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***SELBSTDARSTELLUNG* IN PINDAR'S AND BACCHYLIDES' EPINICIAN ODES
COMPOSED FOR SICILIAN *LAUDANDI*.**

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Abstract.

An epinician ode is not only praise for a *laudandus* but also a form of civic discourse in which the *laudandus* conducts a debate inviting the audience to make a judgement.

This enquiry investigates how the eighteen epinician odes composed by Pindar and Bacchylides for Sicilian *laudandi* accommodate the political and social aspirations of the patrons commissioning them. It also investigates how rhetoric contributes to the fulfilment of the encomiastic purpose in those odes. This enquiry situates the epinician odes in their proper historical context. It contrasts its findings with those of others. It concludes that in odes composed for *laudandi* other than tyrants the purpose of the debate is more often than not to counter suspicions which fellow citizens may harbour against the *laudandus*. However, the *laudandi* concerned appear to have been problematic already before they entered Panhellenic competition, and not, as some scholars think, because of their newly acquired status as Panhellenic victor. In particular, Pindar's fifth and sixth *Olympian* odes are poems in which the suspicions of others are apparently countered as a matter of urgency. At the other end of the spectrum is Pindar's first *Nemean* ode, arguably an ode composed for an unproblematic *laudandus*. This enquiry concludes that the presence of strategies of inclusion or exclusion is not determined by the status of the *laudandus*. It further concludes that odes composed for tyrants do not necessarily reflect a *Herrschaftssystem*; rather elements of *Polisideologie* are often used in these odes in the debate with the audience. Hence the variety of patron message employed in epinician odes is much greater than has hitherto been thought. Finally, this enquiry makes some observations on the development of odes composed for the Sicilian

tyrants over time and links the observations with historical circumstances surrounding the Deinomenid and Emmenid tyrannies.

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CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION.

1.1 Aims and objectives.

Both Pindar and Bacchylides composed epinician odes for Sicilian *laudandi*. The extant corpus of their epinician odes contains eighteen odes composed for Sicilian *laudandi*.¹

Most of the epinician odes in our corpus were commissioned by aristocratic victors who celebrated their achievements at the four Panhellenic athletic festivals: at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and the Isthmus.²

The aim of this enquiry is twofold. First, to investigate how the poets who composed these odes accommodated the political and social aspirations of the patrons who commissioned them. Second, on the assumption that the rhetoric in an ode furthers the patron's strategy of self-representation (or *Selbstdarstellung*),³ to investigate how rhetoric in an epinician ode contributes to the fulfilment of the encomiastic purpose. This enquiry into *Selbstdarstellung* or self-representation of the *laudandus* situates the epinician odes in their proper historical context.⁴

¹ Pi. *Ol.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, *Py.* 1, 2, 3, 6, 12, *Ne.* 1, 9, *Isth.* 2, B.3, B.4, B.5.

² Some odes, e.g. Pindar's ninth *Nemean* ode, celebrate a victory won at a local game, while one ode, Pindar's eleventh *Nemean*, is not an epinician ode but instead celebrates the election of Aristagorus of Tenedos to the *Prytanis*. The *laudandus* of Pindar's twelfth *Pythian* may not have been an aristocrat. The *laudandus* celebrated in Pindar's sixth *Pythian* ode is not the victor mentioned in that ode. For the difference between patron, victor and *laudandus*, see § 1.4.

³ Arguably, the term *Selbstdarstellung*, more accurately than self-representation or self-expression, reflects the fact that a message of the *laudandus* is presented before an audience.

⁴ This means that, whereas this enquiry concentrates on the odes as literary works, at times the historical record has to be scrutinised in a fair amount of detail. An enquiry into self-representation must take both the odes and the historical record into consideration. Be that as it

These aims are supported by four objectives:

First, to describe how patron messages in odes composed for tyrants differ from patron messages in odes composed for other *laudandi*.

Second, to investigate differences in patron message between odes composed for the tyrant Hieron of Syracuse and those composed for the tyrant Theron of Acragas.

Third, to investigate how the patron message in a particular ode is tailored to different audience types. An ode could be performed for the first time at the games, as part of the celebrations of the victory, and thus be tailored to a Panhellenic audience. Alternatively, it could be performed before an audience in the victor's home city, although, assuming that the odes were almost certainly reperformed later, it would be performed before audiences in the wider Greek world as well.

Fourth, this enquiry contrasts its findings with models and concepts that have been put forward by scholars with regard to self-representation in epinician odes. In particular, the models of *Polisideologie* and *Herrschaftssystem*,^{4a} the contrast

may, for the Midas of Acragas, Psaumis of Camarina and Chromius of Aetna the scholia appear to be our only source of information.

^{4a} On *Polisideologie*, cf. Stenger (2004: 274f.) 'Gerade im fünften Jahrhundert gingen Aristokraten bisweilen noch weiter, wenn sie ihre Stellung innerhalb der Polis behaupten wollen. Unter den veränderten Bedingungen bot es sich an, die eigenen Leistungen als Dienst an der Gemeinschaft darzustellen und sich so zum vorbildlichen Bürger zu stilisieren.' Cf. Stenger (2004: 275) '...den Sieg im Epinikion als Leistung für die Gemeinschaft...'. Cf. Kurke (1991: 197-218). Pelling (2000: 178) equates *Polisideologie* with glorifying, unproblematic praise of the city. Unproblematic praise in an epinician ode, however, does not imply that the laudandus himself is unproblematic. Finally, Whitley (2001: 167) notes that *Polisideologie* stresses the obligations of citizenship. On *Herrschaftsideologie* and *Herrschaftssystem*, cf. Welwei (1967), (1981), (1996). Cf. Raaflaub (2004: 8f.) who defines *Herrschaft* (power or rule) as a complementary concept to freedom. *Herrschaftsideologie* in an epinician ode will stress that it is the *laudandus* who is responsible for the well-being of the polis, cf. Mann (2000: 39). Although the concepts of *Polis-* and *Herrschaftsideologie* are not in polar opposition, they nevertheless

between elitist- and 'middling' ideology^{4b} as well as the notion of the 'home-coming of the victor' and the 'reintegration of the victor in his home town'^{4c} will be contrasted with the findings of this enquiry.

Early Greek lyric is to a high degree conventional and many of the forms in the epinician odes and much of the language used follow accepted models and are inherited.⁵ However, every victory ode represents a particular event; it is a celebration of the *laudandus*, and hence, it is by definition occasional and firmly rooted in its historical setting.

This enquiry may further our understanding of the role of epinician odes in a strategy of self-representation, while demonstrating the flexibility of a genre which could cater for a range of demands for a variety of *laudandi*.

1.2 Research questions.

The first objective raises the following questions. While an epinician ode could negotiate the reintegration of the victor into his home city,⁶ the position of the tyrant makes it *a priori* more probable that he will be portrayed as different from the rest of the citizenry. Hence the question could be asked whether in an epinician ode composed for

reflect fundamentally different attitudes and are useful labels to use in an enquiry into *Selbstdarstellung* in the epinician odes since they reflect the attitude of the *laudandus* towards his community. However, a given epinician ode can present both *Polis*- as well as *Herrschaftsideologie* in order to persuade an audience.

^{4b} On the concepts, cf. note 16.

^{4c} On the concepts, cf. § 1.3.

⁵ While this should not be doubted, caution is needed when using the expression 'choral-lyrical style', cf. Appendix eight.

⁶ On which see below § 1.3.

a tyrant the *laudandus* is invariably portrayed as separated from the rest of his fellow citizens, or, alternatively, whether attempts are made to present the achievement of the *laudandus* as linked to home city and fellow citizens.

The second objective raises the following problem. The current state of knowledge of the socio-political background of fifth-century Sicily is not perfect, but some valid observations have been made as to the relations between the Deinomenid and Emmenid clans in the first half of the fifth century. This raises the question whether these relations are reflected the epinician odes. Further it could be asked whether the patron message in odes composed early in Hieron's career differs from patron messages in odes composed at the time when he was apparently at the apex of his political power. In other words, while the body of epinician texts is normally looked at synchronically, do the odes composed for Hieron of Syracuse allow for valid diachronic observations?

Questions connected with the third objective are: how can we tell which odes were performed for the first time during the celebrations of the victory at the games?⁷ and how is the patron message in such odes consistent with, or different from, other modes of self-promotion available to the *laudandus*?⁸

⁷ Such odes are called *in situ* odes. Cf. B.2.11 Καλεῖ δὲ Μοῦσ' αὐθιγενῆς. Gelzer (1985: 116) 'diese Lieder haben die Funktion, gewissermaßen als Dokument die primären Informationen über den besungenen Sieg festzuhalten und in der Form einer musisch gestalteten Botschaft den damit gewordenen Ruhm und die Ehre des Siegers zu verbreiten.' Cf. Gelzer (1985: 100-102) on the shared characteristics of such *in situ* odes.

⁸ These other options included dedications, cf. e.g. Zambelli (1952); votive offerings at Panhellenic shrines, cf. Hyde (1921); athlete hero-cult, cf. Currie (2005); victor statues, cf. Herrmann (1988); the issue of commemorative coins, see e.g. Caltabiano (1993: 61-71); the foundation or refoundation of cities, in the case of some tyrants, cf. Malkin (1987), Appendix six.

Finally, the fourth objective raises the following question: while models always simplify the underlying reality, the question may be asked whether some models and concepts with regard to self-representation in epinician odes are perhaps too monolithic. In particular, models and concepts that insist on a sharp differentiation between odes composed for tyrants and odes composed for others potentially overstate differences to the detriment of similarities.

1.3 Research context.

To my knowledge, there is as yet no dedicated enquiry into the patron message of the *laudandus* in the epinician odes composed for Sicilians. Some scholars, however, have addressed features of the epinician odes which relate to the subject matter of this enquiry, suggesting models and concepts with which patron message and patron ideology in the odes can be described.

Some scholars suggest that the odes not only celebrated the victory, but also attempted to make that success acceptable to the victor's community. Since a Panhellenic victory could potentially be a destabilising factor for the community,⁹ the victory ode, as an attempt at reintegration, would then perform a stabilising role. In other words, in victory, the athlete temporarily steps outside the bounds of conventional experience and must be reincorporated into his civic community. This context is

⁹ Cf. Zeljin (1962: 21ff.). Berve (1967: 10) notes the *modi operandi* for those aspiring to tyranny, and being an Olympic victor and using the authority this would confer on him is one option. Alternatively, he could qualify himself in successful military campaigns, or, of course, he would be rich enough to afford sufficient mercenaries to stage a successful coup.

described as the 'homecoming of the victor',¹⁰ in which the epinician song both celebrates the victor as he is welcomed home and orchestrates his reintegration.¹¹ On that interpretation, the strategy of the ode is one of inclusion. Be that as it may, others argue that odes composed for Hieron of Syracuse appear not so much an attempt to re-integrate him in his home city, as a legitimisation of his tyrannical rule (*Herrschaftsideologie*).¹² On that view such odes actually separate the *laudandus* from the rest of his community.¹³ Other scholars stress differences between a *laudandus* who was a tyrant and one who was not, noting that in odes for private citizens superiority is expressed in terms of athletic achievements, while in odes for tyrants superiority over all others is expressed in terms of his power, generosity or wealth.¹⁴ In odes composed for tyrants, it is argued, a more straightforward rhetoric of extremes is freely used, more in keeping with the high position of the patron.¹⁵ Others contrast a 'middling' ideology with a more elitist tradition,¹⁶ locked in a 'contest of paradigms',¹⁷

¹⁰ Cf. Crotty (1982: 104-138), Fitzgerald (1987: 19f.), Gentili (1988: 62ff.). Kurke (1991: 224ff.) describes epinician as 'a tool finely calibrated for registering and accommodating the particular status of the victor within his civic community.'

¹¹ Dougherty (1993: 103).

¹² Mann (2000: 39) 'In Fall Hierons dienten Epinikien also nicht dazu, die Person des Siegers in die Polisgemeinschaft zu integrieren, sondern die Herrschaft des außerhalb, bzw. über der Polisordnung stehenden Tyrannen zu untermauern. Sie verkündeten nicht Polis-, sondern Herrschaftsideologie.'

¹³ Most recently, Stenger (2004: 275ff, 315) who argues that in odes for Hieron the tyrant seems dramatically separated from the rest of humanity while almost no attempt is made to present his successes as linked to Syracuse or as models for other citizens.

¹⁴ Race (1987: 38f.) links the 'superlative vaunt' with praise for tyrants, cf. *O.* 1.104, *O.* 2.93-4, *O.* 13.31, *Py.* 1.49, *Py.* 2.60, *Ne.* 6.25. Kurke (1991: 224n.53) adds that four instances are for tyrants, while one designates a house rather than an individual.

¹⁵ Kurke (1991: 220ff.).

¹⁶ The term 'middling tradition' (in opposition to elitist tradition) is coined by Morris (1996), who argues (1996: 27) that aristocrats who 'deliberately assimilated themselves to the dominant civic

with the victory odes as 'an arena of ideological struggle',¹⁸ well suited to moderate in a debate between these two opposing traditions. This enquiry takes issue with these models.

1.4 Research methods.

The methodology followed in this enquiry observes the following principles.¹⁹

First, using language as an art in order to persuade or influence others was an integral part of Greek poetry from Homer onwards, as is now widely accepted.²⁰ Plato, for example, already places the origin and development of rhetoric not within the *genus*

values within archaic poleis' forged a 'middling tradition'. This is contrasted with others who claimed that their 'authority lay outside these middling communities, in an inter-polis aristocracy which had privileged links to the gods, the heroes, and the East.' (1996: 19). Morris finds 'middling tradition' in Hesiod's *Works and Days* and in archaic elegy and iambic when linked with the rejection of extremes of excessive wealth and aristocratic display. Morris (1996: 27) notes that members belonging in the elitist tradition had the money and leisure time to compete at the four major Panhellenic festivals, while the former would not be seen displaying wealth and power at these occasions. Also cf. Morris (2000: 155-190).

¹⁷ Kurke (1993: 155).

¹⁸ Rose (1992: 151). These phenomena are foreshadowed in the Theognidean corpus, possibly predating the first victory odes by half a century.

¹⁹ This is not the place for a résumé of the history of modern Pindaric scholarship. Surveys of the *status quaestionis* in Young (1964), Lefkowitz (1976), Stern (1976), Lloyd-Jones (1973), Kopff (1981), Burnett (1985), Heath (1986), Race (1986), Currie (2005). Young's (1964: 17) summary of the *status quaestionis* is still valid 'The major part of Pindaric criticism has consisted of the development, modification, and combination of *Weltanschauung*-studies, genre-studies, and a distinction between Pindaric 'prose' and 'poetry' (Hermann) and of the notion that unity of the epinician poems is due to a single vinculum namely, either the *Grundgedanke* (Dissen) or the historical event that was allegorised by the poet (Boeckh).'

²⁰ Lohmann (1972: 285) on speeches in the *Iliad*, 'Nie nachgewiesene Bewußtheit der Strukturierung führt konsequent zur Bewußtheit in der Anwendung poetischer und rhetorischer Mittel', and 'einer vorrhetorischen Rhetorik.' Also cf. Race (1987: 144).

iudiciale, but in the older epideictic forms.²¹ Choral lyricists of the late archaic period can thus be understood as immediate predecessors of the first epideictic orators,²² and archaic lyric in general has been described as 'pre-theoretical discursive practice'.²³ Since an epinician ode contains rhetoric and since that rhetoric must surely have benefited the patron (as an epinician ode was a commissioned work) it is valid to describe an epinician performance as a 'debate'.^{23a} This enquiry assumes that the rhetoric in epinician odes furthers a strategy of persuasion as well as of praise, and that the odes are a form of civic discourse in which the *laudandus* is conducting a debate asking the audience to make a judgement.²⁴ A string of victories for Sicilian tyrants in the early years of the fifth century BCE,²⁵ testifies to the importance such *laudandi*

²¹ Especially in the *Gorgias*, also cf. Pl. *R.* 414b-415d, 382d.

²² Walker (2000: ix and 140).

²³ Walker (2000: ix).

^{23a} Cf. Walker (2000: vi-ix) who attacks the traditional opposition between practical rhetoric (as the art of argumentation and persuasion suitable for deliberation, debate, discussion, and decision in the civic arena) and epideictic, poetic, or literary rhetoric. Cf. note 28 for the notion that an epinician ode is a debate between patron and audience, and not between the *laudator* and the audience.

²⁴ Cf. Walker (2000: 140) 'an epideictic argumentation that can effectively shape communal judgements about dike, or what is "right" in various kinds of circumstances, and so can effectively intervene in, intensify, or modify prevailing ideological commitments or value hierarchies.' Also cf. Mann (2000: 38), quoting Weber (1976: 124): the legitimacy of a charismatic leader is based on 'der außeralltäglichen Hingabe an die Heiligkeit oder die Heldenkraft oder die Vorbildlichkeit einer Person und der durch sie offenbarten oder geschaffenen Ordnung.' An epinician ode can promote or advertise such exemplary behaviour of a *laudandus*, with or without regard for the truth.

²⁵ Gelon of Gela, Anaxilas of Rhegium, Theron of Acragas, Hieron of Syracuse, cf. Moretti (1957: 84-93), numbers 185, 208, 220, 221, 234, 236.

apparently attached to competing and winning at Panhellenic games.²⁶ Epinician song was one option for preserving the renown of success and spread the victor's κλέος.²⁷

Second, fundamental to this enquiry is the assumption that in such a debate, the epinician ode contains not so much a message from poet to patron, as a message from patron to audience.²⁸ How exactly the odes were commissioned or how contracts were arranged is unknown. There is some anecdotal evidence,^{28a} but that information appears to have been derived from the odes themselves. However, the expenditure for participating at Panhellenic games, especially in the equestrian events, must have been considerable. Since the perpetuation of the κλέος of a victorious patron could be wholly dependent on an epinician ode, it seems unthinkable that the patron would leave it to the *laudator* to decide upon the content of the ode. Consequently, the debate in an epinician ode is conducted by the patron, not by the poet. In other words, in an epinician ode a patron represents himself. This does not mean that the poet should be considered as a mere mouthpiece of the *laudandus*. The wisdom, skill and inspiration

²⁶ Luraghi (1994: 240) 'la palestra in cui si cimentano le grandi figure che mirano a rivendicare o giustificare la propria *leadership*'. Besides the Emmenids and Deinomenids, Periander of Corinth (cf. Eph. *FGrHist* 70 F 178), Cleisthenes of Sicyon (cf. Paus. 6.9.12, Hdt. 6.126.2), the Alcmaeonidae (cf. Höhle (1972: 55f., 59-62). Possibly Empedocles of Acragas, the uncle of the philosopher, cf. Diog. Laert. 8.52f.

²⁷ E.g. Pi. *Ol.* 1.82f., *Ol.* 1.95, B. *fr.* 56.

²⁸ Mann (2000: 45) 'Epinikien transportieren nicht eine Botschaft des Dichters an den Auftraggeber, - das hätte dieser auch billiger haben können -, sondern eine Botschaft des Auftraggebers an das Publikum.' Mann (2000: 46) 'Der Spielraum des Dichters beschränkte sich darauf, die vorgegebenen Parameter in eine ästhetische Form zu bringen, in der das zu transportierende Gedankengut teils direkt, teils mittels Assoziation mitgeteilt werden sollte.' Also cf. Slater (1979a: 80ff.), Race (1987: *passim*) on the encomium of Isocrates, which contains advice, but surely advice that was agreed upon beforehand. Such 'advice', has an element of cautious self-projection by the patron.

^{28a} Cf. Σ *Py.* 1 *inscr.*, Σ *Ne.* 5.1a.

of the *laudator* (his σοφία) are extremely important insofar as only they can secure the survival of the κλέος of the *laudandus*. The intimate connection between poet and the gods,^{28b} reflected in the religious nature of epinician poetry, moreover assures that the praise for the *laudandus* in an epinician ode can be accepted as credible. It is important to note that most of the alternatives for self-promotion available to a victor were confined to one place as stationary objects, whereas the epinician ode had the potential to travel,²⁹ and hence was able to promote the κλέος of the *laudandus* before a much wider public.³⁰ If indeed the epinician ode is a vehicle for self-representation, this means that the *laudandus* had a considerable motive for exercising influence on the process of composition.³¹

Third, epinician poetry is one of the genres of lyric poetry.³² It is poetry of praise, but that does not mean that it should be the antithesis of 'blame poetry',³³ of the kind which we have in the works of abuse by Archilochus or Hipponax. In epinician odes, blame, envy and praise coexist and are all put to work in order to praise a victor and

^{28b} Cf. Hes. *Th.* 22ff. on which cf. West (1966: 159), Schmid-Stählin (1932: 249f.). For Pindar in particular, cf. *vit. Pind. Ambr.* 1.2.9 Dr. (= Pi. *fr.* 37), *vit. Pind. Ambr.* 1.2.15f. Dr., Paus. 10.24.5. Further cf. Pi. *Isth.* 2.35, B.5.14-37.

²⁹ Commemorative coins, e.g. a tetradrachm and a drachm commemorating Anaxilas' of Rhegium Olympic victory of 480 BCE, cf. Caltabiano (1993: 61-71, 72-101) could also circulate. However, epinician odes surely had the potential to reach a wider public than coins issued by a Sicilian tyrant. Cf. Kraay (1976: 204) coinage of Sicily 'remained for the most part within the island'. This arguably might have been the case since Sicilian fifth-century trade appears to have been inter-local or regional, rather than with the Greek cities on the mainland. On these trade patterns, cf. Rihll (1993: 93), Morel (1983: *passim*), Hopkins (1983: 92-96).

³⁰ Something which is noted in epinician odes, e.g. Pi. *Ne.* 5 *init.*

³¹ This, however, does not necessarily mean that the input of the *laudandus* required direct contact between him and *laudator*: all the information needed could have been passed on via intermediaries. There is no need to assume a direct contact between *laudandus* and *laudator*.

³² For a classification of archaic poetry, cf. Harvey (1955).

³³ On blame and envy in epinician, cf. Kirkwood (1984), On 'blame poetry', cf. Rosen (1988).

persuade an audience.³⁴ In other words, envy, blame and praise are part of the underlying outlook of an epinician ode. While the language of epinician odes can at times be obscure, that underlying outlook is fairly straightforward: man's excellence (ἀρετά), inborn nature (φυά, τὸ σύγγεννον), hard work (πόνος) and expenditure (δαπάνη) are all prerequisites for success. Yet one will still fail without that divine element which is essential for human achievement (θεός, πότμος). When both human endeavour and the favour of the gods concur, the splendour of success (ἀγλαΐα) can follow,³⁵ which in turn calls for the joy of celebration (χάρις). The renown of success (κλέος - δόξα) depends on song, which in turn depends on the poet's wisdom and skill (σοφία).³⁶ Although the victory odes were commissioned, epinician customarily stresses that the *laudator* has an obligation to praise (χρέος - χρή) the victor's success. In doing so, the *laudator* frequently stresses the bond between good men (φιλία - ξενία).³⁷

³⁴ On envy in epinician odes, cf. Bulman (1992), Most (2003); on the politics of envy, cf. D.L. Cairns (2003). Bulman (1992: 8) 'φθόνος is the paradigmatic concept in the odes for emotions and behaviour which can be indicted as blameworthy.' Most (2003: 139) 'envy and slander are not only the enemies of praise, but also its perverted, ugly but indispensable ally.' D.L. Cairns (2003: 239) 'the mass feel *phthonos* towards the wealthy and powerful, and the pre-eminently wealthy and powerful, such as tyrants and kings (and, in a similar way, the gods), feel *phthonos* towards any inferior who gives the appearance of rivalry.'

³⁵ Success inevitably leads to envy and it is the task of the epinician ode to counter this envy. Sometimes, however, envy is not so much an epinician *topos* of praise but reflects circumstances of the *laudandus*, cf. § 8.3.3.

³⁶ Apparently more so in Pindar than in Bacchylides, cf. Pi. *Ol.* 2.86 *versus* B. *fr.* 5 and Gentili (1988: 53 and 62).

³⁷ On motifs such as e.g. χρέος-, χάρις-, φιλία- *Sieg und Lied*-, and *Verpflichtungsgedanke* motif, cf. Schadewaldt (1928).

That much of early Greek lyric is conventional and follows accepted models is already noted.³⁸ Elroy Bundy, in his influential *Studia Pindarica*,³⁹ defines the purpose of an epinician ode in terms of conventionality,⁴⁰ with praise as the governing principle. He argues that the primary intention of the ode is encomiastic, that is, each and every element in the ode is there as praise for the *laudandus*.⁴¹ The present enquiry shares Bundy's conviction that praise is the governing principle of an epinician ode. However, it also maintains that the intention to persuade in an ode can be as important as the intention to praise, and that recognition of the conventional should not lead to minimising the importance of the occasional. Every victory ode is celebration of a particular victory, and hence it is by definition occasional.⁴² This means that we can expect historical events to turn up in the epinician odes.

Fourth, whereas 'asymmetry of knowledge',⁴³ hints at the ode's occasionality, it does not contradict the assumption that an ode would be reperformed at a later stage

³⁸ Slater (1979^a: 80) argues that much of the inherited formal language is located as ὑποθήκαι in various gnomic collections, well known to poet and audience alike, e.g. the ἄγραφοι νόμοι, the πατριοὶ νόμοι, the sayings of the Seven Wise Men, the Delphic precepts, Χεῖρνοος ὑποθήκαι, the Theognidean corpus and possibly the Ionic novella. Stuligrosz (2000) is a recent enquiry into *gnomae* in Pindar, Stenger (2004) studies *gnomae* in Bacchylides, but also see the remarks in Slater (1979^b: 69f.) on gnomic progression and Stenger (2004: 10-14).

³⁹ Bundy (1962).

⁴⁰ Schadewaldt (1928) already determines the character of Greek choral lyric in terms of conventionality (*das Programm*).

⁴¹ Bundy (1962: 3) 'there is no passage in Pindar and Bakchylides that is not in its primary intent encomiastic, that is, designed to enhance the glory of a particular patron.'

⁴² On the performance contexts of early Greek lyric poetry, cf. Rösler (1980), Bowie (1986). Where this enquiry refers to a performance as a 'public performance', a contrast is intended with more intimate performance contexts a e.g. *symposia*. No performance was really private.

⁴³ I.e. the home audience knows more than other audiences. For example, at Pi. *Ne*. 6.36-41, the relationship between Callias and Creontidas would be puzzling to many, as it was to the scholiast and is to us. More examples in Pfeijffer (1999: 9, 14n.14-17). On prosopography in Pindar cf. Carey (1989^b).

for a wider audience outside the home city of the patron. In fact, at times the victor is promised that the ode will travel throughout the Greek world, to spread his fame,⁴⁴ and it appears that the chances of the survival of an ode, even into Hellenistic times, would have been very small had it never left the home city of the victor.⁴⁵ The expression 'continual re-performance' has been used,⁴⁶ to explain the survival of the odes in an environment of generally low levels of literacy and without a developed state of book-trade.⁴⁷ Such scenarios would range from the informal to the semi-formal and more formal scenarios of re-performance, each corresponding to ever increasing levels of interest of the *laudandus*.⁴⁸ In addition, some form of written diffusion throughout the Greek world might have taken place by means of exchange of written copies of the

⁴⁴ The *locus classicus* is Pi. *Ne.* 5.1-5. Other examples are *Ol.* 1.116-7. *Ol.* 9.21-26, *Isth.* 4.40-2, B.13.175ff.

⁴⁵ This is especially true for odes like Pindar's fourth *Olympian*, composed for a relatively unknown victor, whose home city, Camarina, was a backwater in the Greek world. Quotations and parody demonstrate that by 414 BCE Pindar must have been familiar outside the victors' home cities, cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 637-39. Other examples in Schmid-Stählin (1932: 616n.1). A very early circulation of Pindar's texts, however, follows from the observation that already in the fifth century BCE his epinician odes were included in school editions, cf. Irigoin (1952: 235). This somewhat diminishes the importance of the mechanisms of oral distribution in the survival of the epinician odes.

⁴⁶ Hubbard (2004: 72).

⁴⁷ On ancient literacy see Harris (1989) and Gentili (1988: 169).

⁴⁸ Currie (2004: 50-69). Examples of informal scenarios include oral diffusion by anonymous travellers present at the first performance, some form of written diffusion, epinician as material in schools as well as the symposium. Semi-formal scenarios involved the family of the *laudandus* at events with both a public and private dimension, e.g. a privately trained chorus at a festival performance. Formal scenarios would be choral reperformances organised by the polis which would have had an interest in such reperformance because it would perpetuate the glory of the community itself. Pi. *Ne.* 4.13-16 shows that odes could be re-performed (solo-singing by a member of family) on several occasions.

texts, possibly made by the victor's πρόξενοι.⁴⁹ This is relevant for the present purpose as it strongly suggests that the patron message in an ode could potentially play out quite differently at different venues. Whereas there would always be a common underlying factor,⁵⁰ the patron message might encounter political systems with which it was in strong opposition: kingship, oligarchy, tyranny and democracy all co-existed in fifth-century Greece. This means that the potential margin of disagreement between the patron message in an ode and the beliefs of the audience could be rather large,⁵¹ and it also means that an epinician ode could potentially engage in political discourse with other audiences in the wider Greek world. This enquiry argues that this dual perspective was part of a deliberate strategy, in other words, that the patron message of an ode would be tailored to meet the demands of the patron before an audience in the wider Greek world as well as before a home audience.⁵²

Fifth, whereas some argue that reperformance scenarios suggest that epinician odes are Panhellenic in character,⁵³ it is important to distinguish between Panhellenic games,⁵⁴ and Panhellenic sentiments which can occur in all odes, irrespective of the place of performance.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Hubbard (2004: 74-75).

⁵⁰ A general interest in terms of common Greek values, Greek religion and heroic myth.

⁵¹ Cf. § 8.5.

⁵² This is especially relevant to odes composed for Hieron of Syracuse.

⁵³ Hubbard (2004: 71) 'Pindar's epinicia were from the very beginning designed for a Panhellenic audience.'

⁵⁴ The bibliography on the subject is vast, cf. E. Reisch in *RE* 1, p.836-67 s.v. Agones, Meuli (1968), Weiler (1974), Burkert (1985a: 105-7).

⁵⁵ E.g. Pi. *Ol.* 1.116, *Isth.* 2.38, which, it is argued, were first performed in Sicily.

Sixth, lyric poetry apparently could be performed in many different ways.⁵⁶ Be that as it may, the question whether the odes were performed chorally or as monody, a hotly debated topic,⁵⁷ is not particularly relevant to this enquiry since regardless of how exactly the odes were performed, they are still vehicles for both praise and persuasion. To this should be added that the debate between monody and choral performance has been broadened with the introduction of the reperformance scenarios described above. Hence the previously perceived sharp distinction between monodic and choral seems to have become less important.⁵⁸

Seventh, an epinician ode is a more specialised form of an encomium,⁵⁹ and the genre has been described as a secularisation of the hymn to the gods, where the emphasis shifts from praising the works and powers of the gods (as in the Homeric hymns) to glorifying the achievements of men.⁶⁰ This shift in emphasis presented hazards and pitfalls which had to be carefully negotiated by the poets. The danger was

⁵⁶ Lyric poetry could be sung or recited, with or (in spite of the term lyric) without the accompaniment of musical instrument(s), dance and mime. It could be a solo performance or be performed in ensemble. For a recent overview of the epinician genre, cf. Currie (2004: 21-24).

⁵⁷ Recent summaries of the debate in Clay (1999) and Currie (2005: 16-18). Also see Fränkel (1976: 488), Maehler (1982^a: 2-3). Davies (1988), Heath (1988), Lefkowitz (1988), Burnett (1989), Carey (1989^a), Bremer (1990), Carey (1991), Heath and Lefkowitz (1991), Kurke (1992: 107), Morgan (1993, 1-15), Gerber (1997), Carey (2001).

⁵⁸ Cf. Davies (1988).

⁵⁹ An encomium generally praises a person, a thing, or an abstract idea. Its character is epideictic, thus oriented to public occasions which called for speech or writing in the *hic et nunc*, cf. Quintilian *Inst.* 2.4.20, Cic. *de Inv.* 2.59, Cic. *de Or.* 2.84.340-2.85.349. An epinician ode, more specifically, is linked with a victory.

⁶⁰ Race (1986: 24) 'This shift parallels a general trend in Greek thought and art of the period, ... and can also be seen in fifth-century comedy, tragedy, and history.'

that potentially the *laudandus* could be seen as directly compared to a god or hero,⁶¹ which could lead to accusations of hubris. In other words, in praising a mere mortal there was always a danger that proper boundaries were not respected, resulting in trespass into a realm which is only appropriate for a god. This could be dangerous for the poet as well as for the patron. On the other hand that shift in emphasis offered opportunities as well. Much of the rhetoric in the epinician odes appears to be designed to implicate the *laudandus* in high praise, without giving an audience the impression that the *laudandus* is overreaching himself. The *laudandus* in Pindaric and Bacchylidean epinician is often compared to a hero.⁶² This might be the result of the influence of a type of proto-epinician in the form of a non-personalised praise-hymn for Heracles or other heroes, which could be used for any victor.⁶³ Be that as it may, epinician odes acknowledge mortals who became immortal,⁶⁴ and there are several

⁶¹ Some think that Hieron of Syracuse sometimes comes dangerously close to being compared to a god, cf. the discussion of Bacchylides' fifth ode, cf. § 2.2.3, and the passage *Ol.* 6.92ff., cf. § 3.2.7.

⁶² Illig (1932: 82) suggests a tripartite epinician division of actuality: humans, heroes and gods. The heroes are dealt with in the myths and the gods in the *gnomae*. It is important to note that the mythical section in an epinician ode is not mere decoration. It is always relevant to the *laudandus*. Cf. Köhnken (1971: 227) '...und daß man nirgendwo von einer funktionslosen Digression oder von einem gedichtfremden politischen oder persönlichen Zweck sprechen kann.'

⁶³ Cf. Lehnus (1981: 154) 'sorta di epinicio standard', 'un urrà onomatopeico', traces of which can perhaps be found in Pi. *Ol.* 9.2 (cf. ΣΣ *ad loc.*), *Isth.* 1.14-31, Archiloch. *fr.* 324 W.

⁶⁴ Cf. Currie (2005: 42f.) notes Heracles: *Ne.* 1.69-72, *Isth.* 4.55-60, *Py.* 9.87-89. The Dioscuri: *Ne.* 10.55-59, 83-88, *Py.* 11.61-64. Achilles: *Ol.* 2.79, *Ne.* 4.49f. Peleus: *Ol.* 2.78, *Isth.* 6.62. Cadmus: *Ol.* 2.78. Semele: *Ol.* 2.25-27, *Py.* 11.1. Ino-Leukothea *Ol.* 2.28-30, *Py.* 11.2. Amphiaraus: *Ne.* 9.24-47, *Ol.* 6.14, *Ne.* 10.8f. (vs. Hom. *o* 247, 253). Diomedes: *Ne.* 10.7. Aristaeus: *Py.* 9.62-65. Tantalus: *Ol.* 1.59-63. Someone raised from the dead by Asclepius: *Py.* 3.56f. Bellerophon (attempt): *Isth.* 7.44-77. Common origin of men and gods: *Ne.* 6.1-5, cf. Gerber (1999: 43-45). Croesus in Bacchylides' third ode is a further clear example.

references to hero-cult.⁶⁵ Modern scholarship often contrasts such explicit, literal, immortality and cult with the immortality of the eternal fame (κλέος) which epinician song can bestow upon the *laudandus*. In other words, an analogical relationship between the literal immortality of the hero and the κλέος of the *laudandus* is assumed.⁶⁶ This traditional view has recently been challenged and it is argued that the relationship between the dead hero in epinician receiving cult and the living *laudandus* can at times be much closer: a posthumous cult for the *laudandus* might be anticipated in his lifetime. Epinician poetry could reflect such wishes for literal immortality. In other words, epinician could portray the *laudandus* as a hero in the making.⁶⁷ Verbal echoes, it is argued, signal such a close association between the mythical hero receiving cult and the living *laudandus* aspiring to the same.⁶⁸ However, this enquiry argues that the presence of such verbal echoes in an ode should not be taken as compelling evidence for such intimations,⁶⁹ nor need their absence be evidence against such hopes. It should further be stressed that reflections of eschatological beliefs in epinician odes

⁶⁵ Currie (2005: 47f.) Pelops: *Ol.* 1.90-96. The Dioscuri: *Ol.* 3.39-41, *Isth.* 2.39f., Tlepolemus: *Ol.* 7.77-80. Ajax, son of Ileus: *Ol.* 9.112. Battus: *Py.* 5.93-95. Alkmaeon (Amphiaraus?): *Py.* 8.58-60. Ajax son of Telamon, Achilles, Thetis, Neoptoleomus: *Ne.* 4.47-53. Aeacidae: *Ne.* 5.53f. Neoptolemus at Delphi: *Ne.* 7.34-47. Protesilaus: *Isth.* 1.58f. The sons of Heracles: *Isth.* 4.65f. Oineus, Iolaus, Perseus, Dioscuri Aeacidae: *Isth.* 5.30-35.

⁶⁶ This is the traditional view, cf. Nisetich (1988: 15), Nagy (1990: 140), Dougherty (1993: 116f.).

⁶⁷ Currie (2005: 406f.). 'On the one hand, it conveys the possibility that a posthumous cult might be looked forward to while the person was still alive: the subjective aspect of hero-cult. On the other hand, it conveys the possibility that a person's posthumous cult might be realized ahead of its time, in a partial or a full sense: that a person might receive religious attentions in his own lifetime which fell short of a cult; or that he might, exceptionally, receive full cult, heroic or divine, while still alive.'

⁶⁸ E.g. Currie (2005: 75) on such echoes in Pindar's first *Olympian* ode.

⁶⁹ Because of such verbal echoes in Pindar's seventh *Nemean*, Currie (2005: 410) appears obliged to assume aspirations to hero-cult for the boy-victor Sogenes. While this cannot be disproved, it remains highly problematic.

should not be confused with hopes of the *laudandus* to be worshipped posthumously as a hero. This is relevant to the Sicilian epinician odes since fifth-century Sicily teemed with eschatological beliefs, Pythagorean, Elysian or Orphic.⁷⁰ This enquiry argues that the *laudandus* would decide which type of immortality is expressed in an epinician ode: immortality of the eternal fame (κλέος) or a more literal immortality: epinician odes could serve as vehicle for both types of immortality.⁷¹ For Hieron of Syracuse, for example, there is additional evidence outside the odes to support the view that the *laudandus* indeed aspired to literal immortality.⁷² That such wishes were expressed in a roundabout way in epinician odes is surely a result of a desire to avoid trespassing into a realm which is only appropriate for immortals. By resorting to indirectness, circuitous expressions, equivocation, ambiguity, allegory or hints,⁷³ epinician could circumvent this danger, while still communicating to an intelligent audience what the patron would like to advertise.

Finally, this enquiry will use the terms patron, *laudandus* and victor somewhat indiscriminately. It is, however, worth remembering that there are differences.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Cf. Appendix five, §§ 2.6.1, 5.2.3.

⁷¹ Every ode composed for Hieron of Syracuse appears to hint at wishes for literal immortality, although with different levels of caution. Yet the traditional type, immortality of the eternal fame (κλέος), cannot be said to be absent. Something similar can be assumed for Theron of Acragas, cf. § 2.6.1, § 5.2.3, Appendix five.

⁷² Viz. Hieron was an oecist and seemed to have sought literal immortality by becoming one, cf. Appendix five.

⁷³ All well-known rhetorical techniques, e.g. ἔννοια, ἀδιανοεῖα, *ambages*, cf. Cic. *ad. Herennium* 4.32.43, Quintilian 8.2.20, 8.6.29-30 and especially Theophrast. *fr.* 696 noting the pleasure an audience could derive from such indirectness.

⁷⁴ Cf. Currie (2005: 1n.1). Patron-poet implies a relation outside the text, whereas *laudandus* - *laudator* implies one within the text. Patron implies a stable relationship and *Auftraggeber* in that respect is perhaps less misleading. Hieron in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode is the *laudandus*, yet he appears to be praised for more reasons than simply having been a victor. In Pindar's sixth

Note on conventions.

The text used for Pindar's odes is the Snell-Maehler (1987) edition. For the Pindaric fragments the Snell-Maehler (1989) edition is used. The *scholia vetera* to the Pindaric odes are collected in Drachmann (1903-1927), the *scholia recentia* in Abel (1891) and Mommsen (1865). For Bacchylides' odes, fragments and scholia the Snell-Maehler (1970) edition is used. Journal abbreviations follow the conventions of *L'Année Philologique*. The names of classical authors are abbreviated as in *LSJ*. When referring to Pindar's epinician odes, the abbreviation Pi. is omitted when there is no ambiguity. The abbreviation *OCD*³ is used for entries in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, cf. Hornblower and Spawforth (1996). The abbreviation *RE* is used for entries in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

Pythian and second *Isthmian* ode, Thrasybulus is surely the *laudandus*, yet his father was the victor. Finally, 'poet' refers to the historical Pindar or Bacchylides, whereas *laudator* is the person in an ode with a duty to praise.

Chapter two – Seven odes composed for Hieron of Syracuse.

2.1 Pindar's second *Pythian* ode for Hieron of Syracuse.

Argument.

It is argued that in this ode Hieron is praised before his subjects for the first time. When Hieron took over from Gelon as tyrant in Syracuse in 478/7 BCE, he was in effect usurping the position: he did not have any legitimate claims of rule in Syracuse. This might be the reason why the ode portrays Hieron's rule as part of the natural order of things, on a par with the all-important divine balance. In other words, the tyrants' rule is advertised in this ode as a result of natural law, rather than of mere power with the laudandus described as a just, wise ruler rather than a powerful one. The recurrent epinician topos of the duty to praise is applied to the relationship between Hieron and the Syracusan body politic. Be that as it may, the ode does put Hieron on the map as a military man, although not on a scale as grand as in Pindar's first Pythian ode. The second Pythian ode, however, does not leave any doubt about what will happen to φθονεῖροι and ψογεῖροι. In the last part of the ode they are prominently present yet summarily dealt with. Hence the Ixion myth becomes a veiled warning for those subjects of Hieron who might not agree with his rule or might harbour seditious plans. Interestingly, at the end of the ode, the laudandus appears to have the interests of both demos and aristocracy at heart.

2.1.1 Introduction.

There are several features of this ode on which scholarly agreement has not been reached. The venue where the victory was won is not clearly stated and the ode contains many vexed passages which, to the modern student of Pindar, seem obscure and difficult to interpret.⁷⁵ These difficulties notwithstanding, many have argued that the ode is entirely understandable as an epinician ode and that the features which at first might seem problematic can readily be explained as praise for the victor.⁷⁶ The latter approach is followed in this section. It is argued that, first, in this ode, Hieron is portrayed as ruler, yet that he appears to lay less strong claims to authority than in other odes composed for him. Second, the ode is the first one composed for Hieron and might very well have been performed for the first time not long after Hieron usurped the tyranny in 478/7 BCE.⁷⁷ Third, the first assumption can arguably be linked to the second. Fourth, Hieron's rule in this ode, more than in any other, is portrayed as a result of the natural order of things and his rule is subtly paralleled with the divine balance. The manner in which the *laudandus* is advertised in this ode suggests that neither *Herrschaftssystem* nor *Polisideologie* is an appropriate label to define the ideology represented in this ode. *Adelsideologie* might be a better term.

⁷⁵ For Race (1997: 228) e.g. Pindar's second *Pythian* ode is the most difficult Pindaric ode to interpret. Be that as it may, I argue here for a fairly straightforward patron message.

⁷⁶ Cf. Lloyd-Jones (1973: 125) who notes on the last section of the poem 'The whole concluding passage of the poem...is fully understandable if we suppose that Pindar is dilating on a common theme of encomiastic poetry, that of the duty of men, and particular poets, to give great men proper credit for their benefits to others and to abstain from envy.'

⁷⁷ Cf. § 2.1.3.1. I use 'usurped' since Hieron did not have any claims on Syracuse. Gelon, because of his refoundation of 485 BCE, did have legitimate claims, as oecist.

2.1.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the ode.

Some scholars have argued that the second *Pythian* ode is not an epinician ode at all and have suggested the expression 'poetic epistle'.⁷⁸ The same suggestion has been made for other Pindaric odes.⁷⁹ Many scholars, however, argue against such a suggestion.⁸⁰ Indeed, there seems to be no evidence for the existence of such a genre as 'poetical letter'. In itself this objection should not be a deciding argument as it smacks somewhat of *Systemzwang*.⁸¹ There are, however, other arguments in favour of the ode as an epinician one. Those who link the triadic form with choral performance find it hard to believe that Pindar would have composed a poetic letter with such a triadic structure. In addition, all the odes for which this genre 'poetic epistle' has been suggested appear to contain indications for actual performance.⁸² On balance, the arguments for the second *Pythian* as a straightforward epinician ode seem stronger: the whole ode is filled with epinician *topoi*,⁸³ while the mention of Hieron 'crowning' Syracuse in the first triad strongly suggests there was a particular occasion for this ode.⁸⁴ This is important as it suggests that the ode contains a message of Hieron and not of the poet.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Wilamowitz (1922: 287) e.g. thinks the ode is a 'persönliche Brief'. Of the same opinion are Schadewaldt (1928: 326), Bowra (1937: 23), Gantz (1978: 19).

⁷⁹ Cf. Wilamowitz (1922: 280) on Pindar's third *Pythian* and second *Isthmian* ode.

⁸⁰ The arguments are summed up in Carey (1981: 23), Young (1983: 38ff.).

⁸¹ Fraenkel (1966: 188) on Hor. *Od.* 1.15 '...it means that no form or setting of a poem can be tolerated if there exists only one instance of it.' Differently F. Cairns (1972: 95f.) who warns against the tendency to imagine genres which did not exist.

⁸² Viz. *Py.* 2.4, 2.69, *Py.* 3.64, *Isth.* 2.45ff. Cf. Carey (1981: 23).

⁸³ On which see below.

⁸⁴ *Py.* 2.6 ἀνέδησεν and *Py.* 2.8 ἐδάμασσε both hint at a specific victory, cf. Carey (1981: 21), Gentili *et al.* (1995: 43). Pace von der Mühl (1958: 220), Oats (1963: 388) who think that the

If it can be accepted that the ode did have a specific victory as its occasion, then the question remains where that victory was won. Already in antiquity there was strong disagreement.⁸⁶ Modern scholarship has not reached a consensus and a range of venues is proposed.⁸⁷ That the second *Pythian* ode is linked with Hieron's victory at Delphi in 470 BCE seems unlikely. On that interpretation, the celebrations in Aetna were celebrated with no less than seven poems,⁸⁸ which seems excessive. Some have argued for Syracuse as the venue on numismatic grounds.⁸⁹ Others see the stress on Syracuse in the proem as proof for a victory in local games.⁹⁰ However, the mention of Syracuse must surely imply that Hieron made the city famous by being victorious in another city.⁹¹

ode does not celebrate a specific occasion and consider the ode to have been a *gratis* 'introductory ode'.

⁸⁵ One could argue that if the ode had been a *gratis* 'introductory ode', the message of the ode would be one which Pindar thought Hieron would be comfortable with.

⁸⁶ Σ *Py.* 2. *inscr.* Γέγραπται μὲν Ἰέρωνι ἄρματι νικήσαντι, ἄδηλον δὲ εἰς ποῖον ἀγῶνα· Irigoin (1952: 73ff.) argues that Didymus is behind this statement, which shows that that doubt was early (viz. first century BCE). Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F 141) thought the ode was a θυσιαστικὴ ᾠδή. Callimachus believed it to be a *Nemean* ode, Ammonius and Callistratus an Olympian ode and Apollonius ὁ εἰδογράφος a *Pythian* ode, cf. Σ *Py.* 2 *metr.*

⁸⁷ Delphi: Wilamowitz (1922: 287), Olympia: Bowra (1964: 410), Gentili *et al.* (1995: 45), Thebes: Mezger (1880: 49), Fennell (1893: 157), Gildersleeve (1890: 253), Carey (1981: 21), Syracuse: Lefkowitz (1976: 164).

⁸⁸ As is argued by Wilamowitz (1901: 277f.), (1922: 286ff.): Pindar's first and second *Pythian* ode, Bacchylides' fourth ode, an encomium (B. *fr.* 20), and three poems which were later classed as *hyporchemata* (Pi. *fr.* 105ab, 106).

⁸⁹ Farnell (1932: 119) who notes the 'long series of Syracusan coins with the *quadriga* or *biga* for symbol.' Although the *quadriga* did appear before Gelon's tyranny, the appearance of a Nike crowning the *quadriga* belongs to Gelon's time, possibly commemorating Gelon's Olympic victory in 488 BCE, cf. Moretti (1957: 84).

⁹⁰ Lefkowitz (1976: 164).

⁹¹ Gentili *et al.* (1995: 46) who notes that this is the case in all epinician odes for Hieron.

The arguments for a further possible candidate, Thebes, seem stronger.

Thebes is mentioned in the proem,⁹² and in that passage a so-called ἀγγελία motif is used.⁹³ In Pindar, this is often linked with a reference to the discipline and place of victory. In other words, it is more natural for a singer to 'bring news' of a foreign victory than of a local victory.⁹⁴ Hence the venue where the victory celebrated in the ode was won appears to be Thebes. The place where the ode was first performed must have been Syracuse.⁹⁵

If the ode really contains an allusion to the Locrian incident,⁹⁶ then we have a *terminus post quem* of c.477 BCE for the composition of the ode.⁹⁷ Because the ode does not appear to contain any reference to Hieron's battle of Cumae (474 BCE), we might have a *terminus ante quem* in that date.⁹⁸

It should not be excluded that Pindar, before he received commissions from Hieron, had already been commissioned by other members of the Deinomenid clan.⁹⁹ Be that as it may, this ode could well have been the first ode Pindar composed for

⁹² *Py.* 2.3f. ὕμνιν τόδε τᾶν λιπαρᾶν ἀπὸ Θηβᾶν φέρων μέλος ἔρχομαι ἀγγελίαν τετραορίας ἐλελίχθονος.

⁹³ Cf. Schadewaldt (1928: 274).

⁹⁴ Carey (1981: 21) who notes as parallels *Ol.* 4.3, *Ol.* 9.27, *Py.* 9.2, *Ne.* 4.74, *Ne.* 5.3ff., *Ne.* 6.59b.

⁹⁵ Cf. *Py.* 2.67.

⁹⁶ *Py.* 2.18ff. supposedly refers to Hieron's intervention on behalf of the Epizephyrian Locrians when they were threatened by the Rhegians in 477 BCE, cf. ΣΣ *Py.* 2.36c, 2.38, *Py.* 1.99a, Luraghi (1994: 215-17), Currie (2004: 261f.).

⁹⁷ Carey (1981: 21-3) sums up the arguments and concludes that *Py.* 2.18ff. indeed refers to the Locrian incident and not, *pace* Lloyd-Jones (1973: 120), to the battle of Cumae in 474 BCE.

⁹⁸ Carey (1981: 22) argues that this particular argument *e silentio* is seen as firmer than most because Pindar is often precise in listing Hieron's military achievements.

⁹⁹ Gaspar (1900: 76) notes Σ Aristid. 178.1-6 Jebb Βακχυλίδης γὰρ καὶ Πίνδαρος Ἰέρωνα καὶ Γέλωνα, τοὺς Σικελίας ἄρχοντας, ὑμνήσαντες. The other passage cited by Gaspar, D.S. 11.26.8, however, is better not taken as evidence, cf. Haillet (2001: 39).

Hieron.¹⁰⁰ An early date of first performance¹⁰¹ also relates well with the patron message which is argued here.

2.1.3 The patron message in the ode.

In this ode Hieron does not appear to make the strong claims on Syracuse and its citizens that can be identified in later odes for the tyrant. In fact, this seems to be the only ode for Hieron in which he is not explicitly addressed as βασιλεύς,¹⁰² nor associated with kingship. Instead, the ode praises Hieron in more general terms, and appears to be concerned with proper, or even ideal, relationships between patron, poet and citizens.¹⁰³ These ideal relationships are often represented as part of the natural order of things. The importance of the natural order of things is an important topic in this ode and the patron message actively promotes it. As is argued below, the natural order of things plays on two levels: the divine and the human and Hieron's rule is portrayed as part of both orders. The trustworthiness of the *laudandus*, his wise

¹⁰⁰ Fraccaroli (1894: 366), Gaspar (1900: 69), Oates (1963: 388), Carey (1981: 23), all arguing for late 477, early 476 BCE.

¹⁰¹ Viz. a first performance around the time Hieron took over from his brother Gelon as tyrant of Syracuse in 478/7 BCE. All arguments based on an assumed visit of Pindar to Sicily of ca. 476 BCE should be avoided as all the information which is contained in the ode could have been presented to Pindar via agents. The second *Pythian* ode is ambiguous: it states that it has been sent to Syracuse, cf. *Py.* 2.67 τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἐμπολὴν μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἀλὸς πέμπεται, but this should be contrasted with *Py.* 2.3f.

¹⁰² Gaspar (1900: 75). Cf. *Ol.* 1.23, *Py.* 3.70. *Pace* Wilamowitz (1922: 285). Cf. § 2.1.4.

¹⁰³ Döndt (1986: 291) 'Thema dieses in gewisser Weise abstrakten Gedichts, ...ist die Frage nach dem einzig angemessenen Gegenstand und der einzig angemessenen Haltung der Pindarischen Dichtung.' This is perhaps too narrowly formulated since the ode deals with more than an 'angemessene Haltung' towards poetics, yet propriety is an important ingredient of its patron message.

counsels and the absence of deception further serve to make the rule for the tyrant more acceptable. Throughout, the χάρις motif is used extensively.¹⁰⁴ Be that as it may, enemies of the tyranny are summarily dealt with in the last part of the ode.

2.1.3.1 Hieron's claims on Syracuse.

When Hieron took over from Gelon as tyrant in Syracuse in 478/7 BCE, he was in effect usurping the position as he did not have any legitimate claims of rule in Syracuse.¹⁰⁵ Hieron could not boast of connections with the original foundation in c.734 BCE via his ancestors since he was not of Corinthian decent, while the refoundation of the city in 485 BCE was Gelon's affair. As is noted above, there is nothing to prevent the dating of the first performance of the ode to shortly after 478/7 BCE. Some link the content of the ode with troubles which we know existed between Hieron and his brother Polyzelus c.476/5 BCE.¹⁰⁶ However, this enquiry argues for a slightly earlier date of first

¹⁰⁴ Maclachlan (1993) is a recent study of *charis* but also see Gundert (1935: 30-45, 55-58). Schadewaldt (1928: 277n.2) notes that χάρις in the epinician context is 'ein bestimmtes Verhältnis von Menschen zueinander, und zwar einen i d e a l e n Mittelzustand von Freiheit und Gebundenheit, von Selbständigkeit und Zugehörigkeit, eine auf irgendwelcher Gegenseitigkeit beruhende freie Leistung.'

¹⁰⁵ The Deinomenids originated from Telos near Rhodes. Cf. Berve (1967: 140). Cf. § 3.2.3 for the contrast with Hagesias of Syracuse who might have had legitimate claims and might have been perceived as a threat to Hieron.

¹⁰⁶ Gaspar (1900: 69), Gildersleeve (1890: 253), Cowherd (1972: 367-77). The latter argues that Hieron asked Pindar to compose a poem that would attack his brother Polyzelus. Ixion then would personify Polyzelus, whose name would have inspired the choice of the myth as both Ixion and Polyzelus were nurturing improper aspirations. The νεφεέλα, at *Py.* 3.36, it is further argued, would stand for Theron's help and the hope of defeating Hieron. Cf. Luraghi (1994: 328-32) on the historical background to these troubles. The sources are D.S. 11.48.3-8, Σ *Pi. Ol.* 2.29c, Σ *Pi. Ol.* 2.29d (=Timae. *FGrHist* 566 F 93b). Incidentally, Bacchylides' fifth ode, which

performance for Pindar's second *Pythian* ode. Hence it is argued that the *laudandus* was problematic because of his status as usurper of the tyranny, not because of frictions with his brother Polyzelus. This is supported by the manner in which Hieron is praised in this ode. I shall come back to this point presently, but first shall examine praise for the *laudandus* in this ode.

2.1.4 Praise for Hieron.

Epinician frequently deals with the relationship between the *laudandus* and his city, his subjects or his clan members. The manner in which this is done surely must have been a matter for the patron and could hardly have been a topic for the poet himself to decide. Such matters must have been agreed upon beforehand as an important part of the self-representation of the *laudandus*. Hence it is significant that the proem of this ode primarily addresses and praises Syracuse.¹⁰⁷ Syracuse is praised as the recipient of the ode.¹⁰⁸ This praise of Syracuse in the proem invites a comparison with the other examples in odes for home consumption where the relationship between Hieron and

celebrates a victory that is securely dated to 476 BCE (cf. Appendix 2.2), would be another candidate to display allusions to those troubles. However, it does not appear to do so.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *Py.* 2.1-2 where Syracuse is *μεγαλόπολι*, *τέμενος* of Ares as well as 'divine nourisher of men and horses delighting in steel'. Cf. also *Py.* 2.6 *τηλαυγέσιν ... στεφάνοις*, far-shining garlands with which Hieron has now adorned Syracuse. This is another way of saying that Syracuse's fame is well-known abroad, sc. throughout the whole Panhellenic world. Pindar often uses 'shining' as equivalent to 'glory', cf. *Ol.* 1.23, 1.93f., *Py.* 8.101, *Ne.* 3.61.

¹⁰⁸ When asked to receive the song in the opening section of an ode, more often than not, this is done by a god or goddess, cf. *Ol.* 4.7-9: Zeus, *Ol.* 8.10: the sanctuary of Pisa, *Ol.* 5.3: Camarina, *Ol.* 14.16: various goddesses, B.11.9-12: Nike (*σέθεν δ' ἑκατι*). At *Py.* 5.22: Arcelisaus, a legitimate king, receives the *komos*.

Syracuse (or Sicily) is portrayed. In comparable passages,¹⁰⁹ Hieron is either king or στρατηγός of Syracuse. Only in this ode does Hieron temporarily take second stage, at least in the proem of the ode. Such a stance appears also to be taken in the proem of Bacchylides' fourth ode. In that ode, composed for performance at the games at Delphi, praise is also first given to the city and only then followed by praise for Hieron.¹¹⁰ Be that as it may, the proem in Pindar's second *Pythian* ode does, however, contain some high praise of Hieron when it is said that Artemis, Hermes and Poseidon all had a hand in Hieron's victory.¹¹¹ Divine assistance in this passage is indeed very explicit, yet it is part of the typical epinician outlook,¹¹² and appears to be a *topos*. Without divine assistance, victory is not possible, a sentiment which occurs in odes for other victors as well.¹¹³ This passage asserts that Hieron, as is the case with other victors, is in a special manner blessed by the gods, a sentiment with which the myth is concerned as well.¹¹⁴

This passage is followed by a χρέος motif.¹¹⁵ Although kings are mentioned, this passage should not be classed as 'regal terminology'.¹¹⁶ This is an important point that

¹⁰⁹ *O.* 1.24: Syracuse' horse-loving king, *Py.* 1.73: οἶα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῶ δαμασθέντες κτλ., *Py.* 3.70: Hieron who rules as king over Syracuse, B.5: Hieron is στρατηγός of Syracuse, B.3 *init.*: Hieron, implicitly, rules the whole of Sicily, cf. § 2.5.3.

¹¹⁰ Cf. § 2.4.3, § 2.4.3.1.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Py.* 2.6-12.

¹¹² Cf. § 1.4 ἀρετά, φυά, πόνος and δαπάνη are all prerequisites for success, yet one will still fail without that divine element which is essential for human achievement (θεός, πότμος).

¹¹³ E.g. *O.* 11.8-10 τὰ μὲν ἀμετέρα γλῶσσα ποιμαίνειν ἐθέλει, ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἀνὴρ σοφαῖς ἀνθεῖ πραπίδεσσιν ὁμοίως.

¹¹⁴ Cf. § 2.1.5.

¹¹⁵ *Py.* 2.13-15 ἄλλοις δέ τις ἐτέλεσεν ἄλλος ἀνὴρ εὐαχέα βασιλεῦσιν ὕμνον ἄποιν' ἀρετᾶς. Carey (1981: 28) notes the contrast between the aid which a man can give with the help of the gods in the preceding passage.

merits further discussion. The *chreos* motif itself is part of a priamel,¹¹⁷ in which the rhetorical figure *alius aliud* is used. The priamel becomes progressively more concrete and focuses in on Hieron, yet it does not directly link him with the statement in the opening *gnome*.¹¹⁸ That statement signals to the audience what the next topic will be, namely kings. Hereafter Cinyras, the mythical king of Cyprus, is promptly introduced. That Cinyras and Hieron are paralleled is indisputable,¹¹⁹ and there appear to be straightforward parallels.¹²⁰ Cinyras was a man with an important guest-friend,¹²¹ and, like Hieron, belonged to a sacerdotal line.¹²² Cinyras was famous for his wealth,¹²³ a further characteristic that could be straightforwardly applied to Hieron.¹²⁴ Admittedly, the opening *gnome* of this passage mentions kingship, yet Cinyras and Hieron appear to be paralleled mainly because of their friendship with the gods, because both are wealthy and belong to a priestly clan. The priamel in which they are compared culminates with a martial exploit of Hieron,¹²⁵ but Cinyras is not known for his martial exploits. The statement in lines 13-14 introduces the positive example of the virtuous

¹¹⁶ Pace Luraghi (1994: 355n.355), Gentili *et al.* (1995: 47). Regal terminology in odes composed for Hieron is discussed in § 8.3.2.

¹¹⁷ Viz. *Py.* 2.13-20. A priamel is a focussing device, on which cf. Dornseiff (1921: 97-102), van Otterlo (1940: 145-76), Bundy (1962:4ff.).

¹¹⁸ Viz. 'various men pay tribute to various kings as a recompense for their excellence.'

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Py.* 2.15 ...μέν... 2.18 ...δέ...

¹²⁰ Pace Kirkwood (1982: 148) 'no personal reason is apparent...'

¹²¹ Cf. Hom. *Λ* 20 Agamemnon.

¹²² Σ *Py.* 2.27b, Ptol. *Megalop. FGrHist* 161 F 1, Tac. *Hist.* 2.3.1, Hes. s.v. Κινυράδαι. The ode alludes to this *Py.* 2.17 ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας.

¹²³ Hom. *Λ* 20, Tyr. *fr.* 12.6 W. πλουτοίη δέ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον, Pi. *Ne.* 8.18, Pl. *Leg.* 660e5-6.

¹²⁴ Hieron's wealth, cf. B.4.1-3, Pi. *Oi.* 1.106

¹²⁵ *Py.* 2.19-20. There is no agreement as to what martial exploit exactly is hinted at here, cf. Carey (1981: 30-31).

Cinyras who 'did friendly deeds and was consequently remembered with gratitude.' This appears to be the actual point of comparison, which is worked out in the next lines, yet now with Hieron as subject; once Cinyras had shown exemplary behaviour towards the Cypriots, and Hieron has shown similar worthy behaviour towards Western Locri. For such behaviour, both are remembered.¹²⁶ If indeed kingship was an issue for the *laudandus*, it is advertised in this ode in a much more roundabout way than in the later odes composed for Hieron. In those odes kingship is treated cavalierly, using clear 'regal terminology'.¹²⁷ Comparison with other priamels that use the *alius aliud* motif suggests that reference to kingship in this passage is secondary, at best.¹²⁸

Hieron's military assistance for Locri Epizephyrri around 477 BCE (if this indeed is what the ode here is alluding to), is framed in terms of power. The inhabitants are now safe because of Hieron's δύναμις.¹²⁹

Syracuse is honoured in the proem because of Hieron's victory:¹³⁰ Hieron's victory adorns his home city Syracuse,¹³¹ while the metaphor itself is the first of many

¹²⁶ Currie (2004: 258ff.) argues that *Py.* 2.18-20 alludes to 'exceptional treatment which Hieron actually enjoyed at Locri during his lifetime, being celebrated in girls' choruses at a festival of Aphrodite.' While this cannot be disproved, this appears to be allusive to the point of being incomprehensible, certainly to audiences outside Sicily. Currie (2004: 295) argues that the cult extended to the Cyprian hero Cinyras suggests 'a specific claim to heroic stature in *Pythian* 2' and that the comparison is 'a major concern' of the ode. This surely is an exaggeration.

¹²⁷ Cf. Appendix four where it is argued that the Deinomenids did not actually carry the royal title.

¹²⁸ Viz. *Ol.* 7.11ff., *Ne.* 4.91ff. and 7.54ff. They are all three-step priamels and in each case the sentiment in the initial *gnome* seems to have a more direct bearing upon the patron than in our passage *Py.* 2.13-20.

¹²⁹ *Py.* 2.20 διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν δρακεῖσ' ἀσφαλές. They 'have a look of security in their eyes.' (Race).

¹³⁰ *Py.* 2.6f. τηλαυγέσιν ἀνέδησεν Ὀρτυγίαν στεφάνοις, ποταμίας ἔδος Ἀρτέμιδος, ...

¹³¹ A common epinician *topos* cf. *Ol.* 8.20, *Ol.* 9.21f., *Py.* 1.31, *Py.* 9.75f.

examples in this ode in which Hieron's munificence and his excellent qualities as ruler are stressed. Praise of his munificence is a further way of telling an audience that he is not mean-spirited,¹³² and hence does not show contempt for his citizens. Since this is the case, he deserves not to be the subject of φθόρος and hence needs to be praised.¹³³

Praise of Hieron is temporarily interrupted by the introduction of the myth, to which I shall now turn.

2.1.5 The Ixion Myth.

The Ixion myth seems to have been well known by the middle of the fifth century.¹³⁴ In art the story is also known from the fifth century.¹³⁵ Ixion is linked with tales of the underworld.¹³⁶ This could have been significant in view of other *katabaseis* and eschatological stories in odes for Hieron,¹³⁷ were it not that, on present evidence, the Ixion tale seems to have become linked with punishments in the underworld only in

¹³² At *Py.* 2.57f. picked up more explicitly, cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 388).

¹³³ Cf. D.L. Cairns' (2003: 241f.) discussion of Artist. *Pol.* 1295b21-3 and 1302a32-33: the mean-spirited attitude of the rich (contempt for the poor, leading to hubris) has its counterpart in the negative emotional attitude of the poor (envy). He also notes that Aristotle recognises that base motives and selfishness on both sides play a role.

¹³⁴ Cf. Gantz (1993: 718). Ixion's confused parentage might hint at widespread diffusion: Zeus, Antion, Ares, Leonteus, Peision and Phlegyas are all mentioned as Ixion's father.

¹³⁵ Cf. two red-figure cup fragments, early fifth century, *ARV²* 110.7 Athens Agora P26228 and a kantharos from the middle of the fifth century, *ARV²* 832.37 London E155.

¹³⁶ Gantz (1993: 721).

¹³⁷ E.g. in Bacchylides' third and fifth ode.

Hellenistic times.¹³⁸ Pindar speaks of two of Ixion's sins,¹³⁹ yet deals with one of them, Ixion's murder of a blood-relative, only in summary fashion.¹⁴⁰ It is suggested that Pindar did so out of piety,¹⁴¹ but more probably dwelling upon this subject would have distracted from the purpose of the myth.¹⁴²

There is no need for supposing that the poem echoes troubles which we know existed between Hieron and his brother Polyzelus c.476/5 BCE,¹⁴³ and hence the significance of the Ixion myth in the second *Pythian* ode is better explained as an example of the dangers of hubris,¹⁴⁴ ingratitude and the need to uphold the natural order of things.¹⁴⁵ To this could be added that Ixion was someone who transgressed in spite of the fact that he was especially blessed by the gods.¹⁴⁶ This type of sinner figures in other odes for Hieron as well.¹⁴⁷ It almost seems as though from their extraordinary 'state of grace', follow extraordinary obligations. Isocrates called sinners

¹³⁸ Gantz (1993: 721) notes that this process involved the loss of Ixion's function as an admonisher of the dangers of ingratitude.

¹³⁹ Cf. *Py.* 2.30.

¹⁴⁰ *Py.* 2.25 εὐμενέσσι γὰρ παρὰ Κρονίδαις γλυκὺν ἐλὼν βίον. Van der Kolf (1924: 9) argues that this crime was nevertheless well known in the fifth century. Also cf. *Py.* 2.31.

¹⁴¹ Van der Kolf (1924: 9).

¹⁴² On which see below.

¹⁴³ Cf. § 2.1.3.1.

¹⁴⁴ Gentili *et al.* (1995: 48n.2) distinguishes two motifs in the myth: 'la necessità di riconoscere i meriti della divinità e di astenersi da qualsiasi dismisura (ὑβρις, v.28).'

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Lloyd-Jones (1973: 125).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *Py.* 2.25f. εὐμενέσσι γὰρ παρὰ Κρονίδαις γλυκὺν ἐλὼν βίον, μακρὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὄλβον.

¹⁴⁷ Tantalus in *Ol.* 1, Typhon in *Py.* 1, Coronis and especially Asclepius in *Py.* 3, all show rebellion, ingratitude or grave deficiencies in their dealing with the gods. Cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 48n.2).

such as Ixion and Tantalus 'traitors to fortune'.¹⁴⁸ By using this type of transgressor as a negative foil in the ode the patron is praised in an extraordinary way: the *laudandus* stands out as extraordinarily blessed by the gods, yet he does not transgress. While it cannot be excluded that Hieron might simply have had a preference for *Gruselgeschichten*,¹⁴⁹ the presence in the odes of such stories seems nevertheless better explained as high praise.

If Ixion in this ode is the foil for not showing proper χάρις, the *laudandus*, by implication, is someone who does observe proper χάρις. Improper χάρις, of the sort shown by Ixion, is repaid with punishment. In a similar manner Hieron's subjects have a duty to repay Hieron for his benevolence, a consequence of the tyrant's display of proper χάρις.¹⁵⁰ In other words, by observing Hieron's rule, his subjects repay Hieron's munificence. Hence both ruler and ruled show proper χάρις.

2.1.6 Further praise for Hieron.

The mythical (or historical) persons in an epinician poem are relevant to the patron as *exempla*, as are the *gnomae*.¹⁵¹ In the mythical section of this ode the sentiment of

¹⁴⁸ Race (1987: 155n.69) notes Isoc. *ad Dem.* 49.4 Δικαίως δ' ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους ὑπολάβοιμεν μὴ μόνον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τύχης εἶναι προδότας· the passage continues 'for fortune places in their hands wealth and reputation and friends, but they, for their part, make themselves unworthy of the blessings which lie within their grasp.' Isocrates goes on to say (50.1) that Zeus made Heracles immortal because of his virtue and inflicted on Tantalus the severest punishments because of his evil character. Cf. Isoc. *Panath.* 2.242.

¹⁴⁹ B.3: Croesus on the pyre, *Py.* 3: Coronis on the pyre, *Ol.* 1: Pelops allegedly being served for dinner.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Arist. *EN* 1333a3-5 temples of *Charis* set up in a public place to encourage the 'repayment of benefits'.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Köhnken (1971: 227).

'natural order' is for the first time explicitly touched upon.¹⁵² A further series of *gnomae* concludes the mythical section.¹⁵³ They comment on the preceding myth and are the introduction to further praise for the *laudandus*, who is now advertised for his proper use of wealth, his power and courage.¹⁵⁴ The theme of men and gods reaches a climax here. This section includes the famous 'Archilochus passage'.¹⁵⁵ This passage, as is the Ixion myth, is best understood in general, formal terms and there is no need to look for any hidden biographical data.¹⁵⁶ The key lies in the *gnome* that follows,¹⁵⁷ a vexed passage even by Pindaric standards.¹⁵⁸ What Pindar seems to be saying here is that wealth deserves praise, but only if it has been dispensed by fate. On that interpretation, the *gnome* comments on the preceding Archilochus passage: it shows that Archilochus' slander is an offence against the norm.¹⁵⁹ Hieron's wealth is the result of fate: he should not be begrudged (in the envious manner of Archilochus), the more so because

¹⁵² *Py.* 2.34 *χρὴ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ παντὸς ὀρᾶν μέτρον*. A very common idea in archaic Greek poetry, cf. *Theogn.* 614, *A. Prom.* 890, *Pi. Ol.* 13.47, *Py.* 3.19-23, *Ne.* 11.47, *Isth.* 6.71. The sentiment must have been a very commonly felt truth for the audience.

¹⁵³ *Py.* 2.49-52. The effect is solemn, note *anadiplosis* (or *reduplicatio*) of *θεός* and definition of the territory of the god, typical of hymnic style, cf. Norden (1913: 168), Gentili *et al.* (1995: 339).

¹⁵⁴ *Py.* 2.52-67.

¹⁵⁵ *Py.* 2.52-56.

¹⁵⁶ As e.g. in Σ *Py.* 2.97 where this passage is interpreted as a personal attack on Bacchylides. Carey (1981: 42) rightly argues that this utterance cannot have a strictly personal meaning for the chorus or poet.

¹⁵⁷ *Py.* 2.56 *τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχῃ πότμου σοφίας ἄριστον*.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Gerber (1960: 105ff.), Carey (1981: 43f.) for a detailed discussion. Both argue for the following grouping *τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ [σὺν-τύχῃ-πότμου] [σοφίας-ἄριστον]* and translate 'to be rich by fortune's grace is wisdom's highest part.' Cf. Schadewaldt (1928: 330n.2), Lloyd-Jones (1973: 121f.).

¹⁵⁹ Carey (1981: 45).

he spends his wealth appropriately.¹⁶⁰ In other words, displaying φθόνος towards Hieron would go against the natural order of things and is thus to be avoided. The epinician *topos* of the duty to praise is thus applied to the relationship between Hieron and the Syracusan body politic as well; it legitimises Hieron's rule as part of the natural order.¹⁶¹ This sentiment occurs several times in this ode,¹⁶² and appears to be a key element in the patron message of the *laudandus*. The *gnome*, however, not only picks up on the 'Archilochus passage', but introduces new praise for Hieron as well.¹⁶³ In this section, Hieron is first praised as πρύτανις and κύριος over Syracuse and its military.¹⁶⁴ It has rightly been noted that Hieron could have been praised as πρύτανις and κύριος at any time after 478 BCE,¹⁶⁵ yet it seems important that Hieron is not explicitly named king here, which would imply a legitimate claim, transferable to his descendants.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ *Py.* 2.57 τὸ δὲ σάφα νιν ἔχεις ἐλευθέρα φρενὶ πεπαρεῖν, 'you clearly have it [sc. wealth] to display with a liberal spirit.' (Race).

¹⁶¹ And therefore as somehow lawful, cf. Arist. *EN* 1134b18-20 political justice τὸ μὲν φυσικὸν ἔστι τὸ δὲ νομικόν.

¹⁶² Cf. *Py.* 2.34, 2.88, 2.94-96, perhaps also 2.72.

¹⁶³ Viz. in the whole section of *Py.* 2.58-67. Rhetorically, the *topos* used is that of 'abundance', on which cf. Bundy (1962: 64), Köhnken (1971: 32n.51). Hieron is praised as πρύτανις and κύριος (*Py.* 2.58), is praised for his wealth and honour (2.58-60), his courage and wisdom (2.64, 65-67).

¹⁶⁴ *Py.* 2.58f. πρύτανι κύριε πολλὰν μὲν εὐστεφάνων ἀγυιᾶν καὶ στρατοῦ. The translation of πρύτανις is 'ruler', 'overlord', cf. B.18.43 (of Zeus), Pi. *Py.* 6.24, Stesich. *PMG* 58 (of Poseidon) and *LSJ* s.v. πρύτανις for more examples. *Py.* 2.58 κύριε is not an attribute of πρύτανι but a substantive introducing the following appositive phrase, cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 388).

¹⁶⁵ After which he took over the tyranny from Gelon, cf. Carey (1981: 45). Pace Wilamowitz (1922: 285) who sees in the use of these terms a 'zwingender Notwendigkeit' for a date of this ode's first performance after 472 BCE (viz. after Theron's death). It appears that κύριε translates as 'lord' in *Isth.* 5.53 Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κύριος. Cf. Gerber (1982: 158) on *Ol.* 1.104 δύναμις κυριώτερος 'lordly wealth'.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. the dynastic concerns at *Py.* 1.60 and *Py.* 1.86 on which see Leschhorn (1984: 124), Luraghi (1994: 328).

Neither is Hieron portrayed as ruler over the whole of Sicily as appears to be the case in Bacchylides' third ode.¹⁶⁷ The πρύτανις as political office in Athens, based on lot and rotation, seems to have been introduced there after the Cleisthenic reorganisation of 508/7 BCE. Outside Athens, πρύτανις is attested as a title of a state official, often with responsibility of presiding over a council, in Rhodes, Alexandria, the east Aegean and western Asia Minor,¹⁶⁸ but not in Sicily.¹⁶⁹ Consequently, we simply cannot tell whether for a Syracusan contemporary audience the use of the term πρύτανις in this passage would have had such resonance.¹⁷⁰ However, the question may be asked whether for a home audience πρύτανις would stand in opposition to absolute power. In other words, is this passage an attempt to dissociate the *laudandus* from tyranny?¹⁷¹ There are two arguments in favour of such an assumption. First, Hieron's praise as military commander is carefully balanced in this passage with praise for his wisdom, that is, praise for Hieron as counsellor.¹⁷² Second, only in this ode and in Pindar's sixth

¹⁶⁷ Cf. § 2.5.3 on the proem of B.3. It is worth noting that *Py.* 2.58 πολλῶν μὲν εὐστεφάνων ἁγυῶν is metonymy for Syracuse and not for 'many cities', *pace* Wilamowitz (1922: 285), cf. *Py.* 8.55, 9.83, Gentili *et al.* (1995: 388).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Pindar's eleventh *Nemean* ode for Aristagoras of Tenedos. The ode is tentatively dated to ca.442 BCE, cf. Gaspar (1900: 172). Πρύτανις in that ode clearly denotes a political function, cf. *Ne.* 11.9-10 ἀλλὰ σὺν δόξῃ τέλος δωδεκάμηνον περᾶσαι νιν ἀτρώτῳ κραδίῳ.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. F. Gschnitzer in *RE* suppl. XIII, p.734ff. Dunbabin (1948: 56n.1) 'perhaps Hieron liked to be addressed by the republican title: Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4. 119, *prytanium*...'. The suggestion by Hüttl (1929: 43-47) that the constitutional position of Pollis, allegedly the first king of Syracuse, might have been πρύτανις is refuted by Dunbabin (1948: 94).

