

A Horse from Teos: Epigraphical Notes on the Ionian–Hellespontine Association of Dionysiac Artists*

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Peter Herrmann zum Gedächtniss

I. TEOS: EPIGRAPHY, TERRITORY, HISTORY

The ancient Ionian city of Teos is important and interesting, especially in the context of a volume on the ‘epigraphy of the Greek theatre’; it deserves to be presented briefly. Teian epigraphy is abundant, and rich in famous texts:¹ the wealth of epigraphy reflects the twofold articulation of Teian history, which it shares with many other *poleis*: as a smaller entity caught in the high politics of war and conquest; as a stable actor in its own history, living its life as a political unit and pursuing its own aims at a regional scale.

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¹ Inscriptions from Teos are compiled by McCabe and Plunkett (1985), an unpublished fascicle in the ‘Princeton Epigraphy Project’; also Ruge (1934) 539–43. Unpublished texts mentioned by L. Robert: *OMS IV* 149 (there announcing the near-completion of an epigraphical corpus for Teos); *BE* 69, 496.



Fig. 20 Smyrna and the region of Teos: extract from A. Philippson, *Geologische Karte des westlichen Kleinasien*, Blatt 3 (in Philippson 1911).

The wealth of Teian epigraphy is also the reflection of a long history of travellers to the site, easily accessible from Smyrna (Fig. 20). The ancient town itself, however, is not well known, apart from the temple of Dionysos; alluviation has covered the remains which were visible in the nineteenth century, and which some French test work in 1924 showed to be extremely interesting.² What can still be seen now is disappointing (or perhaps ‘evocative’), except for the temple.³ The site lies to the south of a peninsula, near the modern resort of Akkum and its rapidly spreading holiday real estate; in the

² Bécquignon and Laumonier (1925).

³ Ruge (1934) 569–70; Bean (1966) 136–46, mostly for a summary description of the site; Mitchell (2000) 97–8, 148, mentions recent work, with reference to Turkish publications.

nineteenth century, this site was known as Bodrum (recorded with all the variant spellings of the old travellers: Boudroum, Budrun, etc), the castle. To the north of the ancient site, on the other side of a still surprisingly rural headland, lies the rapidly mushrooming village of Sığacık, with its Genoese castle, and the second of Teos' harbours. From there, a dusty hour's walk will take you, past Teos' marble quarries,⁴ to Seferhisar, a small provincial Turkish town: this is where the bus from İzmir/Üçkuyular stops, on a junction on the big coastal road; the town serves as a nodal point and administrative centre for the area. Along the northern road towards Urla, there are several villages where ancient inscriptions were found, notably Ulaş (modern spelling; the old spelling 'Olamiş' is prevalent in scholarly literature; a famous inscription concerning synoikism still sits in a cemetery wall, opposite an olive oil-press⁵) and Hereke (now Düzce, with its disused hammam and its mosque and disused medrese built on an ancient temple). The name Hereke indicates that this was once a fortified site (Charax), probably a polis in earlier times, before absorption by Teos.⁶ Near Hereke, there once existed a village named 'Güzellir' (Boeckh), or 'Ghésusler' as printed in *LB-W*, explicitly identifying it with Güzellir; pencil notes on Le Bas's squeezes call the place 'Goesusler' (Fig. 21). This place seems to have disappeared as a village, and no traveller mentions it after Le Bas; inscribed stones from the cemetery of 'Ghésusler' were later seen by R. Démangel and A. Laumonier in Seferhisar.⁷

⁴ Fant (1989).

⁵ Most recently, Chandezon (2003) 205–12 no. 53.

⁶ On Hereke, see L. Robert, in Devambez (1962) 5–6; *SEG* 41, 1007 is an imperial-era dedication, from a gymnasium, in the disused hammam in Düzce (Hereke); it might come from Teos.

⁷ On Güzellir (Turkish Güzeller, the fair ones?), *LB-W* 79 and *CIG* 3046, 3052 (assigned to 'Güzellir'), 3116 ('sesquilapide à Severhisar'); Boeckh, in *CIG* II 627, discussing Chandler, *Inscr. Syll.*, p. iii, which should be expanded to R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae, pleraeque nondum editae: in Asia Minori et Graecia, praesertim Athenis, collectae. Cum appendice* (London, 1747), introductory section entitled 'Syllabus et notae': 'fortasse, paucis annis, nec supererit memoria loci Guzellir, quippe in quo tuguriolum nunc tantum unum et Moschea ruinosa. Distat semihora a Severhissar, Boream atque occidentalem coeli partes versus. Anglice, the NW'. Güzellir is not in the list of provenances for Teian inscriptions in McCabe (1985). It appears as a 'Ru^d Mosque' atop a rise, on the British Admiralty Charts 'Asia Minor. Sighajik Bay' and 'Asia Minor. Island of Khios and Gulf of Smyrna' based on a survey of 1836; it no

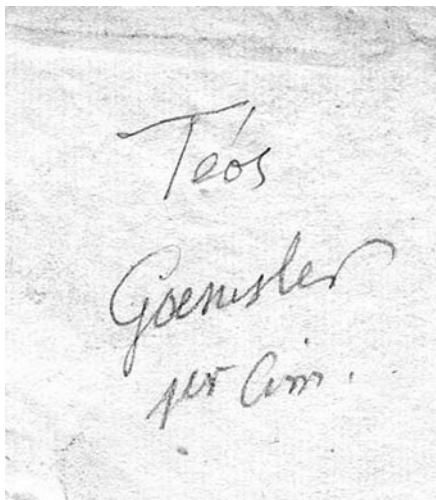


Fig. 21 'Téos, Goesusler, 1er cim(etière)'. Pencil note by Philippe Le Bas on a squeeze of LB-W 93, now kept in the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

From Seferhisar, roads lead into the hills then the mountains, a world of small villages, still badly known from the archaeological point of view; one such village is Benler, where Petzl and Baran found a cave dedicated to the Nymphs (and, oddly enough, a graffito purporting to be that of a king Antiochos; but that is another story); somewhere in these highlands existed a small community, Oroanna.⁸ The high ground stretches from the Bay of Smyrna and the 'Two Brothers' range south towards the point of Cape Myonessos (where the old Greek village of Ispili is now Doğanbey; in 1999, I saw SEG 2, 644 still in place in the big village well).⁹ The high ground dominates a coastal strip; R. Chandler describes the 'low mountain on our left hand, with an opening in it', as he journeyed south from Teos towards Lebedos;¹⁰ the opening is doubtless the saddle of the pass

longer figures in Kiepert (1908), Philippson (1911), Tanoğlu et al. (1961). The site has doubtless been swallowed by the northwards building sprawl. Inscriptions shifted from 'Ghésusler' to Seferhisar: Demangel and Laumonier (1922) 355, re LB-W 121 (note also 103 (CIG 3084), 105 (CIG 3085), transported from Sığacık to Seferhisar).

