Greece & Rome, 67.1 28–42 © The Classical Association (2020)
doi:10.1017/S0017383519000238

PINDAR AND AEGINETAN VIRTUES: NATURALIZING MONEY*

Pindar's odes for Aeginetan victors revolve around two major Aeginetan virtues: inborn excellence (*phya*) and generous guest-friendship (*xenia*). The latter virtue is, of course, one of the most pervasive themes in Pindar's poetry, in which the poet's relationship with his patrons is presented in terms of guest-friendship, with the odes themselves as the poet's gift to his guest-friends. As for the former virtue, the Aeginetans' inborn excellence is implicit in the mythic section of almost all Aeginetan odes, which focuses on the line of Aiakos, the progenitor of two of the greatest Greek heroes, Achilles and Ajax. In view of this almost exclusive emphasis, one might be forgiven for assuming that the Aiakidai were the mythical progenitors of the Aeginetans. However, this is simply not true, as Pindar himself was fully aware: in fact, the Aeginetans were a Doric tribe whose ancestry was no more remarkable than that of other Doric cities; at best, they could claim the Aiakidai as their ancestors only metaphorically.

This article will explore Pindar's reasons for singling out Aeginetan *xenia* and *phya* for praise, and his strategies in pursuing this objective. Its main thesis will be that *xenia* is shorthand for the Aeginetans' commercial activities, and that the poet's praise of Aeginetan *phya* is a veiled reference to their wealth.

Aegina, a land of commerce

In archaic Greece, as in later eras, traditional aristocracies consisted of landowning elites who could (typically) claim distinguished descent. The valuation of land ownership as the aristocratic source of wealth *par excellence* was evidently associated with the idea of landed property as permanent and safe, with its inheritability strictly within the *genos*

* An earlier version of this article was presented as part of the 'Aristocracy and Monetization' panel at the Classical Association Conference, Leicester, 6–9 April 2018. I am very grateful to Professors Richard Seaford and Vaios Liapis for their valuable comments, suggestions, and guidance.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

('kin'), and with the fact that it was by far the most important source of wealth overall.[1] In traditional aristocratic ideology, inherited land wealth is interconnected with inherited excellence.

The topography of Aegina did not favour the presence of landowning aristocrats, as it was a rocky island without any (significant) arable land. It appears that, in the archaic period, Aeginetan elites based their status not on landed property but on wealth acquired mainly through long-distance trade. This view was contested, most importantly by Geoffrey de Ste Croix, who argued that Aeginetan elites were not a mercantile aristocracy but a small landowning class, and that, at least until the mid-fifth century, trade was practised mainly by poor citizens and, to a greater extent, by metics.[2] However, de Ste Croix's argumentation was fully and persuasively refuted by Thomas Figueira, who has shown that Aegina was ruled by a commercial aristocracy from as early as the sixth century.[3] I do not propose to rehearse Figueira's argument in any detail, though I shall invoke its main points in support of my view that Aegina's upper class based its wealth mainly on sea trade.

Strabo (8.6.16), citing Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70F176), notes that the poverty of Aegina's soil led its inhabitants to become sea traders, so much so that Aegina became the first Greek city to issued silver coins.[4] The Aeginetan coin emblem, the amphibious sea-turtle, would appear to allude precisely to the occupation of the island's inhabitants: as well as living on the dry land of Aegina, the Aeginetans were masters of the sea. The duality of the Aeginetans also underlies the story of the quarrel between Phokos and his brothers Peleus and Telamon (Paus. 2.29.8–10). Phokos, the eldest son of Aiakos and of the Nereid Psamathe, was a seal-like creature, who belonged exclusively

[1] O. Murray, *Early Greece* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 1980), 210.

[2] See Geoffrey de Ste Croix, *Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (New York, 1981), 120; *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (London, 1972), 267; and esp. 'But What About Aegina?' in D. Harvey and R. Parker (eds.), *Athenian Democratic Origins and Other Essays* (Oxford, 2004), 371–420, following H. Winterscheidt *Aigina* (Wurzburg, 1938), who maintained that Aeginetan elites had nothing to do with trade, which was primarily an occupation of the lower classes.

[3] T. Figueira, *Aegina. Society and Politics* (Salem, NH, 1981), 299–305; 'Aeginetan Independence', *CJ* 79 (1983), 9–33. Figueira's view has been accepted by many scholars, e.g. A. Zunker, *Untersuchungen zur Aiakidensage auf Aigina* (St Ottilien, 1988), 35; M. T. W. Arnheim, *Aristocracy and Greek Society* (London, 1977), 127–8; A. P. Burnett, *Pindar's Songs for Young Athletes of Aigina* (Oxford, 2005), 13–28; N. Fisher, '"Aristocratic" Values and Practices in Ancient Greece: Aegina, Athletes and Coaches in Pindar', in N. Fisher and H. van Wees (eds.), *'Aristocracy' in Antiquity. Redefining Greek and Roman Elites* (Swansea, 2015), 227–58.

