

# The athletic Victory as a Value in the Pindaric Odes

## Introduction

Pindar, one of the most fundamental representatives of Greek choral lyric poetry, which flourished in the Archaic period, is the exclusive poet of competitive (athletic) victory. This is due to the fact that his works, the *Epinikian Odes*, or paeans, have survived in their entirety and, chiefly, to the fact that the victories in the sacred contests, or games, served as cause for his poetic creations. Thus, despite the fact that he was a professional poet<sup>1</sup>, Pindar nevertheless formulated the athletic ideal in accordance with his belief that the games comprise the continuity of the heroic past<sup>2</sup>.

This paper investigates Pindar's ideas, which influence the way he views the competitive, or athletic, victory as a value. The term 'value' is used here in the sense of intellectual, spiritual, religious and political value, but also in the sense of personal honor and the honor of the family heritage<sup>3</sup>.

## Pindar's poetry

Only through happiness is oblivion possible<sup>4</sup>. This is possibly how Pindar would begin a reference to an athlete's victory in competition, because he believes that the immense and heavy sadness is vanquished by and subsides to the joy bred by noble actions<sup>5</sup>. Victory consequently is, for Pindar, an ethical act capable of reversing painful misery. The victor, according to the poet, belongs among the virtuous, who have seen day and night as equal, who see the sun, and spend their life without sadness<sup>6</sup>. The winner of the games receives the crown of virtue<sup>7</sup>. And truly happy is he who enjoys a virtuous and good reputation<sup>8</sup>. The athlete, with his victory, tastes the ultimate exhilaration, which is god-sent<sup>9</sup>. Besides, virtues, according to Pindar, are not the works of man, but given by the god<sup>10</sup>. Man is a dreamy shadow<sup>11</sup>. But when the ray comes from the god, then he acquires a bright glory and sweet life<sup>12</sup>. Destiny (or fate) decides the mortals' joy, it decides their adverse fate and annihilation<sup>13</sup>.

The Graces offer flowers to the winner of the games<sup>14</sup>, who with his magnificent (and superior) strength defeated his competitors<sup>15</sup>. Participation and

success in the games eliminate the sadness and bitterness that had preceded<sup>16</sup>. The victor enjoys all the honours<sup>17</sup>. Crowned after his victory, he is accompanied by Dorian laudators<sup>18</sup>, and receives the distinction for his victory, which comprises the glorious labor of youth<sup>19</sup>. He is the superior child of noble lineage, the descendent who saves and distinguishes the city<sup>20</sup>. With his victory he has brought honor to his homeland<sup>21</sup>, proving himself worthy of the accolades<sup>22</sup>. The city that produced heroes, who distinguished themselves in victorious athletic competitions as well as major battles is praised<sup>23</sup>, because such great men are rarely born by the cities<sup>24</sup>. The joy of victory so desired by the victor<sup>25</sup> comprises a joy not only for the victor but also for his homeland<sup>26</sup>, which celebrates with the honored athletes<sup>27</sup>. The athlete is respected and honored by his compatriots and foreigners alike<sup>28</sup>, not only because he is just and walks the path that opposes offense, but also because he has a distinct perception of the morals and counsel that the sound judgement of his virtuous forefathers implanted in his soul<sup>29</sup>. The bold conviction in man's nature is consequently inherited from the parents and shines through in the children<sup>30</sup>.

The poet arrives in the accompaniment of the courts and the lyre, and chants hymns to laud the great man, the dauntless victor<sup>31</sup>, because he is deserving of inspired praises and accolades<sup>32</sup>. To the victors of the Olympic (and Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian) games, the poet offers pure nectar, the gift of the Muses and sweet fruit of his intelligence<sup>33</sup>. The victory, flying on the wings of the poet's songs, will be made known everywhere<sup>34</sup>. Through the soul of the poet, who praises the feats<sup>35</sup> and indulges in the exquisite grace of the music<sup>36</sup>, the poet will crown the victor of the games<sup>37</sup> and decorate him with harmonious and immortal praises<sup>38</sup>.

