

Chapter 3

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Local Games of Thespiai

Evidence exists for two athletic *agōnes*, the Erotideia and the Herakleia, in Thespiai.

There are tantalizing, albeit heavily restored, references in an honorary decree not only to τοῖς ἐπιτελε[σθησομένοις | Ἑρωτιδείο]ις τε καὶ Μουσείοις but also to [τοῖς νῦν ἀγῶ|νιζομένοις ἀγῶ]σιν,¹ but there is nothing further to be gained from this. Nor is there much to be deduced from the manumission record *I.Thespiai* 215, which, in addition to mentioning the Herakleia, refers also to Panamia and Thyia (lines 11–13), both of which rites are named after the months in which they took place. It is at most a reminder of how little we know.

The Erotideia

Introduction

Thespiai was best known for its cults of the Muses and Eros. The worship of both may be said to have been fostered by their connection with two famous artists. For the Muses, it was the poet Hesiod, whose works identified Mount Helikon as the center of their worship. Poetic fancy had become cultic reality by the early years of the fourth century BC, when the first evidence of public cult emerged. With Eros, the incentive was the statue of Eros created by Praxiteles, and allegedly given by him to his paramour Phryne, a native of Thespiai, to which she retired presumably in the third quarter of the fourth century after an active life in Athens. To be sure, both the Muses and Eros may have been

¹ *I.Thespiai* 34, l. 6–8.

worshipped locally before these dates, but their fame beyond the borders of Thespiiai would have been enhanced by their connection with the works of Hesiod and Praxiteles.

While the principal sanctuary of the Muses was situated in what we call The Vale of the Muses, in the valley below the principal peaks of Mount Helikon, to the west of the city of Thespiiai, that of Eros seems to have been in the city itself.² The people of Thespiiai took advantage of the fame of their local deities by organizing and celebrating competitions in their honor, which brought them not only entertainment by artistes and athletes of high calibre, but also no doubt a satisfactory amount of income from visitors. The *agón* for the Muses –the Mouseia – was celebrated in the Valley of the Muses, and in its most highly developed form, consisted of competitions by both soloists and troupes of artistes. It is not certain when the Mouseia were instituted, but by the end of the third century BC they were widely recognized (it helped that for a time at least one of the branches of the Isthmian and Nemean Guild of Technitai – Artists of Dionysos – was based nearby at Thebes). Thanks to the survival of a reasonably large amount of evidence –almost all of it in inscriptions – it is possible to trace, within limits, the history of this *agón*.³ In the case of Eros, the *agón* which the Thespiians celebrated in his honour – the Erotideia – is both less well known and less well attested. When it began and how it developed are shrouded in uncertainty and scholarly controversy.⁴

Whereas the Mouseia were entirely musical and/or dramatic, the Erotideia were primarily athletic and equestrian, although from time to time, as we shall see, there was an admixture of musical elements. And for a time, during the first century BC at least, when times were generally hard in Boiotia, the two *agónes* somehow combined.

Both the Mouseia and the Erotideia owed their survival and continuation to the generosity not only of the state, but also of rich individuals – both local and foreign – and families.

2 The best description of the monuments in the Vale of the Muses is by Robinson 2012. The sanctuary of Eros: Paus. 9.27.1–5. It had been restored, early in the first century AD, with the addition of an image of Eros and doorway in the pronaos, by Phileinos, son of Mondon and Archela, at his own expense: *I.Thespiiai* 269. For the stemma of his family see Roesch 1982: 180. Phileinos was a friend of Plutarch's: see Puech 1992: 4869.

3 See Schachter 2016: 344–371.

4 See Appendix 1.

Evolution of the *Agón*

The earliest published document to mention the *agón* calls it the Erotideia & Romaia.⁵ This is the Athenian decree IG II² 1054, which Stephen V. Tracy dated towards the end of the second century BC (on the basis of its similarity to the work of his “cutter of IG II² 1008”).⁶ This decree honors a delegation of *theōroí* – consisting of an *archithéōros* and three *theōroí* – who had represented the polis of Athens at a celebration of the Erotideia and Romaia.⁷ The *agón* was celebrated until the end of the second century AD at least.⁸

