# PINDAR'S *OLYMPIAN* 4: PSAUMIS AND CAMARINA AFTER THE DEINOMENIDS

NIGEL NICHOLSON

Ἐλατὴρ ὑπέρτατε βροντᾶς ἀκαμαντόποδος
Ζεῦ· τεαὶ γὰρ Ὧραι
ὑπὸ ποικιλοφόρμιγγος ἀοιδᾶς ἑλισσόμεναί μ' ἔπεμψαν
ὑψηλοτάτων μάρτυρ' ἀέθλων·
ξείνων δ' εὖ πρασσόντων
ἔσαναν αὐτίκ' ἀγγελίαν ποτὶ γλυκεῖαν ἐσλοί·
ἀλλὰ Κρόνου παῖ, ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις
ἶπον ἀνεμόεσσαν ἑκατογκεφάλα
Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου,
Οὐλυμπιονίκαν
δέξαι Χαρίτων θ' ἕκατι τόνδε κῶμον,

χρονιώτατον φάος εὐρυσθενέων ἀρετᾶν.
Ψαύμιος γὰρ ἵκει
ὀχέων, ὃς ἐλαίᾳ στεφανωθεὶς Πισάτιδι κῦδος ὄρσαι
σπεύδει Καμαρίνᾳ. θεὸς εὔφρων
εἴη λοιπαῖς εὐχαῖς·
ἐπεί νιν αἰνέω, μάλα μὲν τροφαῖς ἑτοῖμον ἵππων,
χαίροντά τε ξενίαις πανδόκοις,
καὶ πρὸς Ἡσυχίαν φιλόπολιν καθαρᾷ
γνώμᾳ τετραμμένον,
οὐ ψεύδεϊ τέγξω
λόγον· διάπειρά τοι βροτῶν ἔλεγχος·

ἅπερ Κλυμένοιο παῖδα
Λαμνιάδων γυναικῶν ἔλυσεν ἐξ ἀτιμίας.
χαλκέοισι δ' ἐν ἔντεσι νικῶν δρόμον
ἔειπεν Ὑψιπυλείᾳ μετὰ στέφανον ἰών·
'οὗτος ἐγὼ ταχυτᾶτι·
χεῖρες δὲ καὶ ἦτορ ἶσον. φύονται δὲ καὶ νέοις
ἐν ἀνδράσιν πολιαί
θαμάκι παρὰ τὸν ἁλικίας ἐοικότα χρόνον.'

Highest charioteer of tireless-footed thunder, Zeus! Your Hours,
circling under the song of the varied lyre, have sent me
as witness of the most lofty games.
When friends do well
at once do good men fawn at the sweet news.
But son of Cronos, who hold Etna,

*Classical Philology* 106 (2011): 93–114
 0009-837X/11/10602-0001$10.00

the windy weight on mighty hundred-headed Typhos,
receive the Olympic victor
and this procession with the aid of the Graces,

A long-lived light of wide-strengthed excellences. For it comes, [the procession]
for Psaumis,
for his car—crowned with Pisatan olive he hastens to raise up glory
for Camarina. May the god look kindly
on his future prayers.
For now I praise him as a man who is most ready in the breeding of horses,
who rejoices in all-receiving hospitality,
and who is turned with pure mind to city-loving Peace.
Not with falsehood will I stain
my word. Trial is the proof of men.

This once freed the son of Clymenos
from the dishonor of the Lemnian women.
Winning the race in bronze armor,
he said to Hypsipyle as he advanced to the crown:
"This is how fast I am,
and my hands and heart are a match. Even on young men
do grey hairs often grow
before the proper time of life."

(Pindar, *Olympian* 4)[1]

*OLYMPIAN* 4, PINDAR'S ODE FOR PSAUMIS OF CAMARINA, is unique among the odes Pindar wrote to celebrate Sicilian equestrian victories in that it dates after the fall of the Deinomenids.[2] Celebrating a victory of 452 or 456,[3] the ode belongs to the messy period of Sicilian history that followed the collapse of the Deinomenid regime and the violent unraveling of their system of foundations, population relocations, and mercenary settlements. This, perhaps, explains its relative neglect.[4] Yet it is the ode's date that makes it particularly interesting, since, on the one hand, it belongs to the period after the Deinomenids and celebrates a victor from a city founded after their fall, while, on the other hand, it clearly looks back to and links Psaumis to the defunct regime of Hieron.[5] It is the relationship between Psaumis and Hieron that this paper examines.

Sincere thanks are due to the anonymous readers who refereed this piece for *CP*. Thanks also to my colleagues, Matt Panciera and Alan Earhart, at the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies, Catania, 2008–09, as well as the students, who happily fostered my interest in Camarina, even in the pouring rain.

1. Text is from Snell-Maehler 1987. All translations are my own. For the understanding of lines 10–11, see Barrett 2007, 41.

2. The case that [Pind.] *Ol.* 5 is not by Pindar is compelling; see Instone 1992, 179–80, and Barrett 2007, 46–53; contra Hamilton 1972, 342–49, and Mader 1990, 109–13.

3. Following schol. *ad Ol.* 4 (inscription), Gerber (1987, 7–8) dates *Ol.* 4 to the chariot race of 452. Mader (1990, 14) and Barrett (2007, 40–46), however, defend the date of 456 (and argue that the ode celebrates the same mule-cart victory as *Ol.* 5), but their arguments, while strong, are not conclusive, as Gerber and Schmitz (1992, 142–45) show. 452 seems to me more likely, but the argument of this paper does not depend on this dating, since both dates place the ode after the mercenary settlement and before the fall of Ducetius. All dates are B.C.E.

4. Morrison 2007, for example, focuses on the Sicilian odes from 476 to 466. Gerber 1987 and Mader 1990 stimulated some German activity (Schmitz 1992, 1994, and Dräger 1997), but these works do not attempt to read the ode within its historical context.

5. On the period, see Manganaro 1974/75, 9–19.

This paper argues that *Olympian* 4 both evokes Hieron's old order and reconfigures it, rendering Psaumis both a link to the past and a new way forward. Part 1 argues that the ode appeals unmistakably to Hieron's political order, and not just Pindar's *Pythian* 1, and Part 2 argues that there was a significant population of veteran mercenaries in the new Camarina who were receptive to this appeal. Part 3 shows, however, that the vision offered by the ode also differs sharply from Hieron's in how it figures the native Sicels and, in fact, revises Hieron's vision to suit the new realities of the rise of Sicel nationalism and the success of Ducetius' state building. Psaumis' reasons for articulating a more positive model of Greek-Sicel relations at such a juncture do not need a personal explanation, but a final coda, Part 4, considers the possibility that Psaumis' unusual name acted as a sign that he and his family were political supporters of the Sicels.

*Olympian* 4 can only be properly understood within the particular context of Sicilian politics in the 450s. It uses a symbolic vocabulary established by Hieron and his regime, responds to specific political developments in the period after the fall of the Deinomenids, and speaks to specific groups within Camarina. The history of Camarina and southeastern Sicily in this period is far from complete,[6] but a variety of sources beyond Diodorus are available—including a fragment of a history of Sicily, perhaps that of Philistos, that turned up at Oxyrhynchus (*P Oxy* 665, *FGrH* 577 F.1), the coins minted by the different cities, and the various material remains uncovered by the active regional Superintendency—and *Olympian* 4 can be fruitfully read against these sources.

## 1. *OLYMPIAN* 4 AND HIERON

The most pressing question raised by *Olympian* 4 is why it so overtly alludes to Hieron. A connection to *Pythian* 1 has been noted, but no political significance is accorded to this connection.[7] Yet the allusions underpin two central moments of *Olympian* 4. First, the description of "hundred-headed mighty Typhos" (ἑκατογκεφάλα Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου, *Ol.* 4.7) pressed down by Etna clearly recalls the famous purple passage in *Pythian* 1 where "hundred-headed Typhos, enemy of the gods" (θεῶν πολέμιος / Τυφὼς ἑκατονταπάρανος, *Pyth.* 1.15–16), is also trapped by Etna. Pindar, in *Pythian* 1, was the first poet to locate Typhos under Etna, presumably in response to the recent eruption of the volcano, so the allusion is undeniable.[8] Second, the two odes recommend a similar civic order through accessing the key idea of peace: Pindar's prayer to Zeus the Accomplisher in *Pythian* 1 that Hieron "honor the people and turn them to harmonious peace" (δᾶμον γεραίρων τράποι σύμφωνον ἐς ἡσυχίαν,

6. For the history of Camarina, see Di Stefano 1987; Di Vita 1987; Manni 1987; Luraghi 1994, 150–65, 275–76, 288–304; Cordano 1992, 3–15, and 2004; Anello 2000.

7. Gerber (1987, 13, 19–20) notes only the parallels; Morrison (2007, 110–12) sees the ode as imitating both *Ol.* 3 and *Pyth.* 1 in order to create a Pindaric tone. The evidence for *Ol.* 3 is not compelling, however. ἀκαμαντόποδος ("tireless-footed," *Ol.* 4.1, cf. *Ol.* 3.3) is the one striking link, but is also used in *Ol.* 5.3 (dated by Morrison after *Ol.* 4).

