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Cecilia Nobili¹

Between Stone and Song: Deinomenid Victories in Agonistic Epigrams and Epinician Odes

As is widely acknowledged, aristocratic elites adopted several different forms of celebration for their athletic victories. The two favorites were the erection of a monument in a Panhellenic sanctuary or in the victor's hometown, and the commissioning of an epinician ode from a famous poet.² The preference for one form over the other depended on several cultural and socio-economic factors. Some elites tended to prefer statues (e.g. the Spartans), others songs, as the huge number of odes for the Aeginetan clans shows. The case of Sicilian tyrants is ambivalent and we cannot detect a single tendency,³ as the

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² See Paola Angeli Bernardini, "Epinici e iscrizioni agonistiche: un percorso da ricostruire," in *Poesia e religione in Grecia: studi in onore di G. Aurelio Privitera*, eds. M. C. Fera and S. Grandolini (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2000), 29-41; Rosalind Thomas, "Fame, Memorial, and Choral Poetry. The Origins of Epinician Poetry: an Historical Study," in *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals: from Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire*, eds. S. Hornblower and C. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 152-63; David Fearn, "Kleos versus stone? Lyric Poetry and Contexts for Memorialization," in *Inscriptions and their Uses in Greek and Latin Literature*, eds. P. Liddel and P. Low (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 231-53; Nigel J. Nicholson, "Representations of Sport in Greek Literature," in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek & Roman Antiquity*, eds. P. Christesen and D. Kyle (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 68-80; Cecilia Nobili, *Corone di gloria. Epigrammi agonistici ed epinici dal VII al IV sec. a.C.* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2016).

³ On Sicilian tyrants' attitudes towards competitions, see Carmine Catenacci, "Il tiranno alle Colonne d'Eracle: l'agonistica e le tirannidi arcaiche," *Nikephoros* 5 (1992): 11-36; Gregor Weber, "Poesie und Poeten an den Höfen vorhellenistischer Monarchen," *Klio* 74 (1992): 25-77; Christian Mann, *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2001), 236-248; Carla M. Antonaccio, "Elite Mobility in the West," in *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals*, 265-285 and Carla M. Antonaccio, "Sport

choice of one form rather than the other depended more on individual tastes than on regional habits.

As I will try to show, Pindar played a major role in directing the Sicilian tyrants' preference toward poetry, and his cooperation with Hieron served to create a new course for the history of the epinician odes: from mere instruments of victory celebration they became mediums of political and personal propaganda. Nonetheless, the importance of sculpture in the Sicilian milieu is evident in the odes, which exhibit themes and expressions similar to those in agonistic epigrams normally inscribed on statue bases. The aim of this paper is thus investigating the competition between sculpture and poetry at the Deinomenids' court and Pindar's key role in this process.

Celebrating Victories at the Syracusan court

As is well known, Pindar had several patrons on Sicilian soil and composed odes both for the Emmenids and the Deinomenids. Nonetheless, the two aristocracies show very different positions regarding the mode of celebration. The Akragantine aristocracy began active cooperation with Pindar early,⁴ commissioning the first odes to Xenocrates and Thrasybulus in 490. No monuments are safely attested for these tyrants, who instead entrusted Pindar with the celebration of their victories.⁵

The Deinomenids' case is different because Pindar's contacts with them began later, in 476, when Hieron seized power and began commissioning both him and Bacchylides to celebrate his successes. Hieron's predecessor, Gelon, who successfully competed in several

and Society in the Greek West', in *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle*, 197-203; Nigel J. Nicholson, *The Poetics of Victory in the Greek West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Richard Neer and Leslie Kurke, *Pindar, Song and Space: Towards a Lyric Archaeology* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2019), 221-276.

⁴ See Catenacci "Il tiranno."

⁵ Nevertheless, Pindar's *Pythian* 6 for Xenocrates evokes the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi: see Lucia Athanassaki, "Performance and Re-performance: The Syphnian Treasury Evoked," in *Reading the Victory Ode*, eds. P. Agocs, C. Carey and R. Rawles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 134-157. According to Malcolm Bell, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's *Isthmian* 2," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 40 (1995): 1-42, the Motya charioteer may have been commissioned by the Emmenids.

agōnes, including a grandiose victory in the chariot race at Olympia in 488, never requested a poetic celebration of his victories (at least according to our knowledge), but rather commissioned the Aeginetan sculptor Glaukias to create a great monument depicting him driving a chariot for the Olympic sanctuary (Pausanias 6.9.4-5). This comes as no surprise, since Aelian (*Varia Historia* 4.25) reports that Gelon was *amousois*, without interest in poetry and music. He preferred the solidity of marble and bronze monuments, thus following the path begun by the first known Siceliot to compete in an equestrian event at Olympia, Pantares—the father of the first tyrants of Gela, Cleandros and Hippocrates. Pantares won the horse race at Olympia in 512 or 508 then dedicated a bronze statuette of a horse in the sanctuary, whose base with the inscribed epigram has been preserved (CEG 398=5 Ebert).⁶ Gelon started his career as a lieutenant in the cavalry under the tyranny of Pantares's son Hippocrates,⁷ and we may argue that he acquired a taste for international equestrian contests and for statues from that entourage.

Gelon's court did not host a refined group of poets and intellectuals like the one that would populate Hieron's palace. Nonetheless we can connect him with two professionals specialized in celebration: the sculptor Glaukias and the poet Simonides, who worked in close contact with Glaukias to compose inscriptions for the bases of some of his statues—for example, the one honoring Philon of Korkyra (Pausanias 6.9.9). Glaukias was active between 490 and 475 and specialized in agonistic statuary. He was one of the most

⁶ Lilian Hamilton Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the 5th Centuries B.C.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 273; Joachim Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1972), 44-45; Joseph W. Day, *Archaic Greek Epigram and Dedication: Representation and Reperformance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 215-216; Nobili, *Corone*, 31-32.

