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## Ζαμενής: A lexicographical Note on Pindar

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The adjective ζαμενής occurs eight times in the extant text of Pindar. In four of these instances, *Pyth.* 4.10, 9.38, *Nem.* 3.63, frag. 156.1 Snell-Maehler, the word is alleged by the latest author of a Pindar lexicon to mean "inspired" and to be used especially "of those with prophetic gifts"<sup>1</sup>). Although this particular sense of the word has not been claimed for its use elsewhere in Greek, it seems generally to have become the received interpretation of its meaning in the first two at least of these passages<sup>2</sup>). Since this supposed sense is markedly at variance with the usual meaning attested for the word ("very strong", "mighty", "fierce"), it would be of interest to interpreters of Pindar in particular and to lexicographers in general to consider the available evidence.

Let us examine first the formation of the compound. The initial element ζα-, familiar as the Aeolic form of δια-, appears as an

<sup>1</sup>) W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin, 1969), s.v. For his friendly criticism of an earlier version of the following study I am indebted to Prof. L. Woodbury.

<sup>2</sup>) For some examples of commentators and translators who have adopted this interpretation over the past hundred years see the relevant works of Fennell (1879–83, 1893–99<sup>2</sup>), Mezger (1880), Gildersleeve (1885, 1890<sup>2</sup>) who is partly sceptical, Bury (1890), Puech (1922–23), Farnell (1930–32), Lattimore (1947), Werner (1967), and Conway (1972). Cf. also I. Rumpel, *Lexicon Pindaricum* (Leipzig, 1883), s.v., who cites Fennell's "inspired" as a translation of ζαμενής for *Pyth.* 9.38 and compares *Pyth.* 4.10 with it. This interpretation was not adopted, e.g. by Fraccaroli (1894, 1914<sup>2</sup>), Schroeder (1922), or Bowra (1969).

intensifying prefix in a number of Homeric compounds: ζαής (cf. ἄημι; "strong-blowing", *Il.* 12.157), ζάθεος ("very divine", 1.38), ζάκοτος ("very angry", 3.220), ζατρειφής ("well-fed", 7.223), ζαφλεγής ("very fiery", "very lively", 21.465), ζαχρηής ("very furious", 5.525, 12.347). In every case the prefix serves to express a high degree of the quality indicated in the final element<sup>3</sup>).

The final element -μενής represents an adjectival suffix formed from the neuter substantive μένος<sup>4</sup>). Basically the noun designates a "power" or "energy" of any kind but often refers specifically to that which manifests itself in mental or emotional activity<sup>5</sup>). Its full range of meaning can be exemplified from Homer. For the most general sense, "strength" or "force", which may be possessed by inanimate objects as well as by animals and men, cf. *Il.* 13.444 (spear), 5.524 (wind), *Od.* 11.220 (fire), *Il.* 23.190 (sun), 12.18 (rivers). In referring to living creatures μένος can be used quite generally to designate their strength in the sense of "vital energy", "life force" (*Il.* 3.294, 5.296). More often the word indicates strength in the realm of emotions, such as that of anger (*Il.* 1.103, 9.679) or, typically in the context of the *Iliad*, that of martial

<sup>3</sup>) The prefix ζα- need not be regarded as an Aeolic influence on epic language, since it may have been common to both. In fact ancient grammarians normally treat it as an intensifying prefix like ἐρι- without any specific reference to Aeolic; cf. e.g. the treatment of both prefixes in the Sch. Vaticana to Dion. Thrax, *Ars gram.*, ed. A. Hilgard, *Gram. Graeci*, 1, 3 (Leipzig 1901), 149, 23–26. Similar remarks are to be found in sch. Pind. *Nem.* 3.110 (3, 57, 18 Drachmann), sch. Apoll. Rh. 1.1029 (91, 12–13 Wendel), and the *Et. Gud.*, s. ζαμενής (579, 10–12 De Stefani). However, the *Et. Magn.*, s. ζάθεος (407, 4–12 Gaisford), while explaining the intensifying function of ζα-, also mentions that it is the Aeolic equivalent of δια- (cf. also 248, 17–18; 407, 16–22, 28–30 G.). This of course proves nothing about its origin in the language of Homer. On ζα- as a common element of epic language and Aeolic dialect v. K. Strunk, *Die sog. Äolismen der hom. Sprache*. Diss. Cologne (Munich 1957), 117–19. On the prefix v. further A. Debrunner, *Griech. Wortbildungslehre* (Heidelberg 1917), 31, § 60, and E. Risch, *Wortbildung der hom. Sprache*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 1974), 216, § 77 a. With the use of ζα- / δια- as an intensifying prefix, the original meaning of which was "through and through", the Latin *per-* should be compared.