¹⁷⁰ Viz. presiding over a council. Arguably the use of πρύτανις would to some extent have dissociated Hieron from tyranny during reperformances of the ode outside Western Greece.

¹⁷¹ Would a home city audience have interpreted πρύτανις as counsellor as well as councillor?

¹⁷² Gentili *et al.* (1995: 390) notes that *Py.* 2.65a-67 βουλᾷ δὲ πρεσβύτεραι... παρέχοντι correlates with νεότητι ... θράσος and creates a polar figure: 'Ierone in battaglia ha l'ardire di un giovane, nelle decisione la saggezza di un vecchio.' Cf. *Py.* 5.108-113 where (the legitimate king) Arcesilaus is praised in the same balanced way, namely for his wisdom and courage.

Olympian ode is Hieron praised for his wisdom as counsellor.¹⁷³ On balance, praise for Hieron as πρύτανης appears to be of more significance than merely opposing Hieron rhetorically to Ixion, the man who ‘did not know.’¹⁷⁴

Hieron is praised for his military qualities as well.¹⁷⁵ Assuming that the first performance of the ode predates 474 BCE,¹⁷⁶ only the recent battle of Himera in 480 BCE could be alluded to in this passage. We know, however, that that victory was primarily Gelon’s and to a lesser extent Theron’s.¹⁷⁷ The use here of the plural, ‘fearsome wars’ and praise of the *laudandus* as having ‘won boundless fame’ might thus be construed as a first epinician attempt to put the tyrant on the map as a military man. This is repeated on a much grander scale in the first *Pythian* ode.

The importance of the praise passages discussed lies in the aggregate of the positive qualities power, wealth properly spent, honour, courage and wisdom.

Separately, or in isolation, however, such traits will not define a man with true ἀρετή.¹⁷⁸

It is precisely because in Hieron all these qualities are combined that he can and must

¹⁷³ Viz. *Py.* 2.65a, *Ol.* 6.94 ἄρτια μηδόμενος Hieron devises ‘fitting counsels.’ On the dating of Pindar’s sixth *Olympian* ode, cf. § 3.2.2 and § 8.3.1. Other *laudandi* who are praised as counsellors are Damophilus at *Py.* 4.282 and Chromius at *Ne.* 1.27.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Carey (1981: 47). Whereas Ixion was an ἄϊδρις ἀνὴρ (*Py.* 2.3), Hieron is not.

¹⁷⁵ *Py.* 2.63-64 and 2.65.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. § 2.1.2.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. § 2.4.4.

¹⁷⁸ *Py.* 2.56 implies that wealth in itself is insufficient. The same sentiment can be found at *Ol.* 1.104 μὴ τιν’ ἀμφοτέρα καλῶν τε ἴδριν ἴᾱμα καὶ δύναμιν κυριώτερον. Gerber (1982: 157) notes that what is meant by καλῶν is ‘all that is noble, honourable, beautiful, refined. Mere knowledge, however, of what is καλόν, is not enough; one must also have the δύναμις to put this knowledge into practice...He who possess such knowledge and ability has true ἀρετή.’ Cf. *Pl. Men.* 77b.

be praised without stint.¹⁷⁹ The praise passage at *Py.* 2.65-67 succeeds, in its brevity, in enumerating in quick succession all the qualities which a good and just ruler would need. Such praise would be highly welcome in an ode in which the tyrant is praised before his subjects for the first time, as a sort of *captatio benevolentiae*.¹⁸⁰ In addition, the ode praises the *laudandus* as a fair judge,¹⁸¹ something which would always have been desirable for a tyrant since tyranny appears to have been viewed as ἀδικία *per se* from the early fifth century onwards.¹⁸²

The song is sent to Hieron as a delightful gift,¹⁸³ and the hope is expressed that Hieron may look favourably on it. Χάρις is an important concept in Bacchylides' third ode as well.¹⁸⁴ There, however, it is linked with the εὐσέβεια of the *laudandus*.¹⁸⁵ Hieron's εὐσέβεια is proportional to the amount of gold he donated to Delphi and his

¹⁷⁹ *Py.* 2.66f. ἀκινδυνον ἔμοι ἔπος σέ ποτι πάντα λόγον ἐπαινεῖν παρέχοντι. Köhnken (1971: 32n.51) notes '...daß man ihn ohne Bedenken loben kann und das Risiko, das sonst jedes neues Gedicht enthält, in diesem Sonderfall wegfällt.'

¹⁸⁰ Such praise as an 'introduction' can be compared with the praise for Hieron at *Ol.* 6.92-98, cf. § 3.2.7.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *Py.* 2.73 where the *laudandus* is paralleled with Radamanthys who was 'allotted the blameless fruit of good judgement and within his heart takes no delight in deception.'

¹⁸² Adkins (1960: 216n.8). Cf. *Hdt.* 3.80, 3.39-47, 3.48-53, 3.54-60, 3.120-26, 3.142.1, 4.136-42, 7.164.

¹⁸³ *Py.* 2.66-68. χαῖρε· τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἔμπολάν μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἀλὸς πέμπεται. Lloyd-Jones (1972: 123) argues that χαῖρε means 'Fare well!', not 'farewell'. Carey (1981: 47) argues that Castoreion at 2.69 is in fact the second *Pythian* ode. It is puzzling why the ode is being sent as 'Phoenician merchandise'. It surely hints at the value of such merchandise, but not, *pace* Gentili *et al.* (1995: 391) to underline that Pindar's song is valuable and therefore 'composto per ottenere un compenso.' My guess is that Pindar alludes to a pigment derived from the mollusc *Murex*. The dye, φοῖνιξ, which gave the Phoenicians their name, was indelible and for that reason particularly prized, cf. Bartoloni (2001: 96). On that interpretation, 'Phoenician merchandise' is a kenning for epinician song. The song is indelible, and so will be the glory of the patron.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. § 2.5.1.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *B.* 3.61ff.

liberality towards the gods implies that he can expect something in return.¹⁸⁶ The second *Pythian* ode mentions Hieron's wealth as superior to any other man in Hellas.¹⁸⁷ Since the ode has stressed the liberality of the *laudandus*, presumably public spending is hinted at here. Hence dictated by proper χάρις, Hieron's citizens show their gratitude towards the tyrant.¹⁸⁸ In other words, by observing Hieron's rule, his subjects repay Hieron's munificence and show their proper χάρις. Such praise sections were surely welcome for a tyrant.¹⁸⁹

The concluding section is preceded by a *gnome*,¹⁹⁰ a further difficult passage,¹⁹¹ the sense of which, however, seems clear: 'you know, Hieron, what manner of man you are',¹⁹² and Hieron is once more praised for his wisdom. The φθονεροί and ψογεροί, by nature persons who are not inclined to praise, now appear as a negative foil.¹⁹³ They will occupy most of the remaining part of the ode.¹⁹⁴ While they are prominently present

¹⁸⁶ I.e. *de quia dedi*, cf. § 2.5.1.

¹⁸⁷ *Py.* 2.60 ἑτερόν τιν' ἂν' Ἑλλάδα τῶν πάροιθε γενέσθαι ὑπέρτερον.

¹⁸⁸ Ixion is a foil for this sentiment.

¹⁸⁹ Needless to say that the truth was not a consideration for poet or patron.

¹⁹⁰ *Py.* 2.72 γένοι', οἷος ἔσσι μαθών. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 393) links with the Delphic γνώθι σεαυτόν but a better parallel is perhaps *Py.* 3.80 εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, ἱέρων, ὀρθὰν ἐπίστω, and Hieron's position as Hierophant might be hinted at.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Carey (1981: 49), Gentili *et al.* (1995: 393).

¹⁹² We can only guess if passages which the modern student of the ode finds difficult (e.g. *Py.* 2.56, 2.72, 2.80, 2.90) were so for a contemporary audience. While all rhetoric to some extent tries to obscure the meaning, it can be argued that these passages might be deliberately unclear: appropriately, in an ode which stresses the patron's wisdom, the audience's understanding of such splendid *tours-de-force* might have increased the pleasure which they would have received from the performance. On such purposeful obscurity (σκότισον), cf. Quintilian 8.2.7.

¹⁹³ Cf. Race (1990: 42ff.) on such negative examples.

¹⁹⁴ *Py.* 2.72-96.

they are summarily dealt with.¹⁹⁵ Notwithstanding such unveiled threats, time and again, Hieron is portrayed as a just, wise ruler rather than a powerful one.¹⁹⁶ Most of the first-person statements in this concluding section are examples of the generalising use of the first person, hinting at internal Syracusan politics.¹⁹⁷ The gnomic section describes the court of Hieron and the sentiments expressed in that section are his.¹⁹⁸ In this respect, the small 'political passage' deserves attention,¹⁹⁹ if only because it is our earliest source for the three fundamentally different forms of political government (or νόμοι): tyranny, oligarchy and democracy.²⁰⁰ Democracy in this passage does not

¹⁹⁵ Viz. *Py.* 2.84: 'as enemies they will be run down as the wolf does'. *Py.* 2.90f.: 'envious people will cause their own ruin' (cf. the fate of Ixion, who also caused his own ruin). In any case, the ἀγαθοί, *Py.* 2.80, are immune to the effect of slander: cf. *Py.* 2.81 and probably also 2.79f.

¹⁹⁶ This of course does not mean that Hieron ruled by being just. The Deinomenid tyranny was to all intents and purposes a military dictatorship, cf. § 2.4.4. With regard to the φθονεῖοι and ψογεῖοι in this ode, Asheri (1992^b: 153), Catenacci (1991: 92) notes Aristot. *Pol.* 1313b13-5, D.S. 11.67, Plut. *Mor.* 68a: Hieron's secret police, female spies (αἱ ποταγωγίδες) and other eavesdroppers in Syracuse. Luraghi (1994: 370n.416), however, notes that such instruments of control are typical of oriental monarchies and notes Plut. *de curios.* 16 (*Mor.* 522 F), *Dio* 28.1, where προσαγωγίδες occur in connection with Dionysius the first (early fourth century). This means that such anecdotes could very well be wrongly attributed to Hieron.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Carey (1981: 52f.) 'Pindar is thinking of internal Syracusan politics, not his own dealings with Hieron and his court...What Pindar says is applicable to all present...the sentiments expressed are especially those of Hieron.'

¹⁹⁸ Carey (1981: 64) 'there is no place for lies and slanders. Hieron's court is an honest, open aristocratic group, with Hieron in his wisdom unmoved by lies, protecting decent men.' Better, however, to assume that Hieron *presents* his court as an honest and open aristocratic group. While we do not know of which persons this court consisted, we can safely assume that it included the members of the Syracusan aristocracy as well as Hieron's trusted friends. Cf. § 8.3 and note 1432.

¹⁹⁹ *Py.* 2.86-88 ἐν πάντα δὲ νόμον εὐθύγλωστος ἀνὴρ προφέρει, παρὰ τυραννίδι, χῶπτόταν ὁ λάβρος στρατός, χῶταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ τηρέωντι.

²⁰⁰ Theogn. 39-52 omits democracy.

seem to get a good press,²⁰¹ while oligarchy and tyranny are portrayed as neutral.²⁰² The straight-talking man (the εὐθύγλωσσος ἀνὴρ,²⁰³ meaning the ἀγαθός and here, by extension, all the ἀγαθοί)²⁰⁴, will fare well, whether the νόμος of the day is tyranny or oligarchy. There are two things which seem implied here. First, the fact of being well-governed is more important than the form the νόμος takes, yet democracy is the least preferable form of government. Second, Hieron finds himself on the crossroads between both forms of νόμοι which are described in neutral terms in the 'political passage'. He is the tyrant, yet a member of the ἀγαθοί as well. Hence this passage subtly legitimises Hieron's rule and a *gnome* following this passage expands this theme: oligarchy and tyranny are equally beneficial for men who do not deceive because of the natural order of things.²⁰⁵ The concluding section of the first *Pythian* ode deals with envy and slander as well.²⁰⁶ There Hieron is being addressed and 'advised' on how to counter slanderers and envious men.²⁰⁷ In Pindar's second *Pythian* ode, however, it is the *laudandus* himself who seems to address the audience.²⁰⁸ On the view taken that an epinician ode is a debate between patron and audience in which the

²⁰¹ Because of the pejorative meaning of λαβρός, cf. Pi. *Ol.* 2.86f., Hom Ψ 474, 479, Theogn. 634, 988, A. *P.* V. 327, 600. It is unclear in how far the use of στρατός should be linked with the militaristic nature of the Deinomenid tyranny since στρατός is generally used to denote 'people' as a synonym for λαός or δῆμος, cf. Pi. *Ol.* 5.12, A. *Eum.* 683, 762, S. *El.* 749.

²⁰² Cf. *Py.* 2.87f. παρὰ τυραννίδι κτλ.

²⁰³ Cf. *Py.* 1.86 ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν. Hieron must 'straighten out' his tongue on the anvil, i.e. make it εὐθύγλωσσος.

²⁰⁴ Most (1985: 117f.) notes that εὐθυ- compounds in Pindar are always positive. Cf. *Ol.* 13.1, *Ne.* 1.25, *fr.* 108a.2.

²⁰⁵ Cf. *Py.* 2.88 χρή δὲ πρὸς θεὸν οὐκ ἐρίζειν.

²⁰⁶ Cf. *Py.* 1.84-100, cf. § 2.4.4.5.

²⁰⁷ Cf. *Py.* 1.84-86. Cf. § 2.2.3, note 409 on such 'advice'.

²⁰⁸ Because of the generalising use of the first person in this passage, cf. note 197. A similar rhetorical stance at *Py.* 3.107ff., cf. § 2.6.3.

audience is asked to take a position, this passage surely is an example where such a debate appears to take place. This will turn out to be relevant in the final passage of the ode. Before the ode comes to an end, however, the idea of the natural order of things is touched upon once more with the advice to ‘avoid going *à contrepoil*’.²⁰⁹

Pindar appears to use a common *topos*. It seems to have been proverbial,²¹⁰ and can be found in epic, tragic and elegiac contexts.²¹¹ Metaphorically the focus of the simile is the futility of rebellion against a superior, a divinity or a mortal.²¹² In this ode, however, the sentiment appears to be applied to the human level,²¹³ since the wish to ‘find favour with the good and keep their company’,²¹⁴ shifts the focus to Hieron’s court, the members of which are the ἀγαθοί.^{214a} Hence in this ode the natural order of things applies to two levels. First, the ode stresses the importance of the divine balance, something with which few in the audience would argue. Second, the ode applies this sentiment to the human level, as an example of a proper relationship between ruler and ruled. Not only is the tyrant’s rule presented as part of the ideal divine balance, but the myth, in which Ixion’s behaviour clearly was an offence against the divine order of things, now becomes a veiled warning for those who might not agree with Hieron’s rule or might harbour seditious plans.²¹⁵

²⁰⁹ *Py.* 2.94-96 ποτὶ κέντρον δέ τοι λακτιζέμεν τελέθει ὀλισθηρὸς οἶμος· Cf. *Py.* 2.88.

²¹⁰ Cf. Priscian. 3.356.13 (= *Frag. Adesp.* 13 D.) The proverb was originally applied to animals, cf. Σ *Py.* 2.173.

²¹¹ Cf. Hom. Π 658, Theogn. 155ff, A. *Pers.* 346, S. *Ai.* 131, B. 17.25.

²¹² Cf. A. *Ag.* 1624, *Pr.* 323, E. *Ba.* 795, *fr.* 604 N., Lib. *Or.* 1.47.5, Catenacci (1991: 86).

²¹³ Cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 405) *Py.* 2.96 ‘un invito a riconoscere il potere di Ierone.’

²¹⁴ *Py.* 2.96f. ...ἀδόντα δ’ εἶη με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁμιλεῖν.

^{214a} We can only guess as to the make-up of ‘Hieron’s court’. However, the audience of an epinician ode would surely include the members of the educated Syracusan aristocracy as well Hieron’s trusted associates, as were e.g. the military men Hagesias and Chromius.

²¹⁵ Cf. § 8.3.3 on human envy in odes for Hieron.

Finally, on the view that in the concluding section of this ode the views of *laudandus* and *laudator* are subtly blended, the statement *Py.* 2.96f. ...ἀδόντα δ' εἶη με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁμιλεῖν is support for observation that the Deinomenid tyrants were not wholly champions of the aristocracy nor altogether φιλόδημοι.²¹⁶

²¹⁶ Cf. § 8.3.

2.2 Bacchylides' fifth ode for Hieron of Syracuse.

Argument.

This ode was first performed in Syracuse, probably in 476 BCE. In the proem, the laudandus appears compared to a god, albeit indirectly. This clearly defines a hierarchical relationship between tyrant and audience. Be that as it may, the sentiment of the vicissitudes of life and the inevitability of the gods' designs seems developed throughout the ode in order to bring the laudandus in close proximity with his subjects. This means that a part of the ode attempts to incorporate and include the laudandus in his community. In other words, this is a further ode in which the autarchy of the tyrant is not yet presented as somehow unmitigated. Some other observations lend support to this suggestion: the military victories of the laudandus are praised as achievements of the clan and Syracuse is portrayed as a Deinomenid city, not yet as Hieron's personal fiefdom. Finally, the ode does not contain any overt regal terminology. A number of elements in the ode deftly touch on eschatological beliefs which were arguably relevant to a Sicilian audience as well as to Hieron: the leaves of good fortune, a sentiment of 'Lebensbejahung' in the myth and allusions to the apotheosis of Heracles all serve this purpose. There is, however, no reason to suggest that the laudandus in this ode expresses wishes for literal immortality.

2.2.1 Introduction.

Assuming that the ode celebrates a victory won in 476 BCE, it must have been first performed not too long after Hieron took over from Gelon as tyrant in Syracuse in 478/7 BCE.²¹⁷ This appears to be a further ode in which the autarchy of the *laudandus* is not yet advertised as somehow unmitigated, something that can be clearly observed in the later odes composed for Hieron.²¹⁸

The praise for Hieron in the proem distances him from everyone else,²¹⁹ yet the Meleager myth seems dominated by a sentiment which associates Hieron with the audience. This sentiment, the vicissitudes of life and the inevitability of the gods' designs, is developed in the myth with much pathos.²²⁰ It defines the psychological mode in which the audience is kept for almost four triads.²²¹ In the mythical section, *gnomae* (*sententiae*) appear to have equal relevance for Hieron and audience.²²² *Gnomae* drive home general truths and are particularly suitable as vehicles for instruction. In this ode they appear to stress the vicissitudes of life as well as the immovable designs of the gods. This results in a *laudandus* who is advertised as a mortal among his subjects and up to the point where the myth abruptly breaks off,²²³

²¹⁷ Cf. § 2.1.3.1.

²¹⁸ Cf. § 8.3.1.

²¹⁹ Cf. § 2.2.3.

²²⁰ Carey (1998: 22) discusses πάθος as the emotion of the speaker and the emotion generated in the audience. As a rhetorical device, πάθος occurs more often in Pindar than in Bacchylides. Aristotle saw *pathos* as an important device to persuade an audience, cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1356a2, Arist. *Rh.* 1408a16ff.

²²¹ 125 of the 200 lines of this ode seem to touch on this sentiment.

²²² B.5 contains about 10 percent gnomonic material. Stenger (2004) is a recent study of the function of *gnomae* in Bacchylides.

²²³ B.5.176.

the *laudandus* appears to be included with the rest of mankind and with his subjects in the audience.

Some argue that in odes composed for tyrants, the notion of the 'integration of the victor into his home town' is problematic because of the very nature of the position of the tyrant.²²⁴ The manner in which the *laudandus* is portrayed in this ode, however, suggests attempts to integrate the *laudandus* in his home city. This is one of a number of features in this ode that sit well with an early first performance date.²²⁵ Other such features are avoidance of overtly regal terminology, the manner in which military victories are described and the fact that Syracuse is portrayed as a Deinomenid city.

Be that as it may, towards the end of the ode, when the tension created between the joy and festivities of the celebration and the pessimistic tone of the myth is resolved, the *laudandus* is yet again clearly separated from the audience.

The ideology represented in this ode appears to be a blend of *Herrschaftssystem* and *Polisideologie*.

2.2.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the ode.

The victory celebrated in the ode was won at Olympia in the racehorse event.²²⁶ The place of first performance must have been Syracuse.²²⁷ The majority of modern scholars assume that Pindar's first *Olympian* and Bacchylides' fifth ode celebrate the

²²⁴ Cf. § 1.3.

²²⁵ Cf. §§ 8.3.1-3.

²²⁶ B.5.182-184 καὶ Πίσαν ἐνθ' ὃ κλεεννὸς [πο]σσὶ νικάσας δρόμῳ [ῆλθ]εν Φερένικος κτλ.

²²⁷ B.5.10-13 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης νάσου ξένος ὑμετέραν πέμπει κλεένναν ἐς πόλιν. The sheer length of the ode tells against a first performance at the games as well.

same victory. However this need not necessarily be true and it is argued that Bacchylides' fifth ode was in fact the ode which celebrated Hieron's victory of 476 BCE whereas Pindar's first *Olympian* ode might have celebrated Hieron's Olympic victory of 472 BCE.²²⁸

2.2.3 Praise for Hieron.

This ode shows a clear structure with the myth at its centre and sections of praise for Hieron preceding and following the mythical section.²²⁹ The poem opens with the mention of the *laudandus*,²³⁰ something which is rather unusual in our extant epinician corpus.²³¹ This, together with other hymnic features, some argue, has the effect of Hieron being compared to a god.²³² It clearly sets up the relationship between *laudandus* and audience as ruler and ruled, although the *laudandus* is compared to a god in a roundabout manner.²³³

²²⁸ Cf. Appendix two.

²²⁹ B.5.1-9: proem & first section of praise, B.5.56-175: mythical section, B.5.182-86: second section of praise. On the correspondence of form and meaning, cf. D.L. Cairns (1997).

²³⁰ B.5.1-2 Εὐμοῖρε [Σ]υρακ[οσίω]ν ἵπποδινήτων στρατα[γ]έ.

²³¹ Schmid-Stählin (1932: 533n.9) 'besondere Schmeichelei.' Pindar only rarely does so, cf. *Py.* 9 *init.*, *Isth.* 2 *init.*, *Isth.* 4 *init.*

²³² Race (1990: 184) notes that Hieron has an epithet (blessed), a title (commander), while his *sedes* is referred to Syracuse. He compares *Pi. Ol.* 6.69ff. and *Py.* 2.69-71 which also contain hymnic elements, although on a less extensive scale.

²³³ Some scholars, however, deny imitation of hymnic address in the proem of B.5., e.g. Mayer (1933: 55n.30), Kambylis (1964: 146f.).

In the opening of the ode, Hieron is proclaimed εὔμοιρος,²³⁴ and praised as στρατηγός of the Syracusans.²³⁵ This raises the question whether στρατηγός was a real title with political significance. Some scholars allow for the possibility of an official title of στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ.²³⁶ Gelon might have held such a title,²³⁷ which could then have been passed onto Hieron. Jebb, however, cautiously evaluating all the evidence,²³⁸ convincingly argues that στρατηγός must have been 'merely a general designation'. To this could be added that Homeric usage seems to add ἀνὴρ to a designation of professions,²³⁹ and στρατεγέτας, as a description of a function standing on its own, seems first to be used in Hellenistic times.²⁴⁰ While the term στρατηγός appears to be stronger than the more politically neutral term ἀστυθέμις,²⁴¹ praise of Hieron's justice plays down overtly militaristic tones.²⁴² The vocabulary used in the poem, εὐθύδικος, could be linked with straight talking or 'a judge who gives honest verdicts'. It only deftly touches upon Hieron's function as ruler,²⁴³ and seems more in

²³⁴ Notice Bacchylides' preference for praise with εὐ- compounds in this ode, cf. B.5.6 εὐθύδικ[ο]ν, 5.184 εὐπύργους, B.5.186 [εὐδ]αιμονίας πέταλον. Cf. Regenbogen (1965: 389) on the felicitous relationship between the *laudandus* and his δαίμων (εὐδαιμονίη).

²³⁵ B.5.1-2 Εὔμοιρε [Σ]υρακ[οσίων]ν ἵπποδινήτων στρατα[γ]έ, Jebb (1905: 269) translates 'war lord', Maehler (1982^a: 73) 'Herrscher', Taccone (1923: 45) 'capo, signore'.

²³⁶ Cf. Bury (1898: 12), Taccone (1923: 45).

²³⁷ In view of his role as commander of the forces against the Carthaginians, cf. D.S. 13.94 who reports that Dionysius I was made στρατηγός αὐτολράτωρ against the Carthaginians. Further cf. Polyae. 1.27.1, Σ *Ol.* 2.29d.

²³⁸ Jebb (1905: 465-67).

²³⁹ Cf. Maehler (1997: 222) on B.18.7. Cf. Hom. Λ 514, Φ 257, Δ 485, σ 261.

²⁴⁰ Cf. *Syll.*³ 588.60, *GDI* 4985.4, *SEG* 34.1172, 37.984.

²⁴¹ Hieron is praised in those terms at B.4.3.

²⁴² B.5.6 φρένα δ' εὐθύδικ[ο]ν

²⁴³ The ode avoids overt regal terminology.

line with the neutral terminology of Bacchylides' fourth ode.²⁴⁴ The *laudandus* is advertised as someone in whom trust can be placed: he will not deceive. Since almost all odes composed for Hieron contain this sentiment,²⁴⁵ this surely must have been an important part of Hieron's self-representation.

The ode is being sent to ὑμετέραν ἐς κλυτὰν...πόλιν.²⁴⁶ The plural used here must refer to the clan,²⁴⁷ not to Hieron alone; this, importantly, means that Syracuse is still presented as a Deinomenid city not yet under Hieron's personal control, something that seems implied in other odes.²⁴⁸

The eagle simile creates high expectation,²⁴⁹ and is followed by a proclamation of the chorus that there are many ways in which the Deinomenids can be praised,²⁵⁰ something for which Victory (personified) and Ares are responsible.²⁵¹ It was by the will,

²⁴⁴ Cf. § 2.4.3.

²⁴⁵ Cf. *Py.* 1.86: guide with a rudder of justice, *Py.* 2.86: the straight talking man excels under every form of government', *O.* 1.12, B.4.3, *Py.* 3.70f.: the king who rules with gentle hand. Theron is praised for his trustworthiness at *O.* 2.6. On trust and justice see § 8.3.1.

²⁴⁶ B.5.11-12.

²⁴⁷ Cf. B.5.32 where ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν refers to the clan. Cf. B.5.35f. Δεινομένεως ἀγέρωχοι παῖδες

²⁴⁸ E.g. *Py.* 3.70 ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς. Likewise, B.3.11f. and *O.* 1.12f. go much further than B.5.32ff.

²⁴⁹ B.5.16-30. Cf. Maehler (2004: 113) the eagle probably is the poet, cf. Pi. *O.* 2.86-88, *Ne.* 3.80-82, 5.19-21, Hom. X 308-11, Φ 251-2. Rhetorically, it makes good sense for the poet to stress his importance (on which cf. Schmid-Stählin (1932: 525n.4), as a poet who is not worthwhile cannot praise someone who is worth praising. The simile of small birds afraid of the eagle occurs at Pi. *O.* 2.87-88, *Py.* 5.112, S. *Aj.* 168-71.

²⁵⁰ B.5.31-33 ἔμοι μύρια πάντα κέλευθος ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν ὑμνεῖν, cf. Pi. *Isth.* 4.1. Cf. Bundy (1962: 64) on the *topos* of abundance. The praise is directed at the clan, not at Hieron alone, *pace* Maehler (2004: 115) who thinks that B.5.31-36 expresses the ease with which Hieron can be praised.

²⁵¹ B.5.33-34 κυανοπλοκάμου θ' ἑκατὶ Νίκας χαλκεοστέρνου τ' Ἄρης,

or by the grace, of those gods that Hieron can now generously be praised.²⁵² That Nike figures in an epinician ode is unsurprising. Here, however, the equestrian victories of the clan are singled out, not solely those of Hieron.²⁵³ Ares and the 'noble sons of Deinomenes',²⁵⁴ is surely an allusion to the battle of Himera in 480 BCE.²⁵⁵ That victory was mainly the achievement of Gelon and, to a lesser extent, of Theron of Acragas.²⁵⁶ This could be contrasted with an ode composed at least six years after Bacchylides' fifth ode, Pindar's first *Pythian* ode, in which Hieron's military feats appear to be blown up out of all proportion.²⁵⁷ Apparently, by 476 BCE, Hieron did not yet see fit to be advertised as a major player in that battle.

Towards the end of the ode, Hieron is once more praised because of his good fortune.²⁵⁸ Most scholars interpret the 'leaves of good fortune' as referring to the olive wreath of victory. That voting leaves might be hinted at (viz. πεταλισμός) seems unlikely,²⁵⁹ but the εὐδ]αιμονίας πέταλος could arguably hint at the so-called

²⁵² ἔκαστι plus the name of a god in the genitive can be 'by the will of, thanks to', cf. Hom. o 319, τ 86, υ 42, or, alternatively 'because of', 'for the sake of', cf. Pi. *Py.* 10.58 (probably first performed in 498 BCE). In B.5.33 ἔκαστι appears to mean 'by the will of' (sc. Nike and Ares).

²⁵³ E.g. Gelon's victory in 488 BCE in a chariot event, cf. *IVO* 143 (= *Syll.*³ 33), Paus. 9.6.4 and Moretti (1957: 84) number 185. Pausanias attributes the victory wrongly to another Gelon, cf. R. van Compernelle (1959: 263, 295).

²⁵⁴ B.5.35 ἀγέρωχοι. Taccone (1923: 49) translates 'magnanimi' but notes the meaning of 'overbearing, proud, arrogant' in Alc. *fr.* 402 LP.

²⁵⁵ Jebb (1905: 273) 'alluding chiefly to the victory over the Carthaginians.'

²⁵⁶ Cf. § 2.4.4.

²⁵⁷ Cf. *Py.* 1.71ff. with Hieron's rather unimpressive victory before Cumae grandiosely portrayed, and *Py.* 1.79ff. where Himera is the culmination of a priamel which contains the victories at Salamis and Plataea suggesting that Himera even surpassed those last two these victories.

²⁵⁸ B.5.186 [εὐδ]αιμονίας πέταλον.

²⁵⁹ Viz. *petalismos* and ostracism in Syracuse, cf. D.S. 11.86f., ca.454 BCE. However, Jebb (1905: 292) rightly notes that on the analogy of φέρειν ψῆφον *suffragium ferre*, cf. B.5.184-86 Φερένικος....ἰέρωνι φέρων ...πέταλον, would mean that Φερένικος is the voter.

symbola,²⁶⁰ gold leaves with instructions for the after-life buried together with the deceased. On that interpretation, this passage deftly touches upon eschatological beliefs of a type to which the *laudandus* and a Sicilian audience might have subscribed. There is no reason, however, to suggest that the *laudandus* here advertises his wish for literal immortality or posthumous hero-worship.

The adjective which qualifies the walls of Syracuse, εὔπυργος,²⁶¹ might hint at the security which the tyrant gives the city.

Bacchylides often delights in Homeric or epic reminiscences,²⁶² and this ode appears to contain similes or *exempla* that clearly echo such earlier poetry,²⁶³ whereas other passages can be said to be loosely modelled on Homeric epic.²⁶⁴ It might reasonably be assumed that those passages must have been familiar to Hieron as well as to members of the educated Syracusan aristocracy, arguably the audience of the ode. The ode, in fact, praises the *laudandus* as someone who is very knowledgeable,²⁶⁵ something that allows him to estimate properly the ἄγαλμα (sc. the

²⁶⁰ On Orphic gold leaves or *symbola*, cf. Zuntz (1971: 358-370) Tsantsanoglou (1987), Pugliese Carratelli (1993).

²⁶¹ B.5.184.

²⁶² E.g. Hom. α 32 parallels B.14.51f., Hom. B 484 parallels B.14.47ff. For a detailed study cf. Buß (1913). Examples of instances which might hint at Simonidean influence, cf. Schmid-Stählin (1932: 531n.8).

²⁶³ B.16-30 the eagle simile parallels *H.Cer.* 375-83, while B.65-70 the comparison with the falling leaves parallels Hom. Z 146-49. B.5.162-63 is similar to Hom κ 202, 568, Alc. 335.2 W., Stesich. *PMG* 224, or, according to Maehler (2004: 126) on Hom. Ω 549 assuming that Bacchylides had the encounter of Priam with Achilles in mind.

²⁶⁴ B.5.73 seems modelled on Hom. λ 505-58, B.5.94-96 on Hom. γ 143-47, B.5.151-54 on Hom. X 337-63.

²⁶⁵ Cf. B.5.3f. γνώση ... τῶν γε νῦν αἶ τις ἐπιχθονίων, ὁρθῶς: Jebb (1905: 269) translates 'thou, if any mortal, wilt rightly estimate...', Maehler (1982^a: 73) '...richtig einschätzen, ein Kenner, wie

ode) which the Muses have now brought him. B.5.3-4 might have a twofold relevance, rhetorical as well as biographical. First, rhetorically it is praise for *laudandus* and audience since both *laudandus* and audience understand the allusions and quotes in the ode. In other words, when Hieron is advertised for his *sapientia*, the audience seems drawn into such *encomium* for Hieron,²⁶⁶ with the result that, at the end of the ode, not only Hieron's excellence of mind will have been be praised, but that of the audience as well. Second, the fact that the *laudandus* 'knows' chimes in with Hieron's position as Hierophant in the Demeter-Kore religion.²⁶⁷

2.2.4 The myth – Heracles' KATABΑΣΙΣ.

The question as to the background of the myth and the extent to which Bacchylides modified it to serve the patron's purposes is difficult to answer.²⁶⁸ Some features of the

kaum einer unter den Menschen heute.' The whole proem rhetorically praises Hieron in terms of *fortitudo et sapientia*.

²⁶⁶ 'Encomium' in the sense of a figure of speech.

²⁶⁷ Sources on Hieron's function as hierophant are Hdt. 7.145.2, Pi. *Py.* 1.58, 79, *Ol.* 6.95, Σ *Ol.* 6.158 (= Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 96), Σ Pi. *Py.* 2.27bc, D.S. 11.26.7, 14.63. Pi. *fr.* 105.2 has hypocoristic wordplay (Hieron/ Hierophant). Lloyd-Jones (1976: 25f.) notes that the mystery religions with their concept of the μυσταγωγός sits well with a 'guide' in the underworld. On guides and knowledge, cf. Burkert (1983: 275). Cf. Orlandini (1968) on the diffusion of the Demeter-Kore cult in Sicily. White (1964: 263) notes that the Demeter cult was particularly suitable to be grafted upon local chthonic cults, as an effective means of Hellenising the native inhabitants and preserving their loyalties.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Preuß (1902: 23ff.) with the important observation (1902: 23) 'Poeta cum mortalibus non omnia prospere evenire neque semper secundam fortunam favere dicat, eius rei exemplum

myth appear to allude to eschatological beliefs of a type which presumably were relevant to the *laudandus*,²⁶⁹ as well as to a Sicilian audience. On a more prosaic, political level, the Meleager myth can be read as a story of alliances between kings and the conflicts between them.²⁷⁰ Finally, the sentiment of the vicissitudes of life is brought out by a network of *sententiae* in the myth. This sentiment, part of a strategy of inclusion, is arguably a relevant part of the patron message.

A κατάβασις in itself is associated with death and rebirth into a new role;²⁷¹ however, we can only guess whether Bacchylides had introduced Heracles' descent with an appeal to any Eleusinian convictions of the *laudandus*. The descent into Hades is already mentioned in Homer,²⁷² yet Heracles' encounter with Meleager is not attested before Bacchylides and Pindar. Pindar's version, which we know only from paraphrases,²⁷³ seems to have differed from Bacchylides' version in two important aspects: in Pindar, Meleager seems to have suggested to Heracles that he should marry his sister, whereas in Bacchylides, the initiative lies with Heracles who asks

adfert Meleagrum.' Cf. Maehler (1982^b: 80ff.), Gentili (1958: 36ff.). The latter argues that the theme, taken up in B.5, is further developed in Bacchylides' sixteenth dithyramb.

²⁶⁹ In his capacity of Hierophant in the Demeter-Kore worship.

²⁷⁰ Thestius was king of the Curetes, Meleager his grandson. The husband of Althaea, Oeneus, was king of Aetolian Calydon, cf. Schmid-Stählin (1932: 525) 'Anspielungen auf aktuelle Vorgängen des Jahres 476', viz. the so-called crisis of 476 BCE between Hieron and Theron, cf. § 2.1.4, note 106.

²⁷¹ Cf. Garner (1992: 50-58) on epinician language as eschatological language, which she discerns in Pi. *Py.* 9.90-105, *Isth.* 4.1-3, 6.66ff., *Pae.* 7.16ff., 6.57f. She argues that the journeys mentioned at Pi. *Ol.* 9.81f., *Py.* 10.64f. and B.5.175f. could well be eschatological language.

²⁷² Cf. Hom. *Θ* 364-69, *Λ* 621-26.

²⁷³ Cf. Σ D Gen. Hom. Φ 194, *Et. Gen.* ἀχερωῖ, *EM* 180.94, Σ A BT Hom *Θ* 368 (= Pi. *fr.* 249ab). These paraphrases possibly refer to Pindar's ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ Η ΚΕΡΠΒΕΡΟΣ (= Pi. *Dithyr.* 2, *fr.* 70b). Pindar might have taken the story from Stesichorus' *Kerberos*, cf. Stesich. *PMG* 206.

whether there might be an unmarried sister of Meleager available.²⁷⁴ The manner in which this is done has nothing to do with homoeroticism,²⁷⁵ and is better understood as admiration and *Lebensbejahung*. Clearly, the myth, as Bacchylides tells it, is full of pathos. Meleager's ψυχή, for example, is γλυκεῖα and his ἥβη is ἀγλαά while his last breath is a sob with tears, αἰαῖ ...δάκρυσα τλά[μων].²⁷⁶ Heracles weeps out of compassion,²⁷⁷ an emotion to which he rarely gives way.²⁷⁸ Portrayal of this emotion, however, might be motivated by more than simply a wish for increased pathos of the passage. Heracles weeps not of out self-pity, but because he bemoans the fact that a man of such outstanding qualities as Meleager should have died the way he did. In other words, Heracles' lament should be taken as admiration for Meleager.²⁷⁹ This is why Heracles asks Meleager whether there might be an unmarried sister of Meleager available, in particular, someone 'like him', that is, someone with the same outstanding qualities as Meleager. It is everything for which Meleager stands which persuades Heracles to ask for Meleager's sister and hence Meleager's φυά in this passage does not refer to his outward appearance but rather to his character. Consequently, Heracles' wish for Meleager's sister is better understood as *Lebensbejahung*, a wish for the continuation of life,²⁸⁰ and arguably a further delicate allusion to Hieron's (and

²⁷⁴ B.5.165-68 Ἥρα τις ἐν μεγάροις Οἰνῆος ἀρηϊφίλου ἔστιν ἀδμήτα θυγάτρων, σοὶ φυὰν ἀλιγκία;

²⁷⁵ *Pace* Maehler (1982b: 119) 'der Hauch von ἔρωι παιδικός ...ist nicht zu überhören.' See below.

²⁷⁶ B.5.151-54.

²⁷⁷ B.5.155-58 ...μῶνον δὴ τότε τέγξαι βλέφαρον...

²⁷⁸ Maehler (2004: 125) 'out of character'. Heracles pities others at A. *Pr.* 397-401, E. *HF* 1238. Hercules' self-pity, cf. S. *Tr.* 1070-75.

²⁷⁹ March (1987: 51f.).

²⁸⁰ Cf. the growth imagery at the end of the poem, B.5.197f. τόθεν γὰρ] πυθμένες θάλλουσιν ἔσθλ[ων,]. Cf. S. *Ant.* 144f. ὦ πατὴρ ἐνὸς μητρός τε μιᾶς φύντε καθ' αὐτοῖν κτλ. Pi. *Ne.* 8-40ff.

the audience's) eschatological beliefs. A Sicilian contemporary audience surely was familiar with Heracles' apotheosis,²⁸¹ an element of the story that would appeal to the Eleusinian beliefs of the audience. It is, however, not entirely clear whether mention of Deianeira in this ode would have reminded a contemporary audience of Heracles' lamentable end on the pyre.²⁸² This means that Heracles' weeping in this ode need not necessarily have evoked tragic scenes of the Euripidean or Sophoclean type. Hence Heracles' lament is best understood as a reaction to Meleager's fate.

A further feature of the myth that merits attention is the brand. This is linked with the concept of the so-called 'external soul'.²⁸³ The brand stands for Meleager's life,²⁸⁴ and in Bacchylides' version he is killed by the burning of the log.²⁸⁵ The story type is rare in extant Greek literature; nevertheless it seems to be universal and surely represents very old strata of storytelling.²⁸⁶ Bacchylides might have taken it from a folk tale. Homer does not use it,²⁸⁷ while in the *Mynias*,²⁸⁸ as well as in Hesiod,²⁸⁹ Meleager is killed by Apollo. The 'external soul' appears to be linked with the concept of

²⁸¹ Heracles in heaven with his bride Hebe, cf. Hom. *λ* 602-4, Hes. *Th.* 950-55, *fr.* 25.26-33 MW, Pi. *Ne.* 1.69-72, 10.17f., *Isth.* 4.73-78.

²⁸² Easterling (1982: 23) dates Sophocles' *Trachiniae* to anywhere between 475 and 430 BCE. Whereas the first extant literary evidence of the apotheosis from the pyre is E. *Herac.* 910-16 (first performance ca.430-427 BCE, cf. Easterling (1982: 17)), the scene is attested from the middle of the fifth century on vases, cf. *ARV²* 1186.30 Munich 2360. This does not prove that a Sicilian audience by 476 BCE would have been familiar with the scene of Heracles on the pyre.

²⁸³ Cf. Nilsson (1955: 21) 'Die Seele, oder wie es zuweilen heißt, das Herz oder der Tod eines Menschen kann vom Besitzer getrennt werden und an einer unnahbaren Stelle deponiert werden.' E.g. the myth of Scylla and that of Komaitho.

²⁸⁴ B.5.140ff. καὶ τε δαιδαλέας ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον φῆτρὸν ἐξαύσσα· κτλ.

²⁸⁵ This detail is also attested in Phryn. *Pleuroia TrGF* 6 F 6.

²⁸⁶ Preuß (1902: 26).

²⁸⁷ Cf. Hom. I.571 where it is unclear how Meleager died.

²⁸⁸ Paus. 10.31.3 (= *fr.* 5 *PEG* p.138 Barnabé).

²⁸⁹ Cf. Hes. *fr.* 25.12, 280.2 MW.

migrations of souls,²⁹⁰ and this feature of the myth might be a further allusion to eschatological beliefs of *laudandus* and audience. Finally, Heracles himself appears to have been initiated in the Mysteries, something which might have had resonance with such an audience as well.²⁹¹

While Pindar seemed to have told the story up to and including Heracles' contest with the river god Acheloüs, Bacchylides breaks off the myth long before those events,²⁹² arguably because its purpose has been fulfilled.

2.2.5 *Gnomae* (*sententiae*) in the ode.

Each passage of praise for Hieron is followed by *sententiae*. The first two *gnomae* occur in the second strophe,²⁹³ and will turn out to be an important theme in the myth: the vicissitudes of life and the limits of human happiness. Importantly, they are directed to the *laudandus*. A further *gnome* serves as illustration for Meleager's story:²⁹⁴ the gods cannot be assuaged or mitigated; they are immovable in their designs. The ode itself is testimony to the design of the gods since an audience would have assumed that without the gods' assistance Hieron surely would not have won. A fourth *gnome* in

²⁹⁰ Nilsson (1955: 21).

²⁹¹ Cf. Lloyd-Jones (1967: 211) who argues that Heracles' initiation was well known from about the end of the fifth century, cf. *ARV*² 1446.1 Naples 495, E. *Herac.* 610-13 an account of the descent into Hades to Amphitryon where Heracles saw the ὄργια of the initiates, cf. [Pl.] *Axioch.* 371E, Plut. *Thes.* 33, D.S. 4.25, 4.14.4, Apollod. 2.5.12, Σ Aristoph. *Plut.* 845.

²⁹² B.5.176-78 Λευκώλενε Καλλιόπα, στᾶσον εὐποίητον ἄρμα αὐτοῦ·

²⁹³ B.5.50-55 two *gnomae* in succession Ὀλβιος ᾧτινι θεὸς μοῖραν τε καλῶν ἔπορεν σύν τ' ἐπιζήλω τύχῃ ἀφνεὸν βιοτὰν διάγειν· οὐ γάρ τις ἐπιχθονίων π[άντ]α γ' εὐδαίμων ἔφου.

²⁹⁴ B.5.94-96 Χαλεπὸν θεῶν παρατρέψαι νόον ἄνδρεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοις. Jebb translates 'it is hard for mortal men to turn aside the purpose of the gods.' Cf. Hom. γ 143-47, A. *Supp.* 385-86, *Prom.* 34, 184-85.

the myth seems a slight variation on the sentiments which were expressed in earlier *gnomae*.²⁹⁵ The pathos of the myth culminates in a fifth *gnome*, rhetorically important as the highpoint in the dramatic development.²⁹⁶ Heracles laments that it is best for mortals never to have been born.²⁹⁷ With the mention of Deianeira the myth breaks off. Bacchylides seems to have created a new Heracles, side-stepping the epic tradition in which Heracles is unconquered and unconquerable, and clothing him instead with more human characteristics.²⁹⁸ A *chreos* motif constitutes the sixth *gnome*.²⁹⁹ Its rhetorical purpose is straightforward: it attempts to secure due recognition for the victor. This *gnome* is moreover a transition to the second praise for Hieron and a summary of the first praise. The *gnome* is attributed to high authority, in this case, to Hesiod. Such attribution is a rhetorical device that is quite common in epinician poetry.³⁰⁰ This attribution to Hesiod in itself is yet a further *gnome*, which informs the audience that the consequence of a person's good fortune must be the obligation to praise that person.³⁰¹

²⁹⁵ B.5.129-35 ... θάνατόν τε φέρει τοῖσιν ἄν δαίμων θέλη. Already foreshadowed at B.129-135, a well-known sentiment, cf. Hom. λ 535-37, S. fr. 838 R.

²⁹⁶ B.5.160-62 Θνατοῖσι μὴ φῦναι φέριστον μηδ' ἀελίου προσιδεῖν φέγγος. Cf. Alcidi. in Stob. 4.52.22 (hexameters), Theogn. 425-28 (elegiacs). Gentili (1988: 120) argues that Bacchylides chooses the more dramatic, less heroic of the two traditional versions of the death of Meleager and brings out its more strongly pathetic aspects, making the brand the tragic symbol of fate.

²⁹⁷ The theme is discussed in Regenbogen (1965: 387f.) e.g. Arist. fr. 44 R., Menand. *Monostr.* 425 ὃν γὰρ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν, ἀποθνήσκει νέος.

²⁹⁸ Gentili (1958: 48). However, whether Heracles mourns both Meleager's as well as his own fate is doubtful, cf. § 2.4.4, *pace* Gentili (1958: 49) 'quasi che quel pianto e quella commozione s'addicano alla sua sorte futura non meno che all'altra, non dissimile, di Meleagro.'

²⁹⁹ B.5.187-190 [Χρὴ] δ' ἀληθείας χάριν αἰνεῖν, φθόνον ἀμφοτέραισιν χερσὶν ἀπώσάμενον, εἴ τις εὖ πράσσοι βροτῶν.

³⁰⁰ Highlighting important statements by attributing them to famous or wise men, cf. Pi. *Ol.* 6.16-17, *Py.* 6.20-27, 9.93-96, *Ne.* 3.29, 9.6-7, *Isth.* 2.9-12, 6.67, fr. 35b.

³⁰¹ B.5.193-94 ὃν <ἄν> ἀθάνατοι τι[μῶσι, τούτῳ] καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπ[εσθαι.] Jebb translates 'Whomsoever the immortals honour, the good report of men goes with him also.'

This sentiment will be the last *gnome* in this ode and picks up the first *gnome* mentioned above.³⁰² The sentiment can be compared to a similar thought in an ode composed for Hieron a least eight years later, Bacchylides' third ode,³⁰³ although there it is more strongly developed: being a friend of the gods is the result of piety and reveals itself to the world as success. The more practical benefits of such an outlook are discussed in the section on Bacchylides' third ode.³⁰⁴

The ode closes with a wish for the continuation of peace.³⁰⁵ Some suspect an allusion to the victory of Himera in 480 BCE,³⁰⁶ which is certainly possible, but rhetorically a *suggestio falsi*.³⁰⁷ The victory in 480 BCE was mostly Gelon's affair and apparently Hieron did not see fit to associate himself with that victory too openly in 476 BCE, something which he certainly does in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode, an ode composed in 470 BCE.³⁰⁸ Be that as it may, it is surely wrong to suggest that either an allusion to Himera or an explicit mention of it could have been a matter of choice for Bacchylides when he composed the fifth ode.³⁰⁹ Such matters surely must have been

³⁰² B.5.50-53 Ὀλβιος ὧτινι θεὸς μοῖραν τε καλῶν ἔπορεν σύν τ' ἐπιζήλω τύχῃ ἀφνεὸν βιοτὰν διάγειν·

³⁰³ B.3.94-96.

³⁰⁴ Cf. § 2.5.1.

³⁰⁵ B.5.197-200 ... τόθεν γὰ[ρ] πυθμένες θάλλουσιν ἐσθλ[ῶν,] τοὺς ὁ μεγιστοπάτωρ Ζεὺς ἀκινήτους ἐν εἰρήν[α φυλάσσοι.] Jebb (1905: 294) compares ἐσθλῶν with B.4.20, B.16.132, *h.Hom Cer.* 225.

³⁰⁶ Jebb (1905: 294), Maehler (1982^b: 124).

³⁰⁷ Cf. § 3.1.4.1.

³⁰⁸ Cf. § 3.1.4.1 and § 8.3.1.

³⁰⁹ I strongly disagree with Maehler (1982^b: 124) 'daß Bakchylides die Segnungen des Friedens mehr galten als kriegerischer Ruhm, ist offenkundig sein persönliches Bekenntnis.'

Hieron's decision. Since peace is often linked with prosperity,³¹⁰ it seems more likely that the wish for peace at the end of the poem is a generic *topos* of praise.

³¹⁰ Cf. Hom. *ω* 485f., Hes. *Op.* 228, B. *fr.* 4+22.61-73.

2.3 Pindar's first *Olympian* ode for Hieron of Syracuse.

Argument.

In this ode, the laudandus is openly praised as king. The manner in which regal terminology is used in this ode favours a first performance date of 472 BCE over the traditional date of 476 BCE. There appear to be clear parallels between Hieron and Pelops: both were œcists and both conquered powerful enemies. In doing so they confronted great dangers. The ode mentions two types of rewards for Pelops' πόνος, namely immortality through renown in song but a more literal immortality in cult as well. The ode appears to suggest that both types of reward await Hieron, although the prospect of literal immortality is only alluded to. Form as well as content of the ode suggest that symposia and a proper sympotic ambience are important themes. Symposium imagery in general is particularly suited as a vehicle to express sentiments of reticence and propriety. Whereas sympotic language and imagery in the ode could certainly hint at an actual performance context, it is perhaps better understood as a rhetorical stance which allows high praise for the laudandus without incurring accusations of presumptuousness. High praise for the laudandus includes allusions to posthumous hero-worship, a status of bliss in the hic et nunc comparable to that of the gods and some advertisement of the laudandus as the legitimate ruler over the whole of Sicily.

2.3.1 Introduction.

This ode was placed first in the epinician collection by the Alexandrian editors, allegedly because it praised the Olympian games and told of Pelops, the founder of those games.³¹¹ Later generations reserved high praise for this ode as well.³¹²

The ode frankly describes the *laudandus* as king,³¹³ and the manner in which the ode describes the political status of the *laudandus* favours a date of first performance of 472 BCE.³¹⁴ There is apparently only one attempt to qualify such regal praise:³¹⁵ the adjective used, θεμιστεῖον, a *hapax*, appears to be linked with the dispensation of θέμις and thus advertises Hieron's rule as somehow lawful,³¹⁶ surely something which was useful propaganda when the ode was reperformed outside Sicily.

The myth takes up a large proportion of the ode.³¹⁷ This, admittedly, need not necessarily imply that all features in the myth have relevance for the *laudandus*.³¹⁸ There are two opposing and irreconcilable views on the significance of the myth for Hieron's patron message. One view holds that the myth is highly significant for Hieron. That view, in its most outspoken form argues that Pindar's heroic depiction of Pelops

³¹¹ Cf. *Hypoth. Olympiorum* 14-17 p. 7 Dr.

³¹² Luc. *Gal.* 17. τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ὁσμάτων ἀπάντων. Wilamowitz, however, knows better (1922: 237) 'nicht in die erste Reihe seiner Lieder.'

³¹³ Viz. *O.* 1.22-23 Συρακόσιον ἵπποχάρμαν βασιλῆα· 1.113-14 ἡ ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλλοι μεγάλοι· τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται βασιλεῦσι.

³¹⁴ The arguments are set out in Appendix two.

³¹⁵ Viz. at *O.* 1.12f. θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμήλῳ Σικελίᾳ...

³¹⁶ Cf. Hom I 98f. λαῶν ἔσσι ἄναξ καὶ τοι Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφισι βουλεύῃσθα. Cf. Gerber (1982: 33) for other examples of kings dispensing θέμιστες.

³¹⁷ *O.* 1.36-99, the ode consists of four triads. The myth commences halfway into the second strophe and ends almost at the end of the fourth strophe.

³¹⁸ In other words, that each and every feature should be paralleled with the *laudandus*. E.g. in Pindar's fourth *Pythian* ode the patron message seems to reside outside the myth, viz. in the last one of the thirteen strophes with the request for reinstallation of Damophilus, cf. *Py.* 4.293 *ad fin.*

becomes his depiction of Hieron.³¹⁹ The alternative view holds that the myth serves mainly to enhance the glory of Olympia.³²⁰ There are good reasons to believe that the first view is to be preferred. Clear verbal echoes in the ode appear to link Pelops and the *laudandus* and hence hint that what holds for Pelops equally holds for Hieron.³²¹ On that interpretation, mention of Pelops having conquered powerful enemies in the process of which he confronted great dangers³²² suggests to the audience that Hieron had done the same.³²³ Hieron and Pelops were both *œcists*,³²⁴ and since Pelops' rewards explicitly include cult (he appears to be honoured as a hero at Olympia),³²⁵ there are good reasons to suspect that Hieron in his capacity as *œcist* had the intention

³¹⁹ Gerber (1982: xv) '...it is no doubt implied that after his death Hieron too will receive similar worship as a hero...'. Similarly Thummer (1957: 84), Köhnken (1971: 200), Lehnus (1981: 2f.), Sicking (1983: 66) and, most recently, Currie (2005: 346).

³²⁰ Verdenius (1988: 4) '...and hence, indirectly, that of Hieron, but ... from a literary point of view it forms a digression which does not have a specific connection with the praise of the victor.'

³²¹ Cf. Bundy (1962: 91n.125), Gerber (1982: 117), Currie (2005: 75). *OI.* 1.78 κράτει δὲ πέλασον echoes *OI.* 1.22 κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε. *OI.* 1.84 ἄεθλος : *OI.* 1.99 ἀέθλων. *OI.* 1.91 ἀγλααῖσι : *OI.* 1.14 ἀγλαῖζεται. *OI.* 1.91 μέμικται : *OI.* 1.22 προσέμειξε. *OI.* 1.93f. τὸ δὲ κλέος τηλόθεν δέδορκε : *OI.* 1.23 λάμπει δὲ οἱ κλέος. Finally, Pelops' concern for τὰ καλά in the prayer *OI.* 1.75-85 and *OI.* 1 ἀπάντων καλῶν echoes *OI.* 1.104 μή τιν' ἀμφότερα καλῶν τε ἴδριν.

³²² Cf. *OI.* 1.77 Oenomaus' bronze spear, 1.79f.: thirteen suitors already killed, 1.81-85: 'cowards do not seek out danger', implying that Pelops was no coward and pursued the contest.

³²³ On that interpretation, an audience could parallel Hieron's victories at Himera and Cumae with the scene at *OI.* 1.70f. ...παρὰ πατρός εὐδοξον Ἱπποδάμειαν σχεθέμεν.

³²⁴ Pelops: *OI.* 1.24 ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικία. On Hieron as *œcist*, cf. Appendix 6.1.

³²⁵ On Pelops' hero cult at Olympia, cf. Burkert (1983: 108-19), Krummen (1990: 158-63). Cf. *OI.* 1.90-94 νῦν δ' ἐν αἵμακουρίαις ἀγλααῖσι μέμικται, Ἀλφειοῦ πόρῳ κλιθείς, τύμβον ἀμφίπολον ἔχων πολυξενωτάτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ. The tomb and bloodsacrifices which continued into the present, *OI.* 1.90 νῦν δ' κλτ. Currie (2005: 75) notes 'an inclusive model of immortality (i.e. immortality through renown in conjunction with immortality in cult) would apply to Hieron as well as to Pelops', *pace* Robbins (1997: 258) 'the poet's task is to immortalize this excellence in poetry, the only sure form of continuing life after death.'

to be posthumously worshipped as a hero.³²⁶ Hence this ode suggests that the traditional survival of κλέος in song,³²⁷ does not exclude more substantial, literal, survival. A similar duality can be observed in Pindar's third *Pythian* and in Bacchylides' third ode. The differences will be found in the degree of reticence or openness with which such wishes for literal immortality are expressed.³²⁸

Banquets and generally sympotic terminology are prominent in the ode,³²⁹ while sympotic terminology has been suspected in the opening words of the ode Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, apparently alluding to the sympotic game of 'what is best?'³³⁰ The priamel appears to invert a traditional *topos*,³³¹ but right from the beginning sets the tone for a sympotic atmosphere. The presence of strange conundrums in the ode,³³² add to a sympotic ambience as well. It seems extraordinary how many interpretative difficulties the fourth antistrophe and epode present to a modern student of the ode.³³³ It must remain speculation whether a contemporary audience would struggle in the same way, yet is tempting to suggest that this might have been the case. On that interpretation, the complexity of these passages might have presented a cultured audience with much pleasure in deciphering them. Such passages are best understood as *divertissement*

³²⁶ Cf. Appendix five.

³²⁷ Cf. *Ol.* 1.82f. and 1.95.

³²⁸ Cf. § 8.3.4.

³²⁹ Cf. *Ol.* 1.14-18 παίζομεν φίλαν...ἀμφὶ ...τράπεζαν, *Ol.* 1.37-38 Tantalus gives a banquet.

³³⁰ Cf. Fraenkel *ad A. Ag.* 899, Panyass. *fr.* 21 W., *Cypria fr.* 18 W., *Pi. Ne.* 4.1 with Hom. *l.* 5ff. On sympotic literature, cf. Martin (1931) and Slater (1991).

³³¹ Slater (1989: 499n.71).

³³² On the puzzling implications of *Ol.* 1.26, cf. § 2.3.3.

³³³ A cursory comparison of modern translations may prove this point. Gerber (1982: 156-177) lists the disagreements.

adding to the entertainment during the performance of the ode. They praise the *laudandus* as well as the audience.³³⁴

There are many features in the ode that add to a sympotic ambience. The poem asserts that Tantalus' banquet was orderly,³³⁵ and when he is punished for being too greedy,³³⁶ this is described in symposiastic terms.³³⁷ Tantalus is furthermore to be banished from εὐφροσύνη,³³⁸ the *terminus technicus* for the joy and felicity of the symposium.³³⁹ Pelops himself, at Olympia, might have been regarded as a symposiast participating in a common meal together with the worshippers of his cult.³⁴⁰ This has been called a *Totenmahl* and has been interpreted as a rebirth ritual (*Jungkochen*),³⁴¹ something which arguably can be linked with the wishes for literal immortality of the

³³⁴ Hieron was often complimented because of his culture and intellect. Howie (1984: 298) notes *Pi. Ol.* 1.100-108, *fr.* 105a, B.3.85, B.5.3. *Py.* 4.279ff, *Py.* 5.109ff. and *Ne.* 7.58ff. Cf. *Plut. aud. poet.* 15c where Simonides jokes about Thessalians being too ignorant to be deceived by him.

³³⁵ *Ol.* 1.37f. ὁπότε' ἐκάλεσε πατήρ τὸν εὐνομώτατον ἐς ἔρανον φίλαν τε Σίπυλον. Gerber (1982: 74) notes that εὐνομία is regularly used to describe the proper conduct at symposia. For Εὐνομία on Greek vases in a sympotic context, cf. Webster (1972: 68-71).

³³⁶ *Ol.* 1.56 κόρω δ' ἔλεν. Some commentators explain in gastronomic terms, cf. Σ *Lyk.* 152: Tantalus wanted to give the gods the best he had, Σ *Ol.* 1.40a: Tantalus did not have anything else to serve the gods so he killed Pelops, *Serv. Aen.* 6.603 *et quodam tempore defuissent epulae* (sc. food suitable for a banquet) *filium suum Pelopem cecidit*.

³³⁷ In litotes, cf. *Ol.* 1.55f. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καταπέψαι μέγαν ὄλβον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη. On καταπέσσω 'to digest completely', cf. *Hom A* 81: used of anger. Other gastronomic allusions in this ode are *Ol.* 1.53 γαστρίμαργον gluttonous and *Ol.* 1.76 Οἰνομάος whose name is linked with οἰνομανής.

³³⁸ *Ol.* 1.58.

³³⁹ Dickie (1984: 90).

³⁴⁰ Krummen (1990: 164) on *Ol.* 1.92-93 κλιθεις and πολυξενοτάτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ, 'vordergründig eine Lokalisierung des Grabes ('am Ufer des Alpheios liegend'), ist gleichzeitig auch gut bezeugter begriff für 'beim Mahle liegen', wie es charakteristisch für das Symposium ist.'

³⁴¹ Cf. Slater (1989: 49f.), Krummen (1990: 174-76 and 158-68). The first instance of *Totenmahl* is *Alcmaeonis fr.* 2 W. O on the iconology of the *Totenmahl* in art, cf. 1982: 562ff.). The idea of *Jungkochen* in the cauldron of rebirth might explain the pure cauldron (*Ol.* 1.26 καθαρὸς λέβης) and the bloodsacrifices (*Ol.* 1.90 αἱμακούρια).

laudandus. Finally, it has been noted that in this ode, more than in any other ode composed for Hieron, there is an effect of *homilia* (a concept so congenial to the symposium) between *laudator* and *laudandus*.³⁴² This effect is achieved mainly through sustained alternation of first- and second-person deixis.³⁴³

What might have been the reason for the stress on symposia and sympotic language in this ode? Whether the performance context of the ode was indeed a symposium is difficult to decide.³⁴⁴ The emphasis on symposia and symposiastic language, however, might be relevant because of the association between symposia, propriety and reticence. Fifth-century Greeks could see the dining-room as a microcosm of the political world,³⁴⁵ and the dangers of an unruly banquet were well known.³⁴⁶ The well-ordered symposium, as a non-hubristic environment,³⁴⁷ appears well suited as a background against which the *laudandus* can be praised frankly as king and can be advertised as aspiring to posthumous hero-worship without giving the impression of being presumptuous. The reticence on the part of the *laudandus* is arguably mirrored Pindar's rhetorical stance. The poet's anxiety to speak well of the

³⁴² On the relationship between poet and *laudandus* in this ode, framed in terms of *xenia* and *homilia*, cf. Gundert (1935: 94), Athanassaki (2004: 322-27).

³⁴³ Athanassaki (2004: 324f.).

³⁴⁴ It is certainly a possibility, yet the ode could have been a choral re-enactment of a symposium.

³⁴⁵ Slater (1981: 206).

³⁴⁶ E.g. proscription of hubris in the symposium Xenoph. *fr.* 1.13-7 W. and the banquet scene at A. *Ag.* 1596-1611 λάκτισμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθείς ἄρῃ (Tantalus).

³⁴⁷ Dickie (1984: 89) 'At the symposium, men are confronted in a very immediate fashion with the good things of life and in particular with one blessing, wine, which, if not treated with restraint, encourages hubris. It is because hubris is one of the main threats to the well-being of the symposium that ἡσυχία assumes the importance that it has in Greek thinking about symposiums.'

gods,³⁴⁸ can be seen as a desire to remain firmly within the boundaries of propriety. Reticence and ἀποσιώπησις are moreover fundamental and very effective rhetorical modes,³⁴⁹ which Pindar uses more than once.³⁵⁰

Possibly a parallel was intended between Tantalus' banquet and a concrete performance context, namely Hieron's symposium as an orderly affair. Be that as it may, symposia and sympotic language in this ode might reflect not so much the performance context of the ode, as an intention of the *laudandus* to be highly praised without incurring accusations of presumptuousness. Finally, features of the Pelops myth potentially lend themselves to compositions with much *pathos*, yet in the this ode Pindar apparently chose not to highlight such passages,³⁵¹ and as persuasive appeal the rhetorical technique in this ode is mainly one of λόγος.³⁵² Tentatively, avoiding too much πάθος could be explained as yet a further corollary of the need to remain within the bounds of propriety of the symposium.

The ideology in this ode is best described as a toned-down version of a *Herrschaftssystem*.

³⁴⁸ Cf. *O.* 1.35. Gerber (1982: 70) parallels *O.* 1.35 with Emped. *fr.* 3 DK (*fr.* 2 Wright), X. *fr.* 1.21-24 W., E. *IT* 386-91, *HF* 1341-46, E. *fr.* 292.7, cf. Gerber (1982: 70).

³⁴⁹ Cf. the numerous figures of refutation formalised in the classical rhetorical canon, e.g. ἀντικατηγορία, ἀντίρρησις, ἀποδίωξις, ἀπόφασις, expeditio, διασυρμός, δικαιολογία, ἔλεγχος, ἐρώτημα, exitatio, λιτότης, μετάσταςις, προκατάληψις.

³⁵⁰ Cf. *O.* 9.35-41, *O.* 13.91 (with *Isth.* 7.44-48), *Ne.* 5.13-19, *fr.* 81. This device appears to be absent in Bacchylides' epinician odes.

³⁵¹ See e.g. the abrupt break between *O.* 1.87 (the gift) and *O.* 1.88 (the end-result of the contest).

³⁵² An appeal to reason.

2.3.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the ode.

The place of first performance of the ode seems to have been Syracuse, possibly in or near the house of the *laudandus*.³⁵³

The majority of modern scholars hold the view that 476 BCE is the date of the victory which is celebrated in the ode.³⁵⁴ However, a later date, namely 472 BCE, is suggested as slightly preferable.³⁵⁵ By that time Hieron's Aetna project had been underway for a good four years and Hieron, as oecist, might have had hopes of being honoured posthumously as a hero.³⁵⁶ Since the opening priamel of the ode culminates in praise for Olympia,³⁵⁷ the immediate occasion for the ode surely was Hieron's Olympic victory. Be that as it may, it cannot be excluded that a further occasion for the first performance of this ode was a marriage, namely one between Hieron and a daughter of the Emmenid Xenocrates of Acragas.³⁵⁸ The authority of fifth-century Sicilian tyrannies appears to have been the authority of family groups rather than that of individuals,³⁵⁹ and the Deinomenids and Emmenids appear to have forged restrictive matrimonial alliances whereby both families would take their wives from the other

³⁵³ Cf. *Ol.* 1.8 ὅθεν the ode comes from Olympia and *Ol.* 1.10f. ...ἐς ἀφνεὰν ἱκομένους μάκαιραν ἱέρωνος ἐστὶν, cf. *Ne.* 1.19f., *Isth.* 8.2f.

³⁵⁴ The victory was won at Olympia, cf. *Ol.* 1.7. The event was the single-horse race, cf. *Ol.* 1.18.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Appendix two.

³⁵⁶ Cf. Appendix five.

³⁵⁷ *Ol.* 1.7

³⁵⁸ Sources on this marriage: Σ Pi. *Ol.* 2.29bcd, Σ Py. 1.112 (= Philist. *FGrHist* F556 F 50), Timae. *FGrHist* F 566 F 97.

³⁵⁹ Wilamowitz (1901: 1277f.). Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1316a ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Γέλωνος ἐν Συρακούσαις,

family.³⁶⁰ In the event of a link between two houses of tyrants, the clan that provided the wife would be in a position of submission to the other clan.³⁶¹ A marriage between Hieron and a member of the Emmenid clan might have been of such a type.³⁶² There is nothing against dating such a marriage to events after the fall of the Emmenid tyranny in 472 BCE.³⁶³ The ode presents Pelops' marriage as a consequence of conquering a powerful enemy. If the Pelops myth indeed mirrors Hieron's marriage it advertises the authority of the Deinomenids as predominant.³⁶⁴

2.3.3 Praise for the *laudandus*.

The ode contains explicit and implicit praise for the *laudandus*. Implicit praise occurs in the myth and *gnomae*, while explicit praise can be found in two sections where the

³⁶⁰ Cf. Vernant (1973: 65ff.), Sunseri (1987: 51f.). On the historical sources of these alliances, cf. Miller (1970: 49-59).

³⁶¹ Cf. Hdt. 3.50.2, Th. 6.59.3, Gernet (1968: 350ff.), Sunseri (1987: 51-55), Luraghi (1994: 256n.124). Cf. Kraay (1976: 214) for the suggestion that the submission of Anaxilas to Gelon in 480 BCE could be reflected in the numismatic record.

³⁶² This would tally with the view that the Emmenids were the junior partner in the Deinomenid-Emmenid alliance in the 470s BCE as Kukofka (1992: 71-75) suggests. Cf. Luraghi (1994: 328-32) on the historical background and outcome to the so-called 'troubles of 476 BCE' between Hieron and Theron.

³⁶³ However, a marriage after the events of 476 BCE cannot be excluded. Hieron appears to have married his second wife, a daughter of Anaxilas of Rhegium, around 478 BCE, cf. Hdt. 7.165, Sunseri (1987: 52), Vallet (1996: 167), but this cannot decide the choice either way.

³⁶⁴ It is worth noting that some of Pelops' more spurious offspring are not referred to by name. At times the poet has to deal with difficult material, and omission of e.g. Thyestes, Atreus or Copeus might have been advisable.

laudandus is specifically addressed: a section just before the myth is introduced,³⁶⁵ and one towards the end of the ode.³⁶⁶

The first time Hieron is explicitly praised is because of his 'rich and blessed hearth' and his rightful rule in 'flock-rich' Sicily.³⁶⁷ This is high praise for two reasons. First, it is argued that the attribute used for Hieron's house, μάκαιρος, hints at a status of bliss which can be compared with that of the gods.³⁶⁸ Second, whereas praise of the homeland or home city of the *laudandus* early in the ode is common,³⁶⁹ here an association between ruling and Sicily might be hinted at. In other words ἐν ...Σικελίᾳ might hint at aspirations of rule of the *laudandus* beyond his home city Syracuse.³⁷⁰ This high praise is followed by a sympotic scene,³⁷¹ in which it is mentioned that Hieron 'culls the summit of all achievements'.³⁷² However, none of Hieron's ἀρεταί are specifically mentioned. This can be contrasted with a passage in Pindar's third *Pythian* ode. In that ode Hieron is referred to as king which is followed by an enumeration of his

³⁶⁵ *OI.* 1.10-23.

³⁶⁶ *OI.* 1.100-108.

³⁶⁷ *OI.* 1.10-12 ἐς ἀφνεᾶν ἰκομένους μάκαιραν Ἰέρωνος ἐστίαν, θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει σκάπτον ἐν πολυμήλῳ Σικελίᾳ.

³⁶⁸ Gerber (1982: 31) 'Hieron approaches the gods in the extent of his wealth and prosperity.' Cf. Hom. λ 482f. ...σεῖο δ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, οὐ τις ἀνὴρ προπάρειθε μακάρτερος οὐτ' ἄρ' ὀπίσσω, *h.Herm.* 249-51 νέκταρος ἐμπλείους ... καὶ ἄργυφα εἴματα νύμφης, οἷα θεῶν μακάρων ἱεροὶ δόμοι ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν.

³⁶⁹ Schadewaldt (1928: 36n.1), Thummer (1968: 55ff.).

³⁷⁰ Fernández-Galiano (1956: 124). Cf. B.3.1-3 with similar allusions to rule beyond Syracuse.

³⁷¹ *OI.* 1.13-23 δρέπων ... βασιλῆα. The language used in this passage adds to the sympotic ambience. *OI.* 1.14-17 ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ μουσικᾶς ἐν ᾧ τῳ, οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν... Gerber (1982: 38) notes Ion *fr.* 27.7f. πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν· ἴτω διὰ νυκτὸς ἀοιδή, ὀρχείσθω τις· ἐκὼν δ' ἄρχε φιλοφροσύνης.

³⁷² *OI.* 1.13 δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν.

qualities,³⁷³ as if such qualifications make the regal terminology more acceptable. In the first *Olympian* ode all qualifications are omitted and, rhetorically, the *laudandus*' achievements are presented as already the stuff of legend, subject of many songs performed during symposia.

A transition to some praise for Hieron's horse, Pherenikos, follows.³⁷⁴ There is a very similar passage in Bacchylides' fifth ode and elsewhere I compare those two passages as *exempla* of what might have been different rhetorical attitudes between Bacchylides and Pindar.³⁷⁵

Hieron is thereafter explicitly praised as king at a climactic point of the ode,³⁷⁶ namely the beginning of an epode with the conclusion of the statement running over in that first epode.³⁷⁷ A short transition to the myth follows: Hieron's fame shines for him in Pisa.³⁷⁸ The verb used, λάμπω, a standard verb to describe the sun or a fire,³⁷⁹ might hint at more permanent visibility of Hieron's κλέος than simply during the victory celebrations after the games.³⁸⁰ Pisa was 'a colony of brave men' founded by

³⁷³ *Py.* 3.71f. πραῦς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξεῖνοις δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ.

³⁷⁴ *O.* 1.18-22.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Appendix eight where this passage is compared with B.5.43f.

³⁷⁶ *O.* 1. 23 Συρακόσιον ἵπποχάρμαν βασιλῆα· and again, by implication at *O.* 1.113f. τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται βασιλεῦσι.

³⁷⁷ The topic, or crux, of a Pindaric phrase is often to be found at the end of a sentence and sometimes therefore ends up at the beginning of the epode. The pause, preceding the epode must have been stylistically important. Cf. Wilamowitz (1922: 244n.4), 'ein Kunstgriff, den er liebt', e.g. *O.* 2.95, *O.* 1.23, *Py.* 12.17, *Ne.* 3.17, *Isth.* 8.11 and cf. Dornseiff (1921: 108f.). Nierhaus (1936:109ff.) gives the epic parallels.

³⁷⁸ *O.* 1.23f. λάμπει δὲ οἱ κλέος ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικία· [sc. Pisa].

³⁷⁹ Gerber (1982: 50) notes *Pi. Pae.* 12.14, *fr.* 129.1, 356, *O.* 1.5f. (sun), *Hom.* X 134f.

³⁸⁰ Cf. *O.* 1.93-95 τὸ δὲ κλέος τηλόθεν δέδορκε τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις Πέλοπος. This could refer to an actual statue, commissioned but not necessarily already erected by the time of the first performance.

Pelops.³⁸¹ Assuming that the ode was first performed in 472 BCE, Hieron's Aetna project must have been underway for a good four years and a firm hint at Hieron's status as oecist can safely be assumed at this point.

The mythical section has attracted much scholarly attention yet this is not the place to discuss it in detail.³⁸² Pindar might have innovated,³⁸³ but there is no scholarly agreement as to how Pindar's account differs from older versions and where he might have changed things,³⁸⁴ in order to accommodate the interests and demands of the *laudandus*. Some relevant parallels between Pelops and the *laudandus* have already been discussed. With regard to Pelops, the following observations can be added. First, Pelops' liaison with Poseidon in the ode is a serene affair and will eventually be to Pelops' advantage. This might not seem a startling observation to a modern observer, but the literary and pictorial evidence shows that direct contact with a god was more often than not a liability for the mortal in question, not a blessing,³⁸⁵ and hence

³⁸¹ *OI.* 1.24 ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικία.

³⁸² For a detailed discussion, cf. Howie (1984).

³⁸³ As he himself tells us at *OI.* 1.36 υἱὲ Ταντάλου, σὲ δ' ἀντία προτέρων φθέγξομαι.

³⁸⁴ E.g. Pindar's version of the chariot race, the first instance of which occurs in this ode, is an innovation according to Köhnken (1974: 200), while Gerber (1982: xii) thinks it is not. Cf. Howie (1984: 292ff.).

