

THE PRAISE OF VICTORIOUS BROTHERS IN PINDAR'S *NEMEAN* SIX AND ON THE MONUMENT OF DAOCHUS AT DELPHI*

A difficulty in the interpretation of *Nemean* 6, a poem of uncertain date that Pindar composed for the wrestling victory of Alcimidas of Aegina, is the correct identification of the victor's family members.¹ Praxidamas (15), the grandfather of the victor (11–13), is identified as the son of Socleidas (20–1). Are Callias and Creontidas, who are named and whose victories are described later (34–44), the two remaining sons of Socleidas who are alluded to but left unnamed earlier (23–4)? A conclusive answer cannot be given because Pindar does not explicitly specify the relationship of these two men to Socleidas and because contemporary epigraphical and literary identification is lacking. Like the scholiasts, most modern scholars have identified Callias and Creontidas only as members of the victor's clan.² Christopher Carey, however, has argued persuasively that it is economical to identify the two unnamed victors at lines 23–4 with the two victorious athletes named in lines 34–44. Carey explains the distance between the first mention of the victors and their actual naming as an attempt to avoid the monotony of a lengthy victory catalogue.³ Anne Pippin Burnett, however, has recently argued for the other interpretation: Callias and Creontidas are unspecified and distant ancestors of the current victor. The elaborate descriptions of their victories, she believes, bestow 'mythic status' on these men and characterize them as ancient heroes of their clan and city.⁴ This question of identity, which might seem narrowly prosopographical, is closely connected to a larger feature of the poem that

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¹ 465 B.C.E. is the tentative date offered by B. Snell and H. Maehler, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis. Pars I. Epinicia* (Leipzig, 1987), 118. D.E. Gerber, 'Pindar, *Nemean* Six: a commentary', *HSPH* 99 (1999), 33–91, at 34–6, argues convincingly for a date earlier than 475 B.C.E.

² Scholiasts 59a and 59b identify Callias as a kinsman of the victor (A.B. Drachmann, *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina. Vol. 3* [Leipzig, 1927], 108–10). Scholiasts 59b and 70 understand 'Creontidas' not as the name of a separate individual and victor, but as a patronymic for Callias. This interpretation has not received wide acceptance. Of modern commentators, C.A.M. Fennell, *Pindar: The Nemean and Isthmian Odes* (Cambridge, 1883), 57, identifies Callias and Creontidas only as Bassidae; J.B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar* (London, 1890), 100: 'Bassids, though probably not very nearly related to Alcimidas'; L.R. Farnell, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar* (1932; repr. Amsterdam, 1965), 284: 'We know nothing of Hagesimachos or his other sons, nor the names of the other sons of Sokleidas'.

³ C. Carey, 'Prosopographica Pindarica', *CQ* ns 39 (1989), 1–9, at 8–9. In addition to the argument from economy, Carey cites 'Pindar's general practice with reference to relatives of the victor'. Though he does list a few exceptions in poems for members of ruling families, Carey, at 3, notes 'clear evidence of a consistent tendency of Pindar's, particularly where his patron is a private citizen, to name individual relatives rather than to refer to them merely in terms of relationship'. Recently some scholars have acknowledged the plausibility of Carey's argument, but have stopped short of unqualified endorsement: W. Race, *Pindar. Nemean Odes. Isthmian Odes. Fragments* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 61 n. 3, and 415, and Gerber (n. 1), 59, 68, 70.

⁴ A.P. Burnett, *Pindar's Songs for Young Athletes of Aegina* (Oxford, 2005), 160–2.

has drawn scholarly comment and puzzlement: the pronounced emphasis on the successes of the victor's *oikos*, especially at the expense of a mythical narrative that typically occurs in the second triad of a three-triad poem.

I agree with Carey that Praxidamas, Callias and Creontidas are the three sons of Socleidas to whom line 23 refers, but I do not think that the interval between the first mention of the sons of Socleidas (23–4) and their eventual naming (34–44) is motivated by Pindar's desire to avoid the tediousness of an extended victory catalogue. Rather, I think that the sequence of ideas in lines 11–44 and the amount and type of descriptive elaboration spent on each victory can be most effectively analysed as a strategy of praise for victorious *brothers*. Praise of a victorious father or son is relatively unproblematic because the victory of the father is a joy for the son (*P.* 1.59), and the victory of a son augments the glory of his father (*O.* 5.8; *P.* 10.22–6). The nearly contemporary victories of brothers, however, present a rhetorical difficulty: Pindar is caught between the imperative to praise the collective achievement of the victor's *oikos* and the necessity of avoiding invidious comparisons between the achievements of brothers as individuals. The separation of the praise of Praxidamas (17–20) from that of Callias and Creontidas (33–44) is, I shall argue, a deliberate means of minimizing direct comparison of fraternal victories that occur in the same event – boxing – but differ in prestige and number. Close analysis of the victory lists of each of the three brothers reveals that Pindar praises each brother's achievements diplomatically as necessary and unique contributions to the *oikos*'s superlative number of boxing victories (24–6).

In this paper I first analyse the argument of *Nemean* 6 as it develops, present textual evidence which suggests that Praxidamas, Callias and Creontidas are brothers, and demonstrate how their praise functions within the larger context of the poem. The praise of three victorious brothers is unparalleled in other poems of Pindar,⁵ but I do analyse the partial parallel of *Pythian* 8.32–7 that praises two victorious brothers who are uncles of the victor. Finally I adduce, as an illuminating parallel to *Nemean* 6, a set of inscriptions for a trio of victorious brothers whose statues are included in a group dedicated by Daochus at Delphi between 336 and 332 B.C.E. Despite the fact that these inscriptions post-date *Nemean* 6 by about 140 years, they illustrate the rhetorical difficulties inherent in the praise of victorious brothers, offer parallels in structure, content and diction to the praise of Praxidamas, and supply valuable perspective on Pindar's overall strategy of praise for victorious brothers. Thus these agonistic epigrams are a crucial external aid to an analysis of how Pindar negotiates in *Nemean* 6 the multiple and sometimes conflicting claims to praise of the victor and his *oikos*.

Pindar begins *Nemean* 6 with a brief meditation in which he characterizes human and divine existence as separate domains which, nevertheless, converge in limited ways (1–7). The races are distinct, yet share a common mother, Gaia (1–2). Every allotted power separates the two: humans are nothing (2–4) and the gods possess the sky as their fixed abode. Yet humans resemble the immortals in greatness of mind and physical nature, even though mortals do not know along what course destiny has ordained for them to run (4–7). This précis of the human condition is then foil for

⁵ References to victorious brothers are few in Pindar. Apart from *Pythian* 8.35–7 where the two brothers mentioned are relatives of the victor, there are three explicit references to the victor's own brother who is himself a winner in athletic contests: *O.* 2.46–52; *I.* 5.17–22 and 6.56–66. The identity of Timosthenes in *O.* 8.15–20 – whether grandfather or brother of the victor – is unclear.

another fact about human nature that the victor exemplifies – success is cyclical (8–24):

τεκμαίρει {δὲ} καὶ νυν Ἀλκιμίδας τὸ συγγενὲς ἰδεῖν
 ἄγχι καρποφόροις ἀρούραισιν, αἵτ' ἀμειβόμεναι
 τόκα μὲν ὦν βίον ἀνδράσιν ἐπ-
 ηετανὸν ἐκ πεδίων ἔδοσαν,
 τόκα δ' αὖτ' ἀναπασάμεναι σθένος ἔμαρψαν. ἦλθέ τοι
 Νεμέας ἐξ ἑρατῶν ἀέθλων
 παῖς ἐναγώνιος, ὃς ταύ-
 ταν μεθέπων Διόθεν αἶσαν
 νῦν {τε} πέφανται
 οὐκ ἄμμορος ἀμφὶ πάλα κυναγέτας,