In official documents the name, and presumably the program as well, varied over time, but in private documents and literary sources it was called simply Erotideia.⁹ The extended titles of the *agón* reflect the desire of the organizers of the festival to publicize their devotion to the Romans, to begin with, and, in due course, (together with the Mouseia) to the imperial household. In the case of the Erotideia, this was demonstrated by the addition of, first, the title Romaia, and later on the title Kaisareia, which occasionally supplanted Romaia. The titles are usually, but not always, linked by καί: it is not clear whether the variations are significant or not. The known names of *agōnothētēs* of the Erotideia–Romaia–Kaisareia show that until the early years of the second century AD at least, many of them were drawn from the extended Thespian family of whom T. Statilius Taurus and his descendants were patrons.¹⁰

5 There exists a new inscription from Phrygia (Meier 2019, no. 9) which refers to a victory at the Erotideia (no polis is specified) and which can be dated 197–179 BC. The Erotideia are not mentioned in the list of Thespian magistrates of late in the third century BC – *I.Thespiiai* 84 (which see for the date) – but this need not be decisive for its existence, since, if the *agón* was pentaeteric, the officials (agonothete, athlothete) would only have been listed in the year before and the year of its celebration. In that case, the absence of any mention of the Erotideia from the list would mean that, at this period, the Mouseia and Erotideia were not celebrated in the same year. Later, of course, there would be occasions when both *agōnes* were celebrated together: see below.

6 Tracy 1990: 194–196, esp. 196. Habicht 1997: 287 and 2006: 316 dates it towards the end of the second century BC. Sean Byrne, following Tracy’s dating, had suggested restoring the name of Medeios son of Medeios in l. 24, where the name of the *archithéōros* had been erased: Byrne 1995: 59 (= SEG 45.116 bis). Denis Knoepfler dates it and all the other inscriptions attributed to the Erotideia to after 86 BC: see Appendix 1. Christel Mueller accepts Knoepfler’s date for this inscription, although she is sceptical about his reconstruction of events: Mueller 2017: 233 and 238n3 respectively.

7 And perhaps the Mouseia as well. In l. 6, where Paul Roesch (SEG 32.138) read *IA καὶ τὰ Ἑρωτίδε[ια] καὶ Π[ω]μα[ια]* [–] I had previously suggested reading *Μουσε[ί]α* before the first καί (SEG 31.106). If this is correct, then we might also restore *Μουσείων* in line 11.

8 The latest reference is Ath. 13.561E (Θεσπιεῖς τε τὰ Ἑρωτίδεια τιμῶσιν), who is almost certainly citing an earlier source.

9 This is the form in the unpublished inscription referred to in note 5; IG V 1.656; 659; IG VII 48; *I.Sardis* 79; *I.Thespiiai* 211 (on which see below); Aristonikos, in Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.154a; Plut. *Amat.* 1 (748f); Ath. 13.561e.

10 The names Polykratides, Phileinos, Ariston, Mondon recur. These are all members of this family: for the family tree see Jones 1970, Roesch 1982: 1980. For the relationship of the family with the Statilii Tauri the fullest and best treatment is Marchand 2013.

The *agōnothētēs*

I.Thespiiai 188 (end first century BC)

The inscriptions which refer to victories in the Erotideia do not mention the *agón's* location: clearly everybody knew that it took place at Thespiai. The official variants of the title are the following (in rough chronological order):

IG II² 1054 (ca. 100 BC): Erotideia & Ro[ma]ia

I.Thespiai 34 (87 or 86 BC): [Erotide]ia¹¹

I.Thespiai 188 (6 BC – AD 2): [Erotideia] & Romaia

I.Thespiai 405 (first century AD): Erotidei[a & Kaisareia] OR Erotidei[a & Romaia]¹²

I.Thespiai 175 (first century AD, ca. AD 20): [Erotideia?] & Kaisareia Sebas[teia (or tōn) Mouseia] (includes an *enkōmion* to Eros and Romans) – a combined celebration

I.Thespiai 376 (first century AD, first half): Erotideia & Kaisareia & Mouseia & Sebastes Ioulias – a combined celebration

I.Thespiai 377 (first century AD, first half): Erotideia & Kais[a]reia & Mouseia & Se[ba]stes Ioulias – a combined celebration

The name of Polykratides –or his son– can be restored as one of the officials, possibly the agonothe, in line 3.

