

NIKEPHOROS

Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur im Altertum

17. Jahrgang

2004



herausgegeben von
Wolfgang Decker · Peter Mauritsch
Werner Petermandl · Robert Rollinger
Christoph Ulf · Ingomar Weiler

Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde
Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz

Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altorientalistik
Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck

Institut für Sportgeschichte
Deutsche Sporthochschule Köln

WEIDMANN

HERAUSGEBER

Wolfgang Decker, Köln – Peter Mauritsch, Graz – Werner Petermandl, Graz – Robert Rollinger, Innsbruck – Christoph Ulf, Innsbruck – Ingomar Weiler, Graz

INSTITUTE

Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz
Universitätsplatz 3, A-8010 Graz

Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altorientalistik, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck
Innrain 52, A-6020 Innsbruck

Institut für Sportgeschichte, Deutsche Sporthochschule Köln
Carl-Diem-Weg 6, D-50933 Köln

WISSENSCHAFTLICHER BEIRAT

Heribert Aigner, Graz - Paola Angeli Bernardini, Urbino - Nigel B. Crowther, London (Ontario) - Peter Frisch, Köln - Fernando Garcia Romero, Madrid - Sotiris G. Giatsis, Thessaloniki - Volkert Haas, Berlin - Michael Herb, Köln - James G. Howie, Edinburgh - Hugh M. Lee, College Park/Maryland - Egon Maróti, Budapest - Reinhold Merkelbach, Köln - Stephen G. Miller, Berkeley - Věra Olivová, Prag - Henri Willy Pleket, Leiden - Michael B. Poliakoff, Hillsdale - Paavo Roos, Lund/Istanbul - Thomas F. Scanlon, Riverside - Peter Siewert, Wien - Jean-Paul Thuillier, Paris/Grenoble - Panos D. Valavanis, Athen - Steffen Wenig, Berlin - David C. Young, Gainesville/Florida

Nikephoros wurde 1988 von Wolfgang Decker, Joachim Ebert und Ingomar Weiler begründet.

Vormalige Mitherausgeber waren Joachim Ebert (1988–1999 †) und Ulrich Sinn (1992–2000).

Bis zu ihrem Ableben zählten folgende Personen zu den Mitgliedern des wissenschaftlichen Beirates:

Bronislaw Biliński, Rom/Warschau – Hans-Volkmar Herrmann, Köln – Luigi Moretti, Rom – Werner Rudolph, Zepernick – Alexandr Iossifoviè Zaicev, St. Petersburg

<http://www-gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/nikephor/>

Beiträge erbeten an:

Redaktion in Graz:

Werner Petermandl, redaktionelle Mitarbeit Barbara Mauritsch-Bein
Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz

Universitätsplatz 3, A-8010 Graz

Tel.: 0316 380-2349; Fax: 0316 380-9715

Email: werner.petermandl@kfunigraz.ac.at

Rezensionen:

Wolfgang Decker, redaktionelle Mitarbeit Barbara Rieger

Institut für Sportgeschichte, Deutsche Sporthochschule Köln

Carl-Diem-Weg 6, D-50933 Köln

Tel.: 02 21/49 82 3840; Fax: 02 21/49 82 8210

Email: w.decker@dshs-koeln.de

weitere Ansprechpartner sind:

Paola Angeli Bernardini, Istituto di Filologia Classica, Università di Urbino, Via S. Andrea 34, I-61029 Urbino, Italien

Hugh M. Lee, Department of Classics, 2407 Marie Mount Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742, USA

Jean-Paul Thuillier, Département des sciences de l'antiquité, École normale supérieure, 45, Rue d'Ulm, F-75230 Paris Cedex 05, Frankreich

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Gedenkfeier zur Erinnerung an Joachim Ebert

Michael HILLGRUBER, Zur Einführung	7
Wolfgang DECKER, Vorformen griechischer Agone in der Alten Welt	9
Stefan LEHMANN, Zwischen allen Stühlen? Zur Archäologie des antiken 'Sports'	27
Ulrich SINN, Poseidon in Olympia	45
Ingomar WEILER, Theodosius I. und die Olympischen Spiele	53
H. W. PLEKET, Einige Betrachtungen zum Thema 'Geld und Sport'..	77
Włodzimierz APPEL, Griechische Versinschriften aus der Sammlung des Archäologischen Museums in Odessa	91
Dieter TIMPE, Erinnerung an Joachim Ebert	103
Gunnar BERG, Erinnerungen an Joachim Ebert	107

