

Olympia and the epinikion. A creation of symbols

Synnøve des Bouvrie

1. Introduction

THE PINDARIC victory ode has for centuries been surrounded with scholarly attention and critical debate. Its historical, aesthetic, religious, social and moral dimensions have been subject to close scrutiny and it seems that everything that can be said about the genre has been said. However, although the social and cultic context of these poems has been studied in detail, the specific celebratory nature of this context has not received proper attention. Even when scholars inquire seriously into the conditions of the performance, they may still lack a sufficient apprehension of its nature. Generally speaking, the epinikion genre is studied from an individualistic perspective and its symbolic quality in an anthropological sense has not been acknowledged.

A basic assumption within the study of 'symbolism' is that symbols are generated by 'tacit' creative processes, and operate at a subliminal level of consciousness creating shared orientations and collective meanings.¹ We should keep in mind that human beings do more than act as individuals, and the meaning of their endeavours may be more than what they profess to do. Being an essential aspect of culture, and a truly human universal, symbolism helps us create culture, responding to our urge to relate to a group.²

In this article I will take some of the prevailing assumptions about the epinikion and relate them to the nature of the celebration in which the victory ode was

- 1 I will shortly return to these general notions. With the term 'symbolic' I refer to the anthropological terminology developed during the last thirty or so years, with the work of Victor and Edith Turner, Barbara Babcock, Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff, Bruce Lincoln (his concept 'discourse' referring to a somewhat wider range of phenomena), Don Handelman (analysing what he labels 'social events') and others. In particular, I will focus on the work of Sherry Ortner.
- 2 As to the concept of culture, I support the assumption that even if cultural groups may be difficult to define, they can be identified by a core of shared symbols, even in various, partly overlapping, partly concentric constituencies. See Shweder in the discussion directed by Borofski *et al.* 2001.

embedded. I will develop my argument by drawing on the wider historical and archaeological context, applying anthropological theory of 'symbolism.' The paper will concentrate on the Olympic *panegyris* and, reasonably, on the late Archaic and early Classical period.

The way Elroy Bundy has emphasised the epinikion's encomiastic function and the notion of the victory ode as rooted in tradition are important contributions to our understanding of the genre.³ Still, his work lacks a wider perspective of this tradition and the conditions of the performances.

Leslie Kurke, proposing a 'sociological poetics of Pindar,' envisages the epinikion as enacting 'the reintegration of the victor into his heterogeneous community.'⁴ However, apart from the fact that Kurke does not make clear how this reintegration came about, in particular since not every athlete was honoured with an epinikion,⁵ she avoids to address the question why these societies organised the Olympic celebrations altogether and why prospective victors departed from their home community to join in the festivity. A general problem with studies like this is that they conceive of the epinikia more or less as a 'record' of contemporary social processes.⁶ More convincing is Patricia Bulman's study of the dynamics of *phthonos* operating in the world of the epinikian celebration, in its positive version a symptom of success, and in the negative an inevitable attack on the successful athlete which the poet has to counter.⁷

3 Bundy 1962. The way he expressed himself, declaring many of the epinikian motifs as 'conventions,' has however provoked reactions in defence of the poet's genius. (e.g. Rose 1974:150). Unnecessarily, I think, if we realise that the epinikia, however original, were embedded in a cultural performance. For the traditional character of the epinikion, see also Hamilton 1974.

4 Kurke 1991:7f., 259. The task of the victory poem was 'to reintegrate the victor, who had isolated himself by his achievement, back into his community' (*op. cit.* 6f.). In this Kurke relies on Kevin Crotty's model of the epinikion. However, his examples of the difficult returns of athletic victors (Crotty 1982:122ff.) exhibit strong folk tale motifs, cf. Hönle 1963:29-44, Molineux 1971, Bohringer 1979. While society surrounding the victor (and poet) may have been heterogeneous, it is by no means evident that the victor was rejected. The general admiration for the victors and the acceptance of athletic ideals is well attested, and the way the odes celebrate not only the victor but 'crown' his polis as well (as it is expressed in formulaic victory epigrams), is well attested. See Ebert 1972, numbers 12, 15, 22, 26, 27, cf. Saïd and Trédé-Boulmer 1984.

5 I share the scepticism of Christopher Carey 1994, 2001:23, Mary R. Lefkowitz 1995:143f., and Christian Mann 2001:49.

6 The method Kurke presents is to 'consider first how the oikos of the victor itself *figures* in the epinikia ... then trace the *depiction* of the relation of the house to the outside world ...' (Kurke 1991:9, emphasis added). It is doubtful whether depictions of a situation would have an reintegrating impact on the agents. I suggest that the epinikion, being an element in a ritualised celebration, is not just a reflection of a situation but a strategic manipulation of that situation (cf. Bell 1992:100).

7 Bulman 1992:20ff.

The celebrative nature of the genre is better understood by e.g. Jaume Portulas in his view of the religious status of the epinikion.⁸ Following Jacqueline Duchemin he emphasises the relationship between the victory celebration and hero cult, concluding: 'L'épinice offre à un homme l'expérience singulière d'entendre de son vivant comment sa renommée agira après sa mort.'⁹ He thus both abandons the view of Pindaric poetry as reflecting a profane social reality and suggests that the poetic exaltation affected the experience of the victor.¹⁰ However, his statements focus on the victor as an individual and on his personal experience, and do not address the collective celebration, the workings of the performative programme, seen from the perspective of the communities creating them.

A detailed analysis of the social world of the epinikion is offered by Christian Mann. Emphasising the celebratory aim of the epinikion (Mann 2001:35), he analyses the interaction between the victor, whom he considers basically responsible for the ode, and his environment.¹¹ This focus on the ideologically charged message transmitted by a sender to an addressee is of course a relevant inquiry. However, I would include a wider range of questions as to the nature of the entire collective performance, because I think we have to understand the epinikion within the overall cultural process, and study the phenomenon as a symbolic expression. Of course, there may be a factual communicative situation between author, victor, and audience, but instead of the perspective of individual partners in conversation and conscious exchange of 'messages,' we have to adopt the anthropological notion of symbolic performances which engage a group of participants and operate through imaginative and affective modes in a collective practice.¹²

There is a general tendency in philological studies of 'performance' to adopt empirical methods which focus on concrete spatial and temporal dimensions and distributions of roles,¹³ without accounting for the way the performance may have affected and transformed the community of protagonists and spectators in a collective experience. Such a study is, of course, less empirically verifiable, and

8 Eveline Krummen while likewise focusing on the religious context offers a more philological study of how the victory ode incorporates religious traditions (Krummen 1990).

9 Portulas 1985:213, *cf.* 215.

10 Portulas 1985:211, *cf.* Duchemin 1955:297. Still Portulas' approach seems somehow intellectual, conceiving of a poet sending messages to reflect upon, insights, analogies, and warnings (*e.g. op. cit.* 217). Likewise Krummen thinks of the epinikion as 'Aussage ... gedeutete Wirklichkeit ... eine Form der Gesprächssituation' (Krummen 1990:3ff.).

11 'Der Auftraggeber muß die Kontrolle über den Textinhalt besitzen' (Mann 2001:44), 'die Selbstdarstellung siegreichen Athleten gegenüber der Bürgerschaft ihrer Polis ... das Verhältnis Athlet und Heimatpolis' (*op. cit.* 38f.).

12 I adopt this specific term in the sense applied by Catherine Bell, who, following Bourdieu, draws attention to the aspect of 'misrecognition,' the fact that those involved do not see what they are doing (*cf.* Bell 1992:81f.).

must be supported by comparative material. However, it may be necessary to include such an anthropological inquiry in the face of the complex social phenomena under consideration.¹⁴ One of the very few who have addressed the collective workings of the performance is William Mullen. He suggests that by orchestrating the processional dance, the 'poet' affected the community as a group,¹⁵ creating literally an embodiment of cultural ideals.¹⁶ Mullen has radically abandoned the method of treating the epinikion as a kind of record, and focused on creative interaction.¹⁷ While the dancers (and the 'poet') as performers are acting, the audience (and the victor) is 'active' as well, all sharing responsibility for the performance. In an anthropological perspective we may conceive of the whole group present as 'participants' in the performance.¹⁸

In another approach, emphasising the collective nature of the epinikian context, John and Frances Newman suggest the notion of the carnivalesque as the basic meaning of 'komos' and hence the essence of the Pindaric epinikion.¹⁹ However, they do not explain what kind of social conditions created this carnival or shaped its workings.²⁰

13 For an overview of the debate on the poetic 'I' in the epinikion, see Lefkowitz 1991 and 1995, Bremer 1990. Antonio Aloni, although attempting to surmount the purely empirical method, focuses on a historical inquiry (Aloni 1998). This is of course legitimate; I suggest, however, that an anthropological approach may offer a more complex perspective.

14 On the methodological differences between historical and anthropological inquiries, see Saliba 1976. Anthropology embraces not only 'explanation in terms of antecedent events or efficient causes, and explanation in terms of mediating factors (the meaning of customs and values in terms of their interconnectedness),' but also 'explanation in terms of ends and purposes and explanation in terms of general laws or principles' (101). For the workings of symbolic processes in general, see Victor Turner, *e.g.* 1974:55f. For its physiological aspects, see d'Aquili and Laughlin 1979. Catherine Bell assembles and develops theories about the role of the body in ritualisation (Bell 1992:98ff.).

15 'There will be some sense in which the dancers transform the narrative from mere fictional representation into a *mode of sacred presence*' (Mullen 1982:88, emphasis added. *Cf.* 133).

16 Mullen 1982:24. For a discussion of these ideals, see *e.g.* Mullen 1982:60ff. Being a honoured guest, the 'leader' of the performance focused for that reason on his personal 'I,' while at the same time including all the participants in his expression (*op. cit.* 68). While dismissing the idea of an external reference, Kathryn Morgan conceives of the poetic 'I' in a purely rhetorical sense (Morgan 1993). Within this framework we should definitely abandon the scepticism about the poet working for payment. See the discussion of this issue by *e.g.* Bremer 1991. If material rewards brought dishonour, the poet would not have announced this fact so openly in his poetry. *Cf.* Portulas 1985:231f.

17 As scholars we are always in danger of confusing the record of the past with the social reality then and there, that is, we confuse what *for us* is just a document offering us information about the past with the living relationship its audience had to their social or religious expression.

18 *E.g.* Kapferer 1984.

In the situation where a comprehensive view of the victory performance is either incomplete or lacking, it is my aim to contribute to the understanding of the Pindaric epinikion by restoring the genre to its widest cultural context within a historical as well as anthropological framework. Given the religious celebration encompassing the song-dance and the metaphysical world evoked in the text, the genre invites to be analysed as an instance of ritualisation.²¹ Such a classification, however, requires a few preliminary assumptions. The fact that Pindar's poems were embedded in a cultural performance or a ritual does not deny his poetic genius.²² And the fact that the poetic form lived only for a brief period does not preclude the possibility that it conveys meanings of the ritual process and social values at the core of the entire *panegyris*.

2. Key symbols

For our present purpose, it will be useful to start with a general distinction. According to Sherry Ortner, the cultural process is basically due to the workings of 'key' symbols; these symbols may be divided into what she has labelled 'summarizing' and 'elaborating' symbols. 'Summarizing' symbols embrace a variety of values and notions, sometimes incongruous and even conflicting ones, drawing attention towards a complex centre and engaging affectively laden responses of the social group.²³ Typical examples of 'summarizing' symbols are central religious or

19 Newman and Newman 1984. They invoke a range of theoretical studies on carnival to claim that the genre betrays the 'spirit and manners of a now vanished popular culture' (*op. cit.* 236). Mullen interprets the word '*komos*' as the (most common) expression for the processional dance performed by the celebrating dancers (Mullen 1982:24). Thomas Cole assumes that the *komos* revel ended in violence and that it was the task of the epinikion to check and contain a potentially explosive situation (Cole 1992:25ff.).

20 While the term 'uncrowning' (Newman and Newman 1984:41) normally refers to the inversion of some power and status hierarchy, neither victor nor hero (or god) is degraded, rousing laughter. Nor do we get a deeper understanding of what kind of laughter was involved, unless festive joy (*op. cit.* 40ff.). Carnavalesque laughter deriving from inversion is lacking. I therefore find their main thesis unconvincing, although a number of observations deserve closer attention. The fact that the poems manifest repetitions of words, punning, corresponding expressions and parallelisms suggests in principle a poetic rather than a carnivalesque mode, and the metamorphoses identified by Newman and Newman are not evident nor the 'grotesque bodies' (Newman and Newman 1984:160). Jesús A. Salvador underscores the poetic nature of word-play in Pindar (Salvador 1997:39).

21 Bell 1992:91.

22 We should just realise that 'ritual' does not imply repetitiveness, lack of originality, uninspired expression or other signs of inferiority. It is our problem as westerners to have created the artificial dichotomy between sublime art and folk art, genius and 'monotonous tribalism' (Mullen 1982:8). The ritual under analysis was not a performance of fixed texts, but 'required the freshness of perpetually renewed creation by a living poet' (*op. cit.* 49).

23 Ortner 1973, 1979.

ideological symbols such as e.g. 'the American flag,'²⁴ which evokes 'the American way,' a cluster of values and diffuse visions of life, mobilising and charging them with intense power: 'it stands for them all at once. It does not encourage reflection on the logical relation among these ideas, nor on the logical consequence of them as they are played out in social actuality, over time and history. On the contrary, it encourages a sort of all-or-nothing allegiance to the whole package ...' 'Elaborating' symbols, on the other hand, are symbols which create distinctions, sorting out and orienting experience along cognitive ways. Furthermore, Ortner divides elaborating symbols into 'root metaphors which provide categories for the ordering of conceptual experience and key scenarios which provide strategies for organizing action experience.'²⁵

'Elaborating' symbols, then, classify the world and offer roads of action, they encourage rational thought and are not necessarily charged with feeling. 'Summarising' symbol, on the other hand, collapse complex experience attracting the audience toward their core 'in an emotionally powerful way,' discouraging rather than promoting rational thought.²⁶ Working within living cultures Sherry Ortner has drawn a list of indicators which may identify key or central symbols of the community.²⁷

At this moment we have to remind ourselves of the distinction between two aspects: first, symbols as workings of cultural formation, the concepts, patterns,

24 Other examples of 'key cultural symbols are: the cross of Christianity ... the motorcycle for the Hell's Angels, and "work" in the Protestant ethic.' (Ortner 1973:1339, 1979:94).

25 Ortner 1973:1340, 42 orbroe certain culturally effective courses of acting upon it. Success is defined in certain terms, root metaphors, while key scenarios suggest the road to attaining such success.

26 Ortner 1973:1939f., 1979:94f. This division, however, should be understood as an analytical tool, for in a living reality the two kinds of symbols may be interwoven, classifications are not only sober cognitive means, they serve to charge action with value as well.