<sup>4</sup>) On the formation of the suffix v. Debrunner, *Griech. Wortbildungslehre*, 72, § 140, and, on the accent, 78, § 155.

<sup>5</sup>) Cognate with it are Sanskrit *mānas-* (neut.) "heart", "thought", "spirit", "understanding" and Old Persian *manah-* (neut.) "thinking power", "power of will". See further Hj. Frisk, *Griech. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2 (Heidelberg 1973), s.v., 208, and especially Rüdiger Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in idg. Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1967), 103–22, §§ 180–216.

courage (2.387, 536, etc.). Occasionally μένος has a distinctly volitional sense without any particular implication of fierceness or violence (Il. 8.361, 24.198)<sup>6</sup>). Although a god can be said to "breathe μένος into" someone (Il. 15.60, 20.110), this is an infusion of purely physical strength and should not be confused with the spiritual inspiration of a prophet<sup>7</sup>). In fact μένος is never used in Homer or elsewhere to refer to any kind of power which implies prophetic inspiration<sup>8</sup>). To express this notion another word, μανία, was later used. It should be carefully distinguished in meaning and usage from μένος<sup>9</sup>).

Although we have established the fact that μένος itself is not used to mean "prophetic inspiration", we must still consider whether adjectival compounds formed from -μενής and a prefix other than ζα- may not in fact reveal some traces of the meaning we have eliminated for the substantive. The compounds in question are the following: ἀμενής ("feeble", Eur. *Supp.* 1116; cf. also ἀμερηνός, Hom. *Il.* 5.887), δυσμενής ("hostile", *Il.* 5.488), εὐμενής ("kindly", *h. Hom.* 22.7, Pind. *Pyth.* 2.25), εὐρυμενής ("broad and

<sup>6</sup>) Cf. the denominative verbs μενούνω "desire eagerly" and μενεαίνω, the latter of which, however, has the meaning "rage" as well; v. A. W. H. Adkins, *JHS* 89 (1969), 14–18. On their formation v. Frisk, *Griech. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2, s. μένος, 208.

<sup>7</sup>) On two passages in which the use of ἐμπνέω might be thought to point in that direction, Hom. *Od.* 19.138 and Hes. *Th.* 31, v. West on the latter and esp. Ed. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 106.

<sup>8</sup>) On the Homeric use of μένος v. further E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Boston, Mass., 1957), 8–11. Dodds (p. 8) remarks that μένος is "a state of mind". This is indeed an important part of the effect of μένος in a sentient being, but it does not exhaust the semantic range of the word. It is therefore misleading when R. Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichterspr. in idg. Zeit*, 104, § 181, writes: "Es steckt jedenfalls etwas Dynamisches, Kraft-erfülltes in diesem homerischen μένος, aber es meint — wohlgemerkt — nicht etwa die 'Kraft' selbst." Passages such as *Il.* 5.524, 13.444, *Od.* 11.220, et al. make it clear that the word sometimes means "power", "energy" without any reference to subjective awareness of it. In the case of human beings it is more accurate to say that it is "eine im Menschen sich regende Kraft"; v. H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*<sup>3</sup> (Munich 1969), 86, n. 8. Moreover, it should be remarked that some discussions of μένος are vitiated by impossible etymological assumptions; cf. e.g. E. Struck, *Bedeutungslehre*<sup>2</sup> (Stuttgart 1954), 98, who assumes that μένω "remain" is ultimately related to μένος, on which v. Frisk, *Griech. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2, s. μένω, 209.