⁷ See Nino Luraghi, *Tirannidi arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia: da Panezio di Leontini alla caduta dei Dinomenidi* (Firenze: Olschki, 1994), 119-186; Pietrina Anello, "La storia di Gela antica," *ΚΩΛΛΟΣ* 45 (1999): 398-402.

innovative sculptors of his age, among the first to try to represent movement, abandoning the rigid stances of *kouroi* and severe-style statues.⁸ He also started crafting statues of athletes in the act of practicing their discipline, the most famous being the statue of Glaukos of Karystos, a collaborator of Gelon's and regent of Kamarina.⁹ The statue erected at Olympia celebrated Glaukos's victory in boxing and represented him in the act of *skiamachein* (shadow boxing).¹⁰ Glaukos also commissioned an epinician ode from Simonides,¹¹ which testifies to the early contact between the poet and Gelon's entourage.¹²

Gelon himself, though he tended not to invest money in songs, was a magnificent commissioner of monuments, as witnessed by the *thesaurus* erected in Olympia to celebrate his victory over the Carthaginians in 480,¹³ the temples erected in Sicily and the tripod erected in Delphi on the same occasion.¹⁴ He even asked Simonides to compose the dedicatory epigram inscribed on its base—the only

⁸ On Glaukias see Piero Orlandini, "Glaukias" *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* 3 (1960), 954; E. Walter-Karydi, *Alt-Ägina, II,2: Die äginetische Bildhauerschule. Werke und schriftliche Quellen* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1987), 35-39.

⁹ See Lex. Seg. s.v. Γλαῦκος Καρύστιος = Bekker I 232; Schol. in Aeschin. Or. 3.189; Luraghi, *Tirannidi arcaiche*, 150-151; Nicholson, *Poetics*, 203-36.

¹⁰ Paus. 6.10.1-3; see Federico Rausa, *L'immagine del vincitore: l'atleta nella statuaria greca dall'età arcaica all'ellenismo* (Roma: Viella, 1994), 23, 93-94.

¹¹ Quintil. *Inst.* 11.2.11-14; Luc. *Pro Imag.* 19. See John Molyneux, "Simonides and the Dioscuri," *Phoenix* 24 (1971): 197-205; *Simonides: a Historical Study* (Wauconda: Bolchazy, 1992), 33-41; Orlando Poltera, *Simonides lyricus, Testimonia und Fragmente* (Basel: Schwabe, 2008), 318-21; Nicholson, *Poetics*, 203-36.

¹² See also PMG 519.84 for Chromios, a relative of Gelon's who also commissioned *Nemean* 1 and 9 from Pindar.

¹³ Paus. 6.19.7. See also Alfred Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten* (München: Prestel, 1972), 163-181; Antonaccio, "Elite Mobility," 276-283; Kathryn A. Morgan, *Pindar and the Construction of Syracusan Monarchy in the 5th Century B.C.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2015), 30-31; Neer and Kurke, *Pindar*, 281-85.

¹⁴ According to *Diod.* 11.26.7, Gelon used the battle's spoils to erect the temple of Demeter and Persephone in Syracuse, and requested the Carthaginians to erect the temples of Athena at Syracuse and the temple of Victory at Himera as part of the indemnity. See Morgan, *Pindar*, 46-51.

poem securely attested for Gelon.¹⁵ The same attitude towards statuary is attested for Polyzalos, Gelon's youngest brother, who commissioned the well-known statue of the Delphic charioteer to celebrate one of his equestrian victories in 478 or 474, although this monument, and the possibly related epigram,¹⁶ remain mysterious.¹⁷

Hieron's case is completely different and his cooperation with Pindar, in particular, contributed to redirect the preference of his entourage from celebrative statues to epinician odes. Hieron does not disregard statuary and architecture as important instruments for celebration, especially of his military victories: he dedicated war helmets at Olympia to celebrate the victory at Kyme, and set up a tripod next to Gelon's at Delphi on the same occasion.¹⁸ Nonetheless,

¹⁵ FGE 34 (= schol. Pind. *P.* 1.152b; A.P. 6.214). Two versions of this epigram have been transmitted: see Bruno Gentili, "I tripodi di Delfi e il carme III di Bacchilide," *Parola del Passato* 8 (1953): 199-208; Santo Privitera, "I tripodi dei Dinomenidi e la decima dei Siracusani," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana ad Atene* 3 (2003): 391-424; Pierre Amandry, "Trépieds de Delphes et du Péloponnèse," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 91 (1987): 79-97; Molyneux, *Simonides*, 220-224; Sarah E. Harrell, "King or Private Citizen: 5th-century Sicilian Tyrants at Olympia and Delphi," *Mnemosyne* 55 (2002): 452-454; Monessa Finnerty Cummins, "Sicilian Tyrants and their Victorious Brothers 2: The Deinomenids," *Classical Journal* 106 (2010-11): 5-9; Morgan,

¹⁶ Gianfranco Adornato, "Delphic Enigmas?: the Γέλας ἀνάσσω, Polyzalos, and the Charioteer Statue," *American Journal of Archaeology* 112 (2008): 29-55 questions the traditional association between the inscription and the statue.

¹⁷ I won't dwell on the related problems. For a reconstruction of the monument, see Sandro Stucchi, "Il monumento per la vittoria pitica del Γέλας ἀνάσσω, Polizalo," *Archeologia Classica* 42 (1990): 55-86; Claude Rolley, "En regardant l'Aurige," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 114 (1990): 285-97; Roland R. Smith, "Pindar, Athletes, and the Early Greek Statue Habit," in *Pindar's Poetry*, 26-130. On problems related to the text of the epigram, see Gabriella Vanotti, "Polizelo: un eroe mancato?," in *Eroi, eroismi, eroizzazioni*, eds. A. Coppola (Padova: Sargon 2007), 211-217; Daniela Bonanno, *Ierone il Dinomenide: storia e rappresentazione* (Roma: Bretschneider, 2010), 56-61; Herwig Maehler, "Bakchylides and the Polyzalos Inscription," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 139 (2002): 19-21; Morgan, *Pindar*, 75-80.

¹⁸ Neer and Kurke, *Pindar*, 281-296, argue that also the so called "Geloan Porch" at Olympia (usually dated around 500 BC) must be dated to the 470s and possibly

his architectural activity is not comparable to Gelon's; no temples in Sicily are safely attributed to him, and no celebrative statues are attested for his athletic victories before the posthumous Olympic monument that I will soon examine.