8. Griffith 1978, 117–20. [Aesch.] *PV* 363–72 followed Pindar's lead in *Pyth.* 1, and perhaps *Ol.* 4 also, since ἰπούμενος (*PV* 365) and ἶπον (*Ol.* 4.7) seem to be linked. If *PV* dates after *Ol.* 4, then it drew on the Pindaric narrative established in both odes, but if *PV* predates *Ol.* 4, then *Ol.* 4 imitated *PV*'s imitation of *Pyth.* 1.

*Pyth*. 1.70) is reconstituted in Pindar's praise of Psaumis as "turned with pure mind to city-loving Peace" (πρὸς Ἡσυχίαν φιλόπολιν καθαρᾷ γνώμᾳ τετραμμένον, *Ol*. 4.16).

That these allusions have a political, and not just aesthetic, significance is demonstrated by the fact that Typhos appears in a prayer to Zeus Aitnaios (*Ol*. 4.6–9):

ἀλλὰ Κρόνου παῖ, ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις
ἶπον ἀνεμόεσσαν ἑκατογκεφάλα
Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου,
Οὐλυμπιονίκαν
δέξαι Χαρίτων θ' ἕκατι τόνδε κῶμον . . .

But son of Cronos, who hold Etna,
the windy weight on mighty hundred-headed Typhos,
receive the Olympic victor
and this procession with the aid of the Graces . . .

The invocation should surprise: there is no evidence that Zeus Aitnaios had a cult in Camarina in this period,[9] and Mount Etna is not even visible from Camarina, which is located about 100 kms to the southwest of Katane, beyond the Hyblaean mountain spur.

Why, then, is Zeus Aitnaios invoked? On one level, Psaumis' stature is exaggerated, as he is envisaged not just as a Camarinaean victor returning to Camarina, but as a Sicilian victor returning to Sicily.[10] Yet to see Zeus Aitnaios as a simple periphrasis for Sicily is inadequate, since the cult of Zeus Aitnaios was deeply implicated in Hieron's political order. Hieron likely established the cult on the slopes of Etna in the wake of its eruption in the early 470s and made it central to his refoundation of Katane as Aitna soon afterwards.[11]

Not surprisingly, Zeus Aitnaios was prominent in Hieron's propaganda. The Zeus "who range[s] over this mountain [Etna]" (ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, *Pyth.* 1.30) took a prominent role in *Pythian* 1, where he served to link the punishment of Typhos under the mountain to the new "namesake city" (ἐπωνυμίαν / πόλιν, *Pyth.* 1.30–31) that Hieron had founded. Second, the fine tetradrachm issue from Aitna's mint, which survives in only one example in a private collection, surely dates to the same period. On the obverse can be found a quadriga of the Syracusan type, driven by Athena Polias, while on the reverse appears Zeus, seated on a throne and accompanied by an eagle. As Giacomo Manganaro suggests, this is surely a representation of the cult statue of Zeus Aitnaios.[12] Finally, it is a fair guess that Aechylus' *Aitnaians*, also from this period, featured the constitution of the cult as well as the foundation

9. Manganaro (1974/75, 38–39 n. 106) locates a cult of Zeus Aitnaios in Camarina on the basis of *Ol*. 4. Zeus Aitnaios is, however, absent from the long list of cult sites and deities in *Ol*. 5 (on which, see Manni 1987, 74). The cult certainly spread in the Hellenistic period (Diod. Sic. 34.10), but, contra Manganaro 1974/75, 20, and Luraghi 1994, 340 n. 295, Pind. *Ol*. 6.96 provides no evidence that it was instituted in Syracuse in the 470s. The altars likely date from the rule of Hieron II.

10. So schol. *ad*. *Ol*. 4.1g and Gerber 1987, 8–9.

11. Luraghi 1994, 339–41.

12. Manganaro 1974/75, 19–21, 33–39.

of the city: its many scene changes mimed the transformation of the natural landscape into the political landscape of Hieron's regime.[13]

Thus, while the prayer to Zeus Aitnaios in *Olympian* 4 binds the ode further to *Pythian* 1, the allusion should not be restricted to the ode, but reaches out to the larger political order of Hieron. Pindar was not spicing up the ode by alluding to earlier purple passages whose political meaning had been lost but aggressively associating Psaumis with Hieron's rule.

The allusion to Hieron in *Olympian* 4 is the culmination of a sustained effort to imitate the earlier Sicilian tyrants. Psaumis' pursuit of equestrian glory at Olympia finds its Sicilian precedents in Gelon, Hieron, Theron, and Anaxilas,[14] as do his lavish celebrations, his epinician odes, and the handsome entertainments at the site of the games flagged in *Olympian* 5.[15] Further, although Psaumis was certainly not the founder of his new city (that was, presumably, still Hippocrates),[16] he seems to have emulated the role of founder coveted by the tyrants by playing a central role in the rebuilding of the new city: *Olympian* 5 also takes care to mention how he "swiftly fixed together a high-limbed grove of sturdy rooms" for the townsmen of Camarina (κολλᾷ τε σταδίων θαλάμων ταχέως ὑψίγυιον ἄλσος, *Ol.* 5.13)[17] and casts him as its special benefactor by describing him as "bringing his people of townsmen from helplessness into light" (ὑπ' ἀμαχανίας ἄγων ἐς φάος τόνδε δᾶμον ἀστῶν, *Ol.* 5.13–14).[18]

Yet, while Psaumis' behavior seems to be modeled on the general pattern of the Sicilian tyrant, there is good reason to think, as *Olympian* 4 suggests, that Hieron was Psaumis' particular target. First, Hieron outdid the other tyrants in his equestrian endeavors and epinician celebrations, with three Olympic victories at three consecutive games and seven epinician odes (including those for his Pythian victories). Second, Hieron pursued these activities with a particular style that Psaumis seems to have imitated. Before Psaumis, only Hieron, among the Sicilian lords, commissioned epinician poems from more than one poet. The Emmenids had stuck with Pindar, and the Anaxilids, if indeed Leophron also won at Olympia, stuck with Simonides.[19] Psaumis, by contrast, patronized both Pindar and the probably local poet who wrote *Olympian* 5.[20]

13. Manganaro 1974/75, 20–21; and Dougherty 1993, 88–90.

14. For the Olympic victories of these tyrants, see Moretti 1957, 84, 89, 90, 92–93.

15. *Ol.* 5.5–6, with Barrett 2007, 49–50. There is no record of Hieron making such a display at Olympia, but it would be surprising if he had not. First, three other Sicilian equestrian victors are said to have done so: Anaxilas (Heraclides Lembus [55 Dilts]), Anaxilas' son Leophron, and the older Empedocles of Acragas, the grandfather of the philosopher (Ath. 1.3.e). Second, if odes were performed at the place of victory at the festival following the victory, as Hubbard (2004, 75–80) argues, such performances would be an obvious occasion for a handsome feast. Contra Moretti 1957, 93–94, Leophron was likely the host of his father's celebration, as Molyneux (1992, 212–14) and Luraghi (1994, 219–20) argue. Leophron did not serve as the driver, however; see Nicholson 2005, 1–94.

16. On Hippocrates' refoundation of Camarina, see Luraghi 1994, 156–65, 275–76.

17. Taking Psaumis as the subject of κολλᾷ, as do Manni (1987, 73) and Barrett (2007, 44–45).

18. Hornblower (2004, 191 n. 238) notes the lavishness of the praise. "Benefactor" may have been another title coveted by the tyrants; see Currie 2005, 170–71, 285–91.

19. Simonides did not write for the Emmenids, as demonstrated by Podlecki (1979, 6–7) and Luraghi (1994, 239–40 n. 42); see, contra, Molyneux 1992, 233–36. According to Ath. 1.3.e, Leophron commissioned Simonides to celebrate an Olympic victory, but see n. 15 above.

20. On the authorship of *Ol.* 5, see n. 2 above.

This imitation of Hieron is astounding. At the time of the ode, 456 or 452, Hieron is dead, and the regime that he ruled as tyrant has collapsed and been replaced in many of the cities of the old Deinomenid sphere by democracies (of some kind); indeed, the whole geography of the Deinomenid empire had been rearranged.[21] The new city of Camarina owed its being to the fall of the Deinomenids: the previous city had been destroyed by Gelon, who saw no place for a large city so close to his new Syracuse, and needed its people to bolster his city.[22] The city of Aitna that Hieron had founded on the site of Katane and celebrated in *Pythian* 1 had been retaken by the original inhabitants and returned to its original name; the cult of Zeus Aitnaios had probably been removed, along with the founder cult of Hieron, to Inessa, on the slopes of Etna, by the people Hieron had settled in Aitna.[23] Psaumis' ode recalls a lost world order, and for many in the brave new world of the 450s, this was an order, and an idea, they had rejected: the Syracusans saw the importance of the idea as much as the institutions when, to mark the expulsion of Thrasyboulos and the end of Deinomenid rule, they erected a colossal statue of Zeus Eleutherios and instituted a lavish annual Eleutheria.[24] Psaumis' championing of Hieron's old cult of Zeus Aitnaios in *Olympian* 4 could be seen as defying the new Syracusan cult of Zeus Eleutherios.

