

# NEW AND OLD PANATHENAIC VICTOR LISTS

(PLATES 71–76)

## I. THE NEW PANATHENAIC VICTOR LISTS

### FINDSPOT, DESCRIPTION, AND TEXT

The present inscription (pp. 188–189) listing athletic victors in the Panathenaia first came to my attention a number of years ago by word of mouth.<sup>1</sup> I do not have accurate information about its initial discovery. The stone was initially under the jurisdiction of Dr. George Dontas, who helped me gain access to it and determine that no one was working on it. My own interest in the inscription in the first place stemmed from the hand. With the assistance of the Greek authorities, especially the two (former) directors of the Akropolis, G. Dontas and E. Touloupa, whose generous cooperation I gratefully acknowledge, I have been granted permission to publish this important inscription.<sup>2</sup> In October of 1989 I was able to study the text *in situ* and also to make a squeeze and photographs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In a joint article it is particularly important to indicate who did what. In this case Stephen Tracy has primary responsibility for section I, Christian Habicht for section II, and both authors for IV; section III is subdivided into parts A, B, and C: Tracy is the primary author of A and B and Habicht of C. Nevertheless, this article is the product of close collaboration. Although initially we worked independently, each of us has read and commented on the other's work. The final draft represents a version agreed upon by both authors. Photographs: Pls. 71–75, SVT; Pl. 76, Tameion Archeologikon Poron.

All dates are B.C., unless otherwise stated. Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Agora* XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora, XV, Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton 1974
- Boeckh = A. Boeckh, *Kleine Schriften* VI, Leipzig 1872
- Clarysse and Van der Veken = W. Clarysse and G. van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Egypt*, Leiden 1983
- Davies, *APF* = J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971
- Habicht, *Studien* = C. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*, Göttingen 1982
- Koehler = U. Koehler, *Inscriptiones Graecae* II, Berlin 1883
- Kyle, *Athletics* = D. G. Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*, Leiden 1987
- Le Bas and Waddington = P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, Paris 1870; repr. Hildesheim 1972
- LGPN* I = P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, Oxford 1987
- Martin, *Cavaliers* = A. Martin, *Les cavaliers athéniens*, Paris 1887
- Mommsen, *Feste* = A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, Leipzig 1898
- Moretti, *IAG* = L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Rome 1953
- ProsPtol* = *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* in *Studia Hellenistica* 6, 1950; 8, 1952; 11, 1956; 12, 1959; 13, 1963; 17, 1968; 20, 1975; 21, 1976; 25, 1981
- Rangabé = A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités helléniques* II, Athens 1855
- Thompson = M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York 1981
- Tracy, *ALC* = S. V. Tracy, *Attic Letter Cutters of 229 to 86 B.C.*, Berkeley 1990
- Walbank, *Commentary* = F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* I–III, Oxford 1957, 1967, 1979

<sup>2</sup> I also owe considerable thanks to Professors Glenn Bugh and John McK. Camp II for their encouragement and help. In addition, A. E. Raubitschek and Thomas Drew-Bear have offered helpful suggestions on early drafts of sections I and III A, B.

<sup>3</sup> A travel grant awarded by the College of Humanities and the Graduate School at the Ohio State University

# THE NEW PANATHENEAIC VICTOR LISTS

	Column I	Column II	Column III
a. 170/69 a.	uncertain number of lines lost	a. 166/5 a. uncertain number of lines lost	a. 162/1 a. uncertain number of lines lost
1	[πυγμαίνῃ] ca. 25	1 ἀπαβράτης	1 lost
3	[...π]...[...]τινος Εἰσε[...]ν Κολλ[ca. 4 'Αν]τιοχεύς τῶν πρὸς Δάφν(η)	3 ζεύγει διαυλον 'Αριστοκράτης Μενεστράτου Περιδιονίδος φυλῆς	3 lost [ἵππῳ ἀκάμπτιον]
5	ὄπλιτην 'Ασκληπιοδώρος Τριφιδίου Σελεικεύς ἀπὸ Τίγρ(ας)	5 ζεύγει πολεμιστηρίῳ Λυαύδρος Νίκωνος Αἰγεῖδος φυλῆς	5 AK[...] ἐκ τῶν[ν] ἱππ[ίων] ἵππῳ πολεμιστεῖ[ι]
7	ἠνίοχος ἐγβιβάζων 'Αρισταρχμῶς Εὐφύλου Οἰνεῖδος φυλῆς	7 ζεύγει πολεμιστηρίῳ Σωγένης Σωγένου Αἰγεῖδος φυλῆς	7 ἵππῳ δι[ταυλον]
9	[ἀ]ποβράτης 'Απῆμων Αἰσχρίτου Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς	9 Σωκράτης Σωγένου Αἰγεῖδος φυλῆς	9 Φιλάνθης Ξένωνος Οἰνεῖδος φυλῆς
11	[...7 ...] ζεύγει διαυλον 'Αγνίας Πολυκλείτου Προλεμιστῆδος φυλῆς ζεύγει ἀκάμπτιον Σωκράτους Σωγένου Αἰγεῖδος φυλῆς	11 ἵππῳ διαυλον 'Α < γ > νίας Πολυκλείτου Προλεμιστῆδος φυλῆς	11 Εὐκτέμεινος Εὐδῆμον 'Α[ν]τιοχίδος φυλῆς ἐν τῶν ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκ πᾶν[των] συναρῆδι, παλικεῖ[ι]
13	ζεύγει πολεμιστηρίῳ Σωκράτης Σωγένου Αἰγεῖδος φυλῆς	13 ἵππῳ ἀκάμπτιον 'Ασκληπιοδῶς Φιλίσκου [...]	13 Μηροφίλα Νέστορος 'Α[...] κέλ[η]πτι παλικῶ[ι]
15	ζεύγει πολεμιστηρίῳ Λέων Καλλίππου Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς	15 ἵππῳ ἀκάμπτιον 'Αγνίας Πολυκλείτου Προλεμιστῆδος φυλῆς	15 Διοσκορίδης 'Αγαθοκλέ[ου] [...] συναρῆδι, τελε[ῖ]αι
17	ἵππῳ πολεμιστεῖ ἐκ τῶν φυλάρχων Ξένων Αἰσχίμου Παυδιονίδος φυλῆς	17 ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ἵππῳ πολεμιστεῖ Πάτρων 'Αρχελάου Οἰνεῖδος φυλῆς	17 ἄρματι παλικῶ[ι]
19	ἵππῳ διαυλον Θεόφωλος Θεοφίλου 'Αντιοχίδος φυλῆς	19 ἵππῳ διαυλον Νικόστρατος 'Αρχελάου Οἰνεῖδος φυλῆς	19 'Αγαθόκλεια Νομηγίου 'Α[...] κέλ[η]πτι τελε[ῖ]αι
21	ἵππῳ ἀκάμπτιον 'Οφέλας 'Αβρωνος Αἰγεῖδος φυλῆς	19 ἵππῳ ἀκάμπτιον Νικόστρατος 'Αρχελάου Οἰνεῖδος φυλῆς	21 'Εστωῖος Φύσκου 'Αντιοχεύς [...] ἄρματι τελε[ῖ]αι
23	ἵππῳ πολεμιστεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων Πάτρων 'Αρχελάου Οἰνεῖδος φυλῆς	21 Νικογένης Νίκωνος Αἰγεῖδος φυλῆς	23 [Β]ασίλισσα Κλεοσίτρα βασιλέως Π[ρο]λεμιστοῦ ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἵππῳ πολυδρ < δ > μ[ω]
25	διαυλον ἢ Νικόστρατος 'Αρχελάου Οἰνεῖδος φυλῆς ἀκάμπτιον Ζωΐδος Σωκλέους Προλεμιστῆδος φυλῆς	21 ἐν τῶν ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκ πάντων συναρῆδι, παλικεῖ	25 Βασιλεὺς Εὐμέτης βασιλέως 'Αττ[έ]λου 'Ατταλίδος φυλῆς ἄρματι πολεμιστηριῶ[ι]
27	ἐν τῶν ἵπποδρόμῳ ἢ κέλ[η]πτι, παλικῶ[ι]	23 'Ηράκλειτος 'Αντιδώρου 'Αντιοχεύς τῶν πρὸς Δάφν(η) κέλ[η]πτι, παλικῶ[ι]	27 'Αρατίων Σίμου Αἰγεῖδος φυλῆς < ζ > εὐγεί πομπικῶ[ι]
29	'Απολλοδώρος 'Απολλοδώρου Κιτιεῖς τελεῖαι ἢ 'Ασκληπιοδῶς 'Ασκληπιοδώρου Ζεφυριώτης	25 Μηροδώρος 'Αρτεμιδώρου 'Αντιοχεύς ἀπὸ Μηροδου(ας) συναρῆδι, τελε < ι > αἰ	29 Ζήνων Μενεστράτου 'Ακαματ[ί]δος φυλῆς ζεύγει διαυλον



The inscription is built (inscribed face up) into and presently is one of the top blocks of the late Roman fortification wall, the so-called post-Herulian Wall on the north side of the Akropolis. The location is just south of Hadrian Street, east of the Tower of the Winds in the area of the Diogeneion.<sup>4</sup> The block of gray marble on which it is inscribed is roughly rectangular: 0.71 m. high, 0.92 m. wide, and 0.19 m. thick. The letter height and interlinear spacing vary from column to column. Detailed measurements are provided below in the epigraphical commentary. The block is broken at the top and right side. Although the left side is preserved, it will not be possible to assess its treatment until the block is removed from the wall. The back too seems to be original and rough picked;<sup>5</sup> the bottom reveals rough chiseling and three rectangular dowel holes. An area across the bottom of the face *ca.* 0.055 m. in height has been unevenly pared down to give a recessed band (Pl. 71). The surface of the face along the left edge (Pl. 71) is deliberately pocked with discrete strokes as (apparently) a kind of decorative treatment. The inscribed surface itself reveals light rasping with a tooth chisel. The grooves do not all run in one direction but are at points vertical and at others slanting or almost horizontal (see, for example, Pl. 73:b).

The text preserves almost completely the record of the victors in the equestrian events at the Panathenaia of the years 170, 166, and 162.

#### TYPE OF INSCRIPTION AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

This inscription and the others similar to it, i.e. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2313–2317, have been taken as lists of Panathenaic victors. None of these lists, so far as we can now determine, preserves any sort of preamble indicating the date or the festival. It is, therefore, at least worth considering the basis for the assumption that they are Panathenaic victor lists. What other festivals in Athens included athletic and equestrian events, i.e., those events preserved on the present block? Such games are known at the Eleusinia, the Theseia, the Ptolemaia, and perhaps the Olympieia. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1672, lines 258–262, records trieteric and penteteric contests at the Eleusinia which included gymnastic and equestrian events. Johannes Kirchner and Sterling Dow discovered and published two fragmentary victor lists from these games; these lists are datable to about 150 and reveal that the equestrian program featured events distinctive to the Eleusinia and different from those on the present inscription.<sup>6</sup> The program of the Theseia is well known from *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 956–965; the categories of events differ from those on the present text and make it clear that it is not a record of winners in the Theseia.

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made a trip to Athens possible. The American School of Classical Studies provided a pleasant ambience for the work. Two friends then at the School, Sara Aleshire and Kathryn Morgan, provided needed assistance.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the Diogeneion and its location, see Travlos, pp. 281, 579 and fig. 722 and A. Frantz, “A Public Building of Late Antiquity in Athens,” *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 194–203, esp. pp. 201–203 and fig. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Because the block lies face up on top of the wall, only a very small part of the back at the edge could be examined.

<sup>6</sup> “Inchriften vom Attischen Lande,” *AM* 62, 1937 (pp. 1–12), pp. 3–6, nos. 2 and 3. The authors’ grounds for the date were primarily prosopographical. We may now add in corroboration that no. 2 and *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2316, which is to be dated to 158 (see p. 218 below), have a victor in common, Λεό[ντ]ιχος Ἀρχίππου (see p. 228 below). In addition, these two texts commemorating the Eleusinia were inscribed by a cutter at work from 169 to 134 (Tracy, *ALC*, pp. 146–151). See also E.M. 12896 = *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 294–296, no. 20, a fragmentary 4th-century inscription which apparently also deals with the Eleusinia, as A. M. Woodward (“Notes on Some Attic Decrees,” *BSA* 51, 1956 [pp. 1–8], pp. 3–5) first demonstrated.

Athletic (*γυμνικοί*) contests are frequently mentioned for the Ptolemaia,<sup>7</sup> but only one attestation of an actual event survives, the boys' *diaulos*, on an inscription from the Argolid.<sup>8</sup> The Olympieia are less often attested, and the only certain attestations in the Hellenistic period of the events of the Athenian festival are for the maneuvering in formation of horses known as the *anthippasia*.<sup>9</sup> It is recorded in two inscriptions of the first half of the 3rd century B.C., a tribal decree for a phylarch commander in the event<sup>10</sup> and a dedication.<sup>11</sup> In short, we have so little evidence about the games associated with this festival that we can make no comparison with the present inscription. But the lack of evidence for gymnastic events suggests either that there were none or that they were of minor importance.

In summary, the program of events demonstrates that these inscriptions do not record victors at the Eleusinia or the Theseia. They are unlikely to be for the Olympieia, but they could on our present knowledge pertain to the Ptolemaia.<sup>12</sup> What makes their identification as Panathenaic victor lists highly probable, if (it must be admitted) not completely certain, is that the winning contestants come from far and wide to compete and that among them appear royalty. The games at the greater Panathenaia were the premier games held by the Athenians. None of the other games here considered are likely to have exercised the same international appeal.

The present inscription now becomes the largest fragment we possess of a Panathenaic victor list. It preserves the bottom halves of three lists with the record of the equestrian events and, at the end of the third column, a tantalizing mention of theatrical contests. The other events for the boys, youths, and men in footraces, wrestling, boxing, etc., were inscribed on the upper part and are now lost.

The preserved height of this block is 0.71 m. To the preserved width of 0.92 m. should be added about 0.10 m. to give the third column its full width plus (probably) a small margin. This assumption results in an original width of *ca.* 1.05 m. These dimensions suggest that we are dealing with an orthostate block of some kind. Since orthostate blocks are often slightly higher than they are wide, we may estimate the height of the block as approximately 1.10 m.

The three lists of events and victors each vary in the amount of vertical space they require. One cannot extrapolate a common starting point by calculating it based on the number of lines lost and the spacing of the preserved letters. If these calculations and measurements are made, it becomes apparent that Column I began *ca.* 1.03 m. above the bottom of the block, Column II *ca.* 1.12 and Column III *ca.* 1.22 m. Clearly these lists extended up onto the course above. They do not have a common top margin because what was above

<sup>7</sup> See the mentions of the gymnastic contests in, for example, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 891, line 13; 956, lines 34–35; 958, line 31; 983, line 4. For other references, see C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique*, Paris 1962, p. 300. The following inscriptions may now be added to this list: Agora I 7138, line 7 (*Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 58–60); Agora I 7182, line 17 (*Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 49–57); Kerameikos inv. I 1, line 6 (*AM* 76, 1961, pp. 128–129).

<sup>8</sup> Moretti, *IAG*, pp. 117–121, no. 45.

<sup>9</sup> See Xenophon's description of the maneuvers involved in *Hipparchikos* 3.10–13.

<sup>10</sup> Agora I 5326, published in *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 111–112.

<sup>11</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3079, lines 5–6.

<sup>12</sup> It is, however, not very likely, since it is improbable, as Habicht reminds me, that subjects of the Seleucids would participate in a festival called the Ptolemaia. Yet contestants from the Seleucid empire predominate in these lists, especially in the open equestrian events.

them varied. Each had, at the very least, some sort of preamble. Wreaths placed at intervals on the upper course(s) of an honorary base in relation to which these lists were inscribed would naturally account for the lower placement of some columns.

The thickness (0.19 m.), which seems to be original, is unusual for it does not match any of the inscribed walls or separate, but closely related, *stelai* known to this writer. The walls on which Nikomachos' law code was inscribed were 0.092 to 0.144 m. thick;<sup>13</sup> the so-called Attic *Stelai* range in thickness from 0.08 m. (stele IV) to 0.15 m. (VI, VII),<sup>14</sup> while that of the great archon list *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1706 is 0.14 m.<sup>15</sup> Nor does the thickness suit ordinary orthostate blocks from buildings, which vary in thickness but are usually 0.30 to 0.50 m. For example, the walls of the building on which the inscriptions recording the victors at the Dionysia and Lenaia, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2319–2323, were inscribed were approximately half a meter thick.

The existence of the uneven pared-down band *ca.* 0.055 m. in height along the bottom of the block suggests that a molding (which ran across the bottom edge) has been cut away so that the block could be re-used in the post-Herulian Wall. The presence of the molding in turn seems to indicate that this block is an orthostate from a base or other monument, rather than from a building.<sup>16</sup> No exact or close parallel is at present known to me.<sup>17</sup> One can posit perhaps a base for an equestrian statue or for a quadriga which had a facing of marble orthostates. Whatever the final explanation, the lettering on the block and the inscribed surface reveal very little weathering. It stood, therefore, inside a portico somewhere, if not in the Diogeneion, perhaps in the large two-storied stoa near by.<sup>18</sup> The precinct of the Eleusinion (see p. 198 below) is also another likely spot for the monument from which this inscription came. At least one of the other known Panathenaic inscriptions is probably also from this same monument (see pp. 219–220 below). This whole inquiry, however, is handicapped by the fact that *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2315, 2316, and 2317 are known to us only in copies.

## DATE

Prosopographical and historical arguments allow us to determine the dates of the lists on the present inscription quite precisely. (For a full presentation of the prosopography, see section II, pp. 205–217 below.)<sup>19</sup> An important indication of the date is provided by line 22 of the third column. The clear vertical stroke which appears at the beginning of the final preserved letter space requires the restoration of Ptolemy as the father and makes it certain

<sup>13</sup> S. Dow, "The Walls Inscribed with Nikomachos' Law Code," *Hesperia* 30, 1961 (pp. 58–73), p. 58. See also, for the sake of comparison, the inscribed wall at Colophon published by B. D. Meritt ("Inscriptions at Colophon," *AJP* 56, 1935 [pp. 358–397], pp. 358–360). The blocks of this wall are over two meters wide, between 0.60 and 0.70 m. in height, and 0.21 to 0.245 m. thick.

<sup>14</sup> W. K. Pritchett, "The Attic *Stelai*, Part I," *Hesperia* 22, 1953 (pp. 225–299), pp. 263, 270, 280.

<sup>15</sup> S. Dow, "The List of Archontes *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1706," *Hesperia* 2, 1933 (pp. 418–446), p. 424.

<sup>16</sup> I am indebted in this entire discussion to Professor Homer Thompson for sharing his expertise with me.

<sup>17</sup> Although the blocks which compose the long sides of the altar of Zeus and Athena Phratrios are significantly smaller than the present block, the molding at the bottom is the same height and may give some idea of the original appearance. See N. Kyparisses and H. A. Thompson, "A Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena Phratrios Newly Found in Athens," *Hesperia* 7, 1938 (pp. 612–625), p. 616, fig. 4.

<sup>18</sup> See Travlos, p. 281 on the existence of this stoa.

<sup>19</sup> Since study of the prosopography provided the crucial bits of evidence, the final determination of the date is due to C. Habicht.

that this is Queen Kleopatra II and not Kleopatra I, whose father was King Antiochos III. Kleopatra II was married to her brother Ptolemy VI in 175/4 and became co-regent with her two brothers in 170. This third list cannot be earlier, then, than 175/4. It cannot be later than 158, for King Eumenes, who is mentioned in line 24 (and also in lines 37–38 of Column I), died in 158.

The first list probably cannot be later than 170, for *Εἰρήνη Πτολεμαίου Ἀλεξανδρίς* of line 33, who served continuously as priestess of Arsinoe from 199 to 170,<sup>20</sup> appears likely to have died in that year. It cannot be as early as 178/7 since both *Ἀγνίας Πολυκλείτου* (lines 11, 42, 46) and *Σωκράτης Σωγένου* (lines 12, 14) are attested as ephebes only in the following year, 177/6.<sup>21</sup> The fact that Philokrates, the younger brother of Hagnias, also competes at this Panathenaia (line 54) suggests a date for this first list after 175. Moreover, two men who are attested as phylarchs in this first list, *Θεόφιλος Θεοφίλου* (line 20) and *᾽Οφέλας Ἀβρωνος* (line 22), were not of age, that is, had probably not finished ephebic service, in 183/2.<sup>22</sup> If in the year 183/2 they were 18 or 19, to imagine them as old as possible, they were 27 or 28 years of age in 174 and 31 or 32 in 170. Presuming that they had to be 30 years of age to serve as cavalry commanders, a date of 170 for this first list seems required.

Much the same line of argument applies to the second list. *Ἀγνίας Πολυκλείτου*, who was an ephebe in 177/6, is also listed twice in the second list as a victor from among the phylarchs (lines 12, 14). If he had to be 30 to serve as phylarch, the second list cannot be earlier than 166.<sup>23</sup> There is, it must be stated, no proof that a phylarch had to be 30 years of age. Thirty was the age of majority for most offices in the Athenian state, and it was probably customary for an officer to be that old or even older. It is also quite probable, however, that exceptions could be made for well-known and influential men.<sup>24</sup> Hagnias might conceivably, therefore, have been a phylarch as early as 170. These considerations taken all together strongly suggest, since we are dealing with three successive lists, that the present inscription gives us the names of the victors in the Panathenaic games of the years 170/69, 166/5, and 162/1.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Clarysse and Van der Veken, pp. 22–27.

<sup>21</sup> On Agora I 7529, an as yet unpublished inscription from the Athenian Agora.

<sup>22</sup> See *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2332, lines 346–348 and 189–193, where their respective fathers contribute in their names.

<sup>23</sup> It must be granted that if Hagnias was 18 in 177, he will have been only 29 in 166. The usual assumption is that ephebes were 18 years of age, but in some cases, perhaps in quite a few, they were clearly older. See on this point S. Dow, “The Athenian *Epheboi*; Other Staffs, and the Staff of the Diogeneion,” *TAPA* 91, 1960 (pp. 381–402), pp. 390–392 and O. W. Reinmuth, “Ephebate and Citizenship in Attica,” *TAPA* 79, 1948 (pp. 211–231), pp. 215–216. See also on the age of ephebes M. Golden, “Demosthenes and the Age of Majority at Athens,” *Phoenix* 33, 1979 (pp. 25–38), pp. 34–38.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of this issue, see P. Roussel, “Étude sur le principe de l’ancienneté dans le monde hellénique,” *Mémoires de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 43, 1942 (pp. 123–227), pp. 152–154 and R. Develin, “Age Qualifications for Athenian Magistrates,” *ZPE* 61, 1985 (pp. 149–159), pp. 153–155. Develin’s conclusion (p. 155), which is similar to Roussel’s, is that “We have some reason to suspect, but no way to prove, that it was possible for military offices to be held before the age of thirty. . . .”

<sup>25</sup> There does not seem to be a great deal of leeway. The three lists can be moved four years earlier only if we grant that not only did the Athenians not have a 30-year age rule for phylarchs but also that men younger than 30 customarily held this position, for the move (if made) would entail that all three of the phylarchs discussed above were less than 30 years old. The series can only be moved down four years and then with the assumption that Irene, the priestess of Arsinoe, left office and did not die in office.

## EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

The text was inscribed in three columns, a separate one for each Panathenaia. Each column is placed as close as possible to the right margin of that preceding. This placement, which takes into account the existence of the previous column, shows that the columns were inscribed sequentially. Moreover, each one differs in its letter height and interlinear spacing (for details see the beginning of the commentary on each column); each has its own guidelines. In addition the lines of text do not line up across columns. These facts suggest that the columns were inscribed from top to bottom and in sequence.

The hand in all three columns is the same and very distinctive. It is that of the Cutter of Agora I 247. This cutter was one of the most prolific letterers of the first half of the 2nd century. His dated work spans the period 194/3 to 148/7.<sup>26</sup> I think it quite likely that he was commissioned by the persons in charge, probably the *athlothetai*, to inscribe the names of victors from a number of Panathenaic games in order to bring the (inscribed) record up to date. He did so in the usual fashion of his profession, that is, each list was the unit of work. It was not his or any other workman's habit to make elaborate layouts of long texts so that columns, especially of separate lists, would align. Rather the usual practice was to do only minimal layout, to inscribe from top to bottom of a text, and to solve problems of detail as the work progressed.<sup>27</sup>

There are minor variations in the terminology used for the events; the order of their listing also differs somewhat from column to column. This variety probably reflects the state of the actual lists as they were made by the scribes immediately following the games. The cutter will in most cases have followed the letter of the list before him.