Aufsätze

Jan TREMEL, Die Befragung des Orakels durch Athleten	111
C. O. PAVESE, Xenophanes 21 B 2,1-11 D.-K ⁶ = 2,1-11 W. ² = 2,1-11 G.-P. ²	119
Konstantina GOGGAKI, The Athletic Victory as a Value in the Pindaric Odes	123
Emm. MIKROGIANNAKIS, The Last Word of Pericles' Epitaphios as Athletic-Political Signal	135
Luca BRUZZESE, Lo <i>Schwerathlet</i> , Eracle e il parassita nella commedia greca	139
Jean-Paul THUILLIER, La nudité athlétique, le pagne et les Étrusques	171
Jean-Yves STRASSER, Les Antôninia Pythia de Rome	181
Chris EPPLETT, Anastasius and the <i>Venationes</i>	221

Bibliographien

Wolfgang DECKER/Andreas GRILL, Jahresbibliographie zum Sport im Altertum 2005	233
--	-----

Rezensionen

S. G. MILLER, <i>Ancient Greek Athletics</i> , London 2004 (Martin Bentz)	275
--	-----

Sophia ANEZIRI, <i>Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kon- text der hellenistischen Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organisation und Wirkung der hellenistischen Technitenvereine</i> , Stuttgart 2003 (Brigitte Le Guen)	279
---	-----

N. Ch. STAMPOLIDIS/Y. TASSOULAS (Hgg.), <i>Magna Graecia. Ath- letics and the Olympic Spirit on the Periphery of the Hel- lenic World</i> [Ausstellungskatalog], Athen 2004 (Wolfgang Decker)	300
--	-----

Nachrichten

– 11. Europäischer Kongress für Sportgeschichte (CESH)	309
--	-----

Kurzfassungen (englisch)	313
---------------------------------	-----

Tafeln	321
---------------	-----

Hinweise für Autoren	333
-----------------------------	-----

The Athletic Victory as a Value in the Pindaric Odes

Konstantina Goggaki

Athens

The main purpose of this contribution to the history of ideas is to investigate the importance of athletic victories and their value in the Pindaric *epinikia*. Here the term 'value' is used in an intellectual, spiritual, religious and political sense and in connection with personal honor and the honor of family heritage. Pindar creates a whole world of values which manifests itself in the various fields he touches on, including the gods, the heroic myths, the moral order, and his own view of the world. The poet, who does not speak about his own feelings, confines himself to stating objectively what in his opinion is worthy of being glorified and what has to be attributed to the gods.

1. Introduction

Pindar is one of the most important representatives of Greek choral lyric poetry of the Archaic period. Even after the recovery of some of his colleague Bacchylides' work just over a century ago, Pindar remains the principal surviving exponent of the poetical celebration of victories in the sacred contests, or games, as his works on that theme have survived almost in their entirety. Thus, despite the fact that he was a professional poet working for payment,¹ his articulations of the athletic ideal are clearly based on a personal belief that the games are a continuation of the heroic past.²

This paper investigates the ideas influencing the way Pindar 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 and also in the sense of personal honor and the honor of the family heritage.³

¹) There is a story in the Scholia (ΣΝ. 5.1 a, p. 89, DR.) that when Pindar named his fee for that poem as three thousand drachmas, the relatives said that it would be a finer thing to order a bronze statue of the young man for the same money; but later they had second thoughts, and placed the order with Pindar. See *The Olympic Games in Ancient Greece*, Athens 1982, 142.

²) See Konstantina GOGGAKI, *The opinions of the ancient Greeks for the Athletics*, Athens 2003, 63 ff. See also Klaus KRAMER, *Studien zur griechischen Agonistik nach Epinikien Pindars*, Köln 1970.

³) See Plato, *The Republic* 6.496 a, *Phaedo* 113 e, *Laws* 11.936 d, 8.845 e and 9.876 d, Aristotle, *Politics* 5.1301 b 31, and *Nicomachean Ethics* 1122 a 26, see the Latin term 'honestum'. See also, Evangelos MOUTSOPOULOS, *Phenomenology of Values*, Athens 1984, 8, Erich SEGAL, *To win or to die of shame. A taxonomy of values*, in: *Journal of Sport History* 11, 1984, 25–31, and Robert L. SIMON, *Internalism and Internal Values in Sport*, in: *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* XXVII, 2000, 1–16.

