

# μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι

Studi offerti dagli allievi di dottorato  
a Liana Lomiento

a cura di  
Sandy Cardinali, Giampaolo Galvani,  
Roberto M. Danese







**INCONTRI  
e PERCORSI**

**n. 10**



1506  
UNIVERSITÀ  
DEGLI STUDI  
DI URBINO  
CARLO BO

UUP  
URBINO  
UNIVERSITY  
PRESS

INCONTRI E PERCORSI è una collana multidisciplinare che nasce nel 2022 e raccoglie le pubblicazioni di convegni e mostre promossi e organizzati dall'Università di Urbino.

### VOLUMI PUBBLICATI

01. *Le carte di Federico. Documenti pubblici e segreti per la vita del Duca d'Urbino* (mostra documentaria, Urbino, Biblioteca di san Girolamo, 26 ottobre - 15 dicembre 2022), a cura di Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, Marcella Peruzzi, UUP 2022
02. *Paolo Conte. Transiti letterari nella poesia per musica*, contributi di studio a cura di Manuela Furnari, Ilaria Tufano, Marcello Verdenelli, UUP 2023
03. *Il sacro e la città*, a cura di Andrea Aguti, Damiano Bondi, UUP 2024
04. *Diritto penale tra teoria e prassi*, a cura di Alessandro Bondi, Gabriele Marra, Rosa Palavera, UUP 2024
05. *Federico da Montefeltro nel Terzo Millennio*, a cura di Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, Antonio Corsaro, Grazia Maria Fachechi, UUP 2024
06. *Penal systems of the sea*, edited by Rosa Palavera, UUP 2024
07. *Pluralità & diritto*, a cura di Rosa Palavera, Nicola Pascucci, Anna Sammassimo, UUP 2024
08. *A scuola di greco*, a cura di Adele Teresa Cozzoli, Saulo Delle Donne, Anna Tiziana Drago, Giampaolo Galvani, Valentina Garulli, Enrico Medda, UUP 2025
09. *Winning Hearts and Minds. Poesie di reduci del Vietnam*, a cura di Carlotta Ferrando, Emilio Gianotti, Rachele Puddu, Giulio Segato, UUP 2025

# μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι

Studi offerti dagli allievi di dottorato  
a Liana Lomiento

a cura di

Sandy Cardinali, Giampaolo Galvani, Roberto M. Danese

## μελιγάρες ὕμνοι

Studi offerti dagli allievi di dottorato a Liana Lomiento

a cura di Sandy Cardinali, Giampaolo Galvani, Roberto M. Danese

*Progetto grafico*

Mattia Gabellini

*Referente UUP*

Giovanna Bruscolini

[Print] ISBN 9791257650261

[PDF] ISBN 9791257650247

[ePub] ISBN 9791257650254

Le edizioni digitali dell'opera sono rilasciate con licenza Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 - CC-BY, il cui testo integrale è disponibile all'URL: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



Le edizioni digitali online sono pubblicate in Open Access su: <https://press.uniurb.it/index.php/UrbinoUP>

© Gli autori per il testo, 2026

© Urbino University Press per la presente edizione

Pubblicato da: Urbino University Press | Via Saffi, 2 | 61029 Urbino

Sito web: <https://uup.uniurb.it/> | e-mail: [uup@uniurb.it](mailto:uup@uniurb.it)

L'edizione cartacea del volume può essere ordinata in tutte le librerie fisiche e online ed è distribuita da StreetLib (<https://www.streetlib.com/it/>)

I saggi qui raccolti hanno ricevuto una valutazione positiva da parte di esperti del settore, mediante un processo di doppia revisione anonima condotto sotto la supervisione dei curatori

# SOMMARIO

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| INTRODUZIONE   | 7   |
| “[...] E UN ALTRO CANTO ANCORA”.<br><i>mimesi e performance rapsodica in h.Pan</i><br>Lorenzo Pizzoli                              | 11  |
| LOOKING FOR PINDAR'S PRESENCE IN SICILY<br>Francesco Buè   | 29  |
| DONNE “DI FERRO”.<br><i>Giochi (par)etimologici in Sofocle, fr. *658 R.</i><br>Sandy Cardinali                                     | 51  |
| SOGNARE UNA REPLICA.<br><i>Una nota di commento a Diodoro Siculo, 13, 97, 4-7</i><br>Nello Sidoti                                  | 75  |
| IL DOCMIO NELLE <i>TESMOFORIAZUSE</i> DI ARISTOFANE<br>Loredana Di Virgilio  | 95  |
| LA MUSA INDECENTE DI GNESIPPO<br>Vivian L. Navarro Martínez  | 121 |
| ATHENAEUS' MENANDER<br>Valentina Dardano   | 145 |
| LA VITALITÀ DEI PESCI E L'UMANIZZAZIONE<br>NEL POEMA DI OPPIANO DI CILICIA:<br><i>Halieutica, 1, 446-472</i><br>Francesco Arcolaci | 165 |
| UN CORO DI ALLIEVI:<br><i>l'uso figurato di χορός in Libanio</i><br>Barbara Mander   | 179 |
| TRADUZIONE, ἘΡΜΗΝΕΥΕΙΝ, RELAZIONE<br>Angelo Vannini  | 199 |
| LA GIORNATA D'UN PROFESSORE.<br><i>Appunti su alcune questioni aperte</i><br>Tullia Spinedi  | 213 |
| INDICE DEI PASSI CITATI  | 233 |

# LOOKING FOR PINDAR'S PRESENCE IN SICILY

Francesco Buè<sup>1</sup>

## *Abstract*

A *corpus* of fifteen victory odes leaves no doubts regarding the strong relationships between Pindar and his Sicilian patrons. Likewise, there is no doubt, according to modern scholarship, on the real presence of the poet in Sicily to ensure the performance (and eventually the re-performances) of his own compositions. Yet, differently from contemporary poets such as Simonides and Aeschylus, a deeper analysis of the sources reveals no certain evidence about the visit of Pindar to the island of Deinomenidai and Emmenidai. The only explicit reference, in this respect, is a passage from the *Vita Ambrosiana* (1, 3 Drachm.). Instead, according to one ἀπόφθεγμα related to him (1, 3 Drachm. = Eust. *Prooem.* 26, 2 Kambylis), Pindar would have declined any invitation to go to the courts of Sicilian tyrants, for “he wanted to live for himself, not for another”. Regardless of the origins and reliability of this anecdote, it is legitimate to investigate at least ‘when’ exactly, on ‘which date’ and under ‘which circumstances’ the Theban poet went to visit the courts of Sicilian rulers. The double purpose of this paper is to collect, compare and deeply analyse all the elements that could validate the assumption of the modern scholars – the physical presence of Pindar in Sicily – which still needs to be demonstrated. Through the analysis based on Pindar’s *corpus*, but also on other literary sources as well as on the ancient *scholia*, we will focus on three points, which are historical, linguistic, and literary respectively: the eruption of Etna in 479-478 BCE

1 I warmly thank Liana Lomiento for the precious and indefatigable work that she provides for the benefit of scholarship in general every day and for the positive evolution that she has contributed to classical studies for many decades. None of my work would have seen the light without her precious teachings. I take the opportunity to thank the following people for their help and support in reading, improving and deepening many aspects of my argumentation: Sandy Cardinali for her enthusiasm at the origin of this project, the two peer reviewers for their very interesting and pertinent remarks, Giovanni Fanfani and Eleonora Rocconi for their precious suggestions, Jason Kavett for making my text more fluent.

