A LITERARY STUDY OF PINDAR'S OLYMPIAN 10

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Pindar has composed in *Olympian Ten* a tribute of praise to a young boy triumphant in an Olympic boxing contest. Winning acclaim for his victory at the Games in 476 B.C., Hagesidamos, the son of Archestratos, brought honor to his family and the people who made their home in Epizephyrian Lokris, a town in southern Italy.

This beautifully wrought encomium is constructed in the familiar, conventional framework of Pindar's epinician poetry: setting the stage for his composition in the opening lines, the poet invokes the Muse attended by Truth, describes his relation to the victor, and gives specific facts regarding the victor's home, his trainer, and his success in lines 1-21; then follow the gnomic bridge in lines 22-23 and the central myth recounting the institution of the Olympian Games by the Theban Herakles in lines 24-77; finally in the concluding lines 78-105, Pindar celebrates Zeus, the god of the Games, and lavishes praise on the victor, placing him in the noble tradition of Olympian winners and assuring him of immortality through his own glorious song. Of these five triads then, the first is occupied with the introduction, the fifth with the conclusion, and the central three with the account of the Olympian Games. Although there is a restrained use of overlapping between the triads in this ode, there is one instance of a syntactical association, between the fourth and fifth triads, and one instance of a direct nexus of thought between the third and fourth.2

¹ This date has been determined by an entry in P. Oxy. 222.16, [αγ]ησι[δα]μος λοκρος απ ιταλιας παιδ πυξ. See also the scholiast's note on O. 10 in A. B. Drachmann, ed., Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina 1 (Leipzig 1903, repr. Amsterdam 1964) Inscr. a., οὖτος ἐνίκησε ἕκτην καὶ ἐβδομηκοστὴν 'Ολυμπιάδα.

² All references are to the edition of C. M. Bowra, *Pindari Carmina cum fragmentis* (Oxford 1968²).

It is within this basic framework that an intricately interwoven, artistically contrived internal structure exists. This structure is achieved primarily by a recurrence of imagery, thought, and vocabulary and by a progression and expansion of themes throughout the ode which result in Pindar's creation of a unified whole;³ and it all begins and ends with the victor, the son of Archestratos.

Olympian 10 opens with Pindar's request that the name of Hagesidamos, the Olympian victor, be read from the ledger of his heart (1-12):

Τον 'Ολυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτέ μοι Άρχεστράτου παίδα, πόθι φρενος έμας γέγραπται γλυκὺ γὰρ αὐτῷ μέλος οφείλων ἐπιλέλαθ· ὧ Μοῖσ', ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ θυγάτηρ Άλάθεια Διός, ὀρθᾳ χερὶ 5 ἐρύκετον ψευδέων ἐνιπὰν ἀλιτόξενον.

ἔκαθεν γὰρ ἐπελθὼν ὁ μέλλων χρόνος ἐμὸν καταίσχυνε βαθὰ χρέος.
 ὅμως δὲ λῦσαι δυνατὸς ὀξεῖαν ἐπιμομφὰν τόκος· ὁρᾶτ' ὧν νῦν ψᾶφον ἐλισσομέναν
 ὁπᾳ κῦμα κατακλύσσει ῥέον, ὁπᾳ τε κοινὸν λόγον φίλαν τείσομεν ἐς χάριν.

The name of the Olympian victor read to me, the son of Archestratos, where in my heart it is written; for that I owed a sweet song to him I forgot; O Muse, but you and the daughter of Zeus, Truth, with a rectifying hand deliver me from broken promise's reproach for wronging a friend.

For coming up from afar the future time has shamed my deep debt.
But yet, to cancel the bitter, censuring charge interest has the power; now see then the pebble being rolled along,

³ A catalogue, by verse, of the significant words and images of Olympian 10 arranged according to theme, can best illustrate the achievement of this effect.

10 how the flowing wave washes over it, and how the mutually agreed upon account we will pay as a loving favor.

In the commercial imagery which pervades this first strophe and antistrophe, Pindar couches his request for the victor's name, calling to mind for us Hagesidamos' place on the official list of Olympian winners. He asks, in bookkeeping terms, how the account stands between the debtor and creditor ($\partial \nu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \nu \omega \tau \epsilon$ and $\gamma \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \rho \alpha \pi \tau \alpha \iota$, I and 3); claiming that he forgot the sweet song which he owed ($\partial \phi \epsilon i \lambda \omega \nu$, 3) Hagesidamos, he now seeks pardon.

There can be no doubt in our minds as to the identity of the victor, for Pindar names him for us in line 2. The particular attribute which has earned special recognition for the son of Archestratos, however, is set in line I ($O\lambda\nu\mu\pi\iota\sigma\nu'\kappa\alpha\nu$), positioned prominently and emphatically at the head of the first sentence—Hagesidamos was a victor in the Olympian Games. This is a young man who has known the winner's circle; this is what Pindar wants us to know first.

Yet the poet claims that he has forgotten to sing the praises of one so deserving of honor. In an earnest appeal to the Muse, therefore, the daughter of Memory, and also to Zeus' daughter, Truth, he implores them to find the entry in the record and to erase the charge $(\epsilon \nu \iota \pi \acute{a}\nu, 6)$ brought against him. He wishes that they might free him from the accusation of entering into a contract in poor faith $(\psi \epsilon \iota \upsilon \delta \acute{\epsilon} \omega \nu, 5)$ and of dealing falsely with the creditor and a friend, the victor $(\dot{a}\lambda\iota \tau \acute{c}\xi \epsilon \nu \iota \nu, 6)$. If they would exonerate him with the hand which could set all things right again $(\dot{o}\rho\theta\hat{q}\chi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}, 4)$, the account would balance, and he would be spared the reputation of not keeping his word.

The fear of acquiring such a reputation is synchronously compounded, moreover, by his great embarrassment over the tardiness of his payment; for he feels that he has brought dishonor on himself by letting the due date for discharging his obligation to the victor ($\delta \mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \chi \rho \delta \nu \sigma s$, 7) find him markedly in arrears ($\beta a \theta \dot{\nu} \chi \rho \epsilon s$, 8).

The emotional tension of lines 1-8 finally peaks and is resolved, however, with the conjunctions $\delta\mu\omega s$ $\delta\epsilon$ in line 9. Recognizing that there is a way to make amends for his tardiness, Pindar puts aside his embarrassment for the moment and determines to make his promise good. In the now familiar financial phrases, Pindar pledges, therefore,

not only to pay the principal which he owes but also to pay it back with interest ($\tau \delta \kappa o s$, 9b), a sum sufficient to clear him of any bitter reproach. The poet explains that he, with a little extra effort ($\tau \delta \kappa o s$), will deliver a product of high enough quality to free himself ($\lambda \hat{v} \sigma a \iota$, 9) from his plight. The ode which he will present in full payment of the overdue debt will be so bold in heralding the fame of Hagesidamos that the delay will no longer be remembered.