³⁸⁵ Cf. Kaempf-Dimitriadou (1979: 55f.), Roloff (1970: 57ff.) for the literary and pictorial evidence. Cf. Hom. *ε* 118: Calypso and the 'envy of the gods'. Violence: A. *PV* 645ff, E. *Ion* 10, 437, 941. Deception: Pi. *Nē.* 1.36ff, [Hes.] *Sc.* 27-56, D.S. 4.9, Apollod. 2.4.1, 3.1.1, Σ Hom M 292. Killing: Hom. *ε* 121, 125, *h. Ven.* 239, 286, Pi. *OI.* 2.25-27 (immortality?), E. *Hipp.* 556ff, *Ba.* 88ff, Apollod. *epitom.* 3.4.3, Verg. *Aen.* 2.648f. Hateful old age: *h. Ven.* 233. The pictorial evidence shows many examples of scenes where the ἐρῶμενος is seen trying to flee from the scene or look back in anguish or both, e.g. *ARV*² 381.182 Boston 95.36, *ARV*² 553.39 Boston 10.184. The exceptions to these predicaments are few, e.g. *ARV*² 1570.30 Boston 13.94, *ARV*² 443.225 Boston 95.31, *ARV*² 1002.15 Gela 22, *ARV*² 973.15 Cambridge, Corp. Chr. College, *ARV*² 1041.9 Syracuse 44291. Often Ganymedes is the ἐρῶμενος, e.g. *ARV*² 435.94 Louvre G123.

contemporary audiences might not have taken a felicitous outcome of the affair between Pelops and Poseidon for granted. Since the *laudandus* is paralleled with Pelops a happy end for the latter might have been more appropriate. Second, the myth might imply that Hieron, like Pelops, has divine assistance.³⁸⁶ Third, when Pelops seeks contact with Poseidon he approaches the sea at night and in silence,³⁸⁷ which could have brought to mind the darkness associated with chthonic rituals, as, for example, the Eleusinian Mysteries.³⁸⁸ This might have been relevant to Hieron in his capacity of Hierophant in the Demeter-Kore worship.³⁸⁹

There are other features of the myth that appear to have been adapted to the needs of the *laudandus*. First, in other versions Demeter had 'a share' of the human flesh.³⁹⁰ That she is written out of the Pindaric version is rather unsurprising,³⁹¹ since Demeter (and Kore) seem to have been most venerable goddesses in Sicily and the *laudandus* a priest in their service. The Myrtilus-episode,³⁹² was probably eliminated on similar grounds: in an ode which praises a patron on the occasion of an equestrian victory any hint of foul play should be avoided. Second, puzzling questions, riddles and conundrums were an integral part of the symposium,³⁹³ and this ode surely offers the

³⁸⁶ Explicitly at *OI.* 1.106 with mention that a θεός is Hieron's ἐπίτροπος.

³⁸⁷ *OI.* 1.71 ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν πολιᾶς ἀλὸς οἶος ἐν ὄρφνῃ ἄπυεν βαρύκτυπον.

³⁸⁸ Cf. Burkert (1983: 257f.) on the role of the Eleusinian Hierophant in the 'transition from night to light.'

³⁸⁹ The sources are given in § 2.2.3.

³⁹⁰ The sources are given in Preller (1894: 2.290-92). E.g. B. *fr.* 42 (= Σ Pi. *OI.* 1.40a) μεταλαβεῖν λέγουσι, E. *IT* 386-88, Lyc. 152-55, Apollod. *epit.* 2.3.

³⁹¹ Griffith (1989: 172).

³⁹² Apparently an old layer of the Pelops' story, cf. Gantz (1993: 541). On Myrtilus' foul play, cf. A.R. 752-58, Σ A.R. 1.752 (= Pherecyd. *FGrHist.* 3 F 37ab), S. *fr.* 473a, 474 R., S. *Elec.* 505-15, E. *Or.* 988-96, Hellanic. *FGrHist.* 4 F 19, Paus. 8.14.11, Σ *apud* Virgil *Georg.* 3.7.

³⁹³ Cf. § 2.3.1.

audience much intellectual divertissement. One particular conundrum can be singled out: the poetical I states that he 'will tell things differently from others',³⁹⁴ and gives a version of events in which Pelops' flesh was distributed around the table and eaten by the gods, a version from which he then dissociates himself,³⁹⁵ by revising the myth.³⁹⁶ However, on the view of that revision, the opening section of the myth, which surely must still have been in the audience's mind, seems suddenly to have become a strange conundrum: if Pelops has not been cut up for dinner, he has no need to be in a cauldron, and there is no need for him to possess an ivory shoulder, which clashes with the assumption that Poseidon fell in love with Pelops because of the ivory shoulder.³⁹⁷ It can be safely assumed that Pindar was aware of the ambiguity thus introduced, yet had he thought that a 'solution' was needed he undoubtedly would have supplied one. Surely, Pindar could have chosen not to bring up the abhorred story of the cannibalistic feast at all. The fact that he does so is clearly some rhetorical conceit.³⁹⁸

In the fourth antistrophe the myth reaches its conclusion. The antistrophe and epode are dedicated to final praise for Hieron. Pelops' circumstances at Olympia are set next to those of 'a victor' but it is a fair assumption that Hieron is meant here.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁴ *O.* 1.36 ἀντία προτέρων φθέγξομαι.

³⁹⁵ *O.* 1.52 ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι. Verdenius (1988: 27) notes that it is better to translate ἀφίσταμαι as 'I dissociate myself', not 'I reject', or 'I am unable.' Pindar does not deny that some think this true; he, however, cannot be associated with such slander. Cf. *E.* 17386.

³⁹⁶ *O.* 1.36ff.

³⁹⁷ Gantz (1993: 532) on *O.* 1.24-27. Some solutions are discussed in Gerber (1982: 57-58). The crux is the (much disputed) meaning of *O.* 1.26 ἐπεὶ: causal according to Kakridis (1930: 188-90), temporal according to Gerber (1982: 56), *alii*. Bibliography on this topic in Köhnken (1983b: 66-67), Gerber (1982: 55-56).

³⁹⁸ Currie (2005: 352) '...the poet both has his cake and eats it.' Cf. *O.* 9.35-41, *Ne.* 5.14-18.

³⁹⁹ *O.* 1.97-99 ὁ νικῶν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοντον ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν ἀέθλων γ' ἔνεκεν.

Hieron, as victor, ‘for the rest of his life enjoys a honey-sweet calm’, ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν,⁴⁰⁰ which expresses the common epinician *topos* of deserved rest after the necessary πόνος of the contest, ἀέθλων γ' ἔνεκεν.⁴⁰¹ It is worth noting that Hieron’s victory is described as athletic πόνος, something which glosses over the fact that the *laudandus* himself was not involved with the actual race.

The transmission of the next passage of praise is corrupt,⁴⁰² yet it appears that this passage merely repeats earlier praise, namely of Hieron as a hospitable, wealthy and powerful man.⁴⁰³ The mention of an (unspecified) θεός as Hieron’s ἐπίτροπος picks up Poseidon’s help for Pelops. The scholia to the Pindaric odes mention a festival in honour of Zeus Αἰτναῖος.⁴⁰⁴ If the ode was performed in the context of that festival, a Syracusan audience might be reminded of Hieron’s care for the god of Aetna, his ἐπίτροπος.⁴⁰⁵ On that interpretation, the audience is reminded of Hieron’s εὐσέβεια as well,⁴⁰⁶ while an audience outside Sicily, probably unaware of such links, would be informed that a god has concern for Hieron’s endeavours.

⁴⁰⁰ *OI.* 1.97f.

⁴⁰¹ The same *topos* at *OI.* 4.22, *Ne.* 1.69f. 9.44.

⁴⁰² *OI.* 1.103-105. Gerber (1982: 156f.) gives the emendations. δύναμιν seems to be political or military power, cf. Verdenius (1988: 46) who notes *Py.* 1.47-50. *Py.* 2.58, 63-65.

⁴⁰³ Cf. wealth at *OI.* 1.10 and hospitality at *OI.* 1.14-17, both necessary characteristics of a good host.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Σ *Pi.* *Ne.* 1.7b, Σ *OI.* 6.162a. There is, however, no evidence to support the suggestion that it was Hieron who had installed this festival, *pace* Currie (2005: 17f.).

⁴⁰⁵ This is, however, much disputed. Among the other suggestions for θεός are Poseidon, Zeus of Olympia, Demeter or an indefinite θεός τι, cf. Gerber (1982: 160).

⁴⁰⁶ Paralleled with the εὐσέβεια of the poet, cf. *OI.* 1.35f. ἔστι δ' ἀνδρὶ φάμεν εἰκότος ἀμφὶ δαιμόνων καλά· with the effect of uniting *laudator* and *laudandus*.

After a wish for a future chariot victory,⁴⁰⁷ the *laudandus* is once more praised using regal terminology, this time indirectly.⁴⁰⁸ The *ne plus ultra* 'look no further' is not a warning against the dangers of ὑβρις,⁴⁰⁹ but is better understood as high praise for Hieron.⁴¹⁰ A prayer concludes the ode with the promise that Hieron's fame will spread throughout the Greek world.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁷ *O/.* 1.108-110. Gerber (1982: 165) 'the surface meaning is clearly a reference to victory with the four-horse chariot which Pindar hopes Hieron will win.' Hubbard (1995: 36-7) argues that such wishes always refer to the next major ἀγών. As it happened, Hieron was victorious in 470 BCE in the chariot event at Pythia.

⁴⁰⁸ *O/.* 1.113f. ἡ ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλλοι μεγάλοι· τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται βασιλευσι. Cf. *O/.* 1.23. On the sentiment that different people excel differently, cf. Bundy (1962: 7).

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. Fisher (1992: 243f.) on such warnings given to successful men '...if a catch-all phrase is needed for such motifs, 'forgetting mortal limits' would be greatly preferable to hybris. In the context of praise poetry, labelling all such warnings as 'the hubris-motif', or the like, is, I believe, positively misleading.' Fisher extends this remark to Pi. *O/.* 1.114, 3.42, *Py.* 10.60-63, 11.55-58, *Ne.* 3.74f., 9.46f., *Isth.* 5.14-16.

⁴¹⁰ Viz. the *laudandus* has reached the limit and has come close to the gods. He cannot expect to achieve more. Such 'advice', however, might have an element of cautious self-projection of the patron. In other words, the *laudandus* readily accepts high praise, yet remains aware of the dangers implied in such high praise. On such 'advice', cf. Race (1987: *passim*), McGlew (1993: 43n.54).

⁴¹¹ *O/.* 1.115b: among all Hellenes.

2.4 Bacchylides' fourth ode and Pindar's first *Pythian* ode for Hieron of Syracuse.

Argument.

Whereas both odes celebrate the same victory, the patron message in Bacchylides' fourth ode could hardly be more different from the one in Pindar's first Pythian. In Bacchylides' fourth ode, which was first performed at the Pythian games in 470 BCE, the laudandus is advertised as an aristocrat among fellow aristocrats rather than as a tyrant. The patron message in Pindar's first Pythian ode is much more complicated. It is directed at a Sicilian home audience as well as at mainland Greeks. The ode forcefully argues for the legitimacy of the tyrant's rule, while audiences abroad are targeted in an effort to counter negative attitudes towards the Western Greeks which might have resulted from certain events during the Persian Wars. The portrayal in the ode of Aetna's refoundation with Sparta as a role model would be helpful in the counter-propaganda strategy for such audiences. The Dorian foundation myth in this ode does not, as many argue, have an ethnic dimension, but is better understood as a model for an ideal relation between new settlers and Hieron as well as a story about 'newcomers' appropriate in the context of newly-founded Aetna. There might be an allusion to the wish of the laudandus for posthumous hero-worship.

2.4.1 Introduction – Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the ode.

Both these odes celebrated the same victory, namely Hieron's *Pythian* victory in the chariot event in August 470 BCE.⁴¹² The odes are discussed as a pair.

Bacchylides' fourth ode was first performed at Delphi, during the celebrations after the games,⁴¹³ and the ode was probably only composed after the victory, *in situ*.⁴¹⁴ It is argued that the *laudandus* is advertised in this ode as an aristocrat among other aristocrats. His role as tyrant remains implicit.

In Pindar's first *Pythian*, on the other hand, the *laudandus* is advertised as an assertive ruler who takes delight in the honours given to him and to his son. The equestrian victory which is the focus of celebration in Bacchylides' fourth ode was, however, not the only reason for Pindar's first *Pythian* ode. The latter ode seems to have been first performed in Sicily, most probably in Aetna during the inauguration festivities there,⁴¹⁵ possibly indoors during a banquet or symposium.⁴¹⁶ These festivities commemorated Hieron's recent equestrian victory, his military successes, the consecration of recently founded Aetna as well as the inauguration of Hieron's son as its ruler.⁴¹⁷ We cannot tell how much time passed between Hieron's Pythian victory and the first performance of the ode in Aetna. The ode must at least have required some time for composition. In view of the fact that Hieron won a further victory in 468 BCE

⁴¹² The ode is securely dated since Σ Pi. *Py.* 1 *inscr.* is consistent with *P. Oxy* 222, Σ Pi. *Py* 3 *inscr.*, Σ Pi. *Ol.* 1 *inscr.*, B.4.4 τρίτον γὰρ παρ' [ὀμφα]λὸν ὑψιδείρου χθονὸς Πυ[θ]ιονίκος ἀ[εἶδε]ταῖ ὦ[κυ]πόδων ἀρ[ετᾶι] σὺν ἵππων. Cf. Moretti (1957: 90, 92f.) numbers 221 234, 246.

⁴¹³ Cf. B.4.4f., *pace* Brannan (1972: 176).

⁴¹⁴ Snell (1970: xlii).

⁴¹⁵ *Py.* 1.61 πόλιν κείναν. This does not mean that the ode was performed at Syracuse, *pace* Gildersleeve (1890: 248). Cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 349) who notes that κείναν, instead of τάνδε, anaphorically takes up *Py.* 1.60, just as κείνον in v.42 picks up Hieron in v.32. This means that the ode was first performed at Aetna. Cf. *Ol.* 1.101, *Py.* 5.107.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. *Py.* 1.97ff. a performance by a chorus of boys.

⁴¹⁷ *Py.* 1.58-59 Μοῖσα, καὶ παρ Δεινομένει κελαδῆσαι τίθεό μοι ποινὰν τεθρίππων.

and that he died the year thereafter, it seems safe to assume that the first *Pythian* ode was performed not much later than 470 BCE.

A victory ode which commemorates such a conglomerate of events seems truly remarkable and unparalleled in our epinician corpus.⁴¹⁸ This might be the reason for the extraordinary thematic heterogeneity of the ode.⁴¹⁹ The ode contains myth,⁴²⁰ historical persons (Croesus, Phalaris), remote historical events (the Dorian foundation), as well as recent historical events of Panhellenic and local importance. There is extensive ecphrasis (Aetna's eruption), a description of the opposing worlds of Olympia and Tartarus while the ode even appears to contain some biographical material pertaining to the *laudandus*.⁴²¹

Some scholars take the inauguration of Hieron's son or the consecration of Aetna as the main reason for commissioning and performance of the first *Pythian* ode;⁴²² however, it is probably wrong to single out one event as the principal occasion for the initial performance of this ode.⁴²³ This section argues that the different events prompting the commissions all are reflected in the patron message of the *laudandus*.

The ideology of the ode is a clear instance of a *Herrschaftssystem*.

⁴¹⁸ Such inaugurations in itself are remarkable in a fifth-century context. We have to wait till Hellenistic times for evidence of similar ceremonies, cf. Plut. *Vit. Pyr.* 3.5: Pyrrhus of Epirus' inauguration in 297 BCE.

⁴¹⁹ Gentili *et al.* (1995: 19-20).

⁴²⁰ *Py.* 1.13ff. Typhon, *Py.* 1.50-55 Philoctetes. The mythical section is, however, not as extensive as in other odes of comparable length.

⁴²¹ *Py.* 1.55, Hieron's illness, cf. §§ 2.4.4.2, 2.6.1 and note 1626.

⁴²² Wilamowitz (1922: 296): 'feierliche Einweihung'. Burton (1962: 91): the first *Pythian* ode is a 'hymn for Deinomenes' coronation.' Cf. Herrington (1967: 91).

⁴²³ E.g. Currie (2005: 17) who argues that a festival of Zeus Αἰρδαῖος might have been the occasion for Pindar's first *Nemean* and first *Pythian* ode.

2.4.2 Patron message in the odes.

The patron message in Bacchylides' fourth ode seems straightforward: in this ode the *laudandus* is portrayed before a Panhellenic audience at Delphi as an aristocrat among fellow aristocrats rather than as a tyrant. There is a parallel for this strategy in the manner in which patrons portray themselves in dedicatory monuments at Panhellenic sanctuaries. The patron message in this ode advertises Hieron as someone who avoids any extravagant claim of importance. The occasionality of the ode hence appears to be limited to the immediate victory which is celebrated in the ode. The ideology represented in the ode is perhaps best described as *Adelsideologie*, rather than *Polisideologie*.⁴²⁴

Matters are very different in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode. To the modern student of Pindar, the first *Pythian* ode appears to be the most overtly political of all the odes in the extant epinician corpus. The occasionality of the ode consequently appears to be intimately linked with a number of external events about which we seem to be reasonably well informed.⁴²⁵ Consequently, we are particularly well placed to evaluate the political statements the ode seems to make.

After 480/79 BCE, attitudes of the mainland Greeks towards Western Greeks might have been negative to the extent that the achievements of the Western Greeks against the barbarian might even have been looked upon with disdain by mainland

⁴²⁴ Cf. Gelzer's (1985: 102) *Dokumentationsfunktion* of an *in situ* ode. Praise for the polis of the victor is prominent, yet the focus in the ode is squarely on the victor. Hence the ideology in the ode is best not described as *Polisideologie*.

⁴²⁵ Fifth-century Sicilian military affairs, 'demographic engineering', foundation or refoundation of cities, relationship between Western Greek and the Carthaginian 'barbarians' are topics on which we now seem better informed than were the Hellenistic commentators.

Greeks.⁴²⁶ Part of the propaganda in the first *Pythian* ode is directed at mainland audiences. Be that as it may, the ode contains extensive propaganda directed at Hieron's home audience as well, something which can be demonstrated in a discussion of Hieron's military achievements and the Dorian foundation myth. That Hieron's military achievements in 480 BCE are overstated in this ode is not at all surprising since neither Pindar nor Hieron was interested in strict fidelity to the truth. Such embellishments fit in well with the aims of counter-propaganda suggested above,⁴²⁷ but they played a part in the legitimisation of the tyrant's rule at home as well.

It is often argued that there was an ethnic dimension to Hieron's Aetna project,⁴²⁸ as Dorian settlers would have been introduced into newly-founded Aetna to the detriment of the original (Ionian) Chalcidian population who had been displaced from the newly-founded colony. That, however, does not appear to have been the case. This means that the role of the Dorian foundation myth in the first *Pythian* ode should be understood otherwise.⁴²⁹ It is argued that on a structural level, the Dorians as a religious and linguistic Greek subgroup are held up in this ode as an example for the relation between new settlers and Hieron,⁴³⁰ whereas on a narrative level, the Dorian foundation represents a story about 'newcomers' or even 'chosen-people' appropriate

⁴²⁶ The evidence is given in Appendix three.

⁴²⁷ By portraying the Carthaginian threat as Panhellenic, Western Greek efforts become more consequential, cf. § 2.4.4.4.

⁴²⁸ Viz. the replacement of Ionians by Dorians, cf. § 2.4.4, Appendix six.

⁴²⁹ On *Py.* 1.61-67, cf. § 2.4.4.3.

⁴³⁰ Here, the key concepts linked with Dorian Sparta are constitutional government, stability, ῥῆσυχία and εὐνομία. For Hieron in particular, establishing links with the Dorians might have furthered his claims on (Dorian) Syracuse. The Dorians seem a support for the customs; the Spartans are a model for long-lasting constitutional arrangements.

in the context of newly-founded Aetna.⁴³¹ It is further argued that portrayal of Aetna's refoundation with Sparta as a role model would be helpful in the counter-propaganda strategy for an audience outside Sicily. Finally, Hieron's wish for posthumous hero-worship might be alluded to at the end of the ode.

2.4.3 Bacchylides' fourth ode for Hieron.

Athletic victors often competed on behalf of their home city,⁴³² and, conversely, success for their home city reflected back on the polis.⁴³³ A polis bent on international glory could even buy a victory,⁴³⁴ which tells us that not only the athletes but also the poleis would be competing between themselves.⁴³⁵ All this certainly applies for athletic victors yet probably held for victors in the equestrian events as well. It is fair to say that at the major Panhellenic games, athletics and politics were never sharply distinguished.⁴³⁶ Consequently, the importance of the proclamation of the victor's home city should not be underestimated. With this in mind, the starting point for discussion is a difference between the first *Pythian* ode and Bacchylides' fourth ode. In the former ode the audience is led to believe that Hieron was proclaimed at Delphi as Αἰτναῖος.⁴³⁷

⁴³¹ Viz. as a god-given right to occupy land.

⁴³² Cf. Lys. 19.63.

⁴³³ Cf. *CEG* 1.386, ca.450 BCE.

⁴³⁴ As did Ephesus in 384 BCE, cf. Paus. 6.18.6. Alternatively, a victor could transfer his victory to another town, cf. Paus. 6.13.1, or to another clan, cf. Hdt. 6.103.5 Cimon to Pisistratus.

⁴³⁵ Cf. Lys. 33.1-2. Pride of the polis in its athlete, cf. D.S. 13.82.7 Acragas, 412 BCE.

⁴³⁶ Cf. T.H. Hansen (2004: 108f.).

⁴³⁷ *Py.* 1.29-33 the crucial passage is πόλιν γείτονα (sc. Aetnam), Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ κάρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν (sc. Aetnam) ἀγγέλλων Ἰέρωνος ὑπὲρ κτλ. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 340) argues that ὑπὲρ shows that the herald acted on Hieron's order and notes *Ne.* 8.14, *Isth.* 6.3.

The ode describes what actually seems to have taken place at the games: the herald proclaimed the name of victor, his *gens*, as well as his home city.⁴³⁸ In Bacchylides' fourth ode, however, there is nothing that could hint at Hieron being proclaimed as 'from Aetna'. Instead, Hieron is there strongly identified with Syracuse.⁴³⁹ Because that ode was performed at Delphi, this means that Hieron was most probably proclaimed at Delphi as Syracusan. The scholia on the first *Pythian* ode seem confused by this difference as well and offer various explanations,^{439a} suggesting, for example, that Hieron was in fact Syracusan but was proclaimed at Delphi as Aetnaean because he had refounded that city.⁴⁴⁰ In the scholiast on Pindar's first *Olympian* ode there is a mini-debate on the status of Hieron's citizenship.⁴⁴¹ Commenting on the line in the first *Olympian* ode where Hieron is said to be 'horse-loving king of Syracuse',⁴⁴² the scholiast first flatly denies that Hieron was of that city when he won at Olympia and that in fact he must have been proclaimed there as Aetnaean.⁴⁴³ This is denounced as nonsensical by Didymus, who, on the authority of Apollodorus, says that Hieron was Syracusan, not Aetnaean.⁴⁴⁴ Finally, a last attempt at reconciliation is given in the

⁴³⁸ Cf. Paus. 5.5.2. On announcements of the victor at the games, cf. Buhmann (1972: 53ff.).

⁴³⁹ B.4. 1-3 Ἐτι Συρακοσίαν φιλεῖ πόλιν ὁ χρυσοκόμας Ἀπόλλων, ἀστυθέμιν θ' ἱέρωνα γεραίρει.

^{439a} The scholia should not be dismissed but they should be handled with care. Race (1986: 24) notes that the Pindar's poetry had already become strange, if not incomprehensible in Hellenistic times and that the scholia consequently contain many assumptions and conjectures that are inaccurate, derivative or just idle speculation. On the allegorical method in the scholia, cf. Pfeiffer (1968: 226). On the dangers of the biographical date in the scholia, cf. Lefkowitz (1991: 147-161).

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Σ *Py.* 1 *inscr.*, Σ *Py.* 1. 58.

⁴⁴¹ Σ *OI.* 1.35c.

⁴⁴² *OI.* 1.23.

⁴⁴³ Σ *OI.* 1.35c ...κτίσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν τὴν Κατάνην καὶ προσαγορεύσαντα Αἴτην ἀπ' αὐτῆς Αἰτναῖον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν...

⁴⁴⁴ Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F 69 τότε γὰρ ὁ ἱέρων ἦν Συρακούσιος καὶ οὐδὲ ἦν Αἰτναῖος

opinion of a certain Aristonicus.⁴⁴⁵ Hieron was in fact from Aetna, yet had himself proclaimed at Olympia as Syracusan.⁴⁴⁶ Whoever was right, this debate seems to confirm that the proclamation of citizenship at the Panhellenic games was a serious matter indeed. This means that the manner in which that proclamation found its way into the ode was unlikely to have been a matter of choice for the poet. Even in the event that the ode was composed on the spot, presumably in a short time,⁴⁴⁷ the home city of the victor would certainly not be mentioned erroneously or even ambiguously. In other words, it seems unlikely that the herald could have proclaimed Hieron as Αἰτναῖος at Delphi and this had not been reflected in Bacchylides' ode. The suggestion that Bacchylides had sent the short ode to Delphi beforehand in the hope that Hieron would win seems also problematic.⁴⁴⁸ His substitute (who would have to train the performers, however short the ode) would surely have been able to change the text after Hieron had been proclaimed as Αἰτναῖος? The upshot of this discussion is that Hieron was proclaimed at Delphi as Συρακόσιος, that Bacchylides' fourth ode was executed accordingly and that the first *Pythian* ode reflects an explicit wish of Hieron *to be thought* to have been proclaimed as Αἰτναῖος before his home audience in Aetna.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁵ Who might have been a younger contemporary of Didymus, cf. Irigoin (1952: 65).

⁴⁴⁶ Σ *OI.* 1.35c ..ὁ δὲ Ἀριστόνικος ἀξιοπύστως Αἰτναῖον ὄντα Συρακούσιον ὀνομάζεσθαι...

⁴⁴⁷ The term *Schubladen-Dichtung* has been suggested for *in situ* odes modelled on existing archetypal *schemata*, cf. Hose (2000: 162-63).

⁴⁴⁸ Pace Maehler (1982^b: 65). 'Entweder im voraus [...] oder er erst in Delphi selbst schrieb, ... also vermutlich ohne ausdrücklichen Auftrag Hieron's.'

⁴⁴⁹ Further support for this suggestion can be found in *P. Oxy.* 222 where Hieron is always mentioned as Συρακόσιος, yet at least two other Olympic victories after 476/5 BCE (Moretti numbers 234 and 246) could have shown Hieron in the official list as Αἰτναῖος.

Propaganda must lie at the heart of the matter,⁴⁵⁰ and the key to the explanation appears to lie in what we know was appropriate language to use on monuments at Panhellenic sites. A recent investigation into the language of dedicatory monuments at Panhellenic sanctuaries has shown that the victor's status would normally remain implicit.⁴⁵¹ In other words, there never was any explicit articulation of their status as political or military leader and these dedications should be viewed as essentially made by private citizens representing their city.⁴⁵² At these Panhellenic occasions, the interests and reputation of the victor's city were apparently paramount and the Deinomenid tyrants seem to have depicted themselves on their monuments in this prevailing aristocratic tradition. The expression 'strategy of silence' is used to denote such tactics.⁴⁵³ Such tactics occur in other contemporary examples of dedications in our literary sources.⁴⁵⁴ I suggest that in Bacchylides' fourth ode applies the same

⁴⁵⁰ It is tempting to regard this confusion as deliberately introduced into the odes so as to facilitate a reperformance of Bacchylides' fourth ode in Syracuse, which would have been problematic in the event that the odes would openly contradict each other.

⁴⁵¹ On the Deinomenid dedications at Delphi, cf. Jacquemin (1999: 71) and (1999: 353) numbers 446-454. The language of these dedicatory monuments is discussed in Harrell (2002: 450-55). The inscriptions *Syll.*³ 33 (cf. Paus. 6.9.5) and *Syll.*³ 35e (cf. Paus. 6.12.1, 8.42.9) are both formulaic, mentioning the name of the victor, father and city. Three helmets dedicated after the battle of Cumae, *IGDS* 94a, 94b and *SEG* 23.328 carry the inscriptions (with only slight variations), 'the spoils won by Hieron, son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans from the Etruscans, before Cumae.' Two bases of a Deinomenid tripod offering *ML* 28 carry the inscription 'Gelon, son of Deinomenes, the Syracusans.' Cf. B.3.17-19, Gentili (1953: *passim*). Krumeich (1991: 49) links Hieron's dedications at Delphi to the victory at Himera; Zahrtnt (1993: 365) with the one off Cumae.

⁴⁵² Harrell (2002: 455).

⁴⁵³ Harrell (2002: 457).

⁴⁵⁴ Paus. 6.19.7: 'Gelon and the Syracusans', Paus. 6.19.4: 'Myron and the Sycyonian people'. Cf. Hdt. 6.34-41 and *IG I*³ 1470 'Hipparchus son (?) of Pisistratos', without indication of political rank. Sometimes dedications 'went wrong' and had to be corrected, cf. Th. 1.132.2-3 with *ML* 27 and the suggestion by Harrell (2002: 459) that the so called Polyzelus' inscription' (*CEG* 397)

‘strategy of silence’ which is used in the dedicatory monuments at Panhellenic sanctuaries.

2.4.3.1 Praise for Hieron in Bacchylides’ fourth ode.

The ode does not seem to contain more than the *topoi* from the traditional epinician catalogue.⁴⁵⁵ Possibly as a result, the fourth Bacchylidean ode has disappointed some scholars.⁴⁵⁶

The ode opens with praise for Hieron’s city, Syracuse: ‘Golden-haired Apollo still cares for Syracuse and honours Hieron, its lawful ruler.’⁴⁵⁷ Hence Hieron’s position at home is only deftly touched upon with the politically neutral term ἀστυθεμῖς.⁴⁵⁸ The compound is a *hapax legomenon*, the first part of which (ἄστυ-) might have been used to avoid the political sense of πόλις,⁴⁵⁹ while the second part (-θεμῖς) hints at

with its emendation of ΑΝΑΣΣΩΝ by a later hand was possibly such an inscription which ‘went wrong’.

⁴⁵⁵ The city of the victor (B.4.1 Συρακοσίαν), the name of victor (B.4.2 Ἰέρωνα), the venue (B.4.4f. παρ’ ὀμφαλὸν ὑψιδείρου χθονὸς Πυθιονίκος as place of post-agonistic festivities and B.4.14 ἀγχιάλοις τε Κίρρας μυχοῖς as the location where the contests actually had taken place), the name of father (B.4.13 Δεινομένεός), the event as an equestrian one (B.4.6 ὠκυπόδων ἀρεταῖ σὺν ἵππων).

⁴⁵⁶ Severyns (1933: 90) ‘à peine un chanson, une vingtaine de vers insignifiants’, adding, quite rightly, ‘s’il n’a pas fait davantage, c’est apparemment parce que le tyran de Syracuse en avait décidé ainsi.’

⁴⁵⁷ B.4.1-3 Ἴτι Συρακοσίαν φιλεῖ πόλιν κτλ. Maehler (1982b: 69) notes that ἔτι must be translated as ‘still’. For the gods’ special care for a city with φιλεῖν, cf. Hes. *fr.* 240.5.

⁴⁵⁸ B.4.3.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Denniston (1957: 76) who notes on A. *Ag.* 88 θεοὶ ἀστυνόμοι ‘administering the city, having the city under their management. As a rule ‘city’ in the political sense is πόλις, not ἄστυ...’.

dispensation of just rule.⁴⁶⁰ The goddess Themis is associated with Zeus' order and law,⁴⁶¹ and the mention of her might have been appropriate in a Delphic context since she seems to have been involved in the foundation of the oracle there.⁴⁶² Syracuse in the opening of the poem takes centre stage. In other words, the interests and reputation of the victor's city are paramount.⁴⁶³ There are, however, other features in this ode supporting the suggestion that the *laudandus* is associated with a 'strategy of silence'. First, Hieron's μεγαλοπρέπεια (lavish public expenditure of wealth) is often mentioned in the epinician odes.⁴⁶⁴ This was not simply epinician flattery,⁴⁶⁵ and Hieron's wealth and spending power must have been well-known throughout the Greek world. However, μεγαλοπρέπεια is often associated with attempts to attain the tyranny and the inverse seems to hold as well, namely that the tyrant was the perfect μεγαλοπρεπής.⁴⁶⁶ If μεγαλοπρέπεια was indeed associated with tyranny then it should not come as a surprise that the mention of the wealth of the *laudandus* is avoided in an ode performed in a Panhellenic context.⁴⁶⁷ Second, there is no mention of Hieron's

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. *Py.* 5.28f. the house of the Βαπτιδᾶν ...θεμισκρεόντων, B.5.6-7 φρένα δ' εὐθύδικον Hieron as dispenser of justice in his capacity of ruler. Cf. §. 8.3.1.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Hes. *Th.* 901-2 Ὠρας, Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν.

⁴⁶² Cf. Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 31b, Gantz (1993: 88).

⁴⁶³ Cf. § 2.4.3.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. *Pi. Py.* 2.58-61, B.3.63-66. B.3.10-17.

⁴⁶⁵ Since other sources mention it as well, cf. Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 193, D.S. 11.25.1, 26.7, Paus. 6.19.7. Plut. *Mor.* 397e.

⁴⁶⁶ Kurke (1991: 171-81). Cf. Hdt. 3.125.2, 6.35.1, 6.103.1-3, 6.128.1-2, Th. 6.12.2, 6.15.2-4, 6.16.1-3, Arist. *Pol.* 1309a17, Arist. *fr.* 88, 89 R., Pl. *Rep.* 560d8-561a8, Plut. *Nic.* 3.1-3, Lys. 25.12-13. Kurke (1991: 181) 'from a point of view of the city, *megaloprepeia* can be perceived as a prelude to tyranny.'

⁴⁶⁷ Contrast with *Py.* 1.90 μὴ κάμνε λίαν δαπάναις.

political function nor of his military successes;⁴⁶⁸ neither is there any explicit 'regal terminology' in this ode.⁴⁶⁹ Third, Hieron's Aetna project was a venture that carried all the hallmarks of a tyrannical project. If this project was known as such outside Sicily, and there is no reason to suspect that it should not have been, Aetna's refoundation would not figure in an epinician ode performed at Delphi. This is further support for the assumption that Hieron indeed was announced as Syracusan at the games.⁴⁷⁰ Finally, in the second strophe it seems implied that Hieron might have won a fourth time, had not a god intervened.⁴⁷¹ The mention of failure is rare, yet not unheard of in epinician.⁴⁷² Tentatively, the mention of failure could be linked with a remark at the end of the ode,⁴⁷³ where it is said that Hieron's share of blessings is part of his ὄλβος.⁴⁷⁴ In other words the sentiment of the healthy alternations of good and bad fortune is alluded

⁴⁶⁸ *Pace* Puech (1949: 142) who argues that B.4.8 ἀλέκτωρ hints at the battle of Himera since the cock figured prominently on Himeran coins. That the cock is prominent on Himeran coins is indeed the case, possibly because of the (pseudo-) etymological link between Himera/ἡμέρα and the cock announcing the new day, cf. Pi. *Ol.* 12.14, Pl. *Crat.* 74a, Kraay (1976: 208), or, alternatively, as emblem of a healing god referring to the properties of the thermal springs near Himera, cf. Jenkins (1971: 27f.), (1976: 30), Rutter (2000b: 77). Be that as it may, Maehler (1982b: 71f.) rightly argues that ἀλέκτωρ here refers to the poet,. Cf. Sim. *PMG* 583 ἡμερόφων' ἀλέκτωρ, *diei nuntius*, Σ B.4.10 (= B. *fr.* 5).

⁴⁶⁹ Although ἀστυθεμῖς tactfully hints at Hieron's status as ruler. In odes composed for home consumption, Hieron's is frankly praised as king, cf. § 8.3.2.

⁴⁷⁰ Proclamation of Hieron as from Aetna might also have drawn attention to the fact that he was an oecist and *qua* oecist might have had aspirations to literal immortality.

⁴⁷¹ B.4.11-13 Cf. Maehler (1982b: 73-75) rightly argues that Hieron was deprived of his victory by a god, not, *pace* McDevitt (1994: 21), by a mortal, e.g. a judge.

⁴⁷² Cf. B.11.24-39, *Ne.* 6.61-63. Both odes celebrate boy-victors, and both odes were first performed in the home cities of the *laudandi*.

⁴⁷³ Compare with B.11.24-39. D.L. Cairns (2005: 37) notes that this *topos* encompasses two other *topoi*, namely 'that of the vicissitudes/alternations and the importance of divine favour in success.'

⁴⁷⁴ B.4.19f. παντο[δ]απῶν λαγχάνειν ἄπο μοῖρα[ν] ἐσθλῶν;

to.⁴⁷⁵ Use of this *topos* advertises the *laudandus* as someone who is aware of that healthy balance and as someone who has no aspirations beyond his mortal status.

All four points, admittedly arguments *e silentio*, sit well with the above 'strategy of silence'. When Hieron is singled out in this ode,⁴⁷⁶ he is praised for his ὄλβος.⁴⁷⁷ This is surely high praise, yet it should be contrasted with the manner in which tyrants can be praised in epinician: more often than not they are praised for their power, wealth and generosity,⁴⁷⁸ contrasting with private citizens, whose superiority in odes is habitually expressed in terms of their athletic achievements.⁴⁷⁹ In this ode, it is fair to say that Hieron, in spite of being a tyrant, is largely praised as a private citizen. This would be in conformity with the 'strategy of silence' as well.

2.4.4 Pindar's first *Pythian* ode.

Some evidence, external to the ode, is discussed in Appendix six. That evidence allows the following conclusions which are used in the next paragraphs.

First, an important motivation for Hieron's establishment of Aetna was increased security for Hieron's home base Syracuse. However, the relationship between newly-

⁴⁷⁵ The *locus classicus* is Hdt. 3.40 with the story of Polycrates' exceeding good fortune and Amasis' response. Cf. Sol. *fr.* 6.3-4 W., Theogn. 153f. Pi. *Py.* 3.105f., Pi. *O.* 2.53, *Py.* 5.55, 7.19-21, Theogn. 398. Arist. *fr.* 57. R.

⁴⁷⁶ B.4.15f. μούνον ἐπιχθονίων τάδε [sc. having won three times] μῆσάμενον στεφάνοις ἐρέπτειν δύο τ' ὀλυμπιονικ<ί>ας αἰδεῖν.

⁴⁷⁷ B.4.18-20. His ὄλβος consists of being a friend of the gods, having received a full portion of blessings, λαγχάνειν ἅπο μοῖρα[ν] ἐσθλῶν.

⁴⁷⁸ See § 1.3 on the so-called 'superlative vaunt' in odes for tyrants. Cf. Pi. *O.* 1.104, *O.* 2.93-94, *Py.* 1.49, *Py.* 2.60.

⁴⁷⁹ E.g. *Py.* 11.54 (for a boy-victor): I strive for achievements others share in.

founded Aetna and Syracuse might be called symbiotic, in that they depended on each other for their security. In other words, Hieron was the guarantor for the safety of the settlers. This is relevant since the ode addresses this sentiment.

Second, by becoming an *œcist*, Hieron might have been actively seeking posthumous hero-worship. This is relevant in the discussion of the end of the poem which deals with the survival of men's renown.

Third, Hieron's Aetna project did not have an ethnic dimension, in the sense that Ionians were deliberately replaced by Dorians. Hence the Dorian foundation myth in the ode should not be explained in terms of the ethnicity of the settlers.

Fourth, the victory of Himera was primarily Gelon's affair and to a lesser extent that of Theron of Acragas.⁴⁸⁰ The first *Pythian* ode, unsurprisingly, overstates both Hieron's role in that battle but also the importance of that battle for the outcome of the Persian Wars.⁴⁸¹ Assuming that the Punic threat was non-existent by the time of first performance of the ode,⁴⁸² Himera and military victories in general were needed to

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Luraghi (1994: 258-59) who notes that Theron celebrated Himera in Acragas, not in Himera where celebrations were directed at Gelon. Cf. Hdt. 7.166-67 (the only source unequivocally linking Theron with Gelon as victor), D.S. 11.20-11.25.1, Polyae. 1.28.1 (the only passage recording Theron's participation in the battle). The battle was economically motivated, *pace* the Terillos-Hamilcar episode in Herodotus, cf. Will (1972: 233).

⁴⁸¹ Will (1972: 236) notes that when the battle of Himera is stripped of its value as internal political propaganda and military consequences, the comparison with Salamis and Plataea becomes less obvious, 'assez peu de chose'.

⁴⁸² Whittaker (1978, 59-66) convincingly argues that there was no longer any threat by 470 BCE. E.g. Iustin 4.2.6-7: after the defeat of Hamilcar at Himera the Carthaginians *aliquantipser quieverere victi*. D.S. 11.20.3 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀκινδύνως αὐτῶν ἄρδην ἀνελεῖ τὴν δύναμιν. *Pace* Σ Pi. *Py.* 1.137ab and Σ 142, all surely based on the propaganda in this ode. It is worth noting that the Carthaginians and Etruscans were firmly embedded in the economy of the whole of Western Greece and relationships between Greeks and non-Greeks in the Mediterranean basin around that time were characterised by co-operation, rather than by antagonism. Cf. Andrewes

legitimise the use of power which gave the Deinomenids control over Syracuse. There were good reasons to do so since there is little doubt as to the militaristic nature of the Deinomenid tyranny.⁴⁸³ Hence the Phoenicians are used in this ode in a rhetorical strategy justifying Hieron's tyrannical rule, however far-fetched a renewed Carthaginian attack might have been. Something similar happens with regard to the depiction of Hieron's role in warding off the attack of 480 BCE. This battle is upgraded and Hieron replaces Gelon as guarantor of Sicilian peace. Such overstatement served the *laudandus* well in Sicily, whereas it could have been a powerful piece of counter-propaganda for audiences outside Sicily.

A few sections in this poem seem particularly relevant with regard to Hieron's patron message. They are the proem, a section with prayers and *gnomae*, the section containing the Dorian foundation myth, a section containing a priamel of Panhellenic battles, a section dealing with the appropriateness of themes in epinician, and finally a section holding up Croesus and Phalaris as positive and negative examples for Hieron.⁴⁸⁴

2.4.4.1 Praise for the *laudandus* in the proem of the first *Pythian* ode.

(1956: 136), Hahn (1983: 36), Rihll (1993: 93). Tusa (2001: 251) notes that the numismatic evidence suggests that after 480 BCE, an accelerated process of Hellenization involved the Phoenico-Punic settlements, '...a tendency towards integration with the emergence of new socio-political hegemonies.'

⁴⁸³ Cf. Luraghi (1994: 364) Aetna a 'città-caserma popolata di mercenati'. Luraghi (1994: 378f.): the necessity for war and conquest as a means for legitimisation. This remark should probably be extended to Syracuse. Cf. note 840 and page 259.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. *Py.* 1-29, 29-60, 62ff., 71ff., 81ff., 93ff.

The extended proem of the ode seems remarkable for an epinician in the sense that praise for the victor, his clan or home city is postponed for so long.⁴⁸⁵ Instead, the audience is offered an extensive narrative which deals with the power of poetry,⁴⁸⁶ order and chaos. The ode slowly focuses in on the *hic et nunc* only in the second antistrophe.⁴⁸⁷ There is ecphrasis of what might have been a contemporary eruption of Aetna,⁴⁸⁸ while the volcano is also the place where Typhon is pinned down. Hence Aetna is rhetorically a locus where the *spatium historicum* meets the *spatium mythicum*.⁴⁸⁹ This shows the importance of Aetna and the events that attend it⁴⁹⁰ for this ode.

Many of the features of this proem need not be discussed here.⁴⁹¹ It will suffice to say that this extended narrative, with all its *pathos*, sets the tone for the rest of the poem, especially through its portrayal of cosmic order. That feature could readily be construed as praise for Hieron,⁴⁹² while the end of the ode is a further powerful

⁴⁸⁵ In Pindar's third *Pythian* ode there is also some postponement, although not as much as in this ode.

⁴⁸⁶ *Py.* 1.1-12. Cf. B. *fr.* 55.2 (= Adesp. PMG 959.2) δῶρα δυσμάχητα Μοισᾶν.

⁴⁸⁷ *Py.* 1.29-33.

⁴⁸⁸ Debiasi (2000: 230) argues for an eruption of relatively small force in 475 BCE, cf. Σ A. *PV* 367. There is, however, no need to assume a visit by Pindar to Sicily, since all the information needed for such ecphrasis could easily have been gained through agents. *Pace* Vallet (1985: 293).

⁴⁸⁹ On the terms, cf. Kirk (1974: 106f., 172-75). A similar conjunction occurs at *Py.* 1.65f.: Amyclae (mythical, cf. *Py.* 11.32 κλυτός Α.) and Pindus.

⁴⁹⁰ Inauguration, coronation and the tyrant's policy of settlement.

⁴⁹¹ Kapsomenos (1972) and Kollmann (1989) are dedicated studies of the proem.

⁴⁹² E.g. *Py.* 1.2ff. τᾶς ἀκούει κτλ. obedience of what is subordinate. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 20, 353) notes that the power of harmonious music in the proem is paralleled with the σύμφωνος ἡσυχία, *Py.* 1.70, which thanks to Hieron and his son will rule in Aetna. On the political connotations of ἡσυχία in this ode, cf. § 2.4.4.2.

reminder that Hieron's rule parallels the cosmic order with which the poem began.⁴⁹³

The proem arguably sets up a comparison between the *laudandus* and Zeus, the supreme pacificator in political and military conflict.⁴⁹⁴ In other words, Zeus' cosmic order is held up as an example of the political harmony which Hieron can guarantee for Aetna's citizens.⁴⁹⁵ The *laudandus* is quite literally advertised as the guarantor of peace and security for Aetna.

In the proem of the ode, obeying the cosmic order is portrayed as something sweet,⁴⁹⁶ resulting in peace and splendour.⁴⁹⁷ The proem juxtaposes that cosmic order with chaos, personified in a powerful enemy of the Olympian gods, Typhon. As a negative foil, Typhon often figures in Pindar,⁴⁹⁸ and in this ode he is a convenient candidate for a foil since he is pinned down under newly-founded Aetna. Whereas other authors use a conquered Typhon,⁴⁹⁹ pinning him down under Cumae as well as under Aetna might have been a Pindaric innovation.⁵⁰⁰ It opened up an opportunity for a parallel with Hieron's most recent battle at Cumae, some four years before the first performance of the ode in 474 BCE.

⁴⁹³ Cf. the symposium setting of the proem with *Py.* 1.97f. οὐδέ νιν φόρμιγγες ὑπωρόφαι κοινανίαν μαλθακὰν παίδων ὀάροισι δέκονται.

⁴⁹⁴ Gentili *et al.* (1995: 14).

⁴⁹⁵ Kirsten (1941: 36), Fränkel (1966: 279).

⁴⁹⁶ *Py.* 1.8 ἀδὺ κλαῖθρον, *Py.* 1.11f. ἰαίνει καρδίαν κώματι.

⁴⁹⁷ *Py.* 1.5f.: peace (thunderbolt quenched, eagle relaxed, Ares' spears inactive). *Py.* 1.2: splendour.

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. *Py.* 8.16, *Ol.* 4.8, *fr.* 93. He is the one of the archetypal rebellious figures with their ingratitude or grave deficiencies in their dealing with the gods. The others are Tantalus in Pindar's first *Olympian* ode, Ixion in the second *Pythian*, Coronis and Asclepius in the third *Pythian* ode.

⁴⁹⁹ Buried under either Cumae or Aetna, cf. A. *PV*363-65, Anton. Lib. 28.4, Apollod. 1.6.3, Phercyd. *FGrHist* 3 F 54, Lycophr. 688ff., Str. 5.4.9, Σ Pi. *Ol.* 4.11c.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. Stesich. *PMG* 239.

In conclusion, the proem shows that opposing the cosmic order and Zeus' rule had grave consequences. By extension it rather unsubtly implies that opposing the tyrant's rule would be imprudent. Although the ode associates such opposition with behaviour that surely no Greek would support,⁵⁰¹ the proem conveys a veiled threat.

2.4.4.2 Further praise for Hieron.

The first *Pythian* ode contains an exceptionally high concentration of prayers.⁵⁰² A prayer in the second antistrophe closes the long proem and contains praise, in rapid succession, for Sicily, Aetna, Hieron *qua* oecist and the current Pythian victory.⁵⁰³ The Sicilian audience was led to believe that Hieron had himself proclaimed as Αἰτναῖος,⁵⁰⁴ surely praise for that city. A *gnome* which follows,⁵⁰⁵ links Aetna's fortune with Hieron's current *Pythian* victory as an auspicious sign.⁵⁰⁶ By extension, Hieron's victory was the πρῶτα χάρις for Aetna which allows for hopes of 'Aetna renowned for crowns and horses and its name honoured amid tuneful festivals.'⁵⁰⁷ Praise and prayers from here on alternate until the end of the fourth epode at which point the praise for Hieron and the Deinomenids reaches a climax. In the process, praise for Hieron becomes

⁵⁰¹ I.e. Typhon's behaviour, that of an archetypal sinner against values shared by all Greeks.

⁵⁰² Race (1990: 136).

⁵⁰³ *Py.* 1.29-33. With *Py.* 1.33 ἄρμασσι in climactic position, viz. in enjambment between antistrophe and epode, an effective rhetorical device, cf. Nierhaus (1936: 16ff.). Cf. *Ol.* 2.95, 9.29, 9.49, *Py.* 2.73, 4.185, 4.254, 9.51, 12.17, B.5.151.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. § 2.4.3.

⁵⁰⁵ *Py.* 1.33-35: a favourable wind for seafaring men is the first blessing, the πρῶτα χάρις.

⁵⁰⁶ The simile of Aetna as a ship occurs also at *Py.* 1.46, 1.89 and 1.91 (staying the course, the rudder and sails).

⁵⁰⁷ *Py.* 1.37f. 'horses' stands for material wealth, as only rich men could afford to raise them. The festivals hint at an unperturbed peace.

progressively more concrete and is linked to events in recent Sicilian history. For example, at the end of the second strophe yet a further prayer asks for Hieron to be apportioned happiness, riches and forgetfulness of hardships.⁵⁰⁸ These hardships are rendered concrete with the addition that surely all remember the battles in which Hieron was involved.⁵⁰⁹ A Sicilian audience would without doubt have identified the first battle mentioned as that of Himera in 480 BCE.⁵¹⁰ However, before his home audience, the *laudandus* cautiously aligns himself with the glory of the clan,⁵¹¹ whereas for an audience outside Sicily the Deinomenid clan portrays itself as Panhellenic champions.⁵¹² The second battle hinted at,⁵¹³ which surely must have been readily identifiable for a Sicilian audience, cannot, however, be securely identified by modern readers of the ode. The event appears to have been a fairly recent one.⁵¹⁴ Hieron is compared to Philoctetes and Pindar might have innovated to make the analogy with a sick Hieron on campaign more clear.⁵¹⁵ The comparison with Philoctetes, however,

⁵⁰⁸ *Py.* 1.46. ἐπιλασιν. Σ *Py.* 1.89a is of the opinion that Hieron's illness is hinted at.

⁵⁰⁹ *Py.* 1.47f. ἦ κεν ἀμνάσειεν, οἷαις ἐν πολέμοισι μάχαις τλάμονι ψυχᾷ παρέμειν', ἀνίχ' εὐρίσκοντο θεῶν παλάμαις τιμάν. Pindar's ἦ κεν ἀμνάσειεν is Attic ἀναμνήσειεν. Σ *Py.* 1.91b supplies ὁ χρόνος as subject. Rhetorically this could mean that that what follows is well known for an audience and will remain well known (κλέος), but see below.

⁵¹⁰ *Py.* 1.48-50.

⁵¹¹ Because of the plural of εὐρίσκοντο. The subject of εὐρίσκοντο, however, remains ambiguous at this point, but cf. *Py.* 1.79 παιδεσσιν ... Δεινομένεος.

⁵¹² Cf. *Py.* 1.49f. οἷαν οὔτις Ἑλλάνων δρέπει πλούτου στεφάνωμ' ἀγέρωχον...

⁵¹³ *Py.* 1.50-52.

⁵¹⁴ *Py.* 1.50 νῦν γε μὰν κτλ. Jebb (1891: 38) argues that a period of four years seems possible, cf. D. 18.13, X. *An.* 7.1.26. This means that a reference to the battle of Cumae in 474 BCE cannot be excluded.

⁵¹⁵ Cf. *Py.* 1.55 ἀσθενεῖ μὲν χρωτὶ βαίνων, ἀλλὰ μοιριδίον ἦν. Van der Kolf (1924: 113n.2) on *Py.* 1.51 notes 'per ambages significasse verbo ἐστρατεύθη.' This is the only source for Philoctetes not yet healed and in battle. Cf. Procl. *Chr.* p.106 Allen, van der Kolf (1924: 115), Gantz (1993:

allows for other ways of praise for Hieron, which are often overlooked. For example, without Philoctetes, victory was not possible,⁵¹⁶ while other (admittedly late) sources portray Philoctetes even as a *Magna Graecia* oecist.⁵¹⁷ There have been various suggestions as to the identification of that second battle.⁵¹⁸ Be that as it may, what was alluded to must surely have been readily identifiable for a contemporary Sicilian audience. More important, however, is the statement which precedes the description of these two battles.⁵¹⁹ That statement argues that both battles are well known and will be so in the future. On the view taken earlier that contemporaries outside Western Greece might not have been well informed about the battle of Himera,⁵²⁰ rhetorically that statement attempts to convince the home audience that Himera (as well as that other battle, unknown to us), were both important and well-known events throughout the Greek world. At the same time it might have raised the interest of an audience outside Sicily in both battles.⁵²¹

The ode then touches upon dynastic concerns.⁵²² It appears that the Deinomenids did not use the royal title,⁵²³ and the epinician examples of regal terminology are better understood as propaganda in which Hieron portrays his rule as

635). The great effort of Philoctetes, *Py.* 1.53 *ἔλκει* τειρόμενον, might be picked up with Hieron's effort of delivery Hellas from slavery, cf. *Py.* 1.75 *Ἑλλάδ' ἐξέλκων* κτλ.

⁵¹⁶ Procl. *Chr.* p.106 Allen.

⁵¹⁷ Str. 6.1.3, Prinz (1979: 59).

⁵¹⁸ Cf. Σ *Py.* 1.99ab, Σ *Py.* 2.36, 2.38, D.S. 11.53, Carey (1978: 21ff.), Gentili *et al.* (1995: 346f.).

⁵¹⁹ *Py.* 1.47f. ἦ κεν ἀμνάσειεν, οἷαις ἐν πολέμοισι μάχαις τλάμονι ψυχᾷ παρέμειν',...Homeric, cf. Hom E 669f. Ὀδυσσεὺς τλήμονα θυμὸν ἔχων, H 152, K 231, Φ 430.

⁵²⁰ Cf. Appendix three. *A fortiori*, the 'Philoctetes battle' might have been as obscure for an audience outside Sicily as it is for us today.

⁵²¹ The exegesis might have been conducted by e.g. Hieron's πρόξενοι in mainland Greece, cf. § 1.4 on reperformance scenarios.

⁵²² *Py.* 1.60 Deinomenes, *Py.* 1.68 Hieron and his son.

⁵²³ Cf. Appendix four.

that of a legitimate king.⁵²⁴ Suffice to say that Hieron's attempt to have his son installed as ruler of Aetna might have been motivated by similar concerns of legitimacy of his own rule. While the tyrants' privileges had no limits, their power was not hereditary.⁵²⁵ With the installation of his son Deinomenes, Hieron might have attempted to start a dynasty, in other words a legitimate line of kings.⁵²⁶ In other words, while Hieron's position in Syracuse was *de facto*, in Aetna his would be *de iure*.⁵²⁷ Finally, kingship is touched upon in the proem as well and is represented there as part of the natural order.⁵²⁸

The cosmic order, advertised in the proem, is now paralleled in a prayer for the future of Aetna.⁵²⁹ In that prayer, everyone implicated in Aetna's future is mentioned in hierarchical order, first Zeus (τίς), then Hieron (ἀγῆτήρ ἀνὴρ), his son (υἱῷ τ') and finally Aetna's citizens (δᾶμον).⁵³⁰ Important is the mention of ἡσυχία. The term ἡσυχία in

⁵²⁴ Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1314a: the tyrant should try to approximate his rule to kingship τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτὴν (sc. his rule) βασιλικωτέραν. *Pol.* 1315a-b: appear in the eyes of his subjects as a king, not as an egoist but as a guardian, a moderate ruler. These are all characteristics of a ruler which are stressed in epinician odes composed for Hieron.

⁵²⁵ Cf. Th. 1.13.1 contrasting hereditary monarchy with tyranny πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι, Th. 1.17, Th. 6.54.5 the Pisistratidae. Cf. Andrewes (1956: 28).

⁵²⁶ Cf. Leschhorn (1984: 124), Luraghi (1994: 328).

⁵²⁷ Hieron's position *qua* oecist, his son's as the descendent of a legitimate ruler. It is worth noting that Gelon's position at Syracuse might have been different because of his refoundation in 485 BCE.

⁵²⁸ *Py.* 1.7 ...ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν... The king of birds naturally belongs to the king of heaven, Zeus. Cf. *Py.* 1.30 Zeus the ruler.

⁵²⁹ *Py.* 1.68f.

⁵³⁰ Gentili *et al.* (1995: 17n.1). Cf. Lefkowitz (1976: 114) who contrasts with the praise sections in Pindar's first *Olympian* ode and Bacchylides' fifth ode where the focus is much more on individual achievement.

early Greek seems to have had qualities contrary to those associated with hubris.⁵³¹ In Pindar ῥσυχία is commonly used for 'internal peace'.⁵³² Since at the time of first performance of the ode it appears that there was no longer any Carthaginian threat,⁵³³ the wish for ῥσυχία in this passage appears to be a wish for 'internal peace' in Syracuse and Aetna,⁵³⁴ or a wish that *stasis* in Sicily would cease.⁵³⁵ In other words, the notion that it is Hieron (and through him, Deinomenes) who will turn Aetna's citizens to harmonious peace.⁵³⁶

2.4.4.3 The Dorian foundation myth.

⁵³¹ Dickie (1984: 101). He notes (1984: 90) that the importance of the term ῥσυχία for the symposium 'has a significance that goes far beyond the symposium', cf. Sol. *fr.* 4.7-10 W., 'ῥσυχία is a 'virtue that is equally necessary for the well-being and internal harmony of the state.' On the link between στάσις and ὕβρις, cf. Fisher (1992: 88-91, 223-25, 232), D. L. Cairns (1996: *passim*).

⁵³² Cf. Dickie (1984: 87), Fraenkel (1966: 279). Cf. Pi. *Ol.* 4.16 πρὸς Ἥσυχίαν φιλόπολιν, *Py.* 4.294-96 (with the same link between Apollo, lyre and peace), *Py.* 8.1 with scholia *ad loc.*, *Pae.* 2.32, 4.7. Moreover, *Py.* 1.70 τράποι strongly hints at this meaning of internal peace.

⁵³³ Cf. § 2.4.4.

⁵³⁴ *Pace* Kierdorf (1966: 40).

⁵³⁵ The Typhonomachy at *Py.* 1.16-28 could then well be a another parallel for the dangers of Sicilian *stasis*. Cf. *Py.* 1.16-28 with *Py.* 1.13 μὴ πεφίληκε (a perfect of result) and *Py.* 1.15 θεῶν πολέμιος. In the proem, *stasis* has been overcome with the subjugation of Typhon (*Py.* 1.15 ὅς τε ἐν αἰνᾷ Ταρτάρῳ κεῖται *Py.* 1.19 ὄχθαι ... πιέζει). Tentatively, the imagery of the active volcano at *Py.* 1.19ff. could have the same associations with *stasis* and the wish to avoid such *stasis* under Hieron's rule and leadership.

⁵³⁶ *Py.* 1.70 τράποι σύμφωνον ἐς ῥσυχίαν. cf. Theogn. 47f., Pi. *fr.* 109. Assuming that Zeus' subjugation of Typhon is paralleled by Hieron's rule over Sicily, an element of threat might also be present.

The announcement of a 'Hymn for Deinomenes' introduces the Dorian foundation myth.⁵³⁷ Since ethnic cleansing was not part of the motivation for the Aetna project,⁵³⁸ a different explanation for the myth in this ode is needed.

By the 470s BCE, Sparta and Cyrene were the only cities governed by legitimate monarchies. Admittedly, to represent Aetna as a new Sparta would make it possible to speak about ἐλευθερία and βασιλεύς at the same time.⁵³⁹ Be that as it may, the Dorian foundation myth seems unlikely to have been a description of Hieron's institution of a full-blown Dorian constitution in Aetna.⁵⁴⁰ The Dorian foundation myth is important, however, in its own terms. The key passage is *Py.* 1.62-64 with mention of στάθμα, νόμος and τεθμός, possibly with undertones of εὐνομία and ἰσονομία.⁵⁴¹ Pindar seems to have borrowed certain recognisable and admired features of the Spartan constitution and incorporated them in this ode as praise for Hieron's newly-founded

⁵³⁷ *Py.* 1.60-66.

⁵³⁸ Cf. Appendix six.

⁵³⁹ Luraghi (1994: 359) 'senza che tra i due termini se inneschi un contrasto stridente.' Cf. *Py.* 1.61 θεοδρότῳ συν ἐλευθερίῳ in conjunction with *Py.* 1.60 Aetna's king, *Py.* 1.68 the two kings Hieron and Deinomenes. Cf. Raaflaub (2004: 61f.) on *Isth.* 8.15 which is probably the earliest extant instance of ἐλευθερία, '...the Greeks, who regarded the rescue from Xerxes' attack and the danger of Persian enslavement as a merciful, essential unexpected deliverance from an unbearable fate.' Cf. Σ *Isth.* 8.17ab. Raaflaub (2004: 90) notes that ἐλευθερία at *Pi. Py.* 1.61 expresses a '...proper distribution of honours and political authority between king and people.'

⁵⁴⁰ Pace Boeckh (1821: 234), Kirsten (1941: 59). Cf. Luraghi (1994: 359n.374, n.376).

⁵⁴¹ On εὐνομία ('law and order') and ἰσονομία, cf. Ostwald (1969: 33ff.), Andrewes (1938). The latter, however, notes (1938: 89) that εὐνομία, appears to have been 'a condition of the state in which citizens obey the law, not a condition of the state in which the laws are good.' Boeckh (1821: 234) already compared *Py.* 1.60-62 with *Tyrt. fr.* 1-4 W. Cf. § 3.1.4.2 on *Ne.* 9.28 with a similar rhetorical stance in an ode composed for an associate of Hieron. Cf. *Carm. Conv. PMG* 893.4, 896.4 for the praise for ἰσονομία bestowed by Harmodius and Artistogeiton on Athens.

Aetna.⁵⁴² The long-term stability of the Spartan εὐνομία was especially admired both by contemporaries and later generations.⁵⁴³ The ode seems to allude to that particular feature when it says that the Dorians will remain forever under the rules of Hyllus following his precepts.⁵⁴⁴ By extension, Aetna's settlers, as did the Dorians, will remain in their newly conquered territory as well.⁵⁴⁵ Importantly, the Dorian myth appears to be a 'chosen-people' type of story, concerned with immigrant colonists.⁵⁴⁶ Such 'chosen people' typically regard themselves as divinely selected and divine kingship is often the way that the covenant is mediated with the gods. Moreover, to regard one's territory as a divine 'gift' presumes a climate of contestation and such a 'gift' often requires reciprocal obligations which are more often than not presented as the need to conform to ancient and ancestral values.⁵⁴⁷ Assuming that Aetna was a 'gift' from the tyrant to his mercenary settlers,⁵⁴⁸ the Dorian foundation myth in the ode strengthens the rights and claims of Aetna's settlers on their new territory.⁵⁴⁹ It also advertises the *laudandus*

⁵⁴² Σ *Py.* 3.118c e.g. associates the plural in *Py.* 1.68 καὶ βασιλεῦσιν διακρίνειν ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων as an allusion to Spartan double kingship, part of the Great Rhetra. The objection that Hieron and Deinomenes could hardly have been diarchons on a Spartan model, as Luraghi argues (1994: 359n.374), misses the point that this Spartan institution could still be a rhetorically satisfactory *exemplum* for the ἡσυχία which only Hieron and Deinomenes could guarantee.

⁵⁴³ Cf. *Pi. Py.* 10.1 Ὀλβία Λακεδαιμόνων, *Hdt.* 1.66.1 Οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, (Lycurgus), *Pl. Nom.* 4, 712d,e, *Polyb.* 6.10, *Cicero de Rep.* 2.23, 2.42.

⁵⁴⁴ *Py.* 1.64 ναίοντες αἰεὶ μένειν κτλ.

⁵⁴⁵ *Py.* 1.67f. αἰεὶ δὲ τοιαύταν ... αἴσαν ἀστοῖς καὶ βασιλεῦσιν διακρίνειν. Aetna's territory was conquered, like that of the Dorians, cf. *Py.* 1.65f. ἔσχον ... ὀρνύμενοι.

⁵⁴⁶ On the notion of 'chosen-people' stories cf. Smith (1999: 137), followed by J. Hall (2002: 88). E.g. the Exodus from Egypt, the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Britain, the voyage of the Pilgrim fathers to the New World.

⁵⁴⁷ J. Hall (2002: 88). Cf. *Py.* 1.64-65 αἰεὶ μένειν τεθμοῖσιν ἐν Αἰγίμιου Δωριεῖς.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Appendix six. Cf. Mauss (1990) on the exchange of (concrete) gifts in archaic societies.

⁵⁴⁹ In vain, cf. *D.S.* 11.76.3, *Str.* 6.2.3 for events after the fall of the tyranny.

as the guarantor of peace and stability. Importantly, Hieron would increase his claims on (Dorian) Syracuse by aligning himself with Dorian institutions,⁵⁵⁰ while as external counter-propaganda, the Dorian foundation myth would promote Deinomenid rule as constitutional and as a stable affair. Be that as it may, Hieron's strategy of alignment with Dorians and Sparta might have been sailing close to the wind because of the strong anti-tyrannical credentials of the Spartans.⁵⁵¹

Finally, it is worthwhile pointing out that Pindar used the Dorian foundation myth in another epinician ode of which unfortunately only the first eight verses remain.⁵⁵² That ode contains a similar Dorian narrative,⁵⁵³ endorsing an Aeginetan claim and observance of 'ancient' rules justifying such claims.⁵⁵⁴

2.4.4.4 Panhellenic battles and praise for Hieron.

The prayer which starts the fourth antistrophe has Sicily as its focus.⁵⁵⁵ This prayer, with its wish for good fortune and harmonious peace for Aetna contains two *exempla*.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. §§ 2.1.3.1, 3.2.3 where it is argued that Hieron did not have any legitimate claims on Syracuse when he took over the tyranny from Gelon in 478/7 BCE.

⁵⁵¹ Although by the 470s BCE Sparta's removal of tyrannies was past. In 511 BCE Sparta had ousted the tyrant Hippias from Athens, cf. Th. 6.53-59. It is worth noting that both Deinomenes and Hippias were sons of tyrants, and interestingly, Thucydides, cf. Th. 6.54f., stresses the constitutionality of Hippias.

⁵⁵² *Isth.* 9.1-8 composed for an unknown victor from Aegina. Based on what is left, the ode cannot be dated, yet the eighth *Pythian* ode is probably composed around 446 BCE by which time Aegina had lost its autonomy. It is widely accepted that *Py.* 8 deals with political problems between Athens and Aegina, cf. Figueira (1993: 112-25).

⁵⁵³ *Isth.* 9.1-6. Note the 'strangers' who somehow seem to interfere with the Aeginetans upholding their traditions.

⁵⁵⁴ Will (1956: 59).

⁵⁵⁵ *Py.* 1.67-80 Ζεῦ τέλει', αἰεὶ δὲ τοιαύταν Ἀμένα παρ' ὕδωρ κτλ.

Whereas the prayer, as is argued above, deals with internal peace, the two *exempla* deal with external aggression, serving as a foil for that internal peace.⁵⁵⁶

Geographically, the *exempla* move away from Sicily: the first *exemplum* deals with the battle of Cumae,⁵⁵⁷ followed by an elaborate priamel that culminates in the battle of Himera.⁵⁵⁸ The Cumae passage, in itself a further prayer with a wish for peace, contains some vivid ecphrasis in which Hieron is held up as a guarantor of external peace and ends with very strong praise indeed: the poem tells Hieron has 'delivered Hellas from grievous slavery.'⁵⁵⁹ Whereas the *topos* of liberation from or avoidance of slavery in connection with the Persian Wars was a common one,⁵⁶⁰ it is not entirely clear which Hellas is meant in the praise passage in this ode. On the one hand, since Cumae has just been mentioned,⁵⁶¹ the audience might understand 'Hellas' to stand for Western Greece. On the other hand, in the priamel which follows Himera even surpasses Salamis and Plataea in importance,⁵⁶² suggesting that 'Hellas' could be an allusion to the whole of the Greek world. The scholiast is in doubt as to whether Hellas stands for Western Greece or for the wider Greek world,⁵⁶³ and it is attractive to think that 'Ελλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας is deliberately ambiguous. This would rhetorically

⁵⁵⁶ Gentili *et al.* (1995: 354): ἡσυχία (internal peace) *versus* εἰρήνη (external peace).

⁵⁵⁷ *Py.* 1.71-75.

⁵⁵⁸ *Py.* 1.75-80.

⁵⁵⁹ *Py.* 1.75 'Ελλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας. However, Etruscan aggression appears to have been entirely economically motivated and had very little to do with a wish to 'enslave' Sicily, cf. § 2.4.4, note 482.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Sim. *fr.* 10-18 W², *PMG* 536, A. *Pers.* 234, Pi. *fr.* 76, 77, [Sim.] *fr.* 20a Page, 88a D.

⁵⁶¹ *Py.* 1.72 ... πρὸ Κύμας.

⁵⁶² Through comparison the priamel leads up to an idea with which the poet is primarily concerned, cf. Gerber (1982: 3). Himera therefore surpasses the other battles because it comes last in the priamel.

⁵⁶³ Σ *Py.* 1.146ab ἔνιοι μὲν 'Ελλάδα τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἤκουσαν, ἔνιοι δὲ 'Ελλάδα τὴν Ἀπτικήν.

upgrade the role of the *laudandus* in the battle of Himera beyond what we knew had actually happened. Before a Sicilian audience it would upgrade the importance of Cumae so as to strengthen Hieron's legitimacy as ruler.⁵⁶⁴ The following Plataea-Salamis-Himera priamel is high praise for the Deinomenid clan,⁵⁶⁵ serving the interests of the *laudandus* at home, but also abroad in the earlier mentioned strategy of counter-propaganda. It could be noted that in the passage *Py.* 1.50-80 three rhetorical devices work in unison: prayers,⁵⁶⁶ a priamel,⁵⁶⁷ as well as ring composition,⁵⁶⁸ all work together to hammer the message down. Hence it is safe to assume that this passage in the ode is an important part of the patron message of the *laudandus*.

2.4.4.5 The final section of praise in the ode.

The end of the fourth epode offers a climax with high πάθος.⁵⁶⁹ A rhetorical pause follows with some reflection on the appropriateness of themes in an epinician ode.⁵⁷⁰ A fine balance needs to be struck, the ode says, between praise which is appropriate and

⁵⁶⁴ *Py.* 1.73 οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῷ δαμασθέντες πάθον.

⁵⁶⁵ *Py.* 1.79 παίδεσσιν ὕμνον Δεινομέν<εο>ς τελέσαις, sc. the clan.

⁵⁶⁶ *Py.* 1.56, 1.67, 1.71, 1.72. Race (1990: 136) notes that Pindar's first *Pythian* is the ode with the highest concentration of prayers.

⁵⁶⁷ *Py.* 1.76-80.

⁵⁶⁸ *Py.* 1.50 Himera; *Py.* 1.50ff. an unknown victory; *Py.* 1.71ff. Cumae; *Py.* 1.79; back to Himera. Cf. van Otterloo (1944: 3) on this device 'Diese Struktur wendet man Vorzugsweise an solchen Stellen an, wo es sich darum handelt, einen am Anfang programmatisch ausgesprochenen Satz zu beweisen, ... *Quod erat demonstrandum* ergänzt man unwillkürlich.'

⁵⁶⁹ *Py.* 1.80 τὸν [sc. Himeram] ἐδέξαντ' ἀμφ' ἀρετᾶ, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καμόντων.

⁵⁷⁰ On *Reticentia* and ἀποσιώπησις, cf. Quint. 9.2.57. On *Abruchsformel* in general see Race (1990: 41-57).

deserved and praise which is excessive (κόρος).⁵⁷¹ Due regard to appropriateness (καιρός),⁵⁷² avoids negative reactions which the ode mentions as κόρος, μῶμος and φθόνος.⁵⁷³ However, the ode appears to imply that due recognition of Hieron's excellence demands high praise to such an extent that it is impossible to strike that balance between appropriate praise and excess. In other words, the ode tells the audience that even when such praise for the *laudandus* will lead to κόρος, μῶμος and φθόνος, it is nevertheless unavoidable.⁵⁷⁴ The rhetorical device used in this passage appears to be *in utramque partem*,⁵⁷⁵ or συνοικείωσις.⁵⁷⁶ Hence the passage *Py.* 1.80-85 argues for two, apparently opposing, views, whereby the outcome serves as praise for the *laudandus*: a precept of social behaviour, καιρός δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος,⁵⁷⁷ is juxtaposed to a further, proverbial, sentiment, namely, 'envy is better than pity'.⁵⁷⁸ The ode continues with 'suggestions' for the *laudandus* as how to counter such unavoidable envy. Hieron should be a just ruler,⁵⁷⁹ he should be truthful,⁵⁸⁰ he should

⁵⁷¹ Fränkel (1976: 524) '...die überragende Größe eines Fürsten allzu nachdrücklich (κόρος) dem Bewußtsein der Untertanen einprägt...'

⁵⁷² A common *topos*, cf. Hes. *Op.* 694 καιρός δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος, Theogn. 401, Pi. *Py.* 9.78f., B. 14.17. Cf. Bundy (1962: 88f.).

⁵⁷³ *Py.* 1.82, 1.85.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. *Py.* 1.85 ἀλλ' ὁμως, κτλ. in other words, the envy is unavoidable envy. Cf. *Py.* 1.86ff.

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1394b7, 1395a20-95b. The effect is one of great liveliness and spontaneity.

⁵⁷⁶ A coupling of contraries, yet not opposed one to another (which would be ἀντίθεσις).

⁵⁷⁷ Expressed in *Py.* 1.80-82.

⁵⁷⁸ *Py.* 1.85 κρέσσον γὰρ οἰκτιρμοῦ φθόνος. Proverbial, cf. Sept. Sap. 10.3.δ.17 p. 64 DK. and Hdt. 3.52.5. On conventional moral language in early Greek lyric, cf. Slater (1979^a) who notes (1979^a: 80) that such conglomerates of moral and social advice might in detail be contradictory 'but that was not a major problem, for we find the contradiction also in Pindar.' On contradictions in Pindar, cf. Young (1964: 637).

⁵⁷⁹ *Py.* 1.86 νῶμα δικαίῳ πηδαλίῳ στρατόν· Fränkel (1976: 525) 'Sei gerecht (*iustitia fundamentum regnorum*).' Compare this form of νωμάω with *Py.* 1.62 ἐν νόμοις' κλτ.

⁵⁸⁰ *Py.* 1.86: the anvil of truth.

be aware that everything he says is of great consequence,⁵⁸¹ and finally, he should remain munificent.⁵⁸² Be that as it may, Hieron surely did not commission an ode to be told what to do. Hence, rhetorically this 'advice' is high praise in the sense that it portrays the *laudandus* as already heeding this 'advice'.⁵⁸³ In other words, it suggests that what the *laudandus* does is governed by good wisdom.

2.4.4.6 The type of immortality promised to the *laudandus*.

The pair of Croesus and Phalaris closes the ode.⁵⁸⁴ Croesus' φιλόφρων ἀρετὰ guarantees that he will be remembered,⁵⁸⁵ language which surely alludes to Hieron's κλέος ἄφθιτον.⁵⁸⁶ Croesus' antithesis, Phalaris, will not be celebrated by lyres in banquet halls 'in gentle fellowship with boys' voices',⁵⁸⁷ and hence, by extension, Croesus will be remembered in song. Since the ode reminds the audience of the traditional mode of the survival of the κλέος ἄφθιτον of Croesus, namely through

⁵⁸¹ *Py.* 1.87f. εἴ τι καὶ φλαῦρον παραιθύσσει, μέγα τοι φέρεται, παρ σέθεν. *LSJ* s.v. παραιθύσσω 'fall by chance from a persons lips'. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 359), however, notes that παραιθύσσει continues the metaphor of the anvil as if from Hieron's mouth spark flashes of light. On that interpretation, the Aetna volcano might be alluded to. Cf. *Py.* 1.23f. ...ρόον καπνοῦ αἶθων·.

⁵⁸² *Py.* 1.91f. ἐξίει δ' ὥσπερ κυβερνάτας ἀνὴρ ἰστίον ἀνεμόεν, another nautical metaphor. The simile builds on an element of prudence.

⁵⁸³ On such 'advice' to rulers, cf. Race (1987) on Isoc. *ad Nicoclem*. On works of exhortation (wisdom literature), cf. West (1978: 3-25).

⁵⁸⁴ Pairs of opposite characters often occur in odes for Hieron, cf. Pelops vs. Tantalus Pindar's first *Olympian* ode, Cinyras vs. Ixion in Pindar's second *Pythian* ode, Cadmus vs. Peleus and Nestor vs. Sarpedon in Pindar's third *Pythian* ode.

⁵⁸⁵ *Py.* 1.92-94 ... ὀπιθόμβροτον αὔχημα δόξας οἶον ἀποικομένων ἀνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύει καὶ λογίοις καὶ ἀοιδοῖς. οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἀρετὰ...

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 362). E.g. Hom. I 413, ω 196, *h. Ap.* 156, Hes. *fr.* 70.5-7 MW, Saph. *fr.* 44.4 Voigt, Ibyc. *fr.* S151.47 Page, Theogn. 867, [Sim.] *Epigr.* 20a.1 P.