(*Marm. Par.*) or in 476-475 BCE (Th.), that Pindar would witness through his poetic descriptions (see *P.* 1); the elements of deixis that he uses to localize himself, for instance, in Syracuse (see Athanassaki 2004); the silence of later literary sources about the stay of Pindar in Sicily (see *e.g.* Paus. 1, 2, 3), which strikes if compared to the large amount of information concerning Simonides' and Aeschylus' ones.

#### *Key-words*

Pindar's Biography, Pindar in Sicily, Pindaric Criticism.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The double purpose of this paper is to collect and deeply analyse all the elements that could validate what is, surprisingly, only a reasonable deduction of the readers and scholars of Pindar: his physical presence in Sicily. Around this idea there is the *consensus* of all the Pindarists, but – as we will see – it is worth challenging and validating it, if it is the case, by considering the most important sources at our disposal, and at the same time taking into account the silence of these latter on the real Pindar's presence in the island of Deinomenidai and Emmenidai. My reflection will lead me to consider, first, the biographical and historical texts that can furnish – or cannot – important pieces of evidence about the presence of Pindar in Sicily. In a second time, my reasoning will let me deal with the most important and general topics of the Pindaric criticism: the poetic 'I'; the first performance reconstruction; the modalities of Pindar composition; the relationships between reality and imagery in his poetry; the connections between the *lyricorum princeps* and his *laudandi*. Thus, I will base my analysis firstly on secondary sources such as later authors and ancient *scholīa*, and then on Pindar's *corpus* of victory odes. My reasoning will imply three types of levels of analysis: lexical, literary, and historical.

## 2. AN INTRIGUING PRESENCE OR A POSSIBLE ABSENCE?

From a historical and literary point of view, we must consider the strong links between poetry and travelling in Pindar's days<sup>2</sup>. More particularly,

2 See the prototype of this in the myth of Arion. Cfr. in this respect Kowalzig 2013, 31-33.

it is easy to juxtapose the fluid dynamics of lyric poets and aristocrats travelling before, during and after the Panhellenic athletic festivals. In this respect, it is useful to remind some considerations by Richard Hunter and Ian Rutherford (2009, 12):

[T]he great pan-Hellenic athletic festivals offered rich opportunities for the greatest poets, and such opportunities often involved travel, whether to the games, to the victor's home city, or to both. The fifth century before the Peloponnesian War was the golden age of the festivals and the poetry which they inspired. Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides wrote songs for patrons from all over Greece, and they will have visited many of their patrons' cities (as Pindar represents himself as training a chorus on Ceos in the First Isthmian), although poems were presumably also conveyed to a patron's home by a third party; we know very little indeed about the processes involved in the training of choruses and the delivery of poems when the poet himself was absent<sup>3</sup>.

Thus, to contextualize our topic, on the one hand it is possible that Pindar's odes were sent to their patrons' cities in Sicily, and in this case, we should infer that writing would have played an important role in the composition and transmission of the Pindar's *opus*, which is a point that is difficult to demonstrate<sup>4</sup>; on the other, it seems likely – both for the dynamics of commissioning poems and for the prestige implied by the fact of having at the performance of a poem the presence of the poet himself<sup>5</sup> – that Pindar travelled to Sicily and hypothetically spent a period there. These considerations lead us to question the biographical sources of Pindar, whose several statements are very precious for our purposes. A passage of the *Vita Ambrosiana* relates that Pindar, as well as Simonides, were at the court of Hieron in Syracuse.

*Vita Ambrosiana*, 1, 2-3 Drachm.:

Καὶ γὰρ Σιμωνίδης τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν γέγραφε καὶ Πίνδαρος μέμνηται τῆς Κάδμου βασιλείας. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω παρὰ Ἰέρωνι τῷ Συρακοσίων τυράννῳ γεγένηται.

3 Cfr. Hunter and Rutherford 2009, 1-22.

4 See in this respect Schmid 1998, 70: «[t]he evidence for either written, and therefore material, or oral composition of the epinikia is indirect. At most, we may infer from a number of oblique references that writing was used at some stage in the process in between the commissioning of the ode and its performance before the patron». In the eventuality of poems sent and performed without the presence of Pindar, we should admit – as Schmid himself does not fail to remind us – also an important role played by the χοροδιδάσκαλος Aineas, as it seems to be evident in *O.* 6, 87-92. Cfr. on this topic Spelman 2018, 39-43 and – concerning family archives as a repository for texts – 248 n. 88.

5 Cfr. *infra* the citation of William Mullen.

Moreover, Eustathius of Thessalonica (26, 1-2), who draws information, even if partially, from the *Vita Ambrosiana* itself<sup>6</sup>, recalls this same detail, also mentioning the chronological proximity of Simonides and Pindar: “they both came to Sicily, at the Hieron’s court, as other wise had done before them”.

Yet, it is surprising that Eustathius takes into some consideration an ancient ἀπόφθεγμα, handed down from the *Vita Ambrosiana* too, which reads: “when Pindar was asked why, whereas Simonides went to Sicily at the court of the tyrants, he did not want, he said: because I want to live for myself, and not for another”.

Eust. *Prooem.* 26, 1-2 Kambylis:

Εἰπεῖν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλως κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, ἐπέβαλε Πίνδαρος τοῖς χρόνοις Σιμωνίδου ἢ νεώτερος πρεσβυτέρου. τῶν αὐτῶν γοῦν μέμνηται ἀμφοτέροι πράξεων· ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Ἰέρωνι τῷ Συρακουσίῳ τυράννῳ ἄμφω ἐγένοντο, ἀποδημήσαντες δηλαδὴ καθ’ ἑτέρους καὶ αὐτοὶ σοφοὺς εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν. καὶ μὴν πρὸς τὸ ἱστορηθὲν τοῦτο διαφέρεισθαι δοκεῖ τὸ περιφερόμενον· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι Πίνδαρος ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί Σιμωνίδης μὲν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλει, ἔφη· διότι βούλομαι ἑμαυτῷ ζῆν, οὐκ ἄλλῳ [see *Pind. Apophth* Drachm. 1, p. 3].

From a historical and biographical point of view, the reliability of this anecdote, and more broadly of all the ἀποφθέγματα concerning Pindar – whose original authors are unknown (see λέγεται in the Eustathius’ text) –, is doubtful. Indeed, these anecdotes come from late collections where the attribution to one or another poet was sometimes of lesser importance<sup>7</sup>, and – at least in some cases – they could be generated from ancient reflections on the texts or even more directly from the verses themselves<sup>8</sup>. As far as we are concerned, the ἀπόφθεγμα on Pindar and Simonides speaking about a possible stay in Sicily – and the rejection to come expressed by the former

6 On the relationships between Eustathius and his sources, see Negri 2000, 226-235.

7 See Gallo 2005, 62 n. 12.

8 Yet, concerning the biographical statements about early poets, it is interesting to cite some lines from the *Introduction* of Kivilo 2010, 5, which in my opinion could be applied also to the Pindaric *Vitae*: «I suggest that the biographical statements and anecdotes about early poets in the Classical authors’ works are the remnants of large and well-developed ancient biographical tradition which began to form simultaneously with the performance of the poetry soon after the poet’s death or even in their lifetime. Some details were recorded in local documents such as inscriptions and lists of winners at poetic contests, for example, but mainly the tradition was developed and passed on orally. [...] The biographical traditions were continuously developed further, were embellished and scrutinized by later authors and came to form the basis for the Hellenistic literary *Lives*».

