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Strategies of Communication in Agonistic Epigrams

1 Introduction

The celebration of an athletic victory represented a moment of unparalleled glory for the athlete, his family and his hometown, and embodied the ideals and the aspirations of the Greek aristocratic class like no other cultural activity.[1] This celebration could be carried out in a number of different ways, but the two most common and best attested were to commission a professional poet to compose an epinician song and to erect a dedicatory statue either in one of the most important Panhellenic sanctuaries or in the victor's hometown.[2]

Pindar, in the opening of the *Nemean* 5, boasts about the superiority of poetry over sculpture, representing it as a winged force that is able to move across space and time to celebrate the deeds of ancestors and progenies. He vindicates the superiority of his own art, declaring in a bombastic tone: "I am no maker of sculptures".[3] The scholia to the passage recount an anecdote which apparently lay behind such a declaration: the parents of the *laudandus* (the rich Aeginetan clan of the Psalychiads) asked Pindar to compose an ode to celebrate the victory of Pytheas in the pankration, but when they heard the price asked for by the poet they preferred to commission a sculptor to make a statue instead. They then changed their minds again and returned to their original plan, but Pindar did not fail to insert a malicious allusion to the event.[4] There is no firm evidence to conclude that this anecdote is true, since the superiority of poetry over the figurative arts is a common *topos*;[5] nevertheless it clearly reveals the competition which arose between the two forms of art as alternative (or in some cases complementary) ways to celebrate athletic successes.

The statues, which varied in shape and size depending on the location and time period,[6] were usually furnished with an inscription, either in verse or prose (or both),

1 On this issue see the recent collections of papers edited by Hornblower/Morgan 2007 and Agócs/Carey/Rawles 2012.

2 See Bernardini 2000; Thomas 2007, 152–163; Fearn 2013; Nicholson 2014; Nobili 2016.

3 On this passage and on Pindar's declarations of superiority over craftsmen see Steiner 1993; Ford 2002, 119–127; Loscalzo 2003, 121–160; Thomas 2007, 149–152; Day 2010, 221–223; Pavlou 2010; Fearn 2013.

4 Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5,1a.

5 O'Sullivan 2003 reconstructs the history of this topos in Pindar's most important antecedents and imitators. The parallel between poetry and figurative art is also prominent in the Latin world and beyond: see Lee 1967 and Benediktson 2000.

6 On athletic sculptures see Thomas 1981; Hermann 1988; Raschke 1988; Rausa 1994; Smith 2007.

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which contained essential information regarding the athlete's triumph: the athlete's name and provenance, his previous victories, and his sport specialty.[7] In this paper I will examine the strategies of communications adopted by the authors of agonistic epigrams, in their engagement with the material medium (the stele and the statue above it), and the rival form of the epincian ode. As we shall see, a key role in the process of development of agonistic epigrams from the first and most basic examples to the more ornate ones must be attributed to Simonides, who is the first attested composer of agonistic epigrams.[8]

2 The Statue and the Epigram

The history of agonistic epigrams shows an evolution from the first examples (seventh-sixth century BC), which are generally very short and keep to the basic facts, to the later ones, which gradually become more and more ornate. An important step in this evolution is represented by the spread of the iconographical type, which becomes dominant in the following centuries: the statue of the victor. In the late sixth and early fifth century BC, a great revolution swept through the world of sculpture, as sculptors attempted to recreate the appearance of their subjects through lifelike works: a development that became increasingly pronounced in the field of agonistic statuary.[9] We are not dealing yet with 'physiognomic portraits', which begin to appear only in the fourth century BC; statues of athletes continued to adhere to the canons of the *kalokagathia*, but the insertion of specific attributes and a more careful attention to the representation of the human body make them more and more lifelike.[10] The inscription plays a crucial function in this process, which makes the statue a sort of 'double' of the dedicator.[11] As Kurke correctly states, it becomes "an exact replica of the victor [...] his talismanic double", and serves the function of evoking, before the eyes of the

7 On the agonistic epigrams the most valuable works are still the collections of Moretti 1953 and Ebert 1972; see also my extensive monograph Nobili 2016.

8 Their authenticity is the subject of much debate and the problem is carefully examined by Bravi 2006; Sider 2007a and 2007b, 5; and Petrovic 2007. In the course of this paper I will follow their tendency to consider the epigrams which do not bear overt signs of misattribution Simonidean.

