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# Localizing Early Epic Material in Pindar's Sicilian Odes: Epichoric Concerns and Panhellenic Fame

VASILIKI KOUSOULINI

**Abstract:** Pindar's Sicilian odes composed for Hieron and Chromius are embellished with various mythological narratives that are also encountered in early epic material. I suggest that Pindar not only localizes - to some extent - these originally Panhellenic mythological narratives in order to embed them in the foundation narratives that he constructs for the Sicilian victors but that the poet creates a complex interplay between epichoric and Panhellenic elements within the context of the Sicilian odes. In this way, Pindar creates for Hieron and his newly-founded city a mythical past and legitimizes his right to rule before the eyes of local and Panhellenic audiences.

**Keywords:** Pindar, Sicily, Panhellenic, Epichoric, Early Epic, Foundation Narratives

## 1. Introduction

Pindar's encomiastic mission in the Sicilian odes was a difficult one. Hieron was not a descendant of a well-established royal line and the foundation of Aetna was quite recent.<sup>1</sup> There were no well-diffused Panhellenic myths concerning Hieron and his new *polis*. The lack of strong Sicilian epichoric myths was also an obstacle.<sup>2</sup> In order to praise the Sicilian victors to the original audience of the Sicilian odes, Pindar had to construct an epichoric mythical heritage for Aetna -in other words- to create a "manufactured" epichoric "genetic inheritance" for his Sicilian patrons.<sup>3</sup> In order to better serve the Deinomenids' aspiration for attaining a Panhellenic status,<sup>4</sup> Pindar also had to link their epichoric mythical heritage with facets of well-known Panhellenic myths.<sup>5</sup> Pindar set himself the task of creating these resources and he looked to early epic poetry for materials.<sup>6</sup>

In this article, I suggest that Pindar's praise of Hieron's colonial activity was not expressed in one or two isolated cases, as many scholars have already argued,<sup>7</sup> but was part of Pindar's poetics in the Sicilian odes.<sup>8</sup> I focus on the Pindaric "reception" of the mythological narratives contained in early epic material and not on any other similarity

<sup>1</sup> As Donnellan rightly remarks, when the foundation of a city is quite recent "the relatively recent beginnings of these new settlements offered an opportunity for reshaping existing myths and genealogies and especially for developing new ones" (see Donnellan 2015, 41–42). Pindar, in particular, seems to use references to epic material when there is a greater need to legitimize the authority of his patron(s). See on this Athanassaki 2003, 119. See also Rose 1974, 155–56.

<sup>2</sup> See Eckerman 2008, 46–47.

<sup>3</sup> See Malkin 1998, 16.

<sup>4</sup> For the Deinomenids' (especially Hieron's) Panhellenic aspirations expressed through Pindar's poetry see Hubbard 2004, 74, 89–90; Harrell 2006, 132; Eckermann 2008; Morgan 2015, 132–33; Lewis 2019, 156–71.

<sup>5</sup> On how a localized genre, such as Pindar's *epinicia*, attains a Panhellenic status see Nagy 1990, 157–98, 410–11.

<sup>6</sup> See examples of Pindar's "intertextuality" with other poets and genre-blending in Pindar's *epinicia* in Kurke 1988; Kurke 1990; Nagy 1990; Kyriakou 1994, 32–45; D' Alessio 2005b; Nagy 2011; Pavlou 2012; Morgan 2015, 275–82; Nieto Hernández 2015; Stamatopoulou 2017, 52–102.

<sup>7</sup> For Pindar's praise of Hieron's colonizing activity (the foundation of Aetna) in *Pyth.* 1 see, for example, Dougherty 1993, 92–97; Athanassaki 2003, 120; Hubbard 2004, 74; Stamatopoulou 2017, 53–62. For *Ol.* 1 see Nagy 1990, 293–313; Athanassaki 2003, 121–22; Eckerman 2013, 17; Foster 2013, 307.

<sup>8</sup> I agree with Felson and Parmentier who regard that this is a special type of textual modality manifested in Pindar's odes, that is, the poet anticipates the "intertextual" construction of a cycle of odes by the audience. See Felson 2015, 269, n. 11.

between the Sicilian odes and early epic poetry.<sup>9</sup> I place emphasis on the Sicilian odes composed for the victories of Hieron and his associates that contain mythical narratives that in ancient Greek literature represent the act of founding a city<sup>10</sup> (*Ol.* 1, *Pyth.* 1, *Pyth.* 3, *Nem.* 1, *Nem.* 9).<sup>11</sup> These myths have to do with fighting monsters (Zeus and Typhoeus in *Pyth.* 1, Heracles and the Giants in *Nem.* 1), mingling with local women (Pelops and Hippodamia in *Ol.* 1, Apollo and Coronis in *Pyth.* 3, Alpheus and Arethusa in *Nem.* 1, Hades and Persephone in *Nem.* 1), founding athletic games (Adrastus in *Nem.* 9) and receiving posthumous privileges (Pelops in *Nem.* 1).

Regardless of the fragmentary condition of many early Greek epic compositions, it is possible to discern that in Pindar's work there are deviations from the accounts found in early epic poetry. I argue that these alterations in well-known myths are politically motivated.<sup>12</sup> Pindar's victory odes were a localized and highly occasional genre. They were originally commissioned for a specific occasion, to be performed by a chorus assembled and trained for that one original occasion.<sup>13</sup> Pindar seems to localize this mythical material, that is, to make it relevant to the victors and the original audience of the Sicilian odes.

The localization of this material happens in two ways. Pindar emphasizes features of the natural landscape and weaves traditional Greek myths into descriptions of local physical spaces<sup>14</sup> (*Pyth.* 1, *Nem.* 1). In addition to this, the geographical sites of the athletic victories in which foundational acts took place are occasionally connected with the athlete's hometowns (*Ol.* 1, *Nem.* 1, *Nem.* 9).<sup>15</sup> The victor's hometown is once connected with the dominion of the god who is the hero of the foundation narrative (*Pyth.* 3). The poet also draws a parallel between the Deinomenids' historical deeds and the actions of a Panhellenic cultic figure (*Ol.* 1, *Pyth.* 1, *Nem.* 1, *Nem.* 9).<sup>16</sup> In other words, within the context of the Sicilian odes, the athletes by their victory re-enact the acts of foundation done by the hero or god in a primordial time and allows them to be celebrated in the *hic et nunc* of the choral performance.<sup>17</sup> The localization of this mythological material -to the extent that it happens- is an answer to the epichoric concerns of the Deinomenid dynasty. Such epichoric concerns are the legitimization of their claim to rule over their people, to act as colonists and to be respected and honored by their local community.

Although it would have been natural for the poet to localize this traditional material in order to assert the Sicilian victors' right to rule and justify their foundational activity by endowing it with mythical authority, Pindar creates a complex interplay between epichoric and Panhellenic elements within his Sicilian odes. The poet by tying the victors and the Sicilian landscape to well-known Panhellenic myths and sites and

<sup>9</sup> My approach is -in this regard- similar to these of Schwartz 1960, 138–47, 562–70; Kyriakou 1994; D'Alessio 2005b; Stamatopoulou 2017, 52–102.

