accept the god's inscrutable dispensation of various successes and failures but, in
 contriving to sway the balance in their favour, or drawing the goal (στάθμη) beyond due
 measure (περισσός), they harm themselves and contravene the cosmic harmony. It is far
 better to accept our human constraints and admit our commonly shared lot.

Pythian 1 (470 BCE)

Pythian 1 is another ode to Hieron of Syracuse. It was composed in 470 BCE and it is one of the most majestic and admired of all the odes.⁷⁰ The poem celebrates not only the victory in a chariot race at Delphi but also Hieron's founding of the city of Aitna at the foot of the eponymous volcanic mountain in Sicily. According to Diodorus Siculus, the tyrant settled the colony (ἀποικία) by re-locating people from the Peloponnese and other parts of Sicily (11.49.1). This process of establishing civilization, along with the attendant installation of order, is the main concern of the poem as it describes the suppression of four different opponents.⁷¹ Pindar once again equates good governance with the quelling of rebellious and primitive forces by drawing the ode's myth from a long tradition that goes back to Hesiod and his Titanomachy.

In *Pythian 2*, the first of the Syracusan odes, we saw how Pindar situated the blameless ruler within the cosmic framework as the steward of reciprocal χάρις and the defender against centripetal ὕβρις. For Pindar, the flourishing megalopolis and the victorious team of horses under gentle guidance are signs of a benevolent leader in harmony with the gods and the divine *dikē*. Similarly in *Pythian 1*, the poet draws an impressive analogy between the music of the lyre, as it ushers the singers through their song and dance, and the benign king who guides his community in harmony with the workings of the greater cosmic order. As Hesiod tells us, beginning his *Theogony*, the Muses delight (τέρπω) the great mind (μέγας νόος) of father Zeus as they tell of the

⁷⁰ Famously imitated by Thomas Gray in *Progress of Poesy* (1754): "Awake, Aeolian lyre, awake, / And give to rapture all thy trembling strings."

⁷¹ Fitzgerald, W., *Agonistic Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 141; Morgan, K.A., *Pindar and the Construction of Syracusan Monarchy in the Fifth Century B.C.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 316.

present (τά ἔόντα), the future (τά ἐσσόμενα), and the past (πρό ἔόντα, 36-38). More importantly, they also sing (μέλω) of everyone's laws (πάντων νόμους) while also celebrating the joyful ways of the immortals (ἦθεα κεδνὰ ἀθανάτων, 66-67). In this sense, the Muses' song, and their lyre by association, embodies the cosmic harmony of terrestrial νόμος and cosmic δίκη.

The first two strophes of the ode express the subduing and harmonizing effects of music in the most vivid terms. The poem opens aptly with an apostrophe to the golden lyre, beginning and ending with Apollo and the deep-bosomed Muses:

χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων
 σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον: τᾶς ἀκούει μὲν βάσις, ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,
 πείθονται δ' αἰοῖδοι σάμασιν,
 ἀγησιχόρων ὅποταν προοιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς ἐλελιζομένα.
 καὶ τὸν αἰχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις
 ἀενάου πυρός. εὐδὲι δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς αἰετός, ὠκεῖαν πτέρυγ'
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάξαις,
 ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν, κελαινῶπιν δ' ἐπὶ οἱ νεφέλαν
 ἀγκύλῳ κρατί, γλεφάρων ἀδὺ κλαῖστρον, κατέχευας: ὁ δὲ κνώσσων
 ὑγρὸν νῶτον αἰωρεῖ, τεαῖς
 ῥιπαῖσι κατασχόμενος. καὶ γὰρ βιατὰς Ἄρης, τραχεῖαν ἄνευθε λιπῶν
 ἐγγέων ἀκμάν, ἰαίνει καρδίαν
 κώματι, κῆλα δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων θέλγει φρένας, ἀμφὶ τε Λατοῖδα σοφία
 βαθυκόλπων τε Μοισᾶν. (1-12)

Oh Golden Lyre, joint possession of Apollo and the violet-haired Muses: you whom the dancestep obeys, the command of splendour, and the singers obey your signs, whenever you, rallying, form the openings of the dance-leading preludes. You even check the martial thunderbolt of the ever-flowing fire. And the eagle sleeps on Zeus' scepter, having slackened both swift wings, the king of birds, since you poured a dark-hooded cloud over his curved head, a sweet seal for his eyelids: sleeping, he ripples his supple back, held fast by your quivering notes. For even powerful Ares, putting away the jagged edge of his spears, warms his heart with deep sleep, and even your shafts delight the minds of the gods, by virtue of the skill of Apollo and the deep-bosomed Muses.

This compelling orchestration encompasses both stimulus and suppression in the maintenance of order within the mortal and the immortal realms.⁷² The lyre inspires the grace of the song and the dance (βάσις) while suppressing strength and violence (αίχμητής). We will first look at a similar ideal in Hesiod, to which Pindar is surely alluding, before delving more deeply into the imagery of this opening passage.

The verses above are a lyric equivalent to the effect of the Muses on Hesiod's venerable rulers in the *Theogony* who are attended by Calliope, the preeminent Muse (προφερός, 79). When these kings, cherished by Zeus (Διοτρεφής), are born, then the Muses pour sweet dew (ἔρσα γλυκερά) on their tongues so that gentle words (ἔπεα μείλιχα, 83-84) flow from their mouths. As a result of this special treatment, these kings perform a role very much like the golden *phorminx* within their community, enacting *dikē* and ending harm:

οἱ δέ τε λαοὶ
 πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ὄρωσι διακρίνοντα θέμιστας
 ἰθείησι δίκησιν: ὃ δ' ἀσφαλέως ἀγορεύων
 αἰψὰ κε καὶ μέγα νεῖκος ἐπισταμένως κατέπαυσεν:
 τοῦνεκα γὰρ βασιλῆες ἐχέφρονες, οὔνεκα λαοῖς
 βλαπτομένοις ἀγορήφι μετὰτροπα ἔργα τελεῦσι
 ῥηϊδίως, μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενοι ἐπέεσσιν.
 ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀν' ἀγῶνα θεὸν ὡς ἰλάσκονται
 αἰδοῖ μείλιχῆ, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισιν:
 τοιῆ Μουσάων ἱερὴ δόσις ἀνθρώποισιν. (84-93)

And all the people look to him settling claims with straight judgements: and he, speaking steadfastly, would swiftly and skillfully put an end to a great quarrel: for in this way wise kings easily turn matters around for the sake of their people who are harmed in assembly, advising with gentle words. They greet him, passing through the assembly, as a god with kind respect, outstanding among the assembled: such is the holy gift of the Muses to men.

⁷² Barker, A., "Lullaby for an Eagle: (Pindar, Pythian 1)," *Sleep*, eds. T. Wiedemann and K. Dowden (Bari, Italy: Levante, 2003), 112.

In the same way, Pindar is illustrating the symbolic equivalence between the musical order of the song and dance, and the divine order working through its human rulers and in the lives of men.⁷³ This captures the harmonious workings of the cosmos in which the disruptive aspects of ὕβρις have been conquered and the weapons of its enforcement have been lulled to sleep. Before looking at examples of *hybris* in this ode, it will be helpful to examine this portrayal of music through its power of enchantment in the first two stanzas.

This power is most evident in the poet's use of κῶμα, a rare word for the deep sleep of Ares. Homer uses this word once in the *Iliad* for the sweet slumber with which Sleep (Ὕπνος) covers Zeus after being seduced by Hera (14.359). Again, once in the *Odyssey*, Athena covers wretched Penelope with sweet sleep, in a slight variant of the same formula, so that her beauty may be enhanced and the Achaeans may marvel at her (18.201). Sappho offers us an especially picturesque example where she calls Aphrodite to her lovely grove of apple trees, a lush refuge filled with roses, a babbling brook, and "the sleep of enchantment" flows down (κατέρρει) from the shimmering leaves (frag. 2.1-8).⁷⁴ Contrary to these idyllic images, however, Hesiod gives an entirely different sense of the word in his description of Tartarus and the river Styx after Zeus' triumph over the Titans.

According to him, this shall be the punishment for any god who swears falsely over a libation of the Stygian water:

⁷³ Segal, C., *Aglaia: The Poetry of Alcman, Sappho, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Corinna* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998), 12.

⁷⁴ Campbell, D.A., *Greek Lyric*, Vol. 1, *Sappho, Alcaeus* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 57.

κεῖται νήυτμος τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν:
οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος ἔρχεται ἄσσον
βρώσιος, ἀλλὰ τε κεῖται ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος
στρωτοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι, κακὸν δέ ἐ κῶμα καλύπτει. (795-98)

he lies breathless to the end of the completed year: he
comes closer to neither ambrosia nor nectar for eating, but
he lies both breathless and voiceless on a spread-out bed,
and an evil *kōma* covers him.

Besides the *Dios Apate* of *Iliad* 14 and Penelope's make-over, it is important to note also how this verb "to cover" (καλύπτειν) is often used in Homer for the image "of the darkness of death, or of unconsciousness following a blow."⁷⁵ This deep trance (κῶμα), then, can be either gentle (μαλακός) and favourable, or it can be punitive and evil (κακός), depending on the character and behaviour of the recipient. As Pindar shows, the song of the Muses has a similar double nature.

While the first two stanzas evoke the pleasant enchantment (θέλγειν, 12) and inspiration of the lyre, which stands in symbolically for the benign ruler in the *polis*, the opening passage also includes a few darker martial resonances. The third line first uses πείθω in the middle voice, meaning "to obey," and this can convey either a sense of military subservience or willing acquiescence. The bellicose connotations become stronger with the verb καταχέω (8) which Homer often uses without the prefix, simply meaning "to pour," with ἀγλῦς as "the mist of death" over the eyes (κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν).⁷⁶ In addition, the subdued eagle is then held fast (κατασχόμενος) by the lyre's "quivering notes" where ῥιπαῖσι derives from the verb ῥίπτω meaning "to throw, or hurl." We even see this violent usage in *Pythian* 3 where the son of Kronos swiftly killed both Asklepios and the man he saved from Hades. There the poet includes ῥίπτω with two other violent

⁷⁵ West, M.L. ed., *Theogony* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), line 798, 375; see for example, *Iliad* 4.461, 4.503, 4.526, 5.553, 11.356, 11.752, 22.361

⁷⁶ Cunliffe s.v. ἀγλῦς

verbs, καθαιρέω, meaning "to put down by force, or destroy," and ἐνσκήπτω, meaning "to hurl upon one." In that ode, Zeus's thunderbolt hurls doom (μόρος) upon the two men (57-58). Besides these fierce associations, Pindar encapsulates the ambiguity of the lyre and its song perfectly with the oxymoron ἀδὸ κλαῖστρον, the sweet lock or band which the lyre pours down upon the curved head of the eagle.

The martial imagery then becomes even more overt on line 11 with κῆλα which is often used to mean wooden arrowshafts, or arrows by metonymy.⁷⁷ In his commentary on the *Theogony* though, West explains this meaning as a mistaken etymological association with firewood (καλά) when in fact this word "always refers to manifestations of divine power, usually by invisible means."⁷⁸ In the *Iliad*, this kind of divine power is always punitive for some transgression such as Agamemnon's rough treatment of the priest of Apollo, Chryses (1.53, 1.383). In this ode, though, Pindar is exploiting the word's ambiguity. It is this very invisibility of the lyre's effects that gives it the capacity for enchantment since its listeners cannot see these "shafts" coming and thus defend themselves against its seduction. This invisibility helps to ensure obedience and conformity to the cosmic dance, and we see here a strong resonance with Sappho's "sleep of enchantment" that flows down imperceptibly from shimmering leaves.

These correspondences between the stringed instrument and Zeus show the lyre acting in concert with the divine will to compel compliance among the subordinates through gentle persuasion without the violence of physical force and the thunderbolt. The ode's performance marks both an athletic victory and a political one which is seen to further Zeus' order once again with the result that his violence can temporarily repose.

⁷⁷ LSJ s.v.

⁷⁸ West 1966, line 708, 355; see *Iliad* 1.53, 383, 12.280.

Even though the thunderbolt may be momentarily quenched, its fire is ever-flowing (ἀένναος, 6) and ready to confront any arrogance which cannot be charmed into conformity. This scenario comes abruptly after the beguiling first strophes.

The first epode immediately strikes with a discordant note. This change in tone is put into dramatic effect also by the dance movement which ceases in the epode after the preceding rhythmic dance movements of the first two strophes.⁷⁹ Now the ode states there are those for whom Zeus has no fondness (φιλέω), those who are distraught with grief (ἀτύζομαι) hearing the cry of the Muses (Πιερίδες, 13-14). We see here again the connection between the mind of Zeus and the song of the Muses but also those who refuse to conform to this dance. These are enemies of the gods (θεῶν πολέμιος, 15). They are represented, in the ode's first example, most aptly by the last of the Titans, the symbol *par excellence* of ὕβρις, Typhoeus.

According to Vernant, "The Titans are the deities of hubris."⁸⁰ Indeed, Heinrich Zimmer appositely calls the appropriation of divine prerogatives, which is very typical of the Titans, as well as the more general hubristic confusion of human and divine attributes, the "heresy of Titanism."⁸¹ This central characteristic is reflected in the etymological basis of their name, as Hesiod tells us in the *Theogony*. Their father, great Ouranos, called them Titans (Τιτᾶνες) while scolding them (νεικείων) since they exerted themselves beyond due measure (τιταίνω) and performed a great deed with presumption (ἀτασθαλίη), his castration, for which there would be vengeance (τίσις, 207-10). Hesiod

⁷⁹ Nisetich 1980, 31-39, "Pindar's Meters: The Music of His Words."; Dale, A.M., "The Metrical Units of Greek Lyrical Verse, I-III," in *Collected Papers of A. M. Dale* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 41-97; Mullen, W., *Choreia: Pindar and Dance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 91.

⁸⁰ Vernant, J.P., *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 12.

⁸¹ Zimmer, H., *Philosophies of India*, ed. by J. Campbell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 233.

describes them, after their defeat at the hands of the Olympians, as overweening: ὑπέρθυμος (719), a fitting ὑπερ-compound. In his examination of the works of Hesiod, Vernant shows an important parallel between the Golden Race and the Silver Race, in the *Works and Days*, and the Olympians and the Titans in the *Theogony*. "While Zeus and the Olympians represent the rule of order, the Titans embody the rule of disorder and hubris," and this very same opposition is displayed in *Pythian* 1 as a metaphor for the imposition of sovereignty over anarchy.⁸²

In the first epode, Pindar recreates Typhoeus' incarceration, and his exclusion from the orderly cosmic dance, with this suitably danceless stanza. The second strophe and antistrophe elaborate on the non-conformity of this outcast from the established order. As Barker suggests, Pindar clearly constructs this figure on the model of the perjured god in the *Theogony*.⁸³ The poet tells us the Titan lies in Tartarus, pressed down (πιέζω) by the cliffs of Cumae (ὄχθαι), the island of Sicily, and the sky-high column (κίων οὐρανία, 18-20) of snowy Mount Aitna. With such a tremendous weight upon his shaggy chest (στέρνον λαγνήεις, 19), he similarly would be unable to breathe or speak. Beneath him, intensifying the punishment, a jagged bed (στρωμνά χαρασσοισα) tears (κεντέω, 28) at his entire back. Although the word is not used here, his condition is essentially the same with the weight of earth simulating the κῶμα which suppresses his subversive behaviour. This capacity for mutiny is still reflected in his remaining effects.

The second triad gives us the following disturbing picture where the poet juxtaposes incongruent words to simulate the dissonant nature of the *hybristēs* and his clash with χάρις:

⁸² Vernant, 12

⁸³ Barker 2003, 121.

τᾶς ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸς ἀγνόταται
 ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί: ποταμοὶ δ' ἀμέραισιν μὲν προχέοντι ῥόον καπνοῦ
 αἴθων': ἀλλ' ἐν ὄρφναισιν πέτρας
 φοίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλόξ ἐς βαθεῖαν φέρει πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγῳ.
 κεῖνο δ' Ἀφαίστιο κρουνοῦς ἐρπετὸν
 δεινοτάτους ἀναπέμπει: (21-26)

out of whose depths (Aitna's), the purest springs of
 unapproachable fire are belched out: and, during the day,
 rivers pour forth a current of fiery smoke: but at night a
 rolling red flame carries rocks into the deep expanse of the
 sea with a crash. That beast sends up the most terrible
 springs of Hephaistos' fire.

Instead of water, here are springs of fire, rivers of the smoke, and instead of the usual rushing stream of water pushing stones down the mountain, we have a rolling red flame providing the impetus. In spite of these perversions, it is crucial to note here how this Titan, as the primary embodiment of disorder, is forced to express the orderly passage of night and day through the succession of smoke and red flame respectively.⁸⁴ In this way, ἐρπετόν is more accurately rendered as "snake," a fitting symbol of primordial chaos out of which the opposites of the cosmos are precipitated cosmogonically.⁸⁵ Yet the outcast is coerced into the cosmic order.

This compulsion is also reflected in the superlative adjective that modifies the springs (παγαί) of fire: ἀγνόταται. Slater points out that ἀγνός means "holy" in the odes and it is either associated with divinities themselves, such a "holy Apollo" (ἀγνός Ἀπόλλων, *Pythian* 9.64), or it refers to things belonging to, or administered by, such divinities.⁸⁶ We will see a good example of this sense of the word in the epic *Pythian* 4, when Jason and his comrades establish a holy precinct for Poseidon of the sea (ἀγνὸν

⁸⁴ Fitzgerald 1987, 145.

⁸⁵ Fontenrose, J., *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), 219; Strauss Clay, J., *Hesiod's Cosmos* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 16.

⁸⁶ Slater 1969, s.v.

Ποσειδάωνος ἔσσαντ' εἰναλίου τέμενος, 204). This sense of divinity is reinforced by reference to the god of fire in the last sentence of the passage where the beast or snake sends up springs of, quite literally, Hephaistos. Zeus, therefore, presses the impious and disorderly Titan not only into marking the orderly passage of time, but also into making a glorious display of the god's holiest fire, and Zeus' most powerful weapon mentioned in the first lines.⁸⁷ We see here a fate very similar to Ixion whose *hybris* was inevitably turned into a warning against those with overweening thoughts, but perhaps the poet presents his most awe-inspiring admonition in this pre-eminent *Pythian*. With this example, we can also note Pindar's unwavering faith in the supremacy of Zeus, and the inevitability of vengeance (φθόνος or τίσις). Ultimately, "His theology does not admit of dualism, of the existence of an evil force unconquered by the highest god."⁸⁸

Pindar immediately follows this fearsome image of humiliating subjugation with an appropriate prayer for Zeus' appeasement, a prayer to Zeus who rules (ἐφέπω) this mountain (τοῦτ' ὄρος, 30):

εἴη, Ζεῦ, τιν εἴη ἀνδάνειν ...
 Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ κάρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλλων Ἰέρωνος ὑπὲρ
 καλλινίκου
 ἄρμασι. (29-33)

may it, oh Zeus, may it please you ... that, in the Pythian
 race, the herald proclaimed it announcing Hieron's great
 victory with the chariot.

With this prayer, Pindar is expressing the wish that Hieron's Pythian victory does not cross any boundaries and thereby elicit divine retribution. It is essentially a cautionary

⁸⁷ Nebel, G., *Pindar und die Delphik* (Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1961), 114: "Das Feuer ist nicht sein Beitrag, sondern Waffe des Zeus"

⁸⁸ Skulsky, S. D., "ΠΙΟΛΛΩΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΤΑ ΣΥΝΤΑΝΥΣΑΙΕ: Language and Meaning in Pythian 1." *Classical Philology*, Vol. 70 (1975), 13.

prayer against φθόνος θεῶν. Pindar reiterates this idea of due measure later for himself during his recounting of Hieron's victories:

ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ κεῖνον
αἰνῆσαι μενοινῶν ἔλπομαι
μὴ χαλκοπάρραον ἄκονθ' ὥσειτ' ἀγῶνος βαλεῖν ἔξω παλάμα δονέων,
μακρὰ δὲ ρίψαις ἀμεύσασθ' ἀντίους: (42-45)

desiring to praise that man, I hope not to throw the
bronze-cheeked javelin unwillingly outside the contests, as
it were, brandishing it in my hand, but casting it (ρίπτω) far
to surpass my opponents.