<sup>9</sup>) That the two words are in some way related etymologically (cf. Frisk, *Griech. etym. Wörterbuch*, 2, s. μάλωμαι, 161) does not prove that one word has the same meaning as the other.

strong", [Orph.] *Argon.* 987 Abel), *πρευμενής* ("gentle", Aesch. *Agam.* 840), and *ὑπερμενής* ("exceedingly mighty", Hom. *Il.* 2.116). All of these compounds reflect one or another of the senses already established for *μένος*. For example, *ἀμενής* may be regarded as the opposite of *ζαμενής* in the same way as *δυσμενής* is of *εὐμενής*. No overtones of inspiration are to be found in any of these adjectives.

Turning to the use of *ζαμενής* outside of Pindar, we find that it uniformly reveals the expected meaning "very strong", etc. The following instances may be noted: *h. Merc.* 307 (*ζαμενέστατε*)<sup>10</sup>, *Soph. Aj.* 137, *Apoll. Rh.* 1.1029, *Nic. Ther.* 181 (*ἐπιζαμενές*)<sup>11</sup>, *Opp. Hal.* 1.369, 561, 2.226, 242, 469, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.448, *Nonn. Dion.* 21.33, 30.209, *Paraph. Joan.* 12.43, 19.161, [Orph.] *Argon.* 677 (*ἐπιζαμενής*), 1008 Abel, *Hy.* 8.8 Quandt, *Synes. Cyren. Hy.* 1.7 Terzaghi, *Sammelbuch griech. Urkunden aus Ägypten* 5829.8 Preisigke, *Etym. Gud.*, s.v. (579, 10–12 De Stefani)<sup>12</sup>, *Hesych.*, s.v. (2, 257, 47–49 Latte), *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. (407, 42–44 Gaisford), *Souda*, s.v. (1, 2, 500, 8–9 Adler), *Zonaras*, s.v. (1, 949 Tittmann)<sup>13</sup>. It may be further observed that several of the literary texts just cited are provided with scholia, none of which suggests a meaning in any way approximating "inspired"<sup>14</sup>. Likewise unproblematical is the

<sup>10</sup> Although this superlative is the earliest attested occurrence of the word, the verbal form *ζαμένησε*, which assumes the existence of the adjective, is found at *Hes. Th.* 928, on which v. West *ad loc.* At *h. Merc.* 495 we also find *περιζαμενῶς*.

<sup>11</sup> The double compound should be read here (as also at [Orph.] *Argon.* 677 Abel) with the majority of the manuscripts; there is no reference to the MS reading in the critical apparatus of Gow and Scholfield (Cambridge 1953), 40, who adopt *ἐπὶ ζαμενές*, but v. Otto Schneider, *Nicandrea* (Leipzig 1856), 229, and cf. LSJ, *Gk.-Engl. Lexicon*<sup>9</sup>, *Suppl.*, s.v., 59. Nicander is imitating with *variatio* the hexameter ending at *Apoll. Rh.* 4. 1672 *ἐπιζάφελον κοτέουσα*, which is in turn a variation of *Hom. Il.* 9. 525 *ἐπιζάφελος χόλος*. Cf. also *Opp. Hal.* 1. 561 (= [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3. 448) *ζαμενῇ χόλον*.

<sup>12</sup> The article *ζαμενής* in the *Et. Gud.* derives from the *Lexicon Aίμωδεῖν* inadequately published by F.W. Sturz, *Etym. Graecae Ling. Gudianum* (Leipzig 1818), where (625, 9–11) the text should read: *ζαμενής· εὐψυχος μέγα μένος ἔχων, τουτέστι ψυχὴν ἢ προθυμίαν· ἢ ζαμενής ὁ ἄγαν ὀργίλος*.

