

# NIKEPHOROS

Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur im Altertum

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2014



**WEIDMANN**

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2014



herausgegeben von


Paul Christesen · Wolfgang Decker · Christian Mann ·  
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**WEIDMANN**

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### **Zu diesem Band**

Im Juni 2014 fand anlässlich des Erscheinens von Band 25 der Zeitschrift NIKEPHOROS in Graz eine Tagung zum antiken Sport statt. Die Teilnahme von 32 ›arrivierten‹ und ›jungen‹ Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern aus Dänemark, Deutschland, Griechenland, Großbritannien, Italien, Kanada, Kroatien, aus den Niederlanden, den USA sowie aus Österreich dokumentiert einerseits das Interesse an der Geschichte des antiken Sports, andererseits das zunehmende Bewusstsein um die Bedeutung dieses speziellen kulturellen Aspekts auch für allgemeine historische Fragestellungen.

Die Vorträge dieser Tagung erscheinen nun in überarbeiteter Form in den Bänden 27 und 28 der Zeitschrift NIKEPHOROS. Die in den Beiträgen angegebenen Internetadressen wurden überprüft und aktualisiert.

*Die Herausgeber*



## **Aufsätze**





## Psychological Characteristics of Ancient Greek Athletes

**Reyes Bertolin Cebrián**

The University of Calgary

It takes more than physical aptitude and training to win a competition. Nowadays, elite athletes go through intense psychological preparation and even non-elite athletes that show mental strength fare better than those who do not. In this paper, I will examine the mental characteristics of ancient athletes. Patrucco wrote an article in 1971 about the psychology of the athletes in ancient Greece (Patrucco, R. »La psicologia dell'atleta« *Maia* 23, 1971: 245–253). Since then little has been done on this topic. On the other hand, we possess a vast array of modern studies on the psychology of athletes. I propose to reexamine the topic by discussing sources such as epigrams, inscriptions and curse tablets that mention psychological characteristics of athletes. The sources will reveal general characteristics such as resilience, ability to plan, and hope. They will also reveal other traits such as the ability to cope with anxiety and to deal with external factors like retirement. Comparison with modern studies will also illustrate ancient facts. The paper will argue that Greek athletes possessed psychological characteristics similar to those of modern athletes, both positive and negative.

It would be more than a euphemism to say that the Spanish national soccer team did not meet the expectations this past World Championship in Brazil 2014. The debacle of the team raised immediately voices for the need of generational renewal. Some journalists claimed that they had already spoken for the renewal before the Championship itself. What, on the other hand, did not make the news after the homecoming of the national team was something that most Spanish newspapers had commented on the month previous to the departure to Brazil, namely that the national coach had called a meeting with the players to motivate them because according to him: »their eyes, after having won so much, are not the same as when they started.« Then he added: »I only see one who looks with hunger.«<sup>1</sup> The coach was obviously alluding to the fact that it is easy to lose motivation and without the appropriate mindset it is very difficult, if not impossible, to win at the highest level of competition. The final result confirmed the coach's intuition.

It is not a surprise that psychological factors are important to modern athletes and coaches. Scholars and practitioners of modern sport pay a great deal of attention to the psychological characteristics of elite athletes as well as how through psychological techniques athletes can improve their performance. Besides the omnipresent »mental toughness« there are

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<sup>1</sup> [deportes.elpais.com/deportes/2014/05/27/actualidad/1401218400\\_772904.html](http://deportes.elpais.com/deportes/2014/05/27/actualidad/1401218400_772904.html) (accessed 28-01-2019).

several other characteristics that define elite athletes in modern North-America. Gould and Dieffenbach identified the following characteristics associated with athletic success:<sup>2</sup>

1. Ability to control and cope with anxiety
2. Confidence
3. Mental toughness / resiliency
4. Sport intelligence
5. The ability to focus and block out distractions
6. Competitiveness
7. Hard-work ethics
8. The ability to set and achieve goals
9. Coachability
10. High levels of dispositional hope
11. Optimism
12. Adaptive perfectionism.

Concerning the psychological characteristics of ancient athletes, already in 1971, Patrucco wrote an article on the psychology of ancient Greek athletes.<sup>3</sup> Patrucco based his article on literary sources, mostly Philostratus' description of the coach's motivation to the athletes in his *On Gymnastics*. For example, Philostratus (20) asserts that some coaches have »put together« their athletes by encouraging, rebuking, threatening or using wisdom with them. Philostratus then gives a few concrete examples (21–24) of what he describes as list too long to narrate. To my knowledge, the initial work of Patrucco has not found much continuation among scholars of ancient sport, although it seems obvious from Philostratus' comments that the ancient Greeks were familiar with importance of psychological factors to maintain and improve their athletic performance.

The purpose of this paper is to examine further examples of what could constitute a description of psychological characteristics of ancient athletes or an indication that Greeks took the psychological development of athletes into consideration. It is to be expected that some of the psychological characteristics of ancient athletes correspond to modern ones.

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<sup>2</sup> Gould/Dieffenbach 2002, 172–204.

<sup>3</sup> Patrucco 1971, 245–253.

## 1. Competition versus Cooperation

Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* 2.12.314 described the characteristics of youth. Among the characteristics that Aristotle attributes to young men, he depicts them as being ambitious for honor (*philotimoi*), but more so for victory (*philonikoi*) which, for him, is a kind of superiority. In modern terminology, we could describe the young man as »competitive«. Aristotle stresses the competitiveness of youth when he says that the youth tend to incur in mistakes due to their excess and vehemence.

Competitiveness, on the other hand, is certainly a characteristic of an athlete, someone who measures his performance against that of others. Modern sport psychologists define competition as »a social process that occurs when rewards are given to people on the basis on how their performances compare with the performances of others doing the same task or participating on the same event«. <sup>4</sup> But competitiveness goes beyond results and it is a trait in one's character that was instilled in the gymnasia and through the traditional education of always excelling and being the best (cf. *Iliad* 6. 208). Our ancient sources, certainly, very much exploit the competitive discourse. These sources often reduce the concept of competition<sup>5</sup> to winning, as seen very poignantly in Pindar's *Pythian Ode* 8. 81–87<sup>6</sup>:

Onto four bodies you fell from above, with mean thoughts; to them not a happy homecoming similar to yours at the Pythian games was given; [85] nor, when they returned to their mothers, did sweet laughter arouse delight. They flee through the back-alleys, away from their enemies, bitten by misfortune.

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<sup>4</sup> Weinberg/Gould 2011, 104.

<sup>5</sup> Weinberg/Gould 2011, 107 explain that there are three subjective components to competition: competitiveness per se defined as the enjoyment of competition and desire to strive for success, win orientation or focus on winning more than improving personal standards, and goal orientation or focus on improving one's standards independently of the outcome.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek text for the literary, non-epigraphic, evidence comes from the Perseus Digital Library ([www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper)).

Pindar, *Pythian* 8. 81–87:

τέτρασι δ' ἔμπετες ὑπόθεν

σωμάτεσσι κακὰ φρονέων,

τοῖς οὔτε νόστος ὁμῶς

ἔπαλπνος ἐν Πυθιάδι κρήθῃ,

[85] οὐδὲ μολόντων πᾶρ μητέρ' ἀμφὶ γέλωος γλυκὺς

ᾄρσεν χάριν· κατὰ λαύρας δ' ἐχθρῶν ἀπάοροι

πτώσσονται, συμφορᾷ δεδαγμένοι.

This same emphasis on the outcome of competition can be found in an inscription dated around 400–380 BC. As in Pindar’s poem, the dedicator sees his opponents as mere bodies, whereas he names himself twice in a very short inscription (IvO 164)<sup>7</sup>:

Polycletus made it.  
 Xenocles, son of Euthyphron  
 Mainalian  
 Mainalian Xenocles won,  
 the son of Euthyphron without falling, the wrestling  
 taking four bodies.<sup>8</sup>

Both these examples epitomize the extreme of competition by dehumanizing the opponents and considering them as mere bodies. On the other hand, no sporting system, especially when it is used for the socialization of the youth, is based on competition alone. Competition and cooperation are complementary.<sup>9</sup> Athletes training and working together develop a sense of community and understand that the day makes the victory. Athletes are very conscious that victory or defeat depends on many factors. Whereas people outside of sport stress the victory or defeat, athletes bond together and tend to express the idea of competing well and achieving their personal goals or personal best, which might be not necessarily equal to a victory.<sup>10</sup>

There is an obvious discourse of cooperation among Greek athletes, even if the discourse of competition might be more striking. For instance, in vases, athletes are not only portrayed competing against each other but also often are portrayed training together and perhaps assisting each other.<sup>11</sup> Although vases are silent, the faces of the athletes seem distended

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<sup>7</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the text of the inscriptions is taken from the corpus of the *Searchable Greek Inscription* published by the Packard Humanities Institute (epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions).

<sup>8</sup> IvO 164:

Πολύκλειτος {<sup>26</sup>Πολύκλειτος}<sup>26</sup> ἐποί<η>σε.  
 Ξενοκλῆς : Εὐθύφρονος  
 Μαινάλιος.  
 Μαινάλιος Ξενοκλῆς νίκασα  
 Εὐθύφρονος υἱὸς ἀπτής μονο-  
 παλᾶν {<sup>26</sup>μονοπαλᾶν}<sup>26</sup> τέσ<σ>αρα σώμαθ’ ἐλών.

<sup>9</sup> Weinberg/Gould 2011, 119.

<sup>10</sup> Bannister 2004, 119 expressed very well in his auto-biographical book the tension lived before his race at the Olympics in Helsinki in 1952 and the fact that his expectations were not those of the public: »to come even last in the [Olympic] final should be really regarded as a great honour, but I knew that if I were beaten by inches or feet in one of sport’s most exacting events, I should be called a failure«.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. just as a small sample Munich, Antikensammlung J803; New York, Metropolitan 41.162.128; Paris, Louvre G242. In the Paris one, two young athletes are disrobing smiling

and sometimes even happy. It is hard to imagine that people working together towards the same goal for many years would not have developed some kind of friendship and would not help each other develop their goals. In our times, it has been shown that cooperation is more effective in promoting achievement than independent or individualistic work.<sup>12</sup> Every athlete needs training partners. Vases allow us to make a hypothesis that athletes may have also lived beyond rivalries and competition and helped each other develop as a group.

Another example of cooperation among athletes can be seen from several inscriptions, which show that young athletes at gymnasias did not only get prizes for their results, but also for their diligence (*philoponia*), fitness or healthy appearance (*euexia*), and coordination or discipline (*eutaxia*).<sup>13</sup> The contest emphasized the character of the athlete, not just his ability to perform and obviously it needed to be judged over a period of time. The person that put more effort in his training received the prize whether or not this translated in winning an actual athletic event. For instance, in the next inscription we can see how none of the presumably older contestants won more than one event. By contrast, the young Asclepiades won the contest in javelin, archery, and long distance running together with the contest in coordination. Probably the combination is not very surprising. On the other hand, his fellow athlete Apollas won in combat with shield and in diligence, which was applied most likely to all of the events. Hegemoneus won only the contest in healthy appearance, which did not translate in victory in a sport event.

Samos 168<sup>14</sup>:

In the stadion, Demetrius son of Democrates

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at each other. It certainly shows that there is a friendship of these athletes independently of their results at competition.

<sup>12</sup> Weinberg/Gould 2011, 111–112.

<sup>13</sup> According to Crowther 1991, it seems that passing the test in *euexia*, *eutaxia*, and *philoponia* represented the criteria to progress from child (*pais*) to youth (*ephebe*). Although the inscription shows only one winner, the »passing grade« must have been given to more than one person at a time, specially since the winners in one contest were not necessarily the winners in another.

<sup>14</sup> Samos 168:

σταδίῳ, Δημήτριος Δημοκράτου·  
 διαύλωι, Ἄρητος Μιννίου·  
 εὐεξίαι, Ἀπολλώνιος Ποσειδίππου·  
 εὐταξίαι, Καλλίδρομος Ἐξακεστᾶ·  
 φιλοπονίαι, Σώπατρος Ἐξακεστᾶ·  
 λιθοβόλωι, Μέντωρ Ζωΐλου.  
 παλλήκων·  
 καταπάλτηι, Ἀστερίσκος Ἀστερίσκου·

In the diaulos, Aretos son of Minnion  
 In euexia, Apollonius son of Posidippus  
 In eutaxia, Kallidromos son of Exakestes  
 In philoponia, Sopatros son of Exakestes  
 In stone throwing, Mentor son of Zoilos  
 Of the youngsters:  
 In wrestling, Astericos son of Astericos  
 In javelin, Asclepiades son of Democrates  
 In archery, Asclepiades son of Democrates  
 In combat with weapons, Sostratos son of Sostratos  
 In combat with shield, Apollas son of Apollonius  
 In long distance running, Asclepiades son of Democrates  
 In the stadion, Sostratos son of Sostratos  
 In the diaulos, Porthesilaos son of Cleogenos  
 In euexia Hegemoneus son of Porthesilaos  
 In eutaxia Asclepiades son of Democrates  
 In philoponia, Apollas son on Apollonius  
 In stone throwing, Theocritus son of Theocritus

Contests in skills other than a sport event or military practice are certainly examples not just of instilling competitiveness in the young men towards achieving results but also of developing an attitude of constant effort to excel. On the other hand, praising the effort takes away the pressure of winning while rewarding individual diligence and solidarity among athletes. When there can be only one winner it is important to motivate all athletes to work hard, but also to make them aware that victory is anyone's game on any given day and that they all need to improve.

Cooperation between athletes might have also been expressed in the few team events that existed in the Greek festivals. One of them was the torch race. Torch races are known from various festivals, the Panathenaea is perhaps the most famous. The race consisted of a relay between several members of the same tribe and it was in competition against the other tribes.

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ἄκοντίωι, Ἀσκληπιιάδης Δημοκράτου·  
 τόξωι, Ἀσκληπιιάδης Δημοκράτου·  
 ὀπλομαχίαι, Σώστρατος Σωστράτου·  
 θυραμαχίαι, Ἀπολλᾶς Ἀπολλωνίου·  
 δολίχωι, Ἀσκληπιιάδης Δημοκράτου·  
 σταδίωι, Σώστρατος Σωστράτου·  
 διαύλωι, Πορθεσίλαος Κλεογένου·  
 εὐεξίαι, Ἡγεμονεὺς Πορθεσιλάου·  
 εὐταξίαι, Ἀσκληπιιάδης Δημοκράτου·  
 φιλοπονίαι, Ἀπολλᾶς Ἀπολλωνίου·  
 λιθοβόλωι, Θεόκριτος Θεοκρίτου.

An Athenian inscription (SEG 40. 124) has preserved the names of nine participants in the race from the tribe of Aiantis who won at the Hephaistia festival in the middle of the fourth century BC. The inscription commemorates the victory of the young runners and especially the gymnasiarch Epistratos who conducted the youth towards victory. The inscription reads<sup>15</sup>:

The gods. It seemed good to the tribe of Aiantis, on the archontate.... Xenophon said: since he won the Hephaistia with the torch races, (we are) to honor Epistratos, son of Tremponos, the Rhamnousian, gymnasiarch. (We are) to crown him with a crown of flowers because he is a good man and always ambitious for the honor concerning the tribe of Aiantis, for the sake of his goodwill and virtue towards the regular (members of the gymnasium) whenever the young men exercise. (We are) to write this decree on this stele and to donate to the gymnasiarch what may seem good to the tribe members. To write the names of the participants in the torch race: Racers: Aristyllos, Xenokleides, Kaliades, Xenopeithes, Pythis, Python, Euthymachos, Mnesikleides, Demetrios...

The gymnasiarch is celebrated because he held dear the honour of the tribe and he showed goodwill towards all participants. Certainly, his team won

---

<sup>15</sup> SEG 40. 124

[θεοί].

[ἔδοξεν τῆι Αἰαντίδι φυλῆι. ἐπὶ — —c.12–13— — ἄρχοντος]

[Ξε]νοφῶν εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἐνίκα τὰ Ἡφαίστια τοῖς λαμπαδη]-

[φό]ροις, ἐπαινέ[σαι Ἐπίσ(τρατον)(?) Τρεμπόνου(!) {<sup>26</sup>Τρέμπωνος} <sup>26</sup>Ραμνούσιον]

[τ]ὸν γυμνασίαρχο[ν καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφά]-  
νοι ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ [ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ φιλότιμος ἀεὶ περὶ τὴν]  
Αἰαντίδα φυλὴν εὐνοίας ἔνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς τῆς πρὸς τοῦς]  
φοιτῶντας ὅταν οἱ νεανίσκοι γυμνάζωνται. ἀναγράψαι δὲ]  
τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς δὲ τὴν στήλην δοῦναι τῶι γυμνασιαρ]-  
χῶντι τοῖς φυλέτ[αις ὅτι ἂν δόξει. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰ ὄνομα]-  
τα τῶν λαμπαδη[φόρων].

λαμπαδηφόροι·

Ἀρίστυλλος

Ξενοκλείδης

Καλλιάδης

Ξενοπείθης

Πύθις

Πύθων

Εὐθύμαχος

Μνησικλείδης

Δημήτριος

Κτησικλῆς.



and that it why this inscription was erected on the first place. Yet, it seems that the nine participants, probably more, since the inscription breaks off, and their families may have also developed a sense of belonging. This is not the only inscription of its kind.<sup>16</sup> Even if somewhat formulaic, it seems it was a sincere recognition to the gymnasiarch's work in bringing up everybody together.

Torch races were part of the ephebes' education. The inscription is an example that sport was used as a tool to socialize young men and instill in them civil and cultural values.<sup>17</sup> Socialization of young men implies that they need to develop not just as individuals but also within a group. The torch races were relays, which necessitate teamwork and rapport between all the members. There must as well have been cheering and encouragement going on, thus, helping the bonding of the group.

Yet another instance of the spirit of cooperation in the gymnasium can be seen through the cult of Eros.<sup>18</sup> Besides statues of Heracles, obvious symbol of competition, and Hermes, symbol of transitions, gymnasia often displayed the statue of Eros.<sup>19</sup> The presence of the god Eros in the athletic festival and the gymnasium exemplified the principle of solidarity and cooperation. Eros does not only represent the homoerotic relations, but also a principle of cohesiveness that every society needs to have in order to function. The explanation that Greeks gave to the presence of Eros at the gymnasia beyond the homoerotic unions can be read in a passage of Athenaeus 561 c–d<sup>20</sup>:

Pontianos says that Zeno of Citi assumes Eros to be a god of friendship and concord, even skilled in freedom, like no other. Because of this Zeno said in his *Politeia* that Eros is a god who cooperates with the safety of the polis. Also it is evident that other philosophers, older than Zeno, regard Eros as holy and removed from all shameful things by the fact that he is established at the gymnasia along with Hermes and Heracles, that one patron of speech, this one patron of strength.

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. IPriene 112 among others.

<sup>17</sup> Scanlon 2002, 273.

<sup>18</sup> Scanlon 2002, 264.

<sup>19</sup> Scanlon 2002, 250–255; 89–90.

<sup>20</sup> Athenaeus 561 c–d: Ποντιανὸς δὲ Ζήνωνος ἔφη τὸν Κιτιέα ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Ἐρωτα θεὸν εἶναι φιλίας καὶ ὁμοιοίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίας παρασκευαστικόν, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενός. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ ἔφη τὸν Ἐρωτα θεὸν εἶναι συνεργὸν ὑπάρχοντα πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ τούτου πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν σεμνὸν τινα τὸν Ἐρωτα καὶ παντὸς αἰσχροῦ κεχωρισμένον ἤδεσαν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὰ γυμνάσια αὐτὸν συνιδρῦσθαι Ἑρμῆ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ, τῷ μὲν λόγου, τῷ δ' ἄλκῆς προεστῶτι ὧν ἐνωθέντων φιλία τε καὶ ὁμόνοια γεννᾶται, δι' ὧν ἡ καλλίστη ἐλευθερία τοῖς ταῦτα μετιούσιν συναύξεται.

When they are united, friendship and concord are born, and through them the most beautiful freedom grows for their partakers.

## **2. Positive Characteristics**

Commitment is probably the psychological characteristic of athletes most quoted by modern sport psychologist, but already Lucian in *Anacharsis* 12 talks about the daring, resolve and commitment of athletes as being an important part of the pleasure of watching the competition<sup>21</sup>:

If you were seated among the spectators you would see the virtue of men and the beauty of bodies, amazing fitness, skillful experience, unconquerable strength, daring, love of honor, undefeated resolve, indescribable commitment for the sake of victory.

Lucian describes both physical and mental characteristics that separate athletes from non-athletes and make the delight of spectators. Non-literary sources, like inscriptions praise as well the commitment of the athletes since a young age and their ability to work hard. For instance, the next inscription found in Aphrodisias was dedicated to Kallicrates by his fellow athletes, who ask for the erection of a statue in his memory. It is dated to the reign of Hadrian, this is 117–138 AD.

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<sup>21</sup> Lucian *Anacharsis* 12: ὡς εἰ καθεζόμενος αὐτὸς ἐν μέσοις τοῖς θεαταῖς βλέποις ἀρετὰς ἀνδρῶν καὶ κάλλη σωμάτων καὶ εὐεξίας θαυμαστάς καὶ ἐμπειρίας δεινὰς καὶ ἰσχὺν ἄμαχον καὶ τόλμαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ γνῶμας ἀηττήτους καὶ σπουδὴν ἄλεκτον ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης.

Roueché PPAphr 89<sup>22</sup>:

It seems good to the sacred athletic union of many cities, holy and reverend, and the entire gymnasium of Heracles and the emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus to send this decree to the most sacred assembly of the Aphrodisians and its people. Since Kallicrates son of Diogenes, of Aphrodisias, pancratiast, victor of the sacred games and victor in many games turning into the road of virtue since the first age with sweat and toil achieved well-renowned glory [...] among all men in the whole inhabited world he is [sought after?] because of his entire wisdom which comes from his love for toil. Surpassing with his body all the ancient athletes he amazed nature, he also, by occupying his mind, was blessed in its ways. Because of

<sup>22</sup> Roueché PPAphr 89:

[. 9/10 .] Ἰ stor ἔδοξεν τῇ ἱερᾷ ξ[υστική πε]-  
ριπολιστική εὐσεβεῖ σεβαστῇ [συνόδῳ καὶ]  
τῷ σύνπαντι ξυστῷ τῶν περι τ[ὸν Ἡρακλέα]  
καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραιαν[ὸν Ἀδρι]-  
ανὸν Σεβαστὸν διαπέμψασθαι [τόδε τὸ ψήφισ]-  
μα τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ Ἀφροδισιέων βο[υλῇ καὶ]  
τῷ δήμῳ stor ἐπεὶ Καλλικράτης Διογέ[ν]ους Ἀφρο]-  
δισιεύς πανκρατιαστῆς ἱερονείκ[η]ς πλεισ]-  
[τ]ονείκης ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας εἰς τὰς ὀ]-  
δοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς τραπεὶς ἰδρωῖσι [καὶ πό]-  
νοις ἐκτήσατο τὴν εὐκλεῆ δόξαν [. 5/6 ..]-  
τητός τε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καθ' [όλης τῆς]  
οἰκουμένης γίνεταί διὰ τε τὴν ὀλόκλ[ηρον]  
αὐτῷ πεφιλοπονημένην σοφίαν· σώματι γὰρ ὑ-  
περβάλλον ἅπαντας ἀρχαίους ἐθανμάσθη [τὴν]  
[φύ]σιν, ψυχῆς τε ἐπιμελούμενος ἐμακαρί-  
ζετο τὸν τρόπον· ὧν ἐνεκα ἀπάντων πρὸς  
τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς δόξης ἐρπύσας ὁ βάσκα-  
νος φθόνος τὸ κοινὸν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸν νεμεσί-  
σας ἀπῆνεγκεν ἐνειρείσας εἰς μέρη τοῦ σῶμα-  
τος τὰ εὐχρηστότατα πανκρατιασταῖς, τοὺς ὄ-  
μους· διὸ ἔδοξεν τύχη τῇ ἀγαθῇ αἰτήσασ-  
θαι τὴν Ἀφροδισιέων πόλιν τόπους ἐπιτη-  
δείους, ὅπως ποιησώμεθα τοῦ μεγάλου ἱερο-  
νείκου εἰκόνων ἀναθέσεις καὶ ἀνδρείαν-  
τος ἀνάστασιν καθὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει  
τῆς Ἀσίας Ἐφέσῳ stor ἔχουσῶν τῶν τεμῶν  
ἐπιγραφὰς τὰς προσηκούσας τῷ Καλλικράτει,  
ἵνα διὰ τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ βαρῦθυμον  
πρὸς εἰμαρμένην ἀπαράιτητον αἰ τῶν τει-  
μῶν χάριτες εὐπαρηγόρητον ἡμῶν τὸν συν-  
%<sup>81</sup>αθλητὴν καταστήσωσιν vac.

all of this on top of his excellence in glory, slanderous envy crept in and feeling indignation carried away our common good by twisting the part of the body which is most useful for pancratiast, the shoulders. Because of this it seemed good to the good destiny to ask for a convenient place to the city of the Aphrodisians so that we may be able to make a dedication of a statue of the great victor of sacred games and of the very manly victor and also [another statue] in the metropolis of Asia, Ephesus. Having these honors, a proper inscription may be erected for Kallicrates so that through this decree the graces of honors may restore our fellow athlete to us and the heaviness in spirit because this inexorable death be easily consoled.

There is no question in the mind of his fellow athletes that Kallicrates is characterized by his perseverance and focus since the beginning of his career. Sweat and toil contributed to his superior ability in the pancration, not only his natural abilities. Through hard training he achieved wisdom, perhaps that should be better translated as sport intelligence. Kallicrates is described as being the common good of all athletes as if his achievements were then part of the whole group. The occupation of the mind that the inscription mentions was perhaps a way to combat the prejudice that athletes were not very smart. This prejudice was certainly well extended by the second century.

That commitment, hard work and mental toughness were not only found in adult athletes, but also in children can be seen from another inscription found at Olympia (IvO 225) and dated to the year 49 AD. It commemorates the victories of the young Ariston. The inscription reads<sup>23</sup>:

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<sup>23</sup> IvO 225:

Π(όπλιος) Κορνήλιος Ειρηναίου υἱός

Ἀρίστων Ἐφέσιος, παῖς

πανκρατιαστής νεικήσας

Ὀλυμπιάδι σζ΄,

Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ.

οὗτος ὁ παιδὸς ἀκμὴν, ἀνδρὸς δ' ἐπικείμενος ἀλκήν,

οὗτος ἐφ' οὗ τὸ καλὸν καὶ σθεναρὸν βλέπεται,

τίς πόθεν εἶ; τίνας; εἰπέ: τίνων ἐπινείκια μόχθων

αὐχέσας ἔστης Ζηνὸς ὑπὸ προδόμοις;

Εἰρηναῖος ἐμοὶ γενέτης, ξένη, τοῦνομ' Ἀρίστων,

πατὴρ Ἴωνογενῆς ἀμφοτέρων Ἐφεσος:

ἔστέφθην ἀνέφεδρος Ὀλύμπια πανκρατίῳ παῖς

τρισὰ κατ' ἀντιπάλων ἄθλα κνεισάμενος.

Ἀσίδι μὲν πάσῃ κηρύσσομαι, εἰμὶ δ' Ἀρίστων

κεῖνος ὁ πανκρατίῳ στεψάμενος κότινον,

Ἐλλάς ὃν εἶπε τέλειον, ὄτ' εἶδέ με παιδὸς ἐν ἀκμῇ

τὴν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν χερσὶν ἐνεγκάμενον.

Publius Cornelius son of Irenaeus, Ariston, the Ephesian, child pancratiast having won in the 207 Olympiad to Zeus Olympios. This one who achieved the age of a boy, the strength of a man, this one whose beauty and strength are visible, where are you from? From which father? Tell me. Having boasted of victory over which hardships did you stand under the hall of Zeus? Irenaeus is my father, stranger, Ariston my name, the fatherland for both of us is Ephesus, Ionian-born. I was crowned without a bye as a child in the pancration at Olympia, fighting three contests covered in dust. I will announce in all of Asia. I am Ariston, that one who was crowned in pancration with wild olive. Greece spoke about my feast when it saw me with the age of a child having the virtue of men in the hands. For the crown was not for the good luck of the draw, but far from byes I was made to rejoice by Alpheios and Zeus. For I alone of seven children did not stop in skill (*palamas*). Having girded myself always I took the crown away from all. Therefore, I praise my father Irenaeus and my fatherland Ephesus with immortal crowns. Of Tiberius Claudius Thessalos from Koos, victor in many contests.

As the previous inscription, this too pretends to be the voice of an athlete. It is characteristic that it does talk of hardship and hard training. The inscription also reveals that Ariston had already the maturity and toughness (not only the strength) of a man, in spite of his age.<sup>24</sup> Like Kallicrates, Ariston also talks about his superior skills specific to the sport. *Palama* is an ambiguous word and can be translated as the (violent) action of the hand as well as the art or skill to conduct an action. Whether Ariston did not give up fighting or did not stop developing his skill as he fought, both reflect his psychological characteristics more than the purely physical ones. The inscription describes how Ariston managed to find the right level of arousal<sup>25</sup> whereas his opponents gave up earlier.

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οὐ γὰρ ἐν εὐτυχίῃ κλήρου στέφος, ἀλλ' ἐφεδρείης  
χωρίς ἀπ' Ἀλφειοῦ καὶ Διὸς ἠσπασάμην.  
ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων παλάμας μόνος οὐκ ἀνέπαυσα,  
ζευγνύμενος δ' αἰεὶ πάντας ἀπεστεφάνουν.  
τοιγὰρ κυδαίνω γενέτην ἐμὸν Εἰρηναίων  
καὶ πάτηρην Ἐφeson στέμμασιν ἄθανάτοις.  
Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Θεσσαλοῦ Κόφου πλειστονεΐκου.

<sup>24</sup> Gould/Dieffenbach 2002,176: »talent development involves the acquisition of a mature personality during the teenage years.« Teenagers need to be »intrinsically motivated«, they need to make difficult choices and come to terms with the implications.

<sup>25</sup> Weinberg/Gould 2011, 77: Arousal is defined as intensity of motivation at a particular moment. Since arousal falls along a continuum it is important to be in the right »zone« in order for the performance to be at its peak. Too much or too little arousal usually translates into poor performance (86).

The last psychological trait that we can discover from this inscription is that while luck is part of the game, he did not sit in any byes. This is a typical assertion of victors at the games to show how proud they are about overcoming odds. This reflects resiliency and ability to focus on the task at hand without thinking whether others were or not luckier than themselves. Pausanias 6. 1. 2 mentions how many athletes have not won by strength, but by luck of the lot and therefore omits the description of their statues in his work. Obviously, winning against the odds was considered a great achievement that was only possible by blocking out distractions and not getting anxious about things that lie outside one's control.

Another inscription (IvO 54) found at Olympia also exemplifies the same ability of blocking distractions and of finding the right combination between arousal and anxiety that made possible for Tiberius Claudius Rufus to win the Olympics in pancratium.

Decree of the Eleans:

Marcus Betilenus Laitus made appear clearly to me that Tiberius Claudius Rufus, a man pancratiast having participated at the games at Olympia came to dwell in this city after living in the whole world, he was considered from all testimonies and by all to be a local man on account of his prudence and common good. He restored diligently gymnastic practices in sight of the Hellenodikai according to the local custom of the games, so that the hope of the most sacred crown here would be evident. By participating in the stadium in a manner worthy of Olympian Zeus and of the truth and of his present disposition to everybody, he fought greatly and in an admirable manner so that it was worthy to consider to give him an Olympic crown, he fought all rounds without sitting out (in a bye), having been matched with the most famous men. He went into them with such excellence and good courage that fighting in the pancratium for the crown with a man who happened to have obtained a bye he considered more beautiful to neglect life than to neglect the hope for a crown. He endured until night, when the stars were coming up, being moved to fight to the end by the hope for victory, so that by our fellow citizens and the spectators from all the known world gathered on the most sacred of the events at Olympia he was admired. Because of this it was necessary to decree honors for the man in as much as he had increased and embellished the contest, and to entrust him to erect a statue of himself at Olympia and an inscription containing a testimony of other contests and showing what he alone among men did on behalf of the sacred games in all times. It seemed well to the magistrates and the people to praise Laitus proposition and honor Rufus with citizenship

and to entrust him to set up a statue at Olympia and an inscription containing what was described above.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> InO 54:

Ἡλείων ψήφισμα.

ἐμφανίσαντός μοι Μάρκου Βετιληνοῦ Λ{ι}αίτου {<sup>26</sup>Λαίτου}<sup>26</sup>,

ὅτι Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ροῦφος, ἀνὴρ πανκρα-  
τιαστής, ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνα παραγε-  
νόμενος ἐπεδήμησεν τε μετὰ παντὸς  
ἐν τῇ πόλει κόσμου, ὡς πάσης αὐτὸν μαρτυρίας  
ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα παρὰ πᾶσιν  
ἐπιτήδειον νομίζεσθαι, τάς τε γυμνασίας ἐν  
ᾧψει τῶν ἐλληνοδικῶν κατὰ τὸ πάτριον τῶν  
ἀγῶνων ἔθος ἀπέδωκεν ἐπιμελῶς, ὡς πρόδηλον  
εἶναι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερώτατον στέφανον  
αὐτῷ, καὶ διότι παραγεγόμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον  
ἀξίως καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τῆς ἀθλήσεως  
καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὑπολήψεως ὑπαρ-  
χοῦσης ἠγωνίσαστο μέγα τι καὶ θαυμαστόν, ὥσπερ  
ἦν ἄξιον, ἐπιθέσθαι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν στέφανον  
ἠγούμενος, καὶ πάντας μὲν ἀνέφεδρος ἐπανκρα-  
τίασε τοὺς κλήρους τοῖς δοκιμωτάτοις λαχῶν  
ἀνδράσιν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐψυχίας  
ἦλθεν, ὥστε περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου πανκρατιάζων  
πρὸς ἄνδρα λελονχότα ἐφεδρείαν καλλείω  
λογίσασθαι τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπεριδεῖν ἢ τῆς περὶ τὸν  
στέφανον ἐλπίδος,

καὶ ὅτι μέχρι νυκτός, ὡς ἄστρα καταλαβεῖν,  
διεκαρτέρησε, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν νείκην  
ἐλπίδος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀγωνίζεσθαι προτρε-  
πόμενος, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν  
ἡμετέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης θεατῶν  
συνειλεγμένων ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερώτατον τῶν  
Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνα θαυμάζεσθαι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα  
λέγοντος δεῖν τειμᾶς τε τῷ ἀνδρὶ ψηφισ-  
θῆναι τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀξίησαντι καὶ συν-  
κοσμήσαντι τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ ἐπιτραπῆναι  
ἀνδριάντα αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀναστήσαι  
ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα τὴν τε τῶν ἄλλων  
ἀγῶνων μαρτυρίαν καὶ δηλοῦσαν ὑπὲρ  
τῆς ἱεράς ἦν μόνος ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀνδρῶν  
ἐποίησεν, ἔδοξεν τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι  
καὶ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Λαίτον  
τῆς <ε>ισηγήσεως, τετεμῆσθαι δὲ Ροῦφον  
πολιτεία, καὶ ἐπιτραπῆναι {ν} αὐτῷ ἀνα-  
θεῖναι ἀνδριάντα ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας  
ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα τὴν προγεγραμμένην.

The inscription describes vividly how Rufus' confidence grew during his matches by defeating his famous opponents, so that he arrived to the final match probably more tired than his rival, who had received a bye, but more motivated and willing to risk everything for victory. One can imagine the incentive that comes from defeating strong opponents solidifying Rufus' intent to win. The hope for victory was his inspiration to toughen it out until nightfall. Motivation is defined as both the direction and the intensity of one's effort.<sup>27</sup> Clearly, Rufus maintained his motivation throughout the evening. Probably at the end his motivation is what made him a victor above his physically less tired opponent.

Many other anecdotes reveal that ancient athletes did not fall short on other characteristics as well. Pausanias (6. 8. 3.) mentions Eubotas the Cyrenian, who being informed beforehand by the oracle in Lybia that he would be victorious in the foot-race at Olympia, had his statue made before the race was run and dedicated it on the very same day on which he was proclaimed victor. One can certainly not say that Eubotas was not confident in his ability and hopeful in his victory.

### **3. Negative Emotions**

Although athletics was used in Greece to create cohesion among the young men, certainly the discourse of competition is more prevalent in Greek sources. This contributed, no doubt, to the »attitude« problem of some athletes. Ancient sources are very clear about the disruptive character of some athletes, who, as Aristotle mentioned concerning youth, may be prone to excess and vehemence. In fact, some athletes are clearly selfish and arrogant.<sup>28</sup> For instance, Pausanias (6. 11. 2–9) tells story of Theagenes of Thasos, boxer and pancratiast, said to be the son of a phantom of Heracles. Theagenes was one of the greatest athletes of all times in Greece. He won over 1300 victories. His greatness did not make him exactly modest.

At nine years of age, Theagenes wrenched up the bronze image of some god from the market place and took it home. The citizens of Thasos wanted to kill him, but one of them recognized his strength and asked him to put the statue back. Theagenes was perhaps a brat who got away since a very young age with what would have cost others their lives. After he had accomplished many deeds in the heavy sports, he switched to long distance running. According to Pausanias, he did so to imitate Achilles. It is not unusual that athletes measured themselves towards the heroes of old.

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<sup>27</sup> Weinberg/Gould 2011, 51.

<sup>28</sup> Weinberg/Gould 2011, 103: Competitive sport can produce self-centered athletes who avoid dealing with real-life issues.



Certainly, Theagenes must have been a man of great ambition and very sure of himself. Pausanias (6.6.6.) tells us that he entered at Olympia in boxing and pancratium and defeated Euthymos at boxing, the winner of the previous Olympics. He did not manage to compete in pancratium out of exhaustion after the boxing match. The umpires fined Theagenes because they thought he had entered the boxing to spite Euthymos. This would reveal the destructive character of Theagenes' competitiveness, which made him push the ethical limits. Plutarch (*Praecepta Ger. Rep.* 15.7) reveals as well another anecdote of the overemphasis in winning. According to Plutarch, when Theagenes was at a banquet for a hero after the food had been served he started to fight the pancration because allegedly no one was allowed to win if he was present. His extreme competitiveness incited a lot of ill will towards, even after death.<sup>29</sup>

As we saw in the previous inscription of Kallicrates, ill will, usually expressed in Greek as *phthonos* (envy) is an emotion often associated to those who cannot be as good as a certain athlete.<sup>30</sup> Ten curse tablets found at stadia have arrived to us,<sup>31</sup> which do not only demonstrate the envy of which elite athletes were objects, but also indirectly the physical and mental characteristics which they possessed. Out of the ten tablets, three are dedicated to the wrestler Eutyichianos, son of Eutychia and coached by Aithales. Although we do not know much about Eutyichianos, other than presumably he was a very good wrestler, it is certainly surprising that he is named after his mother and not father. Perhaps this would indicate a lower class status of an athlete with no known father. Be it what may, the curse is very immediate and intends to work its effect for »his coming Friday«. The person speaking the curse wishes that Eutyichianos loses his resolve (*gnome*) and his strength and that he does not wrestle, but if he does, that he does so in a manner that he would fall and shame himself (SEG 35. 213):

Borphorbarbarborbabarphorbaborborbaie strong Betput, I give to you Eutyichianos, whom Eutychia bore, so that you freeze him and his resolve. (I give him) into your gloomy air and those with him. Bind him onto the darkest eternity of forgetfulness and freeze him and destroy his wrestling which he is about to wrestle in the DH..EI this coming friday. And if he wrestles, so that he may fall and shame

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<sup>29</sup> Pausanias (6.11.6–8). Cf. Weinberg/Gould, *Foundations* 116: Competition can foster interpersonal hostility, prejudice and aggression as well as envy, humiliation and shame.

<sup>30</sup> Envy of other athletes' performance is not just an ancient Greek thing. In the early 1990s the sport of figure skating followed the rivalry of Tonya Harding towards Nancy Kerrigan, attempt to break her leg included.

<sup>31</sup> Tremel 2004. There are many more tablets found at circuses (80) and amphitheaters (10). Most of them are directed towards the charioteers and their horses.

himself. Mozoune Alcheine Perpertharona Iaia, I give to you Euty-chianos, whom Eutychia bore. Strong Typhon Kolchoi Tontonon Seth Sathaoch Ea, lord Apomx Phriourigx upon obliteration and freezing of Eutychianos, whom Eutychia bore, Kolchoicheilops, let Euty-chianos freeze and not be well toned this coming friday, but let him be loose. As these names freeze so shall Eutychianos freeze, whom Eutychia bore, whom Aithales coaches.<sup>32</sup>

The second tablet aimed towards Eutychianos informs us that his opponent is a wrestler called Secundus, probably not the dedicator himself, since other tablets mention other opponents. Although we do not know who cursed Eutychianos it might have been someone who was betting against him or had a grudge against him and perhaps even his mother, who is mentioned four times. The second and third tablets give us a bit more insight towards the qualities that made him such a formidable wrestler. The second inscription reads (SEG 35. 214):

Orphorbabarthorbabarthorbabarbabaiah, strong Betpu, I give to you Eutychianos the one who is going to wrestle Secundus, so that you may freeze Eutychianos and his resolve and his energy, strength, wrestling and (I give him) into your gloomy air and those with him. Bind him into the darkest eternity of forgetfulness and freeze and destroy the wrestling of Eutychianos the wrestler. If you freeze him with respect to Secundus and do not let Eutychianos wrestle, so that he may fall and shame himself, Morzoune Alcheine Pepertharona Iaia, I give Eutychianos to you. Strong Typhon Kolchloichelops, let

<sup>32</sup> SEG 35. 213:

βωρφορβαβαρβ[ο]ρ[β]αβα[ρφο]ρβαβορβορβαη κραταιέ Βετπυ,  
 παραδίδωμί σοι Εὐτυχιανόν, ὃν ἔτεκεν Εὐτυχία, [ῆ]να κατα-  
 φύξης αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἰς τ[ὸν] ζοφώ-  
 δη σου ἀέρα καὶ τ[ο]ύς σὺν αὐτῷ. δῆς ἰς τὸν τῆς λήθης  
 ἀφώτιστον αἰῶνα καὶ καταψύξης καὶ ἀπολέσης  
 καὶ τὴν πάλιν, ἣν μέλλει παλαίειν ἐν τῷ ΔΗ-  
 [.1-2.]ΕΙ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ παρασκευῇ. ἐὰν δὲ κα[ῖ]  
 παλαίῃ, ἵνα ἐκπέσῃ καὶ ἀσχημονήσῃ. Μοζο[υ]-  
 νη Αλχεινη Πε[ρ]περθαρονα Ιαια, παραδίδω[μί]  
 [σοι] Εὐτυχιανόν, ὃν ἔτεκεν Εὐτυχία. κρα-  
 [ταιέ] Τυφῶν Κολχλοι Τοντονον Σηθ Σαθ[αοχ]  
 Εα, ἀναξ Απομξ Φριουριγξ ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψ[ύξ]  
 Εὐτυχιανοῦ, οὗ ἔτεκεν Εὐτυχία. Κολχοιχ[ειλ]ωψ, [ψυ]-  
 γήτ[ρω] Ε[ὐ]τυχιανός καὶ μὴ εὐτονείτ[ρω]  
 [ἐν] τῇ μελλούσῃ παρασκευῇ, ἀλλὰ γενέ[σθω]  
 ἔγλυτος. ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύ[χε]-  
 τα<ι>, οὕτω ψυχέσθω Εὐτυχιανός, ὃν [ἔ]-  
 τεκεν Εὐτυχία, ὃν ἀπολύει Αἰθάλης.

Eutyichianos the wrestler freeze. As these names freeze so let the name of Eutyichianos freeze and his soul, passion, victory, knowledge, strategy, knowledge. May he be deaf and dumb and witless, guileless, and let him not wrestler against anyone.<sup>33</sup>

The third inscription presents a small variation at the end (SEG 35. 215):

Let Eutyichianos freeze with respect to his name, soul, passion, knowledge, victory, mind, knowledge, victory, strategy. May he be witless, guileless, without hearing, without passion ...<sup>34</sup>

Except the victory, which is not a quality, but the result, the inscriptions insist on two types of qualities, volitive and intellectual. Of these, the intellectual qualities seem to be more important. A good wrestler needs to know well his sport and prepare mentally for it, he needs to perceive the situation well and think on the spot and adapt to his opponents' reactions. The curse is certainly formulaic, nevertheless, the qualities wished to be obstructed correspond to the reality of sport. Basically, the curses are about mental anxiety. It has been shown that if athletes cannot manage anxiety, it causes lack of concentration, tasks that seemed easy before are no longer so, the muscles tense up and fatigue ensues, making coordination difficult. Also, anxiety also affects the visual and other perceptual patterns, memory and thought control, making athletes doubt themselves and have no

<sup>33</sup> SEG 35. 214:

βωροφορβαβαροφορβαβαροφορβαβαροφορβαβαρη κραταιε  
 Βεττυ, παραδιδωμι σοι Εϋτυχιαν{τ}ον {<sup>26</sup>Εϋτυχιανόν} <τ>δ<ν> μέλλοντα παλαί-  
 ιν Σεκοῦνδωι, ἵνα καταψύξης Εϋτυχιανόν κα[ι] τὴν  
 γνῶμ[ην] κα[ι] τ[ὴ]ν δύναμιν, τὴν ἰσχύν, τὴν πάλην,  
 καὶ ἰς τὸν ζοφώδη σου ἀέρα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. δῆς [ις]  
 τὸν τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον αἰῶνα καὶ καταψύξης  
 καὶ ἀπολέση[ς] καὶ τὴν πάλην Εϋτυχιανοῦ πα-  
 λαιστοῦ. ἐὰν πρὸς Σεκοῦνδον καταψύξης καὶ μ[ὴ] ἀφῆ[ς]  
 [Εϋ]τυχιαν[ὸ]ν παλαίσεια, ἵνα ἐκπέση καὶ ἀσημο[νῆ]-  
 [σ]ῆ, Μ[ορς]ορη Αλχεινη Πεπερθαρονα Ιαια, π[αρα]-  
 δ[ίδω]μί σοι Εϋτυχιανόν. κραταιε Τυφῶ[ν Κολ]-  
 [χ]λο[ι]χειλωψ, ψυγίτῳ Εϋτυχιανὸς π[αλαι]-  
 στής. ὡς ταῦτα τὰ [ὀ]νόματα ψύχεται, οὔτως ψυ-  
 γίτῳ Εϋτυχιανοῦ τὸ [δ]ύ[ο]μα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐ-  
 πι[ο]μη, ἡ ἐπιστήμη[η], ὁ λογισμός, ἡ ἐπιστήμη. ἔστω κωφός,  
 ἀλαός, ἄϊνους, ἀκέραιος, μήτε παλαίφ[ων μηδενί]

<sup>34</sup> SEG 35. 215:

οὐ[τῶ]ς κα[ι] Εϋ[τυχι]α[νο]υ[ψ]υχέσθω [τὸ ὄνομα καὶ]  
 [ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἡ ἐπιτο]νπῆ, ὁ ν[ο]ς, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἡ ἐπι-  
 [πονη, ὁ λογισμός, ἔστω ἄνους, ἀκέρ]αιος, μηδὲν ἀκούων, [μήτε]  
 [ὀργιζό]μενος, μήτε

resolve.<sup>35</sup> The curses clearly show an understanding of the symptoms of anxiety in a person under stress and use the same metaphoric language of freezing' in front of a difficult task, which is a momentary paralysis. The person cursing the athlete was obviously a keen observer of athletic behavior and understood well the dangers of not controlling anxiety.

The insistence on cursing with anxiety is also extended to the runners Aphous and another runner, as seen also in the following curse.<sup>36</sup>

Bind and bind down the tendons, the body limbs, the mind, the understanding, the intelligence, the 365 parts and tendons of those around ... whom Taeias bore and (bind) Aphous whom Tais bore the runners, so that they not ... nor they are strong, but that they lie awake all night and they vomit all the food for their detriment... and so that they are not strong to run, but they come last. And you hold them back ... whom Taeias bore and Aphous whom Tais bore, in all and impede the head and eclipse the eyes so that they might not be strong in the run and they are struck dumb and dim ... by your strength, lord,... Abrasax

These two runners were not only cursed with mental symptoms of stress (lack of focus) and anxiety but also with physical ones, such as sleeplessness and an unsettled stomach. That the ancient Greeks recognized that

<sup>35</sup> Weinberg/Gould 2011, 93–94.

<sup>36</sup> Inst. für Alterstumkunde, Universität Köln, Inv. Nr 4. Lines 13–32; both runners are also identified with the mothers' names. Tremel, 2004, 103; nr. 10, line 12–32:

δῆσον, κατάδησον τὰ νεῦρα, τὰ μέλη, τὸν νοῦν, τὰς φρένας,  
τὴν διάνοιαν, τὰ τριακόσια ἐξήκοντα πέ[v]  
τε μέλη καὶ νεῦρα τῶν περὶ τὸν .[... ὄν]  
ἐ[[v]]τεκεν Ταιείας, καὶ Ἀφοῦν, ὃν ἔτεκεν [ Ταιίς]  
τῶν ἀθλητῶν δρομέων, ἵνα μὴ ..[.....]  
μιν μηδὲ εὐρωστήσαι, ἀλλὰ ἀγρυ[πνείτωσαν]  
δι' ὄλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἀποβαλ[έ]τωσαν πᾶσαν  
τροφήν ἐπὶ κακῶσι καὶ νοῦ. [.....]  
σι..ν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἰσχύ[σωσι δρα-]  
μῖν, ἀλλὰ ὑστερίτωσαν ὑστε[.....]  
καὶ κατάσχες αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ [τὸν.....]  
ὄν ἔτεκεν [T]α[ειάς,] κ[αὶ] Ἀφοῦν, ὃν ἔτε-  
κεν Ταιίς, [.....]  
ὑπ[ὸ] πάντω[v.....] υ[.....]  
κρανειον ν[.] .ν κώλυσο[v .....]  
καὶ ἀμαύρωσον αὐτῶν τοὺς [ὀφθαλμούς ]  
ἵνα μὴ ἰσχύσωσιν τραμῖν [.....]  
καὶ ἐνεάαδιν, ἀμαυρου...[.....]  
τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως, κύριε[.....]  
Αβρασαξ

anxiety was a major issue in athletes, we can read in Philostratus (53). Philostratus describes a type of athlete as the »anxious« one (*agoniostes*). This particular athlete type needs to be influenced in his mind with encouraging and uplifting words. He has to train with those athletes who are insomniac and have problems with the digestion. Obviously, many athletes would have had in anxiety their weak point and the writers of curses knew it well.

#### 4. External Influences

Besides the help of other athletes, in order to develop successful athletes, there needs to be other positive influences. »Talent cannot be developed unless it is valued by society and recognized and nurtured by parents, teachers and coaches«. <sup>37</sup> As mentioned above, Philostratus in his treatise *On Gymnastics* dedicates sections 20 to 24 to talk about the coach's influence on his athletes. Philostratus gives five different examples of athletes who were motivated to win. For instance, Promachos' coach lied to him and said that the girl he fancied would give him his love, if he won at Olympia (22). This is a typical example of what nowadays is called extrinsic reward combined with intrinsic motivation. <sup>38</sup> Some other examples show the confidence that the coach had on the abilities of his athlete and on his own ability to instill them to him. The Egyptian Optatos won the race at Plataea for his second time because his coach was willing to offer himself as bond. The law in Plataea was that whoever ran for a second time after winning once, was to be put to death if he did not win. The coach showed his confidence in Optatos and this gave him the strength and confidence to win.

This passage, although extreme, is as well a typical example of how the coach's confidence in the athlete can motivate the athlete to perform to his best. <sup>39</sup> Greeks were certainly very aware of the coach's influence on athletes. For instance, Pausanias also narrates some anecdotes in which the influence of the coach was key to victory. In 6.14.2-3, Pausanias tells the story of Artimodorus, who was first too young and too weak and therefore lost his first Olympics. Pausanias continues <sup>40</sup>:

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<sup>37</sup> Gould/Dieffenbach 2002, 176.

<sup>38</sup> Weinberg/Gould 2011, 138.

<sup>39</sup> Gould/Dieffenbach 2002, 193 state that the confidence that these coaches had and displayed in their athletes helped their psychological development. As one athlete said, »Coach X, I mean, he just believed in me and that is all it takes. You know, I just feel like he cared about me as a person and he believed in me as an athlete.«

<sup>40</sup> Pausanias 6.14.3: ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἀγῶνος καιρὸς ὃν Σμυρναῖοι Ἰώνων ἄγουσιν, ἐς τοσοῦτο ἄρα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς βόμης ἐπιύζητο ὡς κρατῆσαι παγκρατιάζοντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς

When the time arrived for the contest held by the Ionians of Smyrna, his strength had increased so much that he beat in the pancratium on the same day his opponents at Olympia, after the boys, the so-called the beardless youths, and thirdly the best of the men. They say that his match with the beardless youths was because of his trainer's encouragement and against the men because of the insult of a man pancratiast.

It comes clear from this passage that beating the boys was due to the fact that he was by now big and strong. He might have entered the beardless youth and the men without expectations, but after winning the boys' category the coach wanted him to try out the next level. Certainly, external influences were key to his victory in the next levels. First the coach encouraged him and then his own passion was stirred.<sup>41</sup>

Some anecdotes reveal that athletes themselves saw the coach as a positive influence and an important factor of their success. Pausanias (6.3.6) tells the story of Cratinus of Aegira in Achaia who was the most skillful wrestler of his time. After his victory over the boys in wrestling, the Eleans allowed him to set up also a statue of his trainer. Even in the case of a very young athlete the Eleans recognized that the coach was a fundamental part of his success. This is also expressed by Philostratus (13), who agrees that some victories of the athletes correspond not only to the athletes themselves but to the coaches.

Sometimes coaches may have appeared as overbearing and as claiming too much of the success of the athlete. For instance, Pausanias (6.2.9) collects the inscription on the statue of the Samian boxer, which declares that the statue was dedicated by his trainer, Mycon, and that the Samians are the best of the Ionians at athletics and sea-fights, but about the boxer himself the inscription says not a word. Perhaps the coach was trying to live vicariously the success of his boxer.

Ancient Greek athletes did not only find motivation in their coaches' words and actions, perhaps the most important influence came from their families, especially the parents. Greek sources offer several testimonies about it. Pausanias in books 5 and 6 of his work mentions some stories worth noticing. In 5.21.16 Pausanias tells the story of Damonicos, who was so eager for his son to win in wrestling that he even bribed the father of the

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αὐτῆς τοῦς τε ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἀνταγωνιστὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶν οὓς ἀγενεῖους καλοῦσι καὶ τρίτα δὴ ὅ τι ἄριστον ἦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. γενέσθαι δέ οἱ τὴν ἄμιλλαν πρὸς ἀγενεῖους τε καὶ ἄνδρας τὴν μὲν ἐκ γυμναστοῦ παρακλήσεώς φασι, τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς παγκρατιαστοῦ λοιδορίας.

<sup>41</sup> Bannister 2004, 162–163, cf. also 178: »I think it is the duty of the coach to encourage resource and initiative in all of us«, and 179: »the mental approach is all-important, because the strength and power of the mind are without limit. All this energy can be harnessed by the correct attitude of mind«.

son's competitor. The umpires did not fine the sons for manipulating the results, but the fathers for they were the real culprits. The news is in correlation with the information given in 5.24.9 about the oath that athletes, their fathers, brothers and trainers had to swear that they would not do anything foul. The Greek wording emphasizes the concern about the members of the family and secondarily mentions the trainers. This is perhaps because they recognized the family members to be the greatest influence, both positive and negative, on the athletes.

That victory in the ancient games was a family event is known clearly through the epinicia of Pindar, in which the ancestry of the athlete is constantly mentioned as proof that the success of one athlete comes from his whole line being favored by the gods.<sup>42</sup> Yet, the encouragement to their children is a more difficult matter to ascertain. Same as today, a number of the athletes were born into an athletic family. For instance, Hippocles, whom Pindar sings in the tenth Pythic Ode for his victory in the double race of the boys, is the son of a twice Olympic winner. Pindar in his seventh Olympic Ode praises Diagoras for his victory in boxing and his father Damagetos, who delights in Justice (v. 18–19). The young wrestler Alcimidas, sung at the sixth Nemean Ode is the grandson of Praxidamas, an Olympic victor, victor as well five times at Isthmos and three at Nemea. Three of Diagoras' sons and two grandsons were as well Olympic victors.

The influence on the athlete may not have only come from the parents. Also brothers and close relatives would have encouraged each other. An epigram in the *Greek Anthology* vol. 5.13.5 presents to us a group of four brothers who were all successful athletes.<sup>43</sup>

(1) I conquered the diaulon. (2) and I in wrestling (3) and I in the pentathlon (4) and I in boxing. And who are you? (1) Timodemus (2) and I Cres (3) and I Cretheus (4) and I Diocles. And who is your father? (1) Cleinus (2,3,4) and ours too. And where did you win? (1) at Isthmus and you where? (2) In the Nemean grove and by the home of Hera.

There is something missing at the end so we cannot know where the last two brothers were victorious. All participated in different sports. This indicates that they all did the sports which may have been more suited for

<sup>42</sup> About the poetic celebration of athletes of the child and beardless youth categories, see Howie, 2012.

<sup>43</sup> *Greek Anthology* vol 5. 13. 5 νικῶ διάυλον. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ παλαιῶν.  
ἐγὼ δὲ πεντάεθλον. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ πύξ, —  
καὶ τίς τύ; — Τιμόδημος. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ Κρής, ἐγὼ δὲ Κρηθεύς. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ Διοκλῆς.  
καὶ τίς πατήρ τοι; — Κλείνος. ὡσπερ ἄμμιν. — Ἐμπί δὲ νικῆς; — Ἴσθμοῖ. — τὸ δ'  
ἔμπι; —  
Νέμειον ἂν λειμῶνα, καὶ παρ' Ἥρα.

them as individuals, but also it avoided competition among them, by not having to eliminate each other. Cleinus was not only a proud father, he was probably a very smart man to avoid rivalry between his sons. This probably allowed for the children to encourage each other.

Fathers appear also fostering the children's careers even when they were not directly involved in sports. Pausanias (6.10.1–3) talks about Glaucus the boxer, who fixed a plough using his hand instead of a hammer. His father saw that and inscribed him at Olympia. Because of the lack of knowledge in boxing, which implies that his family was not involved in sports previously, he was losing to his opponent until the father called out »the one from the plough, boy!« So Glaucus delivered a powerful blow and with that started a successful career that made him an Olympic victor, twice victor at the Pythian games and eight-times victor at the Nemean and Isthmian, respectively. We have to assume that he received some good coaching afterwards because Glaucus became the best boxer of his time.

Perhaps because sport allowed social mobility, if not always in economic terms, certainly in prestige, we find that some younger athletes were pressured by their parents to achieve success. As Daimonicus' bribing anecdote reveals, the fathers were the real originators of the misconduct. Taken in conjunction with the oath that fathers needed to swear, we can assume that in deed in some cases there was a lot of pressure set on the children.

The pressure came also from the mothers, not just the fathers. Pausanias (6.1.5) mentions Deinolochus, about whom his mother had a dream while she was pregnant. Deinolochus' mother saw him wearing a crown. Pausanias states that »for this reason he was trained as athlete«. The use of the passive construction indicates that Deinolochus had not much of a choice in whether he wanted to compete or not. Interestingly, he competed in the boys' events and did not seem to have an athletic career afterwards. Are we dealing with a case in which the parents are more interested than the sons in their sports success? Modern psychologists think that successful athletes had supportive parents, but not parents that pushed them into competition.<sup>44</sup> Studies about athlete and parent perception conclude that the attrition rates of junior athletes increase with the emphasis on competition outcomes. These junior athletes perceive their parents to be more upset at their lower performance than parents themselves admit.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Gould/Dieffenbach 2002, 172–204. Their study concluded that parents and coaches had an important role in the development of these attitudes. Interestingly, they discovered that families encouraged participation but exerted little pressure to win.

<sup>45</sup> DeFrancesco/Johnson 1997. About one third of the athletes say that their parents have embarrassed them at competitions, either by yelling, walking away or even hitting them after the match.



Ancient Greek parents do not seem to be an exception to this perception. The young Deinolochus was probably burnt out after he won his crown, by then he probably thought that his mother was satisfied. Also the young Damoniscus would have been embarrassed by the misconduct of his father. Sources do not generally investigate more than the anecdote. But it is clear from Pausanias' words that the father wanted the victory more than the son. Significantly, neither the parents of Deinolochus or those of Damoniscus are successful athletes. In the case of Deinolochus is obvious, since it is the mother who had a dream, but also in the case of Damoniscus there is no indication that the father was a successful athlete himself. It seems it is not only a modern phenomenon that some parents try to live their dreams through their children.

Psychological pressure extends also after retirement. Modern sociologists of sport describe as social death the adjustments at the retirement of athletes, when the benefits of being famous and successful disappear. Stories abound about once successful athletes being unable to reintegrate into the society. Many become depressed, abuse drugs and alcohol and even commit suicide.<sup>46</sup> Although all athletes that retire require adjustments on a social, physical and personal level, about 15 to 19 percent of them require considerable emotional adjustment.<sup>47</sup>

Not all ancient Greek athletes had difficulties after their career was over. Most of them went on with their lives, some other became coaches, as for instance, we read in Pausanias (6.10.6) about Iccus, a Tarentine, son of Nicolaidas, who gained the Olympic crown in the pentathlon and is said to have been afterwards the best trainer of his day. This must not have been an isolated case. Coaching is still nowadays a good career option for retired athletes.

Nevertheless, there were some athletes who had difficulties integrating back into their social context. We read that in the famous fragment of Euripides' *Autolycus* (Athenaeus 413c-d)<sup>48</sup>:

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. the recent suicides of hockey players Wade Belak (August 31<sup>st</sup>, 2011), Rick Rypien (August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2011) and Derek Boogaard (May 13<sup>th</sup>, 2011).

<sup>47</sup> Wylleman/Lavallee/Alfermann 1999, 14.

<sup>48</sup> Athenaeus 413 c-d: κακῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρίων καθ' Ἑλλάδα

οὐδὲν κάκιόν ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν γένους:  
οἱ πρῶτα μὲν ζῆν οὔτε μανθάνουσιν εὖ  
οὔτ' ἂν δύναιτο: πῶς γὰρ ὅστις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ  
γνάθου τε δοῦλος νηδύος θ' ἡσημένως,  
κτῆσαιτ' ἂν ὄλβον εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πατρός;  
οὐδ' αὖ πένεσθαι κάξυπηρετεῖν τύχαις  
οἴοι τ' : ἔθη γὰρ οὐκ ἐθισθέντες καλά.  
σκληρῶς διαλλάσσουσιν εἰς τὰμήχανα.  
λαμπροὶ δ' ἐν ἤβῃ καὶ πόλεως ἀγάλματα

For when there are ten thousand ills in Greece, there's none that's worse than the whole race of athletes. For, first of all, they learn not to live well, nor could they do so; for could any man being a slave to his own jaws and appetite acquire wealth beyond his father's riches! How could a man like that increase his substance? Nor yet can they put up with poverty, or ever accommodate themselves to fortune; and so being unaccustomed to good habits, they quickly fall into severe distress. In youth they walk about in fine attire, and think themselves a credit to the city, but when old age in all its bitterness overtakes their steps, they roam about the streets, like ragged cloaks whose nap is all worn off. (Translation C. D. Yonge)

Euripides complains that old athletes are reduced to almost a beggar status after having dilapidated their wealth. This was certainly not only a problem in ancient Greece. Modern parallels are countless, a quick internet search suffices. Although ancient sources are mostly silent about the reasons of such behavior, some anecdotes reveal that in fact, it was not always easy for athletes to come back to a normal life.

Pausanias (6.8.4) describes how the pancratiast Timanthes of Cleonae committed suicide after retiring from an active life as an athlete. Apparently Timanthes tested his strength every day by drawing a bow. After a period of time of not practicing, he could not draw the bow and committed suicide by jumping into a fire. Pausanias qualifies the action as madness rather than courage. This act of madness is, however, not an unusual response of successful athletes towards their retirement or failure to meet expectations.<sup>49</sup>

Cases of unsuccessful reintegration were apparently as common in antiquity as they are today. Pausanias (6.9.6–7) as well tells the story of Kleomedes of Astypalaea, who killed his opponent in a boxing match in what the umpires thought was foul play. The frustrated athlete who had been deprived of the prize and probably of a subsequent career became mad due to grief. As a consequence of that grief Kleomedes attacked a school and pulled the pillar killing sixty children. Why Kleomedes came to attack sixty innocent children is not said. Being pelted by the citizens, Kleomedes took refuge inside a chest and when the chest was finally opened, he had vanished. The myth represents figuratively Kleomedes' suicide, who went

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φοιτῶσ' ὅταν δὲ προσπέσῃ γῆρας πικρόν,  
τρίβωνες ἐκβαλόντες οἴχονται κρόκας.

<sup>49</sup> It is well known the case of the Japanese marathon runner Kokichi Tsuburaya who committed suicide because he has injured a few months before the Olympics in 1968 and was conscious that he would not be able to win. His suicide note read »I cannot run anymore.« Tsuburaya won bronze in 1964 in the Tokyo Games, he became a media star in Japan and the government subjected him to a very strenuous training during which he could not even see his family or girlfriend. Thinking that he would be a disappointment to everybody, he opted for suicide.

into a chest as if it was a coffin. The social death of the athlete provokes anger against the innocents and then is followed by the death of the perpetrator. Kleomedes could not be found in the chest and the citizens realized that he had become a hero. The story again follows a pattern of heroization of dangerous persons, in this case an athlete. Nevertheless, it may still suggest that forceful retirement of elite competition was not always assumed in a positive way.

Through our examination, it has become clear that ancient Greek athletes' performance depended not only on physical factors, but very much so on psychological ones. Those athletes who found motivation and controlled their anxiety were more successful than those who did not. Greek coaches and acute observers of athletics were conscious of the need of developing the proper psychological characteristics. Although not to the same scientific level as today, there was a clear understanding that victory in sport depended on more than physical preparation.

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## Die Resonanz kaiserzeitlicher Sportveranstaltungen Kleinasiens in der Architekturdekoration öffentlicher Bauten

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Die große Bedeutung der Agonistik und Gladiatur in Kleinasien in der Kaiserzeit bewirkt, dass diese Themen sogar Eingang in die steinerne Architekturdekoration von öffentlichen städtischen Gebäuden finden. Der Aufsatz zeigt die Beliebtheit von tierkämpfenden Eroten in Theatern, durch die die realen *Venationes* auf eine mythische Ebene enthoben werden, überblickt den umfangreichen mit 29 Figuren, sowohl mit Personifikationen als auch der Kaiserfamilie rund um eine riesige Preiskrone angeordneten agonistischen Fries im severischen Theater von Hierapolis und präsentiert einzelne Bauteile weiterer Gebäude, die entweder symbolische Gegenstände oder Darstellungen von zeitgenössischen Akteuren der Agonistik und Gladiatur aufweisen. Die Sammlung zeigt, dass sich das Phänomen im Wesentlichen auf die Städte Hierapolis und Side konzentriert, die beide im 3. Jh. n. Chr. ein blühendes Städtewesen mit Spielen und Veranstaltungen entwickeln. Als Hypothese wird formuliert, dass die Agonotheten, als Veranstalter der Spiele gleichzeitig auf die bauliche Ausgestaltung der Stadt einwirkten. Die kleinen Amphoren in der Art der panathenäischen Preisamphoren an den oberen Säulenkanelluren des Zeustempels in Aizanoi, das bis jetzt wahrscheinlich früheste Vorkommen von Symbolen der Agonistik in der Architekturdekoration Kleinasiens, werden als Siegespreise der lokalen, aizanitischen Spiele gedeutet.

Auf einem Kompositkapitell aus den Thermen des Alexander Severus in Rom, das um das Jahr 227 n. Chr. datiert, war an vier Seiten je ein Athlet abgebildet<sup>1</sup>. Die am besten erhaltene Seite zeigt als zentrale Darstellung einen nackten Faustkämpfer mit durchtrainiertem Körper und mit fast bis zu den Achseln reichendem *caestus*, wie er für das 3. Jh. n. Chr. typisch ist<sup>2</sup>. In der einen Hand hält er die Siegespalme, mit der anderen setzt er den Siegeskranz auf den Kopf. Die ansonsten für antike Kapitelle verpflichtende Blattornamentik wurde weitestgehend zugunsten der Formulierung einer szenischen Darstellung aufgegeben, die den siegreichen Faustkämpfer inmitten von weiteren Akteuren der griechischen Agonistik,

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<sup>1</sup> Von Mercklin 1962, 156 Nr. 384a Abb. 737–747; Castagnoli 1993; Rumscheid 2000, 63. 71–73. 76. 164–165 Kat. 107 Taf. 48,3–49, 1–2 (Details).

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. die beiden Statuen der Boxer Piseas signiert von Polyneikes und Candidianus aus dem 3. Jh. n. Chr. im Theater von Aphrodisias: Newby 2006, 255–259 Abb. 8.13 und 8.14; Julie van Voorhis: In Smith 2006, 145–147 Taf. 26–27 Kat. Nr. 39; Julie van Voorhis: In Smith 2006, 147–149 Taf. 28–29 Aphrodisias Nr. 40.

einem Trompetenbläser und Personen aus der Wettkampfleitung zeigt<sup>3</sup>. Die Darstellungen der Athleten auf dem Bauteil aus Marmor nehmen direkten Bezug auf antike sportliche Wettkämpfe, für deren vorbereitendes Training sich der eine oder andere Besucher in der Badeanlage in Rom einfand, in der das Kapitell als Bauschmuck versetzt war. Der Baudekor folgt demnach inhaltlich der Funktion des Gebäudes und war thematisch passend dazu ausgewählt worden.

Vor dem Hintergrund dieses sehr bekannten archäologischen Denkmals soll im Folgenden der Frage nachgegangen werden, ob und inwieweit der hohe gesellschaftliche Stellenwert des Sports<sup>4</sup> in den öffentlichen Bauten der Kaiserzeit in Kleinasien Resonanz gefunden hat. Dazu muss vorausgeschickt werden, dass die antike Baudekoration ein stark normiertes System aus vorzugsweise vegetabilen und geometrischen Dekorformen wie beispielsweise, Akanthusranken, Eierstab, Perlstab, Mäander etc. vorsieht, die über lange Zeiträume als absolut verbindlich anerkannt waren.

Nur Friese bieten die Möglichkeit und den Platz für umfangreichere szenische Darstellungen. Auf Friesen von antiken Gebäuden stehen jedoch in der Praxis keineswegs realpolitische sondern mythologische Themen, wie Amazonen- und Gigantenkämpfe sowie Göttermythen, an oberster Stelle der Beliebtheitsskala.

Ungefähr ab der Mitte des 2. Jh.s n. Chr. lassen sich im Baudekor einiger römischer Theater in Kleinasien Bauteile nachweisen, die vor allem das Thema des Tierkampfes thematisieren. Ein Aspekt war dabei sicher der Wille zur Machtmanifestation über die wilde Natur und die stärksten Tiere<sup>5</sup>. Jedoch werden in Interaktion mit den wilden Tieren nie Menschen, sondern anhand ihrer Flügel eindeutig identifizierbare Eroten gezeigt<sup>6</sup>. Dadurch wird das Geschehen aus der Realität enthoben, auf eine ideale Ebene transferiert und im überzeitlich gültigen Sinngehalt den beliebten mythologischen Themen gleichgestellt.

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<sup>3</sup> Gemäß Freiberger 1990, 120 Kat. Nr. 296, 122 »Übersichtstabelle severischer Kapitelle« ist das Figural Kapitell einer kleinasiatischen Werkstatt zuzuweisen.

<sup>4</sup> Zur Agonistik in Kleinasien s. v. a. zahlreiche Arbeiten von Nollé 1990, 1993, 2001, 2012, van Nijf 2001, 2010, Pleket 2010, Weiss 1981, Ziegler 2009 u.a. – Der moderne Begriff Sport dient hier als Überbegriff, sowohl für die antike Agonistik als auch die antike Gladiatur, obwohl es sich aus antiker Perspektive um zwei deutlich zu trennende Phänomene handelt. Zur Nicht-Relevanz der Gladiatur in Münzprägung und städtischer Propaganda: Mann 2011, 81; häufigste Thematisierung des Themas im öffentlichen Raum durch Grabdenkmäler und Gladiatoren Denkmäler mit Wiedergabe historischer Kämpfe: Mann 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Mann 2011, 33–34; 43–44.

<sup>6</sup> Zu Eroten als Handlungsträger in allen möglichen zutiefst menschlichen Bereichen: vgl. den Fries im Haus der Vettier in Pompeji, kaiserzeitliche Eroten-Sarkophage etc.

Im Theater von Milet trug die Außenwand<sup>7</sup> der Skene ab der 2. Bauphase, die in den 50-er bis 60-er Jahren des 2. Jh.s n. Chr. anzusetzen ist<sup>8</sup>, einen Erotenjagdfries<sup>9</sup>, mit Szenen des Einfangens, der Jagd durch die Eroten und dem Abtransport der erlegten Tiere als Jagdbeute. Unter den dargestellten Tieren befinden sich ein Eber, eine Antilope, ein Bär, ein Löwe, ein Stier, ein Steinbock und ein Hirsch<sup>10</sup>. Ein im Kampf gegen einen Bären dargestellter Tierkämpfer trägt die spezifische Rüstung eines Gladiatoren<sup>11</sup>. Mit Sicherheit wird man daraus schließen können, dass im Theater von Milet *venationes* abgehalten wurden. Ein Pilasterkapitell aus der severischen Skene des Theaters von Hierapolis<sup>12</sup> sowie eine Architravsoffite<sup>13</sup> desselben Gebäudes zeigen ebenfalls Tierkämpfe. Auch hier wiederum sind nicht etwa Menschen als Tierkämpfer dargestellt, sondern Eroten. An zahlreichen anderen Orten Kleinasiens wurden die Tierkämpfe stets ebenfalls im Kleid von Erotenkämpfern dargestellt, so auf einer Soffitte vom Propylon in Perge<sup>14</sup>, vom Anfang des 3. Jh.s n. Chr., sowie auf zwei Architravblöcken gleicher Sorte des Theaters in Perge, ebenfalls vom Anfang des 3. Jh.s n. Chr.<sup>15</sup>

Das bekannteste Beispiel für die bildliche Wiedergabe eines städtischen Agons in der Bauplastik ist der agonistische Fries<sup>16</sup> an der Bühnenfassade des Theaters von Hierapolis, das aufgrund der Bauinschrift auf 206/208, d. h. in frühseverische Zeit, datiert wird<sup>17</sup>. Dieser ursprünglich über der Porta Regia auf der Höhe des Podiums der 2. Etage der *scenae frons* angebrachte

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<sup>7</sup> Rekonstruktionszeichnung in Bol 2011, 121 Abb. 49.

<sup>8</sup> Bol 2011, 152.

<sup>9</sup> Bol 2011, 148–152 Abb. 49.62. 63 Taf. 69–76.

<sup>10</sup> Bol 2011, 151.

<sup>11</sup> Bol 2011, Taf. 73–74.

<sup>12</sup> Ritti 1985, 101–102 Taf. 12a; 102 Taf. 12 b; Ritti/Yilmaz 1998, 490–494. 490 Abb. 19a–b. Unklar, ob ein bestimmtes Ereignis gemeint oder eine generelle Darstellung beabsichtigt ist (Ritti/Yilmaz 1998, 494); das Pilasterkapitell ist in zwei Register eingeteilt. Im oberen Register beißt eine Bärin in die Hand eines bereits am Boden liegenden Tierkämpfers, dessen Körper mit Binden umwickelt ist und der ein Schwert bei sich trägt. Ein Straußenvogel kämpft gegen ein Wildtier. Unten links versucht ein Bär zusammengekauert sich eine Lanze aus dem Rücken zu entfernen. Rechts kämpfen ein Bär und ein Stier. Als Landschaftsangabe sind Bäume dargestellt.

<sup>13</sup> Ritti 1985, 102 Taf. 12 c; Ritti/Yilmaz, 1998, 510, Abb. 30. Auf der Architravsoffite stürmt ein Löwe gegen einen bekleideten, mit Speer bewaffneten Eroten und versucht ein Bär mit erhobenen Tatzen aus einer Umzäunung auszubrechen.

<sup>14</sup> Abbasoğlu 1994, 25.30 Nr. 160 Taf. 38, 1–3.

<sup>15</sup> Abbasoğlu 1994, 83–85 Nr. 153 Taf. 30, 2 a–b; vgl. die Eroten-Venatio auf dem Orpheusmosaik aus Milet in Berlin: Greaves 2002, 141 Abb. 4.6.

<sup>16</sup> Ritti 1985, Taf. 1–6; D'Andria 2003, 221 Abb. 199; Di Napoli 2002, mit Abb.; s. auch: Salzmann 1998, 201 Abb. 17; Newby 2006, 249–251 mit Abb. 8.10 und 8.11; Dunbabin 2010, 305–306 Abb. 14.

<sup>17</sup> D'Andria 2003, 147–161.



Fries weist 29 Figuren auf, die an der Oberkante der Reliefs beschriftet sind, und die sich auf das übergeordnete Thema der als »Apolloneia Pythia« bezeichneten athletischen und musischen, städtischen Agone beziehen. Als zentrales Symbol dient die auf einem Preistisch<sup>18</sup> präsentierte, aufgrund ihrer zentralen Bedeutung künstlerisch überdimensionierte Preiskrone<sup>19</sup>, die auch auf einem weiteren Relief der *scenae frons* des Theaters von Hierapolis<sup>20</sup> dargestellt ist, auf dem die Personifikation des »gemeinsamen Opfers, Synthysia«, mit einem Opferrind, weiters die Stadtpersonifikation von Delphi mit einer Statuette des Apollon Pytheos und die Stadttyche von Hierapolis mit dem Flußgott Chrysorrohoas dargestellt werden, als Reverenz an die berühmte Wettkampfstätte in Delphi.

Eine überdimensionierte Preiskrone mit explizitem Spruchband »iera pythia« steht auch im Mittelpunkt der Darstellung des »Bomos« aus Side, der an die dritte Abhaltung der pythischen Spiele in Side im Jahr 251 n. Chr. erinnert<sup>21</sup>. Nach Ausweis der kleinasiatischen Münzprägung der Kaiserzeit kommen mit Kaiser Commodus (177–192 n. Chr.) die Preiskronen auf und lösen die davor üblichen Preiskränze ab<sup>22</sup>.

Auf dem agonistischen Fries im Theater von Hierapolis befindet sich rechts von der Preiskrone die severische Kaiserfamilie, Caracalla, der auf einem Thron sitzende und von einer heranfliegenden Nike bekränzte Septimius Severus sowie der später eradierte Geta dargestellt, dann Tyche mit einem Füllhorn und zuletzt Roma/Virtus. Auf der anderen Seite der Preiskrone der »pythische« Wettkampf, die Stadttyche von Hierapolis mit einer Statuette des Apollon Pythios, des Stadtgottes, Fluß Chrysorrohoas, Agonothesia<sup>23</sup> mit einer Losurne, sowie die Personifikation des Agon (?) bei einem Dreifuß.

Die Präsenz der römischen Kaiserfamilie<sup>24</sup> erklärt sich aus der Verbundenheit mit zahlreichen Festen im griechischen Osten<sup>25</sup>. Der Kaiser war die Bewilligungsinstanz für Agone in den kaiserzeitlichen Städten Kleinasien,

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<sup>18</sup> Bohne 2011, 199–202.

<sup>19</sup> Preiskrone oder Preiskorb, zur Argumentation für letzteres: Specht 2000.

<sup>20</sup> Ritti 1985, Taf. 7a; Salzmann 1998, 201 Abb. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Weiss 1981; Salzmann 1998, 201 Abb. 21; Nollé 2001, 442–451 Nr. 134; Newby 2006, 268 Abb. 8.22; Dunbabin 2010, 335 Abb. 30; Zu Preiskronen s. a. Salzmann 1998; Işkan 2002; Dunbabin 2010; Bohne 2011, 191–193; Specht 2000.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Specht 2000.

<sup>23</sup> Agonothesia und Gymnasiarchia als weibliche Personifikationen mit nacktem Oberkörper auf einem im Jahr 2000 in Ahatköy (Akmoneia) gefundenen Mosaik des späten 3./beginnenden 4. Jh.s n. Chr.: Başgelen 2000, Abb. zwischen den Seiten 24–25; Bohne 2011, 513–520 Kat. Nr. 80; Das Mosaik wird von Bohne 2011, 520 stilistisch an den Anfang des 4. Jh.s n. Chr. datiert.

<sup>24</sup> Newby 2006, 280.

<sup>25</sup> Newby 2006, 246.

wegen Budgetfragen, Schiedsrichter bei Streitfragen in der Geldmittelpolitik<sup>26</sup>. Städtisches Münzgold erinnert durch Abbildung entsprechender Symbole, Preistische, Preiskörbe, Darstellungen von Athleten, die ihre Sportart ausüben an die Abhaltung von Agonen und in Münzlegenden an eventuelle Förderungen und von dem jeweiligen Kaiser verliehene Privilegien<sup>27</sup>. Das Festspielwesen und die Wettkämpfe von Athleten sind in der städtischen Mentalität fest verankert und bieten einen Schauplatz im Wettstreit um den Rang der ersten Stadt einer Provinz.

Die Mittel für die Durchführung eines Agons kamen teils aus der städtischen Kasse, teils aus privaten Stiftungen, teils von Seiten der Agonotheten<sup>28</sup>. Bei der Frage nach dem Auftraggeber eines derartigen Bildprogramms, wie am Fries des Theaters von Hierapolis, wird man wohl am ehesten ein Mitglied der städtischen Honoratiorenschicht erwarten dürfen, jemanden, der vielleicht selbst in seiner Funktion als Agonothet Spiele finanzierte und als weitere euergetische Leistung den Fries stiftete<sup>29</sup>.

Wenn Themen der Agonistik und Gladiatur in die Bauskulptur Eingang finden, muss eine bewusste Entscheidung für ein derartiges Bildprogramm vorausgesetzt werden. Von Mosaiken, die in römischen Häusern, Villen und Thermen verlegt waren, ist bekannt, dass auf ihnen manchmal historisch erinnerungswürdige Athletenkämpfe festgehalten wurden, indem die Akteure in Bild und Namensbeischrift abgebildet wurden<sup>30</sup>, so auf dem severischen Mosaik der Pankratiasten Alexander und Helix in Ostia<sup>31</sup>, oder auf einem Mosaik einer Villa an der Via Nomentana in Rom »Eutyclus genannt Ninnus«<sup>32</sup>. Bei den severischen Mosaiken aus den Caracallathermen in Rom von ca. 220 n. Chr. bleiben die einzelnen Athleten<sup>33</sup> zwar ohne Namensbeigabe, aber aufgrund der differenzierten Darstellungsweise erscheint es gut möglich, dass sie zeitgenössische Sportler wiedergeben.

Abgesehen von dieser monumentalen bildlichen Referenz auf die Agonistik im Theater von Hierapolis, beziehen sich jedoch in der städtischen Bauplastik noch weitere Dekorteile anderer Gebäude auf die städtischen

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<sup>26</sup> Pleket 2014, 370–372.

<sup>27</sup> Specht 2000; Ziegler 2009.

<sup>28</sup> Marek 2010, 620.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Di Napoli 2002, 400.

<sup>30</sup> Bohne 2011, 58 z. B. ebenda, 58 Kat. Nr. 85 b Nr. 3 Abb. 61 (Nikostratos aus Aigai).

<sup>31</sup> Newby 2006, 58–59 Abb. 3.5; Bohne 2011, K 21, 759 Abb. 18 (Umzeichnung).

<sup>32</sup> Newby 2006, 60.

<sup>33</sup> Rumscheid 2000, 165–166 Kat. Nr. 108 Taf. 49,3–4. 50; Newby 2006, 67–69, zwischen S. 178–179 Farbt. 1a–b (westliche und östliche Exedra), Vatikan, Museo Gregoriano Profano; Bohne 2011, K 56, 771–773 Abb. 39–43.

Festspiele, so beispielsweise ein lose vor dem Apollontempel in Hierapolis gefundenes Kassettenfragment mit Preiskrone<sup>34</sup>.

Das Nymphäum der Tritonen in Hierapolis, ein rechteckiger Bau aus Travertin an der Agora von Hierapolis, wurde von einem italienischen Team in den Jahren 1994–2001 ausgegraben<sup>35</sup>. Der ursprüngliche Bau aus hadrianischer Zeit wurde gemäß der Widmungsinschrift des Gaius Auidius Marcellus, Proconsul von Asia 221–222 n. Chr.<sup>36</sup>, für Apollo und die Stadt Hierapolis unter Kaiser Elagabal wahrscheinlich großteils neu errichtet. Das Thema des Bildprogramms ist eine alternierend mit Wassergöttern dargestellte Amazonomachie. Ein Gesims mit zwei Kassettenfeldern enthält zwei Büsten junger Männer mit langem, lockigem Haar<sup>37</sup>, die nach Ausweis der wenigen erhaltenen Buchstaben am unteren Rand der Kasette auch beschriftet waren, nämlich die Namen der jungen Männer, vielleicht zeitgenössische Athleten, nannten.

Neben Hierapolis zeichnet sich die pamphyllische Stadt Side während der Kaiserzeit durch Festspiele und Agone aus, die zum bevorzugten Themenkreis<sup>38</sup> auf den Münzen werden, vor allem unter Kaiser Gordian III (238–244), der den Pythien von Side das Privileg eines kaiserlichen Agons verlieh. Als Thema in der Bauplastik findet dies Niederschlag an mindestens zwei Bauten in der Stadt, einmal am Theater und einmal am Nymphäum vor dem Stadttor. Aus dem Theater von Side<sup>39</sup> stammt der Kassettenblock mit archaisierender Darstellung des Apollon Sidetes, in dessen Zwickelfeld ein Siegeskranz attributiv beigegeben ist, ein Symbol, das auf den Agon zu Ehren des Apollon Phoibeios hinweist, bevor er noch zum pythischen Agon wurde. Die Platte datiert in spätantoinische Zeit bzw. in das letzte Viertel des 2. Jh.s n. Chr.<sup>40</sup>. Die zweite Evidenz bilden die Kassettenplatten der Fassadenarchitektur des sog. Nymphäums vor dem Stadttor. Eine Kassettenplatte mit Darstellung einer Preiskrone trägt die spiegelverkehrte Aufschrift *hieros*<sup>41</sup>. Eine weitere Kassettenplatte mit

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<sup>34</sup> Ritti 1985, 80–82, Taf. 7 b Inv. Nr. 229: Gefunden vor dem Apollotempel; Maße: 85 x 80 x 22 cm; Inschrift: Apol[lone]ia Pythia.

<sup>35</sup> D'Andria 2003, 117–126 Abb. 96–108; Campagna 2012, 311–332.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. D'Andria 2011, 160.

<sup>37</sup> D'Andria 2011, 160 Abb. 10.19.

<sup>38</sup> Weiss 1981 Taf. 27.

<sup>39</sup> Alanyalı 2005, 91 Abb. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Alanyalı 2005, 89 (»antoinisch«, 2. H. 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Das Theater von Side wird in der Forschung in die Mitte bis 2. H. des 2. Jh.s n. Chr. datiert. Auf jeden Fall ist eine längere Bauzeit zu veranschlagen. Eine klare Scheidung der einzelnen Bauphasen steht noch aus, was zu unterschiedlichen Datierungsangaben in unterschiedlichen Publikationen führt.

<sup>41</sup> Weiss 1981, 342 Taf. 25,2; Salzmann 1998, 201 Abb. 19; Nollé 2001, 451–452 Nr. 135 b; Işkan 2002, 157 Taf. 41,6; Newby 2006, 269 Abb. 8.23; Gliwitsky 2010, 201 Abb.

einfach und sehr platt wirkender, aber ursprünglich durch Bemalung ebenso plastisch wirkender Preiskrone ist mit der Aufschrift *oikoumenikos*, international, versehen.<sup>42</sup> Eine dritte, fragmentierte, Kassettenplatte war mit einer Losurne,<sup>43</sup> flankiert von Palmzweigen, dekoriert gewesen. Von dem Nymphäum sind die Grundreste erhalten.<sup>44</sup> Aus verschiedenen Gründen wird für das Nymphäum eine relativ lange Bauzeit über einen Zeitraum von 40 Jahren angenommen, zwischen den Jahren 210 und 250 n. Chr.<sup>45</sup>

Ein epigraphisches Zeugnis aus dem benachbarten Kasai/Taşahir nennt einen gewissen Aurelius Obrimianus Conon<sup>46</sup> als Agonotheten der ersten Pythien, der eine Summe von 5000 Denaren »für den Bau des in Side in Bau befindlichen Hydreions« gestiftet habe, das man mit dem sog. Nymphäum vor dem Stadttor gleichsetzen möchte. Sollte dies zutreffen, so hat ein Agonothet das Nymphäum (mit)finanziert und sind wohl auch ihm die Verweise in der Baudekoration zu verdanken.

In der Bauplastik des kaiserzeitlichen Hierapolis sind mehrfach zeitgenössische Gladiatoren vertreten. So zeigt ein Gesimsblock mit Kassettenfeldern vom Propylon der großen Stoa-Basilike auf der Handelsagora<sup>47</sup> in einem Kassettenfeld den inschriftlich bezeichneten Gladiator mit dem Namen »Chrysopteros«, »der mit den goldenen Flügeln«<sup>48</sup>, in Anspielung auf seine Flinkheit, stehend in Gladiatorenrüstung. Vielleicht trug eine weitere Kasette des Bauwerks eine weitere Gladiatordarstellung:<sup>49</sup> In

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173 Kat. 163; Die Spiegelschrift wird damit erklärt, dass sich die Soffitte an der Wasseroberfläche spiegeln und damit lesbar (?) würde.

<sup>42</sup>Weiss 1981, 342 Taf. 26,2; Salzmann 1998, 201 Abb. 20; Nollé 2001, 451–452 Nr. 135 a; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 80 Abb. 41; 242–244 Kat. Nr. 106; Işkan 2002, 157 Taf. 44,2; Newby 2006, 269–270 Abb. 8.24; Gliwitzky 2010, 201 Abb. 172 Kat. 162; Zur Farbigkeit antiker Kassettendecken: Tancke 1989, 145–147.

<sup>43</sup>Weiss 1981, 342 Taf. 26,1.

<sup>44</sup>Gliwitzky 2010, 87–122 Plan 19 (Grundriss), Plan 20 (Rekonstruktionszeichnung der Fassade des Nymphäums).

<sup>45</sup>Gliwitzky 2010, 114; Nach Gliwitzky 2010, 105 Anm. 122; 118 können die Kassettenblöcke, die zur Aedicula-Architektur des Mittelgeschoßes der Brunnenanlage gehören, wegen der Einrichtung der isopythischen Agone durch Gordian III, 243 n. Chr., erst nach diesem Datum versetzt worden sein. Diese Argumentation ist nicht zwingend (Freundlicher Hinweis von Werner Petermandl, Graz); Außerdem bewies bereits Nollé 2001, 452 zu Nr. 135, dass der Agon schon vor Gordian III die Titel *ieros* und *oikoumenikos* trägt.

<sup>46</sup>Weiss 1981, 332.

<sup>47</sup>Ritti/Yilmaz 1998, 511–513. 511 Abb. 31; D'Andria 2003, 104 Abb. 86; Ritti 2011, 181 Abb. 11.11; In Umzeichnung und mit einer Skizze des Anbringungsortes am Propylon der Handelsagora: Rossignani/Sacchi 2011, 246 Abb. 14.13.

<sup>48</sup>Carter 1999, 123.

<sup>49</sup>Rossignani/Sacchi 2011, 246 Abb. 14.14.

dem Gladiator Chrysopteros wird ein bereits von einem Gladiatorengrabstein aus der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft von Hierapolis bekannter Gladiator erkannt<sup>50</sup>.

Aus dem Nymphäum beim Apollotempel stammt der Kassettenblock mit der Darstellung des Gladiators Euphorbos mit Kurzschwert;<sup>51</sup> sowie ein weiterer Kassettenblock mit einem Gladiator, der rücklings am Boden liegenden dargestellt wird und drei Binden um den Körper hat<sup>52</sup> – vielleicht ein Gegner des Euphorbos, dessen Name aufgrund der vorhandenen Buchstabenreste auf –KOC endete. Ein Kassettenblock von einer der Ädikulen der Skene des Theaters von Hierapolis zeigt einen Gladiatorenhelm<sup>53</sup>, wie er typisch für einen Murmillo oder Thrax ist. Auf einem zweiten Kassettenblock desselben Bauzusammenhangs hat sich anstelle des üblichen Blattornaments eine kleine Gladiatorenfigur<sup>54</sup> eingeschlichen.

Die genannten Evidenzen für die Übertragung von Bildern der Agonistik und Gladiatorenkämpfe auf den Baudekor öffentlicher, städtischer Gebäude, scheint frühestens in antoninischer Zeit bzw. verstärkt im 3. Jh. n. Chr. zu erfolgen<sup>55</sup>. Es ist insgesamt ein sehr seltenes Phänomen, das sich bisher auf die Städte Hierapolis und Side beschränkt.

Der Grund für die Darstellung von Symbolen der Agonistik oder gar zeitgenössischen Athleten/Gladiatoren besteht wahrscheinlich oder zum Teil darin, dass die Männer der städtischen Oberschicht,<sup>56</sup> die das Amt eines Agonotheten ausübten oder für Munera aufkamen, dieselben sind, die die Errichtung und Ausschmückung der öffentlichen Gebäude finanzieren.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Ritti/Yilmaz 1998, 512 (mit griechischem Text); Mann 2011, 172. 243 Kat. Nr. 145.

<sup>51</sup> Ritti/Yilmaz 1998, 503–505 Abb. 28a (Mus. Pamukkale Inv. Nr. 378).

<sup>52</sup> De Bernardi Ferrero 1999, 698 Taf. 179 Abb. 3; Ritti/Yilmaz 1998, 503–505 Abb. 28b (Mus. Pamukkale Inv. Nr. 379).

<sup>53</sup> Ritti/Yilmaz 1998, 506–509. 508 Abb. 29a.

<sup>54</sup> Ritti/Yilmaz 1998, 506–509. 508 Abb. 29b.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. bereits Newby 2006, 270, davor im 2. Jh. n. Chr. geschah dies noch über die Skulpturenausstattung.

<sup>56</sup> Für eine grundlegende Diskussion der Funktionsweise der städtischen Euergesie, zuletzt: K. Piesker, Kap. XIV Theater, Festspielkultur und Stadt, in: Piesker/Ganzert 2012, 281–289, bes. 284–285; Cramme 2001; Zuiderhoek 2009, 78–80.

<sup>57</sup> Agonotheten als Spender von Bauten/Bauteilen: Verantwortlichkeit des Agonotheten der Kaiserspiele für das Einziehen einer Mauer zwischen Orchestra und Zuschauerraum im Athener Dionysostheater zur Ermöglichung von Gladiatorenspielen im 1. Jh. n. Chr. (Hotz 2005, 53); Inschriftenfragment mit der Nennung eines Romapriesters und Agonotheten der Dionysien in Verbindung mit der Erbauung des Proskeniens im Theater von Ephesos (*I Eph* 2031, Cramme 2001, 126 Anm. 470); Montanus finanziert eine Speisung, spendet 75.000 Denare für den Ausbau des ephesischen Hafens und ist Agonothet der Wettkämpfe des Koinon (*I Eph* 2061; Cramme 2001, 130 Anm. 483); mehrere Familienmitglieder der Familie des Eurykles in Aizanoi waren Agonotheten und gehörten vermutlich zu den Finanziers von öffentlichen Bauvorhaben in Aizanoi (Cramme 2001,

Bauteile, die sich besonders für die Aufnahme von ausführlichen szenischen oder figürlichen emblematischen Darstellungen agonistischer Thematik eignen, sind Relieffriese, eventuell Kapitelle, manchmal Architravunterseiten, insbesondere jedoch die Kassettendecken von Aedicula-Architekturen.

Zu beobachten ist, dass die Gebäude mit derartigem Dekor keine unmittelbare Funktion bei den Agonen spielen mussten, d. h. nicht etwa ausschließlich Austragungsstätten sein mussten. Zum Teil waren sie es, denn die Theaterbauten des 2. und 3. Jh.s n. Chr. gaben durchaus den Rahmen für die Austragung von Agonen, Venationes und Gladiatorenkämpfen ab. Doch konnten auch andere städtische Gebäude solchen Dekor tragen: in Side ein Nymphäum, in Hierapolis eine Halle.

Vor dem letzten Viertel des 2. Jh.s n. Chr. gibt es m. W. in Asia Minor einen einzigen Fall, wo eine starke Tradition von städtischen Agonen sich in einem Detail des Baudekors eines Tempels widerspiegelt, nämlich beim Zeustempel von Aizanoi und seinen Säulen, in deren Kannelurenfüllungen am oberen Säulensabschluss Preisamphoren dargestellt sind.<sup>58</sup> Die Anbringung einer derartig detaillierten Verzierung als Säulensabschluss ist eine an und für sich außergewöhnliche Eigenschaft, die ausschließlich an kaiserzeitlichen Architekturen in Herakleia Pontike, Aizanoi, vielleicht Rom (Marcellustheater, aber nur in einem Stich überliefert) und Kyzikos vorkommt.<sup>59</sup> Der Zeustempel ist auf das nahe Theater und das an das Theater angebaute Theaterstadion<sup>60</sup> ausgerichtet. Die lange Zeit für antoninisch gehaltene Bauornamentik des Zeustempels wurde vor wenigen Jahren von Archäologen aufgrund der Beobachtungen an den Buchstabenbefestigungslöchern am Architrav wieder gewonnenen Inschrift an das Ende des 1. Jh.s n. Chr. umdatiert.<sup>61</sup> Festspiele haben in Aizanoi bereits seit julisch-claudischer Zeit stattgefunden und ab der 1. H. des 1. Jh.s n. Chr. wurde mit der Errichtung des steinernen Theaterstadions<sup>62</sup> begonnen, das

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263–264). Im 1. Jh. n. Chr. in Klaros verspricht der Agonothet Menippos die Errichtung des Eingangs zum Tempel des Apollo: Dimitriev 2005, 42; Zuiderhoek 2009, 78–80.

<sup>58</sup> Jes/Posamentir/Wörrle 2010, 72 Abb. 71 a–b, 73 Abb. 73 (Detail).

<sup>59</sup> Hoepfner 1966, Abb. 21 a, Taf. 10 b (am Kopf stehend); Foto: Hoepfner 1966, 59 Abb. 24 (Taf. 21 d–e).

<sup>60</sup> Rohn 2010; An der Fassade des östlichen Stadioneingangs ist ein Marmorblock mit sieben unterschiedlichen Kränzen versetzt (s. Rumscheid 2000, 12ff. 33. 39. 43. 49. 113–114 Kat. 1 Taf. 1,1–5; Newby 2006, 253–254), durch die die Leistungen der Mitglieder der über mehrere Generationen ortsansässigen Familie des M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurykles als Sportler und Politiker veranschaulicht werden (Zur Datierung dieses Blocks nicht vor den 160er Jahren, wahrscheinlich erst nach 180 n. Chr.: Rohn 2010, Anm. 14).