## 2. Mercenaries and the Old Order

*Olympian* 4's consistent allusions to *Pythian* 1 thus cannot be explained simply in aesthetic terms; a political explanation must instead be sought that links this nostalgia for Hieron's order with the contemporary politics of Camarina. This section will argue that the new Camarina contained a significant population of mercenaries, veterans from Hieron's and Gelon's wars who had been expelled from Syracuse after Thrasyboulos' expulsion. Psaumis was himself a leader of this group and, by evoking Hieron's order, he was appealing to, and nourishing, this group's support for Hieron and concerns about the post-Deinomenid order.

Camarina was refounded soon after the "general agreement" reached in 461/60 between the Deinomenids' veteran mercenaries and Syracuse and other cities, including Gela.[25] Timaeus described Camarina's foundation as a synoecism, so that it is clear that the population was drawn from more than one group. Previous residents of Camarina, current residents of Gela,

21. Diod. Sic. 11.68, 72–73, 76; also Strabo 6.2.3. The claim of Diod. Sic. 11.68.5 that Syracuse set up democracies in the other cities ruled directly or indirectly by the tyrants is an exaggeration borne of his lack of interest in other Sicilian cities (Manganaro 1974/75, 12–15), but there were surely other democracies than Syracuse.

22. Cordano (1990, 445–46, and 2004, 284–55) argues that some residents of the new Camarina had lived in the previous one. We might expect some of these to be unfavorably disposed to Hieron, particularly if, as Luraghi (1994, 275–76) suggests, the previous city constituted a power base for mercenaries loyal to Hippocrates and his sons.

23. Diod. Sic. 1.76. For the transfer of the cult, Aitna's superb series of tetradrachms that featured Zeus Aitnaios and Silenus provides good evidence. Given that the dies were made by the Master of Silenus, who also designed dies for Naxos, Manganaro (1974/75, 33–39) dates the series to after 450, which means that the series was minted in Aitna-Inessa, which in turn implies that the cult moved to Inessa.

24. Diod. Sic. 11.72.2; cf. Barrett 1973, 34–35.

25. Diod. Sic. 11.76.5; Cordano 2004, 283–92; Barrett 2007, 44–45.

the mother city, as well as new settlers from Crete and Rhodes, Gela's own founders, offer obvious candidates, and onomastic studies confirm a Cretan component.[26] Onomastics also suggests a Sicel component,[27] a conclusion supported by Camarina's history and material culture. In the middle of the sixth century, Camarina had formed an alliance with the surrounding Sicel communities against its mother city, Syracuse,[28] and there is considerable evidence of a strong Greek presence in the nearby Sicel towns in this period, as the remarkable "Warrior of Castiglione" testifies.[29]

One further constituency in the new Camarina was provided by Hieron's veteran mercenaries. The primary evidence that a substantial contingent of mercenaries settled in Camarina comes from its coinage. As Manganaro observes, the bronze coinage minted by Camarina from around 420 shared a number of contemporary Tegean motifs: a helmeted head of Athena, a frontal-facing Gorgon head, and an owl.[30] The presence of Tegean motifs on this later issue suggests a large and influential population with Tegean connections, and this was surely provided by the families of Deinomenid veteran mercenaries, as Hieron and Gelon recruited their mercenaries heavily from Arcadia, among other parts of the Peloponnese. Arcadians seem to have occupied a disproportionate number of leadership roles in the Deinomenid regime. A number of named individuals who emigrated from Arcadia to join Gelon and Hieron are known: Hagesias the victor celebrated by Pindar's *Olympian* 6, who moved to Syracuse from Stymphalos; Praxiteles, who moved to Syracuse from Mantinea via Camarina; and Phormis, who moved from Maenalus,[31] and Manganaro conjectures that wealthy Arcadians provided the leadership and finance that enabled other Peloponnesians, such as the Messenians, to emigrate to Sicily.[32]

The Camarinaean coinage that displays the Tegean motifs only appears around 420, around forty years after Camarina's foundation, but the focus on Athena indicates continuity with its first issue after its refoundation. These silver litrai featured a helmeted standing Athena on the reverse, with the snakes of the gorgoneion clearly protruding from behind her back.[33] As Camarina's patron deity, Athena was an obvious enough symbol for its coins, but this iconography represents a break from the previous Geloan foundation's coinage, which featured a helmet on a shield on the obverse and a palm tree flanked by greaves on the reverse.[34] Given the symbol's later elaboration

26. Timaeus, *FGrH* 566 F 19a–b; Cordano 1990, 445–46; 2004, 284–85; 2009, 46.

27. On the meaning of ethnonyms such as Sikanos, see Agostiniani 1988/89, 191–93; Cordano 2009, 43–44; and Part 4 below.

28. Philistos, *FGrH* 556 F5; schol. *ad* [Pind.] *Ol*. 5.16; Manni 1987, 69–72; Di Stefano 1988/89, 89–90.

29. Di Stefano 1988/89; Holloway 1991, 89–91. On the Warrior of Castiglione, see Di Stefano 2000, Cordano 2000, Anello 2000.

30. Manganaro 1974/75, 36; for the issue, see Westermark and Jenkins 1980, 86–91. Head (1967, 454) dates Tegea's earliest coinage to around 420, but excavations at the Isthmian sanctuary indicate that it predates the new Camarina; see Broneer 1955, 135–36.

31. Manganaro 1974/75, 38; Luraghi 1994, 161–76, 183–85, 288–304, 335–54, 368–73; Luraghi 1997.

32. Manganaro 1974/75, 36–39.

33. Westermark and Jenkins 1980, 24–39.

34. For this coinage, see Westermark and Jenkins 1980, 18–23. Westermark and Jenkins offer no explanation for the change of iconography.

on the bronze coinage, the prominence accorded Athena on the first issues of the new city may already advertise a Tegean connection.

This first issue was tightly linked to the new coinage of Galaria from the 450s, and this linkage also indicates the presence of Deinomenid mercenaries in the newly founded Camarina. The precise location of Galaria is unknown, but the close relationship between the coinages of Galaria and Camarina in this period implies that it was nearby, presumably (given the coinage's emphasis on Dionysus) in the fertile vine land near the coast.[35] As Ulla Westermark and Kenneth Jenkins note, what particularly links the two cities' coinages is the matchstick-thin arms found on the figures of Athena and Nike on Camarina's litrai and Dionysus on the reverse of Galaria's litrai.[36] This shared style, and the common standard of the coins, suggests not only proximity, but also a close political relation between the two centers.

This close relation is significant because the obverse of Galaria's litrai links the city to the mercenaries left over from the Deinomenid population movements. The obverse depicts Zeus (named as Zeus Soter) seated on a throne, holding a scepter with an eagle perched on top.[37] As Manganaro argues, this iconography not only links Galaria to Hieron's Aitna (whose coins depicted a similar Zeus, but presumably Zeus Aitnaios),[38] but also to Peloponnesian cult: Zeus Lykaios was depicted seated, with a scepter and flying eagle, on the coinage for Heraea, circa 490–417, and some Elean coins, likely from the third quarter of the fifth century, depicted Zeus Olympios, seated with scepter and eagle.[39] The cult of Zeus Soter may have come from Messenia,[40] and looks like the response of Deinomenid loyalists to the Syracusan cult of Zeus Eleutherios. The Galaria of the 450s thus offers a community with a significant population of mercenaries closely tied to the new Camarina. Such a bond only makes sense if Camarina too contained Deinomenid veterans.

The coinages of Camarina and Galaria thus suggest that not all the Deinomenid mercenaries left southeastern Sicily after the general agreement, and that sizeable groups of them settled in both Galaria and the new foundation of Camarina.[41] This conclusion fits well within the larger narrative of the mercenary wars. The Deinomenid mercenaries had been settled in Syracuse and Aitna by Gelon and Hieron, but after Thrasyboulos' expulsion, partly brought about by the opposition of the established veterans in Syracuse, these veterans were themselves expelled from their cities.[42] According to Diodorus 11.76.1–3, Aitna's inhabitants moved inland to Inessa, but there is evidence that those in Syracuse who had opposed Thrasyboulos ended up in the southeast, presenting a considerable problem to Gela and Syracuse. Prior to the general agreement, as the fragment of a history of Sicily found

35. Manganaro 1974/75, 36. On the city, see also Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 192.
36. Westermark and Jenkins 1980, 30; Manganaro 1974/75, 36.
37. Manganaro 1974/75, 36; Westermark and Jenkins 1980, pl. 7e; Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 192.
38. See n.12, above.
39. Manganaro 1974/75, 37–39; Head 1967, 420–21, 447–48.
40. Manganaro 1974/75, 38–39.
41. Ibid., 36–39.
42. Luraghi 1994, 288–304, 335–45, 368–73.

at Oxyrhynchus makes clear, Gela and Syracuse had joined forces to fight a group of mercenaries at the "Rock of Owls," which, according to Manganaro's plausible reconstruction of the text, lay near the site of Camarina.[43] Diodorus (11.76.5) asserts that the general agreement that followed allowed for the mercenaries to decamp to Messenia, but, given that the foundation of Camarina is described by Diodorus within the context of the general agreement and that there was a large force of mercenaries in the area, it makes good sense to suppose that the agreement provided for many mercenaries to settle in the new foundation.

The presence of veterans in Camarina explains *Olympian* 4's allusions to Hieron's rule. Its appeal to this defunct order found a natural constituency among the mercenaries whose lives had been upended by the city that they had made their home and for which they had fought against Thrasyboulos. Although most of the veterans who had been settled in Syracuse had probably been recruited by Gelon, they had been loyal to Hieron (if not to Thrasyboulos), and to them Hieron represented peace and prosperity, not tyranny.