### **The athletic event in the Pindaric odes**

This type of poetry by Pindar, the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. poet from Thebes (518-438 B.C.), belongs to the choral lyrical poetry, and more specifically the "epinikian ode", or "paean", celebrating victories in the four major games<sup>39</sup>. The victor's return to his homeland was, from the early periods, accompanied by triumphal manifestations and great honors, among them the composition of extempore poems. But no reference to a chorus performing an artistic song on such an occasion appears before Simonidis. Due to this step in choral lyrical poetry, the athletic life of the Hellenes was linked with lofty art, according to Albin Lesky<sup>40</sup>. Thus, despite the fact that these poems were "ordered"

and “paid for”, they nevertheless, under any criteria used for appraisal, are justified in being classified as “poetry”, because they have been created on a bright vision of reality<sup>41</sup>.

Competitive zeal united the Hellenes into a thriving community, with the purpose being that which Homer first put into words: to excel and prevail over the others<sup>42</sup>. The great importance of the games and victory, for the Hellenic national sentiment, has justifiably been extolled many times<sup>43</sup>. The choral lyrical poetry, however, with the paean, elevated the athletic event to a great art. The *Epinikos*, or paean, the victor’s accolade, was the most felicitous literary moment of the athletic ideal, because it linked the athletic ideal with lofty art in an outstanding and unprecedented manner. In the odes, in which the hero is an athletic victor, Pindar and Bacchylides are more concerned with the mythological origin of the victor’s family and the glories of his native city, than with the details of his athletic prowess<sup>44</sup>. The athletic event, with its technical details, is not highlighted at any point of the *Epinikos*, but rather is interposed with characteristics that are frequently intimated at only fleetingly, as part of a world that is dominated by the spiritual element, fostered by the tradition of the myth, and knows how to place everything in a living correlation towards the fundamental problems of human existence.

The surviving excerpts of Simonidis, Pindar’s predecessor, do not allow us to acquire a clear perception of his *Epinikia*, but they do indicate to us that they contain elements that could not be matched, at least with the strict religious character of the the Pindaric paeans, which embraces all the manifestations<sup>45</sup>. The *epinikian ode*, or paean, elevates the important event of the victory to the world of values, which the poet creates. This world of values is evident in his various fields, in the field of the gods, the heroic myth, the ethical order, and in the poet himself, from within the way he perceives the world. The unity of these poems is found in the universal relevance of their elements to the world of aristocratic values, which for the poet is unshakeable. Thus the coach of the future Olympic champion can teach and train only one who was born for virtue<sup>46</sup>. The figures of the mythical heroes, all the achievements, bear witness to that lofty ethos, which is also manifested in the painful achievements of the victors in major competitions. In many instances they are directly related, because it so happens that the heroes of the myth are the forefathers of the victor’s families<sup>47</sup>.

Equally with the victor’s achievements stands the contribution of the poet, who lends duration to the victory, since due to the hymn the victor becomes accepted into

the world of the lofty and unperishable<sup>48</sup>. All these, however, the success of the victor that arises from his origins and the poetic word that is victorious over time, are connected with the basic condition of every success, which is the blessing that comes from the god, from whom all the prospects of human virtue emanate, according to Pindar<sup>49</sup>. The poet himself knows man's weakness in the face of the power of the gods<sup>50</sup>, but he knows that man, with the strength of his spirit and the nobility of his nature, can stand up to the gods and fate.

Pindar considers true that which has been established by tradition, but with his personal and magnificent style of expression, he gives tradition a new direction, Bruno Snell observes<sup>51</sup>. In *Epinikia* (paeans), he connects the victor of the sacred competitions with the bright future of the gods and demigods, and consequently with the important traditions, which are respected and honored by all the Hellenes<sup>52</sup>. Thus he utilizes the rich legacy of the myths with a natural dexterity, while in the verses of the paeans certain thoughts of the poet are rendered with a distinct and impressive expressiveness. The poet lends a central position to the element of praise. The great accomplishments, such as victory in competitions, need a bard so that they will not fall into oblivion and be lost. Pindar feels that by extolling the deed of the victor, he is only doing his duty, in other words to praise with song a lofty act so that it may not be forgotten. The outstanding achievement deserves an equally outstanding paeon, which in turn renders worthwhile the efforts made to win the prize<sup>53</sup>. With the paeans, which the poet raises as a monument, man renders pain painless<sup>54</sup>.