This cutter habitually omits the crossbar of alpha and the central horizontals of epsilon and xi. He often renders omikron and the loop of rho with two straight strokes, similar to an equal sign, i.e. = .

## Column I (Pl. 71)

The average letter height is 0.005 m. The interlinear space, which is *ca.* 0.003 m., increases to 0.005 m. towards the bottom. Near the top, five lines (measuring from the top of line 5 to the top of line 10) occupy 0.046 m.; whereas towards the bottom, the distance from the top of line 49 to the top of line 54 is 0.053 m. The more liberal spacing at the bottom is noticeable to a practised eye. The column is *ca.* 0.312 m. wide at its widest. The left edge is preserved, and a margin of 0.057 m. was left blank from the edge to the beginning of the column.<sup>28</sup> Traces remain of guidelines at the top of this column.

*Line 3.* The initial vertical and the topmost horizontal of dotted pi are preserved above the dotted nu in line 4 and the omikron in line 5. The restoration seems certain from observation of the order of events as listed in *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2313 (col. II), 2314 (cols. I and II), and 2316.

<sup>26</sup> For a description of the hand and a list of this cutter's work see Tracy, *ALC*, pp. 99–109.

<sup>27</sup> On these matters see S. V. Tracy, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 15, 1975), pp. 115–120.

<sup>28</sup> Most of these measurements have been made from the squeezes. Because the fibers in squeeze paper shrink at variable rates, the reader should be warned that the measurements will necessarily have a degree of inaccuracy in them.

*Line 4.* The lower part of the vertical of dotted upsilon appears below the broken area. Dotted nu is read on the basis of a clearly preserved lower-right segment of a diagonal stroke; a vertical seems to extend up from it. I am not certain, however, that this “vertical” is not a scratch. Kappa and sigma are, therefore, also possible. Of dotted lambda just the bottom of the left slanting *hasta* is legible. Merely the bottom tip of the vertical of dotted tau appears directly above the third lambda in line 6.

*Line 10.* The incompletely erased letters ΑΠΟΒΑΤΗ can be made out at the beginning of this line. The cutter started to reinscribe the previous line.

*Line 29.* The right side of the final sigma intrudes slightly into the space of the second column.

*Line 32.* The final mu touches the vertical guideline which marks the beginning of the second column.

*Line 34.* Since this woman is Spartan, it seems best to print her father’s name with a smooth breathing.

*Line 35.* Most of the horizontal of dotted pi can be discerned above a gouge in the inscribed surface.

*Line 51.* Nu was repeated and remains on the stone.

*Line 52.* Merely the upper ends of the slanting strokes of dotted upsilon are preserved.

*Line 54.* Of dotted upsilon the V alone is legible; chi is also possible. The final sigma of this line intrudes one full letter space into Column II. The corresponding line, *viz.* line 51, of Column II takes account of it, for its first letter is indented one and one-half letter spaces to the right. This clearly reveals that Column II was inscribed after Column I and in relation to it.

### Column II (Pls. 73 and 74:a)

This column up to line 34 is more liberally spaced, both vertically and horizontally, than the other two columns. The letter height varies: that of lines 1 to 9 is 0.007 m. with an interline of 0.003 m., of lines 10 to 33, 0.007–0.008 m. with an interline of 0.004–0.005 m. The spacing of the last 20 lines (34 to 53) is tightened up: the letters are smaller (0.006 m.); they are placed closer together, with the result that the lines are shorter; and the interlinear space is less (0.003 m.). It is as though the cutter became aware that vertical space might become a problem. This column extends down two and one-half lines below column one and 13 and one-half below column three. The column is *ca.* 0.335 m. wide.

*Line 1.* Just the vertical of dotted tau is preserved.

*Line 12.* F (= P) was inscribed instead of Γ.

*Lines 21–33.* Despite the clean sweep by *Antiocheis*, they do not form a connected team. The first comes from Antioch on the Orontes (modern Turkey) and the second from Mygdonian Antioch or Nisibis in Mesopotamia (modern Iraq). The last four are from Antioch on the Kydnos river, i.e. Tarsos (pp. 214–215 below).

*Line 26.* The iota in pointed brackets was omitted by the cutter.

*Line 45.* The final word has been partially obliterated by subsequent damage. Merely the vertical of dotted upsilon can now be read.

### Column III (Pls. 72, 74:b, and 75)

In contrast to the other two columns the spacing here is quite consistent. Guidelines appear and are especially clear at the bottom (Pl. 74:b). The letter height is 0.005–0.006 m., and the interline is *ca.* 0.003 m. Five lines and their interlines occupy on an average 0.048 m. of vertical space. The column at its widest preserved point is 0.214 m. To judge from the other columns, this column extended to the right approximately 0.10 m.

*Line 5.* Of dotted iota, only the lower third is visible.

*Line 6.* The lower half of dotted tau alone can be read.

*Line 8.* The left side of dotted omikron appears at the break.

*Line 9.* Of dotted mu, just the lower third of the initial slanting *hasta* remains.

*Line 10.* The lower half of the left slanting stroke of dotted alpha alone survives.

*Line 11.* The initial vertical of dotted nu occurs at the break.

*Line 12.* Since this cutter habitually omits the crossbar of alpha, the (completely preserved) lambda could also be alpha.

*Line 14.* The upper-left tip of dotted upsilon appears at the top of the letter space.

*Line 18.* Dotted lambda is completely preserved; the letter could also be alpha, however (see the comment on line 12).

*Line 22.* Dotted pi is read on the basis of the lower half of a vertical which occurs at the beginning of the letter space and just before the break.

*Line 23.* Omikron was omitted; the initial slanting stroke of dotted mu alone is preserved.

*Line 24.* Only the horizontal of dotted tau is legible.

*Line 27.* The vertical of zeta has been omitted; this cutter's version of xi appears on the stone.

*Line 30.* There are only indistinct traces of dotted iota.

*Line 31.* Merely the upper third of the initial vertical of dotted eta survives.

*Line 33.* The vertical of zeta was omitted. Of dotted upsilon, only the upper third of the left slanting stroke is visible.

*Line 34.* This line has been erased and reinscribed in larger letters which are more liberally spaced (Pl. 74:b). The correction was made by the same hand as appears on the rest of the inscription. None of the initially inscribed text is legible.

*Line 36.* On the significance of this line, see below, p. 205 and footnote 59.

*Line 38.* Following the final epsilon there is an erased area to the break (Pl. 74:b). The remains of chi, light but clear, appear in the first letter space of the *rasura*. The cutter first inscribed Ἐρεχθείδος φυλῆς. If he meant to change the tribe, he should have erased all the letters, since no other tribe begins with epsilon. He cannot have expected to inscribe an ethnic beginning with these letters, for this event was for citizens (line 23). In any case, nothing was reinscribed. The text as it stands presents a small puzzle.

*Lines 39–43.* See pp. 203–204 below for a general discussion of these lines.

*Line 39.* The initial vertical and the horizontal of dotted pi are completely preserved before the break. Gamma could also be read.

*Line 40.* The vertical of zeta has been omitted.

*Line 42.* Of dotted nu, only the initial vertical survives.

## THE ATHLETIC PROGRAM OF THE PANATHENAIA<sup>29</sup>

The present inscription gives us a record of the equestrian competition for three successive celebrations and allows us to establish with a certainty heretofore not possible a framework for these events, into which the other fragmentary texts can be fitted more or less comfortably.<sup>30</sup> Fortunately, the sequence of the non-equestrian contests (not preserved on the present inscription) occurs in several inscriptions in what is an almost fixed and unvarying order. See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2313, lines 18–52 (II); 2314, lines 1–35 (I), lines 58–67 (II); 2315, lines 11–44; and 2316, lines 1–16. In the listing of each year these events apparently came first. They are arranged in three groups, contests for boys (*παῖδες*), youths (*ἀγένοιοι*), and men (*ἄνδρες*).<sup>31</sup> With the exception of *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2313 where the two pentathlon winners are placed at the beginning, the order is as follows:

<sup>29</sup> On the games in general see Mommsen, *Feste*, pp. 69–98.

<sup>30</sup> Martin (*Cavaliers*, pp. 233–258) provided a full account based on the evidence then available.

<sup>31</sup> C. A. Forbes (*Neoi: A Contribution to the Study of Greek Associations*, Middletown, Connecticut 1933, p. 2) delineates the ages of the three groups as 12–16 years, 16–20, and over 20. For a study of the more complicated age groupings in the nearly contemporaneous games associated with the Theseia, see G. Bugh, “The Theseia in Late Hellenistic Athens” in the *Acta* of the University of New England International Seminar on Greek and Latin Epigraphy (edited by I. Worthington), *ZPE* 83, 1990, pp. 22–39.

## παῖδας

δόλιχον

στάδιον

δίαυλον

πάλην

πυγμῆν

παγκράτιον

## ἀγενεῖους

στάδιον

πένταθλον

πάλην

πυγμῆν

παγκράτιον

## ἄνδρας

δόλιχον

στάδιον

δίαυλον (not listed on *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2315)ἵππιον (not listed on *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2313)

πένταθλον

πάλην

πυγμῆν

παγκράτιον

ὀπλίτην

Except for the two contests indicated as not listed, these are the events, and this is the order of listing. They were open to all and most of the known winners in all categories are foreigners, i.e. non-Athenians. Athenians do, it should be noted, win the *pankration* quite often, to be specific, in five out of the ten instances where the identity of the winner is known. Otherwise, there are lone Athenian victories attested only in the pentathlon and in wrestling (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2315, lines 39–42).

The men have the fullest program. Two events, in fact, are for men only; these are two footraces, the *hippios* and the *hoplites*. The latter, a race in armor, was suitable only for grown men who could supply their own armor. Why the former, a race twice the length of the *diaulos*, or four stadia long, should be limited to the men is unclear.<sup>32</sup> The boys and youths each have a partial version of the men's program. The boys' program stresses footraces, including surprisingly the *dolichos* or long-distance race, and the basic martial arts, wrestling, boxing, and *pankration* which combined the two. They do not have a pentathlon. The youths' program includes only one footrace, the *stadion* or dash; otherwise it features the basic martial arts and the pentathlon. The pentathlon comprised five contests: the jump, footrace, discus throw, javelin, and wrestling.

<sup>32</sup> This was no longer true in the post-Sullan period. We have a record of a boys' *hippios* at the Panathenaia in an inscription from Halikarnassos of the middle of the 1st century B.C.: Παναθήναια τὰ ἐν Ἀθήναις παῖδας δόλιχον καὶ ἵππιον (*Syll*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1064, lines 8–9 = Moretti, *IAG*, pp. 144–146, no. 56).

The boys have 6 events, the youths 9, and the men 13, if we count the pentathlon as 5. If competitions were scheduled not concurrently but consecutively, it would appear likely that the contests for the boys and youths would fill one day and those of the men a second, i.e., the first two days of the athletic program.<sup>33</sup>

The equestrian competitions too can be seen to have a reasonably clear pattern, but they were neither so fixed in their occurrence nor so invariable in their order of listing as the foregoing events. This is not surprising, given that these events must have depended to some degree on the presence of qualified entrants. Moreover, the cost of sponsoring a racehorse or team and chariot must not be forgotten. The main fact is that one series of equestrian contests took place in the hippodrome, the other did not.

The events that were not held in the hippodrome probably took place in the Agora along the race course or *dromos* associated with the Panathenaic way.<sup>34</sup> This location is suggested by the phrase ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ partially preserved in two of our texts at the beginning of the listing of these events.<sup>35</sup> The Eleusinion was apparently one terminus of the race course in the Agora<sup>36</sup> and also during the great procession the stopping place of the ship which bore the peplos.<sup>37</sup> If these contests were actual races as the terms used to label them on the inscriptions suggest and not merely displays, the starting gate will probably have been near the Dipylon gate. The distance from the gate to the Eleusinion is about 700 meters, or something over three stades.

These events are listed on our inscriptions after the gymnastic competition and before the equestrian contests in the hippodrome. They are open only to citizens. Chariot events, usually five or six, are listed first, headed by two contests, the *heniochos ekbibazon* and the *apobates*, that involved dismounting or mounting a moving chariot, or both. The chariot events are followed by six contests on horseback, three for the phylarchs and the same three for the knights. Each set began with an up-and-back race for warhorse and armed rider as the full title of the event (ἵππῳ πολεμιστεῖ διάυλον ἐν ὄπλοις, *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2316, line 29) reveals. A full program apparently involved 12 events and may have filled an entire day in the program of the festival. Lines 7 to 26 of Column I of the present inscription record a representative program of this competition.

ἡνίοχος ἐγβιβάζων  
ἀποβάτης  
ζεύγει διάυλον  
ζεύγει ἀκάμπιον  
ζεύγει πομπικῶι  
ζεύγει πολεμιστηρίῳ

<sup>33</sup> On this point, see Mommsen, *Feste*, pp. 71–72.

<sup>34</sup> On equestrian events in the Agora, see H. A. Thompson, “The Panathenaic Festival,” *AA (JdI)* 76) 1961 (pp. 224–231), pp. 227–231. See also Kyle, *Athletics*, pp. 59–64 and Mommsen, *Feste*, pp. 91–92.

<sup>35</sup> See *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2316, line 16: ἐν τῷ [Ἐλευσινίῳ] and *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2317, line 48: [ἐν Ἐλευσινίῳ]. Despite the fact that we are dependent in these two inscriptions on early copies which record in the first place ENTOI and in the second [EΛ]EYΣINIΩN (see Boeckh, pp. 386, 439), these restorations, which were first proposed by Koehler in *IG II*, seem certain. On the reading in line 16 of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2316, see p. 224 below.

<sup>36</sup> On the *dromos* in the Agora and its location, see Travlos, pp. 2–3 and fig. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights* 566.

ἐκ τῶν φυλάρχων  
 ἵππῳ πολεμιστεῖ  
 ἵππῳ δίαυλον  
 ἵππῳ ἀκάμπιον

ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων  
 ἵππῳ πολεμιστεῖ  
 (ἵππῳ) δίαυλον  
 (ἵππῳ) ἀκάμπιον

This part of the program offered the knights and wealthy citizens who owned and trained horses an opportunity to compete. The events are clearly drawn from the training for the cavalry. The animal used for competition is always the standard riding horse used by the cavalry (*ἵππος*) rather than the racehorse (*κέλῃς*) which is employed for the open events in the hippodrome. The paired chariot team used is usually the ordinary *ζεύγος* rather than the racing team (*συνωρίς*) employed for the flat-out races in the hippodrome.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the chariot they drew also differed, the one being a standard issue as it were, the other a stripped-down racing model, something like a modern sulky. The nature of this competition makes it likely that these are not sponsored events but rather that the horses and chariots are owner ridden and driven. The names of the victors listed on the inscriptions for these events, therefore, are very probably the actual competitors.

Note that the six events for the phylarchs and the knights in this part of the competition can be precisely paralleled in the equestrian events at the Theseia;<sup>39</sup> the military character of that festival seems clear.<sup>40</sup> Since these events in the Panathenaic games preceded the establishment of the Theseia in the 160's, it may be that the organizers of the Theseia copied this part of the Panathenaic program. More probably, however, the contests on the inscriptions reflect the actual training exercises of the cavalry. It seems likely in fact that the listing of these events in the Panathenaic victor lists constitutes in itself evidence of rapid growth in the activity of the cavalry during the first 30 years of the 2nd century.<sup>41</sup> The earliest of these lists, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2313 (II) of perhaps 198,<sup>42</sup> did not (apparently) include them. The two lists of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314, which come next in the series and belong probably to 182 and 178, include a partial version of this competition. The difference between them is most interesting.<sup>43</sup> The first (lines 36–44) has just four events, the *apobates*, the *heniochos ekbibazon*, and two four-horsed chariot races, followed immediately by the open equestrian competition (lines 45–56). Four years later these contests have increased to eight (lines 68–82; new edition, p. 222 below) and have been separated from the open events which are now specified as held “in the hippodrome” (line 83). The events are: *heniochos ekbibazon*, *apobates*, three chariot

<sup>38</sup> The *συνωρίς* does sometimes appear among these events; see *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2316, lines 24, 26 and 2317, lines 2, 4.

<sup>39</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 956, lines 82–86; 957, lines 65–77; and 958, lines 85–94. On the similarity of these events with the equestrian program of the Theseia, see also Martin, *Cavaliers*, p. 239.

<sup>40</sup> See Kyle, *Athletics*, pp. 40–41.

<sup>41</sup> On the general situation of the cavalry at this time, see G. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens*, Princeton 1988, pp. 196–197.

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of the dates of all these texts, see pp. 217–221 below.

<sup>43</sup> Martin (*Cavaliers*, p. 243) was the first to make this point.

aces, and three horse races, *viz.* ἵππῳ π[ολεμιστεῖ], ἵππῳ [δίαυλον], (ἵππῳ) ἀκάμ[πιον], half of the horse races in the developed program. These three events in 178 were probably open to the entire cavalry, officers and rank-and-file alike. By the time of the new list in 170, the complete program, three contests for the cavalry and three for their officers, is in place. Despite the poor state of our knowledge about *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2317*, the last in the series, this competition still clearly has an important place in the program.<sup>44</sup>

The events in the hippodrome are listed last on the present inscription, and this was apparently the regular order on the inscriptions. They fall into two groups:

1) Competition open to all, in three events, namely a horse race, and a two-horsed and a four-horsed chariot race. Each contest is divided into two categories, one for young and one for mature animals. These six events are fixed and regular, although the order of listing on the inscriptions varies. These contests were pan-Hellenic and formed the equestrian competition at the major games.<sup>45</sup> The winners, not just on the new text but on all the inscriptions, are non-Athenians. The single exception, Pythilas, son of Orthagoras (*IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2313*, line 58), proves the rule, for he was a naturalized Athenian from, to use Homer's phrase, "horse-pasturing Argos" (see p. 226 below).

2) Competition open only to citizens, in eight to ten events, all chariot competitions except for the first, a long-distance horse race (ἵππῳ πολυδρόμῳ). The precise chariot contests vary but always include war and processional chariots and end with the flat-out race for the two-horsed racing chariot. This part of the competition began to be added to the program at the games of 178. There is no evidence for it either on *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2313* or in column I of *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2314*. It appears for the first time in lines 92a to 97 of column II of *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2314* (lines 96–105 in the new text, p. 222 below), where there is evidence for five events for citizens, half of the (later) full program. In short, the text of *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2314* reveals a major expansion in events for citizens at the Panathenaic festivals of 182 and 178: four additional events for the cavalry in column I (lines 36–44) and in column II four more for the cavalry (lines 75–82) plus the five new events for citizens in the hippodrome. This was a major change.

In all but one case, namely *IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2317* (where the order is reversed), the contests for citizens are listed last after the open events. This may well reflect the order of competition. The listing of these two groups in lines 21 to 53 of column two of the present text is representative.

ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκ πάντων  
 συνωρίδι πωλικῆί  
 κέλητι πωλικῶι  
 συνωρίδι τελε<ί>αι  
 ἄρματι πωλικῶι  
 κέλητι τελείῳι  
 ἄρματι τελείῳι

ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν  
 ἵππῳ πολυδρόμῳ

<sup>44</sup> See lines 1–17, 48–64 and the discussion, p. 226 below.

<sup>45</sup> Martin, *Cavaliers*, p. 239 and E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, London 1910, pp. 457–460.

ἄρματι πολεμιστηρίῳ  
 ζεύγει πομπικῶι  
 ζεύγει διάυλον  
 συνωρίδι πολεμιστηρίαι  
 συνωρίδι διάυλον  
 συνωρίδι διάυλον  
 συνωρίδι ἀκάμπιον  
 συνωρίδι ἀκάμπιον  
 συνωρίδι ἀκάμπιον

This competition in the hippodrome comprised 14 to 16 events and, depending on the number of heats, was probably held on a single day. Many of these events were sponsored, employing the equivalent of thoroughbred horses and professional jockeys or drivers. This fact is made clear from the animals used (*κέλης*, *συνωρίς*) and from the presence of female and royal sponsors only in this part of the program. At the same time, a number of the citizens who are listed as winners in these contests were probably the actual competitors. This seems likely from the observable fact that it is not uncommon for a winner here also to have won in the events which were held the previous day in the Agora. See, as examples, in column one Ἀρίσταιχος Εὐβούλου, who was victorious in the hippodrome with a war chariot (lines 43–44) and in the flat-out chariot race (lines 49–50) and in the Agora as ἡνίοχος ἐγβιβάζων (lines 7–8), and in column two Σωκράτης Σωγένου, who won with the war chariot in the hippodrome (lines 42–43) and in the flat-out two-horse chariot race in the Agora (lines 7–8).

Assuming that the inscriptions provide a record of the contests roughly in the order in which they were held, we arrive at the following picture for the athletic games of the first half of the 2nd century B.C. They were probably held in three venues and over several days. The non-equestrian competitions, the so-called gymnastic events, were in all likelihood staged in the stadium,<sup>46</sup> with the boys' and youths' events taking one day and the men's another. The equestrian competition of a quasi-military nature for citizens took place on the *dromos* in the Agora and probably required a single day. The races in the hippodrome came last and required another day. We thus have the picture of athletic contests covering four days, moving from the stadium to the Agora to the hippodrome, and culminating in the thoroughbred chariot races. It was a carefully planned program with attention paid to the order of events, clearly building to those that carried the most prestige and excitement.

#### THE EVENTS LISTED

With the single exception of the final lines of Column III of the present text, the inscribed lists record only the victors in the gymnastic and equestrian competitions. Yet we

<sup>46</sup> Note that in the inscriptions the stadium is referred to as Παναθηναϊκόν. See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 351, lines 16–17; 457b, line 7; 794, line 4 (as restored by Pélékidis [footnote 7 above], p. 175); 893a, line 7 (restored by Pélékidis, *REG* 63, 1950, pp. 110–112); 916 (= *Agora* XV, no. 187, line 7); 1011, lines 21–22 (restored by Pélékidis, *REG* 63, 1950, pp. 107–109); 1043, lines 4–5; and *Agora* I 7181, lines 3–4 (*Hesperia* 45, 1976, pp. 296–303). See in particular C. Pélékidis, “Notes d'épigraphie attique,” *REG* 63, 1950, pp. 107–120, where mention of the Panathenaic stadium in ephebic inscriptions is discussed.

know that the program at the Panathenaia was very diverse<sup>47</sup> and regularly included musical contests, torch races, pyrrhic dances, a contest of *euandria*, the *anthippasia*, boat races, and performances of Homer. Why do the inscriptions not record any of these events? We can only guess, I think. The individual winners of the gymnastic and equestrian competitions, we learn from chapter 60 of the *Athenaion Politeia*, alone received prizes of olive oil in the special amphoras which were the symbol of victory in the games at Athens, the Panathenaic amphoras. This practice is corroborated by the list of prizes from the first half of the 4th century, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2311. The ancients thus made a distinction, which is reflected in the inscriptions, between these events and all the others. The athletic program was undoubtedly the oldest part of the festival. In addition to the prestige conferred by tradition, the athletic competitions probably had the greatest crowd appeal. The musical contests and the group competitions and displays definitely had an important place in the festival but clearly were not on the same level as the athletic events.

#### FOREIGNERS AT THE PANATHENAIA

Foreigners competed themselves in all the non-equestrian contests and sponsored horses and chariots in the open events staged in the hippodrome. Women do appear but only non-Athenians, and only as sponsors of racehorses and racing teams. Royalty also appear, and, since at Athens the Ptolemaic and Attalid kings very probably had hereditary citizenship and were members of the tribe named for them or their ancestor,<sup>48</sup> they sponsor events in the hippodrome, often among those restricted to citizens. A royal figure is never certainly associated with an event in the Agora and never competes in the non-equestrian competition. On the royal persons, see pp. 216–217, 232–233 below. Foreign participation at Athens in the summer of 166 could well have been reduced significantly by the sumptuous games which Antiochos IV put on, also in 166, in Daphne (Polybios, 30.25.1–26.9). Is this the reason that no royal sponsor appears among the winners in Column II? There seems no way to know. The impact on the Panathenaia of Antiochos' games may not have been great, if Bunge is correct in placing them in September/October of 166.<sup>49</sup>

The geographical distribution of participants in the new text is as follows. The winners of the events in Column I come from scattered regions, i.e., Antioch on the Orontes, Seleucia on the Tigris, Cyprus, Liguria, two from cities in what is now southeastern Turkey, Alexandria, and Sparta. The same wide geographical distribution is not reflected in Column II because four of the victors are related and come from the city of Antioch on the river Kydnos (Tarsos). The other two come from farther east. Because the ends of the lines in the third column are lost, we know the exact origin only of Queen Kleopatra of Alexandria; but the woman in line 12 probably came, her father's name reveals, from a city in western Asia

<sup>47</sup> Mommsen (*Feste*) gives an overview of the program on page 153; see also pages 61–69 for the musical events and pages 98–106, 145–148 for the others. Mommsen's opinion (p. 88) that the *anthippasia* may no longer have existed in the 2nd century is an argument based on silence and is perhaps unwarranted.