<sup>61</sup> Posamentir/Wörrle 2006.

<sup>62</sup> Rohn 2010, 120.

danach vielfach umgebaut wurde. Panos Valavanis hat in seiner ausgezeichneten Zusammenstellung sämtlicher panathenäischer Preisamphoren in der Flächenkunst von spätklassischer bis in römische Zeit, den Amphorendekor in Aizanoi als Symbol für die guten Beziehungen zwischen Aizanoi und Athen bewertet.<sup>63</sup> Jüngst wurde auf die Reliefabbildung eines sehr ähnlichen Gefäßes im Giebelfeld einer ca. gleichzeitigen Grabstele ebenfalls in Aizanoi hingewiesen, die gemäß der Inschrift von einer gewissen Tertia ihrem Sohn gewidmet ist.<sup>64</sup> Dabei kam die Frage auf, in welche Richtung die Übernahme des Bildmotivs erfolgt sei, von den Säulenkanelluren zur Grabstele oder von der Grabstele zum Tempel.

Valavanis konnte in der zitierten Untersuchung das häufige Vorkommen von panathenäischen Preisamphoren auf Monumenten verstorbener Jünglinge durch die Beibringung zahlreicher Beispiele nachweisen. Das bekannte Naiskosrelief aus Loukou<sup>65</sup> auf der Peloponnes von der Mitte des 2. Jh.s n. Chr. stellt Polydeukion, den Ziehsohn des Herodes Atticus in heroisierter Form dar, indem dem jungen Mann sämtliche Ausrüstungsgegenstände eines Kriegers zur Seite gestellt werden. Die ebenfalls auf dem Relief abgebildete panathenäische Preisamphore zielt auf die Charakterisierung und Heroisierung des jungen Mannes als Athlet ab. Dasselbe gedankliche Konstrukt steht sicher auch hinter der Abbildung der Siegervase auf der Grabstele der Tertia für ihren Sohn.

Panathenäische Preisamphoren aus Athen waren so berühmt und als Siegespreise so etabliert, dass bereits im 4. und 3. Jh. v. Chr. an verschiedenen Stätten der antiken Welt, u. a. in Ephesos, nachweislich lokale Imitate hergestellt wurden, um damit die an all diesen anderen Orten veranstalteten Spiele mit entsprechenden Siegespreisen auszustatten<sup>66</sup>. Natürlich war den Menschen immer bewusst, dass das *Original* aus Athen stammte, aber schließlich verwiesen die von anderen Städten ausgegebenen Siegespreise immer auf die jeweilige Stadt. Daher sind die Amphoren in den Kanelluren des Zeustempels von Aizanoi als nach dem berühmten Modell gefertigte Siegespreise bei aizanitischen Spielen aufzufassen.

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<sup>63</sup> Valavanis 2001, 169–170; 169 Abb. 4 (Graphik der Kanellurenfüllungen Aizanoi).

<sup>64</sup> Jes/Posamentir/Wörrle 2010, 73 Abb. 72b.

<sup>65</sup> Kaltsas 2002, 347 Kat. Nr. 736 mit Abb.; Valavanis 2001, 166 Taf. 44,1; Zu panathenäischen Preisamphoren zuletzt: Bohne 2011, 194–196.

<sup>66</sup> Ausführlich dazu: Kratzmüller/Trinkl 2005, 158 Abb. 1; 161 Abb. 2; bes. 166.

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## Ein abgekartetes Spiel. Zu POxy 5209 (Sport am Nil, Suppl. II)<sup>1</sup>

*Stephen G. Miller gewidmet*

**Wolfgang Decker**

Köln

Der zuletzt publizierte Band der Oxyrhynchus-Papyri (LXXIX, 2014) enthält mit Nr. 5209 ein bemerkenswertes Dokument, das aus einem Vertrag des Jahres 267 n. Chr. besteht, der ein Abkommen zwischen zwei Ringern der Jugendklasse besiegelt, bei einem bevorstehenden Agon in Mittelägypten den Sieg einem der beiden gegen eine Summe von 3.800 Drachmen alter Währung (Gegenwert eines Esels) zu überlassen. Damit wird die literarische Überlieferung von Korruption im Rahmen der antiken Agonistik, wie sie vor allem von Pausanias (V 21,2–18) und Philostratos (De gymnastica, Kap. 45) überliefert ist, glänzend bestätigt. Interessanterweise wird der schriftliche Vertrag zwischen dem ehrgeizigen Vater des einen und offensichtlich den beiden Trainern des anderen Athleten abgeschlossen, die nach Philostratos generell Geschäfte zu Ungunsten ihrer Zöglinge machen. Das könnte der Grund dafür sein, daß sie sich durch eine dritte Person vertreten lassen. Das Dokument ist in seiner Bedeutung für die antike Sportgeschichte kaum zu überschätzen.

In der langen Geschichte des griechischen Sports im Altertum herrschten nicht nur geordnete Verhältnisse und eitel Sonnenschein, die das Kulturphänomen automatisch zum strahlenden Vorbild des modernen Sports erheben würden. Wie nicht anders zu erwarten bei der gesellschaftlichen Wertschätzung des sportlichen Sieges während der gesamten Dauer des griechischen Sports, die insbesondere bei der führenden Klasse nachweisbar ist, hatte er auch seine Schattenseiten.<sup>2</sup> Das zeigt sich sehr deutlich an der Geschichte der Agone in Olympia, wo dem Sieger der bei weitem größte Ruhm winkte, der sich durch einen sportlichen Erfolg überhaupt erringen ließ. Pindar kleidet diese Einschätzung in folgende Worte:

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<sup>1</sup> Möge diese kleine Arbeit Stephen Miller, dem verdienstvollen Ausgräber von Nemea und Inspirator der modernen Nemeen, der dort seit 1974 ungewöhnlich erfolgreich wirkt, und exzellenten Kenner der antiken Agonistik ein kleines *Antidoron* für große wissenschaftliche Gaben aus vier Jahrzehnten sein. Sie steht in der Reihe meiner 2012 vorgelegten Studie *Sport am Nil* (Hildesheim), deren erstes Supplementum sich bei Decker 2013 findet. Bedauerlicherweise wurde es abgelehnt, für Beiträge zur Festschrift Stephen G. Miller meine Muttersprache zu benutzen, so daß ich für meinen Beitrag zu Ehren des amerikanischen Kollegen und Freundes einen anderen Publikationsort zu wählen gezwungen war.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Decker 2004; Weiler 2014.

Wenn du aber von Kampfpreisen künden willst, mein Herz, dann suche neben der Sonne auf dem einsam weiten Himmel kein Gestirn, das sein Licht am Tage wärmer verströme: von einem herrlicheren Kampfspiel als zu Olympia können wir nicht singen!<sup>3</sup>

Pausanias (V 21,2–18)<sup>4</sup> hat die *chronique scandaleuse* der entdeckten Fälle von Korruption und Betrug eindrucksvoll zusammengestellt, die bis zu seiner Zeit – er bereiste Olympia etwa um 175 n. Chr.<sup>5</sup> – bekannt waren.

### 1. Die *chronique scandaleuse* von Olympia

Bereits in spätklassischer Zeit (388 v. Chr.) – immerhin gut zweihundert Jahre nach der Neuordnung der Olympischen Spiele<sup>6</sup> – ist ein erster Fall aktenkundig: Der Faustkämpfer Eupolos aus Thessalien besticht drei seiner Gegner, darunter mit Phormion aus dem kleinasiatischen Halikarnassos den amtierenden Olympiasieger, mit Geld, ihm den Sieg zu überlassen. Er und seine Komplizen wurden drakonisch bestraft, indem sie sechs bronzene Zeusstatuen (Zanes)<sup>7</sup> errichten mußten.<sup>8</sup> Diese Strafmaßnahme hatte jedoch nur begrenzten Erfolg, denn keine zwei Generationen später versuchte der Fünfkämpfer Kallippos aus Athen ebenfalls, den Sieg zu erkaufen. Wiederum mußten er und die bestochenen Gegner zur Strafe sechs Zeusstatuen errichten, was jedoch seine finanziellen Kräfte weit überstieg. Auch die Heimatstadt, die in einem solchen Fall für ihren Bürger einzutreten hatte, weigerte sich, die horrende Strafsumme aufzubringen und ließ ihre Interessen durch den berühmten Rhetor Hypereides vertreten.

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<sup>3</sup> Pindars Verse in Ol. I,3–8 (Übersetzung E. Dönt) sollte man nicht nur als poetisches Konstrukt auffassen. Zu Pindars Dichtkunst und ihrer antiken Rezeption siehe den Sammelband von Hornblower/Morgan (Hg.) 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Text und Übersetzung bei Mauritsch/Petermandl et alii 2012, Q181. Übersetzung: Miller 1991, Dok. 75 (V, 21, 2–4); Decker 2012 (b), Dok. 31 (V 21,12–16, 18). Kommentar: Ebert 1980, 71 f.; Decker 2004, 230–234; Kyle 2007, 131 f.; zuletzt Weiler 2014, 5–7.

<sup>5</sup> Zur Zeit der Reisen und Abfassung des Textes des Pausanias siehe allgemein Habicht 1985, 21–23; zu Pausanias und Olympia Trendelenburg 1914.

<sup>6</sup> Das bereits in der Antike errechnete Datum 776 v. Chr. als Beginn des Agons in Olympia wird heute mit guten Argumenten bestritten: Christesen 2007; Kyrieleis 2011, 132 f. An ihm festgehalten wird z. B. noch von Lee 2001.

<sup>7</sup> Zu diesen siehe grundsätzlich Herrmann 1974.

<sup>8</sup> Über die Höhe der Strafe kann man sich ein Bild machen, wenn man weiß, daß eine Bronzestatue dem Gegenwert von zehn Jahresverdiensten eines Handwerkers entsprach, vgl. Herrmann 1989, 127 mit n. 30.

Als auch dies nichts fruchtete, drohte Athen damit, die Olympien in Zukunft zu boykottieren. Nur die Ansage des Delphischen Orakels, sich zukünftig Anfragen aus Athen zu sperren, konnte die Stadt gefügig machen.<sup>9</sup>

Offensichtlich hatte Elis mit dem hohen Strafmaß den Bogen überspannt. Im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. wurden die zwei Ringer Eudelos und Philostratos aus Rhodos wegen ihrer Siegesabsprache zur Aufstellung von zwei Zeusstatuen verurteilt. Bei diesem Strafmaß blieb es auch, als während der 192. Olympien (12 v. Chr.) die Väter zweier Knabenringer, Damonikos aus Elis und Sosandros aus Smyrna, eine Absprache trafen, die allerdings aufgedeckt wurde. Pausanias kritisiert an diesem Fall besonders, daß sogar ein Bürger von Elis, das die Olympien organisierte, in die Bestechung verwickelt war; dieser spielte sogar den aktiven Part. Von den beiden Zeusstatuen, das offenbar kanonisierte Strafmaß der römischen Kaiserzeit, wurde (wohl wegen der einheimischen Beteiligung) eine im Gymnasion von Elis, die andere wie üblich am Eingang zum Stadion von Olympia aufgestellt. Dort, wo die Athleten vor Eintritt in die Wettkampfstätte ein letztes Mal deutlich vor Regelübertretung gewarnt wurden, waren auch zwei weitere Statuen plaziert, die die Faustkämpfer Deidas und Sarapammon aus dem arsinoitischen Gau in Ägypten zu errichten hatten, da sie während der 226. Olympien (125 n. Chr.) den Ausgang ihres Kampfes im Vorfeld absprachen, wobei Sarapammon seinen Gegner bestach, ihm den Sieg zu überlassen.<sup>10</sup>

Vermutlich ebenfalls zur Errichtung einer Zeusstatue wurde der Pankратиast Sarapion aus Alexandria bestraft, der aus Feigheit vor seinem Gegner während der 201. Olympien (25 n. Chr.) das Weite suchte und aus Olympia davonlief. Dagegen hatte der Faustkämpfer Apollonios aus Alexandria offenbar eine Geldstrafe zu entrichten, da er nicht die vorgeschriebene Frist von 30 Tagen vor dem Wettkampf in Olympia eingehalten hatte und gegenüber dem kampfflos zum Sieger erklärten Herakleides, ebenfalls aus Alexandria, tötlich wurde. Es ist anzunehmen, daß die Geldsumme des Bestraften letztlich ebenfalls zur Anfertigung einer Zeusstatue verwendet wurde. In diesem Fall hätte die *chronique scandaleuse* von Olympia zur Aufstellung von insgesamt 20 Zeusstatuen geführt, die alle bis auf die im Gymnasion von Elis in der Altis ihren Platz hatten.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Weiler 1991, wiederabgedruckt in Weiler 2004, 151–159.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. auch Decker 2012 (b), Dok. 31.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. die Aufstellung bei Decker 2004, 234. – Unter dem Eindruck der dichten Aufzählung von Korruptionsfällen am Hauptort der griechischen Agonistik sei jedoch darauf hingewiesen, daß es bei dem gleichen Pausanias, der uns diese negative Chronik überliefert, auch ein Beispiel dafür gibt, daß ein Abwerbungsversuch eines Faustkämpfers an der Standfestigkeit eines jugendlichen Athleten scheiterte. Der Milesier Antipatros, Sohn des Kleinopatros und Olympiasieger, wies die Bestechungsversuche des sizilischen

## 2. Die Kritik des Philostratos am Sport seiner Zeit

Unter dem Titel ›Gymnastikos‹ und unter dem Namen des Philostratos, eines Autors der Zweiten Sophistik, ist die einzige aus der Antike vollständig erhaltene Abhandlung über den Sport erhalten.<sup>12</sup> Die insgesamt 58 Kapitel umfassende Schrift wendet sich unterschiedlichen Schwerpunkten zu. Sie stellt nach Definition des Begriffes ›Gymnastik‹ die Wettkampfdisziplinen sowie ihren Ursprung und ihre Geschichte, besonders im Hinblick auf Olympia, vor. Anschließend wird das Idealbild eines Gymnasten (›Trainer‹) gezeichnet, wobei unter seinen Kenntnissen auch die Assentierung der Athleten auf ihre spezielle Eignung hin hervorgehoben wird. Im Abschnitt über das Training wird das natürliche Training der ›guten alten Zeit‹ dem degenerierten Training von heute gegenübergestellt, das durch die moderne Methode der Tetraden in eine völlig falsche Richtung geraten sei. Auch sei es heutzutage leicht, den Sieg zu erkaufen:

Und wenn einer ein silbernes oder goldenes Weihgeschenk entwendet oder vernichtet, so verfolgen ihn die gegen Tempelraub gerichteten Gesetze mit ihrem Zorn, den Kranz des Apollon oder Poseidon aber, um welchen die Götter selbst sich gewaltig bemühten, kann man ungestraft kaufen, und nur bei den Eleern gilt der Ölkrantz nach altem Glauben noch für unantastbar.<sup>13</sup>

Gleich im nächsten Satz wird ein Beispiel von Korruption angeführt, das die ganze Empörung des Autors auf sich zieht:

Was aber die übrigen Wettspiele anbelangt, so will ich folgendes Beispiel hervorheben, womit alles gesagt ist. Ein Knabe siegte im Ringkampf an den Isthmien, nachdem er einem seiner Gegner 3000 Drachmen für den Sieg zugesagt hatte. Als sie nun am nächsten Tage in das Gymnasion kamen, verlangte der eine sein Geld, der andere aber erklärte, ihm nichts zu schulden, denn er habe ihn wider seinen

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Tyrannen Dionysios, der ihn gerne als Syrakusaner vereinnahmt hätte, souverän zurück (Paus. VI 2,6).

<sup>12</sup> Die alte Ausgabe von Jüthner 1909 hat immer noch ihre Verdienste. Sie ist in manchem nun überholt durch die ebenfalls zweisprachige Ausgabe von Brodersen 2015, der die enge Verflechtung der Erstausgabe der Schrift des Philostratos mit der Vorgeschichte der modernen Olympischen Spiele hervorhebt. Seine Übersetzung orientiert sich an der Terminologie der modernen Sportsprache und sein Kommentar verarbeitet die Erkenntnisse der Sportwissenschaften. Den letzten längeren Kommentar dazu schrieb König 2005, 301–344.

<sup>13</sup> Philostratos, *De gymnastica* 45 (Jüthner 172,1–5; Übersetzung J. Jüthner). Die Sonderstellung Olympias besteht darin, daß Übertretungen der Regeln im Gegensatz zu anderen Wettkampforten noch geahndet werden. Auch hier kamen sie bekanntlich vor, wie die *chronique scandaleuse* des Pausanias (siehe oben) zu berichten weiß.

Willen besiegt. Da jener zu keinem Ziele kam, lassen sie es auf den Eid ankommen, und im Heiligtum des isthmischen Gottes angelangt, schwur derjenige, der den Sieg verhandelt hatte, er habe des Gottes Wettkampf verkauft, und es seien ihm 3000 zugesagt worden. Und er brachte dieses Geständnis mit lauter Stimme und keineswegs zurückhaltend vor. ... Er schwur dies aber auf dem Isthmus und angesichts von Hellas. Was mag da nicht erst in Ionien, was in Asien vorkommen, den Spielen zur Schmach!<sup>14</sup>

Die Korruptionsaffäre läßt sich nicht exakt datieren, doch möchte man annehmen, daß sie sich nicht lange vor der Niederschrift der Abhandlung ›Gymnastikos‹ durch Philostratos zugetragen hat, die wohl zwischen 220 bis 240 n. Chr. erfolgte.<sup>15</sup> Der Fall ist klar: Bei den Isthmien im Heiligtum des Poseidon am Isthmos von Korinth wurde ein Wettkämpfer der jüngsten Altersklasse gegen Zahlung von 3000 Drachmen bestochen, seinem Gegner den Sieg zu überlassen. Da dieser ›Knabe‹ höchstens 17 Jahre alt sein konnte,<sup>16</sup> muß die Abmachung zwischen den Athleten über Erwachsene vollzogen worden sein, da die ›Knaben‹ noch nicht geschäftsfähig waren. Dieser Umstand wird nicht von Philostratos erwähnt, liegt aber auf der Hand. Auch wenn die Disziplin nicht genannt wird, kann es sich nur um einen Wettkampf zwischen Kampfsportlern gehandelt haben. Nur bei einer Paarung zwischen Ringern, Faustkämpfern oder Pankratiasten machte eine entsprechende Absprache Sinn, da die anderen Disziplinen griechischer Agone, Laufwettbewerbe und vielleicht auch das Pentathlon, zu viele Teilnehmer aufwiesen, um eine sichere Abmachung zu treffen. Für den Handel in Betracht kommt in erster Linie ein ehrgeiziger Vater, der wie der Eleer Damonikos (Paus. V 21,16 f., siehe oben) den Gegner seines Sohnes bestach, oder aber die Trainer der Athleten, die laut Philostratos ihren Schützlingen generell zur Korruption raten, ihnen Geld zu horrenden Zinsfüßen leihen (siehe oben) und auf diese Weise eine hohe Mitschuld am moralischen Verfall des zeitgenössischen Sportes tragen.<sup>17</sup>

Im geschilderten Fall fordert der bestochene Athlet am Tage nach dem Wettkampf, als beide sich beim Training im Gymnasion trafen, sein Geld. Sein Gegner, dem der Sieg durch die Bestechung zugefallen war, versucht jedoch, sich aus der Affäre zu ziehen, indem er behauptet, sein Sieg sei

<sup>14</sup> Philostratos, *De gymnastica* 45 (Jüthner 172,5–17; Übersetzung J. Jüthner). Die angeführten Stellen sind kommentiert bei Weiler 2014, 2–4.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. König 2007, 301 n. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Bei den Isthmien waren drei Altersklassen am Start: die ›Knaben‹ (bis 17 Jahre alt), die ›Bartlosen‹ (bis 20 Jahre alt) sowie die ›Männer‹ (ab 20 Jahre alt); zu den Altersklassen allgemein Crowther 1988; Petermandl 1997.

<sup>17</sup> Philostratos, *De gymnastica* 45 (172,15–24 Jüthner). Dabei übertreffen die Forderungen der Trainer noch die sprichwörtlich hohen Zinsen, die im Seehandel anfallen, da dort die Risiken, das eingesetzte Kapital zu verlieren, besonders hoch waren.



gegen den Willen des Bestochenen zustande gekommen, mit anderen Worten: er habe ihn regelrecht niederkämpfen müssen. Dies wiederum ruft den lauten Protest des Bestochenen hervor, der die getroffene Abmachung durch einen Eid im Heiligtum des Poseidon bekräftigt. Wenn solche Skandale schon im alten Hellas an der Tagesordnung sind, was müssen laut Philostratos erst für Zustände in Kleinasien und seinem Hinterland herrschen, wo die griechische Athletik eine lange Tradition hat, die mit dem Hellenismus aber in eine neue Phase getreten war.

### 3. Ein schriftlicher Vertrag über eine Bestechung im Ringkampf (Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 5209)

Was im Vorhergehenden (besonders über das von Philostratos geschilderte Beispiel) an auf literarischem Wege überlieferten Bestechungsfällen bekannt war, wird nun glänzend bestätigt durch einen ägyptischen Papyrus aus der mittelägyptischen Metropole Oxyrhynchus, die durch den Reichtum an Funden von Urkunden auf dem antiken Schreibmaterial berühmt geworden ist. Papyri haben sich in dem trockenen Wüstenklima Mittelägyptens besonders gut erhalten. Im eben erschienenen Band LXXIX der Reihe *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, der die Präsentationen von unpublizierten agonistischen Papyri enthält, die auf einem aus Anlaß der Olympischen Spiele London 2012 in London veranstalteten Symposium vorgestellt (und durch vergleichbares einschlägiges Material ergänzt) wurden, ist unter der Nr. 5209 eine Urkunde ediert worden, die einen Vertrag über die Überlassung eines Sportsieges zwischen zwei Athleten darstellt.<sup>18</sup> Das 14 x 17,3 cm große Dokument ist sehr gut erhalten und recht gut lesbar; es umfaßt 25 Zeilen und ist auf den 23. Februar 267 datiert, als Gallienus als Alleinherrscher regierte:<sup>19</sup>

Aurelios Aquila mit Beinamen Sara[p – , Sohn des – ,] Hoherpriester der erlauchten [Stadt der Antinoiten und wie immer ich be(titelt) werde;]  
 an Markos Aurelios Loukam[mon, Sohn des – , aus Hadri-]ans Stamm und Olympischer Deme, und an Gaius I[ulius Theon (?)] über Markos  
 5 Aurelios Serenus und wie immer b[e(titelt), aus der Stadt Oxyrhynchos (?)],  
 beide Bürger für A[urelios Demetrios . . . ]  
 Ringer, Grüße. Da übereingekommen ist mit meinem Sohn Aurelios Nikantinoos der von euch rückversicherte Aurelios

<sup>18</sup> Henry/Parsons e.a. 2014, 163–167 (D.W. Rathbone).

<sup>19</sup> Zum Sport zur Zeit dieses Kaisers siehe Wallner 1997, 173–189.

Demetrios, beim Wettkampf der Knabenringer

**10** dreimal (zu Boden) zu fallen und aufzugeben [ . . . er-]  
haltend durch euch an Silbermün[ze] alter Währung [Drach-]  
men dreitausend achthundert ohne Risiko, z[u der Bedingung, daß,  
wenn]

– was nicht geschehen möge – obwohl er aufgibt und seine Rolle  
nicht verfehlt,

der Kranz (aber) als heilig angesehen wird, wir keine Verhandlung  
gegen ihn

**15** wegen dieser (Drachmen) einleiten. Wenn aber Demetrios  
selbst [ab-]

weicht von der schriftlichen Vereinbarung, die er gesch[lossen hat]  
mit meinem Sohn, mußt Du ebenfalls [demselben] als Strafe zahlen  
wegen des Mißbrauchs drei Silber-  
talente alter Währung ohne irgendwelche Ver-

**20** zögerung oder Ausrede, gemäß dem Bürgerschaftsrecht, weil  
wir darüber einen Vertrag geschlossen haben. Die Über-  
einkunft ist bindend, geschrieben in zwei Kopien, von denen ich  
eine habe

und ihr eine. Formal gefragt, habe ich zugest(immt). (Jahr) 14  
des Imperators Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus,

**25** Germanicus Maximus, Persicus Maximus, Pius Felix Augustus,  
Mecheir 29.

Wenngleich der Text nicht von einem professionellen Vertragsschreiber  
abgefaßt worden ist,<sup>20</sup> wirkt die Vereinbarung klipp und klar: Zwei Ringer  
der Jugendklasse, mit dem *terminus technicus* ›Knaben‹ bezeichnet, Nik-  
antinos und Demetrios, sprechen für einen bevorstehenden Agon ab, daß  
Letzterer durch dreimaligen Niederwurf oder durch Aufgabe den Kampf  
verliert bzw. Demetrios gegen eine Summe von 3800 Drachmen alter  
Währung Nikantinos den Sieg überläßt. Die Summe entspricht dem Ge-  
genwert eines Esels.<sup>21</sup> Da es sich bei dem Agon um eine eher lokale Ange-  
legenheit handeln dürfte und nicht die Männerklasse betroffen ist, läßt sich  
der relativ geringe Einsatz verstehen. Wenn die Kampfrichter auf unent-  
schieden entscheiden sollten, was Gott verhüten möge, soll der Betrag  
ebenfalls fließen. Für den Fall jedoch, daß der bestochene Demetrios seine  
Rolle vergißt und sich nicht an die Abmachung hält, soll er 18.000 Drach-  
men Strafe entrichten. Da die ›Knaben‹ (im Alter von höchstens 17 Jahren)  
noch nicht im geschäftsfähigen Alter sind, bestehen die den Vertrag

<sup>20</sup> So Rathbone, in: POxy 5209 (S. 163).

<sup>21</sup> Rathbone, in: POxy 5209 (S. 164 mit Verweis auf P. Stras. III 139 aus dem Jahre  
276 n. Chr.).

schließenden Parteien aus dem ehrgeizigen Vater<sup>22</sup> des Nikantinoos, Aurelios Aquila alias Sarap-, immerhin Kaiserpriester der Stadt Antinoe, auf der einen, und zwei Garanten des Demetrios, vertreten durch eine dritte Person Markos Aurelios Serenus, auf der anderen Seite. Bei den beiden Garanten dürfte es sich wohl um Trainer handeln, zumal ein Gaius Iulius Theon aus dem Zeitraum des Vertrages – genau 273 n. Chr. – als Dreifachsieger der (wohl lokalen) Kapitolieia und Hoherpriester des lokalen Zweiges der internationalen Athletenvereinigung bekannt ist.<sup>23</sup> Damit würde das schlechte Bild, das die Trainer bei Philostratos abgeben, und ihre Rolle bei der Vermittlung des Verkaufes des sportlichen Sieges (vgl. oben II.) voll und ganz bestätigt. Vermutlich aus diesem Grund lassen sie sich auch durch eine dritte Person vertreten, die ihr schlechtes Renommee in gewisser Weise neutralisieren soll. Der Bestochene hat nichts weiter zu tun als sich dreimal zu Boden werfen zu lassen, wodurch ein antiker Ringkampf entschieden war.<sup>24</sup> Sollte sich der Bestochene jedoch nicht an die Abmachung halten und auf Sieg kämpfen, sollen seine Garanten bzw. deren Vertreter Serenus eine Strafe in Höhe von 18000 Drachmen zahlen. Jede der Vertragsparteien erhält eine gleichlautende Fassung der schriftlichen Vereinbarung, deren Gültigkeit mit einer Floskel juristischer Formulierung am Ende bestätigt wird. Ganz zum Schluß erscheint noch das Datum, das in unserer Zeitrechnung auf den 23. Februar 267 n. Chr. lautet.

Mit diesem Dokument, einem Vertrag über Bestechung eines jungen Athleten bei einem Wettkampf in einer mittelägyptischen Stadt, liegt ein unumstößlicher Beweis dafür vor, daß die von mehreren antiken Autoren angeprangerte Unsitte des Kaufs bzw. Verkaufes von Wettkampfsiegen nicht deren Phantasie entsprungen ist, sondern mit der Realität antiker Agone übereinstimmt. Papyrologische Quellen haben gegenüber literarischer Überlieferung und selbst gegenüber epigraphischen Texten, in denen Beschönigung der Realität möglich und in vielen Fällen auch beabsichtigt

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<sup>22</sup> Die Väter Damonikos von Elis und Sosandros aus Smyrna waren auch die Drahtzieher bei dem Handel über den Ringkampf ihrer Söhne in Olympia, wie Pausanias (V 21,16–17, siehe oben) berichtet.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. Frisch 1986, Nr. 8; Decker 2012 (b), Dok. 49.

<sup>24</sup> Zu dieser zentralen Wettkampffregel des Ringkampfes siehe Rudolph 1965, 29 f.; Miller 2004, 50 f. Allgemein zum Ringkampf vgl. auch Poliakoff 1982; Poliakoff 1987. Doblhofer/Petermandl/Schachinger 1998. Athleten, die entsprechend dieser Regel klare Siege ohne eigenen Niederwurf (also 3:0) errungen hatten, stellen diesen Umstand häufig in ihren Siegerinschriften heraus, indem sie den Ausdruck ἀπτοῖ ὀνεφάλλει = ungeworfen« der griechischen agonistischen Fachterminologie benutzen. Beispiele bei Ebert 1972, Nr. 32,2; 63,3; 65,4; 67,6; 72,2; 73 A,3. Siehe auch Poliakoff 1982, Index S. 200. – Im Falle der Siegesabsprache zwischen den beiden ägyptischen Ringern wäre es raffiniert gewesen, ein Ergebnis 3:2 zu produzieren, da ein knapper Sieg den geringsten Verdacht auf Unregelmäßigkeit hervorrufen mußte.

ist, den Vorteil, daß sie unmittelbar der Lebenswirklichkeit entnommen sind und so gut wie keine Tendenz enthalten.

Wenn man den kulturellen Kontext des Dokumentes genau bedenkt, kann die Bestechung eines Konkurrenten doch nur bedeuten, daß der aktive Part des Vertrages bzw. dessen ehrgeiziger Vater den Hauptkonkurrenten seines Sohnes bei einem bevorstehenden Agon in seiner Stadt oder in dessen Nähe<sup>25</sup> auf diese Weise neutralisieren wollte, damit der dadurch Begünstigte seine Siegeschancen ungehindert wahrnehmen konnte. Da man bei solchen Agonen in der ägyptischen Chora der griechisch-römischen Epoche jedoch mit zahlreichen Teilnehmern rechnen mußte, wie etwa die Teilnehmerliste eines Agons mit mehreren Laufwettbewerben in einer mittelägyptischen Stadt gleicher Zeitstellung bezeugt,<sup>26</sup> darf man auch in diesem Fall darauf vertrauen, daß neben den Meldungen der beiden Vertragspartner solche von weiteren Konkurrenten abgegeben worden sind. Vermutlich werden die Meldungen in den Kampfsportarten, in diesem Fall im Ringkampf, allerdings geringer als in den Laufdisziplinen ausgefallen sein, da die vorausgesetzte gute Kondition und Technik für diese Disziplin ein spezielles Training erforderten, das etwa im Kurzstreckenlauf nicht unbedingt der Teilnahme am Wettkampf vorausgegangen sein muß, da sich hier auch Naturtalente eine gute Chance ausrechnen konnten. Anscheinend waren die weiteren Mitbewerber im Ringkampf der Jugendklasse in Mittelägypten, falls sie aus der Region stammten, wovon man ausgehen darf, in ihrer Leistungsfähigkeit relativ leicht einzuschätzen. Wenn diese von minderer Qualität als die beiden im Vertrag genannten jungen Athleten waren, erübrigte es sich, weitere Siegesaspiranten zu bestechen. Andererseits ist nicht auszuschließen, daß der ehrgeizige Vater Aquila, dem offenbar am Siege seines Sohnes sehr gelegen war, in ähnlicher Weise weitere Favoriten im Ringkampf der Jugendklasse bestochen hat, ohne daß die entsprechenden Dokumente sich erhalten hätten.

Was das Datum des Abschlusses des Bestechungsvertrages angeht, dürfte derjenige Zeitpunkt die höchste Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich beanspruchen, an dem das Teilnehmerfeld des Ringkampfes der Jugendklasse bekannt war. Das war aber wohl der Tag des Wettkampfes selbst, als alle Teilnehmer vor Ort waren, sofern es keine Regel wie bei den Olympien in Olympia bzw. bei den Sebasta in Neapolis gab, die einen vorherigen Aufenthalt am Wettkampfort verbindlich vorschrieb.<sup>27</sup> Jedenfalls hätte beim

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<sup>25</sup> Henry/Parsons 2014, 163 (Rathbone) werden die 138. Großen Antinoeia in Antinoupolis als wahrscheinlicher Anlaß des Bestechungsvertrages angesehen, da Aquila und Loukammon aus dieser Stadt stammen, vgl. Remijsen 2014, 193.

<sup>26</sup> Decker 2010.

<sup>27</sup> Die Teilnehmer der Olympien (Philostratos, VA 5,43) und auch diejenigen der Sebasta (Mauritsch/Petermandl et alii 2012, Q28) hatten 30 Tage vor Beginn des Agons zur Stelle zu sein, vgl. Crowther 1991; Di Nanni Durante 2007–2008. Bei einem relativ

Wissen um alle Teilnehmer des Ringkampfes ein gezielter Bestechungsversuch des Mitfavoriten den meisten Sinn gemacht. Daß etwa nur die beiden im Vertrag genannten Athleten Nikantinos und Demetrios die einzigen gemeldeten Akteure des Ringkampfes bei einem Agon gewesen wären, ist eher unwahrscheinlich. Am effektivsten mußte die Bestechung allerdings in dem Moment funktionieren, wenn die beiden Finalisten des nach dem k. o.-System ausgetragenen Ringkampfturnieres feststanden.<sup>28</sup> Nach diesem Zeitpunkt war jedoch Eile geboten, da die Entscheidung im Ringen, Faustkampf und Pankration noch am selben Tage angesetzt wurde, wie wir aus Olympia wissen, wo alle drei Kampfsportarten an einem einzigen Nachmittag entschieden wurden.<sup>29</sup> Jedenfalls blieb dem Anstifter der Bestechung, seinen Komplizen und dem Schreiber des Vertrages die notwendige, wenn auch knapp bemessene Zeit zur Verabredung und Abfassung eines schriftlichen Vertrages, da der Endkampf sicher nicht unmittelbar nach dem Vorkampf stattfand, in dem der Endkampfgegner des bereits qualifizierten Finalisten ermittelt wurde. Mehr als ein paar Stunden dürften für das Komplott jedoch nicht zur Verfügung gestanden haben.

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unbedeutenden Agon wie dem hier in Rede stehenden sollte man eine entsprechende Regel jedoch nicht erwarten. Eine solche bezog sich ausschließlich auf die Wettkämpfe der ersten Kategorie wie derjenigen der alten und neuen *Periodos*.

<sup>28</sup> Das hat bereits der Bearbeiter des Papyrus richtig erkannt: Henry/Parsons 2014 (Rathbone): 163: »... the contract ... concerns the final match of the boy's wrestling ...«

<sup>29</sup> Für die Zeit ab 468 v. Chr. geschah dies am 4., seit dem 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. vermutlich am 5. Tag der Olympien, vgl. Lee 2001, 102 f.

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## Osservazioni sul lessico sportivo greco antico: Antifane, fr. 231 Kassel-Austin

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Il fr. 231 Kassel-Austin del poeta comico Antifane, del IV secolo a.C., è la più antica testimonianza a noi pervenuta sul gioco di palla chiamato *phainínda*. Il passo permette di riconoscere parecchie delle caratteristiche principali del gioco, ma offre problemi testuali ed interpretativi. In questa sede ci proponiamo di studiare questi problemi, che si trovano soprattutto nell'ultimo verso (evidentemente corrotto così come è stato tramandato dalla tradizione manoscritta di Ateneo), e anche nel verso terzo, e proponiamo nuove soluzioni, in particolare per la molto problematica forma verbale *ἐγκαταστρέφει* con cui si chiude il frammento nel testo trasmesso.

I frammenti delle tragedie e commedie perdute forniscono abbondanti informazioni su molteplici aspetti dello sport greco antico, ma offrono spesso problemi testuali ed interpretativi, aggravati dal fatto che di solito ignoriamo il contesto entro il quale apparivano. In questa sede ci proponiamo di studiare uno di questi testi problematici, dal punto di vista del lessico sportivo.

Il fr. 231 Kassel-Austin del poeta comico Antifane, del IV secolo a.C., è un testo ben conosciuto, perché si tratta della più antica testimonianza a noi pervenuta sul gioco di palla chiamato *phainínda*-*haspastón*<sup>1</sup>. Qualche anno fa mi sono occupato già di questo frammento; adesso vorrei aggiungere alcune osservazioni e proporre nuove interpretazioni a proposito di alcuni dei problemi che il testo presenta.

Come accade di solito nel caso dei giochi di palla praticati nella Grecia antica<sup>2</sup>, la ricostruzione delle caratteristiche e regole del *phainínda* offre

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<sup>1</sup> Sulle due varianti del nome, vedi Kroll 1938, 1980. Ateneo (14f–15a) afferma esplicitamente che i due termini denotano lo stesso gioco (τὸ δὲ καλούμενον διὰ τῆς σφαίρας ἀρπαστὸν φαίνινδα ἐκαλεῖτο), ma alcuni studiosi moderni (al mio avviso senza argomenti convincenti) preferiscono accettare la testimonianza di Eustazio (1601,51, *ad Od.* 8.373), che li considera giochi diversi (ad esempio, Hurschmann 1998, 163–164). Si vedano Schneider 1912; Mendner 1959, soprattutto 519–520 n.9; Patrucco 1972, 338 ss.

<sup>2</sup> Sui giochi di palla nell'antica Grecia, vedi anche: Gardiner 1930, 229–238; Mendner 1956; Harris 1972, 75 ss., 80, 111; Patrucco 1972, 333 ss., 345 ss.; Weiler 1981, 209 ss.; García Romero 1992, 379–390; Crowther 1995 e 1997; Sullivan 2012. Non abbiamo potuto leggere il libro di Michele di Donato: *L'esercizio con la palla nell'Antichità classica*. Trapani 1965.



delle difficoltà<sup>3</sup>. Il nostro testo, tramandato da Ateneo 14f, è breve (appena sei versi, trimetri giambici), ma molto importante per la nostra conoscenza del gioco:

σφαῖραν λαβὼν  
 τοῖ μὲν διδοὺς ἔχαιρε, τὸν δ' ἔφευγ' ἄμα,  
 τοῦ δ' ἐξέκρουσε, τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν,  
 κλαγκταῖσι φωναῖς...  
 »ἔξω, μακράν, παρ' αὐτόν, ὑπὲρ αὐτόν, κάτω,  
 ἄνω, βραχεῖαν, †ἀπόδοσιν ἐγκαταστρέφει†«<sup>4</sup>

**3** τοῦ δ' ἐξέκρουσε »huius ex manibus pilam excussit« (Meineke) τοῦ CE: τὸν H. Mercurialis, *De arte gymn.* (1573) p. 85 A ἐξέκρουσε CE: ἐξεκρούσθη Ellis *AJPh* 6, 1885, 286: ἐξέκρουε Kock ἀνέστησε CE ἀνέστησεν obscurum Meinekio, suspectum Kaibelio, corruptum Kockio: τήνδ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν Becq de Fouquières: τοῦ δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν sc. τὴν ἐλπίδα (quod in lacuna versus sequentis fuerit) Edmonds

**4** »velut χρώμενος τοιαῖσδέ που« Kaibel

**6** ἀπόδοσιν ἐγκαταστρέφει C (omittit E): ἀπόδοσιν καταστρέφει Porson (»vellem sensum explicasset« Meineke): ἀπόδος· ἐγκαταστρέφει (»give me back a short ball«) Dobree (»quod verum videtur, nisi quod malim ἐγκαταστρέφου, quod aliquis ludentium monetur ut suo se loco teneat« Meineke): ἐγκατάστρεφε Edmonds: ἀπόδος ἐν καταστροφῇ Kaibel coll. Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* V 17,7 (cf. etiam II 9,4)

Nel frammento sono descritte le evoluzioni di un giocatore durante una partita di *phainínda*, un giocatore che perfino potrebbe essere il capo della squadra (πρέσβυς)<sup>5</sup>, se giudichiamo dalla sua capacità di comandare riflessa nel testo. Il passo permette di riconoscere parecchie delle caratteristiche principali del gioco, e conferma che, malgrado ignoriamo molte delle sue regole (non conosciamo come era il campo di gioco, né se esisteva una linea di marcatura in fondo campo, aldilà della quale la squadra attaccante doveva posare la palla, né se era permesso toccare la piccola<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gardiner 1930, 232–235. Sulle proposte di ricostruzione del gioco, alla bibliografia citata nelle note precedenti si possono aggiungere altri contributi: Hessel 1960, Wagner 1963.

<sup>4</sup> Ecco la nostra interpretazione del frammento: »prese la palla / e si divertiva a darla a uno [un compagno], ed a un altro [un rivale] allo stesso tempo sfuggiva; / dalle mani di un altro strappò la palla, e fece un placcaggio (?) a un altro / con voci stridenti.....: / >fuori! lunga! vicino a lui! sopra di lui! giù! / sù! corta! ritornala! / rovescia [un rivale]<<.

<sup>5</sup> Wagner 1963, 364.

<sup>6</sup> εἰκάζοιτο δ' ἂν εἶναι ἢ διὰ τοῦ μικροῦ σφαιρίου, ὃ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρπάζειν ὀνόμασται· τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς μαλακῆς σφαιρας παιδιὰν οὕτω τις καλοῖη (Polluce 9.105); ἀνδρῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν γυμνοὶ καὶ πάλης μετεχόντων, οἱ δὲ καὶ σφαίρῃ τῇ μικρᾷ παίζοντων τὴν φαινίνδα παιδιὰν ἐν ἡλίῳ μάλιστα (Clem. Al. *Paed.* 3.10.50). La palla utilizzata aveva lo stesso

palla con i piedi o soltanto con le mani, etc.), forse non sia sbagliato assimilare in termini generali il nostro gioco al rugby odierno<sup>7</sup> (con tutti i dubbii che possiamo avere sul particolare). Infatti, il *phainínda* potrebbe consistere basicamente nel confronto di due squadre; i giocatori della stessa squadra cercavano di passarsi la palla, mentre gli avversarii intendevano strappargliela. A mio avviso è questa la ricostruzione più probabile del gioco a partire dalle informazioni tramandate dalle fonti che si riferiscono con sicurezza al φαίνίνδα, ed è questa la ricostruzione sulla quale abbiamo basato la nostra interpretazione del frammento di Antifane. Tuttavia, è anche diffusa un'altra ricostruzione, secondo la quale nel *phainínda* non si confrontavano due squadre, ma si trattava di un gioco nel quale un giocatore, appostato al centro, si opponeva a parecchi rivali cercando di strappare loro la palla<sup>8</sup>.

Il nostro frammento riflette benissimo, credo, le caratteristiche principali del gioco, ricostruito come abbiamo detto. I versi 1–2 non offrono delle difficoltà. Il nostro giocatore prende la palla (σφαῖραν λαβών) e si diverte molto (ἔχαίρει) passandola a un compagno (τῷ μὲν διδοῦς) e allo stesso

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nome del gioco, *harpastón* (Athen., *loc. cit.*; cf. Artem. 1.55; *harpasta* in Mart. 4.19.6, 7.32.10, cf. 7.67.4).

<sup>7</sup> Gardiner 1930, 232; Mendner 1959, 518; Hessel 1960, 226; Patrucco 1972, 340. Cf. Crowther 1995, 370.

<sup>8</sup> Thuillier (1996, 89–91) offre la seguente ricostruzione del gioco, a partire da Sidonio Apollinare, *Epistole* V 17, 6–7 (un testo in cui non si dice in modo esplicito che il gioco descritto sia il φαίνίνδα-ἀρπαστόν): «les joueurs se formaient en cercle; l'un d'entre eux se trouvait au milieu du cercle, et sa tâche était double: d'une part, intercepter le ballon que s'envoyaient les autres joueurs, d'autre part éviter d'être touché par la balle que projetait sur lui un des participants. En cas de réussite, le joueur du milieu avait le droit d'être remplacé par un partenaire». Cf. anche Αλμπανίδης 2004, 279–280: «το παιχνίδι παίζονταν με περισσότερους απο δύο παίκτες. Δύο ή περισσότεροι παίκτες μεταβίβασαν τη σφαίρα ο ένας στον άλλο αποφεύγοντας τον ενδιάμεσο. Ο ενδιάμεσος (ο μεταξύ) στέκοταν μεταξύ των αντιπάλων και προσπαθούσε να εμποδίσει ή να ανακόψει την μεταβίβαση της σφαίρας»; Golden 2008, 131 s.v. *phaininda*: «a ball game in which a player tries to intercept a ball thrown between two other players». I partigiani di questa ricostruzione allegano anche un testo di Galeno (*Parv. pil.* 2) in cui si parla del «giocatore nel mezzo» (τὸν μεταξύ, corretto da Casaubon in τὴν μεταξύ) «la palla nel mezzo»; il testo originale nel manoscritto L è τὸ μεταξύ). A mio parere, queste ricostruzioni non si attagliano bene alle informazioni fornite dal resto delle fonti (le quali, secondo me, fanno pensare a un più intenso contatto fisico fra i giocatori), né a quello che possiamo leggere nel frammento di Antifane (almeno così come noi pensiamo che deve essere interpretato); ad esempio, dal nostro frammento sembra dedursi che nel gioco non si fronteggiava un giocatore contro un gruppo, ma due squadre l'una contro l'altra (il giocatore protagonista del frammento passa la palla a un compagno, sfugge a un rivale, strappa la palla dalle mani di un avversario, a un altro fa un placcaggio). Cf. Mendner 1959, 518–519 e soprattutto 522–524. Anche Hessel 1960, Wagner 1963, Weiler 1981, 212, Patrucco 1972, Gambato ed altri 2001, I 48 n.3, e molti altri studiosi ricostruiscono un gioco in cui si fronteggiano due squadre.

tempo evitando di essere preso, di soffrire il placcaggio da un rivale (τὸν δ' ἔφευγ' ἄμα). Precisamente le fonti antiche indicano che un tratto caratteristico del *pahininda* erano le finte, gli inganni che permettevano ad un giocatore di non essere preso dai rivali o di deludere le loro aspettative. Perfino gli eruditi antichi trovano in questa circostanza del gioco l'origine etimologica del nome φαίνινδα; così Polluce 9.105<sup>9</sup>: ἡ δὲ φαίνινδα εἴρηται ἢ ἀπὸ Φαίνινδου τοῦ πρώτου εὐρόντος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ φενακίζειν, ὅτι ἑτέρω προδειξαντες ἑτέρω ρίπτουσιν, ἐξαπατῶντες τὸν οἰόμενον<sup>10</sup>. Il rapporto etimologico che Polluce stabilisce fra il termine φαίνινδα ed il verbo φενακίζειν («ingannare») è difficilmente possibile, ma in ogni caso indica che le finte per ingannare i rivali erano parte importante del gioco. Anche i moderni studiosi vogliono trovare in quest'idea l'origine del termine φαίνινδα, benché non lo mettano in rapporto con il verbo φενακίζω «ingannare», ma con il verbo φαίνω «mostrare»; così, nel *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* di Pierre Chantraine<sup>11</sup> leggiamo s.v. φαίνω: «sorte de jeu de balle où l'on montre la balle à l'un pour la jeter à l'autre». A partire da queste testimonianze (e dalla sintassi della frase greca), penso che sia indubitabile che τὸν δ' ἔφευγ' ἄμα significa «e ad un altro [un rivale] allo stesso tempo sfuggiva» («weicht jenem aus zugleich», Mendner), e non «evitava di passare la palla a un'altro» («einem nicht zuspieren») <sup>12</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Etymologicum Magnum* 790.25–28 (Φενίνδα: ἀπὸ τοῦ φενακίνδα, κατὰ συγκοπήν. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν σφαιρίζοντων. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ φενακίζειν ἐν τῷ ρίπτειν, καὶ μὴ ρίπτειν ἐκεῖσε, ἀλλ' ἑτέρωσε. ἢ ἀπὸ Φενεστίου τοῦ ἐφευρόντος αὐτήν); schol. in Clem. Al. *Paed.* 3.10.50 (σφαῖραν κρατῶν τις τῶν παιζόντων παιδῶν, εἶτα ἑτέρω προδεικνύς ταύτην, ἑτέρω αὐτὴν ἐπέπεμπεν. ὠνόμασται δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ Φαίνινδου τοῦ πρώτου εὐρόντος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ φενακίζειν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀπατᾶν· καὶ γὰρ ἡπάτα ὁ ἑτέρω μὲν δείξας, ἑτέρω δὲ ἐπιδοῦς); Ath. 15a. Sull'etimologia di φαίνινδα, vedi Mendner 1959, 519 ss.; Wagner 1963, 357–358.

<sup>10</sup> «Il *pahininda* si chiama così a partire da Fainindo, il suo inventore, o a partire da *phenakízein* [«ingannare»], perché fanno credere che invieranno la palla a uno, ma la lanciano a un altro, deludendo le spettative di chi così lo crede». Cf. anche il lemma φαίνινδα nell'*Etimologico* di Orione: ἡ παιδιὰ τῆς σφαίρας, ὅταν αὐτὴν εἰς ἐνὶ δείξας, εἶτα λάθρα ρίπτῃ, καὶ ἐστὶ φανακίνδα καὶ συγκοπή φαίνινδα, ἀπὸ τοῦ φενακίζειν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀπατᾶν.

<sup>11</sup> Paris 1980. Vedi anche Hjalmar Frisk: *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg 1970, s.v. φαίνω: »Dazu...das Spieladv. φαίν-ινδα παίζειν »Ball spielen«; Robert Beekes: *Etymological dictionary of Greek*. Leiden & Boston 2010, s.v. φαίνω: »Hence...the jocular adverb φαίνινδα παίζειν »to play ball«.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Mendner 1959, 518–519. Tuttavia, gli scoli ad Hes. *Op.* 355 alludono ad un passo di Plutarco, in cui si faceva riferimento a giocatori che non passano la palla ai compagni: ὁ Πλούταρχος εἰκάζει τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὅσοι προαίρεσιν δωρητικὴν ἔχουσι, τοῖς σφαιρίζουσιν οἱ λαβόντες τὴν ὑπ' ἄλλοτρίων ῥηφείσαν οὔτε κατέχουσιν οὔτε ἀντιπέμψουσι τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι σφαιρίζειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀντιπέμψαι δυναμένοις.

I più difficili problemi testuali del nostro frammento si trovano nell'ultimo verso (evidentemente corrotto così come è stato tramandato dalla tradizione manoscritta di Ateneo), e anche nel verso terzo, in particolare nell'interpretazione delle azioni che sono descritte mediante le espressioni τοῦ δ' ἐξέκρουσε, e, soprattutto, τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν. Per quanto riguarda τοῦ δ' ἐξέκρουσε, ha avuto buon successo la proposta di Mercurialis<sup>13</sup> di correggere il testo tramandato dai manoscritti di Ateneo e leggere invece τὸν δ' ἐξέκρουσε. Con tale correzione il senso del testo sarebbe »un altro [un rivale] spinse, spostò con violenza« (»den rempelt er« traducono Mendner e Wagner)<sup>14</sup>. Tuttavia, a mio avviso questa correzione non è necessaria, e senz'altro possiamo mantenere il testo dei manoscritti, interpretato, come propone Meineke, nel senso »da un altro [un rivale] strappò (la palla) con violenza«<sup>15</sup>. Evidentemente, l'azione di »strappare la palla« sarebbe stata abituale nel gioco (d'accordo con la ricostruzione che abbiamo accettato); infatti, l'altro nome del gioco, ἀρπαστόν, appartiene ad una radice che significa »aggraffare« o »strappare«, e l'etimologia indicherebbe che un aspetto principale del gioco era catturare la palla strappandola da un rivale (cf. Polluce 9.105, etc.)<sup>16</sup>. D'altra parte, il verbo κρούω e i suoi composti sono termini abituali nelle descrizioni degli antichi »combat sports«<sup>17</sup>.

Ancora più difficile è l'interpretazione dell'espressione τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν (alla lettera: »ed a sua volta/di nuovo sollevò un altro«). I grandi editori dei frammenti dei poeti comici nel secolo XIX qualificano l'espressione come »obscurum« (Meineke), »suspectum« (Kaibel) e perfino »corruptum« (Kock). Anche in questo caso è stata proposta la modifica del testo tramandato ed è stato suggerito di sostituire la forma maschile del pronome τὸν δ' con la forma femminile τήνδ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν (Becq de

<sup>13</sup> Hieronymus Mercurialis: *De arte gymnastica*. Venezia 1573<sup>2</sup>, 85 A.

<sup>14</sup> Mendner 1959, 517 n.2; Wagner 1963, 364; Cf. Patrucco 1972, 340: »e da uno distolse«; Rodríguez-Noriega 1998: »se apartaba de uno«. Nel contesto della descrizione di una gara di lotta, ἐκκρούω si costruisce con l'accusativo in Hld. 10.32.2: τὰ στέρνα ἐκκρούσάμενος (Teagene stacca il petto del suo rivale da terra).

<sup>15</sup> »Huius ex manibus pilam excussit«, Meineke (*Fragmenta Comicoorum Graecorum*. Berlin 1839–1857, III 136). Anche Gardiner 1930, 233 (»he knocked it away from one«); Gulick 1961 (»from one he pushed it out of the way«); Turturro 1961 (»da un altro la deviò«); Harris 1972, 88 (»knocked it out of another's hands and picked up yet another player«); Gambato ed altri 2001 (»da uno la respinse«). Vedi, invece, Edmonds 1957–1961, II 286–287 (»C disappointed«, seguito da Sanchís, Montañés & Pérez 2007, 416 (»y a otro fintó«).

<sup>16</sup> Harris 1972, 89, suggerisce che questa denominazione potrebbe alludere ai placaggi sul giocatore che portava la palla.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Poliakov 1982, 121; García Romero 1995, 61; Doblhofer, Petermandl & Schachinger 1998, 80; Campagner 2001, 198–199.

Fouquières<sup>18</sup>), di modo che quello che il nostro entusiasta giocatore »solleva« sarebbe la palla (σφαῖρα) caduta a terra. Evidentemente raccogliere la palla caduta sarebbe stata una circostanza frequente nel gioco (Marziale qualifica la palla come »polverosa« in 4.19.6, *sive harpasta manu pulverulenta rapis*, e 7.32.10, *non harpasta vagus pulverulenta rapis*)<sup>19</sup>; ma la proposta di Becq de Fouquières mi sembra inaccettabile, perché dalla correzione risulta un greco, a mio parere, strano e persino scorretto: l'uso del pronome dimostrativo, τήνδε, mi sembra fuori di logica in questo contesto sintattico, e, senza dubbio, la correlazione τῷ μὲν ... τὸν δ' ... τοῦ δ' ... τὸν δ' ... obbliga a capire che l'oggetto del verbo ἀνέστησεν non è la palla ma il giocatore<sup>20</sup>. Ma, cosa significa esattamente »a sua volta/di nuovo sollevò un altro [giocatore]«? Wagner, che accetta per la prima parte del verso la correzione τὸν δ' ἐξέκρουσε (»un altro [un rivale] spinse, spostò con violenza«: »den rempelt er«), interpreta che, se il nostro giocatore ha spinto con violenza un avversario e lo ha rovesciato a terra, di seguito (dimostrando un bel *fair play*) lo aiuta a rialzarsi o almeno glielo permette («er liess (den Gegner) wieder aufstehen« è la sua interpretazione di τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν)<sup>21</sup>. Senz'altro sarebbe stata un'azione molto gentile, ma penso che, da una parte, la sua menzione disturberebbe la velocissima dinamica della descrizione (in un racconto così vivace e sintetico non penso che sia appropriato il riferimento ad un'azione non importante per lo sviluppo del gioco come permettere il rialzamento del rivale dopo la caduta); d'altra parte, penso che nel testo greco la correlazione dei pronomi τῷ μὲν ... τὸν δ' ... τοῦ δ' ... τὸν δ' ... invita chiaramente a concludere che ognuno di loro si riferisce ad un

<sup>18</sup> Becq de Fouquières 1869, 189 ss. (la fonte della mia citazione è Mendner 1959, 519 n.5).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. i vv.185–187 del poema laudatorio esametrico *Laus Pisonis*, del secolo I p.C., dove viene descritto un gioco di palla che da alcuni è stato identificato con il *phaininda*: *nec tibi movilitas minor est, si forte volantem / aut geminare pilam iuvat aut revocare cadentem / et non sperato fugientem reddere gestu* (»revocare cadentem: to recover the ball when its fall seems imminent«, Gladys Martin: *Laus Pisonis*. Thesis Cornell Univ. 1917, 80).

<sup>20</sup> Dalla loro parte, Desrousseaux & Astruc 1956, traducono »il en relevait un autre«, ma nella nota corrispondente commentano che »le nom même et les termes employés à propos du jeu rendent probable qu'il fallait disputer et enlever aux autres joueurs la balle tombée à terre«.

<sup>21</sup> Wagner 1963, 364. Altri studiosi credono che il giocatore rialzato da terra non è lo stesso di quello che prima è stato rovesciato dal protagonista del frammento: »e raised another player to his feet amid resounding shouts« (Gulick), »un altro rialzò, con voce stridente« (Turturro), »and picked up yet another player shouting all the time« (Harris), »y hacía levantarse de nuevo a otro con sonoros gritos« (Rodríguez-Noriega), »un altro lo fece alzare di nuovo« (Gambato ed altri), »y a otro hizo levantar de nuevo con gritos estridentes« (Sanchís, Montañés & Pérez).

giocatore diverso; invece, con l'interpretazione di Wagner i due ultimi pronomi si riferirebbero allo stesso giocatore.

A mio avviso, è molto più probabile un'altra interpretazione, secondo la quale non bisogna interpretare »sollevare un altro« (τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν) con un senso »fisico«, ma intendere che a »sollevare« il nostro giocatore con le sue »voci stridenti« è l'incoraggiamento di un compagno<sup>22</sup>: »und feuert einen wieder an mit wirren Rufen« (Mendner), »and urged on another with noisy cries« (Gardiner). Veramente è possibile intendere il verbo ἀνίστημι nel senso di »incoraggiare«. Non si tratta di un senso molto frequente, ma si trova già in passi omerici, come *Il.* 10.175f. (ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν Αἴαντα ταχὺν καὶ Φυλῆος υἶόν / ἀνστήσον) o *Il.* 15.64f. (Πηλεΐδew Ἀχιλλῆος· ὁ δ' ἀνστήσει ὄν ἐτάϊρον / Πάτροκλον).

Alcuni anni fa<sup>23</sup>, ho suggerito un'altra possibile interpretazione per l'espressione τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν. Ho proposto di interpretare in questo contesto il verbo ἀνίστημι nel senso di »sollevare il rivale (per in seguito farlo cadere)«, cioè, usando la terminologia sportiva odierna, »fare un placcaggio«. Questa tecnica di sollevare il rivale per rovesciarlo dopo, il cui impiego nella lotta sportiva conosciamo benissimo, sarebbe stata anche caratteristica del φαίνινδα, secondo la ricostruzione del gioco che abbiamo accettato. Si ricordi che le nostre fonti riferiscono che nel corso di una partita di φαίνινδα si vedevano »molte mosse al collo e molte controprese come quelle che si fanno nella lotta«, πολλοῖς μὲν τραχηλισμοῖς, πολλαῖς δ' ἀντιλήψεσι παλαιστικαῖς (Gal., *Parv. pil.* 2 = V 902–903 Kühn); e che »è molta la tensione e la fatica di lottare nel gioco della palla e la violenza delle prese al collo«, πολὺ δὲ τὸ σύντονον καὶ καματηρὸν τῆς περι τὴν σφαιριστικὴν ἀμίλλησ τὸ τε κατὰ τοὺς τραχηλισμοὺς ῥωμαλέον (Athen. 14f–15a; quest'ultima affermazione viene illustrata precisamente con la citazione del frammento di Antifane)<sup>24</sup>; e perfino Epitteto (2.5.17) afferma che il φαίνινδα »è una battaglia e non un gioco« (τοῦτο δὴ μάχη ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ παιδιά). La tecnica di sollevare il rivale per rovesciarlo dopo si trova raffigurata sovente nelle testimonianze iconografiche<sup>25</sup>, e anche descritta nei testi. Già nel racconto della gara, in cui si fronteggiano Aiace ed Ulisse durante i Giochi Funebri del canto 23 dell'*Iliade*, quest'azione si trova menzionata, e per fare riferimento a essa viene impiegato il verbo ἀν-αείρω (vv. 724, 725, 729); molti secoli dopo Luciano di Samosata (*Anach.* 24) descrive la stessa azione con un altro verbo composto dal preverbo ἀνα-

<sup>22</sup> »Incitavit« traduceva già Marquardt 1879, 16. »E quello chiamò di nuovo« è la versione di Patrucco 1972, 340; Edmonds intende »and gave fresh hope to D«, restituendo τὴν ἐλπίδα nella parte perduta del verso che segue.

<sup>23</sup> García Romero 1994.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Wagner 1963, 361.

<sup>25</sup> Vedi Patrucco 1972, fig. 131, 135, 136; Yalouris 1982, fig. 111, 112, 115; Poliakoff 1987, 42 ss.

il molto raro verbo ἀνα-βαστάζω. Forse un altro composto da ἀνα-, il verbo ἀν-ίστημι potrebbe descrivere la stessa azione nel fr. 231 di Antifane, benché non nel contesto di una gara di lotta, ma per fare riferimento a una tecnica paragonabile nel corso di una partita di φαίνινδα. Nel caso che ἀνίστημι significasse nel nostro frammento »fare un placcaggio« (descrivendo, per conseguenza, un'azione difensiva del gioco), Antifane avrebbe presentato nei vv.2–3 quattro azioni molto caratteristiche del φαίνινδα, e le avrebbe organizzate in costruzione parallela. Nel v.2 avrebbe fatto riferimento a due azioni che hanno luogo quando il giocatore protagonista porta la palla: la passa a un compagno (τῶι μὲν διδοῦς ἔχαίρει) ed evita di essere rosvesciato da un avversario (τὸν δ' ἔφηνγ' ἄμα); nel v.3 sarebbero descritte le due stesse azioni, ma adesso dal punto di vista difensivo, quando la squadra rivale ha il possesso della palla: il giocatore strappa la palla da un avversario (τοῦ δ' ἐξέκρουσε) e rovescia un altro con un placcaggio (τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν)<sup>26</sup>.

Non sfugge alla nostra attenzione che questa interpretazione che abbiamo suggerito presenta un problema: nei testi non abbiamo trovato nessun esempio di uso del verbo ἀνίστημι nel senso di »sollevare il rivale« in una gara di lotta; di modo che a sostegno della nostra ipotesi possiamo soltanto allegare la possibilità che Antifane abbia usato ἀνίστημι come variante dell'abituale (ed omerico) ἀναείρω<sup>27</sup>. Con maggiore sicurezza vorrei proporre una nuova soluzione per il molto problematico finale del testo di Antifane.

Gli ultimi due versi del frammento sono occupati da una lunga serie di ordini ed istruzioni del nostro giocatore ai suoi compagni<sup>28</sup>. Il finale del testo, tramandato soltanto da una parte della tradizione manoscritta di Ateneo, è indubbiamente corrotto, in quanto difficilmente conforme alla

<sup>26</sup> Si osservi il parallelismo dell'ordine delle parole fra τὸν δ' ἔφηνγ' ἄμα e τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν. Naturalmente, la nostra interpretazione parte dall'idea che il φαίνινδα era un gioco in cui si fronteggiavano due squadre, e non un gioco in cui un giocatore si fronteggiava contro un gruppo (cf. nota 8). Mendner (1959, 518–519) accetta anche la prima ricostruzione, ed interpreta come segue la successione delle azioni nel nostro frammento: »Diesem einen bereite es Vergnügen, den Ball einem schlechten Gegenüber zuzuspielen, um ihn hereinzulegen. Und demzufolge *meide* er denwurf an einen guten Spieler. Den dritten Mann halte er zum Narren, während er den vierten ermuntere aufzupassen, wohin der geworfene Ball fliege«.

<sup>27</sup> ἀνίστημι significa di solito »alzare chi è caduto per terra, o chi è seduto o a letto«; cf., in contesto sportivo, Joh. Chrys. in *Joan.* 14.4 (59, 96 Migne). Come termine tecnico sportivo, ἀνίστημι viene impiegato di abitudine nella voce media ed in senso intransitivo, esprimendo le azioni di risollevarsi dopo una caduta e mettersi in piedi davanti all'avversario (*Il.* 23.709; *Od.* 17.134 e 18.334; *Epict.* 4.9.15–16; *Luc. Anach.* 24; *AP* 11.136; anche la linea 1 di *POxy* III 466, etc.). Cf. Poliakoff 1982, 117, 167 (anche 101 ss.); García Romero 2009, 35–36.

<sup>28</sup> Vedi anche *Epict.* 2.5.16, che fa riferimento alle esortazioni βάλε e μὴ βάλης, »lancia« e »non lanciare«.

struttura metrica del trimetro giambico. Esiste consenso quasi generale fra gli studiosi nel leggere ἀπόδος, l'imperativo aoristo del verbo ἀποδίδωμι, che risulta adatto allo schema metrico e al contesto: »ritorna (la palla)«<sup>29</sup>. Più difficile da capire è il senso della forma verbale ἐγκαταστρέφει con cui si chiude il frammento nel testo trasmesso. Diverse interpretazioni sono state proposte; poiché nessuna di esse è riuscita ad ottenere un certo consenso<sup>30</sup>, tento di suggerire una nuova proposta, che inoltre non modifica quasi in nulla il testo tramandato. Ma vediamo prima le interpretazioni proposte finora.

1) Kaibel propose di correggere il testo leggendo ἀπόδος ἐν καταστροφῆι, a partire dalla frase *ac per catastropham saepe pronatus aegre de ruinoso flexu se recolligeret*<sup>31</sup>, la quale si trova nella descrizione di un gioco di palla che, otto secoli dopo Antifane, fa Sidonio Apollinare nelle sue *Epistole* (V 17, 6-7), un gioco che è stato identificato da alcuni con il φαίνινδα / ἀρπαστόν<sup>32</sup>. Con la correzione di Kaibel il senso del testo sarebbe »restituiscila in rovesciata!« (Patrucco), cioè, »rimanda la palla volgendoti bruscamente«<sup>33</sup>.

2) A sua volta Meineke dubitava se mantenere il testo tramandato oppure modificarlo leggermente leggendo un imperativo in voce media ἐγκαταστρέφου, »girati« (»dreh' dich dabei um!«, Mendner, che tuttavia preferisce ἐγκαταστρέφει nel testo greco)<sup>34</sup>; il giocatore protagonista del frammento esorterebbe così un compagno a girarsi e »rimanere nel luogo in cui si trova« (*quod aliquis ludentium monetur ut suo se loco teneat*). A nostro parere, quest'interpretazione presenta un problema lessicale: perché viene impiegato il verbo composto ἐγ-κατα-στρέφομαι e non invece la forma semplice στρέφομαι (o in ogni caso ἐνστρέφομαι), »girarsi«? cioè,

<sup>29</sup> Così Mendner (»gib ab!«), Edmonds (»return!«).

<sup>30</sup> »Alle bisherigen Deutungversuche sind unbefriedigend« (Wagner 1963, 365).

<sup>31</sup> »(un giocatore) per causa di un giro brusco sovente restava chino verso terra e a malapena si rialzava da quella posizione squilibrata che rischiava rovinarlo«.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. nota 8.

<sup>33</sup> Così Desrousseaux & Astruc (»livre en renversement!«), Gulick (»pass it back in the scrimmage«), Patrucco (»restituiscila in rovesciata!«), Gambato ed altri (»rimandala indietro«, affermandosi espressamente che si traduce secondo l'emendamento di Kaibel).

<sup>34</sup> »Meineke...*tuo te loco tene*. Mir scheint eher die Aufforderung, sich dabei umzuwenden, ein Bedrängen durch Gegner anzudeuten, so daß man an unser »Hintermann!« denken könnte« (Mendner 1959, 518 n.2). Condividiamo l'opinione di Meineke che per questo valore intransitivo aspettiamo la voce media del verbo (cf. Campagner 2001, 298–299). La stessa osservazione vale anche per la proposta (non molto convincente) di Wagner di leggere un infinitivo con valore imperativo, nella voce attiva (ἐγκαταστρέφειν): »»sich darin umwenden oder umdrehen«, d. h. im Spielfeld die Plätze wechseln. Wie bei uns nach der Halbzeit die Mannschaften die beiden Hälften des Spielfeldes vertauschen,...«.



quale sarebbe in questo contesto il valore del preverbo *κατα-*, che significa »giù«?

3) In terzo luogo, Dobree preferisce mantenere il testo tramandato, con il verbo nella voce attiva, *ἐγκαταστρέφει* (penso che sarebbe meglio *ἐγκατάστρεφε*, come legge Edmonds); l'oggetto del verbo sarebbe la palla e il preverbo *κατα-* avrebbe il significato »indietro, di ritorno« (»give me back a short ball«)<sup>35</sup>. A mio avviso, l'interpretazione di Dobree pone diversi problemi: a) Il preverbo *κατα-*, infatti, può significare »in dietro, di ritorno«, ad esempio in *κατέρχομαι* (LSJ, s.v. II: »come back, return«)<sup>36</sup>; ma io non ho trovato nessun esempio chiaro di questo uso per il verbo *καταστρέφω*<sup>37</sup>. b) Se *ἐγκατάστρεφε* significa »give me back the ball«, quale sarebbe la differenza fra le azioni espresse dai verbi *ἀντίδος* ed *ἐγκατάστρεφε*, se entrambi designano il fatto di rimandare la palla al compagno?

In tutte le interpretazioni che abbiamo commentato finora (eccetto in quella di Meineke), l'oggetto non esplicito del verbo *ἐγκαταστρέφω* si considera che sia la palla. E questa è forse la radice del problema. Io propongo di intendere che l'oggetto di *ἐγκαταστρέφω* non sia la palla, ma, ancora una volta, un giocatore rivale: »rovescialo (*κατα-στρέφω*) e lascialo caduto (*ἐγ-*)«. Già abbiamo commentato che le fonti affermano che nel *φαινίβδα* venivano impiegate tecniche caratteristiche della *πάλη*, e molti testi mostrano che il verbo *στρέφω* e i suoi composti sono, senza dubbio, termini tecnici della lotta sportiva.

Infatti, *στρέφω* è la seconda parola che appare nel catalogo di termini tecnici della lotta (*παισιμάτων ὀνόματα*) di Giulio Polluce (3.155)<sup>38</sup>. Secondo Roberto Campagner<sup>39</sup>, *στρέφω* »connota un brusco cambiamento di posizione di un lottatore, che volgendosi di schiena, atterra l'avversario«.

Anche diversi composti del verbo *στρέφω* appartengono al lessico tecnico sportivo<sup>40</sup>. Il composto *κατα-στρέφω* si trova attestato in contesti che, penso, non lasciano dubbi sul suo carattere di termine tecnico della

<sup>35</sup> Cf. »back play!« (Edmonds), »rimandala indietro!« (Turturro), »put down a short return« (Harris). Cf. l'espressione *geminare pilam iuvat* nel riferito testo della *Laus Pisonis* (»to repeat the flight of the ball, i.e. to send back the ball«, Martin, *Laus Pisonis*, 80).

<sup>36</sup> Revuelta 1994.

<sup>37</sup> LSJ (s.v., IIIb) cita un passo di Aristotele in cui il verbo potrebbe essere usato con valore intransitivo significando »return«.

<sup>38</sup> ἄγγειν, στρέφειν, ἀπάγειν, λυγίζειν, ἀγκυρίζειν, ῥάσσειν, ἀνατρέπειν, ὑποσκελίζειν, καὶ πλαγιάζειν δὲ καὶ κλιμακίζειν παισιμάτων ὀνόματα. »(Ver)drehen« è la traduzione proposta per *στρέφειν* in Doblhofer, Petermandl & Schachinger 1998, 305.

<sup>39</sup> Campagner 2001, 298–299, s.v. Cf. Poliakoff 1982, 140–141: »in the palaestra it denotes a twist or turn«; Gardiner 1930, 189; Doblhofer, Petermandl & Schachinger 1998, 416, includono *στρέφω* nella sezione »Wendung, Verdrehung«.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Poliakoff 1982, 140–141 e 157; García Romero 1996, 89–90, 93, 95–96.

lotta sportiva<sup>41</sup>. Nei vv.93–96 della *N.4* (ode dedicata a Timasarco di Egina, vincitore nella lotta) Pindaro fa la lode dell'allenatore Melesia attraverso una serie di metafore della lotta sportiva, e tra esse impiega il verbo στρέφω<sup>42</sup>: οἶον αἰνέων κε Μελησίαν ἔριδα στρέφοι, / ῥήματα πλέκων, ἀπάλαιστος ἐν λόγῳ ἔλκειν, / μαλακὰ μὲν φρονέων ἐσλοῖς, / τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἔφεδρος. Ebbene, per chiarire l'espressione ἔριδα στρέφοι, gli scolii usano il verbo καταστρέφω, in contesto, dunque, sportivo, nel senso di «rovesciare l'invidia»: μόνον ἄν τις αἰνέων τὸν Μελησίαν, τὰς ἀπαντώσας ἔριδας καταστρέφοι καὶ καταγωνίζοιτο, ἤγουν περιγένοιτο τῶν ἐρίδων<sup>43</sup>. Non per caso, nella collana di testi sulla lotta sportiva compilata da Georg Doblhofer, Werner Petermandl e Ursula Schachinger<sup>44</sup> il verbo στρέφω nel v.93 del passo pindarico viene tradotto con «nieder-ringen», una parola che, se non sbaglio, è l'esatta equivalenza in tedesco per il greco κατα-στρέφω. Nel suo commentario al passo di Aristofane al quale faremo riferimento subito, Campagner<sup>45</sup> afferma che καταστρέφω «è un verbo tecnico della lotta» che «indica un movimento con un'improvvisa torsione della schiena per rovesciare l'avversario, agganciandolo»; propone per esso la traduzione «rovesciare», e considera che la mossa definita dal verbo καταστρέφω (cioè, la tecnica che si chiamerebbe καταστροφή) è quella che appare rappresentata in un bronsetto dall'Egitto, del secolo II-I a.C. (Atene, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, AIG 2548).

Anche in uso metaforico, ritroviamo il verbo καταστρέφω in *Ar. Eq.* 260 ss. In una lunghissima sequenza di versi che sviluppano una metafora sportiva attraverso termini tecnici della lotta, nel v.274 Aristofane impiega l'espressione τὴν πόλιν καταστρέφει («rovescia la città», come un lottatore rovescia l'avversario), che viene glossata dagli scolii con un'altra parola molto caratteristica dei «combat sport»: καταστρέφεις] καταβάλλεις.

E già in senso proprio e non metaforico, καταστρέφω definisce una tecnica della lotta sportiva («tranne che nessuno ti rovesci») nel verso finale di un epigramma satirico di Lucillio (*AP* 11.163)<sup>46</sup>:

<sup>41</sup> Naturalmente, i verbi composti con il preverbio κατα- sono frequenti termini tecnici del lessico della lotta, dai poemi omerici (καταπαλαίω, καταβάλλω, καταπίπτω, etc. etc.).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Lattmann 2010, 134–135: «(στρέφειν) bezeichnet einen Standortwechsel zum Niederwurf des Gegners»; Willcock 1995, 109; Henry 2005, 48.

<sup>43</sup> Gli *scholia vetera* impiegano nella loro glossa altri due termini tecnici della palestra, entrambi composti con il preverbio κατα-: μόνον ἄν τις ἐπαινῶν τὸν Μελησίαν, τὰς ἀπαντωμένας ἔριδας παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρέφοι καὶ καταπαλαίοι καὶ καταγωνίζοιτο, ἤγουν περιγίνοιτο τῶν ἐρίδων.

<sup>44</sup> Doblhofer, Petermandl & Schachinger 1998, 260.

<sup>45</sup> Campagner 2001, 183 s.v. Rinvia a Decker 2012, 176 fig. 28; cf. anche Patrucco 1972, fig. 141, 142, 143.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Robert 1969, 243.

πρὸς τὸν μάντιν Ὀλυμπον Ὀνήσιμος ἦλθ' ὁ παλαιστής  
καὶ πένταθλος Ὑλας καὶ σταδιεὺς Μενεκλῆς,  
τίς μέλλει νικᾶν αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα θέλοντες  
γνῶναι. κάκεῖνος τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐνιδῶν,  
»πάντες –ἔφη– νικᾶτε, μόνον μὴ τις σὲ παρέλθῃ  
καὶ σὲ καταστρέψῃ καὶ σὲ παρατροχάσῃ«.

Cf. anche gli scholia rec. ad Soph. *OT* 386: ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ  
'ὑπελθῶν' ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν παλαιόντων λέγεται, ὅταν τοὺς  
ἀντιπάλους ὑπέρχωνται λαθόντες, ἵνα εὐχειρώτους οὕτω  
ποιήσαντες καταστρέψωσι.

Insomma, penso che, interpretando il doppio composto ἐγκαταστρέφειν come termine del lessico della lotta, che avrebbe come oggetto non la palla ma un giocatore rivale, il testo si capisce bene, e anche la forma verbale si può capire benissimo in ognuno dei suoi componenti: »rovesciare l'avversario (στρέφειν), di modo che cada (κατα-) e rimanga per terra (ἐν-)«. Nel caso di verbi paragonabili sono ben attestati i doppi composti con i preverbi ἐν- e κατα-, come ἐγκαταπίπτω o ἐγκαταρρίπτω (cf. Hld. 9.5, in contesto agonistico); ed il verbo ἐγκαταστρέφειν significa »gettare giù« (benché non sia in contesto agonistico) in due testi cristiani del secoli IV–V: Basil. Caes., *Serm.* 11 = *PG* XXXI.97, col 637B (πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐμπρήσας δι' αὐτῶν ὁ ἐχθρὸς τῶ αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ παρέδωκε, πνευματικῆ δῆθεν ἀγάπῃ εἰς τὸ τῶν πενταπολιτῶν μισαρὸν βάραθρον ἐγκαταστρέψας αὐτούς) e Gennadius I, *Fragm. in Epistulam ad Romanos*, p. 359, 15 Staab, *ad Rom.* 1.28 (οὐ τοῦτο τοίνυν φησίν, ὅτιπερ αὐτούς ὁ θεὸς ἐγκατέστρεψε τοῖς βδελυροῖς τούτοις τολμήμασιν)<sup>47</sup>. Inoltre, con la nostra proposta riparirebbe nell'esortazione del nostro giocatore ai suoi compagni nei versi 5–6 lo stesso schema che abbiamo trovato già nel verso terzo (e anche nel secondo): pasare la palla al compagno e fare un placcaggio al rivale.

Per concludere, se veramente il gioco chiamato φαίνινδα / ἀρπαστόν aveva delle similitudini generali con il rugby odierno, e se Campagner ha ragione quando suggerisce che la tecnica denominata καταστρέφειν è quella illustrata dalla scena di lotta illustrata dal bronzetto egiziano, non sarebbe stato affatto strano che durante una partita di φαίνινδα si potesse vedere una scena simile a quella rappresentata nella statuetta; dopo tutto, essa assomiglia abbastanza ad azioni abituali nel rugby odierno (Taf. 1, fig. 1), e forse anche sarebbero abituali in una partita dell'antico φαίνινδα.

<sup>47</sup> Ho avuto conoscenza di questi due passi per cortesia del prof. Conti Bizzarro, a cui ringrazio anche da cuore per la sua correzione del mio testo italiano e per tante osservazioni che hanno migliorato questo lavoro.

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## An Overlooked Letter of [Diogenes] and the Role of the Palaistrophylax

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In a short, apocryphal letter (Hercher 1873, no. 35), we find the story of Diogenes of Sinope meeting a palaistrophylax in Miletus. This overlooked letter enriches our understanding of the palaistrophylax. First, it supports the position that the palaistrophylax was a slave in the earlier Greek period. Second, it suggests that the palaistrophylax would have been stationed inside the gymnasium with the duty of watching over the activities and patrons. Third, while considering the palaistrophylax as a training partner is supported, it is more likely he was an assistant trainer. Finally, I conclude that the palaistrophylax was responsible for assessing fines and flogging patrons who acted out of line when the gymnasiarch was not present.

In the broad spectrum of events and activities that constitute Greek sport, scholars do not typically promote tumbling and acrobatics as genuine forms of ancient athletics.<sup>1</sup> For Archaic and Classical Greece, tumblers are more associated with dance, spectacle, or recreational pastimes, lacking agonistic context. The traditional point of view is exemplified by Stephen Miller, who claims that while acrobatics were popular, they were »usually presented as children’s entertainment« – that is, disassociated from the admirable male athlete’s pursuit of *arete*.<sup>2</sup> However, the extreme physicality of the activity demands a level of training, investiture of time, and development of the body that are all comparable to the athlete’s. Some re-evaluative questions arise: was tumbling always nonathletic »entertainment« or could its performance have different forms and functions, as in modern times? If so, how were these variously represented? In fact, material and textual evidence suggest that ancient tumbling actualized a convergence of dance, spectacle, and sport, and that the nature of acrobatic movements differed depending on the context in which they were displayed. In spectacular dance sensual poses, contortions of the body, and displays of flexibility, almost exclusively performed by low-class women, signify ignominious entertainment; such manoeuvres are distinct from the

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<sup>1</sup> The exception is Minoan bull-leaping: for this practice see Scanlon 1999, German 2005, Shapland 2013, and Rutter 2014, all with useful bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Miller 2004, 167. Regarding Egyptian sport, N. Gardner 1930, 4 stated that »with acrobatic performances we come somewhat nearer to athletics«; cf. his conclusion that scenes of Minoan bull-leaping were closer to »circus performance« than sport (10–11).

actions of male tumblers, where physical power is stressed and portrayals connote admiration for the requisite skill and the civic value of the aerosaltant.<sup>3</sup> In these situations tumbling has much more to do with athletics than has been previously assumed.

For a Greek gymnasium to function effectively, there must have been several employees or slaves to carry out the day-to-day duties of cleaning, preparing the facilities for visitors, taking admission, and training patrons. The Beroea gymnasium decree (*EKM Beroea* 1, ca. 175–70 BCE),<sup>4</sup> one of the most detailed accounts about the administration of the gymnasium still in existence, gives a useful description of the variety of roles in a typical gymnasium. The gymnasiarch and his three assistants are in charge of the whole operation; *paidotribai* and *paidagogoi* train the youth; *hieropoioi* during festival time help collect ticket revenue and carry out the rites; from among the young patrons, *lampadarchas* provide oil; judges, *brabeutas*, are appointed for the festival games; and finally, a *palaistrophylax*, whose jobs are not enumerated but are to be garnered from the sale of the *gloios*. The duties of this final position are a much less clear than the other officials, and although the *palaistrophylax* is mentioned elsewhere in Greek literature, inscriptions, and papyri, it is not entirely clear what job he performed in Beroea, or elsewhere. Despite an increase in the past decade or two of interest the role of sports and gymnasia played in shaping Greek culture, this particular official of the gymnasium has gone largely overlooked.

In what follows, I will examine the evidence for the *palaistrophylax*, advancing an important piece of evidence that appears to have been overlooked in recent scholarship. First, in this brief introduction, I shall give an overview of how scholars have defined the role of the *palaistrophylax* up to this point. Next, I shall introduce an overlooked letter attested to Diogenes of Sinope, which relates an episode between the Cynic and a *palaistrophylax* in Miletus. After a brief discussion on the letter's validity, I shall list a number of conclusions that we can draw about the *palaistrophylax* with the additional evidence of [Diogenes'] letter. These conclusions will provide additional insight not only into the role of the *palaistrophylax*, but also give scholars a better understanding of the administration of the Greek gymnasium.

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<sup>3</sup> It is important here to make a distinction in terminology; while a tumbler might perform movements that are ›acrobat‹ in that they exhibit extreme gymnastic adeptness, the performer is not necessarily an ›acrobat‹. ›Acrobatics‹ implies spectacular entertainment comparable to circus performances. Cf. the difference between *kybisteter* and *thaumato-poiios* outlined below.

<sup>4</sup> Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993 provide a detailed commentary and French translation.

For understanding and defining the role of *palaistrophylax*, only a little textual evidence remains. The older *LSJ* Greek lexicon editions give the definition as a »superintendent of a wrestling-school«, but subsequent to an article by Kent Rigsby (1986) examining the story of Rhianos, the 1996 supplement to the *LSJ* now gives the definition as an »attendant in a wrestling school«. Based on the etymology of the term, we can assume that a *palaistrophylax* would be involved in guarding the gymnasium to some extent, but that was not the entire extent of the office. The *Suda* entry on Rhianos, the former slave who would become a well-known Hellenistic poet, states that he was a guard of the *palaistra* on his native Crete before rising to prominence.<sup>5</sup> Aelian (*VH* 8.14) tells the story of Diogenes of Sinope, who, when dying, crawled up to a bridge and asked the *palaistrophylax* of a nearby gymnasium to throw him in the river when he stopped breathing. From this anecdote, we can assume that the *palaistrophylax* would have been in charge of menial duties (probably not fitting for an elected gymnasiarch), perhaps cleaning up the trash – Diogenes’ philosophy asserts that a dead body has no value and should be treated as rubbish. In the Hippocratic treatise *Epidemiae* (6.8.30), we hear the story of a *palaistrophylax* who was wrestling an opponent too strong for him and hit his head hard, a blow which resulted in his death three days later. From this anecdote, we might attribute to the *palaistrophylax* the duty of sparring partner, unless perhaps the wrestling was unrelated to his position (though this would seem to undercut any irony we might find in the story).

Further attestations of the office do not shed light on the duty of the *palaistrophylax*, but do illuminate the type of people who held the position. In his recent monograph, *Greek Sport and Social Status* (2008, 61–67), Mark Golden discusses the social standing of the *palaistrophylax* throughout Greek history and its role in the gymnasium, advancing a large number of papyri fragments and inscriptions that mention the *palaistrophylax*. In addition to the above mentioned stories of Rhianos, Diogenes, and the Beroea decree, Golden cites the evidence of the sale of a slave in Delphi, whose successor served the gymnasium for some number of years later (*ID* 290.112–15, 316.117, & 338Ab.67). In another inscription from Delphi, the lack of patronymic also points to the *palaistrophylax* being a slave (*ID* 372A.99). In Sparta during the first century CE, we see *palaistrophylakes* as assistant *hyperetountas* in the celebration of the Leonidea (*IG* 5.1 18) and they are found mentioned alongside catalogues of ephebes in Arcadia (*IG* 5.2 47, 48, 53, 54). On this evidence, Golden comes to the conclusion that early on *palaistrophylakes* were probably slaves, but by the Roman period *palaistrophylakes* were appointed positions for free persons.

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<sup>5</sup> This case is discussed in depth by Rigsby 1986, 350–55.



## [Diogenes'] letter to Sopolis

At the end of his discussion, Golden compiles a nearly exhaustive list of evidence for the office of the *palaistrophylax* (2008: 66–67).<sup>6</sup> He cites the bulk of the evidence for the office of the *palaistrophylax*, but I can add two attestations to this list. First, *SB* 14710 (ca. 266 CE) from Hermopolis contains a heavily restored instance of the term, *παλαιστ]ροφύλακ(ος)* (1.5). The context is mostly lost, but it appears in a list of monetary transactions and does not provide much more insight into the office itself. The second and most important omission to Golden's list of evidence for the *palaistrophylax* comes from a Hellenistic letter attributed to Diogenes of Sinope (ca. 404–323 BCE), most readily available in Hercher's *Epistolographi Hellenikoi* (1873). I reprint here this curious letter ([Diog.] 35 in Hercher):<sup>7</sup>

1. Σωπόλιδι. Ἔκον εἰς Μίλητον τῆς Ἰωνίας, διαπορευόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν παρήκουσα παίδων μὴ εὖ ῥαψφδοῦντων. προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ διδασκάλῳ ἠρόμην αὐτόν »διὰ τί κἰθαρίζεις οὐ διδάσκεις;« ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο »ὅτι οὐκ ἔμαθον.« »εἶτα« ἔφην »πῶς τοῦτο μὲν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔμαθες, οὐ διδάσκεις, γράμματα δέ, ἃ μὴ ἔμαθες, σὺ διδάσκεις;« πάλιν δὲ προσελθὼν μικρὸν εἴσειμι εἰς τὸ τῶν νέων γυμνάσιον, θεασάμενος δὲ ἐν τῷ αἰθρίῳ κακῶς σφαιρίζοντά τινα, προσελθὼν τῷ παλαιστροφύλακι »πόσον« εἶπον »ἀποτεταγμένον ἐστὶν ἐπιτίμιον κατὰ τοῦ ἀλειψαμένου καὶ μὴ σφαιρίσαντος;« ὁ δὲ »ὀβολός« ἔφη. »ἐκεῖνος ὁ νεανίας« ἔφην δείξας τὸν ἄνθρωπον »μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐπιτιμίου αὐτῷ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐμπαίζει.«

2. ἀποθέμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν στλεγγίδα ἐκλύσας παρελθὼν ἠλειψάμην, καὶ οὐ διαγίγνεται χρόνος συχνὸς καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον εὐθέως παρελθὼν τις εἷς τῶν νέων, σφόδρα ἀστεῖος τὴν ὄψιν, ἀγένειος, προσαναδίδωσί μοι τὴν χεῖρα, διαπειρώμενος εἰ ἐπίσταμαι τὰ παλαιστρικά. κἀγὼ ἕως μὲν τινος προσεποιούμην ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς μὴ εἰδέναι· ὡς δὲ ἐπηπειλήσε καταναλίσκειν με, ἠρξάμην συνανατρίβεσθαι αὐτῷ νομίμως. εἶτα ὁ γνῶμων μοί πῶς ἀνίσταται (τὸ γὰρ ἕτερον ὄνομα δέδια διὰ τοῦς πολλοὺς εἶπεν), καὶ ὧδε μὲν τὸ μεράκιον ὑπ' αἰδοῦς καταλιπὼν με ἄπεισιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐστὼς ἐτριβόμην πρὸς ἑμαυτόν.

<sup>6</sup> Given in an appendix.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek is not polished, as Emeljanow 1967, 167–71, notes in his brief commentary on the letter. I found Benjamin Fiore's translation in Malherbe 1977, 145–47, a useful reference, to my knowledge the only published English translation of the letter.

3. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσεῖδὲ με ὁ παλαιστροφύλαξ, προσελθὼν ἐπέπληττεν, κἀγὼ πρὸς αὐτόν “εἶτα σὺ παρεῖς τῷ νόμῳ μάχεσθαι νῦν ἐμοὶ διαφέρει; εἰ μὲν ἔθος ἦν τὸ καταλειφομένους παταρμικὸν ὀσφραίνεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἤσχαλλες, εἴ τις τῶν ἀλειφομένων ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐπάρνυτο· νυνὶ δὲ ἄχθη, εἴ τις καλοῦ συνανακυλιόμενου αὐτόματος ἐστύθη; ἢ δοκεῖς τὰς μὲν ῥίνας ὅλως ἐπὶ τῆ φύσει εἶναι, ταυτὶ δ’ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆ προαιρέσει; οὐ παύση” ἔφην “τοιαῦτα σφαδάζων πρὸς τοὺς εἰσιόντας; εἰ δὲ σοὶ τίς ἐστι λόγος ἵνα μὴ γίγνοιτο τοῦτ’ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, μεταίρεις ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τοὺς νέους. ἀλλ’ οἶει, ὅτι δυνήσεται σοι ὁ νόμος, ἐὰν συνανακυλίηται τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰ μειράκια, δεσμοὺς καὶ κύφονας τῆ στυτικῆ φύσει περιβαλεῖν;” ταῦτ’ ἐμοῦ λέξαντος καὶ ὁ παλαιστροφύλαξ ὄχχετ’ ἀπιών, κἀγὼ ἀναλαβὼν τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν πήραν ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

Though the letter purports to be written by Diogenes of Sinope during his lifetime, the collection is clearly apocryphal, written over the course of several centuries and known to Diogenes Laertius when he composed his life of Diogenes (ca. 3rd century CE).<sup>8</sup> The exact age of the letters in this collection is up for debate. J. F. Marcks in 1883 dated the whole collection to the 1st century BCE. Victor Emeljanow (1968: 3–6) asserts based on the textual tradition that the collection of letters were written in at least two strands, with the earliest set (letters 1–29) belonging to the 1st century BCE and the rest (including our letter here) in 2nd century CE, primarily due to the high number of post-Hellenistic words. I feel comfortable dating the collection as Emeljanow does.

Though the authorship of the letter clearly does not belong to 4<sup>th</sup> century Diogenes the Cynic, it still stands as reliable evidence from antiquity for attitudes about the *palaistrophylax*. The tone is perhaps a little salty for the refined taste, but the crass behavior exhibited by the *persona Diogenes* is in line with what we know of Diogenes from his biography in Laertius. That he carried a *tribon* and a *pera* as his only possessions is attested by Laertius (6.22) and others, as well as his contempt for the gymnasia and love of proper recitation (6.30–13). Diogenes appears masturbating in the agora in Laertes 6.46: ἐπ’ ἀγορᾶς ποτε χειρουργῶν, »εἶθε«, ἔφη, »καὶ τὴν

<sup>8</sup> We are dealing with a number of Diogenes here; for sake of convenience, I will refer from here on out to Diogenes of Sinope as »Diogenes«, the fictional author as »[Diogenes]«, and Diogenes Laertius as »Laertius«. References to the »letter« are to [Diogenes] 35. Boissonade 1818 first pointed out that the letters were written by someone other than Diogenes himself. Capelle 1896 distinguished four different authors. See also Schafstaedt 1892, von Fritz 1926, Malherbe 1977, 14–18, and Emeljanow 1968. Diog. Laert. 6.80 relates that there were a series of letters attributed to Diogenes; Diog. Laert. 6.23 appears to quote [Diog.] 16 in relating Diogenes »tale of a tub«.

κουλίαν ἦν παρατρίψαντα μὴ πεινῆν.«<sup>9</sup> Of course, Diogenes was well known as an adversative character, and the blunt repartee in this letter is in keeping with that tradition.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the tone of the letter should deter us from using it as useful textual evidence. The description in the letter of the *palaistrophylax* and teacher probably reflect a genuine effort on the part of the author to depict everyday people going about their business, however poorly they may be executing it. For the rhetorical position of the narrator to function effectively, the audience must conceive of the antagonists as genuine and normal individuals, perhaps not entirely worthy of such vicious scorn.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, I believe that the author has depicted the *palaistrophylax* as an ancient audience would expect, so we can conclude that the actions he performs are not anything other than what a typical audience would expect of someone in his position.

### The role of the *palaistrophylax*

Clearly, in this letter we can see a bit more about the role of the *palaistrophylax* than most of the other fragmentary evidence affords. In what follows, I give a list of tentative conclusions that can be drawn about the *palaistrophylax* in light of other evidence.

1. *The palaistrophylax is found inside the gymnasium*, perhaps near the entrance. The line of interest is εἴσειμι εἰς τὸ τῶν νέων γυμνάσιον (35.1). After entering, Diogenes spies the boy playing ball in the courtyard and subsequently confronts the *palaistrophylax*. The narrator makes it clear that he enters inside the gymnasium with the combination of εἴσειμι and εἰς + location. I highlight this conclusion because of the story of Diogenes' death given in Aelian (*VH*: 8.14):

ἐαυτὸν φέρων μόνον ἔρριψε κατὰ τινος γεφυρίου πρὸς γυμνασίῳ ὄντος, καὶ προσέταξε τῷ παλαιστροφύλακι, ἐπειδὴν αἴσθηται ἀποπεπνευκότα αὐτόν, ῥῖψαι ἐς τὸν Ἰλισσόν.

From this passage of Aelian we might surmise that the *palaistrophylax* was stationed *outside* the door, where he could see from a casual glance whether

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 6.17–20, [Diogenes] *Epp.* 42 & 44. Krueger 1996 has a useful discussion on the bawdiness of Diogenes.

<sup>10</sup> For more on Diogenes and his antagonism, see Navia 1998.

<sup>11</sup> Mahlerbe 1977, 15, refers to the letters as »Cynic propoganda«, a position which would support the contrast between everyday activity and the Cynic ideal.

the old man had ceased breathing. However, as the letter clearly states that the *palaistrophylax* was inside, we might read the Aelian passage in a different way: because he was always at the gymnasium as a permanent fixture, he would see, in the process of coming and going, the dead corpse of Diogenes. It is also possible, again, that the duties of the *palaistrophylax* kept him going in and out of the gymnasium, perhaps serving in some fashion as a doorkeeper, or having responsibilities around the entrance to the gymnasium. Again, it seems likely that the *palaistrophylax* was responsible for janitorial services, and hence the proper authority to deal with the disposal of »trash« into the river. Cleaning was certainly something a gymnasium would need, and it makes sense that a particular person would be assigned as janitor.

If the *palaistrophylax* served a janitorial role, it might explain the reference to his procurement in the Beroea decree. As Harry W. Pleket (2000, 636) has emphasized, the services of the gymnasium were certainly not free. The gymnasiarch most certainly provided some funds,<sup>12</sup> but the bulk of the funding likely came from the patrons themselves. In the Beroea decree, the *lampadarchas* are drawn from the boys, and during the Hermaia festival all the patrons contribute at least a drachma. The revenue for the *palaistrophylax* is to come from the sale of *gloios*, indicating that it is permanent position. Would it not make sense that the *palaistrophylax* would collect the *gloios* as part of his janitorial service, thereby providing his own keep? Such a role would keep the *palaistrophylax* coming and going, explaining his position both inside the gymnasium but aware of the surrounding area.

I don't believe it possible to locate a particular room the *palaistrophylax* would inhabit. It seems unlikely that the author of the letter is actually familiar with the gymnasia at Miletus. It is true that the provenance of the letter is unknown, and there is no way to tell definitively. The wandering philosopher is a common trope in literature of the time, and a reflection of fact, so it is likely that the author used this topos for the letter.<sup>13</sup> However, it is true that Miletus had gymnasium for ephebes, and perhaps another for *paides*, by the start of the second century BCE.<sup>14</sup> We might connect the gymnasium of the *neoi*, as mentioned in the letter, with that of the ephebes. However, it was common for there to be multiple gymnasia in a city the size of Miletus, so the author could safely assume that there was a specific gymnasium for ephebes without actually being familiar with the city, and

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<sup>12</sup> Forbes 1933, 21–22: »In late Hellenistic times and throughout Roman times the gymnasiarchy resolved itself into a mere matter of supplying oil to those who exercised in the gymnasium. [...] Furnishing oil was recognized as a liturgy, and gymnasiarchs who were in actuality only ἐλαιοθέται may be called liturgical gymnasiarchs.«

<sup>13</sup> Montiglio 2000.

