

CYRENE AND CHEIRON: THE MYTH OF PINDAR'S NINTH PYTHIAN

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CYRENE AND ITS VICTORS called forth Pindar's finest efforts. *Pythians* 4, 5, and 9 are the longest complete poems in the Pindaric corpus, if we judge length by the number of lines in our modern editions. But they are not merely of exceptional length. They are of particular beauty too, and critics have been unanimous in their praise of the Cyrenean odes, far fewer in number than the Sicilian or Aeginetan poems but equally impressive as a group. Of the three poems two (*Pythians* 4 and 5) were composed for King Arkesilas, victor in the chariot race in 462 B.C. The third was written twelve years earlier for Telesikrates, victor in the hoplite race. In all three there breathes a special grace, appropriate to the "land of fair women" (*Pyth.* 9.77), "Aphrodite's sweet garden" (*Pyth.* 5.24).¹ The Cyrenean odes are all in major keys, just as the Syracusan are predominantly in the minor mode with their darkling myths of suffering and punishment (Tantalus in *Ol.* 1, Typhoeus in *Pyth.* 1, Ixion in *Pyth.* 2, Coronis in *Pyth.* 3).

The Ninth Pythian is resonant with happy harmonies. In a major key, it might aptly be described as a sonata with extended coda: Exposition, Development, Recapitulation² in lines 1-78, with the last fifty lines introducing new myths but familiar themes. The first three triads seem to form a complete poem. What follows is not so formal in its construction but is clearly related, through its imagery of vegetation and its motif of marriage, to what precedes. In the Fourth Pythian too the first three triads appear to constitute a well-rounded whole, a perfectly complete epinician in themselves. But there, because of the extreme length of the

¹Women figure largely in all three Cyrenean poems: see G. Norwood's remarks, *Pindar* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1947) 41. All references to Pindar are to the edition of A. Turyn (Cracow 1948).

²To press the musical analogy further, lines 1-13 form the Exposition with its two "subjects:" first subject Telesikrates; second subject Cyrene, whose story is given economically in its main outline. Lines 14a-72 are the Development, the second subject elaborated and expanded. The Recapitulation of first and second subjects comes in lines 73-78: the son of Karneïades (first subject) is mentioned, followed by Cyrene (second subject), and with this the ode seems to come to a natural end. If the musical analogy seems forced, it might be pointed out that sonata form is really only a highly-wrought example of what is generally recognized as "ring-composition" in archaic, especially Pindaric, poetry. Themes sounded at the outset are developed and then repeated for the listeners. Pindar, like Mozart, was meant to be heard, not read, and so it is not surprising that similar forms of composition should be natural to both.

ode, the musical analogy is surely overture and following *melodramma*, not sonata with pendant coda.

Of particular interest is the "Development" section of the Ninth Pythian. For here we see Pindar at work transforming a story from the Hesiodic *Eoiae* or *Catalogue of Women*. Only two lines of the *Eoia* of Cyrene are preserved for us by the scholiast, hence we are unable to say with any certainty just what changes Pindar made in adapting his source. The most memorable parts of Pindar's lyric treatment—the scene of Cyrene wrestling with the lion on Mount Pelion and the conversation between the god Apollo and the centaur Cheiron—may or may not have been in the original. We have no way of knowing. One commentator, for instance, feels that the lovely scene of Cyrene's bare-handed combat with the beast cannot have formed part of the *Eoia* where it would have been "redundant and purposeless."³ It is thus Pindaric invention. Another influential commentator feels that Apollo's encounter with Cheiron is, in Pindar, "unnecessary"⁴ and so must simply have been transposed wholesale from the Hesiodic catalogue. Critics have been troubled by the question of the central myth's relation to its source. More recently than the two Germans cited above, R. W. B. Burton has stated that two passages in Pindar's version of the story of Cyrene—her lineage and the cult-titles of her son Aristaeus—"give the impression of undigested epic material."⁵ The question is in all cases the same: what is intrinsic to Pindar's version and what is source material that has been, perhaps pointlessly, incorporated.⁶

Since Pindar's relation to his lost source-material must remain a matter of conjecture for the most part, it may be more profitable to consider the story of Cyrene *per se*, as we find it in the Ninth Pythian and without reference to a work we no longer possess. External reference may help us, but only reference to other poems of Pindar.⁷ Where we have Pindar's actual words, either in the Ninth Pythian or elsewhere, we may

³H. Drexler, *Hermes* 66 (1931) 464.

⁴F. Studniczka, *Kyrene: Eine altgriechische Göttin* (Leipzig 1890) 41, followed by L. Malten, *Philologische Untersuchungen* 20 (1911) 9.

⁵R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford 1962) 38.

⁶Even if there is some feeling in certain critics that Pindar has not completely assimilated his source, there is nonetheless no lack of admiration for the poem as a whole: see Burton (above, n. 5) 32, 59.

⁷D. C. Young, "Pindaric Criticism," *The Minnesota Review* 4 (1964), repr. in W. M. Calder III and J. Stern, eds., *Pindaros und Bakchylides* (Darmstadt 1970) 1–95, has criticized Hermann Fränkel for seeking the "unity" of Pindar in the whole corpus and not in individual poems (64–67). Young would treat each poem as a self-contained unity, not as a facet of a larger whole in which we can see the consistency of the poet's pre-occupations and the continual recurrence of a few basic themes (Fränkel's position). It is valuable to be reminded that each poem is a unit and that some internal consistency must be sought in individual Pindaric odes. But it is perhaps to be influenced excessively by the "new criticism" or by F. R. Leavis to take poems as discrete units with no external

draw conclusions more satisfactorily than when we reconstruct lost sources.