<sup>48</sup> It has usually been assumed that the kings were naturalized by grants of citizenship, but no inscribed record of such a grant has survived. P. Gauthier (*Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* [*BCH* Suppl. 12], Paris 1985, pp. 208–209) has shown that this notion is probably mistaken.

<sup>49</sup> J. G. Bunge, "Die Feiern Antiochos' IV. Epiphanes in Daphne im Herbst 166 v. Chr.," *Chiron* 6, 1976, pp. 53–71.

Minor,<sup>50</sup> the one in line 18 quite possibly from Alexandria (see p. 213 below), and the man in line 20 came from one of the cities in the Seleucid empire. The winners here too seem to have come from widely scattered places, and this was probably the norm. The preponderance of winners in the equestrian events from Cilicia is notable. Except for the Pergamenian royal family, there are scarcely any equestrian victors from western Asia Minor and only one from mainland Greece. See pp. 213–216 below for a prosopographical discussion of the foreigners.

#### DRAMATIC CONTESTS

Lines 39–43 of Column III provide a very important bit of testimony for the existence of dramatic competitions at the Panathenaia. They confirm the statement of Diogenes Laertius (3.56): *τέτρασι δράμασιν ἡγωνίζοντο—Διονυσίοις, Ληναίοις, Παναθηναίοις, Χύτροις*. Previously, our only epigraphical evidence for dramatic performances at the Panathenaia had been *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 3157, a dedication of the 1st century after Christ. Line 25 of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1134 (= *FdD III*, ii, no. 69, line 17), *καὶ σκηνηκὸς ἀγῶνας ἐποίησεν*, reveals that *ἐποίησε* (line 40) is the *vox propria* for staging dramatic contests.<sup>51</sup>

We may restore the end of line 39 either with a routine phrase such as *π[άντας καλῶς]* or with a stronger one such as *π[ρῶτος πάντων]*. In support of the latter we may adduce the frequent boast in agonistic inscriptions to be “the first”.<sup>52</sup> If correct, it would follow that dramatic performances were staged for the first time at the Panathenaia of 162. While this restoration is appealing and advocated by my collaborator, I think it claims too much in the absence of supporting evidence.

The construction of the end of line 40 from the words *καὶ τοὺς* to *εἰσήγαγεν* in line 42 is difficult. The phrase *τοὺς . . . ἀγωνισαμένους* should probably be taken as object of *εἰσήγαγεν*. If Zeuxis is, as he seems to be, the subject of *εἰσήγαγεν*, the verb would appear to imply here more than simply bringing in the competitors.<sup>53</sup> *Ἐνεργέταις* is most probably dative after *ἀγωνισαμένους*, i.e., “those who competed in the contests in honor of the benefactors of the city.”<sup>54</sup> The accusative *ἡμέραν* is also difficult to construe; but the reading is mandatory, for the initial vertical and the diagonal of the nu are preserved. One cannot, therefore, read *ἡμέραι[s]* and think of phrases such as *ἐν ταῖς καθηκούσαις ἡμέραις* (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>50</sup> On the geographical distribution of the name *Νέστωρ*, see C. Naour, “Nouveaux documents du Moyen Hermos,” *EpigAnat* 5, 1985 (pp. 37–74), p. 45, note 30. I am indebted to Thomas Drew-Bear for this reference. See also Louis Robert’s remark on the name as epichoric (*Noms indigènes dans l’Asie-Mineure Gréco-Romaine*, Paris 1963, pp. 252 and 546).

<sup>51</sup> Note the precisely parallel use of this verb with *τὸν δρόμον*, i.e. “stage the footrace”, in early dedications from the Akropolis; see A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass. 1949, pp. 350–358, nos. 326–328.

<sup>52</sup> On such claims see M. N. Tod, “Greek Record-Keeping and Record-Breaking,” *CQ* 43, 1949, pp. 105–112, esp. pp. 111–112. See also Moretti, *IAG*, pp. 151–153 and pp. 38, 62, 119.

<sup>53</sup> On the *eisagogeus*, a minor official who conducted the competitors, see T. Drew-Bear, “Some Greek Words: Part II,” *Glotta* 50, 1972 (pp. 182–228), pp. 194–195.

<sup>54</sup> For a parallel in sense, if not in wording, see *Syll*<sup>3</sup>, no. 700, line 40: . . . *ἔταν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνεργέταις οἱ ἀγῶνες ἐπιτελῶνται*. See also *Tituli Calymnii*, no. 52, lines 9–11 (M. Segre, ed., *ASAtene* 22–23, 1944–1945 [1952], pp. 74–75): . . . *ὅπως τοῖ μο[ρσι]||κοῖ|| καὶ χορικοὶ ἀγῶνες συντελῶνται τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐνεργέταις καθὰ ὁ δᾶμος [προ]||αιρεῖται*. . .

790, lines 12–13). Ἡμέραν is most probably accusative of extent of time after ἀγωνισαμένων. The closest parallels relate to the Pythian games where the phrase ἀγωνίζατο ἀμέρας δύο occurs (*Syll*<sup>3</sup>, nos. 689, line 5; 737, line 6). The prepositional phrase introduced by ἐν τα[ίς?---] at the end of line 40 seems to identify the place where this competition was held. In brief, what words exactly are to be restored at the ends of lines 40 and 41 remains unclear. A. E. Raubitschek (*per litteras*) has suggested that lines 42 and 43 might be restored as follows:

ἀγωνισαμένους εἰσήγαγεν [καὶ τὰς θυσίας]  
τῆς πανηγυρέως ἐπέθηκε[ν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων].

The general sense of these lines is: “Zeuxis staged the dramatic contests [admirably?], sponsored? those who contested (on) the day [added?] in th[e \_\_\_\_\_] in honor of the benefactors of the city, [and] provided [the sacrifices] of the festival [at his own expense].”

It must be emphasized that the listing of anything other than victors in the gymnastic and equestrian events on these inscriptions is quite unparalleled and suggests that the sponsor of these events either did something very unusual or was unusually influential. Zeuxis is a name not heretofore attested in Athens in the Classical and Hellenistic ages; a single Athenian of that name is known from the 2nd century after Christ.<sup>55</sup> The Zeuxis best known to us is the general of Antiochos III. He was active as a military leader and diplomat in the years from 222 to 188.<sup>56</sup> The present Zeuxis was probably named for him. It is notable that his name in line 40 is followed neither by his patronymic nor by his demotic. This fact suggests that he has been named earlier on the inscription, surely in the (now lost) heading or preamble to this column. He must be the *agonothetes* in charge of the entire greater Panathenaic festival, a challenging and costly responsibility. He was assisted in his duties by the *athlothetai*, who probably supervised the athletic competitions recorded on the inscriptions, and by *epimeletai*, who had charge of the grand procession.<sup>57</sup> It is probable that Zeuxis either added to the dramatic performances or staged them in an especially sumptuous style. Although neither case is precisely parallel, at the end of the 3rd century Eurykleides of Kephisia (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 834, lines 23–24) and the *gymnasiarch* Theophrastos (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1303, lines 9–11 = *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pp. 447–449) each staged special contests at his own expense. These, however, were apparently one-time events and not connected with a major festival.

<sup>55</sup> *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2067, lines 63, 192 (154/5) and *Agora XV*, no. 372, line 30 (168/9). There was, of course, the famous painter from Herakleia active in Athens in the late 5th century B.C. There is also a minor sculptor of this name and a doctor mentioned by Galen. Both of these men, it seems apparent, flourished after 150. See the article on Zeuxis in *RE*.

<sup>56</sup> On the career of Zeuxis, see L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes I*, Paris 1964, pp. 11–14 and P. Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes II*, Geneva 1989, pp. 31, 39–42. For his specific activities as viceroy of Antiochos III, see J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d’Amyzon en Carie, I, Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions*, Paris 1983, pp. 176–187; see also pp. 93–95, 139–140, 141–142, 146–151, 151–154, and 202–204 where the authors discuss specific inscriptions relating to Zeuxis. Recently published inscriptions provide more evidence of Zeuxis’ activities (see R. M. Errington, “Antiochos III., Zeuxis und Euromos,” *EpigAnat* 8, 1986, pp. 1–7; H. Malay, “Letter of Antiochos III to Zeuxis (209 B.C.),” *EpigAnat* 10, 1987, pp. 7–17, and M. Wörrle, “Inscripfen von Herakleia am Latmos I: Antiochos III., Zeuxis und Herakleia,” *Chiron* 18, 1988, pp. 421–470).

<sup>57</sup> On the *epimeletai* of the parade, see *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 896, lines 35–53 and on the *athlothetai*, *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 784. See also B. Nagy, “The Athenian Athlothetai,” *GRBS* 19, 1978, pp. 307–313.

## II. PROSOPOGRAPHY

The 55 victors who appear on the three lists include 32 Athenian citizens, all male; 19 foreigners, seven of whom are women;<sup>58</sup> and four members of royal families, including Queen Kleopatra of Egypt. The number of contests preserved is 73; however, the victories number only 72, since there was no undisputed winner in the race of the double course in Column III, lines 35–36 and, consequently, the victory crown was dedicated to Athena.<sup>59</sup> All foreigners have one victory each, as do three members of royal families and 23 Athenian citizens. Twice victorious, according to the preserved text, were King Eumenes II (in two different years) and the following Athenians: Diopethes, Eukles, Nikogenes (all in one and the same year), Nikostratos and Patron (both at celebrations four years apart). Aristaichmos was victorious three times at the festival recorded in Column I, Sogenes three times at the festival recorded in Column II. Sokrates won the crown four times (on two separate occasions), Hagnias five times (also on two separate occasions).

## THE ATHENIAN CITIZENS

More than half of the Athenian citizens, 18 or 19 out of 32, were already known from other evidence; relatives of at least six, perhaps of as many as nine, are known. Only five Athenians from the above lists cannot be connected with a known family.

Two Athenians, the brothers Hagnias and Philokrates, also appear in another Panathenaic victor list, namely *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2316, Hagnias in line 59, Philokrates in lines 17, 21, 23, 25, 27, 57, 60, and 67. If the four lists followed one another in the sequence I, II, III, *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2316, then the two brothers were victorious at events as much as twelve years apart. This cannot have been as unlikely in equestrian contests as it would have been in some athletic disciplines.

In what follows, individuals will be discussed in alphabetical order.

Ἄγνιας Πολυκλείτου, tribe Ptolemais (I 11, 42, 46; II 12, 14), phylarch: Οἰναῖος. He was already known from the record of his victory with the procession chariot at the Panathenaia of 158 (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2316, line 59) and is now also attested, by Agora I 7529, line 120, as an ephebe in 177/6: Ἄγνιας Πολυκλείτου Οἰναῖος, among the ephebes of the tribe Ptolemais. This, in turn, allows us to restore in the list of donors from ca. 180 (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2333, lines 9–10): [Πολύκλειτος] Οἰναῖος ὑπὲρ ἑαυ[τοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑῶν Ἄγνιον καὶ Φιλοκράτου. For his brother Philokrates, see pp. 212–213 below. In a list of names of about the middle of the 2nd century, I recognize as Hagnias' sons [Π]ολύκλειτος Ἀγ[νίου] and [Φιλοκρά]τ[ης] Ἀγν[ίου], in restoring the latter's name and the patronymic in both cases (B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967 [pp. 57–101], p. 87, no. 18, lines 27–28). These lists were written by the Cutter of Agora I 6006, active from 169 to 134 (Tracy, *ALC*, pp. 150–158).

Ἄκ--- (III 4), phylarch according to the order of events that mirrors that in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2316, lines 33–36, as well as those in Column I, lines 21–23 and Column II, lines 13–15: in spite of the rarity of Athenian names beginning with Ak- he cannot be identified. Compare, however, the

<sup>58</sup> It is assumed that all the persons listed in Column III, lines 12, 14, 16, 18 were foreigners.

<sup>59</sup> Expressions such as ἱερὸς ὁ στέφανος ἐγένετο were explained by W. Dittenberger in his comments on *I Olympiā*, nos. 54 and 56, pp. 115–116 and 124. See also, for instance, *IG IX* 2, 525, line 12 (Larisa, ca. 185 B.C.): κίθαρωιδῶν ἱερὸς ὁ στέφανος ἐκρίθη; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1962, no. 58, p. 137; 1967, no. 500.

family of Simon, Theodoros, and Aktaios of Athmonon, attested in the 4th and 2nd centuries. From the 4th century, there “is evidence that there was money in the family.”<sup>60</sup>

- <sup>Ἰ</sup>Ἀπήμων Αἰσχροῖου, tribe Aiantis (I 9). The name Apemon is six times attested between the 5th and the 3rd centuries, and in three different demes, none of which belonged to Aiantis. The only Aischraios, known to me, who was a tribesman of Aiantis is Αἰσχροῖος [---] Φαληρεύς, *prytanis ca. 50* (*Agora XV*, no. 273, lines 46–47). He may have been related to the above Apemon.
- <sup>Ἰ</sup>Ἀρατίων Σίμων, tribe Aigeis (III 26): ἐκ Μυρρινούττης. Attested as a victorious phylarch at the Theseia of 161/0 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 956, I, line 57; II, lines 79, 80, and 82). His brother was Σίμαλος Σίμου ἐγ Μυρρινούττης, who in 181/0 was elected to a committee (*Hesperia Suppl.* 4, p. 145) and honored by the Council at about the same time (*Agora XV*, no. 159, lines 9–12). Other members of the family are Σίμος Ἀνθεστηρίου in *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1939, line 8; Μενέμαχος Ἀνθεστηρίου in 186/5, 183/2 and *ca. 180* (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 896, line 45; 2332, line 43; 2333, line 54); the *hieropoios* Anthesterios in *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1938, line 7, *ca. 150*, and Ἀνθεστήριος Σίμων ἐκ Μυρρινούττης in *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 6913 of the 1st century after Christ. The eponymous archon Anthesterios of 157/6 may or may not have been another member of the family; the name occurs in five other demes as well.
- <sup>Ἰ</sup>Ἀρίσταιχος Εὐβούλου, tribe Oineis (I 8, 44, 50): Φυλάσιος? He is without a doubt a descendant of the councillor of Oineis Εὐβούλος Ἀρισταίχμ(ου) of the later 3rd century (*Agora XV*, no. 117, line 8). The name Aristaichmos occurs more than once in an important family of Phyle; see J. Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica*, Helsingfors 1910, p. 26. Ἀρίσταιχος Εὐβούλου may well be the eponymous archon of 159/8.
- <sup>Ἰ</sup>Ἀριστοκράτης Μενεστράτου, tribe Pandionis (II 2): Μυρρινούσιος? The attribution to the deme of Myrrhinous seems virtually certain, in view of Ἀρισ[τοκρά]της Ἀντιμά[χ]ου Μυρρινούσιος, epebe in 267/6 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 665, II, line 43), and of the councillor Μενέστ<ρα>τος Μυρρινούσιος of 220/19 (*Agora XV*, no. 130, line 93).<sup>61</sup>
- <sup>Ἰ</sup>Ἀρχιάδης Νικησίου, phylarch of the tribe Aiantis (II 10): Φαληρεύς? He was undoubtedly the father of Ἀριστος Ἀρχιάδου of the tribe Aiantis who, in the later 2nd century, was twice victorious in the (Greater) Theseia, first as παῖς τῆς τρίτης ἡλικίας<sup>62</sup> (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 960, II, lines 12 and 22), then as νεανίσκος τῶν ἐκ Λυκείου (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 961, line 33). His father’s name points to the deme of Phaleron: on record are Νικησίας Νικησιδικο Φαληρεύς as treasurer of Athena in 377/6 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1410, line 3; 1411, line 8), Νικησίας Φαληρεύς, a knight in the 3rd century (*AM* 85, 1970, p. 226, no. 410), who could be the father of Archiades, and Νικησίας Νικησίου Φαληρεύς in a funerary monument of the first century (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 7617).
- <sup>Ἰ</sup>Διοπέιθης Ὀρθαγόρου, tribe Kekropis (II 35, 45): Ἀλαιεύς? The name Orthagoras is extremely rare in Athens, attested once for a member of a family whose origin was Argos and which was enfranchised in Athens.<sup>63</sup> It does not occur in any of the demes of Kekropis, while that of Diopieithes, within Kekropis, is only found in Halai Aixonides. There was Diopieithes from Halai, *hieropoios* in the year of archon Andreas, *ca. 150* (*AM* 97, 1982, p. 172, line 14), who may well have been the same man as Diopieithes crowned at the Panathenaia. A descendant was Διοπέιθης Φιλάνθου Ἀλαιεύς, epebe in 79/8 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1039, II, line 87). Since not only Orthagoras

<sup>60</sup> Davies, *APF*, pp. 488–489.

<sup>61</sup> The squeeze confirms that the stone has, in fact, Μενέστ<ω>τος; the correction seems imperative.

<sup>62</sup> For this age group, see Bugh (footnote 31 above), pp. 28–39.

<sup>63</sup> C. Habicht, “Beiträge zur Prosopographie der hellenistischen Welt,” *StCl* 24, 1986 (pp. 91–97), pp. 93–94.

but also Diopeithes is attested at Argos,<sup>64</sup> the Diopeithes of the present list probably belonged to the Argive family that was enfranchised at Athens. If so, he was a relative of another victor at the Panathenaia, Pythilas, son of Orthagoras (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2313, line 58; see p. 226 below).

<sup>7</sup> *Ἐπικλῆς Κρατίου*, tribe Oineis (II 47): *Ἀχαρνεύς*. He was honored, about 150,<sup>65</sup> by a decree of the cleruchs of Hephaistia on Lemnos, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1223, where *Ἐπικλῆς [Καλλίου] Ἀχαρνεύς*, lines 1 and 15, can now be emended to *Ἐπικλῆς [Κρατίου]*. The *prytanis* *Κρατ[—] Ἀχαρνεύς*, attested *ca.* 180 (*Agora* XV, no. 190, line 8) was undoubtedly his father *Krat[ios]*; a senior *Kratios* from Acharnai who appears in the middle of the 3rd century in an inventory of the Asklepion (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1534 B, lines 261, 264) will have been one of his forebears and in his turn the father of *Φράσμων Κρατίου Ἀχαρνεύς* of the funerary inscription *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5849/50 (for *Phrasmon*, see also *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1534 B, lines 248, 308). A homonymous descendant of Epikles, [*Ἐπικλῆς Κρατίου Ἀχαρν[εύς]*], is on record in the Augustan period (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 4040, line 1).

*Εὐαγίων Ἀλκέτ[ου]*, tribe lost, knight (III 6), is no other than *Εὐαγίων Ἀλκέτου Κοθωκίδης*<sup>66</sup> of the tribe Oineis. In 144/3 he was ambassador for the Athenians at Delos to the mother-city (*ID*, 1507, lines 36, 52) and epimelete of Delos in 141/0 (*ID*, 1750). He is also attested at Delos in *ID*, 1412 a, line 24 and 1417 A I, line 152, as the dedicant of two amphoras, and as a donor in the *epidosis* list from the city, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2334 of *ca.* 148, where he is listed as giving in his own name and in the names of his wife *Sosikrateia*,<sup>67</sup> his son *Alketes*, and his daughter *Philia* (lines 67–70). A statue of *Philia* was dedicated by her mother and her brother (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 4032). The son *Alketes* was among the many epimeletes in the 130's listed in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1939 (line 57). The *Εὐαγίων Ἀλκέτου Κο[θωκίδης]* in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2445, line 14, may be either our *Euagion* or a relative.<sup>68</sup> Related were also *Alketes* and *Euagion* who appear together as mint magistrates on an annual issue of the New Style Silver Coinage *ca.* 72/1. They were, however, more likely demesmen from *Perithoidai* than from *Kothokidai*.<sup>69</sup>

*Εὐκλῆς Ἱεροφάντου*, tribe Oineis (II 37, 53): *Περιθοίδης*. His father was *Aristokles*, the hierophant at Eleusis from 183/2 until at least *ca.* 150 (archon *Lysiades*). Our *Eukles* reappears as victorious hipparch at the *Theseia*, some time after 148, in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 961, line 21, under the name *Εὐκλῆς Ἀριστοκλέους Περιθοίδης*. The father *Aristokles* (or *Hierophantes*, with his second name derived from his cult function) donated in 183/2 for himself, his son *Eukles*, and his brother *Amynomachos* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2332, lines 49–52). *Aristokles* had been ephebe in 210/9 (archon *Sostratos*, *Hesperia* 34, 1965, p. 91, no. 3, line 25) and was therefore born in 228/7. He was elected hierophant in 183/2 and honored by the *Eumolpidaei ca.* 150 at the motion of his brother *Amynomachos* (*Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 295–298, no. 58), who later became hierophant himself (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3469; *Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 297).<sup>70</sup> The name *Ἱεροφάντης* is also used for

<sup>64</sup> M. Mitsos, *Ἀργολική Προσωπογραφία*, Athens 1952, p. 71.

<sup>65</sup> Tracy, *ALC*, p. 243.

<sup>66</sup> Homonymous men from *Perithoidai* are not attested before the 1st century; see the end of this paragraph with footnote 69 and C. Habicht, "Notes on Attic Prosopography: Coincidence in Father-Son Pairs of Names," *Hesperia* 59, 1990 (pp. 459–462), p. 460, no. 3.

<sup>67</sup> For her name, see D. M. Lewis, "The Chronology of the Athenian New Style Coinage," *NC*, ser. 7, no. 2, 1962 (pp. 275–300), p. 290.

<sup>68</sup> For another identification in this text, see K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Philadelphia 1974, p. 98, note 31.

<sup>69</sup> Thompson, pp. 382–383, 549; C. Habicht, "Zu den Münzmagistraten der Silberprägung des Neuen Stils," *Chiron* 21, 1991, forthcoming.

<sup>70</sup> *Amynomachos* is also, as Tracy points out (*ALC*, p. 141), to be restored in *Agora* I 6200 (*Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 269, no. 97).

Aristokles in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1934, lines [1] and 6, where his father's name, Nouphrades, also occurs.<sup>71</sup> Among his ancestors was Eukles, son of Aischylos, of Perithoidai, attested as councillor in 303/2 (*Agora XV*, no. 62, line 182), whose funerary inscription is *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 7219. A daughter of Eukles is attested at Delos: Θεοφίλη Εὐκλέ[υς] Περιθοίδου θυγάτηρ (*ID*, 1830). For the family, see Clinton ([footnote 68 above] pp. 24–27), who also provides a revised text of the decree of the Eumolpids and a photograph.<sup>72</sup>

Εὐκτίμενος Εὐδήμου, ἱππεύς of tribe A[ntiochis] (*III 10*): Εἰτσαῖος. In 140/39, he was a member of the Council and in this capacity moved two decrees, *Agora XV*, no. 240, lines 36–55 and 1–35. His funerary monument has recently been found close to the “Valerian Wall”,<sup>73</sup> a *trapeza* with the elegantly inscribed name Εὐκτίμενος Εὐδήμου Εἰτσαῖος. A homonymous grandson, Εὐκ[τίμενος Εὐδή]μου, was priest of Sarapis at Delos in 97/6 (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2336, line 261 in the edition of Tracy).<sup>74</sup> Other members of the family are [. . .]μήδης Εὐδήμου Εἰτσαῖος, ephebe in 102/1 (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1028, line 136 [III] = *Hesperia* Suppl. 15, p. 39, line 238), the knight Eudemos of the tribe Antiochis in 106/5 (*FdD III*, ii, no. 28, col. III, line 21), and there is now Θεόμνηστος Εὐδήμου Εἰτσαῖος, ephebe in 177/6, undoubtedly the brother of Euktimenos (*Agora I* 7529, line 113).