Hieron's favorite medium to celebrate sporting success is definitely song, although we must not disregard the importance of coinage, especially in Sicily. Hieron, in fact, continued Gelon's prolific activity in minting (Syracusan tetradrachms traditionally had the image of a chariot, to testify the Deinomenids' passion for horse races),¹⁹ and in 470 he minted the new Aitna tetradrachm to celebrate both the Delphic chariot victory of the same year and the foundation of Aitna, as Pindar does in *Pythian* 1.²⁰

Hieron's passion for song craft has no comparison, however, because through Pindar's and Bacchylides's songs the tyrant aims not only to promote himself throughout the Greek world, but also to present an ideological program for his tyranny to be accepted by the Greek *poleis* in the crucial years of the Persian wars.²¹ As Kathryn Morgan has shown, Pindar and Hieron contribute jointly to fashioning a new idea of sovereignty. From Hieron's point of view, such a program is more efficiently carried out through the versatile art of poetry because only poetry has the power of advertising his victories on both a local and on a Panhellenic level, which seems to be Hieron's first concern. Coinage was appreciated by the local audience, whereas sculpture (especially monuments erected in Panhellenic sanctuaries) was intended mainly for the Panhellenic

attributed to Hieron, when he still was ruler of Gela, as a thank offering for the victory at Himera. For the complex reconstruction of the Delphic tripod attributed to Hieron see Morgan, *Pindar*, 40-44.

¹⁹ On Gelon's tetradrachms see Virginia M. Lewis, "Two Sides of the Same Coin: The Ideology of Gelon's Innovative Syracusan Tetradrachm," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 59 (2019): 179-201, and *Myth, Locality, and Identity in Pindar's Sicilian Odes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 38-41.

²⁰ See Morgan, *Pindar*, 66-67. More links between Pindar's odes for Syracusan victors and coins are investigated by Lewis, *Myth, Locality*, 38-72.

²¹ See Morgan, *Pindar*, 1-14.

image of the victor. Song has the ability to move across time and space, thus covering both realms. The epinician odes dedicated to Hieron aim to construct an image of the tyrant that goes beyond sporting victories and represents him as the perfect ruler, commander, and intellectual—equal to Zeus for the justice he exercises—both in Sicily and elsewhere.

Even Simonides, who had been recruited by Gelon only as a composer of epigrams for his monuments, spent the last years of his life at Hieron's court, becoming one of his favorite counsellors, as witnessed by the rich anecdotic tradition concerning their relationship.²² We may argue that Simonides also composed lyric odes for Hieron, but only a small fragment from a *propemptikon* is attested.²³ Much better preserved are the ten different odes composed by Pindar and Bacchylides to celebrate Hieron's victories between 476 and 468. They include epinicians, encomia, and the fragments of a hyporchema, not to mention the *Nemean* odes (1 and 9) dedicated to Chromios, Hieron's brother-in-law and the regent of Aitna, and *Olympian* 6 dedicated to Hagesias, Hieron's seer.²⁴

Within this huge collection of songs, there are no overlaps since the songs are always intended for different occasions. For example, in 468, after the more prestigious victory in the chariot race at Olympia, Hieron commissioned Bacchylides to compose *Ode* 3 for a performance at Syracuse,²⁵ and asked the famous sculptor Onatas to craft an eternal monument at Olympia. This is the only monument

²² See Anthony J. Podlecki, "Simonides in Sicily," *Parola del Passato* 34 (1979): 5-16; Molyneaux, *Simonides*, 224-33; Roberta Sevieri, "The Imperfect Hero: Xenophon's *Hiero* as the (Self-) taming of a Tyrant," in *Xenophon and his World*, ed. Christopher J. Tuplin (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 277-287; Poltera, *Simonides*, 54-57; Morgan, *Pindar*, 93-96.

²³ PMG 580, T59 Poltera. Molyneaux, *Simonides*, 226. See Molyneaux, *Simonides*, 226-233, for other poems possibly composed by Simonides for Hieron.

²⁴ On these figures and the related odes see Morgan, *Pindar*, 359-412, who explores their link with Hieron. On *Olympian* 6, see Neer and Kurke, *Pindar*, 221-296.

²⁵ See Herwig Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides I: Die Siegeslieder 2: Kommentar* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 45.

that Hieron is known to have commissioned in order to celebrate his intense equestrian activity, in significant contrast to the large number of songs.²⁶ The monument, described by Pausanias (6.12.1), represented a bronze chariot driven by a charioteer, crafted by the famous Aeginetan sculptor Onatas,²⁷ and two horses ridden by jockeys, the work of the sculptor Calamides. Hieron unfortunately died in 467 before seeing the erection of the monument, which was carried out by his son Deinomenes, as the epigram inscribed on its base recalls (17 Ebert):²⁸

σόν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα
τεθρίππῳ μὲν ἅπαξ, μουνοκέλητι δὲ δίς,
δῶρα Ἰέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσσατο· παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε
Δεινομένης πατρὸς μνήμα Συρακοσίου.
υἱὸς <μέν> με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσεν,
νάσῳ ἐν Αἰγίνα δώματα ναιετάων.

Olympian Zeus, for winning your sacred competition once with a four-horse chariot and twice in the horse race Hieron offered you these prizes. His son Deinomenes dedicated them in memory of his Syracusan father. Onatas, son of Mikon, made me; he lives on the island of Aegina.

The inscription thus recalls not only Hieron's last and most prestigious chariot victory of 468, but also, according to a common epigrammatic and epinician *topos*, his previous Olympic victories in

²⁶ Another monument was possibly erected by Hieron for his victories in Delphi: a base with a lacunose epigram (CEG 347=18 Ebert). See Werner Peek, "Ein delphisches Weihgedicht," *Philologus* 102 (1958): 43-59. The state of the text and lack of references make this uncertain (see Ebert, *Epigramme*, 73-77).

²⁷ Onatas was one of the most famous sculptors of his generation and came from Aegina, like Glaukias. He was active in the second half of the 5th century and a representative of the severe style. See Karl Schefold, "Die Aigineten, Onatas und Olympia," *AK* 16 (1973): 90-96; José Dörig, *Onatas of Aegina*, (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Walter-Karydi, *Alt-Ägina*, 19-32.

²⁸ The inscription is reported by Paus. 8.42.9-10. See Ebert, *Epigramme*, 71-73; Nobili, *Corone*, 78-83.

the horse race.²⁹ The tyrant was an old man by then and must have realized that death was near and he could not expect other victories, so he chose to immortalize his career with a monument in the sanctuary that hosted his most prestigious victories. Death prevented him from fulfilling his plans, but his son, Deinomenes, realized his father's dream. We may argue that in the end, after a life dedicated to poetry, Hieron finally decided to experience the monumental celebration of his victories. If we consider that he already used coinage as a form of self-promotion (including athletic successes), he finally left to the future generations the image of a multi-faced patron, who experienced several possible modes of celebration.