Psaumis himself was likely one of these veterans. That he was a mercenary would explain his wealth, as well as his appetite for equestrian athletics and victory odes. His modus operandi recalls that of the Deinomenid lieutenants: Chromios, who won chariot victories at Nemea and Sicyon and commissioned two victory odes from Pindar, *Nemeans* 1 and 9; Hagesias, who won the mule-cart at Olympia and commissioned *Olympian* 6; and others who made dedications at the panhellenic sanctuaries.[44] Moreover, that he had sufficient liquid wealth to race chariots in the 450s also suggests that he was a mercenary. Much of the wealth vested in land must have been compromised by the mercenary wars of the 460s and the land redistributions that followed, but mercenary wealth was more likely to be in mobile forms, as the general agreement's concession (Diod. Sic. 11.76.5) that the mercenaries could leave with their personal property implied.

Psaumis clearly tried to position himself as a leader within the new Camarina, both by his building of housing and by his hippotrophy, but his imitation and evocation of Hieron in *Olympian* 4 was aimed to solidify his membership in and leadership of one group in particular, the mercenaries within the city.

Despite the evident success of Psaumis' projects, there is no reason to assume that his leadership within the city or within the mercenaries went uncontested. Little is known for certain about the constitution of the new Camarina—it may have been a democracy or a constitutional oligarchy[45]—but it is clear from the fine Attic pottery recovered from fifth-century burials (including the impressive crater depicting Perseus with Medusa's head by

43. *P Oxy* 665 = *FGrH* 577 F.1, with Manganaro 1974/75, 13–14.

44. Hagesias: n. 31 above. Dedications in panhellenic sanctuaries: Aenesidamos, Phrynon, and Hippagoras (Paus. 5.22.7; Luraghi 1994, 148–54); Praxiteles (n. 31 above).

45. Robinson (forthcoming) concludes that in this period Camarina was probably, but not certainly, a democracy. For Manganaro (1995, 98–103) and Cordano (1992, 85–99), Camarina was a democracy, but their arguments are convincingly refuted by Robinson (2002). Cordano (2004) concludes that the constitution was initially oligarchic, but later evolved into a democracy.

the Painter of Mykonos) that, whatever the particular form of its constitution, Camarina contained an elite wealthy enough to compete through showy symposia and funerals.[46]

One other member of this competitive elite can be identified, the Thrasys (or Emmenidas) named by one of the lead cards found near the temple of Athena in Camarina in 1987. At least 155 of these cards were uncovered, mostly rolled or folded, each offering a name, a patronym, and the number of a limited number of units, and some also offering brief and apparently standardized notices (for example, "he has died").[47] Among these cards, however, appears an anomaly, quite unlike the others, which features the boast of Thrasys, son of Emmenes, or "bold" Thrasys.[48] It contains a relatively extensive text, and the most recent reading of the end of this text makes it into a boast of particular prowess in the javelin:

Θράσυς Ἐμ-
μενίδας δορὶ
στονφῶν hαπ-
άντῶν ἐστὶ hυ-
πέρτατος ἀκίδ-
ον

Thrasys, the son of Em-
menes [or bold Emmenidas], with his spear
to the arrows
of all the boasters
is superior.[49]

This boast serves to elevate Thrasys above his peers and link him instead to the heroes of epic, as it imitates Odysseus' boast to the Phaeacians: δουρὶ δ' ἀκοντίζω ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος τις ὀϊστῷ ("I can throw a spear further than anyone can [shoot] an arrow").[50] The boaster's name was itself resonant support for the boast: as an Emmenid, he was a member of a clan that produced Theron, the tyrant of Acragas, traced its ancestors back to Polynices and Adrastus and was second only to the Deinomenids in its equestrian glories.[51]

Psaumis was, then, part of a competitive elite in the new Camarina, bidding for leadership in the new city through traditional aristocratic means—displays of wealth and athletic, military, or equestrian prowess, and boasts of lineage and connection to heroes. The city was a complex patchwork of populations—Geloans, Camarinaeans, Cretans, Rhodians, Sicels, and Arcadian mercenaries—and the ode that Psaumis commissioned from Pindar, with its insistent evocation of Hieron's order, was part of Psaumis' effort to position himself

46. Museo Civico, Catania, inv. no. 4399.

47. Cordano 1992, and *SEG* XLI 778–95, XLII 846.

48. Cordano (1992, 21, 34–35) and Murray (1997, 498) consider it to have infiltrated the trove by chance, but in other respects it is similar to the other cards, and Hornblower (2004, 191–92) rightly dismisses the idea.

49. Cassio 1994, 5–20; Musti 1994, 21–23; Del Monaco 2004, 607–9. Murray (1997) and Hornblower (2004, 191–92) use an earlier, incorrect reading.

50. Hom. *Od*. 8.229; Cassio 1994, 11–12. Musti (1994, 21–23) rightly argues that an actual competition between archers and javelin throwers is not implied.

51. Cordano 1992, 21; Murray 1997, 498. For the Emmenids, see Luraghi 1994, 263–65.

as a leader of the mercenaries, in particular. The evocation of the old Deinomenid order was, however, likely less welcome to other residents of the city, including the original Camarinaeans and the Sicels.

## 3. THE SICELS AND THE NEW ORDER

The order that *Olympian* 4 appeals to is not simply a carbon copy of Hieron's order, however. Like many of Pindar's odes, this ode is dynamic, beginning with a position that it modifies in the course of its development.[52] The figure that dominates the beginning of the ode is that of Typhos and, as noted above, this figure was lifted from Pindar's *Pythian* 1. In that ode, the figure provided a central image for the relations of Greek and non-Greek, but by the conclusion of *Olympian* 4 this figure has been replaced and rewritten by a myth drawn from Argonautic legend, the confrontation of Erginos, the son of Clymenos, and Hypsipyle. This rewriting alters the meaning of the figure by generating a more positive vision of the relations of Greek and Sicel than that of Greek and barbarian, so correcting an aspect of Hieronian ideology.

In linking *Olympian* 4 to *Pythian* 1, the image of Typhos crushed by Zeus under the weight of Mount Etna binds the ode to the larger rhetoric of Hieron's regime that *Pythian* 1 so memorably articulates. In *Pythian* 1, the image provided the hinge through which Hieron's foundation of Aitna was fitted into the larger rhetoric of panhellenic identity that encompassed the Deinomenids' struggles against the Carthaginians and the Etruscans. This panhellenic rhetoric, according to which non-Greeks were defined as "barbarians," a group radically distinguished from Greeks by custom and language, had developed as early as the first half of the sixth century in the Greek communities of Asia Minor,[53] but came into sharp relief after the Persian wars, promoted, Jonathan Hall argues, especially, though not uniquely, by Athens.[54] Such an idea of Greekness had not, however, found fertile ground in Sicily, where regional identities such as Dorian and Ionian were strong and close relations with non-Greek speaking indigenous peoples complicated easy distinctions of language and custom,[55] but Hieron clearly sought to link his regime into the larger panhellenic narrative of the struggle of Greek against barbarian, probably, as Barbara Kowalzig argues, not so much to prevent Syracuse's marginalization as to contest Athenian claims to leadership of the Greek cities.[56] This was, Nino Luraghi argues strongly, a departure from his brother Gelon's propaganda.[57]

52. On this structure in Pindar's odes, see Crotty 1982, 1–40, and Kurke 1991, 240–56.

53. Mitchell 2007, 1–112.

54. J. Hall 2002, 172–228; 2004, 45–46; also E. Hall 1989, 56–62.

55. Holloway 1991, 86–96; J. Hall 2004, 35–50. Mitchell (2007, 54–57) suggests that the situation was likely more complicated, with elements of differentiation complicating the larger integration. Yet, as J. Hall (2004, 45–46) says, differentiation does not necessarily imply that a sense of Greekness had developed, or was consistently or significantly deployed. The first solid evidence for this comes with Hieron; see Luraghi 1994, 361–65.

56. Kowalzig 2008; also Luraghi 1994, 361–65. J. Hall (2002, 122–23, and 2004, 48–49) sees Hieron's efforts (which certainly promote a Dorian identity also) as failing to displace regional ethnic identities.

57. Luraghi 1994, 361–65, contra, Kowalzig 2008, 131–37. The references to barbarians attributed to Gelon are surely retrojected from the following decade.

Pindar's *Pythian* 1 was a central piece of Hieron's new panhellenic rhetoric and distilled this rhetoric into the image of Typhos, the hundred-headed enemy of Apolline harmony, newly relocated under Etna and Cumae (13–28). Apollo represents the Greek (especially Hieron's newly founded city of Aitna), and Typhos the barbarian, and on Typhos' side are ranged not only the Persians at Salamis and Plataea, but also Syracuse's foreign enemies of recent years, the Carthaginians at Himera and the Etruscans and Carthaginians at Cumae (*Pyth.* 1.71–80).[58] Syracuse, though certainly represented as Dorian,[59] is seen as part of a single entity called "Hellas," fighting against the threat of barbarian enslavement: Himera confers a glory that no other Greek (οὔτις Ἑλλάνων, 49) has won, the victory at Cumae saves Greece (Ἑλλάδ', 75) from slavery, and Himera belongs in a single unit with the victories over the Persians at Salamis and Plataea (75–80). Language, while not directly mentioned, functions to distinguish Hieron and his enemies: the Etruscan is characterized by his war cry (ἀλαλατὸς, 72) and Mount Etna by its crashing (πατάγῳ, 24), while Apollo's lyre and the Muses' singing marks Hieron's "harmonious" order (εὐφώνοις, 38; σύμφωνον, 70).