⁵⁸⁷ *Py.* 1.97f.

song,⁵⁸⁸ it appears that the *laudandus* is also promised such traditional survival in this ode. The ode does not specify for which ἀρετὰ in particular Croesus will be remembered,⁵⁸⁹ and the contrast with Bacchylides' third ode is worth noting. In that ode, composed probably only two years after Pindar's first *Pythian* ode, a strong parallel is developed between Croesus' and Hieron's εὐσέβεια to the extent that the rewards for Croesus in that ode (literal immortality) clearly are implied for the *laudandus*.⁵⁹⁰ Hieron, as an oecist of Aetna, could look forward to posthumous hero-worship, yet in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode the *laudandus* apparently avoids too explicit allusions to wishes for literal immortality.⁵⁹¹ The ode does, however, appear to contain vague allusions to literal immortality for the *laudandus*. First, Philoctetes, with whom Hieron is explicitly compared, is referred to as a hero.⁵⁹² Second, the allusions to Sparta in this ode in conjunction with Deinomenid kingship might have alluded to the hero-cult of the kings of Sparta.⁵⁹³ Be that as it may, the stress on the traditional mode of survival at the end of the ode appears to play down such allusions. This means that the *laudandus* probably did not want to draw too much attention to the fact that he had

⁵⁸⁸ Cf. § 1.4.

⁵⁸⁹ Presumably his kingship, his magnanimity, his wealth and piety.

⁵⁹⁰ B.3.23-66, cf. § 2.5.4.

⁵⁹¹ *Pace* Köhnken (1970: 13) who compares proem and final of the ode and concludes 'Musik und Lied sind die Brücke von der Vergänglichkeit zur göttlichen Unvergänglichkeit.' See Appendix five.

⁵⁹² *Py.* 1.53 ἥρωας ἀντιθέους Ποίαντος υἱὸν.

⁵⁹³ Krummen (1990: 147n.19) discussing the links between Cyrene and Sparta played up in Pindar's fifth *Pythian* ode, argues that the reference to previous kings, now dead, cf. *Py.* 5.97 βασιλέες ἱεποί, together with the preceding reference to the hero-cult of Battus, when taken together, look like a way of alluding to the fact that in Sparta all the kings had a hero-cult after death. She cites X. *De rep. Lac.* 15.9 αἱ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇδε βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασιν.

wishes for literal immortality.⁵⁹⁴ Tentatively, one could argue that including allusions to literal immortality would have made the ode less acceptable in the strategy of counter-propaganda mentioned above.

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. § 8.3.4 for a discussion of wishes for literal immortality in the odes composed for Hieron.

2.5 Bacchylides' third ode for Hieron of Syracuse.

Argument.

The laudandus is advertised as someone at the apex of his political power and portrayed as drawn into the sphere of the gods. Rhetorically, a dense network of gnomae in this ode emphasises piety in terms of reciprocity and charis as part of traditional Greek religion: Croesus, the main protagonist in the myth, had given to the gods and expects to receive something in return. The laudandus had given to the gods and has received in return his political power and his victory. The ode forcefully presents the type of charis which is expected from poet and audience. The ode argues that proper charis implies the need to abstain from envy towards the laudandus. To a certain extent, the ode justifies Hieron's tyrannical rule as well. Since the laudandus and Croesus are clearly paralleled, the myth as well as the Admetus exemplum strongly hint at Hieron's wish for literal immortality. The absence of the mention of any of Hieron's military affairs in this ode could tentatively be construed as a sign of confidence.

2.5.1 Introduction.

Hieron appears to have been a Hierophant in the Demeter Kore cult and as a hereditary priest⁵⁹⁵ he would have been the incumbent holder of the sacred *ἱερά*. This cult, linked with Eleusinian concepts, offered to all initiates hopes for betterment in the after-life.⁵⁹⁶ Be that as it may, in this ode, more traditional Apollonian religion appears paramount.⁵⁹⁷ Sacrifice, the most direct way through which men could communicate with the gods, is the most important characteristic of that religion and a prominent feature in this ode. Traditional sacrifice^{597a} operates on the premise of a barter relationship, in other words it is based on *do ut des*.⁵⁹⁸ both parties involved receive (or at least expect to receive) something. The relations of reciprocity between humans and gods are often unbalanced, yet *charis* is able to veil these differences, however temporarily and partially, so as to pretend that the gap between man and god was not too wide to be bridged.⁵⁹⁹ *Charis*, an important concept in this ode, is based on reciprocity as well.⁶⁰⁰ In the myth, Croesus laments the absence of Apollo's *charis*.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁵ The sources are given in § 2.2.3. Since Hieron shared his name with his father he, and not Gelon, might have been the eldest son.

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. Parker (1995: 503).

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. Nilsson (1955: 652) on Apollo 'Seine Aufgabe war nicht, wie ein Prophet die Gemüter aufzurütteln, er war in religiöser Beziehung kein Revolutionär, kaum einmal ein Reformator: er baute auf altem Boden...Seine Begrenzung aber war, daß auch er ein Olympier war, der auf demselben Boden wie die alten Göttern stand und daher neue religiöse Werte nicht schaffen könnte.'

^{597a} On sacrifice, cf. Stengel (1910), Eitem (1915), Meuli (1946), Burkert (1983: 1-12), (1985: 54-79).

⁵⁹⁸ Or its variants. *CEG* 326 appears to be the oldest instance (c.700 BCE) of 'I give so that you will give'. It contains ἀναθήκη, ἀμοιβάς and χάρις. There are many variants, e.g. *da ut dem* (give so that I will give), *da quia dedisti* (give because you have given), *da quia dedi* (give because I have given) *da quia dedit* (give because he gave). Ausfeld (1903: 525ff.) collects the examples. Cf. Burkert (1988: 136f.), Pulleyn (1997: 16-38).

⁵⁹⁹ Parker (1989: 124-25).

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. note 103.

Croesus has given in the past and expects now something in return, δι' εὐσέβειαν.⁶⁰²

Hieron's εὐσέβεια operates on similar premises: *da quia dedi*,⁶⁰³ and the ode specifically mentions that Hieron's εὐσέβεια is proportional to the amount of gold he donated to Delphi.⁶⁰⁴ That such propitiatory sacrifice placates the gods independently of the moral character of the sacrificer surely suited a tyrant,⁶⁰⁵ yet there is evidence to suggest that such a belief could be perceived as problematic.⁶⁰⁶ Be that as it may, the ode portrays Hieron as the most conspicuous example of a pious man, something to which his conduct in Sicily,⁶⁰⁷ as well as at Delphi,⁶⁰⁸ is testimony. The ode does not link Hieron's εὐσέβεια with other moral precepts.⁶⁰⁹ Instead, hyperbole and regal terminology unreservedly portray the *laudandus* as at the apex of his political power.

In an ode celebrating a victory at Olympia the prominence of Apollo and Delphi can be accounted for by the following conjunction of circumstances. First, both

⁶⁰¹ B.3.35-39.

⁶⁰² B.3.61ff.

⁶⁰³ Cf. B.3.63-66.

⁶⁰⁴ Incidentally, a claim in itself to which the reproach of hubris might be attached, cf. Porph. *Abst.* 2.17, Nilsson (1955: 648n.2).

⁶⁰⁵ Adkins (1960: 134f.) calls this type of εὐσέβεια 'proportional to one's pocket book.'

⁶⁰⁶ A. *Ag.* 67-71 ἔστι δ' ὅπη νῦν ἔστι· τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον· οὐθ' ὑποκαίων οὔτ' ἐπιλείβων οὔτε δακρύων ἀπύρων ἱερῶν ὀργὰς [sc. of the gods] ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει [sc. anybody], Pi. *fr.* 214, E. *fr.* 946 N. εὐ ἴσθ', ὅταν τις εὐσεβῶν θύῃ θεοῖς, κἂν μικρὰ θύῃ, τυγχάνει σωτηρίας. Cf. Pl. *R.* 330d-331b with *Leg.* 905d-907b, *Ev. Luc.* 14.12, Marc. Aur. 7.73. Burkert (1988: 274) notes 'eu-sebeia avoids the extravagant and excessive'. Cf. Theophr. *peri Eus.* *fr.* 7.47ff, Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 344. For the notion that every man should sacrifice according to his means, cf. Hes. *Op.* 336, X. *Mem.* 1.3.3, Arist. *EN* 1164b5f.

⁶⁰⁷ B.3.15-16.

⁶⁰⁸ B.3.17-19, 3.63-6.

⁶⁰⁹ But contrast with *O.* 2.69f. Hieron, unlike Theron of Acragas, apparently did not seem to think it necessary to link moral precepts with rewards, cf. §§ 5.2.1, 5.2.4.

laudandus and Croesus were famous for their dedications at Delphi.⁶¹⁰ Second, the traditional piety of the sort just described, kingship of both *laudandus* and Croesus as well as strong hints at literal immortality all conveniently meet in the myth.

Surely, claims to piety in this ode are neither wholly insincere nor mere propaganda. However, it is worthwhile noting Aristotle's remarks on the more straightforward political objectives of piety. He shrewdly remarks that 'a tyrant should always show a particular zeal in the cult of the gods because people are less afraid of being treated unjustly by those of this sort, that is if they think that the ruler is god-fearing and pays some regard to the gods; and they are less ready to conspire against him, if they feel that the gods themselves are his friends.'⁶¹¹ In other words, professing a close intimacy with the gods had practical benefits for the *laudandus*.⁶¹²

Bacchylides' treatment of the Croesus myth clearly shows that piety has extraordinary rewards. Whereas he does not explicitly suggest that the *laudandus* will be treated exactly like Croesus, the myth nevertheless appears to suggest that what

⁶¹⁰ Croesus: B.3.61f. Hieron's dedications: B.3.63-66. Cf. Gentili (1953: *passim*), (1958: 72-82), Jacquemin (1999: 70, 353) for the archaeological evidence. Many Greek votive offerings after the Persian Wars were made in Delphi, cf. Jacquemin (1999: 72, 336), in spite of the fact that the oracle had recommended surrender before the war. However, this seemed to have been quickly forgotten, cf. Bengston (1958: 85ff.). Delphi might have been important for Sicilians because Apollo was intimately linked with the colonisation of Western Greece, cf. Th. 6.3, Burkert (1988: 116).

⁶¹¹ Arist. *Pol.* 1314b38-1315a3, translation R.F. Stalley. The crucial passage is 1315a1: ἐὰν δεισιδαίμονα νομίζωσιν εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν τῶν θεῶν. The term δεισιδαιμονία in the bad sense of superstitiousness is relatively late (*post* Theophrastus). Δεισιδαιμων in the sense of pious or religious is older (first in X. *Agesil.* 11.8.4). The sense in Aristotle's passage seems clearly 'pious', cf. Nilsson (1955: 720) who notes that although Aristotle must have thought in the first place about the tyrants of his own age, 'seine Worte haben aber allgemeinere Gültigkeit.'

⁶¹² Possibly also B.3.69 θεοφι] λῆ (Herweden, Jurenka, Blass). Very clearly at B.4.18-19 Τὶ φέρτερον ἢ θεοῖσιν φίλον ἔόντα.

holds for Croesus, holds for the *laudandus* as well.⁶¹³ Hence, this ode strongly suggests that in an epinician ode poetic immortality in song is compatible with allusions to more substantial immortality.⁶¹⁴

The ideology of this ode appears to be a clear instance of a *Herrschaftssystem*, but with its insistence on traditional Greek religion it uses elements of *Polisideologie* to underpin Hieron's tyrannical rule. Compared to Pindar's first *Pythian* ode, the focus of the ode is much less on threats and ways to negotiate those threats.

2.5.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the ode.

After Hieron's death in 467/6 BCE, his son Deinomenes set up a votive offering on his behalf.⁶¹⁵ Judging by Pausanias' description it appears that Hieron won only once with the chariot at Olympia. This must have been in 468 BCE.⁶¹⁶ The length of the ode tells against a first performance at Delphi. The invocation of Demeter as ruler over Syracuse in the proem likewise strongly suggests a first performance of the ode in Syracuse.

2.5.3 Praise for the *laudandus* and patron message.

⁶¹³ Maehler's (1982: 37) reservation seems unnecessary 'Vielleicht hatte Hieron ähnliche Vorstellungen vom Jenseits, von Totengericht und Wiedergeburt wie Theron, (Pi. *O.* 2.68ff.), und hoffte als Heros auf die Inseln der Seligen versetzt zu werden.' Cf. § 2.5.4.

⁶¹⁴ B.3.90-98 immortality in song, especially B.3.90-92 ...Ἀρετᾶ[ς γε μ]έν οὐ μινύθει βροτῶν ἄμα ζ[ώμ]ατι φέγγος, ἀλλὰ Μοῦσά νιν τρέφει., versus B.3.58-62 Croesus being spirited away to the land of the Hyperboreans, especially B.3.58f. τότε Δαλογενή[ς Ἀπό]λλων φέρων ἐς Ὑπερβορέο[υς γ]έροντα.

⁶¹⁵ Cf. Paus. 6.12.1, 8.42.8-9. Ebert (1972: 116) number 17.

⁶¹⁶ Cf. *P.Oxy* 222 under 468 BCE, Moretti (1957: 93).

I shall first discuss some features which appear relevant to the patron message of the *laudandus*, after which I shall look at the mythical sections in more detail.

The ode arguably advertises the *laudandus* unreservedly as being at the apex of his political power. First, each epode in this ode addresses the *laudandus* or refers to Zeus or Apollo.⁶¹⁷ This can hardly be coincidental and more probably was a deliberate rhetorical attempt to draw Hieron into the sphere of both gods. This might have been brought out even more forcefully through dance and mime during a live performance.⁶¹⁸ Second, one of the traditional elements of the epinician catalogue, the victor's home city, is absent: Syracuse does not figure but instead the whole of Sicily appears to take her place.⁶¹⁹ This has the effect of presenting the *laudandus* as ruler over the whole of the island.⁶²⁰ Third, there is extensive *hyperbole* in the ode, ranging from strong exaggerations,⁶²¹ to the rather unbelievable.⁶²² Fourth, the ode contains regal terminology,⁶²³ yet it appears that the Deinomenids did not carry a royal title.⁶²⁴

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Maehler (2004: 86). First epode: Hieron owns his rule to Zeus. Second ep.: destruction of Sardis by Zeus. Third ep.: Croesus' invocation of Zeus and Apollo. Fourth ep.: Zeus extinguishes the flames. Fifth ep.: Hieron's wealth and power due to Zeus, Sixth ep.: Apollo's advice. Seventh ep.: a final address to Hieron.

⁶¹⁸ Cf. Mullen (1982) on the element of dance in the performance of an epinician ode.

⁶¹⁹ B.3.1-3 Ἀριστο[κ]άρπου Σικελίας κρέουσιν Δ[ά]ματρα ἰοστέφανόν τε Κούραν ὕμνει,...

⁶²⁰ B.3.11 ὅς παρὰ Ζηνὸς λαχὼν πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας. Cf. § 8.3.1.

⁶²¹ B.3.62f., B.3.70, B.3.92f.

⁶²² B.3.12 ὅς παρὰ Ζηνὸς λαχὼν πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας. Jebb (1905: 254) 'over more than are subject to any other ruler', cf. Pi. *O.* 1.104 δύναμιν κυριώτερον. B.3.12 must have been a particularly strong statement when the ode was reperformed outside Sicily. Mann (2000: 32n.100) notes that this is the only Greek instance 'wo eine Person das Adjektiv πλείσταρχος zugeordnet ist.'

⁶²³ B.3.11-12, B.3.70.

⁶²⁴ Cf. Appendix four.

Finally, the ode does not contain any overt references to Hieron's military activities,⁶²⁵ which presents a sharp contrast to Pindar's first *Pythian* ode in which mention of an external threat arguably serves to justify Hieron's tyrannical rule.⁶²⁶ Tentatively, by 468 BCE Hieron was confident enough to abstain from such tactics.

The concept of reciprocity is an important feature in this ode and the vocabulary of giving and gifts is prominent.⁶²⁷ In the first epode of the ode, for example, Hieron's rule appears a gift from Zeus.⁶²⁸ The use of λαγχάνω, to obtain something by lot,⁶²⁹ and in particular, something that is one's rightful portion, is relevant since it advertises the *laudandus* as someone who has not usurped his power,⁶³⁰ and alludes to Hieron's destiny as ruler.⁶³¹ The following triad contains vivid ecphrasis as proof of Hieron's εὐσέβεια,⁶³² followed by a *gnome* which sums up the purpose of sacrifice to the gods.⁶³³ This *gnome* is the transition to the myth. The myth will turn out to be an illustration of that *gnome*.⁶³⁴

⁶²⁵ At B.3.69 the *laudandus* is once referred to as ἄνδρ' ἀρήϊον.

⁶²⁶ Cf. § 2.4.4.2.

⁶²⁷ B.3.3 γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ, B.3.11 the *laudandus*, B.3.62 Croesus, B.3.65 the *laudandus*, B.3.97f. the *laudator*, or, because of the *sphragis*, the poet.

⁶²⁸ B.3.11-12 ὃς παρὰ Ζηνὸς λαχὼν πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας

⁶²⁹ Cf. *LSJ* s.v. λαγχάνω I, c. *acc. rei*, of spoils, opposed to ἐξαιρεῖσθαι. E.g. Hom. I 367, ξ 233. Cf. *OI*. 6.34, generally 'obtain as one's portion.' Rumpel (1883: 268) s.v. λαγχάνω *fato v. deorum numine nanciscor, adipiscor*.

⁶³⁰ Something which Hieron appears to have done, cf. § 2.1.3.1.

⁶³¹ Cf. *OI*. 6.34 λάχε τ' Ἀλφεὸν οἰκεῖν· Aepytus was fated to rule the Arcadians.

⁶³² B.3.15-21 βρύουσι φιλοξενίας ἀγυιαί· λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσός,... Δελφοὶ διέπουσι.

⁶³³ B.3.21-22 Θεόν, θ[εό]ν τις ἀγλαΐζέθω γὰρ ἄριστος [ὄ]λβων·. Cf. E. *fr.* 12.152 N. οὐ[δ]εὶς κάματος εὐσεβεῖν θεούς. Cf. Stenger (2004: 67) on the climatic position of this *gnome*.

⁶³⁴ Note the link between *gnome* and myth: B.3.23 ἐπεὶ ποτε...

2.5.4 The mythical sections – Croesus and Admetus.

Some commentators consider the relevance of the Croesus myth and the Admetus *exemplum* in the light of some ailment from which Hieron supposedly was suffering.⁶³⁵ That, however, is not necessary and myth as well as *exemplum* can be understood in terms of the ode itself.

The myth is remarkable because it deals with relatively recent events.⁶³⁶ Croesus figures in the first *Pythian* ode,⁶³⁷ and an allusion to certain ‘chroniclers and poets’,⁶³⁸ immediately before the mention of Croesus seems to imply that Hieron’s audience was familiar with the Croesus material.⁶³⁹ Bacchylides’ ode and a red figure amphora,⁶⁴⁰ are our oldest sources for the story. The other main source is Herodotus.⁶⁴¹ Importantly, whereas in Herodotus Croesus is depicted as a barbarian,⁶⁴² on the Myson vase and in Bacchylides’ ode is Croesus portrayed as a Greek.⁶⁴³ This

⁶³⁵ Jebb (1905: 263) ‘at this time it must have been known that he could not live long.’ Most recently again Maehler (2004: 79-80), ‘aware that he might not have much longer to live. This could be relevant to the question why B. choose the story of the Lydian king...’

⁶³⁶ Croesus was king from c.560 – 546 BCE.

⁶³⁷ *Py.* 1.94ff.

⁶³⁸ *Py.* 1.94 λογίοις καὶ ἀοιδοῖς

⁶³⁹ Reichel (2000:148), Gentili *et al.* (1995:362). The audience could have learnt about Croesus through encomiastic works in prose and poetry, cf. Σ *Py.* 1.181ab, Σ *Ne.* 6.50.

⁶⁴⁰ *ARV*² 238.1, Louvre G 197, Myson painter, ca.490-80 BCE.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. Hdt. 1.86-87. Repeated in later sources, cf. X. 7.2.5f, Ctesias *FGrHist* 688 F 9. Nic. Damasc. *FGrHist* 90 F68, D.S. 9.2, 9.34, Lucian *Jup. Tr.* 23, *Gall.* 23.

⁶⁴² Cf. Lomas (2000: 173) on the opposition barbarian-Greek and the accompanying pejorative connotations after the Persian Wars.

⁶⁴³ Snell (1973: 204). Cf. Regenbogen (1965: 379f.) ‘im Wesen ein halber Grieche geworden...und auf den Inseln der Seligen in Ewigkeit seine friedlichen Tage lebt, wie irgendein griechischer Heros.’

very well might have furthered the possibility of paralleling Croesus with Hieron.⁶⁴⁴

Croesus is fundamentally a positive example.

All literary versions seem to veer between two extremes: on the one hand the observation in the Armenian Eusebius,⁶⁴⁵ and the Babylonian *Nabonid* Chronicle of 547 BC, both reporting the capture and death of Croesus at the hands of Cyrus,⁶⁴⁶ and, on the other hand the description in Xenophon of an encounter between two perfect gentlemen. Whereas the Herodotean Croesus, an example of πάθει μάθος,⁶⁴⁷ has lost all the insignia of his power and is forced onto the pyre, in Bacchylides Croesus' action is voluntary and Croesus appears to pray to Apollo with an appeal to reciprocity.⁶⁴⁸ The myth, in typical Bacchylidean manner, is full of pathos. Croesus' lament τὰ πρόσθεν ἐχθρὰ φίλα· θανεῖν γλύκιστον,⁶⁴⁹ occurring as it does at the middle of the myth is arguably the dramatic high-point of the whole ode. Although it is difficult to establish the way in which Bacchylides was responding to other versions,⁶⁵⁰ most scholars agree that Croesus and the *laudandus* are clearly paralleled.⁶⁵¹ Importantly, Croesus after his

⁶⁴⁴ This also means that surely no parallels with Hamilcar, known for his self-immolation, cf. Hdt. 7.167, are intended. *Pace* Lefkowitz (1976: 131), Reichel (2000: 155).

⁶⁴⁵ Eus. *PE* 5.20-22 p.33 Karst.

⁶⁴⁶ Cf. Reichel (2000:147).

⁶⁴⁷ Segal (1971: 39).

⁶⁴⁸ B.3.35 [πο]ῦ θεῶν ἐστι[v] χάρις; Ausfeld (1911: 527) mentions this and the Herodotean passage as 'summi momenti' of the type *da quia dedi* and parallels with Hom A 39, τ 397, Aristoph. *Pac.* 386, Pl. *Euth.* 14b, *Rep.* 3.394a.

⁶⁴⁹ B.3.47. Note the contrasts between Croesus in despair but calmly accepting his fate and the cries of the daughters. This effect is rhetorically enforced by the use of enjambment, cf. B.3.50-51.

⁶⁵⁰ The problems are discussed in Stern (1970: 300-304), Maehler (1982^b: 33-37), Reichel (2000: *passim*).

⁶⁵¹ Maehler (1982^b: 37) 'Parallele so deutlich wie in keinem anderen Epinikion', *pace* Wilamowitz (1933: 316).

ordeal lives on as friend and counsellor to the barbarian Cyrus in the version of Herodotus, whereas in the Bacchylidean version he is taken away to the land of the Hyperboreans.⁶⁵² Both Croesus and Hieron have been liberal towards the gods. Hieron's piety has resulted in his military victories, his rightful rule and now his athletic victory. However, Croesus' piety has resulted in his rescue and transfer to the land of the Hyperboreans.⁶⁵³ This raises the question whether this feature of exemption from death is relevant to the *laudandus*. In other words, does this feature of the myth refer to a wish for literal immortality of the *laudandus*? The parallels between Croesus and the *laudandus* are straightforward: both Croesus and Hieron have a special connection with Apollo,⁶⁵⁴ and both have put their munificence to good use in honouring Apollo with votive offerings.⁶⁵⁵ Both Croesus and the Hieron are powerful rulers,⁶⁵⁶ and, appropriately in an ode for an equestrian victor, the links between both men and horses are mentioned.⁶⁵⁷ Hence it seems almost inevitable that Croesus' ultimate reward for his piety is something which the *laudandus* expects as well.⁶⁵⁸ The Admetus

⁶⁵² B.3.55-56 Zeus extinguishes the pyre, B.3.58-59 τότε Δαλογενή[ς Ἀπό]λλων φέρων ἐς Ὑπερβορέο[υς γ]έροντα

⁶⁵³ Jebb (1905: 196) 'Here, and here alone, the Hyperborean land appears a place to which pious mortals are translated without dying'; cf. (1905: 261).

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. B.3.57ff.

⁶⁵⁵ Cf. B.3.61, B.3.64ff. On these offerings and links with the archaeological evidence, cf. Gentili (1953: *passim*), (1958: 72-82), Jacquemin (1999: 71. 353).

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. B.3.11ff., B.3.24.

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. B.3.23 Croesus is δαμασίπ[π]ου Λυδίας ἀρχαγέταν, B.3.69 φίλιππον ἄνδρ' [Hieronem].

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Jurenka (1900: 313) 'also wird auch König Hieron zu den Hyperboreern kommen.' Cf. Crane (1996: 65, 69f.), Reichel (2000: 150f.). However, Currie's (2005: 368) attempt to parallel the pyre scene in Bacchylides' third ode with the epitaph *CEG* 3.693.1 (= *IG* XII 1.142) and his argument that Hieron's ultimate reward of literal immortality has something to do with voluntary death by fire or self-immolation, cf. (2005: 369-382) seems less convincing. There are enough other points of comparison between Hieron and Croesus as it is and there is surely no need to

exemplum,⁶⁵⁹ supports this view since Admetus, who faces early death, is saved because of his piety.⁶⁶⁰ However, there might be a further reason why the Admetus *exemplum* and the *gnome* following that *exemplum* might be relevant to Hieron's patron message. The ode mentions that the life of a man, in comparison with that of the gods, is a brief affair.⁶⁶¹ Mortal man should seek to do that which is possible.⁶⁶² However, man, as an ephemeral creature,⁶⁶³ is susceptible to false hopes.⁶⁶⁴ Apollo provides Admetus with the solution to this problem.⁶⁶⁵ Apollo's advice reiterates the ephemeral nature of men and offers εὐσέβεια as the only right approach to life.⁶⁶⁶

mesh each and every feature of the myth onto the *laudandus*. Cf. Jurenka (1900: 313) 'Er [sc. Hieron] habe als gerechter König, als Sieger in heiligen Spielen und als Stadtgründer ein dreifaches Anrecht auf solchen Heroenehren besessen.' I would argue that especially Hieron's status *qua* oecist is a deciding factor for his claim to posthumous hero-worship, cf. § 8.3.4.

⁶⁵⁹ B.3.77ff.

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. E. *Alc.* 10-11 ὁσίου γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ὁσίου ὦν ἐτύγχανον παιδὸς Φέρητος, ὃν θανεῖν ἐρρυσάμην, cf. Currie (2005: 367).

⁶⁶¹ B.3.74 βραχ[ύς ἐστιν αἰών·] Blass thus restored because of a Σ *ad loc*] ὅτι ὀλιγοχρό[νιος ὁ βίος?]. Alternatively Taccone (1923: 35) βραχὺς ἄμμιν αἰών·. Be that as it may, because of the strongly adversative δ' in the passage which follows, the meaning is surely that life of mortals is short in comparison with that of the gods.

⁶⁶² B.3.74 καίρι]α σκόπει. Cf. Σ *ad loc.* δυ]νατα ἐρεῦνα. On the restorations of B.3.72-74, cf. Jebb (1905: 461-63), Lloyd-Jones (1958: 18). The same sentiment occurs at *Py.* 3.61f. μή, φίλα ψυχά, βίον ἀθάνατον σπεῦδε, τὰν δ' ἔμπρακτον ἄντλει μαχανάν, cf. §§ 2.6.1, 2.6.3.

⁶⁶³ Cf. B.3.76 [ἐφαμ]ερίων·. Fränkel (1976: 149.n6) translates 'dem Tag unterstellt und seinem Wechsel preisgegeben'. *Pace* Jebb (1905: 263) 'a creature which lives one day'.

⁶⁶⁴ B.3.75-76 the passage is damaged, yet the general meaning seems clear: 'winged hope undoes the thinking of mortals'. A common motif, cf. A. *Ag.* 102, S. *Ant.* 615-66, E. *Tr.* 862-64, Th. 5.103, Opp. *H.* 1.36, Hermolochus *PMG* 846.2

⁶⁶⁵ B.3.76-84 *oratio recta*. Possibly a quote of Epicharmus or part of a collection of Ἀδμήτου λόγοι, well known at the time in Syracuse, cf. Maehler (1982^b: 54-55). On such sayings, cf. Pherecyd. *FGrHist* 3 F 55, scholion *PMG* 749. Such sayings were probably comparable to the Χείρωνος ὑποθήκαι, cf. [Hes.] *fr.* 293-95 MW. The use of wisdom literature in epinician poetry is a well-known rhetorical procedure, adding to the credibility of one's arguments.

⁶⁶⁶ B.3.83-48 Ὅσια δρῶν εὐφραίνει θυμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ κερδέων ὑπέρτατον.

Hence the whole passage appears to parallel the Croesus myth, but on a level which makes it relevant to everyone, and not solely to the *laudandus*. The Croesus myth tells the audience that even the most powerful are liable to the vicissitudes of fate, and in the same manner the Admetus *exemplum* tells them that the solution suggested in the Croesus myth is valid for the audience as well: ultimately only piety can save a man. Apollo has expressed his χάρις saving Croesus,⁶⁶⁷ and in a similar manner Hieron's current agonistic success and his rule are proof of the gods' *charis*. The *laudandus* is held up as an ideal example of the pious man, something which is there for everyone to see.⁶⁶⁸ Since Hieron has shown proper χάρις because of his outstanding piety, his success now demands the same from poet and audience. The poet's *charis* is expressed in the 'farewell' of the *peroratio*,⁶⁶⁹ which promises a celebration of Hieron's ὄλβος now and in the future. This posture of a promise of continuous remembrance is a well-known hymnic feature,⁶⁷⁰ and is a very common epinician *topos*.⁶⁷¹ In this ode, mention of continuous celebrations of the ὄλβος of the *laudandus* might have been a particularly welcome feature since it implies that the tyrant's rule is secured while he

⁶⁶⁷ B.3.38 [πο]ῦ θεῶν ἐστι[ν] χάρις;

⁶⁶⁸ Cf. B.3.93-94 ἱέρων, σὺ δ' ὄλβου κάλλιστ' ἐπεδ[είξ]ας θνατοῖς ἄνθεα· the flowers are the manifestations of Hieron's ὄλβος, presumably they are victory, his rule and his happiness.

⁶⁶⁹ B.3.94-98. In B.3.97 ...τις ὑμνήσει χάριν... is not Bacchylidean self-praise but instead χάρις refers to 'das Lied als Freude und Freundesgabe', Fränkel (1976: 530n.44). The future ὑμνήσει points to the glory beyond the current performance, cf. Maehler (1982^b: 60-61).

⁶⁷⁰ Cf. *h.Ap.* III 545-6. Καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱέ· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς. Cf. *h.Cer.* II 495, *h.Merc.* IV 579-80. *h.Ven.* V 292-3, *h.Ven.* VI 58-9, *h.Bacch.* XXVI 12-13.

⁶⁷¹ The *locus classicus* is *Ne.* 4 *init.* In the epilogue it occurs at: *Py.* 3.114, *Ne.* 6.27-30. Càssola (1975: xxi-xxii) 'il poeta si augura di ritornare davanti al suo pubblico negli anni seguenti'.

will receive continuous charis from his subjects. Finally, it is remarkable that a wish for literal immortality is so clearly expressed in an epinician ode.⁶⁷²

⁶⁷² Cf. § 8.3.4 for a suggestion why this might be the case. Be that as it may, the ode mentions the more traditional manner of survival, viz. renown through song, cf. B.3.90-92. Cf. Bundy (1962: 87ff.).

2.6 Pindar's third *Pythian* ode for Hieron.

Argument.

*There is no scholarly agreement on the date of the victory celebrated in the ode, nor on the date of first performance nor on the occasion of the ode. However, it is argued that the ode saw its first performance after 470 BCE. This sits well with the observation that the laudandus is straightforwardly advertised as king. As is the case in Bacchylides' third ode, this ode also appears to offer the laudandus more than the traditional survival of fame in song. In other words, expressions of poetic immortality do not exclude that the wish of the laudandus for a more substantial (literal) immortality is touched upon. This ode appears to explore the duality of immortality in song and literal immortality, although it does so with more reticence than in Bacchylides' third ode. The ode emphasises the alternations of fortune, a common topos that signals an absence of envy of the gods. However, rhetorically, the ode applies this sentiment to the laudandus in an apparently contradictory manner. On the one hand, the exempla in this ode that deal with the sentiment of the alternations of fortune portray the laudandus as subject to the same conditions as all other men. On the other hand, those exempla hint at the position of the laudandus as Hierophant and allude to wishes the laudandus might have had for literal immortality. Despite being an ode composed later in Hieron's career, the ideology in Pindar's third *Pythian* ode resembles the one in Pindar's second *Pythian* ode.*

2.6.1 Introduction and patron message.

Some have argued that the ode is a 'poetic epistle',⁶⁷³ yet we do not seem to have other examples of such a genre for this period and so it seems best to consider the poem an epinician ode.⁶⁷⁴ This is relevant since it implies that the ode was probably commissioned and hence contains Hieron's patron message.

The Pythian victory is mentioned only in passing,⁶⁷⁵ which suggests that the focus of the ode lies elsewhere. The *gnomae*, *exempla* and myth in the ode appear to be concerned with the healthy admixture of good and bad fortune,⁶⁷⁶ as well as with the proper behaviour with which to encounter these vicissitudes of life.

Encomiastic poetry reveals what is καλόν,⁶⁷⁷ but hides what is κακόν.⁶⁷⁸ Since it appears that Hieron was suffering from an illness,⁶⁷⁹ it seems only natural to link this with the *exempla* in the ode which deal with healing and sickness. The question must

⁶⁷³ Wilamowitz (1922: 280) 'Es ist wirklich nichts als ein poetischer Brief.'

⁶⁷⁴ Young (1983: 38ff.).

⁶⁷⁵ *Py.* 3.74. But see § 2.6.2.

⁶⁷⁶ E.g. *Py.* 3.105f. ὄλβος οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται σάος, πολὺς εὖτ' ἂν ἐπιβρίσαις ἔπνηται. The healthy admixture of good and bad fortune is a *topos* of praise since mere good fortune would incur the envy of the gods. Cf. note 475. *Py.* 3.105 clearly echoes Sol. *fr.* 6.3-4 W τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπνηται with ἔπνηται in the same position at the end of the line. Gentili (1984: 423) notes that the choice of ἔπνηται hints at ὄλβος as a companion of men.

⁶⁷⁷ Gerber (1982: 71). Cf. *Py.* 3.83 ἀλλ' ἀγαθοί, τὰ καλὰ τρέψαντες ἔξω, *fr.* 42.3-5 καλῶν μὲν ὦν μοῖραν τε τερπνῶν ἐς μέσον χρή παντὶ λαῷ δεικνύναι, B.3.14 (in litotes).

⁶⁷⁸ E.g. *O.* 1.35 and especially *fr.* 42.5-6 εἰ δέ τις ἀνθρώποισι θεόσδοτος ἀτλάτα κακότας προστύχη, ταύταν σκότει κρύπτειν ἔοικεν.

⁶⁷⁹ *Py.* 1.55. Cf. van der Kolf (1924: 113n.2) 'per ambages significasse verbo ἐστρατεύθη.' Probably kidney stones, λιθουρία or δυσουρία. Cf. Σ Pi. *Py.* 1.87, 89b, Σ *Py.* 3 *inscr.* a, 117, 141, 158b, Σ Pi. *Py.* 1.89a (= Arist. *fr.* 587 R.).

then be asked as to what Pindar offers the *laudandus* in this ode.⁶⁸⁰ There are two seemingly opposing views. According to the first one, Pindar offers the *laudandus* the traditional mode of survival, namely the perpetuation of his κλέος ἄφθιτον in song.⁶⁸¹ This reality which the poem achieves for the *laudandus* is juxtaposed to an impossibility, namely that of defeating death.⁶⁸² On that interpretation, the poem consists of a *recusatio*, followed by an *encomium* proper, with the two parts linked by a prayer.⁶⁸³ The *recusatio* reflects a utopian wish, in turn serving as a foil for the realistic alternative described above. This appears to have been a device which was old and well known.⁶⁸⁴ The other view takes as a starting point the observation that Hieron was Hierophant in a Demeter-Kore mystery cult of the Eleusinian type,⁶⁸⁵ and that features of Eleusinian eschatology are relevant in this ode. In contrast with mystery cults of the Orphic type, the Demeter-Kore cult did not include immortality, nor souls or transmigration of souls.⁶⁸⁶ Instead death remains a reality,⁶⁸⁷ and was possibly even

⁶⁸⁰ In other words, what is it that the *laudandus* wants to communicate to the audience with regard to the vicissitudes of life (which arguably include his own illness)?

⁶⁸¹ Prior to the introduction of Orphic-Pythagorean beliefs this was the only option, cf. Bremmer (1999: 77).

⁶⁸² *Py.* 3.55f. The failed attempt of Asclepius at resurrection.

⁶⁸³ Young (1968: 49f.) The *recusatio* occurs at *Py.* 3.1-76, a prayer to the Mater at *Py.* 3.77-79, the *encomium* at *Py.* 3.80-115.

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. Slater (1988: 51f.), Hom. *M* 322ff., Theogn. 432ff., B.3.88, S. *Aj.* 1192, E. *H.F.* 655ff. The rhetorical strategy is 'if only X were true, then Y....., but, alas, X is not true, therefore Z'. Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 866ff., *Eccl.* 151ff. (parody). Cf. Horace *Od.* 4.8ff. *Donarem pateras grataque commodus etc.* The rhetoricians call this device πλαστόν ἐπιχείρημα ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, cf. Is.10.1.

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. § 2.2.3.

⁶⁸⁶ Cf. Burkert (1983: 293-94).

⁶⁸⁷ Burkert (1985^a: : 289) points out the connection between the necessity of death and new life, e.g. *Ev. Jo.* 12.24, Hippocr. *Vict.* 4.92, and notes the ear of corn cut and shown by the Hierophant.

seen as a necessity.⁶⁸⁸ On that interpretation, the positive *exempla* of literal immortality in the ode,⁶⁸⁹ are juxtaposed with negative examples.⁶⁹⁰ In other words, what the ode tells is that all men, including the *laudandus*, are subject to the vicissitudes of life: Hieron will be able to neutralise the κακόν of his illness by showing his good qualities.⁶⁹¹ Nevertheless, at some point the *laudandus*, like all men, must die.⁶⁹² Hieron understands the way of truth,⁶⁹³ namely that a people-guiding ruler awaits a great destiny,⁶⁹⁴ in spite of the fact that every life consists of an admixture of good and evil.⁶⁹⁵ The *laudandus* must not hope to defeat death.⁶⁹⁶ Asclepius attempted this transgression and inevitably invited disaster.⁶⁹⁷ The poet will do what lies within the bounds of his capacity: he will ensure that Hieron's excellence endures in glorious

⁶⁸⁸ Cf. an inscription on a Hierophant's epitaph, ca.200 AD, *SEG* 39.1823, 41.145 (= *IG* II² 3661) οὐ μόνον εἶναι τὸν θάνατον θνητοῖς οὐ κακόν, ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν., E. *fr.* 757 N. ἀναγκαίως δ' ἔχει βίον θερίζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν. Currie (2005: 404) on Pindar's third *Pythian* ode notes that death was 'a precursor to a glorious afterlife', quoting [Pythag.] *carm. aur.* 15 ἀλλὰ γνῶθι μὲν, ὥς θανέειν πέπρωται ἅπασιν, *carm. aur.* 71 ἔσσεαι ἀθάνατος θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός. The *Carmen Aureum*, however, appears to be Hellenistic and has to be handled with care. It might conflate Orphic and Pythagorean ideas, cf. Smid-Stählin (1920: 1056, 1065).

⁶⁸⁹ *Py.* 3.86-103 Peleus, Cadmus, Semele and Achilles.

⁶⁹⁰ *Py.* 1.7-76 Coronis and Asclepius. Currie (2005: 403) notes that the first half of the poem explores the theme of raising the dead by song or incantation, while the second explores the possibilities of the eschatological mystery cults.

⁶⁹¹ *Viz.* *Py.* 3.70-71, 3.107-111.

⁶⁹² *Py.* 3.61f. μή, φίλα ψυχά, βίον ἀθάνατον σπεύδε, τὰν δ' ἔμπρακτον ἄντλει μαχανάν. Wilamowitz (1922: 282) '...diese Ethik drückt denn Menschen damit nicht nieder, sondern verlangt von ihm nur τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν.'

⁶⁹³ *Py.* 3.80, 103-4.

⁶⁹⁴ *Py.* 3.85. On the view taken here, that destiny includes literal immortality.

⁶⁹⁵ *Py.* 3.81f., 86ff.

⁶⁹⁶ *Py.* 3.56, 61f.

⁶⁹⁷ *Py.* 3.56-58.

song.⁶⁹⁸ However, only by the grace of Zeus will Hieron attain his ultimate share of happiness.⁶⁹⁹

Importantly, whereas the ode alludes to wishes of literal immortality, there are several passages in this ode that reveal a certain reluctance to speak of such wishes too openly.⁷⁰⁰

2.6.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the ode.

The ode appears to have been first performed in Sicily.⁷⁰¹ Establishing a date of first performance is problematic. The *terminus ante quem* for the ode's first performance is, of course, 467/6 BCE, the date of Hieron's death. Since Hieron is addressed as Syracusan,⁷⁰² the ode could only have been performed after 478/7 BCE, the date when Hieron took over from Gelon as tyrant in Syracuse. The ode mentions Hieron as 'Aetnaean host',⁷⁰³ which could hint at 476/5 BCE or even 470 BCE as a *terminus post quem* for the date of first performance.⁷⁰⁴ The ode briefly mentions a former Pythian

⁶⁹⁸ *Py.* 3.114f.

⁶⁹⁹ *Py.* 3.95. Διὸς δὲ χάριν κτλ. There is an important difference with the eschatology as presented in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode, cf. §§ 5.2.3, 8.3.4.

⁷⁰⁰ They are the Achilles *exemplum* at *Py.* 3.100-106, the *gnomae* at *Py.* 3.107-109 and the Nestor and Sarpedon *exemplum* at *Py.* 3.110-112. Cf. 2.6.3.

⁷⁰¹ Cf. *Pi. Py.* 3.69 Ἀπέθοισαν ἐπὶ κράναν παρ' Αἰτναῖον ξένον.

⁷⁰² *Py.* 3.70.

⁷⁰³ *Py.* 3.69.

⁷⁰⁴ Not necessarily so since 'Aetnaean' may refer to the mountain, or generally to Sicily. Cf. Luraghi (1994: 339), Aristoph. *Pax* 73, A. *fr.* 233 R.: a beetle Αἰτναῖος, S. *OC* 322: a colt Αἰτναῖος.

victory,⁷⁰⁵ but it should not be excluded that more Pythian victories of Pherenikos are alluded to.⁷⁰⁶ We know of two of Hieron's victories in the single-horse race event in Delphi, namely in 482 and 478 BCE.⁷⁰⁷ At least the second victory was due to Pherenikos.⁷⁰⁸ It is then habitually argued that the victory mentioned in Pindar's third *Pythian* ode could conceivably have been won in either 482 or in 478 BCE.⁷⁰⁹ Be that as it may, I argue for a date after 470 BCE as the date of first performance for the third *Pythian* ode. The argument runs as follows. I accept the suggestion by Gallavotti that Hieron participated in 470 BCE at Delphi in two events,⁷¹⁰ namely in the single-horse race with Pherenikos as well as in the chariot event. Gallavotti argues that B.4.11-14 alludes to Hieron's failure to win in that single-horse race event. Hieron's victory in the chariot event in 470 BCE resulted in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode.⁷¹¹ I further accept that mention of Pherenikos at *Py.* 3.73f. refers to a string of at least four earlier victories by

⁷⁰⁵ *Py.* 3.73f. κῶμόν τ' ἀέθλων Πυθίων αἶγλαν στεφάνοις, τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἔλεν Κίρρα ποτέ.

⁷⁰⁶ Since the horse is mentioned often, cf. *Ol.* 1.19, *Py.* 3.74, B.5.37, 5.184, B. *fr.* 20c.9. The plural used at *Py.* 3.74, στεφάνοις, in Pindar normally indicates a single victory, cf. *Ol.* 6.26, *Py.* 2.6, *Ne.* 9.53, *Isth.* 3.11. However, it is argued that this might not be the case for this passage, cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 417).

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. ΣΣ *Py.* 3 *inscr.* ab, Σ *Py.* 1 *inscr.* a.

⁷⁰⁸ Cf. B.5.37-41, Maehler (2002: 19f.).

⁷⁰⁹ Differently Cingano (1991^a: 97-104) who argues that B.4.11-14 refers to Hieron's failure to win in 474 BCE and interprets Pindar's third *Pythian* ode, composed in 474/3 BCE, as a consolation for that missed victory. This cannot be disproved, but see below. Cingano (1991^b: 31-34) argues that the encomium B. *fr.* 20 was also commissioned in response to that failure in 474 BCE.

⁷¹⁰ Gallavotti (1944: 18).

⁷¹¹ The conglomerate of occasions for Pindar's first *Pythian* ode strongly suggests that an equestrian victory in 470 BCE was very welcome. Hence it would make good sense to participate in two events, perhaps even entering more than one chariot, cf. Th. 6.16: Alcibiades entering with seven chariots, which admittedly was thought to be excessive.

Pherenikos, not just to the victories in 482 and 478 BCE.⁷¹² The main concern of the third *Pythian* ode clearly is not a Pythian victory, but the mention of Pherenikos suggests that the commissioning of the ode should be linked to either Delphi, Pherenikos' victory or to both.⁷¹³ That the ode singles out Pherenikos' Pythian victories but fails to mention more recent Olympic victories,⁷¹⁴ can be explained by the association between Delphi and Apollo in his capacity as bringer of health and healer.⁷¹⁵ The ode is concerned with health and healing and it is a fair assumption that the *laudandus* was an ailing man.⁷¹⁶ Hence, in this ode Pherenikos is singled out for two reasons, first because of the past victories which that (aptly named) horse has brought Hieron in Delphi and second, because he has become an *exemplum* of the healthy admixture of good and bad fortune, a theme with which the ode is very much concerned.⁷¹⁷ Moreover, a date of first performance after 470 BCE sits well with the manner in which the ode addresses Hieron.⁷¹⁸ On this interpretation 'Aetnaean host' at *Py.* 3.69 alludes to Hieron's recent inauguration of Aetna in 470 BCE.

⁷¹² Hieron's victories in the single-horse event occurred in 482, 478, 476, 472 BCE, cf. Appendix two.

⁷¹³ I suggest that this was either Hieron's failure to win in 470 BCE or perhaps even Pherenikos' recent demise.

⁷¹⁴ E.g. those celebrated in Bacchylides' fifth ode (victory date 476 BCE) and Pindar's first *Olympian* (victory date 472 BCE). That an ode fails to mention earlier victories is not uncommon. E.g. Pindar's first *Pythian* ode of 470 BCE does not mention those Olympic victories of 476 and 472 BCE.

⁷¹⁵ On Apollo ἰατρός, cf. Nilsson (1955: 538ff.) 'von dem Übelabwehrer ist es nur ein Schritt zu dem Heilbringer, der auch positives Gutes bringt; φάρμακος.' (1955: 542).

⁷¹⁶ Cf. § 2.6.1.

⁷¹⁷ Cf. note 475. Compare with B.11.24-39 cf. D.L. Cairns (2005: 37) 'The local goddess' reversal of fortune of Alexedamus' previous defeat at Olympia...sets up the argument for the rest of the ode.'

⁷¹⁸ Cf. § 8.3.2.

Finally, in this ode the *laudandus* is straightforwardly advertised as king, yet this does not necessarily mean that its ideology should be labelled a *Herrschaftssystem*. The *laudandus* is placed in proximity with his subjects. Hence, despite being an ode composed later in Hieron's career, the ideology in Pindar's third *Pythian* ode resembles the one in Pindar's second *Pythian* ode.⁷¹⁹

2.6.3 Praise for the *laudandus*.

The introduction of the *laudandus* is deferred until the end of the third epode.⁷²⁰ This is preceded by a long section of mythical *exempla* which are linked with death, disease and fire.⁷²¹ The prominence of fire in this ode has led some scholars to believe that death by fire leading to immortality is relevant to the *laudandus*.⁷²² However, there is no evidence to suggest that this might have been the case, either in the historical sources, or in the odes themselves. Hence these *exempla* are better understood as illustrations of the *gnome* which opens the third epode,⁷²³ where it is said that one should not strive for the life of the immortals but instead exhaust the practical means which are at one's disposal.

⁷¹⁹ Cf. § 8.3.1.

⁷²⁰ *Py.* 3.69f. Ἀρέθοισαν ἐπὶ κράναν παρ' Αἰτναῖον ξένον, ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς,

⁷²¹ *Py.* 3.37ff., 3.43, 3.44, 3.58: the death of Koronis and her neighbours, Asclepius who came close to death on the pyre of his mother, twice fire as a disease itself, then Asclepius' death through the fiery thunderbolt. This theme of fire is again used at *Py.* 3.102 with the death of Achilles on the pyre.

⁷²² Currie (2005: 403).

⁷²³ *Py.* 3.61f.

The *laudandus* is praised without the mention of his clan,⁷²⁴ and unreservedly advertised as king, almost as a matter of fact.⁷²⁵ The aggregate of those two features can be explained as a sign of confidence on the part of the *laudandus* and sits well with a late date of first performance. This could be contrasted with a much more roundabout way of the use of regal terminology in other odes.⁷²⁶ After this regal terminology an enumeration of Hieron's qualities follows:⁷²⁷ he is gentle to his townsmen, he is an extraordinary ξένος and does not begrudge the ἀγαθοί,⁷²⁸ apparently the wealthy upper class.⁷²⁹ This is relevant because it is suggested that the Deinomenids were not wholly champions of the aristocracy nor were they altogether φιλόδημοι.⁷³⁰ The qualifications at *Py.* 3.71 appear to define Hieron as an unusual sort of tyrant,⁷³¹ something which might have served the *laudandus* when the ode was reperformed outside Sicily.

⁷²⁴ The clan is bracketed in praise for Hieron at B.5.35, *Py.* 1.48, 79. There is no mention of Hieron's clan in B.4, *Py.* 2, *Py.* 3, *Ol.* 1, B.3.

⁷²⁵ *Py.* 3.70 ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 416) 'νέμει in senso assoluto 'governa', como βασιλεύει in *Py.* 10.3', ... Ἡρακλέος βασιλεύει. Cf. Appendix four.

⁷²⁶ Cf. § 8.3.2 on *Ol.* 1.12-13, 22-23, 113-14, *Py.* 1.73, *Py.* 2.13ff., 85, 3.70, B.3.11f., B.4.3, B.5.1f.

⁷²⁷ *Py.* 3.71 πραῦς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξείνοις δὲ θαυμαστός πατήρ. Cf. *Ol.* 13.2 with similar praise, but for a clan.

⁷²⁸ Race (1990: 60) on describing things with qualities they do not have.

⁷²⁹ Adkins (1960: 159f.) 'If we subtract 'citizen' in some sense of the word [sc. ἀγαθοί], and foreigners, who are left as the *agathoi* whom Hiero does not envy, or to whom he does not grudge their *arete*? Surely the wealthy upper classes whom a tyrant might well fear.'

⁷³⁰ Cf. § 8.3. Luraghi (1994: 286ff., 371-73).

⁷³¹ Adkins (1960: 170n.8) notes Hdt. 3.80.4 where Otanes expresses the view that the tyrant normally shows envy towards the ἄριστοι; cf. Carey (1981: 52f.) for the traditional characteristics of a tyrant; cf. Gentili (1979) on the polemic in Hdt. 3.80f. in relation to Pi. *Py.* 11.53f. τῶν γὰρ ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐρίσκων τὰ μέσα μακροτέρῳ ὀλβῷ τεθαλότα, μέμφοι' αἴσαν τυραννίδων. That passage should not be linked with Pindar's personal circumstances, *pace* Wilamowitz (1922: 263). Instead it is the *laudandus*' praise for τὰ μέσα, whether in relation to the myth or to immediate circumstances of the victor's situation, cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 291, 661f.).

The *gnome* which opens the third epode is discussed above.⁷³² It emphasises the inevitability of death for all men and warns against the presumptuousness of men such as Asclepius.

The poet/chorus wishes that Cheiron were still alive since they would have persuaded him to provide a healer similar to Asclepius whereas the poet himself would even have come to Syracuse bringing two blessings, a golden health and a victory revel.⁷³³ These possibilities, however, are abruptly renounced.⁷³⁴ There are no explanations offered as to why the wish for a healer must remain illusory, or why the poet could not have come bringing the blessings mentioned. The *laudandus*, however, is not in need of such explanations as he himself already knows the answer,⁷³⁵ something which might allude to Hieron's position as Hierophant.⁷³⁶ The ode does suggest, however, what Hieron can and should do, namely that which other ἀγαθοί do: τὰ καλὰ τρέψαντες ἔξω.⁷³⁷ Notwithstanding his afflictions the *laudandus* should be aware of the great share of happiness which awaits him.⁷³⁸ Although the scholiast, prosaically, assumes that wealth awaits Hieron,⁷³⁹ it is a fair assumption that Hieron's

⁷³² *Py.* 3.59-62.

⁷³³ *Py.* 3.1-7, 3.72ff.

⁷³⁴ *Py.* 3.77-78. Rhetorically ἀποσιώπησις, cf. Quint. 9.2.54-55.

⁷³⁵ *Py.* 3.80: εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, ἱέρων, ὀρθὰν ἐπίστα. Viz. life is necessarily a compound of good and evil, cf. Hom. Ω 527-78.

⁷³⁶ Sources in § 2.2.3. Cf. B.5.3-4. Cf. Lloyd-Jones (1976: 25f.) on the μυσταγωγός as a 'guide' and Burkert (1983: 275) on guides and knowledge in the mystery religions.

⁷³⁷ *Py.* 3.83 viz. what is καλόν has to be shown, what is κακόν should remain hidden. Cf. *Py.* 3.62 τὰν δ' ἔμπρακτον ἄντλει μαχανάν.

⁷³⁸ *Py.* 3.84-86 τὴν δὲ μοῖρ' εὐδαιμονίας ἔπεται. λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρκεται, εἴ τιν' ἀνθρώπων, ὁ μέγας πότμος. The *laudandus* in this passage is addressed in terms that suggest strong claims to authority. Cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 420) λαγέταν ...τύραννον 'adunatore di populi in armi' and 'sovrano assoluto'.

⁷³⁹ Σ *Py.* 3.151a τὸν γὰρ ἔχεις πλοῦτον.

wish for literal immortality is alluded to here. This is followed by a further instance of the healthy admixture of good and bad fortune. The *exempla* used (Peleus and Cadmus) more openly hint at Hieron's wishes for literal immortality.⁷⁴⁰ Peleus,⁷⁴¹ and Cadmus at first sight appear illustrative of the impossibility of perfect happiness for mortal men.⁷⁴² Nevertheless they are both blessed in this ode for two reasons. First, they are celebrated in song by the chorus of Muses,⁷⁴³ and by extension continuous reperformance of the ode will guarantee the same happiness for Hieron.⁷⁴⁴ Second, Peleus and Cadmus now have seen the gods,⁷⁴⁵ feast with them and receive their gifts; such features of the wedding feast arguably hint at more than immortality in song and arguably allude to wishes of *laudandus* for a more literal immortality. The ode continues with mention of Achilles' death on the pyre and the resulting lament this raised from the Danaans.⁷⁴⁶ The ode omits, however, the mention of Achilles' subsequent immortality after his transportation to the Isles of the Blest,⁷⁴⁷ something a Sicilian contemporary

⁷⁴⁰ *Py.* 3.86ff. Peleus, Cadmus and Achilles. The allusive quality of such passages *prima facie* tells us that they must have been familiar.

⁷⁴¹ He is often a paradigm for valour, moral uprightness and the rewards that can be expected of such behaviour, cf. *Ne.* 3.35-36, 4.62-68, 5.34-37, *Isth.* 8.26-47.

⁷⁴² Viz. the fate of his Cadmus' three daughters, *Py.* 3.96ff. and Peleus' son Achilles, *Py.* 3.100ff.

⁷⁴³ Translating, with Young (1968: 53n.3), *Py.* 3.89 οἷτε causal, *quippe qui*. Hence the *non omnis moriar topos* is used.

⁷⁴⁴ I.e. the traditional survival of the κλέος of the *laudandus*. To note *Py.* 3.88f. λέγονται μὲν βροτῶν ὄλβον ὑπέρτατον οἱ σχεῖν, the highest happiness of any mortal man. Hieron's ἀρετή *qua* mortal will survive in future song.

⁷⁴⁵ *Py.* 3.94 καὶ Κρόνου παῖδας βασιλῆας ἴδον κτλ. The 'beholding' possibly an allusion to ἐποπτεύειν of someone, like the *laudandus*, who has gone through initiations. Cf. Pl. *Phd.* 250c, *Smp.* 209e.

⁷⁴⁶ *Py.* 3.103-4.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ilias Parva*, Proclus *Chrest.* p.106 Allen, Pi. *Ol.* 2.79-80 (Achilles lives together with Cadmus and Peleus on the Isles of the Blest), *Ne.* 4.49-50, Ibyc. *PMG* 291, Sim. *PMG* 558, Scol. *PMG*

audience might reasonably have been aware of. This raises the question why this feature of the myth is omitted in this ode. The answer may lie in the two *gnomae* which follow: 'be happy with what you have' and 'life is an uncertain thing'.⁷⁴⁸ In other words, the ode entertains the audience with expectations about Achilles which turn out to be delusive. In particular compared to the manner in which such wishes are expressed in Bacchylides' third ode,⁷⁴⁹ Hieron shows a fair amount of reticence with respect to his wishes for literal immortality in Pindar's third *Pythian* ode. This reticence is absent with regard to the manner in which the *laudandus* advertises himself as an unchallenged ruler.

In the fifth epode a rhetorical device called προσωποποιία is used whereby the lyrical I speaks dramatically in the first person for someone else using language appropriate for that person's character.⁷⁵⁰ Hence the *laudandus* advertises himself, once more as someone who under all circumstances shows the proper behaviour of the ἀγαθός: he will be 'small in small times and great in great ones',⁷⁵¹ and accepts whatever fortune sends him.⁷⁵² Both *gnomae* advertise the aspirations of the *laudandus*

894, Apollod. *epit.* 5.6-16. The Homeric Achilles is not immortal, cf. Hom. *ω* 58-73, 93-4. Gantz (1968: 629) points out that this is logical, as for book *λ* and *ω*, Achilles' shade is like that of any other dead mortal.

⁷⁴⁸ Cf. *Py.* 3.103, *Py.* 3.105-6.

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. § 8.3.4.

⁷⁵⁰ Cf. Dem. *Eloc.* 263, [Cic.] *ad Her.* 4.52.

⁷⁵¹ *Py.* 3.107f. σμικρὸς ἐν σμικροῖς, μέγας ἐν μεγάλοις ἔσσομαι. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 424) *Noblesse oblige*. It is worth noting that Theogn. 213-15 (the norm of the polyp) and Pi. *fr.* 43 are not parallels, *pace* Gentili *et al.* (1995: 424). These examples advertise the opportunist and represent an altogether different ideology, one Hieron might possibly have adhered to in practice, yet not one for which he is advertised. In this ode the *laudandus* is consistently presented as an ἀγαθός, not as an opportunist, cf. *Py.* 3.108.

⁷⁵² *Py.* 3.108f. ...τὸν δ' ἀμφέποντ' αἰεὶ φρασὶν δαίμον' ἀσκήσω κατ' ἐμὴν θεραπεύων μαχανάν. Cf. *Py.* 3.62f.

as limited to what is possible and hence, they further camouflage the *laudandus*' wishes for literal immortality.

A final *gnome*,⁷⁵³ is preceded by a mythical example that links Nestor and Sarpedon.⁷⁵⁴ There are, however, no Homeric scenes where Sarpedon and Nestor figure at the same time. The audience might have recalled the Homeric dialogue between Sarpedon and Glaucus,⁷⁵⁵ while Nestor might have reminded the audience once more of the distinction between mortal man and immortal gods.⁷⁵⁶ Such examples praise *laudandus* and audience alike,⁷⁵⁷ but they can also be seen as a further example of the reluctance of the *laudandus* to speak too openly of such wishes for literal immortality.

⁷⁵³ Pi. *Py.* 3.114-15 'Excellence endures in glorious song for a long time'.

⁷⁵⁴ *Py.* 3.112 Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν', ἀνθρώπων φάτις.

⁷⁵⁵ Hom. M 310-328, cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 80) who notes that the dialogue contains, in a nutshell, one type of immortality that the poet proposes for Hieron, especially cf. M 326-28 νῦν δ' ἔμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο μυρίαί, ἅς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι, ἴομεν ἢ ἐ τῷ εὖχος ὀρέξομεν ἢ ἐ τις ἡμῖν.

⁷⁵⁶ Hom. Λ 761 πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ Νέστορι τ' ἀνδρῶν.

⁷⁵⁷ Since only a cultured audience will be able to appreciate the poem's ingenuity. Cf. Pi. *O.* 1.100-108, *fr.* 105a, B.3.85, B.5.3. *Py.* 4.279ff, *Py.* 5.109ff.

CHAPTER THREE – THREE ODES COMPOSED FOR HIERON'S ASSOCIATES.

3.1 Pindar's first and ninth *Nemean* odes for Chromius of Aetna.

Argument.

Both odes were composed for a laudandus who was intimately linked to the Deinomenid clan. The laudandus was at the end of his career. The odes appear to have been first performed in Sicily. It is argued that part of the patron message in the ninth Nemean ode serves a political programme, namely the wish to attract new settlers in newly-founded Aetna. Hence the ode is aimed at mainland audiences as well. This might explain why the ode praises Aetna as much as it does Chromius. Aetna's prosperity and its εὐνοία are stressed whereas the laudandus is not advertised as its viceroy but instead as an ideal citizen of an ideal town. Features in the myth align the interests of laudandus with those of the Sicyonians. This might have secured a continuous reperformance of the ode at those local games and consequently continuous attention for Chromius' victory.

In the first Nemean ode, the later ode of the two, praise is more focused on Chromius. The laudandus wanted to be advertised as an accomplished man enjoying rest after exertion. The myth in the first Nemean ode deftly parallels the laudandus and Heracles. The ode might hint at eschatological beliefs of the laudandus, yet there is no need to suggest that the laudandus had hopes of being posthumously worshipped as a hero. Finally, Hieron is noticeably absent from both odes. This is explained as a consequence of the patron messages in the odes.

3.1.1 Introduction.

All we know of Chromius, son of Hagesidamos,⁷⁵⁸ appears in these epinician odes and in the scholia on them.⁷⁵⁹ He seems to have distinguished himself in a naval battle under Hippocrates in 493/2 BCE.⁷⁶⁰ After Hippocrates was killed by Sicels near Hybla in 491 BCE,⁷⁶¹ Gelon, Hippocrates' former master-of-horses, took over as tyrant of Gela. At some point, Chromius had married a sister of Gelon,⁷⁶² and had established himself at Gelon's court at Syracuse when the latter became tyrant of that city in 485 BCE. After Gelon's death he remained in the service of the Deinomenids and (probably in 477 BCE) was sent by Hieron as ambassador to Anaxilas of Rhegium to arbitrate in a conflict that threatened to erupt between Anaxilas and the Epizephyrian Locrians.⁷⁶³ At some stage, Chromius had become the guardian to Gelon's or Hieron's son.⁷⁶⁴ Chromius acted *pro tempore* as Hieron's ἐπίτροπος in Aetna,⁷⁶⁵ from its foundation in 476/5 BCE until the young Deinomenes took up the reigns of power himself.⁷⁶⁶ It has

⁷⁵⁸ Cf. *Ne.* 1.29, *Ne.* 9.42.

⁷⁵⁹ His prosopography can be found in Σ *Ne.* 9.95a (= Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 18, 21).

⁷⁶⁰ The 'battle of the Helorus', cf. *Ne.* 9.34-42, ΣΣ *ad loc.*. Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 399ff.), Luraghi (1994: 158).

⁷⁶¹ Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 425f.).

⁷⁶² Cf. Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 18, 21, Hdt. 7.154. The date of the marriage is unknown.

⁷⁶³ Cf. Justin 21.3.2, Σ Pi. *Py.* 1.99a, 2.36c, 2.38. According to the scholia, the mission was successful.

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. Σ Pi. *Ne.* 9.5a (= Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 21). The scholiast leaves room for doubt whether the tutelage was of Gelon's or of Hieron's son. Cf. Gaspar (1900: 73), Wilamowitz (1922: 232n.2), Luraghi (1994: 333).

⁷⁶⁵ Cf. Σ Pi. *Ne.* 9, *inscr.* Χρόμιος ... κατασταθείς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς Αἴτνης ἐπίτροπος.

⁷⁶⁶ In 470 BCE or shortly thereafter, cf. *Py.* 1.60.

been suggested that Chromius must have been around sixty years old by 470 BCE.⁷⁶⁷

The upshot of this overview is that Chromius appears to have been a most trusted associate of Hieron, intimately linked with the Deinomenid tyranny, but at the same time a clear subordinate to the tyrant.

By 469 BCE, the date which is adopted here as the date of first performance of the first *Nemean* ode, he must have been nearing the end of his active career.⁷⁶⁸

In both odes Hieron is noticeably absent,⁷⁶⁹ in contrast with another ode composed for an associate of Hieron, Hagesias of Stymphalos. In that ode the tyrant is extensively praised.⁷⁷⁰ Suggestions as to why this might be the case are given below.

The ideology in both odes appear to one of *Polisideologie*.

3.1.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the odes.

The ninth *Nemean* ode celebrates a victory won in the Sicyonian games.⁷⁷¹ The ode mentions Aetna as 'recently founded',⁷⁷² which hints at a date of first performance of not much later than 476/5 BCE. The inscription to the ninth *Nemean* ode mentions that Chromius was proclaimed at the games as citizen of Aetna,⁷⁷³ yet that could be an inference from the ode itself. If two passages in the ninth *Nemean* ode refer to the

⁷⁶⁷ Braswell (1998: 128). Cf. *Ne.* 9.42 ἐν ἀλικίᾳ πρώτῳ· referring to events in 493/2 BCE.

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. § 3.1.5.2.

⁷⁶⁹ To my knowledge, this point was first made by Bury (1890: 247), yet it seems to have been forgotten afterwards. Bury does not suggest why this might have been the case.

⁷⁷⁰ Cf. *Ol.* 6.92-98.

⁷⁷¹ Cf. *Ne.* 9.9, *Ne.* 9.53.

⁷⁷² *Ne.* 9.2 τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν.

⁷⁷³ Σ *Ne.* 9 *inscr.* ὁθεν καὶ Αἰτναῖος ἐκηρύχθη.

battle of Cumae,⁷⁷⁴ then we would have a *terminus post quem* of 474 BCE. The ode appears to allude to a κῶμος at Aetna.⁷⁷⁵ However, the opening of the ode,⁷⁷⁶ with the image of a victory revel from Sicyon to Aetna, suggests performances in both places and conceivably at other Peloponnesian localities as well.⁷⁷⁷ Some scholars argue that this should be linked to Chromius' (and Hieron's) programme of recruiting Peloponnesian Dorians to be part of the population of newly founded Aetna.⁷⁷⁸ This seems an attractive proposition,⁷⁷⁹ particularly if the ode was reperformed in other Peloponnesian locales.

The first *Nemean* ode almost certainly celebrates a Panhellenic *Nemean* victory.⁷⁸⁰ Many editors accept Didymos' statement that the ode was written for Chromius as citizen of Aetna.⁷⁸¹ Since the ninth *Nemean* ode does not mention an earlier victory, the first *Nemean* ode appears to have been composed after the ninth

⁷⁷⁴ *Ne.* 9.34, 9.43.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ne.* 9.50-53.

⁷⁷⁶ *Ne.* 9.1-3 Κωμάσομεν παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος Σικυωνόθε, Μοῖσαι, τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν, ἔνθ' ἀναπτεππαμέναι ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι.

⁷⁷⁷ Hubbard (1992: 79-82), (2004: 79).

⁷⁷⁸ Hubbard (2004: 80). Cf. Horace, *AP* 275-77: Thespis' theatre company.

⁷⁷⁹ However, cf. Appendix six where it is argued that not only Dorians were targeted as prospective new immigrants.

⁷⁸⁰ *Pace* Lefkowitz (1976: 174) who argues for a local Sicilian event on the basis of Σ *Ol.* 13.158b <ταῖ θ' ὑπ' Αἴτνας> τῆς Σικελίας [πόλεις]· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἄγεται ἀγὼν Νέμεα καλούμενος. Cf. Braswell (1992: 38): if the first *Nemean* ode did not celebrate games in the Argolid, Pindar would have qualified this and the ode would later have been catalogued with the other pseudo-*Nemean* events, such as the ninth, tenth and eleventh *Nemean* odes.

⁷⁸¹ Cf. Σ *Ne.* 1 *inscr.* a. γέγραπται ὁ ἐπίνικος Χρομίῳ Αἰτναίῳ Two manuscripts contain the inscription Χρομίῳ Αἰτναίῳ ἵπποισι, yet this could well have been inferred from the odes themselves, cf. *Ne.* 1.9 and 9.30. Some editors (e.g. Schmidt, Schroeder) delete, however, in favour of Χρομίῳ Συρακοσίῳ.

ode.⁷⁸² A passage in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode,⁷⁸³ which was performed for the first time in 470 BCE or not much later,⁷⁸⁴ suggests that Chromius would not have acted as regent for Deinomenes after that date and might well have retired to Syracuse. Since the first *Nemean* ode deals with the military career of a *laudandus* who was intimately linked with the Deinomenids, the ode surely could not have been composed after the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny in 467/6 BCE. This suggests a date of first performance for the first *Nemean* ode in or shortly after 469 or 467 BCE.⁷⁸⁵ The ode appears to have been performed at Aetna or Syracuse.⁷⁸⁶

3.1.3 Political discourse in the ninth *Nemean* ode, serving the interests of the *laudandus*.

The ninth *Nemean* ode shows an interest in Sicyonian aetiology. The origin of the Sicyonian games was ascribed to the sixth-century tyrant Cleisthenes,⁷⁸⁷ yet in Pindar's ninth *Nemean* ode Adrastus is presented as the founder of these local games.⁷⁸⁸ The scholiast is of the opinion that Adrastus was introduced and Cleisthenes removed to

⁷⁸² Had Chromius won at the more prestigious Nemean games before his victory at Sicyon this feat would surely have been mentioned in the ninth *Nemean* ode.

⁷⁸³ *Py.* 1.60ff.

⁷⁸⁴ Cf. § 2.4.1.

⁷⁸⁵ With a victory in the fifty-third or fifty-fourth Nemean games.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ne.* 1.19-20. The use of ἔσταν need not imply that Pindar was actually present.

⁷⁸⁷ Σ *Ne.* 9. *inscr.* mentions 'the man from Halicarnassus' so presumably refers to the events as described in Hdt. 5.67. Cf. Σ *Ne.* 9.20, 25a, Hubbard (1992: 83n.10).

⁷⁸⁸ *Ne.* 9.11-12 ὃς τότε μὲν βασιλεύων κεῖθι νέαισι θ' ἑορταῖς ἰσχύος τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀμίλλαις ἄρμασι τε γλαφυροῖς ἄμφαινε κυδαίνων πόλιν.

make the games more prestigious (ένδοξότερον).⁷⁸⁹ However, some argue that this reattribution reflects Pindar's intervention in a major political dispute.⁷⁹⁰ It seems highly unlikely, however, that such an important decision as a reattribution of the foundation of the games could have been made by a poet.⁷⁹¹ This means that the reattribution most probably originated with the Sicyonians themselves. Pindar would, in that case, have supported the version of the Sicyonian 'Dorians' against the pro-Athenian Cleisthenes,⁷⁹² as part of the process of suppressing the role of the tyrant and replacing him with a mythical founder.⁷⁹³ In other words, Pindar did not intervene, but obliged with a poetical treatment of the local Sicyonian games; he made Adrastus the founder in honour of Pythian Apollo, during the hero's exile from Argos and before his first expedition to Thebes.⁷⁹⁴ In this way, Pindar's 'reattribution' would not have

⁷⁸⁹ Σ *Ne.* 9.20 ἴν' οὖν ένδοξότερον άποφήνη τόν άγώνα, Σ 25b και άλλως ένδοξότερος ό άνήρ. (sc. Adrastus).

⁷⁹⁰ Hubbard (1992: 82-85) who argues that the choice of Adrastus as the new founder of the Sicyonian Pythia may owe something to the influence of the nearby Nemean games, which had been recognised as Panhellenic 573 BCE, with Adrastus as the founder.

⁷⁹¹ Therefore it seems best not to speak of 'Pindar's intervention' in this dispute.

⁷⁹² Griffin (1982) is the most recent study into Sicyon. She notes (1982: 61f.) that there is no evidence at all about the nature of the government set up by the Spartans to replace the tyranny at Sicyon. However, after Cleisthenes perhaps 'there was an increase in the respect paid to Adrastus, probably including a revival of his cult. Pindar's statement (sc. *Ne.* 9.9ff.) probably reflects the rehabilitation of Adrastus at the end of the sixth century, at the expense of his enemy Cleisthenes.' (1982: 55).

⁷⁹³ This could be compared with Pindar's tenth *Olympian* ode in which Heracles is portrayed as founder of the Olympic games. Hornblower (2004: 113) suggests that this could have been a hit at the pretensions of the Eleans. Possibly we have similar manoeuvres in the first *Olympian* (Pelops as founder).

⁷⁹⁴ Pindar appears to have applied the same rhetorical device on a further occasion, cf. *Isth.* 4.25 (or *Isth.* 3/4.44) έν τ' Άδραστειοίς άέθλοις Σικυώνος ώπασεν. Gaspar (1900: 80), Privitera (1982: 41) argue that the date of the first performance of *Ne.* 9 is contemporary with that of *Isth.* 4.

originated with him, but would have been part of a *damnatio memoriae* of Cleisthenes. By exalting the games in this way he would be performing a service to the Sicyonians.⁷⁹⁵ Furthermore, Pindar would be aligning the interests of the Sicyonians with his patron, Chromius; it is a fair assumption that the version with Adrastus as founder would have given the Sicyonians a strong incentive for continuous reperformance at subsequent Sicyonian games.⁷⁹⁶ For Chromius this would imply continuous attention for his victory. The propaganda in the ode would in that case have been threefold: for the Sicyonians, for Aetna,⁷⁹⁷ and for Chromius. It is impossible to tell whether Cleisthenes' *damnatio* was motivated by his hostility to Sicyonian tradition,⁷⁹⁸ or because he was a tyrant.⁷⁹⁹ Consequently, it cannot be excluded that Hieron is absent in the ninth *Nemean* ode because he was a (living) tyrant.

3.1.4 Praise for the *laudandus* in the ninth *Nemean* ode.

It is argued that the ode is part of a political programme to attract new settlers.⁸⁰⁰ On that interpretation, it is unsurprising that Aetna is highly praised. The mention of εὐνομία is significant in that respect. Chromius is praised as an exemplary citizen as

⁷⁹⁵ Tentatively, *Ne.* 9.9 ἱππίων ἀέθλων κορυφάν, ἃ τε Φοῖβῳ κτλ. might have served a similar purpose. The 'very apex of contest' is the chariot event, yet rhetorically the word-order might give the impression of an exaggerated status of the Sicyonian games.

⁷⁹⁶ Cf. *Ne.* 9.11-12 (Adrastus) νέαισί θ' ἑορταῖς ἰσχύος τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀμίλλαις ἄρμασι τε γλαφυροῖς ἄμφαινε κυδαίνων πόλιν. (sc. Sicyon).

⁷⁹⁷ Cf. 3.1.4.1.

⁷⁹⁸ As is argued by Griffin (1982: 50-59).

⁷⁹⁹ A real possibility, since the Orthagorid tyranny was put down by Sparta and since Sicyon appears to have behaved as a faithful ally to Sparta in the Persian wars, cf. Griffin (1982: 61).

⁸⁰⁰ *Ne.* 1.22f., incidentally, notes that foreign guests frequent Chromius' house.

well as an exemplary soldier. The final section of the ode deals with the ῥσυχία of the symposium. ῥσυχία is relevant to both Aetna (since ῥσυχία had political implications) and to Chromius (since ῥσυχία is the just reward for his πόνος, a common epinician *topos*).⁸⁰¹

3.1.4.1 Praise for Aetna.

Praise for Chromius is intricately linked with praise for Aetna,⁸⁰² and Aetna is advertised as a congenial place for mercenaries to settle.⁸⁰³ Rhetorically, the ode fulfils this purpose in a number of ways. Aetna is introduced as well known,⁸⁰⁴ and hence perhaps as more important than it actually was around 474 BCE. Significant is a passage in the sixth and seventh strophe which specifically deals with Aetna.⁸⁰⁵ The apotropaic prayer with which that passage begins asks for the Phoenician threat to be put off,⁸⁰⁶ a *suggestio falsi* (or *suppressio veri*).⁸⁰⁷ Rhetorically it portrays Chromius *cum suis* as guarantors of peace and as the only persons who will ensure that there will be no such threat in future. This further implies that all future inhabitants of Aetna can be

⁸⁰¹ Cf. *Ol.* 4.22, *Ne.* 1.69f. 9.44. It is also an important theme in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode, cf. § 5.2.4.1.

⁸⁰² The ode transfers Chromius' martial values, his guest-friendship and hospitality to Aetna.

⁸⁰³ The sort of immigrants which Hieron had planned to attract. *Ne.* 9.2 τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν might signal to an audience that new settlers were needed. Cf. Appendix six.