27 Criteria may be:

- 1 The natives tell us that x is culturally important.
- 2 The natives seem positively or negatively aroused about x, rather than indifferent.
- 3 x comes up in many different contexts. These contexts may be behavioral or systemic: x comes up in many different kinds of action or conversation, or x comes up in many different symbolic domains (myth, ritual, art, formal rhetoric, etc.).
- 4 There is greater cultural elaboration surrounding x, e.g. elaboration of vocabulary, or x's nature, compared with similar phenomena in the culture.
- 5 There are greater cultural restrictions surrounding x, either in sheer number of rules, or severity of sanctions regarding its misuse (*loc. cit.*).

There is no mystery about these symbols, because 'all of them will be expressed somewhere in the public system, because the public symbol system is ultimately the only source from which the natives themselves discover, rediscover, and transform their own culture' (Ortner 1973:1339, 1979:94).

rules, values, action programmes and feelings which are operative in the formation of a given social community, that is 'key' symbols; secondly, their vehicles²⁸ or creative instruments, the 'symbolic domains, myth, ritual, art, formal rhetoric, *etc.*' We should thus distinguish the 'key' symbol of 'the American way, ... a conglomerate of ideas and feelings including (theoretically) democracy, free enterprise, hard work, competition, progress, national superiority, freedom,²⁹ from 'the American flag', as a vehicle of that 'key' symbol, the expressive instrument evoking these motivations and values.

'Key' social symbols are created and maintained in everyday discourse and on special occasions. The most obviously 'elaborating' symbols, sorting out experience and distinguishing categories, are created and refined in all kinds of socialising situations. The primarily 'summarising' symbols, however, demanding the commitment of the community, tend to be negotiated and recreated when the instrumental function of human action recedes in favour of a celebration: revitalising or transforming these socially important symbols and charging them with new power.³⁰

3. *Olympia*

Olympia as a pilgrimage centre attracted a host of Hellenic citizens assembling at a site that embraced manifold meanings.³¹ The fact that such sites attract fervent adherence combined with the fact that they manifest complex meanings suggests that they are spaces where 'key' symbols emerge.³² We should therefore examine the various physical arrangements and verbal expressions, myths, ritual and iconographic programmes and other peculiarities connected with the pilgrimage centre.

Preliminarily we may observe that Olympia harboured the sanctuary of Zeus and Pelops and was primarily the realm of men. Pelops' bride Hippodameia, anchored in the Hippodameion and evoked in myths and imagery, brought the world of women discretely into the conceptual complex of the sanctuary,³³

28 Turner 1973:197.

29 Ortner 1973:1339f., 1979:94.

30 For a brief introduction to the phenomenon of celebration, see Turner and Turner 1982.

31 For a discussion on this issue, see my article 'The pilgrimage to Olympia. Settings and sentiments' (Bouvier forthcoming).

32 Studying the phenomenon of pilgrimage, James Preston draws attention to the relationship between pilgrimage sites and 'key' symbols (Preston 1992:44). He follows Turner and Turner 1994 [1978]:10, who apply the term 'root paradigms' (defined at 248) for what Sherry Ortner labels 'key' symbols.

33 Paus. 6.20.6; *cf.* Paus. 5.20.1. The transfer of Hippodameia's bones to the Hippodameion may, however, have been primarily a political act, *cf.* McCauley 1998. For the myth, see Hansen 2000.

providing points of contact with female shrines and celebrations, first of all the sanctuary and cult of Hera. The *Heraia* celebrated Hippodameia and centred on the blessings of marriage (Paus. 5.16.3).³⁴

Women celebrated the cult of Sosipolis within the shrine of Eileithuia in the Altis,³⁵ the infant that averted the enemy's attack and rescued the community (Paus. 6.20.4-5; Robert 1893). At the eve of the *Olympia* they mourned Akhilleus' death in the gymnasium at Elis (Paus. 6.23.3, 24.1), thus enacting women's crucial contributions to society: to give birth to warriors and to lament the fallen, Akhilleus being the paradigmatic warrior.³⁶ Women's athletic contest at the *Heraia* emphasised women's minor status as symbolically expressed in the shorter distance of their race track (Paus. 5.16.3).³⁷

Warfare

A central emphasis in Olympia was in fact, as is often observed, on warfare, notwithstanding the general condition of the Olympian 'ekekheiria.' This is not in the least expressed in the number of war votives.³⁸ When we consider what was the specific sphere of influence of Olympia as opposed to that of other major cult centres (with influential oracular or healing powers), it is clear that Olympia

34 According to Nancy Tersini, the iconographic programme of the temple of Zeus underscored the value of monogamous marriage (Tersini 1987). The age of Hera's cult is in fact uncertain. Alik Moustaka suggests that Hera's temple originally was dedicated to Zeus, arguing mainly from the lack of female votive offerings (Moustaka 2002). Hera's cult may, however, originally have entered the sanctuary as a complex political power. De Polignac identifies the basic nature of Hera in the Archaic age as the power establishing order, marking the sill between the outer world and the familiar or the *meson* between different communities, symbolised by the fundamentally mediating institution, marriage (Polignac 1997:118f.). Neta Aloni-Ronen argues for an aristocratic Hera cult in the Argolid in the Archaic age, assembling elites from various communities (Aloni-Ronen 1997:19). Jesper Svenbro suggests that the myth of the 16 matrons of Elis who resolved a period of crisis among the Eleans and Pisatans by weaving a peplos for Hera (Paus. 5.16.2 and 6), may be seen as a cultural metaphor for creating the cohesive fabric of society (Svenbro 1994:18ff, 1996:10f.). In case the *Heraia* were held in the Elean month of Parthenios, as Ludwig Weniger argues (Weniger 1905:25), this may suggest that the celebration was an old one; it may, however, have originated in an Elean cult.

35 Kastenholtz 1996. The date of ritual sacrifice is not given, but the priestess for the cult of Eileithuia was appointed annually (Paus. 6.20.2).

36 For the heroic status of Akhilleus, see Chirassi-Colombo 1977, for the location of alternative graves of Akhilleus, see Hommel 1980. Simonides introduces Akhilleus in his *Plataiai elegy* (fr. 11.19ff. in Boedeker and Sider 2001) as the panhellenic heroic paradigm of the warrior, cf. Aloni (2001:98), and Boedeker (2001:181).

37 The different measures of the stadion tracks for the *Olympia* and the *Heraia* creating the ritual order in the celebrations emphasise the complementary roles of men and women in Greek society. David G. Romano has studied the dimensions and other aspects of the stadion, Romano 1981:255, cf. Romano 1993:24 and 23, ill. 13. For a more detailed analysis of women's roles in the Olympic ritual complex, see Bouvrie 1995.

claimed a renowned oracular authority specialised in warfare. Its power elite, the Iamid and Klytiad clans, provided prominent seers who escorted armies in battle.³⁹ In the regular programme of sacrifice at Olympia, deities connected with warfare are prominent: after Hestia and Olympian Zeus (a lacuna follows) Athena Leitis, the power of booty, is mentioned (*cf.* Hom. *Il.* 10.460), paired with Artemis,⁴⁰ Hephaistos was honoured,⁴¹ as well as Herakles Parastates, in particular a protector of men, further Areios Zeus, the object of cult at the battlefield trophy,⁴² as well as Zeus Katharsios and Nike, the power of military victory (Paus. 5.14.4-10).⁴³ At the table where the victory crowns were displayed the image of Ares was represented (Paus. 5.20.3). The *hoplitodromos*, established in 520 explicitly interwove athletics and warfare.⁴⁴ The competition of trumpeters, established in 396, were, according to Pollux, held because of their relationship with warfare.⁴⁵ Nigel Crowther has analysed the similarities in mentality between warfare and athletics,⁴⁶ and Michael Poliakoff has drawn attention to the brutality of a number of athletic exercises blurring the boundaries between the two realms.⁴⁷ The

38 Mallwitz characterises Olympian Zeus as 'Schlachtenlenker' (Mallwitz 1972:20). 'Der Anteil der Waffen und Rüstungen am Fundgut in Olympia ist immens,' (Sinn 1996a:22). Ulrich Sinn expresses his amazement how this fact is to be reconciled with the sanctuary's 'Friedensidee.' *Cf.* Sinn 1996b:136f., Kunze 1972:20. Jackson 1991:228 suggests that until the fifth century dedications of arms fostered pride at war expeditions. This custom faded, however. Peter Siewert observes on the basis of epigraphic evidence that dedications of arms disappear about the same time (440 BC) when metal bars with votive inscriptions make their appearance, concluding that arms were melted down (Siewert 1996).

39 *E.g.* Teisamenos partaking in the battle of Plataiai (Hdt. 9:33-35); Pindar *Ol.* 6.5, 70f., *Ol.* 8.2. *Cf.* Pritchett 1979:47-90, Mora 1984, Bearzot 1993, Bremmer 1996.

40 In one of her functions Artemis was the recipient of the *sphagia* at the moment of the hoplite collision. Pritchett 1971 [1974]:109-15, Vernant 1988, Jameson 1991, Ellinger 2002:321.

41 Clearly he was conceived of as the power of metal working.

42 Pritchett 1974:246-75, Lonis 1979:136ff.

43 Since he is paired with Nike Zeus Katharsios was perhaps honoured as the power who purified warriors after battle. Aristotle lists Zeus Katharsios after mentioning his functions as the protector of armies and of the *tropaion* (Arist. [*Mund.*] 401a20, Paus. 5.30.3).

44 Reed 1998:9-21.

45 Pollux: 'ἐκ τῆς ἐμπολεμίου μελέτης,' Poll. *Onom.* 4:87. Crowther 1994:146. Philostratos likewise comments on the connection between war and athletic events. He suggests that the race in armour has connections with warfare, referring to the herold's announcements 'that the dispensation of prizes is terminated and the sound of the trumpet signals Eualios' business calling the young men to arms' (Philostr. *Gym.* 7 Jüthner). (εἰ δὲ μὴ ῥαθύμως ἀκούεις τοῦ κήρυκος, ὄρα ὡς ἐπὶ πάντων κηρύττει λήγειν μὲν τὸν τῶν ἄθλων ταμίαν ἀγῶνα, τὴν σάλπιγγα δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου σημαίνειν προκαλουμένην τοὺς νέους εἰς ὄπλα, *cf.* 43).

46 Crowther observes that athletic contests resembled war in that the athlete like the warrior demonstrated 'evil thoughts, intimidation, and gloating at the opponent and contempt at the defeated' (Crowther 1999, *cf.* Lonis 1979:35f.).

terminology for military and athletic achievement and rewards were overlapping.⁴⁸ Homer presents a close relationship between athletics and warfare, at least in their ideals,⁴⁹ and Pindar's poetry sometimes expresses the equivalence between the two.⁵⁰ Aristophanes *Clouds* 985-1052 relates old-fashioned education with the feats of *Marathonomachai*. Plato suggests in the *Laws* that festival combats should be organised, modelled on real combat,⁵¹ a proposal that, however, never was realised. Still, there constantly arose controversies concerning the usefulness of athletics to warfare and athletic ideals were frequently the butt of harsh criticism.⁵²

Studying the history of militarism cross-culturally in an anthropological approach, Doyne Dawson suggests that the overall ancient Greek attitude to war was one of 'civic militarism,' that is, 'assuming warfare as a normal and natural feature of the world, to be accepted fatalistically like any other great force of nature,' as distinguished from 'bellicism' (the promotion of aggression).⁵³ According to Victor Hanson, hoplite warfare was not primarily focused upon defending

47 Poliakoff 1987:94ff. He states that 'sport played a role in military preparation' although indirectly (*loc. cit.*). Mann, however, strictly focusing on the immediate preparatory merits of athletic exercise, denies the connection between athletics and warfare (Mann 2001:135). Yet, within a wider perspective, the realms are overlapping (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 2.5.1= *Mor.* 639a, *Cf.* Lee 2001:66). Mark Golden argues likewise for the relationship between athletics and warfare (Golden 1998:23-28). See Hdt. 9.33 on the story about the Iamid seer Teisamenos who misinterpreted the oracle promising him 'victories in five agones,' confusing 'γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας [and]... ἀρηίου ἀγῶνας.' (*cf.* Rose 1974:154).

48 Müller 1996:42f., Dickie 1983:237.

49 See Visa-Ondarçuhu 1999:40-50.

50 *E.g.* Pind. *Isthm.* 1.50ff. As the argument goes: all men love to get a reward. Those performing agricultural tasks strive to ward off hunger. But he who competing for prizes (*aethlois*) or partaking in war achieves fine glory (*kudos*), receives the highest reward.

ὄς δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοισι ἢ πολυμίζων ἄρηται κῦδος ἀβρόν,
εὐαγορηθεὶς κέρδος ὑψιστον δέκεται, πολιτατῶν καὶ ξένων γλώσσης ἄωτον.

Pindar frequently mentions war and warriors in a laudatory manner, and associates war with athletics, *e.g.* *Ol.* 7.15, *Ol.* 13.20-23, *Pyth.* 8.26f., *Nem.* 1.16, *Nem.* 5.19, *Isthm.* 4.15, *Isthm.* 7.20-30, while the *hoplites dromos* is explicitly related to Ares, *Pyth.* 10.13f. *cf. Isthm.* 1.23 (*cf.* Perysinakis 1990, Müller 1996:54ff.).

51 *Leg.* 8:829C. He offers a view of the honour in which successful warriors were to be held: they should be crowned, and they should dedicate their στέφανον νικητήριον in a temple of the war-gods as a witness of τὰ ἀριστεῖα, the prize of valour (Pl. *Leg.* 12.943C; on the *aristeia*, see Pritchett 1974:278).

52 Lavrencic 1991, Kyle 1987:124-54, and Müller 1995:69-114. Mann thinks there were no connections between war and athletics (Mann 1998:11).

53 Dawson 1996:3f. Pacifism was never developed in ancient Greece (Dawson 1996:3, *cf.* Vernant 1968:10, Effe 1989:10, Hanson 2000:111). Nor was there any strong moral condemnation of destroying captives: 'No public man throughout Greek history is, I think, recorded, to have shown pity [on captives of war]; it was unmanly and best left to poets and philosophers' (Pritchett 1991:208).

the community's crops,⁵⁴ but safeguarding the family's honour,⁵⁵ a central drive being the demonstration of courage.⁵⁶

The hoplite ideology was based upon a 'powerful emotive, symbolic, ideological reason,'⁵⁷ war becoming an important source of male identity and being praised in a rich literary tradition. A militaristic war culture tends to promote solidarity and cooperation but causes as well '... intense status competition among males over honor.'⁵⁸ War was surrounded with extensive metaphysical elaboration. A whole host of female and male war-divinities protected the business of warfare, from nurturing Artemis, Athena or other female *kourotrophi*, to exemplary and protective Herakles and other heroes.⁵⁹

We have still to take account of the nuances and differences; as Christian Mann has pointed out, there are significant distinctions between war and athletics.⁶⁰ In athletics there were oppositions between speed and strength, on the one hand, and the 'heavy' and brutal exercises (boxing and pankration) on the other. Both warfare and athletics, with the exception of the stadion race, were exclusively male activities. Warfare is cross-culturally an essentially male monopoly, as it was in Greek

54 Hanson 1989:33, *cf.* Hanson 1991:6, and Hanson 1999:267. Vernant has emphasised that being a warrior was considered a part of men's nature (Vernant 1968:25). Warfare developed the idea of the 'citizen, farmer, soldier' triad (Foxhall 1993:141ff.). Raaflaub likewise assumes a triple role of landowner, soldier and assemblyman (Raaflaub 1997:57).