This effort to appropriate and even dominate panhellenic rhetoric can be seen elsewhere in Hieron's productions. In the theater, Hieron staged plays structured by that rhetoric: Aeschylus produced the *Persians* in Syracuse; Epicharmus, transferred from Megara Hyblaea as part of Syracuse's refoundation by Gelon, produced a sequence of comedies with apparently barbarian characters, including a *Persians* of his own; perhaps Phrynichus' *Phoenissae*, on Salamis, was also reproduced, once the author, presumably at Hieron's invitation, had settled in Sicily.[60] At the panhellenic sanctuaries Hieron also pushed a panhellenic narrative: Luraghi argues that he refocused Gelon's dedications, his tripod dedication at Delphi and the Treasury of Syracuse at Olympia, on the battle of Himera, now understood as both a victory over the barbarian achieved on the same day as Salamis or Thermopylai and as an act of pious revenge for the barbarian killing of the Spartan Dorieus.[61]

One cost of this rhetoric was that the indigenous peoples of Sicily were newly defined as enemies of Hieron's order. Even though local peoples are nowhere mentioned in *Pythian* 1, they easily fall into the capacious category of barbarian created by Typhos and the panhellenic rhetoric.[62] Though many Sicels were bilingual, used Greek objects, shared Greek material practices, and fought in Hieron's armies, their indigenous language and customs, despite Greek borrowings, were clearly non-Greek, and many Sicels were, in fact, opposed to the new foundation of Aitna. The new city was endowed with a huge territory, including not only the whole territory of Naxos and much of that of Leontini, but also much previously Sicel land—as the eagerness of

58. J. Hall 2002, 122–23; 2004, 48–49; Mitchell 2007, 11; Kowalzig 2008, 141–42. Luraghi (1994, 363) doubts that Carthaginians were involved at Cumae.

59. J. Hall 2002, 122–23; 2004, 48–49.

60. Kowalzig 2008, 142–43. Garvie (2009, lviii–lvii) doubts that Aeschylus' *Persians* was substantially altered.

61. Luraghi 1994, 304–21, 354–68. Gelon's dedication seems to have predated that of the Hellenic league. For Thermopylai, see Diod. Sic. 11.24.1; for Salamis, Hdt. 7.166.

62. Antonaccio 2001, 121–22.

the Sicels and Leontinians (who included the old Naxians) to destroy Aitna after the fall of the Deinomenids demonstrates.[63] Other pieces of Hieron's propaganda frame the foundation of Aitna as a victory over the local land, and so it is a reasonable assumption that the Sicels were felt to be present behind Typhos along with the Persians, Carthaginians, and Etruscans, even if they were not named in the ode.[64] Certainly, later in the century, the Athenian Thucydides is able to refer to the Sicels as "barbarians."[65]

The simplistic category of the barbarian failed to capture the complexity of relations between Sicels and Greeks in Hieron's empire. Some Sicels opposed (and were victims of) Aitna, but many were part of Hieron's new order; some, as mercenaries, surely benefited from the new city, while others, Greek-speaking residents in Sicel or Greek communities, Sicels bearing Greek names, or Greek-Sicel products of mixed unions, were surely not easily categorized as Greek or Sicel.[66] *Olympian* 4 confronts this misrepresentation, freeing the image of Typhos from the bonds of panhellenic rhetoric and offering a more productive, if still agonistic, image of Greek-Sicel relations through the myth of Erginos and Hypsipyle. The term "Hellas" that was so important to *Pythian* 1 (49, 75) is absent from *Olympian* 4; athletic victories, the favor of Zeus, and good order are all offered as Typhos' opposites, but these achievements are not specifically tagged as "Hellenic." Indeed, the later image of the Lemnian women (*Ol*. 4.19–26), while certainly picking up the earlier image of Typhos, complicates *Pythian* 1's simplistic separation of Greek and non-Greek.

The Typhos of *Olympian* 4 certainly remains true to the creation of *Pythian* 1, where it serves as a symbol of the negative pole of a variety of social, linguistic, and corporeal codes. In *Olympian* 4, Typhos is again the enemy of Zeus' order. Not only must he be crushed under Aitna, but as Zeus Aitnaios' opponent, he also opposes the recognition of Psaumis' victory that Zeus "welcomes" (δέξαι, 9) and that Pindar, the deputy of Zeus' Hours, faithfully witnesses (1–3). Second, the reference to its "hundred heads" (ἑκατογκεφάλα, 7) marks Typhos as a symbol of linguistic chaos, as the *Theogony*'s more extended description makes clear: "in every terrible head," Hesiod tells us, "there were voices emitting all kinds of unspeakable voices" (Hes. *Th*. 829–30). As in *Pythian* 1, this din stands in opposition to Pindar's carefully organized lyric composition, his truthful witnessing to the victory (1–3), his telling of the past (17–18), and his "sweet news" (ἀγγελίαν . . . γλυκεῖαν, 5) that is immediately pleasing to "good men" (ἐσλοί, 5). Finally, Typhos' hundred heads also symbolize the monster's ugliness, his failure to

63. Manganaro 1974/75, 12–13, 16–19. The orthogonal street plan of Naxos dates from its occupation by Aitna (Cordano 2003, 123–24; 2004, 283; contra Luraghi 1994, 345–46).

64. The pieces include Aesch. *Aitnaiai* and Simon. 552; see Dougherty 1993, 83–102. Typhos probably also comprehends the Greek settlers displaced from Katane and Naxos. This illogicality was eased by Hieron's identification of panhellenic with Dorian, since the Dorian Aitna (*Pyth.* 1.61–66; J. Hall 2004, 49) replaced the Chalcidian Katane.

65. Thuc. 6.1, 7.57.10–11; Antonaccio 2001, 121–22.

66. Sicel mercenaries: Luraghi 1994, 165–76. The Katelos (or Apelos) inscription from Castiglione testifies that at least some Sicels spoke Greek or represented themselves as doing so: Pugliese Caratelli 1942, 329–34; Anello 2000, 74–75. Sicels bearing Greek names: Agostiniani 1988/89, 189–91. Mixed unions: n. 83 below.

conform to Apolline bodily codes. By contrast, the beautiful Charites attend Psaumis' victory revel (9).

The narrative of the Lemnian women picks up the image of Typhos when it appears in the ode's epode. In myth, the women are known for killing the men on the island and setting up a gynecocracy; in *Olympian* 4, their challenge to the social order is symbolized by their dishonoring of Erginos, the son of Clymenos (ἀτιμίας, 20). This not only represents a refusal to recognize the athletic order, and the order of things more generally, but it also fits the Lemnian women into the linguistic code that Typhos participates in. Erginos' response, with it specific reference to the meaning of his grey hair, implies that the women had mocked him as too old for the athletic contests. This mockery counts as a misuse of language, a falsehood, that is corrected by Erginos' victory in the race (22) and reply to the queen (24–27), which, unusually for Pindar's odes, concludes the ode.[67] That the ode does not explicitly mark the end of Erginos' speech or return from the Argonautic narrative to contemporary Camarina serves to merge Erginos' words with Pindar's own, thus endowing them with the Zeus-given authority and truthfulness earlier claimed for the poet. Erginos' correction, therefore, marks the Lemnian women's words as a wayward challenge to Zeus' social order.

Yet this narrative fails to conform to the simple, polarized coding of the Typhos image. First, the Lemnians' linguistic misbehavior is relatively slight compared to Typhos'. As Thomas Schmitz notes, Pindar's model for this episode is the Phaeacians' mockery of Odysseus, which Odysseus responds to by winning the event and then boasting of his more general physical prowess.[68] While certainly incorrect, the mockery thus has a civilized precedent in the behavior of the male Phaeacian aristocrats. Second, any clear opposition between the Lemnians and Zeus' social order is blurred by the name of their Queen, Hypsipyle (Ὑψιπυλείᾳ, 23), since its first element links its bearer both to Pindar, the witness of the "highest" games (ὑψηλοτάτων, 3) and to Zeus, the "highest" charioteer of tireless-footed thunder" (ὑπέρτατε, 1)—and, indeed, to Aitna, the weight imposed on Typhos by Zeus, which Pindar elsewhere describes as "high-peaked Aitna" (Αἴτνας ὑψιλόφου, *Ol.* 13.111).

Finally, and most pointedly, the body that fails to conform to the Apolline code is not, as we expect, the female bodies of the Lemnian women, but the male body of the victorious athlete. In the final lines of the ode, Erginos declares that his hair is grey, but that this is a false sign of his strength and speed, since he is not old (24–28). Speculative biographical explanations for this striking conclusion have often been sought,[69] but its significance surely lies within the corporeal code established by Typhos and its hundred heads. At the conclusion of the ode, the clear bodily distinction that the image of Typhos set up between Zeus' order and his enemies is questioned by the revelation

67. Mader 1990, 56–58. Gerber (1987, 23) defends this punctuation of *Ol.* 4.25–27.

68. Schmitz 1994, 213–14. In the conceptual world of the *Odyssey*, as Dougherty (2001, 81–157) argues, the Phaeacians represent the positive figure for colonial encounters, in opposition to the Typhos-like Cyclops.