ἴχνεσιν ἐν Πραξιδάμαντος ἐὼν πόδα νέμων
 πατροπάτορος ὁμαιμίους.
 κείνος γὰρ Ὀλυμπιονίκος ἐὼν Αἰακίδαῖς
 ἔρνεα πρῶτος <ἐνείκεν> ἀπ' Ἀλφειοῦ,
 καὶ πεντάκις Ἴσθμοῖ στεφανωσάμενος,
 Νεμέᾳ δὲ τρεῖς, ἔπαυσε λάθαν
 Σαοκλείδα', ὃς ὑπέρτατος
 Ἀγρησιμάχοι' ὕεων γένετο.⁶

The occasion of Alcimidas' arrival at Aegina (11) demonstrates that the manifestation of inborn excellence skips generations. His arrival is a return from the Nemean games as a *παῖς ἐναγώνιος* (13), and his successful hunt in wrestling is characterized in the epode as a tracking of the successes of his grandfather, Praxidamas (14–16). Alcimidas and Praxidamas thus are linked by their triumphant returns to Aegina from athletic games, but Pindar avoids repetition by distributing the details of their triumphs: the victor returns from the games (Alcimidas, 11–13), bearing garlands to his city (Praxidamas, 17–18). The result is a cumulative image of victory to which the description of each athlete contributes. Further, by his successes Praxidamas made an end of the obscurity of Socleidas – his father presumably – who was himself the son of Hagesimachus (22–4). Thus, of the five generations that are recounted after line 11, the victor, Alcimidas, and his grandfather, Praxidamas, bring forth victories, while their respective fathers 'lie fallow', that is, fail to produce victory.

After Pindar has characterized Alcimidas' victory at Nemea as a successful hunt whose course is laid out for him by the tracks of his grandfather (11–16), he lists Praxidamas' victories (17–22). An Olympian victory heads the list and receives two full lines of description, while the five Isthmian victories receive one line, and the three Nemean victories a scant five syllables. This listing of the victories in an order of descending prestige is conventional in Pindar and frequent in agonistic inscriptions, but the description of the Olympian victory is striking: Praxidamas was the first to bring the Aeacidae crowns from the Alpheus, that is, he was the first Aeginetan to win at Olympia. Corroboration of Pindar's boast occurs in Pausanias, who mentions that Praxidamas of Aegina was victorious at the 59th Olympiad (544 B.C.E.) and dedicated the first athletic statue at Olympia – of cypress (6.18.7). Pausanias confirms that Praxidamas won in boxing, a fact which Pindar does not state explicitly, but which is implied at *N.* 6.25–6, and Pausanias' claim that Praxidamas dedicated the first athletic

⁶ All quotations of Pindar are from the text of Snell–Maehler (n. 1).

statue at Olympia would seem consistent with the prestige of a first Aeginetan victory at Olympia. Pindar's use of *πρῶτος* to praise the victor for his record-making performance is the only example in Pindar of a type of boast that is first attested in agonistic inscriptions in the fourth century and which then persists for centuries.⁷ These passages of Pindar and Pausanias indicate, however, that such boasts of priority came into use earlier than the surviving inscriptional evidence attests.⁸ In inscriptional boasts *πρῶτος* is often used with a partitive genitive that names the victor's people, or a prepositional phrase that refers to his homeland.⁹ Pindar instead identifies the Aeacidae as the recipients of Praxidamas' crowns and thereby links the ancient heroes' mighty deeds to Praxidamas' more contemporary achievement.¹⁰ The priority of Praxidamas' win at Olympia, together with the cumulative weight of his other crown victories, then produces a mighty boast: Socleidas, the father of Praxidamas, who has not won an athletic victory, is lifted from the obscurity of his lack of success to a superlative status as the best of the sons of Hagesimachus (19–22). Thus Pindar brings the first triad to a climactic conclusion by characterizing Praxidamas' athletic career as a glory which both rescued his own father from oblivion and exemplified the pattern of success in alternating generations.

Praxidamas' achievement alone is sufficient to ensure his father's felicity, but at the opening of the second triad Pindar expands the terms of Socleidas' pre-eminence (23–4):

⁷ J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (Berlin, 1972), 19, 106–7. For examples of *πρῶτος* in agonistic epigram see nos. 43.1, 48.5, 49.3–4, 63.6, 64.5, 68.1, 69.9–10, 71.4 (restored), 72.4, 73B.5. Ebert notes that such boasts appear first in agonistic epigram and only later in agonistic prose inscriptions. In these later prose inscriptions *πρῶτος* is linked with *μόνος* for a more emphatic statement of not only the priority but also the uniqueness of the achievement. See L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Rome, 1953), nos. 59, 69, 71, 72, 76, 84C, 90. Less common in the surviving inscriptions is the use of *μόνος* by itself to indicate the uniqueness of an achievement. See Ebert nos. 31.2, 33.3, 37.8, 45.4, 67.7; Moretti no. 85.4.

⁸ M.N. Tod, 'Greek record-keeping and record-breaking', *CQ* 43 (1949), 105–12, has demonstrated that, in the absence of precise measurements of time for racing events and of the means for the comparative evaluation of performance in a range of other events, priority in victory was one means by which a successful athlete could claim primacy among other victors. H.A. Harris, 'Notes on three athletic inscriptions', *JHS* 82 (1962), 19–24, at 23–4, remarks on the strained efforts of athletes in later antiquity to identify some narrow category of achievement wherein they could claim priority.

⁹ *πρῶτος* and the partitive genitive: Ebert (n. 7), nos. 48.5, 49.3, 68.1; Moretti (n. 7), nos. 69.6–7, 72.23–4, 27–8, 30–1; *πρῶτος* and a prepositional phrase: Ebert nos. 43.1–2, 73B.5; *πρῶτος καὶ μόνος* and partitive genitive: Moretti no. 69.4–5; *μόνος* and a partitive genitive: Ebert nos. 31.2, 37.8, 45.4, 67.7; *μόνος* and a prepositional phrase: Moretti no. 85.4–5; *μόνος* with partitive genitive and prepositional phrase: Ebert no. 33.4–5.

¹⁰ J. Fenno, 'Praxidamas' crown and the omission at Pindar, *Nemean* 6.18', *CQ* 53 (2003), 338–46, at 338, plausibly restores line 18 as ἔρνεα πρῶτος ἀπ' Ἀλφειοῦ <ᾗγαγεν>. The exact wording of Pindar's boast is unclear because of a trisyllabic metrical gap which most editors, including Snell–Maehler, place after the fifth syllable and fill with Bergk's conjecture, ἐνείκεν. Fenno asserts, however, that the metrical gap should be moved to the end of the line and filled with the aorist verb, <ᾗγαγεν>. He argues that metrical gaps are prone to occur at the end of a colon (339–43), that such a placement creates a more strongly dactylic rhythm which is characteristic of agonistic elegy (344), and that forms of ᾗγω are attested in an agonistic idiom – 'to be the first one to bring home a prize from the games' – that is found in Pindar (*O.* 13.29–30), in an elegiac epinician of Callimachus (fr. 384.21–2, 27–30, Pfeiffer), and in agonistic epigram (Ebert [n. 7], nos. 49.2–4, 64.5–6, 73A.1–2). Fenno concludes that Pindar's choice of diction and word order in *N.* 6.18 reflects 'epigrammatic language, which might have been inscribed upon Praxidamas' famous Olympic statue ...' (338).

ἐπεὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀεθλοφόροι πρὸς ἄκρον ἀρετᾶς
ἦλθον, οἱ τε πόνων ἐγέυσαντο.

