## PINDAR, ARCHILOCHUS AND HIERON IN P. 2.52–56

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In a poem notorious for allusive obscurity few passages, perhaps, have inspired more controversy, or a greater number and variety of interpretations, than *P.* 2.52–56:

ἐμὲ δὲ χρεών
φεύγειν δάκος ἀδινὸν κακαγοριᾶν
εἶδον γὰρ έκὰς ἐὼν τὰ πόλλ' ἐν ἀμαχανία
ψογερὸν ᾿Αρχίλοχον βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν πιαινόμενον. τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχα
πότμου σοφίας ἄριστον.¹

The points under dispute are legion. How, for example, is the last clause to be construed and translated? Is the "wealth" denoted by  $\tau \dot{o} \pi \lambda o v \tau \epsilon \hat{i} v$  literal or metaphoric? Is  $\sigma o \phi \dot{i} as$  "wisdom" or "poetic skill"? Does the sentiment as a whole refer to Hieron, or to Pindar, or to both simultaneously? What precisely is being said about Archilochus in lines 54–56—what, above all, does  $\dot{\epsilon} v \dot{a} \mu a \chi a v \dot{i} a$  mean—and in what way does the reference explain, as  $\gamma \dot{a} \rho$  indicates it does, the preceding sentence? What, in turn, does that mean? Is  $\delta \dot{a} \kappa o s \kappa a \kappa a \gamma o \rho \hat{i} a v$  active or passive in force—in other words, is Pindar saying he must avoid speaking ill of others or being ill-spoken of himself? What, finally, does any of this have to do with the solemn hymn to divine omnipotence—the "magnificat," as it has been called²—of lines 49–52? Does the apparent abruptness of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The text used throughout is that of H. Maehler, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*, vol. I (Leipzig 1971). *P.* 2.52–56 have been repunctuated to accord with the interpretation that follows.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> By R. E. Grimm, "Pindar and the Beast," CP 57 (1962) 2. Other works that will be referred to hereafter by the author's name alone are E. L. Bundy, Studia Pindarica (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962), R. Burton, Pindar's Pythian Odes (Oxford 1962), L. R. Farnell, The Works of Pindar, vol. II (London 1932), C. Fennell, Pindar: Olympian and Pythian Odes (Cambridge 1893<sup>2</sup>), D. Gerber, "Pindar, Pythian 2.56," TAPA 91 (1960) 100-108, B. L. Gildersleeve, Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes (New York 1885), H. Lloyd-Jones, "Modern Interpretation of Pindar: the Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Ode," JHS 93 (1973) 109-37, G. Nagy, The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek

transition conceal a subtle connection of thought or is it simply symptomatic of the poet's mental and emotional perturbation? The heterogeneity of critical opinion on these and similar points may, of course, attest to real obscurity on Pindar's part, whether inadvertent or deliberate, but it is also possible that the fault lies rather with the interpreters themselves, who have tended to concentrate on particularities of word and phrase at the expense of broader considerations. A sentence or sequence of sentences can usually be made to bear a number of plausible interpretations when it is scrutinized in vacuo; if these multiple possibilities are to be reduced to a single "most probable" reading the passage must first be restored to its larger context and viewed in the light of the intention that governs the work as a whole. Our only hope of gaining control over the perplexing particulars of P. 2.52-56, I believe, lies in what has been called the topology of epinician argument; in other words, the lines must be studied as part of an encomiastic strategy defined and articulated by the conventions of the epinician genre. H. Lloyd-Jones and E. Thummer, among others, have seen the necessity of such an approach and have done much to clarify the general intent of the passage; there is, however, more to be said, particularly since their views seem to have made little headway against traditional historicism in the recent literature.4

The single most important fact to be observed about P. 2.52–56, and the point from which all discussion must start, is their position in the poem: standing between the story of Ixion's crime and punishment, the "myth" of the ode, and the direct praise of Hieron that occupies lines 57–67, they are patently transitional. That such a transition is imminent, moreover, has already been signaled by the word  $\theta av\mu a\sigma \tau os$  (47) and by the reflections on the power of  $\theta \epsilon os$  (49–52), both of which, underscoring as they do the portentousness of Ixion's bizarre progeny, serve to bring the myth to a formal climax and thus prepare the way for the introduction of a new topic. To an audience familiar with the