I.Thespiai 175 (ca. AD 20)

Gorgos s. of Chrysogonos – Agonothete, Joint with Mouseia

Chrysogonos s. of Gorgos – Hierarch

Phileinos s. of Aphrodisios – Priest

I.Thespiai 376 (first part first century AD)

Ariston s. of Phileinos – Agonothete, Joint with Mouseia and in honor of Julia Augusta

I.Thespiai 377 (first part first century AD)

Ariston s. of Phileinos – Agonothete for the second time of the joint celebration

I.Thespiai 405 (first century AD)

Lucius Fufius Protarchi f. (Rufus) – Agonothete

Cf. *I.Thespiai 149*: Lucius Fufius Rufus in a catalogue of names

I.Thespiai 374 (? M. first century AD)

Lysandros s. of Polykratides – Agonothete

I.Thespiai 358 (first century AD)

Athanasios s. of Euxenos – Agonothete, Joint with Mouseia

I.Thespiai 359 (first century AD)

Agonothete, joint with Mouseia

I.Thespiai 269 (early second century AD)

Phileinos s. of Mondon&Archela – Agonothete (dedication & rebuilding – Eros)

I.Thespiai 360 bis (? M second century AD)

– s. of Diodoros – Agonothete, joint with Diony[sia]

11 This is a decree of the Thespians in honor of Q. Bruttius Sura, who, while serving under C. Sentius in Macedonia, led the campaign against Mithridates in Boiotia until the arrival of Sulla, who sent him back to Macedonia and took over the command himself. L. 5–8 have been restored – on the analogy of *IG VII 2712* and *4148* – as follows: [τοὺς δ'ἀγωνοθέτας | ἀναγορεύσαι ἐν] τε τοῖς ἐπιτελεσθησομένοις | Ἐρωτιδέοις τε καὶ Μουσείοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς νῦν ἀγῶνιζομένοις ἀγῶσιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ [τὴν ἀνάρρησιν | τήνδε]. It is certainly tempting to restore Ἐρωτιδέοις in line 7, but this is not the only option; also possible is [Ἡρακλείοις : see below.

12 The honorand here. Lucius Fufius Protarchi f., Rufus (on whom see above, n. 10), was agonothe of the Erotideia and Kaisareia (or Romaia) once, and of the Mouseia twice: ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Ἐρωτιδῆ[ων καὶ Καισαρή]ων – or Ῥωμαίων – , Μουσειῶν δὲ δις. The δέ makes it clear that at this time the *agōnes* were separate.

I.Thespiiai 358 (first century AD, perhaps mid-century): Mouseia Sebasteia & Erotideia Kai[sare]ia – a combined celebration

I.Thespiiai 359 (first century AD): [Mouseia Sebastōn] & Kais[areia] & [Erotideia] & Ro[maia] – a combined celebration

I.Thespiiai 374 (first to second century AD): Kaisareia Erotideia Romaia

I.Thespiiai 360 bis (second century AD, perhaps mid-century): Dion[ysia] [Kaisarei]a Erotidei[a Romaia] – possibly linked here with Dionysia.

I.Thespiiai 188 and 175 are victors' lists; *I.Thespiiai* 405, 376, 377, 358, 359, 374, 360 bis honor former *agōnothētēs*, and 34 honors a Roman general. To these may be added *I.Thespiiai* 269, a dedication by the agonothete Phileinos son of Mondon and Archela, of a statue of Eros, the doorway in the pronaos, and the repair of the sanctuary, all at his own expense.

It has been argued that at Thebes and Chalkis, *agōnes* called simply Romaia were instituted after the Achaean War.¹³ At about the same time, with commendable economy, the people of Oropos took an already existing festival and added the title '(and) Romaia', as well as items to the program appropriate to its new guise.¹⁴ Something similar may have happened at Thespiiai.

During the first century AD, the Erotideia and Mouseia were on occasion celebrated jointly, perhaps reflecting the shrinkage of the public purse evident elsewhere in Boiotia, most notably at Akraiphia, where celebration of the Ptoia lapsed for thirty years, to be revived only thanks to the munificence of a local potentate, Epameinondas.¹⁵ Later still, in the second century AD, the Erotideia appear to have been combined with the Dionysia (*I.Thespiiai* 360bis): this also happened with the Herakleia and Dionyseia at Thebes.¹⁶

Victors' Lists

With the exception of *I.Thespiiai* 188 and 175, the victors' lists which have been attributed to the Erotideia are fragmentary and lack superscriptions, so while it is very possible that they do belong to the Erotideia, it is not entirely certain that they do (some of them might, for example, belong to the Herakleia). However, since the only athletic *agōn* of

¹³ See Knoepfler 2015: 177.

