

# THE CHARIOT AND THE BOW AS METAPHORS FOR POETRY IN PINDAR'S ODES

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The chariot and the bow as metaphors for poetry held special significance for Pindar, as one may judge from the frequency of their appearance in his odes. For within the general category of figures for poetry drawn from the games or warfare there are ten metaphors of the chariot and nine of the bow as against a total of fourteen of the other five kinds in this group. Moreover, these two figures are fused in several poems to create an image for poetry—hitherto unnoticed—of shooting arrows from a chariot, a unique and complex description of poetical activity.<sup>1</sup>

N.B. Line and fragment numbers used throughout this essay are those of Alexander Turyn, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* (repr. Oxford 1952), hereafter cited simply as **Turyn**. Other works cited by author's name are C. M. **Bowra**, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964); A. B. **Drachmann**, ed., *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1903–1927) cited by volume, page, and line numbers; L. R. **Farnell**, *The Works of Pindar*, 3 vols. (London 1930–32, vol. 2 repr. as *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, Amsterdam 1961); U. von **Wilamowitz-Moellendorff**, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922).

<sup>1</sup> The other metaphors for poetry in the odes which use the games or war as a source are: javelin-throwing: O. 13.89–91, P. 1.43–45, N. 7.70–72 and 81, N. 9.55, and I. 2.35–37. Footrace: O. 8.54. Boxing (or hand to hand combat): O. 10.3b–6, N. 10.20, and I. 4.19–21. Broadjump: N. 5.19–20. Wrestling: N. 4.4–5 and 93–96, and N. 8.19. It is interesting to note that in Bacchylides' extant epinician odes the chariot-metaphor occurs only once (5.176 ff., recurring at 195–97). At 10.51–52 he appears to have used a chariot-metaphor, but what he actually "drove" was his "lengthy tongue." He has used a bow-metaphor once, to describe ambition for wealth (10.42–43).

The various scholars named below have noticed the metaphors under consideration but have not analyzed them, being content generally to list them in categories and to translate or paraphrase them: Eduard Luebbert, *De elocutione Pindari* (Hal. Sax. 1853); G. O. Goram, "Pindari translationes et imagines," *Philologus* 14 (1859) 241–80, 478–98; Dr. Michael Ring, *Zur Tropik Pindars* (Budapest 1873); Gustav Kuhlmann,

It is evident that Pindar found these metaphors particularly valuable to express something of his concept of poetry and of his role as a poet. It is the goal of the present study to determine not only what that concept was, but how these figures were uniquely able to convey it. The method I shall use will be to examine a representative selection of them in the contexts of the odes in which they occur.

## I

In regard to the sources of these metaphors, we may observe that the associations carried by the chariot and the bow, as familiar objects in Greek culture, were obviously of great importance to the poet and helped to determine his choice of them as metaphors for poetry. The chariot from very ancient times was a possession of the aristocracy and so associated with grandeur.<sup>2</sup> It obviously gave great mobility to those who used it (the chieftains in the *Iliad* ranged over the battlefield in their chariots; see for example 3.29, 4.226, and 5.494) although it presented dangers as well (from accidents, 23.392; from horses running out of control, 11.122 ff.; or becoming entangled with each other, 8.78 ff.). Thus to drive one successfully required much skill on the part of a charioteer. In addition, the gods in the *Iliad* used the chariot to travel to and from Olympus and earth,<sup>3</sup> and in myth Helios drove the sun-chariot daily across the heavens. Its mythical access to the divine realm was a valuable association on which, as we shall see, Pindar drew to express his ability to transcend the limitations of this world.<sup>4</sup>

*De poetae et poematis Graecorum appellationibus* (Marpurgi Cattorum 1906); Arthur Leslie Keith, *Simile and Metaphor in Greek Poetry from Homer to Aeschylus* (Menasha, Wisc. 1914); Franz Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* (Berlin 1921) 44 ff.; Kathleen Freeman, "Pindar—The Function and Technique of Poetry," *Greece and Rome* 8 (1939) 144–59. C. M. Bowra in his *Pindar* calls brief attention to the significance of the chariot-metaphor by saying that it suggests "the thrill and exaltation of an experience which carries men's hearts and minds at an unprecedented pace" (p. 12). He also notes that this figure indicates that song lifted Pindar above the restrictions of mortality and allowed him to move among realities invisible to the eye (p. 39).

<sup>2</sup> See T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London 1958) 15 and 16; and H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950) 309.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Zeus, 8.41; Poseidon, 13.23; Hera, 5.720 ff.; Aphrodite, 5.363 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Pindar used the chariot-metaphor for things other than poetry: at N. 3.71 as a figure for excellence, at N. 6.69 as a figure for strength, and at N. 7.6 as a figure for hindrance.

**Pythian 10.** Pindar's earliest epinician ode (composed for the victory of Hippokleas of Thessaly in the Pythian games of 498 B.C., when Pindar was 20) contains a chariot-metaphor in the final praise following the myth, in a statement which acknowledges the *xenia* of Thorax, a prominent Thessalian<sup>5</sup> who commissioned the poem from Pindar (64-66):

πέποιθα ξενία προσανεί Θώρακος, ὅσπερ ἐμὸν ποιπνύων χάριν  
τόδ' ἔζευξεν ἄρμα Πιερίδων τετράορον  
φιλέων φιλέοντ', ἄγων ἄγοντα προφρόνως.

I rely upon the gentle guest-friendship of Thorax, who, rushing about to do me a favor, yoked this four-horse chariot of the Pierides, as friend to friend, eagerly leading one who, in turn, leads him.

Thorax is said to have yoked this particular (τόδ', 65) four-horse chariot of the Muses since he commissioned the ode. I assume that, when Pindar uses the chariot-metaphor for poetry, he conceives of himself (or other poets) as the charioteer. If we press the figure in the present instance we can say that here, too, the poet is the charioteer, and the Muses are the team which gives the chariot power. This analysis accords with the general idea that the Muses = inspiration and that Pindar guides and controls that inspiration to create a poem. What then is the chariot—"this particular chariot," as Pindar said? If it is the particular poem (P. 10), then the figure breaks down, for the formula "inspiration (Muses) plus control (charioteer) produce a poem"

Fragment 243 preserves the expression, "Going on foot beside a Lydian chariot," evidently a proverb for getting left behind (Turyn, p. 376). Bowra (33) sees a chariot-metaphor for poetry in the opening lines (i.e. the preserved opening lines) of Paean 7b. In my opinion there really is not enough preserved of these lines to warrant the assertion that they contain a chariot-metaphor. (Cf. Turyn's much less reconstructed version of these lines, pp. 264-65.)

Other authors in addition to Pindar used the chariot as a source for metaphor: Antigenes (Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, vol. 2, p. 119), Empedocles (*VS* 31 B3.3-5), Bacchylides (5.176 ff. and 195-97 and 10.51-52), and Aristophanes (*Wasps* 1022) used it in figures for poetry. Euripides used the chariot as a metaphor for happiness (*Hercules Furens* 780), Anacreon (fr. 4 Diehl) as a figure for the soul, and Simonides (frs. 79 and 111 Diehl) as a figure for victory. In his proem Parmenides described a metaphysical journey in a chariot to truth (*VS* 28 B1), and Plato in the *Phaedrus* (246A-57A) in an allegory compared the soul to winged horses and a charioteer.

<sup>5</sup> See the Scholiast (Drachmann 2.251.21-22) and Herodotus 7.6.

appears metaphorically as "team plus charioteer produce a chariot," which is nonsense.

This difficulty results from submitting the figure to a logical analysis in which all the components of its source are mechanically sorted out and made to correspond exactly to the various elements of that which it describes. There is, of course, a general correspondence between the team, charioteer, and chariot, and inspiration, poet, and poetry. To "drive" the chariot of poetry would then seem to be to create a particular poem, to "traverse," i.e. recount and praise, the deeds of a victor. But in the present case Pindar speaks of "this particular chariot" which Thorax yoked, meaning at once the chariot of poetry and the "drive" it takes, i.e. the praising of Hippokleas' victory in a specific poem. He does this because he does not distinguish in his mind between the "general" poetry, and the "particular" poem. Since he does not, he seems, from the view of analysis, in the phrase *τόδ' ἄρμα* to fuse the chariot and the drive it takes. It should be clear that there are limitations in applying analysis, a tool of conceptual thought, to the work of a pre-conceptual poet.<sup>6</sup> Poetry as a mode of creating, poetry as the process of creating which issues forth in individual poems, and poems themselves—these elements which we distinguish were for Pindar indivisible. One cannot tell the dancer from dancing or the particular dance.

The importance of the chariot-metaphor is not the mechanical aptness of the chariot to describe the various parts of that which for Pindar was not divided into parts, but rather its ability to express, through the associations evoked by the chariot, the *value* Pindar attributed to poetry. By means of the figure he attributes to his art the grandeur, mobility, and speed of a chariot, the magical aura derived from its use in epic and myth by the gods, and its consequent access to the divine realm. To himself, a practitioner of that art, he attributes the skill and control of a charioteer who, if not a god himself, can move among them in their realm.

This view of the poet and his art which the figure conveys is reinforced by the way in which he expresses it here. For by describing the nobleman, Thorax, as yoking the Muses' chariot for him (by

<sup>6</sup> See J. H. Finley, Jr., *Pindar and Aeschylus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1955) 5 ff.

commissioning the ode), Pindar puts him in the position of a groomsmen or trainer, inferior to the skilled charioteer who will drive the noble car. Furthermore, Pindar said Thorax ποιπνύων . . . ἔζευξεν, "hustled to yoke" or "got out of breath to yoke." Five of seven instances of ποιπνύω in Homer describe someone acting as a servant to or carrying out the orders of someone else.<sup>7</sup> Here, its usual meaning is in force. If the figure as employed by a twenty-year-old executing what was probably his first commission seems impertinent, the impertinence is relieved by φιλέων φιλέοντ', ἄγων ἄγοντα προφρόνως.<sup>8</sup> Withal, Pindar's use of this image for poetry at the end of *P.* 10 makes clear to his listeners his proud concept of his role as an exalted and difficult one and breathes a confidence in his ability properly to fill that role.