Later in the ode, after listing some of Hieron's military successes, Pindar draws a direct reference back to the great subdued Titan in the mythic section when he mentions the ὕβρις of the tyrant's opponents. These opponents are the Carthaginians and the Etruscans whom he defeated in the Battle of Kumai a few years earlier in 474.⁸⁹ In another prayer to Zeus, he says:

λίσσομαι νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἄμερον
ὄφρα κατ' οἶκον ὁ Φοίνιξ ὁ Τυρσανῶν τ' ἀλαλατὸς ἔχη, ναυσίστονον
ὑβριν ἰδὼν τὰν πρὸ Κύμας: (71-72)

I pray, son of Kronos, grant that the war cry of the
Phoenicians (i.e. Carthaginians) and the Etruscans stay
tamely at home, seeing their *hybris* as a lamentable loss of
ships before Kyme

Pindar is effectively equating the tyrant Hieron with Zeus as a kind of "vicar of Zeus," who crushes the arrogant *hybristai* and the poet prays that, like Typhoeus, the Carthaginians and the Etruscans will remain tame (ἥμερος).⁹⁰ This adjective is commonly applied to animals and the *Odyssey* provides a wonderful elaboration.⁹¹ At the start of book 15, Athena urges Telemachus to return home and, during his preparations,

⁸⁹ Morgan 2015, 155.

⁹⁰ Skulsky 14.

⁹¹ LSJ *s.v.*

an eagle flies by from the right carrying a huge, or even monstrous, goose (χήν πελώρη) in his talons which was tame out of a yard (ἐξ αὐλής, 160-62). Helen then speaks over the hesitating Menelaus and interprets the portent as a sign that Odysseus will return and take revenge on the suitors. This diction alludes once again to domestication and the blameless king as the steward of a fruitful land (τάμιας, 88). After this prayer, Pindar's ode mentions one more example of ὕβρις before coming to the end by returning to the lyre as it began.

The last triad includes many pieces of advice to Hieron exhorting the value of justice and truth. One particularly vivid example is this:

νόμα δικάϊω πηδαλίω στρατόν: ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε
γλῶσσαν. (86)

guide the people with a just rudder: forge your tongue on a
truthful anvil.

Then Pindar tells his patron not to be beguiled or trapped (δολωθῆς) by dishonest gains, for it is posthumous glory (ὀπιθόμβροτος) that reveals (μηνύω) the life of the departed (92-94). Echoing Herodotus further, he continues to illustrate with an example:

οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετά:
τὸν δὲ ταύρω χαλκῶ καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον
ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντῆ φάτις,
οὐδέ νιν φόρμιγγες ὑπώροφαι κοινωνίαν
μαλθακὰν παίδων ὀάροισι δέκονται. (94-98)

The virtue of kindly Croesus does not perish: but hateful
talk oppresses Phalaris on every side, that man, pitiless of
mind, the burner of men in a bronze bull, no lyres under
banquet halls welcome him in gentle fellowship with the
songs of children.

Now turning back to the opening sequence, Pindar points to Hieron and the possibility of his own ὕβρις which may threaten his reputation. Phalaris was an earlier tyrant of

Akragas in Sicily, ca. 550 BCE, and a "powerful model of the horrors of tyranny."⁹² In fact his name soon became a byword for tyrannical cruelty and Pindar draws a wonderful parallel between Typhoeus' enormous fetters and the ill-repute that weighs upon the memory of Hieron's predecessor.⁹³

As the ode started out, the mythic section equated Hieron's colonization process with the Olympian establishment of universal order and justice, possibly straining mortal endeavours beyond terrestrial limits but satisfying the tyrant's thirst for praise. In the last strophe, then, the poet makes an abrupt *volte-face* admonishing his patron, ever so subtly, not to become a victim himself of his own striving. These successes, both in the political arena with the new colony and the major Pythian victory, represent an outstanding achievement and a possible surfeit of prosperity (κόρος). As such, there may be a strong temptation for more which could lead to a significant transgression against propriety. Pindar then holds up the consequences of such forgetfulness of human limits so that the victor may maintain his prudence in the face of such potentially destabilizing events. Given human weakness, such transgressions are inevitable and the next chapter examines odes which attempt to heal the communal harmony.

⁹² Morgan 119

⁹³ Gildersleeve 1890, 252.

Chapter 3: Restoring the Whole with a Gentle Hand

The previous chapter outlined how, in Pindar's *epinikion* poetry, Zeus' cosmic order is strengthened by reciprocity and χάρις and how it is weakened by unilateral ὄβρις. As part of the re-integration function of a victory celebration, these cosmological tenets attempt to preserve the integrity of the community after the disruptions of distant competition and its subsequent successes and disappointments. This chapter now examines four odes that portray the importance of a gentle hand for restoration and a successful homecoming.

Pythian 4 and 5 (462 BCE)

Like *Olympians* 2 and 3, these two odes celebrate the same victory. Although they are both composed for Arkesilas IV of Cyrene for his win in the chariot race, they are very different in form. While the fifth ode is of typical length, covering five triads, it is also arguably the most encomiastic of all the odes and it makes only a few allusions which detract from the celebratory mood; the fourth ode, on the other hand, is nearly triple the usual length, extending to thirteen triads to narrate key elements of the epic story of Jason, Medea, Pelias, and the golden fleece. Thus, as in other paired odes, one presupposes and complements the contents of its partner and, for the purposes of this study, they can be treated as a single song.⁹⁴ It is, therefore, the fourth Pythian which provides much of the moral counter-balance to its triumphant companion and which will occupy most of this section.

⁹⁴ Race, W., *Pindar* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), 75.

Pythian 4 also contains only the briefest of facts about the victory while its myth provides a meaningful context for the poem's earnest plea which only emerges in the last two triads: an appeal for the return of a banished subject by the name of Damophilus. Much like Croesus and Phalaris in the first *Pythian*, Pindar here presents another pair of *exempla* for Arkesilas, in the fullest portraiture, as a warning against *hybris* in this matter: the gentle yet gallant Jason, and the "overweening and reckless Pelias" (ὕβριστῆς Πελίας καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, Hesiod, *Theogony* 996).⁹⁵ First we will have a brief look at the fifth *Pythian* before outlining the historical background of the fourth. This background will explain the poet's choice for the song's long mythic section as well as its theme of *nostos*, which is more prevalent than in any other poem.

Pythian 5 opens with a fitting aphorism on wealth which applies, no doubt, to Arkesilas who, Pindar says, is truly blessed by the gods (θεόμορος, 5):

ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής,
 ὅταν τις ἀρετᾶ κεκραμένον καθαρᾶ
 βροτήσιος ἀνὴρ πότμου παραδόντος, αὐτὸν ἀνάγη
 πολύφιλον ἐπέταν. (1-4)

Wealth is widely mighty when, mixed with pure
 excellence, a mortal man, having received it by destiny,
 takes it up as a companion with many friends.

Indeed, the poet says that great prosperity (πολὺς ὄλβος) surrounds Arkesilas while he treads the just way (ἐν δίκᾳ, 14). Soon, though, the ode strikes a brief note of warning as Pindar tells the victor not to forget (μὴ λαθέτω) to set god over all things as the source (παντὶ μὲν θεὸν αἴτιον ὑπερτιθέμεν, 23-25). At this point, stressing the recognition of proper agents of success, the poem then launches into lengthy and unique praise of the chariot driver, Karrhotos. Besides diverting attention from Arkesilas, this praise may be

⁹⁵ Robbins, E., "Jason and Cheiron: The Myth of Pindar's Fourth Pythian." *Phoenix*, Vol. 29 (1975), 208ff.

due to the charioteer's feat of going the distance with unshaken wits (ἀταρβεῖ φρενί) while forty other drivers crashed (49-51). After much praise of the king and his ancestors, Pindar ends with the *gnome* that the great mind of Zeus steers the fortune of his dear men (122-23). The counter-point to this truly encomiastic song appears in *Pythian 4* and Pindar's *Little Argonautica*.

In Apollonius' *Argonautica*, after the ship is blown into Libya and the crew carries it overland to Lake Triton, Triton himself, the son of Poseidon, appears offering a clod of earth (γαίης βῶλον) as a guest-gift (ξενία, 4.1552-3) to Euphamos and shows the Argonauts a route out to the open sea. The significance of this clod of earth is clarified in *Pythian 4* with a long and striking speech by Medea who explains that the divine clod of earth (βῶλαξ δαιμόνια, 37) is soon washed off the ship by a wave at night and lost at sea (38-40). Despite being lost, however, this "immortal seed of spacious Libya" (σπέρμα ἄφθιτον Λιβύας εὐρυχόρου, 42-43), she says, will start a chosen race when Euphamos stays on the island of Lemnos. According to Medea, his Lemnian progeny will in time arrive at Thera with the honour of the gods (σὺν τιμῇ θεῶν, 51). As Herodotus also tells us, this line eventually produces a boy with a weak and stammering voice (ἰσχύφωρος καὶ τραυλός, 4.155.1), and he consults the Delphic oracle about his impediment. In response, with his original name unknown to Herodotus, the oracle addresses him as Battos, the Libyan word for *king*, although βάττος also means *stammerer* in Greek.⁹⁶

“Βάττ’ ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες. ἄναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα (4.155.3)

Battos, you came for your voice. But Lord Phoibos Apollo
sends you to sheep-nurturing Libya as founder.

⁹⁶ LSJ s.v.

Medea calls him "ruler of the darkly clouded plains" (κελαινεφέων πεδίων δεσπότης, 53-54), a phrase which recalls the unique rainfall around Cyrene that supported its lucrative silphium harvest. Around 630 BCE, Battos I colonized Cyrene and began the city's ruling dynasty of Battidai, a clan which included Arkesilas IV.⁹⁷

Most scholars are generally agreed that Pindar presents Jason as the instructive model for Arkesilas with Pelias providing, once again, the negative foil.⁹⁸ Indeed, Jason dominates much of the ode, as one would expect for a lyric poem stretching the bounds of its genre to tell the epic journey of Jason and his crew. In addition, within this smaller scope, the poet concentrates on specific scenes which all reinforce the hero's strength, courage and courtesy to construct an ideal heroic image dialectically opposed to other later versions. For instance, Pindar's driven and self-reliant Jason never falters in doubt, never requires any aid from his multi-talented crew members, nor is Medea's help a significant factor. Whereas "Apollonius continually emphasizes man's weakness before the vastness and dangers of the world he inhabits," Pindar gives us a true Homeric hero who is always the bravest and preeminent above all.⁹⁹ Unlike Euripides' hero, whose chief characteristic is his appeal to women, the Jason in *Pythian* 4 does not seem to rely at all on any feminine wiles, whether human or divine.¹⁰⁰ Jason's impeccable character is immediately evident once Pindar begins his tale.

⁹⁷ Race 1997, 264; the *Arkesilas Cup* shows the king's grandfather, Arkesilas II, overlooking the harvest of silphium: Boardman, J., *The Origins of Greek Vase Painting* (Paris: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 187-188.

⁹⁸ Carey, C., "The Epilogue of Pindar's Fourth Pythian." *Maia*, Vol. 32 (1980), 144: "Pindar offers Arcesilas two positive exempla in turn, first Jason and then Pelias."

⁹⁹ Lawall, G., "Apollonius' Argonautica: Jason as Anti-Hero." *Yale Classical Studies*, Vol. 19 (1966), 143: *Iliad* 6.208: αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων

¹⁰⁰ Lattimore, R., "Pindar's Fourth Pythian Ode." *The Classical Weekly*, Vol. 42 (1948), 21.

A brief physical description first highlights his emulable nobility. Like Achilles, Jason is ἔκπαγλος, capable of inspiring both awe and fear;¹⁰¹ like Odysseus, he carries two spears (αἰχμαὶ δίδυμαι, 79);¹⁰² like Menelaus, he covers himself with a leopard skin (παρδαλέη, 81).¹⁰³ At this point Pindar adds an important detail: his beautiful hair (πλόκαμοι ἀγλαοί) was not yet cut off, signifying an *ephebe* who has not yet dedicated his hair to a divinity responsible for his growth.¹⁰⁴ These resonant features are then emphasized further by the reaction from stunned onlookers (ὀπιζόμενοι, 86), much like Helen's *teichoscopia* in the *Iliad*.¹⁰⁵ Within the market-place, one spectator utters a typical piece of Pindaric wisdom that is both strongly reminiscent of the mortal boundaries below the unreachable bronze sky as well as thematic for the myth:

Οὐ τι που οὔτος Ἀπόλλων, οὐδὲ μὲν χαλκάρματός ἐστι πόσις
 Ἀφροδίτας: ἐν δὲ Νάξῳ φαντὶ θανεῖν λιπαρᾶ
 Ἴφιμεδείας παῖδας, ὧτον καὶ σέ, τολμαίεις Ἐφιάλτα ἄναξ.
 καὶ μὲν Τιτυὸν βέλος Ἀρτέμιδος θήρευσε κραιπνόν
 ἐξ ἀνικάτου φαρέτρας ὀρνύμενον,
 ὄφρα τις τᾶν ἐν δυνατῶ φιλοτάτων ἐπιψαύειν ἔραται. (87-92)

Certainly he is not Apollo, surely not Aphrodite's husband with his bronze chariot: and they say that, on bright Naxos, the sons of Iphimedeia died, Otos and you, bold king Ephialtes. And certainly Artemis' swift arrow hunted down Tityos, rushing from its invincible quiver, so that one may desire to reach for loves within his power.

This *gnome* caps off three mythological figures who embody *hybris*.

¹⁰¹ LSJ s.v.; *Iliad* 1.146, 18.170, 21.589;

¹⁰² *Odyssey* 1.256

¹⁰³ *Iliad* 10.29

¹⁰⁴ Braswell, B.K., *A Commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 178; according to Hesiod, the eldest daughters of Tethys, a whole host of rivers, along with Apollo, were responsible for bringing up youths to manhood (κουρίζω), as assigned by Zeus: *Theogony* 346-61.

¹⁰⁵ LSJ s.v. “τεῖχοςκοπία”: *view from the walls*; 3.121-244; Braswell 181.

When Odysseus goes into the underworld, among many others he meets Iphimedeia who tells him how she joined in love with Poseidon (μίγνυμι) and then bore Otos and Ephialtes, these two enormous Titan-like but short-lived sons (11.305-08). At age nine, they measured nine cubits across and they were nine fathoms in height (312-13). Odysseus goes on to say that they threatened (ἀπειλέω) the deathless gods with the battle-cry of furious war (πολυάϊξ πόλεμος, 313-14). They yearned to set Ossa on top of Olympos and then Mount Pelion on top of them in order to mount the sky (ἴν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἶη, 316), but Apollo killed them before their beards blossomed with hair. Also, near the end of his *nekylia*, after seeing Minos holding his scepter and issuing judgements among the dead, Odysseus sees the giant Tityos lying on a plain, covering nine measures of land (ἐννέα πέλεθρα, 577). Mirroring the illicit behaviour of Ixion, he had tried to rape (ἐλκέω) Leto, the noble consort of Zeus, and so two vultures (γῦπε) tear at his liver from either side (578-80). Thus Pindar neatly summarizes the inexorable results of reckless attempts to usurp rightful positions of power and this reflects directly on Pelias' previous *coup d'état* and contextualizes Jason's just re-alignment.

Jason then has two encounters with Pelias before his epic journey. In the first, Pelias rushes (σπεύδων) to the *agora* in his polished mule-cart to meet Jason; his demeanour is suspicious, brusque, and impatient. In *Pythian 3*, Pindar uses the same verb while urging his soul not to strive anxiously (σπεῦδδε) for an immortal life (61-62). Recalling Hieron's gentle hands in harmony with cosmic order (*Pythian 2.8*), Jason responds with gentle words (ἀγανοῖσι λόγοις, 101), opening and closing with a declaration of his noble mentorship:

φαμί διδασκαλίαν Χείρωνος οἴσειν. ἀντρόθε γὰρ νέομαι
 πὰρ Χαρικλοῦς καὶ Φιλύρας, ἵνα Κενταύρου με κοῦραι θρέψαν ἄγναί.
 (102-3)

I claim to carry the teaching of Cheiron. For I come from
 the cave of Chariklo and Philyra, where the holy daughters
 of the Centaur raised me.

Jason goes on to say that he lived with these honourable women, Cheiron's wife and mother, for twenty years with neither a shameful word nor deed (οὔτε ἔργον οὔτ' ἔπος ἐντράπελον, 104-5), always exercising respect and decorum unlike Tityos and Ixion.

As we shall see, Jason's speech exemplifies Cheiron's advice to Apollo in *Pythian* 9.

Jason then says he has come home (οἴκαδε) to take back (κομίζω) his father's ancient rule which is being wielded unjustly, or not according to the god's dispensation: οὐ κατ' αἴσαν (106-7). He adds that Zeus granted (ὀπάζω) this honour to Aiolos and his sons long ago (ποτέ, 107). Pelias, furthermore, is lawless (ἄθεμις) and he was swayed by "white wits" (λευκαῖς φρασίν) to take the superior right (ἀρχεδίκας) by force (βιαίως, 109). This entire characterization of Pelias, of course, marks the myth's moral counterpoint and this curious phrase, λευκαί φρένες, reinforces it by recalling Agamemnon's delusion (ἄτη, *Iliad* 9.115). When the Greek leader finally capitulates, he confesses to have been persuaded by his wretched (λευγαλέος, 119) mind. More commonly, though, Homer refers to wits that are black (μέλαιναί), or even "black through and through" (ἀμφιμέλαιναί), which seems to be their natural colour, much like lungs and the liver which were thought to be the seat of the mind.¹⁰⁶ With this short phrase, then, Pindar encapsulates how deeply Pelias goes against nature and the divinely sanctioned order.

¹⁰⁶ *Iliad* 1.103, 17.83, 499, 573; *Odyssey* 4.661; Onians, R.B., *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 25; Burton, R.W.B., *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 157-58.

Jason ends his speech by explaining that his parents, fearing the ὕβρις of the overbearing leader (ὑπερφίαλος, 111-12), sent him to Cheiron to be raised. We have seen this ὑπερ-compound before describing Ixion and his conduct beyond containment of societal customs (p. 34). In his final sentence, Jason declares his name referring back, as he had begun, to Cheiron:

Φῆρ δέ με θεῖος Ἰάσονα κικλήσκων προσήδα. (119)

And the divine creature, addressing me, called me Jason.

Jason then, as the main protagonist of Pindar's *little Argonautica*, primarily represents the tutelage of Cheiron and the importance of αἰδώς (reverence, shame) and σωφροσύνη (discretion, self-restraint) to the current victor, Arkesilas.

Pindar next takes his audience immediately to the home of the Aiolidai where Jason receives (δέγμενος) his family with great warmth and gentle words (μειλιχίῳσι λόγοις, 128). Although he is the returning son, long absent, it is Jason who makes the well-fitting hospitality (ξενία ἀρμόζοντα, 129). This very telling phrase uses a verbal adjective formed from the verb ἀρμόζω which is also the source of our *harmony* (ἀρμονία) so that, more precisely, Jason's hospitality is fashioned "according to the laws of harmony."¹⁰⁷ As we will see when the ode proceeds to its plea for the exiled Damophilus, Pindar's Jason here epitomizes the orderly and communal cooperation that is reflected in the macrocosm and which nurtures nobility. The importance of this familial attachment is accentuated in the ode's very next phrase.

These festivities extend for five days and nights while the family savours (δρέπω) the holy and fairest flower of joyous living (ἱερὸν εὐζοίας ἄωτον, 130-31). As Lloyd-Jones explains,

¹⁰⁷ LSJ s.v. ἀρμόζω

Real felicity belongs only to the gods; mortal men, even those favoured by the gods, are granted only certain moments of true happiness; these quickly pass, and will be followed by misfortune, and in the end death is inevitable.¹⁰⁸

Jason and his family seem to approach, as much as mortals are able, that state of joy that persists only for the gods, and long ago for Hesiod's Golden race (WD 118-19). Such peak experiences are, therefore, duly thought to be holy in archaic Greece.¹⁰⁹ Odysseus describes a similar state to Nausikaa when he wishes that the gods may grant all her heart longs for, including a husband, a house, and "a unity of mind and feeling" (ὁμοφροσύνη), an excellent gift (ἔσθλή, 6.180-82).¹¹⁰ Possibly with some nostalgia for his domestic life long ago before the Trojan war, while also wondering at the prospect of its reinstatement, Odysseus adds that nothing is better or greater than when a man and a woman are of one mind (ὁμοφρονέω, 182-84) in a home. In this way, we can see *homophrosyne* is harmony on the smallest interpersonal scale.