⁸ Benler: Baran and Petzl (1977–8); Oroanna: Robert and Robert (1976) 172–4 (OMS 7, 316–18); the localisation of Oroanna proposed by R. Meriç must remain a hypothesis (noted in Mitchell 1990: 98).

⁹ Demangel and Laumonier (1922) 353 no. 68; earlier, less complete text in LB-W 133.

¹⁰ Chandler (1817) 114.

towards the valley leading into the plain south of Smyrna. The coastal strip is now solidly taken over, down to the island of Myonesos (Üçgen Adası), by *front de mer* apartment and vacation houses, and the great road that serves them. Across the Bay of Teos, along the southern side of ancient Mt Korykos, lie further villages, one of which, Yeni Demircili, is near the ancient site of Airai.¹¹ Some of the landscape is olive and fruit trees; much of the hills, once devoted to vines, are now pasture since the turn of the twentieth century devastation of *phylloxera* and the departure of wine-drinking Greeks. The network of communications between sea, harbour village, resort spot, provincial town (ilçe), and hill villages reflects a complex geography of micro-regions, which in ancient times added up to form the sizeable and diverse *chora* of the Teian polis (Fig. 20).

In April 1997, and again in September 1999, I spent some time in the area on a bicycle, with P. Herrmann's warm, if bemused, encouragement. I approached from the east, cycling from Adnan Menderes airport to Seferhisar, via the Karakoç valley: this easy road through the woods and the hills, with its villages low and high, old bridges, rivers, wells, fountains, orchards, fields, farms, stables, collapsed terraces, gardens, old abandoned cemeteries, roadside cafes and fruit stalls (drably deserted in winter, welcoming in summer) is obviously an important *lieu de passage* (it allows quick access to the coastal strip from the airport and the great plain south of Smyrna, now urbanising as part of the Izmir megalopolis). This was probably a route in ancient times—yet another of the micro-regions of Teian geography. The corridor leads from Cumaovası/Menderes, on the edge of the plain south of Smyrna, to the hamlet of Kavakdere, at which point lies a crossroads. From this point, the road leads left, to Lebedos,¹² or right, to Teos. The Teos branch leads past a disused cemetery, then up a not inconsiderable saddle; from there, a long, exhilarating glide down the bare hills takes the cyclist into the coastal plain—this is the 'opening in the hills' which Chandler saw, but from

¹¹ Robert and Robert (1976) 165–7 (OMS 7, 309–11); Mitchell (1990) 98 noting survey work by R. Meriç at Airai.

¹² French (1988) nos. 482, 496 (Diocletianic milestones; they indicate that in the third century AD at least, a road ran from Teos into the hills, past the modern hamlet of Kavakdere and the west–east corridor from the plain south of Smyrna, and onwards to Lebedos (the modern highway hugs the coast).

the Teos side. In Seferhisar, in Sığacık, in Ulamiş, in Düzce, I was surprised to see inscriptions preserved in modern contexts, most published, some unpublished.

Several of these Teian sites play a role in the present chapter, which is why I have spent a little time presenting the geography; Teian inscriptions were found scattered across this area, and this holds true for documents of a particular class: those relating to a particular Association of Dionysiac Artists, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου, the Association which was installed in Teos, from the late third century to the mid-second century BC. The material has recently been gathered, republished, and analysed in two analytical studies, by B. Le Guen (2001a) and S. Aneziri (2003).

II. VICTOR-LISTS FROM TEOS

Among the Teian documents concerning the Artists, three documents seem very similar in formulation and nature: they are victor-lists for thymelic contests. They have recently been reproduced by Le Guen, more or less as follows.

1. *LB-W* 91 (Le Guen 2001a: TE 46 A). This text comes from Sığacık, or more precisely the actual ancient site, 'Boudroum', near the theatre.

[	ἰ]ερέως β[	Σατύρων	Ἄμυ–
[	]πος	Ἀναξίων Θρασυκλείδου	
[	]ηι	Μυτιληναῖος	ὑπε[κρίνετο
[	]ς Βακχίου	Δράματι Πέρσαις	Ἄριστ–
		ὑπεκρίνετο Ἀσκληπιάδης	
		Ἡρακλείδου Χαλκιδεύς	

Le Bas' facsimile shows ὑπεκρίνατο (followed by Le Guen), the text in *LB-W*, correctly, ὑπεκρίνετο.

2. Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault (1880) 176–8 no. 37 (Le Guen 2001a: TE 46 C). This text comes from Seferhisar ('maison de Hassan

Effendi', as the editors, E. Pottier and A. M. Hauvette-Besnault write).

[ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀπελ]λικῶντος καὶ ἀγνωθ[έτου]]
 [Διθ]υράμβων
 [Δημήτριος Μ]ενίππου Φωκαεὺς
 [Ἀ]νδρομέδαι
 [ἐκιθαρώιδει δ' ὁ] αὐτός

3. *LB-W 93* (Le Guen 2001a: TE 46 D). This text comes from the 'first cemetery of Ghesusler', or, to spell it as Le Bas did on his squeezes, 'Goesusler'; from 'Goesusler' also comes *LB-W 92* (TE 46 B), an inscription recording the dedication of masks and crowns by a victor at the Dionysia, a text which I will not treat here.