¹⁴ See Kalliontzis 2016.

¹⁵ See Oliver 1971.

¹⁶ At Thebes: Dionyseia Herakleia *Ephesos* 2.179.71 and *The Rendel Harris Papyri* 35.49; Dionyseia Herakleia Antoneineia: *CRAI* (1970) 18. II. See Schachter 1981–1994: 1.191 and n2; 2.29–30 and 30n1. On the joint titulatures at Thebes, see also Strasser 2002: 108.

Thespiiai known to the outside world was the Erotideia, I shall assume that these are victors' lists of that *agón*.

The lists range in date from ca. 70 BC to late in the second century AD, and, taken as a whole, show that the *agón* contained competitions for individual athletes (boxing, wrestling, *pankrátion*, *péntathlon*, racing) on the one hand, and for equestrians and charioteers on the other.

The victors in the last two categories would have been the owners of the horses and/or equipage, rather than the actual riders or drivers.

The earliest of these lists – *I.Thespiiai* 186 – can be dated with reasonable certainty to about 70 BC.¹⁷ The surviving victors' names show that they came from Thebes, Athens, Kerkyra, Epidamnos, and Kyme (probably Aiolian).¹⁸

I.Thespiiai 187, of which a part of the athletic list survives, is dated by Roesch 'II–I', by Gossage (followed by *LGPN*) ca. 50 BC. The victors here come from Thespiiai (2), Thebes, Tanagra, Plataia, Larymna, Opous (the same person twice), Demetrias, Athens, Velia, Kos, Smyrna, Caria (2), Kyzikos, Bithynia. It is clear from this that the *agón* attracted competitors from near and far, drawn no doubt by the promise of valuable prizes, either in the form of gold wreaths or of hard cash.¹⁹

The first of two victors' lists which actually names the *agón* – the restoration [Erotideia] & Romaia in line one is surely correct – is *I.Thespiiai* 188, which, by a happy chance, can be securely dated to between 6 BC and AD 2: the owner of a victorious chariot was the future emperor Tiberius, during his sojourn at Rhodes.²⁰ Although the list is very fragmentary, it is possible to deduce that the victors included those from Tanagra, Tyre, and Salamis, and that one of the officials of the *agón*, possibly the agonothete, was one Polykratides, or his son.

The next datable victors' list is *I.Thespiiai* 175, which gives the victors of a combined musical and athletic *agón* called the [Erotideia?] & Kaisareia Sebas[teia (or tōn) Mouseia],

¹⁷ See Appendix 2.

¹⁸ There are four of these, all equestrian. Perhaps they clubbed together to send out an entire stable?

¹⁹ For gold wreaths, see the *apología* of the agonothete of the Delia, who accounted for the cost of thirty-eight gold wreaths – Brélaz et al. 2007: 253–254 (as re-read by Doyen 2011: 257–258) l. 12 [...]στεφάνων χρυσῶν ΔΗ. And compare the wreaths within which the names of the *agónes* (including the Erotideia) are encircled in *IG* V 1.656 from Sparta, and *IG* VII 48 from Megara. Later, a victory at the Erotideia appears to be grouped among so-called 'thematic' victories (as opposed to 'sacred', in the jargon of the day). This is taken to mean that the status of the Erotideia on the circuit fluctuated from first category to second: Strasser 2003: 271–273 and 262, on *ISardis* 79 B3 (although the reading is not certain).

²⁰ See the commentary to *I.Thespiiai* 188.

and probably belongs to the first half, if not the first quarter, of the first century AD. The surviving text lists the agonothete (Gorgos son of Chrysogonos), the hierarch (his son Chrysogonos), and a priest (Phileinos son of Aphrodeisios), probably of the Muses. These are followed by the victors in the thymelic *agón*, mostly from Thespiiai (except for one from Kalymnos and another who appears to come from Herakleia), who include the author of an encomium to Eros and the Romans. This is followed by athletic victors: the surviving ethnics show that they came from Thespiiai, Kalynda in Asia Minor, and Kydonia in Crete (2). The stone then breaks off, so we do not know whether or not there was an equestrian component: perhaps not, because the musical part is much reduced, to competitions for solo artistes only. This possibly reflects the generally depressed state of the region at the time.