69. The idea that Erginos' grey hair indicates Psaumis' own old age continues to attract adherents: Mader 1990, 53–54; Dräger 1997, 1–7; see, however, Schmitz 1994, 209–11.

that, at least in some small way, the victorious athlete that symbolizes that order also has an unruly body.

*Olympian* 4 thus borrows the central figure of panhellenic rhetoric in *Pythian* 1 only to correct it. The simple distinctions that structure the image of Typhos are complicated or softened in the narrative of Erginos, Hypsipyle, and the Lemnian women: Typhos' linguistic chaos is domesticated, its non-Apolline body infects the victor, and Hypsipyle acts as a third term that bridges the binary opposition of Zeus and Typhos. Further, the relations between the two sides are no longer violent. Where Zeus had defeated Typhos in battle and crushed it under Etna, Erginus defeats Hypsipyle by winning a race and having the last word.

Stripped of the simplistic categories of "Greek" and "barbarian," the narrative of Erginos and the Lemnian women offers a new vision for the relation of Greeks and Sicels, one that may be agonistic, but one that involves interchange and blurs the differences between the two sides. The non-Greek Typhos is replaced by the non-Greek Lemnian women, but what is stressed is not their difference from the Greek Erginos, but their interaction. Indeed, beside the figure of the verbal exchange may lie a more familiar colonial figure, that of marriage.[70] As Pindar makes clear in *Pythian* 4.253–54, the athletic games that Erginos is taking part in served as a prelude to the sexual union of the Argonauts and the Lemnian women, and the successful athlete carried a sexual charge.[71] Sexual union (or marriage) was a common figure in colonial discourse for the conquest of foreign lands, but it was a complicated one that, while it contained its own silences, particularly concerning the violence of settlement and the role of the male members of the indigenous community, also recognized the continued participation of indigenous people in a Greek settlement. Marriage offered to Greek colonists a traditional conceptual structure through which the presence of foreigners and the production of a genuinely hybrid community could be understood and, in some sense, appreciated. In contrast to the figure of Typhos, the figure of marriage recognizes that colonization is predicated not on the suppression and exclusion of the colonized by the colonizer, but on their interaction.

This reading of the myth of Erginos may seem to inflate its importance, but it gives due attention to the relationships between the images of Typhos in *Olympian* 4 and *Pythian* 1, and of Typhos and the Lemnian women in *Olympian* 4. *Olympian* 4's use of *Pythian* 1's imagery turns out to be not a simple imitation, but a transformation and even challenge to one aspect of Hieronic ideology encoded in that imagery

This vision may have represented a return to earlier Deinomenid rhetoric, before the turn to panhellenic ideology led to the importation of the polarizing category of "barbarian," but its motivation was not simply tradition. Rather, it was a response to a particular moment in Sicilian politics. The 450s saw the concretizing of a Sicel national consciousness under Ducetius, who rose to

70. On the figure generally, see Dougherty 1993, 61–80.

71. On the athlete as bridegroom, see Brown 1984. The connection with marriage is also structural, since this narrative imitates a second story (told in Pind. *Pae.* 8), in which Erginos seems too old to have children, but is able to prove his fertility by taking a young wife.

power in the aftermath of the fall of the Deinomenids, initially in alliance with Leontini and Syracuse, but soon in opposition to them. During the fourteen years from the fall of Thrasyboulos to the chariot victory of Psaumis, Ducetius succeeded in carving out a Sicel state, founding new Sicel cities at Menainion and Morgantina and a central sanctuary at Palice.[72]

Camarina must have felt the rise of Ducetius' Sicel state particularly sharply. As noted in Part 2, Camarina's connections with the surrounding Sicel communities were historically strong and seem to have continued to be so when the city was refounded. Moreover, part of the new Sicel state was in its sphere of interest: Thucydides 4.65.1 reveals that Morgantina was handed over to Camarina at the council of Gela in 424, indicating Camarina's interest in that area. Psaumis' vision should thus be understood as a Camarinaean response to these new developments: in place of a unified and independent Sicel state that reinforced the panhellenic distinction between "Greek" and "barbarian," it offered its audience a more complex relation between Greek and local, that certainly promoted continued Greek leadership, but did not demonize or exclude the local.

The fact that this vision was articulated through the Hieronian image of Typhos from *Pythian* 1 suggests that it aimed to win over Psaumis' fellow Deinomenid veterans in Camarina. Hall suggests that a sense of panhellenic identity never came to be "a particularly salient level of identification" in the decades following Hieron,[73] but *Olympian* 4 suggests that the reality was more complicated. Hieron was a shrewd politician, and was surely right to think that this sense of identity would have a strong appeal both to his veterans and to the new settlers of Aitna: half the city had emigrated from the Peloponnese less than five years after Plataea (some may even have fought in that battle), while other veterans, having emigrated from there somewhat earlier, will have had some family involvement in the Persian wars. The panhellenic rhetoric presumably found some purchase in the more recent immigrants. But, having drawn these veterans into the ode through this image, Pindar then leads them towards a rather different understanding of Greek-Sicel relations.

*Olympian* 4 was, however, surely not only addressed to Hieron's veterans. Its concern with a new vision of Greek-Sicel relations suggests that it also aimed to speak to better-established colonists who had strong Sicel connections, perhaps through marriage, trade, or property ownership, and even to some Greek-speaking Sicels resident in Camarina. Camarina had a varied population, and this ode, which seeks to articulate a more inclusive community than its Hieronic predecessor, is addressed to more than one group within the city.

The reading of *Olympian* 4 offered here firmly places the ode within its context—that of Sicily in the 450s—seeing it as addressed to different groups within Camarina, and seeing its vision as a response to the fall of the Deinomenids, the mercenary settlement, and the assertion of Sicel power and identity under Ducetius. The ode makes use of symbols that had a specific significance

72. Manganaro 1974/75, 9–19; Luraghi 1994, 165–76.
73. J. Hall 2002, 122–23.

at this juncture: Typhos and Zeus Aitnaios evoked not only a general idea of order, but the specific order of Hieron's regime and its ideology of Greekness. At the same time, this reading attends to the poetic unity of the ode itself. The ode offers two central puzzles—why it evokes Hieron's order long after its collapse and why it closes with the myth of the grey-haired Erginos—and if the ode is seen as a unified argument that actively reconfigures the symbols that it includes, the two puzzles are solved. The ode evokes Hieron's order not simply to praise it, but also to revise it through the myth of Erginos and, so, articulate a new version of Greek-Sicel relations for post-Deinomenid Sicily.

The final section of this paper will consider a third, more peripheral, puzzle, the significance of Psaumis' name. It will argue that the name served, both within this ode and outside, as a sign of the ode's vision and that, as a Hellenized Italic name, "Psaumis" itself signified the more positive interaction of Greek and Sicel promoted by the ode.

## 4. PSAUMIS

Naming practice within the Greek colonies in Sicily was complicated. While many traditional mainland names continued to be used, many new names were also coined, some out of local toponyms, both Greek and Sicel (Gelon, Naxios, Hipparinos), others out of the tribes, areas, or cities from which the bearers emigrated (Sikanos, Korkuraios), and others out of words that simply indicated that the bearer was a foreigner (Xenon, Xenokles).[74] But within this fluidity, one constant is that the name, whether imposed by others or adopted by choice, carried meaning. Whatever the name Psaumis meant, in this colonial context, it was surely understood to mean something.

Psaumis was certainly an odd name. It finds no parallel at any time or in any place in Greek and proved too strange to many Greek readers. The Oxyrhynchus victor-list records the name of the chariot victor in 452 as the more euphonious "Samios," while the Ambrosian scholiast repeatedly refers to the victor of *Olympian* 4 as Psammis, a Greek rendition of an Egyptian name, and insists on Psammis' foreignness by declaring him a Sicel.[75] Federica Cordano notes that many Sicilian names were created by altering the names of local towns and rivers so that they ended with the Doric Greek nominative ending of *–is*; examples include Selinis, Eloris, and Hypsis (from the river Hypsas). There is no known geographical feature to explain Psaumis' name, so Cordano concludes that it belongs to the group of names created by simply Hellenizing non-Greek (and, presumably, Italic) names through their conversion to a Doric declension; other examples include Saris and Kadosis from Selinus.[76] The Ambrosian scholiast, though surely guessing, was thus probably right to sense that Psaumis bore a Sicel's name.[77]

74. Cordano 1994, 71–75; 2009, 43–45. Hipparinos was coined from the river Ippari.

75. Samios: *P Oxy* 222.2 (Grenfell and Hunt 1899, 95), with Schmitz 1992, 142 n. 2, and Barrett 2007, 39. Psammis: schol. *ad Ol.* 4 inscription, 31c, 39a, with apparatus (Drachmann 1903, 128–29, 136–37) and Hdt. 2.159–61.