<sup>10</sup> As Calame has suggested, foundation narratives in ancient Greek literature are closely interwoven with a variety of other repeated motifs or structures that recur both within specific narratives and across narratives treating similar subjects. See Calame 2003, 55–111. For a summary of the most common motifs or structures that represent foundational activities in ancient Greek literature see Segal 1986, 68–71; Dougherty 1993, 15, 61–119, 136–56.

<sup>11</sup> Pindar has composed for Hieron's victories *Ol.* 1 and *Pyth.* 1–3. For the victories of his associates, he has composed numerous victory odes (e.g., *Ol.* 2–6, 10–11, *Isthm.* 2, *Nem.* 1, *Nem.* 9).

<sup>12</sup> See on this the approaches of Calame 2009, 4–5; Beecroft 2010, 8; Brillante 2014, 91–112.

<sup>13</sup> See Nagy 1990, 114.

<sup>14</sup> See Lewis 2019.

<sup>15</sup> Čulumović argues that Pindar often blurs the lines between the site of the victory and the site of the songs' performance. See Čulumović 2016, 350–53.

<sup>16</sup> On the relationship between mythical heroes and athletes in Pindar's odes see Rose 1974, 155–56; Nagy 1990, 199–215; Felson 2015, 267, 275.

<sup>17</sup> According to Burnett, each individual victory by an athlete could be perceived as a re-enactment of a mythical deed of a local hero. See Burnett 2005, 49–50. See also Kirichenko 2016, 6.

letting originally Panhellenic material to resonate<sup>18</sup> through his songs, helps the victors to attain a Panhellenic status and advertises their dynastic claims and colonial activity to the Panhellenes.<sup>19</sup> I suggest that this interplay between epichoric and Panhellenic concerns -as manifested in many of the Sicilian odes- could not have been anything else but a premeditated plan aided by Pindar's use of early epic material to construct his foundation narratives.

## 2. Creating a Regional Monster

Founder heroes, at least in foundation narratives, wish to promote civilization. They are forced to enter into conflict with wild, untamed forces that prevent it. Although Hieron is not presented as slaying any regional monster,<sup>20</sup> in the first *Pythian*, composed for his win in chariot race in 470 BCE, Pindar narrates how Zeus imprisoned Typhoeus under Aetna.<sup>21</sup> Within the context of the first *Pythian*, the Panhellenic myth of Typhoeus is linked to the Sicilian landscape of Mount Aetna, which gives Sicily Panhellenic stature. Moreover, the partial identification between Zeus and Hieron allows Hieron's historical deeds, especially the foundation of Aetna, to be celebrated in the same way as Zeus' defeat of Typhoeus.

A long ago before the foundation of Aetna, in what seems a primordial time,<sup>22</sup> Zeus fights and overcomes a monster in the site of Hieron's new city. The subdued monster does not vanish, instead, Typhoeus becomes a part of the landscape, in other words, a regional monster.<sup>23</sup> He is now visible to all with the effect that his imprisonment has over the Sicilian landscape. A Panhellenic myth is linked to the Sicilian landscape.<sup>24</sup>

In Pindar's account, Typhoeus is one of whom Zeus does not love and are deprived of the ability to enjoy the singing of the Muses (lines 13-14). Typhoeus has a hundred heads and lies in Tartarus (lines 15-16). He is an enemy of the gods: "that enemy of the gods" (θεῶν πολέμιος, line 15). After his defeat, he is imprisoned by the cliffs above Cumae and Sicily which lie heavy on his chest (lines 15-20). Aetna holds the monster down (lines 18-20). Typhoeus lives inside the volcano and causes its activity (lines 21-29).

<sup>18</sup> My approach takes as a premise that the early epic material that resonates through Pindar's *epinicia* for Sicilian victors is traditional. Pindar's appropriation of this material is not a case of mere imitation of specific epic compositions -which I view as representatives of traditions of songs- but a case of traditional referentiality. For the term traditional referentiality see Foley 1999, 33-34; Graziosi 2005, 9. In this case, a collective tradition of early epic poetry resonates through Pindar's words, phrases, motifs or story patterns encountered in his Sicilian odes that contain foundation narratives.

<sup>19</sup> It was essential for Pindar to advertise to a Panhellenic audience the activities of the Sicilian rulers. Hubbard convincingly argues that the Sicilian rulers and their associates were despised in the mainland because they were blamed for not contributing to the Greek cause of the Persian wars. See Hubbard 2004, 74. On the Deinomenids' image in mainland Greece, and their need to engage in a public relations campaign see also Morgan 2015, 25-45. For the "transcendent occasionality" of Pindar's compositions see Nagy 1990, 114.

<sup>20</sup> The defeat of a monster is a typical accomplishment of a city founder. See Trumpf 1958. For the defeat of a monster embedded in a foundation narrative, see the approach of Franzen 2009.

<sup>21</sup> Pindar briefly refers to Typhoeus and Zeus also in *Ol.* 4 for Psaumis of Camarina. The ode, composed around 462 BCE, reveals its association with Hieron by drawing on the image of Typhoeus under Aetna -that Pindar had created in *Pyth.* 1- and embedding it in a prayer to Zeus the Aetnaean. See on this Van de Groenendaal 2010, 393; Nicholson 2016, 241.

<sup>22</sup> As Pavlou remarks, Pindar refers to the past by using the indefinite conjunctions τότε, ὅτε and πότε, followed by a relative pronoun (line 16). As the present is concerned, Pindar normally refers to it by using the adverb νῦν, as in this case (line 17). See Pavlou 2012, 101-2, n. 22. For πότε in Pindar see Young 1983, 35-36, with more bibliography. For the use of time in Pindar's foundation narratives see also Calame 2003, 39.

<sup>23</sup> To the best of my knowledge, Rose was the first to suggest that Pindar in this ode presents Typhoeus as a local monster. See Rose 1974, 156, n. 28.

<sup>24</sup> See Lewis 2017, 2019, 171.

The most well-known account of the battle of Zeus and Typhoeus during Pindar's time was in Hesiod's *Theogony*.<sup>25</sup> The Hesiodic account resonates through Pindar's version of the events.<sup>26</sup> Typhoeus' story is part of the Greek succession myth which explained how Zeus came to rule the gods. According to Hesiod, Typhoeus is the son of Earth and Tartarus who was born after Zeus had driven the Titans from the sky (lines 820-21).<sup>27</sup> Typhoeus was monstrous in form. His most terrifying feature, according to the *Theogony*, was his multiple snake-like heads (lines 823-35). Typhoeus attempted to overthrow Zeus for the supremacy of the cosmos. The two fought a cataclysmic battle. Defeated, Typhoeus was cast into Tartarus (lines 857-63). In Hesiod's account, Zeus after destroying Typhoeus takes up the kingship and apportions honors to the other gods (lines 881-85).

As other contemporary scholars have rightly argued, in the first *Pythian*, Pindar alters the Hesiodic account of the events.<sup>28</sup> The other gods are not mentioned, and we can only speculate that all the other defeated Titans are just names on a list of those whom Zeus does not love. Pindar does not focus on the description of the monster or his terrible features, and the description of their battle is almost absent. Pindar's center of attention is the Mount Aetna and its volcanic activity, which is caused by the monster. The poet describes this activity at length (lines 19-30), mentioning images that may have been familiar to its inhabitants.

