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SELFSTANDERUNG 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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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

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between elitist- and 'middling' ideology⁴b 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 in 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? and how is the patron message in such odes consistent with, or different from, other modes of self-promotion available to the *laudandus*?

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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, 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

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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’, in which the epinician song both celebrates the victor as he is welcomed home and orchestrates his reintegration. 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). On that view such odes actually separate the laudandus from the rest of his community. 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. 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. Others contrast a ‘middling’ ideology with a more elitist tradition, locked in a ‘contest of paradigms’.

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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. Ol. 1.104, Ol. 2.93-4, Ol. 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',\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{20} Plato, for example, already places the origin and development of rhetoric not within the \textit{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 \textit{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).

\textsuperscript{17} Kurke (1993: 155).

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

\textsuperscript{19} This is not the place for a résumé of the history of modern Pindaric scholarship. Surveys of the \textit{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 \textit{status quaestionis} is still valid 'The major part of Pindaric criticism has consisted of the development, modification, and combination of \textit{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 \textit{Grundgedanke} (Dissen) or the historical event that was allegorised by the poet (Boeckh).'

iudiciae, but in the older epideictic forms.\textsuperscript{21} Choral lyricists of the late archaic period can thus be understood as immediate predecessors of the first epideictic orators,\textsuperscript{22} and archaic lyric in general has been described as 'pre-theoretical discursive practice'.\textsuperscript{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'.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{24} A string of victories for Sicilian tyrants in the early years of the fifth century BCE,\textsuperscript{25} testifies to the importance such  laudandi

\textsuperscript{21} Especially in the Gorgias, also cf. Pl. R. 414b-415d, 382d.

\textsuperscript{22} Walker (2000: ix and 140).

\textsuperscript{23} Walker (2000: ix).

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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. Epinician song was one option for preserving the renown of success and spread the victor’s _κλέος_.

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. How exactly the odes were commissioned or how contracts were arranged is unknown. There is some anecdotal evidence, but that information appears to be 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 _laudandum_. The wisdom, skill and inspiration

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27 E.g. Pi. _Ol_. 1.82ff., _Ol_. 1.95, B. _fr_. 56.


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


\(^{29}\) 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 Greeks 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*.


persuade an audience.\textsuperscript{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 (ἀρετή), inborn nature (φύς, 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 (ἀγλαῖα) can follow,\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{36} Although the victory odes were commissioned, epinician customarily stresses that the \textit{laudator} has an obligation to praise (χρέος - χρή) the victor's success. In doing so, the \textit{laudator} frequently stresses the bond between good men (φιλία - ξενία).\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{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.'

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{topos} of praise but reflects circumstances of the \textit{laudandus}, cf. § 8.3.3.


\textsuperscript{37} On motifs such as e.g. χρέος-, χάρις-, φιλία- \textit{Sieg und Lied-}, and \textit{Verpflichtungsgedanke} motif, cf. Schadewaldt (1928).
That much of early Greek lyric is conventional and follows accepted models is already noted. Elroy Bundy, in his influential *Studia Pindarica*, defines the purpose of an epinician ode in terms of conventionality, 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*. 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. This means that we can expect historical events to turn up in the epinician odes.

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

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38 Slater (1979a: 80) argues that much of the inherited formal language is located as *τόποθηκαι* in various gnomic collections, well known to poet and audience alike, e.g. the *ἄγγελοι νόμοι*, the *πτέριοι νόμοι*, the sayings of the Seven Wise Men, the Delphic precepts, *Χέρωνος τόποθηκαι*, 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 (1979b: 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 Bakkhulides 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 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 (1989b).
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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{45} The expression 'continual re-performance' has been used,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{46} Hubbard (2004: 72).

\textsuperscript{47} On ancient literacy see Harris (1989) and Gentili (1988: 169).

\textsuperscript{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 προξενοι.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.'
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.\textsuperscript{56} Be that as it may, the question whether the odes were performed chorally or as monody, a hotly debated topic,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{58}

Seventh, an epinician ode is a more specialised form of an encomium,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{60} This shift in emphasis presented hazards and pitfalls which had to be carefully negotiated by the poets. The danger was

\textsuperscript{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).


\textsuperscript{58} Cf. Davies (1988).

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{hic et nunc}, cf. Quintilian \textit{Inst.} 2.4.20, Cic. \textit{de Inv.} 2.59, Cic. \textit{de Or.} 2.84.340-2.85.349. An epinician ode, more specifically, is linked with a victory.

\textsuperscript{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,\footnote{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.} 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.\footnote{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.’} 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.\footnote{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.} Be that as it may, epinician odes acknowledge mortals who became immortal,\footnote{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. Amphiaras: Ne. 9.24-47, Ol. 6.14, Ne. 10.8f. (vs. Hom. ο 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.} and there are several
references to hero-cult. 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. 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. Verbal echoes, it is argued, signal such a close association between the mythical hero receiving cult and the living laudandus aspiring to the same. However, this enquiry argues that the presence of such verbal echoes in an ode should not be taken as compelling evidence for such intimations, nor need their absence be evidence against such hopes. It should further be stressed that reflections of eschatological beliefs in epinician odes


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 *laudandum* 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 *laudandum* 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 *laudandum* 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, *laudandum* 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 Acracas, 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. ἐννοια, ὁδιανοετά, *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: 1 n.1). Patron-poet implies a relation outside the text, whereas *laudandum* - *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 *laudandum*, 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* 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 φθονεψοι and ψογεψοι. 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{laudandus} is advertised in this ode suggests that neither \textit{Herrschaftssystem} nor \textit{Polisideologie} is an appropriate label to define the ideology represented in this ode. \textit{Adelsideologie} might be a better term.

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

\textsuperscript{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.'

\textsuperscript{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 cecist.
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’. The same suggestion has been made for other Pindaric odes. Many scholars, however, argue against such a suggestion. 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*. 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. On balance, the arguments for the second *Pythian* as a straightforward epinician ode seem stronger: the whole ode is filled with epinician *topoi* while the mention of Hieron ‘crowning’ Syracuse in the first triad strongly suggests there was a particular occasion for this ode. This is important as it suggests that the ode contains a message of Hieron and not of the poet.

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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.


83 On which see below.

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. Modern scholarship has not reached a consensus and a range
of venues is proposed. 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, which seems excessive. Some have
argued for Syracuse as the venue on numismatic grounds. Others see the stress on
Syracuse in the proem as proof for a victory in local games. However, the mention of
Syracuse must surely imply that Hieron made the city famous by being victorious in
another city.

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 Z Py. 2. *inscr.* Γέγραται μέν τέρμων ἢρματι νικήσαντι, ὃδηλον δὲ εἰς ποίον ἁγώνα. Irlgoin
(1952: 73f.) 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 θυσιαστική
ὁδή, Callimachus believed it to be a *Namean* ode, Ammonius and Callistratus an Olympian ode
and Apollonius ὁ εἴδογράφος a *Pythian* ode, cf. Σ Py. 2 *metr.*


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
crowing the *quadriga* belongs to Gelon's time, possibly commemorating Gelon's Olympic victory


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, and in that passage a so-called ἀγγελία motif is used. 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. 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.

If the ode really contains an allusion to the Locrian incident, then we have a terminus post quem of c. 477 BCE for the composition of the ode. 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.

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

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92 Py. 2.3ff. ὡμίν τάδε τάν λιπαράν ἀπὸ Θηβάν φέρων μέλος ἔρχομαι ἀγγελίαν τετραορίας ἐλεύθερον.
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: 261ff.).
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.
Hieron.\textsuperscript{100} An early date of first performance\textsuperscript{101} 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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

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

\textsuperscript{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. \textit{Py.} 2.67 τοδε μεν κατα Φοινικαςαν εμπολον μελος υπερ πολιας ἀλος πτημπεται, but this should be contrasted with \textit{Py.} 2.3f.


\textsuperscript{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 performance of the ode, shortly after 478/7 BCE.

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 idealen 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 νεφελος, 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. Syracuse is praised as the recipient of the ode. 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 to appear to do so.

107 Cf. Py. 2.1-2 where Syracuse is μεγαλόπολις, 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 (στέφει δ' ἔκατι). At Py. 5.22: Arcelisaus, a legitimate king, receives the komos.
Syracuse (or Sicily) is portrayed. In comparable passages, 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. 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. Divine assistance in this passage is indeed very explicit, yet it is part of the typical epinician outlook, and appears to be a topos. Without divine assistance, victory is not possible, a sentiment which occurs in odes for other victors as well. 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.

This passage is followed by a χρόος motif. Although kings are mentioned, this passage should not be classed as ‘regal terminology’. This is an important point that

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109 Ol. 1.24: Syracuse’ horse-loving king, Py. 1.73: οδα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῷ 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 ἄρετά, φύτα, πόνος and δαστανή 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. Ol. 11.8-10 τά μέν ἀμετέρα γλώσσα ποιμαίνειν ἐξέλει, ἐκ θεοῦ δ’ ἀνήρ σοφαῖς ἀνθεῖ πρατήρεσαν ὁμοίως.
114 Cf. § 2.1.5.
115 Py. 2.13-15 ἄλλοις δὲ τις ἐτέλεσεν ἄλλος ἀνήρ εὐαγέως βασιλεύεσιν ὡμυν ἄποιν’ ἄρετας. 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


\(^{117}\) *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. *FGHist* 161 F 1, Tac. *Hist.* 2.3.1, Hes. s.v. Κυνυρόδαι. The ode alludes to this *Py.* 2.17 ίσρέα κτίλον Αφροδίτας.


\(^{124}\) Hieron's wealth, cf. B.4.1-3, Pl. *Ol.* 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.\textsuperscript{126} If indeed kingship was an issue for the\textit{ 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'.\textsuperscript{127} Comparison with other priamels that use the\textit{ alius aliud} motif suggests that reference to kingship in this passage is secondary, at best.\textsuperscript{128}

Hieron's military assistance for Locri Epizephyrii 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.\textsuperscript{129}

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

\textsuperscript{126} Currie (2004: 258ff.) argues that\textit{ 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\textit{ Pythian 2}' and that the comparison is 'a major concern' of the ode. This surely is an exaggeration.

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

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

\textsuperscript{129} \textit{Py.} 2.20 διὰ τεάν δύναμιν δράκτιστα ἀσφαλές. They 'have a look of security in their eyes.' (Race).

\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Py.} 2.6f. τηλαυγέσιν ἀνέδησεν Ὀρτυγιαν στεφάνοις, ποταμίας ἔδος Ἀρτέμιδος, ...

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,\textsuperscript{132} and hence does not show contempt for his citizens. Since this is the case, he deserves not to be the subject of φόνος and hence needs to be praised.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{134} In art the story is also known from the fifth century.\textsuperscript{135} Ixion is linked with tales of the underworld.\textsuperscript{136} This could have been significant in view of other katabaseis and eschatological stories in odes for Hieron,\textsuperscript{137} were it not that, on present evidence, the Ixion tale seems to have become linked with punishments in the underworld only in

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{132} At Py. 2.57f. picked up more explicitly, cf. Gentili et al. (1995: 388).
\textsuperscript{133} Cf. D.L. Cairns' (2003: 241ff.) 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.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{135} Cf. two red-figure cup fragments, early fifth century, ARV\textsuperscript{4} 110.7 Athens Agora P26228 and a kantharos from the middle of the fifth century, ARV\textsuperscript{4} 832.37 London E155.
\textsuperscript{136} Gantz (1993: 721).
\textsuperscript{137} E.g. in Bacchylides' third and fifth ode.
\end{footnotesize}
Hellenistic times. Pindar speaks of two of Ixion’s sins, yet deals with one of them, Ixion’s murder of a blood-relative, only in summary fashion. It is suggested that Pindar did so out of piety, but more probably dwelling upon this subject would have distracted from the purpose of the myth.

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, and hence the significance of the Ixion myth in the second Pythian ode is better explained as an example of the dangers of hubris, ingratitude and the need to uphold the natural order of things. To this could be added that Ixion was someone who transgressed in spite of the fact that he was especially blessed by the gods. This type of sinner figures in other odes for Hieron as well. It almost seems as though from their extraordinary 'state of grace', follow extraordinary obligations. Isocrates called sinners

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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 εὔμενέσσοι γὰρ παρὰ Κρονίδαις γλυκὸν ἐλῶν βιοτον. 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 (ὁβρίς, v.28).'
146 Cf. Py. 2.25f. εὔμενέσσοι γὰρ παρὰ Κρονίδαις γλυκὸν ἐλῶν βιοτον, μακρὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὀλβον.
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’.\textsuperscript{148} By using this type of transgressor as a negative foil in the ode the patron is praised in an extraordinary way: the \textit{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 \textit{Gruselgeschichten},\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{exempla}, as are the \textit{gnomae}.\textsuperscript{151} In the mythical section of this ode the sentiment of

\textsuperscript{148} Race (1987: 155n.69) notes Isoc. \textit{ad Dem.} 49.4 Δικαιώς δὲ ἄν 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. \textit{Panath.} 2.242.

\textsuperscript{149} B.3: Croesus on the pyre, \textit{Py.} 3: Coronis on the pyre, \textit{Ol.} 1: Pelops allegedly being served for dinner.

\textsuperscript{150} Cf. Arist. \textit{EN} 1333a3-5 temples of \textit{Charis} set up in a public place to encourage the ‘repayment of benefits’.

\textsuperscript{151} Cf. Köhnken (1971: 227).
'natural order' is for the first time explicitly touched upon. A further series of *gnomae* concludes the mythical section. 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. The theme of men and gods reaches a climax here. This section includes the famous 'Archilochus passage'. 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. The key lies in the *gnome* that follows, a vexed passage even by Pindaric standards. 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. Hieron's wealth is the result of fate: he should not be begrudged (in the envious manner of Archilochus), the more so because


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 τούχα τοῦτοις σοφίας ἀριστον.


159 Carey (1981: 45).
he spends his wealth appropriately. 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. This sentiment occurs several times in this ode, 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. In this section, Hieron is first praised as πρύτανις and κύριος over Syracuse and its military. It has rightly been noted that Hieron could have been praised as πρύτανις and κύριος at any time after 478 BCE, yet it seems important that Hieron is not explicitly named king here, which would imply a legitimate claim, transferable to his descendants.

160 *Py.* 2.57 τὸ δὲ σάφα νῦν ἔχεις ἔλευθέρα 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 ἐστὶ τὸ δὲ νομικὸν.

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).


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. 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, but not in Sicily. 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. 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? 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. Second, only in this ode and in Pindar’s sixth


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 δόξα τέλος δωδεκάμηνον περάσασι νιν ἀτρώτῳ κραδίᾳ. 

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, prytyanum...’. 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 βουλαί δὲ πρεσβύτεροι... παρέχοντι correlates with νεότατι... θράσσος 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. On balance, praise for Hieron as πρύτανις appears to be of more significance than merely opposing Hieron rhetorically to Ixion, the man who ‘did not know.’

Hieron is praised for his military qualities as well. Assuming that the first performance of the ode predates 474 BCE, 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. 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 be 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. It is precisely because in Hieron all these qualities are combined that he can and must

173 Viz. Py. 2.65a, Ol. 6.94 ἀριστικὸς ἴδεινεν ντότις 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 ἄδικος ἄντρο (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 μή τιν’ ἀμφότερα καλῶν τε ἄριστον ἕμα και δύναμιν κυριώτερον. Gerber (1982: 157) notes that what is meant by καλὸν is ‘all that is noble, honourable, beautiful, refined. Mere knowledge, however, of what is καλὸν, 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. 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.* In addition, the ode praises the *laudandus* as a fair judge, something which would always have been desirable for a tyrant since tyranny appears to have been viewed as *δίκια per se* from the early fifth century onwards.

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

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179 *Py.* 2.66f. ἀκίνδυνον ἐμοὶ ἐπος σὲ ποτὶ 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.'


183 *Py.* 2.66-68. χαίρε· τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοινίκισαν ἐμπολάν μέλος ὑπέρ πολιάς ἀλός πέμπτεται. Lloyd-Jones (1972: 123) argues that χαίρε means 'Fare well!', not 'farewell'. Carey (1981: 47) argues that Castoreon 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, φοινίξ, 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.\textsuperscript{186} The second \textit{Pythian} ode mentions Hieron's wealth as superior to any other man in Hellas.\textsuperscript{187} Since the ode has stressed the liberality of the \textit{laudandus}, presumably public spending is hinted at here. Hence dictated by proper χάρις, Hieron's citizens show their gratitude towards the tyrant.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{189}

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

\textsuperscript{186} I.e. \textit{de quia dedi}, cf. § 2.5.1.
\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Py.} 2.60 ἐπερὸν τιν' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα τῶν πάροιτε γενέσθαι ὑπέρτερον.
\textsuperscript{188} Ιξιον is a foil for this sentiment.
\textsuperscript{189} Needless to say that the truth was not a consideration for poet or patron.
\textsuperscript{190} \textit{Py.} 2.72 γένοι, οίος ἐστι μαθῶν. Gentili \textit{et al.} (1995: 393) links with the Delphic γνώθι σεαυτόν but a better parallel is perhaps \textit{Py.} 3.80 εἶ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, ἱέρων, ὀρθὰν ἐπίστω, and Hieron's position as Hierophant might be hinted at.
\textsuperscript{192} We can only guess if passages which the modern student of the ode finds difficult (e.g. \textit{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 \textit{tours-de-force} might have increased the pleasure which they would have received from the performance. On such purposeful obscurity (σκόπισον), cf. Quintilian 8.2.7.
\textsuperscript{193} Cf. Race (1990: 42ff.) on such negative examples.
\textsuperscript{194} \textit{Py.} 2.72-96.
they are summarily dealt with.\textsuperscript{195} Notwithstanding such unveiled threats, time and
again, Hieron is portrayed as a just, wise ruler rather than a powerful one.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{197} The gnomic section
describes the court of Hieron and the sentiments expressed in that section are his.\textsuperscript{198} In
this respect, the small ‘political passage’ deserves attention,\textsuperscript{199} if only because it is our
earliest source for the three fundamentally different forms of political government (or
\(\nu\omicron\nu\omicron\omicron\)): tyranny, oligarchy and democracy.\textsuperscript{200} Democracy in this passage does not

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{195} Viz. \textit{Py}. 2.84: ‘as enemies they will be run down as the wolf does’. \textit{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
\(\acute{\alpha}g\alpha\omicron\omicron\omicron\), \textit{Py}. 2.80, are immune to the effect of slander: cf. \textit{Py}. 2.81 and probably also 2.79f.
\item \textsuperscript{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 \(\varphi\omicron\omicron\omicron\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\) and
\(\psi\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\) in this ode, \textit{Asheri} (1992b: 153), \textit{Catenacci} (1991: 92) notes Aristot. \textit{Pol}. 1313b13-5,
\(\epsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICRON\OMICR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seem to get a good press, while oligarchy and tyranny are portrayed as neutral.\textsuperscript{202} The straight-talking man (the εὐθύγλωσσος ἀνήρ, meaning the ἄγαθος and here, by extension, all the ἄγαθοι),\textsuperscript{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 ἄγαθοι 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.\textsuperscript{205} The concluding section of the first Pythian ode deals with envy and slander as well.\textsuperscript{206} There Hieron is being addressed and 'advised' on how to counter slanderers and envious men.\textsuperscript{207} In Pindar's second Pythian ode, however, it is the laudandus himself who seems to address the audience.\textsuperscript{208} On the view taken that an epinician ode is a debate between patron and audience in which the

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\textsuperscript{201} Because of the pejorative meaning of λαβρός, cf. Pi. \textit{Ol}. 2.86f., Hom \textit{Ψ} 474, 479, Theogn. 634, 988, A. \textit{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 δήμος, cf. Pi. \textit{Ol}. 5.12, A. \textit{Eum}. 683, 762, S. \textit{El}. 749.

\textsuperscript{202} Cf. \textit{Py}. 2.87f. παρὰ τυραννιδί κτλ.

\textsuperscript{203} Cf. \textit{Py}. 1.86 ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκεως γλώσσαν. Hieron must 'straighten out' his tongue on the anvil, i.e. make it εὐθύγλωσσος.


\textsuperscript{205} Cf. \textit{Py}. 2.88 χρῆ δὲ πρὸς θεόν οὐκ ἐρίζειν.

\textsuperscript{206} Cf. \textit{Py}. 1.84-100, cf. § 2.4.4.5.

\textsuperscript{207} Cf. \textit{Py}. 1.84-86. Cf. § 2.2.3, note 409 on such 'advice'.

\textsuperscript{208} Because of the generalising use of the first person in this passage, cf. note 197. A similar rhetorical stance at \textit{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 áyaðoi.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 ποτι κέντρον ἐκ τοι λακτιζέμεν τελέθει ὀλισθηρός ὁμος. Cf. Py. 2.88.
210 Cf. Priscian. 3.356.13 (= Frag. Adesp. 13 D.) The proverb was originally applied to animals, cf. ΣPy. 2.173.
213 Cf. Gentili et al. (1995: 405) Py. 2.96 ‘un invito a riconoscere il potere di Ieronone.’
214 Py. 2.96f. ἀόδοντα δ’ εἶν με τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ὀμιλεῖν.
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.* …\(\delta\)\(\delta\)\(\omicron\)\(\nu\)\(\tau\)\(\alpha\) δ' \(\epsilon\)\(i\)\(\eta\) με το\(i\)ς \(\alpha\)\(γ\alpha\)\(\theta\)\(ο\)\(ι\)ς \(\omicron\)\(m\)\(i\)\(l\)\(e\)\(i\)\(n\) 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. 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.

The praise for Hieron in the proem distances him from everyone else, 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. It defines the psychological mode in which the audience is kept for almost four triads. In the mythical section, gnomae (sententiae) appear to have equal relevance for Hieron and audience. 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.

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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 gnomic 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. 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. 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 Herrschafssystem 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. The place of first performance must have been Syracuse. The majority of modern scholars assume that Pindar's first Olympian and Bacchylides' fifth ode celebrate the

\[\text{\textsuperscript{224} Cf. § 1.3.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{225} Cf. §§ 8.3.1-3.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{226} B.5.182-184 καὶ Πίταν ἑνθ’ ὁ κλέεννος [πο]σι νικάσας δρόμῳ [ηλθ]εν Φερένικος κτλ.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{227} B.5.10-13 ἀπὸ ζοθέας νάσου ξένος ὑμετέραν πέμπτει κλέενναν ἐς πόλιν. The sheer length of the ode tells against a first performance at the games as well.}\]
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.


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 εὐμοιρος, and praised as στρατηγός of the Syracusans. 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. Gelon might have held such a title, which could then have been passed onto Hieron. Jebb, however, cautiously evaluating all the evidence, convincingly argues that στρατηγός must have been 'merely a general designation'. To this could be added that Homeric usage seems to add αὐτήρ to a designation of professions, and στρατευότας, as a description of a function standing on its own, seems first to be used in Hellenistic times. While the term στρατηγός appears to be stronger than the more politically neutral term ἀστυθεμίς, praise of Hieron’s justice plays down overtly militaristic tones. 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, and seems more in

line with the neutral terminology of Bacchylides' fourth ode. 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, this surely must have been an important part of Hieron's self-representation.

The ode is being sent to ὑμετέραν ἐς κλυτάν...πόλιν. The plural used here must refer to the clan, 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.

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

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244 Cf. § 2.4.3.
246 B.5.11-12.
247 Cf. B.5.32 where ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν refers to the clan. Cf. B.5.35f. Δεινομένευς ἀγέρωχοι παῖδες.
248 E.g. *Py.* 3.70 ὡς Συρακόσσαις νέμει βασιλεύς. Likewise, B.3.11f. and *Ol.* 1.12f. go much further than B.5.32ff.
250 B.5.31-33 έμοι μερία 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' ἕκατι Νίκας χαλκεοστέρνου τ' Ἀρηος.
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. πετάλισμος) seems unlikely,²⁵⁹ but the εὐδαιμονίας πέταλος could arguably hint at the so-called

²⁵² ἐξατη plus the name of a god in the genitive can be ‘by the will of, thanks to’, cf. Hom. o 319, τ 86, u 42, or, alternatively ‘because of, ‘for the sake of, cf. Pi. Py. 10.58 (probably first performed in 498 BCE). In B.5.33 ἐξατη 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 Compernolle (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 [εὐδαίμονίας πέταλον.
²⁵⁹ Viz. petalismos and ostracism in Syracse, cf. D.S. 11.86f., ca.454 BCE. However, Jebb (1905: 292) rightly notes that on the analogy of φέρειν ψήφον suffragium ferre, cf. B.5.184-86 Φερένικος,...τέρωνι φέρων ...πέταλον, would mean that Φερένικος is the voter.
symbola, 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, εὔπυργός, might hint at the security which the tyrant gives the city.

Bacchylides often delights in Homeric or epic reminiscences, and this ode appears to contain similes or exempla that clearly echo such earlier poetry, whereas other passages can be said to be loosely modelled on Homeric epic. 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, something that allows him to estimate properly the ἀγάλμα (sc. the

261 B.5.184.
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. PMG224, 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 αἱ τις ἐπιχθονίων, ὄρθως: Jebb (1905: 269) translates 'thou, if any mortal, wilt rightly estimate...', Maehler (1982a: 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, 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.

2.2.4 The myth – Heracles' KATABASIE.

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. Some features of the...

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


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*, 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. 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; 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, yet Heracles' encounter with Meleager is not attested before Bacchylides and Pindar. Pindar's version, which we know only from paraphrases, 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: 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 Théstius was king of the Curetes, Meleager his grandson. The husband of Althæa, 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 *Py. 9.90-105, Isth. 4.1-3, 6.66ff., Pae. 7.16ff., 6.57f*. She argues that the journeys mentioned at *Ol. 9.81f.*, *Py. 10.64f.* and B.5.175f. could well be eschatological language.


whether there might be an unmarried sister of Meleager available.\textsuperscript{274} The manner in which this is done has nothing to do with homoeroticism,\textsuperscript{275} and is better understood as admiration and \textit{Lebensbejahung}. Clearly, the myth, as Bacchylides tells it, is full of pathos. Meleager's ψυχή, for example, is γλυκεῖα and his ἡβή is ἀγλαά while his last breath is a sob with tears, οἰοὶ ...δάκρυα τιλομων.\textsuperscript{276} Heracles weeps out of compassion,\textsuperscript{277} an emotion to which he rarely gives way.\textsuperscript{278} Portrayal of this emotion, however, might be motivated by more than simply a wish for increased pathos of the passage. Heracles weeps not out of 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Lebensbejahung}, a wish for the continuation of life,\textsuperscript{280} and arguably a further delicate allusion to Hieron's (and

\textsuperscript{274} B.5.165-68 Ἡρά τις ἐν μεγάροις Οἶνης ἄρηφιλου ἔστιν ὁδομήτα θυγάτρων, σοὶ φυὰν ἀληχία; \\
\textsuperscript{275} Pace Maehler (1982b: 119) 'der Hauch von ἐρως παιδικος ... ist nicht zu überhören.' See below. \\
\textsuperscript{276} B.5.151-54. \\
\textsuperscript{277} B.5.155-58 ... μούνον δὴ τὸ τέγξαι βλέφαρον... \\
\textsuperscript{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. \\
\textsuperscript{279} March (1987: 51f.). \\
\textsuperscript{280} Cf. the growth imagery at the end of the poem, B.5.197f. τὸθεν γάρ[π] πυθμένες βάλλουσιν ἐωθλ[ῶν]. Cf. S. Ant. 144f. ὦ πατρὸς ἕνὸς μητρὸς τε μίας 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

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\(^{281}\) Heracles in heaven with his bride Hebe, cf. Hom. \(\lambda\) 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. \(Heracl\). 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. \(ARV^2\) 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 Komaiitho.