9 See Raschke 1988; Rausa 1994, 29–37, 93–96; Keesling 2003, 175–180; Smith 2007, 88–95. Plin. *nat*. 34,16 states that the first statues representing mortal men were the agonistic ones and this was due to the exceptionality of the Olympic victory, which gave athletes a special permission, normally not granted to other men. Pausanias (5,21,1) confirms that the statues of the Olympic victors were intended as a sort of prize for their achievement, although they had to satisfy the strict requirements set on size and verisimilitudes by the Olympic judges, as Lucian (*Pro Imag.* 11) recalls.

10 See Himmelmann 1994, 49–88; Stieber 2004, 83–113; Dillon 2006, 1–12; La Rocca 2011.

11 Svenbro 1993, 80–108.

passer-by, the original ritual of the proclamation, which will be eternally renewed by those who would read the inscription in the future.[12]

The growing attention to the material aspect of agonistic statues, to its verisimilitude and recognizability, becomes an element often remarked by the epigrams, as first became evident in a bronze tablet from the beginning of the sixth century found in the sanctuary of Athena at Francavilla Marittima (Southern Italy) and dedicated by Kleombrotos, son of Dexilaos. It also represents the oldest known inscription for an Olympic victory:

δο · Κλεόμροτος |
ὁ Δεξιλάϝο · ἀνέθεκ' |
Ὀλυνπίαι · νικάσας |
ϝίσομᾶκός τε πάχος τε |
τἀθάναι ἀϝέθλον |
εὐξάμενος · δεκάταν.

Kleombrotos, son of Dexilaos, dedicated (this statue?) when he won at Olympia, equal in height and thickness, to Athena, after vowing the tenth part of his prize.
(*CEG* 394)

Kleombrotos probably came from Sybaris, as the dedication in a local sanctuary suggests, and used the tenth part of the prize he received to offer the goddess a statue. As is well known, the only prize that Olympic victors received was an olive crown, but single *poleis* could reward them with privileges and gifts of various kinds, and this also applies to Sybaris, which was famous for her wealth and how she displayed it.[13]

Normally, monuments dedicated in the hometown were similar to (and in some cases an exact replica of) those dedicated in Panhellenic sanctuaries, and this is likely to be the case here. Although the interpretation of line 4 is not shared by all commentators, it is probable that the adjectives ϝίσομᾶκός τε πάχος τε refer to an implied object of ἀνέθεκε such as ἀνδριάντα ("a statue of the same size as Kleombrotos").[14] Such an expression would thus refer directly to the monument above, underlining its similarity to the athlete, and would confirm the interest towards iconographical themes that sculptures and epigrams started to share from the beginning of the sixth century BC.[15] Since Lucian (*Pro Imag.* 11) affirms that Olympic judges strictly controlled the size of the Olympic statues in order to make sure that they would not surpass the height of the athletes they represented, we must not be surprised if Kleombrotos' inscription

12 Kurke 1993, 149. See also Day 1989, 1994 and 2010.
13 See Pugliese Carratelli 1972–1973; De Sensi Sestito 1984, 23–38. Sybaris also organized its own athletic games in competition with Olympia, assigning the victors extraordinary prizes (Ps. Scimn. 350–356; see Prandi 2011).
14 Ebert 1972, 252–253; Hansen 1983, 214; Ragone 1983–1984; Kurke 1993, 141–142; Christian 2015, 231.
15 Nobili 2014 and Nobili 2018.

underlines this aspect: the statue had the same height and thickness as the dedicator, and hence did not break the laws of the sanctuary.

Further improvements in this sense were made in the following century. From the beginning of the fifth century BC onwards, some famous artists initiated the most remarkable change in the field of athletic statuary, abandoning the *kouros* shape in favor of new lifelike statues. One of them was Glaukias of Aegina, active between 490 and 475 BC. He belonged to the Aeginetan school of sculpture, famous throughout the Greek world and specializing in the sculptures of athletes at Olympia.[16] Pausanias associates Glaukias' name with the statues of the legendary boxer and pankratiast Theogenes of Thasos (6,11,2–9), the tyrant Gelon of Syracuse (6,9,4–5), the boxer Philon of Korkyra (6,9,9) and the boxer Glaukos of Karystos (6,10,1–3). The boxer Glaukos, in particular, was portrayed in the act of fighting alone (σκιαμαχεῖν), a statue that represented a noteworthy innovation in the field of athletic statuary:[17] whereas until a few decades before, athletes had been represented as standing *kouroi*, Glaukias emerged as one of the first sculptors to introduce movement in his works.[18]

It is not surprising that he also produced the first statue – the statue of the boxer Philon of Korkyra, son of Glaukos – to speak in first person through the literary fiction of the epigram, as if the athlete himself were addressing the passer-by:[19]

> πατρὶς μὲν Κόρκυρα, Φίλων δ' ὄνομ'· εἰμὶ δὲ Γλαύκου
> υἱὸς καὶ νικῶ πὺξ δύ' ὀλυμπιάδας.

