

AN UNUSUAL VICTORY LIST FROM KEOS: *IG XII, 5, 608 AND THE DATING OF BAKCHYLIDES*

INTRODUCTION

THIS paper discusses the interpretation of an important historical document: *IG XII, 5, 608*, a victory list from Iulis on ancient Keos. Since its discovery in 1883 it has always been described as a chronologically ordered official victory list of Kean athletes who have won at each of the major games. The surviving portion contains one complete list prefixed by the words 'these won at Nemea', and preceded by fourteen other names, which must, following the usual order, belong to Isthmian victors. Since the two lists together name two athletes for whom Bakchylides wrote victory songs, Argeios (odes 1 and 2) and Lachon (odes 6 and 7), it has long been used as a means of dating the first pair of poems, as well as the victories mentioned on the inscription not celebrated by Bakchylides. More recently, it has been used to fix the death of that poet to just after 452, in spite of a clear reference to him in Eusebios' *Chronicle* under the year 431.¹ It is the contention of this paper that this unique victory list has been misclassified and misinterpreted. It is not a chronologically ordered official victory list; it is rather an honorific victory list in which the entries are arranged by decreasing order of importance. This interpretation, and its various repercussions, destroys many of the currently accepted views about the dating of Bakchylides.

The reason why the Iulis victory list has been misinterpreted for so long is that no in-depth study of it has ever been undertaken. To overcome this deficiency, however, the detailed discussion of the problem presented here has had to be broken down into several sections:

1. Description—a formal description of *IG XII, 5, 608*
2. Text and Notes
3. Herald Victories—known data on herald victories (lines 16 & 29)
4. Dating
5. Parallels—the classification and form of victory lists
6. Alternative Interpretation (based on the internal evidence)
7. The Occasion—who it was erected by and why
8. Repercussions—consequences for the chronology of Bakchylides

NB: All dates and centuries are BC unless otherwise noted.

1. DESCRIPTION

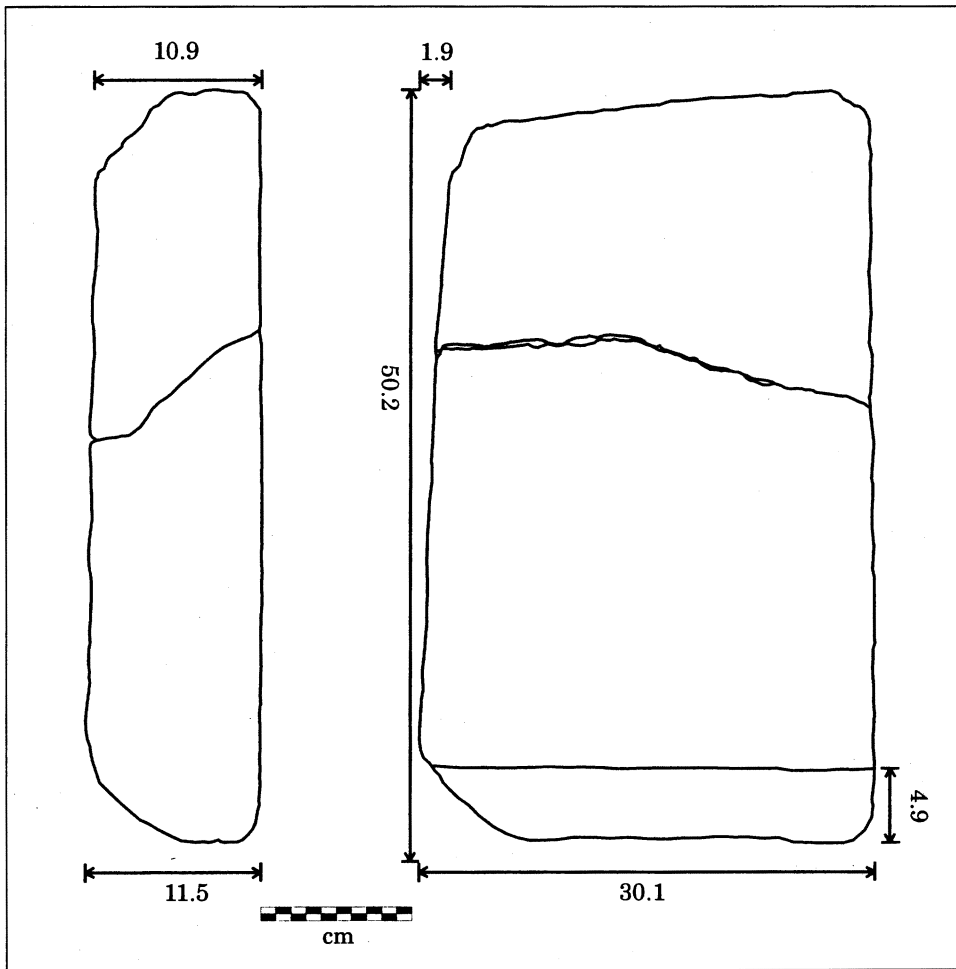
The Iulis victory list was once a free-standing stele, probably erected in front of a wall, and embedded in a now lost base by means of lead.² This base may have contained a further inscription detailing the exact reason for its erection. At a much later stage the stele was broken into two, the top half was lost (perhaps too badly damaged to be of use) and the remaining bottom portion removed from its base and reused, according to Bosanquet, as part of a crude Byzantine capital.³ The roughening and bevelling with the chisel on two sides at the back (PLATE 1d) suggest rather that it was simply adapted as a plaque in a wall, just as its sister inscription *IG XII, 5, 594*, currently embedded in a wall of the Castello at Iulis, has been

¹ H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides: Erster Teil* (Leiden 1982) I. *Edition des textes* 7, II. *Kommentar* 1-4.

² This is the conclusion I reached from discussions with Mr Kritzas, Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, and his assistant Mrs Molisani. For an example of the use of lead see G. Dondas, 'The true Aglaurion', *Hesperia* 52, 1 (1983) 50.

³ Bosanquet in R.C. Jebb, *Bacchylides: The Poems and Fragments* (Cambridge 1905) 187 n.1.

trimmed in a similar way. In any case somewhere between 11 and 22 cm have been removed from the right-hand side; at the back the bottom and right edges were bevelled and one corner was removed from the bottom left. These later marks are clearly distinct from the chisel-marks on the original back of the stone. Here the surface was once much dirtier and systematically roughened (PLATE 1d, now unfortunately cleaned). Subsequently the remaining fragment broke into two. No writing was lost and the two halves have been bolted back together. That it was once free-standing is strongly indicated by the tapering both on the intact left-hand side and in thickness from bottom to top (PLATE 1c)—features common to a number of other free-standing steles in the Epigraphical Museum of comparable date. The roughness of the original back suggests positioning against a wall, but not attachment to it.



As can be seen from the side view, the tapering in thickness from the bottom to the top, although slight, is quite noticeable. The bottom section is particularly interesting. The reader should refer to PLATE 1a, where the 5 cm deep section can be clearly seen. This is about the right depth for insertion into a base; the only difficulty with this interpretation being that the surface is relatively smooth. However, this may be due to subsequent alteration; in any case that the bottom portion was once covered by a base can be proved by examining the writing of the last line:

ΛΕΩΝΑΕΩΜΕΔΟΝΤΟΣΚΗΡΥΞ

which has been clearly crammed into the available vertical space. The smaller letters used here make the line 9 cm shorter than the same text in line 16. From this it is clear, first that the mason did not have the option of utilising the last 5 cm of the stone, else he would have cleared some more free space, and secondly that the entries for the lines 16 and 29 were carved *after* the inscription had been erected. This is shown by the fact that the letters of these two lines are more deeply engraved, indicating that the position of the mason was in some way awkward or different, although the lettering is probably by the same hand.⁴ This refutes the suggestion made by Körte and others that space was left for further entries after both lists. This is clearly false for the Nemean list and hence must also be untrue for the Isthmian one. The free space there is essentially to improve the layout, to separate each list from the others, as in another inscription from Iulis (*IG XII*, 5, 609). This means that the inscription cannot have been an historical local record kept up to date as new victories were won, as Jebb argued. It was a one-off inscription subsequently altered on one occasion only, and for a specific reason.

The lettering itself is very difficult to read. In those areas of the text where the surface rises above its usual level the writing is worn away completely and even in the better preserved portions it is difficult to read without the aid of a lamp glancing across the surface from a variety of angles. It is currently stored out of doors and this appears to have led to some deterioration. Despite the poor quality of the reproduction in Severyns book, his photo of 1933 (PLATE 1b) seems to have preserved the fainter writing rather better than the modern photographs, although this difference may be due to subsequent cleaning.