[ἐπὶ] ἱερέως Δημητρίου, ἀγνωθέτου δὲ καὶ ἱε[ρέως - - - - -
 τοῦ δεῖνος, οἶδε]
 [ἐνίκησαν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι] τῷ τεθέντι Ἀττάλ[ωι]
 Διθυράμβων Σατύρων
 Νίκαρχος Ἐρμόνακτος Περγαμηνός [Ζηνός]δ[οτος]
 Φερσεφόνει [---]
 ἐκιθαρώιδει Δημήτριος [Μ]ενίππου ὑπέκ[ρύ]νετο [ὁ δεῖνα]
 Φωκαεὺς Καλ Μ

The dispersion of stones is not surprising; one needs think only of the dispersion of the texts relating to the *asylia* of the shrine of Dionysos and the city of Teos; two texts, of exactly the same type, relating to the fortifications of Teos, were found, the first in Seferhisar, the second in Hereke (*SEG* 2, 582–3). The provenance of the first list from the ancient site proper guarantees, if need be, that all these texts originally came from Teos.

From Le Bas's squeezes, now kept in the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, the similarity in script appears clearly; a second-century date is suggested by the wide, broken bar alphas, the big, round omicron and theta, with central dot; the pi with equal verticals, and the parallel horizontals on sigma; omega is smaller, and raised above the line. These appear on *LB-W 91*, the clearest of the squeezes; the same features can be seen on *LB-W 93* (Figs. 22–5). In both texts, the letters measure between 2.3 and 2.5 cm; the omega is 1.5–1.7 cm, raised 0.7 cm off the base of the line. On *LB-W 91*, some of the alphas are extremely wide, 3.2 to 4 cm; in *LB-W 93* the

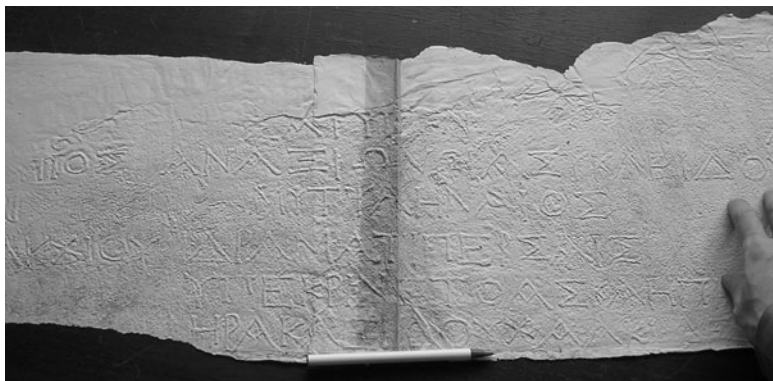


Fig. 22 Squeeze of
LB-W 91, now kept in
the Institute for
Advanced Study,
Princeton.

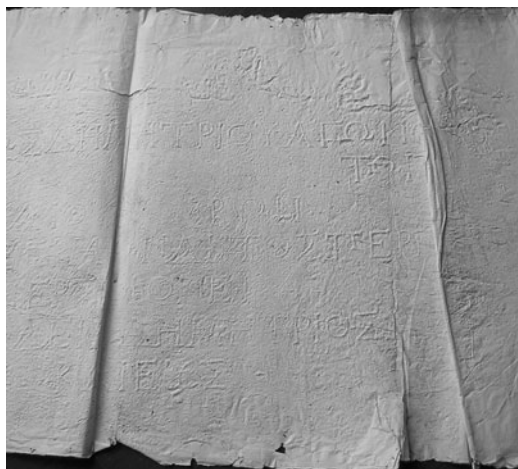


Fig. 23 Squeeze of
LB-W 91 (detail),
now kept in the
Institute for
Advanced Study,
Princeton.

alphas are *c.* 2.5 cm. In spite of the difference in size, these letters are very similar to those on the stele bearing several documents concerning Kraton of Khalchedon, Michel 1016 (from *CIG* 3068),¹³ now in the Fitzwilliam (this stone, not a stele but a pilaster, groups documents issued over a period of time, but the date of inscription is that of the heading, which is not the heading of the first decree but of the whole dossier: some time before 158 bc). They do not look like

¹³ The old text in Michel, taken from a squeeze, is more accurate than either Aneziri's or Le Guen's. I will present this stone more fully elsewhere. On Kraton see the chapter by Le Guen below.



Fig. 24 Squeeze of LB-W 93, now kept in the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.



Fig. 25 Squeeze of LB-W 93 (detail), now kept in the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

the lettering on the decree concerning the foundation of Polythrou, which dates to the earlier second century BC (Fig. 26).

There is a similarity in layout in all three texts: a preamble with dating formula, then the victors by category of contest: in the first text, satyr-play, flanked by two other categories; in the second text, dithyramb; in the third, dithyramb and satyr-play. From the similarity in nature, formulation, order of contests, and general layout, I believe we should reconstruct a single model for these lists: a long heading, with dating formula, unfolding over at least three columns for at least three thymelic categories (dithyramb, satyr-play, and one or two more categories: tragedy and/or comedy).

The documents are all dated in the same way: by reference to an eponymous priest and to an *agonothetes* who is also a priest of an Attalid king. This can be seen most clearly in the second and third



Fig. 26 Foundation of Polythrou (Syll. 578).

texts, and can probably be restored in the first text. The officials involved are not Teian officials, as Le Guen tentatively writes (2001a: I 239) but, a possibility Le Guen also canvases, officials of the Association of Artists. The reason is that this dating formula is that used by the Artists, as Le Guen notes (priest—of Dionysos), followed by *agonothetes*—priest of king Eumenes). The two relevant documents are Michel 1016 A (CIG 3068 A, the printed text of which is reproduced as Le Guen 2001a: TE 48 and Aneziri 2003: D11), a decree of the Artists, where the *agonothetes*—priest of Eumenes is also mentioned as an official at line 10,¹⁴ and OGIS 325 (also in Le Guen 2001a: TE 49), a letter of Kraton to the Attalistsai, where the eponymous priest is followed by an *agonothetes* who is also priest of the god Eumenes).¹⁵

¹⁴ ἐπὶ ἱερέως Σατύρου, καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου κ[αὶ] ἱερέως βασιλέως Εὐμένου vac. Νικοτέλου[s].