[4] According to fourth-century sources, Aegina was the first mainland Greek city to strike coins. This view has, however, been challenged by recent scholarship. See R. Seaford, *Money and the Greek Early Mind. Homer, Philosophy, and Tragedy* (Cambridge, 2004), 130–3.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

neither to land nor to water.[5] His killers, Peleus and Telamon,[6] were sons of the dryad Endais, creatures of the earth. The myth encapsulates the opposition between life on dry land (Peleus, Telamon) and amphibious life (Phokos). Eventually, however, according to Pausanias (2.29.9–10), the defeated Phokos was the only Aiakid to receive honours in the vicinity of the Aiakeion, while Peleus and Telamon were sent into exile by their father, Aiakos. In other words, the quarrel between earth and sea has no real victor.

Ephoros' description of Aegina as small and barren is in contrast with the fact that the island was one of the richest Greek cities of the archaic period. Given its dearth of land resources, its prosperity must surely be attributed to trade. Around 490 BC, the Aeginetan navy was the second largest in Greece, and the island was involved in long-distance trade, its main commodity being vases manufactured in Athens but carried to overseas markets.[7] According to Herodotus (4.152), one Sostratos of Aegina, son of Laodamas, was involved in commercial activities and acquired incomparable wealth. According to Murray, this Sostratos is to be associated with the Sostratos mentioned in a 500 BC inscription found in Gravisca (*SEG* 28.775), which runs: 'I am of Aeginetan Apollo, Sostratos had me made, son of. . .'. The full extent of this inscription's significance becomes apparent when we take into account the large number of Attic vases produced between 535 and 505 BC which bear the stamp ΣΟΣ(ΤΡΑΤΟΣ). It would appear that Sostratos was not only a successful trader, but also – thanks to the size of his trade activities – a founder of a trading house in Aegina.

Apart from the various sources cited by Figueira, Pindar himself provides evidence supporting the view that Aegina was no stranger to commerce and that its upper class drew their status from wealth acquired through trade. The extent to which the poet uses naval imagery in the Aeginetan odes suggests an awareness of where the wealth of his *laudandus* (the person glorified in the ode) came from. Indeed, the majority of the Aeginetan odes are filled with nautical images and

[5] For the ambiguity of the seal, see M. Detienne 'Le phoque, le crabe et le forgeron', in *Hommages à Marie Delcourt* (Brussels, 1970), 219–33.

[6] Telamon is the principal murderer only at Apollod. 2.12.6. In the earliest source, the epic *Alkmeonis* (fr. 1 West = *Σ* Eur. *Andr.* 687), the two brothers were equally responsible for Phokos' murder (Telamon accidentally strikes Phokos with a discus, and the victim is then deliberately struck by Peleus in the back with an axe).

[7] Murray (n. 1), 224.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

road metaphors.[8] I shall discuss here only two examples which seem the most compelling. First, in *Nem.* 6.32, composed for the young athlete Alkimidas, Pindar calls the Bassidai, the victor's Aeginetan family, ναυστολέοντες, that is, shipowners who provide (as if it were a ship's cargo) material for their own praise. It would not be far-fetched to assume that the metaphor alludes to the family's profession.[9] Second, in *Nemean* 5, Pindar uses the image of a merchant ship as a metaphor for the value of his poetry. The opening lines of the poem compare the art of the sculptor with the poet's art:

> *I am not a sculptor, so as to fashion stationary*
> *statues that stand on their same base.*
> *Rather, on board every ship*
> *and in every boat sweet song,*
> *go forth from Aegina and spread the news that*
> *Lampon's mighty son Pytheas*
> *has won the crown for the pancratium in Nemea's games.*[10]

Unlike a stationary statue, Pindar's song is able to sail away from Aegina and set itself in motion (cf. *Isthm.* 2.45–6). That is, unlike the artwork for which Aeginetan sculptors were famous in mainland Greece,[11] Pindar compares his poem to merchandise that travels by sea, on vessels like the *holkas* or the *akatos*. As Dougherty explains, 'a *holkas* is strictly a sailing vessel capable of stowing surprisingly large amounts of cargo', while 'an *akatos* is an oared galley, somewhat smaller than a trireme, that could carry dispatches, passengers, or cargo'.[12] Far from being a random choice, the items mentioned here (statues, vessels) allude, I believe, to Aegina's main areas of economic activity,

[8] On the road and related images in Pindar, see O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges und verwandte Vorstellungen im frühgriechischen Denken* (Berlin, 1937); on Pindar's maritime metaphors, see J. Péron, *Les images maritimes de Pindare* (Paris, 1974). Significantly, L. Kurke's anaylsis of *nostos* – the athlete's return to his native *oikos* and *polis* – in *The Traffic in Praise. Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy* (Ithaca, NY, 1991), 43–54 is mainly based on the Aeginetan odes (*Nem.* 3.22–6, 41–2; *Nem.* 4.36–8, 69–72, 73–5; *Nem.* 5.3–9; *Nem.* 6.13–16, 25–6, 28–30; *Nem.* 8.44–8; *Pyth.* 8.35–7). There are a few exceptions, such as *Pyth.* 10, *Pyth.* 11, and *Nem.* 2, where the poet describes the literal return of the athlete to Athens.