> Korkyra is my birthplace and my name is Philon; I am the son of Glaukos and I won two Olympics in boxing.
> (11 Ebert = *FGE* 29)

The epigram is quoted by Pausanias (6,9,9) when he describes the group of statues crafted by Glaukias at Olympia and is attributed to Simonides. There is no reason to doubt such an attribution, which is supported by the fact that Glaukias' chronology coincides with Simonides'.[20] Furthermore, at least three of the sculptures he made (for Gelon, Philon and Glaukos), were dedicated to athletes that Simonides had also celebrated. For Gelon, Simonides composed the epigram to be inscribed on a golden tripod set up at Delphi to celebrate his military victory over the Carthaginians of

16 Walter-Karydi 1987.
17 Paus. 6,10,1–3; see Rausa 1994, 23, 93–94. Glaukos was one of Gelon's counselors and became the ruler of Kamarina (Lex. Seg. *s. v.* Γλαῦκος Καρύστιος = Bekker I 232; Schol. in Aeschin. *Or*. 3.189; Luraghi 1994, 150–151; Nicholson 2016, 203–236).
18 Raschke 1988; Rausa 1994, 23, 93–94.
19 On the primitive form of 'speaking objects' applied to earlier exemplars, see Burzachechi 1962; Svenbro 1988, 29–43; Wachter 2010; Christian 2015, 28–45.
20 See Page 1981, 244; Zizza 2006, 280–281.

480 BC.[21] For Glaukos he composed an epinician ode (or maybe two) to celebrate his victories in boxing.[22]

Such an interesting web of relationships demonstrates that Simonides and Glaukias belonged to the same cultural milieu and received commissions from the same patrons, who would occasionally choose to be celebrated either in verse or in stone. Philon's monument confirms the existence of an active collaboration between sculptor and author of the epigram, who probably dictated or sent the text of the inscription to the former (or to a stonecutter working under him). All these elements suggest a sort of cooperation between the artist and the poet, "due professionisti della celebrazione".[23]

We don't know the appearance of Philon's statue, but it seems likely that it had the same lifelikeness as Glaukias' other statues. From a literary and stylistic point of view, the epigram is rather different from the previous one, not only because the athlete speaks in first person, but also because the words are carefully laid out on the stone and the poet manages to concentrate all the essential information in only two verses. It is not accidental that Pausanias defines it as a δεξιώτατον ἐλεγεῖον. We should also note the use of the present νικῶ, which has the function of bringing the text to life also for future passersby: the athlete is presented as being alive and addressing his audience in an eternal and reiterated present.

3 The Language of the Epigrams

As Philon's epigram demonstrates, Simonides was the first author to bestow literary dignity on the epigram, a genre hitherto considered only 'ancillary'. As a lyric poet and author of epinician and encomiastic odes, he envisaged the epigram as a poetic product and not as a mere 'complement' of the statue and its base,[24] thus paving the way for a process which was to reach fulfilment in the fourth century BC.[25] At the same time, he was well aware that the material medium was a fundamental element of this genre, which made his art unique: this is the reason why he never failed to obey the laws of the stone and the stylistic conventions of the epigraphic field. In the same years, the *stoichedon* style and new modes of inscribing the letters were adopted by the scribes, which certainly influenced the poet's thought and his way of arranging the words on the stele.[26] In the field of agonistic epigrams, his intervention was crucial

21 *FGE* 34.
22 Quintil. *inst.* 11,2,11–14; Luc. *Pro Imag.* 19.
23 Bravi 2006, 26–27, n. 30. See Nobili 2018.
24 Visa-Ondarçuhu 1999, 92–96; Bernardini 2000, 35.
25 Fantuzzi/Hunter 2004, 283–291; Petrovic 2007, 13–24; Baumbach/Petrovic/Petrovic 2010.
26 Carson 1996 and 1999, 78–95.

because from then onwards old-style inscriptions, which only transmitted essential information, started co-existing with small gems of poetic art, similar to miniature epinicians.

Just to give a couple of examples, we can note that the brevity imposed by the material support forced the poet to invent new modes of thinking in order to concentrate all the necessary information into two lines and, possibly, to find some artistic variations to the most essential lists. Simonides was a master in this sense, as the following epigram for Diophon shows:

> Ἴσθμια καὶ Πυθοῖ Διοφῶν ὁ Φίλωνος ἐνίκα
> ἅλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην.