Success in competition, consequently, has its own value among those great acts emanating from the long tradition and heroic past, to consolidate the way in which the poet perceives the world. Victory in competition, together with the values of the divine and inherent<sup>55</sup>, holds an important place in the poet's spiritual world. Victory, when achieved, affects not only the glory of the individual but also his city, thus the emphasis which has been given to the 'common virtues', in other words the achievements of the society, comes as a result of personal labour<sup>56</sup>. Given the divine origins of success and the general good it brings, it is almost a sin, A.J. Podlecki observes, for someone with exceptional abilities not to develop them to the utmost he is able to<sup>57</sup>.

Pindar, unlike the other lyric poets, does not refer to his personal sentiments. He does not discuss which values he accepts and which he rejects but, rather, objectively describes only that which is worthy of being glorified, that which, in his opinion, is linked with the divine, and also how the specific fits into the whole. And because his

purpose is not to create new values, but the realization of the traditional values, he accepts the world as it is. What is of importance to him is to express the beauty that abundantly surrounds his life, and this, precisely, is the value of the poet<sup>58</sup>. Pindar recognizes the presence of the divine in the simple, which he considers as the most precious, but he recognizes it also in the beautiful and exceptional examples surrounding him<sup>59</sup>.

The assessment criteria used by Pindar to determine that which comprises true virtue at the same time also determine the values in which the poet himself believes<sup>60</sup>. From the frequency with which the idea of 'virtue' appears in his work, it is clear that he places particular emphasis on a special combination of physical and psychological properties, which results in the harmony, so loved by the Greeks, of the word and deed<sup>61</sup>. The victors, from whom the poet was inspired, needed to have not only physical strength but also a pleasant appearance<sup>62</sup>. Pindar's emphasis on heredity and the fact that many of his patrons were rich appears to lean toward what was called an "aristocratic" political view<sup>63</sup>. However, despite his praises of exceptional physical qualities and moral qualities, Pindar knew full well that no matter how great advantages one inherits from his aristocratic forebears, it is not certain that success will find him<sup>64</sup>. Because athletic victory and human achievements in general depend on an additional factor, the grace of the god<sup>65</sup>.

Pindar considers the fate of the victor not only worthy of being envied, but also grand<sup>66</sup>. Lewis W. Farnell observes, in fact, that the phrase 'Fate dispensed by God', which derives from Homer, serves to reconcile the principle of fate with that of theism<sup>67</sup>. It is this fate that brings glory, happiness, fame, a broader sense of being, and a kind of survival after death via memory. This is the most that any human being can hope for, and when he has it, he truly enjoys the beneficence with which the gods look upon him<sup>68</sup>. According to the poet, the victor of the Olympic and other major competitions has consequently been elevated to one step below the god, conquering all the joy that mortals may have, to its extreme boundary<sup>69</sup>. This must be sufficient for him, and he must not ask for anything more<sup>70</sup>.

## **Conclusion**

Consequently, although Pindar is emphatically the poet of joy, he nevertheless makes his moments even brighter with indirect comparisons of the distant past and

future prospects, putting his entire character into his poetry<sup>71</sup>. The poet - whose work, according to J.B. Bury, reflects the authentic quality of the Greek intellect— comes and goes between the world of religion and that of myth, using graphic descriptions in such a manner that they create a vivid mental picture, thus giving new character to a theme<sup>72</sup>. Pindar, in completing his Ode to Victory (*Niki*) and idealizing the victors, cultivates and expresses the athletic ideal<sup>73</sup>. At the same time, by uniting all the Greeks around the sacred games by virtue of his paeans, he renders himself somewhat of a national poet<sup>74</sup>. His poetic word, based, as mentioned earlier, on a bright vision of reality but also on a low-key poetic tongue, formulates into a vision-depicting poetry which deserves, according to C.M. Bowra<sup>75</sup>, to be considered as the earthly correlation to Apollo's music and the song of the Muses on Mt. Olympus which Pindar himself considers the archetype of music at those supreme moments when all differences are resolved and all guilt is expiated by the power of the life-giving word.

