

## Mercenaries, Sicels and Post-Deinomenid Sicily

*Olympian* 4, Pindar's ode for Psaumis of Camarina, presents a significant puzzle: the ode evokes the Deinomenid regime, despite dating well after the regime's collapse. This paper will trace how the ode evokes and transforms Hieronian ideology and responds to the complex political landscape of post-Deinomenid Sicily.

That *Ol.* 4 alludes to Hieron's *Pythian* 1 has long been noted; like *Py.* 1.15-30, *Ol.* 4.6-7 invokes Etnaeon Zeus and locates Typhos under Etna. But these allusions are explained in aesthetic, not political terms, as endowing a Pindaric tone (e.g. Morrison, *Sicilian Victory Odes* 2007.112). Yet what is evoked is Hieron's order specifically. The cult of Etnaeon Zeus was deeply implicated in his rule: he founded the cult (Luraghi, *Tirannidi Arcaiche* 1994.339-41) and made it central to his new city, Aitna (Manganaro, "Caduta dei Dinomenidi," *AION*, 1974/75.19-39). Indeed, Psaumis modeled himself on Hieron more generally, entering multiple Olympic events and employing multiple poets.

That the ode evoked Hieron's rule suggests that even in Camarina in the 450s there were many who favored the long-dead Hieron. These were likely veteran soldiers of Hieron's regime. That Camarina contained such mercenaries is suggested by the Arcadian motifs on their coinage (Manganaro 33-9) and the presence of mercenary forces in the area prior to the general agreement and the foundation of Camarina around 460 (P.Oxy 665). Psaumis himself, like Hagesias of Syracuse, was most likely one of Hieron's mercenary commanders; unlike Hagesias, he survived the regime's fall.

The ode does not seek a simple return to the past, however. Where in *Py.* 1 Typhos was used to align the Deinomenids' enemies with the 'barbarians' of Panhellenic rhetoric (Dougherty, *Colonization* 1993.93-4; also Kowalzig, *Performance, Iconography, Reception* 2008.139-42; Luraghi 1994.361-5), in *Ol.* 4 Typhos is trumped by the more complex image of the Lemnian queen Hypsipyle being defeated in a contest of verbal banter (*Ol.* 4.19-27). The target of this revaluation was surely the Sicels, who were shoehorned by Hieron's new rhetoric into the simplistic category of the barbarian but had since the fall of Hieron found a new sense of ethnic identity and significant military success under Ducetius (Manganaro 1974/75.9-19; Luraghi 1994.165-76). *Ol.* 4 thus seems to replace Hieron's Panhellenic rhetoric with a new, more nuanced, ideology of Greek and native relations, in which Greek is dominant but native is not demonized.

That Psaumis promoted a revised Hieronian ideology speaks both to the complex world of post-Deinomenid Sicily and to his own history. A Hieronian veteran and Olympic victor with a non-Greek name, he himself symbolized this new ideology.