On the sixth day, Jason and his family confront Pelias and Jason lets fall (ποτιστάζω) speech with gentle words once again and lays a foundation (κρηπίς) of wise words (σοφὰ ἔπεα, 136-38). He opens with a typical Pindaric *gnome* that reflects Pelias' unjust usurpation of his throne:

ἐντὶ μὲν θνατῶν φρένες ὠκύτεραι
κέρδος αἰνῆσαι πρὸ δίκας δόλιον, τραχεῖαν ἐρπόντων πρὸς ἐπιβδαν ὄμως:
ἀλλ' ἐμὲ χρῆ καὶ σὲ θεμισσαμένους ὀργὰς ὑφαίνειν λοιπὸν ὄλβον.
(139-42)

¹⁰⁸ Lloyd-Jones, H., "Modern Interpretation of Pindar." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 93 (1973), 126.

¹⁰⁹ Braswell 216.

¹¹⁰ LSJ s.v.

the minds of mortals are more swift than to praise deceitful
gain over justice, despite edging towards a rough
reckoning: but you and I must rule our tempers to weave
future happiness.

His next statement about the withdrawal of the Fates recalls the isolation surrounding the birth of the aberrant offspring of Ixion, the first to shed kindred blood, far from the Graces (ἄνευ Χαρίτων, *Pythian* 2.42):

Μοῖραι δ' ἀφίσταντ', εἴ τις ἔχθρα πέλει
ὁμογόνοις, αἰδῶ καλύψαι. (145-46)

The Fates withdraw, if any hostility arises in kinsmen to
hide their respect.

In other words, strife among relatives goes against the natural order and opposes the divine dispensation. Jason thus displays himself as a true exponent of his mentor's tutelage in honouring the gods (p. 83).

After this opening and Jason's reasonable offer of letting Pelias retain all of his livestock and fields in return for the scepter of sole rule and the throne (σκάπτων μόναρχον καὶ θρόνος, 152), Pindar represents Pelias' demeanor as much less brusque and impetuous: Pelias responded calmly (ἀκῆ, 156), using an instrumental dative of ἀκή which can mean either "calm" or "a healing," the root of the verb ἀκέομαι, meaning "to heal," or more literally "to make whole."¹¹¹ Thus Pindar is demonstrating another aspect of Cheiron's guidance as well as its direct effects through the agency of one of his preeminent protégés: the art of healing. In the next chapter, we will study *Pythian* 3 where Apollo gives his son, Asklepios, to Cheiron so that he may instruct him (διδάξαι) to heal (ἰᾶσθαι) a great many diseases (45-46). In Book 11 of the *Iliad*, Patroclus tends to wounded Eurypylos with good and kindly remedies (ἦπτα φάρμακα ἐσθλά, 830-31)

¹¹¹ LSJ *s.v.*; OED *s.v.*

which he had learned from Achilles, another heroic pupil of Cheiron's. Whereas Achilles may primarily represent his tutor's martial lessons, Jason may principally embody his knowledge of the healing arts.

This aspect of Cheiron's instruction can be noted within Jason's very name: Ἰάσων. Scholars have long since connected this name with the verb "to heal" (ἰᾶσθαι) and some have argued that his cult was originally one of healing.¹¹² On the other hand, very little is known about the goddess of healing, Ἴασώ. In Aristophanes' play *Ploutos* (408 BCE), Asklepios is called upon to heal the blind god *Wealth* and Asklepios appears with his daughters, Iasō and Panakeia (or Panacea, 701-3). Recalling the original meaning of healing, or "to make whole," we then can see how *Pythian* 4 is an elaborate hymn on the theme of νόστος with Jason as its chief executor. The clan of Aiolidai is made complete with Jason's return and holy joy attends the reunion; at the end of the *Odyssey*, its hero's return once again makes his οἶκος, or household, whole while also reinstating the original harmonious order. There are several allusions to this act of completion within the ode: first of all, of course, Jason, the figure that Pindar uses to orchestrate the healing of unity. The ode then includes the important νόστος of the Argonauts themselves, which Medea called "sweet" (νόστος γλυκερός, 32). Thirdly, there is the Pelias' excuse for this expedition: he says that Phrixos' soul desires to return to the land from which Ino, his step-mother, forced him to flee on the back of the ram with the Golden Fleece. Lastly, all of these elements conspire to motivate and fortify the plea, at the end of the ode, for the return of the exiled Damophilus. To further strengthen

¹¹² Jessen, O., *RE* 9 (1916), 759: "Der Name (von ἰᾶσθαι) kennzeichnet I. (Jason) als alten Heilgott"; Brelich, A., *Gli Eroi Greci: Un problema storico-religioso* (Rome, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1958), 117, cited in Robbins 1975, 210; Kirk, G.S., *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 159: "Jason (Iason, 'the healer')"

the healing and unifying effect of νόστος then, Pindar provides an elaborate lyric version of Jason's harrowing journey.

Next in the ode is the gathering of heroes, all of whom are quickened by Hera's influence (169-87). The poet describes how Hera kindled (ένδαίω) in them a sweet and all-persuasive longing (παμπειθής γλυκύς πόθος, 184) for the Argo,

μή τινα λειπόμενον
τὰν ἀκίνδυνον παρὰ ματρὶ μένειν αἰῶνα πέσσοντ', ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ θανάτῳ
φάρμακον κάλλιστον ἕως ἀρετᾶς ἄλιξιν εὐρέσθαι σὺν ἄλλοις. (185-87)

so that no one may be left behind to remain with their
mother coddling a life without risk, but to discover, even
against death, the noblest potion for his own excellence
among his comrades.

Here φάρμακον, as either drug or potion, reflects not only Jason's own achievement of the heroic ideal, but also the healing he effects by bringing expatriates back into the fold and re-establishing intact communities. Divine favour is also demonstrated through the pre-boarding propitious prophesy of Mopsos who reads the birds and casts lots (ὀρνίχεσσι καὶ κλάροισι, 190). Then, after the captain prays to Zeus for a favourable fortune for homecoming (φιλία νόστοιο μοῖρα, 196), the god replies with an auspicious clap of thunder (βροντᾶς αἴσιον φθέγμα, 197-98) and flashes of lightning. Here the adjective meaning "auspicious" (αἴσιος) derives from αἴσα denoting fate or natural propriety (p. 24). Finally the heroes took fresh courage, trusting in the signs of the god (θεοῦ σάμασιν πιθόμενοι, 200-01).

The ode next brings the audience through the dedication of Poseidon's altar and the passage of the Symplegades (203-211). The poet then, within a few lines, very quickly recounts the crew's arrival at Phasis and their fight with the Colchians. Aphrodite then fashions her love charm, the ἕγξ, while also teaching Jason skill in

prayers (λιταί) and spells (ἐπαιδαί) so that he might lure Medea away from her parents (214-23). In the face of Aietes' ultimatum of yoking the fire-breathing oxen, Jason takes on the task while also trusting in the god (θεῶ πίσυνος, 224-41). Then, in the the eleventh epode, the poet breaks into the narrative, in typical Pindaric fashion, announcing that time is pressing. Pindar simply states that Jason slew the green-eyed dragon and stole Medea away with her own help (σὺν αὐτᾷ, 250). This is followed by the Argo's journey into Ocean, the Red Sea and to Lemnos where the race of Euphamos (γένος Εὐφάμου) was planted (φυτεύω, 256). "Thus we are swept in a few lines back into the present, to Arkesilas and, significantly, to the problems that attend his kingship."¹¹³ The intervening mythological background illustrates the foundation of Arkesilas' rule:

ἔνθεν δ' ὕμμι Λατοίδας ἔπορεν Λιβύας πεδίων
 σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς ὀφέλλειν, ἄστῳ χρυσοθρόνου
 διανέμειν θεῖον Κυράνας
 ὀρθόβουλον μῆτιν ἐφευρομένοις. (259-62)

From there, Leto's son granted the plain of Libya to benefit you with honours of the gods, the divine gold-throned city of Cyrene to administer, having found the skill of straight counsel.

This last phrase uses a circumstantial participle which here denotes both the *cause* and *condition* for the King's rule.¹¹⁴ As Gildersleeve says, the closing participial phrase matches the earlier phrase, "with honours of the gods" (σὺν θεῶν τιμαῖς), so that Arkesilas remains in the god's good graces as long as he continues to use his good judgement, just as we have seen before with other victors. Pindar then elaborates on this state with a parable.

He begins with an imperative: know (γνώθι) now the wisdom (σοφία) of Oedipus:

¹¹³ Lattimore 1948, 20.

¹¹⁴ Smyth 2054a; Gildersleeve 1890, 300-01.

εἰ γάρ τις ὄζους ὄξυτόμῳ πελέκει
 ἐξερείψειεν μεγάλας δρυός, αἰσχύνοι δέ οἱ θαητὸν εἶδος:
 καὶ φθινόκαρπος ἐοῖσα διδοῖ ψᾶφον περ' αὐτᾶς,
 εἴ ποτε χειμέριον πῦρ ἐξίκηται λοίσθιον:
 ἢ σὺν ὀρθαῖς κιόνεσσιν δεσποσύναισιν ἐρειδομένα
 μόχθον ἄλλοις ἀμφέπει δύστανον ἐν τείχεσιν,
 ἐὼν ἐρημώσασα χῶρον. (263-69)

If someone should strip off the limbs of a great oak with a sharp-edged axe, and disfigure its lovely appearance: even being stripped of its branches, it gives an account of itself, if ever it comes at last to a winter fire: or if, supported by a master's upright columns, it endures wretched toil within alien walls, having deserted its own land.

As the scholiast notes, the oak tree represents the exiled Damophilus, whose worth must be re-considered for the sake of unity.¹¹⁵ It also has been remarked that the passage bears a striking resemblance to the scene of Achilles' great oath (μέγας ὄρκος, 233) in Book 1 where Achilles declares that the Achaians will be overwhelmed with grief for not having paid due honour to the best of the Achaians (ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν, 244). According to Schroeder, this is a "Pindaric deepening" of the epic sceptre by which (μά) Achilles makes his fearsome pledge; the staff which, despite being denuded of both leaf and branch (φύλλα καὶ ὄζους), having left behind its stump in the mountains (τομὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι) so that it will never sprout afresh (ἀναθηλήσει, 234-37), still embodies and signifies the strength of a sovereign leader.¹¹⁶ In particular, the personification of the last lines gives "fresh life and power" to an old image that here evokes pity for the exile while also imbuing him with a noble strength.¹¹⁷ The parable additionally suggests a communal wound that must be healed.

¹¹⁵ Drachmann 1967, 468a, 163: περὶ Δημοφίλου ἀπολογεῖται τὸ αἶνιγμα

¹¹⁶ Schroeder, O., *Pindars Pythien* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1922), 47: "pindarische Vertiefung";

¹¹⁷ Burton 169-70

The twelfth epode now makes clear the poet's overall intention in choosing Jason, as the Healer (Ἰάσων), for the ode's mythic section:

ἔσσι δ' ἰατῆρ ἐπικαιρότατος, Παιάν τέ σοι τιμᾷ φάος:
 χρῆ μαλακὰν χέρα προσβάλλοντα τρώμαν ἔλκεος ἀμφιπολεῖν. (270-71)

But you are the most fitting healer above all, and Apollo
 (Paian) honours your light: it is necessary to apply a gentle
 hand to tend a festering wound,

The Greek ἰατῆρ (healer) derives from the same root as Jason's name (ἰᾷσθαι). Besides being a healer, Arkesilas is honoured by the healing god himself. When Aphrodite is wounded by Diomedes while saving her son Aeneas, her mother, Dione, later comforts her by telling her the sufferings of other gods. She explains that Paian, the epithet for healing Apollo, sprinkled medicines to still the pain (*Iliad* 5.401); later in the same book, Ares is wounded and Zeus orders Paian to heal (ἰᾷσθαι) him (899). In the *Iliad*, this word is also used for a hymn addressed to Apollo in thanksgiving for deliverance from evil (1.473).¹¹⁸ As well we see here the use of καιρός in the superlative form as a compound with the prefix ἐπί- to emphasize the sense of propriety *over* others, as the leader of the community.¹¹⁹

Pythian 11 (474 BCE)

We now move from the myth of Jason, and the last ode's allusions to several successful homecomings and healing reintegrations, to a myth which is starkly sobering for the reception of a returning victor. This ode celebrates the win of a Theban boy named Thrasydaios in the *stadion* event, the most prestigious of the foot-races covering a

¹¹⁸ LSJ *s.v.*

¹¹⁹ LSJ *s.v.* ἘΠΙ, f. in Compos.:

distance equal to the circumference of a stadium, or about 200 metres.¹²⁰ Pindar opens the ode with a flourish of calls to various Theban heroines to come to the temple of Apollo to celebrate (κελαδέω) holy Themis, Pythian Apollo, and the straight-judging navel of the earth (ὀρθοδίκας γᾶς ὀμφαλός), as well as the grace (χάρις) of seven-gated Thebes and the Pythian games (9-12). The entire first triad consists of a single sentence which eventually leads to the victor's name and an arcane reference to the game's location as belonging to Pylades, the friend of the hero at the centre of the ode's myth. The triad then comes to an ominous end with the name Orestes.¹²¹

The mythic centre section of the ode (17-37) vividly recounts Agamemnon's murder at the hands of his unfaithful wife, Klytaimnestra, along with Orestes' revenge, and it ends effectively with the word φονή, meaning bloodshed or slaughter. For this reason, *Pythian* 11 has often been called "a little Oresteia" and the uncertainty of its date has led to much discussion about its possible intertextuality with Aeschylus' tripartite *magnum opus*.¹²² Another subject of debate has been the relevance of the myth and even the *scholia* include a description of the myth as an exceedingly inappropriate digression (σφόδρα ἄκαιρος παρέκβασις).¹²³ Reconsidered within the context of the victor's communal reintegration, though, the significance of Agamemnon's return becomes clear. It is important to remember that this same myth is told repeatedly in the *Odyssey* as a foil for the Greek hero who is preeminent for his successful *nostos* with the invaluable help of

¹²⁰ Golden, M., *Sport in the Ancient World from A to Z* (London: Routledge, 2004), s.v.; distance varied between venues but the distance at Delphi was 177.55 m, and Olympia had the longest at 192.28 m.

¹²¹ Gildersleeve 1890, 357: "a myth which hardly seems to belong to a joyous epinikion."

¹²² While scholia offer two dates, the majority of scholars prefer the earlier, i.e. 474 BCE, to the later date of 454 BCE which places it just after the tragedy; for the most current and comprehensive review, see Kurke, L., "Pindar's Pythian 11 and the *Oresteia*: Contestatory Ritual Poetics in the 5th c. BCE," Appendix I. *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 32 (2013), 150-63.

¹²³ Drachmann. 1966, Vol. 3, 257.

his own cunning and his patron goddess Athena. The myth's role as foil in Homer's epic has become "a modern critical commonplace" and it holds a similar relevance for a returning athletic victor.¹²⁴

The first mention of the story in the *Odyssey* occurs early in Book 1 during the council of the gods where Athena pleads for Odysseus and Zeus uses Aegisthus as an example of a reckless mortal who ignores divine warnings and reaps suffering beyond his assigned lot (ὕπερ μόνον, 34).¹²⁵ Later in the same book, Athena advises the young Telemachos that he can no longer cling to his childhood (νηπιῖα) and, inspiring him to pursue glory and renown, she asks if he has heard of the great glory (κλέος) won by godlike Orestes (δῖος Ὀρέστης) when he killed the murderer of his father, the treacherous Aegisthus (δολομήτης, 296-300). In Book 3, Nestor tells the story once again to Telemachos while going over the many unfortunate *nostoi* in the aftermath of the Trojan war (193-98). This myth then serves two functions within the victory reception of an adolescent champion: firstly, it highlights the uncertainties, if not the downright dangers, which might confront a returning victor; secondly, it also features a son's loyalty to his father, an important theme we shall see in *Pythian* 6.

The second triad swiftly transitions into the myth with a relative pronoun that refers back to the last word of the preceding triad: *Orestes*. The second five-line strophe then describes the murder of both Agamemnon and Cassandra, as well as the rescue of young Orestes by his nurse, Arsinoia. The entire sentence ends at the start of the second antistrophe with its nominative subject, "pitiless woman" (νηλῆς γυνά, 22), in the

¹²⁴ D'Arms, E.F. and K.K. Hulley, "The Oresteia-Story in the *Odyssey*." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 77 (1946), 207-213; Olson, S.D., "The Stories of Agamemnon in Homer's *Odyssey*." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 120 (1990), 57.

¹²⁵ In Homer's version, it is Aegisthus and not Klytaimnestra who performs the murder.

prominent first position of the line. At this midway point in the mythic section, Pindar asks two rhetorical questions regarding Klytaimnestra's motivation: was it the sacrifice of Iphigeneia at the start of the war, or did nightly affairs (ἐννυχοὶ κοῖται) lead her astray (πάραγον, 25)? After some moralizing comments about infidelity and slander (κακολόγος), the poet proposes an over-arching principle:

ἴσχει τε γὰρ ὄλβος οὐ μείονα φθόνον:
ὁ δὲ χαμηλὰ πνέων ἄφαντον βρέμει. (29-30)

For prosperity involves no lesser envy: but he with humble aspirations mutters unnoticed.¹²⁶

This is the main lesson of the ode and it stands in marked contrast to the athletic striving and exalting victories which are the focus of these athletic commemorations. It is a firm reminder of the limits that must be observed and respected in order to maintain the harmony and χάρις of the community.

The mythic section then continues with brief mention of the destruction of the very luxurious homes (ἀβρότατος) of Troy for the sake of Helen as well as Orestes' escape and his eventual return to kill his mother and her lover in gore (ἐν φοναῖς, 31-37).

At this point, the final triad closes the poem by enlarging on the central moral theme:

θεόθεν ἐραίμαν καλῶν,
δυνατὰ μαιόμενος ἐν ἀλικία.
τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐρίσκων τὰ μέσα μακροτέρῳ
ὄλβῳ τεθαλότα, μέμφομ' αἴσαν τυραννίδων:
ξυναῖσι δ' ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖς τέταμαι. φθονεροὶ δ' ἀμύνονται.
<ἀλλ'> εἴ τις ἄκρον ἐλὼν ἀσυχᾶ τε νεμόμενος αἰνὰν ὕβριν
ἀπέφυγεν: μέλανος ἄν ἐσχατιὰν
καλλίονα θανάτου στείχοι, γλυκυτάτα γενεῆ
εὐώνυμον κτεάνων κρατίστην χάριν πορών. (50-58)

¹²⁶ Denniston 1954, 528: "the great majority of passages in which τε is coupled with another particle contain general propositions, or describe habitual action."

From the gods may I yearn for blessings, seeking possibilities in my time of life. For, of the things throughout the city, finding the middling things thriving in more enduring prosperity, I find fault in the fate of tyrannies: I strive for the sake of common benefit. And envious men are warded off. But if someone, seizing the peak and dwelling in peace, has fled grim *hubris*: he would approach a nobler margin of black death, providing grace and a good name, the greatest of possessions, to his sweetest family.

The opening prayer recreates the image of reciprocal χάρις, with equal give-and-take which we set forth in the first poem, *Pythian 2*. Once again, Pindar associates this state as god-given (θεόθεν), much as Hesiod expounded in his *Works and Days* (276-80). There are a number of antitheses in this passage which draw out traditionally virtuous conduct: the low and the high, moderation and tyranny, equality and power, community-minded altruism and self-absorbed envy, stable peace (ἤσυχος) and grim *hubris* (ὑβρις) which is, for Pindar, inevitably doomed. The poet concludes that the best achievement is one that is followed by sustained acceptance without following the temptation for more than what is god-given.

For Kurke, *Pythian 11* provides the crux for her argument that Pindar fights most fervently against the drive for tyranny. She admits that none of the passages denouncing *hubris* “makes explicit the nature of the political excess the poet rejects so vehemently,” except *Pythian 11*.¹²⁷ Indeed, Pindar employs τυραννίς only twice in the entire corpus, the other usage being in *Pythian 2* where he claims that a straight-talking man (εὐθύγλωσσος) excels under every regime (νόμος, 86-87) including tyranny. In typical fashion, Kurke interprets lines 29-30 above, contrasting prosperity (ὄλβος) and humility (χαμηλά), not generally as a poetic restatement of the Greek moral commonplace, but

¹²⁷ Kurke 1991, 214.

very specifically that “the lot of tyrants is not really enviable.”¹²⁸ Further along this line of argument, Kurke takes the last passage (50-58) as a “clear message to the victor’s fellow citizens about his attitude: the family has no designs on rule within the city.”¹²⁹ This narrow reading, however, ignores the significant association that the audience, as well as the victor, must have had with Agamemnon as one of the returning heroes while also being the tragic counterpoint to the Odysseus. As part of a reintegration process, then, the poet’s concern is not limited to the threat of tyranny alone but it encompasses a much broader solicitude for communal harmony whereby the victor can take his appropriate place within the civic structure, however augmented in prestige, and the citizens can receive him peaceably as such. In this way, the disruption of victory is brought into the wider cosmic order, or *dikē*, that we saw envisioned in *Pythian 2*.