Unidentified victors' lists attributed to the Erotideia have been dated to the first (*I.Thespiiai* 189, 190) and second (191, 192, 193) centuries AD. All are of course fragmentary, but enough survives to show that the range of athletic and equestrian competitions was maintained. The geographical distribution of the victors is as follows:

I.Thespiiai 189: Koroneia, Corinth (2), Lakedaïmon, Ambryssos, Alexandria (8), Prousa and Nikaia in Bithynia, Andramyttion.

I.Thespiiai 190: Thebes, Delphi, Corinth, Philadelphia.

I.Thespiiai 191: Thespiiai (at least five, one of whom was a choral poet)²¹, Chalkis, Philadelphia.

I.Thespiiai 192: Thespiiai, Thebes, Corinth (at least three).

I.Thespiiai 193: Athens, Alexandria (two).

None of the Thespians who appear as victors on the surviving lists is known to have been victorious elsewhere. On the other hand, one Thespian, Neikogenes son of Pharadas, a former gymnasiarch of the polis, was honoured by his fellow-citizens for having won a series of victories at the Isthmia, Nemea, Kaisareia in Corinth, Eleutheria in Plataiai and Thessalonike, as well as the *agón* celebrated by the koinon of the Magnetes in Demetrias, the Herakleia in Thebes, the Lividia in Chalkis, Kaisareia in Tanagra, the *agón* celebrated by the koinon of the Thessalians in Larisa, as well as the Erotideia. We do not know what field he competed in, but he was certainly a prodigious athlete, having won multiple victories in at least nine *agónes* (with three victories at the Erotideia). A fairly wide range

21 For musical components see: Plut. *Amat.* 1.2 (749C): Plutarch and his friends, who had come to Thespiiai for the Erotideia, were driven out of the city by the racket from the competition of kitharodes. Paus. 9.31.3: The people of Thespiiai celebrate an *agón* in honor of Eros, ἄθλα οὐ μουσικῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθληταῖς τιθέντες.

of dates has been assigned to him, from late in the first century BC to the second century AD.²²

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Appendix 1: on the Institution of the Erotideia & Romaia

In an article published in 1997, Denis Knoepfler argued that the *agōn* was founded after 86 BC, as a mark of gratitude by the polis of Thespiai to Sulla for having returned to them the statue of Eros of Praxiteles (given by him to his sometime mistress Phryne of Thespiai), which had been removed from Thespiai by Mummius and given to the Athenians.²³ His argument runs, I believe, as follows:

When Strabo wrote that “Thespiai was formerly known for the Eros of Praxiteles (...) in the past people used to go to Thespiai in order to see the Eros”,²⁴ he was not referring to his own times, but was actually quoting from one of his two principal sources, Apollodoros of Athens, the other being Artemidoros of Ephesos, both of whom were active between 150–100 BC; accordingly, the Eros of Praxiteles was not in Thespiai during the second half of the second century BC. It is therefore likely, according to Knoepfler, that the statue was removed by L. Mummius in 146, and given by him to the Athenians. The evidence for the latter is to be found in Athenaios, where Praxiteles is said to have inscribed an epigram on the base of this statue below the skene of the theatre at Athens.²⁵ There it stayed until 87/86 BC, when Sulla removed it, and returned it to the Thespians. In 86 or 85, the Thespians inaugurated the Erotideia and Romaia to mark the occasion and the victory of the Romans under Sulla, and all inscriptions referring to this *agōn* are to be redated to after 85 BC. At about the same time, the Amphiareia at Oropos were renamed the Amphiareia and Romaia.

This ingenious reconstruction of events fails on a number of points. In the first place, Knoepfler’s suggestion that Mummius stole the statue directly contradicts Cicero, who

22 *I.Thespiai* 210–211. The honorand’s name – given as Neikophanes – in Lolling’s transcription, was read by Holleaux 1892: 461n3 as Νεικογένην. To the dates assigned there, add Nigdelis 2006: 456–457 T35 (ca. second century AD) and Strasser 2003: 270 (possibly first century AD).

23 Knoepfler 1997: 17–19; summarized in Knoepfler 2008: 620–622; accepted by Manieri 2009: 425–427 *ad Thes.* 52 (= *SEG* 60.160); cited by Moggi and Osanna 2010: 370 and 372. As noted above in n. 6, Mueller 2017 is sceptical about this, although she accepts the redating of *IG* II² 1054.