### References

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<sup>1</sup> Pindar defends his art vs. setting up a statue, because relatives of a victor, when the poet asked three thousand drachma as his fee for an *epinikio*, said that with the same money they would order instead a bronze statue of the young man: Pindar, *Nemean* 5.1, see *The Olympic Games in Ancient Greece*, Ekdotike Athenon publishing company, Athens 1982, p. 142. Later, they had second thoughts and placed the order with Pindar.

<sup>2</sup> See Konstantina Goggaki, *The opinions of the ancient Greeks for the Athletics*, Typothito-G. Dardanos, Athens 2003, pp. 63 ff. See also Kramer Klaus, *Studien zur griechischen Agonistik nach Epinikien Pindars*, Köln 1970.

<sup>3</sup> See Plato, *The Republic* 6.496a, *Phaedo* 113e, *Laws* 11.936d, 8.845e και 9.876d, Aristotle, *Politics* 5.1301 b31, and *Nicomachean Ethics* 1122a 26, see and the Latin term 'honestum'. See also, Evangelos Moutsopoulos, *Phenomenology of Values*, Athens University Publications, Athens, 1984, p. 8, Erich Segal, "To win or to die of shame. A taxonomy of values", *Journal of Sport History*, 11, 1984, 25-31, and Robert L. Simon, "Internalism and Internal Values in Sport", *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*, XXVII, 2000, 1-16.

<sup>4</sup> PINDAR, *Olympian* 2.20. For Pindar's Text and the translation, see Oxford Classical Texts, *PINDARI CARMINA cum Fragmentis*, C.M. Bowra, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1980 (1<sup>st</sup> 1935). See also The Loeb Classical Library, *Pindar*, vols.II, edited and translated by William H. Race.

<sup>5</sup> *Olymp.* 2.21.

<sup>6</sup> *Olymp.* 2.61-62 and *Olymp.* 2.27. See C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, At the Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964 (1971 2<sup>nd</sup>), p. 92 and 65.

<sup>7</sup> *Olymp.* 7.89, and *Olymp.* 1.13. For the symbolism of the crown of the victor in ancient Games, see Konstantina Goggaki, "The Wreath of Athletic Victory and Its moral Symbolism", *International Journal of Physical Education*, vol. XXXIX, Issue 4, 2002, 32-38.

<sup>8</sup> *Olymp.* 7.11. See and *Olymp.* 1.95-98, *Pyth.* 5.20, *Pyth.* 8.88-92, *Pyth.* 9.4, *Pyth.* 10.28-29, *Pyth.* 11.45, *Nem.* 9.45.

<sup>9</sup> *Pyth.* 8.65, *Pyth.* 8.67: 'Theodmatos or theodmitos' (=built by the god), it is a favourite word of Pindar, derived from Homer: *Iliad* 8.519, see Lewis R. Farnell, *Critical Commentary to the*

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*Works of Pindar*, Adolf M. Hakkert, Publisher, Amsterdam 1965, (Reprint of: *The Works of Pindar*, vol. II. *Critical commentary*, London 1932), p. 25, note 7, and p. 113, notes 61-66.

<sup>10</sup> *Pyth.* 8.76. See also: *Olymp.* 6.8, *Olymp.* 8.14, *Olymp.* 8.67, *Olymp.* 8.83-84, *Olymp.* 9.28-29, *Olymp.* 13.104, *Pyth.* 1.41, *Pyth.* 2.49-52, *Pyth.* 2.89-89b, *Pyth.* 5.25, *Pyth.* 5.122-123, *Pyth.* 8.64-65, *Pyth.* 8.76-77, *Pyth.* 9.67-68, *Pyth.* 10.10-12, *Pyth.* 12.29-30. *Nem.* 6.13, *Nem.* 6.24, *Nem.* 9.45, *Nem.* 10.29-30, *Isthm.* 3.4, *Isthm.* 5.11, *Isthm.* 6.10-13. See C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, pp. 42-98, 191.

<sup>11</sup> *Pyth.* 8.95 ff. See Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer, *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar, A Commentary on Nemean V, Nemean III & Pythian VIII*, Brill, Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1999, pp. 598-9.

<sup>12</sup> *Pyth.* 8.97. See I. L. Pfeijffer, *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar*, pp. 599-600.