55 Hanson 1991:4, 34. Hanson 1989:25. The distinctively Greek form of hoplite battle developed out of primitive warfare (Dawson 1996:49, *cf.* Brelich 1961, Connor 1988), and retained for a long period its ritualised character. This does not necessarily mean that early warfare was less destructive or brutal. Modern field anthropological studies of warfare in tribal societies demonstrate that 'ritualised' pitched battle is often just one of several methods, a 'means of testing the strength of an adversary, while ambushes and raids on settlements are the means of killing large numbers of the enemy' (Otterbein 1999:800).

56 'A man could focus all his courage upon one pure burst of frenzied activity; for an hour or two he overcame the limits of physical and psychological endurance' (Hanson 1989:25). According to Runciman, the hoplite warrior culture was fostered by a complex of instructions, promising pre-eminent prestige to the courageous and successful citizen-warrior (Runciman 1998:738ff., 741).

57 Dawson 1996:50, 52, Meier 1990:85f., 1991:44f, *cf.* Garland 1993:77. Warfare was based upon strong bonds of solidarity with fellow hoplites, brothers, fathers, sons and friends, Hanson 1989:36, *cf.* 119ff.

58 Dawson 1996:16f.

59 Pritchett 1979:11-46, Lonis 1979:199-311, Jost 1995, Deacey 2000, Parker 2000. The literary record offers a number of heroic military epiphanies. In the world of Olympia Herakles was powerfully present, although he did not have a prominent shrine or altars. In his investigation of Pindar Jacques Jouanna has shown that the poet offers a complex and nuanced view of Herakles as the founding hero of the Olympian contest and essential Olympian cults (Jouanna 2002). On the metopes of Zeus' temple the hero is uniquely prominent as the paradigmatic saviour strongman.

60 Mann 1998:11.

culture.⁶¹ The status of the warrior, moreover, was elaborated into extraordinary dimensions.

We may thus provisionally identify symbolic processes going on in Olympia: in the first place the emergence of ‘elaborating’ symbols in Sherry Ortner’s terms, emphasising gender distinctions creating models of excellence (‘root metaphors’) for females and males, as wives and warriors respectively, as well as paths of action (‘key scenarios’), through motherhood and warfare-athletics. Women’s cultic roles, as manifested in a number of ways, categorised female nature as distinct from male nature. Men aspired to excellence in masculine sports and the heroism of martial victory.

Within the male realm, however, the contests encompassed a whole range of distinct and opposed fascinations and meanings in a complex arrangement, rewarding beauty as well as brutal force,⁶² wealth and achievement, strength and courage. Stephen Miller emphasises the opposition between hippic vs. gymnastic exercises.⁶³ As a magnetic centre, the Olympic celebration engaged both single athletes and polis communities, offering individual as well as collective glory. The very fact that the merits of athletics to war or society in general were always and at times vehemently contested, may be an indication of the symbolic values involved.

Perfection

As the entire Olympic phenomenon is extremely multifaceted, we have to draw together some prominent features, in order to investigate the symbolic processes involved. We may consider the important aspect of the ordering of calendrical time. The *Olympia* were probably convened at the first full moon after the summer solstice, the training period for athletes starting one month in advance. Stephen Miller suggests that this date probably was a practical arrangement for orienting the participants coming from afar.⁶⁴ There are, however, no indications that the other panhellenic celebrations also were held on a full moon, their date being rather inspired by a deity’s sacred day, such as Apollo’s seventh and Poseidon’s eighth of the month.⁶⁵ The *Nemea* were probably held at new moon.⁶⁶ Miller reminds us of the fact that the *Olympia* were not tied to the local Elean calendar,

61 Dawson 1996:29, Vernant 1968:15, Graf 1984:245.

62 For the focusing on visible male beauty and warfare virtues in early Greek poetry (epigrammatic included), see Robertson 2003.

63 Miller 2002:286ff.

64 Miller 1975:219f. The *Isthmia* were probably held in April, the *Nemea* in July and the *Olympia* and *Pythia* in August (Unger 1877:42, cf. Golden 1998:10f.).

65 Unger 1877:40ff., Fontenrose 1988:127.

66 Perlman 1989:65.

in fact to no local calendar at all.⁶⁷ Since, however, the Greeks from the Archaic period on knew the date of the solstices, the Olympic games could equally well have been held on a specific day counting from that moment. Or if one assumes the practice of including the full moon as a universal point of orientation, they could have ordered people to arrive on that day and start on the *n*th day after. In Pindar's poetry it seems, however, that the full moon was part of the celebration's climax (Pind. *Ol.* 3.19f., *cf.* *Ol.* 10.74f.). What I will suggest is that practical reasons do not exclude symbolic motives for accommodating the full moon in the ritual arrangement. According to Claire Préaux, the Greeks associated the waxing moon with processes favourable to growth.⁶⁸ We should therefore not dismiss the possibility that the calendrical arrangement were connected with the overall superiority and 'perfection' of the *Olympia*.⁶⁹

Taboos

There seems to have been an additional atmosphere of sanctity associated with the pilgrimage centre of Olympia, which was surrounded by an exceptional protective zone through the traditional neutrality of the entire polis of Elis. According to Strabo, an oath was pledged by all stating that those whoever bore weapons into the sanctuary, as well as those who refused to defend Olympia, were under a curse or polluted (ἐνᾶγῆ).⁷⁰ This war taboo seems to have been exclusive for Olympia.⁷¹

Not only were women excluded according to elaborate regulations (Paus. 5.6.7; 6.20.9; Ael. *NA* 5.17), but other exceptions and taboos surrounded the sanctuary as well. So the sanctuary was subject to 'miracles' (θαυμάσαι, θαῦμα): Pausanias mentions that Olympia is the only place in the Hellenic world where flax grows (Paus. 5.5.2). Another 'miracle' elevating Olympia to a realm of exceptionality is the 'fact' that only the water of the Alpheios created the 'clay' constituting the monumental ash altar (Paus. 5.13.11). Kites did not prey on the sacrificial meat and flies kept away from the sacrifices during the Olympic festival (Paus. 5.14.1;

67 Miller 1975:220.

68 Préaux 1973:99. We may surmise that the full moon represents the *akmè* of this favourable process.

69 *Cf.* Hugh Lee citing Sch. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 3.33, where Herakles is staged establishing the altars and sacrifices, introducing him in the following manner, 'the moon being full, gleaming and shining into the evening and the night on the faultless (ὄλοκλήρω) man' (Lee 2001:11).

70 Strabo 8.3.33; *cf.* Phlegon 257 *FGrH* F 1.8 Jacoby. Lämmer 1982-83:49.

71 Although wars were fought over the control of Olympia, nobody seriously contested the special role of Elis in relationship to Olympia (For the conflict between Elis and Sparta, see recently Roy 1998 and Hornblower 2000). The situation of Elis is characterised by Drees as a 'Phäakendasein' (Drees 1967:41, 'Phaecian existence,' 1968:37). Sordi 1984 and Corbetta 1981 discuss the political aspects of the games and the sanctuary. In Olympia there did not arise a league of states that distributed control over the sanctuary as was the case with Delphi.

Ael. *NA* 5.17; 11.8, Plin. *HN* 10.12). Flies were considered a source of pollution,⁷² and their ‘absence’ avoided this ‘danger’ guaranteeing the purity of the celebration. The ‘taboo’ then seems to protect against pollution and against blurring strictly separate categories of dead bodies. Probably the kite falls into the same category of defiling animal. The singularity of flax is less easy to explain. Another example of the urge to establish categorial perfection, testified by Classical as well as post-Classical sources, is the tradition that horses and asses did not—could not or should not—breed in Elis.⁷³ The ancient sources attribute the strange fact that mules ‘were not born’ in Elis due to a curse, ‘inflicted upon the region by Oinomaos,’ which indicates that there was a taboo on mating horses and asses. According to Aristotle, this contamination of species was ‘against nature,’ producing infertile offspring,⁷⁴ thus apparently creating a kind of ‘danger’ of ‘pollution.’ We may easily relegate this particular ‘fact’ to a widespread tendency among various peoples to create rules of avoiding ‘polluting’ phenomena, especially the confounding of categories, a phenomenon focused upon by Mary Douglas in her study of *Purity and danger*.⁷⁵ The miracles and taboos then seem to contribute to the exceptionality and categorial purity of the Olympic celebration.

Nudity

Another aspect we have to examine is the custom of athletic nudity. Myles McDonnell assumes that this was generally practised by the mid-sixth century at Athens and probably earlier at Sparta and the Olympic games, in spite of the fact that both Thoukydides and Plato represent the practice as a recent development.⁷⁶

72 Cole 1995:193, according to Cole, because flies feed on offal and corpses.

73 Hdt. 4.30; Plut. *Mor.* 303b = *Aetia graeca* 52; Paus. 5.5.2; Ael. *NA* 5.8. Calame 1977:419 following Devereux thinks this folklore is related to the myth of Oinomaos obstructing his daughter’s marriage, a suggestion I do not find convincing. I think the function of tales of this kind is not just that of mirroring and ‘documenting.’ The race with mule carts was introduced into the *Olympia* in 500 and abolished again in 444 (Paus. 5.9.1, cf. Lee 1992:105).

74 Arist. *Gen. an.* II:8,748b15-19, cf. Georgoudi 1990:200.

75 Douglas 1985, see especially ch. 3, 41-57. Douglas underscores that the seemingly curious beliefs in pollution and its concomitant ‘danger’ are not primitive forms of irrationality, but the expression of cultural creativity: ‘... rituals of purity and impurity create unity in experience. So far from being aberrations from the central project of religion, they are positive contributions to atonement. By their means, symbolic patterns are worked out and publicly displayed. Within these patterns disparate elements are related and disparate experience is given meaning’ (*op. cit.* 2f.).

76 McDonnell 1991:193. He argues that Thoukydides’ (Thuc. 1.6.5) and Plato’s claims (Pl. *Resp.* 5.452C), assuming a recent introduction of the practice, have to be understood as rationalising attempts at composing a schematic picture of social progress. For a historical explanation for the ‘invention by Orsippos’ in early Classical Megara, see Bohringer 1979:13.

As to the question why athletes performed naked we are generally met with anecdotal explanations in the ancient sources and simple qualifications such as 'athletic nudity,' 'nudité rituelle,' 'ideal nudity' *etc.* in modern scholarship.⁷⁷ In the case of Greek athletics, nudity seems to have been the rule not only at contest festivals but in daily exercise as well. It is therefore in principle not likely that the custom was a framing of ritual context.⁷⁸ A different explanation has been offered by Stephen G. Miller, who draws attention to the relationship between egalitarian politics and the levelling effect of nudity, assuming a proto-democratic mentality developing during the early sixth century, the age when the panhellenic festivals were established, reorganised or expanded.⁷⁹ Whatever the essential motive for the custom, the fact that males exercised naked had an obvious additional function: by displaying the naked body they emphasised the sex of the performer, thus stressing gender categorisation. The tale of the unlucky mother of an athlete who intruded into the games disguised as a male and was unmasked (Paus. 5.6.7-8; 6.7.2) suggests this concern. However, the overwhelming mass of male nudes in Greek sculpture, beginning with the *kouros* type (contrary to its Egyptian predecessor) and their frequency in other art forms suggests a cultural preoccupation with male physical vitality.⁸⁰ François Bohringer suggests that 'cette nudité oppose le Grec au Barbare.'⁸¹ Beth Cohen thinks the nudity of the West pediment of Zeus' temple presents the ideal nudity of the Greek male in contrast to the barbarian Centaurs in a 'monumental embodiment of ethnic conflict.'⁸² The pervasive custom of exercising naked in the *gymnasion* and in fact the etymology of this term support the argument that 'athletic nudity' was a materialisation of the 'the Hellenic way,' revealing their cultural preoccupations, in contrast to surrounding cultures, the earlier Romans included.⁸³ The fact that subsequent Christian culture has emphasised so strongly the opposite value may be an indication of the centrality of 'male

77 *E.g.* Brelich 1969:31, Thuillier 1988:32, 43. James Arieti suggests that the custom served to demonstrate Greek superiority by sexual restraint (Arieti 1975-76). Mouratidis argues for a 'warrior-athlete' connection (Mouratidis 1985:230). David Sansone (discussing still more theories) considers athletics as a form of sacrificial ritual, explaining nakedness as an aspect of initiation, while both sport and initiation are 'descendants of hunting ritual' (Sansone 1988:89, 112). Mark Golden discusses the issue without favouring any explanation (Golden 1998:65ff.).

78 In anthropological terms it is a common feature among humans to create ritual frames by overloading or stripping away the ordinary, and so they may enforce nudity as an extreme case of the latter tendency (Babcock 1978:297). Victor Turner 1972:576 qualifies ritual nudity as a symbol for the loss of status in initiation.

79 Miller 2002. According to Robertson, the nude body may have been a sign of citizen status (Robertson 2000:167ff.).

80 For an assessment of the varying manifestations of the male nude in art, see Osborne 1997.

81 Bohringer 1979:13, *cf.* Thuc. 1.6.5.

82 Cohen 2001:237f.

nudity' culture, a preoccupation with extroversion, physical (male) beauty vs. spiritual introversion ('Leibfeindlichkeit'),⁸⁴ and the present, immanent world vs. transcendent other-worldliness ('Jenzeitbezogenheit').⁸⁵ Contrast the futile existence of the souls in Hades vs. Christian paradise.

Women and girls

We may relate the custom of naked exercise to the practice of excluding (certain kinds of) women from the male celebrations.⁸⁶ According to Pausanias, παρθένοι were not debarred, but γυναῖκες were excluded from the Olympic contests, with the exception of the priestess of Demeter Khamyne (Paus. 6.20.9; 6.21.1). Those who trespassed were to be thrown from Mt. Tupaion (Paus. 5.6.7). No female at all was allowed to proceed beyond the stone *prothysis* of Zeus' ash altar, only men could climb to its top (Paus. 5.13.10).