Praxidamas, who just received exclusive praise (17–20), is but one of three prize-winning sons of Socleidas (οἱ) who have come to the peak of excellence and tasted toil.¹¹ Pindar subsumes the superlative performance of each son within a statement of their collective achievement, and stresses their toil. After the listing of Praxidamas' victories (17–22), this statement shifts rhetorical weight to the topic of the brothers' collective effort and success, and πόνος is the first indication of the type of victories that the brothers won: though πόνος carries a generalized meaning of toil in some Pindaric poems, in others it refers specifically to combat events: boxing, wrestling, pentathlon and pancratium.¹² The combat event – πυγμαχία – is then specified in a 'superlative vaunt' regarding the collective achievement of the οἶκος of Praxidamas and his brothers: it has won more boxing crowns than any other house in all of Greece (24–6):¹³

σὺν θεοῦ δὲ τύχῃ
ἕτερον οὐ τινα οἶκον ἀπε-
φάνατο πυγμαχία <πλεόνων>
ταμίαν στεφάνων μυχῶ Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσας.¹⁴

¹¹ Interpretations have differed regarding ὑπέρτατος (21), the following ἐπεὶ clause, and the referent for οἱ (23). Carey (n. 3), at 7, has recently upheld the view of Bury (n. 2), 107 n. 21, that ὑπέρτατος means 'best', but has also argued persuasively against Bury's view that οἱ (23) refers to Hagesimachus: 'The ἐπεὶ clause in 23 should explain what precedes. This it can only do if οἱ refers to Sokleidas (though not a successful athlete himself he achieved vicarious eminence in the family through the successes of his sons). If οἱ refers to Hagesimachos, we should expect an adversative rather than a causal or temporal connection in 23 ("Sokleidas became the greatest of Hagesimachos' sons; and yet Hagesimachos' three other sons were victorious athletes").' Thus, according to Carey, Socleidas, who himself won no victories, had three prize-winning sons of whom Praxidamas, the current victor's grandfather, is one.

W.B. Henry, *Pindar's Nemean: A Selection* (Munich, 2005), 59–60, reasserts the view of Bury that 'οἱ should refer to the nearer Hagesimachus'. This interpretation is untenable because it destroys the sequence of athletic success in alternating generations.

¹² I disagree with Gerber (n. 1), at 83, who argues that the relative clause, οἱ τε πόνων ἐγέυσαντο (24) adds 'little of real significance' to the passage. For a discussion of the meanings of πόνος see I.L. Pfeijffer, *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar: A Commentary on Nemean V, Nemean III, & Pythian VIII* (Leiden, 1999), 277–8, who does not, however, include this passage of *Nemean* 6 among those referring to combat events.

¹³ W. Race, 'Pindaric encomium and Isokrates' *Evagoras*', *TAPhA* 117 (1987), 131–55, at 138–9, defines a 'superlative vaunt' as a claim that 'assert[s] the superiority of the subject over all others', and notes consistent stylistic features of the vaunt: 'a negative (usually οὐ or μή), an indefinite pronoun (τις), and a comparative adjective or adverb'. See also Race's *Style and Rhetoric in Pindar's Odes* (Atlanta, 1990), 78.

¹⁴ The supplement of Erasmus Schmid, <πλεόνων>, proposed on the basis of schol. 38d, οὐδένα ἕτερον οἶκον οὕτως ἀπέδειξε καὶ ἀπέφηνε, φησί, πλείους ἀπενηνοχότα στεφάνους (Drachmann [n. 2], 106) is generally accepted by editors. The phrase μυχῶ Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσας has frequently been interpreted as a reference to Corinth on the basis of *Iliad* 6.152 which describes Ephyra (= Corinth) as a πόλις ... μυχῶ Ἀργεὸς ἱποπότοιο. The limitation of the scope of this vaunt to Corinth and the Isthmian games is illogical given the prominence accorded to the other three Panhellenic victories before and after this vaunt (17–20, 34–44). Gerber's suggestion (n. 1), at 60, that ἀπάσας is a transferred epithet and that the phrase means 'in every nook and cranny of Greece' is more consistent with the tone of the 'superlative vaunt' than a more qualified statement of success at the Isthmus. Cf. Farnell (n. 2), 284: 'I interpret the phrase to mean "in the furthest recesses of all Greece" = "search Hellas through in every corner and you will not find so distinguished a family"'.

This boast forms a rhetorical climax to the praise of Socleidas' sons, and also supersedes the earlier praise of Praxidamas because it treats Praxidamas' unprecedented achievement as just one element of a familial record that is unique throughout Hellas.

The magnitude of this superlative boast then motivates an asyndetic shift in subject to poetic concerns (26–34):¹⁵

ἔλπομαι

μέγα εἰπὼν σκοποῦ ἄντα τυχεῖν
ὥτ' ἀπὸ τόξου ἰεῖς· εὔ-
θυν' ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἄγε, Μοῖσα,
οὐδ' ὅρον ἐπέων
εὐκλέα· παροιχομένων γὰρ ἀνέρων,

ἄοιδαὶ καὶ λόγοι τὰ καλὰ σφιν ἔργ' ἐκόμισαν·
Βασσίδαισιν ἅ τ' οὐ σπανίζει, παλαίφατος γενεά,
ἴδια ναυστολέοντες ἐπι-
κώμια, Πιερίδων ἀρόταις
δυνατοὶ παρέχειν πολλὸν ὕμνον ἀγερώχων ἐργμάτων
ἔνεκεν.

The Muse is to set on a straight course to this *oikos* a glorious breeze of verses because, when men are dead and gone, songs and stories preserve their fine deeds.¹⁶ Truthful song repays achievement with immortality. The Bassidae possess such achievements and songs, and they furnish poets with 'much to sing about because of their proud | accomplishments'.¹⁷ Lines 24–34 are a series of elaborate assertions: of the Bassidae's athletic pre-eminence (24–6), of the need for accuracy in praise (26–8), of the propriety (27–32) and the ease of that praise (32–3) because of fine deeds. Thus at the end of this passage the poet returns to the reason for praise, ἀγερώχων ἐργμάτων | ἔνεκεν (33–4), and the question is whether he returns to the deeds of the three sons of Socleidas (23–4), or whether he now introduces other, previously unmentioned members of the Bassidae.

Both the logic of the 'superlative vaunt' and the particulars of the victory catalogue that follows (34–44) suggest that Pindar is returning to the deeds of the three sons of Socleidas. The boast – that boxing has proclaimed no other *oikos* as the steward of more crowns – would then be prompted by the description of three brothers' victories. It seems unlikely that Pindar would leave the grounds for such a boast unspecified, especially when he makes assertions of his accuracy and appeals to the Muse who is a patroness of truth. It is more probable that he is returning, at some distance from the praise of Praxidamas, to the remaining brothers in order to offer a catalogue of their victories (34–46).

When Pindar turns to the praise of the remaining sons of Socleidas, he describes geographical, religious and mythological aspects of their victories by means of

¹⁵ Race (n. 13), 'Pindaric encomium', at 139, notes that the 'superlative vaunt' 'often call[s] forth elaborate justifications and assurances'. For imagery of striking the mark cf. *O.* 2.89–95, 13.93–100; *P.* 1.42–5; *N.* 9.53–5. See also *I.* 2.35–7.

¹⁶ I accept the interpretation of these lines given by Gerber (n. 1), at 65, *pace* L. Kurke, *The Traffic in Praise* (Ithaca, 1991), 44–5 and R. Martin, 'Home is the hero: deixis and semantics in Pindar *Pythian* 8', *Arethusa* 37 (2004), 343–63, at 357–8.

¹⁷ Race's translation (n. 3), 63.

phrases that are alternately compressed and periphrastic. Though both the topics and diction are, to some degree, conventional, Pindar nevertheless fashions distinctive and arresting images of victory. The praise of Callias, who has won a Pythian victory, extends six lines (34–9):

καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀγαθέα
χείρας ἱμάντι δεθείς Πυθῶνι κράτησεν ἀπὸ ταύτας
αἶμα πάτρας
χρυσалаκάτου ποτὲ Καλλίας ἀδών

ἔρνεσι Λατοῦς, παρὰ Κασταλίαν τε Χαρίτων
ἐσπέριος ὁμάδῳ φλέγεν·

The connection between the ἀγέρωχα ἔργματα of the clan and the particular achievement of Callias is explicit and close (γάρ), but Callias is emphatically situated at Delphi (34–5), at some distance from Aegina, the scene of Praxidamas' and Alcimidas' triumphant returns.¹⁸ A Pythian victory is the only Panhellenic honour that Praxidamas lacked, and so Callias' victory in that location is both a distinctive and a complementary event among the brothers' achievements. Callias has, however, only this one boxing victory to his name and so Pindar must make the most of it. This he does by sketching two vivid images of Callias – during his boxing bout and at the evening celebration of his victory. By means of a participial phrase, χείρας ἱμάντι δεθείς (35), Pindar conjures in the listeners' mind the preparation for the bout, even as he gives the outcome, κράτησεν (35). The periphrasis ἀπὸ ταύτας | αἶμα πάτρας (35–6), in apposition to but preceding Callias' name, prolongs the focus on the clan, a focus which has been building in two ways since line 15: in the gliding progression through the four generations of Alcimidas' ancestors (15–24) and in the collective references to his clan (οἶκον, 25; τοῦτον, 28; Βασσίδαῖσιν, 31; παλαίφατος γενεά, 31). The blood of the clan triumphs at Delphi in the person of Callias (36), who had been pleasing to the children of Leto with the golden spindle (37–8).¹⁹ These favouring deities are kept in the background and emphasis is particularly on the victor: Callias was blazing that evening with the din of the Charites at the victory celebration beside the stream of Castalia (37). Mention of the Castalian spring recalls the Alpheus (18), and these corresponding geographical features of Delphi and Olympia reinforce the parallelism between Praxidamas' and Callias' single victories in the two most prestigious crown games.