<sup>14</sup> See the discussion at Delorme 1960, 126–28.

the phrase τὸ τῶν νέων γυμνάσιον could simply mean »the gymnasium where young men practice«.

So, if we concede that the author of the letter was not referring to the gymnasium at Miletus, but rather gymnasia in general, is it possible to determine where the *palaistrophylax* would have been stationed? Taking into account the letter and the story of Aelian, there seem to me two possible options. First, and perhaps less likely, the *palaistrophylax* was stationed near the entranceway. This position would allow him to get a view of what was going on outside and still be inside the building. However, it seems more likely that the *palaistrophylax* did not have a particular station inside the building, but was roving around inside the building. This seems to make more sense, given that the *palaistrophylax* of [Diogenes]' letter was apparently in view of what was going on in the open courtyard.

2. *The palaistrophylax may be responsible for assessing fines.* This is a more contentious statement, given the evidence in the Beroea gymnasium decree. In the letter, Diogenes approaches the *palaistrophylax* to ask him why the young man playing so poorly is not assessed the fee for oiling up and not engaging in physical activity. The most obvious reason why he would ask the *palaistrophylax* about the penalty is because he is responsible for levying fines against transgressors. Indeed, he is able to give the cost of the fine, at an obol, which in this instance is surely meant to stand for a trivial sum. It is interesting to note that there is a fine attached to loitering in the gymnasium, something I have not seen before in any text. It makes sense, however, given Diogenes' later complaint about the mixing of young men with older men. Underlying the rules is some anxiety about sexual relations between the two groups. A rule prohibiting patrons from attending without participation would seem geared toward curbing voyeurism, a concern present throughout the history of the Greek gymnasium.<sup>15</sup>

However, we see throughout the Beroea decree that the gymnasiarch is responsible for assessing fines. I think there are a few possible solutions for this inconsistency. First, Beroea is a smaller community than many in the Greco-Roman world, and perhaps the gymnasiarch would be expected to have a more hands-on approach to maintaining order. In addition, at the beginning of the decree there is a lack of discipline cited (Side A.11–16) that seems to be the impetus for the writing of the decree. If there was some sort of incident that was a source of embarrassment to the community, it would make sense that the gymnasiarch would be asked to take a more hands on approach to the governance of the gymnasium. In some cases, the

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<sup>15</sup> E.g., the inherent voyeurism of Ar. *Nub.* 973–78. See also more generally Scanlon 2002.

gymnasiarchy was merely liturgical – where the holder of the office merely provided the funds necessary for the gymnasium’s operations—but as often as not the gymnasiarch is mentioned as serving directly over the education of ephebes.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, there is still the need to resolve the fact that the Beroea decree mentions the service of a *palaistrophylax* and that in the extant decree it does not establish what his role would be. I believe this can be resolved if the *palaistrophylax* is considered as an underling of the gymnasiarch, who would either be responsible for pointing out those who need to be fined or could serve the role of assessor of fines in lieu of the gymnasiarch. But there is another possibility that, while not mutually exclusive with this conclusion, seems a more likely interpretation:

3. *The palaistrophylax has some role in training of gymnasium patrons.* The parallelism with the teacher makes more sense in this case: if the teacher is chastised for teaching his students poetry poorly, then the *palaistrophylax* is to be chastised for teaching students to play ball poorly. Golden (2008, 65–66) in his study comes to the conclusion to that slave *palaistrophylakes* served as training partners for patrons of the gymnasium, primarily on the basis of the Hippocratic passage mentioned earlier.<sup>17</sup> But while Golden mentions *palaistrophylakes* as sparring partners, he does not take the extra step to identify them as having any role in training. The *palaistrophylax* seems here to be involved in actually training young men, much like a *paidotribes* is described as doing elsewhere – Diogenes chastises him specifically on the charge of poor training. However, the two are not mutually exclusive: in a permanent role as sparring partner the *palaistrophylax* would likely gain some experience in the palaistic arts. It seems of little use to have a position for the purpose of being a mere »punching bag« (Golden 2008, 66); but, as a trainer as well, the role of the *palaistrophylax* serves a fuller agenda. So, though perhaps the *palaistrophylax* was in charge of identifying transgressors to be fined, it seems equally likely, given the parallelism with the teacher in the letter, that the author primarily expected his audience to understand the *palaistrophylax* as a trainer of *neoi*.

4. *The palaistrophylax is responsible for maintaining proper order in the gymnasium.* This is the most important lesson that the letter of [Diogenes] can teach us about the *palaistrophylax*. When the young man has left the company of Diogenes and the philosopher has started masturbating, the

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<sup>16</sup> See Forbes 1933, 21–33.

<sup>17</sup> Hippoc. *Epid.* 6.8.30; Golden also cites Dem. 4.40–1, which brings up the possibility of slave sparring partners for boxing, and Gal. *De anat. admin.* 7.13, which deals with the treatment of a slave who was injured in the palaestra.

*palaistrophylax* comes to upbraid him for his uncouth action. The verb used is ἐπέπληττεν, which means generally »to strike«, but can also mean »to punish«, or »to rebuke«. If we take the verb to actually mean »strike« in this instance, we would be supported by the fact that flogging was a quite popular means of maintaining order in the gymnasium, as evidenced in the Beroea gymnasium decree and elsewhere.<sup>18</sup> This is an attractive idea, but given that there is no comment upon the hurt, and the more conventional term for flogging, μαστιγῶω, is not used, it is perhaps proper here to understand »rebuke«. Moreover, if the *palaistrophylax* is a slave (as seems likely in this case), it would be hard to imagine him getting away with flogging a free citizen.

This interpretation of the *palaistrophylax* as a keeper of order can shed some light on conclusions one and two above. If the *palaistrophylax* is in charge of keeping order in the gymnasium, then it would make sense that he wanders around inside keeping an eye on the people exercising within. If he were stationed at the front of the gymnasium, he would not be able to keep an eye on all the patrons within. As mentioned earlier, the *palaistrophylax* is supposed to assess a fine on someone oiled up but not exercising; ergo, it follows that he would be in charge of preventing loitering. Diogenes has transgressed one of the rules of the gymnasium, so the *palaistrophylax* is approaching him to make him stop. Diogenes even charges him with making up the rules:

εἰ δέ σοί τις ἐστὶ λόγος ἵνα μὴ γίγνοιτο τοῦτ' ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ,  
 μεταίρεις ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τούς νέους. ἀλλ' οἶει, ὅτι δυνήσεται σοὶ ὁ  
 νόμος, ἐὰν συνανακυλίηται τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰ μειράκια, δεσμοῦς  
 καὶ κύφωνας τῇ στυτικῇ φύσει περιβαλεῖν;

Here the author frames Diogenes' complaint in the form of a standard Cynic opposition of *nomos* with *physis*.<sup>19</sup> The *palaistrophylax*'s imposition of an arbitrary *nomos* (from Diogenes point of view, anyway) runs afoul of what nature intends. The use of the word *nomos* here indicates that there was a common rule in place for the gymnasium, i.e. it is a place for physical, not sexual exertion. Because of the repeated use of the personal pronoun *soi*, it seems that the narrator clearly believes that it is within the authority of the *palaistrophylax* to enforce, if not establish, rules for the gymnasium. This interpretation also serves to restore the etymology of the term: a *palaistrophylax* is one who protects (-*phylax*) the order of the

<sup>18</sup> See for example Crowther & Frass 1998.

<sup>19</sup> Desmond 2008, 138–41.

gymnasium (*palaistro-*).<sup>20</sup> Given his name, we would expect the *palaistrophylax* to uphold *nomoi*, and Diogenes therefore would rightly chastise him in particular for doing his job.

### Conclusion

There is one caveat to the conclusions above: it is entirely possible that the author of the letter was not exact in his use of the term *palaistrophylax*. The roles mentioned above seem to overlap heavily with that gymnasiarch in the Beroea decree. In that decree, the gymnasiarch is responsible for fines, flogging, and making sure *paidotribes* are providing guidance for their students. As is noted by Emeljanow (1968, 167–71), there is quite a bit of repetitive vocabulary in the passage, and it is quite possible that the author did not feel the need to distinguish between different roles in the gymnasium. Another problem is the fact that there is another story (Ael. *VH* 8.14) which deals with Diogenes' encounter with a *palaistrophylax*. This text would appear to predate Aelian, and the collection of [Diogenes]' letters may have been available to both Aelian and Laertes. But given that the term *palaistrophylax* only appears in Greek literature in only three instances, two of which feature Diogenes of Sinope, it is highly suspicious that both Aelian and the author of the letter use the same term. There was likely a minor tradition of »Diogenes and the *palaistrophylax*«, which both sources recount in part. If this is the case, given the rather sloppy use of vocabulary by [Diogenes], the author may have meant just »an attendant in gymnasium« when using the term.

While this is a possibility, I believe that the context of the letter and the supplementary evidence for the *palaistrophylax* render the conclusions of this analysis valid. The parallelism between the teacher and the *palaistrophylax* would be completely irrelevant unless both assumed some role in teaching, rendering conclusion 3 valid, which was already to an extent justified by Golden. The etymology of the term from *-phylax* seems sound corroborating evidence for conclusion 4, as well as to a certain extent conclusions 1 and 2, the former being somewhat intuitive even if it has gone unmentioned up to this point.

How can we reconcile this more powerful role of the Miletean *palaistrophylax* evident in [Diogenes]' letter with that of the Beroea *palaistrophylax*, who appears much lower than the gymnasiarch in status? First, it is clear that the *palaistrophylax* had different roles in different places throughout Greek history, so the office described in the letter is different

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<sup>20</sup> On the interchangeability of the terms »gymnasium« and »palaistra«, see Glass 1988.



than the one alluded to in the decree. Perhaps this Miletean gymnasiarch was imagined as serving more of a liturgical role and the *palaistrophylax* more of an administrative role. The more likely interpretation though is that *palaistrophylax* served *in loco gymnasiarchi* as an enforcer of the rules established by the gymnasiarch. As a slave, a *palaistrophylax* likely would not have the authority to fine or beat a free patron of the gymnasium, unless he was serving as proxy for someone with that authority. The revenue providing for the services of the *palaistrophylax* in Beroea would then likely go to paying for this extra »eyes and ears« for the gymnasiarch, providing extra insurance that rules would be enforced when the gymnasiarch was not present. If this interpretation is accepted, it may also explain the later development of the *palaistrophylax* in the Roman period, where the office appears to be an appointed one. In the third century CE, there appear in a procession *palaistrophylakes* as subordinates to gymnasiarch and *strategos*; again, this makes sense if the *palaistrophylax* is viewed as a subordinate to the gymnasiarch.<sup>21</sup> If the role is considered as subordinate to the gymnasiarch, but still having some authority to mete out punishment, it would seem a natural progression.

In conclusion, from a close investigation of the text of [Diogenes]' letter 35, we can thus flesh out the role of the *palaistrophylax*: the *palaistrophylax* patrolled inside of the gymnasium, training young men and monitoring the conduct of gymnasium patrons. It is possible that the *palaistrophylax* was in charge of assessing fines, but given that the Beroea decree gives this authority to the gymnasiarch, it is perhaps safer to assume the *palaistrophylax* had no official role as an enforcer of penalties except as a subordinate to the gymnasiarch. This letter also supports Golden's (2008) conclusion that slave *palaistrophylakes* served as sparring partners, while expanding their role to include gymnastic training and policers.

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<sup>21</sup> *PAmh.* 2.124; Golden 2008, 63–64.

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**Appendix: Golden's list of *palaistrophylax* references**

**1. Literary Evidence**

Hippocrates, <i>Epidemics</i> 6.8.30	about 400 BCE
Aelian, <i>Historical Miscellany</i> 8.14	I/II CE
<i>Suda</i> , sv. <i>Rhianos</i>	X CE ( <i>tes palaistras phylax</i> )

**2. Inscriptions**

ID 290.112-15	Delos, 246 BCE ( <i>pais eis palaistran</i> )
ID 316.117	Delos, 231 BCE
ID 338Ab.67	Delos, 224 BCE
ID 372A.99	Delos, 200 BCE
[ <i>EKM Beroia</i> 1 =] <i>SEG</i> 27.261, 43.381Bback.98	Beroea, 175–70 BCE
<i>FD</i> 3.4.77	Delphi, ?94 BCE
<i>SEG</i> 8.531 = A. Bernard, <i>Prose sur pierre</i> , 41.24	Egypt 57 BCE (restored)
<i>TAM</i> 2.470 = <i>GVI</i> 258	Lycia, I CE
<i>IG</i> 5.2 47.8	Tegea, I CE
<i>IG</i> 5.1 18A.11	Sparta, II CE
<i>IG</i> 5.2 48.28	Arcadia, II CE
<i>IG</i> 5.2 53.6	Arcadia, (restored)
<i>ZPE</i> 7 (1971) 155-56	Rhinocorura (Sinai)

**3. Papyri**

<i>POxy.</i> 1266	98 CE
<i>SB</i> 12495	I CE
<i>POxy.</i> 390	I CE
<i>PStrasb.</i> 847	?150 CE ( <i>parestrophyl...</i> [...] <i>parestrophy...</i> )
<i>PStrasb.</i> 848	160 CE ( <i>parestroph...</i> )
<i>PStrasb.</i> 791	160 CE (restored)
<i>PBerl. Leihgabe</i> 39.107	161 CE
<i>PSI</i> 1100	II CE
<i>PRyl.</i> 121	II CE
<i>PRyl.</i> 224a	II/III CE
<i>BGU</i> 466	II/III CE
<i>PDiog.</i> 47	?246 CE
<i>SB</i> 9406.309	284 CE
<i>PSakaon</i> 94	III CE
<i>PAmh.</i> 2.124	

## Foreign Entrants at Minor Athletic Festivals in Late-Archaic and Classical Greece<sup>1</sup>

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This study (a) argues that admittance of foreign entrants was characteristic not only of the Big Four athletic festivals of the *periodos*, but a general characteristic of Greek athletic festivals and (b) submits that this openness was the product of the Greek tradition for interaction across city-state boundaries and, finally, (c) argues that the openness of the athletic festivals was a prime producer of interaction in the Greek city-state culture.

One of the most important characteristics of the ancient Olympics is the fact that ὁ βουλόμενος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, »any Greek who wanted«, was allowed to enter the competitions (ἀγωνίζεσθαι):<sup>2</sup> in the period down to ca. 300 BC, *Olympionikai* from at least 94 different *poleis* are on record. Such admittance of foreign entrants, i.e. of competitors who belonged to other states or communities than the one(s) in charge of a festival, was clearly also characteristic of the three other athletic festivals of the great *periodos*,<sup>3</sup> those at Delphi, at Nemea and on the Isthmos of Korinthos: *Pythionikai* from at least 51 different *poleis* are known; Nemean victors are known from at least 40 *poleis* and Isthmian victors from at least 37.<sup>4</sup>

This is well-known and needs no elaboration, but it should be emphasised that it must in fact represent conscious decisions on the part of the organisers of these festivals: it is not a *given* that their competitions should be open in this way. We do, in fact, have evidence that some festivals restricted entrance to athletes from a much more exclusive group of states. In the most extreme cases, admittance was restricted to entrants from a single city-state, as in the case of the *Leonidaia* at Sparta: only Spartan

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the evidence collected here has been discussed from a different point of view in Nielsen 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. 2.160: σφέων [sc. τῶν Ἡλείων] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. Cf. Nielsen 2007, 18–21.

<sup>3</sup> The term *periodos* itself is a post-Classical innovation (Remijsen 2014, 353), but I use it here for the sake of convenience to refer to the »Big Four« festivals at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and on the Isthmos of Korinthos.

<sup>4</sup> The numbers of *poleis* producing Panhellenic victors have been extracted from such standard works as Moretti 1957; Strasser 2001; Hansen/Nielsen 2004; Kostourou 2008; and Farrington 2012; the details are immaterial here, since it is well-known that the contests of the *periodos* were open to »any Greek who wanted« to enter. – I thank Jean-Yves Strasser sincerely for providing me with a copy of his work on *Pythionikai*.

citizens could enter the competitions here.<sup>5</sup> All evidence for athletic competitions at the *Leonidaia* is, admittedly, post-Classical, and the usual present assumption is that the festival was an innovation of the Roman era,<sup>6</sup> though D. H. J. Larmour thinks that »it is reasonable to assume that the contests were a part of the festival from the beginning and also that the festival began fairly soon after the death of the figure it commemorates.«<sup>7</sup> But an unambiguous example of similar exclusiveness is known already from the Archaic period: the competitions at the festival in honour of Apollo Triopios at Knidos could originally be entered only by athletes from the Dorian hexapolis of Halikarnassos, Ialysos, Kamiros, Knidos, Kos and Lindos; and at some point before the mid-fifth century Halikarnassos was even expelled from this select circle of Dorian states.<sup>8</sup> The festival – called *Dorieia* in later sources<sup>9</sup> – seems to have retained this Dorian exclusiveness throughout its history.<sup>10</sup>

In the following, I shall investigate to what extent admittance of foreign entrants was a standard feature of the numerous minor athletic festivals outside the great *periodos* which existed in the Greek world, focusing on the period from the sixth century down to ca. 300 BC. I shall argue that admittance of foreign entrants was indeed the norm at Greek athletic festivals and go on to suggest a reason why this was so. I begin, however, with a section on the period prior to the sixth century.

## 2. Remarks on foreign entrants in seventh-century athletics

The poet of the *Iliad* knows athletic contests at both funerals of great men and at religious festivals, as is clear from a passage of the 22<sup>nd</sup> book (158–66):

πρόσθε μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔφευγε, δίωκε δὲ μιν μέγ' ἀμείνων  
καρπαλίμως, ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερῆϊον οὐδὲ βοεΐην  
ἀρνύσθη, ἃ τε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν,  
ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θεὸν Ἴεκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο·  
ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἀεθλοφόροι περὶ τέρματα μώνυχες ἵπποι  
ρίμφα μάλα τρωχῶσι· τὸ δὲ μέγα κεῖται ἄεθλον  
ἢ τρίπος ἢ ἐ γυνὴ ἀνδρὸς κατατεθνηῶτος·

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 3.14.1.

<sup>6</sup> Gengler 2009; Kennell 2010, 189.

<sup>7</sup> Larmour 1999, 189 no. 189.

<sup>8</sup> Hdt. 1.144. On the festival, see also *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1065, 1067 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25.4 with Jeffery 1976, 195; Klose & Stumpf 1996, no. 78; Forrest 2000, 281; Asheri et al. 2007, 175.

<sup>9</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1065.15; 1067.5.

<sup>10</sup> See K. Hannell in *RE* VII A.1, 175.

ὧς τὼ τρις Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρι δινηθήτην  
καρπαλίμοισι πόδεσσι· θεοὶ δ' ἐς πάντες ὀρῶντο·

As pointed out by D. Young, »[t]he prize of a sacrificial victim or hide [sc. *ιερήϊον, βοεῖην*] almost certainly implies contests held in conjunction with a religious festival«. <sup>11</sup> D. G. Kyle agrees and takes the Homeric reference to be to »cultic games with symbolic prizes«: <sup>12</sup> clearly, the passage demonstrates that the poet can conceive of religious festivals incorporating athletic competitions into their programmes. <sup>13</sup> It also, of course, demonstrates that he knows of athletic contests at funerals (*ἀνδρὸς κατατεθνηῶτος*). <sup>14</sup> It seems, moreover, that this poet could conceive of foreign entrants at both types of contest: at *Il.* 23.630–45 old Nestor relates how he once went from Pylos to Elis to compete at the funeral contests in honour of King Amarynkeus, and it appears that other Pylians as well as Aitolians (632–33) competed in these contests alongside the Epeians themselves. <sup>15</sup> These funeral contests, clearly, are depicted as a major event attracting and admitting foreign entrants. <sup>16</sup> Similarly, at *Il.* 23.679–80 it is related how Mekisteus once went from Argos to Thebes to compete at funeral contests in honour of Oidipous: these contests, then, are likewise depicted as attracting and admitting foreign entrants. Apart from *Il.* 22.159–60, there is no other certain reference in the poem to contests at religious festivals, but one important passage *may* possibly refer to such contests: at *Il.* 11.699–702, Nestor relates what happened to an equestrian team which his father Neleus once sent to Elis to compete:

τέσσαρες ἀθλοφόροι ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν  
ἐλθόντες μετ' ἄεθλα· περὶ τρίποδος γὰρ ἔμελλον  
θεύσεσθαι· τοὺς δ' αἴθι ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγυγείας  
κάσχεθε, τὸν δ' ἐλατῆρ' ἀφίει ἀκαχήμενον ἵππων.

Several details are worth noting here. The first is that competitions at Elis attracted and admitted an entrant from Pylos. Secondly, there is no indication of the occasion for this equestrian contest, which need not have been a funeral, <sup>17</sup> but could be a religious festival: indeed, it is often suspected that an early form of the Olympics may lurk in the background of this

<sup>11</sup> Young 2004, 9; so already at Young 1984, 112. See also Perry 2014, 60.

<sup>12</sup> Kyle 2004, 78.

<sup>13</sup> So also Christesen 2012, 126.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Richardson 1993, 125: »ἀνδρὸς κατατεθνηῶτος means that it is in honour of a man who has died.«

<sup>15</sup> ἔνθ' οὐ τίς μοι ὁμοῖος ἀνήρ γένηε', οὐτ' ἄρ' Ἐπειῶν | οὐτ' αὐτῶν Πυλίων οὐτ' Αἰτωλῶν μεγαθύμων.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Richardson 1993 *ad loc.*

<sup>17</sup> Hainsworth 1993, 301; Golden 1998, 92; Hornblower 2004, 9–10; Fisher 2009, 525–26.

passage.<sup>18</sup> Finally, it is worth noting that Neleus himself did not drive his team but sent a charioteer (*elater*). This, as pointed out by M. Golden,<sup>19</sup> is strongly reminiscent of the well-attested historical practice by which a horseowner could compete by proxy, even outside his own community, by sending a team with a professional driver.<sup>20</sup> Apart from the mythological setting, what the poet depicts here strongly resembles a standard equestrian entry at a foreign festival as known from the historical period.

It seems to be the prevailing view at present that the *Iliad* should be dated within the period 750–650 BC,<sup>21</sup> and this date is generally accepted by historians of Greek athletics.<sup>22</sup> The *Iliad*, of course, is poetry and not social documentary,<sup>23</sup> but if it is assumed, as it often is,<sup>24</sup> that the basic social characteristics of the world in which the poet sets his narrative resemble those of his own world,<sup>25</sup> then the *Iliad* may reasonably be said to offer indirect evidence for foreign entrants at both funeral contests and *agones* at religious festivals in the seventh or perhaps even the eighth century: the poet was obviously in a position to visualize foreign entrants at such events. It is well-known, however, that scholars continue to debate the date at which the *Iliad* reached its present form and that M. S. Jensen in particular has argued elaborately for a date as late as the later sixth century.<sup>26</sup> A date in the sixth century will invalidate the conclusions normally based on the *Iliad*, but in the present context this is, for once, not a major problem, since foreign entrants at funeral contests and presumably also at contests at religious festivals can be documented for the seventh century independently of the *Iliad*.

From the akropolis of Athens come fragments of several bronze vessels which had originally served as prizes in funeral contests. One of these has been tentatively dated to 700–650 BC,<sup>27</sup> and it may be accepted that it belongs to the seventh century. It carries an inscription in Boiotian lettering

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<sup>18</sup> Taplin 1992, 39 n. 54; Hainsworth 199, 301; Hornblower 2004, 9–10; Golden 2008, 13; Fisher 2009, 525–26; Perry 2014, 59.

<sup>19</sup> Golden 2008, 13 (cf. Golden 1998, 91).

<sup>20</sup> See e.g. Hodkinson 2000, 306, 316; Miller 2004, 76; Nicholson 2005, 4–6; Kyrieleis 2011, 130.

<sup>21</sup> Raaflaub 1993, 44; Raaflaub 1997, 625; Ulf 2009, 81 with refs.; Kyle 2014a, 22; Perry 2014, 53.

<sup>22</sup> Miller 2004, 26; Young 2004, 10; Kyle 2007, 55, 77; Kyle 2014a, 22; Christesen 2012, 121.

<sup>23</sup> Hansen 2006, 42; Perry 2014, 58.

<sup>24</sup> Finley 1962, 55; Raaflaub 1993, 45; Raaflaub 1997, 627; Miller 2004, 26; Powell 2004, 26.

<sup>25</sup> On the serious problems with this view, see the brief perceptive comments by Carey 2013, 34.

<sup>26</sup> Jensen 1980 and Jensen 2011; cf. Hansen 2006, 42–43.

<sup>27</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 584.

of which are preserved several personal names in the dative, presumably governed by a lost ἐπί,<sup>28</sup> the honorandi may have died in battle,<sup>29</sup> and if so, it cannot be completely excluded that the funeral contests attested to by the vessel were arranged by the community rather than by relatives of the deceased. What is important here, however, is that it may reasonably be assumed, from the lettering, that the funeral contests were celebrated in Boiotia and, from the find-spot of the vessel, that an Athenian was victorious and made a dedication of his prize at home.<sup>30</sup>

Exactly the same may be said for another vessel, also possibly of the seventh century.<sup>31</sup> It carries two inscriptions, one (I) in Boiotian and one (II) in Attic lettering: I: τῶν ἐπὶ [Δ?]αμ<α>σίδαι ἀ[ἴθλων ἐμί]; II: [? ὁ δεῖνα τᾶθENAΐαι --- κα]τέθ<ε>κεν.<sup>32</sup> Again, it seems a reasonable assumption that the contests in honour of Damasidas were celebrated in Boiotia and produced an Athenian victor who made a dedication of his prize at home.<sup>33</sup> A third vessel also carries two inscriptions; the earlier one – dated to the late seventh century by Jeffery<sup>34</sup> but to 600–550 BC (?) at *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 586 – testifies to (perhaps unrealised) funeral contests in honour of one Gelanor but was replaced, presumably for a new set of competitions, at a slightly later date by a new inscription testifying to contests in honour of one Enpedostenidas; the Boiotian lettering combined with the Athenian provenance of the vessel suggests that an Athenian was victorious on the occasion of the second set of contests and brought home his prize to make a dedication of it on the akropolis.<sup>35</sup> A fourth example is provided by *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 587 of 600–550 BC (?): --- α αἴθλων με [ἔδοκε].<sup>36</sup> The lettering is Boiotian and αἴθλων is a Boiotian dialectal form. A fifth and final specimen is produced by two non-joining fragments of a vessel: [---]ἀδα[ς με?] ἔδοκε ἐπ[ἴ] | Δαμάλαι (ca. 500 BC),<sup>37</sup> again the lettering is Boiotian, and an Athenian athlete probably competed at funeral contests in honour of one Damalas in Boiotia and brought home a prize which he dedicated on the

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<sup>28</sup> The deceased at whose funeral contests were held is (are) commonly identified by ἐπί with the dative; this formula may be interpreted abstractly as meaning »in honour of« or literally as »prizes (set) up over the dead man«: see Brown 2003, 138 and 155–56 n. 47; Jeffery 1976, 79 (cf. Jeffery, *LSAG* 91).

<sup>29</sup> So *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 584; cf. Jeffery, *LSAG* 94 no. 3a; Roller 1981, 2 no. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Jeffery 1976, 79; Perry 2014, 56.

<sup>31</sup> Jeffery, *LSAG* 91; followed by Roller 1981, 2 no. 3. Note, however, that *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 585 gives the date as 550–530 BC.

<sup>32</sup> Text from *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 585; cf. Jeffery, *LSAG* 94 no. 3b; Roller 1981, 2 no. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Jeffery 1976, 79.

<sup>34</sup> Jeffery, *LSAG* 91, followed by Roller 1981, 2 no. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Jeffery 1976, 79.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Jeffery, *LSAG* 91 3d.

<sup>37</sup> *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 588; cf. Jeffery, *LSAG* 94 no. 3e and Roller 1981, 3 no. 5.



akropolis.<sup>38</sup> Clearly, funeral contests in Boiotia attracted entrants from Athens in the seventh and sixth centuries.

These funeral contests must, we may reasonably assume, have been announced in some way outside the local community of the deceased;<sup>39</sup> and in fact, at *Op.* 655–56 Hesiod states that the funeral contests in honour of Amphidamas at Chalkis on Euböia, at which he himself competed, had been »announced beforehand« (προπεφραδμένα),<sup>40</sup> an announcement which found its way to Thespiäi in Boiotia. In this respect, the funeral contests surveyed here resemble later competitions incorporated into religious festivals: these, too, were regularly announced outside the community in which they were staged.

As for contests at religious festivals, a passage in the homicide law of Drakon suggests that Athenians of the seventh century may have competed at such events outside the borders of Attika.<sup>41</sup> The passage in question is cited by Demosthenes (23.37–38) and in addition survives as a fragmentary inscription of 409/8 BC.<sup>42</sup> As the penalty for unpremeditated homicide the law first stipulates exile. It then adds further stipulations including one protecting such a killer while in exile: »ἐάν τις ἀποκτείνει τὸν ἀνδροφόνον« φησὶν »ἢ αἴτιος ἢ φόνου, ἀπεχόμενον ἀγορᾶς ἐφορίας καὶ ἄθλων καὶ ἱερῶν Ἀμφικτυονικῶν, ὡς περ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κτείναντα, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι« (Dem. 23.38).<sup>43</sup> This stipulation is, as pointed out by M. Gagarin,<sup>44</sup> a protection of the exiled *androphonos*, but *e contrario* it appears that the killing of an exiled *androphonos* at a frontier market (ἀγορᾶς ἐφορίας), at contests (ἄθλων) or at Amphiktyonic rites (ἱερῶν Ἀμφικτυονικῶν)<sup>45</sup> is not considered homicide under Drakonian law. Outside of these gatherings, apparently, the exiled *androphonos* counted as an Athenian citizen, who could not legally be killed. The *athloi* of the law are commonly understood

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Jeffery 1976, 79.

<sup>39</sup> Perry 2014, 57.

<sup>40</sup> τὰ δὲ προπεφραδμένα πολλὰ | ἄθλ' ἔθεσαν παῖδες (cf. LSJ s. v. προφράζω). West 1978 does not comment on προπεφραδμένα, but at West 1988, 56 translates it »announced«; Brown 2003: 138 translates »widely-announced«; this may press the wording but certainly renders the sense correctly. Cf. Nielsen 2010, 3 and Rutherford 2013, 71.

<sup>41</sup> The following briefly summarizes Nielsen 2013.

<sup>42</sup> *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 104.26–29 (on the inscription: Stroud 1968).

<sup>43</sup> As pointed out by Stroud (1968, 54 n. 95) Ἀμφικτυονικῶν should be construed with ἱερῶν (»rites«) only and not with ἄθλων (»contests«) as well.

<sup>44</sup> Gagarin 2008, 98.

<sup>45</sup> What exactly Amphiktyonic rites may have referred to in the 620s is unclear; Demosthenes' paraphrase (τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν) suggests that he took it to refer to rites at Delphi, and it seems a reasonable assumption that the phrase referred to institutionalised and recurrent rites, not impossibly at Delphi (van Effenterre & Ruzé 1994, 20; Lefèvre 1998, 65).

by modern scholars of Greek law to be athletic contests;<sup>46</sup> more importantly, that was Demosthenes' understanding (23.40) of *athloi* in this law, which he paraphrased as οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδ' ἀγῶνες, »the athletic contests in Hellas«: clearly, he understood it to refer to athletic competitions outside Attika. Why does the law single out frontier markets, athletic contests and Amphiktyonic rites outside Attika as gatherings an exiled *androphonos* had better avoid? Presumably because it was a reasonable assumption that he risked meeting Athenians there and thus the kinsmen of his victim(s) who could legally kill him. Drakon, accordingly, must have assumed that if Athenians travelled outside Attika they would most likely travel to markets, to rites or to *athletic contests* and that they might encounter an exiled *androphonos* at such events. In the case of athletic contests, it cannot be entirely excluded that he was thinking of funerary contests, but the juxtaposition of ἄθλων with ἱερῶν Ἀμφικτυονικῶν suggests that he was in fact thinking of frequently recurring events – which means that he thought of contests at religious festivals, though which ones we cannot say.

### 3. Foreign entrants in the sixth century

Funeral contests were staged into the sixth century and even into the fifth century,<sup>47</sup> when the tradition seems to have gone out of fashion.<sup>48</sup> The sixth century, on the other hand, was the time when, by common consent,<sup>49</sup> the incorporation of athletic competitions into religious festivals gained momentum, and religious festivals were from the sixth century without question the most central context for athletic competitions.<sup>50</sup> Not only did the competitions at the sanctuaries at Delphi, at the Isthmos and at Nemea rise to form the *periodos* with the Olympics;<sup>51</sup> but *numerous* other festivals came to include athletic competitions. Funerary contests and presumably

<sup>46</sup> Stroud 1968, 7, 54; Gagarin 2008, 98; van Effenterre & Ruzé 1994, 18 (»concours«).

<sup>47</sup> For funeral contests at Kyme in Italy ca. 500 BC in honour of one Onomastos, see Jeffery, *LSAG* 240 no. 8; Roller 1981, 3 no. 7 (cf. Bursian 1863, 450–51). It has been suggested that the contests in honour of Onomastos were staged regularly; if accepted, the same might be valid for the other attested funeral contests, but there is no positive evidence at all in favour of this suggestion (Pleket 1975, 55). – Funeral contests at Lampsakos in the mid-fifth century are attested by an inscribed bronze hydria found in a grave at Notion (Jeffery, *LSAG* 367 no. 47; Roller 1981, 3 no. 8), and this set of contests, then, seems to have attracted a foreign entrant.

<sup>48</sup> Roller 1981, 6.

<sup>49</sup> Bell 1989, 168; Pleket 2000, 642; Mann 2001, 19, 27; Young 2004, 23; Christesen 2007; Crowther 2007, 6; Kyle 2009, 188; Scott 2010, 160–61. See also Funke 2005, 11.

<sup>50</sup> Kyle 2014a, 22.

<sup>51</sup> Golden 1998, 10–11; cf. note 3 above.

also contests at religious festivals admitted foreign entrants already in the seventh century, as we saw above. Can foreign entrants at the contests of religious festivals be documented for the sixth century? The following section surveys the evidence pertaining to this question.<sup>52</sup>

**1. Sicily.** Almost nothing is known about athletic festivals on sixth-century Sicily, but a passage in Pindar at least suggests the possibility that some athletic festivals on late sixth-century Sicily admitted foreign entrants. Pindar's *Olympian 13* celebrates a double Olympic victory of 464 BC by Xenophon of Korinthos, but also makes several references to victories achieved by Xenophon's father Thessalos and other members of his extended family, the *Oligaihidai*.<sup>53</sup> Thessalos was a successful athlete of the late sixth century and was victorious at both Olympia and Delphi as well as at Athens.<sup>54</sup> At *Ol.* 13.98–113 Pindar catalogues the victories won by Xenophon's extended family at both Panhellenic and minor athletic festivals. The ode claims sixty victories for the family at Nemea and the Isthmos (*Ol.* 13.99) and some of these must almost of necessity belong to the sixth century, like Thessalos' Olympic victory of ca. 504 BC. A sixth century date is, then, also a possibility for some of the other victories which Pindar goes on to list (107–112). These were won at, among other places, ταῖ ὑπ' Αἴτνας ὑψιλόφου καλλίπλουτοι | πόλιες (111), that is, on Sicily, presumably at such cities as Syracuse, Zankle or Leontinoi. If this argument is accepted, athletes from Korinthos competed on Sicily in the late sixth century.

**2. Magna Graecia.** As in the case of Sicily, not much is known about athletic festivals in sixth-century Magna Graecia, but two passages in the *Deipnosophistai* of Athenaios of Naukratis merit at least a mention in the present connection. At 522a, Athenaios quotes verbatim the fourth-century philosopher Herakleides Pontikos for the information that in the later sixth century the *polis* of Sybaris had offered large financial prizes to victorious athletes in contests held at Sybaris, reputedly in order to make this Sybaritan festival deflect athletes away from the Olympic Games with which it was timed to coincide;<sup>55</sup> the logic of the passage demands that the Sybaritan festival admitted foreign entrants. However, at 522c, Athenaios quotes the fourth-century historian Timaios of Tauromenion on Sicily for

<sup>52</sup> The geographical order adopted here is that of Hansen & Nielsen 2004.

<sup>53</sup> On the *Oligaihidai*, see Barrett 1978.

<sup>54</sup> See Moretti 1957, no. 154, where Thessalos' Olympic victory is dated to ca. 504 BC.

<sup>55</sup> Ath. 522a = Herakleides Pontikos fr. 45 (Wehrli): διόπερ ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο καὶ διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες οἱ καὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων τῶν πάνυ ἀγῶνα ἀμαυρῶσαι ἐβελήσαντες, καθ' ὃν γὰρ ἄγεται καιρὸν ἐπιτηρήσαντες ἄθλων ὑπερβολῇ ὡς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν ἐπεχειροῦν τοὺς ἀθλητάς. Cf. Young 1984, 81–82; Kyle 1996, 116 and Kyle 2007, 82.

much the same information, but this time in reference to the *polis* of Kroton, the deadly enemy of Sybaris.<sup>56</sup> Both Sybaris and Kroton were major *poleis* and it cannot be entirely excluded that one or both of them consciously attempted to promote their own contests, even to the detriment of the Olympics, though this disrespectful motivation is perhaps better attributed to the later writers than to the Archaic cities. We are left, then, with fourth-century claims that one or two *poleis* in Magna Graecia staged contests accepting foreign entrants the later sixth century.<sup>57</sup>

**3. Kephallenia.** A bronze discus of ca. 550–525 BC and probably from Kephallenia is a dedication to the *Dioskouroi* and is inscribed as follows: Ἐχσοῖδα μ' ἀνέθεκε Διτῶς ῥόρον μεγάλοιο | χάλκεον ἡοῖ νίκασε Κεφαλάνας μεγαθύμος.<sup>58</sup> Thus, a dedication to the patron divinities of athletics of, it would seem, the very discus that the victor used in the competition and testimony to athletic contests on sixth-century Kephallenia. L. Moretti felt that the general drift of the text indicates that Exoidas himself was probably not a Kephallenian and, if that is accepted, the »*modesti agoni locali*« at which he was victorious must have admitted foreign entrants.<sup>59</sup> Certainty in this matter is, however, impossible.

**4. Boiotia.** Three pieces of evidence suggest that the *Herakleia* (or *Ioleia*),<sup>60</sup> the prime athletic festival at Thebes, existed and admitted foreign entrants already in the sixth century: (a) *IG IV 801* is a grave monument of ca. 550–525 BC from Troizen in the Argolid,<sup>61</sup> commemorating one Damotimos. The octagonal pillar was crowned by a tripod won by Damotimos at Thebes: *τρίποδς ἡὸν Θέβασσι θεὸν ἔνικεν*.<sup>62</sup> Damotimos may possibly have won the tripod in funeral contests, as suggested by Jeffery.<sup>63</sup> Funeral contests are certainly well-attested for Archaic Boiotia (*supra* 95), but the inscription documenting that Damotimos' victory was in fact in such contests will have been incised on the lost tripod itself, and so this case

<sup>56</sup> Ath. 522c = Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 45: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ Κροτωνιάται, φησὶν ὁ Τιμαῖος, ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν πανήγυριν καταλῦσαι, τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ προθέντες ἀργυρικὸν σφόδρα πλούσιον ἀγῶνα. Cf. Young 1984, 81–82 and Antonaccio 2014, 194.

<sup>57</sup> In itself, the claim that lavish prizes were offered is not incredible: lavish prizes were awarded at the *Panathenaia* (Anderson 2003, 163).

<sup>58</sup> *IG IX.1 649* = Moretti 1953, no. 6; Cook 1987, no. 57 (source of text).

<sup>59</sup> Moretti 1953, 13.

<sup>60</sup> On the festival, see Kramer 1970, 56–59; Schachter 1986, 25–30; Gerber 2002, 64.

<sup>61</sup> For the date: Jeffery, *LSAG* 176.

<sup>62</sup> *IG IV 801.3*. Cf. Kramer 1970, 59; Ringwood 1927, 54.

<sup>63</sup> *LSAG* 176. Cf. McGowan 1995, 622.

cannot be finally settled,<sup>64</sup> and it is a real possibility that Damotimos was victorious at the *Herakleia*. (b) Among the victories of the *Oligaithidai* catalogued in Pindar's *Olympian 13* is one (or more) at Thebes (*Ol.* 13.107) and on the reasoning set out above (98, s.v. Sicily) this (or these) may belong to the later sixth century. (c) The third piece of evidence is constituted by an agonistic epigram, which I shall refer to in the following as the Nikolaidas-epigram. It has been transmitted, some-what unusually, in the *Anthologia Palatina* (XIII.19)<sup>65</sup> and commemorates an otherwise unknown athlete, Nikolaidas of Korinthos. It is attributed to Simonides, and, though it is probably not by him, it is commonly accepted that it must date to the late sixth or to the early fifth century<sup>66</sup> and was copied from the base of a commemorative statue<sup>67</sup> erected per-haps at Delphi, a much more prestigious location for such a monument than Korinthos itself. The most conspicuous part of the epigram is a victory catalogue in almost epinician style recording the victories of Nikolaidas: these included several at the festivals of the *periodos* but also victories – primarily in the *stadion* – at no less than nine different festivals outside the *periodos*. One of these was achieved at Thebes (*Anth. Pal.* XIII.19.10), at the *Herakleia*, Kramer reasonably assumes.<sup>68</sup> These three pieces of evidence, then, may attest to entrants from Troizen and Korinthos at the Theban *Herakleia* in the sixth century.<sup>69</sup>

**5. Megaris.** Two pieces of evidence suggest that the chief athletic festival at Megara, the *Alkathoia*,<sup>70</sup> may have existed and attracted foreign entrants in the sixth century: (a) Among the victories of the *Oligaithidai* catalogued in Pindar's *Olympian 13* is one (or more) at Megara (*Ol.* 13.109) and on the reasoning set out above (98, s.v. Sicily) this (or these) may belong to the later sixth century; (b) The Nikolaidas-epigram (*supra* 100) catalogues a victory at Megara (*Anth. Pal.* XIII.19.10). In both cases the entrants will have been from neighbouring Korinthos.

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<sup>64</sup> McGowan 1995, 622: »Whether Damotimos won the prize at funerary games or in a contest in honor of a deity is not clear.«

<sup>65</sup> On this epigram, see the magisterial discussion by Maróti 1990; see also Blinkenberg 1919; Ebert 1972, no. 26; Page, *FGE* no. 43; Nielsen 2014, 11–14.

<sup>66</sup> Ebert 1972, 93; Maróti 1990, 133; Page, *FGE* 262: »The epigram is certainly inscriptional, and the heading 'by Simonides' may be an indication that it is relatively old, one of the numerous athlete-inscriptions of the late archaic and classical periods.«

<sup>67</sup> Merkelbach 1987, 294; Page, *FGE ad v.* 1.

<sup>68</sup> Kramer 1970, 25.

<sup>69</sup> In favour of the view that the *Herakleia* included competitions already in the sixth century may be cited the existence at sixth-century Thebes of a stadium: Symeonoglou 1985, 140.

<sup>70</sup> Ringwood 1927, 32–33; Kramer 1970, 45.

**6. Sikyonia.** Three scraps of evidence suggest that the *Pythia* at Sikyon,<sup>71</sup> reputedly founded by the famous tyrant Kleisthenes,<sup>72</sup> attracted foreign entrants in the sixth century: (a) In 1984, J. P. Barron suggested that the sixth-century lyric poet Ibykos of Rhegion in South Italy was a precursor to Simonides, Pindar and Bakchylides in the production of epinician odes.<sup>73</sup> This suggestion has met with general approval, it seems.<sup>74</sup> More specifically, Barron suggested that Ibykos composed an epinician ode in honour of a Spartan who had achieved an athletic victory at Sikyon.<sup>75</sup> (b) Among the victories of the *Oligaiithidai* catalogued in Pindar's *Olympian 13* is one (or more) at Sikyon (*Ol.* 13.109) and on the reasoning set out above (98, s. v. Sicily) this (or these) may belong to the later sixth century. (c) Pindar's *Nemean 10* celebrates a victory by Theaios of Argos at the Argive *Hekatomboia*, achieved presumably around 464. At 43–48 the ode catalogues victories won by maternal ancestors of Theaios and some of these may not impossibly belong to the later sixth century. Among the cities at which these ancestors were victorious is Sikyon (*Nem.* 10.43). The *Pythia*, then, may have been entered by athletes from Argos, Korinthos and Sparta in the sixth century.

**7. Achaia.** At *Nemean 10.44* in honour of the Argive wrestler Theaios, Pindar refers to victories at Pellene by ancestors of the honorandus, and at *Nem.* 10.47 is a reference to victories won by ancestors of Theaios at *Ἀχαιῶν ὑψίβατοι πόλεις*; it is unclear which *poleis* Pindar has in mind but the reference is valuable as evidence that Pellene was not alone among the cities of Achaia in staging contests open to foreign entrants – and, on the reasoning set out above (101, s.v. Sikyonia) some of these victories may belong to the sixth century. An entrant from Argolis at sixth-century Pellene may also be attested by an inscription commonly dated to the late sixth century and originating from the Heraion in the Argolid: it lists a victory at Pellene in an unknown event by one Timokles alongside victories

<sup>71</sup> Ringwood 1927, 64; Kramer 1970, 54; Larmour 1999, 184 no. 38.

<sup>72</sup> Schol. in Pind. *Nem.* 9 inscr. (Drachmann): ... διὰ ταύτην τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τὸ τρίτον τῶν λαφύρων ἔδοσαν τῷ Κλεισθένῃ καὶ Σικυωνίοις, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Σικυώνιοι τὰ Πύθια πρῶτον παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἔθεσαν. For a discussion of the likely source from which the scholiast derived this information, see Griffin 1979. See also McGregor 1941, 282f.; Kramer 1970, 54; Griffin 1982, 53f.; Hubbard 1992, 82f.; Parker 1994, 414; Kyle 2007, 83; Papakonstantinou 2010, 72.

<sup>73</sup> Barron 1984.

<sup>74</sup> See, e.g., Jenner 1986; Hornblower 2004, 21f.; Hornblower & Morgan 2007b, 11; Thomas 2007, 146; Lowe 2007, 167; Rawles 2012.

<sup>75</sup> Barron 1984, 22; cf. Hornblower 2004, 21 and Rawles 2012, 9 (who is a little sceptical of the suggestion).

at Nemea, Tegea and Kleitor.<sup>76</sup> However, the inscription is dated from its letter forms,<sup>77</sup> and such a date can only be approximate: The Packard Humanities Institute's web-page of »Searchable Greek Inscriptions«<sup>78</sup> gives the date »bef. 460 BC« to the inscription. It is, then, possible but not certain that Argives competed in Achaia in the sixth century. The Nikolaidas-epigram (*supra* 100) lists a victory in the *stadion* at Pellene (*Anth. Pal.* XIII.19.8) by the Korinthian athlete; and at Pind. *Ol.* 13.109 Pellene is listed as a venue of victory. In this latter case the entrant(s) will also have been from Korinthos.

**8. Arkadia.** Three pieces of evidence suggest that the *Lykaia* on Mt Lykaion in southwestern Arkadia may have attracted foreign entrants already in the sixth century: (a) Among the victories of the *Oligaiithidai* catalogued in Pindar's *Olympian 13* is one (or more) at the *Lykaia* (*Ol.* 13.108) and on the reasoning set out above (98, s.v. Sicily) this (or these) may belong to the later sixth century. (b) Among the victories won by ancestors of Theaios of Argos was one or, more probably, a number of victories at the *Lykaia* (Pind. *Nem.* 10.48); these victories were presumably in foot-races and the heavy events, or, possibly, in the *pankration*;<sup>79</sup> and on the reasoning set out above (101, s.v. Achaia) some of these may belong to the sixth century. (c) The Nikolaidas-epigram (*supra* 100) lists a victory in the *stadion* at the *Lykaia* (*Anth. Pal.* XIII.19.8) by the Korinthian athlete. Athletes from Argos and Korinthos, then, may have competed at the *Lykaia* in the sixth century.

Two pieces of evidence suggest that Argive athletes competed at both Kleitor and Tegea in the sixth century: (a) At *Nem.* 10.47, Pindar refers to one or more victories at Kleitor by ancestors of Theaios of Argos, presumably at the *Koriasia* in honour of Athena,<sup>80</sup> as well as at Tegea, presumably at the *Aleaia*<sup>81</sup> in honour of Athena Alea, and on the reasoning set out above (101, s.v. Achaia) some of these may belong to the sixth century. (b) The inscription from the Argive Heraion discussed above (101, s.v. Achaia) lists victories at Kleitor and Tegea by Timokles of the Argolid. Moreover, the Nikolaidas-epigram (*supra* 100) lists a victory at Tegea (*Anth. Pal.* XIII.19).

<sup>76</sup> *IG* IV 510; cf. *SEG* 14 315 and Moretti 1953, no. 7. See also Morgan/Hall 2004, 485.

<sup>77</sup> Moretti 1953, no. 7; Jeffery, *LSAG* 169 no. 16; Ebert 1972, no. 10; *SEG* 14 315.

<sup>78</sup> <https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/28029?&bookid=6&location=16> (visited January 28, 2019).

<sup>79</sup> καὶ Λύκαιον πῦρ Διὸς θῆκε δρόμῳ, σὺν ποδῶν χειρῶν τε νικᾶσαι σθένει.

<sup>80</sup> Kramer 1970, 40; Jost 1985, 42.

<sup>81</sup> Kramer 1970, 57; Jost 1985, 374; Larmour 1999, 187 no. 57.

**9. Lakedaimon.** A passage in Pindar may possibly attest to Argive entrants at Sparta, though this is far from certain. At *Nem.* 10.49–53, Pindar refers to a visit by the *Dioskouroi* to an ancestor – Pamphaes – of the honorandus, Theaios of Argos; in the immediately previous section of the ode Pindar has sung of victories by ancestors of Theaios at e.g. Sikyon, Pellene, Kleitor and Tegea; he now says οὐ θαῦμα σφίσιν | ἐγγενὲς ἔμμεν ἀεθληταῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν; and goes to point out that the *Dioskouroi* preside with Herakles and Hermes over *agones* in Sparta. This must be interpreted as a reference to athletic contests at Sparta, though these cannot be identified;<sup>82</sup> it is not explicitly said that members of Theaios’ family had been victorious at Sparta, but the general drift of this section of the ode in fact suggests as much; if so, this passage will be testimony to contests at Sparta which could be entered by non-Spartans and that, of course, would be interesting in the light of Sparta’s general reputation for xenophobia;<sup>83</sup> and, on the reasoning set out above (101, s.v. Achaia) these victories may belong to the sixth century.

**10. Argolis.** At *Ol.* 13.107 in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon of Korinthos is a vague reference to earlier victories at Argos, presumably at the *Hekatomboia*, by members of Xenophon’s extended family, the *Oligaitidai*; and, on the reasoning set out above (98, s.v. Sicily) some of these may belong to the sixth century.<sup>84</sup>

At *Nem.* 5.50–52, Pindar records a double victory (in boxing and in *pankration*) by Themistios of Aigina at Epidauros, i.e. at the *Asklepieia*.<sup>85</sup> According to the scholiast, Themistios was the maternal grandfather of Pytheas, the honorandus of *Nemean* 5 and a boy victor in the *Nemean pankration* in the 480s; Themistios’ Epidaurian victories, then, must belong to the sixth century and they are commonly placed ca. 530 BC.<sup>86</sup> Epidauros, in conclusion, was hostess of an athletic *agon* already in the 530s, an *agon* by then open to non-Epidaurians. The Nikolaidas-epigram (*supra* 100) also lists a victory at Epidauros (Anth.Pal. 13.19.9).

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<sup>82</sup> Kramer 1970, 56.

<sup>83</sup> On the Spartan institution of xenelasia, see Michell 1964, 152–54 and Gray 2007, 182f. on Xen. *Lac.* 14.4; see also Cartledge 1987, 50, 243f.; and Hodkinson 2000, 337.

<sup>84</sup> The Heraion was prior to the 460s a »confederate sanctuary for all the communities of the Argive Plain« and came under the exclusive control of Argos only when this city had destroyed Mykenai in the 460s (Hall 1995, 613).

<sup>85</sup> It is not certain that the festival was named *Asklepieia* in Pindar’s day (Kramer 1970, 37), but that was clearly its name by the 420s (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 82.5: Ἀσκληπίεια). On the festival, see Ringwood 1927, 70f.; Sève 1993 and Miller 2004, 129–132.

<sup>86</sup> Sève 1993, 305; Themistios is Sève 1993, 328 no. 29, dated »vers 530?«; cf. Perlman 2000, 67 n. 2: »530 B.C. at the latest.«



The Nikolaidas-epigram (*supra* 100) catalogues a victory at Phleious (*Anth. Pal.* XIII.19.11). The festival at Phleious is known *only* from the Nikolaidas-epigram, which is a useful reminder of how fragmentary the evidence for athletic festivals outside the *periodos* is: had this epigram not survived, it would not have been known that the city of Phleious staged an athletic festival which admitted foreign entrants – and, what this suggests is, of course, that there must have existed athletic festivals which have left no mark in our records at all. But the fact that Phleious is listed as a venue of victory in the Nikolaidas-epigram suggests that it may have existed and admitted foreign entrants already in the late sixth century.

**11. Aigina.** At *Ol.* 13.109 in honour of the Korinthian sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon is a reference to earlier victories at, presumably, the *Aiakeia*<sup>87</sup> on Aigina by members of Xenophon's extended family, the *Oligaihidai*; and, on the reasoning set out above (98, s.v. Sicily) some of these may belong to the sixth century. Moreover, the Nikolaidas-epigram (*supra* 100) catalogues a victory on Aigina (*Anth. Pal.* XIII.19.9), presumably also at the *Aiakeia*; and this victory, too, may possibly belong to the late sixth century. Korinthian athletes, in conclusion, may have competed at the *Aiakeia* in the late sixth century.

**12. Attika.** *Ol.* 13.110 in honour of the Korinthian sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon refers to one or more earlier victories the *Herakleia*<sup>88</sup> at Marathon by members of Xenophon's extended family, the *Oligaihidai*; and, on the reasoning set out above (98, s.v. Sicily) one or more of these may belong to the sixth century.

*Ol.* 13.110 in honour of the Korinthian sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon refers to one or more earlier victories at the *Eleusinia*<sup>89</sup> at Eleusis by members of Xenophon's extended family, the *Oligaihidai*; and, on the reasoning set out above (98, s.v. Sicily) one or more of these may belong to the sixth century.

*Ol.* 13.38 in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon of Korinthos refers to three victories won by Xenophon's father Thessalos, also a sprinter, at Athens at the same celebration of the *Panathenaia*.<sup>90</sup> Thessalos

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<sup>87</sup> Kramer 1970, 27.

<sup>88</sup> On the *Herakleia*, see Deubner 1956, 227; Parker 1996, 97 n. 124 and 2005, 473; Jung 2006, 28–38.

<sup>89</sup> On the *Eleusinia*, see Deubner 1956, 91–92; Kyle 1993, 47; Parker 2005, 468f.; Simms 1975; Clinton 1979.

<sup>90</sup> Foreign victories at the *Panathenaia* were presumably won at the Greater and not the Lesser *Panathenaia*, which had a much more restricted agonistic programme: Kyle 1993, 36; Kyle 2014b, 160; Tracy 2007.

was also an Olympic victor, in ca. 504 BC,<sup>91</sup> and so his Panathenaic victories may belong to the late sixth century as well. The Nikolaidas-epigram (*supra* 100) catalogues a victory at the *Panathenaia* (*Anth. Pal.* XIII.19.3) and this may also belong to the later sixth century.

Foreign entrants at the *Panathenaia* may probably also be identified on the basis of sixth-century Panathenaic amphoras *dedicated in sanctuaries outside Attika*, as pointed out by M. Bentz.<sup>92</sup> At Sparta Panathenaic amphoras have been found at the *Menelaion*<sup>93</sup> and in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos<sup>94</sup> on the akropolis, and it is a fair assumption that they were dedicated there by victorious participants in the Athenian contests.<sup>95</sup> Sixth-century amphoras have been found in sanctuaries also at Taras; Korinthos; Samos; Kyrene; and Taucheira,<sup>96</sup> and such amphoras may reasonably be interpreted as evidence for Panathenaic entrants from these city-states.

**13. Eubolia.** *Ol.* 13.112 in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon of Korinthos refers to former victories on Eubolia, presumably at the *Artemisia*<sup>97</sup> of Eretria, by members of Xenophon's extended family, the *Oligaitheidai*; and, on the reasoning set out above (98, s.v. Sicily) some of these may belong to the sixth century.

**14. The Aegean.** The festival on Delos may have attracted and admitted non-Delian entrants already in the sixth century, if the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is any reliable guide in this matter. The Delian part of the hymn presumably dates to the 520s<sup>98</sup>; at verse 147 the poet declares that those who assemble at the festival in honour of Apollo are »the Ionians« (*Iaones*) and from verse 149 it is clear that the *agon* included competitions in boxing (*pygmachiei*); it seems a reasonable assumption that the *Iaones* could enter the boxing competitions, which cannot, then, have been restricted to Delians. The choral competitions were, according to Thucydides, competitions between choruses sent by various city-states,<sup>99</sup> and the *agon gymnikos* (Thuc. 3.104.3) was presumably open to foreign entrants as well.

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<sup>91</sup> Moretti 1957, no. 154.

<sup>92</sup> Bentz 1998, 103–106.

<sup>93</sup> Bentz 1998, no. 6.067.

<sup>94</sup> Bentz 1998, no. 6.097–103.

<sup>95</sup> So also Hodkinson 1999, 161 (accepted by Potter 2012, 112).

<sup>96</sup> Taras: Bentz 1998, no. 6.136; Korinth: no. 6.032; Kyrene: nos. 6.045, 6.091, 6.166–67; Samos: Anhang 11, 224; Taucheira: no. 6.042.

<sup>97</sup> Ringwood 1929, 386–88; Kramer 1970, 38; Cairns 1983, n. 21; Larmour 1999, 178 no. 18; Walker 2004, 34.

<sup>98</sup> West 2003, 11.

<sup>99</sup> Thuc. 3.104.3: χορούς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις.

**15. Thrace.** According to Herodotos (6.38.1), the grateful citizens of Chersonesos instituted a veritable oecist-cult for Miltiades of Athens at his death in, presumably, 524 BC:<sup>100</sup> *καί οἱ τελευτήσαντι [sc. Miltiades] Χερσονηζῖται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ, καί ἀγῶνα ἰππικόν τε καί γυμνικόν ἐπιστάσι, ἐν τῷ Λαμψακηῶν οὐδενὶ ἐγγίγνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι.* The festival was probably annual<sup>101</sup> and Herodotos' note that athletes from Lampsakos were barred from entering it suggests, as correctly pointed out by L. Scott,<sup>102</sup> that the competitions were in fact open to citizens of other *poleis* in the area. Even at such rather local competitions, then, foreign entrants were anticipated, already in the sixth century.<sup>103</sup>

**16. Karia.** Finally, though it restricted entrance to athletes from a select group of *poleis*, it is worth noting that the *Dorieia* at Knidos (*supra* 92) did in fact allow athletes from several different city-states to enter its competitions.

#### 4. Foreign entrants in the Classical period (down to ca. 300 BC)

The survey of the evidence for foreign entrants in the sixth century presented above demonstrates conclusively that other athletic festivals than the great four of the *periodos* admitted foreign entrants in this period: foreign entrants are unambiguously attested for both the *Panathenaia* and for the festival at Epidauros, which must have been a minor festival at this point. Moreover, it seems certain that the festival at Chersonesos in principle accepted foreign entrants though no actual example of such an entrance is recorded. The festival at Knidos, in addition, was also open to citizen from several *poleis*. In the remaining cases, there are various difficulties with the evidence, such as the reliability of retrospective remarks by later authors such as e.g. Timaios of Tauromenion or the exact chronological reference of retrospective passages in Pindar and of the Nikolaidas-epigram. However, I have set out the evidence in considerable detail in order to sketch the wide range of possibilities: if all the evidence set out above is accepted, no less than 26 festivals admitted foreign entrants during the sixth century. The probability is that not *all* the evidence should in fact

<sup>100</sup> Isaac 1986, 171.

<sup>101</sup> Malkin 1987, 195–200.

<sup>102</sup> Scott 2005, 176.

<sup>103</sup> The exclusion of Lampsakenian athletes is probably a reflection of the hostility between Miltiades and Lampsakos: Miltiades had waged war upon the city which at one point took him prisoner (Hdt. 6.37.1: ὁ Μιλτιάδης ... ἐπολέμησε Λαμψακηνοῖσι· καὶ μὴ οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ λοχίσαντες αἰρέουσι ζωγρήν).

be accepted but it seems just as safe to conclude that acceptance of foreign entrants was not uncommon at sixth-century athletic festivals. Finally, even if sources such as the Nikolaidas-epigram and Pindar *Ol.* 13 and *Nem.* 10 do not in fact refer to the sixth century, they must certainly refer to the early fifth century. Accordingly, I do not repeat references to these sources in the following survey of the Classical evidence for foreign entrants. The evidence for the Classical period is, unsurprisingly, better than the evidence for the sixth century due to the increasing number of sources of various kind, including and in particular inscriptions and epinician odes.

**1. Magna Graecia.** A fragment of an epinician ode by Simonides<sup>104</sup> in honour of the famous sprinter Astylos of Kroton<sup>105</sup> reads as follows: τίς δὴ τῶν νῦν τοσάδ' ἢ πετάλοισι μύρτων | ἢ στεφάνοισι ρόδων ἀνεδήσατο, | νικάσ<αι><sup>106</sup> ἐν ἀγῶνι περικτιόνων. The phrase ἐν ἀγῶνι περικτιόνων probably refers to a local festival near Kroton at which Astylos had been victorious, but the drift of the fragment, in fact, suggests that he was victorious several times or in several contexts; the fragment, then, suggests the existence of one or more festivals with contests in foot-races in Magna Graecia and these must have been open to non-citizen competitors.<sup>107</sup>

**2. Boiotia.** At *Ol.* 7.84, Pindar refers to victories won by Diagoras of Ialysos on Rhodos at contests in Boiotia (ἀγῶνες ἔννομοι Βοιωτῶν). These contests must have been open to non-citizen competitors, but it is unclear which festivals Pindar has in mind, except that Theban festivals are excluded, since the victory catalogue includes Thebes already in verse 83.

Pindar's *Isthm.* 1 in honour of Herodotos of Thebes refers at 56 to a victory at Orchomenos, presumably an equestrian victory at the *Minyeia*,<sup>108</sup> entrance, then, was not restricted to Orchomenians.

A late-fourth century catalogue of victors at the *Amphiareia* at Oropos,<sup>109</sup> which was at this point under Athenian control, lists victors from Thebes in Boiotia; from Sikyon, Elis, Argos and Phleious in the Peloponnese; from Athens; from Larisa and Pharsalos in Thessalia; from the island of Andros in the Aegean; from Sinope on the Black Sea; from Kolophon in Ionia; and from Kyrene in Libya. Clearly, this festival had by the later fourth century a considerably international catchment area.

<sup>104</sup> Fr. 506 (Campbell).

<sup>105</sup> On Astylos of Kroton, see Nielsen 2007, 91–92. He seems at one point to have become a citizen of Syracuse, and accordingly it cannot be entirely excluded that the Simonidean fragment refers to festivals on Sicily.

<sup>106</sup> Ms. νικάσ.

<sup>107</sup> For a discussion of this fragment, see Molyneux 1992, esp. 215–18.

<sup>108</sup> Kramer 1970, 48; Schachter 1986, 143–44.

<sup>109</sup> IG VII 414 = *I.Oropos* 520 (329/28 BC).

After the great victory over the Lakedaimonians and their allies at Leuktra in 371 BC, the Boiotian Confederacy instituted a festival called *Basileia* in honour of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia.<sup>110</sup> The two known fourth-century equestrian victors originate from Thebes and Tanagra.<sup>111</sup> It cannot be completely excluded that the festival admitted only Boiotians, but it seems just as likely that it was open to »any Greek who wished« to enter.

As pointed out above (99), the *Herakleia* at Thebes possibly attracted entrants from Korinthos and Troizen already in the sixth century. Entrants from Athens, Aigina, Opous in East Lokris and Ialysos on Rhodos are securely attested for the fifth century.<sup>112</sup> If Pindar's *Pythian Two* was composed to celebrate a victory at this festival,<sup>113</sup> an entrant from Syracuse is attested as well.

A festival in honour of Herakles, and thus presumably athletic, is attested for Thespiiai by an inscribed bronze prize hydria of 475–450 BC found in Epeiros.<sup>114</sup> The provenance of the vessel suggests that the prize was won by a foreign entrant.

**3. Megaris.** As pointed out above (100), the *Alkathoia* at Megara possibly attracted entrants from Korinthos already in the sixth century. Entrants from Aigina, Ialysos on Rhodos and Kyrene in Libya are securely attested for the fifth century<sup>115</sup> and one from (presumably) Hermion in the fourth century.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Diod. Sic. 15.53.4. See Schachter 1994, 115–18. Cf. Kramer 1970, 43 and Ringwood 1927, 35–37.

<sup>111</sup> Thebes: *IG VII* 2532; Tanagra: *IG VII* 552.

<sup>112</sup> Athens: Bacchyl. 10.30; Aigina: Pind. *Nem.* 4.18; Opous: Pind. *Ol.* 9.99; Ialysos: Pind. *Ol.* 7.84.

<sup>113</sup> See Mikalson 2007, 38 n. 23.

<sup>114</sup> *BCH* 99 (1975) 752: [... Η]ερακλέος ἐς Θεσπίας, where in front of the preserved text some word such as ἄθλων/ἄθλον or παρά must originally have stood; cf. *SEG* 30 541; *SEG* 37 387; Johnston 1977, 157; Amandry 1980, 211–12 n. 4.II. On Herakles at Thespiiai, see Schachter 1986, 31–36.

<sup>115</sup> Aigina: Pind. *Pyth.* 8.78, *Nem.* 3.84, 5.46, *Isthm.* 8.67; Ialysos: Pind. *Ol.* 7.86; Kyrene: Pind. *Pyth.* 9.91.

<sup>116</sup> *IG IV* 673.5.

**4. Korinthia.** Pindar may possibly have composed an ode in honour of pankratiasts who had been victorious at the *Hellogia* at Korinthos,<sup>117</sup> not impossibly pankratiasts from Lakedaïmon. D'Alessio (2012, 52) is reluctant to accept that the victors were Lakedaïmonians, submitting that it is »implausible to posit important foreign participants in such minor local games.«<sup>118</sup> But, as the present survey demonstrates, many minor festivals outside the *periodos* must have attracted and admitted foreign entrants; and so this is not a weighty argument against the identification of the victors as Lakedaïmonians.

**5. Sikyonia.** As pointed out above (101), the *Pythia* at Sikyon possibly attracted entrants from Korinthos, Sparta and Argos already in the sixth century. Entrants from Aitna on Sicily, as well as from Thebes and Athens are securely attested for the fifth century<sup>119</sup> and one from Rhodos for the fourth century.<sup>120</sup>

**6. Achaia.** As pointed out above (101), the *Theoxenia* at Pellene possibly attracted Argive and Korinthian entrants already in the sixth century. Entrants from Athens, Opous in East Lokris and from Ialysos on Rhodos are securely attested for the fifth century.<sup>121</sup>

**7. Arkadia.** As pointed out above (102), the *Lykaia* on Mt Lykaion possibly attracted entrants from Korinthos and Argos already in the sixth century. Entrants from Opous in East Lokris and Ialysos on Rhodos are securely attested for the fifth century.<sup>122</sup> The evidence for foreign entrants in the fourth century is particularly rich, due primarily to the fortuitous survival of two inscribed victor lists of the later fourth century from Mt Lykaion itself (*IG* V.2 549–50). Fourth-century foreign entrants come from Macedonia, Kassandreia Akarnania, Syracuse, Elis, Argos, Hermion, Sparta, Athens, and Rhodos.<sup>123</sup>

A mid-fourth century epigraphical victory catalogue from Argos includes among the victories of the wrestler Prateas one won ἐμ Μαινάλοι.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>117</sup> D'Alessio 2012, 48–54, discussing *P.Oxy* 2541.

<sup>118</sup> D'Alessio 2012, 52.

<sup>119</sup> Aitna: Pind. *Nem.* 9; Thebes: Pind. *Isthm.* 4.44; Athens: Bacchyl. 10.32.

<sup>120</sup> *I.Lindos* 68.9.

<sup>121</sup> Athens: Bacchyl. 10.33; Opous: Pind. *Ol.* 9.98; Ialysos: *Ol.* 7.86.

<sup>122</sup> Opous: Pind. *Ol.* 9.95–96; Ialysos: Pind. *Ol.* 7.83, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 82.

<sup>123</sup> Macedonia: *IG* V.2 549–50; Kassandreia: *IG* V.2 549–50; Akarnania: *IG* V.2 549–50; Syracuse: *IG* V.2 549–50; Elis: *IG* V.2 549–50; Argos: *SEG* 17 150, *IG* V.2 549–50; Hermion: *IG* IV 673.3; Sparta: *IG* V.2 549–50; Athens: *IG* V.2 549–50; Rhodos: *IG* V.2 549–50, *I.Lindos* 68.

<sup>124</sup> *SEG* 17 150.6; on the date: Amandry 1980, 220.

It is not clear exactly what this means: the reference may be to a contest at the city of Mainalos,<sup>125</sup> it may be to a contest on Mt Mainalon, or it may perhaps be a reference to a festival celebrated by the sub-ethnic federation of the Mainalians;<sup>126</sup> whatever the case, the reference is clearly to an athletic festival in fourth-century Arkadia attracting an entrant from Argos.

At Lousoi in northern Arkadia were celebrated contests at the *Hemerasia* in honour of the chief local divinity Artemis Hemera, certainly by the late fourth century when evidence for a Lousiatan system of international *epangelia* begins,<sup>127</sup> but possibly already in the fifth century.<sup>128</sup> A third-century victor in the *stadion* and *diaulos* was from Thouria in Messenia<sup>129</sup> but the fourth-century system of *epangelia* allows the inference that the festival in principle admitted foreign entrants already in the Classical period.

At Pheneos were staged competitions in honour of the *Dioskouroi*, as is clear from an inscribed fifth-century bronze prize hydria found at Sinope;<sup>130</sup> the provenance of the vessel suggests that the competitions attracted and admitted foreign entrants.

**8. Messenia.** At Thouria in Messenia was staged an athletic festival, *Pohoidaia*, in honour of Poseidon; here an equestrian entrant from Sparta is attested for the later fifth century.<sup>131</sup>

**9. Argolis.** As pointed out above (103), the *Hekatomboia* at the Argive Heraion possibly attracted entrants from Korinthos already in the sixth century. Foreign entrants attested by epinician poetry for the fifth century come from Athens, Opous in East Lokris and Ialysos on Rhodos.<sup>132</sup> Epigraphical evidence attests to entrants from Thasos and, again, Ialysos.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, a series of bronze artefacts of the fifth century which had served as prizes at the festival has survived.<sup>134</sup> The prizes are inscribed with

<sup>125</sup> On which see Nielsen 2004, 507.

<sup>126</sup> On which see Nielsen 2002, 271–307.

<sup>127</sup> On which see Perlman 2000, 158–60.

<sup>128</sup> Merkelbach 1973, interpreting Bacchyl. 11 in honour of an athlete from Metapontion as celebrating a victory in the Hemerasia; Perlman 2000, 159; Tausend 1999, 372–73.

<sup>129</sup> *IG* V.1 1387.2.

<sup>130</sup> *SEG* 39 1365 (ca. 470–450 BC): ἐκ Φενεῶν ἄεθλα πᾶρ Δ[ι]οσκόρων.

<sup>131</sup> *IG* V.1 213.18–19: καὶ Ποιοῖδαα Δαμόνον | [ἐ]νίκε Θεურία ὀκτάκτιν. Cf. Ringwood 1927, 89; Luraghi 2008, 31, 35. – In Lakadaimon proper were several athletic festivals in what was presumably perioikic territory (*IG* V.1 213), but since it cannot be entirely excluded that these were arranged by the Spartan state, I have excluded them from this survey; Spartan entrants are attested at these festivals.

<sup>132</sup> Athens: Bacchyl. 10.32; Opous: Pind. *Ol.* 9.88; Ialysos: Pind. *Ol.* 7.83.

<sup>133</sup> Thasos: Ebert 1972, no. 37.12–14; Ialysos: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 82.

<sup>134</sup> Amandry 1971, 615.III; Amandry 1980, 211–13.

variations of the formula *παρ' Ἡέρας Ἀργείας ἐμὶ τῶν χαρέθλων*, and have been found at Vergina in Macedonia,<sup>135</sup> at Athens,<sup>136</sup> at Sinope,<sup>137</sup> and at Pompeii.<sup>138</sup> The provenances of these finds may reasonably be taken as evidence for entrants from these areas. In the case of the vessel found at Pompeii, it may perhaps be assumed that the prize had been won by an athlete from Magna Graecia and originally made its way to Italy with the victor.

As pointed out above (103), the festival at Epidaurus definitely attracted an entrant from Aigina in the sixth century, and possibly one from Korinthos. Entrants from Aigina and Ialysos on Rhodos are attested for the fifth century,<sup>139</sup> and one from Argos for the fourth century.<sup>140</sup>

**10. Aigina.** As pointed out above (104), the *Aiakeia* on Aigina possibly attracted Korinthian entrants already in the sixth century. Entrants from Athens and Ialysos on Rhodos are securely attested for the fifth century.<sup>141</sup>

**11. Attika.** As pointed out above (104), the *Herakleia* at Marathon possibly attracted Korinthian entrants already in the sixth century. Entrants from Aigina and Opous in East Lokris are securely attested for the fifth century.<sup>142</sup>

As pointed out above (104), the *Eleusinia* at Eleusis possibly attracted Korinthian entrants already in the sixth century. Entrants from Thebes and Opous in East Lokris are securely attested for the fifth century.<sup>143</sup>

As pointed out above (104), the *Panathenaia* at Athens definitely attracted entrants from Korinthos already in the sixth century and probably from Taras, Sparta, Samos, Kyrene and Taucheira as well. Entrants from Akragas, Thebes, Argos, Aigina, Opous in East Lokris and Ialysos on Rhodos are securely attested for the fifth century by epincian poetry.<sup>144</sup> Inscriptions attest to entrants from Sikyon, Argos and, again, Ialysos in the

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<sup>135</sup> Amandry 1980, 212 n. 7. The Macedonian royal house, of course, claimed descent from Argos (Hdt. 5.22); cf. Borza 1982 and Andronicos 1993, 165–66: »[T]he possibility that the victor who carried off the trophy was a Macedonian king is quite strong.« Cf. Kyle 2007, 232.

<sup>136</sup> Amandry 1971, 615.III.C; Amandry 1980, 213.

<sup>137</sup> Amandry 1971, 615.III.A; cf. *SEG* 30 1456.

<sup>138</sup> Lazzarini & Zevi 1989; cf. *SEG* 39 1061.

<sup>139</sup> Aigina: Pind. *Nem.* 3.84, *Isthm.* 8.68; Ialysos: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 82 (420s).

<sup>140</sup> *SEG* 35 267.

<sup>141</sup> Athens: Bacchyl. 10.34–35; Ialysos: Pind. *Ol.* 7.86.

<sup>142</sup> Aigina: Pind. *Pyth.* 8.79; Opous: Pind. *Ol.* 9.89.

<sup>143</sup> Thebes: Pind. *Isthm.* 1.57; Opous: Pind. *Ol.* 9.99.

<sup>144</sup> Akragas: Pind. *Isthm.* 2.20; Thebes: Pind. *Isthm.* 4.25; Argos: Pind. *Nem.* 10.34; Aigina: Pind. *Nem.* 4.18; Opous: Pind. *Ol.* 9.88; Ialysos: Pind. *Ol.* 7.82.



Classical period.<sup>145</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2312 (ca. 400–350 BC) may be a fragmentary list of victors at the *Panathenaia*; the entries list men with at least six different city-ethnics, but none of them are completely preserved, but suggested restorations of the fragmentary city-ethnics include: [Ἐρυθ]ραῖος (4); [Τροζ]ήνιος (5); [Ζακ]ύνθιος (6). An entrant from Pharsalos in Thessalia has been inferred from *Plut. Per.* 36.3: the passage relates how Perikles discussed with the philosopher Protagoras the death of a pentathlete, Epitimos of Pharsalos, who was accidentally hit by a spear during a contest, and it has been not unreasonably suggested that this accident occurred at the *Panathenaia*.<sup>146</sup> As pointed out above (105) panathenaic amphoras found in *sanctuaries* may reasonably be interpreted as dedications by victorious athletes.<sup>147</sup> In a few cases, this interpretation is confirmed by dedicatory inscriptions; thus, a fourth-century amphora from the sanctuary of Zeus Megistos at Labraunda in Karia is inscribed [Καλλ]ικλῆς Καλ[λι]κλείου[ς] Ἡρακλεώ[της νικη]σας ἄνδρας [στάδιον Δ]ί and attests to a victory at the *Panathenaia* by a citizen of Herakleia on Latmos;<sup>148</sup> another, from the sanctuary at Eleusis in Attika itself, has a dedicatory inscription of which the ethnic Ἀθηναῖ[ος] survives alongside a mention of the discipline in which the victory was won: δώλιχ[ο]ν (*sic*), i.e. the long-distance race;<sup>149</sup> a third, from a sacred building at Poteidaia on the Chalkidike, is inscribed Ἀριστόβουλος Εὐβουλίδου [ἄρ]ματι [-],<sup>150</sup> thus attesting to an equestrian victory by a citizen of Poteidaia. M. Bentz (1998, 103) lists fifth-century amphoras from sanctuaries at Aigina; Thebes; Korinthos; Naukratis; Kyrene; Syracuse; Samos; and Pantikapaion; fourth-century amphoras from sanctuaries come from Thebes; Oropos; Korinthos; Amphanai; Amphipolis; Poteidaia; Iasos; Samos; Lindos; and Paphos; to which may be added Asea in Arkadia.<sup>151</sup> The evidence of these amphoras thus confirms that the catchment area of the *Panathenaia* was quite wide in the Classical period. Finally, an entrant from Larisa in Thessalia has been inferred on the basis of what seems to be a specially commissioned volute krater commemorating a Panathenaic victory found at Larisa.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Sikyon: *SEG* 11 257 (500–450 BC); Argos: *SEG* 17 150 (ca. 350 BC); Ialysos: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 82 (420s).

<sup>146</sup> Stadter 1989, 328; Stamatopoulou 2007, 220.

<sup>147</sup> Bentz 1998, 103–6.

<sup>148</sup> *BE* 1966, no. 420; Bentz 1998, no. 4.356.

<sup>149</sup> Frel & Metaxa-Prokopiou 1972; Bentz 1998, no. 4.327.

<sup>150</sup> *SEG* 45 801; Bentz 1998, no. 4.136.

<sup>151</sup> Forsén 2008, 120.

<sup>152</sup> Stamatopoulou 2007, 335–36.

The *Anakeia*<sup>153</sup> in honour of the *Dioskouroi* at Athens can be traced back to the Archaic period and included an *agon* which comprised equestrian<sup>154</sup> and presumably athletic competitions as well.<sup>155</sup> Two fifth-century bronze vessels awarded as prizes at the *Anakeia* have survived. One was found at Chersonesos<sup>156</sup> and one at Pydna<sup>157</sup> in Macedonia, and these provenances may suggest entries from these *poleis*.<sup>158</sup>

The annual festival of the *Epitaphia* commemorating Athenians killed in war included both athletic and equestrian competitions. Several bronze vessels which served as prizes at this festival have survived, and the fact that one of these was found in a grave on the Chalkidike suggests that the festival admitted foreign entrants in the fifth century, which would be a highly interesting detail for such a »nationalistic« commemoration of war casualties.

A fragmentary inscription of the later fourth century<sup>159</sup> has been persuasively interpreted as stipulating the foundation of a competitive festival in honour of *Eirene* (»Peace«) in 335/4 BC; the festival was apparently envisaged as an international *panegyris* with associated sacred truce and athletic, equestrian and musical competitions.<sup>160</sup> As such, it must have been intended to admit foreign entrants.

**12. Euboa.** In addition to Pindar's *I3. Olympian* (*supra* 105), two other epinician odes refer to victories won by foreigners on Euboa: Bakchylides *Ep.* 10.34 in honour of a runner from Athens;<sup>161</sup> and Pind. *Isthm.* 1.57 in honour of the equestrian victor Herodotos of Thebes.<sup>162</sup> These references are commonly taken to be to the *Artemisia*<sup>163</sup> of Eretria, which, if this is correct,<sup>164</sup> included both athletic and equestrian events and admitted foreign entrants in the fifth century.

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<sup>153</sup> On which see: See Deubner 195, 216 with Amandry 1971, 615.II.B; Parker 1996, 97 with n. 124; Parker 2005, 457.

<sup>154</sup> Lysias fr. 279 (Carey): ἵπποδρομία Ἀνακείων.

<sup>155</sup> Parker 1996, 97 n. 124 and Parker 2005, 457.

<sup>156</sup> Amandry 1971, 615.II.B: ἄθλον ἐξ Ἀνακίων.

<sup>157</sup> *SEG* 46 802: ἐχς Ἀνακίου ἄθλον.

<sup>158</sup> A third prize vessel of the early fifth century is of unknown provenance (Amandry 1971, 615 II.A: ἐχς Ἀνακίο ἄθλον).

<sup>159</sup> *SEG* 16 55.

<sup>160</sup> See Sosin 2004; cf. Hunt 2010, 241–43. Cf. *SEG* 29 88.

<sup>161</sup> ἀμφὶ Εὐβοίαν.

<sup>162</sup> Εὐβοίαν ἐν γναμπτοῖς δρόμοις.

<sup>163</sup> Ringwood 1929, 386–88; Kramer 1970, 38; Cairns 1983, n. 21; Larmour 1999, 178 no. 18; Walker 2004, 34.

<sup>164</sup> The epinician passages locate the victories simply on Euboa and not explicitly at the Eretrian Artemisia, but it is the standard assumption in modern scholarship that they were achieved here (*supra* 113); other agonistic festivals are, however, attested for Eretria

**13. Thessalia.** At Larisa, a major athletic festival dedicated to Athena or Apollo is often assumed to have existed in the Classical period.<sup>165</sup> Solid evidence for this festival is, however, wholly post-Classical apart from some types of Larisaian coinage;<sup>166</sup> but a fragment of Sophokles may attest to the existence of the festival already in the fifth century: fr. 378 (Radt) from the *Larisaioi* refers to a competitive festival at Larisa as *πολὺς ἀγὼν πάγξενος*, that is »a great contest, open to all comers«. <sup>167</sup> If it is correct, as argued by D. Pritchard (2013, 121), that tragic poets standardly modelled mythic athletics on the world of contemporary athletics, this passage may be the best evidence for the existence of the festival in the fifth century, and the adjective *πάγξενος* suggests that Sophokles envisaged the festival at Larisa as admitting foreign entrants – which may also reflect fifth-century reality.

According to Pausanias (6.11.5) the famous athlete Theogenes of Thasos achieved a victory in long-distance running (*dolichos*) at a festival *ἐν Φθίᾳ τῇ Θεσσαλῶν*, »in Phthia in Thessalia«. Phthia was a part of the *mythical* geography of Thessalia rather than of its historical Classical geography,<sup>168</sup> and so the location of the festival must remain unknown. If Pausanias' report is historical, it testifies to an athletic *agon* in Thessalia in the fifth century; that Theogenes was in fact an accomplished runner is independently attested,<sup>169</sup> and so this detail is clearly acceptable; Pausanias' statement, then, may then be taken as evidence for an athletic festival in fifth-century Thessalia, presumably in honour of Achilles.<sup>170</sup> The important detail in the present context, of course, is that this festival must have admitted foreign competitors.

**14. Achaia Phthiotis.** Pindar at *Isthm.* 1.59 in honour of the equestrian victor Herodotos of Thebes refers to a victory by the honorandus at the

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(e.g. one for Herakles (*IG* XII.2 272; *SEG* 31 806) and one at Tamynai (Aischin. 3.88)) and a Pindaric scholion refers to a festival at Karystos (Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13.159b (Drachmann)) as well.

<sup>165</sup> Gallis 1988, 226–28; Larmour 1999, 174 no. 13; Stamatopoulou 2007, 335.

<sup>166</sup> See Kyle 2007, 149; Stamatopoulou 2007a, 335 with n. 163. See also Klose & Stumpf 1996, nos. 166–68.

<sup>167</sup> Transl. by Olson 2009, 237. Cf. Pritchard 2013, 121.

<sup>168</sup> Helly 1995, 160; Jacquemin 2002, 172.

<sup>169</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 36A which lists a victory in *dolichos* at the Hekatombia in Argos (Ἐκατόμβοια δόλιχον ἐν Ἀργεῖ). Cf. Plut. *Praec. Rei Publ. Ger.* 15.7: οὐ παγκρατίῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πυγμῇ καὶ δολίχῳ.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Paus. 6.11.5: ἦν δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ φιλοτίμημα, ἐν πατρίδι τοῦ ὀκίστου τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων ἀνελέσθαι δρόμου νίκην, on which see Jacquemin 2002, 172 ad loc. Cf. Harris 1964, 116; Stamatopoulou 2007, 334.

sanctuary of Protesilaos at Phylake in Achaia Phthiotis;<sup>171</sup> this festival, then, admitted foreign competitors, but no further details are known.

**15. The Aegean.** By the 420s the *Delia* (on which see *supra* 122) had long since fallen into disuse, but in 426/5 BC the Athenians re-established the festival on a grand scale,<sup>172</sup> presumably as an »international« festival, though this detail is not explicitly attested. An Athenian won an equestrian victory at the *Delia* in the later fourth century.<sup>173</sup>

**16. Chalkidike.** A fourth-century honorific decree of Hermion in the Argolid<sup>174</sup> honours an apparently local athlete for his victories; line 6 has been restored to read [Ποτι]δαία πα[γκράτιον], and if this restoration is accepted, the decree provides evidence for athletic competitions at Poteidaia attracting and admitting foreign competitors, though no further details are known.

**17. Troas.** Pindar's *Nemean* 11 is not an epinician but an honorific ode in honour of Aristagoras of Tenedos at his assumption of the office of *prytanis*; even so, the ode refers to the athletics exploits of the honorandus; these, however, were not performed at Panhellenic but at more local competitions (19–21): ἐκ δὲ περικτιόνων ἐκκαίδεκ' Αἰρισταγόραν | ἀγλααὶ νῖκαι πάτραν τ' εὐώνυμον | ἔστεφάνωσαν πάλα καὶ μεγαυχεῖ παγκρατίῳ; J. B. Bury makes the following comment on ἐκ δὲ περικτιόνων: »The force of ἐκ is that a stranger carried away prizes or crowns from among the native inhabitants.«<sup>175</sup> Accordingly, Aristagoras was victorious in contests staged in areas close to the island of Tenedos, and these contests must have admitted foreign entrants; Pindar is, however, silent on the identity of the festivals at which Aristagoras won and the scholia provide no assistance.

A late fourth-century inscription from Athens documents an Athenian equestrian victor at the *Ilieia*, the festival in honour of Athena Ilias at Ilion.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Cf. Ringwood 1927, 15; Kramer 1970, 51; Larmour 1999, 190 no. 8; Stamatopoulou 2007, 333–34. Stamatopoulou connects Paus. 6.11.5 (discussed *supra* 114) with this festival, which is not impossible; however, I take the reference by Paus. 6.11.5 to refer to an otherwise unknown contest in honour of Achilles, not Protesilaos (*supra* 114); certainty in these matters, however, is hardly possible.

<sup>172</sup> Thuc. 3.104.6.

<sup>173</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2971; cf. Schachter 1981, 47.

<sup>174</sup> *IG* IV 673.

<sup>175</sup> Bury 1890, 223.

<sup>176</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3138.I.5. Cf. Preuner 1926, 130–32.

**18. Ionia.** Two foreign competitors were victorious at the *Ephesia* at Ephesos in the fourth century: an Athenian achieved an equestrian victory (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3138.III.5) and a *pais* from Magnesia won the *stadion* (*I.Delphes* 4.216.4–5). The *Ephesia*, then, admitted foreign entrants.

A Hellenistic inscription documents the existence of athletic competitions at the *Klaria* at Kolophon.<sup>177</sup> That Kolophon arranged a number of competitive festivals already in the fourth century is clear from a honorific decree bestowing [πρ]οεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσ[ι] on its honorandi.<sup>178</sup> That one of these may have been the *Klaria* is suggested by an epigraphical victory catalogue of the later fourth century found at Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3138): it lists an equestrian victory by an Athenian at the *Klaria* alongside victories at Ilion and Ephesos, both in Asia Minor.

According to Plutarch, the *Heraia* on Samos were, presumably for a brief period only, renamed *Lysandreia* to honour the victorious Spartan admiral Lysander who had »liberated« the island from Athenian oppression.<sup>179</sup> That the *Lysandreia* included athletic contests is clear from a late-Classical/early-Hellenistic inscription on a statue base from the Samian Heraion referring to four victories in the *pankration* at this festival.<sup>180</sup> The *Lysandreia* included poetic contests as well, and it appears from Plutarch, presumably citing the historian Douris of Samos, that poets from Kolophon and Herakleia competed at the festival in Lysander's day;<sup>181</sup> the musical competitions, then, were open to foreign entrants and it is a fair assumption that the athletic contests were so as well.

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<sup>177</sup> *Iscr. di Cos* IV 213.13–14.

<sup>178</sup> *AJP* 1935: 379–80 no. 4.8.

<sup>179</sup> Plut. *Lys.* 18.4. Cf. Shipley 1987, 133–34; Larmour 1999, 173 no. 7.

<sup>180</sup> *IG* XII.6 334.

<sup>181</sup> Plut. *Lys.* 18.4: Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦ Κολοφονίου καὶ Νικηράτου τινὸς Ἡρακλεώτου ποιήμασι Λυσάνδρεια διαγωνισαμένων κτλ.

**Table 1: Athletic festivals accepting foreign entrants down to ca. 300 BC<sup>182</sup>**

**1. Sicily**

1–2 Unknown *poleis*: at unknown festivals, foreign entrants from:

(1) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e

**2. Magna Graecia**

3–4 Unknown *poleis*: at unknown at festivals, foreign entrants from:

(1) Kroton (no. 56): C5e

5 Kroton (no. 56): a C6 festival was actively promoted to attract foreign entrants

6 Sybaris (no. 70): a C6 festival was actively promoted to attract foreign entrants

**3. Kephallenia**

7 Unknown *polis*: at unknown festival, foreign entrant from unidentified *polis* attested

**4. Boiotia**

8–9 Unknown *poleis*: at unknown festivals, foreign entrants from:

(1) Ialysos (no. 995): C5f

10 Lebadeia (no. 211): at the *Basileia*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Tanagra (no. 220): C4

(2) Thebes (no. 221): C4l

11 Orchomenos (no. 213): at the *Minyeia*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Thebes (no. 221): C5f

12 Oropos (no. 214): at the *Amphiareia*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Thebes (no. 221): 329/28 BC

(2) Sikyon (no. 228): 329/28 BC

(3) Elis (no. 251): 329/28 BC

(4) Argos (no. 347): 329/28 BC

(5) Phleious (no. 355): 329/28 BC

(6) Athens (no. 361): 329/28 BC

(7) Larisa (no. 401): 329/28 BC

(8) Pharsalos (no. 413): 329/28 BC

(9) Andros (no. 475): 329/28 BC

(10) Sinope (no. 729): 329/28 BC

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<sup>182</sup> This table sets out the most optimistic interpretation of the evidence collected and discussed in sections 3–4 above. The geographical layout corresponds to that of Hansen & Nielsen 2004, and the serial numbers attached to names of *poleis* refer to the entries in that work. »C« means century; »e« means early; »f« means first half; »m« means middle; »s« means second half; and »l« means late; thus »C6l« means late sixth century.

(11) Kolophon (no. 848): 329/28 BC

(12) Kyrene (no. 1028): 329/28 BC

13 Thebes (no. 221): at the *Herakleia*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Syracuse (no. 47): C5f

(2) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l

(3) Troizen (no. 357): ca. 550-525 BC

(4) Aigina (no. 358): C5f

(5) Athens (no. 361): C5f

(6) Opous (no. 386): C5f

(7) Ialysos (no. 995): C5f

14 Thespiiai (no. 222): a foreign entrant at the festival for Herakles suggested by provenance (Epeiros) of inscribed C5f prize hydria

### 5. Megaris

15 Megara (no. 225): at the *Alkathoia*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e

(2) Hermion (no. 350): C4

(3) Aigina (no. 358): C5f

(4) Ialysos (no. 995): C5f

(5) Kyrene (no. 1028): C5f

### 6. Korinthia

16 Korinthos (no. 227): at the *Hellotia*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Sparta (no. 345): C5f

### 7. Sikyonia

17 Sikyon (no. 228): at the *Pythia*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Aitna (no. 8): C5f

(2) Thebes (no. 221): C5f

(3) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e

(4) Sparta (no. 345): C6m

(5) Argos (no. 347): C6l or C5e

(6) Athens (no. 361): C5f

(7) Rhodos (no. 1000): C4l

### 8. Achaia

18–19 Unknown *poleis*: at unknown festivals, foreign entrants from:

(1) Argos (no. 347): C6l or C5e

20 Pellene (no. 240): at the *Theoxenia*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e

(2) Argos (no. 347): C6l or C5e

(3) Athens (no. 361): C5f

(4) Opous (no. 386): C5f

(5) Ialysos (no. 995): C5f

### 9. Arkadia

21 In Parrhasia on Mt Lykaion: at the *Lykaia*, foreign entrants from:

- (1) Syracuse (no. 47): C4l
- (2) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e
- (3) Elis (no. 251): C4l
- (4) Sparta (no. 345): C4l
- (5) Argos (no. 347): C6l or C5e; C4l
- (6) Hermion (no. 350): C4
- (7) Athens (no. 361): C4l
- (8) Opous (no. 386): C5f
- (9) Ialysos (no. 995): C5f
- (10) Rhodos (no. 1000): C4l
- (11) Akarnania: C4l
- (12) Macedonia: C4l
- (13) Kassandreia: C4l

22 at Mainalos: at unknown festival, foreign entrants from:

- (1) Argos (no. 347): C4m

23 Kleitor (no. 276): at the *Koriasia*, foreign entrants from:

- (1) Argos (no. 347): C6l or C5e

24 Lousoi (no. 279): C4l admittance of foreign entrants at the *Hemerasia* can be inferred from the existence of a system of *epangelia*

25 Pheneos (no. 291): admittance of foreign entrants at a festival for the *Dioskouroi* is inferred from the provenance (Sinope) of inscribed C5 prize hydria

26 Tegea (no. 297): at the *Aleaia*, foreign entrants from:

- (1) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e
- (2) Argos (no. 347): C6l or C5e

### 10. Messenia

27 Thouria (no. 322): at the *Pohoidaia*, foreign entrants from:

- (1) Sparta (no. 345): C5l

### 11. Lakedaimon

28 Sparta (no. 345): at unknown festival, foreign entrants from:

- (1) Argos (no. 347): C6l or C5e

### 12. Argolis

29 Argos (no. 347): at the *Hekatomboia*, foreign entrants from:

- (1) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e
- (2) Athens (no. 361): C5f
- (3) Opous (no. 386): C5f



- (4) Thasos (no. 526): C5f
- (5) Sinope (no. 729): C5
- (6) Ialysos (no. 955): C5f; C5s
- (7) Magna Graecia: C5
- (8) Macedonia: C5
- 30 Epidauros (no. 348): at the *Asklapieia*, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e
  - (2) Argos (no. 347): C4
  - (3) Aigina (no. 358): ca. 530 BC; C5f
  - (4) Ialysos (no. 995): C5s
- 31 Phleious (no. 355): at unknown festival, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e

### 13. The Saronic Gulf

- 32 Aigina (no. 358): at the *Aiakeia*, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e
  - (2) Athens (no. 361): C5f
  - (3) Ialysos (no. 995): C5f

### 14. Attika

- 33 Athens (no. 361): at the *Herakleia*, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e
  - (2) Aigina (no. 358): C5f
  - (3) Opous (no. 386): C5f
- 34 Athens (no. 361): at the *Eleusinia*, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) Thebes (no. 221): C5f
  - (2) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e
  - (3) Opous (no. 386): C5f
- 35 Athens (no. 361): at the *Panathenaia*, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) Akragas (no. 9): C5f
  - (2) Syracuse (no. 47): C5
  - (3) Taras (no. 71): C6s
  - (4) Zakynthos (no. 141): C4f
  - (5) Oropos (no. 214): C4
  - (6) Thebes (no. 221): C5f; C5; C4
  - (7) Korinthos (no. 227): C6s; C6l; C5e; C5; C4
  - (8) Sikyon (no. 228): C5f
  - (9) Asea (no. 267): C4
  - (10) Sparta (no. 345): C6s
  - (11) Argos (no. 347): C5f
  - (12) Troizen (no. 357): C4f
  - (13) Aigina (no. 358): C5f
  - (14) Opous (no. 386): C5f

- (15) Amphanai (no. 393): C4
- (16) Larisa (no. 401): C4
- (17) Pharsalos (no. 413): C5
- (18) Amphipolis (no. 553): C4
- (19) Poteidaia (no. 598): C4
- (20) Pantikapaion (no. 705): C5
- (21) Erythrai (no. 845): C4f
- (22) Samos (no. 864): C6s; C5; C4
- (23) Iasos (no. 891): C4
- (24) Herakleia (no. 910): C4
- (25) Ialysos (no. 995): C5f
- (26) Rhodos (no. 1000): C4
- (27) Paphos (no. 1019): C4
- (28) Naukratis (no. 1023): C5
- (29) Kyrene (no. 1028): C6s; C5
- (30) Taucheira (no. 1029): C6s
- 36 Athens (no. 361): at the *Anakeia*, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) Pydna (no. 544): C5
  - (2) Chersonesos (no. 695): C5l
- 37 Athens (no. 361): at the *Epitaphia*, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) The Chalkidike: C5
- 38 Athens (no. 361): the C4s agonistic festival of Eirene envisaged foreign entrants

### **15. Euboa**

- 39 Eretria (no. 370): at the *Artemisia*, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) Thebes (no. 221): C5f
  - (2) Korinthos (no. 227): C6l or C5e
  - (3) Athens (no. 361): C5f

### **16. Thessalia**

- 40 at an unknown location in Thessalia: at a festival for Achilles, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) Thasos (no. 526): C5f
- 41 Larisa (no. 401): the C5 existence of a festival admitting foreign entrants is suggested by a tragic fragment

### **17. Achaia Phthiotis**

- 42 Phylake (no. 440): at a festival for Protesilaos, foreign entrants from:
  - (1) Thebes (no. 221): C5f

### 18. The Aegean

43 Delos (no. 478): the *Delia* accepted foreign entrants in C6, but no actual instance is attested from this period; in C4, foreign entrants from:

(1) Athens (no. 361): C4I

### 19. Chalkidike

44 Poteidaia (no. 598): at unidentified festival, foreign entrants from:

(1) Hermion (no. 350): C4

### 20. Thrace

45 Chersonesos (no. 661): the festival in honour of the oecist accepted foreign entrants in C6 though not from Lampsakos (no. 748)

### 21. Troas

46–47 in the area around Tenedos (no. 793): at unidentified festivals, foreign entrants from:

(1) Tenedos (no. 793): C5f

48 Ilios (779): at the *Ilieia*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Athens (no. 361): C4I

### 22. Ionia

49 Ephesos (no. 844): at the *Epheseia*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Athens (no. 361): C4I

(2) Magnesia (no. 852): C4I

50 Kolophon (no. 848): at the *Klaria*, foreign entrants from:

(1) Athens (no. 361): C4I

51 Samos (no. 864): at the *Heraia* (*Lysandreia*) foreign poets were admitted to the poetic contests and foreign entrants can be assumed for the athletic contests as well

### 23. Karia

52 arranged by the Dorian hexapolis: the *Dorieia* accepted entrants from all six (later five) members of the organisation, though presumably not from other city-states

## 5. Forms of interaction in the Greek city-state culture

The evidence surveyed in sections 3–4 above allows the tentative identification of more than 50 athletic festivals outside the *periodos* which in the period from the sixth century down to ca. 300 BC certainly or with varying degrees of probability envisaged and admitted foreign entrants to their

competitions (see Table 1). Such a survey must of necessity be of a somewhat impressionistic nature, but even so it seems a reasonable conclusion that acceptance of foreign entrants was a *general characteristic* of Greek athletic festivals in the late-Archaic and Classical periods and not at all confined to the great festivals of the *periodos*.