⁸⁰⁴ Cf. τὰν in *Ne.* 9.2 τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν. This is the so-called *dér-Deixis*, cf. Schwyzer Debrunner II.1.2 p.207. There is no discreet reminder of Hieron here, *pace* Braswell (1998: 47) who follows Σ *ad. loc.* 1a. The scholium, however, seems to be a historical clarification of *Ne.* 9.2. Cf. Σ *ad. loc.* 1b which does not mention Hieron.

⁸⁰⁵ *Ne.* 9.28-29 εἰ δυνατόν, Κρονίων ... κρέσσονας ἄνδρες.

⁸⁰⁶ *Ne.* 9.29 ἀναβάλλομαι ὥς πόρσιστα, *dicuntur facere precantes id quod precibus effectum volunt* (Dissen). ὥς πόρσιστα is not 'as far as possible' but indefinitely far. Cf. Bury (1890: 177).

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. § 2.4.4 and note 482.

honourable defenders of Greece against the barbarian. Second, the prayer asks for the dispensation of εὐνομία and the institutions of 'public celebrations'.⁸⁰⁸ The term εὐνομία was not a neutral one. A contemporary audience arguably associated εὐνομία with the Spartan constitution or, alternatively, with written or customary law codes in general, limiting arbitrary powers and regulating social conflict.⁸⁰⁹ Aetna's citizens receive further praise: they are lovers of horses, implying that they are well-to-do. They also have souls 'superior to possessions'.⁸¹⁰ Any audience would presumably have recognised this *topos* of praise;⁸¹¹ it signifies that the citizens of Aetna spend their wealth wisely, and that they do not hoard wealth but instead use it to honour the gods, to bestow hospitality on friends, or generally to spend their wealth on beneficial works for fellow citizens. Hence Chromius chose to be advertised as an Aetnaean, as a citizen amongst his fellow citizens and not as its viceroy.⁸¹²

⁸⁰⁸ *Ne.* 9.29-32 μοῖραν δ' εὐνομον αἰτέω σε παισὶν δαρὸν Αἰτναίων ὀπάζειν, Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀγλαΐαισιν δ' ἀστυνόμοις ἐπιμεῖξαι λαόν.

⁸⁰⁹ Cf. § 2.4.4.3 on εὐνομία. The symposium imagery at the end of this ode might have suggested that Aetna was in fact already governed by εὐνομία.

⁸¹⁰ *Ne.* 9.32f. κτεάνων ψυχὰς ἔχοντες κρέσσονας. The plural ἔχοντες implies that all Aetnaean citizens are meant, not just Chromius alone, *pace* Bury (1890: 178).

⁸¹¹ Exactly paralleled at *Ol.* 4.14f. μάλα μὲν τροφαῖς ἐτοῖμον ἵππων (wealth), χαίροντά τε ξενίαις πανδόκοις (spending). Cf. *Py.* 2.58-61, B.3.63-66, B.3.10-17, *Ne.* 1.31, *Ol.* 5.23, *Py.* 8.91f. ἔχων κρέσσονα πλούτου μέριμναν (the wish to acquire glory is higher than the wish for wealth).

⁸¹² Contrast with the hierarchical relationship at *Py.* 1.76ff. Zeus is to ruler as ruler is to subjects. The passage *Ne.* 9.28ff., however, seems to hint at a more balanced relationship, appearing to offer a programme of civic equality. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1277b14 τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐπίστασθαι καὶ δύνασθαι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ αὕτη ἀρετὴ πολίτου, τὸ τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴν ἐπίστασθαι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα. Cf. Sol. *fr.* 20 W.

3.1.4.2 The myth in the ninth *Nemean* ode.

The myth occupies three strophes.⁸¹³ Pindar, as often, chooses to narrate only particular details from the myth.⁸¹⁴ That Polynices is not mentioned is unsurprising since he was Adrastus' brother-in-law and Chromius stood in a similar relationship to Hieron. Hence mention of Polynices might have been inappropriate. As *exemplum*, the myth and the way it is told by Pindar should have relevance for Chromius.⁸¹⁵ For a modern reader of the ode, the myth might seem excessively negative and the mention of internal strife,⁸¹⁶ the reason for Adrastus' flight from Argos, seems problematic. I follow Bury,⁸¹⁷ who argues that the Argive expedition is a negative example of what hopefully will not happen to Chromius' Aetna.

It is unclear whether Amphiaraus' rescue is a Pindaric invention or draws on earlier material.⁸¹⁸ Pindar mentions that Zeus buries Amphiaraus with his horses under the ground,⁸¹⁹ allowing him to become a redeemed hero for the Theban population. This has the advantage of avoiding any connection between a disgraceful wound in the back and Chromius as a military man.⁸²⁰ The embarrassment of running away (clear

⁸¹³ From the end of the second strophe and running into the sixth, *Ne.* 9.10-27.

⁸¹⁴ The absence of a good omen, the ruin of the army and the saving of Amphiaraus.

⁸¹⁵ Cf. Köhnken (1971: 227). Cf. § 1.4.

⁸¹⁶ *Ne.* 9.13 φεύγε γὰρ Ἀμφιαρῇ ποτε θρασυμήδεα καὶ δεινὰν στάσιν, cf. Σ *Ne.* 9.30a (= Menaichmus of Sicyon *FGrHist* 131 F 10), Σ *Ne.* 9.30b.

⁸¹⁷ Bury (1890: 166).

⁸¹⁸ Cf. Braswell (1998: 38-40, 93, 95).

⁸¹⁹ *Ne.* 9.24ff.

⁸²⁰ *Ne.* 9.26-27 πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν θυμὸν αἰσχυνθῆμεν, cf. D.L. Cairns (1993: 176n.10) with more epic and lyric examples.

from νῶτα τυπέντα) is offset by *gnome* which effectively eliminates any possible suspicion,⁸²¹ since the events were inevitable.

3.1.4.3 Praise for the *laudandus*.

The Muses are summoned to go from Sicyon to 'newly-founded Aetna'.⁸²² This is followed, in quick succession, by some conventional epinician elements that identify victor and victory.⁸²³ Praise of Chromius concentrates on his martial exploits,⁸²⁴ and deals with his infantry, cavalry and naval career. Possibly there is a faint allusion to his role as counsellor.⁸²⁵ Rhetorically, ἀνακοίνωσις is employed, a device whereby the chorus makes the audience informants as though they are themselves witnessing the military action of the *laudandus*. Chromius shows his proper αἰδώς. The audience is placed in a hierarchical but close relationship to Chromius, and is invited to picture a situation in which they are actually serving under him.⁸²⁶ A description of the victory at

⁸²¹ *Ne.* 9.27 ... ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν. Σ *ad loc.* 63 (quoting Hom. *Λ* 574) explains: Zeus was on the side of the Thebans.

⁸²² *Ne.* 9.1.

⁸²³ *Ne.* 9.1 the games, 9.2 the victor's city Aetna, 9.3 name of victor, 9.4 event. The catalogue is completed at 9.42 with mention of the name of the father.

⁸²⁴ *Ne.* 9.33-37.

⁸²⁵ *Ne.* 9.38 χερσὶ καὶ ψυχῇ δυνατοί. A combination of physical and intellectual powers, portraying the *laudandus* as a 'complete' man. Cf. Race (1990: 36n.31) for more of such Pindaric doublets.

⁸²⁶ *Ne.* 9.34 Χρομίῳ κεν ὑπασπίζων. The dramatic set-up in the ode appears to have been quite common in real life. Cf. van Wees (2004: 68, 271n.21) on σκευφόροι ἀκόλουθοι and ὑπασπρίσται. Braswell (1998: 113) on ὑπασπρίσται, formally 'acting as attendant to' but probably meaning 'serving under the command of, but in a close relationship to'. Cf. E. *Heracl.* 216, *Ph.* 213, Hdt. 5.11, X. *An.* 420.

the Helorus river in 492 BCE follows.⁸²⁷ Chromius had participated in this battle.⁸²⁸ The exact site where the battle took place is uncertain,⁸²⁹ but it appears to have taken place near the coast. The ode, however, describes the banks of the Helorus river as steep and rugged,⁸³⁰ a further *suggestio falsi* since the river banks are not steep at all at that point. Rhetorically, βαθύκρημνος might have been coined by Pindar, perhaps in view of a non-Sicilian audience. Possible epic reminiscences of βαθύκρημνος,⁸³¹ would result in further praise for a military men such as the *laudandus*. That the *laudandus* is compared to Hector,⁸³² another exemplary soldier,⁸³³ might be explained by the fact that Chromius in the ode is portrayed as a defender of Sicily.⁸³⁴ That, however, is a further *suppressio veri* since at the battle of the Helorus Syracusans were pitted against fellow Greeks. That this is conveniently glossed over is perhaps understandable in an ode intended to tempt overseas Greeks to come to Sicily.

That same political programme could explain why the ode does not contain any genealogy. The option of creating an artificial genealogy was a possibility in an epinician ode,⁸³⁵ yet without genealogy (improved or true),⁸³⁶ there is perhaps a slight

⁸²⁷ *Ne.* 9.40-42. Cf. Race (1990: 173-4) on the climactic pair in chiasmic structure of *Ne.* 9.39-42.

⁸²⁸ Cf. Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 18.

⁸²⁹ Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 399f, 425-26).

⁸³⁰ *Ne.* 9.40 βαθυκρήμνοισι δ' ἄμφ' ἄκταις Ἑλώρου,

⁸³¹ Homeric compounds with βαθυ- are plentiful (deep, steep), yet are not used for river-banks.

⁸³² *Ne.* 9.39-40.

⁸³³ *Ne.* 9.38 μὲν is adversative, hence the translation should be 'few can counsel in matters physical and intellectual, yet Hector and Chromius could.' Be that as it may, Hector discarded good advice from Polydamus whereas the latter was in fact known for his sage advice. Cf. Hom. Σ 249-52.

⁸³⁴ Cf. Σ *Ne.* 9.93a τὸν δὲ Ἑκτορα παρείληφε καὶ οὐκ Αἴαντα ἢ Ἀχιλλέα, τῷ καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα μεμαχῆσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὥς καὶ τὸν Χρόμιον.

⁸³⁵ Cf. § 5.2.4.1 for such manoeuvres in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode.

hint of 'from pauper to millionaire'. This might have suited the *laudandus* (and Hieron) in their quest for new settlers for Aetna.

The poem announces that it will embark on a summary of Chromius' efforts,⁸³⁷ however, that tale has to wait for 'other days',⁸³⁸ implying that Chromius' valiant deeds are simply too manifold to relate now; rhetorically, the *laudandus* is praised using the εὐπορία motif.

A *gnome* introduces the *topos* of 'ἡσυχία after πόνος',⁸³⁹ and draws attention to Chromius' rewards. The *laudandus* has earned ἡμέρα (gentleness) as the result of his efforts 'in his youth and with justice'.⁸⁴⁰ While epinician often consoles a person in old age with wealth, fame and good repute,⁸⁴¹ Chromius' reward, ἡμέρα, might have been chosen to maximise the contrast between the qualities he had to call upon during his time in active service,⁸⁴² and the extraordinary happiness, the θαυμαστόν ὄλβον,⁸⁴³

⁸³⁶ In any case, Chromius' subordinate relationship with Hieron might have prevented inclusion of any fabricated past. Chromius' φύα (viz. his hereditary and genealogical qualities) are touched upon in the first *Nemean* ode at *Ne.* 1.25. Cf. § 3.1.5.2.

⁸³⁷ *Ne.* 9.42-44 τὰ δ' ἄλλαις ἀμέραις πολλὰ μὲν ἐν κονίᾳ χέρσω, τὰ δὲ γείτονι πόντῳ φάσομαι.

⁸³⁸ φάσομαι does not refer to a moment later in the ode, *pace* Pfeijffer (1999: 28f.).

⁸³⁹ *Ne.* 9.44 ἐκ πόνων δ', οἳ σὺν νεότατι γένωνται σὺν τε δίκῃ, τελέθει πρὸς γῆρας αἰὼν ἡμέρα. Köhnken (1971: 75) 'durch Mühen Sieg, durch Sieg ein glückliches Alter.' πρὸς γῆρας describes Chromius' current circumstances as 'the time towards old age'.

⁸⁴⁰ Yet it is all too easy to forget that Chromius was a henchman in the service of a tyranny which to all intents and purposes was a military dictatorship, cf. § 2.4.4. Almost in all odes composed for Hieron is he praised as just, cf. § 8.3.1 and there on the association between tyranny and ἀδικία.

⁸⁴¹ E.g. *Ol.* 8.70-3, *Isth.* 6.10-15, *Pae.* 1.1-4, negatively *Ol.* 1.82-84, *Py.* 10.41, *Ne.* 10.83, *Pae.* 1.1.

⁸⁴² Cf. the dry pragmatic observation *Ne.* 9.15 κρέσσων δὲ κατπαύει δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν ἀνὴρ with which every military man must have been familiar.

⁸⁴³ *Ne.* 9.45 ἴστω λαχὼν πρὸς δαιμόνων θαυμαστόν ὄλβον.

which he now has received from the gods.⁸⁴⁴ This is all couched in a *ne plus ultra* motif,⁸⁴⁵ which is best understood as high praise, not as a warning.⁸⁴⁶

Mention of guests partaking of a symposium,⁸⁴⁷ picks up the proem of the poem where revellers are on their way to the 'wide-open gates' of the house of the *laudandus*. The symposium has been described as a paradigm of human felicity and the dangers attendant upon it.⁸⁴⁸ The symposium, however, includes dangers of violence, βία,⁸⁴⁹ and hubris. The ode appears to reflect such dangers; voices can become over-confident,⁸⁵⁰ unadulterated wine should not be taken,⁸⁵¹ since this can lead to a lack of restraint. Wine is a 'powerful child of the vine',⁸⁵² but restriction is needed since a proper symposium is 'loved by peace'.⁸⁵³ Victory leads to (gentle) song,⁸⁵⁴ in this case explicitly in a symposium setting.

⁸⁴⁴ This can be understood as an extension of the *topos* 'ἡσυχία after πόνος'. Absence of trouble after a life of hardship was surely pleasing to the *laudandus*.

⁸⁴⁵ *Ne.* 9.46f.

⁸⁴⁶ Cf. note 409 with Fisher's remark. The reading of *Ne.* 9.47 is disputed, cf. Braswell (1998: 135). The meaning, however, seems clear enough: the victor as a mortal man has come close to the gods: he cannot hope to achieve more.

⁸⁴⁷ *Ne.* 9.48ff.

⁸⁴⁸ Dickie (1984: 90) who also notes (1984: 89) that 'in a symposium men are confronted in a very immediate fashion with the good things of life and in particular with one blessing, wine, which, if not treated with restraint, encourages hybris', cf. Xenoph. *fr.* 1.13-17 W, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1299-1315.

⁸⁴⁹ Cf. Hubbard (1992: 111).

⁸⁵⁰ *Ne.* 9.49 θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατήρα φωνὰ γίνεται.

⁸⁵¹ *Ne.* 9.50 ἐγκρινάτω τίς νιν (ἐγκρίναμαι *misceo*).

⁸⁵² *Ne.* 9.51-2 βιατάν ἀμπέλου παῖδ'.

⁸⁵³ *Ne.* 9.48.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ne.* 9.48-9 νεοθαλῆς δ' αὖξεται μαλθακᾷ νικαφορία σὺν ἀοιδᾷ· by virtue of soft lays victory buddeth afresh (Bury), cf. *Py.* 8.31. Compare the 'gentle song' in this ode with the powerful persuasive force that music is in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode.

Finally, since tyranny appears to have been concomitant with hubris,⁸⁵⁵ the emphasis on avoidance of hubristic behaviour at the end of the ode is consonant with the portrayal of Aetna as a peaceful and hospitable place. Hence, the end of the ode severs any link between the *laudandus*, his home city and hubris. In an ideal city such as Aetna, its citizens will not be treated hubristically.

3.1.5 Praise for the *laudandus* and Sicily in the first *Nemean* ode.

The praise for the *laudandus* in this ode is inserted between praise for Sicily and the Heracles myth. Structurally the first *Nemean* ode differs from the other odes in our epinician corpus in that the narrative part (the myth) is carried through right until the end of the ode.⁸⁵⁶ Modern debates on the relevance of the myth, as is often the case, are reflected in the ancient scholia.⁸⁵⁷ The two opposing views centre on the question whether the myth refers to the contemporary political situation and in particular portrays Hieron as Zeus and Chromius as his Heracles,⁸⁵⁸ or whether the myth should be read

⁸⁵⁵ Cf. Fisher (1992: 25-31). Cf. S. *O.T.* 873, Pl. *Pol.* 301C, *R.* 573B.

⁸⁵⁶ Cf. § 8.2 where this feature of the myth is explained by the assumption that the *laudandus* was an unproblematic victor and consequently did not need any recapitulation of praise at the end of the ode. This feature the ode shares with the tenth *Nemean* ode, also composed for an accomplished veteran, who lacked only one Olympic victory in order to become a *περιοδονίκης*. That victor, Theasius of Argos, is only praised for athletic successes, and not, as is the case for Chromius, for any accomplishments in public life and the military.

⁸⁵⁷ Cf. Σ *Ne.* 1.49.

⁸⁵⁸ Slater (1984: 250ff.). Cf. Σ *Ne.* 1.49c ὅτι ὁ Χρόμιος πολλὰ συμπονήσας τῷ Ἱέρωνι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμοιβῆς ἔτυχεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὥστε ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ ἵπποτροφῆσαι· ὡς οὖν οὗτος ἔπαθλον πόνων ἔλαβε τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, οὕτω καὶ Ἡρακλῆς πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσας ἔπαθλον ἔσχε τὴν ἀθανασίαν καὶ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἥβης.

in more general terms. On that last interpretation, Heracles, someone well-known for his πόνος, is an *exemplum* for Chromius and the myth predicts Chromius' future victories.⁸⁵⁹ It is difficult to decide on either of the two alternatives. The objection levelled at the second alternative, namely that the first *Nemean* ode was performed at a time when Chromius' career was drawing to its end and that, consequently, not many future victories were to be expected, can be easily met. Nothing would prevent older patrons, as the owner of a team of horses, from participating in chariot racing events. The objection levelled at the first alternative is more problematic. If Chromius indeed was Hieron's Heracles, why is the tyrant not mentioned? Assuming that Chromius was a subordinate of the tyrant, absence of the mention of Hieron surely must have been agreed upon with the tyrant. In other words, Hieron must have allowed Chromius to celebrate his victory on his own, without any mention of his being dependent on the tyrant. On that interpretation, this would be something that a contemporary Sicilian audience might interpret as high praise for the *laudandus*. Another objection is levelled at both alternatives. Pindar does not mention any marriage of Chromius,⁸⁶⁰ but if the *laudandus* is indeed modelled on Heracles, how does this make the hero's marriage to Hebe relevant to the *laudandus*? In answer to this, it could be argued that Heracles' reward does seem to include more than a marriage to Hebe. It includes eternal peace and tranquillity as recompense for his labours as well,⁸⁶¹ with transfer to Olympus, something which implies the hero's apotheosis.⁸⁶²

⁸⁵⁹ Bury (1890: 4n.4), Braswell (1992: 80f.). Cf. Σ *Ne.* 1.49c: Pindar recalls Heracles' earliest feats and parallels them with future victories of Chromius οὕτως αὐτὸς ὁ Πίνδαρος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ Χρομίου νίκης προμαντεύεται, ὅτι καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στεφάνων τεύξεται.

⁸⁶⁰ Carey (1981: 127).

⁸⁶¹ *Ne.* 1.69-71.

⁸⁶² *Ne.* 1.72-73. ὀλβίοις ἐν δώμασι, δεξάμενον θαλερὰν Ἥβαν ἄκοιτιν καὶ γάμον

3.1.5.1 Praise for Sicily.

If it can be accepted that Chromius was allowed to celebrate his victory as his own man, not begrudged by his patron Hieron, then this might help to explain why a fair amount of praise in this ode is directed at Sicily:⁸⁶³ Chromius would surely have gone too far if he had advertised himself as someone with pretensions to power. Although Hieron is absent in the ode, he was Chromius' patron and the *laudandus* consequentially would have been ill advised to go beyond certain limits.

This ode appears to be less martial than the ninth *Nemean* ode. Its theme seems to be accomplishment, and rest after exertion.⁸⁶⁴ The whole mood of the ode is one of rest.⁸⁶⁵ Consequently, Chromius' home in Syracuse is presented as a place of rest.⁸⁶⁶

The first epode contains a catalogue of praise for Sicily: its fertility,⁸⁶⁷ its lofty and prosperous cities, its people 'enamoured of bronze-armoured war' and its many victories in the Olympian games are mentioned.⁸⁶⁸ Since no Olympic victory was

δαίσαντα παρ Δι Κρονίδᾳ, σεμνὸν αἰνήσειν νόμον. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the *laudandus* is alluding to the same for himself, cf. § 3.1.5.2.

⁸⁶³ Cf. *Ne.* 1.1-4, 13-18.

⁸⁶⁴ The theme is introduced in the opening of the ode. *Ne.* 1.1 Ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ne.* 1.3 δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος. Bury (1890: 10) suggests that δέμνιον is used instead of ἔδος to harmonise with the note of rest in the opening of the poem. Cf. *Ne.* 1.69ff. Chromius'

⁸⁶⁶ Cf. *Ne.* 1.22.

⁸⁶⁷ Cf. B.3.1 Ἀριστο[κ]άρπου Σικελίας.

⁸⁶⁸ *Ne.* 1.14-18 ἀριστεύοισαν εὐκάρπου χθονός ... μιχθέντα.

attached to Chromius' name, all Sicilian Olympic victors are bracketed in this praise.⁸⁶⁹

Sicily is mentioned as a congenial place that foreign guests frequently visit.⁸⁷⁰ Finally, portrayal of Sicily as a gift from Zeus arguably suggests Greek hegemony over the whole of the island,⁸⁷¹ a further *suggestio falsi*.

3.1.5.2 Praise for the *laudandus*.

The ode mentions Chromius' beginnings as 'his divine abilities'.⁸⁷² These abilities appear to be paralleled in the myth when it deals with Heracles' prodigious infancy.⁸⁷³ The Heracles' myth parallels the life and career of *laudandus* and hero: both *laudandus* and Heracles have led a life of toil upon which a just reward follows.⁸⁷⁴ Heracles was known for his πόνος and the efforts of the *laudandus* are paralleled with the πόνος of the hero, something which is brought out forcefully at the end of the

⁸⁶⁹ Cf. Σ *Ne.* 1.25a ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος τῷ Πινδάρῳ οὐ περὶ τοῦ Χρομίου μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λαοῦ, οἳ πολλὰς ἔσχον νίκας Ὀλυμπικάς. *Pace* Wilamowitz (1922: 254) 'ein Kompliment für Hieron.'

⁸⁷⁰ Cf. *Ne.* 1.22-24 θαμὰ δ' ἄλλοδαπῶν οὐκ ἀπείρατοι δόμοι ἐντί· Foreign guests frequenting Chromius' home.

⁸⁷¹ *Ne.* 1.16-17 ὤπασε δὲ Κρονίων πολέμου μναστήρ· οἱ χαλκεντέος λαὸν ἵππαιχμον. *Ne.* 1.16 οἱ is ambiguous and could refer to either Sicily or Persephone. On balance, Sicily seems more probable, as it seems part of a list. *Ne.* 1.17 λαὸν ἵππαιχμον are cavalry-men. Cf. Σ *recens* 25c1 ἱππόμαχον, πολεμικόν.

⁸⁷² *Ne.* 1.8-9 ἀρχαὶ δὲ βέβληνται θεῶν κείνου σὺν ἀνδρὸς δαιμονίαις ἀρεταῖς.

⁸⁷³ *Ne.* 1.34-47.

⁸⁷⁴ This is, in my view, the best internal evidence for a late date of the ode, composed for a Chromius who was retired, or in any case not in active service any more.

second antistrophe,⁸⁷⁵ where the use of πολύπονος leaves little doubt about the intended parallel. The aggregate of Heracles' glorious deeds serves as a parallel to Chromius' commendable career. Since the ode describes Heracles' career until the end (although in a condensed manner), and specifically mentions Heracles' eternal peace and tranquillity as recompense for his labours,⁸⁷⁶ it appears that the *laudandus* wanted to be advertised as someone who after many years of service is now enjoying his well-earned rest. Heracles rests and feasts on Olympus, so likewise Chromius enjoys his rest in Syracuse.⁸⁷⁷ Chromius is a φιλόξενος,⁸⁷⁸ someone who naturally gathers 'good men', ἑσλοί,⁸⁷⁹ around him.⁸⁸⁰ Any envy Chromius encounters he disperses with his hospitality.⁸⁸¹

In climactic order, the ode mentions enemies whom Heracles overthrows:⁸⁸² beasts, men and finally giants. The incident of Heracles' fight against the giants was not, however, one of the hero's most popular and well-known feats. The scholia to the

⁸⁷⁵ Cf. *Ne.* 1.32-33 ...κοιναὶ γὰρ ἔρχονται ἐλπίδες πολυπόνων ἀνδρῶν. ἐγὼ δ' Ἡρακλέος κτλ. The passage occurs in a very climactic position, which is reinforced by enjambment. On this passage, see below.

⁸⁷⁶ Cf. *Ne.* 1.69-71 and *Ne.* 1.25 τέχναι δ' ἐτέρων ἕτεροι· κτλ an *alius aliud* figure reminding the audience in general terms of the *laudandus* as a military man and adviser.

⁸⁷⁷ Bundy (1962: 28) notes Chromius' 'agonistic labours and expenses'.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ne.* 1.20. Cf. Carey (1981: 109) 'the audience bears witness to his generosity.' Chromius is a φιλόπολις. Cf. *Ne.* 1.19-24.

⁸⁷⁹ In Pindar, this plural always refers to 'the good and noble', not to specific individuals.

⁸⁸⁰ *Ne.* 1.24. Cf. Carey (1981: 111-14) for the interpretation of this difficult verse.

⁸⁸¹ Cf. *Ne.* 1.24: the μεμφόμενοι. It is worth noting that Chromius nowhere makes veiled or explicit threats with regard to the enviers. Compare with Hieron, cf. § 8.3.3.2.

⁸⁸² *Ne.* 1.62ff. Cf. Carey (1981: 127).

first *Nemean* ode place the incident in the plains of Phlegra in Thrace.⁸⁸³ However, according to some Western-Greek and Italian sources these plains were located near Cumae,⁸⁸⁴ something which would be appreciated by a local audience. Since Chromius had been involved with that battle at Cumae the *laudator* might have alluded to this locality which stands at the intersection of Heracles' and Chromius' victories. Hence in this passage, Chromius is perhaps not paralleled but directly compared with Heracles, although in a veiled manner. The *laudator* would have avoided identifying a mere mortal, Chromius, with the demi-god.

Finally, some scholars argue that a passage where the 'hopes of much-toiling men' are mentioned⁸⁸⁵ should be interpreted positively,⁸⁸⁶ alluding to wishes for literal immortality.⁸⁸⁷ Since fifth-century Sicily teemed with eschatological beliefs, reflections of such beliefs in epinician odes are not unsurprising.⁸⁸⁸ It should be noted that the passage stresses that such hopes are common to all men,⁸⁸⁹ and consequently that this passage does not single out the *laudandus* as someone with hopes for posthumous hero-worship. Hence Heracles' apotheosis is better understood as a

⁸⁸³ Σ *Ne.* 1.101. Phlegra is also the site of the battle between Heracles and Alcioneus. Cf. *Ne.* 4.25, *Isth.* 631-35. That battle, however, seems to be a different one from the one mentioned in this ode. Cf. Gantz (1993: 449).

⁸⁸⁴ Cf. D.S. 4.21 (= Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 89), D.S. 5.71.2-6: Cumae. Str. 5.4.6, Plin. *NH* 3.60: Crete, Pallene and Cumae. Possibly Cumae was a source of mercenaries, cf. Th. 8.100.3-4, D.S. 7.10.1.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ne.* 1.32-33 ...κοινὰ γὰρ ἔρχοντ' ἐλπίδες πολυπόνων ἀνδρῶν.

⁸⁸⁶ Bundy (1962: 87) 'Fame after death.'

⁸⁸⁷ Currie (2005: 2f.) argues for an implied parallelism between Chromius and Heracles because of *Ne.* 1.8-9 with its conjunction of θεός, ἀνδρός and δαιμονίαις.

⁸⁸⁸ Cf. § 1.4.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ne.* 1.32 κοινὰ ...ἐλπίδες.

reflection of Sicilian eschatological beliefs,⁸⁹⁰ and as such, the end of the ode appears to have relevance for the audience as well as for the *laudandus*.

⁸⁹⁰ Cf. Bury (1890: 160f.) who argues for Chromius' initiation into the Mysteries on the basis of the ninth *Nemean* ode.

3.2 Pindar's sixth *Olympian* ode for Hagesias of Syracuse.

Argument.

In this ode, composed for an associate of Hieron, the relationship between laudandus and tyrant is clearly portrayed as one of subordination. Hagesias acknowledges Hieron's supremacy. The laudandus might very well have been intimately involved in Gelon's refoundation of Syracuse in 485 BCE, and consequently, might have had legitimate claims in Syracuse. Hieron, as usurper, had no such claims on Syracuse. The ode suggests that the laudandus could have been perceived as a threat to Hieron. The ode extensively praises the tyrant, supposedly in an effort to defuse any suspicions Hieron might have harboured against the laudandus. This might explain why praise for the laudandus is to a great extent praise for his clan and home city. The laudandus advertises himself as someone who does not have any political aspirations. Whereas the ode cannot be securely dated, tentatively a date of first performance earlier rather than later in Hieron's career is argued.

3.2.1 Introduction.

It has long been observed that this ode is permeated with doublets:⁸⁹¹ Hagesias is connected with both Syracuse and Stymphalos and his victory seems twice celebrated. The ode contains two myths. Hagesias is a seer as well as a military man. The ode

⁸⁹¹ Gildersleeve (1890: 172).

connects Thebes with Arcadia and Stymphalos with Syracuse and finally tells of the advantages of having a 'double anchor on a stormy night',⁸⁹² thereby calling attention to both fatherlands of the *laudandus*. Be that as it may, in Syracuse Hagesias acknowledges Hieron's supremacy. Apart from extensive praise for Hieron, arguably an effort to defuse any suspicions Hieron might have harboured against the *laudandus*, most of the praise in this ode is for the clan of the *laudandus* as well as for Syracuse and Stymphalos. The ideology expressed in the ode is best described as an instance of *Polisideologie*.

3.2.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the ode.

The event celebrated in the ode is without doubt a victory in the mule-cart race at Olympia.⁸⁹³ As such, the ode lacks mention in the Olympic victory lists.⁸⁹⁴ The *terminus post quem* of the victory celebrated in the ode must be 476 BCE since Hieron is referred to as ruler of Syracuse.⁸⁹⁵ Since Hieron is asked to welcome the κῶμος,⁸⁹⁶ he might even have been the master of ceremonies. This means that he was intimately involved with the first performance of the ode. It cannot be excluded that the ode alludes to Hieron's Aetna project.⁸⁹⁷ However, this need not necessarily be the case since the reference to Aetna could be explained in connection with Hagesias' function

⁸⁹² *OI.* 6.100-101.

⁸⁹³ Cf. *OI.* 6.25-27, Σ *OI.* 6.37bc.

⁸⁹⁴ Cf. Σ *OI.* 6 *inscr.* a. The event was removed from the programme in 444 BCE, cf. Paus., 5.9.1.

⁸⁹⁵ *OI.* 6.93-94 τὰν [sc. Ortygiam] ἱέρων καθαρῷ σκάπτῳ διέπων, ἄρτια μηδόμενος. Hieron became tyrant in 478/7 BCE and August 476 BCE is the first available date for the victory.

⁸⁹⁶ *OI.* 6.98.

⁸⁹⁷ Cf. *OI.* 6.96 καὶ Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος.

as seer: Aetna was a place for pyromancy where gold, silver and other ἱερεῖα were lowered into the crater.⁸⁹⁸ Alternatively, Αἰτναίου κράτος may refer to the mountain, or generally to Sicily.⁸⁹⁹ The *terminus ante quem* must be 467/6 BCE, the date of Hieron's death. Consequently, the ode cannot be securely dated. However, this enquiry suggests an earlier date of first performance rather than a later one.⁹⁰⁰ The ode hints at a first performance at Stymphalos.⁹⁰¹ The ode was surely reperformed in Syracuse.⁹⁰²

3.2.3 Hagesias' prosopography and consequences for the patron message of the *laudandus* in the ode.

All we know about Hagesias has to be extracted from the sixth *Olympian* ode, from careful evaluation of the scholia,⁹⁰³ and from what is known of other military prophets.⁹⁰⁴

Hagesias appears to have been connected with both Syracuse and Stymphalos and his victory seems twice celebrated.⁹⁰⁵ The ode suggests that he was a citizen of

⁸⁹⁸ Cf. Paus. 3.23.9: the lava from Aetna inspired the pious. Cf. Paus. 10.28.4.

⁸⁹⁹ Cf. § 2.6.2.

⁹⁰⁰ For the argumentation, cf. §§ 3.2.2, 8.3.1. Some reject the earlier date of 476 BCE, e.g. Gaspar (1900: 137), since Pindar was believed to be in Sicily and the ode is a 'travelling song', cf. *O.* 6.22-28, 87ff. However, since we know nothing about any travels of Pindar to Sicily, 476 BCE should not be excluded.

⁹⁰¹ *O.* 6.99. Cf. Race (1997:100).

⁹⁰² Since the ode is to a great extent directed at Hieron. Lehnus' (1981: 84) caution is unnecessary 'forse in qualche modo ripetuto a Siracusa: vv. 97-9.'

⁹⁰³ The scholiast is, however, much better informed about Chromius' position at Hieron's court than about Hagesias' status.

⁹⁰⁴ Kett (1996) collects the prosopographical data on Greek *manteis*. Cf. Malkin (1987: 93-113) on the links between divination and foundation.

⁹⁰⁵ Cf. *O.* 6.99.

Syracuse, but he might have been originally an Elean linked with Stymphalos via his mother.⁹⁰⁶ Evidently, he was a rich man since he was able to participate in equestrian events at Panhellenic games. Since the *laudandus* is clearly paralleled with Amphiaraus,⁹⁰⁷ Hagesias seems to have been involved in the military campaigns of the Deinomenids.⁹⁰⁸ Importantly, the ode claims that Hagesias was a συνοικιστήρ of Syracuse.⁹⁰⁹ This passage is important for an understanding of Hagesias' status and merits further discussion.

The title συνοικιστήρ occurs in a catalogue of Hagesias' merits:⁹¹⁰ he is an Olympic victor, a member of a famous family of seers as well as συνοικιστήρ of Syracuse. The mention of Hagesias as 'fellow-founder' would have been a poetical exaggeration if Hagesias' ancestor Archias, allegedly involved in the foundation of Syracuse,⁹¹¹ is alluded to. In that event, however, Hagesias would almost certainly have been a member of the Syracusan γαμόροι, the landed aristocracy who were descendants of the original settlers, and had considerable social status and rights.⁹¹² Prior to Gelon's 'refoundation' of Syracuse in 485 BCE these γαμόροι were expelled by

⁹⁰⁶ Cf. *O.* 6.77. Cf. Berve (1953: 541), Malkin (1987: 93-97).

⁹⁰⁷ *O.* 6.12-14, *O.* 6.16-17 'Ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δοῦρι μάρνασθαι.' The ΣΣ*O.* 6.30ac note Hagesias' and Amphiaraus' double-role of prophet and soldier.

⁹⁰⁸ *Manteis* were regularly members of Greek expeditions. Cf. Hom A 68ff, B 858-59, Z 76, Pi. *Py.* 4.190, Hdt. 1.62, 7.288, Sim. VI *Page*. Cf. Burkert (1985a: :111-116), Pritchett (1979: 47ff.) on military seers.

⁹⁰⁹ *O.* 6.4-6 εἰ δ' εἴη μὲν Ὀλυμπιονίκας, βωμῷ τε μαντείῳ ταμίας Διὸς ἐν Πίσᾳ, συνοικιστήρ τε τᾶν κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν.

⁹¹⁰ *O.* 6.4 εἰ δ' εἴη μὲν obviously refers to Hagesias.

⁹¹¹ Cf. Th. 6.3.2, Σ *O.* 6.6a, 8ab. Cf. Wilamowitz (1886: 170), Kett (1996: 18-19).

⁹¹² Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 55f.), Asheri (1966: 19n.1), Luraghi (1994: 285), 'aristocrazia dei primi coloni' with inheritance rights (ἀρχαῖοι κληροί).

Hippocrates,⁹¹³ but were reintroduced by Gelon.⁹¹⁴ However, Gelon did not reinstate the *status quo ante* and the γαμόποι were not restored to power.⁹¹⁵

Alternatively, Hagesias could have been a more recent immigrant and connected with Gelon's refoundation of Syracuse in 485 BCE.⁹¹⁶ On that interpretation, we might have a parallel in Callias, another member of Hagesias' clan of the Iamidae and attached to Telys the tyrant of Sybaris.⁹¹⁷ These seers seem to have travelled widely before settling where conditions were most favourable.⁹¹⁸ While a seer would certainly have been involved in the foundation of a city, a refoundation might arguably also have used the service of such men. The involvement of an Olympic victor in a foundation would have been particularly auspicious.⁹¹⁹ The prosopography of three individuals who were probably participants in Gelon's venture in 485 BCE supports this view.⁹²⁰ Two of these men were Olympic victors and two of them, like Hagesias, originated in Arcadia. Such men seem to have been eager to stress their new-found

⁹¹³ On Syracusan γαμόποι, cf. Hdt. 7.155.2, Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 56, Arist. *Pol.* 1303b20, Plut. *Mor.* 825c. At D.S. 10.28 the προσεστώτες probably are the γαμόποι in Syracuse. Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 400, 414ff.).

⁹¹⁴ Cf. Luraghi (1994: 286).

⁹¹⁵ Luraghi (1994: 286ff, 371-73).

⁹¹⁶ Freeman (1891: 503-4), Luraghi (1997: 79-83).

⁹¹⁷ Cf. Hdt. 5.44.2-45.2. The Iamidae furnished many states with seers. Cf. Paus. 4.16.1, 6.2.5, 8.10.5. The tradition seems to have been long-lived. Cf. Σ *O.* 6.119 οὕτως δὲ μέχρι νῦν οἱ Ἰαμίδαι μαντεύονται κτλ.

⁹¹⁸ Kett (1996: 102-3). This seems to have been the case already under the tyrant Hippocrates, cf. Hdt. 7.164: Scythus of Cos, who came to Sicily with his son Cadmus, probably after 493 BCE. Cf. Luraghi (1994: 134-36).

⁹¹⁹ Paus. 3.14.3. Cf. Hdt. 5.47, 6.36, Th. 3.92.

⁹²⁰ The Arcadian Praxitelus of Mantinea, cf. *CEG* 380.1.2.3, *IVO* 266, Luraghi (1994: 161-63). Second, the Arcadian Phormis of Menalos, cf. Paus. 5.27.1-7, Luraghi (1994: 271). Third, Astilus of Croton, cf. Sim. *PMG* 506, Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F45, Paus. 6.13.1, Plin. *NH* 34.59, Moretti (1957: 82-83), Luraghi (1994: 293n.90). Both Phormis and Astilus were Olympic victors.

homeland: Phormis and Praxiteles, for example, explicitly do so on Olympic dedications,⁹²¹ while Astylos of Croton had himself twice proclaimed as Syracusan, allegedly to please Hieron.⁹²² It looks as though they were not so much stressing their double nationality, as mentioning their old links in a display of their new loyalties. It should be noted that survival of these persons in our sources might be due to the fact that they were Olympic victors. Be that as it may, we know of no such persons linked to the Emmenids in Acragas and arguably Gelon might have actively sought out such persons and brought them into his service because of the prestige and appearance of legitimacy this would give to his rule.⁹²³ To this could be added that there were considerable practical benefits, which the services of an Olympic victor could bring.⁹²⁴ While it seems unlikely that Hagesias was already an Olympic victor by 485 BCE and celebrated his victory with an epinician ode after 476 BCE, he might have been

⁹²¹ Paus. 5.27.2 Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν Ἀρκὰς Μαινάλιος, νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος. *CEG* 380,1.2.3.

‘Praxiteles of Arcadia, later of Camarina, then of Syracuse.’ Cf. Jacquemin (1999: 71, 351).

⁹²² Cf. Paus. 6.13.1: as a consequence, the inhabitants of Croton turned his house there into a prison and tore down his statue. Luraghi (1994: 293-34) notes, however, that the sources probably attributed an anecdote about Gelon to Hieron (who was in fact tyrant of Gela at the time) because of the tendency to attach positive traits to the former and negative ones to the latter.

⁹²³ Besides the men mentioned above, we also know of Glaucus of Carystus, an Olympic victor in 520 BCE who was appointed commander of Camarina by Gelon, cf. Σ Aeschin *in Ctes.* 429a Dilts, Sim. *PMG* 509.

⁹²⁴ Cf. Plut. *Quest. Conv.* 2.5.2 9 (= *Mor.* 639E), Suet. *Nero* 25, D.S. 12.9.5-6: Olympic victors as protectors of cities; parts of the city-wall could be razed since an Olympic victor would guarantee protection. Plut. *Quest. Conv.* 2.5.2 9 (= *Mor.* 639E), *Vit. Lyc.* 22.4: a victor going into battle side by side with the ruler to guide the army.

valuable to Hieron for such reasons. However, there was another side to the medal: being an Olympic victor in itself could be a stepping-stone to political power.⁹²⁵

It is difficult to decide exactly in what way Hagesias was a συνοικιστήρ of Syracuse.⁹²⁶ On the first view, we have a powerful member of the Syracusan aristocracy, possibly with a grudge. On the second view, Hagesias is someone who had arrived relatively recently in search of good fortune, then became a rich man and is now an Olympic victor to boot. Importantly, in either case, Hagesias had legitimate claims in Syracuse, either as a member of the old aristocracy, the γαμόποι, or as a member of Gelon's inner circle, as a recently immigrated seer in the tyrant's service. Hagesias was thus manifestly connected with a foundation, either through his ancestors in 734 BCE or directly in 485 BCE. Because of these circumstances, Hagesias could very well be perceived as a potential competitor or threat to Hieron. Hieron, on the other hand, could not boast of any ancestral link with the original foundation, as he had taken over the tyranny from his brother and thus effectively usurped the position.⁹²⁷ Neither could Hieron claim any connection via the mother-city as he was not of Corinthian descent.⁹²⁸ On that interpretation, the extensive praise towards the end of the ode is there to convince the tyrant that Hagesias did not have any pretensions or political aspirations. This can be contrasted with Chromius, another of Hieron's associates. He was apparently not perceived as a threat or in competition with the tyranny and consequently he was able to celebrate a victory without explicit

⁹²⁵ Cf. § 1.3, note 9 and § 8.5, note 1492. Kurke (1991: 224): athletic victory as stepping stone to political power. However, Hagesias was problematic for more than this reason, cf. § 8.2.

⁹²⁶ Cf. Malkin (1987: 94-7).

⁹²⁷ Cf. § 2.1.3.1.

⁹²⁸ The Deinomenids originated from Telos near Rhodes. Cf. Berve (1967: 140) '...ansässige Familie die angeblich an der Gründung Gela beteiligt war.'

mention of Hieron. Hagesias, on the other hand, apparently could not afford such reticence and included extravagant praise for the tyrant in the sixth *Olympian* ode.⁹²⁹ I shall revert to praise for *laudandus* and clan, but first shall discuss the mythical sections.

3.2.4 The two mythical sections in Pindar's sixth *Olympian* ode.

The ode contains two myths: A short myth (or *exemplum*) in the first epode, which relates an episode in the Theban campaign,⁹³⁰ and the much longer Iamus myth.⁹³¹ The former myth defines the relationship between *laudandus* and tyrant, while the Iamus myth, a vehicle of praise for Hagesias' ancestry, leads up to praise for the contemporary members of the clan.⁹³²

3.2.4.1 The Adrastus myth

⁹²⁹ Against this view it could be argued that the *laudandus* might have omitted any reference to himself as συνοικιστήρ of Syracuse so as not to draw undue attention to any legitimate claims he might have had in Syracuse. However, his connections with Syracuse would surely have been known by a local audience and whether the *laudandus* was connected with Syracuse through remote ancestors or because of more recent events, other members of his clan might have wanted to share in the honour of being 'fellow-founders'. It could be argued that, instead of glossing over the fact that he was a συνοικιστήρ, he tackles the problem head-on. Cf. § 3.2.5 and 3.2.6 where it is argued that this ode resembles odes for boy-victors in which the interests of the clan take precedent over those of the *laudandus*. Praise for the *laudandus* in this ode is effectively praise for the clan.

⁹³⁰ *O.* 6.13-17.

⁹³¹ *O.* 6.29-70.

⁹³² *O.* 6.71ff.: much renowned among Hellenes, their prosperity and virtue, picked up in *O.* 6.78-80: their piety.

After a climactic passage with great pathos,⁹³³ a passage follows in which Adrastus regrets having lost Amphiaraus, an outstanding military man as well as his seer.⁹³⁴ This short myth is framed by Hagesias,⁹³⁵ which forces a parallel between *laudandus* and Amphiaraus, and possibly between Hieron and Adrastus as well.⁹³⁶ On that interpretation, the introduction of a story from the Theban campaign in an *Olympian* ode, perhaps surprising at first sight, is explained as an illustration of the relationship between Hagesias and Hieron as one of subordinate to ruler. More importantly, it defines the role of the *laudandus* in real life as limited to that of a seer and military man. The ode does not explicitly mention any military campaigns in which Hagesias or the Deinomenids were involved and firmly locates strife and disorder in the *spatium mythicum*,⁹³⁷ whereas the *spatium historicum* is characterised by order and stability.⁹³⁸ It is worth noting that the two passages in this ode that touch on envy,⁹³⁹ can be explained as generic praise for the victor and need not refer to any contemporary unrest.⁹⁴⁰ The second passage, *Ol.* 6.74f., is a *topos* of praise,⁹⁴¹ since all victors are

⁹³³ Cf. *Ol.* 6.15: the corpses of the seven funeral pyres. Σ *Ol.* 623d notes that this must mean one for every army. Stoneman (1981: 28ff.) argues that Pindar broadly follows the *Thebais*.

⁹³⁴ *Ol.* 6.16-17 'Ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι.'

⁹³⁵ *Ol.* 6.12 Ἀγησία, τιν' δ' αἶνος ἐτοῖμος ... and *Ol.* 6.17f. τὸ καὶ ἀνδρὶ κώμου δεσπότη πάρεστι Συρακοσίῳ...

⁹³⁶ Cf. ΣΣ *Ol.* 6.30ac.

⁹³⁷ Cf. Kirk (1974: 106f., 172-5) on the term. Cf. *Ol.* 6.37-38: Aipytus' adversity and anger at, *Ol.* 6.15: the pyres as visible results of discord.

⁹³⁸ Cf. *Ol.* 6 *init.*: order is alluded to through architectural imagery. *Ol.* 6.63: the association of the Iamidae with lands that are πᾶγκοινον. *Ol.* 6.92-98 the praise for Hieron, on which see below.

⁹³⁹ *Ol.* 6.4-7 and 74-75.

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. 8.3.3.

envied for their success. The first passage, *O.* 6.4-7, presents a more difficult problem.⁹⁴² The conditions mentioned there which determine whether Hagesias can 'escape the hymn of praise',⁹⁴³ are, as Gildersleeve rightly points out,⁹⁴⁴ four in number: if the *laudandus* is an Olympic victor, a ταμίας, a συνοικιστήρ and if he is beloved by his people. This type of conditional clause passage, with the optative plus κέ(v) in the apodosis, marks the fulfilment of the condition as potential.⁹⁴⁵ However, since the first three conditions are obviously met, and since the protasis is interrupted by the apodosis, rhetorically, the audience is surely led to believe that the fourth condition is likewise already met. The actuality of the performance furthermore means that the *laudandus* has not 'escaped the hymn of praise.' Assuming that the ἄστοι are his fellow citizens in Syracuse as well as in Stymphalos,⁹⁴⁶ the envy appears to be the type of generic envy with which every victor is habitually confronted.⁹⁴⁷ This means that the second passage need not hint at any civil unrest in Sicily at the time. Likewise, the 'stormy night' towards the end of the ode need not refer to imminent danger for

⁹⁴¹ *O.* 6.74-76 μῶμος ἐξ ἄλλων κρέματαί φθονεόντων τοῖς, οἷς ποτε πρώτοις περὶ δωδέκατον δρόμον κτλ. Cf. *O.* 6.101 the 'stormy nights'. Cf. § 3.2.4.1.

⁹⁴² *O.* 6.4-7. εἰ δ' εἴη μὲν Ὀλυμπιονίκας, βωμῷ τε μαντείῳ ταμίας Διὸς ἐν Πίσσῃ, συνοικιστήρ τε τᾶν κλεινᾶν Συρακοςσᾶν, τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον κείνους ἀνὴρ, ἐπικύρσαις ἀφθόνων ἀστῶν ἐν ἡμερταῖς ἀοιδαῖς;

⁹⁴³ *O.* 6.7 τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον.

⁹⁴⁴ Gildersleeve (1890: 173).

⁹⁴⁵ Cf. Rijksbaron (1994: 69).

⁹⁴⁶ Cf. Gildersleeve (1890: 173) 'citizens are apt to show envy', ἀστῶν both Stymphalians and Syracusans. Hence generic envy is meant. Cf. Lehnus (1981: 100) 'si tratterebbe pur sempre di concittadini siracusani e stinfalii, non dei secondi opposti ai primi.'

⁹⁴⁷ The achievements of the *laudandus* are such that envy is inevitable. Cf. § 2.4.4.5 on *Py.* 1.85.

Hagesias or Hieron.⁹⁴⁸ More probably, what is meant is that it is advantageous to have two places that one can call one's fatherland.⁹⁴⁹

3.2.4.2 The Iamus myth.

This ode is our main source for the tale about Iamus. It seems impossible to establish which components of the myth are part of older transmissions and where Pindar extemporised, if indeed he did so.⁹⁵⁰ One feature of the myth is particularly relevant for the present purpose, as political discourse has been suspected.⁹⁵¹ The most famous living member of Hagesias' clan was Tisamenus of Elis, who as recently as 480 BCE had been given Spartan citizenship for services rendered.⁹⁵² The sixth *Olympian* ode traces the ancestor of the clan, Iamus, back to Poseidon and Spartan Pitana.⁹⁵³ This is not attested anywhere else. This link between the Iamidae and Sparta through Pitana has been explained as a reflection of the new affiliation between the Iamidae and

⁹⁴⁸ *O.* 6.101. *Pace* Wilamowitz (1922: 307) 'Offenbar lag in Syrakus Sturm in der Luft.' Cf. *Σ O.* 6.170c χρήσιμοι, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τὰς γινομένης ταραχὰς αἱ δύο πόλεις. Erbse (1999: 17) rightly points out that allusions to impending danger in Syracuse would have been highly unflattering for Hieron. *Σ O.* 6.165c tells that Hagesias was killed after the fall of the tyranny (the only information the scholiast offers on Hagesias) but this is probably a guess based on *O.* 6.74-5 and *O.* 6.101.

⁹⁴⁹ Cf. *Σ O.* 6.170a: τὸν Ἀγησίαν δύο περιέχεσθαι πατρίσι, *Σ* 170d: it is profitable to have two fatherlands, *Σ* 170e: both cities will assist each other.

⁹⁵⁰ E.g. *O.* 6.32-23: Euadne, Pitana's offspring, is sent to the Arcadian Aipytus. However, a scholium tells that Aipytus himself went to Sparta in order to fetch the child, cf. *Σ O.* 6.52f. ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ποιητικῶς λέγει πεπεμφθαι τὸ βρέφος.

⁹⁵¹ *O.* 6.28-30: the genealogy of Pitana.

⁹⁵² *Hdt.* 9.33-36, *Paus.* 3.11.6-8.

⁹⁵³ The eponymous nymph of Pitana in Laconia. Pitana was until 190 BCE controlled by the Spartans and has been described as their 'nuclear territory'. Cf. Cartledge (1979: 90f.).

Sparta through Tisamenus.⁹⁵⁴ If this assumption were true, it would mean a swift inclusion of some fairly recent family history into the ode.⁹⁵⁵ It also means that the clan took an interest in the compositional process of the sixth *Olympian* ode.

3.2.5 Praise for Hagesias.

The ode refers to a god as Hagesias' remote ancestor,⁹⁵⁶ which surely must have been high praise, yet it is as much praise for the clan as it is for the *laudandus*. In fact most praise for the *laudandus* in this ode appears to be closely linked with that for his clan and for Stymphalos. Unsurprisingly in an epinician ode, the *laudandus* is praised for his Olympic victory. In quick succession he is advertised as seer and fellow-founder of Syracuse.⁹⁵⁷ His military career is alluded to in a comparison with Amphiaraus.⁹⁵⁸ However, after the first triad the *laudandus* is not singled out for praise until the fifth triad. All other praise in this ode is for the clan and Stymphalos. In other words, when further praise for Hagesias occurs, is it for the *laudandus* as member of the clan, not as an individual. In this regard, Pindar's sixth *Olympian* seems more like odes for boy-victors,⁹⁵⁹ where one would naturally expect the interests of the clan to take precedence over the individual.⁹⁶⁰ That the sixth *Olympian* ode plays down praise for

⁹⁵⁴ Wilamowitz (1886: 162ff.).

⁹⁵⁵ For a reading of the ode as reflection of new relationships between Sparta and Arcadia, cf. Luraghi (1997: 83ff.). Differently G. Hepding in *REIX*/1, p.686.

⁹⁵⁶ *O*/. 6.29 Poseidon.

⁹⁵⁷ *O*/. 6.3-6.

⁹⁵⁸ *O*/. 6.15ff.

⁹⁵⁹ On athletic age categories, cf. Petermandl (1997), Golden (1998: 139ff.), Pfeijffer (1998)

⁹⁶⁰ Cf. Hornblower (2004: 28n.95) '...boy-victors were surely not as threatening as equestrian victors; they didn't pose any threats to civic order.' However, even in odes for boy-victors

the individual victor is at first sight remarkable. However, it would be in agreement with the patron-message here proposed: Hagesias' reticence to claim the centre-stage implies an awareness not to be seen as having any threatening aspirations.

3.2.6 Praise for the clan and for Stymphalos.

Most praise for the clan occurs in the fourth antistrophe where the mythical example of Iamus is carried over into present times.⁹⁶¹ The Iamidae are said to be much renowned among Hellenes, as they are prosperous and virtuous because of their piety.⁹⁶² It should be noted, however, that rather than 'much renowned among Hellenes', Arcadians appear to have been proverbial for their ἀγροικία.⁹⁶³ It appears that the ode counters such negative attitudes. A similar rhetorical stance can be surmised in the fifth strophe where the poet assimilates with the patron.⁹⁶⁴ By dispelling his own backwardness the *laudator* saves the patron's clan from being taunted for the same reason.

extensive praise for the individual occurs. Cf. B 1.155-184, Pi. *O.* 8.12-20, 8.59-60, *O.* 10.93-105, *Py.* 11.43-50, 11.55ff.

⁹⁶¹ *O.* 6.71ff.

⁹⁶² *O.* 6.71ff. ἐξ οὗ πολύκλειτον καθ' Ἑλλανας γένος Ἰαμιδᾶν· κτλ. The Panhellenic sentiment sits well with the efforts to link both Syracuse and Stymphalus at the end of the ode. For a similar combination of wealth with piety, cf. *O.* 2.53-56.

⁹⁶³ Cf. Str. 8.1.2: primitive, wild mountaineers, Polyb. 4.20.1ff.: παιδεία the only remedy for their rough character and primitive nature, Juv. 7.160: dunces, Philostr. *VA* 8.7.585ff.: not the brightest of the Greeks, in fact swine.

⁹⁶⁴ *O.* 6.86-90. Pindar's self-consciously describes himself in this ode as a 'Boeotian pig', Hence 'Boeotian pig' meets 'Arcadian swine'. Cf. Pi. *fr.* 83, Pl. *Symp.* 182b, Plut. *de esu carnium* 1.6.

Stymphalos is subject to encomiastic hyperbole when it is called the ‘mother-city of Arcadia.’⁹⁶⁵ In reality it was a city of very modest resources and political influence.⁹⁶⁶ Upgrading Stymphalos might have been advisable before a Syracusan audience, in view of the connections made between Syracuse and Stymphalos at the end of the ode,⁹⁶⁷ where the destiny of Stymphalians and Syracusans is equalled.⁹⁶⁸ In other words, the ode puts Arcadia on the map.

3.2.7 Praise for Hieron.

The praise for Hieron takes up the entire fifth antistrophe,⁹⁶⁹ and ends with the wish that Hieron may welcome Hagesias’ κῶμος.⁹⁷⁰ This in fact means that it is the *laudandus* who hopes for a favourable reception.⁹⁷¹ Consequently, the whole of the fifth antistrophe can be understood as a *captatio benevolentiae* in which Hieron is highly praised. In fact, Hieron is praised to such an extent that some commentators find this problematic,⁹⁷² and attempts have been made to interpret this passage, at least in part,

⁹⁶⁵ *OI.* 6.100 ματέρ’ εὐμήλοιο [...] Ἀρκαδίας, ‘flock-rich’ seems a stock epithet, cf. B.11.95.

⁹⁶⁶ Cf. J. Roy in *OCD*³ 1449f. s.v. Stymphalus.

⁹⁶⁷ *OI.* 6.100ff.

⁹⁶⁸ *OI.* 6.103 τῶνδε κείνων τε κλυτὰν αἴσαν παρέχοι φιλέων.

⁹⁶⁹ *OI.* 6.92-98: Hieron’s unsullied sceptre (implying that he is a just ruler). Hieron devises fitting counsels (implying he is a fair judge, not a tyrant, cf. § 2.1.6 on *Py.* 2.65f.). Hieron’s εὐσέβεια.

⁹⁷⁰ *OI.* 6.98 σὺν δὲ φιλοφροσύναις εὐηράτοις Ἀγησία δέξαιτο κῶμον. The preceding line *OI.* 6.97 ... μὴ θράσσοι χρόνος ὄλβον ἐφέρπων, is arguably a coded wish for continuous patronage.

⁹⁷¹ Friis Johanson (1973: 8) notes that the optative δέξαιτο indicates that his friendly welcome is regarded as something that cannot be regarded as sure.

⁹⁷² E.g. Lehnus (1981: 105).

as praise for Ortygia, and not for Hieron.⁹⁷³ However, surely Hieron is mentioned in this passage and the ode strongly suggests that because of the qualities of the tyrant as ruler,⁹⁷⁴ order and stability reign in Syracuse.⁹⁷⁵ The manner in which Hieron is praised have led some to argue that he is almost compared to a god.⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁷³ E.g. Friis Johanson (1973:4-9) who argues that *O.* 6.96 *viv* refers to Ortygia (the nymph and eponymous for Syracuse) and that following praise (*O.* 6.96-98) is for her. Race (1990: 76n.47) however rightly notes 'Ortygia is only mentioned in passing, while Hieron is praised in the preceding four lines. To refer vaguely to Ortygia at this point would ruin the carefully constructed climax that joins Hieron and Hagesias.'

⁹⁷⁴ *O.* 6.93 *καθαρῶ σκάπτω*, cf. *Py.* 3.69-71.

⁹⁷⁵ Cf. *O.* 6.96-7 *ἀδύλογοι δέ νιν λύραι μολπαί τε γινώσκοντι*. See § 2.3.1 proper symposia in epinician odes, signalling that *ὑβρις* and *βία* are absent.

⁹⁷⁶ McGlew (1993: 39) 'characterised as a godlike force, whose potential anger and envy the poem acknowledges as its final task.' However, see the remark in note 1402.

CHAPTER FOUR – EXCURSUS. AN ODE COMPOSED FOR A COMMONER.

4.1 Pindar's twelfth *Pythian* ode for Midas of Acragas.

Argument.

The laudandus, a player of the αὐλός, might have been perceived as a βάναντος rather than as an aristocrat. The ode hardly singles out the laudandus for individual praise. No political or social aspirations of the laudandus are hinted at. This is unsurprising assuming that the ode is merely advertisement for Midas' skill, aimed at future patrons who surely were interested in his art rather than in his person. The myth praises his art, something which arguably would have served the laudandus well in the event of future commissions.

4.1.1 Introduction.

The *laudandus* of the ode is Midas of Acragas, victorious in the auletic event at Delphi.⁹⁷⁷ This is the only extant epinician ode that celebrates a victory not won in an athletic or equestrian contest.⁹⁷⁸ The ode was probably first performed at Acragas.⁹⁷⁹

⁹⁷⁷ Αὐλητής and αὐλός should not be translated as flute player and flute. The αὐλός is more akin to the modern clarinet (mouthpiece and reed) or oboe (double reed). Cf. C. v. Jan in *RE* II, p.2416ff. s.v. αὐλός, A.D. Barker in *OCD*³ p.1005, s.v. Music 3.2.a.

⁹⁷⁸ Pindar's eleventh *Nemean* ode is not an epinician ode and is therefore no exception.

⁹⁷⁹ In view of the invocation and praise in the *proem* of the ode. Cf. *Ol.* 12.1 Αἰτέω σε [sc. Acragam] κτλ.

The scholia to the ode mention two Pythian victories of Midas,⁹⁸⁰ and since the ode does not mention a further victory it is often assumed that the victory celebrated in the ode was the earlier one of August 490 BCE at the twenty-fourth Pythiad. The ode hence is possibly among the earliest which Pindar composed.⁹⁸¹ However, there are other odes that fail to mention earlier victories,⁹⁸² and it cannot be decided whether the ode was first performed before or during the Emmenid tyranny.⁹⁸³ The fact that the ode does not praise or even refer to the Emmenid clan strongly suggests that the Emmenids were not involved with this ode and that Midas commissioned the ode himself. This means that Midas must have been a wealthy man.⁹⁸⁴ Be that as it may, the art of αὐλός playing was considered a τέχνη,⁹⁸⁵ a trained ability and a profession unsuited for aristocrats.⁹⁸⁶ Its practitioners were seen as craftsmen,⁹⁸⁷ something that

⁹⁸⁰ Cf. Σ *Py.* 12 *inscr.*: victories at Delphi in 490 BCE and 486 BCE and a further one at the Panathenaea.

⁹⁸¹ Pindar's sixth *Pythian* ode might also have been early, yet it cannot be securely dated, cf. § 6.1.

⁹⁸² E.g. Pindar's first *Pythian* ode, the victory date of which is securely dated to 470 BCE and which does not mention Hieron's earlier victories of 476 and 472 BCE.

⁹⁸³ The date of the beginning of Theron's rule at Acragas, however, is controversial, but it probably belongs to ca.489 BCE. The dating is based on D.S. 10.28.3, 11.53.1, Polyae. 6.51. Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 13), Luraghi (1994: 241f., 242n.52), R. van Compernelle (1959: 359), De Waele (1971: 109n.553).

⁹⁸⁴ Absence of any the mention of the clan also makes it unlikely that they had commissioned the ode.

⁹⁸⁵ The twelfth *Pythian* ode refers to Midas' art as such. Cf. *Py.* 12.6 αὐτόν τε ... νικάσαντα τέχνη.

⁹⁸⁶ Cf. Arist. *EN* 1140a9-10: α ἕξις.

⁹⁸⁷ Cf. Paus. Atticus α.141.2 Erbse τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ φασὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους μὴ μανθάνειν αὐλεῖν διὰ τὸ βάναισον (= Suda s.v. Ἀράβιος ἄγγελος), Diog. Laert. 6.70.8, Plut. *comp. Lyc. et Num.* 2.3.4. On the prejudices against βάναισοι, e.g. restriction of their freedom of movement, cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1131a31-5, limitation of political rights: SEG 9.1.§8 (Hellenistic).

was irreconcilable with the aristocratic ethos as well.⁹⁸⁸ This, however, did not preclude artists and craftsmen from becoming wealthy men with considerable influence.⁹⁸⁹

4.1.2 Praise for the *laudandus* and patron message in the ode.

The ode does not mention the name of the father or any other family member of the victor,⁹⁹⁰ nor does it contain any genealogy.⁹⁹¹ This means that Midas did not set his achievement in the context of the achievements of his family or clan and that he attempted to glorify neither his family members nor his clan with his victory.⁹⁹² This can be explained by supposing that Midas' future patrons were primarily interested in his art and not so much in his person or his clan. On that interpretation, the ode is advertisement for a skilled player of the αὐλός who solicits further employment at the best possible price. This might also be the reason why this is the only ode in our corpus

⁹⁸⁸ Gentili *et al.* (1995: 308).

⁹⁸⁹ Cf. J.J. Pollitt in *OCD*³ 178, s.v. 'art, ancient attitudes to.' Cf. X. *Mem.* 1.4.3, Isoc. *Antidos.* 2: appreciated. Plut. *Cim.* 4.6: influence.

⁹⁹⁰ Cf. Pindar's fourth *Olympian* ode for Psauis. However, that ode was performed at Olympia and the audience would have heard the herald announcing the victor's city and name of the father before the performance of the ode.

⁹⁹¹ The odes composed for Hieron also do not contain much genealogy yet the name of his father, brothers, son and his clan are mentioned or referred to more than once, cf. *Py.* 1.48, 1.79, 1.58, 2.18, B.4.13. Cf. Thummer (1968: 53f.) on praise of the father or clan and position of the praise in the ode.

⁹⁹² Gentili *et al.* (1995: 672) notes that 'la famiglia dell' auleta, la sua posizione sociale e il suo censo non offrivano probabilmente al poeta sufficienti motivi celebrative.' However, mention of the clan, or the omission of any reference to his family surely was Midas' choice, not the poet's. Gentili's assumption that Midas was not wealthy is doubtful as well, as is argued above.

in which the myth serves as praise for the discipline in which the victory was won.⁹⁹³

The myth tells how the τέχνη of playing the αὐλός was invented by Athena. The goddess threw away the flute because it disfigured her face,⁹⁹⁴ something which the ode, unsurprisingly, does not mention. The myth does not appear to contain much that is applicable to the *laudandus* as a person or as an individual.⁹⁹⁵ The *laudandus* is, however, singled out as a distinguished member of the community of players,⁹⁹⁶ and held up as someone who has defeated 'Hellas' in his art.⁹⁹⁷ This certainly looks like high praise, yet 'Hellas' here appears to be a *pars pro toto* for Midas' competitors,⁹⁹⁸ who would come from all over the Greek world.⁹⁹⁹ Midas is praised as an outstanding representative within the class of professional αὐλός players. His aspirations do not go beyond such excellence.

⁹⁹³ Cf. Thummer (1968: 111) 'Der Mythos und das direkte Lob der Flöte verfolgen das Ziel, die σεμνότης der Kunst, in der Midas gesiegt hat, zu erhöhen.'

⁹⁹⁴ Cf. Paus. 1.24.1, Apollod. 1.4.2, Frazer (1921: 29). Athena in other Pindaric odes is known as bestower of τέχναι. Cf. *Ol.* 7.50f.: arts in general, *Ol.* 13.65ff.: the invention of the bridle.

⁹⁹⁵ Pace Köhnken (1971: 227) who argues that the myth is always relevant to the *laudandus*.

⁹⁹⁶ Cf. *Py.* 12.5 εὐδόξω Μίδᾳ.

⁹⁹⁷ *Py.* 12.6 Ἑλλάδα νικάσαντα τέχνα.

⁹⁹⁸ Cf. *Py.* 11.50, *Ne.* 10.25.

⁹⁹⁹ Contrast with *Py.* 1.75 Ἑλλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας, admittedly the ancient commentators were unclear if Western Greece was meant or the whole Greek world, cf. § 2.4.4.4.

CHAPTER FIVE – TWO ODES COMPOSED FOR THERON OF ACRAGAS.

5.1 Pindar's third *Olympian* ode for Theron of Acragas.

Argument.

*This ode appears to be an 'in situ' ode. As is the case with such 'in situ' odes, the status of the laudandus remains implicit, in accordance with the so-called strategy of silence. Theron and his clan are portrayed as aristocrats among other aristocrats with particular stress on their trustworthiness and piety. The interests and reputation of the victor's city are prominent. Be that as it may, this ode was surely reperformed in Acragas, possibly in the context of a Theoxenia. The piety for which the laudandus is singled out can be associated with the type of eschatology that is described in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode. The appearance of Taugeta in Pindar's third *Olympian* ode is irrelevant to Theron's patron message as she merely provides a λόγος for Heracles' foundation myth of Olympia. That foundation myth was obviously relevant to an audience at those Panhellenic games, yet it also reflects qualities for which Theron and his clan are praised in the rest of the ode. The relevance of the Dioscuri and the Hyperboreans in this ode consists in the link they provide between laudandus and actual cult practice, both at Olympia and in Acragas.*

5.1.1 Introduction.

There is disagreement over the occasion for this ode: a Theoxenia at Acragas,¹⁰⁰⁰ or the celebrations of Theron's victory at Olympia? There are good reasons to assume that the ode was first performed at Olympia and only later at Acragas. First, myths that deal with place and type of event appear mostly in odes written for Western Greeks. This is not surprising: colonies, for obvious reasons, could not boast of such a rich mythological past, as could the mainland.¹⁰⁰¹ The myth in this ode relates the foundation of Olympia, something with obvious relevance for a Panhellenic audience.¹⁰⁰² Second, the ode seems to celebrate an immediate victory,¹⁰⁰³ and appears to have a spatial reference to the actual racecourse at Olympia.¹⁰⁰⁴ Third, a point that is often overlooked, there was an altar dedicated to the Dioscuri at the turning post at the hippodrome,¹⁰⁰⁵ a point in the race which was notoriously dangerous,¹⁰⁰⁶ and hence surely would have elicited much excitement in the audience. Finally, that Theron would be celebrating a Theoxenia at Acragas when the news of his victory, explained by the Dioscuri in the ode, arrives there seems problematic and tells

¹⁰⁰⁰ Cf. Nilsson (1955: 135, 409) on Theoxenia.

¹⁰⁰¹ Schadewaldt (1928: 309).

¹⁰⁰² Lehnus (1981: 54).

¹⁰⁰³ *Ol.* 3.6-7, 3.42-43. Cf. Gaspar (1900: 90n.1).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Lee (1986: 165) notes that the ode is particularly appropriate for an audience at Olympia noting the olive trees planted round or near the *termini*, cf. *Ol.* 3.33-4. They would provide shade for those watching the race and a wreath for the winner.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Cf. Paus. 5.15.6: at the starting-point for the chariot race there are the altars of Ποσειδῶνος Ἰππίου καὶ Ἥρας ... Ἰππίας, at the turning point that of the Dioscuri: πρὸς δὲ τῷ κίονι Διοσκούρων.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Cf. S. *El.* 727ff.: no barrier separating the opposing lanes resulting in a head-on crash. From Pi. *Py.* 5.49 follows that there were at least 41 participants. From *Py.* 5.50 it follows that many attempted to turn the post at the same time.

against a first performance at Acragas.¹⁰⁰⁷ This, however, does not mean that the ode could not have been reperformed at Acragas in the context of a Theoxenia during which the Emmenids played host to the Dioscuri.¹⁰⁰⁸ The special relationship between the Emmenids and the Dioscuri could date back to a time before the Emmenids came to Sicily from Rhodes;¹⁰⁰⁹ there appears to have been a local cult festival of the Dioscureia at Rhodes,¹⁰¹⁰ and a family tradition could have been transported to Sicily.¹⁰¹¹ Worship of the Dioscuri sits well with the eschatology expressed in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode.¹⁰¹²

Assuming that the ode was first performed at Olympia one would expect that its ideology would be similar to the one in Bacchylides' fourth ode for Hieron: an *Adelsideologie* as a result of the strategy of silence characteristic of *in situ* odes,¹⁰¹³ in which the status of the tyrant would remain ambiguous. Whereas the plural patronymic

¹⁰⁰⁷ Fränkel (1961: 494n.18). Hence *Ol.* 3.34 ἐς ταύταν ἑορτάν refers to the Olympic games, not to a *Theoxenia*. Differently, Krummen (1990: 223-24) who, however, allows for the possibility that the ode was performed at Olympia (1990: 223n.1).

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cf. Σ *Ol.* 3. *inscr.* AC Τῷ αὐτῷ ἄρματι θεοξένια, BDEQ Τῷ αὐτῷ εἰς θεοξένια, Σ *Ol.* 3.61ab.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Σ *Ol.* 3.1c explains the Dioscuri via Theron's Argive ancestors. Cf. *Pi. fr.* 119 ἄν δέ 'Ρόδον κατώκισθεν..., ἔνθεν δ' ἀφορμαθέντες, ὑψηλὰν πόλιν ἀμφινέμονται, [sc. Agrigentum].

¹⁰¹⁰ Cf. Pritchett (1979: 184).

¹⁰¹¹ Cf. Σ *Ol.* 3.1c διὰ τιμῆς εἶναι τοὺς Διοσκούρους, but this could be an explanation of *Ol.* 3.39-40 and need not be based on independent information. Currie (2005: 58) notes family traditions of other clans reflecting local cults of the victor's city. Cf. *Hdt.* 6.127.3, *Pl. Lys.* 205c6-d1, *Pi. Ne.* 7.86-97.

¹⁰¹² On the Dioscuri, cf. Burkert (1985a: : 213) '...this paradox of a life in which immortality and death are no longer in opposition...'. Cf. *Hom.* λ 301ff., *Cypria fr.* 6 Allen, *Alc. PMG* 7, *Pi. Py.* 11.61-64, *Ne.* 10.49-91.

¹⁰¹³ Cf. § 2.4.2.

used in this ode might allude to the elevated status of the patron,¹⁰¹⁴ it would be impossible for an audience to infer Theron's status as tyrant in Acragas.¹⁰¹⁵ Some have argued that this type of patronymic alludes to kingship.¹⁰¹⁶ Be that as it may, there is extensive praise for the home city of the *laudandus*, in accordance with the 'strategy of silence' and the *laudandus* and his clan are advertised primarily as trustful and pious.

5.1.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the ode.

Pindar received commissions for four odes after the Olympic games of 476 BCE.¹⁰¹⁷ These games were exceptionally rich in victories for Western Greece.¹⁰¹⁸ It is tempting to link those eagerly participating Sicilians in the first Olympiad after the Persian defeat with attempts to counter negative attitudes of mainland Greeks towards Western Greeks after 480 BCE.¹⁰¹⁹ Theron's victory in the chariot event at Olympia was his first

¹⁰¹⁴ Cf. *O.* 3.38 Emmenidae. Such plural patronymics in -ΑΔΑΙ or -ΙΔΑΙ would point to a group which was linked through common ancestry to the cult of a hero, cf. Brelich (1958: 150). The term 'Deinomenidae' is a modern construct.

¹⁰¹⁵ In Bacchylides' fourth ode, another *in situ* ode, Hieron status was not denied completely, cf. B.4.3 ἀστυθέμιν, B.4.19f.

¹⁰¹⁶ Nagy (1990: 122). E.g. The Ἀγίδαι or the Εὐρυποντιδαί (The royal houses of Sparta with ancestors Agis and Eurypontos, not their respective fathers Eurysthenes and Procles). The Μεδοντίδαι, linked with Medon, king of Athens, cf. Paus. 4.5.10 (not with the father Codrus or his grandfather Melanthus, cf. Hdt. 5.65.3). The Ἰαμίδαι, cf. D.S. 7.9.4, Paus. 2.4.4, 5.20.4, the Πενθιλίδαι of Lesbos, cf. Paus. 2.18.5-6, Arist. *Pol.* 1311b27). The Πεισιστραδίδαι, cf. Hdt 5.65.4.

¹⁰¹⁷ Resulting in the second, third, tenth and eleventh *Olympian* odes. I date the victory celebrated in the first *Olympian* to 472 BCE, cf. Appendix two.

¹⁰¹⁸ Cf. Moretti (1957: 89-90). Six out of thirteen victors were Sicilian, while it should be noted that victories in the mule-cart race, a Sicilian speciality, are not mentioned in *P.Oxy.* 222.

¹⁰¹⁹ Cf. Appendix three.

victory,¹⁰²⁰ and since there is no trace in our sources of another Olympic victory of Theron, Pindar's second and third *Olympian* odes must celebrate his victory of 476 BCE.

5.1.3 Praise for the *laudandus*, his clan and Acragas.

In the proem of the ode praise for Acragas precedes praise for the *laudandus*,¹⁰²¹ as is the case in the *in situ* ode composed for Hieron, Bacchylides' fourth ode.¹⁰²² The scholiast appears puzzled by such an 'inversion of the expected order',¹⁰²³ yet such an order appears to be the normal one for *in situ* odes. A description of the festivities, in which the χρέος motif is used, leads up to the myth.¹⁰²⁴ Towards the end of the ode, the εὐσέβεια of the clan and their adherence to tradition are singled out for praise.¹⁰²⁵ A *ne plus ultra* motif concludes the ode. I shall revert to this praise presently, but shall first discuss some features in the myth.

¹⁰²⁰ Cf. *OI.* 3.43, *OI.* 2.48-51. The victory is securely dated to 476 BCE. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 222, Moretti (1957: 90). That the scholia give conflicting dates for Pindar's second *Olympian* is of no consequence since they err often. They provide conflicting information for Pindar's fourth, fifth, ninth and tenth *Olympian* odes, a wrong date for Pindar's fourteenth *Olympian* ode and no date for the sixth *Pythian* ode.

¹⁰²¹ And praise for the clan precedes praise for Theron at *OI.* 3.2-3 and *OI.* 3.38.

¹⁰²² Cf. B.4.1 where Syracuse precedes Hieron. Contrast with *OI.* 2.5f.: first Theron, then Acragas and *OI.* 1.11ff.: first Hieron, followed by nothing less than the whole of Sicily.