Εὐξενος Εὐξένου, tribe Akamantis (*III 34*): Εἰρεσίδης. His father was Εὐξενος Ἀρχίππου Εἰρεσίδης, who, in 186/5, was one of the superintendents of the great procession (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 896, line 44); a close relative, [Ἀρχ]ίππος (*supplevi*) Εὐξένου Ἀθηναῖος, was victor in the *pankration* of the ἀγένειοι at the Panathenaia in 198 (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2313, lines 39–40).<sup>75</sup>

Εὐφράνωρ Ὀλύμπου, tribe Ptolemais (*I 36*): Φλυεύς. Both names are relatively rare in Attica; both occur in the deme of Phlya. Well attested is Νικόλαος Ὀλύμπου Φλυεύς, probably a relative or the brother of the Panathenaic victor Euphranor. He was a victorious ephebe in 148/7 (*ID*, 1952, line 2), a *πομποστόλος* ca. 146/5 (*ID*, 2609, line 17), and *hieropoios* in 144/3 (*ID*, 2593, line 11) and in 127/6 (*ID*, 2596, line 17). Euphranor is attested for Σώφιλος Εὐφράνωρος Φλυεύς, *prytanis* in ca. 30 (*Hesperia* 47, 1978, p. 293, no. 20, line 36).

Ζήνων Μενεκράτου, tribe Akamantis (*III 28*): Κικυννεύς, perhaps the ephebe Ζήνων Με[–] of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2980a, line 5, dated before the middle of the 2nd century b.c. There is also Ζήνων Δα[–] Κικυννεύς with his two sons at Delos in 158/7 (*ID*, 1416 B, I, lines 65–69) and [–ca. 6–]ης Μενεκράτου Κικυννεύς, mover of a decree in 193/2 (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 886, line 6). John Traill kindly calls to the authors' attention the ephebe Μενεκράτης Ζήνωνος ἐκ [Κεραμείων] of 220/19 (B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15, p. 192, line 16), for which we are grateful to him. The true reading, however, seems rather to be Μενεκράτης Ζήνωνος Κι[κυννεύς] as read from two squeezes by SVT.

Ζωΐλος Σωκλέους, knight of the tribe Ptolemais (*I 26*): Φλυεύς. Both names are well attested in one of Ptolemais' demes, Phlya, but no identification offers itself.

<sup>71</sup> On Aristokles and the date of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1934, see Tracy, *ALC*, pp. 155–156.

<sup>72</sup> See also C. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Munich 1979, p. 152, note 10.

<sup>73</sup> J. Threpsiades, «Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ τυχαῖα εὐρήματα Ἀττικῆς, Βοιωτίας καὶ Εὐβοίας», Ἀρχ' Ἐφ 1971, Β', p. 16 and pl. I:β. Found at the corner of Leophoros Syngrou and Bourbachi Street.

<sup>74</sup> S. V. Tracy, *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 2336: *Contributors of First Fruits for the Pythais*, Meisenheim 1982, pp. 80, 202.

<sup>75</sup> The date of this inscription is not entirely certain but is supposed to cover the Panathenaias of 194 and of 190 (W. S. Ferguson, “Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents II,” *Klio* 8, 1908 [pp. 338–355], pp. 349–355; L. Moretti, “Epigraphica,” *RivFil* 92, 1964 [pp. 313–331], pp. 321–326). See, however, p. 218 below, where the dates 202 and 198 respectively are advocated.

- Θεόφιλος Θεοφίλου, phylarch, tribe Antiochis (I 20): the second son of Θεόφιλος Βησαιεύς, who in 183/2 donated money in his own name and in the names of his wife, Hierokleia, and his sons, Theopeithes and Theophilos (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2332, lines 346–348). If Theophilos was a phylarch in 170, he cannot have been born much later than 200. A grandson of Theophilos' elder brother Theopeithes dedicated a statue of his grandfather towards the end of the 2nd century (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3872). The Theopeithes, son of Theophilos, who appears as a *pais* in 138/7 (*FdD III*, ii, no. 11, line 18), was probably the same Theopeithes, son of Theophilos, from Besa who figures in a catalogue of noble citizens in the last quarter of the 2nd century (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2452, line 40) and undoubtedly a member of this family.
- Θεόφραστος Λ[υ]κίσκου, tribe Ere[chtheis]? (III 38). The name Theophrastos is attested in two demes of Erechtheis: Λεωνίδης Θεοφράστου Κηφισιεύς, μελλέφηβος in 94/3 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2991, line 5) and πομποστόλος about the same time (*ID*, 2608, line 7), and Θεόφραστος Λαμπτρεύς, ἱππεύς in the second half of the 3rd century (*AM* 85, 1970, p. 215, no. 212). Lykiskos, a very common name in Athens, is so far not attested for a deme of Erechtheis.
- Λέων Καλλίππου, tribe Kekropis (I 16): Αἰξωνεύς. His deme affiliation is not in doubt, since in 178/7 the treasurer of the Council was Κάλλιππος Λέοντος Αἰξωνεύς (*Agora XV*, no. 194, lines 39 and 123–124), certainly his father. Leon was also affiliated with the highly distinguished family of Leon and Kichesias of Aixone and a cousin of Leon III.<sup>76</sup>
- Λύανδρος Νίκωνος, tribe Aigeis (II 4): Φιλαίδης. He is attested for the first time but easily identified as a brother of the famous Nikogenes (see the next entry).
- Νικογένης Νίκωνος, ἱππεύς in the tribe Aigeis (II 20, 39): Φιλαίδης. One of the most distinguished citizens of the time. Kirchner's stemma (*PA* 10850) needs to be revised. In 161/0, Nikogenes was the *agonothetes* of the (Greater) Theseia, on which occasion he spent close to three thousand drachmas of his own money and was honored for his performance (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 956, lines 2, 19, 29, 40–42). At about the same time, he is on record as the mover of a decree in honor of the hipparchs of that year (*Δελτ* 18, 1963, pp. 106–107). A few years later, in 157/6, he was one of the two hipparchs himself (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 957, lines 39–40). His daughter Apollonia married a man of similar distinction, Adeimantos of Ikaria, epimelete of Delos in 141/0.<sup>77</sup> In the year of Lysias, *ca.* 150, Nikogenes served among the *hieropoioi* of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1938 (line 6), and about the same time, he headed a list of donors, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2334, lines 4–5, together with his sons Lyandros and Nikogenes. Lyandros, the son of Nikogenes, who was a victorious knight at the Theseia of 161/0 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 956, II, line 87), must be his cousin, whereas the Nikon,<sup>78</sup> son of Nikogenes, who won a crown among the younger boys<sup>79</sup> at the same festival (col. II, line 52), was probably the eldest of Nikogenes' sons. Nikogenes' brother Lyandros, attested here for the first time (II 4), and the knight Nikogenes, son of Lyandros, a participant at the Pythais of 106/5, his grandson (*FdD III*, ii, no. 28, col. I, line 27), are other close relatives. The Nikogenes of Philaidai who served with Lykiskos as ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά in Delos (*ID*, 2506) and also the Nikogenes who served several times as mint magistrate around 130<sup>80</sup> seem to be the same person, i.e., Nikogenes' son; he was not yet of age in *ca.* 148 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2334, lines 4–5).

<sup>76</sup> Habicht, *Studien*, pp. 194–197, with stemma on p. 196, to which this Leon must now be added.

<sup>77</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 7646 for the relationship; *ID*, 1444 A, lines 55–58 for Adeimantos' Delian office.

<sup>78</sup> The squeeze shows the reading Νίκων to be correct, not Νικίων as in *IG*.

<sup>79</sup> For the age groups at the Theseia, see the careful discussion by Bugh (footnote 31 above), pp. 28–39.

<sup>80</sup> Thompson, pp. 576–577; for the date, see O. Mørkholm, "The Chronology of the New Style Coinage of Athens," *ANSMN* 29, 1984, pp. 29–44, with M. Thompson's "Editorial Note," p. 29. Most recently, H. B. Mattingly, "The Beginning of Athenian New Style Silver Coinage," *NC* 150, 1990, pp. 67–78.

Νικόστρατος Ἄρχελάου, knight in the tribe Oineis (I 25; II 18): Περιθοΐδης. A horseman like his brother Patron (below) and twice victorious on the same two occasions as his brother.

Ξένων Αἰσχίνου, phylarch of the tribe Pandionis (I 18): Παιανιεύς? Among the demes of Pandionis, the name Aischines occurs several times in Upper Paiania: Ἀυτοκράτης Αἰσχίνου Παιανιεύς was a *prytanis* of Pandionis after the middle of the 4th century (*Agora XV*, no. 32, line 16). A son of his, [---<sup>ca. 6</sup>---] Ἀυτοκράτου Παιανιεύς, was an ephebe in 306/5 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 478, line 37),<sup>81</sup> and an Αἰσχίνης Παιανιεύς served as one of the ἐπὶ τὰς προσόδους in the 180's (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1707, line 8). He could well be Xenon's father.

Ὀφέλας Ἀβρωνος, phylarch in the tribe Aigeis (I 22): Βατῆθεν. Scion of one of the most distinguished families of Hellenistic Athens that through marriage was linked to the family of the statesman Lykourgos: Lykourgos married Kallisto, daughter of Habron of Bate.<sup>82</sup> Ophelas' father Habron was honored as *proxenos* by the Delphians in 189/8 (*Syll<sup>3</sup>*, no. 585, line 106) and in 183/2 was among the donors of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2332 (lines 189–193). He may have been the Ἀβρων Καλλίου of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2864 from 162/1 (or *ca.* 180?). Since he also gave in the name of his son Ophelas, Ophelas had not yet come of age. In 157/6 Ophelas served as one of the hipparchs (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 957, I, line 41), while in the present list he is only phylarch, an indication that Column I of the present list antedates 157/6. In 148/7, Ophelas served as epimelete of Delos<sup>83</sup> and shortly thereafter is listed among the donors of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2334 (lines 71–73), where he also donates in the names of his sons Drakon and [Habron]. Of the latter, Drakon is attested as epimelete of Delos in 112/1 (*ID*, 1653 and others), whereas the younger son Habron was *agonothetes* at Delos in 136/5 (*ID*, 1945) and mint magistrate in 131/0. In 135/4 Ophelas served as “third magistrate”, and his name is featured on that year's coins (Thompson, p. 578). It was probably Ophelas himself who, then a man of advanced age, went with the Pythais of 128/7 to Delphi as the *πυθόχρηστος ἐξηγητής* (*FdD III*, ii, no. 24, lines 8–9). The funerary inscription for Ἀβρων Καλλίου Βατῆθεν (*Polemon 4*, 1949, p. 80, no. 17, and p. 140, fig. 1; see also pp. 139–140) seems to have been set up for Habron, the father of Ophelas.

Πάτρων Ἄρχελάου, knight in the tribe Oineis (I 24; II 16): Περιθοΐδης. He is known as the father of Πολέμων Πάτρωνος Περιθοΐδης, the epimelete of Delos in 120/19 (*ID*, 1808, 1809) and mint magistrate of 125/4.<sup>84</sup> Polemon's son was another Patron, one of the *thesmothetai* of 88/7 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1714, line 8). From the 1st century dates the funerary inscription of Ἀριστονόη Πάτρωνος Περιθοΐδου θυγάτηρ, Ἄρχελάου Περιθοΐδου γυνή, who obviously was married to a kinsman (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 7217). A son of this couple was the Patron, son of Archelaos, who made a dedication to Apollo while serving as *gymnasiarch* (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 3002). Another member of the family is attested in *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 7224. Patron's brother Nikostratos, who appears in Columns I 25 and II 18, was also a knight and earned two victories on the same two occasions.

Πανσίμαχος Δημοκλέους, tribe Aigeis (I 40): ἐκ Κολωνοῦ. Yet another member of a highly prominent family. His homonymous ancestor, Pausimachos, son of Demokles, was honored with citizenship and proxeny at the end of the 4th century by a decree of Corinth<sup>85</sup> found at

<sup>81</sup> See the new edition by O. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* (*Mnemosyne Suppl.* 14, Leiden 1971), p. 88, no. 17, line 37.

<sup>82</sup> Davies, *APF*, no. 7856, p. 270.

<sup>83</sup> Unpublished inscription from Delos (Inv. Δ 601); see P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne* (enlarged edition), Paris 1987, p. ix. I owe the knowledge of the name of the epimelete of 148/7 to the kindness of M.-F. Baslez.

<sup>84</sup> Thompson, p. 578; for the date, see footnote 80.

<sup>85</sup> As demonstrated by N. Jones, “The Civic Organization of Corinth,” *TAPA* 110, 1980, pp. 161–193. For

Delos.<sup>86</sup> Another senior member of the family, Pausimachos from Kol(onos), was among the donors of the *epidosis* of 244/3.<sup>87</sup> This man's son, it appears, Demokles, served as *thesmothetes* in 229/8 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1706, line 5). He, in all probability, was the father of two sons, Theopompos and the Pausimachos of the present document. Theopompos was among the donors of the large *epidosis* of 183/2 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2332, line 178) and one of three Athenian ambassadors that contributed to putting an end to the war between Miletos and Magnesia on the Maeander.<sup>88</sup> Pausimachos rose to become epimelete of Delos in the year of the archon Zaleukos, *ca.* 150 (*ID*, 1618; see also 1500, 1833). He had two sons, Menemachos and Eumachos, the former being one of the two *architheoroi* of the Pythais of 138/7 (*FdD* III, ii, no. 7, lines 7–8), the latter attested in the later 2nd century in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 840, line 34, and in the catalogue of distinguished citizens, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2452, line 28.

Πύρρος Πύρρον, tribe Pandionis (I 52): *Κυδαθηναίεύς*? The name Pyrrhos is not infrequent in Athens but among the demes of Pandionis attested only for Kydathenaion: Πύρρος Ταχύλλου *Κυδαθηναίεύς* and Ἱερῶ Πύρρον *Κυδαθηναίεύς* appear on the tombstone *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 6592.<sup>89</sup>

Σέλευκος Θεοδωρίδου, tribe Hippothontis (III 30): *Δεκελεύς*. Although the name Seleukos had become very common in Athens in the 3rd century,<sup>90</sup> the identification is not in doubt. Seleukos is the man who, around 150, served twice as *hieropoios*, in the year of Lysiades (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1938, line 53) and in the year of Andreas (*AM* 97, 1982, p. 172, line 8, and the comments on p. 180). He had not yet come of age in 183/2 when his father [Theo]dorides donated money in his own name, his wife's, his daughter's, and his sons', these sons being Aristo[–] and Seleukos (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2332, lines 19–24).<sup>91</sup> In the catalogue *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2452 (line 37), the [Εὐ]θιοῖνος Θεοδωρίδου *Δεκελεύς* is certainly another member of this family. [The gravestone of still another descendant of the 1st century after Christ is surely preserved as *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 11390/1. Correct the patronymic, and then read [Ε]ὐθιοῖνος [[Θεο]δωρίδου. SVT]

a different opinion, see G. R. Stanton, "The Territorial Tribes of Korinth and Phleious," *ClAnt* 5, 1986 (pp. 139–153), pp. 148–153.

<sup>86</sup> L. Robert, "Un décret dorien trouvé à Délos," *Hellenica* 5, 1948, pp. 5–15.

<sup>87</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 791 d, II, line 8 (*Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 291, col. II, line 50). The document has been discussed by Habicht, *Studien*, pp. 26–33. The full text has been reprinted in *SEG* XXXII, no. 118.

<sup>88</sup> *I Milet*, no. 148 (*Syll*<sup>3</sup>, no. 588), line 7. The canonical date (fall of 196) has been effectively revised in favor of *ca.* 184 by R. M. Errington, "The Peace Treaty between Miletus and Magnesia (*I Milet* 148)," *Chiron* 19, 1989, pp. 279–288.

<sup>89</sup> Α Τάχυλλος *Κυδαθηναίεύς* was councillor in 343/2 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1699, line 14); Ἀμεινοκλῆς Ταχύλλου *Κυδαθηναίεύς* is attested as a councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV, no. 61, I, line 64) and a homonymous Ἀμεινοκλῆς Ταχύλλου *Κυδαθηναίεύς* as mover of a decree of *ca.* 244/3 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1280; see Habicht, *Studien*, pp. 60–61). If Pyrrhos belonged to this family, he was far from being obscure. Moreover, a Pyrrhos son of Pyrrhos served for that very year, 170/69, as eponymous priest of Alexander and the deified kings in the Ptolemaic Empire (Clarysse and Van der Veken, p. 26). While the name is frequent both in Athens and in Egypt, identity is a distinct possibility, whether Pyrrhos was a native Athenian who rose in the service of the Ptolemies (as was Glaukon of Aithalidai, Chremonides' brother, who served in 254/3 as eponymous priest), or whether he was a Ptolemaic subject and had been awarded Athenian citizenship. The *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (*Studia Hellenistica* 20, p. 304) lists about a dozen people by the name of Pyrrhos but only the eponymous priest as Pyrrhos son of Pyrrhos and only him with the required social standing.

<sup>90</sup> See C. Habicht, "Athen und die Seleukiden," *Chiron* 19, 1989 (pp. 7–26), pp. 25–26.

<sup>91</sup> The father's name is read in *IG* as . . . ΘΕΙΔΗΣ. This text is also the work of the Cutter of I 247. What has been read as a theta is in fact this cutter's omega, i.e., a round letter. Previous editors have naturally read the letter following omega as epsilon, for there is a clear vertical plus a central horizontal. Since this cutter often renders the loop of rho with two straight horizontals, we may with confidence read dotted rho. At the edge of the break before omega appears the right slanting stroke of delta. We may now read line 19 as [Θεο]δωρίδης. [SVT]

**Σωγένης Σωγένου**, tribe Aigeis (II 6, 41, 49): Ἐρχιεύς. While the name Sogenes is well attested for the deme Otryne within the tribe of Aigeis,<sup>92</sup> it is much more likely that the above Sogenes was from the deme of Erchia (likewise of Aigeis) since he appears twice next to **Σωκράτης Σωγένου** (see the next entry), who was undoubtedly from Erchia. It is therefore assumed that Sogenes and Sokrates were brothers. Their father may have been Sogenes from Erchia, who is attested as councillor and treasurer of Aigeis *ca.* 180 (*Agora XV*, no. 189, lines 4–5 and 13). The epimelete Aristokles, son of Sogenes, from Erchia, on record *ca.* 150 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1939, line 71), may have been another son and a brother of the younger Sogenes and of Sokrates.

**Σωκράτης Σωγένου**, tribe Aigeis (I 12, 14; II 8, 43): Ἐρχιεύς. Brother of Sogenes (see above) and perhaps of Aristokles (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1939, line 71). Sokrates was an ephebe in 177/6: **Σωκράτης Σωγένου Ἐρχιεύς** (*Agora I* 7529, line 102). In the deme of Azenia, of the tribe Hippothontis, there was a Sogenes, attested as councillor in 178/7 (*Agora XV*, no. 194, lines 93–94), but Meritt's restoration of the demotic [Ἀζημιεύς] for **Σωκράτης Σωγένου**, on record also in 178/7 (*Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 210, no. 58, line 3), is far from certain: he may as well have been an [Ἐρχιεύς].

**Τίμων Τίμωνος**, tribe Erechtheis (II 51): Κηφισιεύς? Among the casualties of 409 appears Τίμων of Erechtheis in *IG I<sup>2</sup>*, 964, line 46.<sup>93</sup> The name is attested for the following demes of the tribe: Anagyrous, Euonymon, Kedoi, and Kephisia. Closest in time and milieu to the above Timon seems to be an ephebe of 177/6, **Τίμων Μικίωνος Κηφισιεύς** (*Agora I* 7529, line 99).

**Φιλάνθης Ξένωνος**, knight in the tribe Oineis (III 8): Φυλάσιος. He is on record following the names of his father, mother, and brother in the *epidosis* of 183/2. Xenon of Phyle donated in his own name and in the names of his wife Ameinokleia and of his sons Asklepiades and Philanthes (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2332, lines 98–102). The father, **Ξένων Ἀσκληπιάδου**, moved two decrees in 186/5, the first for the archon Zopyros as the father of the *κανηφόρος*, the second in honor of the administrators of the great procession (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 896, lines 8 and 34). Ancestors named **Ξένων Ἀσκληπιάδου** and **Ἀσκληπιάδης Ξένωνος**, respectively, were among the donors of money in 244/3 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 791 d, II, lines 13–16). Philanthes himself was one of three ambassadors the Athenians at Delos sent to Athens in 144/3 (*ID*, 1507, lines 35–36 and 52), as was Euagion of Kothokidai (p. 207 above). His son, **Ξένων Φιλάνθου**, occurs among the *theoroi* of the Pythais of 128/7 at Delphi (*FdD III*, ii, no. 8, line 14), while his nephew, **Ξένων Ἀσκληπιάδου**, rose to become epimelete of Delos in 118/7 (*ID*, 1652, 1878, and others). He may have been, as Meritt suggested, the eponymous archon of Athens in 133/2.<sup>94</sup> Members of this family were also honored with statues in the later 2nd century inscribed [**Ξένωνα Ἀσκληπιάδου** and **Ἀσκληπιάδην Ξένωνος** (*Hesperia* 21, 1952, p. 375, no. 26).

**Φιλοκράτης Πολυκλείτου**, tribe Ptolemais (I 54): Οἰναῖος. He is the younger brother of Hagnias (p. 205 above). An ancestor, **Φιλοκράτης Φι[---] Οἰναῖος**, was *choregos* in 331/0 (*Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 374–376, no. 51, lines 14–15) and therefore a member of the liturgical class (Davies, *APF*, no. 14621). Philokrates himself was still a minor *ca.* 180 when he is first recorded in a document, in which the names of his father and his brother can now be restored (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2333, lines 9–10; p. 205 above). He won at a later celebration of the Panathenaia no fewer than

<sup>92</sup> See, for instance, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 791 d, I, lines 26–27 (*Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 291, col. I, lines 68–69); 1534 B, line 225; 2334, lines 19–22.

<sup>93</sup> New edition by D. W. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora*, XVII, *The Inscriptions: The Funerary Monuments*, Princeton 1974, no. 23, line 14.

<sup>94</sup> B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 21, 1952 (pp. 340–380), p. 375.

nine crowns, all in equestrian events (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2316, lines 17, 21, 23, 25, 27, 57, 60, 63, 67). He was already about 70 in 128/7 when his son Neon was still an ephebe (*Hesperia* 24, 1955, p. 232, line 181, and *FdD* III, ii, no. 24, col. I, line 40).

## THE FOREIGNERS

### A. Women

A total of eight women (including Queen Kleopatra) appear among the victors, of whom three can be identified. Leaving aside Queen Kleopatra (III 22), who will be discussed with other persons of royal families, the three identifiable women are Agathokleia, Eirene, and [O]lympio.

Ἀγαθόκλεια Νουμηνίου Ἀ[---] (III 18) could have been the daughter of Νουμήνιος Ἀπολλοδ[ώ]ρο[---], a victor at the Panathenaia in an equestrian event some thirty years earlier (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2313, line 11, of probably 202), but this is far from certain, since no ethnics are preserved and the name Noumenios is extremely common. Even so, after further reflection, it seems likely that the ethnic was Ἀ[λεξανδρίς] (this cutter does not distinguish between alpha and lambda) and that Agathokleia was the daughter of the famous Alexandrian Noumenios, son of Herakleodoros.<sup>95</sup> This Noumenios was honored as a *proxenos* at Gortyn in Crete, before 168, perhaps before 172; he served as governor of the Thebais from 171 to 169 and in 165/4 as priest of Ptolemy I Soter in Ptolemais. In 168/7 he went as ambassador for kings Ptolemy VI Philometor, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, and Queen Kleopatra to Rome, “un personnage qui entretient des relations avec un pays étranger.”<sup>96</sup>

His daughter Kleainete was in 166/5 priestess of Arsinoe Philopator in Alexandria, as a successor to Eirene who is recorded as a victor at the Panathenaia in Column I 33 of the new inscription. Agathokleia seems to have been Kleainete's sister and none other than the Agathokleia, daughter of [Noumenios] (my restoration), who in 165/4 served as priestess of Queen Kleopatra in Ptolemais. She may also be the unknown daughter of Noumenios attested as *athlophoros* of Berenike Euergetis in Alexandria the year before.<sup>97</sup> This reconstruction gains additional support from the fact that the inscription honoring Kleainete's and Agathokleia's father also honors the brother of Olympio who is listed as victorious in Column I 34 of the present catalogue. This man, Pedestratos, will also have been in the service of the Ptolemies.

Εἰρήνη Πτολεμαίου Ἀλεξανδρίς (I 33), who was crowned for her victory in the colt chariot race, is well known.<sup>98</sup> Her son Andromachos<sup>99</sup> dedicated a statue of her in the temple of Artemis Paralia at Kition, Cyprus.<sup>100</sup> The text names her as the daughter of Ptolemaios, the Ptolemaic

<sup>95</sup> *ProsPtol* 14617. L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Louvain 1975, p. 70, no. 024; p. 88, no. 049 with bibliography, and, by the same author, *La hiérarchie de cour Ptolémaïque*, Louvain 1977, pp. 47–50.