The Development section of the Cyrenean Sonata gives us the centaur Cheiron. Whether or not he was in the Hesiodic version he is certainly accorded extraordinary prominence in Pindar's poem. Thirty-seven lines (30–66) are devoted to him. He is summoned from his Thessalian mountain cave by the young god who marvels at Cyrene's strength and courage. He sanctions the union which Apollo so ardently desires, compliments him for his deference to age despite his omniscience, predicts the outcome of the union—the birth of Aristaeus in Libya—and concludes with a prophecy of the child's nurture and an enumeration of the names by which he will be known.

Cheiron was obviously a figure of extreme importance to Pindar. Understandably, for there is scarcely a more interesting figure in all of Greek myth. Healer, prophet, teacher, he is in many respects a type of the poet himself, as the Third Pythian makes clear. As well as being preceptor of young heroes—Pindar mentions Jason in the Fourth Pythian, Achilles and Asclepius in the Third Nemean—Cheiron appears to be a model son, husband, and father, if we can believe Jason when he tells us the high standard of decorum and decency that obtained in the cave where the centaur lived with Philyra his mother, Chariclo his wife, and his unnamed daughters (*Pyth.* 4.103–105). This unfailingly gentle and courteous relationship with women is most remarkable.⁸ Also remarkable is his regular appellation in Pindar's poetry by his matronymic, Philyridas. Elsewhere in Greek myth only Apollo is regularly designated by a matronymic and this is so unusual that the name Letoides has been used to argue the non-Hellenic origin of the god.⁹

reference, even to other works of the same poet. Modern poets too (W. B. Yeats and Wallace Stevens are outstanding examples) resist this sort of treatment. Pindar's style is extraordinarily allusive: he expects an enormous amount from his audience, but he supplies supplementary glimpses throughout his work of the way in which he is working in any particular ode. And so it seems legitimate to accept additional evidence from other poems that help to shed light on a particular passage in a particular poem. H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971) 124, reminds us of something we all too often forget, that Greek myth was a "vast, intricate and loosely coherent web" with all its parts interconnected. One part suggests another, and sometimes, especially in Pindar, we have the poet's own words in poems other than the one we are considering to help us understand a myth. The same is true of the parts of a Pindaric ode that are not myth, and Fränkel is surely right to consider the whole Pindaric corpus as a "vast, intricate and loosely coherent web," with certain themes more obvious in the ensemble than in the parts. On this point see also the valuable remarks of W. J. Slater, *CJ* 72 (1977) 194.

⁸For a discussion of the relations between men and women in Greek myth, see P. E. Slater, *The Glory of Hera* (Boston 1968). B. L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York 1885) 341, speaks of the "refined environment" of Cheiron.

⁹W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (London 1950) 83–84. Hermes is referred to as *Μαίης υἱός*, but he has no matronymic appellation corresponding to Letoides.

Given his association with young heroes, it is not surprising to find him close at hand when the maiden Cyrene is displaying her heroic prowess. Apollo has apparently stumbled on the scene of her exploit (κίχρε, 27) but Cheiron lives nearby. And Cheiron, in fact, teaches exactly the skills in which Cyrene excels. She is a huntress (*Pyth.* 9.20–21). Cheiron teaches hunting: *Nem.* 3.41–47 describe the childhood of Achilles in the cave of Cheiron and the boy's precociousness in spearmanship and the chase. Cyrene is a wrestler with lions. This too is something in which, we learn from Pindar, Cheiron could give advice: it was the counsel of Cheiron that enabled Peleus to overcome the lion into which Thetis changed herself to avoid his embraces (*Nem.* 4.60–65).

Other considerations suggest a natural connection with, or interest in, Cyrene on the part of Cheiron. As son of Philyra he is grandson of Ocean.¹⁰ Pindar explains in some detail—this is part of the “undigested epic material”—that Cyrene's father Hypseus was a grandson of Ocean (*Pyth.* 9.14b). Here we can profitably compare Pindar's account with the *Eoia* on which the scholiast says he drew, for the two surviving lines are helpful:

ἡ οἴη Φθίη Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα
Πηνειοῦ παρ' ὕδωρ καλὴ ναίεσκε Κυρήνη.

The *Catalogue* tells us merely that Cyrene dwelt alongside the Peneius river. Pindar tells us that Peneius was her grandfather and that Oceanus was her great-grandfather.¹¹ Pindar makes a genealogical relationship of what is only a geographical one in the epic material. And Cyrene thus becomes a relative of Cheiron.

Further, Cyrene's father Hypseus is, we are told (*Pyth.* 9.14a), king of the Lapiths. The Lapiths were famous in story and in art as the enemies of the centaurs, those wild and licentious centaurs descended from Ixion

¹⁰See C. Wendel, *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera*² (Berlin 1958) 47–48 (on 1.554). The scholiast's source is a lost *Titanomachia*. Pindar does not say that Philyra was an Oceanid, but he does not give any alternative parentage for her. Nor does anyone else. It is probably safe to assume, then, that Philyra was generally recognized to be a daughter of Ocean.