With the words $\partial \nu \nu \bar{\nu} \nu$ (9b),⁶ then, Pindar indicates to us that his song, this very ode, is now ready for delivery. Just as a wave washes over a stone rolling in its path along the sand and other stones, so now his wave of song $(\kappa \bar{\nu} \mu a)^7$ will, likewise, wash away the accurate pebble counters $(\psi \bar{a} \phi o \nu$, 9b) now worn smooth by time and repeated calculation;⁸ he will honor the common agreement⁹ made with Hagesidamos

- 4 See E. L. Bundy's "Studia Pindarica I: The Eleventh Olympian Ode," CPCP 18.1 (1962) 33, for a cross-reference of $\tau \acute{o}\kappa os$ with Themistios' $\beta \acute{e}\lambda \tau \iota o\nu$. The analogy is convincing and sensible. G. Van N. Viljoen, in Pindaros se tiende en elfde Olympiese odes (Leiden 1955) 207, claims, however, that $\tau \acute{o}\kappa os$ is a phrase which Pindar merely uses to maneuver himself out of his guilty position and that, once the poem is delivered, the Lokrians will surely be so pleased that nobody will bother to find out what the "interest" means.
- $^5 \tau \acute{\kappa} \kappa o_S$, thus, serves as an explanation for the fullness of the victor's praise; it does not refer beyond its own context to a future song, namely O. 11, as the scholiast suggests in his opening comments on O. 11, Inscr. a.
- ⁶ For a good discussion of the difficulty of the reading of lines 9–10, see L. R. Farnell, The Works of Pindar 2: Critical Commentary (London 1932, repr. Amsterdam 1961) 79–80. H. Erbse, in "Beiträge zum Pindartext," Hermes 88 (1960) 25–27, offers ἀνατί as a possibility.
- ⁷ In Untersuchungen zum Bild vom Fliessen der Sprache in der griechischen Literatur (Tübingen 1967) 43, G. Wilhelmi notes that Pindar's metaphor of the flowing of water $(\chi \in \hat{\iota} \nu)$ stems from the epic tradition; just as tears and sorrow were poured out at the graveside, so here the rushing of the waves represents the poet's freedom to speak out, to let the musical praise pour forth from his heart and wash away the obligation. See N. 7.12 and I. 7.19 where song is also likened to the flowing of water.
- ⁸ G. Norwood, in *Pindar* (Berkeley 1945) 111–14, recognizes the pebble, which the Greeks used in money-calculations, as symbolic of accuracy and part of a "brilliantly effective phrase" (9b–10). He makes an over-statement, however, when he selects the pebble as the key symbol of the ode. The theme of accuracy and precision is, indeed, prominent in the poem, but not to the point that the other themes (immortality, the gods' favor, the glory of victory) fall subordinate to it.
- 9 In agreement with Farnell's analysis (above, note 6) of κοινὸν λόγον in line 11, I have also adopted the explanation, "I will pay an account agreed upon between us." Although the scholium (based on Aristarchos), 15a, offers, "We will repay him with a tale that concerns all men" (cf. O. 7.21), it does not fit the context of the commercial imagery as well. Regardless of interpretation, the end result is the same; Pindar will praise Hagesidamos and all of the Lokrian people.

and his city; he will settle the account with a complete, forceful statement of the excellence of the victor.

In line 12, Pindar's reason for composing this encomium is clearly stated; he will praise Hagesidamos as a loving favor to him $(\phi i\lambda a\nu \tau \epsilon i\sigma o\mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon' s \chi \acute{a}\rho \iota \nu)$. The word $\chi \acute{a}\rho \iota \nu$ has several implications for us here; for it describes not only the graciousness with which the poet offers his song to the athlete and the gratitude with which he will receive it, but also the quiet charm and beauty of its strains.

As the verb $\tau \epsilon l \sigma o \mu \epsilon \nu$ indicates, Pindar will not offer up his praises alone. In his joint appeal to the Muse, Memory's daughter, and Truth, he requests assistance with this large assignment. While he invokes the Muse for inspiration, he will rely on Truth, who is the daughter of mighty Zeus, for endorsement of the claims which he is about to make regarding the victor and his city. These impressive figures represent, for Pindar, not only the power needed to ward off the strong accusations made about him as to his laxness in meeting his commitment but also the eloquence to tell of this winner's boxing victory in the Olympian Games. He needs help to do justice to the son of Archestratos and the Epizephyrian Lokrians. 10

Looking in retrospect at these opening lines, it is difficult for us to determine whether Pindar's admission of his forgetfulness and embarrassment has biographical significance¹¹ or whether it should be regarded as a poetic conceit.¹² Although commentators have spoken in

¹⁰ When Wilhelmi (above, note 7) 53-63 speaks of Pindar's song as a mixed drink, he is referring, to be sure, to its dual nature: poetic artistry and technique "mixed" with the inspiration and guidance of the Muses. Only with their help can he create a beautiful ode which flows freely from the heart. Cf. O. 7.7-10 and O. 9.21-27, 80-83 for Pindar's acknowledgment of this partnership.

11 Viljoen (above, note 4) 207 suggests that Pindar seems quite serious with his excuse of having forgotten his debt, whether it is true or not. C. A. M. Fennell, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes* (Cambridge 1879) 90–91, states that the tone of the apology seems to suit the long period of delay.

12 B. L. Gildersleeve, Pindar. The Olympian and Pythian Odes (New York 1890², repr. Amsterdam 1966) 213, remarks that the poem was written in payment of a debt which the poet poetically feigns that he has forgotten. Bundy (above, note 4) 1 note 4 states that the embarrassment in lines 1–8 serves as a foil to heighten the force of the opening crescendo introduced in line 9. For a further discussion of poetic embarrassment, see pp. 3–4 of his study. Erich Thummer, Pindar: Die Isthmischen Gedichte 1 (Heidelberg 1968) 87, agrees with Bundy that the treatment of these lines is a topos. He says, rightly, that Pindar often takes material that is not praiseworthy (i.e., lack of luck, envy, and sorrow) and uses it as a foil for praise. His commentary is most useful for citations of parallels of this topos and numerous others throughout the odes.

favor of both interpretations, it would appear here that the fact of delay (for whatever reason it developed) must be accepted since Pindar's audience, at least in part, would have been aware of the terms under which Pindar agreed to write this ode. We need not assume that the delay was unduly long, however, since there was a customary lapse of time between the victory and the performance of the song at an anniversary celebration or at a feast in honor of a local hero or god.

Yet there is, undoubtedly, a measure of poetic exaggeration and manipulation at work here. It is unlikely that Pindar is making a public confession of guilt in these lines, but rather skillfully and strikingly calling our attention to the subject of his encomiastic tribute in words that a people, who respected precision, would appreciate and understand.¹³ With this lapse of memory and deep embarrassment and his resultant promise to compose the song with extra care, he has actually set up a foil for the greatness of young Hagesidamos; the more embarrassment he displays over the tardiness of paying his obligation, the more justification he has for the profuseness of his song, for the elaborateness of his praise of the victorious son of Archestratos.¹⁴

As Pindar moves to the first epode now, he indicates to us, through the use of the epexegetical particle $\gamma\acute{a}\rho$ in line 13, that he intends to fulfill the promise made in the $\kappa o \iota \nu \acute{o} \nu \lambda \acute{o} \gamma o \nu$ of line 11. For the moment, then, he hastens to concentrate on the assets of Epizephyrian Lokris, Hagesidamos' home. ¹⁵

As Pindar extols the Lokrians' sense of justice in human affairs (13), their appreciation of the Muse (14), and their prowess in war (15),

¹³ According to H. Erbse, "Bemerkungen zu Pindars 10. olympischer Ode," Silvae. Festschrift für Ernst Zinn (Tübingen 1970) 23–24, 28, Pindar composed these lines in a lighthearted rather than serious vein; for, if there had been a misunderstanding between Pindar and Hagesidamos, he feels that Pindar would have taken care of it quietly, no doubt, in a note to him. He states, too, that the elaborateness of his confession makes little sense since Pindar was indeed a busy poet, in great demand and, thus, not expected to comply any earlier. He argues rather that Pindar is having fun with Hagesidamos; by using such precision and exactness in his attempt to recall the debt and to pay it, he offsets Hagesidamos' too eager spirit to have his praises sung, especially since he should have been mindful of his setbacks on his road to victory (see the discussion below on lines 15–18).