**Isthmian 8.** Brief but noteworthy is the metaphor of a chariot in *I.* 8 (61–63), an ode celebrating the pankration victory of Kleandros of Aegina which Pindar probably composed in 478 B.C., the year following the battle of Plataea.<sup>9</sup> In this battle his city, Thebes, was allied with Persia against Greece (including, of course, Aegina) and so, in addition to defeat, suffered disgrace because of her treachery. A Theban faced obvious difficulties in praising an Aeginetan so soon after Plataea, for by extolling the panhellenic victory he might well offend Thebes. Yet Pindar was not obliged to compose an ode for Kleandros unless, it may be, in doing so he saw the opportunity to aid or perhaps begin the process of reconciliation between Thebes and Aegina and, thereby, between Thebes and the rest of Greece. Certain features of the ode, including the way the chariot-metaphor is expressed, indicate that he did look upon the ode as just such an opportunity. He begins it immediately with first praise of the victor (1–5), which he then follows with lines which are, in terms of content, actually a proem, since they state that the poet is called on to sing and is willing (ultimately) to do so (τῷ καὶ ἐγώ, κτλ., 5–13). Pindar has,

<sup>7</sup> *Iliad* 1.600, 18.421, 24.475, *Odyssey* 3.430, 20.149. *Iliad* 8.219 and 14.155 are the exceptions.

<sup>8</sup> For a different, but in my view erroneous, interpretation of lines 64–66, see Friedrich Schwenn, *Der junge Pindar* (Berlin 1940) 20–22.

<sup>9</sup> See *The Isthmian Odes of Pindar*, ed. J. B. Bury (London 1892) 133, 134 note 1; Wilamowitz 195–96; Farnell 2.376; and Tury 220–21. Wilamowitz specified 478 B.C.

in fact, deliberately inverted the normal beginning of an epinician ode.<sup>10</sup> By this inversion he portrays the victory celebration as going on apart from him.<sup>11</sup> Then in 5-13, in which he says that he is asked to "call the Golden Muse," he gives the reason for his absence from the celebration: anguish, grief, and fear on account of evils in the form of a stone of Tantalus overhead, an unendurable burden for Greece (7-11). But the evils have ceased, the stone has been turned aside so that he can now rid himself of his anxiety and "sing a sweet public song" (10).

It is difficult to read these lines in any other way than as a deliberate effort to dramatize Thebes' separation from a Greece rejoicing after Plataea, represented as Pindar's anguished separation from the Aeginetan victory celebration. Then, as the celebrants ask Pindar to join them, and as he realizes that he may do so inasmuch as the reason for grief is now past, the implication is, so may Greece ask Thebes to rejoin it and Thebes may put away its grief and accept the invitation. Of course we know neither the mood of the Medizing Thebans after Plataea nor the general attitude of Greece towards a treacherous Thebes, but the point is that Pindar, as an ambassador of reconciliation in these lines, portrays both sides in the light most favorable for reconciliation, attributing generosity to the celebrants who represent Greece, and to himself, surrogate for Thebes, a willingness to be drawn into the rejoicing and thus to be reconciled.

Pindar's healing efforts continue: In 17-18 he refers to the traditional kinship between Thebes and Aegina (twin sisters of the river Asopus, which is, incidentally, near the location of the battle of Plataea). In the myth he tells of the strife between Zeus and Poseidon over Thetis (26 ff.) which is resolved by Themis, in order to provide an *exemplum* of reconciliation after discord. The myth continues with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis and the great deeds of Achilles, who was mourned in death by the Muses and thus committed by the gods to a hymn (41-60). This brings him to praise Nikokles, a cousin of Kleandros,

<sup>10</sup> That is, the first praise of the victor is followed by lines which seem more naturally to belong to a poem. Contrast the opening of *I.* 8 to that of *O.* 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 11, 14; *P.* 1, 6; *N.* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; *I.* 6, 7.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the comment by Mary R. Lefkowitz, "in the opening lines of *I.* 8 he places himself apart from the celebrating Aeginetans" ("*ΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΩ*: The First Person in Pindar," *HSCP* 67 [1963] 211).

who is dead and (one may speculate) may have fallen at Plataea (61–63):<sup>12</sup>

τὸ καὶ νῦν φέρει λόγον, ἔσσυται τε  
Μοισαῖον ἄρμα Νικοκλέος  
μνᾶμα πυγμάχου κελαδῆσαι.

And also there is good reason now (to commit someone to a hymn) and the Muses' car hastens to proclaim a ringing memorial for Nikokles, the boxer.

It is unusual that the figure is impersonal rather than in the first person. The only other instance in the odes of an impersonal chariot-metaphor is at *I.* 7.17–19, lines which contain an allusion to an historical situation painful to Pindar. But note that in *I.* 8, apart from lines 5–13, there is no statement in the first person elsewhere in the ode. That this is extraordinary a random reading of Pindar's odes will show. Pindar seems to have muted the poetic *persona* after the intensely personal outcry of 5–13, not only to emphasize the importance of these lines, but as if to exhibit a self-effacement bordering on humility after he has laid aside his grief and joined in the celebration. If Nikokles died at Plataea fighting for Aegina and Greece against the Persians and Thebes, there is more reason that praise of him be impersonal if Pindar wishes to avoid the risk of offending Thebans (by praising Nikokles in a personal way) and of thus retarding the process of reconciliation. By the same token, however, his praise of Nikokles must be on a level with that man's accomplishments. When, therefore, he says, "the Muses' chariot hastens to proclaim a ringing memorial for Nikokles," Pindar asserts the high quality of that praise, since by his use of the metaphor he claims a grandeur for the poetry in which it is given, and genius (i.e. mobility), divine inspiration, and the ability to move from the human to the divine realm for the poet who gives it. Nor is the meaning of the figure yet exhausted. Only a few lines before, Pindar told of the *Muses* singing a threnody at Achilles'

<sup>12</sup> That Nikokles was dead seems so from *μνᾶμα* at 63, despite Farnell's objection (2.83) that the word was also used of the living. Two *scholia* state that he was dead (Drachmann 3.277.27–29), and that this was the case is further borne out by *τὸ καὶ νῦν φέρει λόγον* (61), which phrase connects him to 59–60: "Then, indeed, it seemed best to the gods to commit a man who was noble, even though he was dead, to hymns of the goddesses."

pyre (57-58). By using the *Muses'* chariot to proclaim Nikokles, Pindar links him to Achilles, honorific praise indeed. By saying the chariot *hastens*, Pindar graciously expresses eagerness to praise, which is in itself laudatory of Nikokles. So, despite the fact that the poet's presence is not directly felt in the figure, his absence is compensated for by the fact that the metaphor elevates Nikokles: through the concept of poetry which it conveys, by linking him to Achilles, and by expressing eagerness to praise him.

**Olympian 6**, composed to celebrate the mule car victory at Olympia won by Hagesias of Syracuse in 468 B.C., possesses a magnificence given to it by the brilliance of its images (e.g. 1 ff., 55-56), by the solemn and dramatic way in which Hagesias is praised (4-21), by the swift but arresting narration of the myth in which Hagesias' connection with Poseidon, Apollo, Zeus, and Hermes is brought out, and in general by the majestic tone sustained throughout the ode.

Pindar begins with a famous simile likening the proem of a poem to the facade of a building with golden pillars, for, as he says, "The face of a work begun must shine afar" (3-4). It is the victor, Hagesias, Pindar implies, who gives brilliance to the beginning of the ode. In praising him (4-21) he compares him to Amphiaraios the seer, one of the Seven against Thebes. (The comparison is apt since Hagesias was a member of the Iamidai, hereditary seers at Olympia; see 5, 65 ff.)

Next, Pindar passes to the myth of Iamos, Hagesias' ancestor, by way of his most elaborate chariot-metaphor (22-28):

ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεύξον ἤδη μοι σθένος ἡμιόνων  
 ἔῃ τάχος, ὅφρα κεύθῃ τ' ἐν καθαρᾷ  
 βάσομεν ὄκχον, ἱκωμαί τε πρὸς ἀνδρῶν  
 καὶ γένος· κείναι γὰρ ἐξ ἀλλᾶν ὁδὸν ἀγεμονεῦσαι  
 ταύταν ἐπίστανται, στεφάνους ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ  
 ἐπεὶ δέξαντο· χρὴ τοῖνυν πύλας ὕμνων ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς·  
 πρὸς Πιτάναν δὲ παρ' Εὐρώτα πόρον δεῖ σάμερον μ' ἔλθειν ἐν ὤρᾳ.

Phintis, come yoke for me now the powerful mules as fast as you can for us to get the chariot onto a clear course and for me to arrive even at the origins of men. For they, above other mules, know how to lead the way there, since they won crowns at Olympia. One must, then, open the gates of song for them, and I am bound to come on time to Pitana, beside the Eurotas River.



Phintis was Hagesias' charioteer and may or may not have driven the mule car in the race at Olympia.<sup>13</sup> At any rate, we need not assume that Phintis "drives" for Pindar on the metaphorical ride. For although Pindar uses the first plural, *βάσσομεν*, it is by yoking the car and team that Phintis can be thought of as helping to "make the chariot go on a clear course." Pindar's use of the first singular, *ἵκωμαι*, indicates that he "arrives" alone, hence "drives" the chariot.

Why did Pindar make the figure so extensive and elaborate? Also, why did he "commandeer," so to speak, the actual car and team of the victor? A partial answer to the first question lies, I think, in Pindar's effort to create in the poem the effect of magnificence. The figure is made elaborate in order to sustain and add to the majestic tone. From the simile at 1 ff., the manner in the poem is grand. The crescendo of praise begun at 4, which leads to the naming of the victor at 9,<sup>14</sup> gives the effect of a fanfare of trumpets. The comparison of Hagesias to the tragic Amphiaraios (which seems ominous to me) maintains the elevated solemnity, especially Adrastus' dramatic lament for Amphiaraios with which the comparison, begun at 12, is climaxed: "How I long for the eye of my army" (16). Lines 19-21, in which Pindar "swears a great oath" to support his praise, are a transition to the transition (22 ff.) and thus a kind of flourish which increases the sense of elaborateness. The overall effect is one of brilliant but also solemn grandeur.

By itself, the chariot-metaphor would support that effect. But as the figure is drawn out—over an entire strophe—the grandeur is increased and now gathered about the poet, who has made his entrance with the figure. The desire for haste expressed in the "story" of the metaphor (*ᾗ τάχος*, 23) at the same time that the metaphor is being almost leisurely extended (the poet takes the time to tell Phintis why he is in a hurry, where he is going, and why this particular team is best to transport him) imparts a *festina lente* quality to the figure. An impression is created of growing excitement before a race (or the beginning of an important journey) amid which the poet-charioteer retains a dignified calm. The appearance of the actual car and team

<sup>13</sup> According to the Scholiast (Drachmann I.161.25-162.6).

<sup>14</sup> See Elroy L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica I* (Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Philol. 18, No. 1 [Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962]) 17.

of the victor gives an immediacy to the figure, making that impression even more vivid. We are made to feel that as elevated as the previous lines are, they are but a preparation by the poet to reach yet greater heights. Moreover, for Pindar to incorporate the victor's team into a figure which describes in such grand and dignified terms his poetical effort gives immeasurable prestige to the victor and enhances the praise already given him. But Pindar leaves no doubt: since the team won at Olympia, it alone, he says, can take him where he wants to go.