¹⁰²³ Σ *OI.* 3.1b ἀντέσπρται δὲ ἡ τάξις. The scholiast offers the 'correct' order: first victory, then song, in course of which praise of city and, finally, the hope that invoked gods may be pleased.

¹⁰²⁴ *OI.* 3.7ff.

¹⁰²⁵ *OI.* 3.38-41.

5.1.3.1 The mythical sections.

Taugeta and the story of the hind appears to have been brought into the ode to explain how Heracles unexpectedly 'came upon the olives'.¹⁰²⁶ Her story serves as motivation for the introduction of the Hyperboreans as well.¹⁰²⁷ As such, Taugeta is irrelevant in a discussion of Theron's patron message.¹⁰²⁸ Matters, however, stand differently with the Dioscuri and Heracles. Both choice and representation of these heroes in this ode appear to be adapted to the needs of the *laudandus*.

In the proem of the ode Pindar promises the audience something new in a Dorian manner.¹⁰²⁹ Pindar often claims originality,¹⁰³⁰ but in this ode that claim appears not to be of a general nature. Heracles is introduced after a short linking passage.¹⁰³¹ He stands out because of his uncharacteristically peaceful behaviour. During his first visit to the Hyperboreans for example, he does not take, but persuades,¹⁰³² while later in the ode, the Hyperboreans could trust him not to take more trees, or other things, than was agreed upon.¹⁰³³ This ode consequently denies Heracles' characteristic

¹⁰²⁶ *OI.* 3.31ff.

¹⁰²⁷ Only Pindar situates the Taugeta story there, *pace* Robbins (1984: 301).

¹⁰²⁸ For rhetorical reasons (ποικιλία) Pindar might have chosen a non-linear order of events. Cf. Köhnken (1983^a) on the complicated chronology in this ode.

¹⁰²⁹ *OI.* 3.4f. ...Μοῖσα δ' οὕτω ποι παρέστα μοι νεοσίγαλον εὐρόντι τρόπον Δωρίῳ φωνὰν ἑναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ ἀγλαόκωμον· The Dioscuri had strong links with Sparta, cf. Nilsson (1955: 686).

¹⁰³⁰ E.g. *OI.* 9.48-49, *Ne.* 8.20, *Isth.* 5.63, *fr.* 70b.

¹⁰³¹ *OI.* 3.6-10.

¹⁰³² *OI.* 3.16 πείσαις λόγῳ, Gildersleeve (1890: 158) 'Heracles does not often stoop to plead.' Dornseiff (1921: 126) suggests that in the original story Heracles had taken the olive tree by force. Contrast *OI.* 2.3f.: the killing of Augeas in Heracles' fifth labour, *OI.* 10.24ff.: Heracles kills Kteatos, *OI.* 10.56ff.: the spoils of war after the hero had destroyed Augeas' city.

¹⁰³³ *OI.* 3.17f. πιστά, *fides*, πιστά φρονέων, *fida mente*. Cf. Σ *ad loc.* φιλικῶς διανοούμενος.

violence, which often accompanies his restoration of order and the bequeathing of benefits to mankind.¹⁰³⁴ Heracles' concern is moreover uncharacteristically agricultural.¹⁰³⁵ The association between tyranny and βία was a commonplace;¹⁰³⁶ hence a benign Heracles in this ode helps to dissociate the *laudandus* from tyranny. Whereas in Bacchylides' fourth ode Hieron's tyranny was toned down by way of its transformation into something lawful,¹⁰³⁷ in this ode Theron's tyranny is wholly denied and is replaced with imagery of benign persuasion. However, there are more features of the hero in this ode that can be mapped onto the *laudandus* and his clan. The ode stresses religious activity: Heracles' dedication of the Zeus altars,¹⁰³⁸ the judging of the Olympian games,¹⁰³⁹ and the banks of the Alpheos,¹⁰⁴⁰ are all described in religious terms. This is picked up by praise of the 'pious minds' of *laudandus* and clan.¹⁰⁴¹ Second, Heracles did not abuse the guest friendship of the Hyperboreans, and accordingly Theron and his clan are praised because of their hospitality.¹⁰⁴² In fact,

¹⁰³⁴ Cf. Pi. *fr.* 169, *Ne.* 3.20ff, *Oi.* 9.29ff. *Oi.* 10.39-40.

¹⁰³⁵ Cf. *Oi.* 3.24 τούτων [sc. δένδρων] ἔδοξεν γυμνὸς αὐτῷ κᾶππος ὀξείαις ὑπακουέμεν αὐγαῖς ἀελίου as motivation for the quest.

¹⁰³⁶ Cf. Pi. *R.* 344a7 πάντων δὲ ῥᾶστα μαθήσῃ, ἐὰν ἐπὶ τὴν τελεωτάτην ἀδικίαν ἔλθῃς, ...ἔστιν δὲ τοῦτο τυραννίς, ἥ οὐ κατὰ σμικρὸν τ'ἀλλότρια καὶ λάθρα καὶ βία ἀφαιρεῖται, καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ὄσια καὶ ἴδια καὶ δημόσια, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην· Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1313a10, 1281a11, E. *Her.* 112. Isoc. *ad Tim.* 6.3, [Dem.] 4.4.6, Pi. *Pit.* 276e10, Pi. *Thg.* 126a7.

¹⁰³⁷ B.4.2: Apollo honours Hieron, Syracuse's lawful ruler.

¹⁰³⁸ *Oi.* 3.19 βωμῶν ἀγισθέντων.

¹⁰³⁹ *Oi.* 3.21 ἀγνὰν κρίσιν. Farnell (1932: 26) 'sacrosanct character of the judges, bound by religious oath to give righteous judgement.' Alternatively, 'consecrated to a god' as in Hom. *φ* 258-9 ἑορτὴ ἀγνή.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Oi.* 3.22 ζαθέοις ἐπὶ κρεμνοῖς. Cf. Paus. 5.14.6: Alpheos' cult.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Oi.* 3.39-41. The τελεταί might allude to mystery initiations, yet this need not necessarily be the case in view of other passages where they appear to be civic celebratory feasts and festivals honouring the gods. Cf. *Oi.* 10.51, *Py.* 9.79.

¹⁰⁴² Cf. *Oi.* 3.16ff, *Oi.* 3.40.

after the mention of the clan's εὐσέβεια and hospitality, not much more is added before the ode ends with a *ne plus ultra* motif,¹⁰⁴³ a *topos* of high praise,¹⁰⁴⁴ the more so since Heracles' achievements appear to be paralleled with those of the *laudandus*.¹⁰⁴⁵ It is worth noting that the ἀρεταί which have led to Theron's arrival at 'the furthest point' remain unspecified.¹⁰⁴⁶ This allows for the possibility that the *laudandus* can be bracketed with his fellow aristocrats. In other words, whereas the *laudandus* is highly praised, he is applauded as an aristocrat amongst his fellow aristocrats.

Some motivations for the appearance of the Dioscuri in this ode have already been given.¹⁰⁴⁷ They are associated with immortality and death,¹⁰⁴⁸ and were both god and men,¹⁰⁴⁹ features that sit well with the eschatology expressed in Pindar's second *Olympian*.¹⁰⁵⁰ Their quality as horsemen makes them even more appropriate in an ode that celebrates an equestrian event.¹⁰⁵¹

¹⁰⁴³ *OI.* 3.43-45.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Cf. note 409.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Heracles reaches the ends of the world, cf. *OI.* 3.14, *OI.* 3.44. Accordingly, Theron has reached all that can be achieved for mortals.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *OI.* 3.43-44 νῦν δὲ πρὸς ἐσχατιὰν Θήρων ἀρεταῖσιν ἱκάνων ἄπτεται οἴκοθεν Ἡρακλέος σταλάν.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Cf. § 5.1.1.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cf. Burkert (1985^a: 213), Gantz (1993: 323). E.g. *Py.* 11.61-64, *Ne.* 10.49-91, *E. Hel.* 6.3.6: Dioscuri as a guiding light for those hoping to break out of the mortal sphere into the realm of the gods.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Divine parentage is attested as from the sixth century, cf. *CEG* 373, 391, 427, *IG XII³* 359. The Dioscuri, as part of the Indo-European heritage, predate Homer. In Homer and Pindar there is ambiguity: at *Γ* 237-244 they are treated as dead, whereas at *λ* 300-4 they are alive even when τοὺς ἄμφω ζωοὺς κατέχει φυσίζοος αἰῶν. At *Pi. Ne.* 10.80-82 Castor is not the son of Zeus, while at *Py.* 11.61-64 they are both υἱοὶ θεῶν.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Cf. §§ 5.2.3.

¹⁰⁵¹ *OI.* 3.39. Cf. *Alcm. PMG* 2, *Stesich. PMG* 178, *Hes. fr.* 150.22 MW, *Pi. Py.* 1.66, *Paus.* 2.22.5.

The mention of the Dioscuri together with Helen, at the beginning of the ode, must mean that Castor and Pollux here function as protectors,¹⁰⁵² yet the ode also singles them out as φιλόξεινοι.¹⁰⁵³ However, nothing in particular is known of the Dioscuri in the role of hosts.¹⁰⁵⁴ That they are evidently guests later in the ode,¹⁰⁵⁵ is of little consequence;¹⁰⁵⁶ the ode as a performance is a linear event and a meaning should not be projected back. Tentatively, I suggest a solution based on the Homeric formulaic usage of φιλόξεινοι.¹⁰⁵⁷ In the Homeric passages the formula occurs when a contrast is set up between two worlds: one governed by traditional Greek values where men are φιλόξεινοι governed by εὐσέβεια, and another where those values do not hold, where the inhabitants are 'hubristic, wild and unjust'. On that interpretation, the Tindaridae are φιλόξεινοι because they are pious, protect strangers and foreigners,¹⁰⁵⁸ and are trustworthy. The quality of trustworthiness also explains why the Dioscuri in this ode are suitable judges of the games.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵² Cf. Alcm. *PMG* 21, E. *Or.* 1636-38, *Hel.* 1666-68.

¹⁰⁵³ *OI.* 3.1-2 Τυνδαρίδαις τε φιλοξεῖνοις ἀδεῖν καλλιπλοκάμῳ θ' Ἑλένῃ.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Pace* Gildersleeve (1890: 156) 'in an especial manner gods of hospitality.' Only in the Cypria do the Tyndaridae appear to entertain Alexander, cf. Procl. *Chr.. Ep.* p. 103 Allen Ἀλέξανδρος ξενίζεται παρὰ τοῖς Τυνδαρίδαις.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *OI.* 3.40 ξεινίαις αὐτοῦς [sc. the Dioscuri] ἐποίχονται τραπέζαις,

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Pace* Köhnken (1983^a: 60).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Hom ζ 120f. ἢ ῥ' οἱ γ' ὕβρισται τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι, ἦε φιλόξεινοι καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής; In this passage νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής appears to be exepexegetic of φιλόξεινοι. The other instances, with only minor variations, are θ 576, ι 176, ν 202.

¹⁰⁵⁸ On Zeus Ξένιος, cf. Nilsson (1955: 419) 'Der Name bezeichnet den Zeus nicht nur als Schützer der Gastfreundschaft, wie er gewöhnlich übersetzt wird, sondern auch, und zwar besonders als den Schützer des Fremden.'

¹⁰⁵⁹ Cf. *OI.* 3.37. Not much is known about the Dioscuri as patrons of the Olympian games. Moretti (1953: 12-13) notes *IG* IX¹ 649 (550-540 BCE) where they are patrons of the local games in Ceffalia. In this ode they are judges of the chariot event only, perhaps in their quality as horsemen.

The land of the Hyperboreans cannot be entered by mortals,¹⁰⁶⁰ a characteristic it shares with the other *termini* of the known world mentioned in this ode; the river Istros and the pillars of Heracles are accessible to Heracles only.¹⁰⁶¹ However, in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode,¹⁰⁶² as well as in Bacchylides' third ode,¹⁰⁶³ there are strong hints that mortals with outstanding εὐσέβεια can attain a blessed state of literal immortality in the land Hyperboreans (or on the Isles of the Blest).¹⁰⁶⁴ Apparently the *laudandus* wished to be advertised as an example of piety in this ode, yet the demands and restrictions of *in situ* odes might have prevented him from such strong declarations as occur in the eschatological passage of Pindar's second *Olympian* ode. Be that as it may, when the ode was reperformed at Acragas, Emmenid εὐσέβεια would surely have been understood in the light of such possibilities of attaining literal immortality. On that interpretation, the ode serves the intention of the *laudandus* at Olympia as well as at home.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cf. *OI.* 3.31f. ... πνοιαῖς ὅπιθεν Βορέα ψυχροῦ. It is even beyond the reach of the Northern wind.

¹⁰⁶¹ Cf. *Py.* 10.29-44.

¹⁰⁶² Cf. *OI.* 2.56, 68-70 access to the μακάρων νῆσος for those with a εὐσεβεῖ γνώμη, cf. § 5.2.3.

¹⁰⁶³ Cf. *B.* 3.58ff. Croesus, a positive model for Hieron, is taken away to the land of the Hyperboreans because of his εὐσέβεια.

¹⁰⁶⁴ §§ 5.2.3, 8.3.4.

5.2 Pindar's second *Olympian* ode for Theron of Acragas.

Argument.

This ode appears to have been first performed in Acragas, probably not much later than 476 BCE. The laudandus does not make ostentatious claims to power nor is he or his clan praised for their military glory. Instead, the laudandus is praised as civic-minded. This might reflect the possibility that the relations of the tyranny with the general population and the political elite were less strained in the case of the Emmenid tyranny than in case of the Deinomenids. Praise for laudandus and clan looks backward and is firmly linked with 'illud tempus' whereby the laudandus is presented as the endpoint in a line of distinguished ancestors. The religious perspective presented in this ode is that of the laudandus, not of the poet. It strongly suggests influences of mystery religions of the Pythagorean or Orphic type. The eschatology as presented in the ode promises rewards and punishments to all, proportionally to their behaviour in the days of their mortality. The relevance of the eschatology as depicted in this ode surely was not limited to the laudandus alone. The ode acknowledges the supremacy of knowledge over learning, probably hinting at initiation as part of such mystery religions. Whereas religions of the Pythagorean or Orphic type appear to have rejected the values of the city, something which sets them apart from traditional Greek religion, this ode suggests that civic values are prerequisites to a blissful state. A description of this blissful state is offered to the audience. The ode has relevance for larger parts of the home city of the laudandus. Praise of civic values, especially justice, surely was beneficial for the tyrant's rule. Moreover, the accommodation of Pythagorean or Orphic

eschatology to civic values and traditional religion might have made the content of the ode more acceptable for audiences outside Sicily.

5.2.1 Introduction.

The ode does not contain any trace of the military exploits in which Theron or his clan were involved.¹⁰⁶⁵ Whereas the *laudandus* could have commissioned inclusion of his role in these battles, he apparently did not see fit to do so.¹⁰⁶⁶ Whereas Hieron portrays the Carthaginian threat as a real and present danger in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode, Theron apparently did not see reasons for such tactics in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode. This arguably reflects characteristics of the Emmenid tyranny. In contrast with the Deinomenid tyranny, the Emmenids appear to have been to a much lesser extent at variance with the population and political elite than the Deinomenid tyranny.¹⁰⁶⁷ For example, there is no documentary evidence that Theron used mercenary troops,¹⁰⁶⁸ a

¹⁰⁶⁵ The Emmenids were involved, first, in the war of the *emporía* (during Gelon's reign, possibly as late as 483 BCE), cf. Hdt. 7.158, Justin 4.2.6, 19.1.9. Second, in the capture of Himera, cf. Hdt. 7.165 (483 BCE?). Third, in the battle of Himera in 480 BCE, cf. Hdt. 7.167-67, D.S. 11.20-11.25.1

¹⁰⁶⁶ § 8.3.1.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Luraghi (1994: 271) notes that Theron was able to avoid alternating between tyranny and a proper constitutional rule which might have been imposed upon them. R. van Compernelle (1992) is recent survey of Theron's reign.

¹⁰⁶⁸ The one exception being Polyae. 6.51: Theron convinced Acragas' citizens to hand over to him some money which was needed to finalise the construction works of a temple for Athena and with which he then paid mercenaries and became tyrant. This is a highly suspect story since Theron probably already was a man of considerable influence and wealth *before* he became tyrant in ca.489 BCE, cf. D.S. 10.28.3, Σ Pi. *Ol.* 2.15d (= Hippostratus *FGrHist* 4 F 433). Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 413), R. van Compernelle (1959: 359), (1992: 71). Freeman (1891: 114)

modus operandi so characteristic for Gelon, Hieron, Thrasybulus and Theron's son Thrasydaeus.¹⁰⁶⁹ Second, Acragas' rich agricultural potential resulted in its phenomenal wealth long before Theron's rise to power,¹⁰⁷⁰ and Acragas' prosperity could have played an important role in forging consensus among the aristocracy, something which would have allowed Theron's rise to the tyranny in the first place.¹⁰⁷¹ Third, the period before, during and after Theron's rise to power seems to have been one of continuity rather than upheaval, since nothing suggests a break in the development of Acragantine society in the early fifth century.¹⁰⁷² This might also be the reason for Theron's generally positive portrayal in our literary and historical sources.¹⁰⁷³ Theron in Acragas appears to have been a *primus inter pares*.¹⁰⁷⁴ On that interpretation, the *laudandus* might voluntarily have avoided being praised in epinician

notes 'all stories of rise of tyrants are suspicious, differing in detail but essentially of the same kind.'

¹⁰⁶⁹ Cf. D.S. 11.72.3, 48.3, 53.2, 67.5.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Cf. D.S. 13.82.7, 13.84-86. Cf. Luraghi (1994: 267n.170).

¹⁰⁷¹ Berve (1967: 135) '...Therons Herrschaft kaum noch als Tyrannis empfunden wurde, ja, durch ein allgemeines Votum gebilligt werden konnte....starke Anhang im Adel wie im Volk...' This remark of course should be contrasted, and not equalled, with the observation that the Deinomenid tyrants were not wholly champions of the aristocracy nor altogether φιλόδημοι. Cf. note 1432.

¹⁰⁷² Luraghi (1994: 268).

¹⁰⁷³ Cf. X. *Hier.* 8ff., D.S. 11.53.1, 10.27.3.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Accommodating tendencies of Emmenid Acragas c.510 BCE can be discerned in the numismatic record: the Emmenids appear to have had no influence whatsoever on the monetization of Acragas, not in types, nor in weight nor denominations. Sharp conflict with Selinus notwithstanding, that city was nevertheless a model for Acragas with respect to monetization and urban layout. Cf. Böhringer (1984-85: 124), T. van Compernelle (1989: 54). The Deinomenids did use the possibilities for propaganda that coinage offered, cf. Rutter (2000^b: 80).

with a royal title,¹⁰⁷⁵ unlike Hieron of Syracuse who apparently thought it necessary to be addressed in epinician odes as king.¹⁰⁷⁶ Pindar¹⁰⁷⁷ only goes so far as to praise Theron as the ἔρεισμ' Ἀκράγαντος.¹⁰⁷⁸

The ideology in the ode has more in common with *Polisideologie* than with a *Herrschaftssystem*, notwithstanding the status of the *laudandus*.

5.2.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the ode.

The date of first performance appears to have been not much later than 476 BCE.¹⁰⁷⁹

The ode is clearly an epinician ode,¹⁰⁸⁰ considering the stress which is laid on Theron's Olympic victory in the proem of the ode. However, the *laudandus* was interested in the propagation of religious sentiments. The ode appears to have been performed for the first time in Acragas.¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁷⁵ Mention of a royal title for Theron is very rare in the historical sources. Cf. D.S. 11.20.5, 11.53.1, 4.79.5. Haillet (2001: 153n.5) however, argues that Diodorus' use of δυναστῆς or δυναστείαις is imprecise, cf. D.S. 11.48.2. Problematic remains a passage in Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 93b (= Σ Pi. *Ol.* 2.29d) Θήρων ὁ τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων βασιλεὺς. Haillet (2001: 157n.5) 'étonnant que Timée, si hostile à la tyrannie, lui donne ce titre.'

¹⁰⁷⁶ Cf. Appendix four, § 8.3.2.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Surely on instructions of the *laudandus*.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Ol.* 2.6.

¹⁰⁷⁹ The victory celebrated is the same as the one celebrated in Pindar's third *Olympian* ode. Cf. § 5.1.2.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Cf. *Ol.* 2.5-6, 2.48ff. The ode is not a *consolatio*, *pace* Wilamowitz (1922: 244): 'den trüben Sinn des Fürsten aufzuhellen.' Lehnus (1981: 25) suggests that the ode could be especially concerned with the troubles of a dying man, 'ma niente lo prova.'

¹⁰⁸¹ Cf. *Ol.* 2.48.

5.2.3 Religion and patron message in the second *Olympian* ode.

A notable feature of this ode is the manner in which it deals with the religion of the *laudandus*. It should be stressed that the religious sentiments in epinician odes are reflections of the patron's beliefs rather than Pindar's.¹⁰⁸² Contradictory religious notions in different epinician odes are of no consequence.¹⁰⁸³ Undoubtedly, Pindar held certain religious beliefs, but we are unlikely to be able to distil these from the Pindaric corpus.¹⁰⁸⁴

Diodorus mentions a hero-cult for Theron at Himera;¹⁰⁸⁵ however, unlike Hieron, Theron was not an *oecist*,¹⁰⁸⁶ and arguably did not actively seek to become a hero. In other words, hero-status, if Diodorus can be believed, was given to Theron as tyrant of Acragas and was not sought by him as city-founder of Himera.¹⁰⁸⁷ With regard to the description of piety in the odes, odes composed for Hieron appear to differ from odes composed for Theron. Whereas Hieron's *εὐσέβεια* in the odes composed for him is more often than not expressed as a result of large and expensive dedications he made

¹⁰⁸² van der Kolf (1924: 121) rightly remarks on *Ol.* 2 '...Orphicam religionem praedicans non sui iudicio usus est, sed patroni sententiae obsecutus est.'

¹⁰⁸³ E.g. metempsychosis in *Pi. Ol.* 2 *versus* the finality of death for men in *Ne.* 7.19, 10.76-88, 11.15-16, *Ol.* 1.81-84, *Py.* 10.41-44, *fr.* 121.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Pace* Rohde (1894: 204): Pindar believed in the afterlife. Lloyd-Jones (1985: 103): Pindar had Pythagorean or Orphic beliefs.

¹⁰⁸⁵ D.S. 11.53.2.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Theron did introduce fresh colonists into Himera, cf. D.S. 11.48.6. However, Himera was not refounded by Acragas, nor was it a colony of Acragas. Cf. Luraghi (1994: 248n.87) who notes *Th.* 6.5: a list of all the relationships between metropoleis and colonies prior to the Athenian expedition that does not mention any link between Himera and Acragas.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Cf. Appendix 8.3.4.

at Panhellenic sanctuaries,¹⁰⁸⁸ Theron's piety seems based on altogether different premises. The religious attitude of *do ut des*, so characteristic of Hieron's piety, seems absent in Theron. The absence of any evidence, material,¹⁰⁸⁹ or literary,¹⁰⁹⁰ of Emmenid Panhellenic dedications so characteristic of Hieron's religious attitude supports that observation.¹⁰⁹¹ Instead, the theology of the second *Olympian* ode appears to have been a mystery religion; hence the religious attitude of the ode surely was relevant to larger groups of the community.¹⁰⁹² In other words, whereas in the odes composed for Hieron the *laudandus* is separated from all others because of his extraordinary piety,¹⁰⁹³ in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode the *laudandus* is integrated with at least part of the audience since the eschatology of the ode promises that, in principle, rewards can be attained by all.¹⁰⁹⁴

¹⁰⁸⁸ E.g. B.3.11-14. Cf. Adkins (1960: 134f.) piety 'proportional to one's pocket book.'

¹⁰⁸⁹ The Delphic inscriptions *IGDS* 182a, b are not contradictory evidence; they should be linked with the story in Ael. *VH* 2.33.17: at Delphi the people of Acragas τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς πόλεως ποταμὸν παιδὶ ὠραίῳ εἰκάσαντες θύουσιν. Hence these were dedications by Acragas, not by Theron. Cf. Jacquemin (1999: 71, 308) numbers 9 and 10.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Paus. 5.25.5-7 is not evidence to the contrary. Pausanias describes a group of bronze boys stretching out their right hands in an attitude of prayer to the god, set up from the spoils τοῦτοις τοῖς ἐν Μοτύῃ βαρβάροις Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καταστάντες ἐς πόλεμον yet they appear to be dedicated by Ducetius, not by Theron. Cf. de Waele (1971: 120n.608).

¹⁰⁹¹ Luraghi (1994: 379) links the absence of such dedications with the less militaristic character of the Emmenid tyranny.

¹⁰⁹² *A priori* it would be very unlikely that Theron would have been the only member in Acragas of such a group of initiates.

¹⁰⁹³ Hieron is outstandingly pious because of his immense wealth. This does not mean, however, that the odes composed for Hieron never attempt to portray Hieron inclusively, cf. §§ 8.2, 8.3.1.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Although with certain conditions attached, see below.

Problems around the eschatology in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode have been endlessly debated.¹⁰⁹⁵ For the present purpose a detailed discussion of the eschatological passage is unnecessary.¹⁰⁹⁶ Suffice to say that the concepts of judgement and salvation as depicted in the second *Olympian* ode clearly have similarities with Orphic or Pythagorean eschatology.

The study of Orphic ideas and Bacchic Mysteries is still in considerable flux;¹⁰⁹⁷ nevertheless, the main outline of these beliefs seems clear and allows for the following remarks. The Eleusinian as well as the Orphic-Pythagorean Mysteries offered to all initiates hopes for betterment in the after-life.¹⁰⁹⁸ Initiation would lead to prosperity in this life and to some sort of blessed state in the life thereafter.¹⁰⁹⁹ All the mystery cults would teach how to live in joy and how to die with better hopes.¹¹⁰⁰ Orphism is closely

¹⁰⁹⁵ Especially the passage *Ol.* 2.56-83: some sort of punishment for wrongdoers, an account of the afterlife with a transmigration of the soul, future rewards and punishments and finally a description of the Isles of the Blest, inhabited by those who have passed successfully through three (?) cycles. Cf. Wilamowitz (1922: 248-52), Long (1948), Hampe (1952), Thummer (1957), Von Fritz (1957), Bluck (1958), Gianotti (1971), Züntz (1971: 84-88), Graf (1974), Solmsen (1982), Lloyd-Jones (1985), Nisetich (1988). Similar eschatological issues appear to be addressed in *Pi. fr.* 129, 130, 131ab, 133, 137, but the context of those fragments is unknown.

¹⁰⁹⁶ van Leeuwen (1964: 161f.) lists eleven caveats for those who do want to enter into such a discussion. Cf. Wilamowitz (1922: 248) '...daß Theron an einen Lohn seiner Lebensführung in jenem Leben glaubt; dass Einzelne ist Nebensache.'

¹⁰⁹⁷ Mainly due to the absence of reliable texts. Cf. Zuntz (1971), Parker (1995), Laks and Most, (1997), Janko (2002), Betegh (2004) on the Derveni Papyrus. Cf. Dubois (1996: 154ff.) on the Olbian bone tablets. Cf. Pugliese Carratelli (1993) on the Orphic gold leaves (known as *symbola*).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Cf. Parker (1995: 503). An escape from 'that after-life of utter emptiness to which almost every soul is condemned in the Homeric poems.'

¹⁰⁹⁹ The initiated would become τριτολβιοι, the uninitiated πάντ' ἔχει κακά, cf. *h. Cer.* 480-82, *Pi. fr.* 137a.

¹¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Cic. de Leg.* 2.36 *non solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi.* Cf. Burkert (1987: 21).

related to Pythagoreanism:¹¹⁰¹ in both beliefs the immortal soul played a central part and both embody 'ascetic values.' Behaviour in this life had far-reaching consequences for what could be expected to happen after death,¹¹⁰² as crimes committed in an earlier life would have to be atoned for.¹¹⁰³ Because the origin of men was believed to have arisen through the death of a god, men had to pay a penalty as a requital for this 'ancient grief',¹¹⁰⁴ something which stands in sharp contrast to the traditional Homeric conception of the immortality of the gods. Modern scholarship points out important differences between Orphism and Pythagoreanism.¹¹⁰⁵ For the present purpose, however, these differences can be safely ignored as we have no way of telling which of either concept was the dominant influence for the eschatology in the second *Olympian* ode. More important for the present purpose are the similarities: Orphic-Pythagorean beliefs were often coupled with contempt for the body and its pleasures.¹¹⁰⁶ The

¹¹⁰¹ Parker (1995: 501) '...yet without being reducible to it.'

¹¹⁰² Burkert (1987: 87) notes that such belief systems are therefore not a *theologia* but an anthropology.

¹¹⁰³ Cf. Pl. *Leg.* 870DE, Arist. *Et. Nic.* 1132b25, Pi. *fr.* 131a.

¹¹⁰⁴ Admittedly, the interpretation of this so-called 'Zagreus myth' as well as links with Orphism and/or Pythagoreanism are still highly controversial. The theory appears to be old, cf. Pi. *fr.* 133, Holzhauser (2004). Cf. Xenocr. *fr.* 20, Hdt. 2.49, Pl. *Phd* 62B, *Crat* 400C, *Leg* 701C, D.S. 1.22.7, Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 358B.

¹¹⁰⁵ Cf. Bremmer (1999: 74n.18, 79), Vogel (1966: 151-59), van den Horst and Mussies (1990: 141-42). In summary: Orphism is all text and little community, stresses purification, is interested in mythology (however strange and still largely unexplained), favours Dionysus and has a pessimistic view of the world. Pythagoreanism: a community without a text. It stresses ethics, friendship and community of goods and displays little interest in mythology. It favours Apollo, and is not as pessimistic in its outlook on the world as Orphism. See also Zuntz (1978).

¹¹⁰⁶ Cf. the so-called ΣΩΜΑ ΣΗΜΑ duality. Plato's *Phaedo* gives an appreciative summary of this duality. Parker (1995: 504), however, notes that Plato's discussions tend to lump together Eleusinian and Orphic initiation in a way that illustrates such an assimilation. He further argues that at Pl. *R.* 363e-365a and 366a, Plato very probably misrepresented the values of the Orphic initiators.

Pythagorean belief represents a clear step towards disenchantment with the world,¹¹⁰⁷ and, more specifically, would reject central norms of Greek society of their day.¹¹⁰⁸ It appears that such a rejection of the values of the city was central to Orphism as well.¹¹⁰⁹ It should be noted that this stands in sharp contrast with Eleusinian Mysteries,¹¹¹⁰ which would not reject the basic values of the city but instead were intimately linked with the city. Interestingly, in the second *Olympian* ode, the *laudandus* is consequently praised for his civic values, whereas part of his patron message appears to link civic values with his (and his audience's) eschatology:¹¹¹¹ the keeping of oaths is a *sine qua non* for the attainment of the status of ultimate bliss. This matters since the concept of εὐορκία is linked with that of justice,¹¹¹² and hence the *laudandus* in the second *Olympian* ode presents himself as an even-handed judge. In other words, the ode appears to accommodate Orphic-Pythagorean eschatology with the values of the city.

Propagation of the religious sentiments presented in this ode was surely a concern of the *laudandus*. Arguably, an accommodation of these religious sentiments with values of the city would have made the religious concerns of the ode more acceptable to audiences outside Sicily.

¹¹⁰⁷ Bremmer (1999: 76).

¹¹⁰⁸ E.g. Pythagorean vegetarianism *versus* the basic ritual acts of animal sacrifice.

¹¹⁰⁹ Parker (1995: 503). Cf. D.L. Cairns (1997: 53) for a discussion of Euripides' *Hippolytus* in this respect.

¹¹¹⁰ The Demeter-Kore worship in Sicily, in which Hieron was a Hierophant, were of the Eleusinian type.

¹¹¹¹ Cf. *OI.* 2.65-67 ἀλλὰ παρὰ μὲν τιμίοις θεῶν οἵτινες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίαις ἄδακρυν νέμονται αἰῶνα.

¹¹¹² The link appears to be old. Cf. the oaths and punishments in Hom. *T* 259f., Hes. *Op.* 289, 803-4, Theogn. 231f., Hdt. 6.86γ.2., Aesch. *Ctes.* 233. Cf. *Syll.*³ 173 lines 27ff. in Rhodes and Osborne (2003: 196-201), the Athenian arrangements for Iulis in 363/2 BCE.

Whereas the *laudandus* clearly speaks of his hope for literal immortality and frankly discusses the terms upon which such a state of bliss can be attained, he evidently also sought the glory of becoming an Olympic victor and by commissioning an ode tried to perpetuate his κλέος ἄφθιτον through epinician song, the conventional mode of survival in the memory of the group.

5.2.4 Praise for the *laudandus* and clan.

The opening of the ode and the predominantly third-person *deixis* give the ode a flavour of an rhapsodic hymn.¹¹¹³ Such hymns focus on statements of a more general validity, and so rhetorically the ode seems concerned with objective truths about the *laudandus*.

The structure of the ode is straightforward. Opening with doubt on the choice of the subject or theme,¹¹¹⁴ the ode continues with a mythical excursion in which Theron's genealogy forms the background.¹¹¹⁵ *Gnomae* supply a negative foil and positive *exempla*. The ode then returns from the myth to the actuality of the celebrations,¹¹¹⁶ which is followed by the so-called eschatological passage.¹¹¹⁷ After short discussions of

¹¹¹³ The ἀρπία of the opening lines and the announcement of the poet's intention to sing are characteristic of that hymn type, cf. Race (1990: 104).

¹¹¹⁴ *OI.* 2.1-7.

¹¹¹⁵ *OI.* 2.8-45: Theron's clan is linked with the descendants of Oedipus.

¹¹¹⁶ *OI.* 2.46-55.

¹¹¹⁷ *OI.* 2.56-83.

the role of poetry in general and that of the poet in particular,¹¹¹⁸ the ode closes with a *ne plus ultra* motif.¹¹¹⁹

There is no need to take the opening word of the ode, ἀναξιφόρμιγγες,¹¹²⁰ as a veiled hint at the elevated status of the patron.¹¹²¹ Instead the element ἀναξ- in the compound gives us an important clue about the pre-eminence of the words in the epinician odes over the other elements during performance.¹¹²² This matters since it suggests that music, dance and mime were secondary to the patron message of an ode.¹¹²³

The status of the *laudandus* appears to have been a lesser concern in the ode and instead he is consistently advertised in terms of civic values: Theron is just with regard to his guests,¹¹²⁴ he is a bulwark for his city,¹¹²⁵ he 'sets up' his the city in a proper way,¹¹²⁶ and is again praised, now in epic terms,¹¹²⁷ as a proper host,¹¹²⁸ and

¹¹¹⁸ *OI.* 2.83-95.

¹¹¹⁹ *OI.* 2.95-100. The *ne plus ultra* motif takes the form of a well-known archaic model, viz. ὀλβος > φθόνος > κορός > ὕβρις > ἄτη.

¹¹²⁰ Echoed at B.4.8, B.6.10, 16.66.

¹¹²¹ *Pace* van Leeuwen (1964: 43).

¹¹²² Gentili (1988: 26) music's 'primary purpose was to provide the poetic text with a set of overtones'.

¹¹²³ Cf. Wilamowitz (1922: 244n.1). 'Die Musik ist also nur Begleitung des Wortes.'

¹¹²⁴ *OI.* 2.6 ὅπῃ δίκαιον ξένων. Proper ξενία.

¹¹²⁵ *OI.* 2.6 ἔρρισμ' Ἀκράγαντος. There is no need to take this as a veiled hint at the naval battle of Himera, *pace* van Leeuwen (1964: 51). The sense seems more general, 'protector, now and in the future'. Cf. Homer's description of heroes, e.g. at A 284.

¹¹²⁶ *OI.* 2.7 εὐωνύμων τε πατέρων ἄωτον ὀρθόπολιν· a *kenning* in which ὀρθόπολις is active, 'he who constructs the city in a proper way', *qui urbem claram, conspicuam, florentem fecit* (Dissen). Cf. *OI.* 3.3, *Isth.* 1.46, *Ne.* 4.48. van Leeuwen (1964: 52) notes that the meaning of ὀρθόπολις as 'proper ruler' of a city is later. Cf. T. van Compernelle (1992: 51-61), (1989) on Theron's building programme. Cf. Diod. Sic. 11.25.3-4, 13.82.1, Σ Pi. *OI.* 2 15c.

¹¹²⁷ *OI.* 2.92 αὐδάσομαι ἐνόρκιον λόγον ἀλαθεῖ νόῳ. Cf. van Leeuwen (1964: 522n.276): an expression of an absolute truth. Cf. Hom. ξ 151, ι 16, λ 507, τ 245, 269, ψ 265.

generous to the city,¹¹²⁹ and even as a son of Acragas.¹¹³⁰ Finally, the closing *ne plus ultra* passage mentions the χάρματα the *laudandus* provides for others.¹¹³¹

Two passages merit a more detailed discussion. The first one occurs at the end of the third antistrophe.¹¹³² This is a difficult passage, the general sense of which, however, seems clear: 'if one has wealth, and if this wealth is embellished with virtue, then there is a basis for various achievements.' Wealth in itself can be a dangerous thing, as is clear from the parallel in the Theognis passage quoted in the preceding note. Perhaps for that reason wealth is often qualified in the epinician odes. An ode composed for Hieron, for example, notes that wealth should not be stashed away, hidden in darkness,¹¹³³ and continues with a description of Hieron's conspicuous sacrifices. Hieron is consequently praised for his traditional piety: he has given much and can expect much in return, yet he enjoys these rewards in lone splendour. In the second *Olympian* ode, however, wealth used in accordance with ἀρετά,¹¹³⁴ is only part of the qualities that candidates for blessedness should possess.¹¹³⁵ These persons, the

¹¹²⁸ *O.* 2.94-95 φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον...Θήρωνος.

¹¹²⁹ *O.* 2.2.93-94 πόλιν ...εὐεργέταν. Cf. X. *Hieron* 10-11 with the advice to manipulate public opinion by spending one's wealth on the public good.

¹¹³⁰ *O.* 2.94 τεκεῖν Theron is portrayed as a son. van Leeuwen (1964: 522n.276) notes Hom. v 295, τ 113, δ 86, B 548.

¹¹³¹ *O.* 2.99 καὶ κεῖνος ὅσα χάρματ' ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν.

¹¹³² *O.* 2.53-55 ὁ μὲν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν καιρὸν βαθεῖαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν τ' ἀγροτέραν. Cf. van Leeuwen (1964: 150-56). Cf. Theogn. 227-232 'Πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώποισιν· ... χρήματά τοι θνητοῖς γίνεται ἀφροσύνη, κτλ.

¹¹³³ B.3.13f. οἶδε πυργωθέντα πλοῦτον μὴ μελαμφαρεῖ κρύπτειν σκότῳ.

¹¹³⁴ In other words, the traditional piety. Cf. *O.* 2.53.

¹¹³⁵ Cf. *O.* 2.56 εἰ δέ νιν ἔχωνκτλ. Another vexed passage. Cf. van Leeuwen (1964: 162-65), Lehnus (1981: 43f.). The phrase as it stands does not have an apodosis, an ἀναπόδοτον whereby the main clause is suggested but never occurs. E.g. Hom. Ω 41ff. The complement, if indeed the phrase needs one, has troubled scholars. I follow the scholiast Σ *O.* 2.102d who

ἔσλοῖ, who surely include Theron, 'know the future'.¹¹³⁶ The ode continues with a clarification of what it is that such ἔσλοῖ know,¹¹³⁷ offering what appears to be some sort of doctrine.¹¹³⁸ Obviously, this part of the doctrine, if indeed there was more, is not secret. Clearly a restricted class of people is intended,¹¹³⁹ and among them is one of Theron's ancestors, Cadmus.¹¹⁴⁰ Clearly not everyone automatically will attain the state of blessedness,¹¹⁴¹ yet many would have had aspirations to such a blessed state, namely other initiates.¹¹⁴² Consequently, the patron message hence advertises the *laudandus* as united with larger parts of the audience.¹¹⁴³

Initiation might be reflected in the manner in which the ode stresses knowledge and knowing, most clearly in the passage which refers to 'those who know the future',¹¹⁴⁴ but also in a passage in the fourth strophe.¹¹⁴⁵ In that last passage, the

summarises *OI.* 2.57-60 then adds οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ εἰς ἀδικίαν ἐχρήσατο. Hence I take *OI.* 2.56 to refer to a *sine qua non* for the blessedness of the ἔσλοῖ (*OI.* 2.63).

¹¹³⁶ *OI.* 2.56 οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον.

¹¹³⁷ *OI.* 2.56f. ... οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον, ὅτι κτλ.

¹¹³⁸ From *OI.* 2.55 ὅτι θανόντων κ.τ.λ. until *OI.* 2.83 πολλά μοι κ.τ.λ. Attaining the blessed state is dependent on correct behaviour (cf. *OI.* 2.68-70), not simply on being initiated.

¹¹³⁹ Cf. *OI.* 2.68ff. ὅσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν κ.τ.λ. where ὅσοι has a restrictive value, as a variation of οἵτινες at *OI.* 2.66. Cf. van Leeuwen (1964: 492n.80), 'een elite, die iets bijzonders moet hebben verricht.' Lehnus (1981: 46) 'al paradiso degli eletti.'

¹¹⁴⁰ *OI.* 2.78.

¹¹⁴¹ Pace Thummer (1957: 127) who argues that Theron would be of the opinion that 'alle Menschen der Seelenwanderung unterworfen seien.' Dover (1993: 252) notes that Aristoph. *Ran.* 454-49 presupposes virtue as well as initiation as conditions for entry and parallels with *S. fr.* 837 P., *Pl. Phd* 250c, *Smp.* 209e. Dickie (2005: 37ff.) notes similar restrictions and cites parallels with regard to blessedness in the epitaphs in the new Posidippus' papyrus.

¹¹⁴² And not just those in Sicily, assuming that the ode was reperformed in other parts of the Greek world.

¹¹⁴³ Contrast with Hieron's piety which separates him from all others, cf. B.3.64-66.

¹¹⁴⁴ *OI.* 2.56 οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον.

phrase σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾶ appears to refer to the poet,¹¹⁴⁶ but it is hard to believe that in the context of the 'eschatological passage' the wisdom of the *laudandus* is not paralleled by the 'knowledge by nature' of the poet.¹¹⁴⁷

It worth noting that in the eschatological passage the *laudandus* is consistently advertised in terms of civic virtues: the ἑσλοῖ are in the company of the gods since they have kept their oaths.¹¹⁴⁸ The importance of keeping oaths is clear from the penalty mentioned: a pain too terrible to behold.¹¹⁴⁹ This might not be the only instance where the *laudandus* accommodates civic values and notions from traditional or regional Sicilian religion with innovative Pythagorean or Orphic beliefs. Some have argued that the puzzling 'tower of Cronus' mentioned in the fourth antistrophe,¹¹⁵⁰ is connected with Orphic mysticism.¹¹⁵¹ Although not much is known about this tower,¹¹⁵² worship of Cronus appears to have been widespread in Western Greece.¹¹⁵³ Since Rhea, Cronus'

¹¹⁴⁵ *OI.* 2.82-88. ...φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐς δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἔρμανέων χατίζει. σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾶ· μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι κτλ.

¹¹⁴⁶ Cf. *Sol.* 13.5, *Pi. Py.* 10.22, *Ne.* 3.40, *OI.* 9.100-102.

¹¹⁴⁷ Gentili (1988: 62-63) observes that in Pindar's poetics, excellence is valued above the mere learning of a craft through the imitation of the traditional poetic models. For Bacchylides, however, the point of departure seems the μάθησις of those traditional models. Cf. *B. fr.* 5, *Hes. Th.* 22ff.

¹¹⁴⁸ *OI.* 2.65-67 ἀλλὰ παρὰ μὲν τιμίῳις θεῶν οἵτινες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίαις ἄδακρυν νέμονται αἰῶνα,

¹¹⁴⁹ *OI.* 2.67 τοῖ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον.

¹¹⁵⁰ *OI.* 2.70 ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν·

¹¹⁵¹ Cf. Usener (1896: 208), van Leeuwen (1964: 496n.143). Cf. *Hes. Op.* 121ff. with 169ff.

¹¹⁵² Cf. Σ *OI.* 2.123a. ...ἄγειν εἰς τὰς μακάρων νήσους καὶ παρὰ τὴν τύρσιν τοῦ Κρόνου, τουτέστι τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου βασιλείαν. λέγει δὲ τὰς μακάρων νήσους περιφραστικῶς. Similarly Σ *recens OI.* 2.122-28.10. Gelon's burial place is referred to in similar terms, cf. *D.S.* 11.38.4 ἐτάφη δ' αὐτοῦ [sc. Gelonis] τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τὸν ἀγρὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Ἐννέα τύρσεσιν, οὗσαις τῷ βάρει τῶν ἔργων θαυμασταῖς.

¹¹⁵³ Cook (1925: 555). Cf. *Lyd. Mens.* 4.71.6ff. *Wünsch, D.S.* 3.61, 15.16, *Polyae.* 5.10.5, *Cic. de nat. deor.* 3.44, *Philochor. FHG* 1 *fr.* 184, *Charax FHG* 3 *fr.* 640 τ[ὴν τότε μὲν λεγ]ομένην Κρονίαν, νῦν δὲ Ἱερὰν πόλιν.

wife, is associated with the *corona muralis*,¹¹⁵⁴ her crown could be associated with the 'tower of Cronus' which Pindar situates on the Isles of the Blest. On that interpretation Diodorus' report of the tomb of Gelon and his wife conflates crown and existing tomb.¹¹⁵⁵

5.2.4.1 Praise for *laudandus* and clan in terms of *illud tempus*.

The common *topos* of ἡσυχία after the πόνος of the victory¹¹⁵⁶ appears to be applied to the whole clan and Acragas. The clan 'suffered much in their hearts' yet then acquired 'wealth and glory',¹¹⁵⁷ and now celebrate Theron's victory and his excellence.¹¹⁵⁸ That Theron's ancestors had suffered in the past might reflect recent Emmenid history.¹¹⁵⁹ Events during that *coup d'état* might be conflated with memories of *stasis* after the foundation of Acragas.¹¹⁶⁰ Rhetorically, the sufferings of the past are the foil for the

¹¹⁵⁴ E.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6.784f. *Phrygias turrita* (referring to Cybele) the battlement crown or *corona muralis*. Cf. Lucr. 2.606-610, Proper. 4.11.52, Virg. *Aen.* 10.253, Ov. *Met.* 10.696, Ov. *Fast.* 4.219. As a Roman military decoration, cf. Aul. Gel. 5.6.4, Liv. 10.43.6, 26.4. Suet. *Aug.* 25. Cf. Haebler in *REIV*, p.1640f. s.v. *corona*. Rhea literally towers above others since she 'has the highest throne of all', cf. Pi. *Ol.* 2.77.

¹¹⁵⁵ Note the 'nine towers' in D.S. 11.38.4. They were destroyed by Agathocles διὰ τὸν φθόνον, D.S. 11.38.5.

¹¹⁵⁶ The *locus classicus* is Pi. *Ne.* 4 *init.*

¹¹⁵⁷ *Ol.* 2.8-11, paralleled with a mythical *exemplum* at *Ol.* 2.53. The past afflictions of the clan are paralleled with the tribulations of Cadmus' daughters.

¹¹⁵⁸ Cf. § 5.2.4.

¹¹⁵⁹ Cf. *Ol.* 2.5-8. Theron's great-grandfather (or uncle, according to other sources) deposed the tyrant Phalaris in the mid 6th century BCE. Cf. Cf. Σ *Ol.* 3, 68ad. Cf. G. Swoboda *REV/2*, p.2498-2500, Luraghi (1994: 263n.153).

¹¹⁶⁰ Gela, during the time of the foundation, contained Cretan as well as Rhodian elements, cf. Th. 6.4, D.S. 8.23, ΣΣ Pi. *Ol.* 2.16bc) and by extension so did Acragas. Acragas' two oecists, cf. Th. 6.4.4, were appointed to avoid strife because the initial populations were heterogeneous.

current happiness.¹¹⁶¹ Arguably, past suffering is directly proportional to current happiness. Interestingly, the allusions to that fairly recent misfortune of the clan appear to have a distinct epic flavour.¹¹⁶² This has the effect of pushing back those events in time as well as making them more momentous. Together with the genealogy in this ode,¹¹⁶³ it gives the distinct impression of *laudandus* and clan as an end-point in a long line of achievements: the alterations of fortune in Emmenid history¹¹⁶⁴ culminate in Theron's victory as a deliverance from grief and as proof of a properly fulfilled life. In other words, the *hic et nunc* is defined in terms of *illud tempus*.¹¹⁶⁵ Future concerns in this ode are not worldly but appear to pertain to the afterlife only. The reiteration of existences as described in the eschatological passage,¹¹⁶⁶ is a process at the end of which eternal bliss might ensue: happiness enjoyed on the Isles of the Blest. Tentatively, it could be argued that portrayal of Theron and his clan as an end-point in

Such attempts were not always successful, cf. Hdt. 7.153, Th. 6.5 (three oecists). Cf. Leschhorn (1984: 17, 85, 92) on multiple oecists.

¹¹⁶¹ As well as an instance of the healthy admixture of good and bad fortune. Cf. note 475.

¹¹⁶² van Leeuwen (1964: 55) notes that *O.* 2.8-9 appears to be a lyrical adaptation of the proem of the *Odyssey*: καμόντες - πάθεν ἄλγεα (Hom. α.4), οἱ πολλὰ ὅς - μάλα πολλὰ (α.1), θυμῷ - ὄν κατὰ θυμόν (α.4), ἱερὸνοἶκημα ποταμοῦ - Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον (α.2).

¹¹⁶³ On which see below.

¹¹⁶⁴ Beginning with recent events in Emmenid history, via an excursion into the remote past with Cadmus and the Labdacidae.

¹¹⁶⁵ With one exception, viz. *O.* 2.14-15: a prayer for continuation of current happiness. Be that as it may, there is a contrast with the concerns in odes composed for Hieron. They appear to be directed towards the (worldly) future. Cf. *O.* 1.109: hope for new victory, *O.* 1.115: the hope that Hieron's rightful power may continue and many instances in the first *Pythian* ode, cf. *Py.* 1.46, 1.56, 1.67, 1.70, 1.71, 1.85, 1.91. Cf. § 8.3.1.

¹¹⁶⁶ Palingenis or metempsychosis or whatever we want to call it.

a long line of achievements¹¹⁶⁷ parallels the *terminus* of the blessed state described in the eschatological passage.¹¹⁶⁸

The genealogy in the ode introduces a link between the house of Oedipus and the Emmenid clan.¹¹⁶⁹ The name of the ill-fated Oedipus is avoided¹¹⁷⁰ whereas for obvious reasons the episode of incest is passed over.¹¹⁷¹ Interestingly, Oedipus' misfortunes are offset by the glory won by Thersandros in his agonistic and military battles. At this point the mention of Theron's military exploits would not have been out of place, but admittedly this is an argument *e silentio*. That, however, does not happen and the parallel is strictly with Theron's (and his brother Xenocrates') agonistic victories. Emmenid lineage is traced to the Labdakidai through Thersandrus the son of Polyneices, and Argeia the daughter of Adrastus.¹¹⁷² However, in an encomium for Theron,¹¹⁷³ the Theban connection is stressed through a lineage traced from Oedipus' elder son, Eteocles.¹¹⁷⁴ Interestingly, the encomium apparently cuts out Eteocles' sojourn in Thebes, Athens and Gela,¹¹⁷⁵ suggesting that the Emmenid clan had arrived directly in Acragas without having been in Gela at all.¹¹⁷⁶ The portrayal in the

¹¹⁶⁷ Aptly capped at Cf. *Ol.* 2.95ff. with a *ne plus ultra topos*.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Ol.* 2.68-70.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Ol.* 2.37-47.

¹¹⁷⁰ Instead *Ol.* 2.38 Ἀῖον μόριμος υἱός. Cf. Hom α 35. Gildersleeve (1890: 147) notes that Pindar only names Oedipus when he wants to honour him, cf. *Py.* 4.263.

¹¹⁷¹ An audience in Pindar's time probably knew the whole story, cf. Hom. λ 271 (marriage with the mother), Hom ψ 679 (killing of father), Hesiod *Op.* 161ff..

¹¹⁷² *Ol.* 2.41-47. Cadmus, father of Semele (*Ol.* 2.25-7) and Ino (2.28-30). Then Oedipus (2.38). Polyneices (2.43), the Adrastidae (2.45) and finally Aenisidamus (2.46).

¹¹⁷³ Only fragments remain. Cf. *Pi. fr.* 118, 119.

¹¹⁷⁴ Cf. ΣΣ *Pi. Ol.* 2.61ce, 70 f.

¹¹⁷⁵ Cf. *Pi. fr.* 119.1-2 ἄν δέ 'Ρόδον κατώκισθεν..., ἔνθεν δ' ἀφορμαθέντες, ὑψηλὰν πόλιν ἀμφινέμονται, [sc. Acrigentam].

¹¹⁷⁶ Cf. *Hdt.* 7.153, *Th.* 6.4.4. For the inscriptional evidence, cf. de Waele (1971: 268).

encomium of Theron's clan having arrived directly in Acragas might have had some ideological advantages, testifying to Theron's autonomy and independence from the Deinomenids. Apparently, in one commissioned poem the *laudandus* did see fit to portray the clan as more independent, whereas in another poem, the second *Olympian* ode, this was not seen as appropriate. We can only guess as to the reasons for such a decision.¹¹⁷⁷ It should be noted that we do not know which genealogy was the official one or even whether there was a single authoritative Emmenid version. Be that as it may, there could well have been a more down-to-earth reason for those muddled genealogies, namely the possibility that the first members of Theron's family who arrived in Sicily were mercenaries and not aristocrats at all. The improved genealogy in this ode would conveniently bury such a past.¹¹⁷⁸ Such emendation of the past does not occur in odes composed for Hieron. In fact, in odes composed for Hieron genealogy is conspicuously absent.¹¹⁷⁹ Some think that this is so since the Deinomenids had no illustrious pedigree to boast of,¹¹⁸⁰ or, alternatively, that they even had been a low-status family up to the time of Telines.¹¹⁸¹ This, however, misses two

¹¹⁷⁷ The performance context for an encomium could have been more personal and intimate, allowing for such praise of the clan, whereas such praise might have been more problematic in an epinician ode.

¹¹⁷⁸ Cf. Σ Pi *O.* 2.15d (=Hippostr. *FGrHist* 568 F 3) Ἰππόστρατος δὲ ἱστορεῖ αὐτὸν πλούτῳ διενηνοχέναι. ἀλλ' οἳ γε πρόγονοι τοῦ Θήρωνος [τοῦ Θήρωνος Drachmann : τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων BEHQ] Γελῶοι οὐχ οὕτως ἡύπορήκεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τούναντίον μόγισ καὶ ταπεινῶς διέζων, ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως μισθαρνοῦντες.

¹¹⁷⁹ Pindar's first and ninth *Nemean* odes also do not contain genealogy.

¹¹⁸⁰ Poli-Palladini (2003: 302). Indeed all that our sources tell is that Hieron, Gelon, Thrasybulus and Polyzelus were sons of Deinomenes, cf. Pi. *Py.* 1.79, B.3.7, 4.13, 5.35, Σ *Py.* 1.112, and that a remote ancestor, Telines, had taken part in the foundation of Gela, cf. Hdt. 7.153, Σ Pi, *O.* 6.158a.

¹¹⁸¹ Poli-Palladini (2003: 302n.8) noting that Gelon was a δορυφόρος of Hippocrates, cf. Hdt. 7.154.1. However, Luraghi (1994: 177n.22) rightly argues that Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F18 implies

important points. First, an ode contains genealogy because the *laudandus* wants to advertise that lineage. Hence *vice versa*, absence of genealogy means that the *laudandus* did not see fit to include one.¹¹⁸² Second, the genealogies that do occur in the odes promote the interests of the *laudandus* and are not necessarily reflections of the truth.¹¹⁸³

that Hippocrates courted the favours of the Geloan aristocracy (among them the Deinomenids) and that therefore Gelon was appointed *magister equitum*.

¹¹⁸² Instead, odes composed for Hieron often advertise the links between heroes or gods and the *laudandus*.

¹¹⁸³ *Pace* Poli-Palladini (2003: 302) 'not only do we know that Theron descended from Telemachus, a founder of Acragas, ...' All we know, however, is that Theron wanted to be advertised as such.

CHAPTER SIX – TWO ODES COMPOSED FOR OTHER EMMENIDS.

6.1 Pindar's sixth *Pythian* and second *Isthmian* odes for Thrasybulus of Acragas.

Argument.

Several unknowns hamper an enquiry into the patron message of these two odes. There is no scholarly agreement over the identity of the laudandus, nor is there agreement over whether the odes were first performed before, during or after the Emmenid tyranny. It is moreover not entirely clear whether the sixth Pythian ode was performed for the first time at Acragas. It is argued that the laudandus in both odes is Thrasybulus, a nephew of Theron of Acragas. Xenocrates, the father of the laudandus, was victorious in 490 BCE at Delphi. The laudandus effectively appropriates the victories of his father, something that might explain the prominence of civic values and filial devotion in Pindar's sixth Pythian ode. In that ode, Thrasybulus' uncle, Theron, is held up as a model. Pindar's second Isthmian ode appears to hark back to a better past, something which supports the assumption that Theron's tyranny might not have been in conflict with the population and the political elite of Acragas. The manner in which the laudandus is advertised in both odes surely would have done him no harm in the event of a performance at Acragas during the tyranny, yet it might have served him particularly well in the turbulent times after the fall of the Emmenid tyranny in 472 BCE.

6.1.1 Introduction.

Scholarly opinion is divided on the question of the identity of the *laudandus*. The problem centres on the interpretation of a statement in the scholiast on Pindar's second *Isthmian* ode.¹¹⁸⁴ The question is whether the scholiast refers to one or two odes by Simonides. I follow the argument that it was Simonides who was officially commissioned to commemorate both Xenocrates' Pythian and Isthmian victories.¹¹⁸⁵ These official odes by Simonides, probably commissioned by Xenocrates himself, have left no trace except perhaps in the (confused) scholia on Pindar's second *Isthmian* ode and in a fragment of Artemon.¹¹⁸⁶ Hence whereas Pindar's sixth *Pythian* ode and his second *Isthmian* ode mention Xenocrates' victories they were commissioned by his son, Thrasybulus.¹¹⁸⁷ That the addressee in the sixth *Pythian* ode is clearly Thrasybulus and not Xenocrates further supports this view. There are no other odes in our corpus in which a person other than the victor is so prominently placed in the

¹¹⁸⁴ Σ Pi. *Isth.* 2 *insrc.* α οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ξενοκράτης οὐ μόνον Ἴσθμια νενίκηκεν ἵπποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πύθια κδ' Πυθιάδα (sc. 490 BCE), ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης (Arist. *fr.* 617 R.) ἀναγράφει· καὶ Σιμωνίδης δὲ (Sim. *PMG* 513) ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρως αὐτοῦ τὰς νίκας κατατάσσει.

¹¹⁸⁵ This is the opinion of Bury (1892: 27-28), Gaspar (1900: 45), van Groningen (1960: 344), Gentili *et al.* (1995: 183), R. van Compernelle (1959: 353, 355), de Waele (1971: 109n.555). At Σ Pi. *Ol.* 2.87g 'Xenocrates' must be read for 'Theron'. For a different view, cf. Podlecki (1979: 7), Molyneux (1992: 233), Luraghi (1994: 239n.42). They argue that Sim. *PMG* 513 refers to one ode by Simonides which mentioned *two* victories, and hence the ode by Simonides must be an ode for the later, Isthmian, victory. Consequently, Pindar, it is argued, was officially commissioned to compose the ode for Xenocrates Pythian victory of 490 BCE. The former view is, however, preferable and below I shall give additional arguments in support of it.

¹¹⁸⁶ Σ *Isth.* 2 *inscr.*, Σ *Ol.* 2.89e, Artemon *FGrHist* 596 F 8. They are confused about the genealogical position of Xenocrates, even with regard to his relationship to Thrasybulus, cf. Miller (1970: 55). However, *Py.* 6.15 and *Isth.* 2.44 straightforwardly imply that Thrasybulus is Xenocrates' son.

¹¹⁸⁷ For *Isth.* 2 this is obvious, as Pindar speaks of Xenocrates in the past tense. Cf. *Isth.* 2.36-37.

foreground.¹¹⁸⁸ That Thrasybulus is both patron and *laudandus* is significant since it means that the patron message in the ode is his. It also means that Thrasybulus effectively appropriated his father's victories, perhaps with intentions that went further than merely to commemorate those victories. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the odes were composed and performed before, during, or after the fall of the Emmenid tyranny in 472/1 BCE. This is relevant since it appears that after the fall of the tyranny serious troubles ensued,¹¹⁸⁹ and whereas the last lines of Pindar's second *Isthmian* ode need not necessarily reflect such troubles,¹¹⁹⁰ the manner in which the *laudandus* is praised in the odes nevertheless does not seem to exclude that troubles are hinted at.¹¹⁹¹ The opening of the second *Isthmian* ode appears to hark back to better times.¹¹⁹² Since Theron's tyranny appears to have been to a much lesser extent at variance with the population and the political elite of Acragas,¹¹⁹³ the fact that the *laudandus* is advertised as emulating that tyrant supports the suggestion that the ode served Thrasybulus' interests after the fall of the tyranny. It is a fair assumption that the *laudandus* was especially in need of some positive advertisement after the fall of the tyranny. Diodorus, for example, tells us that Thrasydaeus, Theron's son who ruled

¹¹⁸⁸ Much more than e.g. Damophilus in Pindar's fourth *Pythian* ode. Damophilus was surely the person who commissioned the ode, yet the ode celebrates Arcesilas of Cyrene more than anyone else.

¹¹⁸⁹ Cf. Haillet (2001: 157n.5). Cf. D.S. 11.53.5, 11.72-73, 11.76, Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 134, Diog. Laert. 8.63-66, Plut. *adv. Coloten* 32. An oligarchy of the thousand was installed for three years after which Empedocles installed an egalitarian (democratic?) regime.

¹¹⁹⁰ *Isth.* 2.43 'envious hopes hang about the minds of mortals'.

¹¹⁹¹ von der Mühl (1964: 170). Contrast with *O.* 6.101 where allusions to impending dangers in Syracuse are highly unlikely since Hieron himself was present during the performance. Cf. Erbse (1999: 17).

¹¹⁹² *Isth.* 2.1-11. Οἱ μὲν πάλαι, ὦ Θρασύβουλε, φῶτες, ...νῦν δ'...

¹¹⁹³ Cf. § 5.2.1.

Himera on his behalf, administered Himera with great brutality,¹¹⁹⁴ and compares Theron's rule favourably with Thrasydaeus'.¹¹⁹⁵ Assuming that Thrasybulus in these odes appropriates the glory of his father's victories, part of the rhetoric of the ode can be understood as concerned with the unease which might have ensued from this appropriation.

Since much of the praise for the father of the *laudandus* stresses beneficial effects on the polis,^{1196a} the ideology in this ode is best described as an instance of *Polisideologie*.

6.1.2 Circumstances of the first performance of the odes.

The date of Xenocrates' Pythian victory appears to be 490 BCE.¹¹⁹⁶ The ode mentions Thrasybulus as 'approaching his uncle in all manners of splendour'.¹¹⁹⁷ Scholars who assume that the sixth *Pythian* ode was performed not long after 490 BCE, take a reference to Theron as his 'uncle' as evidence that the tyrant some two years before the beginning of his rule,¹¹⁹⁸ was already the most important member of the Emmenid

¹¹⁹⁴ D.S. 11.48.6 βαρύτερον τοῦ καθήκοντος.

¹¹⁹⁵ Cf. D.S. 10.28.3, 11.53.2 Theron τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιεικῶς διωκηκῶς, *versus* his son βίαιος ἦν καὶ φονικὸς ... ἦρχε τῆς πατρίδος παρανόμως καὶ τυραννικῶς. Diodorus observes similar 'decline' in the Deinomenid tyranny. Gelon was best and after him it all went downhill, especially after Hieron's demise. Cf. D.S. 11.67.2-5.

^{1196a} Cf. *Isth.* 2.17, 2.35-40, discussed below.

¹¹⁹⁶ Cf. Sim. *PMG* 513.

¹¹⁹⁷ *Py.* 6.46 πατρώ τ' ἐπερχόμενος ἀγλαΐαν ἄπασαν.

¹¹⁹⁸ The date of the beginning of Theron's rule probably belongs to ca.489 BCE, but see note 983.

clan.¹¹⁹⁹ However, since Thrasybulus appears to be the *laudandus* in this ode, this assumption is very much open to question and there is no proof whatsoever for the assumption that the ode was performed shortly after 490 BCE.

Pindar's second *Olympian* ode mentions Xenocrates' Pythian victory of 490 BCE and an Isthmian victory.¹²⁰⁰ This means that the *terminus ante quem* for Xenocrates' Isthmian victory appears to be 476 BCE. The second *Isthmian* ode mentions the Pythian victory of 490 BCE and a further chariot victory of Xenocrates at the Panathenaea.¹²⁰¹ On the view taken that the odes were first performed after his death one would like to be able to establish a *terminus post quem* but the problem remains that we do not know when Xenocrates died.¹²⁰² The upshot of this discussion is that only internal evidence can suggest whether the sixth *Pythian* ode was first performed before, during or after the Emmenid tyranny and whether the second *Isthmian* ode was first performed during or after the fall of the tyranny.

Pindar's second *Isthmian* ode surely was performed for the first time at Acragas.¹²⁰³ With regard to the sixth *Pythian* ode, some scholars suggest Delphi as the place of the first performance,¹²⁰⁴ with a procession as performance context.¹²⁰⁵ There

¹¹⁹⁹ Luraghi (1994: 241) 'implica evidentemente una sua posizione privilegiata rispetto al fratello; Terone dovevo essere una sorta di "capo della casata".' Wilamowitz (1922: 136) suggests that Xenocrates in Delphi had conceded his victory to Theron.

¹²⁰⁰ *Ol.* 2.48ff. The ode is securely dated to 476 BCE, cf. § 5.1.2.

¹²⁰¹ *Isth.* 2.18-20.

¹²⁰² Cf. Σ *Isth.* 2 *inscr.*: Asclepiades 'conjectured from probability' (καταεικοβολεῖ) that the ode was written after Xenocrates had died. That Xenocrates is not mentioned by name in odes for Theron or that Theron is not mentioned by name in the sixth *Pythian* ode does not prove anything.

¹²⁰³ *Isth.* 2.47 implies that the ode has arrived at Acragas for performance.

¹²⁰⁴ E.g. Gelzer (1985: 101), Gentili *et al.* (1995: 184, 199n.3), Lloyd-Jones (1973: 119n.61).

are good reasons to suggest that the ode was not, however, an *in situ* ode,¹²⁰⁶ but was probably first performed at Acragas.

6.1.3 Praise for the *laudandus* and clan in Pindar's sixth *Pythian* ode.

In the proem of the ode, the clan, home city of the victor and the father of the *laudandus* are praised, in that order.¹²⁰⁷ Consequently, the ὕμνων θησαυρός is erected primarily for clan and home city. Thrasybulus, not himself a victor, only implicitly shares in the 'treasure house of hymns' built for the clan.¹²⁰⁸ Xenocrates' chariot victory appears to be dedicated to clan and home city as well.¹²⁰⁹ Be that as it may, after the second strophe, the focus of praise clearly shifts to Thrasybulus, yet with praise that

¹²⁰⁵ Cf. *Py.* 6.3 ἀναπολίζομεν we proceed, with the ὕμνων θησαυρός referring to an actual cult place.

¹²⁰⁶ *Py.* 6.4 προσοιχόμενοι has perfective value and points to arrival having already taken place. Imagery of the 'treasury house of song', *Py.* 6.7f. ὕμνων θησαυρός, refers to the efforts at continuation of Thrasybulus' glory, his κλέος ἄφθιτον, rather than to an actual building. Cf. *O.* 6.1-4. There is no evidence for dedications of the Emmenid clan at Delphi. Cf. § 5.2.3. Moreover, an epinician ode as the sixth *Pythian* ode is surely too complicated to have been performed and understood by an audience during a procession, *pace* Lloyd-Jones (1973: 119n.61) who suggests a religious procession even for an ode as complicated as Pindar's second *Pythian* ode.

¹²⁰⁷ *Py.* 6.1-6.

¹²⁰⁸ Cf. *Py.* 6.5-9 Πυθιόνικος ἔνθ' ὀλβίοισιν Ἑρμενίδαις ποταμὶα τ' Ἀκράγαντι καὶ μὲν Ξενοκράτει ἐτοῖμος ὕμνων θησαυρός Höhle (1972: 110) notes that the order of the words suggests a *Familiensieg*.

¹²⁰⁹ *Py.* 6.14-18 φάει δὲ πρόσωπον ἐν καθαρῷ πατρὶ τεῷ, Θρασύβουλε, κοινὰν τε γενεὰ λόγοισι θνατῶν εὐδοξὸν ἄρματι νίκαν Κρισαίαις ἐνὶ πτυχαῖς ἀπαγγελεῖ. The allusion could be to a dedicated chariot as part of the θησαυρός of a temple. The possessive adjective τεῷ does not mean that Thrasybulus necessarily has to be present. There is as yet no proof of dedications of the Emmenids, cf. note 1089, 1090, yet *Py.* 6.14-18 can still allude to such dedications for audiences abroad as well as at home.

can hardly be called contentious.¹²¹⁰ Quoting an example of wisdom literature,¹²¹¹ the *laudandus* is praised for having followed the precepts of Cheiron: to honour Zeus and one's parents.¹²¹² Even Achilles was taught these Panhellenic moral lessons,¹²¹³ and surely nobody in the audience would argue with such Panhellenic precepts. The short myth, dealing with Nestor and his son Antilochus, reintroduces this praise,¹²¹⁴ and explicitly names the *laudandus* as someone who comes closest to the standards of filial devotion,¹²¹⁵ at the same time emulating his uncle Theron in 'all manner of splendour'.¹²¹⁶ Antilochus in this ode is an example of a φιλοπάτωρ,¹²¹⁷ and a clear parallel for the *laudandus*. The Homeric Antilochus was an excellent charioteer,¹²¹⁸ perhaps the reason why the scholiast thought the *laudandus* drove his father's chariot in 490 BCE.¹²¹⁹

¹²¹⁰ *Py.* 6.19-27. Cf. Arist. *Top.* 1.1. 100a27-b24 'contentious reasoning starts from opinions that appear to be generally accepted, yet are not.' The praise in the third and sixth strophe of this ode are not contentious.

¹²¹¹ Supposedly from the collection of Χείρωνος Ὑποθήκαι. Cf. Σ *Py.* 6.22 (= Hes. *fr.* 283 MW). On wisdom literature, cf. West (1978: 3-25).

¹²¹² *Py.* 6.23-27, *Py.* 6.20 ἐφημοσύναν goes with νιν, cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 184n.3) and Σ *Py.* 6.19a δεξιῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἄγεις τὴν ἐντολήν καὶ παραίνεσιν.

¹²¹³ *Py.* 6.21.

¹²¹⁴ *Py.* 6.28-43.

¹²¹⁵ *Py.* 6.44f.

¹²¹⁶ *Py.* 6.46 πάτρω [sc. Theroni] τ' ἐπερχόμενος ἀγλαΐαν ἅπασαν.

¹²¹⁷ Cf. X. *Cyn.* 1.14 Ἀντίλοχος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεραποθανῶν τοσαύτης ἔτυχεν εὐκλείας, ὥστε μόνος φιλοπάτωρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀναγορευθῆναι.

¹²¹⁸ Cf. Hom. Ψ 402ff.

¹²¹⁹ ΣΣ *Py.* 6.13e, 6.15. Correctly Σ *Py.* 6.15 τοῦτον δὲ ὡς φιλοπάτορα καὶ προεσιῶτα τῆς ἵππικῆς ἐπαινεῖ, οὐχ ὡς τινες ἐβουλήθησαν, ἡνίοχον. ὁ γὰρ ἡνίοχος Νικόμαχος ἐστίν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἰσθμιονικῶν (sc. *Isth.* 2.22f.) δῆλός ἐστιν. If Thrasybulus indeed had been the charioteer, surely this would have been mentioned in the ode.

The *laudandus* in an epinician ode can conduct a debate asking the audience to make a judgement,¹²²⁰ yet these praise passages can hardly be said to be an example of this. This raises the question of why the *laudandus* wanted the relationship between himself and his father to be advertised as such an uncomplicated affair. A key to a possible answer might be the statement at the end of the myth. Whereas the outstanding behaviour shown by Antilochus is something of the past,¹²²¹ the *laudandus* nevertheless comes close to the standard set by Antilochus. By stressing filial piety the ode advertises the *laudandus* as someone who is not hubristic,¹²²² something that is alluded to in the last strophe of the ode.¹²²³ Assuming that the ode was first performed in the turbulent times after the fall of the tyranny, the links between the *laudandus* and men such as Theron, who represented better times,¹²²⁴ could have served Thrasybulus' interests well.¹²²⁵

6.1.4 Praise for the *laudandus* and clan in Pindar's second *Isthmian* ode.

¹²²⁰ Cf. § 1.4.

¹²²¹ *Py.* 6.43 τὰ μὲν παρίκει·

¹²²² Mention of filial piety alludes to an absence of ὕβρις within the family. Cf. Fisher (1992: 88-91) on wrongs inside the family. Cf. *Lys.* 32.10 ὕβρισμένους ὑφ' ὧν ἡκιστα ἐχρῆν.

¹²²³ *Py.* 6.47 ἄδικον οὐθ' ὑπέροπλον ἦβαν δρέπων. Cf. *Arist. Rhet.* 1389b7: the insolence to which youth is so often prone, cf. Fisher (1992: 97f.). *Py.* 6.52-54 γλυκεῖα δὲ φρῆν και συμπόταισιν ὁμιλεῖν κτλ. Cf. Slater (1981: 206), Dickie (1984: 89), Fisher (1992: 99-102) on the absence of ὕβρις in a proper symposium. Cf. *Xenoph. fr.* 1.13-7 W., *A. Ag.* 1596-1611.

¹²²⁴ Cf. § 6.1.1.

¹²²⁵ It is tempting to read such longing for better times in an encomium Pindar composed for the *laudandus*. Cf. *Pi. fr.* 124ab.7-8 πάντες ἴσα νέομεν ψευδῇ πρὸς ἀκτάν· δς μὲν ἀχρήμων, ἀφνεὸς τότε, τοῖ δ' αὖ πλουτέοντες.

The proem of the ode is remarkable since it is the only ode in our corpus in which a human is addressed in the first line.¹²²⁶ It is noteworthy that the *Hindernismotiv* used,¹²²⁷ represents an *irrealis*: even an audience in antiquity would surely not have believed that the Muse received money.¹²²⁸ The proem moreover appears to distinguish sharply between past and present.¹²²⁹ Pindar does not normally make such a distinction since he usually wants to stress the links between *laudandus* and the heroic past.¹²³⁰ Whereas in the sixth *Pythian* ode the *laudandus* was linked with the mythical past, in the second *Isthmian* ode no such attempt is made. All associations are between *laudandus* and his father and between *laudandus* and clan. Supporting the view taken here that part of the rhetorical strategy of the ode consists in reminding the audience of better times, the proem and the manner in which Xenocrates and clan are praised in this ode is relevant. The proem might allude to unrest after the fall of the tyranny or even at the oligarchy of the Thousand.¹²³¹ In that event it deftly touches on

¹²²⁶ Kambylis (1964: 181n.3). *Isth.* 2.3-4 is similar to so-called παιδικοί ὕμνοι, in archaic lyric apparently a conventional way in which a person could be praised. The genre does not imply any erotic involvement of the poet with the *laudandus*, cf. Welcker (1844: 234-37) who notes on Ibyc. PMG 282, '...das man so tut als wäre man verliebt.' Cf. Ibyc. PMG 287, 288, Pi. fr. 123.

¹²²⁷ Cf. Schadewaldt (1928: 302).

¹²²⁸ Thummer (1969: 36).

¹²²⁹ *Isth.* 2.6 πῶ τότ' ... *versus* *Isth.* 2.9 νῦν δ' Similarly in the sixth *Pythian* ode, cf. *Py.* 6.43 τὰ μὲν παρίκει·

¹²³⁰ Crotty (1982: 98) '...the persistence through time of patterns in mortal life and better to connect his athletes to the heroic past.' Cf. *Ne.* 8.51-52.

¹²³¹ On that interpretation, the aristocratic values in the first strophe are contrasted with the adage that 'money is now everything', *Isth.* 2.11 'χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ'. Verdenius (1988: 125) notes that someone who lost his money also lost his friends (*Isth.* 2.11) since 'friendship is maintained by the reciprocity of benefits.' Cf. Hom. λ 359f., Hes. *Op.* 313, S. fr. 88 Pearson.

the current political situation and presents a veiled critique contrasting the *hic et nunc* with *illud tempus*,¹²³² but this may be pressing the evidence too far.

Be that as it may, the manner in which Xenocrates is praised clearly notes how important Xenocrates had been for Acragas; he was 'a light to its people',¹²³³ something which does not simply allude to Xenocrates' prominent position at Acragas but implies that he brought welfare and salvation.¹²³⁴ Xenocrates is further praised in the third strophe and antistrophe for his proper αἰδώς towards his townsmen,¹²³⁵ his εὐσέβεια,¹²³⁶ and for his generosity as an unfailing host.¹²³⁷ This is a veritable catalogue of praise,¹²³⁸ which omits any references to the clan's (former?) political power but instead concentrates on Xenocrates' Panhellenic aristocratic values.¹²³⁹

Pindar's second *Isthmian* ode opens with Thrasybulus and closes with him.¹²⁴⁰ The *laudandus* appears to be the focus of attention, yet is praised strictly in terms of the clan and his father.¹²⁴¹ Thrasybulus is responsible for keeping the memory of the

¹²³² *Isth.* 2.6 πῶ τὸτ' versus *Isth.* 2.9 νῦν δ'...