2. Pindar's poetry

Only happiness can expel a mortal's cares.⁴ This is how Pindar once expressed the value of a victory for the winner; immense and heavy sadness is subdued and banished by the joy engendered by noble achievements.⁵ Victory is, for Pindar, a moral act capable of reversing painful misery. The winner of the games receives the crown of *areta*.⁷ And truly happy is he who enjoys a virtuous and good reputation.⁸ The victory that brings the athlete such joy is god-sent.⁹ Besides, *aretai*, *virtues*, that is, excellence and success, are for Pindar not the work of man, but given by the god.¹⁰ Man is the shadow of a dream.¹¹ But when that radiance comes from the god, he acquires bright glory and a sweet life.¹² Destiny, or fate, decides the mortals' joy, just as it also decides ill fortune or destruction.¹³

The Graces offer their flowers to the winner of the games,¹⁴ who has defeated his opponents, by his prowess.¹⁵ Participation and suc-

4) Pindar, *Olympian* 2.20. For Pindar's Text and the translation, see Oxford Classical Texts, *PINDARI CARMINA cum Fragmentis*, C. M. BOWRA, Oxford 1980 (1935). See also The Loeb Classical Library, *Pindar*, vols. II, edited and translated by William H. RACE.

5) *Olymp.* 2.21.

7) *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*, in: *International Journal of Physical Education* vol. XXXIX, Issue 4, 2002, 32–38.

8) *Olymp.* 7.11. See *Olymp.* 1.95–98, *Pyth.* 5.20, *Pyth.* 8.88–92, *Pyth.* 9.4, *Pyth.* 10.28–29, *Pyth.* 11.45, *Nem.* 9.45.

9) *Pyth.* 8.61–66 and 67 *Pyth.* 8.67.

10) *Pyth.* 8.76. See also: *Olymp.* 3.7, *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.* 5.116–124, *Pyth.* 8.64–65, *Pyth.* 8.76–77, *Pyth.* 9.67–68, *Pyth.* 10.10–12, *Nem.* 6.13, *Nem.* 6.24, *Nem.* 9.45, *Nem.* 10.29–30, *Isthm.* 3.4, *Isthm.* 5.11, *Isthm.* 6.10–13. See BOWRA, *Pindar*, 42–98, 191.

11) *Pyth.* 8.95 ff. See Ilja Leonard PFEIFFER, *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar, A Commentary on Nemean V, Nemean III & Pythian VIII*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999, 598–9.

12) *Pyth.* 8.97. See PFEIFFER, *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar*, 599–600.

13) *Pyth.* 8.93–94, see also *Pyth.* 12.28–32, *Olymp.* 2.31b–37; see FARNELL, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, 14, note 21.

14) *Olymp.* 2.49–51; cf. *Olymp.* 6.76. The Charis personifies for Pindar the joy and brightness of victory in the games (see FARNELL, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, 146, note 76). 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.* 51, note 11). On "epinician Charis" see Bonnie MACLACHLAN, *The Age of Grace: Charis in Early Greek Poetry*, Princeton 1993, 87–123.

15) *Pyth.* 8.78–82.

cess in the games eliminate any sadness and bitterness that had preceded.¹⁶ The victor enjoys all the honours.¹⁷ After being crowned as a victor, a young victor from Aegina is escorted by a *komos* or band of singing revellers,¹⁸ and enjoys the distinction of a victor, the glorious fruit of his youthful endeavours.¹⁹ An Olympic victory occasions praise of a Sicilian tyrant as the outstanding scion of a noble lineage, the descendant who saves and distinguishes the city.²⁰ Through his victory an athlete is said to have brought honor to his homeland,²¹ proving himself worthy of ancestors who had achieved the like before him.²² A city is praised for its heroes, not only as victors in great battles but also as victors in athletic contests.²³ Victors in contemporary agonistic festivals are likewise seen as persons of real distinction in their own cities.²⁴ The joy of victory, so ardently desired by an athlete,²⁵ is also shared by the victor's homeland, which celebrates along with him.²⁷ Pindar calls on Zeus to cause one victor to be respected and honored by fellow-citizens and foreigners alike,²⁸ because he steers a straight course hostile to wicked arrogance (*hybris*), having clearly learnt what his own upright mind inherited from noble ancestors had declared to him.²⁹ Through nature, likewise, noble courage is inherited from fathers and shines out in their children.³⁰

The poet accompanies one returning victor to the sound of woodwind and the lyre, singing in honor of the great man, the dauntless victor.³¹ A victor is deserving of inspired praise and accolades.³² To

16) *Olymp.* 2.51–52.

17) *Pyth.* 8.5, *Olymp.* 7.7–10 a.

18) *Pyth.* 8.17 b–20.

19) *Pyth.* 8.32–34.

20) *Olymp.* 2.7, *Pyth.* 1.36–38, *Pyth.* 8.65, *Nem.* 9.12.

21) *Pyth.* 8.37.

22) *Pyth.* 8.35–38.

23) *Pyth.* 8.25–28.