The style of letter-cutting is unusual: first the outline of the letter was defined using points driven into the stone. This is particularly noticeable in a letter like delta; then the dots are joined together. This technique is derived from engraving on bronze. Examples of fourth-century dikasts' pinakia from Athens and elsewhere sometimes exhibit a similar technique: holes are bored right through the pinakion to mark where the tool should be placed, then a light blow from a straight or curved chisel forms the letters.⁵ Since the technique is here applied unusually to stone, although not without parallel,⁶ on Keos at least it can be considered as the signature of a particular mason. The same features are evident in two other Iulis inscriptions from the same period.⁷

In some lines the text is cramped (14, 25, 26), in others stretched (6, 7, 16, 20), giving the impression that the mason calculated how many letters he had to fit into each line and adjusted the space accordingly. This would have given the pleasing effect of covering the stele from left to right with lettering. Given that probable restorations are available for some lines, it is possible to determine in fact that this was not so. For example, line 13 can be certainly restored with the word *παγκράτιον*. This would have required about another 9 cm. Other probable restorations in lines 16, 24 and 27 (*κῆρυξ*, *παγκράτιον*, *στάδιον*) suggest a missing portion on the right of about 11 cm. However, some lines would appear to require much more room, such as line 12, which is probably to be restored with *π[αίδων παγκράτιον* (22 cm) and other lines much less, for example, lines 10 and 29 would appear to be complete as they are.

⁴ There are in fact some minor differences: e.g. in lines 16 and 29 the omega is tucked in at the bottom, the mu has vertical sides instead of slanting elsewhere.

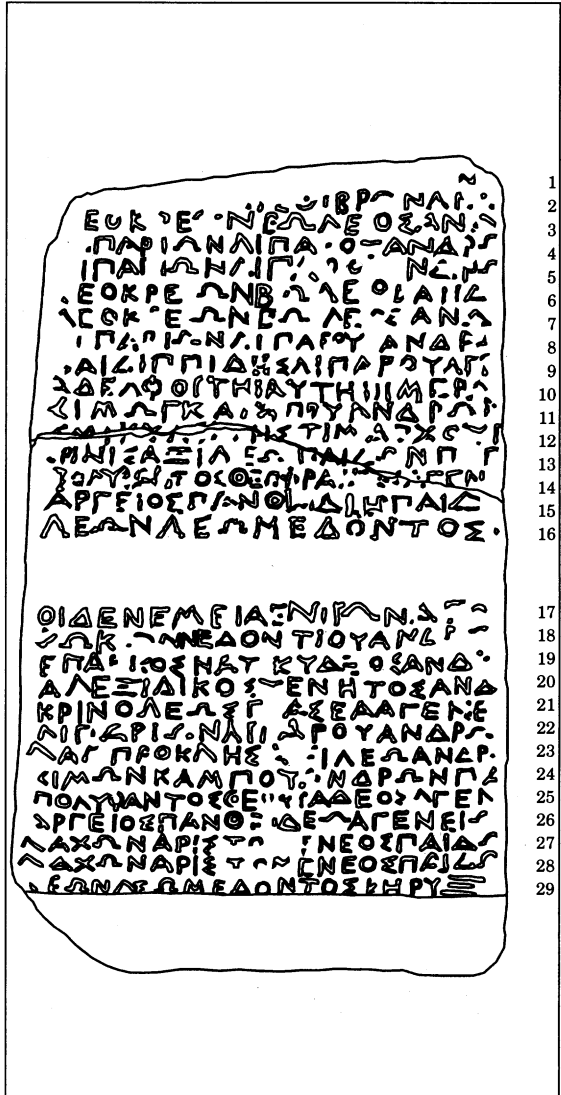
⁵ M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca I* (Rome 1967) 465-6; L. Robert, *Collection Froehner I* (Paris 1936) nos. 10a, 10j and 10s; S. Dow, 'Dikasts' Bronze Pinakia', *BCH 87* (1963) 653-87.

⁶ See G. Daux, 'La Grande Démarchie', *BCH 87* (1963) 603-34: 2nd quarter of the fourth century (Attica).

⁷ Christian Dunant et Jean Thomopoulos, 'Inscriptions de Céos', *BCH 78* (1954) 316-48, *IG XII*, 5, 594.

2. TEXT AND NOTES

	1
Ιης Θίβρων<ος> άνδρῶν ...	2
Λ]εοκρέων Βώλεος άνδρῶν ...	3
Λ]ιπαριών Λιπάρου άνδρῶν ...	4
Λ]ιπαριών Λιπάρου άνδρῶν ...	5
Λεοκρέων Βώλεος άνδρῶν ...	6
Λεοκρέων Βώλεος άνδρῶν ...	7
Λ]ιπαριών Λιπάρου άνδρῶν ...	8
Φαιδιπίδης Λιπάρου άγενείων ...	9
άδελφοί τῆι αὐτῆι ἡμέραι	10
Κίμων Κάμπου άνδρῶν[...	11
Σικυλίνης Τιμάρχου παιδῶν ...	12
Κρίνις Ἀξιλέω παιδῶν π[α]γκράτιον	13
Πολύφαντος Θεοφράδεος άγενείων ...	14
Ἄργειος Πανθείδεω παιδῶν ...	15
Λέων Λεωμέδοντος κήρυξ	16
[three blank lines]	
οἶδε Νέμεια ἐνίκων ἀπο[...	17
Φωκ[ί]ων Νεδοντίου άνδρῶν ...	18
Ἐπαρκος Ναυκύδεος άνδρῶν ...	19
Ἄλεξιδικος Μένητος άνδρῶν ...	20
Κρινολέως Π[ρ]ασέα άγενείων ...	21
Λιπαριών Λιπάρου άνδρῶν ...	22
Λαμπροκλῆς Ἀξιλέω άνδρῶν ...	23
Κίμων Κάμπου άνδρῶν πα[...	24
Πολύφαντος Θεοφράδεος άγενείων ...	25
Ἄργειος Πανθείδεω άγενείων ...	26
Λάχων Ἀριστομένεος παιδῶν ...	27
Λάχων Ἀριστομένεος παιδῶν ...	28
Λέων Λεωμέδοντος κήρυξ	29
[no blank lines]	



The inscription was first edited by Pridik in 1892. His preliminary text was gradually improved by Hiller von Gaertringen (1903), Körte (1918), Dittenberger (1920) and Severyns (1933).⁸ The following notes on individual lines provide interpretations intended for later discussion; they also introduce new readings.

3] The first letter of Λεοκρέων was originally read as Λ by Halbherr and Hiller then as N by Bechtel. In Philostratos *περὶ γυμναστικῆς* 13 is mentioned a Kean athlete of a similar name who won in the inaugural boy's boxing event at Olympia in 540 (Ol. 60). However, there is a tear in the only reliable manuscript, so that the first three letters of his name are missing. The

⁸ A. Pridik, *De Cei Insulae Rebus* (Berlin 1892) 160-1, no. 39, cf. 135. Hiller v. Gaertringen in *IG XII*, 5, 608. A. Körte, 'Bacchylidea', *Hermes* 53 (1918) 116, 118. Severyns, *Bacchylide* (Liège 1933) 98-112.

rest of his name was κρέων, which Kayser changed inexplicably to Κρίων.⁹ Jüthner in his edition of the *περὶ γυμναστικῆς*, however, restored his full name: Λεο]κρέων, apparently because this name appeared in Pridik's version of the Iulis victory list.¹⁰ Bechtel, however, argued that the real name in both cases was probably Νεοκρέων, on the grounds that (a) the similar name Νεοκροντίδης is found on Delos, and if the first letter was λ the name ought to have begun with Λειο– and (b) the remains of the first letter might equally have been Ν.¹¹ This suggestion was adopted by Wilamowitz, Dittenberger, then Severyns who called it 'undoubtedly correct', and subsequently the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I*.¹² However, no one seems to have noticed Jüthner's note on this word in *Sitzungsberichte Wien* (1902), where he says that the real reason why he wrote Λεο]κρέων was because the upstroke of the initial lambda is visible in the manuscript of Philostratos.¹³ As for Bechtel's concern that the name ought to begin with Λειο–, there are plenty of examples of Λεο– compound names in the Aegean islands, perhaps the best example of which is Λεοκλείδης, a Kean of the fourth century.¹⁴ The right vertical of the Ν is not visible where it would be expected; the incised diagonal of the Λ appears to have caused the stone to break at just that point.

7] Traces of what might be Λ or Ν at the start of this line. A flaw in the stone runs up where the right-hand edge of the Ν would be. At the top of this flaw is a hole, suggestive of the end of a vertical stroke. Whether this is just a fortuitous hole (and they are frequent along such flaws) or part of a Ν is uncertain. However, on line 6 there is no trace of a vertical where it would be expected, and together with the data on line 3 this suggests that the true reading is Λ.

11] i.e. probably Kimon the pankratiast. See below §6.

12] No one has noticed the first half of the Π at the end of line 12. It is particularly clear in the photograph in Severyns' book (PLATE 1b), although Severyns himself did not notice it. This is crucial, because it leads to the certain restoration of the age-class π[αίδων.