¹²³³ *Isth.* 2.17 Ἀκραγαντίνων φάος.

¹²³⁴ Verdenius (1988: 132). Cf. *Ol.* 5.14, *Py.* 3.75, LSJ s.v. φάος II.1, A. *Ag.* 522 ἦκει γὰρ ὑμῖν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων.

¹²³⁵ *Isth.* 2.37 αἰδοῖος μὲν ἦν ἀστοῖς ὁμιλεῖν.

¹²³⁶ *Isth.* 2.39 καὶ θεῶν δαΐτας προσέπτυκτο πάσας.

¹²³⁷ *Isth.* 2.40f. Verdenius (1988: 143) 'the image emphasises both the extension and the continuity of Xenocrates' hospitality.'

¹²³⁸ Race (1990: 23n.24) notes the four-fold rising praise with widening progression from citizens to Panhellenic games, to festivals of the gods, and climactic depiction of Xenocrates' generosity to guests. Theron is praised in a similar manner, cf. *Ol.* 2.6, 93-94: respect in communion with others, especially with friends, *Ol.* 2.17-18, 2.28, 2.41 his εὐσέβεια, the absence of any expression of military or personal power.

¹²³⁹ Cf. *Isth.* 2.38 ἵπποτροφίας τε νομίζων ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμῳ.

¹²⁴⁰ *Isth.* 2.47f. ...ὅταν ξεῖνον ἐμόν [sc. Thrasybulus] ἠθαῖον ἔλθῃς.

¹²⁴¹ The apostrophe at *Isth.* 2.12f. ἐσσι γὰρ ὦν σοφός· οὐκ ἄγνωτ' αἰίδω ... is not praise but a κόρος motif. Cf. *Ol.* 2.95 ... ἀλλ' αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος.

clan and his father alive,¹²⁴² not only in Acragas but also throughout the Greek world.¹²⁴³ That excellence should not be forgotten is a common *topos*,¹²⁴⁴ here presented as part of filial duty. On the view taken here of the patron message, Thrasybulus might, however, have had other reasons to keep the memory of his father and Theron alive.

¹²⁴² Cf. *Isth.* 2.43 μή νυν, ὅτι φθονεραὶ θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἐλπίδες. The 'envious hopes' that the ode and the memory of Xenocrates might soon fall into oblivion.

¹²⁴³ *Isth.* 2.45f. ...ἐπεὶ τοι οὐκ ἐλινύσοντας αὐτοὺς ἐργασάμαν. Cf. *Ne.* 5.1f.

¹²⁴⁴ Cf. *Ol.* 7.92-93, *Py.* 9.93-94, *Ne.* 9.6-7.

CHAPTER SEVEN – THREE ODES COMPOSED FOR OTHER SICILIANS.

7.1 Pindar's twelfth *Olympian* ode for Ergoteles of Himera.

Argument.

The ode appears to have been performed for the first time after the fall of the Deinomenid and Emmenid tyrannies during a period, which is sometimes called the democratic interlude. That designation, however, is slightly misleading and continued stasis and battles between 'new' and 'old' citizens appear to have been rife during this time. The opening of the ode with its invocation of Zeus Eleutherios could hence be read as an expression of hope for peace in a time of unrest, rather than as an expression of gratitude for a return of peace. The laudandus, an exile from Crete who had settled in Himera probably about ten years before the ode's first performance, advertises himself as a 'new citizen' and carefully hints at his acquired rights. He praises Himera and presents his victory as the result of his emigration.

7.1.1 Introduction.

Ergoteles was of Cretan descent,¹²⁴⁵ and after having being exiled from there,¹²⁴⁶ he might have taken up residence in Himera during the repopulation of 476/5 BCE.¹²⁴⁷ It

¹²⁴⁵ Cf. Paus. 6.4.11, Pi. *Ol.* 12.16.

¹²⁴⁶ Cf. *Ol.* 12.16, Σ *Ol.* 12 *inscr.*, Σ *Ol.* 2.29c, Paus. 6.4.11 Κρής δὲ εἶναι λέγεται Κνώσσιος· ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ὑπὸ στασιωτῶν ἐκ Κνωσσοῦ καὶ ἐς Ἡμέραν ἀφικόμενος πολιτείας τ' ἔτυχε. Cf. Luraghi (1994: 270n.182).

appears that the ode was first performed after the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny.¹²⁴⁸

The period between the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny and the installation of the tyranny of Dionysius I is sometimes called the 'democratic interlude';¹²⁴⁹ however, that label appears to be slightly misleading and it appears that the traditional ruling group regained control.¹²⁵⁰ Unrest was a feature of the period prior to the fall of the Deinomenids and it appears to have continued unabated after 466/5 BCE. The re-establishment of the rights of former aristocrats, combined with some new rights for the *demos*, led to an explosive situation throughout Sicily.¹²⁵¹ The results of post-Deinomenid restoration were most harshly felt in Syracuse where Gelon's disenfranchised mercenaries soon revolted.¹²⁵² Admittedly, Theron's repopulation of Himera should be contrasted with the 'demographic engineering' projects of other Sicilian tyrants.¹²⁵³ Theron's repopulation is perhaps better described as an *ἐποικία*,¹²⁵⁴

¹²⁴⁷ Theron, after a conflict in 476/6 BCE (D.S. 11.48.6-8) which left Himera depopulated introduced new citizens into the city (D.S. 11.49.3). Cf. Luraghi (1994: 329, 329n.235).

¹²⁴⁸ Cf. § 7.1.2.

¹²⁴⁹ 466-406 BCE.

¹²⁵⁰ Cf. Rutter (2000^a: 141) who notes Aristotle's confusion with regard to this period. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1304a27-29: The Syracusan constitution between 466 and 406 BCE was a *politeia*, which changed only in 412 BCE into a democracy. *Pol.* 1305b39-1306a2: an oligarchy. *Pol.* 1316a2-3: a democracy.

¹²⁵¹ Cf. D.S. 11.76.3: battles after 467 BCE between 'new' and 'old' citizens in Acragas, Gela, Himera, Zankle, Rhegion, Aetna and Syracuse. D.S. 11.76.1-2: continued *stasis*. D.S. 11.86: (453/3 BCE) τῆς φιλοτιμίας μὴ λῆξαι τὰς πόλειςἐνόσουν αἱ πόλεις καὶ πάλιν εἰς πολιτικὰς στάσεις καὶ ταραχὰς ἐνέπιπτον· Arist. *Pol.* 1303a38-b2: in Syracuse καὶ Συρακούσιοι μετὰ τὰ τυραννικὰ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους πολίτας ποιησάμενοι ἐστασίασαν καὶ εἰς μάχην ἦλθον·

¹²⁵² Cf. D.S. 11.72.3, 463/2 BCE.

¹²⁵³ Who heavily interfered in the process and made sure that the final make-up of the new populations was to their liking, often by introducing large quantities of mercenaries.

'Demographic engineering' was practised by Hippocrates in Camarina, Gelon in Syracuse, Hieron in Aetna, and possibly Anaxilas in Messena. Such demographic engineering projects

and appears to have been more of an open invitation.¹²⁵⁵ Possibly as a result, oppositions between 'old' and 'new' citizens in Himera would have been less felt.¹²⁵⁶ Be that as it may, Diodorus includes Himera in a list of cities where 'men who had wrongfully seized for themselves the habitation of others' were expelled,¹²⁵⁷ and Himera was bound to be affected by the convulsions in the rest of Sicily. It appears that when 'old' and 'new' citizens were pitted against each other the 'new citizens' were singled out as a common enemy facing the traditional aristocracy and *demos*. They, for the time being, were united in a common goal of defeating these 'new citizens' often with the aim of reclaiming lost assets.¹²⁵⁸

The upshot of this discussion is that commentators on this ode who are of the opinion that it is filled with sentiments of hope or of a new beginning might be mistaken.¹²⁵⁹ Consequently, the mention in the ode of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios is perhaps not so much an indication of a new phase of prosperity for Himera or for the

could result in sharply opposing factions within the body politic. Cf. the events at Aetna after the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny in 466 BCE, D.S. 11.67.6-11.68.7, Arist. *Pol.* 1312b10-16.

¹²⁵⁴ Cf. Asheri (1967: 334-58) on the practice of introducing ἑποικοί.

¹²⁵⁵ Luraghi (1994: 297n.106). Cf. D.S. 11.49.3 τοὺς τε Δωριεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς βουλομένους. Contrast with Hieron's practice, cf. D.S. 11.49 ἰδίους οἰκήτορας ἀπέστειλεν. Himera is never mentioned as a colony of Acragas. Luraghi (1994: 248n.87) notes the silence on Acragas in Th. 6.5.1.

¹²⁵⁶ D.S. 11.49.4 notes that at Himera newcomers and original population lived together on good terms.

¹²⁵⁷ D.S. 11.76.4, *pace* D.S. 11.49.4.

¹²⁵⁸ Hdt. 7.155. Cf. Asheri (1966: *passim*), Luraghi (1994: 180n.235).

¹²⁵⁹ E.g. Wilamowitz (1930: 305) 'Himera ist frei geworden', Gaspar (1900: 125) 'délivrée et pacifiée', Barrett (1973: 35): new era, new beginning for whole Sicily, Lehnus (1981: 184): liberation of Himera, democracy for the whole of Sicily.

whole of Sicily,¹²⁶⁰ as the hope for the return of peace in turbulent times.¹²⁶¹ Arguably, a restorative drive towards the *status quo ante* would have been particularly strong immediately after the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny, and hence near the date which is argued here as date of first performance.¹²⁶² However, Ergoteles was not among those who were forcibly removed from Himera. This follows from the left half of an inscription that belongs to the statue which Pausanias saw at Olympia. Its script is dated to after 464 BCE, possibly as late as ca.450 BCE.¹²⁶³ The conjectural supplements in the right half are mainly concerned with the location and number of Ergoteles' victories and need not concern us here.¹²⁶⁴ Since it mentions all of his victories, it must have been set up after his retirement. Thus, at the time when it was erected (or possibly even a few years later still), Ergoteles continued to enjoy the status of a citizen of Himera.¹²⁶⁵ If Pausanias can be believed,¹²⁶⁶ then Ergoteles declared himself as from Himera after his victories, thus offering the κῦδος of his victory to his new home city, not to his clan.

¹²⁶⁰ The association of Zeus Eleutherios with national freedom notwithstanding. Cf. Hdt. 3.142, Hom. Z 526, EM 329.50. The cult of Zeus Eleutherios is discussed in Raaflaub (2004: 102-118). Barrett (1973: 34f.) argues for a cult of Zeus Eleutherios in Himera. Dunbabin (1948: 429) argues for a temple of Zeus Eleutherios in Himera.

¹²⁶¹ That Diodorus mentions a period of relative peace of five years after the fall of the Deinomenids (D.S. 11.72.1), is not an argument against this assumption. Cf. Wentker (1953: 163-64) who argues that this interval of five years is probably due to a mechanical repartition of what must have been a continuous narration. Alternatively, as is argued by Scherr (1933: 24-27) and Haillet (2001: 168) it is due to sources that were hostile to the Deinomenids. Cf. D.S. 16.83, D.S. 12.26.2 with equally false impressions of idyllic peace.

¹²⁶² Cf. § 7.1.2.

¹²⁶³ *CEG* 393. Cf. Hansen (1983: 213): 464 BCE, Jeffery (1990: 246-47) 'unlikely to be much, if at all, later than 450.'

¹²⁶⁴ Cf. Barrett (1973: 25n.7), Hansen (1983: 213) on the supplements.

¹²⁶⁵ *CEG* 393 ἡμέρα ἀθάνατον μν [ἀμ' ἀρετᾶς ἔμεναι.

¹²⁶⁶ Paus. 6.4.11.

The *laudandus* in the twelfth *Olympian* ode appears to be doing the same.¹²⁶⁷ Finally, it should not be excluded that Ergoteles acquired citizenship in Himera because he registered himself as from Himera after one of his victories.¹²⁶⁸

On the view taken here that the *laudandus* is praising Himera as well as asserting his rights, the ideology in this ode could be called, for want of a better term, challenged *Polisideologie*.

7.1.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the ode.

Pausanias' report of the statue of Ergoteles at Olympia tells us that Ergoteles won twice at Olympia and twice at Pythia. The wording leaves room for doubt as to the other victories at Nemea and at the Isthmus.¹²⁶⁹ The ode mentions that the *laudandus* 'had himself crowned at Olympia'.¹²⁷⁰ One Olympic victory of Ergoteles is recorded in the victory list *P.Oxy* 222 under the 77th Olympiad, 472 BCE.¹²⁷¹ There is a gap in the victory list for the three δόλιχος-victors between 468 and 452 BCE. The victors in 476 and 468 BCE are not Ergoteles and hence Ergoteles' second Olympic victory must have been either earlier than (or in) 480 BCE or after (or in) 464 BCE. The last date

¹²⁶⁷ Cf. § 7.1.3.

¹²⁶⁸ We are told of others who changed their allegiances. Cf. Paus. 5.27.2: Phormis of Arcadia, Paus. 6.13.1: Astylus of Croton, *CEG* 380, 1.2.3: Praxiteles of Mantinea.

¹²⁶⁹ Cf. Paus. 6.4.11 δολίχου δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τε καὶ Νεμείων ἀνηρημένος, either two victories at Nemea and two at the Isthmus, or two altogether? Cf. Pi. *O.* 12.17-18 νῦν δ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ στεφανωσάμενος καὶ δις ἐκ Πυθῶνος Ἰσθμοῖ τ' with similar ambiguity.

¹²⁷⁰ *O.* 12.17 νῦν δ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ στεφανωσάμενος. The Alexandrian grammarians probably classified the ode as an Olympic one because of this passage.

¹²⁷¹ Cf. Moretti (1957: 91) number 224.

seems the more probable one,¹²⁷² as Ergoteles presumably only came to Himera after 476/5 BCE and the ode celebrates Himera. It has been convincingly argued that Ergoteles' Pythian victories were won in 470 and 466 BCE.¹²⁷³ Since the ode mentions only one victory at Olympia,¹²⁷⁴ the first performance of the ode must hence be dated to somewhere between 466 and 464 BCE,¹²⁷⁵ after the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny.¹²⁷⁶ It also follows that Ergoteles' Olympic victory was not the immediate occasion for the ode.¹²⁷⁷ The rule that an epinician ode always mentions the current victory first,¹²⁷⁸ appears not to be observed in this ode. Some think that this suggests that all the victories mentioned in the ode are in fact a foil for a political programme.¹²⁷⁹

Because of the opening lines and praise for Himera,¹²⁸⁰ a first performance in the victor's home city appears likely.

7.1.3 Praise for the *laudandus* and his home city.

¹²⁷² Cf. Moretti (1957: 94) number 251.

¹²⁷³ Barrett (1973: 24-28).

¹²⁷⁴ Pi. *O.* 12.17.

¹²⁷⁵ Or later still, in the event that the second Olympic victory was won after 464 BCE.

¹²⁷⁶ In 466/5 BCE. Cf. D.S. 11.67.1-68.7.

¹²⁷⁷ Cf. Kraay (1976: 215n.2) for the suggestion that Ergoteles' Olympic victory of 464 BCE was celebrated with the issue of a commemorative coin.

¹²⁷⁸ Thummer (1968: 26) 'das Lob des aktuellen Sieges steht immer an erster Stelle des Siegeslobes, auch dann, wenn dieser Sieg nicht der Ranghöchste Sieg des gefeierten ist'. Cf. Wilamowitz (1922: 305).

¹²⁷⁹ Gelzer (1985: 114) 'das neue Glück der Freiheit seiner Stadt als Geschenk der Tyche zu proklamieren'. I would agree that the purpose of the ode, at least partly, could have been a political programme, but not the one Gelzer identifies.

¹²⁸⁰ Cf. the local detail of the warm baths at *O.* 12.19 on which see below.

The *laudandus* is exclusively praised for his athletic achievement,¹²⁸¹ and, importantly, the ode specifically links his victory and the κῦδος associated with it with his home city Himera,¹²⁸² not with his clan.¹²⁸³ The same tactic can be observed in the odes composed for Psaumis of Camarina, a *laudandus*, it is argued, who had good reasons to praise his home city,¹²⁸⁴ and in an ode composed for Midas of Acragas.¹²⁸⁵

The twelfth *Olympian* ode parallels the good fortune of Ergoteles with the expectation that the might of Himera can be preserved.¹²⁸⁶ The context is the mutability of life,¹²⁸⁷ with a personified Tyche as protagonist. A cult of Tyche appears to have existed in Sicily from the early fifth century onwards,¹²⁸⁸ yet we know nothing of her province. In this ode Τύχα σώτειρα is the child of Zeus Eleutherios,¹²⁸⁹ and has battles and

¹²⁸¹ *Ol.* 12.17-19.

¹²⁸² *Ol.* 12.13-16 does not necessarily mean that all Ergoteles' victories were won after he had emigrated. It rather suggests that by becoming a citizen of Himera, his victories have become well-known. This is hence more praise for Himera.

¹²⁸³ As e.g. in *Py.* 8.38 αὔξων δὲ πάτραν Μειδυλιδᾶν λόγον φέρεις, Aristomenes honours the clan of the Meidulids with his victory.

¹²⁸⁴ Cf. §§ 7.2.5-6 on *Ol.* 5.4 ὃς [sc. Psaumis] τὰν σὰν πόλιν αὔξων, Καμάρινα. *Ol.* 4.11f. ... κῦδος ὄρσαι σπεύδει Καμαρίνα. ...

¹²⁸⁵ Cf. *Py.* 12.4-6 ... δέξαι [sc. Acragas] στεφάνωμα τόδ' ἐκ Πυθῶνος εὐδόξω Μίδᾳ αὐτόν τε νιν Ἑλλάδα νικάσαντα τέχνα, Cf. *Isth.* 1.10-12 ... ἐπεὶ στεφάνους ἐξ ὧπασεν Κάδμου στρατῷ ἐξ ἀέθλων, καλλίνικον πατρίδι κῦδος. An unidentified group of (six?) Theban victors honour Thebes. They do not all belong to the same clan, cf. Bury (1892: 12).

¹²⁸⁶ *Ol.* 12.2 ἡμέραν εὐρυσθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει. Lehnus (1981: 188) 'constatazione e soprattutto augurio.'

¹²⁸⁷ Cf. *Ol.* 12.5-12a. In particular *Ol.* 12.6 πόλλ' ἄνω, τὰ δ' αὖ κάτω ψεύδη μεταμώνια τάμνοισαι κυλίνδοντ' ἐλπίδες. Cf. *Isth.* 3.18 αἰὼν δὲ κυλινδομέναις ἀμέραις ἄλλ' ἄλλοι' ἐξ ἄλλαξεν., Alc. *fr.* 326 LP (*stasis*). The sentiment of the mutability of life also at *Ol.* 12.7: man has no trusty σύμβολον ('token' or 'tally'), *Ol.* 12.8: man's ignorance of the future.

¹²⁸⁸ Thummer (1957: 29), K. Ziegler in *RE* VIIa, p.1690-91. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 4.119: a satellite town of Syracuse was called *Fortunae fanum antiquum*.

¹²⁸⁹ *Ol.* 12.1f.

assemblies in her power.¹²⁹⁰ She is regularly, as in this ode, a reminder of the vicissitudes of life.¹²⁹¹ That τύχη in Pindar often stands for 'good luck' or 'good fortune',¹²⁹² is irrelevant for the present purpose,¹²⁹³ and the opposition in the ode between hope¹²⁹⁴ and realism can best be understood as a common *topos*, namely that of the healthy alternations of good and bad fortune.¹²⁹⁵ The ode appears to allude to such alternations when adversity in the life of the *laudandus* (Ergoteles' past as an exile) is contrasted with a string of athletic victories.¹²⁹⁶ Mention of Ergoteles' past as an exile,¹²⁹⁷ is significant for three reasons. First, it parallels the *topos* of the agonistic necessity for the individual to leave home,¹²⁹⁸ and to return with the glory of the victory.¹²⁹⁹ Second, it is a further illustration of the workings of fortune: Ergoteles has

¹²⁹⁰ *Ol.* 12.3-5 τιν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ κυβερνῶνται θααί νᾶες, ἐν χέρσῳ τε λαιψηροὶ πόλεμοι κάγοραι βουλαφόροι. Lehnus (1981: 188) notes that jurisdiction reaches from the uncivilised world (ἐν πόντῳ, cf. Hom. δ 499-501, *Nostoi* p. 108 Allen, A. *Ag.* 648-80, E. *Trö.* 88-91) to the cultivated world (ἐν χέρσῳ), and finally to a most cultivated activity (κάγοραι βουλαφόροι). Cf. *Ne.* 3.23.

¹²⁹¹ In view of the connection with τυγχάνειν, the sudden change and fortuitous happenings in someone's life. Cf. N. Robertson and B.C. Dietrich in *OCD*³ p. 1566 s.v. Tyche.

¹²⁹² Cf. *Ol.* 13.115, 14.16, *Py.* 9.72, *Ne.* 5.48, 10.25, *Isth.* 4.31, 8.67, *fr.* 38.

¹²⁹³ An enquiry into the patron message in a particular ode does not require the whole corpus as background since a contemporary audience surely would not have been intimately familiar with the whole corpus.

¹²⁹⁴ *Ol.* 12.1-2 Λίσσομαι, παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου, ἡμέραν εὐρυσθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει, σῶτειρα Τύχα.

¹²⁹⁵ Cf. note 475.

¹²⁹⁶ *Ol.* 12.13-18.

¹²⁹⁷ *Ol.* 12.16 εἰ μὴ στάσις ἀντιάνειρα Κνωσίας σ' ἄμερσε πάτρας.

¹²⁹⁸ Race (1990: 65-6) notes *Ol.* 8.67-71 *versus Py.* 4.32 and *Ne.* 9.22-23. He lists good and bad *nostos*: *Ol.* 12.15, *Ne.* 2.24, *Ol.* 1.81-84, *Isth.* 1.68. Kurke (1991: 34) sees the whole ode as a *nostos*, yet disregards the historical context.

¹²⁹⁹ The telltale sign is the 'rooster that fights within'. Cf. *Ol.* 12.14 ἐνδομάχας and ἐστίς: the private sphere where κλέος cannot be won. Cf. Ibyc. *PMG* 282b, *Ne.* 1.31, *Isth.* 67, *Py.* 4.186. *Pi fr.* 42 (in *litotes*).

gone from 'grievous storms',¹³⁰⁰ the *stasis* in Crete, to his current victories.¹³⁰¹ Third, it draws attention to the fact that the *laudandus* no longer persists in *stasis* but instead has become a credit to his new country and is moreover someone who surely will cause no trouble. Importantly, mention of exile portrays the *laudandus* as an immigrant and 'newcomer', notwithstanding his ten-year Himeran citizenship. This surely must have been a deliberate strategy and, on the view taken in the introduction to this ode, mention of Ergoteles' lost citizenship can be linked with mention of lands which he now holds in Himera as his own;¹³⁰² rhetorically, the ode sets up a contrast between two sentiments: on the one hand Ergoteles has been deprived of his former homeland,¹³⁰³ yet now he is in possession of lands that are legitimately his.¹³⁰⁴ I draw attention to the fact that the endings of lines 16 and 19 are metrically identical, which suggests that this contrast could well be intentional. Admittedly, the last line of the poem is a difficult one,¹³⁰⁵ yet the general sense seems clear: with mention of its famous springs,¹³⁰⁶ Himera is praised as the place where Ergoteles finds relief for his πόνος. This is a common epinician *topos*.¹³⁰⁷ However, this *topos* can arguably be linked with the

¹³⁰⁰ *OI.* 12.12 ...ἀνιαραῖς ζάλαις...

¹³⁰¹ Race (1990: 97).

¹³⁰² *OI.* 12.19.

¹³⁰³ *OI.* 12.16 ... σ' ἄμερσε πάτρας

¹³⁰⁴ *OI.* 12.19 ...παρ' οἰκείαις ἀρούραις. Gildersleeve (1890: 224) notes the '...jealously guarded right of holding real estate.' Gildersleeve (1890: 226) 'Characteristic is the stress laid on ἔγκτησις.'

¹³⁰⁵ *OI.* 12.19 θερμὰ Νυμφᾶν λουτρὰ βαστάξεις ὁμιλέων παρ' οἰκείαις ἀρούραις. I translate, with Race (1997: 185), Gerber (1970: 384), 'exalting Himera by lands that are your own.' Lehnus (1981: 190) 'e vivi in poderi che sonno tuoi.'

¹³⁰⁶ Well-known in antiquity. Cf. *A. fr.* 32 N., *D.S.* 4.23.1, 5.3.4. Cf. Jenkins (1976: 30f.), Rutter (2000^b: 77).

¹³⁰⁷ It is a variant of the *topos* ἡσυχία after πόνος, cf. *Ne.* 4.1-8, *OI.* 4.22, 5.21f., *Ne.* 1.69f. 9.44.

personal circumstances of the *laudandus*. In other words, the *laudandus* advertises his legitimate rewards for his athletic πόνος as the lands that are legitimately his.

It has been noted that Ergoteles and Himera are closely paralleled and that city and victor mirror each other.¹³⁰⁸ On that interpretation, proclamation of Ergoteles' good fortune is a cautious hint of good fortune for Himera. In other words, while 'no human has yet found a sure sign from the gods',¹³⁰⁹ the audience is led to believe that Ergoteles' good fortune might be such a σύμβολον for Himera's good fortune.

¹³⁰⁸ Gildersleeve (1890: 225).

¹³⁰⁹ *O*/. 12.7 σύμβολον δ' οὐ πώ τις ἐπιχθονίων πιστὸν ἀμφὶ πράξις ἐσσομένας εὕρεν θεόθεν.

7.2. Pindar's fourth and fifth *Olympian* odes for Psaumis of Camarina.

Argument.

The odes appear to have been composed in the second half of the fifth century BCE, after the fall of the Deinomenid and Emmenid tyrannies in Sicily. The patron message of the laudandus in both odes is concerned with countering suspicions. The fourth Olympian ode, composed for a first performance at Olympia, counters suspicions a Panhellenic audience might have entertained with regard to Psaumis' unprepossessing home city and his ethnic background as Sicel. The ode informs the Panhellenic audience that 'acta virum probant' and that the laudandus deserves to be judged by his current success. In the fifth Olympian ode, composed for a first performance at Camarina, the laudandus reassures his fellow citizens that they need not be suspicious about any political aspirations the laudandus might have. This is relevant since it appears that in the home city of the laudandus a democratic constitution of sorts was installed by the time the ode was performed for the first time. The ode deals with Psaumis' acts of extraordinary μεγαλοπρέπεια but places his munificence firmly in the context of his home city. Praise for Camarina defines the relationship between laudandus and home city: Psaumis does stand out because of his victory yet he is a model citizen. The fourth Olympian ode, surely reperformed at the victor's home city at some stage, contains features which further the patron message in the fifth Olympian ode as well.

7.2.1 Introduction.

In Pindar's fourth *Olympian* ode Psaumis is advertised as an equal among other Panhellenic victors, worthy of the praise of his peers, the other ἑσλοί.¹³¹⁰ Assuming that this ode was an *in situ* ode, this is unsurprising. The ideology in the ode can be labelled *Adelsideologie*.¹³¹¹

In the fifth *Olympian* ode the *laudandus* appears to be continuously praised in terms of his μεγαλοπρέπεια for his community.¹³¹² Hence the whole fifth *Olympian* ode has been described as an expansion of φιλόπολιν in the fourth *Olympian* ode.¹³¹³

Judging from recently discovered inscriptions,¹³¹⁴ it appears that after the final reconstruction of Camarina in 460 BCE, a democratic πολιτεία was put in place with civic reorganisations organised along Cleisthenic Athenian lines.¹³¹⁵ Assuming that a Panhellenic victory was one of the *modi operandi* for those aspiring to tyranny,¹³¹⁶ Psaumis could very well have been perceived as a threat and his victory as a destabilising factor for his community, especially under the new democratic πολιτεία. This might explain why the ode attempts to reintegrate the *laudandus* in his community. The ideology of the ode appears to be a clear-cut example of *Polisideologie*.

¹³¹⁰ Cf. the plural in *Ol.* 4.4 ξείνων.

¹³¹¹ Cf. § 2.4.2 note 424.

¹³¹² Cf. *Ol.* 5.4 πόλιν, 5.4 λαότροφον, 5.8 τὰν νέοικον ἔδραν, 5.10 ὦ πολιάοχε Παλλάς, στρατόν 5.12, 5.15 δᾶμον ἀστῶν, 5.16 πολίταις, 5.20 πόλιν.

¹³¹³ Race (1990:95n.30). Cf. *Ol.* 4.16 καὶ πρὸς Ἥσυχίαν φιλόπολιν.

¹³¹⁴ *Syll.*³ 41.778-795, 42.846.

¹³¹⁵ Cf. Hornblower (2004: 191n.239), Murray (1997: 497).

¹³¹⁶ Cf. § 1.3, note 9 and § 8.5, note 1492. Psaumis appears to fulfil two out of the three conditions mentioned there.

7.2.2 Authorship of Pindar's fifth *Olympian* ode.

The scholia express doubt about genuine Pindaric authorship for the fifth *Olympian*.¹³¹⁷

Many scholars accept authenticity,¹³¹⁸ and it has been rightly remarked that a local forger would have to be familiar with Pindar's whole oeuvre, something which seems hardly imaginable.¹³¹⁹ On balance, the arguments for genuine authorship are sound.

7.2.3 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the odes.

All ancient evidence ascribes the victory celebrated in the fourth *Olympian* ode to 452 BCE, and the event as the chariot race.¹³²⁰ The place of first performance of the fourth *Olympian* is disputed.¹³²¹ The main argument against performance at Olympia is that the *sedes* in the invocation supposedly implies performance in Camarina.¹³²² That, however, need not necessarily have been the case and the qualification Αἴρναν could

¹³¹⁷ Σ *OI.* 5 *inscr.* a. Αὕτη ἡ ᾠδὴ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐδαφίοις οὐκ ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Διδύμου ὑπομνήμασιν ἐλέγετο Πινδάρου. Late antiquity accepted Pindaric authorship. Cf. Lib. *Or.* 11.262ff. Race (1990: 95n.30) summarises the arguments for and against authorship.

¹³¹⁸ Cf. Wilamowitz (1992: 420ff.), Fernández-Galiano (1942:140-8), Bowra (1964: 414-421), Mader (1990: 109-113). Lehnus (1981: 76) shrewdly remarks 'ed è persino dubbio che senza l'avviso dei commentatori antichi il problema si sarebbe mai posto.'

¹³¹⁹ Farnell (1932: 35). A Hellenistic forgery is a possibility. However, Didymus accepted authenticity.

¹³²⁰ Gerber (1987: 7-8) discusses and dismisses the objections against 452 BCE. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 222, Moretti (1957: 99), Σ *OI.* 4.3-4, Σ *OI.* 5.19d.

¹³²¹ At Olympia: Wilamowitz (1922: 418f.). At Camarina: Gerber (1987: 7-9), Gildersleeve (1890: 162), Fernández-Galiano (1942:133ff.). Undecided, either Olympia or Camarina: Farnell (1932: 32f.), Mader (1990: 32), Calame (2004: 430).

¹³²² *OI.* 4.6 ἀλλὰ Κρόνου παῖ, ὃς Αἴρναν ἔχεις.

have been inserted in order to identify an otherwise unknown Sicilian town.¹³²³ I follow the scholars who have suggested that the fourth *Olympian* ode was composed for first performance at Olympia.¹³²⁴ I further suggest that *Ol.* 4.6, far from being evidence against first performance at Olympia, is in fact part of the strategy of the *laudandus*.¹³²⁵

The event celebrated in the fifth *Olympian* ode is the mule-cart race.¹³²⁶ The *terminus ante quem* for the victory celebrated in the ode must be 444 BCE,¹³²⁷ and the *terminus post quem* 461/0 BCE.¹³²⁸ A date of 460 BCE seems too soon after the refoundation of Camarina.¹³²⁹ Modern scholarship is divided as to the other possible available dates.¹³³⁰ That, however, is not relevant for the present purpose. What is important is that the ode was first performed after the fall of the tyrannies and at a time when a democracy of sorts had been installed. The fifth *Olympian* was first performed at Camarina.¹³³¹

¹³²³ Cf. Wilamowitz (1922: 415): 'Kleinstadt, [sc. Camarina] von der die wenigsten Festgenossen auch nur den Namen kennen konnte.' Zeus can be called Αἰτναῖος because he is the divinity foremost concerned with the mountain. Cf. Σ *Ol.* 4.1g. Αἶτνα ὄρος Σικελίας· οἰκειότατα δέ, Σικελιώτης γὰρ ὁ νικηφόρος.

¹³²⁴ A κῶμος mentioned at *Ol.* 4.9 δέξαι Χαρίτων θ' ἑκατὶ τόνδε κῶμον could also have taken place at Olympia.

¹³²⁵ § 7.2.5.

¹³²⁶ Cf. *Ol.* 5.3 ἀκαμαντόποδός τ' ἀπήνας δέκευ Ψαύμιός τε δῶρα· Mule-cart victories are not recorded in the extant victory lists, yet they must surely have been recorded at the time when they were held. Cf. Σ *Ol.* 6 *inscr.* a.

¹³²⁷ The discontinuation of the event. Cf. Paus. 5.9.1-2, 5.5.2, Plut. *Mor.* 303b.

¹³²⁸ The refoundation of Camarina. Cf. Pi. *Ol.* 5.8 ἐκάρυξε καὶ τὰν νέοικον ἔδραν. Hdt. 7.154, Th. 6.5.3. Diod. Sic 11.76.5, Philistus *FGrHist* 556 F 15, Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 19ab. Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 407-409).

¹³²⁹ Cf. Pi. *Ol.* 5.8 ἐκάρυξε καὶ τὰν νέοικον ἔδραν. Cf. Hdt. 7.154, Th. 6.5.3. Diod. Sic 11.76.5, Philistus *FGrHist* 556 F 15, Tim. *FGrHist* 566 F 19ab.

¹³³⁰ Lomiento (2000) is a recent survey of the evidence. She opts for 448 BCE.

¹³³¹ Cf. *Ol.* 5.1-3 δέκευ, *Ol.* 5.14 τόνδε δᾶμον deixis, *Ol.* 5.20 πόλιν τάνδε.

7.2.4 Status of the victor and his home city.

We know nothing about the *laudandus* except for what is told in the two odes.¹³³² While the *laudandus* must have been a Greek,¹³³³ his name tells us that he was of Sicel descent.¹³³⁴ The name Psaumis might have had Libyan or Egyptian connotations.¹³³⁵ Obviously, Psaumis was a Greek-speaker and surely well integrated in his home city,¹³³⁶ yet at Olympia, Psaumis arguably would have stood out.¹³³⁷ Moreover, a Panhellenic audience would readily associate Psaumis' unprepossessing home city with a rather inauspicious proverb.¹³³⁸ Whether the ethnicity of the *laudandus* would have been problematic in his home city is a question that is difficult to answer. Data on Sicel prosopography in fifth-century Camarina suggest that Sicel names were under-

¹³³² The scholia do not seem to add any independent information. Based on the odes, Psaumis does not appear to have been a military man.

¹³³³ Since only Greeks could participate in Panhellenic games, cf. Hdt. 2.160. Psaumis' father has a Greek name, cf. *Ol.* 5.8 Ἀκρων. It is unknown whether Psaumis' was a citizen by birth, or whether he was given citizenship. Cf. Hdt. 9.33 the enfranchisement of the seer Tisamenes because of his particular talents.

¹³³⁴ Cf. D.W.W. Ridgway in *OCD*³ p.1401s.v. Sicels. Sicel is the generic term the Greeks used for the people on the East Coast of Sicily when they colonised the island. They were relative latecomers. Cf. Th. 6.2.5, Dion. Hal. 1.22, Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 79b.

¹³³⁵ Cf. Th. 1.104.1, Hdt. 3.14. The Pindaric scholiast cannot agree on a single spelling; in addition to Ψαύμις they give Ψάμμις and Ψαύμιχος.

¹³³⁶ Masson (1976: 110ff.) has onomastic material on another colonial city, Cyrene. Fifth-century data show that there were a fair number of native Libyans who were well integrated in that Greek polis.

¹³³⁷ It is worth noting that *P. Oxy.* 222 does not record a single other Sicel victor. Cf. Moretti (1957: 128), whereas we know of only one other Olympic victor from Camarina, Parmenides, who won in 528 BCE, cf. D.S. 1.68.

¹³³⁸ Viz. μὴ κίνει Καμάριναν. For the pejorative meaning, cf. *Suda* μ 903. Wilamowitz (1922: 415n.1) argues for the antiquity of the saying. Cf. Luc. *Pseudolog.* 32 with ΣΣ, *A.G.* IX.685, *Orac. Syb.* 3.763, Didymus Caecus *De trinitate* 2.8.27. Herodianus *de pros. cath.* 3.1.258. CPG, Zen. V 18, Greg. Cypr. III, 7, Apost. XIII, 1, Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* 700.

represented.¹³³⁹ There seem to have been attempts in the mid fifth century BCE at the construction of a native Sicilian identity. For example, the foundation of Ducetius' Sikel federation¹³⁴⁰ is almost contemporary with the date of first performance of the fourth *Olympian* ode. This suggests that there could have been ethnic tensions in Camarina at the time of first performance. Hence it should not be excluded that the great stress which is placed in the fifth *Olympian* ode on Psaumis' beneficiary works and μεγαλοπρέπεια counters political as well as ethnic suspicions his fellow citizens might be harbouring against him. On that interpretation, part of the patron message in the fourth *Olympian* ode assists in countering such ethnic suspicions as well.¹³⁴¹

Finally, it should be noted that the mule-cart race, whatever the reason might have been for its removal from the programme in 444 BCE, could not have been considered a poor affair or a cause for ridicule when held.¹³⁴² Hence any unfavourable associations attached to the *laudandus* or his home city should not be extended to the event of the mule-cart race. Both Hieron and Anaxilas of Rhegium participated and won in this event,¹³⁴³ hence the anecdotes on the subject are surely apocryphal.¹³⁴⁴

¹³³⁹ Cordano (1984: 31, 52-54) collects a total of eighty-three identifiable names (eight from the sixth century and seventy-five from the fifth century BCE). Only three Sikel names occur down to the fifth century.

¹³⁴⁰ Cf. D.S. 6.35, 11.88, 8.84; 453/2 BCE.

¹³⁴¹ Assuming that the fourth *Olympian* ode was reperformed in Camarina.

¹³⁴² Pace Puech (1949: 77) 'le poète semble avoir à cœur de faire oublier... qu'il ne s'agit que d'une victoire d'ἀπρήνη.'

¹³⁴³ Cf. Σ Ar. *Aves* 940 for Hieron of Syracuse. Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 398n.4, n.6) on Anaxilas's participation, probably in 480 BCE. Anaxilas commemorated his victory with a coin, cf. Arist. *fr.* 578 R., Kraay (1976: 214, 216), Rutter (1997: 120).

¹³⁴⁴ E.g. Sim. *PMG* 515, Heracl. Lemb. *Excerpta politiarum* 55.12. These anecdotes might have tried to explain the removal of the event.

7.2.5. Praise for the *laudandus* and patron message in Pindar's fourth *Olympian* ode.

Assuming that the ode attempts to prop up Psaumis' image before a Panhellenic audience, it seems relevant that the first strophe of the ode, in which it moves from Olympia to Sicily, contains two *loci ab auctoritate*. The first instance is the invocation of Zeus with which the ode opens.¹³⁴⁵ It might seem logical that Zeus is introduced, the victory being an Olympic one,¹³⁴⁶ yet this is the only ode in the extant epinician corpus where an appeal is made to the highest authority, Zeus.¹³⁴⁷ Perhaps *hyperbole* might have been an intended rhetorical effect. The second instance is the statement that the poet has been sent as a witness.¹³⁴⁸ What the poet testifies to, however, is important with regard to Psaumis' intention of gaining peer-group status: the *laudandus* is advertised as already possessing Panhellenic links, namely his guest friends, who, as true ἑσλοί, rejoice in this success of their ξένος.¹³⁴⁹ Hence ἔσαναν must be taken in a positive sense here.¹³⁵⁰ It should not be ruled out that the chorus at Olympia that performed the ode consisted of these guest-friends of the *laudandus*. On that

¹³⁴⁵ *OI.* 4.1 ff. Ἐλατήρ ὑπέρτατε ... Ζεῦ· with the mention of genealogy and *sedes* followed by the actual petition.

¹³⁴⁶ Cf. ΣΣ 1.1c εἰκότως ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ποιεῖται τὸ προοίμιον τοῦ ἐπινίκου.

¹³⁴⁷ *Ne.* 2 *init.* is not evidence to the contrary since it is not an invocation of Zeus.

¹³⁴⁸ This *locus ab auctoritate* is repeated at *OI.* 4.17-19. Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1356a4-6 διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἡθους, ὅταν οὕτω λεχθῇ ὁ λόγος ὥστε ἀξιόπιστον ποιῆσαι τὸν λέγοντα· The speaker thus projects a character, which invites *pistis* in the audience. The *topos* is conventional, cf. Sim. *PMG* 531.7, Pi. *OI.* 2.92, 2.101, 4.3, 6.20, 13.108, *Ne.* 11.24, *Isth.* 5.48, B.5.42.

¹³⁴⁹ *OI.* 4.4-5 ξείνων δ' εὖ πρᾶσσόντων ἔσαναν αὐτίκ' ἀγγελίαν ποτὶ γλυκεῖαν ἑσλοί· Cf. Hdt. 7.237.3.

¹³⁵⁰ Gildersleeve (1890:164). Farnell (1932: 32) 'the dog leaping up to lick his master's hand.' At *Py.* 1.52 ἔσανεν is negative.

interpretation, there would be a direct link between Psaumis and members of the audience during the performance of the ode at Olympia.

The ode moves from Olympia to Sicily.¹³⁵¹ Zeus is invoked, this time as Κρόνου παῖ, implying that Zeus stretches out his protection over Aetna as well,¹³⁵² and from there, presumably, over Camarina. Rhetorically, *hyperbole* might be intended.¹³⁵³

The ode advertises Camarina with the *laudandus* eager to arouse glory for his home city, κῦδος ὄρσαι σπεύδει Καμαρίνα.¹³⁵⁴ Camarina is mentioned in passing, without further detail. The invocation ends with the hope that Psaumis' future prayers may come true. The audience, however, learns nothing about the content of the prayer. Instead, the *laudator* offers a catalogue of praise,¹³⁵⁵ including Psaumis' wealth, his hospitality and his devotion to the interests of his home city.¹³⁵⁶ That a *laudandus* has a right to enjoy ἡσυχία after πόνος is a common epinician *topos*,¹³⁵⁷ yet the statement in this ode that the *laudandus* is 'devoted to city-loving Hesuchia' is important.¹³⁵⁸ It

¹³⁵¹ *OI.* 4.6.

¹³⁵² *OI.* 4.5.

¹³⁵³ ΣΣ *OI.* 4.1e ἡ δὲ ἀκολουθία· ὦ Ζεῦ, ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις· καθ' ὑπερβατόν.

¹³⁵⁴ *OI.* 4.11-12.

¹³⁵⁵ *OI.* 4.14 ἐπεὶ...

¹³⁵⁶ *OI.* 4.14-16. Wealth is implied in horse breeding.

¹³⁵⁷ Cf. *OI.* 12.17-19, *Ne.* 1.70-71 (Heracleus) ἡσυχίαν καμάτων μεγάλων ποινὰν λαχόντ' ἐξαιρετον ὀλβίοις ἐν δώμασι.

¹³⁵⁸ *OI.* 4.16 καὶ πρὸς Ἡσυχίαν φιλόπολιν καθαρᾷ γνώμῃ τετραμμένον.

advertises Psaumis' disposition as of quiet restraint and as not hubristic.¹³⁵⁹ Such praise would be relevant during a reperformance in Camarina.¹³⁶⁰

A *gnome* ends the antistrophe. The climactic positions of the statement suggest that something important is communicated.¹³⁶¹ Trial is truly the test of mortals, *acta virum probant*.¹³⁶² The myth which follows, or, in view of its brevity, the *exemplum* has puzzled scholars.¹³⁶³ However, it can be explained as an illustration of the *gnome*. As is often the case in Pindar, only the relevant part of the story is told: the victory of Erginus in the games and the receiving of the crown.¹³⁶⁴ Erginus matches the excellence of his feet with his χεῖρες and ἦτορ.¹³⁶⁵ In this way Erginus, in a very Greek manner, is portrayed as a complete person, and, by extension, so is the *laudandus*. This and the sentiment of *acta virum probant*, is probably all there is to gain from this short *exemplum*.¹³⁶⁶ The sentiment that men should be judged by their actions disperses possible suspicions the audience might have had against the *laudandus* and advertised Psaumis as a peer among other aristocrats.

¹³⁵⁹ Dickie (1984: 90) notes the importance of the term ἡσυχία for the symposium, however, it 'has a significance that goes far beyond the symposium'; e.g. Sol. *fr.* 4.7-10 W. He notes that (1984: 91) ἡσυχία is a 'virtue that is equally necessary for the well-being and internal harmony of the state.' Cf. Fisher (192: 223-25, 232), D.L. Cairns (1996: *passim*) with different opinions about the role of ὕβρις in the process.

¹³⁶⁰ Farnell (1932: 33) 'testimony to the quiet constitutional temperament of Psaumis – who being so wealthy might be suspected of aiming at tyranny.'

¹³⁶¹ Cf. note 377.

¹³⁶² *Ol.* 4.18 διάπειρά τοι βροτῶν ἔλεγχος.

¹³⁶³ Kurz (1974:33) even suggests 'ein gewissen inneren Humor.'

¹³⁶⁴ Cf. Braswell (1988:14ff.) for other versions of the Erginus myth.

¹³⁶⁵ Gerber (1987:23) notes that χεῖρες is 'overall strength', not hands, cf. *Ne.* 8.8, 9.39. ἦτορ is 'courage' or 'spirit', not simply 'heart', cf. *Ne.* 8.24.

¹³⁶⁶ The assumption in Σ *Ol.* 4.29b that Psaumis was old, or even too old to compete is false. That Erginus was in fact young follows *a fortiori* from καὶ in *Ol.* 4.25 φύονται δὲ καὶ νέοις ἐν ἀνδράσιν.

7.2.6. Praise for the *laudandus* and patron message in Pindar's fifth *Olympian* ode.

In the fifth *Olympian* ode Camarina does not receive the cursory treatment it received in the fourth *Olympian* ode, unsurprising for an ode that was first performed there. The relationship between city and victor is constantly stressed. In fact, the whole fifth *Olympian* ode is built up of hymns and prayers, with each triad devoted to a different deity and in climactic progression: Camarina, Athena and Zeus. Each triad and each deity serves as a vehicle of praise for victor and city.

The proem of the ode, for example, appears to reflect on the actual events that took place at Olympia and demonstrates before an audience at Camarina Psaumis' efforts at putting Camarina on the Panhellenic map.¹³⁶⁷ The adjective λαότροφος makes Camarina more important than it was in reality,¹³⁶⁸ while Psaumis persistently links his glory with κῦδος for Camarina.¹³⁶⁹

The proem relates that Psaumis sacrificed during the athletic contests. Depending on which reading is adopted at the end of the first antistrophe, he did so either during the five days (πενταμέροις) or only on the fifth day (πενταμέροις).¹³⁷⁰ If the first reading can be accepted there are two possibilities: Psaumis really sacrificed

¹³⁶⁷ *OI.* 5.5ff.: sacrificial procedures and announcement of town and the father of victor.

¹³⁶⁸ Jurenka (1896:14) notes that '...dem kleinen Camarina das Attribut großer Städte λαοτρόφος beigelegt wird.'

¹³⁶⁹ *OI.* 5.4 ὅς [sc. Psaumis] τὰν σὰν πόλιν αὔξων, Καμάρινα. Cf. *OI.* 4.5-12, *Py.* 12.4-6, *OI.* 12.17-19.

¹³⁷⁰ *OI.* 5.6. Whereas most manuscripts have πενταμέροις, papyrus Π³⁹ reads πενταμέροις, which is printed by Snell-Maehler. We do not know when the equestrian events were held. According to Pausanias, early in the programme, but this was ἐφ' ἡμῶν, cf. Paus. 5.9.3. Robert (1900:149-151) believes that they came at the end of the programme.

conspicuously throughout the duration of the festival 'dedicating luxurious glory' to Camarina,¹³⁷¹ or, alternatively, this is a *suggestio falsi* and the home audience is treated to some *hyperbole*. The second alternative seems the more likely one.

The second triad moves from Olympia to Camarina and Psaumis' μεγαλοπρέπεια forms the climax of the second triad.¹³⁷² The insistence on Psaumis' μεγαλοπρέπεια raises the question of whether we can tell anything about the extent of Psaumis' beneficial works. This question is relevant in view of the association between μεγαλοπρέπεια and tyranny.¹³⁷³ There are two passages in this respect which merit attention: first, a difficult and much discussed passage in the second triad,¹³⁷⁴ and second, the statement which opens the second epode.¹³⁷⁵ For a detailed discussion of the first passage, I refer to Appendix five. On the view taken there, Psaumis' μεγαλοπρέπεια would have been considerable. He would have been intimately involved in the refoundation of Camarina and 'brought his townsmen from helplessness to light.'¹³⁷⁶ The second passage seems to comment on the first passage.¹³⁷⁷ Some key

¹³⁷¹ Farnell (1932: 38), however, notes that only the directors of the whole festival could sacrifice for five days.

¹³⁷² Because of position of the statement.

¹³⁷³ § 2.4.3.1, note 466.

¹³⁷⁴ *Ol.* 5.10-14.

¹³⁷⁵ *Ol.* 5.15-16.

¹³⁷⁶ *Ol.* 5.14 ὑπ' ἀμαχανίας ἄγων ἐς φάος τόνδε δᾶμον ἀστῶν. Cf. *Py.* 9.89aff. where ἀμεχανία simply means 'not being famous'. In the fifth *Olympian*, however, something more serious seems hinted at.

¹³⁷⁷ *Ol.* 5.15-16 αἰεὶ δ' ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖσι πόνος δαπάνη τε μάρναται πρὸς ἔργον κινδύνῳ κεκαλυμμένον· εὖ δὲ τυχόντες σοφοὶ καὶ πολῖταις ἔδοξαν ἔμμεν. In early Greek lyric πολῖται has no political implications, it means citizens. Cf. *Isth.* 1.51.

epinician terms are used: πόνος, δαπανά, ἀρεταῖ, κίνδυνος, μάρνυμι.¹³⁷⁸ The statement, stressing toil and expense, appears to comment on Psaumis' way of life 'which the people in general, the *politai*, cannot share but, given a successful outcome, will approve.'¹³⁷⁹ In other words, just as the ἔσλοι rejoiced in the success of their ξένος Psaumis at Olympia,¹³⁸⁰ so Psaumis' fellow townsmen praise him in Camarina.¹³⁸¹ Whereas at Olympia the *laudandus* is advertised as a peer among fellow peers (the ἔσλοι), in this ode he is defined as a citizen among his fellow citizens, despite his wealth. That the passage touches delicately on the subject of local jealousy,¹³⁸² is more praise for the *laudandus* since it is only natural that success generates envy. Praise of the *laudandus* μεγαλοπρέπεια in this ode is a careful balancing act since μεγαλοπρέπεια could have roused suspicions in the first place. The *laudandus* tackles the problem head-on.

The last triad is a prayer, the first part of which offers more praise for Psaumis and Camarina with the invocation of Zeus as the highest authority.¹³⁸³ The poet comes as a suppliant to the sound of the Lydian pipes. The Lydian musical mode was appropriate for supplications,¹³⁸⁴ and particularly at home in a symposiastic setting.¹³⁸⁵

¹³⁷⁸ On these key terms, cf. § 1.4. The passage *O/.* 5.15-16 is epinician shorthand for the following sentiment: striving for success is dangerous, toil and expenses are needed, but when one succeeds, one's fellow citizens should do the proper thing, viz. rejoice.

¹³⁷⁹ Adkins (1960: 161). Cf. Lehnus (1981: 82) 'la scarsa e tardiva propensione a riconoscere i meriti dei propri concittadini.'

¹³⁸⁰ *O/.* 4.4-5.

¹³⁸¹ *O/.* 5.16 εὖ δὲ τυχόντες σοφοὶ καὶ πολίταις ἔδοξαν ἔμμεν, cf. *O/.* 11.4-8, B.5.190f.

¹³⁸² Cf. *Py.* 11.28, *Ne.* 4.36f.

¹³⁸³ *O/.* 5.17 Σωτήρ ὑψινεφές Ζεῦ. Cf. Nilsson (1955: 415) on Zeus Soter, a house god as well as saviour and protector of the state.

¹³⁸⁴ Gildersleeve (1890: 170), Σ *O/.* 5.44g γλυκὺ δὲ τὸ Λύδιον μέλος, Σ *O/.* 5.44i ὥστε σε ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, τὴν Καμάριναν, ταῖς εὐανδρίαῖς καὶ ταῖς εὐφημίαῖς αὔξειν καὶ ἀγάλλειν. εὐρυθμίαῖς δέ.

Tentatively one could argue that this might be hinting at Psaumis' behaviour as not hubristic.¹³⁸⁶ The third antistrophe, at a climactic position at end of the antistrophe, leads up to the heart of the prayer. A wish for more Olympic victors for Camarina should be understood as a wish for more κῦδος for Psaumis' home city.¹³⁸⁷ This is followed by the hope that Psaumis may continue to 'delight in 'Poseidon's horses',¹³⁸⁸ a discreet way of making a plea for the continuation of the wealth of the *laudandus*. Implicitly this means more μεγαλοπρέπεια for Camarina.

Finally, the ode touches on the aspirations of the *laudandus*: a 'cheerful old age with your sons about you.'¹³⁸⁹ The sentiment of the primacy of the father and the need for sons to be devoted to the father is not uncommon in an epinician context.¹³⁹⁰ The *laudandus* includes traditional family values in his patron-message. However, it also defines the sphere of future activity of the *laudandus* as that of the family and hence tells the audience that Psaumis in the future will not extend authority inappropriately. In other words, his intentions exclude attempts at tyranny.

The statement is capped with a *ne plus ultra*, which in essence repeats the heart of the prayer: the highest has been achieved; do not strive for the impossible.¹³⁹¹

¹³⁸⁵ Pl. *R.* 398e-399a. Cf. Nilsson (1955: 415) Zeus Σωτήρ 'bei dem Gelage die erste oder die dritte Spende gewidmet.'

¹³⁸⁶ Psaumis will not upset the balance of his own claims and the rights of others. Cf. D.L. Cairns (1996: *passim*) for a discussion of hubris in terms of τιμή. Cf. Dickie (1984: *passim*) on proper symposia and absence of hubris.

¹³⁸⁷ *O.* 5.20-21 αἰτήσων πόλιν εὐανορίαῖσι τάνδε κλυταῖς δαιδάλλειν.

¹³⁸⁸ *O.* 5.21 σέ τ', Ὀλυμπιόνικε, Ποσειδανίοισιν ἵπποις κτλ.

¹³⁸⁹ *O.* 5.22-23 εὐθυμον ἐς τελευτάν υἱῶν, Ψαῦμι, παρισταμένων.

¹³⁹⁰ Howie (1989: 57). Cf. *Py.* 6.19ff. (=Hes. *fr.* 283-5 MW), *Ne.* 7.98ff.

¹³⁹¹ *O.* 5.24 μὴ ματεύσῃ θεὸς γενέσθαι. Cf. D.L. Cairns (2003: 250) 'the *laudandus* is reminded of the danger of doing so [sc. attracting divine envy] and implicitly complimented on recognising

The concluding part of Pindar's fifth *Olympian* ode can be compared with the end of the eighth *Olympian* ode, an ode written for a boy-victor of the Aeginetan clan of the Blepsiadae. Pindar composed more odes for Aegina than for any other city and mentions six conspicuous Aeginetan families.¹³⁹² The clans eagerly competed in the crown games.¹³⁹³ In 458/7 BCE Aegina was forcibly incorporated into the Athenian empire and much in the odes for Aeginetan victors can be understood in terms of conflictual situations before and after that event.¹³⁹⁴ The Aeginetan clans would arguably vie for power,¹³⁹⁵ and Aegina must have been a city with a 'problematised elite', if ever there was one. Yet the end of the eighth *Olympian* ode voices the same sentiment as the end of the fifth *Olympian* ode: the aspirations of the clan do not go further than 'a lifetime free from pain' and μεγαλοπρέπεια for Aegina.¹³⁹⁶

this danger'. This is a common epinician *topos*, cf. *Ol.* 13.24-28, *Py.* 8.71f., *Py.* 10.20f., *Ne.* 11.15f., *Isth.* 5.14, 7.39-42.

¹³⁹² The Bassidae (*Ne.* 6.31), the Blepsiadae (*Ol.* 8.75), the Chariadae (*Ne.* 8.46), the Euxenidae (*Ne.* 7.70), the Midylidae (*Py.* 8.38), the Theandridae (*Ne.* 4.73).

¹³⁹³ The sixth major victory for the Blepsiadae was celebrated with the eighth *Olympian* ode. Cf. *Ol.* 8.70-79.

¹³⁹⁴ Cf. the relevant passages in Pfeijffer (1999).

¹³⁹⁵ Cf. Figueira (1993: 112-25).

¹³⁹⁶ *Ol.* 8.88-89. The patron message in an ode for a boy-victor surely is that of the clan, not of the boy-victor.

CHAPTER EIGHT – CONCLUSIONS.

8.1 Introduction.

This enquiry set out to investigate the patron message or self-representation in the epinician odes composed by Pindar and Bacchylides for Sicilian *laudandi*. Modern scholarship on the epinician odes often plays down the historical record or neglects it altogether, whereas historical studies of Sicily in the first half of the fifth century BCE often use the scholia to the odes to the exclusion of the poems themselves. Since this enquiry assumes that the poets accommodated the political and social aspirations of the patrons who commissioned the odes, the historical record is scrutinised in a fair amount of detail. I shall outline some of these results in more detail presently, but first shall summarise the key findings with regard to the four objectives stated in the introduction.

With regard to the first objective,¹³⁹⁷ this enquiry comes to the following conclusions. First, differences in patron message between odes for tyrants and other *laudandi* can be observed. Unsurprisingly, considering their distinct status, tyrants will be advertised and praised differently from non-tyrants. The tyrant is more often than not praised in terms of power and wealth, whereas other *laudandi* are mostly praised in terms of their poleis. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that no attempts are made in the odes composed for tyrants to present the *laudandus'* successes as linked to his home city, nor is the tyrant invariably separated from the rest of humanity. Especially in the

¹³⁹⁷ To describe how patron messages differ between odes composed for tyrants and odes composed for other *laudandi*.

earlier odes composed for Hieron, strategies of inclusion can be found. Consequently, it would be wrong to argue that in odes composed for tyrants the dominant strategy is invariably one of exclusion. In like manner, in odes composed for *laudandi* other than tyrants the dominant strategy need not necessarily be one of inclusion. Second, a tyrant can be shown to have considerable influence over the patron message in an ode composed for one of his associates.¹³⁹⁸ Third, an epinician ode, as a celebration of the victory, is first and foremost praise, yet it has the potential to engage in debate as well. This enquiry identifies these debates,¹³⁹⁹ and suggests that there is a relation between the status of the *laudandus* and the content of the debate, especially in cases in which the ode was first performed in the home city of the victor. In odes composed for tyrants legitimisation of tyrannical rule is a major concern, while in odes composed for *laudandi* other than tyrants the concern appears to be countering suspicions which the community of the *laudandus* might have harboured against the *laudandus*.¹⁴⁰⁰ Fourth, the historical record shows that potentially a Panhellenic victory could be an opportunity for those aspiring to tyranny.¹⁴⁰¹ A Panhellenic victory would surely have put the *laudandus* in the spotlight. Some argue that, since the *laudandus* has temporarily stepped outside the bounds of conventional experience, an epinician ode could have facilitated his reintegration into his community. However, this enquiry suggests that the suspicions that are countered in the odes are mostly unrelated to the newly acquired status of the *laudandus* as Panhellenic victor. On that interpretation, the

¹³⁹⁸ Hagesias of Syracuse accommodates his overlord Hieron, cf. § 3.2.7. Chromius of Aetna was apparently allowed to celebrate his victories without mention of his overlord Hieron, cf. § 3.1.1.

¹³⁹⁹ They are summarised in the next paragraph.

¹⁴⁰⁰ There are apparently two exceptions, cf. § 8.2

¹⁴⁰¹ Cf. § 1.3, note 9.

laudandus was already problematic before he entered into Panhellenic competition.

This challenges the notion of the 'reintegration of the victor into his home town',¹⁴⁰² at least insofar as the Sicilian odes are concerned. Tentatively, it is argued that the opportunity which epinician odes offered to the *laudandus* to engage in debate with audiences might have been an important incentive to participate in Panhellenic games in the first place.

With regard to the second objective,¹⁴⁰³ this enquiry comes to the following conclusions. First, the patron message in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode for Theron of Acragas can be linked with Deinomenid – Emmenid relations in the first half of the fifth century.¹⁴⁰⁴ Since the Emmenids appear to have been the junior partner in the alliance, this might explain why Pindar's second *Olympian* ode does not contain any claims to power and appears to be preoccupied with the past.¹⁴⁰⁵ Second, whereas in the earlier odes composed for Hieron the *laudandus* speaks of his rule and power with considerable reticence,¹⁴⁰⁶ the later odes defiantly speak of the tyrant's autonomy.

¹⁴⁰² The expression 'reintegration of the victor into his home city' assumes that his new status as Panhellenic victor is problematic, cf. § 1.3. McGlew (1993: 37n.48) rightly stresses that an epinician ode is less concerned with assuring the community that the patron's athletic victory is not a stepping-stone to political domination than with restructuring the relationship between a patron and his city. However, he mostly neglects the historical context and moreover takes epinician statements at their face value. Consequently, he entirely fails to appreciate the notion of *Selbstdarstellung*, cf. e.g. his discussion of Pi. *Ol.* 6.92-98 (1993: 39). Similar neglect of the political circumstances in Stoneman (1984: 43-49).

¹⁴⁰³ To investigate differences in patron message between odes composed for the tyrant Hieron of Syracuse and those composed for the tyrant Theron of Acragas.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Since the extant epinician corpus contains only two odes composed for Theron, one of which appears to be an *in situ* ode, some caution is needed.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Odes composed for Hieron tend to look to the future.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Possibly as a consequence of Hieron's position as usurper at the start of his career as tyrant of Syracuse in 478 BCE. Cf. § 2.1.3.1.

Hieron's rule in those later odes is advertised as unchallenged and the tyrant as someone at the apex of his political power.¹⁴⁰⁷ The distribution of regal terminology in the odes for Hieron supports this view. Third, the odes composed for Hieron fairly consistently touch on human envy. This does not contradict the previous observation, but can be explained as a reflection of the militaristic nature of the Deinomenid tyranny,¹⁴⁰⁸ circumstances under which simmering discontent and envy would be unsurprising. In the odes composed for Theron, envy is not a problem. This is in accordance with earlier suggestions that the Emmenid tyranny was to a much lesser extent at variance with citizens and political elite.¹⁴⁰⁹ Fourth, in all odes composed for Hieron wishes for literal immortality can be found. These wishes are hinted at in the odes composed early in Hieron's career and become more openly expressed in the later odes composed for the tyrant. Whether this change in tactics reflects the tyrant's growing confidence or his growing preoccupation with posthumous self-representation must remain undecided.¹⁴¹⁰

With regard to the third objective,¹⁴¹¹ this enquiry shows that self-representation of the *laudandus* in the so-called *in situ* odes is different from that in odes that were performed for the first time in his home city. Hence a first performance at the games

¹⁴⁰⁷ Yet again Pindar's first *Pythian* ode is different. It shows a unusual blend of different ideologies (*Polis-* as well as *Herrschaftsideologie*) and a mixture of rhetorical strategies (of inclusion as well as of exclusion). It presents Hieron's autonomy in a defiant manner, yet uses (non-existent) threats to underpin his rule. Cf. Appendix 6.1.

¹⁴⁰⁸ On which see Luraghi (1994: 364).

¹⁴⁰⁹ Cf. § 5.2.1.

¹⁴¹⁰ There is no need to look for references to Hieron's illness beyond the first and third *Pythian* odes. Cf. §§ 2.4.4.2, 2.6.1.

¹⁴¹¹ To investigate how the patron message in a particular ode is tailored to different audience types.

appears to have placed certain restrictions on the manner in which the *laudandus* could be advertised.¹⁴¹² Patron messages in odes other than *in situ* odes show a much greater variation and are often tailored to engage in debate with audiences abroad as well as with the home audience.¹⁴¹³ Pindar's third *Olympian* ode, however, shows that the content of an *in situ* ode need not necessarily be restricted to a catalogue of traditional epinician elements.¹⁴¹⁴

With regard to the fourth objective,¹⁴¹⁵ this enquiry cautions against some generalisations of other scholars regarding patron messages in the epinician odes. Admittedly, all models, as simplifications of reality, will invariably overlook certain details. However, the results of this enquiry suggest that some models and concepts obscure important differences and could thus be too monolithic.¹⁴¹⁶ Hence this enquiry argues that the nuancing and the variety of patron message employed in epinician odes are much greater than has hitherto been thought.

8.2 Detailed discussion of results: Tyrants *versus* non-tyrants.

¹⁴¹² Cf. § 2.4.3 on the 'strategy of silence'.

¹⁴¹³ The odes that are most clearly designed to engage with different audiences are Pindar's ninth *Nemean* ode and Pindar's first *Pythian* ode, cf. §§ 3.1.2, 2.4.4.3

¹⁴¹⁴ The name of victor, the name of father, mention of home country of victor, venue, event and mention of victory. Such a catalogue reflects the *Dokumentationsfunktion* of an *in situ* ode. Cf. Gelzer (1985: 102).

¹⁴¹⁵ To contrast the results of this enquiry with other scholarship that addresses patron message and self-representation: in particular the models of *Polisideologie* versus *Herrschaftssystem*, the contrast between elitist- and 'middling' ideology, the concepts of 'home-coming of the victor' and 're-integration of the victor in his home city'.

¹⁴¹⁶ Cf. § 8.5.

First and foremost, an epinician ode, as celebration of a victory, praises the *laudandus* and must surely have added to the joy of audience and *laudandus* during the festivities. However, this enquiry argues that the concerns of an epinician ode are not limited to praise: the epinician odes can attempt to persuade as well. In odes composed for *laudandi* other than tyrants, more often than not, debates can be identified that address and counter suspicions which fellow citizens or the wider Greek community might have harboured against the *laudandus*. These debates can be summarised, somewhat crudely, as follows:¹⁴¹⁷

In Pindar's sixth *Olympian* ode, the *laudandus* Hagesias counters suspicions vis-à-vis his overlord, Hieron. Since he might rightly have been suspected of attempts at tyranny, he advertises himself as someone without any political ambitions and instead praises Hieron extensively. His Olympic victory arguably adds to such suspicions, yet is not the sole ground for those suspicions.

In the fifth *Olympian* ode, the *laudandus* Psaumis counters suspicions vis-à-vis his fellow citizens since his considerable μεγαλοπρέπεια could be linked with attempts at tyranny. His Olympic victory arguably encourages such suspicions, yet is not the sole ground for those suspicions. Possibly the *laudandus* was subject to suspicions based on his ethnicity as well.

In the sixth *Pythian* and second *Isthmian* odes for Thrasybulus it is difficult to pinpoint the character of the suspicions which his fellow citizens might have had. However, the *laudandus* apparently thought it necessary to appropriate his father's

¹⁴¹⁷ I refer to the relevant §§ in the main text for a more balanced discussion. Some *laudandi*, I suspect, had more dangerous suspicions to counter than other *laudandi*. I have ordered the summaries starting with what I think were the most urgent debates. Hence the last debates in this list touch on suspicions that only tangentially bear on the *laudandus*.

victories for his own use. The manner in which the second *Isthmian* ode harks back to a better past and the manner in which the *laudandus* praises his father and his uncle Theron as role models in the sixth *Pythian* ode suggests that the *laudandus* reacts to circumstances in the turbulent times after the fall of the Emmenid tyranny in 472 BCE. Since the *laudandus* was not a victor himself, the victories celebrated in the odes have of course no bearing on these suspicions.

In the twelfth *Olympian* ode, which was first performed after the fall of the Deinomenid and Emmenid tyrannies, the *laudandus* Ergoteles asserts his legal rights and possibly counters suspicions of his fellow citizens towards him in his capacity of 'new' citizen. The fact that he returned to his home city as an Olympic victor has no bearing on such suspicions since the *laudandus* was surely not suspected of attempts at tyranny.

In the fourth *Olympian* ode, an *in situ* ode, the *laudandus* Psaumis counters possible suspicions of a Panhellenic audience with regard to the *laudandus'* unprepossessing home city and his ethnic background as Sicel. Some features of the ode would assist in countering more serious suspicions when the ode was reperformed in his home city.

Pindar's ninth *Nemean* ode is partly a political programme, namely an attempt to attract new settlers to Aetna. Assuming that it was widely known in the Greek world that Aetna's refoundation was a project aimed at increasing the safety of the Deinomenid tyranny more than anything else, the praise in the ode for Aetna attempts to counter suspicions prospective settlers might have had against the new city.

Two conceivable candidates are excluded from this list, namely Pindar's first *Nemean* ode and his twelfth *Pythian* ode. In the first *Nemean* ode, it is difficult to

identify any debate at all. Interestingly, in the other ode composed for the same *laudandus*, Pindar's ninth *Nemean* ode, the suspicions that can be identified only tangentially bear on the *laudandus*. Hence Chromius of Aetna is arguably the most unproblematic victor among the Sicilian *laudandi*. This sits well with the suggestion that he had come to the end of his career and at the same time was a very close associate of the tyrant Hieron:¹⁴¹⁸ unlike Hagesias of Syracuse, he could afford to leave Hieron out of the odes he commissioned. If indeed Chromius was an unproblematic victor, this might explain why Pindar's first *Nemean* ode forfeits the opportunity of a final recap of praise for the *laudandus*,¹⁴¹⁹ and instead extends the central narrative to the end of the poem.¹⁴²⁰ The other ode that is excluded from the above list of odes countering suspicions, Pindar's twelfth *Pythian* ode for Midas of Acragas, is best hived off in a separate discussion.¹⁴²¹

Importantly, the suspicions that are countered in the odes are mostly unrelated to the newly acquired status of the *laudandus* as Panhellenic victor. The exceptions appear to be Pindar's sixth *Olympian* ode for Hagesias of Syracuse and, to a lesser extent, Pindar's fifth *Olympian* ode for Psaumis. In those odes, the Olympic victory might have added to existing suspicions, yet it is not the sole ground for such suspicions. Hence this challenges the notion of the 'reintegration of the victor into his home town'.

¹⁴¹⁸ A long military and diplomatic career in service of Gelon and Hieron, family connections through marriage, guardian to Hieron's (or Gelon's) son, and viceroy of Aetna.

¹⁴¹⁹ An epinician ode normally returns in one way or another to the *laudandus* with some concluding praise, a prayer or a *gnome* relevant to the *laudandus*.

¹⁴²⁰ A feature it shares with Pindar's tenth *Nemean* ode for a victor from Argos.

¹⁴²¹ Cf. § 4.1.

At least on the basis of the odes composed for Sicilians, it seems wrong to argue that epinician odes primarily deal with the position and aims of tyrants and quasi tyrants.¹⁴²² While Hagesias and Psaumis may or may not have aspired to tyranny,¹⁴²³ this enquiry suggests that Chromius, Ergoteles and likely Thrasybulus should not be labelled as quasi tyrants.

In most odes composed for tyrants, legitimisation of tyrannical rule appears to be a more important concern for the *laudandus* than countering suspicions. However, Pindar's first *Pythian* appears to be an exception since in that ode both concerns are prominent.¹⁴²⁴

Whereas in the odes composed for Hieron of Syracuse, perhaps unsurprisingly considering the strong militaristic nature of his tyranny, attempts are often made to legitimise his tyrannical rule, this enquiry does not support the view that all odes composed for tyrants invariably make such attempts.¹⁴²⁵ The odes composed for Theron as well as the odes composed for Hieron early in his career are a case in point. In Pindar's second *Olympian* ode considerable efforts are made to integrate the *laudandus* in his community and there are no claims to power by the *laudandus* or his clan, and hence in that ode there is no trace of *Herrschaftsideologie*. The ideology of

¹⁴²² Nagy (1990: 175) argues that quasi tyrants are aristocrats who aspire to the political status of tyrants.

¹⁴²³ And I think it is very unlikely that Psaumis had aspirations to tyranny.

¹⁴²⁴ The ode forcefully argues for Hieron's tyrannical rule but also counters negative attitudes which an audience abroad might have harboured towards the Western Greeks, cf. Appendix three.

¹⁴²⁵ *Pace* Mann (2000: 39) 'In Fall Hierons dienten Epinikien also nicht dazu, die Person des Siegers in die Polisgemeinschaft zu integrieren, sondern die Herrschaft des außerhalb, bzw. über der Polisordnung stehenden Tyrannen zu untermauern. Sie verkündeten nicht Polis-, sondern Herrschaftsideologie.' The odes composed for Theron of Acragas are not considered in Mann's (2000) article.

that ode, when pressed, would best be described as *Adelsideologie*. In the odes composed for Hieron there are certainly efforts to present the *laudandus* as integrated in his community.¹⁴²⁶ The ideologies in the odes for Theron and Hieron have similarities with odes composed for non-tyrants. It would perhaps be wrong to label their ideology *Polisideologie*, yet it would be equally wrong to say that the tyrant is invariably and dramatically separated from mankind in general and from his subjects in particular.¹⁴²⁷ In other words, the status of the *laudandus* does not necessarily decide the dominant ideology in an ode.

8.3 Detailed discussion of results: Hieron *versus* Theron.

A relatively high proportion of the Sicilian epinician odes were composed for Hieron of Syracuse. Since most victories celebrated in those odes can be dated with some confidence,¹⁴²⁸ valid observations over time should be possible. This enquiry orders the odes composed for Hieron chronologically according to the date of the victory celebrated in the ode,¹⁴²⁹ as follows: Pindar's second *Pythian* ode (victory date 477 BCE), Bacchylides' fifth ode (victory date 476 BCE), Pindar's first *Olympian* ode (472 BCE), Bacchylides' fourth ode and Pindar's first *Pythian* ode (470 BCE), Bacchylides' third ode (468 BCE), Pindar's third *Pythian* ode (unknown date of victory, but probably

¹⁴²⁶ Cf. § 2.1.3 in Pindar's second *Pythian* ode, § 2.2.1 in Bacchylides' fifth ode. Cf. § 8.3.1.

¹⁴²⁷ Pace Stenger (2004: 275ff., 315).

¹⁴²⁸ With the exception of Pindar's third *Pythian* ode.

¹⁴²⁹ Under the assumption that the date of victory celebrated in an ode is more or less contemporaneous with the date of first performance. Pindar's third and sixth *Pythian* odes and his second *Isthmian* ode are exceptions.

after 470 BCE). The victory celebrated in the two odes composed for Theron is securely dated to 476 BCE.

This enquiry argues that four features of the Sicilian tyrannies of the first half of the fifth century BCE are instrumental in explaining self-representation and patron message in epinician odes composed for tyrants. First, Hieron appears to have usurped the tyranny in 478/7 BCE and consequently did not have any legal claims on Syracuse.¹⁴³⁰ Second, by becoming an œcist, Hieron actively sought posthumous hero status, whereas Theron does not appear to have done so.¹⁴³¹ Third, the Deinomenid tyrants were not wholly champions of the aristocracy nor were they altogether φιλόδημοι.¹⁴³² Fourth, by the 470s BCE, the Emmenid dynasty appears to have been the junior partner in a Deinomenid – Emmenid alliance.¹⁴³³ These points help to clarify a number of features in odes composed for Hieron and Theron: the manner in which the odes advertise power and rule (§ 8.3.1), the distribution of the regal terminology in the odes (§ 8.3.2), the manner in which the odes address human envy (§ 8.3.3) and, finally, the manner in which the odes deal with eschatological concerns of the tyrants (§ 8.3.4).

8.3.1 Power and rule - reticence *versus* confidence.

¹⁴³⁰ Cf. § 2.1.3.1.

¹⁴³¹ Cf. Appendix five.

¹⁴³² Cf. Luraghi (1994: 286ff., 371-73). *Pace* McGlew (1993: 67f.) who argues that τόττοι about tyrants in Solon and Theognis show that tyrants drew their support from the mass of citizens against a corrupt aristocracy, a view to which apparently Aristotle subscribed, cf. *Pol.* 1305a4-5: Peisistratus as the champion of the poor, platform of hatred towards the rich.

¹⁴³³ Cf. Kukofka (1992: 71-75), Luraghi (1994: 328-32). Cf. § 2.1.

Since tyranny appears to have been viewed as ἀδικία *per se* from the early fifth century onwards,¹⁴³⁴ unsurprisingly, both Hieron and Theron are advertised as agents of justice.¹⁴³⁵ The distribution of those passages in the odes suggests that Hieron used this strategy earlier rather than later in his career. The odes composed early in Hieron's career moreover show considerable reticence in the manner in which his power and rule are expressed. This can be contrasted with odes composed later in Hieron's career. In those odes the *laudandus* is presented as autonomous and his power defiantly advertised,¹⁴³⁶ or simply taken for granted.¹⁴³⁷ This sits well with the assumption that Hieron usurped the tyranny in 478/7 BCE. Such reticence might very well reflect the actual political situation early in Hieron's career as tyrant of Syracuse. However, in Pindar's third *Pythian* ode, the first performance of which this enquiry dates to after 470 BCE, there are features that place the *laudandus* in proximity with his subjects.¹⁴³⁸

It is worth noting that there are only two odes in which Hieron is praised for his wisdom as counsellor.¹⁴³⁹ One is composed for Hieron and is early (477 BCE) whereas in the other ode someone who might have been perceived as a threat to the tyrant praises Hieron. Arguably, Hieron's position in Syracuse was more precarious in 478/7 BCE than it was by 468 BCE. Since Hagesias in Pindar's sixth *Olympian* ode thought it

¹⁴³⁴ Cf. Hdt. 3.142.1, 7.164.