– could transmit more a verisimilitude of thinking by Pindar than a real and historical dialogue between the two poets<sup>9</sup>. Thus, while we are not legitimated to consider Pindar’s refuse to come to Sicily as worth of strong consideration, nevertheless, it is important to take into account what follows: except for the passage of the *Vita Ambrosiana* and that of Eustathius, which – as I noted – is second-hand information (coming down directly from the *Vita* itself), we do not have at our disposal any other explicit piece of evidence about Pindar’s presence in Sicily. Nor we have elements to exactly state when and where the famous poet was and operated in the island. Of course, we must trust Pindar’s *corpus*, which is very rich of Sicilian victory odes. But, as we shall see, it is not so easy to draw from Pindar’s poetic statements any details about his Sicilian period(s). In this respect, it is interesting to recall a short and prudent reflection of Mary Lefkowitz on the historical reliability of geographical descriptions and historical allusions present in the Pindaric texts:

It is important to remember that most allusions to historical events in the odes tend to be general rather than precise. [...] As in the case of *P. V*, where his detailed description of the site makes it look as if he had seen Cyrene with his own eyes, it is tempting to deduce from his references to Aetna that he knew Sicily well; but it is still possible that even these larger descriptions were based on information given to him by natives of those sites<sup>10</sup>.

If we go back in time and see other ancient sources, we cannot feel more comfortable with the evanescent presence of Pindar in Sicily. Indeed, the silence of some important ancient sources about his possible stay in the island might lead us even to cast some doubts, at least on his precise presence in time and space. An interesting example of this is Pausanias. Indeed, it is worth turning to the following passage of the second book of his *Description of Greece*, focusing on the poets that he evokes and noting one important absent: Pindar<sup>11</sup>.

9 See, in this respect, Lefkowitz, 2012, 68: «[h]is apparent refusal to toady to Hieron in odes like *Pythian* 2 may have provided the inspiration for [our] apothegm». Cfr. LeVen 2010-2011, 683: «anecdotal narratives might not give access to historical reality. They may be born from historical events, but they often acquire a life of their own, and become so flexible that they are transferable, in time, subject and place. What matters more than historicity is on the one hand their verisimilitude, and on the other, the fact that they make a point larger than they appear to be making».

10 Lefkowitz 1985, 322.

11 It is important to note that Pausanias speaks of Pindar, of his house in Thebes and on his hymn to Ammon (fr. 36 Maehl.) inscribed on a wood tablet, but also on the iron chair where the poet composed his songs to Apollo. See Paus. 9, 25, 3 and 16, 1; 10, 24, 5 respectively. Cfr. Lefkowitz 2012, 64-65.

Paus. 1, 2, 3 (1, 4 Rocha-Pereira):

Συνῆσαν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τότε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ποιηταὶ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι καὶ Πολυκράτει Σάμου τυραννοῦντι Ἀνακρέων παρῆν καὶ ἐς Συρακοῦσας πρὸς Ἰέρωνα Αἰσχύλος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐστάλησαν· Διονυσίῳ δέ, ὃς ὕστερον ἐτυράννησεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, Φιλόξενος παρῆν καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ Μακεδόνων ἄρχοντι Ἀνταγόρας Ῥόδιος καὶ Σολεὺς Ἄρατος.

Since the two poets are here mentioned, at this point of my paper, it is useful to wonder if the presence of Simonides and Aeschylus is more concrete than Pindar's one against the sources. Indeed, the answer is quite simple: the relationship between Simonides or Aeschylus and Sicily is much richer of precise details than for Pindar, and their presence in the island is highlighted by very important biographical sources related to them.

### 3. THE SICILIAN JOURNEYS OF SIMONIDES AND AESCHYLUS

We are made sure of the presence of Simonides in Sicily, at the court of Hieron. Callimachus recalls that he was buried in Acragas (fr. 64, 3-4 = T51 Poltera), away from his home, like Homer and Hesiod. According to the *Suida* (σ 439 Adler, s.v. Σιμωνίδης), his dates of birth and death are synchronized with events of relevant Sicilian personalities, such as Stesichorus and Hieron themselves<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, further sources testify the relationship between Simonides and Hieron, among whom, one anecdote recorded by the Peripatetic Chamaeleon about the proverbial φιλοκέρδεια of the poet (fr. 33, IX, 58, 24-28 Wehrli = T96 Poltera)<sup>13</sup>, and one dialogue-reflection on god – between the poet and the tyrant – narrated by Cicero, who knew Sicily and its history very well (*Nat.deor.* 1, 60)<sup>14</sup>:

Roges me quid aut quale sit deus: auctore utar Simonide, de quo cum quaesivisset hoc idem tyrannus Hiero, deliberandi sibi unum diem po-

12 Cfr. Poltera 2008, 7 and 48 with n. 73.

13 Also this case, according to what I said above on anecdotes, beyond its historicity, the source could at least reveal the relations that the poet Simonides could have had in the Sicilian context. On the interest of the Peripatetic scholarship on anecdotes related to ancient poets, see Ercoles 2017, 140-141.

14 See other references in Poltera 2008, 55-56. On this topic, see also Agócs and Prauscello 2020, 2: «[h]is place among the defining figures and celebrities of late sixth- and early fifth-century BCE culture (both in mainland Hellas and in the cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily) is attested through the vitality of the folklore – those traditions of biographical anecdote, ‘wise sayings’, riddles, *jeux d’esprit* and so on – that built up, soon after his death and perhaps even in his lifetime, around both the man and the poetic persona he seems to have developed in his songs». On Simonides and Hieron and their friendship, see also, on the border between historical reality and literary imagination, X. *Hiero*, [Pl.] *Ep.* 311a, Arist. *Rh.* 1391a.

stulavit; cum idem ex eo postridie quaereret, biduum petivit; cum saepius duplicaret numerum dierum admiransque Hiero requireret cur ita faceret, ‘quia quanto diutius consider’ inquit ‘tanto mihi spes videtur obscurior’.

In this last case, the permanence of what is probably an oral testimony, transmitted until Cicero came to Sicily, can be interpreted as an important sign of the actual presence of the poet on the island. It is relevant to note that even in the Pindaric *scholia* we find explicit references to Simonides’ presence in Sicily<sup>15</sup>.

With regard to Aeschylus, we can note that his presence in this island is even more supported by some historical details, transmitted by numerous ancient sources<sup>16</sup>. It is worth considering some passages of his *Vita*<sup>17</sup>. Indeed, this biographical source enables us to specify the time and contexts in which Aeschylus came to Sicily. First of all, the *Vita* gives three main possible reasons why he would have been obliged to move from Attica to the island (chap. 8 and 9, *i.e.* he was defeated either by a young Sophocles or by Simonides, or because he frightened the Athenians with his *Eumenides*)<sup>18</sup>; it continues narrating the historical context of Sicily at his arrival (the foundation of Aetna), which is related to the occasion and to the audience of the tragedy *Aitnaiai* (chap. 9)<sup>19</sup>. Moreover, according to the same *Vita*, Aeschylus “was especially honoured by the tyrant Hieron and by the Geloans” and “he died an old man after three years” (chap. 10).

15 See *Schol. P. 2*, 29c and d. A very important piece of my argument is *Vita Ambrosiana* (1, 3, 2-3 Drachm.) which reminds the presence of Pindar at the same time as that of Simonides, at the court of Hieron: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμφότεροι παρὰ Ἱέρωνι τῷ Συρακοσίων τυράννῳ γεγένηται.