To sum up, in the Deinomenid family we can detect a general tendency to prefer the monumental memorialization of athletic victories at the time of Gelon and Polyzalos, which evolves into a preference for song under Hieron's reign, finding its highest expression in the relationship between Hieron and Pindar. However, the picture is more nuanced than this: some of Gelon's closest collaborators, such as Glaukos of Karystos, commissioned epinician odes. At the same time, agonistic monuments and epigrams also played a role in Hieron's time. We must not forget Hieron's close friendship with Simonides (reflected in Xenophon's dialogue *Hieron*),³⁰ who, apart from being a great innovator in the field of

²⁹ The two horses made by Calamides represent these two victories and possibly had been manufactured earlier; they joined the grandiose monument after their victory; see Mann, *Athlet*, 241-42. The idea that the monument represents communal memorial of one's sporting career is also detectable in the case of the only other aristocratic victor for whom both an epinician ode and an agonistic epigram is preserved: the Sicilian ruler Ergoteles of Himera (CEG 393, and Pindar, *O.* 12). See Nobili, *Corone*, 98-10 and "Strategies of Communication in Agonistic Epigrams," in *Antike Texte und ihre Materialität Alltägliche Präsenz, mediale Semantik, literarische Reflexion*, eds. C. Ritter-Schmalz and R. Schwitter, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 39-40.

³⁰ See above n. 22.

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choral lyric poetry, was also a famous composer of epigrams inscribed on statue bases.

It is hard to state what reasons lie behind the evolution of the Deinomenids' taste from statuary to song, but we can try to advance a possible interpretation. At the time of Gelon, the tyrant's main concern was advertising his victories on the mainland, exhibiting his power and his Greekness before the whole Greek world. The best way to do this was by erecting monuments in Panhellenic sanctuaries. By Hieron's time, priorities had changed and the tyrant needed a more portable form of celebration, one to promote his political program both in Sicily and on the mainland. A re-evaluation of locality characterizes the reign of Hieron, and Pindar becomes the best interpreter of the tyrant's ambitions on Sicilian soil.³¹ The necessity of reconciling the local and Panhellenic ambitions of athletic celebration serves to explain the superiority of poetry over sculpture, as famously proclaimed by Pindar at the beginning of *Nemean 5*.³²

An important role in this political process must have been played by Pindar who had an important influence over Hieron, convincing the tyrant of the opportunity of advertising his equestrian victories through epinician odes. However, as several scholars have noted,³³ Pindar's attitude toward sculpture is ambivalent: on the one side, he proclaims that poetry is a superior

³¹ See Lewis, *Myth, Locality*.

³² See Deborah Steiner, "Pindar's 'oggetti parlanti,'" *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 95 (1993): 159-180; Andrew Ford, *The Origins of Criticism: Literary Culture and Poetic Theory in Classical Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Donato Loscalzo, *La parola inestinguibile: studi sull'epinicio pindarico*, (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2003), 121-160; Patrick O'Sullivan, "Victory Statue, Victory Song: Pindar's Agonistic Poetics and Its Legacy," in *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World*, eds. D. Phillips and D. Pritchard (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2003), 75-100; Maria Pavlou, "Pindar *Nemean 5*: Real and Poetic Statues," *Phoenix* 64, 1-2 (2010): 1-17.

³³ Steiner, "Pindar's," 161-164; O'Sullivan, "Victory Statue," 79-85; Fearn, "Kleos"; Nobili, *Corone*.

form of art, on the other, his odes are embedded with references to the world of sculpture. His songs for Hieron, in fact, show several points of contact with the epigrams inscribed on statue bases. Before Simonides, epigrams, including those inscribed on agonistic statues,³⁴ had the sole function of transmitting some basic information, such as the name of the dedicator and the reasons for the dedication. Simonides was the first to give literary dignity to these poems and to transform them into small poetic gems, by using some of the *topoi* and the poetic skills normally employed in lyric poetry, as Hieron's epigram also shows.³⁵ Through his example, agonistic epigrams thus gradually became like small epinician odes, which, due to their brevity, challenged the poet to include all the necessary contents within a few lines. This is the reason why epinician odes and agonistic epigrams share a number of *topoi* and poetic expressions which seem common to both poetic genres, through a process of reciprocal influence, fueled by the common context of composition and by patrons' expectations.³⁶

³⁴ On agonistic epigrams see Luigi Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Roma: Signorelli, 1953); Ebert, *Epigramme*; Leslie Kurke, "The Economy of *Kudos*," in *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics*, eds. C. Dougherty and L. Kurke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 131-163; Steiner, "Pindar's"; Valérie Visa, *L'image de l'athlète d'Homère à la fin du Ve siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1999); Bernardini, "Epinici"; Luigi Bravi, *Gli epigrammi di Simonide e le vie della tradizione* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2006), 91-112; Thomas, "Fame," 152-163; Adolf Köhnken, *Epinician Epigram*, in *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram*, ed. P. Bing and J. Steffen Bruss (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 295-312; Day, *Epigram*, 198-228; Nobili, *Corone* and "Strategies."

³⁵ See, for example, the above-mentioned epigram for Philon of Korkyra. See also Visa, *Image*, 92-96; Bernardini, "Epinici," 35; Marco Fantuzzi and Richard L. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 283-91; Andrej Petrović, *Kommentar zu den simonydeischen Versinschriften* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 13-24; Manuel Baumbach, Andrej Petrovic, Ivana Petrovic, "Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram: an Introduction," in *Archaic and classical Greek epigram*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

³⁶ As for the audience, differences exist because the monuments and epigrams we know were erected in Panhellenic sanctuaries, whereas epinician odes were often performed in the victor's hometown before a local audience. On this aspect see Harrell, "King" and Nobili, "Strategies," 36-40.