<sup>13</sup> In addition we may note that the variant form *ζαμενός* is implied at *Porph. Plot.* 22 in v. 48 of the "oracle" reported there; cf. also *Hesych.*, s. *ζαμένοισιν* (2, 258, 50 Latte).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. schol. on *Hes. Th.* 928 (116 Di Gregorio), on *Soph. Aj.* 137 (14 Papageorgius, with which cf. *Souda* 1, 2, 500, 8–9 Adler), on *Apoll. Rh.* 1. 1029 (91, 12–13 Wendel), on *Nic. Ther.* 181 (98 Crugnola), on *Opp. Hal.* 1. 369, 561, 2. 226, 242, 469 (281, 291, 311 *bis*, 320 Cats Bussemaker), on [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3. 448 (256 C. B.).

meaning of the word in four of the eight instances of it in Pindar: *Nem.* 4.13, *Pae.* 8 (frag. 52i). 64, frag. 169.35, frag. 231<sup>15</sup>).

We may now consider the four Pindaric passages in which it has been alleged that ζαμενής means "inspired".

(1) *Pyth.* 4.9–11.

καὶ τὸ Μηδείας ἔπος ἀγκομίσαι  
ἐβδόμα καὶ σὺν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ Θήραιον, Αἰήτα τό ποτε ζαμενής  
παῖς ἀπέπνευσ' ἀθανάτου στόματος, δέσποινα Κόλχων.

When Battus founded Cyrene in the seventeenth generation after the Argonautic expedition, he "redeemed" what Medea at Thera had once told Iason and his men would one day happen. Medea is given the epithet ζαμενής, which the ancient scholia explain as follows: ἡ ἄγαν ὀργίλη καὶ πικρά. τὸ δὲ ἐπίθετον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας, ὅτι ὑπέμεινε καὶ τοὺς ἐαυτῆς ἀποσφάξαι παῖδας<sup>16</sup>). Clearly for the writer of this scholion ζαμενής means here what it does elsewhere in Greek literature. The first Pindaric scholar to suggest the interpretation "inspired" seems to have been Erasmus Schmid, who in commenting on ζαμενής at *Pyth.* 4.10 wrote: "*Periracunda*, propter facinus illud, quo & Absyrtum fratrem concidit, & liberos proprios interfecit. Vel verius, *Magnos animi motus habens, cordata*, propter vim vaticinandi."<sup>17</sup>) For the first explanation Schmid is of course following the scholia, as he often does, but the second is apparently his own. This he continues in the gloss which follows (a. 4): "ἀπέπνευσε] tanquam ἐνθουσιουμένη"(!). No real argument is offered for this interpretation. It is simply stated as a deduction from the context<sup>18</sup>).

<sup>15</sup>) No one except Fennell and Bury seems to have suggested that ζαμενής has anything to do with inspiration in any of these passages. Bury interpreted *Nem.* 4. 13–14 εἰ δ' ἔτι ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἀλίῳ | σὸς πατὴρ ἐθάλλετο, in that way (cf. *ad loc.*). But there Pindar is simply providing a forceful variant for the Homeric phrase ὄρε φάος ἠελίοιο, i.e. "to be alive" (*Il.* 18. 61, etc.), influenced no doubt by another Homeric phrase μένος ἠελίοιο (*Il.* 23. 190). Curiously Fennell, who assumed without argument that ζαμενής elsewhere in Pindar means "quickened by inspiration", was undecided as to whether the word at *Nem.* 4. 13 should be taken in a "metaphysical" sense "quickening", "inspiring" or in the obvious physical meaning; cf. *ad loc.*

<sup>16</sup>) Schol. 17a (2, 99, 13–15 D.). After παῖδας MS C has in addition καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἄνυρτον (i.e. ἄνυρτον); v. apparatus to 1. 15.

<sup>17</sup>) See ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ... ([Wittenberg] 1616), *Pyth.*, *ad loc.* (a. 3), 176 (the four parts are numbered separately).

<sup>18</sup>) Nowhere else in his commentary does Schmid adopt this interpretation of ζαμενής. Why he chose to offer it in the present context does not of course concern us here, but we may suspect that the Wittenberg professor was not unaffected by contemporary notions of a *furor poeticus et vaticinus*.