24) *Olymp.* 2.102, see also *Olymp.* 2.7, *Olymp.* 5.9, *Olymp.* 8.20, *Pyth.* 8.38, *Pyth.* 9.69–75, *Nem.* 2.8, *Nem.* 3.66–69, *Nem.* 4.8, *Nem.* 11.20–21, *Isthm.* 3.12. See K. GOGGAKI, *The opinions of the ancient Greeks for the Athletics*, 63 ff., 79 ff.

25) *Pyth.* 8.65 (*ἀρπαλέαν*).

27) *Olymp.* 7.95.

28) *Olymp.* 7.90.

29) *Olymp.* 7.91 ff.

30) *Pyth.* 8.44–45, *Olymp.* 7.91, *Pyth.* 8.65, *Pyth.* 10.12–16, *Isthm.* 3.13 b–14.

31) *Olymp.* 7.15.

32) *Olymp.* 2.46–47, see also *Olymp.* 1.100–105, *Olymp.* 3.6 ff., *Olymp.* 4.14–16, *Olymp.* 7.7–10, *Olymp.* 7.15–17, *Olymp.* 7.88, *Olymp.* 11.4–8, *Pyth.* 5.104 ff., *Pyth.* 9.93–96, *Nem.* 3.6–9, *Nem.* 7.11–16, *Nem.* 9.6–7, *Nem.* 10.21–22, *Nem.* 11.17–21, *Isthm.* 5.53–56, *Isthm.* 7.20.

the victors in the Olympic (and Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian) games, the poet offers pure nectar, the gift of the Muses and sweet fruit of his mind.³³ The victory, flying on the wings of the poet's songs, will be made known everywhere.³⁴ With his commendation of the victor's achievements and the exquisite grace of his music,³⁶ the poet will crown the victor of the games³⁷ and adorn him with harmonious and immortal praise.³⁸

3. The athletic event in Pindaric odes

The poems composed by this fifth-century (518–438 B.C.) Theban mainly for victories in one of the four major games were a kind of choral ode, the *epinikion*.³⁹ The victor's return to his homeland had long been accompanied by triumphal manifestations and great honors, including extempore songs. But no reference to a chorus performing a song specially composed for a particular occasion appears before Simonides. With that development in choral lyric, the athletic life of the Hellenes, became associated with a sublime art.⁴⁰ Thus, despite the

³³) *Olymp.* 7.8–10.

³⁴) *Pyth.* 8.34.

³⁶) *Olymp.* 1.15.

³⁷) *Olymp.* 1.100.

³⁸) *Pyth.* 3.110–115. See further G. W. MOST, *The Measures of Praise: Structure and Function in Pindar's Second and Seventh Nemean Odes*, Göttingen 1985.

³⁹) 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. On the occasion for the composition of an *epinikian* ode see: G.M. KIRKWOOD, *Selections from Pindar*, Chicago 1982, 9–12. See also BOWRA, *Pindar*, 161, M. M. WILLCOCK (ed.), *Pindar. Victory Odes. Olympians 2, 7 and 11, Nemean 4, Isthmians 3, 4 and 7*, Cambridge 1995, 1 ff., J. B. BURY, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar*, Amsterdam 1965, xx, Rachel SARGENT ROBINSON, *Sources For The History Of Greek Athletics*, Chicago 1955 (a revised edition of *The Story of Greek Athletics*, Copyright 1927, by Rachel Louisa Sargent), 93. Pindar expresses similar sentiments concerning the other panhellenic games, but clearly regards the Olympic games the *ἀέθλων κορυφάν*, the very pinnacle of contests (*Olymp.* 2.13); cf. *Olymp.* 1.1–7, see BOWRA, *op. cit.* 162, 164. On "The Occasional Nature of Pindar's Odes" see PFEIFFER, *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar*, 7–11.

⁴⁰) See Albin LESKY, *A History of Greek Literature*, Translated by James Willis and Cornelis de Heer (London 1966; original title: *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, Bern/München 1971) 185. See also: BOWRA, *Pindar*, 159 ff., A. W. H. ADKINS, *Poetic Craft in the early Greek Elegists*, Chicago/London 1985, 208–9. For the prizes of the games see H. W. PLEKET, *Games, Prizes, Athletes and Ideology. Some Aspects of the History of Sport in the Greco-Roman World*, in: *Stadion* 1, 1975, 49–89. For a traditional song or refrain, attributed to Archilochus, sung at

fact that these poems were “ordered” and “paid for”, they are, by any criteria, entitled to be classed as “poetry”, created, as they are, with a bright vision of reality.⁴¹