<sup>96</sup> W. Peremans-E. van 't Dack, “A propos d'une inscription de Gortyn (Inscr. Cret. IV 208); Ptolémée Makron, Nouménios and Hippalos,” *Historia* 3, 1954–1955, pp. 338–345, esp. pp. 341–343. See also E. Ols-hausen, *Prosopographie der hellenistischen Königsgesandten* I, Louvain 1974, pp. 76–77, no. 53: “Numenios.”

<sup>97</sup> For all this, see Clarysse and Van der Veken, pp. 26–27 for Alexandria and pp. 46–47 for Ptolemais.

<sup>98</sup> *ProsPtol* 5104. For the rivaling forms of the ethnic, Ἀλεξανδρίς and Ἀλεξανδρῆτις, see D. Knoepfler, “Tétradrachmes attiques et argent ‘alexandrin’ chez Diogène Laërce, II,” *MusHelv* 46, 1989 (pp. 193–230), p. 202.

<sup>99</sup> *ProsPtol* 14637.

<sup>100</sup> T. B. Mitford, “Ptolemy Macron,” *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* II, Milan 1957 (pp. 163–187), pp. 163–170. *SEG* XXX, no. 1615.

governor of Cyprus. He is Ptolemaios, son of Agesarchos, a native of Megalopolis. In 204, Ptolemaios went to Rome as ambassador for the court of Alexandria.<sup>101</sup> In the fall of 197, he succeeded Polykrates of Argos as governor of Cyprus, where he may have served until the death of King Ptolemy V Epiphanes in 180.<sup>102</sup> His daughter Eirene became the first priestess of the cult for the late Queen Arsinoe Philopator, when this cult was instituted in 199. She kept this priesthood continuously until 171/70.<sup>103</sup> She figures as priestess in the decree on the Rosetta Stone<sup>104</sup> and almost yearly for 29 years in numerous papyri.<sup>105</sup> Whether Eirene retired in 170 from the priesthood or died while still in office (a successor is attested for 170/69) cannot be said. If the latter, the summer of 170 would be the latest possible date for the Panathenaic festival reflected in Column I of the new inscription (see p. 193 above).

[Ὀ]λυμπιῶ Ἀγήτορος Λακεδαιμονία (I 34) won a race with a four-horsed chariot in the competition for fully grown horses. The event, the name, and the nationality remind us of the famous Olympic victories in the same event by another woman from Sparta, king Agesilaos' sister Kyniska.<sup>106</sup> While Olympio herself was not known up to now, her father and her brother were. The city of Gortyn in Crete, some time between 181 and 168, honored three men in the service of King Ptolemy Philometor with the proxeny: two were Alexandrians and one a Spartan, Pedestratos, son of Agetor,<sup>107</sup> who must be Olympio's brother. As A. S. Bradford kindly points out to me, there was also Ἀγήτωρ ὁ Λάκων, recipient of a letter of Eratosthenes (Athenaios, 11.482A, omitted in Kaibel's *Index nominum*). He ought to be the great grandfather of Olympio and Pedestratos.

Eugeneia, daughter of Zenon (II 29) [see next section, p. 215]

Archagathe, daughter of Polykleitos (I 32) [see next section, p. 215]

### B. Men

No fewer than four of the victories recorded in Column II were won by people from Antioch at the river Kydnos, that is, the city of Tarsos renamed after a Seleucid king.

<sup>101</sup> Polybios, 18.55.6. Walbank, *Commentary* II, pp. 484–485.

<sup>102</sup> *ProsPtol* 15068. It has recently been assumed, however, that he was already succeeded in 194/3 by [---]ος Ἀριστιππ[---] Ἀλαμειύς (*CIG*, 2623); see Mooren, 1975 (footnote 95 above), p. 187; *ProsPtol* 15089.

<sup>103</sup> T. C. Skeat in a letter quoted by Mitford (footnote 100 above), p. 167, note 13: "I do not think there can be the slightest doubt that she held office continuously from the institution of the priesthood in 199 down to 171—and possibly 170, as the only extant prescript for 171/0 is defective." Since then, complete prescripts of 171/0 have been published, and they still show Eirene in the same function; see footnote 105 below.

<sup>104</sup> *OGIS*, no. 90, lines 5–6.

<sup>105</sup> A complete list of these papyri is to be found in Clarysse and Van der Veken, pp. 21–27. See also J. Ijsewijn, *De sacerdotibus sacerdotiisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis*, Brussels 1961, pp. 89–90 and J. Quaegebeur, "Les prêtres éponymes des années 230/229 et 171/170 av. J.-C.," *Chronique d'Égypte* 55, 1980 (pp. 254–261), pp. 259–261 (for Eirene, p. 260, note 5).

<sup>106</sup> P. Poralla, *Prosopographie der Lakedaemonier bis auf die Zeit Alexanders des Grossen*, 2nd ed., A. S. Bradford, ed., Chicago 1985, p. 182; L. Moretti, *Olympionikai. I vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici*, Rome 1957, pp. 114–115, nos. 373 and 381; H.-V. Herrmann, "Die Siegerstatuen von Olympia," *Nikephoros* 1, 1988 (pp. 119–183), p. 151, no. 7. Kyniska's victories are dated 396 and 392. The most important testimonies are *I Olympia*, nos. 160, 634; Pausanias, 6.1.6 (cf. 3.8.1 and 3.15.1), 5.12.5; *Anthol. Pal.* 13,16; Plutarch, *Agesilaos* 20.

<sup>107</sup> *I Cret* IV, 208 A. For Agetor see A. S. Bradford, *A Prosopography of Lacedaemonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C., to the Sack of Sparta by Alaric, A.D. 396*, Munich 1977, p. 14; for Pedestratos, *ibid.*, p. 342. One of the two Alexandrians, Ptolemaios, was the brother of Ptolemaios Makron, the governor of Cyprus ca. 180 to 168; see Guarducci's comments on the text.

Among these victors was a woman, Eugeneia, daughter of Zenon<sup>108</sup> (II 29), and three men, all members of a single family: Zenobios, son of Sosiphanes (II 27), his brother Demophon, son of Sosiphanes (II 31), and Sosiphanes, son of Zenobios (II 33), who was either the father or a cousin of the two brothers, or the son of the first mentioned. Another citizen of Antioch was crowned at a slightly later celebration of the Panathenaia; he was Myron, son of Herakleides (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2316, line 47). The renaming of Tarsos and the date of this event have been well discussed by Walter Ruge.<sup>109</sup> Testimonies for the Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀπὸ Κύδνου have recently been collected by Louis Robert;<sup>110</sup> one might add to them the Ἡγήσιππος . . . ]οδώρου Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Κύδνου who was runner-up in the pentathlon of the ἀγένοιοι at Kos, early in the 2nd century.<sup>111</sup>

From the neighboring city of Antioch at the Pyramos, formerly Magarsos, hailed Archagathe,<sup>112</sup> daughter of Polykleitos, who won a chariot race for fully grown horses (I 32). At a slightly later celebration of the Panathenaia another citizen of this Antioch was also victorious (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2316, line 49).

Only one of the foreigners can be connected with a known family. This is Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀσκληπιοδώρου Ζεφυριώτης (I 29), a citizen of Zephyrion in Cilicia, close to modern Mersin.<sup>113</sup> While another Ἀσκληπιάδης Ζεφυριώτης, son of Ἀπολλώνιος, who is attested at Epidauros in the 3rd century (*IG* IV 1<sup>2</sup>, no. 260), cannot safely be connected with him, Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀσκληπιοδώρου Ζεφυριώτης can. He was honored as *proxenos* by the city of Delphi in 178/7 (*Syll*<sup>3</sup>, no. 585, lines 239–240), and there can hardly be any doubt that he was the brother of Asklepiades, the victor at the Panathenaia only a few years later.

Some of the names of the foreign victors call for a word of comment:

Κάρων (I 31): I have been unable to discover any other occurrence of this name. His daughter was Κλεινέτη. The name is extremely rare. Κλεινέτη Τιμοσθένους [Χα]λκιδική is attested in a Hellenistic funerary inscription at Salamis, Cyprus (*SEG* XXIII, no. 615). Κλεινέτη Διοδώρου is found on the base of a statue of Athena Parthenos from Euboia (now in the National Museum at Athens, *IG* XII 9, 1192), and also in *Bull. épigr.* 1977, no. 355 on Peparethos. These are listed as Κλεινέτη nos. 2 and 3 in *LGPN* I, p. 256. It seems obvious, however, that this is not only the same priestess of Athena but also one and the same inscription. There is some confusion about where the statue and base were found, whether in Xerochori (Euboia) or Selinunt (Peparethos), and this confusion is already reflected in the lemma of *IG* XII 9, 1192 (published in 1915). There is also Κλεινέτη Νουμηνίου of 166/5, priestess of Arsinoe Philopator.<sup>114</sup> See p. 213 above on Ἀγαθόκλεια Νουμηνίου.

<sup>108</sup> See also Ζήνων Διοσκουρίδου from Tarsos (v. Fritz, *RE*, s.v. “Zenon”, vol. X A, 1972, no. 4, col. 122), pupil and successor of Chrysippos (*Ind. Stoic. Herc.*, pp. 66–67, A. Traversa, ed.). His pupil and successor was Diogenes from Seleucia/Tigris (“the Babylonian”).

<sup>109</sup> *RE*, s.v. “Tarsos”, IV A, 1932, cols. 2418–2420.

<sup>110</sup> “Sur des inscriptions de Délos,” *Études déliennes* (*BCH* Suppl. 1), Paris 1973 (pp. 435–489), p. 446, note 67.

<sup>111</sup> T. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen*, Leipzig 1918, p. 14, lines 19–20.

<sup>112</sup> The name is extremely rare; it is found on a Hellenistic funerary inscription from Alexandria in Egypt for Ἀρχαγάθα Ἑρμίου from Ptolemais (F. Preisigke et al., *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* I–XVI, 1915–1988, no. 3436) and on an imperial gravestone from Lato in Crete (*Bull. épigr.* 1966, no. 359).

<sup>113</sup> See C. Danoff, *RE*, s.v. “Zephyrion”, X A, 1972, no. 2b, cols. 227–228. The city was occupied by Antiochos the Great during his campaign of 197 (Livy, 33.20.4; Porphyry, *FGrHist* 260 F 46).

<sup>114</sup> Clarysse and Van der Veken, pp. 26–27.

Τριβαλλός (I 6) is a rare name derived from a Thracian tribe, the Τριβαλλοί. It has been discussed by Louis Robert when he published a 3rd-century dedication to Hermes and Herakles which was found at Ai Khanoum in Bactria (Afghanistan).<sup>115</sup> The dedicants are two brothers, Τριβαλλός καὶ Σπράτων Σπράτωνος. Robert has collected the evidence for the name Triballos, which is found for slaves and for free men. He insisted that, for a free man, a personal name derived from an ethnic does not point to that man's origin but expresses some kind of relation with that ethnic's region, through travel, business, or other. He also observed that the Triballi formed a part of Alexander's army and he concluded: "En tout cas, cet anthroponyme doit avoir un rapport, à l'origine, avant qu'il se perpétue par tradition dans une famille, avec une carrière militaire. Il n'est pas aventureux d'en tirer un indice sur le caractère militaire d'une partie des colons de notre ville de la Bactriane."<sup>116</sup> This explanation fits the present case very well (and is, in turn, corroborated by it), for he was a citizen of Seleucia at the Tigris, "the royal city",<sup>117</sup> the foundation and first capital of one of Alexander's generals. It also suits the dedicant from Ai Khanoum and another Triballos (*REG* 70, 1957, p. 30, no. 22) attested at Abu Simbel in Egypt: "Ce sont les armées conquérantes qui avaient ainsi véhiculé ce nom, à la suite d'Alexandre."<sup>118</sup>

### KINGS, QUEENS, PRINCES

It is no surprise that the new victor lists contain the names of two kings, a queen, and a prince, since kings and princes were already on record as victors at the Panathenaia in three other lists.<sup>119</sup> Of those already attested, King Ptolemy VI Philometor (III 32), King Eumenes II (I 38; III 24), and Prince Attalos (I 48) reappear in the new lists with new victories. Attested for the first time with a Panathenaic victory is Queen Kleopatra (III 22). She is Kleopatra II, daughter of Ptolemy V Epiphanes and Kleopatra I, and sister and wife of King Ptolemy VI Philometor.<sup>120</sup>

It is well known that winners of such equestrian contests as those recorded for members of royal families did not have to be present at the event in question: they sent their horses, chariots, and jockeys.<sup>121</sup> As A. Martin wrote more than one hundred years ago with regard

<sup>115</sup> L. Robert, "De Delphes à l'Oxus. Inscriptions grecques nouvelles de la Bactriane," *CRAI* 1968 (pp. 416–457), pp. 416–421. Since then, another Triballos has become known in an inscription from Astypalaia (W. Peek, *Inschriften von den dorischen Inseln* [*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie* 62], no. 1, 1969, p. 41, no. 88, line 33).

<sup>116</sup> Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

<sup>117</sup> A. J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, Vienna, I, 1988, p. 345; II, 1989, pp. 333 and 441.

<sup>118</sup> Robert (footnote 115 above), p. 420. For the city of Seleucia see M. Streck, *RE*, s.v. "Seleukeia", II, i, 1921, no. 1, cols. 1149–1184; for its population, see Josephos, *Ant. Jud.* 18. 372: οἰκοῦσιν δ' αὐτὴν πολλοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνων, πλείστοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ Σύρων οὐκ ὀλίγον τὸ ἐμπολιτευόμενον.

<sup>119</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2314: King Ptolemy V Epiphanes (line 41), his son Ptolemy [VI] (line 56; see pp. 221–222, 231 below), King Eumenes II of Pergamon (line 86), the Attalid brothers, Princes Attalos (line 83), Philetairos (line 88), and Athenaios (line 90). In *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2316: King Ptolemy VI Philometor (line 45), Prince Mastanabal, son of King Masinissa of Numidia (line 43). In *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2317: King Alexander Balas (lines 37 and 47; see pp. 218, 233 below).

<sup>120</sup> F. Stähelin, *RE*, s.v. "Kleopatra", XI, i, 1921, no. 15, cols. 740–744. Her mother, Queen Kleopatra I, daughter of Antiochos III, was dead by 171 (Livy, 42.29.5), that is, some time before the Panathenaic festival recorded in Column III.

<sup>121</sup> See, for instance, L. Robert, "Sur des inscriptions de Chios," *BCH* 59, 1935 (pp. 453–470), p. 461 (= *idem*, *Opera minora selecta* I, Paris 1969, p. 520): "un vainqueur dans un concours hippique n'a pas nécessairement couru lui-même, il suffit qu'il ait fait courir."

to the equestrian contests in the Olympic games: “la couronne d’olivier n’est donc plus la récompense de la force, de la valeur personnelle, il suffit maintenant d’être riche; on verra désormais décerner la victoire à des étrangers qui n’auront pas quitté leur pays, et, ce qui est plus grave, à des femmes, elles qui ne sont pas même admises à regarder les jeux.”<sup>122</sup>

The most interesting new piece of information concerning the royal competitors is the fact that, at last, Eumenes’ and Attalos’ Athenian tribe becomes known: Attalis (I 38, 48; III 24), created in 200 in honor of their father, King Attalos I.<sup>123</sup> In the absence of explicit evidence, scholars had long assumed that Kekropis was the tribe of the Pergamene royal family. This opinion followed from the assumption that Attalos and Ariarathes of the deme of Sypalettos who jointly dedicated a statue of the philosopher Karneades (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 3781) were the princes of Pergamon and of Cappadocia respectively, acting as enfranchised Athenian citizens. It was only in 1971 that this view was disputed in a paper by Mattingly.<sup>124</sup> Mattingly argued that upon becoming an Athenian citizen, Attalos ought to have selected the tribe Attalis, as Ptolemy V Epiphanes had selected Ptolemais (but see above p. 202 and footnote 48), the tribe once created in honor of his grandfather Ptolemy III Euergetes.<sup>125</sup> He regarded the donors of the statue as native Athenians who were named after the princes. Several scholars accepted, others rejected Mattingly’s thesis,<sup>126</sup> now shown to be correct.

Mention has just been made of Prince Ariarathes who later became King Ariarathes V of Cappadocia (163–130 B.C.); as king, he presided once, probably only *honoris causa*, over a Panathenaic festival, since a Panathenaic prize amphora bears the inscription ἀγωνοθετοῦντος βα[σιλέως] Ἀριαράθου Φιλοπά[τορος καὶ Εὐσεβο]ῦς.<sup>127</sup> He may have contributed money to help defray the costs of the festival.

### III. THE PANATHENAIC VICTOR LISTS *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2313–2317

#### A. DATES

The determination that the lists in the new text belong, most probably, to the years 170/69, 166/5, and 162/1 helps with the dates of previously known inscriptions.<sup>128</sup> Two,

<sup>122</sup> Martin, *Cavaliers*, pp. 168–169, quoted also by Robert (footnote 121 above). See also J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1949, no. 202.

<sup>123</sup> Habicht, *Studien*, pp. 107, 145–147.

<sup>124</sup> H. Mattingly, “Some Problems in Second Century Attic Prosopography,” *Historia* 20, 1971 (pp. 26–46), pp. 28–32.

<sup>125</sup> As Column III, line 33 shows, Ptolemy VI Philometor, too, was a member of Ptolemais.

<sup>126</sup> See C. Habicht, “Athens and the Attalids in the Second Century B.C.,” *Hesperia* 59, 1990 (pp. 561–577), pp. 571–572.

<sup>127</sup> M. Mitsos, «Παναθηναϊκὸς ἀμφορέως ἐλληνιστικῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ὀλυμπιείου», Ἄρχ. Ἐφ. 1948–1949, pp. 5–9, as corrected by J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1951, no. 79.

<sup>128</sup> The only other significant fragment we possess, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2311, dates to the first half of the 4th century, i.e., more than 150 years earlier than *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2313. Although there are obvious similarities, the program clearly differed in the 4th century. Lacking further evidence, there does not seem to be any basis for extending our discussion to include this text. For a recent discussion and restoration of this text *exempli gratia*, see A. W. Johnston, “*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2311 and the Number of Panathenaic Amphorae,” *BSA* 82, 1987, pp. 125–129.

Erich Preuner (*Hermes* 57, 1922, pp. 80–106) has astutely implied that a list of victors from the greater Amphiarraia of the second half of the 4th century (*IG* VII, 414, re-edited by B. Petrakós, Ὁ Ὀρωπὸς καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, Athens 1968, pp. 196–198) may well throw light on the 4th-century Panathenaia. His attempt to restore the (mostly missing) equestrian events at the end of this text from the 2nd-century Athenian

*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2316 and 2317 (I), had been assigned respectively to 166/5 and 162/1. To take *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2317 first, Antiochos V, son of King Antiochos IV Epiphanes, has traditionally been restored in column I, lines 37 and 47. Epiphanes died in 164, and his son was killed sometime in 162. It appeared certain, therefore, based on this restoration (as Ferguson long ago reasoned<sup>129</sup>), that the two lists on this text recorded the Panathenaic games of 162/1 and 158/7. It is now clear that this text must be later and that Alexander Balas who claimed to be the son of Epiphanes is to be restored in these lines. He ruled from 150 to 145. These two lists then, since King Alexander appears only in column I, will be those either of 150/49 and 146/5 or of 146/5 and 142/1. By contrast, King Ptolemy VI appears in lines 45–46 of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2316, where he is styled *πρεσβύτερος*. Koehler (p. 390) first argued that this addition could only belong to the years 170 to 164 when he was co-regent with his younger brother.<sup>130</sup> But the same phrase occurs in line 5 of *ID*, 1517, a text which refers to the events of the year 154.<sup>131</sup> This instance reveals that Ptolemy VI could be styled “the elder” any time between 170 and his death in 145. *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2316 will date not long after the new inscription, for the brothers Hagnias and Philokrates, sons of Polykleitos, who appear prominently in the first two columns of the new text, occur on it as victors in the equestrian events, Philokrates *passim*, Hagnias in line 59. Moreover, the events on it closely match the sequence in the new lists, particularly that of Column III, and suggest that it follows them at the closest possible interval. *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2316 therefore probably belongs to 158.

*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2313 will date before 190; it was inscribed by the Cutter of Agora I 7181 who was active between 224 and 187.<sup>132</sup> The two lists which it in part preserves perhaps belong to 202 and 198, based on line 62 which may suggest that Argos was not yet part of the Achaean League.<sup>133</sup> The two lists of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314 (Pl. 76) fall between 190 and the present inscription; they could be the lists of 182/1 and 178/7, as Kirchner suggests (following Ferguson)<sup>134</sup> in *IG II<sup>2</sup>*. But none of Ferguson’s arguments are now compelling. The primary grounds that currently exist for the date are prosopographical ones. Mikion (line 76 in column II) also appears in *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2331, line 4, as does Echedemos (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2331, line 3), father of Mnesitheos (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314 II, line 74). Since *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2331 is dated to the year 172/1, the second column of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314 should be placed near that date. In addition, the men’s pankratiast in both columns (lines 33, 65) served as an ambassador in 169 (see p. 227 below). Moreover, since the Ptolemy who is listed in line 41 could be either Ptolemy V (d. 180) or Ptolemy VI (d. 145), there is no absolute obstacle to placing these two lists as

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lists is unlikely to be correct in its details. The present study has revealed that, unlike the gymnastic events, these events and their listing in the inscriptions were far from fixed.

<sup>129</sup> Ferguson (footnote 75 above), p. 350.

<sup>130</sup> Note also A. Wilhelm’s support of this view in his article «Εὐβοϊκά», *Ἀρχ*’Εφ 1904 (pp. 89–110), pp. 97–99.

<sup>131</sup> See also pp. 232–233 below.

<sup>132</sup> Tracy, *ALC*, pp. 61–67.

<sup>133</sup> I owe this suggestion to Christian Habicht, who, heeding remarks of Robert concerning the use of ethnics by victors (“Sur des inscriptions d’Éphèse,” *RPhil* 1967 [pp. 7–84], pp. 18–22), also cautions that Polykrates (line 62) had left Argos about 220 to serve Ptolemy and could well have preferred to be styled simply as “Argeios” even after Argos had become part of the Achaean League. But see column I of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314, lines 48–50 where members of Polykrates’ family add ἀπ’ Ἀχαιίας.

<sup>134</sup> Ferguson (footnote 75 above), pp. 350–355.

late as 178 and 174, i.e., to making them immediately precede the new lists. What makes this unlikely is that the equestrian program in the second column of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2314 is still in flux (pp. 199–200 above), whereas it is settled by the time of the new text. There was, therefore, probably at least one Panathenaic festival in between column two of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2314 and the first column of the new text.

Luigi Moretti, however, has argued for 186 and 182 as the dates of these two lists.<sup>135</sup> His argument is based on his restoration, in a victory epigram from Delphi, of the men's pentathlon winner, Νικόμαχος Λεωνίδου Ἀχαιὸς ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης, who is attested in both columns of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2314 (lines 27, 59). The epigram reads in Moretti's restoration:

[Τὰν ῥώμαν δείξας μ]ελέων ὁ Λεωνίδα υἱὸς  
 [Νικόμαχος νίκ]αν ἄρατο Πυθιάδα  
 [ἀνδρῶν πεντά]θλων ὅθεν ἐστεφάνωσε παλαιὰν  
 [πρᾶτος Μ]εσσάναν, αὐτόνομον πατρίδα.

The final phrase refers clearly to a victory won before 191, when Messene lost her autonomy (to take the composer's point of view) and became part of the Achaean League. At the same time, Nikomachos' two victories at the Panathenaia must postdate 190 because of the ethnic *Alabandeus* in column I of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2314, lines 15 and 23. The Chrysaoreans of Antioch became *Alabandeis* again after the battle of Magnesia in 190 (p. 230 below). These supposed victories by Nikomachos in the men's pentathlon therefore must be those at the Pythian games of 194 and at the Panathenaic games of 186 and 182. They cannot be moved closer together than this. A 12-year period seems much too long for a man to maintain supremacy in a multiple event so demanding as the pentathlon. The restoration of Nikomachos in the text from Delphi is thus highly improbable. Joachim Ebert, moreover, has persuasively restored the first two lines of this epigram as<sup>136</sup>

[Ἄν ἀρετὰν ἀνέφη]ε Λέων ὁ Λεωνίδα υἱὸς,  
 [ἀνίκα τὰν νίκ]αν ἄρατο Πυθιάδα.