When we look more closely at the context in which ζαμενής is used in *Pyth.* 4, we fail to find any concrete grounds for assuming that the word there means "inspired". Schmid's explanation of ἀπέπνευσ' as implying that Medea is ἐνθουσιωμένη would, if true, support that interpretation, but it is, as we shall see, completely untenable. The phrase, (ἔπος) τό . . . ἀπέπνευσ' ἀθανάτου στόματος, is Pindar's elaborate way of saying "the word she spoke". He is in fact varying a poetic phrase used to describe the act of speaking in which the organ of speech from which the sound comes is mentioned together with a verb of motion or articulation. Most familiar is the Homeric description of Nestor, τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέει αὐδὴ (*Il.* 1.249)<sup>19</sup>. More immediately Pindar may have been influenced by the way Theognis describes a statement which he places in the mouth of the Muses and the Charites: τοῦτ' ἔπος ἀθανάτων ἦλθε διὰ στομάτων (18, cf. also 266)<sup>20</sup>. Against Schmid's interpretation we may further add the observation of Otto Schroeder: "Wer hier ἀπέπνευσε mit 'begeisterter' Prophetenrede interpretiert, der verwechselt Aktiv und Passiv und übersieht die Präposition ἀπό."<sup>21</sup> Moreover, it should be noted that the use of ἀθανάτου as an epithet of στόματος could not be taken by itself to suggest in any way prophetic powers<sup>22</sup>.

We must therefore conclude that at *Pyth.* 4.10 ζαμενής is employed in its normal sense. Pindar has given Medea an epithet which appropriately characterizes her actions in the narrative that follows. She shows "great spirit" in helping Iason through his trials and in joining the Argonauts σὺν αὐτῇ (v. 250) for the dangerous voyage back to Greece. We need not with the ancient

<sup>19</sup>) Cf. also Hes. *Th.* 97 γλυκερὴ οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδὴ and further 39–40 and 84.

<sup>20</sup>) That this kind of expression became almost a mannerism of a more formal poetic style is suggested by a fragment of Simonides, *PMG* 585 πορφύρεον ἀπὸ στόματος εἶσα φωνὴν παρθένος. Pindar himself employs it elsewhere too, e.g. *Olym.* 6. 12–14, *Pyth.* 3. 2, *Pae.* 12. 16–17, *Dith.* 2. 1–2. For more examples v. R. Führer, *Formproblem-Unters. zu den Reden in der frühgriech. Lyrik. Zetemata* 44 (Munich 1967), 32–33.

<sup>21</sup>) *Pindars Pythien* (Leipzig-Berlin 1922), *ad loc.*, 36.

<sup>22</sup>) In using ἀθανάτου Pindar is presumably alluding rather to the tradition that Medea was originally a goddess; v. Hes. *Th.* 992–1002 (cf. West on 992), Alc., *PMG* 163, and Musae., *F. Gr. Hist.* 455F2. This is the way the epithet was understood by the ancient critic Chaeris, who rightly referred to Hesiod's *Theogony* in support of his interpretation; v. sch. 18 (2, 99, 19–21 D.). The early evidence is ample enough to refute Farnell's claim (*ad loc.*) that Pindar is not likely to have known anything about this tradition.

commentators invoke the story of the murder of her children (and brother) to allow her to qualify for this descriptive adjective. Pindar's Medea amply deserves the heroic epithet the poet has given her at the beginning of his most epic of odes.

(2) *Pyth.* 9.38–39.

τὸν δὲ Κένταυρος ζαμενής, ἀγανᾶ χλοαρόν γελάσσαις ὄφρ' οὔ, μήτιν  
 ἔάν  
 εὐθὺς ἀμείβετο.