Competitive zeal united the Hellenes into a thriving community, inspired by a desire first put into words by Homer: *αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων*, *always to be the best and superior to others*.⁴² The great importance of the games and victory, for the Hellenic national sentiment, has justifiably been extolled many times.⁴³ The choral lyrical poetry, however, with the *epinikion*, elevated the athletic event to a great art. This accolade for the victor proved a most felicitous literary expression of the athletic ideal, marrying it with a sublime art-form in a brilliant and unprecedented alliance. In their odes for athletic victors, however, both Pindar and his colleague Bacchylides are generally more concerned with the mythological origin of the victor’s family and the glories of his native city than with the details of his own athletic achievement, though, paradoxically, Pindar does draw on athletics for comparisons exalting his own *poetical* prowess.⁴⁴ Instead, certain aspects of it are touched on fleetingly and as part of a world dominated by a spiritual element fostered by the traditions of the myth. Pindar’s approach here reflects his general concern that everything covered in these poems, including the athletics, should be placed in a direct and meaningful relationship with the fundamental problems of human existence.

The surviving fragments of Pindar’s predecessor Simonides do not afford a clear picture of the latter’s *epinikia*, but they evidently contained certain elements that would not accord with the all-pervasive

Olympia by friends of the victor in a *komos*, see *Olymp.* 9.1–4 and *ΣΟ.* 9.1–3, pp. 266–270 DR. and Anne Pippin BURNETT, *Three Archaic Poets*, London, 1983, 25.

⁴¹) BOWRA, *Pindar*, 401. See also Ingomar WEILER, *Der Sport bei den Völkern der Alten Welt*, Darmstadt, ³1978, 82.

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

⁴³) See Bronislaw BILINSKI, *L’agonistica sportiva nella Grecia antica. Aspetti sociali e ispirazioni letterarie*, Rome 1960, C. DURANTEZ, *The Olympic Games as an Integrating Element of Panhellenism*, in: *Olympic Review* 208, Febr. 1985, 99–101. See more in Jonathan M. HALL, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge 1997. See also W. H. RACE, *Style and Rhetoric in Pindar’s Odes*, Atlanta, Georgia 1990.

⁴⁴) H. A. HARRIS, *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, London 1964, 28, cf. Mary R. LEFKOWITZ, *First-Person Fictions: Pindar’s Poetic ‘I’*, Oxford 1991, 161. One striking exception is Bacchylides 9.27–38, for a pentathlete. For similes and metaphors applied by Pindar to his own work drawn from athletics, see e.g. *Pyth.* 1.42b–45, *Nem.* 5.19–20, and, in a poem for a pentathlete (!), *Nem.* 7.70–73; see LEFKOWITZ, 161–168 (“The Poet as Athlete”).

strictly religious character of Pindar's.⁴⁵ In Pindar, the epinician ode raises the victory itself to a whole world of values created by the poet. This world of values manifests itself in the various fields he touches on, including the gods, the heroic myths, the moral order, and his own world-view. The unity of these poems lies in the universal relevance of their elements to a world of aristocratic values, to which the poet's own adherence is unshakeable. A trainer can raise an athlete up to great glory, but only if his charge is born with *areta* (and there is also a god's help).⁴⁶ The figures of the mythical heroes and all their achievements are exemplars of that high ethos, which is also exemplified the hard-won success of the victors at major games. In several poems, such as those for Aeginetan victors, the heroes of the myth are are heroes of the victors' own cities.⁴⁷

On a par with the victor's achievements is the contribution of the poet, who lends the victory permanence. The poem lifts the victor into the realm of the sublime and the imperishable.⁴⁸ Yet the victor's inherited prowess, his success, and the poetic word victorious over time, are all dependent on the basic condition of all success: the blessing of the god, from whom all human prowess and achievement emanate.⁴⁹ The poet himself is aware of man's feebleness in the face of the power of the gods,⁵⁰ but he believes that man's strength of spirit and nobility of nature, still count for something in the face of the gods and fate.

Pindar accepts the truth of established tradition, but with his own particular magnificence of style, he gives the traditions a fresh direction, as Bruno Snell observes.⁵¹ In the *epinikia* he associates the victor at the sacred games with the splendor of the gods and demigods and

⁴⁵) See more in E. THUMMER, *Die Religiosität Pindars*, Innsbruck 1957. On the religious nature of Pindaric poetry, see BOWRA, *Pindar*, 42 ff.

⁴⁶) *Olymp.* 10.20.