16 For a short but important bibliography on Aeschylus and his journeys in Sicily, see Hubbard 1992, 100 n. 63. Another Pindaric source, the *Vita Thomana*, reminds that Pindar was contemporary with Aeschylus: γέγονε δὲ κατὰ [τοῦς] χρόνους Αἰσχύλου, καὶ συγγεγένηται, καὶ τέθνηκεν ὅτε καὶ τὰ Περσικὰ ἤκμαζον (1, 4, 15-17 Drachm.). From a more literary point of view, with regard to the points of contact between Pindar and Aeschylus, see Uhlig 2019.

17 A useful study on the Aeschylus’ *Vita*, with important introductory notes on its textual tradition, is Frassoni 2013.

18 On this subject, see Lefkowitz 2012, 74-75: «[t]he notion that the Athenians were dissatisfied with him makes his invitation to Gela seem like an exile. Aeschylus’ *Suda* biography explicitly states that “he went into exile in Sicily because the stage fell down when he was putting on a performance” (Ai 357 = *TrGF* 3, T2). In reality, however, Hieron’s invitation was an indication of Aeschylus’ success and international recognition, as it was also for other poets, such as Pindar and Bacchylides. The *Vita* acknowledges that he put on the *Women of Aetna* to celebrate the founding of Aetna (also commemorated in Pindar’s *Pythian Ode* 1) and that “he was greatly honoured both by Hieron and the people of Gela and lived there for two years before he died” (*TrGF* 3, T. 1, 10)».

19 About the tragedian activity of Aeschylus in Sicily, another precious passage of *Vita* is *Supplementum* (c), according to whom the great poet staged the *Persians* a second time in Sicily, on request of Hieron.

*Vita Aeschyli*, 9-10:

(9) ἔλθων τοίνυν εἰς Σικελίαν, Ἰέρωνος τότε τὴν Αἴτην κτίζοντος, ἐπεδείξατο τὰς Αἴτνας, οἰωνιζόμενος βίον ἀγαθὸν τοῖς συνοικίζουσι τὴν πόλιν. (10) καὶ σφόδρα τῷ τυράνῳ Ἰέρωνι καὶ τοῖς Γελώοις τιμηθεὶς, ἐπιζήσας τρίτον ἔτος γηραιὸς ἐτελεύτα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κτλ.

Thus follows the very famous anecdote of his death by a tortoise dropped onto his head and with the citation of the epigram that the Geloans composed and put on his tomb (chap. 11)<sup>20</sup>. Thus, as opposed to what is suggested by the sources, the presence of Aeschylus in Sicily is confirmed and even specified by chronological and socio-political elements.

All these elements on Simonides and Aeschylus in Sicily stress, by contrast, the particular lack of historical pieces of evidence regarding the Sicilian period (or periods) of Pindar.

#### 4. A REASONABLE DEDUCTION OF THE MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

If we keep in mind the difficulty of precisely defining the stay of Pindar in Sicily, several considerations of the modern scholarship do not seem irrefutable anymore. We can take, for instance, the point of view of Georges Vallet, which is also that of many other modern philologists. Indeed, Vallet asserts with authoritative stance that Pindar came to Syracuse, at the court of Hieron, in 476 BCE, taking this date as a historical reference point, despite the disorder of the poems' collocation:

ainsi que d'autres artistes et poètes, Pindare est venu dans l'île, à la cour de Hiéron, et ceci au moment de l'acmé de la puissance et de la gloire du tyran de Syracuse. Le voyage et le séjour datent de l'année 476 av. J.C. Voilà un repère important, sur lequel l'historien est tenté d'insister d'autant plus que, à première vue, il est désorienté par la répartition et l'ordre dans lequel il trouve les poèmes de Pindare<sup>21</sup>.

As Ettore Cingano (1990, 161) has shortly reminded, this consideration of Vallet cannot be supported by the ancient sources at all. Yet, while Vallet's point of view looks like fallacious, and his statement too authori-

20 On the features of this epigram, see Sommerstein 2010. More generally, on the funerary epigrams related to Aeschylus, on the different versions of his death and on the posthumous cults and honours that he received, see a precious collection of sources in Kommel-Clauzet 2013, 243-244 and 369-375.

21 Vallet 1985, 286.

tative, a skeptic approach to Pindar’s presence in Sicily would be equally erroneous. Indeed, even if the passage of the *Vita Ambrosiana*, and that of Eustathius depending on this latter, are isolated in asserting that Pindar ‘was’ in Sicily, the presence of the great poet can be drawn indirectly, through Pindar’s texts. As we will see, it is possible to track Pindar’s presence in Sicily by drawing some deductions from the analysis of his poems.

## 5. THE ‘ARRIVAL MOTIVE’ AND OTHER DEICTICS

“O great city of Syracuse [...] to you I come from shining Thebes bearing this song”, says Pindar in the opening lines of the *Pythian* 2. I would like to start this part of the article with this quotation, since we can find here, summarized, the leading elements of my research until now: the poet, his songs and his presence in Sicily, whether it corresponds – in this specific occasion – to a literary *topos* or to a real travel.

Pi. P. 2, 1-422:

Μεγαλοπόλιες ὦ Συράκοσαι, βαθυπολέμου τέμενος Ἄρεος, ἀνδρῶν  
ἵππων τε σιδαροχαρμῶν δαιμόνια τροφοί, ὑμῖν τόδε τᾶν λιπαρᾶν ἀπὸ  
Θηβᾶν φέρων μέλος ἔρχομαι ἀγγελίαν τετραορίας ἐλελίχθονος

O great city of Syracuse, sanctuary of Ares mighty in war, divine nourisher of men and horses delighting in steel, to you I come from shining Thebes bearing this song and its news of the four-horse chariot [...]

The beginning lines of *Pythian* 2 draw our attention also for the presence of an important element of the Pindaric criticism, very useful for my inquiry: «the arrival motive of the *current* song at its contractual destination or in imagination at some scene invoked by the song itself». On this subject, Elroy Bundy, whose I draw the definition, reminds that at times the poem makes references to the Muse, to the song itself or to a messenger to fill the absence of the poet, at other times the poet himself is present at the performance with no mention of his arrival, and at other times the poet announces his arrival at the scene<sup>23</sup>. In cases like these latter, most scholars

22 As regard to the Pindaric quotations, in this article they are drawn from the editions by Gentili, Bernardini, Cingano e Giannini 2012, with English translations by Race 1997.

23 Bundy 1962, 27: «[t]he arrival motive refers always to the arrival of the *current* song at its contractual destination or in imagination at some scene invoked by the song itself in pursuance of its χρέος [...]. Most often the laudator himself “arrives” or “has arrived” at the scene. At times he himself is dispatched or personally dispatches the song. At times it is he who takes his stand beside

take the announcement of the poet's arrival as a conventional expression of the Pindaric diction<sup>24</sup>. Indeed, it has already been shown – since Bundy's *Studia Pindarica* – how the Epinician poetry is rich of conventional motives and themes. Thus, if the arrival of Pindar to Syracuse is only a formal motive enriching his Epinician diction, we are compelled to think that Pindar did not necessarily come to Syracuse, but that he likely sent his song from Thebes. This is the case, according to Wilamowitz, of the *Pythian* 2. Indeed, in his commentary, the German philologist claims that «Pindar writes [this ode] from Thebes, where he lives, as he does in *O.* 10, 85 and in *I.* 6, 74». This interpretation would be confirmed in *P.* 2, according to the same scholar, by the mention of Thebes within his invocation to Syracuse<sup>25</sup>.