The young Apollo has just seen the girl Cyrene wrestling with a lion and, strongly impressed by the scene, calls his tutor Chiron out of the cave nearby to ask with charming naïvety who she is and whether it is right for him to direct toward her his newly awakened sexual feelings. Verses 38–39, which describe the kindly, understanding smile of the Centaur, serve to introduce his answer<sup>23</sup>). Here again ζαμενής is used as an epithet of a person who is about to tell someone else of future events. Once "inspired" had been suggested as the meaning of the word at *Pyth.* 4.10, it was doubtless inevitable that it would sooner or later be so interpreted here too<sup>24</sup>).

<sup>23</sup>) Chiron's reaction to Apollo's question has often been misunderstood, but see now the interpretation of L. Woodbury, *TAPA* 103 (1972), 561–73.

<sup>24</sup>) The first to do so was, it seems, not a professional scholar but Fr. Hölderlin, who in the course of the year 1800 translated both *Pyth.* 4 and 9. In each he rendered ζαμενής by "begeistert"; v. *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, ed. by G. Mieth, 2 (Darmstadt 1970), 289, 307. The source of Hölderlin's interpretation is of some interest, since it is certain that the poet worked almost exclusively from the Pindar text of Chr. G. Heyne's third edition (Göttingen 1798–99); v. G. Zuntz, *Über Hölderlins Pindar-Übersetzung* (Kassel 1928), 3. In *Pyth.* 4, however, Heyne understood the word to mean "magnanima" (2, 1, 58) and in *Pyth.* 9 "gravis" (2, 1, 83). Likewise, Heyne's pupil, Wm. von Humboldt, in his influential translation of *Pyth.* 4 of 1795 had rendered ζαμενής by "muthig" and in that of *Pyth.* 9 of 1805 by "ernst"; v. *Gesammelte Schr.*, 1, 8, Übers., ed. by A. Leitzmann (Berlin 1909), 43, 79. Although Hölderlin did not use the edition of Erasmus Schmid, he was in fact indirectly influenced by it in his interpretation of ζαμενής. Among the reference works which he used (v. Zuntz, *op. cit.*, 86) was Chr. T. Damm, *Novum Lexicon Graecum Etymologicum* (Berlin 1765), where under ζαμενής (col. 1617) he could read: "Py. 4, 17, Medea, quae ad iram magnam facile compelli poterat, praeterea magna vi vaticinandi et incantandi praedita". The latter explanation clearly echoes Schmid's "propter vim vaticinandi". Hölderlin obviously found it compatible with his notions of Pindaric poetry and went on to apply it to what he considered a comparable usage elsewhere. The first classical philologist to adopt this interpretation for both *Pyth.* 4.

The interpretation of ζαμενής as meaning "inspired" will, however, no more bear scrutiny in the present passage than it did at *Pyth.* 4.10. Except for the context there is nothing whatsoever to suggest that the word could have any such sense<sup>25</sup>). In fact the normal meaning of the word is exactly right. The Centaurs were traditionally fierce and ζαμενής characterizes Chiron insofar as he is a member of that race. Chiron differed from the other Centaurs notably in that he was friendly to men; cf. *Pyth.* 3.4–5, φῆρ' ἀγρότερον | νόον ἔχοντ' ἀνδρῶν φίλον. In *Pyth.* 9.38 ζαμενής is contrasted with ἀγανᾶ χλοαρόν γελάσσαις ὀφρύϊ<sup>26</sup>) just as ἀγρότερον is with νόον ἔχοντ' ἀνδρῶν φίλον in *Pyth.* 3.4. In spite of his philanthropy Chiron remains generically a Centaur, the very embodiment of violence. It is this generic characteristic which the epithet expresses in *Pyth.* 9.38, where it is practically a synonym for ἀγρότερος.

(3) *Nem.* 3.59–63.

ὄφρα θαλασσίαις ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι πεμφθείς  
 ὑπὸ Τροίαν δορίκτυπον ἀλαλὰν Λυκίων τε προσμένοι καὶ Φρυγῶν  
 Δαρδάνων τε, καὶ ἐγχεσφόροις ἐπιμείξαις  
 Αἰθιόπεσσι χεῖρας ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ', ὅπως σφίσι μὴ κοίρανος  
 ὀπίσω  
 πάλιν οἴκαδ' ἀνεπιὸς ζαμενής Ἑλένοιο Μέμνων μόλοι.