> At Isthmia and Pytho Diophon, son of Philon, won in the jump, in the race, in the discus throw, in the javelin and in the wrestling.
> (60 Ebert = *AP* 3 = *FGE* 43)

Here we find a mention of the five specialties that composed the pentathlon, although not in the correct order. The epigram in fact contains a polished literary game and does not aim to provide exact athletic details: we do not find any mention of Diophon's hometown or the number of his victories, but the list of the five specialties is a virtuoso periphrasis for the common τὰ πέντε, which we normally find in inscriptions. Furthermore, the athlete may not have won all the specialties mentioned because, as is widely known, winning three of them was enough to win the whole pentathlon competition.[27] Simonides is displaying his ability to experiment with new poetic expressions in the limited space of the statue base.

Similarly, he manages to concentrate in a distich a genuine dialogue between the statue and the passerby, which recalls some of Callimachus' epigrams in its brevity and fast pace:[28]

> Εἶπον, τίς, τίνος ἐσσί, τίνος πατρίδος, τί δ' ἐνίκης;
> – Κασμύλος, Εὐαγόρου, Πύθια πύξ, Ῥόδιος.

> Tell me, who are you? Who is your father? Where are you from? What did you win?
> – Kasmylos, son of Evagoras, the boxer at the Pythian games, from Rhodes.
> (62 Ebert = *AP* 23 = *FGE* 31)

In the fiction of this distich a passerby is imagined in the act of stopping before Kasmylos' statue and asking for the information usually given in agonistic inscriptions: the name of the victor, that of his father, his hometown, and the specialty he won. The statue replies through the epigram by fitting all the requested informations into a

27 See Matthews 1994; Golden 1998, 69–73; Egan 2007.
28 See e. g. *AP* 6,351; 7,317; 7,524.

single line (the change of order of the last two answers is due to metrical reasons).[29] Kasmylos was an athlete who lived in the first half of the fifth century BC and commissioned Pindar to compose an ode for one of his Isthmian victories, attested by only two fragments (2–3 Maehler). Kasmylos was thus an experienced boxer who competed first at Delphi (possibly in 470 BC) and later at Isthmia (462 BC). Since Simonides had died in 468 BC, Kasmylos hired another poet to celebrate his second victory and chose a different mode of celebration: an epinician ode instead of a monument. As we shall see, this was a frequent practice, although it was more often presented according to a different sequence.

Simonides' ability to condense all the essential information about the victory in a few lines is also evident in some of his epinician odes, in particular the one for Crius of Aegina, which seems to be epigrammatic in style and diction. Simonides was keen on word games: in fr. 4 Poltera (*PMG* 515) he mocks his commissioner (the tyrant Anaxilas) for his victory in the low-rank mule-race using the periphrasis "daughters of storm-footed horses", and fr. 17 Poltera opens with a similar pun on Crius' name, which also means "ram":

> ἐπέξαθ' ὁ Κριὸς οὐκ ἀεικέως
> ἐσελθὼν εἰς ἀγλαόδενδρον Διὸς
> τέμενος.
>
> Crius not surprisingly had his hair cut when he came to the sanctuary of Zeus with its beautiful trees.
> (fr. 17 Poltera = *PMG* 507)

These lines are reported by a scholion to a passage of Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1355–1356) where Strepsiades is mocked for his passion for the out-of-fashion songs of Simonides, such as "Crius was shorn" (ὡς ἐπέχθη).[30] The scholia to the passage point out that the reference alludes to an epinician ode composed by Simonides for the Aeginetan wrestler Crius,[31] who very likely can be identified with the illustrious Aeginetan who led the Aeginetan resistance against Cleomenes and was later sent to Athens as hostage.[32]

The form closely echoes that of the above-mentioned epigrams. The poet manages to compress both the name of the athlete and the place of the victory into just three lines, although it is doubtful whether the expression ἀγλαόδενδρον Διὸς τέμενος

29 Ebert 1972, 185–186; Bravi 2001; Schmitz 2010, 28–29.
30 On Crius' ode see Page 1951, 140–142; Molyneux 1992, 47–54; Fearn 2011, 204–211; Poltera 2008, 307–308.
31 Schol. vet. EΘMRs in Ar. *Nub*. 1356a; Schol. vet. E in Ar. *Nub*. 1365b; Tzetzes in Ar. *Nub*. 1354a.
32 Hdt. 6.49–50; 73. The identification between the athlete and the Herodotean character is commonly accepted (see Poltera 2008, 307).

refers to Olympia or Nemea.[33] Such brevity is typical of athletic epigrams, and it has been argued that these verses may have constituted a full short epinician.[34] We can thus argue that Simonides, who was a master in the composition of agonistic epigrams and who worked with athletic sculptors such as Glaukias, introduced into the epinician odes stylistic traits typical of epigrams and dictated by their material aspect.