¹⁵ [Βασιλε]ύοντος Ἀττάλου Φιλαδέλφου, ἔτους ἑβδό[μου, μηνὸς Δ]ύστρου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἱερέως τῶν τεχνιτῶν Κρατίν[ου, καὶ ἀγνω]οθέτου καὶ ἱερέως θεοῦ Εὐμένου Ἀρισταίου.

Le Guen argues against the view that the officials on the three victor-lists, as reproduced above, are officials of the Artists rather than of Teos: her argument is the absence of patronymic and *ethnikon* for both the priest and the *agonothetes*, whereas the victors are named with patronymic and *ethnikon*. This argument cannot hold. The patronymic and *ethnikon* are not required in dating formulae: these elements are lacking in the other documents, mentioned above, where the priest and the *agonothetes* are named as eponyms. In contrast, the name with patronymic and ethnic is necessary in lists of victors in contests between international competitors (the polis identity of the victor is part of the point).¹⁶ Most decisively, in the polis of Teos, the eponymous official is not a priest, but a prytanis (at least on decrees of civic subdivisions; I see no reason for the prytanis not to have been the eponymous magistrate generally).¹⁷ If the officials are not Teians, but Artists, the contests were not the Teian Dionysia, but contests celebrated by the Artists. The dating formula in the three documents should therefore read ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ δεινός, καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου / ἀγωνοθέτου δὲ καὶ ἱερέως βασιλέως Εὐμένου vel θεοῦ Εὐμένου τοῦ δεινός, 'When So-and-so was priest, and So-and-so was *agonothetes* and priest of King Euemenes or of Eumenes the god.'

The contests involved are probably not the Dionysia of the polis of Teos, but rather one of the contests which the *agonothetes* of the Artists organised in his year of office (Michel 1016 B, reproduced in Le Guen 2001a: TE 44, at l. 10), perhaps the '*panegyris* of the *koinon*' (*I. Magnesia* 54 and 89, same documents Le Guen 2001a: TE 40 and 45; RC 53, same document Le Guen 2001a: TE 47). Does the joint office as *agonothetes* and priest of Eumenes II hint at a festival for that king? I see no reason to assume that this is necessarily the contest involved in the first and second lists. In the case of the third list, the contest was set up for 'Attal[os]'. Which Attalos? He has usually been identified as Attalos II; but the answer needs elaboration. If the contest was set up for a living king (Attalos II or III during their reigns), we would expect βασιλεῖ Ἀττάλῳ, 'to King Attalos'; if for a deceased

¹⁶ Robert (1967) 18–26 = OMS V, 358–66.

¹⁷ Sherck (1991) 250 no. 180, with examples, to which add GIBM 1032 / SEG 4, 598 (McCabe 1985: no. 36).

king, we would expect $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\iota \text{ Ἀττάλῳ}$, ‘to Attalos the god’, just as in the cases where there is a priest of Eumenes the god. The solution, suggested during the ‘Epigraphy of the Greek theatre’ conference by P. Thonemann, is a mention of Attalos the brother of the king (the future Attalos II) or Attalos the son of the king (the future Attalos III).

The joint office as *agonothetes* and priest of the king appears on these documents, and also in the decree of the Artists and the letter of Kraton, both quoted above, but this office is absent from other documents involving the Artists: in a decree of the *synagonistai*, Kraton is mentioned first as priest, then as *agonothetes* (also CIG 3068 B, also Michel 1016 B, whence Le Guen 2001a: TE 44); in a decree of the Artists inscribed on Delos, Kraton appears as priest of Dionysos and *agonothetes tout court*, twice (IG XI.4, 1061, same document Dürrbach *Choix* no. 75; Le Guen 2001a: TE 45; Aneziri 2003: D10).¹⁸ As Le Guen has shown, the decree of the *synagonistai* should be dated not too long after 188, say in the 180s or 170s; the decree of the Artists found on Delos should be dated c. 171. Therefore, the introduction of a priesthood of Eumenes held in association with the *agonothesia* comes later: our three victor-lists date to the 160s at the earliest.

In consequence, the three victor-lists from Teos can be dated to the second quarter of the second century BC, in the Attalid period, and should be reconstructed as follows.

1. LB–W 91 (Le Guen 2001a: TE 46 A)

[ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ δεινός, καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου / ἀγωνοθέτου δὲ καὶ ἱερέως
β[ασιλέως Εὐμένου τοῦ δεινός, οἷδε ἐνίκων...]

		[Τραγωιδιῶν ?]
[Διθυράμβων]	Σατύρων	Ἄμν–
[]πος	Ἀναξίων Θρασυκλείδου	
[]ηι	Μυτιληναῖος	ὑπε[κρίνετο
[ἐκίθαρώιδει ...]s	Δράματι Πέρσαις	Ἄριστ[
Βακχίου		
[ethnikon]	ὑπεκρίνετο Ἀσκληπιάδης	
	Ἡρακλείδου Χαλκιδεύς	

¹⁸ Aneziri (2003) 128–32, on the office of priest and *agonothetes*.

[When (*name*) was priest and (*name*) was *agonothetes* and priest, the following were victors.]

(Of the) dithyrambs:pos, [son of (*name*), of (*polis*)], with [(*title of dithyramb*)].... [(*name*)] son of Bakchios, of (*polis*) ..., [was kitharode].

(Of the) satyr-plays: Anaxion, son of Thrasykleides, of Mytilene, with a drama, the *Persians*. Asklepiades son of Herakleides, of Chalkis, was actor.

[Of the tragedies ?] Amy—, [son of (*name*), of (*polis*)], with a drama, (*title*). (*name*)], son of Arist—, [of (*polis*)], was actor.