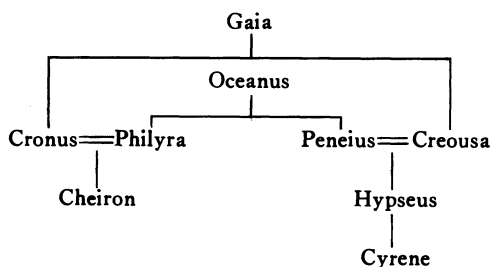
¹¹The Hesiodic lines do not preclude the possibility that Cyrene was granddaughter of Peneius, but this seems unlikely. The scholiast on Apollonius 2.498–527a (above, n. 10, 168) says:

τινὲς δὲ φασι τὴν Κυρήνην Πηνειοῦ
θυγατέρα γενέσθαι, κακῶς ἔνεμεν γὰρ παρ' αὐτῷ
θρέμματα, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ ἦν.

This appears to be a criticism of someone who, knowing the Hesiodic lines and reading more into them than was there, made Cyrene the daughter of Peneius. Since the scholiast merely repeats what the two lines of the *Eoia* state and does not go on to provide a genealogical relationship, he seems to imply that no descent from Peneius is specified in the source. It is interesting to note that Apollonius himself reverts to the simple geographical relationship we find in the *Eoia*: Cyrene lives ἔλος πάρα Πηνειοῖο (2.500)

(*Pyth.* 2.40–47) and sharply distinguished from Cheiron. The west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, contemporary with the Ninth Pythian and in all likelihood known to Pindar, shows the great battle of the Lapiths against the barbarous intruders at the wedding of Peirithous, like Hypseus a Lapith king, and Hippodameia.¹² The scholiast on *Nem.* 4.60, quoting Hesiod,¹³ explains that the centaurs were suborned by Acastus to kill Peleus, and Pindar himself says that Cheiron saved Peleus from the trap laid for him.¹⁴ It is not hard to imagine that Pindar, by taking the trouble to inform us that Cyrene's father was king of the traditional enemies of the centaurs, suggests a certain affinity with Cheiron, himself at odds with his more ferocious brethren: Cheiron and Hypseus are allies by virtue of the well-known principle that one's enemy's enemy is one's friend. The Lapiths themselves are described in the Ninth Pythian as *Λαπιθᾶν ὑπερόπλων* (14a). It is difficult to say whether the adjective simply suggests their recurrent troubles with their traditional enemies, the centaurs, or is used *malo sensu* to point to a certain savagery in their demeanour.¹⁵ Either would be instructive. If the first meaning is intended, their quarrels with their troublesome neighbours are no doubt underlined; if the second meaning is the stronger, something is revealed about Cyrene's background.

The relationship between Cheiron and Cyrene may be schematized as follows:



Hypseus and Cheiron are both grandchildren of Ocean on one side, grandchildren of Gaia by their other parent.

¹²On the date, see B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia: The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (London 1967) 7. At *Il.* 1.263–268 Peirithous and Caineus are said to have fought with *φῆρσιν ὀρεσκόφουσιν*; at *Il.* 2.743 the enemies of Peirithous are called *φῆρας . . . λαχνηέντας*. Peirithous is the father of Polypoetes, one of two Lapiths mentioned at *Il.* 12.128–130.

¹³A. B. Drachmann, *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina* 3 (Leipzig 1927) 80–81; R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967) fr. 209.

¹⁴J. Escher, *RE* 3 (1899) 2306, finds this the determining incident in Cheiron's biography: it was his rescue of Peleus that set him apart from the other centaurs.

¹⁵J. Rumpel, *Lexicon Pindaricum* (Stuttgart 1883) 460, takes the word in a good sense; W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) 521, translates "insolent."

None of this is absolutely conclusive, but it does at least help us understand why Pindar provides the genealogical information he does and points to a curious but real connection between Cheiron and Cyrene in Pindar's imagination. Most important of all, perhaps, is the bond created between the two by Pindar's use of the word *ἀγρότερος*. Norwood glosses the word with his customary sensitivity: "it regularly means 'connected with the open country' (*ἀγρός*), often with a secondary notion of 'hunting' (*ἄγρᾱ*)."¹⁶ At *Pyth.* 9.6a Cyrene is called *παρθένον ἀγροτέραν*. The word is also used at *Pyth.* 3.4b of Cheiron himself: he is *φῆρ' ἀγρότερον*. There are only two further instances of the word in Pindar, once in a Cheironic context: Achilles, Cheiron's ward, fights with *λέοντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις* at *Nem.* 3.44. The fourth and last instance of its use, at *Ol.* 2.60, remains an extremely vexed problem.¹⁷

Cheiron lives in the country, isolated and away from the society of even his fellow-centaurs. He is the supreme exemplar of civilized arts but he is also a beast of the wild wood to whom the adjective *ἀγρότερος* may be applied. Geoffrey Kirk has a fascinating discussion of the place of the centaurs in Greek myth. He contrasts the licentious tribe at enmity with the sociable Lapiths and the *δικαιότατος* (*Il.* 11.832) Cheiron in an attempt to find the Lévi-Straussian dichotomy between nature and culture, so basic to mythic thinking in all times and all places according to modern structuralists.¹⁸ The mythopoeic imagination sends up binary or antithetical symbols and these, when decoded, reveal fundamental polarities and suggest a mediation.