Poetry (Baltimore and London 1979), J. Péron, "Pindare et Hiéron dans la IIe Pythique," REG 87 (1974) 1-15, C. A. P. Ruck and W. H. Matheson, Pindar: Selected Odes (Ann Arbor 1968), W. Schadewaldt, Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion (Halle 1928), E. Thummer, "Die zweite pythische Ode Pindars," RhM 115 (1972) 293-307, E. Wyckoff, "Pindar's Pythian 2.52-56," CP 41 (1946) 160-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> W. J. Slater, "Doubts about Pindaric Interpretation," CJ 72 (1977) 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Scholiastic hypotheses about court intrigue and professional rivalry are still holding strong in, for example, H. D. Rankin, "Archilochus in Pindar *Pythian* 2," *Emerita* 43 (1975) 249–55, and T. N. Gantz, "Pindar's Second Pythian: the Myth of Ixion," *Hermes* 106 (1978) 14–26. To Gantz 15, note 2, the adoption of Bundy's approach by Lloyd-Jones and Thummer is explicitly a matter for regret.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>circ}$  On the "θανμα-motive" see Bundy 2–3 and 8–9 and Lloyd-Jones 121 and cf. P. 1.26, P. 10.48–50. The latter example is particularly à propos because it provides (with θεων τελεσάντων) a succinct parallel for P. 2.49–52. Such reflections on divine omnipotence may

conventional force of such rhetorical heightening the shift of focus effected by  $\hat{\epsilon}\mu\hat{\epsilon}$   $\delta\hat{\epsilon}$   $\chi\rho\epsilon\hat{\omega}\nu$  would by no means be as precipitous, unexpected, or puzzling as modern scholars have found it —particularly since such a collocation of the first-person pronoun and a word expressive of obligation is not uncommon at points of transition where the poet is recalling himself to the terms of his *chreos*, his contractual responsibilities to the victor and/or his family. The gist of all such *chreos*-statements is a simple "My duty is to praise"; Pindar's innovation in P. 2.52–53 is to express that thought not positively but negatively, as an obligation to shun kakagoria. Though usually translated "slander" in this context—a term that connotes falsity as well as malice—the word itself need signify no more than, as the antithesis of *euagoria* or *eulogia*, its etymology implies, namely "speaking ill" in the sense of "censure" or "blame." Now censure,

either accompany or replace the explicit use of the word  $\theta a \hat{v} \mu a$  or its congeners in this topos; cf. Bacch. 3.56-57, P. 9.67-68. What these four passages have in common with one another and with P. 2.46-52 is that they all conclude "myths" and all are followed within a few lines by praise of the victor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Farnell 124 is typical in this regard: "... the transition from the strain of high religious poetry to this remark about himself is abrupt and rather jarring." Those who look to the emphatic  $\hat{\epsilon}\mu\hat{\epsilon}$  to establish a connection of thought with what precedes (e.g., Grimm 4, who sees "a contrast between God's boundless power and [Pindar's] own limited scope"; cf. also Fennell 165, Farnell 124, Wyckoff 161) fail to appreciate the conventional force of the first-person pronoun at junctures of this sort (see next note).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. O. 1.100–103 ἐμὲ δὲ ... χρή, O. 8.74–75 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ χρή, O. 13.93–94 ἐμὲ δ' ... οὐ χρή, P. 9.103–5 ἐμὲ δ' οὖν τις ... πράσσει χρέος, and see Bundy 73, E. Thummer, Die isthmischen Gedichte, vol. I (Heidelberg 1968) 126, Lloyd-Jones 122. On the "chreos-motif" generally see Schadewaldt 278, note 1, Bundy 10–11 and 53–68.