Pythian 9 (474 BCE)

Pythian 9 now offers us a pleasant divergence from the murders within the house of Atreus with a unique “gaiety and romantic charm” without “his usual heavy moralizing” that emphasizes human failure.¹³⁰ Instead, the ode moves swiftly right from the middle of the first strophe into a long mythical section on the love of Apollo and Kyrene, a Thessalian princess. Although we find erotic themes in many of the odes, *Pythian 9* is distinctive for its prominent eroticism, in fact it is often seen as “the most

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 215.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 216.

¹³⁰ Burton 1962, 59; Instone, S., *Pindar: Selected Odes* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1996), 119.

romantic of Pindar's odes.”¹³¹ The basis for this myth comes from the victor’s home town of Kyrene, named after the princess, in Libya which is known to Pindar as the “third root of land” (ρίζα ἀπείρου τρίτη, 8) after Asia and Europe. Such a long mythic section, filling almost three triads, allows little room for gnomic elements except for the important central lesson spoken by Cheiron when Apollo asks for advice after being swept away (ἔτραπε) by a gentle passion (μείλιχος ὀργά, 43). Cheiron’s speech in fact occupies almost half of the myth and contains the essential message of the ode: the importance of self-restraint. Besides this, the ode models the social process of re-integration of a returning athlete in the taming and civilization of Kyrene.

Pindar opens the first strophe with a wish, aided by the Graces (Χαρίτεσσι), to announce the glory (στεφάνωμα) of horse-driving (διώξιππος) Kyrene whom Apollo snatched (ἀρπάζω) away from the wind-echoing glens of Pelion (ἀνεμοσφαράγων ἐκ Παλίου κόλπων, 1-6). With imagery which recalls Hera’s seduction of Zeus in the Δῖος ἀπάτη of *Iliad* 14, Pindar describes Libya as rich in flocks (πολύμηλος), bountiful in fruit (πολύκαρπος), as well as lovely (εὐήρατος) and flourishing (θάλλοισα, 6-8) in a manner typical for an erotic epic scene.¹³² Where Zeus and Hera were discreetly clothed in a cloud, beautiful and golden (καλὴν χρυσεῖην, 351), silver-footed Aphrodite welcomes Apollo and Kyrene and, with a more metaphorical cast, throws a loving reverence (ἐρατὰν αἰδῶ) upon their sweet marriage bed (ἐπὶ γλυκεραῖς εὐναῖς, 12). Thus, right in the myth’s prelude, the poet already brings in the theme of instinctual nature tamed by respect, through the divine agency of Aphrodite, which Ixion clearly lacked.

¹³¹ Nisetich 1980, 206; Woodbury, L., “Apollo's First Love: Pindar, Pyth. 9.26 ff.” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 103 (1972), 561.

¹³² *Iliad* 14. 153-351

The first epode describes Kyrene, very much like Apollo's own sister Artemis,¹³³ as a girl who does not care for the work of the loom but prefers instead bronze javelins (ἄκοντες χάλκεοι) and swords (φάσγανον, 20-21) for defending her father's cattle. The second strophe explains that Apollo discovered the κόρη just when she was grappling unarmed with a mighty lion (ὄβριμος λέων, 26-27). At this point it seems the god has lost all of his omniscient powers and he runs to his mentor, Cheiron, to discover her identity. The Centaur, knowing the god's true nature, only answers Apollo's second pair of questions which provide the basis for the ode's message to the returning victor:

ὄσια κλυτὰν χέρα οἱ προσενεγκεῖν,
ἦρα; καὶ ἐκ λεχέων κείραι μελιθδέα ποίαν; (36-37)

Is it sanctioned by divine law to lay my glorious hand upon
her? and to reap the honey-sweet flower from her bed?

One must take note here of the disparity between Apollo's hesitant charm and his language. Already in the opening, Pindar conveys the sense of violence with the verb ἀρπάζω but the same sense is extended here with προσφέρω in the first line which can be taken either as "attack" or "assault."¹³⁴ Additionally, κείρω has many brutal connotations in Homer, including slashing or slicing.¹³⁵ Homer also uses the word most aptly for *eating greedily* in the simile of the donkey that feeds hungrily on the deep grain (βαθὺ λήϊον), despite the infantile strength of the children and their sticks, and continuing until he is gluttoned (11.556-61). The language indeed belies the aristocratic virtue of restraint in a scenario which otherwise has all the hallmarks of refined manners.

¹³³ *Iliad* 21.470-1: "πότνια θηρῶν / Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη" (queen of the wild beasts, wild Artemis); 485-86.

¹³⁴ LSJ s.v.: Herodotus *Histories* 5.34.2, "οἱ δ' ἐπέιτε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο"

¹³⁵ *Iliad* 10.456: "ἀπὸ δ' ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντε" (he slashed through both tendons); 13.546: "ἀπὸ δὲ φλέβα πᾶσαν ἔκερσεν" (he sliced away the whole vein);

Given this language and its association, we then understand the response by Cheiron who suggests, perhaps with wry understatement, that a gentle passion has swept him up (ἔτραπε μείλιχος ὄργα, 43). As a calm and self-possessed counterpoise, the sage Centaur answers with his gentle brow (ἀγανῶ ὄφρυϊ), providing a jewel of a gnomic centrepiece:

κρυπταὶ κλαΐδες ἐντὶ σοφῶς Πειθοῦς ἱερᾶν φιλοτάτων,
 Φοῖβε, καὶ ἔν τε θεοῖς τοῦτο κἀνθρώποις ὁμῶς
αἰδέοντ', ἀμφανδὸν ἀδείας τυχεῖν τὸ πρῶτον εὐνᾶς. (39-41)
 the keys of wise Persuasion are hidden for sacred
 lovemaking, Phoebus, and among both gods and humans
 alike they feel bashful, to engage in sweet love openly for
 the first time.

As Woodbury notes, the response begins with a chiastic arrangement between concealment (κρυπταὶ) and openness (ἀμφανδὸν), but also between wisdom (σοφῶς) and shame or reverence (αἰδέοντ').¹³⁶ The horizontal arrangement suggests equivalence between κρυπτός and σοφός or, in other words, restraint is wise. On the other hand, wantonness or licence is shameful (αἰδέομαι/ἀμφανδόν). Similarly, in the *Odyssey*, Nausicaa asks her father if she can take the laundry to the river so that he and his five sons, all of marriageable age, can have clean clothes, but she does not mention her own marriage while feeling bashful.¹³⁷

There has been no consensus, however, on the relevance of such a myth in an *epinikion* ode. Early speculation centred on biographical details of the victor and his possible engagement but, since Bundy, many commentators see an encomiastic intention

¹³⁶ Woodbury 1972, 567.

¹³⁷ *Odyssey* 6.66-67: αἶδετο γὰρ θαλερὸν γάμον ἐξονομῆναι πατρὶ φίλῳ.

while portraying the victor as eminently marriageable.¹³⁸ While focussing upon the prominent romantic aspect of the myth, critics have neglected the didactic tradition clearly associated with Cheiron, as we will examine in *Pythian* 6. Once again, the poet is primarily reiterating the customary role of αἰδώς (reverence, shame) and σωφροσύνη (discretion, self-restraint) to a young man whose composure is surely threatened if even Apollo forgets his manners. If we cast our mind back to Epeios' victory and his ensuing ὕβρις in the *Iliad* (p. 9-12), we can also now appreciate Pindar's sensitive concern for noble discretion within the personal erotic context in addition to the harmony of the civil arena with the former inevitably affecting the latter. This attention to marital concord runs throughout the rest of the ode in illuminating ways.

Later in Cheiron's response to Apollo, in lieu of the god's usual powers, he prophesies that,

νῦν δ' εὐρυλείμων πότνια σοι Λιβύα
δέξεται εὐκλέα νύμφαν δώμασιν ἐν χρυσεῖσις πρόφρων (55-56)
but now queen Libya of broad meadows will receive your
renowned bride gladly into her golden palace.

The poet strikes a noticeable parallel between the nymph and the returning victor.¹³⁹

When the ode transitions back from the mythical, Pindar says that Telesikrates has now made Kyrene shine (ἀναφαίνω) with his victory,

ἄ νιν εὐφρων δέξεται, / καλλιγύναικι πάτρα (73-74)
who (Kyrene) will receive him gladly into the country of
beautiful women

¹³⁸ Carey 1981, 87: "the highest goal"; Carne-Ross, D.S., *Pindar* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 93: "conceit of victory as bride"; Carson, A., "Wedding at Noon in Pindar's *Ninth Pythian*." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, Vol. 23 (1982), 121-28.

¹³⁹ Instone, S., "Love and Sex in Pindar: Some Practical Thrusts." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, Vol. 37 (1990), 40.

We see in these two passages a good example of the reception motif, a common element usually taking the form of a prayer to the gods in which the verb (δέχομαι) takes the imperative voice.¹⁴⁰ The purpose of this prayer is often understood as a mechanism for the avoidance of the envy (φθόνος) for the athletic achievement, both in the divine realm and in the audience.¹⁴¹ More generally though, as Crotty shows, the intention behind the reception as a whole is also directed toward the victor after his exalting victory and his long foray among alien communities in order to reintegrate him back into his community. In this ode, more than any other, Pindar explicitly equates the integration of Kyrene into her new Libyan home and the reintegration of Telesikrates after his victory at Delphi.¹⁴²

As Pindar makes clear, Kyrene abides outside the city and the traditional female role as she fights wild beasts and lives in the mountain wilderness, a gender deviation which must entail some transformative ritual if she is to live amongst civilization. Following one's impulses (φιλέω, 18) without regard for the customs and responsibilities of a community shows an immaturity and a lack of discipline which organized action and communal harmony require. For instance, Vidal-Nacquet shows how the *ephebe* must transcend this youthful condition to work in unison with his phalanx following the examples of the heroes.¹⁴³ In this ode, the girl's transition is marked by the poet as going from darkness, and the hollows of shady mountains (ὀρέων κευθμῶνας ἔχει σκιοέντων, 34), to the light of the golden halls of Libya (χρυσέω δίφρῳ, 6-6a; δώμασιν ἐν χρυσεῖσι, 56; θαλάμῳ ἐν πολυχρύσῳ Λιβύας, 68-69); from virginity (παρθένος, 6) to motherhood

¹⁴⁰ e.g. *Pythian* 12.1-6

¹⁴¹ Bulman, P., *Phthonos in Pindar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 13ff.; Mackie 2003, 23-24.

¹⁴² Crotty 1982, 116-17.

¹⁴³ Vidal-Nacquet, P., "The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebeia." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Vol. 14 (1968), 49-64.

(μήτηρ, 61); and finally from solitude (μονή, 27) into to community life as queen of the city (πότνια Λιβύα, 55).¹⁴⁴ The ode demonstrates this movement from country to city, from nature to culture, under the guidance of Apollo, the god most closely associated with culture for the ancient Greeks. As such a reintegration, the poet once again takes Cheiron for the authoritative exponent of the tradition who brings the victor back into his own *nomos* while stressing decorum and decency.

After several lines of praise recounting previous victories, Pindar then cites another renowned authority figure, Nereus, the Old Man of the Sea. Earlier, Hesiod described this figure of traditional wisdom:

Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος,
 πρεσβύτατον παίδων: αὐτὰρ καλέουσι γέροντα,
 οὔνεκα νημερτῆς τε καὶ ἥπιος, οὐδὲ θεμιστέων
 λήθεται, ἀλλὰ δίκαια καὶ ἥπια δήνεα οἶδεν (*Theogony* 233-36)

And the Sea gave birth to truthful and honest Nereus, the oldest of his children: yet they call him Old Man because he is both unerring and gentle, and he never forgets divine law, but thinks just and kindly thoughts.

The gentleness and kindness of Nereus match the Centaur's gentle brow not only as a retort against Apollo's aggressive *eros*, which is also met by Aphrodite's loving reverence, but it is also meant to squash any hostile envy in the community and temper any high-spirited exuberance in the victor. Toward these ends, Pindar then says,

οὔνεκεν, εἰ φίλος ἀστῶν, εἴ τις ἀντάεις, τό γ' ἐν ξυνῶ πεποναμένον εὖ
 μὴ λόγον βλάπτων ἀλίοιο γέροντος κρυπτέτω.
 κεῖνος αἰνεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν
 παντὶ θυμῶ σὺν γε δίκῃ καλὰ ῥέζοντ' ἔννεπεν. (93-96)

Let no citizen, whether friendly or hostile, hide a deed well-done on behalf of all, thus harming the lesson of the Old Man of the Sea. That man said to praise even an enemy doing noble deeds justly with all one's heart.

¹⁴⁴ Robbins, E., "Cyrene and Cheiron: The Myth of Pindar's Ninth Pythian." *Phoenix*, Vol. 32 (1978), 98.

Many of the *epinikion* elements illustrate the devastating effects of ὕβρις, as transgressions against mortal boundaries of propriety (or θέμις), through the vivid use of negative foils for correct behaviour. After Robbins, these may be seen as composed in "minor keys" according to their more somber mood.¹⁴⁵ From *Pythian* 9, however, we see how Pindar also makes use of the "major keys" to create a brighter and cheerier ode that highlights positive role models instead, such as the most righteous Cheiron (δικαιότατος, *Iliad* 11.832) and the gentle and kind Nereus. Our next ode, *Pythian* 6, allows us to look more closely at Cheiron, a prominent figure in this chapter.

Pythian 6 (490 BCE)

As far as we know, Pindar did not compose another victory ode until 490 BCE, eight years after his first *epinikion*. His next two odes, *Pythian* 6 and 12, were for a chariot race and for a musical *aulos* competition, respectively. According to the *scholia* for a much later poem, Simonides wrote the victory song to commemorate the winner of the chariot race of that year, so that *Pythian* 6 is not an official *epinikion*.¹⁴⁶ Instead, while still adhering to the conventional form, the poem itself suggests that it accompanies the procession to the temple at Delphi (ὀμφαλόν...ἐς νάϊον προσοιχόμενοι, 3-4) to give thanks for the victory, going along the Sacred Way which was then lined with various elaborate treasuries. Another unique aspect of this ode is that it is addressed to the victor's son and asserts its principles of moderation by taking on the guise of a didactic poem.

¹⁴⁵ Robbins 1978, 91.

¹⁴⁶ Drachmann, A.B., *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina*, Vol. 3, *Scholia in Nemeonicas et Isthmionicas* (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1966), 212.

This ode then shows explicitly the moral pedagogy within epinician poetry for the benefit of the victor, his community and the prevention of anti-social offensiveness (p. 20).

The winner of the race was Xenokrates of Akragas, the younger brother of Theron, the powerful tyrant of Akragas, for whom Pindar later writes two *Olympian* odes (2 and 3). Thus *Pythian* 6 marks the poet's first involvement in the culturally vibrant Sicilian court which also employed the talent of Simonides. Pindar also wrote a drinking song for the victor's son, Thrasyboulos (frag. 124). The much later *Isthmian* 2 similarly addresses the son while ostensibly celebrating another of his father's victorious chariot races. These details, along with the opening mention of plowing up the fields of quick-glancing Aphrodite (ἐλικώπιδος Ἀφροδίτας ἄρουραν...ἀναπολίζομεν, 1-3), instigated a long tradition, from Wilamowitz onwards, of supposing an erotic relationship between the poet and this prominent heir.¹⁴⁷ As Leslie Kurke points out, however, Aphrodite is not narrowly confined to love songs alone but she is also involved in the sphere of *paideia* as well, an important aspect of a victor's reintegration in which the values and boundaries of his community are reiterated in the celebratory reception.¹⁴⁸

Paiderastia played a key role in aristocratic education in archaic Greece, as the poems of Theognis shows us.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, the homosexual bonds between men and boys were *de rigueur* for aristocratic education in many Greek cities of

¹⁴⁷ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von, *Pindaros* (Berlin, Weidmann: 1922), 137: "aber Aphrodite kann ihn nur begleiten, wenn etwas Liebe in seinem Herzen ist."

¹⁴⁸ Kurke, L., "Pindar's Sixth Pythian and the Tradition of Advice Poetry." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 120 (1990), 94.

¹⁴⁹ Lewis, J.M., "Eros and the Polis in Theognis Book II" in *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis*, ed. T. J. Figueira and G. Nagy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 197. For later but fuller rendition of the link between *paideia* and *paiderastia*, see Plato *Symposium* 181c-d, 185a-b.

the archaic and classical periods. Such collections of teachings, or ὑποθήκαι, as the *Theognidea* are distillations of aristocratic culture for the purpose of training and guiding the conduct of the young who are expected to transmit them on to later generations.¹⁵⁰ This gnomic poetry was thus typically addressed to another person, as in the *Works and Days*, and often it is addressed to a younger *protégé* like Cynrus in the *Theognidea*. This didactic relationship is constructed as an *exemplum* for the guidance of the wider audience of the community in which it is recited and circulated.¹⁵¹ In this way, Pindar places this early ode within the tradition of didactic poetry by addressing the younger Thrasyboulos and by referring to one of the central texts of this genre.

The scholiast informs us that, since Thrasyboulos holds reverence (εὐσέβεια) for his father, the poet recites a few apt lines from the *Precepts of Cheiron* (Χείρωνος Ὑποθήκαι) to him:¹⁵²

μάλιστα μὲν Κρονίδα,
βαρυόπαν στεροπᾶν κεραυνῶν τε πρύτανιν,
θεῶν σέβεσθαι:
ταύτας δὲ μὴ ποτε τιμᾶς
ἀμείρειν γονέων βίον πεπρωμένον. (23-27)

Above all revere the son of Kronos, the loud-voiced lord of lightning and thunder: and never deprive these honours from your parents for their allotted life.

Thus, Pindar obliquely praises the victor, Xenokrates, by extolling his son's supposedly deserved devotion, while also highlighting the long-held principle of veneration for the gods. This *gnome* then motivates the transition into the myth.

¹⁵⁰ Jaeger, W.W., *Paideia*, Vol. 1, *Archaic Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943), 194.

¹⁵¹ West 1988, 24.

¹⁵² Drachmann 1966, 197.

The victory procession would have passed by various treasuries along the Sacred Way and the poet fashions the ode to reflect these environs by adopting an architectural conceit which refers to his own treasure house of *encomia* (ῥμνων θησαυρὸς, 7-8). These, he says, will survive all the elements to sustain the victor's praise as well as these traditional precepts which are the foundation of the culture. One of the finest treasuries in Delphi was the Siphnian Treasury whose East frieze depicts the scene where Achilles and Memnon fight over the fallen Antilochos in the centre while his father, Nestor, looks on from the far right.¹⁵³ This sculpted pediment provides a fine illustration of Cheiron's lesson and the ode vividly depicts the ἀρετή of Antilochus who, having been inculcated with this virtue, died for his father (νόημα τοῦτο φέρων, ὃς ὑπερέφθιτο πατρός, 29-30). The choral accompaniment to this sculpture was then carefully orchestrated for an captivating experience, not unlike an ancient version of a music video, although for a serious pedagogical purpose beyond mere entertainment.

Pindar then draws the poem to a close by listing the qualities of this exemplary young man who approaches the ancestral standard (πατρώαν μάλιστα πρὸς στάθμαν ἔβα, 45):

νόω δὲ πλοῦτον ἄγει,
 ἄδικον οὐθ' ὑπέροπλον ἦβαν δρέπων,
 σοφίαν δ' ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων: (47-50)

He maintains his wealth wisely, enjoying neither a dishonourable nor an insolent youth, but enjoying wisdom in the retreats of the Pierians.