[9] D. Gerber 'Pindar. Nemean Six: A Commentary.' *HSCP* 99, (1999), 66; cf. Figueira (n.3), 323.

[10] Throughout this article, I use W. H. Race's translation, *Pindar. Nemean Odes. Isthmian Odes. Fragments* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), and *Pindar. Olympian Odes. Pythian Odes* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), with slight modifications.

[11] Burnett (n. 3), 63.

[12] C. Dougherty, *The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination of Homer's Odyssey* (New York, 2001), 41.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

namely sculpture and sea trade. In particular, statues (*agalmata*) were top-rank goods, whose circulation was restricted to members of the traditional aristocracy, and were thus to be seen as a privileged form of symbolic capital reserved mainly to the closed-system economy favoured by aristocrats. This restrictive system was opposed to the market economy which Pindar uses as a metaphor for his own art, which he compares to the merchant ships that leave from Aegina to carry its merchandise abroad and to return to Aegina with a profit. Likewise, the poet's song sets sail from Aegina, as if on a merchantman, to broadcast the victor's fame far and wide and to bring back the profit of enhanced glory for the victor's family. Significantly, nautical imagery ('hoist the sails to the topmost yard!') recurs at the end of the ode (52) in the context of epinikian praise no longer directed to the *laudandus* himself but to his grandfather Themistius: it is as if the ode, rather like a *holkas* or an *akatos*, sails out full of praise for one member of the family but comes back bringing fame, like so much accumulated profit, for the entire family.

Another very important element of the Aeginetan odes is their emphasis on the aristocratic institution of *xenia*, a theme which occurs in almost all of these odes. Indeed, the hospitality displayed by Pindar's Aeginetan patrons is frequently presented as typical of the island itself.[13] Aegina's hospitality is praised far more than that of any other place,[14] and it is the most important aspect of Pindar's characterization of the island as an aristocratic utopia. In particular, Aeginetan hospitality is viewed as part and parcel of its inhabitants' righteousness;[15] after all, Aiakos, the Aeginetans' fictional ancestor, was famed for his justice, especially towards strangers (see also e.g. Bacchyl. 12.4–6, 13.95).

One of the myths related to Aiakos seems particularly relevant in this respect. At a time when drought had afflicted Greece, the Delphic oracle advised envoys that Zeus would not hearken to their prayers

[13] E.g. *Ol.* 8.20–3, 25–8; *Nem.* 3.2–3, 4.12–13, 5.8, 7.61–2, 8.42; *Isthm.* 6.70, 9.5. For a discussion of such passages (both in Pindar and in Bacchylides), see S. Hornblower, 'Dolphins in The Sea', in S. Hornblower and K. Morgan (eds.), *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals. From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 2007), 294–5.

[14] Hornblower (n. 13), 300, counts more Pindaric passages on Aegina's *xenia* than on that of Sicily or Thessaly, although they too score well.

[15] See e.g. *Isthm.* 5.22 (εὔνομος, 'well ordered'); *Pyth.* 8.22 (δικαιόπολις, 'just'); *Nem.* 4.12–13 (δίκᾳ ξεναρκέι κοινὸν | φέγγος, 'that beacon of justice protecting all foreigners'), *Pae.* 6.131 (θεμίξενον ἀρετ[άν, 'that virtue of just regard for strangers'); *Isthm.* 9.4–6: 'Her citizens live in obedience to their rule, transgressing neither divine law nor the justice due to strangers' (transl. Race).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

unless Aiakos himself made the appropriate ritual supplication.[16] In response to envoys from every Greek city coming to Aegina and asking him for his salutary assistance, Aiakos offers a sacrifice and a prayer to Zeus Hellanios, whereupon it starts raining. Kowalzig suggests that the myth of Aiakos' prayer for rain on behalf of all Greeks is an allusion to Aegina's nodal position in intermediary trade and to its status as guarantor of hospitality and legal protection towards foreign merchants.[17] While this is an attractive hypothesis, it rests on slim evidence, and it may be preferable to limit ourselves to remarking that the emphasis on Aeginetan *xenia*, especially in view of the mythic image of the supremely righteous Aiakos, serve to underline the island's suitability to commerce.[18]

This aristocratic virtue of *xenia* also includes the poet's relationship of guest-friendship with his patrons, a relationship often presented as rooted in mythical kinship. As Pindar claims (*Isthm*. 8.17), Theba was Aigina's twin sister, both of them being daughters of the Boiotian Asopos. In addition, the cooperation of Theban and Aeginetan heroes 'is a leitmotif in Pindar's Aeginetan odes'.[19] *Isthmian* 6 is a famous example of the parallelism between the mythological heroes' relations of *xenia* and those between Pindar and his Aeginetan patrons.[20] The ode begins with a sympotic scene in which the song is compared to a libation (1–3) or rather to three distinct libations: the first is for Pytheas' victory in the Pythian Games, the second for Phylakidas' victory, and the third for a future success. What is important is the fact that the poet pours his own poetic libation upon Aegina (8–9), an act that not only alludes to the place of performance but also invests Aegina with a divine role in helping Lampon's offspring achieve future success. From line 19 onwards, the poet moves to the topic of Aegina's greatness, with the image of the song being poured upon the Aiakidai as a shower of praises

[16] Pindar alludes to the myth in *Isthm*. 6.19–27; *Nem*. 5.10–12; and *Pae*. 6.125. In Isoc. 9.191–2 and Paus. 2.29 the envoys come to Aiakos as suppliants rather than merely in order to ask for his assistance (as in Diod. Sic. 4.61.1–3). See also *Σ*. Pind. *Nem*. 5.17b, 8.19a; *Σ*. Ar. *Eq*. 1253a.