¹⁴ Cf. N. 3.76-82 for another tardy song, which embodies "hidden" praise.

¹⁵ A. W. Oldfather in "Lokroi," RE (1927) 1290–1363, makes a thorough study of Epizephyrian Lokris and provides a good, basic bibliography. More recent bibliography, archaeological in nature, can be found listed in H. Prückner's Die Lokrischen Tonreliefs (Mainz 1968) and G. Zuntz' Persephone (Oxford 1971).

we recognize a familiar convention of his epinician poetry—the praise of a people through a catalogue. Although there is an abbreviated number of eulogistic items in this laudatory catalogue, ¹⁶ it is sufficient to highlight the Lokrian virtues. Selecting from the conventional categories the particular qualities which he finds ingrained in the Epizephyrian Lokrians, Pindar pauses to reflect on their high ethics, their cultural sophistication, and their success in military exploits, admiring tacitly, to be sure, their discerning minds and bodily strength.

By using the word Άτρέκεια (13) to refer to the Lokrians' handling of human affairs, Pindar emphasizes their respect for precision. For these are the Lokrians whom the ancestors of The Hundred Houses¹⁷ govern with excellence; these are the people required by the aristocratic oligarchy to uphold the strict law code of Zaleukos, a code which touched all facets of their lives.¹⁸ In this primarily agricultural community, where coinage was not minted until the second half of the fourth century B.C.,¹⁹ Atrekia holds sway.

Since her presence could be felt everywhere—from the severe punishments set forth in the law code and the strict unalterability of the laws themselves²⁰ to the painstaking care $(\hat{a}\kappa\rho i\beta\epsilon\iota a)$ given the city

¹⁶ See Bundy (above, note 4) 24–27 for the discussion and illustration of such catalogues and Thummer (above, note 12) 64–65 for the classification of themes of praise for a victor's home; cf. O. 11.17–19 and O. 13.2–23.

¹⁷ Polybios says in 12.5.6–7 that those are considered noble among the Lokrians who are members of "the hundred houses" (the hundred mothers), those distinguished by the Lokrians as the leading families before the colony was sent out.

¹⁸ For a good overview of the suggested certainties and controversies surrounding Zaleukos and his law code, see K. von Fritz' "Zaleukos," *RE* 9.2 (2nd Series 1967) 2298–2301; A. W. Oldfather (above, note 15) 1318–25; and F. E. Adcock's "Literary Tradition and Early Greek Code-Makers," *CHJ* 2.2 (1927) 95–109.

¹⁹ Since the earliest coins in Magna Graecia did not appear until 600/550 B.C., Oldfather, *ibid.* 1322, denies the charge that minting in Lokris was forbidden by Zaleukos. He admits, however, that there must have been something in the code that allowed the aristocrats to make that interpretation and to preserve their old, noble privileges rather than lose to monied power. T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948) 248–49, posits the possibility that the absence of coinage in Lokris was due rather to her inability to pay for the silver (customarily paid for in corn by the Italian colonies) since she had little wheat land and had to live off it.

²⁰ For primary references to specific laws and their punishments, see Diod. Sic. 12.20–21. Strabo 6.259–60, and Polyb. 12.16. Demosthenes, in *Kata Timok*. 744, speaks of the Lokrians' reticence to legislate new laws and the penalty of strangulation that befell the man who proposed a law that was not good or beneficial. He summarizes the Lokrians' practice, $\tau \circ \hat{i}s$ δè $\tau \acute{a}\lambda \alpha \iota \kappa \epsilon \iota \mu \acute{e}\nu \circ \iota s$ $\dot{a}\kappa \rho \iota \beta \acute{\omega}s \chi \rho \acute{\omega}\nu \tau \alpha \iota$. Oldfather, *ibid*.

by a well-ordered (eŭvoµos) ruling body²¹—Pindar makes it clear that the Lokrians are familiar with precision: precise justice by those who rule them and reverence for what is right; precision in just bargaining, in their dealings, both public and private; and precision in those individual pursuits where preparation and training are needed and where commitments are made to each other (i.e., Archestratos/ Hagesidamos and Pindar).

The poet offers further praise of the victor's home with his mention of Kalliope and Ares in lines 14–15. For Pindar, these are people with artistic sensitivity and refinement, a people who rival the Ionians in their tuneful harmony with the flute;²² they will rightly appreciate the song which he has composed in their honor.

Their martial art is commended, too, as Pindar impresses us with the great strength of their war god, Ares; for not even Herakles, the mighty $(in\epsilon \rho \beta \iota o \nu)$ son of Zeus, was able to stand firm in his confrontation with Kyknos when this giant was aided by Ares, his father.²³ So, as frequent visitors in Ares' domain,²⁴ the Lokrians, too, are familiar with war, the hardships of fighting, and the challenge of combat; yet, for a people, to whom Ares is dear,²⁵ the sweet taste of

^{1347,} claims that the strong lawfulness of the rule of Zaleukos and the constitution prevented Lokris from encountering the troubles that faced other Western cities before Dionysius II.

²¹ G. Grossmann, Politische Schlagwörter aus der Zeit des Peloponnesischen Krieges (Zürich 1950) 82–89, discusses these two catchwords which, he claims, form the basis for the aristocratic ideal, as opposed to its antithesis $\mathring{v}\beta\rho\iota s$ $\mathring{a}\gamma\rho\iota\omega\nu$. He makes the well-documented observation that $\mathring{a}\kappa\rho\iota\beta\epsilon\iota a$, exactness and precision, is an important aspect of $\epsilon\mathring{v}\nu o\mu\iota a$. Characterized by all that is well-mannered, civilized, and well-bred, $\epsilon\mathring{v}\nu o\mu\iota a$ stands in opposition to $\mathring{v}\beta\rho\iota s$ $\mathring{a}\gamma\rho\iota\omega\nu$, which represents that which is uncultured and uncivilized (i.e., lack of respect for xenia, discipline, and fear of the gods); cf. Odysseus and the Kyklops, and O. 13.6 ff. Aelian in VH 2.22 uses the superlative form of $\epsilon\mathring{v}\nu o\mu os$ when describing Lokris.

²² Cf. O. 11.18 and fr. 125. See the scholiast's comments at 18b, also.

²³ This account is given by the scholiast, 19a, in a quotation from fr. 12 of Stesichoros. He goes on to say, in 19b, that Herakles later defeats and kills Kyknos for his seizure of the victims enroute to the Delphian shrine.

²⁴ Military alert was a commonplace for the Lokrians since they were continually threatened by Kroton to the north and Rhegion to the south as these cities expanded their power in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. Cf. P. 2.18–20.