\(^{284}\) B.5.140ff. καὶ τε δαιδαλός ἐκ λάρνακος ὑκύμορον φιτρόν ἐξαύσασα κτλ.

\(^{285}\) This detail is also attested in Phryn. \(Pleuronia\ \(TrGF\) 6 F 6.

\(^{286}\) Preuß (1902: 26).

\(^{287}\) Cf. Hom. l.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, 260.2 MW.
migrations of souls, 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.

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, 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, 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: 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

292 B.5.176-78 Λευκώλενε Καλλιόπα, στάσον εὑποίητον ἄρμα αὐτοῦ.
293 B.5.50-55 two gnomae in succession Ὄλυμπος ὑπενθεὶ καιρὰν τε καλῶν ἐπορευν σὺν τ' ἐπίζηλω τῷχα ἀφνεόν βιοτὰν διάγεν- οὐ γὰρ τις ἐπιχθενίων τὴν ἀντὶς τ' ἐνδίδασμον ἔφυ.
the myth seems a slight variation on the sentiments which were expressed in earlier *gnomae*. The pathos of the myth culminates in a fifth *gnome*, rhetorically important as the highpoint in the dramatic development. Heracles laments that it is best for mortals never to have been born. 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. A *chreos* motif constitutes the sixth *gnome*. 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. 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.
This sentiment will be the last gnome in this ode and picks up the first gnome mentioned above. The sentiment can be compared to a similar thought in an ode composed for Hieron a least eight years later, Bacchylides' third ode, 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.

The ode closes with a wish for the continuation of peace. Some suspect an allusion to the victory of Himera in 480 BCE, which is certainly possible, but rhetorically a suggestio falsi. 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. 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. Such matters surely must have been

\[\text{Footnotes:}\]

302 B.5.50-53 Ὀλβιος ὑπνοῖς θεώς μοιρᾶν τοὺς καλὰς ἐπορεύον σὺν τῷ ἐπιζήλῳ τοὺς ἁφνεόν βιοτῶν διάγειν.
303 Cf. § 2.5.1.
304 Cf. § 2.5.1.
307 Cf. § 3.1.4.1.
308 Cf. § 3.1.4.1 and § 8.3.1.
309 I strongly disagree with Maehler (1982b: 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,\textsuperscript{310} it seems more likely that the wish for peace at the end of the poem is a generic \textit{topos} of praise.

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 òecists and both conquered powerful enemies. In doing so they confronted great dangers. The ode mentions two types of rewards for Pelops' προβος, 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.\textsuperscript{311} Later generations reserved high praise for this ode as well.\textsuperscript{312}

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

The myth takes up a large proportion of the ode.\textsuperscript{317} This, admittedly, need not necessarily imply that all features in the myth have relevance for the \textit{laudandus}.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Cf. \textit{Hypoth. Olympiorum} 14-17 p. 7 Dr.
\item Luc. \textit{Gal.} 17. τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ἄσματων ἀπάντων. Wilamowitz, however, knows better (1922: 237) ‘nicht in die erste Reihe seiner Lieder.’
\item Viz. \textit{Ol.} 1.22-23 Συρακόσιον ἵπποχάρμαν βασιλῆα: 1.113-14 ἓν ἄλλοις δ’ ἄλλοι μεγάλοι: τὸ δ’ ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται βασιλεύσι.
\item The arguments are set out in Appendix two.
\item Viz. at \textit{Ol.} 1.12f. θεμιστεῖον δ’ ἀμφέτει σκάττον ἐν πολυμηλῶς Σικελία...
\item Cf. Hom I 98f. λαύων ἐσσὶ ἀνόξ καὶ τοῦ Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε σκῆπτρον τ’ ἢδε θεμιστάς, ἵνα σφισί βουλεύοντα. Cf. Gerber (1982: 33) for other examples of kings dispensing θέμιστες.
\item \textit{Ol.} 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.
\item In other words, that each and every feature should be paralleled with the \textit{laudandus}. E.g. in Pindar’s fourth \textit{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. \textit{Py.} 4.293 \textit{ad fin.}
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
becomes his depiction of Hieron. The alternative view holds that the myth serves mainly to enhance the glory of Olympia. 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. On that interpretation, mention of Pelops having conquered powerful enemies in the process of which he confronted great dangers suggests to the audience that Hieron had done the same. Hieron and Pelops were both oecists, and since Pelops' rewards explicitly include cult (he appears to be honoured as a hero at Olympia), there are good reasons to suspect that Hieron in his capacity as oecist had the intention


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.'


322 Cf. O. 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. On that interpretation, an audience could parallel Hieron's victories at Himera and Cumae with the scene at O. 1.70ff. ...παρὰ πατρὸς εὐδοχον ἠποδάμειαν σχεθέμεν.


324 On Pelops' hero cult at Olympia, cf. Burkert (1983: 108-19), Krummen (1990: 158-63). Cf. O. 1.90-94 νῦν δὲ ἐν αἰμακουρίαις ἀγλασθὲς μέμικται, Ἀλφεοῦ πόρῳ κλίθεσι, τύμβων ἀμφίτολων ἔχων πολυζευνώτατο παρὰ βωμῷ: The tomb and bloodsacrifices which continued into the present, O. 1.90 νῦν δὲ 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. Hence this ode suggests that the traditional survival of Κλέος in song 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.

Banquets and generally sympotic terminology are prominent in the ode, while sympotic terminology has been suspected in the opening words of the ode Ἀριστον μὲν ὑδωρ, apparently alluding to the sympotic game of 'what is best'? The priamel appears to invert a traditional topos, but right from the beginning sets the tone for a sympotic atmosphere. The presence of strange conundrums in the ode, 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. 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. OI. 1.82f. and 1.95.
328 Cf. § 8.3.4.
329 Cf. OI. 1.14-18 παιζομεν φιλαν...άμφι ...τράπεζαν, OI. 1.37-38 Tantalus gives a banquet.
332 On the puzzling implications of OI. 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.\textsuperscript{334}

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


\textsuperscript{335} \textit{Ol.} 1.37f. ὃποτ' ἐκάλεσα πατήρ τὸν εὐφροσύνατον ἐξ ἔρανον φίλαν τε Σῖτυλον. Gerber (1982: 74) notes that εὐφροσύνα is regularly used to describe the proper conduct at symposia. For Eὐφροσύνα on Greek vases in a sympotic context, cf. Webster (1972: 68-71).

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

\textsuperscript{337} In litotes, cf. \textit{Ol.} 1.55f. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καταπέματι μέγαν ὀλβὸν οὐκ ἔδυνάσθη. Οὐ καταπέματο ἵνα διηγῆσθαί, \textit{cf. Hom} A 81: used of anger. Other gastronomical allusions in this ode are \textit{Ol.} 1.53 γαστρίμαργοι gluttonous and \textit{Ol.} 1.76 Οἰνομάος whose name is linked with οἰνομανής.

\textsuperscript{338} \textit{Ol.} 1.58.

\textsuperscript{339} Dickie (1984: 90).

\textsuperscript{340} Krummen (1990: 164) on \textit{Ol.} 1.92-93 κλίθες and πολυξενοσάτωι παρά 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.’

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. This effect is achieved mainly through sustained alternation of first- and second-person deixis.

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. 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, and the dangers of an unruly banquet were well known. The well-ordered symposium, as a non-hubristic environment, 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

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 ξυνδικως πιθεις ἁράι (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 ἡμουξια 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 is 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.

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349 Cf. the numerous figures of refutation formalised in the classical rhetorical canon, e.g. ἀντικατηγορία, ἀντίρρησις, ἀποδιώξις, ἀπόφασις, expeditio, διασυμφόρος, δικαιαλογία, ἔλεγχος, ἔρωτιμα, exitatio, λύτης, μετάτασις, προκατάληψις.

350 Cf. Οἰ. 9.35-41, Οἰ. 13.91 (with Ἰσθ. 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 Οἰ. 1.87 (the gift) and Οἰ. 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.\textsuperscript{353}

The majority of modern scholars hold the view that 476 BCE is the date of the victory which is celebrated in the ode.\textsuperscript{354} However, a later date, namely 472 BCE, is suggested as slightly preferable.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{356} Since the opening priamel of the ode culminates in praise for Olympia,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{358} The authority of fifth-century Sicilian tyrannies appears to have been the authority of family groups rather than that of individuals,\textsuperscript{359} and the Deinomenids and Emmenids appear to have forged restrictive matrimonial alliances whereby both families would take their wives from the other

\textsuperscript{353} Cf. \textit{Ol.} 1.8 δηθεν the ode comes from Olympia and \textit{Ol.} 1.10f. ...ες ἄφεσαν ἰκομένους μάκαραν ἱέρωνος ἱτιαν, cf. Ne. 1.19f., Isth. 8.2f.

\textsuperscript{354} The victory was won at Olympia, cf. \textit{Ol.} 1.7. The event was the single-horse race, cf. \textit{Ol.} 1.18.

\textsuperscript{355} Cf. Appendix two.

\textsuperscript{356} Cf. Appendix five.

\textsuperscript{357} \textit{Ol.} 1.7

\textsuperscript{358} Sources on this marriage: Σ Pi. \textit{Ol.} 2.29bcd, Σ Py. 1.112 (= Philist. \textit{FGHist}F556 F 50), Timae. \textit{FGHist}F 566 F 97.

\textsuperscript{359} Wilamowitz (1901: 1277f.). Cf. Arist. \textit{Pol.} 1316a ωστερ ή των 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,
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.
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
Copreus might have been advisable.
laudandus is specifically addressed: a section just before the myth is introduced, and one towards the end of the ode.

The first time Hieron is explicitly praised is because of his ‘rich and blessed hearth’ and his rightful rule in ‘flock-rich’ Sicily. 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. Second, whereas praise of the homeland or home city of the laudandus early in the ode is common, here an association between ruling and Sicily might be hinted at. In other words, the Syracusian might hint at aspirations of rule of the laudandus beyond his home city Syracuse.

This high praise is followed by a sympotic scene, in which it is mentioned that Hieron ‘culls the summit of all achievements’. However, none of Hieron’s ἀπεται 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 ὁ. 1.10-23.
366 ὁ. 1.10-108.
367 ὁ. 1.10-12 ές ἄφνεαν ἰκομένους μάκαιραν έρωνος έστιαν, θεμιστείον ὃς ἀμφέτει σκάπτον ἐν πολυμηλώ Σικελίᾳ.
369 Schadewaldt (1928: 36n.1), Thummer (1968: 55ff.).
371 ὁ. 1.13-23 δρέπων ...βασιλῆα. The language used in this passage adds to the sympotic ambience. ὁ. 1.14-17 ἀγλαίζεται δὲ καὶ μουσικάς ἐν ἀώτῳ, οὐ παῖζομεν φίλαν ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν... Gerber (1982: 38) notes Ion fr. 27.7f. πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν· ἵτω διὰ νυκτὸς ἀοίδη, ὀρχείσθω τις· ἐκὼν δ’ ἄρχε φιλοφροσύνης.
372 ὁ. 1.13 δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετάν.
qualities, 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. 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.

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

373 Py. 3.71f. πραziς άστοξ, ού φθονώvν άγαθοίς, ξείνoις δέ θαυμαστός πατήρ.
374 Ol. 1.18-22.
375 Cf. Appendix eight where this passage is compared with B.5.43f.
376 Ol. 1. 23 Συρακόσιον ἱπποχάρμων βασιλέα· and again, by implication at Ol. 1.113f. το δ’ ἠχατον κορυφούται βασιλέας.
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. Ol. 2.95, Ol. 1.23, Py. 12.13, Ne. 3.17, Isth. 8.11 and cf. Dornseiff (1921: 108f.). Nierhaus (1936:109ff.) gives the epic parallels.
378 Ol. 1.23f. λάμπει δὲ οἱ κλέος ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικίας: [sc. Pisa].
380 Cf. Ol. 1.93-95 τὸ δὲ κλέος τηλόθεν δεδορκε τὰν Ολυμπάδων ἐν δρόμοις Πέλωπος. This could refer to an actual statue, commissioned but not necessarily already erected by the time of the first performance.
Pelops. 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 cæcist 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. Pindar might have innovated, but there is no scholarly agreement as to how Pindar’s account differs from older versions and where he might have changed things, 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, and hence

381 Ol. 1.24 ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποίκισι.
383 As he himself tells us at Ol. 1.36 υἱὲ Ταντάλου, ἀτι αὐτί προϊέρων 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.).
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. Second, the myth might imply that Hieron, like Pelops, has divine assistance. Third, when Pelops seeks contact with Poseidon he approaches the sea at night and in silence, which could have brought to mind the darkness associated with chthonic rituals, as, for example, the Eleusinian Mysteries. This might have been relevant to Hieron in his capacity of Hierophant in the Demeter-Kore worship.

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. That she is written out of the Pindaric version is rather unsurprising, since Demeter (and Kore) seem to have been most venerable goddesses in Sicily and the *laudandus* a priest in their service. The Myrtilus-episode 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 and this ode surely offers the

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386 Explicitly at *Ol.* 1.106 with mention that a θεός is Hieron's ἔπιτροπος.
387 *Ol.* 1.71 ἐγγύς ἔλθων πολιάς ἀλός οἵς ἐν ὄρφυς ἀπευ ἑπάρκτυτον.
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.
393 Cf. § 2.3.1.
audience much intellectual diverteisement. One particular conundrum can be singled out: the poetical I states that he 'will tell things differently from others', 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 by revising the myth. 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 posses an ivory shoulder, which clashes with the assumption that Poseidon fell in love with Pelops because of the ivory shoulder. 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.

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.

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394 Ol. 1.36 άντια προτέρων φθέγξομαι.
395 Ol. 1.52 εμοί δ’ ἀπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν’ εἰπείν· ἀφίστομαι· Verdenius (1988: 27) notes that it is better to translate ἀφίστομαι 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. IT’386.
396 Ol. 1.36ff.
398 Currie (2005: 352) '...the poet both has his cake and eats it.' Cf. Ol. 9.35-41, Ne. 5.14-18.
399 Ol. 1.97-99 ὑνικών δὲ λοιπὸν ἄμφι βίοτον ἔχει μελιτάσασαν εὐδίαν ἀέθλιων γ’ ἐνεκέν.
Hieron, as victor, 'for the rest of his life enjoys a honey-sweet calm', εχει μελιτόκεισαν εύδιαν, which expresses the common epinician topos of deserved rest after the necessary πόνος of the contest, ἄθλων γ' ἐνεκεν. 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, yet it appears that this passage merely repeats earlier praise, namely of Hieron as a hospitable, wealthy and powerful man. The mention of an (unspecified) θεός as Hieron's ἐπίτηρος picks up Poseidon's help for Pelops. The scholia to the Pindaric odes mention a festival in honour of Zeus Αἴτων. If the ode was performed in the context of that festival, a Syracuse audience might be reminded of Hieron's care for the god of Aetna, his ἐπίτηρος. On that interpretation, the audience is reminded of Hieron's εὔοσβεία as well, while an audience outside Sicily, probably unaware of such links, would be informed that a god has concern for Hieron's endeavours.

400 Ol. 1.97f.
401 The same topos at Ol. 4.22, Ne. 1.69f. 9.44.
403 Cf. wealth at Ol. 1.10 and hospitality at Ol. 1.14-17, both necessary characteristics of a good host.
404 Cf. Σ Pi. Ne. 1.7b, Σ Ol. 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 εὔοσβεία of the poet, cf. Ol. 1.35f. ἔστι δ' ἀνδρὶ φάτεν ἔοικός ἀμφί δαιμόνων καλά: with the effect of uniting laudator and laudandus.
After a wish for a future chariot victory, the *laudandus* is once more praised using regal terminology, this time indirectly. The *ne plus ultra* 'look no further' is not a warning against the dangers of ὑβρίς, but is better understood as high praise for Hieron. A prayer concludes the ode with the promise that Hieron's fame will spread throughout the Greek world.

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407 *Ol.* 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.


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. Ol.* 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 *Ol.* 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


\(^{413}\) Cf. B.4.4f., pace Brannan (1972: 176).

\(^{414}\) Snell (1970: xlii).

\(^{415}\) *Py* 1.61 πόλιν κεῖναν. This does not mean that the ode was performed at Syracuse, pace Gildersleeve (1890: 248). Cf. Gentili *et al.* (1995: 349) who notes that κεῖναν, instead of τάνδε, anaphorically takes up *Py* 1.60, just as κεῖνον 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 Μοίσα, καὶ πάρ δεινομένει κελαδήσαι τίθεσο μοι ποινάν τεθριππων.
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*.

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\(^{418}\) 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.


\(^{420}\) *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.


\(^{423}\) E.g. Currie (2005: 17) who argues that a festival of Zeus Aірwοіς could 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{424} Cf. Gelzer's (1985: 102) \textit{Dokumentationsfunktion} of an \textit{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 \textit{Polisideologie}.

\textsuperscript{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. 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, 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, 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. 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, whereas on a narrative level, the Dorian foundation represents a story about 'newcomers' or even 'chosen-people' appropriate

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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, ἱστοχώρα 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. 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, and, conversely, success for their home city reflected back on the polis. A polis bent on international glory could even buy a victory, which tells us that not only the athletes but also the poleis would be competing between themselves. 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. 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 Aιναϊος.

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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.  
437 Py. 1.29-33 the crucial passage is πόλιν γείτονα (sc. Αετνα), Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ κάρυξ ἀνεπιε νιν (sc. Αετνα) ἀγγέλλων ξέρωνος ὑπέρ κτλ. Gentili et al. (1995: 340) argues that ὑπέρ shows that the herald acted on Hieron's order and notes Νε. 8.14, Ισθ. 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. 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. 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, suggesting, for example, that Hieron was in fact Syracusan but was proclaimed at Delphi as Aetnaean because he had refounded that city. In the scholiast on Pindar's first *Olympian* ode there is a mini-debate on the status of Hieron's citizenship. Commenting on the line in the first *Olympian* ode where Hieron is said to be 'horse-loving king of Syracuse', 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. This is denounced as nonsensical by Didymus, who, on the authority of Apollodorus, says that Hieron was Syracusan, not Aetnaean. 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 Β.4.1-3 Ἐτὶ Συρακοσίον φίλει πόλιν ὁ χρυσοκόμας Ἀπόλλων, ἀστυθεμένος 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 *Ol*. 1.35c.
442 *Ol*. 1.23.
443 Σ *Ol*. 1.35c ...καίσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν τὴν Κατάνην καὶ προσαγορεύσαντα Αἰτνήν ἀπ' αὐτῆς Αἰναίων αὐτὸν λέγουσιν...
444 Apollod. *FGHist* 244 F 69 τὸτε γὰρ ὁ ἱέρων ᾧν Συρακούσιος καὶ οὐδὲ ᾧν Αἰναίως
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 Αἰρναῖος 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 Αἰρναῖος? 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 Αἰρναῖος before his home audience in Aetna.449

445 Who might have been a younger contemporary of Didymus, cf. Irigoin (1952: 65).
446 Ἡ. Ὀλ. 1.35c ὥ δὲ Ἀριστόνικος ἀξιόπιστος Αἰρναῖος ἄντι Συρακούσιον ὄνομαζεθαι...
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 (1982b: 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 Αἰρναῖος.
Propaganda must lie at the heart of the matter, 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. 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. 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. Such tactics occur in other contemporary examples of dedications in our literary sources. 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. 33 (cf. Paus. 6.9.5) and Syll. 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; Zahrnt (1993: 365) with the one off Cumae.


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 13.1470 '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)
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. Possibly as a result, the fourth Bacchylidean ode has disappointed some scholars.  

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


with its emendation of ΑΝΑΣΣΟΝ 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 ήρωνα), the venue (B.4.4f. παρ' ὀμφαλόν ὑψιδείρου χθόνος Πυθιόνικος as place of post-agonistic festivities and B.4.14 ἄγχιάλοις τε Κύρρας μυχοῖς as the location where the contests actually had taken place), the name of father (B.4.13 Δεινομένεος), the event as an equestrian one (B.4.6 ὕκυπτόδων ἄρται σὺν ἱππων).

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.'


458 B.4.3.

459 Cf. Denniston (1957: 76) who notes on A. Ag. 88 θεοὶ ἀστυνομοὶ 'administering the city, having the city under their management. As a rule 'city' in the political sense is πόλις, not ἀστυ…'.
dispensation of just rule. The goddess Themis is associated with Zeus’ order and law, 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. Syracuse in the opening of the poem takes centre stage. In other words, the interests and reputation of the victor’s city are paramount. 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. This was not simply epinician flattery, 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 μεγαλοπρέπης. 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. Second, there is no mention of Hieron’s

460 Cf. Py. 5.28f. the house of the Βαττιδαν ...θεμισκρέοντων, B.5.6-7 φρένα δ’ ευθύδικον Hieron as dispenser of justice in his capacity of ruler. Cf. §. 8.3.1.
461 Cf. Hes. Th. 901-2 Όρας Εύνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Είρηνην τεθαλαιν.
463 Cf. § 2.4.3.
467 Contrast with Py. 1.90 μη 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 ὀλβος. 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 ἄλεκτρωπ 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/ηµέρα and the cock announcing the new day, cf. Pl. 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 ἄλεκτρωπ here refers to the poet, Cf. Sim. PMG 583 ἰερόφων ἄλεκτρωπ, διελ λντίος, Σ B.4.10 (= B. fr. 5).

469 Although ἀστυθεμις 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 οἰείς and qua οἰείς 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 toposi, namely 'that of the vicissitudes/alternations and the importance of divine favour in success.'

474 B.4.19f. παντο[δ]ατὼν λαγχάνειν ἀπὸ μοῖραν ἐςθλόν;
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 ἀλφος.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-
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 Doriens. 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. 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. Assuming that the Punic threat was non-existent by the time of first performance of the ode, Himera and military victories in general were needed to

\[\text{\textsuperscript{480}}\text{ Cf. Luraghi (1994: 258-59) who notes that Theron celebrated Himera in Acragas, not in Himera where celebrations were directed at Gelon. Cf. Hdt. 7.166-67 (the only source unequivocally linking Theron with Gelon as victor), D.S. 11.20-11.25.1, Polyae. 1.28.1 (the only passage recording Theron's participation in the battle). The battle was economically motivated, \textit{pace} the Terillos-Hamilcar episode in Herodotus, cf. Will (1972: 233).}\\\text{\textsuperscript{481}}\text{ Will (1972: 236) notes that when the battle of Himera is stripped of its value as internal political propaganda and military consequences, the comparison with Salamis and Plataea becomes less obvious, 'assez peu de chose'.}\\\text{\textsuperscript{482}}\text{ Whittaker (1978, 59-66) convincingly argues that there was no longer any threat by 470 BCE. E.g. Justin 4.2.6-7: after the defeat of Hamilcar at Himera the Carthaginians \textit{aliquantipser quierever victi.} D.S. 11.20.3 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἄκινδυνως αὐτῶν ἀρθην ἀνελεῖ τὴν δύναμιν. \textit{Pace} Σ. Π. \textit{Py.} 1.137ab and Σ 142, all surely based on the propaganda in this ode. It is worth noting that the Carthaginians and Etruscans were firmly embedded in the economy of the whole of Western Greece and relationships between Greeks and non-Greeks in the Mediterranean basin around that time were characterised by co-operation, rather than by antagonism. Cf. Andrewes}\]
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. 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.

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


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. Instead, the audience is offered an extensive narrative which deals with the power of poetry, order and chaos. The ode slowly focuses in on the hic et nunc only in the second antistrophe. There is ecphrasis of what might have been a contemporary eruption of Aetna, 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. This shows the importance of Aetna and the events that attend it for this ode.

Many of the features of this proem need not be discussed here. 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, while the end of the ode is a further powerful

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485 In Pindar's third Pythian ode there is also some postponement, although not as much as in this ode.
487 Py. 1.29-33.
488 Debiasi (2000: 230) argues for an eruption of relatively small force in 475 BCE, cf. Σ Α. 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).
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. τάς 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. The proem arguably sets up a comparison between the *laudandus* and Zeus, the supreme pacificator in political and military conflict. In other words, Zeus' cosmic order is held up as an example of the political harmony which Hieron can guarantee for Aetna's citizens. 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, resulting in peace and splendour. 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, 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, pinning him down under Cumae as well as under Aetna might have been a Pindaric innovation. 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.

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493 Cf. the symposium setting of the proem with *Py.* 1.97f. οὐδὲ νῦν φόρμιγγες ὑπωρόφιαι κοιναίην μαλαθάκαν παιδών ὀφρασία δέκονται.
496 *Py.* 1. 8 ἀδῷ κλαίθρον, *Py.* 1.11f. ἱαίνει καρδιαν κύματι.
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.
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, 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. 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. The Sicilian audience was led to believe that Hieron had himself proclaimed as Aîtreos, surely praise for that city. A gnome which follows, links Aetna's fortune with Hieron's current Pythian victory as an auspicious sign. By extension, Hieron's victory was the πρώτα χάρις for Aetna which allows for hopes of 'Aetna renowned for crowns and horses and its name honoured amid tuneful festivals. 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

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501 I.e. Typhon's behaviour, that of an archetypal sinner against values shared by all Greeks.
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 πρώτα 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.\footnote{Py. 1.46. ἐπιλασιν. Σ Py. 1.89a is of the opinion that Hieron's illness is hinted at.} These hardships are rendered concrete with the addition that surely all remember the battles in which Hieron was involved.\footnote{Py. 1.47f. ἤ κεν ἀμνάσειεν, οἶας ἐν πολέμοισι μάχαις τιλάμοι μυχὰ παρέμειν', ἀνίχ' εὐρίσκοντο τεχών ταλάμαις τιμάν. Πινδαρὸς ἤ κεν ἀμνάσειεν ἐστὶν ἀναμνήσειεν. Σ Py. 1.91b supplies ὁ χρόνος as subject. Rhetorically this could mean that what follows is well known for an audience and will remain well known (κλέος), but see below.} A Sicilian audience would without doubt have identified the first battle mentioned as that of Himera in 480 BCE.\footnote{Py. 1.48-50.} However, before his home audience, the laudandus cautiously aligns himself with the glory of the clan,\footnote{Because of the plural of εὐρίσκοντο. The subject of εὐρίσκοντο, however, remains ambiguous at this point, but cf. Py. 1.79 παιδέσασιν ... Δεινομένεος.} whereas for an audience outside Sicily the Deinomenid clan portrays itself as Panhellenic champions.\footnote{Cf. Py. 1.49f. οἴαν οὕτης Ἑλλάνων δρέπει πλούτου στεφάνῳ ἄγερωχον...} The second battle hinted at,\footnote{Py. 1.50-52.} 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.\footnote{Py. 1.50 νῦν γε μᾶν 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.} Hieron is compared to Philoctetes and Pindar might have innovated to make the analogy with a sick Hieron on campaign more clear.\footnote{Cf. Py. 1.55 ἁδενεῖ μὲν χρωτὶ βαίνων, ἀλλὰ μοιρίδιον ἔν. 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, while other (admittedly late) sources portray Philoctetes even as a Magna Graecia oecist. There have been various suggestions as to the identification of that second battle. 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. 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, 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.