The athletic festival, in other words, was a venue of intense interaction in the Greek city-state culture. The Greek city-state culture comprised more than a thousand *poleis*.<sup>183</sup> These *poleis* were not isolated and introvert communities, but, on the contrary, extremely extrovert and engaged in endless intercommunication and interaction with each other.<sup>184</sup> This cultural interaction crossed all borders<sup>185</sup> and involved both individuals and whole communities, and it is, I submit, the context in which the general admittance of foreign entrants at athletic festivals arranged by various *poleis* should be seen. In order to illustrate how extensive and massive such cultural intercommunication and interaction was, this section briefly sketches the most visible forms it took.

One conspicuous form that such interaction took on the individual or family-level, in particular in the earlier part of the period under consideration here, was aristocratic intermarriage across city-state boundaries, such as is reasonably well-known from Athenian contexts<sup>186</sup> though it was of course in no way confined to Athens. Thus, the Athenian aristocrat Kylon<sup>187</sup> was married to a daughter of one Theagenes, »who at that time was the tyrant of Megara«;<sup>188</sup> a marriage between a Kypselid Korinthian woman and a Philaid Athenian male is known from a brief remark by Herodotos;<sup>189</sup> the Alkmeonid Megakles of Athens married the daughter of the tyrant Kleisthenes of Sikyon;<sup>190</sup> and the famous tyrant Peisistratos of Athens certainly married a daughter of Gorgilos of Argos, Timonassa, who had previously been married to the tyrant Archinos of Ambrakia,<sup>191</sup> and presumably also contracted a marriage with one Koisyra of Eretria;<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Hansen & Nielsen 2004.

<sup>184</sup> For brief discussions, see Hansen 1994, 12; Hansen 2000, 143; Hansen 2006, 127–31.

<sup>185</sup> Hansen 1994, 12.

<sup>186</sup> Davies 1984, 118.

<sup>187</sup> Described at Thuc. 1.126.3 as εὐγενής τε καὶ δυνατός.

<sup>188</sup> Thuc. 1.126.3: ὃς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει Μεγάρων. Theagenes presumably belonged to the aristocracy of Megara: Legon 1981, 95.

<sup>189</sup> Hdt. 6.128.2; cf. How & Wells 1912, 119; Davies 1971, 295; Gernet 1981, 295; Salmon 1984, 217.

<sup>190</sup> Hdt. 6.130.2. On the prestige which this marriage gave Megakles, see Bicknell 1972, 55. On the Herodotean passage, see McGregor 1941; Alexander 1959; Parker 1994; Papakonstantinou 2010.

<sup>191</sup> Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 17.4; cf. Lavelle 2005, 97–98, 203–9.

<sup>192</sup> Lavelle 2005, 135–36.

Hippias of Athens, the son and successor of Peisistratos, married his daughter Archedike to Aiantides of Lampsakos, son of the tyrant Hippoklos,<sup>193</sup> who may have had solid Persian connections.<sup>194</sup> Prokles, the tyrant of Epidauros, may himself have married a woman from Arkadian Orchomenos and certainly gave his own daughter Lysida (also known as Melissa) in marriage to Periandros of Korinthos.<sup>195</sup> Gelon, the great tyrant of Syracuse, married a daughter of Theron, tyrant of Akragas,<sup>196</sup> and Theron in turn married a daughter of Polyzalos, the younger brother of Gelon.<sup>197</sup> Hieron, tyrant first of Gela and then of Syracuse and another brother of Gelon, married both a daughter of Anaxilas the tyrant of Rhegion and a niece of Theron of Akragas.<sup>198</sup> And, still on Sicily, Dionysios I of Syracuse married Doris, daughter of one Xenotos, who was among the most distinguished citizens of Lokroi Epizephyrioi in Southern Italy.<sup>199</sup> Such marriages across city-state boundaries cannot have been the exclusive preserve of aristocrats who usurped tyrannical power, but must have occurred also among less powerful families and have crisscrossed the Greek world, thus creating and easing aristocratic interaction.

Free intermarriage across city-state boundaries, in the manner of earlier aristocrats, was no longer possible in the Classical period as city-states enacted regulations of marriage rights i.a. to define and control membership of their citizen populations.<sup>200</sup> But city-states could grant foreigners the right to marry into their population (*epigamia*). The institution of *epigamia* is better attested for the Hellenistic than for the Classical period, but it certainly developed in the Classical period. At Lysias 34.3 the speaker states that Athens had granted *epigamia* to the Euboians in the days of the empire, that is in the fifth century.<sup>201</sup> No source confirms or contradicts this and the statement should possibly be accepted at face value. However, the institution is securely attested for 382 BC by Xenophon (*Hell.* 5.2.19): it appears from this passage that the members of the Chalkidic Confederacy had voted the right of *epigamia* among all member states of the federation, which means that citizens of member states could »contract legal marriages

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<sup>193</sup> Thuc. 6.59.3.

<sup>194</sup> Hdt. 4.138.1.

<sup>195</sup> Hdt. 3.50.2; cf. Jeffery 1976, 151.

<sup>196</sup> Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 93b.

<sup>197</sup> Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 93a.

<sup>198</sup> Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.112 (Drachmann).

<sup>199</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.44.6; Plut. *Dio* 3.2.

<sup>200</sup> Cf. *OCD*<sup>3</sup> 928 s.v. marriage law, Greek.

<sup>201</sup> ὄτε καὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ {τὰ} χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα ... Εὐβοέσιν ἐπιγαμίαν ἐποιούμεθα. In practice, intermarriage may have been possible between the cities of Western and Eastern Lokris in the fifth century: Larsen 1968, 56.

within any city of the Confederacy.«<sup>202</sup> Such *epigamia*, of course, presupposes extensive interaction among citizens of the confederate member states and will itself have created more.

Another social institution which connected aristocrats, or at least upper class individuals, in networks stretching across the Greek world, was the institution of *xenia*, attested from the Archaic throughout the Classical period. *Xenia* was a form of »ritualised friendship«<sup>203</sup> by which citizens of different *poleis*<sup>204</sup> agreed formally to act as *xenoi* (»strangers«) of each other, an agreement that put the contracting partners under certain mutual social, economic and political obligations, which could be inherited. The benefits of such arrangements, both to the contracting individuals themselves and not infrequently to their *poleis*, are obvious and have been well studied by Herman (1987) and Mitchell (1997).<sup>205</sup> In the present context, it should be emphasized that *xenia* was an institution designed to ease and further intercommunication and interaction across city-state boundaries. That it was a widespread institution indeed is clear even from the following extremely selective survey based simply on the works of Herman (1987) and Mitchell (1997):

**Table 2: *Xenia*-relations between citizens of different *poleis***

1. citizens of Syracuse (no. 47) had *xenoi* at Thebes (no. 221); Sparta (no. 361); and Athens (no. 361)
2. citizens of Thourioi (no. 74) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345)
3. citizens of Thebes (no. 221) had *xenoi* at Syracuse (no. 47); and Athens (no. 361); as well as in Thessalia
4. citizens of Korinthos (no. 227) had *xenoi* at Miletos (no. 854); as well as in Thessalia
5. citizens of Elis (no. 251) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 361)
6. citizens of Alea (no. 265) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
7. citizens of Mantinea (no. 281) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345); and Athens (no. 361)
8. citizens of Tegea (no. 297) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345)
9. citizens of Sparta (no. 345) had *xenoi* at Syracuse (no. 47); Thourioi (no. 74); Elis (no. 251); Mantinea (no. 281); Tegea (no. 297); Argos (no. 347); Phleious (no. 355); Athens (no. 361); Pharsalos (no. 413);

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<sup>202</sup> Larsen 1968, 77.

<sup>203</sup> See Herman 1987.

<sup>204</sup> Mitchell 1997, 4, 188; Hansen 2006, 127. Cf. Solon fr. 23 (West): ζένος ἀλλοδαπός.

<sup>205</sup> See also Starr 1992, 34–35.

- on Kos (no. 497); at Byzantion (no. 674); Kyzikos (no. 747); Abydos (no. 765); and Kyrene (no. 1028)
10. citizens of Argos (no. 347) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345); and Athens (no. 361)
  11. citizens of Phleious (no. 355) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345)
  12. citizens of Aigina (no. 358) had *xenoi* on Paros (no. 509)
  13. citizens of Athens (no. 361) had *xenoi* at Syracuse (no. 47); Thebes (no. 221); Alea (no. 265); Mantinea (no. 281); Argos (no. 347); Sparta (no. 345); Eretria (no. 370); Oreos (no. 372); Pydna (no. 544); Byzantion (no. 674); Selymbria (no. 679); Herakleia (no. 715); Lampsakos (no. 748); on Tenedos (no. 793); on Chios (no. 840); at Ialysos (no. 995); and Salamis (no. 1020); as well as in Thessalia and Macedonia
  14. citizens of Eretria (no. 370) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
  15. citizens of Oreos (no. 372) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
  16. citizens of Pharsalos (no. 413) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345)
  17. citizens of Ioulis (no. 491) had *xenoi* in Akarnania
  18. citizens of Kos (no. 497) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345)
  19. citizens of Paros (no. 509) had *xenoi* on Aigina (no. 358); and on Siphnos (no. 519)
  20. citizens of Thera (no. 527) had *xenoi* at Axos (no. 950)
  21. citizens of Pydna (no. 544) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
  22. citizens of Byzantion (no. 674) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345); and Athens (no. 361)
  23. citizens of Selymbria (no. 679) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
  24. citizens of Herakleia (no. 715) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
  25. citizens of Kyzikos (no. 747) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345)
  26. citizens of Lampsakos (no. 748) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
  27. citizens of Abydos (no. 765) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345)
  28. citizens of Tenedos (no. 793) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
  29. citizens of Siphnos (no. 519) had *xenoi* on Paros (no. 509)
  30. citizens of Chios (no. 840) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
  31. citizens of Kolophon (no. 848) had *xenoi* at?
  32. citizens of Miletos (no. 854) had *xenoi* at Korinthos (no. 227); and Myndos (no. 914)
  33. citizens of Teos (no. 868) had *xenoi* at?
  34. citizens of Myndos (no. 914) had *xenoi* at Miletos (no. 854)
  35. citizens of Axos (no. 950) had *xenoi* on Thera (no. 527)
  36. citizens of Ialysos (no. 995) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
  37. citizens of Salamis (no. 1020) had *xenoi* at Athens (no. 361)
  38. citizens of Kyrene (no. 1028) had *xenoi* at Sparta (no. 345)

Thus, citizens of at least 38 *poleis* can be demonstrated to have contracted *xenia*-relations outside their home communities, and a systematic survey of the surviving evidence would in all probability produce a number very much higher.

Most Greek *poleis* allowed citizens of other *poleis* to settle in their urban centre or territory as *metoikoi*, as such resident free foreign non-citizens are often called.<sup>206</sup> This custom, of course, produced mobility and interaction. *Metoikoi* are definitely or highly probably attested in at least 39 *poleis* but were presumably to be found in almost every *polis*.<sup>207</sup>

Some *metoikoi* settled in their adopted *polis* on a permanent basis while others resided there merely for limited periods of time, e.g. if they were there on business. Greek craftsmen and professionals of various kinds, for instance, were often wanderers. Thus, many poets were wanderers; though perhaps not a real person, Homer himself, it is well-known, was conceived of as a wandering sage,<sup>208</sup> and the poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* describes himself as a wanderer (170–75).<sup>209</sup> If vv. 783–88 of the *Theognidea* are autobiographical, the poet was itinerant and visited Sicily, Euboeia and Sparta; and, as pointed out by W. Allan (2005, 73), »Xenophanes describes his own ideas as having been ›tossed throughout the land of Greece [ἀν’ Ἑλλάδα γῆν] for sixty-seven years« (DK 8)«, clearly referring to his many wanderings. Epinician poets, too, must have been extremely itinerant. Thus, Simonides is known to have visited Thessaly, Athens, Sicily and Magna Graecia,<sup>210</sup> but he must clearly also have visited the great sanctuaries at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and on the Isthmos to receive new commissions, and the same may be said for both Pindar and Bacchylides. Doctors, too, were itinerant: the *Odyssey* (17.384) mentions doctors among the *demiourgoi* who travel among cities, and a fine historical example of such an itinerant doctor is provided by Demokedes of Kroton who is known

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 62: »Resident foreigners, often from other *poleis*, constituted an important element in the population of the standard Greek *polis*.« Cf. Arist. Pol. 1326a18–20.

<sup>207</sup> The evidence collected in Hansen & Nielsen 2004 attests to *metoikoi* at the following *poleis*: Akragas (no. 9); Taras (no. 71); Apollonia (no. 77); Chaleion (no. 159); Oianthea (no. 166); Thisbai (no. 223); Megara (no. 225); Megalopolis (no. 282); Sparta (no. 345); Argos (no. 347); Aigina (no. 358); Athens (no. 361); Salamis (no. 363); Chalkis (no. 365); Larisa (no. 401); Thetionion (no. 416); Arkesine (no. 472); Delos (no. 478); Koresia (no. 493); Paros (no. 509); Skyros (no. 521); Thasos (no. 526); Pisticos (no. 656); Byzantion (no. 674); Gorgippeia (no. 696); Kalchedon (no. 743); Zeleia (no. 764); Abydos (no. 765); Kyme (no. 817); Airai (no. 827); Chios (no. 840); Erythrai (no. 845); Kolophon (no. 848); Magnesia (no. 852); Samos (no. 864); Axos (no. 950); Gortyn (no. 960); Lyktos (no. 974); Rhodes (no. 1000).

<sup>208</sup> See, e.g., Pl. *Resp.* 600de; cf. Lefkowitz 1981, 12, 15; Graziosi 2002, 33–40.

<sup>209</sup> Lefkowitz 1981, 15; Chappell 1995, 273.

<sup>210</sup> On Simonides, see Molyneux 1992.



to have practised on Aigina and at Athens as well as on Samos.<sup>211</sup> *Manteis*, also, were normally itinerant figures,<sup>212</sup> and the great sophists, too, were wanderers:<sup>213</sup> the marvellous setting of Plato's *Protagoras* brings together at Athens the three most famous sophists: Protagoras of Abdera, Hippias of Elis and Prodikos of Chios. None of them was an Athenian, and, as R. W. Wallace (1998, 213) says: »When not in Athens, these travelling wisdom experts must have been plying their trade and performing elsewhere in the Greek world, as Pindar and Bakchylides had done.«

However, the most remarkable group of itinerant specialists is constituted by sculptors, who are conspicuously visible in the surviving evidence since they customarily signed their products and since Pausanias took especial interest in sculpture. A quick survey in the pages of Pausanias and the works of J. J. Pollitt (1990) and J. Marcadé (1953–57) produces the following list of pre-Hellenistic sculptors who worked to commissions from customers outside their own home-*polis*:<sup>214</sup>

**Table 3: Sculptors receiving commissions from outside their home-*polis***

1. Ageladas of Argos worked to commissions from: \*Taras (Paus. 6.14.11, 10.10.6); Epidamnos (Paus. 6.10.6); Delphi (Paus. 6.8.6); Naupaktos (Paus. 4.33.1–2); Aigion (Paus. 7.24.4); \*Athens (Schol. Ar. *Bat.* 504)
2. Agorakritos of Paros worked to commissions from: \*Athens (Plin. *NH* 36.17)
3. Aleuas of Athens worked to commissions from: Rhodos (*I.Lindos* 29)
4. Alexanor of Naxos worked to commissions from: Orchomenos (*IG* VII 3225)
5. Alkamenes of Athens worked to commissions from: \*Mantineia (Paus. 8.9.1)
6. Alkippos of Paros worked to commissions from: Anaphe (*IG* XII.3 257)
7. Alypos of Sikyon worked to commissions from: Elis (Paus. 6.1.3); Mainalos (Paus. 6.8.5); Pheneos (6.1.3); \*Sparta (Paus. 10.9.7–10)

<sup>211</sup> Hdt. 3.131; cf. Young 2004, 111–12; Montiglio 2005, 113.

<sup>212</sup> Price 1999, 73.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. Pl. *Tim.* 19e where τὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένος is described as πλανητὸν κατὰ πόλεις. Cf. de Romilly 1992, 225; Montiglio 2005, 105–8, 115–17; Nicholson 2014, 77.

<sup>214</sup> An asterisk (\*) indicates that there is reason to believe that one (or more) commission(s) from the city-state in question came from the state rather than from individuals among its citizens.

8. Amphion of Knossos worked to commissions from: \*Kyrene (Paus. 10.15.6)
9. Anaxagoras of Aigina worked to commissions from: »the Hellenic League against Persia«<sup>215</sup> (Paus. 5.23.1–3)
10. Androsthenes of Athens worked to commissions from: the Delphic Amphictiony (Paus. 10.19.4)
11. Antiphanes of Argos worked to commissions from: the Arkadian Confederacy (*CEG* 2 824); \*Sparta (Paus. 10.9.7–10)
12. Archermos of Chios worked to commissions from: Athens (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 683)
13. Aristion of Paros worked to commissions from: Athens (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1261)
14. Aristokles of Kydonia worked to commissions from: Zankle (Paus. 5.25.11)
15. Ariston and Telestas of Sparta worked to commissions from: \*Kleitōr (Paus. 5.23.7)
16. Aristonos of Aigina worked to commissions from: \*Metapontion (Paus. 5.22.5)
17. Askaros of Thebes worked to commissions from: the Thessalians (Paus. 5.24.1)
18. Athenodoros of Kleitōr worked to commissions from: \*Sparta (Paus. 10.9.7–10)
19. Bion of Miletos worked to commissions from: Syracuse (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 34A)
20. Daidalos of Sikyon worked to commissions from: \*Elis (Paus. 6.2.8); the Arkadian Confederacy (Paus. 10.9.5–6, *CEG* 2 824); Phigaleia (*IvO* 161); Samos (Ebert 1972: no. 31)
21. Daitondas of Sikyon worked to commissions from: Elis (Paus. 6.17.5)
22. Dameas of Kleitōr worked to commissions from: \*Sparta (Paus. 10.9.7–10)
23. Diopēithes of Athens worked to commissions from: \*Peparethos (*I.Delphes* 4.179)
24. Dionysios of Argos worked to commissions from: Rhegion/Messana (Paus. 5.26.2–5); Syracuse (Paus. 5.27.1–2)
25. Dorotheos of Argos worked to commissions from: Hermion (*IG* IV 684)
26. Endoios of Athens worked to commissions from: \*Tegea (Paus. 8.46.4); \*Ephesos (Plin. *NH* 16.79); \*Erythrai (Paus. 7.5.9)
27. Ephedros of Athens worked to commissions from: Rhodos (*I.Lindos* 43)

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<sup>215</sup> On which see Brunt 1953–54.

28. Glaukias of Aigina worked to commissions from: Gela (*IvO* 143); Korkyra (Paus. 6.9.9); Karystos (Paus. 6.10.1–3); Thasos (Paus. 6.11.9)
29. Glaukos of Argos worked to commissions from: Rhegion/Messana (Paus. 26.2–5)
30. Herakleidas and Hippokrates of Atrax worked to commissions from: \*Pharsalos (Marcadé 1953–57.I, 35)
31. Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton of Thebes worked to commissions from: Orchomenos (*I.Delphes* 1.574)
32. Hypatodoros of Thebes worked to commissions from: \*Alipheira: (Marcadé 1953–57.I, 38)
33. Kalamis of Athens worked to commissions from: \*Akragas (Paus. 5.25.5); \*Tanagra (Paus. 9.22.1); \*Sikyon (Paus. 2.10.3); \*Mantineia (Paus. 5.26.6); \*Apollonia Pontica (Strabo 7.6.1)
34. Kallikles of Megara worked to commissions from: Ialysos (Paus. 6.7.2)
35. Kallikrates of Argos worked to commissions from: Epidauros (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup>.1 238, 239, 240)
36. Kalon of Aigina worked to commissions from: Athens (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 752, 753); \*Troizen (Paus. 2.32.5)
37. Kalon of Elis worked to commissions from: \*Messana (Paus. 5.25.2–4); Rhegion (Paus. 5.27.8)
38. Kanachos of Sikyon worked to commissions from: \*Thebes (Paus. 9.10.4); \*Miletos (Plin. *NH* 34.75)
39. Kephisodotos of Athens worked to commissions from: \*Megapolis (Paus. 8.30.10)
40. Kephisodotos II of Athens worked to commissions from: Troizen (*IG* IV 766)
41. Kleon of Sikyon worked to commissions from: \*Elis (Paus. 5.21.3); Kleitor (*IvO* 157); Sparta (*I.Delphes* 1.509)
42. Kresilas of Kydonia worked to commissions from: Hermion (*IG* IV 683); Athens (*IG* I<sup>2</sup> 402)
43. Lykios of Athens worked to commissions from: \*Apollonia Adriatica (Paus. 5.22.2–3)
44. Lysippos of Sikyon worked to commissions from: \*Taras (Plin. *NH* 34.40); the Aitolian Confederacy (*IG* IX,1<sup>2</sup> 1.52); \*Thespiiai (Paus. 9.27.3–5); Megara (*IG* VII 38); Athens (Plin. *NH* 34.61–65); the Thessalian Confederacy (Paus. 6.5.1, *SEG* 22 460); Pharsalos (*I.Thess.* I 57); \*Rhodos (Plin. *NH* 34.61–65)
45. Lysistratos of Thebes worked to commissions from: Tanagra (*IG* VII 553)
46. Menaichmos and Soidas of Naupaktos worked to commissions from: \*Kalydon (Paus. 7.18.8–10)

47. Myron of Athens worked to commissions from: \*Orchomenos (Paus. 9.30.1); \*Samos (Strabo 14.1.4)
48. Naukydes of Argos worked to commissions from: Troizen (Paus. 6.8.4); Rhodos (Paus. 6.6.2)
49. Nikodamos of Mainalia worked to commissions from: Taras (*Neue IvO* 42; Paus. 5.25.7); \*Elis (Paus. 5.26.6); Lepreon (Paus. 6.3.9); Thisoa (*I.Delphes* 4.199)
50. Hermesios of Lakedaimon worked to commissions from: \*Aigina (*Neue IvO* 33B)
51. Onatas of Aigina worked to commissions from: Syracuse (Paus. 8.42.9); \*Taras (Paus. 10.13.10); the Achaian *ethnos* (Paus. 5.25.8); \*Pheneos (Paus. 5.27.8); \*Phigaleia (Paus. 8.42.7); \*Thasos (Paus. 5.25.12); Byzantion (*Neue IvO* 35)
52. Paionios of Mende worked to commissions from: Naupaktos (*IvO* 259; Paus. 5.26.1)
53. Pantias of Chios worked to commissions from: Argos (Paus. 6.9.3)
54. Pausanias of Apollonia worked to commissions from: the Arkadian Confederacy (*CEG* 2 824)
55. Pelanidas of Aigina worked to commissions from: \*Byzantion (*Neue IvO* 33A)
56. Pheidias of Athens worked to commissions from: \*Pellene (Paus. 7.27.2); \*Elis (Paus. 5.10.2, 6.26.3, 6.25.1); \*Plataiai (Paus. 9.4.1)
57. Philotimos of Aigina worked to commissions from: Kos (Paus. 6.14.12)
58. Phradmon of Argos worked to commissions from: Elis (Paus. 6.8.1)
59. Pison of Troizen worked to commissions from: \*Sparta (Paus. 10.9.7-10)
60. Polykleitos of Argos worked to commissions from: Korkyra (Paus. 6.13.6); Mainalia (Paus. 6.9.2); Mantinea (Paus. 6.4.11); Miletos (Paus. 6.2.6)
61. Polykleitos II of Argos worked to commissions from: Thebes (Paus. 6.6.2); \*Megalopolis (Paus. 8.31.4); Epidauros (Paus. 6.13.6); \*Sparta (Paus. 3.18.7-8)
62. Polykles and Androkydes of Argos worked to commissions from: Hermion (Marcadé 1953-57.II, 106)
63. Praxias of Athens worked to commissions from: the Delphic Amphictiony (Paus. 10.19.4); Mykonos (Marcadé 1953-57.II, 113); Thasos (*SEG* 17 421, *SEG* 18 359)
64. Praxiteles of Athens worked to commissions from: \*Antikyra (Paus. 10.37.1); Lebadeia (Marcadé 1953-57.II, 116); \*Thebes (Paus. 9.11.6); \*Thespiiai (Paus. 9.27.3-5); \*Megara (Paus. 1.44.2); \*Mantinea (Paus. 8.9.1); \*Argos (Paus. 2.21.8-9); Olbia (Marcadé

- 1953–57.II, 115); \*Abydos (*I.Delphes* 4.216); \*Kos (Plin. *NH* 36.20); \*Knidos (Plin. *NH* 36.20)
65. Pythagoras of Samos (later Rhegion) worked to commissions from: Messana (Paus. 6.4.3–4); Kroton (Plin. *NH* 34.59, Paus. 6.13.1); Lokroi Epizephyrioi (*IvO* 144); Taras (Varro, *De ling. lat.* 5.31); Kyrene (Paus. 6.13.7, 6.18.1)
  66. Satyros of Paros worked to commissions from: \*Miletos (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 225)
  67. Silanion of Athens worked to commissions from: Elis (Paus. 6.4.5); Messenia (Paus. 6.14.4, 6.14.11)
  68. Simon of Aigina worked to commissions from: Syracuse (Paus. 5.27.2)
  69. Skopas of Paros worked to commissions from: Sikyon (Paus. 2.10.1); Elis (Paus. 6.25.1); \*Tegea (Paus. 8.47.1); Athens (Schol. in Aeschin. *Contra Tim.* 747 (Reiske)); \*Samothrake (Plin. *NH* 36.25–26); Ilion (Strabo 13.1.48)
  70. Sotades of Thespiai worked to commissions from: \*Megara (*MEFRA* 1983, 631, 1)
  71. Spoudias of Athens worked to commissions from: Epidauros (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup>.1 261)
  72. Sthennis of Olynthos worked to commissions from: Elis (Paus. 6.16.8, 6.17.5); Sinope (Plut. *Luc.* 23.3–4)
  73. Stratonides of Athens worked to commissions from: Olbia (*I.Olbia* 65A)
  74. Strombichos of Athens worked to commissions from: Oropos (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1476)
  75. Teisikrates of Sikyon worked to commissions from: Thebes (*AD* 25A, 1970: 138.2)
  76. Theokosmas of Megara worked to commissions from: \*Sparta (Paus. 10.9.7–10)
  77. Theopropos of Aigina worked to commissions from: \*Korkyra (Marcadé 1953–57.I, 106, Paus. 10.9.3)
  78. Theoxenos of Thebes worked to commissions from: Athens (*SEG* 17 84)
  79. Thrasymedes of Paros worked to commissions from: \*Epidauros (Paus. 2.27.2)
  80. Xenophon of Athens worked to commissions from: \*Megalopolis (Paus. 8.30.10)

Though there may be some reason to believe that a few sculptors may have maintained permanent workshops in major cities, for the majority of

sculptors »itinerant life« was probably the rule,<sup>216</sup> and sculptors seem to have produced works only to commissions.<sup>217</sup> The survey presented here – which is *far* from being exhaustive – demonstrates that such commissions frequently came from other *poleis* and indicates that the sculptural business must have produced considerable interaction: either sculptors and assistants must have travelled to meet commissions from abroad or sculptures must have been transported – by people.

The material presented above briefly sketches interaction and mobility on the level of individuals, but there was an equal or even larger amount of interaction on official or public levels. The Greek *poleis* eventually developed a more communal form of the aristocratic institution of *xenia* discussed above, the *proxenia*, one of the best attested institutions of the Classical *polis*.<sup>218</sup> A *proxenos* was a private citizen of state A, say, Argos on the Peloponnese, who had been appointed by state B, say, Byzantium in Propontic Thrace, to keep an eye on Byzantine interests at Argos and assist Byzantine citizens and diplomats when they had business at Argos. *Proxenia*, then, involved interaction between an individual and a foreign city-state. The widespread institution of *proxenia* is extremely eloquent testimony to the intense interaction among the Greek city-states. And, it was *truly* widespread: Down to the end of the fourth century, at least 78 city-states are securely known to have granted *proxenia* to citizens of foreign states and citizens of at least 183 city-states are known to have been appointed as *proxenoi* by foreign cities.<sup>219</sup> *Proxenia* is, in fact, one of the most characteristic institutions of the Greek city-state culture and it was an institution designed directly to ease interaction and collaboration between *poleis* and itself presupposes such interaction on a massive scale.

Interaction directly between *poleis* as collective entities took several forms. One such form was exchange of envoys, a fundamental feature of Greek interstate diplomacy. Hansen & Nielsen (2004) records the dispatch of envoys by at least 92 *poleis*<sup>220</sup> and reception of envoys by at least 42

<sup>216</sup> Stewart 1990, 59; cf. Goodlett 1989, 19.

<sup>217</sup> Stewart 1990, 62.

<sup>218</sup> On *proxenia*, see Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 98–102, esp. 100; Wallace 1970; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2004; Hansen 2006, 127–8; a full-scale study is provided by Marek 1984. See now also Mack 2015.

<sup>219</sup> See Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 98–102, esp. 100, with index 14 at 1345ff.

<sup>220</sup> Massalia (no. 3); Akragas (no. 9); Gela (no. 17); Kamarina (no. 28); Katane (no. 30); Leontinoi (no. 33); Naxos (no. 41); Selinous (no. 44); Syracuse (no. 47); Kroton (no. 56); Kyme (no. 57); Lokroi (no. 59); Rhegion (no. 68); Sybaris (no. 70); Taras (no. 71); Thourioi (no. 74); Epidamnos (no. 79); Echinus (no. 118); Korkyra (no. 123); Leukas (no. 126); Zakynthos (no. 141); Delphi (no. 177); Thebes (no. 221); Korinthos (no. 227); Sikyon (no. 228); Pellene (no. 240); Elis (no. 251); Mantinea (no. 281); Megalopolis (no. 282); Pallantion (no. 289); Phigaleia (no. 292); Stymphalos (no. 296); Tegea (no. 297); Sparta (no. 345); Argos (no. 347); Epidauros (no. 348); Phleious (no. 355); Athens (no.

*poleis*.<sup>221</sup> Another and quite remarkable form was *interstate arbitration*, which, like *epigamia*, is well-attested for the Hellenistic period but certainly existed already in the late Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>222</sup> At least the following *poleis* are known to have acted as arbitrators in conflicts involving other *poleis*:<sup>223</sup>

**Table 4: *Poleis* acting as arbitrators**

1. Kaulonia (no. 55) is known to have arbitrated (with Metapontion and Taras) in a *stasis* at Kroton (no. 56) in the fifth century (Iambl. *VP* 262)
2. Metapontion (no. 61) is known to have arbitrated (with Kaulonia and Taras) in a *stasis* at Kroton (no. 56) in the fifth century (Iambl. *VP* 262)
3. Taras (no. 71) is known to have arbitrated (with Kaulonia and Metapontion) in a *stasis* at Kroton (no. 56) in the fifth century (Iambl. *VP* 262)

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361); Chalkis (no. 365); Eretria (no. 370); Opous (no. 386); Trachis (no. 432); Karthaia (no. 492); Paros (no. 509); Tenos (no. 525); Thasos (no. 526); Apollonia (no. 545); Amphipolis (no. 553); Akanthos (no. 559); Aphytis (no. 563); Dion (no. 596); Poteidaia (no. 598); Neapolis (no. 634); Philippi (no. 637); Abdera (no. 640); Maroneia (no. 646); Elaious (no. 663); Byzantion (no. 674); Lampsakos (no. 748); Parion (no. 756); Eresos (no. 796); Methymna (no. 797); Mytilene (no. 798); Gryneion (no. 809); Kyme (no. 817); Chios (no. 840); Ephesos (no. 844); Kolophon (no. 848); Miletos (no. 854); Pygela (no. 863); Samos (no. 864); Samos the klerouchy (no. 865); Alabanda (no. 870); Arlissos (no. 875); Armetitai (no. 876); Halikarnassos (no. 886); Hybliseis (no. 887); Hydaieis (no. 888); Iasos (no. 891); Kasolaba (no. 897); Kaunos (no. 898); Keramos (no. 900); Killareis (no. 901); Knidos (no. 903); Koranza (no. 906); Naryandos (no. 916); Ouranion (no. 920); Pladasa (no. 926); Syangela (no. 931); Terssogasseis (no. 938); Rhodos (no. 1000); Kyrene (no. 1028).

<sup>221</sup> Akragas (no. 9); Galeria (no. 16); Gela (no. 17); Kamarina (no. 28); Kentoripa (no. 31); Leontinoi (no. 33); Selinous (no. 44); Syracuse (no. 47); Tauromenion (no. 48); Kroton (no. 56); Kyme (no. 57); Lokroi (no. 59); Metapontion (no. 61); Neapolis (no. 63); Rhegion (no. 68); Taras (no. 71); Thourioi (no. 74); Korkyra (no. 123); Zakynthos (no. 141); Alea (no. 265); Kleitor (no. 276); Mantinea (no. 281); Megalopolis (no. 282); Stymphalos (no. 296); Tegea (no. 297); Sparta (no. 345); Argos (no. 347); Athens (no. 361); Chalkis (no. 365); Eretria (no. 370); Histiaia (no. 372); Larisa (no. 401); Pharsalos (no. 413); Melos (no. 505); Siphnos (no. 519); Byzantion (no. 674); Herakleia (no. 715); Eresos (no. 796); Methymna (no. 797); Mytilene (no. 798); Gryneion (no. 809); Rhodos (no. 1000).

<sup>222</sup> Ager 1996, 19.

<sup>223</sup> The evidence for pre-Hellenistic interstate arbitrations has been extracted from Hansen & Nielsen 2004 with the addition of a few instances not recorded there.

4. Korkyra (no. 123) is known to have arbitrated (with Korinthos) between Gela (no. 17) and Syracuse (no. 47) in the early fifth century (Hdt. 7.154.2–3)
5. Korinthos (no. 227) is known to have arbitrated (a) between Athens (no. 361) and Mytilene (no. 798) in the Archaic period (Hdt. 5.94–95; Strabo 13.2.38); and (b) between Athens (no. 361) and Thebes (no. 221) in the sixth century (Hdt. 6.108.4); and (c) with Korkyra between Gela (no. 17) and Syracuse (no. 47) in the early fifth century (Hdt. 7.154.2–3)
6. Mantinea (no. 281) is known to have arbitrated (a) in an internal conflict at Kyrene (no. 1028) in the sixth century (Hdt. 4.161.1–2); and (b) between Elis (no. 251) and Skillous (no. 311) in the fifth century (*IvO* 16.17)<sup>224</sup>
7. Sparta (no. 345) is known to have arbitrated (a) between Megara (no. 225) and Athens (no. 361) in the sixth century (Plut. *Sol.* 10); and (b) between Elis (no. 251) and Lepreon (no. 306) in the fifth century (Thuc. 5.31.3)
8. Argos (no. 347) is known to have arbitrated between Kimolos (no. 496) and Melos (no. 505) in the late fourth century (*IG* XII.3 1259; Ager 1996, no. 3)
9. Athens (no. 361) is known to have arbitrated between (a) Korinthos (no. 227) and Korkyra (no. 123) in the earlier fifth century (Piccirilli 1973, no. 13); (b) between Miletos (no. 854) and Samos (no. 864) in the mid-fifth century (Piccirilli 1973, no. 22); (c) between Elis (no. 251) and Kalydon (no. 148) ca. 420–400 (Piccirilli 1973, no. 30); and (d) between Thasos (no. 526) and Stryme (no. 650) in the fourth century (Dem. 12.17, 50.20–22)
10. Kos (no. 497) is known to have arbitrated between Teos (no. 868) and Klazomenai (no. 847) in the later fourth century (*SEG* 28 697)
11. Paros (no. 509) is known to have arbitrated (a) in a *stasis* at Miletos (no. 854) in the Archaic period (Hdt. 5.28–29); and (b) with Erythrai and Samos between Chalkis (no. 365) and Andros (no. 475), presumably in the Archaic period (Plut. *Mor.* 298A–B); and (c) between Thasos (no. 526) and Neapolis (no. 634) in the late fifth century (Piccirilli 1973, no. 33)
12. Chios (no. 840) is known to have arbitrated (with Erythrai, Klazomenai, Lebedos and Ephesos) between Miletos (no. 854) and Myous (856) in the early fourth century (Tod, *GHI* 113)
13. Ephesos (no. 844) is known to have arbitrated (with Erythrai, Chios, Klazomenai and Lebedos) between Miletos (no. 854) and Myous (856) in the early fourth century (Tod, *GHI* 113)

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<sup>224</sup> See Koerner 1993, 135; Nielsen 2002, 400.



14. Erythrai (no. 845) is known to have arbitrated (with Chios, Klazomenai, Lebedos and Ephesos) (a) between Miletos (no. 854) and Myous (856) in the early fourth century (Tod, *GHI* 113); and (b) with Samos and Paros between Chalkis (no. 365) and Andros (no. 475), presumably in the Archaic period (Plut. *Mor.* 298A–B)
15. Klazomenai (no. 847) is known to have arbitrated (with Erythrai, Chios, Lebedos and Ephesos) between Miletos (no. 854) and Myous (856) in the early fourth century (Tod, *GHI* 113)
16. Lebedos (no. 850) is known to have arbitrated (with Erythrai, Chios, Klazomenai and Ephesos) between Miletos (no. 854) and Myous (856) in the early fourth century (Tod, *GHI* 113)
17. Samos (no. 864) is known to have arbitrated (with Paros and Erythrai) between Chalkis (no. 365) and Andros (no. 475), presumably in the Archaic period (Plut. *Mor.* 298A–B)
18. Knidos (no. 903) is known to have arbitrated between Kalymna (485) and Kos (no. 497) in the late fourth century (*I.Knidos* 221)

Obviously, arbitration, mediation or negotiation was incapable of resolving all interstate conflicts, and Greek city-states extremely often had recourse to warfare in order to settle disputes. Greek warfare, however, was to a very large extent a *collaborative* enterprise, since almost all battles were fought by *symmachiai*, coalitions.<sup>225</sup> In this way wars meant not only hostile interaction, but also constructive political collaboration between *poleis*, since coalition treaties were negotiated between city-states by their diplomatic representatives. And actual campaigns, of course, meant extensive interaction between coalition partners.

*Symmachiai* could be very large and some were among the chief agents that shaped Greek political and military history. Thus, The Delian League was formally a hegemonic *symmachia* headed by the Athenians and The Peloponnesian League was a hegemonic *symmachia* under the leadership of the Spartans. The Delian League is perhaps the best known Classical *symmachia* and more than 320 communities of various kinds are known to have been members of the league;<sup>226</sup> among the members were such major *poleis* as Eretria, Naxos, Thasos, Olynthos, Byzantion, Ephesos, Miletos, Samos, Knidos and Lindos. Known members of The Peloponnesian League include Megara, Korinthos, Sikyon, Pellene, Elis, Heraia, Kleitor, Mantinea, Tegea, and Epidauros.<sup>227</sup> These two *symmachiai*, however, were

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<sup>225</sup> On Greek coalition warfare, see Nielsen & Schwartz 2013.

<sup>226</sup> Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 111–14 with Index 18 on pp. 1356–60.

<sup>227</sup> Evidence for membership of The Peloponnesian League may be found in Hansen & Nielsen 2004, which describes some 49 *poleis* as members of the league. Sparta, of course, had other allies than those described as league members in modern scholarship.

simply the two most powerful ones and besides these giants there existed a large number of other coalitions. *Poleis* known to have formed a part of coalitions other than the Delian and Peloponnesian leagues number no less than 185 of which many concluded several treaties of alliance.<sup>228</sup> Collaboration by way of *symmachia*, then, was extremely common among the Greek city-states and must have produced extensive interaction.

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<sup>228</sup> The evidence collected in Hansen & Nielsen 2004 demonstrates that the following 185 *poleis* demonstrably or highly probably formed a part of at least one other *symmachia* than The Delian or Peloponnesian League: Abakainon (no. 5); Adranon (no. 6); Agyrion (no. 7); Aitna (no. 8); Akragas (no. 9); Alaisa (no. 11); Alontion (no. 12); Gela (no. 17); Henna (no. 19); Herbita (no. 23); Himera (no. 24); Kamarina (no. 28); Kasmenai (no. 29); Katane (no. 30); Kentoripa (no. 31); Leontinoi (no. 33); Lipara (no. 34); Megara (no. 36); Mylai (no. 38); Nakone (no. 40); Naxos (no. 41); Selinous (no. 44); Syracuse (no. 47); Tauromenon (no. 48); Tyndaris (no. 49); Zankle (no. 51); Hipponion (no. 53); Kaulonia (no. 55); Kroton (no. 56); Kyme (no. 57); Lokroi (no. 59); Medma (no. 60); Metapontion (no. 61); Neapolis (no. 63); Poseidonia (no. 66); Rhegion (no. 68); Siris (no. 69); Sybaris (no. 70); Taras (no. 71); Thourioi (no. 74); Alyzeia (no. 112); Ambrakia (no. 113); Anaktorion (no. 114); Astakos (no. 116); Ithaka (no. 122); Korkyra (no. 123); Kranioi (no. 125); Leukas (no. 126); Oiniadai (no. 130); Paleis (no. 132); Pronnoi (no. 135); Same (no. 136); Zakynthos (no. 141); Amphissa (no. 158); Koroneia (no. 210); Plataiai (no. 216); Tanagra (no. 220); Thebes (no. 221); Thespiiai (no. 222); Megara (no. 225); Korinthos (no. 227); Sikyon (no. 228); Pellene (no. 240); Elis (no. 251); Ewaoioi (no. 253); Pisa (no. 262); Asea (no. 267); Mantinea (no. 281); Megalopolis (no. 282); Orchomenos (no. 286); Pallantion (no. 289); Phigaleia (no. 292); Tegea (no. 297); Epitalion (no. 305); Lepreon (no. 306); Makiston (no. 307); Messene (no. 318); Sparta (no. 345); Argos (no. 347); Epidaurous (no. 348); Halieis (no. 349); Hermion (no. 350); Kleonai (no. 351); Mykenai (no. 353); Orneai (no. 354); Phleious (no. 355); Tiryns (no. 356); Troizen (no. 357); Aigina (no. 358); Athens (no. 361); Athenai Diades (no. 364); Chalkis (no. 365); Dion (no. 368); Eretria (no. 370); Histiaia (no. 372); Karystos (no. 373); Krannon (no. 400); Larisa (no. 401); Pelinna (no. 409); Pharsalos (no. 413); Pherai (no. 414); Skotoussa (no. 415); Herakleia (no. 430); Anaphe (no. 474); Andros (no. 475); Ikos (no. 482); Ioulis (no. 491); Karthaia (no. 492); Koresia (no. 493); Kos (no. 497); Mykonos (no. 506); Naxos (no. 507); Paros (no. 509); Peparethos (no. 511); Samothrake (no. 515); Seriphos (no. 517); Sikinos (no. 518); Siphnos (no. 519); Skiathos (no. 520); Syros (no. 523); Tenos (no. 525); Thasos (no. 526); Thera (no. 527); Methone (no. 541); Pydna (no. 544); Arethousa (no. 546); Aige (no. 556); Dikaia (no. 568); Dion (no. 569); Neapolis (no. 586); Olynthos (no. 588); Poteidaia (no. 598); Thyssos (no. 618); Neapolis (no. 634); Philippoi (no. 637); Abdera (no. 640); Ainos (no. 641); Maroneia (no. 646); Chersonesos (no. 661); Elaious (no. 663); Kardias (no. 665); Byzantion (no. 674); Perinthos (no. 678); Selymbria (no. 679); Apollonia (no. 682); Istros (no. 685); Kallatis (no. 686); Mesambria (no. 687); Odessos (no. 689); Sinope (no. 729); Kalchedon (no. 743); Kyzikos (no. 747); Lampsakos (no. 748); Olbia (no. 753); Parion (no. 756); Prokonnesos (no. 759); Tenedos (no. 793); Antissa (no. 794); Eresos (no. 796); Methymna (no. 797); Mytilene (no. 798); Pyrrha (no. 799); Atarneus (no. 803); Erythrai (no. 845); Ephesos (no. 844); Miletos (no. 854); Samos (no. 864); Teos (no. 868); Chios (no. 883); Iasos (no. 891); Knidos (no. 903); Gortyns (no. 960); Knosos (no. 967); Polichne (no. 982); Tylisos (no. 992); Rhodos (no. 1000); Amathos (no. 1012); Paphos (no. 1019); Salamis (no. 1020); Soloi (no. 1021); Barke (no. 1025); Euhesperides (no. 1026); Kyrene (no. 1028); Taucheira (no. 1029); Astraiosioi (no. 1030).

Various forms of more narrowly political collaboration are also attested for the pre-Hellenistic period. One such form of political collaboration was *synoikismos*, the complete or (more commonly) partial physical relocation of the inhabitants of one or more pre-existing settlements (often but not always *poleis*) to a newly-founded or pre-existing *polis*,<sup>229</sup> a phenomenon which must have produced intense interaction among the populations involved. *Poleis* created by *synoikismos* of pre-existing *poleis* include Kassopa, Megalopolis, Metropolis, Kos and Rhodos; *poleis* whose populations were enlarged by relocation of population from other settlements include Syracuse, Thebes, Elis, Orchomenos, Argos, Olynthos, Kyzikos and Halikarnassos. At least 96 *poleis* were involved in synoecisms prior to the Hellenistic period.<sup>230</sup>

Also in the Classical period, *poleis* began to conclude treaties of *sympoliteia* and *isopoliteia*. Though Classical Greek terminology itself varies somewhat, *sympoliteia* may be defined as an arrangement by which two or more *poleis* agreed to share a common constitution, often that of the most powerful *polis* involved in the arrangement.<sup>231</sup> By such an arrangement, then, citizens of the lesser *poleis* become citizens of the larger *polis*. *Isopoliteia*, on the other hand, was the mutual exchange of citizen rights between two *poleis*;<sup>232</sup> by such an arrangement a citizen of city-state A, say Olbia, could exercise citizen rights in city-state B, say Miletos, when he resided there and a citizen of Miletos could do so at Olbia when he resided there.<sup>233</sup> Again, such constitutional arrangements are much better known in the Hellenistic period than in the Classical, but they certainly originated in the fifth and fourth centuries. The evidence collected in Hansen & Nielsen 2004 demonstrates that at least the following 40 *poleis* were parties to treaties of *sympoliteia* or *isopoliteia*:

**Table 5: *Poleis* concluding treaties of *sympoliteia* or *isopoliteia***

1. Syracuse (no. 47) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Antandros (no. 767)
2. Orikos (no. 103) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Korkyra (no. 123)

<sup>229</sup> On *synoikismos*, see Demand 1990 and Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 115–19.

<sup>230</sup> See Index 21 at pp. 1365–66 in Hansen & Nielsen 2004.

<sup>231</sup> Hansen 1995, 56.

<sup>232</sup> Rhodes 1993, 174.

<sup>233</sup> A treaty of *isopoliteia* between Olbia and Miletos dating to ca. 330 BC survives as Tod, *GHI* no. 195 = RO, *GHI* no. 93. See Gorman 2002, 188.

3. Korkyra (no. 123) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Orikos (no. 103)
4. Erythrai (no. 203) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Plataiai (no. 216)
5. Eteonos (no. 204) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Plataiai (no. 216)
6. Eutresis (no. 205) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Thespiiai (no. 222)
7. Hysiai (no. 208) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Plataiai (no. 216)
8. Plataiai (no. 216) is known to have concluded treaties of *sympoliteia* with Erythrai (no. 203), Eteonos (no. 204), Hysiai (no. 208) and Skolos (no. 219)
9. Skolos (no. 219) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Plataiai (no. 216)
10. Thespiiai (no. 222) is known to have concluded treaties of *sympoliteia* with Eutresis (no. 205) and Thisbai (no. 223)
11. Thisbai (no. 223) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Thespiiai (no. 222)
12. Korinthos (no. 227) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Argos (no. 347)
13. Euaimon (no. 269) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Orchomenos (no. 286)
14. Orchomenos (no. 286) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Euaimon (no. 269)
15. Helisson (no. 273) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Mantinea (no. 281)
16. Mantinea (no. 281) is known to have concluded treaties of *sympoliteia* with Helisson (no. 273) and a number of other but unidentifiable *poleis*
17. Argos (no. 347) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Korinthos (no. 227)
18. Eretria (no. 370) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with the Keian Confederacy
19. Histiaia (no. 372) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with the Keian Confederacy
20. Chalke (no. 477) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Knidos (no. 903)
21. Thera (no. 527) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Kyrene (no. 1028)
22. Byzantion (no. 674) is known to have concluded treaties of *sympoliteia* with Perinthos (no. 678) and Kalchedon (no. 743)

23. Perinthos (no. 678) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Byzantion (no. 674)
24. Istros (no. 685) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Miletos (no. 854)
25. Kalchedon (no. 743) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Byzantion (no. 674)
26. Kyzikos (no. 747) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Miletos (no. 854)
27. Lampsakos (no. 748) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Ilion (no. 779)
28. Olbia (no. 753) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Miletos (no. 854)
29. Antandros (no. 767) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Syracuse (no. 47)
30. Ilion (no. 779) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Lampsakos (no. 748)
31. Skepsis (no. 792) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Miletos (no. 854)
32. Notion (no. 825) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Kolophon (no. 848)
33. Kolophon (no. 848) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Notion (no. 825)
34. Miletos (no. 854) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Skepsis (no. 792) and treaties of *isopoliteia* with Istros (no. 685), Kyzikos (no. 747), Olbia (no. 753) and Pygela (no. 863)
35. Pygela (no. 863) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Miletos (no. 854)
36. Knidos (no. 903) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Chalke (no. 477)
37. Gortyn (no. 960) is known to have concluded treaties of *sympoliteia* with Phaistos (no. 980) and Sybrita (no. 990)
38. Phaistos (no. 980) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Gortyn (no. 960)
39. Sybrita (no. 990) is known to have concluded a treaty of *sympoliteia* with Gortyn (no. 960)
40. Kyrene (no. 1028) is known to have concluded a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Thera (no. 527)

Finally, the Greek *poleis* developed federal states in the Classical period, institutionalised interaction, as it were. Federal states were created in

Achaia, Aitolia, Akarnania, Arkadia, Boiotia, Lokris, Phokis, Thessaly, Triphylia and on the Chalkidike.<sup>234</sup>

This rapid sketch of various forms of interaction suffices to establish that lively interaction in almost every sphere of life was a fundamental socio-cultural tradition in the Greek world of the late-Archaic and Classical periods: openness, interaction and collaboration was a defining characteristic of the Greek city-state culture, as should be clear by now. I end this section, however, with a few remarks on the interaction produced by religious festivals. Since every *polis* presumably celebrated one or more *heortai* every year, such festivals must have been celebrated in the thousands annually and must clearly have been the central occasions at which citizens met. But religious festivals also produced interaction with foreigners and not only by admittance of foreign competitors into the athletic and equestrian competitions which formed a spectacular part of numerous festivals. Peace, of course, was an essential precondition for the successful celebration of a festival, and to ensure peace, city-states sent out sacred delegates to proclaim a »sacred truce«, usually called *ekecheiria* (literally »holding off of the hand« = cease-fire) or *spondai*. On the Peloponnese, for instance, such sacred truces were proclaimed, of course, by the organisers of the great Panhellenic festivals at Olympia, Nemea and on the Isthmos of Korinthos,<sup>235</sup> but also by the organisers of minor festivals such as Makiston in Triphylia,<sup>236</sup> Mantinea in Arkadia,<sup>237</sup> and Argos<sup>238</sup> and Phleious<sup>239</sup> in the Argolid. The purpose of sacred truces was to prevent aggression by foreign states against the organiser during the celebration of a festival, but also to ensure that travellers heading for the festival site »enjoyed security while on their way.«<sup>240</sup> City-states proclaiming sacred truces, then, presumably expected foreign attendants at their festivals.<sup>241</sup> Some *poleis* set up a network of *theorodokoi*, citizens of foreign *poleis* appointed by a festival organiser to host the *theoroi* it sent out to announce the sacred truce and invite foreign *poleis* to attend its festival, which they usually did by way of a public delegation of envoys (likewise styled *theoroi*) who attended the festival and its spectacles of behalf of their

<sup>234</sup> On federal states, see Larsen 1968 and Beck 1997 and Beck/Funke 2015. On the federal state of Triphylia, see Nielsen 1997, 148–55.

<sup>235</sup> Olympia: Thuc. 5.49–50 (on which see Roy 1998); Nemea: Pind. Nem. 3.29; Isthmia: Thuc. 8.9.1 (cf. Rutherford 2013, 188).

<sup>236</sup> Strabo 8.3.13: ἐπεμελοῦντο δ' αὐτοῦ Μακίστιοι· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἐπήγγελλον, ἦν καλοῦσι Σάμιον· (cf. Nielsen 2013, 233).

<sup>237</sup> Xen. Hell. 5.2.2: ἐκεχειρίαν προφασίζόμενοι.

<sup>238</sup> Xen. Hell. 4.7.2: τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν Ἀργείων.

<sup>239</sup> Xen. Hell. 4.2.16: Φλειάσιοι ... ἐκεχειρίαν ... ἔφασαν ἔχειν.

<sup>240</sup> Dillon 1997, 1 (cf. Rutherford 2013, 187).

<sup>241</sup> This is taken as self-evident by Price 1999, 26.

*poleis*;<sup>242</sup> private citizens presumably also sometimes went on their own.<sup>243</sup> If again we restrict ourselves to the Peloponnese, such networks of *theorodokoi* were set up in the fourth century by tiny Lousoi (no. 279) in Arkadia<sup>244</sup> and a particularly elaborate one by Epidauros (no. 348):<sup>245</sup> Epidauros appointed *theorodokoi* in more than 75 *poleis*.<sup>246</sup> Cities creating such networks obviously expected, and attempted actively to attract, foreign attendants to their festivals.

Another indication that cities regularly expected foreign attendants at their festivals is the fact that decrees honouring foreign beneficiaries quite often include among the honours bestowed on the honorandus the gift of *proedria*, an honorary front seat at public spectacles. The expectation was presumably that the honorand would make use of this gift, i. e. that he would actually attend the festivals into which the spectacles were incorporated (cf. Mack 2015, 125). To give just a few select examples, the following 15 *poleis* are known to have granted *proedria* to foreigners down to ca. 300 BC:

**Table 6: *Poleis* granting *proedria* to foreigners**

1. Delphi (no. 177) is known to have granted προεδρία ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶνοις οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθητι (*I.Delphes* 1.146 (356/5 BC)) to an Aitolian. Since the famous Pythian Games were arranged by the Pylian Amphictiony and not by the *polis* of Delphi, the reference here must be to contests staged by the city of Delphi itself on a local level
2. In 306 BC, Megara (no. 225) granted προεδρία ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθητι to one Zoilos of Boiotia (*IG VII* 1.14–15).
3. Epidauros (no. 348) is known to have granted προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς δαμο[σ]ίοις (*IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.1 51 (fourth century)) to a citizen of Lampsakos (no. 748)
4. Eretria (no. 370) is known to have granted προεδρία ἐς τὸς ἀγῶνας (*ML, GHI* no. 82 (411 BC)) to a citizen of Taras (no. 71)
5. Delos (no. 478) is known to have granted *proedria* to a citizen of Ios (no. 484) (*ID* 76 (350–300 BC)), Melos (no. 505) (*IG XI.4* 513 (late-fourth century)) and Byzantion (no. 674) (*IG XI.4* 510 (late-fourth century))

<sup>242</sup> Rutherford 2013, 55, 147

<sup>243</sup> Rutherford 2013, 157–58.

<sup>244</sup> Perlman 2000, 158–60.

<sup>245</sup> Perlman 2000, 67–97.

<sup>246</sup> See Nielsen 2007, 63–68.

6. Kalymna (no. 485) is known to have granted προεδρία (*Tit. Calymnii* 8 (ca. 300 BC)) to a citizen of Thera (no. 527)
7. Myrina (no. 502) is known to have granted προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν τοῖς δημοτελέσιν (*IG XII.8 2* (404–394 BC)) to a citizen of Akrothoon (no. 560)
8. Naxos (no. 507) is known to have granted προ[εδρία ἐν] τοῖς ἀγῶσιν (*SEG 33 676* (ca. 300 BC)) to a citizen of Megara (no. 225)
9. Olbia (no. 690) is known to have granted προ[ε]δρία (*IGDolbia 19* (fourth century)) to a citizen of Istros (no. 685) and to all citizens of Miletos (no. 854) (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 286 (350–315 BC))
10. Ephesos (no. 844) is known to have granted *proedria en tois agosin* (*I.Ephesos 1389* (late fourth century)) to a citizen of Kyrene (no. 1028) and to one of Rhodos (no. 1000) (*I.Ephesos 1453* (300 BC))
11. Erythrai (no. 845) is known to have granted *proedria* to a citizen of Athens (no. 361) (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 126 (early fourth century)) and προεδρίην ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν (*SEG 31 969* (351–344 BC)) to citizen of Mylasa (no. 913)
12. Kolophon (no. 848) is known to have granted [πρ]οεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσ[ι]ν (*AJP 1935, 379–80 no. 4* (350–300 BC)) to two citizens of Erythrai (no. 848)
13. Priene (no. 861) is known to have granted προεδ[ρία] ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι (*I.Priene 5* (331–328 BC)) to all citizens of Athens (no. 361) (Ἀθη[ναίους] ἅπασιν)
14. Samos (no. 864) is known to have granted προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἂν ἡ πόλις ἄγῃ πᾶσιν (*IG XII.6 38* (late fourth century)) to a citizen of Herakleia (no. 715?), to citizens of Kos (no. 497) (*Clara Rhodos 10* (1941) 27.1 (late fourth century)) and to a citizen of Aigina (no. 358) (*IG XII.6.1 56* (late fourth century))
15. Iasos (no. 891) is known to have granted a citizen of Knidos (no. 903) (*SEG 6 982C* (500–450 BC)) and a citizen of Chalketor (no. 881) (*SEG 36 982A* (fifth century)) *proedrie* already in the fifth century; in the fourth century Iasos granted *proedria en tois agosin* to a Macedonian (*I.Iasos 60* (late fourth century)) and to a citizen of Meliboia (no. 453) (*I.Iasos 54* (late fourth century))

It seems reasonably certain, then, that city-states often expected their religious festivals to attract visitors from abroad.<sup>247</sup> In some cases, moreover, foreign visitors are actually attested at religious festivals, though the sparse evidence refers primarily to the larger *poleis*. As usually, the best evidence concerns Athens, and I give only a few examples. It is clear from

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<sup>247</sup> Parker 2001, 174 takes for granted that major festivals attracted »tourists in large numbers.«



Thucydides (2.34.4)<sup>248</sup> that foreigners, presumably primarily metics, could participate in the *ekphora* during the festival of *Epitaphia*, and Perikles, as reported by Thucydides (2.36.4),<sup>249</sup> assumes the presence of *xenoi* at the funeral speech; and, moreover, as we saw above (113), there is even some reason to believe that foreign athletes could enter the *agon* at the *Epitaphia*. The *Dionysia*, in particular, with the great dramatic performances, seem to have attracted foreigners in large numbers,<sup>250</sup> but Isocrates (4.46) implies foreign presence at Athenian festivals in general.<sup>251</sup> To this may be added that the presence of foreigners even at festivals at Sparta, despite its reputation for xenophobia, is unambiguously attested.<sup>252</sup> Foreigners at religious festivals in East Lokris and Olbia can likewise be established, as pointed out by P. Funke (2006, 5).<sup>253</sup>

On the other hand, it is well-known that Greek *poleis* sometimes excluded specific groups from participation in their cults. Thus, according to Herodotos (8.134.2), Thebans were excluded from the oracle of Amphiareos at Oropos.<sup>254</sup> Occasionally, *xenoi*, that is: foreigners as such, were excluded from certain rituals and cults, but as pointed out by, again, P. Funke (2006, 4), this is in fact quite rare and not at all the general rule.<sup>255</sup> It may be correct that »full participation« in cult and rituals was generally restricted to citizens,<sup>256</sup> but this cannot have meant that *xenoi* could not be present at festivals and *agones*: this would have made e.g. the granting of *proedria* to foreigners an absurd gesture and is completely incompatible with the well-documented system of *theoria*.<sup>257</sup> It presumably does mean, however, that the presence of *xenoi* was subject to other *rules* than those

<sup>248</sup> ζυνεκφέρει δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων.

<sup>249</sup> καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων.

<sup>250</sup> Ar. *Ach.* 503–5; Isocr. 8.82; Dem. 21.74; Aischin. 3.43, 3.76; Alexis fr. 41; Theophr. *Char.* 9.5; Ael. *VH* 2.13. See also Pl. *Symp.* 175e with Dover 1980, 85: »Socrates says Ἑλλήνων advisedly, since foreigners went to the theatre too.« Cf. Nilsson 1951, 43; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 58–59; Goldhill 1987, 61–62; Goldhill 1997, 60; Price 1999, 80; Croally 2005, 62–63.

<sup>251</sup> Kyle 2014b, 159.

<sup>252</sup> See Xen.*Mem.* 1.2.61: Λίχας μὲν γὰρ ταῖς γυμνοπαιδείας τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι ξένους ἐδείπνιζε (cf. Plut. *Cim.* 10.6 giving the same information) and Plut. *Ages.* 29.2: ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἑορτὴν ἄγουσα καὶ ξένων οὐσα μεστῇ. See also Hdt. 9.73.3 implying Athenian visits to Sparta during festivals. See further Rebenich 1998, 345 and Figueira 2003, 48. see also Hodkinson 2000, 337; Parker 2011, 189–90; Burkert 2012, 44.

<sup>253</sup> Cf. Nilsson 1951, 44.

<sup>254</sup> Cf. Funke 2006, 2.

<sup>255</sup> See also Parker 2011, 240.

<sup>256</sup> Rutherford 2013, 201; Funke 2006, 4–5.

<sup>257</sup> On which see Rutherford 2013.

governing the participation of citizens,<sup>258</sup> but this does not exclude their *presence*. The evidence reviewed here demonstrates that even if a few athletic festivals restricted entrance to specific groups and even if certain religious festivals excluded some or all *xenoi*, in general it was a common characteristic of athletic festivals to accept foreign entrants and of religious festivals to allow the presence of *xenoi*.

## 6. Conclusion

It seems a reasonable conclusion, then, that in general Greek religious festivals tolerated the presence of foreigners and that it was a standard feature of the institutional setting of athletic competitions, which were, of course, in the period under consideration here, almost invariably incorporated into religious festivals, to accept foreign entrants. As pointed out at the beginning of this study, such acceptance of foreign entrants is not a *given*, not a law of nature, but must represent conscious decisions on the part of the organisers of athletic festivals: it is, in other words, a phenomenon in need of explanation, and in this concluding section I shall briefly discuss what the explanation of this general openness of Greek religious and athletic festivals may be.

The quality of athletic competitions as exciting spectacles and τῶν πόνων ἀνάπαυλαι τῇ γνώμῃ, »opportunities for the spirit to rest itself from toils« as Thucydides famously reports that Perikles said of *agones* (2.38.1), must, obviously, have been greatly improved by acceptance of foreign athletes;<sup>259</sup> and, since it was a basic tenet of popular Greek religious thinking that the »gods enjoyed the same kinds of pleasures, such as wine, dancing, song, and even beauty contests, as their terrestrial counterparts«,<sup>260</sup> the honour paid to the dedicatee divinity of a festival will have increased as the splendour of the spectacles increased. Moreover, many city-states probably used their great festivals to project an attractive and appealing image of themselves as well as to demonstrate their power to the Greek world; and these aims, clearly, will have been furthered by the presence of foreign athletes and the ensuing presence of foreign spectators and city-state delegates such as *theoroi*. The *Panathenaia*, of course, is the prime example of a festival exploited by its organiser in this way: recently, D. G. Kyle has described the festival as »Athens's sporting showplace for the wider Greek world«<sup>261</sup> and as »spectacular display of unity, power, and

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<sup>258</sup> Funke 2006, 5.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Price 1999, 39.

<sup>260</sup> Murray 2014, 312.

<sup>261</sup> Kyle 2014b, 160

piety.<sup>262</sup> The distinctive amphorae awarded as prizes to athletic and equestrian victors were designed to advertise the wealth of Athens and to honour its great patron divinity;<sup>263</sup> and the lavishness of the prizes awarded by Athens at the *Panathenaia* was clearly designed to attract foreign competitors.<sup>264</sup> Other cities as well awarded rich prizes with the same purpose<sup>265</sup> perhaps already in the sixth century when Kroton and (or) Sybaris are reported to have offered lavish prizes to attract foreign athletes.<sup>266</sup> Such cities probably exploited their great festivals in much the same way that Athens exploited the *Panathenaia*. Here, however, we are dealing rather with the uses to which city-states put the openness of their festivals, the advantages cities took of the phenomenon, and not really with an *explanation* of the phenomenon.

In very recent years, historians of ancient Greek athletics have successfully employed what may be described as soft, or weak, versions of functionalism to explain various remarkable features of Greek sport and its organisation. Functionalism is the theoretical position which maintains that the fundamental social and cultural patterns of a given society will be reproduced in the various fields of activities and relations that make up a society – athletics, for example – and that the various compartments of a society are interconnected and interdependent and thus reinforce those cultural patterns on which they themselves are originally based. D. Pritchard, for example, has pointed out that modern theoretical and empirical work outside the field of ancient history has established beyond refutation that societies which are characterised by combative and aggressive, that is: warlike cultural patterns, have combative and aggressive sports much more frequently than societies which do not have such characteristics. The forms that various sports events take in a particular society, in other words, are expressions of and indeed products of the social, political and cultural patterns and practices of that society and actually preserve and support the cultural patterns from which they themselves spring.<sup>267</sup> This observation, obviously, helps to explain the extremely aggressive, combative and violent forms which Greek sports took: Greek culture itself, it is almost a commonplace to note, was characterised by what may not unreasonably be called a devotion to war and aggression.<sup>268</sup> P. Christesen has argued that the increasing republicanization and democratization of the Greek world in

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<sup>262</sup> Kyle 2014b, 165.

<sup>263</sup> Kyle 2014b, 160.

<sup>264</sup> Tracy 2007, 53; Kyle 2014a, 32.

<sup>265</sup> Kyle 2014a, 31–32.

<sup>266</sup> See above 98–99.

<sup>267</sup> Pritchard 2013, 20–30.

<sup>268</sup> Runciman 1998, 740; Hunt 2010, 51–71; Crowley 2012, 80–104; Nielsen & Schwartz 2013, 44–45.

the Archaic and Classical periods imprinted its mark heavily on athletics which developed into the first known instance of what may perhaps be called mass sport as the earlier narrow aristocracies lost their athletic monopoly. Democratized athletics, in its turn, paved the way for further democratization of society for instance by undermining inherited status and questioning ascribed rank as well as by promoting group closure within the new and more inclusive bodies of *politai*. Such soft functionalism may, I suggest, provide an explanation for the, as it seems, almost universal decision by the organisers of Greek athletic festivals to accept foreign entrants.

As demonstrated in section 5 above, one of the most fundamental and defining characteristics of the Greek city-state culture was an extraordinary degree of interaction both between citizens of different *poleis* as well as between city-states themselves. Individuals contracted marriages across city-state boundaries; individuals contracted ties of *xenia* across city-state boundaries; individuals left their native cities and settled as *metoikoi* in foreign cities or moved from city to city practicing crafts as poets, *manteis*, doctors, sophists or sculptors; and, individuals were appointed *proxenoi* by foreign city-states. City-states exchanged diplomatic envoys; city-states acted as arbitrators in international conflicts; city-states fought innumerable wars; city-states concluded treaties of *symmachia*, *sympoliteia* or *isopoliteia*; city-states collaborated about *synoikismos*; city-states joined federal states; and city-states expected and actively sought to attract foreign attendants at their religious festivals. Other examples of interaction and collaboration could be advanced – collaboration in producing coinage, for instance<sup>269</sup> – but the evidence accumulated here suffices to demonstrate conclusively that openness, interaction and collaboration was one of the defining fundamental characteristics of the Greek city-state culture: Most Greeks and most city-states, quite simply, must have been completely used to dealing with citizens of foreign *poleis* as well as with foreign *poleis* as communities in almost every sphere of life. And this deeply-rooted cultural pattern is, I suggest, the reason for the universal acceptance of foreign entrants at athletic festivals throughout the Greek world: the custom of interacting freely with foreigners was incorporated into the institutional setting of athletic festivals because it was the norm in all other contexts. In this respect, then, the Greek athletic festival not only reflects but *mirrors* the society in which it existed.

So, the decision of festival organisers to admit foreign entrants was, it may reasonably be assumed, a product of the fundamental socio-cultural pattern of interpersonal and interstate interaction. And, the decision itself created *more* interaction: athletic festivals must have created a good deal

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<sup>269</sup> See Mackil & van Alflen 2006.

of interaction among the Greek *poleis* and their citizens and must have sent large numbers of individuals out on the roads and seas, travelling to athletic destinations. Most if not all athletic festivals accepted foreign entrants and a good many of them were in fact visited by foreign athletes: indeed, in many cases that is how we know they existed. How did athletes know where to go? In the cases of the great festivals of the *periodos* as well as in the cases of Epidauros and tiny Lousoi in Arkadia we know that the *polis* arranging an athletic festival announced upcoming celebrations internationally by sending out *spondophoroi* and *theoroi*. The numerous other *poleis* who arranged athletic festivals accepting foreign entrants probably also announced them in one way or another, not least in order to attract high-profile athletes. Obviously, not all did so on a *Panhellenic* scale: most presumably restricted the announcement to for instance a regional level, as Chersonesos probably did, if it announced its games for Miltiades outside the city itself, but even so, the simple business of announcing upcoming festivals must have sent a good deal of official delegations out to make announcements in foreign *poleis*, and this must have created extensive official interaction among the Greek city-states. Official delegations and private individuals will have travelled to athletic destinations to watch the rituals and the contests as representatives of their home *poleis* or for their own pleasure. Not every minor festival will have resembled the Olympics in this respect, but some presumably at least resembled a little, such as for example the *Hekatomboia* at Argos. And, of course, the large number of festivals must have produced considerable interaction. The decision to accept foreign entrants, then, was a product of the Greek tradition for free interaction with foreigners and the decision itself consolidated that deeply-rooted tradition even more. Athletic festivals, we may say, provided some of the glue, as it were, which bound the innumerable Greek *poleis* together.

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## Family Traditions of Athletic Distinction in Archaic and Classical Athens

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In archaic and classical Greece, commemoration of sport victories was effected primarily through statuary, epinician poetry as well as the construction and dissemination of familial traditions of athletic distinction. In the first part of the paper I take Athens as a case-study and explore the construction, negotiation and performance of family traditions of athletic distinction of the Alceonids, Philaids and Calliads during the late archaic and classical periods. In the second part I address the relative scarcity of epinician poetry for elite Athenian athletes in the context of the fifth-century Athenian democracy.

Early in the fourth century BCE Callias III, son of Hipponicos and heir of the notable Athenian Calliad clan dedicated a commemorative monument celebrating his chariot victories. The statue base bears the following epinician epigram:

Εἰκόνες αἰδ' ἵππ[ων] αἰ Πύθια [καὶ Νε]μέαι δίς  
Ἴσθμοῖ τε στεφ[άνους] Καλλιὰ[ι] ἀμφέθεσαν.  
Σκηπτροφόρο δ' ἄθλον πατρὸς πατρώϊον ἔχον.<sup>1</sup>

The terse epigram communicated to the viewer the most illustrious victories by Callias' horses in three top-tier athletic festivals of the Greek world. The invocation in verse 2 of the most recognizable token of sports victory, the crown, is contrasted to the absence of the ultimate athletic prize of the ancient Greek world, the Olympic wreath. Contrary to other horse-breeders Callias did not merely hope for future success: he also reversed his gaze to the past and inscribed his personal victories into the Calliad athletic victory record. The serendipitous alliteration πατρὸς πατρώϊον succeeded in instilling to the viewer/reader the sense that Callias' athletic achievements were part of an old and venerable family tradition.

On the present state of the evidence, it would appear that family traditions of athletic distinction emerged in the Greek world during the archaic period, especially during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. Following a process of consolidation stories of athletic achievements by

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<sup>1</sup> Bousquet 1992= *SEG* 42, 466 (see also *SEG* 49, 548).



elite families circulated widely and were accessible to a broad audience. Traditions of familial sporting excellence operated through three inter-related mechanisms. First, through oral and written culture, i. e. in the form of narratives transmitted in spoken and/or written form. Secondly through ceremonials, e. g. the *eiselas*, a ritual aimed at celebrating the re-integration of a victor into his community or the post-victory banquet that introduced the victor to a more intimate circle of relatives and friends. Last but not least, family traditions of athletic achievement were disseminated through monuments, usually but not exclusively victory commemoration dedications at the sites of competition or at the victor's home city.

By taking archaic and classical Athens as a case-study, the goal of this paper is to examine some crucial aspects of the way family athletic traditions were constructed and deployed. Although all three mechanisms employed in the dissemination of family traditions operated concurrently, the focus of this paper is on orally transmitted tales and literary discourses.<sup>2</sup> Following an overview of the relevant evidence for the Alcmeonids, Philaids and Calliads, I probe the performative aspects of athletic traditions transmitted through elite ritualized practices and epinician poetry. I argue that family traditions became apposite devices in the attempt of athletes of elite backgrounds to carve out the ideological implications of success in sport. During the sixth century BCE Athenian family narratives aimed primarily at emphasizing the exclusivist nature of elite sport practices and their role in achieving and consolidating social distinction. Furthermore, starting in the fifth century BCE the rhetoric of family athletic distinction prevalent in Athenian public discourse also underscored the civic value of sport victories at panhellenic contests.

### **I. Athenian Athletic Families in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BCE**

Traditions are real: even when based on largely conventional and fabricated foundations (hence ›invented‹ traditions) their powerful symbolism, expressed through ceremonial and performance, imbues them with an aura of antiquity and immutability, thus rendering them realistic to their intended audiences.<sup>3</sup> To be sure, some traditions are also real in the sense that their presumed origins can be traced back to a documented event or series of

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<sup>2</sup> I have examined the archaeological evidence pertaining to family athletic traditions in archaic and classical Athens in Papakonstantinou 2014.

<sup>3</sup> For ›invented traditions‹ and the importance of symbolism and public ceremonial for their consolidation and diffusion see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, especially 1–14.

events. But almost always, as they are elaborated in various forms of communication and performance even the traditions that can be shown as having historical beginnings are transformed over time in accordance with wider social contingencies.

Ancient Greeks were well aware of the power of traditions and employed them widely: civic anniversaries and festivals, hereditary priest-hoods and elite family narratives are just some examples of traditions in the ancient Greek world. The crucial question is, why do traditions matter? Why, for example, it was important for Callias III to advertise in his epinician monument the Calliad ancestral Olympic victory? Did the chosen locus of the dedication – Delphi, a truly panhellenic and international sanctuary – play a formative role in the manner in which this particular tradition of athletic achievements was presented? These and other questions can be more fruitfully examined in light of the evidence for family athletic traditions in archaic and classical Athens.

In Athens the process of integrating sport practices in elite family traditions was probably underway during the seventh century BCE. Yet both sport practices and traditions grew further during the sixth century, i. e. at a time of large scale, systematic institutionalization of Greek sport.<sup>4</sup> Three leading Athenian families, the Alcmeonids, Philaids and Calliads, all prominent in politics and other aspects of public life, were crucial in constructing a particular template of Athenian family athletic traditions. It would be therefore expedient to provide a brief overview of the athletic achievements and commemorative practices of sport victories by members of these families.

### **I.a Alcmeonids**

Perhaps the most athletically notable Athenian clan of the sixth century BCE were the Alcmeonids. The family was prominent enough during the seventh century to have one of its members, Megacles I, serve as archon in the year of Cylon's coup.<sup>5</sup> But no Alcmeonid athletic victories are attested in the seventh century. The first Olympic victory of the family is credited to Alcmeon I, son of Megacles I, who won the *tethrippon* in the Olympics of 592 BCE. Herodotus (6.125) narrates how Alcmeon acquired the financial wherewithal to engage in horse-breeding. According to this story,

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<sup>4</sup> »Institutionalization« implies formalization and standardization of sport practices, e. g. an expanding number of recurring competitions and the standardization of events and rules. For these developments in sixth-century BCE Greece see Mann 2001; Christesen 2007; Kyle 2015, 70–90.

<sup>5</sup> For Megacles I see Davies 1971, no. 9688 II, pp. 370–371.

Alcmeon had assisted the envoys of the Lydian king Croesus in Delphi. When Croesus became aware of this he invited Alcmeon to his court and gave him the liberty to enter the treasury and carry away as much gold as he could at one time on his person. Alcmeon, Herodotus claims, wore a wide tunic with ample pockets and wide boots and literally stuffed himself with gold. At the sight of Alcmeon Croesus burst out laughing and allowed him to take away all that gold and much more besides. »Thus the family«, Herodotus concludes, »grew exceedingly rich. Alcmeon came to keep horses for the *tethrippon* (τεθριπποτροφίας) and won with them at Olympia«.

This aetiological story, presented in the guise of elite *xenia*, almost certainly derives from a fifth-century tradition hostile to the Alcmeonids that firmly linked success in chariot-racing with deep wealth, in this case wealth acquired through the benefaction of an eastern potentate.<sup>6</sup> The vituperative elements in the story make better sense if we admit that chariot-racing was an integral element in elite self-validation throughout the sixth and the early fifth centuries, a fact that was resented by segments of the Athenian public during the early decades of the democracy. One can go a step further and argue that since Alcmeon was the first Athenian *tethrippon* victor in a panhellenic contest, Herodotus' narrative can be perceived as reflective of a popular Athenian foundation story that elevated, in the mind of most Athenians, chariot-racing as a hallmark elite cultural practice.

Behind the smokescreen of fifth-century ideological accretions, the Alcmeonid sports record in the sixth and early fifth centuries is revealing in its own right. Following Alcmeon's 592 *tethrippon* Olympic victory, his son Megacles II was the successful suitor at the athletic and character trials for the betrothal of Agariste, daughter of the tyrant Cleisthenes of Sicyon, in the late 570s BCE.<sup>7</sup> It is sometimes thought that a funerary statue base recording the Olympic victory of a certain ---]cles refers to an otherwise unknown Olympic victory of Megacles II, but this is far from certain. We are on more solid ground regarding the athletic achievements of Megacles' brother Alcmeonides I. Alcmeonides I and another individual, possibly a brother called Cratios, won in the *hippios dromos* and the pentathlon respectively, in all likelihood at the Panathenaea c.550-540 BCE. The same Alcmeonides was also *tethrippon* victor at the Panathenaea, again during the 550s or 540s. Both of Alcmeonides' victories were commemorated in monuments dedicated at the Athenian Acropolis and the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios in Boeotia respectively.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> For hostile Alcmeonid popular traditions see Thomas 1989, 261–282.

<sup>7</sup> Hdt. 6.126–130.

<sup>8</sup> Moretti 1953, nos. 4 and 5.

The family enjoyed a host of other victories during the sixth and early fifth-centuries. Megacles IV, the grandson of Megacles II, won the Pythian *tethrippon* in 486 BCE while in exile following his ostracism in 487/6 BCE.<sup>9</sup> Pindar's *Pythian 7* commemorates the victory of Megacles IV and emphasizes the special link, harking back to Alcmeon I, between the Alcmeonid clan and Delphi. *Pythian 7* also provides a summary list of the most important Alcmeonid sporting victories until 486 BCE: an Olympic crown, two victories at the Pythia and five at the Isthmia. Out of this impressive family record at least two victories, those of Alcmeon in the Olympics 592 BCE and Megacles in the Pythia of 486 BCE, were in the *tethrippon*. The family retained an active interest in horse-breeding and racing at least until the end of the fifth century. Megacles IV, son of Megacles IV, won the Olympic *tethrippon* in 436 BCE and Alcibiades was victor at the same event in 416 BCE.<sup>10</sup>

### I.b) Philaids

It is worth noting that while all known seventh-century Athenian victors in the Olympics competed in track and combat events, during the sixth and fifth centuries Athens could showcase a distinguished record in equestrian contests, especially the *tethrippon*. Besides the Alcmeonid victories during the sixth century the Philaids won four Olympic *tethrippon* crowns, first with Miltiades III in c. 560 BCE and then with Miltiades' half-brother Cimon I in 536, 532 and 528 BCE.<sup>11</sup> Herodotus maintained the Miltiades hailed from a household that maintained horses suitable for the *tethrippon* (οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου 6.35.1), a signifier of wealth that as we have already pointed out the historian reserves also for the Alcmeonids in 6.125. Sometime after his Olympic victory Miltiades became the tyrant of the Chersonese. Similarly to his contemporary Alcmeonids, Miltiades was well aware of the power of victory commemoration in different media and venues. Hence shortly after he settled in the Chersonese, Miltiades issued a series of tetradrachms depicting a four-horse chariot, while smaller denominations also bore hippic themes.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Extant ostraca suggest that Megacles' *hippotrofia* was among the reasons for his ostracism, a fact alluded by Pind. *Pyth. 7*, 18–21. See Brenne 2002, 112–114, nos. T1/101–105 and Forsdyke 2005, 152–156.

<sup>10</sup> For Megacles IV see Schol. Pind. *Pyth. 7*, p. 201 Dr. For Alcibiades see Thuc. 6.16.2 and Moretti 1957, no. 345 for additional testimonia.

<sup>11</sup> See Kyle 1987 A 46, p.208 (Miltiades) and Kyle 1987 A 34, p. 204 (Cimon I). For Cimon's Olympic *tethrippon* victories see Papakonstantinou 2013.

<sup>12</sup> Seltman 1924, 137–139.

Cimon's three *tethrippon* Olympic victories catapulted Philaid reputation as one of the major hippotrophic families in Greece. According to Herodotus Cimon's victories were achieved with the same team of horses, an accomplishment that equaled the triple Olympic victory of Euagoras of Sparta c. 548–540 BCE.<sup>13</sup> Stesagoras II, the son of Cimon I and successor of Miltiades III as tyrant of the Chersonese, did not ostensibly achieve any notable chariot-racing victories. Nevertheless, he probably kept alive the family's tradition of *hippotrophia* and it is likely that he competed in contests. A black-figure pyxis dated to c. 540 BCE depicts a procession of four horses and a chariot led by a figure holding a branch and named Stesagoras.<sup>14</sup> If this is the Philaid Stesagoras, then it is likely that the vase depicts a victory procession and celebration conducted during a time when he was resident in Attica. Moreover, after taking over as tyrant of the Chersonese Stesagoras issued coins depicting a four-horse chariot and other equestrian themes.<sup>15</sup> By the time of Stesagoras' death equestrian themes had come to be associated with Chersonese coins and the imagery was continued by Stesagoras' brother and successor, Miltiades IV.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to the family's stellar equestrian record, some evidence suggests that certain prominent Philaids engaged in physical training, though no victories are recorded. In the 570s BCE Hippocleides, a cousin of Miltiades III, was a prominent suitor in the athletic and character trials for the betrothal of Agariste in Sicyon. In the second part of the fifth century BCE Miltiades VI had the reputation, as an old man, of keeping his body in excellent condition through physical training. This suggests that Miltiades VI, about whom very little is known with certainty, might have been an athlete or sports enthusiast and practitioner in his youth.<sup>17</sup>

### I.c) Calliads

The equestrian achievements and family narratives of the Calliads exhibit several interesting parallels with modes of sport competition and popular traditions related to the Alcmeonids and Philaids. A favorable but not necessarily unreliable interpolation in Herodotus gives pride of place to the equestrian achievements of Callias, son of Phainippus (Callias I): an equestrian victory at the Pythian games of 566 BCE,

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<sup>13</sup> Hdt. 6.103.3–4.

<sup>14</sup> Immerwahr 1972 with references, who argues that the vase depicts a celebration of Cimon's stables.

<sup>15</sup> Seltman 1924, 139–140.

<sup>16</sup> Seltman 1924, 140–144.

<sup>17</sup> Aeschin. F 37 Dittmar; Kyle 1987, no. P104, p. 224.

followed by a victory in the horserace (*kelēs*) and a runner-up placement in the *tethrippon* of the Olympics of 564 BCE.<sup>18</sup> Callias, who was famed throughout Greece for the lavishness of his spending, named his son Hipponicus and later generations continued the family's tradition in chariot-racing. A scholiast attributes to Callias II three Olympic crowns in chariot-racing which, if historical, should be dated in the early fifth century BCE, i. e. when Callias II was a young man. Later in life Callias II became notable for his political and diplomatic activities and his deep wealth – he was nicknamed *lakkoploutos*. Similar to the Alcmeonids a number of apocryphal stories, transmitted no doubt through popular oral traditions and possibly with the backing of political adversaries, attempted to explain the origin of Callias' wealth, which in reality probably accrued from the exploitation of mining resources.<sup>19</sup> In other words Callias II had the assets, family background and the social status usually associated with high-level *hippotrophia*, and it is therefore very likely that he engaged in it. This possibility is indirectly corroborated by the epinician epigram dedicated in Delphi by Callias III, the grandson of Callias II, with which I began this essay.

## II. Constructing and Performing Elite Family Traditions in Archaic Greece

How were the athletic and horse-racing achievements of Athenian elites consolidated into identifiable traditions? Herodotus' *Histories* provides us with some of the earliest and most detailed versions of Athenian family narratives of athletic achievement. Influenced by the model of oral tradition as history, scholarship has made advances in our understanding of the use of orally transmitted tales, including family traditions, by Herodotus.<sup>20</sup> Some of the family tales reported by Herodotus were in all likelihood several generations old at the time they were incorporated in the *Histories* and hence it is to be expected that they had undergone changes in their content and perhaps ideological orientation. Yet oral traditions integrated in Herodotus' work were considered by many contemporaries as an integral

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<sup>18</sup> Hdt. 6.122.1. For the textual tradition and the historical reliability of the passage see Scott 2005, 409.

<sup>19</sup> For the various stories, with testimonia, explaining Callias' wealth and his nickname *lakkoploutos* see Davies 1971, 260. For his three Olympic victories see Schol. Ar. *Nub. 64* with a discussion by Kyle 1987, no. 31, p. 203 and Moretti 1957, no. 164. For the athletic record of the Calliads see Kyle 1987, 112; Hawke 2013.

<sup>20</sup> For oral tradition in history see Vansina 1985. For the use of oral traditions by Herodotus see Lang 1984; Thomas 1989; Luraghi 2001, especially Murray 2001a and 2001b.

part of ›historical‹ family lore, in the sense that even invented traditions become authoritative through intergenerational transmission and performance.

From the perspective of the ancient historian it is usually very difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint with accuracy the critical moments of the development of an oral tradition: its genesis in a specific social context and historical circumstances, and its elaboration through a process of reshaping and negotiation until the moment it is written down. However, given the fairly comprehensive knowledge of the history of Athens during the late archaic and classical periods, one might fruitfully venture in the direction of identifying some of these stages. It is equally crucial to gauge the process whereby meanings are attributed to specific oral traditions. The concepts of performativity and performance can be especially valuable in this context.

In her seminal *Bodies that Matter* Judith Butler has expounded on the role of performativity in constructing gender roles and relations. For Butler performativity refers to a set of discursive acts that enable identities through the regularized and constrained repetition of norms.<sup>21</sup> Although the emphasis of her work is not on oral traditions or sport, Butler's analysis has obvious implications for these fields, especially if one is willing to widen the semantic purview of performativity beyond discourses and the definition of the gendered subject. To be sure, in ancient Greece oral traditions were often transmitted as authoritative verbal utterances hence they approximate Butler's definition of acts of performativity. Furthermore, the enactment of Greek family traditions was a pluridimensional process that involved diverse media, audiences and contexts of utterance. Hence a family tradition could be disseminated and validated through poetic discourse, monuments, rituals, written texts and even daily practices. Speech (performativity) was therefore often inextricably integrated with agency (performances). In the case of traditions of athletic excellence, powerful families were always keen to enact the web of meanings associated with the tradition in question in front of their home audience. Moreover, especially during the sixth century BCE, elite families and their traditions largely operated at a supra-civic level as well, usually through exclusive rituals of elite status recognition, e. g. ritualized friendship relations (*xenia*), aristocratic intermarriages or restricted-participation athletic contests.

A well-known case of such an exclusive elite ritual is the betrothal of Agariste, daughter of the tyrant of Sicyon Cleisthenes, as transmitted by

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<sup>21</sup> Butler 1993.

Herodotus (6.126–130).<sup>22</sup> According to Herodotus following his *tethrippon* Olympic victory Cleisthenes invited all suitable, i. e. of equal social standing, suitors to come to Sicyon and compete for the hand of his marriageable daughter. Herodotus provides a roster of gilded youth who, following Cleisthenes' invitation, assembled in Sicyon. Among them were two Athenians, the Alcmeonid Megacles and Hippocleides who had kinship connections to the Philaid clan. The suitors competed for a year in character and athletic trials. According to Herodotus, the two Athenians emerged as the front runners and at the end Cleisthenes chose Megacles over Hippocleides as a result of the latter's infamous drunken dance (Hdt. 6.129).

In the Agariste betrothal affair Cleisthenes presented to the world an elaborate, time-consuming and expensive ritual that inscribed his family, as well as the clans of all suitors, into a wider Greek web of elite family traditions. Agariste's betrothal was a carefully scripted affair, presented in the form of a spectacle that encoded pivotal aristocratic views and values. Therefore, from the perspective of the main actors of the episode, i. e. Cleisthenes and the suitors, it must have been essential that in its original manifestation the performance of this elite ritual as well as the narratives, originally orally transmitted stories, that were evinced in the wake of it conformed as close as possible to the template of signification as envisaged by the organizer and participants.

That sixth-century elites employed symbolically laden performances to articulate claims of social recognition and political power is documented by other episodes recounted by Herodotus that most likely derived from family or popular traditions.<sup>23</sup> In a well-known case in 556/5 BCE Peisistratus drove home his claim to power with an elaborate spectacle that included messengers and the parade of a chariot bearing the would-be tyrant and Phye, a young woman dressed up as Athena (Hdt. 1.56.5–6; [Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 14.4). To intellectuals such as Herodotus and the author of the *Ath. Pol.*, Peisistratus' use of pageantry in his attempt to allege divine sanction for his rule was nothing but a naive ploy. However, such performances were a crucial part of the fabric of life in archaic Greek cities as they functioned as prime means of concretizing community beliefs and negotiating social relations. Moreover, both the image of the chariot procession and the assertion of an epiphany of Athena evoked rituals of

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<sup>22</sup> For an analysis of Agariste's betrothal in the context of elite sport practices during the late archaic period see Papakonstantinou 2010. Lavelle 2014 offers a formalist reading of the episode that fails to take into consideration elite power relations and ideologies both during the dramatic date of the Agariste affair (570s BCE) as well as during the time of the recording of the story by Herodotus.

<sup>23</sup> For the importance of behaviors and practices in constructing elite modes of social recognition in archaic Greece see Duploux 2006.



epinician celebration and divine worship that most Athenians during the sixth-century and the classical period would have been familiar with. In other words, Athenians did not simplistically accept Peisistratus' claim to sole rule because he paraded the streets of Athens with a lady dressed up as Athena. Rather, the aspiring tyrant used a spectacular but well-understood method of canvassing in a ritualistic and symbolic manner a new civic order that has already been largely decided through the preceding power struggles of elite families.<sup>24</sup>

Herodotus' account is the earliest attestation for the Agariste betrothal and Peisistratus' procession episodes. Both stories are also discussed, but only with slight divergences from Herodotus, in later sources.<sup>25</sup> Hence once again we confront the problem of the afterlife of archaic traditions inaugurated primarily by rituals and spectacles but transmitted through oral and written narratives. One should note, however, that in both instances the time frame of transmission between the dramatic dates of these incidents and their recording by Herodotus is within the limit (up to two centuries) that, as scholars of oral tradition suggest, we would normally expect stories to be handed down in a relatively reliable manner.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, these stories as recorded by Herodotus must have undergone some elaboration during their period of transmission, and hence even if we accept, as I believe it is plausible, that a kernel of the Herodotean narratives on Agariste and Peisistratus/Phye broadly reflected behaviors and ideals espoused by prominent Greek elites of the mid-sixth century BCE, by the same token we must also admit that the stories were at some level meaningful and employable as traditions during the second half of the fifth century in Athens.

For our purposes it is important that the rituals and narratives associated especially with Agariste's betrothal, due to their emphasis on character, bodily culture and commensality, could easily interweave with other elite family traditions of power and athletic excellence. Hence Cleisthenes, a successful horse-breeder and Olympic champion employed the moment of his athletic apotheosis in Olympia as a spring-board to consolidate his relationship of peer recognition and reciprocity with other Greek elite families. In other words, the betrothal of Agariste and the narrative of the

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<sup>24</sup> For the Peisistratus/Phye procession see Connor 1987, 42–47; Sinos 1993; Blok 2000.

<sup>25</sup> In addition to Herodotus, the Agariste betrothal episode is also discussed in Ath. 6.273b–c; 12.541b–c = Timaios from Tauromenion *FGrH* 566 F 9; 14.628cd; Ael. *VH* 12.24; D.S. 8.19; Suda, Σοβάρῖται. For the Peisistratus/Phye procession see also Cleidemus *FGrH* 323 F 15/Anticleides *FGrH* 140 F 6; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.21.1; Ath. 13.609c. The only slight variations between the Herodotean account of these stories and later sources is a testament to the longevity of the core of transmitted narratives.

<sup>26</sup> Murray 2001a, 20–1.

affair that was generated in the wake of it must have been central in Cleisthenes' attempt to construct a tradition of interconnectedness with other elite families throughout Greece. Meanwhile perhaps inevitably the story, as Herodotus transmits it, has an unmistakable Athenian tinge. Megacles, the victorious suitor, hailed from a notable athletic family so his success in the athletic trials of Sicyon could be smoothly integrated into a wider narrative of Alcmeonid sporting success. Nevertheless, in the context of fifth century Athens the story must have had ambivalent connotations for the Alcmeonids. It certainly portrayed Megacles in a positive, almost heroic light: he was skillful, sensible, and self-controlled, especially as contrasted to Hippocleides. At the same time, as in the story regarding Alcmeon's wealth, Herodotus' narrative of Agariste's betrothal clearly places on the foreground the intimate relations of sixth-century Alcmeonids with tyrants. That was an embarrassing aspect of family history that, along with the notorious »curse« often associated with them, the Alcmeonids of the classical period attempted to counteract by presenting a tale of strained relations, rife with conflict, between the family and tyrants, especially the Peisistratids.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the Alcmeonids systematically cultivated an image of themselves as the archetypal champions and benefactors of the Athenian democracy.<sup>28</sup> Regardless of what the Athenian public thought of the latter argument, we can be certain that the Alcmeonid discourse of an uninterrupted and unrelenting resistance to the Peisistratids, combined with a perennial policy of defending the interests of the people was largely a fiction, i. e. an invented tradition.<sup>29</sup> As all invented traditions, it was presented as a long-established condition: in the alleged words of a fourth-century Alcmeonid the friendship exhibited by the family towards the people amounted to an ancient (*παλαιάν*) affair (Isoc. 16.28).<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Hdt. 6. 123.1; Isoc. 16.26; [Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 20.4. The Alcmeonid tradition of conflict with the Peisistratids was complemented by the various details of the parallel narrative of persecution due to the Cylonian *agos*, e. g. the story of the digging up of Alcmeonid tombs as a result of the conflict between Cleisthenes and Isagoras in 509/8 BCE ([Arist.] *Ath. pol.* 1; Thuc. 1.126.12 with the commentary by Hornblower 1991, 210. For the Alcmeonid »curse« and oral traditions see Gagné 2013, 206–209.

<sup>28</sup> Isoc. 16.27–28.

<sup>29</sup> See Meiggs and Lewis 1989, no. 6 which confirms the archonship of Cleisthenes, son of Megacles and Agariste, in 525/24 BCE. For the Alcmeonids during Peisistratid rule see Anderson 2000.

<sup>30</sup> For Alcmeonid apologies to accusations of collaboration with the Peisistratids, see Lavelle 1993, 79–85. For Alcmeonid sentiments of disguised disapprobation towards the demos cf. Thuc. 6.89.4–6, allegedly from a speech delivered by Alcibiades before the Spartans while defecting from Athens. As it is to be expected, it is not unlikely that privately such feelings were to be encountered among members of Athenian elite families of the classical period. Yet in terms of public discourse it was necessary for leading

The variant and often incompatible versions of family traditions, as exemplified by the stories of Alcmeonid activities during the sixth century found in sources of the classical period, suggest that many fifth and fourth-century Athenians would have treated such Alcmeonid family propaganda with a grain of salt. Family traditions were by nature eclectic, regarding both content and medium of diffusion. As part of the process of dissemination, it is reasonable to assume that families would promote a canonical and self-gratifying version of their history and achievements and would tend to hush up any awkward episodes, that in turn would have been picked up by other oral and written traditions.<sup>31</sup> This process was undoubtedly facilitated and expedited by epinician poetry and statuary, i. e. two genres of athletic commemoration that flourished in the late archaic and early classical period. Athenian elites were active in commissioning both, although the evidence suggests some interesting patterns. In what follows I shall scrutinize the evidence for early fifth-century epinician odes and choral poetry with Athenian themes with the objective of tracing in more detail mentalities and practices that contributed to the consolidation of family athletic traditions during the late archaic and classical periods.

### **III. The Dissemination of Family Athletic Traditions in the Fifth Century BCE: The Case of Epinician Poetry**

The diffusion and acceptability of any tradition rests largely on the construction of authoritative discourses, some external and therefore complementary to the original events and narratives that shaped the tradition in question. In the case of Athens, elite families reinforced their claims to top-tier athletic status by recourse to established tropes of athletic eulogy. In addition to the roster of victors and other athletic exploits that each family could boast of, narratives of intergenerational athletic success were consolidated by weaving in instances of unique or spectacular achievements and by emphasizing family bonds. Claims to primacy, a familiar *topos* in

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citizens to conform to the exigencies of the institutions and ideology of the Athenian democracy.