⁴⁷) *Olymp.* 2.7, *Olymp.* 7.91, see C.M. BOWRA, *Pindar*, 42 ff. For the range of the importance of a victor in the games see more in: L. MORETTI, *Olympionikai. I Vincitori negli Antichi Agoni Olimpici*, Rome 1957, H. BUHMANN, *Der Sieg in Olympia und in den anderen Panhellenischen Spielen*, München 1972, R. MUTH, *Der Sieg zu Olympia. Faszination und Kritik*, in: *Schrifttum aus Tirol* 15, 1976, 7–39, E. KEPFALIDOU, *Nikitis*, Thessaloniki 1996.

⁴⁸) *Olymp.* 1.105, *Pyth.* 3.114–115.

⁴⁹) *Pyth.* 1.41–42.

⁵⁰) *Nem.* 6.1–4.

⁵¹) Bruno SNELL, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes. Studien zur Entstehung des europäischen Denkens bei den Griechen*, Göttingen ⁴1975 (English translation, *The Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought*, Oxford 1953, Greek translation by Daniel Iakov, a publication of the Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, Athens ⁴1997, 119).

hence with important traditions respected by all Greeks.⁵² He uses the Greeks' rich legacy of myth with dexterity and expresses his own thoughts in a distinctive and impressive manner. A central role is assigned to the element of praise; great achievements, such as victory in a contest, need a bard if they are not to fall into oblivion. For Pindar, meeting that need is a duty. An outstanding achievement deserves an equally outstanding poem of praise; and that, in turn, makes the victor's efforts all the more worthwhile.⁵³ By raising up such a poetical monument, man renders pain painless.⁵⁴

Agonistic success has its own value and belongs with the mighty feats preserved in a tradition stretching back to the heroic past. It completes, and confirms, Pindar's view of the world. Within his spiritual world success of that kind has a place alongside his respect for the gods and the importance of heredity.⁵⁵ When a victory is achieved, it affects not only the standing of the individual victor but also that of his city. Hence Pindar's frequent emphasis on such 'excellences' shared in by the victor's whole community (the *ξυνὰ ἀρεταί* of *Pythian* 11.52) and achieved by his individual efforts.⁵⁶ Thus, given the the god-given nature of such success and the general good it brings, it is almost a sin, as A. J. Podlecki puts it, for someone with exceptional abilities not to develop them to the full.⁵⁷

Unlike most other lyric poets, Pindar does not bring in his own personal feelings. He does not usually discuss which values he accepts and which he rejects (though for a striking exception see §4 below) but confines himself to stating objectively what, in his judgement, is worthy of being glorified, what has to be attributed to the gods, and how a given matter accords with general truths. And because his purpose is not to create new values, but to promote the traditional ones, thus accepting the world as it is. What is of importance to him is to express the beauty that abundantly surrounds his life. Which is what he sees as the real value of the poet.⁵⁸ Pindar recognizes the presence of the divine in simple things, which he considers as the most precious,

⁵²) See C. M. BOWRA, "Gods, Heroes, and men", in: *Pindar*, 42–98, KEPFALIDOU, *Nikitis*.

⁵³) Anthony J. PODLECKI, *The Early Greek Poets and Their Times*, Vancouver 1984, 243.

⁵⁴) *Nem.* 8.47–50. See PODLECKI, *The Early Greek Poets*, 243.

⁵⁵) *Pyth.* 1.41 and *Olymp.* 13.13 respectively.

⁵⁶) *Pyth.* 9.93, *Isthm.* 6.69, *Isthm.* 7.29, *Isthm.* 1.46, *Nem.* 5.47. See PODLECKI, *The Early Greek Poets*, 241. See further Chr. MANN, *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland*, Göttingen 2001.

⁵⁷) *The Early Greek Poets*, 242.

⁵⁸) See *Nem.* 8.35–39.

but he also recognizes it also in the beautiful and exceptional examples surrounding him.⁵⁹

Pindar's criteria for determining what constitutes true virtue at the same time also determine the values in which the poet himself believes.⁶⁰ From the frequency with which the idea of 'virtue' appears in his work, it is clear that he lays particular stress on a special combination of physical and psychological properties that results in the harmony, so beloved of the Greeks, of the word and deed.⁶¹ The victors, the poet celebrated generally had not only physical strength but also a handsome appearance.⁶² Pindar's emphasis on heredity and the fact that many of his patrons were rich appears to indicate what has been called an "aristocratic" political view.⁶³ However, notwithstanding his praise of exceptional physical qualities and moral qualities, Pindar was well aware that no matter how great the advantages a man inherits from his aristocratic forebears, it is far from certain that success will be his.⁶⁴ Because athletic victory and human achievements in general depend on an additional factor, the grace of the god.⁶⁵

Pindar considers the fate of the victor not only enviable, but also grand.⁶⁶ Lewis W. Farnell observes that the term used to characterize songs (of praise) in *Olymp.* 3.10 *theomoroi apportioned by a fate dispensed by God*, serves to reconcile the principle of fate with that of theism.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

⁵⁹) *Olymp.* 1.1 and *Olymp.* 1.3–7, *Olymp.* 1.97–99, *Olymp.* 3.43–44.