13] Krinis' brother Lamprokles (23) was also probably a pankratiast. See below §6.

17] ἀπό has always been understood as a reference to a point of time from which the victories started, but there is nothing to prevent it having a partitive sense, with the genitive: 'from[the clan of the ...]'. See below §7.

18] Λωκίων was read by Hiller and Λάκων by Bechtel. The former is unattested and the latter is excluded by the remains. A careful look at the inscription confirms that the initial letter is most probably a Φ, and Φωκίων was a common Ionian name.

24] The discipline here can only have been πάλην or πα[γκράτιον. The latter is far more likely. See below §6.

⁹ C.L. Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati Opera* (Leipzig 1871) Vol II, 268: οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς λέγουσι Κρίων ἐκ Κέω τῆς νήσου cf. XXXII: 'νενίκηκε καὶ φαίην, quae verba in C post λέγουσι inveniri dicuntur, delevi et Κρέων in Κρίων mutavi'.

¹⁰ J. Jüthner, *Philostratos über Gymnastik* (Leipzig 1909) 218.

¹¹ F. Bechtel, *GDI* III, 2, 573-4 (No. 5407).

¹² Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 913) 145, n.1; Severyns 110; Dittenberger *SIG*³ 213-4; *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I* (Oxford 1987) s.v. Νεοκρέων.

¹³ 'Der Gymnastikos des Philostratos', *Sitzungsberichte Wien* 145 (1902) 28: 'Der Anstrich des λ ist an passender Stelle erhalten'.

¹⁴ *Fouilles de Delphes* III (5) 6B, 19 (49); see also *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I* s.v. Λεο–compounds *passim*.

3. HERALD VICTORIES

Little can be said about the herald contest at Greek festivals. The primary literary sources consist of a passage in Pollux, and Georgios Synkellos, thought to be based on the list of Julius Africanus,¹⁵ under Olympiad 96: ‘The contest of trumpeter was added and the winner was Timaios of Elis. Also the herald contest was added and the winner was Krates of Elis’.¹⁶ This can easily be squared with the much later testimony of Pollux 4.91:

πρότερον δ' Ὀλυμπιάσι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κηρυττόντων, οἱ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις
ὑποδιηκονοῦντο, πρῶτος τῶν ξένων ἠγωνίσαστο τὰ Ὀλύμπια Ἀρχίας Ὑβλαῖος.
καὶ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἐφεξῆς ἐνίκᾳ. καὶ Πυθοῖ δὲ ἐνίκᾳ. καὶ εἰκῶν τις ἦν αὐτῶι
Πυθικῆι. καὶ ἐπίγραμμα,
Ὑβλαῖω κήρυκι τόδ' Ἀρχίαι Εὐκλέος υἱῶι
δέξαι ἀγαλμ' εὐφρων Φοῖβ' ἐπ' ἀπημοσύνηι
δς τρεῖς ἐκάρυξε τὸν Ὀλυμπίας αὐτὸς ἀγῶνα,
οὐθ' ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων, οὐτ' ἀναδείγματ' ἔχων.

The earliest datable reference to a victor in the herald contest I have found on inscriptions can be dated reliably to 374/3.¹⁷ The testimony of Julius Africanus (preserved in Georgios Synkellos) should also be accepted, and extended to cover the other major contests, for two reasons. First, there is no evidence that the herald contest was included in any of the major games before 396;¹⁸ secondly, it is likely that its institution at Olympia led to its adoption at the other festivals, rather than the other way around. If this is correct, then the Iulis inscription cannot be dated before 396. The fact that the name of Leon was subsequently added strongly indicates that he was the first Kean herald victor at the Isthmian and Nemean festivals, and probably corresponds to the recent addition of that contest there. The early Attic inscription mentioned above was for a local festival, which had a herald contest in 374/3. It follows therefore that the Nemean and Isthmian festivals probably already had the same contest by this time, and that the only other variable is the amount of time required for a Kean to win at both of those festivals.

4. DATING

The Iulis victory list cannot be dated precisely; however, there are a number of indications that narrow down the possibilities:

(a) The lettering indicates a date of the late fourth century at the earliest. In general the reduction in the size of round letters, such as omicron and omega, is a known Hellenistic feature.¹⁹ Other observations made by Guarducci on the shapes of individual letters point to a date of the late fourth or early third century, but not the early fourth and certainly not the

¹⁵ A.A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg 1979), 139 ff. The identification of Julius Africanus with the author of the Olympic list is commonly accepted, based on the fact that the Olympic list ceases in the time of Africanus—the 249th Olympiad. Eusebius excerpted from Porphyry, who probably got the list from Africanus. Mosshammer argues, however, that the real source was Phlegon (*FGrH* 257 F12). This makes little difference to the argument here, as these are all third-century sources.

¹⁶ Προσετέθη σαλπικτῆς καὶ ἐνικᾳ Τίμαιος Ἡλείος. Προσετέθη καὶ κήρυξ καὶ ἐνικᾳ Κράτης Ἡλείος.

¹⁷ IG II² 1635b.28.

¹⁸ N.B. Crowther, ‘The role of heralds and trumpeters at Greek athletic festivals’, *Nikephoros* 7 (1994) 136-8.

¹⁹ Guarducci I 370.

fifth. The only dispute on this point is the misreporting of Halbherr's dating as early fourth century by Jebb.²⁰ As recorded in Pridik his original dating had been no more precise than 'fourth century', and that he later firmed up this opinion to 'late fourth century' is shown by his letter to Festa.²¹ The same date is given by Dittenberger and all the experts I have consulted.²²

(b) Two other inscriptions from Iulis appear to have been by the same mason: the two sympoliteia agreements with Histiaea and Eretria.²³ The technique of outlining the letter-shape with points driven into the stone is quite distinctive, and the similarity in date, location and letter-style likewise all point in this direction. The Histiaia agreement has been dated anywhere between early fourth to mid-third century by historians.²⁴ The pointing technique itself is apparently adopted from the engraving of bronze dikasts' pinakia (see above §2). Their use was confined at Athens almost exclusively to the period 375-338, after which time they were made of wood (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 63.4). On Thasos, however, bronze pinakia continued in use into the third century.²⁵ Given the proximity of Keos to Attica it is tempting to date the use of this technique on Keos to the same period as at Athens.

(c) The sympolitea agreement with Histiaia uses the archaic ο for ου. On Attic inscriptions this practice was gradually phased out between about 375 and 350.²⁶ Bosanquet suggests that trends in Attic inscriptions are likely to have been adopted later in the islands,²⁷ but this remains unproven. Examination of the few Kean inscriptions in this period shows no consistent pattern, probably due to the variety of different secretaries or masons responsible. There are, however, other archaic features, which may also be used as guidelines for date, such as ε for ει and ε for η. The following table summarizes the meagre evidence:

Poïessa	<i>SEG</i> 14, 547	5 th century	ου throughout but ε for η and ο for ω
Poïessa	<i>IG</i> XII, V, 548	late 5 th to 4 th centuries	ου throughout but ε for ει and ε for η
Karthaia	<i>IG</i> XII, V, 542	4 th century	ου throughout but ε for ει
Iulis	<i>IG</i> XII, V, 594	4 th century	ου throughout
Iulis	<i>IG</i> XII, V, 615	4 th century	ε for ει and ο for ου
Iulis	<i>SEG</i> 14, 531	4 th century	one case of ο for ου

Since the Iulis victory list contains none of these features, although one of the three by the same mason does, it stands to reason that they all belong to a period of transition, which is probably a little later than the corresponding period in Athens (375-350); also that the Iulis victory list

²⁰ Jebb 188.

²¹ N. Festa, *Le odi di Bacchilide* (Firenze 1898) 155-6.

²² Dittenberger *SIG*³ 1057: 'Litteratura et orthographia q.v. saeculi IV, neque ineuntis; nota ου in genetivis scriptum. Homines igitur, qui ante medium saeculum quintum vicerant ..., Aristotelis fere aetate .. lapidi inscripti sunt'. Halbherr, in Festa, *op. cit.* 155-6 and Pridik 158, Bosanquet in Jebb 187 n.3. J.M. Reynolds (priv. comm.): 'I see no problem with dating it as fourth century, but much rather late than early fourth'.

²³ *IG* XII,V,594; Dunant et Thomopoulos, No. 1=*SEG* 14 (1957) 531.

²⁴ Dunant and Thomopoulos, 393-77, 321; Brun, c. 364, 124; Cargill 136, n.14.

²⁵ Dow 679.

²⁶ As can be surmised from Tod *passim*.

²⁷ Jebb 188.

probably belongs at the end of this period because of the complete absence of any such archaic features. The catalogue of prizes for the Panathenaia²⁸ dated 400-350 has ο for ου. In fact such archaisms would be expected if the inscription really was that old.