<sup>13</sup> *Pyth.* 8.94, see also *Olymp.* 2.35 ff., see L.R. Farnell, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, p. 14, note 21.

<sup>14</sup> *Olymp.* 2.50, see *Olymp.* 6.76, *Olymp.* 11.4. The Charis personifies according to Pindar the joy and brightness of victory in the games (see L.R. Farnell, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, p. 146, note 76). L. Farnell gives two interpretations: a) the Grace of Song b) the Grace of athletic contests, a use of the world frequent in Pindar's poetry (op. cit. p. 51, note 11).

<sup>15</sup> *Pyth.* 8.80.

<sup>16</sup> *Olymp.* 2.57.

<sup>17</sup> *Pyth.* 8.5, *Olymp.* 7.9.

<sup>18</sup> *Pyth.* 8.20.

<sup>19</sup> *Pyth.* 8.32.

<sup>20</sup> *Olymp.* 2.7.

<sup>21</sup> *Pyth.* 8.37.

<sup>22</sup> *Pyth.* 8.38.

<sup>23</sup> *Pyth.* 8.26.

<sup>24</sup> *Olymp.* 2.102, see also *Olymp.* 2.7, *Olymp.* 5.9, *Olymp.* 8.20. *Pyth.* 1.36-38, *Pyth.* 8.38, *Pyth.* 8.65, *Pyth.* 9.69-75. *Nem.* 2.8, *Nem.* 3.66-69, *Nem.* 4.8, *Nem.* 9.12 *Nem.* 11.20-21. *Isthm.* 3.12. See K. Goggaki, *The opinions of the ancient Greeks for the Athletics*, pp. 63 ff, 79 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Pyth.* 8.67.

<sup>26</sup> *Pyth.* 8.66.

<sup>27</sup> *Olymp.* 7.95.

<sup>28</sup> *Olymp.* 7.90.

<sup>29</sup> *Olymp.* 7.91 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Pyth.* 8.45, and *Olymp.* 2.7, *Olymp.* 2.51-52, *Olymp.* 5.9, *Olymp.* 7.91, *Olymp.* 8.83-84. *Pyth.* 6.15, *Pyth.* 8.65, *Pyth.* 11.13. *Nem.* 3.15, *Nem.* 6.60-61. *Isthm.* 3.14.

<sup>31</sup> *Olymp.* 7.15.

<sup>32</sup> *Olymp.* 2.52, see also *Olymp.* 1.8-9, *Olymp.* 1.100 ff., *Olymp.* 3.6 ff., *Olymp.* 4.17 ff., *Olymp.* 7.7-10, *Olymp.* 7.15-16, *Olymp.* 7.88, *Olymp.* 8.54 ff., *Olymp.* 11.4-6. *Pyth.* 3.114-115, *Pyth.* 5.106-107, *Pyth.* 6.7-18, *Pyth.* 9.1-4, *Pyth.* 10.22-25, *Nem.* 3.7 ff., *Nem.* 3.29, *Nem.* 4.2 ff., *Nem.* 5.2 ff., *Nem.* 7.12-13, *Nem.* 7.63, *Nem.* 9.6-7, *Nem.* 9.54-55, *Nem.* 10.21-22, *Nem.* 11.18, *Isthm.* 2.12, *Isthm.* 5.46-48, *Isthm.* 5.54, *Isthm.* 7.16 ff.

<sup>33</sup> *Olymp.* 7.8-10.

<sup>34</sup> *Pyth.* 8.34.

<sup>35</sup> *Olymp.* 1.4.

<sup>36</sup> *Olymp.* 1.15.

<sup>37</sup> *Olymp.* 1.104.

<sup>38</sup> *Olymp.* 1.109. See more in G.W. Most, *The Measures of Praise: Structure and Function in Pindar's Second and Seventh Nemean Odes*, Göttingen 1985.

<sup>39</sup> See more in G. Nagy, "Early Greek Views of Poets and Poetry", in : G.A. Kennedy (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 1, CUP 1989, 1-77. For the cause for composition of an *epinikian* ode see: G. Kirkwood, *Selections from Pindar*, Chicago 1982, pp. 9-12. See also C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, p. 161, M.M. Willcock (ed.), *Pindar. Victory Odes. Olympians 2, 7 and 11, Nemean 4, Isthmians 3, 4 and 7*, Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 1 ff., J.B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar*, Adolf M.