The phrase Χαρίτων | ... ὁμάδῳ (37–8) is an adaptation to a new context of a term that commonly denotes in Homer both a throng of people and the noise that throng makes on the battlefield, or in assembly or camp.²⁰ Once this clamour of men in camp is associated with the shrilling of musical instruments and the celebratory mood of the Trojans (*Il.* 10.12–13). Thus the curiousness of Pindar's phrase Χαρίτων | ... ὁμάδῳ (37–8) does not derive so much from the use of ὁμάδος in the context of

¹⁸ Switches in scene across geographical distances – often from homeland to place of victory – are conventional in Pindaric poetry. For a recent analysis of the significance of these geographical shifts and of the imagery of contact and movement in *Pythian* 8 see Martin (n. 16).

¹⁹ Pindar elsewhere calls Leto and her children Πυθῶνος αἰπεινᾶς ὁμόκληροι ἐπόπται (*N.* 9.5) and emphasizes, in the context of a victory revel, that song is owed to these guardian deities (*N.* 9.1–5; *P.* 4.1–3).

²⁰ Battlefield: *Il.* 7.307; 15.689; 17.379–80; cf. *I.* 8.25. Assembly or camp: *Il.* 2.95–6; 12.470–1; 16.294–6; 19.81–2; 23.234. Cf. *Od.* 10.556. In the *Odyssey* the verb ὁμαδέω repeatedly characterizes the din of the suitors' talk (1.365 = 4.768 = 18.399).

celebratory noise which includes music, but rather from its extreme compression. Pindar refers, with the term *ὄμαδος*, to the throng of revellers at the victory celebration, but he alludes to their festive singing and dancing by his reference to the Charites, the mistresses of song, dance and feasting (*O.* 14.5–9). This allusion creates a deliberately oxymoronic image of a clamouring throng comprised of three melodic goddesses. The result of this compression is that, while Callias is situated vividly in time and place, the human throng in admiring attendance is relegated to the background and Callias, alone of humans, blazes forth in the company of the gods and the Charites.²¹

Unlike Praxidamas who was the sole Olympic victor among the brothers, and Callias who alone triumphed at Delphi, Creontidas possesses no geographically distinct victory: he and Praxidamas both have Isthmian and Nemean victories. What is more, Praxidamas' five Isthmian and three Nemean wins eclipse Creontidas' lone victory at each site. To compensate for and to distract from this imbalance, Pindar elaborates on Creontidas' single Isthmian and Nemean victories by means of descriptive periphrases (39–44):

πόντου τε γέφυρ' ἀκάμαντος ἐν ἀμφικτιόνων
 ταυροφόνῳ τριετηρίδι Κρεοντίδαν
 τίμασε Ποσειδάιον ἄν τέμενος
 βοτάνα τέ νιν ποθ' ἄλέοντος
 νικάσαντ' ἤρεφε δασκίοις
 Φλειοῦντος ὑπ' ὠγυγίοις ὄρεσιν.

In other poems too Pindar describes the Isthmus as the 'bridge of the sea', personifies a place of victory as giving honour to the victor, and makes references to the sacred precinct of the god.²² Here these conventional elements, together with the more distinctive phrase ἐν ἀμφικτιόνων | ταυροφόνῳ τριετηρίδι (39–40), combine to describe the physical features of the Isthmus and the religious practices of its human inhabitants. At the same time features of this description mirror the description of Callias' Pythian victory. In both the victor is situated within the sacred precinct of the sanctuary, there are mentions of the patron deities and muted references to the crowds in attendance, and amid these circumstantial details the victor stands in high relief.

In the description of Creontidas' single Nemean victory, the occasion of victory is distilled to the moment of the victor's crowning (42–4). Descriptive elaboration is focussed not upon the victor, to whom Pindar refers with a colourless pronoun and a participle, but rather on the crown itself and the place of victory. The crowning of a victor is a ubiquitous and sometimes highly elaborated motif in other Pindaric poems.²³ The periphrasis here for the crown, βοτάνα ... ἄλέοντος (42) alludes to the Nemean games by reference to the lion – destructive of men and livestock – that Heracles killed there.²⁴ This compressed periphrasis can be understood to mean 'grass

²¹ Elsewhere the personified Charites inflame the victor (*P.* 5.45): Ἀλεξιβιάδα, σὲ δ' ἡύκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες. The Charites, like the Muses, are comastic goddesses. See W.J. Verdenius, *Commentaries on Pindar. Volume 1: Olympian Odes 3, 7, 12, 14* (Leiden, 1987), 103–6, and B. MacLachlan, *The Age of Grace: Charis in Early Greek Poetry* (Princeton, 1993), 87–123, at 102–4.

²² *I.* 4.20: γέφυραν ποντιάδα; cf. *O.* 8.52; *I.* 1.9–10; personification: *P.* 10.8; *I.* 1.10–12; precinct: *N.* 6.61; *O.* 10.76; *P.* 5.33, 4.204.

²³ Cf. *O.* 3.11–16, 13.32–4; *P.* 8.19–20.

²⁴ Hesiod, *Th.* 327–32; Bac. 9.4–9.

from the territory in which the lion ranged', that is, as 'parsley from Nemea'.²⁵ It thus evokes one strand of the complex mythology associated with the Isthmian games. This periphrasis is also analogous to the dense phrase *Χαρίτων* | ... *δμάδω* by which Pindar alludes to the noisy singing celebrants of Callias' victory at Delphi (37–8). In each case Pindar crafts an oxymoronic phrase that evokes a host of complex associations within a narrow space of a few syllables.

The description of Creontidas' crowning at Nemea is completed by a periphrastic geographical description of the site: *δασκίοις* | *Φλειούντος ὑπ' ἄγνυίοις ὄρεσιν* (43–4). The Nemean games were conducted at the south end of a long and narrow valley which extended north toward Sicyon, and which was separated by ridges from the city state of Cleonae to the east and from Phlius to the west. In two other poems Pindar refers to the Nemean games by periphrases which allude to the management of the games by Cleonae (*N.* 4.17, 10.42); only here does Pindar refer to the imposing western ridges of Phlius. The striking descriptive phrases for both the locale and the crown combine to articulate a distinctive image of Creontidas' victory at Nemea. This detailed description of the victor's crowning at Nemea, in the context of the current victory, also recalls Alcimidas' own crowning at Nemea before he returned to Aegina, and that of Praxidamas as well (17–20). Thus, in one sense, even while describing the Nemean victory of Creontidas, Pindar comes full circle to the current victory of Alcimidas in particular (11–13), and thereby concludes both the epode and the praise of the Bassidae.

Yet, in the intervening lines Pindar has plainly delineated two parallel series of victories: that of Praxidamas (17–22) and those of Callias and Creontidas (34–44). The Olympian victory of Praxidamas parallels the Pythian success of Callias, while Praxidamas' Isthmian and Nemean victories match those of Creontidas, for whose smaller number of victories descriptive elaboration compensates.²⁶ In addition, the victories of each of the three brothers receive about six lines of description, but because Callias' and Creontidas' victories are catalogued together, that description occupies twelve lines, an extensive description of fewer victories which counterbalances a more laconic listing of more numerous victories by their brother. Within this larger equilibrium, Pindar is also careful to balance neatly the victories of Callias and Creontidas by listing them in descending order with the less prestigious victories receiving slightly more description.