76. Cordano 2009.46; also Cordano 1990, 443–45.

77. Perhaps because it is only attested in literary sources, Psaumis' name receives no attention from Parlangeli 1964/65, Agostiniani 1988/89, 1991, or Willi 2008.

Yet the scholiast was, of course, wrong simply to conclude that Psaumis was a Sicel. Although he seems to have carried an Italic name, Psaumis was at least part Greek—Greek enough to pass muster with the judges at the Olympic games—since in this period it was a qualification for competing at the Olympics that the competitor was Greek. In practice, this meant being able to prove ancestry that counted as Greek in the eyes of the Elean officials. Herodotus tells how Alexander of Macedon, who commissioned poetry from both Pindar and Bacchylides, had to prove his Greek ancestry to the Hellanodikai before being allowed to compete in the Olympics, and, while parts of the story, such as the victory, are certainly later fictions, there is little reason to doubt that Alexander had his eligibility scrutinized.[78] Thus, Psaumis was not only able to pass as Greek, but keen to compete in a competition restricted to Greeks.

What Psaumis seems to be, then, is a Greek, or part-Greek, with a Hellenized Italic name. This conclusion is at odds with a premise of Cordano and Luciano Agostiniani, that, while Sicels often adopted Greek names, Greeks did not adopt Italic names.[79] This premise relies on an explicit and untenable model of acculturation as one-way, the idea that, at least in the Archaic period (the period in which Psaumis was born, if not the period of his victory) the culture of the indigenous peoples of Sicily was affected by that of the colonists, but not vice versa.[80] Yet this model is belied by the work of Andreas Willi and Agostiniani himself, who have uncovered various Sicel words, phonological traits, and syntactical elements that at least some Greek colonists adopted.[81] Moreover, some Greeks adopted indigenous burial practices and commissioned and displayed works influenced by indigenous artistic forms, so that it is clear that, even if Greek culture proved dominant, culture did not pass only in one direction.[82]

A second flaw with the hypothesis that Greeks did not adopt indigenous names is that it relies on clearly demarcating categories (Greek and Sicel, Greek names and Sicel names) that in many cases cannot be distinguished. Given that intermarriage between the colonists and the indigenous people must have been common, at the very least in the smaller settlements on the far reaches of the Greek cities' territories such as Casmenae or the one at Castiglione, there must have been many residents who were neither wholly Sicel, nor wholly Greek.[83] Equally, what constituted a Greek name is in many cases not obvious. As was noted above, many colonists sported names formed

78. Hdt. 5.22; Bacchyl. 20b and Pind. frags. 120–21; Badian 1982, 34–37; J. Hall 2001, 167–72, and 2002, 154–68; Fearn 2007, 116–18. Mitchell (2007, 45) rejects the whole story, but notes that the Hellanodikai were already in place by at least 476 (Pind. *Ol*. 3.12; and Jeffery 1990, 220). The name of these officials suggests that Olympia was restricting itself to "Greeks."

79. Agostiniani 1988/89, 192–93; Cordano 2009, 46.

80. Agostiniani 1988/89, 193.

81. Agostiniani 1988/89, 195–204, 1991, 32–41; Willi 2008, 18–38.

82. Burial: Leighton 1999, 234–37. Sculpture: Di Stefano 2000, 41–49.

83. J. Hall (2004, 41) and Leighton (1999, 234–37) find the linguistic interference and burial practice respectively to be good evidence for intermarriage, but there is also compelling inscriptional evidence. A sepulchral inscription in Greek found in Castiglione and dating from the sixth century seems to attest to the life-time union of a Greek woman, Choroi, and a Sicel man, Katelos or Apelos: Pugliese Caratelli 1942; Di Stefano 2000, 49; Cordano 2000, 56–57, and 2009, 46; Anello 2000, 74–75. A second Greek inscription, whose intelligibility has been challenged by Dubois (1989, 111) has been interpreted by Manganaro (1965, 193–94) to reveal the union of a Greek man, Kallikrates, the bastard son of [Kall]ippos, and a Sicel woman,

from local toponyms; some of these toponyms, such as Gela, were Italic,[84] so it is far from clear how the names that were formed from them were experienced. Were Gelon and Geloios felt to be Greek names, or Sicel names, or some of both? The answer probably varied over time, and by audience, but the idea that there was one simple answer is unsupportable. The hypothesis that no Greek bore a Sicel name thus seems theoretically untenable.

The possibility that Psaumis was Greek and had a name with a recognizably Sicel root thus cannot be ruled out. The question then becomes: why did he have such a name? Or, rather, what did such a name signify? An illuminating parallel here is offered by one of Hermocrates' fellow generals during the Athenian invasion of 415–413, the Syracusan Sikanos, son of Exekestas.[85] Sikanos is a common name in Sicily and is seen by Agostiniani and Cordano as indicating the bearer's geographic or ethnic origin—that is, that the bearer is a Sican, a descendant of one of the indigenous groups present in Sicily when the Greeks arrived.[86] But, as Domenico Musti suggests in response to Agostiniani, this cannot be true for this Sikanos, a general with a father named Exekestas. He must be at least part Greek and, indeed, part of the elite class within Syracuse.[87] Musti gestures to two further possibilities, that the name is a sign either of a mixed marriage, and thus of mixed ethnic heritage, or of family politics. Such political namings are easily paralleled elsewhere—the Athenian Cimon famously named his children Thessalos, Lakedaimonios, and Eleios (Plut. *Per.* 29). The name would thus represent a family pledge to represent and support the interests of the named people, not necessarily a family connection to them. This second possibility is to my mind the most promising. That a marriage is mixed is not sufficient reason to advertise that fact in the name of its offspring; the very declaration is itself political, so that the first possibility in effect implies the second.

The Syracusan general Sikanos suggests that at least some of the occurrences of Sikanos should be reinterpreted as familial declarations of political affiliation, rather than badges of perceived ethnicity. But he also suggests a way to think about Psaumis as well as other names formed from Sicel roots.[88] It is certainly possible that Psaumis was Sicel as well as Greek, even if he was one of Hieron's lieutenants. Ducetius' striking successes indicate, as Luraghi concludes, that there were plenty of Sicels among Hieron's mercenaries,[89] and, furthermore, Psaumis was obviously able to pass as a Greek. Given the hazards of deducing ethnicity from names, it is hard to say more about his

---

Asia. They are burying their son Mounphion. The inscription also dates from the sixth century and comes from a border town, Casmenae.

84. Willi 2008, 28.

85. Thuc. 6.73, 7.46, 50, 70.

86. Agostiniani 1988/89, 193; Cordano 1994, 71–75, and 2009, 44. Three individuals named Sikanos and one named Sikana are attested in the new Camarina; a second Sikana comes from Selinus in the sixth century; see Fraser and Matthews 1997, 393.

87. Musti in Agostiniani 1988/89, 206. Agostiniani (1988/89, 207) suggests that by 415 "Sikanos" no longer carried a strong sense of its root meaning, but this is unconvincing because the occurrences of the name come mostly from the fifth century (see n. 86 above).

88. A second such name supplied by the lead cards of Camarina may be Thripainos; see Cordano 2009, 46, but also Arena 1992/93, 186.

89. Luraghi 1994, 165–76.

family. *Olympian* 5.8 informs us that his father's name was Akron, a common Greek name,[90] and, if we assume that the Hellanodikai determined Greekness through the patriline, we can assume that Akron also passed for Greek. It is notable, however, that the name was also used among Italic tribes, so that Akron's story may also have been complex.[91]

But we cannot know what Psaumis' ethnicity was, and to a large extent the question is moot. For either way, as argued above, the name likely functioned as a sign of political affiliation, a sign that, whether Psaumis' own heritage was mixed or not, his family was supportive of Sicel interests. If this is true, Psaumis' name signaled the ideological content of his ode, and his revision of Hieron's vision of Greekness in Pindar's *Olympian* 4 followed the path that his name laid out.

*Reed College*

90. Fraser and Matthews 1997, 22 finds the name in the Peloponnese and Aetolia, and two other fifth-century Sicilian Akrons are known: a sculptor in Selinus (Jeffery 1990, 272; Dubois 1989, 82–83) and the Agrigentine doctor who clashed with Empedocles and aided Athens during the plague (Diog. Laert. 8.65 and Wellmann 1901, 108–9).

91. Plut. *Rom*. 16.2.4. Parlangeli (1964/65, 223–25) floats the possibility that akr- is an Italic stem (cf. Akragas, Akrilla, and Akrai), but it is more likely that the stem is borrowed from Greek, as Alessio comments in his response (Parlangeli 1964/65, 254).

## LITERATURE CITED

Agostiniani, L. 1988/89. I modi del contatto linguistico tra Greci e Indigeni nella Sicilia antica. *Kokalos* 34/35: 167–208.

_____ . 1991. Greci e Indigeni nella Sicilia antica. In *Rapporti linguistici e culturali tra i popoli dell' Italia antica*, ed. E Campanile, 23–41. Pisa.

Anello, P. 2000. L'ambiente greco. In Cordano and Di Salvatore 2000, 59–76.

Antonaccio, C. 2001. Ethnicity and Colonization. In *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. I. Malkin, 113–57. Cambridge, Mass.

Arena, R. 1992/93. Di alcune iscrizioni greche di Sicilia. *ASGM* 34: 185–86.