Where does he want to go? I have noted that the metaphor of the chariot expresses the poet's access to other worlds beyond the human, frees him, in fact, from limitations of space and time. This aspect of the figure is explicit here. Pindar takes a "drive" to a mythical realm (29-70) which, because of his way of getting to it, is made to seem more real, more concrete, and he then drives *through* that realm. The chariot-metaphor is thus naturally fitting to describe both the ongoing nature of an epinician ode, and, within the narrative, the transition from this world to the world of myth, from time to timelessness.

**Isthmian 7** celebrates a victory in the pankration gained by Strepsiadēs of Thebes. Lines 12-19, in which the chariot-metaphor occurs, have been taken (with, perhaps, 37) to allude to Spartan ingratitude and neglect of Thebes, and on the basis of these lines the date of Strepsiadēs' victory and of the composition of the ode has been assigned to 456 B.C., after the battle of Oinophyta (457), in which Thebes, abandoned by Sparta after their joint victory over Athens at Tanagra some sixty days earlier, was defeated by Athens and again subject to her domination.<sup>15</sup> Elroy L. Bundy, however, has rejected any historical allusion in these lines, saying, "Only a complete misunderstanding of the form of lines 1-22b can lie behind the determination on the part of all but a handful of scholars to find in lines 16 f. an irrelevant allusion to ungrateful Spartan neglect of Theban interests." Bundy believes that lines 1-19 contain "foil" in the form of a "traditional hymnal

<sup>15</sup> August Boeckh's date, cited by Ludolph Dissen, author of the commentary for the *Nemean and Isthmian odes in Pindari Opera adiectis August Boeckh*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1811-21), II, *pars altera*, pp. 530-34. Farnell (2.371) and Wilamowitz (411) accepted this date.

priamel" which lists tentative themes eventually set aside in favor of the victor.<sup>16</sup> Bundy is no doubt right to maintain that lines 16 ff. are a generic convention, but that they are does not exclude the possibility of historical allusion in them. I feel the allusion is there, but that by making it Pindar has not necessarily accused Sparta of ingratitude and neglect. After enumerating in 1-15 Thebes' former glories, her τὰ πάρος καλὰ ἐπιχώρια (1-2), he says (16-21):

ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γάρ  
εὔδει χάρις, ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί,  
ὃ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον  
κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν ἐξίκηται ζυγόν.<sup>17</sup>  
κώμαζ' ἔπειτεν ἀδυμελεῖ σὺν ὕμνῳ  
καὶ Στρεψιάδα.

But, since ancient delight is sleeping, and men do not remember if something, unyoked to ennobling streams of verse, fails to arrive at poetry's high summit,<sup>18</sup> begin, therefore, the celebration with a hymn of sweet melody also for Strepsiadēs.

To say that ancient χάρις sleeps is not the same as saying that favors done in the past (by Thebes) have been forgotten (by an ungrateful Sparta) as Disson (following Boeckh), Wilamowitz, and Farnell interpreted the phrase.<sup>19</sup> Rather, Pindar's implication is that χάρις, now sleeping, is to awake (as did the παλαιὰ φάμα of Melissos' family: *I.* 4.40-42). He does not accuse Sparta of neglect in these lines, although Λακεδαιμονίων and the reference to Amyklai in line 14 certainly call Sparta to mind, but rather he indicates that Thebes' past power and glory have faded and a situation has thus been created in which Spartan ingratitude and neglect are possible. In former times, Thebes had not needed Sparta's help but had given aid to her. Now, however, the lapse of her illustrious past has made her dependent on Sparta and

<sup>16</sup> Bundy (above, note 14) 6.

<sup>17</sup> I follow Bruno Snell (*Pindari Carmina, pars prior* [Leipzig 1959] *ad loc.*) in punctuating with a colon rather than with a period after ζυγόν in 19.

<sup>18</sup> Bury (above, note 9) 127 saw the metaphor quite clearly, translating "and whatsoever unlinked with sounding streams of verses reach not the crowning height of Wit," explaining that, "The first meaning (i.e. of ἄωτον) in conjunction with ἄκρον and ἐξίκηται suggested the lofty summit of wisdom's hill, ascended in the car of the Muses (ζυγόν)."

<sup>19</sup> Disson in Boeckh (above, note 15) p. 532; Wilamowitz 142; and Farnell 2.373.

so subject to ingratitude and neglect, and it is to this lapse that Pindar alludes in these lines. Thus they are historical, but not in the sense other commentators have thought. What Pindar is saying is that Thebes' ancient glory, now sleeping, is to be reawakened by him as he commemorates in poetry Strepsiades' (and his uncle's) deeds. Without this commemoration those deeds would be forgotten and Thebes' glory would continue to sleep.

The chariot-metaphor at 17-19, indicated by *ζυγέν* and reinforced by *ἐξίκεται*, shows a development not seen in the other instances of the figure. Actions worthy of remembrance are yoked to "running"<sup>20</sup> verses and carried to poetry's high summit. The figure has now been expanded to include the goal to which the charioteer drives the chariot. Poetry (the general process) and the particular poem are united in the "team" (*κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν*) which provides the power to transport deeds to a "high summit"—also poetry but now not a process but a place of arrival. This place can be the goal, if Pindar is thinking of the chariot race (the technical term is *τέλος*, see *P.* 9.122 and *I.* 4.50), or the extra-worldly realm to which the chariot in Homer and myth has access, and is probably both at once. That it is a height (*ἄκρον* makes one think of an acropolis) indicates that it is a place of safety. Pindar has developed the figure to include the goal or place of arrival in order to express in a concrete way the very important idea that poetry is free from the limitations of time and the assaults of history. In fact, he hints that poetry's high summit is something more. There is a correspondence between lines 17-19 and 44-47 (describing Bellerophon's unsuccessful attempt to fly up to heaven on the back of Pegasus), in the echo of *ἐξίκεται* (19) in *ἐξικέσθαι* at 44.<sup>21</sup> If we take the two passages together we can see that Pindar indicates the right and the wrong way for man to essay immortality. Being mortal he does not have access to *χαλκόπεδον θεῶν ἔδραν* (44), as Bellerophon learned to his sorrow; but he can, through his deeds, reach *σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον*, poetry's

<sup>20</sup> The word *ῥοαῖσιν* presents a difficulty, as Bury saw (*loc. cit.* above, note 18), since it seems to make the metaphor a mixed one. The thing yoked is yoked to a splendid flow of verses (cf. *N.* 7.12, *ῥοαὶ Μοισᾶν*). Such *ῥοαί* naturally appear out of place in a chariot-metaphor, and the only similarities I see between running streams and running horses are those of kinetic energy and of the noise they both make.

<sup>21</sup> Noted also by Bury (above, note 9) 121-22.

high summit (which is for him what heaven is for the gods), a special realm of immortality to which the chariot of poetry alone has access.<sup>22</sup>

## II

To judge by the frequency with which he used it, Pindar considered the metaphor of the bow as valuable as that of the chariot to express aspects of his concept of poetry. Under the rubric of figures for poetry drawn from war or games, there are nine instances of the bow-metaphor compared to ten metaphors of the chariot. (Four of these occur in conjunction with chariot-metaphors to form an image for poetry of shooting arrows from a chariot.)

Both the nature of the instrument and its associations gave value to the bow as a source for metaphor. In the hands of a skilled archer it can shoot an arrow over a (relatively) great distance and strike a target which, if a living one, it wounds or kills. This quality of accuracy from afar with deadly consequences gives to the bow a mysterious aspect, making it a fitting attribute for Apollo in his role as death god, killing enemies and non-enemies alike. A familiar instance is at *Iliad* 1.43-54, where a mysterious and fatal plague is described as Apollo's shooting his arrows throughout the Argive host. Moreover, gentle and sudden deaths—without apparent cause—were ascribed to Apollo's (and Artemis') ἀγανὰ βέλεα (*Iliad* 24.755 ff., *Odyssey* 3.280, 7.64-65, and 15.410-11, for example).

Pindar draws upon these associations which the bow carries to convey in metaphor aspects of his concept of poetry. All readers of the odes are aware of the poet's intense concern to speak *κατὰ καιρόν*, fittingly, appropriately, with precision and accuracy. The bow is a natural means for him to express his confidence that he does so.<sup>23</sup> As the attribute of Apollo it carries an association with the divine which, too, is transferred to poetry and poet by the figure of the bow. Moreover, since Apollo was also god of poetry, the bow used as a metaphor for poetry offers to Pindar a fortuitous link with his divine patron.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> There are two other chariot-metaphors for poetry, at *I.* 1.6 and *O.* 9.86-89, a discussion of which would add nothing new to what we have learned about Pindar's use of that figure.

<sup>23</sup> See Lefkowitz (above, note 11) 208.

<sup>24</sup> For Apollo as Pindar's patron see *P.* 8.70-72.

The primary purpose of the bow was, of course, to inflict death (cf. Heraclitus, τῷ οὖν τόξῳ ὄνομα βίος, ἔργον δὲ θάνατος, *VS* 22 B48), and as noted above, this quality made it the fitting attribute of Apollo. When Pindar employs it to describe his poetry, however, he is not implying—as is obvious—that his poems are to have a negative effect. Rather, the death-dealing property of the bow, if generalized, can be said to describe a permanent and telling effect which an arrow has upon him whom it strikes. Applied to poetry this property expresses well a concept basic to Pindar, enabling him to assert through the bow-figure that his poetry penetrates minds and hearts and has a telling and permanent effect, in short, influences conduct.<sup>25</sup>

**Olympian 2.** The bow-metaphor for poetry at lines 91–105 of *O.* 2, composed for Theron of Akragas for his chariot victory at Olympia in 476 B.C., is the longest and most fully developed example of the figure in the odes. Although it was an athletic victory which provided the occasion for *O.* 2, it is not a true epinician but rather a consolatory poem for Theron.<sup>26</sup> Whatever other problems he may have had, he was, we know, embroiled in disputes with Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, and plagued by his son, Thrasydaïos, the cruel regent of Himera, and by rebellious kinsmen.<sup>27</sup>

The poem is one of the most carefully constructed of Pindar's odes.<sup>28</sup> His design throughout is to provide Theron with effective consolation, not only in regard to vicissitudes on earth but in regard to death and

<sup>25</sup> Hermann Gundert, *Pindar und sein Dichterberuf* (Frankfurt am Main 1935) 38, noted that Pindar viewed his calling as a moral one, that is, he wanted to make men better. That there was a long-standing connection in the Greek mind between language and arrows is attested by the Homeric ἔπεα πτερόεντα, "winged words" (e.g. at *Iliad* 1.201). At the end of *I.* 5 Pindar has used the expression καὶ πτερόεντα νέον σύμπεμψον ὕμνον (70).