Taking all these points together the most likely range of date would seem to be 350-330.

5. PARALLELS

Victory inscriptions, that is inscriptions containing lists of victories as opposed to those merely related to athletic contests,²⁹ were extremely common in antiquity and fall into two main groups:

1. Historical victory inscriptions, consisting of an exhaustive record of victories for a particular athletic festival.

2. Honorific victory inscriptions, celebrating the victories of a particular individual or sometimes small groups of related individuals at various athletic festivals.

This is to some extent my own distinction; Moretti's book confines itself to victory lists of the second type and Maehler draws a similar distinction between 'official victory lists' and 'honorific inscriptions for individual victors'.³⁰ It is a useful classification, because there are very few victory lists that cannot immediately be placed in one category or the other. The only two exceptions I have found are the Iulis victory list itself, and the inscription found on Mount Lykabettos in Athens, which records in chronological order the inaugural victors in each athletic event at Olympia.³¹

The term 'honorific' needs a little explanation. Some victory inscriptions, intended as a mark of honour, also have the character of a dedication and contain the word ἀνέθηκε or a similar term. Indeed, the accompanying statue, or whatever it may be, can be doing a double service by honouring the person portrayed and serving as a dedication to the god.³² Victory lists of type 1 were intended to provide a public record; type 2 victory lists, on the other hand, are mostly privately funded, but not all; their defining characteristic appears to be that of honouring the victor or victors.

In order to investigate whether the Iulis victory list belongs primarily to one category or the other it is of course necessary to see which characteristics distinguish each of these major types.

Historical Victory Lists

It is an invariable rule of historical victory lists that they were always set up, usually within a sacred precinct, at the site of the festival whose victories they recorded. This is hardly surprising, and it is difficult to see any other reason for their erection. Indeed, such recording of victories, whether temporary or permanent, appears to have been the norm even at minor local festivals. In the Kean port of Koresia in the third century, for example, during an unknown local festival an inscription recorded a public decision that:³³

ἀναγράφειν δὲ εἰς λεύκωμα ἐξῆς τοῦς ἀεὶ νικῶντας τὸν γραμ(μ)ατέα. ἂν δὲ
δόξει ὁ νόμος, ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην καὶ στήσαι εἰς τὸ τέμενος.

²⁸ IG II² 2311.

²⁹ i.e. lists of prizes, accounts of the agonothetai, decrees in honour of athletes, documents on the institution of contests etc. See Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Roma 1953) x-xi.

³⁰ Maehler, *Kommentar* 126.

³¹ SIG³ 1056 = IG II² 2326.

³² A.G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (Cambridge 1967) 42-3.

³³ IG XII, 5, 647, 40-2.

Likewise at Delphi the list of Pythian victors inscribed on stone went back to 590. Destroyed in an earthquake in 335 it was restored thanks to an earlier copy made by Aristotle, his Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῆ. This fact is recorded in an inscription of 335 at Delphi:³⁴

[ἐπεὶ Ἄριστοτέλης Νικομάχου Σταγρίτης καὶ Καλλισθένης Δαμοτίμου
 Ὀλύμπιος συνέ[ταξαν πίνακα] τῶν ἀ[πὸ Γυλίδαι νε]νικηκ[ότων] τὰ [Πύθια]
 καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν ἀγῶνα κατασκευασάντων, ἐπαινέ[σαι] Ἄριστοτέλην
 καὶ [Καλλισθένην καὶ [στ]εφανῶσαι· ἀνα[θεῖν]αι δὲ τὸν π[ίνακα] τοῦ
 ταμί[ας] ἐν τῷ [ιε]ρω[ί] με[ταγεγραμμέ]νο[ν] εἰς στήλας ...

A similar list existed at Olympia, copied by Hippias of Elis, although little remains of it now, apart from a fragment of a papyrus copy from the third century AD.³⁵ That the Alexandrians probably had copies of these two lists, but not of the Nemean and Isthmian games, may be surmised from the fact that the Pindaric scholia only give precise dates for the Olympian and Pythian odes. The Isthmian list, however, must also have once existed because in Ode 2 Bakchylides says that in his day Keans had won seventy times since the foundation of the games.³⁶ This number Bakchylides could have deduced from the local record of victors at Korinth, which if it was like the Olympic list, would have recorded the homeland of the victors.

However, in order to get some idea of what such lists actually looked like, it is necessary to turn to the records of less well known festivals. The best preserved and most relevant are those for the great Panathenaia held every four years at Athens,³⁷ the festival usually ranked next in honour after the Nemean games. The contest is written on a separate line in the centre, preceded by the age class, and followed by the name of the victor and his homeland on the following line. For example, part of the entry for 194/3 (no. 2311) reads:³⁸

παίδας δόλιχον
 [Ἄλκαῖος Λευκίππου Ἄλικαρνασσεύς
 στάδιον
 [Ἀλκέμαχος Χάροπος Ἡπειρώτης
 δίαιλον
 [Ἀλκ[α]ῖος Λευκίππου Ἄλικαρνασ[σεύς]
 etc.

Inscriptions 2314 and 2315 from the same volume share an identical format. However, 2316 from 166/5 dispenses with the new lines altogether, although in other respects it is the same. This seems to have been a cost-cutting measure, because the original form is restored only a few years later (162/1) in n. 2317. That this format was precisely copied for many centuries throughout the Greek world is clear from the wealth of other examples, such as the victory list for the Erotideia near Thespieae of the third century, the Museia at Thebes from the first century

³⁴ *Fouilles de Delphes* III, 1 (Epigraphie, Paris 1929) no. 40; cf. Aelian *VH* XIV, 1, Hesychios *s.v.* Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῆ.

³⁵ *P. Oxy.* II 222; *FGrH* 6, fr. 2 (Plut. *Numa* 1).

³⁶ Theseus was supposed to have founded the Isthmian games in 1258/7 BC (*MP* 20). Historians claim that the Isthmian festival was in fact founded perhaps at the start of the seventh century BC, but only as a local games. The Kypselids founded the panhellenic version in 581 (RE 9.2.2248).

³⁷ IG II² 2311-2317.

³⁸ Lines 21 ff. of IG II² 2311.

and many others.³⁹ It was probably the very form of the lost lists at Olympia and Delphi.

In spite of some superficial resemblance, the features of historical victory inscriptions do not correspond well with those of the Iulis victory list. It contains victors at the major Greek festivals, but was erected on Keos, not at Nemea or Korinth. The victors' names come last not first. Finally, historical victory lists were normally inscribed shortly after the victories they recorded, not, as in this case, one hundred years later. The Iulis victory list has always been assumed to belong implicitly to this group,⁴⁰ and this is the basis for assuming it is chronologically ordered, yet neither assumption is correct.

Honorific Victory Lists

Honorific victory lists, on the other hand, are not only far more common, but closely resemble the Iulis victory list. Each of these points of similarity or characteristic features are discussed in the numbered paragraphs below.

1. In the first place it was normally the case that at the time of their inscribing the victories they recorded were already old. A good example is afforded by the list of victories of the Thasian Theogenes, copies of which were found at Delphi and Olympia.⁴¹ Theogenes won his victories between c. 490-470 but the inscription belongs to the early fourth century. A similar case noted by Amandry is the inscription of Doreios of Rhodes. This dates to c. 370, but the victories to c. 440-420. This was, naturally enough, the normal state of affairs for honorific victory inscriptions. The date of the Iulis inscription must be about 350-330 but Lachon's victories at least belong to the late 450s.

2. The formula 'brothers who won on the same day' (10) or variations thereof, such as 'at the same Isthmiad', are common in honorific victory lists but are never found on historical ones.⁴²

3. The particular order of words in each entry of the Iulis inscription: name, age-class, contest is what would be expected for an honorific victory inscription, although usually the name is omitted, as in the inscription of Damatrios of Tegea from the late third century: Νέμεα ἀγενεῖους πάλαν.⁴³ This order of words is practically invariable; however, where elements of the formula are self-evident they are usually omitted.

4. The ordering of victories is not fixed, but was only occasionally chronological. The most common scheme is decreasing order of importance: first by festival, then by contest, as in the Theogenes inscription:⁴⁴

Θευγένης Τιμοξένου Θάσιος ἐνίκησεν τάδε·

Ἰσθμια πύξ	Ἰσθμοὶ πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ
Ἰσθμια πανκράτιον.	Ἰσθμοὶ πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ	Ἐκατόμβοια δόλιχον ἐν

³⁹ Erotideia: British Museum II, 28, CLXII (c. 240); Musaia: *IG* VII, 1760 (early first century); *SIG*³ 667 = *IG* II² 956 (Athens, Theseia, 160); *SIG*³ 1061 (Samos 2nd cent.); *SIG*³ 1063 (Ambryssi in Phocis, c. 212 AD); *SIG*³ 1079 (Magnesia II/I); *IG* II² 958-965 (Athens, Theseia, second century); *IG* IX, 2: 525, 526, 527, 528, 529 (Larisa, Eleutheria, second century) cf. 531. Taurotheria *IG* IX, 2, 531-34 (second-first century); *IG* X, 2, 1, 38 at Kallithea, 'Pythian games' (third century AD); XII, 9, 952 (Chalcis, late second century); *IG* II² 956-64 Theseia (second century); *IG* VII, 414 The Great Apmhiaraia at Oropus (fourth century); Charitesia at Orchomenos *IG* VII, 3195 (first century).