This is wonderfully suggestive, but just slightly out of focus if applied to Pindar. Cheiron and the other centaurs are polar opposites when viewed in relation to each other and Cheiron is therefore a symbol of justice and society. But when seen in relation to man, Cheiron, as Pindar sees him, is the bridge between the opposites. He is not one of the antithetical poles but a mediator between them. He may be civilized "*par excellence*" (Kirk's phrase) by comparison with other centaurs, but he remains wild (*ἀγρότερος*)¹⁹ by comparison with man in society. Another set of polarities

¹⁶Norwood (above, n. 1) 130. D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 263–264, calls attention to the rarity of the word as a literary epithet.

¹⁷Attempts to explain the word in *Ol.* 2 (e.g., P. Von der Mühll, *Museum Helveticum* 11 [1954] 55–56; H. Erbse, *Hermes* 88 [1960] 27–31) remain unconvincing. One is tempted to accept Norwood's suggestion of a pun on Theron's name or to emend with Wilamowitz, for whom the word *ἀγροτέραν* was "nonsense, arrant nonsense" (*Pindaros* [Berlin 1922] 246 n. 3).

¹⁸G. S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970) Chap. 4, esp. 152 ff.

¹⁹Kirk (above, n. 18) 159. *ζαμενής*, used of Cheiron at *Pyth.* 9.39, is intriguing in its ambiguity. It may mean "inspired," as it seems to mean when used of the prophetic Medea at *Pyth.* 4.10, but it may also suggest "wild:" the word appears to be used of the savage tyrant Diomedes at fr. 169.35 (Snell-Maehler).

emerges in Lévi-Strauss's investigation of the Pueblo Indians.²⁰ Here hunting appears to be a mean between warfare and agriculture, relying with the former on weaponry in order to kill and being with the latter a way of amassing food.²¹ In the light of these polarities, or something quite like them, Cheiron can be seen to mediate as well. He teaches the use of weapons—weapons that may be used for martial or for peaceful purposes, in warfare as well as in hunting. The great ashen spear that Cheiron gave to Peleus (*Il.* 16.143–144) was destined specifically *φόνον ἔμμεναι ἥρώεσσιν*. Achilles learned spearmanship from Cheiron and turned his teaching to spectacular account in the carnage before Troy (Pindar even says at *Nem.* 3.56 ff. that this was the *purpose* of his education). And Apollodorus mentions (3.13.6) that Cheiron fed Achilles on the innards of wild beasts. This may well derive from an epic source that is also reflected in Pindar, whose child Achilles drags *σώματα . . . ἀσθμαίνοντα* back to Cheiron's cave. Why animals not yet dead unless the child was to feed on their living flesh?²² Cheiron, though perhaps a hunter, is neither warrior nor conspicuous carnivore himself. In fact he appears to have been a gardener. Herbs found on Pelion near his cave were named after him: presumably they were important in the potions and poultices he taught Asclepius to use (*Pyth.* 3.52–53). Cyrene, a huntress who has special affinities with Cheiron, uses her skills to protect her father's kine (*Pyth.* 9.23–24). In a word, Pindar's Cheiron seems to look both ways, whichever set of polarities we use.

This throws considerable light on the juxtaposition of Cheiron and Cyrene. The *enfant sauvage* shuns the company of her fellows and domestic pursuits (*Pyth.* 9.18–19) to hunt *ἀγρίους θήρας*. Cheiron, of course, understands this side of her well. He understands too that she is not yet fully civilized²³ and predicts her future in North Africa. Married, she will be fruitful, will know the rule of law in a country where she will, if she

²⁰C. Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (New York 1963) 222.

²¹W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: Interpretationen altgriechischen Opferriten und Mythen* (Berlin and New York 1972), in sections 1 and 2 of Chap. 1 has interesting comments on the ambivalent position of weapons in the evolution of the species. Great problems ensue upon man's first learning to use weapons: "intraspecific" aggression (aggression directed towards other men) must now be channelled outward against animals and the hunt must take precedence over internecine use of the newly acquired weapons.

²²See D. S. Robertson, *CR* 54 (1940) 177–180. The centaur Pholus eats raw flesh (Apollodorus 2.5.4); perhaps Cheiron does too, though we nowhere hear that he does.

²³It is interesting to note that *Ἄγριος* is the name of one of the centaurs at Apollodorus 2.5.4. Is it too fanciful to imagine that Cyrene, defending the interests of her Lapith father, fought off the predatory centaurs and so showed herself as ally of the Cheiron who was himself at odds with them? H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*² (Munich 1962) 503 n. 4, points out the similarity between Pindar's Cyrene and Theognis' Atalanta (1288–1291), suggesting that both are taken from an identical archetype in Hesiod. Atalanta shot and killed centaurs who tried to rape her (Apollodorus 3.9.2.).

chooses, continue her hunting activities among a herding people (cf. *Νομάδων δι' ὄμιλον*, 127–128, of the Cyreneans):

ἵνα οἱ χθονὸς αἴσαν
αὐτίκα συντελέθειν ἔννομον δωρήσεται
οὔτε παγκάρπων φυτῶν νήποινον οὔτ' ἀγνώτα θηρῶν (58b–60).²⁴