<sup>26</sup> See Wilamowitz 240.

<sup>27</sup> For sources, details, and discussion of this situation, see E. A. Freeman, *History of Sicily* (Oxford 1891–94) 2.237–40 and Appendix xxiii, pp. 525–30.

<sup>28</sup> It has an obvious symmetry which can be described thus:  
Proem and first praise (1–12) 12 lines.

Prayer (13–17a) 4½ lines.

Gnomic statement–myth sequence (17b–49) 32½ lines.

Second praise (50–57, center of the poem) 8 lines.

Gnomic statement–myth sequence (58–91a) 32½ lines.

Transitional statement in first person (91b–101) 10½ lines.

Final praise and parting statement (102–10), 9 lines.

the life hereafter as well. This design is fulfilled in the following ways: In lines 17-49, a series of gnomic statements illustrated by references to members of the house of Cadmus, Pindar develops the themes that, although the effects of disaster are irrevocable, yet good fortune can erase their memory, and that there is no certainty for men in regard either to the day of their death or to freedom from trouble on earth. These themes are modulated by their mythic illustrations, which make the points that individuals, although troubled on earth, can yet win through to a blessed life after death (Semele and Ino), and that a family line, disaster-ridden though it may be, can yet win through to blessedness on earth (Laius, Oedipus, his sons and grandson, Thersander, Theron's ancestor). This part of the ode introduces the consolation of Theron with, so to speak, interrelated musical phrases which address the tyrant's concerns about his own life, the hereafter, and his family line after he is dead. The consolation will be orchestrated fully in the description to come of the island of the blessed.

A second way in which Pindar fulfils his consolatory design is through the portrayal of vicissitude: i.e. his emphasis on life's uncertainty in the first half of the ode is gradually diminished as he moves to the full and open statement of his consolation of Theron in the description of the island of the blessed. The point is made that although vicissitude is a part of men's lives, its effect can be overcome by true knowledge—and belief in it—which the poet can give. This portrayal, indeed enactment, of uncertainty begins at line 9 and continues to 47, where it ends with the mentioning of Thersander, with whom the wave of destruction in the family of Oedipus ends. Thersander, as noted, was Theron's ancestor, and they are further connected by the fact that both were victors in the games. At this point, the poem moves up and away from vicissitude and mounts to its climax (62 ff.), the vision of an orderly and just universe. Those who have dared to hold their souls aloof from unjust acts through six lives travel god's highway to the towered city of Kronos (75-77):

There the ocean breezes blow across the island of the blessed. Golden flowers bloom and burn from radiant trees on land, and the waters nourish others. From them they plait bracelets for their hands, and crowns, under the straight counsel of Rhadamanthys (77-83).

In this account of the afterlife the two strands of Pindar's consoling design have come together, for this description is both the full orchestration of the themes begun in the sequence of gnomic statement and myth (17 ff.) and is the climax of the movement away from vicissitude, revealing the victory of justice and order over uncertainty, of joy over despair. As if to give the seal of authority to the triumphant vision just presented, Pindar steps into the poem in the bow-metaphor (91-105) in a way which gives his appearance an almost theophanic quality:

πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη  
 ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας  
 φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἔρμανέων  
 χατίζει. σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ· μαθόντες δὲ, λάβροι  
 παγγλωσσία κόρακες ὥς, ἄκραντα γαρνέτω  
 Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.  
 ἔπεχε νῦν σκοπῶ τόξον, ἄγε θυμέ· τίνα βάλλομεν  
 ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὐτε φρενὸς εὐκλέας δῖστοὺς ἰέντες; ἐπὶ τοι  
 Ἀκράγαντι τανύσαις  
 αὐδάσομαι ἐνόρκιον λόγον ἀλαθεῖ νόῳ,  
 τεκεῖν μὴ τιν' ἑκατόν γε ἐτέων πόλιν φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον  
 εὐεργέταν πραπίσιν ἀφθονέστερόν τε χέρα  
 Θήρωνος.

I have many shafts in the quiver under my arm which speak to men of understanding, but to narrate all requires interpreters. Skilled is he in whom knowledge grows by nature, but those whose knowledge is acquired, croaking raucously as crows, let them cry out in vain against Zeus' divine bird! Come, heart, hold the bow to the mark. At whom shall we shoot, letting fly *now* from a gentle heart shafts of renown? Taking aim at Akragas with true intent, I shall swear an oath that no city for a hundred years has given birth to a man who is more a sincere benefactor to his friends and more open-handed than Theron.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The phrase ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἔρμανέων χατίζει (93-94) I translate, "to narrate all requires interpreters," contrary to its usual translation, "but for the crowd, they need interpreters" (by, for example, Sir John Sandys, *The Odes of Pindar* [London 1919] 27, and followed by others). I follow C. A. M. Fennell, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (Cambridge 1893) 36, who renders the phrase, "But for their full meaning they need interpreters." I have found no examples in *LSJ* nor the *Thesaurus linguae Graecae* of τὸ πᾶν with the meaning οἱ πολλοί (s. v. *pās*). Pindar elsewhere uses τὸ πᾶν to mean "the All": τί θεός; τὸ πᾶν (fr. 145).

I read γαρνέτων, a third-person plural (not dual) imperative at 96, with Otto Schroeder (*Pindari Carmina* [Leipzig 1900] ad O. 2.87), instead of γαρνέτον, a second-person dual imperative (or possibly indicative) as is customarily read.



I have noted that the bow-metaphor, conveying the idea of accuracy, expresses Pindar's confidence that he speaks *κατὰ καιρόν*. Here by means of it he asserts that his presentation of Orphism—for at 63 ff. he has been relating Orphic doctrine<sup>30</sup>—is accurate, appropriate, and precise. He has not expounded the system in all its complexity and detail. For that “exegetes” (*ἐρμηνῆες*) are required. He has given only what was necessary and in the way he thought best in order to achieve the effect he desired.<sup>31</sup> Then, by appearing dramatically in a bow-metaphor, he reveals the authority by which he has presumed to console Theron. For the figure not only asserts his confidence that he is speaking *κατὰ καιρόν*, but with the deliberate and precise detail of the quiver full of arrows which Pindar has under his arm and by the description of him looking for a target, taking aim carefully, and pulling back the string, it creates an image of Pindar as an archer-poet, if he does not for the moment assume the guise of the archer-god.<sup>32</sup> To appear in such a guise gives the greatest authority to what he has said and further insures that the effect sought will be gained: namely, for his arrows of poetry to penetrate the mind and heart of Theron, so that he will accept the offered vision of truth and divine order and, having deposited it in the depths of his being, be freed from the ravaging effect of despair at life's uncertainty and vicissitudes. The bow-figure, then, is central to the purpose of the poem, to console Theron effectively.

**Pythian 1.** The bow-metaphor in *P. 1* (composed for Hieron of Syracuse for a chariot victory gained in the 29th Pythiad=474 or

<sup>30</sup> Whether or not 63 ff. is specifically Orphic has been disputed. Wilamowitz (249) thought not. Also negative are W. K. C. Guthrie (*Orpheus and Greek Religion* [London 1935] 170) and, apparently, I. M. Linforth (*The Arts of Orpheus* [Berkeley 1941] 346). Farnell (2.19) thought that the passage was Orphic: “These ideas (lines 75 ff.) came to him from an Orphic source” (see also 1.15). Martin P. Nilsson said: “In Pindar and in Orphism we meet the same current of religious ideas; they are coherent and explain each other, and we are entitled to survey them together, in order to understand the mighty religious movement of which Orphism is a part” (“Early Orphism and Kindred Religious Movements,” *HTR* 28 [1935] 181–230; see p. 217 for the quotation).

<sup>31</sup> In fact, his terse, almost elliptical description has troubled modern scholars, e.g. Wilamowitz (250) and Farnell (2.19).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the description of Apollo shooting arrows among the Argives to cause plague at *Iliad* 1.43–54.

470 B.C.)<sup>33</sup> is a part of the famous proem to the lyre which exalts poetry for its power to quiet and disarm the powers of force and violence although they are under Zeus' control and so used legitimately.

Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων  
 σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τᾷς ἀκούει μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,  
 πείθονται δ' αἰοδοὶ σάμασιν,  
 ἀγησιχόρων ὅποταν προοιμίῳ ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς ἐλελιζόμενα.  
 καὶ τὸν αἰχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις  
 ἀένου πυρός. εὖδει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς αἰετός,  
 ὠκεῖαν πτέρυγ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάξαις,

ἀρχὸς οἶωνῶν, κελαινῶπιν δ' ἐπὶ οἱ νεφέλων  
 ἀγκύλῳ κρατί, γλεφάρων ἀδὺν κλάϊστρον, κατέχευας· ὁ δὲ κνώσσων  
 ὕγρον νῶτον αἰωρεῖ, τεαῖς  
 ῥιπαῖσι κατασχόμενος. καὶ γὰρ βιατὰς Ἀρης, τραχεῖαν ἀνευθε λιπὼν  
 ἐγγέων ἀκμάν, ἰαίνει καρδίαν  
 κώματι, κῆλα δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων θέλγει φρένας, ἀμφὶ τε  
 Λατοῖδα σοφία βαθυκόλπων τε Μοισᾶν (1-12).

Golden lyre, Apollo's and the dark haired Muses' shared treasure, you whom the dance step listens for, the beginning of splendor: the singers, too, obey your signals whenever, with vibrating strings, you strike up the prelude which begins the dance. You quench even the everburning spear-thunderbolt. Zeus' eagle sleeps on the sceptre with both swift wings relaxed, chief of birds, and over his beaked head you shed a dark mist, sweet pressure on his eyelids. Held in slumber by your casts, his rippling back rises and falls. Even Ares the violent leaves aside his fierce sharp spears and soothes his heart in sleep; and your shafts cast a spell over the hearts of divinities,<sup>34</sup> due to the skill in song of Leto's son and the fulsome Muses.

In the bow-figure in O. 2 the image of the archer-poet called to mind the archer-god, making Apollo's presence implicit there. Here,

<sup>33</sup> According to the Scholiast (Drachmann 2.5.13-15).