²⁵ Unfortunately, no evidence has been found for the existence of a Lokrian cult in honor of Ares.

victory is equally real, the memory of Sagras so pleasant to hold.²⁶ It is with high esteem, then, that Pindar regards the young victor's city, for it is she that has instilled in him his desire to excel. Like Kyknos, however, the son of Archestratos did not achieve his success on his own. As we recall the commercial imagery of the opening lines and remember Pindar's debt to the Lokrians as well as Kyknos' indebtedness to his father for his victory over Herakles,²⁷ we see now that another victor, Hagesidamos, also has a debt to pay, to Ilas his trainer. The poet exhorts him, therefore, to give thanks to Ilas for the preparation which enabled him to be triumphant in the boxing victory at Olympia, just as Patroklos gave thanks to Achilles for his armor and knowledge of warfare.

Pindar makes it clear, with the word $\chi \acute{a}\rho \imath \nu$ in line 17, that Ilas is deserving of special consideration for the essential part which he, as a trainer, has played in Hagesidamos' victory. It is the young boy's duty to show appreciation to him for his effort and support. For the trainer's joy is in the victor's joy, when conveyed in his word of thankfulness (cf. line 12).

Pindar reminds us, though, in the gnomic expression in lines 20–21, that there is more to the formula of success than fine training. Only the man who is already naturally inclined to achievement $(\phi \dot{\nu} \nu \tau^{2} \dot{\alpha} \rho \epsilon \tau \hat{q})^{28}$ and blessed by god $(\theta \epsilon o \hat{v} \ \sigma \dot{\nu} \nu \ \pi a \lambda \dot{\alpha} \mu \dot{q})$ can be sharpened $(\theta \dot{\alpha} \xi a \iota s)^{29}$ and prompted to great glory $(\pi \epsilon \lambda \dot{\omega} \rho \iota o \nu \ \kappa \lambda \dot{\epsilon} o s)$. In other words, Pindar is intimating to us, in this generic statement, that Hagesidamos, as a talented young boxer, has provided good raw material for the reputable trainer, Ilas, to mould.

²⁶ In the Battle of the Sagras in the sixth century, the Lokrians routed the army of Kroton against heavy odds. See Strabo 6.261, Diod. Sic. 8.32, and Paus. 3.19.11–13, for the Lokrians' story of how Persephone vowed to defend her own shrine, located outside the fortified walls, and how the Dioskouroi and Aias fought in their midst.

²⁷ The scholiast, 19a, states that the Kyknos-Herakles story is intended to illustrate how Hagesidamos rallied to win the victory only after encouragement from Ilas when he wanted to give up in the face of too great an opponent. Boeckh accepts this interpretation in his *Pindari opera quae supersunt: Interpretatio Latina cum commentario perpetuo* 2.2 (Leipzig 1821, repr. Hildesheim 1963) 199, as does Edward Luebbert in *Dissertatio de Pindari carmine Olympico decimo* (Kiel 1881) 24. The hazards of such a biographical interpretation, however, are readily apparent.

 $^{^{28}}$ Cf. O. 9.104–07 and N. 3.40–42 for the contrast between natural genius and imitative accomplishment.

²⁹ Cf. a trainer with the Naxian whetstone in I. 6.73.

With the conclusion of the first introductory triad, let us pause briefly and review the movement of the ode thus far. In lines I-2 Pindar focuses immediately and specifically on the subject of his tribute—the son of Archestratos, the Olympian victor. After laying aside the personal embarrassment which serves as a foil for Hagesidamos' greatness (I-8), he now offers up his song in celebration of the victory (9-I2). At this point, Pindar widens the focus from the victor himself to praise the city from which he comes, pausing to single out Hagesidamos' trainer for special recognition (I3-I9). Now as we come to the close of the triad and expect to reach out even further through the gnomic statement in lines 20-2I, Pindar catches us up short and again focuses our attention upon Hagesidamos ($\phi \dot{\psi} \nu \tau' \dot{a} \rho \epsilon \tau \hat{a}$).

The generic sentiment expressed at the beginning of the second strophe, however, is very broad and general in scope. Reminding us that few people have gained happiness without toil, it accentuates the joy $(\chi \acute{a}\rho \mu a)$ which hard work brings, the light $(\phi \acute{a}os)$, as Pindar says, to brighten man's life with satisfaction for his own success and to attract the notice of others of his accomplishments (22-23).³⁰ With this thought, then, a good transition is made from the praise of Hage-sidamos' endurance of the rigors of the boxing competition to the praise of the efforts and trials of Herakles as recorded in the central myth (24-77).

Pindar moves easily into his mythological theme by explaining that a decree of Zeus (24) has prompted him to sing of the glorious contest (with its six athletic events) which Herakles established, through the weariness of toil and suffering,³¹ beside the ancient grave of Pelops.³²

³⁰ Cf. P. 12.28-29.

³¹ In this passage of great critical difficulty (24b-25), I have accepted the reading $\kappa \alpha \mu \acute{\omega} \nu$ in place of $\beta \omega \mu \acute{\omega} \nu$ or $\pi \acute{o} \nu \omega \nu$. Farnell (above, note 6) 81-82 makes a thorough and sensible analysis of both of these words, concluding that $\beta \omega \mu \acute{\omega} \rho$ probably strayed into the text from a marginal interpretation of $\sigma \acute{a} \mu \alpha \tau_1$ and was then changed to $\beta \omega \mu \acute{\omega} \nu$ to suit the meter. Christ's suggestion of $\pi \acute{o} \nu \omega \nu$ as the word displaced is recorded in his *Pindari carmina prolegomenis et commentariis instructa* (Leipzig 1896) 82; it corresponds metrically with $\mathring{o} \tau_1$ (31). Although both words make equally good sense in the context, since $\beta \omega \mu \acute{\omega} \nu$ will be referred to again in lines 48-49 and $\pi \acute{o} \nu \omega \nu$ in the catalogue of victors and their events in lines 60-72, they do not catch the essence or spirit of lines 22-45. H. Erbse's reading of $\kappa \alpha \mu \acute{\omega} \nu$ (above, note 6) 24-25, however, does accomplish this; cf. P. 8.48 and O. 2.8. He argues further that a causal interpretation of the conjunction $\mathring{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \acute{\iota}$ (26), rather than temporal, follows most naturally here.

³² Cf. O. 1.90-93 for a description of the tomb at Olympia.

This decree of Zeus holds double significance for this passage. First, the $\theta \dot{\epsilon} \mu \iota \tau \epsilon s$ $\Delta \iota \dot{o} s$ enable the poet to speak boldly of the sacredness, majesty, dignity, and excellence of the Olympian Games, for they are Zeus' Games, where Hagesidamos was triumphant. No praise can be too great for a contest given in honor of the lord of Olympos, the awesome and powerful father of the gods. Therefore, with reverence and deep humility, Pindar will offer up his song, blessed by god.

Second, the $\theta \epsilon \mu \iota \tau \epsilon s$ $\Delta \iota \delta s$ are Zeus' way of showing appreciation to Herakles for establishing the Games. Just as the hero brought this honor to his father as grateful payment of his debt for his victory over arrogant King Augeas and his kinsmen, so now will great Zeus repay his valorous son, in return, by securing for him the fame and glory which he so nobly deserves, through Pindar's eternal song (cf. 20–21).