Another important point, close to the 'arrival motive', is the problem of interpreting the first-person poetic voice, not only in *P.* 2, but also in other important instances. On this specific topic, Hunter and Rutherford (2009, 12-13) write:

Pindar has a very rich imagery and language of travel for both himself and his poems and this, combined with the difficulties of interpreting the first person in his poems, makes the drawing of conclusions from the poems themselves fraught with pitfalls. Even in a case which might seem straightforward, such as the opening of *Pythian* 2, we can hardly be sure that Pindar himself was present in Sicily.

Yet looking at the 'arrival motive' and the use of the first person from an exclusively formalist point of view prevents us from considering the prestige of having at the court and during the performance the real presence of a poet such as Pindar. In this respect, an illuminating reflection is provided by William Mullen (1982, 32):

The victor came home from the games flushed with the glow of excellence acknowledged by a panhellenic assembly, and at the local cele-

the laudandus or is present at a place with no mention made of his arrival. At other times the Muse or the song or a special messenger performs this duty for him. When the Muse goes in his stead, she is by convention summoned or directed to her destination, as in a kletic hymn».

24 See Gentili, Bernardini, Cingano e Giannini 2012, 366, in which Ettore Cingano reminds also that the expression of *P.* 2, 3-4 (φέρων [...] μέλος ἔρχομαι) is in contrast with the announcement of sending the song at ll. 67-68 (τόδε [...] μέλος [...] πέμπεται) of the same victory ode.

25 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1922, 285: «[e]r schreibt aus Theben, wo er wohnt, wie er das *Ol.* 10, 85, *Isthm.* 6, 74 tut, und die Nennung seines Wohnortes ergab sich bei der Anrufung von Syrakus von selbst. Es ist also ein Gewaltstreich, einen Sieg in Theben herauszuhören, weil nirgend etwas darüber gesagt wird, wo Hieron gesiegt hat». *Pythian* 2, 67 could support this reading: χαῖ-|ρε· τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἐμπολάν | μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἀλὸς πέμπεται.

bration that glow was in danger of fading into the confinements of the city. It was therefore desirable that the poet commissioned to write the ode be himself as famous as possible, and that he add to the glamor of the occasion by himself coming as guest to lead it. [...] Often the athlete was only a boy, and one should imagine the effect on the occasion of seeing the great Pindaros arrive and take his place at the banquet. His arrival and presence would be a heady compliment, to be sure, but it would also elevate the athlete's thoughts above mere narcissistic cockiness by casting a spell of reverence on the whole gathering of citizens.

According to this reflection, just sending the song, without the presence of the famous Pindar, would have diminished the effect of the celebration itself. Thus, the poetry would be very connected with his poet, and with his physical presence at the performance. On the other hand, if we keep in mind the difficulties of travelling in antiquity, it is difficult to completely adhere to the idea that Pindar travelled to Sicily every time he composed a song for the victories of Sicilian *laudandi*, also if we consider the level of literacy that the 'poet travelling *topos*' represents in the Greek and Roman ancient world<sup>26</sup>. Furthermore, even if we accept the literal sense of the poet's arrival, it would be odd to imagine that Pindar needs to make explicit his arrival every time he comes to the place of performance. It is very difficult to surely state whether expressions such as τόδε [...] φέρων μέλος ἔρχομαι assume a literary (*i.e.* topic) or a performative (*i.e.* realist) sense<sup>27</sup>. In my view, the wisest solution, as it is very often the case in the Pindaric critics, is to consider every passage separately. In any case, through the analysis of the 'arrival motive', we can attempt to draw some important pieces of information: in regard to the Sicilian odes, only in four of the fifteen victory odes we find this *topos* (*O.* 1, 10; 5, 19, *P.* 2, 3-4; 3, 73). If we literally considered it for each instance, the poet would

26 Cfr. Hunter and Rutherford 2009, 7-8: «[t]he itinerancy, both real and imagined, of poets is intimately tied to the ambitions of and for their poetry to enjoy fame and reception all over the world. Theognis' claim to his beloved Kyrnos is perhaps the most celebrated instance of this idea. [...] Even after his death, Kyrnos will continue to roam [...] the Greek world, transported, as are both poems and poets, by the gifts of the Muses. So too, Pindar imagines his song in honour of Pytheas of Aegina travelling over the world and thus spreading the fame of both patron and poet. [...] The idea is strikingly thematised in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius in which, as has been well recognised, the wanderings of the heroes are overtly linked to the wandering paths of song and the narrator almost travels as an extra Argonaut himself. Travelling poets, and honorific decrees for them, continue to be well attested in the Roman Empire and later antiquity».

27 Cfr. Péron 1986, 11. For a brief list of Pindar's expressions of arrival, cfr. Gentili, Bernardini, Cingano e Giannini 2012, 366.

be supposed to have come to Sicily four times, from 488 (possible date of *O.* 5) to 470 BCE (but the date of *P.* 2 remains uncertain). Alternatively, we could think that throughout this period he stays in Sicily continuously. In this case, the ‘arrival motive’ would refer, every time, to the first travel to Sicily. But, once again, the value of the ‘arrival motive’ is very open to different interpretations.

In light of this short reflection on the ‘arrival motive’ and the ambiguity of the lyric ‘I’, we are prevented from tracking Pindar’s presence in Sicily exclusively through his statements on his arrival to the island. Similar conclusions arise if we consider other types of deictic devices. In this respect, it is worth recalling a passage of the *Olympian* 1, which is «deictically, Pindar’s most intriguing composition», according to Lucia Athanassaki (2004, 319):

Pi. *O.* 1, 1-25:

Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὃ δὲ  
 χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ  
 ἄτε διαπρέπει νυ-  
 κτὶ μέγανoros ἔξοχα πλούτου·  
 εἰ δ’ ἄεθλα γαρύεν  
 ἔλδεαι, φίλον ἦτορ,  
 μηκέτ’ ἀελίου σκόπει  
 ἄλλο θαλπνότερον  
 ἐν ἀμέρα φαεννὸν ἄστρον  
 ἐρήμας δι’ αἰθέρος,  
 μηδ’ Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα  
 φέρτερον αὐδάσομεν·  
 ὄθεν ὃ πολύφατος  
 ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται  
 σοφῶν μητίεσσι, κελαδεῖν  
 Κρόνου παῖδ’ ἐς ἀφνεῖαν ἰκομένους  
 μάκαιραν Ἰέρωνος ἐστίαν,

Best is water, while gold, like fire bla-  
 zing in the night, shines preeminent amid  
 lordly wealth. But if you wish to sing of  
 athletic games, my heart, look no further  
 than the sun for another star shining more  
 warmly by day through the empty sky,  
 nor let us proclaim a contest greater than  
 Olympia.

θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει  
 σκαῖπτον ἐν πολυμάλῳ  
 Σικελίᾳ δρέπων μὲν  
 κορυφᾶς ἀρετῶν ἄπο πασσᾶν,  
 ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καί  
 μουσικᾶς ἐν ᾠάτῳ,  
 οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν  
 ἀνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμᾶ

From there comes the famous hymn that  
 encompasses the thoughts of wise men,  
 who have come in celebration of Cro-  
 nus’ son to the rich and blessed hearth of  
 Hieron,  
 who wields the rightful scepter in flock-ri-  
 ch Sicily. He culls the summits of all  
 achievements and is also glorified in the

τράπεζαν. ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀ-  
πὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου  
λάμβαν', εἴ τί τοι Πίσας τε  
καὶ Φερενίκου χάρις  
νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτά-  
ταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν,  
ὄτε παρ' Ἀλφεῶ σῦτο δέμας  
ἀκέντητον ἐν δρόμοισι παρέχων,  
κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπότην,

—

Συρακόσιον ἵπποχάρ-  
μαν βασιλῆα. λάμπει  
δέ οἱ κλέος ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ  
Πέλοπος ἀποικία·

finest songs, such as those we men often  
perform in play about the friendly table.  
Come, take the Dorian lyre from its peg, if  
the splendor of Pisa and of Pherenicus has  
indeed enthralled your mind with sweet-  
test considerations, when he sped beside  
the Alpheus, giving his limbs unguided in  
the race, and joined to victorious power  
his master,

Syracuse's horse-loving king. Fame shi-  
nes for him in the colony of brave men  
founded by Lydian Pelops

Through the pronominal and verbal deictics, but also through some expressions such as “come, take the Dorian lyre from its peg” (ll. 19-20), we could infer – at first glance – the physical presence of the poet during the *prima* performance. But, once again, since we cannot distinguish the chorus' voice from that of Pindar, it is impossible to state with certainty if Pindar was actually present in Syracuse during the celebration of Hieron's victory in the single-horse race in 476 BCE<sup>28</sup>. In this direction, Athanassaki (2004, 320) notes:

[I]n the opening as well as at the conclusion of the ode, the epinician speaker, through a variety of pronominal and verbal deictics, situates himself at the palace of Hieron in Syracuse at the time of the performance of the ode, which, as is typical for the genre, he describes as being in progress. Significantly, whereas he explicitly states that he has arrived at Syracuse, he leaves his point of origin unclear. We cannot know whether the poet's presence in Syracuse and his leading role in the performance were real or fictive, but the number and variety of indications he uses to localize himself in Syracuse are certainly remarkable.

28 The date is also confirmed by *P.Oxy.* 222.

## 6. BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ELEMENTS: SIMONIDES, BACCHYLIDES, AND THE ERUPTION OF ETNA

Another category of elements useful for our inquiry is that of references to specific persons and events, which can lie behind Pindar's lines themselves. In fact, in several passages, ancient and modern commentators have identified some important allusions that Pindar would have made to contemporary personalities operating in Sicily, and this could betray his real stay in the island. In this respect, it is worth focusing on a famous poetics statement of Pindar (*O.* 2, 83-88):

Pi. *O.* 2, 83-88:

πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶ-  
νος ὠκέα βέλη  
ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας  
φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν· ἔς  
δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἔρμανέων  
χατίζει. σοφὸς ὁ πολ-  
λὰ εἰδὼς φυᾶ·  
μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι  
παγγλωσσία κόρακες ὧς  
ἄκραντα γαρύετον

I have many swift arrows under my arm in their quiver that speak to those who understand, but for the whole subject, they need interpreters. Wise is he who knows many things by nature, whereas learners who are boisterous and long-winded are like a pair of crows that cry in vain against the divine bird of Zeus.

—

Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον·

These lines seem to directly refer to a strong opposition between Pindar-eagle on the one hand, and two crows who cry in vain on the other. Donato Loscalzo (2003, 35 ff.) has very well summarized all the most relevant philological points of this metaphor: if we take the dual γαρύετον literally, we have some different explanation of the metaphor. Indeed, the two crows could refer either to the Sicilian rhetoricians Corax and Tisias; or to Capys and Hippocrates, kinsmen of Theron, who unsuccessfully waged war against him; or to Pindar's rivals, Simonides and Bacchylides, and this is the opinion of *Schol. O.* 2, 157a = 1, 99 Drachm.<sup>29</sup>:

29 On this interpretation, see Lefkowitz 2012, 66: «when [Pindar] uses metaphors to describe his prowess as a poet, the scholia suggest that he is comparing himself with his poetic competitors. A pair of chattering crows are Bacchylides and Simonides (*Schol. O.* 2, 154b). Jackdaws that keep low while the swift eagle catches his prey are connected with Bacchylides (*Schol. N.* 3, 143), as are an ape's cleverly deceptive antics (*Schol. P.* 2, 163b, 166d, 171bcd). Unnamed envious "enemies"

κόρακες: οἶον, ὡς κόρακες πρὸς ἀετὸν ἀντιβοῶντες, οὕτως οἱ μαθόντες πρὸς τὸν φύσει σοφόν. αἰνίττεται Βακχυλίδην καὶ Σιμωνίδην, ἑαυτὸν λέγων ἀετὸν, κόρακας δὲ τοὺς ἀντιτέχνους.

In this case, we should date the poetic *querelle* from 476 BCE (date of composition of the *Olympian* 2) to 468 BCE (death of Simonides in Acragas). Consequently, Pindar would have been in Sicily during this time. Nevertheless, as we have seen above, the interpretation of the dual γάρυετον is not unequivocal, and it gives rise to other interpretations, quite different from the one of the scholion. Moreover, according to Loscalzo (2003, 45 ff.), in these lines Pindar would stress his opposition, in general, to the category of epic poets. We cannot therefore state with certainty that here Pindar makes reference to Simonides and Bacchylides, nor we can situate his Sicilian period from this passage.

As said above, another useful means of tracking the Pindar's presence in Sicily could be a specific local event appearing in his poetry. In this direction, many scholars have focused on the description of Etna in *Pythian* 1, composed for the victory of Hieron at the chariot race in 470 BCE<sup>30</sup>. According to the *communis opinio*, here Pindar would describe the eruption of several years before 470 BCE<sup>31</sup>. Indeed, for this eruption we have two alternative dates: either 479-478 BCE (*Marm. Par.*, IG 12, 5, 444, p. 107) or 476-475 BCE (Th. 3, 116). Pindar's description is so rich and precise, that many scholars take for granted that the poet had been an eyewitness of this natural event<sup>32</sup>. In light of this, we would be led to think that Pindar stayed, either in 479-478 or in 476-475, in Sicily and, more probably, in Syracuse.

(*Schol. N.* 4, 60b) and the "greedy Muse who works for money" (*Schol. I.* 2, 9a, b, 15a) are construed as references to Simonides».

30 Fries 2023, 32-33, wonders whether Pindar was present or not in Syracuse at the first performance of *Pythian* 1. He prudently recalls that «[w]ith some exceptions, the texts allow no firm conclusions, and *Pythian* 1 does not even contain a relevant passage» and concludes writing that «[u]nsatisfactory as it may be, it is best not to press the question».

31 On the Etna in eruption described by Pindar, see Buxton 2016, 26-28.

32 Cfr. Vallet 1985, 293: «[i]l ne serait pas raisonnable, je crois, de mettre en doute que ce récit de la 1<sup>ère</sup> *Pythique* traduit bien le souvenir ou l'impression qu'a eue d'une éruption violente un témoin oculaire».

