

The Deinomenid tyrants of early fifth-century Syracuse faced a serious problem in solidifying their power: they were not Syracusan (Hdt. 7.153-5). Rather, both Gelon (485-78) and his brother Hieron (478-67) were natives – and formerly tyrants – of Gela, a city that had recently been hostile to Syracuse (Hdt. 7.154; Dunbabin 1948). In this paper I argue that one of the major ways in which they reconciled the Syracusans to their rule was by taking over key elements of Syracusan civic identity for themselves and refocusing that identity onto themselves and their dynasty. Hieron accomplished this in part by commissioning victory odes from Pindar (*Ol.* 1, *Pyth.* 1-3); his close associates Hagesias (*Ol.* 6) and Chromius (*Nem.* 1, 9) also contributed with odes for their victories. Although debate continues to rage over the precise nature of Pindaric audiences (Krummen 1990; Morrison 2007), the fact that Pindar's epinicians were written for public, choral performance implies that they were ideal vehicles for expressing a vision of Syracusan civic identity that placed Hieron at its heart.

The significance for civic ideology of athletics and associated epinician poetry has been well established (Gentili 1988; Cole 1992; Carey 2007). Athletic victories were not merely a personal triumph for the athlete but a point of pride for his city: victors were given public honors, such as meals at public expense and portrait statues in public places of civic importance. The prominence of the tyrants of Sicily in the *oeuvre* of Pindar has long been noted, but the precise relationship between these tyrants and the city they ruled has not been sufficiently considered: Hieron must be integrated into his community. By eliding the distinction between city and ruler, Pindar contributes to the legitimation of Deinomenid rule.

Syracusan civic identity as seen by Pindar was predicated on three main components also found in other sources – the city's Dorian ethnicity, its unique topography, and its role as a leader of the Greeks of Sicily – and Hieron is closely associated with all three. In *Pyth.* 1, Hieron is praised for enacting a Dorian constitution in his new foundation of Aetna, while in *Ol.* 1, Hieron's victory shines across the land of Pelops, usually taken to refer to Olympia and the Peloponnese, but perhaps also to Sicily and to Syracuse in particular, founded from Dorian Corinth. Syracuse's island citadel of Ortygia and its spring Arethusa were closely linked with civic identity: heads of Arethusa appear on coins throughout the fifth century, and Pindar closely connects both with Hieron (*Ol.* 6; *Pyth.* 2, 3; *Nem.* 1). It was primarily Gelon who established Syracuse's leading role in warfare, but Hieron also defeated the Etruscans at Cumae in 474. In *Pyth.* 1, Hieron is a Syracusan commander of Syracusan troops, but elsewhere he has power over all Sicily (*Ol.* 1; *Nem.* 1): the implication is that to rule Syracuse is to rule Sicily.

By inserting Hieron directly into three major elements of Syracusan civic identity, Pindar redefines that identity to center around the tyrant himself. This redefinition, I argue, helped secure the Deinomenids' position at Syracuse by indelibly imprinting them onto the population's sense of identity.