In ready compliance with the will of Zeus, then, Pindar describes the events which, though pitiable in themselves, will result in the founding of the magnificent Games. It was at the behest of Eurystheus that Herakles³³ undertook and succeeded in the cleansing of King Augeas' stables in Elis. As we read in lines 26–34, though, the king's haughty nephews, Kteatos and Eurytos, prevented him from exacting the payment due him for his menial services³⁴ (expressed in the financial terms of lines 28–30: $\lambda \acute{a}\tau \rho \iota o \nu \ldots \mu \iota \sigma \theta \acute{o} \nu \ldots \pi \rho \acute{a}\sigma \sigma \iota \iota \tau o)^{35}$ by attacking him and slaying the army which he had brought with him from Tiryns. It was thus in requital for the shameless wickedness of this deed that Herakles ambushed and killed them on the road near Kleonai as they made their way back from Elis to the Isthmus.³⁶

Their perfidious uncle also met with grievous disaster (34-42) for violating $\xi \epsilon \nu i a$ by attempting to cheat Herakles out of his well-earned reward. (This reminds us of the fear which Pindar, himself, expressed in line 6, that he would suffer ill repute for dealing falsely with a friend,

³³ Note the dramatic effect of suspending mention of the subject until line 30b.

³⁴ He was to receive one-tenth of Augeas' herd as a reward.

 $^{^{35}}$ Note the effective chiastic positioning of the words in lines 28–30: $ω_S A v γ ϵ ων$ λ α τριον α ϵ κονθ' ϵ κωνν μισθον <math>ν π ϵ ρ β ι ον ν π ρ α σ σ ο ι το. This should relieve the ambiguity for those translators who combine μ ι σ θ ο ν and ν π ϵ ρ β ι ον. Fennell (above, note II) 94 claims that ν π ϵ ρ β ι ον is adverbial as in Homer. The two central adjectives epitomize succinctly the reason for the struggle.

³⁶ See Farnell (above, note 6) 82 for his suggestion that Pindar must have derived this account of Herakles' defeat by the Moliones and his vengeance upon them from some early prose source since it does not resemble his epic adventures or the stories of his twelve labors.

 $\vec{a}\lambda\iota\tau\acute{o}\xi\epsilon\nu\sigma\nu$.) Beholding the devastation of his very rich city as it settled into a deep gulf of ruin and woe (37)—as deep as the debt which brought shame to Pindar (cf. 8)—Augeas, too, like his presumptuous nephews before him, had to succumb at last to the finality of death (42), plunging headlong over the precipice $(\theta\acute{a}\nu\alpha\tau\sigma\nu\ a\imath\acute{a}\pi\acute{\nu}\nu)$ into the deep trench with his city. Even though he was a king, there was no hand of god to help and save him (cf. 21, 24), for he had yielded to ill-counsel and disregarded the laws of Zeus.³⁷

As Pindar remarks in the pithy gnome tucked between the destruction of the city and of Augeas himself (39–40), there can be no release from confrontation with those who are stronger; once the encounter has been made, the struggle can only end in defeat for the weak. The connotation of $\kappa\rho\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{o}\nu\omega\nu$ is obviously physical here, but the adjectives used to describe Augeas and the Moliones suggest, also, a moral superiority; for while Herakles is acting on the side of what is just and what is right, Augeas and his kinsmen reflect a different ethic: $A\mathring{v}\gamma\acute{e}a\nu$... $\mathring{v}\pi\acute{e}\rho\beta\iota o\nu$ (28–29), $Mo\lambda\acute{o}ves$ $\mathring{v}\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\phi}\iota a\lambda o\iota$ (34), $\xi\epsilon\nu a\pi\acute{a}\tau as$... $\beta a\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{v}s$ (34–35), and $\kappa\epsilon\imath\nu os$ $\mathring{a}\beta o\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}a$ (41); they are overbearing, presumptuous, beguiling in guest-friendship, and lacking good counsel.

Herakles, therefore, as the son of Zeus, rose up against his enemies, men who were making a mockery of law, both human and divine, and brought them to ruin. This was Zeus' plan for him, Hesiod tells us, when he fathered Herakles; his son was to be a defender against destruction for both gods and men alike.³⁸ As Zeus' instrument, then, Herakles killed the Moliones for their murderous crime and their violation of guest-friendship and, laying siege to Augeas' city, sent the king also to his death. Just as he prevailed over Kyknos for his sacrilegious impiety and evil, so now he metes out punishment to his enemies here; for they defied the laws which Zeus gave to man to insure universal order.³⁹

³⁷ The importance of $\xi \epsilon \nu i a$ to the Greeks is emphasized numerous times throughout the odes, e.g., O. 4.15 and I. 2.39-42. For Zeus as the protector of this inviolate relationship, see O. 8.21. In P. 2.21-25, Pindar tells the sad tale of Ixion who learned the lesson too late. Unlike Ixion and Augeas, however, the Lokrians did not repel the stranger $(\phi \nu \gamma \delta \xi \epsilon \nu \nu \nu, O. 11.17)$.

³⁸ Cf. Scutum 28-29.

³⁹ Cf. Hesiod, Works and Days 276-80.

Herakles' victories are not easily won, though, since his opponents are stalwart fighters. Only with overwhelming strength ($\dot{v}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho\beta\iota\sigma\nu$, 15b, used in the good sense of the word) does he succeed in overcoming them. Only by winning, through the weariness of toil and suffering (cf. $\kappa a\mu\dot{\omega}\nu$, 25), does he bring glory to himself and the cause of justice. Only by struggling for his victories is he able to found the Games, where the victories are most coveted (cf. the gnome in 22–23).⁴⁰

It was with deepest gratitude, then, that the strong ($\mathring{a}\lambda\kappa\iota\mu\sigma$ s, 44) son of Zeus came to Pisa to bestow honor on his father. In thankfulness for his triumph (cf. 16–19), Pindar tells us, he first plotted out a holy ($\mathring{\zeta}\acute{a}\theta\epsilon\sigma\nu$, 45) precinct⁴¹ for mighty Zeus ($\pi\alpha\tau\rho$ i $\mu\epsilon\gamma$ i $\sigma\tau\omega$), fencing it off in an open space. Then giving honor to the twelve sovereign deities ($\mathring{a}\nu\mathring{a}\kappa\tau\omega\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\widehat{\omega}\nu$, 49) beside the ford of Alpheos, he made a resting place for the evening meal. To Zeus' noble sire, too, he granted worthy praise by giving his name to the hill of Kronos, which was nameless before this time.⁴²

With the description of these acts, Pindar begins the narrative account of the institution and celebration of the Olympian Games (43-77), 43 emphasizing their solemnity and sacredness (cf. 24). By his declaration that the $Mo\hat{\imath}\rho\alpha\iota$ were in attendance at the first ordination of these festive rites, 44 he attests to the fact that all of this is taking place

Farnell (above, note 6) 82 states that, though Pindar probably did not invent the version we have here, he is our first authority for it; and it did become the authorized version maintained by tradition (cf. Apollod. 2.7 and Diod. Sic. 4.14). Cf. O. I and O. 3 for other commemorations of the Olympian Games.

⁴⁰ For a good, concise summary of Pindar's view of Herakles, see G. K. Galinsky's The Herakles Theme (Oxford 1972) 23-39.

⁴¹ Cf. O. 3.17, 18, 23 for the lack of trees in early times at Olympia.

⁴² Cf. O. 3.24. Here the hill is described as bathed in sunshine in the time of Herakles.