[17] B. Kowalzig, 'Musical Merchandise "on every vessel": Religion and Trade on Aigina', in E. Fearn (ed.), *Aigina. Contexts for Choral Lyric Poetry. Myth, History, and Identity in the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford, 2011), 134–5.

[18] I. Polinskaya, *A Local History of Greek Polytheism. Gods, People and the Land of Aigina, 800–400 BCE* (Leiden and Boston, MA, 2013), 154.

[19] T. K. Hubbard, 'Theban Nationalism and Poetic Apology in Pindar, *Pythian* 9.76–96', *RhM* 134 (1991), 30 n. 28. See e.g. *Ol*. 8.45 f., *Nem*. 3.36 f., *Isthm*. 5.35–8, *Isthm*. 6.27–31.

[20] H. Indergaard, 'Thebes, Aigina, and the Temple of Aphaia: A Reading of Pindar's *Isthmian* 6', in Fearn (n. 17), 294–322, reads the ode as symbolizing the relationship of Aegina with Thebes in their anti-Athenian stance.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

engaging the audience's collective emotions (19–27). At first, the praise is said to come from Thebes to Aegina (20–2), but the following line makes it clear that it comes along 'countless roads', for the fame of the Aiakidai is spread even beyond the land of Hyperboreans and the springs of the Nile. Likewise, Pindar's song travels from the present to the past and from the specific *laudandus* to the Aiakidai in general. Thus, it is an eternal song that links the present with the mythical past, and Aegina with the whole world.[21]

The reference to the Aiakidai is followed (as in *Nem.* 5.9) by a mythological section. The poet gives a synoptic picture of the great achievements of Telamon and Herakles, underlining their close relationship. The important moment of the myth is when Herakles finds Telamon dining (35–6).[22] Herakles raises his cup upwards to the sky to pour out a libation to Zeus (41–2) and prays for a mighty son to be born to his guest-friend. The god's response is immediate: Zeus sends the king of birds, his eagle (50), to indicate that he will fulfil the prayer, whereupon Herakles states that the future child should be named Aias after Zeus's eagle (*aietos*).[23] Just as Herakles' prayer refers not only to the past but also to the present and future, so Pindar's praise of the fame of the Aiakidai encompasses both the present and the past. In view of the poem's opening sympotic reference (1–9) and the fact that both libations concern offspring, the implication should be clear: the sons of Lampon are paralleled with Ajax.

Towards the end of the ode, Pindar states that he will praise the achievements of Phylakidas, Pytheas, and their uncle, Euthymenes, 'in the briefest terms' (59).[24] The final lines make it clear that the victor and his victorious brothers are Pindar's guests, to whom the poet offers water from the Theban spring of Dirke. The Psalychiadai clan will enjoy fame in the future: the family's victorious athletes 'refresh the clan of the Psalychiadai with the finest dew of Graces' (62–3). The present (Phylakidas' victory) meets the past (Herakles' libation for Ajax) and the future (Phylakidas' and his brothers' fame) under the aegis of Mnemosyne (75).

[21] A. Sigelman, *Xenia and the Unity of Time in Pindar's Victory Odes* (Boston, MA, 2004), 194.
[22] Herakles probably arrived at Telamon's house while his *oikos* was celebrating a marriage. I follow von der Mühll's restoration (γάμον vel γάμους).
[23] Burnett (n. 3), 84.
[24] Indergaard (n. 20), 320, remarks that 'in *Isth.* 6 Heracles speaks not only to Zeus, Telamon, and the guests at the wedding, but also, through the embedded speeches, to the audience of Pindar's poem, as a parallel for Pindar's own prayers for future successes for Lampon's family'.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The victor's *phya*, his inborn excellence that leads to success, was predicted by a *xenos* (Herakles) and will be preserved for the future thanks to another (Pindar). But is this *phya* aristocratic?