<sup>31</sup> This eclectic articulation and dissemination of family traditions can account for some incongruities in the extant evidence, e. g. the fact that Hippocleides and his alleged role in the establishment of the Great Panathenaea (Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 2) figure so prominently in Philaid tradition while at the same time his disgraceful drunken dance is highlighted in the narrative of the betrothal of Agariste by Herodotus. In other words, the tradition that maintains a pivotal and positive role for Hippocleides in the history of Athens does not necessarily discredit parts of the Agariste episode narrative. This is not to say that Herodotus' account of the Agariste betrothal episode does not contain inaccuracies, some perhaps deliberately added by hostile counter-traditions.

athletic commemoration until late antiquity, was one way of denoting noteworthy athletic success and hence constructing ›value-added‹ victories. In Athens, the use of this rhetorical strategy is documented for the classical period concerning individuals active in the sixth century BCE. For instance, during the fourth century it was publicly and proudly proclaimed by individuals positively disposed towards the Alcmeonid family traditions that Alcmeon was the first Athenian to win a *tethrippon* victory in the Olympics. Another example of this practice is the reference, undoubtedly deriving from Philaid family traditions, to the fact that the three *tethrippon* victories won by the horses of Cimon I had tied the record of the horses of the Spartan Evagoras. As for Alcibiades, his participation with seven teams of horses and his victory at the Olympics of 416 BCE was represented as the most successful and distinguished performance in Olympic chariot racing for centuries.<sup>32</sup>

By far the most explicit, and perhaps the most popular, medium in constructing narratives of intergenerational athletic success during the late archaic and early classical periods was epinician poetry. Epinician odes often strike a delicate balance in the representation of victor, family and city. In addition to the victor's family, many states would have had a stake in the successful performance of their citizens at the major games and on some occasions epinicians combine individual encomium with an articulation of a civic mythological narrative that targeted both local and panhellenic audiences.<sup>33</sup> Moreover on some occasions, especially in autocratic states ruled by tyrants who were successful in the major games, the individual victor was the state.

As a result of the epinicians' popularity and social visibility, prominent victors from several cities of the Greek world eagerly commissioned epinician odes celebrating their victories. Some (e. g. Hieron of Syracuse) availed themselves of the services of more than one poets, at times even commemorating the same victory with more than one odes. Furthermore, it appears that elite families from certain communities (e. g. Aegina) had a special penchant for epinician poetry. In many cases the evidence, especially the material record, is too fragmentary to argue convincingly that for these elites encomiastic poetry was the preferred medium of victory memorialization. In the case of late archaic and early classical Athens, however, the majority of athletic and equestrian victors opted for the use of agonistic statuary dedicated in key sites as the primary means of victory

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<sup>32</sup> Alcmeon: Isoc. 16.25. Cimon I: Hdt. 6.103.4. Alcibiades: Isoc. 16.33–35; Plut. *Alc.* 11.

<sup>33</sup> E. g. Bacchylides 11, a victory ode composed for the pentathlete Automedes of Phlius. See Fearn 2003.

commemoration, a fact that is indicative of wider Athenian trends in the perception and ideological exploitation of athletic exploits.<sup>34</sup>

There are merely three extant epinician odes for Athenian athletic victors from the peak period of the genre (late sixth–mid fifth century BCE): a short ode by Pindar commemorating the *tethrippon* victory of the Alcmeonid Megacles at the Pythian games of 486 BCE (*Pythian* 7); an equally terse ode also by Pindar for Timodemos of Acharnai, Nemean *pancratation* victor sometime in the second quarter of the fifth century (*Nemean* 2); and finally an ode composed by Bacchylides for an unknown runner, victor at the Isthmian games at an unspecified date (*Bacchyl.* 10).<sup>35</sup> We also possess a fragment of an epinician composed by Euripides at the end of the fifth century BCE which celebrates the 416 *tethrippon* Olympic victory of Alcibiades (755 *PMG*).<sup>36</sup> Euripides' poem appears to be something of an exception: it was composed at a period when epinician odes were out of fashion and it is perhaps best to see it as an attempt to connect the flamboyant Athenian public figure with an exclusionary but largely moribund, in the context of late fifth century BCE Athens, genre of sport victory commemoration.

The three epinicians for Athenian victors composed by Pindar and Bacchylides employ typical features of the genre, including mythological allusions as well as references to the wealth, skill, toilsome training and renown of the victor.<sup>37</sup> Most notably for our case all three Athenian epinician odes embed the honoree's achievements into a family tradition and elicit for the audience some of the implications of his victory for the community at large. It is important to note that epinician poetry achieved the aimed eulogy and commemoration of the patron's victory primarily through singing performances. There is evidence to suggest that in addition to the premiere epinician odes were re-performed, often with the involvement of the family of the *laudandus*, for a long time after their initial composition, e. g. in the context of symposia or civic festivals.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Papakonstantinou 2014.

<sup>35</sup> It is very likely that Pind. fr. 6c S/M Knauer was a poem composed in celebration of a victory or athletic prowess of an Athenian youth at the race conducted at the Oschophoria festival. See Rutherford and Irvine 1988; Negri 2002; Parker 2005, 212. For the race at the Athenian Oschophoria, see Kyle 2015, 159. Some scholars have argued that Ibyc. fr. S220–221 (sometimes attributed to Simonides) derived from an epinician for the Athenian Callias I, Olympic victor in 564 BCE. Such an attribution is, however, highly conjectural on several grounds; see Wilkinson 2012, 168 with references to earlier literature.

<sup>36</sup> Bowra 1960.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. however ἀπονητί (>>without labor<<) in Euripides' epinician for Alcibiades. Euripides' ode also diverges from the earlier epinicians in that it does not contain any references to the city of Athens, although this might be due to the fact that we only possess a fragment of the ode.

<sup>38</sup> Currie 2004; Hubbard 2004; Hornblower 2012; Morrison 2012.

In the case of epinicians for Athenian athletes, in *Pythian 7* after an opening reference to the glory of Athens the poet emphasizes Alcmeonid grandeur and power and then enumerates in detail the panhellenic victories won by the honoree's ancestors. The ode also makes an explicit reference to the contemporary woes of Megacles in Athens: the envy (φθόνος) that accompanied his noble deeds and led to his ostracism, ostensibly shortly before the ode was composed. In *Nemean 2* Pindar forecasts future victories for Timodemos as long as he walks the path of his ancestors (πατρίων...ὁδόν; ll. 6–12). Pindar enumerates a host of victories for the family up to the point of the composition of the ode: four in the Pythia, eight in Isthmia, seven at Nemea and too numerous to count in local contests. Hence as far as athletic success is concerned, the Timodemidai are the most pre-eminent (ἐξοχώτατοι) among all Acharnians (16–18). Timodemos is thus presented as an adornment (κόσμον) for the city of Athens (l. 8). Moreover, in the extant fragment of Bacchylides 10 the poet underscores the family links (ll. 9–10) and noble pedigree of the victor (ll. 47–8). The athlete in question had achieved victories in the Isthmian and Nemean games as well as in local contests (ll. 25–35). The victor is also portrayed as having bestowed *kudos* (l. 17) to the city of Athens and glory (δόξαν, l. 18) to the members of the Oneis tribe in which he and his family ostensibly belonged.<sup>39</sup>

The importance accorded to the victor's family in epinician odes, including the three extant specimens celebrating Athenian athletes, is perhaps to be expected considering the mechanics of epinician ode commissioning. Poets were largely depended on the whims, tastes and generosity of their patrons, so it is hardly surprising that they strove to please them by incorporating flattering references to their achievements and traditions.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> In discussing Bacchylides 10 Aloni 2012, 33–34 feels that it is incongruous that in the extant fragments the poet emphasizes civic values over immediate family, incorporating instead references to the victor's brother-in-law (l. 9) and tribe (l. 17). The fact is that starting in the late sixth century BCE there is a sustained attempt throughout the Greek world, in the context of which Bacchylides 10 should be viewed, to acknowledge and integrate the victor's community in elite discourses of victory commemoration (e. g. epinician odes, agonistic inscriptions). See e. g. the emphatic references to the victor's city, Ebert 1972 no. 5 (end of sixth century BCE), no. 6 (end of sixth century BCE), no. 11 (first half of fifth century BCE) and Moretti 1953 no. 14 (c. 460 BCE). See also Ebert 1972, no. 12 (early fifth century BCE), for the image of a victorious athlete crowning his city; Ebert 1972, no. 15 (after 472 BCE), an Olympic victor bestowing *kleos* on his city; Ebert 1972, no. 19 (470s or 460s BCE) an athlete crowning his city (restored). For the victor and his community in epinician poetry see Kurke 1991, 163–94. Moreover, as part of the process of constructing family traditions, it is not uncommon in epinician odes to refer to chronologically distant or collateral kin beyond the victor's lineal relatives. Cf. Pind. *Nem.* 6 with the discussion by Carey 1989, 6–9.

<sup>40</sup> See also Fearn 2007, 20–23; Carey 2007, 200.

Victor lists existed for the Olympics and the other major games but inevitably during the composition of the ode the victor and his family must have been consulted in the process of compiling details of the family's mythology, genealogy and athletic record, the latter at times stretching back several generations and comprising victories in panhellenic and local games. The re-enactment of these family traditions of athletic achievement through the public performances of the odes, in the immediate aftermath of a victory or in future occasions, was crucial for the articulation of family traditions and identities.

This observation makes even more problematic the fact that by and large Athenian elite athletes, many stemming from some of the wealthiest and most renowned families in the Greek world, eschewed from epinician poetry. This was despite the fact that the genre was both a fashionable trend and a central constituent of aristocratic *esprit de corps* throughout late archaic and early classical Greece. An interrelated phenomenon, contemporary to the elaboration of elite family narratives of athletic achievement, is the spread of paeans and dithyrambs celebrating aspects of the civic mythology and ideology of Greek cities. These poems, often composed by the same poets active in the epinician ode circuit, were performed by choruses in public settings.<sup>41</sup> Even though at times marked differences existed in their internal typology and circumstances of performance, all three genres (epinicians, paeans, dithyrambs) were essentially a stage for publicly enunciating and negotiating traditions and ideologies.

A crucial aspect of cultic poems (paeans, hymns, dithyrambs) is that they were commissioned by or on behalf of cities, in the case of Athens through the services of magistrates and the appointed *choregoi* in festivals. Despite the fact that only the most sophisticated and discerning listeners would have been able to tease out in their entirety the complex rhetoric and mythological allusions of Pindaric and Bacchylidean poetry, it remains plausible that paeans and dithyrambs commissioned by cities must reflect, to a certain extent at least, something of the collective ethos and ideology of the community whose achievements these poems celebrated. In the case of Athens, in the aftermath of the Persian wars the Athenian state actively pursued the employment of choral poetry, mythology and the visual arts with the objective of constructing and promoting an image of Athens as a leading naval power in the Greek world. The high number of extant dithyrambs with an Athenian theme can be partly explained by the pragmatic need to produce a certain number of suitable performances for the choral tribal competitions of Athenian festivals. Choral performances in festivals were therefore part and parcel of an extensive network of

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<sup>41</sup> For performance of epinician and other choral poetry see Kurke 1991; Carey 2007.

ceremonials that aimed at imculcating Athenian ideology and values on the city and beyond.

The re-casting and elevation of the myth of Theseus as the foundational story of the Athenian thalassocracy provides an illuminating case study. The emergence of Theseus as a mythological point of reference occurred primarily during the early fifth century BCE and was consolidated through poetry, art and civic spectacles, culminating in the episode of the transfer of the »bones« of the mythical hero from Skyros and their interment in Athens following a grand procession.<sup>42</sup> Dithyramps and paeans on Theseus and other Athenian themes contextualized and aggrandized the effect of civic rituals and invented traditions revolving around Theseus, including the state-endorsed notion that the hero had intervened in the battle of Marathon.<sup>43</sup> In the realm of choral poetry Bacchylides 18, performed by an Athenian chorus, provides background on the Theseus myth and his extraordinary victories over villains operating on the borderline areas of the city of Athens. Moreover Bacchylides 17, a dithyramb performed by a Cean chorus, re-enacted the mythological foundations of the Athenian maritime empire in the story of an *agon* between Theseus and Minos.<sup>44</sup> Besides Bacchylides, Pindar (fr. 76 and 77) and Simonides (PMG 533; fr. 1–4 W<sup>2</sup>) were also hired to praise Athens and commemorate the city's notable military achievements.<sup>45</sup>

It is tempting to contrast the eagerness of the Athenian community to secure the services of the best poets of the time with the attempts of individual athletic victors or other aristocrats keen to commemorate their military exploits. Regarding choral performances with civic themes D. Fearn has recently suggested that »such public choral-lyric performances in Athens were set up to rival more private, more obviously aristocratic performances.«<sup>46</sup> Elite performances included conspicuous instances of commemoration of achievements in the domain of sport, especially after the early fifth century BCE when elite victors in major contests actively embedded the *polis*, as an imagined community, into the mainstream of elite epinician discourse. At the same time, in the context of the Athenian democracy social elites, especially those with an interest in public life,

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<sup>42</sup> Plut. *Thes.* 36; see Podlecki 1971; Walker 1995, especially 55–61.

<sup>43</sup> Plut. *Thes.* 35; Paus. 1.15.

<sup>44</sup> For Bacchyl. 17 see most recently Pavlou 2012 with references to earlier literature. Cf. also Bacchyl. 19, a dithyramb entitled »For the Athenians« and most likely performed in the context of a Dionysiac festival, perhaps the Great Dionysia in Athens.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Bacchyl. 23 which begins with an invocation to »Fine men, the cream of holy Athens«. See also Pind. fr. 52e Maehler with Rutherford 2001, 294–5.

<sup>46</sup> Fearn 2013, 137.



found it necessary to conform to collective, egalitarian principles.<sup>47</sup> As publicly performed choral poetry was extensively used in the first decades of the Athenian democracy as a conduit of Athenian civic values and ideology, it is perhaps understandable why prominent Athenian families largely chose not to overstate their athletic achievements through publicly performed epinician odes but opted instead for other types of memorials, including funerary monuments and especially dedications in flagship religious sites, including the Athenian acropolis. This is not to say that the popularity of choral poetry with wider Athenian themes was reversely related to the relatively low number of epinician odes celebrating Athenian individual victories and family athletic traditions. Nonetheless, the political dynamics and power relations in Athens during the first half of the fifth century BCE must have had an impact on the strategies of victory commemoration that elite victors and their families pursued.<sup>48</sup>

#### IV. Conclusion

The evidence suggests that for the best part of the sixth century BCE athletic and equestrian victors from privileged backgrounds largely perceived and portrayed their engagement with athletics as another hallmark of elite identity, a token of social recognition that re-affirmed their position of social ascendancy. Such claims did not always go unchallenged as many authors evinced a middling discourse that attempted to re-negotiate and re-articulate the meaning and influence of elite lifestyles and practices.<sup>49</sup> Towards the end of the sixth century BCE the trend towards more egalitarian and community-oriented social relations and political configurations, observable in some cities across the Greek world, must have put traditional

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<sup>47</sup> Elite victories in major contests and their commemoration were not always positively received in fifth and fourth century Athens. For instance, despite the fact that elite sport was perceived positively by most Athenians, horse-breeding and racing elicited ambivalent reactions: for some *hippotrofia* bore the stigma of an elitist, perhaps even subversive to the democracy, activity while at the same time for some quarters of the Athenian public the success of individual chariot teams in the Olympics and other major games was positively appraised. For testimonia on classical Athenian attitudes towards horse-breeding and racing see Golden 1993; Papakonstantinou 2003. For the popularity of sports in classical Athens see Pritchard 2013.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Aloni 2012, 30–32 where it is argued that the extent to which elite sport victors commissioned and employed epinician odes in late archaic and early classical Greece was analogous to the political set up and prevalent ideology of their cities. In this model, elites from cities with constitutions that assumed a large degree of conformity to communal values (e. g. Athens and Sparta) were less likely to employ epinician odes than by their very nature extolled the achievements of individuals and clans.

<sup>49</sup> Morris 2000.

elite representations of sport, especially horse-racing, and other elite status signifiers under pressure.<sup>50</sup> It is precisely at this time that elite tales of individual or intergenerational athletic success, along with the construction of often imaginary and mythological genealogies, became instrumental in re-configuring the position of elites vis-à-vis their cities. As a result, starting in the last quarter of the sixth century elite narratives of athletic commemoration, whether in the form of literature aimed for performance or material monuments, increasingly incorporated explicit references to the victor's community.<sup>51</sup>

In fifth-century Athens, as in most Greek communities of the classical period, elite families with a distinguished athletic record and the Athenian *polis* eventually achieved a balanced albeit at times uneasy symbiosis: for elite victors their personal and family athletic achievements reflected the greatness of their city. The Athenian community, in turn, integrated elite athletic victories and commemoration performances into the civic discourse and public sphere, e. g. by awarding victors prizes and privileges or by allowing repeated performances of epinician odes in civic festivals. In the context of the Athenian democracy, such developments were part of a wider process of amalgamating the wealthy elites into a political framework that prioritized the interests of the *demos* and rewarded those who publicly championed those interests. Overall, the articulation, re-enactment and negotiation of family traditions broadcasted to the city and the Greek world an encomiastic portrayal of family athletic achievements while at the same time contributed in re-shaping the image that the community itself had of its elite athletic and equestrian victors.

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<sup>50</sup> See Robinson 1997 for the trend towards political egalitarianism in late archaic Greece.

<sup>51</sup> See note 38.

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## The Introduction of Athletic Nudity – Fact or Fiction?<sup>1</sup>

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It is the generally accepted opinion that Greek athletes only started to exercise in the nude after the period of the so-called Homeric world. And that is also what ancient tradition held. Does it, however, necessarily follow that this view is correct? A thorough re-examination of all the relevant ancient sources leads to a more sceptical approach. It shall be shown that the available sources cannot prove beyond doubt that nudity in sport was a subsequent innovation. In fact a continuation of athletic nudity as an aboriginal natural behaviour seems to be quite likely.

It is the *communis opinio* to be found in most modern scholarly work that athletic nudity was a custom introduced to sports contests only some time after the period of the so-called Homeric World.<sup>2</sup> However, for me, this always seemed hard to believe. The main problem that emerges is the question whether anything like athletic nudity – i. e. the custom of performing sports in the nude – can actually be introduced. An admittedly superficial quick comparison with our modern world should illustrate what I mean: Would it be possible to introduce athletic nudity today? At the Olympic Games, for instance? I would rather say not.

But what about in ancient times? Is it really plausible that at a certain point in early Greek history nudity was successfully introduced into sports? Or wouldn't it be much easier to assume that people might have found it

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<sup>1</sup> This is the slightly enhanced English version of my paper given in German at the conference »Sport in der Antike. Symposion anlässlich des 25. Bandes von Nikephoros. Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur im Altertum« 26.–28. Juni 2014. An earlier version was published as »Sport im Lendenschurz? Kritische Bemerkungen zur Einführung der Nacktheit im griechischen Sport.« In *Kultur(en) – Formen des Alltäglichen in der Antike. Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Ingomar Weiler*, edited by Peter Mauritsch and Christoph Ulf. Graz 2013, 457–474. The main ideas have also been presented in September 2012 at the 26. Österreichischer Historikertag in Krems. – I am very much indebted to my dear friend Helen Miles, who polished my less-than-perfect English prose.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, recently Christesen 2014, 227; Weiler 2014, 117. For an overview of publications on that topic see Crowther 2004, 169–170; also see Arieti 1975 (as an example for a rather questionable approach); Golden 1998, 65–69; Christesen 2007, 353–359; Kyle 2007, 85–87; Nielsen 2007, 22–28; Christesen 2012, 174–175; Christesen 2014, 226–228.

quite natural to remove their clothing before carrying out physical activity?<sup>3</sup>

Without delving any deeper into the already widely discussed topic of nudity in ancient Greek history, it cannot be overlooked that nudity was undoubtedly always a feature of Greek civilisation and certainly not ignored, concealed or even banned. It is not necessary to discuss the huge pictorial evidence here. It is enough that it simply exists. In which ever way these objects might be interpreted, nudity is omnipresent.

Instead of presenting examples of Greek art at this point Hesiod shall be quoted for whom it is obviously quite normal to suggest to the peasant to »to sow, to plough and to reap in the nude«.

γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βοωτεῖν,  
γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν (Hes. *Op.* 391–392)

The suggestion that in such a civilisation nudity in sports had always been a normal custom of the day does not seem too far-fetched.<sup>4</sup>

However, what ancient writers tell us about athletic nudity is something else. But can we rely on them? Do these writers really provide sound information? That is exactly the question I want to raise. It definitely seems worth having a closer look at the relevant sources.

## 1. Homer

For scholars Homer has always been a key source of information about the issue being discussed in this paper.<sup>5</sup> And this was already true for ancient times and Dionysios of Halicarnassos when he wrote:

τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων δι' αἰσχύνης εἶχον ἅπαντες Ἕλληνες ὅλα γυμνὰ φαίνειν ἐν ταῖς ἀγωνίαις τὰ σώματα, ὡς Ὅμηρος τεκμηριοῖ, μαρτύρων ἀξιопιστότατός τε καὶ ἀρχαιότατος ὦν ζωννυμένους τοὺς ἥρωας ποιῶν. (D. H. 7,73,3)

Before then all the Greeks were ashamed to appear at the games with their bodies entirely naked, as Homer, who is the most credible and

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<sup>3</sup> Especially when we take into account the kind of clothing then in use. Cf. Jüthner 1968, 50: »Doch wird die sportliche Nacktheit auch aus Gründen der Zweckmäßigkeit empfohlen gewesen sein.«

<sup>4</sup> I don't think that it is necessary to trace it's origin within any other field except for sports. For different approaches cf. Mouratidis 1985 (apotropaic reasons); Sansone 1988, 107–115 (hunting); Bonfante 1988 (initiation).

<sup>5</sup> Doubts are visible in Nielsen's comment: »On the *assumption* that Homer depicts earlier historical practice, the *presumption* would have to be that the introduction of athletic nudity was a post-Homeric development« (Nielsen 2007, 23) (italics W. P.).

earliest of witnesses, shows when he has the heroes girding up (trans. Miller)

Now, let's see what we really can learn from Homer. There are only four passages which touch on our topic. Two of them are part of the description of the funeral games held for Patroklos. In the first passage, Euryalos is being prepared for his fistfight against Epeios:

Hom.II.23,683–685

ζῶμα δέ οἱ πρῶτον παρακάββαλεν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
δῶκεν ἱμάντας ἐϋτμήτους βοῶς ἀγραύλοιο.  
τῷ δὲ ζωσαμένω βήτην ἐς μέσσον ἀγῶνα,

A girdle first he cast about him, and thereafter gave him well-cut thongs of the hide of an ox of the field. So the twain, when they had girded themselves, stepped into the midst of the place of gathering, (trans. Murray)

The second passage describes the beginning of the wrestling match between the greater Aias and Odysseus:

Hom.II.23,710–711

ζωσαμένω δ' ἄρα τῷ γε βήτην ἐς μέσσον ἀγῶνα,  
ἀγκὰς δ' ἀλλήλων λαβέτην χερσὶ στιβαρῆσιν

Then the twain, when they had girded themselves, stepped into the midst of the place of gathering, and laid hold each of the other in close grip with their mighty hands (trans. Murray)

The other two quotes are found in the improvised fight that the suitors of Peneople have organised between the beggar Iros and the still unrecognised Odysseus:

Hom.Od.18,66–68

(t... αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ζῶσατο μὲν ράκεσιν περι μῆδεα, φαῖνε δὲ μηρούς  
καλοῦς τε μεγάλους τε,

But Odysseus girded his rags about his loins and showed his thighs, comely and great (trans. Murray)

Hom.Od.18,74–77

οἴην ἐκ ρακέων ὁ γέρων ἐπιγουνίδα φαίνει.  
ὡς ἄρ' ἔφαν, Ἴρω δὲ κακῶς ὠρίνετο θυμός.  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς δρηστήηρες ἄγον ζῶσαντες ἀνάγκη  
δειδιότα·



»such a thigh does yon old man show from beneath his rags.« So they spoke, and the mind of Irus was miserably shaken; yet even so the serving men girded him, and led him out perforce all filled with dread (trans. Murray)

It can hardly be denied that all these contestants were wearing some form of clothing; obviously a kind of loincloth. The word in use is always ζῶμα or related terms. It is striking, that all the mentioned cases deal with combat sport. So, what actually derives from Homer is the reference to non-nude competitors in combat sports alone. Is that enough to assume that all kinds of sports were performed wearing a loincloth?<sup>6</sup>

However, I do not intend to pursue that line of enquiry. The following question seems to be more pertinent. Can we really presume that the Homeric epics depict real every-day-life details in ancient Greece around 700 BCE?<sup>7</sup> Or could contents, themes and motifs also possibly derive from somewhere else? There seems to be no doubt that oriental literature actually had a strong influence on the text of the Homeric epics. Several examples of such influences have already been pointed out or have at least been suggested.<sup>8</sup> We definitely have to take into account the possibility that literary patterns which originated somewhere else found their way into the Homeric epics.

I will draw on an example that R. Rollinger discussed in his article *Altorientalische Einflüsse auf die homerischen Epen*,<sup>9</sup> where he pointed out parallels in the depiction of Achilles and Gilgamesh. Both are outstanding in strength, are semi gods, have a mortal father and a divine mother, whose advice is important, and both have a very close friend: Enkidu and Patroklos. And both are in mourning for these friends.

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<sup>6</sup> Prof. Hanns-Thuri Lorenz, Graz, drew my attention to the fact that there are naked figurines from the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>, who only wear a belt (cf. Fuchs 1969, Abb.1 p.19; Abb.3/4 p.21; Abb.7/8 p.25). The Homeric epic is always using the term *zoma*, which could be understood in that very sense. In the Odyssey, however, the male parts (*μηδός*) are explicitly mentioned as covered; this would be the only clear reference to a loincloth in sports then. Cf. Bonfante 1989, 548.

<sup>7</sup> It is quite obvious that this is certainly not the case for each and every aspect of everyday life. It should just be remembered that the epics always mention weapons in bronze, instead of iron, and that chariots used in the fight do not correspond to war practice of this time (cf. Raaflaub 2011, 356–363). – Another hint that the epics do not necessarily correspond to reality in every possible sense is the fact that the athletes' practice of anointing themselves is never mentioned; a practice that, as Ulf (1979, 237–238) believes, must have been a very old habit.

<sup>8</sup> West 1997, 334–401: »We have seen that the Iliad, at least, is pervaded by themes and motifs of Near Eastern character« (400); cf. Rollinger 2011a, 215; Rollinger 2011b, 34.

<sup>9</sup> Rollinger 2011a, 221–223; cf. West 1997, 340–343; Patzek 2011, 399–340.

Epic of Gilgamesh 8,58–64

But his (Enkidu's) eyes do not move,  
he touched his heart, but it beat no longer.  
He covered his friend's face like a bride,  
swooping down over him like an eagle,  
and like a lioness deprived of her cubs

he keeps pacing to and fro.

He shears off his curls and heaps them onto the ground,  
ripping off his finery and casting it away as an abomination  
(trans. Kovacs)

Hom.II.18,316–322

And among them the son of Peleus began the vehement lamentation,  
laying his man-slaying hands upon the breast of his comrade and  
uttering many a groan, even as a bearded lion whose whelps some  
hunter of stags hath snatched away [320] from out the thick wood;  
and the lion coming back thereafter grieveth sore, and through many  
a glen he rangeth on the track of the footsteps of the man, if so be he  
may anywhere find him; for anger exceeding grim layeth hold of him  
(trans. Murray)

Hom.II.18,26–27

And himself in the dust lay outstretched, mighty in his mightiness,  
and with his own hands he tore and marred his hair (trans. Murray)

The similarities are striking. It really seems possible to make sense of these similarities as being the result of the application of a literary motif. Now the question is whether the same approach could be taken to understand the existence of loincloths in combat sports as well? Loincloths in sports are, indeed, attested in the ancient Near East. Not only does Thucydides<sup>10</sup> mention them – and as he is talking about his contemporary time his statement seems to be quite reliable – loincloths are also mentioned in the literary sources of the Ancient Near East. An Old Babylonian text describing the wedding of the god Mardu<sup>11</sup> mentions wrestling contests; the competitors are called: »girdle-clad lords« (v.62 = ii 26). And since the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE pictorial sources also show sport carried out by figures clad around the middle of their body.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Th.1,6,5: *To this day among some of the barbarians, especially in Asia, when prizes for boxing and wrestling are offered, belts are worn by the combatants.* Note that here exactly the same disciplines are mentioned that we have found in Homer.

<sup>11</sup> Martu A. § 4; Rollinger 2011c 6.

<sup>12</sup> Just to mention a few random examples: cf. the well-known copper statuette of two wrestlers (with jars on their heads) from Khafajah (2600 BCE), Pritchard 1954, nr.219; a terracotta relief from Tell Asram with two boxers (2000 BCE), Murray 2010, fig.2; a

It is also worth noting that in the eastern sources, sport contests are well attested in the context of funerals.<sup>13</sup> This would fit very well with the Patroklos games and provide a possible link which could have brought the motif of combat sport contestants with loincloths into the *Iliad*.<sup>14</sup>

I am certainly not going to claim that it can be proven beyond any doubt that the loincloth in Homer is nothing else than a literary motif deriving from the ancient Near East. What I do want to stress is that we seriously have to consider this possibility. As a matter of fact Homer should definitely not be viewed as such a reliable witness to sports being performed in loincloths in earlier Greek history as he seems to be at first glance.

## 2. Two other early sources

There are two other sources I wish to present. To some extent they support the view that athletic nudity was not unknown in earlier times. The first source is Pindar. He seems to understand athletic nudity as something which already existed in the mythic past. When he describes a race between Kastor and Iolaos they apparently run naked.

P.I.1,23

... λάμπει δὲ σαφῆς ἀρετὰ  
ἔν τε γυμνοῖσι σταδίοις σφίσιν ἔν  
τ' ἀσπιδοδοῦποισιν ὀπλίταις δρόμοις,

Their excellence shines clearly, in the naked footraces and in the shield-clashing hoplite races (trans. Svarlien)

There are, though, different ways of understanding that statement.<sup>15</sup> Did Pindar really believe that the practice of running naked was in existence very early<sup>16</sup> or was he »deliberately bridging the divide between mythical

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terracotta relief from Tell as Senkerek depicting two boxing men and two musicians (1200 BCE), Murray 2010, fig. 3; cf. also a stone slab from Tell Halaf (1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE) showing a combat of two men (sometimes interpreted as Gilgamesh and Enkidu), Olivová 1984, p. 33.

<sup>13</sup> Rollinger 2011a, 223; Rollinger 2011c, 10–11.

<sup>14</sup> Mouratidis comes to a different solution. He believes that nudity had its origin with warrior-athletes in prehistoric times and thinks that »one might well suggest that the Homeric references to loincloths in athletics reflect a practice of the poet's own time«, and that it might be possible that in Homeric times the Greeks in Asia Minor were influenced by eastern customs, Mouratidis 1985, 217.

<sup>15</sup> Nielsen 2007, 22 n.69.

<sup>16</sup> Huxley 1975: 39 (cited after Nielsen 2007, 22 n.69).

past and historical present<sup>17</sup> or is the word *γυμνοῖσι* simply applied to emphasise the distinction to the race in armour, which is also mentioned here?<sup>18</sup>

The other hint is to be found in a Scholion on Homer. After explaining why the *gymnasion* got its name and providing another version of events surrounding the introduction of athletic nudity,<sup>19</sup> the following sentence is added:

*Schol.Hom.II.23,683 b1, Erbse (Hes.fgt. 22 R; 74 M–W)*  
νεώτερος οὖν Ἡσίοδος γυμνὸν εἰσάγων Ἴππομένη ἀγωνίζομενον  
Ἀταλάντη

And now Hesiod presented a nude Hippomenes competing with Atalante

If the scholiast is to be relied on, this would mean that athletic nudity was already mentioned by Hesiod, and so this would actually be the oldest literary evidence of that custom and correspond to a time very close to the Homeric World.<sup>20</sup>

### 3. Stories about the ›inventor‹

In ancient tradition various versions of a story exist that report the first occurrence of athletic nudity. I'd like to start with an inscription from Megara.

*IG VII 52 (= CIG I 1050)*  
Ὀρρίππῳ Μεγαρήϊς με δαίφρονι τῆδ' ἀρίδηλον  
μῆμα θέσαν, φάμα Δελφίδι πειθόμενοι·  
ὃς δὴ μακίστους μὲν ὄρους ἀπελύσατο πάτρα  
πολλὰν δυσμενέων γᾶν ἀποτεμνομένων,  
πρᾶτος δ' Ἑλλάνων ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐστεφανώθη  
γυμνός, ζωννυμένμων τῶν πρὶν ἐνὶ σταδίῳ.

The Megarians, obeying the word of Delphi, set me up, a magnificent memorial to brave Orhippos, who recovered the farthest boundaries of his country where the enemy had cut off large amounts of territory. And he was the first of all the Greeks to be crowned naked at

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<sup>17</sup> Hornblower 2004 114 n.93.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Bonfante 1989, 547.

<sup>19</sup> On this and other later versions of the story, which are not relevant for our topic cf. Petermandl 2013.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. West 1985, 135, who stresses that as we have not got the wording of the passage »we cannot be sure that it said unambiguously that Hippomenes wore nothing«.

Olympia, since before everyone had competed in the >stadion<<sup>21</sup> wearing loincloths (trans. Sweet)

Although hard to prove, the text of this epigram has been ascribed to Simonides (6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century BCE).<sup>22</sup> Today, it is generally accepted that this text derives from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The inscription itself, however, was produced much later. Given the shape of the letters in use it has been dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, or even by some to the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>23</sup> Therefore it is important to point out that the inscription itself certainly does not derive from a period earlier than the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE and we cannot be completely sure that the text really originated from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

Now what does it reveal? We learn that a certain Orhippos from Megara »was the first of the Greeks to be crowned naked in Olympia«. No date is mentioned for that event.

The next important source I want to refer to is the Olympic victor list in the work of Eusebios of Caesarea.

[Π]εντεκαιδεκάτη. Ὀρσιππος Μεγαρεὺς στάδιον.  
[Π]ροσετέθη δόλιχος· καὶ γυμνοὶ ἔδραμον· ἐνίκα Ἄκανθος Λάκων

Fifteenth [Olympiad]. Orsippos the Megarian [won] the stadion-race.  
The dolichos-race was added and they ran nude; Akanthos the Laconian won.

First of all a date is mentioned here: the 15<sup>th</sup> Olympic games i. e. 720 BCE. In this very text Orsippos<sup>24</sup> is merely referred to as the victor of the *stadion*-race. The first nude winner is Akanthos in the *dolichos*-race. This provides an interesting contradiction to the aforementioned inscription. Various ways to explain this discrepancy are possible, but this is not the place to hypothesize on that.<sup>25</sup>

Eusebios was writing around 300 CE. At least the dating for this text in which the passage is contained is sound. However, it can be presumed that he is presenting a victor list based on the one that, in ancient times, was linked to the name of Hippias of Elis and which seems to have been originally compiled in around 400 BCE.

<sup>21</sup> *stadion* can be understood as the venue as well as the short distance race.

<sup>22</sup> A. Boeckh in *CIG* I 1050, p.554–555.

<sup>23</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE: Dittenberger in *JG* VII 52; Hicks/Hill 1901, 2–3; Geffcken 1918, nr.81; 5<sup>th</sup> century CE: Moretti 1957, 61 (nr.16); Boeckh in *CIG* I 1050; Petrovic 2007, 204; cf. also *SEG* 35, 400; *SEG* 50 479.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the abovementioned inscription from Megara where the name is spelled Orhippos.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Moretti 1957, 62; Crowther 1982, 165 (= Crowther 2004, 137); Sansone 1988, 109; Christesen 2007, 355–359.

Both, the inscription and the Eusebios text could possibly provide testimonies originating from the time around the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. That's why I mentioned these sources first. All the other relevant sources are much later. The oldest of them is Dionysois of Halicarnassos. He is writing about 700 years (!) after the time in which the first nude race is said to have been held.

D.H.7,72,3

ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἐπιχειρήσας ἀποδυθῆναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμνὸς Ὀλυμπίασι δραμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πεντεκαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος Ἄκανθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν.

The first to strip his body and run nude was Akanthos the Lakeldaimonian at the 15<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (trans. Miller)

He follows the version we have just seen in Eusebios. Most of the other existing later sources actually follow the statement of the inscription from Megara and do not present Akanthos but Orsippus as the first nude winner. That's exactly what we find in a frequently quoted Pausanias passage. With Pausanias we have already reached the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

Paus.1,44,1

Κοροίβου δὲ τέθαπται πλησίον Ὀρσιππος, ὃς περιεζωσμένων ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ δὴ παλαιὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀθλητῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκα στάδιον δραμῶν γυμνός, φασὶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῦντα ὕστερον τὸν Ὀρσιππον ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν τῶν προσοίκων.

Near Coroebus is buried Orsippus who won the footrace at Olympia by running naked when all his competitors wore girdles according to ancient custom. They say also that Orsippus when general afterwards annexed some of the neighboring territory (trans. Jones and Ormerod)

Pausanias closely adheres to the Megara inscription and it is indeed conceivable that Pausanias (or his source) had actually seen this very inscription or a possible forerunner. Of particular interest is also the following additional comment by Pausanias:

δοκῶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ περιζῶμα ἐκόντι περιρρυθῆναι, γνόντι ὡς ἀνδρὸς περιεζωσμένου δραμεῖν ῥάων ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ γυμνός.

My own opinion is that at Olympia he intentionally let the girdle slip off him, realizing that a naked man can run more easily than one girt. (trans. Jones and Ormerod)

In this text an explanation for the new custom is introduced; an explanation that was picked up on by the subsequent tradition commenting on the first nude athlete. This tradition – i.e. the later sources, many of them *scholia* –

rather calls to mind that well-known children's game Chinese Whispers. The storyline starts to deviate. Sometimes the date of the event is changed: it was set in the 14<sup>th</sup> Olympic Games or even in the 32<sup>nd</sup>. The loincloth falls not deliberately but by accident; and that causes the runner to tumble leading to his defeat or in a different version even to his death. Or the event is transferred from Olympia to Athens. Looking at this development of the story, one gets the distinct impression that these sources tell us more about the way information was handed down by tradition than about the actual facts.<sup>26</sup>

For our question, however, another aspect is even more significant. The sources speaking about this Orsippus/Akanthos story of the first occurrence of athletic nudity date this event to a very early period; the late 8<sup>th</sup> century. All these sources themselves emerged hundreds of years later. The closest testimonies derive only possibly from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The others are at least 700 years away from the event they report. This is a considerable time gap that must not be overlooked. Furthermore we need to raise the question how any information from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century could have been preserved and handed down in early Greek history during a time when script was anything but common.

Another serious objection is the fact, that as the Homeric epics were increasingly dated forward to the time around 700 BCE<sup>27</sup> the early dating of the introduction of nudity (720 BCE) creates a conflict with the view that athletic nudity did not exist at the time of the Homeric world.

Of course, there is an argument that the event has simply been incorrectly backdated by ancient writers to a more remote past, and that this dating would not affect in itself the validity of the story.<sup>28</sup> Yet, this argument does not serve to lessen my reservation about the validity of the story:

All the sources referring to the first man to perform in the nude give rise to the suspicion that they are nothing but aetiological stories; stories that provided reasons why certain facts or habits, that seemed remarkable, existed. As can be observed in many other cases in Greek history, these stories normally name an ›inventor‹ or somebody who was the first to do something. This is precisely the case for those sources referred to above that provide information about the first athlete competing in the nude.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> For the different version in this tradition cf. Petermandl 2013.

<sup>27</sup> Rollinger 2011, 35.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Christesen 2007, 358; cf. Müller 1906, 94.

<sup>29</sup> Nielson 2007, 26: »it seems preferable to regard all these stories as a complex of aetiological anecdotes designed to explain the difference between Classical conditions and earlier practice as depicted in Homer, rather than as historical narratives in the proper sense.« Cf. also Ulf 1979, 237 n.46 (providing some examples); Sansone 1988, 109; Bonfante 1989, 556–557.

#### 4. Thucydides and Plato

A completely different version of the innovation is provided by Thucydides and Plato. The account of these writers was carefully scrutinised in an important article by Miles McDonnell, whom I will follow in this and the next section. In the so-called Archaeology Thucydides claims:

Th.1,6,5

ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρώτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἀποδύντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἠλείψαντο· τὸ δὲ πάλαι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπνυται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς νῦν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς, πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἄθλα τίθεται, καὶ διεζωμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσιν.

They [the Lacedaemonians] also set the example of contending naked, publicly stripping and anointing themselves with oil in their gymnastic exercises. Formerly, even in the Olympic contests, the athletes who contended wore belts [better: loincloths] across their middles; and it is but a few years since that the practice ceased. To this day among some of the barbarians, especially in Asia, when prizes for boxing and wrestling are offered, belts [better: loincloths] are worn by the combatants. (trans. Crawley)

The text is more complex than it seems at first glance. I just want to pick out three of its assertions.

1. The first to remove their clothing for sports were the Lacedaemonians; the text does not state when they started to do this.
2. Once (*τὸ δὲ πάλαι*) sport was performed in a loincloth; that is also true for Olympia.
3. It had not been many years (*οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη*) since the loincloth in sports had been abolished.

Thucydides does not cite any sources to back up his statement that loin-cloths had originally been in use in sports. Where did he get the information from? Did he deduce it from older literature, i.e. from Homer,<sup>30</sup> just like Dionysios did? If that were the case we should certainly not refer to Thucydides as an original source in our question.

Or could he himself possibly recall the use of loincloths in sports? The words »not many years« ago (*οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη*) would permit this assumption. If the demise of the loincloth had really occurred in the 5<sup>th</sup> century we might

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<sup>30</sup> In this context an observation of McDonnell is interesting, that it was a method of Thucydides to compare »Greek customs in ancient times with contemporary practices of less advanced Greeks or barbarians in order to demonstrate (...) the veracity of the traditional evidence« (McDonnell 1991, 189).



ask whether any other sources exist that tell the same story? But before proceeding to consider this question, the context of the Thucydides passage should be taken into account.

In a few lines preceding the quoted passage, Thucydides states that only a few years ago (οὐ πολὺς χρόνος) as a direct influence from Sparta, luxurious garments<sup>31</sup> had been superseded by egalitarian unpretentious clothing. He then subsequently explains that athletic nudity was introduced by the Spartans – οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη. It seems quite plausible that Thucydides put the whole story of the introduction of nudity into this context – and into that time frame – not because he knew or even remembered it, but rather because this simply corresponded to his model of cultural development.<sup>32</sup> That could also explain why he does not refer to or even allude to the story of Orsippus or Akanthos, which might already have existed in those days.

It is therefore possible to surmise that Thucydides might have intentionally dated the end of the loincloth to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The next question that arises is whether there are any sources which would support Thucydides' account? As a matter of fact, there is one.

Pl.R.452 c

καὶ ὑπομνήσασιν ὅτι οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐδόκει αἰσχρὰ εἶναι καὶ γελοῖα ἄπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων, γυμνοὺς ἄνδρας ὀρᾶσθαι, καὶ ὅτε ἤρχοντο τῶν γυμνασίων πρῶτοι μὲν Κρήτες, ἔπειτα Λακεδαιμόνιοι,

and reminding them that it is not long since the Greeks thought it disgraceful and ridiculous, as most of the barbarians do now, for men to be seen naked. And when the practice of athletics began, first with the Cretans and then with the Lacedaemonians (trans. Shorey)

Plato noted that athletic nudity had only emerged a short while ago (οὐ πολὺς χρόνος). He mentions the Cretans followed by the Lacedaemonians as being pioneers of nude sports. Actually this text seems to follow the statements of Thucydides very closely. Maybe too closely. It has been suggested that Plato might have used Thucydides as a source for his knowledge. It is not possible to prove such an influence but there are some hints that Plato did make use of Thucydides.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> »Here Thucydides follows an established tradition; comic poets of the mid-fifth century wrote of an earlier period of Athenian luxury which lasted down to the time of Themistocles« (McDonnell 1991, 190).

<sup>32</sup> McDonnell 1991, 190; followed by Golden 1998, 66.

<sup>33</sup> McDonnell 1991, 191–192, »In all probability Plato was familiar with Thucydides' work and took the information about the recent introduction of athletic nudity directly from his history« (192); cf. Golden 1998, 66.

Also in this case it is worth taking a closer look at the context of the passage. In it, Socrates is approving nude exercises for women. In refuting the objection that such female nudity would be ridiculous, Socrates replies that it was not long ago that male nudity had also been considered ridiculous. It is evident that the premise of a recent introduction of athletic nudity supports his line of argument.

An important objection by Miles McDonnell<sup>34</sup> points out an inconsistency in Plato's work: Plato states<sup>35</sup> that it was the lawgivers of Cretans and Spartans who had established *gymnasia*. »But if *gymnasia* were established by the lawgivers, then nude exercising cannot be properly described as having come into practice ›not long ago‹.«<sup>36</sup>

At this juncture, I believe, it is essential to remember that the information of ancient authors does not necessarily always correspond to reality. This is a commonplace. Nevertheless, a relevant example would serve to reiterate this obvious point. Plutarch, *Amatorius* 5 (= *moralia* 751–752) states that nudity in sport had just been – the plot is set in the times of the author – recently introduced. This statement can easily be discounted as simply wrong<sup>37</sup> and serves to remind us to be cautious not to take for granted what ancient authors write.

In dealing with Thucydides and Plato we are left with the question whether or not we believe them when they tell us that the practice of wearing a loincloth ceased not long before their time. I am convinced that there is a good reason to be sceptical: If the loincloth really disappeared during such a late period of time, shouldn't we expect that the prior existence of the loincloth in sports would have left some traces in contemporary sources? Yet none can be found! Neither in written sources nor in pictorial evidence. Let's finally take a closer look at the latter.

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<sup>34</sup> McDonnell 1991, 190–191.

<sup>35</sup> Pl.Lg. 633a; Lg.636c making quite clear that *gymnasion* is understood as a place for nude exercise.

<sup>36</sup> McDonnell 1991, 191.

<sup>37</sup> McDonnell 1991, 183 n.3: understands that as a »thoughtless repetition of Plato who is quoted in this section of Plutarch's dialogue«; cf. Golden 1998, 66.

## 5. Images

I would like to focus on two observations:

1. Already in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and even before that, depictions of nude athletes appear to be well attested.<sup>38</sup> However, there are some problems which have to be addressed. Firstly, in the case of the oldest depictions it is not easy to see whether people engaged in sports are really depicted in the nude. An even bigger problem is of course the question, whether the depicted nudity reflects reality or is merely an artistic convention.<sup>39</sup> Setting this problem to one side, it is nevertheless true that however these images may be interpreted they can certainly not be used as evidence that athletes originally performed in a loincloth.

2. For me it is indeed striking, that there are no depictions whatsoever of athletes in loincloths. At least I don't know any.<sup>40</sup>

At this point it should be noted that the well-known 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE *perizoma* vases<sup>41</sup> that clearly show loincloths on athletes cannot be cited as relevant here. Firstly, it has been shown that »all vases whose provenance is known and which show *perizomata* were discovered in Etruria«<sup>42</sup> – i. e. in a very special context. Secondly, and this is even more important, when looking at the vases, it is clearly visible that all these loincloths were added at a later stage than when the pictures were originally painted (cf. Taf. I, fig. 2 and Taf. II, fig. 1–2).<sup>43</sup> The painted loincloths must then be understood in their correct context i.e. as modifications for a special market or a special customer or owner of these vases. They do not illustrate Greek sports.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. West 1985, 135; Mouratidis 1985, 218–225; McDonnell 1991, 184; Golden 1998, 66; Legakis 1977 (non vidi); cf. Müller 1906, 93: images make us believe, »dass schon im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert in Olympia, Delphi und anderen Orten die agonistische Nacktheit geherrscht hat«.

<sup>39</sup> McDonnell 1991, 184–185; for idealising nudity cf. Thuillier 1988, 34–37; Himmelmann 1990; for reality: Hannah 1998.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Jüthner 1968, 48; Mouratidis 1985, 214. My research in *Pottery database* of the Beazley Archive (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/xdb/ASP/default.asp>) did not lead to any results. For me it is also striking that in publications of scholars who believe in the existence of the loincloth in sports no such images can be named.

<sup>41</sup> There are in total 11 *perizoma* vases, cf. McDonnell 186–189.

<sup>42</sup> McDonnell 1991, 187 n.30.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Jüthner 1986, 34, 49; McDonnell 1991, 188.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Bonfante 1989, 564; McDonnell 1991, 188; Golden 1998, 66; Crowther 2004, 169.

## 6. Résumé

1. It is not possible to prove without doubt that loincloths had ever been in use in ancient Greek sports.

- We cannot be sure that the relevant passages in the Homeric epics reflect actual habits of the time around 700 BCE. Influences of patterns of eastern cultures are at least very likely.
- Pictorial sources do not provide any depictions of athletes in loincloths, save the above mentioned *perizoma* vases and other special cases such as depictions of the female athlete Atalante.

2. Ancient authors writing about the introduction of athletic nudity cannot be understood as completely reliable and are in addition to that inconsistent in their statements.

- The stories about Orsippos/Akanthos date back to a very early period (late 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE). Doubts as to whether sound information of such an old event could be handed down over centuries are justified. The early date 720 BCE is also in direct conflict with the opinion that athletic nudity had not yet emerged in the time reflected in the Homeric epics. Furthermore these accounts seem very likely to have emerged as aetiological stories.
- The information Thucydides and Plato provide in both cases could have been adapted for the special purpose of the context. Their assertion that the introduction had happened »not long ago« contradicts the Orsippos/Akanthos stories and certainly does not correspond with the fact that images had never shown athletes in loincloths.

Putting all that together, it really seems debatable to me whether we should continue to believe that Greek sports were originally performed in loincloths. I would like to suggest we should therefore keep our minds open to the idea that the introduction of athletic nudity is quite likely to be nothing other than fiction.

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**Annual Games for War Dead and Founders  
in Classical Times.  
Between Hero-Cult and Civic Honors\***

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In modern scholarship both war dead and city founders are often included in the list of historical persons receiving hero-cult after death. According to several scholars funeral games play a great part in this interpretation: literary evidence dating to Classical times in fact clearly attests to annual games in honor of both war dead and founders.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it traces a fundamental distinction between the case of the founders and that of the war dead: while the former, in some cases actually received a commemorative contest every year, the latter received it only once, at the time of their burial. Second, by contextualizing annual games among other kinds of public rituals addressed to war dead and founders, it will explore their different meanings and functions.

In modern scholarship both war dead and founders are often included in the list of historical figures receiving hero-cult after death. Annual games, which are abundantly attested in connection with both war dead and founders, play a great part in this interpretation. According to several scholars annual games are in fact considered among the standard markers of hero-cult phenomena.

**Hero-cult: main hermeneutic problems**

Before moving onto the ancient evidence recording annual games for war dead and founders a few introductory remarks on the main hermeneutic problems concerning heroes and hero-cult in general are needed.

Heroes are halfway between men and gods.<sup>1</sup> On an ontological level, they differ from ordinary men in having been especially powerful during

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<sup>1</sup> They are clearly perceived as such by the ancient themselves. Most significant in this sense is the dialogue between Menippus and Triphonius in Luc. Dial. Mort. 340: to the question asked by the former (What is a hero?), the latter answers that he is Ἐξ ἀνθρώπου τι καὶ θεοῦ σύνθετον, and Menippus states back with surprise Ὅ μήτε ἀνθρώπος ἐστίν, ὥς



lifetime; from gods in being mortal. On a cultic level, they differ from men in receiving ritual acts meant to propitiate their influence on the living;<sup>2</sup> from gods in being connected with one (or more) single place(s) and able to exercise their influence within a local dimension. On the whole, with Parker's words, they can be described at best as »biographically dead mortals, functionally minor gods«. <sup>3</sup> Accordingly, hero-cult in the strictest sense points to a religious activity regularly carried out by a community towards special mortals who had died but continued to affect the living.<sup>4</sup> However, in modern scholarship hero-cult is mainly a broad term, including phenomena which actually are very different between one another, and sometimes even lack one of the two features implied by the definition itself (i.e. they are not heroic, or they are not cultic). Only in very recent years a more fluid appreciation of both the ancient evidence and hermeneutic categories concerning hero-cult has come to gradually replace the traditional models based on rigid typological classifications. In particular, there is an increasing awareness of the extreme variety and fluidity, in space and time, of the meanings and functions of the alleged standard markers of hero-cult, such as sacrifices and annual games.<sup>5</sup>

### **Annual games for war dead and founders: the ancient evidence**

War dead in Classical Athens – together with a funeral oration, the well-known *logos epitaphios* – received public funeral games, the *agon epitaphios*.<sup>6</sup> Ancient evidence concerning the *agon epitaphios* includes both

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φής, μήτε θεός, καὶ συναμφοτέρον ἔστιν; On the subdivision of living beings in gods, men and heroes see for instance Antiph. 1.27; Demosth. 2.16; 23.70.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient are aware of the necessity to venerate heroes as suppliers of the good and the evil. See for instance fr. 322 K.-A. from Aristophanes' *Heroes*: πρὸς ταῦτ' οὐδ' ὄνδρες φυλακὴν / ἔχετε τοὺς θ' ἥρωες σεβεθ' ὡς / ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν οἱ ταμίαι / τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν (ll. 1–4).

<sup>3</sup> Parker 2011, 110. See also Kearns 1989, 1–2; 125–129.

<sup>4</sup> Modern bibliography on hero-cult is certainly expansive. For a recent *status quaestionis* see Ekroth 2007; 2009; Bravo 2009.

<sup>5</sup> For a thorough revision of the traditional paradigms and classifications (such as Farnell 1921; Brelich 1958) see the researches carried out by Gunnell Ekroth (2002; 2007; 2009) and the studies collected in the volumes edited by Hägg 1988; 1999; Hägg/Alroth 2005.

<sup>6</sup> The Athenian public funeral ceremonial inclusive of a speech and games originated after the Persian Wars: proposed dates range from the immediate aftermath of the Persian Wars (Kierdorf 1966, 83–89; Thomas 1989, 207) to Ephialtes' time (Loroux 1986, 64), passing through the Kimonian Age (the '70s: Clairmont 1983, 7–15, esp. 13–14; Parker 1996, 131–135; after 464 BC: Jacoby 1945). A comprehensive treatment of war dead in Classical Athens is proposed by the author in a book dedicated to the non-historiographical memory of the Persian Wars in 5<sup>th</sup> century Athens (Proietti forthcoming).

archaeological and literary documents, spanning from post-Persian times to the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

First, there is a small group of 5<sup>th</sup> century vessels which define themselves, through an inscription running around their rim, as ›Athenian prize-vases for those who fell in war‹:<sup>7</sup>

IG I<sup>3</sup> 523: Αθηναῖοι ἄθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμοι

IG I<sup>3</sup> 524: Αθηναῖοι ἄθλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πο{π}λέμοι {πολέμοι}

IG I<sup>3</sup> 525: Αθηναῖοι· ἄθλ<α> <ἐ>πὶ {ΑΘΛΟΑΠΠ} τοῖς ἐν τοῖ πολέμοι.

*et litterae in ligatura sub pede vasis scriptae:* δε(μόσιον).

The earliest of these vessels, which were all found in funerary contexts, dates to the 80s (the Marathonian lebes), while the most recent dates to mid-5<sup>th</sup> century (the sample from Thessaloniki).<sup>8</sup> Although they were found in different places throughout the Greek territory, their geographical distribution however does not correspond to the localities where the games had taken place: according to a common use, prize-vases were in fact either offered as votives or re-used as funerary urns after the death of the winner. Some scholars connect these vessels to specific festivals, such as the *Herakleia* at Marathon or the *Eleutheria* at Plataea;<sup>9</sup> nonetheless, the fact that the inscribed text is nearly the same on the different samples might point to the fact that the Athenian state commissioned these vases in series for a public occasion which used to occur regularly. The generality of the inscribed formula – τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ – which closely resembles similar expressions recurring both in the funeral orations and in the casualty lists, suggests moreover that they were not conceived for a specific war and associated festival.<sup>10</sup> In light of this, as Vanderpool and others already suggested, these vases are most likely to be connected to the *agon epitaphios* for the war dead which was celebrated every year in Athens.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Published by Vanderpool 1969; Amandry 1971; SEG (1978) 28.26, 1–3. See most recently Marchiandi 2010, 222–26.

<sup>8</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 523 was found near the so-called Soros on the Marathon plain; IG I<sup>3</sup> 524 in the modern suburb of Ambelokipi, Athens; IG I<sup>3</sup> 525 in Thessaloniki.

<sup>9</sup> Amandry 1971; Loraux 1986, 30; Boedecker 2001, 151, among others.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ in Aristot. Ath. Pol. 58.1.3; τοὺς ἐν τῷ τετελευτηκότασ in Lys. 2.80, vel sim.; οἵδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ in several casualty lists (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1147; 1166).

<sup>11</sup> Vanderpool 1969, followed by Parker 1996, 132 n. 36; Bremmer 2006, 22 n. 75; Jung 2006, 63–64, among others. The *agon epitaphios* might also be indirectly documented by the overall topographic reorganization and refurbishment of the urban portions known as the ›outer Kerameikos‹ and the Akademia which followed the Persian Wars: here according to literary sources war dead received public burial (Aristoph. Av. 393–399; Thuc. 2.34.5; Antiph. ap. Harpokr. s.v. Κεραμεικός; Paus. I 29, 3ff.), and funeral games took place (Philostr. VS II 30; Heliod. Aethiop. 1.17; Aesych. s.v. ἐπ' Εὐρυγύη ἀγών;

Second, the prominence of funeral games among the public honors offered by the polis to the war dead is documented by 4<sup>th</sup> century literary evidence. Aristotle informs that funeral games were arranged by the polemarch,<sup>12</sup> while other authors inform that they included a variety of competitions: Lysias mentions, together with public burial, ›contests of strength, wisdom, and wealth‹,<sup>13</sup> Plato ›games in athletics, horse-racing and music of every kind‹,<sup>14</sup> More generally Demosthenes maintains that war dead were ›judged worthy of sacrifices and games for all future time‹;<sup>15</sup> similarly, Lysias himself, commenting on the aforementioned games, says that fallen in war are ›honored with the same honors which are addressed to the immortals‹.<sup>16</sup>

The two most prominent examples of annual games for founders in late archaic and early classical times are that of Miltiades the Elder in the Chersonese and Brasidas in Amphipolis.<sup>17</sup> Herodotus narrates that the people of the Chersonese offered sacrifices to Miltiades, ›as it was the norm for the founder‹, and established a contest involving games both in horse-racing and athletics: [...] καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησίται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιπαῖσι, ἐν τῷ Λαμψακηνῶν οὐδενὶ ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι.<sup>18</sup> Thucydides narrates that

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Suid. s.v. Θεμιστοκλέους παῖδες). On the archaeology of the area in post-Persian times in relationship with the public treatment of the fallen see most recently Marchiandi 2008; Arrington 2010.

<sup>12</sup> Aristot. Ath. Pol. 58.1: Ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος θύει μὲν θυσίας τῆ τε Ἀρτέμιδι τῆ ἀγροτέρᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ, διατίθησι δ' ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον, {καὶ} τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἀρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογαίτονι ἐναγίσματα ποιᾷ. For comments and bibliography on this passage see most recently Ekroth 2002, 83–85; Shear 2012, 108–109. On the role of the polemarch see also Philostr. VS II 30.

<sup>13</sup> Lys. 2.80: οἱ πενθοῦνται μὲν διὰ τὴν φύσιν ὡς θνητοί, ὑμνοῦνται δὲ ὡς ἀθάνατοι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ θάπτονται δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας καὶ πλοῦτος, ὡς ἀξίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους τιμᾶσθαι.

<sup>14</sup> Plat. Menex. 249B–C: [...] αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας τιμῶσα οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει, καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτῆ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιοῦσα κοινῆ πᾶσιν ἄπερ ἐκάστω ἴδια γίγνεται, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀγῶνας γυμνικοὺς καὶ ἵππικοὺς τιθεῖσα καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τῶν μὲν τελευτησάντων ἐν κληρονόμου καὶ ὑέος [249C] μοίρᾳ καθεστηκυῖα, τῶν δὲ ὑέον ἐν πατρός, γονέων δὲ τῶν τούτων ἐν ἐπιτρόπου, πᾶσαν πάντων παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένη.

<sup>15</sup> Demosth. 60.36.6: [...] σεμνὸν δὲ γ' ἀγήρως τιμᾶς καὶ μνήμην ἀρετῆς δημοσίᾳ κτησαμένους ἐπιδεῖν, καὶ θυσίων ἡξιομένους ἀθανάτων.

<sup>16</sup> Supra, n. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Other cases of oikist cult are more or less well documented in late archaic and classical times; however in these cases the relevant ancient evidence is pretty scanty. For Timesios oikist of Abdera see Hdt. 1.168; for Hieron founder of Katane/Etna Diod. 9.49.2; for Timoleon re-founder of Syracuse Diod. 16.80.1; Plut. Tim. 39.5. In the latter case *agones* are specifically mentioned.

<sup>18</sup> Hdt. 6.38.1. For comments vd. Leschhorn 1984, 75–83; Malkin 1987, 221–223.

when the Spartan general Brasidas, the re-founder of Amphipolis, died in 422 BC, the local inhabitants buried him in the agora with a public funeral, cut the throats of the victims to him as a hero, and also in this case established in his honor annual sacrifices and contests:

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Βρασίδαν οἱ ζύμμαχοι πάντες ζῆν ὅπλοις ἐπι-  
σπόμενοι δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸ τῆς νῦν ἀγορᾶς οὔσης:  
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολίται, περιεΐρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον,  
ὡς ἥρωϊ τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδῶκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους  
θυσίας. καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῆ προσέθεσαν [...].<sup>19</sup>

In most modern translations Herodotus' parenthetical remark ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ is erroneously referred to the whole sentence and, accordingly, taken to prove that the cult of the founder was a universal *nomos*, and that both sacrifices and contests were a steady, customary component of the related ritual practices.<sup>20</sup> While commenting the Herodotean passage, for instance, Malkin defines the oikist cult as including: »(1) A public or state funeral (2) A monumental tomb and sacred enclosure inside the city (3) A continuing hero cult (surely at the tomb) (4) Annual »honours«, that is, *agones* and sacrifices«. <sup>21</sup> However, the Herodotean expression only apparently implies that contests were a standard feature of oikist cult phenomena. Herodotus says in fact that the inhabitants of the Chersonese θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἱππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι: destruction sacrifices are said to be traditional for the cult of the founder,<sup>22</sup> while annual games are introduced as an additional honor. Similarly, concerning Brasidas, Thucydides says that the Amphipolitans ὡς ἥρωϊ τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδῶκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας: also in this case veneration through sacrifices is described as typical for heroes,<sup>23</sup> while annual commemoration inclusive of both games and *thysiai* appear to be given as an extra-honor. To a closer reading both passages therefore contrast to the monolithic model of oikist cult as responding to a highly standardized practice, and suggest a more nuanced picture of both the conception and

<sup>19</sup> Thuc. 5.11.1. Vd. Leschhorn 1984, 1153–1156; Malkin 1987, 228–232; Hoffmann 2000; Jones 2010, 24–26; Mari 2012a; Mari forthcoming.

<sup>20</sup> See for instance Malkin 1987, 193; most recently, Greco 2014, 51.

<sup>21</sup> Malkin 1987, 223.

<sup>22</sup> In their most generic form, i.e. *thysia*: as Ekroth has showed, *thysia* were the standard form of holocaust sacrifice, which could be modified in different ways depending on the treatment of both the blood and the meat of the animal victim. See Ekroth 2002, 303–304.

<sup>23</sup> Note: not for oikists. Sacrifices in this case are introduced in a specific fashion through the verb *entemnein*, which points to a specific blood ritual: *entemnein* sacrifices did not characterize heroic cult in general, but were typically common in funerary and military contexts. See Ekroth 2000; 2002, 135–136; see also Giangiulio forthcoming on the rites for founders in Sicily (Callim. Aet. 43, 1–83 Pfeiffer).

the ritual treatment of the founders: first, they do not imply that founders *were* heroes, but that they were *assimilated to* heroes, and therefore, on a cultic level, accordingly treated as such;<sup>24</sup> second, they do not refer to annual games as a standard feature of the *nomos* of the oikist cult.<sup>25</sup>

### **Comparison between annual games for war dead and annual games for founders**

Both receiving annual games, war dead and founders are usually paired in modern classifications of historical figures receiving hero-cult.<sup>26</sup> There is, however, a fundamental difference, yet often surprisingly ignored, between the two cases.

While funeral games for oikists, after being celebrated for the first time after the death of the founder, continued to take place regularly every year, presumably on an appointed day on the civic calendar, in honor of *the same person*, annual games for war dead were instead celebrated every year, at the end of the war season, in honor of *the fallen of that year*. In other words, annual games for founders were cyclic commemorative games; annual games for war dead were singular funeral games, despite taking place every year for the fallen of each year. This difference brings along decisive consequences concerning their civic and religious function and meaning, and their relationship with hero-cult practices.

Funeral games in honor of prominent individuals such as rulers and/or warriors are in fact widely recorded in the Greek world all throughout the archaic age by both literary and material evidence: Hesiod in his *Works and Days* recounts the funeral games for Amphidamas,<sup>27</sup> while archaeology preserves several 7<sup>th</sup> century bronze prize-vases for funeral games from all over the Greek world.<sup>28</sup> Their ultimate cultural model was of course given

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<sup>24</sup> Ancient sources themselves seem to hint at this distinction: see for instance Herodotus on Onesilos of Cyprus, who receives annual sacrifices ›as a hero‹ (Hdt. 3.114: Ὀνησίλω δὲ θύειν ὡς ἥρωϊ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος). An analogous shift between the ontological and the cultic level might be implied by the ›heroic honors‹ Hieron of Syracuse hopes to receive after his death for founding Katane/Etna (Diod. 11.49.2: τοῦτο δ' ἔπραξε σπεύδων [...] ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάνδρου πόλεως τιμὰς ἔχειν ἡρωικὰς).

<sup>25</sup> The fact that the cult of the founder was ›traditional‹ (compare also Callim. Aet. fr. 43 Pfeiffer, 55: νομίμην ... ἐπ' εἰλαπίνην) does not imply that the rituals implied were fixed in space and time: for a more variegated appreciation of the rituals addressed to founders see also Giangiulio forthcoming. The very existence of an ancient, standardized *nomos* for oikist cult phenomena has recently been questioned: see Hall 2008.

<sup>26</sup> For the heroisation of historical people see in general Bohrerger 1996; Jones 2010.

<sup>27</sup> Hes. Op. 654–659.

<sup>28</sup> Roller 1981a, 2–3. Alongside these prize-vases another piece of documentary evidence must be considered, i.e. three Attic marble discs inscribed with the formula ἐκ τῶν

by the epic world: it is not by chance that the most famous epic funeral games, those for Patroklos in the *Iliad*,<sup>29</sup> and -outside Homer- those for Pelias,<sup>30</sup> became in turn increasingly popular in Greek art during the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> I argue that starting from late archaic times the Greek civic honorific practice addressed to special dead such as war dead and founders turned to the epic-aristocratic pattern of the funeral games, and re-shaped it according to different contexts and needs. Let us explore this more in details in the two cases.

### War dead as Homeric heroes

In the case of the war dead the *agon epitaphios* is not the expression of a cult, for the very simple reason that, as I have already mentioned, it was not performed every year for the same group of fallen, – that would be etymologically >cult< –, but every year for those who had fallen in that year.<sup>32</sup> The *agon epitaphios* was therefore a *una tantum* honorific activity, exactly as were its epic-aristocratic precedents.

Does this special honor, though not cultic, point to a heroic status of the war dead, as it is often argued? In order to answer this question it is important to distinguish between different levels of heroism. If war dead, thanks to cultural devices such as funeral games, were actually thought to resemble the Homeric heroes,<sup>33</sup> this does not automatically mean that they were turned into higher beings who were thought to intervene in people's life. Three arguments hinder this view.

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ἥριον (>coming from the funeral games<), dating to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century (IG I<sup>3</sup> 1394; 1395; 1397: see Roller 1981a, 3–5).

<sup>29</sup> Hom. Il. 23.257–97: see Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1982. Compare also the funeral games for Achilles described in Od. 24.85–92.

<sup>30</sup> Funeral games for Pelias are recounted by lyric poets such as Eumelus, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Simonides: fragments are comprehensively discussed by Angeli Bernardini 2001.

<sup>31</sup> Roller 1981b. Patroklos' funeral games are depicted for instance on the François crater and Sophilos' dinos, both dating to ca 580–570 BC; Pelias' funeral games are depicted on the chest of Cypselos (Paus. 5.17.9–11) and the throne of Apollo in Amyclae (Paus. 3.18.16), both dating to the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>32</sup> War dead presumably received the same customary honors, inclusive of offerings and sacrifices, which were due, both on a private and civic scale, to the ordinary dead: in this framework war dead were indeed the object of a cult. On the ordinary dead cult see Jacoby 1944; Georgoudi 1988; Georgoulaki 1996.

<sup>33</sup> Other such devices were, for instance: incineration on the battlefield; language and style of the epitaphs; iconographic representations of *monomachiai*. See Lendon 2005; Guggisberg 2008. More in general on the use of epic patterns within the civic discourse on war heroism in classical Athens see Proietti in Franchi/Proietti 2015. See also Guggisberg for >Homeric< burials, and Lendon 2005 for *monomachiai*.

First, differently from city founders, war dead were buried outside the city gates: this implies that they were thought to be bearers of *miasma* (pollution) as much as the ordinary dead and therefore that, from an ontological perspective, they were not considered as heroes;<sup>34</sup> second, war dead are never defined as heroes in literary sources: when speaking about their immortality,<sup>35</sup> ancient authors clearly refer to the sphere of renown, and not to a concrete *post-mortem* existence;<sup>36</sup> third, ancient sources recurrently mention annual games among the public honors that civic benefactors were judged worthy of, in addition to the customary honors (τὰ νομιζόμενα) which were due to the ordinary dead.<sup>37</sup> Within this framework, the semantic area which is always referred to is significantly that of *timao*: civic *timé*, not heroic cult, was the universal acknowledgement of the war dead.<sup>38</sup> All this considered, funeral games clearly are at the service of a cultural, or discursive, not ontological nor religious in its strictest sense, heroisation.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> For the concept of *miasma* see Parker 1983.

<sup>35</sup> See for instance Simon. fr. 11 W<sup>2</sup>, 27–28; Thuc. 2.43.2; Lys. 2.79–81; Hyper. 6.24; 42.

<sup>36</sup> See the convincing arguments adduced in this sense by Steiner 1999; Bremmer 2006. Contra, in favor of a concrete afterlife for the fallen, see Boedecker 2001; Currie 2005, 89–119. It is above all striking that even in the *logos epitaphios* neither war dead are defined as heroes, nor ritual activities in their honor are ever mentioned: Loraux 1986, 39–42, strongly arguing in favor of a heroic cult of the fallen, must ascribe this omission to an alleged programmatic suppression of the religious within the genre of the funeral oration.

<sup>37</sup> See for instance the aforementioned passage by Plato's Menexenus (supra, n. 14). In this sense see also Plat. Leg. 947B–E, where the annual contests for the Judges of his Ideal Society (*euthynoi*) are similarly described as a reward for the benefits provided to the polis (κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα μουσικῆς αὐτοῖς καὶ γυμνικὸν ἱππικὸν τε θήσουσιν. τὰ μὲν δὴ γέγρα ταῦτα τοῖς τὰς εὐθύνας διαφυγοῦσιν). For the perspective of the civic *timé* see also Demosth. 18.208, specifically on the Persian War dead.

<sup>38</sup> For the semantic area of *timao* see for instance Lys. 2.80; Demosth. 18.208; Plat. Leg. 947B–E; Plat. Menex. 249B–C; IG II-III<sup>3</sup> 1.5, 1313, 15–18.

<sup>39</sup> On a cultural, rather than strictly religious, heroisation of the war dead see Prandi 2003; Stevanovic 2008. See also the nuanced pictures of the matter drawn by Parker 1996, 131ff.; Welwei 2000; Ekroth 2002, 76ff.; Jung 2006, 61–66 (on the *marathonomachoi*) and 259–264 (on the fallen at Plataea); Jones 2010, 22ff.

### Founders as ancestral heroes

A similar gap seems to arise when trying to overlap annual games for founders with hero-cult practices in their strictest sense. On the one hand, in contrast to the case of the war dead, annual games for founders did express a cult, since they implied a continuity in honoring the same person; funeral games do not represent a single act, but the first of a regular series, therefore the proper foundation of the cult. On the other hand, founders such as Miltiades and Brasidas, Hieron and Timoleon were in a certain sense, fictive, or symbolical, founders:<sup>40</sup> they were not ancestral heroes, *archegetai* such as Battus at Cyrene<sup>41</sup> or Anios at Delos,<sup>42</sup> but political leaders and charismatic generals or rulers who were responsible for re-founding the city on the occasion of epochal historical fractures.<sup>43</sup> For this reason these *Neugründer* were assimilated to the ›original‹ founders and were honored ›as they were heroes‹:<sup>44</sup> in addition to the customary *timai* (i.e. burial in the agora, public funerals, and sacrifices), they also received annual contests. Differently from the case of the war dead, funeral games as a *una tantum* honorific activity were not sufficient in the case of the founder: different from one another every year the former, just one and forever the latter, whose role as *archegetes* was therefore supposed to be perpetually renewed for all future time. Annual games fulfilled therefore the purpose of renovating the highly symbolical role of the *hero ktistes* and connecting him steadily to the time of the polis and the identity of the civic community.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Traditional studies on oikist cult phenomena do not systematically operate this distinction, which, as far as I know, has been emphasized only lately in modern scholarship: see Mari 2012b.

<sup>41</sup> Giangiulio 1981; Leschhorn 1984, 60–72; Malkin 1987, 189ff.; Herda 2013, 87–90.

<sup>42</sup> Bruneau 1970, 413–422.

<sup>43</sup> That the oikist was usually thought as *archegetes* can be inferred by Ephorus' statement in Strab. 8.5.5 (FGrHist 70 F 118). Significantly enough, several founders are paired in cult with the Tritopatores, who were regarded as the ancestors par excellence within a community. On the founder as *archegetes* see Malkin 1987, 241ff.

<sup>44</sup> As I have mentioned above, ancient sources do not use the expression ›ὡς ἥρωϊ‹ by chance: see supra, n. 24.

<sup>45</sup> On the relationship between annual games and the civic calendar see Pritchett 1979; Mari 2010; Mari 2012b; more in general on the time of the polis see Clarke 2008; on the pervasiveness of athletic culture within Greek public life see most recently Heine Nielsen 2014.



### ›Cultural‹ and ›communicative‹ commemoration

War dead too, of course, served as a model for all future time, but as a category, not as single individuals. It is significant in this sense that when the war dead *par excellence*, those of the Persian Wars, begun to acquire a specific ›founding‹ relevance for the present they too were given annual commemorative games and celebrations. The *Epitaphia*,<sup>46</sup> and all the other annual celebrations which starting from late Hellenistic times were addressed specifically to the war dead at Marathon, the fallen of Salamis, and those of Plataea,<sup>47</sup> were in fact performed not any more ὅποτε ζυμβαίη ἀντοῖς, every time there happened to be the chance, as the funeral games in classical times,<sup>48</sup> but on the appointed day of the civic calendar, as a proper *Gedenktag*.<sup>49</sup> Being not any more funeral games but annual commemorative games, they played a function that – with Jan Assmann's words – can be defined in terms of ›kulturelle Gedächtnis‹ (›cultural commemoration‹); again, they are totally different in purpose from the *agon epitaphios* in classical times, which, in its specific *hic et nunc*, must instead be considered in terms of ›kommunikative Gedächtnis‹ (›communicative commemoration‹).<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Often taken to be the same as the epitaphic ceremony known in classical times, the *Epitaphia* are attested as such only starting from late Hellenistic times, first appearing in 2<sup>nd</sup> century inscriptions (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1006, 22; 1011, 9, both dating to the last quarter of the century): given that the *agon epitaphios* is not attested beyond the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the *Epitaphia* are most likely to be intended as a new form of commemoration. Analogous considerations can be drawn for the *Eleutheria* at Plataea and the related agones: often thought to be introduced soon in post-Persian times, they are instead documented for the first time by an Hellenistic inscription (the so-called ›decree of Glaukon‹, dated to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century: SEG XXVII 65, 20–24; Étienne/Piéart 1975; Jung 2006, 299–306).

<sup>47</sup> Ephebic honors to the Persian War dead are widely attested epigraphically (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1006; 1011; 1035; IG II–III<sup>3</sup>, 1.5, among others): see Pritchett 1979, 173–184; Newby 2005. More in general on the commemoration of the Persian War in Hellenistic times see Chaniotis 2005, ch. 11; 2012.

<sup>48</sup> Th. 2.34.7, concerning the whole of the public funeral ceremony for the war dead. When the funeral ceremony was celebrated is discussed: according to prevailing view they were performed every year at a different time, at the end of the war season, when the fallen were taken home for public burial. On this problem see Pritchett 1985, 110–112 and Parker 1996, 131ff., whose opinion I would take as conclusive.

<sup>49</sup> On the importance of commemorative festivals and *Gedenktage* within civic memory see Chaniotis 1991; Beck/Wiemer 2009.

<sup>50</sup> Assmann 1992. Cultural memory, of course, results from and is constituted of different forms of communicative memory, which, through repetition and ongoing modification in time, acquire a ›founding‹ relevance for the present.

## Conclusions

Annual games in classical times are therefore representative of different attitudes towards civic benefactors, but in no way can be considered a standard marker of hero-cult in its strictest and monolithic sense. On the one hand, public funeral contests that war dead received after their burial were one of the epic-aristocratic patterns upon which civic honorific practice systematically rested: they were a *una tantum* civic honor, similar to the well-known private epic-aristocratic precedents. On the other hand, commemorative games for founders – better defined as re-founders – were one means among others of cultivating them as fictive *archegetai* and underlying their ongoing relevance for the renewed collective identity of the civic community.

Annual games, therefore, far from being a standard marker of hero-cult, must instead be contextualized in that complex web of collective meanings, values and symbols which provided both war dead and founders, though in different ways, with a ›founding‹ relevance for the present.

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## On Hero-Athletes. Aspects of Ethical and Religious Behaviour<sup>1</sup>

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As the title reveals, this is a paper that investigates the ethical and religious attitudes associated with the phenomenon of hero-athletes. On the grounds of literary and archaeological evidence, only 25% of the names of Olympic victors is known.<sup>2</sup> From this very small percentage, only fourteen athletes have received heroic cultic honours, whereas three out of the fourteen heroized athletes were further worshipped as gods. The structure of this paper is focused on the following two questions: (i) Why were *some* and not *all* the athletes heroized? and (ii) Why were athletes with transgressive behaviour worshipped? In order to unravel these questions in depth, I limit myself to the study of seven exceptional athletes who provide fruitful insights about the conceptual function of the worship of hero-athletes in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. These athletes are: Diagoras of Rhodes, Oibotas of Dyme, Hipposthenes of Sparta, Kleomedes of Astypalaia, Diogenetos of Crete, Theogenes of Thasos, and, Euthykles of Locri.

### 1. Introduction

The appreciation of the category of hero-athletes has been greatly advanced and enriched by the work of many eminent scholars.<sup>3</sup> As a phenomenon, the heroization of athletes is an indigenous Greek religious custom. We should further not neglect the fact that for most victorious athletes, the bestowal of cultic honors was a remote possibility.<sup>4</sup> It is not accidental, therefore, that the heroization of athletes is predominantly attested in the cases of exceptional Olympic athletes. The following table represents an attempt to group all the attested cases of hero-athletes that we know of up-

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<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to the organizers of the conference, as well as, to Professors Paul Christesen, Ziron Papakonstantinou, Peter Mauritsch and Panos Valavanis for their constructive feedback. I am also very thankful to Professors Mark Golden, Christian Mann and Dr. Thomas Nielsen for sending me their articles on hero-athletes.

<sup>2</sup> On the limited knowledge concerning names of athletes and their biography, see Farrington 1997, 24; Christesen and Kyle 2014, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Following a chronological order: Farnell 1921; Hyde 1921; Mylonas 1944; Brelich 1958, 99; Fontenrose 1968; Böhringer 1979; Bentz/Mann 2001, 232–233; Currie 2002 and 2005; Mikalson 2007, 33–40; Prioux 2007, 154–161; Christesen 2010; Lunt 2009 and 2010; Jones 2010, 38–41; Parker 2011, 122, n.46; Gorrini 2012, 107–112; Golden 2013 and Nielsen 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholson 2007, 219.



to-date. The following dates correspond to the lives of the athletes and not to the century of their heroization:<sup>5</sup>

<b>Athlete</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Date</b>
Oibotas of Dyme (runner)	Paus. 6.3.8	mid 8 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Orsippos of Megara (runner)	Paus. 1.44.1	late 8 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Hipposthenes of Sparta (wrestler)	Paus. 3.15.7	7 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Chionis of Sparta (runner)	Paus. 3.14.2–3	mid 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Philippos of Croton	Hdt. 5.47.1	late 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Glaukos of Carystus (boxer)	Paus. 6.10.3	late 6 <sup>th</sup> / early 5 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Kleomedes of Astypalaia (boxer)	Paus. 6.9.8	early 5 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Diagoras of Rhodes (pankратиast)	Pind. <i>Olympian</i> 7	early 5 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Diognetos of Crete (boxer)	Photius, <i>Bibliot.</i> 190 151a	early 5 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Euthycles of Epizephyrian Locri (pentathlete)	Callimachus, <i>Aetia</i> , fr.84–85	date unknown
Euthymos of Epizephyrian Locri (boxer)	Callimachus, <i>Aetia</i> , fr.99	early 5 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Astylos of Croton	Paus. 6.13.1	5 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Theogenes of Thasos (boxer and pankратиast)	Paus. 6.11.9	early 5 <sup>th</sup> century BC
Polydamas of Scotussa (pankратиast)	Paus. 6.5.1–9	late 5 <sup>th</sup> / early 4 <sup>th</sup> century BC

## 2. On the date of the cults of hero-athletes

In regards to the emergence of the phenomenon of heroization of athletes, it has been stated that it is »a genuinely fifth-century phenomenon.«<sup>6</sup> There are, however, some oddities in this quotation, and in the absence of tangible evidence, we should be skeptical of accepting the veracity of this modern conceptual thesis. My rationale is the following:

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<sup>5</sup> I have consulted the catalogues by Currie 2005; Christesen 2010 and Golden 2013, 353, and have compiled a new list of hero-athletes starting from the earliest case of heroization of an athlete that we know.

<sup>6</sup> Currie 2005, 124.

1. The majority of the fourteen cases of the cults of hero-athletes that we know of are identified in Hellenistic and Roman sources, ranging in date from Callimachus' *Aetia* to Pausanias' *Periegesis*. The only exception to this observation is the fifth-century Herodotean testimony on the heroization of Philippos of Croton (Hdt. 5.47.2).<sup>7</sup>
2. It is worth keeping in mind that none fifth-century cultic archaeological evidence associated with a hero-athlete has been found so far. By contrast, two cases of hero-athletes point to later dates: the first case is that of Euthymos of Locri, for whom cultic herms are dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and that of Theogenes of Thasos, for whom cultic epigraphic evidence clearly indicates the existence of his cult to 100 BC.<sup>8</sup>
3. The erection of the athletes' victorious statues at Olympia in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC does not imply that immediate worship was conferred to them.
4. It is my contention, therefore, that given the individualistic aspect of the phenomenon of hero-athletes, one possible interpretation worth exploring is that the dynamic phenomenon of hero-athletes may have emerged in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (e.g. Philippos of Croton, Hdt. 5.47.1) but the peak of its developmental phase was probably the Late Classical-Hellenistic periods, when the *individualistic* nature of ancient Greek religion was most prominent. Indisputable instances of this observation are the cults of Euthymos of Locri and Theogenes of Thasos, the most well-documented cases of hero-athletes, so far.
5. The syncretic ritual nature, another telling feature of Hellenistic religion which is attested in some cases of hero-athletes (e.g. Hippodamos of Sparta, Euthymos of Locri) is another significant facet that suggests that the phenomenon of hero-athletes was not an exclusive religious phenomenon of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>9</sup>

In what follows, the discussion is centered on how the ethics of the heroized athletes as mortals was reinforced with their posthumous worship.

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<sup>7</sup> διὰ δὲ τὸ ἔωυτοῦ κάλλος ἠνεΐκατο παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος: ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἥρώιον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίησι αὐτὸν ἰλάσκονται. For his physical beauty he received from the Egestans honors accorded to no one else. They built a hero's shrine by his grave and offered him sacrifices of propitiation.

<sup>8</sup> On Euthymos of Locri see, Lunt 2009, 382; on Theogenes, see *LSS* 72.

<sup>9</sup> Pakkanen 1996, 2.

### 3. Diagoras of Rhodes (464 BC): the most *eusebēs* athlete

Pindar's finest ode, *Olympian 7*, praises the impressive career of the Rhodian boxer, Diagoras, who won four victories at Isthmia in the *stephanitic* festivals, as well as, in 464 BC.<sup>10</sup> Notably, his Olympic victory, in 464 BC, was celebrated with a statue dedicated at Olympia.<sup>11</sup> Pindar's *Olympian 7* was dedicated in the form of a gilded inscription inside the temple of Athena at Lindos (Gorgon of Rhodes, *FGrH* 515 F 18). It is evident, I believe, that his cult was not limited to the confines of a private group of people but, rather, the nature of his cult was public.<sup>12</sup>

Concerning now the inter-relationship between ethics and his cult, we ought to mention that Diagoras was highly admired for his direct and honest character and his obedience to rules.<sup>13</sup> These ethical features are more explicit in Pindar, who lauds Diagoras's *eusebeia* and integrity (*Ol.* 7.87–93):

τίμα μὲν ὕμνου τεθμὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν,  
 ἄνδρα τε πύξ ἀρετᾶν εὐρόντα, δίδοι τέ οἱ αἰδοίαν χάριν  
 καὶ ποτ' ἀστῶν καὶ ποτὶ ξείνων. ἐπεὶ ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδὸν  
 εὐθυπορεῖ, σάφα δαεῖς ἅ τέ οἱ πατέρων ὀρθαὶ φρένες ἐξ ἀγαθῶν  
 ἔχρουν.

Give honor to this hymn for a victor at Olympia,  
 and to his famous now *arête* in boxing. Grant him grace and  
 respect among his townsfolk men and among foreigners. He  
 walks in the straight path that despises *hybris*,  
 and he has learned well the righteous precepts of good  
 forefathers.

Pindar uses two words, which are colored with a strong ethical significance: *arête* and *hubris*. Taken together, these two ethical principles would have guided Diagoras through society in becoming a genuinely virtuous man.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, Pindar describes Diagoras of Rhodes, as walking >in the

<sup>10</sup> Kirkwood 1982, 95; Miller 2004, 235.

<sup>11</sup> He also earned many victories at local contests, including six at the *Aegeean Delphinia* (Pind. *Ol.* 7.15–17, 77–87), two at Nemea and Delphi, and several more in Rhodes and at Pellene (Achaia), as well as at the Panathenaia. He also earned many victories at local contests, including six at the *Aeginetean Delphinia* (Pind. *Ol.* 7.15–17, 77–87), two at Nemea and Delphi, and several more in Rhodes and at Pellene (Achaia), as well as at the Panathenaia. Of his sons, Damagetus won the *pankration* in 452 and 448; Akousilaos won at boxing in 448 BC, and Dorieus the *pankration* in 432, 428, and 424 BC; see, Pausanias (7.1–4).

<sup>12</sup> Nicholson 2005, 11.

<sup>13</sup> Kyle 2007, 201.

<sup>14</sup> Miller 2004, 236.

straight path that despises *hybris* (Ol. 7.15.90). His normative ethical behaviour was based on the inter-related ethical virtues of *aidōs* and *sōphrosyne*.<sup>15</sup>

As an ethical reward, Diagoras was fortunate to see his two sons, Damagetos (Ol. 7.17) and Akousilaos, crowned Olympic victors (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.46.111) in the *pankration* and boxing at the 83<sup>rd</sup> Olympiad in 448 BC.<sup>16</sup> This incident can be interpreted as a divine reward for his own ethical behavior towards both humans and gods.<sup>17</sup> Finally, according to oral tradition, Diagoras' mother had slept with the winged god Hermes.<sup>18</sup> From a comparative perspective with other cults of hero-athletes, this myth has been interpreted by Currie as part of Rhodians' movement to heroize Diagoras, a cult that still has not yet been verified by any archaeological or epigraphic evidence.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4. Oibotas of Dyme

Oibotas of Dyme, was the first Achaean who was an Olympic victor in the 6<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (756 BC) at the stadium-race.<sup>20</sup> When Pausanias saw the tomb of the athlete at the city of Dyme (ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Δυμαίᾳ ... Οἰβώτα τάφος ἐστί), he recorded the *aition* of his cult, which is the following (7.17.13):<sup>21</sup>

Despite Oibotas' victory, his fellow-citizens did not honor him at all. Thus, the athlete cursed his compatriots that none of them could take the first prize in the Olympic games. The curse was fulfilled, since none of the Achaians could gain the title of victor at Olympia for three successive centuries.

It is true that any dishonor towards a victorious athlete constituted an act of *asebeia* and thus inherited the risk of divine punishment.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the cursing of Oibotas towards his fellow citizens was his defensive strategy to keep his memory alive. The transition from his oblivion to heroic honors came after the awareness of the Achaians that they had committed some

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<sup>15</sup> Gardiner 1930, 70.

<sup>16</sup> The descendants of Diagoras were known as the oligarchic family of the Diagorids of Rhodes (Paus. 6.7.1–7), which included six Olympic victors. See Kyle 2015, 193.

<sup>17</sup> Hornblower 2004, 130–134; cf. Nicholson 2007, 223–224.

<sup>18</sup> Kyle 2007, 201.

<sup>19</sup> Currie 2005, 122.

<sup>20</sup> Hyde 1921, 333; for the date, see Christesen 2007, Appendix 4.1; Hartmann 2009, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Personal translation.

<sup>22</sup> For more information concerning divine punishment, see Versnel 1991, 77.

kind of sin (ἡμάρτανον).<sup>23</sup> This observation motivated them to send delegates to Delphi, which taught them the *aition* of their failures (διδάσκονται ποτε οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καθ' ἦντινα αἰτίαν στεφάνου τοῦ Ὀλυμπιασιν ἡμάρτανον, διδάσκονται δὲ ἀποστειλαντες ἐς Δελφοῦς, Paus. 7.17.13). Here, the didactic tone of the passage is accentuated from the twice-repeated verb διδάσκονται clearly underlining the pedagogic behavior that is always enforced after a human transgression. As Pausanias (7.17.6) observes, the curse ceased in the 80<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (460–457 BC), when the Achaians dedicated the honorific statue (ἀνδριάντα) of Oibotas at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, while an epigram preserved the memory of his victory (7.17.7):<sup>24</sup>

Οἰνία Οἰβώτας στάδιον νικῶν ὄδ' Ἀχαιοῖς|  
πατρίδα Πάλειαν θῆκ' ὄνομαστοτέραν.

This Oibotas, an Achaean, the son of Oinias, by winning the  
foot-race,

Added to the reputation of his homeland Paleia.

On the cultic level, the Achaians retained the custom to sacrifice to Oibotas as to a hero before their participation in the Olympic games: ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν τοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐναγίζειν τῷ Οἰβώτᾳ (7.17.14). In the same passage, Pausanias further says that if an Achaian athlete would become victorious at Olympia, he would place a wreath, as a thank-offering before the honorific statue of Oibotas at Olympia (ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στεφανοῦν τοῦ Οἰβώτα τὴν εἰκόνα).

A schematic equation can explicate the transition from Oibotas' neglected athletic status into his newly acknowledged heroic status.

Civic Negligence	—	Civic Recognition
Neglect of offering <i>timai</i> to Oibotas	—	Civic and Ritual Recognition of Oibotas
Act of <i>asebeia</i>	—	Act of <i>eusebeia</i>

<sup>23</sup> Pirenne-Delforge (2008: 230, n.243) follows Ekroth's (1999: 149–150) observation that Oibotas should be classified into the type of »expiatoire« heroes.

<sup>24</sup> On the date of the dedication of the statue of Oibotas at Olympia, see Hyde 1921, 346; for the substitution of the word »Paleia« instead of »Dyme«, Pausanias explains this fact as a modernization in terms of name-topography: εἰ Πάλειαν ἀλλὰ μὴ Δύμην τὸ ἐπίγραμμα καλεῖ τὴν πόλιν: τὰ γὰρ ἀρχαιότερα ὀνόματα ἐς ποίησιν ἐπάγεσθαι τῶν ὑστέρων καθεστηκός ἐστιν Ἑλλησι (Paus.7.17).

What is worth mentioning is that here, as elsewhere, any transgressive behaviour expressed either in the form of negligence or maltreatment of the victorious statue of an athlete was *ipso facto* a serious cause (*aition*) for the misfortune of the whole city. This is a common pattern in the phenomenon of hero-athletes, as we will discuss in the following sections, in the hero-cults of Euthykles of Locri and Theogenes of Thasos. We move now to another category of heroization of athlete, where the sentiment of *eusebeia* is clearly expressed.

### 5. Hipposthenes of Sparta

The wrestler Hipposthenes (684–681 BC) of Sparta is said to have won six Olympic victories.<sup>25</sup> Pausanias (3.15.7) indicates that a temple was erected in accordance to an oracle and that worshippers offered him honors similar to those offered to their local god Poseidon:

πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶν Ἰπποσθένους ναός, ᾧ γεγόνασιν αἱ πολλὰ νῖκαι  
 πάλης: σέβουσι δὲ ἐκ μαντεύματος τὸν Ἰπποσθένην ἅτε Πο-  
 σειδῶνι τιμὰς νέμοντες.

Near is a temple of Hipposthenes, who won so many victories in wrestling. They worship Hipposthenes in accordance with an oracle, paying him honors as to Poseidon.

Pausanias' remark is enlightening for it alludes to a ritual syncretism between the cult of a hero-athlete (Hipposthenes) and a god (Poseidon). By having this argument in their minds, some scholars claimed that the cult of Hipposthenes »was assimilated into a pre-existing cult.«<sup>26</sup> It is not uncommon for the phenomenon of several heroic cults to have been syncretized with already established divine cults.<sup>27</sup>

Despite the limited evidence, Pausanias (3.15.7) informs us that the *raison d'être* concerning the institution of Hipposthenes' cult at Sparta was the religious-ethical conformity of the Spartans to the declaration of the Delphic oracle. Their religious reverence is underlined by the phrase σέβουσι δὲ ἐκ μαντεύματος. Divination was an incisive factor behind the institution and rationalization of most of the athletic cults in antiquity, as well as a vital factor that constantly reinforced the religious-ethical principles on which the various *poleis* legitimized their cults.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Moretti 1957, 66ff.; Bentz/Mann 2001, 232, n.26; Crowther 2004, 265–266.

<sup>26</sup> Currie 2005, 136–139; Christesen 2010, 38, n.50.

<sup>27</sup> Burckhardt 1999, 176; Currie 2005, 123.

<sup>28</sup> Mylonas 1944, 287.

## 6. Between terror and wonder: Kleomedes of Astypalaia

Kleomedes of Astypalaia is one of the most enigmatic hero-athletes of ancient Greece. His story begins in 496 BC, when Kleomedes killed his opponent Iccus of Epidaurus during a boxing contest in an unnecessarily brutal way.<sup>29</sup> Eusebius, after citing the Cynic philosopher, Oenomaus of Gadara (*Praep. Ev.* 5.34 B–C) is more precise in his description concerning the death of Iccus of Epidaurus by Kleomedes:<sup>30</sup>

Κλεομήδην πύκτιν Ἀστυπαλαιέα ... Διὰ τί γάρ ... ἐθέωσας τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον; Ἦ ὅτι Ὀλυμπίασι πληγῇ μιᾷ πατάξας τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀνέωξε τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐλάβετο τοῦ πνεύμονος;

Kleomedes boxer of Astypalaia ... For what then ... did you deify this man? Was it because at the Olympic games he struck his antagonist a single blow and opened his rib-side, and thrust in his hand, and seized his lung?

Thus, the *Hellanodikai* disqualified him by first hindering the athlete from receiving his prize, and then, by imposing on him the heavy financial penalty of four talents.<sup>31</sup> These two penalties caused such distress to the athlete (Paus. 6.9.8) that he lost his mind (ἔκφρων ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης) and when he returned to Astypalaia, he punched one of the supporting pillars of a schoolhouse, killing sixty children.<sup>32</sup> Golden has conclusively suggested that given the illicit blows that pankratiasts like Kleomedes usually received, most probably a similar blow to his head during his contests, caused brain damage to Kleomedes explaining how he was led to smash down the pillar of the school, not realizing that children, happened

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<sup>29</sup> The killing of an opponent during an athletic game was not considered as a criminal act, according to the Athenian legal system. In other words, some athletes did not have any personal restriction concerning the death of their opponents during the game. This might be explained by their ethical emulation to epic heroes, who did not hesitate to kill their opponents so as to achieve eternal *kleos*. (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 57.3; Dem. 23.53).

<sup>30</sup> Gifford's translation (1903, 296–7) cited by Brophy/Brophy 1985, 178, n.26.

<sup>31</sup> Bentz/Mann 2001, 231; Crowther 2004, 72; Jones 2010, 41; 129.

<sup>32</sup> Under this perspective, Kleomedes can be compared to the tragic figures of Attic drama, for he is excessively proud and easily provoked. Often in their attempt to release their anger, tragic heroes or heroines could reach their human limits by committing unethical actions (e.g. hurting beloved persons or even killing their fellow citizens), see Visser 1982, 415. On the other hand, a similar case recalls the Herodotean testimony concerning the collapse of a school at Chios (παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένοισι ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὥστε ἅπ' ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παίδων, Hdt. 6.27), with 120 children as victims. On that occasion, however, the collapse is not to be associated with divine retribution.

to be inside the building at the time.<sup>33</sup> It can be further argued that Kleomedes has gone into a state of hysteria. A similar psychological stance can be attested in Achilles' wrath after the killing of Patroclus. In modern times, a similar deranged behavior was identified in Vietnam veterans, who altogether exhibited common behavioral traits, characterizing them as »socially disconnected, devoid of fear, feeling invulnerable, exalted intoxicated frenzied, cold and indifferent.«<sup>34</sup> Many self-destructive heroes, like Achilles, Medea and, in our case, Kleomedes, exhibited a socially apathetic, sacrilegious behavior in reference to themselves, the society in which they lived in, and to the superior divine powers, which kept an eye on them.