At line 1 I could make out a few more letters in [ἐ]ρέως than there appear in the printed text of *LB–W*. Since the heading mentions a priest of king Eumenes, and not Eumenes the god, the document dates before the death of Eumenes II in 158 BC. This cannot be dated by the priest of king [Attalos], since under Attalos II, Kraton's letter is dated by a priest of Eumenes the god (*OGIS* 325, also in Le Guen 2001a: TE 49). The restoration seems to be sure, because the place where these letters appear in the line fits in a long heading, such as the third list allows us to see at the beginning. I have added the formula οἷδε ἐνίκων, though the name of the contest cannot be restored.

The column on the left must be for the victor in the dithyrambs, though this reading cannot be confirmed on the squeeze. The following line contains the name of the victor, ending in [-ip]pos, for instance, [Kallip]pos; at any rate, the squeeze makes clear that the line is aligned with Anaxion, the victor of the satyr-play contest. *HI* must be the ending of the victorious work, in the dative, as in the two other victor-lists, though in the third list (see below), the ending is the Attic style *EI*; I do not think this a definite obstacle; see Michel 1016A, for the Attic dative used in a contemporary decree of the Artists). For instance, from attested titles of dithyrambs, we might hypothesise *Niobe*, *Danae*, *Europe*, *Pasiphae*, *Semele*;¹⁹ or *Ariadne*, *Andromache*, *Hekabe*, or another feminine name drawn from myth; or a masculine name such as Philoktetes. The lettering is slightly more worn in this column, but is the same as in the other two columns (a slightly tilted chi appears in this column and the middle one).

¹⁹ Sutton (1989).

The third line must be the name of the kitharode, –s son of Bakchios.²⁰ The actor in the satyr-play, like the document, should be dated roughly to the second half of the second century. The third column might be tragedies, the author of the play would be one Amy—, as Waddington correctly read on the squeeze, and Le Guen carefully notes (Fig. 22). Then there would come his *ethnikon*; then follows the name of his actor, Arist—. There is a slight problem in that the letters *AMY* are aligned, on the squeeze as on *LB–W*'s facsimile, with the title *Σατύρων*; presumably the word *Τραγωιδιών* 'Tragedies' (?) was a line higher, to accommodate the very long lines necessary for the names of the author and actor of the satyr-play.

2. Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault (1880) 176–8, no. 37
(Le Guen 2001a: TE 46 C)

[ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀπελ]λικῶντος καὶ ἀγωνοθ[έτου καὶ (?) ἱερέως βασιλέως vel θεοῦ
Εὐμένου τοῦ δεῖνος, οἶδε ἐνίκων...]

[Διθ]υράμβων

[Σατύρων ?]

[Δημήτριος Μ]ενίππου Φωκαίου

[Ἀ]νδρομέδαι

[ἐκ]ιθαρώιδει δ' ὁ αὐτός

When Apellikon [was priest] and . . . was *agonothetes* [and priest of king Eumenes/the god Eumenes ?, the following were victors].

(Of the) dithyrambs: [Demetrios son of M]enippos, of Phokaia, with *Andromeda*. The same [was kitharode].

[(Of the) satyr-plays: ?]

The priesthood of Eumenes could be of king or god; or it could not be there at all, if the *agonothetes* was not yet priest of Eumenes: in which case, this text would date before 171 bc.

The surviving column is the beginning of the at least three columns of the victor-list. Demetrios Menippou is the restoration of Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault, based on the following list (see below, and section 3). Strikingly, he performed his own composition, as kitharode.

²⁰ I note Stephanis (1989) no. 512, Bakchios son of Bakchios of Athens, a lyric poet in the early first century bc.

The name Apellikon is one with strong associations at Teos, since the most famous bearer of the name was Teian. But this does not necessarily mean that the priest is Teian, since the name is widespread in Ionia; furthermore, even if this were a Teian, it would not necessarily imply that this priesthood is a Teian office, since it is conceivable that a Teian could hold office within the *Koinon* of the Artists.²¹ The name is therefore not a decisive objection against my argument that the eponymous officials in this list are not officials of the *polis* of Teos, but those of the Artists.

3. LB–W 93 (Le Guen TE 46 D).

[ἐπ]ὶ ἱερέως Δημητρίου, ἀγωνοθέτου δὲ καὶ ἱερέως βασιλέως vel θεοῦ
 Εὐμένου τοῦ δεινός, οἷδε ἐνίκων ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι]
 τῷ τεθέντι Ἀττάλ[ωι
]
 E

Διθυράμβων

Νικάρχος Ἑρμόνακτος Περγαμηνός

Φερσεφόνη

ἐκιθαρώδει Δημήτριος [Μ]ε[νίππου]

Φωκαεύς

Σατύρων

Ζ[ηνό]δο[τος]

δ[ρ]άματι[---]

ὑπεκ[ρί]νετο [ὁ δεινός]

Καλλιπ[που] M---

When Demetrios was priest, and . . . was *agonothetes* and priest of [king / the god Eumenes . . . these were victors in the contest] celebrated for Attalos [the brother / son of the king].

(Of the) dithyrambs: Nikarchos son of Hermonax, of Pergamon, with *Persephone*. Demetrios, son of [M]e[nippos], of Phokaia, was kitharode.

(Of the) satyr-plays: Z[eno]do[tos, son of (name), of (polis)], with a drama, [(title)] , [(name)] son of Kallip[os], of M..., was actor.

This is a very long squeeze, made of several sheets; the stone was over 90 cm long. This text, at least, was carved on an architectural block rather than a stele. As the squeeze shows, there is nothing to the left of the words τῷ τεθέντι Ἀττάλ[ωι] (Figs. 24–5). The first two lines were a centred heading above a number of columns of victors; the dithyrambic victor came in the first column on the left. A mention of a priesthood held by the *agonothetes* is certain. Demetrios, the

²¹ Very few (three) Teians are attested as Artists: Aneziri (2003) 90, 239–40.

eponymous priest, might be identical to the kitharode in this document and in the first list. As mentioned above, the date is made certain by the rest of the heading, with a mention of either the brother or the son of Eumenes II: between 167 and 158. We should read οἶδε ἐνίκων for *LB-W*, οἶδε ἐνίκησαν. The phrase, ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι, ‘in the contest’ is unusual. Normally, victor-lists would start with an expression such as οἶδε ἐνίκων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Θησείων or οἶδε Νέμεια ἐνίκων (*Syll.* 667, 1057, cf. 1058, 1079). For parallels, in victor-lists, to the expression found here, see *I. Magnesia* 88 c; *SEG* 28, 1246, 11. 5–7, which might offer a model for any restoration: οἶδε ἐνίκων ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Πρωμαίων τῷ τεθέντι ὑπο τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Λυκίων. The name of the festival is lost: Attaleia, specifying which Attalos—brother or son of Eumenes II—was honoured?