The ode then touches upon dynastic concerns. It appears that the Deinomenids did not use the royal title, 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 ἐλκετειρόμενον, might be picked up with Hieron's effort of delivery Hellas from slavery, cf. Py. 1.75 Ἑλλᾶς ἐξέλκων κτλ.

516 Procl. Chr. p.106 Allen.
517 Str. 6.1.3, Prinz (1979: 59).
519 Py. 1.47f. ᾧ κεν ἀμνάσειν, οἷς ἐν πολέμοις μάχαις τλάμοιν ψυχὰ παρέμειν'....Homeric, cf. Hom E 669f. ὁδυσσεὺς τλάμονα θυμὸν ἔχων, Η 152, Κ 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. 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. With the installation of his son Deinomenes, Hieron might have attempted to start a dynasty, in other words a legitimate line of kings. In other words, while Hieron's position in Syracuse was de facto, in Aetna his would be de iure. Finally, kingship is touched upon in the proem as well and is represented there as part of the natural order.

The cosmic order, advertised in the proem, is now paralleled in a prayer for the future of Aetna. In that prayer, everyone implicated in Aetna's future is mentioned in hierarchical order, first Zeus (τίν), then Hieron (Ἀγητήρ ἄνήρ), his son (ὑιὸ τ') and finally Aetna's citizens (δῶμοι). Important is the mention of ἡσυχία. The term ἡσυχία in

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524 Cf. Arist. Pol. 1314a: the tyrant should try to approximate his rule to kingship τὸ ποιεῖν αὑτήν (sc. his rule) βασιλικώτερον. 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 ἡσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικάς βασιλείας, Th. 1.17, Th. 6.54.5 the Pisistratidae. Cf. Andrewes (1956: 28).


527 Hieron’s position qua cecist, 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 ...ἀρχός οἰωνών... 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. In Pindar ήσυχια is commonly used for 'internal peace'. Since at the time of first performance of the ode it appears that there was no longer any Carthaginian threat, the wish for ήσυχια in this passage appears to be a wish for 'internal peace' in Syracuse and Aetna, or a wish that stasis in Sicily would cease. In other words, the notion that it is Hieron (and through him, Deinomenes) who will turn Aetna's citizens to harmonious peace.

2.4.4.3 The Dorian foundation myth.


532 Cf. Dickie (1984: 87), Fraenkel (1966: 279). Cf. Pi. Ol. 4.16 πρός ήσυχιαν φιλότοπον, 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 πεφιλήκης (a perfect of result) and Py. 1.15 ἔξων πολέμιος. In the proem, stasis has been overcome with the subjugation of Typhon (Py. 1.15 ὑς τε ἐν οἴνῃ Ταρταρῷ κεῖται Py. 1.19 ὡθεὶ ... πιέζεται). 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 συμφώνον ἀν ήσυχιαν. 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.\textsuperscript{537} Since ethnic cleansing was not part of the motivation for the Aetna project,\textsuperscript{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 έλευθερία and βασιλεύς at the same time.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{540} The Dorian foundation myth is important, however, in its own terms. The key passage is \textit{Py}. 1.62-64 with mention of στάθμα, νόμος and τεθμός, possibly with undertones of εύνομια and ισονομία.\textsuperscript{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...

\textsuperscript{537} \textit{Py}. 1.60-66.

\textsuperscript{538} Cf. Appendix six.

\textsuperscript{539} Luraghi (1994: 359) 'senza che tra i due termini se inneschi un contrasto stridente.' Cf. \textit{Py}. 1.61 θεοδημάτω συν έλευθερίαι in conjunction with \textit{Py}. 1.60 Aetna's king, \textit{Py}. 1.68 the two kings Hieron and Deinomenes. Cf. Raaflaub (2004: 61f.) on \textit{Isth}. 8.15 which is probably the earliest extant instance of έλευθερίαι, '...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 \textit{Isth}. 8.17ab. Raaflaub (2004: 90) notes that έλευθερία at Pi. \textit{Py}. 1.61 expresses a '...proper distribution of honours and political authority between king and people.'


\textsuperscript{541} On εύνομια ('law and order') and ισονομία, cf. Ostwald (1969: 33ff.), Andrewes (1938). The latter, however, notes (1938: 89) that εύνομια, 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 \textit{Py}. 1.60-62 with Tyrt. \textit{fr}. 1-4 W. Cf. § 3.1.4.2 on \textit{Ne}. 9.28 with a similar rhetorical stance in an ode composed for an associate of Hieron. Cf. Carm. Conv. \textit{PMG} 893.4, 896.4 for the praise for ισονομία bestowed by Harmodius and Artistogeiton on Athens.
Aetna. The long-term stability of the Spartan έυνομία was especially admired both by contemporaries and later generations. 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. By extension, Aetna’s settlers, as did the Dorians, will remain in their newly conquered territory as well. Importantly, the Dorian myth appears to be a ‘chosen-people’ type of story, concerned with immigrant colonists. 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.

Assuming that Aetna was a ‘gift’ from the tyrant to his mercenary settlers, the Dorian foundation myth in the ode strengthens the rights and claims of Aetna’s settlers on their new territory. It also advertises the laudandus

542 Σ. Ρ. 3.118c e.g. associates the plural in Ρ. 1.68 καὶ βασιλεύσιν 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 ἱσχύων which only Hieron and Deinomenes could guarantee.

543 Cf. Ρ. 10.1 Ὑλίδα Λακεδαίμων, Ηδτ. 1.66.1 Οὐτώ μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, (Lycurgus), Ρ. Νομ. 4, 712d,e, Πολυβ. 6.10, Cicero de Rep. 2.23, 2.42.

544 Ρ. 1.64 ναιόντες αἰεὶ μένειν κτλ.

545 Ρ. 1.67f. αἰεὶ δὲ τοιάταν ... αὖσαν ἀστοῖς καὶ βασιλεύσιν διακρίνειν. Aetna’s territory was conquered, like that of the Dorians, cf. Ρ. 1.65f. ἐσχοὺν ... 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.


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, 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.

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. That ode contains a similar Dorian narrative, endorsing an Aeginetan claim and observance of 'ancient' rules justifying such claims.

2.4.4.4 Panhellenic battles and praise for Hieron.

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

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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 Ζευ τέλει', αἰεὶ δὲ τοιούταν Ἀμένα παρ' ὅδωρ 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 'Ελλάδα 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 Εὔλαδ' 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.


\(^{561}\) *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 Ἑλλάδα τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἤκουσαν, ἔνιοι δὲ Ἑλλάδα τὴν Ἀττικήν.
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.\textsuperscript{564} The following Plataea-Salamis-Himera priamel is high praise for the Deinomenid clan,\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Py.} 1.50-80 three rhetorical devices work in unison: prayers,\textsuperscript{566} a priamel,\textsuperscript{567} as well as ring composition,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{569} A rhetorical pause follows with some reflection on the appropriateness of themes in an epinician ode.\textsuperscript{570} A fine balance needs to be struck, the ode says, between praise which is appropriate and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{564} \textit{Py.} 1.73 οία Συρακοσίων ἄρχων δαμασθέντες πάθον.
\item \textsuperscript{565} \textit{Py.} 1.79 παρίσεαν ὅμον Δεινομέν<εο>ς τελέσαις, sc. the clan.
\item \textsuperscript{566} \textit{Py.} 1.56, 1.67, 1.71, 1.72. Race (1990: 136) notes that Pindar’s first \textit{Pythian} is the ode with the highest concentration of prayers.
\item \textsuperscript{567} \textit{Py.} 1.76-80.
\item \textsuperscript{568} \textit{Py.} 1.50 Himera; \textit{Py.} 1.50ff. an unknown victory; \textit{Py.} 1.71ff. Cumae; \textit{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.’
\item \textsuperscript{569} \textit{Py.} 1.80 τὸν [sc. Himeram] ἐδέξαντ' ἀμφ' ἀρετῇ, πολεμίσων ἀνδρῶν καμάντων.
\item \textsuperscript{570} On \textit{Reticentia} and ἀποσιώπησις, cf. Quint. 9.2.57. On Abruchsformel in general see Race (1990: 41-57).
\end{itemize}
deserved and praise which is excessive (κόρος).\(^{571}\) Due regard to appropriateness (καρπός),\(^{572}\) avoids negative reactions which the ode mentions as κόρος, μῦμος 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, μῦμος and φθόνος, it is nevertheless unavoidable.\(^{574}\) The rhetorical device used in this passage appears to be in utramque partem,\(^{575}\) or συνοικειώσις.\(^{576}\) 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, καρπός 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

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


\(^{573}\) Py. 1.82, 1.85. \\

\(^{574}\) Cf. Py. 1.85 άλλοι δήμως, 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 ἀντιθεισις). \\

\(^{577}\) Expressed in Py. 1.80-82. \\

\(^{578}\) Py. 1.85 κρέασσον γάρ οἰκτιμοῦ φθόνος. Proverbial, cf. Sept. Sap. 10.3.δ.17 p. 64 DK. and Hdt. 3.5.2.5. On conventional moral language in early Greek lyric, cf. Slater (1979) who notes (1979: 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 νύμα δικαίως πηδαλίω στρατών· Fränkel (1976: 525) 'Sei gerecht (iustitia fundamentum regnorum).' Compare this form of νυμάω 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,\textsuperscript{581} and finally, he should remain munificent.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{laudandus} as already heeding this `advice'.\textsuperscript{583} In other words, it suggests that what the \textit{laudandus} does is governed by good wisdom.

2.4.4.6 The type of immortality promised to the \textit{laudandus}.

The pair of Croesus and Phalaris closes the ode.\textsuperscript{584} Croesus' \textit{φιλόφρων ἄρετα} guarantees that he will be remembered,\textsuperscript{585} language which surely alludes to Hieron's \textit{κλέος ἄφθιτον}.\textsuperscript{586} Croesus' antithesis, Phalaris, will not be celebrated by lyres in banquet halls 'in gentle fellowship with boys' voices',\textsuperscript{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 \textit{κλέος ἄφθιτον} of Croesus, namely through

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{582} On such `advice' to rulers, cf. Race (1987) on Isoc. \textit{ad Nicoclem}. On works of exhortation (wisdom literature), cf. West (1978: 3-25).
\item \textsuperscript{583} Pairs of opposite characters often occur in odes for Hieron, cf. Pelops vs. Tantalus Pindar's first \textit{Olympian} ode, Cinyras vs. Ixion in Pindar's second \textit{Pythian} ode, Cadmus vs. Peleus and Nestor vs. Sarpedon in Pindar's third \textit{Pythian} ode.
\item \textsuperscript{584} \textit{Py}. 1.92-94 …\textit{ὀπιθόμβροτον αὐχήμα δόξας οἴον ἀποικομένων ἁνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύει καὶ λογίος καὶ ἀοίδοις, οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἄρετα…}
\item \textsuperscript{585} \textit{Py}. 1.92-94 …\textit{ὀπιθόμβροτον αὐχήμα δόξας οἴον ἀποικομένων ἁνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύει καὶ λογίος καὶ ἀοίδοις, οὐ φθίνει Κροίσου φιλόφρων ἄρετα…}
\item \textsuperscript{587} \textit{Py}. 1.97f.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
song, it appears that the laudandus is also promised such traditional survival in this ode. The ode does not specify for which ἄρετα in particular Croesus will be remembered, 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. Hieron, as an οἰκείς 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. 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. 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. 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 ῥως ἄντιθέους Ποίαντος ύιόν.
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 βασιλεῖς ἱεροὶ, 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 τιμαί βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇ δὲ βούλονται δηλοῦν αἱ λυκουργοῦ νόμοι ὃι ὃι ὃς ἄνθρωπος ἀλλ' ὁ ώς ἡρως τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασι.
wishes for literal immortality.\footnote{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.

\footnote{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 gnoma 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 and 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 priest\textsuperscript{595} he would have been the incumbent holder of the sacred ἱερόν. This cult, linked with Eleusinian concepts, offered to all initiates hopes for betterment in the after-life.\textsuperscript{596} Be that as it may, in this ode, more traditional Apollonian religion appears paramount.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{597a} operates on the premise of a barter relationship, in other words it is based on \textit{do ut des}:\textsuperscript{598} both parties involved receive (or at least expect to receive) something. The relations of reciprocity between humans and gods are often unbalanced, yet \textit{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.\textsuperscript{599} \textit{Charis}, an important concept in this ode, is based on reciprocity as well.\textsuperscript{600} In the myth, Croesus laments the absence of Apollo’s \textit{charis} \textsuperscript{601}

\textsuperscript{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.


\textsuperscript{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 konnte.’


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

\textsuperscript{599} Parker (1989: 124-25).

\textsuperscript{600} Cf. note103.
Croesus has given in the past and expects now something in return, δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν. Hieron’s εὐσέβεια operates on similar premises: da quia dedi and the ode specifically mentions that Hieron’s εὐσέβεια is proportional to the amount of gold he donated to Delphi. That such propitiatory sacrifice placates the gods independently of the moral character of the sacrificer surely suited a tyrant, yet there is evidence to suggest that such a belief could be perceived as problematic. 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, as well as at Delphi, is testimony. The ode does not link Hieron’s εὐσέβεια with other moral precepts. 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

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601 B. 3.35-39.
602 B. 3.61ff.
603 Cf. B. 3.63-66.
605 Adkins (1960: 134f.) calls this type of εὐσέβεια ‘proportional to one’s pocket book.’
607 B.3.15-16.
609 But contrast with Ol. 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.
lauundus and Croesus were famous for their dedications at Delphi.\footnote{Croesus: B.3.61f. Hieron’s dedications: B.3.63-66. Cf. Gentili (1953: \textit{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).} Second, the traditional piety of the sort just described, kingship of both \textit{lauundus} 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.’\footnote{Arist. \textit{Pol.} 1314b38-1315a3, translation R.F. Stalley. The crucial passage is 1315a1: τῶν δευτεραμώνα νομίζων ἐναὶ τῶν ἄρχων καὶ φοντιζέεν τῶν θεῶν. The term δευτεραμωνία in the bad sense of superstitiousness is relatively late (postTheophrastus). Δευτεραμώνα in the sense of pious or religious is older (first in X. \textit{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.’} In other words, professing a close intimacy with the gods had practical benefits for the \textit{lauundus}.\footnote{Possibly also B.3.69 θεοφιλή ἄν (Henweden, Jurenka, Blass). Very clearly at B.4.18-19 Τι φέρτερον ἦ θεοφιλόν φίλον ἐόντα.}

Bacchylides’ treatment of the Croesus myth clearly shows that piety has extraordinary rewards. Whereas he does not explicitly suggest that the \textit{lauundus} will be treated exactly like Croesus, the myth nevertheless appears to suggest that what
holds for Croesus, holds for the laudandus as well.\textsuperscript{613} Hence, this ode strongly suggests that in an epinician ode poetic immortality in song is compatible with allusions to more substantial immortality.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{615} Judging by Pausanias’ description it appears that Hieron won only once with the chariot at Olympia. This must have been in 468 BCE.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{613} Maehler’s (1982: 37) reservation seems unnecessary ‘Vielleicht hatte Hieron ähnliche Vorstellungen vom Jenseits, von Totengericht und Wiedergeburt wie Theron, (Pl. Ol. 2.68ff.), und hoffte als Heros auf die Inseln der Seligen versetzt zu werden.’ Cf. § 2.5.4.


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

\textsuperscript{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

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619 B.3.1-3 Ἀριστο[κ]έρτου Σικελίας κρέουσαν Δ[άματα]ιος τε Κούραν ὤμει,

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

621 B.3.62f., B.3.70, B.3.92f.

622 B.3.12 ὁς παρὰ Ζηνὸς λαχὼν πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας. Jebb (1905: 254) ‘over more than are subject to any other ruler’, cf. Pl. *Cr.* 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, 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. 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. In the first epode of the ode, for example, Hieron’s rule appears a gift from Zeus. The use of λαγχάνω, to obtain something by lot, 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, and alludes to Hieron’s destiny as ruler. The following triad contains vivid ecphrasis as proof of Hieron’s εύοσεβεία, followed by a gnome which sums up the purpose of sacrifice to the gods. This gnome is the transition to the myth. The myth will turn out to be an illustration of that gnome.

625 At B.3.69 the laudandus is once referred to as ἀνδρ' ἄρηίον.
626 Cf. § 2.4.4.2.
627 B.3.3 γλυκύδωρε Κλεοί, 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 Ζηνός λαχών πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας
629 Cf. LSJ s.v. λαγχάνω I, c. acc. rei, of spoils, opposed to ἔξαιρεθαι. E.g. Hom. I 367, § 233.
630 Something which Hieron appears to have done, cf. § 2.1.3.1.
631 Cf. Ol. 6.34, generally ‘obtain as one’s portion.’ Rumpel (1883: 268) s.v. λαγχάνω ἐῖ ὀν ὁς deorum numine nanciscor, adipiscor.
632 B.3.15-21 βρύουσι φιλοξενίας ἀγνιαί· λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαίς ὁ χρυσός,... Δελφοὶ διέτουσι.
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

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\(^{635}\) 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 ἀοίδοις


\(^{640}\) *ARI* 238.1, Louvre G 197, Myson painter, ca.490-80 BCE.


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

very well might have furthered the possibility of paralleling Croesus with Hieron.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{645} and the Babylonian \textit{Nabonid} Chronicle of 547 BC, both reporting the capture and death of Croesus at the hands of Cyrus,\textsuperscript{646} and, on the other hand the description in Xenophon of an encounter between two perfect gentlemen. Whereas the Herodotean Croesus, an example of \textit{πᾶθει μάθος},\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{648} The myth, in typical Bacchylidean manner, is full of pathos. Croesus’ lament \textit{τὰ πρὸς θεόν ἔχθρα φίλα: θανεῖν γιλψικτον},\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{650} most scholars agree that Croesus and the laudandus are clearly paralleled.\textsuperscript{651} Importantly, Croesus after his

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

\textsuperscript{645} Eus. \textit{PE} 5.20-22 p.33 Karst.

\textsuperscript{646} Cf. Reichel (2000:147).

\textsuperscript{647} Segal (1971: 39).


\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{650} The problems are discussed in Stern (1970: 300-304), Maehler (1982b: 33-37), Reichel (2000: \textit{passim}).

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 laudandum. In other words, does this feature of the myth refer to a wish for literal immortality of the laudandum? The parallels between Croesus and the laudandum 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 laudandum expects as well. 658 The Admetus

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.
657 Cf. B.3.23 Croesus is δαμασίτι[σ]ου Λυδίας ἁρχαγέταν, Β.3.69 φιλιππον ἀνδρ’ [Hieronem].
658 Cf. Jurenka (1900: 313) ‘also wird auch König Hieron zu den Hyperboreern kommen.’ Cf. Crane (1996: 65, 69ff.), Reichel (2000: 150ff.). 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,\textsuperscript{659} supports this view since Admetus, who faces early death, is saved because of his piety.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{661} Mortal man should seek to do that which is possible.\textsuperscript{662} However, man, as an ephemeral creature,\textsuperscript{663} is susceptible to false hopes.\textsuperscript{664} Apollo provides Admetus with the solution to this problem.\textsuperscript{665} Apollo's advice reiterates the ephemeral nature of men and offers εὐσέβεια as the only right approach to life.\textsuperscript{666}

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

\textsuperscript{659} B.3.77ff.


\textsuperscript{661} B.3.74 βαρξ[ύς ἐστιν αἰών] Blass thus restored because of a Σ ad loc] διὶ θλιγχρό[νιος ὁ βιος?]. Alternatively Taccone (1923: 35) βραχύς ἀμμιν αἰῶν-. 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.


\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{665} B.3.76-84 oratio recta. Possibly a quote of Epicharmus or part of a collection of Αδμῆτου λόγοι, well known at the time in Syracuse, cf. Maehler (1982: 54-55). On such sayings, cf. Pherecyd. FGrHist3 F 55, scolion PMG749. Such sayings were probably comparable to the Χειρίμνος υποθήκαι, 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.

\textsuperscript{666} B.3.83-48 ὁσία δρῶν εὐφραίνε 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 laudandum. 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, and in a similar manner Hieron’s current agonistic success and his rule are proof of the gods’ charis. The laudandum is held up as an ideal example of the pious man, something which is there for everyone to see. 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, 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, and is a very common epinician topos. In this ode, mention of continuous celebrations of the ὄλβος of the laudandum might have been a particularly welcome feature since it implies that the tyrant’s rule is secured while he

667 B. 3.38 [το]ὺ θεών ἐστιν ἁρίς;
668 Cf. B. 3.93-94 ἵππων, σὺ δ’ ὀλίβου κάλλιστ’ ἐπεδείξαο θανατοὶς ὄνθεα: the flowers are the manifestations of Hieron’s ὄλβος, presumably they are victory, his rule and his happiness.
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', 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. 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, 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, as well as with the proper behaviour with which to encounter these vicissitudes of life.

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

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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. δόλβος οὐκ ἐς μακρόν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται σάος, πολύς εὖ ἀν ἐπιβρίσας ἔπηται. 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 ὃ τίκτει γάρ κόρος ὄβρον, ὅταν πολὺς ὀλβος ἔπηται with ἔπηται in the same position at the end of the line. Gentili (1984: 423) notes that the choice of ἔπηται hints at ὀλβος as a companion of men.
678 E.g. Ο/. 1.35 and especially *fr.* 42.5-6 ἐφί στὲ τὸν ἀνθρώποις θεόσδοστος ἀτάλατα κακότας προστύχῃ, σαῦταν σκότει κρύπτειν ἐδικεῖν.
then be asked as to what Pindar offers the laudandus in this ode. 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 ἀφθηγον in song.

This reality which the poem achieves for the laudandus is juxtaposed to an impossibility, namely that of defeating death. On that interpretation, the poem consists of a recusatio, followed by an encomium proper, with the two parts linked by a prayer. 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. The other view takes as a starting point the observation that Hieron was Hierophant in a Demeter-Kore mystery cult of the Eleusinian type, 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. Instead death remains a reality, and was possibly even

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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.


685 Cf. § 2.2.3.


687 Burkert (1985a: 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. On that interpretation, the positive exempla of literal immortality
in the ode, are juxtaposed with negative examples. 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 kakon of his illness by showing his good
qualities. Nevertheless, at some point the laudandus, like all men, must die.
Hieron understands the way of truth, namely that a people-guiding ruler awaits a
great destiny, in spite of the fact that every life consists of an admixture of good and
evil. The laudandus must not hope to defeat death. Asclepius attempted this
transgression and inevitably invited disaster. 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 (= IGI 3661)
oú μόνον εἶναι τῶν θάνατος θνητοῖς οὐ κακὸν, ἄλλ' ἀγαθόν., E. fr. 757 N. ἀναγκαῖος δὲ ἔχει βίον
θερίζειν ὑστε κάρπημον 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 γνιώθι μέν,
ὡς θανέειν πέπρωμεν ἀπαισιν, carm. aur. 71 ἔσσεαι ἄθανατος θεὸς δμβροτος, οὕκετι θνητός. The
Carmen Aureum, however, appears to be Hellenistic and has to be handled with care. It might
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 ἄθανατον σπεῦδε, τὰν δ' ἐμπρακτον ἀντλει μαχανάν.
Wilamowitz (1922: 282) '...diese Ethik drückt denn Menschen damit nicht nieder, sondern
verlangt von ihm nur τα εαυτου 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.
However, only by the grace of Zeus will Hieron attain his ultimate share of happiness. Importantly, whereas the ode alludes to wishes of literal immorality, there are several passages in this ode that reveal a certain reluctance to speak of such wishes too openly.

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

The ode appears to have been first performed in Sicily. 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, 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', which could hint at 476/5 BCE or even 470 BCE as a *terminus post quem* for the date of first performance. The ode briefly mentions a former Pythian...

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698 *Py.* 3.114f.
699 *Py.* 3.95. Διός 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.* 3.69 Αρέθοιοιαν ἐπὶ κράναν παρ' Αἰναίον ξένων.
702 *Py.* 3.70.
703 *Py.* 3.69.
victory, but it should not be excluded that more Pythian victories of Pherenikos are alluded to. We know of two of Hieron's victories in the single-horse race event in Delphi, namely in 482 and 478 BCE. At least the second victory was due to Pherenikos. 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. 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, 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. I further accept that mention of Pherenikos at *Py*. 3.73f. refers to a string of at least four earlier victories by

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705 *Py*. 3.73f. κύμαν τ' ἀθλων Πυθίων αἴγιλαν στεφάνοις, τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἔλευν Κίρρη ποτὲ.


708 Cf. B.5.37-41, Maehler (2002: 19f.).

709 Differently Cingano (1991: 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: 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. 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. That the ode singles out Pherenikos' Pythian victories but fails to mention more recent Olympic victories, can be explained by the association between Delphi and Apollo in his capacity as bringer of health and healer. The ode is concerned with health and healing and it is a fair assumption that the laudandus was an ailing man. 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. Moreover, a date of first performance after 470 BCE sits well with the manner in which the ode addresses Hieron. On this interpretation 'Aetnaean host' at Py. 3.69 alludes to Hieron's recent inauguration of Aetna in 470 BCE.

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713 I suggest that this was either Hieron's failure to win in 470 BCE or perhaps even Pherenicus' 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.
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.

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719 Cf. § 8.3.1.
720 Py. 3.69f. Ἀρέθοισαν ἐπὶ κράναν παρ' Ἀιναίον ξένον, ὃς συρακόσσαιοι νέμει βασιλεὺς,
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.
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 \( \xi \nuo \) and does not begrudge the \( \acute{a} \gamma \alpha \theta \omega i \),\(^ {728} \) 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 \( \phi \lambda \delta \dot{\eta} \mu o i \).\(^ {730} \) 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.