Despite his mental disorder (that he had lost his mind due to overwhelming sadness and thus started acting irrationally) Kleomedes' decision to seek refuge as a suppliant at the sanctuary of Athena in order to avoid the enraged citizens is completely rational, as is his decision to hide in a chest. When his pursuers removed the lid from the chest, however, they realized that Kleomedes had vanished.<sup>35</sup> This miraculous disappearance led them to consult the Delphic oracle, which guided them to worship the athlete as a hero for he was no longer a mortal (Paus. 6.9.6–7). Even centuries later, Origenes corroborated this fact by writing that ... Κλεομήδη μὲν, οἶμαι τὸν πύκτην, ἰσοθέοις τιμᾶς ἐκέλευε τιμᾶσθαι (*Contra Cels.* 3.25.16–18).<sup>36</sup>

At this point, several features are puzzling: First, it has been said that, »Victory, whether in athletics or warfare, provided the avenue to immortality in ancient Greece«. But, the argument is invalidated here by the case of Kleomedes, who serves as an exception to the rule. Kleomedes was an athlete, but not a victorious one. He was an exceptional athlete not in terms of his athletic deeds, but in terms of his irrational and anti-normative behavior, which, not only caused his demise, but also provoked distress to his whole city. Second, his miraculous disappearance from the sanctuary of Athena is a token of his heroization since we know that another athlete, Euthymos of Locri is alleged to have been heroized, after vanishing in the waters of his divine father, the river Kaikinos (Paus. 6.6.4–5).<sup>37</sup>

Finally, how, can we explain the cult of an athlete that could not serve as moral agent? The myths around Kleomedes' uncontrollable behaviour would have functioned as an eternal ethical warning of anti-normative

<sup>33</sup> Golden 2013, 355.

<sup>34</sup> Shay 1994, 82; Holland 2008, 414.

<sup>35</sup> Visser 1982, 414; Marginal situation is when the city proceeds to the removal either of individual persons or groups for a short-term period »from a normal social existence«; Versnel 1990, 51; On wrongdoing and supplication: See Naiden 2008, 140–146.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 2008, 254, n.62.

<sup>37</sup> For an excellent study on the hero-cult of Euthymos of Locri: See Currie 2002, 24–44.



ethical behaviour (*asebeia*). Additionally, his cult was based on the god-fearing feeling of *eusebeia*, which dictated the duty of the *polis* to reverence Kleomedes as a hero, under the compliance of the Delphic oracle. Here, as elsewhere, it was the divine that dictated the worship of a hero, and it was the *polis* that had to put into effect the divine order by displaying *eusebeia* (*piety*).<sup>38</sup>

Often in their attempt to release their anger, tragic heroes or heroines could violate the laws of humanity by committing unethical actions (e.g. hurting beloved persons or even killing their fellow citizens). In the later sources, the myth of Kleomedes is still mentioned. Despite the fact that he did not believe the myth, Plutarch (*Rom.* 28.4–5) classified the story of Kleomedes in his discussion of other heroes and heroines whose bodies have been miraculously transferred to heaven (*Rom.* 27.8, 28.8). Later, Celsus (according to Orig. *Contra Cels.* 3.33) wrote how »through some divine providence, he [Kleomedes] vanished, when certain men had cut open the chest in order to seize him.«<sup>39</sup> Finally, both Celsus and Origenes, have misleadingly compared Kleomedes with Jesus Christ.

## 7. Diognetos of Crete

A hero similar to Kleomedes of Astypalaia was Diognetos of Crete, who, despite his victory, was disqualified and expelled from the Olympic stadium by the *Hellandikai*.<sup>40</sup> Diognetos was a boxer; during his contest at the Olympics in the 73<sup>rd</sup> Olympiad (488 BC), he fatally injured his opponent, Heracles, and so the *Hellandikai* refused to award the victorious wreath to Diognetos.<sup>41</sup> He was disqualified probably because he tried to foul his opponent with his body blow.<sup>42</sup> Nonetheless, the Cretans worshipped Diognetos as a hero. Unfortunately neither does any contemporary source nor Pausanias record his myth; only a later source found in Photius *Bibliotheca* (151a–b) cites the reference of Ptolemy, the son of Hephaistion (*Kainê Historia*), who lived during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian:<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> One answer might be that after his transgressive behavior, Kleomedes became a suppliant. A man who is hated (with reason) by society is placed unconditionally beyond the reach of the human control and is placed under the protection of the divine. It was the divine and not the *polis* that conferred to Kleomedes his heroic status.

<sup>39</sup> Endsjø 2009, 95, 115.

<sup>40</sup> Moretti 1957, however, classifies both Diognetus (no.181) and Kleomedes (no.174) as victors. Brophy/Brophy 1985, 184, n.43 and 198.

<sup>41</sup> Moretti 1957, 84, no.181; Bentz/Mann 2001, 231, n.22; Erickson 2005, 620, n.10.

<sup>42</sup> Brophy/Brophy 1985, 189.

<sup>43</sup> Brophy/Brophy 1985, 183, n.41.

Ὡς Διόγνητος, ὁ Κρήης, ὁ πύκτης, νικήσας οὐ λάβοι τὸν στέφανον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλαθεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων, διότι ὁ νικηθεὶς καὶ ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκαλεῖτο ὁμωνυμῶν τῷ ἥρωϊ· τοῦτον τὸν Διόγνητον ὡς ἥρωα Κρήτες τιμῶσιν.

How Diognetos the Cretan, the boxer, after winning (at Olympia) did not receive the crown, but was even expelled by the Eleians, because he has killed his defeated opponent who was called Heracles, having the same name as the hero. Cretans honour this Diognetos as a hero.<sup>44</sup>

We observe the following parallel patterns between the myths of Kleomedes and Diognetos: (i) Both are boxers, (ii) Both fatally injure their opponents during their athletic contest, (iii) Both are disqualified by the Hellanodikai, and are not announced victors, (iv) Despite their non-ethical behaviour, both receive cults in their homelands. Therefore, one could argue, that the reference by Eusebius (*Praep.Ev.* 5.34 B–C) that Kleomedes had given a fatal blow to his opponent may enlighten us about the way that Diognetos' opponent was injured. The telling feature that is preserved in Eusebius' narrative about Iccus' death is that Kleomedes had fatally struck the ribs of Iccus horizontally with the outer edge of his palm, causing the collapse of his lung (ἀνέφξε τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐλάβετο τοῦ πνεύμονος).<sup>45</sup> By inference, then, Diognetos' opponent may have died in a similar way, wherein an illicit blow by Diognetos would have caused not only the fracture of his opponent's rib, but most detrimentally the collapse of his lung.<sup>46</sup> It was the illicit blow, in both cases, that would have caused the sudden death of the opponents of Kleomedes and Diognetos, respectively.

### 8. The victorious statue of Theogenes as the embodiment of his divinity

We tend to think of statues as fixed monuments. But this perception, I think, is an understatement. For the ancient Greeks, statues were conceptualized not as lifeless objects but as enlivened representations of the dead victorious or heroized athletes, infused with motion proclaimed by the divine will. Leslie Kurke has coined the term the economy of *kūdos*, in

<sup>44</sup> Translation by Brophy/Brophy 1985: 183, n.40, with some personal modifications.

<sup>45</sup> Brophy/Brophy 1985, 182.

<sup>46</sup> On fractured ribs and associated collapses of lungs: Bowden <sup>2</sup>1965, 219–220; Adams 1969, 68–70.

order to suggest the functioning of the honorific statue as »victor's talismanic double« whose power is given by the god who makes the athlete both present and absent.<sup>47</sup> Such was the importance of the ethical symbolism of statues, that often, we read stories of divine punishment either towards an individual or towards the *polis* in the form of a plague or a famine due to people's irreverent behaviour towards an honorific statue.<sup>48</sup> I would, therefore, suggest that the investigation of the inter-relationship between the Thasians and Theogenes' victorious statue might shed some light upon the criteria of his heroization.

Plutarch records how the Thasians decreed in 394 BC, the construction of their local temples they decided to offer divine honours (*ἀποθεώσεσι*) to the Spartan king Agêsilaos (Plut. *Ages.* 25= *Mor.* 210 D).<sup>49</sup> The Spartan envoys ironically asked: *whether their polis had the power to transform men into gods*. The Thasians replied in the affirmative.<sup>50</sup> In fact, no Thasian hero except for Theogenes could corroborate the above anecdote better. The following passage is the first section of a long and detailed description of his biography by Pausanias who after seeing the statue of Theogenes at Olympia, wrote the following (6.11.2):

τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν εἰρημένων ἔστηκεν οὐ πόρρω Θεαγένης ὁ Τιμοσθένους Θάσιος: Θάσιοι δὲ οὐ Τιμοσθένους παῖδα εἶναι Θεαγένην φασίν, ἀλλὰ ἱεράσθαι μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν Τιμοσθένην Θασίῳ, τοῦ Θεαγένους δὲ τῆ μητρὶ Ἡρακλέους συγγενέσθαι φάσμα ἐοικὸς Τιμοσθένει. ἔνατόν τε δὴ ἔτος εἶναι τῷ παιδί καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων φασίν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐρχόμενον ἄγαλμα ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦν – χαίρειν γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτόν –, ἀνασπάσαι τε δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὤμων ἀναθέμενον ἐνεγκεῖν παρ' αὐτόν.

Not far from the kings mentioned stands Theagenes the son of Timosthenes from Thasos. The Thasians say that Timosthenes was not the father of Theagenes, but a priest of the Thasian Heracles, a phantom of whom in the likeness of Timosthenes had intercourse with the mother of Theagenes. In his ninth year, they say, as he was going home from school, he was attracted by a bronze statue of some

<sup>47</sup> This theory is the so-called »economy of *kúdos*«, where *kúdos* signifies »the property of having success and going forth as victor«. See Kurke 1993.

<sup>48</sup> Steiner 2001, 9; Osborne 2010, 67.

<sup>49</sup> Shipley 1997, 214, n.5; Currie 2005, 160.

<sup>50</sup> This reference further alludes to the heroization of their greatest athlete, Theogenes of Thasos, who was one of the earliest historical figures to receive a hero-cult after his death (Paus. 6.11.2–9).

god that stood in the agora; so he removed the statue from its pedestal, placed it on one of his shoulders and carried it away.

As it is apparent, the first pieces of information we can glean about the athlete's heroic figure are the following (Paus. 6.11.2): (i) His victorious statue was displayed at Olympia and was still visible until 173 AD.<sup>51</sup> (ii) He was locally reputed by the Thasians to have been the son of Herakles and not of Timosthenes (or Timoxenos), the priest in the temple of Thasian Herakles.<sup>52</sup> (iii) The exceptional and supernatural physical strength of Theogenes was evident since a very young age and was exemplified in the removal of the statue of the god from the agora: (ἐνατόν τε δὴ ἔτος εἶναι τῷ παιδί... ἄγαλμα ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦν – χαίρειν γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτόν –, ἀνασπάσαι τε δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὤμων ἀναθέμενον ἐνεγκεῖν παρ' αὐτόν.)

By focusing on the maltreatment of the statue, a dialectic exchange between transgression and normality can be observed. The above introductory passage (Paus. 6.11.2) narrating the disrespectful behavior of Theogenes as a child towards a statue of a god ironically foretells the future transgressive behavior (*asebeia*) of the local Thasians towards the athlete, when they removed his statue from the agora and threw it into the sea (Paus. 6.11.8). I would, therefore, suggest that in these passages, we get the first glimpses of the exceptional physical strength of the athlete and it is this exceptionality that provides us with some hints about his later heroization.<sup>53</sup>

After his Pan-Hellenic victories, the following three honorific statues were erected in his honour in the following regions (Paus. 6.11–12):

(i) A bronze statue of Theogenes, work of the bronze-sculptor Glaukias of Aigina was erected at Olympia in 480 BC.<sup>54</sup>

(ii) An identical bronze statue at Delphi, from which both the inscribed pedestal and an epigram has survived which record that Theogenes was

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<sup>51</sup> As regards the exact date of Pausanias' pilgrim journey to Olympia, see, Habicht 1985, 9.

<sup>52</sup> Divine birth was claimed for several athletes. For instance, Euthymos was the son of the river-god Kaikinos (Pausanias 6.2.4). An otherwise unknown athlete, named Attalos (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) was fathered by the river Maiandros (Pseudo-Aeschines, *Epistles* 10.8). In the inscription (*Syll<sup>3</sup>*, 36 A), dated to 370–365 BC, which was found at Delphi, the athlete is mentioned as Θεωγένης Τιμοξένου Θάσιος. In this inscription, his Pan-hellenic victories are recorded. See, Wynne-Thomas 1978, 73; Kyle 2007, 200 and Kostouros 2008, 85. For the temple of Herakles at Thasos, see the thorough study by Bergquist 1973.

<sup>53</sup> Bettini 1999, 128.

<sup>54</sup> Glaukias of Aigina was active in the late Archaic-early Classical periods: See Nielsen 2014, 14. For the motif of the statue that punishes see also, Aristotle (*Poetics* 1460b); Elsner 1996, 588, n.63; Jones 1998, 139–143.

victorious once at Olympia, at the Pythian (twice), at the Isthmian (eight times), and at the Nemean (nine times).<sup>55</sup>

(iii) Finally, a bronze statue was erected in the middle of the agora at Thasos, possibly around 430 BC.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately, the honorific statue of Theogenes has not survived and the circumstances surrounding its dedication are not recorded. Our only reference in the literary record is a mention in Pausanias' visit to Olympia (6.11.2), which unfortunately does not describe the statue but uses it as a topographical marker.

The problematic relationship between the Thasians and the honorific statue of Theogenes is recorded in the following folktale: After the death of Theogenes, a secret enemy of the athlete used to come every night to the agora and constantly flog the athlete's honorific statue (Paus. 6.11.6):<sup>57</sup>

ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνὴρ τῶν τις ἀπηχθημένων ζῶντι αὐτῷ παρεγίνετο ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεαγένου τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἐμαστίγου τὸν χαλκὸν ἄτε αὐτῷ Θεαγένει λυμαινόμενος: καὶ τὸν μὲν ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐμπεσὼν ὕβρεως παύει, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δὲ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος οἱ παῖδες τῇ εἰκόνι ἐπεξήσαν φόνου. καὶ οἱ Θάσιοι καταποντοῦσι τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπακολουθήσαντες γνώμη τῇ Δράκοντος, ὃς Ἀθηναίους θεσμοὺς γράψας φονικοὺς ὑπερώρισε καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα, εἶγε ἐμπεσόν τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειεν ἄνθρωπον.

One day, the statue fell off its pedestal and killed the transgressor.<sup>58</sup> Pausanias' account (6.11.7) that seems to operate on the consensus that divine retribution was always in response to *asebeia*, especially when the Greeks believed that the statues were not lifeless objects but instead were *their ensouled gods* (Plato, *Laws* 931a).<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 36.

<sup>56</sup> According to Pouilloux, the bronze statue of Theogenes was erected in 430 BC (in the centre of the agora of Thasos, see Pouilloux 1954, 75. Concerning the relative chronology of the installation of Theogenes' statue and how this is connected with the political situation in the island, see Martin (1940–1941) 198; Steiner 2001, 8.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Dio Chrysostom (31.96): εἰς ἔχθραν τινὶ προῆλθε τῶν πολιτευομένων. ὁ δὲ ζῶντι μὲν ἐφθόνηι μόνον, τελευτήσαντος δὲ πρᾶγμα πάντων ἀνοητότατον καὶ ἀσεβέστατον ἐποίει: τὸν γὰρ ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐστῶτα ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει νύκτωρ ἐμαστίγου. τοιγαροῦν εἴτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἴτε δαμονίου τινὸς νεμεσήσαντος αὐτῷ κινηθεὶς ποτε ἐκ τῆς βάσεως ἠκολούθησεν ἅμα τῇ μαστίγῃ καὶ κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα. νόμου δὲ ὄντος καταποντίζειν κρίναντας, ἐάν τι τῶν ἀψύχων ἐμπεσὼν ἀποκτείνῃ τινά, οἱ τοῦ θενεῶτος προσήκοντες αἰροῦσι δίκη τὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ κατεπόντωσαν.

<sup>58</sup> Wynne-Thomas 1978, 74; Steiner 2001, 8.

<sup>59</sup> *Some of the gods whom we honour we see clearly, but of others we set up statues (agalмата) as images (eikonas), believing that when we honour these, lifeless (apsychoi) though they be, the ensouled (empsychous) gods feel great good-will and gratitude towards us.* (Plato, *Leg.* 931a): Collins 2003, 43; Bremmer 2013, 12.

From this perspective, it was not accidental that after the prosecution and throwing of the statue into the sea, the Thasians began to suffer from a consecutive series of crop failures οὐδένα ἀπεδίδου καρπὸν ἢ γῆ (Paus.6.11.7). As was usual, the bad harvests prompted the Thasians to send a group of Theōroi to consult the Delphic Oracle.<sup>60</sup> The first time, the response from the *Pythian* priestess was very enigmatic (Paus. 6.11.7): αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς δεδιωγμένους. The god instructed them to receive back those who have been expelled. In response, the Thasians recalled their exiles, but the plague continued. Again, the *polis* sent ambassadors (*theoroi*) to consult the oracle for a second time, and the Pythia revealed to them the true reason behind their misfortunes (Paus. 6.11.8):<sup>61</sup>

Θεαγένην δ' ἄμνηστον ἀφήκατε τὸν μέγαν ὑμέων

You left great Theagenes neglected

As can be surmised, the implied message was referring to the problematic relationship between the Thasians and the honorific statue of Theogenes, which the Thasians had to retrieve from the sea and restore its initial placement.<sup>62</sup> According to Pausanias (6.11.8), one day the statue was unexpectedly caught in the net of some fishermen. It was then re-erected in the agora, where it was previously standing Θάσιοι δὲ ἀναθέντες, ἔνθα καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔκειτο. The religious and ethical function of his honorific statue would convey to any worshipper a diachronic pedagogic message: the necessity of adopting an everlasting reverence (*eusebeia*) towards the divinized athlete (Theogenes). Overall, the repatriation of his statue inside the agora, the *par excellence* place of the *polis* would have constantly reinforced a particular religious-ethical behaviour to the worshippers. The late 6<sup>th</sup>/early 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC was period of folklore stories surrounding the magical powers of animated statues.<sup>63</sup> From a comparative perspective, not only the animated statue of Theogenes had supernatural powers, but also two other victorious athletes have proclaimed their divine existence through their honorific statues:<sup>64</sup>

Athlete	Source	Date
Euthykles of Locri	Callimachus, <i>Aetia</i> 3.84–5	484–481 BC
Mitys of Argos	Aristotle, <i>Poetica</i> 1452a	Unknown date

<sup>60</sup> Bettini 1999, 128.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.97.

<sup>62</sup> Martin (1940–1941) 196; Osborne 2010, 67, n.43.

<sup>63</sup> Golden 1998, 84–85.

<sup>64</sup> For punishments performed by statues: Weinreich <sup>2</sup>1969; <sup>1</sup>1909, 138, n.4.

From a political perspective, Pouilloux situated the incident of the hatred towards the athlete's statue in the period between 440 and 420 BC.<sup>65</sup> In the same vein, Bohringer argues that the flogging of Theogenes' statue might reflect the city's political divisions, and the athlete's participation in the pro-Athenian faction during his lifetime.<sup>66</sup> The first case to compare with the cult of Theogenes is that of the athlete Euthykles of Locri Epizephyrii. After his victory at Olympia, he served as an ambassador (πρεσβευτής) for his city, but, on his return to Locri, he was accused of accepting bribes and died in prison (Callim. *Aet.* 3.84–85).

Similar to the mutilation of the statue of Theogenes, one of Euthykles' enemies mutilated his statue after his death, in retaliation for his unproven bribery.<sup>67</sup> The most interesting part of the story is that his honorific statue did not directly react, as in the case of Theogenes' statue. Instead, the divine punishment appeared indirectly in the form of a terrible famine.<sup>68</sup> After suffering from starvation, the Locrians were very distressed, until they consulted the Delphic oracle, which announced that the *aition* of this painful situation was their neglect and dishonor towards the dead athlete. The situation altered when the Locrians conferred heroic honours upon the athlete Euthykles by sacrificing on an altar at the beginning of every month (Callim. *Aet.* 3.84–85).<sup>69</sup>

Another striking parallel with the honorific statue of Theogenes serving as a medium of divine justice is the myth of the Argive athlete Mitys. His statue fell off its pedestal, and killed the man who had murdered the athlete (οἶον ὡς ὁ ἀνδριάς ὁ τοῦ Μίτυος ἐν Ἄργει ἀπέκτεινεν τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Μίτυι, θεωροῦντι ἐμπροσθέν, Arist. *Poet.* 1452a7). Nonetheless, what looks to be a divine punishment, does not necessarily imply that Mitys was divinized afterwards, as in the case of Theogenes. However, the difference with the statue of Theogenes is that the latter was prosecuted, while the statues of Euthykles and Mitys were not convicted of murder.<sup>70</sup> All the aforementioned comparative cases of statues as living embodiments of divine justice build on the theological belief that any maltreatment of statues would instantly incur the wrath of the god. Xenophon also notes that *If you want the favour of the gods, you must worship the gods* (*Mem.* 2.1.28), and we know that the pivotal aspect of any expression of worship began from the sacrificial practices. If the statue of Theogenes had not fallen, then, the Thasians would never have realized that the athlete ought

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<sup>65</sup> Pouilloux 1954, 75, 103.

<sup>66</sup> Bohringer 1979, 8–11.

<sup>67</sup> Visser 1982, 408.

<sup>68</sup> Bettini 1999 129; Fontenrose 1978, 130–131.

<sup>69</sup> Moretti 1957, no.180; Steiner 2001, 8.

<sup>70</sup> Hyde 1921, 295.

to be regarded as a divine figure. The initiative for introducing sacrifices to propitiating the divinized Theogenes can be also perceived as a way of reconciliation between the god and the Thasians.

Weddle asserts that, »there is a theoretical problem, here, as to whether the image was a cult-statue before it was whipped or only after it was re-instated«. <sup>71</sup> Nonetheless, the above dilemma should not perplex us, for the evidence suggests that the athletes are heroized by the *polis* only *after* their divinity is revealed, and in the eyes of mortals, their statues do change their status. Therefore, the »before« and »after« stages, are two inter-connected and essential elements in the rationalization (*aitiology*) and justification (i. e. introduction and institution of the new cult in the *polis* context) of the athlete's divinity. The stories about neglect of athletes or mistreatment of their statues are based on the »discovery« element – the discovery that the athlete is actually a hero. In other words, these stories explain (*aition*) how and why an athlete was revered as a hero. To this discovery element, which was interpreted as a divine sign, we could also add, the institution of the hero-cult of Euthymos of Locri, after a lightning struck at the same day, his two victorious statues, which were erected the one in Olympia (Paus. 6. 4–6), and the other at Locri. <sup>72</sup>

All these aetiological stories require that *before* people are unaware of the heroic status of an athlete whose divinity is revealed *after* to mortals via a supernatural event. The above argument is further supported by the comparative cases of the honorific statues of heroized athletes that we discussed and which were already perceived as mediums of divine justice from the very beginning of their dedication (e.g. Euthymos of Locri, Mitys of Argos, Euthykles of Locri). <sup>73</sup> The commonality in these mythical narrations is that in all cases, we observe the implied didactic message of the necessity of adopting a reverent behaviour (*eusebeia*) towards the statues of the heroized athletes. In other words, the story concerning the exile and repatriation of the statue of Theogenes embodies a twofold understanding about *asebeia/eusebeia*, which appears to be the main reason behind the institution of his worship at Thasos.

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<sup>71</sup> Weddle 2010, 181, n.73.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Callimachus [= ed. Schneider, II, 579, frg.399] in Pliny (*NH*, VII, 152); see Hyde 1921, 54–55; Mylonas 1944, 285. Ζεὺς Καταβάτης was associated with the place of an actual lightning-strike. Schwabl, in *RE* s.v. Zeus (1972) 322. The places which were struck by lightning were respected as ἄβατα, and sacrifices were offered at them (Artemidorus 2.9). Such places are identified at Thebes (Semele's θάλαμος or precinct of a hero-tomb, Paus.9.12.3), at the Athenian acropolis (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4965), at the Athenian Olympieion (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4998), at Olympia, the image of Zeus by Pheidias is said to have been struck by lightning in the time of Julius Caesar (Eusebius, *Praep.Ev.* 4.28); Currie (2002) 24, n.7.

<sup>73</sup> Gardiner 1906, 77–78.



### 9. Why were *some* and not *all* the athletes worshipped?

Admittedly, a hero was standing between gods and men, as we can deduce by Pindar's perplexity (τίνα θεόν, τιν' ἥρωα, τιν' ἄνδρα, κελαδήσομεν, *Ol.* 2.2).<sup>74</sup> This quotation is reminiscent of Nicholson's claim that the heroization is a contested and weakly established possibility for athletes in most contexts. As Nicholson conclusively observes, the heroization of athletes is predominantly attested in the cases of successful heavy athletes (e. g. those in the combat sports), like Theogenes of Thasos or Euthymos of Locri.<sup>75</sup> In 1921, Farnell argued that athletes were worshipped as heroes not for their athletic achievements but for their violent actions.<sup>76</sup> Seventy years later, Mikalson claimed that the worship of the athletes known for their deeds of violence was based on the feeling of fear.<sup>77</sup>

By contrast, Mylonas' argument is that some of the athletes were heroized not because of their exceptional victories but either as a way of rehabilitation for having sustained wrongs or due to a special divine favour.<sup>78</sup> It has been argued that some of the athletes were heroized as atonement for having sustained wrongs and not due to their victories.<sup>79</sup> In contrast, Burckhardt has suggested that the worship of specific athletes was either based on their divine lineage or due to a special divine favour (e. g. Kleomedes of Astypalaia).<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, in 1979, Francois Bohringer revisited the issue and rightly argued that some of the athletes functioned as political figures in their communities and helped to resolve intra-communal tensions.<sup>81</sup>

More recently, Currie has raised attention to the ›subjective criteria‹ behind the heroization of athletes, arguing that athletes were proactive in the process of their heroization. His thesis is that *epinikion* antedates the heroization of the *laudandus*, and thus the functioning of the poetry is part of the macrocosm of a wider cultural behaviour that connects the encomium of an exceptional athlete during his lifetime (e. g. victorious athlete) with his posthumous cult (e. g. hero-athlete). By extending this argument further, David Lunt exemplified Currie's thesis by showing that athletes

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<sup>74</sup> Bremmer 2006, 9, n.40 and 41; see also, Hardie 2003, 371–404.

<sup>75</sup> Nicholson 2007, 219.

<sup>76</sup> Farnell 1921, 365–366.

<sup>77</sup> Mikalson 1991, 31.

<sup>78</sup> Mylonas (1944) 287.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Burckhardt 1999, 176.

<sup>81</sup> On advocates of Bohringer's thesis (1979): See Price 1984, 49; Kurke 1993, 150; Hodkinson 1999, 166 and Christesen 2010.

used to emulate mythic heroes, principally Herakles and Achilles.<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, there are cases of hero-athletes, for whom none *epinikion* has antedated their heroization. Instances of this observation can be sought in the cases of Diognetos of Crete, Theogenes of Thasos, Hipposthenes of Sparta, Kleomedes of Astypalaia, and Eythykles of Locri.

### 10. Why were athletes with transgressive behaviour worshipped?

One might sensibly wonder, »Why did athletes with non-ideal behaviour overcome by ferocious passions receive heroic honours?« The answer I think lies on two points: first, as Bremmer has persuasively argued, »to qualify as a hero in ancient Greece, one had to be extreme, in every sense of the term, in life or death; virtue was not necessarily a qualification.«<sup>83</sup>

There are two more observations that can be made about the heroization of athletes. The first is that one may reasonably argue that stories about neglect of athletes or mistreatment of their statues are based on the »discovery« element – the discovery that the athlete is actually a hero. In other words, these aetiological myths (e.g. Pausanias, Callim. *Aetia*) explain how and why an athlete was revered as a hero or as a god. However, these narratives require that *before* people are unaware of the heroic status of an athlete whose divinity is revealed *after* to mortals via a supernatural order of events. For instance, Theogenes of Thasos becomes a source of envy, and envy can be very disruptive in a society. Envy for the victories of this exceptional athlete leads his enemy to destroy Theogenes' victorious statue. The statue kills the transgressor and Theogenes becomes the cause of somebody's death. If the statue of Theogenes had not fallen, then, the Thasians would never have realized that the athlete ought to be regarded as a divine figure.

### 11. Concluding thoughts

This paper has tried to describe how individual cases of hero-athletes can shed new light on what was perceived as normative (*eusebeia*) or transgressive (*asebeia*) religious behaviour in the *epichoric* context of ancient Greek *poleis*. One of the significant issues about the athletic cults is the attestation of specific motifs, which serve as aetiological explanations of

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<sup>82</sup> Currie 2005, 156–157; Lunt (2009); cf. Golden 2013, 353.

<sup>83</sup> Bremmer (1987: 51) cites the paradigm of the Thessalian Aegyptus who accidentally committed incest with his mother, Boulis. Both were transformed into birds (source: Hellenistic poet Boios).

each cult. As has been argued, the heroization of athletes should not be viewed as an exclusive 5<sup>th</sup> century BC phenomenon.<sup>84</sup> There are exceptions to this unanimous belief exemplified in the hero-cults of Theogenes of Thasos (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), Euthymos of Locri (second half of 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC), Hipposthenes of Sparta (i. e. syncreticism with Poseidon).

Despite the obscurity behind the conception of hero-athletes as a phenomenon of ancient Greek religion, we can be certain of one thing: that the distinction between normative (*eusebeia*) and transgressive (*asebeia*) behaviour is the key component to understanding the reasons (*aitia*) that incited some cities to worship some exceptional athletes as heroes (e. g. Kleomedes, Euthykses and Oibotas) and even as gods (e. g. Theogenes). The commonality in these mythical narrations is that in all cases, we observe a didactic message addressed to individual ancient Greek poleis. The message is simple and straightforward. It heightens the necessity to adopt a reverent behavior (*eusebeia*) towards the statues of the heroized athletes as this is often alluded or dictated by the practitioners of the divine (i. e. priestesses at the Delphic oracle).

In light of the above, the ethical and religious nuances imbued in their heroization should be viewed as another civic mechanism in the formation of an ethical and religious conscience. Thus, the ethical messages conveyed through the cults of hero-athletes aimed to cultivate a specific ethical and religious awareness to any worshipper in order to self-internalize an appropriate ethical and religious behavior (*eusebeia*) towards the heroized or divinized athletes. The ancient worshipper had first to self-internalize the belief that a hero or a god exists before adopting the ethical and religious belief that the god had any specific power over him. By self-internalize, I denote the conscience of the worshipper, which is a socially inspired, process of learning (i. e. the reasons of paying respect to the heroes and gods) and acknowledging the divine (i. e. the appropriate religious ways through which any worshipper could display his reverence to the heroized-athlete).

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<sup>84</sup> Fontenrose 1968, 73–104; Bohringer 1979, 5–18; Kurke 1993, 131–163; Currie 2002, 25.

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## The International Synods in the Tetrarchic Period. On the Limitation of Agonistic Privileges and the Costs of Exclusivity

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This paper offers a detailed analysis of the tetrarchic law that limited the freedom from liturgies, traditionally awarded to all victors of sacred contest, to a far smaller selection of athletic champions. Although this law is a well-known piece of evidence for the privileges of imperial-age athletes, little attention has been paid to how and why it was issued. One factor was obviously the pressure on the urban finances, in which liturgies had an increasing role in the later imperial period. The financial difficulties around AD 300, however, explain only why the imperial court agreed with the proposal for limitation; the court did not initiate the change. On the basis of a comparison between the versions of the law preserved on papyrus (*P.Lips.* I 44) and in the Justinian code (*Cod.Iust.* 10.54.1) respectively, the paper argues that the limitation was requested by the synod of the athletes and the synod of the artists – which collaborated but had not merged – in Greek, but was formulated at the court of (probably) Diocletian in inadequate Latin. By means of an analysis of the membership policy of the synods it is then demonstrated that these associations did not represent the entire agonistic community, but only an exclusive part of it. The limitation of privileges to internationally successful professional competitors served to set their members apart from the majority of victors.

A well-known feature of the Greek *agones* is the great prestige awarded to its victors. Their standing in society was even institutionalized, as privileges enjoyed by agonistic victors – athletes and artists alike – were officially recorded in the law. Traditionally these were the laws of the *poleis*, but in the imperial period imperial confirmation made a steadily increasing number of privileges valid throughout the Empire. A copy of an edict from Hadrian mentions, for example, the right to occupy front seats at public events (*προεδρία*), exemption from military service (*ἀστρατία*), exemption from taxes (*ἀτελεία*), including taxes in the form of public services as well as taxes on goods for personal and professional use, freedom from having to act as judge in a court case (*μὴ κρίνειν*), etc.<sup>1</sup> Given the negative perception of participation in games in Roman culture, the official grant of these privileges in the Roman Empire was not as natural as it would seem from the Greek perspective. The reason why competitors of the *agones* retained and even improved their status, while participants in *ludi* or

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<sup>1</sup> *Pap.Agon.* 1, l. 3–4; 3, l. 5–6.



*munera* did not even enjoy full civil rights, is at least partially the merit of two influential lobby organizations.

The competitors on the agonistic circuit were indeed supported by two professional associations with a network of officials operating across the middle and especially eastern Mediterranean. These were the xystic synod, the association of athletic competitors, and the thymelic synod, the association of the *technitai* who competed in the contests for performing artists.<sup>2</sup> Documents emanating from these synods record a series of successful interactions with the imperial court.<sup>3</sup> With every new emperor, officials of the synods seem to have asked for confirmation of existing privileges and for the addition of new ones. Furthermore, they pointed out specific problems to the emperor, so that he could authorize solutions that guaranteed the smooth functioning of the contest circuit. A great asset in their dealings with the court was the officials' personal status and networks. From the first century, we have examples of officials who were awarded Roman citizenship by the emperor. In the second century, when the synods had received headquarters in the capital, the high priests of the xystic synod start to carry the additional title »director of the imperial baths«. Also for the appointment of xystarchs, imperial favor played an important role.<sup>4</sup>

This paper examines the implications of a law from the tetrarchic period (*Cod.Iust.* 10.54.1), which seems to bring an end to the previous series of grants of ever more privileges. This imperial rescript drastically limited the recipients one of the foremost agonistic privileges: »The *Augusti* emperors Diocletian and Maximian and the *Caesares* to Hermogenes. To the athletes, in so far that they are proven to have competed during their entire career, and were also deservedly crowned with no less than three crowns of sacred contests, at least one of them in Rome or in ancient Greece, without bribing or buying their rivals, freedom of civic duties is customarily granted.«<sup>5</sup> A

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<sup>2</sup> The first full discussion of the xystic synod was Forbes 1955. Pleket 1973 offered new interpretations. The parallel imperial-age thymelic synod has received less attention (unlike their Hellenistic counterpart). A short overview can be found in Aneziri 2009, 220–223. A good overview of the functions of both synods is van Nijf 2006. A comprehensive study of these imperial associations has not yet been written, but has been started at Mannheim University (B. Fauconnier).

<sup>3</sup> *Pap.Agon.* 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, *IGUR* I 235, 236, *SB* 28.16959, *SEG* 56.1359. These documents include copies of imperial letters and add imperial epithets to the full name of the synods.

<sup>4</sup> An example of Roman citizenship awarded by Claudius in *Pap.Agon.* 6, l. 28–29. In the third century – when Roman citizenship has become general – a high priest of the synod comes even from a family of consular rank (*IGUR* I 244: γένους ὑπατικῶν). For directors of the imperial baths (ἐπὶ βαλανείων Σεβαστοῦ) see e. g. *IGUR* I 235–241; for imperial favor leading to an appointment as xystarch see e. g. *IvO* 55.

<sup>5</sup> *Cod.Iust.* 10.54.1 : *Impp. Diocletianus et Maximianus AA. et CC. Hermogeni. Athletis ita demum si per omnem aetatem certasse, coronis quoque non minus tribus*

different version of this law preserved on papyrus (*P.Lips.* I 44), addressed to the competitors rather than to Hermogenes, has been treated as an important piece of evidence for a late-antique reorganization of the international synods, which are supposed to have merged together, before they were eventually absorbed by the circus factions.<sup>6</sup> This paper will present a closer examination of both versions the tetrarchic law, and its implications for the motivations and composition of the international synods.

### The privilege of *aleitourgesia*

The tetrarchic law discusses only one of the many agonistic privileges, namely that of *aleitourgesia*. This immunity from liturgies was, however, very important, probably second in importance only to the *opsonia* (monetary pensions), which were, however, enjoyed exclusively by a smaller subset of the sacred victors (those who had won games with eiselastic status). Liturgies (Lat.: *civiles munera*) were public services to which citizens were appointed by the city council on the ground of their financial means (e. g. guard duty for poorer citizens, the gymnasiarchy for the richest among them). Thus, the liturgical system ensured that a whole range of expenses of the city did not weigh on the city treasury, but were instead paid directly by the citizens. The first attestation of complete *aleitourgesia* (*ἀλειτουργεσία πάση*) for *hieronikai* can be found in a letter to the *koinon* of the Asian Greeks by Marc Antony.<sup>7</sup> Though there may have been local precedents which inspired his grant, *aleitourgesia* was certainly a recent addition to the spectrum of athletic privileges in the later first century BC, as the ›liturgization‹ of city offices was at the time a relatively recent phenomenon. In the later Hellenistic period the word *λειτουργία* indeed changed from a broad term for (often voluntary) public services to an obligatory, fixed-term service to the civic community. Around the same time, many city offices were gradually turned into liturgies in this new sense.<sup>8</sup> When civic services became a duty – a kind of tax-exemption became an honor.

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*certaminis sacri, in quibus vel semel Romae seu antiquae Graeciae, merito coronati, non aemulis corruptis ac redemptis probentur, civilium munerum tribui solet vacatio.*

<sup>6</sup> Remijsen 2015, ch. 10 discusses the supposed merger with the circus factions in the fifth century. The argument regarding the tetrarchic law was already suggested here as well, but will be developed in more detail in this paper.

<sup>7</sup> This privilege is granted in a letter of Marcus Antonius, probably from 33 BC, edited and discussed in Ebert 1987, 37–42, esp. 38, l. 15.

<sup>8</sup> For a definition of *λειτουργία* and the concept of ›Liturgisierung‹ see e. g. Oertel 1965, 2–7 and passim. For the earlier meaning, see Gauthier 1985, 118–119.

Until the late third century AD, all victors of sacred contests (ἀγῶνες ἱεροί) enjoyed the privilege of *aleitourgesia*. Around 300 AD, however, the tetrarchs limited this privilege of to the professional athletes who had won at least three sacred contests, one of which had to be in Greece or Rome. This change of policy towards the status of victorious athletes fits well into Diocletian's general policy towards a stabilization of the Empire's financial situation, for it had considerable financial benefits. In the imperial period, especially from the mid-second century on, the liturgical system had become an essential pillar of the city administration. In the later Empire, the importance of liturgies for the city finances increased even more. In the fourth century, when cities became less free in the administration of their treasuries due to increased control by the provincial administration, the liturgical system became the councils' main financial instrument<sup>9</sup>. Although ever more costs had to be covered by liturgists, the group of people enjoying immunity increased as well, because of a continuous increase of new sacred games – and therefore *hieronikai* – in the second and third centuries. The political insecurity of the third-century emperors and their need for good relations with cities – especially with those on routes to the fronts of their many wars – made them more willing than their second-century predecessors to grant sacred status even for games that would turn out to be relatively minor events.<sup>10</sup> The changing epigraphic habit hides the continued popularity of these games in the late third century from our view, but there is no reason to assume that these many new games had already disappeared by 300. As I have shown elsewhere, concrete indications of agonistic decline only start toward the middle of the fourth century.<sup>11</sup> By the end of the third century, therefore, the exemption for *hieronikai* weighed more heavily on the city finances as it had done before. Even if not all *hieronikai* belonged to the very top of society, they did come from families that could afford to have their children training in gymnasia rather than working, that is, people who lived well above subsistence level and were hence liable for liturgies that required a substantial financial input. This means that, although the freedom from liturgies was not a direct reward, it could end up being a large financial reward for the victors: the wealthier they were the most expensive the liturgies they escaped from. For cities with several successful athletes, the spread of this privilege therefore created a serious loss of income, especially in the later Empire. The limitation of the privilege to the successful international professionals hence made good economic sense around 300 AD.

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<sup>9</sup> For the organization of cities in late antiquity, see e. g. Carrié 2005, 269–312.

<sup>10</sup> Ziegler 1985, 67–110; Wallner 1997, 231.

<sup>11</sup> See Remijsen 2015 (forthcoming).

When exactly the limitation was issued remains unclear. It obviously happened in the period 293–305, as it refers to the four original tetrarchs (Diocletian, Maximian, and their *Caesares* Galerius and Constantius). It is not certain, however, in exactly which year the rule was issued, nor which one among the four actually took the decision. We can safely exclude Maximian and Constantius, who resided in areas without *agones* (northern Italy, Gaul, Britain). Only Diocletian or Galerius would have dealt with agonistic matters, as they resided in the East, where most games were organized and almost all competitors came from.<sup>12</sup> As Diocletian was the senior emperor, is known from other sources to have publically displayed an interest in athletic contests, and had previous contacts with the association of the performing artists, he is our prime candidate.<sup>13</sup> An argument could be made for an early date within the first tetrarchy. Because the Justinian Code relied heavily on two earlier codes originally compiled in the mid 290's, Diocletianic legal texts from before 295 are far better represented in the Justinian Code than laws from the later years of his reign.<sup>14</sup> The editors of a petition on papyrus from 298/9, in which a retired competitor requests freedom from liturgies, have recognized echoes of the rescript in this text, and therefore suggest that the change in policy preceded this petition. In this text, the petitioner presents the following arguments for his claim for immunity: his age of 64 – Roman law exempted people above 60 – his status of sacred victor, and his long career as a competitor. As the editors point out, the importance of a professional career is equally stressed in the new tetrarchic rule. We cannot, however, be certain that the importance of a career as a professional was new under the tetrarchy, because the rescript invalidated previous laws on the *aleitourgia* of athletes, which may equally have emphasized the importance of professionalism. Other references to the new rule are lacking: the petitioner claimed to have won multiple sacred contests honoring the tetrarchs,<sup>15</sup> but in contrast to

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<sup>12</sup> For the residences of the tetrarchs, see Barnes 1982, 49–64. The previous contacts with the synod of the performing artists are suggested by *Pap. Agon.* 3, l. 13, 15 (AD 288), where Diocletian's name has become an imperial epithet in the name of the association. Also his co-emperor Maximian appears as imperial epithet, but as he resided further away from the agonistic circuit, it should again be assumed that it was Diocletian who mainly interacted with the competitors.

<sup>13</sup> Diocletian is known to have acted as alytarch at the Antiochene Olympics, cf. Malalas 12.38; 44 (ed. Thurn 2000). He can also be identified with the emperor allowing changed to the program at a contest in Alexandria, cf. Remijsen 2010, 185–204. Previous contacts with the artistic synod are suggested by the addition of imperial *epitheta* to the name of the synod in 288 (*Pap. Agon.* 3, l. 27).

<sup>14</sup> Corcoran 1996, 25–42.

<sup>15</sup> I. 2: ἱερονεΐκου πλειστονεΐκου; I. 11: τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς ὑπὲρ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων. In Egypt, this imperial title

*Cod.Iust.* 10.54.1 he does not count his victories, nor does he explain where he obtained them. In order to work as a convincing legal argument, therefore, the petition would perhaps make more sense before the change of policy. Unfortunately we do not know whether his victories indeed convinced the authorities. In fact, his age should have sufficed. But after all, the petitioner was not a legal professional. Therefore, the new papyrus cannot be decisive for any attempt to date the law more precisely.

### Two versions of the law

Thanks to rare luck, the imperial decision to limit the number of recipients of the freedom from liturgies has been preserved in two different versions, representing copies of two different imperial letters on the same decision. Neither version, however, is a perfect copy of the original letter. The letter to the competitors is known from a papyrus copy (*P.Lips.* I 44) in painfully bad Latin from the fourth century. This papyrus has the width typical of court proceedings and contained several laws, which were presumably used in the same court case. The law on the limitation of *aleitourgesia* is on the second column of what is now left from the original papyrus, and seems to continue on the third (it is not entirely clear how much is missing); the first column contained an unidentifiable law from the reign of a single *Augustus* with multiple *Caesares* (most likely Constantine and his sons). It is clear that Latin rescript of the tetrarchs was copied by someone who had difficulty reading Latin: on lines 11 and 15 he left a blank space where he could not read the original. Unfortunately, one of these blank spaces is where we expect to read »three crowns«, so this copy cannot confirm that this number was essential. It is possible (though not necessary) that some of the obvious grammatical errors (e. g. l. 4–5 *divorum parentorum* instead of *divorum parentium*) were also the result of sloppy copying.

The text of the letter to Hermogenes in the Codex of Justinian (*Cod. Iust.* 10.54.1) is far clearer, but is, as most codified laws, a shorter, edited version of the original rescript. Comparison with the papyrus shows that this editing affected the list of places where at least one of the sacred victories had to have been won, in order to still be eligible for *aleitourgesia*. Whereas the papyrus lists *agones* in the capital, in »ancient Greece«, in a competition for comedians founded as a tetrarchic donation (l. 11–12) and perhaps in a

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is attested for the *Kapitolia* of Antinoopolis and Oxyrhynchus, cf. *Pap.Agon.* 9, *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4357.

fourth (type of) contest(s).<sup>16</sup> Only the games in Rome and Greece are mentioned in the codified version, the exceptions were cut. This must have happened at the very latest in the early fifth century, as the preservation of a reference to Rome and Greece must imply that both Rome and Greece still had sacred contests at the time when the letter was edited. This was no longer true from the early (or at the very latest mid) fifth century AD on.<sup>17</sup> They may, however, have been cut as early as the tetrarchic period, shortly after the promulgation, because at this time the first late-antique codification projects were going on. The Gregorian and the Hermogenian Code, where the bulk of pre-Constantinian material in the Justinian Code comes from, were indeed both created at the very end of the third century and adapted in the following decades. The sixth-century compilers of the enormous legal corpus of the Justinian Code do not seem to have done rigorous editing themselves – otherwise the entire rescript would have been cut after the collapse of the agonistic circuit. All laws in Book 10 of the Justinian Code concern financial aspects of the Roman administration, and chapter 54 on athletes follows in a series of constitutions on the exemption from liturgies (e. g. 10.52: on the exemption on the basis of the number of children, 53: on the exemptions for teachers and physicians, 54: on the exemptions for athletes).<sup>18</sup> This clearly suggests that the sixth-century compilers copied from an earlier collection of constitutions discussing legal

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<sup>16</sup> The half line following the contests for comedians is hardly legible and may have contained a fourth item in this list.

<sup>17</sup> The Olympics were definitely still held in the late fourth century; see *SEG* XLV 412 (a bronze plate mentioning two Athenian victors from the 380s) and Claudian, *Panegyricus de Consulatu Flavii Manlii Theodori* 288–290, which suggests the presence of Olympic and Isthmian athletes in Rome in 399. According to two scholia on Lucian (41.9.9–11 and 41–46 in the Teubner edition of Lucian), the games at Olympia came to an end under the reign of Theodosius II. This is confirmed by the formation of a layer of rubbish on the running track in the early fifth century and by the removal of the famous statue of Zeus around the same time; see Kunze and Schleif 1938, 18–19; Kunze 1961, 23; Stevenson 2007, 65–88. The spoliation of the sanctuary at Isthmia circa 410–420 implies the end of the Isthmian games (also still attested in 399) around the same time; see Gregory 1993, passim and esp. 139–140. The last evidence for the *Panathenaia* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3818) dates from the same period. The games in Delphi may have survived as late as 424 (if *Cod. Theod.* 15.5.4 can be connected to them), but in the course of the fifth century the stadium was turned to pasture ground (Aupert 1979, 140). The various games at Argos were already in financial trouble by the 360s (Julian, *Ep.* 198). In Rome, the *agon* of Sol is still attested circa 360 (Julian, *Or.* 11.42). Athletic champions can also be located there later in the fourth century (*CIL* VI 10153–154). The latest suggestions of traditional *agones* here appear in contomiatos from the joint reign of Theodosius II and Valentinian III (Alföldi 1976, cat. nr. 458, 464 and 463). For a longer discussion of this evidence, see Remijns 2015, Ch. 1 and 5.

<sup>18</sup> On the Justinian code see Humfress 2005, 161–166. For the tetrarchal codes see Corcoran 1996, 25–42.

aspects of the appointment of liturgists. This could be either the Gregorian or the Hermogenian Code, which were both organized thematically.

Although we are hence working with one deteriorated and one abbreviated version, the situation still gives us a rare advantage: the text of the Justinian Code can help us to make sense of the far more problematic text of the papyrus, and at the same time, the older copy on papyrus offers more information on how the emperors came to take this decision. The latter is an important issue to investigate, because most imperial rules, even when perfectly sensible from an economic point of view, were not issued spontaneously by the court. Roman law was mostly reactive: a decision formulated in an imperial rescript was taken after stakeholders had brought a problem under the attention of the court and had negotiated a solution with the emperors or people in their administration.<sup>19</sup> The addressee of rescripts preserved in the late-antique law codices can in some cases represent the person who took the case to court, but can equally be a third party that was in some way affected by the new rule (often provincial governors). The Hermogenes to whom the rescript in the Justinian Code was addressed can perhaps be identified with the later urban prefect Aurelius Hermogenes (AD 309–310), who was proconsul of Asia at some point between 286 and 305.<sup>20</sup> As the cities in this province had many successful athletes,<sup>21</sup> he had to be informed of the new rule, which would indirectly improve the financial situation of these cities. The papyrus copy of the rescript was addressed to the synod of the competitors in the *agones* and explicitly mentions that the rule was stipulated at their request (l. 8: *ad pr(a)eces vestras*).

Although the Latin is unambiguous concerning the role of the synod as the requesting party, it poses two significant problems. Firstly, the letter is addressed *ad synodum xysticorum et thymelicorum et ividem*, implying that there was only one synod covering all kinds of competitors, which is in contradiction with other evidence for two separate synods, that is one for athletes and one for performing artists. Secondly, the papyrus leaves us wondering why the competitors would have requested a limitation of the privileges, as this rule seems to have represented an advantage for the cities, but a serious disadvantage for a great number of competitors.

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<sup>19</sup> See e. g. Millar 1999.

<sup>20</sup> *PLRE* I, 424: Aurelius Hermogenes 8.

<sup>21</sup> Even as late as the 360s, Libanius still describes Ionia as known for producing athletic champions, cf. Ep. 1180.

### One synod or two synods?

Although athletes and performing artists would regularly meet each other at *agones* with both types of competitions, and had many shared interests, the second and third-century evidence show that they both had their own international association, the xystic synod of the athletics and the musical of thymelic synod of the performing artists. Both synods had separate headquarters in Rome and a similar, but again separate, network of local branches. *Xystic* or in Greek ξυστικός was derived from the substantive ζυστός, which originally meant covered running track, but had acquired the additional meaning of *athletic community*, that is the people who met in the *xystos*. *Thymelic* (θυμελικός) was derived from θυμέλη, the stage, and was used interchangeably with μουσικός. Whereas the adjective ζυστικός had a restricted use (it was never applied to *agones*, which were always γυμνικοί, nor was it used as a substantive for people, who were ἀθληταί), θυμελικός and μουσικός were used very flexibly (e. g. ἀγῶνες μουσικοί, οἱ θυμελικοί as a synonym for performing artists, etc.).

*P.Lips.* I 44 has been taken as evidence that by the end of the third century, these two groups had merged.<sup>22</sup> This hypothesis was not yet formed when the papyrus was published in 1906 by Ludwig Mitteis. Instead, he assumed that the cooperation of athletes and artists was an Alexandrian particularity, and that the rescript must have been addressed to this branch. There is indeed one third-century Alexandrian inscription that could confirm either the hypothesis of a joint Alexandrian branch, or that of a general merger in the course of the third century: *OGIS* 713 honors a man called Marcus Aurelius Mikkalon alias Theophilos, a gymnasiarch and *agonothetes*, and member of the *thymelic and xystic synod* (ἀπὸ τῆς θυμελικῆς καὶ ζυστικῆς συνόδου). His father as well as paternal and maternal grandfather had the same functions and memberships. This source stands alone, however. Several Egyptian documents published since then show that also in this province the athletes and performing artists were represented by separate synods even in the final decades of the third century.<sup>23</sup> In order to reassess the value of this inscription against this new background, we should be aware that this particular inscription did not aim to give us precise insights in the workings of the mentioned synod, but, as all inscriptions, it primarily tells us how one person or group wanted to publically represent another person. Curiously, although a decree to honor

<sup>22</sup> Forbes 1995, 242; Roueché 1993, 57–60.

<sup>23</sup> *Pap.Agon.* 1 (273, only thymelic), 3 (288, only thymelic), 8 (ca. 273, only xystic). Wallner 2007, 140 dated the merger in the 290s, to be in accordance with these documents. This is too late for *OGIS* 713, however, as inscriptions honoring local notables are extremely rare from the 270s onward.



Mikkalon is mentioned in the text, the body honoring him is not identified, implying it was in fact not an official body, such as the *boule* or the synod. Even an informal group present at the *agon* presided by these men is unlikely: inscriptions erected in the contexts of games typically identify the *agon*, but this information is again conspicuously absent. Instead the inscription focuses on the parallel engagements of four different members of the same family. The most specific information given by the inscription is the precise family relations. This suggests that the impetus behind the composition of this particular inscription came from one or several of his relatives. This inscription can therefore only serve as evidence for how proud family people thought the synod/s was/were called, not for how the synod was officially called. The same goes for an very odd phrase in an inscription from Panamara (*IK Stratonikeia* 266), a dedication set up by a couple who both had priestly functions: the priest is said to have received *θυμεικούς τε καὶ ξυστικὸς ἀθλητάς*, which mixes several terms from the agonistic vocabulary in an otherwise unattested combination – not only are athletes never thymelic, they are normally not even described as *xystic*. Given the multiple other texts attesting two separate associations in the second half of the third century, such occasional failures to use the agonistic jargon correctly do not suffice as confirmation for an historical merger, or for an Egyptian anomaly.

Even if we look at the few inscriptions erected by the members of the *xystic* synod after the reign of Diocletian, we see that these continue to represent their own group as separate from the artists, as they do in all the other inscriptions preceding the tetrarchy. In *IGUR* I 246, for example, an inscription from 313 or shortly after, records a donation from two deceased high priests of the synod (identifiable as successful athletes in the combat sports<sup>24</sup>) to the (purely) *xystic* synod. More than half a century later, in the reign of Valens, Valentinian and Gratian, the *xystici* again acted alone when they erected a statue for the champion athlete Philoumenos (*CIL* VI 10154). Both inscriptions were found, together with a series of older inscriptions concerning the *xystic* synod, near the Roman headquarters of this synod, which seems to have remained their exclusive domain.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, there must be another explanation for the presence of only one synod in the

<sup>24</sup> Cl. Apollonios alias Eudoxios can be identified with Cl. Apollonios, son of Cl. Rufus alias Apollonios, who according to *IGUR* I 244 was a successful *periodonikes* „in the pit“ (l. 10: ἐν τοῖς σκάμμασιν) in the mid- to later third century and succeeded his father as high priest of the entire synod (heretical function). His son Cl. Rufus alias Psapharios – nickname referring to the dust of the wrestling grounds – again inherited the position. By 314 these are all deceased. A relative, again called Cl. Apollonios alias Eudoxios, is still member of the synod’s board, acting as chief secretary (*IGUR* I 246 B, l. 11).

<sup>25</sup> On these headquarters and the evidence related to it, see Caldelli 1992, 75–87; Rausa 2004, 537–554.

version of the law as it was copied on the papyrus. This other explanation is, in my view, linguistic.

As mentioned before, the rescript was addressed to the synod or synods after it/they had requested a change of law. Their negotiation with the court regarding this new rule presumably took place during an audience at the palace. As explained before, the high officials of the synod(s) typically belonged to the Roman high society and were traditionally connected to the imperial court, so it must have been fairly easy for them to get admitted. Although we do not have the protocol of this audience, we can be fairly certain that the response of the emperor was composed in Latin, as is our papyrus. After it was written down during the audience at court, it was communicated to the branches of the synod(s) across the empire, who could in turn communicate it to the members. They could use it to support their claim to victories at court, which then brought into existence court proceedings like *P.Lips.* I 44. If the synod(s) had received a Greek reply, they would have communicated this version to the Egyptian branches, and the Latin version would not have been in use here.

Although the responsible tetrarchs, most likely Diocletian or possibly Galerius, resided in the Greek-speaking areas of the Empire, their courts operated at least partially in Latin. Both tetrarchs grew up in non-aristocratic families in the Latin speaking area of the Balkan (Dalmatia and Dacia respectively), rising to power through a military career.<sup>26</sup> Their social origin precluded a bilingual rhetorical education, which would have given them command of the same polished high society Greek that eastern embassies would use. Hence they probably commanded their legal staff in Latin, gave Latin answers, and used interpreters to deal with rhetorically schooled Greek embassies. This is confirmed by *Cod.Iust.* 10.48.2, which is an extract from the bilingual protocol (*acta*) of an audience given by Diocletian in Antioch. Diocletian was addressed by a certain Sabinus in Greek, but offered his ruling in Latin.<sup>27</sup>

Like in these acts from Antioch, the request of the competitors would not have been made in Latin, but in Greek, the lingua franca of the agonistic circuit. Because of cultural prejudices against public appearances in games among the Roman elite and because of the strength of the agonistic tradition in the East, practically all competitors in *agones* had grown up in the Greek-speaking cities of the Mediterranean. At least until the mid-fourth century, Latin-Greek bilingualism was relative rare here, whereas it was common enough among the elite in the West. The two synods could therefore do all

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<sup>26</sup> E. g. Eutropius, *Breviarium* 9.19 (origins of Diocletian) 9.22 (Galerius). Cf. Barnes 1982, 30–32, 37–38.

<sup>27</sup> Discussion in Corcoran 1996, 254–255 and 295 for more general information on the introduction of Latin courts in the East by Diocletian.

their business in Greek, even in the headquarters in Rome and other branches in the West, as is confirmed by erection of Greek inscriptions here.<sup>28</sup>

During the audience, a linguistic conversion process took place between the presentation of the request and the formulation of the rescript. Odd wordings in the papyrus show that the clerk responsible for this translation had problems converting the Greek technical agonistic terminology into Latin. An interesting case is his translation of ἀγῶνες ἱεροί. Aware that a contest categorized as ἱερός was in fact not more sacred than any other contest, but was more prestigious than contests that did not fall under this category, he decided to translate it as *certamen nobile* (l. 11). This shows he had understood what the whole case was about, but was not used to putting agonistic terms to Latin, for in that case he would have written *certamen sacrum*, as this literal translation is – though potentially confusing – the common technical term in Latin.<sup>29</sup> By the time rescripts were sent out to the provincial governors, this mistake was caught and the formulation rendered more idiomatic: therefore, the version to Hermogenes does contain the normal technical term *certamina sacra*.

The biggest translation challenge, however, was the name of the synods. In documents emanating from the synods, they typically use very long (and often inconsistent) versions of their name. In a certificate issued in AD 194 by the xystic synod, for example, it describes itself as *the sacred xystic international Hadrianic Antoninian Septimian synod of the (athletes) around Herakles, Competition, and Emperor Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus* (*Pap.Agon.* 6, l. 37–39: ἡ ἱερὰ ξυστική περιπολιστική Ἀδριανὴ Ἀντωνιανὴ Σεπτιμιανὴ σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν ἀγόνιον καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λ(ύκιον) Σεπτίμιον Σευήρον Περτίνικα Σεβαστὸν). A very similar name for the thymelic synod can be found in an inscription set up a few decades earlier to record a decree *of the sacred Hadrianic Antoninian thymelic international great synod of the (performing artists) of the inhabited world, around Dionysus and Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius the new*

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<sup>28</sup> The papyri and inscriptions written or erected by the synods found in the East are naturally Greek. *Pap.Agon.* 6, a member certificate of the xystic synod, was written in Naples, however. Also in the Latin-speaking half of the Empire, inscriptions erected by the synods are usually Greek. Caldelli 1992, 75–76 lists the 11 inscriptions found in connections to the Roman headquarters of the xystic synod (*IGUR* I 235–245, *CIL* VI 10153–4), 9 are completely Greek, 1 has a Greek heading but a Latin text, and only one is purely Latin. The Latin inscriptions both come from the second half of the fourth century, when imperial permission was needed to set up such a monument for a private person, and are therefore not representative of earlier practices of the synod. Also the inscriptions from the thymelic synod at Nîmes are largely Greek, see Caldelli 1997, 411–445.

<sup>29</sup> *Dig.* 3.2.4.pr ; *CIL* III 296 = 6835; *CIL* IX 2860; *CIL* X 515; *IvMilet* 1075.

*Dionysus* (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1350, l. 2–6: τῆς ἱερᾶς Ἀδριανῆς Ἀντωνεῖ[ν]ης θυμελικῆς περιπολιστικῆς μεγάλης συνόδου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τίτον Αἴλιον Ἀδριανὸν Ἀν[τωνεῖνον] Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆ νέον Διόνυσον). Whereas the words *athletes* and *artists* are failing above in the above examples, other versions of the name do identify the members: from Ankara we have for example a decree of those from the inhabited world, around Dionysus and Emperor Traianus Hadrianus Augustus Caesar the new Dionysus, namely the artists who won sacred crown games and their fellow competitors and those managing the sacred thymelic synod (IGR III 209, l. 2–8: τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Τραιανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Καίσαρα νέον Διόνυσον τεχνειτῶν ἱερο[ν]εικῶν στεφανειτῶν καὶ τῶν τούτων συ[ν]αγωνιστῶν καὶ τῶν νεμόντων τὴν ἱερὰν θυμελικὴν σὺνόδον). Although the grammatical structure seems to suggest three bodies, the rest of the inscription has a single decreeing body referred to simply as *the synod*. Also in their correspondence with the court, the synods used longish names, which were repeated in the Greek imperial answers. In Hadrian's famous letters to the thymelic synod, inscribed at Alexandria Troas, he addresses them as the *thymelic international synod of the artists around Dionysus, victors of sacred crown games* (SEG 56.1359, l. 5–7, 58–59: συνόδῳ θυμελικῆ περιπολιστικῆ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνειτῶν ἱερονεικῶν στεφανειτῶν). The xystic synod, he addressed similarly as the *xystic synod of the athletes around Herakles, victors of sacred crown games* (IGUR I 235 and 236: συνόδῳ ξυστικῆ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν ἱερονεικῶν στεφανειτῶν).

The avalanche of adjectives, imperial epithets, deities and descriptions of competitors was difficult to translate to Latin. A bilingual inscription (IG XIV 2495) from Nîmes – the network of the thymelic synod extended to Gallia Narbonensis – translates ψήφισμα τῆς ἱερᾶς θυμε[λικ]ῆς Ἀδριανῆς συνόδου τῶν [περὶ τὸν] Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραιανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν νέον Διόνυ[σον] συναγωνιστῶν simply as *sacra synodos decrevit*. As in the case of the tetrarchic rescript, the inscription transliterates συν-όδος rather than translating it. There were of course Latin terms for associations, but an international network of associated professionals like that of the competing performing artists or athletes had no Western parallels.

An additional difficulty posed by the conversion of the competitors' request circa AD 300 was that it was a joint request by the athletes and the performing artists. In preserved inscriptions mentioning both synods, a plural is typically used for the word synod and for some shared adjectives, after which xystic and thymelic are given as singulars: αἱ ἱεροὶ σὺνδοδοὶ περιπολιστικοὶ ἢ ξυστικὴ καὶ ἢ θυμελική. We do not have documents issued jointly by the synods – or Greek imperial letters to both synods – to show whether this grammatical structure was still preferred when the

longer versions of the names were used. A grammatical parallelism such as ἡ συνόδος ζυστική περιπολιστική imperial epithets τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀθλητῶν ἱερονεικῶν στεφανειτῶν καὶ ἡ θυμελική περιπολιστική imperial epithets τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνειτῶν ἱερονεικῶν στεφανειτῶν would in this case be easier to compose than the mix of plural and singular. Whatever Greek formula was used, the word synod needed to be mentioned only once, as in Greek the articles do the work of distinguishing between the two synods. In the Latin conversion these markers disappeared. A straightforward conversion of συνόδος with a double article, as in the latter construction, would lead to a singular Latin *synodus*, as in the papyrus. Given the generally poor linguistic quality of the rescript, such mistakes are indeed to be expected. This mistake can far better explain the unique presence of a single synod in this one text than the hypothesis of a merger, which is contradicted by later sources.

Even the enumeration of what seems to be three groups (*P.Lips.* I 44, l. 3: *ad synodum (1) xysticorum et (2) thymelicorum et (3) ividem*) could be explained as an imperfect solution to a difficult translation assignment. Ζυστική and θυμελική were the most essential words to denote which synods were meant. While in the inscription from Nîmes θυμελική could be left untranslated, as there was no room for confusion with the xystic synod (which is not attested in Gallia Narbonensis<sup>30</sup>), the tetrarch's imperial clerk did not have this choice, because the two groups needed to be distinguished here. Theoretically, he could have rendered ζυστική simply as the adjective, *xystica*, but this would have been a neologism in Latin. The word *xysticus* had long entered the Latin vocabulary, but the use is different than in Greek: *xystici* appears normally as a plural substantive for persons and seems to be a translation of the Greek word ζυστός for the athletic community.<sup>31</sup> The clerk's decision to use a plural genitive substantive rather than a singular accusative adjective makes perfect sense in this light. Also *thymelici* is attested in Latin as a substantive for competitors in the Greek performing arts, so the same change to a plural genitive works here.<sup>32</sup> All the other adjectives, some of them quite challenging to translate, were not essential for the identification of the synods. So it seems that the clerk saved himself the trouble and just added *et ibidem* to denote that a whole stream of words was supposed to follow. In my view, therefore, *ad synodum xysticorum et thymelicorum et ividem* is an imprecise translation

<sup>30</sup> The agonistic material from Gallia Narbonensis is collected in Caldelli 1997, 387–481.

<sup>31</sup> E. g. Suetonius, *Augustus* 45.4; *Galba* 15.1; Tertullianus, *De spectaculis* 22.3; 30.20; *Dig.* 3.2.4.pr. Occasionally it also appears in singular form, for a single member of this community, see *CIL* VI 10161 (Rome): *[A]thenodorus / xysti[c]us / Paridi thymelico / bene merenti / fecit.*

<sup>32</sup> E. g. Vitruvius, *De architectura* 5.7.2; *Dig.* 3.2.4.pr.1; *CIL* VI 10161; *CIL* VI 877.

of two long and difficult names, and certainly not inescapable evidence for a merger of the two synods.

### The motivations and membership policy of the synod

Now the apparent contradiction in our evidence is removed, we are still presented with a historical problem. The most striking fact about the limitation of the *aleitourgesia* remains that the synods, which should be protecting the interests of the competitors, asked for it. For sure, a considerable section of the agonistic victors had not wanted to see their privileges disappear. A synod representing all, or at least a considerable number, of these victors would therefore be expected to be opposed to the limitation, not to request it. In order to understand the motivations of the synod, we need to get a firmer grip on the actual composition of the synods in the late third century.

There is some tradition of seeing the synods as open, inclusive organizations. Jüthner suggested in his standard work on Greek athletics that one of their aims was to support promising young athletes with few financial means.<sup>33</sup> When Roueché explains the inclusion of (lower-class) performing artists in the green and blue circus factions in the fifth century as a direct consequence of the merger of the synods with the circus factions, she likewise presumed that these synods were inclusive associations, as the logic of this argument only works if practically all performing artists were members.<sup>34</sup> The major studies of the athletic association have focused on the difference between sacred victors and *common athletes*, showing that in the second and third centuries AD not only victors of sacred contests were members, but also their less successful fellow athletes.<sup>35</sup> Long versions of the names of the synods mention indeed sacred victors as well as their fellow competitors (*συναγωνισταί*).<sup>36</sup> The only surviving membership certificate of the xystic synod belonged moreover to a boxer named Hermeinos who never won a major victory.<sup>37</sup> For an inclusive association, however, a policy of limiting privileges does not make sense.

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<sup>33</sup> Jüthner 1965, 91–92.

<sup>34</sup> Roueché 1993, 57–60.

<sup>35</sup> The late Hellenistic precursor of the xystic synod was an association of only sacred victors. When it opened up to non-victors is not entirely clear. Pleket 1973, 201–209 discusses the problem.

<sup>36</sup> E. g. *JGR* III 209, *Pap.Agon.* 1, 1.1.

<sup>37</sup> In *P.Lond.* III 1158 the same Hermeinos, now aged 58 and long retired, is described as *great boxer* (l. 3: μακρὸς πύκτης); obviously to make up for the fact that he did not have a proper agonistic title. A discussion of the family archive in Minnen 1986, 106–133.

The acceptance of both victors and non-victors in fact does not prove that the synods were inclusive associations. Indeed, the acceptance of some unsuccessful competitors is not the same as the acceptance of all unsuccessful competitors. It does not even prove the inclusion of all successful competitors. Membership certificates instead show clearly that a specific requirement needed to be fulfilled before anyone became a member: the payment of a membership fee. In order to understand the composition of the synods, therefore, we need to determine which candidate-members were able and willing to pay this fee. This depends on their financial means, on the amount to be paid and on the benefits that could be gained.

Studies on the background and status of athletes have shown that this group was socially diverse. The majority of the participants in *agones* was at least relatively well-off, because intensive training and traveling over long distances was not cheap.<sup>38</sup> The family indeed had to be able to send a boy to a trainer, rather than making him an apprentice or needing his work at home, and had to have some money left for a traveling budget afterwards. There were some possibilities to help the less rich but very talented to start a career (e. g. loans<sup>39</sup>) but young men from wealthy families definitely had an advantage. Many victors indeed clearly belong to the highest social classes. Athletes lower on the social ladder can also be found in the ancient evidence, but usually outside the agonistic circuit, for example dwarf athletes performing at dinner parties, or normal-sized athletes hiring themselves out to perform at village festivals.<sup>40</sup> For performing artists, there were many more opportunities to be hired. Also here one sees a large social distance between the travelling competitors and local performers.

The best way to determine which of the competitors could afford membership of the synods is by comparing the known membership fees with contemporary prices for other products. The only membership certificate of the xystic synod belonged to Hermeinos, who in 194, during the *Sebasta* at Naples, paid a membership fee of 100 *denarii*. Some time after that, he paid an additional fee of 50 *denarii* during an *agon* at Sardis, in exchange for which he got an honorary priesthood. The membership certificates of the thymelic synod all stem from the later third century AD and record a membership fee of 250 *denarii*.<sup>41</sup> To know what sums like 100 and 50

<sup>38</sup> A standard treatment of the social background of athletes is Pleket 1974, 57–87.

<sup>39</sup> Roman laws about loans to athletes: *Dig.* 4.2.23.2; 22.2.5.pr.1; 42.1.40.

<sup>40</sup> For dwarf athletes see Brunet 2003, 17–32. For athletes at smaller festivals indication can be found in papyri such as *P.Oxy.* III 519, an account with sums for artists, people to walk in the procession, pankratiasts, and boxers for a local festival. Both the pankratiast and his opponent were paid, which suggests wages rather than prizes. The document originates from Oxyrhynchus, which did not yet have an *agon* in the second century.

<sup>41</sup> *P.Oxy.* LXXIX 5208, l. 10 (3rd c.); *Pap.Agon.* 1, l. 15 (273–274); 3, l. 16 (288). The reading of 850 *denarii* in the latter text is corrected in *P.Oxy.* LXXIX 5208 n. 10.

*denarii* actually meant to Hermeinos, or 250 *denarii* to the performing artists competing a century later, we should look at contemporary prices. The members known from the preserved certificates all lived in Egypt, where the local monetary unit was the Alexandrian drachma. 100 *denarii* equaled 400 Alexandrian drachmas, 250 *denarii* equaled 1000 Alexandrian drachmas. Hermeinos' membership certificate was found between other papers relating to his family, as part of a family archive administered by his brother Theognostos. Hermeinos, Theognostos and a younger third brother had each inherited a third of a house, Hermeinos sold his third to Theognostos for 300 drachmas in AD 226, that is for 100 drachmas less than he had paid for membership when he was younger. Although it is conceivable that he sold his property below the normal price as it was a sale between family members, it remains obvious that 300 or 400 drachmas were relatively large sums. Other contemporary prices confirm this: a day laborer in Roman Egypt in the later second century could earn between 1 and 2 drachmas a day. Around AD 250, daily wages for laborers had already doubled. Monthly wages rose from about 20 drachmas in the second half of the second century to about 40 in the mid-third.<sup>42</sup> This suggests that, given the inflation, 250 *denarii* in the later third century was comparable to 100 *denarii* at the end of the second century, and that both sums exceeded the annual wages of simple laborers. Prices for an artaba of wheat (circa 40 l or 30 kg) fluctuate in the second century AD between 6 and (towards the end of the century) 20 drachmas, in the third century between 12 and 24 drachma until ca 270, after which they seem to have risen drastically. This means that with 400 drachmas one could buy about 194 AD at least 600 kg of wheat, with 250 kg wheat equivalent a year being the average subsistence requirement.<sup>43</sup> All of this confirms that membership of the synods did not come cheap. Moreover, it was not a competitor's only expense. A protein-rich diet, training under a specialized coach and adequate transport were the more essential investments for their career, so membership was only an option for those competitors who could still afford the substantial fee after they had paid for all the other costs that came with a career in athletics. Joining the synod therefore represented a serious investment, though certainly not an impossible one for the more prosperous layers of society: the purchase of a donkey is in the same order of magnitude; buying a slave would have cost several times the price of the fee.<sup>44</sup>

While this already limits the potential members to the local and imperial elites, we still need to ask for who would benefit from membership, since not for all people who could theoretically afford the fee, there would be a

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<sup>42</sup> Drexhage 1991, 415–429.

<sup>43</sup> Drexhage 1991, 14–17; Jongman 2007, 599.

<sup>44</sup> Drexhage 1991, 276–277, 283–284.



return on their investment. The question is, in other words, what a member got for his money. Many activities of the synods and their officials must remain in the dark, but the officials were involved in issuing documents (such as the membership certificates), which helped competitors to prove their claim to privileges in their home town. Another advantage of membership must have been the access to information. It must have been a real challenge for the competitors to have a good idea of where in the big Roman Empire *agones* would take place and at what time, how to get there and what the level of competition would be. Especially for competitions outside their own province, the officials of the synod would be the competitors' primary source. Once the competitor arrived in a new city, he needed information on the local facilities, and the synod's representative would again be a major help. Another benefit must have been the easy access to medical care, since the synod had its own doctors.<sup>45</sup> More generally, membership also conveyed prestige; and in case of problems, a member had a strong lobby on his side.

The most tangible advantages were enjoyed by those competitors who spent a number of years competing on the international circuit of games. They were faced with the largest information deficit regarding the agonistic calendar and the local situation in the cities organizing contests. For far-away victories, moreover, official documents proving their claims were essential. Not all participants in the *agones* were travelling professionals, however. Minor games attracted mostly regional participants.<sup>46</sup> Not all of these were, moreover, professionals. In years when the turnout of participants was poor at more locally oriented sacred games, a talented kid straight out of the ephebate could gain a victory, without ever continuing competing. For people who did not devote at least their twenties and thirties entirely to a career as competitor, and had no international ambitions, the benefits of membership were actually minor. These competitors needed no information on the global agonistic situation; nor did they go so far from home that their personal networks did not suffice for getting assistance upon arrival at the place of the contest. Some of them may have joined the synod anyway, as they wanted the prestige of these associations to reflect on them, but this luxury was only an option for the most prosperous among them. For the more moderately wealthy people on the agonistic circuit, 100

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<sup>45</sup> E. g. *TAM* V.2 1097.

<sup>46</sup> The only list of participants available to us is *P.Ryl.* II 93 (3rd c.), with participants in the various running competitions of an unnamed contest (probably at Hermopolis or Antinoopolis): most participants are from the immediate area, only two are from outside of Egypt (Hermopolis: 7, Antinoopolis: 7, Alexandria: 6, Oxyrhynchus: 2, Lykopolis: 1, Panopolis: 1, Thessalonike: 1, Ephesus: 1). *Pap.Agon.* 3 mentions the citizenships of local officials of the artistic association, which reflect where they won: most are citizens of several Egyptian cities and one is citizen of Hermopolis and Syrian Antioch.

or 250 *denarii* were better invested differently, for example in a donkey that could transport their belongings when traveling to a contest, and could be used in the family business in the rest of the year.

The synods therefore attracted its members mainly among the professional athletes who competed internationally – with or without success – and among the richest among the less ambitious athletes. This composition of the membership helps to explain the synods' request for a limitation that shaped the tetrarchic law. For although, in certain cases, the interests of the members may have coincided with the interests of the entire agonistic community,<sup>47</sup> as lobby organizations, the synods promoted in the first place their own members, that is the international professionals. The law limits the privileges to those who devoted their entire career (Lat. *aetas*: the period in life, during which they were physically able<sup>48</sup>) to competing and who had an international career (with victories in Greece or Italy, not just in the provinces). Of course some members of the synod lost their privileges as result of this new law. Not all members of the synod were triple victors, but, conversely, most of the eligible triple victors would have been members of the synods. The main wish of the synods was not that all their members enjoyed the privileges, for these were wealthy people who did not actually need the exemption from liturgies from an economic point of view. What the synods wanted in the first place was to exclude non-members from the privileges. In the course of the third century – when the number of sacred contests became higher than ever before – a number of non-professional competitors became *hieronikes* without ever joining the synod. The exclusive privileges the synods had worked so hard to ensure, were therefore enjoyed by a far larger group than the synods had ever intended, and consequently they had lost their exclusive character. The prestige of the privileges was strongly connected with its exclusivity. An increase in the people enjoying a reward therefore led to a loss of prestige connected to it, and that had to be avoided.

### Conclusions

About 300, Diocletian (or – less likely – Galerius) had an audience with representatives of the xystic and thymelic synods, which resulted in an imperial rescript that is preserved in one version in the Justinian Code and in another in court proceedings on papyrus. The first part of this paper

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<sup>47</sup> The xystic synod did, for example, envisage its religious role as contributing to the well-being of the entire community; hence the high priest is not said to be of the synod, but of the entire athletic community or *xystos*.

<sup>48</sup> *Cod.Iust.* 10.54.1: *per omnem aetatem*; *P.Lips.* I 44: *per omne te[m]pus aetatis*.

aimed to show that the two synods remained separate organizations, despite their shared interests and a long misjudged translation mistake in the imperial rescript. The aim of their audience at court was a discussion about the immunity of *hieronikai* from civic services, the *aleitourgesia*. Once this had been an exclusive privilege enjoyed by only the most devoted competitors, but at the turn of the third century this immunity had become quite common because of the uncontrolled growth of the contest circuit in the third century. As the number of *agones* with the status of *sacred contest* had increased rapidly, so had the number of *hieronikai*; and because even relatively minor contests were now categorized as *sacred*, these *hieronikai* were sometimes mere hobbyists, whereas in the early Empire, this title was mainly carried by those who had successfully made a career of competing as an athlete or performing artist.

As a considerable amount of the necessary services in the city were financed by the system of liturgies, the spread of the immunity increased the pressure on the city's finances. With the threat of hyperinflation, the economic situation in the Roman Empire was not exactly easy at the turn of the third century, so the court was happy to limit the privilege to the most successful competitors among the *hieronikai* and take some of the financial pressure away. This was also true for the exclusive xystic and thymelic synods, which represented – as this article argued – only a subsection of all the competitors on the contest circuit. The substantial membership fee namely discouraged from joining competitors who did not travel abroad. The synods had centuries earlier negotiated the *aleitourgesia* for *hieronikai*, but now this privilege defeated its purpose of bestowing extra prestige on the synods' members because it had lost its exclusive character and was spread too far beyond the members.

The solution worked out between the synods and the court was to limit the privilege in the future to successful international career athletes. These were defined as athletes who devoted a substantial phase of their life (an *aetas*) to competing, and gained multiple victories (at least three, according to the version in the Code), of which at least one was obtained at a particularly prestigious contest (mainly defined by their location: Greece or Rome).

This new imperial rule shows that the imperial-age categorization system, which differentiated between thematic, sacred, and sacred and eiseleastic games, had become meaningless because of the unchecked growth of the agonistic circuit in the third century. Because too many contests had been awarded a high status, this status had lost its meaning and no longer bestowed a contest with actual prestige. The tetrarchs confirmed the meaninglessness of sacred status, when they removed the main privilege attached to it. In the long run, this probably meant the end of it. When listing contests in the capital, at the traditional sites in Greece, and contest

with special imperial favor as the real top games, they returned to a crude system of categorizing the contests that actually mattered. This suggests that even the top label *eiselastic* had been rendered useless due to status inflation. A decision about what happened to the monthly pensions that the victors of *eiselastic* contests could claim is not preserved in the late-antique evidence. This is the only agonistic privilege, however, that could put even a larger drain on the city finances than the *aleitourgesia*. The *boule* archive from Hermopolis shows that in this provincial city, the city paid out serious sums to athlete every year in the reign of Gallienus.<sup>49</sup> The absence of references to *eiselastic* games could be simply the consequence of the changes in our epigraphic and numismatic evidence, but it would not be unreasonable either to assume that the *opsonia* were limited to a more select group of contests too.

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<sup>49</sup> Requests to the Hermopolitan *boule* in the years 267–268 for the payment of pensions for victories in Gaza, Bostra, and Sidon are published as *SPP* V 54–56, 69–70, and 74.

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## Welche Fähigkeiten besaß Pomponius Secundinus? Überlegungen zu einer Inschrift aus Salona<sup>1</sup>

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In Salona a gravestone was found, that inspired little interest in the research, even though it is equipped with a very rare inscription (CIL 03, 12924). Namely, Marcus Pomponius Zosimus, *negotians materiarum*, had built a grave monument during his life, for his deceased daughter and Pomponius Secundinus. However, our interest is directed only to Secundinus because of his occupation, about which can be read in the inscription: *hic lapide Lusit ponderibus his quadraginta, quinquaginta, centum*. Apparently he was a man of exceptional physical ability in stone-related avocations that unfortunately go unspecified. This inscription serves to forever remember his extraordinary ability.

In this paper we want to investigate what Pomponius Secundinus actually made with the stones. We are hoping that the weights of stones which are listed on the inscription will be of the greatest benefit for the research.

Salona war eine römische Kolonie und Hauptstadt der Provinz Dalmatien. Wie auch in anderen antiken kosmopolitischen Zentren, haben in Salona neben Einheimischen auch Italiker, Griechen und Orientalen gelebt. Zu ihrer Blütezeit scheint die Stadt bis zu 60.000 Einwohner gehabt zu haben, die im Stadtareal wohnten, das von Stadtmauern geschützt war und eine Fläche von 1.590 x 700 Meter eingenommen hat.<sup>2</sup> Innerhalb der Stadt war eine typisch antike städtische Infrastruktur ausgeprägt, unter anderem bestehend aus öffentlichen Plätzen, Theatern, einem Amphitheater und Thermen, deren Reste bis heute sehen zu sind. Die Stadt erfreute sich eines ziemlich friedlichen Daseins, fast unberührt von den unruhigen Ereignissen an den Grenzen des Reiches. Dies hat sich positiv auf die wirtschaftliche Konjunktur und die ununterbrochene Entwicklung der Stadt auch in der Zeit der Spätantike ausgewirkt. Unter den mehreren tausenden Inschriften aus Salona und seiner Umgebung sind nicht nur lateinische, sondern auch griechische vertreten, und zwar Inschriften, die aus der Zeit der griechischen Kolonisation bis in die frühchristliche Ära zu datieren sind.<sup>3</sup> Dank

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<sup>1</sup> Es freut mich, dass ich anlässlich des Erscheinens des 25. Bandes von *Nikephoros* diesen Beitrag über eine ungewöhnliche salonitanische Inschrift vortragen konnte. Ich gratuliere den Forschern des Antiken Sportes, Wolfgang Decker und Ingomar Weiler, die gemeinsam mit Professor Joachim Ebert 1988 die in der Zwischenzeit weltweit bekannt gewordene Zeitschrift *Nikephoros* initiiert haben.

<sup>2</sup> Sanader, 2009, 66–72.

<sup>3</sup> *CIL* III; Salona IV.



diesen hervorragenden epigraphischen Zeugnisse sind zahlreiche Angaben über die Stadt selbst, die städtische Verwaltung, die Bevölkerungsstruktur und deren Alltagsleben bekannt.<sup>4</sup> Trotzdem vermissen wir Angaben über Körpertraining, über Sport und Wettkämpfe, die zumindest von einem Teil der Bevölkerung betrieben wurden. Erhalten sind allerdings bedeutende Reste von Thermen, deren Teile als Übungsräume interpretiert wurden, doch kann für keinen der Räume näher bestimmt werden, für welche Sportaktivitäten er bestimmt war.<sup>5</sup> Im Archäologischen Museum in Split werden auch mehrere Strigilis aus Eisen und Bein aufbewahrt.<sup>6</sup> Diese dienten bekanntlich zur Körperreinigung, was unter anderem auch auf exzessives Training schließen lässt, doch leider nicht auf eine bestimmte Sportart.

Da präzise Angaben über Sportaktivitäten der Bevölkerung von Salona fehlen, sollten jene herangezogen werden, die bei ihrer Beschreibung vielleicht nicht präzise genug, aber dennoch interessant sind, und bis jetzt nicht ausreichend erforscht wurden. Vielleicht erlauben uns diese einen neuen Einblick in die erwähnte Problematik.

Im Archäologischen Museum in Split wird auch eine 95 x 65 cm große Grabstele (Taf. 3, Abb. 1) aufbewahrt, die 1892 in Salona gefunden wurde (Inv. Nr. 1767 A). Die Grabstele enthält eine Inschrift, die besagt, dass der Holzhändler Marcus Pomponius Zosimus zu Lebzeiten ein Grabmal errichten ließ, für sich, seine verstorbene Tochter Pomponia Semna und den verstorbenen Pomponius Secundinus, der sich durch ein Spiel mit Steinen, deren Gewicht 40, 50 bzw. 100 Pfund betrug, Verdienste erworben hatte. Die Inschrift wird in die Zeit zwischen 151 und 250 datiert.<sup>7</sup>

M(arcus) Pomponius | Zosim[u]s negoti | ans ma[t]eriaris | v(ivus)  
f(ecit) sibi et Pomponi | ae Semn(a)e filiae op | timae defunctae | et  
Pomponio Secun | dino defuncto | b(ene) m(erentibus) hic lapide lu  
sit ponderibus | his XXXX L C

Auf den ersten Blick scheint es, dass Pomponius Secundinus an einer Übung teilgenommen hat, die mit Steinen verschiedener Größe ausgetragen wurde, was auch der Grund für das häufige Zitieren dieser Inschrift in der Fachliteratur war.<sup>8</sup> Dies umso mehr, da das Verb *ludo* 3. -si, -sum (spielen) in der lateinischen Sprache auch dann verwendet wird, wenn es

<sup>4</sup> Alföldy, 1963, 323–337; Alföldy, 1965; Wilkes, 1977, 732–766.

<sup>5</sup> Gerber, 1917, 109–138; Piplović, 1980, 89–101.

<sup>6</sup> Ivčević, 2002, 336–337 und 343.

<sup>7</sup> Bulić, 1892, 65–66, Nr. 39 (1767); *AE* 1892, 0123; *CIL* 03, 12924; *ILS* 5174a; *EDCS* 29900029; *EDH* 060298.

<sup>8</sup> Gatti, 1892, 798–802; Rnjak 1979, 282–283, Nr. 593; Harris, 1972, 149; Crowther, 1977, 275.

sich auf körperliche Übungen bezieht.<sup>9</sup> Die Inschrift verrät aber keine Details darüber, wie diese Übung ausgetragen wurde, es lässt sich nur erschließen, dass sich die Angaben 40, 50 und 100 auf ihr Gewicht beziehen.<sup>10</sup> Heute ist keine vergleichbare Inschrift erhalten, und auch keine Quelle, die zumindest indirekt erklären könnte, was Pomponius Secundinus mit diesen Steinen gemacht hat. Klar ist nur, dass er etwas machte, was nicht jedermann konnte. Gerade deswegen hat er es verdient, dass dies auch auf seinem Grabstein verewigt wird. Deshalb wollen wir bei dieser Gelegenheit nachfragen, was eigentlich Pomponius Secundinus betrieben hat. Hat er mit den Steinen trainiert oder bloß gespielt?

Zuerst wollen wir alle uns zugänglichen Angaben, sowohl antike wie auch moderne, in Betracht ziehen, die von Übungen mit Steinen sprechen. Es kann ohne weiteres angenommen werden, dass der Mensch von seinen Anfängen an Steine zu verschiedensten Zwecken benutzt hat.<sup>11</sup> Stein war allgegenwärtig und diente deswegen, je nach Art und Form, als Werkzeug, als Messer, Hammer oder etwas anderes. Allein aufgrund der *Ilias*, in der mehr als acht (8) Todesfälle und Verwundungen durch Stein beschrieben werden, können wir schließen, dass Stein von jeher auch sehr wirkungsvoll als Waffe genutzt wurde. Erwähnen wir an dieser Stelle nur das eine Beispiel aus Homer, die Verse über den Tod des Dioces (IV,517–522), der von einem Stein verursacht wurde, den Peiros auf ihn geworfen hatte.<sup>12</sup> Man kann annehmen, dass die Menschen ebenfalls sehr früh bemerkt haben, dass Wettbewerb mit Steinen Vergnügen bereiten kann. Zum Beispiel beim Wettbewerb, wer einen schweren Stein höher heben, weiter werfen, oder weiter rollen wird. Sporthistoriker berichten, dass historische Quellen und archäologische Angaben schon sehr früh verschiedene Wettbewerbe bezeugen, unter anderem auch solche, die mit Steinen ausgetragen wurden.<sup>13</sup>

Unsere Inschrift berichtet, dass Secundinus sich mit Steinen spielend einen Ruf verschafft hat. Deswegen soll unser Interesse zuerst Angaben über Steine gelten, wie sie in der freien Natur zu finden sind, obwohl uns

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<sup>9</sup> Thesaurus VII,2,B,1770.

<sup>10</sup> Dilke, 1991, 98–102.

<sup>11</sup> Die ersten archäologischen Informationen über den Gebrauch von Steinen datieren aus der Zeit vor 2,6 Millionen Jahren; es sind die ersten Beweise der menschlichen Interventionen am Stein, um ihn so zu formen, wie es ihm am besten gedient hatte. Siehe Karavanić/Janković, 2009, 107.

<sup>12</sup> Die Beschreibung, die hier aus Homers Werk gebracht wird, bezieht sich auf den ersten Tod (oder Verletzung), der durch Steinigung verursacht wurde. Auch Römer haben sich in ihren Kriegen der Steine bedient, die sie auf Gegner mit Steinschleudern warfen, wie Vegetius (I. 16, II. 23) schreibt.

<sup>13</sup> Weiler 1981, 27–28; Hutter-Braunsar, 2008, 30–31.

durchaus bewusst ist, dass einige Sportrequisiten, wie zum Beispiel der Diskus, auf frühen Entwicklungsstufen auch aus Stein erzeugt wurden.<sup>14</sup>

Für unser Anliegen ist zum Beispiel das Alte Testament interessant, wo wir im zweiten Buch des Propheten Zacharias (2,12) erfahren, dass Steine gehoben wurden, die so groß waren, dass dabei die Hebenden verletzt wurden. Beim Versuch, dieses biblische Zitat mit unserer Inschrift aus Salona in Verbindung zu bringen, kommt uns der Hl. Hieronymus (comm. Zach. 12,2) zu Hilfe. Beim Kommentar des Propheten schreibt Hieronymus, dass es bei Jugendlichen in Palestina noch immer üblich ist, sich im Heben von Steinen zu messen: ... *lapides gravissimi ponderis, ad quos juvenes exercere* ... Sehr interessant ist auch ein alter Kommentar von W. Trollope über die Jugendlichen, die sich, inspiriert von Mythen über die unvorstellbare Körperstärke von Helden, im Heben von schweren Steinen gemessen haben.<sup>15</sup>

Neben den erwähnten und zahlreichen anderen schriftlichen Zeugnissen nennen wir auch zwei beeindruckende archäologische Denkmäler, die von Wettbewerben mit Steinen sprechen. Beide werden in das 6. Jh. v. Chr. datiert. Es handelt sich um zwei Steinbrocken mit Inschriften, die Übungen mit Steinen und Namen jener erwähnen, die diese Steine gehoben haben. Das erste Denkmal ist als Stein des Bubon bekannt. Der Stein wurde südöstlich des Pelopions in Olympia gefunden, wo er bis heute im Museum (br.inv. A191) aufbewahrt wird. Er ist 0,68 m breit, 0,33 m hoch, und 143,5 kg schwer. Die Inschrift lautet: *Bubon, der Sohn des Pholys, hat mich mit einer Hand über den Kopf geworfen.*<sup>16</sup>

Das zweite Denkmal stammt ebenfalls aus Griechenland, von der Insel Santorin, wo es im Archäologischen Museum aufbewahrt wird (br.inv. 509). Auf diesem Stein ist ebenfalls eine Inschrift erhalten, die besagt: *Eumastas, Sohn des Kritobulo, hat mich vom Boden gehoben.*<sup>17</sup> Der Grund, warum Eumastas diesen Stein gehoben und nicht geworfen hat, ist wohl in der Tatsache zu suchen, dass er 480 kg schwer ist, also drei Mal so viel wiegt wie der Stein des Bubon. Der offensichtliche Unterschied im Gewicht und der Inhalt der Inschriften sind Hinweis auf zwei unterschiedliche Wettbewerbe mit Steinen. Wenn man den Inschriften Glauben schenkt, hat Bubon seinen Stein nicht nur gehoben, sondern auch mit einer Hand über den Kopf geworfen, während Eumastas seinen Stein nur gehoben hat.

Da sich Wettbewerbe, die mit Steinen ausgetragen werden, bis heute in vielen Teilen der Welt erhalten haben, scheint es nützlich, einige von ihnen

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<sup>14</sup> DNP 3, Sp. 696–697.

<sup>15</sup> Trollope 1827, 217–218, Anm. 303.

<sup>16</sup> Dittenberger/Purgold, 1896, 723–728, Nr. 717.

<sup>17</sup> IG 12.3.449.

mit den zwei erwähnten antiken Wettbewerben zu vergleichen. Der wahrscheinlich bekannteste und populärste Wettbewerb heute ist das *Cowal Highland Gathering*, das jährlich im August in Dunoon in Schottland stattfindet. Bei diesem Wettbewerb kann man unter anderem auch im Steinstoßen antreten, wobei auch der berühmte *Cowal stone*, der 15,4 kg schwer ist, mit einer Hand geworfen wird.<sup>18</sup> Der *Cowal stone* wurde im Jahre 2012 am weitesten geworfen: 9,69 m. Einen Stein von vergleichbarem Gewicht kann man allerdings noch weiter werfen. Dies wurde zum Beispiel im selben Jahr auf der sogenannten Dorfolympiade in Radošić in Kroatien geschafft. Dort hat der Sieger im Steinstoßen einen 16 kg schweren Stein mit einer Hand 10,39 m weit geworfen.<sup>19</sup>

Das Steinstoßen mit einer Hand ist eine Disziplin, die nicht nur Körperkraft, sondern gute Koordination, Technik und Geschwindigkeit voraussetzt. Die Technik der modernen Wettbewerbe hat mehrere Schritte, und ist wahrscheinlich der Technik des Bubon ähnlich. Im ersten Schritt wird der Stein optimal mit Händen und Fingern umfasst und bis zu den Schultern gehoben. Im zweiten Schritt werden Körper und Beine in jenen Winkel gebracht, der ein schnelles Stoßen der Hände und damit einen langen Flug des Steines ermöglicht. Der dritte und letzte Schritt ist der Stoß selbst, bei dem die Hand mit dem Stein und der ganze Körper schnell nach vorne bewegt werden. Offensichtlich ist allerdings der Unterschied im Gewicht zwischen den Steinen, die heute gestoßen werden und dem Stein des Bubon, der 143,5 kg schwer war. Als wir nach modernen Vergleichsbeispielen gesucht haben, ist uns eins im schweizerischen Interlaken aufgefallen. Dort wird ein Wettbewerb ausgetragen, bei dem der 83,5 kg schwere *Unspunnenstein* mit beiden Händen gestoßen wird. Der Rekordstoß von 4,11 m wurde im Jahre 2004 geschafft.<sup>20</sup> Dieser Steinbrocken ist allerdings 60 kg leichter als der Stein des Bubon, woraus zu schließen ist, dass Bubon seinen Stein nur mit einer Hand nicht so weit werfen konnte. Die Frage, wie weit Bubon seinen Stein geworfen hat, muss offenbleiben, obwohl wir ahnen können, dass Bubon außerordentlich stark war, falls es stimmen sollte, dass er 143,5 kg in einer Hand halten könnte. Allein das Heben eines 143,50 kg schweren Steines ist eine unglaubliche Leistung.

Das zweite Beispiel aus der Antike ist jenes von Eumastas, der auf andere Art und Weise geübt hat, nämlich indem er den Stein vom Boden gehoben hat.<sup>21</sup> Dies erinnert natürlich an die moderne sportliche Disziplin

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.cowalgathering.com>.

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Split/C5%BEupanija/tabid/76/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/175938/Default.aspx>.

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.news.ch/Erstmals+Unspunnenstein+ueber+4+m+weit+geworfen/187801/detail.htm>.