These taboos have prompted various speculations. Susan Guettel Cole suggests that the fear of pollution stemming from processes like birth and miscarriage were the reason for debarring mature women from the Olympic athletic festival. This may be the case, but it does not explain why females altogether, not only matrons, were refused access to the top of the ash altar. Furthermore, Cole suggests that at the root of the taboo was the regulation of sexual activity for the sake of accumulating athletic energies, a quasi-practical ordination.⁸⁷ However, since no equivalent rules prevailing in other athletic contests are recorded, the exclusion of women was rooted in other motives. It may be suggested that within the general atmosphere of exceptional 'purity' and sanctity a particular urge for distinct and pure categorisation by polarisation (and hierarchisation) has been an underlying drive.⁸⁸ According to Matthew Dillon, the *Olympia* seems to have been the only celebration where *gynaikes* were excluded,⁸⁹ which supports my argument that Olympia answered the urge for pure categorisation.

83 Glass 1988:158 'abhorred by the barbarians' Thuc.1.6.5; Plut. *Mor.* 274d = *Quaest. Rom.* 40; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.70

84 Müller 1995:337f.

85 Weiler 1985-86:258, 262, Tert. *De spect.* 18.2, *Scorp.* 6.2, cf. Koch 1965, Weismann 1972, Ebert 1975, Poliakoff 1984.

86 Paus. 5.6.7; 6.7.2; Ael. *NA* 5.17; Philostr. *Gym.* 17. Whether males were excluded from the female celebrations is not recorded.

87 Cole 1995:182f.

88 Cf. Burkert's comment: 'das Fest trennt die Familienbeziehungen, um sie eben dadurch deutlich zu machen' (Burkert 1972:118, 1983:102). The drive does not need to have been conscious. If the taboo prevailed in Olympia only, we may compare the fact that university colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, in contrast to other academic institutions, so long resisted to admitting females into their male colleges, defending a notion of male superiority (Burke 1990).

89 Dillon 2000:479.

However, when gender segregation and categorisation were the rule we have to explain the exceptions: why young women as well as the priestess of Demeter were given access to the male games. This requires that we take into account factors that neutralise gender polarisation.⁹⁰ Some individuals may be classified as genderless, as e.g. children, elderly women and individuals with exceptional and marginal status such as priestesses.⁹¹ The fact that girls were admitted to the *Olympia* may mean that they represented the indifferent category of children, who were considered as gender neutral. Their presence therefore did not affect the demand for strict categorisation.

The priestess of Demeter Khamyne may have been a similar case of individuals classified as marginal and for that reason lifted outside the normal gender distinction.⁹² This provides, however, only a negative explanation, offering a reason why the Demeter priestess was not excluded. I have elsewhere argued for a positive reason for this choice, the fact that Demeter seems to have been connected with athletic races and initiation practices, apparently favouring the symbolic 'growth' of new generations of men.⁹³

Pageantry

Until now we have gathered an understanding of the Olympian celebration as a sacred space-time where-when the exceptional and perfect were enacted, categories were kept pure and pollution banned. These circumstances, however, cannot explain the extraordinary manner in which the *olympionikai* were honoured or provide a sufficient explanation for the epinikian ode. We have to investigate the arrangements and celebrations more in depth, in particular the specific magnetic pull the pilgrimage centre exercised and the affective climaxes at work during the festivities, including wider circles of the celebration at the *hieronikes'* homecoming.

90 Discussing the phenomena of gender ambiguity and ambivalence, Miranda Green reminds of the fact that in traditional societies, gender is subject to both polarisation and hybridisation. Gender is not always conceived of as the sum of absolute innate characteristics, but a category which can be construed socially. 'The attribution of gender to an individual may, in certain contexts, vary according to other criteria, such as age, status or primary role within a community, with the corollary that gender attribution may be fluid and mutable' (Green 1997:899).

91 Those 'who do not conform to the gender "norm" in society might symbolically change gender-attribution, with the female ruler allocated a male gender-attribution' (Green 1997:899).

92 The Delphic Pythia represents a parallel arrangement, an exception to the general prohibition for women to enter Apollo's sanctuary. The Vestal Virgins are another example (Green 1997:900). Among West African Poro secret societies, which, as the rule, are single sex male organisations, a woman must officiate (Lafontaine 1985-86:38).

93 Bouvrie 2004.

The *Olympia* promised a colossal renown to the victorious athletes. During the victory celebrations the *olympionikai* were crowned and showered with leaves, in the *phyllobolia*. At their homecoming they could be received with extraordinary honours,⁹⁴ and a pageantry exhibiting features common to marriage processions, receptions of victorious commanders or monarchs and similar phenomena, including *euangelia*, *makarismos*, and *phyllobolia*.⁹⁵ Exainetos from Akragas was escorted by 300 teams of white horses (*Ol.* 92, Moretti 1957 nr. 346). The fact that victorious athletes were honoured with permanent *sitesis* in the prytaneion, 'the symbol of the life of the city'⁹⁶ underscores the social significance of their victory.

During the *eiselasis*, the community could pull down the city wall, in order to receive the exceptionally powerful citizen, a symbolic act demonstrating the belief in his beneficent power. Henk Versnel comparing the *eiselasis* and the Roman *triumphus* offers particularly valuable insights into the mentality underlying these customs.⁹⁷ Like a Roman *triumphator*, however, the *hieronikes* seems to have been subject to a ritual 'memento mori!' as well.⁹⁸

This brings us back to the issue of war. A *hieronikes* might be revered as someone invested with extraordinary victorious power, which could be transformed into martial fortune, as was the case with Sparta.⁹⁹ Sometimes their merits in both fields, war and athletics, were recorded in funeral inscriptions, e.g. Phaÿllos from Kroton, who won stadion and pentathlon victories at the *Pythia* and fought in the battle of Salamis as well (*Hdt.* 8.47, Moretti 1953 nr. 11, 1957 nr. 185).¹⁰⁰

Heroisation

Victorious athletes in the sacred contests were, then, per definition extraordinary males.¹⁰¹ This is evident from the fact that they in specific circumstances could, when deceased, be turned into a strong mobilising force as heroes. This seems to have been the case in situations of crisis, when (segments of) the community

94 A catalogue of rewards is provided by Horst Buhmann 1972.

95 For these traditional features in pageantry, including *euangelia* and *makarismos*, see Kleinknecht 1937, Slater 1984, cf. Buhmann 1972:111f. For the *angelia*, see further Nash (1990), for the *phyllobolia*, see Giglioli 1950, Kefalidou 1999.

96 Miller 1978:129. For the honours rewarded at Athens (*JG I² 77*), see Morissey 1978, Kyle 1984.

97 Versnel 1970:159, while now distancing himself from the concept of 'mana.' *Plut. Mor.* 639e = *Quaest. conv.* 2.5.2; *Plin. Ep.* 10.118; *Suet. Ner.* 25; *Dio Cass.* 63.20; See Robert and Robert 1961, Buhmann 1972:104, Herrmann 1975.

98 Versnel 1970:380 'hominem te esse memento,' cf. Slater 1984:244.

99 *Plut. Lyc.* 22, Kurke 1993:136, cf. Versnel 1970:155ff. Conversely, Themistokles was received with tremendous acclaim when arriving at the *Olympia* of 476 (*Plut. Them.* 17).

100 Cf. Sani 1982. Other examples are Stomios from Elis, 376 (*Paus.* 6.3.2), Promakhos from Pellene (*Paus.* 7.27.5), and Kheilon from Patrai (*Paus.* 7.6.5, Buhmann 1972:73).

adopted a particularly powerful heroic figure, in order to overcome the crisis and establish a new order.¹⁰² In that capacity they belonged to a wider field of male exceptionalism,¹⁰³ elevated to a status of heroisation that could befall the war dead as well. These men were at least lifted out of the routine of human existence, the *Marathonomakhai* being an example.¹⁰⁴ In iconography the fallen warrior might be presented as (a warrior accompanied by) a snake, granting him exceptional status too.¹⁰⁵ The myth of the infant hero Sosipolis evoked in Olympia, who was transformed into a snake and so defended the community may be an instance of this belief (Paus. 6.20.4-5).¹⁰⁶ What we are witnessing is the creation of a complex of values accruing to the 'exceptional male': athletic vitality and power,¹⁰⁷ as well as martial strength and courage.

Masculinity complex

We may compare these forms of ritual and symbolic expression with Dorothea French's example from the mediaeval pilgrimage to the cave of Saint Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg in North Western Ireland. Here, she argues, the European ideal of a noble male elite was cultivated.¹⁰⁸ Referring to parallel phenomena, French suggests that the ritual components of the pilgrimage may emphasise social distinctions among pilgrims, concluding that Saint Patrick's Purgatory pilgrimage

101 For the tale type of the heroic athlete, see Fontenrose 1968. Apart from the *oikistes* of an *apoikia* there are the cases of military leaders. Exceptional athletic success constitutes but one element in the range of factors that make males eligible for heroisation, in addition to the exceptional beauty of Philippos from Kroton (Moretti 1957 nr. 135), the powerful brutality of Kleomedes from Astypalaia (Paus. 6.9.6, Moretti 1957 nr. 174), or other characteristics. Cf. Hoffmann 2000:368, Voutiras 2000:377).

102 Bohringer 1979. E.g. the heroisation of Brasidas in 422 by the Amphipolitans in opposition to the Athenians (Thuc. 5.11.1., cf. Kearns 1990:328f., Hoffmann 2000), and the heroisation of Kimon in Kition in 450 BC during a plague (Plut. *Cim.* 19.4), Miltiades son of Kypselos (and an *olympionikes*) was honoured as a hero by the Dolonkians during a conflict with the Apsinthians (Hdt. 6.38). Kenneth Scott describes the case of Demetrios Poliorketes (Scott 1928). Emmanuel Voutiras discusses a detailed description of a heroisation manqué, underscoring the exceptionality of the historical factors and immediate circumstances of heroisation (Voutiras 2000). For the concrete expression of the deceased athlete being transformed into a *heros*, see Pind. fr. 133 (Snell).

103 See Roller 1981, who has collected a number of heroised historical persons. Hammond 1999 analyses Macedonian traditions.

104 Whitley 1994:227f. Hugh Bowden argues that the Homeric triad: gods, war kings (*basileis*), and commoners reflect the hierarchy of polis religion: gods, heroes and ordinary mortals, emphasising the association between heroes and warfare (Bowden 1993:55f.).

105 For examples, see the terracotta plaques found on the Peloponnese from the late Classical and early Hellenistic period (Salapata 1997:248ff).

106 Cf. Kearns 1990:323ff.

107 This was not necessarily beneficent; See especially Bohringer 1979. Cf. Visser 1982.

‘rather than providing a site where day-to-day identities of pilgrims were suppressed actually reinforced the medieval European idea of a noble male elite.’¹⁰⁹ The *Olympia* assembled the host of freeborn, male, Hellenic celebrants, competing for the status of ideal performer in their supreme contests of excellence.

These phenomena may be related to the world wide tendency to create manhood ideals, a social need for defining the standard of masculinity, and forcing it upon its members.¹¹⁰ While the content of this ideology may vary, the modes of disciplining the young and challenging the adult into compliance are near universals. The masculinity ideology is either transmitted in a brief and intensive formal transition rite or it is ‘hung on high’ resulting in a life long competition for excellence with the continuous hope for victory and fear of defeat.¹¹¹

Seen from the perspective of the individual athletes it seems obvious that the pilgrimage centre Olympia harboured the ‘key symbol’ of ‘Hellenic manhood,’ manifesting supreme physical vitality and spiritual excellence (*i.e.* courage).¹¹² In this sense the contest festival offered an ‘elaborating’ symbol, elaborating upon the distinction between females and males.

With its strong affective charge, however, the celebration drew together a number of intensively admired and fiercely contested excellences, exerting a powerful magnetic force upon the entire Hellenic world, centred in ‘the Hellenic way-of-life,’ the basic value of being a Hellene. In addition to honouring physical excellence the *Olympia* rewarded worldly success, *i.e.* wealth expressed in the horse

108 French 1994:111, *cf.* 103. The pilgrimage ritual, which was transformed by the Cistercian order towards the end of the twelfth century, offered an ordeal at the faraway cave of Saint Patrick’s for the extremely tough and ambitious, excluding females altogether and attracting primarily men from the knightly class. Those who passed the tormenting ritual stages bringing them to the entrance of the ‘Otherworld’ and almost driving them to their death, ‘finally gained entrance to the cave [and an] experience [which] not only gave them knowledge of their own personal salvation but also heroic status within society’ (French 1994:110).

109 French 1994:111, *cf.* 103.

110 Gilmore 1990.

111 Gilmore 1990:224ff. Societies may enforce the manhood ideology upon their members, either in the form of ‘rigid chronological watersheds’ through initiation ceremonies or informally by way of permanent competitions for excellence (see his case studies on societies ranging from inner Malaysian highlands to American middle class society, *op. cit.* 124 and *passim*). Gilmore is convinced that the manhood complex is not just a biological urge, but an adaptation to social and environmental challenges and needs, a social barrier that society must erect against entropy, the renunciation of male adulthood. We may trace the way formal puberty initiations in Greek history have varied with other challenges of manhood ideology, and consider the athletic contests with adolescent as well as adult participation within the range of these social forms. Hans van Wees notices the physical and conceptual separation of boys from men in the *gymnasion* and in panhellenic events as a ‘significant archaic development’ (Wees 1996:1.9f.).

112 Müller 1996:44 ‘den in Sport wie im Krieg entscheiden körperliche Leistungsfähigkeit, “Technik” und psychisches Durchhaltevermögen über Sieg und Niederlage.’

aces, thus offering arenas for social competition attracting the wealthy as well as the less fortunate in a common celebration. This complex *panegyris* undoubtedly qualified for a 'summarising' symbol, and I would preliminarily suggest to adopt the panhellenic '*agon*' as a perceptual vehicle of this 'summarising' symbol, a materialisation of the deep-seated values that were admired in the entire Hellenic cultural region and period.¹¹³

Social and historical factors surrounding the epinikion

Within this framework, which offers a view of the *Olympia*, we may study the role of the epinikian genre. As I have suggested earlier, I think the epinikion may reveal both elements of short term historical effervescence as well as glimpses of a lasting mentality running through the (actually) '*longue durée*' of the *panegyris*.

We may then conceive of the nature of the Olympic *panegyris* as a celebration during which a male elite competed for excellence in a generally recognised complex of masculinity ideals. In doing so they created first of all a distinction between males and females. In addition, in a period when the sense of ethnicity was developing perhaps more rapidly and forcefully,¹¹⁴ they expressed their ethnic superiority as well, marking themselves as Hellenes, with nudity as a costume, and demarcating themselves from the barbarians by the extraordinary distinction lavished upon the *hieronikes*.¹¹⁵

As to the question of the short term meaning of the victory celebration we have to address the problem of the social origin of the participants at the athletic festivals in the late archaic and early Classical period, a discussion that concerns the distinction between amateurism *vs.* professionalism.¹¹⁶ To what extent the *Olympia* were the arena of the aristocracy or embraced a wider range of Hellenic citizens is not easy to determine, but I would suggest that the sources point to a combination of aristocrats and wider elites in the period under consideration.¹¹⁷ The commonly held view is that the athletic contests, dominated by their fierce competition and emphasis on individual achievement, prove their purely aristocratic nature.¹¹⁸

113 Stefan Müller assumes 'auch wenn derartige Agon-Denken nicht spezifisch griechisch ist, so ist doch die extreme Ausprägung dieses Motivs im Leben der Griechen einzigartig' (Müller 1995:40). The *agon* is highlighted in Herodotos by way of the ideological discourse between the Hellenic deserters and Xerxes (Hdt. 8.26).