¹⁴³⁵ Hieron explicitly at *Py.* 2.65ff., B.5.6, *Py.* 1.86. Theron explicitly at *Ol.* 2.65ff. Hieron implicitly at *Py.* 2.86 'the straight talking man excels under every form of government', *Ol.* 1.12, *Py.* 3.7f. the king who rules with gentle hand, B.4.3. Theron implicitly at *Ol.* 2.6. Hieron's associate Chromius is praised for his reputation for justice at *Ne.* 9.44.

¹⁴³⁶ E.g. Pindar's first *Pythian* ode (470 BCE), cf. § 2.4.4, note 482.

¹⁴³⁷ Bacchylides' third ode, first performed in 468 BCE, presents his rule as a matter of fact.

¹⁴³⁸ Cf. § 2.6.1.

¹⁴³⁹ *Py.* 2.65a, *Ol.* 6.94.

necessary to counter suspicions his overlord might be harbouring against him and since that ode praises Hieron in terms similar to those in Pindar's second *Pythian* ode, I tentatively suggest an earlier rather than a later date of first performance for Pindar's sixth *Olympian* ode.¹⁴⁴⁰

The unusual blend of *Polisideologie* and *Herrschaftssystem* in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode,¹⁴⁴¹ can be explained by the suggestion that Hieron was neither exclusively a φιλόδημος or exclusively a champion of the aristocracy. However, passages in Pindar's second and third *Pythian* odes show that the tyrant took the interests of the aristocracy into consideration as well. This is in accordance with the observation that the Deinomenid tyrants were not wholly champions of the aristocracy nor altogether φιλόδημοι.¹⁴⁴²

The absence of any ostentatious claims to power in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode sits well with the state of relations in the Deinomenid-Emmenid alliance around 476 BCE. More importantly, Pindar's second *Olympian* ode tends to look back to the past: the *hic et nunc* is defined in terms of *illud tempus* and Theron's future concerns do not appear to be worldly but almost exclusively pertaining to the afterlife.¹⁴⁴³ This enquiry explains this feature of the second *Olympian* ode as a result of the *laudandus'* eschatology.¹⁴⁴⁴ This can be contrasted with odes composed for Hieron, especially the odes composed early in his career, in which the outlook is directed more to the

¹⁴⁴⁰ Cf. § 3.3.2.

¹⁴⁴¹ Cf. Mann (2000: 36n.21) '...lediglich in der 1. Pythischen Ode läßt sich ein stärkerer Polisbezug festzustellen.'

¹⁴⁴² *Py.* 2.96, *Py.* 3.71, cf. §§ 2.1.6, 2.6.3.

¹⁴⁴³ Cf. § 5.2.4.1.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Cf. 5.2.4.1: Theron and his clan are the end-point in a long line of achievements, paralleling the *terminus* of the blessed state described in the eschatological passage.

(worldly) future.¹⁴⁴⁵ This contrast supports the suggestion that the Deinomenids of the first half of the fifth century had much stronger militaristic and expansionistic tendencies than had the Emmenid tyranny.¹⁴⁴⁶

Finally, the absence of any substantial genealogy in odes composed for Hieron should not be taken as evidence that the Deinomenid clan had no forebears to boast of. On the contrary, other evidence suggests that, in fact, the Emmenids might have been the clan more in need of some genealogical touching-up.¹⁴⁴⁷

Unsurprisingly, in epinician odes that present the *laudandus* as highly confident or autonomous, reintegration and the notion of the 'homecoming of the victor' will be concerns of lesser importance than in odes which adopt a strategy of inclusion.

8.3.2 Regal Terminology.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Cf. *Ol.* 1.109: the hope for new victories, *Ol.* 1.115: the hope that Hieron's rightful power may continue. Many references to the future in the first *Pythian* ode: *Py.* 1.46, 1.56, 1.67, 1.70, 1.71, 1.85, 1.91. B.5.35: a wish for future victories, B.5.197-200: a wish for the continuation of peace. Possibly B.5.193f. It should be noted that the negation of worldly concerns at B.3.88-90 (468 BCE) is a foil for the statement that follows and which asserts that Hieron's glory will survive.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Luraghi (1994: 378f.) on Deinomenid policy: 'si trattava di una politica che possiamo, con tutta la circospezione del caso, definire imperialista, una politica che cerca la guerra, la vittoria, la conquista, probabilmente anche perché era questa l'unica possibile fonte di legittimità cui il tiranno poteva attingere per esorcizzare la sua cronica illegittimità, oltre che per giustificare la militarizzazione della società che lui stesso aveva provocato, ... Terone sembra rimanere, per così dire, un passo indietro. Nel suo caso le fonti ripropongono la connessione tra accantonamento di ricchezza pubblica, edilizia templare e avvento della tirannide, ...'. Cf. Th. 1.17. Luraghi (1994: 378n.3) links Thucydides' remarks with Deinomenid politics. Differently Gomme (1945: 128) who thinks that Thucydides was thinking of Phalaris rather than of the Deinomenids.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Cf. § 5.2.4.1.

There are several passages in the epinician odes where Hieron is either explicitly addressed as king,¹⁴⁴⁸ or where his kingship is implied by association.¹⁴⁴⁹ The Deinomenids apparently did not use the royal title,¹⁴⁵⁰ and propaganda is obviously at work. The question can be asked how regal terminology is distributed in the odes composed for Hieron. When considering this, Pindar's third *Pythian* ode should be disregarded so as to avoid circular argument,¹⁴⁵¹ while caution is needed with passages in Pindar's first *Olympian* ode.¹⁴⁵² Explicit regal terminology for Hieron is very strong in an ode composed in 470 BCE and, if a date of 472 BCE can be accepted for Pindar's first *Olympian* ode, does not occur before 472 BCE. Implicit regal terminology is arguably weak in earlier odes and becomes progressively stronger in the later odes, culminating in a strong instance in Bacchylides' third ode (468 BCE). This is in accordance with the observations in § 8.3.1. It also supports an earlier rather than later date of first performance of Pindar's third *Pythian* ode, since Hieron is explicitly advertised as king.

Theron apparently did not use the royal title.¹⁴⁵³ This is in accordance with the language of Pindar's second *Olympian* ode. In that ode, Theron is praised as a bulwark for Acragas,¹⁴⁵⁴ surely high praise, but not praise that separates him from all other citizens of Acragas.

¹⁴⁴⁸ At *Ol.* 1.23, *Py.* 1.60, *Py.* 1.68, *Py.* 3.70. The passage *Py.* 2.13-15 should not be seen as regal terminology, cf. § 2.1.4.

¹⁴⁴⁹ B.5.6 his straight mind; *Ol.* 1.12 the sceptre; B.4.3 ἀστυθέμιν; B.3.11-2 Zeus as source for Hieron's position.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Cf. Appendix four.

¹⁴⁵¹ Since the regal terminology in the ode is used in the argumentation to date the ode.

¹⁴⁵² For the same reason, but less obviously so, cf. § 2.1.1, Appendix 2.2.

¹⁴⁵³ § 5.2.1, note 1075.

¹⁴⁵⁴ *Ol.* 2.6.

8.3.3 Envy in the epinician odes.

8.3.3.1 Divine Envy.

Divine envy, as opposed to human envy, is a *topos* of praise.¹⁴⁵⁵ Since it does not appear to have a direct bearing on the circumstances of the *laudandus*, it is discussed in the main text.¹⁴⁵⁶

8.3.3.2 Human envy.

A recent enquiry into envy in the epinician odes suggests that the odes which deal with envy have a common link: a situation of exceptional political instability and unrest to which the victor was directly exposed.¹⁴⁵⁷ The same enquiry suggests that it is remarkable that many passages that deal with envy occur in odes composed for Sicilians and Aeginetans, both regions for which political unrest in the first half of the fifth century is well documented.¹⁴⁵⁸ Those passages, however, merit closer scrutiny

¹⁴⁵⁵ Cf. D.L. Cairns (2003: 250).

¹⁴⁵⁶ E.g. Pi. *Py.* 1.85, cf. § 7.2.6, note 1391.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Most (2003: 136) '...if Pindar's references to envy occur most frequently in poems for which we can be fairly confident that they played against a background of political unrest, then those references are compelled neither by Greek lack of sportsmanship nor by the generally applicable laws of the epinician genre, but are instead a response to a real but limited social and political situation, one of potential danger and of the urgent necessity of conciliation and mediation.'

¹⁴⁵⁸ Most (2003: 135). In odes composed for Sicilians: Pi. *Ol.* 1.47, *Py.* 1.85, *Py.* 2.88-90, *Py.* 3.71, B.3.67, B.5.187 (all for Hieron), *Ol.* 2.94 (Theron), *Ol.* 6.7, 6.74-76 (Hagesias), *Isth.* 2.43 (Xenocrates/ Thrasybulus). Pi. *Ol.* 5.24 is generic praise, cf. D.L. Cairns (2003: 250). Cf. § 7.2.6

and it is argued that some of them only apparently refer to circumstances of the *laudandus*. A passage in Pindar's first *Olympian* ode,¹⁴⁵⁹ for example, deals with envious neighbours in a section of the Pelops myth. It is part of Pindar's myth revision and is surely only tangentially linked with the circumstances of the *laudandus*,¹⁴⁶⁰ if at all. A passage in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode,¹⁴⁶¹ is praise in litotes for Theron's munificence,¹⁴⁶² and has very little to do with envy of other citizens towards the *laudandus* in his capacity of victor or tyrant. The two passages in odes composed for Hagesias at first sight are more ambiguous, but they, too, can be explained in generic terms.¹⁴⁶³ Apart from a passage in Pindar's second *Isthmian* ode,¹⁴⁶⁴ there are five other instances, all in odes for Hieron.¹⁴⁶⁵ These passages all relate to human envy. They warn against its negative consequences, and they deny its applicability to the

note 1391. Envy in odes composed for Aeginetan victors: *Ol.* 8.55 (Alcimedon) *Py.* 8.72 (Aristomenes), *Ne.* 3.9 (Aristocleidas), *Ne.* 4.39 (Timasarchus), *Ne.* 8.21 (Deinias), *Isth.* 5.24 (Phylacidas), *B.* 13.199 (Pytheas). Envy in odes for Theban victors: *Py.* 11.29, 54 (Thrasydaeus), *Isth.* 1.44 (Herodotus), *Isth.* 7.39 (Strepsiadas).

¹⁴⁵⁹ *Ol.* 1.47 ἔννεπε κρυφᾷ τις αὐτίκα φθονερῶν γειτόνων.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Unless one is ready to accept that at this stage of the ode, a contemporary audience would parallel the *laudandus* somehow with Tantalus envied by his neighbours for having entertained the gods. Surely, the *laudandus* is here, as Most (1993: 136) remarks on *Ol.* 7.6, 'removed from the immediate circumstances of the victor's situation.' On Pindar's myth revision in the first *Olympian* ode, cf. § 2.3.3.

¹⁴⁶¹ *Ol.* 2.94 εὐεργέταν πραπίσιν ἀφθονέστερόν τε χέρα Θήρωνος.

¹⁴⁶² A rhetorical device which is very common in Pindar, cf. Race (1983).

¹⁴⁶³ Cf. § 3.2.4.1 on *Ol.* 6.7, *Ol.* 6.74-76. Erbse (1999: 17) rightly remarks that allusions to political unrest would have been out of place since Hieron was present during the first performance of the ode.

¹⁴⁶⁴ *Isth.* 2.43 μή νυν, ὅτι φθονεραὶ θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἐλπίδες. Cf. § 6.1.3, § 6.1.4 where it is argued that this passage might well refer to political unrest.

¹⁴⁶⁵ *Py.* 2.88-90: envious people cause their own ruin, *B.* 5.187: when one is successful, envy should not obstruct praise, *Py.* 1.85: envy [sc. human envy, not divine envy, cf. D.L. Cairns (2003: 250)] is better than pity, *B.* 3.67: when one is not inherently envious, one praises Hieron, *Py.* 3.71: Hieron does not begrudge the ἀγαθοὶ [sc. the wealthy upper class, cf. § 2.6.3].

laudandus, stressing that envy, although a necessary concomitant of success, cannot or should not prevent praise. It was surely Hieron's own choice to include the topic of envy in these odes.¹⁴⁶⁶ Interestingly, these references seem to crop up in odes that span Hieron's whole career as tyrant of Syracuse.¹⁴⁶⁷ That observation does not necessarily contradict the suggestion of this enquiry that in the earlier odes for Hieron the *laudandus* speaks of his rule and power with considerable reticence, while the later odes show much more unconditional and defiant expressions of power and rule. Instead, it can be understood as support for the suggestion that the Deinomenid tyranny was militaristic to a considerable degree.¹⁴⁶⁸ In such an environment simmering discontent would be unsurprising. Tentatively one could argue that in the earliest ode composed for Hieron, Pindar's second *Pythian*, envy is taken very seriously as a real and present danger,¹⁴⁶⁹ whereas in later odes envy is presented as something more manageable. In an ode for which a late date of first performance is suggested, Pindar's third *Pythian* ode, envy is dealt with from the perspective of the *laudandus*, which suggests that envy harboured by others was no longer a problem for the *laudandus*.¹⁴⁷⁰

If envy in odes composed for Hieron indeed reflects underlying political unrest, then the absence of the envy motif in odes for Theron can be explained as a consequence of the relations of the tyranny with the general population and the political

¹⁴⁶⁶ In odes composed for Theron, human envy does not appear to be a concern, see below.

¹⁴⁶⁷ In odes composed in 478, 476, 470 and 468 BCE.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Luraghi (1994: 364) and § 2.1.6 on the concluding section of Pindar's second *Pythian* ode.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Cf. *Py.* 2.84-100 where the enviers are prominent. The ode leaves little doubt as to how they will be dealt with.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Consequently, Kurke's (1991: 220f.) argument that in odes composed for tyrants there are no attempts to defuse φθόνος as a result of success, oversimplifies matters. Moreover, Pindar's second *Pythian* ode shows that not always 'the enviers are mocked rather than mollified.' (*ibid.*).

elite, which appear to have been less strained in the case of the Emmenid tyranny than in case of the Deinomenids.¹⁴⁷¹

8.3.4 Expressions of literal immortality in the odes.

By becoming the oecist of a newly founded Aetna in 476 BCE, Hieron seems to have actively sought literal immortality.¹⁴⁷² In the odes composed later in his career wishes for literal immortality appear to be openly expressed. There surely can be little doubt, for example, about the *laudandus*' intention in Bacchylides' third ode.¹⁴⁷³ In the odes composed early in his career it appears that such wishes are only deftly touched upon,¹⁴⁷⁴ or expressed with much reticence. Those odes show a certain reticence on the subject of literal immortality. This raises the questions why this wish for literal immortality becomes progressively more clearly voiced in later odes. Possibly, such a wish to be put on a par with real heroes already during one's lifetime may have been perceived as presumptuous. On the view taken above this would have been particularly problematic in the earlier odes for Hieron, but less so in the later ones. In Pindar's first *Olympian* ode, for example, a rhetorical stance is adopted which allows the expression of such wishes without incurring accusations of presumptuousness. Be that as it may, in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode for Theron literal immortality is clearly an important concern and is expressed without any reticence. Some have argued that this makes

¹⁴⁷¹ Cf. § 5.2.1.

¹⁴⁷² Cf. Appendix five.

¹⁴⁷³ Cf. § 2.5.4.

¹⁴⁷⁴ E.g. the sentiment of *Lebensbejahung* in B.5, cf. § 2.2.4.

the ode atypical.¹⁴⁷⁵ This enquiry, however, argues that the 'eschatological passage' in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode is a principled statement on the possibility of such immortality, not so much an expression of Theron's wish to be worshipped posthumously as a hero.¹⁴⁷⁶ This enquiry maintains that the 'eschatological passage' was addressed to a wider range of people and not solely to the *laudandus*.

In odes for *laudandi* other than tyrants, perhaps unsurprisingly, expressions of literal immortality do not seem to be a concern. Arguably, for these *laudandi* the expression of such wishes was not to be considered. This enquiry argues against the suggestion of some scholars that a passage in an ode for Chromius alludes to literal immortality.¹⁴⁷⁷ However, it is perhaps significant that scholars raise this possibility for an ode which this enquiry identifies as the most unproblematic one composed, and commissioned by a close associate of Hieron.

8.4 Detailed discussion of results: Audience types.

In the corpus of eighteen odes composed for Sicilians, this enquiry categorises three odes as *in situ* odes. Bacchylides' fourth ode, and Pindar's third and fourth *Olympian* odes all appear to have been performed for the first time as part of the celebrations at the games. The only ode for which there is general consensus on its *in situ* status is

¹⁴⁷⁵ Robbins (1997: 259f.): atypical in its directness of expression of literal immortality.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Cf. § 5.2.3, Appendix five.

¹⁴⁷⁷ *Ne.* 1.32f. Cf. § 3.1.5.2.

Bacchylides' fourth ode.¹⁴⁷⁸ But there are good reasons for also considering Pindar's third and fourth *Olympian* odes as *in situ* odes.¹⁴⁷⁹ The strategy of silence, which this enquiry identifies in Bacchylides' fourth ode,¹⁴⁸⁰ can be felt in Pindar's third *Olympian* ode as well. The *laudandus* is praised in that ode as if the tyrant-victor were a private citizen and the home city of the *laudandus* is singled out for praise, in accordance with the practice in dedicatory monuments at Panhellenic sites. That Camarina in Pindar's fourth *Olympian* ode for Psaumis is only mentioned in passing, however, should not be interpreted as evidence against the *in situ* status of the ode: Camarina was an unprepossessing city and the ode attempts to prop up her image before a Panhellenic audience.¹⁴⁸¹

All odes were surely reperformed at later occasions, at home and abroad.¹⁴⁸² Consequently, they will have been composed with different audiences in mind. Pindar's first *Pythian* ode and his ninth *Nemean* ode are particularly clear examples of odes that were designed with the purpose of addressing audiences in different parts of the Greek world.¹⁴⁸³ This could potentially pose difficult problems for the poet since the margin of disagreement between patron message and beliefs of the audience could be

¹⁴⁷⁸ Cf. Gelzer (1985) for an overview of scholarship. He includes Pi. *Ol.* 4, 11, 14, *Py.* 6, 7, *Ne.* 2, B.2, B.4, B.6. Contrast with Lehnus (1981: 125) who accepts only two odes as *in situ* odes, Pi. *Ol.* 8 'verosimile', *Ol.* 3, 'Acrigenti, ma anche, se si vuole, Olimpia.'

¹⁴⁷⁹ Cf. § 5.1, 7.2.3.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Cf. § 2.4.3.

¹⁴⁸¹ Cf. § 7.2.4, 7.2.5.

¹⁴⁸² Cf. § 1.4.

¹⁴⁸³ In *Py.* 1: attracting mercenaries and new settlers. In *Ne.* 9: attracting mercenaries and new settlers, securing reperformances. Possibly in *Ol.* 2: accommodating Pythagorean or Orphic eschatology to civic values in order to make the content of the ode more acceptable for audiences outside Sicily.

rather large.¹⁴⁸⁴ The potential of an epinician ode to engage in debate a variety of audiences is a feature of the epinician genre that is often underestimated.

8.5 Detailed discussion of results – Other scholarship.

With regard to the notions of ‘middling’ ideology *versus* a more elitist tradition,¹⁴⁸⁵ this enquiry comes to the following conclusion. In most of the odes composed for *laudandi* other than tyrants ‘middling’ ideology can be detected since the *laudandi* often assimilate themselves to the civic values of the polis when they attempt to counter suspicions which their fellow citizens might have harboured against them. Assuming that most of the *laudandi* were very wealthy, it is rather unsurprising to notice attempts at neutralising the effects of excessive wealth.¹⁴⁸⁶ However, this also happens in odes composed for tyrants.¹⁴⁸⁷ Unsurprisingly, in odes composed for tyrants the *laudandus* is frequently advertised as having privileged links with the gods, something which defines them as belonging to the elitist tradition. Epinician can stress such extraordinary links between mortals and gods, however, in odes composed for *laudandi* other than tyrants as well.¹⁴⁸⁸

¹⁴⁸⁴ Pace Walker (2000: 164f.). He is right, however, to say that the archaic poets could not place themselves in total opposition to the dominant value-schemes of their culture. Surely concepts such as e.g. guest-friendship could never be contradicted in epinician odes.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Cf. § 1.3 note 16.

¹⁴⁸⁶ A feature of ‘middling’ ideology.

¹⁴⁸⁷ E.g. Pi. *Ol.* 2.94, *Py.* 2.58-61, B.3.63-66. B.3.10-17,

¹⁴⁸⁸ E.g. *Ol.* 6.72: one of Hagesias’ ancestors is a god, but this passage is foremost praise of the clan and the *laudandus* is praised mainly for civic values. *Næ.* 1.8-9: Chromius is praised for his ‘divine beginnings’. Perhaps he could be praised in such terms since he appears to be an unproblematic victor.

Deception, or better 'spin', lies at the heart of the epinician form.¹⁴⁸⁹ While neither Pindar nor most *laudandi* were interested in strict fidelity to the truth, surely not all claims that epinician makes are wholly insincere nor mere propaganda. However, it is often difficult to tell where truth ends and propaganda begins, with the possible exception of the odes composed for Hieron,¹⁴⁹⁰ especially in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode. In the case of most other *laudandi* it is often difficult to tell whether they genuinely embrace the dominant civic values of the polis or only do so for reasons of propaganda. Consequently, the epinician odes should be handled with care when used as tools to investigating differences between 'middling' ideology *versus* elitist traditions.

The notions 'home-coming of the victor' and 'reintegration of the victor in his home town',¹⁴⁹¹ are challenged in § 8.1. The historical record shows that being a Panhellenic victor could indeed be a prelude to tyranny.¹⁴⁹² It is undoubtedly true that an athlete with a Panhellenic victory temporarily steps outside the bounds of conventional experience. However, this enquiry does not support the view that a returning victor's status is problematic in so far as he, in his capacity as victor, might be aspiring to tyranny.¹⁴⁹³ Instead, this enquiry suggests that if the *laudandus* was problematic, then in most cases he was already problematic before entering into

¹⁴⁸⁹ On epinician truth, cf. Pratt (1993: 7f., 110ff.).

¹⁴⁹⁰ Since more is known about the socio-political circumstances under which the odes for Hieron were composed than for any other Sicilian *laudandus*.

¹⁴⁹¹ Cf. § 1.3.

¹⁴⁹² Cylon e.g. was an Olympic victor before he acquired the tyranny, cf. Hdt. 5.71, Th. 1.126 Paus. 1.28.1, Berve (1976: 539ff.) The same is true for Miltiades the Elder, cf. Hdt. 6.36.103, Paus. 6.19.6, Berve (1976: 566ff.) and Miltiades the Younger, cf. Andok. 4.33, Berve (1976: 568).

¹⁴⁹³ E.g. Dougherty's (1993: 103) use of 'temporarily' indicates that she thinks of the victory as problematic in that context.

Panhellenic competition. This enquiry shows that in an epinician ode *laudandi* can address possible suspicions among mainland Greeks,¹⁴⁹⁴ and the wider Panhellenic community,¹⁴⁹⁵ as well as his fellow citizens,¹⁴⁹⁶ their overlord,¹⁴⁹⁷ or even prospective migrants to their home community.¹⁴⁹⁸

While some have argued that moderation of praise is not a concern in odes composed for tyrants,¹⁴⁹⁹ this enquiry suggests that in odes composed for Hieron early in his career the *laudandus* is certainly more careful. Admittedly, portrayal of μεγαλοπρέπεια in odes for tyrants appears to be less problematic than in odes for other the *laudandi*.¹⁵⁰⁰

In the case of some *laudandi* the opportunity offered by a Panhellenic victory to engage in debate with audiences may well have been an incentive to compete at all. In particular, for Hagesias of Syracuse and for Psaumis of Camarina, the odes and

¹⁴⁹⁴ As e.g. in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode in which suspicions about the efforts of the Western Greeks in the Persian wars are countered. Cf. Appendix three.

¹⁴⁹⁵ As e.g. in Pindar's fourth *Olympian* ode in which suspicions around the ethnicity and unprepossessing home city of the *laudandus* are addressed.

¹⁴⁹⁶ As e.g. in Pindar's fifth *Olympian* ode in which the *laudandus* assures his fellow citizens that he, his great μεγαλοπρέπεια notwithstanding, does not harbour political ambitions irreconcilable with the democratic constitution of the time. Cf. § 7.2.1. Tentatively, the same could be true with regard to Pindar's sixth *Pythian* ode and second *Isthmian* ode, although there the *laudandus* himself is not the victor.

¹⁴⁹⁷ As e.g. in Pindar's sixth *Olympian* ode in which the *laudandus* counters suspicions Hieron might be harbouring about the political ambitions on Hagesias' part. These suspicions arose out of a complex of factors, not only because the *laudandus* was an Olympic victor.

¹⁴⁹⁸ As e.g. in Pindar's ninth *Nemean* ode in which hints at εὐνομία advertise Hieron's military camp Aetna as a congenial place to settle, cf. § 3.1.4.1. Likewise in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode ἐλευθερία and undertones of εὐνομία and ἰσονομία serve the same purpose, cf. § 2.4.4.3.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Pace Kurke (1991: 220ff.).

¹⁵⁰⁰ Less problematic in view of the links between tyranny and μεγαλοπρέπεια. Hence in Pindar's fifth *Olympian* ode, advertisement of Psaumis' μεγαλοπρέπεια is a careful balancing act, cf. § 7.2.6.

accompanying festivities might have been excellent opportunities to accommodate reconciliation.

With regard to the notions of *Polisideologie* and *Herrschaftssystem*, some remarks can be added to what is said in § 8.2. This enquiry does not deny that these outlooks are often associated with rhetorical strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Indeed, strategies of exclusion are more at home in odes composed for tyrants.¹⁵⁰¹ However, such strategies are also found in odes for *laudandi* other than tyrants,¹⁵⁰² whereas strategies of inclusion are used in odes for tyrants.¹⁵⁰³ Consequently, the notion that a certain ode promotes either a *Herrschaftssystem* or, alternatively, a *Polisideologie* is in many cases too schematic since the odes seldom portray the *laudandus* exclusively as ruler or as citizen.

¹⁵⁰¹ Especially in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode, but much less so in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode.

¹⁵⁰² E.g. *Py.* 6.45, *Ne.* 1.8f., *Ne.* 9.46ff. and everywhere else where this *ne plus ultra* motif is used, cf. note 409.

¹⁵⁰³ E.g. in Pindar's second *Olympian* ode, in his second *Pythian* ode and in Bacchylides' fifth ode.

APPENDICES.

Appendix one - Two notes on chronology.

App. 1.1 Chronology of the Pythian festival.

The majority of modern scholars take 582 BCE as the beginning of the Pythian era.

Much of earlier scholarship, however, followed Pausanias' date of 586 BCE as the start of the Pythian cycle.¹⁵⁰⁴ This date is also used in the Pindaric scholiast and four years need to be subtracted. Whereas a few scholars still accept Pausanias' date,¹⁵⁰⁵ in this enquiry the Pythian dating with 582 BCE as the starting point is used.

App. 1.2 Diodoran chronology.

Ephorus' κατὰ γένος style ('by topics') was adopted by Diodorus to accommodate the material to an annalistic,¹⁵⁰⁶ year-by-year presentation.¹⁵⁰⁷ As a consequence of this method and perhaps also because of *horror vacui*, Diodorus noted for every year at least one event.¹⁵⁰⁸ Much of the Sicilian history which concerns this enquiry is contained in Diodorus' book eleven. There are discrepancies in that book between

¹⁵⁰⁴ Cf. *Marmor Parium FGtHist* 239 F 52-54, Σ *Py. hyp.* a-d καὶ δὴ τοῦτον χρηματίτην μόνον ἔθετο... ὕστερον καὶ στεφανίτην ἔθεντο κατορθώσαντες. Paus. 10.7.2-7. Gildersleeve (1890) is a scholar who follows the Pausanian dating.

¹⁵⁰⁵ E.g. Miller (1978), Brodersen (1990).

¹⁵⁰⁶ His anchors are Olympiads, archons and consuls.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Cf. D.S. 5.1.4.

¹⁵⁰⁸ E.g. D.S. 38.1 Ἐπ' ἀρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Τιμοσθένους κτλ.....ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν κ.τ.λ.. Haillet (2001: xxix) lists the instances.

Diodorus and Varro.¹⁵⁰⁹ At the beginning of Diodorus' book eleven the discrepancy between the two is seven years, whereas for the Diodoran years 477/6-453/2 BCE Diodorus is six years ahead. In the last chapters (451/0 BCE) the difference is again seven years. Scholarly opinion is divided, yet this is not the place to go into the details of that debate.¹⁵¹⁰ For the inauguration of Hieron's Aetna, Diodorus gives 476/5 BCE. The vast majority of scholars now accept this date and only very few dissenting voices date it to 471/0 BCE.¹⁵¹¹ This enquiry follows the traditional chronology throughout.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Haillet (2001: xxix).

¹⁵¹⁰ Cf. Scherr (1933), Bickermann (1969), Samuel (1972).

¹⁵¹¹ E.g. Will (1972: 28). Bicknell (1986: 29-35) disputes the traditional date for the fall of the Emmenid tyranny, 472/1 BCE, and dates that event to 467/6 BCE.

Appendix two – The date of the victory celebrated in Pindar's first *Olympian* ode.

App. 2.1 Hieron's victories.

Hieron seems to have been victorious seven times in equestrian events: four times in the category of the single-horse race (κέλης),¹⁵¹² and three times in the category of (the more prestigious) four-horse chariot race (τέθριππος or ἄρμα).¹⁵¹³ After Hieron's death in 467/6 BCE, his son Deinomenes set up a votive offering on his behalf. Pausanias reports the epigram on the base, and from that we learn that Hieron won one Olympic chariot victory as well as two Olympic race-horse victories.¹⁵¹⁴ Pausanias also describes the votive offering itself.¹⁵¹⁵ This led Ebert to suggest that Pherenikos could only have been involved in one Olympic victory and that a horse other than Pherenikos must have won the other Olympic victory.¹⁵¹⁶ On that interpretation, Bacchylides' fifth ode and Pindar's first *Olympian* celebrate the same victory since both odes mention the horse Pherenikos.¹⁵¹⁷

¹⁵¹² Cf. Σ Pi. *Py.* 1 *inscr.*, Σ Pi. *Py.* 3 *inscr.* : two victories at the Pythian games, viz. in 482 BCE and 478 BCE. Cf. *P.Oxy* 222, Moretti (1957: 90, 92) numbers 221 and 234: two victories at the Olympic games, viz. in August 476 BCE and 472 BCE.

¹⁵¹³ Cf. Σ Pi. *Py.* 1 *inscr.* : at Delphi in 470 BCE. Cf. Σ Pi. *Ol.* 1 *inscr.*, *P.Oxy* 222, Moretti (1957: 92) number 246: at Olympia in 468 BCE. Cf. Σ *Py.* 2 *inscr.*: another victory at an unknown locality.

¹⁵¹⁴ Paus. 8.42.8-9.

¹⁵¹⁵ Paus. 6.12.1 κέλητες δὲ ἵπποι παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα εἰς ἐκατέρωθεν ἔστηκε.

¹⁵¹⁶ Ebert (1972: 73).

¹⁵¹⁷ Pi. *Ol.* 1.18, B.5.37, 5.184, cf. Jebb (1905: 198), Severyns (1933: 76, 89f.).

This, however, need not necessarily be true. There could well have been more than one Pherenikos,¹⁵¹⁸ assuming that the name of the horse would be a generic one. Alternatively, the composition of the votive offering as described by Pausanias could have been influenced by a desire for symmetry.

There are other mentions of Pherenikos as a victorious horse, owned by Hieron,¹⁵¹⁹ and Pherenikos has become a focal point in establishing dates for other victory odes.¹⁵²⁰

App. 2.2 An alternative dating for Pindar's first *Olympian* ode.

It is worthwhile, however, to explore the possibility that Pindar's first *Olympian* ode and Bacchylides' fifth ode in fact celebrate different victories. The mention of two κέλῃς victories in *P.Oxy* 222 gives two possible dates for the victory celebrated in Pindar's first *Olympian*, namely August 476 BCE and August 472 BCE.¹⁵²¹ Against the latter date, three arguments are invariably levelled. First, Pindar's first *Olympian* ode does not mention the foundation of Aetna,¹⁵²² or Hieron's victory at Cumae in 474 BCE. It is then argued that an ode, composed in 472 BCE, should not fail to do so. Second, neither Pindar's first *Olympian* ode nor Bacchylides' fifth ode mention an earlier Olympic victory, which would, it is argued, have been necessary had the odes, or at

¹⁵¹⁸ Fennell (1893) on *Py.* 3.74, 'Surely the Pherenikos of *Py.* 3 was grandsire to the Pherenikos of *Ol.* 1.'

¹⁵¹⁹ Cf. *Pi. Py.* 3.74, *B. fr.* 20C.9 (in an encomium for Hieron), ΣΣ *Pi. Ol.* 1 *ad init.* Cf. *P.Oxy* 222: once under *Ol.* 76/1 and once under *Ol.* 77/1.

¹⁵²⁰ Cf. Fraccaroli (1901: *passim*), Jebb (1905: 198), Wilamowitz (1922: 283), Farnell (1932: 3-4), Severyns (1933: 76, 89ff.), Gentili *et al.* (1995: 417), Maehler (1982^b: 64, 78-80).

¹⁵²¹ Both times Hieron is referred to as Συρακόσιος.

¹⁵²² Sometime in 476 BCE.

least one of them, been performed in 472 BCE. Third, Pherenikos would have been too old to be victorious again in 472 BCE.¹⁵²³ Fraccaroli convincingly dealt with these three arguments.¹⁵²⁴ The refutation of the first objection is *non de rebus omnibus*. If Aetna is mentioned in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode, this is because Pindar's first *Pythian* ode specifically deals with the foundation of Aetna. The fact that Aetna does not feature explicitly in Pindar's first *Olympian* ode or in Bacchylides' fifth ode may be explained by the fact that Hieron did not consider it necessary to mention Aetna.¹⁵²⁵ Bacchylides' third ode may serve as refutation of the second objection. It certainly celebrated Hieron's Olympic chariot victory in 468 BCE, yet mentions no other victory at all.¹⁵²⁶ Finally, against the third objection a number of ancient sources can be levelled, which testify that a career for a race-horse of eight or even twenty years was not impossible.¹⁵²⁷ Perhaps Pherenikos is best left in peace, as he seems to generate more problems than solutions. Likewise, all arguments based on sojourns in Sicily of Bacchylides and Pindar are also best avoided.¹⁵²⁸

¹⁵²³ Since he seems to have won already in 478 BCE and in 476 BCE (and possibly in 482 BCE as well). Cf. Wilamowitz (1922: 283).

¹⁵²⁴ Fraccaroli (1901: 385-395). Astonishingly, modern scholarship keeps mentioning these three objections against a date of 472 BCE, but seems to have forgotten Fraccaroli's solutions.

¹⁵²⁵ Fraccaroli (1901: 389) adding '*..a me pare molto pericoloso il voler affermare a priori che cosa il poeta debba dire in quale tale occasione e a che cosa debba alludere*'. Be that as it may, *Ol.* 1.24 ἀποικία and the passage at *Ol.* 1.90-93 might be alluding to Aetna. Cf. § 2.3.1.

¹⁵²⁶ And neither does Pindar's first *Pythian* ode of 470 BCE mention the Olympic victories of 476 and 472 BCE.

¹⁵²⁷ Cf. Jebb (1905: 198n.1) notes Pelagonius *de arte veterin.* p.32 *lhm equos circo sacrisque certaminibus quinquennes usque ad annum xx plerumque idoneos adseverant*. Cf. Hdt. 6.103 where one and the same team of horses is victorious in three consecutive Olympic games. Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 61.2 Bucephalas thirty years old.

¹⁵²⁸ The suggestions in Fraccaroli (1901: 396-401) are attractive. However, there is no external documentary evidence for any such visits or, for that matter, for any direct contacts between

The upshot of the discussion is that there are no major objections in assigning different victories to Bacchylides' fifth ode and Pindar's first *Olympian* ode. Moreover, in view of the importance of the victory ode as a tool in the victor's or clan's self-expression, it seems positively odd that Hieron should have commissioned two odes for his victory in 476 BCE, whereas the victory of 472 BCE should not have been celebrated with an ode.¹⁵²⁹ The manner in which Bacchylides' fifth ode mentions a Pythian victory,¹⁵³⁰ strongly suggests that Bacchylides' fifth ode celebrated the victory won in 476 BCE. Consequently, there is nothing that prohibits dating the victory celebrated in Pindar's first *Olympian* ode to 472 BCE.¹⁵³¹

poets and patrons in Sicily. Lefkowitz (1981) shows that all ancient biographical material relating to the lives of poets should be treated with great scepticism.

¹⁵²⁹ Fraccaroli (1901: 389). Cf. Gentili (1958: 14) 'ipotesi questa poco verosimile'. Two odes for one victory of course is not an anomaly: Pindar's fifth *Nemean* and Bacchylides thirteenth ode celebrate the same victory. However, two odes for one victory and another equally prestigious victory uncelebrated might be problematic. That one ode for an important patron as was Hieron was lost seems unlikely: in any case we seem to possess the complete epinician corpus of both Bacchylides and Pindar. Cf. Maehler (2004: 28), Irigoin (1952: 20). That another poet had composed the ode for the victory of 472 BCE cannot be excluded but seems unlikely in view of Hieron's choice of either Pindar or Bacchylides for his victories from 476 until 468 BCE.

¹⁵³⁰ B.5.37-41. Cf. Maehler (2004: 107).

¹⁵³¹ Cf. § 2.3.3 for the internal evidence.

Appendix three - Attitudes towards the Western Greeks post 480/79 BCE.

It is suggested that the success of the Western-Greeks at Himera in 480 BCE was not well known.¹⁵³² Hence for mainland Greeks, Salamis must have been of a totally different order than Himera. For citizens of Sparta or Athens, the barbarian in 480 BCE was only one, the Persian.¹⁵³³ The Sicilian achievements against the barbarian in the West (which includes Himera as well as the battle of Cumae in 474 BCE) might even have been looked upon with disdain by mainland Greeks.¹⁵³⁴ Arguably this might have been a reason to publicise counter-propaganda.¹⁵³⁵ Pindar's first *Pythian* ode might be such a piece of propaganda designed in part to counter such negative attitudes.¹⁵³⁶ The Herodotean Sicilian Embassy scene might support this suggestion. This scene, part of an elaborate *Rahmenerzählung*, relates the four failed attempts of the mainland Greeks at procuring assistance against the Persians.¹⁵³⁷ Modern scholarship is

¹⁵³² Cf. Gauthier (1966: 24). He surveys the literary tradition of the fifth century and argues that mainland Greeks were not well-informed in 415 BCE. Cf. Th. 6.1.1, 17.6, 20.2. This situation, he argues, must have been worse half a century earlier. Sartori (1992) is a survey of the Sicilian efforts against the Carthaginians.

¹⁵³³ And based on the Thucydidean passages in the note above, this was still the case in 450 BCE.

¹⁵³⁴ Gauthier (1966: 24). Cf. Hubbard (2001: 394n.27).

¹⁵³⁵ It is worth noting that the games in 476 BCE were exceptionally rich in victories for Western Greece. Cf. Moretti (1957: 89-90). Six out of thirteen victors were Sicilian. It is tempting to link those eagerly participating Sicilians with counter-propaganda.

¹⁵³⁶ Similar propaganda may well lay behind D.S. 11.23.2: the victory at Himera actually gave the Greeks the courage to defeat the Persians. Meister (1976: 42f.) suspects the patriot Timaeus behind this statement in Diodorus.

¹⁵³⁷ Hdt. 7.157-162. The other Greek embassies: to Argos (Hdt.7.148ff.), to Corcyra (Hdt. 7.168ff.), to Crete (Hdt. 7.169). Cf. Bichler (1985: 62): all four stories answer the implicit

generally of the opinion that they are altogether unhistorical.¹⁵³⁸ Be that as it may, what the Herodotean Sicilian Embassy scene tells is that for a mainland Greek, Gelon (and by extension, Hieron), even taking into account the Deinomenid victory over the Carthaginians in 480 BCE, was not really excused.¹⁵³⁹ The Herodotean Sicilian Embassy scene might in fact have been a reflection of Deinomenid pretensions whereby Herodotus counters the propaganda of the Deinomenids after Salamis.¹⁵⁴⁰ Pindar's first *Pythian* ode might have been part of such Deinomenid propaganda. The insistence on synchronicity between the battle of Salamis and that of Himera might be part of the same propaganda.¹⁵⁴¹ However, we cannot tell whether this originated with the Deinomenids or was a later Deinomenid-friendly addition. Finally, an anecdote related by Plutarch is worth mentioning. Plutarch tells a story in which Themistocles at the Olympian games of 476 BCE roused the Greeks to tear down Hieron's tent and prohibit him from taking part in the games.¹⁵⁴² Aelian connects the story with the failure to assist the Greeks earlier.¹⁵⁴³ The whole episode seems improbable and the attack of Themistocles in all likelihood is modelled on similar stories by Lysias, who attacked

question 'Warum traten diese mächtigen Staatswesen anno 480/79 nicht auf Seiten der Hellenen in den Krieg ein?'

¹⁵³⁸ Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 421-23), Gauthier (1966: 19), Bravo (1993: 55-56), Luraghi (1994: 367n.409).

¹⁵³⁹ Cf. Gauthier (1966: 20-25) on Hdt 7.157-162: '...sans valeur, mais révélatrice.'

¹⁵⁴⁰ Zahrnt (1993: 374).

¹⁵⁴¹ Synchronicity is *prima facie* very unlikely. It was first noted by Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 186). Hdt. 7.166 synchronises Himera with Salamis. D.S. 11.24 with Thermopylae. Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 420ff.), Luraghi (1994: 304ff.).

¹⁵⁴² Plut. *Them.* 25.1.

¹⁵⁴³ Aelian *V.H.* 9.5 τὸν μὴ μεταλαβόντα (sc. Hieronem) τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν κινδύνων τῶν πανηγύρεων μεταλαμβάνειν μὴ δεῖν. Cf. Plut. *Them.* 24.7: Themistocles asks Hieron to give his daughter in marriage, promising αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑπηκόους ποιήσειν.

Dionysius the Elder during the games of 388 or 384 BCE.¹⁵⁴⁴ Be that as it may, importantly, Plutarch says he took his story from Theophrastus. This suggests that in the fourth century BCE the mainland Greeks still might have perceived the Deinomenids as traitors.¹⁵⁴⁵

¹⁵⁴⁴ Gauthier (1966: 31). He notes that in particular the mention of luxury (Hieron's σκηνή) and the invitation to pillage the tent clearly point to a doublet. Cf. D.S. 14.109, Dion. Hal. *Lysias* 29ff. (= Lys. 33 *hypothesis*).

¹⁵⁴⁵ Gauthier (1966: 32).

Appendix four – Did the Deinomenids use the royal title?¹⁵⁴⁶

Instances of historical persons who are named 'king' are rare in our corpus of early Greek lyric.¹⁵⁴⁷ Pindar refers to Arcesilas IV of Cyrene as a legitimate king, something that accurately reflects Arcesilas' status.¹⁵⁴⁸ However, in a number of Pindaric passages Hieron is referred to as βασιλεύς as well,¹⁵⁴⁹ whereas a contemporary audience would surely associate a few other instances with kingship.¹⁵⁵⁰ Apart from some information in Herodotus and Diodorus,¹⁵⁵¹ there is only one piece of epigraphical data which could be advanced in favour of use of the royal title: an inscription on the base supporting the bronze statue of the charioteer of Delphi.¹⁵⁵² How exactly this

¹⁵⁴⁶ That Theron did not use the royal title is argued in § 5.2.1, note 1075.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Apart from the Pindaric instances, cf. Sim. *PMG* 531.7: Leonidas, Thimot. *PMG* 791.171, 174: the Persian king.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Hdt. 4.159-67, 200-5. Carlier (1984: 474-76).

¹⁵⁴⁹ Hieron: *OI.* 1.23, *Py.* 3.70. Deinomenes: *Py.* 1.60, Hieron and Deinomenes: *Py.* 1.68, Arcesilas of Cyrene *Py.* 4.2 and *Py.* 5.15. The passage *Py.* 2.13-15 should not be included in this list, cf. § 2.1.4.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Significantly, all for Hieron: B.3.11-12. Zeus as source for Hieron's position. B.4.3 ἀστύθεμιν, B.5.6 φρένα δ' εὐθύδικ[ο]ν his straight mind, cf. Maehler (1982^b: 88), Pi. *OI.* 1.12 θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει σκάπτρον, cf. Mann (2000: 39) who notes that traditional elements (like the sceptre) are assimilated to legitimise leadership.

¹⁵⁵¹ Hdt. 7.161.1 Ὡ βασιλεὺ Συρηκοσίων (Gelon), Hdt. 7.159: Gelon compared with the paradigmatic king Agamemnon who is βασιλεύτατος, cf. Hom I 69, cf. Griffiths (1976: 23f.), Diod. 11.26.6: εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα (Gelon), D.S. 11.66.1: Hieron βασιλεύς explicitly contrasting tyranny with kingship.

¹⁵⁵² *CEG* 397. Cf. Ebert (1972: 13), Zambelli (1952), Rolley (1990), Maehler (2002). The first line of the inscription has been altered, but the original text is not completely erased and reads ...Γ] ΕΛΑΣ ΑΝΕ[Θ]ΕΚΕ[Ν] Α[Ν]ΑΣΣ[ΟΝ]. Using the ionic alphabet, this was later changed into ...Π]ΟΛΥΖΑΛΟΣ Μ ΑΝΕΘΗΚ[ΕΝ].

inscription should be interpreted is much disputed.¹⁵⁵³ Most scholars, however, accept that the Deinomenids did not use the title of king.¹⁵⁵⁴ On that interpretation, Hieron did not use the title but wanted it to be mentioned in epinician odes composed for him order to be portrayed as a legal ruler. Some scholars argue that this can be linked with a contemporary antithesis between tyranny and freedom, especially after the Persian Wars.¹⁵⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵³ ANΑΣΣΩΝ is crucial. Much of the later literature is concerned with who was actually the dedicator, and at what point the change was made and by whom. Zambelli (1952: 155ff.) and Maehler (2002) suggest that B.4.11-13 alludes to a relinquished victory by Hieron as compensation for depriving Polyzelus of the rule of Gela. Robbins (1990: 318), Luraghi (1994: 330-31, 331n.243) argue for a chariot victory of Polyzelus in 474 BCE. Harrell (2002: 458ff.) argues that Polyzelus was responsible for ANΑΣΣΩΝ, which was then removed because it was not in accordance with the idiom required at Panhellenic sites, see § 2.4.3.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 385, 426ff.), Stauffenberg (1963: 202), Berve (1967: 144, 603f.), Asheri (1992^b: 149), Luraghi (1994: 356f.). Differently Oost (1976: 225-36).

¹⁵⁵⁵ Ferrill (1978: 394-98), Harrell (2002: 455).

Appendix five – The desire for posthumous hero-worship.

Modern scholarship routinely reports that all Sicilian tyrants of the first half of the fifth century received a posthumous hero-cult.¹⁵⁵⁶ This assumption is based on three passages in Diodorus.¹⁵⁵⁷ Gelon, Hieron and Theron might well have received posthumous hero-cult, but a closer look at the sources shows that it is not at all clear-cut whether those tyrants had a wish to be posthumously honoured as a hero, something which is surely an important point for an enquiry into self-representation. These sources merit further attention.

Diodorus reports that Gelon was buried together with his wife and that he was accorded heroic honours, ἥρωικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησε.¹⁵⁵⁸ He was buried, however, outside the city walls, not in the agora, *intra muros*. Moreover, mention of his being buried in a tomb where his wife was already buried looks suspicious as well in the event he really had sought heroic honours.¹⁵⁵⁹ If indeed he was worshipped as a hero posthumously, then not as an *oecist*.¹⁵⁶⁰ This suggests that whatever his reasons were for the refoundation of Syracuse in 485 BCE, posthumous worship as a hero was not among them. Diodorus appears to have followed Timaeus in these passages,¹⁵⁶¹ and that

¹⁵⁵⁶ Recently Currie (2005: 171).

¹⁵⁵⁷ Cf. D.S. 11.38.5: Gelon, D.S. 11.66.4: Hieron and D.S. 11.53.2: Theron.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Cf. D. S. 11.38.4 ἐτάφη δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τὸν ἀγρὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Ἑννέα τύρσεσιν, οὓσαις τῷ βάρει τῶν ἔργων θαυμασταῖς...D.S. 11.38.5 ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοῦ ταφέντος ὁ μὲν δῆμος τάφον ἀξιόλογον ἐπιστήσας ἥρωικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησε τὸν Γέλωνα,...

¹⁵⁵⁹ It is worth noting that Gelon had left meticulous instructions for his burial, cf. D.S. 11.38.3.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Leschhorn (1984: 121f.). Malkin (1987: 236) stresses the key elements of 'a *herōon*, an annual cult, and a tomb inside the city walls.' Pace Berve (1953: 514, 544).

¹⁵⁶¹ Meister (1976: 44).

historian appears to have been particularly favourable to Gelon,¹⁵⁶² perhaps influencing the report on Gelon's posthumous honours.

Theron allegedly was honoured at Himera after his death.¹⁵⁶³ Theron had repopulated Himera,¹⁵⁶⁴ yet this appears not to have been a foundation but rather a (συν)οικισμός or ἔποικος.¹⁵⁶⁵ Consequently, the heroic honours were accorded to him as tyrant of Acragas and not as oecist. There is nothing in our sources that suggests that Theron wanted to be remembered as an oecist.

For Hieron matters seem altogether different. Two Diodoran passages suggest that one of Hieron's objectives as oecist was to secure heroic honours,¹⁵⁶⁶ whereas a Pindaric scholium tells that Hieron wanted to become an oecist instead of being a tyrant.¹⁵⁶⁷ To this should be added that Hieron apparently attached great importance to his role as oecist and he made sure he was thoroughly advertised as a city founder:¹⁵⁶⁸ both Aeschylus and Pindar were commissioned to celebrate him as such.¹⁵⁶⁹ Since

¹⁵⁶² Cf. Luraghi (1994: 179).

¹⁵⁶³ D.S. 11.53.2 καὶ ζῶν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τελευτήσας ἡρωικῶν ἔτυχε τιμῶν.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Cf. D.S. 11.48.8.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Luraghi (1994: 248n.87). Cf. § 7.1.1.

¹⁵⁶⁶ D.S. 11.49.2 τοῦτο δ' ἐπραξε σπεύδων ἅμα μὲν ἔχειν βοήθειαν ἐτοίμην ἀξιόλογον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιούσας χρείας ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάνδρου πόλεως τιμὰς ἔχειν ἡρωικάς. D.S. 11.66.4 Ἰέρων δ' ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ Κατάνῃ, καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἂν κτίστης γεγονῶς τῆς πόλεως. Meister (1967: 44) argues for Ephorus as the source.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Σ *Ne. 1 inscr.* = Timae. *FGrHist* 566 F 142a Ἰέρων γὰρ οἰκιστὴς ἀντὶ τυράννου βουλόμενος εἶναι.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Malkin (1987: 238).

¹⁵⁶⁹ Aeschylus in his play *Aetnaeae*. Cf. Herrington (1967), Poli-Palladini (2003). Pindar in his first *Pythian* ode. *Py.* 3.69 ...παρ' Αἰτναῖον ξένον, *Py.* 1.31 κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ. Parodied in Aristoph. *Av.* 926 Σὺ δὲ πάτερ, κτίστορ Αἴτνας.

the association between œcists and posthumous heroic honours appears strong,¹⁵⁷⁰ it is a fair assumption that Hieron differed from both Gelon and Theron. The former clearly had a wish to be honoured posthumously as a hero, whereas the other two tyrants probably had not actively sought such hero-worship. For an enquiry into self-representation it is of little consequence whether Gelon and Theron actually were posthumously honoured as heroes if they were honoured as such not of their own volition.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Malkin (1987: 241-60). Cf. D.S. 11.66.4. Cf. Malkin (1987: 262ff.) on œcist culture.

Appendix six - Some external events relevant to Pindar's first *Pythian* ode.

This Appendix focuses on the evidence referred to in the main section of this enquiry.

For a continuous historical narrative I refer to the handbooks.¹⁵⁷¹

App. 6.1 The refoundation of Aetna.

Under Hieron's tyranny there appears to have been a considerable influx of new settlers.¹⁵⁷² Since safety had always been a major concern for tyrants,¹⁵⁷³ and since Sicily saw continuous *stasis* in the period before the Athenian expeditions,¹⁵⁷⁴ it is a fair assumption that most of the new settlers must have been mercenaries.¹⁵⁷⁵ Deinomenid society was militarised to a considerable extent, in part because of the sheer number of these mercenaries.¹⁵⁷⁶ Gelon in 485 BCE had introduced all the inhabitants of Gela and

¹⁵⁷¹ Cf. Dunbabin (1948), Berve (1967), Luraghi (1994), De Libero (1996).

¹⁵⁷² Cf. Σ Pi. *Py.* 1.120b, D.S. 11.67.7.

¹⁵⁷³ Th. 1.17 tells us that tyrants made safety the great aim of their policy, adding that in Sicily this did not prevent them from becoming great powers.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Th. 6.17.2-4: Sicilian cities constantly changing and rearranging their citizen body. Berger (1992) identifies 72 cases of *stasis* in Greek Sicily and southern Italy in the period of 720-275 BCE.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Kirsten (1941: 59), Demand (1990: 50-2), Luraghi (1994: 337). Cf. D.S. 11.67.7: the μισθοφόρων πλῆθος of Aetna consisted of five thousand men. Cf. Polyæn. 5.6: Hippocrates was the first tyrant who is recorded to have used mercenaries, and when after his death, Gelon took the tyranny, he too must have employed the service of a large group of mercenaries, since he was able to force his way back to Gela, cf. Hdt. 7.155. Parke (1933: 10f.) estimates that fifteen thousand mercenaries were involved at the battle of Himera.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Luraghi (1994: 364) 'città-caserma popolata di mercenati' adding that Deinomenid tyranny was not militaristic in order to confront any Punic threats, but that Himera and military victories

half of those of Camarina in Syracuse,¹⁵⁷⁷ and perhaps Syracuse had become too big to absorb a new influx of such magnitude. Consequently, Hieron might have been forced to find another place to settle his mercenaries, resulting in the refoundation of Aetna.¹⁵⁷⁸ Diodorus notes that the refoundation served a military purpose since it established a military camp conveniently close to Hieron's real power base, Syracuse, for which it could provide security.¹⁵⁷⁹ By becoming an œcist Hieron would also secure heroic honours for himself.¹⁵⁸⁰ Finally, the refoundation might also have been a novel way to secure allegiances with these mercenaries through expropriation of prime agricultural land, which was then offered to them. The Deinomenids made use of mercenaries for an extensive period of time,¹⁵⁸¹ and they must have required substantial amounts of cash. We do not know when Gelon actually enfranchised troops after his campaigns, yet this would surely have involved the need for payment, either in the form of cash or as loot.¹⁵⁸² This is supported by numismatic data: Gelon seems to

in general were needed to legitimise the use of this instrument that gave them control over the city. Cf. (1994: 378f.)

¹⁵⁷⁷ Hdt. 7.156

¹⁵⁷⁸ Sources: ΣΣ Pi. *Py.* 1 *inscr.* 1.56, 1.112, 1.118, 1.120b, ΣΣ Pi. *Ne.* 1 *inscr.*, *Ne.* 9 *inscr.*, 9.1-2, D.S. 11.49.1 Str. 6.2.3. *Vita Aesch.* 9. Cf. Böhringer (1968: 76-98), Malkin (1987: 96ff., 238), Leschhorn (1984: 125ff.), Dougherty (1993: 83ff.), Luraghi (1994: 336ff.).

¹⁵⁷⁹ D.S. 11.49.2. τοῦτο δ' ἔπραξε [sc. the refoundation] σπεύδων ἅμα μὲν ἔχειν βοήθειαν ἐτοίμην ἀξιόλογον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιούσας χρείας ... ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάδου πόλεως τιμὰς ἔχειν ἡρωικάς. Σ *Ne.* 1 *inscr.* α ἱέρων γὰρ οἰκιστὴς ἀντὶ τυράννου βουλόμενος εἶναι, Κατάνην ἐξελὼν Αἴτην μετωνόμασε τὴν πόλιν, ἑαυτὸν οἰκιστὴν προσαγορεύσας. *Pace* Malkin (1987: 238) '...the desire to obtain œcist cult was perceived as sufficient reason for the expulsion of the population of two cities and the creation of a new one.'

¹⁵⁸⁰ D.S. 11.49.2, 11.66.4. Cf. Malkin (1987: 238-39).

¹⁵⁸¹ For at least seventeen years; from Gelon's *incipit* as tyrant in ca.491 BCE until Hieron's victory at Cumae in 474 BCE.

¹⁵⁸² Cf. Isoc. 12.82: tyranny depending on mercenaries and high expenditure.

have been in financial difficulties, before or perhaps during the Himera campaign,¹⁵⁸³ and a period of intense and massive coining (*Massenprägung*) with a large number of die-types,¹⁵⁸⁴ has been identified and dated to after 480 BCE,¹⁵⁸⁵ when thousands of talents of silver were available from the Carthaginian indemnity after Himera. High-value coins are linked with the need for large amounts of cash,¹⁵⁸⁶ and the first issue of Syracusan decadrachms is dated to the closing stages of Deinomenid rule,¹⁵⁸⁷ *not* to a period immediately following Hieron's battle of Cumae in 474 BCE. This suggests that Hieron's battle in 474 BCE did not add any monies nor land to the Deinomenid empire, which in turn suggests that he might have needed alternative means of payment. On that interpretation, this might explain the location of the new settlement: land in the vicinity of the volcano must have been particularly rewarding because of its high agricultural value.¹⁵⁸⁸ This land-redistribution, if this is indeed what the refoundation was, would have turned Hieron into a popular champion for his new settlers.

In the event that this complex of motivations was well known in the Greek world, then the Aetna refoundation would readily be identifiable as a tyrannical project. As such, this could explain the absence of any mention of Aetna in the Bacchylides' fourth ode.¹⁵⁸⁹

¹⁵⁸³ Cf. Rutter (1993: 173) on Pollux *Onomast.* 9.84-85. ἀποροῦντος αὐτοῦ.

¹⁵⁸⁴ For tetradrachms, 150 obverse and 220 reverse dies have been identified. Cf. Rutter (1998: 308).

¹⁵⁸⁵ Rutter (1993: 174), (1998: 308).

¹⁵⁸⁶ However, the so called 'Δαμαρέτειον' coin (Diod. D.S. 11.26.3) appears to be unhistorical and must probably be linked with propaganda of Hieron II. Cf. Rutter (1993: 186-88).

¹⁵⁸⁷ *BCM* 63, accompanied by tetradrachms (*BCM* 64) and obols (*BM* 16946-1-1-1307). Cf. Rutter (1998: 315) on dating.

¹⁵⁸⁸ *Py.* 1.30 εὐκάρπιοιο γαίας μέτωπον, *Str.* 6.2.3 εὐάμπελον γὰρ παρέχεται καὶ χρηστόκαρπον.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Cf. § 2.4.2.

App. 6.2. The Dorian foundation myth in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode: was there an ethnic dimension to the refoundation of Aetna?

This question is relevant in view of the description in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode of the Dorian conquest.¹⁵⁹⁰ The manner in which this myth is told has routinely led to an explanation of that foundation myth in terms of the ethnic composition of the new settlers,¹⁵⁹¹ namely as an exclusively Dorian population.¹⁵⁹² This assumption looks particularly attractive since the inhabitants whom Hieron removed from Aetna's territory were all Ionians, as were the inhabitants of Leontini, the town to which they were removed.¹⁵⁹³ The suggestion that the Aetna-project had ethnic dimensions should, however, be dismissed. First, our sources on the ethnic make-up of the settlers are not at all clear cut.¹⁵⁹⁴ Second, if Hieron had imported large groups of mercenaries from the Peloponnese then it would probably have been from Aeolian Arcadia which always had

¹⁵⁹⁰ *Py.* 1.61ff.

¹⁵⁹¹ Rawson (1969: 57), Hubbard (1992: 107n.83) and most recently Hubbard (2004: 79) 'Hieron's program of recruiting Peloponnesian Dorians to form half the population of the new Syracusan colony.'

¹⁵⁹² Exclusive since D.S. 11.49.1 reports that half were Syracusans (thus Dorians) and half came from the Peloponnese. The figure of ten thousand, mentioned by Diodorus, represents a 'mythical' or 'perfect' number, fit for an ideal city, cf. Trumpf (1958: 131).

¹⁵⁹³ Chalcis in Euboae was founder of Naxos, and Chalcidian Naxos was the mother city of both Catana and Leontini.

¹⁵⁹⁴ D.S. 11.49.1 tells that half of them were Dorians, whereas Σ 120b *Py.* 1.62 suggests that the settlers were from Gela (a Cretan and Rhodian foundation), Megara (Dorian) and Syracuse. Luraghi (1994: 338n.274) notes that the scholiast would certainly not have failed to mention any independent evidence on the Dorian origin of Aetna's settlers, had they had such information.

been fertile recruiting ground for mercenaries.¹⁵⁹⁵ Several of the soldiers fighting in Sicily can be identified as Arcadian.¹⁵⁹⁶ Third, and more importantly, the Sicilian Chalcidian cities (Naxos, Leontini and Catana) seemed to have formed a bloc and were inclined to act together.¹⁵⁹⁷ Probably as a consequence of such defiant behaviour (and not because they were of non-Dorian descent) they were brought under Deinomenid control.¹⁵⁹⁸ Moreover, that the Deinomenids were interested in Chalcidian territory is unsurprising, as Leontini had the largest and richest wheat-growing plains of all Sicily.¹⁵⁹⁹ Last, Pindar's first *Pythian* ode singles out Pamphylus,¹⁶⁰⁰ which as *figura etymologica* might in fact hint at a mixed ethnic origin of the Aetna settlers.¹⁶⁰¹

The upshot of this discussion is that there is no need to assume an ethnic dimension (in the sense of Dorian *versus* Ionian) to the refoundation and that consequently, the Dorian foundation myth in the first *Pythian* ode should be explained otherwise.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Cf. Fields (2001:102) on Arcadians as the main supplier of mercenaries in archaic and classical times. Cf. Hom. B 604, Z 134, Hdt. 1.66, X. *Hell.* 7.1.23 'excellent soldiers', Th. 7.57.9.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Cf. Paus. 5.27.1, *CEG* 380.1, Friedländer 142, *IVO* 266. Possibly Hagesias celebrated in Pindar's sixth *Olympian* ode, cf. § 3.2.3.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Dunbabin (1948: 68).

¹⁵⁹⁸ Cf. Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 9.1: Alexander founding Alexandropolis in 340 BCE for similar reasons.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Dunbabin (1948: 67). Cf. D.S. 5.2.

¹⁶⁰⁰ *Py.* 1.62. After Heracles' death, Hyllus was adopted by Aegimius. Pamphylus and Dyman were sons of the latter. The three Dorian tribes were the Ὑλλεῖς, Πάμφυλοι and Δυμᾶνες. Cf. Apollod. 2.8.3. D.S. 4.57f., Str. 9.4.10.

¹⁶⁰¹ I owe this point to J. G. Howie.

Appendix seven - The interpretation of Pi. *O*. 5.10-14.

Proposed interpretations for this difficult passage can, broadly speaking, be divided into two groups: one in which κολλᾷ and αἰδεῖ are linked and a further in which ἄρδει κολλᾷ τε are linked.¹⁶⁰² The question then is whether the subject of κολλᾷ is Psaumis or the river Hipparis? The answer to this question matters as it could tell us something about the status of the *laudandus* in Camarina.

The scholiast links ἄρδει κολλᾷ τε, making the river Hipparis subject of the relative clause as well as of κολλᾷ.¹⁶⁰³ The scholiast somehow interprets this passage as cementing together new houses from bricks whereby the river would have supplied the loam or clay or the wooden building material for the houses.¹⁶⁰⁴ The alternative is to link κολλᾷ and αἰδεῖ and make Psaumis subject of both verbs in the main clause.¹⁶⁰⁵ The phrase then would suggest that Psaumis was the initiator of the reconstruction of Camarina.¹⁶⁰⁶ The question, I suggest, can be settled with outside evidence.

All the great cities on the south coast of Sicily were, beyond doubt, planted there to exploit the agricultural land,¹⁶⁰⁷ yet none of these cities is situated at the mouth

¹⁶⁰² The grammatical analyses used in this appendix can be found in Fernández-Galiano (1942:140-48).

¹⁶⁰³ Σ *O*. 5.20e.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Wilamowitz (1922: 415n.1) notes that the scholium shows that Aristarchus knew nothing about the real topography of Camarina. Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 65).

¹⁶⁰⁵ Both these verbs are then equalised through the use of μὲν-τε. There are then four accusative objects in-between κολλᾷ μὲν and αἰδεῖ τε: they are structured AB τε C τε καὶ D. Cf. *O*. 7.81-83 ἐστεφανώσατο δῖς, κλεινᾷ τ' ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τετράκις εὐτυχέων, Νεμέα τ' ἄλλαν ἐπ' ἄλλα, καὶ κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθάναις.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Cautadella (1981: 150ff.).

¹⁶⁰⁷ Dunbabin (1948: 211).

of even a reasonably-sized stream. There is no trace whatsoever in our sources of trade routes from these southern cities.¹⁶⁰⁸ The south coast of Sicily in fact had, and still has, only shallow waters, with shifting sands and sandbars.¹⁶⁰⁹ Possibly, the beach and river-mouth were used as primitive anchorage,¹⁶¹⁰ yet the small primitive harbours we know of were under constant threat of silting up.¹⁶¹¹ Rivers on the south coast were torrential streams with brief and violent floods during the rainy season with long periods of drought during spring and summer.¹⁶¹² This means that navigability or improving upon navigability could never have been an issue.¹⁶¹³ Finally, since Sicily is not rich in stone, terra-cotta was mostly used for architecture. There is no building stone near Gela and Camarina, and hence, if it was used at all, it must have been brought long distances.¹⁶¹⁴

The upshot of the discussion is that all interpretations which imply navigability of the river Hipparis or transportation of building material on it are highly unlikely and, consequently, Psaumis, not the river Hipparis, must be the subject of κολλᾶ in our passage.¹⁶¹⁵ This suggests that Psaumis was involved in the organisation of, or may even have financed himself, the transport of building materials. This would have

¹⁶⁰⁸ Unsurprisingly, since the south had unfavourable prevailing trade winds. Cf. Ovid. *Fast.* 4.470 *verticibus non adeunde Gela*.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Dunbabin (1948: 104): Camarina's access to sea blocked by sand hills. The river spreads into a marsh, effective as a defence, but unhealthy. Cf. Amore (2000), a recent enquiry into the conditions in antiquity of a nearby river system. According to Matthew Fitzjohn of the Geological department of Liverpool University, who has kindly drawn my attention to this article, its conclusions should be valid for the Hipparis river as well.

¹⁶¹⁰ Dunbabin (1948: 197, 211), Amore (2000: 253).

¹⁶¹¹ Amore (2002: 253).

¹⁶¹² Amore (2000: 254).

¹⁶¹³ cf. Amore (2002: 253).

¹⁶¹⁴ Dunbabin (1948: 257) and Diod. 4.80.

¹⁶¹⁵ *Pace* Lehnus (1981: 82), Brunel (1971: 340).

facilitated, or even made possible, the refoundation of Camarina in 461/0 BCE. He might even have financed the enlargement, or even construction, of the σεμνοὶ ὀχετοὶ that are singled out for praise in the ode.¹⁶¹⁶ Such canals were used to supply cities with fresh water,¹⁶¹⁷ but also they were also built to drain marshes in order to prevent malaria.¹⁶¹⁸

On balance, then, it would seem that we are to regard Psaumis' μεγαλοπρέπεια in Camarina as considerable.

¹⁶¹⁶ *Ol.* 5.12 καὶ σεμνοὺς ὀχετούς, Ἰππάρης οἷσιν ἄρδει στρατόν. They should be translated as 'great canals'. *Pace Race* (1997^a: 97) 'sacred canals'. σεμνός is translated with 'sacred' in Pindar when the subjects are gods (e.g. *Py.* 3.79, *Ne.* 5.25), heroes (*Ol.* 6.68), rivers personified as gods (*Ne.* 1.1) or domiciles of the gods (*Ne.* 1.72). Here, as in *Ne.* 7.22f. ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσσι οἱ ποτάνῃ <τε> μαχανῃ σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι, something great or impressive is meant.

¹⁶¹⁷ Cf. D.S. 11.25.3-4: the underground piped-water supply built by Theron. Hdt. 3.60: the ὄρυγμα or water channel in Samos.

¹⁶¹⁸ Cf. Dio. Cass. 45.17. This was the only known countermeasure against malaria available in antiquity. Cf. Diod. Eph. *FGrHist* F 566 F 6 (*ap.* Diog. Laert. 8.70): Empedocles, ἰδίαις δαπάναις, had cleared Selinus of a plague. Cf. Jones (1909: 348-49) who argues that in view of the mention of affected birth rates probably this plague is malaria. Head (1911: 168) notes that on the reverse of a didrachm from Selinus, ca.450 BCE, a marsh-bird can be seen behind the river-god, departing '...because she can no longer find a congenial home on the banks of the Hypsas now that Empedocles has drained the lands.' Cf. Kraay (1976: 220, 234), Rutter (1997: 139). Tentatively, that river-gods occur frequently on coins of the cities on the south coast, whereas much ampler rivers flowing into the sea in other parts of Sicily, the Himera and Longanus in the north, seem not honoured on coins, could reflect an apotropaic purpose of those river-gods on coins.

Appendix eight – Differences in rhetorical attitude in Pindar and Bacchylides.

The underlying outlook of epinician odes does not appear to pose many difficulties.¹⁶¹⁹

However, whether a particular characteristic in an ode should be considered conventional, or occasional (as a result of the influence of the commissioner) or rather an idiosyncrasy of the poet is more problematic.¹⁶²⁰ Comparisons between Pindar and Bacchylides are nevertheless valid since the ode is a message from *laudandus* to audience and not from *laudator* to *laudandus*.¹⁶²¹

That Pindar and Bacchylides use different rhetorical techniques should not be surprising.¹⁶²² This can be illustrated by considering two passages. The first passage occurs in Pindar's first *Olympian* ode.¹⁶²³ It appears to have been well known in antiquity.¹⁶²⁴ It gives a detail of the single-horse race, namely Pherenikos as ἀκέννητος, 'ungoaded'. The second passage occurs in Bacchylides' fifth ode,¹⁶²⁵ where it is said

¹⁶¹⁹ Cf. § 1.4.

¹⁶²⁰ Maehler (1982^a: 23) 'Infolgedessen läßt sich oft nicht entscheiden, ob ein bei Bakchylides oder Pindar zu beobachtendes Stilmerkmal "konventionell" oder "individuell" ist.'

¹⁶²¹ Cf. § 1.4. Mann (2000: 46): the ode is a message from patron to audience, yet 'die stilistischen Unterschiede zwischen Pindar und Bakchylides resultieren daraus, daß bei der künstlerischen Umsetzung die persönliche Note des Dichters ins Spiel kam.'

¹⁶²² E.g Carey (1998: 18): Bacchylides' tendency to avoid the first person. (1998: 24f.): Pindaric tone more austere, Bacchylides more compassionate... in general Bacchylides uses more subtle means than Pindar to generate emotion.

¹⁶²³ Pj. *Ol.* 1.18-23 ...εἴ τί τοι Πίσας τε καὶ Φερενίκου χάρις νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτάταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν, ὅτε παρ' Ἀλφεῷ σύτο δέμας ἀκέννητον ἐν δρόμοισι παρέχων, κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπόταν, Συρακόσιον ἵπποχάρμαν βασιλῆα·.

¹⁶²⁴ Cf. Suid. σ 1692, Eusthat. // 1.757.7 (καθὰ δηλοῖ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἀκέννητόν τινα ἵππον ἐπαινῶν ὡς εὐπρόθυμον), Liban. 345.2.

¹⁶²⁵ B.5.43-44 οὐπω νιν ὑπὸ προτέ[ρω]ν ἵππων ἐν ἀγῶνι κατέχρανεν κόνις πρὸς τέλος ὀρνύμενον·.

that Pherenikos never had any other horse in front of him and consequently was untouched by dust. The scholiast on Pindar explains in terms of ῥθοποία: the poet alludes to the speed and eagerness of Pherenikos. The scholiast points to a Homeric passage in which Apollo deprives Diomedes of his whip, as a consequence of which his horses lag behind since they are no longer goaded.¹⁶²⁶ We cannot tell whether Pindar had this Homeric example in mind, yet a clue to the explanation of the rhetorical effect of the use of the adjective ἀκέντητος can be gained by a comparison with the passage in Bacchylides.

Aristotle in the *Poetics* discusses the manner in which a poet can describe things: either things are οἷα ἦν ἢ ἔστιν, or οἷα εἶναι δεῖ, or οἷα φασιν καὶ δοκεῖ.¹⁶²⁷ In the Bacchylidean passage, the description of the race seems to be an example of οἷα ἦν; during the whole course of the race, Hieron's horse was always in first position, out in front. In the Pindaric passage, on the other hand, the horse was never goaded and still won. The description as οἷα εἶναι δεῖ achieves the rhetorical effect Aristotle approves of: poets should follow the example of good portrait painters: producing a likeness, yet making it more beautiful.¹⁶²⁸ Pindar's use of *hyperbole* by describing Pherenikos as ἀκέντητος achieves a rhetorical effect of (conceivable) exaggeration. As a corollary the audience is reminded of the divine component in human achievement (θεός, πότμος), without which the splendour of success cannot be achieved. The gods favoured

¹⁶²⁶ Σ Pi. Ol. 1.33a ἀμάστικτον αὐτῷ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν τάχει τὸ σῶμα κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα διαφυλάξας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸ ταχὺ καὶ πρόθυμον τοῦ ἵππου δηλοῖ. καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ and quotes Hom. Ψ 387.

¹⁶²⁷ Arist. Po. 1460b10-1461a.

¹⁶²⁸ Arist. Po. 1454b10-15 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἀποδιδόντες τὴν ἰδίαν μορφήν ὁμοίους ποιοῦντες καλλίους γράφουσιν.

Hieron's horse and since human endeavour and the favour of the gods concurred,
Pherenikos did not needed to be urged on.

Appendix nine – New interpretations proposed.

At Pi. *Ol.* 5.10-14 the subject of κολλᾶ is Psaumis, not the river Hipparis.¹⁶²⁹

At Pi. *Py.* 2.66-68 mention of 'Phoenician merchandise' can be explained as a reference to material dyed with the pigment derived from the mollusc *Murex*. The dye, *phoinix*, was indelible and it is for this reason that it was particularly prized. Hence 'Phoenician merchandise' is used as a kenning for epinician song. The song is indelible, lasting in time and proof against destruction, and so will be the glory of the patron.¹⁶³⁰

Rhea's *corona muralis* can help to explain what is meant by the puzzling 'tower of Cronus' mentioned at Pi. *Ol.* 2.70 and according to Diodorus the place where Gelon was buried.¹⁶³¹

There are good reasons for supposing that Pindar's sixth *Olympian* ode for Hagesias of Syracuse was first performed earlier rather than later in Hieron's career.¹⁶³²

Pindar's third *Pythian* ode for Hieron was probably first performed after 470 BCE. The occasion for its composition might have been alluded to in B.4.11-11. Hieron did not carry away the victory in the single-horse event in 470 BCE and since the third *Pythian* ode appears to address the healthy admixture of good and bad fortune, Pherenikos is mentioned in that ode as a fitting *exemplum* for that sentiment.¹⁶³³

¹⁶²⁹ Cf. Appendix seven.

¹⁶³⁰ Cf. § 2.1.6, note 183.

¹⁶³¹ Cf. §. 5.2.4, note 1154.

¹⁶³² Cf. § 8.3.1.

¹⁶³³ Cf. § 2.6.2.

The myth in Pindar's first *Nemean* ode is carried through until the end. This is arguably a result of the unproblematic status of the *laudandus*.¹⁶³⁴

¹⁶³⁴ Cf. §§ 3.1.5, 8.2.

Appendix ten - Suggestions for further investigation.

This enquiry briefly discusses a passage in the ninth *Isthmian* ode in relation to a passage in Pindar's first *Pythian* ode.¹⁶³⁵ Pindar and Bacchylides composed thirteen odes for victors from Aegina.¹⁶³⁶ An enquiry into *Selbstdarstellung* of Aeginetan *laudandi* might be rewarding since recent scholarship has made great progress in the understanding of the relationships between Aegina and the rest of the Greek world. To my knowledge, such an enquiry has not yet been undertaken. An unfortunate complication, however, is that of the total of thirteen Aeginetan odes, eleven are won in a Nemean or Isthmian event and these odes are notoriously difficult to date. Consequently, linking the content of the odes with socio-political events can prove to be difficult.

¹⁶³⁵ Cf. § 2.4.4.4.

¹⁶³⁶ Viz. Pi. *Ol.* 8, *Py.* 8, *Ne.* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, *Isth.* 5, 6, 8, B.12, 13 (both Nemean victories).

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