⁶⁰) See A. J. PODLECKI, "Pindar's Values", in: *The Early Greek Poets*, 237–43.

⁶¹) *Nem.* 1.57, *Nem.* 1.26–30, *Pyth.* 10.22–24. See PODLECKI, *The Early Greek Poets*, 238.

⁶²) *Pyth.* 10.22–24, *Nem.* 1.26–30, *Nem.* 11.12, *Isthm.* 7.22 b. See PODLECKI, *The Early Greek Poets*, 238–9, J. B. BURY, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar*, xii. The less than big or impressive-looking victor of *Isthmian* 4 still has a family heritage of courage; see *Isthm.* 4.49–50.

⁶³) *Olymp.* 2.10–11, *Olymp.* 9.100–102, *Olymp.* 10.20–21, *Pyth.* 8.60, *Pyth.* 10.12, *Nem.* 1.25–29, *Nem.* 6.8 ff., *Nem.* 10.49–51, *Isthm.* 3.13–14. See PODLECKI, *The Early Greek Poets*, 239, BOWRA, "Echoes of Politics", in: *Pindar*, 99–158. For a reflection of Pindar's elitist attitude, see *Nem.* 7.23 b–24.

⁶⁴) *Isthm.* 4.31–35.

⁶⁵) *Isthm.* 3.4–5, *Olymp.* 10.20–21, *Olymp.* 9.103–4, *Pyth.* 10.10, see PODLECKI, *The Early Greek Poets*, 241.

⁶⁶) See BOWRA, *Pindar*, 191, FARNELL, *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, 14 note 21.

⁶⁷) FARNELL *loc. cit.*

⁶⁸) BOWRA, *Pindar*, 191.

all Greeks around their sacred games through poems that sometimes explicitly aspire to a wide, Panhellenic, circulation, he becomes in effect a national poet of Greece.⁷⁴ His poetic voice, inspired, as I have said, by a bright vision of reality, as well as a profound, resounding tone, emerges as vision-depicting poetry, that, according to C. M. Bowra,⁷⁵ may be considered the earthly correlative of the music of Apollo and the song of the Muses on Mt. Olympus which for Pindar himself were the archetype of music for those supreme moments when all differences are resolved and all guilt is expiated by the power of the life-giving word.

Bibliography

- Pindar, *Epinikian Odes (Victory Odes)*
 Aristotle, *Politics, Nicomachean Ethics*
 Homer, *Iliad*
 Plato, *The Republic, Phaedo, Laws*
- Loeb Classical Library, *Pindar*, II vols., edited and translated by
 William H. RACE
 Oxford Classical Texts, *PINDARI CARMINA cum Fragmentis*,
 BOWRA C. M., Oxford University Press, Oxford 1980 (¹1935)
- ADKINS A. W. H., *Poetic Craft in the early Greek Elegists*, Chicago
 and London 1985
- BILINSKI B., *L'agonistica sportiva nella Grecia antica. Aspetti sociali
 e ispirazioni letterarie*, Rome, 1960
- BOWRA C. M., *Greek Lyric Poetry*, Oxford, ²1961
- BOWRA C. M., *Pindar*, Oxford 1964 (²1971)
- BUHMANN H., *Der Sieg in Olympia und in den anderen Panhelleni-
 schen Spielen*, München 1972
- BURY J. B., *The Nemean Odes of Pindar*, Amsterdam 1965
- CURTIUS E., *Olympia. Mit ausgewählten Texten von Pindar, Pausa-
 nias, Lukian*, Berlin 1935

Angeles/Oxford, ²1991, 195, R. SARGENT ROBINSON, *Sources For The History Of
 Greek Athletics*, 95.

⁷⁴) See Richard D. MANDELL, *Sport. A Cultural History*, New York 1984, 53.
 On the panhellenic dimension of Pindar's odes, see PFEIJFFER, *Three Aeginetan
 Odes of Pindar*, 7-9.

⁷⁵) See C. M. BOWRA, "The Poetical Personality", in: *Pindar*, 355-401.