This process is evident in several odes (e.g. those for the Aiginetans, who exhibited a great passion for sculpture), but the case of Hieron's songs is particularly meaningful because the Deinomenid court (first Gelon, later Hieron) was in close contact with Simonides and hosted in a short time span both him and Pindar. As a composer of epinician odes and epigrams, Simonides played a key role in the evolution of agonistic epigrams, and he is likely to have cleared the path of cooperation between the two forms of celebration followed by Pindar in his odes for Hieron. Hieron's court thus emerges as a highly representative case of a tendency recognizable elsewhere. For this reason, it is worth examining what motifs the epinician odes composed by Pindar for Hieron share with contemporary agonistic epigrams. Such an investigation may shed new light on the relationship between statuary and poetry in the fertile soil of Sicilian tyranny.

Pindar's Odes for Hieron and Epigrams: Shared *Topoi*

One aspect that makes agonistic epigrams more problematic than epinician odes is the relationship between the dedicator and the divinity. Monumental dedications generally derive from an act of piety towards the gods: they are a form of thanksgiving for a favor received. Men dedicate a statue or an artifact in a god's sanctuary when they feel that one of their prayers has been fulfilled. In the case of agonistic victories, victors offer a statue to the god in order to thank him for help received in the competition; however, they are well aware of the fact that they achieved success thanks mainly to their own personal abilities and physical prowess (or that of their horses, charioteers, and jockeys in the case of equestrian victories). This is the reason why agonistic epigrams strangely bear few or no signs of the dedicators' reverence towards the gods, who are prominently absent (at least until the Hellenistic age).³⁷ Furthermore,

³⁷ See Jon D. Mikalson, "Gods and Athletic Games," in *The Panathenaic Games*, eds. O. Palagia and A. Choremi-Spetsieri (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 33-40. In the Archaic and Classical age, gods are only mentioned to clarify to whom the

the statues normally represent the victors, not the gods. Indeed, the practice of statue dedication quickly became a mode of self-glorification for the dedicators, who used religious piety to advertise their own power and wealth. Every ἀνάθεμα (an offering erected for the gods, from the verb ἀνατίθημι), thus becomes a μνήμα, i.e. a monument erected in memory of the dedicator, as an expression of his μεγαλοπρέπεια (magnificence) towards the polis.³⁸

This is particularly evident in the above-mentioned epigram commissioned by Hieron, a victor who may well be described as μεγαλοπρέπεις. As the last line recalls, the monument serves as a μνήμα to Hieron's career (17.4 Ebert: πατρός μνήμα Συρακοσίου, "in memory of his Syracusan father"). However, the first line opens with an apostrophe to Olympian Zeus, to whom Hieron dedicates his statue after (or because of?) his victory. No other agonistic epigram opens with such an invocation to the god, but Hieron's is a special case and, as Pindar's epinician odes for him show, he boasted of a special personal relationship with the gods. Apostrophes to Apollo or Zeus are common,³⁹ and in *Pythian* 2.9-12 Hermes and Artemis personally harness Hieron's horses. In *Olympian* 1.106-108 an ἐπίτροπος god fulfils his hope of winning more *agōnes*, and in

offer is dedicated (CEG 362, 394; 6 e 30 Ebert), or as patrons of the *agones* (Διὸς ἄθλα in CEG 398, καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διὸς 4 Ebert).

³⁸ Ebert, *Epigramme*, 17-18; Day, *Epigram*, 181-87; Leslie Kurke, *The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 163-68. W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings. An Essay in the History of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 168 says: "The truth seems to be, then, that some athlete statues were votive and some were not. Here in fact is the earliest beginning of that change which is completed in the fourth century, by which the votive offering becomes chiefly a means of self-glorification.... The inevitable result was that pride swallowed up piety, and in the 5th century or even earlier the athlete's statue became a memorial of personal honour." However, as Day, *Epigram*, 181-87 and Catherine M. Keesling, *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3-10 note, piety and self-promotion may also coexist.

³⁹ See P. 1.29, 68, 72.

Cecilia Nobili

Bacchylides's *Ode* 4.1-2, Apollo honors the leader of Syracuse.⁴⁰ There emerges a unique personal relationship between the tyrant and the gods: they show him special favor and, in exchange, he offers them splendid gifts (δῶρα...ἐχαρίσσατο), as the epigram remarks.⁴¹ Pindar's ode and the agonistic epigram thus share a common feature and aim: gods are included in a way that glorifies the victor by highlighting his relationship with them.

Such an attitude is confirmed by the epigram inscribed on the base of the Delphic charioteer. Though the historical and anecdotic tradition assumes a rivalry between Hieron and his younger brother Polyzalos,⁴² the texts of the epigrams inscribed on their agonistic monuments share a common element. The epigram inscribed on the base of the Delphic charioteer (assuming that the inscription belongs to the statue, which is far from certain),⁴³ contains an unusual appeal to Apollo, who must support the dedicator (Polyzalos or someone else before him):

[- ∞ - ∞ - ∪Π]ολύζαλος μ' ἀνέθηκ[ε]
/ or: [- ∞ - ∞ - ∪] Γέλας ἀνέθεκε φανάσσ[ον]
[ἠυιὸς Δεινομένεος, ἠ]ὸν ἄεξ' εὐόνυμ' Ἄπολλ[ον].

...Polyzalos dedicated me (or: ...the lord of Gela dedicated me), [son of Deinomenes]; beautifully named Apollo, support him. (CEG 397=13 Ebert)

I do not wish to push the interpretation of this much-disputed distich too far by recalling the possibility that the previous dedicator of the monument may have been Hieron.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the appeal to

⁴⁰ See also *P.* 1.69-71, for the help Hieron received from Zeus in the military and political field, and Bacchylides *Ode* 5.193-194.

⁴¹ Mann, *Athelt*, 242 and 260.

⁴² Luigi Piccirilli, "La controversia fra Ierone I e Polizelo in Diodoro, negli Scholia vetera e nello Scholion recens a Pindaro, *Ol. II 29*," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 1 (1971): 65-79; Bonanno, *Ierone*, 55-69.

⁴³ Adornato, "Delphic."

⁴⁴ Maehler, "Bakchylides." For more interpretations see above, nn. 16-17.

Apollo represents an interesting point of contact between Hieron's epigram and epinician odes. It suggests, at least, a common *topos* appreciated by the Deinomenid family, namely, the boasting of a special relationship with the gods, whose help becomes an important means to ensure athletic success and promote political ambitions.