<sup>34</sup> Hermann Fränkel objected to κῆλα without a possessive as "shafts" from the lyre, and preferred to understand the word as "shafts" of the gods, reading θέλγεις at 12. But although it is possible to "quench a thunderbolt" (5-6), I doubt that Pindar would speak of "enchanting a shaft." (See Fränkel's *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* [New York 1951] 576, for the translation of the line and p. 579, note 20, for the explanatory note.) The Scholiast comments that "shafts" can be understood metaphorically as the enchanting effect of music (Drachmann 2.11.17-19).

Apollo, along with the Muses, is explicitly linked with the metaphor at line 12, since theirs is the lyre which sends shafts of poetry and those shafts cast a spell over divinities' hearts because of their σοφία. In the *Iliad*, it may be noted, κῆλα is used for Apollo's arrows (I.53, 383) as it is here for "shafts" from the lyre.<sup>35</sup>

The proem presents a mythical portrait of the court of Zeus under the spell of the singing and dancing of the Muses, accompanied by Apollo on the lyre. In particular, Pindar describes the effect of poetry upon the specific agencies of Zeus' power, the thunderbolt and the eagle, and upon Ares, god of war and not unleashed without Zeus' consent. Finally, all the divinities present are said to be bewitched by the arrows of poetry. This portrait might be taken as an apotheosized version of a real court, one such as Hieron's. Or, to put it the other way round, one might say that such a court as Hieron's has been raised to an ideal plane. This kind of comparison or idealization is flattering in the extreme and would create in Hieron and Deinomenes a propensity to accept the implication "on earth, as it is in heaven," and thus to submit to the chief idea of the proem, that poetry has power over legitimate force, and, therefore, in the equation Zeus = Hieron, that Pindar's poetry, given authority by Apollo, has power over Hieron's use of legitimate force. The effect Pindar is striving for in making this equation in the proem is to have his hearers, and especially Deinomenes, who is the young king of Aetna, accept as true and hence be affected by the power of poetry to establish peace and stability. (Cf. 69-70: "With thy [i.e. Zeus'] blessing the man who is leader [i.e. Hieron] would give prescriptions to his son, and so, honoring the deme, guide it into harmonious ἡσυχία.")

Pindar varies his effort by making a direct appeal to Hieron and Deinomenes to rule justly (68 ff.). Finally, at 85 ff. he gives moral injunctions to Deinomenes by means of six imperatives in eight lines, which create a staccato effect, simulating in language arrow after arrow sent from a bow.

<sup>35</sup> The similarity between the bow and the lyre (here the symbol for song) enhances Pindar's choice of the bow-figure to describe the effects of song. That similarity was noted in antiquity, cf. Heraclitus, *παλίντροπος ἄρμονίη δκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης* (VS 22 B51). Odysseus, as he strings his bow, is compared to a lyre player putting a new string on his lyre (*Odyssey* 21.406-9). Pindar uses the expression *βαρύφθογγος νευρή* to describe the twang of a bowstring at I. 6.32.

In the proem Pindar begins his attempt to affect Deinomenes with some subtlety. At the end, as forthrightly and as directly as possible he imparts rules of conduct to him which, hopefully, finding their target in his heart, will work their lasting effect, not only for his benefit, but for that of the entire community of Aetna.

**Nemean 6.** In *N.* 6, composed for the wrestling victory of the boy Alkimidas of Aegina, Pindar employs the bow-figure for poetry as part of the transition between first praise of the victor (and his immediate family) and a narrative of the exploits of his line, the Bassidae. The date of the ode is uncertain and need not concern us here.<sup>36</sup>

Pindar begins with a reflection on the differences between men and gods (1-7). They have a common mother, earth, but their power is quite different, for that of men is as nothing, while for the gods, brazen heaven remains forever as their unfailing seat. Yet men are in some way similar to the gods in mind and nature, although they are ignorant of the lines which fate draws for them to run by, day by day and night by night.

This general statement, describing the dual nature of man's position in the cosmos, has a particular application to the family of Alkimidas (see lines 8 ff.). Its career has been checkered with success and failure, renown and obscurity. It is the particular situation of Alkimidas' family which has given rise to the general statement. The effect created, however, by reversing the process, i.e. by giving the general statement first and then its application, is to reduce any sense of isolation-in-vicissitude the family might feel and, by indicating that its situation is due to the inevitable laws of the cosmos, to relieve it of the despair which failure brings.

Pindar takes yet a further step in what is essentially a healing process by describing (at 8 ff.) the gaps in the family's achievement as fallow periods following productivity, when the family gathers strength for new success. Next, particular victors in the family are named: Praxidamas, Alkimidas' grandfather (thus Pindar passes over the unlucky father); his father, Sokleides, who was not a victor but produced three

<sup>36</sup> Wilamowitz (399-400) preferred a date before 480 but felt that the reference to the trainer, Melesias, made it impossible.

illustrious sons, including Praxidamas,<sup>37</sup> who as prizewinners “mounted to the summit of *areta*” (24-25).

At line 25 Pindar reaches the climax of praise toward which he has been moving since the beginning of the ode: “Thanks to good fortune from god, no other house in all Greece has boxing revealed as steward of more victory crowns” (25-27). Immediately following upon this comes the bow-figure in a transition to the next part of the poem (27-31):

ἔλπομαι  
μέγα εἰπὼν σκοποῦ ἅντα τυχεῖν  
ὥτ' ἀπὸ τόξου ἰείς· εὖθυν' ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἄγε, Μοῖσα,  
οὕρον ἐπέων  
εὐκλέα· παροικομένων γὰρ ἀνέρων  
αἰοδαὶ καὶ λόγοι τὰ καλὰ σφιν ἔργ' ἐκόμισαν.

It is by such boasting that I expect to hit the mark directly as if shooting from a bow. Come, Muse, guide straight to this house the fair wind of ennobling verse, for when men are departed, songs and stories protect their lovely deeds.

*Μέγα εἰπὼν*, as Bury pointed out, refers specifically to the final statement of praise quoted above.<sup>38</sup> It is, in fact, the purpose of the figure to enhance that statement and to give it weight. For there are two “facts” about Alkimidas’ family: First, its career has been varied, it has experienced vicissitude. Second, it has won more boxing victories than any house in all Greece. Pindar has tried to neutralize the paralyzing effect the one “fact” might have by presenting it in a context of mankind’s lot, and so relieving the family from the isolation which shame and despair bring. It is not unique but shares the fate of all men. Then, by the simile comparing the family’s successes and failures to a field now productive, now fallow, Pindar offers a healing rationale for vicissitude. As for the second “fact” about the family, Pindar wishes to elevate it to a level where the family will accept it as of telling significance, and so sustain its confidence in itself.

The meanings carried by the figure of the bow—the ability of the

<sup>37</sup> This is the Scholiast’s interpretation of 22-25 (Drachmann 3.105.22-106.3) which is followed by Farnell (2.283-84).

<sup>38</sup> J. B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar* (London 1890) 108.

poet to speak *κατὰ καιρόν* and so to affect in a permanent and telling way; and the prophetic quality of what the poet says since, as the figure implies, he is the agent of the god—these meanings condition that “fact.” Pindar wishes to draw, as by a magnet, the attention of the family to that one of the two “facts” which alone expresses the truth of the family and so defines them. It is the bow-metaphor which allows him to do so, for it asserts confidence in his ability to speak absolute truth and gives to his statement the weight of prophetic and divine utterance, enabling it to become the energizing truth which will heighten the family’s sense of its own worth.<sup>39</sup>

### III

In four of Pindar’s odes the chariot and bow as metaphors for poetry occur sufficiently near to each other as to suggest that Pindar has deliberately fused them to create a new figure for poetry: shooting arrows from a chariot. The four poems, to be discussed below, are *I.* 5, *N.* 1, *O.* 1, and *I.* 2. No other author as far as I know used this image. The only literary reference to the actual practice which I have found is Euripides’ *Hercules Furens*, 177 ff., where Amphytrion spoke of his son’s shooting arrows at the Giants from a chariot.

This method of hunting and fighting, which had been used earlier in the Mediterranean area, was evidently rare after about 600 B.C.<sup>40</sup> Yet it is not necessary to produce a source in actuality for the poet’s figure. If a basis for it is needed, one might turn to mythology for it. I would suggest Apollo as a possible mythical analog for Pindar in his creation of the chariot-bow metaphor for poetry. (A black figure vase in Paris represents Apollo shooting arrows at two fleeing persons from a chariot drawn by winged horses.)<sup>41</sup> The bow, of course, was properly Apollo’s attribute. The chariot, however, was

<sup>39</sup> A discussion of the bow-metaphors at *N.* 3.62–63 and *O.* 9.5–15 would add little new to what we have learned about Pindar’s use of that figure. As often, Pindar at these places expresses the accuracy and appropriateness—the *κατὰ καιρόν* quality—of his song.

<sup>40</sup> Edmund Bulanda, *Bogen und Pfeil bei den Völkern des Altertums* (Vienna and Leipzig 1913) 120–21.

<sup>41</sup> Bulanda (above, note 40) referred to the Apollo vase, a representation of which may be seen in *Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall’ Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, vol. 2, p. xviii.

more nearly Helios', the sun god's, who drove it daily across the heavens, although, as Homer indicates, it is the normal means any of the gods used to travel about. It is possible, nevertheless, that Apollo was thought of as the sun god in the classical period, driving the sun chariot and shooting arrows of light upon the earth.<sup>42</sup> As such, he becomes the superb mythical idealization of Pindar's metaphor, since he is also god of poetry.

**Isthmian 5**, the final poem in a "trilogy" (along with *N.* 5 and *I.* 6) composed for the sons of one Lampon of Aegina, celebrates a victory won in the pancration by Phylakidas. Pindar uses the occasion as well to exalt Aegina for her bravery—and loss—in the battle of Salamis.<sup>43</sup> In fact, the praise of Aegina forms the climax of the ode, which is then heightened and sustained by the chariot-bow metaphor (42–53). But Pindar does not neglect Phylakidas in favor of the island. Rather, from the beginning the poem creates a sense of very great attainment in which Phylakidas, by virtue of his athletic success, is privileged to share. (Note the cautionary way Pindar begins his praise of him, 16–18.) The glory of the victor is caught up in the greater glory of his city, which, as the climax specifies, Aegina gained for its great role at Salamis.

Pindar begins the poem with an invocation to Theia, who is the apotheosis of quality, of the value with which great effort is imbued (1–7).<sup>44</sup> Thence he moves with deliberateness through gnomic reflections on athletic victory and success in general to praise of Phylakidas, begun, as I noted, in a cautionary way (16, "Seek not to become Zeus") and then made specific at 19–21. After this brief mention of the victor he passes to the Aeacidae and Aegina (21 ff.), who are "on an uncluttered road of god-given accomplishments" (25) and so deserving of praise. Consideration of them leads to a further gnomic statement (28–32) that noble warriors possess renown in song

<sup>42</sup> According to Webster (above, note 2) 45–46. Wilamowitz, however, denied that Apollo was the sun god for the Greeks (*Greek Historical Writing and Apollo*, trans. Gilbert Murray [Oxford 1908] 28–29).