¹⁵³ Shapiro, K.D., "ῥμνων θησαυρὸς: Pindar's Sixth Pythian Ode and the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi" *Museum Helveticum*, Vol. 45 (1988), 1-5; Herodotus 3.57.2: "θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀνάκειται ὅμοια τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις"

As Fisher points out, youth, inebriation and wealth are all commonly associated with *hybris*, but Pindar singles out this young man as an *exemplum* of good training in traditional principles.¹⁵⁴ The poet is therefore enacting, within a victory celebration, the kind of instruction that Protagoras describes in the Platonic dialogue to show that virtue can be taught. The sophist says parents teach (διδάσκω) and admonish (νουθετέω) from the earliest age what is just and unjust (δίκαιον/ἄδικον), noble and base (καλόν/αἰσχρόν), holy and unholy (ὄσιον/ἄνόσιον), and later they read of good men (ἀγαθοί) in order to imitate (μιμέομαι) and yearn (ὀρέγω) to become such men (τοιοῦτος, 325ξ-326α).

In the above passage the poet draws a connection between injustice or, more generally, behaviour that is contrary to nature with the α-privative of δίκη (ἄδικος), and another ὑπέρ-compound meaning insolent, arrogant.¹⁵⁵ As we saw in *Pythian* 1, the Muses are said to delight the mind of Zeus not only singing of things past, present and future, but also reciting the laws of everyone (πάντων νόμους, *Theogony* 66-67). Thus it is quite a natural association between “the retreats of the Pierians,” wisdom, and remaining contained within the bounds of order and propriety. Furthermore, in the context of a victory ode, this ode illustrates well the role of *paideia* in the central event of the reintegration process.

¹⁵⁴ Fisher 1992, 1.

¹⁵⁵ Cunliffe s.v. (ὑπερ + an unknown second element)

Chapter 4: The Unreachable Bronze Sky

This last chapter uses the remaining five *Pythian* odes in an examination of the inescapable limits of human existence which every athlete and citizen, victorious or not, must accept to maintain the continued harmony of communal living. Primarily these limits entail the ideal of moderation with reverence towards the gods as exemplified by the Hyperboreans. Furthermore, the human condition necessarily includes mortality and the inevitable play of good and evil within a mortal life with the result that any human accomplishment must be ephemeral in the last analysis. This late Pindaric ephemerality is probably the greatest obstacle to Bundy's "master principle" and his assertion of the exclusive encomiastic nature of the odes.

Pythian 10 (498 BCE)

This ode, the very first *epinikion* we have from Pindar, was commissioned by Thorax of Larissa in 498 BCE, the leader of the hereditary ruling family, the Aleuadai.¹⁵⁶ This first song displays the persistent Pindaric purpose of conducting the athletic victor back into the limits of his orderly community while guarding against excessive and unsettling high-spirits. Here Pindar utilizes the myth of Perseus and his visit to the land of the Hyperboreans as an illustration of the limits of the human condition. The poet supports this myth with several *gnomai* which we will also examine.

The ode opens with the theme of inherited excellence that endures throughout the *corpus*. Pindar states that Sparta is prosperous and Thessaly is divinely blessed since a single race (*γένος*), issuing from a single father, Heracles who is excellent in war, rules

¹⁵⁶ Race 1997, 366.

(βασιλεύω) over both (1-3). The ode ends with praise of Pindar's patron and his brothers who strengthen the traditional laws of Thessaly (νόμον Θεσσαλῶν αὔξοντες; 70-71). The last lines add that the governance of the cities lies in the hands of the ἀγαθοί, with trusted ancestry (πατρῴϊαι κεδναί; 71-72). Thus, with his very first ode, Pindar proclaims his faith in hereditary virtue, a faith that remains prominent and unshakeable throughout his career. The poet's conservative nature is also, as we shall see, reflected in the consistency of his warning messages about the limits of propriety and the avoidance of excess.

After this opening, the song poses a rhetorical question which highlights the importance of καιρός for Pindar: "Why am I blaring beyond due measure?" (τί κομπέω παρὰ καιρόν, 4). Κομπέω is a relatively rare verb which comes to mean "to boast or vaunt" in Herodotus and Thucydides, but Homer uses it only once to describe the clash of bronze in battle.¹⁵⁷ This cacophonous sense adds to the unruly impression of transgression. Pindar features *kairos*, however, in each category of ode and it deserves some close attention because it highlights a key feature of Pindar's program.

Although Homer does not use this exact word, he does use the adjective καίριος to mean "the right place" or "fatal spot" on the body for an effective blow (*Iliad* 8.84 and 326) and it is very likely that the metaphorical sense of καιρός, as "propriety, or due measure," originated from this term.¹⁵⁸ We then see that Hesiod is the first writer to use καιρός in his *Works and Days* where he advises the reader, because of the unpredictability of the dangerous sea, to leave the greater portion of goods (πλείων) on land while loading less on board (689-90). Then, drawing the parallel with μέτρον, he summarizes with very Pindaric line:

¹⁵⁷ *Iliad* 12.151; Thucydides 6.17.5; Herodotus 5.41.2;

¹⁵⁸ Cunliffe *s.v.*

μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι: καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος. (694)

Guard the proper proportion: due measure is the best in all things.

Theognis also uses the exact same phrase when pressing the impermanence of ill-gotten gains as compared to those granted by Zeus:

εἰ δ' ἀδίκως παρὰ καιρὸν ἀνήρ φιλοκερδέϊ θυμῷ
κτῆσεται, εἴθ' ὄρκῳ πᾶρ τὸ δίκαιον ἐλών,
αὐτίκα μὲν τι φέρειν κέρδος δοκεῖ, ἐς δὲ τελευτὴν
αὖθις ἔγεντο κακόν, θεῶν δ' ὑπερέσχε νόος. (199-202)

but if a man should acquire unjustly against due measure with a greedy heart, then seizing with an oath against the law, momentarily he thinks he is gaining some profit, but in the end it turns out badly, and the will of the gods prevails.

In this passage, παρὰ καιρὸν is equated with injustice (ἀδίκως) and greed (φιλοκερδής).

Later in the fifth century, the word takes on a temporal sense to convey the concept of a *proper* or *opportune time*, but Pindar still holds to the archaic sense of the word, as "the rules of accurate choice and prudent restraint, the sense of what suits the circumstances, tact, discretion, etc."¹⁵⁹ Before Bundy, due to a relative dearth of this moral-aesthetic usage, there had been much lexical retrojecting of the temporal sense into the odes which made for some awkward translations.¹⁶⁰ We therefore see, just on the fourth line of his first *epinikion*, a brief but important reference to the central principle of *kairos*, the antithesis of *hybris*.

After this opening, the ode then names the victor and his event before the first *gnome* of the song in the first antistrophe:

¹⁵⁹ Fränkel, H., *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy*, trans. by Moses Hadas and James Willis (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), 447; Wilson, J.R., "Kairos as 'Due Measure'", *Glotta*, 58 Bd. (1980), 177-204; LSJ s.v.

¹⁶⁰ Bundy 1962 no. 1, p. 19, n. 44; Young, D.C., "Pindar, Aristotle, and Homer: A Study in Ancient Criticism." *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 2 (1983), 160-61.

Ἄπολλον, γλυκὺ δ' ἀνθρώπων τέλος ἀρχά τε δαίμονος
ὀρνύντος αὔξεται: (Pythian 10.10)

O Apollo, both the end and the start grow sweetly for men
when the god is prompting.

Endeavours for mortals thus proceed well when the god is favourable, when people act in accordance with, and not contrary to, the divine designs. This first *gnome* is then a restatement of the offensiveness of ἄθεος φρόνημα (p. 17-18).

Pindar continues by recounting several athletic accomplishments of the victor's father while supporting the importance of good breeding. Then, in the face of these successes, the song breaks into a prayer against φθόνος θεῶν:

τῶν δ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι τερπνῶν
λαχόντες οὐκ ὀλίγαν δόσιν, μὴ φθονεραῖς ἐκ θεῶν
μετατροπῆαις ἐπικύρσαιεν. θεὸς εἴη
ἀπήμων κέαρ: (19-22)

Having obtained no small share of delights in Greece, may
they not come across envious reversals of fortune from the
gods. May the god be unhurt in his heart.

Ostensibly this passage functions as a plea for the victor's continued prosperity, but it also brings a fine reminder of the divinely imposed limits on human successes, coming as it does after a list of the family's victories. This passage then ends, at the start of the second antistrophe, with a beautiful re-statement of human limitations which leads to the main myth of the ode:

ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὐ ποτ' ἀμβατὸς αὐτῷ. (27)

The bronze heaven is never his to be scaled.

The central body of the song first describes the blissful life of the Hyperboreans, whom Perseus once visited, and the myth then extends into his great feat of slaying the Gorgon with the aid of Athena. The poet's description of the Hyperboreans closely echoes Hesiod's account of the Golden Race (χρῦσεον γένος, 109) who were always

peaceful and deferential to the gods, thus securing for themselves many blessings (p. 15).

In addition, it is noteworthy who, or what, displays ὕβρις in this scenario and the reaction it receives:

ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὔροις
 ἐς Ἵπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυματὰν ὁδόν.
 παρ' οἷς ποτε Περσεὺς ἐδαίσατο λαγέτας,
 δώματ' ἐσελθὼν,
 κλειτὰς ὄνων ἑκατόμβας ἐπιτόσσαις θεῶ
 ῥέζοντας: ὧν θαλίαις ἔμπεδον
 εὐφαιμίαις τε μάλιστ' Ἀπόλλων
 χαίρει, γελᾷ θ' ὄρων ὕβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδάλων.
 Μοῖσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδαμεῖ
 τρόποις ἐπὶ σφετέροισι: παντᾶ, δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων
 λυρᾶν τε βοαὶ καναχαί τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται:
 δάφνα τε χρυσέα κόμας ἀναδήσαντες εἰλαπινάζουσιν εὐφρόνως.
 νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται
 ἱερᾶ γενεᾶ: πόνων δὲ καὶ μαχᾶν ἄτερ
 οἰκέοισι φυγόντες
 ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν. (29-44)

Going neither by ship nor on foot would you discover the astonishing road to the gathering of Hyperboreans. Once Perseus, the leader of the people, feasted with them, entering their halls, as they happen to be performing the sacrifice of the famed hecatombs of asses to the god: Apollo always rejoices especially in their praise and their steadfast banquets, and he laughs seeing rampant *hybris* of the wild beasts. And the Muse always attends their ways: for everywhere choruses of maidens, jangle of lyres, and the peal of pipes are ringing out. Crowning their hair with golden laurel, they revel joyfully. Neither disease nor rotten old age mingles with the holy race: they live there without toils and battles, having fled *the arch-judge Nemesis*.

For Hesiod, the Golden Race also lived like gods, having no sorrow in their hearts

(θυμός ἀκηδής), but also no experience of disease, wretched toil (νόσφιν ἄτερ τε

πόνων καὶ οἰζύος) or miserable old age (δειλὸν γῆρας; 112-13).

Gildersleeve quotes Paley from 1868 translating ὕβριν ὀρθίαν as "rampant lewdness" and he gives a marginal improvement with "towering wantonness" which adds the vertical sense in ὀρθίος. He then suggests "braying" for ὕβρις since Pindar typically uses ὀρθίος for sounds.¹⁶¹ For this study, however, it is important to leave *hybris* untranslated and to remember another instance where *hybris* instigated laughter: Epeios' embarrassing second event in the *Iliad* (p. 9-12). In that passage, and in many others in the *Iliad*, the laughter of spectators reflects the sense of physical or moral superiority. When Paris wounds Diomedes with an arrow, he laughs with great pleasure (μάλα ἠδὲ γέλασσε, 11.378); as the dreadful burden of hatred (ἔρις βεβριθυῖα ἀργαλέη) falls on the the other gods and they collide with a great crash, Zeus laughs with delight (γηθοσύνη) sitting on high Olympos (21.385-89); at the sight of his father's bronze and his horse-hair crest, Astyanax cries and recoils causing his father to laugh out (ἐκ δ' ἐγέλασσε, 6.471).¹⁶² This ὕβρις reflects not only a physical inferiority, since the asses are under the goad of the Hyperboreans, but it also importantly reflects their unregenerate moral baseness since the animals do not consent to the god's will with the customary acquiescent nod, and "go to the sacrifice complaisantly, or rather voluntarily."¹⁶³

In this way, the myth displays a juxtaposition of two widely contrasting figures: the pious, or figuratively καίριος, Hyperboreans and the hubristic asses. This contrast then models very closely the great divide between the gods and

¹⁶¹ Gildersleeve 1890, 354; Paley, F.L. *The Odes of Pindar* (London: Williams and Norgate 1868), 150.

¹⁶² Levine, D.B., "Homeric Laughter and the Unsmiling Suitors." *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 78 (1983), 97-104.

¹⁶³ Burkert 1985, 56.

mortals with hubristic humans, or *hybristai*, being led to a slaughter through φθόνος θεῶν or ὑπέρδικος νέμεσις. We can see that Pindar treats the Hyperboreans as godlike since his fragment 143 uses a very similar portrayal with the gods being without sickness (ἄνοσοι), ageless (ἀγήραοι), and untried in toil (πόνων ἄπειροι), escaping Acheron (πεφευγότες). This troublesome phrase regarding Nemesis at the end of the passage, though, requires some further elucidation.

Etymologically, the word *nemesis* derives from the verb νέμω, meaning "to apportion, deal out, or dispense."¹⁶⁴ In the *Theogony*, Night parthenogenetically bears several beings, including Nemesis, who is the bane of mortals (πῆμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι, 223), the Hesperides, who guard the golden apples beyond Ocean (215-16), and the ruthlessly avenging Fates (νηλέοινοι Κἄρες, 217). Although Hesiod makes Gaia the mother of the Erinyes (185), the goddesses who impose punishment for murder and other serious crimes, other authors associate them with Night as well, such as Aeschylus' chorus of Erinyes.¹⁶⁵ All of these deities together, however, enforce different aspects of the cosmological order.¹⁶⁶

In the *Iliad*, it is the Erinyes who check (ἔσχεθον) the voice of Achilles' horse, Xanthos, since it is not fitting (οὐδέ χρή) as Achilles says (19.418-20).

The pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus (ca. 535 - 475 BCE) provides us with a

¹⁶⁴ LSJ *s.v.*

¹⁶⁵ West 1988, 65; Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 321-22: μᾶτερ ἅ μ' ἔτικτες, ὃ μᾶτερ Νύξ.

¹⁶⁶ Jaeger, W.W., *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 229.

vivid image of this kind of cosmic enforcement, appropriately using another
 ὑπερ-compound:

Ἥλιος οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Ἐρινύες μιν δίκης
 ἐπίκουροι ἐξευρήσουσι. (28)

The sun will not overstep his limits; if he does, the Erinyes,
 allies of justice, will discover him.

In this same sense, Nemesis also goes by the name Ἀδράστεια, the goddess from whom one cannot run away, a name formed from the α-privative and the verb for running (διδράσκω).¹⁶⁷ For this reason, the chorus of Oceanids in *Prometheus Bound* says that wise men (σοφοί) make obeisance (προσκυνέω) to Adrasteia, or *deprecate* in the original sense of "seeking to avert by prayer" (936).¹⁶⁸

Christopher Brown even goes so far as to assert, very cogently, that ὑπέρδικος νέμεσις refers to "the dispensation that characterizes the world of men," a very compressed version of Heracleitus' fragment above.¹⁶⁹

Despite this role of cosmic enforcement, however, many scholars have translated ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν in a literal fashion, taking the preposition as an intensifier, as either "very stern," or "strictly judging."¹⁷⁰ The translation will be more faithful to the characterization outlined if it takes another sense of the prefix as either "standing over to protect, for defence of," or "on behalf of" δίκη. Using this latter sense, Hermann Fränkel gets closest to what the phrase may have evoked for the original audience in his prose rendition, although it is somewhat

¹⁶⁷ LSJ *s.v.*

¹⁶⁸ LSJ *s.v.*; OED *s.v.*

¹⁶⁹ Brown, C.G., "The Hyperboreans and Nemesis in Pindar's 'Tenth Pythian'." *Phoenix*, Vol. 46, (1992), 98.

¹⁷⁰ Gildersleeve 1890, 354; Race 1997, 373; Nisetich 1980, 217: "the rigid rule"; Bowra 1969, 23: "the stern scales"; Lattimore 1976, 92: "scandal and litigation"; Miller, A.M., *Greek Lyric* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1996), 166: "stern exactions"

verbose: "the anger that overtakes men on behalf of righteousness."¹⁷¹ More concisely, I choose the term *arch-judge* echoing the Greek prefix ἀρχε- which denotes the position or rank above the original title, such as principal- or master-judge.¹⁷²

In this important first Pindaric ode, we encounter at once the ideal of *καρὸς* as *due measure*, the antithesis of *hybris*, and a concept that is lucidly reflected in the mythic section of the present ode but which also reverberates, as we shall see, throughout the canon. The Hyperboreans embody this ideal of measured behaviour because they demonstrate supreme deference to the gods, live joyfully and peacefully without striving for the unreachable bronze heaven. This moderate and pious life ensures that they live in accordance with divine dispensation and never provoke fearsome Nemesis, the arch-judge. As a reception song in celebration for a returning athletic victor then, the ode is clearly not entirely encomiastic but it is indeed a sobering reminder of human limitations upon the heels of a great achievement.

Pythian 12 (490 BCE)

In this ode of the same year as *Pythian 6*, still early in the poet's career, we read his only commemoration of a musical competition. In contrast to *Pythian 6*, which embraces a paideutic genre and text, the ancient Greek *aulos* was commonly considered banausic and beneath the aristocratic *paideia* even though *auletes* were in great demand

¹⁷¹ Fränkel 1975, 492.

¹⁷² LSJ s.v.: "Prefix (from ἀρχω) implying superiority"

for various choruses.¹⁷³ This lower status was due to, first of all, the instrument's foreign, or Phrygian, origin, but also its difficulty which required a lengthy professional dedication. Distinct from the single deep-toned flute, or βόμβυξ, the ancient Greek *aulos* consisted of two reeded pipes, each with four holes, which enabled a skilled player to produce both melody and accompaniment. This antiphonal capacity allowed for unparalleled musical expression and its fugal or many-headed tune (κεφαλαῖν πολλῶν νόμον, 23). The *aulos*, moreover, is a true *harmonia* of the contrasting elements of bronze and reed (χαλκός, δόναξ, 25), a balanced unity of opposites that represents "a unified vision of human existence."¹⁷⁴ This context provides the poet with the perfect framework for a short but intricate meditation on the unavailability of the dualities of existence, a vital prompt for the *laudandus* mindful only of victory.

After the opening wish for the gracious reception of this victor, Midas, in his city Akragas, the mention of the competition flows right into the myth of Athena's invention of the *aulos*. This difficult passage has been the subject of many emendations since the scholiasts but this rendition, which considers the antiphonal capacity of the instrument, brings the ode into a coherent unit.¹⁷⁵ Line 6 begins with the competitor's skill (τέχνη):

...τάν ποτε
 Παλλάς ἐφεῦρε θρασειᾶν Γοργόνων
 οὔλιον θρηῖνον διαπλέξαισ' Ἀθάνα:
 τὸν παρθενίους ὑπό τ' ἀπλάτοις ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς
 ἄτε λειβόμενον δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ,
 Περσεὺς ὅποτε τρίτον ἄυσεν κασιγνητῶν μέρος,
 εἰναλία τε Σερίφῳ λαοῖσί τε μοῖραν ἄγων. (6-12)

¹⁷³ Comotti, G., *Music in Greek and Roman Culture*, trans. R.V. Munson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 69.

¹⁷⁴ Hubbard, T.K., *The Pindaric Mind: A Study of Logical Structure in Early Greek Poetry* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 90.

¹⁷⁵ Gerber, D.E., *Emendations in Pindar, 1513-1972* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1976), 96-97.

...which Pallas Athena once discovered weaving together the deadly dirge of the insolent Gorgons which she heard pouring out from under the unapproachable maidens and their heads of snakes with dreadful suffering, when Perseus shouted carrying the third portion of the sisters and doom to sea-girt Seriphos and its people.

Scholarly opinions differ about whether the verb on line 11 should be ἀνύω (*to kill*) or αὔω (*to shout*), but the musical context as well as the other main verb, διαπλέκω (*to interweave, or weave together*), strongly suggests αὔω. As Strauss Clay argues, this last verb for weaving implies that two sounds must be woven together into an antiphony, such as the Gorgon's horrifying lament and the hero's victory cry.¹⁷⁶ In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, the god is described as creating the first sandals, wondrous things (θαυματὰ ἔργα, 80), by weaving together both tamarisk (μυρική) and myrtle twigs (μυρσινοειδῆς ὄζος, 81). More significantly though, Pindar makes use of this verb at the end of *Nemean 7* where he wishes Herakles might weave together a blessed life with youth and splendid old age (ἦβρα λιπαρῶ τε γήραϊ, 99-100). The scholiast also confirms this doubleness, saying that the goddess heard two sounds (διχῶς).¹⁷⁷ Not only does this interpretation reflect the instrument being honoured, but it also furnishes a proper foundation for the gnomic coda which often has been seen as an ill-fitting *ad hoc* addition.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Strauss Clay, J., "Pindar's Twelfth Pythian: Reed and Bronze." *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 113 (1992), 523.