10 and 9.38 was, so far as I have been able to ascertain, Fr. Thiersch, who did so without comment; v. *Pindarus Werke* . . ., 1 (Leipzig 1820), 213 (*Pyth.* 4.10 "begeistert"), 301 (*Pyth.* 9.38 "zukunftskundig"). Thiersch could hardly have known Hölderlin's translations, which were first published in 1910. The Munich classicist may of course have been directly influenced by the commentary of Erasmus Schmid, but, more likely, he like Hölderlin was using the lexicon of Damm and likewise adopted the same interpretation of *Pyth.* 9.38 that he found there for *Pyth.* 4.10. In any event the completion in the following year of the monumental edition of Pindar by A. Boeckh and L. Dissen, in which ζαμενής is translated by "animosus" or an equivalent, exercised a counterinfluence on the "enthusiastic" interpretation of the word which was begun by Erasmus Schmid. Although that interpretation is still occasionally found in the middle of the century, e.g. in Cookesley's comment (1844) on *Pyth.* 4.10, it reappears regularly in the Pindar commentaries only after Fennell's (1879–83).

<sup>25</sup>) Although the ancient schol. 65 (2, 226, 7–10 D.) are divided as to whether ζαμενής here means συνετός ("intelligent", "wise", "clever") or ισχυρός, they give no indication that anyone in antiquity took it to mean "inspired".

<sup>26</sup>) The contrast is underlined not only by the opposition of meaning implied in the use of the two words ζαμενής and ἀγανᾶ but also by the deliberate placing of them next to one another.



Chiron has so raised Achilles that he should prove himself a great warrior in the Trojan War. Pindar calls his opponent Memnon "ζαμενής", a thoroughly appropriate epithet for a great hero, if we understand it in its usual sense. No one would have thought of explaining the word as meaning "inspired", if this supposed sense had not already established itself for *Pyth.* 4.10 and 9.38. Nowhere is there the least suggestion that Memnon had anything to do with prophecy<sup>27</sup>). Clearly ζαμενής has its normal meaning here as well.

(4) frag. 156.

ὁ ζαμενής δ' ὁ χοροϊτύπος,  
ὃν Μαλέας ὄρος ἔθρεψε, Ναϊδος ἀκοίτας  
Σιληνός.

The Silenus of Malea is a "mighty", hardly a prophetically "inspired" dancer<sup>28</sup>). Again there is nothing here which implies that a prophetic gift is at all relevant to the figure described<sup>29</sup>). What is important is his strength (μένος) and endurance in the dance.

Now that we have concluded our examination of Pindar's use of ζαμενής, it should be clear that he always employs the word in the extant texts to mean the same thing: "very strong", "mighty", "fierce". This is exactly the meaning which the formation of the word and its use elsewhere led us to expect it to have. We may therefore confidently banish the alleged meaning "inspired" from our commentaries, translations, and lexica.

<sup>27</sup>) That he is called the cousin of Helenus, the Trojan seer, is irrelevant for the interpretation of ζαμενής. It would be ridiculous to suggest that such kinship with a seer makes a person one himself.

<sup>28</sup>) On the identity of this Silenus v. U. von Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 33 (1898), 515–16 (= *Kl. Schr.* 4 [Berlin 1962], 26–27), and *Pindaros* (Berlin, 1922), 324, n. 1.

<sup>29</sup>) Slater, *Lexicon*, s.v., 218, after classifying this example under those which are supposed to mean "inspired", refers to Aelian, *Var. hist.* 3. 18, presumably in support of this interpretation. The passage, however, describes, a conversation between Silenus and Midas in which Silenus imparts various geographical and ethnological lore to the Phrygian king. In the course of it no prophecy is made. What we have instead is a straightforward narration of alleged facts. With it we may compare Virgil, *Ecl.* 6, in which Silenus has just as little to do with prophecy as he does in the passage of Aelian.