Furthermore, both these victory catalogues, taken together, form a composite picture of victory with few repeated or overlapping details: the boxer prepares for his match by binding his hands and then wins his bout (34–6); he is crowned with a garland (19–20, 42–4), is honoured in the sacred precinct (39–41), enjoys a victory celebration at night (37–8) and returns home from the games (11–12) bringing his garlands (17–18).²⁷ This Pindaric *ποικιλία* serves a particular rhetorical purpose: the

²⁵ The Nemean lion is not a herbivore, of course, but he does feed on the men and livestock who depend on the fertile land. In that extended sense the grass of Nemea is the pasturage of the lion as well as the crown of parsley. Pindar again exploits this oxymoron of the pasturing Nemean lion in *O.* 13.44: *χόρτοις ἐν λέοντος*; cf. *I.* 3.11–12.

²⁶ C. Greengard, *The Structure of Pindar's Epinician Odes* (Amsterdam, 1980), 45, notes that the shift from Isthmian to Nemean victories in both catalogues (19–20, 41–2) occurs in the sixth line of their respective epodes.

²⁷ Burnett (n. 4), 161, notes the complementary descriptions of the victories of Callias and Creontidas, but does not extend her analysis to include the victories of Alcimidas and Praxidamas.

description of each victory, rather than inviting a comparison of victories which differ in prestige and number, is a necessary and unique contribution to a thorough depiction of athletic success and subsequent celebration – just as each athletic victory is a necessary contribution to the *oikos*'s superlative number of boxing victories.

Finally, the successive descriptions of victory in the catalogues emphasize distinct aspects of human victory. Praxidamas, like the current victor, Alcimidas, returns to Aegina, and his victories are recounted with an epigrammatic brevity which recalls commemorative statue bases and steles in general, and perhaps his own statue base at Olympia in particular. Callias and Creontidas, in contrast, are situated away from Aegina at their disparate places of victory, and the elaborate descriptions touch on geographical, religious and mythological dimensions of their victories. Such description lends greater complexity to the praise of their victories and inhibits comparison of the number and location of Callias' and Creontidas' victories with those of Praxidamas – the kind of comparison that a simple listing of their victories would invite.²⁸

At the beginning of a new triad Pindar shifts asyndetically from the victories of the Bassidae, who present one avenue of praise for Aegina, to the Aeacidae themselves (45–50). This shift is actually a return to and elaboration of the first mention of the Aeacidae where they are the recipients of Praxidamas' garlands (17–18). Though here Pindar steps further back into heroic times, he praises the Aeacidae in terms which recall the Bassidae: the current victor Alcimidas has pursued an *αἶσα* (13) which the Aeacidae before him accomplished (46–7); the *ἀρετά* which the three sons of Socleidas achieved (23–4) was shown forth earlier by the Aeacidae (46–7). Thus the Bassidae are characterized as more contemporary exemplars of the ancient Aeacidae.

The *ἀρετά* of the Aeacidae is matched by their *δνυμα* which flies across land and sea and which leapt even to the Ethiopians when Memnon did not return (48–50). Pindar exploits the geographical remoteness of the Ethiopians both to characterize the extensive reach of the Aeacidae's reputation and to introduce the climactic exemplum of Achilles' slaying of Memnon (50–3),²⁹ before he breaks off the myth to return to the poet's task (54–9). Pindar chooses the duel of Memnon and Achilles as not only the climactic act of Achilles' own martial deeds, but also as a single example indicative of the great deeds of all the Aeacidae. Achilles' slaughter of Memnon is a subject for epic poetry and Pindar pronounces emphatically his willingness to proceed along this path.³⁰ This willingness, however, is checked by an epinician concern closer to home – praise of the victor (55–9).

Up to this point in the poem Pindar has been at pains to attenuate gradually the distinction between the current occasion, Alcimidas' victory, and its familial and civic antecedents: Alcimidas' victory is but a tracking of his grandfather's success (15–16)

²⁸ Thus I agree with Burnett (n. 4), 160–2, that the descriptions of the victories of Callias and Creontidas are elaborate images of victory. I explain this elaboration, however, as a rhetorical compensation for the fewer victories of Praxidamas' brothers, not, as Burnett does, as an attempt to replace the mythic narrative, which is typical in the second triad of a three-triad poem, with a description of victors from other branches of the clan, victors who 'take on heroic proportions'.

²⁹ Nearly all other mentions of Memnon by Pindar are also in the context of his duel with Achilles: twice as one item in a catalogue of Achilles' exploits (*I.* 5.39–42, 8.46–56), and twice as the climactic term (*O.* 2.81–3; *N.* 3.57–63). In *P.* 6.29–42, Pindar narrates the duel of Memnon and Antilochus.

³⁰ That *ὁδὸς ἀμαξίτος* (54) is a reference to epic poetry is demonstrated by *Pa.* 7b.11–12: 'Ομήρου [δέ μὴ τρι]πτόν κατ' ἀμαξίτον | ἰόντες. Cf. *P.* 4.247–8.

which, in turn, is the achievement of only one of the three sons of Socleidas (23–4) who are, in turn, more contemporary exemplars of the ἀρετά of the Aeacidae which glorifies Aegina (23, 47). This attenuation has been elaborated at such length that Pindar's return to his epinician task – the praise of Alcimidas – is a return from the epic past. In his pivot from the Aeacidae to Alcimidas Pindar characterizes his task of praise as a διδυμον ἄχθος (57). This 'twin burden' is defined in the lines that follow as praise for Alcimidas and for his illustrious clan. Alcimidas' win is the clan's twenty-fifth victory (58–66):

πέμπτον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι τοῦτο γαρύων

εὖχος ἀγώνων ἄπο, τοὺς ἐνέποισιν ἱερούς,
 Ἀλκίμιδα, τέ γ' ἐπαρκέσαι
 κλειτὰ γενεᾶ – δύο μὲν Κρονίου παρ τεμένει,
 παῖ, σέ τ' ἐνόσφισε καὶ Πολυτιμίδαν
 κλᾶρος προπετῆς ἄνθε' Ὀλυμπιάδος –,
 δελφῖνι καὶ τάχος δι' ἄλμας
 ἶσον <κ> εἵπομι Μελησίαν
 χειρῶν τε καὶ ἰσχύος ἀνίοχον.

What is more, two additional victories have eluded the clan: earlier at Olympia Alcimidas and Polytimidas, his kinsman,³¹ were both deprived of crowns by an 'unlucky draw of opponents'.³² The mention of these near misses is not a rebuke but rather a reminder of the potential for more victories – a potential which is enhanced by the supervision of a skilled trainer. After a long retrospective which situates Alcimidas' victory both within a familial pattern of success in alternating generations and within a broader heritage of civic success, Pindar now looks to the future and hopes for the continuance of the Bassidae's athletic achievements in the generation of Alcimidas and Polytimidas.

Many compositional features of lines 9–44 are explained by the hypothesis that Praxidamas, Callias and Creontidas are the three sons of Socleidas. This plausible interpretation, however, presumes patrons and an audience sensitive to direct comparison of unequal achievements by siblings and a poet who consciously attempts to smooth over diplomatically any awkwardnesses caused by such disparities of achievement. The closest parallel in Pindar to the situation of *Nemean* 6 and, therefore, to evidence for the comparison of achievements of brothers who are relatives of the victor occurs in *Pythian* 8, for the wrestling victory of Aristomenes of Aegina in 446 B.C.E. Pindar turns from praise of the Aeacidae to the immediate task at hand (32–7):

³¹ Schol. 104a, Drachmann (n. 2), 114, identifies Polytimidas only as οἰκεῖος τοῦ Ἀλκίμιδου.