Hieron is closely associated with Zeus in this ode. Zeus is said to frequent the Mount Aetna (lines 28-30) which is part of Hieron's new-founded city.<sup>29</sup> Zeus is being called upon as the patron deity of the city of Aetna (lines 29-33).<sup>30</sup> Hieron is described as an *oikist* who glorifies Aetna with his victory: "whose namesake city near at hand was glorified by its renowned founder" (τοῦ μὲν ἑπωνυμίαν / κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκύδανε πόλιν / γείτονα, lines 31-33).<sup>31</sup> Hieron pleases Zeus since the victor had the god's name pronounced by the herald when announcing his victory (lines 29-33).<sup>32</sup> Zeus grants Hieron's success and good fortune and the city's prosperity (lines 68-70). As Pfeijffer argues, the juxtaposition of Zeus presented as the patron deity of the new-founded city, and Hieron, presented as the founder and the benefactor of Aetna, suggests an association between Hieron and Zeus.<sup>33</sup>

Pindar uses a Panhellenic myth to explain a local topographical feature, and its conclusion celebrates Hieron not only as a victor but also as the founder of the new-established Aetna.<sup>34</sup> Hieron is also celebrated as the defender of Greece from the

<sup>25</sup> Eumelus in his *Titanomachy* refers to this battle but almost everything is lost. Tsagalis argues, based on a scholium in Oppian's *Halieutica*, that Eumelus' *Titanomachy* may have included an episode in which Zeus defeated Typhoeus. See Tsagalis 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Pindar's description of the battle has marked linguistic similarities with Hesiod's *Theogony*, as other scholars have suggested. See Debiasi 2008, 90–91; Stamatopoulou 2017, 58–60. The meter used is dactylo-epitritic, a meter closer to the dactylic hexameter than the other meters used by Pindar (e.g., the Aeolic meter). See on this see West 1982, 35, 48, 70; Nagy 1990, 439–64; Maslov 2015, 78–81.

<sup>27</sup> For the *Theogony*, I follow the text and the translation of Most. See Most 2006.

<sup>28</sup> See West 1966, 406; D'Alessio 2009, 140; Scully 2015, 98; Phillips 2018, 270–75.

<sup>29</sup> Hieron founded the cult of the Aetnaean Zeus in his new city. See Nicholson 2016, 242–43. Stamatopoulou believes that the reference to Zeus the Aetnaean recalls Hieron's foundational activities in this ode. See Stamatopoulou 2017, 53.

<sup>30</sup> See Pfeijffer 2005, 19.

<sup>31</sup> I follow the text of Bowra. See Bowra 1980. I follow the translation of Arnson-Svarlien unless otherwise stated.

<sup>32</sup> See Pfeijffer 2005, 19–20.

<sup>33</sup> See Pfeijffer 2005, 20.

<sup>34</sup> See Dougherty 1993, 93–94, 101; Athanassaki 2003, 120–21; Morgan 2015, 20–21; Stamatopoulou 2017, 52–55; Phillips 2018, 261, 270; Lewis 2019, 137–38.

barbarians and a true Panhellenic hero.<sup>35</sup> Zeus' victory over Typhoeus could operate as a symbol of Hieron's prevailing over the Carthaginians and the Etruscans and his subduing of the indigenous people of Aetna.<sup>36</sup> As Zeus defends his supremacy by defeating Typhoeus, Hieron defends Greece from the barbarians (lines 71-80).<sup>37</sup> Hieron, like Zeus, fights untamed forces and when he subdues them, they are sometimes incorporated into his realm.<sup>38</sup> By creating an imprisoned regional monster, Pindar adds local flavor to a Panhellenic story. At the same time, he promotes Hieron's image as a Panhellenic monster-slayer. By letting Hesiodic material to resonate through the ode, Pindar further associates Hieron, his colony, and his own *epinicion* with a Panhellenic audience.

It is likely that Pindar localized another monster in his Sicilian odes. In the first *Nemean*, composed for Chromius' of Aetna victory in the chariot race of 476 BCE, Pindar briefly mentions Heracles' victory against the Giants (lines 62-68). Within the context of this ode, Heracles is under the auspices of Zeus the Aetnaean (lines 1-6), father of Hebe and his father-in-law (lines 69-72).<sup>39</sup> The Giants are depicted as some of the monsters that Heracles will slay: "lawless monsters" (θηρας αἰδροδίκας, line 64). Pindar situates the Gigantomachy in the plain of Phlegra (lines 67-68). As other scholars have suggested, the plain of Phlegra was localized by the fifth century in the fields of Campania and Cumae where Hieron had defeated the Etruscans.<sup>40</sup> Chromius, probably, has taken part in this battle.

The earliest appearances of the Gigantomachy in Greek literature are encountered in early Greek epic. Both Homer and Hesiod narrate this conflict between the gods and the Giants.<sup>41</sup> The Gigantomachy is the subject of many works of art, and it also appears in many variants in later Greek and Latin literature.<sup>42</sup> According to some of these sources, at least one of the Giants, Enceladus, was buried under Aetna.<sup>43</sup> The Gigantomachy was often related to volcanic activity, and it could have provided an *action* for the volcanic activity of Aetna.<sup>44</sup> The hero is not linked with Enceladus or any other Giant that was buried under Mount Aetna in any of the known versions of the myth. Nonetheless, in at least in one of the artistic depictions of the Gigantomachy, the portrayal of Zeus fighting a single Giant in combat bears similarities to other artistic depictions of Zeus fighting Typhoeus.<sup>45</sup> It is mere speculation, but Typhoeus' battle with Zeus in Aetna could have been conflated with Zeus and Heracles' battle against the Giants in a Sicilian

<sup>35</sup> As the importance of Hieron's victory over his enemies had significance only for the west, but minimal impact on the rest of Greece, this can be considered as part of Pindar's plan to extoll Hieron's virtues to the Panhellenes. See Hubbard 2004, 74; Harrell 2006, 132.

<sup>36</sup> See Athanassaki 2003, 121; Harrell 2002, 446-47.

<sup>37</sup> Hieron is credited with defending Hellas from the western barbarians at the battles of Cumae and Himera. See also Pfeijffer 2005, 38-40.

<sup>38</sup> Not all the Sicilians became part of Hieron's colony. Nonetheless, various Sicilians were incorporated into the larger Deinomenid realm and the non-Greeks acknowledged his authority.

<sup>39</sup> Chromius was Hieron's son in law. See Rose 1974, 169, with more bibliography on the similarities of Heracles and Chromius' situation. The reference to Zeus the Aetnaean is a reference to Hieron's foundational activity. See on this Foster 2013, 294-95.

<sup>40</sup> See Slater 1984, 258-59; Morgan 2015, 388; Lewis 2019, 132-33.