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Hakkert, Publisher, Amsterdam 1965, p. xx, Sargent Robinson Rachel, *Sources For The History Of Greek Athletics*, Ares Publishers, Inc., Chicago 1955 (a revised edition of *The Story of Greek Athletics*, Copyright 1927, by Rachel Louisa Sargent), p. 93. Pindar expresses similar sentiments concerning the other panhellenic games as those regarding the Olympic games, which, however, he terms the “aethlon koryfan” (=loftiest of feats, games): *Olymp.* 2.13, see also *Olymp.* 1.1-7, see C.M. Bowra, op. cit. p. 162, 164. On «The Occasional Nature of Pindar’s Odes» see I.L. Pfeijffer in *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar*, pp. 7-11.

<sup>40</sup> See Albin Lesky, *History of Ancient Greek Literature*, translated into Greek by Agapitos Tsopanakis, Kyriakidis Publications, Thessaloniki, 1981 (5<sup>th</sup> ed.), pp. 277-8. Original Title: *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, Francke Verlag, Bern und München 1971, (Dritte Auflage). See also: C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, p. 159 ff., A. W.H. Adkins, *Poetic Craft in the early Greek Elegists*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London 1985, pp. 208-9. For the prizes of the games see Pleket H.W., “Games, Prizes, Athletes and Ideology. Some Aspects of the History of Sport in the Greco-Roman World”, in: *Stadion* 1, 1975, 49-89.

<sup>41</sup> C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, p. 401. See also Ingomar Weiler, *Der Sport bei den Völkern der Alten Welt*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1978 (3<sup>tte</sup>), p. 82.

<sup>42</sup> Homer, *Iliad* 6.208. See more in: Br. Gentili, *Poesia e pubblico nella Grecia antica. Da Omero al V secolo*, Roma/Bari 1995.

<sup>43</sup> See Bilinski Bronislaw, *L’agonistica sportiva nella Grecia antica. Acpett sociali e ispirazioni letterarie*, Rome, 1960, C. Durantez, “The Olympic Games as an Integrating Element of Panhellenism”, *Olympic Review*, 208, Febr. 1985, 99-101. See more in Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997. See also W.H. Race, *Style and Rhetoric in Pindar’s Odes*, the American Philological Association, Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia, 1990.

<sup>44</sup> H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics*. Hutchinson of London, 1964, p. 28.

<sup>45</sup> See more in Thummer E., *Die Religiosität Pindars*, Innsbruck, 1957. On the religious nature of Pindaric poetry, see C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, p. 42 ff.

<sup>46</sup> *Olymp.* 10.20.

<sup>47</sup> *Olymp.* 2.7, *Olymp.* 7.91, see C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, p. 42 ff. For the meaning of the victor of the games see more in: L. Moretti, *Olympionikai. I Vincitori negli Antici Agoni Olimpici*, Roma, 1957, H. Buhmann, *Der Sieg in Olympia und in den Anderen Panhellenischen Spielen*, München 1972, R. Muth, “Der Sieg zu Olympia. Faszination und Kritik”, *Schriftum aus Tirol*, 15, 1976, 7-39, E. Kepfalidou, *Nikitis*, Thessaloniki 1996.

<sup>48</sup> *Olymp.* 1.105, *Pyth.* 3.114-115.

<sup>49</sup> *Pyth.* 1.41.

<sup>50</sup> *Pyth.* 6. Introduction.

<sup>51</sup> Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the spirit. Greek roots of European Thought*, translated into Greek by Daniel Iakov, publication of the National Bank of Greece’s Cultural Foundation, Athens, 1997 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.) p. 119. Original Title: *Die Entdeckung des Geistes. Studien zur Entstehung des europäischen Denkens bei den Griechen*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1975 (4<sup>tte</sup>).

<sup>52</sup> See C.M. Bowra, «Gods, Heroes, and men”, in *Pindar*, pp. 42-98, E. Kepfalidou, *Nikitis*, op.cit.