⁴³ Luebbert (above, note 27) 5-6 writes that Pindar gives this detailed account of the institution of the Olympian Games by Theban Herakles in order to counter the ascription of this honor to other heroes supported by jealous and envious rivals—namely, the tradition which the Eleian priests invented attributing the establishment of the Games to Idaian Herakles and his brothers, the Daktyls, as recorded by Paus. 5.7.6. Luebbert proves in his essay that the Idaian sites in the Peloponnesos precede the time of Pindar's writing and, therefore, refutes Lobeck and others who consider the Eleian legend to be a late invention. Viljoen (above, note 4) 209 claims that Pindar is writing against a tradition that connected Pelops with the founding of the Games since Olympia and its cults had more visible associations with Pelops than with Theban Herakles, who was introduced there later.

⁴⁴ Cf. O. 6.42 for their attendance at the birth of Iamos.

in accordance with fate and destiny (51b-52); the Olympic festival will, thus, certainly enjoy a prosperous future.

Pindar says that Time $(X\rho\acute{o}\nu os)$ was there, too, which alone can compute $(\acute{e}\xi\epsilon\lambda\acute{e}\gamma\chi\omega\nu)^{45}$ actual truth $(\acute{a}\lambda\acute{a}\theta\epsilon\iota a\nu)$. Here at the central moment of the ode (54–55), we find the Time and Truth of lines 7 and 4 appearing side by side once again in a context recalling the commercial imagery of the first strophe and antistrophe. Just as Time took Pindar to task by revealing to him his outstanding debt to Hagesidamos and the Lokrians, so now does Time testify to the events associated with the pride of the Games; for only that which is genuine and true has withstood the test of time. 46

As Time declares, here, the glowing details of the first Olympic celebration, we hear how Herakles, with all the precision required in business transactions, divided the first-fruits of war and, sacrificing them to the gods, set up this quadrennial festival and the prizes for the athletic contests (55–59).⁴⁷ Time is significant here for Pindar, not because it has disclosed to him which account of the origin of the Games is true or the manner in which it was set up, but because Time has borne testimony⁴⁸ to the glorious tradition of the Olympian Games from its very inception to this very moment when Pindar bestows honor on the son of Archestratos.

As Time further reveals the names of the men who were victorious in the first athletic events,⁴⁹ the splendor of the Olympian tradition is enhanced even more (64–72). As a witness to the epitome of human greatness, Time has seen the men who have proved their worth in action, men who have attained glory because of their fine quality, perseverance, training, and divine favor (cf. 20–21).

Pindar is the prophet of this human excellence as he captures its

⁴⁵ Cf. N. 10.46 where the same verb refers to computation and reckoning.

⁴⁶ Cf. Simonides, fr. 175 (Bergk): οὐκ ἔστιν μείζων βάσανος χρόνου οὐδενὸς ἔργου. In O. 2.15-17 Pindar reminds us that time sees things as they really are; not even time, the father of all, can undo the accomplished end of things that have been finally completed, whether in right or in wrong.

⁴⁷ See H. Erbse (above, note 13) 29 for his discussion of the anachronistic listing of the first events.

⁴⁸ Cf. O. 1.33-34 for the thought that the days still to come are the wisest witnesses.

⁴⁹ See Farnell (above, note 6) 83-84 for a thorough discussion of the identity of the victors and of the textual difficulty with the names, Samos and Olirothios. He also summarizes the speculations of commentators on Pindar's possible source for the chronicle of the victors.

spirit in the words which describe the victory of each man: Oionos, στάδιον ἀρίστευσεν (64), Echemos, πάλα κυδαίνων (66b), Doryklos, ἔφερε πυγμᾶς τέλος (67), Phrastor, ἄκοντι ἔλασε σκοπόν (71), and Nikeus, μᾶκος ἔδικε πέτρ ω ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων (72).

It is not the names of the competitors and their cities that Pindar is emphasizing here, 50 but rather the fact that each man has won through hard competition. His aspirations for glory have been realized in victory since, with the blessing of god, he has devoted his will and strength to the attainment of success; he has excelled over all of the others $(\hat{\upsilon}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho\,\hat{\delta}\iota\sigma\nu)$ in his field, just as Herakles, with his great strength $(\hat{\upsilon}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\rho\beta\iota\sigma\nu)$, once proved to be too strong a match for his opponents. Now the applause and cheers from the crowd ring euphonious in each man's ears.

Then the evening comes, and there is deserved rest for the victor; and the lovely moon, a wonder to behold $(\epsilon \tilde{\upsilon} \omega \pi \iota \delta o s)$, shines down in full radiance $(\tilde{\epsilon} \phi \lambda \epsilon \tilde{\xi} \epsilon \nu \ldots \tilde{\epsilon} \rho a \tau \delta \nu \phi \acute{a} o s)$ on him below, crowning a day of excitement and happiness for him (73-75); illuminating the evening with her beauteous light, she fixes a steady spotlight on the victor so that all may see the man whose victory has brought him joy. With the fair-faced moon beaming down on him from above, he now has that inner light of life, too (as the gnomic sentiment of lines 22-23 describes it), as his reward for achievement. The whole festive assembly also rejoices with him in his happiness, making the precincts resound with the encomiastic strains of their triumphal songs in praise of the glorious success of the victor $(\tau \grave{o} \nu \epsilon \gamma \kappa \omega \mu \iota \nu \nu a \mu \nu a$

In this pretty setting, Pindar concludes the account of the institution of the Olympic festival.⁵² As he has depicted the various stages of the inaugural activities, we have seen a change in Herakles' role. In the deplorable events which preceded the actual founding of the Games,

50 Concerning Pindar's purpose for including this catalogue, Gildersleeve (above, note 12) 219 remarks that it would not be strange if the whole description were composed to save the neglected memory of Doryklos, Phrastor, and Nikeus; and Viljoen (above, note 4) 209 claims that it serves as a substitute for the usual list of the previous successes of the victor and his family. (This coincides with his statement on p. 206 that Pindar delayed the delivery of O. 10 because he was not particularly impressed by the victor's performace or by his family's aretê.)

⁵¹ Cf. O. 3.19b-20 for another description of the full moon at the time of the contest. ⁵² It does not appear that, because this account of the first Olympian Games is marked by straightforwardness and simplicity of style, it should be described as "austere and rather jejune in content," as Bowra says in *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 284.

he represented strength in virtue, strength in a just cause. Then, as he made manifest his gratitude to Zeus for his victory, he became a symbol for filial piety, displaying on both occasions the toil and labor necessary to achieve such virtue. Now Pindar is ready to leave Herakles⁵³ and the myth behind, with its emphasis on a general description of the first Olympian contest, and to give singular recognition to a victor in recent Games.

The poet makes this transition easily. Through the use of the familiar conventional expression $\kappa \alpha i \nu \nu \nu$ plus the future verb $\kappa \epsilon \lambda \alpha \delta \eta \sigma \delta \mu \epsilon \theta \alpha$ in 78b-79 (cf. 9b and O. 11.14),⁵⁴ he promises to keep in the tradition of old $(\tilde{a}\rho\chi\alpha \hat{i}s \pi\rho\sigma\tau \epsilon\rho\alpha is \epsilon\pi\delta\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma i)^{55}$ —a tradition which saluted the victors with epinician songs of praise (cf. 76-77)⁵⁶—and to pour forth his song now, resoundingly, in celebration of Hagesidamos' success.⁵⁷

Before praising the victor, however, Pindar pauses momentarily to honor the remarkable insignia of Zeus, his fiery thunderbolt (78–83). Since the Games are conducted under the mighty aegis of powerful Zeus, all of the achievements in the Games are necessarily won in accord with the supreme will of Zeus, the father of the gods and lord of Olympia. With the propitious peals of thunder $(\beta\rho\rho\nu\tau\dot{\alpha}\nu)$ and the

⁵³ For Herakles' association with Lokris, see Oldfather's summary (above, note 15) 1355. Archaeological evidence includes a vase with a caricature of Herakles with his club and a small, native altar depicting his fight with Achelous. According to Strabo 6.259, the southernmost cape of Italy, before travelling northwest, was called Herakleion; and a harbor on the western side of Italy (directly across from Lokris) was named Portus Herculis.