<sup>21</sup> Crowther, 1977, 269–277.

des Gewichthebens, besonders wenn wir uns besinnen, dass bis zur Erfindung der Scheibenhanteln im Jahre 1920 Sportler die Kanonenkugeln in unterschiedlichen Größen, die mit einer Eisenstange verbunden sind, benützt haben. Obwohl Gewichtheben bei den Olympischen Spielen in der Antike nicht praktiziert wurde, ist es seit der Einführung im Jahre 1896 bei den modernen Olympischen Spielen vertreten, und zwar als ein- und beidarmige Disziplin. Gewichtheben ist heute eine populäre Sportdisziplin, für deren Ursprünge angenommen werden könnte, dass verschiedenste Gegenstände, und so auch Steine, gehoben wurden. Trotz dieser Ähnlichkeiten scheint es uns aber treffender, Eumastas' Tat mit einem der heute populären Volkswettbewerbe zu vergleichen, in denen schwere Steine gehoben werden. Umso mehr, weil solche Wettbewerbe nicht selten sind, und weil so ein Stein sogar bei der *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland* verzeichnet ist.<sup>22</sup> Dieser schottische *Testing Stone of the Fianna* ist 136 kg schwer. Obwohl er sich auf der Liste der schottischen Kulturdenkmäler befindet, ist er nicht der schwerste Stein, der in modernen Wettbewerben verwendet wird. Der schwerste Stein ist der 190 kg schwere *Husafell Stone* aus Husafell auf Island. Die Wettbewerbsteilnehmer, die den Stein heben können, müssen, den Stein auf der Brust tragend, einen mindestens 50 m langen Kreis ziehen. Der Rekord von 70 m wurde 1993 geschafft.<sup>23</sup>

Ein bedeutender Unterschied zwischen Eumastas und den Wettkämpfen von heute bleibt aber die Tatsache, dass sein Stein 480 kg schwer war. Wegen dieses enormen Gewichts glauben wir, dass die antiken Wettkämpfer, und so auch Eumastas, die den Stein gehoben haben, diesen nicht noch tragen mussten.<sup>24</sup> Vergleicht man das Steinheben mit den Wettbewerben von heute, können bei der Bewertung in Bezug auf das Gewicht und die Höhe des Hebens Unterschiede beobachtet werden. Es stellt sich die Frage, wie hoch Eumastas seinen Stein gehoben hat: nur einige Zentimeter vom Boden, bis zu den Knien oder gar bis zur Brust?<sup>25</sup> Es sei erwähnt, dass heute die Wettkämpfer Steine verschiedener Form und mit bedeutend größerem Gewicht heben, aber mit Hilfe von Bändern oder anderen Hilfsmitteln. So wurde neulich, mit Hilfe einer eisernen Kette und eines Gestells, ein 1100 kg schwerer Stein einige Zentimeter vom Boden gehoben.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> [www.scotlandplaces.gov.uk/record/rcahms/258512/camusvrachan/rcahms](http://www.scotlandplaces.gov.uk/record/rcahms/258512/camusvrachan/rcahms).

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.getbig.com/boards/index.php?topic=250575.0>.

<sup>24</sup> Crowther glaubt aber, dass Leistungen von Bubon und Eumastas wohl möglich waren (1977, 270–271).

<sup>25</sup> Gardiner erwähnt unter anderem auch eine rotfigurige kylix aus dem Louvre (Inv. Nr. 96), wo ein Athlet einen riesigen Stein vom Boden zu heben versucht (1902, 2, Taf. 1).

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.northernstar.com.au/news/worlds-strongest-man-tests-his-mettle/1251900/>.

Zuvor wurde bereits erwähnt, dass Menschen von jeher in Spielen mit Steinen Vergnügen fanden und Wettbewerbe austrugen. Steine dienten, wie es scheint, auch zum Krafttraining.<sup>27</sup> So wird auch das Bild auf einer schwarzfigurigen Kylix aus Würzburg, die um 500 v. Chr. datiert wird und einen Athleten zeigt, der mit zwei Steinen übt, interpretiert.<sup>28</sup> Bei den griechischen Olympischen Spielen, die spätestens 776 vor Chr. zum ersten Mal ausgetragen wurden, waren Wettbewerbe mit Steinen nicht im Programm. Auf der Kylix ist deswegen wahrscheinlich eine gewöhnliche Trainingsszene dargestellt, weil wir annehmen, dass solche Übungen mit Steinen willkommene Kraftübungen waren.<sup>29</sup> Es sei auch daran erinnert, dass bei den Olympischen Spielen, die 1909 in Athen stattgefunden haben zum ersten und letzten Mal Steinstoßen als Disziplin vertreten war. Die Goldmedaille hat ein griechischer Athlet gewonnen, der einen 6,4 kg schweren Stein 19,035 m weit gestoßen hat.<sup>30</sup>

Letztendlich können wir diese Beobachtungen mit den Daten auf unserer Inschrift aus Salona in Verbindung bringen. Auf dieser steht, dass Pomponius Secundinus bekannt war durch ein Spiel mit Steinen von 40, 50 und 100. Diese Ziffern beziehen sich auf Libra (Pfund), die römische Gewichtseinheit, wobei eine Libra 326,16 g beträgt.<sup>31</sup> Das bedeutet, dass die Steine unseres Pomponius Secundinus drei Gewichtsklassen entsprachen – 13,046 kg, 16,308 kg und 32,616 kg. Zuvor wurde bereits erwähnt, dass das Gewicht der Steine gewählt wurde, je nachdem, welche Übung man mit ihnen ausführen wollte, bzw. ob man sie nur heben oder nach dem Heben auch stoßen wollte. Die Steine, die einst nur gehoben wurden, waren bedeutend schwerer als die Maße auf der Inschrift aus Salona. Wir haben gesehen, dass auch die Steine, die heute gehoben werden, ein bedeutend größeres Gewicht haben. Der Stein des Bubon mit 143,5 kg, den Bubon nicht nur gehoben, sondern auch mit einer Hand über den Kopf geworfen hat, war fast fünfmal schwerer als der schwerste Stein des Secundinus. Diese Angaben leiten uns zur Annahme, dass Pomponius Secundinus sich nicht aufgrund von Heben der Steine einen Namen gemacht hat, weil das Gewicht dieser Steine bedeutend grösser sein sollte. Im Gegensatz dazu werden heute beim Steinstoßen ähnliche Gewichte verwendet wie jene, die in der Inschrift erwähnt werden. So ist zum Beispiel der *Cowal stone* 15,4 kg schwer. Eine etruskische Bronzestatue aus Bologna zeigt einen

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<sup>27</sup> Decker, 1995, 148, Abb. 60.

<sup>28</sup> Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg, Inv. Nr. L 476.

<sup>29</sup> Decker, 1995, 143–159, Abb. 60; Lee, 1988, 110–118.

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.sports-reference.com/olympics/summer/1906/ATH/mens-stone-throw.html>.

<sup>31</sup> Zum Problem der Industriellen Nominierung siehe: Visy, 1991 (1992), 223–234.

Athleten beim Stoßen eines glatten, länglichen Gegenstandes, wahrscheinlich eines Steines, der seinen Proportionen nach zu urteilen, nicht besonders schwer war.<sup>32</sup> Demzufolge könnte man annehmen, dass Secundinus sich mit Steinstoßen einen Namen gemacht hat. Allerdings ist beim Steinstoßen neben dem Gewicht auch die Weite des Wurfes von größter Bedeutung, denn sie ist ausschlaggebend für den Erfolg in dieser Disziplin. Da auf der Inschrift aus Salona eine Weite nicht angegeben ist, sondern nur drei verschiedene Gewichte von 40, 50 und 100 Libra erwähnt werden, nehmen wir an, dass sich Secundinus auch nicht im Steinstoßen auszeichnete.

Jetzt kann man mit Recht die Frage stellen, in welcher Disziplin sich Secundinus eigentlich einen Namen gemacht hat. Da wir aber keine Angaben darüber besitzen, was eigentlich Secundinus mit diesen Steinen gemacht hat, können wir nur Spekulationen anstellen. Letztendlich können wir auch annehmen, aufgrund der in der Inschrift fehlenden, aber für die Sportübungen bedeutenden Maßangaben, dass Secundinus seine Tage mit Steinspielen verbrachte, ohne dabei ein sportliches Ergebnis erzielen zu wollen.<sup>33</sup> In diesem Falle sollten wir diese Inschrift nicht mehr mit Sportübungen in Verbindung bringen, sondern das Verb *lusit* sollten wir in seiner ursprünglichen Deutung als *spielen* verstehen. Es stellt sich natürlich jetzt die Frage, warum auf der Inschrift das Gewicht dieser Steine vermerkt ist, und wozu sie dienten. Wenn wir uns vor Augen halten, dass Marcus Pomponius Zosimus, der das erwähnte Grabmal errichten ließ, ein Holzhändler war, ergibt sich die Möglichkeit, dass Secundinus' Spielsteine eigentlich Steingewichte des Händlers waren, und die vorhandenen Zahlen Gewichtseinheiten seiner Waage sind. Da uns große römische Steingewichte für Schwerlasten erhalten geblieben sind, kann man feststellen, dass die auch Maße haben, wie sie auf unserer Salonitaner Inschrift vorkommen.<sup>34</sup> Secundinus' Spielsteine waren schwer, wie wir auf der Inschrift lesen können, was zur Annahme führen kann, dass er womöglich nicht mehr im Knabenalter, sondern älter war.

Am Ende bleibt uns festzustellen, dass, obwohl die Angaben in der Inschrift unvollständig erscheinen, Secundinus aufgrund eines Spiels mit Steinen in seiner alltäglichen Umgebung allgemein bekannt war. Unter besonderen, auch gesundheitlichen, Umständen mochte Secundinus' Vorliebe selbstverständlich erscheinen. Das mag auch der Grund gewesen sein,

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<sup>32</sup> Museo civico Archeologico, Bologna, Inv. Nr. IT 1148. Einige Autoren behaupten, dass der Gegenstand, den der Athlet gerade zu werfen gedenkt, ein *solos* ist. Siehe: Vanhove 1992, 211, Nr. 70.

<sup>33</sup> Ich bin I. Weiler für einen wertvollen Literaturhinweis sowie auch M. Hainzmann für das anregende Gespräch sehr zu Dank verpflichtet.

<sup>34</sup> Mutz, 1983, 55–56, Abb. 37 und 38,11; Garbsch, 1993, 276, Abb.2 und 3,1–2; In Capua (Museo Campano) befindet sich ein römisches Relief mit der Darstellung einer ganz großen Waage mit Steingewichten. Siehe: Corti, 2001, 146, Taf. 78.

warum Marcus Pomponius Zosimus es auch nicht für nötig gefunden hat, beim Aufstellen des Denkmals weitere Angaben hinzuzufügen und hervorzuheben. Wenn diese Annahme stimmen sollte, wird es auch etwas klarer, warum Marcus Pomponius Zosimus auf dem Grabstein nicht angegeben hatte, in welcher Art von Verwandtschaftsbeziehung er mit Secundinus stand.

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ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
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DNP	<i>Der Neue Pauly</i>
EDCS	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss-Slaby</i>
EDH	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> 111
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic studies</i>
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»**There's nothing worse than athletes**«  
**Criticism of Athletics and Professionalism  
in the Archaic and Classical Periods**

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Victory in the great athletic games was widely seen in the Greek world as one of the summits of human achievement. Yet a surprisingly large number of texts present a negative view of athletics, including Xenophanes fr. 2 West and Euripides fr. 282 *TrGF*. The reasons for this criticism – which has variously been interpreted as a critique of the aristocracy, a polemic against professionalism in sport or the reaction of a minority of intellectuals – remain obscure. This paper argues that opposition to athletics was not political but part of a longstanding debate on the relative merits of different forms of skill (τέχνη). This debate was prompted by widespread economic specialisation and professionalism in the fields of athletics, poetry and philosophy (among others). The criticism of athletics becomes part of a strategy, by which the professional promotes his own form of τέχνη, with the implicit aim of winning respect and financial rewards. Professionals operated in a market for knowledge, one in which they had to sell their skills, justify their fees and counter common prejudices against paid work. Our texts reflect the tendency for professionals to achieve these aims by launching pre-emptive attacks upon their competitors. Athletes became a common target for such invective because their unwavering popularity and success at eliciting rewards in the archaic and classical periods made them a constant target of envy from other professionals.

### **Introduction**

Victory in the great athletic games was, for Pindar and his patrons, one of the summits of human achievement, comparable with the deeds of ancient heroes. Criticism of athletics in antiquity represents a striking and, for the enthusiastic student of ancient sport, even disturbing challenge to this ideal. Despite firm evidence for the unwavering popularity of athletics in the ancient world, the anti-athletic tradition is striking both in its ubiquity and its longevity. Two poems cited together by Athenaeus, Xenophanes fr. 2 West and Euripides fr. 282 *TrGF*, stand out as exceptionally full and comprehensive polemics, yet the views expressed in these works are echoed frequently in literary works of multiple genres and all periods.<sup>1</sup> Each critique contains some or all of the same features: a) the usefulness of

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<sup>1</sup> Tyr. fr. 12 West; Eur. *El.* 882–3; Ar. *Eq.* 535; Eupolis fr. 129 K–A; [Hippoc.] *Alim.* 34; Pl. *Ap.* 36d6–9; Xen. *Mem.* 3.12.1, *Symp.* 2.17; Isocr. 4.1, 15.250, *Epist.* 8.5; Timocles fr. 8 K–A; Dio Chrys. 9.10–13, Diog. Laert. 1.55–56, 6.2.27; Diod. Sic. 9.2.5; Plut. *Phil.* 3.2–5, *Agex.* 20.1; Gal. *adhortatio* 9–14.

athletics and athletes to both the family and the state, in peace and in war, is questioned; b) it is implied that other practices are more useful; and thus c) the decision to grant athletes honours and/or material rewards is declared suspect.

Not surprisingly this tradition – and the Xenophanes and Euripides fragments in particular – have been subjected to frequent scrutiny by scholars. A central problem is how to reconcile such hostile sentiment with the evidence for the unwavering popularity of athletics in all periods of Greek history. A common conclusion, and one broadly accepted by the most recent commentator on the tradition, is that the critics represent a minority view: an exception that proves the rule of the pre-eminence of athletes and the dominance of athletics among the citizens and practices of the ancient Greek state.<sup>2</sup>

But what are the motivations behind these dissenting voices? Three different broad strands of interpretation are discernible. First, on the understanding that athletics was predominantly an elite practice at least until the fifth century BC, it has been suggested that an attack on athletics is tantamount to, and intelligible as, an attack upon the aristocracy.<sup>3</sup> This class may be defined as the wealthiest citizens, capable of paying liturgies and living a life of leisure off the income of their estates.<sup>4</sup> Second, the opposite approach has also been taken, whereby professional athletes are criticised by elite writers.<sup>5</sup> These two views are similar in that they both presuppose a political motivation but disagree on which side of the political spectrum these authors belong. As I will argue, however, neither of these explanations is entirely supported by the texts, since at no point is the existing wealth of athletes criticised, but rather the material rewards they receive. On the other hand, there is no explicit condemnation of such

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<sup>2</sup> Papakonstantinou 2014, 323; cf. García Soler 2010, 153 on the new »discourse of a limited circle of intellectuals ... who never managed to convince the masses«; Marcovich 1978, 18 = 1991, 78 on »Xenophanes' rebellious attack on the traditionally highly esteemed *Ὀλυμπιονίκαι*«; on Euripides see Pritchard 2003, 325 and 2013, 153; on Isocrates see Seck 1976, 353; Usher 1990, 149–150.

<sup>3</sup> On Xenophanes see Jaeger 1934, 230–234; Biliński 1961 31–33; on Euripides fr. 282 see Pritchard 2003, 324–325; 2013, 152–155; on Eupolis fr. 129 K–A see Telò 2007, 577–6; on Euripides *Electra* see Arnott 1981.

<sup>4</sup> See Pritchard 2013, 3–7.

<sup>5</sup> Professionalism: see Gardiner 1930, 99–100; Harris 1964, 47; Bernadini 1980, 83–84; Pechstein 1998, 74. Bowra 1938, 271 argued Xenophanes belonged to »aristocratic order of society«, though at a time when professionalism was common neither among athletes, nor poets; cf. Bernadini 1980, 90 *Le parole di Senofane ... sono polemicamente rivolte ai membri della sua stessa classe, cioè agli aristocratici*; and Papakonstantinou 2014, 322, who sees Xenophanes' poem as part of a »debate, conducted primarily within the ranks of the elites, on the meaning and value of traditional concepts and practices.«

payment in general, but rather a conviction that others are more deserving of those same rewards.

The final strand of interpretation views the debate as one less concerned with opposing political classes and more as a discussion of the relative merits of intellectual and physical ability: in other words a battle between »brains and brawn«, or athletes and what John Harris has termed »the nerds«. <sup>6</sup> Modern critics of the disproportionate amount of attention and money paid to today's sportsmen, especially footballers, are not hard to find; and scholars have had little difficulty in picturing the likes of Xenophanes and Euripides among a party of jaded intellectuals. <sup>7</sup> Yet a simple dichotomy between intellectuals and sportsmen cannot explain the tradition as a whole, since many of these critics were also proponents of physical education, especially as training for warfare, and merely doubted the efficacy of athletic training.

What is needed, I suggest, is an approach that takes account of the tradition as a whole and attempts to understand it within its broader context of invective against rival professions and their practitioners. Attacks on athletics should not be seen in isolation, but as part of a long-running debate on the relative merits of different skills, in which all the participants have as their main aim the promotion of their own particular field through the denigration of another. In his study of interactions between athletics and drama, Larmour suggested that apparent rivalry between poets and athletes can be explained by the fact that both groups were competing in parallel contests of skill. <sup>8</sup> Moreover, as Harris has demonstrated in his study of Socrates' criticism of athletes in Plato's *Apology*, invectives against athletes can be used not primarily to denigrate athletes, but to demonstrate the speaker's particular form of skill (σοφία). <sup>9</sup> In what follows, I will attempt to build on these insights by examining the rhetorical claims of a wide range of professional groups.

### The Value of Athletics

Criticism of athletics is never disinterested, but always aims to suggest that another practice is more useful and that its practitioners are therefore more worthy of honours and rewards. In many cases, athletics is contrasted with

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<sup>6</sup> Harris 2009. On Euripides the »intellectual« see the bibliography at Pechstein 1998, 76–77.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Pritchard 2003, 325 on Euripides fr. 282, »indignant advice ... [which is] often heard today amongst the chattering classes of sports-mad Australia«.

<sup>8</sup> Larmour 1999, 41–44.

<sup>9</sup> Harris 2009, 159, 167–189.

intellectual activities in general. These cover a wide range of different skills. For Xenophanes it is his wisdom that is better than strength and makes him more worthy of reward:

οὐκ ἐὼν ἄξιος ὥσπερ ἐγώ· ῥώμης γὰρ ἀμείνων  
ἀνδρῶν ἢ δ' ἵππων ἡμετέρη σοφίη.

(fr. 2.11–12).

Euripides' speaker in the *Autolycus* seems to echo Xenophanes by proposing the wise and the good (σοφούς τε κάγαθούς fr. 282.23) as more suitable recipients of the honours traditionally granted to useless (ἀχρείους 15) athletes. A character in Eupolis' *Demes* (fr. 129 K–A) makes a similar comparison between a victorious runner and the good and *useful* citizen (ἀγαθὸς ἢ καὶ χρήσιμος πολίτης).<sup>10</sup> This vague category of the good and wise citizen is clarified a little in the *Autolycus*, where Euripides singles out those who prevent civil disorder with words (ὅστις τε μύθοις ἔργ' ἀπαλλάσσει κακά 26). This line echoes the dichotomy made by Odysseus between physical form and the ability to speak in public:

οὕτως οὐ πάντεσσι θεοὶ χαρίεντα διδοῦσιν  
ἀνδράσιν, οὔτε φηὴν οὔτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτ' ἀγορητῶν.

(Od. 8.167f.)

Euripides may thus be invoking both the claims of poets, who, as Xenophanes claims, promote good order (εὐνομίη) in cities, and of orators under the general label of those who are able to speak.<sup>11</sup>

In another possible echo of Xenophanes, Isocrates promotes the counsel of the man who thinks well, contrasting the strength of the body (τὰς μὲν τῶν σωματίων εὐτυχίας 4.1; ῥώμη 4.2) with that of the mind/soul (ψυχῆ). On three occasions he reflects on the superiority of those who cultivate the mind, and on each occasion he has a different group or individual in mind. In the *prooemium* of the *Panegyricus* (4.1–2), Isocrates refers obliquely to his ability to give good advice as an orator; in the *Antidosis*, as part of the case for his educational programme, he includes himself and his students among those who study philosophy (τῶν φιλοσοφούντων 15.250); while the letter to the rulers of Mytilene is concerned with the fate of the musician

<sup>10</sup> Runner (δραμών) is the reading of Athenaeus 408d. Storey 2003, 141 interprets a variant reading βαλών as a reference to *kottabos*. For a detailed defence of Athenaeus' text see Teldò 2007, 575–86. Even if *kottabos* is the contest referred to here, this fragment should still be seen as part of the anti-athletic tradition since *kottabos* can be mentioned in terms that evoke athletic victory (cf. Soph. fr. 537 *TrGF*) and Eupolis' criticism contains the main elements common to the tradition.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Giannini 1982, 67, who suggests that the formula σοφούς τε κάγαθούς may refer to two separate groups: poets (σοφοί) and statesmen (ἀγαθοί). However, as Pechstein argues (1998, 68; cf. Krumeich *et al.* 1999, 411) σοφία can imply rhetorical skill; yet by the same token it need imply that rhetoric is the only skill alluded to.

Agenor (*Epist.* 8.5). Like Xenophanes and Euripides, he stresses that these intellectual activities are of greater value to others than athletics (ἀνδρὸς εὖ φρονήσαντος ἅπαντες ἄν ἀπολαύσειαν 4.2). The chorus of *Clouds* similarly commend to Strepsiades the ways of Socrates and his pupils over the gymnasia and other mindless practices (γυμνασίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνοήτων 417). Socrates himself, in Plato's *Apology*, uses athletics as a means of measuring the benefits his particular brand of wisdom have conferred on Athens. In considering what he, like Xenophanes, *deserves* to suffer in return for the benefits of his teaching (τί οὖν εἰμι ἄξιος παθεῖν τοιοῦτος ὢν; *Pl. Ap.* 36d), he judges himself more worthy of reward than equestrian victors at Olympia. The main point at issue is the relative worth of the speaker's wisdom when compared to the achievements of athletes. The precise form of that wisdom, though often unspecified, depends on the individual speaker and his particular agenda.

The contrast is, however, less between »brains and brawn« and more the relative merits of athletics and any occupation or practice an author wishes to promote. According to Xenophanes, strength is merely less beneficial than his own wisdom; while Isocrates (15.181) concedes that athletics, though subordinate to the more important training of the soul, is still a fundamental part of general education. Nowhere in the tradition is the importance of a good physique explicitly challenged. Physical fitness is always essential in warfare and therefore beneficial for the soldier and useful to the state. Yet as our earliest source, Tyrtaeus (fr. 12 West), notes, excellence in sport is not the same as proven ability in war and should not therefore be honoured as highly. To Xenophon's Socrates, a good body is essential for war – the major contest, unlike Olympia, for which his companion Epigenes should train – and therefore of the utmost utility; yet athletics is never suggested as a method for keeping fit, despite the fact that it was the only systematic physical training available in Athens.<sup>12</sup>

Similarly Euripides' *Autolycus* (19–23) tacitly concedes the importance of warfare, yet argues instead that athletic training fails to prepare the sportsman for war, since no one fights in a battle with a discus or by boxing. In Euripides' *Electra*, a play replete with athletic metaphors, Electra greets and crowns Orestes like an athletic victor (800–802), but stresses that his achievement is much greater by dismissing a running race, unlike actual fighting, as fundamentally useless (οὐκ ἀχρεῖον ἔκπλεθρον δραμῶν 883).<sup>13</sup> Her main aim is not to make a serious attack on athletes, as Arnott argued,

<sup>12</sup> ἢ δοκεῖ σοι μικρὸς εἶναι ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους ἀγών; *Mem.* 3.12.1; cf. *Mem.* 3.5; *Oec.* 11.11–18: the fitness regime of Ischomachus does not include athletics. On military training see van Wees 2004, 87–101.

<sup>13</sup> Athletic metaphors: runner 824–825, 953–956; crown 872, 882; on 386–390 and parallels with fr. 282 see Denniston 1939, 96–97; Pechstein 1998, 79–82; Larmour 1999, 63.

which would undermine the comparison between Orestes and athletic victors, but to further stress the superiority of Orestes' victory above and beyond what is normally regarded as one of the highest human achievements.<sup>14</sup>

The importance of physical fitness is thus unassailable; yet athletic training may be criticised for damaging the body, thus making it useless in warfare when it should have been most useful: a belief reputedly held by Philopoemen.<sup>15</sup> Medical texts do not question the value of physical health, but rather the ability of athletics and athletic training to improve the body when compared with their own discipline. The Hippocratic corpus argues that the discipline of medicine is better than athletic training, since in specialising on one particular part of the body, and in prioritising strength before all else, regimes prescribed by athletic trainers could actually damage an athlete's health.<sup>16</sup> Elsewhere, it is conceded that athletics may form part of a healthy regimen, but only if the training is not excessive and there is a correct balance between diet and exercise.<sup>17</sup>

### Specialisation and Competition

Polemics against athletes are thus intended to promote another skill over and above athletics. They are common not despite the popularity of athletics but rather because of it, since the rewards they received were always arguably disproportionate to the value they provided spectators. Athletics was therefore a useful target for those who wished to argue that more attention be paid to their own skills and achievements.

Behind this debate lies the specialisation of knowledge or skill (*σοφία/τέχνη*). As we have seen, the concept of defined fields of ability and expertise can be found as early as Homer. For Odysseus not everyone can be both good at speaking and be beautiful, just as for Euryalus men can be divided into athletes and traders.<sup>18</sup> Expertise in more than one field is possible, as Odysseus proves with his discus throw, but is exceptional. Eumaeus lists groups of specialists – prophets, doctors, carpenters, and poets – under the category of »public workers« (*δημιοεργοί*):

<sup>14</sup> Arnott 1981, 188–90; *contra* Cropp 1988, 159.

<sup>15</sup> *πάσαν ἀθλησιν ἐξέβαλλεν, ὡς τὰ χρησιμώτατα τῶν σωμάτων εἰς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἀγῶνας ἄχρηστα ποιοῦσαν*. Plut. *Philipoem.* 3.5.

<sup>16</sup> ἔξις ὑγιεινῆς κρείσσω ἐν πᾶσιν [Hippoc.] *alim.* 34; cf. Pl. *Resp.* 404a; Xen. *Symp.* 2.17: athletics only improves part of the body, unlike dancing; Gal. *adhortatio* 9–14.

<sup>17</sup> *De diaeta* 1.2.48–57, 35.94–99, *de diaeta salubri* 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Od.* 8.159–164, 166–185.

μάντιν ἢ ἰητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων,  
καὶ θέσπιν αἰοιδόν, ὃ κεν τέρπησιν αἰείδων.  
οὔτοι γὰρ κλητοὶ γε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν·

(*Od.* 17.384–6)

The specialist nature of these skills is demonstrated by the fact that these craftsmen are called (κλητοί) from abroad. Not every community can be expected to have either a skilled carpenter or a skilled poet; yet they have a value and supply a general need, hence their role as »public workers«.

Lists of different occupations and skills, often including but not limited to those mentioned by Eumaeus, are common in both the archaic and classical periods.<sup>19</sup> Economic specialisation was certainly complex and well-advanced in classical Athens, where Edward Harris has identified no fewer than one hundred and seventy occupations.<sup>20</sup> As in the *Odyssey*, although it is possible for one person to master several forms of τέχνη to some degree, because of the training involved and the need for natural talent (the gift of the particular divine patron of each art) specialisation was common. Solon indicates that each person who wishes to earn a living from one of his list of occupations strives in his own way (σπεύδει δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος fr. 13.43). Similarly, the author of the Hippocratic *Ancient Medicine* (1.13–16, 4.1–4; cf. *de arte* 5.30–35, 8.29–41) defines a τέχνη as something that must be learned and in which not everyone has an equal measure of skill or ability: a definition he believes holds true both for medicine and other arts. Certain branches of knowledge, moreover, such as medicine, could in theory only be disclosed to those students initiated into the profession.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Hes. *Op.* 25–26 (potter, carpenter, poet, beggar); Solon fr. 13.43–62 (fisherman, ploughman, craftsman, poet, prophet, doctor); [Aesch.] *PV* 441–506 (skills of house-building, astronomy, mathematics, writing, husbandry, sailing, medicine, prophecy and metallurgy); Soph. *Ant.* 334–64 (skills of seafaring, ploughing, hunting and fishing, husbandry, communal living and house-building, medicine); Ar. *Nub.* 331–334 (sophists, prophets (Θουριομάντιες), doctors (ιατροτέχνας), dithyrambic poets (κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἀσματοκάμπτας) and idlers (ἀργούς); Ar. *Av.* 905–1057 (poet, oracle-monger, astronomer/surveyor, law-salesmen); Pl. *Ap.* 20c–22d (politicians, poets, craftsmen); Pl. *Phaedr.* 248d1–e2 (philosopher; king; politician/financier; gymnast/doctor (φιλοπόνου γυμναστικού ἢ περὶ σώματος ἵασίν τιος ἐσομένου); prophet; poet or artist; craftsman/farmer; sophist; tyrant); Pl. *Prot.* 316d1–e3 (poets, prophets, athletics (γυμναστική), music); Pl. *Resp.* 369b5–370a4 (minimum of five specialists needed to start a city: a farmer, house-builder, weaver, cobbler and doctor); Pl. *Gorg.* 464b (δικαιοσύνη, νομοθετική, γυμναστική, ἱατρική).

<sup>20</sup> Harris 2002, 88–99. In a paper at the recent conference »Skilled Labour and Professionalism in Ancient Greece and Rome«, held at the University of Nottingham on the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of June 2016, David Lewis suggested that the figure may be even higher at around two hundred. An edited volume based on the proceedings of the conference is in progress.

<sup>21</sup> [Hippoc.] *Jusj.* 3; cf. Xen. *Oec.* 15.11.



The end result of training and frequent practice was a distinction between the expert (τεχνίτης/δημιουργός) and the layman (ιδιώτης).

Competition seems to have been fierce both within and, most importantly for our purposes, between separate fields. In categorising specialists as δημοεργοί, Eumaeus implies that each one provides a service of some value that may be in demand in the communities visited by such specialists. Yet the relative value of each branch of expertise was always open to debate by rival groups of δημοεργοί. Poets, as we have seen in the case of Xenophanes, are well placed to demonstrate the advantages of their particular forms of σοφία/τέχνη. And as with Xenophanes, poets seek to demonstrate not only their own expertise but also the superiority of their particular kind of wisdom. Hesiod declares that he has no knowledge of seafaring (οὔτε τι ναυτιλῆς σεσοφισμένος οὔτε τι νηῶν, *Op.* 649) – which is termed a τέχνη in the *Odyssey* (5.270) and appears in Solon’s list of occupations (fr. 13.43–46 West) – but nevertheless he embarks on the discussion because of the special knowledge in singing granted by the Muses, the divine patron of poets (Μοῦσαι γάρ μ’ ἐδίδαξαν ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον ἀείδειν 661). This belief in the superiority of a particular form of knowledge is the same fallacy identified by Socrates in politicians, poets and craftsmen: each group believes it is the wisest because it has mastered one form of τέχνη.<sup>22</sup> Criticism of one form of τέχνη should be seen as a strategy for promoting another. As the author of the Hippocratic treatise *On the Art* (Περὶ Τέχνης) observed, those who »make an art« out of criticising other forms of τέχνη do so primarily not to expose their rivals but to display their own knowledge.<sup>23</sup>

Athletes and athletic trainers had entered this nexus of experts by at least the early fifth century. Protagoras, in Plato’s dialogue, lists γυμναστική as a form of sophistic skill (τὴν σοφιστικὴν τέχνην *Prot.* 316d3) and mentions two examples of experts in this field, Iccus of Taras and Herodicus of Sylumbria.<sup>24</sup> The former was an Olympic victor in the pentathlon who later became a trainer.<sup>25</sup> The latter, who is said to be still alive at the dramatic date of the dialogue (316d10–e1), is also credited by Plato (*Resp.* 406a–b) with creating a new τέχνη (406b9) out of a combination of γυμναστική and medicine, by which he was able to lengthen his life. Although, as Pleket notes, the term τέχνη is most commonly applied to trainers rather than competing athletes themselves, this is something of a false dichotomy since

<sup>22</sup> διὰ τὸ τὴν τέχνην καλῶς ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἕκαστος ἡξίου καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ μέγιστα σοφώτατος εἶναι *Pl. Ap.* 22d8–9.

<sup>23</sup> εἰσὶ τινες οἱ τέχνην πεποιήνται τὸ τὰς τέχνας αἰσχροπεῖν, ὡς μὲν οἴονται οἱ τοῦτο διαπρησσόμενοι, οὐχ ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἀλλ’ ἱστορῆς οἰκείης ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι. 1.1–3.

<sup>24</sup> On athletics as a τέχνη cf. Aesch. fr. 78c.55 *TrGF*; *Pl. Alc.* I 108c9–10; *Resp.* 406ab; *Gorg.* 520cd; *Leg.* 840a; *Isoc.* 15.181–185; *Arist. Pol.* 1279a1–10, 1288b10–22.

<sup>25</sup> ὕστερον γυμναστής ἄριστος λέγεται τῶν ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι *Paus.* 6.10.5; *Pl. Leg.* 840a.

competing athletes not only commonly received training but could also, like Iccus, become trainers themselves in the latter part of their careers.<sup>26</sup> Again athletics, like medicine, is shown to be a τέχνη because it is teachable and defined by what it teaches. A regimen of regular practice and special diets distinguished competitive athletes from amateurs. A trained athlete, like a trained doctor, could thus be described as the opposite of a layman (ιδιώτης) in his particular field.<sup>27</sup> As a separate occupation and field of knowledge, it was possible to compare athletics to with other species of τέχνη. Because of the trainer's interest in diet, athletics is commonly paired with medicine, though other parallel fields include poetry and rhetoric.<sup>28</sup> It is no coincidence that many of the critics of athletics were practitioners in these fields.

Galen claims that athletics only became a τέχνη shortly before the time of Plato at a time when athletes first began to specialise on training for specific events: a view which Pleket has taken seriously.<sup>29</sup> There is little or no evidence to support this claim, however, as specialisation seems to have been common in the sixth and early fifth centuries, to the extent that athletes and their families tend to win victories exclusively in either the equestrian, running events or field events. Examples include Pheidolus of Corinth and his sons, who in the late sixth century won three victories at Olympia and one at Isthmia all for the one event of the single horse race.<sup>30</sup> None of Pindar's equestrian victors was ever successful in track and field events. On the other hand, Dandis of Argos, while celebrating in around 472 a record of multiple victories at all four crown games as well as other contests, styled himself as a stadion runner (σταδιοδρόμος).<sup>31</sup> Athletes

<sup>26</sup> Pleket 1975, 82–83 = 2010, 171. On athletics and education see Pritchard 2003, 301–307 = 2013, 46–53, Miller 2004, 186–195; on trainers in competitive sport c. 550–440, see Nicholson 2005, 2–17 and 119–134.

<sup>27</sup> τὰ δὲ ὕγια ἐς εὐεξίην μὲν γυμναζομένοισιν ἀγαθὰ, ἀσθενέουσι δὲ καὶ ιδιώτησιν ἰσχυρότερα [Hippoc.] *de affectionibus* 52.21–2; ἀθληταὶ ιδιώταις Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1116b12–13; cf. ὡς ιδιωτικῶς, ἔφη, τὸ σῶμα ἔχεις Xen. *Mem.* 3.12.1; εὖ τὸ σῶμα ἔχων καὶ μὴ ιδιωτικῶς Pl. *Leg.* 839e2–3; doctors: καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ ιδιώτης Thuc. 2.48.3; ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἰατρικῆς ιδιώται Pl. *Prot.* 345a6.

<sup>28</sup> Γυμναστική δὲ καὶ ἰητρική ὑπεναντία πέφυκεν [Hippoc.] *de locis* 35; cf. *VM* 4.5–8.

<sup>29</sup> ἤρξατο γὰρ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν τῶν Πλάτωνος χρόνων ἡ τέχνη τῶν γυμναστῶν, ὅτε περ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἐπιτήδευμα συνέστη. Gal. *Thrasymbulus* 33; Pleket 1975, 81–82 = 2010, 169–170; 1992, 151.

<sup>30</sup> Ἀνακρέων *Anth. Pal.* 6.135 = *FGE* 502–3; Paus. 6.13.9 = Anon. *FGE* 1484–5; Ebert 1972, 46–48, nos. 6 and 7.

<sup>31</sup> Ὀϊμόνιδης *Anth. Pal.* 13.14.1 = *FGE* 822–826 = Ebert 1972, 66–69, no. 15; Olympic victories are known for the δίαυλος in 476 (*P.Oxy.* 222 col. 1.8) and στάδιον in 472 (Diod. Sic. 11.53.1; Dion. Hal. 9.37.1). Ebert supposes a career of fourteen years from around 481 to 467. Other fifth century victors in multiple footraces include Ergoteles of Himera in the δόλιχος around 470 (*SEG* 11.1223; Pind. *Ol.* 12; Paus. 6.4.11, Ebert 1972, 79–82,

specialising in combat events include such great names as Milo of Croton (who won six Olympic victories in wrestling between 540 and 520, six at Delphi, nine at Nemea and ten at the Isthmus).<sup>32</sup> Theogenes of Thasos' victories in the crown games during the first quarter of the fifth century were won exclusively either in the contests for boxing or the *παγκρατίον*.<sup>33</sup> It is possible that Galen was guilty of the not uncommon mistake of synchronising the origin of a practice with the date of the earliest and most abundant evidence available. He may also have been influenced by the ideal of the versatile athletic hero, who in Homer competed in a variety of games.<sup>34</sup> No historical athlete, however, is known to have competed at a serious level in as many events.

If athletes can be seen as working in parallel with practitioners of other forms of *τέχνη*, then it is probable that the anti-athletic traditions forms but one side of the debate on the relative value of these different skills. Despite their privileged status, athletes were active participants in this debate: in addition to passively receiving honours they also commissioned memorials to their achievements. As Leslie Kurke argued, Pindar's epinicia need to be understood as demonstrating the benefits the victor confers on the state through his success at the games.<sup>35</sup> In particular, athletes promise to increase the fame of their city and make it powerful in war.<sup>36</sup>

Although criticism of athletics generally only presents one side of the debate, dramatists appear to have used contemporary discussions on the value of both athletics and other forms of *τέχνη* as the basis for rhetorical contests (*ἀγῶνες*). Aristophanes' *Clouds* (889–1130) juxtaposed two forms of education (*παιδεία*, 961; *σοφία* 899, 925, 1024): one, involving the new rhetorical and sophistic training, centred on the agora and another, the old education, based in part in the gymnasium and palaestra. The speaker in the Autolycus seems to be involved in just such a contest, since, like Tyrtaeus, he is eager to undermine the suggestion that athletics is a good preparation for war, a key argument in favour of athletics.<sup>37</sup> We can reconstruct both

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no. 20) and Nicolaidas of Corinth ([Simonid.] *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 = *FGE* 857–888 = Ebert, 1972, 92–96, no. 26).

<sup>32</sup> τοῦ ... παλαιστῆος Μίλωνος *Hdt.* 3.137.8; victories: Paus. 6.13.5; >Simonid.< *A. Plan.* 24 = *FGE* 784–785; see Moretti 1957, 122; Poliakoff 1987, 117–119.

<sup>33</sup> Theogenes: Paus. 6.6.5–6; *Syll.*<sup>4</sup> 36, 39–41 = Ebert 1972, 118–126, no. 37; see Poliakoff 1987, 121–122.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. πάντα γὰρ οὐ κακός εἰμι, μετ' ἀνδράσιν ὅσσοι ἄεθλοι *Od.* 8.214; cf. *Soph. El.* 690–692: Orestes competes in all the events at Delphi.

<sup>35</sup> Kurke 1991.

<sup>36</sup> See Kurke 1993, 134 = 2010, 208.

<sup>37</sup> Sutton 1980, 60 noting that Autolycus is in one tradition Heracles' trainer in wrestling ([Apollod.] *Bibl.* 2.4.9), suggests a debate, reminiscent of that in *Clouds*, on what form of education the young Heracles should pursue.

sides of the debate from the fragments of Euripides' *Antiope*. Zethus contrasts what he sees as useful occupations (public speaking and warfare) with the arguably useless τέχνη of music. He claims that music not only is less valuable because it is less useful, but also because it makes a naturally good man worse:

πῶς γὰρ σοφὸν τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἥτις εὐφυᾶ  
λαβοῦσα τέχνη φῶτ' ἔθηκε χεῖρονα;  
(fr. 186 TrGF).

This is exactly the same argument as that used by the speaker in the *Autolycus*, but this time deployed against a different practice: music. Both argue that their opponents are unwilling to work (ἀργὸς μὲν οἴκοις καὶ πόλει γενήσεται fr. 187.4; οὐδ' αὖ πένεσθαι fr. 282.7); that their desire for pleasure or food is a drain on their household's resources (κενοῖσιν ἐγκατοικήσεις δόμοις fr. 188.6; fr. 282.4–6); and that they fail to benefit the city either in war or counsel (fr. 185; fr. 282.16–28). Equally Amphion does not change the terms of the debate (for example by suggesting that art should be valued for its own sake). Instead he, like Xenophanes, simply turns the argument back against Zethus, arguing that his skill is in fact *more* beneficial because, although admittedly it does not improve the body, it makes a more important contribution in improving the mind (εἰ γὰρ εὖ φρονεῖν ἔχω, / κρεῖσσον τόδ' ἐστὶ καρτεροῦ βραχίονος fr. 199.2–3).

Athletes were not the only possible target of invective and we may presuppose on the part of the opponents of athletics an anxiety, or at least awareness, that the same criticisms could be levelled against them. Isocrates' criticism of athletes at the Olympic games of 380 needs to be compared with another Olympic oration, delivered by Lysias eight years before. The *prooemium* of Lysias' speech has the same aim as that of Isocrates: to gain the audience's attention and good will. They both mention potential competitors for their attention: in the case of Isocrates it is the athletes, whom visitors to the festival have primarily come to see; however Lysias differentiates himself from a different type of performer, yet one no less prevalent at the festival: the professional sophist.<sup>38</sup> Isocrates tries to claim that the Olympia is exclusively a contest of strength and thus suggests that the prize for which he is competing is the fame for having advised his listeners well.<sup>39</sup> Lysias, by contrast, states that Heracles originally founded the festival not just as a physical competition, but also as a venue for intellectual display (ἀγῶνα μὲν σωμάτων ἐποίησεν ... γνώμης δ' ἐπίδειξιν 33.3). The comparison is therefore not between athletes and orators but

<sup>38</sup> See Tell 2007.

<sup>39</sup> ἱκανὸν νομίσας ἄθλον ἔσεσθαί μοι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου γενησομένην ἤκω συμβουλευέσων *Panyn*. 3.

between different types of speaker: the true orator and the sophist. The effect is the same, however, since both comparisons stress the speaker's ability to benefit his audience in contrast to their opponents.<sup>40</sup> Sophists are, like athletes, frequently criticised for failing to benefit other people with their teachings.<sup>41</sup> Yet Lysias' distinction between himself and useless sophists (σοφιστῶν λῆαν ἀχρήστων) is somewhat facile, since firstly, contemporaries were capable of applying the very same label of 'sophist' to Lysias ([Dem.] 59.21) and, secondly, the usefulness of his speech was always open to question (and in any case could only be determined at its end). As Tell has argued, this term is used in a similar way by Plato as a »derogatory label« for »competing articulations« of philosophy.<sup>42</sup> This is not a serious criticism of a specific group of people, but rather part of a strategy for gaining the audience's favour and dispelling their prejudices. Yet it hints nonetheless at the fierce competition at Olympia, where not only athletes, but also orators, philosophers and poets all vied for the attention of the spectators.

### Professionalism

How are we to explain the constant competition between different forms of τέχνη? The simplest explanation, and one that is certainly valid, is that competition was a pervasive feature of Greek society. Poets, orators and all types of philosophers sought fame and recognition through an exhibition of their skills to as wide an audience as possible. Festivals – especially, though not exclusively, those at which athletic games were held – provided ample opportunities of this kind. There is, however, an additional reason: all of these groups, including athletes, stood to gain material rewards or money, often from the same patrons or sources. The competition is thus heightened by either a need or a desire to attract funding and, if rewards are forthcoming, to justify those payments. In short, athletes and the other groups we have considered were professionals who were able potentially to earn a living from their separate skills.

Professionalism in athletics of the archaic and classical period has been an area of intense scholarly debate and it is necessary here to briefly define what I mean by the term. Young defined professionalism primarily as paid employment and argued that as early as the archaic period athletes from

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<sup>40</sup> Isocr. 4.2.4–5 τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἰδίᾳ πονήσασι καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς οὕτω παρασκευάσασιν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὠφελεῖν δύνασθαι; Lys. 33.3 ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πολίτου πολλοῦ ἀξίου περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβουλευεῖν.

<sup>41</sup> Tell 2011, 11–12.

<sup>42</sup> Tell 2011, 1–2.

poor backgrounds could and did earn a living from prizes and state rewards.<sup>43</sup> In Young's view, the myth of the amateur athlete had been conjured up by the modern amateur athletic movement who were keen to find an ancient paradigm for a modern aristocratic ideal. This argument has not been universally accepted, largely for two reasons. First, Young arguably underestimates the cost of training and travel, while overestimating the money that could be earned from prizes. Most scholars have therefore concluded that the very poor would have found it difficult to afford the initial investment needed in order to compete successfully.<sup>44</sup> At least one important group of athletes, the competitors in equestrian events, had to be very rich to afford to raise and train horses. Second, the attitude of the Greeks to money had more in common with that of nineteenth century sportsmen than Young allows: both held traders and craftsmen in contempt, prized natural ability above training and believed that a »gentleman« did not work for his living.<sup>45</sup>

However, Pritchard overstates the case by arguing that only the richest were able or willing to take part in athletics, at least in Athens.<sup>46</sup> The cost of training and travel – the only actual barrier to participation – would certainly have excluded the poorest; yet it was a small expense when compared with the cost of paying liturgies, especially when the possibility of future prizes is taken into account.<sup>47</sup> Pritchard argues that fathers who could have afforded only one type of teacher would have chosen a writing master over an athletics trainer. There is unfortunately relatively little evidence to support this view. Pritchard convincingly demonstrates that at least some craftsmen in Athens were literate; however, this proves little more than that education was not the exclusive preserve of the very rich. Isocrates states that Alcibiades scorned the running and combat events because of the low birth and poor education of the competitors (κακῶς γεγονότας καὶ μικρὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντας καὶ ταπεινῶς πεπαιδευμένους 16.33). This suggests that some could have chosen an education in athletics over one in writing or music. As Young notes, no victorious athlete is known to have achieved anything in the spheres of music or philosophy, just as no »intellectual« ever won a major victory.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, it is possible

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<sup>43</sup> Young 1984, 7–12, 109–175.

<sup>44</sup> For a recent discussion and bibliography see Pritchard 2003, 293–302 = 2013, 39–46.

<sup>45</sup> Pleket 1992, 148–9; contempt for trade or craft: e.g. Xen. *Ap.* 27, *Lac.* 7.1–2; Arist. *Pol.* 1258b; Plut. *Lyc.* 24.4; importance of leisure: e.g. Arist. *Pol.* 1337b–1338a.

<sup>46</sup> Pritchard 2003, 323 = 2013, 66–67.

<sup>47</sup> The trainer Hippomarchus charged one *mina* for a course of lessons (Athen. 584c). By contrast an Athenian could spend thirty *minae* on the relatively cheap liturgy of tragic *choregia* at the Dionysia (Lys. 21.1; cf. Antiphon 6.11–14; Dem. 21.16). On possible subsidies for the cost of training, see Fisher 1998.

<sup>48</sup> Young 2005, 23.

that athletes themselves trained their sons, just as the children of normally poor writing masters could have learned the family profession in their fathers' schools.<sup>49</sup>

Athletes undoubtedly aspired to what Pleket termed an aristocratic ideology and it may be that as a result of its influence they preferred to ascribe their successes to inherited excellence, rather than training and frequent practice. Yet, as Pleket also notes, it is equally true that from an early period competition at the highest levels required a serious dedication of time and effort. The number of contests at which these athletes competed successfully – in the case of Theogenes thirteen hundred victories in twenty two years (the equivalent of about a victory a week, if this was the span of his whole career) – suggests that, in addition to the training that made victory possible, performing at different festivals in their chosen event was a major, if not their main occupation: what Galen terms τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἐπιτήδευμα.<sup>50</sup> Though Theogenes' tally was probably exceptional, other early fifth century athletes, such as the runner Nicolaidas or the boxer Diagoras were also highly active on the festival circuit.<sup>51</sup> Even if a certain proportion of athletes belonged to the »leisured« elite, we can be confident that the pursuit of glory in the games left them little time for leisure.<sup>52</sup> Pritchard also fails to take into account the trainers, as well as horse breeders and charioteers, who taught athletics for pay. They may not have been able to afford a life of leisure, and yet they had knowledge of athletics.

For our purposes we may thus define the professional as one who practices a specialist skill (τέχνη) regularly due to a need or desire for material gain. Professionalism is not solely an issue of class and it should not be supposed that professionals were necessarily poor or from poor backgrounds, since some initial investment was always required to learn and develop a skill. Moreover, given that one of the aims, or at least results, of a successful career in athletics was to receive material rewards, we should not be surprised if the most successful athletes were also very rich. Aristotle similarly noted that skilled labourers could often become wealthy, despite their need to work for a living (πλουτοῦσι γὰρ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν, *Pol.* 3.1278a.24–5). As Finley put it in his discussion of the δημοεργοί of the *Odyssey*, professionals »floated in mid-air in the social hierarchy«. <sup>53</sup> Nor is professionalism solely a question of payment: a

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<sup>49</sup> E.g. Aeschines, whose work in his father's school is cited by Demosthenes (18.258) to demonstrate his family's poor background.

<sup>50</sup> See Pleket 1975 60 = 2010, 153 and Young 1984, 95.

<sup>51</sup> Nicolaidas: [Simonid.] *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 = *FGE* 857–588 = Ebert, 1972, 92–96, no. 26; Diagoras: Pind. *Ol.* 7.81–87.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Pl. *Leg.* 807c: τοῦ γὰρ πᾶσαν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἔργων βίου ἀσχολίαν παρασκευάζοντος, τοῦ Πυθιάδος τε καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος νίκης ὀρεγομένου.

<sup>53</sup> Finley 1977, 55.

willingness to receive occasional gifts is not the same as the regular pursuit of prizes.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, regular paid work is not necessarily the same as a profession, since an unskilled labourer may not possess anything that might be termed τέχνη. Athletes fulfil all of these criteria in possessing a specialist skill, which could only be gained and developed through regular training and practice, and in receiving payment in various forms: valuable prizes, cash hand-outs, gifts, food and (for trainers) tuition fees.

### Criticism of rewards

Let us now return to the anti-athletic tradition in order to establish what effect the status of athletes as paid professionals had on the competition between practitioners of different τέχνη. A significant number of these polemics criticise as unjust the custom of granting athletes material rewards, rather than their rivals. Xenophanes objects to rewards consisting of meals at public expense (στῆ εἴη δημοσίων κτεάνων 8) and valuable gifts (δῶρον ὃ οἱ κειμήλιον εἶη 9). Plutarch (*Sol.* 23.3) believed that cash rewards (one hundred drachmas for an Isthmian victor, five hundred for an Olympian) originated in Athens with Solon. He also credits Solon with regulating the reward of public dinners (σίτησις 24.5), though he does not specifically mention athletes as beneficiaries.<sup>55</sup> Diogenes Laertius, however, saw the Solonian legislation as an attempt to cap and spending on athletes, on the grounds that victors benefited the city less than those who had died in battle.<sup>56</sup> This view certainly echoes the criticisms of Xenophanes and Tyrtaeus and it is not impossible that Diogenes and Diodorus were drawing on Solon's poetry. On the other hand, it may be significant that Diogenes quotes Euripides (fr. 282.12) rather than Solon himself. Later authors may thus have interpreted Solon's law in the light of the anti-athletic tradition without any additional evidence to support this interpretation.<sup>57</sup> All we can say with confidence is that Xenophanes was responding to rewards established, probably in Athens and perhaps elsewhere, by at least the start of the fifth century.

Similar criticisms appear in the classical period. The character in the *Demes* by Eupolis (fr. 129 K–A) complains that while a victorious runner

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<sup>54</sup> Pleket 1973, a professional is »a man who spends nearly all his time on training and participation in contests and moreover gets money for it«; cf. Miller 2004, 212–213.

<sup>55</sup> On σίτησις for athletes in later periods cf. Andoc. 4.31; Plut. *Aristeid.* 27.2; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 131.11–17.

<sup>56</sup> Diog. Laert. 1.55–56; cf. Diod. Sic. 9.2.5.

<sup>57</sup> See Bernardini 1980, 87–88. Papakonstantinou 2014, 321, however, is still open to the possibility that the law represented a »popular discontent with aristocratic athletes« shared by Solon.



receives a cup (χειρόνιπτρον), the good citizen does not receive a similar prize. The question of why there were prizes for athletics and not for wisdom is discussed in the Aristotelian *Problems* (956b.17–32). Isocrates criticises the founders of the games for deeming athletes worthy of gifts (ὄτι τὰς μὲν τῶν σωμαμάτων εὐτυχίας οὕτω μεγάλων δωρεῶν ἤξιωσαν 4.1). Other polemics concentrate on the public meals (σίτησις). Socrates claims that he is more worthy of σίτησις than equestrian victors at Olympia.<sup>58</sup> According to Aristophanes, Cratinus should have been granted the right to drink in the Prytaneum on account of *his* victories: possibly an allusion to the same privileges held by athletic victors.<sup>59</sup> A speaker in the comedy *Drakontion* by Timocles attempts to argue, in defiance of received opinion, that parasites are in fact extremely useful (οὐδὲν ἔστι γὰρ ... χρησιμώτερον γένος fr. 8.2–3 K–A). He justifies this statement in part by arguing that the parasite's way of earning a living (ὁ τῶν παρασίτων ... βίος 15) is essentially identical in all but name to the award of σίτησις to athletic victors, which in this case is known as meals in the Prytaneum (πρυτανεῖα 19).

The speaker in Euripides' *Autolycus* seems also to criticise this σίτησις at line 15. The transmitted text reads »they [sc. the Greeks] honour useless pleasures for the sake of a meal« (τιμῶσ' ἀχρείους ἡδονὰς δαιτὸς χάριν). Most commentators on this passage have read the line as a reference to a meal granted by victors to the populace.<sup>60</sup> Yet in the preceding lines it is the athletes who desire food, not the Greeks and there is no parallel in the hostile tradition of an athlete dispensing a meal. Where we do hear of celebratory feasts, they are invariably hosted by equestrian victors: a type of competitor absent from Euripides' list of athletes (16–17).<sup>61</sup> Unlike the targets of Euripides' invective, horse-owners did not require a protein-rich diet to be successful. As a result, Marcovich suggested that the line be amended to »they honour these useless men after granting them the favour of free food« (τιμῶσ' ἀχρείους [ἡδονὰς] δαιτὸς <ἐπιδόντες> χάριν).<sup>62</sup>

The texts themselves provide little evidence to support an attack on the »aristocracy«. Xenophanes (fr. 2.1–9) implies that athletes receive honours

<sup>58</sup> πρέπει οὕτως ὡς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἐν πρυτανεῖῳ σιτεῖσθαι, πολὺ γε μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἵππου ἢ συνωρίδι ἢ ζεύγει νενίκηκεν Ὀλυμπίαισιν. Pl. *Ap.* 36d6–9.

<sup>59</sup> ὃν χρῆν διὰ τὰς προτέρας νίκας πίνειν ἐν τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ *Eq.* 535.

<sup>60</sup> Angio 1992, 88; Pechstein 1998, 64–66; Kannicht *TrGF* p.345; Harris 2009, 164–165; *contra*: O'Sullivan and Collard 2013, 388–9 who print Athenaeus' text, yet interpret it as a reference to σίτησις.

<sup>61</sup> Athenaeus (3e) lists three victors, all in equestrian events, who gave feasts: Alcibiades, Leophron tyrant of Rhegium and Empedocles; cf. Anaxilas' feast after victory with mule-cart: Heraclid. *Pont. Pol.* 25.5; Themistocles' feast at Olympia: Plut. *Them.* 5.4, cf. Arist. *EE* 1233b11–13; Alcibiades' at Olympia: Andoc. 30–31, Plut. *Alc.* 11–12; Chabrias' (chariot victor at Delphi in 373) feast in Attica: [Dem.] 59.33.

<sup>62</sup> Marcovich 1977, 54 = 1991, 126.

and rewards due to their success as athletes and neither here nor elsewhere in the tradition is the existing wealth, family or social status of the athlete a contributing factor. It is not the personal wealth of athletes that is at issue, but the material rewards they receive. Pritchard argues that Euripides fr. 282 may incorporate common criticisms of the wealthy that they eat too much (γνάθου τε δοῦλος νηδύος θ' ἤσσημένος 5) and are incapable of working for a living (7–8), for which he cites Menander *Dyscolus* (766–769) and Euripides fr. 54 *TrGF* as parallels.<sup>63</sup> However, Euripides' speaker indicates that athletes are overtaken by poverty specifically in their old age (ὅταν δὲ προσπέσῃ γῆρας πικρόν 11). This suggests that the reason for poverty is not merely that they have devoured their patrimony: what has changed is that their bodies, on which they prided themselves in their youth (λαμπροὶ δ' ἐν ἡβῃ καὶ πόλεως ἀγάλματα 10), have decayed.

A better parallel is found in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, where Socrates describes those who are able and willing to work but who are misled into spending all they make on vices, including gluttony (λιχνειῶν). Like the athletes whom Euripides' speaker castigates, these men ultimately harm their houses (τοὺς οἴκους κατατρίβουσι) and are unprepared for old age when they will be unable to continue to work.<sup>64</sup> Athletes who squander their patrimony, rather than their earnings, such as Callias son of Hipponicus and Pheidippides of Aristophanes' *Clouds*, do so on horses.<sup>65</sup> The only other possible reference to the wealth of athletic victors is in Plato's *Apology*, where Socrates justifies his suggestion that he should be awarded with σίτησις in part by claiming that athletes do not need the food, while he does (ὁ μὲν τροφῆς οὐδὲν δεῖται, ἐγὼ δὲ δεῖμαι 36e1). However, once again the reference is specifically to equestrian victors alone, who had to be wealthy enough to afford to raise horses. The same cannot necessarily be said for the targets of Euripides' invective: the competitors in track and field events.

This criticism of the athletes' rewards is, however, not a criticism of professionalism *per se*. Rather Xenophanes implies that he deserves the same treatment. Rival groups – such as poets, doctors and teachers or practitioners of rhetoric and philosophy – could also earn large fees from their skills from an early period. Solon (fr. 13.41–43) sees the need to earn a living as the reason why a man might undertake the various occupations he lists. Once again all professions, and not just athletes, are open to the accusation of greed. We may again compare Isocrates' criticism of athletes

<sup>63</sup> Pritchard 2003, 325 and 2013, 153.

<sup>64</sup> ἐπειδὴν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀδυνάτους αἰσθωνταὶ ὄντας ἐργάζεσθαι διὰ τὸ γῆρας, ἀπολείπουσι τούτους κακῶς γηράσκειν 1.22.

<sup>65</sup> Pheidippides: *Ar. Nub.* 13, 39, 117; Callias: Eupolis fr. 164 K–A, see Storey 2003, 181.

who do not deserve gifts with Lysias' swipe at useless sophists who need to earn a living (σοφιστῶν λίαν ἀχρήστων καὶ σφόδρα βίου δεομένων 33.3). Again, as with athletes, it is the combination of the sophists' dependence on others for subsistence and their failure to provide any benefit in return that is calculated to provoke outrage in an audience. Plato and Xenophon contrast paid sophists with the genuinely wise Socrates, who allegedly never accepted payment for his company (at least not in coin).<sup>66</sup>

As Tell has argued, the term sophist was a broad pejorative label, encompassing, from at least the fifth century, a wide variety of teachers and practitioners who worked for pay.<sup>67</sup> Similar accusations could be levelled at other professional groups including poets and doctors. Aristophanes' Socrates (*Nub.* 331–334) claims that the Clouds feed a diverse group including sophists, prophets (Θουριομάνταις), doctors (ιατροτέχνας), dithyrambic poets (κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἄσματοκάμπτας) and general idlers (ἀργούς). A similar party of unwanted professionals looking for employment appear in the *Birds* and include a poet (905–958) and oracle-monger (959–991). False prophets and quack doctors are characterised by their eagerness to secure a fee, while poets (such Simonides and Sophocles) could be thought of as acquisitive.<sup>68</sup> Like sophists, if these groups fail to provide good value for the money spent on them, they, like the tragedian Acestor in Eupolis' *Flatterers* (fr. 172.14 K-A), will start to resemble flatterers or parasites: those who take food but in no way benefit their patrons in return.

Payment (especially in coin) was in itself a potential source of embarrassment to all professionals. None of the critics of athletics ever state an explicit desire to receive payment in any form, though they do appropriate for themselves the symbols of athletic victory, particularly the crown.<sup>69</sup> A likely reason for not doing so is again the general prejudice against all forms of paid workers or, far worse, parasites. This prejudice is likely to have affected athletes as much as their rivals, since they also stressed the materially worthless crown above valuable rewards.<sup>70</sup> Pindar is perhaps unique in admitting on two occasions (*Pyth.* 11. 41–42; *Isthm.* 2.6–11) that his poems are composed for a fee. Yet on each occasion it is his Muse, rather than Pindar, who works for a living.<sup>71</sup> The poet himself is careful to

<sup>66</sup> Pl. *Ap.* 19e; *Hipp. Mai.* 282de; Xen. *Symp.* 1.5, 3.6; *Mem.* 1.6.1–5, 13; see Tell 2009.

<sup>67</sup> Tell 2009, 20; 2011, 1–2.

<sup>68</sup> Doctors: ἄνθρωποι βίου δεόμενοι *Morb. Sacr.* 4.17; prophets: Soph. *OT* 388–9, *Ant.* 1055, see Flower 2008, 135–147; Simonides and Sophocles: Ar. *Pax* 697 and *Σ Pac.* 697b (Holwerda II.2 p.107).

<sup>69</sup> Aesch. fr. 78c.39–40 *TrGF*; Eur. fr.282.24; *El.* 872, 882; Dio Chrys. 9.10–15.

<sup>70</sup> Hdt. 8.26.

<sup>71</sup> Μοῖσα, τὸ δὲ τεόν, εἰ μισθοῖο συνέθευ παρέχειν / φωνὰν ὑπάργυρον *Pyth.* 11. 41–42; ἄ Μοῖσα γὰρ οὐ φιλοκερδῆς / πω τότ' ἦν οὐδ' ἐργάτις. *Isthm.* 2.6.

distance himself from his divine, yet acquisitive, patron and thinks fondly of the days when poets composed for love (*Isthm.* 2.1–6). Yet despite his apparent reluctance, the Muse urges him to remember the saying »money makes a man« (χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ *Isthm.* 2.10). Direct requests for payment, as in the case of the poet of Aristophanes' *Birds* (941–944) who adapts Pindar's *hyporcheme* to the tyrant Hieron (fr. 105b S-M), must be made subtly. The poet employs Pindar's famous phrase »understand what I mean« (ξύνεξ ὁ τοι λέγω 945); his patron Pisetaerus understands and gives him a gift of clothing. Given this unwillingness to talk about money, it is hardly surprising that, in the tradition of invective, it is always a speaker's opponents who are interested in money or food, not the speaker himself. In addition to asserting the professional's own claim to status, attacks on rival groups may have seemed a good way of pre-empting potential criticism.

### Conclusion

I hope to have shown that an awareness of ancient professionalism – and an understanding of the place of athletes within a broad professional class – can lead to new interpretations of the anti-athletic tradition and our literary sources in general. Opposition to athletics was not merely political but part of a longstanding debate on the relative merits of different forms of τέχνη. This debate was prompted by widespread economic specialisation and professionalism in the fields of athletics, poetry and philosophy (among others). The criticism of athletics becomes part of a strategy, by which the professional promotes his own form of τέχνη, with the implicit aim of winning respect and financial rewards. Professionals operated in a market for knowledge, one in which they had to sell their skills, justify their fees and counter common prejudices against paid work. Our texts reflect the tendency for professionals to achieve these aims by launching pre-emptive attacks upon their competitors. Athletes became a common target for such invective, not because intellectuals or their political opponents were categorically opposed to their work, but because their unwavering popularity and success at eliciting rewards in the archaic and classical periods made them a constant target of envy from other professionals.

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## The Presence of Tumbling in Ancient Greek Athletics

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A re-examination of the extant evidence for male tumbling in the early Classical period shows it had more to do with sport than spectacle. It was a choreographic possibility in the pyrrhiche, but was perhaps also present at the early Panathenaia as a unique, if short lived event. A pre-canonical Panathenaic amphora records the award of a kados to a tumbler on horseback, who competes with military paraphernalia; other mentions of comparable horseback feats likewise convey a martial tone. The amphora also shows an athlete on a ›springboard‹, an apparatus shown in several other Greek scenes. Springboard tumblers are also equipped with hoplite gear, suggesting that the tumbling pictured inherently linked physical prowess with an individual's military value. An Etruscan cup, which juxtaposes springboard tumbling and wrestling, provides a cross cultural comparison for athletic ›acrobatics‹.

In the broad spectrum of events and activities that constitute Greek sport, scholars do not typically promote tumbling and acrobatics as genuine forms of ancient athletics.<sup>1</sup> For Archaic and Classical Greece, tumblers are more associated with dance, spectacle, or recreational pastimes, lacking agonistic context. The traditional point of view is exemplified by Stephen Miller, who claims that while acrobatics were popular, they were »usually presented as children's entertainment« – that is, disassociated from the admirable male athlete's pursuit of *arete*.<sup>2</sup> However, the extreme physicality of the activity demands a level of training, investiture of time, and development of the body that are all comparable to the athlete's. Some re-evaluative questions arise: was tumbling always nonathletic ›entertainment‹ or could its performance have different forms and functions, as in modern times? If so, how were these variously represented? In fact, material and textual evidence suggest that ancient tumbling actualized a convergence of dance, spectacle, and sport, and that the nature of acrobatic movements differed depending on the context in which they were displayed. In spectacular dance sensual poses, contortions of the body, and displays of flexibility, almost exclusively performed by low-class women, signify ignominious entertainment; such manoeuvres are distinct from the

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<sup>1</sup> The exception is Minoan bull-leaping: for this practice see Scanlon 1999, German 2005, Shapland 2013, and Rutter 2014, all with useful bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Miller 2004, 167. Regarding Egyptian sport, N. Gardner 1930, 4 stated that »with acrobatic performances we come somewhat nearer to athletics«; cf. his conclusion that scenes of Minoan bull-leaping were closer to »circus performance« than sport (10–11).



actions of male tumblers, where physical power is stressed and portrayals connote admiration for the requisite skill and the civic value of the aerobically. <sup>3</sup> In these situations tumbling has much more to do with athletics than has been previously assumed.

Just as the presentation of ›acrobatic‹ actions in modern times can occur in a range of settings (consider the gulf between an Olympic floor routine and an erotic pole dance), so too for the Greeks. There is no good equivalent to the English word ›acrobat‹ in Classical Greek; rather, we see a fundamental, though sometimes blurred, differentiation between ›tumbler‹ (*kybisteter*) and a particular kind of ›marvel maker‹ (*thaumatopoios*) who is skilled in spectacular bodily manipulations. The exploits of both can include elements of dance (*orchesis*), and all three of these categories (tumbling, spectacle, dance) can combine in different degrees. <sup>4</sup> In general, feminine sympotic displays are best characterized by their performed corporal *thaumata*. Conversely, *kybisteteres* are generally men (though the verbal equivalent can apply to women's actions), whose ›acrobatic‹ movements, I will argue, can take place in choral or gymnastic *agones*. This male tumbling would rightly belong to the ancient category *gymnastike* as a type of sportive physical activity in which participants exercise their bodies in the nude. <sup>5</sup> However, as I shall demonstrate, in certain contexts tumbling also belongs to what more strictly constitutes *ta athletika*, with respect to the particular sense of *athlon* as prize and contest for a prize. When male tumbling is *agonistikos* it can be part of *gymnastike*, *orchesis*, and/or athletics (*ta athletika*), while still remaining visually spectacular and *thaumatikos* (›wondrous‹) to some degree. Keeping in mind the framework of these ancient categories of thought allows us to more accurately assess the extant evidence for Greek ›acrobatics‹.

A primary reason for the conventional scholarly judgement of ancient acrobatics is that the majority of evidence for such performance concerns entertainment at symposia. This is a reality I do not mean to downplay or disregard. Here, acrobatic actions unite dance and spectacle in the form of

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<sup>3</sup> It is important here to make a distinction in terminology; while a tumbler might perform movements that are ›acrobatic‹ in that they exhibit extreme gymnastic adeptness, the performer is not necessarily an ›acrobat‹. ›Acrobatics‹ implies spectacular entertainment comparable to circus performances. Cf. the difference between *kybisteter* and *thaumatopoios* outlined below.

<sup>4</sup> The word *arneuter* is sometimes translated as ›acrobat‹, but more accurately means ›diver‹ (Hom. *Il.* 12.385, *Od.* 12.413; Eudoxus *Astr.* fr. 90; Herodas *Mim.* 8.42; cf. *Il.* 16.742–750 for a combination of *arneuter* and *kybisteter*). Specific terms for specialized acrobats develop later (e. g. *schoinobates*, *neurobates*, *kontopaites*, etc.): see Blümner 1918.

<sup>5</sup> For the potential to consider dance as part of *ta gymnastika* see for example Pl. *Laws* 795d; cf. Xen. *Sym.* 2.17–19; Ath. 14.629c. For Spartan dance and sport see Christesen 2014, 146–58, esp. 147–8 on the *Gymnopaidiai* (cf. Ceccarelli 1998, 102–5).

erotic or death-defying displays by female entertainers: a type of *thaumatopoiia*.<sup>6</sup> The two most common stunts are spinning around on a potter's wheel and diving in and out of upright swords on the ground. Xenophon's *Symposium* offers what is probably the best known literary instance of these types of performances (2.11, 7.2–3), but sword diving also occurs at a symposium c. 300 B.C., described in a letter by Hippolochus of Macedon and summarized by Athenaeus, where the ›marvel-making‹ women perform naked and breath fire (Ath. 4.129d). In Plato's *Euthydemus* both sword-diving and spinning on a potter's wheel are mentioned with a derogatory tone (294e), perhaps because spectacle acrobats might be typically *hetairai*, *pornai*, and/or slaves.<sup>7</sup> The many vases that show representations of female acrobats are illustrative of the entertainers' social status and provide a stark contrast to the depictions of athletic male tumblers in terms of iconography, manipulation of the body, and performance context.<sup>8</sup> The women's suggestive accoutrements and garments, if they wear any at all, clearly mark them as sexualized performers, particularly at the almost universal setting of the symposium (often made clear with iconography such as drinking vessels and *kottabos* stands).<sup>9</sup> Most visually striking for these vases, however, is the positioning of the women's bodies as they exhibit acrobatic marvels. Whether the feats take place on a potter's wheel or among swords set in the ground, artists generally show a similar pose: a woman is balanced on her hands while she brings her legs, bent at the knees, over her body and positions her feet near her head.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes stunts are performed with extraordinary contortions and demonstrate exquisite flexibility and almost ›unnatural‹ elasticity of the body, such as on a red figure skyphos in Sydney where a woman has stunningly folded herself almost in

<sup>6</sup> *Thaumatopoiia* was by no means limited to ›acrobatic‹ displays; see Ath. 1.19d–20b for a colorful variety of ›marvellous‹ talents. See further Olson and Sens 1999, 142–3.

<sup>7</sup> Further textual references to sword diving: Xen. *Mem.* 1.3.10; Democr. fr. D92 Taylor = D–K B228; Phld. *Ars Rhet.* 2, col. XLI = Longo 129; Philost. *Vit. Ap.* 7.13; Ael. *Letters* 16; Stobaeus 4.19.75; cf. Artem. *Oneir.* 1.76; Varro *De Vit. Pop. Rom.* 2.85. Another textual reference to spinning on a potter's wheel is perhaps Σ 851 Ar. *Ach.* (see Dearden 1995, 82 n.6). More textual examples of sympotic acrobatics: Matro of Pitane fr. 1.121 = Ath. 4.137c; Petron. *Sat.* 47.9, 53.11ff., 60. ff.; Philost. *Vit. Ap.* 2.28.2; cf. Hdt. 6.129. For these sorts of acrobatics in general, see Deonna 1953, 31–56, Davies 1971, Schneider-Herrmann 1982, Schäfer 1997, 82–90, Scholz 2003, Németh 2005.

<sup>8</sup> For vase paintings showing female acrobats see especially the list compiled by Scholz 2003, supplementing Deonna 1953, Davies 1971, Hughes 2008.

<sup>9</sup> The most notable exception is stage performance (Oxford 1945.43 and Lipari 927); see Dearden 1995 and Hughes 2008.

<sup>10</sup> This is by far the most popular pose in vase painting, although a woman is sometimes depicted in the ›bridge‹ position: e.g. Naples 81398 (previously H 3232) and Madrid 11.129 (L 199); cf. Berlin F 3489.

half,<sup>11</sup> or on a red figure lekythos in Naples where the woman doing a handstand on a potter's wheel has managed to place her feet flat on her own head.<sup>12</sup> Broadly speaking, the exploits of female acrobats at symposia are typified with bodies bent inward and/or backwards, displaying forms characterized by pliancy and litheness, which are meant simultaneously to amaze and arouse the male symposiast.<sup>13</sup> The images may only be representations and not indicative of reality, but in their general consistency they reflect cultural norms, whether of thought or practice.<sup>14</sup>

Of course, the scenes on these vases have little to do with *ta gymnastika*, despite the women's occasional nudity. However, they do serve as intensely contrastive examples to the very different sort of acrobatic manoeuvres that I argue existed as an element of masculine sport. As they are portrayed, male tumblers do not perform for erotic sympotic spectacle, do not contort their bodies, and do not remain on the ground. Their actions take place outdoors, rely on strength, potency, and vigour, and are typified by aerial manoeuvres. Perhaps most importantly, they can also occur in agonistic settings. The representation of the use of the body denotes the antithesis between female and male and between polar social classes, but also a clear distinction between *thaumatikoi* acrobatics and *gymnastikos* tumbling.

Men's dances, even those in agonistic settings such as the contests in pyrrhic dance at the Panathenaia, could include tumbling in their choreography. A passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis* showcases tumbling incorporated into a martial dance. During a banquet for Paphlagonian ambassadors, select soldiers from the Ten Thousand perform assorted dances, all with deliberate military overtones. Among these is one that features tumbling (Xen. *An.* 6.1.9):

μετὰ τοῦτο Μυσοῦς εἰσῆλθεν ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχων πέλτην, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὡς δύο ἀντιταττομένων μιμούμενος ὠρχεῖτο, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἓνα ἐχρήτο ταῖς πέλταις, τοτὲ δ' ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ἔχων τὰς πέλτας, ὥστε ὄψιν καλὴν φαίνεσθαι. τέλος δὲ τὸ

<sup>11</sup> Sydney 95.16, Apulia, 325–310 B.C.; Green 2003, cat. no. 43; CVA Nicholson Museum 1 (Australia 1), 64, pl. 84–85.

<sup>12</sup> Naples coll. St. Angelo 405; CVA Naples 3 (Italy 24), pl. 70.4.

<sup>13</sup> The dancing girl in Xenophon's *Symposium* also ›bending herself backward imitated hoops‹ (2.22: ἡ παῖς εἰς τοῦπισθεν καμπτομένη τροχοῦς ἐμμεῖτο).

<sup>14</sup> The seemingly incredible body contortions and feats shown on vases are, in fact, physical possibilities and not mere fantasy. A quick internet search shows that modern contortionists can achieve the same corporal manipulations. The fact that these acute poses are not purely imaginative extremes for the depiction of a human form in art suggests that these vase paintings found a basis in actual practice as well as in popular conception.

περσικὸν ὄρχεϊτο κρούων τὰς πέλτας καὶ ὄκλαζε καὶ ἐξανίστατο· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐν ῥυθμῶ ἐποίει πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν.

After this a Mysian entered with a small shield in each hand, and at one point while he danced he imitated as if two men were opposed, then again he used his shields as if against a single person, and then again he was whirling and tumbling while holding the shields, so as to show a lovely sight. Finally he danced ›the Persian‹, crashing the shields as he crouched down and leapt up again. And he did all these things in rhythm, in accompaniment with the flute.

It is crucial to note the narrative context of this martial dance in the *Anabasis*: the Greek army ›defeats‹ the Paphlagonians with choreographic superiority, rather than on the battlefield. In their exhibition of skill with weapons, the actions of the dancers – acrobatic actions for the Mysian – are indicative of the performers’ martial, physical, and even cultural supremacy. While the scene here is of course not an athletic or musical *agon*, the dances really are, in a sense, agonistic.<sup>15</sup>

Indeed, our sources indicate that tumbling could also be integrated into martial dances at more traditional *agones*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for instance, readily accepts the tumblers at the famous dancing scene on the shield of Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 18.605–6; cf. *Od.* 4.17–19) as participants in a pyrrhic dance and likens them to leaders of the *pyrrhiche* in a Roman procession (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.72.6–9).<sup>16</sup> The 12<sup>th</sup> century grammarian Stephanus, in his commentary on Aristotle’s *Ars Rhetorica*, describes the *pyrrhiche* as ἡ ἐνόπλιος, ἣ χρῶνται οἱ στρατιῶται κατὰ ξιφῶν καὶ μετὰ ξιφῶν κυβιστῶντες καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς γαμηλίαις παιδιαῖς παίζοντες μετὰ σπάθης, »an armed dance, which soldiers use (they tumble down on swords and with swords) as do those who dance with a broad blade at wedding games« (Steph. *Comm. Ar. Rhet.* 3.81 ad 1408b36). A late source, Stephanus has probably to some degree conflated the nature of the dance, mimetic

<sup>15</sup> For some observations on the importance of the episode to the *Anabasis* see Flower 2012, 184–5, L’Allier 2004, and Lendle 1995, *ad l.*

<sup>16</sup> Suetonius (*Life of Nero* 12.2) mentions Greek ephebes performing what he calls ›pyrrhic‹ dances during Roman games, including an ›Icarus‹ who fell and spattered the emperor with blood. The youth was perhaps an acrobat of one sort or another, considering the nature of the myth and a comparison with the acrobatic Icarus in Manetho Astrologus (5.145; cf. 3.439–3.445 and 4.278); cf. Dio Chrys. 21.9. The *pyrrhiche* had certainly evolved by Suetonius’ (and indeed, Dionysius’) time from its form in the Classical period, becoming more ›Bacchic‹ (Ath. 14. 631a–b; cf. Ceccarelli 2004, 108–11), but also pantomimic. The dance might be used as an excuse to execute criminals (e.g. Plu. *Mor.* 554b), but some performances still retained solemnity and a choral nature (e.g. Apul. *Met.* 10.29). On the *pyrrhiche* in Rome see Ceccarelli 1998, 147–158.

of offensive and defensive combat,<sup>17</sup> with sword-diving, but the connection of the *pyrrhiche* with tumbling remains instructive.<sup>18</sup> The probability of acrobatic choreography in choral *agones* is further strengthened by the existence of tumbling in other choruses in the Archaic and Classical periods. A late 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. skyphos from Attica, for example, depicts an inverted, early comic chorus,<sup>19</sup> and Julius Pollux in his *Onomasticon* (4.105) states that tragic dance could include *kybistesis*, >tumbling<, among its many *schemata* (>dance moves<).<sup>20</sup>

The very probable inclusion of tumbling in choral contests means that it could be a component of an agonistic pursuit, part of *gymnastike* if we follow Plato's famous division of the term into *orchesis* and *pale* (*Laws* 795d). Further evidence shows that a different type of tumbling belonged to *ta athletika* and stricter notions of *gymnastike* that exclude dance. It has been conjectured that tumbling featured in some way at the *euandria* competition at the Panathenaia, a team event about which we know little for certain other than that it probably qualified beauty, size, and displays of athleticism or strength all under the heading >manliness<.<sup>21</sup> This supposition has been made on the basis of a fairly infamous Panathenaic amphora found in Rhodes and dated from somewhere between 550–530 B.C.

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<sup>17</sup> See Pl. *Laws* 815a for the quintessential ancient description.

<sup>18</sup> On the possible confusion see Ceccarelli 1998, 225–226, although she limits her definition of *kybistesis* to only sword-diving when the term should rightly apply to tumbling generally.

<sup>19</sup> Thebes B.E.64.342, c. 530–510 B.C. Trendall and Webster 1971, fig. 1; Green 1985, fig. 15a–b; Delavaud-Roux 1995, no. 64; Steinhart 2004, pl. 1.1–2.

<sup>20</sup> Lawler 1964, 82 presumes that the list of >tragic< *schemata* was really a list of >dramatic< *schemata*. Dale 1968, 209–10 rejects the possibility of a »somersault« on the tragic stage and suspects that Pollux was drawing on a tradition of local mime. While there is no other extant evidence for tumbling in tragic dance, one might compare the occasional presence of acrobatic choreography in modern ballet, opera, etc. With regard to tumbling in other types of choral dance, the acrobatic play of satyrs seen on vases (see note below) strongly suggests that it would also be apt for satyr plays; cf. the tumbling satyrs in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (10.149, 40.242, 43.340).

Finally, there survives an inscribed base of a victory monument for a boy's *pyrrhiche* at the Panathenaia (Athens, National Museum 3854) which depicts three dancers, one of whom stands upright on the shoulders of a compatriot. The pose probably has more to do with victory celebration than choreography (cf. the famous story of Diagoras of Rhodes being carried on his son's shoulders), but the possibility that this was somehow included in the dance should not be ruled out entirely; cf. the famous >Atarbos base< that shows victorious pyrrhichists in the midst of dance (Athens, Acropolis Museum 1338). For the former base, see Goette 2007, 124 (fig. 7), with bibliography.

<sup>21</sup> For the *euandria*, the best analysis is still Crowther 1985 (= 2004, 333–339 with 349); cf. Neils 1994.

(Taf. 4, fig. 1).<sup>22</sup> On it, a nude tumbler holding two shields stands on the rump of a horse, or balanced between two horses, apparently having leapt from the ramp behind him. Another man rides and controls the horses, another churns up the ground with a pickaxe, and yet another is poised on an incline plane, to which I will return. An *aulete* plays before a rare grandstand and its crowd, whose approval of the performance is memorialized with the inscription ΚΑΔΟΣ ΤΟΙ ΚΥΒΙΣΤΕΙΤΟΙ, »a jug for the tumbler«. The first word of the inscription is often misread as *kalos* instead of *kados*, but the third letter is a delta.<sup>23</sup> The argument regarding what exactly this scene represents has been lengthy and need not be repeated fully here; suffice to say that while some agree it could show the *euandria*, others reject that hypothesis or point out its improbability.<sup>24</sup>

The context of the vase is strongly »athletic«, at least in the sense of the word *athlon* as prize, despite the fact that it lacks the inscription ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝ ΑΘΛΟΝ (»a prize from Athens«), which is typical of later Panathenaic prize amphorae.<sup>25</sup> Not only does the shape of the vessel itself promote this, but also the statuesque Athena on the reverse of the vase, the columns between which she stands, the *lebes* or cauldrons that sit upon those columns, and the tripod as a device on her shield.<sup>26</sup> Most significantly, the inscription itself has the crowd calling for the awarding of a jug

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<sup>22</sup> Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 243. CVA Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2 (France 10), pl. 88, 1–4 & 89, 1–2. The vase is often, though I argue incorrectly, labelled a »pseudo« Panathenaic.

<sup>23</sup> Beazley 1939, 11 n.32 says, »The third letter *may* be meant for a lamda [sic], but it would an Ionic lamda, very rare on Attic vases at this time« (emphasis Beazley's). The chart in Immerwahr 1990, xxii–xxiii has no comparable form of a lambda, but indeed comparable forms of delta.

<sup>24</sup> First suggested by Davison 1958, 26 n.4 but argued more fully by Reed, 1987. Kyle 1992, 96 rejects the hypothesis, as does Miller 2004, 167. Boegehold 1996, 100 points out the theory's improbability and suggests that the *euandria* was a choral contest. Beazley 1939, 11 influentially called the scene a »sideshow« at the festival, not an event. Webster 1972, 78 takes the vase as evidence for the performance of »trick dancing«, »which was not standard but took place sometimes at the Panathenaia«. von Bothmer 1983, 67 goes further, suggesting that »perhaps there was a competition involving two shields at the Great Panathenaea«. Neils 1992, 176 claims that »we have no indication that acrobatics were part of the Panathenaia«, but that the vase »might allude to the festival«; later (2007, 48), she argues that the vase could show several different events in one scene, with the tumbler/warrior »in the background« and either dancing or taking part in the hoplitodromos.

<sup>25</sup> Pre-canonical Panathenaic vases sometimes lack the inscription: see Hamilton 1996, 138 and Immerwahr 1990, 183. Webster 1972, 78 proposes that this vase could have been specially commissioned by the victor in the contest shown, a suggestion taken up by Shapiro 1989, 33.

<sup>26</sup> For the prize imagery see Neils 2007, 48, Shapiro 1989, 33 and 1992, 56, Webster 1972, 78, Schäfer 1997, 82, and Lissarrague 2001, 76–77. Some features are different from

to the successful tumbler. This is very likely a self-reference to the Panathenaic vessel itself, ostensibly the prize for the activity, working in a similar manner as the later canonical inscriptions that also self-advertise their amphorae. The allocation of a single prize implies that this is an individual contest, despite the other figures in the scene (although there is no reason to think that all aspects happened at once).<sup>27</sup> The vase's presentation of horseback tumbling as an *athletikos* and *gymnastikos* activity worthy of a prize encourages consideration of similar feats.

Other references to tumbling or balancing on horseback represent the same militaristic overtures conveyed by the Panathenaic vase. A martial tone is certainly present in an Athenian black figure neck amphora, dated 550–500 B.C., that also shows a man with two shields on the back of two horses.<sup>28</sup> By comparison with the figure labelled a *kybisteter* on the Panathenaic amphora we can reasonably presume that this man too is a tumbler. The scene is one of a departing warrior; perhaps the hoplite is a youth who died in battle and the somewhat incongruous image of tumbling commemorates an athletic victory achieved in life. Regardless, a militaristic spirit is evident on the vase, confirmed by the Amazonomachy on the amphora's reverse. A passage from Homer renders particularly vivid the association of impressive horseback leaps with warfare. In book 15 of the *Iliad*, Ajax leaps from prow to prow of successive ships, which Homer assimilates to a man leaping between four running horses (15.679–86):

ὧς δ' ὅτ' ἀνήρ ἵπποισι κελητίζειν ἐὺ εἰδώς,  
 ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ πολέων πίσυρας συναίρεται ἵππους,  
 σεύας ἐκ πεδίοιο μέγα προτι ἄστυ δίηται  
 λαοφόρον καθ' ὁδόν· πολέες τέ εἰ θηήσαντο  
 ἀνέρες ἠδὲ γυναῖκες· ὃ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ  
 θρόσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεται, οἳ δὲ πέτονται·  
 ὧς Αἴας ἐπὶ πολλὰ θοάων ἵκρια νηῶν  
 φοῖτα μακρὰ βιβιάς . . .

And as a man who well knows to ride upon horses, who then harnesses together four horses from many and rushing them from plain to great city he drives along a thoroughfare; many stare at him, both men and women, but he with surefootedness, ever

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the later standard, but that is not uncommon for early prize amphorae: see Lissarrague 2001, 77 and Neils 2007, 48; cf. Hamilton 1996, 138.

<sup>27</sup> For Miller 2004, 167, the idea of simultaneous displays conjures an image of »circus« performances. However, there is no evidence to suggest that *thaumatopoia* acts (perhaps the closest to our circus) operated in this fashion, as modern circuses sometimes do.

<sup>28</sup> Galerie Gunter Puhze sale catalogue 12 (1997), no. 192; Royal Athena sale catalogue 12 (Jan 2001), no. 185; *Minerva: International Review of Ancient Art and Archaeology* 11.1 (Jan/Feb 2000), inside back cover.

unerring, leaps from one to another in turn, while they fly. So Ajax kept making long strides upon the many decks of the speedy ships . . .

A Homeric, and heroic, precedent for leaping on horseback is conspicuous, and although that skilled rider is not specifically called a tumbler or athlete, his feat nonetheless presents an important comparison; perhaps this Homeric scene even inspired the performance shown on the Panathenaic amphora. Certainly it would influence, to some extent, the social response of an informed audience to an athlete's horseback achievements.<sup>29</sup>

A passage in Plato's *Meno* suggests a connection between horseback tricks and the Panathenaic games. During the dialogue, Socrates recalls how Themistocles' son Cleophantus was educated in horsemanship (93d):<sup>30</sup>

ἢ οὐκ ἀκήκοας ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεόφαντον τὸν ὑὸν ἰπέα μὲν ἐδιδάξατο ἀγαθόν; ἐπέμενε γοῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὸς ἐστηκώς, καὶ ἠκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὀρθός, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἠργάζετο, ἃ ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸν ἐπαιδεύσατο καὶ ἐποίησε σοφόν, ὅσα διδασκάλων ἀγαθῶν εἶχετο·

Or have you not heard that Themistocles had his son Cleophantus taught to be a good horseman? Indeed, he could stay in place on horses while standing upright, and throw javelins from the horses while upright, and work many other marvels; for which pursuits that man educated him and made him skillful, in as many things from good teachers as he could.

In context, the point of the story is that virtue is not teachable, although one might try to give an appropriate education in those things meaningful for >good men<. The throwing of a javelin from horseback recalls the Panathenaia, where this event gave epebes a chance to display martial ability and validate their civic worth – worthy instruction, then, for the son of an elite politician. However, standing *upright* on the horse is not typical for this contest; that position is best paralleled by the warrior/ tumblers on the

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<sup>29</sup> In his thirteenth *Olympian*, Pindar might offer another heroic example of unusual physical movement on a horse: after finally bridling Pegasus with Athena's aid, Bellerophon ἀναβαίς δ' | εὐθύς ἐνόπλια χαλκῶθεϊς ἔπαιζεν, >having mounted immediately performed an armoured dance, clad in bronze< (85–6). Whether or not the action occurs while Bellerophon is *on* Pegasus when he ἐνόπλια ἔπαιζεν is ambiguous in the Greek, depending on how we construe εὐθύς. Either way, there is a dominant martial tone to the activity and a juxtaposition of equestrian ability with bodily performance. Brandt 2010, 106 links the passage to the scene on the Panathenaic amphora.

<sup>30</sup> It is not known when Cleophantus was born, but he would perhaps have been educated sometime between 490–470 B.C., to judge from Themistocles' birth c. 524 B.C.



Panathenaic amphora and Attic neck amphora.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the use of the word *thaumasta* in the acknowledgement that Cleophantus ›worked many other marvels‹ on horseback could perhaps suggest a link with *thaumatopoiia*, a standard phrase for spectacle and acrobatics.<sup>32</sup>

It appears then, that horseback tumbling on the Panathenaic vase has a notable affinity with a known event from the Athenian festival and promotes the same valuation of skillful militaristic demonstrations in combination with physical feats that so characterized the events limited to Athenian participants. Perhaps the scene on the amphora is indeed the *euandria* – but if so it entails a serious corollary that the *euandria* either a) evolved over time, or b) was not ›standardized‹, but allowed room for variation and ingenuity by the performers as they showed their ›manliness‹, much in the same way that choral contests permitted and even encouraged differences in choreography. Why the corollary? Simply because the *euandria* existed long after 470 B.C., when representations of male tumblers in Greece virtually disappear from the artistic and historical record. More likely than being a part of the *euandria*, a *gymnastikos* and *athletikos* form of tumbling could have been part of a separate and distinct event in the budding years of the Panathenaia, perhaps an unorthodox relic from the civic games that predated the festival's reforms in 566/5 B.C. and one which was soon dropped from the itinerary of the reorganized competitions.

I have thus far emphasized the mounted tumbling on the Panathenaic amphora, but in fact another form of tumbling is also represented here: the leap from a ›springboard‹,<sup>33</sup> that incline plane on which the figure to the

<sup>31</sup> For the rare practice of standing upright on horses, see Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 168–172. Three other extant vases show figures standing or kneeling on a horse: those on a cup by the Amasis Painter (New York, Met. 1989.281.62) are not tumblers (*pace* Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 170–1); men ride with their knees on two Lucanian vases (Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 4 and Turin 4482), a technique also seen on a pair of Etruscan scarab rings (Rome, Mus. Naz. 69915 and London, BM Gem 821). Nothing in these Italian scenes suggests either a ›circus‹ or ›athletic‹ context, but it should be noted regardless that riding solo with one's knees is rather different from tumbling on or off a horse that another controls.

<sup>32</sup> The association of this word with a possible Panathenaic performance might help explain a metrical dedication found on the Acropolis, dated c. 500 B.C., which Webster 1972, 78 linked to the Panathenaic tumbling vase: τόνδε Φίλον ἀνέθηκεν | Ἀθηναίαι τριποδίσκων, / θαύμασι νικέσας | ἰς πόλιν ἡἄρσειο (IG I<sup>3</sup> 757 = DAA no. 322 = CEG 253). If the conjecture is valid, we have further evidence for tumbling in an agonistic context.

<sup>33</sup> I use the term ›springboard‹ for lack of a better word, though the apparatus seems to have been more like a ramp. Some (e.g. Maul-Mandelartz 1990, 169–70 and Jannot 1986, 196) label the device in these images a *petauron*, using the Latin term for a similar apparatus. However, the Latin word *petauron* applies fluidly to a range of acrobatic equipment, not just a ›springboard‹. Furthermore, it does not occur in an acrobatic context until the late 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. (Stilo fr. 28; Philodemus: *Ars Rhet.* 2, col. XLI = Longo 129;

farthest right in the scene stands poised. This device is conspicuous in scenes of tumbling on numerous vases.<sup>34</sup> In them, a warrior figure, usually nude apart from helmet and greaves and equipped with spear and shield or sometimes two shields, performs a back somersault after leaping from a springboard – typically an inclined piece of wood supported by another piece, though the support is not always shown. The vases are all roughly contemporary and show men, and only men,<sup>35</sup> executing an aerial rotation, or evoke the performance of the rotation by showing a man on, or running toward, a springboard. There can be little doubt that the structure on the Panathenaic prize vessel is the same apparatus.<sup>36</sup> Whatever event the

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Varro *de Vit. Pop. Rom.* 2.85). It means ›bird's roost‹ in Greek (e.g. Ar. fr. 872 K–A; Nic. *Theor.* 197; Theocr. 13.13), though could denote any long flat plank of wood (e.g. Lyc. *Alex.* 884; Polyb. 8.4.8; Hesych. π 2058). Considering also the disappearance of the springboard in art and text from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century until the late 2<sup>nd</sup> B.C., the term *petauron* for the apparatus in the Greek scenes is probably anachronistic.

<sup>34</sup> Würzburg HA 639: black figure Attic kylix, c. 530 B.C. An airborne tumbler has leapt from the springboard shown to the right and is upside down with knees bent, performing a back somersault. He is nude, wears helmet and greaves, and carries only one shield, having left aside (or thrown?) his spear. The opposite side of the cup depicts a virtually identical performance. Langlotz 1932, cat. no. 428 (pl. 113); Schäfer 1997, pl. 47.1; Beazley 1939, fig. 8. The vase is often cited as Würzburg 428, with reference to Langlotz's catalogue.

Boston 67.861: black figure Attic kylix, c. 530 B.C. A similar airborne backward rotation, but the warrior-athlete wears a breastplate, has only one shield, and no spear; the springboard is to the left. A second tumbler performs the same feat on the opposite side of the vessel. Spectators watch the performances and marvel at the displays. CVA Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 2 (USA 19), III H, pl. 106 (940) 1–2–3; Delavaud-Roux 1993, no. 57; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2006, fig. 51.

Bonn 340: white ground lekythos from Eretria, workshop of the Athena painter, c. 500 B.C. A clothed hoplite with spear and shield runs toward a springboard while a man plays the *aulos*. Nonsense inscriptions. A helmet under the apparatus strengthens the military iconography. Schäfer 1997, pl. 46.1–2; Hatzivassiliou 2010, cat. no. 697 (pl. 19.2–3); Greifenhagen 1935, cat. no. 34 (fig. 48 and 50).

Tampa 86.93: red figure Attic skyphos, c. 470 B.C. A tumbler is on a springboard, his bent knees making it clear that he is ready to leap backward. He is naked but for a helmet and carries two shields. A rock is behind him. On the reverse, an *aulete* with potter's wheel and hanging flute case. Schäfer 1997, pl. 47.2–3; von Bothmer 1961, cat. no. 248 (pl. 90); Neils 1992, cat. no. 47.

<sup>35</sup> Beazley 1939, 8–10 connects a fragmentary chous (Ashmolean 1966.877) showing a nude female holding two shields at a symposium to the Mysian's dance in *Anabasis* and the activity on the springboard vases. However, there is no reason that the girl *must* tumble simply because she holds two shields; her dance could take another form, perhaps similar to the other aspects of the Mysian's dance.

<sup>36</sup> Some do not believe that the boy is on a springboard, but rather watches the show from atop a pole (see esp. Beazley 1939, 12) or performs some other activity (e.g. Neils 2007, 48 who thinks him executing »some sort of pole-vaulting«). With comparison to other representations of the springboard, the object here seems undeniably to be the same apparatus. Greifenhagen 1935, 467 n.2 denies the boy status as a tumbler because other

amphora shows, it is by no means a unique or fantastic representation of that activity. The comparable images differ from the Panathenaic vase, however, in presenting not a nude springboard leaper but one equipped with military accoutrements, like the amphora's *kybisteter*, confirming that the springboard aspect of this activity also had martial associations. The prevalence of such imagery suggests that successful execution of the springboard leap exemplified the civic value of the performer and his potential for positive contributions in war. In this way, it finds parallels to the interpretation of athletic events like the *pyrrhiche*, horseback javelin-throw, race in armour, etc., as marking the ritual transition of an ephebe into manhood and the promise of future military prowess.<sup>37</sup> Here the combination of extreme physical ability with militaristic overtones creates the image of a warrior-athlete.

The activity in the vase scenes has previously been linked with the Mysian's dance in the *Anabasis*, and martial dance in general.<sup>38</sup> However, this interpretation does not sufficiently recognize the importance of the springboard. Its prominence is central to images where it is clearly meant to be understood by the viewer as a particular and identifiable apparatus. I argue that it specifically indicates a distinctive and recognizable activity, perhaps related to martial dances but not exclusively choral in form, function, or nature. Others have proposed that they might show an athletic event of some kind,<sup>39</sup> as I argue here, but it is a theory that many dismiss. Donald Kyle, for example, claims that »there is no reason to drop the usual view that the depictions of acrobatics ... merely indicate miscellaneous displays and diversions associated with festivals or victory celebrations«. <sup>40</sup> He is correct in part, for surely not all of the above vases need necessarily be interpreted as explicitly athletic. As »reason to drop the usual view«, however, I adduce once more the very probable existence of acrobatic manoeuvres in pyrrhic contests, the persistent prize imagery on the

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springboard leapers carry military equipment. Rather than indicate the boy is *not* a *kybisteter*, though, his nudity simply suggests that tumblers could perform naked, like other athletes; cf. the naked tumblers in Etruscan art (discussed below). The more important visual identifiers for the boy's activity here are the apparatus on which he stands, the »acrobatic« context of the scene, and the youth's body position, posed to show that he is about to leap backwards.

<sup>37</sup> On the significance of the *pyrrhiche* in particular see Lonsdale 1993, 162–8 and Bierl 2009, 207–18.

<sup>38</sup> For the association of the springboard leap with martial dance, especially the Mysian's dance in *Anabasis*, see especially Beazley 1939, 10–12, von Bothmer 1983, 67, Delavaud-Roux 1993, 158–9, and Schäfer 1997, 82. Ceccarelli 1998, 248–9 categorizes several of the springboard vases under the heading »danze acrobatiche in armi«.