⁴⁰ E.g. Maehler, *Kommentar* 126: 'Für die Siegerliste von Keos gibt es m. W. keine direkte Parallele; jedenfalls ist sie auch ein offizielles Verzeichnis ...'.

⁴¹ Amandry, 'Sur les Concours Argiens', *BCH* Suppl. VI, 220.

⁴² Moretti No. 21; *SIG*³ 1065: παῖδας Ἰσθμικοῦ στάδιον καὶ πένταθλον τῆ αὐτῆ ἀμέραι; *SIG*³ 1066 παῖδας Ἰσθμικοῦ στάδιον, διαυλον, πένταθλον τῆ αὐτῆ ἀμέραι. Moretti 16: πρᾶτ[ος] παῖδον δόλιχον λιθ]ήλια καὶ κέλεξ μιάς ἀμέρας ἡμᾶ ἐν[ί]κ[ον].

⁴³ Moretti Nos. 44, 47.

⁴⁴ Moretti No. 21=*SIG*³ 36.

Πυθοί πύξ	Ἴσθμοί πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ	Ἄργει
Πυθοί πύξ	Ἴσθμοί πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ	
Πυθοί πύξ ἀκονιτί.	Ἴσθμοί πύξ και	Νέμεα πύξ	
Ἴσθμοί πύξ	παγκράτιον τη	Νέμεα πύξ	
Ἴσθμοί πύξ	αὐτῆ Ἴσθμιάδι.	Νέμεα πύξ	
Ἴσθμοί πύξ		Νέμεα πύξ	

The two anomalous victories: in line 6—‘at the Pythia boxing without being knocked down’ and in line 15—‘at the Isthmia in boxing and pankration on the same day’ are both left to the end of their respective festival sections, suggesting that the final level of ordering was logical rather than chronological. Ordering by contest is present in lines 1-2 and 14, where boxing precedes pankration.

The victory list of Nikagoras of Lindos (300-290) is similar:

Νικαγόρας Νίκωνος Ἰθναῖοι Λινδῖοι νικέων
 Ὀλύμπια συνωρίδι τελείαι, κέλητι τελείωι·
 [Πύθια] ἄρματι τελείωι·
 Ἴσθμια ἄρματι τελείωι, κέλητι τελείωι, συνωρίδι πωλικῶι·
 Νέμεα ἄρματι τελείωι, συνωρίδι τελείαι, κέλητι τελείωι·
 Παναθηναῖα ἄρματι πωλικῶι·
 Ἐκατόμβοια ἄρματι τελείωι·
 Πύθια ἐν Σικυῶνι ἄρματι πωλικῶι, συνωρίδι τελείαι, κέλητι·
 Λύκαια συνωρί<δι> τε[λείαι·]
 ἐποίησε

The ordering is strictly by decreasing order of importance. Each festival is assigned one line, followed by a list of victories at that venue, ordered in the same way, for example on line 4: ‘At the Isthmia with the racing chariot, the racehorse and the colt-drawn chariot’. Likewise the festivals start with Olympia in line 2, followed by the major festivals in order of foundation, and so on up to the least important festival, the Pythia at Sikyon. That the ordering of victories in honorific inscriptions is normally non-chronological is hardly surprising. If someone has a point to make publicly and has enough money to erect an inscription the obvious thing to do is to put the most prestigious victories first.

5. During the Hellenistic period, however, chronologically ordered honorific inscriptions do begin to appear, apparently because of the decreasing importance of the four major games and the proliferation of local athletic festivals. When all the victories carry the same prestige, this form of ordering becomes more attractive. One of the earliest examples of such a victory list is that of Damatrios of Tegea, from the end of the third century.⁴⁵ The order of words is similar to the Iulis victory list (lines 11-14):

Ἴσθμια ἀνδρας δόλιχον
 Ἀλῆα ἀνδρας δόλιχον
 Πύθια ἀνδρας δόλιχον
 Ὀλύμπια ἀνδρας δόλιχον

However, the relatively few examples of chronologically ordered honorific victory lists are mostly after the first century, although even then they are more than outweighed by counter-

⁴⁵ Moretti No. 44; IG V, 2, 142; *SGDI* 1232(a).

examples.⁴⁶

6. The only characteristic of honorific victory inscriptions that is not found in the Iulis victory list is the fact that such inscriptions are normally limited to the victories of a single person. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. There is the fifth century inscription to Damonon and Enimakratidas of Sparta, as well as that of Truphosa and her sisters from 42 AD.⁴⁷

7. The Iulis victory list would appear to be a public inscription, and although this is invariably the case with historical victory lists there are also examples of honorific lists being state funded,⁴⁸ as surely the Theogenes inscription must have been, as well as some cases described by Robert.⁴⁹

Both the Theogenes and Nikagoras examples are roughly contemporary with the Iulis inscription, and although they may appear superficially different there are some striking parallels, particularly with the Theogenes inscription. This was erected by the state of Thasos to honour a past athletic hero. It enumerates victories won at other festivals. The contest comes last. The phrase 'at the Isthmus boxing and pankration in the same Isthmiad' echoes the Iulis victory list's 'brothers on the same day'. It is ordered by festival and then by contest. The only real difference is that the Iulis victory list contains the names of more than one victor, and hence the name is added on each line.

The only logical conclusion to draw from this survey of parallels is that the Iulis victory list was in fact an honorific victory inscription, although of an unusual type.

6. ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATION

The examination of parallels above showed that the Iulis victory list is probably not chronologically ordered. That this is actually the case can be demonstrated decisively by an examination of the internal evidence.

First, although the contests have mostly been lost there is a definite progression in the age classes from the start to the end of both lists from men to youths to boys. That is a startling fluke if both lists are chronological. On the other hand, this is compatible with the normal order of victories on honorific victory inscriptions, where the entries are often arranged by decreasing order of importance. In general the mens' contests are more prestigious than youths' and boys' contests, but such an ordering need not be strict. A more prestigious youths contest, for instance, could outrank a lesser mens' contest. The need to mention special sets of victories together, as in lines 8-9, where two brothers won on the same day, would also tend to upset the basic ordering. The inscription is already ordered by decreasing order of importance with regard to the festivals: the Isthmian victories precede the Nemeans, and it is logical that the same ordering should also affect victories within each section, as in the Theogenes and Nikagoras examples.

The second reason is that the last entry in each list is for Leon the herald, who, if the list is chronological, must have won some time after Lachon. Since his victories are subsequently added on a fourth-century inscription, and since the herald contest was not instituted until the fourth century there is little doubt they are fourth-century victories. This leaves a gap between Lachon and Leon of about one hundred years. This gap is all the more remarkable when it becomes clear that the other victories in the Isthmian list must have been won over a period of only thirty years or so, if a chronological ordering is assumed. Because of interleaving of

⁴⁶ Early examples: IG V.2 142 (late third century); SIG³ 1064 (86-31 BC); IG IV, 428 (c. 340). Counter examples: SIG³ 1063, 1065, IG II. 3, 1319, IG II, 1, 129 etc.

⁴⁷ Moretti No. 16; SIG³ 802.

⁴⁸ As were, for example, the victory lists of the Theseia: Bugh 21.

⁴⁹ L. Robert, 'Sur des Inscriptions 'd'Éphèse', *RPh* 41 (1967) 14-32 = *Opera Minora Selecta* V, 354-72.

victories, lines 3-10 must span the contemporary athletic careers of Liparion and Leokreon. Similarly, Kimon (11) precedes Krinis son of Axileus (13) in the Isthmian list but follows Krinis' brother Lamprokles in the Nemean list. Smikylines' victory must also be at about the same time because it is sandwiched between those of Kimon and Krinis. These interconnections have already been noted by Severyns, who erroneously used them to date the Isthmian victories.⁵⁰ Likewise the entire Nemean list (except the victory of Leon) cannot span more than about eighty years, but the gap between Lachon and Leon is again around one hundred.