⁵⁴ See Bundy (above, note 4) 21 for his discussion of the encomiastic future as a convention. Other scholars who support his interpretation are: Thummer (above, note 12) 58, 87, 128; Erbse (above, note 13) 22; and W. J. Slater, "Futures in Pindar," CQ 19 (1969) 86–94.

55 Line 78 is a difficult phrase to interpret because of the ambiguity of the words. If we associate it with the singing of encomiastic songs in lines 76–77 directly above it, however, I believe that it becomes clearer. It is also logical to speak here in terms of a tradition which was begun long ago because of the recounting of the first Games.

Farnell (above, note 6) 85 compares this phrase to N. 2.1-3 and suggests that it is referring to the invocation of Zeus (his thunder) with which ancient poets began their songs; but he feels that it is out of place here toward the end of the ode. I find this interpretation too topical to accept in the context of the ode.

 56 Cr. O. 9.1-4 where Pindar alludes to the two lines preserved from Archilochos' hymn to Herakles. This hymn which begins with the words $\hat{\omega}$ καλλίνικε χαίρ' is known as the καλλίνικοs and was traditionally sung at the Games whenever no special ode had been prepared in honor of the victor.

⁵⁷ Note the less figurative, but more vivid, meaning of $\kappa \epsilon \lambda a \delta \epsilon \omega$: "to sound as rushing water."

fire-wrought lightning flashes $(\pi\nu\rho\pi\dot{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\mu\nu\nu\ \beta\dot{\epsilon}\lambda os)$ of his blazing thunderbolt $(\alpha i\theta\omega\nu\alpha\ \kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\nu\acute{\nu})$, Zeus shows favor to those who will emerge victorious.⁵⁸ His thunderbolt, in all of its brilliance and light, goes hand in hand with triumphant success (cf. 23, 75), a fitting emblem, indeed, in every victory $(\dot{\epsilon}\nu\ \ddot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\tau\iota\ \kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota\ ...\ \kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\nu\acute{\nu}\nu\ \dot{\alpha}\rho\alpha\rho\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha$, 82–83).

This phrase is helpful in explaining the difficult ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν νίκας in 78b-79 because the two nouns, χάριν and κεραυνόν, are set in apposition to each other; the favor of Zeus is represented here by the fitting emblem, the thunderbolt. Since Zeus "selects" the man who will win, Pindar speaks of it as "favor that bears the name to be attached to the proud victory" (ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν νίκας); his favor, which is the essence of victory, thus brings delight and glory to the victor (cf. 12, 17). Pindar is, therefore, honoring the god who dispenses this divine blessing to those victorious in the contests (which includes Hagesidamos, of course) just as the joyous celebrants praised Zeus when they witnessed his favor to those who competed in the first Games (cf. 21).59

Mindful, too, of his commission by Zeus to celebrate this event (cf. 24), Pindar declares that his sweet, delicate song ($\chi\lambda\iota\delta\hat{\omega}\sigma a \mu o\lambda\pi\acute{a}\ldots$ $\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, 84) will now answer the pipe. The future verb $\mathring{a}\nu\tau\iota\mathring{a}\xi\epsilon\iota$ here, like the future $\kappa\epsilon\lambda a\delta\eta\sigma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\theta a$, is the poet's conventional way of expressing his present intention. His debt will now be paid, and Time can attest to the settling of the account; for the song which has finally ($\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\dot{\varphi}$, 85) come to rest beside the famed stream of Dirke, the fountain of Pindar's home, 60 will now be sung. Time, coming upon him from afar (cf. 7), has caught up with him at last, and time which reveals the truth (cf. 55) will give a full account, without further delay, of the greatness of the victor, Hagesidamos, and his city.

Since the ode is long awaited, Pindar claims that it will receive a

 $^{^{58}}$ Cf. P. 4.197–200 for an instance of Zeus answering from the clouds with auspicious thunder and lightning.

⁵⁹ Oldfather (above, note 15) 1357 states summarily that Zeus was one of the chief gods in Lokris. An inscription, *IG* XIV.2401.3, attests to his cult there. Perhaps these lines in Pindar make reference to such a cult. According to archaeological evidence, Zeus appears on a vase; and numismatists testify to his later appearance on coins (beginning in the fourth century B.C.) with his thunderbolt and eagle.

⁶⁰ Cf. I. 6.74-75 for another reference to drinking from the inspirational, holy waters of Dirke.

warm welcome. It will be as warmly received by the heart as the birth of a much desired child $(\pi \alpha \hat{\imath}_S \dots \pi o \theta \epsilon \iota \nu \delta s)$ to a man who has already passed the prime of his life (85-87b), for that man can then rest back in comfort, confident that he has a worthy heir and guardian $(\pi o \iota \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \alpha)$ of his fortune $(\pi \lambda o \hat{\upsilon} \tau o s)$. Expressing this thought in familiar commercial imagery (88-90), Pindar states that the older man no longer has to fear that death will mean the loss of all that he has worked for in life; for he now has a son who, bearing his name, will be the able steward of his inheritance and assure his father of immortality.

Comparing his song to this tender simile, Pindar has visualized the happiness with which it will be received and now praises its power, in turn, in the final antistrophe (cf. 9b-10). He does this by giving a negative illustration of what happens to a man who, although he has accomplished great things in life, descends to Hades without a song surviving him ($\partial o i \partial \hat{a} \hat{s} \ \tilde{a} \tau \epsilon \rho$, 91). Unlike the father with his son, this man has spent his strength in vain ($\kappa \epsilon \nu \epsilon \hat{a} \ \pi \nu \epsilon \hat{\nu} \sigma a \iota s$, 93), for the memory of his name and deeds will be kept alive only as long as he has close friends to remember and praise him.

Fortunate is the man, however, who is celebrated in song; for, like a son who relieves a dying father of his most anxious and bitter fear (90), it removes the dread of short-lived glory for a person who has achieved noble things ($\kappa \alpha \lambda \dot{\alpha} \ \tilde{\epsilon} \rho \xi \alpha i s$, 91). Just as song brought praise to the winners in the first Games for their successes, so now it will perpetuate his memory, too, as he truly deserves, by bestowing on him the gift of immortality.

So the small delight ($\beta \rho \alpha \chi \dot{\nu} \tau \iota \tau \epsilon \rho \pi \nu \dot{\nu} \nu$, 93b) of the man deprived of song gives way to the far-spread glory ($\epsilon \dot{\nu} \rho \dot{\nu} \kappa \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \sigma s$, 95) of the son

of Archestratos; for the daughters of Zeus, the Pierides, are fostering $(\tau\rho\epsilon\phi o\nu\tau\iota)$ his fame abroad.⁶¹ They have responded to Pindar's summons (cf. 3b), by locating the name recorded in the ledger, and are now giving him help in fulfilling his obligation. While promoting and safeguarding their father's wish that this song be sung (cf. 24), they are immortalizing Hagesidamos as a legitimate heir of Olympia's glory.