24 Strab. 9.2.25: αἱ δὲ Θέσπιαί πρότερον μὲν ἐγνωρίζοντο διὰ τὸν Ἑρωτὰ τὸν Πραξιτέλους, ὃν ἐγλυψε μὲν ἐκεῖνος, ἀνέθηκε δὲ Γλυκέρα ἡ ἐταῖρα Θεσπιεῦσιν, ἐκεῖθεν οὖσα τὸ γένος, λαβοῦσα δῶρον παρὰ τοῦ τεχνίτου. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὁφόμενοι τὸν Ἑρωτὰ τινες ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν Θέσπειαν, ἄλλως οὐκ οὔσαν ἀξιοθέατον, νυνὶ δὲ μόνη συνέστηκε τῶν Βοιωτικῶν πόλεων καὶ Τάναγρα.

25 13.591A = *Anth. Plan.* 204: ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἑρωτος βάσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ θεάτρου.

went out of his way to state that Mummius did *not* steal the Eros;²⁶ and indeed the context in which Cicero makes this remark – not to praise Mummius, but to blame Verres – strongly suggests that it deserves to be taken at face value. He also ignores the testimony of Pausanias (who would presumably have received his information from his local hosts) that the statue of Eros by Praxiteles was first removed from Thespiai by Caligula, then sent back by Claudius, and removed again by Nero, to Rome, where it was destroyed by fire: the statue at Thespiai in Pausanias' day was a copy of the original by Menodoros of Athens.²⁷

Secondly, there is another way to interpret what Strabo wrote, and that is to take it as in part an extended paraphrase of Cicero's note that the Eros of Praxiteles was in his day in Thespiai, and that this was the only reason Thespiai attracted visitors.²⁸ There is, in fact, good reason to believe that Strabo was familiar with Cicero's work – see his references at 14.2.25 (660) and 17.1.13 (798) – and he might well have read the passage himself.

Third, the passage in Ath. 13.591A to the effect that Praxiteles' Eros was set up in Athens as part of the theatre refers, not to any supposed gift of it by Sulla to the Athenians, but rather to the time *before* Praxiteles gave it to Phryne: the story goes that he offered her the choice between the Satyr which stood in the Street of the Tripods, and the Eros which stood in the theatre, and she chose the Eros (13.591B). The story is probably not true: is it likely that the Athenians would have permitted the removal of a statue from their theatre?

Finally, it is no longer possible to cite the institution of the Amphiareia and Romaia as a comparable and roughly contemporary event, thanks to its redating by Yannis Kalliontzis to the middle of the second century BC.²⁹ The wholesale redating of unrelated inscriptions on the basis of flimsy supposition cannot be justified. When the *agón* was given the additional title of Romaia is unknown: it could have happened at any time after the Achaean War.

26 Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.4: *Atque ille L. Mummius, cum Thespiadas, quae ad aedem Felicitatis sunt, ceteraque profana ex illo oppido (sc. Thespiis) signa tolleret, hunc marmoreum Cupidinem, quod erat consecratus, non attigit.*

27 Paus. 9.27.3.

28 Cic. *Verr.* 2.4: *Idem, opinor, artifex eiusdem modi Cupidinem fecit illum qui est Thespiis, propter quem Thespieae visuntur; nam alia visendi causa nulla est.* In fact, the similarities between the passages are so striking as to preclude any other conclusion: compare Cicero with Strabo: Cicero: *Cupidinem fecit illum qui est Thespiis, propter quem Thespieae visuntur; nam alia visendi causa nulla est.* Strabo: αἱ δὲ Θεσπιαὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐγνωρίζοντο διὰ τὸν Ἑρωτὰ τὸν Πραξιτέλους (...) πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὁψόμενοι τὸν Ἑρωτὰ τινες ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν Θέσπειαν, ἄλλως οὐκ οὔσαν ἀξιόθεατον.