Finally, if as seems likely, the Leokreon mentioned in lines 3, 6 and 7 is the same Leokreon mentioned in Philostratos, then it is clear that the Iulis victory list cannot have been chronologically ordered. For in spite of his great success at the Isthmus, Leokreon is not mentioned in the Nemean list, and the obvious reason for this is that his victories were during a period when the Nemean games were either not yet established or not well-known. The Isthmian games were founded in 581; the Nemean games, however, were founded only in 537/6, or three years *after* Leokreon's victory at Olympia (540). Although his career would have spanned the early years of the Nemean games, a famous boxer like him may not have bothered to attend. Liparion, whose victories are intertwined with Leokreon's in the Isthmian list must (if the Isthmian list is chronological) have won his victories at about the same time, i.e. the 530s or latest the 520s. His name ought then to appear at the top of a chronologically ordered list of Nemean victors from Iulis, not more than a third of the way down.

If the victories are ordered by decreasing order of importance, on the other hand, many of the victories are probably not fifth century at all. If the chronological criterion comes in at all, then it is only as a third means of ordering sequences of victories within the same contest and age group. This is in fact suggested by the omission of Leokreon and the son of Thibron from the Nemean list.

In fact it is possible to go much further, and to restore most of the lines with a fair degree of confidence. It will be seen from the inscription that all of the victories are given age-classes except Leon's. This narrows down the possibilities for contests considerably, since in the sixth to fourth centuries there were probably only six contests that were age-classed at the Nemean and Isthmian games; the *stadion* (180 m.), the *diaulos* (360 m.), wrestling, boxing, pankration and pentathlon.⁵¹ Further criteria can be brought to bear by considering the sequence of victories. For example, the sequence Leokreon/Liparion/Liparion in lines 3-5 is followed by Leokreon/Leokreon/Liparion/Phaidippides in lines 6-9. If the inscription is not chronologically ordered there can only be one reason why Leokreon reappears in line 6: because the victories were ordered by contest and these two sequences belong to different disciplines. If that is so, then within each sequence of such victories the age-class probably acted as a secondary ordering. This reveals other sequences in lines 11-13, 14-15, 18-21, 22-24, 25-26 and 27-28. The Leokreon of the inscription must be the very Leokreon in Philostratos or one of his immediate descendants; either way, he was surely a boxer, and the contests belonging to 3-5 and 6-9 are thus probably boxing and pankration. But which is which? In the Theogenes inscription boxing precedes pankration, and the same appears to be the case here. Lines 11-13 are almost certainly pankration victories. Krinis' victory in line 13 was in the pankration and Kimon in line 11 wins another victory in line 24 that begins with the letters 'πα'. This can only be wrestling or pankration. Likewise Lamprokles, the brother of Krinis the pankratist, wins in

⁵⁰ Severyns 102.

⁵¹ The στάδιον, πάλη and πύξ contests were all age-classed at Olympia in the fifth century (*P.Oxy.* 222), so also probably at Nemea and the Isthmus; also we have the evidence of the Iulis victory list itself for the στάδιον. Boys' versions of πάλη, πένταθλον and παγκράτιον are attested in the fifth century in Pindar at either Nemea or the Isthmus but not both (N.7, 4.6, I.6.8).

line 23, just one line before Kimon's 'πα' victory. It would seem likely, then, that line 9 is an interruption in a sequence of pankration-victories that extends from lines 6-13. Thus the corresponding set of names in the Nemean list (22-24) also probably refer to pankration victories, and hence lines 3-5 and lines 18-21 must be boxing victories. The sequences 14-15 and 25-26, on the other hand, for Polyphantos and Argeios cannot be solved so precisely. In Bakchylides, Argeios was described as 'mighty of hand' (καρτε]ρόχειρ 1.141), 'bold of hand' (θρασύχειρος 2.4) and 'nimble or light footed' (ποσσί[ν τ' ἐλα]φρό[ς 1.145). This has always been taken as a description of a boxer, although it was never certain. If the above analysis is correct, however, Argeios' victories cannot have been in boxing or even pankration, so they must therefore have been in wrestling or pentathlon. Wrestling, long-jump and running were all part of the pentathlon, and 'nimble or light-footed' could conceivably be applied to all three. The problem with pentathlon is that it carried less status than the following stadion victories of Lachon. Wrestling, then, looks a more likely restoration.

Thus, a tentative reconstruction of the inscription along these lines would look as follows:

... son of Thibron in the mens' boxing	
Leokreon son of Boles in the mens' boxing	
Liparion son of Liparos in the mens' boxing	
Liparion son of Liparos in the mens' boxing	5
Leokreon son of Boles in the mens' pankration	
Leokreon son of Boles in the mens' pankration	
Liparion son of Liparos in the mens' pankration	
Phaidippides son of Liparos in the youths' pankration	
brothers who won on the same day	10
Kimon son of Kampos in the mens' pankration	
Smikylines son of Timarchos in the boys' pankration	
Krinis son of Axileos in the boys' pankration	
Polyphantos son of Theophrades in the youths' wrestling	
Argeios son of Pantheides in the boys' wrestling	15
Leon son of Leomedon in the herald contest	
These won at Nemea from the clan of the ...	
Phokion son of Nedontios in the mens' boxing	
Eparkos son of Naukudes in the mens' boxing	
Alexidikos son of Menes in the mens' boxing	20
Krinoleos son of Praseas in the youths' boxing	
Liparion son of Liparos in the mens' pankration	
Lamprokles son of Axileos in the mens' pankration	
Kimon son of Kampos in the mens' pankration	
Polyphantos son of Theophrades in the youths' wrestling	25
Argeios son of Pantheides in the youths' wrestling	
Lachon son of Aristomenes in the boys' stadion	
Lachon son of Aristomenes in the boys' stadion	
Leon son of Leomedon in the herald contest	

Jebb and Maehler have suggested that these two victories by Lachon were in related disciplines such as *stadion* and *diaulos* rather than successive victories in the *stadion* alone.⁵² This is very unlikely. It was normal in honorific victory lists that double or triple victories on the same day or at the same festival were entered on the same line followed by the words 'on the same day' or 'at the same Nemead' like the victories of Liparion and Phaidippides in lines 8-10. So even if the *stadion* and *diaulos* were held on different days at Nemea, one would expect this to be marked in some way. They must therefore have been won at successive Nemeads.

⁵² Maehler, *Kommentar* 126; Jebb 204.

7. THE OCCASION

Who erected the Iulis victory list and why? In the absence of the beginning of the inscription, which probably detailed the exact reason for its erection,⁵³ the answer to this second question can only be guessed. In answer to the first, however, much more can be said. Since it is an honorific victory list, one has only to consider upon whom did it confer honour. If Keans had won seventy victories at the Isthmian games by the time of Argeios, as Bakchylides says (2.9), then at this rate they would have accumulated around 120 victories by 330. The fifteen or so victories in the Isthmian section, then, cannot represent the entire athletic achievement of Keos, or even of Iulis over this two hundred year period, and it therefore honours a much smaller group than a *polis*, something like a clan or a deme. Subdivisions of the *polis* testified on Keos are τρίττυς, φυλή, χῶρος, οἶκος and θίασος. χῶρος was apparently the Kean word for deme and οἶκος for phratry.⁵⁴ The possibility that it was a θίασος can be discounted almost at once—a religious guild was unlikely to have erected a monument to sportsmen. Also, τρίττυς was such an artificial political division that it is hard to see how it could have been responsible for this or any such monument. The case against φυλή is less clear-cut, but it was probably too large a division to have served the purpose. The number of φυλαί on Keos is unattested, but four was the usual number for Ionian states.⁵⁵ During the fourth century Keos changed from having separate governments for its four cities to a federal government at Iulis and then back again.⁵⁶ Such changes would have greatly disrupted the organisation and size of φυλαί. The only groupings, then, likely to have been stable enough between 540 and 330—deme and phratry—are also the only ones left in consideration.

The key to solving this question lies in another Iulian inscription, *IG XII*, 5, 609. Like the Iulis victory list it is dated to the end of the fourth century, and it is also composed of lists of names, four of whose titles have survived: Λεῶνιδαι, Ὑλιχίδαι, Θυσσίδαι and Κορήσιοι. Most contain around 40-60 names, but the list of the Κορήσιοι numbers 154. The patronymic form of these titles, judging by the surviving Attic examples, would suit deme or phratry, and both Halbherr and Pridik identified them with the Kean οἶκοι, the only difference being that by οἶκος Halbherr understood γένος, and Pridik φρατρία. The Karthaian decree conferring citizenship, which Halbherr cites in support of his argument, εἶναι δὲ αὐ[τὸν] πολίτην τῆς πόλεως τῆς Καρ[θα]ν[ί]εων και τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ μετέχοντας πάντων ὧν οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται [κα]ὶ φυλῆς ἧς ἂν βούλωνται καὶ οἶκο[ν], surely implies that each citizen had to be enrolled in a phratry, not a γένος. But even if Pridik is right, that does not mean that the lists in *IG XII*, 5, 609 were necessarily catalogues of οἶκοι. One has only to consider another inscription from Iulis, the gravestone of Διονύσιος Διονυσίου Ὑλιχίδης. ‘*Sed de pago hic cogitari non potest*’, writes Pridik, as if worried by this evidence, ‘*maxime vero cavendum est, ne Attica instituta in ceteras civitates conferamus*’ (64). Although his parallels from Teos indeed show that this appellative could refer to a phratry, he provides no proof that here it does *not* refer to a deme. And if Ὑλιχίδης means phratry, what is to be made of the Κορήσιοι?