The other big issue that both epigrams and songs must face is the eternity of fame, and Pindar's odes dedicated to Hieron are no exception in this regard. The competition between poetry and sculpture over the duration of the fame they can ensure is a recurring motif in the history of Greek culture, with each art seeking to assert its primacy.⁴⁵ As is well known, Pindar in *Nemean* 5 declares that poetry is superior to sculpture because it can move across time and space,⁴⁶ whereas the epigram inscribed on Midas's funerary stele—attributed to Homer by the Ancients—boasted that it is an “eternal *sema*,” by virtue of the hardness of its bronze, which is able to withstand atmospheric agents.⁴⁷

The reason why aristocrats and tyrants invest such a huge amount of money in athletic competitions is the fame which their victories bring. Consequently, the main goal that both epinician odes and agonistic epigrams share (and a field of competition for poets and sculptors) is to make the *kleos* of their commissioners eternal and widespread. As Pindar explains at the beginning of *Olympian* 1.24, Hieron's *kleos* shines and makes him visible among his fellow citizens, whereas in *Pythian* 1.92-93 he adds that “ὀπιθόμβροτον αὐχνημα δόξας οἶον ἀποιχομένων ἀνδρῶν διαίταν μανύει καὶ λογίσις καὶ ἀοιδοῖς” (The posthumous acclaim of fame alone reveals

⁴⁵ O'Sullivan, “Victory Statue.”

⁴⁶ See above nn. 32-33.

⁴⁷ Sim. fr. 262 Poltera = PMG 581. The epigram is quoted by Plat. *Phaedr.* 264d. See G. Markwald, *Die Homerischen Epigramme. Sprachliche und inhaltliche Untersuchungen*, (Königstein: Hain, 1986), 34-83; Petrovic, “Archaic,” 59-62. Simonides replies that a stele is fragile (λίθον δὲ καὶ βρότεοι παλάμαι θραύονται, “even mortal hands can break the stone”), and it cannot guarantee the eternity of fame: see C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry. From Alcman to Simonides* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 370-71.

the life of men who are dead and gone to both chroniclers and poets).⁴⁸ The sculptors and the poets who have composed the inscriptions may be included among those who make this fame eternal. As Jesper Svenbro has clarified, an inscription is a “machine meant to produce *kleos*,” since the passers-by who, generation after generation, read the text aloud, make it live forever.⁴⁹

An epigram for a 4th century Athenian victor exemplifies well the importance of monuments as means to ensure fame:

δόξα μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἱεροῖς ἀναθήμασιν αὖξει
τόνδε, τέχνης δ' εἰκῶν ἦδε δίδωσ[ι] κρίσιν.
νικήσας δὲ ἵππων τε δρόμοις ἔργων τε ἐν ἀμίλλα[ις]
τὴν ἱερὰν στεφανοῖ πατρίδα Κεκροπίαν.

Fame makes this one great among the Greeks, thanks to the sacred monuments; this image gives a judgement about his art. After winning the horse races, he crowns Kekrop's sacred home place. (CEG 778)

Thanks to the monuments (ἀναθήματα) the fame of this racer will grow and extend to his hometown, too. Monuments thus become a medium for fame and make it widespread and manifest, since, as specified in the inscription, the image—possibly representing the victor with his horses— best exemplifies the success achieved.

The fame that the victor brings not only upon himself and his family, but upon the city as a whole, is another motif shared by epinician odes and epigrams alike (see e.g. 22.2 Ebert: πατρίδα Πάλειαν θῆκ' ὀνομαστοτέραν, “made his homeland, Paleia, famous”). The case of Hieron is even more revealing from this point of view. As a tyrant, he identifies with the city he rules,⁵⁰ so his victories are, at the same time, victories of his hometown. The

⁴⁸ See also O. 1.24, 8.12, 10.60-63; I. 6-10; P. 1.36-38; P. 8.24-28; N. 7.61-63; Bacch. ep. 9.80-87.

⁴⁹ Jesper Svenbro, *Phrasikleia: an Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993). The medium and the Panhellenic context in which these statues were dedicated amplified the resonance of the poems. See Day, *Epigram*, 39-48; Fearn, “*Kleos*.”

⁵⁰ Sometimes he is called ruler of Sicily, emphasizing his rule over the entire island (cf. O. 1.12-24; see also Bacch. ep. 3.11-12); see Lewis, *Myth, Locality*, 114-15.

celebration of his athletic successes involved the whole citizenship in processions, religious festivals, and communal banquets, which featured the performance of the odes. In *Pythian* 1.35-39, Pindar asks Apollo to bestow glory on the newly founded city of Aitna, which, he hopes, will become famous for its festivals and athletic victories; Hieron will become the main source of Aitna's prestige through the victories he will achieve.

The prizes won at the contests were taken to local sanctuaries and contributed to the beauty and pride of the town. The wreaths, which represented the most important prize and were a symbol of victory, were placed on the heads of the statues of the gods and remained visible to everyone.⁵¹ *Pythian* 2.6-8 opens with the praise of a Syracuse enriched by the wreaths that Hieron won. This practice of crowning statues gives rise to a typical epigrammatic description (which finds little echo in epinician odes)⁵² of the act of bringing glory to one's city as "crowning" it,⁵³ as we read, e.g. in 35 Ebert=A.P. 13.15 for Dikon of Syracuse: στεφανῶ δ' ἄστν Συρακοσίων (I crown the city of Syracuse), or in *FGE* 30=12 Ebert for Theognetos of Aegina, πατέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐστεφάνωσε πόλιν, (He crowned the city of his noble ancestors).⁵⁴ Once again, an act of piety towards the gods (dedicating a crown in their temple) becomes a means of self-promotion of the victor's success. The song itself may also become a crown, an ornament that amplifies the beauty of the athletic victory, as Pindar recalls in *Olympian* 1.101-102, employing a typical epigrammatic expression: ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι κεῖνον ἰππίῳ νόμῳ Αἰοληϊδὶ μολπᾷ χορή (My duty is to crown that man with an equestrian tune in Aeolic song).

The eternity of the fame that a victory bestows on an aristocrat and his hometown can be announced by the epigram itself through the device of *aggelia*, as in *CEG* 862 for Xenombrotos of Kos:

⁵¹ See Michael Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982), 113-15, 150-53; Steiner, "Pindar's," 163-65; Kurke, "Economy," 140.

⁵² See only *N.* 11.19-21.

⁵³ See Ebert, *Epigramme*, 11; Suzanne Saïd and Monique Trédé-Boulmer, "L'éloge de la cité du vainqueur dans les épinicies de Pindare," *Ktèma* 9 (1984): 161-70; Kurke, "Economy," 137-41; Day, *Epigram*, 211-12.