<sup>43</sup> The ode is to be dated either in 480 B.C., after Salamis but before Plataea, or in 478 B.C., after both. Farnell (2.363) preferred 480, Wilamowitz (205) 478.

<sup>44</sup> Gundert (above, note 25) 11, called Theia "the ultimate basis for the whole world of *καλά* and *τιμά*."

for all time. At line 33 he begins with measured step the final ascent to the climax through the device of the "priamel," in which other locales and their heroes serve as foil for the ultimate praise of the Aeacidae and Aegina to which he is leading.<sup>45</sup> The Aetolians honor their sons of Oineos, the Thebans their Iolaos, the Argives honor Perseus, and the Spartans, Castor and Pollux; but Aegina reveres the "great and passionate spirit" of Aeacus and his sons who twice sacked Troy, once with Heracles, once with the Atreidae. Now, with the chariot-bow metaphor the poem moves to its climax (42-53):

ἔλα νῦν μοι πεδόθεν·  
 λέγε, τίνες Κύκνον, τίνες Ἑκτορα πέφνον,  
 καὶ στράταρχον Αἰθιοπῶν ἄφοβον  
 Μέμνονα χαλκοάραν· τίς ἄρ' ἑσλὸν Τήλεφον  
 τρώσεν ἑὼ δορὶ Καΐκου παρ' ὄχθαις;  
 τοῖσιν Αἴγιναν προφέρει στόμα πάτραν  
 διαπρεπέα νᾶσον· τετείχισται δὲ πάλαι  
 πύργος ὑψηλαῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀναβαίνειν.  
 πολλὰ μὲν ἀρτιεπής  
 γλῶσσά μοι τοξεύματ' ἔχει περὶ κείνων  
 κελαδέσσαι.<sup>46</sup>

Come drive me now aloft: say who they were who killed Cycnus, who slew Hector and Ethiopia's general without fear, Memnon armored in bronze. Who wounded noble Telephus with his spear by Caicus' banks? My voice proclaims Aegina as their fatherland, island of renown. From of old it was a towered rampart built with excellence high to climb. Many arrows has my tongue in verse unerring to ring out its praise.

The chariot-figure, placed where it is, distinguishes Achilles from the rest of the Aeacidae and so recognizes him as the clan's most illustrious member. At the same time it indicates that Pindar's inspiration must—and can—rise above the earth in the Muses' car to a new vantage-point

<sup>45</sup> Bundy (above, note 14) 4-10, has defined and illustrated these terms at some length.

<sup>46</sup> Despite the Scholiast who misunderstood the phrase (Drachmann 3.246.3-17), ἔλα νῦν μοι πεδόθεν is, as Farnell said (2.366), "a clear and familiar metaphor, meaning that he is to mount and soar in the Muses' chariot, far above the earth." For further support of this view see Thomas Day Seymour, *Selected Odes of Pindar* (Boston 1889) 199 and W. Christ, *Pindari Carmina* (Leipzig 1896) 335.



in order to do justice to Achilles and to Aegina, for which he is an emblem of excellence. Furthermore, the majesty and grandeur evoked by the chariot is attached to and so enhances the praise of the hero. Finally, at the moment of climax, a literal sense of height is created to lift these lines above the rest of the ode. Since the island presents a towered rampart of ἀρεταί high (for a poet) to climb, Pindar has mounted the Muses' chariot, has risen above the walls of excellence to a point from which he can shoot his arrows of song into the city. It is difficult to imagine a more complete and perfect image enabling Pindar to convey his ability to meet any challenge of praise, no matter how difficult—such a statement itself being great praise. His inspiration may transcend the earth in order to exalt in the measure required, but he is in complete control of it and can, moreover, from whatever height to which it carries him, yet praise with accuracy and precision, that is, κατὰ καιρόν.

Pindar reaches the height of the climax immediately following the bow element of the figure. He has risen up through the mythic and the general to the statement he now makes: "And now, in war would Ajax's city Salamis give witness that it was held upright by sailors in Zeus' devouring storm when heavy drops of blood of countless men rained down" (53–56). Ὀρθωθεῖσα (54), describing πόλις (same line), continues the idea of Aegina as a πύργος. But now the general ἀρεταί with which the city has been built have become specific actions of sailors who, in defending that πύργος, held it upright.<sup>47</sup> At 57, Pindar descends from his exaltation of Aegina and returns to the "normal" height-on-earth in the final praise of Phylakidas' family and of his brother, Pytheas.

**Nemean 1.** There is an abbreviated chariot-metaphor (signified by one word) at line 7 of *N. 1* (dated ca. 476–474 B.C.),<sup>48</sup> which, in my opinion, should be joined with an also shortened bow-metaphor at 18 as another instance of the figure under discussion here. Other elements in these lines serve both to support the respective figures and to bring them

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Alcaeus, fr. 35 Diehl, ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλιος πύργος Ἀρεύιος.

<sup>48</sup> Turyn, p. 146. See also Farnell 2.243.

closer together. Forming a single image, they govern the first twenty lines of the poem (1–20):

*Ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ,  
κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλος Ὀρτυγία,  
δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος,  
Δάλου κασιγνήτα, σέθεν ἀδυεπῆς  
ῥυμος ὀρμαῖται θέμεν  
αἶνον ἀλλοπόδων μέγαν ἵππων, Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν·  
ἄρμα δ' ὀτρύνει Χρομίου Νεμέα τ' ἔργμασιν νικαφόροις ἐγκώμιον ζεῦξαι  
μέλος.*

*ἀρχαὶ δὲ βέβληνται θεῶν  
κείνου σὺν ἀνδρὸς δαιμονίαις ἀρεταῖς.  
ἔστι δ' ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ  
πανδοξίας ἄκρον· μεγάλων δ' ἀέθλων  
Μοῖσα μεμνᾶσθαι φιλεῖ.  
σπεῖρέ νυν ἀγλαῖαν τινὰ νάσῃ, τὰν Ὀλύμπου δεσπότης  
Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν Φερσεφόνα, κατένευσέν τέ οἱ χαίταις ἀριστεύουσιν εὐκάρπου  
χθονός*

*Σικελίαν πείραν ὀρθώσιν κορυφαῖς πόλιν  
ἀφνεαῖς·  
ᾧπασε δὲ Κρονίων πολέμου μνᾶστηρά οἱ χαλκεντέος  
λαὸν ἵππαιχμον, θαμὰ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδων φύλλοις ἐλαιᾶν χρυσεόις  
μειχθέντα. πολλῶν ἐπέβαν καιρὸν οὐ ψεύδει βαλῶν.*

*ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις  
ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελόμενος.*

Solemn resting-place of Alpheus, burgeoning branch of famous Syracuse, Ortygia, couch of Artemis, sister of Delos: from you the hymn of sweet verse sets out to praise wind-shod horses for the delight of Aetnaean Zeus. Chromios' car and Nemea, too, urge me to yoke my chariot of song to actions which brought victory. Beginnings are made from the gods with the help of that man's fine achievement—more than mortal. There resides in success won the ultimate of sheer glory, and the Muse loves to make mention of magnificent contests. Scatter now some radiance on the island which Olympos' master, Zeus, gave Persephone, and promised by nodding that Sicily, aristocrat of fruitful land, he would raise up rich with luxurious crowns of cities. And Kronos' son also granted her a people, wooers of brazen war, spear horsemen and con-

tinually to be found among golden Olympian olive leaves. I struck my many targets without one false shot, and I reined in at the courtyard door of a man who loves his guests, singing a fair song.

Pindar yokes the chariot of song at Ortygia and from there sets out on a drive over Sicily, shooting arrows of praise down upon the island. After asserting that his multitude of shafts (for Sicily has much for which to be praised) have all found their mark (18), he brings his car to rest at Chromios' door in Syracuse where he attends a banquet in honor of the Nemean victory.

In support of such an interpretation of these lines, I would observe first that the leading motif of the poem, begun in the very first line, is one of departures and arrivals. Alpheus arrives at his resting place, Ortygia, after his long pursuit under the sea of the nymph (and spring) Arethusa (1). Heracles *fled* (*φεύγων*, 36) his mother's womb and *arrived* (*μόλεν*, 36) into the splendor of day (35-36). Two serpents dispatched by Hera to kill the baby made their way through open gates and *came* (*ἔβαν*, 42) to the nursery wherein the infant lay (39-42). Informed by messengers, leaders of the people *ran* (*ἔδραμον*, 51) to the chamber, and Amphitryon *came* (*ἵκετ'*, 52), only to learn that Heracles had killed the monsters (51-59). Amphitryon summoned Tiresias who arrived to explain the portent to all those gathered at the house (60-72). Tiresias describes the end of Heracles' life after he has arrived in heaven and enjoys there a serenity without toil for all time.

This motif creates a context in which lines 4-20 can be naturally taken as describing Pindar's poetical departure from Ortygia and journey to Chromios' house elsewhere in Syracuse. Moreover, Pindar accents this instance of the motif through a contrast which makes Ortygia a place of arrival and rest for Alpheus and a point of departure for himself from which he sets out to praise Sicily (*σέθεν ἄδυεπῆς ὕμνος ὀρμᾷται θέμεν αἶνον κτλ.*, 4-6) after he has yoked (*ζεῦξαι*, 7) the chariot of song.<sup>49</sup> *Ὀρμᾷται* (5) reinforces the figure, as do "horses with wind at their feet" (6) and "chariot of Chromios" (7), which,

<sup>49</sup> Bury (above, note 38) 10, recognized *ζεῦξαι* as a chariot-metaphor. He considers the "deeds" of Chromios to be the car and the song the "steed." I prefer it the other way around.

though of course referring to the specific car and team whose victory the poet sings, provide an associative stimulus to the imagination to reinforce the sense of imminent departure in the chariot of song.

At line 13 Pindar commands himself to "scatter now some radiance on the island." This phrase assumes the bow-figure soon to come which will assert the poet's confidence at the accuracy with which he has sent down arrows of praise. (Euripides used *σπείρω* to speak of "arrows scattered on a plain": *τόξα δ' ἔσπαρται πέδῳ*, *Hercules Furens* 1098.) Thus it serves to join the figures of the chariot and the bow into one image.