If this was the brother, the future Attalos II, the text might have read Ἀττάλ[ωι βασιλέως Ἀττάλου],²² or Ἀττάλ[ωι τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ βασιλέως].²³ If this was the future Attalos III, if the list dates to Eumenes II, the text might have read Ἀττάλ[ωι τῷ νιῷ τοῦ βασιλέως];²⁴ under Eumenes’ successor, Attalos II, the text might have read Ἀττάλ[ωι (τοῦ) βασιλέως Εὐμένου].²⁵ I cannot see any way of determining which restoration is the correct one.

In the first column, the restoration of the name of the kitharode is due to Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault (see below, section 3). The second column is very worn and difficult to read on the squeeze. For the satyr-play, the list names the author, Z[eno]do[tos] (I could not make out the delta on the squeeze or on photographs; I read Z O. The following line must have mentioned the play, in the form δράματι + title of the play in the dative, as in the first

²² The same expression in *I. Pergamon* 64, 65, 168, 174; similar is the expression Ἀθήναιος βασιλέως Ἀττάλου in *I. Asklepieion* 3 (Athenaios, brother of Eumenes II).

²³ The same expression in *MAMA* 6.173, ll. 10–11 and *SEG* 49, 1540, l. 3, with Thonemann (2003) 104 (proposing to date these two documents, and the title ‘brother of the king’, after the birth of Attalos (the future Attalos III) c. 168).

²⁴ The expression is similar in *I. Didyma* 488, ll. 39–40, where the male relatives of Eumenes II are named as οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ ὁ υἱὸς Ἀτταλος.

²⁵ This expression occurs in *OGIS* 319, ll. 16–18, same document *I. Magnesia* 87 (with article τοῦ), and in the heading of the ephebic list published at Schröder, et al. (1904) 170–3 no. 14, l. 9.

list. The facsimile in *LB-W* bears . . . *A*; the present reading comes from the squeeze. Then comes the actor, whose name I suppose followed immediately after *ὑπεκρίνετο* and is lost; *Kal[....]* should be understood as the beginning of his patronymic, followed by *M—*, his *ethnikon* (rather than the *Kal—m* of Stephanis, Le Guen). The present reading comes from the squeeze, ‘son of Kallippos’.

I do not know what to make of the letter *E* on the facsimile in *LB-W*. I could not make out this letter on the squeeze. It must lie under the long heading in lines 1–2, and hence belong to the third column of victors (*Κ[ωμωιδῶν]* ?)

The *Koinon* of the Artists of Ionia and the Hellespont, based at Teos in the second century BC, enjoyed a rich agonistic life, even though the exact details are obscure. It is unclear whether all of the performers and poets involved were necessarily members of the *Koinon*: does the formula ‘Ionia and the Hellespont’ designate the primary area of activity of the Association, or the area of origin of its members? Perhaps both; I consider membership of the Association almost certain in the case of the kitharode from Phokaia, and for the poets from Pergamon and Mytilene, problematic in the case of the actor from Chalkis in Euboea.²⁶ The genres attested—dithyramb, satyr-play—are certainly Dionysiac and appropriate for the festivals of the Dionysiac Artists.

From these lists, three titles emerge, contributing to the roster of titles of Hellenistic works known by epigraphy.²⁷ First, a satyr-play called the *Persians*: we can only wonder about the sources for this (Aischylos? Timotheos?), and any contemporary relevance in Attalid, post-Seleukid Asia Minor (it is tempting to posit a relation with the concern shown by Eumenes II to cast himself in an ‘Athenian’ light in the visual arts). Second, two dithyramps: *Phersephone* and *Andromeda*; the form is now sung by a kitharode. Traditionally dithyramb involved a chorus, a *chorodidaskalos*, and an *auletes*. Were these elements compatible with the kitharode? That they are not

²⁶ In fact, the only Artists whose origin is securely known come from Kalchedon, Samos, and ‘Laodikeia’ (presumably Laodikeia on Lykos): Aneziri (2003) 238.

²⁷ See *I. Magnesia* 88 for titles of ‘new dramas’ from the Rhomaia at Magnesia on Maiandos.

mentioned on the lists is no argument against their presence; but the presence of a kitharode, rather than a kitharist, might imply a solo performance. The change might be explained, because the chorus is a civic form, organized by civic subdivisions, unsuited for the Dionysiac Artists.²⁸ In all three lists, the dithyrambic contest is mentioned first: the prominence of dithyramb mirrors, and perhaps competes with, the increased importance of choral forms in the Hellenistic cities.²⁹

III. FINDING A TEIAN HORSE

In the courtyard of the primary school at Sığacık are kept two inscribed stones. The first is a stele, bearing a Teian *symmoria* decree (SEG 35, 1152). The second is a marble block, long upside down and half-buried, now proudly presented unearthed, cleaned, and right side up (Fig. 27). I studied this stone with H. Malay, to whom I owe excellent photographs. It is 87 cm wide, 37 cm high, 53 cm thick. At the front, a large zone of moulding was knocked back, and the first line of the text substantially erased. In spite of damage, it is clear that the top and bottom surfaces were originally dressed, to receive a block on top, and to rest on other blocks below. The back is smoothed, with a small moulding (Fig. 28). This is not an *anta*, nor

²⁸ On Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic dithyramb (mostly choral with *auletes*, in the old style), the meagre evidence is gathered by Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 75–80; see now P. Ceccarelli's forthcoming paper in the proceedings of a conference on dithyramb held in Oxford, summer 2004 edited by B. Kowalzig and P. Wilson. Bélis (1995) 1054–5, presents some evidence for 'kitharodic dithyramb', but apart from the victor-lists at Teos, it is scarce. Paus. 8.50.3, Plu. *Phil.* 11, show the famous kitharode Pylades performing Timotheos' *Persians* at the Nemeia in 205; however, this is not a dithyramb (as Bélis seems to believe), but a kitharodic *nome* (albeit one which presumably illustrates Timotheos' importation of 'dithyrambic style' into the *nome*). There is a problematic dithyrambic victory at the Lenaia in Athens attested for the mid-third-century kitharode (?) Nikokles, son of Aristokles (Stephanis 1988: no. 1839); the identity is based on a combination of IG II² 3779 (list of victories by Nikokles Aristokleous) with Paus. 1.37.2; see Wilson (2000) 391 n. 155.