Aeginetan *phya* and the economy of the *oikos*

In Pindar, the word *physis* occurs only twice (*Nem*. 6.5; *Isthm*. 4.49), on both occasions in the sense of 'bodily form'.[25] However, its synonyms are found in the entire Pindaric corpus.[26] Rose has noted that in twenty-four out of the surviving forty-four odes Pindar stresses the importance of the victor's excellence as an inheritance from the heroes of his homeland.[27]

In the Aeginetan odes, Pindar takes every opportunity to connect the victor with his family's past.[28] The only Aeginetan odes that make no reference to family members other than the father-patron are *Nem*. 3, 7, and 8; of these, *Nem*. 7 and 8 do at least name the victor's clan. What is more, *phya*, as Rose has noted, is usually emphasized when the victor appears to have inherited his virtues and values from the founding heroes of his homeland.[29] As we saw earlier, Pindar's recurrent references in the Aeginetan odes to the Aiakidai may give the false impression that they were the ancestors of the Aeginetans; however, the poet makes it clear that none of the Aiakidai remained on the island, as they were scattered around Greece.[30] On the contrary, Pindar repeatedly stresses the Doric identity of the Aeginetans; interestingly, almost all of his references to Doric identity and customs are to

[25] T. K. Hubbard, *The Pindaric Mind. A Study of Logical Structure in Early Greek Poetry* (Leiden, 1985), 107.

[26] For a full account of the vocabulary of the terms associated with 'inborn' qualities, see P. Rose, *Sons of the Gods, Children of the Earth. Ideology and Literary Form in Ancient Greece* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 161.

[27] Ibid., 160–1. Kurke (n. 8), 19, esp. n. 14, finds thirty-seven passages in which athletic victory is presented as a hereditary achievement which increases the symbolic capital of the *oikos*, and twenty-eight in which the achievement is attributed only to the victor. One obvious problem here is that some odes belong in both categories (e.g. *Ol*. 7; *Isthm*. 8; etc.). In addition, Kurke includes the case of Arkesilas of Cyrene (*Pyth*. 4 and *Pyth*. 5) in the second category, although Pindar makes a strong connection between Arkesilas and the mythic founder of Cyrene.

[28] I note thirteen odes in which Pindar includes in his praise the victor's relatives (apart from his father): *Ol*. 7, 8, 13; *Pyth*. 6, 8; *Nem*. 4, 6, 10; *Isthm*. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8.

[29] P. Rose, 'The Myth of Pindar's First Nemean: Sportsmen, Poetry and Paideia', *HSCPh* 78 (1974), 152.

[30] Phokos killed, Peleus and Telamon exiled: *Nem*. 5.9–16; Ajax killed, Teukros exiled: *Nem*. 4.46–7. See J. S. Carnes, 'Pindar's Use of Aiginetan Autochthony Myths', PhD thesis (University of North Carolina, 1986), 94–5.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

be found in the Aeginetan odes.[31] In *Olympian* 8.30, the Aeginetans are termed Δωριεῖ λαῷ ('Doric people'), and the same term is also used in *Pyth*. 8.20 and *Isthm*. 9.4.

In particular, *Isthmian* 9.1–8, although fragmentary, is an important source for understanding this aspect of Pindaric Aegina:

> Κλεινὸς Αἰακοῦ λόγος, κλεινὰ δὲ καὶ ναυ-
> σικλυτὸς Αἴγινα·σὺν θεῶν δέ νιν αἴσᾳ
> Ὕλλου τε καὶ Αἰγιμιοῦ
> Δωριεὺς ἐλθὼν στρατός
> ἐκτίσσατο· τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ στάθμᾳ νέμονται
> οὐ θέμιν οὐδὲ δίκαν
> ξείνων ὑπερβαίνοντες· οἷοι δ'ἀρετάν
> δελφῖνες ἐν πόντῳ, ταμίαι τε σοφοί
> Μοισᾶν ἀγωνίων τ' ἀέθλων

Famous is the story of Aiakos, and famous too is Aegina, renowned for her navy. By the destiny of the gods the Doric army of Hyllos and of Aigimios came and founded her. Her citizens live in obedience to their rule, transgressing neither divine law nor justice due to strangers. As for their excellence, they are like dolphins in the sea, and wise stewards of the Muses and of athletic contests.

The ode summarizes all the characteristics of Aegina in a few lines: the mythic hero Aiakos, the important navy of Aegina (an allusion to its trade), love of athletics and music, Doric identity derived from Hyllos and Aigimios, and *xenia*.[32] The same characteristics also appear in *Paean* 6 (123–31), in *Nemean* 3.1–3, with its emphasis on *xenia* and Doric identity, and in *Olympian* 8.15–30, with its focus on the Aeginetans' nautical pursuits, the importance of *xenia* and justice among them, and their Doric identity, customs, and laws. In other words, distinguished ancestry, or social status associated with descent from local heroes, does not seem to play a significant role in Pindar's construction of praise for his Aeginetan patrons (one may profitably contrast here his emphasis on Theron's ancestry in *Ol*. 2.10–15).

[31] There are only two exceptions to this: *Pyth*. 1.65 refers to the re-founded city of Aitna, and *Isthm*. 7.10 refers to a Theban athlete.