<sup>41</sup> See Hom. *Od.* 7.59-61, 10.120 ff.; Hes. *Th.* 184-86. Heracles' battle against the Giants is briefly discussed in fr. 43a MW of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. For the *Catalogue of Women*, I follow the edition of Most (see Most 2007) but I retain the numbering used in the edition of Merkelbach and West.

<sup>42</sup> See Hanfmann 1937 for the evidence in art.

<sup>43</sup> See Callimachus fr. 117; Apollodorus 1.6.1-2. See also Quint. Smyrn. 14.582-85; Verg. *Aen.* 3.578 ff.; Stat. *Theb.* 11.8; Claud. *Rapt.* 1.153-59, 2.151-62, 3.186-87. See also the poem *Aetna* (perhaps written by Lucilius Junior) lines 71-73; Philostr. *VA* 5.16.

<sup>44</sup> See Farnell 1882, 305.

<sup>45</sup> It is the earliest depiction of the Gigantomachy in Greek art (about 580 BCE), found in the pediment of an Archaic temple in Corfu. See Hanfmann 1937, 476, with more bibliography.

myth, just as it was likely conflated in pictorial art. In this case, Pindar repeats a local variant of the myth of the Gigantomachy and allows other variants that were contained in early epic material to resonate through his description, mixing epichoric and Panhellenic elements.

### 3. Mingling with Local Women

In many foundation narratives, founder heroes mingle with local women and create a long line of royal descendants.<sup>46</sup> The descendants of the heroes and the local women are the ancestors of the ruling dynasties of Greek cities. In his need to create mythical models for his honorands to imitate or avoid, since the Deinomenids are not connected by blood to Greek gods or heroes, Pindar employs mythological narratives that come from early epic compositions. Within the context of these odes, Sicily and Aetna are linked to a series of Panhellenic landscapes. Aetna is linked to Olympia (*Ol.* 1). Sicily is linked to the Peloponnese (*Nem.* 1). Hieron's dominion is linked to Delphi (*Pyth.* 3). The landscapes of the Deinomenids' colonies attain a Panhellenic status through the athletic achievements of the victors. Pindar by narrating the affairs of gods and heroes with local women constructs a mythical map of Sicily and Aetna that are linked to various sites of the mainland allowing a local audience to feel that belongs to a broad community. At the same time, the poet emphasizes the victors' ties to sites of Panhellenic importance giving them Panhellenic stature. The fact that Panhellenic poetry resonates through these narratives, adds an additional layer of interplay between epichoric and Panhellenic elements within the Sicilian odes.

In his victory ode for Hieron's victory at a single horse race, Pindar includes a story about the marriage of a Greek hero, Pelops, and a young woman named Hippodamia that took place at a very remote time<sup>47</sup>. This is the first *Olympian*, composed around 476 BCE. As other scholars have suggested, Hieron is linked to Pelops in this ode.<sup>48</sup> According to myth, Pelops became the king of Pisa in the Peloponnese. Pelops won the crown of Pisa or Olympia from King Oenomaus in a chariot race and then married Oenomaus's daughter, Hippodamia. Pelops and Hippodamia have many children.<sup>49</sup>

Pelops' story is encountered in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. Pindar's version is in accordance with the account found in the version of the Hesiodic epic that we have. In the *Catalogue*, fr. 189-191 MW refers to Pelops, Hippodamia, and their offspring, but there is nothing regarding Pelops' meeting with Oenomaus or his wedding to Hippodamia. Fr. 259a MW is quoted by Pausanias, according to whom the fragment belongs to the *Great Ehoiai* and informs us that Oenomaus killed a series of Hippodamia's suitors. According to fr. 259b MW, which is a scholium to Pindar's first *Olympian*, Oenomaus killed thirteen suitors. We are not in a position to know if all the details mentioned in the first *Olympian* were also present in the Hesiodic version of the myth of Pelops. There are no obvious morphological similarities between the fragmentary text of the *Catalogue of Women* and Pindar's account of the myth of Pelops. Pindar's diction in

<sup>46</sup> See Dougherty 1993, 60–76, 146. For the similarities between the process of colonization and marriage see Pl. *Leg.* 776a-b. De Boer argues that Pindar's descriptions of "divine rapes" are "ktistic" stories of the divine origin of the victor's family or his city. See De Boer 2017.

<sup>47</sup> For an analysis of the temporalities of *Ol.* 1 see Athanassaki 2004. For the chronological terms used in this ode see Pavlou 2012, 98.

<sup>48</sup> See Nagy 1990, 293-313; Athanassaki 2003, 121–22; Currie 2005, 311; Eckerman 2013, 17, 25; Foster 2013, 307; Morgan 2015, 226–27.

<sup>49</sup> For the myth of Pelops see Paus. 6.21.9-11.

lines 21-93 is traditional.<sup>50</sup> The meter used in the first *Olympian* is extremely complex.<sup>51</sup> Nonetheless, many modern scholars argue that the Hesiodic account of the myth of Pelops, as encountered in the *Catalogue of Women*, lies behind Pindar's first *Olympian*.<sup>52</sup>

Pindar modifies a diffused version of the myth of Pelops that is represented by the surviving text of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.<sup>53</sup> The poet focuses on the landscape. Olympia is described as a settlement founded by the Lydian Pelops: "in the settlement of fine men founded by Lydian Pelops" (ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικία, line 24), as Aetna was.<sup>54</sup> This reference to Olympia not only unites Pelops as a founder hero of the sanctuary of Olympia, with Pindar's patron, the founder of Aetna, a colony consisting of Peloponnesians but also Aetna with Olympia. The inhabitants of Aetna are encouraged to think that they are part of a community of Peloponnesians. This reference does not only serve epichoric concerns. Both Hieron and Aetna are related to Olympia, a site of Panhellenic importance. At the same time, the audience, is left to make the association with the Panhellenic version of the myth that was represented by the account of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.

The most renowned story about the affair of a god and a local girl is located in the third *Pythian*, composed and performed in 474 BCE for the victory of Hieron in horse race. This is the story of Apollo and Coronis, which results in the miraculous birth of Asclepius. This story is well-known from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. We find this story in fr. 50 MW, 53 MW, 59 MW and 60 MW. All these fragments come from the indirect tradition, except for fr. 59 MW. The Scholiast or the authors who quote them attribute to Hesiod two different versions of the birth of Asclepius. It is possible that the *Catalogue of Women* contained both versions.<sup>55</sup>

According to the first version, Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas, was loved by Apollo but married Ischys, thus incurring the god's wrath. Fr. 60 MW comes from a scholium to Pindar (Schol. *Pyth.* 3.52b = II pp. 70.14-71.3 Drachmann) that may belong to the *Catalogue of Women*<sup>56</sup> and describes how Coronis, impregnated by Apollo, marries Ischys and a crow brings the news to Apollo at Delphi, and Apollo is infuriated. A papyrus fragment (fr. 59 MW), written by the same hand as other *Catalogue* fragments (fr. 10a.55-65, 91-103 MW and 25.21-5 MW), preserves three lines from an *choia* describing a woman almost certainly to be identified with Coronis.<sup>57</sup> This girl is a beautiful, unwed virgin who dwells in Thessaly.