4 Agonistic Layout

The visual layout and the disposition of the words in epigrams is an important factor, often taken into account by authors and scribes, even in cases that seem to be very far from Simonidean experimentation.[35] This is the case with a Spartan epigram dating back to 530–500 BC, dedicated by the runner Aiglatas to Apollo Carneios:

> Αἰγλάτας τῶι Καρνείο[ι | τ]όδ᾽ ἄγαλμ᾽ ἀνέθεκε
> πε|νπάκι νικάσας τὸ̣ν | μ[ακ]ρόν, καὶ ποτέθε̣|[κε]
> [τ]ὸν δόλιχον τρι|άκις Ἀθαναίοις ἐ̣[ν ἀέθ|λοις]
> [h]ᾶιπερ συρμαία |.̣[⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – –].
>
> Aiglatas dedicated this statue to Apollo Karneios, after winning five times the long run; he also added three victories in the *dolichos* in Athena's competitions, where honey cakes [...].
> (*CEG* 374)

The text is inscribed *boustrophedon* on a stele found near the Spartan sanctuary of Apollo Karneios and is crowned by a relief with ram horns, and an epiclesis of the god.[36] Although the style is rather traditional and only enlists the runner's victories, the visual arrangement of the words is rather peculiar. They have a semi-circular shape and the text lines are separated by some vertical lines, in a fashion attested in other Laconian inscriptions for runners of the same epoch. It has been argued that they may graphically represent the shape of the stadiums that were starting to populate Laconian towns in the same years.[37]

Though in a different way, the attention to the visual arrangement of the epigrams on the stone and their reciprocal relationship is evident in the grandiose monument dedicated by the Thessalian tetrarch Daochos at Delphi between 336 and 332 BC, to

33 Tzetzes (in Ar. *Nub*. 1354a) thinks that it refers to Olympia and, as Poltera 2008, 310, notes, Pindar defines only Olympia as εὔδενδρος (*Ol*. 8,9; *Nem*. 11,25; schol. *Nem*. 11,31). Nevertheless, Fearn 2011, 209, n. 86, points out that Aeginetan athletes competed far more regularly at Nemea.
34 Gelzer 1985, 111–116; Bagordo 1999; Poltera 2008, 307.
35 See Day 2010, 48–59.
36 On the text see Woodward 1908–1909, 81–85 and Hansen 1983, 198–199.
37 Aupert 1980.

commemorate the most illustrious members of his family.[38] The monument is made up of a 16-meter-long base supporting nine statues, the work of Lysippus, eight of them accompanied by a prose or verse inscription, which identifies the person. Three of the epigrams (*CEG* 795,2–13 = 43–45 Ebert) are intended to glorify the athletic victories of Hagias, Telemachos and Agelaos, sons of Akonios and ancestors of Daochos himself.[39] The epigrams present reciprocal allusions and were intended to be read together by a reader walking down the long hall of the *thesauros* of the Thessalians. Their arrangement was thus very important and each could only be understood after reading the previous one.[40]

The first inscription is the epigram dedicated to Hagias, the eldest brother, and significantly opens with the word πρῶτος, followed by a boast of priority: Hagias was the first Thessalian to win in the pankration at Olympia.

πρῶτος Ὀλύμπια παγκράτιον, Φαρσάλιε, νικᾶις,
Ἁγία Ἀκνονίου, γῆς ἀπὸ Θεσσαλίας,
πεντάκις ἐν Νεμέαι, τρὶς Πύθια, πεντάκις Ἰσθμοῖ·
καὶ σῶν οὐδείς πω στῆσε τρόπαια χερῶν.

First from the land of Thessaly, you, Pharsalian Hagias, son of Acnonius, won in the pankration at Olympia, and five times also at Nemea, three times at the Pythian games and five times at Isthmos. Nobody has yet set trophies in your hands.
(*CEG* 795,2–5 = 43 Ebert)

The following epigram is inscribed on the base of Telemachos' statue: it presupposes the previous one and is intended to be read immediately after it:

κἀγὼ τοῦδε ὁμάδελ[φος ἔ]φυν, ἀριθμὸν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν
ἤμασι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχφ[έρ]ομαι στεφάνων,
νικῶν μουνοπάλη[ν], Τ[..]σηνῶν δὲ ἄνδρα κράτιστον
κτεῖνα ἔθελοντο[⏑ –]· Τηλέμαχος δ' ὄνομα.