The text from Delphi refers then very probably to Nikomachos' older brother Leon and provides no ground for dating the Athenian lists to 186 and 182.<sup>137</sup>

There exists, in fact, further physical evidence which enables us to establish the date of this text with virtual certainty. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2314 is clearly closely related in time to the new text and may, I suggest, be recognized as coming from the same monument. The marble is gray as is that of the new fragment, and the inscribed surface reveals similar preparation, *viz.* light striation or rasping with a tooth chisel (Pl. 76). The surface at the left edge, which is well preserved, also has the (apparently decorative) band of pocking. Furthermore, the text reveals the same format, and each column apparently contains the victors from a single Panathenaia. Just as on the new text, the listing of events in each column began at a different height, column I approximately one meter above the bottom of the block and

<sup>135</sup> *Inscrizioni Storiche Ellenistiche II*, Florence 1976, pp. 32–34, no. 82.

<sup>136</sup> *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an Gymnischen und Hippischen Agonen (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie 63, vol. 2)*, Berlin 1972, pp. 211–214, no. 71.

<sup>137</sup> Klee ([footnote 111 above] p. 12, lines 75–76) has also restored from *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2314 Nikomachos, son of Leonidas, in a victory list from Kos which he dates to 190. Whether the restoration is a good one (only the final letter of the patronymic is preserved) and how trustworthy the date is do not seem matters controllable at this time.

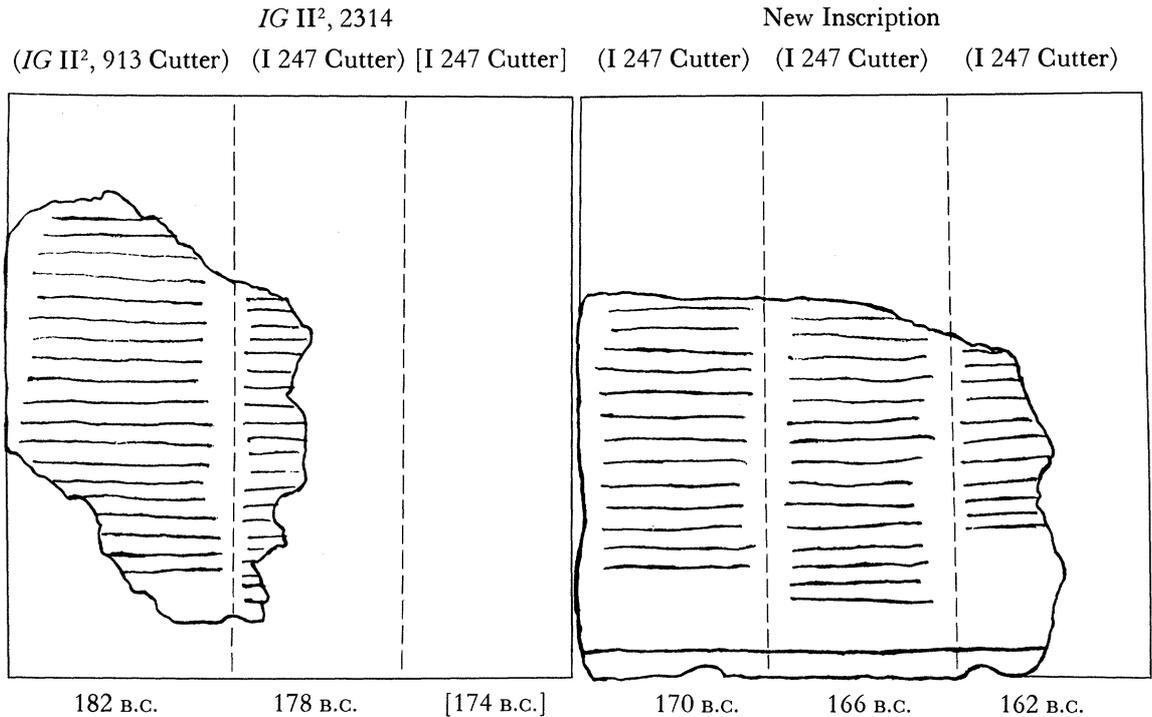


FIG. 1. Drawing showing relation of IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2314 to the present inscription

column II 1.10 m. The cutter of the second column of IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2314 too is identical with the cutter of the present inscription.<sup>138</sup> Most significantly, the other physical characteristics of the block exactly suit the requirements. The left side alone is preserved and reveals *anathyrosis*;<sup>139</sup> the dimensions are reported by Kirchner as 0.78 m. high, 0.55 m. wide, and 0.15 m. thick. The width may be estimated as follows. The first column plus the margin is 0.42 m. wide. The other two columns are more crowded and will have been about 0.30 m. in width (to judge from the widths of the columns on the new inscription which are also by this cutter). The original width of the block will then have been slightly over a meter. These dimensions match those of the new block quite closely and together with the presence of *anathyrosis* reveal that it too is an orthostate block. The inscription numbered IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2314 must, it appears, form part of the block which immediately adjoined the new inscription to the left. It originally preserved three lists, those of the years 182, 178, and 174. It cannot be the block to the right (i.e., the lists of 158, 154, and 150), for the cutter of its first column did not work after 170, and it cannot be the block further to the left (i.e., the lists of 194, 190, and 186), for the first column probably cannot be earlier than 186 in view of victors with the ethnic *Alabandeus* in lines 15 and 23. See Figure 1 for a drawing situating these fragments in relation to one another.

<sup>138</sup> The first column was inscribed by the Cutter of IG II<sup>2</sup>, 913 whose working career covers the years 210 to 170; see Tracy, *ALC*, pp. 71–79.

<sup>139</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Dina Delmousou, the ephor of the Epigraphical Museum, for kindly supplying this information from Athens.

The Cutter of Agora I 247 apparently inscribed a group of lists all at one time, beginning with column II of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314. He also, Koehler's facsimile reveals (see pp. 224–225 below), inscribed the lost list published as *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2316. It appears likely, then, that he inscribed the lists of Panathenaic victors for a 20-year period or more from 178 down to the list of 158.<sup>140</sup> Finally, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2315 (now lost) is perhaps part of the new text, from the upper part of Column I, where (if the piece ever turns up) the text suggests that it could well join. If this is correct, it would confirm Habicht's identification of Eurykleides in line 32 as the younger brother of Mikion "the younger", victor in the four-horsed chariot race in 182 and in 178.<sup>141</sup> He is Eurykleides IV in the stemma offered by Habicht.<sup>142</sup>

## B. NEW READINGS AND RESTORATIONS

The discussion and conclusions drawn thus far enable some improvements in the readings and restorations of other known lists.

### *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2313

Recently this list was rediscovered by Maria Letizia Lazzarini in Pesaro, Italy.<sup>143</sup> Details about it are not yet available. This text apparently preserves at the top of column II the end of one list and the beginning of another. It is not, therefore, part of the series represented by the new text and *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314.

### *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314 (Pl. 76)

The record of the events in column one is all but complete. Restore above line 1:

[παῖδας δόλιχον]  
[-----]  
[στάδιον]  
[-----]  
[διάνλον]

*Line 56.* The number of missing letters at the beginning can be calculated quite precisely. The pi falls under the gamma in line 50 and under the fourth epsilon in line 44. There are thus about 17 letters lost. We may confidently restore [Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως] Πτ[ο]λ[εμα]ίου Μακεδών. The nature of the erasure is not clear, but the presence of a slanting stroke from the first text to the left of alpha suggests that epsilon may initially have been omitted.

[The Ptolemaic kings, as well as the Seleucids and the Antigonids, were accustomed to add the ethnic Μακεδών to their names as a means of pointing to their glorious origin. They were followed in this practice by their subordinates.<sup>144</sup> CH]

<sup>140</sup> The cutters of *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2323 who inscribed the record of comic performances at the Dionysia were also responsible for inscribing records for periods covering 20 years and more. See C. A. P. Ruck, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2323, the List of Victors in Comedies at the Dionysia*, Leiden 1967, pp. 1–2. The cutter of the present inscription, the Cutter of Agora I 247, perhaps significantly, is not one of them; for details, see *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2323 in Tracy, *ALC*, pp. 47, 53, 74, 149, 246.

<sup>141</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2314, lines 44, 76 (line 77 in the new edition of these lines on p. 222).

<sup>142</sup> *Studien*, p. 182.

<sup>143</sup> "Una Collezione Epigrafica di Pesaro," *RivFil* 113, 1985 (pp. 34–54), pp. 35–36.

<sup>144</sup> Pausanias (6.3.1) comments concerning a dedication of Ptolemy I, Μακεδόνα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι ἐκάλεσε, βασιλεύων ὄμως Αἰγύπτου. He adds (10.7.8), ἔχαιρον γὰρ δὴ Μακεδόνες οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καλούμενοι βασιλεῖς, καθάπερ γε ἦσαν. See also M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, Paris, III, 1942, p. 360 and II, 1938, p. 83.

There is a *vacat* after this line to the bottom which measures *ca.* 0.052 m.

We may also add estimates of the letters lost at the openings of the other lines: line 46 *ca.* 10, line 48 *ca.* 10 (6 with the restoration), line 50 *ca.* 17 (the restoration fits), line 52 *ca.* 13, and line 54 *ca.* 15.

Restore in line 56a: [ἵππιον].

Lines 70 to 105 can be reconstructed as follows (note that these line numbers necessarily differ after line 71 from those in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>):

- 70 ἀ[ποβάτης]  
 Ἄντιοχος [-----]  
 72 [ἄρματι δίαυλον]  
 Ἄρκετος Ἐχ[εδήμου Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς]  
 74 ἀκά[μπιον]  
 Μνησίθεος Ἐχ[εδήμου Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς]  
 76 ἄρματ[ι πομπικῶι]  
 Μικίων Εὐρυκλ[είδου Ἐρεχθείδος φυλῆς]  
 78 ἵππωι π[ολεμιστεῖ]  
 Διοκλῆς Χαρίνο[υ Οἰνείδος φυλῆς]  
 80 ἵππωι [δίαυλον]  
 Καλλιφῶν Καλ[-----]  
 82 ἀκά[μπιον]  
 Ἄγαθοκλῆς Ἐλ[-----]  
 84 ἐν τῶι ἵπποδρόμ[ωι συνωρίδι τελείαι]  
 Ἄτταλος βασιλέ[ως Ἄττάλου]  
 86 ἄρμ[ατι τελείωι]  
 βασιλεύς Εὐμ[ένης βασιλέως Ἄττάλου]  
 88 ἄρμ[ατι πωλικῶι]  
 Φιλέται[ρος βασιλέως Ἄττάλου]  
 90 [κέλητι τελείωι]  
 Ἄθῆναιος [βασιλέως Ἄττάλου]  
 92 [συνωρίδι πωλικεῖ]  
 Σωγένης Ἀ[-----]  
 94 [κέλητι πωλικῶι]  
 Ἐρμιόνη Π[ολυκράτου Ἀργεία ἀπ' Ἀχαιίας]  
 96 [ἵππωι πολυδρόμωι]  
 Ὀνησι[-----]  
 98 [ἄρματι πολεμιστηρίωι]  
 Ερ[-----]  
 100 [ζεύγει πομπικῶι]  
 Χαρ[-----]  
 102 [συνωρίδι δίαυλον]  
 Πολυκρ[-----]  
 104 [συνωρίδι ἀκάμπιον]  
 Πολυκ[-----]  
*vacat to bottom ca.* 0.024 m.

The events in lines 84 to 94 are the six open ones in the hippodrome; it is impossible to guess their exact order of listing. The restoration of a particular event in a particular line is, therefore, arbitrary. These and these alone are the six open equestrian events.<sup>145</sup> They were

<sup>145</sup> See *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2314, lines 45–56; 2316, lines 42–53; 2317, lines 36–47 (p. 226 below); and the new text Column I, lines 27–34, Column II, lines 21–33, Column III, lines 11–22.

the oldest part of the equestrian competition. There is no evidence that they were subject to change. The restoration in line 96, therefore, appears to be certain, and unless this list is imagined to be completely anomalous, this line introduces a new class of events in the hippodrome which was open only to citizens (p. 200 above). This fact makes the names of Polykrates and his daughter Hermione which have been restored in the following lines in *IG* impossible, no matter how attractive these restorations may have seemed and no matter how long they have been accepted in the literature. Note, moreover, that there are well-attested Athenian names to match the beginnings of the names in each of these lines. The restorations of the particular events in lines 98 to 104 must be conjectural.

*Line 56a.* This restoration was first suggested by Rangabé (p. 676).

*Line 75.* Only the initial vertical of dotted epsilon is visible.

*Lines 78–82.* The restoration of the events had been anticipated by Martin (*Cavaliers*, pp. 252–253).

*Line 78.* The first vertical and the horizontal of dotted pi are preserved.

*Line 83.* The left slanting *hasta* of the dotted lambda appears before the break. Kirchner (following Koehler's majuscule text) read dotted delta. There are no names, however, known in Attica which begin Εδ-

*Line 85.* The upper third of the vertical of dotted epsilon alone survives.

*Line 86.* Part of the loop of dotted rho can be made out at the break.

*Line 90.* Koehler read nothing here; Rangabé and Boeckh print APM, apparently influenced by the reading APM in lines 86 and 88.

*Line 93.* An indistinct triangular shape is the basis for dotted alpha.

*Line 96.* Part of the rubric ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν should appear here, if it had been inscribed. Apparently it and the phrase ἐκ πάντων which would be expected in line 84 were omitted, as they were in lines 27 and 35 of Column I of the new inscription.

*Line 97.* Only the initial vertical of dotted nu is legible.

*Line 103.* The vertical of dotted rho appears at the break. The names Πολύκριτος and Πολυκράτης are possible.

## *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2315

Our text depends on a single copy published by K. S. Pittakes.<sup>146</sup> Pittakes unfortunately simply omitted lines and at points transcribed what he saw carelessly. He recorded ὕππιον as ἵππικόν in line 37 and completely omitted lines 19 and 41. The men's *diaulos* does not appear. Unfortunately we do not know whether it was never inscribed or whether it was omitted through carelessness of the modern copyist. Despite the efforts of Rangabé, Koehler, and Kirchner to make sense of the text, many of the readings must be considered as doubtful. See, however, pp. 228, 232 below for clear evidence that Pittakes copied some lines correctly.

Whether the lines before line 11 are the end of another list or part of a preamble is unclear.<sup>147</sup> Pittakes' text has problems both in terms of the letters reported and their relative spacing with regard to the other lines of the text. The reading of line 9, for instance, [ἐκ] τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκά[μ]πιον, is in the first place unexampled. Secondly, when the rubric ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν occurs (πολιτῶν is attested once—if it is the true reading!—at *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2317, line 19), it introduces the events for citizens in the hippodrome. This rubric ought to appear 15 or 20 lines above the beginning of the next list instead of just one line before it as Pittakes

<sup>146</sup> *L'ancienne Athènes*, Athens 1835, pp. 106–107.

<sup>147</sup> If the surmise above is correct that this text comes from the upper part of the new text, these lines will be either part of a preamble or the end of a decree which preceded the list of victors.

records it. Rangabé comments in dealing with this line (p. 687), “Il n’y a pas de conjecture trop hardie pour un texte comme celui qui nous occupe.”

*IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2316*

Although known only from Charles de Peyssonel’s transcription made in 1741,<sup>148</sup> it is possible to recognize that this text was inscribed by the Cutter of I 247, i.e., the same workman who inscribed the new fragment. Koehler’s majuscule text (*IG II*, 968) often renders omikron as two dots or two lines and leaves out the crossbar of alpha. These shapes clearly derive from Peyssonel’s copy; they are characteristic of this cutter and, I think, leave little doubt of the attribution. Despite some problems caused by the hand of the cutter, which is indeed difficult to read, Peyssonel’s copy recorded the ancient text very accurately.<sup>149</sup> Along with the new fragment published above, this inscription gives us our most complete evidence for the athletic program of the Panathenaia.

This text was apparently inscribed on a narrow block, a pillar perhaps. Because of the lack of space the cutter did not have the room to follow the layout used in all the other texts, i.e., to place the event in one line and the name of the victor in the next. Instead he ran the text together in continuous fashion. The text as copied makes it clear that the left margin was, for the most part, preserved.

The known mannerisms of this hand make it clear that many of the square brackets printed in the corpus can be removed. Both Koehler and Kirchner placed square brackets around any letter which they changed from the letter that was in Peyssonel’s copy. The Cutter of I 247 renders rho as F, Γ, I<sup>−</sup>, phi sometimes as + and omega with a roughly round shape in most cases. Peyssonel often copied the first as E, Γ, or I<sup>−</sup>, the second as T, and the third naturally as O. The brackets may therefore be removed from around rho in lines 1, 3, 7 (first one), 27, 39, 46, 47, 55, 65, phi in lines 20, 24, 53, and omega in lines 4, 6, 10, 11 (both), 16, 24, 28, 31, 34, 36, 37, 41, 46, 47, 52 (both), 54 (first two), 66. Other easily recognized Peyssonellian confusions are E for B twice in line 45, Δ for A in line 49, A for Δ in line 54, Λ for Δ in line 62, Π for T1 in lines 49, 50 and for IT in line 59.

*Line 16.* Martin (*Cavaliers*, p. 236 and note 2) judged the restoration Ἐλευσινίωι as too long by four letters. If this were so, it would weigh heavily against accepting it. In making his calculations, however, Martin counted iota as a full letter. It is more accurate in dealing with non-stoichedon texts of the Hellenistic period to count iota as half a letter. When one does this, line 16 has 29 letters. The next longest line is line 63 (as corrected) with 28 letters. Several of the lines, 20, 31, 54, e.g., have 26½ letters. The length of line 16 as restored is thus no problem, especially given this cutter’s habit of crowding or spacing out at will.

<sup>148</sup> On Peyssonel, see G. Perrot, “Inscriptions de Bithynie copiées par Charles de Peyssonel (1745),” *RA* 1876, pp. 408–415 and L. Robert, “Épigraphie et paléographie,” *CRAI* 1955 (pp. 195–222), p. 206, note 3 and the bibliography there.

<sup>149</sup> Boeckh (p. 391) was wrong (despite Robert’s subsequent approval [*op. cit.*, p. 199, note 3]) to say “La copie de toute l’inscription est très fautive” and Martin, who had studied the text, more wrong to repeat it (*Cavaliers*, p. 235). Koehler (p. 390) responded “Immo apographum Peyssonelii . . . satis adcurate factum est, sed titulus litteris neglegentissime factis lapidi incisus fuit, quales litteras scribae Athenienses inde ab initio saeculi alterius interdum usurpaverunt. Hoc fefellit Boeckhium, qui titulos graecos nonnisi ex libris et apographis manuscriptis novit.”

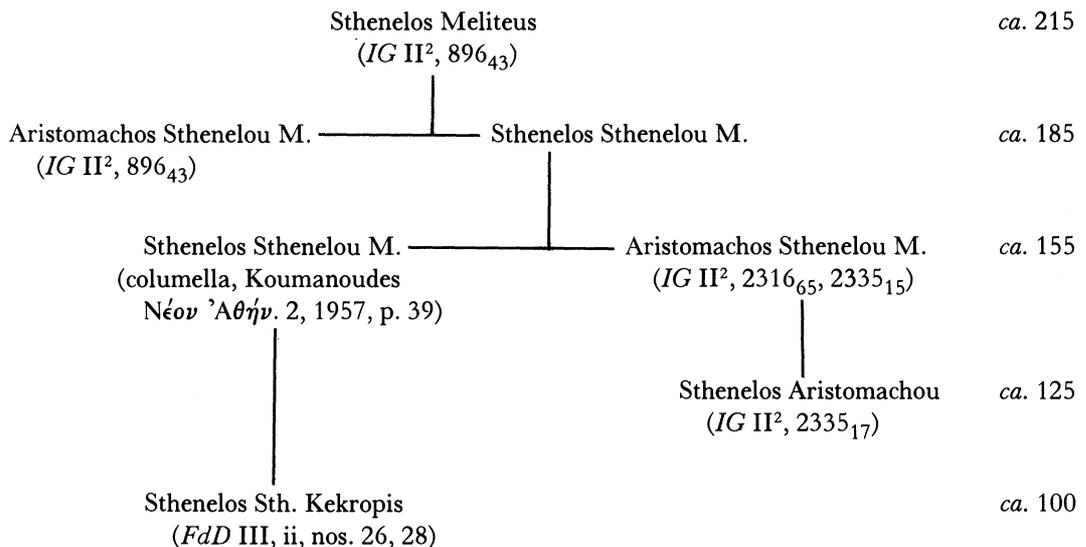
The restoration in lines 20–21 should be ζ[εύγει πομ]|πικῶι and the patronymic in line 63 is Πολυ[κλ]είτου. Dotted tau is justified from the rho which appears in Koehler's majuscule text.

*Line 65.* In Koehler's facsimile, the first two letters ΙΣ probably result from the copyist looking down one line where he saw and recorded the remains of ΗΣ. The next nine letters, ΛΣΤΟΜΛΧΟΣ, accurately record the name except that rho and iota were omitted. The patronymic has heretofore remained undeciphered, and all editors have simply printed sigma followed by a lacuna. The first letter is sigma, the second a round letter (i.e., an equal sign), the third is beta-shaped (E-shaped in this cutter's hand), the fourth is nu, the fifth is shaped like a lunate sigma with a tail at the bottom, the sixth is lambda, and the last is upsilon. Palaeographically Σθενέλ<ο>υ seems beyond doubt. The entire line should be reconstructed as

{ΙΣ} Ἀ<ρι>στόμαχος Σθενέλ<ο>υ <Κ>εκροπί[δο]-

The letters in pointed brackets were omitted.

This individual who was victor in the flat-out chariot race of 158 belongs to a prominent family of Melite, members of which can be traced back to the 4th century. Among them may be mentioned Ἡγήσιππος Μελιτεύς, an epimelete of naval funds in 366/5 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1622, line 506), and Ἡγήσιππος Ἀριστομάχου, councillor of 281/0 (*Agora XV*, no. 72, line 41) and secretary in 276/5 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 684, 685). The present Aristomachos is also attested in an inscription from Eleusis of about 150, contributing on behalf of himself, his wife, and his son Sthenelos (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2335, lines 15–17). His homonymous uncle was one of the epimeletes in charge of the Panathenaic procession in 186 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 896, line 43). His nephew, Sthenelos son of Sthenelos, participated as a knight in the Pythaiids of 106/5 and 98/7 (*FdD III*, ii, no. 26, line 14 [IV]; no. 28, line 24 [II]). A stemma of his immediate family may be reconstructed as follows:



IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2317

This inscription too, like 2315, is known only in a rather inadequate copy. Line 17, [ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων λαμπάδι, is unparalleled; surely λαμπάδι is a careless misreading of ἀκάμπιον.

Lines 6 to 18 probably should be reconstituted as follows:

- 6 [ἵππῳ πολεμιστεῖ] δίαυλον ἐν ὄπ[λοις]  
     [ἐκ τῶν φυλάρχ]ων  
 [------] Αἰγείδος [φυ]λῆς  
 9 [ἐκ τ]ῶν ἱππέων  
 [------] Ἴππ]οθοωντίδος φυλῆς  
 [ἵππῳ δίαυλον ἐκ τ]ῶν φυλάρχω[ν]  
 12 [------] ΗΣ Πτολεμαΐδος φυλῆς  
 [ἵππῳ δίαυλο]ν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων  
 [------] Οἰνεΐδος φυλῆς  
 15 [ἵππῳ ἀκάμπιον] ἐκ τῶν φυλάρχων  
 [------] Κ]εκροπίδος φυλῆς  
 [ἵππῳ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέ]ων ἀ[κ]άμπ[ιον]  
 18 [------] ιδος φυλῆς

Line 6. This restoration has also been suggested by Martin (*Cavaliers*, p. 246).

Line 12. Boeckh (p. 438) reports the first preserved letters as IHΣ; C. Wordsworth (*Athens and Attica*, London 1836, opposite p. 159 [not p. 135 as *IG* both editions]) records them as ΟΟΣ.

Martin (*Cavaliers*, p. 246) suggested, I think correctly, that the phrase ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ should be restored in line 19. Likewise, line 36 should clearly be read as: [ἐν τῷ ἵ]ππο[δ]ρό[μ]ῳ [ἐκ πάντων συνωρίδι πωλικεῖ]. Mommsen (*Feste*, p. 98, note 6) also realized this.

Line 37. [βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος], i.e., Alexander Balas, should be restored in place of [βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος] here and in line 47 (see p. 218 above).