<sup>50</sup> Many words are also encountered in epic compositions, such as: εὐάνορι (line 24) also in Hom. *Od.* 4.622, 13.19; τεύχει (line 30) and in Homer (e.g., *Od.* 1.277, 8.276); φῶτες (line 46) also in epic poetry (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 17.377); βαρύκτυπον (line 72) an epithet of Zeus in Hom. *Hymn Dem.* 3 and Hesiod (*Op.* 79).

<sup>51</sup> See Itsumi 2009, 141-53.

<sup>52</sup> See Krummen 1990, 168-211; Gostoli 1999, 15-24; Hansen 2000, 19-40; Athanassaki 2003, 121-22; Pavlou 2012, 109.

<sup>53</sup> The myth of Pelops as narrated in *Ol.* 1 has provoked much debate among scholars. The bibliography is extensive. See, for example, Kakridis 1930, 463-77; Pini 1976; Nagy 1986, 71-88; Hubbard 1987, 16 n. 2; Burgess 1993; Pitotto 2014.

<sup>54</sup> As other scholars have stressed, it is strange that a part of the Peloponnese, the Greek motherland *par excellence*, is depicted as a colony. I am also of the opinion that Pindar in *Ol.* 1 constructs Olympia as a colony of Pelops to link the colonial enterprise of Pelops with the colonial enterprise of Hieron. See on this Nagy 1990, 293-313; Athanassaki 2003, 121-22; Eckerman 2013, 17; Foster 2013, 307.

<sup>55</sup> See Wilamowitz 1905, 123-24; Edelstein 1945, 24-34; Ercolani 2001; D'Alessio 2005a, 209.

<sup>56</sup> D'Alessio (see D'Alessio 2005a, 208-10, with more bibliography) argues that the most economical solution is to assign Coronis to the *Catalogue* and Arsinoe to the *Great Ehoiai*. On the contrary, Most believes that Coronis was the mother of Asclepius in the *Great Ehoiai* and Arsinoe in the *Catalogue of Women* (see Most 2007, 310-1, n. 24). West (1985, 69-72) claims that Coronis was not featured in the *Catalogue of Women* or that she was not related to Asclepius.

<sup>57</sup> See D'Alessio 2005a, 208; Most 2007, 246-48.



According to another version of Asclepius' birth, the mother of Asclepius is Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus. This version is included in fr. 50 MW, which comes from the indirect tradition. It consists of a scholium to Pindar's third *Pythian* (Schol. *Pyth.* 3.14 = II p. 64.11-20 Drachmann) and of a quotation of Pausanias (2.26.7). According to the Scholiast, Arsinoe or Coronis was the mother of Asclepius. According to Asclepiades, Arsinoe was the daughter of Leucippus and the granddaughter of Perieres. She was pregnant by Apollo and gave birth to Asclepius and, probably, to a daughter named Eriopis. The Scholiast quotes a few verses that might belong to the *Catalogue of Women* that describe the birth of Asclepius in Arsinoe's chambers asserting Apollo's paternity of the child. Pausanias attests that Hesiod, or another poet who interpolated the verses of Hesiod's poems, called Arsinoe the daughter of Leucippus. Arsinoe appears as Apollo's lover and Asclepius' mother in Philodemus' list of the mortal lovers of Poseidon and Apollo, which appeared either in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* or in the *Great Ehoiai* (Phld. *De Pietate* B 7430-46, 7454-80 Obbink). According to fr. 53 MW, which is quoted by a Scholiast of Homer (Schol. D Hom. *Il.* 4.193 = p. 177 van Thiel), Arsinoe or Coronis was the lover, not the mother, of Asclepius and was the mother of his son, Machaon. According to the Scholiast of this Hesiodic fragment, the mother of Machaon was Xanthe in Hesiod's account.

Pindar's version of the affair of Coronis and Apollo is in accordance with the Hesiodic version, according to which Coronis is the mother of Asclepius.<sup>58</sup> In Pindar's third *Pythian*, we learn that Coronis, the daughter of Phlegyas, lived in Thessaly. She was giving birth to Asclepius in her bedroom with the help of Eileithyia when was stricken by the golden arrows of Artemis (lines 8-11). What caused Apollo's wrath was Coronis' infidelity. Coronis had a clandestine affair (line 13) with Ischys, her father's guest from Arcadia. Her fault was even greater because Coronis was already pregnant with Asclepius by Apollo (lines 14-15).

Pindar refers to the crow that is present in the Hesiodic version (fr. 60 MW) at line 27: "but she did not elude the watcher" (οὐδ' ἔλαθε σκοπόν). In the third *Pythian*, we learn that Coronis did not hide from Apollo. Although Apollo was in Pytho, perceived her treachery with the help of his all-knowing mind (lines 27-30). Apollo sent his sister to Lacerea to punish Coronis (lines 31-34). When Coronis was placed in her death pyre, Apollo pitied his offspring and snatched it from her corpse (lines 38-44). The third *Pythian* is composed in dactylo-epitrite. Besides the fact that the diction of these lines has traditional elements,<sup>59</sup> there are explicit parallels between the diction of lines 27-30 and Hesiod's 60 MW, as Stamatopoulou remarks.<sup>60</sup>

In the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 60 MW), special prominence is given to Coronis' affair and the message containing this information. In the third *Pythian*, there is no wedding between Coronis and Ischys. The sole culprit is the mortal woman, not because she was seduced by a god and carried his child but because of her infidelity to her divine lover and her eagerness to mingle with a mortal who lived far away (lines 14-26). Apollo, in this way, is completely exonerated.<sup>61</sup> Emphasis is again placed on a landscape. As Stamatopoulou observes, the poet replaces the Hesiodic phrase "most holy Pytho" (Πυθῶ ἐς ἡγαθέην)<sup>62</sup> with a more elaborate reference to Delphi as a cultic and oracular center.<sup>63</sup> Pindar dedicates several lines to extoll Apollo, the dweller of flock-receiving

<sup>58</sup> See Kyriakou 1994, 32-33; D'Alessio 2005b, 232, 234; Morgan 2015, 277-78; Stamatopoulou 2017, 66-68.

<sup>59</sup> εὐίππου (line 8) also in *Hom. Hymn to Aphrodite* 210; Hes. P. Oxy. 1358.21; δαμείσα (line 9) also in epic poetry (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 18.432); μετχθεῖσα (line 14) and in epic poetry (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 9.275, *Od.* 22.445; Hes. *Theog.* 927, 970).

<sup>60</sup> See Stamatopoulou 2017, 72-75.

<sup>61</sup> See Young 1968, 35-40; Kearns 2013, 57; Stamatopoulou 2017, 72-75.

<sup>62</sup> This translation belongs to Stamatopoulou.

<sup>63</sup> See Stamatopoulou 2017, 71-72.