<sup>8</sup> This interpretation assumes, of course, that δάκος means "bite" and is active in force (so the scholiast, Boeckh, and the majority of recent commentators). Among the few dissenters are Wyckoff 161, M. Jean Martin, REG 82, 2 (1969) XXIII, and G. F. Gianotti, Per una poetica pindarica (Turin 1975) 36, who take δάκος as equivalent to τὸ δάκνεσθαι, and Grimm 4 (seconded by J. F. Oates, AJP 84 [1963] 330), who argues that δάκος in fifth-century Greek can only mean "beast"; in either case Pindar is putting himself on guard against the slanderous attacks of enemies. Against this view it must be objected not only that ἐμὲ δὲ χρεών unmistakably signals a statement of the poet's obligation qua laudator (see preceding note) but also that the Archilochus exemplum makes no sense if Pindar is the victim rather than the (ostensible) perpetrator of kakagoria (Farnell 126, Burton 119, C. M. Bowra, HSCP 48 [1937] 23). To my mind these considerations far outweigh Grimm's lexicographical argument, which is based on the questionable assumption—questionable even when the evidence is a good deal more abundant than in the present case—that because a word bears a certain sense in some contexts it must necessarily bear that sense in all. Even if "beast" was the usual contemporary signification of  $\delta \acute{a} \kappa os$ , I am confident that an audience attuned to the implications of  $\acute{\epsilon} \mu \grave{\epsilon} \ \delta \acute{\epsilon}$  $\chi \rho \epsilon \dot{\omega} \nu$  would have found an adequate clue to Pindar's intention in the transparent etymological connection with  $\delta \acute{a} \kappa \nu \omega$ , reinforced as this is by analogous verb-noun pairs like  $\mu a \nu \theta \dot{\alpha} \nu \omega / \mu \dot{\alpha} \theta o_S$  and  $\pi \dot{\alpha} \sigma \chi \omega / \pi \dot{\alpha} \theta o_S$ . For some intriguing observations on the association of blame with biting and devouring see Nagy 225-30.

<sup>°</sup> Cf. Lloyd-Jones 122. For εὐαγορία (εὐλογία) as "praise" cf. I. 1.51, Pae. 2.42, O. 5.24, N. 4.5, I. 3.3, I. 6.21. If in O. 1.53 "slanderers" seems an appropriate rendering for

like praise, may be well- or ill-deserved, and certainly if ever a man deserved it that man is Ixion; yet in order to motivate his return to Hieron as a topic of discourse Pindar pretends to have been sidetracked into a censorious vein out of keeping with the eulogistic spirit of the ode as a whole "pretends," I say, because of course the κακαγορία 'Ιξίονος is in reality an integral part of the total design, just as the mythical "digressions" in other odes are only ostensibly irrelevant, 11 and because in a different rhetorical situation Pindar can speak of blame as a necessary complement to praise in his ethical mission as poet.12 In fully explicit paraphrase, then, P. 2.52-53 might be rendered: "As a poet whose contractual and moral obligation it is to praise virtue, it behooves me to refrain from excessive<sup>13</sup> exercise of the antithetical poetic function, the castigation of baseness and vice—and so I shall say no more about Ixion." To claim, as some have done, that not Ixion but Hieron is the target of the "evil-speaking" thus abjured14 is to ignore the logic of an artfully contrived transition for which O. 13.93-95, the only other negative  $\chi \rho \eta$ statement in the odes, provides an apt parallel:

ἐμὲ δ' εὐθὺν ἀκόντων
ἱέντα ῥόμβον παρὰ σκοπὸν οὐ χρή
τὰ πολλὰ βέλεα καρτύνειν χεροῖν.

Here Pindar justifies his return from a mythical excursus to the business at hand (praise of the Oligaithidai) through an appeal to a principle of relevance (the tale of Bellerophon is "beside the mark,"  $\pi a \rho \dot{\alpha} \sigma \kappa o \pi \dot{o} \nu$ ), whereas in P.~2.52-53 he effects the same maneuver by appealing to a

κακαγόρουs, that is only because piety dictates that any "evil-speaking" against the gods is ipso facto false. If such a connotation were inherent in the compound itself we would be forced to conclude from P. 11.28 κακολόγοι δὲ πολῖται that Clytemnestra was, in Pindar's view, the innocent victim of a smear-campaign.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cf. W. Christ, *Pindari Carmina* (Leipzig 1896) 131: "transitu frigido Pindarus utitur, ut a fabula de fraude Ixionis ad rem propositam et Hieronis laudem se revocet: suum esse munus in carmine encomio, ut non more Archilochi in rebus turpibus narrandis et vituperandis versetur, sed in rebus praeclare gestis praedicandis"; cf. also Fennell 165, Gildersleeve 254. Thummer 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> On P. 11.17-40, a notorious instance of alleged irrelevance, see D. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar* (Leiden 1968) 3-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> E.g., N. 8.39. On the traditional opposition between praise and blame as social and poetic functions see G. Dumézil, Servius et la fortune; essai sur la fonction sociale de louange et de blâme et sur les éléments indo-européens du cens romain (Paris 1943<sup>3</sup>) ch. 1, M. Detienne, Les maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque (Paris 1973) 18-27, Nagy 222-28, 253-64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Since ἀδινόν means "close," "thick," "crowded," "frequent" (not "strong," "violent" as Slater and others take it), Pindar may be implying that it is persistent ("relentless" Nagy 225) censure, not censure *per se*, that must be avoided.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> So Schadewaldt 330, Ruck and Matheson 130, Lloyd-Jones 122. The distinction is of course not meaningful if, as Gantz (above, note 4) argues, Ixion is Hieron in mythical guise.