τᾶς ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸς  
ἀγνόταται  
ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί· ποταμοὶ  
δ' ἀμέραισιν μὲν προχέοντι ρόον  
καπνοῦ  
αἴθων· ἀλλ' ἐν ὄρφναισιν πέτρας  
φοίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλόξ ἐς βαθεῖ-  
αν φέρει πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγῳ.  
κεῖνο δ' Ἀφαίστοιο κρουνοὺς ἐρπετόν  
δεινοτάτους ἀναπέμ-  
πει· τέρας μὲν θαυμάσιον προσιδέ-  
σθαι, θαῦμα δὲ καὶ παρεόντων  
ἀκοῦσαι

[Aetna] from whose depths belch forth  
holiest springs of unapproachable fire;  
during the days rivers of lava pour forth  
a blazing stream of smoke, but in times of  
darkness a rolling red flame carries rocks  
into the deep expanse of the sea with a  
crash. That monster sends up most terri-  
ble springs of Hephaestus' fire – a portent  
wondrous to behold, a wonder even to  
hear of from those present -

According to the narration, this eruption is to connect to the presence of Typhon, held down by the Etna volcano after his defeat by the gods. Certainly, this description is very precise and vivid, but the hypothesis of a personal presence at the eruption is not the only one, and this richness of details, as Hugh Lloyd-Jones (1985, 326) mentions, «might also have been communicated to him by his patrons or their agents»<sup>33</sup>. Furthermore, we do not have to neglect the literary value of this passage. Indeed, as Cingano (in Gentili, Bernardini, Cingano e Giannini 2012, 13) points out, there are numerous thematic and lexical analogies between these Pindaric lines and the famous passage of Aeschylus' *Prometheus* (vv. 351-372), remembering the destiny of Typhon<sup>34</sup>: this could mean that either both texts draw inspiration from a common more ancient source (probably a pseudo-Hesiodic source) or that Aeschylus' passage derives from Pindar's one<sup>35</sup>. Moreover, if we focus on P. 1, 26 (τέρας μὲν θαυμάσιον προσιδέσθαι, θαῦμα δὲ καὶ παρεόντων ἀκοῦσαι), we have two possible exegetical readings of the line:

33 Cfr. also the commentary on the entire passage by Fries 2023, 113-120, and more in particular, see p. 119-120: «[t]he idea that hearing an eyewitness account is almost as good as autopsy has a precedent in *Od.* 8, 491 [...]. Likewise Pindar here validates his description of Mt. Ena's eruption to those in the original audience who had not observed it, as well as all future listeners or readers, regardless of whether he himself was an eyewitness».

34 Cfr. Buxton 2016, 28-30.

35 «Le notevoli coincidenze con Eschilo, che come Pindaro si recò a Siracusa alla corte di Ierone [...], hanno dato adito a due diverse spiegazioni: 1) derivazione di entrambi da una fonte epica pseudoesiodica; 2) rapporto diretto tra i due poeti, generalmente inteso nel senso di una dipendenza di Eschilo da Pindaro» (Cingano in Gentili, Bernardini, Cingano e Giannini 2012, 13).

according to the first, the eruption was a marvellous wonder to see and “to hear for people who were present”<sup>36</sup>; according to the second, accepted by Race’s translation<sup>37</sup>; the eruption was a marvellous wonder to see and “even to hear of from those who were present”. Thus, also in this case, the text cannot make us sure about the real presence of Pindar in Sicily at the time of the eruption of Etna.

To summarize, the *Vita Ambrosiana* is the one and only source that testifies Pindar’s visit to Sicily, but without providing further precise elements. Eustathius follows the *Vita*, taking also into account the ancient ἀπόφθεγμα according to whom the poet would have refused to come to Sicily. Pausanias, who knows Pindar very well (see above, n. 11), does not make any mention of Pindar when he recalls the poets who moved to Hieron’s court. Moreover, there is no epigram, no statue, no inscription on Pindar in Sicily to my knowledge, unlike other sites such as Delphi or Thebes<sup>38</sup> – according to Pausanias and the *Vitae* – kept the memory of his presence through some concrete objects or buildings<sup>39</sup>. The situation is very different for poets such as Simonides and Aeschylus, as we have seen. If we turn to Pindar’s text, we can attempt to draw some important historical and biographical elements which could suggest his real presence in the island, but numerous are the possible interpretations for each passage analysed. Thus, if we keep exclusively and strictly to the sources at our disposal, we cannot outline with certainty the temporal and spatial coordinates, nor we can precisely state which political and performative situation(s) led Pindar to come to Sicily. Nevertheless, some important implicit elements lead us to lean on the hypothesis of a real sojourn of Pindar in Sicily: the dynamics of performance of the ode, which cannot entirely – neither on every occasion – depend on the χοροδιδάσκαλος or on a form of script (if ever there

36 See, e.g., Sandys 1915, 157: «a wondrous marvel to behold, a wonder even to hear, when men are hard by».

37 Cfr. Cingano, in Gentili, Bernardini, Cingano e Giannini 2012, 338: «[i]l senso complessivo della frase è spesso frainteso: Pindaro non afferma che l’eruzione è meraviglia anche da udire per chi è presente, bensì che essa è un evento prodigioso non solo per chi la vede di persona, ma anche per chi ne sente soltanto parlare da coloro che erano presenti (παρεόντων)».

38 We could also refer, in this respect, to the golden inscription containing the Pindaric *Olympian* 7 that Rhodians would have dedicated in the temple of Athena Lindia (*Schol. O. 7*, inscr. = 1, 195 Drachm.). On this subject, see Kurke 2015, 17-18.

39 See Kommel-Clauzet 2013, 230-233, 235-237 and 353, 359-368, for a precious collection of sources. It seems unlikely that the inexistence of material pieces of evidence of Pindar’s presence in Sicily is to be linked with the preference that Hieron would have expressed, according to *Schol. P. 2*, 166d = 2, 60 Drachm., for Bacchylides’ poetry instead of the Pindar’s one. Indeed, from a strictly material point of view, we don’t have any material sign of Bacchylides’ staying in Sicily neither.

was one)<sup>40</sup>; the prestige of the poet's presence at the *prima* performances; the friendship which tied Pindar and his Sicilian *laudandi*, which suggest that their meetings, if we consider the principles of ancient *xenia*, should have been taken place not only in the Panhellenic sites, but also in the Sicilian courts<sup>41</sup>, which could suggest a real presence of the poet at their courts. Furthermore, thinking that he never came to the island is almost impossible, even though the lack of elements at our disposal dissuades us from certain positions. Following this line of reasoning, some ambiguous arguments such as the deictics, the 'arrival motive' or the references to specific local events or to other contemporary poets living in Sicily at the same time, can be read under a new light, that of the high probability that Pindar spent time in Sicily in one or more than one moments of his career.

In light of this, we could conclude with some hypotheses on the physical presence of Pindar's in Sicily:

- Most probably, he would have come to Syracuse, where «Hieron pursued a coherent goal of attracting musical and intellectual experts [...] in order to gain a reputation as a musical connoisseur and advertise his achievements by (in part) bringing them into parallel with those of mainland cities». These experts, continues Katherine Morgan (2015, 87), included «Aeschylus (and perhaps Phrynichus), Epicharmus (already a resident of Syracuse), Xenophanes, Simonides, and of course, Pindar and Bacchylides»;
- 476-475 BCE is the year of foundation of Aetna by Hieron of Syracuse. This is also the year of the grandiose *Olympian* 1 for Hieron, but also of the *Olympians* 2 and 3 for Theron. In the same year, probably thanks to his geographical and political proximity, Pindar composes the *Olympians* 10 and 11, for Hagesidamus of Western Locri. It is also the probable year of the *Nemean* 1 for Chromius of Aetna. The year 476 is therefore the possible year of the (unique but long or first of many) visit of Pindar to Sicily;
- According to Andrew Morrison (2007, 2), the Sicilian odes «can be divided into three main chronological clusters on the basis of their actual or probable dates». The central cluster of odes comprises «those odes probably first performed between (roughly)

40 Cfr. above, n. 4.

41 Cfr. Morrison 2007, 2: «a corpus of fifteen victory odes leaves no doubts regarding the strong ties of *xenia* that bound Pindar and his Sicilian patrons».