³² Race's phrase (n. 3), 67 n. 1. Both the precise meaning of κλᾶρος προπετῆς (63) and the nature of the disadvantage suffered by Alcimidas and Polytimidas are unclear. H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (1964; repr. Westport, CT, 1979), 162–3, asserts that κλᾶρος προπετῆς means 'reckless draw' and refers to the unfair pairing of both Alcimidas and Polytimidas with competitors who had byes in the previous round and were, therefore, fresh and rested. M. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World: Competition, Violence, and Culture* (New Haven, 1987), 21–2, and N. Crowther, 'Rounds and byes in Greek athletics', *Stadion* 18 (1992), 68–74, at 71, advance this interpretation as well, but more tentatively. T. Cole, '1 + 1 = 3: studies in Pindar's arithmetic', *AJPh* 108 (1987), 553–68, at 556, conjectures that Alcimidas and Polytimidas, superior wrestlers, drew a bout with one another, and the winner was so fatigued by this bout that he subsequently lost to an inferior wrestler.

τὸ δ' ἐν ποσὶ μοι τράχον
ἔτω τεὸν χρέος, ὦ παῖ, νεώτατον καλῶν,
ἐμᾶ ποτανὸν ἀμφὶ μαχανᾶ.

παλαισμάτεσσι γὰρ ἱχνεύων ματραδελφεούς
Οὐλυμπία τε Θεόγνητον οὐ κατελέγχεις,
οὐδὲ Κλειτομάχοιο νίκαν Ἴσθμοὶ θρασύγυιον·

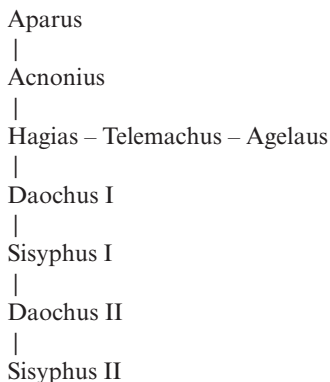
Two parallels to *Nemean* 6.9–44, in imagery and in rhetorical structure, are immediately obvious. In this later poem Pindar again exploits the imagery of hunting, but this time the victor tracks his maternal uncles, not his grandfather (cf. *P.* 10.12–16). The single victories of each of the two uncles are described in descending order of prestige – Olympian first and Isthmian second – and in two successive clauses of nearly identical length. Because the verb *κατελέγχεις* is expressed, however, in the first clause and only understood in the second, there is slightly greater descriptive elaboration of the less prestigious Isthmian victory. The direct object of *κατελέγχεις* shifts from *Θεόγνητον* to *Κλειτομάχοιο νίκαν* (37), in a typical example of Pindaric *variatio*, and also expands with the addition of a compound adjective *θρασύγυιον* (37). The extra descriptive weight of the second element offsets that victory's slighter prestige, and creates a balanced description of the pair of victories.

The same listing of victories in descending order of prestige and the same care in balancing the lesser prestige of a victory with a concomitant increase in descriptive elaboration is evident in *Nemean* 6.9–44. Although Pindar employs very similar strategies of praise in *Pythian* 8 and *Nemean* 6, a significant difference in circumstances motivates a distinct difference in the deployment of praise in the two poems. In *Pythian* 8 there are two victorious brothers who are uncles of the current victor, and whose victories are balanced in number, if not in prestige. In *Nemean* 6, however, the three victorious brothers are the victor's grandfather, who enjoys a closer lineal bond to his grandson, and the victor's great-uncles who are collateral relatives. In addition, their victories differ widely in prestige and number – Praxidamas has nine crown victories, Callias one, and Creontidas two. Pindar negotiates both difficulties, I believe, by characterizing Alcimidas' victory as a tracking of his grandfather's successes (11–22), by mentioning only then the collective achievement of Praxidamas and his brothers (23–6), and by separating the enumeration of Callias' and Creontidas' victories (34–44) from that of Praxidamas' victories. Thus, the features which are united in *P.* 8.35–7 – the imagery of tracking and the listing of sibling achievements – are widely separated in *N.* 6.12–16, 34–44.

A closer parallel to the circumstances of *Nemean* 6 may be observed on the monument of Daochus at Delphi. Situated overlooking the high terrace of the temple of Apollo, and located behind and above the tripods of Gelon and Hieron, this monument was a series of statues set on a very elongated limestone base. The statue group, extending from east to west in descending chronological order, was a series of nine figures, eight of whom are identified as members of a Thessalian family by inscriptions located on the anterior face of the pedestal.³³ The second statue from the

³³ The lost figure at the east end of the pedestal and at the head of the series is unidentified because of the lack of an inscription. Some scholars, arguing, among other things, that the figure must have been identified by attributes, and noting that deities appear alongside humans in some statue groups at Delphi, have identified the figure as a divinity. The conjecture of E. Gardiner and K. Smith, 'The group dedicated by Daochus at Delphi', *AJA* 13 (1909), 447–76, at 468–9, that the missing figure was Athena in battle attire, has not received wide acceptance. The argument of E. Will, 'A propos de la base des Thessaliens à Delphes', *BCH* 62 (1938), 289–304, at 291–3, that

west end is that of Daochus (II), the dedicator of the group, and, according to his inscription, a tetrarch of Thessaly and *hieromnemon* of the Amphictyonic Council.³⁴ Amphictyonic lists at Delphi date Daochus' tenure on the Council from 336 to 332 B.C.E., and provide reliable dating for this monument.³⁵ A genealogical tree can be constructed from the inscriptions:



Immediately striking is the fact that the figures are lineal ancestors of the dedicator, Daochus (II), and his son, Sisyphus (II), with the exception of Telemachus and Agelaus who are collateral relatives. Together with Hagias, the great-grandfather of Daochus (II), they form a trio of brothers. Their inscriptions reveal not only their fraternity, but also the fact that all three brothers were victorious athletes. They are the only athletes in the series of figures, three of whom are celebrated as rulers (Acnonius, Daochus [I] and Daochus [II]) and one as a warrior (Sisyphus [I]).³⁶ The inclusion of two collateral relatives within a series of otherwise lineal ancestors demonstrates very strong familial pride in athletic success, especially victory replicated within a single generation, and is exactly analogous to Pindar's praise of Callias and Creontidas in his poem which otherwise lists the victor, Alcimidas, and his lineal ancestors.³⁷

An inscription on the front of the pedestal beneath each statue details the successes of each of the three brothers. Hagias, the eldest of the three brothers and positioned furthest to the east, is praised in two elegiac couplets (Ebert no. 43):

*Πρῶτος Ὀλύμπια παγκράτιον, Φαρσάλιε, νικᾷς,
Ἄγία Ἀκνονίου, γῆς ἀπὸ Θεσσαλίας,*

the figure was Apollo has been accepted by P. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca: Saeculi IV a. Chr. n.* (Berlin, 1989), 204, and by A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, 1990) 1.187; 2 fig. 551. Other scholars regard the statue group as a gallery of family members only, and identify the lost first figure as Aparus, whose name is given in the inscription that accompanies the adjacent statue of his son, Acnonius. This view is taken by F. Poulsen, *Delphi*, trans. G.C. Richards (London, 1920), 268–9, and by Ebert (n. 7), 138.

³⁴ Daochus (II) is identified both by a three-line verse inscription and by an additional prose inscription, directly underneath, that identifies his offices.

³⁵ P. de la Coste-Messelière, 'Listes amphictioniques du IV^e siècle', *BCH* 73 (1949), 201–47, at 242.

³⁶ Sisyphus (II) is identified only as the son of Daochus (II).

³⁷ While Alcimidas' father is not mentioned explicitly in *Nemean* 6, his existence is amply suggested by the elaborate metaphor of alternately fertile and fallow fields (8–11).