Again Cheiron mediates. He knows both sides, nature and culture, solitude and civilization, foraging for food and the tendance of crops. He is expert in *νόμος* as well as being *ἀγρότερος*. At *Nem.* 3.53 he teaches *τὸν φαρμάκων . . . νόμον*. And his short sermon to Apollo in the Ninth Pythian is, in fact, a lecture on *νόμος*, on the traditional method of procedure for men and gods. Cyrene must move from the darkness into the light, from the shady glens of Pelion (35) to the golden halls of Libya (58, 71), from maidenhood to motherhood, from the lone struggle on the mountain (*μόυναν παλαίουσιν*, 28) to life in community, which she has hitherto shunned.²⁵

²⁴Drexler, (above, n. 3) 455–464, thinks that the story of Cyrene's fight with the lion is native to North Africa. Callimachus certainly thought so (*Hymn* 2.91–93). If so, it is a local Cyrenean legend that will in all likelihood have been transmitted to Pindar by Telesikrates when he presented his dossier to the poet he commissioned. Or Pindar may have visited Cyrene and heard the story there. F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris 1953) 169–173, argues that Pindar had not yet visited Cyrene when he wrote the Ninth Pythian. He also excludes the possibility that Pindar could have seen a limestone sculpture of Cyrene wrestling with a lion on the Cyrenean treasury at Olympia. This work of art is generally accepted as one Pindar must have known: see, e.g., Burton (above, n. 5) 43. Chamoux argues (379–385) that this famous relief never existed: it was created by Studniczka (above, n. 4) and is the result of an overheated imagination arbitrarily misinterpreting hopelessly inadequate evidence.

²⁵As a lone huntress who avoids society and marriage and who usurps an essentially masculine role, Cyrene is quite clearly immature: cf. the interesting article by P. Vidal-Naquet, *PCPS* n.s. 14 (1968) 49–64. According to Vidal-Naquet the ephebe must pass from his youthful condition in which his exemplars are the heroes, models of individual prowess, to membership in the hoplite phalanx where personal glory is subordinate to action in concert. The heroes of old remain the pattern for Pindaric athletes, of course, but one must remember the degree to which for Pindar prowess revealed in athletic victory is something performed for the common good (*τό γ' ἐν ξυνῶ πεποναμένον*, *Pyth.* 9.96). We see, in the Ninth Pythian, Cyrene's "rites de passage." Perhaps Telesikrates is at a similar time in his life. It is admittedly dangerous to extrapolate from Pindar's poetry to a supposed biography of the addressee of the poem (see below, n. 38), but it is worth remarking that Telesikrates bears a certain resemblance to the boy Hippokles of *Pyth.* 10 (see *Pyth.* 10.59 with Gildersleeve's [above, n. 8] remarks, 355): i.e., Telesikrates is in all likelihood young. He is nonetheless a *hoplitodromos*, fully adult by Vidal-Naquet's criteria. D. Carne-Ross, *Arion* n.s. 2/2 (1975) 180–181, aptly remarks that Apollo's wonder at the wrestling skill of the young Cyrene and his desire to marry her are echoed by the wonder of the women who watch Telesikrates at the games (100–104) and desire him as son or husband. Perhaps this parallel suggests that Cyrene and Telesikrates are of an age.

If Pindar has taken special care to show a certain sympathy between Cheiron and Cyrene, he has also underlined the master-pupil relationship between Cheiron and Apollo in this ode. The matter has been convincingly discussed elsewhere.²⁶ What is particularly enchanting in the passage at 26 ff. is the tone of intimacy and affection that characterizes the exchange between the god and the centaur and the courtesy with which Apollo, temporarily waiving his own omniscience, seeks advice from the great teacher. It is of small importance, ultimately, to be able to ascertain whether or not Cheiron was in the Hesiodic original. We see with ample clarity why he is in Pindar's poem. He possesses a pre-eminence and dignity before which even Apollo bows. He stands, in a way, in the same relation to both the youth and the maid to whose union he good-naturedly gives his approval, for he understands the young Olympian as he knows the huntress in the glades of Pelion. It is especially interesting to note the way in which Cheiron pays tribute to Apollo's knowledge. Totally in terms of nature: Apollo, says Cheiron, knows the number of leaves that the earth puts forth in spring, the number of sands that in the seas and in the rivers are driven before the waves and the gusts of the winds (47–50). Beautifully apposite to the young divinity who stands in the wilds before the cave of the ἀγρότερος! In the land of Libya another aspect of Apollo's personality will come to the fore. The centaur predicts the civilizing of Cyrene. That will take place in North Africa. Similarly, in Libya Apollo's knowledge will show another side, a side more closely linked with civilization. There is perhaps only one other passage in Pindar in which tribute to Apollo is so magnificently paid as in the passage in the Ninth Pythian in which Cheiron speaks. In the Fifth Pythian Apollo is the patron of the North African city. In this case the terms are especially appropriate to civilization:

ὃ καὶ βαρειᾶν νόσων
ἀκέσματ' ἀνδρεσσι καὶ γυναιξὶ νέμει,
πόρεν τε κίθαριν, δίδωσι τε Μοῖσαν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ
ἀπόλεμον ἀγαγῶν
ἐς πραπίδας εὐνομίαν
μυχόν τ' ἀμφέπει
μαντεῖον

(63–69a).²⁷

This is the Apollo of culture, as the Apollo of Pelion was the Apollo of nature. Pindar, then, in the Ninth Pythian looks at both the young lovers in the same light. It is the twilight of the Thessalian morning. And

²⁶L. Woodbury, *TAPA* 103 (1972) 561–573. The discussion by A. Stéfos, *Apollon dans Pindare* (Athens 1975) 48–58, throws no light on the subject; nor does his article in *Platon* 27 (1975) 162–180.