476 and 466 BCE, numbering eleven in total, and including all the major Sicilian odes. In this period Hieron is tyrant of Syracuse (to his death in 467), and Theron tyrant of Acragas (to his death in c. 472)». The dates 476 and 466 BCE could be taken as the *termini post quem* and *ante quem* respectively;

- The timeframe 476-466 BCE can fit with that of eruption of Etna (479-478 or 476-475 BCE), an event that either Pindar experienced as eyewitness or (if the eruption took place in 479-478) learned about by listening to those who were present. Both cases can be in agreement with the fact that Pindar draws inspiration from eruptions' descriptions in earlier literature;
- If we trust the scholion on the *Olympian 2* (*Schol. O. 2, 157a*) about the *querelle* between Pindar on the one hand, and Simonides and Bacchylides on the other, we should take into consideration the date of Simonides' death (468 BCE). This means that the hypothetical period would be from 476 to 468 BCE. Even if we refuse this interpretation and accept other possible ones (that the crows are, for instance, the epic poets), the period 476-466 BCE is still possible. These two periods, 476-468 or 476-466 BCE, are therefore the two hypothetical periods of Pindar's stay in Sicily, whether it was interrupted by numerous travels or – less probable in my opinion – it has been a long continuous period.

## BIBLIOGRAFIA

Agócs, Peter; Prauscello, Lucia

2020 *Introduction: Simonides Lyricus: A Proem.* In *Simonides Lyricus. Essays on the 'other' classical choral lyric poet*, edited by Peter Agócs, Lucia Prauscello. Cambridge, Cambridge Philological Society, 1-24.

Athanassaki, Lucia

2004 *Deixis, Performance, and Poetics in Pindar's 'First Olympian Ode'.* "Arethusa" 37, 3, 317-341.

Bundy, Elroy Lorraine

1962 *Studia Pindarica.* Berkeley, University of California Press.

Buxton, Richard

2016 *Mount Etna in the Greco-Roman imaginaire. Culture and Liquid Fire.* In *Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity. Natural Environment and Cultural Imagination*, edited by Jeremy McInerney, Ineke Sluiter. Leiden-Boston, Brill, 25-45.

Cingano, Ettore

1990 *Interpretazioni pindariche.* "QUCC" 36, 3 (65), 143-162.

Ercoles, Marco

2017 *'Nuova Musica' e agoni poetici. Il dibattito sulla musica nell'Atene classica.* In *Poeti in agone: competizioni poetiche e musicali nella Grecia antica*, a cura di Antonietta Gostoli, con la collaborazione di Adelaide Fongoni e Francesca Biondi. Turnhout, Brepols, 131-161.

Frassoni, Marta

2013 *Vita Aeschyli.* Lecce-Rovato, Pensa MultiMedia.

Fries, Almut

2023 *Pindar's First Pythian Ode.* Berlin-Boston, De Gruyter.

Gallo, Italo

2005 *La biografia greca: profilo storico e breve antologia di testi.* Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino Editore.

Gentili, Bruno; Angeli Bernardini, Paola; Cingano, Ettore; Giannini, Pietro.

2012<sup>5</sup> *Pindaro, Le Pitiche.* Milano, Mondadori, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla.

Hubbard, Thomas K.

1992 *Remaking Myth and Rewriting History: Cult Tradition in Pindar's 'Ninth Nemean'.* "HSPH" 94, 77-111.

- Hunter, Robert; Rutherford, Ian  
 2009 *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture. Travel, Locality and Pan-Hellenism.* Cambridge-New York-Melbourne, Cambridge University Press.
- Kivilo, Maari  
 2010 *Early Greek Poets' Lives. The Shaping of the Tradition.* Leiden-Boston, Brill.
- Kommel-Clauzet, Flore  
 2013 *Morts, tombeaux et cultes des poètes grecs: étude de la survie des grands poètes des époques archaïque et classique en Grèce ancienne.* Bordeaux, Ausonius Éditions; Paris, diff. De Boccard.
- Kowalzig, Barbara  
 2013 *Dancing Dolphins on the Wine-Dark Sea. Dithyramb and Social Change in the Archaic Mediterranean.* In *Dithyramb in Context*, edited by Barbara Kowalzig, Peter Wilson. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 31-58.
- Kurke, Leslie  
 2015 *Pindar's Material Imagery: Dedication and Politics in Olympian 7*, text of the Seventh Housman Lecture, 4 June 2015, online <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/arts-humanities/classics/events/housman-lectures>, 17-18.
- Lefkowitz, Mary R.  
 1985 *Discussion with Vallet on Pindare et la Sicile.* In *Pindare. Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt sur l'Antiquité Classique*, vol. 31, *Vandoeuvres-Genève, 21-26 août 1984*, édité par André Hurst. Genève, Fondation Hardt, 202-206.
- Lefkowitz, Mary R.  
 2012<sup>2</sup> *The Lives of the Greek Poets.* Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- LeVen, Pauline  
 2010-2011 *Musical crisis: representing competition and musical judgment in anecdotes.* "Rudiae" 22-23, 679-692.
- Lloyd-Jones, Hugh  
 1985 *Discussion with Hurst.* In *Pindare. Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt sur l'Antiquité Classique*, vol. 31, *Vandoeuvres-Genève, 21-26 août 1984*, édité par André Hurst. Genève, Fondation Hardt, 202-206.
- Loscalzo, Donato  
 2003 *La parola inestinguibile. Studi sull'epinicio pindarico.* Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo.

- Morgan, Katherine A.  
2015 *Pindar and the Construction of Syracusan Monarchy in the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Morrison, Andrew D.  
2007 *Performances and audiences in Pindar's Sicilian Victory Odes.* London, Institute of classical studies.
- Mullen, William  
1982 *Choreia: Pindar and Dance.* Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Negri, Monica  
2000 *Eustazio di Tessalonica. Introduzione al commentario a Pindaro.* Brescia, Paideia Editrice.
- Péron, Jacques  
1986 *Pindare et la tyrannie d'après la XIe Pythique.* "REG" 9, 1-21.
- Poltera, Orlando  
2008 *Simonides lyricus.* Basel, Schwabe.
- Race, William H.  
1997 *Pindar.* voll. 1-2. Cambridge (Mass.)-London, Harvard University Press.
- Sandys, John  
1915 *The Odes of Pindar including the Principal Fragments.* London, The Loeb Classical Library.
- Schmid, Michael J.  
1998 *Skytála Moisân: Song and Writing in Pindar.* "Minerva" 12, 57-81.
- Sommerstein, Alan H.  
2010 *Aeschylus' epitaph.* In *The Tangled Ways of Zeus: And Other Studies In and Around Greek Tragedy*, edited by Alan H. Sommerstein. Oxford-New York-Auckland, Oxford University Press.
- Spelman, Henry  
2018 *Pindar and the Poetics of Permanence.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Uhlig, Anna  
2019 *Theatrical Reenactment in Pindar and Aeschylus.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Vallet, Georges  
1985 *Pindare et la Sicile.* In *Pindare. Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt sur l'Antiquité Classique*, vol. 31, *Vandoeuvres-Genève, 21-26 août 1984*, édité par André Hurst. Genève, Fondation Hardt, 177-202.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von  
1922 *Pindaros.* Berlin, Weidmann.