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\(^ {725} \) *Py.* 3.70 \( \delta \zeta \Sigma \nu \alpha \kappa \circ \sigma \varsigma \sigma a i \varsigma \) \( \nu \tau e m i \) \( \beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda \varepsilon \upsilon \varsigma \varsigma \). Gentili *et al.* (1995: 416) ‘\( \nu \tau e m i \) in senso assoluto ‘governa’, como \( \beta \alpha \sigma i \lambda \varepsilon \upsilon \varsigma \varsigma \) e. 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 \( \pi r a \alpha \zeta \varsigma \alpha \tau o i \varsigma \), \( \omicron \upsilon \phi \theta o \nu \varsigma \nu m o n \acute{a} \gamma \alpha \theta o i \varsigma \), \( \xi \nu o i \varsigma \) \( \dot{\delta} \tau \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \mu \alpha \iota \) \( \pi \alpha \tau \iota \varsigma \). 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. \( \acute{a} \gamma \alpha \theta o i \)], and foreigners, who are left as the \( \alpha g a \theta o i \) whom Hiero does not envy, or to whom he does not grudge their \( \alpha r e t e \)? Surely the wealthy upper classes whom a tyrant might well fear.’


\(^ {731} \) Adkins (1960: 170n.8) notes Hdt. 3.80.4 where Otanes expresses the view that the tyrant normally shows envy towards the \( \dot{\alpha} \rho i s t o i \); cf. Carey (1981: 52f.) for the traditional characteristics of a tyrant; cf. Gentili (1979) on the polemic in Hdt. 3.80f. in relation to Pl. *Py.* 11.53f. \( \tau \omicron \upsilon \gamma \alpha \nu \chi \alpha \iota \varsigma \varsigma \) \( \mu \alpha \kappa \rho \sigma \eta \tau \epsilon \iota \zeta \rho \epsilon \iota \mu \sigma \nu \tau \iota \beta \alpha \lambda \zeta \alpha \varsigma \), \( \mu \varepsilon \mu \iota \varsigma \varsigma \) \( \acute{a} \varsigma \sigma \varsigma \) \( \tau \upsilon \rho \alpha \nu \nu \iota \varsigma \varsigma \). That passage should not be linked with Pindar’s personal circumstances, \( p a c e \) Wilamowitz (1922: 263). Instead it is the *laudandus*’ praise for \( \tau \alpha \) \( \mu \dot{e} \varsigma \varsigma \), 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{733} These possibilities, however, are abruptly renounced.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{735} something which might allude to Hieron’s position as Hierophant.\textsuperscript{736} The ode does suggest, however, what Hieron can and should do, namely that which other ἄγαθοι do: τὰ καλὰ τρέψαντες ἔξω.\textsuperscript{737} Notwithstanding his afflictions the laudandus should be aware of the great share of happiness which awaits him.\textsuperscript{738} Although the scholiast, prosaically, assumes that wealth awaits Hieron,\textsuperscript{739} it is a fair assumption that Hieron’s

\textsuperscript{732} Py. 3.59-62.
\textsuperscript{733} Py. 3.1-7, 3.72ff.
\textsuperscript{734} Py. 3.77-78. Rhetorically ἀποσιώπησις, cf. Quint. 9.2.54-55.
\textsuperscript{735} Py. 3.80: εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφὰν, τέρων, ὑφαντές ἐπίπτωτι. Viz. life is necessarily a compound of good and evil, cf. Hom. Ω 527-78.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{737} Py. 3.83 viz. what is καλὸν has to be shown, what is κακὸν should remain hidden. Cf. Py. 3.62 τὰν δ’ ἐμπρακτόν ἄντλει μαχανάν.
\textsuperscript{738} Py. 3.84-86 τὸν δὲ μοῖρ’ εὐδαιμονίας ἐπεται. λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρκεται, εἰ τὲν ἄνθρωπων, 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 assuluto’.
\textsuperscript{739} Σ Py. 3.151α 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 uprighteousness 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 οἱ τὰς causal, quippe quī. 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 μᾶν βροτῶν δάδον 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 βοσιλήμας ἵναν κτλ. The 'beholding' possibly an allusion to ἐποιητεύειν 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, Pl. 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'. 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, Hieron shows a fair amount of reticence with respect to his wishes for literal immorality 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. Hence the _laudandus_ advertises himself, once more as someone who under all circumstances shows the proper behaviour of the ἄγαθος: he will be 'small in small times and great in great ones', and accepts whatever fortune sends him. Both _gnomae_ advertise the aspirations of the _laudandus_

894, Apollod. _epit._ 5.6-16. The Homeric Achilles is not immortal, cf. Hom. _w_ 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.


749 Cf. § 8.3.4.

750 Cf. _Dem._ _Eloc._ 263, [Cic.] _ad Her._ 4.52.

751 Cf. _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 ἄγαθος, not as an opportunist, cf. _Py._ 3.108.

752 _Py._ 3.108f. ...τὸν δι᾽ ἀμφέπτοντι οἰεί φρασίν δαίμον ἀσκήσω κατ᾽ ἔμαν 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,\textsuperscript{753} is preceded by a mythical example that links Nestor and Sarpedon.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{755} while Nestor might have reminded the audience once more of the distinction between mortal man and immortal gods.\textsuperscript{756} Such examples praise laudandus and audience alike,\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{753} Pi. \textit{Py}. 3.114-15 ‘Excellence endures in glorious song for a long time’.

\textsuperscript{754} \textit{Py}. 3.112 Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν, ἀνθρώπων φάτις.


\textsuperscript{756} Hom. \textit{A} 761 πάντες δ’ εὐχέτωντο θεῶν Διὸ Νέστορι τ’ ἀνδρῶν.

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 θύσεις 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,\textsuperscript{758} appears in these epinician odes and in the scholia on them.\textsuperscript{759} He seems to have distinguished himself in a naval battle under Hippocrates in 493/2 BCE.\textsuperscript{760} After Hippocrates was killed by Sicels near Hybla in 491 BCE,\textsuperscript{761} Gelon, Hippocrates' former master-of-horses, took over as tyrant of Gela. At some point, Chromius had married a sister of Gelon,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{763} At some stage, Chromius had become the guardian to Gelon's or Hieron's son.\textsuperscript{764} Chromius acted \textit{pro tempore} as Hieron's \textit{ἐπίτροπος} in Aetna,\textsuperscript{765} from its foundation in 476/5 BCE until the young Deinomenes took up the reigns of power himself.\textsuperscript{766} It has

\textsuperscript{758} Cf. \textit{Ne.} 1.29, \textit{Ne.} 9.42.

\textsuperscript{759} His prosopography can be found in \textit{Σ Ne.} 9.95a (= Tim. \textit{FGrHist} 566 F 18, 21).


\textsuperscript{761} Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 425f.).

\textsuperscript{762} Cf. Tim. \textit{FGrHist} 566 F 18, 21, Hdt. 7.154. The date of the marriage is unknown.

\textsuperscript{763} Cf. Justin 21.3.2, \textit{Σ Pi. Py.} 1.99a, 2.36c, 2.38. According to the scholia, the mission was successful.

\textsuperscript{764} Cf. \textit{Σ Pi. Ne.} 9.5a (= Tim. \textit{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).

\textsuperscript{765} Cf. \textit{Σ Pi. Ne.} 9, \textit{inscr. Χρόμιος ... κατασταθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς Αἰνης ἐπίτροπος}.

\textsuperscript{766} In 470 BCE or shortly thereafter, cf. \textit{Py.} 1.60.
been suggested that Chromius must have been around sixty years old by 470 BCE.\footnote{Braswell (1998: 128). Cf. \textit{Ne.} 9.42 ἐν ἄλληνπ πρώτη: referring to events in 493/2 BCE.}  

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 \textit{Nemean} ode, he must have been nearing the end of his active career.\footnote{Cf. § 3.1.5.2.}

In both odes Hieron is noticeably absent,\footnote{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.} in contrast with another ode composed for an associate of Hieron, Hagesias of Stymphalos. In that ode the tyrant is extensively praised.\footnote{Cf. \textit{Ol.} 6.92-98.} Suggestions as to why this might be the case are given below.

The ideology in both odes appear to one of \textit{Polisideologie}.

3.1.2 Occasion and circumstances of the first performance of the odes.

The ninth \textit{Nemean} ode celebrates a victory won in the Sicyonian games.\footnote{Cf. \textit{Ne.} 9.9, \textit{Ne.} 9.53.} The ode mentions Aetna as 'recently founded',\footnote{\textit{Ne.} 9.2 τὰν νεοκτῆσαν ἐς Αἰτναν.} which hints at a date of first performance of not much later than 476/5 BCE. The inscription to the ninth \textit{Nemean} ode mentions that Chromius was proclaimed at the games as citizen of Aetna,\footnote{Σ \textit{Ne.} 9 \textit{inscr.} ὅθεν καὶ Αἰτναίως ἐκηρύχθη.} yet that could be an inference from the ode itself. If two passages in the ninth \textit{Nemean} ode refer to the
battle of Cumae, then we would have a terminus post quem of 474 BCE. The ode appears to allude to a κύμος at Aetna. However, the opening of the ode, with the image of a victory revel from Sicyon to Aetna, suggests performances in both places and conceivably at other Peloponnesian localities as well. 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. This seems an attractive proposition, particularly if the ode was reperformed in other Peloponnesian locales.

The first Nemean ode almost certainly celebrates a Panhellenic Nemean victory. Many editors accept Didymos’ statement that the ode was written for Chromius as citizen of Aetna. Since the ninth Nemean ode does not mention an earlier victory, the first Nemean ode appears to have been composed after the ninth

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774 Ne. 9.34, 9.43.
775 Ne. 9.50-53.
776 Ne. 9.1-3 Κωμάσομεν παρ’ Ἀττόλλωνος Σικυωνόθε, Μοῖσαι, τὰν νεκτίσταν ἐς Αἰτναν, ἑνθ’ ἀναπτηται ξείνων νενικάνται θύραι.
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. OI. 13.158b <ταὶ θῇ ὑπ’ Αἰτνας> τῆς Σικελίας [πόλεις]: ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀγεται ἀγῶν 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 ἐπινικός Χρομίῳ Ἀιτναίῳ Two manuscripts contain the inscription Χρομίῳ Ἀιτναίῳ Ἱπποίς, 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. A passage in Pindar's first Pythian ode, which was performed for the first time in 470 BCE or not much later, 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. The ode appears to have been performed at Aetna or Syracuse.

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, yet in Pindar's ninth Nemean ode Adrastus is presented as the founder of these local games. The scholiast is of the opinion that Adrastus was introduced and Cleisthenes removed to

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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 τὸτε μὲν βασιλεύων κεῖτι νέαια τ' ἐσταίσα ἱσχύος τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀμῖλλαις ἀρμασὶ τε γλαφυροῖς ἀμφαινε κυδαίνων πόλιν.

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make the games more prestigious (ἐνδοξότερον). However, some argue that this reattribution reflects Pindar's intervention in a major political dispute. 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. 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, as part of the process of suppressing the role of the tyrant and replacing him with a mythical founder. 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. In this way, Pindar's 'reattribution' would not have

789 Σ. Ne. 9.20 ἵνα ἐνδοξότερον ἀποφήγη τὸν ἄγωνα, Σ. 25b καὶ ἄλλως ἐνδοξότερος ὁ ἀνήρ. (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: 61 f.) 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 Olympian 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) ἐν τ' Ἀδραστείοις ἄθλοις Σικυώνοις ὕπατεν. 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. 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. 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, and for Chromius. It is impossible to tell whether Cleisthenes' *damnatio* was motivated by his hostility to Sicyonian tradition, or because he was a tyrant. 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. On that interpretation, it is unsurprising that Aetna is highly praised. The mention of *εὔνομία* is significant in that respect. Chromius is praised as an exemplary citizen as

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795 Tentatively, *Ne*. 9.9 ἵππιςν ἄεθλων κορυφαῖν, ἄ τε Φοίβω 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.


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 ἰσχύς of the symposium. ἰσχύς is relevant to both Aetna (since ἰσχύς had political implications) and to Chromius (since ἰσχύς is the just reward for his τίπος, 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 ven). 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. O. l. 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 νεοκτίσταιν ἐς Αἴναν might signal to an audience that new settlers were needed. Cf. Appendix six.
804 Cf. τὰν in Ne. 9.2 τὰν νεοκτίσταιν ἐς Αἴναν. This is the so-called der-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 ...κρέασονας ἄνδρες.
806 Ne. 9.29 ἀναβάλλομαι ὡς πόρσιστα, dicuntur facere precantes id quod precibus effectum volunt (Dissen). ὡς 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 εὔνομία and the institutions of ‘public celebrations’. The term εὔ

νομία was not a neutral one. A contemporary audience arguably associated εὔνομία with the
Spartan constitution or, alternatively, with written or customary law codes in general,
limiting arbitrary powers and regulating social conflict. 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’. Any audience would presumably have recognised
this topos of praise; 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.

808 Νε. 9.29-32 μοίραν δ’ εὔνομον αἰτέω σε παισίν δαρόν Αἰτναίων ὅπάζειν, Ζεῦ πάτερ,

ἀγλαίασιν δ’ ἀστυνόμοις ἐπιμείξαι λαὸν.
809 Cf. § 2.4.4.3 on εὔνομία. The symposium imagery at the end of this ode might have

suggested that Aetna was in fact already governed by εὔνομία.
810 Ne. 9.32f. κτείνων ψυχῶς ἔχοντες κρέσσονας. The plural ἔχοντες implies that all Aetnaean
citizens are meant, not just Chromius alone, pace Bury (1890: 178).
811 Cf. Ne. 1.31. ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πολεμοῦ ῥαζεῖν ἀντιαπάτει, ἀντιπολούμενον ἄντε ἐπιστεῖσθαι.

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 ἄγαθὸν ἐπίστασθαι καὶ ὑποτασθαί

καὶ ἀρχέσθαι καὶ ἀρχεῖν, καὶ αὕτη ἄρετὴ πολίτου, τὸ τὴν τῶν ἐξουθέρων ἄρχην ἐπιστασθαι ἐπὶ

ἀμφότερα. Cf. Sol. fr. 20 W.
3.1.4.2 The myth in the ninth *Nemean* ode.

The myth occupies three strophes.\textsuperscript{813} Pindar, as often, chooses to narrate only particular details from the myth.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{815} For a modern reader of the ode, the myth might seem excessively negative and the mention of internal strife,\textsuperscript{816} the reason for Adrastus’ flight from Argos, seems problematic. I follow Bury,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{818} Pindar mentions that Zeus buries Amphiaraus with his horses under the ground,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{820} The embarrassment of running away (clear

\textsuperscript{813} From the end of the second strophe and running into the sixth, *Ne. 9.10-27.*

\textsuperscript{814} The absence of a good omen, the ruin of the army and the saving of Amphiaraus.


\textsuperscript{816} *Ne. 9.13* φεῦγε γὰρ Αμφιαράηι ποτε θρασυμήδεα καὶ δεινὰν στάσιν, cf. Σ *Ne. 9.30a* (= Menaichmus of Sicyon *FGHist* 131 F 10), Σ *Ne. 9.30b.*

\textsuperscript{817} Bury (1890: 166).


\textsuperscript{819} *Ne. 9.24ff.*

from νῦνα τυπέντα) is offset by gnome which effectively eliminates any possible suspicion,\textsuperscript{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'.\textsuperscript{822} This is followed, in quick succession, by some conventional epinician elements that identify victor and victory.\textsuperscript{823} Praise of Chromius concentrates on his martial exploits,\textsuperscript{824} and deals with his infantry, cavalry and naval career. Possibly there is a faint allusion to his role as counsellor.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{826} A description of the victory at

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{821} \textit{Ne.} 9.27 ... ἐν γάρ δαιμονίας φόβοις φεύγοντι καὶ παιδές θεῶν. \textit{Σ ad loc.} 63 (quoting Hom. Λ 574) explains: Zeus was on the side of the Thebans.

\textsuperscript{822} \textit{Ne.} 9.1.

\textsuperscript{823} \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{824} \textit{Ne.} 9.33-37.

\textsuperscript{825} \textit{Ne.} 9.38 χερίοι καὶ ψυχὴ 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.

\textsuperscript{826} \textit{Ne.} 9.34 Χρομίῳ κεν ὑπαστίζων. 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 ἄκολουθοι and ὑπαστίσται. Braswell (1998: 113) on ὑπαστίσται, formally ‘acting as attendant to’ but probably meaning ‘serving under the command of, but in a close relationship to’. Cf. E. \textit{Heracl.} 216, \textit{Ph.} 213, Hdt. 5.11, X. \textit{An.} 420.
\end{footnotesize}
the Helorus river in 492 BCE follows.\textsuperscript{827} Chromius had participated in this battle.\textsuperscript{828} The exact site where the battle took place is uncertain,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{830} a further \textit{suggestio falsi} since the river banks are not steep at all at that point. Rhetorically, $\beta\alpha\theta\upsilon\kappa\rho\mu\nu\varsigma$ might have been coined by Pindar, perhaps in view of a non-Sicilian audience. Possible epic reminiscences of $\beta\alpha\theta\upsilon\kappa\rho\mu\nu\varsigma$,\textsuperscript{831} would result in further praise for a military men such as the \textit{laudandus}. That the \textit{laudandus} is compared to Hector,\textsuperscript{832} another exemplary soldier,\textsuperscript{833} might be explained by the fact that Chromius in the ode is portrayed as a defender of Sicily.\textsuperscript{834} That, however, is a further \textit{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 oversees 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,\textsuperscript{835} yet without genealogy (improved or true),\textsuperscript{836} there is perhaps a slight

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ne. 9.40-42. Cf. Race (1990: 173-4) on the climactic pair in chiastic structure of Ne. 9.39-42.
\item Cf. Tim. FGrHist 566 F 18.
\item Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 399f, 425-26).
\item Ne. 9.40 $\beta\alpha\theta\upsilon\kappa\rho\mu\nu\varsigma$ $\delta$ $\acute{o}m\mu\acute{r}$ $\acute{a}k\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\varepsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron$,
\item Homeric compounds with $\beta\alpha\theta\upsilon\mu$- are plentiful (deep, steep), yet are not used for river-banks.
\item Ne. 9.39-40.
\item Ne. 9.38 $\mu\alpha\nu$ is adversative, hence the translation should be 'few can counsel in matters physical and intellectual, \textit{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. \S\ 249-52.
\item Cf. \S Ne. 9.93a $\tau\omicron$ $\delta$ $\acute{E}k\tau\omicron\alpha$ $p\alpha r\epsilon\imath\iota\lambda\eta$ $k$ $\omega\acute{u}k$ $\acute{A}i\acute{a}n\alpha\tau\alpha$ $h$ $\lambda\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\epsilon\alpha$, $t\nu$ $k$ $t\omicron$ $\acute{E}k\tau\omicron\alpha$ $m$ $m$ $\alpha\chi\epsilon\varphi\theta\alpha\varsigma$ $u$ $\pi\acute{e}r$ $t\acute{h}i$ $p\acute{a}r\acute{r}i\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\acute{w}i$ $k$ $t\omicron$ $Xr\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$.
\item Cf. \S 5.2.4.1 for such manoeuvres in Pindar's second \textit{Olympian} ode.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
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 ‘ἡχυxia after πόνος’,\(^{839}\) and draws attention to Chromius’ rewards. The laudandus has earned ἠμέρα (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, ἠμέρα, 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 θαυμαστὸν ὀλβὸν,\(^{843}\)

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836 In any case, Chromius’ subordinate relationship with Hieron might have prevented inclusion of any fabricated past. Chromius’ φῶς (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 δὲ ἄλλας ἀμέρας πολλὰ μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ χέρως, τὰ δὲ γενόμενο πόνων φάσομαι.
838 φάσομαι does not refer to a moment later in the ode, paco Pfeiffer (1999: 28f.).
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 κρέασιν δὲ καταλαβεῖ δικαν τὰν πρόσθεν ἀνήρ with which every military man must have been familiar.
843 Ne. 9.45 ἵστω λαχῶν πρὸς δαιμόνων θαυμαστὸν ὀλβὸν.
which he now has received from the gods. This is all couched in a *ne plus ultra* motif, which is best understood as high praise, not as a warning.

Mention of guests partaking of a symposium 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. The symposium, however, includes dangers of violence, *βία*, and hubris. The ode appears to reflect such dangers; voices can become over-confident, unadulterated wine should not be taken, since this can lead to a lack of restraint. Wine is a ‘powerful child of the vine’, but restriction is needed since a proper symposium is ‘loved by peace’. Victory leads to (gentle) song, in this case explicitly in a symposium setting.

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844 This can be understood as an extension of the *topos* 'ησύχια after τούνος'. 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.


850 *Ne*. 9.49 θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατήρα φωνά γίνεται.

851 *Ne*. 9.50 ἐγκρίνατο τις νῦν (ἐγκρίναμαι *misceo*).

852 *Ne*. 9.51-2 βιατάν ἀμπέλου παιδ'.


854 *Ne*. 9.48-9 νεοθαλῆς δ' αὐξέται μιλθακῇ νικαφορία σὺν ᾠδή: 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, 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. Modern debates on the relevance of the myth, as is often the case, are reflected in the ancient scholia. 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, or whether the myth should be read

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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 περιοδονικής. 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. Νε. 1.49.
858 Slater (1984: 250ff.). Cf. Σ. Νε. 1.49c ὁ Χρόμιος πολλὰ συμπονήσας τῷ ἱέρωνι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν ἀμοιβῆς ἐπιτρέψει γλυκοῦ, ὡστε ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ ἰπποτροφήσεως· ὡς οὖν οὗτος ἑπαθολυ πόλεων ἠλαβε τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, οὕτω καὶ Ἡρακλῆς πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσας ἑπαθολυ ἐσχε τὴν ἀδανασίαν καὶ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἡβῆς.
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.\(^ {862}\)

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\(^{859}\) Bury (1890: 4n.4), Braswell (1992: 80f.). Cf. Σ Νε. 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 τεῦξεται.

\(^{860}\) Carey (1981: 127).

\(^{861}\) Νε. 1.69-71.

\(^{862}\) Νε. 1.72-73. ὁλόβιος ἐν δώμασι, δεξάμενον θαλεράν Ἡβαν ἄκοιτι 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: 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. The whole mood of the ode is one of rest. Consequently, Chromius' home in Syracuse is presented as a place of rest.

The first epode contains a catalogue of praise for Sicily: its fertility, its lofty and prosperous cities, its people 'enamoured of bronze-armoured war' and its many victories in the Olympian games are mentioned. Since no Olympic victory was

\[\text{\textit{δαισαντα παρ Δι Κρονιδα, σεμνον αινησεις νομον.}}\]
This does not necessarily mean, however, that the laudandus is alluding to the same for himself, cf. § 3.1.5.2.

864 The theme is introduced in the opening of the ode. Ne. 1.1 \textit{\'Αμπνευμα σεμνόν άλφεον.}
865 Ne. 1.3 δεμνον Αρτέμιδος. Bury (1890: 10) suggests that δεμνον is used instead of έδος 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 Άριστο[κ]άρπου Σικελίας.
868 Ne. 1.14-18 \textit{άριστευσαν εύκάρπτου 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

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869 Cf. Νε. 1.25α ἐστι δὲ ὁ λόγος τῷ Πινδάρῳ οὐ περὶ τοῦ Χρομίου μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λαοῦ, οἱ πολλὰς ἔχον νίκας ὀλυμπιακάς. *Pace* Wilamowitz (1922: 254) 'ein Kompliment für Hieron.'

870 Cf. Νε. 1.22-24 θαμά δ' ἀλλοδαπῶν οὐκ ἀπείρατοι δόμοι ἐντί. Foreign guests frequenting Chromius' home.

871 Νε. 1.16-17 ὁποιας δὲ Κρονίων πολέμου μναστηρά οἱ χαλκεντέος λαὸν ἱππαχιμον. Νε. 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. Νε. 1.17 λαὸν ἱππαχιμον are cavalry-men. Cf. *Σ recens* 25c1 ἱππόμαχον, πολεμικόν.

872 Νε. 1.8-9 ἀρχαῖ δὲ βεβληται θεῶν κείνου σὺν ἄνδρος δαιμονίας ἄρεταις.

873 Νε. 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, where the use of πολύτονος 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, 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. Chromius is a φιλόξενος, someone who naturally gathers 'good men', ἔσοι, around him. Any envy Chromius encounters he disperses with his hospitality.

In climactic order, the ode mentions enemies whom Heracles overthrows: 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

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875 Cf. Ne. 1.32-33 ...κοιναι γὰρ ἔρχοντ' ἐλπίδες πολυτόνων ἁνδρῶν. ἕγοι 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' ἐπέρων ἐπεραι- κτλ an allus/alid 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'.


879 In Pindar, this plural always refers to 'the good and noble', not to specific individuals.


881 Cf. Ne. 1.24: the μεμφόρομενοι. 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.

first *Nemean* ode place the incident in the plains of Phlegra in Thrace. However, according to some Western-Greek and Italian sources these plains were located near Cumae, 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 mentioned should be interpreted positively, alluding to wishes for literal immortality. Since fifth-century Sicily teemed with eschatological beliefs, reflections of such beliefs in epinician odes are not unsurprising. It should be noted that the passage stresses that such hopes are common to all men, 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

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883 Σ Ne. 1.101. Phlegra is also the site of the battle between Heracles and Alcyoneus. 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 ...κοιναὶ 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 δαιμονίας.

888 Cf. § 1.4.

889 *Ne*. 1.32 κοιναὶ ... ἐλπίδες.
reflection of Sicilian eschatological beliefs, 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: 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

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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', 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. As such, the ode lacks mention in the Olympic victory lists. The terminus post quem of the victory celebrated in the ode must be 476 BCE since Hieron is referred to as ruler of Syracuse. Since Hieron is asked to welcome the κώμος, 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. However, this need not necessarily be the case since the reference to Aetna could be explained in connection with Hagesias' function

892 Ol. 6.100-101.
893 Cf. Ol. 6.25-27, Σ Ol. 6.37bc.
894 Cf. Σ Ol. 6 inscr. a. The event was removed from the programme in 444 BCE, cf. Paus., 5.9.1.
895 Ol. 6.93-94 τὰν [sc. Ortigiam] ἵρων καθαρῶν σκάρπτω διέπτων, ἄρτια μηδόμενος. Hieron became tyrant in 478/7 BCE and August 476 BCE is the first available date for the victory.
896 Ol. 6.98.
897 Cf. Ol. 6.96 καὶ Σηνός Αἰναίδου κράτος.
as seer: Aetna was a place for pyromancy where gold, silver and other ιερεῖα were
lowered into the crater.\textsuperscript{898} Alternatively, Αίρναίου κράτος may refer to the mountain, or
generally to Sicily.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{900} The ode hints at
a first performance at Stymphalos.\textsuperscript{901} The ode was surely reperformed in Syracuse.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{903} and from what is known of other military
prophets.\textsuperscript{904}

Hagesias appears to have been connected with both Syracuse and Stymphalos
and his victory seems twice celebrated.\textsuperscript{905} The ode suggests that he was a citizen of

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[898]{Cf. Paus. 3.23.9: the lava from Aetna inspired the pious. Cf. Paus. 10.28.4.}
\footnotetext[899]{Cf. § 2.6.2.}
\footnotetext[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. *Ol.* 6.22-28, 87ff. However, since we know nothing about any travels of Pindar to Sicily, 476
BCE should not be excluded.}
\footnotetext[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.’}
\footnotetext[903]{The scholiast is, however, much better informed about Chromius’ position at Hieron’s court
than about Hagesias’ status.}
on the links between divination and foundation.}
\footnotetext[905]{Cf. *Ol.* 6.99.}
\end{footnotes}
Syracuse, but he might have been originally an Elean linked with Stymphalos via his mother.\textsuperscript{906} Evidently, he was a rich man since he was able to participate in equestrian events at Panhellenic games. Since the \textit{laudandus} is clearly paralleled with Amphiaraus,\textsuperscript{907} Hagesias seems to have been involved in the military campaigns of the Deinomenids.\textsuperscript{908} Importantly, the ode claims that Hagesias was a \textit{συνοικιστήρ} of Syracuse.\textsuperscript{909} This passage is important for an understanding of Hagesias' status and merits further discussion.