¹⁷⁷ Drachmann, A.B., *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina*, Vol. 2, *Scholia in Pythionicas* (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1967), 266.

¹⁷⁸ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1922, 147: "Dann geht es ganz schroff zu dem sentiösen Schlüsse."; Burton 1962, 31: "abrupt and inconsistent...there is nothing explicit in the preceding part of the text which can account for them."

The poem ends with a passage of carefully balanced pairs of contraries while making use of the preposition ἔμπαλιν meaning "contrary to:"¹⁷⁹

εἰ δέ τις ὄλβος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ἄνευ καμάτου
οὐ φαίνεται: ἐκ δὲ τελευτάσει νιν ἥτοι σάμερον
δαίμων - τὸ δὲ μόρσιμον οὐ παρφυκτόν, - ἀλλ' ἔσται χρόνος
οὗτος, ὃ καὶ τιν' ἀελπτία βαλὼν
ἔμπαλιν γνώμας τὸ μὲν δώσει, τὸ δ' οὔπω. (28-32)

But if there is any joy for people, it does not appear without suffering: and thus god will accomplish it this very day - and destiny cannot be avoided - but there will be this time, which, striking someone unexpectedly, will give one thing contrary to one's hope, but will not give another thing.

The poet once again uses κάματος which we read in line 10 where it refers to the suffering of the Gorgons and not their toil as some translators suggest.¹⁸⁰ It is important to note these pairs: joy (ὄλβος) and suffering (κάματος), god (δαίμων) and human (ἄνθρωπος), appearance without human agency (φαίνω) and divine accomplishment (τελευτάω), chance (ἀελπτία) and destiny (μόρσιμος), expectation (γνώμη) and its contrary (ἔμπαλιν), giving (δίδωμι) and its negation (οὔπω). This is another disconcertingly frank treatment of the joy of victory: suffering will inevitably follow since the human condition itself is woven with such contraries, much like the song of the *aulos*.

The choice of Perseus as the hero of the mythic section also reflects the nature of competition, or ἀγών (24), as a zero-sum game. Although victorious, Perseus arose from very traumatic origins. When his grandfather imprisoned his mother, Danaë, due to an oracle warning that her son would kill him, Zeus impregnated her nonetheless with a shower of gold. Subsequently, her father Acrisius put them both out to sea in a chest

¹⁷⁹ Slater 1969, s.v.

¹⁸⁰ Race 1997, 391.

only to be rescued by the cruel Polydectes. The fear and anxiety of this sea voyage is retold with moving realism in Simonides' fragment 543 which is often called *Danaë's Lament*. This background offers a more subtle message to the athlete, exalting from his victory, that there is no joy (ὄλβος) without a corresponding amount of suffering (κάματος). In fact, as Achilles explains to Priam, Zeus dispenses the conditions for mortal existence from two πίθοι, or jars: from one he bestows ills while from the other he dispenses blessings, and there is no way of altering this ratio of human happiness (24.525-28, p.7-8 above).

Pythian 7 (486 BCE)

Pindar composed this ode, the shortest of his victory odes, in 486 BCE and it commemorates a victory in the chariot race by Megakles, a member of the illustrious Athenian family known as the Alkmaionidai. This family included the reformer and founder of democracy, Kleisthenes, as well as the exceedingly influential statesman, Pericles. Besides restoring the Temple to Apollo at Delphi, various members also garnered several prominent athletic wins, both at Olympia and Delphi, as well as at Corinth, all of which Pindar recounts in order to depict their great prosperity. After the battle of Marathon in 490 BCE, however, Herodotus tells us that this family was suspected of somehow signalling to the Persian fleet to sail around Cape Sounion, at the end of the Attic peninsula, to attack the undefended city of Athens.¹⁸¹ This suspicion, which goads Herodotus to write a lengthy exoneration, led to the ostracism of Megakles

¹⁸¹ *Histories* 6.115

in 486. Like the *aulos* of the previous ode, here the poet merely uses the victor's list of success and losses as an illustration of life's vicissitudes and the need for prudence.

As the archaeological evidence suggests, the tale of signalling the barbarian fleet masked a strong underlying envy for Megakles' ostentatious wealth and his luxurious lifestyle.¹⁸² More than four thousand relevant *ostraka* have been found which point to a wide variety of offences, including the keeping of horses (*ἵππότροφος*), then considered too grandiose, with one sherd depicting a horse and rider while another called for the exile of his horses as well; excessive fondness of money (*φιλάργυρος*), and the attendant susceptibility to bribery; and adultery (*μοιχός*).¹⁸³ Sensitive to this antagonistic feeling, and not desiring a small audience, it is not surprising that Pindar limited his ode primarily to the praise of Athens and its citizens, along with mention of the family's previous victories and their temple reconstruction, yet he mentions no names. The poet thus brings the audience, without any myth, swiftly to the concluding remarks and a short but effective apophthegm on the vicissitudes of life:

νέα δ' εὐπραγία χαίρω τι: τὸ δ' ἄχθυμαι,
 φθόνον ἀμειβόμενον τὰ καλὰ ἔργα.
 φαντί γε μὰν οὕτω κεν ἀνδρὶ παρμονίμαν
 θάλλοισαν εὐδαιμονίαν
 τὰ καὶ τὰ φέρεσθαι. (18-20)

I rejoice guardedly at this new success: but I am grieved,
 that enmity repays your noble deeds. Yet they say that, in
 this way, abiding and flourishing prosperity certainly does
 bring man this and that.

The first line of this passage illustrates the cyclic nature of blessings and hardships by following the new success in the first position (*νέα εὐπραγία*) with the

¹⁸² Forsdyke, S., *Exile, Ostracism, and Democracy: The Politics of Expulsion in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 155.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

juxtaposition of the contrary verbs, χαίρω (rejoice) and ἄχεύω (grieve). Some scholars have taken the particle (τι) to indicate a litotes, i.e. "I feel no little joy,"¹⁸⁴ yet it is far more accurate, especially given this historical context, to construe it with the verb as the adverb "somewhat."¹⁸⁵ This rendition then includes the crucial qualification that comes from prudent self-restraint in the face of a fundamental uncertainty within the archaic Greek perspective, the central reservation that Pindar tries to impress upon every returning victor for the benefit of the athlete as well as his community.

Pythian 3 (474 BCE)

For those who doubt the existence of poetic epistles in archaic and classic literature before Theocritus 16, ca. 272 BCE (e.g. Young and Slater), *Pythian 3* is a particularly challenging counter-example, having none of the usual trappings of a victory song except for a passing reference to a previous victory, ποτέ (74), "once upon a time."¹⁸⁶ Instead, with his rich and benevolent patron ailing from a serious illness, Pindar only wishes he had brought to Syracuse both golden health (ὕγεια χρύσεια) and a victory celebration (κῶμος, 73).¹⁸⁷ Leaving aside the generic controversy, this ode offers us a poignant meditation on mortality and the inescapability of tribulation of the human condition which is relatively remote from the usual encomiastic conventions. Indeed,

¹⁸⁴ Gildersleeve 1890, 323; Race 1997, 334; Nisetich 1980, 199.

¹⁸⁵ LSJ s.v. "τις, neuter τι"; Slater 1969, 506: "to some degree."; Bowra 1969, 34: "Some pleasure I have"

¹⁸⁶ Young, D.C., "Pindar Pythians 2 and 3: Inscriptional ποτέ and the 'Poetic Epistle'." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 87 (1983), 31-48; Slater, W.J., "Pindar's 'Pythian' 3: Structure and Purpose." *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, Vol. 29 (1988), 51-61; Robbins, E., "The Gifts of the Gods: Pindar's Third Pythian." *Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 40 (1990), 307-18.

¹⁸⁷ From θερμῶν νόσων (66), scholiasts claim fever (ἐπύρεττον), gout (ἐποδαλγία), or gallstones (λιθοουρία).

more like an elegy or at least having the appearance of "a new poetic genre," *Pythian 3* gives us a new measure of Pindar's creativity and urge for experiment.¹⁸⁸

This ode consists first of a long and elaborate *recusatio* which leads into the final section derogating unrealistic hopes while affirming the limits of human mortality.¹⁸⁹ It opens with this unattainable wish:

ἤθελον Χείρωνά κε Φιλλυρίδαν,
εἰ χρεῶν τοῦθ' ἀμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσας κοινὸν εὐξασθαι ἔπος,
ζῶειν τὸν ἀποιχόμενον,
Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέδοντα Κρόνου, βάσσαισί τ' ἄρχειν Παλίου Φῆρ'
ἀγρότερον,
νοῦν ἔχοντ' ἀνδρῶν φίλον: (1-4)

I would wish, if it is right to pray that shared plea from my tongue, that departed Cheiron, son of Philyra, was living, that wide-ruling son of Ouranos' son Kronos, and that the wild creature ruled in the glens of Pelion, having a friendly mind for men:

The wish continues for the Centaur being again as he was when he nurtured (τρέφω) that gentle craftsman (τέκτων ἡμερος) of limb-strengthening pain relief (νοδυνία γυιαρκής), Asklepios, the heroic protector against all disease (5-7). As we see at the end of this section, it is not right to wish for things which lie outside of the god's dispensation, namely that one's allotted span is longer than the Fates decreed, and subsequent mythical elements add striking confirmation.

Once again, by way of a relative pronoun, the poet leaps from the mention of Asklepios to his mother, Koronis, who was killed by Artemis when, already pregnant by Apollo, she slept with another before the marriage feast with Apollo. Here Pindar takes an opportunity to reiterate the certainty of divine law:

¹⁸⁸ Lefkowitz, M.R., *The Victory Ode* (Park Ridge, N.J.: Noyes Press, 1976), 142.

¹⁸⁹ Young, D.C., *Three Odes of Pindar* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 49.

χόλος δ' οὐκ ἀλίθιος / γίνεται παίδων Διός. (11-12)
 the anger of Zeus' children is not idle.

She, however, made light of it (ἀποφλαυρίζω) with errors of the mind (ἀμπλακίαισι φρενῶν, 12-13). The poet expands on this tragic aspect of human psychology:

ἀλλά τοι
 ἦρατο τῶν ἀπεόντων: οἷα καὶ πολλοὶ πάθον.
 ἔστι δὲ φύλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατον,
 ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω,
 μεταμώνια θηρεύων ἀκράντοις ἐλπίσιν. (19-23)

But she certainly loved things far away: such things which many have suffered for. There is a very foolish class of people, that which, scorning things nearby, searches far away, pursuing the vain with fruitless hopes.

At once the reader will notice the poet using synonymous participles to modify both Cheiron (ἀποιχόμενον, 3) and these foolish dreams of Koronis' (ἀπεόντων, 20). Clearly, with the opening wish for help, Pindar must be giving choral voice to Hieron's yearnings for health even though these hopes here are now deemed as fruitless as the longing for Cheiron's resurrection may seem. Pindar calls this "a great delusion" (μεγάλη ἄτη, 24), just that which Agamemnon also blamed for his slighting of Achilles and the ensuing carnage (ἀγρή ἄτη, *Iliad* 19.88).

The ode continues and describes how Apollo snatched his child from her womb as she lay on the pyre and just as the fire was approaching. The second triad ends as the god hands the boy to the Magnesian Centaur so that he may instruct him (διδάξαι) to heal (ἰᾶσθαι) the great many diseases (45-46). Subsequently, many are healed of various afflictions by diverse means until even this pupil of gentle Cheiron is corrupted:

ἀλλὰ κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεται. (54)
 But even wisdom is fettered to profit.

Indeed, in a particularly pessimistic turn, even Asklepios returns a man from death with gold (χρυσός) in his hands for a fee (μισθῶ, 55), but Zeus swiftly kills both, once again affirming the inevitability of divine control. This is a particularly pertinent example since Zeus was afraid humans may help each other to evade death, a key element of the human condition, along with disease and toil.¹⁹⁰ The episode then ends with a gnomic variation on the previous adage, one that encapsulates the well-known inscriptions at Delphi on the importance of self-knowledge and moderation:¹⁹¹

χρῆ τὰ εὐκότα παρ δαιμόνων μαστευόμεν θναταῖς φρασίν,
γνόντα τὸ παρ ποδός, οἴας εἰμὲν αἴσας. (59-60)

It is necessary to seek after appropriate things from the gods with our mortal minds, knowing what is nearby and what kind of destiny we have.

This passage, as an echo of the Delphic injunctions, captures the central tension within the Greek psyche, between the pursuit of excellence and supremacy on one hand,¹⁹² and the human limitations enforced by Zeus and the fate of death on the other. In the *Iliad*, and archaic culture in general, Homer establishes glory (κλέος) as the one known remedy for mortality. As Sarpedon tells Glaukos, since the ideal condition of immortality and agelessness is not theirs, and they are beset by countless spirits of death (κῆρες μυρία θανάτοιο) which no mortal can escape (φυγεῖν, 12.326-27), then:

ἴομεν ἢέ τῷ εὖχος ὀρέξομεν ἢέ τις ἡμῖν. (12.328)

let us go, either let us give the prize to someone or let us take it for ourselves.

¹⁹⁰ Apollodorus 3.10.4: "Ζεὺς δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ λαβόντες ἄνθρωποι θεραπείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις, ἐκεραυνώσεν αὐτόν."

¹⁹¹ North, H., *Sophrosyne: Self-knowledge and Self-restraint in Greek Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), 9.

¹⁹² *Iliad* 6.208: "αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων" (always to be the best and preeminent over all)

Here the noun εὔχος is related to prayer (εὔχομαι) and it is literally the ubiquitous "object of prayer."¹⁹³ Εὔχος is broadly synonymous with κλέος ἄφθιτος or "undying glory," that destiny which Achilles attained since he stayed and fought around the city of the Trojans (9.413), the same *desideratum* which Hieron is likely seeking and Pindar attempts to assuage.

The third epode then follows with a famous prayer that finely caps off the last maxim with a fine rebuttal to Hieron's yearning, and a striking portrayal of ancient Greek interiority:¹⁹⁴

μή, φίλα ψυχά, βίον ἀθάνατον
σπεῦδε, τὰν δ' ἔμπρακτον ἄντλει μαχανάν. (61-62)

Do not, dear soul, strive eagerly for an immortal life, but
exhaust the practical means.

Immediately following this prayer, the ode continues with a long string of unattainable wishes (εἰ δὲ) and contrary-to-fact phrases that hinge on Cheiron's impossible reappearance. Spreading over fourteen lines, this section evokes the hope of amelioration for Hieron's condition once again while also forming a thematic ring back to the ode's opening. The poet then brings the nostalgic reminiscences to an abrupt halt with an imposing adversative conjugation (ἀλλά) in the first position of the fourth antistrophe.¹⁹⁵ Here he says that he (ἐγὼν) wishes to pray to the Mother, again using the same verbs that opened the ode (ἐπεύξασθαι ἐθέλω), for she is not only a venerable deity (σεμνὰν θεὸν) but also familiar and within reach (77-79). Clearly, the poet is now dismissing the preceding vain wishes in order to assert the more realistic alternative of prayer to the

¹⁹³ LSJ *s.v.*

¹⁹⁴ Paul Valéry used these two lines for an inscription to his meditation on death, *Le Cimetière Marin* (1920): "Allez! Tout fuit! Ma présence est poreuse" (101)

¹⁹⁵ A conventional transition into the main matter of an ode: Bundy 1962, no. 2, 36.

Mother. In addition he once more presses the "near and possible" instead of the "far and impossible."¹⁹⁶

The content of the prayer is not divulged but the poet here alludes to a special mutual understanding which he obliges his patron to reflect on:

εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἱέρων, ὀρθάν ἐπίστα, μανθάνων οἴσθα
προτέρων:

ἔν παρ' ἑσλὸν πῆματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς
ἀθάνατοι. τὰ μὲν ὧν οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμῳ φέρειν,
ἀλλ' ἀγαθοί, τὰ καλὰ τρέψαντες ἔξω. (80-83)

Hieron, if you are acquainted with understanding the true gist of my words then, having learned, you know the former poets: the immortals dispense to mortals a pair of evils for each blessing. Fools are not able to bear them gracefully, but good men do, turning their nobility outward.

The overall theme of the ode has been Hieron's health and longevity, and prayers were commonly addressed to the Mother for this purpose from the beginning of the fifth century.¹⁹⁷ As Currie cogently points out, however, this combination of the speaker's obliqueness coupled with a special understanding that is assumed on the part of the listener is a typical exchange between initiates of a mystical cult.¹⁹⁸ This is especially relevant to Hieron since, as Herodotus tells us, he belonged to a family of hereditary hierophants in the mystery cult of Demeter and Kore (ἱεροφάνται τῶν χθονίων θεῶν, 7.153.2). As such, the tyrant would be particularly sensitive to the meaning of cryptic messages and the poet may be playing into his appreciation of esoteric knowledge to emphasize a Pindaric variation on a Greek commonplace. Since, moreover, there is a significant conflation of the cults of the Mother and Demeter over this time period, it is

¹⁹⁶ Young 1968, 47-49.

¹⁹⁷ Burkert, W., *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 15.

¹⁹⁸ Currie 2005, 389.

even more likely that Pindar is simply reminding his patron of what should be his long-standing faith and the eschatological comforts it offers to its initiates.¹⁹⁹ Instead of hoping for some unrealistic deliverance from the cycle of life and death, Hieron might submit to the order of nature where comfort comes from a higher understanding and acquiescence.

As an illustration of how no human life is devoid of hardship, Pindar includes accounts of Peleus and Kadmos who are believed to have attained the highest happiness (ὄλβον ὑπέρτατον, 89) of all mortals. Zeus fell in love with Kadmos' daughter, Semele, and jealous Hera then induced her to plead with Zeus to appear in his true majestic divinity so that she was incinerated by his thunderbolt. In a clear parallel with Koronis, Zeus also saved his child, the immortal Dionysus, from Semele's body. The other exemplar, Peleus, was wedded to the goddess Thetis, the mother of godlike Achilles, the hero who was similarly consumed by fire (πυρὶ καιόμενος, 102). Both of these children share a common fate as well. Pindar specifically uses the name Thyone for Semele (99), the name that she received on her subsequent apotheosis;²⁰⁰ according to Proclus' epitome of the *Aethiopsis*, Thetis also snatches up her son from the pyre and takes him to Leuke, the White Island in the Black Sea near the mouth of the Danube.²⁰¹ As Burkert notes, death by lightning can entail either simple destruction or signal the predestination for divine mercy. This election is often interwoven with “the mythical motif of

¹⁹⁹ Roller, L.E., *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 174; Slater, W. "Pindar's House." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, Vol. 12 (1971), 146.

²⁰⁰ *Iliad* 1.21; Diodorus Siculus 4.25.4: "καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον μυθολογοῦσιν ἀναγαγεῖν τὴν μητέρα Σεμέλην ἐξ ᾄδου, καὶ μεταδόντα τῆς ἀθανασίας Θυώνην μετονομάσαι." (for they also say that her mother led her up from Hades, and that they called her Thyone being immortal.)

²⁰¹ West, M. ed., *Greek Epic Fragments* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 112; "καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἢ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον διακομίζει."

miraculous transportation to a pure and far-off island” where heroes dwell with carefree hearts (ἀκηδέα θυμὸν) as the fruitful earth bears honey-sweet fruit (μελιηδέα καρπὸν, *Works and Days* 170-73).²⁰² We now see a common theme runs through all of these myths suggesting a connection between fire and salvation or immortality. We will return to this idea after an account of the ode's close.