<sup>39</sup> Usually the *euandria*, as discussed above in connection with the Panathenaic amphora.

<sup>40</sup> Kyle 1992, 96.

Panathenaic vessel and the award of a *kados*, the war iconography used for tumblers and its parallels with known Panathenaic events, and the cultural significance of the physicality of the performers' bodily achievements. The ›acrobatic‹ manoeuvres that are executed by springboard leapers and, likely, by horseback tumblers are ›gymnastic‹ and ›athletic‹, performed at *agones*; manifestly different are the ›thauematic‹ contortions performed at symposia by female entertainers. There, the women tend to exhibit an inward-oriented, or introverted, dance, which relies on graceful flexibility and is characterized most prominently by bending the body back onto or over itself, as already mentioned. Importantly, there is not a single extant artistic representation of a female acrobat inverted while *airborne*. Different also is the acrobatic play of party-goers and satyrs, for whom acts of balance and erratic or awkward movements are typical.<sup>41</sup> The feats of the tumbler, in contrast, emphasize the man's physical strength, agility, and dependence on individual ability to push the boundaries of normal limitations.<sup>42</sup> The explosive violence of his movements results in a conquest over corporeal restrictions and makes a display that becomes almost macho exhibitionism. A tumbler showcases his *andreia* both in bodily achievement and by laying claim to martial skill.<sup>43</sup> In sum, this masculine tumbling highlights *gymnastikoi* virtues that are at odds with displays of non-sportive acrobatics.

Finally, I bring attention here to the comparative evidence provided by a curious Etruscan cup, which presents a clear juxtaposition of tumbling and wrestling. It has been overlooked in previous attempts to reconcile

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<sup>41</sup> E.g. Athens NM 536 (CC 571), Malibu 76.AE.127, Todi Museo Civico 471, Athens NM 10530, Ashmolean 1920.102; cf. the ›bridge‹ position on Paris Louvre G73 and on London BM B102.16. Acrobatic satyrs also have bent limbs: London BM E768, Brussels A723, Athens NM 1432; cf. the ›diving‹ satyrs on a lost calyx-krater by the Phiale Painter (Oakley 1990, pl. 52A–B) and on a vessel in Würzburg (HA 18). Exceptions to bent limbs are a child on a chous (Athens NM 14527) and some later Roman statuary: e.g., London BM Bronze 1624 and 1625, Florence Bronze 486 (cf. lot 124, Sale 1091Christie's, June 12, 2002, New York), London BM Sculpture 1768 (with counterpart at Palazzo Massimo Museum in Rome, Inv. 40809); cf. Hippokleides' notorious ›gesticulation‹ with his legs, as told by Herodotus (6.129). Female performers probably did execute motions requiring straight legs on occasion, but what is significant is that they are not shown thus in art.

<sup>42</sup> A fragmentary pelike in the Metropolitan Museum (1978.347.2a–h = Beazley, ARV<sup>2</sup>, 238.10; *non ipse vidi*) shows, according to Giroux and Bothmer in *Beazley Addenda* (ed. T. Carpenter) 1989, 201, »a man in armour somersaulting over three upright swords«. No springboard is mentioned, and the aspect of leaping *over* swords is closer to sympotic sword-diving than anything else; n.b., though, that he is still airborne. The date of vase, 500–480 B.C., could relate to a transition in the popularity of different forms of ›acrobatic‹ displays: the earliest extant depiction of female acrobatics is dated 475–425 B.C. (Naples 81398, previously H 3232).

<sup>43</sup> For *andreia* (›manliness‹, among other meanings) see Rosen and Sluiter (eds.) 2003, esp. van Nijf, 263–286 for the link with athletics.

acrobatics and athletics but its illustration of tumblers presents an important and edifying parallel to Greek scenes. This small black-figure kyathos, or one-handed kantharos, dated to somewhere between 520 and 500 B.C. and housed in the British Museum, was originally categorized by H. B. Walters as Etruscan (Taf. 4, fig. 2).<sup>44</sup> On one side, it depicts a seated figure with a staff or walking stick (perhaps a deity), a satyr, what may be a maenad, and another satyr. These four figures belong in a group, neatly placed together on one side of the cup and displaying unity in their representation of the religious sphere. The other side of the cup presents a wrestling match and umpire, framed on either side by a tumbler. I begin with the tumbler on the far right of the scene: he is male and naked, shown standing on his head with hands used for support and legs held quite straight. The pose is dissimilar to depictions of handstands on Greek vases, where the legs are almost *always* bent: for women, the legs are usually brought over the head (indeed, not a single female acrobat doing a handstand has perfectly straight legs), while for male symposiasts enjoying in revelry the legs are generally bent or crooked in some fashion. For Etruscan vases and statuettes of acrobats too, bent legs or an arched body are typical.<sup>45</sup> Here, the tumbler's straightness appears to imply sportive masculinity, in that it is a product of power and firmness, carefully controlled and moderated.<sup>46</sup> Curiously, the tumbler is balanced not on the ground but on a flat elevated surface placed next to a similar, higher surface. Beside them is a branch or tree, indicating a continuation of the outdoor setting of the wrestling bout. The identification of the object on which the tumbler balances is difficult. It might be a box or stool, a tree stump, a flat rock, a platform, the base of a monument, or even tiered seating.

To the left of the handstand figure is a cloaked *brabeus* with two *rhabdoi*, who watches over a pair of nude bearded wrestlers. Beside them, closest to the obverse scene, is a naked man whom Walters describes as »standing on his head«. <sup>47</sup> He is *not* standing on his head, however, but is clearly shown in mid air, with head, hands, and the rest of the body above the ground. In fact, he has just performed a back somersault or flip from the incline plane shown to his left, drawn as a tall triangle. This is the same »springboard« apparatus seen on the Greek vessels discussed above, though

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<sup>44</sup> London BM B73; Walters 1893, 37. I thank Paul Christesen for his helpful comments regarding the cup's provenance.

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, a beautiful early vase, dated c. 670 B.C., with several acrobat-dancers (Würzburg ZA 66: see Martelli and Simon 1988). Acrobats are a common theme for Etruscan figurines, especially bronze cista handles, where an arched body creates the handle shape (see Davies 1971, 150 n. 14).

<sup>46</sup> For the Greeks, at least, straightness is frequently a positive quality: see especially Pl. *Laws* 815b in the context of dance.

<sup>47</sup> Walters 1893, 73.

here it is almost an abstract representation of the normal device. While the vase painting is of course a portrayal, not a photograph, the manner in which the two tumblers *frame* a wrestling contest invites us to interpret the activities in conjunction, suggesting that they were meaningfully related in some way.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps they even co-existed at a shared locale, maybe a festival that included sporting events (which might reflect the religious imagery on the cup's opposite side), or, given the cup's Etruscan origins, a funerary context. Even though we do not know the setting for the scene, we can say that the artist envisioned it occurring outdoors, perhaps at the same venue as the wrestling match.

In terms of understanding the role of tumbling in Greek sport, the scene on this kyathos presents a valuable comparison. Walters originally listed the cup as an »Etruscan imitator«; it is certainly possible that the lively scenes were inspired by Greek culture, but the intensely complicated relationship between Greek and Etruscan wares and markets means that the extent of ›imitation‹, if imitation it is, can only be speculated. More useful to consider is the fact that the airborne tumbler has leapt from a springboard. It is not the only place the apparatus is present in Etruscan art: a lost tomb painting from Poggio al Moro, dated c. 475–450 B.C., depicts, among many other sporting and festive pursuits, a youth leaping from the same apparatus, while an *aulete* stands nearby.<sup>49</sup> The equivalency of practical usage of the springboard in both the Etruscan and Greek scenes may hint that there were same or similar contexts for the activity in either culture. Certainly the kyathos and the Panathenaic amphora both link the springboard leap with athletics, as does the tomb painting. While it must remain only a cross cultural comparison, the curious juxtaposition of wrestlers and tumblers on the Etruscan cup deserves serious consideration.

In conclusion, evidence suggests that up to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. male tumbling in Greece could indeed be *athletikos* and *gymnastikos*, depending on the type of action executed and the context of performance. It always retained a *thaumatikos* component and was often central to dance, and certainly never as integral to Greek sport as many other events, but our extant evidence does advocate a relationship with sport. In part, this was realized in the presence of tumbling as an aspect of martial dance, but tumblers also used a springboard apparatus in distinctive displays and/or

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<sup>48</sup> The word *kybistesis* is used by Lucian to describe wrestlers rolling and grappling in the dirt (*Anach.* 16.39, 18.23; cf. Philost. *Gym.* 50.10); vase paintings that show a man being thrown in a wrestling bout capture the notion of this sort of ›tumbling‹. I thank Mark Golden for the suggestion that wrestlers might in this way train to tumble properly in order to avoid injury.

<sup>49</sup> See Jüthner 1965, pl. 19. After analyzing representation of the springboard device here and elsewhere, Jannot 1986, 197 concludes that Etruscan use of it was inspired by the Greeks and appropriated from them, though from festive, not athletic, contexts.

performed on horseback. That these activities might take place at an athletic *agon* is implied by the prize imagery on an early Panathenaic vase, especially the inscription awarding a *kados* to the tumbler. Tumbling may well have been a short-lived event at the early Panathenaic games. The artistic representation of the male body in tumbling, quite different from the representation of an acrobatic female body or a man enjoying acrobatic play at a symposium, emphasizes corporal strength and potency. The movement of the body itself holds interpretative significance as it forges a semiotic connection between the tumblers' liberated and outward-oriented motions and their status as *eleutheroi*, in control of their own selves, unlike the inward-oriented contortions of Greek female entertainers, whose elastic and pliable movements could render the body ›unnatural‹ to the point of grotesque. When taken in combination with the emblematic martial imagery stressed for most male tumbling, a symbolic claim for the tumbler is thus made toward social standing as an upper class warrior-athlete.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> There is very little to suggest that tumbling was associated with athletics in the Greek world after the beginning of the Classical period. With the rise of specialized sympotic acrobats *qua* entertainers, performers were usually slaves and/or prostitutes, whose stunts were predominately characterized as degrading spectacle. In the Hellenistic period professional itinerant ›marvel-makers‹ become more popular, and specialized terminology developed to denote different types of acrobat, such as the tightrope walker, trapeze artist, strongman, etc. Writers from the late Classical period onward condemn death-defying feats as inherently foolish (e.g. Xen. *Mem.* 1.3.10; Democr. fr. D92 Taylor = D–K B228) and those at the end of the Hellenistic and onward consistently claim that acrobatics is not a *techne* (e.g. Phld. *Ars Rhet.* col. XLI = Longo 129; Gal. *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas* 9.6). In the Roman period, acrobats belong almost exclusively to the realm of spectacular shows (e.g., *inter alia*, Man. *Astr.* 5.439; Petron. 53.11ff.; Juv. 14.265).

There are a few possible late exceptions to a low status for acrobats: acrobats are made citizens according to SIG3 II 847, *FdD* 1.469.6, IG14.1535, and Delph.3(1).216. SEG XXVII 266 could imply acrobatic competitions. Acrobatic manoeuvres are possible in religious rituals, according to Servius (comm. *Aeneid.* 3.111). The *akrobatai* of Artemis, however, mentioned in inscriptions from Ephesus and elsewhere, are *not* acrobats, but either the ›high-steppers‹ who walked up to the altar, or dancers ›on tiptoe‹.

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## **Bibliographie**



## **Annual Bibliography of Sport in Antiquity 2014–2015**

**Zinon Papakonstantinou/Sofie Remijsen**

The present Nikephoros Annual Bibliography of Sport in Antiquity contains scholarship published in 2014 and 2015, as well as publications with a 2013 date which were not included in the previous issue of the bibliography. We finished compiling the 2014–2015 Bibliography in late August 2017. Publications with a 2014 and 2015 date that appeared after August 2017 will be included in the next issue of the bibliography.

We would like to renew our call to authors to notify us of their sport-related publications, especially if they appear in hard-to-access journals or volumes. We also invite the wider classics community to utilize the comprehensive (from 1986), open access and searchable online Nikephoros Bibliography of Sport in Antiquity (<http://nikephoros.uni-mannheim.de>) and notify us of any additions or corrections. The online bibliography is regularly updated in between the publication of the printed annual bibliographies, and will therefore provide a more timely overview of the 2016 and 2017 publications.

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### Abbreviations<sup>1</sup>

BMCR	Bryn Mawr Classical Review
BCAR	Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma
CJ	Classical Journal
CR	Classical Review
FdP	El Futuro del Pasado
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IJHS	International Journal of the History of Sport
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
AC	L'Antiquité Classique
MedAnt	Mediterraneo Antico
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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## **Rezensionen**





**Jean-Manuel Roubineau**

*Milon de Croton ou l'invention du sport*

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Mit dem Buch von Jean-Manuel Roubineau über den ›Ringerkönig‹ Milon aus dem unteritalischen Kroton, dessen Nachfolgeort Croton (Kalabrien) seinen griechischen Ursprung im Namen trägt, ist erstmals einem antiken Athleten eine Monographie gewidmet worden. Es erstaunt nicht, daß sie Milon gilt, der zu recht »la figure cardinale du sport antique« (250) genannt und bereits von den Autoren des Altertums vielfach erwähnt wird. Der Autor spielt meisterhaft auf der Klaviatur der antiken Stellen zu Milon und stellt sie in teilweise langen Anmerkungen überzeugend in den Kontext der Fachliteratur, die er erfreulicherweise in mehreren Sprachen heranzieht und damit wieder den Standard herstellt, der nur zu oft und zu gerne in amerikanischen Publikationen auf dem Gebiet der Altertumswissenschaften in der letzten Zeit in Vergessenheit zu geraten schien. Der Anmerkungsteil umfaßt die Seiten 251–318; Anm. 12 von Kapitel 5 ist zwei und eine halbe Seite lang.

Milons Erfolge fallen in eine Epoche, in der Kroton eine große Zahl von Olympiasiegern stellt: Vor Milons sportlichen Erfolgen erringt die Stadt sechs Siege im Stadionlauf, nach ihnen weitere fünf, dessen letzter von Astylos von Kroton errungen wurde, der sich von Sybaris kaufen ließ und für diese Stadt noch zwei weitere Siege erlief. Milons Siege in Olympia werden vom Autor nun ohne Unterbrechung in die Jahre 536 bis 512 v. Chr. gesetzt, vgl.

42, Tab. 3. Damit hat er die bisherige Forschung in zwei Punkten korrigiert: Der unwahrscheinliche Sieg in der Jugendklasse im Alter von höchstens 12 Jahren entfällt, da die Olympien des Jahres 536 v. Chr., an denen der Krotoniate nach bisheriger Auffassung nicht teilgenommen hat, einen siegreichen Jugendlichen Milon sähen, dessen Alter zu diesem Zeitpunkt von Roubineau auf 14 Jahre geschätzt wird (38–45). Zweitens schließt sich der französische Althistoriker der Auffassung von Simonides an und läßt diesem ersten Sieg in Olympia sechs weitere in der Männerklasse folgen, rechnet Milon also insgesamt sieben Siege zu. Die überlieferte Niederlage gegen seinen jungen Mitbürger Timasitheos habe er im Pankraton erlitten (32–33), wofür es allerdings keinen Beweis gibt. Da Milon zusätzlich sieben Siege in Delphi, zehn auf dem Isthmos und neun in Nemea erreichte, waren die Chancen für gute Ringer auf einen großen Sportsieg für mehr als ein Vierteljahrhundert in Griechenland auf den Nullpunkt gesunken. Die Feststellung, Milon sei »le premier périodonique de l'histoire« (46, so auch 247), ist insofern problematisch, als der Titel ›Periodonike‹ erst seit dem 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. nachweisbar ist. Wenn man ihn aber für Milon bereits als theoretisches Attribut veranschlagt, ist er mit sieben Vierfachsiegen an den ausgesuchtesten Agonen Griechenlands auch der mit Abstand erfolgreichste (anachronistische) Periodonike. Periodoniken mit den meisten Erfolgen nach Milon brachten es lediglich auf maximal drei dieser Mehrfachsiege. Es überrascht also nicht, wenn man noch fast tausend Jahre nach Milon in der Spätantike von ihm spricht oder sogar im Byzanz des 12. Jahrhunderts von ihm weiß (Eustathios, Tzetzes). Dabei ist es nicht verwunderlich,

daß Milons auch noch in späteren Zeiten gedacht wird. Bekannt ist etwa die Marmorstele von P. Puget, Milon von Kroton (1672–1683), im Louvre, die wohl Anregung gab für einen Stich von B. A. Nicolet, Milon le Crotoniate, 1785 (Abb. 17 auf Seite 227). Rabelais, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas sind neben anderen Literaten berühmte Autoren, die sich mit ihm beschäftigten. Milon wird im französischen Chanson besungen und schmückt eine Briefmarke, die aus Anlaß der Olympischen Spiele 1924 in Paris ediert wurde (18f.). Auch einem Kraftgetränk gab er seinen Namen, das immerhin bereits seit 1934 auf dem Markt ist (236f. mit Abb. 19).

Das einzige, was aus der Lebenszeit des Athleten von ihm erhalten ist, ist die Steinbasis seiner Siegerstatue in Olympia, die Roubineau nach dem Vorbild von H.-V. Herrmann erklärt (84–88 mit Abb. 7 auf Seite 87). Neben dieser Statue gab es eine weitere von ihm, die Konstantin nach Konstantinopel bringen ließ und die bis zum Brand infolge des Nika-Aufstandes des Jahres 532 n. Chr. als Schmuck der Thermen des Zeuxippos diente. (Zum Nika-Aufstand unbedingt zu erwähnen G. Greatrex, »The Nika Riot. A Reappraisal«, in: JHS 117 [1997] 60–86).

In dem Buch über Milon wird die gesamte Überlieferung, sei sie historischer, legendärer oder anekdotenhafter Natur, systematisch in neun Kapiteln abgehandelt. Auf eine Einleitung folgt ein Kapitel über die biographischen Notizen (Fragments biographiques; 27–57). Sodann wird die Heimatstadt Kroton und ihre Olympische Dominanz im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. herausgestellt (Crotone bien couronnée; 59–76). Im dritten Kapitel (L'exploit et l'exercice; 77–100) geht es um die großen Kraftleistungen des Krotoniaten

und um ihre Voraussetzung, das Training. Behandelt wird in diesem Zusammenhang auch der in der antiken mineralogischen Literatur erwähnte *lapis alectorius* (96–100), ein bohnen großer Kristall, den man angeblich im Magen der Hühnervögel findet und der auch Milon als Talisman für seine Unbesiegbarkeit gedient haben soll. Wer an seine Wirksamkeit glaubte, dem vermittelte er Stärke und verhütete Durst, wie er bei den zeitlich unbegrenzten Kämpfen der Kampfsportler gewöhnlich aufkam. Ein zu Ungunsten Milons ausgegangener Wettkampf im Steinheben und -stoßen gegen den Naturburschen Titormos aus Aitolien ist Gegenstand des vierten Kapitels (L'athlète et le bouvier; 101–119), in dem auch antike Leistungen im Gewichtheben (Eumastas in Thera, Bybon in Olympia, Hermodikos in Epidauros) mit modernen im *deadlift* und mit »Atlassteinen« in Island verglichen werden, wo am Strand von Djupalosandair die jungen Fischer einen Test im Steinheben bestehen müssen, ehe sie aufs Meer hinaus fahren dürfen. Das fünfte Kapitel (Milon, terrible mangeur; 121–150) ist den ungeheuren Eßleistungen gewidmet, die dem Athleten aus Kroton angedichtet wurden. Seine Diät aus Brot, Fleisch und Wein war zu seiner Zeit revolutionär. Anschließend geht es in Kapitel sechs (Les deux corps de Milon; 151–169) um die beiden Körper von Milon, den im Gymnasion von Krotone ausgebildeten und den durch Zwangsdiät (*ἀναγκοφαγία*) mißgestalteten Körper der Ringer, der mit denen heutiger *sumotori* verglichen wird. Zu den Beispielen, in denen Athleten für ihre Schönheit bewundert werden, gehört unbedingt auch der Faustkämpfer Melankomas (Dion Chrysostomos 28, 5–8). Sodann werden antike Stimmen zum Verhältnis von Körper und Geist

bei Milon diskutiert, wobei diejenigen überwiegen, die die beiden Aspekte des bärenstarken Athleten als Gegensatz sehen, doch kann Milon auch wie bei Ovid als Mann *par excellence* bewertet werden, wie Helena als Inkarnation weiblicher Schönheit gilt. Es folgt Kapitel sieben (*Le taureau et la mouche*; 171–189). Um 300 n. Chr. hat Jamblichos eine Abhandlung in 10 Büchern über den Pythagoräismus geschrieben, in dessen einzig erhaltenem ersten Buch 218 männliche und 17 weibliche Anhänger des Philosophen genannt werden, darunter Milon und des Meisters Tochter Myia, die als Frau des Athleten vorgestellt wird. Ihr Beinamen »Mücke« läßt auf eine zierliche Person schließen, während ihr Gatte das genaue Gegenteil darstellt. Kampfsportler werden gerne mit Stieren verglichen, in deren Gefolge die Mücke sich wohlfühlt und ihrem Wirt arg zusetzen kann. In Gegenwart seiner Frau wird der Stier Milo zahm, wie viele starke Männer von Herakles bis Dioxippos sich von Frauen den Kopf verdrehen (*τραχηλίζειν*, auch *terminus technicus* der agonistischen Sprache) lassen und verweichlichen. Es folgen einige Bemerkungen über das Ehemodell der Pythagoräer und die sexuelle Askese von Athleten. Kapitel acht (*Sus à l'ennemi!*; 191–218) thematisiert den Kontext von Sport und Krieg ausgehend von der Überlieferung, daß Milon nach Ende seiner sportlichen Karriere das Heer von Kroton im Jahre 511/510 v. Chr. gegen die Nachbarstadt Sybaris angeführt hat, nur mit der Keule bewaffnet und eingehüllt in eine Löwenhaut wie Herakles, seine Olympischen Siegeskränze als magische Zeichen auf dem Haupt. Der Sieg der Krotoniaten bedeutete das Ende von Sybaris, wobei der Zwist sich nicht aus ideologischen Gründen, sondern wegen territorialer

Streitigkeiten entzündet hatte. Die Mär vom Leben der Sybariten in Saus und Braus entstand erst im Verlaufe des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. In der Folge werden Beispiele aus der Geschichte herangezogen, in denen Athleten sich auch als Krieger hervortaten wie etwa Phayllos von Kroton oder die Olympiasieger Teisimenes und Polyneikos, die unter den 202 (wahrscheinlich in der Schlacht von Delion 424 v. Chr.) gefallenen Athenern auf den Gedenksteinen von Thespias verzeichnet sind. Zum Thema Sport und Krieg siehe jetzt auch das Buch von Paola ANGELI BERNARDINI, *Il soldato e l'atleta. Guerra e sport nella Grecia antica*, Bologna 2016. Das neunte und letzte Kapitel (*Dévoré d'orgueil*; 215–243) schließlich geht den Berichten über das Nachlassen von Milons Kräften und seinem angeblichen Tod durch wilde Tiere – Wölfe oder Löwen – nach, die den alternden Milon zerrissen, als er aus einem zusammenschnellenden Baumstamm seine Hände nicht mehr lösen konnte – bestrafte Hochmut. Der große Fresser wird zum Fraß für Tiere. Es gibt eine aus mehreren Quellen gespeiste Überlieferung, daß Pythagoras, der im Jahre 530 v. Chr. nach Kroton kam und dort großen Einfluß gewann, im Haus des Milon beim Ausbruch einer Feuersbrunst umkam. Vom Schicksal Milons ist nicht die Rede, obwohl es nicht ausgeschlossen scheint, daß auch er den Flammen zum Opfer gefallen ist. Das Feuer könnte von den politischen Gegnern des Pythagoras gelegt worden sein.

Bei einem abschließenden Resümee (245–250) wird Milon, »athlète et chef de guerre, champion et pythagoricien, grand mangeur et prêtre d'Héra«, (245) als größter Athlet der Antike verstanden, der im kollektiven Gedächtnis der Griechen und Römer verankert war.

Mit ihm wird nach Auffassung Roubineaus die griechische Körperkultur erst eigentlich zum Sport. Zu seiner Zeit werden erstmals in nennenswertem Umfang Stadien und Gymnasien gebaut und Agone gegründet. Die Wettkampftournee durch den Turnus der großen Agone festigt sich und, so muß man hinzufügen, das Training wurde zu einem notwendigen Element des sportlichen Erfolges. Auch das Aufkommen der Sportkritik durch Xenophanes ließe sich in diesem Zusammenhang als Indikator für die beginnende soziale Bedeutung des Sports anführen, wie bereits einleitend vermerkt, wo auch das 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. für den Beginn sportlicher Vasendarstellungen und athletischer Nacktheit bei den Griechen herausgestellt wird.

Fast erstaunt es, daß der größte Athlet von allen nie einen Heroenkult auf sich zog wie 13 andere Kampfsportler, von denen die meisten Faustkämpfer waren. Einziger Ringer unter ihnen war Hipposthenes von Sparta. Roubineau meint, das hinge damit zusammen, daß das Zuschauerinteresse mehr den lebensgefährlichen Disziplinen Pankration und Boxen galt, die keinem Zeitlimit unterworfen waren, während ein Ringkampf nach dreimaligem Niederwurf eines der Athleten beendet war, was allerdings auch stundenlang dauern konnte.

Es wäre von Interesse gewesen, über die Bedingungen der Seereisen zu Zeiten Milons mehr zu erfahren, da der Athlet aus Unteritalien seine wichtigsten Wettkampforte in Griechenland nur zu Schiff erreichen konnte, so daß Milon dank seiner häufigen Seereisen einer der erfahrensten Passagiere seiner Zeit gewesen sein muß. (Zur Mobilität antiker Athleten mag auf die Arbeit von Patrick Gow, *Griekse atleten in de Romeinse keizertijd* [31 v. Chr.–400

n. Chr.], Diss. Universität Amsterdam 2009, verwiesen werden). Eine andere Frage ist, wie sich Milon während der langen Tage auf See in Form hielt. Man bedauert, daß griechische Begriffe nur in Transkription, nicht jedoch im Original wiedergegeben sind. Im Pausanias-Zitat (30, erste Zeile) lies »Daméas«. Ein ganzer Abschnitt von Seite 60–62 ist auf Seite 62 in wörtlicher Wiederholung abgedruckt (»Crotone – étrangers«). 142 unten bezieht sich eine Wiederholung im Druck auf zwei Sätze. Obwohl das Buch von RAUSA in der Bibliographie erwähnt wird, fehlt es 256, Anm. 53. Eine Anmerkung zuvor vermißt man einen Hinweis auf M. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, Basel 1998.

Der französische Althistoriker hat mit dem Buch über Milon eine überzeugende Studie über den größten Athleten des Altertums vorgelegt, die auf hohem Niveau die gesamte Überlieferung analysiert und kritisch historische Kerne von Legenden und Anekdoten trennt. Er erweist sich als profunder Kenner der Materie und beherrscht den Stoff in einem Maße, daß er Parallelen und Vergleiche zu den sein Thema berührenden Punkten gleichsam wie aus dem Füllhorn ausschüttet. Dieselbe Qualität weist auch die sporthistorische Durchdringung seines Gegenstandes auf. Das Buch kann als Modell für die wissenschaftliche Biographie antiker Athleten gelten. Leider ist das Material für keinen potentiellen Kandidaten an Umfang und Intensität mit dem zu vergleichen, auf das sich für Milon zurückgreifen ließ.

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**David M. Pritchard**  
*Sport, Democracy and War in  
 Classical Athens*

Cambridge: Cambridge University  
 Press, 2013  
 ISBN 978-1-10-700733-8  
 £ 60,00

In his *Sport, War and Democracy in Classical Athens* David Pritchard (hereafter P.) provides a new assessment of sport and warfare in Classical Athens. In summary, P.'s argument runs as follows. The advent of democracy in Athens had opened up popular participation in many aspects of civic life, including politics and warfare, but not athletics. That was because training in athletics was part and parcel of a privately subsidized system of education. Hence the poorest of Athenians could not afford to send their sons to the athletics teacher. But even though only the more affluent classes enjoyed the benefits of physical education, sport was nonetheless remarkably popular as Athenians of all walks of life associated it with positive personal attributes. This, P. continues, was an anomaly that could be explained by the close association, in the mind of most Athenians, between sport and war. Success in both activities was accounted for in terms of a common set of skills and concepts that sport and war shared – what P. calls a »cultural overlap« between the two activities. As a result of this conceptual proximity the Athenian *demos* came to value elite athletics. Sport was shielded from

public criticism and Athenians enthusiastically endorsed the foundation and subsidization of a large number of agonistic festivals.

The book begins with an introductory chapter in which the author discusses his methodology and provides a synopsis of the remainder of the book. In chapter 2, P. examines the extent to which lower-class Athenians participated in athletic training and competition. P. deploys a wide range of evidence to argue that due to the high cost of tuition lower-class Athenian boys did not, under normal circumstances, attend the classes of the *paidotribes*. If they could afford any schooling for their sons, families from this social group would normally choose to send them to the teacher of letters. That meant, according to P., that only Athenians of wealthy backgrounds could receive systematic training in athletics from a young age. Athletics was therefore a preserve of the social elites. This is one of the most contentious arguments of the book. Even though it is true that the cost of private tutoring for all three traditional subjects (letters, music, athletics) was out of reach for many, if not most, Athenians, it is by the same token true that the classes of the *paidotribes* were not the only opportunity for athletic training that Athenians had. As Nick Fisher has convincingly argued, Athenian youths could receive physical training as part of team preparation for tribal events for one of the numerous Athenian agonistic festivals.<sup>1</sup> The training and other re-

<sup>1</sup> Nick Fisher: »*Gymnasia* and the Democratic Values of Leisure.« In *Kosmos: Essays in Order, Conflict and Community in Classical Athens*, edited by Paul Cartledge,

Paul Millett and Sitta von Reden. Cambridge 1998, 84–104; idem, »The Culture of Competition.« In *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, edited by Kurt A. Raaflaub

lated costs for such teams were underwritten by wealthy Athenians, hence no cost incurred on the participants of tribal teams themselves. The high number of agonistic festivals attested for classical Athens bespeaks of high levels of participation by Athenian youths in sport and dance competitions and suggests respectable levels of participation in noncompetitive sport, e. g. physical education, as well.

In the same chapter P. also maintains that the alleged limited accessibility of lower-class Athenian boys to the classes of the *paidotribes* resulted in members of that social group shrinking from competition in the numerous local and panhellenic *agones*. I do not want to argue against the thesis that the majority of victors in the most important panhellenic and local games during the classical period (and indeed during any other historical period of antiquity) hailed from the social elites. However, in the case of less conspicuous local games, it is conceivable that raw talent could compensate for the lack of systematic and chronic training. In such cases, athletes of modest social origins could enter and at times even win some events.<sup>2</sup> This was especially so in the case of Athens where, as we have seen, youths could receive some physical training in preparation

for tribal events at civic festivals. Hence it is entirely plausible that talented boys of limited financial means who could not afford to attend the classes of the *paidotribai* could enter and perhaps win at local contests in Attica.

Moving on to Chapter 3, P. rightly argues that by and large athletics is depicted in positive terms in Classical Athenian sources, especially in those genres that had the Athenian *demos* as the target audience (e. g. forensic orations, comedy, tragedy). In the same chapter the author asserts that the popularity of sport and the detailed knowledge that lower-class Athenians had of athletics was an ›anomaly‹. The latter assertion is of course dependent on the conclusions of Chapter 2 in which, as I have pointed out, the author controversially argues that in Classical Athens athletic training and competition was the preserve of the upper class. In chapter 3 P. also points out that one of the most striking aspects of the sports culture in classical Athens was the lack of public criticism towards athletes and athletics. P. does not consider jokes in comedy about athletes' habits and the role of athletic venues as hotbeds of pederastic courtship as a ›direct‹ criticism of athletics (p. 137).

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and Hans van Wees. Chichester and Malden 2009, 524–541; idem, »Competitive Delights: The Social Effects of the Expanded Programme of Contests in Post-Kleisthenic Athens.« In *Competition in the Ancient World*, edited by Nick Fisher and Hans van Wees. Swansea 2011, 175–219. See also P. Christesen: *Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds*. Cambridge 2012, especially 153–160.

<sup>2</sup> This assertion should not be taken as an endorsement of David Young's, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics*,

Chicago 1984, view that it was likely for talented but poor young athletes to develop an illustrious athletic career on the basis of the material awards won at local contests. As P., p. 41, correctly points out the evidence suggests that in most cases the monetary value of prizes in local contests during the classical period was quite low. My point here is that it is very plausible that Athenian youths who received training for tribal events in agonistic festivals in Attica could compete individually in local contests.

There should be no doubt that during the Classical period athletics was an extremely popular activity in Athens. By the same token, high-profile Athenian intellectuals at times castigated aspects of athletic life and competition in treatises that aimed at an upper-class readership, and even in these works it is often the case that positive assessments of athletics appear side by side with criticisms. With particular reference to Athens it should be noted that select aspects of sporting life (e. g. training and eating practices of high-caliber athletes) were subjected to criticism not only by elite authors addressing their social peers but even by what P., who provides a brief discussion of the relevant passages (p. 115), calls »popular culture« sources. This suggests that despite the overwhelming popularity of athletics and the familiarity of the Athenian *demos* with sport history and practices, at times a critical attitude was adopted, especially in connection with the degree to which professional athletes measured up to widely accepted Athenian beliefs on civic responsibility.<sup>3</sup>

In chapter 4 P. delves into the representation of athletics in Athenian satyric drama. He regards the frequent depiction of satyrs attempting to practice athletics as a means to reveal the flaws and ultimately ridicule these mythical figures. He argues that Euripides' famous fragment 282 from the *Autolycus*, a comprehensive diatribe against athletes and athletics, was uttered by Autolycus himself and it was

part of an attempt to smear the character of the protagonist who, by attacking a popular practice, is made to appear even more villainous in the audience's eyes. This is an intriguing but conjectural interpretation, especially because we cannot really be sure of who is uttering Eurypides fr. 282 and how exactly it fits in the plot of the play. In the present state of the evidence, it is preferable to see this fragment as part of the series of criticisms and resentments that some Greek public intellectuals aired against athletics since the archaic period.

Chapter 5 attempts to account for the high esteem that athletics enjoyed in classical Athens. This was due, the author claims, to a »common culture of athletics and war« (p. 176): athletes and hoplite warriors faced similar challenges and espoused the same virtues in their respective endeavors. Overlapping terminology also suggests that Athenians largely perceived the two fields of activity in cognate terms. Athletics never achieved the prestige of war, P. argues, but »the conception of the two activities as comparable would have provided considerably more support to sport than to war« (p. 191). A related development is what P. calls the democratization of war, the subject of Chapter 6. Beginning in the late sixth century BCE, as a result of the reforms of Cleisthenes a wider cross-section of the Athenian citizenry participated in the publicly-controlled civic army of hoplites. As a result, P. argues, many Athenians acquired personal ex-

<sup>3</sup> See Z. Papakonstantinou: »The Athletic Body in Classical Athens: Literary and Historical Perspectives.« *International Journal for the History of Sport* 29.12 (2012) 1657–1668; idem, »Ancient Critics

of Greek Sport:« In *A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, edited by Paul Christesen and Donald Kyle. Chichester and Malden 2014, 320–331.



perience in an activity that »was comparable to athletics and so could identify more easily with the goals, exertions and achievements of wealthy athletes« (p. 192). This made it possible, according to P., for lower-class Athenians to empathize with the efforts and achievements of upper-class athletes.

Overall, P. has produced a book that is bound to generate discussion among historians of ancient sport. The author provides in-depth and at times insightful readings of some of the ancient evidence. At the same time, some aspects of his argument have already met with skepticism. It is important to note, however, that some sections of

the book can stand on their own, e. g. one does not have to subscribe to the author's »anomaly of sport« in classical Athens thesis in order to accept his reasonable reconstruction of the inter-related discourses on sport and war. In short, despite the reservations that some readers might feel about aspects of P.'s argument, this is a welcome addition to an ongoing and thriving debate on sport in democratic Athens.

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**Peter Scholz, Dirk Wiegandt (Hg.)**

***Das kaiserzeitliche Gymnasion***

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Seit dem Standardwerk von Jean Delorme: *Gymnasion. Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce*. Paris 1960 (BÉFAR 196) sind zahlreiche archäologische und historische Beiträge zur Erforschung dieser griechischen Bildungs- und Ausbildungsinstitution erschienen. Fast in halbes Jahrhundert später haben Daniel Kah und Peter Scholz den Sammelband *Das hellenistische Gymnasion* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2004) vorgelegt, der Studien zur Geschichte dieser Institution im Zeitalter des Hellenismus zusammenfasst. Daran schließt nunmehr »thematisch wie zeitlich (1) die hier vorzustellende Publikation, die elf Abhandlungen und eine knappe Einführung zum Inhalt hat, an. Dass die Zielsetzungen, Funktionen und Organisationsformen des Gymnasiums mit dem Übergang vom Hellenismus zur Kaiserzeit sich ändern, und zwar in nicht unbeträchtlicher Form, darf als hinlänglich bekannt vorausgesetzt werden. Die Hauptlinien der Entwicklung, die im Rahmen eines Akkulturationsprozesses ablaufen, und viele Details des politischen, ökonomischen und kulturellen Wandels sind Gegenstand dieser Abhandlungen. Worauf es den Herausgebern darüber hinaus konkret ankommt: Sie wollen vor allem diesen *cultural change*, die römische Rezeption und das Fortleben des grie-

chischen Gymnasiums mit seinen kaiserzeitlichen Modifikationen darstellen; sie legen aber gleichzeitig Wert darauf, dem Leser zu zeigen, dass es »keinesfalls gerechtfertigt« (2) sei, diese Änderungen »in der Kaiserzeit und der Spätantike [...] unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Niedergangs« (2) zu interpretieren. Dieser Zielsetzung entsprechen die Forschungsergebnisse, zu denen die neun Autoren und zwei Autorinnen kommen. – Wolfgang Orth konzentriert sich auf *Das griechische Gymnasion im römischen Urteil* (11–24) und setzt sich dabei vor allem mit der ambivalenten römischen Einstellung zu dieser Institution auseinander. Das weithin tradierte Bild von den Griechen als den »Urhebern aller Laster« (Plinius, *naturalis historia* 15.19: *vitiorum omnium genitores*), ihrer Schwäche für das Gymnasion (Plinius, *epistulae* 10.40.2: *gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi*) und der dort kultivierten Nacktheit als Anfang aller Schändlichkeit (Ennius, *Fragment* 395 Vahlen: *flagiti principium est nudare inter civis corpora*) relativiert O. mit überzeugenden Argumenten. Die römischen »Negativ-Stereotypen« (16) werden mit dem »Faktum« konfrontiert, dass die Belege ein Jahrhundert währendes »Wohlwollen gegenüber dem lokalen Festbetrieb« (22) und gelegentlich auch eine »fürsorgliche Unterstützung der Institution Gymnasion« (22) dokumentieren. Zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen gelangt Christian Mann in seinem Beitrag *Gymnasien und Gymnastikdiskurs im kaiserzeitlichen Rom* (25–46). Das liegt nicht nur daran, dass sich M. auf die gleichen drei zitierten antiken Autoren beruft, sondern vermehrt auch andere literarische und epigraphische Zeugnisse für die These von Orth anführt. Dazu kommt, dass M. auch einen

archäologischen Überblick über die Gymnasien in Rom von Agrippa, Nero und Traian bietet und die römische Mischform von griechischem Gymnasium und römischer Thermenanlage in Funktion und Genese interpretiert. – Mit der Frage, inwieweit das Gymnasium ein Ort war, in welchem philosophische, moralische und literarische Vorträge und Diskussionen stattgefunden haben, beschäftigt sich die Abhandlung *Die Sophisten und das Gymnasium* (47–62) von Martin Hose. Mit einer Reihe von Texten, die vor allem von Philostratos, Aelius Aristides und Dion Chrysostomus stammen und die ein illustres Florilegium philosophischer Notizen bieten, führt der Autor den Nachweis, dass diesen Repräsentanten der Zweiten Sophistik in den Gymnasien »keine prominente Rolle« (55) zukomme. Damit schwächt der Autor die traditionelle Ansicht, es handle sich beim Gymnasium um eine kulturelle Bildungsinstitution, deutlich ab. Einen Grund für diese These sieht H. in dem Umstand, dass das kaiserzeitliche Gymnasium zwar »ein geistiger Fokalisationspunkt für lokale Eliten war, nicht jedoch ein überregionales intellektuelles Zentrum« (56). – In Kombination mit ökonomischen Problemen widmet sich der Bildungsthematik auch Dennis P. Kehoen: *Das kaiserzeitliche Gymnasium, Bildung und Wirtschaft im Römischen Reich* (63–78). Ziel dieses Beitrages ist es, den historischen Zusammenhang von Gymnasium und Wirtschaft zu untersuchen. Das geschieht in erster Linie im Rahmen einer Analyse des sozialökonomischen Schrifttums vor allem seit den 1980er Jahren. Der Autor möchte vor allem erklären, »wie man die Kosten und Beiträge des kaiserzeitlichen Gymnasiums und anderer kultureller

Einrichtungen von einem wirtschaftlichen Standpunkt her verstehen kann.« (76). – Mit der etwas zu bescheidenen Einleitungsnotiz, »nicht mehr als eine Skizze« zum Sammelband beizutragen, eröffnet der Herausgeber Peter Scholz seine Studie *Städtische Honoratiorenherrschaft und Gymnasiarchie in der Kaiserzeit* (79–96). Nach einer kurzen Charakteristik des »hohen Prestiges«, welches die Gymnasiarchie auszeichnet, die anhand des von Commodus veranlassten Todesurteils für einen Gymnasiarchen beschrieben wird, skizziert Sch. die Entwicklung dieses Amtes in der hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Periode. Als Ausgangspunkt wählt der Autor eine Schilderung der Funktionen, denen Gymnasiarchen, die in der Regel für ein Jahr im Amt waren, im Hellenismus nachkommen sollten: Förderung der militärischen, körperlichen, religiösen und intellektuellen Eigenschaften der Jugend sowie Finanzierung der kostenintensiven agonistischen Feste und des aufwendigen Salböls für die Athleten. Diese Kompetenz unterliegt in der Kaiserzeit mancher Modifikation. So macht Sch. auf einen bemerkenswerten Wandel im gymnasialen Ausbildungsprogramm aufmerksam: Nach einer »Entmilitarisierung« und einer Reduktion der sportlichen Übungen gewinnen musische und literarische Inhalte an Gewicht. Auch die »Pflege und Instandhaltung der bestehenden Badeeinrichtungen« (84) fallen nunmehr in den Aufgabenbereich des Gymnasiarchen, dem zugleich die Beschaffung der Wettkampfpreise, der Opfergaben und die Bereitstellung von Mitteln für Festbankette obliegt. Sch. verweist auf zahlreiche epigraphische Dokumente, die darüber informieren. Dass mit dem allmählichen Rückgang des Euergetis-

mus *ob honorem* in den urbanen Zentren und seiner Monopolisierung durch den Kaiser, insbesondere in Rom, auf den bekanntlich Paul Veyne (*Brot und Spiele. Gesellschaftliche Macht und politische Herrschaft in der Antike* [1976], Frankfurt am Main 1988, 586–90) hingewiesen hat, auch der *nervus rerum* des Jahrhunderts lang funktionierenden Systems der Gymnasiarchie getroffen wurde, lässt sich kaum bestreiten. Soziologische Veränderungen innerhalb Honoratiorenkaste und leiturgische Verpflichtungen korrelieren mit diesem Prozess, der zu einer »grundlegenden Umgestaltung des Gymnasiarchenamtes« (86), geführt hat. Wie Inschriften bestätigen, dominiert nunmehr der Typus des »ewigen Gymnasiarchos« (*αἰώνιος γυμναστιάρχος*). Mit dem Fragenkomplex *Culto delle Muse e agoni musicali in età imperiale* (97–110), der auch schon Gegenstand der Untersuchungen von Scholz ist, befasst sich Lucia D'Amore: Ausgehend vom hellenistischen *paideia*-Konzept und dem gymnasialem Musenkult untersucht die Autorin vor allem aufgrund epigraphischer Evidenz das kaiserzeitliche Verständnis von *paideia*. Aufgrund der gesamten überprüften Zeugnisse glaubt die Autorin behaupten zu können, dass es zwischen Spät-hellenismus und Kaiserzeit keine radikalen Veränderungen (*cambiamenti radicali*) im Programm der öffentlichen Erziehung der Kinder gegeben haben müsse. Die hellenistische Erziehung, verkörpert durch die Musen (*incarnata dalle Muse*), bleibe weiterhin ein Schwerpunkt im gymnastischen Betrieb, vor allem in Kleinasien, von wo die meisten Zeugnisse stammen (D'Amore 2015, 106). Das aristotelische Programm der Kindererziehung (*Politika* 1337b23–29), ausgerichtet auf *grámmata*, *gymnastiké*, *mousiké*

und *zographiké* basiert auf dem *patrocinio delle Muse* (97), auf der *competizione in agoni musicali* (101) und der *devozione alle Muse* sowie auf dem Wunsch, den Musen lieb zu sein (*essere cari alle Muse*, 102). – Angelos Chaniotis fokussiert seinen Beitrag *Das kaiserzeitliche Gymnasium in Aphrodisias* (111–31) zunächst auf die kleinasiatische Stadt und ihr von Peripatetikern und Sophisten bis in die Spätantike geprägtes »Bildungszentrum«. Im Anschluss daran widmet sich der Autor den vorhandenen Gymnasien (»zumindest zwei«), wobei die in hellenistischer Zeit nachweisbare militärische Ausbildung in der Kaiserzeit »nicht direkt belegt« (119) ist. Ein epigraphischer Neufund, das Grabepigramm für Epikrates (spätes 2. frühes 1. Jh. v. Chr.; SEG LIX 1197) informiert über ein gymnasiales Programm, das außer Ringkampf, Musik, homerische Dichtung auch das militärische Training inkludiert. Fragen der Organisation und Verwaltung, der Altersgruppen (*épheboi*, *néoi*), deren sozialen Status, vor allem des Gymnasiarchenamtes und der Finanzierung der Gymnasien werden jeweils auf inschriftlicher Basis diskutiert. – Einen kleineren kleinasiatischen Stadtstaat behandelt Boris Dreyer: *Eine Landstadt am Puls der Zeit – Neue Inschriften zum Gymnasium und zum Bad aus Metropolis in Ionien* (133–48). Wie schon der Titel ankündigt, geben auch hier epigraphische Dokumente den Ausschlag für den Zugewinn neuer Erkenntnisse. Zunächst wird geklärt, wer für Nutzung, Verwaltung und Instandhaltung des Gymnasiums zuständig ist. Sodann geht es um die Altersgruppen, und zwar um die *paides*, die *néoi*, aber interessanterweise auch um die *geraioi* und *presbyteroi* (ab etwa 30 Jahren), die auch über ein eigenes Vereinshaus

verfügen, schließlich um die bauliche Gestaltung der städtischen Anlage. Es lag durchaus im Trend der Zeit, dass auch in Metropolis Teile des Gymnasiums durch ein Bad ersetzt wurden. Für die Wiedergabe zahlreicher Inschriften, ihre überzeugenden Interpretationen und Übersetzungen wird der Leser dankbar sein. – Im Unterschied zu Kleinasien sind die Gymnasien im syrisch-arabischen Raum, der im Wesentlichen nach der makedonischen Okkupation dem Seleukidenreich zugeschlagen wurde, bisher kaum systematisch untersucht worden, weder für die hellenistische, noch für die römische Zeit, obwohl an die 25 oder 26 Städte über Gymnasien verfügen. Diesen Mangel sucht Frank Daubner mit seiner Studie *Gymnasien und Gymnasiarchen in den syrischen Provinzen und in Arabien* (149–66) zu beheben. Dass dieses Forschungsdefizit besonders für die römische Periode zutrifft, erklärt D. unter anderem mit einem Zitat von Poseidonios (fr. 62a =Athenaios 12.527E–F), der sich »über die zu Bädern verkommenen Gymnasien in Syrien« (150) beklagt. Dazu kommt noch als ein generalisierendes Argument für eine dekadente Entwicklung die Hypothese, dass »die Römerherrschaft überhaupt zu einem Niedergang einer essentialistisch angenommenen genuin ›griechischen Kultur‹ geführt habe« (153). Dieser argumentativen Interpretation widerspricht der Autor mit seinem Hinweis auf die zentrale Funktion der Gymnasien als »Institutionen der Ausbildung zum Bürger« (162), und zwar nicht allein der Griechen, Kulturgriechen und Hellenisten, sondern generell der »nahöstlichen Eliten« (156). Der Bilanz, zu der die Studie schließlich gelangt, wird kaum jemand widersprechen: Es sei, so der

Autor, »schlicht falsch, von einer Degeneration des Gymnasiums zu einer dekadenten Badeanstalt zu reden. Im Gegenteil zeigt sich hier abermals die integrative Kraft der Institution des Gymnasiums, das nicht dazu diente, den Griechen im Ausland ein Clubhaus zu sein oder Nichtgriechen zu Griechen zu machen, sondern das die Menschen zu Bürgern formte« (163). – Der mit Abstand umfangreichste, mit 11 Plänen und 10 Fotos ausgestattete Beitrag von Monika Trümper: *Modernization and change of function of Hellenistic gymnasia in the Imperial period: Case-studies Pergamon, Miletus, and Priene* (167–221) überprüft das Quellenmaterial zu den späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Gymnasien. Dabei werden »three general innovative trends« (169) wahrgenommen. Sie betreffen die neue Qualität (1) der Multifunktionalität der Räumlichkeiten, (2) der Dekoration, wie sie Henner von Hesberg und Ralf von den Hoff festgestellt haben, und (3) der »bathing facilities«, des wichtigsten Faktors in der kaiserzeitlichen Entwicklung. In ihrer teilweise komparativen Betrachtungsweise der Gymnasien in den drei genannten Griechenstädten formuliert T. die These, dass, was vor allem die Thermen anlangt, der römische Einfluss zwar nicht zu übersehen sei, dass die Modernisierung aber bereits in der hellenistischen Periode einsetze. Die Funktionalität des Gymnasiums in der Kaiserzeit ist für T. »the only common factor« (215), der die drei untersuchten Städte verbindet, ansonsten ließen sich divergierende Strategien »in the use of their gymnasia« (214) ausmachen. Im Vergleich der drei Fallstudien zu den Gymnasien von Pergamon, Milet und Priene nimmt die zuletzt genannte Polis mit dem Neubau des oberen Gym-

nasionen insofern eine Sonderstellung ein, als mit der Einrichtung eines modernen Bades die ursprüngliche Funktion des Gymnasions grundsätzlich verändert, wenn nicht gar ausgelöscht worden sei. Im Übrigen lehnt auch T., ähnlich wie Daubner, die Ansicht von einem generellen Niedergang der Institution Gymnasion ab. – Einen besonderen Rang nimmt die Kombination von römischem Bad und griechischem Gymnasion in Ephesos und Milet ein. Damit beschäftigt sich Martin Steskal in seiner mit sechs Fotos illustrierten Abhandlung *Römische Thermen und griechische Gymnasien: Ephesos und Milet im Spiegel ihrer Bad-Gymnasien* (223–44). In Ephesos behandelt St. das Hafen-, Theater-, Ost- und das Vedius-Gymnasion, während in Milet die Thermen des Vergilius Capito und die Faustinathermen Gegenstand seiner überwiegend archäologisch-architektonischen Analysen sind. Als bemerkenswert finde ich, dass dabei der Fokus auf die Zeitspanne vom 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Spätantike gerichtet ist. Der Autor, seit Jahren bei den Ephesos-Grabungen des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts im Einsatz, erkennt und beschreibt, wie in anderen oben genannten Beiträgen bereits beobachtet, einen bedeutenden Funktionswandel im architektonischen Bereich. Die Bestimmung des hellenistischen Gymnasions wird in der Kaiserzeit durch architektonische Veränderungen deutlich modifiziert: »[D]ie Multifunktionalität und Flexibilität dieser Gebäude, die die Akzeptanz und die Beliebtheit der Thermengymnasien begründeten« (239), bringen zum Ausdruck, dass im Freizeitverhalten der städtischen Bevölkerung ein bedeutsamer Wandel eingetreten ist. – Mein Fazit: Den beiden Herausgebern dieses zweiten Bandes zur Erforschung des

antiken Gymnasions, der im Rahmen des Frankfurter althistorischen Projektes »Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel« von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft gefördert wurde, ist Dank zu sagen für die Edition der dargebotenen Fülle neuer Erkenntnisse – und zu gratulieren.

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**Philostratos**

*Sport in der Antike. Peri Gymnastikes. Über das Training.* Zweisprachige Ausgabe. Übersetzt und herausgegeben von Kai Brodersen.

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Bis zur Entdeckung der mittelalterlichen Handschrift im Lavra-Kloster am Berg Athos – ein Verdienst des griechischen Altphilologen Konstantinos Minas (bekannt auch unter dem Namen Minoïdes Mynas, 1788–1859) – knapp vor der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts – lagen nur wenige Zitate aus diesem handbuchartigen Kompendium über den antiken Sport vor. Die wenigen Fragmente, die schon vor diesem Handschriftenfund vorgelegen sind, hatte der Heidelberger Altphilologe Karl Ludwig Kayser (1808–1872) in seiner Schrift *Philostratei libri de gymnastica quae supersunt. Nunc primum edidit et interpretatus est*<sup>1</sup> ediert. Dem rhetorisch konzipierten Text kommt angesichts der Tatsache, dass es sich um die einzige vollständige antike Darstellung zum Thema Sport handelt, besondere Bedeutung zu.

Die Frage nach dem Verfasser der Abhandlung *περί γυμναστικής* (auch unter dem Titel *γυμναστικός* geläufig) ist nicht ganz unumstritten, da verschiedene Autoren einer aus Lemnos

stammenden Familie unter dem Namen Philostratos bekannt sind und diese vermutlich mehreren Generationen in der Prinzipatsepoche zuzurechnen sind. Die überwiegend rhetorischen Schriften firmieren unter dem Begriff *Corpus Philostrateum* und werden der sogenannten Zweiten Sophistik zugewiesen. Nach *Suda* – den Originaltext mit Übersetzung hat B. wiedergegeben (B. 118f.) – gilt jener Philostrat, der als *δévτερος σοφιστής* bezeichnet wird, als glaubhafter Autor von *περί γυμναστικής*; ihm werden vermutlich auch die Biographien des Apollonios von Tyana und der Sophisten, wohl auch die *Eikones* und weitere Werke zugeschrieben. Der zeitlichen Einordnung der Schrift *περί γυμναστικής* dient die Erwähnung des Aurelius Helix, der sowohl als Knabe wie auch in der Männerkategorie einmal als Ringer, dann als Pankratiast olympische Siege 213 und 217 n. Chr. errungen hat<sup>2</sup> – für Jüthner die »einzige chronologische Handhabe« (J. 87).<sup>3</sup>

Dem zu seiner Zeit wohl besten Kenner der schriftlichen und bildlichen Quellen zum antiken Sport, Johann Heinrich Krause (1802–1882), konnte der bemerkenswerte Neufund vom Berg Athos in seinen zahlreichen Publikationen, insbesondere in dem Standardwerk *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen*<sup>4</sup> aus chronologischen Gründen nicht bekannt sein.<sup>5</sup> Zwar hat Krause mehrfach auf Werke

<sup>1</sup> Heidelberg 1840.

<sup>2</sup> Dazu L. Moretti: *Olympionikai. I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*. Rom 1957, Nr. 911 und 915, sowie W. Decker: *Antike Spitzensportler. Athletenbiographien aus dem Alten Orient, Ägypten und Griechenland*. Hildesheim 2014, 168f.

<sup>3</sup> J. bezieht sich im Folgenden jeweils auf die Edition von J. Jüthner: *Philostratos über Gym-*

*nastik* (Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern) Leipzig und Berlin 1909.

<sup>4</sup> Halle 1841, ND 1971.

<sup>5</sup> Eine ausführliche Würdigung Krauses bietet J. Ebert: *Johann Heinrich Krause – ein verdienstvoller halleischer Philologe und Archäologe*. In: M. Hillgruber, R. Jakobi, W. Luppe (Hg.): *Joachim Ebert. Agonismata. Kleine philologische Schriften zur Literatur, Geschichte*

von Philostrat zurückgegriffen, die vollständige Ausgabe von *περὶ γυμναστικής* stand ihm aber ebenso wenig zur Verfügung wie die Fragmentensammlung von Kayser.

Minas, der Entdecker des Codex, hat zwei Apographa des Texts (*Codex Parisinus Suppl. gr.727*, revidierte Ausgabe 1256) mit zweisprachigen Editionen (altgriechisch/französisch und altgriechisch/neugriechisch) herausgegeben, die nach Julius Jüthner einen »recht verworrenen und liederlichen Eindruck« vermitteln.<sup>6</sup> Den authentischen Codex hat der griechische Altphilologe und nicht unumstrittene Handschriftensammler aber bei seinem Freund, dem Pariser Uhrmacher Ratel, unter Verschluss gehalten.<sup>7</sup> Erst nach seinem Tod (1859) fand *Φιλοστράτου περὶ γυμναστικής* als komplette Edition Eingang in die altertumswissenschaftliche Forschung.

Die erste deutschsprachige Veröffentlichung des Originaltextes erschien in der Sammlung *Flavii Philostrati opera*<sup>8</sup> in aedibus B.G. Teubneri und wurde von Karl Ludwig Kayser betreut. Im gleichen Verlag veröffentlichte Julius Jüthner (1866–1945) – zu seiner Zeit einer der gediegensten Kenner der griechisch-römischen Agonistik – aufgrund umfangreicher Recherchen eine neue textkritische Ausgabe; nach B. »die nach wie vor maßgebliche Edition« (B. 121). Bei Publisher B.R. Grüner, Amsterdam, ist 1969 ein unveränderter Neudruck erschienen. Der Altphilologe, zunächst Professor im galizischen Czernowitz und ab 1912 bis zu seiner Emeritierung ein volles

Viertel Jahrhundert Mitglied der Philosophischen Fakultät in Innsbruck,<sup>9</sup> behandelt in zuweilen geradezu redundanter, aber übersichtlicher Form zunächst die Schriften der Gymnasten und Paidotriben (J. 3–30), der Ärzte und Philosophen (J. 30–60), außerdem berichtet Jüthner über die Olympionikenlisten (J. 60–70) und die verloren gegangenen Werke *περὶ ἀγώνων* (J. 70–74). Mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit widmete sich der neue Herausgeber der Rezeptionsgeschichte, den von Philostrat in seiner Abhandlung *περὶ γυμναστικής* benutzten Quellen und den diversen mittelalterlichen Codices (J. 75–131). Erst im Anschluss an diesen umfangreichen und informativen Vorspann konzentrierte sich Jüthner auf die Wiedergabe einer textkritischen Edition von *περὶ γυμναστικής* (J. 133–183) und einer Übersetzung. Sein profunder und detailreicher Kommentar (J. 185–311) bietet bis heute eine Fundgrube von sporthistorisch für die Antike relevanten Nachrichten.

Was bietet die von B. betreute Ausgabe des Philostrattextes Neues? Zunächst ein paar Anmerkungen zur Textgestaltung: Der altgriechische Text dürfte sich weitgehend, wenn ich es recht sehe, von einigen Klammervermerken, der anderen Sigma-Schreibung und der Interpunktion abgesehen, hauptsächlich an Jüthners Edition orientieren: Ein Vergleich mit der Ausgabe von Kayser, der die Textgestaltung von *Perseus Digital Library (Greek and Roman Materials)* s.v. *Philostratus the Lemnian (Philostratus Major)* folgt, macht dies deutlich. Bei

und Kultur der Antike. Stuttgart und Leipzig 1997, 366–388.

<sup>6</sup> Jüthner, *Philostratos* 79.

<sup>7</sup> Literaturhinweise bietet B. auf S. 124.

<sup>8</sup> Leipzig 1871, 2. Band, 261–293.

<sup>9</sup> I. Weiler: Julius Jüthners Beitrag zur Geschichte des antiken Sports. In: F. Fetz (Hg.): *Festschrift Sport und Universität, 125 Jahre Sport an der Universität Innsbruck*. Innsbruck 1972, 21–33.



der Übersetzung wird in terminologischen Fragen teilweise mit geringfügigen Modifikationen gearbeitet, in grundsätzlichen Fragen herrscht Übereinstimmung. Nur ein paar Beispiele: *σοφία* = Wissenschaft (J.: Kunde), *γυμναστική* = Trainingslehre, Training (J.: Gymnastik), *γυμναστής* = Trainer (J.: Gymnast), *παιδοτριβής* = Übungsleiter (J.: Paidotrib), *ἀθλητής* = Sportler (J.: Athlet), *δόλιχος* = Langstreckenlauf (J.: Dauerlauf), *πόκτης* = Boxer (J.: Faustkämpfer); bei den Alterskategorien übersetzen B. und J. einhellig *παῖδες* = Knaben, *ἄνδρες* = Männer; so auch in c. 57, wo *κόρυκος* einmal gleichlautend mit Stoßsack, einmal mit Sack wiedergegeben wird; denkbar wäre auch der Gebrauch des Terminus Punchingball. *ἐκχειρία*: bei B. c. 49, c. 10 = Festfrieden, Händehebung, bei J. Waffenstillstand. Die Frage zu Beginn von c. 52: *εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀφροδισίων, ἀμείνων μὲν μὴ γυμνάζειν· οἱ γὰρ στεφανών καὶ κηρυγμάτων αἰσχρὰν ἠδονὴν ἀλλαξάμενοι ποῦ ἄνδρες;* zeigt zugleich Nähe und Distanz der Übertragung; bei B. lautet sie: »Kommt jemand vom Sex, ist es besser, ihn gar nicht zu trainieren: Wo bleibt denn die Männlichkeit bei denen, die für Kranz und Heroldsruf schändliche Wollust eintauschen?« (B. 105); bei J.: »Kommt jemand vom Geschlechtsgenuß, ist er besser nicht zu trainieren, denn wo bleibt die Männlichkeit bei denen, die für Kranz und Heroldsruf schnöde Wollust eintauschen?« (J. 179).

Was das Inhaltliche und das Konzept der neuen Ausgabe betrifft, geht B. einen eigenen Weg. Nach dem in der Altis stehenden Inschriftenstein, in

dem die Stadt Athen sich selbst offensichtlich fast mehr ehrt (*ἡ λαμπροτάτη πατρίς*) als den geehrten Sophisten Flavius Philostratos,<sup>10</sup> berichtet B. zunächst über den Autor, seine Familie und die Kontakte zur Severischen Dynastie. Daran schließen sich Abschnitte über den Sport bei den Griechen, die panhellenischen Spiele, die einzelnen Sportarten, über berühmte Athleten und ein knapper exkursartiger Passus über mythologisches und »unabdingbares historisches Grundwissen« (B. 14) an. Im Anschluss daran folgen Hinweise auf die ambivalente Funktion des Trainers »zwischen Mediziner und Übungsleiter« (B. 17–20), dem in Einzelfällen auch korruptes Verhalten bescheinigt wird (vgl. B. 20 die Anspielung auf *περὶ γυμναστικῆς* c. 45) und kursorische Notizen zum Ende der Olympischen Spiele.<sup>11</sup> Sodann widmet sich B. ausführlicher der archäologischen Erforschung Olympias und den Konsequenzen, die sich aus der Entdeckung des für den antiken Sport so bedeutsamen Handschriftenfundes ableiten lassen.

Der Fund des Philostrattexts und seine Rezeption in der Altertumswissenschaft bedeuten nicht nur eine außerordentliche Bereicherung für den Kenntnisstand über die antike Agonistik und Gymnastik. Er trägt auch stimulierend dazu bei, dass es im Rahmen des Philhellenismus und Neoklassizismus ab der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, also vor allem nach der Befreiung von der osmanischen Herrschaft, zu einer patriotischen »Identitätsstiftung der Griechen« (B. 38) kommt. Dem zunehmenden Nationa-

<sup>10</sup> IvO 476.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. dazu S. Remijsen: *The End of Greek Athletics in Late Antiquity. Part of Greek Culture in the Roman World.* Cambridge 2015.

lismus entspricht es auch, dass bekanntlich Jahrzehnte bevor sich Pierre de Coubertin für eine Wiederbelebung der antiken Olympischen Spiele engagiert, in Anlehnung an das althellenische Vermächtnis die Athletik wieder einen hohen Stellenwert im Festkalender der Griechen erlangt. Der Wittelsbacher Otto, der erste griechische König (1815–1867; König von 1832 bis 1862), ein deklariertes Philhellene, und seine ebenfalls griechenlandbegeisterte Gattin Amalia dekretieren im Jahr 1858, justament zum Zeitpunkt, da die ersten zweisprachigen Übersetzungen (altgriechisch, französisch bzw. neugriechisch) des Philostrattextes vorgelegt werden, »die Einrichtung von Olympien«. <sup>12</sup> Finanziert hat dieses Sportfest, das zugleich auch eine Leistungsschau landwirtschaftlicher und industrieller Produkte inkludierte, der Grieche Evangelos Zappas (1800–1865), ein griechischer Großkaufmann und patriotischer Mäzen. B. hat das umfangreiche königliche Dekret in Übersetzung wiedergegeben (29–32). Die Revitalisierung der antiken Olympischen Spiele erfährt somit entscheidende literarische Impulse. <sup>13</sup>

Die inhaltliche Gestaltung der Schrift *περί γυμναστικής* gliedert B. folgendermaßen: Einleitung (B. 40–

43): Trainingslehre als Wissenschaft; Ziel der Abhandlung. – Die Sportarten (B. 44–57): Einteilung, Entstehung (Pentathlon, Langstreckenlauf, Stadionlauf, Doppellauf, Waffenlauf, Boxen, Ringen und Pankration, Bedeutung des Trainings), Einführung in Olympia (Wettkämpfe der Männer und Knaben, nochmals Bedeutung des Trainings). – Der Trainer (B. 58–71): Trainingslehre zwischen Turnübung und Medizin, Entstehung der Trainingslehre, Attribute des Trainers, Besonderheiten in Sparta (paramilitärisches Training), Motivation der Sportler durch den Trainer, Kenntnisse des Trainers, Eigentumsprüfung durch den Trainer. – Der Sportler (B. 72–93): Allgemeine Eignung (Besonderheiten in Sparta: Mädchen, Knaben, Männer, Anfälligkeiten). Spezielle Eignung für einzelne Sportarten (Pentathlon, Langstreckenlauf, Waffen-, Stadion- und Doppellauf, Boxen, Ringen und Pankration). Einteilung nach äußeren und inneren Merkmalen (»Im Kleinen Große«, Sportler-Gestalten, Gleichhänder, Temperamente). – Das Training (94–113): Abhärtung, Verweichlichung (Essen und Trinken, Sex und Geldgier, Trägheit), Falsches Training (Vier-Tage-Zyklus, Probleme durch Essen, Trinken und Sex), Richtiges

<sup>12</sup> K. Brodersen: Philostratos und das Oktoberfest. Wie ein wiederentdeckter antiker Text zur Entstehung der Olympischen Spiele der Neuzeit beitrug. In: *Gymnasium* 121 (2014) 375–392.

<sup>13</sup> Zur Organisation der Olympischen Spiele vor den Aktivitäten, die mit Baron Pierre de Coubertin einsetzen, vgl. K. Georgiadis: *Olympic Revival. The Revival of the Olympic Games in Modern Times*. Athen 2003, 14–52; J.J. MacAloon: *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (2. Aufl.). *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, 3–4 (2006) 331–686; D.C. Young: *Modern Greece and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games*. In: W. Coulson, H.

Kyrieleis (Hg.): *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games*. 5–9 September 1988. Athens 1992, 175–184; ders.: *The Modern Olympics. A struggle for Revival*. Baltimore, London 1996; ders.: *The Olympic myth of Greek amateur athletics*. Chicago 1985; I. Weiler: *The predecessors of the Olympic movement, and Pierre de Coubertin*. In: *European Review. Interdisciplinary Journal of the Academia Europaea: The Academy of Europe*. Cambridge University Press 12.3, July 2004, 427–443; W. Decker: *Die Wiederbelebung der Olympischen Spiele*. Mainz 2008 (Peles. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns. Band 42).

Training (nochmals Probleme durch Essen, Trinken und Sex, Psychische Probleme, Fazit: Kein Vier-Tage-Zyklus!), Hilfsmittel (Sprunggewicht, Staub und Lehm, Stoßsack, Sonnenbad, Besonderheit in Sparta: Schwitzen und Trockeneinölung).

Im Appendix (B. 114–119) finden sich noch zweisprachig die beiden Passagen von Pausanias (5.4.5; 5.8.5–11) und Suda (Φ 421, Φ 422). Ein Anhang (B. 121–125) zu den mittelalterlichen Codices und textkritische Notizen, eine Bibliographie »Zum Weiterlesen«, eine Karte von Griechenland und Kleinasien (B. 126) sowie ein knapper Registerteil (B. 127f.) beschließen den Band.

B. zählt wohl zu den erfahrendsten Editoren antiker Autoren. Ein Blick in sein Schriftenverzeichnis informiert über seine zahlreichen von ihm selbst vorgelegten oder von ihm herausgegebenen Werke. Von Philostrat hat B. auch die zweisprachigen Editionen *Leben der Sophisten* (2014) und *Erotische Briefe* (2017), beide im Marix-Verlag, Wiesbaden, erschienen, veröffentlicht.

*Ingomar Weiler, Graz*

**Zeev Weiss**

***Public Spectacles in Roman and Late Antique Palestine* (= **Revealing Anti-quity 21**)**

Cambridge (Mass.) and London: Harvard University Press, 2014  
pp. xii, 361, ill.  
ISBN 978-0-674-04831-7  
\$ 49,95

This book by Zeev Weiss is based on his 1995 dissertation entitled »Games and Spectacles in Roman Palestine and Their Reflection in Talmudic Literature«, but was restructured and updated to reflect new findings. The resulting monograph is amply illustrated with photographs of mosaics, graffiti and other visual evidence of spectacles, and with plans of entertainment buildings. Moreover, it contains a useful source index and subject index (but no list of illustrations).

Weiss discusses the region covered by the Roman province Iudaea, which was renamed Palaestina in the second century. Cities in Arabia, the province to the East of Palestine, are frequently referred to in the book; places in Phoenicia and Syria, on the other hand, are mentioned only occasionally. The primary intended readership of the book seems to be historians of Palestine: basic information on ancient games is carefully explained, but a historical introduction to the region, which would have been very useful for students of ancient sport, is absent.

The book covers various kinds of spectacles in ancient Palestine: Greek athletic contests, horse racing, fights in the arena, and various theatrical shows. As the author is in the first place an archaeologist, the architectural infrastructure for these events gets at least as much attention as the spectacles themselves. The real value of this

book, however, lies in Weiss' knowledge of ancient Jewish literature. The rabbinic texts represent a wealth of evidence for ancient games most students of ancient sports are completely unaware of. In this review for *Nikephoros*, I will focus in particular on the athletic, equestrian and arena games, and not on Weiss' discussion of the theater.

The first chapter (*The Beginning: The Introduction of Public Spectacles and Competitions into Ancient Palestine*) describes the initiatives of king Herod, who was the first in this region to organize Greek-style *agones* and to hold Roman-style arena fights, and to have an appropriate infrastructure built for them. Herod had a small circus built in Caesarea, an as yet unidentified sports infrastructure in Jerusalem, and "stadia" in Jericho and Samaria. The latter two buildings are unparalleled in type, and show the originality of Herod's building program. Weiss calls them stadia, but we should probably be careful with this identification, because the two constructions lack the most conspicuous feature of a stadium: sloping sides with a tribune for spectators. Therefore, these buildings in Samaria or Jericho were probably not designed to house an ambitious quadrennial *agon* with international visitors such as those mentioned by Josephus for Jerusalem and Caesarea (where there were seats). Instead, the larger than stadium-sized structures must have been monumental sport fields inspired by large Hellenistic gymnasia and would have been used for training (of people and horses) and smaller-scale demonstrations. Herod's son Herod Antipas, however, does seem to have constructed a stadium with seats for the spectators in his new capital Tiberias, which suggests that he did want to found an *agon*, as his father

had successfully done in his new capital Caesarea.

The problem of how we should name the different structures commissioned by Herod is connected to an inconsistent use of names by our sources, as Weiss also observes. Josephus occasionally uses the words ›hippodrome‹ (Greek for ›horse track‹) and ›amphitheater‹ (Greek for ›building for shows with seats on both sides‹) for the same building, whereas the rabbinic literature speaks of a ›stadium‹ (Greek for ›track with a length of ca. 200 m‹) or a ›kampon‹ (i.e. Lat. *campus* or ›training grounds‹). Weiss seems rather surprised that Josephus did not use the terms ›customarily used in his day‹ (p. 24). In this passage, he seems to refer to the classification of architectural types as stadia, amphitheatres, or circuses, which was fully developed by the later first century AD (that is, by Josephus' day) and which is still used today. These names were used rather consistently by Latin authors of the imperial period. In ancient Palestine, however, a confusing terminological usage is only to be expected, because none of the Herodian buildings completely conformed to these types. Moreover, two of these three terms were not commonly used in Greek, since monumental circuses and amphitheatres were rare in the Eastern Mediterranean in Josephus' day.

Weiss underlines the unique character of these first games in Palestine, which were so strongly connected to the personal political project of Herod. Perhaps, however, he is overstating their uniqueness. As proof of the originality of Herod's games, Weiss points to the combination of Greek *agones*

and Roman arena fights in one big spectacle in both Jerusalem and Caesarea. Such a combination is indeed rare. A direct parallel, however, and a likely source of inspiration for Herod, are the *ludi pro valetudine Caesaris* which were held in Rome for about two decades from 28 BC on and included athletic contests as well as gladiator fights<sup>1</sup>. As Herod was well connected to Agrippa and Augustus, it is likely he knew about these games, or had even seen them in Rome. His building project at Caesarea, a complex including both a palace and a circus with stone seats and starting gates, also betrays clearly the inspiration from Rome. Moreover, the combination of a Greek contest and Roman arena fights seems to have been a relatively short-lived experiment; in Rome as well as Palestine the evidence soon disappears.

Weiss assumes, moreover, that before Herod's reign, the local population was unacquainted with Graeco-Roman entertainment. This was indeed said a century later by Josephus in connection with Herod's arena fights (*Ant.* 15.274). Whereas it is no doubt true for Roman-style entertainment that these were an entirely new concept for the people in Iudaea, this cannot be assumed for the Greek *agones*. A famous passage in 2 Maccabees 4.1020 tells how the hellenophile high priest Jason had a gymnasium built in Jerusalem and dispatched athletes to the games for Herakles in Tyre around 174 BC. This passage remains surprisingly absent in the book (perhaps because the books on the Maccabees are not part the Hebrew bible?). Nevertheless, this episode as well as the better established agonistic tradition in nearby Ty-

<sup>1</sup> Cassius Dio 53.1. Cf. Maria Letizia Caldelli, *L'Agon Capitolinus. Storia e*

*protagonisti dall'istituzione domiziana al IV secolo*, Rome 1993, 2124.

re and Sidon suggest that, even if only a fraction of the local population may have harbored a personal interest in the athletic and equestrian competitions of Greek *agones*, the elite of Iudaea would certainly have known about their cultural importance elsewhere. This does of course not discredit Herod's role as a great innovator, but it does offer a context in which to understand its success – especially that of the *agon* at Caesarea.

The following chapters present the Palestinian entertainment sector from the first to the fourth century AD, when many more Palestinian cities had spectacles and spectacle buildings. The second chapter (*Shaping the City's Landscape: Buildings for Mass Entertainment in Their Urban Context*) presents the archaeological evidence for theaters, hippodromes, and amphitheaters. The theater was by far the most common building, but more notable are the amphitheaters and early circuses. Four traditional amphitheaters were built in the second century, although these were relatively rare in the East<sup>2</sup>. Their existence points to a very strong Roman influence in the area. The construction of monumental circuses for *agones*, as in Caesarea, Neapolis, Skythopolis, Gerasa, Gadara and Bostra, is also attested in other areas in the East where stadia had not yet spread in the Hellenistic period (Syria and Egypt), but again is strikingly frequent in Palestine<sup>3</sup>. Only Caesarea and Bostra, both provincial capitals, had all three buildings, which

shows their prominence in the region. W. rightly links the upsurge of new buildings to the flourishing of the cities and their councils in the second and third centuries (p. 71). This is a point which deserves to be investigated more closely in the future: do we see a link between the construction of a building or the institution of a contest and the rise in status of a particular city, as we see for example in Asia Minor?

The third chapter (*Entertaining the Crowds: Performances, Competitions, and Shows*) again consists of three main sections: theatrical performances, athletic contests and horse races, and amphitheater games. The first section on the theater is the best of the three, as the Jewish and classical sources complement each other particularly well here (e.g. the evidence for mimes mocking Jews and the texts by rabbis speaking of mimes). The shorter fourth chapter (*Financing, Organization, and Operation*) discusses the evidence for the sponsoring of games by officials and the elite. It is closely related to the previous chapter – in fact it contains some information on the *agones* (p. 179/183) that would have been more at home in the third chapter – but in general it has a wider chronological scope.

The thematic structure of the longer section on athletic contests and horse racing in the third chapter was probably the wrong choice, as it covers up an interesting chronological evolution in the late third and fourth centuries, which Weiss does not seem to have de-

<sup>2</sup> For a list see Christian Mann, »Um keinen Kranz, um das Leben kämpfen wir!« *Gladiatoren im Osten des Römischen Reiches und die Frage der Romanisierung*, Berlin 2011, 7374.

<sup>3</sup> H. John Humphrey, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing*, London 1986, e.g. 513/16 for the second century at Antinoopolis in Egypt.

tected. Most of the Palestinian sources for athletic contests come from the second and third centuries, whereas the majority of his evidence on horse racing comes from the fourth century. The textual evidence of the second and third centuries consists mainly of agonistic inscriptions and occasional papyri. These inform us about the existence of *agones* (traditional biennial or quadrennial Greek-style festivals including athletic and/or musical competitions, and sometimes also equestrian races) in Caesarea (Maritima), Ascalon, Gaza, Neapolis and Skythopolis in the province Palaestina; in Caesarea Philippi (Panaeas) just to the north of it; and in Philadelphia, Gerasa and Bostra in the province Arabia. Inscriptions such as the victory list of Eirenaios (IAG 81) or Aurelius Menander (IAph2007 12.920) show that these games were included in a contest circuit with the games in Syria (connected to e.g. Tyre and Damascus). This connection is of course not denied by W., but could have been more closely examined. As there is no indication that the program of *agones* in Palestine was any different from those in the rest of the Roman world, evidence for one athletic event can be taken as proof that the games would have had all the athletic events (running, pentathlon, combat sports) – hence the separate treatment of the combat sports and the other athletic events in chapter three is unnecessary. When any of the second- and third-century *agones* had equestrian races (as is confirmed in the case of Gerasa), these would also have been in the Greek style, which means that the owner of the horses, and not the charioteer, would have been proclaimed as the victor. The Alexandrian ἵπποτροφοί in SEG 7.899 and 900 should therefore not have been identified as

charioteers, but as the owners or sponsors. The Roman terms *biga*, *triga* and *quadriga*, which are consistently used by W. for any horse races (p. 30–31, 153) are, moreover, irrelevant in this context.

In the fourth century, the evidence for athletics and *agones* decreases, while evidence for horse races that cannot be linked to *agones* increases. At the same time (between the late third and the late fourth century) most hippodromes in Palestine were turned into amphitheaters for *venationes*, as W. describes in the section on amphitheaters – which succeeds much better in showing historical evolution. The abandonment of the racing track in this period suggests that the hippodromes in Palestine were constructed for the purpose of *agones* with athletic and equestrian events, and became useless when the *agones* were abandoned. Around that time, Roman-style races (that is, races independent of an athletic *agon*) became popular, as is suggested by their frequent appearance in fourth-century literature, but these were only introduced in major cities (as we see elsewhere in around this time). The evidence for such races comes from the provincial capitals and Gaza. At first, these races were still financed and organized by liturgists; by the end of the fifth century there is also evidence for the circus factions. These changes in spectacle types and centralization of the entertainment in major cities can also be observed in the rest of the eastern Mediterranean.

The fifth chapter (*Adopting a Novelty: Jewish Attitudes toward Roman Spectacles and Competitions*) is the most interesting of the book, and a must-read for all who deal with the role and perception of entertainment in the Roman Empire. Weiss discusses the

Jewish involvement in and attitude towards the games on the basis of the references to ancient games in the rabbinic literature of the first to the fifth century. He uses the moral advice of the rabbis and their references to games in parables to show how a great number of Jews seems to have enjoyed the games as much as any non-Jew – despite the official stance of their religious leaders. Regarding the rabbinic discourse on the attendance of games, he observes an interesting difference between the rabbinic texts from the first and second centuries (*tannain*), a period in which Graeco-Roman games were already well-known, but not yet widespread, and the texts by rabbis from the third to early fifth centuries (*amoraim*), when these games had become an unavoidable element of city life. Whereas the earlier rabbis strictly forbade Jews to attend the games, the later rabbis just tried to stimulate non-attendance by praising people who kept away from the games and by pointing out their dangers. This non-confrontational attitude is, as far as I know, not paralleled by the contemporary Christian discourse on this topic. Given Weiss' nuanced analysis of the diverse reactions of individual Jews to the Jewish religious discourse on games, it is perhaps a little surprising that in the last chapter (*Public Spectacles and Sociocultural Behavior in Late Antique Palestine*) he places the main

responsibility for the eventual disappearance of the games on Christian influence – though in no way proposing a simplistic monocausality. In this chapter, he discusses the games in Palestine in the fifth and sixth centuries, paying attention to continuity as well as decline. Particularly interesting is the presentation of archaeological data on the abandonment of the entertainment buildings.

At the end of the book, the question remains whether the Graeco-Roman entertainments of the province Iudaea (later Palaestina) can be studied separately from those in the surrounding provinces. The organization of the Palestinian games shows great similarities with the entertainment in the rest of the eastern Mediterranean. Besides the particularly strong Roman influence, the largest difference with other provinces was the composition of the public. Jews formed a far larger part of the population than anywhere else, and Weiss' expert treatment of the Jewish reception of the games shows that the Palestinian region deserves some special attention. It also makes this book a very valuable contribution to the field.

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## **Nachrichten**



**James Gordon Howie (1941–2017)**

James Gordon Howie ist, wie sein Bruder dem Herausbergremium/den Herausgebern mitgeteilt hat, am 29. Dezember 2017 gestorben. Wir wissen, dass Gordon lange Zeit krank gewesen ist. Seit Beginn der Zeitschrift Nikephoros war Gordon aufgrund eines Vorschlags von Joachim Ebert zunächst als Mitglied des Beirates als aktiver und kompetenter Mitarbeiter tätig. Im Jahr 2007 wurde Gordon, ein ausgewiesener Kenner der griechischen Mythologie und Pindarforscher, in den Herausgebervorstand kooptiert. Eine Würdigung seiner altertums-wissenschaftlichen Leistungen wird im nächsten Nikephoros-Band erscheinen. Als Übersetzer der Publikation der Grazer Altphilologin E. Krummen, *Cult, Myth, and Occasion in Pindar's Victory Odes: A Study of Isthmian 4, Pythian 5, Olympian 1, and Olympian 3* (Arca Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs), Prenton 2014, hat sich Gordon in besonderer Weise mit Graz verbunden gefühlt.

*Die Herausgeber*



## **Kurzfassungen**



Nikephoros 27, 2014, 9–35

**Reyes Bertolin Cebrián** (The University of Calgary)

**Psychological Characteristics of Ancient Greek Athletes**

It takes more than physical aptitude and training to win a competition. Nowadays, elite athletes go through intense psychological preparation and even non-elite athletes that show mental strength fare better than those who do not. In this paper, I will examine the mental characteristics of ancient athletes. Patrucco wrote an article in 1971 about the psychology of the athletes in ancient Greece (Patrucco, R. »La psicologia dell'atleta« *Maia* 23, 1971: 245–253). Since then little has been done on this topic. On the other hand, we possess a vast array of modern studies on the psychology of athletes. I propose to reexamine the topic by discussing sources such as epigrams, inscriptions and curse tablets that mention psychological characteristics of athletes. The sources will reveal general characteristics such as resilience, ability to plan, and hope. They will also reveal other traits such as the ability to cope with anxiety and to deal with external factors like retirement. Comparison with modern studies will also illustrate ancient facts. The paper will argue that Greek athletes possessed psychological characteristics similar to those of modern athletes, both positive and negative.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 51–62

**Wolfgang Decker** (Köln)

**Ein abgekartetes Spiel. Zu POxy 5209 (Sport am Nil, Suppl. II)**

The most recently published volume of Oxyrhynchus-Papyri (LXXIX, 2014) contains No. 5209, a remarkable document consisting of a treaty of the year 267 A.D., which seals an agreement between two wrestlers of the youth class to give victory to one of the two against a sum of 3,800 drachmas of old currency (equivalent of a donkey) at an imminent agon in Central Egypt. This is a brilliant confirmation of the literary tradition of corruption within the framework of ancient agonistics, as it has been transmitted above all by Pausanias (V 21,2–18) and Philostratos (De gymnastica, ch. 45). Interestingly, the written contract is concluded between the ambitious father of one and obviously the two coaches of the other athlete, who according to Philostratos generally do business to the disadvantage of their pupils. This could be the reason why they are represented by a third person. The significance of this document for ancient sports history can hardly be overestimated.



Nikephoros 27, 2014, 63–76

**Fernando García Romero** (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

**Osservazioni sul lessico sportivo greco antico: Antifane, fr. 231 Kassel-Austin**

The fr.231 Kassel-Austin of the comic poet Antiphanes (4<sup>th</sup> B.C.) is the oldest known evidence for the ball game called *phainínda*. These verses allow to recognize several of the main features of the game, but they offer textual and interpretative problems. In our essay we propose to study these problems, which lie above all in the last verse (obviously corrupt as it has been transmitted by the manuscript tradition of Athenaeus), and also in the third verse. We propose new solutions, in particular for the very discussed verbal form ἐγκαταστρέφει, which closes the fragment in the text transmitted.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 37–50

**Eva Christof** (Graz)

**Die Resonanz kaiserzeitlicher Sportveranstaltungen Kleinasiens in der Architekturdekoration öffentlicher Bauten**

The great importance of agonistics and gladiatorial contests in Asia Minor during the imperial period meant that these themes even found their way into the stone architectural decoration of public urban buildings. The essay shows the popularity of animal-fighting cupids in theatres, which lift the real *venationes* to a mythical level, overlooks the extensive agonistic frieze in the Severic theatre of Hierapolis with 29 figures, both personifications and the imperial family arranged around a huge price crown, and presents individual components of other buildings, which either contain symbolic objects or representations of contemporary actors of agonistics and gladiatorial contests. The collection shows that the phenomenon is essentially concentrated in the cities of Hierapolis and Side, both of which developed a flourishing urban system with games and events in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. As a hypothesis, it is formulated that the agonotheis, as organizers of the games, simultaneously influenced the architectural design of the city. The small amphorae in the manner of the Panathenian price amphorae on the upper column canals of the Zeus Temple in Aizanoi, probably the earliest occurrence of agonistic symbols in the architectural decoration of Asia Minor to date, are interpreted as victory prizes in the local Aizanite games.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 77–90

**Daniel Griffin** (Duke University)

**An Overlooked Letter of [Diogenes] and the Role of the Palaistrophylax**

In a short, apocryphal letter (Hercher 1873, no. 35), we find the story of Diogenes of Sinope meeting a *palaistrophylax* in Miletus. This overlooked letter enriches our understanding of the *palaistrophylax*. First, it supports the position that the *palaistrophylax* was a slave in the earlier Greek period. Second, it suggests that the *palaistrophylax* would have been stationed inside the gymnasium with the duty of watching over the activities and patrons. Third, while considering the *palaistrophylax* as a training partner is supported, it is more likely he was an assistant trainer. Finally, I conclude that the *palaistrophylax* was responsible for assessing fines and flogging patrons who acted out of line when the gymnasiarch was not present.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 91–158

**Thomas Heine Nielsen** (Copenhagen)

**Foreign Entrants at Minor Athletic Festivals in Late-Archaic and Classical Greece**

This study (a) argues that admittance of foreign entrants was characteristic not only of the Big Four athletic festivals of the *periodos*, but a general characteristic of Greek athletic festivals and (b) submits that this openness was the product of the Greek tradition for interaction across city-state boundaries and, finally, (c) argues that the openness of the athletic festivals was a prime producer of interaction in the Greek city-state culture.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 159–180

**Zinon Papakonstantinou** (Chicago)

**Family Traditions of Athletic Distinction in Archaic and Classical Athens**

In archaic and classical Greece, commemoration of sport victories was effected primarily through statuary, epinician poetry as well as the construction and dissemination of familial traditions of athletic distinction. In the first part of the paper I take Athens as a case-study and explore the construction, negotiation and performance of family traditions of athletic distinction of the Alcmeonids, Philaids and Calliads during the late archaic and classical periods. In the second part I address the relative scarcity of epinician poetry for elite Athenian athletes in the context of the fifth-century Athenian democracy.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 181–197

**Werner Petermandl** (Graz)

**The Introduction of Athletic Nudity – Fact or Fiction?**

It is the generally accepted opinion that Greek athletes only started to exercise in the nude after the period of the so-called Homeric world. And that is also what ancient tradition held. Does it, however, necessarily follow that this view is correct? A thorough re-examination of all the relevant ancient sources leads to a more sceptical approach. It shall be shown that the available sources cannot prove beyond doubt that nudity in sport was a subsequent innovation. In fact a continuation of athletic nudity as an aboriginal natural behaviour seems to be quite likely.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 199–213

**Giorgia Proietti** (University of Trento)

**Annual Games for War Dead and Founders in Classical Times.  
Between Hero-Cult and Civic Honors**

In modern scholarship both war dead and city founders are often included in the list of historical persons receiving hero-cult after death. According to several scholars funeral games play a great part in this interpretation: literary evidence dating to Classical times in fact clearly attests to annual games in honor of both war dead and founders.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it traces a fundamental distinction between the case of the founders and that of the war dead: while the former, in some cases actually received a commemorative contest every year, the latter received it only once, at the time of their burial. Second, by contextualizing annual games among other kinds of public rituals addressed to war dead and founders, it will explore their different meanings and functions.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 215–238

**Aikaterini-Iliana Rassia** (King's College London)

**On Hero-Athletes. Aspects of Ethical and Religious Behaviour**

As the title reveals, this is a paper that investigates the ethical and religious attitudes associated with the phenomenon of hero-athletes. On the grounds of literary and archaeological evidence, only 25% of the names of Olympic victors is known.<sup>1</sup> From this very small percentage, only fourteen athletes have received heroic cultic honours, whereas three out of the fourteen heroized athletes were further worshipped as gods. The structure of this paper

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<sup>1</sup> On the limited knowledge concerning names of athletes and their biography, see Farrington 1997, 24; Christesen and Kyle 2014, 4.

is focused on the following two questions: (i) Why were *some* and not *all* the athletes heroized? and (ii) Why were athletes with transgressive behaviour worshipped? In order to unravel these questions in depth, I limit myself to the study of seven exceptional athletes who provide fruitful insights about the conceptual function of the worship of hero-athletes in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. These athletes are: Diagoras of Rhodes, Oibotas of Dyme, Hipposthenes of Sparta, Kleomedes of Astypalaia, Diognetos of Crete, Theogenes of Thasos, and, Euthykles of Locri.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 239–261

**Sofie Remijnsen** (Mannheim)

**The International Synods in the Tetrarchic Period. On the limitation of agonistic privileges and the costs of exclusivity**

This paper offers a detailed analysis of the tetrarchic law that limited the freedom from liturgies, traditionally awarded to all victors of sacred contest, to a far smaller selection of athletic champions. Although this law is a well-known piece of evidence for the privileges of imperial-age athletes, little attention has been paid to how and why it was issued. One factor was obviously the pressure on the urban finances, in which liturgies had an increasing role in the later imperial period. The financial difficulties around AD 300, however, explain only why the imperial court agreed with the proposal for limitation; the court did not initiate the change. On the basis of a comparison between the versions of the law preserved on papyrus (*P.Lips.* I 44) and in the Justinian code (*Cod.Iust.* 10.54.1) respectively, the paper argues that the limitation was requested by the synod of the athletes and the synod of the artists – which collaborated but had not merged – in Greek, but was formulated at the court of (probably) Diocletian in inadequate Latin. By means of an analysis of the membership policy of the synods it is then demonstrated that these associations did not represent the entire agonistic community, but only an exclusive part of it. The limitation of privileges to internationally successful professional competitors served to set their members apart from the majority of victors.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 263–272

**Mirjana Sanader** (Zagreb)

**What was in fact the ability of Pomponius Secundinus? Considerations of the inscription from Salona**

In Salona a gravestone was found, that inspired little interest in the research, even though it is equipped with a very rare inscription (CIL 03, 12924). Namely, Marcus Pomponius Zosimus, *negotians materiarum*, had built a grave monument during his life, for his deceased daughter and Pomponius

Secundinus. However, our interest is directed only to Secundinus because of his occupation, about which can be read in the inscription: *hic lapide Lusit ponderibus his quadraginta, quinquaginta, centum*. Apparently he was a man of exceptional physical ability in stone-related avocations that unfortunately go unspecified. This inscription serves to forever remember his extraordinary ability.

In this paper we want to investigate what Pomponius Secundinus actually made with the stones. We are hoping that the weights of stones which are listed on the inscription will be of the greatest benefit for the research.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 273–294

**Edmund Stewart** (Nottingham)

»**There's nothing worse than athletes**«

**Criticism of Athletics and Professionalism in the archaic and classical periods**

Victory in the great athletic games was widely seen in the Greek world as one of the summits of human achievement. Yet a surprisingly large number of texts present a negative view of athletics, including Xenophanes fr. 2 West and Euripides fr. 282 *TrGF*. The reasons for this criticism – which has variously been interpreted as a critique of the aristocracy, a polemic against professionalism in sport or the reaction of a minority of intellectuals – remain obscure. This paper argues that opposition to athletics was not political but part of a longstanding debate on the relative merits of different forms of skill (τέχνη). This debate was prompted by widespread economic specialisation and professionalism in the fields of athletics, poetry and philosophy (among others). The criticism of athletics becomes part of a strategy, by which the professional promotes his own form of τέχνη, with the implicit aim of winning respect and financial rewards. Professionals operated in a market for knowledge, one in which they had to sell their skills, justify their fees and counter common prejudices against paid work. Our texts reflect the tendency for professionals to achieve these aims by launching pre-emptive attacks upon their competitors. Athletes became a common target for such invective because their unwavering popularity and success at eliciting rewards in the archaic and classical periods made them a constant target of envy from other professionals.

Nikephoros 27, 2014, 295–314

**Jonathan Vickers** (University of Western Ontario)

**The Presence of Tumbling in Ancient Greek Athletics**

A re-examination of the extant evidence for male tumbling in the early Classical period shows it had more to do with sport than spectacle. It was a choreographic possibility in the pyrrhiche, but was perhaps also present at the early Panathenaia as a unique, if short lived event. A pre-canonical Panathenaic amphora records the award of a kados to a tumbler on horseback, who competes with military paraphernalia; other mentions of comparable horseback feats likewise convey a martial tone. The amphora also shows an athlete on a ›springboard‹, an apparatus shown in several other Greek scenes. Springboard tumblers are also equipped with hoplite gear, suggesting that the tumbling pictured inherently linked physical prowess with an individual's military value. An Etruscan cup, which juxtaposes springboard tumbling and wrestling, provides a cross cultural comparison for athletic ›acrobatics‹.



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## **Tafeln**





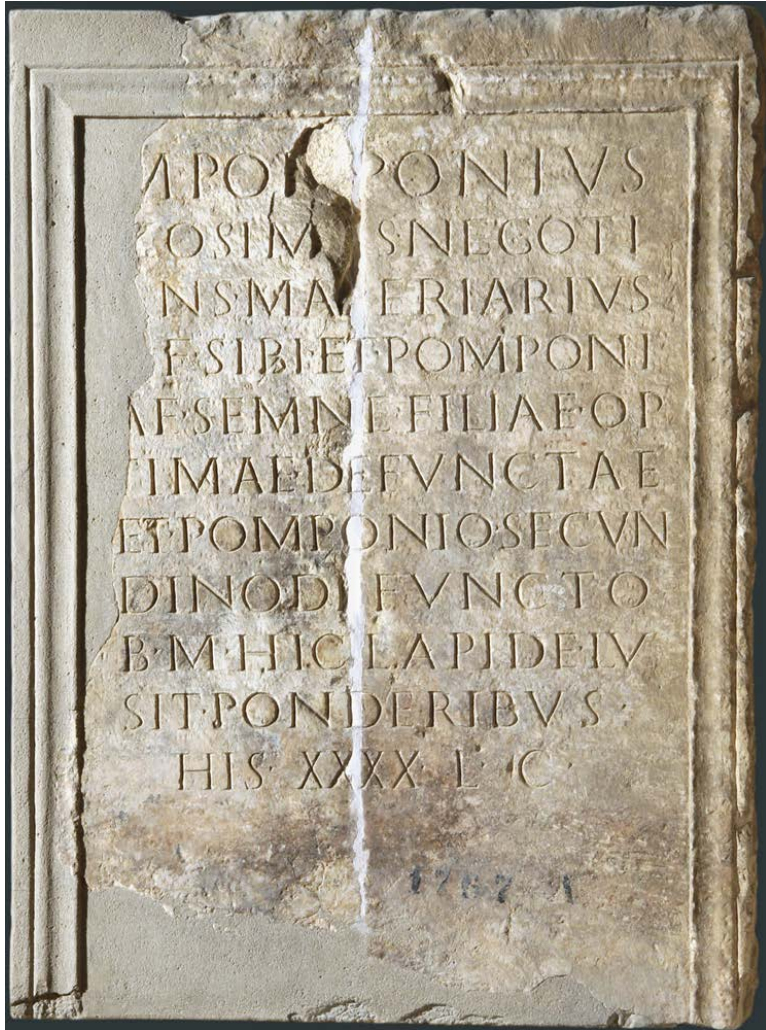
Taf. 1/1 (fig. 1 Romero, p. 74) καταστρέφο in una partita odierna di rugby



Taf. 1/2 (Abb. 1 Petermandl, p. 194)  
Stamnos, late 6th century BCE, Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum Mus.Nr. L 328



Taf. 2/1–2 (Abb. 2–3 Petermandl, p. 194)  
Stamnos, late 6th century BCE, Würzburg,  
Martin-von-Wagner-Museum Mus.Nr. L 328



Taf. 3/1 (Abb. 1 Sanader, p. 264)  
Grabstele aus Salona, Archäologisches Museum Split  
(Inv. Nr. 1767 A), Photo T. Sesar



Taf. 4/1 (fig. 1 Vickers, p. 301) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 243. CVA Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2 (France 10), pl. 88, 1–4 & 89, 1–2



Taf. 4/2 (fig. 2 Vickers, p. 308) London BM B73; Walters 1893, 37

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