⁵³ Pridik, 58; A.G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (Cambridge 1967) 40.

⁵⁴ Pridik 59-65. F. Halbherr, ‘Sopra un catalogo inedito di Keos’, *MDAI(A)* IX (1884) 320-22.

⁵⁵ Pridik 58. C. Roebuck, ‘Tribal organization in Ionia’, *TAPhA* 92 (1961) 497 f.

⁵⁶ D.M. Lewis, ‘The federal constitution of Keos’, *ABSA* 57 (1962) 1-4; H. Swoboda, ‘Zwei Kapitel aus dem griechischen Bundesrecht’, *SB Wien* 199.2 (1924) 38-52; J. Cargill, *The Second Athenian League*, (Univ. of California Press 1981) 134-40, etc.

Ruschenbusch is right at least in this, that the Κορήσιοι were most likely citizens of Koressia, and that is why their list is the longest, because Koressia as a whole formed one deme.⁵⁷ The other three names, then, probably denote demes of Iulis. The connection between the two main inscriptions here is the fact that Μένης and Κρινόλεως of the Iulis victory list (20, 21) reappear in one of the unnamed lists of XII, 5, 609, as Μένης (52) and Κριτόλεως (71). The variation in spelling is insignificant, given the close relationship between the stems κριτ- and κριν-, but a further indication of the eclectic nature of the Iulis victory list is seen in the first name under the Hylichidai: Λεοπρέπης. This is the name of Simonides' father, and the connection of the Hylichidai with Bakchylides' family is confirmed by fragment 77 of Kallimachos, where he calls Simonides ὁ Κεῖος Ἰλλίχου νέπους, 'descendant of Hyllichos', whoever he was. This may explain why Bakchylides the athlete, the grandfather of Bakchylides the poet, does not appear in the Iulis victory list, because he simply belonged to a different deme or phratry.

It seems reasonable to suppose, then, that the Iulis victory list was erected by a deme or phratry of Iulis to honour its athletes past and present, in much the same way as the θίασος of Σαραπίσταί erected in third-century Iulis an inscription (*IG* XII 5, 606) to honour their benefactor.

8. REPERCUSSIONS

The detailed discussion above demonstrates beyond reasonable doubt that Bakchylides' two epinicia to Argeios cannot be dated to the 450s as has been generally supposed, and consequently they may have been written at any point in Bakchylides' lifetime. This conclusion may seem tame, but it tips the balance in a delicate position which argued that Bakchylides must have died shortly after 452. Maehler, for example, based on Körte's earlier article, writes:⁵⁸

Das letzte sicher datierte Epinikion des Bakchylides ist 6, das Lied auf den Sieg des Knaben Lachon im Stadionlauf der 82. Olympiade (= 452 v. Chr.). Daß derselbe Lachon bald danach, ebenfalls noch in der Altersklasse der Knaben, zweimal in Nemea gesiegt hat, es auf diese Siege aber offenbar keine Siegeslieder des B. gegeben hat, ist zu vermuten, daß der Dichter bald nach 452 gestorben ist. Den selben Schluß legt die Tatsache nahe, daß die Epinikien 1 und 2 den Isthmiansieg des Knaben Argeios feiern, der wahrscheinlich 454 oder 452 anzusetzen ist, daß aber auf seinen wenige Jahre später errungenen Nemeensieg ebenfalls kein Epinikion des B. existiert ... Wenn Eusebios unter Ol. 82, 2 (= 451 v. Chr.) Bakchylides noch einmal erwähnt, liegt dem vermutlich das Todesdatum des Dichters zugrunde.

The main point here is that the victories of Argeios immediately precede those of Lachon—courtesy of the Iulis victory list—and hence these two sets of epinicia (1 & 2 and 6 & 7) all dated to the same time reinforce the position that Bakchylides died at this time. For this to work Maehler had to argue that both of the Nemean victories of Lachon as a boy mentioned in the Iulis victory list occurred *after* his Olympic victory of 452, for otherwise they would be referred to in Odes 6 and 7. This is very difficult. The age-class of boys was lower at Nemea than at Olympia because it had a youths' category. Jebb's estimate was that the class of boys at Nemea and the Isthmus was from 14-16, that of youths 17-19 and men 20+.⁵⁹ At Olympia the boys' category was 14-17, and men 18+. Following this scheme, the oldest Lachon could have been when he won at Olympia in 452 was 14 in order to win at two successive Nemeads:

⁵⁷ E. Ruschenbusch, 'Eine Bürgerliste von Iulis und Koresia auf Keos', *ZPE* 48 (1982) 175-88.

⁵⁸ Maehler, *Text* 7.

⁵⁹ Jebb 187, 214.

Oi. 82.1	Olympiad 82	August 452	(14)
Oi. 82.2	Nemead 44	July 451	(14)
Oi. 82.4	Nemead 45	July 449	(16)

Of course such a sequence of events is still extremely unlikely, because Lachon would have had to win against seventeen year-olds at Olympia, but to mollify this difficulty he suggested that Lachon's two victories at Nemea were at the same Nemead. This, however, cannot have been the case, as was demonstrated above in §6. The main reason why he argued that the Nemean victories of Lachon occurred after his Olympic victory is that no mention is made of them in Odes 6 or 7. But 6 was only an impromptu song of sixteen short lines, and of the formal Ode 7 for the same victory almost nothing survives. The non-existence of epinicia for Lachon's Nemean victories likewise carries little weight. As Meleger of Gadara said, even in his time (*c.* 70), all that remained of Bakchylides were *λείψονα* or 'remnants', not his complete works, if indeed he wrote epinicia for these victories at all.⁶⁰ It is very clear that Maehler's position is very weak and is only rendered tenable by the inclusion of similar arguments for Argeios, *provided that his victories immediately precede those of Lachon and the list is chronological*. Now that the dates of Argeios' victories have been freed of this restriction it is clear that this tenuous hypothesis collapses. The simpler solution is that Lachon's two Nemean victories as a boy predated his Olympic victory, which, given the lower age limit at Nemea, is far more likely. This is the interpretation adopted by the majority of scholars.⁶¹

The real reason why Maehler argued as he did was a desire to rationalise the data concerning the lifespan of Bakchylides. Strabo and Syrian say he was the nephew of Simonides, who was born in 556.⁶² If Simonides had a sister who was, say, ten years younger, she may have given birth to Bakchylides at latest in about 508, when she would have been 38. He cannot have been born much before this because the Pindar biographies say Bakchylides was younger and Pindar was born *c.* 518. The earliest poem of Bakchylides is Ode 13, dated usually to 485, when he would have been by this reckoning only 23. This ode, Körte notes, seems too much the work of an experienced epinician poet to be by such a young man.⁶³ Ode 5, for Hieron's victory with Pherenikos at Olympia, is dated to 476, when Bakchylides would have been 32. His acme is assigned by Eusebios to 468, the date of his epinician for Hieron's Olympic chariot victory (Ode 3), and the acme usually coincides with the age of 40. The second reference in Eusebios, for 451, or one year after Ode 6, must likewise be based on that poem. So far so good. Eusebios then gives a third entry under 431, when 'Bakchylides the writer of poems was known'. At this time he would have been about 77. This seems perfectly plausible—after all, his uncle Simonides was still active at 79,⁶⁴ and Sophokles must have been in his late 80s when he composed *Oidipus at Kolonos*. However, a third entry is almost universally rejected by editors. Even Jebb voiced reservations, although he did accept it, because he saw that, like the other two entries, it must have been based on some real piece of evidence from antiquity.

This rejection is based on a conjecture by Fatouros, who argued that this third entry for Bakchylides in Eusebios' *Chronicle* was corrupt. His conjecture, accepted by Maehler, occupies a mere two pages, yet it is directed against a manuscript tradition of considerable complexity. In order to prove Fatouros wrong it is necessary to look briefly at the textual tradition of Eusebios.

⁶⁰ AP 4.1.33.

⁶¹ E.g. Severyns 103, Jebb 204-5.

⁶² IG XII, 5, 444, 468/7: Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητῆς ἐτελεύτησεν βιοῦς ἑτη ἐνενήκοντα. Maehler *Text* 6; Str. 10.5.6.486; Syr. 1.47.

⁶³ Körte 143.

⁶⁴ IG XII, 5, 444 under 477/6.