- DRACHMANN A. B., *SCHOLIA Vetera. in Pindari Carmina*, Lipsiae 1903
- DURANTEZ C., *The Olympic Games as an Integrating Element of Panhellenism*, in: *Olympic Review* 208, Febr. 1985, 99–101
- FARNELL L. R., *The Works of Pindar*, 3 vols., London 1930
- FARNELL L. R., *Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, Amsterdam 1965, (Reprint of: *The Works of Pindar*, vol. II. *Critical commentary*, London 1932)
- FINLEY J., *Pindar and Aeschylus*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1955
- GARDINER E. N., *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford¹1930
- GENTILI Br., *Poesia e pubblico nella Grecia antica. Da Omero al V secolo*, Roma/Bari 1995
- GOGGAKI K., *The Wreath of Athletic Victory and its Moral Symbolism*, in: *International Journal of Physical Education* XXXIX, Issue 4, 2002, 32–38
- GOGGAKI K., *Oi antilipseis ton archaion Ellinon gia ton athlitismo (= The conceptions of the ancient Greeks concerning Athletics)*, Athens 2003
- HALL J. M., *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge 1997
- HARRIS H. A., *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, London 1964
- HARRISON J. E., *Themis. A Study of the social origins of Greek Religion*, London 1963
- HYLAND D. A., *Philosophy of Sport*, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1990
- KEPFALIDOU E., *Nikitis*, Thessaloniki 1996
- KIRKWOOD G., *Selections from Pindar*, Chicago 1982
- KRAMER K., *Studien zur griechischen Agonistik nach Epinikien Pindars*, Köln 1970
- LESKY A., *History of Ancient Greek Literature*, translated into Greek by Agapitos Tsopanakis, Thessaloniki⁵1981, original title: *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, Bern/München³1971
- MACKINTOSH J., *Lexicon Homeriko-Pindaricum*, Andreas et Ioannes M. Duncan (eds.), Academiae Glasguensis 1824
- MANDELL R. D., *Sport. A Cultural History*, New York 1984
- MANN Chr., *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland*, Göttingen 2001
- MILLER St. G., *Arete. Greek Sports from Ancient Sources*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford²1991
- MORETTI L., *Olympionikai. I Vincitori negli Antichi Agoni Olimpici*, Roma 1957
- MOST G. W., *The Measures of Praise: Structure and Function in Pindar's Second and Seventh Nemean Odes*, Göttingen 1985
- MUTH R., *Der Sieg zu Olympia. Faszination und Kritik*, in: *Schrifttum aus Tirol* 15, 1976, 7–39.

- NAGY G., *Early Greek Views of Poets and Poetry*, in: G. A. Kennedy (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 1, CUP 1989, 1–77
- PFEIFFER I. L., *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar, A Commentary on Nemean V, Nemean III & Pythian VIII*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999
- 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
- PODLECKI A. J., *The Early Greek Poets and Their Times*, Vancouver 1984
- RACE W. H., *Style and Rhetoric in Pindar's Odes*, Atlanta, Georgia 1990
- RUMPEL J., *Lexicon Pindaricum*, Leipzig 1883
- SANDYS J., *The Odes of Pindar*, Boston 1919
- SARGENT ROBINSON R., *Sources For The History Of Greek Athletics*, Chicago 1955 (a revised edition of *The Story of Greek Athletics*, Copyright 1927, by Rachel Louisa Sargent)
- SCHADEWALDT W., *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinicion*, Halle 1928
- SCHWENN F., *Pindaros*, in: *Real-Encyclopädie XX*, 1950, 1606–97
- SEGAL E., *To win or to die of shame. A taxonomy of values*, in: *Journal of Sport History* 11, 1984, 25–31
- SIMON R. L., *Internalism and Internal Values in Sport*, in: *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport XXVII*, 2000, 1–16
- SLATER W. I., *Lexikon to Pindar*, Berlin 1969
- SNELL B. (ed.), *Pindarus*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 2 vols., 1959 and 1964
- SNELL B., *The Discovery of the Spirit. Greek Roots of European Thought*, translated into Greek by Daniel Iakov, Athens ⁴1997, original title: *Die Entdeckung des Geistes. Studien zur Entstehung des europäischen Denkens bei den Griechen*, Göttingen ⁴1975
- THUMMER E., *Die Religiosität Pindars*, Innsbruck 1957
- VERNANT J.-P., *Mortals and Immortals*, Princeton, New Jersey 1991
- WADE H. T.-G., *Essays in Greek History*, Oxford 1958
- WEILER I., *Der Sport bei den Völkern der Alten Welt*, Darmstadt ³1978
- WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF U. von, *Pindaros*, Berlin 1922
- WILLCOCK M. M. (ed.), *Pindar. Victory Odes. Olympians 2, 7 and 11, Nemean 4, Isthmians 3, 4 and 7*, Cambridge 1995