Pindar caps the second mythic section with a uniquely long series of linked gnomic statements that crystallize his response to Hieron:

εἰ δὲ νόῳ τις ἔχει θνατῶν ἀλαθείας ὁδόν, χρηὴ πρὸς μακάρων
 τυγχάνοντ' εὖ πασχέμεν. ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοῖαι πνοαὶ
 ὑψιπετῶν ἀνέμων. ὄλβος οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται
 σάος, πολὺς εὖτ' ἂν ἐπιβρίσαις ἔπηται.
 μικρὸς ἐν μικροῖς, μέγας ἐν μεγάλοις
 ἔσσομαι: τὸν ἀμφέποντ' αἰεὶ φρασὶν
 δαίμον' ἀσκήσω κατ' ἐμὰν θεραπεύων μαχανάν.
 εἰ δέ μοι πλοῦτον θεὸς ἄβρον ὀρέξαι,
 ἐλπίδ' ἔχω κλέος εὐρέσθαι κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω.
 Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν', ἀνθρώπων φάτις,
 ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν, τέκτονες οἷα σοφοὶ
 ἄρμοσαν, γινώσκομεν. ἅ δ' ἀρετὰ κλειναῖς ἀοιδαῖς
 χρονία τελέθει. παύροις δὲ πράξασθ' εὐμαρές. (103-15)

If any mortal holds the way of truth in his mind, he must endure well the things allotted from the gods. The gusts of the high-flying winds blow here and there. The happiness of men does not stay safe for long, whenever it follows them, falling heavily. I will be small in small fortunes, great in great fortunes:²⁰³ I will always honour the encompassing fortune with my mind by my available means. If the god gains luxurious riches for me, I hope to find lofty glory from then on. We know Nestor and Lykian Sarpedon, the talk of men, from such high-sounding verses as wise craftsmen fashioned. But excellence lasts over time with glorious songs. And it is easily done by few.

Possibly in no other ode does Pindar so strongly assert his message of humble acceptance under the sway of divine control, the human position within the cosmic structure.

²⁰² Burkert 1985, 198

²⁰³ Gildersleeve 1890, 270: μικροῖς is neuter.

Although much of the ode meditates upon mortality and sickness, we see all the epinician themes we have already touched on, but here the message is addressed to a reigning tyrant. Once again, the kernel of the message is really the fluidity of fortune, and the reminder of the reality of small fortunes is principally relevant to victors during their great fortune. This poetic *coda* also illustrates why there has been general agreement on its proposal that the only immortality one can hope for is literary immortality, of which Pindar is a great craftsman.²⁰⁴ Before leaving this ode, however, the efficacy of fire in the poem needs to be addressed.

Looking back over the ode, the poet also refers to fire frequently throughout the poem. In the second triad, describing the wrath of Apollo and Artemis, many of Koronis' neighbours were also affected and Pindar likens this to a fire (πῦρ) that springs from one spark (ἐξ ἑνὸς σπέρματος) and destroys a great forest (36-37). Following this, several lines vividly describe her funeral pyre with the fierce blaze of Hephaistos (σέλας λάβρον Ἴηφαιστου) running around (39-40). Achilles' pyre is similarly portrayed (πυρὶ καιόμενος, 102). The poet also uses this image when depicting the torments of the ill who seek Asklepios, some of whom are wracked with summer fever (θερινὸν πῦρ, 50). In this context it is important to remember that, within ancient Greek belief, there were examples of people, both mythical and historical, who gained immortality through fire, beginning with Herakles who may have inspired several historical people by his example.

His membership among the gods is noted by Odysseus who sees his ghost (εἶδωλον) in the underworld while the man himself (αὐτός) was happy among the gods (μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, 11.601-02). His self-immolation on Mount Oeta led to an

²⁰⁴ Young 1968, 27; Race 1986, 61-62;

ancient fire ritual there.²⁰⁵ After him, Pausanias tells of Timanthes, a winner of the Pankration in 456 BCE, who threw himself onto a pyre when, in his old age, he was no longer able to draw his bow (6.8.4). In addition, Pausanias links Timanthes with another such incident involving Peregrinos, a contemporary Cynic, both of whom were believed to emulate Herakles in their aspirations for immortality through fire.²⁰⁶ Although just two examples are given here, one must take note of Pausanias' stern reaction to these events as possibly reflecting some significant trend:

ὅποσα δὲ ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ καὶ ὕστερόν ποτε ἔσται,
μανία μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρία νομίζοιτο ἂν κατὰ γε ἐμὴν γνώμην. (6.8.4)

Whether all such deeds happened among men or will
happen hereafter, they should be regarded as madness
rather than courage at least in my opinion.

We can now perceive how Pindar is addressing this aspiration in the poem's subtext.

In this first part of the ode, the poet presents two negative examples: Asklepios and Koronis, both of whom transcend divine sanction and are simply incinerated. The second part of the ode proffers, under the guise of illustrating the caprice of fortune, two positive examples where immortality or salvation is attained through fire in different ways: Semele and Achilles. These examples, contrasting once again, represent the pursuit of immortality through fire as being, at the very least, uncertain while there is a great possibility of overstepping human limits and falling into ὕβρις with dreadful consequences. Pindar thus presents a paradox within the subtext of this remarkable ode, one which Hieron, with his supposed penchant for the esoteric, may notice with the result that he is diverted from his anxiety and discomfort into a higher perception and

²⁰⁵ Burkert 1987, 210.

²⁰⁶ Habricht, C., *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 11; cited in Currie 2005, 371.

understanding. This sophisticated approach, I believe, is intended for the solace of the ailing tyrant. In effect, we see in the subtext of this ode a proto-psychological mode of grief counseling.

Ultimately, though, death is a mystery and, much like the incarnation of Christ, it is best represented in an antithetical or paradoxical style, just as Christ is described as both God and man, savior and condemned. As Jung points out, paradox recognizes the limits of the human intellect in the face of such mysteries and denies the presumption of knowledge:

It does more justice to the unknowable than clarity can do, for uniformity of meaning robs the mystery of its darkness and sets it up as something that is known. That is a usurpation, and it leads the human intellect into *hybris* by pretending that it, the intellect, has got hold of the transcendent mystery by a cognitive act and has "grasped" it. The paradox therefore reflects a higher level of intellect and, by not forcibly representing the unknowable as known, gives a more faithful picture of the real state of affairs.²⁰⁷

On the contrary, the absence of an appreciation for paradox leads to an intolerance for ambiguity which has been shown to involve the need for certainty, authority and dogmatism.²⁰⁸

Pythian 8 (446 BCE)

Within the Pindaric *oeuvre*, grouping the odes by the victor's city, there are several cities which looked to Pindar many times to honour their athletic victories. For

²⁰⁷ Jung, C.G., "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," in *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, *Psychology and Religion: West and East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), par. 417; I would like to thank Thalia Corchia for bringing this passage to my attention.

²⁰⁸ Bochner, S., "Defining intolerance of ambiguity." *Psychological Record*, Vol. 15 (1965), 393-400.

instance, Syracuse called on the poet four times while neighbouring Acragas commissioned him five times; this study of the *Pythians* includes a good sampling of these sets. These cities, however, do not come close to the total of eleven odes for the island of Aigina which accounts for almost a fourth of the entire collection. Because the small island was not able to support and train horses like such cities as Syracuse, its athletes instead excelled in the pankration and wrestling, as well as the pentathlon and the 400-metre race.²⁰⁹ In addition, almost every Aiginetan ode mentions at least one other major victory by a close relative giving the perception of a “highly concentrated athletic environment.”²¹⁰ In the face of this sterling field of victory, the poet nonetheless composes his very last ode as his most striking meditation on the alternation of failure and success. Even the island’s history is a testament to this inevitable pattern.

Situated between Attica and the Peloponnesus, the island prospered with a substantial trade while also exporting its own pottery around 1600 BCE.²¹¹ Like Mycenae, its villages were destroyed and abandoned until around 900 BCE when settlers moved in from Argos, Arkadia and Epidauros.²¹² This Doric re-settlement began another long period of growth until Aigina eventually rivalled Corinth and Samos in its commercial power (Herodotus 3.59). Unlike many other states, Aegina was able to avoid tyranny and it prospered under a stable oligarchic regime to become a great thalassocracy. In the sixth century, however, Aegina came into direct conflict with

²⁰⁹ Pankration: *Isthmian* 5, 6, 8; *Nemean* 3, 5; wrestling: *Pythian* 8; *Olympian* 8; *Nemean* 4, 6; pentathlon: *Nemean* 7; 400-metre race (diaulos): *Nemean* 8;

²¹⁰ Race 1986, 94.

²¹¹ Higgins, R., “A Gold Diadem from Aegina.” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 107 (1987), 182, cited in Burnett, A.P., *Pindar's Songs for Young Athletes of Aigina* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 13.

²¹² Herodotus 8.46.1: Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσι Δωριεῖς ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου (The Aeginetans are Dorians from Epidaurus);

neighbouring Athens when Solon restricted their trade in Attica and the Aeginetans aligned themselves with Thebes and the Boeotian League. In 457 BCE, when Athens defeated the Boeotians at Oenophyta, Aegina was forced to join the Delian League on harsh conditions: the city's wall was pulled down, the fleet was to be surrendered, and a tribute (φόρος) to be paid in the future (Thucydides 1.108.4). The tribute turned out to be thirty talents, the highest sum paid by any of the allies.²¹³ Nevertheless, only ten years later, the Athenians were defeated at Coronea and forced to abandon Boeotia and to recognize its autonomy (*Ibid.* 1.113). It is then very fitting that Pindar chooses the theme of mortal vicissitudes for the ode that becomes his last, but also that he chooses in this opening to pray to Hesychia (Ἡσυχία), or Peace.

Just as we saw in Pindar's very first *epinikion*, the poet opens his last ode with mention of the the guiding principle of *kairos*:

φιλόφρον Ἡσυχία, Δίκας
 ὦ μεγιστόπολι θύγατερ,
 βουλᾶν τε καὶ πολέμων
 ἔχοισα κλαῖδας ὑπερτάτας,
 Πυθιονικὸν τιμὰν Ἀριστομένει δέκευ.
 τὸ γὰρ τὸ μαλθακὸν ἔρξαι τε καὶ παθεῖν ὁμῶς
 ἐπίστασαι καιρῷ σὺν ἀτρεκεῖ: (1-7)

Kindly Peace, O daughter of Justice/Right and maker of the greatest cities, holding the highest keys of councils and wars, receive the honour of this Pythian victory from Aristomenes. For you know how to offer and accept kindness with unerring due measure.

Pindar models his genealogy here on the *Theogony* where Hesiod states that bright (λιπαρή) Themis, from Zeus' seed, bears the Hours (ῥῶραι), Order or adherence to divine law (Ἐννομία), Justice or Right (Δίκη), and thriving Peace (τεθαλυῖα Εἰρήνη, 901-02).

²¹³ Meiggs, R., *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 98, cited in Pfeijffer, I.L. "Pindar's Eighth Pythian: The Relevance of the Historical Setting," *Hermes*, Vol. 123 (1995), 156.

In archaic literature, ἡσυχία is much rarer than εἰρήνη. In the *Iliad*, naturally, εἰρήνη is generally contrasted with war (πόλεμος).²¹⁴ Similarly in the *Odyssey*, as the slain suitors' angry kinsmen threaten revenge, Athena asks Zeus if he will inflict terrible war (πόλεμος κακός) and the grim battle-cry (φύλοπις αἰνή) or friendship (φιλότης, 24.475-76). Zeus decrees (ἔστω) peace in abundance (εἰρήνη ἄλις, 481-86). As Croesus says to Cyrus, no one is so foolish as to choose war over peace (πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης, *Histories* 1.87.4). In these typical examples we see that εἰρήνη is a state of peace without any relative connotations to another state, although it can be used in comparisons.

On the other hand, ἡσυχία is a relative term and a kind of respite *from* disturbance.²¹⁵ Odysseus says, when he is challenged by Iros, that he would stain (φύρω) the beggar's chest and lips with blood (αἷμα) in order to have greater peace (ἡσυχία) tomorrow (22.21-22). Pindar himself uses the word with this exact sense in the first *Pythian* when he states that, with Zeus' help, a leader (ἀγητὴρ ἀνήρ), while honouring (γεραίρων) his people, may turn (κεν τράποι) them to harmonious peace (σύμφωνον ἐς ἄσυχίαν, 69-70). In the first *Nemean*, when Tiresias foresees Herakles' future, he says the hero will be allotted ἡσυχία as the best recompense (ἐξαιρετός ποιμή) for his great labours (κάματοι, 69-71). Pindar's second *Paeon* also includes this pertinent *gnome* that if, while helping (ἀρκέων) friends, one opposes (ὑπαντιάζω) the enemy, then the effort (μόχθος) brings *hēsychia* when proceeding with due measure (καιρῷ, 31-34). As Dickie points out, though, another relative meaning, and a more subtle nuance, of *hēsychia* is the

²¹⁴ *Iliad* 2.797, 9.403, 22.156;

²¹⁵ Cunliffe *s.v.*

“restraint in the face of the temptation to excesses of behaviour that prosperity (*olbos*) creates.”²¹⁶

As noted in the first chapter (p. 15), Hesiod significantly describes the Golden Race as being peaceful (ἤσυχτοι) and deferential (έθελημοί), both of which are necessary to live with many blessings (σὺν έσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν, 118-19). We can also understand ἤσυχτοι here to suggest not only placidity but also more precisely discretion and abstemiousness when taken in contrast with the Silver Race whose men were not able to restrain (οὐκ έδύναντο απέχειν) their hubris and recklessness (134-35). Another illustration of this semantic nuance survives in Solon’s fourth fragment which is quoted by Demosthenes to illustrate the kinds of men Solon hated (έμίσει, 19.255):

αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν άφραδίησιν
 άστοὶ Βούλονται χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,
 δήμου θ’ ήγεμόνων άδικος νόος, οἷσιν έτοιμον
 ύβριος έκ μεγάλης άλγεα πολλά παθεῖν:
 οὐ γάρ έπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον οὐδὲ παρούσης
 εύφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς έν ήσυχίη: (5-10)

The citizens themselves, persuaded by money, in their folly, wish to destroy a great city, the mind of the leaders of the people is unjust, they are certain to suffer much grief from their great *hybris*: for they do not know how to restrain excess or to order the festivities of the current banquet with self-restraint.

Solon continues describing this *hybris* in more detail as stealing from one another with rapacity (έφ’ άρπαγή), holding no regard (φυλάσσουνται) for the revered foundations of Justice or Right (σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα) who, in time, comes to exact retribution (ήλθ’ άποτεισομένη, 11-15). Like *kairos* then, we can see in *hēsychia* an antithesis of *hybris* in terms of prudence in the face of temptation to transgress the boundaries of propriety that results from surfeit or prosperity (κόρος).

²¹⁶ Dickie 1984, 84.

This opening prayer urges upon the victor then, after his great success, the important and complementary ideals of self-restraint (ἡσυχία), due measure (καιρός), and the reciprocity of χάρις. Without explicitly using the word, the last couplet of the passage defines this ideal of social χάρις, which we first encountered in *Pythian 2* (p. 22ff), by saying that kindly Peace, or the personification of Self-restraint, knows how to offer (ἔρξαι) and how to accept (παθεῖν) kindness (τὸ μαλθακὸν). All of these principles are seen to strengthen and enhance the harmonious cosmic order while ὕβρις imperils it. The antistrophe elaborates with a typical mythic example:

τὸ δ' , ὀπότεν τις ἀμείλιχον
καρδία κότον ἐνελάση,
τραχεῖα δυσμενέων
ὑπαντιάζαισα κράτει τιθεῖς
Ἵβριν ἐν ἄντλῳ. τὰν οὐδὲ Πορφυρίων μάθεν
παρ' αἴσαν ἐξερεθίζων: (8-13)

but, whenever someone drives implacable enmity his heart,
harshly opposing the might of enemies, you put ὕβρις down
into the bilge, you whom Porphyrion did not know,
provoking you *beyond due measure* (p. 24):

Here the exalted moral height of Hesychia, as represented by her supreme keys in the opening strophe, is matched by the proper depths of *hybris* in the bilge (ἐν ἄντλῳ). As we shall see, the ode repeats this imagery of high and low in several places in order to illustrate these behavioural contrasts but also the inseparability of success and failure, gain and loss, as a means of mitigating against *hybris*.²¹⁷

Although Hesiod does not mention this Giant by name, we read in Apollodorus that Porphyrion and Alcioneus were the greatest of the Giants. Like Ixion, Porphyrion attacked Hera, tearing her dress (πέπλος) and aiming to overpower her by force

²¹⁷ Martin, R.P., "Home is the Hero: Deixis and Semantics in Pindar Pythian 8." *Arethusa*, Vol. 37 (2004), 338.

(βιάζεσθαι), when Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt (κεραυνόω) and Herakles killed him with an arrow (τοξεύσας ἀπέκτεινε, 1.6.2). Here we see how Hesychia holds the highest keys to, or supreme paths of, good council which perpetuates good order and to war which eliminates the forces adversarial to her order. Pindar then caps off the first antistrophe with a simple and fitting *gnome* that concisely encapsulates the spirit of χάρις and the Graces (Χάριτες): Gain is most precious (φίλτατος) if one takes from a willing home (ἐκόντος ἐκ δόμων, 13-14). In this way, the poet portrays *hēsychia* as a cosmic principle that pervades both the civic and individual arenas of exchange.²¹⁸

The first epode goes further with this principle in yet another way by incorporating the image of cosmic retribution and enforcement. Force (βία), Pindar says, even defeats the boastful vainglorious (μεγάλαιχος, 15). Here he uses a word related to the verb αὐχέω, which does not appear in Homer or Hesiod, meaning to “boast, or plume oneself.”²¹⁹ When Xerxes is preparing his troops, the Spartan expatriate Demaratus warns that the Spartans will fight however vastly they are outnumbered. Xerxes, the embodiment of ὕβρις *par excellence*, warns him that such boasting (αὐχέω) better not be empty vaunting (μάτην κόμπος, *Histories* 7.103.2). While typically identifying *hybris* with transgressive acts of violence, Pindar here includes boastful speech like we saw exemplified by Epeios in the *Iliad* (p. 9-12). As this idea follows at once on the definition of χάρις, the poet is equating prideful boasting with the one-sided seizing of prestige without the willing offer. In this sense, the boast violates the rules of reciprocal exchange which are so central to archaic Greek culture.

²¹⁸ Kurke, L., “Pindar’s Oikonomia: The House as Organizing Metaphor in the Odes of Pindar” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1988), 210.

²¹⁹ LSJ *s.v.*

The third triad opens the mythic heart of the ode which depicts the cycles of gain and loss with the first attacks against Thebes by the original Seven and the subsequent attacks by the next generation, the *Epigonoι*. The poet relays the fortunes of these campaigns through the words of the seer Amphiaros who first confirms the constancy of hereditary virtue in these fathers and sons.²²⁰ In the first assault Amphiaros, one of the seven, prophesied that all those on the expedition would perish except for Adrastus (χωρίς Ἀδράστου, Apollodorus 6.3.2). In *Olympian* 6, amidst the burnt-out funeral pyres of corpses (πυραΐ νεκρῶν) after the battle, Adrastus says he misses the eye of his army (ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν, 15-16), referring to the mantic Amphiaros. In this last ode, Amphiaros beholds the second assault from the underworld and predicts that his son, Alkman, will be victorious but that, this time, Adrastus alone (μοῦνος) will gather the bones of his dead son (θανόντος ὀστέα υἱοῦ, 52-53). As Burton calls it, this is “a nice balance” of gain and loss, life and death.²²¹ One father, who dies during the first failed attempt, sees his son succeed later while another father survives only to see his son die in the second successful campaign. Pindar offers his audience another of this kind of balance after recounting some of the many victories won by Aristomenes and his family in the fourth triad.

After stating that Apollo granted the greatest of joys (τὸ μέγιστον χαρμάτων, 64), Pindar then has the chorus sing a much-disputed prayer:

ἄναξ, ἐκόντι δ' εὐχομαι νόφ
κατά τιν' ἁρμονίαν βλέπειν,
ἄμφ' ἕκαστον ὅσα νέομαι. (67-69)

²²⁰ “φουᾶ τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει / ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα.” (the noble spirit of the sons is clear from their fathers, 44-45).

²²¹ Burton 1962, 182.

O Lord, I pray for a willing mind to heed in harmony with
you, for each step as far as I walk.