114 *cf.* Malkin 2001 and Ulf 1996.

115 The athletic victory celebration has been recognised as a distinctively Greek cultural feature by Poliakoff (Poliakoff 1987:104, *cf.* Poliakoff 2001:51).

116 For the principal contributions to this discussions, see Young 1984, Pleket 1974, 1975, 1992, Kyle 1985, 1997, Poliakoff 1989. More recently Müller 1995:20-37, Golden 1998:141-45, Mann 2001:36ff.

117 I am not convinced by Young that the reward system alone was sufficient to promote poor athletes systematically in their career (Young 1984:158ff.).

Especially Young and recently Stephen G. Miller have argued from a different assumption, stating that the participants at the panhellenic festivals belonged to a wider social range than aristocrats only.¹¹⁹ In contrast to the unfree, freedmen and *metoikoi*, the citizen body constituted anyhow an elite in the wider sense, and the distance between the upper and the middle region may not have been insurmountable.¹²⁰

Stephen G. Miller questions the one-to-one correspondence between aristocracy and individualism or between team athletics (and hoplite warfare) and communal mentality. As Dawson has pointed out, the civic militarism, which prevailed in the entire Hellenic cultural area, fosters intense competition, an equally widespread custom of collective (hoplite) tactics notwithstanding. Instead of equating individualistic contests exclusively with aristocratic values Poliakoff has suggested that the common, 'hoplite,' citizen participated in the *Olympia*, finding an outlet for otherwise prohibited behaviour of competing for excellence, diverting the unacceptable impulses and redirecting them into harmless efforts.¹²¹ Harry Pleket wondering 'why on earth the ancients themselves rejected the idea of athletics as a *techne*, an *epitedeuma*,' argues that the reason was their origin in the aristocratic value system.¹²² I would, however, suggest that this activity was lifted

118 Recently this view has been promoted in particular by Christian Mann: 2001:35 and Stefan Müller, who discusses 'Die archaische griechische Adelsetik mit ihrem Drang, Rangfolgen zu erstellen und individuelle ἀρετή vor anderen zu demonstrieren,' while in war hoplites competed for the *aristeia*, 'das Moment sich vor anderen auszuzeichnen' (Müller 1996:50ff.).

119 Miller 2002:278. Miller assumes that team athletics require hierarchy and discipline (Miller 2002:278). On team sports, see Mann 1999:128. Poliakoff emphasises that individual exercises were a typical feature of Greek athletics (Poliakoff 1987:107). I would suggest that while the system did not reward anyone beyond the winners, and did not register absolute results there did not arise any disruptive competition between hoplites. The contests as such, instead of creating status hierarchies, contributed to raise the general level of achievement.

120 On prosopography, see Müller 1996:46 n.23, cf. Poliakoff 1987:129ff. According to Christian Mann, the aristocratic elite was not constituted by birth (Mann 2001:33). Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp assumes that there may have been a gradual transition, during which the ancient noble families might descend in wealth and prestige while rich families might ascend (Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989:81ff.). The genealogical 'depth' of elite families was not very impressive (Stahl 1987:81ff., cf. Vallet 1985, Bernardini 1992). William Slater dismisses the notion of a bounded aristocracy altogether. He suggests that the epinikion served as 'image-making' for people who felt like aristocrats (Slater 2001:46ff.). Thomas Hubbard thinks, contrary to Kurke, that Pindar had an open interest in trade and moneymaking (Hubbard 2001:388ff.). He thinks Pindar's poetry is interspersed with 'propagandistic claims,' for the 'problematized elites:' New Wealth, Sicilians suspected for not offering help in the Persian wars and Aiginetans suspected for piracy (*op. cit.* 396f.).

121 Referring to the important study by Clifford Geertz on the cultural processes on Bali, Poliakoff concludes that 'the games represent displacement of certain military impulses' (Poliakoff 1987:114f. and n. 80). Müller maintains that the *apobates* exercise functioned as a 'Ventilsitte' for the aristocracy as a compensation for their reduced power position in society (Müller 1996:50).

out of the pool of ordinary professions, and, whatever its brutality or lucrative aspects, categorised as an extraordinary occupation, passing into the domain of symbolic meaning.

4. 'Summarising' symbols and the epinikion

The very complexity of the recruitment to the Olympic games and the variety of motives for participating suggest that these celebrations were of an exceptional nature. 'Summarising' symbols have a tendency to unite people with various and even opposing urges and interests in a shared glowing fascination, and it would not be surprising if the pilgrimage magnet of the panhellenic *agon* attracted the splendid 'aristocrats' and the banausic 'hoplites' alike to its common centre.

While the 'aristocrats'¹²³ may have distinguished themselves by *hippotrophia* and other aristocratic pursuits,¹²⁴ and the 'democrats' had to earn their glory in gymnastic exercises, still both could meet in a common celebration sharing the brilliance of the Olympic *angelia*, *phyllobolia* and *enkomion*.¹²⁵

The *agon* with the preparatory arrangements, the separation for the training period, the formidable test and the subsequent victory celebration have been said to remind of initiatory rites.¹²⁶ However, apart from the fact that the *Olympia* did not involve adolescents only, or result in a transition into adulthood, only a few athletes reached the final crowning. We may then wonder what was the nature of these ritual forms. The entire arrangement, including the celebration at the festival site and the pageantry organised upon homecoming, seems to have followed a ritual pattern. In addition, during the period under consideration the victorious

122 Pleket 1992:148f.

123 I am in doubt whether the term is favourable to our understanding of the ancient Greek conditions, or carries a too heavy weight of modern age noblesse, with its feudal associations.

124 Especially a life style focusing on elegance, paederasty and symposia, cf. Stein Hölkeskamp 1984:104f. and Donlan 1999:62. For the creation of difference through equestrian competition Golden 1997:33-45. In a comparative study, Christoph Ulf demonstrates that there is a general tendency to define specific athletic exercises as markers of social distinctions (Ulf 1981:44f.).

125 Poliakoff discussing the question of social origin of the participants underscores that in this athletic culture 'egalitarianism enjoyed a virtually symbiotic relation with the aristocratic world' (Poliakoff 1989:170). Müller thinks that the competitive values of the aristocracy were to a large extent shared by the demos (Müller 1996:49). Walter Donlan assumes that 'the points of identification between the "aristocratic ideal" and the wider cultural ideal were not the results of the filtering down and acceptance by the many of the values of the few, but the reflection of a culture-wide homogeneity of values and attitudes which all Greeks shared' (Donlan 1999:178). Whitehead demonstrates that *philotimia* played a pervasive role from the Homeric to the Roman age, while social conditions altered the aims from individualistic to the community as the proper object (Whitehead 1983).

126 Sources in Burkert 1972:117, 1983:102.

athletes were frequently honoured with the performance of an epinikion given during a symposion or a thanksgiving at a shrine.

The celebration of the victorious athletes was naturally centred around the announcement, the *angelia*, and the crowning. Not all of them were rewarded with an epinikion.¹²⁷ The victory odes were a genre performed in complex ritual celebrations, not all aspects of which were symbolic (neither in the *Olympia* nor in the other panhellenic festivals). Most of the activities were probably just serving the wish for excitement, for winning honour, or the desire for crude profit. We may compare the way the Balinese cockfight analysed by Clifford Geertz manifests a wide range of fascinations, from simple lucrative motives to the deepest expression of the community's cultural ideals.¹²⁸ While the athletic festival generated all kinds of emotions, there were some moments when the celebration rose to the most elevated sentiments. William Mullen has expressed this thus: 'The poet would see in that brief gleam of victory reflections of the great light that once played upon heroes in the foundational ages, and in making the reflections visible to all, he would *bring about* the desired triumph of the victor's fame over time.'¹²⁹

It is within this perspective we may once more consider the *komos*, the festive procession orchestrated into a ritual complex, comprising song, dance, glorification, and blessing as well as warning. There was no question of any carnival festivity in the sense of a *mundus inversus* inverting status and power hierarchies and thus releasing carnivalesque laughter.¹³⁰ Nor any prosaic transaction between victor and community for reintegration into the polis. No exchange of information in a *Gesprächssituation*. The genre transmitted central Hellenic values, although not in a discursive manner.¹³¹

I suggest that a form of liminality was created during the cultural performance of the *Olympia*, which lifted the *olympionikai* to an elevated status, although it

127 Nash 1990, cf. Bernardini 1985. Miller demonstrates with statistical method that the Pindaric epinikion was commissioned by the wealthy only (Miller 2002:281f.).

128 Geertz 1973. Contemporary Olympic games comprise concentric circles of sensationalism, sportive excitement, patriotism as well as the sublime sentiments of shared humanity (MacAloon 1984).

129 Mullen 1982:32, emphasis added.

130 The *komos* is supervised by the *Kharites* e.g. in Pind. *Ol.* 13.16 which suggests its positive and serious sentiment, contrary to Newman and Newman's concept of carnival.

131 I am therefore sceptical to the formulations of Peter W. Rose, who underscores the element of *paideia* in the Pindaric epinikion, 'mythic *paradeigmata* believed to exhibit ideals of permanent value to Greek society and in particular to the Greek aristocracy ... have a general enduring appeal to more of Greek society than the victor and a small circle' (Rose 1974:149), cf. 'The use of myths to reinforce social and political structures and norms of behaviour ... replacement of myth by philosophy as the primary vehicle for serious explicit teaching ... didactic reasons' (151).

involved no ordinary initiation. The *Olympia* were a recurrent event and the celebration is more to be viewed from the collective point of view.¹³² Although victors were given tremendous attention it was not their status that was at stake, but the state of the celebrating community, periodically renewing itself in their collective pilgrimage to Olympia. This process of renewal is suggested by the central role of the full moon, a common symbol in rites of passage.¹³³ In the spectacular Incwala celebration among the Swazi in South-East Africa lunar symbolism accompanies the 'periodic strengthening' of the king as well as the nation.¹³⁴ Hilda Kuper, who has studied the rite, claims that, although the focus was on the king, 'on [a particular day during the Incwala] the identification of the people with the king is very marked.'¹³⁵ During the celebration the king is ritually humiliated and chastised. Customs of 'chastening,' the humiliating, and reviling of the central person often accompany liminal moments of elevation during installation rites (Turner 1969:105f., 167ff., Lincoln 1989:69).

I will argue that the victors were transformed and transferred in a similar liminal event. What was happening to the *olympionikai* was a transformation of the victorious athletes into a separate category of exceptional human beings.¹³⁶ At the athletic *panegyris* they were charged with the symbolic power of the festival site, and while being crowned and escorted in the *pompè*, they were transformed into living vehicles of the complex 'summarising' symbol stored at the pilgrimage centre. And when dedicating their crowns to the divine patrons upon homecoming, they carried their share of the 'key' symbolic power to their home polis, sowing that power all over their Mediterranean and Euxine settlements.¹³⁷

The victory celebration transformed the victorious athlete into an *olympionikes* as it transformed the community in its attitude towards him. Mentally, in his own

132 Turner 1967:94f.

133 Turner 1967:99.

134 Turner 1967:108f., Lincoln 1989:54.

135 Kuper 1947:219f. cited in Turner 1967:109.

136 Turner 1967:95. See Pierre Bourdieu for the notion of 'magical' transformation through ritual (Bourdieu 1992).

137 Cf. Gelzer 1985. Ian Rutherford draws attention to the system of state pilgrimages, which entailed local congregations preparing for panhellenic *theoriai* in a way which guaranteed a continuous circulation of religious-cultural pulse through the extensive network, a *two-stage pilgrimage* (Rutherford 2000:608): At Keos a local pilgrimage with choral performance was held at Karthaia assembling the *poleis* of the island, before the *theoroi* went on to Delos (609). From the SE Aegean members of the Nesiote league sent regular state-pilgrimages (*theoriai*) to Delos, Kos being the most regular contributor state. The departure of the state-pilgrimage from Kos to Delos was the occasion for a sacrifice attended by delegates from neighbouring states, such as Knidos, probably Kalymna. Similarly the *Thearoi* on Aigina visited Delphi, as delegates from a *pentapolis*.

as well as the community's perception, he was transferred into another realm of existence, expressed in imagery of boundaries and margins, the *eskhatia*, in Victor Turner's terms, 'betwixt and between' human and supra-human existence.¹³⁸ This was not just in order to pass and proceed his life in a new status. Athletes returned and could be crowned again. This potentially recurrent event indicates that the victor's identity was exchangeable, while it was his status as an exceptional human being that counted. The *Olympia* moved the community from a hypothetical state of lack or emptiness to a state of fullness, expressed in the full moon, while the *olympionikes* materialised the strength of the assembled and temporally cohesive community. We may suggest that the acts of abstaining from food and sexual union did not mark the separation of an initiand, but the state of lack of the entire community,¹³⁹ which was transformed and reborn in a celebration of growth in the *phyllobolia*, and a celebration of plenty in the sacrificial banquet. I suggest that the victor was transformed into a vehicle for the 'summarising' symbol of 'the Hellenic way,' charged with its complex and competing ingredients: male beauty and vitality, brutal strength and courage, (inherited) wealth and personal achievement. The celebration focused on confirming the 'axiomatic values of society.'¹⁴⁰ This may explain why there was no room for Dionysos in Olympia.¹⁴¹

Of course we can view the athletic contest as a kind of ordeal, potentially resulting in the status elevation of the athlete. Like the Swazi king the *olympionikes* was transposed into an almost unbearable condition of supra-humanity, and, as we will see, he was ritually 'chastised' in the 'memento mori' admonitions. It is, however, more fruitful to conceive of the Olympia as a *panegyris*, a *collective* liminal celebration.

It is within this perspective of liminality and rites of transformation we may consider the Pindaric epinikion. 'Liminality is the realm of primitive hypothesis, where there is a certain freedom to juggle with the factors of existence ... there is promiscuous intermingling and juxtaposing of the categories of event, experience, and knowledge ...'¹⁴² We may consider the way the poet conceives of his effort in a way that reminds of the essence of liminality moving between separate realms of existence, breaking up normal categories and crossing genre boundaries. The narrator frequently refers to this quality of the poems, he seems to travel like the bee from flower to flower (Pind. *Pyth.* 10.53), and we may interpret expressions as

138 Turner 1967:97.

139 On sexual continence as part of liminal rituals, see Turner 1967:104ff., 1967:109 (= Kuper 1947 129f.).

140 Turner 1967:100.

141 For these aspect of the celebration, see Bouvrie 2004.

142 Turner 1967:106.

poikilia (*Ol.* 6.87, *Nem.* 5.42, *Ol.* 3.8),¹⁴³ the notion of mixture (*Ol.* 3.9, e.g. the metaphor for song, the beverage mixed of milk and honey, Pind. *Nem.* 3.77f.) as indications for this liminal bricolage.