[32] The dolphin simile is reminiscent of the unusual simile for Melesias in *Nem*. 6.64–6. N. J. Nicholson, *Aristocracy and Athletics in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Cambridge, 2005), 152–3, points out that the dolphin was a symbol of the aristocracy of Aegina. Furthermore, the local athletic festival was called 'Delphinia'.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

And yet, despite this downplaying of Aeginetan heredity, there is no denying Pindar's emphasis on Aeginetan 'inborn excellence', or *phya*. In three odes (*Nem.* 5, *Isthm.* 5 and 6) composed for Lampon's sons, who belonged to the elite Psalychiadai clan,[33] *phya* is the link that connects the individual with his clan, his city, and the economy of the island. In *Nem.* 5.3–8, the εὐρυσθενής ('mighty') Pytheas is said to have achieved a personal victory that adds to the greatness of his *polis*, but the emphasis is clearly on Pytheas' family identity and thus on his *oikos* (direct line of descent): he is the son of Lampon and an important mother (4–6). In addition, the ode includes a catalogue of prior family victories: Euthymenes, a brother of Pytheas' mother, was victorious at Nemea and Megara (39–46); and Themistios, his mother's father, won a double boxing crown at Epidauros (50).[34] The ode's mythical section also concerns heroes who were brothers, and the whole ode is rich in terms that denote family relationships (υἱός ['son'] ματέρ᾽ ['mother'], πατέρος ['father'], υἱοί ['sons'], ἀκοίταν ['wife'], πατρός ['father's'], γαμβρόν ['son-in-law'], συγγενής ['relative'], ὁμόσπορον ['from the same parent']).

In *Isthmian* 6, composed for Pytheas' brother Phylakidas, who won at the boys' pankration, the family also has a very strong presence.[35] The sympotic atmosphere and the image of the 'second bowl' (δεύτερον κρητῆρα; 2) suggest that the ode may have been preceded by a re-performance of *Nemean* 5 on the same occasion; it certainly encourages the audience to recall *Nemean* 5 and the family victories recounted therein. It is in this context that Pindar mentions the victorious generation of Lampon (Λάμπωνος εὐάθλου γενεᾶς; 3) and expresses hope for a third success for Lampon's family at Olympia (7–9). In lines 10–18, Pindar puts forward the idea that one who spends money on noble deeds attains a godlike life, full of honour and happiness. This idea applies primarily not to the victorious athlete himself but to his father, Lampon (15–16), who financed his son's achievements and has commissioned the ode. After the mythological section,

[33] Burnett (n. 3), 61 n. 2, suggests that Lampon is the son of Kleonikos (*Isthm.* 6.16), who is mentioned by Herodotus (9.78.1) as the most important individual from Aegina who fought in Plataia.

[34] I follow Burnett's suggestion (Burnett [n. 3], 61) that Pytheas' uncle competed with him at Nemea. For a different view, see I. Pfeijffer 'Pindar's Eighth Pythian: The Relevance of the Historical Setting', *Hermes* 123 (1995), 318–22.

[35] *Isthmian* 6 is the second of the odes commissioned by Lampon, probably three years after *Nem.* 5. It is dated to 480 BC as there is no mention of the battle of Salamis (contr. *Isthm.* 5.49). See Burnett (n. 3), 81 n. 1; Nicholson (n. 32), 255–6 n. 1; Indergaard (n. 20), 295.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

in which Herakles wishes for Telamon to have a mighty son (see also above), Pindar once again brings to the fore the victories of Lampon's *oikos* – that is, those of Pytheas, Phylakidas, and Euthymenes (57–8, 60–2). Clearly, the entire family, rather than just the victor, is to be exalted through its connection to the mythic past. The role of the *oikos* in the ode is significantly enhanced when the victor's father, Lampon himself, is cast in the trainer's role:[36]

> Λάμπων δὲ μελέταν
> ἔργοις ὀπάζων Ἡσιό-
> δου μάλα τιμᾷ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπος,
> υἱοῖσί τε φράζων παραινεῖ,
> ξυνὸν ἄστει κόσμον ἐῷ προσάγων,
> καὶ ξένων εὐεργεσίαις ἀγαπᾶται,
> μέτρα μὲν γνώμᾳ διώκων, μέτρα δὲ καὶ κατέχων·
> γλῶσσα δ᾽ οὐκ ἔξω φρενῶν· φαί-
> ης κέ νιν ἀνδράσιν ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν
> Ναξίαν πέτραις ἐν ἄλλαις χαλκοδάμαντ᾽ ἀκόναν. (66–73)

In devoting industry to his deeds, Lampon holds in particular honour that saying of Hesiod, which he quotes and recommends to his sons, as he brings to his own city an adornment all share and is beloved for his acts of kindness to foreigners, pursuing due measure in judgement and holding fast to it; his tongue does not stray from his thoughts; you would say that among athletes the man is a bronze-taming whetstone from Naxos compared to other stones.