And I am his brother. In the same days I gained the same number of crowns, winning in wrestling. Unwillingly I killed the strongest man among the Tyrrhenians. My name is Telemachos.
(*CEG* 795,6–9 = 44 Ebert)

Telemachos was Agias' brother and won the same number of competitions. In one of them an unexpected event happened: Telemachos mistakenly killed his opponent. The *lacuna* at line 4, in fact, must probably be supplemented with ἔθελον τό [γε δ'οὔ] or ἔθελον τὸ [μὲν οὔ].[41] The nationality of the dead wrestler was probably Tyrrhenian

38 On this monument see Homolle 1897; Will 1938; Rausa 1994, 130–135; Löhr 2000, 118–123.
39 *CEG* 795 = 43–45 Ebert. The other members of the family are celebrated as rulers (Aknonios, Daochos I and Daochos II) or soldiers (Sisyphos I).
40 Bing 2014.
41 Moretti 1953, 71–72; Ebert 1972, 142–143.

(Τυρσενῶν), but doubts arise because the Etruscans were perceived as barbarians and not admitted to Panhellenic games. As a possible solution, it has been argued that the event did not take place during an official contest but in a marginal individual competition.[42]

The third epigram is dedicated by Agelaos, Agias and Telemachos' younger brother:

οἵδε μὲν ἀθλοφόρου ῥώμης ἴσον ἔσχον, ἐγὼ δὲ
σύγγονος ἀμφοτέρων τῶνδε Ἀγέλαος ἔφυν·
νικῶ δὲ στάδιον τούτοις ἅμα Πύθια παῖδας·
μοῦνοι δὲ θνητῶν τούσδ' ἔχομεν στεφάνους.

These two had the same strength, carrier of victories. I am Agelaos, brother of both of them, and I won at Pytho in the stade-race in the category of the *paides*. We are the only ones among mortals who gained these crowns.
(*CEG* 795,10–13 = 45 Ebert)

Even this epigram presupposes the reading of the previous two. Agelaos seems to be the youngest brother, since only one victory in the category of the *paides* is mentioned here and bears no comparison with his bothers' numerous successes. The allusion—through the deiptic—to "these crowns" suggests that all three statues bore crowns of some sort.[43]

5 Epinicians vs Epigrams: Local vs Panhellenic?

The materiality of epigrams also offers some interesting points of comparison with their twin non-material genre: the epinician ode. The first and most evident difference between them is the performance context: epigrams were mainly dedicated in Panhellenic sanctuaries, whereas the majority of epinicians were performed in the victor's hometown. Upon returning home, the victor would be acclaimed by the whole citizenry, who would grant him honors and privileges; in return, he would commission a poet to compose an epinician ode celebrating himself and the city, which was performed before all the citizens at a local *panegyris*. Such a different performance context implies a different mode of self-presentation depending on the audience (local or Panhellenic). This becomes particularly evident in those few lucky cases in which we possess both odes and epigrams by the same dedicator (e. g. Hieron of Syracuse and Ergoteles of Himera).

42 Moretti 1953, 71; Thuillier 1985.
43 Dohrn 1968, 36; Edwards 1996, 136.

Dedicatory epigrams were originally intended as a homage to the gods and as a form of thanksgiving for the favour they had accorded. Needless to say that this practice soon became a mode of self-glorification for the dedicator, who could use religious piety to exhibit his own power and wealth. Every ἀνάθημα (from ἀνατίθημι, an offer erected for the gods) thus becomes a μνῆμα, i. e. a monument erected in memory of the dedicator and expression of his μεγαλοπρέπεια ("munificence") towards the *polis*.[44] The same form of personal self-display is implied by the epinicians, but in the case of the epigrams it is even more evident if we consider that agonistic statues, as we have seen, soon began to represent the victor in life size and with lifelike features. This is particularly evident in the epigram by Hieron, a victor who may well be described as μεγαλοπρέπες and who commissioned both agonistic monuments and epinician odes. Hieron was the tyrant of Syracuse between 478 and 467/6 BC and founder of Aetna. Through his son Deinomenes he dedicated an equestrian monument at Olympia in memory of his victory in the chariot race in 468 BC and of his previous ones in the single horse race. Hieron died in 467 before fulfilling his plan, and the statue, crafted by the Aeginetan sculptor Onatas, was erected by his son after his death.[45] The monument, described by Pausanias (6,12,1), represented a bronze chariot driven by a charioteer and two horses ridden by two jockeys, the work of the sculptor Calamides. The inscription runs:[46]

> σόν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα
> τεθρίππῳ μὲν ἅπαξ, μουνοκέληti δὲ δίς,
> δῶρα Ἱέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσσατο· παῖς δ᾽ ἀνέθηκε
> Δεινομένης πατρὸς μνῆμα Συρακοσίου.
> υἱὸς <μέν> με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσσεν,
> νάσῳ ἐν Αἰγίνᾳ δώματα ναιετάων.
>
> Olympian Zeus, Hieron offered you these prizes for having won your sacred competition once with the four-horse chariot and twice with the single-horse one. His son Deinomenes dedicated them in memory of his Syracusan father.
> Onatas, son of Mikon, made me; he lives on the island of Aegina.
> (17 Ebert)