This rendition follows simple Greek syntax where the main verb (εὐχομαι) shares the subject with the infinitive (βλέπειν), unlike other versions which take Apollo for the subject of the infinitive;²²² additionally, the dative phrase (έκόντι νόῳ) modifies the verb it encloses, the main verb.²²³ Although the phrase “with a willing mind” reflects closely, as Lefkowitz points out, Apollo’s aspect in the first epode (εὐμενεῖ νόῳ, 18) when he received (έδεκτο) the victor, the version above has a much stronger resonance with ήσυχία as restraint from excess if the poet himself models this moderation.²²⁴ Pindar is here praying for himself to possess a perspective harmonious with the god, as opposed to the god gazing harmoniously, as he travels the ‘paths of song,’ a common Pindaric metaphor.²²⁵ Then we are able to see a dense and brilliant metaphor for the poet as the director of song and dance just like the golden *phorminx* opening the first *Pythian* in agreement with the universal workings (p. 43-44).²²⁶

The fifth triad begins with a relatively rare description of the athletic competition, the wrestling match, especially highlighting the experience of the losing opponents:

τέτρασι δ’ ἔμπετες ὑψόθεν
σωμάτεσσι κακὰ φρονέων,
τοῖς οὔτε νόστος ὁμῶς
ἔπαλπνος ἐν Πυθιάδι κρίθη,
οὐδὲ μολόντων παρ ματέρ’ ἀμφὶ γέλως γλυκὺς
ῶρσεν χάριν: κατὰ λαύρας δ’ ἐχθρῶν ἀπάοροι
πτώσσοντι, συμφορᾷ δεδαγμένοι. (81-87)

²²² Smyth 1992.a-c; examples where the subjects are taken separately, Race 1997, 335; Nicetich 1980, 204.

²²³ Hubbard, T.K., “Pindaric Harmonia: Pythian 8.67-9.” *Mnemosyne*, Vol. 36 (1983), 287;

²²⁴ Lefkowitz, M., “Pindar's Pythian 8.” *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 72 (1977), 214-15; Kurke 1988, 230-32, provides another comprehensive review.

²²⁵ *Pythians* 4.247: μακρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ’ ἀμαξίτον; 11.38-39: ὀρθὰν κέλευθον ἰὼν.

²²⁶ Martin 2004, 360.

and from above you fell on four bodies with wicked intent,
for whom no happy homecoming however was decided at
the Pythian festival, nor while returning to their mothers
did sweet laughter arouse joy all around: but staying clear
of enemies they flee down alleys, bitten by failure.

Just before these verses, Pindar states that Aristomenes holds the prize (γέρας) at Megara and the plain of Marathon, in addition to three victories in the local Heraia honouring Hera (78-80). Once again the poet shines a sobering light on this success by juxtaposing the athlete's previous victories with the biting loss and shame of his opponents. The imagery highlights the opposition of high and low conjoined in one phrase, “falling from above” (ἔμπετες ὑψόθεν), as a representation of the inevitable dichotomy of conflict.²²⁷

In the matching antistrophe, with an impressively symbolic use of choreography, Pindar then goes on to explain how loss in the previous strophe, with its dancing to the right, is followed closely by victory with dancing to the left mimicking the two possible opposite outcomes:

ὁ δὲ καλόν τι νέον λαχὼν
ἀβρότατος ἔπι μεγάλας
ἐξ ἐλπίδος πέταται
ὑποπτέροις ἀνορέαις, ἔχων
κρέσσονα πλούτου μέριμναν. ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν
τὸ τερπνὸν αὔξεται: οὕτω δὲ καὶ πίτνει χαμαί,
ἀποτρόπῳ γνώμῃ σεσεισμένον. (88-94)

But he, allotted a new success, flies on his great splendour
from hope on manly wings, having thoughts greater than
wealth. Soon the delight of mortals grows: but likewise too
does it fall to the ground, shaken by contrary purpose.

This triad is probably the clearest warning against unmitigated delight with victory within all of the Pindaric odes. First he presents the pitiful fate of the losing opponents and their shame; then he portrays the ill-fated aspirations that victory commonly generates. As a

²²⁷ Lefkowitz 1977, 214

kind of punch-line, just as the dancing comes to an end, the epode then states the reality of human endeavour and hope in the starkest terms:

ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ
 ἄνθρωπος· ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ,
 λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μείλιχος αἰὼν (95-97)

Ephemeral creatures: What is anyone? What are they not?
 Man is a dream of a shadow. But whenever the
 Zeus-granted glory comes, a shining lustre and a gentleness
 come upon the life of men.

As the preceding verses exemplify, human fortunes are inconstant, despite inspiration from a recent success. Human fortunes and their companion emotions, then, can vary from day to day (ἐπί + ἡμέρα) with inscrutable divine intentions.²²⁸ Like Odysseus in the cave of the Cyclops, in danger he is “Nobody” or Οὐτις (9.366), but while fleeing the blinded Polyphemus, with anger in his heart (κεκοτηότι θυμῷ), he is Odysseus, sacker of cities (πολιπόρθιος, 501-04). Later, having survived Scylla and Charybdis as well as the wrath of Helios, wretched (δύστηνος) and grieving (ὀδυρόμενος) he is detained by Kalypso and he longs to die (θανέειν ἱμείρεται, 1.55-59). In his description of his angered heart, Homer uses the participle from the verb κοτέω which is related to the noun for “anger” we see in the opening triad, κότος (9). Odysseus is then a most fitting example of one who fixed enmity in his heart and is subsequently put into the bilge, quite literally.

In this last victory song then, we see the cosmic structure of Δίκη (Justice/Right) and Χάρις (Grace/Reciprocity) augmented by a new deity, Ἥσυχία (Peace/Self-restraint), who promotes the divinely dispensed order by suppressing ὕβρις. The revered and

²²⁸ LSJ s.v; Fränkel, H., “Man's ‘Ephemeros’ Nature According to Pindar and Others.” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 77 (1946), 131; Dickie, M.W., “On The Meaning of ἐφήμερος.” *Illinois Classical Studies*, Vol. 1 (1976), 9.

elevated order is contrasted with base hubris and unrestrained boasting. This opposition is elaborated by the Hesychia's supreme keys and *hybris* in the bilge (ἐν ἄντλῳ), force (βία) throwing down (ἔσφαλεν) the boaster (μεγάλαιχος), as well as the victory and defeat, life and death, in the attacks against Thebes, the triumph and despondency of athletic competition, and finally the ephemeral fortunes of mortals overall. This last ode presents a powerfully dark, and almost claustrophobic, image of the fate of human endeavour.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

A History of Dominance

In recent years, Jonathon Shay has demonstrated the cross-cultural and trans-historical consistency of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) by illuminating the striking similarities in behaviour between the central Homeric heroes, Achilles and Odysseus, and modern combat veterans.²²⁹ This author shows that modern veterans have the same key experiences as the ancient heroes: the violation of propriety or justice (θέμις) dislocates Achilles from his community's bonds and values; the death of a close comrade precipitates an acceptance, or even a wish, for his own death, all of which eventually lead to the berserker state. Shay's book reinforces, in a dramatic new way, how classical texts display an understanding of human nature that is truly ever relevant. This author also makes a crucial point for my argument through Odysseus' first experience after the fall of Troy, an episode to which I have already made reference.

After ten years of brutal fighting far from home, after plundering Troy with all its vast wealth, Odysseus' νόστος immediately begins with a raid on Ismarus in Thrace, the very first stop after leaving Ilium. He says,

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσεν,
 Ἴσμάρω. ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς:
 ἐκ πόλιος δ' ἀλόχους καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ λαβόντες
 δασσάμεθ', ὡς μή τίς μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι ἴσης.²³⁰

From Ilium, the wind, bearing me, brought me to the
 Cicones, to Ismarus. And there I sacked the city, and I

²²⁹ Shay, J., *Achilles in Vietnam: Trauma and the Undoing of Character* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1994); *Odysseus in America: Combat Trauma and the Trials of Homecoming* (New York: Scribner, 2002).

²³⁰ 9.39-42

killed the men: and having taken the wives and much booty from the city, we divided it, so that no one may go cheated of an equal share by me.

Despite Odysseus' wise council for a quick departure, the insatiability of his men gives the natives plenty of opportunity to organize and launch a counter-attack. "Homer shows us the first way that combat soldiers lose their homecoming, having left the war zone physically - they may simply remain in combat mode, although not necessarily against the original enemy."²³¹ Shay thus discerns vital illustrations for modern day psychiatrists and psychologists in the archaic poetry of Homer. The ancient Greek mind was also sensitive to the great similarities between combat and athletic competition, as well as the persistence of a state much like *combat mode* in athletes.

The first hint that conquest intensifies aggression came after World War II when there was great interest around the human predilection for forming social hierarchies. H. G. Landau, a biologist at the University of Chicago, used a mathematical model to investigate whether stable hierarchies could form based solely on characteristics that were assumed to be constant such as size, height, and aggression, i.e. testosterone levels. This first study found that an additional factor was necessary for the existence of hierarchies, and "that the social factors, or psychological factors such as the previous history of dominance, which are not included in the present treatment, may be of great importance."²³² His second paper concluded that hierarchies appear on the condition that winning increases the chances for a successful outcome in the next encounter.²³³

²³¹ Shay 2002, p. 20

²³² Landau, H. G., "On Dominance Relations And The Structure of Animal Societies: I. Effect Of Inherent Characteristics," in *Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics*, Vol. 13 (1951), 1-19.

²³³ Landau, H. G., "On Dominance Relations And The Structure of Animal Societies: II. Some Effects of Possible Social Factors," in *Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics*, Vol. 13 (1951), 245-62.

Subsequent decades of biological research have confirmed this effect by identifying the production and receptivity of testosterone as the key elements.

Like our primate counterparts, human males show a significant increase in this androgen upon winning such diverse physical contests as wrestling, martial arts, and tennis, as well as more cerebral matches like chess and even coin tosses.²³⁴ Other research not only demonstrates that winning intensifies the desire for additional contests, but it also reveals marked changes to the brain which ensure this elevated level of aggression can persist in the long term. These changes include increased numbers of androgen receptors in "a key brain area that controls social aggression."²³⁵ Much of this research has recently been accumulated in a popular book by Ian H. Robertson who calls this 'the winner effect'.²³⁶ One particular modern example will show the relevance for this study of Pindar and the ancient Greek reception of athletic victors.

Within the domain of modern boxing, there is a well-known strategy for boosting the confidence and aggression of promising new fighters: the 'tomato can'. Boxing trainers and promoters typically pit their talented yet inexperienced pugilists first against a series of inferior opponents who are sure to be beaten and who thus elevate, instead of lower, the sensitivity to testosterone in their preparation for fighters of higher skill.

These inferior opponents are known as 'tomato cans' because of their lack of skill and

²³⁴ Elias, M., "Serum Cortisol, Testosterone, and Testosterone-Binding Globulin Responses to Competitive Fighting in Human Males, in *Aggressive Behavior*, Vol. 7 (1981), 215–224; Booth, A., G. Shelley, A. Mazur, G. Tharp and R. Kittok, "Testosterone, and Winning and Losing in Human Competition," in *Hormones and Behavior*, Vol. 23 (1989), 556–571; Mazur, A., A. Booth and J. M. Dabbs Jr., "Testosterone and Chess Competition," in *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 55 (1992), 70-77; McCaul, Kevin D., B.A. Gladue and M. Joppa, "Winning, Losing, Mood, and Testosterone," in *Hormones and Behavior*, Vol. 26 (1992), 486–504.

²³⁵ Fuxjagera, Matthew J., et al., "Winning Territorial Disputes Selectively Enhances Androgen Sensitivity in Neural Pathways Related to Motivation and Social Aggression," in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 107 (2010), 12393-98.

²³⁶ Robertson, Ian H., *The Winner Effect: The Neuroscience of Success and Failure* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012).

their valued propensity to bleed. Robertson cites a recent famous example when Mike Tyson, making a comeback after three years in prison for rape, fought against the unknown Peter McNeeley.²³⁷ The fight lasted a mere 89 seconds and Tyson's management was criticized for the severe underestimation of Tyson's aggression.²³⁸ In casting our minds back to the Epeios episode in Book 23 of the *Iliad*, we find a fine example of this phenomenon.

In the second event of the funeral games, the boxing match, Epeios makes a very boastful speech which stuns the audience. He soon demolishes his opponent with an uppercut which lifts him up off the ground like a fish jumping into a weed-strewn beach (θίῦ' ἐν φουκίοντι, 693), as if his opponent was a kind of 'tomato can'. In a subsequent event, hot on the heels of his success, Epeios is the first to take up a weight and throw it while the exhilaration from his recent knock-out eclipses any caution or restraint. Eager for more, he recklessly enters a competition for which he has no experience and swiftly incurs humiliating laughter (23.839-40). If the games had offered another boxing match, however, he surely would have been victorious again. Thus, "typical of heavyweight boxers at all times", his recent victory heightened Epeios' confidence and aggression.²³⁹ In other words, he shows no restraint to remain within the limitations of his own talents, or φουή, when he experiences the abundance (κόρος) of victory. This unfortunate outcome of athletic victory illustrates clearly what Pindar is attempting to assuage with his dominant tones of caution and his recurrent theme of the boundaries of behaviour for the maintenance of communal harmony.

²³⁷ Robertson, 58-9

²³⁸ Sandomir, R., "TV Sports: Who Must Tyson Face Next? A Finer Brand of Tomato Can." *New York Times*, August 22, 1995.

²³⁹ Richardson, 241; for other examples, see Robertson.

Summary

This thesis began with a study of *Pythian 2*, one of the most difficult of Pindar's odes, and *Pythian 1* since they provide a comprehensive view of the archaic Greek cosmos in which χάρις and ὕβρις are two principal oppositional forces at play. This cosmic order, under the stewardship of Zeus on the divine plane, can be characterized first by μοῖρα, the inescapable dispensation decreed by the Fates which guides any sense of due measure (καιρός), and by δίκη, or justice, traditional law and the normal course of nature. This natural order pertaining to μοῖρα and δίκη is both enhanced and strengthened by χάρις, whose chief representatives are the *Charites* (Χάριτες), or Graces, who spring from far-reaching lawfulness and good order, or Eurynomē (Εὐρυνόμη, *Theogony* 907). As Aristotle tells us, χάρις is a sharing (μετάδοσις) that binds (συμμένω) people together into a harmonious community by returning given kindnesses as well as initiating spontaneous benevolence (*Nicomachean Ethics* 5.1133a). As Pindar says in *Pythian 2*, a respectful grace or kindness (χάρις ὀπιζομένα) is a guide for friendly deeds (17). For the transgression of this ideal, Ixion is compelled to proclaim the central principle of χάρις to all: repay your benefactor with gentle recompense (ἀμοιβὴ ἀγανή, 24).

The cosmos, furthermore, rewards anyone who righteously fears god and upholds the way that is right and just, whereby the earth bears abundant grain, trees put forth heavy fruit, livestock reproduce copiously, and the sea always offers fresh fish (*Odyssey* 19.109-14; *Works and Days* 225-27). Abundance and prosperity then signify the blameless king who lives in accord with δίκη and governs his realm within the natural order. For the poet, Hieron and his flourishing city of Syracuse (μεγαλόπολις) exemplify

such ideals. According to Pythagoras, this single law of justice (δικαιοσύνη) governs the entire universe (τόπος ἅπας), including mortals, their community, the greater natural world, as well as the gods themselves. One who does not deal justly or rightly (μὴ δικάϊως), however, harms the entire cosmos at the same time (συναδικέω).²⁴⁰ As Seneca says, explaining the image of the three entwined dancing Χάριτες, the beauty of the whole (*totius speciem*) is lost if the chain of transmitted goodwill is broken anywhere in a community.²⁴¹ In *Pythian* 1, the poet likens this cosmic harmony abiding by δίκη to the song of the golden lyre (χρυσέα φόρμιγγι) directing its singers and dancers in happy unison. On the one hand then, χάρις is a positive force in the archaic Greek cosmos; ὕβρις, on the other hand, destabilizes the natural order.

As outlined in the first introductory chapter, ὕβρις is a transgression either in thought (μέγα φρονεῖν), in word by way of boastful speech, or deed (κακῶς δράω). In such acts, the offender, or ὕβριστής, is seen to transcend mortal boundaries of propriety and justice, θέμις and δίκη, in order to approach the privilege and status of a god and this aspect is also repeatedly captured with accompanying ὑπερ-compounds. Pindar echoes the claim in *Theognis* that the excess of κόρος is often seen to cause this impulse towards misconduct. In response, the gods, or Zeus in particular, react with φθόνος or τίσις to punish the offender in a variety of ways so that avoidance of ὕβρις has the same religious import as ξένια. Ixion is one of the characters who display ὕβρις when he repays Zeus' kindness by attempting to rape Hera, but it is the Titans who best illustrate the attempted usurpation of divine prerogatives, and specifically Typhoeus from *Pythian* 1. The

²⁴⁰ *On the Pythagorean Life* 9.46

²⁴¹ *de Beneficiis* 1.3.2-10

Titan-like and enormous Otos, Ephialtes, and Tityos, as well as the human, Pelias, all exhibit ὕβρις.

Given this delicate balance of χάρις in the face of ὕβρις for the maintenance of the cosmic order, a gentle hand guided by due measure (καιρός) is vital to preserve good order and force is often required for its restoration in the event of a breach. For Pindar, there can be no better tutor than the superlative observer of custom and social rule, the centaur Cheiron (δικαιότατος, *Iliad* 11.832). When Jason returns to Iolcos to take back his throne which was unjustly seized by the "overweening and reckless Pelias" (ὕβριστις Πελῆης καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, *Theogony* 996), thus restoring order, he claims with gentle words to carry the teachings (διδασκαλία) of Cheiron. These same teachings are emphasized when the poet includes Cheiron's programmatic speech to Apollo on the importance of αἰδώς (reverence, shame) and σωφροσύνη (discretion, self-restraint) to a young victor fitting back into his community after an exalting victory. In that ode, Kyrene successfully migrates from the lonely wilds of a remote mountain to become the queen of a thriving city. For an edifying contrast, Pindar presents a disastrous νόστος with his *Little Oresteia* in *Pythian* 11 since ὕβρις is very difficult to avoid in wealth and prosperity (ὄλβος, κόρος). *Pythian* 6, however, makes its moral pedagogy explicit by paraphrasing the *Precepts of Cheiron* for the re-education and the amicable re-integration of the returning victor.

The remaining *Pythian* odes, in various creative ways, generally elaborate upon the constraints of our common human condition under the *unreachable bronze sky* (*Pythian* 10.27). Unlike Hesiod's Golden Race or Apollo's Hyperboreans, human life is fraught with difficulties and toil, disease and discomfort, as well as the ever-present

threat of death. According to Homer, Zeus dispenses good and evil to humans from two πίθοι. In *Pythian* 12, Pindar uses the two interwoven melodies of the *aulos*, as well as its contrasting materials of bronze and reed, as a symbol for the unity of opposites within human existence. Just as in life and athletic competition, if there is any happiness (ὄλβος), it does not appear without suffering (κάματος, 12.28-29). This is illustrated well with Megakles' victory in the chariot race and his ostracism in the same year. In answer to Hieron's longing to return to health, *Pythian* 3 offers a poignant meditation on human frailty and mortality. This poem takes the form of a long *recusatio* in which the poet calls the wish for any god-like permanence or durability beyond human transience "a great delusion" (μεγάλη ἄτη, 24). Pindar makes his darkest statement on human fugacity, though, in his very last *victory* ode.

In *Pythian* 8, Hesychia preserves, much like χάρις and the Χάριτες, the cosmic δίκη with the highest keys of council while she quashes down ὕβρις, and force (βία) throws down the boaster (μεγάλαιχος, 15). In the battles of Thebes, victory and life are matched with defeat and fatality; in athletic competitions, despondent loss always accompanies joyful conquest. In this last ode we find, instead of *encomium*, the poet's greatest refutation of the lasting value of victory and his most stern rejection of ὕβρις: humans are merely ἐπάμεροι, ephemeral beings; they are nothing more than a dream of a shadow (σκιᾶς ὄναρ, 95).

Although this negative reception may seem overly harsh, modern psychological research on winning, as we have seen, confirms the social benefit that may be gained from assuaging a victor's elevated levels of aggression. The potentially destructive effects of *hybris*, which have been shown to be a great concern for the ancient Greeks, are

best illustrated by the Epeios episode in Book 23 of the *Iliad*. Very much like Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) then, the 'winner effect' possesses a cross-cultural and trans-historical consistency that corroborates Kevin Crotty's vision of the victory ceremony. Pindar's challenging and dark expressions of mortal limitation and failure are prophylactic statements which attempt to secure a happy *nostos* for the returning victor by tempering any vestigial exaltation and by re-establishing his customary values and limits. This thesis augments Crotty's book, *Song and Action*, with a close reading of Pindar's *Pythian* Odes in order to illustrate some of the varieties of anxiety surrounding the return of the ancient Greek champion.

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