⁵⁴ On this epigram see Bravi, *Simonide*, 103-105.

[– ∞ – ∪] μένοις ἐτύμα φάτις ἵππ[άδ]α [νίκαν]
[εῖναι ?καλλίστα]ν κείναι Ὀλυμπιάδι,
[ἄι] Κώϊων ὁ [Ξ]ε[ιν]ο[δ]ίκου Πισαῖον ἄεθλον
πρῶτος ἐλὼν Μέροπος νᾶσον ἐσαγάγ[ε]τ[ο]
τοιο[ς] ὁποῖον ὁ[ρ]ᾶις Ξεινόμβροτο[ς] οὐ κλέος Ἑλλάς
ἄφθιτον ἀείδε[ι] μνωμένα ἵπποσύνας.

...true fame that the horse victory was the best one in that Olympics, when the son of Xenodokos, Xenombrotos, as you see him now, first among the inhabitants of Kos, won the prize in Pisa and took it to the Merope's island. Hellas proclaims his immortal glory, in memory of his deeds in the horse races.

True fame (ἐτύμα φάτις) carries the news of Xenombrotos's victory from Olympia to his hometown, then resounds through the whole of Greece, making his glory immortal.⁵⁵ The verb ἀεῖδω compares the inscription to the song, thus establishing an explicit competition with the epinician ode. Fame becomes the best herald, since it announces one's victory to the whole world, outdoing those who merely proclaimed the victors and placed crowns on their heads at the so-called *aggelia*.⁵⁶

This moment is in *Pythian* 1.32-33, as Pindar describes the herald announcing Hieron's victory in the horse race at the Pythian Games in 470:

... Πυθιάδος δ'
ἐν δρόμῳ κάρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγ-
γέλλων Ἰέρωνος ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου
ἄρμασι.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Xenombrotos's monument – probably also dedicated to his father Xenodikos – was seen by Pausanias (6.14.12) at Olympia.

⁵⁶ On the *aggelia* see Laura Nash, *The Aggelia in Pindar* (Ph.D. Diss. Harvard University, 1990), 11-24; Joseph W. Day, "Interactive Offerings: Early Greek Dedicatory Epigrams and Ritual," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 96 (1994): 63-71; *Epigram*, 201-228; Aleksander Wolicki, "The Heralds and the Games in Archaic and Classical Greece," *Nikephoros* 15 (2002): 69-97.

⁵⁷ The Greek text is taken from B. Gentili (*et. al.*, ed.), *Pindaro. Le Pitiche*, (Milano, 1995).

At the racecourse of the Pythian festival
the herald proclaimed it
in announcing Hieron's splendid victory with the chariot.

Pindar recreates the very moment of the *aggelia* by putting into the herald's mouth the words that were normally pronounced, i.e. the name of the victor, the setting of the race and the event. In *Pythian* 2.3-4 the song itself is compared to the *aggelia*, since Pindar declares that he is coming from Thebes to Syracuse φέρων μέλος... ἀγγελίαν τετραορίας ἐλελίχθονος (bearing this song and its news of the four-horse chariot that shakes the earth).⁵⁸

Several other agonistic epigrams evoke the moment of the *aggelia*, such as CEG 844 for the multiple winner Theogenes of Thasos,⁵⁹ or CEG 823 for Sophios of Messene, where the epigram itself takes the place of the herald, announcing the victory.⁶⁰ In the epigrams we thus find the same type of *aggelia* recalled by Hieron's odes: a description of the ritual moment when the herald proclaims the victor, and the poetic motif of the poem taking the herald's place in the announcement of the victory.

The examples presented so far show to what extent Pindar's odes for Hieron share common topics with agonistic epigrams and the world of sculpture. These are not the only odes that show such a convergence, which appears as a recurring tendency among epigrams and epinician odes of the 5th century. Nonetheless, Hieron's odes represent an interesting case-study because, before Pindar, his court hosted Simonides, who changed the history of inscribed

⁵⁸ For other examples see *O.* 5.4-8; *O.* 13.98-100; *I.* 3.9-13; and Bacchylides *Ode* 10.25-35. Several other agonistic epigrams evoke the moment of the *aggelia*, such as CEG 844 for the multiple winner Theogenes of Thasos, or CEG 823 for Sophios of Messene.

⁵⁹ On Theogenes, see Paus. 6.11.2-9; Jean Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos I: De la fondation de la cité à 196 av. J.C.* (Paris: De Boccard, 1954), 62-105; Ebert, *Epigramme*, 118-126; Nobili, *Corone*, 161-164.

⁶⁰ On Sophios's statue at Olympia see Paus. 6.3.2.

epigrams.⁶¹ Furthermore, Hieron appears as the most representative example of a *megaloprepes* tyrant and is the only individual we know to have commissioned such a huge number of epinician odes and an inscribed monument (the only other attested example is Ergoteles, though on a much smaller scale).⁶²

There is also a major difference between Hieron's odes and epigram. In the songs there is no place for the memory of past victories or for those of his relatives (although his brothers Gelon and Polyzalos successfully competed in the Panhellenic contests). Among aristocratic elites, commissioning an epinician ode was a significant economic investment and most athletes could afford to do so only once in their lifetime, and only in relation to the most prestigious contests (the same holds true for monuments). This is the reason why epinician odes and epigrams composed for a specific victory normally also recall previous victories, thereby creating a sort of catalogue, which tests the poet's ability to list a long series of places with a taste for variation.⁶³ The same attitude marks the composers of epigrams, starting with Simonides. In the epigram for the Corinthian Nikoladas (26 Ebert), he manages to list a series of places and contests, with a richness of vocabulary and adjectives that makes this catalogue comparable to Pindaric ones. Elsewhere, in the epigram for Diophon (60 Ebert), he shows his ability to compress a long list of athletic specialties into a single distich, thus demonstrating the artistic value of the short epigrammatic form as a source of poetic inspiration.

⁶¹ See above, n. 22.

⁶² See above, n. 29.

⁶³ Cf. Erich Thummer, *Die isthmischen Gedichte: Analyse der Pindar-Epinikien. Text und Übersetzung der isthmischer Gedichte* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1968-1969), 26-30; F. de Conno, "La lode del vincitore nell'epinicio pindarico. Problemi formali," in *Ricerche di filologia classica II: Filologia e critica letteraria della grecità* (Pisa: Giardini, 1984), 47-50; Douglas E. Gerber, *A Commentary on Pindar Olympian Nine* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), 71-78.