The title \textit{συνοικιστήρ} occurs in a catalogue of Hagesias' merits:\textsuperscript{910} he is an Olympic victor, a member of a famous family of seers as well as \textit{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,\textsuperscript{911} is alluded to. In that event, however, Hagesias would almost certainly have been a member of the Syracusan \textit{γαμόροι}, the landed aristocracy who were descendants of the original settlers, and had considerable social status and rights.\textsuperscript{912} Prior to Gelon's 'refoundation' of Syracuse in 485 BCE these \textit{γαμόροι} were expelled by

\textsuperscript{907} \textit{Ol.} 6.12-14, \textit{Ol.} 6.16-17 'Ποθέω στρατιάς ὑφαλμόν ἔμας ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ' ἀγαθόν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι.' The \Sigma \textit{Ol.} 6.30ac note Hagesias' and Amphiaraus' double-role of prophet and soldier.  
\textsuperscript{909} \textit{Ol.} 6.4-6 εἰ δ' έη μὲν Ὀλυμπιονικάς, βωμῷ τε μαντεῖως ταμίας Διός ἐν Πίας, συνοικιστήρ τε τάν κλεινάν Συρακοσσάν.  
\textsuperscript{910} \textit{Ol.} 6.4 εἰ δ' έη μὲν obviously refers to Hagesias.  
\textsuperscript{911} Cf. Th. 6.3.2, \Sigma \textit{Ol.} 6.6a, 8ab. Cf. Wilamowitz (1886: 170), Kett (1996: 18-19).  
Hippocrates,\textsuperscript{913} but were reintroduced by Gelon.\textsuperscript{914} However, Gelon did not reinstate the \textit{status quo ante} and the γαμόροι were not restored to power.\textsuperscript{915}

Alternatively, Hagesias could have been a more recent immigrant and connected with Gelon’s refoundation of Syracuse in 485 BCE.\textsuperscript{916} On that interpretation, we might have a parallel in Callias, another member of Hagesias’ clan of the lamidae and attached to Telys the tyrant of Sybaris.\textsuperscript{917} These seers seem to have travelled widely before settling where conditions were most favourable.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{919} The prosopography of three individuals who were probably participants in Gelon’s venture in 485 BCE supports this view.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{914} Cf. Luraghi (1994: 286).
\textsuperscript{917} Cf. Hdt. 5.44.2-45.2. The lamidae 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 \textit{O}I. 6.119 οὖτως δὲ μέχρι ύπὸ Ιάμιδαι μαντεύονται κτλ.
\textsuperscript{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).
\textsuperscript{919} Paus. 3.14.3. Cf. Hdt. 5.47, 6.36, Th. 3.92.

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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 Φόρμης ἀνέθηκεν Ἀρκάς Μαινάλιος, νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος. CEG 380,1.2.3.
\(^{922}\) 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 συνοικιστής 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.
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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{930} and the much longer lamus myth.\textsuperscript{931} The former myth defines the relationship between laudandus and tyrant, while the lamus myth, a vehicle of praise for Hagesias' ancestry, leads up to praise for the contemporary members of the clan.\textsuperscript{932}

3.2.4.1 The Adrastus myth

\textsuperscript{929} Against this view it could be argued that the laudandus might have omitted any reference to himself as οὐνοικιστήρ 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 know 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.

\textsuperscript{930} \textit{Ol.} 6.13-17.

\textsuperscript{931} \textit{Ol.} 6.29-70.

\textsuperscript{932} \textit{Ol.} 6.71ff.: much renowned among Hellenes, their prosperity and virtue, picked up in \textit{Ol.} 6.78-80: their piety.
After a climactic passage with great pathos, a passage follows in which Adrastus regrets having lost Amphiaraus, an outstanding military man as well as his seer. This short myth is framed by Hagesias, which forces a parallel between laudandus and Amphiaraus, and possibly between Hieron and Adrastus as well. 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, whereas the spatium historicum is characterised by order and stability.

It is worth noting that the two passages in this ode that touch on envy, can be explained as generic praise for the victor and need not refer to any contemporary unrest. The second passage, OI. 6.74f., is a topos of praise, since all victors are

933 Cf. OI. 6.15: the corpses of the seven funeral pyres. OI. 623d notes that this must mean one for every army. Stoneman (1981: 28ff.) argues that Pindar broadly follows the Thebais.
934 OI. 6.16-17 'Ποθέω στρατιάς ὑφθαλμόν ἐμᾶς ἄμφοτερον μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι.'
935 OI. 6.12 Ἀγνείς, τὴν δ' οἴνος ἐτοίμος ... and OI. 6.17f. τὸ καὶ ἄνδρι κύμου δεσπότα πάρεστι Συρακοσίῳ...
936 Cf. ΣΣ. OI. 6.30ac.
938 Cf. OI. 6 init.: order is alluded to through architectural imagery. OI. 6.63: the association of the lamidae with lands that are πόλεμοιν. OI. 6.92-98 the praise for Hieron, on which see below.
939 OI. 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. The conditions mentioned there which determine whether Hagesias can 'escape the hymn of praise', are, as Gildersleeve rightly points out, 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(ν) in the apodosis, marks the fulfilment of the condition as potential. 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, the envy appears to be the type of generic envy with which every victor is habitually confronted. 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

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941 O. 6.74-76 μῦμος ἐς ἄλλων κρέμαται φθονεόντων τοῖς, οίς ποτε πρώτοις περὶ δωδέκατον δρόμων κτλ. Cf. O. 6.101 the 'stormy nights'. Cf. § 3.2.4.1.
942 O. 6.4-7. εἰ δὲ εἰπ μὲν Ὄλυμπονίκας, βωμῷ τε μαντείῳ ταμίας Διὸς ἐν Πίσα, συνοικιστήρ τε τῶν κλεινῶν Συρακοσσάν, τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον κεῖνος ἁνήρ, ἐπικύριαις ἀφθόνων ἄστῶν ἐν ἑμεταῖς ἄοιδαῖς;
943 O. 6.7 τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον.
944 Gildersleeve (1890: 173).
946 Cf. Gildersleeve (1890: 173) 'citizens are apt to show envy', ἄστων both Stymphalians and Syracusans. Hence generic envy is meant. Cf. Lehnus (1981: 100) 'si trattarrebbe pur sempre di concittadini siracusani e stinfalli, 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. More probably, what is meant is that it is advantageous to have two places that one can call one's fatherland.

3.2.4.2 The lamus myth.

This ode is our main source for the tale about lamus. It seems impossible to establish which components of the myth are part of older transmissions and where Pindar extemporised, if indeed he did so. One feature of the myth is particularly relevant for the present purpose, as political discourse has been suspected. 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. The sixth Olympian ode traces the ancestor of the clan, lamus, back to Poseidon and Spartan Pitana. This is not attested anywhere else. This link between the lamidae and Sparta through Pitana has been explained as a reflection of the new affiliation between the lamidae and

948 Ol. 6.101. Pace Wilamowitz (1922: 307) 'Offenbar lag in Syrakus Sturm in der Luft.' Cf. Σ Ol. 6.170c χρήσιμοι, οὕτω καὶ πρὸς τὰς γινομένας 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 Ol. 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 Ol. 6.74-5 and Ol. 6.101.

949 Cf. Σ Ol. 6.170a: τὸν Ἀγησίαν δύο περιέχεσθαι πατρίς, Σ 170d: it is profitable to have two fatherlands, Σ 170e: both cities will assists each other.

950 E.g. Ol. 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 Ol. 6.52f. ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ποιητικῶς λέγει πεπέμψας τὸ βρέφος.

951 Ol. 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.\textsuperscript{954} If this assumption were true, it would mean a swift inclusion of some fairly recent family history into the ode.\textsuperscript{955} It also means that the clan took an interest in the compositional process of the sixth \textit{Olympian} ode.

3.2.5 Praise for Hagesias.

The ode refers to a god as Hagesias’ remote ancestor,\textsuperscript{956} which surely must have been high praise, yet it is as much praise for the clan as it is for the \textit{laudandus}. In fact most praise for the \textit{laudandus} in this ode appears to be closely linked with that for his clan and for Stymphalos. Unsurprisingly in an epinician ode, the \textit{laudandus} is praised for his Olympic victory. In quick succession he is advertised as seer and fellow-founder of Syracuse.\textsuperscript{957} His military career is alluded to in a comparison with Amphiaraus.\textsuperscript{958} However, after the first triad the \textit{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 \textit{laudandus} as member of the clan, not as an individual. In this regard, Pindar’s sixth \textit{Olympian} seems more like odes for boy-victors,\textsuperscript{959} where one would naturally expect the interests of the clan to take precedence over the individual.\textsuperscript{960} That the sixth \textit{Olympian} ode plays down praise for

\textsuperscript{954} Wilamowitz (1886: 162ff.).


\textsuperscript{956} \textit{Ol}. 6.29 Poseidon.

\textsuperscript{957} \textit{Ol}. 6.3-6.

\textsuperscript{958} \textit{Ol}. 6.15ff.


\textsuperscript{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 lamidae 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 ἄρρητοια.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.

Stymphalos is subject to encomiastic hyperbole when it is called the 'mother-
city of Arcadia.'\textsuperscript{965} In reality it was a city of very modest resources and political
influence.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{967} where the destiny of Stymphalians and Syracusans is equalled.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{969} and ends with the wish
that Hieron may welcome Hagesias' κύμος.\textsuperscript{970} This in fact means that it is the
laudandus who hopes for a favourable reception.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{972} and attempts have been made to interpret this passage, at least in part,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{965} \textit{Ol.} 6.100 ματέρ' εύμηλοιο [...] Άρκαδίας, 'flock-rich' seems a stock epithet, cf. B.11.95.
\item \textsuperscript{966} Cf. J. Roy in \textit{OCD}\textsuperscript{2} 1449f. s.v. Stymphalus.
\item \textsuperscript{967} \textit{Ol.} 6.100ff.
\item \textsuperscript{968} \textit{Ol.} 6.103 τῶν δὲ κεῖνων τε κλυτὰν αἴσαν παρέχοι φιλέων.
\item \textsuperscript{969} \textit{Ol.} 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 \textit{Py.} 2.65f.). Hieron's εὐσέβεια.
\item \textsuperscript{970} \textit{Ol.} 6.98 αὐτὸ τὸ καπνὸν. The preceding line \textit{Ol.} 6.97
... μὴ θράσσοι χρόνος ὀλβον ἐφέρρυον, is arguably a coded wish for continuous patronage.
\item \textsuperscript{971} Friis Johanson (1973: 8) notes that the optative δέξατο indicates that his friendly welcome is
regarded as something that cannot be regarded as sure.
\item \textsuperscript{972} E.g. Lehnus (1981: 105).
\end{itemize}
as praise for Ortygia, and not for Hieron.\textsuperscript{973} However, surely Hieron is mentioned in this passage and the ode strongly suggests that because of the qualities of the tyrant as ruler,\textsuperscript{974} order and stability reign in Syracuse.\textsuperscript{975} The manner in which Hieron is praised have led some to argue that he is almost compared to a god.\textsuperscript{976}

\textsuperscript{973} E.g. Friis Johanson (1973: 4-9) who argues that \textit{Ol.} 6.96 \textit{viv} refers to Ortygia (the nymph and eponymous for Syracuse) and that following praise (\textit{Ol.} 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.'


\textsuperscript{975} Cf. \textit{Ol.} 6.96-7 ὀδύλογοι δὲ \textit{viv} λύραι \textit{molpài} τε γινώσκοντι. See § 2.3.1 proper symposia in epinician odes, signalling that ὁβρίς and βία are absent.

\textsuperscript{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 aölós, might have been perceived as a βάουοος 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. This is the only extant epinician ode that celebrates a victory not won in an athletic or equestrian contest. The ode was probably first performed at Acragas.

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 IV 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. OI. 12.1 Αἴτεω σε [sc. Acragam] κτλ.
The scholia to the ode mention two Pythian victories of Midas, 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. However, there are other odes that fail to mention earlier victories, and it cannot be decided whether the ode was first performed before or during the Emmenid tyranny. 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. Be that as it may, the art of αὐλὸς playing was considered a τέχνη, a trained ability and a profession unsuited for aristocrats. Its practitioners were seen as craftsmen, something that

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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.
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 αὐτῶν τε ... νικάσαντα τέχνη.
987 Cf. Paus. Atticus α.141.2 Erbse το παλαιόν γάρ φασι τούς ἑλευθέρους μη μανθάνειν αὐλείν διά το βάναυσον (= Suda s.v. Ἀράβιος ἄγγελος), Diog. Laert. 6.70.8, Plut. comp. Lyc. et Num. 2.3.4. On the prejudices against βάναυσοι, e.g. restriction of their freedom of movement, cf. Arist. Pol. 1131a31-5, limitation of political rights: SEG9.1.§8 (Hellenistic).
was irreconcilable with the aristocratic ethos as well.\textsuperscript{988} This, however, did not preclude artists and craftsmen from becoming wealthy men with considerable influence.\textsuperscript{989}

4.1.2 Praise for the \textit{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,\textsuperscript{990} nor does it contain any genealogy.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textalpha\textsc{ulos} who solicits further employment at the best possible price. This might also be the reason why this is the only ode in our corpus

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{988} Gentili \textit{et al.} (1995: 308).
\item \textsuperscript{989} Cf. J.J. Pollitt in \textit{OCD}\textsuperscript{3} 178, s.v. 'art, ancient attitudes to.' Cf. X. \textit{Mem.} 1.4.3, Isoc. \textit{Antidos}. 2: appreciated. Plut. \textit{Cim.} 4.6: influence.
\item \textsuperscript{990} Cf. Pindar's fourth \textit{Olympian} ode for Psaumis. 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.
\item \textsuperscript{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. \textit{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.
\item \textsuperscript{992} Gentili \textit{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.
\end{itemize}
in which the myth serves as praise for the discipline in which the victory was won.\footnote{Cf. Thummer (1968: 111) 'Der Mythus und das direkte Lob der Flöte verfolgen das Ziel, die \σεμνότης der Kunst, in der Midas gesiegt hat, zu erhöhen.'}
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,\footnote{Cf. Paus. 1.24.1, Apollod. 1.4.2, Frazer (1921: 29). Athena in other Pindaric odes is known as bestower of τέχναι. Cf. \textit{Ol.} 7.50f.: arts in general, \textit{Ol.} 13.65ff.: the invention of the bridle.} something which the ode, unsurprisingly, does not mention. The myth does not appear to contain much that is applicable to the \textit{laudandus} as a person or as an individual.\footnote{Pace Köhnken (1971: 227) who argues that the myth is always relevant to the \textit{laudandus}.} The \textit{laudandus} is, however, singled out as a distinguished member of the community of players,\footnote{Cf. \textit{Py.} 12.5 εὐδόξῳ Mid.} and held up as someone who has defeated 'Hellas' in his art.\footnote{\textit{Py.} 12.6 Ελλάδα νικάσαντα τέχνης.} This certainly looks like high praise, yet 'Hellas' here appears to be a \textit{pars pro toto} for Midas' competitors,\footnote{Cf. \textit{Py.} 11.50, \textit{Ne.} 10.25.} who would come from all over the Greek world.\footnote{Contrast with \textit{Py.} 1.75 Ἑλλάδι ἐξελκων βαρείας δουλίας, admittedly the ancient commentators were unclear if Western Greece was meant or the whole Greek world, cf. § \textit{2.4.4.4.}} Midas is praised as an outstanding representative within the class of professional αὐλός players. His aspirations do not go beyond such excellence.

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\footnote{Cf. Thummer (1968: 111) 'Der Mythus und das direkte Lob der Flöte verfolgen das Ziel, die \σεμνότης der Kunst, in der Midas gesiegt hat, zu erhöhen.'}

\footnote{Cf. Paus. 1.24.1, Apollod. 1.4.2, Frazer (1921: 29). Athena in other Pindaric odes is known as bestower of τέχναι. Cf. \textit{Ol.} 7.50f.: arts in general, \textit{Ol.} 13.65ff.: the invention of the bridle.}

\footnote{Pace Köhnken (1971: 227) who argues that the myth is always relevant to the \textit{laudandus}.}

\footnote{Cf. \textit{Py.} 12.5 εὐδόξῳ Mid.}

\footnote{\textit{Py.} 12.6 Ελλάδα νικάσαντα τέχνης.}

\footnote{Cf. \textit{Py.} 11.50, \textit{Ne.} 10.25.}

\footnote{Contrast with \textit{Py.} 1.75 Ἑλλάδι ἐξελκων βαρείας δουλίας, admittedly the ancient commentators were unclear if Western Greece was meant or the whole Greek world, cf. § \textit{2.4.4.4.}}
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


\(^{1001}\) Schadewaldt (1928: 309).

\(^{1002}\) Lehnu (1981: 54).

\(^{1003}\) \textit{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 \textit{termini}, cf. \textit{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 Ποσειδώνος Τιπτίου καὶ Ἴρας ... Τιπτίας, at the turning point that of the Dioscuri: πρός δὲ τῷ κιονὶ Διοσκούρων.

\(^{1006}\) Cf. S. \textit{El.} 727ff.: no barrier separating the opposing lanes resulting in a head-on crash. From Pl. \textit{Py.} 5.49 follows that there were at least 41 participants. From \textit{Py.} 5.50 it follows that many attempted to turn the post at the same time.
against a first performance at Acragas.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1008} The special relationship between the Emmenids and the Dioscuri could date back to a time before the Emmenids came to Sicily from Rhodes;\textsuperscript{1009} there appears to have been a local cult festival of the Dioscureia at Rhodes,\textsuperscript{1010} and a family tradition could have been transported to Sicily.\textsuperscript{1011} Worship of the Dioscuri sits well with the eschatology expressed in Pindar's second \textit{Olympian} ode.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Adelsideologie} as a result of the strategy of silence characteristic of \textit{in situ} odes,\textsuperscript{1013} in which the status of the tyrant would remain ambiguous. Whereas the plural patronymic

\textsuperscript{1007} Fränkel (1961: 494n.18). Hence \textit{Ol}. 3.34 \textit{εις ταύταν ἐνατόν} refers to the Olympic games, not to a \textit{Theoxenia}. Differently, Krummen (1990: 223-24) who, however, allows for the possibility that the ode was performed at Olympia (1990: 223n.1).


\textsuperscript{1009} \textit{Ol}. 3.1c explains the Dioscuri via Theron's Argive ancestors. Cf. Pl. \textit{fr}. 119 ἀν δὲ Ρόδον κατώκισθεν..., ἐνθὲν δ' ἀφορμαθέντες, ύψηλαν πόλιν ἀμφι νέμονται, [sc. Agrigentum].

\textsuperscript{1010} Cf. Pritchett (1979: 184).


\textsuperscript{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 Olympian 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 patronyms in -ΔΑΙ or -ΙΑΙ 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 ðατύθεμιν, B.4.19f.
¹⁰¹⁶ Nagy (1990: 122). E.g. The Άγιδαι or the Εύρυποντίδαι (The royal houses of Sparta with
ancestors Agis and Eurypontos, not their respective fathers Eurysthenes and Procles). The
Μεδονίδαι, 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 Ταμίδαι, cf. D.S. 7.9.4, Paus. 2.4.4, 5.20.4, the
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 χρόος 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. Ol. 3.43, Ol. 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 Ol. 3.2-3 and Ol. 3.38.

¹⁰²² Cf. B.4.1 where Syracuse precedes Hieron. Contrast with Ol. 2.5f.: first Theron, then Acragas and Ol. 1.11ff.: first Hieron, followed by nothing less than the whole of Sicily.

¹⁰²³ Σ Ol. 3.1b ἀντίστροπται 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 Ol. 3.7ff.

¹⁰²⁵ Ol. 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’.\textsuperscript{1026} Her story serves as motivation for the introduction of the Hyperboreans as well.\textsuperscript{1027} As such, Taugeta is irrelevant in a discussion of Theron’s patron message.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{laudandus}.

In the proem of the ode Pindar promises the audience something new in a Dorian manner.\textsuperscript{1029} Pindar often claims originality,\textsuperscript{1030} but in this ode that claim appears not to be of a general nature. Heracles is introduced after a short linking passage.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{1032} while later in the ode, the Hyperboreans could trust him not to take more trees, or other things, than was agreed upon.\textsuperscript{1033} This ode consequently denies Heracles’ characteristic

\textsuperscript{1026} \textit{Ol.} 3.31ff.

\textsuperscript{1027} Only Pindar situates the Taugeta story there, \textit{pace} Robbins (1984: 301).

\textsuperscript{1028} For rhetorical reasons (\textit{ποικιλία}) Pindar might have chosen a non-linear order of events. Cf. Köhnken (1983+) on the complicated chronology in this ode.

\textsuperscript{1029} \textit{Ol.} 3.4f. ...Μοῖσα δ’ οὕτω ποι παρέστα μοι νεοσίγαλον εὐρόντι τρόπων Δωρίω φυνάν ἐναρμόζει πεδίλῳ ἀγλαόκωμον- The Dioscuri had strong links with Sparta, cf. Nilsson (1955: 686).

\textsuperscript{1030} E.g. \textit{Ol.} 9.48-49, \textit{Ne.} 8.20, \textit{Isth}. 5.63, \emph{fr.} 70b.

\textsuperscript{1031} \textit{Ol.} 3.6-10.

\textsuperscript{1032} \textit{Ol.} 3.16 πείσαις λόγως, 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 \textit{Ol.} 2.3f.: the killing of Augeas in Heracles’ fifth labour, \textit{Ol.} 10.24ff.: Heracles kills Kteatos, \textit{Ol.} 10.56ff.: the spoils of war after the hero had destroyed Augeas’ city.

violence, which often accompanies his restoration of order and the bequeathing of benefits to mankind.\textsuperscript{1034} Heracles’ concern is moreover uncharacteristically agricultural.\textsuperscript{1035} The association between tyranny and βία was a commonplace;\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{1038} the judging of the Olympian games,\textsuperscript{1039} and the banks of the Alpheos,\textsuperscript{1040} are all described in religious terms. This is picked up by praise of the ‘pious minds’ of laudandus and clan.\textsuperscript{1041} Second, Heracles did not abuse the guest friendship of the Hyperboreans, and accordingly Theron and his clan are praised because of their hospitality.\textsuperscript{1042} In fact,

\textsuperscript{1034} Cf. Pl. fr. 169, Ne. 3.20ff, Ol. 9.29ff, Ol. 10.39-40.
\textsuperscript{1035} Cf. Ol. 3.24 τούτων [sc. δενδρῶν] ἔδοξεν γυμνὸς αὐτῷ κάπος δεξιάς ὑπακουόμεν αὐγαῖς ἄελιον as motivation for the quest.
\textsuperscript{1037} B.4.2: Apollo honours Hieron, Syracuse’s lawful ruler.
\textsuperscript{1038} Ol. 3.19 βεμψμῶν ἀγιαθέτων.
\textsuperscript{1039} Ol. 3.21 ἀγάναις κριῶν. 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 ἐορτή ἀγνή.
\textsuperscript{1040} Ol. 3.22 ζαθέως ἐπὶ κρεμνοῖς. Cf. Paus. 5.14.6: Alpheos’ cult.
\textsuperscript{1041} Ol. 3.39-41. The τελται 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. Ol. 10.51, Py. 9.79.
\textsuperscript{1042} Cf. Ol. 3.16ff, Ol. 3.40.
after the mention of the clan's ἐὔσεβεια and hospitality, not much more is added before the ode ends with a ne plus ultra motif, a topos of high praise, the more so since Heracles' achievements appear to be paralleled with those of the laudandus. It is worth noting that the ἄρεται which have led to Theron's arrival at 'the furthest point' remain unspecified. 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. They are associated with immortality and death, and were both god and men, features that sit well with the eschatology expressed in Pindar's second Olympian. Their quality as horsemen makes them even more appropriate in an ode that celebrates an equestrian event.

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 τρός ἐσχατίαν Θῆρων ἄρεταίσιν ἰκάνων ἀπεται οἴκοθεν ἠρακλέως σταλὼν.
1047 Cf. § 5.1.1.
1048 Cf. Burkert (1985a: 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 XII 3 359. The Dioscuri, as part of the Indo-European heritage, predate Homer. In Homer and Pindar there is ambiguity: at Π 237-244 they are treated as dead, whereas at λ 300-4 they are alive even when τοὺς ἄμφως ζωοὺς κατέχει φυσίζους αἰα. At Ne. 10.80-82 Castor is not the son of Zeus, while at Py. 11.61-64 they are both οἱ θεοί.
1050 Cf. §§ 5.2.3.
The mention of the Dioscuri together with Helen, at the beginning of the ode, must mean that Castor and Pollux here function as protectors, yet the ode also singles them out as φιλόξεινοι. However, nothing in particular is known of the Dioscuri in the role of hosts. That they are evidently guests later in the ode, is of little consequence; 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. 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, and are trustworthy. The quality of trustworthiness also explains why the Dioscuri in this ode are suitable judges of the games.

1053 O/. 3.1-2 Τυνδαρίδαι τε φιλοξείνοις ἀδελφος καλλιπλοκόμης θ' Ἑλένα.
1055 O/. 3.40 ξεινίας αὐτοῦς [sc. the Dioscuri] ἐποίχονται τραπέζαι,
1056 Pace Köhnken (1983a: 60).
1057 Horn ζ 120 f. ή ρ' ο' γ' ύβρισται τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι, ἤφει φιλόξεινοι καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστι θεουδής; In this passage νόος ἐστι θεουδής appears to be epexegetic of φιλόξεινοι. The other instances, with only minor variations, are θ 576, i 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. O/. 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 Cephalia. 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, 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. However, in Pindar's second Olympian ode, as well as in Bacchylides' third ode, 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). 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.