The impression, artfully created by Pindar, that Lampon was his sons' coach is simply not true. What Lampon imparts to his son is not athletic skill or training but sound moral advice and the example of his own morality, including moderation, good judgement, and control over one's tongue (71–2).[37] Pindar presents Lampon 'in the act of impersonating, through this quotation, Hesiod's parainetic stance: Lampon himself παραινεῖ'.[38] According to the Hesiodic saying alluded to here, success needs 'care', 'attention', and 'industry' – principles adhered to by the whole family.[39] By misleadingly suggesting that

[36] My analysis of this passage is indebted to Nicholson (n. 32), 170–5.
[37] Ibid., 171–2.
[38] G. B. D'Alessio, 'Ordered from the *Catalogue*: Pindar, Bacchylides, and Hesiodic Genealogical Poetry', in R. Hunter (ed.), *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. Constructions and Reconstructions* (Cambridge, 2005), 231.
[39] The reference is to *Works and Days* 412: μελέτη δέ τοι ἔργον ὀφέλλει ('care/industry is good for work').

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Lampon may have been his son's trainer, Pindar compensates for the lack of athletic honour on the father's side of the family, and allows Lampon to share in the glory of athletic victory by praising his moral excellence rather than his athletic skill. Thus, the victories hymned become a common possession for the whole *oikos*, including members such as Lampon, whose side of the family lacks a tradition of athletic victory.

Isthmian 5 is the third and final ode commissioned by Lampon. It was composed *c.*478 BC for Phylakidas, the youngest son, who was trained by his brother and won at the Isthmian Games.[40] In the first epode, Pindar lists all the victories won by Lampon's sons and Kleonikos' grandsons (including at the Isthmian and Nemean Games),[41] and explicitly mentions (in 54–8) the family (γενεάς) of Kleonikos, Lampon's father: anyone wanting to compete in the games should learn from Kleonikos' line that family glory comes from hard work (literally, since the victors themselves took part in physically demanding events) and expenditure (δαπάναι). Thus, the *phya* of Lampon's victorious *oikos* is directly connected to the financial prosperity of his family line, so much so that their ability and willingness to spend money for athletic success is presented as part of the family's *phya*, their natural predisposition to excellence.

As will have become apparent by now, in the Aeginetan odes we are faced with a complex construction of *phya*. The victors' hereditary virtues and values, inherited literally and metaphorically from the past, are manifested both in their athletic prowess and in their *xenia*. In the absence of inherited or inborn athletic excellence, victory in the Panhellenic Games requires monetary expenditure: despite not having a distinguished athletic past, Lampon is highly praised for his *phya*, because, as well as being the father of victorious sons, he is a patron who lavishes personal funds on his sons' training. Both roles engage his *phya*; as a result, a commercial element is added to the traditional notion of inherited excellence.

The praise of the *oikos* and its members' *phya* is in turn amalgamated into the praise of the whole island, its heroes, land, and citizens. In

[40] Burnett (n. 3), 92–3, esp. n. 1.

[41] It is implied that the brothers won a victory each at Nemea (*Σ. Isthm.* 5.18a–21a). On the question whether Phylakidas' second Nemean victory is an exaggeration or an accurate reflection of his achievements, see T. Cole, '1 + 1 = 3: Studies in Pindar's Arithmetic', *AJPh* 108 (1987), 559. The latter possibility is suggested by *Isthm.* 6.1–7, 57–66.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Nem. 5.7–8, Pytheas is said to bring glory to the Aiakidai and to his 'mother city' (ματρόπολιν) of Aegina.[42] Pindar here exploits the Aeginetan mythic genealogy which made Aiakos the son of Zeus and the nymph Aegina (see also *Nem*. 8.6–8), so that he can manipulate the ambiguity between Aegina the mother-nymph and Aegina the mother-island (the two are distinguished in *Pyth*. 8.98–100, where Pindar prays to the nymph to safeguard the city).[43] In particular, Aegina is personified as a mother possessed of characteristically aristocratic virtues: she is hospitable (φίλαν ξένων ἄρουραν; 8) and glorious (εὐκλέα νᾶσον; 15), and has 'children' who strive for 'noble prizes' (47). In a number of central ways, she serves as a counterpart to Pytheas' natural mother, a parallelism which surely is meant to resonate with all Aeginetans, since they too are the children of the same noble mother, Aegina. The ratification of the communal character of the victor's achievement comes with the *gnomē* (a gnomic statement alluding to a general moral principle) of lines 40–1: Πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενὴς ἔργων πέρι|πάντων ('Inherited Destiny decides the outcome of all deeds'), a *gnomē* strategically wedged between the mythical account of Peleus' noble deeds (respect for *xenia* and rejection of Hippolyta's love) and the account of the family's victories.

Pindar reinforces the connection between the victor and his island by offering a prayer in which he asks the gods to grant Aegina 'seafaring renown' (ναυσικλυτάν; 9) and 'brave inhabitants' (εὔανδρον; 9).[44] This prayer transcends the immediate interests of Lampon's *oikos* to encompass the entire Aeginetan community; the citizens are conscious of their strong connection with seafaring, and the poet declares that the whole city pursues noble deeds (47). Pindar emphasizes the Aeginetans' common origin (ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος; 43), thereby implying that the victor's nobility does not derive solely from his *oikos*, but also from the nobility of his community. The overarching theme of

[42] The reference to Aiakos possibly indicates that the ode was first performed near Aiakos' ἡρῷον ('cult'). See D. T. Steiner, 'Pindar's Ogetti Parlanti', *HSCPh* 95 (1993), 163; I. Pfeijffer *Three Aeginetan Odes of Pindar. A Commentary on Nemean V, Nemean III & Pythian VIII* (Leiden, 1999), 193; M. Pavlou 'Fathers in absentia in Pindar's Epinician Poetry', *GRBS* 52 (2010), 6.