πεντάκις ἐν Νεμέᾳ, τρὶς Πύθια, πεντάκις Ἴσθμοι·
καὶ σὼν οὐδεὶς πω στήσε τρόπαια χερῶν.³⁸

Hagias is addressed in the second person by the speaker who claims that Hagias was the first of the Thessalians to conquer at Olympia in the pancratium. The boast of his priority in this achievement is followed by a simple listing of his other crown victories, a listing that reveals that Hagias was a *periodonikes*. The second couplet concludes with another boast directed to Hagias: no one has yet conquered him in the pancratium.³⁹

These couplets bear striking similarities of structure and content to Pindar's praise of Praxidamas: a boast of priority, a summary listing of Panhellenic victories that utilizes numerical adverbs and locatives, and a concluding vaunt.⁴⁰ These parallels demonstrate that Pindar's praise of Praxidamas is epigrammatic in structure, content and diction, and support Fenno's argument that these lines may reflect the language of the inscription on Praxidamas' Olympic statue base.⁴¹ Comparison of the epigram and the praise of Praxidamas also indicates, however, the differing effects of the concluding vaunts. The final boast for Hagias intensifies the focus on this athlete: not only has he won fourteen Panhellenic victories, but he has never been defeated in a contest.⁴² In contrast, Pindar's boast for Praxidamas defines the victor's achievement in terms of its effect on his family: he is the pious son whose victories rescue his father from obscurity (20–2). This boast indicates that Pindar, even before his praise of Praxidamas is concluded, is already beginning to situate that praise within the larger context of familial glory.⁴³

While the inscription for Hagias refers only to his own achievements, the two inscriptions beneath the statues of Hagias' brothers, Telemachus and Agelaus, display clearly both the benefits inherent in the achievements of victorious brothers and the tension present in their praise. The epigram for Telemachus, composed in the first person and in elegiac couplets, first associates Telemachus with Hagias' success by asserting emphatically his fraternity with him (Ebert no. 44):

Κἀγὼ τοῦδε δμάδελφο[ς] ἔλφυν, ἀριθμὸν δὲ τὸν αὐτόν
ἡμασι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχφ[έρ]ομαι στεφάνων

³⁸ In my discussion of the inscriptions I refer to the texts of T. Homolle, 'Ex-voto trouvés à Delphes. – Statues du Thessalien Daochos et de sa famille', *BCH* 21 (1897), 592–8, who was the excavator and first published the series of inscriptions, and Hansen (n. 33), 203–6, as well as the texts and commentaries of Moretti (n. 7), 68–75 and Ebert (n. 7), 137–45.

³⁹ Ebert (n. 7), 139–40, regards this boast as a deliberate imitation of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* 1101–2 where Heracles concludes an enumeration of his deeds: ἄλλων τε μόχθων μυρίων ἐγευσάμην, | κοῦδεὶς τροπαί' ἔστησε τῶν ἐμῶν χερῶν.

⁴⁰ By coincidence, the same phrase, πεντάκις Ἴσθμοι, occurs in both; cf. *N.* 6.19.

⁴¹ Fenno (n. 10), at 338, 345–6.

⁴² Final boasts are common in agonistic epigram. For example, the epigram for Theogenes of Thasus (Ebert [n. 7], no. 37), dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C.E., lists his twenty-four Panhellenic victories, mentions his grand total of 1,300 victories, and concludes with a declaration that Theogenes has not been defeated in boxing during a twenty-two year career. Cf. Ebert nos. 40.3, 56.5–6, 57.3–4, 65.7, 67.7–8, 68.5–6, 78.12.

⁴³ By contrast, the epigram for Acestorides, who was the first of the Trojans to triumph at Olympia and who won subsequently in Arcadia and Epidaurus, concludes with a boast that he surpasses the swift foals of his ancestor Erichthonius (Ebert [n. 7], no. 68.5–6). Here an illustrious family is a foil to further heighten the victor's superlative achievements, rather than a matrix in which the victor is embedded.

νικῶν μονοπάλη[ν]. Τ[] . .]σηνων δὲ ἄνδρα κράτιστον
κτεῖνα (ἔθελον τὸ [μὲν οὐ]). Τηλέμαχος δὲ ὄνομα.⁴⁴

Apparently Telemachus cannot, like Hagias, claim priority in his athletic event, simple wrestling, but he does insist that he won the same number of victories on the same number of days as his brother (1–2), and he is, therefore, also a *periodonikes*. Such a claim of fourteen parallel victories (one Olympian, three Pythian, and five each at Nemea and the Isthmus) does strain credibility, but I believe we must assume that it is true. In any case, this claim demonstrates unmistakably a desire to assert parity of achievement on whatever terms possible. In addition, simple wrestling may have been regarded as a less strenuous combat sport than the pancratium, Hagias' event, because mention of this event prompts a boast of Telemachus' most prodigious deed: he killed a man, the strongest of his people⁴⁵ – though, the epigram hastens to assure us, he did not mean to.⁴⁶ Deaths connected to combat sports are reported in ancient sources, but usually these fatalities occur in pancratium or boxing, and this is the only mention of a fatality in wrestling.⁴⁷ That may be the point. The epigram for Telemachus boasts that Telemachus has the strength to kill not just a man, but the strongest of his people: he has the kind of strength associated with the pancratium.⁴⁸

The emphasis on the parity of Telemachus' and Hagias' strength persists in the epigram, in elegiac couplets, for Agelaus, their younger brother (Ebert no. 45):

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

Also composed in the first person, as a statement of Agelaus, the epigram first confirms Telemachus' claim to parity with Hagias by asserting that 'these men had an

⁴⁴ The text of Telemachus' epigram possesses a lacuna in each line. The lacunae of lines one and two are small and the restorations printed by Ebert have been widely, if not universally, accepted. The lacunae of lines three and four, however, are more controversial and will be discussed below. My argument regarding this epigram does not depend on a particular restoration of either of these last two lacunae.

⁴⁵ The ethnicity of Telemachus' opponent cannot be identified securely from the inscription. Though Homolle (n. 38), at 593, prints Τ[υρ]σηνῶν, 'Tyrrhenians', Moretti (n. 7), 72–3, who both advances the reading Τ[αρ]σηνῶν, 'of the men of Tarsus', and then rejects it, cautions that the *T* was uncertain and that re-examination of the stone would be beneficial. Ebert (n. 7), 142–3, like Moretti, is non-committal and prints Τ[] . .]σηνων. Hansen (n. 33), 205–6, says that both the *T* and *σ* of Τ[] . .]σηνων are lost. For an additional discussion of these conjectures see R. and M. Brophy, 'Deaths in the Pan-Hellenic games II: all combative sports', *AJPh* 106 (1985), 171–98, at 172–7.

⁴⁶ Homolle (n. 38), at 593, restores line four as: ἐθέλωντο[ς] εἶου, a restoration which Moretti (n. 7), at 74, interprets as meaning 'willing to fight to death'. Moretti finds this reading unconvincing because combats to the death were not tolerated by the *agonothetai*, and he restores the line with ἐθελον τό [γε δ' οὐ], a first-person protest by Telemachus that this fatality was accidental. Ebert (n. 7), 143–4, follows Moretti's interpretation but prefers the confirmative μὲν to γε δ'. Hansen (n. 33), 205–6, asserts that the lacuna in this line is large enough to accommodate six letters and therefore dismisses as erroneous the whole array of four- and five-letter restorations, including Moretti's and Ebert's. In any case, whether Telemachus killed his opponent intentionally or accidentally, the important point for my argument is that he had the strength to kill a man at all.

⁴⁷ Ebert (n. 7), 143, and R. and M. Brophy (n. 45), 172.

⁴⁸ R. and M. Brophy (n. 45), at 176–7 and 198, reason that Telemachus was not disqualified from victory because he competed within the rules and the death was accidental.

equal portion of strength which carries away the prize',⁴⁹ and then pronounces Agelaus' fraternal relationship with both men.⁵⁰ This full-blooded fraternity is matched in the third line by another bond: shared Pythian victory. Both Hagias and Telemachus have won three Pythian victories. The epigram for Agelaus asserts that he competed 'together with them' at Delphi and won in the boys' stadium. Presumably Agelaus won his lone boys' stadium victory on one of the three occasions on which Hagias and Telemachus won among the men in their respective combat events at Delphi.⁵¹ This juxtaposition of victories might seem to diminish Agelaus' single achievement, but it, in fact, prepares for the final boast: *μούνοι δὲ θνητῶν τούσδ' ἔχομεν στεφάνους*. The demonstrative adjective, *τούσδ'* refers to the crowns won at the Pythian games mentioned in the immediately preceding line. Agelaus' lone victory clinches an unparalleled glory: three brothers win in three separate events at the same Pythian games, possibly even on the same day.