Whereas the epic genre refers to the mythical past, Pindar consistently switches to and fro between the heroic past and to the concrete present, traversing time from mythical heroes to the present. While the epic may only in rare and vague expressions elevate mythical heroes rhetorically through a contrast with 'men as they are nowadays,' Pindaric passages explicitly compare and associate living persons with heroes of the past, creating a kind of 'Homeric similes.'¹⁴⁴ In *Nem.* 9.39 Khromios is praised for his military skill and courage, behaving 'like Hektor beside the Skamandros.' Timodemos the pankratiast is likened to Aias (*Nem.* 2.13ff.), Herodotos with his chariot is 'inserted' into a song about Kastor and Iolaos (*Isthm.* 1.16), Melissos resembles Herakles, short but strong (*Isthm.* 4.49-55), Nikokles the boxer is associated with Akhilleus (*Isthm.* 8. 61ff.), Hagesidamos is compared to Patroklos (*Ol.* 10. 16ff.), while at the end of the ode the boy is likened to Ganymedes (99-105).

Pindar's poetry traverses cosmologic space, vertically from Olympos (e.g. *Ol.* 14.10ff., *Nem.* 10.17f.) via Earth to Hades (e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 85f., *Ol.* 8.81ff. and, of course, *Ol.* 2.57-60) or the island of the blessed (*Ol.* 2.70ff.), horizontally from the Olympic centre, Pelops' shrine, to the limits of the world, the farthest miraculous borderlands.¹⁴⁵ Melissos and his clan have reached the Columns of Herakles (*Isthm.* 4.11f., cf. *Ol.* 3.44), Aigina's noble elite has performed deeds which are heard beyond the Spring of the Nile and through the Hyperboreans' land (*Isthm.* 6.23, cf. *Ol.* 3.16), the boy Hippokles is told that by sublime feats a mortal can reach as far as the Hyperboreans (*Pyth.* 10.29f.), Aristokleides with his prowess may reach the extreme end, Herakles' Columns (*Nem.* 3.21, cf. *Nem.* 4.69). Xenokrates is said to have 'sailed with his hospitality and achievements as far as the Phasis [extreme east] and the Nile [extreme south]' (*Isthm.* 2.41f.).

These geographical expressions are metaphors for excellence and create a symbolic landscape into which the victor is moving towards the extreme borderland, the realm of the Randvölker, the Hyperboreans, the 'Hesperids' (Gadeira,

143 Newman and Newman have focused on this particular feature, although interpreting it as 'the harlequin's motley dress' of carnival (cf. Newman and Newman 1984:39, 49).

144 We may therefore doubt whether it is justified to subsume Homer and Pindar under a common category of praise poetry (Nagy 1990:146ff.). The *Iliad* and the *Odyssee* I would prefer to classify as cultural symbolic narrative. Although praise as well as blame are abundantly expressed, the subliminal meaning was to evoke and charge the fundamental symbolic values of society, as has been so well argued by Pierre Vidal-Naquet for the *Odyssee*. I have suggested a similar view of the *Iliad* in an earlier paper (Bouvier 2002:45).

145 Cf. Newman and Newman 1984:237.

Herakles' Columns) or the 'Aithiopians' (Nile). Frequently expressions of the 'extreme,' ἔσχατία, resonate in this cosmology in which the *hieronikes* fares, presented as a sea voyage in which he casts his anchor at the farthest shore, ἔσχατον πλόον (*Pyth.* 10.28f.), ἔσχατιαῖς ἤδη πρὸς ὄλβου βάλλεται ἄγκυραν (*Isthm.* 6.12f.), the end of sea voyage ([κίονες] ναυτιλίας ἐσχάτας *Nem.* 3.22), with the fame of their ἐσχάταισιν ἀνορέαις reaching to the Columns of Herakles (*Isthm.* 4.11f.).

They reach the highest peak, crest, or lookout-place (ἄκρον, κορυφά, σκοπία with the opposite χαμαί *Nem.* 9.9, *cf.* 7, and 47, *Nem.* 1.11, *cf.* 34, *Nem.* 6.24, *Nem.* 10.32, *Isthm.* 1.51, *Ol.* 13.15). The odes are, of course, replete with other superlatives and hyperbolic expressions (e.g. the priamel in the first lines of the first Olympian epinikion).

While the *hieronikes* is praised as being *daimonios* and godlike (*Ol.* 6.8, *Nem.* 1.8, *Nem.* 6.4f.), and is transferred to the borderlands of the cosmos, he is 'chastised,' warned of his mortality, bound to revert to the earth (*Nem.* 11.15f., *cf.* *Isthm.* 7.40ff.). This 'memento mori' manifests itself in admonitions against striving or sailing too far (*Isthm.* 4.13), or wishing to become like the gods ('do not seek to become a god' *Ol.* 5.24, 'strive not to become Zeus! ... mortal aims suit mortals' *Isthm.* 5.14, 'the brazen heaven is not ascendable to [the victor]' *Pyth.* 10.27).¹⁴⁶

Not seldom Pindar selects myths concerning heroes who are 'betwixt and between' mortality and immortality, who reach heaven, or strive for immortality and are driven back: Kastor and Polydeukes, brilliant athletes (*Nem.* 10.51), alternate (μεταμειβόμενοι) between human and divine status (*Nem.* 10.55, *Pyth.* 11.63f.),¹⁴⁷ Perseus reaches to the Hyperboreans (*Pyth.* 10.31, *cf.* *Nem.* 10.4), while Bellerophon was warded off from Olympos (*Ol.* 13.91, *Isthm.* 7.44) and of course Pelops, another athlete, was removed from Olympos (*Ol.* 1.65f.) while earning the favour of a god. A number of heroes recorded in praise of a clan or polis, or as *paradeigma*, are told to have won access to the status of the gods. Athena made Diomedes ἄμβροτον (*Nem.* 10.7), Herakles entered the Olympos (*Isthm.* 4.55ff., *cf.* *Nem.* 10.17f. *cf.* Semele and Ino, who achieved divine status, *Ol.* 2.25-30, *Pyth.* 11.1f.).

The crown, covering the head, that is the person of the *hieronikes*, is handed over to the polis community and its divine protectors. The imperatives and subjunctives inviting to deliver or to accept the crown suggest this ritual act: 'receive the crown and/or the victory song' (*Ol.* 3.29, *Pyth.* 12.5, *Isthm.* 4.43, *Pyth.*

146 Race 1990:191-95.

147 *Cf.* Ringleben 2002 (although elaborating the Pindaric passages within a Christian interpretation).

8., *Nem.* 10.21). The poet is charged by the gods to perform his transformative task (*Isthm.* 4.1, *Nem.* 1.13, he is a magician *Nem.* 4.2).

5. Conclusions

Serving the need for categorising between female and male 'nature,' the *Olympia* anchored 'elaborating,' symbols. The overall fervent adherence to athletics and the extraordinary attention bestowed on the crowning ceremonies, the exceptional status and rewards of the *hieronikes*, and the magical power adhering in his person are all indications of a culturally important phenomenon. At the end of a steep scale of excellences, from local competitions, through regional festivals and the lesser panhellenic celebrations, the *Olympia* constituted the summit of excellence. The severity of the rules and the extreme demands on physical and psychic performance, the calendrical arrangement, the elements of purity, perfection and miracle, the protecting curses and surrounding taboos suggest that Olympia harboured a Hellenic 'summarising' symbol. The complex motivations for participating, the contested value of athletics, even the often indignant criticisms, point to the same direction.¹⁴⁸ Uniting often opposite ideals (and social groups), and creating boundaries between Greeks and barbarians, the Olympia constituted the climax of 'the Hellenic way,' materialised in masculine grace and strength, nudity and glory. As a magnetic centre for martial and athletic pride and admiration Olympia attracted Hellenes from the entire Mediterranean.

The epinikion verbalises what may have been the spirit of the celebrations: transforming the community and transferring the magnetic charge from the symbolic centre to its outposts. It exalted the exceptionally wealthy, but at the same time it offered a general conceptualisation of panhellenic victory. Although the winners were in fact socially transferred into a privileged position, that is, the moment they were crowned for the *first* time, the celebration did not entail an initiation. The *olympionikai* served another and more exalted mission.

The fact that not only adolescent but also adult males performed in the contests forcefully suggests that this arrangement was a form of idealisation of the 'eternally youthful male' appearing in a monumentalised running contest, in a similar way as vases were monumentalised into funerary markers, garments into *peplos* offerings, and dwellings into temples.

Under the circular moon, they reached for perfection, nature 'cooperating' in the desirable categorisation between species: refusing horses and asses to mate. The cultic and other festival arrangements produced distinctions between Hellenes and non-Hellenes, but also between men and women. Disregarding girls as uncategorised 'facts of nature' they created a pure segregation between the worlds

148 See the criteria listed in chapter 2 of this paper.

and goals of 'real,' adult, females and 'real,' warrior males, thus developing and confirming 'elaborating' symbols. Being attracted towards the magnetic centre, the source of *kudos*, men aspired towards heroic status, in 'Hellenic' nakedness, through perennial vitality and strength inserting themselves 'betwixt and between' mortals and immortals.

Meeting in a setting which was elevated to a cosmic level, in a 'Phaeacian' absence of war, Olympia answered the need for charging a 'summarising' symbol, a complex of competing and changing, but intensely 'Hellenic-ways-of-life'. Here the authority of war mantics was anchored, war trophies abounded and martial athletics were celebrated. In the austere and awe-inspiring atmosphere embracing opposing values, wealth and strength, noble clans as well as outstanding *politai* met at the complex magnet of 'key' symbolic power.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aloni, Antonio 1998. *Cantare glorie di eroi. Comunicazione e performance poetica nella Grecia arcaica* (Torino)
- . 2001. 'The Proem of Simonides' Plataea Elegy,' in Deborah Boedeker and David Sider (eds.), *The New Simonides* (Oxford):86-105
- Aloni-Ronen, Neta 1997. 'Hera and the formation of aristocratic collective identity. Evidence from the Argive plain,' *SCI* 16:9-19
- Arieti, James A. 1975-76. 'Nudity in Greek athletics,' *CW* 68:431-36
- Babcock, Barbara 1978. 'Too many, too few. Ritual modes of signification,' *Semiotica* 23:291-302
- Bearzot, Cinzia 1993. 'Mantica e condotta di guerra. Strateghi, soldati e indovini di fronte all'interpretazione dell'evento "prodigioso",' in Marta Sordi (ed.), *La profezia nel mondo antico. Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica* 19 (Milano):97-121
- Bell, Catherine 1992. *Ritual theory, ritual practice* (New York, Oxford)
- Bernardini, Paola Angeli 1985. L'attualità agonistica negli epinici di Pindaro,' in André Hurst (ed.), *Pindare. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique. Fondation Hardt* 31 (Genève):117-53
- . 1992. 'La storia dell'epinico. Aspetti socio-economici,' *SIFC* Ser. III 10:965-78
- Boedeker, Deborah 2001. 'Paths of heroization at Plataea,' in Deborah Boedeker and David Sider (eds.), *The New Simonides* (Oxford):148-63
- Boedeker, Deborah and David Sider (eds.) 2001. *The New Simonides* (Oxford)
- Bohringer, François 1979. 'Cultes d'athlètes en Grèce classique. Propos politiques, discours mythiques,' *REA* 81:5-18
- Borofsky, Robert, Fredrik Barth, Richard A. Shweder et al. 2001. 'WHEN. A conversation about culture,' *American Anthropologist* 103,2:432-46
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1992. 'Rites as acts of institution,' in J.G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers (eds.), *Honor and grace in anthropology*, transl. Roger Just. Cambridge stud. in Soc. and cultural anthropol. 76, [orig. 'Epreuve scolaire et consécration sociale,' *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 39, Septembre 1981, 3-70] (Cambridge):79-89
- Bouvrie, Synnøve des 1995. 'Gender and the games at Olympia,' in Brit Berggreen, Nannó Marinatos (eds.), *Greece and Gender. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens* 2 (Bergen):55-74
- . 2002. 'The definition of myth. Symbolic phenomena in ancient Greek culture,' in Synnøve des Bouvrie (ed.), *Myth and symbol. Symbolic phenomena in ancient Greek culture. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens* 5 (Bergen):11-69
- . 'The pilgrimage to Olympia. Settings and sentiments,' in Michael Wedde (ed.), *Celebrations. Sanctuaries and the vestiges of cult practice. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens* 6 (Bergen)
- Bowden, Hugh 1993. 'Hoplites and Homer. Warfare, hero cult, and the ideology of the polis,' in John Rich and Graham Shipley (eds.), *War and society in the Greek world* (London, New York):45-63
- Brelich, Angelo 1961. *Guerre, agoni e culti nella Grecia arcaica*, Antiquitas Reihe i Bd 7 (Bonn)
- . 1969. *Paides e parthenoi*. Incunabula graeca 36 (Roma)
- Bremer, J.M. 1991. 'Poets and their patrons,' in Heinz Hofmann (with Annette Harder, eds.) *Fragmenta dramatica. Beiträge zur Interpretation der griechischen Tragikerfragmente und ihre Wirkungsgeschichte* (Göttingen):39-60
- . 1990. 'Pindar's paradoxical ἐγὼ and a recent controversy about the performance of his epinicia,' in S.R. Slings (ed.), *The poet's I in archaic Greek lyric. Proceedings of a symposium held at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam* (Amsterdam):41-58
- Bremmer, Jan N. 1996. 'The status and symbolic capital of the seer,' in Robin Hägg (ed.), *The role of religion in the early Greek polis*. Skrifter utg. av Svenska Institutet 8°, 14 (Stockholm):97-109
- Buhmann, Horst 1972. *Der Sieg in Olympia und in den anderen panhellenischen Spielen* (München)
- Bulman, Patricia 1992. *Phthonos in Pindar*. University of California publications: Classical studies 35 (Berkeley and Los Angeles)