²⁷Healing is the teaching of Cheiron: see *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 205–213. In this too, then, Apollo shows the teaching of the master.

Cheiron sees them in this light too, Cheiron who understands all things that the future holds for bride and groom. Children, νόμος, medicine, prophecy: all are part of Cheiron's province. For the young couple they are still in the realm of potentiality, to be translated into the brightness of day with *their* translation to Libya. Apollo on Pelion is a *Naturmensch*, ready to learn from Cheiron; in Cyrene he will be hymned as god of culture and civilization, bringer of εὐνομία. Cyrene on Pelion is seen as a huntress. But even there she brings εἰρήνη to her father's cattle through her hunting. The pastoral and agricultural side of her, incipient in Thessaly, will be fully revealed in North Africa where she will be πολυμήλου καὶ πολυκαρποτάτας . . . δέσποιναν χθονός (6b–7) and where her son Aristaeus will be a protector of flocks, ἀγχιστον ὁπάονα μῆλων (66b), in a land of herdsmen. It is not so much a question of something being added as of something embryonic or not fully developed being brought to realization. The imagery of dark and light in the poem reinforces this.

Cheiron's prophecy to Apollo ends with a prediction of the birth of Aristaeus. Here, as in the case of the relationship of Cyrene to Peneius, it does appear possible to say something definite about the relationship of Pindar to his source. Pindar's Cheiron says that the child will be brought to the Horae and to Gaia for nurture (62), that he will be called Zeus and Apollo, Agreus and Nomios (66–67). The names probably come from Hesiod, for Servius (on Virgil, G.1.14) says: *Aristaeum invocat, id est Apollinis et Cyrenes filium, quem Hesiodus dicit Apollinem pastorem*.²⁸ *Pastorem* is in all likelihood a translation of Νόμιον. Apollonius (2.507) calls Aristaeus Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον too and it is likely that he is following Hesiod rather than Pindar here.²⁹ In Apollonius' account Aristaeus is brought back to Thessaly and nurtured in the cave of Cheiron. This incident may have been in the Hesiodic source. Certainly Apollonius did not find it in Pindar, who leaves the child in North Africa, the place of his birth, and makes the only connection of Aristaeus with Cheiron the prophecy put into the centaur's mouth.

Lines 61–67 then, which at first appearance may seem an unassimilated chunk of source material, make excellent sense in terms of the movement of the poem. Aristaeus will bear his father's name, Apollo. Zeus' name is given to him too, and though this seems startling it at least calls to mind the place of his birth, the Διὸς ξεῶχον . . . κἄπον (55). Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον are perfect, for he is the child of the huntress (the word recalls ἀγροτέραν and ἀγρίους) in her new home, the land of Nomads and of νόμος (59).³⁰ The

²⁸Merkelbach and West (above, n. 13) fr. 216. Fr. 217, a recently discovered papyrus, may be the actual passage to which Servius is referring.

²⁹See above, n. 11 for a clear instance of Apollonius' dependence on the Hesiodic source.

³⁰Νόμος in Pindar is the traditional belief or ordinance that binds members of a com-

wild and the civilized meet in the child just as they do in Cheiron. No one, not even Apollo as he is presented in the Ninth Pythian, is so able as Cheiron to speak of the boy's birth. For he, like Cheiron, will be something of a mediator.³¹ This is suggested by his names, his background, the place of his birth.

It is also suggested by the names of his nurses. Pindar leaves Aristaeus in Libya in the charge of the Horae and of Gaia. Gaia is the great-grandmother of Cyrene and was especially prominent in the genealogical material at the beginning of the ode.³² We are reminded of his mother's Thessalian descent, of her "natural" side. The Hours, *Δίκη*, *Ειρήνη*, and *Εὐνομία*³³ are especially suitable to civilization. *Εὐνομία* in particular is associated with Apollo in his role as patron of Cyrene and giver of culture (*Pyth.* 5.67). Again we discern how the details of a myth in Pindar may reinforce a central theme. Cheiron is mediator between nature and culture. He gives his blessing to Apollo and Cyrene, both of whom will,

munity: see M. Ostwald, *HSCP* 69 (1965) 127 ff. F. Heinimann, *Nomos und Physis* (Basel 1945) discusses the occurrences of the word in Pindar and draws the same conclusion. *Nómos* is "die traditionell gefestigte und geltende Ordnung" (71), always with overtones of community: "*νόμος* ist . . . das bei einer Gruppe von Lebewesen 'Geltende'" (65). Cultural relativism could undermine the belief that there was any *νόμος* that applied to all men, but even when the absolute validity of *νομός* was challenged it retained a kernel of its initial meaning: it continued to apply to a group. The word *νόμος*, "pastoralis," comes from *νομός*, which in turn comes from the same root *nem-* that produces *νόμος*. The problem of the semantic relationship between the two words *νομος* is notoriously difficult and no conclusive explanation has been advanced (see Heinimann, 59–61; E. Laroche, *Histoire de la racine NEM- en grec ancien* [Paris 1949]). But perhaps the idea of community, especially of civilization, informs both. The "Neolithic Revolution" was the result of the herding and domestication of horned beasts and, with this, the cultivation of fodder. This produced the first sizable fixed communities. Palaeolithic man had been a hunter and consequently his social life was limited: "it was only through the control of breeding of animals and plants that early man was able to ensure himself a reliable and readily expandable source of food and thereby establish a secure basis for cultural advance" (G. Clark, *World Prehistory: An Outline* [Cambridge 1962] 76–77). In other words, *νομοί* make cities possible and cities (civilization) are particularly prone to develop *νόμοι*. Cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *HSCP* 76 (1972) 56: "as the polis developed, law and law-abidingness acquired a special sanctity." In the Nomads we see a very special phenomenon, pasturing people without fixed homes: animal husbandry has not led to agriculture. There were Nomads in Cyrene and presumably the patronage of Cyrene's son extended to them. But at the same time it is emphasized that Cyrene's African settlement will be a city (*Pyth.* 9.71). Pindar, ever an advocate of civic virtue and life in community, makes no exception in the case of Cyrene.