At the same time, the praise of the victor normally entails a praise of his whole *genos*, as well as his most important relatives and ancestors, who are either extolled for their athletic successes or for other virtues (political, military, etc.). Once again, this is due to the fact that even the richest families could afford to celebrate only one victory over generations in a grand fashion so the same ode served to praise all the victories of a patron and of his closest relatives, normally his father and brothers. To remain on Sicilian soil, we may note that even the ode for Theron, who surely had economic means comparable to Hieron and who commissioned several songs,⁶⁴ does not fail to recall his previous equestrian victories and those of his relatives, such as his brother Xenocrates in *Olympian 2*; the latter is also praised at great length in *Isthmian 2*, dedicated to his son Thrasybulus.⁶⁵

The same happened with both monuments and epigrams: several monuments were meant for multiple celebrations and hosted two or more statues, which could represent two brothers, or a father and his son.⁶⁶ The most famous example is the Delphic donary of the Thessalian Daochos, which was comprised of nine statues of athletes and political men from the family, each accompanied by an epigram, spanning several generations.⁶⁷

Hieron's case is different, because the prolific commission of songs covers a wide range of victories (apart from the first ones, won when his brother Gelon still reigned). Moreover, Pindar and Bacchylides do not seem interested in recalling previous victories;

⁶⁴ On the tyrants' athletic expenditure see Catenacci, "Il tiranno"; Weber, "Poesie"; Mann, *Athlet*, 236-248; Antonaccio, "Elite" and "Sport," 197-203; Nicholson, *Poetics*.

⁶⁵ See Monessa Finnerty Cummins, "Sicilian Tyrants and their Victorious Brothers 1: The Emmenids," *The Classical Journal* 105 (2009-2010): 321-339.

⁶⁶ See Christoph Löhr, *Griechische Familienweihungen: Untersuchungen einer Repräsentationsform von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des 4 Jhs. v. Chr.* (Rahden: Leidorf, 2000); Day, *Epigram*, 197-198.

⁶⁷ 43-45 Ebert = CEG 795. The other members of the family are celebrated as rulers (Aknonios, Daochos I and Daochos II) or soldiers (Sisypchos I).

they probably supposed that the re-performance of previous odes before Sicilian audiences was enough to keep the memory of past victories alive. Similarly, the Olympian monument only recalls the Olympic victories, not the Pythian ones, marking a point of departure from the *topoi* of agonistic epigrams. As Cummins has noted,⁶⁸ the same attitude underlies the lack of allusions to victories achieved by Hieron's relatives: in the odes dedicated to him, he shines alone, and there is no place for the successes of his brothers, whether in sports or on the military field. We can detect only vague and occasional mentions of his brothers and his son, nothing comparable to the usual praise that we find elsewhere. Thus, the military victory against the Carthaginians at Himera is attributed by Pindar and Bacchylides to the "sons of Deinomenes."⁶⁹ In other words, it is presented as the joint success of Hieron and Gelon, though the other sources only mention Gelon as the leader of the army.⁷⁰ In *Pythian* 1, Pindar expresses the wish to sing, one day, of the victories of Hieron's son Deinomenes; but his desire will remain unfulfilled. Hieron's monument at Olympia bears the name of his son Deinomenes, but the latter features as a mere executor: we must recall that the monument was erected by him after Hieron's death.⁷¹ It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Hieron's original plan assigned no role to Deinomenes. The cooperation between Hieron and Pindar (though Bacchylides follows the same path) thus manages to exploit the phenomenon of victory commemoration for Hieron's personal gain, thereby breaking the conventions of the epinician and epigrammatic genres. In addition, Pindar inserted

⁶⁸ See Cummins, "Deinomenids."

⁶⁹ Pind. *P.* 1.78-80; Bacc. *Ep.* 5.31-35.

⁷⁰ See Hdt. 7.165-167; Diod. 11.20-22; Sarah Elizabeth Harrell, "Synchronicity: the Local and the Panhellenic within Sicilian Tyranny," in *Ancient Tyranny*, ed. Sian Lewis (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 119-134.

⁷¹ A similar case is that of CEG 346, erected for the Athenian Pithodelos by his son Pithodoros; however, the apostrophe to the dead victor makes the relationship between father and son more intimate.

allusions to Hieron into the odes for his henchmen (Hagesias in *Olympian* 6 and Chromios in *Nemean* 1 and 9),⁷² offering an image of a *megaloprepes* tyrant for whom the standard multiple modes of celebration do not even suffice.

Conclusions

The great number of similarities between agonistic epigrams and Pindar's odes for Hieron suggests that the world of celebratory sculpture was closely related to that of song in the Deinomenid court, even though each tyrant favored one form over the other. Gelon appreciated monuments and material dedications, yet he was the first to bring the poet Simonides to the Deinomenid court, by commissioning epigrams from him to be inscribed on a tripod. Hieron, instead, appreciated songs and poetry more than any other artistic form (except for the coinage program, which appears as the second most appreciated mode of athletic celebration). Nevertheless, he also recognized the value of monuments and chose to immortalize his whole career with a posthumous dedication at Olympia. Pindar may have played an important role in directing the tyrant's interest: on the one side he competes with the world of sculpture by affirming the superiority of poetry and makes the epinician odes dedicated to Hieron a medium for political and personal propaganda. On the other side, he recognizes the importance of sculpture in the celebration of victory and his odes share several common elements with the epigrams traditionally inscribed on statue bases.

In any case, the microcosm of the Deinomenid court shows how epigrams and epinician odes shared specific motifs and a particular vocabulary, thus paving the way for the establishment of the epigram as a literary genre. Within one century, the basic poetic inscriptions which accompanied archaic statues gave way to the small poetic gems appreciated by Hellenistic society.⁷³

⁷² See for a discussion of Hieron's presence in these odes Morgan, *Pindar*, 359-412; Lewis, *Myth, Locality*, 41-49, 116-134.

⁷³ I wish to thank Heather Reid and Fonte Aretusa for the impressive organization of the *Pindar in Sicily* conference in October 2019; I am also grateful to the participants and to the editors for their useful comments and suggestions, which lead to an improvement of my paper.