²⁹ The importance of choral performance for local identity in the Hellenistic period is argued for in Wilson (2003) 166.



Fig. 27 New victor list from Teos.



Fig. 28 Back of the block with the new victor list.

an architrave, but part of the wall of a monumental building—in some way connected to the Associations of Dionysiac artists. I have no information on the provenance of the block.

ΠΟ... Α		
	Διθυράμβων	Σα[τύρων]
	Κάλλιππος Παντοκρατίδου	Δημόφιλος [ὁ τοῦ δαίμωνος]
Σ	Μαρωνίτης αἰσματοῦ Ἰππῶν	Περγ[αμηνός] 4
	ἐκιθαρώδει Δημήτριος	Δρ[άματοι . . .]
	Μενίππου Φωκαεὺς	[ὑπεκρίνετο ὁ δαίμων]
	(traces of a heading)	

(Of the) dithyrambs: Kallippos, son of Pantokratides, of Maroneia, with a song, *the Horse*. Demetrios, son of Menippos, of Phokaia, was kitharode.

(of the) satyr-plays: Demophilos, son of [(name)], of Pergamon, with a drama, [(title)]. (Name) was actor].

(Looking at my notebook, I am embarrassed to admit that I first restored Σα[λπιγκτῶν], ‘trumpeters’).

The *sigma* at the left of the text is not exactly aligned with the two columns, and may come from another victor-list.

This inscription is a new, fourth, victors’ list from Teos. It is the only surviving example of this category of document, unless the others turn up, say in Seferhisar (highly unlikely). Its provenance, Sığacık, is another illustration of the wide scatter of Teian material: none of the four victor-lists was found in the same spot—Teos, Sığacık, Seferhisar, Güzellir, the names map the dispersion of Teian inscriptions. The first line contains the traces of a heading, and perhaps a dating formula (though there does not seem to be a formula in ἐπί followed by an eponymous official); nothing is secure or usable. Dating will depend on palaeography.

The letters measure *c.* 2 cm. The contrast in style with the second-century victor-lists is immediately apparent. Here, alpha has a straight cross bar, with a very slight hint of a curve; round letters are slightly smaller than the other letters, and slightly off the line. Pi has uneven verticals, the right one being shorter than the left one, if not considerably so. There are slight apices; the letters are neat, except for a rather wobbly sigma; all straight lines show no trace of the bendiness (side legs of mu, top and bottom horizontals of epsilon) that characterises documents of *c.* 200 (first *asylia* requests,

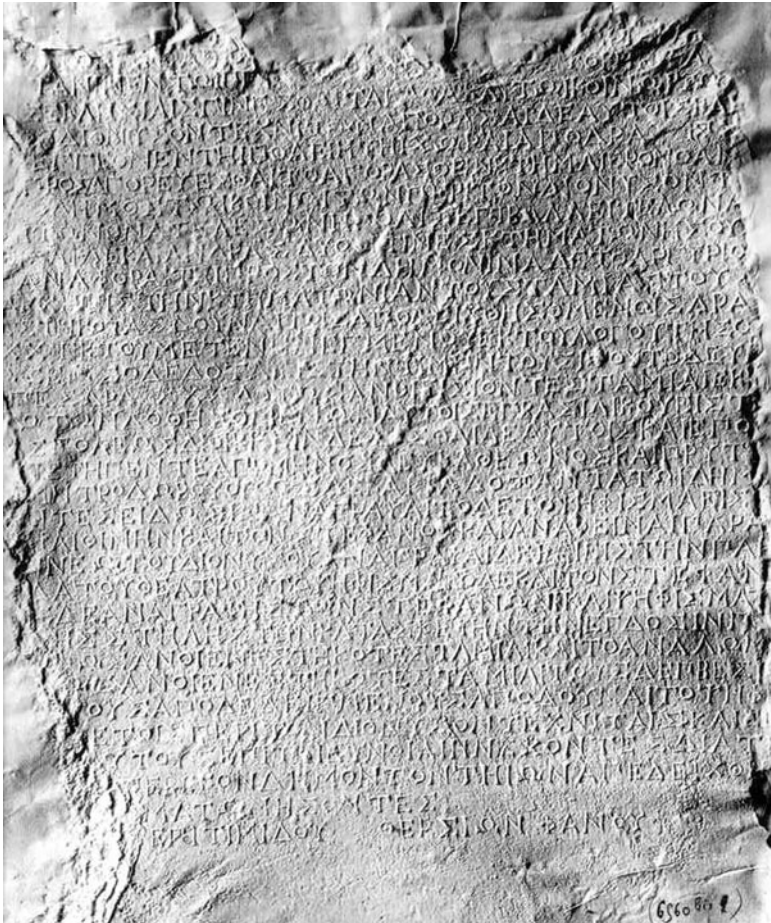


Fig. 29 Decree concerning a gift of land to the Dionysiac Artists (*Tekhnitai*) (SEG 2, 580).

decrees relating to Antiochos III: Fig. 29³⁰). The palaeography of Teian inscriptions is known thanks to dated examples: in the late fourth century, the *Ulamis sympoliteia* document;³¹ in the third

³⁰ Herrmann (1965) 48–50.

³¹ Robert and Robert (1976) 176–9 = OMS VII 320–3.