His famous *Chronicle* has only survived in a number of translations of various levels of completeness: one in Greek (Giorgios Synkellos), one in Latin (Hieronymus/St Jerome—the most authoritative), and a nearly complete version in Armenian, which is itself a conflation of a Greek original and a lost Syriac version. In addition there are two Latin epitomes and a Syriac epitome.⁶⁵ In this murky context Fatouros proposed that Eusebios' entry in 431 (Ol. 87,2) was in fact a corrupt reference to Bakchylides the flute-player, rather than Bakchylides the poet.⁶⁶

Es ist nämlich sehr wahrscheinlich daß der an beiden Stellen erwähnte Bakchylides nicht der Dichter, sondern der Flötenspieler aus Opus ist. Über diesen erfahren wir aus einem Scholion zu Aristophanes' Wolken 331 das folgende: Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν δράματι Σοφισταῖς καὶ τὸν Ὀποῦντιον αὐλητὴν Βακχυλίδην εἰς τοῦνομα κατέταξε τῶν σοφιστῶν ... Wenn also Synkellos schreibt, daß Bakchylides während der 88. Olympiade bekannt wurde, so ist dieser Flötenspieler aus Opus gemeint, der erst in dieser Olympiade bekannt wurde, wahrscheinlich durch die Komödien Platons ... Vielleicht wurde er aber auch als μελικτῆς (Flötenspieler) bezeichnet und dieses dann zu μελικός (nämlich ποιητῆς) und dann zu μελοποιός verdorben.

What Fatouros is proposing here is first that Eusebios thought this obscure flute player from Opus worthy of mention in his *Chronicle*. Secondly, he covers up the fact that in the two passages he refers to, in Jerome and Synkellos, it is not simply 'Bakchylides' but 'Bakchylides the lyric poet' who is mentioned. Jerome's words are *Bacchylides carminum scriptor agnoscitur* and Synkellos writes Βακχυλίδης μελοποιός ἐγνωρίζετο (489,7). Consequently, Fatouros has to argue that the texts of both Synkellos and Jerome are corrupt. In the case of Jerome this is difficult to believe. There is hardly a work from antiquity that is better attested by ancient manuscripts than Jerome's version of Eusebios' *Chronicle*. The Oxford manuscript dates from the fifth century, in which Jerome himself lived, and was probably removed by only one copy from his original of 382. It duly contains the entry of Bakchylides the poet for 431/0.⁶⁷ Likewise Jerome's Greek exemplar was probably copied during Eusebios' own lifetime, perhaps, conjectured Mosshammer, from an archetype residing in his library at Caesarea. To propose corruption in the text of Jerome for the entry of Bakchylides in 431 is unlikely enough, but to argue that the same corruption also occurred in the text of Synkellos, and the Armenian, both of which derived independently from the original text of Eusebios⁶⁸ leaves only the possibility that Eusebios' text was corrupt from the start. Fatouros and Severyns both ignored the Armenian version, yet under the same year (Ol. 87,2–431/0) it reads quite clearly (in Schoene's Latin): *Bakchylides carminum auctor cognoscebatur*.⁶⁹ There is some dispute as to whether the Armenian text is derived from Eusebios' earlier edition of the chronicle, which predated 311, as Karst thought. Mosshammer argues that, like the version of Jerome, it was derived from Eusebios' later edition of his *Chronicle*, which went up to the twentieth year of Constantine, even though the Armenian, like that first edition, only extends as far as the sixteenth year of Diocletian.⁷⁰ Obviously, if Karst is right, and there was corruption of the entry of 431 already in the first edition of the *Chronicle*, this corruption must have been copied by Eusebios himself

⁶⁵ C. Siegfried and H. Gerber, *Eusebii Canonum Epitome ex Dionysii Telmaharensis Chronico Petita* (Leipzig 1884). *Excerpta Latina Barbara*: The Syriac can be found in A. Schoene, *Eusebii Chronicorum Libri Duo* (Berlin 1866).

⁶⁶ G.S. Fatouros, 'Bakchylides der Flötenspieler nicht Bakchylides der Dichter', *Philologus* 105 (1961) 149.

⁶⁷ Mosshammer 67. See also J.K. Fotheringham, *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebios Reproduced in Collotype* (Oxford 1905) folio 86.

⁶⁸ Mosshammer 30.

⁶⁹ Schoene Vol. 2 108; cf. J. Karst, *Die Chronik des Eusebios aus dem Armenisichen übersetzt, Eusebios Werke* V 194 (Ol. 87,2): 'Bakchylides der Liederdichter war gekannt'.

⁷⁰ Mosshammer 75, cf. 59-60.

into the version used by Jerome. This would have been all but impossible; but in any case, the fact that all three versions derive so early and independently from Eusebios' original means that the validity of Fatouros' conjecture must be seriously doubted.

The main plank of his argument, however, is Severyns' assertion that the word *agnoscitur* 'is known', is only used in Jerome to denote a person's acme or the time when he first came to be known.⁷¹ Since Eusebios apparently uses that word, or rather its Greek equivalent, to describe Bakchylides in 431, i.e. well after his acme, Fatouros reasons that this must refer to a different Bakchylides. Severyns, however, only looked at Jerome's translation, and instances of the word *agnoscitur*. If he had widened his study to include the versions of Synkellos and the Armenian, and to other translations of Eusebios' probably original word ἐγνωρίζετο, he would have seen a clear refutation of his argument. The three entries for Bakchylides' uncle Simonides, for example, are reported thus in the three main versions.

Synkellos

- Ol. 56 = 556 Simonides the melic poet came to be known (ἐγνωρίζετο)
 Ol. 60 = 540 Simonides was at the height of his fame (ἤκμαζε)
 Ol. 73 = 488 Pindar and Simonides the melic poets were known (ἐγνωρίζοντο)

Jerome

- Ol. 56 = 556 Simonides was famous (*clarus habetur*)
 Ol. 60 = 540 Simonides the lyric poet was famous (*clarus habetur*)
 Ol. 73 = 488 Simonides and Pindar were well known (*insignes habentur*)

Armenian

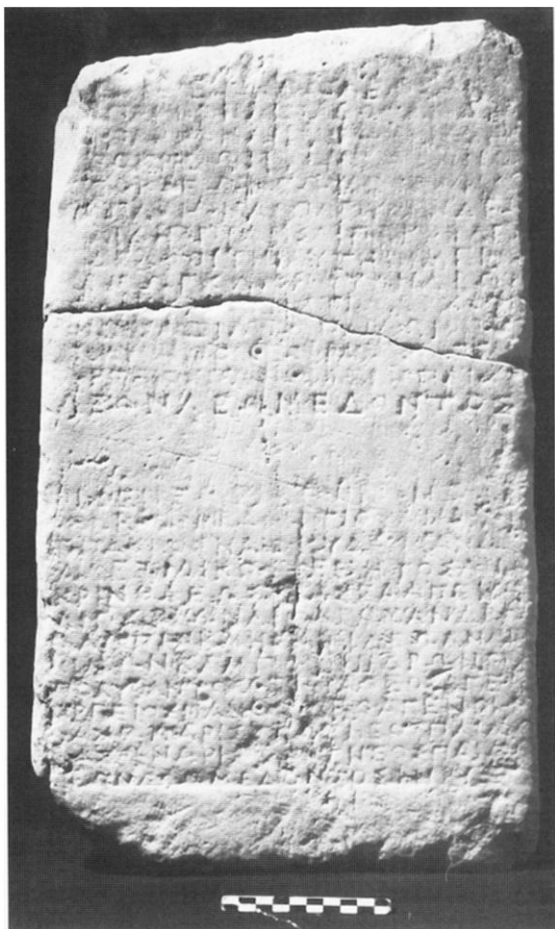
- Ol. 56 = 556 Simonides was known (*cognoscebatur*)
 Ol. 60 = 540 Simonides the lyric poet was known (*cognoscebatur*)
 Ol. 73 = 488 Pindar and Simonides the lyric poets were known (*cognoscebantur*)

The third entry in the Armenian version likewise has a Latin equivalent of the Greek ἐγνωρίζοντο 'were known', in agreement with Synkellos. At this time Simonides was 68—hardly at his acme. Further examples are unnecessary: the exception proves the rule. It is wrong to insist that a word meaning simply 'was known' could not have been used for the last entry of a poet like Bakchylides, about whom Eusebios can have had very little more information than we have today. Like us, he probably had no firm dates of death or birth; all that can have survived were the dates of his epinicia, which he could have deduced from the then extant victory lists from Olympia and Delphi, and which he used to compose his *Chronicle*. From the Pythian list he would have known the date of Bakchylides 11, and the approximate dates of any of his other, now undated, epinicia whose victors had won at Olympia or Delphi. Perhaps his odes to Argeios themselves were dated to this time. This is the probable source of Eusebios' mention of Bakchylides in 431 and it would be rash to disbelieve it.

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⁷¹ Severyns 21.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)