Hieron attended the Panhellenic games several times, especially at Delphi and Olympia, in order to affirm his supremacy at a Panhellenic level. His grandiose attendance depended on the high expenditure he invested in competitions, which were even more expensive for those who came from abroad. For almost every victory he commissioned an ode, summarized in the following list:

44 Ebert 1972, 17–18; Kurke 1991, 163–168; Day 2010, 181–187.
45 The same happens with *CEG* 346 (= 25 Ebert) dedicated by the Athenian Pythodorus to commemorate the victories of his father Pythodelus.
46 The inscription is reported by Paus. 8,42,9–10. See Ebert 1972, 71–73; Löhr 2000, 41.

482: victory at Delphi in the single-horse race
478: victory at Delphi in the single-horse race
476: victory at Olympia in the single-horse race. Pindar, *Olympian* 1; Bacchylides, *Epinician 5*
474: possible defeat at Delphi. Pindar, *Pythian* 3?[47]
472: victory at Olympia in the single-horse race
470: victory at Delphi in the four-horse chariot race. Pindar, *Pythian* 1 and 2. fr. 105a Maehler; Bacchylides, *Epinician* 4 and *encomium* 20C Maehler
468: victory at Olympia in the four-horse chariot race. Bacchylides, *Epinician* 3; bronze monument at Olympia

Hieron best exemplifies the different modes of agonistic celebration in the Greek world: not only did he commission different poets to compose different odes to celebrate the same event, but his is also one of the few lucky cases in which both epinicians and monuments are attested. However, there are no overlaps: the songs are always intended for different occasions, so that for his first chariot victory in 470 Hieron commissioned Bacchylides to compose the short *Epinician* 4 for a performance at Delphi and the *encomium* 20C for a private symposium, and asked Pindar to compose *Pythian* 1 for the official celebration at Aetna.[48] Similarly, in 468 BC, after the more prestigious victory in the chariot race at Olympia, he commissioned Bacchylides to compose *Epinician* 3 for the performance at Syracuse,[49] and appointed the famous sculptor Onatas to create his eternal monument at Olympia. Monumental offerings were also dedicated by Hieron to celebrate his military victories: a bronze tripod was offered at Delphi in memory of the victory of Himera against the Carthaginians in 480 BC and some helmets were offered at Olympia in memory of the victory against the Etruscans in 474 BC.

These different communication strategies are all meant to celebrate the triumph of the victor, but some ideological differences emerge. The epinicians are characterized by the overwhelming centrality of the tyrant, who overshadows other elements generally mentioned by the epinician odes, such as the importance of the hometown and the role of the family.[50] The famous victories of his brothers Gelon and Polyzelus are never mentioned and the leading role of Gelon in the battle of Himera is glossed over in the account of the battle in *Pythian* 1 (79–80).[51] On the contrary, Pindar defines Hieron as *basileus* (*O.* 1,23; *P.* 2,14; 3,70), a title not used for any other patron (with the exception of his son Deinomenes in *P.* 1,60, and Arcesilaus of Cyrene, who was a real king). Similarly, in *Epinician* 3 Bacchylides calls him πλείσταρχος Ἑλλάνων γέρας, with a neologism never employed for a Greek ruler.[52]

47 The victor on that occasion was possibly Polyzelus. See Cingano 1991a.
48 Cingano 1991b; Gentili et al. 1995, 9–20; Budelmann 2012.
49 See Maehler 1982, 45.
50 Mann 2001, 252–268.
51 See Cummins 2010.
52 See Luraghi 1994, 355–368; Harrell 2002, 440–450. See also Catenacci 2006, 187–190; Maehler 2012.