The magnitude of this achievement can be best appreciated by consideration of Pausanias' story of the Rhodian, Diagoras, who had won an Olympic victory. Diagoras, already victorious himself, came years later to Olympia to watch his two sons compete in the games: *νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι διὰ τῆς πανηγύρεως τὸν πατέρα ἔφερον βαλλόμενον τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄνθεσι καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ καλούμενον* (6.7.3). Multiply this scene fourteen times and one can envision the glory that Hagias and Telemachus accumulated for their family from their series of double victories. Add the victory of Agelaus on one occasion, and one can easily imagine the father and family of the brothers being hailed as *τρισευδαίμων*. Consider the unique glory which fastens on a family that possesses multiple fraternal victories – some of them simultaneous – and the reason for the inclusion of Daochus' collateral relatives on the monument of otherwise lineal ancestors becomes clear. Finally, examine the concluding vaunt; it is a clever bit of praise. It stresses most immediately the trio's unique triple victory at Delphi, an occasion on which each brother has only one victory and where Agelaus' victory is integral to the collective achievement. Thus the reader's attention is shifted deftly away from the disparate individual achievements of the brothers to one aspect of their cumulative success which is itself beyond all others' achievements – a simultaneous triple fraternal victory – and for which they enjoy equal credit.⁵²

⁴⁹ *ῥώμη* is the physical strength necessary to achieve athletic victory. This noun also occurs in the concluding boast of a nearly contemporary epigram for a victor and his grandfather both of whom won in the pancratium at the Isthmus (Ebert [n. 7], 40.3): *ῥώμην δὲ χερῶν ἐπ[ε]δ[ε]λ[ε]ξ[αν]*. This epigram illustrates, by way of contrast, the self-conscious comparison of sibling achievements and the insistence on equality in *ἀθλοφόρου ῥώμης ἴσον*.

⁵⁰ Ebert (n. 7), 144, interprets *σύγγονος* as a conscious variation on *δμάδελο[s]* in 44.1.

⁵¹ Moretti (n. 7), 75, and Ebert (n. 7), 144. Moretti notes that both wrestling and pancratium took place at Olympia on the third day of competition, and thinks it likely that they occurred on the same day at the other Panhellenic festivals. S. Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics* (New Haven, 2004), 125, argues that the boys' stadium at Olympia also occurred on the third day of competition.

⁵² Ebert (n. 7), 145, interprets *τούσδ' στεφάνους* as a reference, not to the triple victory at Delphi that the epigram for Agelaus describes, but to the grand total of victories won by all the brothers and enumerated throughout the three epigrams. Ebert's point is the same as mine – Agelaus has less success than his brothers and so his victory is united with theirs to arrive at a unique total – but his interpretation strips the final boast of its focus on the one aspect of their success wherein the brothers' contributions are equal.

Moretti (n. 7), 75, somewhat ambiguously interprets the epigram of Agelaus as emphasizing both the victories of all the brothers and the three victories brought back together. He does not say precisely to what the final vaunt refers.

The three epigrams, taken together, demonstrate a strong sequential ordering and a determination to show each athlete in the most flattering possible light. The epigram of Hagias refers, in a second-person address, only to the accomplishments of Hagias. While reference is made to his father, Acnonius, whose statue was to his left, no mention is made of his brothers on his right. In contrast, the epigram of Telemachus makes explicit reference to his brother Hagias; insists that their victories are identical in number, location and time, though not in event; and brags regarding Telemachus' lethal brute strength. It says nothing of Agelaus whose statue is on his right. The epigram of Agelaus, in turn, refers to both Hagias and Telemachus as equal in the strength which carries away the prize, but then stresses in the concluding vaunt only their simultaneous victories at Delphi. Each successive epigram situates the victor it celebrates in a flattering light within the context of his siblings' achievements. The sequential and comparative nature of the praise is, of course, dictated by the fixed order of the physical monument.

Pindar, however, while confronted with the same task of praising brothers, is not hampered by a requirement to praise them one by one and in order. He avoids altogether the direct comparisons that are so prominent in the inscriptions by dwelling first on the victories of Praxidamas in whose footsteps the victor, Alcimidas, follows before revealing that Praxidamas is but one of three victorious brothers. Their successes are characterized as a shared enterprise (23–4). The 'superlative vaunt' (24–6), which then caps their collective praise, is simply a negative formulation of the vaunt that concludes the epigram for Agelaus. Like that boast, which concludes the epigram with a statement of collective fraternal achievement, the boast in Pindar forms a climax for the collective praise of the sons of Socleidas; it also provokes a shift in focus to poetic concerns (26–8). Though the topic shifts to the need for praise (28–30), the object of that praise – the *oikos* of Praxidamas and his brothers – does not slip from view. Sentiments regarding the propriety and ease of praise (27–34) are applied explicitly to the Bassidae (31), an ancient family which is able to furnish much material for song because of its noble deeds (32–4).

Pindar has returned to the very point – the success of the Bassidae – from which he departed nine lines earlier, and the initial description in the praise of Callias, *καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀγαθέῃ | χεῖρας ἱμάντι δεθείς Πυθῶνι* (34–5) recalls *πυγμαχία* in the 'superlative vaunt' (25). The logical conclusion is that Pindar has returned to the brothers left unnamed above. The intervening lines, meanwhile, create distance between the praise of Praxidamas and that of his brothers, and they avoid the awkwardness that results from the direct juxtaposition and comparison of victorious brothers, a strain that is so evident in the epigrams of Telemachus and Agelaus on the monument of Daochus. In addition, such distance between an initial allusion to a victory and a later attribution of that victory to a named individual, is not unparalleled in Pindar.⁵³ In fact, this distance allows Pindar to establish two separate and parallel catalogues of victory: one for Praxidamas and one for Callias and Creontidas.

The statue group of Daochus gives physical witness to the pride that a family felt in the athletic success of its members, particularly multiple fraternal victories. This display of pride, indicated by the inclusion of collateral relatives in an otherwise lineal arrangement of ancestors, strongly suggests that Pindar, in *Nemean* 6, would not have boasted of the victories of three brothers without naming all three and their

⁵³ See *Isthmian* 6 where a Nemean victory is mentioned in line 3, but Pytheas is not identified as the victor until line 58.

achievements, and that Carey is correct when he argues, on the basis of economy, that the two athletes named at lines 34–44 are the two unnamed athletes to whom Pindar refers earlier (23–4).⁵⁴ Furthermore, such a concentration of success among brothers would merit the kind of extensive praise that Pindar heaps on the Bassidae in the second triad, thereby displacing the more typical mythic narrative and postponing praise of the Aeacidae to the third triad. In addition, the inscriptions which accompany the statues on the monument of Daochus illustrate unambiguously the tension felt, on the one hand, between the impulse to celebrate fraternal victories together because of the larger cumulative weight of their glory, and, on the other hand, the unflattering comparisons that arise from the juxtaposition of victories of differing quality and number. Moreover, the inscription of Hagias on the monument of Daochus reveals the epigrammatic quality of Pindar's praise of Praxidamas, both in word choice and in sequence of ideas. Finally, both the inscription for Agelaus and Pindar utilize a vaunt to assert the superiority of the cumulative achievements of brothers as a means of undercutting the disparity of their individual achievements. In short, because the monument of Daochus is a less flexible instrument of praise, it reveals both the kinds of constraints under which Pindar was operating in the composition of *Nemean* 6, and the elegance of Pindar's solution to the problems of direct and unfavourable comparison of sibling achievements. The foregoing analysis of monument and poem also demonstrates how material artefacts and agonistic epigrams can illuminate the argument of an epinician poem.

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⁵⁴ The evidence of the inscriptions on the monument of Daochus, as well as the passage of Pausanias describing reaction to the double victory of Diagoras' sons at Olympia (6.7.3), indicate that the concentration of victories among brothers was especially noteworthy. With this evidence in mind it is difficult to believe, as Burnett suggests (n. 4), 161 n. 16, that Pindar bypasses the praise of Praxidamas' brothers in favour of victories more widely diffused throughout the clan, even if those victories do reinforce the principle of victory in alternating generations.