[43] Likewise, in *Nem.* 7.82–5 (a passage full of *phya*-related words), Aegina is personified as a mother who bequeaths divine blood to her descendants after she receives the seed of Zeus.

[44] It should be noted, however, that the meaning of εὔανδρον is not straightforward. Race (n. 10) translates it as 'of brave men'. The context suggests that there is more to the semantics of the word than this. In the myth that follows, Peleus shows himself to be pious (31–4), respectful towards aristocratic codes, such as hospitality (ξεινίου πατρός; 33), and a man whom it is difficult to deceive, in contrast to Akastos (27–30).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Aegina's nobility, in turn, leads to the question of the provenance of its wealth, a question which Pindar addresses by presenting Aegina's successful trade as the outcome of the prayer offered by the great ancestors of the Aeginetans (9). These two qualities that characterize Aegina – successful maritime trade and a population of 'good' men – correspond to the two (contradictory) elements of the Aeginetan aristocracy, which derives its wealth and status from trade but also needs the sort of hereditary legitimation implied in εὔανδρον, precisely because their status as wealthy individuals was not a consequence of their *phya*. This interplay is part of the 'geometrical metaphor' used by Bourdieu to describe the interrelation between symbolic and material capital, an interrelation that may be seen as 'a double half-rotation returning to the starting-point, i.e. a conversion of material capital into symbolic capital itself reconvertible into material capital'.[45] In Bourdieu's analysis, material and symbolic capital are the two poles of a single continuum, rather than of a dichotomy, and symbolic capital is but 'a transformed and thereby disguised form of physical "economic" capital'.[46] In the case of Pindar's Aeginetan *laudandi*, wealth derived from maritime trade is convertible into cultural capital (athletics, lavish expenditure, symposia, commissioned songs, and so forth), which serves as the hallmark of aristocratic distinction.[47]

What is more, the convertibility of material wealth into, specifically, *phya*, or 'inborn excellence', evokes the importance of what Bourdieu has called the 'idolatry of nature': a set of social conventions promoting 'the well-grounded illusion that the value of symbolic goods is inscribed in the nature of things, just as interest in these goods is inscribed in the nature of men'. Such conventions are intended 'to prevent the economy from being grasped *as* an economy, i.e. as a system governed by the laws of interested calculation, competition, or exploitation'.[48] In this context, *phya* is the aristocratic projection and sublimation of basic production and exchange relations. Pindar, who is composing for a fee, praises his patron by attributing to him 'inborn excellences', which are entirely contingent on the latter's expenditure. In other words, a short-term transaction (a song in exchange for a fee) is

[45] P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge, 1977), 180.
[46] Ibid., 183.
[47] See also V. Liapis, 'Payback Time: Metamorphoses of Debt and Commodity in Pindar's *Olympian* 10', in this issue.
[48] Bourdieu (n. 45) 171–83 (quotations from pp. 171, 172, emphasis in original).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press

disguised as a long-term transaction, which is shown to have far-reaching implications for the construction of Aegina's social order and of its mythic past.[49]

Conclusion

The Aeginetan odes constitute a special category of Pindaric epinikia. The prominent citizens of Aegina based their claims to aristocratic status on wealth derived from maritime trade rather than from land ownership. It was this wealth that allowed them to practice traditionally aristocratic pursuits such as participation in the Panhellenic Games (though not in the prestigious chariot races, since the island's poor land resources were unfavourable to horse-breeding). Although they could not claim glorious mythic or heroic ancestry, they are nonetheless praised by Pindar for their *phya*, a quality capacious enough to include often, as we have seen, the ability for lavish expenditure or even the (honourable but hardly ennobling) spatial proximity to a god. Aeginetan *phya* is also connected with *xenia* in ways which are not always clear but which involve the transmission of certain 'excellences' from the guest-friend to his host's offspring, thus allowing *xenia* to be brought into a sort of causal relationship with *phya*. Two typical aristocratic qualities, namely *phya* and *xenia*, are therefore deftly manipulated in order to become applicable to a commissioning audience consisting of non-traditional aristocrats. The wealth of the Aeginetans was the reason they could exercise the habits of traditional aristocrats.

Deprived as they were of the most important symbols of aristocracy (land, inheritance, and horses), the Aeginetans participated in the Panhellenic Games as a way of establishing their 'aristocratic' credentials, not only for local audiences, but also for Panhellenic ones. A victory in the Panhellenic Games was an excellent opportunity for prominent citizens of Aegina to promote themselves, as well as their *oikos*, and their island community as proper aristocrats.

GIANNA STERGIOU

giannastergiou@gmail.com

[49] On short- and long-term transactional orders see further Liapis (n. 47).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017383519000238 Published online by Cambridge University Press