These epinicians were performed in the Sicilian courts of Syracuse and Aetna, where Hieron reigned without any opposition. The same does not apply to monuments and odes intended for a Panhellenic public on the Greek mainland, such as Bacchylides' short *Epinician* 4, performed at Delphi at the time of the proclamation.[53] Far removed in inspiration and tone from *Pythian* 1 (composed for the same event but performed at Aetna), it only lists Hieron's victories at Delphi and Olympia, and begins with the expression Συρακοσίαν [...] πόλιν;[54] the tyrant is modestly called ἀστύθεμις, "upholder of justice in the city". The emphasis is all on the city of Syracuse and the same attitude may be detected in the text of the Olympic epigram, which underlines Hieron's provenance at line 4 (πατρὸς [...] Συρακοσίου). The same ideology is visible in the inscription on the helmets dedicated at Olympia: ἱιάρον ὁ Δεινομένεος καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι τõι Δὶ Τυρρανõν ἀπὸ Κύμας ("Hieron, son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans dedicated to Zeus the Etruscan booty from Cuma").[55] Hieron is presented here as a private citizen, representative of his community; there is no allusion to his political role, nor to his primacy in the battle suggested by Pindar in *Pythian* 1.[56]

Furthermore, the monument and the epigram were dedicated by Hieron at the end of his agonistic career (he died the year after his last victory) as a sort of communal memorial for his Panhellenic victories, which included both his Delphic and his Olympic successes, in contrast with the epinician odes, which were more closely connected to the *hic et nunc* of each celebration.

The same tendency can be seen in the epigram for the *periodonikes* runner Ergoteles of Himera, who also commissioned Pindar to compose *Olympian* 12:

> Ἐργοτέλης μ' ἀνέθηκ[ε ⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –] |
> Ἕλλανας νικῶν Πύθι[α – ⏑ ⏑] |
> καὶ δύ' Ὀλυμπιάδας, δ[⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –],
> Ἱμέραι ἀθάνατον μν[ᾶμ(α) (⏑) ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –].
>
> Ergoteles dedicated me [...] after defeating the Greeks at Pytho [...] and twice at Olympia, [...] two [...], at Himera, immortal memory.
> (*CEG* 393 = 20 Ebert)

The tablet on which this epigram was inscribed was read by Pausanias too,[57] who comments that Ergoteles was born in Knossos, ran away from his birthplace because of a revolt, and settled in Himera, where he was given citizenship and several other honours. He won in the *dolichos* twice at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and Isthmia (which

53 See Cingano 1991b; Maehler 1982, 64–67. *Contra* Eckerman 2012, 345–350.
54 The *incipit* of *Pythian* 2 (μεγαλοπόλιες ὦ Συράκοσαι) is similar but the performance context is unknown.
55 See Hansen 1990.
56 Harrell 2002, 450–457.
57 Paus. 6,4,11. See Tzifopoulos 2013, 156–157.

allows us to emend line 3 to δ[ὶς δ᾽ Ἴσθμια καὶ Νεμέαι δίς][58]). Pausanias certainly knew the best source on Ergoteles' life and career: Pindar's *Olympian* 12, which, after an invocation to the goddess Fortune, recounts Ergoteles' escape from Knossos and his settlement at Himera close to the sanctuary of the Nymphs.[59]

Ergoteles' victories took place between 474 and 464 BC, when he achieved his last Olympic victory and dedicated the epigram in question, in order to celebrate his whole career. The epinician must be earlier, since it only mentions two Pythian victories, one at Olympia and one at Isthmia, and can be dated to 470 BC, when Ergoteles won for the second time at Delphi (but the ode was inserted in the book of the *Olympians*, because the first mentioned victory is that at Olympia).[60] The starting apostrophe to the goddess Fortune may be interpreted as an allusion to the political events that characterized the life of Himera in those years, like the defeat of the Carthaginian army under its walls, and the expulsion of Trasideus in 472 BC.[61] No wonder that these allusions were particularly appreciated by the citizens of Himera who attended the performance of this ode, yet find no echo in the epigram inscribed at Olympia: once again, the poet is concerned with the Panhellenic image of the dedicator and, in particular, with the overall representation of his career, which will be immortalized in stone.

This is the function of the allusion to the ἀθάνατον μνᾶμα in the last line: once the season of athletic competitions was over, Ergoteles possibly felt close to old age and desired a monument that would depict him in the vigour of his youth and keep his memory alive. The eternity of fame is thus once again the field in which epigrams and epinicians compete with one another, as implied by Pindar's Nemean 5, discussed above. Each of the two genres tries to find a solution to the problem of the transience of fame. The material medium of epigrams represents the best guarantee of their eternity and presupposes a Panhellenic reception that finds a direct echo in the ideology of the inscribed text, as opposed to the local resonance of epinician odes.

58 Proposed by Ebert. Barrett 1973 reconstructs δ[ίς δ᾽ ἐν Νεμέαι τε καὶ Ἰσθμῶι].

59 On this ode see Barrett 1973; Catenacci 2005; Silk 2007; Gentili et al. 2013, 287–293; Nicholson 2016, 237–261.

60 Catenacci 2005. Barrett 1973 dates the Pythian victories between 470 and 466 BC and thinks that the ode was composed after the latter date.

61 Catenacci 2005; Nicholson 2016, 237–261.

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