Badian, E. 1982. Greeks and Macedonians. In *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times*, ed. B. Barr-Sharrar and E. Borza, 3–51. Washington, D.C.

Barrett, W. 1973. Pindar's Twelfth Olympian and the Fall of the Deinomenidai. *JHS* 93: 23–35.

_____ . 2007. Pindar and Psaumis: *Olympians* 4 and 5. In *Greek Lyric, Tragedy, and Textual Criticism: Collected Papers,* 38–53. Oxford.

Broneer, O. 1955. Excavations at Isthmia, 1954. *Hesperia* 24: 110–41.

Brown, C. 1984. The Bridegroom and the Athlete. In *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honor of Leonard Woodbury*, ed. D. Gerber, 37–50. Chico, Calif.

Cassio, A. 1994. Giavellotti contro frecce: Nuova lettura di una tessera dal tempio di Atena a Camarina e Hom. *Od*. 8.229. *RivFil* 122: 5–20.

Cordano, F. 1990. Alcuni aspetti dell'onomastica personale di Camarina. *PP* 45: 442–46.

_____ . 1992. *Le tessere pubbliche dal tempio di Atena a Camarina*. Rome.

_____ . 1994. Tre note sui nomi di persona. *MGR* 18: 65–79.

_____ . 2000. Il guerriero di Castiglione: L'epigrafe. In Cordano and Di Salvatore 2000, 51–58.

_____ . 2003. Fondazioni repubblicane e fondazioni tirranniche nella Sicilia del V sec. a. C. In *La naissance de la ville dans l'antiquité*, ed. M. Reddé, L. Dubois, D. Briquel, H. Lavagne, and F. Queyrel, 121–25. Paris.

_____ . 2004. Camarina città democratica? *PP* 59: 283–92.
_____ . 2009. Onomastica personale e geografia nella Sicilia greca. In *L'onomastica dell' Italia antica: Aspetti linguistici, storici, culturali, tipologici e classificatori*, ed. P. Poccetti, 43–47. Rome.
Cordano, F., and M. Di Salvatore, eds. 2000. *Il guerriero di Castiglione di Ragusa: Greci e Siculi nella Sicilia sud-orientale; Atti del Seminario, Milano, 15 Maggio 2000*. Hesperia 16. Rome.
Crotty, K. 1982. *Song and Action: The Victory Odes of Pindar*. Baltimore.
Currie, B. 2005. *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes*. Oxford.
Del Monaco, L. 2004. Le fratrie di Camarina e gli strateghi di Siracusa. *MediterrAnt* 7: 597–613.
Di Stefano, G. 1987. Il territorio di Camarina in età arcaica. *Kokalos* 33: 129–207.
_____ . 1988/89. Indigeni e Greci nell'entroterra di Camarina. *Kokalos* 34/35: 89–105.
_____ . 2000. Il guerriero di Castiglione e l'abitato siculo. In Cordano and Di Salvatore 2000, 17–49.
Di Vita, A. 1987. Tucidide VI 5 e l'epicrazia Siracusana: Acre, Casmene, Camarina. *Kokalos* 33: 77–87.
Dougherty, C. 1993. *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece.* Oxford.
_____ . 2001. *The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination of Homer's "Odyssey."* Oxford.
Drachmann, A., ed. 1903. *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina.* Vol. 1, *Scholia in "Olympionicas."* Leipzig.
Dräger, P. 1997. Hatte Psaumis graue Haare? Pindar und der Mythos. *RhM* 140: 1–7.
Dubois, L. 1989. *Inscriptions Grecques dialectales de Sicile*. Rome.
Fearn, D. 2007. Narrating Ambiguity: Murder and Macedonian Allegiance. In *Reading Herodotus: A Study of the* Logoi *in Book 5 of Herodotus' "Histories,"* ed. E. Irwin and E. Greenwood, 98–127. Cambridge.
Fraser, P., and E. Matthews. 1997. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Vol. 3a, *The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia.* Oxford.
Garvie, A., ed. 2009. *Aeschylus: "Persae."* Oxford.
Gerber, D. 1987. Pindar's *Olympian* Four: A Commentary. *QUCC* 25: 7–24.
Grenfell, B., and A. Hunt. 1899. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Vol. 2. London.
Griffith, M. 1978. Aeschylus, Sicily and Prometheus. In Dionysiaca*: Nine Studies in Greek Poetry by Former Pupils*, ed. R. Dawe, J. Diggle, P. Easterling, and G. Koniaris, 105–39. Cambridge.
Hall, E. 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*. Oxford.
Hall, J. 2001. Contested Ethnicities: Perceptions of Macedonia within Evolving Definitions of Greek Identity. In *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. I. Malkin, 159–86. Cambridge, Mass.
_____ . 2002. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago.
_____ . 2004. How "Greek" Were the Early Western Greeks? In *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean,* ed. K. Lomas, 55–81. Leiden.
Hamilton, R. 1972. *Olympian* Five: A Reconsideration. *AJP* 93: 324–29.
Hansen, M., and T. Nielsen. 2004. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis*.* Oxford.
Head, B. 1967. Historia Numorum*: A Manual of Greek Numismatics*[2]. Chicago.
Holloway, R. 1991. *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily*. London.
Hornblower, S. 2004. *Thucydides and Pindar: Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry*. Oxford.
Hubbard, T. 2004. The Dissemination of Epinician Lyric: Pan-Hellenism, Reperformance, Written Texts. In *Oral Performance and Its Context*, ed. C. J. Mackie, 71–93. Leiden.
Instone, S. 1992. Review of Mader 1990. *JHS* 112: 179–80.
Jeffery, L. 1990. *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. Oxford.
Kowalzig, B. 2008. Nothing to Do with Demeter? Something to Do with Sicily! Theatre and Society in the Early Fifth-Century West. In *Performance, Iconography, Reception: Studies in Honour of Oliver Taplin,* ed. M. Revermann and P. Wilson, 128–57. Oxford.

Kurke, L. 1991. *The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy.* Ithaca, N.Y.
Leighton, R. 1999. *Sicily before History*. Ithaca, N.Y.
Luraghi, N. 1994. *Tirannidi arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia: Da Panezio di Leontini alla caduta dei Dinomenidi*. Florence.
_____ . 1997. Un mantis eleo nella Siracusa di Ierone: Agesia di Siracusa, Iamide di Stinfalo. *Klio* 79: 69–86.
Mader, W. 1990. *Die Psaumis-Oden Pindars (O.4 und O.5): Ein Kommentar.* Innsbruck.
Manganaro, G. 1965. Ricerche di antichità e di epigrafia siceliote. *ArchCl* 17: 183–210.
_____ . 1974/75. La caduta dei Dinomenidi e il *politikon nomisma* in Sicilia nella prima metà del V Sec. A. C. *AIIN* 21/22: 9–40.
_____ . 1995. Sikelika I. *QUCC* 49: 93–109.
Manni, E. 1987. Brani di storia di Camarina arcaica. *Kokalos* 33: 67–76.
Mitchell, L. 2007. *Panhellenism and the Barbarian in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Swansea.
Molyneux, J. 1992. *Simonides: A Historical Study*. Wauconda, Ill.
Moretti, L. 1957. Olympionikai*: I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*. MAL 8.2. Rome.
Morrison, A. 2007. *Performances and Audiences in Pindar's Sicilian Victory Odes.* London.
Murray, O. 1997. Rationality and the Greek City: The Evidence from Camarina. In *The Polis as an Urban Center and as a Political Community*, ed. M. Hansen, 493–504. Copenhagen.
Musti, D. 1994. Elogio di un oplita in una lamina di Camarina? *RivFil* 122: 21–23.
Nicholson, N. 2005. *Aristocracy and Athletics in Archaic and Classical Greece.* Cambridge.
Parlangeli, O. 1964/65. Il sostrato linguistico in Sicilia. *Kokalos* 10/11: 211–58.
Podlecki, A. 1979. Simonides in Sicily. *PP* 34: 5–16.
Pugliese Caratelli, G. 1942. Epigramma sepolcrale greco del secolo VI av. Cr. (Comiso). *NSA* 3: 321–34.
Robinson, E. 2002. Lead Plates and the Case for Democracy in Fifth-Century BC Camarina. In Oikistes*: Studies in Constitutions, Colonies, and Military Power in the Ancient World; Offered in Honor of A. J. Graham*, ed. V. Gorman and E. Robinson, 61–77. Leiden.
_____ . Forthcoming. *Democracy beyond Athens: Popular Government in the Greek Classical Age*. Cambridge.
Schmitz, T. 1992. Datierung und Anlass der vierten *olympischen Ode* Pindars. *Hermes* 120: 142–47.
_____ . 1994. Noch einmal zum Mythos in Pindars vierter *olympischer Ode*. *RhM* 137: 209–17.
Snell, B., and H. Maehler, eds. 1987. *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis.* Pars I, *Epinicia*[8]. Leipzig.
Wellmann, M. 1901. *Die Fragmente der sikelischen Ärtze Akron, Philistion und des Diokles von Karystos*. Berlin.
Westermark, U., and K. Jenkins. 1980. *The Coinage of Kamarina*. London.
Willi, A. 2008. *Sikelismos: Sprache, Literatur und Gesellschaft im griechischen Sizilien (8.–5. JH. v. Chr.).* Rome.