The spatial relationship of part II to part I is unclear; the description “vacuum duorum digitorum spatium” must be incorrect.

Line 57. ζεύγει should be restored in place of ἄρματι.

C. SOME COMMENTS ON THE VICTORS LISTED IN IG II<sup>2</sup> 2313–2317

## Athenians

IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2313

2313, 17. [Θ]ε[όδω]ρος? Ἐπ[α]μείνω[ν]ος Ἀθηναῖος: perhaps Γαργήττιος, cf. *Agora* XV, no. 138, lines 55, 58: Γαργήττιοι |[Ἐ]παμεί[νων], a text of ca. 210–200.

2313, 40. -ἵππος Εὐξένου Ἀθηναῖος, winner of the youths' *pankration*. Name and demotic can be derived from Εὐξένος Ἀρχίππου Εἰρεσίδ[ης], one of the superintendents of the Panathenaic procession in 186/5 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 896, line 44). A relative, Εὐξένος Εὐξένου, was victorious in a chariot race at the Panathenaia of 162 (see p. 208 above).

2313, 58. Πυθίλας Ὀρθαγόρου Ἀθηναῖος. His father, Ὀρθαγόρας Πυθίλα, was a citizen of Argos and is there on record, as orator of three decrees from ca. 250–245. Kirchner, being aware of two of those, concluded that Pythilas acquired Athenian citizenship (see his note on *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2313, line 58). The third decree is *BCH* 82, 1958, p. 13, no. 3. If, as it seems, Διοπείθης Ὀρθαγόρου, winner of two equestrian contests at the Panathenaia of 166 (pp. 206–207 above), was related, the family, when it acquired Athenian citizenship,<sup>150</sup> had chosen the tribe Kekropis and (probably) the deme Halai Aixonides.

<sup>150</sup> The case is not discussed by M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens I–IV*, Brussels 1981–1983.

IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2314

2314, 33 and 65. Καλλίας Σωσικράτου Ἀθηναῖος, victor in the men's *pankration*. He is no other than the Athenian Καλλίας ὁ παγκρατιαστής, who, in 169, was sent by the Athenians to King Ptolemy VI Philometor as θεωρὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν Παναθηναίων (Polybios, 28.19.4) and who served in 159/8 as *cosmetes* of the ephebes: Καλλίας Σωσικράτου [Φλ]υεύς (IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1027, lines 14, 30).<sup>151</sup> The Sosikrates, son of Alkamenes, from Phlya who was honored with the proxeny at Delphi, sometime between 224 and 212, ought to be his father (*FdD* III, ii, no. 76).

2314, 37. Καλλίας Θρασίππου Αἰγείδος φυλῆς: a member of a well-known family from Gargettos.<sup>152</sup> He is probably the same Kallias, son of Thrasippos, from Gargettos who served as ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά on Delos in 156/5 (*ID*, 1417 B, II, line 80; 1418, line 3; 1837, lines 15–16). His grandfather, likewise Kallias, son of Thrasippos, from Gargettos, moved the decree in honor of the *athlothetai*, IG II<sup>2</sup>, 784, from about 250. His son, Thrasippos, son of Kallias, tribe Aigeis, was victorious among the boys at the Theseia of 153/2 (IG II<sup>2</sup>, 958, II, lines 69–70), served as priest of the eponym of the tribe Hippothontis (not his own) in 135/4 (*Agora* XV, no. 243, line 52) and as *agoranomos* at Delos in 124/3 (*ID* 1649, line 1). There is also Thrasippos, son of Kallias, from Gargettos, who was priest of the eponym of Hippothontis in 178/7 (*Agora* XV, no. 194, line 36; cf. no. 193, lines 1–2, and no. 205, lines 9 and 59–61). He apparently was the Thrasippos, son of Kallias, who was honored with the proxeny in Crete in the early 2nd century (*I Cret* II, p. 313, no. 3 = IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1130).

For 2314, 39, Εὐρυκλείδης Μικίωνος Ἐρεχθείδος φυλῆς; 2314, 44, [Μικίων Εὐρ]υκλείδου Ἐρεχθείδος φυλῆς νεώτε(ros); and 2314, 76, Μικίων Εὐρυκλ[είδου], see Habicht, *Studien*, pp. 179–182. Add now Τίμων Μικίωνος Κηφισιεύς, ephebe in 177/6 (*Agora* I 7529, line 99).

For 2314, 69 and 74, Μνησίθεος Ἐχ[εδήμου Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς] and for 2314, 72, Ἄρκετος Ἐχ[εδήμου Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς], see Habicht, *Studien*, pp. 189–193. On Echedemos III, together with Menedemos and Alexion, as Athens' representative at the Delphic Amphictiony in 186/5, see C. Habicht, "The Role of Athens in the Reorganization of the Delphic Amphictiony after 189 B.C.," *Hesperia* 56, 1987 (pp. 59–71), pp. 67–69. See also P. A. Pantos, "Echedemos, 'The Second Attic Phoibos,'" *Hesperia* 58, 1989, pp. 277–288.

2314, 71. Ἀντίοχος. Among the known Athenians of that name, one of the following two could be related to the victor: the mint magistrate of 134/3 (third magistrate) and 131/0 (first magistrate),<sup>153</sup> or Antiochos, father of Polyxenos of Marathon, who in 149/8 was gymnasiarch at Delos (*ID*, 2589, line 24).

2314, 78. Διοκλῆς Χαρίνο[υ Οἰνείδος φυλῆς]: the father of Charinos, son of Diokles, tribe Oineis, who was twice victorious at the Theseia, among the ephebes in 157/6 (IG II<sup>2</sup>, 957 II, line 61), among the men in 153/2 (IG II<sup>2</sup>, 958, II, line 92). Their deme may have been Acharnai, since this is the only deme of Oineis in which both names, Diokles as well as Charinos, are attested.

2314, 81. Καλλιφῶν Καλ-, winner of a horse race and an Athenian citizen according to Tracy's demonstration (pp. 222–223 above): names beginning in Kall- or Kal- are very frequent in Athens, and Kalliphon is common among them. In the absence of an indication of Kalliphon's tribe (or deme) any attempt to identify him would be extremely hazardous. Attention may be

<sup>151</sup> For the date see B. D. Meritt, "Athenian Archons 347/6–48/7 B.C.," *Historia* 26, 1977 (pp. 161–191), p. 183.

<sup>152</sup> See S. Dow, *Prytaneis* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 1), Athens 1937, p. 123.

<sup>153</sup> See Habicht (footnote 69 above).

called, however, to Καλλιφῶν [Κα]λλιφῶν[τος Π]ανβωτά[δης], the eponymous archon of 58/7 (*FdD* III, ii, no. 56, lines 2–6; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1716, line 21).<sup>154</sup>

*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2315

2315, 32. [Ε]ὐρυκλείδης Εὐρυκλείδου Ἀθηναῖος: see above, on 2314, 39.

2315, 40. Νουμήνιος Εὐθίου Ἀθηναῖος, victor in the pentathlon: none other than Νουμήνιος Εὐθίου Φυλάσιος, priest of Anios at Delos in 158/7 (*ID*, 2605, line 27); at the same time, the Delian inscription proves that Pittakes has transcribed line 40 correctly. A close relation, probably a cousin, is Εὐθίας Νουμηνίου Φυλάσιος, president of the Athenian assembly one day in the spring of 163 (*Agora* XV, no. 219, line 5).

*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2316

2316, 17, etc. Φιλοκράτης Πολυκλείτου Πτολεμαΐδος φυλῆς: see pp. 212–213 above.

2316, 30. Βούλαρχος Δαμοκλέα Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς, phylarch: none other than [Βο]ύλα[ρχος] Εἰρεσι[ίδης], *prytanis* of Akamantis, *a.* 169–134, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2435, lines 11–12,<sup>155</sup> and probably the father of Δαμοκλέας Βουλάρχου Εἰρεσιίδης, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5995, 5996.

2316, 32. Σάτυρος Ἰ[ερ]οκλέους Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς: both names together are not on record for any of the demes of Kekropis. Closest comes Ἀλεξικλῆς Σατύρο Αἰξωνεύς on a funeral inscription of the first half of the 4th century, who may be a relative (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5405).

2316, 37. Νικόδωρος Νικησίου Λε[ωντ]ίδος φυλῆς, ἵππεύς: the same Νικόδωρος Νικησίου Λεωντίδος, ἐκ τῶν ἵππέων, was victorious in the *diaulos* and the *akampion* at the Theseia of 161/0 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 956, II, lines 84–87). His deme was probably Phrearria; see the ephebe [–δ]ωρος Νικόδωρου Φρεάρι (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 787, II, line 9) of 237/6.

2316, 38. Λεόντιχος Ἀρχίππου Οἰνεΐδος φυλῆς, ἵππεύς: as Kirchner observed, he is the Λεόντιχος Ἀχαρνεύς who was *hieropoios* of the Romaia and Ptolemaia in the year of Lysiades, 149/8 or a little earlier (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1938, line 48).<sup>156</sup> At about the same time he was victorious in an equestrian event at the Eleusinia (*AM* 62, 1937, p. 4, line 11–12: [Λεόντιχος] Ἀρχίππου Οἰνεΐδος φυλῆς). In 138/7 his son participated as a boy in the Pythais [Ἀρχι]ππος Λεοντίχου (*FdD* III, ii, no. 11, line 10). Also preserved is the funerary inscription of his daughter, Φιλουμένη Λεοντίχου Ἀχαρνέως, Σωσιβίου Θημακέως γυνή (*SEG* XXI, no. 843). A son from her marriage to Sosibios was the ephebe of 119/8, [Πλούταρ]χος Σωσιβίου Θημακέως (*Hesperia* 33, 1964, p. 214, col. I, line 124). The name Archippos occurs often in Acharnai.

2316, 40. Θρασυκλῆς Ἀρχικλέους Οἰνεΐδος φυλῆς, ἵππεύς: member of a distinguished family from Lakiadai. His father, [Ἀρχι]κλῆς Λακιάδης, appears among the donors in the *epidosis* of 183/2 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2332, line 352). His brother, Ἀρχικλῆς Ἀρχικλέους Λακιάδης, was superintendent of the sacred objects at Delos in 159/8 (*ID*, 1898, line 6; cf. 1421 Ab, line 6; Bcd, line 18) and in Lysiades' year, *ca.* 149/8 (see footnote 156 above), *hieropoios* of the Romaia and Ptolemaia (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1938, line 42). His grandfather, Ἀρχικλῆς Λακιάδης, was priest of Asklepios before the middle of the 3rd century (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1534, line 222).<sup>157</sup>

<sup>154</sup> See S. Dow, "Archons of the Period after Sulla," in *Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 1949 (pp. 116–125), p. 117.

<sup>155</sup> Republished by J. S. Traill, "Prytany and Ephebic Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 51, 1982 (pp. 197–235), p. 204, no. 6. On the date and the correction of LEONTIS to AKAMANTIS, see Tracy, *ALC*, pp. 146, 149, and 156.

<sup>156</sup> C. Habicht, "The Eponymous Archons of Athens from 159/8 to 141/0 B.C.," *Hesperia* 57, 1988 (pp. 237–247), p. 242.

<sup>157</sup> For a new edition, see S. B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion*, Amsterdam 1989, p. 257, line 97 and the commentary p. 323, where also prominent members of the family in Augustus' time are registered.

2316, 65. Ἄ<ρι>στόμαχος Σθενέλ<ο>υ <Κ>εκροπίδος φυλῆς: from Melite; see discussion on p. 225 above.

IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2317

2317, 48. Ἀμμώνιο[s] Ἀμμωνίο[v ---ιδος φυλῆς]. Homonymous Athenians of this name are attested for at least three different demes: Anaphlystos, Pambotadai, and Perithoidai.<sup>158</sup>

Foreigners

IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2313

2313, 9. [Z]euxo (*ProsPtol* 17212); 2313, 13, Eukrateia (*ProsPtol* 17210); and 2313, 15, [Hermio]ne (*ProsPtol* 17209) were all daughters of Polykrates of Argos (line 62) and his wife Zeuxo of Cyrene (line 60). Hermione still served in 170/69 as *athlophoros* of Berenike Euergetis in Alexandria.<sup>159</sup>

2313, 24. [Ἄλ]κέμαχος Χάροπος Ἡπειρώτης: son of the elder Charops, the leading statesman of Epeiros at the turn of the 3rd and 2nd centuries. Charops is mentioned by Ennius, Polybios, Livy, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Appianus. A dedication of his from Dodona (*Πρακτικά* 1968, pp. 47–51 and pl. 39:a) revealed that he was Θεσπρωτὸς Ὀπατός, Thesprotian, not Chaonian, as argued by H. H. Scullard.<sup>160</sup> His help was instrumental in allowing Titus Quinctius Flamininus to maneuver King Philip V out of Epeiros in 198. He led an embassy to King Antiochos III in 192 and negotiated with the King at Chalcis on the question whether Epeiros might join him in his war against Rome. An inscription recently found at Tenos revealed that Charops, at about the same time, served as *architheoros* of the Epirotic League to the Aegean islands and to Kings [Antiochos ?] and Ptolemaios (R. Étienne, *Ténos* II, Paris 1990, pp. 102–106, no. 4).<sup>161</sup> In view of his mission to Ptolemy, it is worth observing that Charops' brother Demetrios, during these years, served as Ptolemy's commander of the city of Kourion in Cyprus (Habicht, footnote 161 above).

2313, 32. [--]μ[--] Ἀναξικλέους Κώιος: cf. Διοκλῆς Ἀναξικλεῦς at Kos, ca. 200 (*I Cos*, no. 10 c, line 61).

2313, 36. [---] Νίκωνος Ἐφέσιος: perhaps identical with (or a brother of) Νικόμαχος Νίκωνος in a list of names from Ephesos (*I Ephesus*, no. 4103, II, line 13).

2313, 38. [Ἐπιθέρο]ης Μητροδώρου Ἐρυθραῖος, victor in boxing among the youths: he went on to win the crowns, among the men, at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and at the Isthmos, therefore a *periodonikes* (*I Olympia*, no. 186; Pausanias, 6.15.6). His statue at Olympia was the work of Pythokritos, son of Timochares, of Rhodes, a sculptor active for about 35 years, from ca. 200 to 165.<sup>162</sup>

2313, 48. Πολυκράτης Ἡγήτορος Τευέδιος, victor in wrestling: his brother Damokrates was Olympic victor in wrestling and the recipient of a decree of Elis granting him the titles of

<sup>158</sup> Habicht (footnote 66 above), p. 459, note 2.

<sup>159</sup> Clarysse and Van der Veken, p. 26.

<sup>160</sup> "Charops and Roman Policy in Epirus," *JRS* 35, 1945, pp. 58–64.

<sup>161</sup> See T. Büttner-Wobst, *RE*, s.v. "Charops", Suppl. 1, 1903, no. 11, cols. 284–285; L. Moretti, "Epigraphica," *RivFil* 92, 1964 (pp. 320–331), p. 326; C. Habicht, "Ein thesprotischer Adliger im Dienste Ptolemaios' V," *ArchCl* 25–26, 1973–1974 (pp. 313–318), pp. 316–318; P. Cabanes, *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête Romaine*, Paris 1976, index, p. 614.

<sup>162</sup> V. Kontorini, *Ἀνεκδοτὲς ἐπιγραφὰς Ρόδου* II, Athens 1989, pp. 140–144, no. 59.

*proxenos* and *euergetes* as well as other privileges (*I Olympia*, no. 39). His statue at Olympia was a work of Dionysikles of Miletos (Pausanias, 6.17.1; Aelianus, *V.H.* 4.15).<sup>163</sup>

- 2313, 50. Ἐπίδικος Θάλωνος Πτολεμαίεὺς ἀπὸ [Βάρκης]: the restoration is due to L. Moretti, “Epigraphica,” *RivFil* 104, 1976 (pp. 182–194), p. 188 and can be considered certain, since the name Thalon is characteristic of the Cyrenaica and is found in two inscriptions of Cyrene and also at Ptolemais (see Moretti, *op. cit.*, p. 188, note 9). On Barke-Ptolemais, see most recently A. Laronde, *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique*, Paris 1987, pp. 396–397. On the date for the foundation of Ptolemais, however, both Moretti and Laronde are not quite accurate. Moretti dates it “before 267”, but the decree of Argos from which he concludes this is in fact later, from *ca.* 250 (Laronde, pp. 396–397; see also P. Charneux, *Bull. épigr.* 1988, no. 597). Laronde’s date (“c. 246”), on the other hand, is a trifle late, since three Πτολεμαίεῖς ἀπὸ Βάρκης are already attested for the year 252/1 (*ArchPF* 7, 1924, p. 20, lines 13 and 17; Moretti, *op. cit.*, p. 188).
- 2313, 52. Τασκομένης Τασκομένου Μάγνης ἀπὸ [Μαιάνδρου], winner of the *pankration*: the restoration is due to F. Hiller von Gaertringen (*Syll*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1224, note 3), who also remarks of Taskomenes “certe originis Creticae.”<sup>164</sup> The name is, in fact, twice attested for the Cretan city of Anopolis (*I Cret* II, p. 7, no. 2 of *saec.* I *p.* and *SEG* VIII, no. 269, line 14, found at Gaza, of *ca.* 200<sup>165</sup>). Crete was a station on the way for the people from Magnesia in Thessaly to Asia Minor, who then became the founders of Magnesia on the Maeander.<sup>166</sup>
- 2313, 54. [Μιννί]ων Παιωνίου Χρυσαιορέως ἀπὸ Ἀντιο[χείας]: the victor came from the Carian city of Alabanda, renamed not later than 250 by the Seleucids “Antiochia”.<sup>167</sup> The city returned to its old name in 190 after Antiochos III had to cede all of Asia Minor except Cilicia. The victor’s name is here restored from that of a relative, Παιώνιος Μιννίωνος τοῦ Θύρσου Ἀλαβανδέως, who was sent as *theoros* for the city to Samothrace (*IG* XII 8, 170, lines 20–23).
- 2313, 60. Ζευξὴ Ἀρίστωνος Κυρηναία (*ProsPtol* 17211), the wife of Polykrates of Argos (see on line 62 below) and mother of three daughters, all recorded as victors, four years earlier (above, p. 229, on lines 9, 13, 15).
- 2313, 62. Πολυκράτης Μνασιάδα Ἀργεῖος, the husband of Zeuxo from Cyrene (see on line 60 above), *ProsPtol* 2172 and 15065. As Beloch saw,<sup>168</sup> he is probably related to Polykrateia of Argos, the mother of King Perseus. Polykrates, son of a famous athlete (Polybios, 5.64.6) and since *ca.* 220 in the service of the Ptolemies, was instrumental in the reorganization of the Ptolemaic army between 220 and 217, in charge of the cavalry at the left wing in the victorious battle at Raphia in 217, governor of Cyprus 202–197, then chancellor of the Ptolemaic Empire, and in 186/5 in command against the rebels in the Delta.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>163</sup> See Herrmann (footnote 106 above), p. 174.

<sup>164</sup> For similar names in Crete, see *LGPN* I, p. 429.

<sup>165</sup> This text is also in W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I, Berlin 1955, no. 1508.

<sup>166</sup> See the citations in D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton 1950, p. 894, note 101.

<sup>167</sup> M. Holleaux, “Antioche des Chrysaoriens,” *REG* 12, 1899, pp. 345–361 = *idem*, *Études épigraphiques* III, Paris 1942, pp. 141–157; W. R. Paton, “Antiochia Chrysaoris,” *CR* 13, 1899, pp. 319–321; for the time, under Antiochos II and not later than 250, see Robert (footnote 110 above), pp. 448–466.

<sup>168</sup> *Griechische Geschichte* IV, ii, 2nd ed., Berlin 1927, p. 140.

<sup>169</sup> See *ProsPtol* as indicated and Walbank, *Commentary* I, p. 589; III, pp. 203–205. Numerous documents for him and his relatives exist from Old Paphos and can be found in *BSA* 56, 1961, pp. 15–18, nos. 40–46; a statue of him on Delos: *IG* XI 4, 1177.

IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2314

2314, 9 and 11. Ἀκαστίδας Κλεομνάστου Βοιωτίο[s], victor in the *stadion* and pentathlon among the youths.<sup>170</sup> His brother Pytheas was a prominent citizen of Thebes and in 146 responsible for the Boeotians joining the Achaians in the war against Rome. Pytheas was executed at the orders of Metellus Macedonicus. Polybios (38.14.1) mentions him as “the brother of Akatides (codd.: Akastides Dindorf) the stadion-runner” (the patronymic Κλεομένους in Polybios must be emended to Κλεομνάστου).

2314, 27 and 59. Νικόμαχος Λεωνίδου Ἀχαιὸς ἀπὸ Μεσσηνή(s): Nikomachos gained his victories at two successive Panathenaia, both later than 191, since Messene at the time was already a member of the Achaean League. 190 and 186 are, from this point of view, the earliest possible dates for Nikomachos’ victories. 190, however, is still too early, since lines 15 and 23 show that the city of Alabanda had already regained its old name (see p. 230 above). A brother of Nikomachos, Leon, was victorious a little earlier, while Messene was still independent, at the Pythia at Delphi, apparently also in the pentathlon; see p. 219 above. From the middle of the 3rd century dates a proxeny decree of Oropos for two brothers from Messene, Gennikos and Kritodemos, sons of Leon(i)des, who could be relatives of Nikomachos and Leon (IG VII, 292).

2314, 56. [----] Πτ[ο]λεμαίου Μακεδών: Livy reports (31.44.6) that the Athenians, in 200 B.C., among other measures directed against the Macedonian royal house, cursed “Macedonum genus omne nomenque.” He also says (41.23.1) that, besides the Achaians, only Athens had declared its territory off limits for all Macedonians: “Atheniensium civitas eo processerat irarum ut finibus interdiceret Macedonibus.” This interdiction was apparently still valid in 174. The question is, therefore, how a Macedonian could compete in the Panathenaia. For the solution, see p. 221 above.

IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2315

2315, 18. Νίκανδρος Τίμωνος Ἀργεῖος: a brother of his was perhaps Στράτων Τίμωνος Ἀρ[γειῶς], honored with Athenian citizenship some time between 194 and 147 (*Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 197–199, no. 51).<sup>171</sup> The ethnic is not entirely sure; Αἰ[νίος] and Λί[νδιος] have been suggested as possible alternatives (*Hesperia* 40, 1971, p. 199). Lindos, however, had long ceased to be a city in its own right, being part of the state of Rhodes. The ethnic had become a demotic and would be, therefore, inappropriate in an Athenian decree.

2315, 30. Μέανδρος Μυνη[ί]ωνος Λύκιος ἀπὸ Γαγῶν: for Gagai in Lycia, see the references collected in Le Bas and Waddington, II, pp. 326–327, no. 1338, and the mention in *Tituli Asiae Minoris* II, no. 1148, line 2 (from Olympos): τύνβον ἐπάνω τῆς ἐπὶ Γάγας φερούσης ὁδοῦ. For its location see the map in the back of *Tituli Asiae Minoris* I.

2315, 36. Δ[-]έας [-]ονίου Χρυσαιορέως ἀπὸ Ἀλαβά[ν]δων: Holleaux ([footnote 167 above] p. 357) suggests that he may be none other than the [Δάμ]ων Παιωνίου who is registered as victor in 2313, line 54. The correct restoration there, however, is [Μυνη]ίων (see p. 230 above). The present entry is perhaps a younger relative, e.g., Δ[ημ]μέας or Δ[ρομ]έας [Παι] <ω>νίου.

2315, 38. [Θρ]άσων Θρασυβούλου Τήνιος: a homonymous man, obviously an ancestor, appears in an inscription from Tenos (IG XII 5, 872, line 64).<sup>172</sup> Kirchner dates the Tenian inscription to

<sup>170</sup> Walbank (*Commentary* III, p. 708) erroneously makes him a wrestler.

<sup>171</sup> Osborne (footnote 150 above), I, pp. 218–219, no. D 105. The stone was inscribed by the Cutter of I 247; Tracy, *ALC*, p. 103.

<sup>172</sup> See R. Étienne, *Ténos* II, Paris 1990, pp. 42–50 and pl. 10:1 and 2.

the 3rd, Étienne ([footnote 172 above] p. 176) to the end of the 4th century. Pittakes has copied this entry correctly as he has line 40 (see p. 228 above).

*IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2316*

2316, 4. Διόδ[ω]ρος Ἀντιγένου Ἀλικ[αρνασ]σεύς: both names are attested for Halikarnassos—Antigenes in *I Cos*, no. 216 and in *IG XII 3*, 168, line 60 (from Astypalaia); both occur on the coins.<sup>173</sup>

*Royalty*

*IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2314*

2314, 41–42. [Βα]σιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου [Πτολ]εμαίδος φυλῆς: King Ptolemy V Epiphanes, registered here as a member of the tribe Ptolemais and competing among the Athenians.

2314, 83–90. Four years after the victory of Ptolemy V recorded in lines 40–42, all four sons of King Attalos I and Queen Apollonis were victorious at the Panathenaia, Attalos first, then King Eumenes II and Attalos' younger brothers Philetairos and Athenaios. Memorable as the event certainly was, it was not the first to establish the equestrian glory of the dynasty. That had been created long before by the grandfather of these brothers, Attalos, when he, in the 270's, scored at least one celebrated victory with a chariot drawn by colts at Olympia.<sup>174</sup> No less a man than Arkesilaos of Pitane, soon thereafter to become headmaster of the Academy in Athens, dedicated a famous epigram, perhaps written for that same occasion, to the equestrian glory of Attalos and the dynasty (Diogenes Laertius, 4.30, tr. R. D. Hicks): "Pergamos, not famous in arms alone, is often celebrated for its steeds in divine Pisa. And if a mortal may make bold to utter the will of heaven, it will be much more sung by bards in days to come."

*IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2316*

2316, 43. Μαστανάβας [βασ]ιλέως Μασανάσσου, victorious in 158 with the chariot drawn by colts in the hippodrome, where he competed ἐκ πάντων, perhaps an indication, although not necessarily so, that he was not an Athenian citizen at the time. He was the youngest of the three legitimate sons of King Masinissa of Numidia, after whose death in 149 he shared the crown with his brothers for several years, following a settlement made, at the request of the dying king, by Scipio Aemilianus.<sup>175</sup> He and Gulussa died early of illnesses (Sallust, *Iug.* 6), apparently not later than 140, since Micipsa in his tenth year seems to have ruled alone.<sup>176</sup> Mastanabal, who had received a Greek education, perhaps at Athens, "qui etiam Graecis litteris eruditus erat" (Livy, *Per.* 50), became through his son Gauda the grandfather of Hiempsal II and is on record as such in an inscription from Rhodes.<sup>177</sup> More important, from a concubine he was the father of Jugurtha (Sallust, *Iug.* 7). He must have sired him at about the time of his Athenian victory, 158 B.C., since Jugurtha was somewhat over fifty years old when he was executed in January of 104.

2316, 45. [Β]ασιλεὺς Π[τολ]εμαῖος [β]ασιλέ[ω]ς Πτολεμαίου [πρ]εσβύ[τε]ρος: the king is here, in 158, competing in the open contest, whereas in 162 he had been victorious in one of the events

<sup>173</sup> F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen I*, Vienna 1901, p. 130, nos. 10 and 11 (Antigenes); p. 130, nos. 13 and 14 (Diodoros).

<sup>174</sup> *I Pergamon*, nos. 10–12; Moretti, *IAG*, pp. 94–99, no. 37; Ebert (footnote 136 above), pp. 176–181, no. 59.

<sup>175</sup> Appianus, *Libyke* 501–502; Dio [Zonar.], 9.27.4–5; Livy, *Per.* 50.

<sup>176</sup> G. Camps, "Masinissa," *Libyca* 8, 1960 (pp. 3–320), p. 295.

<sup>177</sup> V. N. Kontorini, "Le roi Hiempsal II de Numidie et Rhodes," *AntCl* 44, 1975, pp. 89–99.

reserved for Athenian citizens (Column III, line 32 of the new text). Philometor is sometimes called ὁ πρεσβύτερος, to distinguish him from his younger brother, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II: so in *OGIS*, no. 760, line 4 from Chalkis (= *IG XII 9*, 900 B) and in *ID*, 1517, line 5 of 154 B.C., a document that proves that the addition of the attribute was not restricted to the years 170–164, when the two brothers (and their sister, Kleopatra II) were joint rulers. After 163, as king of Cyprus, Ptolemy VIII continued to be “King Ptolemy, son of King Ptolemy,” so that an additional attribute remained necessary to distinguish him from his brother. Polybios (29.23.4) calls him τὸν νεώτερον Πτολεμαῖον. As for *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2316, line 45, W. G. A. Otto correctly stated: “der Ansatz dieser Liste . . . in die Zeit der gemeinsamen Herrschaft der ersten beiden Brüder wegen des Gebrauches der πρεσβύτερος- Bezeichnung ist nicht zwingend, da dieser Gebrauch auch noch für die folgende Zeit . . . inschriftlich belegt ist.”<sup>178</sup>

2317, 37 and 47. It has been shown above (p. 218) that the king in question cannot be (as was long assumed) Antiochos V Eupator but must be Alexander Balas, who claimed to be another son of Antiochos IV Epiphanes. The claim was recognized by the Roman Senate (Polybios, 33.18.12: Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Λαοδίκη βασιλέως υἱοῖ), by Strabo (13, p. 624: Ἀλεξάνδρω τῷ Ἀντιόχου), and by the Jewish tradition (represented by 1 Macc. 10.1 and Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 13.35). Most pagan sources call him an impostor, following herein undoubtedly the verdict of Polybios, the friend of King Demetrios, whom Alexander overthrew.<sup>179</sup>

The Panathenaia was not the only great festival of the Greek world at which members of royal houses were competing. Victors at the Olympic games include Archelaos of Macedon, Arkesilas of Cyrene, Arybbas of Epeiros, Belistiche the concubine of Ptolemy II, Damaratos and Kyniska of Sparta, and Philip II of Macedon.<sup>180</sup> Victorious at the Pythia at Delphi were, among others, Archelaos of Macedon, Arybbas of Epeiros,<sup>181</sup> and Ptolemy I Soter (Pausanias, 10.7.8). Lagos, a son of Ptolemy I, was victorious at the Arcadian Lykaia (*Syll*<sup>3</sup>, no. 314 V), King Ptolemy XII Auletes won a crown at the Basileia in Lebadeia,<sup>182</sup> and King Mithridates VI Eupator won no less than four victories at an unknown festival of Chios.<sup>183</sup>

#### IV. CONCLUSION

When in the summer of 166 the victors recorded in Column II of the present inscription were competing in Athens, exactly 400 years had gone by since the traditional date of the establishment of the Great Panathenaia in 566, after Solon and when Peisistratos' influence was on the rise. At that time the festival was expanded so that every fifth year there were elaborate competitions. The winners were to receive a larger or smaller number of amphoras filled with oil that had been collected by the state under the supervision of the eponymous archon.<sup>184</sup> Before long, black-figured prize amphoras of the 6th and early 5th century appear with depictions of the athletic events. About the middle of the 5th century the

<sup>178</sup> “Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers,” *Abhandlungen Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1934, p. 100, note 3.

<sup>179</sup> See *CAH VIII*, 2nd ed., 1989, p. 362 with note 142.

<sup>180</sup> Testimonies in Moretti (footnote 106 above), pp. 35–198, index pp. 186–195.

<sup>181</sup> For these two, see *ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> *Nouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1971, no. 22.

<sup>183</sup> Robert (footnote 121 above), pp. 459–465.

<sup>184</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 60.1–3. See P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, pp. 669–676.

Panathenaic procession received elaborate illustration in stone on the frieze of the Parthenon. The third quarter of the century, Athens' most glorious period, may also have been the heyday of the festival, since not only all the Athenian colonies but also all members of the Athenian league, many hundreds, were obliged to send for the occasion a panoply and a cow and to have delegates march in the great procession.<sup>185</sup>

After the collapse of the Empire in 404, the numbers of foreigners participating in the Great Panathenaia must have been much smaller. But Priene and Kolophon in Ionia, and perhaps other Ionian cities, who regarded Athens as their mother city continued to send a panoply and (instead of the cow) a crown. This is attested for Priene twice in the time of Alexander the Great, *ca.* 327, and again sometime during the 2nd century,<sup>186</sup> and for Kolophon in 307/6.<sup>187</sup>

A delegate (*theoros*) from Pergamon to the Panathenaia is attested at the end of the 3rd century;<sup>188</sup> he was probably, since his city could not claim kinship with Athens, sent by Attalos I to express the monarch's veneration for Athens and her goddess. Pergamon had at that time long had its own Panathenaia. They were modeled after the Athenian prototype and are already attested before the middle of the 3rd century.<sup>189</sup>

Other kings had even earlier paid their respects to the goddess and her festival by sending gifts to Athens on the occasion of the festival. When a storm had broken the mast of the Panathenaic ship, King Lysimachos sent a new mast and a sail for the festival of 298 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 657, lines 14–16). Likewise King Ptolemy II, at the request of an Athenian embassy led by Kallias (who had recently been in the king's service) sent new rope and a new mast to be used in the celebration of August 282.<sup>190</sup>

As happened occasionally to major festivals of other states, the Panathenaia could not always be held when they were due. Sometimes war or bad times did not allow for celebrations. They were not held, we know, in 286, just a year after the city's revolt against King Demetrios,<sup>191</sup> and a new beginning was only made in 282, with the help of Ptolemy mentioned above.

Every fifth year, special Athenian ambassadors, called *spondophoroi*, went out in all directions to invite the Greek states (cities, leagues, monarchs) to participate in the upcoming event. A unique copy of one such decree sending out *spondophoroi* is preserved from

<sup>185</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 71, lines 55–58 (425/4). On this provision see R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1969, pp. 198–199.

<sup>186</sup> *I Priene*, no. 5, lines 2–6; no. 45, lines 3–12 (with the restorations of A. Wilhelm, "Zu den Inschriften von Priene," *WS* 29, 1907 [pp. 1–24], p. 10 and L. Robert, "Notes épigraphiques," *RA* 24, 1926 [pp. 173–187], pp. 177–178 = *idem*, *Op. min. sel.* I [footnote 121 above], pp. 236–237). See also *I Priene*, no. 109, lines 47–52 of *ca.* 120 B.C.

<sup>187</sup> A. Wilhelm, "Athen und Kolophon," *Anatolian Studies in Honour of W. H. Buckler*, Manchester 1939, pp. 345–368, esp. p. 349.

<sup>188</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 886, lines 6–9 of 193/2 (with the restoration of line 9 by M. N. Tod, "Sidelights on Greek Philosophers," *JHS* 77, 1957 [pp. 132–141], p. 137, note 91). The person honored had influence with King Attalos I (line 15).

<sup>189</sup> See E. Ohlmutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon*, Würzburg 1940, repr. Darmstadt 1968, pp. 25–26.

<sup>190</sup> T. L. Shear, Jr., *Kallias of Sphettos (Hesperia Suppl. 17)*, Princeton 1978, p. 3, lines 64–70. There is no need to discuss here the matter of whether the Panathenaia in question were those of 282 or of 278 B.C.

<sup>191</sup> See the passage cited in the previous note.

the later 3rd century; it was found in the Thessalian city of Gonnoi, not far from Mount Olympos.<sup>192</sup> In the 2nd century it is the victor lists, those previously published as *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2313–2317 and the new ones published here, that show how far these special ambassadors went and how far reaching the appeal of the Great Panathenaia was: from Italy and the Ligurian coast to the Persian Gulf, from Egypt and the Cyrenaica to Epeiros and Kerkyra.

These 2nd-century Panathenaic victor lists also provide eloquent evidence of the vitality of the city of Athens. The citizens apparently began celebrating the great games with renewed vigor near the end of the 3rd century. They did so despite the fact that their freedom from Macedonian control, achieved in 229, was still relatively new and not entirely secure. Their institutions, many of them, too were struggling—throughout the first 50 years of the 2nd century the enrollment of the ephebeia, for example, remained quite small<sup>193</sup>—yet they chose like Peisistratos, their great enlightened tyrant of the past,<sup>194</sup> to use the Panathenaia to showcase their city and to remind their contemporaries of Athens' role as the cultural leader of the Hellenic world. In response to their invitation, professional athletes, influential politicians, royal ministers and generals, queens and kings flocked to Athens or sent their horses, jockeys, and chariots. The festival was not only popular with foreigners but even more so with citizens, for the increase in the games during the period covered by these inscriptions was in events for citizen horsemen. The equestrian program more than doubled in size. Clearly there were plenty of citizens able to enter the competition. There could not be better evidence of the growing prosperity of the Athenian body politic.

The increasing influence of Athens in the first half of the 2nd century, to which the games surely contributed in an important way, is attested by the donations which the great kings made to the city and her citizens. Antiochos IV spent huge sums on continuing the great temple of Olympian Zeus begun by Peisistratos himself;<sup>195</sup> King Eumenes adorned the theater, the very symbol of Athenian literary pre-eminence, with a stoa;<sup>196</sup> and King Attalos in his turn placed a handsome stoa in the Agora flanking the dromos and providing a fine viewing stand for the Panathenaia.<sup>197</sup> Finally, the surest and most dangerous sign of their re-emerging importance, the Romans chose to give them Delos in 166 as a free port, along with Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros, and the territory of Haliartos in Boiotia. And part of the festivities at the Great Panathenaia, as we now learn from the end of the new text (Column III, line 41), were honors to the benefactors of the city, the *euergetai*. At that time in 162 they not only included the Romans but meant the Romans in the first place.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>192</sup> *I Gonnoi*, no. 109.

<sup>193</sup> For the numbers of students known in this period, see S. V. Tracy, "Agora I 7181 + *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 944b," in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 19), Princeton 1982 (pp. 157–161), pp. 158–159.

<sup>194</sup> On Peisistratos' actions with regard to the Panathenaia, see H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult Under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz 1989, pp. 2–3, 5–7, 18–21, 40–41.

<sup>195</sup> Livy, 41.20; Velleius Paterculus, 1.10.1; Polybios, 26.1.11; Vitruvius, 7.15.7.

<sup>196</sup> See Travlos, p. 523.

<sup>197</sup> For the dedicatory inscription *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 3171 + Agora I 6135, see *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 83–88, no. 31. On the building in general, see Travlos, pp. 505–506.

<sup>198</sup> See the reference to the sacrifice [τῶι δῆμῳ] τῶι Ῥωμαί[ων] in *Agora XV*, no. 180, lines 7–11 of the year of Pleistainos, i.e., around the middle of the 2nd century (Tracy, *ALC*, pp. 141–142). See also *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1134, lines 103–104; 1224, line 9.

The events listed on the inscriptions, largely with one- or two-word labels, e.g., *παλή*, *πυγμή*, *ἵππῳ δίαυλος*, *συνωρίδι ἀκάμπιον*, “wrestling”, “boxing”, “two-lap horse race”, “flat-out sulky race”, and so on, all come alive in the illustrations on Panathenaic vases. These amphoras, filled with olive oil, were the prizes for the victorious athletes. The event in which the prize was won is illustrated on the back. They were clearly cherished, just as an Olympic medal is today, and many of them survive.<sup>199</sup> If the vases give us the pictures, the inscriptions give us the names. Despite the passage of the centuries, the persons behind those names, at least a few, emerge as real people. If we have to recreate in our imaginations the sounds of the wrestling match or of racing horses, we have the evidence to see that the games attracted many illustrious persons. And we realize, since we only have the names of the victors, that many, many more competed. In conclusion these victor lists enable us to perceive more keenly the competitions, the festival, and the importance of the city that sponsored them.

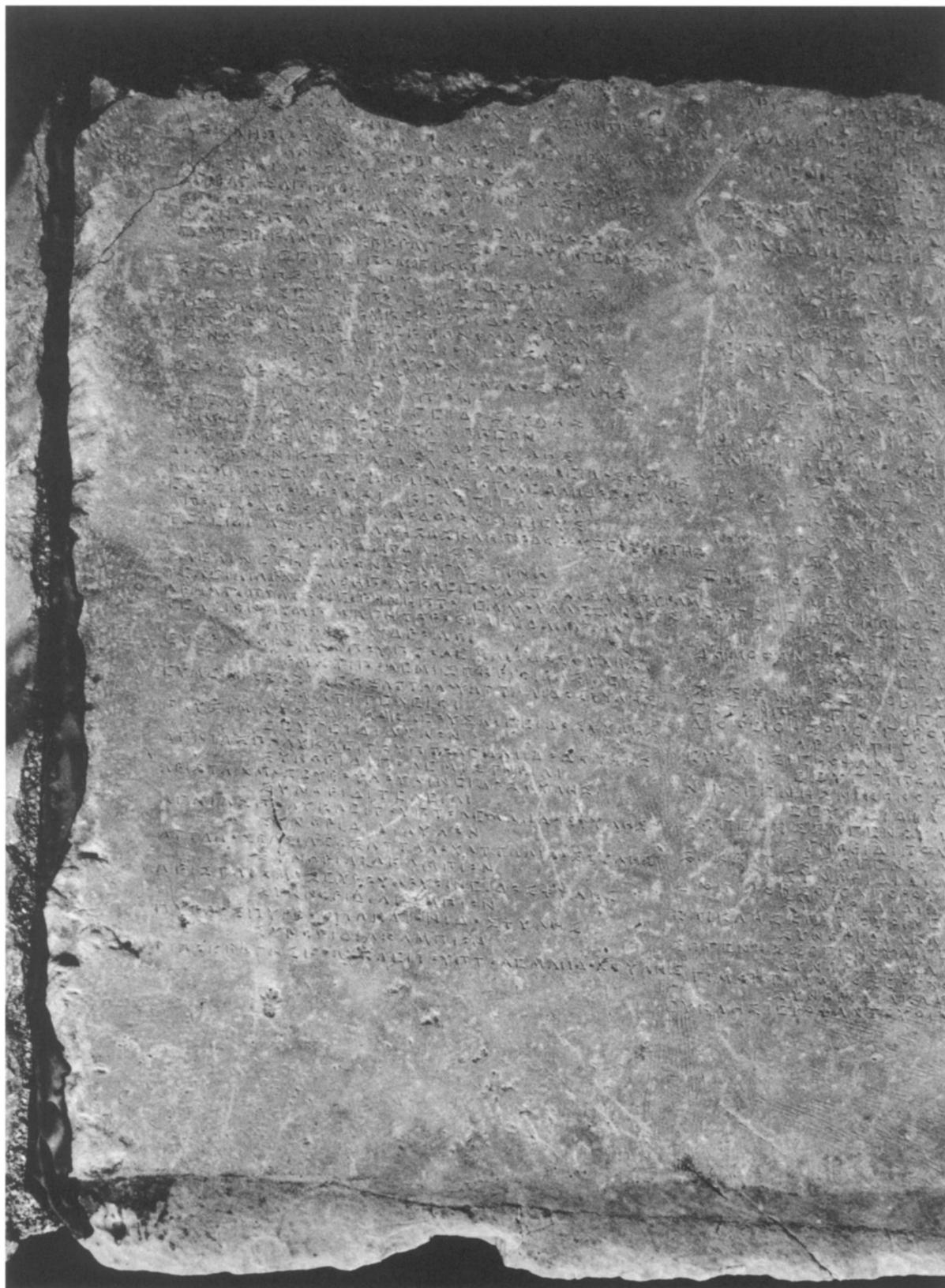
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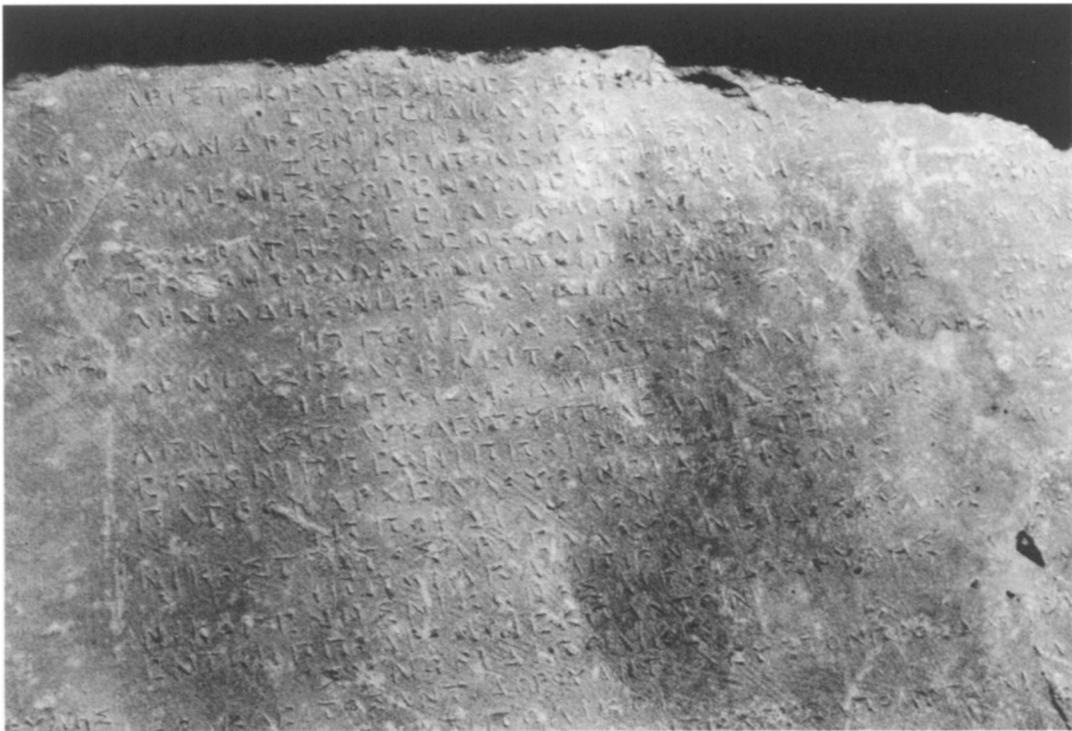
<sup>199</sup> J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1971, pp. 403–417. On the later vases, see in particular G. R. Edwards, “Panathenaics of Hellenistic and Roman Times,” *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 320–349.



New inscription, left half (Column I +)



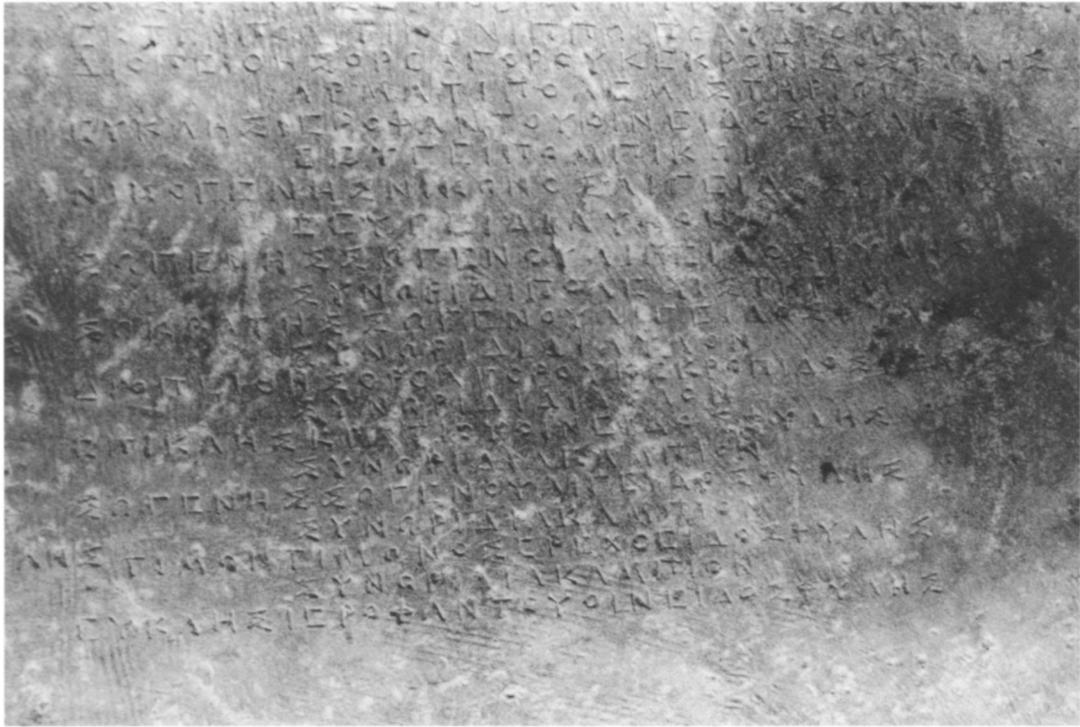
New inscription, right half (Column III +)



a. New inscription, Column II, lines 1-23



b. New inscription, Column II, lines 22-41



a. New inscription, Column II, lines 34–53



b. New inscription, Column III, lines 26–43



New inscription, Column III



IG II<sup>2</sup> 2314

S. V. TRACY AND C. HABICHT: NEW AND OLD PANATHENAIC VICTOR LISTS