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1060 Cf. Ol. 3.31f. ... τνοιαίς ὀπίθεν Βορέα ψυχροῦ. It is even beyond the reach of the Northern wind.
1061 Cf. Py. 10.29-44.
1062 Cf. Ol. 2.56, 68-70 access to the μακάρων νήσος for those with a εὐσέβεια 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.\textsuperscript{1065} Whereas the laudandus could have commissioned inclusion of his role in these battles, he apparently did not see fit to do so.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1067} For example, there is no documentary evidence that Theron used mercenary troops,\textsuperscript{1068} a

\textsuperscript{1065} The Emmenids were involved, first, in the war of the emporia (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
\textsuperscript{1066} § 8.3.1.
\textsuperscript{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 Compernolle (1992) is recent survey of Theron's reign.
\textsuperscript{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 Pl. Ol. 2.15d (= Hippostratus FGrHist 4 F 433). Cf. Dunbabin (1948: 413), R. van Compernolle (1959: 359), (1992: 71). Freeman (1891: 114)
modus operandi so characteristic for Gelon, Hieron, Thrasybulus and Theron's son Thrasydaeus.\textsuperscript{1069} Second, Acragas' rich agricultural potential resulted in its phenomenal wealth long before Theron's rise to power,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1072} This might also be the reason for Theron's generally positive portrayal in our literary and historical sources.\textsuperscript{1073} Theron in Acragas appears to have been a primus inter pares.\textsuperscript{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.'

\textsuperscript{1069} Cf. D.S. 11.72.3, 48.3, 53.2, 67.5.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{1072} Luraghi (1994: 268).
\textsuperscript{1073} Cf. X. Hier. 8ff., D.S. 11.53.1, 10.27.3.
\textsuperscript{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 Compernolle (1989: 54). The Deinomenids did use the possibilities for propaganda that coinage offered, cf. Rutter (2000p: 80).
with a royal title, unlike Hieron of Syracuse who apparently thought it necessary to be addressed in epinician odes as king. Pindar only goes so far as to praise Theron as the ἐρεισμὸς Ἀκράγαντος.

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. The ode is clearly an epinician ode, 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.

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1076 Cf. Appendix four, § 8.3.2.

1077 Surely on instructions of the laudandus.

1078 Cf. OI. 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. OI. 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.’
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 εὐσεβεία 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.'


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, 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 or literary, of Emmenid Panhellenic dedications so characteristic of Hieron’s religious attitude supports that observation. 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. In other words, whereas in the odes composed for Hieron the laudandus is separated from all others because of his extraordinary piety, 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.

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1089 The Delphic inscriptions IGDS 182a, b are not contradictory evidence; they should be linked with the story in Ael. VH2.33.17: at Delphi the people of Acragas τὸν ἐπίωνυμον τῆς πόλεως ποταμόν παῖδι ὄρατο 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 τούτοις τοῖς ἐν Μοτύθι βαρβάροις Ἀκραγαντίνοι καταστάντες ζῆσε 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.\textsuperscript{1095} For the present purpose a detailed discussion of the eschatological passage is unnecessary.\textsuperscript{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;\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1098} Initiation would lead to prosperity in this life and to some sort of blessed state in the life thereafter.\textsuperscript{1099} All the mystery cults would teach how to live in joy and how to die with better hopes.\textsuperscript{1100} Orphism is closely

related to Pythagoreanism: 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, as crimes committed in an earlier life would have to be atoned for. 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,' 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. 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. 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.
\[1104\] 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, and, more specifically, would reject central norms of Greek society of their day. It appears that such a rejection of the values of the city was central to Orphism as well. It should be noted that this stands in sharp contrast with Eleusinian Mysteries, 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: the keeping of oaths is a *sine qua non* for the attainment of the status of ultimate bliss. This matters since the concept of ἐὐορκία is linked with that of justice, 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.

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1108 E.g. Pythagorean vegetarianism versus the basic ritual acts of animal sacrifice.
1110 The Demeter-Kore worship in Sicily, in which Hieron was a Hierophant, were of the Eleusinian type.
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. 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, the ode continues with a mythical excursion in which Theron's genealogy forms the background. Gnomae supply a negative foil and positive exempla. The ode then returns from the myth to the actuality of the celebrations, which is followed by the so-called eschatological passage. After short discussions of

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1113 The ἀρτοπία 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 Ol. 2.1-7.
1115 Ol. 2.8-45: Theron's clan is linked with the descendants of Oedipus.
1116 Ol. 2.46-55.
1117 Ol. 2.56-83.
the role of poetry in general and that of the poet in particular, the ode closes with a
\textit{ne plus ultra} motif.\footnote{Ol. 2.83-95.}

There is no need to take the opening word of the ode, \textit{άναξιφόρμιγγς}, as a
veiled hint at the elevated status of the patron.\footnote{Ol. 2.95-100. The \textit{ne plus ultra} motif takes the form of a well-known archaic model, viz. 
\textit{όλμος > φθόνος > κορός > ύβρις > ἀπή.}} Instead the element \textit{άναξ-} 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.\footnote{Echoed at B.4.8, B.6.10, 16.66.} This matters since it
suggests that music, dance and mime were secondary to the patron message of an
ode.\footnote{Pace van Leeuwen (1964: 43).}

The status of the \textit{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,\footnote{Ol. 2.6 6\textit{τικοιν \xi\epsilon\nu\nu\nu. Proper \xi\epsilon\nuια.}} he is a bulwark for his city,\footnote{Ol. 2.6 \textit{ϋρεσιμ' Άκραγαντος. There is no need to take this as a veiled hint at the naval battle
of Himera, \textit{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.} he 'sets up' his the city in a
proper way,\footnote{Ol. 2.7 \textit{εὐλογεῖς καὶ καταφέρων \textit{όρθόπολις} a \textit{kenning} in which \textit{όρθόπολις} is active, 'he
who constructs the city in a proper way', \textit{qui urbem claram, conspicuam, florentem fecit}
(Dissen). Cf. Ol. 3.3, lsth. 1.46, Ne. 4.48. van Leeuwen (1964: 52) notes that the meaning of
\textit{όρθόπολις} as 'proper ruler' of a city is later. Cf. T. van Compernolle (1992: 51-61), (1989) on
Theron's building programme. Cf. Diod. Sic. 11.25.3-4, 13.82.1, Σ Pi. Ol. 2 15c.} and is again praised, now in epic terms,\footnote{Ol. 2.92 αὐτάδασομαι ενόρκιον λόγον ἀλαθεὶν νόμω. Cf. van Leeuwen (1964: 52n.276): an
expression of an absolute truth. Cf. Hom. ξ 151, i 16, λ 507, τ 245, 269, ψ 265.} as a proper host,\footnote{Gentili (1988: 26) music's 'primary purpose was to provide the poetic text with a set of
overtones'.} and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{Ol. 2.83-95.}
  \item \footnote{Ol. 2.95-100. The \textit{ne plus ultra} motif takes the form of a well-known archaic model, viz. 
\textit{όλμος > φθόνος > κορός > ύβρις > ἀπή.}}
  \item \footnote{Echoed at B.4.8, B.6.10, 16.66.}
  \item \footnote{Pace van Leeuwen (1964: 43).}
  \item \footnote{Gentili (1988: 26) music's 'primary purpose was to provide the poetic text with a set of
overtones'.}
  \item \footnote{Cf. Wilamowitz (1922: 244n.1). 'Die Musik ist also nur Begleitung des Wortes.'}
  \item \footnote{Ol. 2.6 ὀπτί δίκαιον ξένων. Proper ξένια.}
  \item \footnote{Ol. 2.6 ἔρεισιμ' Άκραγαντος. There is no need to take this as a veiled hint at the naval battle
of Himera, \textit{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.}
  \item \footnote{Ol. 2.7 εὐωνύμων τε πατέρων ἀνωτὸν ὀρθότολιν a \textit{kenning} in which \textit{όρθότολις} is active, 'he
who constructs the city in a proper way', \textit{qui urbem claram, conspicuam, florentem fecit}
(Dissen). Cf. Ol. 3.3, lsth. 1.46, Ne. 4.48. van Leeuwen (1964: 52) notes that the meaning of
\textit{όρθότολις} as 'proper ruler' of a city is later. Cf. T. van Compernolle (1992: 51-61), (1989) on
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expression of an absolute truth. Cf. Hom. ξ 151, i 16, λ 507, τ 245, 269, ψ 265.}
\end{itemize}
generous to the city,\footnote{Ol. 2.94-95 φίλος ἄνδρα μᾶλλον...Θηρωνος.} and even as a son of Acragas.\footnote{Ol. 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.} Finally, the closing ne plus ultra passage mentions the χάρμα τα the laudandus provides for others.\footnote{Ol. 2.99 καὶ κεῖνος όσα χάρματι ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν.} Two passages merit a more detailed discussion. The first one occurs at the end of the third antistrophe.\footnote{Ol. 2.53-55 ὁ μᾶν πλοῦτος ἄρεταις δεδαιδαλμένος φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν καιρῶν βαθείαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἡγοροτέραν. Cf. van Leeuwen (1964: 150-56). Cf. Theogn. 227-232 'Πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώποισιν... χρήματα τοι θνητοῖς γίνεται ἀφροσύνη, κτλ.} 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,\footnote{Ol. 2.94 Τέκεν Θερόν is portrayed as a son. van Leeuwen (1964: 522n.276) notes Hom. ν 295, τ 113, δ 86, B 548.} 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 ἀρετᾶ,\footnote{In other words, the traditional piety. Cf. Ol. 2.53.} is only part of the qualities that candidates for blessedness should possess.\footnote{Cf. Ol. 2.56 εἴ δὲ νῦν ἔχων ....κτλ. Another vexed passage. Cf. van Leeuwen (1964: 162-65), Lehnus (1981: 43ff.). The phrase as it stands does not have an apodosis, an ἀναπόδοσον 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 Ol. 2.102d who}
The ode continues with a clarification of what it is that such ἔσλοι know, offering what appears to be some sort of doctrine. Obviously, this part of the doctrine, if indeed there was more, is not secret. Clearly a restricted class of people is intended, and among them is one of Theron's ancestors, Cadmus. Clearly not everyone automatically will attain the state of blessedness, yet many would have had aspirations to such a blessed state, namely other initiates. Consequently, the patron message hence advertises the laudandus as united with larger parts of the audience.

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', but also in a passage in the fourth strophe. In that last passage, the

summarises Ol. 2.57-60 then adds οὐκ ἄν αὐτῷ εἰς ἀδικίαν ἔχρησατο. Hence I take Ol. 2.56 to refer to a *sine qua non* for the blessedness of the ἔσλοι (Ol. 2.63).

Ol. 2.56 οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον.

Ol. 2.56f. ... οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον, ὅτι κτλ.

From Ol. 2.55 ὅτι θανόντων κ.τ.λ. until Ol. 2.83 πολλὰ μοι κ.τ.λ. Attaining the blessed state is dependent on correct behaviour (cf. Ol. 2.68-70), not simply on being initiated.

Cf. Ol. 2.68ff. ὅσοι δὲ ἔτολμασαν κ.τ.λ. where ὅσοι has a restrictive value, as a variation of οἵνες at Ol. 2.66. Cf. van Leeuwen (1964: 492n.80), 'een elite, die iets bijzonders moet hebben verricht.' Lehnus (1981: 46) 'al paradiso degli eletti.'

Ol. 2.78.

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, Smpt. 209e. Dickie (2005: 37ff.) notes similar restrictions and cites parallels with regard to blessedness in the epitaphs in the new Posidippus' papyrus.

And not just those in Sicily, assuming that the ode was reperformed in other parts of the Greek world.

Contrast with Hieron's piety which separates him from all others, cf. B.3.64-66.

Ol. 2.56 οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον.
phrase σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδῶς φυᾷ 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 ἔσολοι 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’

\(^{1145}\) O/. 2.82-88. ...φωνάσαντα συνετοίσιν· ἐς δὲ τὸ πάν ἐρμανέων χατιζε. σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδῶς φυᾷ· μαθόντες δὲ λάβορι κτλ.


\(^{1147}\) 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 μάθαις of those traditional models. Cf. B. fr. 5, Hes. Th. 22ff.

\(^{1148}\) O/. 2.65-67 ἡλικὸν παρὰ μὲν τιμίως θεῶν ὀπίνες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίας ἀδακρυν νέμονται αἰώνα, O/. 2.67 τοί δ᾽ ἀπροσδόρατον ὀκχάοντι πόνον.

\(^{1149}\) O/. 2.70 ἐτειλαν Δίος ὄδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν.

\(^{1150}\) O/. 2.70 ἐτειλαν Δίος ὄδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν.


\(^{1153}\) 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 τὴν τότε μὲν λεγομένην Κρονίαν, νῦν δὲ ἱερὰν πόλιν.
wife, is associated with the corona muralis,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1155}

5.2.4.1 Praise for laudandus and clan in terms of illud tempus.

The common topos of ἡμερία after the πόνος of the victory\textsuperscript{1156} appears to be applied to the whole clan and Acragas. The clan ‘suffered much in their hearts’ yet then acquired ‘wealth and glory’,\textsuperscript{1157} and now celebrate Theron’s victory and his excellence.\textsuperscript{1158} That Theron’s ancestors had suffered in the past might reflect recent Emmenid history.\textsuperscript{1159} Events during that coup d’état might be conflated with memories of stasis after the foundation of Acragas.\textsuperscript{1160} Rhetorically, the sufferings of the past are the foil for the


\textsuperscript{1155} Note the ‘nine towers’ in D. S. 11.38.4. They were destroyed by Agathocles ἵνα τὸν φθόνον, D.S. 11.38.5.

\textsuperscript{1156} The locus classicus is Pl. Ne. 4 init.

\textsuperscript{1157} OI. 2.8-11, paralleled with a mythical exemplum at OI. 2.53. The past afflictions of the clan are paralleled with the tribulations of Cadmus’ daughters.

\textsuperscript{1158} Cf. § 5.2.4.

\textsuperscript{1159} Cf. OI. 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 OI. 3, 68ad. Cf. G. Swoboda R EVi/2, p.2498-2500, Luraghi (1994: 263n.153).

\textsuperscript{1160} Gela, during the time of the foundation, contained Cretan as well as Rhodian elements, cf. Th. 6.4, D.S. 8.23, ΣΣ Pl. OI. 2.16bc and by extension so did Acragas. Acragas’ two cecists, cf. Th. 6.4.4, were appointed to avoid strife because the initial populations were heterogeneous.
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. 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, 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 history 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*. 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, 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 occasists). Cf. Leschhorn (1984: 17, 85, 92) on multiple occasists.

A well as an instance of the healthy admixture of good and bad fortune. Cf. note 475.

van Leeuwen (1964: 55) notes that *Od*. 2.8-9 appears to be a lyrical adaptation of the proem of the *Odyssey*: καμόντες - πάθεν ἀλήσα (Hom. α.4), οἱ πολλὰς δς - μάλα πολλὰ (α.1), θυμί - δν κατά θυμόν (α.4), ἱρόν ....οἵκημα ποταμοῦ - Τροῖν ἱερόν πτολίθρον (α.2).

On which see below.

Beginning with recent events in Emmenid history, via an excursion into the remote past with Cadmus and the Labdacidae.

With one exception, viz. *Od*. 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. *Od*. 1.109: hope for new victory, *Od*. 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.

Palingenesis or metempsychosis or whatever we want to call it.
a long line of achievements\textsuperscript{1167} parallels the \textit{terminus} of the blessed state described in the eschatological passage.\textsuperscript{1168}

The genealogy in the ode introduces a link between the house of Oedipus and the Emmenid clan.\textsuperscript{1169} The name of the ill-fated Oedipus is avoided\textsuperscript{1170} whereas for obvious reasons the episode of incest is passed over.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{1172} However, in an encomium for Theron,\textsuperscript{1173} the Theban connection is stressed through a lineage traced from Oedipus' elder son, Eteocles.\textsuperscript{1174} Interestingly, the encomium apparently cuts out Eteocles' sojourn in Thebes, Athens and Gela,\textsuperscript{1175} suggesting that the Emmenid clan had arrived directly in Acragas without having been in Gela at all.\textsuperscript{1176} The portrayal in the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1167] Aptly capped at Cf. \textit{Ol}. 2.95ff. with a \textit{ne plus ultra} topos.
\item[1168] \textit{Ol}. 2.68-70.
\item[1169] \textit{Ol}. 2.37-47.
\item[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 \textit{Op}. 161ff..
\item[1172] \textit{Ol}. 2.41-47. Cadmus, father of Semele (\textit{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).
\item[1174] Cf. ΣΣ Pi. \textit{Ol}. 2.61ce, 70 f.
\item[1175] Cf. Pi. \textit{fr}. 119.1-2 ἀν δὲ Ἡρώδων κατῴκησεν... ἐνθέν ἔτοιμοι ἀφορμαθέντες, ὑψηλὰν πόλιν ἄμφινεσθαι, [sc. Acrigentam].
\item[1176] Cf. Hdt. 7.153, Th. 6.4.4. For the inscriptions evidence, cf. de Waele (1971: 268).
\end{footnotes}
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. 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. Such emendation of the past does not occur in odes composed for Hieron. In fact, in odes composed for Hieron genealogy is conspicuously absent. Some think that this is so since the Deinomenids had no illustrious pedigree to boast of, or, alternatively, that they even had been a low-status family up to the time of Telines. 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 OI. 2.15d (=Hipostr. FGrHist 568 F 3) Λππόστρατος δέ ἑστορεὶ οὕτως πλοῦτως διεννυχότας. ἄλλʼ ὁι γε πρόγονοι τοῦ Θῆρωνος [τοῦ Θῆρωνος Drachmann: τῶν Ακραγαντίων ΒΕΗΩ] Γελώνοι οὐχ οὕτως ἡπτορίκεσαν, ἄλλα καὶ πάν τούναντιον μόνης καὶ τατεινώς διέζων, ἐπὶ φυλακῆς τῆς πόλεως μισθοφόρουτες.
1179 Pindar’s first and ninth Nemean odes also do not contain genealogy.
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.\textsuperscript{1182} Second, the genealogies that do occur in the odes promote the interests of the laudandus and are not necessarily reflections of the truth.\textsuperscript{1183}

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that Hippocrates courted the favours of the Geloan aristocracy (among them the Deinomenids) and that therefore Gelon was appointed *magister equitum*.

\textsuperscript{1182} Instead, odes composed for Hieron often advertise the links between heroes or gods and the laudandus.

\textsuperscript{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 laudandum, 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 laudandum in both odes is Thrasybulus, a nephew of Theron of Acragas. Xenocrates, the father of the laudandum, was victorious in 490 BCE at Delphi. The laudandum 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 laudandum 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. 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. 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. Hence whereas Pindar’s sixth Pythian ode and his second Isthmian ode mention Xenocrates’ victories they were commissioned by his son, Thrasybulus. 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 inscr. a οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ξενοκράτης οὐ μόνον Ἱσθμια νεκίκηκεν ἵπποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πυθία καὶ Πυθιάδα (sc. 490 BCE), ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης (Arist. fr. 617 R) ἀναγράφει· καὶ Σιμωνίδης δὲ (Sim. PMG 513) ἐπανύνων αὐτοῦ ἀμφοτέρας 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 Compermolle (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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{1189} and whereas the last lines of Pindar's second Isthmian ode need not necessarily reflect such troubles,\textsuperscript{1190} the manner in which the laudandus is praised in the odes nevertheless does not seem to exclude that troubles are hinted at.\textsuperscript{1191} The opening of the second Isthmian ode appears to hark back to better times.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{1190} Isth. 2.43 'envious hopes hang about the minds of mortals'.
\textsuperscript{1191} von der Mühll (1964: 170). Contrast with Ol. 6.101 where allusions to impending dangers in Syracuse are highly unlikely since Hieron himself was present during the performance. Cf. Erbse (1999: 17).
\textsuperscript{1192} Isth. 2.1-11. Οἰ μὲν πάλαι, ὃ Θρασύβουλος, φῶτες, ...νῦν δ'...
\textsuperscript{1193} Cf. § 5.2.1.
Himera on his behalf, administered Himera with great brutality,\textsuperscript{1194} and compares Theron's rule favourably with Thrasydaeus'.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{laudandus} stresses beneficial effects on the polis,\textsuperscript{1196a} the ideology in this ode is best described as an instance of \textit{Polisideologie}.

6.1.2 Circumstances of the first performance of the odes.

The date of Xenocrates' Pythian victory appears to be 490 BCE.\textsuperscript{1196} The ode mentions Thrasybulus as 'approaching his uncle in all manners of splendour'.\textsuperscript{1197} Scholars who assume that the sixth \textit{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,\textsuperscript{1198} was already the most important member of the Emmenid

\textsuperscript{1194} D.S. 11.48.6 βαρύτερον τοῦ καθηκόντος.
\textsuperscript{1195} Cf. D.S. 10.28.3, 11.53.2 Θέρον τήν ἄρχην ἐπιεικῶς διωκήκως, \textit{versus} his son βιασος ἢν καὶ φονικός ... ἔρχε 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.
\textsuperscript{1196a} Cf. \textit{Isth.} 2.17, 2.35-40, discussed below.
\textsuperscript{1196} Cf. Sim. \textit{PMG} 513.
\textsuperscript{1197} \textit{Py.} 6.46 πάτρω τ' ἐπερχόμενος ἀγλαίαν ἀπασαν.
\textsuperscript{1198} The date of the beginning of Theron's rule probably belongs to ca.489 BCE, but see note 983.
clan. 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. 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. 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. 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. With regard to the sixth Pythian ode, some scholars suggest Delphi as the place of the first performance, with a procession as performance context. 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’ (καταεικοσθεί) 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.
are good reasons to suggest that the ode was not, however, an *in situ* ode, 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. Consequently, the ὑμνῶν 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. Xenocrates' chariot victory appears to be dedicated to clan and home city as well. Be that as it may, after the second strophe, the focus of praise clearly shifts to Thrasybulus, yet with praise that

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1205 Cf. *Py.* 6.3 ἀναπολίζομεν we proceed, with the ὑμνῶν θησαυρός referring to an actual cult place.

1206 *Py.* 6.4 προσοικόμενοι has perfective value and points to arrival having already taken place. Imagery of the 'treasury house of song', *Py.* 6.7f. ὑμνῶν θησαυρός, refers to the efforts at continuation of Thrasybulus' glory, his κλητος ἀφθινον, rather than to an actual building. Cf. *Ol.* 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 Πυθιῶνικος ἔνθε ὀλβίοισιν Ἐμμενιδιάς ποταμίας η' ἀκράγαντες καὶ μάν ἔξωνοράτες ἔτοιμος ὑμνῶν θησαυρός …. Höhle (1972: 110) notes that the order of the words suggests a *Familiensieg*.

1209 *Py.* 6.14-18 φάσι δὲ πρόσωπον ἐν καθαρῷ πατρῷ τεῳ, Ὀρασύβουλε, κοινάν τε γενεῖ λόγοις θνατῶν ἐδοξοῦν ἀρματί νίκαιν Κρισαίως ἐνι πτυχαίς ἀπαγγελεῖ. The allusion could be to a dedicated chariot as part of the θησαυρός of a temple. The possessive adjective τεῳ 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. The laudandus is praised for having followed the precepts of Cheiron: to honour Zeus and one's parents. Even Achilles was taught these Panhellenic moral lessons, 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, and explicitly names the laudandus as someone who comes closest to the standards of filial devotion, at the same time emulating his uncle Theron in 'all manner of splendour'. Antilochus in this ode is an example of a φιλοπάτωρ, and a clear parallel for the laudandus. The Homeric Antilochus was an excellent charioteer, perhaps the reason why the scholiast thought the laudandus drove his father's chariot in 490 BCE.

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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.


1212 Py. 6.23-27, Py. 6.20 έφημοσύναν goes with viv, cf. Gentili et al. (1995: 184n. 3) and Σ Py. 6.19a δεξίως καί άληθώς ἄγεις τήν ἐντολήν καί παραίνειν.

1213 Py. 6.21.

1214 Py. 6.28-43.

1215 Py. 6.44f.

1216 Py. 6.46 πάτρῳ [sc. Theron] τ' ἑπερχόμενος ἄγλαϊαν ἂπασαν.

1217 Cf. Χ. Συν. 1.14 Ἀντίλοχος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεραποθανῶν τοσαύτης ἐτυχεν εὔκλειας, ὥστε μόνος φιλοπάτωρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνὶς ἄναγορευθήναι.

1218 Cf. Hom. Ψ 402ff.

1219 ΣΣ Py. 6.13e, 6.15. Correctly Σ Py. 6.15 τοῦτον δὲ ἡς φιλοπάτορα καὶ προεστῶτα τῆς ἰσθμικῆς ἐπανεῖ, οὐχ ἡς πνες ἐβουλήθησαν, ἡνίοχον. οὐ γάρ ἡνίοχος Νικόμαχος ἐστιν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἱσθμιονικῶν (sc. Isth. 2.22f.) δηλὸς 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, 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, 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, something that is alluded to in the last strophe of the ode. 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, could have served Thrasybulus’ interests well.

6.1.4 Praise for the *laudandus* and clan in Pindar’s second *Isthmian* ode.

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1220 Cf. § 1.4.
1221 *Py.* 6.43 τὰ μὲν παρίκειται.
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 ἵσα νέομεν ὑπειδῆ πρὸς ἀκτάν· δς μὲν ἀχρήμων, ἀφνεός 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.\textsuperscript{1226} It is noteworthy that the Hindemismotiv used,\textsuperscript{1227} represents an irrealis: even an audience in antiquity would surely not have believed that the Muse received money.\textsuperscript{1228} The proem moreover appears to distinguish sharply between past and present.\textsuperscript{1229} Pindar does not normally make such a distinction since he usually wants to stress the links between laudandus and the heroic past.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1231} In that event it deftly touches on

\textsuperscript{1226} Kambylis (1964: 181n.3). \textit{Isth.} 2.3-4 is similar to so-called παιδικοὶ ὄνοι, 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 as wäre man verliebt.' Cf. Ibyc. PMG 287, 288, Pr. fr. 123.

\textsuperscript{1227} Cf. Schadewaldt (1928: 302).

\textsuperscript{1228} Thummer (1969: 36).

\textsuperscript{1229} Isth. 2.6 πω τὸ... versus Isth. 2.9 νῦν ὁ... Similarly in the sixth Pythian ode, cf. Py. 6.43 τὰ μὲν παρίκεια.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1231} On that interpretation, the aristocratic values in the first strophe are contrasted with the adage that 'money is now everything'. \textit{Isth.} 2.11 'χρήσιμα χρήσιμαν ἀνήρ'. Verdenius (1988: 125) notes that someone who lost his money also lost his friends (\textit{Isth.} 2.11) since 'friendship is maintained by the reciprocity of benefits.' Cf. Hom. λ 359f., Hes. \textit{Op.} 313, S. fr. 88 Pearson.
the current political situation and presents a veiled critique contrasting the *hic et nunc* with *illud tempus*, 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', something which does not simply allude to Xenocrates' prominent position at Acragas but implies that he brought welfare and salvation. Xenocrates is further praised in the third strophe and antistrophe for his proper *aiōn* towards his townsmen, his *eúdoξeia*, and for his generosity as an unfailing host. This is a veritable catalogue of praise, which omits any references to the clan's (former?) political power but instead concentrates on Xenocrates' Panhellenic aristocratic values.