Delphi who resides in his temple (lines 27-30) and amply describes the god's thoughts and actions (lines 31-46). Pindar celebrates Apollo's power in an ode composed for a victory at a festival in his honor. In this way, he praises the victor who is connected to this site, catering for the encomiastic purposes of the *hic et nunc* of the ode.<sup>64</sup> Hieron's connection with Delphi would have allowed for Asclepius to come to Syracuse to his rescue (lines 63-76). Thanks to Hieron, his city is further linked to the mainland. By relating Hieron to Delphi, a site of Panhellenic importance and the dwell of Asclepius' father, Pindar allows a Panhellenic audience to relate anew with the content of the ode. The poet draws the attention of his epichoric and Panhellenic audience(s) in the fact that the more Panhellenic account of the events, as represented in the Hesiodic composition, lies behind his version of the myth through his use of diction (line 27) and creates a complex interplay between epichoric and Panhellenic elements.

In the first *Nemean* ode for Chromius of Aetna, Pindar refers to stories of local female figures who, according to myth, have been abducted. These are the nymph Arethusa and the goddess Persephone. In lines 1-2, the poet refers to Ortygia as the sacred place where Alpheus breathed again, through which he implicitly mentions the union of Alpheus and Arethusa. The poet proceeds by mentioning Persephone's union with Hades. According to Pindar, Sicily is the wedding gift of Zeus to Persephone (lines 13-18). In the first *Nemean*, Pindar uses the dactylo-epitritic meter, and the short references to the abduction of these female figures abound in what is considered epic vocabulary.<sup>65</sup>

Arethusa was a local nymph of Arcadia. The river god Alpheus pursued her and she had to flee from her homeland and come up as a freshwater fountain on the island of Ortygia. Alpheus insisted and flowed through the sea to mingle with her waters.<sup>66</sup> The earliest source for this story is, probably, Ibycus of Rhegium. While mentioning Olympia, Ibycus described the undersea connection between Olympia and Ortygia by speaking about a "cup of Ortygia" that, thrown into the river at Olympia, would always reappear at Syracuse (fr. 323 *PMG*). There is also a possibility that Hesiod's fr. 360 *MW*, which refers to the Hesperides and attests that one of them was Hesperethusa, refers to the Arethusa who mingled with the river god in the west.<sup>67</sup>

As other scholars have suggested, Arethusa's union with Alpheus operates as a symbol for the union of Sicily with the mainland.<sup>68</sup> More specifically, Arethusa, as part of the Sicilian landscape, is linked to the Peloponnese. The union of the local nymph of Arcadia and the river god also embodies Hieron's colonial plan.<sup>69</sup> In other words, the union of a local nymph with a god expresses both epichoric and Panhellenic concerns. In the case that Arethusa's mingling with the god was also represented in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, it is possible that Pindar created an additional layer of interplay between epichoric and Panhellenic elements letting the epic version resonate through his.

Pindar's text, as we have it, does not attest that Persephone was abducted by Hades. In the first *Nemean* ode, Persephone is only described as the bride of Hades, receiving Sicily as a wedding gift. Nonetheless, according to the Scholiast of Pindar (Schol. ad *Nem.* 1.20), the poet alluded to the Sicilian version of the myth, since Persephone's rape took place on the island of Sicily. Pindar certainly localizes a Panhellenic myth to cater for the epichoric concerns of his patrons. The rape of the goddess was frequently located

<sup>64</sup> See Kyriakou 1994, 33, 39; Stamatopoulou 2017, 71–74.

<sup>65</sup> See, for example, θάλος (line 2) and in epic poetry (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 22.87, *Od.* 6.157; Hom. *Hymn* to Ceres 66, 187); δέμνιον (line 3) and in Homer (e.g., *Il.* 24.644, *Od.* 4.297); κατένευσέν in line 14 and in Homer (e.g., *Il.* 1.524, 558, *Od.* 15.464).

<sup>66</sup> The myth of Arethusa is narrated in many later sources. See Paus. 5.7.1-5; Ov. *Met.* 5.710; Strabo 6.2.4.

<sup>67</sup> See on this Philipps 1953, 55; Malkin 1998, 193; Motta 2016, 372.

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, Dougherty 1993, 68–69; Eckerman 2013, 1–10; Lewis 2019, 31, 56–58, 118.

<sup>69</sup> See Dougherty 1993, 68–69; Foster 2013, 294–95, 316; Lewis 2019, 56–58.

in Sicily in later versions.<sup>70</sup> The earliest source for the localization of the rape in Sicily seems to be Carcinus, a fourth-century-BCE Athenian tragic poet.<sup>71</sup> As well as Carcinus' reference, there are similarities between Pindar's account and other poetic compositions. Pindar uses the verb *μίγνυμι*: "horsemen often wedded to the golden leaves of Olympia's olive" (Ὀλυμπιάδων φύλλοις ἐλαϊᾶν χρυσοῖς / μειχθέντα, lines 17-8,) to describe the association between the Olympic Games and the people of Sicily. The erotic connotations that the verb carries have not been left completely unnoticed by modern scholars,<sup>72</sup> but it is has not been stressed enough that this verb is often encountered in epic poetry to describe a union between a god and a mortal or between two gods.<sup>73</sup> There is also a parallel between Pindar's short description of Zeus' gesture of validation (κατένευσέν, line 14) and *Iliad* 1.527 (ὃ τί κεν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσω, once I bow my head to it).<sup>74</sup> A variant of this verb (νεύω) referring to Zeus' approval of something, and Persephone herself, seems to have been used in the *Minyas* or in the Hesiodic *Descent of Peirithous to Hades*.<sup>75</sup> "[he has come to seek] illustrious Persephone, saying that Zeus whose sport is the thunderbolt [has given approval, and according to the go]ds' customs, to contract for her as his wife" (ἐνωευδε[ ] ἄγαυήν Φερσεφόνειαν / ] ας φὰς ν[εῦσ]αι Δ[ί]α] τερπικέραυνον / ἄθανά] των τε νόμοις, ἵνα ἐδνύσσειεν ἄκ[ο]ιτιν, lines 12-14).<sup>76</sup>

In the first *Nemean*, Zeus is linked to Hieron<sup>77</sup> and the localization of this event in Sicily might have helped him to enchain his image as a founder hero in his subjects' eyes. More specifically, the localization of this foundational Panhellenic mythical event conferred fame, the protection of the goddess and a claim to divine power, as Lewis remarks.<sup>78</sup> Pindar's version of Persephone's story belongs to known to its audience(s) traditional epic contexts that the poet localized. Traces of this more Panhellenic version survive in Pindar's text as we have it.

#### 4. Athletic Games and Posthumous Privileges

Founder heroes are linked to athletic games. They often institute athletic games in foundation narratives.<sup>79</sup> After their death, their tomb is placed in an eminent place and a hero cult is commenced.<sup>80</sup> Their cult sometimes involves athletic games.<sup>81</sup> In Pindar's Sicilian odes, we encounter mythological narratives concerning athletic events. These events are sometimes associated with the posthumous honors that the hero receives. The main character in these narratives is a mythical figure who is somehow linked to the victor. Pindar by associating the victors with these mythological figures keeps fresh in the minds of the local audience the Deinomenids' foundational activity that, in Hieron's case, also involves the foundation of athletic games.<sup>82</sup> The poet also hints at the possibility that

<sup>70</sup> See Diod. Sic. 5.2-5; Cic. Ver. 4.106-8; Ov. Fast. 4.417-620, Met. 5.337-591; Claud. Rapt. passim.