- Bulman, Patricia 1992. *Phthonos in Pindar*. University of California publications: Classical studies 35 (Berkeley and Los Angeles)
- Bundy, Elroy L. 1962. 'Pindarica i. The eleventh Olympian ode,' *University of California publ. in class. philol.* 18:1-33
- Burke, Peter 1990. 'Das college in Oxbridge—ein Männerbund?' in Gisela Völger, Karin von Wlede (eds.), *Männerbande, Männerbünde. Zur Rolle des Mannes im Kulturvergleich*. Band 2 (Köln):65-70
- Burkert, Walter 1972. *Homo necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*. RGTV 32 (Berlin and New York)
- . 1983. *Homo necans. The anthropology of ancient Greek sacrificial ritual and myth* (engl. transl. Peter Bing (Berkeley Calif.))
- Calame, Claude 1977. *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque I. Morphologie, fonction religieuse et sociale* (Roma)
- Carey, Christopher 1994. 'Review L. Kurke, The traffic in praise. Pindar and the poetics of social economy, Ithaca 1991,' *JHS* 114:84
- . 2001. 'Poesia pubblica in performance,' in Maria Cannatà Fera and Giovanni Battista D'Alessio (eds.), *I Lirici greci. Forme della comunicazione e storia del testo* (Messina):11-26
- Chirassi-Colombo, Ileana 1977. 'Heros Achilleus—theos Apollon,' in Bruno Gentili and Giuseppe Paioni (eds.), *Il mito greco. Atti del convegno internazionale Urbino 7-12 maggio 1973* (Roma):231-69
- Cohen, Beth 2001. 'Ethnic identity in Democratic Athens and the visual vocabulary of male costume,' in Irad Malkin (ed.), *Ancient perceptions of Greek ethnicity* (Cambridge, Mass. and London):235-74
- Cole, Susan Guettel 1995. 'Women, dogs, and flies,' *AncW* 26:182-91
- Cole, Thomas 1992. *Pindar's feast or the music of power* (Roma)
- Connor, W. Robert 1988. 'Early Greek warfare as symbolic expression,' *P&P* 119:3-29
- Corbetta, Cristina 1981. 'Aspetti politici dei giochi olimpici nel V e nel IV secolo a. C.,' in Marta Sordi (ed.), *Religione e politica nel mondo antico. Contributi dell' Istituto di storia antica* 7 (Milano):80-96
- Crotty, Kevin 1982. *Song and action. The victory odes of Pindar* (Baltimore and London)
- Crowther, Nigel B. 1994. 'The role of heralds and trumpeters at Greek athletic festivals,' *Nikephoros* 7:135-55
- . 1999. 'Athlete as warrior in the ancient Greek games. Some reflections,' *Nikephoros* 12:121-30
- D'Aquili, Eugene G. and Charles.D. Laughlin Jr., 1979. 'The neurobiology of myth and ritual,' in E.G. d'Aquili, C.D. Laughlin Jr., J. McManus (eds.), *The spectrum of ritual. A biogenetic structural analysis* (New York):152-82
- Dawson, Doynne 1996. *The origins of western warfare. Militarism and morality in the ancient world* (Boulder CO)
- Deacy, Susan 2000. 'Athena and Ares. War violence and warlike deities,' in Hans van Wees (ed.), *War and violence in ancient Greece* (London):285-98
- Dickie, Matthew 1983. 'Phaeacian athletes,' in Francis Cairns (ed.), *Papers of the Liverpool Latin seminar* 4:237-67
- Dillon, Matthew P.J. 2000. 'Did *parthenoi* attend the Olympic games? Girls and women competing, spectating, and carrying out cult roles at Greek religious festivals,' *Hermes* 128:457-80
- Donlan, Walter 1999. *The aristocratic ideal and selected papers*. Revised and augmented edition of *The aristocratic ideal in ancient Greece*, 1980 (Wauconda, Ill.)
- Douglas, Mary 1985. *Purity and danger. The analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo* [orig. 1966] (London)
- Drees, Ludwig 1967. *Olympia, Götter, Künstler und Athleten* (Stuttgart)
- . 1968. *Olympia, gods, artists and athletes* (London)
- Duchemin, Jaqueline 1955. *Pindar, poète et prophète* (Paris)

- Ebert, Joachim 1972. *Griechische epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*. Abh. des Sächs. Akad. der Wiss. zu Leipzig. Phil.-hist. Klasse 63:2 (Berlin)
- . 1975. 'Die lateinischen Kirchenväter und die Wettkämpfe,' *Stadion* 1:185-97
- Effe, Bernd 1989. 'Krieg und Frieden in der griechischen Literatur. Das Beispiel der *Ilias*,' in Gerhard Binder and Bernd Effe (eds.), *Krieg und Frieden im Altertum* (Trier):9-26
- Ellinger, Pierre 2002. 'Artémis, Pan et Marathon. Mythe, polythéisme et événement historique,' in Synnøve des Bouvrie (ed.), *Myth and Symbol I. Symbolic phenomena in ancient Greek culture*. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 5 (Bergen):313-32
- Fontenrose, Joseph 1968. 'The hero as athlete,' *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 1:73-104
- . 1988. 'The cult of Apollo and the games at Delphi,' in Wendy Raschke (ed.), *The archaeology of the Olympic games* (London and Madison):121-40
- Foxhall, Linn 1993. 'Farming and fighting in ancient Greece,' in John Rich and Graham Shipley (eds.), *War and society in the Greek world* (London and New York):134-45
- French, Dorothea R. 1994. 'Ritual, gender and power strategies. Male pilgrimage to Saint Patrick's Purgatory,' *Religion* 24:103-15
- Garlan, Yvon 1993. 'L'homme et la guerre,' in J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *L'Homme grec* [orig. L'uomo greco, Roma and Bari 1991] (Paris):65-102
- Geertz, Clifford 1973. 'Deep play. Notes on the Balinese cock-fight,' *The interpretation of cultures*. (London):412-53
- Gelzer, Thomas 1985. 'Μοῦσα αὐθαγενής,' *MH* 42:95-120
- Georgoudi, Stella 1990. *Des chevaux et des bœufs dans le monde grec. Réalités et représentations animales à partir des livres xvi et xvii des Géoponiques* (Paris and Athens)
- Giglioli, G.Q. 1950. 'Phyllobolia,' *ArchClass* 2:31-54
- Gilmore David D. 1990. *Manhood in the making. Cultural concepts of masculinity* (New Haven and London)
- Glass, Stephen L. 1988. 'The Greek gymnasium,' in Wendy J. Raschke (ed.), *The archaeology of the Olympics. The Olympics and other festivals in antiquity* (London and Madison):155-73
- Golden, Mark 1997. 'Equestrian competition in ancient Greece. Difference, dissent, democracy,' *Phoenix* 51:327-44
- . 1998. *Sport and society in ancient Greece* (Cambridge)
- Graf, Fritz 1984. 'Women, war, and warlike divinities,' *ZPE* 55:245-54
- Green, Miranda J. 1997. 'Images in opposition. Polarity, ambivalence and liminality in cult representation,' *Antiquity* 71:898-911
- Hamilton, Richard. 1974. *Epinikion. General form in the odes of Pindar* (The Hague and Paris)
- Hammond, N.G.L. 1999. 'Heroic and divine honors in Macedonia before the successors,' *AncW* 30:103-15
- Handelman, Don 1982. 'Reflexivity in festival and other cultural events,' in Mary Douglas (ed.), *Essays in the sociology of perception* (London, Boston and Henley):162-90
- . 1998 *Models and mirrors. Towards an anthropology of public events*. 2nd ed. [orig. Cambridge 1990] (New York and Oxford)
- Hansen, William 2000. 'The winning of Hippodameia,' *TAPhA* 130:19-40
- Hanson, Victor D. 1989. *The western way of war. Infantry battle in Classical Greece* (New York)
- . 1991. 'Introduction. The ideology of hoplite battle, ancient and modern,' in Victor Davis Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites. The Classical Greek battle experience* (London and New York):3-11
- . 1999. *The other Greeks. The family farm and the agrarian roots of Western civilization* [orig. 1995] (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London)
- . 2000. 'The Classical Greek warrior and the egalitarian ethos,' *AncW* 31:111-26
- . 1973. 'Olympia und seine Spiele im Wandel der Zeiten,' *Gymnasium* 80:172-205
- Herrmann, Peter 1975. 'Eine Kaiserurkunde der Zeit Marc Aurels aus Milet,' *MDA(I)* 25:149-66
- Hönle, Augusta 1963. *Olympia in der Politik der griechischen Staatenwelt von 776 bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts*. diss. Eberhard-Karls-Universität (Tübingen)

- Hoffmann, Geneviève 2000. 'Brasidas ou le fait d'armes comme source d'héroïsation dans la Grèce classique,' in Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, Emilio Suárez de la Torre (eds.), *Héros et héroïnes dans les mythes et les cultes grecs*. Kernos Suppl. 10 (Liège):365-75
- Hommel, Hildebrecht 1980. *Der Gott Achilleus* (Heidelberg)
- Hornblower, Simon 2000. 'Thucydides, Xenophon, and Lichas. Were the Spartans excluded from the Olympic games from 420 to 400 BC?' *Phoenix* 54:212-25
- Hubbard, Thomas K. 2001. 'Pindar and Athens after the Persian wars,' in Dietrich Papenfuß and Volker Michael Strocka (eds.), *Gab es das griechische Wunder? Griechenland zwischen dem Ende des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Tagungsbeiträge des 16. Fachsymposiums der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung veranstaltet vom 5. bis 9. April 1999 in Freiburg im Breisgau (Mainz)
- Jackson, A.H. 1991. 'Hoplites and the Gods. The dedication of captured arms and armour,' in Victor Davis Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites. The Classical Greek battle experience* (London and New York):228-49
- Jameson, Michael 1991. 'Sacrifice before battle,' in Victor Davis Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites. The Classical Greek battle experience* (London and New York):197-227
- Jost, Madeleine 1995. 'Les divinités de la guerre,' in F. Prost (ed.), *Armées et sociétés de la Grèce classique* (Paris):163-78
- Jouanna, Jacques 2002. 'Mythe et rite. La fondation des jeux olympiques chez Pindare,' *Ktéma* 27:105-18
- Kapferer, Bruce 1984. 'Ritual process and the transformation of context,' in B. Kapferer (ed.), *The powers of ritual. Transition, transformation and transcendence in ritual practice* (Adelaïde):3-19 (= Social analysis. *Journal of cultural and social practice* 1, 1979, repr. 1984)
- Kastenholz, Richard 1996. 'Die Lokalisierung der Heiligtümer der Eileithyia, des Sosipolis und der Aphrodite Urania. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Olympias,' *Boreas* 19:147-53
- Kearns, Emily 1990. 'Saving the city,' in Oswyn Murray and Simos Price (eds.), *The Greek city. From Homer to Alexander* (Oxford):323-44
- Kefalidou, Eurydice 1999. 'Ceremonies of athletic victory in ancient Greece. An interpretation,' *Nikephoros* 12:95-119
- Kleinknecht, Hermann 1937. 'Zur Parodie des Gottemenschentums bei Aristophanes,' *Archiv für religionswissenschaft* 34:294-313.
- Koch, A. 1965. *Die Leibesübungen im Urteil der antiken und frühchristlichen Anthropologie*. Beiträge zur Lehre und Forschung der Leibeserziehung 20 (Schöndorf)
- Krummen, Eveline 1990. *Pysos hymnon. Festliche Gegenwart und mythisch-rituelle Tradition bei Pindar. (Isthmie 4, Pythie 5, Olympie 5, Olympie 1 und 3)* (Berlin and New York)
- Kunze, Emil 1972. 'Zur Geschichte und zu den Denkmählern Olympias,' *100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabung in Olympia. Ausstellung 1.7.-1.10 veranstaltet vom Organisationskomitee für die Spiele der xx. Olympiade München 1972* (München):9-25
- Kurke, Leslie 1991. *The traffic in praise. Pindar and the poetics of social economy* (Ithaca and London)
- . 1993. 'The economy of kudos,' in Carol Dougherty and Leslie Kurke (eds.), *Cultural poetics in archaic Greece. Cult, performance, politics* (Cambridge):131-63
- Kyle, Donald G. 1984. 'Solon and athletics,' *AncW* 9:91-105
- . 1985. 'Review David G. Young, *The Olympic myth of Greek amateur athletics*, Chicago, 1984,' *EMC* 29:134-44
- . 1987. *Athletics in ancient Athens*. Mnemosyne supplementum 95 (Leiden)
- . 1997. 'The first hundred Olympiads. A process of decline or democratization?' *Nikephoros* 10:53-75
- Lafontaine, Jean S. 1985-86. *Initiation* (Manchester)
- Lämmer, Manfred 1982-83. 'Der sogenannte olympische Friede in der griechischen Antike,' *Stadion* 8-9:47-83
- Lavrencic, Monika 1991. 'Krieger und Athlet? Der militärische Aspekt in der Beurteilung des Wettkampfes des Antike,' *Nikephoros* 4:167-76

- Lee, Hugh M. 1992. 'Some changes in the ancient Olympic program and schedule,' in William Coulson and Helmut Kyrieleis (eds.), *Proceedings of an international symposium on the Olympian Games*. 5-9 September 1988 (Athens):105-11
- . 2001. *The program and schedule of the ancient Olympic games*. Nikephoros Beiheft 6 (Hildesheim)
- Lefkowitz, Mary R. 1991. *First-person fictions. Pindar's poetic I* (Oxford)
- . 1995. 'The first person in Pindar reconsidered—again,' *BICS* 40:139-50
- Lincoln, Bruce 1989. 'Ritual, rebellion, resistance. Rethinking the Swazi Ncwala,' *Discourse and the construction of society. Comparative studies of myth, ritual and classification* (New York and Oxford):53-74
- Lonis, Raoul 1979. *Guerre et religion en Grèce à l'époque classique. Recherches sur les rites, les dieux, l'idéologie de la victoire*. Ann. litt. de l'Univ. de Besançon 238, Centre de Recherches d'histoire ancienne 33 (Paris)
- MacAloon, John J. 1984. 'Olympic games and the theory of spectacle in modern societies,' J.J. MacAloon (ed.), *Rite, drama, festival, spectacle. Rehearsals toward a theory of cultural performance* (Philadelphia):241-80
- McCaully, Barbara 1998. 'The transfer of Hippodameia's bones. A historical context,' *CJ* 93:225-39
- McDonnell, Myles 1991. 'The introduction of athletic nudity. Thucydides, Plato, and the vases,' *JHS* 111:182-93
- Malkin, Irad 2001. 'Introduction,' in Irad Malkin (ed.), *Ancient perceptions of Greek ethnicity* (Cambridge, Mass. and London):1-28
- Mallwitz, Alfred 1972. *Olympia und seine Bauten* (Darmstadt and München)
- Mann, Christian 1998. 'Krieg, Sport, und Adelskultur. Zur Entstehung des griechischen Gymnasiums,' *Klio* 80:7-27
- . 2001. *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland*. Hypomnemata 138 (Göttingen)
- Meier, Christian 1990. 'Il ruolo della guerra nell'Atene classica,' in Marta Sordi (ed.), *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica 16 (Milano):69-94
- . 1991. German version *Die Rolle des Krieges im klassischen Athen*. Theodor-Schieder-Gedächtnisvorlesung (München)
- Miller, Stephen G. 1975. 'The date of Olympic festivals,' *MDIA(A)* 90:215-31
- . 1978. *The prytaneion. Its function and architectural form* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London)
- . 2002. 'Naked democracy,' in Pernille Flensted Jensen, Thomas Heine Nielsen, and Lene Rubinstein eds., *Polis and Politics. Studies in ancient Greek history. Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his sixtieth Birthday, August 20, 2000* (Copenhagen):277-96
- Molineux, J.H. 1971. 'Simonides and the Dioscuri,' *Phoenix* 25:197-205
- Moore, Sally F. and Barbara G. Myerhoff (eds.) 1977. 'Introduction. Secular ritual, forms and meanings,' *Secular ritual* (Assen and Amsterdam):3-24
- Mora, Fabio 1984. 'Gli indovini elei e la guerra,' in Marta Sordi (ed.), *I santuari e la guerra nel mondo classico*. Contributi dell'istituto di storia antica 10 (Milano):31-40
- Moretti, Luigi 1953. *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*. Studi pubbl. dall'Istituto Italiano per la storia antica 12 (Roma)
- . 1957. *Olimpionikai. I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*. Atti dell'accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Serie 8 vol. 8 fasc. 2 (Roma)
- Morgan, Kathryn A. 1993. 'Pindar the professional and the rhetoric of the ΚΩΜΟΣ,' *CPh* 88:1-15
- Morrissey, Edmond J. 1978. 'Victors in the Prytaneion decree (IG i² 77),' *GRBS* 19:121-25
- Mouratidis, John 1985. 'The origin of nudity in Greek athletics,' *Journal of Sport History* 12:213-32
- Moustaka, Aliki 2002. 'On the cult of Hera at Olympia,' in Robin Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian sanctuaries and cults. Proceedings of the ninth international symposium at the Swedish institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Athen 4^o, 48 (Stockholm)
- Müller, Stefan 1995. *Das Volk der Athleten. Untersuchungen zur Ideologie und Kritik des Sports in der griechisch-römischen Antike*. Bochumer altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 21 (Trier)