Pindar's second *Isthmian* ode opens with Thrasybulus and closes with him. The *laudandus* appears to be the focus of attention, yet is praised strictly in terms of the clan and his father. Thrasybulus is responsible for keeping the memory of the

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1232 *Isth*. 2.6 πω τῶν versus *Isth*. 2.9 νῦν δ'...
1233 *Isth*. 2.17 Ακραγαντίνων φαός.
1235 *Isth*. 2.37 αἰδόθος μὲν ἤν ἀστοῖς ὄμιλεν.
1236 *Isth*. 2.39 καὶ θεῶν δαίμων 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 *eúdoξeia*, the absence of any expression of military or personal power.
1239 Cf. *Isth*. 2.38 ἱπποτορφίας τε νομίζων ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμων.
1240 *Isth*. 2.47f. ...διὰν ἔχειν οὗτος [sc. Thrasubulem] ἡθαύμον ἐλθής.
1241 The apostrophe at *Isth*. 2.12f. ἔσσει γὰρ ὄν σοφός· οὐκ ἄγνως· ἀείδω ... is not praise but a κόρος motif. Cf. *Ol*. 2.95 ... ἀλλ' αἶνον ἐπέβα κόρος.
clan and his father alive,\textsuperscript{1242} not only in Acragas but also throughout the Greek world.\textsuperscript{1243} That excellence should not be forgotten is a common \textit{topos},\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1242} Cf. \textit{Isth.} 2.43 μὴ νῦν, ὅτι φθόνεραι θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἐλπίδες. The 'envious hopes' that the ode and the memory of Xenocrates might soon fall into oblivion.

\textsuperscript{1243} \textit{Isth.} 2.45f. ...ἐπεὶ τοι οὐκ ἐλιύσοντας αὐτοὺς ἐργασάμαν. Cf. \textit{Ne.} 5.1f.

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

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1245 Cf. Paus. 6.4.11, Pi. Ol. 12.16.
appears that the ode was first performed after the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny.\textsuperscript{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';\textsuperscript{1249} however, that label appears to be slightly misleading and it appears that the traditional ruling group regained control.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{demos}, led to an explosive situation throughout Sicily.\textsuperscript{1251} The results of post-Deinomenid restoration were most harshly felt in Syracuse where Gelon's disenfranchised mercenaries soon revolted.\textsuperscript{1252} Admittedly, Theron's repopulation of Himera should be contrasted with the 'demographic engineering' projects of other Sicilian tyrants.\textsuperscript{1253} Theron's repopulation is perhaps better described as an \textit{έποικία},\textsuperscript{1254}

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{1248} Cf. § 7.1.2.

\textsuperscript{1249} 466-406 BCE.


\textsuperscript{1252} Cf. D.S. 11.72.3, 463/2 BCE.

\textsuperscript{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. Possibly as a result, oppositions between 'old' and 'new' citizens in Himera would have been less felt. 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, 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.

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. 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.


D.S. 11.49.4 notes that at Himera newcomers and original population lived together on good terms.

D.S. 11.76.4, pace D.S. 11.49.4.


whole of Sicily, as the hope for the return of peace in turbulent times. 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. 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. The conjectural supplements in the right half are mainly concerned with the location and number of Ergoteles' victories and need not concern us here. 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. If Pausanias can be believed, then Ergoteles declared himself as from Himera after his victories, thus offering the κόσμος of his victory to his new home city, not to his clan.

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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.


1265 CEG393 ἱμέραι ἀθάνατον μὲν Ἰσμ' ἀρετάς 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 77\(^{th}\) 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 δολίχον δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκαις, τοσάυτα δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τε καὶ Νεμεῖων ἀνήρμηνες, either two victories at Nemea and two at the Isthmus, or two altogether? Cf. Pl. *Ol.* 12.17-18 νῦν δ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ στεφανωσάμενος καὶ δίς ἐκ Πυθῶνος ἱσθμοὶ τ' with similar ambiguity.

\(^{1270}\) *Ol.* 12.17 νῦν δ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ στεφανωσάμενος. The Alexandrian grammarians probably classified the ode as an Olympian one because of this passage.

\(^{1271}\) Cf. Moretti (1957: 91) number 224.
seems the more probable one,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1273} Since the ode mentions only one victory at Olympia,\textsuperscript{1274} the first performance of the ode must hence be dated to somewhere between 466 and 464 BCE,\textsuperscript{1275} after the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny.\textsuperscript{1276} It also follows that Ergoteles’ Olympic victory was not the immediate occasion for the ode.\textsuperscript{1277} The rule that an epinician ode always mentions the current victory first,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1279} Because of the opening lines and praise for Himera,\textsuperscript{1280} a first performance in the victor’s home city appears likely.

7.1.3 Praise for the \textit{laudandus} and his home city.

\textsuperscript{1272} Cf. Moretti (1957: 94) number 251.

\textsuperscript{1273} Barrett (1973: 24-28).

\textsuperscript{1274} Pi. \textit{Ol}. 12.17.

\textsuperscript{1275} Or later still, in the event that the second Olympic victory was won after 464 BCE.

\textsuperscript{1276} In 466/5 BCE. Cf. D.S. 11.67.1-68.7.

\textsuperscript{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.


\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1280} Cf. the local detail of the warm baths at \textit{Ol}. 12.19 on which see below.
The laudandus is exclusively praised for his athletic achievement, and importantly, the ode specifically links his victory and the κόδος associated with it with his home city Himera, not with his clan. 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, and in an ode composed for Midas of Acragas. The twelfth Olympian ode parallels the good fortune of Ergoteles with the expectation that the might of Himera can be preserved. The context is the mutability of life, with a personified Tyche as protagonist. A cult of Tyche appears to have existed in Sicily from the early fifth century onwards, yet we know nothing of her province. In this ode Τύχα σώτερα is the child of Zeus Eleutherios, and has battles and

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1281 OI. 12.17-19.
1282 OI. 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 αὖξων δὲ πάτραν Μειδυλίδαν λόγον φέρεις, Aristomenes honours the clan of the Meidulids with his victory.
1284 Cf. §§ 7.2.5-6 on OI. 5.4 δς [sc. Psaumis] τὰν σὰν πόλιν αὖξων, Καμάρινα. OI. 4.11f. … κόδος δροσὶ σπέιδαι Καμαρίνα. …
1287 Cf. OI. 12.5-12a. In particular OI. 12.6 πόλλ’ ἀνω, τά δ’ αὖ κάτω συνευδης μεταμόνια τάμνοισαι κυληδοντ’ ἐλπίδες: Cf. Isth. 3.18 αὖων δὲ κυληδομέναις ἀμέραις ἀλλ’ ἄλλοι’ ἐξ ἄληκας, Alc. fr. 326 LP (stasis). The sentiment of the mutability of life also at OI. 12.7: man has no trusty σύμβολον (‘token’ or ‘tally’), OI. 12.8: man’s ignorance of the future.
1289 OI. 12.1f.
assemblies in her power.\textsuperscript{1290} She is regularly, as in this ode, a reminder of the vicissitudes of life.\textsuperscript{1291} That τύχη in Pindar often stands for ‘good luck’ or ‘good fortune’,\textsuperscript{1292} is irrelevant for the present purpose,\textsuperscript{1293} and the opposition in the ode between hope\textsuperscript{1294} and realism can best be understood as a common \textit{topos}, namely that of the healthy alternations of good and bad fortune.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1296} Mention of Ergoteles’ past as an exile,\textsuperscript{1297} is significant for three reasons. First, it parallels the \textit{topos} of the agonistic necessity for the individual to leave home,\textsuperscript{1298} and to return with the glory of the victory.\textsuperscript{1299} Second, it is a further illustration of the workings of fortune: Ergoteles has

\textsuperscript{1290} \textit{Ol.} 12.3-5 τίν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ κυβερνώντα θεοὶ νάες, ἐν χέρασι τε λαβηροὶ πόλεμοι κάγοραι βουλαφόροι. Lehnus (1981: 188) notes that jurisdiction reaches from the uncivilised world (ἐν πόντῳ, cf. Hom. δ 499-501, 	extit{Nostoi} p. 108 Allen, A. \textit{Ag.} 648-80, E. \textit{Tro.} 88-91) to the cultivated world (ἐν χέρασι), and finally to a most cultivated activity (κάγοραι βουλαφόροι). Cf. 	extit{Ne.} 3.23.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{OCD} p. 1566 s.v. Tyche.


\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1294} \textit{Ol.} 12.1-2 Λίασσομαι, παῖ Ζηνός ᾿Ελευθέριοι, ἵμεραν εὕρισθενέντες ἀμφιτόλει, σώτειρα Τύχα. Cf. note 475.

\textsuperscript{1295} \textit{Ol.} 12.13-18.

\textsuperscript{1296} \textit{Ol.} 12.16 εἰ μή στάσις ἀντιάνειρα Κωσσίας ο’ ἀμερας πάτρας.

\textsuperscript{1297} \textit{Ol.} 12.16 εἰ μὴ στάσις ἀντιάνειρα Κωσσίας α’ ἀμερας πάτρας.


gone from 'grievous storms', the stasis in Crete, to his current victories. 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 Himera 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; rhetorically, the ode sets up a contrast between two sentiments: on the one hand Ergoteles has been deprived of his former homeland, yet now he is in possession of lands that are legitimately his. 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, yet the general sense seems clear: with mention of its famous springs, Himera is praised as the place where Ergoteles finds relief for his πόνος. This is a common epinician topos However, this topos can arguably be linked with the

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1300 Ol. 12.12 ...ἀνιαραίς ζάλαις...
1301 Race (1990: 97).
1302 Ol. 12.19.
1303 Ol. 12.16 ...σ' ἀμερος πάτρας
1304 Ol. 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.'
1307 It is a variant of the topos ἡσυχία after πόνος, cf. Ne. 4.1-8, Ol. 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.

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\(^{1308}\) Gildersleeve (1890: 225).

\(^{1309}\) *Ol.* 12.7 σύμβολον δ' οὖ πιώ τις ἐπιχθονίων πιστών ἀμφὶ πράξις ἐσσομένας εὑρέν 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 ἑσλοϊ.\footnote{Cf. the plural in \textit{Ol}. 4.4 ξείνων.} Assuming that this ode was an \textit{in situ} ode, this is unsurprising. The ideology in the ode can be labelled \textit{Adelsideologie}.\footnote{Cf. § 2.4.2 note 424.}

In the fifth Olympian ode the \textit{laudandus} appears to be continuously praised in terms of his μεγαλοτρέπεια for his community.\footnote{Cf. \textit{Ol}. 5.4 πόλιν, 5.4 λαότροφον, 5.8 τάν νέοικον ἔδραν, 5.10 ὡ πολιάσχε Παλλάς, στρατόν 5.12, 5.15 δάμον ἀστών, 5.16 πολίταις, 5.20 πόλιν.} Hence the whole fifth Olympian ode has been described as an expansion of φιλόπολιν in the fourth Olympian ode.\footnote{Race (1990: 95n. 30). Cf. \textit{Ol}. 4.16 καὶ πρὸς Ἡσυχίαν φιλόπολιν.}

Judging from recently discovered inscriptions,\footnote{\textit{Syll}. 341.778-795, 42.846.} 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.\footnote{Cf. Hornblower (2004: 191n. 239), Murray (1997: 497).} Assuming that a Panhellenic victory was one of the \textit{modi operandi} for those aspiring to tyranny,\footnote{Cf. § 1.3, note 9 and § 8.5, note 1492. Psaumis appears to fulfil two out of the three conditions mentioned there.} 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 \textit{laudandus} in his community. The ideology of the ode appears to be a clear-cut example of \textit{Polisideologie}.
7.2.2 Authorship of Pindar's fifth *Olympian* ode.

The scholia express doubt about genuine Pindaric authorship for the fifth *Olympian*.

Many scholars accept authenticity, and it has been rightly remarked that a local forger would have to be familiar with Pindar's whole œuvre, something which seems hardly imaginable. 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. The place of first performance of the fourth *Olympian* is disputed. The main argument against performance at Olympia is that the *sedes* in the invocation supposedly implies performance in Camarina. That, however, need not necessarily have been the case and the qualification *Aίναν* could

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1319 Farnell (1932: 35). A Hellenistic forgery is a possibility. However, Didymus accepted authenticity.


1322 *OI.* 4.6 ἄλλα Κρόνου παῖ, δὲ Αίναν ἔχεις.
have been inserted in order to identify an otherwise unknown Sicilian town.\footnote{1323} I follow the scholars who have suggested that the fourth Olympian ode was composed for first performance at Olympia.\footnote{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.\footnote{1325}

The event celebrated in the fifth Olympian ode is the mule-cart race.\footnote{1326} The terminus ante quem for the victory celebrated in the ode must be 444 BCE,\footnote{1327} and the terminus post quem 461/0 BCE.\footnote{1328} A date of 460 BCE seems too soon after the refoundation of Camarina.\footnote{1329} Modern scholarship is divided as to the other possible available dates.\footnote{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.\footnote{1331}

\footnote{1323} Cf. Wilamowitz (1922: 415): ‘Kleinstadt, [sc. Camarina] von der die wenigsten Festgenossen auch nur den Namen kennen konnte.’ Zeus can be called Aiônoios because he is the divinity foremost concerned with the mountain. Cf. Σ Ol. 4.1g. Αἴνα δορός Σικελίας· οἰκειότατα δὲ, Σικελιώτης γὰρ ὁ νικηφόρος.

\footnote{1324} A κώμος mentioned at Ol. 4.9 δέξαι Χαρίτων θ’ ἐκατό τόνδε κώμον could also have taken place at Olympia.

\footnote{1325} § 7.2.5.

\footnote{1326} Cf. Ol. 5.3 ἀκαμαντόποδός τ’ ἀπήνας δέκευ Ψαυμίως τε δώρα· 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.

\footnote{1327} The discontinuation of the event. Cf. Paus. 5.9.1-2, 5.5.2, Plut. Mor. 303b.


\footnote{1329} Cf. Pi. Ol. 5.8 ἐκάρυυξε καὶ τάν 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.

\footnote{1330} Lomiento (2000) is a recent survey of the evidence. She opts for 448 BCE.

\footnote{1331} Cf. Ol. 5.1-3 δέκευ, Ol. 5.14 τόνδε δόμον 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.\textsuperscript{1332} While the *laudandus* must have been a Greek,\textsuperscript{1333} his name tells us that he was of Sicel descent.\textsuperscript{1334} The name Psaumis might have had Libyan or Egyptian connotations.\textsuperscript{1335} Obviously, Psaumis was a Greek-speaker and surely well integrated in his home city,\textsuperscript{1336} yet at Olympia, Psaumis arguably would have stood out.\textsuperscript{1337} Moreover, a Panhellenic audience would readily associate Psaumis' unprepossessing home city with a rather inauspicious proverb.\textsuperscript{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-

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1333} Since only Greeks could participate in Panhellenic games, cf. Hdt. 2.160. Psaumis' father has a Greek name, cf. O/l. 5.8 Αρίων. 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.

\textsuperscript{1334} Cf. D.W.W. Ridgway in *OCD*\textsuperscript{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 *FGHist* 4 F 79b.

\textsuperscript{1335} Cf. Th. 1.104.1, Hdt. 3.14. The Pindaric scholiast cannot agree on a single spelling; in addition to Ψαύμις they give Ψάμις and Ψαύμιχος.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

represented.\textsuperscript{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’ Sicel federation\textsuperscript{1340} 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1342} Hence any unfavourable associations attached to the laudandum 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,\textsuperscript{1343} hence the anecdotes on the subject are surely apocryphal.\textsuperscript{1344}

\textsuperscript{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 Sicel names occur down to the fifth century.

\textsuperscript{1340} Cf. D.S. 6.35, 11.88, 8.84; 453/2 BCE.

\textsuperscript{1341} Assuming that the fourth Olympian ode was reperformed in Camarina.

\textsuperscript{1342} Pace Puech (1949: 77) ‘le poète semble avoir à cœur de faire oublier... qu’il ne s’agit que d’une victoire d’atrocity.’


\textsuperscript{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. It might seem logical that Zeus is introduced, the victory being an Olympic one, yet this is the only ode in the extant epinician corpus where an appeal is made to the highest authority, Zeus. Perhaps hyperbole might have been an intended rhetorical effect. The second instance is the statement that the poet has been sent as a witness. 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 ἔσλοι, rejoice in this success of their ξένος. Hence ἔσαναν must be taken in a positive sense here. 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 *Ol.* 4.1 ff. Ἐλατηρί ὑπερτάτε ... Ζεύς with the mention of genealogy and sedes followed by the actual petition.
1346 Cf. *ΣΣ* 1.1c εἰκότως ἔξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δίος ποιεῖται τὸ προοίμιον τοῦ ἐπινίκου.
1347 *Ne.* 2. *init.* is not evidence to the contrary since it is not an invocation of Zeus.
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. Zeus is invoked, this time as Κρόνου παῖ, implying that Zeus stretches out his protection over Aetna as well, and from there, presumably, over Camarina. Rhetorically, hyperbole might be intended.

The ode advertises Camarina with the laudandus eager to arouse glory for his home city, κύδος ὁρσαι στειφεῖ Κομαρίνα. 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, including Psaumis' wealth, his hospitality and his devotion to the interests of his home city. That a laudandus has a right to enjoy ἡσυχία after πόνος is a common epinician topos, yet the statement in this ode that the laudandus is 'devoted to city-loving Hesuchia' is important. It

1351 Ol. 4.6.
1352 Ol. 4.5.
1353 ΣΣ Ol. 4.1ε ἢ δὲ ἀκολουθία· ὦ Ζεῦ, ὃς Αἰτναν ἔχεις· καθ’ ὑπερβατόν.
1354 Ol. 4.11-12.
1355 Ol. 4.14 ἐπεὶ...
1356 Ol. 4.14-16. Wealth is implied in horse breeding.
1357 Cf. Ol. 12.17-19, Ne. 1.70-71 (Heraclem) ἡσυχίαν καμάτων μεγάλων ποινάν λαχόντ' ἐξαίρετον ὀλβίοις ἐν δώμασι.
1358 Ol. 4.16 καὶ πρὸς Ἡσυχίαν φιλόπολιν καθαρῷ γνώμα τετραμμένου.
advertises Psaumis’ disposition as of quiet restraint and as not hubristic.\textsuperscript{1359} Such praise would be relevant during a reperformance in Camarina.\textsuperscript{1360}

A \textit{gnome} ends the antistrophe. The climactic positions of the statement suggest that something important is communicated.\textsuperscript{1361} Trial is truly the test of mortals, \textit{acta virum probant}.\textsuperscript{1362} The myth which follows, or, in view of its brevity, the \textit{exemplum} has puzzled scholars.\textsuperscript{1363} However, it can be explained as an illustration of the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{1364} Erginus matches the excellence of his feet with his \textit{χεῖρες} and \textit{ῆτορ}.\textsuperscript{1365} In this way Erginus, in a very Greek manner, is portrayed as a complete person, and, by extension, so is the \textit{laudandum}. This and the sentiment of \textit{acta virum probant}, is probably all there is to gain from this short \textit{exemplum}.\textsuperscript{1366} The sentiment that men should be judged by their actions disperses possible suspicions the audience might have had against the \textit{laudandum} and advertised Psaumis as a peer among other aristocrats.

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\textsuperscript{1359} Dickie (1984: 90) notes the importance of the term \textit{ήσυχια} for the symposium, however, it 'has a significance that goes far beyond the symposium'; e.g. Sol. \textit{fr.} 4.7-10 W. He notes that (1984: 91) \textit{ήσυχια} 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: \textit{passim}) with different opinions about the role of \textit{ὕβρις} in the process.
\textsuperscript{1360} Farnell (1932: 33) 'testimony to the quiet constitutional temperament of Psaumis – who being so wealthy might be suspected of aiming at tyranny.'
\textsuperscript{1361} Cf. note 377.
\textsuperscript{1362} \textit{Ol.} 4.18 \textit{διάπειρα} τοι \textit{βροτῶν ἔλεγχος}.
\textsuperscript{1363} Kurz (1974:33) even suggests 'ein gewissen inneren Humor.'
\textsuperscript{1364} Cf. Braswell (1988:14ff.) for other versions of the Erginus myth.
\textsuperscript{1366} The assumption in \textit{Σ. Ol.} 4.29b that Psaumis was old, or even too old to compete is false. That Erginus was in fact young follows \textit{a fortiori} from καὶ in \textit{Ol.} 4.25 φύνονται δὲ καὶ νέως 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. The adjective λαότροφος makes Camarina more important than it was in reality, while Psaumis persistently links his glory with κόδος for Camarina.

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 (πεμπαμέροις) or only on the fifth day (πεμπαμέροις). If the first reading can be accepted there are two possibilities: Psaumis really sacrificed

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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 λαότροφος beigefügt wird.’
1369 OI. 5.4 ὃς [sc. Psaumis] τὸν σάν πόλιν αὐξὼν, Καμάρινα. Cf. OI. 4.5-12, Py. 12.4-6, OI. 12.17-19.
1370 OI. 5.6. Whereas most manuscripts have πεμπαμέροις, papyrus Π reads πεμπαμέροις, 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 ἐπὶ 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,\textsuperscript{1371} or, alternatively, this is a \textit{suggestio falsi} and the home audience is treated to some \textit{hyperbole}. The second alternative seems the more likely one.

The second triad moves from Olympia to Camarina and Psaumis' \textit{μεγαλοπρέπεια} forms the climax of the second triad.\textsuperscript{1372} The insistence on Psaumis' \textit{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 \textit{μεγαλοπρέπεια} and tyranny.\textsuperscript{1373} There are two passages in this respect which merit attention: first, a difficult and much discussed passage in the second triad,\textsuperscript{1374} and second, the statement which opens the second epode.\textsuperscript{1375} For a detailed discussion of the first passage, I refer to Appendix five. On the view taken there, Psaumis' \textit{μεγαλοπρέπεια} would have been considerable. He would have been intimately involved in the refoundation of Camarina and 'brought his townsmen from helplessness to light.'\textsuperscript{1376} The second passage seems to comment on the first passage.\textsuperscript{1377} Some key

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1371} Farnell (1932: 38), however, notes that only the directors of the whole festival could sacrifice for five days.
\item \textsuperscript{1372} Because of position of the statement.
\item \textsuperscript{1373} § 2.4.3.1, note 466.
\item \textsuperscript{1374} \textit{Ol.} 5.10-14.
\item \textsuperscript{1375} \textit{Ol.} 5.15-16.
\item \textsuperscript{1376} \textit{Ol.} 5.14 \textit{υπ' ἁμαχανίας ἁγῶν ἐς φάος τὸν ἄμον ἀστῶν}. Cf. \textit{Py.} 9.89aff. where ἁμαχανία simply means 'not being famous'. In the fifth \textit{Olympian}, however, something more serious seems hinted at.
\item \textsuperscript{1377} \textit{Ol.} 5.15-16 \textit{αἰὲ δ' ἀμφ' ἀρεταία πόνος δαπάνα τε μάρναται πρὸς ἔργον κινδύνω κεκαλυμμένον· εὖ δὲ τυχόντες σοφοὶ καὶ πολίταις ἔδοξαν ἐμμεν}. In early Greek lyric \textit{πολίται} has no political implications, it means citizens. Cf. \textit{Isth.} 1.51.
\end{itemize}
epinician terms are used: πόνος, δαπανά, ἄρεταί, κίνδυνος, μάρνυμι. 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.' In other words, just as the ἔσολοι rejoiced in the success of their ξένος Psaumis at Olympia, so Psaumis' fellow townsmen praise him in Camarina. Whereas at Olympia the laudandum is advertised as a peer among fellow peers (the ἔσολοι), 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, is more praise for the laudandum since it is only natural that success generates envy. Praise of the laudandum μεγαλοπρέπεια in this ode is a careful balancing act since μεγαλοπρέπεια could have roused suspicions in the first place. The laudandum 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. The poet comes as a suppliant to the sound of the Lydian pipes. The Lydian musical mode was appropriate for supplications, and particularly at home in a symposiastic setting.

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1378 On these key terms, cf. § 1.4. The passage Ol. 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.


1380 Ol. 4.4-5.

1381 Ol. 5.16 ἐὖ δὲ τυχόντες σοφοὶ καὶ πολίταις ἐδοξαζεν ἐμενεν, cf. Ol. 11.4-8, Β.5.190f.

1382 Cf. Py. 11.28, Νε. 4.36f.

1383 Ol. 5.17 Σωτήρ υπινεφές Ζεύ. Cf. Nilsson (1955: 415) on Zeus Soter, a house god as well as saviour and protector of the state.

1384 Gildersleeve (1890: 170), Σ Ol. 5.44g γλυκύ δὲ τὸ ὀλυσίου μέλος. Σ Ol. 5.44i ώστε σε ταύτην τὴν τόλιν, τὴν Καμάριναν, ταῖς εὐανδρίαις καὶ ταῖς εὐφημίαις αὐξεῖν καὶ ἀγάλλειν. εὐρυθμίαις δὲ.
Tentatively one could argue that this might be hinting at Psaumis’ behaviour as not hubristic. 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 κύδος for Psaumis’ home city. This is followed by the hope that Psaumis may continue to ‘delight in ‘Poseidon’s horses’, 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.’ 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. 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.

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1387 Od. 5.20-21 αἰτήσων πόλιν εὐανορίασι τάνδε κλυταῖς δαιδάλλειν.
1388 Od. 5.21 στῇ, Ὀλυμπόνικε, Ποσειδανίοισιν ἵπποις κτλ.
1389 Od. 5.22-23 εὐθύμων ἐς τελευτάν ἱών, Ψαῦμι, παρισταμένων.
1391 Od. 5.24 μὴ ματάση θεός 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 Blepsiadæ. Pindar composed more odes for Aegina than for any other city and mentions six conspicuous Aeginetan families. The clans eagerly competed in the crown games. 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. The Aeginetan clans would arguably vie for power, 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.

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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 Blepsiadæ (Ol. 8.75), the Chariadæ (Ne. 8.46), the Euxenidae (Ne. 7.70), the Midylidæ (Py. 8.38), the Theandridæ (Ne. 4.73).

1393 The sixth major victory for the Blepsiadæ was celebrated with the eighth Olympian ode. Cf. Ol. 8.70-79.

1394 Cf. the relevant passages in Pfeijffer (1999).


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, 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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1400} Fourth, the historical record shows that potentially a Panhellenic victory could be an opportunity for those aspiring to tyranny.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1399} They are summarised in the next paragraph.