³¹This structuralist view of Aristaeus Agreus and Nomios as a mediator between extremes is put forward by M. Detienne, *QUCC* 12 (1971) 18–19. Detienne sees Aristaeus as the mean between Orion (excessively savage) and Orpheus (unnaturally gentle).

³²*Talas θυγάτηρ* stands at the beginning of the epode of the first triad.

³³Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 902. Pindar mentions them too at *Ol.* 13.6–7.

in North Africa, show new, civilized facets of their personalities. The fruit of their union will be both *Ἀγρεύς* and *Νόμος* and nurtured by a plurality of goddesses that represent nature and culture just as Cheiron himself does. If Cheiron is forgoing his right to educate the child he is at least promising nurses who are fully adequate to their task.

The contrast between nature and culture which the structuralists find so helpful in analysing myth is not something of which the Greeks were themselves unaware. The distinction between *nomos* and *physis*, so discussed by the sophists, is a very similar formulation of polarities.³⁴ The sophistic debate is not one in which Pindar participated,³⁵ but the contrast between law or custom and nature, which in the late fifth century developed into a radical conceptual antithesis, is adumbrated in Pindar's Cheiron, a mythical figure in whom both terms of the antithesis are contained. The greatest attraction of the structuralist school is that it asks us to take myth seriously and to see it as a vehicle through which important and complicated issues are expressed. Myths are not simple entertainment nor the bumbling and inarticulate formulations of people who have yet to grow up and discover philosophy. Pindar's myths are not just purple patches that adorn his odes nor the product of a childish mind.³⁶ Pindar is a serious thinker whose thought is presented through poetry and myth. The figure of Cheiron seems to have haunted his imagination. With good reason, for Cheiron embodies something central to the thought of all men, if Lévi-Strauss is correct.³⁷

³⁴See Kirk (above, n. 18) 152.

³⁵Ostwald (above, n. 30); Lloyd-Jones (above, n. 30).

³⁶G. Norwood's phrase, (above, n. 1) 184, is memorable: "after his death it was no longer possible to think like a child and sing like an archangel."

³⁷Kirk's intriguing discussion of the centaurs (above, n. 18) has a sequel in an equally fascinating discussion of Heracles as an embodiment of the nature-culture dichotomy in his *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Pelican 1974) 176 ff. Heracles is a figure in whom contradictions meet. He is a paradigm of raw brutality and a supreme culture hero. Pindar's fascination with Heracles is as great as his attraction to Cheiron: *κωφὸς ἀνὴρ τις, ὃς Ἡρακλεῖ στόμα μὴ περιβάλλει* he exclaims at *Pyth.* 9.90. These words are surely spoken by the poet, not, *pace* E. L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* 1 (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962) 18, esp. n. 43, by the victor. Bundy's analysis of the conventional elements in this catalogue is for the most part convincing, but his claim that 82 ff. is the second entry in the catalogue, a victory in the Iolaia at Thebes, and that 90–92b represent the third item, a victory in the Herakleia, is puzzling, there being only one known set of games at Thebes in honour of the two heroes: see the scholiast on *Ol.* 7, Drachmann (above, n. 13) 1 (Leipzig 1903) 232; L. R. Farnell, *CQ* 9 (1915) 194; J. Péron, *RPh* 3rd S., 50 (1976) 58–78. Just as Cheiron, prophet and healer, is a type of the poet, so is the suffering Heracles a type of the ἀθλητής. He is also a fellow-Theban, and Pindar's preoccupation would be fully justified on these grounds alone. But perhaps Heracles fascinates Pindar because he, like Cheiron, is a mediator between nature and culture. Pindar knows Heracles' violence and is troubled by it (fr. 169 Snell-Maehler). But he also thinks of him as a great benefactor of humanity: see the prophecy of Teiresias at *Nem.* 1.60 ff. Heracles is a famous lion-wrestler: the first of his labours is the strangling of the Nemean

In the coda of the Ninth Pythian we are told of an ancestor of Telesikrates, one Alexidamos. He won a race, as did Telesikrates, and his prize was a bride.³⁸ Within the story of Alexidamos is told the story of the forty-eight daughters of Danaus who were, like Alexidamos' bride, won by their second husbands in a footrace. Is there a connection between this myth and that of Apollo and Cyrene?