- . 1996. "Herrlicher Ruhm im Sport oder im Krieg." Der *Apobates* und die Funktion des Sports in der griechischen Polis, *Nikephoros* 9:41-69
- Mullen, William 1982. *Choreia. Pindar and dance* (Princeton N.J.)
- Nagy, Gregory 1990. *Pindar's Homer* (Baltimore and London)
- Nash, Laura L. 1990. *The aggelia in Pindar* (New York and London)
- Newman, John Kevin and Frances Stickney Newman 1984. *Pindar's art. Its tradition and aims* (Hildesheim, München and Zurich)
- Ortner, Sherry 1973. 'On key symbols,' *American Journal of Anthropology* 75:1338-46 [reprinted in William A. Lessa, Evon Z. Vogt, John M. Watanabe (eds.), *Reader in comparative religion. An anthropological approach* New York 1979:92-8]
- Osborne, Robin 1997. 'Men without clothes. Heroic nakedness and Greek art,' *Gender & History* 9:504-28
- Otterbein, Keith F. 1999. 'A history of research on warfare in anthropology,' *American anthropologist* 101:794-805
- Parker, Robert 2000. 'Sacrifice and Battle,' in Hans van Wees (ed.), *War and violence in ancient Greece* (London):299-314
- Perlman, Paula 1989. 'The calendrical position of the Nemean games,' *Athenaeum* 67:57-90
- Perysinakis, I.N. 1990. 'The athlete as warrior. Pindar's P. 9.97-103, and P. 10.55-59,' *BICS* 37:43-49
- Pleket, Harry W. 1974. 'Zur Soziologie des antiken Sports,' *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 36:57-87
- . 1975. 'Games, prizes, athletes and ideology. Some aspects of the history of sport in the Graeco-Roman world,' *Stadion* 1:49-89
- . 1992. 'The participants in the ancient Olympic games. Social background and mentality,' in William Coulson and Helmut Kyrieleis (eds.), *Proceedings of an international symposium on the Olympian Games. 5-9 September 1988* (Athens):147-52
- Poliakoff, Michael 1984. 'Jacob, Job, and other wrestlers. Reception of Greek sport by Jews and Christians in Antiquity,' *Journal of sport history* 11:48-65
- . 1987. *Combat sports in the ancient world. Competition, violence, and culture* (New Haven and London)
- . 1989. 'Review David G. Young, *The Olympic myth of Greek amateur athletics*, Chicago, 1984,' *AJPh* 110:166-71
- . 2001. 'Competition,' in Dietrich Papenfuß and Volker Michael Strocka (eds.), *Gab es das griechische Wunder? Griechenland zwischen dem Ende des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Tagungsbeiträge des 16. Fachsymposiums der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung veranstaltet vom 5. bis 9. April 1999 in Freiburg im Breisgau (Mainz):51-61
- Polignac, François de 1997. 'Héra, le navire et la demeure. Offrandes, divinité et société en Grèce archaïque,' in Juliette de la Genière (ed.), *Héra. Images, espaces, cultes*. Actes du colloque international de Lille (Naples):113-22
- Portulas, Jaume 1985. 'La condition héroïque et le statut religieux de la louange,' in André Hurst (ed.), *Pindare*. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 31 (Genève):207-43
- Préaux, Claire 1973. *La lune dans la pensée grecque*. Académie Royale de Belgique. Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres. Coll. in 8°, 2^e série T. 61. fasc. 4 (Bruxelles)
- Preston, James J. 1992. 'Spiritual magnetism. An organizing principle for the study of pilgrimage,' in Alan Morinis (ed.), *Sacred journeys. The anthropology of pilgrimage*. Contributions to the study of anthropology no. 7. Foreword by Victor Turner (Westport, Conn. London):31-46
- Pritchett, W. Kendrick 1974-1991. *The Greek state at war* i-v (Berkeley, Los Angeles Calif. and London)
- . 1971 [reiss. 1974]. 'Sacrifice before battle,' i:109-15
- . 1974. 'The battlefield trophy,' ii:246-75
- . 1974. 'Aristeia in Greek warfare,' ii:276-90
- . 1979. 'Military epiphanies,' iii:11-46
- . 1979. 'Military mantike,' iii:47-90

- . 1991. 'The fate of captives,' v:203-45
- Raaflaub, Kurt A. 1997. 'Soldiers, citizens and the evolution of the early Greek polis,' in Lynette G. Mitchell and P.J. Rhodes (eds.), *The development of the polis in archaic Greece* (London) 49-58
- Race, William H. 1990. *Style and rhetoric in Pindar's odes* (Atlanta GA)
- Reed, Nancy B. 1998. *More than a game. The military nature of Greek athletic contests* (Chicago)
- Ringleben, Joachim 2002. 'Pindars Friedensfeier. Eine Interpretation der Zehnten Ode,' *Nachrichten der Akad. der Wiss. zu Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Kl. 2 i Götter und Menschen, Erste Triade* (Göttingen)
- Robert, C. 1893. 'Sosipolis in Olympia,' *MDIA(A)* 18:37-45
- Robert, Jeanne and Louis Robert 1961. *Bulletin épigraphique* 4:149f.
- Robertson, Bruce G. 2000. 'The scrutiny of new citizens at Athens,' in Virginia Hunter and Jonathan Edmondson (eds.), *Law and social status in classical Athens* (Oxford):149-74
- Robertson, G.I.C. 2003. 'The *andreia* of Xenocles. *Kouros, kallos* and *kleos*,' in Ralph M. Rosen and Ineke Sluiter (eds.) *Andreia. Studies in manliness and courage*. Mnemosyne suppl. 238 (Leiden):59-75
- Roller, Lynn E. 1981. 'Funeral games for historical persons,' *Stadion* 7:1-18
- Romano, David Gilman 1981. *The Stadia of the Peloponnesos*. diss. (Pennsylvania)
- . 1993. *Athletics and mathematics in ancient Corinth. The origins of the Greek stadion* (Philadelphia)
- Rose, Peter W. 1974. 'The myth of Pindar's first Nemean. Sportsman, poetry, and paideia,' *HSPH* 78:145-75
- Roy, James 1998. 'Thucydides 5.49.1-50.4. The quarrel between Elis and Sparta in 420, and Elis' exploitation of Olympia,' *Klio* 80:360-68
- Runciman, W.G. 1998. 'Greek hoplites, warrior culture, and indirect bias,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4:731-51
- Rutherford, Ian 2000. 'Keos or Delos? State pilgrimage and the performance of *Paeon* 4,' in Maria Cannatà Fera and Simonetta Grandolini (eds.), *Poesie e religione in Grecia. Studi in onore di G. Aurelio Privitera* (Napoli):605-12
- Said, Susanne and Monique Trédé-Boulmer 1984. 'L'éloge de la cité vainqueur dans les épinicies de Pindare,' *Ktéma* 9:161-70
- Salapata, Gina 1997. 'Hero warriors from Corinth and Laconia,' *Hesperia* 66:245-60 [with plates 63, 64]
- Saliba, John A. 1976. 'Homo religiosus' in *Mircea Eliade. An anthropologica evaluation*. Suppl. Numen 2nd series 5 (Leiden)
- Salvador, Jesús A. 1997. 'Iamos and iá in Pindar (O. 6, 53-57),' *QUCC* 85:37-60
- Sani, Elisa 1982. 'Valore atletico e valore guerriero nell'iscrizione per Faillo di Crotona,' *QUCC* 41:53-57
- Sansone, David 1988. *Greek athletics and the genesis of sport*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London)
- Scott, Kenneth 1928. 'The deification of Demetrios Poliorketes. part i *AJPh* 49:137-66, part ii 49:217-39
- Siewert, Peter 1996. 'Zum Ende der Waffen- und Geräteweiungen in Olympia,' *MDAI(A)* 111:141-48
- Sinn, Ulrich 1996a. *Olympia. Kult, Sport und Fest in der Antike* (München).
- . (ed.) 1996b. *Sport in der Antike. Wettkampf, Spiel und Erziehung im Altertum* (Würzburg)
- Slater, William J. 1984. 'Nemean One. The victor's return in poetry and politics,' in Douglas E. Gerber (ed.), *Greek poetry and philosophy. Studies in honour of Leonard Woodbury* (Chico, Calif.):241-64
- . 2001. 'Aristo-talk,' in Dietrich Papenfuß and Volker Michael Strocka (eds.), *Gab es das griechische Wunder? Griechenland zwischen dem Ende des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Tagungsbeiträge des 16. Fachsymposiums der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung veranstaltet vom 5. bis 9. April 1999 in Freiburg im Breisgau (Mainz):39-49
- Sordi, Marta 1984. 'Il santuario di Olimpia e la guerra d'Elide,' in Marta Sordi (ed.), *I santuari e la guerra nel mondo classico*. Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica 10 (Milano):20-30

- Stahl, Michael 1987. Aristokraten und Tyrannen im archaischen Athen. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung, zur Sozialstellung und zur Entstellung des Staates (Stuttgart)
- Stein-Hölkeskamp, Elke 1989. *Adelskultur und polisgesellschaft. Studien zum griechischen Adel in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Stuttgart)
- Svenbro, Jesper 1994. 'Des Seize femmes au Roi tisserand. Le tissage politique en Grèce,' in John Scheid and Jesper Svenbro, *Le métier de Zeus. Mythe du tissage et du tissu dans le monde greco-romain* (Paris):17-43.
- . 1996. 'From the sixteen women to the weaver king in Greece,' *The craft of Zeus. Myths of weaving and fabric* transl. Carol Volk (Cambridge Mass. and London):9-34
- Tersini, Nancy D. 1987. 'Unifying themes in the sculpture of the temple of Zeus at Olympia,' *CIAnt* 6:139-59
- Thuillier, Jean-Paul 1988. 'La nudité athlétique (Grèce, Etrurie, Rome),' *Nikephoros* 1:29-48
- Turner, Victor W. 1967. 'Betwixt and between. The liminal period in rites de passage,' in *The forest of symbols. Aspects of Ndembu ritual* (Ithaca and London):93-111
- . 1972. 'Myth & Symbol,' in David Lawrence Sills (ed.), *International encyclopedia of the social sciences* [1968] (New York and London)10:576-82
- . 1973. *The ritual process. Structure and anti-structure* (London)
- . 1974. 'Social dramas and ritual metaphors,' *Dramas, fields and metaphors. Symbolic action in human society* (Ithaca and London):23-59
- Turner, Victor W. and Turner, Edith L.B. 1982. 'Religious celebration,' in V. Turner (ed.), *Celebration. Studies in festivity and ritual* (Washington, DC.):201-19
- . 1994 [orig. 1978]. *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture* (New York)
- Ulf, Christoph 1981. in Ingomar Weiler. *Der Sport bei den Völkern der alten Welt. Mit dem Beitrag 'Sport bei den Naturvölkern,'* von Chr. Ulf (Darmstadt):14-52
- 1996. 'Griechische Ethnogenese versus Wanderungen von Stämme und Stammstaaten,' in Christoph Ulf (ed.), *Wege sur Genese griechischer Identität. Die Bedeutung der früharchaischen Zeit* (Berlin):240-80
- Unger, G.F. 1877. 'Der Isthmientag und die Hyakinthien,' *Philologus* 37:1-42
- Vallet, George 1985. 'Pindare et Sicile,' in André Hurst (ed.), *Pindare. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique. Fondation Hardt* 31:285-327
- Vernant, Jean-Pierre 1968. 'Introduction,' in J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris and The Hague):9-30
- . 1988. 'Artémis et le sacrifice préliminaire au combat,' *REG* 101:221-39.
- Versnel, Henk S. 1970. *Triumphus. An inquiry into the origin, development and meaning of the Roman triumph* (Leiden)
- Visa-Ondarçuhu, Valérie 1999. *L'image de l'athlète d'Homère à la fin du v^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris)
- Visser, Margaret 1982. 'Worship your enemy. Aspects of the cult of heroes in ancient Greece,' *HTHR* 75:403-28
- Voutiras, Emmanuel 2000. 'Le cadavre et le serpent, ou l'héroisation manquée de Cléomène de Sparte,' in Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, Emilio Suárez de la Torre (eds.), *Héros et héroïnes dans les mythes et les cultes grecs. Kernos Suppl. 10* (Liège):377-94
- Wees, Hans van 1996. 'Growing up in early Greece. Heroic and aristocratic educations,' in Alan Sommerstein and Catherine Atherton (eds.), *Education in Greek fiction. Series Nottingham Class. lit. stud.* 4:1-20
- Weiler, Ingomar 1985-86. 'Der "Niedergang" und das Ende der antiken Olympischen Spiele in der Forschung,' *GB* 12-13:235-63
- Weismann, Werner 1972. *Kirche und Schauspiele. Die Schauspiele im Urteil der lateinischen Kirchenväter unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Augustin.* Cassiacum 27 (Würzburg)
- Weniger, Ludwig 1905. 'Das Hochfest des Zeus in Olympia ii. Die olympische Zeitordnung,' *Klio* 5:1-38

- Whitehead, David 1983. 'Competitive outlay and community profit. Φιλοτιμία in democratic Athens,' *C&M* 34:55-74
- Whitley, James 1994. 'The monuments that stood before Marathon. Tomb cult and hero cult in Archaic Attica,' *AJA* 98:213-30
- Young, David G. 1984. *The Olympic myth of Greek amateur athletics* (Chicago)