29 Kalliontzis 2016.

Appendix 2: the date of *I.Thespiai* 186

Noumenios son of Chrysippos of Thebes, victorious pankratiast in *I.Thespiai* 186, won in the same competition as a boy at the Amphiareia & Romaia: *I.Oropos* 529. In the latter list, one of the other victors – probably an adult boxer – was a son of Sosikrates of Megara, who was identified by B. Leonardos with the victorious boy boxer Sosikrates son of Sosikrates, an identification accepted generally³⁰ at (probably) the Eleutheria at Larisa.³¹ In this list, the victor in the men's *díaulos* was Kallon son of Xenophilos of Opous, while the victor in the men's *stádion* was Nikokles son of Nikatas of Lakedaimon. Kallon won the boys' *stádion* at the Amphiareia & Romaia, at the same time as Nikokles won the men's version of the same event: *I.Oropos* 525. Gossage 1975: 120 (cited by Helly 2010: 95n6) had already proposed the relative chronology of these lists as follows: *I.Oropos* 525 Graninger 2011: 172–175 no. 5 *SEG* 60.592 – *I.Oropos* 529.

Nikokles was a well (Graninger 2011: 172–175 no. 5) known athlete, an Olympionikes, whom Luigi Moretti (Moretti 1957 nos. 655–657 and 660–661) dated in the 170th Olympiad = 100 BC. He based this date on the appearance in *I.Oropos* 525 of Parmeniskos son of Philiskos of Kerkyra as victor of the boys' *dólichos*: he identified this Parmeniskos with the Parmeniskos of Kerkyra who won the men's *stádion* race in both 96 and 88 BC (Moretti 1957: nos. 658–659). Moretti's dating has been generally dismissed, but it can now be resuscitated in the light of Yannis Kalliontzis' re-dating (to the middle of the second century BC) of the institution of the Amphiareia & Romaia of Oropos (Kalliontzis 2016) in which case *I.Oropos* 525 would be well before 96 BC. This would yield a sequence something like this:

100 BC +/-: *I.Oropos* 525

Ca. 90 BC: *SEG* 60.592

Ca. 80 BC: *I.Oropos* 529

Ca. 70 BC: *I.Thespiai* 186

One of the victors in *I.Thespiai* 186 is a Parmeniskos son of Parmeniskos of Kerkyra, a runner who won no fewer than three victories. He could have been related to Parmeniskos son of Philiskos, perhaps even his son. And a victor in an equestrian competition in *I.Oropos* 529 – Philokrates son of Antigonos – appears also in Graninger (2011: 169–172 no. 4, esp. 172 and n61).

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³⁰ See Helly 2010: 95 and n6 (= *SEG* 60.592).

³¹ Graninger 2011: 172–175n5.

The Herakleia³²

This *agón* is attested only in three or perhaps four inscriptions, widely spaced in time and with no particular context.

The earliest is on fragments of bronze hydria, now in the Archaeological Museum of Iannina. It has been restored to read [h]ερακλέος ἐς Θεσπίας, and belongs to the fifth century BC.³³ The vase was part of a hoard of similar objects found at Votonisi in Epeiros, and was, in all likelihood, looted from its place of origin. The text identifies the vase as a prize won at Thespiiai at an *agón* in honor of Herakles.³⁴

The next surviving mention of the *agón* is in a manumission record of the third or second century BC (*I.Thespiiai* 215), in which the slave – manumitted before Asklepios – is required to decorate the tombs of his late owner and, upon her death, of his owner's mother, at the Panamia, Thouyia, and Herakleia.

The third reference to the *agón* records the dedication of a temple to Demeter Eleusinia and Kore of a former *agoranómos* and epimelete of the Herakleia, from the proceeds of the latter (*I.Thespiiai* 259). The editors of *LGPN* suggest a possible date of the first century BC or AD.

One final possible reference to the Herakleia is in the decree honoring Q. Bruttius Sura, in 87 or 86 BC (*I.Thespiiai* 34): see above, note 11.

Except for the occasion on which the prize vase was won, these Herakleia were almost certainly a gymnasium festival, of purely local interest.³⁵

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³² For the cult of Herakles at Thespiiai, see Schachter 1981–1994, II: 31–36.

³³ *I.Thespiiai* 276bis, which see for the date. The original editor, Julie Vocotopoulou dated it 475–450 BC; Paul Roesch dated it towards the end of the fifth century; Guy Vottéro dates it in the first half of the fifth century.

³⁴ ἐς in the Boiotian dialect = ἐκ. The vase, its context, and the meaning of the text are well explained by Amandry 1980: 211–212n4 (*SEG* 30.541).

³⁵ I am grateful to William Slater for his helpful comments and pertinent criticism.

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