principle of encomiastic decorum; in both cases, however, the use of a *chreos*-word implies that to extend the treatment of the subsidiary theme would involve, figuratively speaking at least, a "breach of contract."

Once P. 2.52-53 are recognized as an artful variant of the conventional chreos-statement that acknowledges, at points of transition, the poet's duty to praise, then the rhetorical function of the  $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$ -clause that follows becomes clear. Rather than being a mask for some personal enemy of Hieron—a rival poet, perhaps, who has slandered him to Hieron<sup>15</sup>—the Archilochus of P. 2.54-56 is simply the historical Archilochus himself, cited as additional justification for Pindar's eschewing of kakagoria as a poetic mode.16 "Standing at a distance," he says, "I have seen censorious Archilochus, while in a state, for the most part, of resourcelessness, battening upon hatreds bitterly expressed." If, as many commentators hold, άμαχανία denotes the "resourcelessness" of material poverty, 17 then the point of the exemplum must be that a poet who uses his verses to vent personal spleen will inevitably find himself without the financial assistance of patrons. The evidence of Pindar's usage elsewhere, however, points in a quite different direction.18 Maxavá, after all, is a Pindaric term for poetic ability or the efficacy of the poetic art (P. 8.34, N. 7.22), and in Pae. 7b.17 εὐμαχανία is used in what is evidently much the same sense. The opening of *I*. 4 sheds further light:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> So Wyckoff 161, Grimm 5-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> So the majority of scholars, e.g., Gildersleeve 254, O. Schroeder, *Pindars Pythien* (Leipzig 1922) 362, Schadewaldt 330, Burton 119, Lloyd-Jones 122, Thummer 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cf. Bowra (above, note 8) 23 and *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 248, Gerber 107–8, Burton 120, Ruck and Matheson 131, Péron 13–14, Rankin (above, note 4) 253. According to this interpretation  $\dot{\alpha}\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\nu/\dot{\alpha}$  finds its antithetical counterpart in the  $\tau\dot{\alpha}$  πλου $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\nu}$  of 56, though opinion is divided as to whether the wealth thus alluded to is Hieron's or Pindar's. On the former supposition, however, the antithesis seems pointless: what do Archilochus and Hieron have in common to justify drawing the contrast in the first place? On the latter supposition it seems in questionable taste: Pindar may refer without embarrassment to the financial aspect of his craft in contexts like *P*. 11.41–42 or *I*. 2.6–8, but are we really to suppose him capable of implying in *P*. 2.52–56 that the only reason he is not going to say terrible things about Hieron is that he knows that is no way to make money?

<sup>18</sup> Grimm 7 points out that "Pindar nowhere else uses ἀμαχανία in such a narrow sense" (i.e., as "poverty"); he himself follows Wyckoff 161–62 in rendering it "helplessness" and taking the phrase as a whole (τὰ πόλλ) ἐν ἀμαχανία) as applying not to Archilochus but to Pindar, powerless, in his absence from Hieron's court, against the slanders of his enemies. Gerber 101 also argues for "helplessness" over "poverty," without, however, defining precisely how we are to understand it. To my knowledge only G. Coppola, Introduzione a Pindaro (Rome 1931) 144, note 1, has discerned a specifically literary signification in ἀμαχανία, which he translates "non poesia." J. Péron, RPh 50 (1976) 69–70, recognizes that "ἀμαχανία et son opposé εὐμαχανία désignent communément chez la lyrique la faculté qu'il a ou qu'il n'a pas de laisser parler son genie, μαχανά," but he explicitly denies that such a sense is intended in P. 2.54.

"Εστι μοι θεῶν ἕκατι μυρία παντᾶ κέλευθος, ὧ Μέλισσ`, εὖμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανας Ἰσθμίοις, ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνω διώκειν.