<sup>71</sup> See Carcinus fr. 5.

<sup>72</sup> See Rose 1974, 167, n. 65, 168.

<sup>73</sup> See LSJ s.v. *μίγνυμι*.

<sup>74</sup> See Houghton 1954, 217; Rose 1974, 167. I follow the text and the translation of Murray.

<sup>75</sup> The attribution of P. Ibscher col. i to any of these works is disputable. See on this Merkelbach 1950, 156; Cingano 2009, 127-28; Santamaría Álvarez 2013, 48-51; Tsagalis 2017, 312-15. Merkelbach suggests that it could be part of the *Great Ehoiai*, but this is far from certain (see Santamaría Álvarez's arguments in 2013, 48, n. 13, with more bibliography).

<sup>76</sup> I follow the text and translation of West. See West 2003.

<sup>77</sup> See Rose 1974, 169; Morgan 2015, 387-89; Meister 2019a, 368-69, with more bibliography; Meister 2019b, 105, n. 85.

<sup>78</sup> See Lewis 2019, 81-82.

<sup>79</sup> For example, Heracles, a hero of many foundation narratives, is considered the founder of the Olympic Games. For Heracles as a protagonist of foundation narratives see Lacroix 1974, 38-39; Berman 2017, 43-44.

<sup>80</sup> See Malkin 1987, 193-194.

<sup>81</sup> See Malkin 1987, 206. Ancestral heroes often received annual games in their memory. See Proietti 2014, 207.

<sup>82</sup> Hieron established the short-lived Aetnaean Games in honor of his patron, Zeus of Aetna.

the victors will receive posthumous honors by their communities. At the same time, the victors are linked to sites and heroes of Panhellenic importance and borrow some of their glory. The early epic material that resonates within the context of these odes, creates an additional layer of interplay between epichoric concerns and Panhellenic fame.

Pelops, a figure known from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, as mentioned above, receives posthumous privileges in Pindar's Sicilian odes. According to Pindar, Pelops is the founder of Olympia (*Ol.* 1.24). His tomb is situated beside the ford of the Alpheus and has many visitors. He receives blood sacrifices, as we learn in the first *Olympian* dedicated to Hieron's victory (lines 90-93). Pelops' tomb is honored by the Olympic Games (*Ol.* 1.93-100). Although Pelops is mentioned in the *Catalogue of Women*, it is impossible to know Pindar's alterations of the Hesiodic mythical narrative concerning the exact circumstances of the hero's burial and the particulars of his worship or his role in the foundation of the Olympic Games.

As already suggested, in the first *Olympian*, Pelops seems to operate as an "alias" for Hieron. By referring to Pelops and the *Pelopeion* at Olympia, Pindar further links Pelops, the founder of Olympia, with Hieron, the founder of Aetna, and constructs Hieron and Pelops as prestigious analogs to one another.<sup>83</sup> Hieron, the hero founder and Olympic victor, will receive posthumous honors as Pelops had before him, as Gelon, his brother, has already received.<sup>84</sup> The reference to the tomb of Pelops and his posthumous honors emphasizes the ties between the tyrant and the local founding hero of the Peloponnese and hints at the honors that the tyrant/*oikist* will receive by his local community,<sup>85</sup> catering for Hieron's epichoric concerns. On the other hand, Hieron is again linked to one of the founding heroes of Olympia, a Panhellenic site of worship and, possibly, Panhellenic epic material resonates throughout the ode.

In the ninth *Nemean* ode, composed for the victory of Chromius of Aetna in chariot race around the year 474 BCE, Pindar briefly refers to Adrastus' foundation of the Sicyonian Games (line 9). He then proceeds with depictions of Adrastus as an important hero, in which one of his virtues was founding festivals and contests in his city, that is, Pindar attributes to him a quality that foundation heroes have (lines 11-12). The poet then refers to Adrastus' exile in Sicyon due to his conflict with Amphiaraus (lines 13-17). There is no reference to his posthumous privileges in the ninth *Nemean*. Nonetheless, Adrastus after his death was worshipped in several parts of Greece, as at Megara, at Sicyon where his memory was celebrated in tragic choruses, and in Attica.<sup>86</sup> Adrastus is linked to Chromius because the latter was a victor in the games that the former founded.<sup>87</sup> Chromius was also connected to Adrastus, as they were both transplanted from another city and tried to establish a new political order in place of the old.<sup>88</sup>

According to myth, Adrastus succeeded Polybus on the throne of Sicyon because the king died without heirs. Adrastus during his reign in Sicyon is said to have instituted the Nemean Games. This story is attested by various sources.<sup>89</sup> The only source coming from the Archaic times that refers to Adrastus' reign in Sicyon is Homer. Adrastus appears in the *Iliad* amidst the catalog of the Greek kings, heroes, and ships that have come to

<sup>83</sup> See Slater 1989, 491-94, 499; Currie 2005, 311; Eckerman 2013, 26.

<sup>84</sup> Gelon had received a hero cult upon his death in 478 BCE, just two years before the victory celebrated in *Ol.* 1. See Eckerman 2013, 26; Morgan 2015, 245.

<sup>85</sup> Hieron's cult as an *oikist* might have started or been planned many years before his demise, that is, during the composition of Pindar's Sicilian odes. According to Diodorus, Hieron desired a hero cult while he was still alive (11.49.2, 11.66.4). Pindar promoted Hieron's cult as an *oikist*, as we know from his *hyporchema* for Hieron (fr. 105b S-M) where he refers to the heroic honors that Hieron will receive at Aetna.

<sup>86</sup> See Hdt. 5.67; Paus. 1.30.4, 1.43.1.

<sup>87</sup> Chromius won a chariot competition at a festival at Sicyon. See on this Hubbard 1992, 79.

<sup>88</sup> See Hubbard 1992, 109.

<sup>89</sup> See Hdt. 5.67; Paus. 2.6.3.

Troy (2.572). Adrastus also seems to appear in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 192 MW). The Scholiast of the *Iliad* (23.679b) who quotes the fragment, mentions that Argea, the daughter of Adrastus, came to Oedipus' funeral in Thebes. We are not in a position to know whether the *Catalogue* or another epic poem contained references to Adrastus' foundational activity during his reign.<sup>90</sup> There is no reference in early Greek epic to his cult. Nonetheless, Adrastus' story appears in catalogic (i.e., traditional) material. The brevity of the reference to Adrastus in the *Iliad* is an indication that the same theme was treated in greater detail in another epic, perhaps genealogic, poem, if not in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. The institution of the games in Sicyon is, usually, attributed to Cleisthenes.<sup>91</sup> It is likely that Pindar's version was based on a local Sicyonian tradition.<sup>92</sup>

Pindar's reference to Adrastus' founding of athletic games reminds to the audience the Deinomenid's foundation of the Aetnaean Games. Sicyon is linked to Aetna from the first lines of this ode as the Muses are summoned to proceed from Sicyon to Aetna, Chromius' homeland (lines 1-5). Aetna is linked to the mainland through Chromius' victory and Adrastus' myth is localized. In the case that Adrastus' death and worship were the subject of early Greek epic poetry, Pindar by letting this material resonate through his ode points to the commence of a cult of Chromius by his local community.<sup>93</sup> At the same time, the reference to Adrastus, not only assists Chromius in solidifying his links with the Dorians of the Peloponnese who formed half of Aetna's new population<sup>94</sup> but connects the victor with a Panhellenic cultic figure creating an interplay between epichoric and Panhellenic concerns within the ode.