\textsuperscript{1400} There are apparently two exceptions, cf. § 8.2

\textsuperscript{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', 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, 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. 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. Second, whereas in the earlier odes composed for Hieron the laudandus speaks of his rule and power with considerable reticence, 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. 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, 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. 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.

With regard to the third objective, 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

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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.\footnote{1412}{Cf. § 2.4.3 on the 'strategy of silence'.} Patron messages in odes other than \textit{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.\footnote{1413}{The odes that are most clearly designed to engage with different audiences are Pindar’s ninth \textit{Nemean} ode and Pindar’s first \textit{Pythian} ode, cf. §§ 3.1.2, 2.4.4.3} Pindar’s third \textit{Olympian} ode, however, shows that the content of an \textit{in situ} ode need not necessarily be restricted to a catalogue of traditional epinician elements.\footnote{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 \textit{Dokumentationsfunktion} of an \textit{in situ} ode. Cf. Gelzer (1985: 102).}

With regard to the fourth objective,\footnote{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’.} 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.\footnote{1416}{Cf. § 8.5.} 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 \textit{versus} non-tyrants.
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: 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, and instead extends the central narrative to the end of the poem. 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.

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'.

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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.\footnote{Nagy (1990: 175) argues that quasi tyrants are aristocrats who aspire to the political status of tyrants.} While Hagesias and Psaumis may or may not have aspired to tyranny,\footnote{And I think it is very unlikely that Psaumis had aspirations to tyranny.} 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 \textit{laudandus} than countering suspicions. However, Pindar's first \textit{Pythian} appears to be an exception since in that ode both concerns are prominent.\footnote{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.}

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.\footnote{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.} 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 \textit{Olympian} ode considerable efforts are made to integrate the \textit{laudandus} in his community and there are no claims to power by the \textit{laudandus} or his clan, and hence in that ode there is no trace of \textit{Herrschaftsideologie}. The ideology of...
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. 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. 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, 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, 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

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1426 Cf. § 2.1.3 in Pindar's second Pythian ode, § 2.2.1 in Bacchylides' fifth ode. Cf. § 8.3.1.
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 aecist, 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.

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1430 Cf. § 2.1.3.1.
1431 Cf. Appendix five.
Since tyranny appears to have been viewed as ἀδίκεια 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

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1447}

Unsurprisingly, in epinician odes that present the \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{1445} Cf. \textit{Ol}. 1.109: the hope for new victories, \textit{Ol}. 1.115: the hope that Hieron's rightful power may continue. Many references to the future in the first \textit{Pythian} ode: \textit{Py}. 1.46, 1.56, 1.67, 1.70, 1.71, 1.85, 1.91. \textit{B}.5.35: a wish for future victories, \textit{B}.5.197-200: a wish for the continuation of peace. Possibly \textit{B}.5.193f. It should be noted that the negation of worldly concerns at \textit{B}.3.88-90 (468 BCE) is a foil for the statement that follows and which asserts that Hieron's glory will survive.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1447} Cf. § 5.2.4.1.
There are several passages in the epinician odes where Hieron is either explicitly addressed as king, or where his kingship is implied by association. The Deinomenids apparently did not use the royal title, 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, while caution is needed with passages in Pindar's first Olympian ode. 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. This is in accordance with the language of Pindar's second Olympian ode. In that ode, Theron is praised as a bulwark for Acragas, 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 ἄστυθεμιν; 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.\textsuperscript{1455} Since it does not appear to have a direct bearing on the circumstances of the *laudandus*, it is discussed in the main text.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1458} Those passages, however, merit closer scrutiny.


\textsuperscript{1456} E.g. Pi. *Py* 1.85, cf. § 7.2.6, note 1391.

\textsuperscript{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.'

and it is argued that some of them only apparently refer to circumstances of the laudandus. A passage in Pindar's first Olympian ode,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{1460} if at all. A passage in Pindar's second Olympian ode,\textsuperscript{1461} is praise in litotes for Theron's munificence,\textsuperscript{1452} 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.\textsuperscript{1483} Apart from a passage in Pindar's second Isthmian ode,\textsuperscript{1464} there are five other instances, all in odes for Hieron.\textsuperscript{1465} These passages all relate to human envy. They warn against its negative consequences, and they deny its applicability to the


\textsuperscript{1459} \textit{Ol.} 1.47 ἐννέπτε κρυφά τις αὐτίκα φθονερῶν γειτόνων.

\textsuperscript{1450} 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 \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{1460} \textit{Ol.} 2.94 ἐὐεργέταν πραπτίσαιν ἄφθονέστερον τε χέρα Θήρωνος.

\textsuperscript{1461} A rhetorical device which is very common in Pindar, cf. Race (1983).

\textsuperscript{1462} Cf. § 3.2.4.1 on \textit{Ol.} 6.7, \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{1463} \textit{Isth.} 2.43 μή νυν, ὅπι φθονεραί θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἔλπιδες. Cf. § 6.1.3, § 6.1.4 where it is argued that this passage might well refer to political unrest.

\textsuperscript{1464} \textit{Py.} 2.88-90: envious people cause their own ruin, B.5.187: when one is successful, envy should not obstruct praise, \textit{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, \textit{Py.} 3.71: Hieron does not begrudge the ῥᾳδαθοῖ [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.\textsuperscript{1468} Interestingly, these references seem to crop up in odes that span Hieron's whole career as tyrant of Syracuse.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1468} In odes composed for Theron, human envy does not appear to be a concern, see below.
\textsuperscript{1467} In odes composed in 478, 476, 470 and 468 BCE.
\textsuperscript{1468} Cf. Luraghi (1994: 364) and § 2.1.6 on the concluding section of Pindar's second Pythian ode.
\textsuperscript{1469} Cf. Py. 2.84-100 where the enviers are prominent. The ode leaves little doubt as to how they will be dealt with.
\textsuperscript{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.' (\textit{ibid}.).
elite, which appear to have been less strained in the case of the Emmenid tyranny than in case of the Deinomenids.\textsuperscript{1471}

8.3.4 Expressions of literal immortality in the odes.

By becoming the cæst of a newly founded Aetna in 476 BCE, Hieron seems to have actively sought literal immortality.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1473} In the odes composed early in his career it appears that such wishes are only deftly touched upon,\textsuperscript{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

\begin{footnotes}
\item[\textsuperscript{1471}] Cf. § 5.2.1.
\item[\textsuperscript{1472}] Cf. Appendix five.
\item[\textsuperscript{1473}] Cf. § 2.5.4.
\item[\textsuperscript{1474}] E.g. the sentiment of Lebensbejahung in B.5, cf. § 2.2.4.
\end{footnotes}
the ode atypical.\footnote{Robbins (1997: 259f.): atypical in its directness of expression of literal immortality.} This enquiry, however, argues that the 'eschatological passage' in Pindar's second \textit{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.\footnote{Cf. § 5.2.3, Appendix five.} This enquiry maintains that the 'eschatological passage' was addressed to a wider range of people and not solely to the \textit{laudandus}.

In odes for \textit{laudandi} other than tyrants, perhaps unsurprisingly, expressions of literal immortality do not seem to be a concern. Arguably, for these \textit{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.\footnote{Ne. 1.32f. Cf. § 3.1.5.2.} 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 \textit{in situ} odes. Bacchylides' fourth ode, and Pindar's third and fourth \textit{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 \textit{in situ} status is
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 Psamis 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

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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.
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, 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. However, this also happens in odes composed for tyrants. 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.

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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.


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. Ne. 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.\footnote{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,\footnote{1490} especially in Pindar's first \textit{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 \textit{versus} elitist traditions.

The notions 'home-coming of the victor' and 'reintegration of the victor in his home town',\footnote{1491} are challenged in § 8.1. The historical record shows that being a Panhellenic victor could indeed be a prelude to tyranny.\footnote{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.\footnote{1493} Instead, this enquiry suggests that if the laudandus was problematic, then in most cases he was already problematic before entering into

\footnote{1489} On epinician truth, cf. Pratt (1993: 7f., 110ff.).
\footnote{1490} Since more is known about the socio-political circumstances under which the odes for Hieron were composed than for any other Sicilian laudandus.
\footnote{1491} Cf. § 1.3.
\footnote{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).
\footnote{1493} E.g. Dougherty's (1993: 103) use of 'temporarily' indicates that she thinks of the victory as problematic in that context.
Panellenic competition. This enquiry shows that in an epinician ode laudandi can address possible suspicions among mainland Greeks,\textsuperscript{1494} and the wider Panellenic community,\textsuperscript{1495} as well as his fellow citizens,\textsuperscript{1496} their overlord,\textsuperscript{1497} or even prospective migrants to their home community.\textsuperscript{1498}

While some have argued that moderation of praise is not a concern in odes composed for tyrants,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1500}

In the case of some laudandi the opportunity offered by a Panellenic 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

\begin{enumerate}
\item 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.
\item As e.g. in Pindar's fourth Olympian ode in which suspicions around the ethnicity and unprepossessing home city of the laudandus are addressed.
\item 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.
\item 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.
\item 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 ἐξευθεία and undertones of εὐνομία and ἱσονομία serve the same purpose, cf. § 2.4.4.3.
\item Pace Kurke (1991: 220ff.). 
\item 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.
\end{enumerate}
accompanying festivities might have been excellent opportunities to accommodate reconciliation.

With regard to the notions of Polisideologie and Herrschaftsystem, 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.\footnote{1501 Especially in Pindar’s first Pythian ode, but much less so in Pindar’s second Olympian ode.} However, such strategies are also found in odes for laudandi other than tyrants,\footnote{1502 E.g. Py. 6.45, Ne. 1.8ff., Ne. 9.46ff. and everywhere else where this ne plus ultra motif is used, cf. note 409.} whereas strategies of inclusion are used in odes for tyrants.\footnote{1503 E.g in Pindar’s second Olympian ode, in his second Pythian ode and in Bacchylides’ fifth ode.} Consequently, the notion that a certain ode promotes either a Herrschaftsystem or, alternatively, a Polisideologie is in many cases too schematic since the odes seldom portray the laudandus exclusively as ruler or as citizen.
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. This date is also used in the Pindaric scholiast and four years need to be subtracted. Whereas a few scholars still accept Pausanias' date, in this enquiry the Pythian dating with 582 BCE as the starting point is used.

App. 1.2 Diodoran chronology.

Ephorus' κατά γένος style ('by topics') was adopted by Diodorus to accommodate the material to an annalistic, year-by-year presentation. As a consequence of this method and perhaps also because of honour vacui, Diodorus noted for every year at least one event. 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 FGrHist 239 F 52-54, Σ Py. hyp. a-d και δὴ τοῦτον χρηματίζει μόνον ἔθετο... ὡστερον καὶ στεφανίτην ἔθετο κατορθῶσαντες. Paus. 10.7.2-7. Gildersleeve (1890) is a scholar who follows the Pausanian dating.
1506 His anchors are Olympiads, archons and consuls.
1507 Cf. D.S. 5.1.4.
1508 E.g. D.S. 38.1 Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος δ' Ἀθηναίων Τιμοσθένους κτλ....ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατά 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.


\(^{1510}\) 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 Emnenid 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), and three times in the category of (the more prestigious) four-horse chariot race (τεθριππός or ἄρμα). 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 Olympian race-horse victories. Pausanias also describes the votive offering itself. 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. On that interpretation, Bacchylides’ fifth ode and Pindar’s first Olympian celebrate the same victory since both odes mention the horse Pherenikos.

1512 Cf. Σ Π. Py. 1 inscr., Σ Π. 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 Π. Py. 1 inscr.: at Delphi in 470 BCE. Cf. Σ Π. 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. 8.42.6-9.

1515 Paus. 6.12.1 κέλητες δὲ ἵππωι παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα εἰς ἑκατέρωθεν 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, 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, and Pherenikos has become a focal point in establishing dates for other victory odes.

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 καλάς 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. Against the latter date, three arguments are invariably levelled. First, Pindar's first *Olympian* ode does not mention the foundation of Aetna, 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.'
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.\footnote{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).} Fraccaroli convincingly dealt with these three arguments.\footnote{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.} 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.\footnote{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 ἀντικίδια and the passage at *Ol.* 1.90-93 might be alluding to Aetna. Cf. § 2.3.1.} 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.\footnote{And neither does Pindar's first *Pythian* ode of 470 BCE mention the Olympic victories of 476 and 472 BCE.} 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.\footnote{Cf. Jebb (1905: 198n.1) notes Pelagonius *de arte veterin.* p.32 Ihm *equos circo sacrisque certaminibus quinque annos 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.} 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.\footnote{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.\(^{1531}\)

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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.


\(^{1531}\) 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. 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. 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. Arguably this might have been a reason to publicise counter-propaganda. Pindar's first Pythian ode might be such a piece of propaganda designed in part to counter such negative attitudes. 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. 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.


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. Be that as it may, what
the Herodotean Sicilian Embassy scene tells is that for a mainland Greek, Gelo (and
by extension, Hieron), even taking into account the Deinomenid victory over the
Carthaginians in 480 BCE, was not really excused. 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.
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. 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. Aelian connects the story with the failure
to assist the Greeks earlier. 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?’

367n.409).


Synchronicity is prima facie very unlikely. It was first noted by Ephorus (FGrHist70 F 186).

Plut. Them. 25.1.

Aelian V.H. 9.5 τον μη μεταλαβόντα (sc. Hieronem) τού μεγίστου των κινδύνων των
πανηγύρεων μεταλαμβάνειν μη δείν. Cf. Plut. Them. 24.7: Themistocles asks Hieron to give his
daughter in marriage, promising αὐτῷ τούς Ἐλλήνας ὑπηκόους ποιῆσειν.
Dionysius the Elder during the games of 388 or 384 BCE. 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.

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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).

Appendix four – Did the Deinomenids use the royal title?

Instances of historical persons who are named 'king' are rare in our corpus of early Greek lyric. Pindar refers to Arcesilas IV of Cyrene as a legitimate king, something that accurately reflects Arcesilas' status. However, in a number of Pindaric passages Hieron is referred to as βασιλεύς as well, whereas a contemporary audience would surely associate a few other instances with kingship. Apart from some information in Herodotus and Diodorus, 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. How exactly this

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1546 That Theron did not use the royal title is argued in § 5.2.1, note 1075.
1549 Hieron: Ο. 1.23, Πy. 3.70. Deinomenes: Πy. 1.60, Hieron and Deinomenes: Πy. 1.68, Arcesilas of Cyrene Πy. 4.2 and Πy. 5.15. The passage Πy. 2.13-15 should not be included in this list, cf. § 2.1.4.
1551 Hdt. 7.161.1 ΤΩ βασιλεύσει 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 σωτήρα 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 ΕΝΕ[Ω]ΕΚΕ[Ν] Α[Ν]ΑΣ[Σ]ΟΝ. Using the ionic alphabet, this was later changed into ...ΠΙΟΛΥΖΑΛΟΣ 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 in 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 ANAΣΣΩΝ 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 Polyzélos of the rule of Gela. Robbins (1990: 318), Luraghi (1994: 330-31, 331n.243) argue for a chariot victory of Polyzélos in 474 BCE. Harrell (2002: 458ff.) argues that Polyzélos was responsible for ANAΣΣΩΝ, which was then removed because it was not in accordance with the idiom required at Panhellenic sites, see § 2.4.3.


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. This assumption is based on three passages in Diodorus. 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. 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. If indeed he was worshipped as a hero posthumously, then not as an aecist. 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, and that

1556 Recently Currie (2005: 171).
1558 Cf. D. S. 11.38.4 ἐτάφῃ δ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ σῶμα κατὰ τὸν ἄγρον τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις ἔννεα τύροισιν, οὕσας τῷ βάρει τῶν ἔργων θαυμασταῖς...D.S. 11.38.5 ἐνταύθα δ’ αὐτοῦ ταφέντος ὁ μὲν δήμος τάφον ἀξιόλογον ἐπιστήμης 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.
1561 Meister (1976: 44).
historian appears to have been particularly favourable to Gelon,\textsuperscript{1562} perhaps influencing the report on Gelon’s posthumous honours.

Theron allegedly was honoured at Himera after his death.\textsuperscript{1563} Theron had repopulated Himera,\textsuperscript{1564} yet this appears not to have been a foundation but rather a (συν)οικισμός or ἔποικος.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{1566} whereas a Pindaric scholium tells that Hieron wanted to become an oecist instead of being a tyrant.\textsuperscript{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:\textsuperscript{1568} both Aeschylus and Pindar were commissioned to celebrated him as such.\textsuperscript{1569} Since

\textsuperscript{1562} Cf. Luraghi (1994: 179).

\textsuperscript{1563} D.S. 11.53.2 καὶ ζών μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυγχαν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τελευτήσας ἑρωικῶν ἔτυχε τιμῶν.

\textsuperscript{1564} Cf. D.S. 11.48.8.


\textsuperscript{1566} D.S. 11.49.2 τοῦτο δ’ ἔπραξε σπεῦδων ἀμα μὲν ἔχειν βοηθειαν ἐτοίμην ἀξιόλογον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιούσιας χρείας ἀμα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάνδρου πόλεως τιμᾶς ἔχειν ἑρωικάς. D.S. 11.66.4 λέρων δ’ ὃ τῶν Συμακσισίων βασιλεύς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ Κατάνη, καὶ τιμῶν ἑρωικῶν ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἀν κτίστης γεγονός τῆς πόλεως. Meister (1967: 44) argues for Ephorus as the source.

\textsuperscript{1567} Σ. Νε. 1 inscr. = Timae. FGrHist 566 F 142a λέρων γὰρ ὀἰκιστῆς ἀντὶ τυράννου βουλόμενος ἐῖναι.

\textsuperscript{1568} Malkin (1987: 238).

the association between cécists and posthumous heroic honours appears strong,\textsuperscript{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.

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

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\(^{1572}\) 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 *μυσθοξόροι* ουκ οτιδα τις Αετνα consisted of five thousand men. Cf. Polyaeon. 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 mercenari’ 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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1579} By becoming an Òecist Hieron would also secure
heroic honours for himself.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1582} This is supported by numismatic data: Gelon seems to

\textsuperscript{1577} Hdt. 7.156


\textsuperscript{1579} \textit{D.S.} 11.49.2. \textit{τοὺτο δ’ ἔπραξε [sc. the refoundation] στειέδουν ὅμα μὲν ἔχειν βοηθείαν
ἔτοιμην ἀξίλογον πρὸς τὰς ἐπούσας χρείας … ἀμα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάνδρου
πόλεως ἡμῶς ἔχειν ἡρωικάς. Σ \textit{Ne.} 1 \textit{inscr.} αἱ ἱέρων γὰρ οἰκιστής ἀντὶ τυράννου βουλόμενος
εἶναι, Κατάνην ἔξελὼν ἄγινην μετωνόμασε τὴν πόλιν, ἑαυτὸν οἰκιστὴν προσαγορεύοντος. \textit{Pace}
Malkin (1987: 238) ‘...the desire to obtain Òecist cult was perceived as sufficient reason for the
expulsion of the population of two cities and the creation of a new one.’


\textsuperscript{1581} For at least seventeen years; from Gelon’s \textit{incipit} as tyrant in ca.491 BCE until Hieron’s
victory at Cumae in 474 BCE.

\textsuperscript{1582} Cf. Isoc. 12.82: tyranny depending on mercenaries and high expenditure.
have been in financial difficulties, before or perhaps during the Himera campaign, and a period of intense and massive coining (Massenprägung) with a large number of die-types, has been identified and dated to after 480 BCE, 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, and the first issue of Syracusan decadrachms is dated to the closing stages of Deinomenid rule, 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. 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.

1584 For tertradrachms, 150 obverse and 220 reverse dies have been identified. Cf. Rutter (1998: 308).
1586 However, the so called ‘Δαμαρέττην’ 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).
1588 Py. 1.30 εὐκάρπτοιο γαίας μέτωπον, Str. 6.2.3 εὐάμπτελον 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. 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, namely as an exclusively Dorian population. 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. 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. Second, if Hieron had imported large groups of mercenaries from the Peloponnese then it would probably have been from Aeolian Arcadia which always had

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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. Several of the soldiers fighting in Sicily can be identified as Arcadian. Third, and more importantly, the Sicilian Chalcidian cities (Naxos, Leontini and Catana) seemed to have formed a bloc and were inclined to act together. Probably as a consequence of such defiant behaviour (and not because they were of non-Dorian descent) they were brought under Deinomenid control. Moreover, that the Deinomenids were interested in Chalcidian territory is unsurprising, as Leontini had the largest and richest wheat-growing plains of all Sicily. Last, Pindar's first Pythian ode singles out Pamphylus, which as figura etymologica might in fact hint at a mixed ethnic origin of the Aetna settlers.

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.

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1596 Cf. Paus. 5.27.1, CEG380.1, Friedländer 142, IV0 266. Possibly Hagesias celebrated in Pindar's sixth Olympian ode, cf. § 3.2.3.
1597 Dunbabin (1948: 68).
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 Ὑλλιοῖς, Πάμφυλοι and Δυμάνες. 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. OI. 5.10-14.

Proposed interpretations for this difficult passage can, broadly speaking, be divided into two groups: one in which κολλᾷ and ἄειδει 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 ἄειδει 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 ΟΙ. 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 μεν-τε. There are then four accusative objects in-between κολλᾷ μεν and ἄειδει τε: they are structured AB τε C τε και D. Cf. ΟΙ. 7.81-83 ἑστεφανώσατο δίς κλεινῷ τʹ ἐν ισθμῷ τετράκις εὐτυχέων, Νεμέῃ τʹ ἄλλαν ἐπʹ ἄλλα, καὶ κραναϊζ ἐν Αθήναις.
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.\textsuperscript{1608} The south coast of Sicily in fact had, and still has, only shallow waters, with shifting sands and sandbars.\textsuperscript{1609} Possibly, the beach and river-mouth were used as primitive anchorage,\textsuperscript{1610} yet the small primitive harbours we know of were under constant threat of silting up.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1612} This means that navigability or improving upon navigability could never have been an issue.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{κολλάς} in our passage.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1608} Unsurprisingly, since the south had unfavourable prevailing trade winds. Cf. Ovid. \textit{Fast.} 4.470 \textit{verticibus non adeunda Gela.}

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1610} Dunbabin (1948: 197, 211), Amore (2000: 253).

\textsuperscript{1611} Amore (2002: 253).

\textsuperscript{1612} Amore (2000: 254).

\textsuperscript{1613} cf. Amore (2002: 253).

\textsuperscript{1614} Dunbabin (1948: 257) and Diod. 4.80.

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 σεμνοί ὁχτοὶ that are singled out for praise in the ode.\textsuperscript{1616} Such canals were used to supply cities with fresh water,\textsuperscript{1617} but also they were also built to drain marshes in order to prevent malaria.\textsuperscript{1618}

On balance, then, it would seem that we are to regard Psauimis' μεγαλοπρέπεια in Camarina as considerable.

\textsuperscript{1616} \textit{Ol.} 5.12 καὶ σεμνοὺς ὁχτοὺς, ἵππαρις οἴσων ὄρθει στρατόν. They should be translated as 'great canals'. \textit{Pace} Race (1997: 97) 'sacred canals'. σεμνός is translated with 'sacred' in Pindar when the subjects are gods (e.g. \textit{Py.} 3.79, \textit{Ne.} 5.25), heroes (\textit{Ol.} 6.68), rivers personified as gods (\textit{Ne.} 1.1) or domiciles of the gods (\textit{Ne.} 1.72). Here, as in \textit{Ne.} 7.22f. ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσιν ὁ ποτανή <τε> μαχανή σεμνών ἔπεσε τι, something great or impressive is meant.

\textsuperscript{1617} Cf. D. S. 11.25.3-4: the underground piped-water supply built by Theron. Hdt. 3.60: the ὅρυμα or water channel in Samos.

\textsuperscript{1618} Cf. Dio. Cass. 45.17. This was the only known countermeasure against malaria available in antiquity. Cf. Diod. Eph. \textit{FGrHist} F 566 F 6 (ap. Diog. Laert. 8.70): Empedocles, ἵδιας 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1620} Comparisons between Pindar and Bacchylides are nevertheless valid since the ode is a message from \textit{laudandus} to audience and not from \textit{laudator} to \textit{laudandus}.\textsuperscript{1621}

That Pindar and Bacchylides use different rhetorical techniques should not be surprising.\textsuperscript{1622} This can be illustrated by considering two passages. The first passage occurs in Pindar’s first \textit{Olympian ode}.\textsuperscript{1623} It appears to have been well known in antiquity.\textsuperscript{1624} It gives a detail of the single-horse race, namely Pherenikos as \textit{άκέντητος}, ‘ungoaded’. The second passage occurs in Bacchylides’ fifth ode,\textsuperscript{1625} where it is said

\textsuperscript{1619} Cf. § 1.4.
\textsuperscript{1620} Maehler (1982a: 23) ‘Infolgedessen läßt sich oft nicht entscheiden, ob ein bei Bakchylides oder Pindar zu beobachtendes Stilmerkmal “konventionell” oder “individuell” ist.’
\textsuperscript{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.’
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{1623} \textit{Pi}. \textit{Ol}. 1.18-23 \ldots \textit{εἰ τί τοι Πίσας τε καὶ Φερενικοῦ χάρις νόον ύπο γλυκυτάταις έθηκε φροντίσαν, οί τοι παρ’ Άλκεών ὑπὸ δέμας ἀκέντητον ἐν δρόμοις παρέχων, κράτει δὲ προσέμειες δεσπόταν, Συρακόσιοι ἵπποχάρμαιν βασιλῆς}.\textsuperscript{1624}
\textsuperscript{1624} Cf. Suid. s 1692, Eusthat. \textit{ll}. 1.757.7 (καθά δηλοὶ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἀκέντητον τινα ἵππου ἐπαινῶν ώς εὐπρόθυμων), Liban. 345.2.
\textsuperscript{1625} B.5.43-44 οὕτω νυ ὑπὸ προτείρων ἰππῶν ἐν ἀγώνι κατέχαραν κόνις πρὸς τέλος ὡρνύμενον.
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 ἑθοποιία: 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. 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 φασίν καὶ δοκεῖ. 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. 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, πτόμος), without which the splendour of success cannot be achieved. The gods favoured

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1626 Σ Ρι. ΟΠ. 1.33a ἀμάστικον αὐτῶ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν τάχει τὸ σώμα κατὰ τὸν ἄγωνα διαφυλάξας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸ ταχὺ καὶ πρόθυμον τοῦ ἕπτου δηλοῖ. καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ and quotes Hom. Ψ 387.
1627 Arist. Ρο. 1460b10-1461a.
1628 Arist. Ρο. 1454b10-15 καὶ γάρ ἔκεινοι 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 κολλά 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*.\textsuperscript{1634}

\textsuperscript{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 *laudandı* 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.

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\(^{1635}\) Cf. § 2.4.4.4.

\(^{1636}\) Vz. 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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