In praising Melissus and his clan, says Pindar, he has countless paths to choose from—and why? because Melissus himself, by winning a victory at the Isthmian games, has provided him with *eumachania*, "abundance of resources." If poetic capability, then, may be regarded as contingent upon the discovery of suitable subject-matter, then *amachania* should logically signify the helpless immobility of a poet without such material. This indeed seems to be its sense in *P*. 9.90–92,

Αἰγίνα τε γάρ φαμὶ Νίσου τ' ἐν λόφω τρὶς δὴ πόλιν τάνδ' εὐκλεΐξαι, σιγαλὸν ἀμαχανίαν ἔργω φυγών,

where in the midst of a victory catalogue Pindar proclaims that Telesicrates' successes at Aegina and Megara have thrice delivered him from sigalon amachanian, "silent resourcelessness" or (to paraphrase more prosily) "poverty of subject-matter such as results, and inevitably must result, in speechlessness."19 Thus the point of Pindar's reference to Archilochus seems to be that a poet who, for whatever reason,20 restricts his professional activity to the negative exercises of censure and blame, psogos and kakagoria, will eventually find himself afflicted by a kind of poverty of poetic resource, a sterility or barrenness of inventio. Whether or not Pindar seriously believed that the historical Archilochus was so obsessively preoccupied with kakagoria is, of course, irrelevant to his typological significance here;<sup>21</sup> Pindar's purpose is simply to throw his own rejection of psogos into high relief by contrasting it with another kind of poetry, unrelentingly negative in character, for which he finds in Archilochus the iambist a convenient and not entirely implausible symbol.<sup>22</sup> The contrast may well give point, moreover, to the otherwise somewhat otiose phrase έκας ἐών. Pindar is, of course, temporally distant from Archilochus by a

<sup>19</sup> So Fennell 256, H. Fränkel, Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums (Munich 1962²) 569, J. Duchemin, Pindare Pythiques III, IX, IV, V (Paris 1967) 82, Burton 52–53 (though Burton, accepting Hermann's emendation of εὐκλείξαι to εὐκλέίξας, takes the phrase as applying to Telesicrates rather than to Pindar).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Probably φθόνος; cf. O. 1.47-53, P. 11.28-29, Bacch. 3.67-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The opening lines of O. 9 suggest that in fact he did not so believe, for there Archilochus is credited with the primitive archetype of all victory odes, the καλλίνικος hymn in honor of Herakles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See Nagy 243-52 on Archilochus as blame-poet par excellence. To Péron 14 Archilochus and Pindar embody "deux esthétiques et deux morales en complète opposition," Archilochus himself being "le type même du  $\sigma o \phi \acute{o} s$  qui a mal usé de sa  $\sigma o \phi \acute{a} c$ : parce qu'il ne l'utilisé que pour satisfaire ses rancunes et assouvir son appétit de critiques" (13).

span of two centuries, but far more important is the spiritual and ethical gulf that separates the two types of poetry which, in this context, they represent.<sup>23</sup>