## 5. Conclusion

In his *epinicia* for Hieron and Chromius, Pindar employs Panhellenic mythological narratives. These narratives consist of repeated motifs and appear to form a series or cycle of odes. These mythological narratives describe the whole process of the foundation of a city: a god or a hero deals with "regional" masters, mixes with women, gets connected with athletic games, and receives posthumous privileges. According to Pindar, some of these events took place at a very remote time. In some of the Sicilian odes, this time is marked as such (*Ol.* 1, *Pyth.* 1). The best representatives of the oral tradition to which these narratives belonged to were early epic compositions. Indeed, some of these narratives are encountered in traditional epic material and others belonged to similar contexts. The diction of these mythological narratives in Pindar usually contains what is regarded as "epic" vocabulary, and most of the odes in which they are found are in the dactylo-epitrite meter (*Pyth.* 1, *Pyth.* 3, *Nem.* 1, *Nem.* 9). At times, the poet marks his "allusive" activity by using specific words that recall the former context of the mythological narratives he rejects (e.g., in *Pyth.* 3.27).<sup>95</sup>

The poet tries -to some extent- to localize these Panhellenic mythological narratives; thereby making them relevant to his patrons and the original audience of the Sicilian odes. The battle of Zeus and Typhoeus is localized in Aetna (*Pyth.* 1). The same is probably true for the Gigantomachy that is localized in the fields of Campania and Cumae (*Nem.* 1). Persephone's rape is localized in Sicily (*Nem.* 1). Arethusa mingles with Alpheus in Ortygia and links Hieron's dominion with the mainland (*Nem.* 1).

<sup>90</sup> Some scholars have tried to reconstruct a lost epic tradition that has as its theme Adrastus' foundation of the athletic games in Sicyon. See Hubbard 1992, 86, n. 18, with more bibliography on this. Hubbard rightly argues that every attempt to reconstruct this tradition is doomed to fail (see Hubbard 1992, 86, 91, n. 31).

<sup>91</sup> See Hdt. 5.67.

<sup>92</sup> See Hubbard 1992, 92.

<sup>93</sup> Currie argues that there are indications of Chromius' worship in Pindar's odes. See Currie 2005, 1-2.

<sup>94</sup> See Hubbard 1992, 80, 108.

<sup>95</sup> Maybe also in *Ol.* 1.36. The versions of the myth of Pelops that the poet omits could have been the subject of early epic compositions.

The Deinomenids' land is linked to Olympia (*Ol.* 1), Delphi (*Pyth.* 3), and Sicyon (*Nem.* 9) through the athletic achievements of Hieron and Chromius. Pindar builds links between the Deinomenids' dominion and the mainland and allows the original audience of the Sicilian odes to feel part of a wide community.

In these odes, the one who acts, a hero or a god, is frequently linked to the victor. Pelops has a connection with Hieron in the first *Olympian*. Zeus is associated with Hieron within the context of the first *Pythian*. Heracles is connected to Chromius in the first *Nemean*. Adrastus is associated with Chromius in the ninth *Nemean*. In this way, the victory of the athlete operates as a re-enactment of the mythical deed of the character who originally performed it. In other words, the Sicilian athletes vicariously participate in foundation acts that took place in the past. Hieron battles untamed forces, creates a dynasty of descendants, is linked to athletic games and will receive posthumous honors. Chromius takes part in battles and has a connection with the foundation of athletic events. The identification between the victors and these figures allows the Deinomenids' historical deeds, especially the foundation of Aetna, to be celebrated in the same way as these past foundational activities. In this way, Pindar extolls Hieron's fervent colonial vision legitimizing and celebrating his recent colonial activity in front of the original audience of the Sicilian odes; thus, Pindar caters for his patrons' epichoric concerns. Hero-cult might have been one of these concerns.<sup>96</sup>

The epichoric concerns of the Sicilian victors and the original audience were relevant only to them and Pindar. Nonetheless, it is well-known that Pindar's victory odes were re-performed. Indeed, in the Sicilian odes, Pindar does not hesitate to refer to the wider fame that the victor can attain through his song (e.g., *Ol.* 1.6-11, 115-6), hinting at the athlete's literary immortality through his poetry (*Pyth.* 1.92-94). Modern scholars have compellingly argued that Pindar has created the potential for a re-performance of his odes, i.e., the potential for their Panhellenic dissemination by the manipulation of space<sup>97</sup> and time;<sup>98</sup> the Sicilian odes are not an exception to this. Pindar's poetry within the context of the Sicilian odes is tied to various Panhellenic sites. His Sicilian odes can be re-performed in either of these sites. By placing the accomplishments of Panhellenic gods and heroes at a remote time in some of these odes, Pindar also creates mixed temporalities. A Panhellenic audience could easily relate to the Panhellenic foundation narratives -even when they were localized- that are said to have taken place at a different time than the time of the first performance of the Sicilian odes.

I suggest that Pindar found an additional way to inscribe into his Sicilian odes their potential for their re-performance by imbuing them with a Panhellenic quality. The very fact that early epic poetry often resonates in Pindar's mythological narratives situates them within the complex network of Panhellenic poetry. Since the nature of most of early epic material is traditional, we should take into account that these mythological narratives could operate as hypertextual tools. As Tsagalis argues, "by selecting a name ( ... ) the bard opens a path to the hypertextual web of myth, to a labyrinthine mental adventure where relevance is open-ended and conceptual navigation the norm".<sup>99</sup> This early epic material, not only refers to traditions other than the one that it belongs to, but also functions as a hypertextual tool that aids the composer and the audience in engaging in a

<sup>96</sup> Hero-cult is often the cause of localizing Panhellenic myth. See on this Currie 2005, 56; Nagy 2005, 80–81, 107, 113; Nagy 2012, 34–35, 38, 47.

<sup>97</sup> For Pindar's manipulation of space hitting at the re-performance of his odes, see especially the influential work of Lewis 2019. There is a vast bibliography regarding the re-performances of Pindar's odes. I indicatively mention Nagy 1990, 157–98, 410; Currie 2004; Hubbard 2004; Morrison 2007; Budelmann 2017; Currie 2017.

<sup>98</sup> See Calame 2003, 39. According to Budelmann, Pindar creates in his odes mixed temporalities that hint at their re-performance. See Budelmann 2017, 43–49.

<sup>99</sup> See Tsagalis 2010, 323.

complex intertextual web. In other words, the “intertextuality” of Pindar’s Sicilian odes with these Panhellenic epic compositions, allows a Panhellenic audience to better relate to their content. In this way, Pindar’s foundation narratives became an additional way for the Panhellenic concerns of the Sicilian victors to be diffused to a Panhellenic audience, aiding the Deinomenids to attain Panhellenic fame.

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