<sup>53</sup> Anthony J. Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets and Their Times*, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver 1984, p. 243.

<sup>54</sup> *Nem.* 8.47-50. See A.J. Podlecki, op. cit. p. 243.

<sup>55</sup> *Pyth.* 1.41 and *Olymp.* 13.13 respectively.

<sup>56</sup> *Pyth.* 9.93, *Isthm.* 6.69, *Isthm.* 7.29, *Isthm.* 1.46, *Nem.* 5.47. See A.J. Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets*, p. 241. See more in Chr. Mann, *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland*, Göttingen 2001.

<sup>57</sup> *The Early Greek Poets*, p. 242.

<sup>58</sup> *Pyth.* 3.83.

<sup>59</sup> *Olymp.* 1.1 and *Olymp.* 1.3-7, *Olymp.* 1.97-99, *Olymp.* 3.43-44.



- <sup>60</sup> See A.J. Podlecki, 'Pindar's Values' in *The Early Greek Poets*, pp. 237-43.
- <sup>61</sup> *Nem.* 8.8, *Olymp.* 4.29, *Nem.* 9.39, *Nem.* 1.57, *Nem.* 1.26-27, *Pyth.* 10.24, *Isthm.* 4.49-51, *Olymp.* 9.82. See A.J. Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets*, p. 238.
- <sup>62</sup> By nature, inborn, inherited, native virtues, natural talent: *Isthm.* 7.22b, *Nem.* 11.12, *Nem.* 3.40, *Olymp.* 9.100, *Nem.* 6.8b, *Nem.* 10.51, *Pyth.* 8.60, *Nem.* 1.28, *Pyth.* 10.12, *Isthm.* 3.14, *Olymp.* 2.11, *Olymp.* 10.20, *Nem.* 1.25. See A.J. Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets*, pp. 238-9, J.B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar*, p. xii.
- <sup>63</sup> *Pyth.* 3.86-88, *Pyth.* 10.8, *Olymp.* 5.12, *Isthm.* 1.11, *Olymp.* 8.36, *Nem.* 8.46, *Pyth.* 3.39-40, *Nem.* 7.23-24. See A.J. Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets*, p. 239, C.M. Bowra, «Echoes of Politics», in *Pindar*, pp. 99-158.
- <sup>64</sup> *Olymp.* 2.35-37.
- <sup>65</sup> *Isthm.* 3.4-5, *Olymp.* 10.20-21, *Olymp.* 9.103-4, *Pyth.* 10.10, see A.J. Podlecki, *The Early Greek Poets*, p. 241.
- <sup>66</sup> See C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, p. 191, L.R. Farnell, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, p. 14 note 21.
- <sup>67</sup> L.R. Farnell op. cit.
- <sup>68</sup> C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, p. 191.
- <sup>69</sup> *Olymp.* 5.27 and *Pyth.* 10.28-29 respectively. See J.-P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1991, p. 160.
- <sup>70</sup> *Olymp.* 5.27, see C.M. Bowra, *Pindar*, p. 191.
- <sup>71</sup> C.M. Bowra, op. cit. p. 316.
- <sup>72</sup> J.B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar*, p. xi. See also L.R. Farnell, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, p. v, C.M. Bowra, 'The Treatment of Myth', in *Pindar*, pp. 278-316.
- <sup>73</sup> Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis. A Study of the social origins of Greek Religion*, London 1963, p. 257. See also C.M. Bowra, "The athletic ideal", in *Pindar*, pp. 159-91, E.N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford 1930 (1<sup>st</sup>), pp. 68-71, Miller Stephen G., *Arete. Greek Sports from Ancient Sources*, University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford, 1991 (2<sup>nd</sup>), p. 195, Sargent Robinson R., *Sources For The History Of Greek Athletics*, p. 95.
- <sup>74</sup> See Mandell Richard D., *Sport. A Cultural History*, Columbia University Press, New York 1984, p. 53. On the panhellenic dimension of Pindar's odes, see I.L. Pfeijffer, *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar*, pp. 7-9.
- <sup>75</sup> See C.M. Bowra, 'The Poetical Personality', in *Pindar*, pp. 355-401.

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