We come, then, to the eight simple words that have proved so problematic: τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχα πότμου σοφίας ἄριστον. The critical debate that this line has inspired, inconclusive as it has been in other respects, has yielded at least one important result: it has demonstrated to perfection that words taken in isolation from their context can mean nearly anything one wishes them to mean.24 Of the various renderings that have been proposed some may fairly be regarded as more or less probable by reason of Greek idiom, but none, perhaps, is absolutely impossible, none—so long as the line is taken in and of itself—so perspicuously self-evident as to put the others out of contention.25 Clearly the question to be asked is not "What do-or can-these words mean?" but "What must they mean?"—must, that is, not by grammatical necessity (grammar alone is obviously incapable of solving the problem) but by the logic of Pindar's encomiastic strategy. His evident purpose in these five lines, let us remember, is to move from a highly critical account of a legendary arch-sinner to the praise of a great and powerful prince. His first step in effecting this transition is to announce that his encomiastic obligations—his chreos—forbid him to indulge in "evil-speaking" or censure; his next step is to illustrate this point per contrarium by the example of Archilochus, whose captious rancor, inveterately indulged, did damage to his own abilities as a poet. What third step could be more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The majority of commentators have taken  $\epsilon \kappa \dot{\alpha} s \epsilon \dot{\omega} \nu$  as simply temporal, without explaining why Pindar should thus draw attention to the relative chronology; Wyckoff 161, followed by Grimm 6, finds no satisfactory parallel for such a sense and understands the phrase to refer to spatial distance (between Thebes and Syracuse). The idea that  $\epsilon \kappa \dot{\alpha} s$  here connotes what one might call "ethical distance" (an idea for which I am endebted to W. R. Race) may find some support in Theog. 969–70  $\epsilon \dot{\alpha} \phi \theta \eta \nu a \dot{\nu} \dot{\eta} \dot{\gamma} \sigma a s \pi \dot{\rho} \dot{\nu} \nu \sigma o \hat{\nu} \kappa a \dot{\tau} \dot{\alpha} \pi \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau a \delta a \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota / \dot{\eta} \dot{\theta} \epsilon a \nu \hat{\nu} \dot{\nu} \dot{\nu} \dot{\nu}$  δ'  $\dot{\eta} \dot{\delta} \dot{\eta} \nu \eta \dot{\nu} \dot{s} \dot{u} \dot{d} \dot{\sigma} \dot{e} \dot{\kappa} \dot{\alpha} \dot{s} \dot{\kappa} \dot{\alpha} \dot{s} \dot{\kappa} \dot{\alpha} \dot{c}$  (cf. also Arch. fr. 19 West.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See Gerber for a useful survey of the five distinct syntactical constructions that have been proposed. Since his article appeared, reading #1 ("To have wealth with destiny's allotment of wisdom is best") has gained among its adherents O. Werner, *Pindar: Siegesgesänge und Fragmente* (Munich 1967) 123, Rankin (above, note 4), and Gianotti (above, note 8) 102; #2 ("To have wealth of wisdom by destiny's allotment is best") has been defended at length by Péron; #4 ("To have wealth by the allotment of destiny is the best [part, object] of wisdom [skill]") has been adopted, under different guises, by Burton 120, Lloyd-Jones 122, Ruck and Matheson 131, Thummer 298, note 20; and #5 ("Wealth with luck is the best [gift] of a destiny of wisdom"), of which C. del Grande is the lone proponent in Gerber's survey, can now be found in M. Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode* (Park Ridge 1976) 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The least likely, surely, is Gildersleeve's "Wealth, with the attainment of wisdom, is Fortune's best" (#3 in Gerber's catalogue), which construes  $\sigma o \phi i a s$  with  $\tau \dot{\nu} \chi a$  and  $\pi \dot{\delta} \tau \mu o \nu$  with  $\ddot{a} \rho \iota \sigma \tau o \nu$  chiastically. Significantly, this is the only reading to win no new supporters in recent years.

likely than that, having so emphatically rejected censure as inappropriate to the occasion, Pindar should then proclaim in its place what is appropriate, namely the praise of that which is truly praiseworthy?<sup>26</sup> σοφίας, on this supposition, denotes not "wisdom" in any general sense but, as so often in Pindar, the poet's craft, and the line as a whole might be rendered: "It is wealth wielded in accordance with the dispensation of destiny that is the finest object of poetic skill."27 The poet's art, in other words, can be put to the service of many different subjects, noble and ignoble alike, but no theme is nobler or more inspiring than the use that a great man can make of his power and prosperity—a gnomic statement that is then applied specifically to Hieron through the "pronominal cap" of 57  $(\tau \dot{v})$   $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$   $\sigma \dot{\alpha} \phi \alpha \nu i \nu \dot{\epsilon} \chi \epsilon i s$ ) and developed in the fervently worded "categorical vaunt" of 58-67.28 The sentiment is of course unexceptionable; praise of wealth and the εὐεργεσία that it makes possible is a common topos in Pindar's odes to princes,29 and the phrase σὺν τύχα πότμου adds the normative or ethical dimension that is, in the traditional view, required if wealth is to be a proper object of ambition or commendation. 30 As to the question of syntax,  $\sigma o \phi las$  is not, I believe, a partitive genitive as had been argued<sup>31</sup> but a kind of "genitive of characteristic." In light of N. 10.46  $\mu$ aκροτέρας γαρ ἀριθμήσαι σχολας ("to enumerate [the prizes] just mentioned is a matter for [of] longer leisure") or Thuc. 1.43 70 δε ναυτικον τέχνης εστίν ("the handling of ships is a matter of art" or "falls within the purview and competency of art") το πλουτείν σοφίας