R. P. Winnington-Ingram thinks there is. He suggests that the moral of Pindar's poem is that "the sexual relations of men and women should not be based upon force, upon *bia*"³⁹ and thinks that this is just the lesson

lion. And perhaps his most important single exploit on behalf of mankind is his killing, in a wrestling-match, of Antaeus (*Isth.* 3/4.70–73). This took place in Libya, Cyrene's home. Pindar may allude to this in the Ninth Pythian: if line 110 is punctuated, with Turyn, "Ἰρασα πρὸς πόλιν Ἀνταίου", the reference is to the famous giant, not to a later namesake (cf. Gildersleeve [above, n. 8] 347). This punctuation is attractive because (1) Ἀνταίου now precisely defines the expression πρὸς πόλιν, which by itself adds nothing to "Ἰρασα, (2) Telesikrates is no longer the descendant of a monster, as he would be if Ἀνταίου modified κούραν (110b), (3) it eliminates the chronological difficulty that so embarrassed the scholiast that he was forced to posit a second Antaeus, totally unknown elsewhere: see Chamoux (above, n. 24) 284–285. Antaeus' name means "adversary," pure and simple (cf. ἀντάεις at line 96 of *Pyth.* 9, unique occurrence of the word in Pindar). The ἀλίου γέροντος of line 97 is Nereus, and this may hint at another wrestling-match. According to the scholiast on Apollonius (above, n. 10) 315 (on 4.1396) Heracles' match with Nereus, who like the Thetis of the Fourth Nemean assumed a variety of forms to escape his antagonist, immediately preceded that with Antaeus. The same story is told by Apollodorus, 2.5.11. These possible allusions to Heracles the wrestler may be carefully calculated echoes of Cyrene's wrestling. And it is remarkable to find Cheiron and Heracles both so important in the Ninth Pythian. Nowhere else does Pindar bring them together.

³⁸The theme of winning a bride is central to the poem. Apollo wins a bride. Alexidamos wins a bride. Forty-eight suitors in Argos win brides. Commentators have thought that this insistence on the theme of marriage says something about the victor's private life (see Gildersleeve [above, n. 8] 337–338 for a critique of this view). But Telesikrates' bride is victory, which he brings back to Libya just as Apollo brought his bride back to North Africa: ἀγαγόντ', 78, seems to suggest this (cf. ἀπάγεσθαι, 123). For the active used rather than the more usual middle cf. Aeschylus, *PV* 560. Just as Libya will welcome Apollo and Cyrene (δέξεται . . . πρόφρων, 58–58b) so will Cyrene welcome Telesikrates and his bride (εὐφρων δέξεται, 76). The δέξεται of line 76 does not prove that the ode was performed at Thebes: see Gildersleeve 335, Bundy (above, n. 37) 21–22, esp. n. 48. The future tenses with present meaning given by Bundy are all, with the exception of the δέξεται of the present passage, in the first person. ἀντιάζει of *Ol.* 10.88 should be added to his list to strengthen the case for the use of a person other than the first in futures of this sort: see O. Schroeder, *Pindars Pythien* (Leipzig and Berlin 1922) 86. See also W. J. Slater, *CQ* n.s. 19 (1969) 86–94, esp. 88.

³⁹*BICS* 16 (1969) 13. This is oddly re-evocative of L. Dissen's interpretation of the poem, *Pindari carmina quae supersunt* 2 (Gotha 1830) 302, though Winnington-Ingram's moral is general whereas Dissen's is levelled at the victor. Dissen found a "summa sententia" or "Grundgedanke" in each ode. His attempt to extract morals from the myths has been harshly dealt with: Young (above, n. 7) 7 ff. considers it the most perniciously misleading lesson in the history of modern Pindaric criticism; Norwood, (above, n. 1) 76, is simply scornful.

of the Danaid trilogy of Aeschylus too.⁴⁰ The trouble with this interpretation is that it assumes that Apollo is asking Cheiron's permission to go out and rape Cyrene and that he is dissuaded by the centaur from so doing. But there is no discussion in the poem of rape or force as the basis of sexual relations.⁴¹ Similarity between the myth of Cyrene and that of the Danaids there undoubtedly is, however. In both cases, girls who have elected virginity (and the use of weapons)⁴² come to accept marriage. Rather than a single and simple-minded moral, "wooing is better than rape," we have two subtle myths that complement each other; girls who use murderous swords—there is something harsh and forbidding about them—become brides. The motifs heard in the coda are familiar, as they should be. But the composer knows variant harmonies and it is these we hear at the close.

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⁴⁰*Ibid.* 10. H.-J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin 1963) 52–53, thinks that the Aeschylean trilogy may have ended with the marriage of the daughters of Danaus as in the Ninth Pythian: fr. 125 (Mette) would be a bridal song for the occasion. A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus' Supplikes: Play and Trilogy* (Cambridge 1969) Chap. 5, finds that the material at our disposal allows no probable conjectures.

⁴¹See Woodbury (above, n. 26); Gildersleeve (above, n. 8) 337.

⁴²The Danaids murdered their first husbands with swords, all except Hypermnestra who, *μονόψαφον ἐν κολεῷ κατασχοῖσα ξίφος* (*Nem.* 10.6), spared Lynceus, and Amy-mone, whom Pindar appears to exclude also. The very mention of the Danaids would inevitably bring to mind their use of their swords on their first wedding night. Cyrene's sword flashes in the darkness too (21–26), like the swords of the Danaids. Death by the sword is a motif that is heard at 83–84a: Iolaus kills Eurystheus. His use of the sword, like Cyrene's, is to rid the world of a beast. Stroke of sword may do good or ill: cf. Fränkel's comments, (above, n. 23) 565, on *Ol.* 7—the stroke of Neoptolemus brings death, that of Hephaestus life.