At line 18 the bow-metaphor appears more fully (*πολλῶν . . . βαλῶν*; I construe *καιρόν* with *ἐπέβαν*, taking *βαλῶν* as absolute and *ψεύδει* as an instrumental dative, following Farnell).<sup>50</sup> An extended paraphrase of the line would be as follows: Confronted by the many praiseworthy qualities of Sicily, I selected those of greatest significance and appropriateness and in my accuracy and precision shot no arrow which was false, i.e. missed its mark. As with all the other instances of the bow-figure, the example here expresses Pindar's confidence that he speaks *κατὰ καιρόν*—with all the variety of meaning that that phrase has. Those selected aspects of Sicily which together offer the truest definition of its total worth are its divine origin, for in the beginning Zeus gave it to Persephone; the richness of its land and cities, for he promised to her that she would raise up a Sicily superior in the fertility of its land, with luxurious cities; and the courage and manliness of its people, for as spear-wielding horsemen they are lovers of war and frequent victors at Olympia (14–18).

At 19 ff. (*ἔσταν κτλ.*) Pindar ends the figure. He draws up the chariot of poetry at Chromios' door, adding a concrete detail to make the image more vivid by specifying the *courtyard* door (*αὐλείαις θύραις*), which gives onto the street<sup>51</sup> and before which one would normally bring a chariot and team to a halt. In support of translating *ἔσταν* as "I stopped," rather than as "I stood," as it is usually rendered, I would note that Bacchylides uses *ἵστημι* in like manner, also in a

<sup>50</sup> Farnell (2.245) was following Bury (above, note 38) 13–14. He also denied the presence here of a bow or any other figure. Seymour (above, note 46) 181, however, compares *ψεύδει βαλῶν* to the bow-figure at O. 1.112.

<sup>51</sup> See Bury (above, note 38) 14.

chariot-metaphor for poetry where he commands the Muse, Kalliope, *στᾶσον εὐποίητον ἄρμα αὐτοῦ κτλ.* (5.176-79).<sup>52</sup>

Why was it from Ortygia that Pindar set out in the chariot of song? I have already noted the contrast it provides as a place of arrival and rest for Alpheus and as a point of departure for the poet. But if the opportunity for contrast alone determined the beginning of the ode, then the opening lines (especially 1-4) would seem artificial. Ortygia has, however, another specific significance to which Pindar's chariot-bow-figure gives brilliant notice. The Scholiast provides the clue: he recorded the view of "some" that Hieron's and Chromios' stables were located in Ortygia. He denied that this was so and offered his own reason for the poet's reference to this place: it was sacred to Artemis in her role as goddess of horses.<sup>53</sup> We need not accept the Scholiast's denial, however, for its validity is partially challenged by the Scholiast on *P.* 2.7 who said that Hieron's stables were in Ortygia.<sup>54</sup>

The Scholiast has given us the opportunity to retrace the steps of the poet's imagination. Aware of the significance of Ortygia to Chromios as the place where he kept his horses and chariots and as sacred to Artemis, goddess of horses, Pindar makes it the starting point of his praise of Sicily. The victorious team and chariot of Chromios which he "sees" there in his mind's eye offer a stimulus to his imagination. *That* chariot impels him to yoke his *own* chariot of poetry (7) and to undertake a drive of praise which begins from the particular and actual and moves to the general and metaphysical (Sicily as Zeus' gift to Persephone and as inhabited by people with certain qualities of character). In the chariot-bow-figure the poet has both the poetic means to move smoothly and artfully from praise of Chromios for his specific athletic victory to praise of Sicily (the panorama unfolding below him), and also the means to impart the great value of the praise which he gives and the confidence and authority with which he gives it. Through the element of the chariot he expresses his ability to see at one glance all the valuable qualities of Sicily—the all-comprehending nature of his powerful but controlled inspiration—and the

<sup>52</sup> The fact that Pindar uses the second, Bacchylides the first, aorist does not affect the comparison. Cf. also *Iliad* 11.348 and *Odyssey* 6.211 and 10.97.

<sup>53</sup> Drachmann 3.6.22-7.10.

<sup>54</sup> Drachmann 2.33.13 ff.

majesty of his vision. Through the element of the bow he asserts his confidence in his ability, not only to translate that vision into poetry, but into a poetry which is both true and well made, which is, in short, *κατὰ καιρόν*.

**Olympian I.** Lines 108–12 of O. 1, which Pindar composed for Hieron of Syracuse for his victory in the single horse race in 476 B.C.,<sup>55</sup> offer an instance of the chariot-bow-metaphor which is quite different from the other occurrences of the figure:

εἰ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ λίποι,  
 ἔτι γλυκυτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι  
 σὺν ἄρματι θεῷ κλεῖξιν ἐπίκουρον εὐρὼν ὁδὸν λόγων,  
 παρ' εὐδείελον ἐλθὼν  
 Κρόνιον. ἐμοὶ μὲν ὦν  
 Μοῖσα καρτερώτατον βέλος ἀλκᾷ τρέφει.

And unless the god suddenly abandons you, I hope to find a yet sweeter avenue for words to help me in swift chariot spread abroad your fame when I come to the bright hill of Cronus. The Muse increases for me the might of my shaft to its strongest.

Most editors and critics have interpreted *σὺν ἄρματι θεῷ* as referring only to a future chariot victory for Hieron.<sup>56</sup> Otto Schroeder, however, understood the phrase as a reference to the Muses' chariot as well as to the victor's.<sup>57</sup> Otfried Becker, who analyzed these lines at length, also saw a chariot-metaphor here.

The passage has to do with the way of song and one includes the phrase *σὺν ἄρματι θεῷ* in this image, i.e. joins it to *κλεῖξιν* beside which it stands. Thus it is made clear that the reference is to the chariot of the Muses which the poet mounts for the journey of song . . . The poet drives to the festival celebration at Olympia and "finds" there a way for his song "with the swift chariot," i.e. a triumphal procession led by Hieron's chariot of which he can sing.

Becker goes on to say that the expression *ἔτι γλυκυτέραν . . . Κρόνιον*, which he calls incomparably ambiguous, allows the image of the drive

<sup>55</sup> Farnell 2.3–4.

<sup>56</sup> Farnell's comment (2.11) is typical: "Pindar here prophesies an Olympian victory for Hieron with the four horse chariot."

<sup>57</sup> Schroeder (above, note 29) 89.

to shift ("schillern") among the three chariot-drives: Hieron's (if he wins), Pindar's to Olympia, and the Muses' in the song.<sup>58</sup>

While I agree with Schroeder and Becker that lines 108 ff. contain a chariot-metaphor, I would depart somewhat from the latter's interpretation and suggest that, rather than alluding to three chariot-drives, Pindar is instead expressing the hope that he will drive Hieron's victorious chariot on the road of song which Hieron, by winning the race, will, we might say, open for the poet. (Pindar thus will "commandeer" the victory chariot for his poetic drive, just as in *O.* 6.22 ff. he "drove" Hagesias' victorious mules and wagon to the realm of the myth which he narrates in that poem.) When he adds that the Muse increases the might of his shaft, he is justifying the expectation just made. He can hope to drive the chariot in the future *because* his shafts are most powerful.<sup>59</sup> Here we encounter the singularity of the figure. In the first place, the metaphorical chariot-drive or bow-shooting is in no way related to the content or "action" of the present poem. By contrast, in *I.* 5 Pindar, armed with his bow, mounted the chariot of poetry and praised Aegina, and in *N.* 1 Sicily was the "target" of his arrows of poetry: the figure in each is a description of what is then happening in the ode. Second, while the chariot element refers to a possible future poem celebrating a possible future victory (*ἐλπόμεναι . . . κλεῖξεν*, 109-10) the bow element states that Pindar *now* has the most powerful arrows (*Μοῖσα . . . τρέφει*, 112), which, however, he is not using. They are, we assume, to be held in readiness until that future time when (and if) he mounts Hieron's chariot to sing of his victory.

It is possible, of course, to understand the figure merely as an appeal for a future commission winningly made as a prophecy of victory, with an added justification of the appeal: I expect you to win—may I celebrate your success, for I am most worthy. Such an interpretation, however, is too simple in that it ignores other elements in the ode and fails to comprehend Pindar's concept of his role. I hope it is clear by now that, if either the poet or the subject who commissions the

<sup>58</sup> Otfried Becker, "Das Bild des Weges," *Hermes Einzelschriften*, Heft 4 (1937) 79.

<sup>59</sup> *ἐμοὶ μὲν ὦν . . . τρέφει* (111b) is syntactically associated with what follows through the particles *μὲν* (111b) . . . *δέ* (113) . . . *δέ* (113): "I, on the one hand, am most powerful in poetry, while others are great in various ways, etc." Still, in meaning the line can be taken with what precedes it.

ode may be said to bestow favor on the other, it is the poet who bestows it.

Earlier in the poem Pindar has drawn a parallel between Hieron and Pelops, the subject of the myth. Whether every detail of the myth corresponds in some way to Hieron's life no one, of course, can say. But that a deliberate association of the two figures has been made is signaled by verbal echoes. At 14-15 Pindar says that Hieron ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ μουσικᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ, and at 90-91 that Pelops ἐν . . . ἀγλααῖσι μέμικται. Hieron's κλέος "shines" (23), while Pelops' κλέος "gleams" (93-94). Pherenikos associated Hieron with κράτει (22) and Pelops asked Poseidon to bring him near κράτει (78). Next, Pindar has told of Pelops contesting with Oinomaos in a chariot race for the hand of his daughter, Hippodameia. Farnell (2.9) noted that Pindar told this tale "swiftly and allusively . . . only expanding himself in Pelops' prayer to Poseidon." It is significant for the present discussion that he did so. The prayer begins at line 75 and continues to 85. Pelops asks Poseidon, on the basis of their former love (see lines 40-45), to enable him to defeat Oinomaos in the chariot race. The girl's father has already defeated (and slain) thirteen suitors. He affirms his resolve, however, to undertake the risk, since he does not wish to sit in darkness in an obscure old age. The god answers his prayer (86b-88) by giving him a golden chariot and horses with wings unwearying. With them he conquered Oinomaos and took the maiden to share his bed.