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> These three steps are set out in clear but highly abbreviated and schematic form by Thummer 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Of the scholars who adopt construction #4 (see above, note 24) only Ruck and Matheson 131 and Thummer 297 interpret it along these lines; the former offer "Wealth and fortune's gifts are themes for poetry" as a paraphrase and the latter "Das Beste der Dichtung, d.h. der beste Gegenstand der Dichtung, ist Reichtum und Erfolg." Curiously, Gildersleeve 254, who is officially committed to construction #3, sneaks #4 in through the back-door by giving  $\sigma o\phi i as$  double value in his introductory paraphrase of the ode: "Wealth paired with wisdom, under the blessing of Fortune—this is the highest theme of song."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Cf. Thummer 297. By this reading νιν refers not "to the whole of line 56" (Gerber 108, note 17) but, as seems more natural, to its subject alone, τὸ πλουτεῖν σὺν τύχα πότμου.

 $<sup>^{29}</sup>$  E.g., P. 5.1-4 (see following note), O. 2.53-56 and 92-100. On euergesia as an epinician theme see Bundy 85-91.

<sup>30</sup> On the diction and syntax of  $\sigma \dot{v}v \tau \dot{v}\chi \alpha \pi \delta \tau \mu ov$  see Péron 10-11; for the thought cf. P. 5.1-4, where wealth "imbued with pure ἀρετά" and put to the service of philanthropic enterprises  $(\pi o \lambda \dot{v} \phi \iota \lambda ov \dot{v} \epsilon \pi \dot{\epsilon} \tau av)$  is said to be "granted by destiny"  $(\pi \delta \tau \mu ov \pi \alpha \rho a \delta \delta v \tau os)$ . E. Fraenkel (quoted by Schadewaldt 331, note 2) observes the relevance of Solon 13.9-13 (West), where "wealth granted by the gods" is explicitly contrasted with wealth acquired through hubris and injustice; cf. also Hes. Op. 320-26 on  $\chi \rho \dot{\eta} \mu a \tau a \theta \epsilon \delta \sigma \delta o \tau a vs. \chi \rho \dot{\eta} \mu a \tau a \delta \rho \pi a \kappa \tau \dot{a}$ .

<sup>31</sup> By Gerber 106, who compares, e.g., Bacch. 3.22 ἄριστος ὅλβων and 3.84 κερδέων ὑπέρτατον. As Péron 7 notes, however, the parallel is inexact; σοφίας ἄριστον is not σοφιῶν ἀρίστη.

alone might be rendered as "the possession of wealth is a matter for (or "falls within the purview of") poetic skill";  $\ddot{a}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\sigma\nu$  adds the important qualification that this is true "in pre-eminent degree." <sup>32</sup>

When, eighteen years ago, E. L. Bundy launched his campaign against historicistic fantasy<sup>33</sup> in Pindaric criticism, he noted that the modern distaste for encomiastic poetry

leads us to prefer the irrelevancies we invent to the perfect tact of what is really there. I cannot otherwise imagine how the multitude of conventional masks and gestures that appear in the odes could have been transformed into so many personal grotesqueries, or how so many passages, perfectly lucid if one but insist that they are enkomiastic, could have become, on other assumptions, celebrated obscurities.<sup>34</sup>

P. 2.52-56 is, without a doubt, one such passage. In offering the foregoing interpretation along "Bundyan" lines I lay no claim to originality; the contribution at which I have aimed is simply a marshalling of evidence in support of views already advanced by others. The evidence here assembled shows, I believe, that the lines in question are, when regarded from the perspective of epinician convention, at once eminently lucid in the logic they display and instinct with the utmost tact.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$  Thummer 298, note 20, compares such locutions as  $τ\grave{a}$   $τ \^{\eta} s$   $\phi ιλοσοφία s$  ("die Gegenstände der Philosophie"), in which the genitive has similar force.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Notice my choice of words; Bundy of course never intended to deny that Pindar's odes have a historical as well as a generic dimension or that that historical dimension is important to our understanding of his poetic purposes. On this much-misunderstood point see Slater (above, note 3) 193 and H. Lee, "The 'Historical' Bundy and Encomiastic Relevance in Pindar," CW 72 (1978) 65–70.

<sup>34</sup> Bundy 35-36.