The word $\chi\acute{a}\rho\iota\nu$ describes here, then (cf. 12, 17, 78b), both the beauty of the encomium and the beauty of the victor. By honoring Hage-sidamos as a young man born for excellence, fit in body and spirit to triumph in competition, this ode sprinkles (bespatters) favor on him $(\mathring{a}\nu\alpha\pi\acute{a}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota$, 94); and favor is also sprinkled on the victor through the sweet music of the instruments lending delightful charm and grace to the poetry, and through the inspiration of the Muses conferring quiet dignity and elegance; for a song with this appeal will surely make Hagesidamos the cynosure of eyes and ears for all time.

With the musical instruments as his accompaniment and the Muses as his counsel and ambassadors, Pindar now announces that he is the poet (laudator)—he does this by emphatically positioning the pronoun $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\dot{\omega}$ at the head of the first line of the final epode, just as he declared climactically in line 93b that $\tau\dot{\iota}\nu$ is the subject (laudandus) of this epinician ode—together, they will tend and nourish the accomplishments and reputation ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\dot{\alpha}$) of Hagesidamos, both now and for eternity, just as the long-awaited son serves as guardian for a less spiritual type of wealth ($\pi\lambda o\hat{v}\tau os$).

As Pindar now brings his song to a close, he pauses one final time to praise Epizephyrian Lokris. Speaking in more general terms here (97–99) than he did in lines 13–15, he expresses the warmth which he feels in his heart for the famous tribe of Lokrians ($\kappa\lambda\nu\tau\dot{o}\nu$ $\check{\epsilon}\theta\nu\sigma$ s) who produce such good men ($\epsilon\dot{v}\dot{a}\nu\sigma\rho\alpha$ $\pi\dot{o}\lambda\nu$). His heart, which had forgotten where the entry had been written has now zealously embraced ($\dot{a}\mu\phi\dot{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\nu$) both the victor and the city alike. He has displayed the same eagerness ($\sigma\pi\sigma\nu\delta\hat{a}$) to grant full payment to his patron as Herakles once showed in his endeavor to collect the wages owed to

⁶¹ Cf. N. 10.26, O. 9.26–28, and P. 6.2 for references to the gardens of the Muses and Graces. In Hesiod's *Theog.* 64, they dwell side by side on Mt. Olympos.

him (cf. 29); for he has drenched ($\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \beta \rho \epsilon \chi \omega \nu$) the city with his sweet song ($\mu \epsilon \lambda \iota \tau \iota$).⁶²

Now as we approach the end of the ode, we have come full circle. Pindar's request for the reading of the name of the son of Archestratos (cf. 2) has now given way to the fulfillment of his promise, "I have praised the handsome son of Archestratos whom I saw win by strength of hand on that day beside the Olympian altar, fair to behold and endowed with the comely bloom of youth" (99b–104). He has finally bestowed fullest glory (airna) on Hagesidamos.

Pindar is not sparing in the complimentary adjectives which he uses to laud the victor. In line 100, he commends him for his athletic skill, emphasizing the strength which he needed to win $(\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}o\nu\tau\alpha\chi\epsilon\rho\acute{\delta}s\ \mathring{a}\lambda\kappa\mathring{a})$. This is the excellence which makes him a part of the tradition of the Olympian Games.

He also praises his handsome appearance (ἐρατόν, 99b), beautiful physique (ἰδέα καλόν, 103) and youthful age (ἄρα κεκραμένον, 104). Pindar uses a very vivid metaphor in this last phrase, one which refers to the mixing of wine. He is telling us that Hagesidamos is "in the vintage time of youth;" he is at that age when the fruit is just ripe for picking.⁶³

Pindar wrote these glowing phrases of praise perhaps because he was struck by the comeliness of the young man,⁶⁴ but more importantly because Hagesidamos had trained his body for the endurance which he would need in the rigorous contest and had developed it to its fullest strength and vigor; for this is essential for the achievement of human excellence in the Games.

- ⁶² Note the richness of the vegetative imagery, here, in the final antistrophe and epode. Pindar's praise, the fertilizing agent, will make the glory of this people blossom and grow to its full beauty.
- ⁶³ For parallel passages which deal with the victors' praiseworthy attributes, see Thummer (above, note 12) 46–47, and Bowra (above, note 49) 166 ff.
- 64 According to L. Schmidt, *Pindar's Leben und Dichtung* (Bonn 1862), Pindar was so struck by the beauty of Hagesidamos that he was not able at the time of the victory to compose a greater song; he had to put it off until a later date. Only when peace of heart and mind was restored could he sing, when "the heat of passion had given way to a more pure and splendid image" (lines 99–105). Luebbert (above, note 27) 26 says that Pindar had once attempted to compose an ode, but his mind, disturbed by Hagesidamos' beauty, made it futile. He was able to compose it for a later anniversary, though, with a peaceful spirit and to make "the mortal beauty immortal," as he had already done in his own spirit. Such biographical speculation as this, however, tends to obscure the power of this passage.

With the discussion of Olympian 10 now complete, let us briefly review the movement of the ode from the close of the first triad to the end of the poem. As noted on page 228 above, Hagesidamos and his city are the focal point of lines 1-21. With the gnomic statement in lines 22-23, however, the scope of the poem becomes universal, serving as a transition from the praise of Hagesidamos' rigorous contest to Herakles' hardship and trials.

As we pass to the myth which follows in lines 24–77, our attention is drawn to specific exempla of the generic sentiment. The hero Herakles is praised in song for overcoming the difficult encounters with the Moliones and King Augeas which resulted in the founding of the magnificent Olympian contest; and Pindar expresses great admiration for the Games and the excellence which they represent, as he honors the first victors who, like Herakles, won their achievements after hard struggles. Turning from the myth, Pindar makes the transition (78–79) from the general description of the first contest to the praise of Hagesidamos, a recent winner in the Games, by placing him in the strong, noble tradition.

From this point to the close of the ode, the focus becomes increasingly more narrow. Pindar gives honor to Zeus, the god who bestows favor on all victors (which includes Hagesidamos), in lines 78–83 and claims that the song which he has promised to one particular young victor is now ready (84–85). The poet pauses momentarily here to glorify song per se for its power, beauty, and richness (86–96); his song will befit the fame of young Hagesidamos. Finally, with the mention of the pronoun "you" in line 93b, Pindar focuses all of his attention on the subject of his epinician ode; and he concludes his encomium with elaborate praise of Hagesidamos (99b–105),

⁶⁵ He escaped death by being whisked away to serve as cupbearer among the immortals on Mt. Olympos. Cf. O. 1.40-45 where Poseidon steals Pelops away to Mt. Olympos.

stopping in passing to laud his people, the Epizephyrian Lokrians one last time (97-99).

As we can see, then, Pindar has constructed a symmetrical external framework for his ode: he begins by expressing admiration for Hagesidamos and his city, then fully develops the glorious tradition of the Olympian Games imbued with excellence, and closes with admiration for the city and Hagesidamos (in reverse order from the introduction); the son of Archestratos now ably takes his place in that tradition, assured of immortality through this magnificent song.