The mythical representation has to do, then, with (1) a chariot race involving great danger but for a supreme prize, and (2) a prayer to a god for a victorious chariot, the answer generously given in the form of the golden chariot and winged horses. That is one side of the parallel. Turning to Hieron's side, we know from *POxy.* 222 that Theron, tyrant of Akragas and Hieron's enemy, won the chariot race at Olympia in 476 (the people of Argos entered a chariot and won in 472). Hieron did not win the event until 468. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that Hieron had entered the chariot race before 468, perhaps in 476 and in 472, but was not successful. If this assumption is granted, we can see how pertinent part of the myth is. For, as Pelops was, so too is Hieron desirous of a chariot victory. As with Pelops, the risk is very great, for it would certainly be a blow to



his prestige should Hieron lose to Theron, and there might even be political repercussions. Pelops prayed to Poseidon and received the answer enabling him to win. Hieron still hopes for victory. So on his side the parallel is not yet complete. As Pelops had Poseidon to whom to pray, so Hieron has Pindar—but the poet stops short of placing himself in the same relation to Hieron as Poseidon was to Pelops. Hieron does not pray to the poet for victory. Rather, he has in the poet an intercessor who can pray in his behalf.<sup>60</sup> Now it is possible to understand the delicate ambiguity of the chariot element of the figure at 108 ff. For by saying "I hope to find a yet sweeter avenue for words to help me in swift chariot spread abroad your fame, etc.," and by thus making the chariot of the hoped-for victory the same as the chariot of poetry he expects to drive, Pindar through this indirection avoids presumption about the future in his intercession for Hieron. At the same time he links himself to Hieron, hopefully to become the conduit of success from the gods to the tyrant and so to make the incompleted part of Hieron's side of the parallel a reality in the future.

The bow element of the figure, a statement about the present and not the future, is, for that reason, very important for the chariot element and must be taken closely with it. It serves to strengthen the prophecy but not as though by a confident afterthought. The bow-metaphor expresses, as I have frequently noted, the poet's ability to speak *κατὰ καιρόν*, i.e. with accuracy and precision and with truth (which is here described as divinely fed). It affirms his prophecy and the authority by which he makes it. Pindar will drive the chariot of song *because* he possesses the bow of divine truth. He has not, we now see, merely appealed to Hieron through the chariot-bow-figure for a future commission. On the contrary, he has prophesied a victory for him, and, by joining the tyrant to himself through the chariot-figure, sought, as one with access to the gods, to "mediate" victory to him. Pindar is, moreover, the poet most suitable to drive the tyrant's chariot of victory on a new way of words, since, if Hieron wins, it will be clear in retrospect that the poet's arrows are indeed the most powerful. Furthermore, in a victory ode for Hieron the chariot of song, because

<sup>60</sup> See Gundert (above, note 25) 83.

of so great an accomplishment, must travel to a great height of inspiration—to which Pindar can drive it. The poet will be able, nevertheless, through the power of his arrows to speak *κατὰ καιρόν*, to reach and to penetrate the significance of the event.

**Isthmian 2.** The final instance of the metaphor of the chariot-bow occurs in *I. 2*, which celebrates a chariot victory won by Xenocrates of Acragas between 490 and 476 B.C.<sup>61</sup> The poem seems to have been composed, however, after the death of Xenocrates (see lines 35–45; also, the Scholiast gave the view of Asclepiades who said Xenocrates was dead)<sup>62</sup> and perhaps after the death in 472 of his brother, Theron, tyrant of Acragas, and the overthrow of their ruling family, the Emmenidai.<sup>63</sup> It is addressed to Thrasybulus, Xenocrates' son (as were *P. 6*, written some years earlier in 490, and fr. 127, an encomium). The figure occurs in the proem (1–11):

Οἱ μὲν πάλαι, ὦ Θρασύβουλε, φῶτες, οἱ χρυσαμπύκων  
 ἐς δίφρον Μοισᾶν ἔβαινον κλυτὰ φόρμιγγι συναντόμενοι,  
 ῥίμφα παιδείους ἐτόξευον μελιγάρνας ὕμνους,  
 ὅστις ἔων καλὸς εἶχεν Ἀφροδίτας  
 εὐθρόνου μνάστειραν ἀδίσταν ὀπώραν.

ἃ Μοῖσα γὰρ οὐ φιλοκερδῆς πω τότ' ἦν οὐδ' ἐργάτις·  
 οὐδ' ἐπέρναντο γλυκεῖαι μελιφθόγγου ποτὶ Τερψιχόρας  
 ἄργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα μαλθακόφωνοι ἀοιδαί.  
 νῦν δ' ἐφίητι τὸ τῶργείου φυλάξαι  
 ῥῆμ' ἀλαθείας ὁδῶν ἄγχιστα βαῖνον,

“*χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνήρ*” ὅς φᾶ κτεάνων θ' ἅμα λειφθεῖς καὶ φίλων.

The men of old, Thrasybulus, who used to mount the car of the Muses with golden headbands, finding there the ennobling lyre, lightly sent their arrows of honeyed hymns at boys—whatever fair one lingered in youth's Indian Summer, luring enthroned Aphrodite. For then the Muse was never greedy nor a harlot.<sup>64</sup> Nor were there for sale from Terpsichore

<sup>61</sup> See Turyn's introduction to *I. 2*, p. 198.

<sup>62</sup> See Drachmann 3.213.1 ff.

<sup>63</sup> See E. A. Freeman (above, note 27) 2.535.

<sup>64</sup> *ἐργάτις* I thus translate as “harlot,” agreeing with Wilamowitz (311), who rendered the line, “denn die Muse war damals noch keine käufliche Buhdirne.”

sweet cooing songs with silver-painted faces. But now she orders us to keep the saying of the Argive man as driving closest to the truth's highway: "It's money, money, makes the man," he said, bereft of goods and left by friends.

Pindar, wishing to contrast two kinds of poetry, one "good" the other "bad," has chosen figures which to his mind most accurately describe the essential nature of each. The choice of the chariot-bow-metaphor as offering the best description of "good" poetry of old confirms the value of this figure to him for conveying what ideal poetry does and what the role of the ideal poet is. The chariot-bow-figure has thus become for Pindar a definition of poetry (i.e. of "good" poetry). By its presence it expresses, through the associations it evokes, the power and mobility of a divinely inspired imagination which can range far and has access to other realms, and the control, nonetheless, which the good poet has over his inspiration. It conveys the good poet's relation to truth: his words, being *κατὰ καιρὸν*, accurate and precise, are true, and so, like arrows, can have a permanent and telling effect on him for whom they are spoken. The poet's *persona*, projected into the divine or mythical realm, assumes the identity of Apollo, sun god, god of poetry, god of death and healing, who drives his chariot over the earth shooting arrows of light, of song, arrows which transform.

In contrast to this view of poetry there is "modern" poetry, described as the product of the harlot Muse, with individual poems offered for sale as painted prostitutes by Terpsichore.<sup>65</sup> Each figure in the contrast enriches the other, brings new meaning from it. Whereas good poetry is a spontaneous response to *natural* beauty (*ρίμφα*, 3;

<sup>65</sup> Already noted (above, note 64) is Wilamowitz' rendering of *ἐργάτις* (6) as "harlot." He also said that *ἐπέρναντο* (7) called to mind *πόρνη*. I would note that *ἀργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα* (7) adds to the image of "modern" poetry as a painted prostitute. (Cf. C. M. Bowra's comment on a fragment of Anacreon, "but Anacreon is thinking of a lower kind of love and calls it silver to indicate that it is for hire," in *Greek Lyric Poetry*<sup>2</sup> [Oxford 1961] 296.) For a woman with whitened face trying to attract passers-by see Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, 877 ff. The wife of Euphiletos was said to have met her lover with whitened face (Lysias 1.14). We can easily reject the notion of Farnell (2.342-43) that Pindar in the poem gives a hint to Thrasybulus for money owed him by Xenocrates. As E. A. Freeman said (above, note 27) 2.536, "And the opening lines, so oddly misunderstood by Kallistratos, seem to mean that, as the Muse was once not mercenary, so now she shall cease to be mercenary." See also Gundert (above, note 25) 36.

ὄστις ἐὼν καλός, 4; ἀδίσταν ὀπώραν, 5), bad poetry possesses an *artificial cosmetic* prettiness (ἀργυρωθεῖσαι . . . πρόσσωπα . . . αἰοδαί, 8; here Pindar has shifted somewhat the terms of the contrast) in order to make it appealing to those who are unable to inspire poetry but must, rather, pay for poems "made up" to offer them a kind of satisfaction in return for money. Good poetry, furthermore, is inspired by male beauty, i.e. has a homosexual purity<sup>66</sup> that bad poetry does not have, the relationship between subject and bad poem being characterized not only as heterosexual, but as degraded as well. The chariot-bow metaphor, moreover, embodies an aristocratic concept of poetry in contrast to the falsely pretty poetry of a commercialized age. Finally, by associating gold (χρυσάμπύκων, 1) with good poetry and silver (ἀργυρωθεῖσαι, 8) with bad poetry, Pindar reinforces the contrast, using these metals to express a qualitative difference, as his fellow Boeotian, Hesiod, did to distinguish a superior from an inferior age (*Works and Days* 109 ff.). Since he, too, is contrasting two ages he may be making an allusion to the work of the older poet.

The proem, then, not only contrasts two kinds of poetry, but also implies a preference felt throughout the poem for a past now lost when ideal poetry flourished. The ode is dominated by the past tense and seems almost a reminiscence. Following the proem, Pindar first recalls the family's former successes in the games (12-29) and then the joyful celebrations in song which once resounded in the house of Xenocrates, as well as his sweet and generous nature (30-42). He marks the beginning of each of these sections of the poem with οὐκ ἄγνως (οὐκ ἄγνῶτ', 12, and οὐκ ἄγνῶτες, 30), as if to ask Thrasybulus, "Do you remember?" At the end (43 ff.) the two concerns, for achievement and for song in which to celebrate it, continue to be expressed in a reminder to Thrasybulus not to forget his father's ἀρετά, nor "these hymns, since I did not make them to stand idly about." The last clause seems deliberately to recall the contrast made in the proem between two kinds of poetry in order to associate explicitly Pindar's poetry with the good poetry of old. For, full of the dynamic

<sup>66</sup> Pindar may, in lines 1-5, and especially with παιδείους . . . ὕμνους (3), allude to an earlier relationship with Thrasybulus, whom, as was noted, he addressed in *P.* 6 and fr. 127. See Wilamowitz 311-12.

movement expressed by the figure (as his inspiration soars and his truth streaks to its mark), it is indeed not made to "stand idly about" (*ἐλινύσσοντας*, 46). That epithet is better suited to the poems for sale with painted faces waiting for customers.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Pindar used *ἐλινύω* at *N.* 5.1 to describe immobile statues, which, in contrast to his own poems, able to go everywhere, stood always upon the same pedestal. Still there is no reason not to understand *ἐλινύω* in *I.* 2 as referring to harlot poems, with painted faces standing in one spot like statues, waiting for prospects. The chariot-bow figure, of course, describes the "inner" dynamism of the poem, the inspiration which produced it and the accuracy which governs it, but this dynamism can easily pass over into "outer" mobility (which it perhaps creates), giving a poem broad circulation.