Fig. 30 Extract from a Teian decree for Antiochos III (SEG 41, 1003 II).

century, the Teian decree for the Dionysiac Artists (Fig. 30),³² the *isopoliteia* treaty between Temnos and Teos;³³ the decree concerning *sympoliteia* with Kyrbissos;³⁴ the recently found decree about pirates occupying the Teian harbour;³⁵ the dossier relating to the Seleukid takeover and presence (Fig. 29);³⁶ in the second century, the documents mentioned earlier; and in the later part of the century, the Teian decree concerning Tyre, which probably dates after 142 BC.³⁷ In addition, there are two bodies of documents relating to the *asylia* of Teos, one in the late third century, and one in the second quarter of the second century.³⁸

The closest parallel is the Teian decree in favour of the Dionysiac Artists, SEG 2, 580 (Fig. 29). The straight bar alphas and small round letters, especially the theta with its central dot, are similar. Le Guen has recently argued convincingly for dating this document to the late

³² SEG 2, 580; the present photograph courtesy of the French Archaeological School in Athens.

³³ Herrmann (1979) 242 and pl. 67.2 on the palaeography of this document, dating to the late third or early second century BC.

³⁴ Robert and Robert (1976) 156–9 = OMS VII: 300–2.

³⁵ Şahin (1994), whence SEG 49, 949; pp. 12–14 on palaeography.

³⁶ Herrmann (1965), whence SEG 41, 1003.

³⁷ Bécquignon and Laumonier (1925) 305–8, whence SEG 4, 601, with Rigsby (1996a) 481–5. On the palaeography of Teian documents, Herrmann (1965) 49–50; Herrmann (1979) 242; Şahin (1994) 12–13.

³⁸ Rigsby (1996a) 289–90; I owe thanks to C. V. Crowther for photographs of documents from the ‘second series’ of *asylia* decrees.

third century, 218–203. Should our new victor-list go as early as this, into the third century BC? Another parallel is the large lettering on ‘Block F’ among the Seleukid documents published by P. Herrmann: straight lines, slightly smaller round letters, slight apices, no curved bar on the alpha; this letter must date between 203 and 190.³⁹ It is true that the letters on the new list are of a monumental size, which is always difficult to date: it is less straightforward than it might seem to compare these letters to the letters of *SEG* 2, 580 (1.1 cm) or to the letters of the decrees concerning Antiochos III (1.2 cm), let alone the lettering on the Kyrbissos *sympoliteia* document (5–7 mm) or the ‘pirate decree’ (5–7 mm). On the other hand, the two victor-lists securely dated to the second quarter of the second century, and documented in Le Bas’s squeezes, are also carved in monumental lettering, and hence can be legitimately compared with the lettering on the new list. The comparison makes it clear that the new list is earlier, and hence should be dated to the late third or early second century. It is more the pity that we cannot read the dating formula on the stone: if there had been a priest of the ruler-cult, Attalos I, Antiochos III, or Eumenes II would settle the matter of dating. In spite of the absence of dating formula, I still think it most likely that this list is the same in nature as the three other lists from the second century: a list of victors at a festival celebrated by the Artists rather than at the Dionysia or Leukathea of Teos.

The political context is hence either the last years of the Attalid presence at Teos, or in the early 190s, in the period of Seleukid dominance, or the years immediately following the Seleukid defeat. Noteworthy is the Pergamene victor in the contest for satyr-plays. If the contestants, and victors, at the contests organised by the Artists were members of the Association of Artists, some consequences follow for the date of this victor-list. An attractive hypothesis of K. Rigsby, accepted and refined by S. Aneziri,⁴⁰ is that the Association at Pergamon was founded during the period of Seleukid domination of Teos (probably 204–188). If this hypothesis is right, the presence of the Pergamene victor would date the list either to before 204 or to after 190, since in between these years, there was a separate

³⁹ See Herrmann (1965) 157–9 and pl. V on the lettering of ‘Block F’.

⁴⁰ Aneziri (2003) 73–4.

Association in Pergamon, distinct from the Ionian Association, and our Pergamene victor would presumably have belonged to this Pergamene Association.

The kitharode's name survives in full. Demetrios, son of Menippos, of Phokaia (Stephanis 1989: no. 636). Earlier, we only had separate attestations of his name: in the first list, *LB-W* 93 (Le Guen 2001a: TE 46 D), *Δημήτριος . ε. . . . Φωκαεύς*; in the second list, Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault 1880: 176–8 no. 37 (Le Guen 2001a: TE 46 C), the name is [- - - *M*]*ενίππου Φωκαεύς*. Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault put the two texts together, to produce the full name, and their restoration is fully vindicated. If the new list dates to the late third century, or even if it dates to the early second century, Demetrios of Phokaia had a long period of activity as kitharode, since the other two victor-lists where he appears can be dated to the 160s, forty-odd or thirty-odd years; we should date these two victor-lists early in the 160s. This is a long time for a successful opera-singer-cum-virtuoso instrumentalist to be performing at his peak. (Another possibility is that the Demetrios Menippou in the new, third-century document is the grandfather of the Demetrios Menippou of the long-known, second-century documents.)

The poet of the dithyramb is one Kallippos, son of Pantokratides, of Maroneia. Our list is the first attestation of this man. However, Stephanis 1989: no. 1995, lists a Pan[ta]kratides, son of Kallippos, of MA— in *IG XI.4* no. 705, honoured in the very late third century BC.⁴¹ (Thanks to A. Chanotis for spotting this, and discussing the whole issue).

ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δ[ήμῳ] Ἄρισ-
τείδης [Τηλεμ]νήστου εἶπε[ν· ἐπειδὴ Παν]-
[τα]κρατίδης Καλλίππου Μα[ἀ]-

⁴¹ On the *rogator*, Aristides Telemnestou, Vial (1984) 98–9: our Aristides (II) belonged to 'the greatest family which Delos had in the purely political sphere'; he proposed the decrees *IG XI* 4, 704, 705, 1031. He appears as a public debtor, 209–200, and is mentioned in *I.Délos* 406 B 30 (the reference must be as part of the 'address' of a house offered as security for a loan from the Delian moneys; the text is to be dated after 188: Kent 1948: 301). In addition, Aristides Telemnestou is the proposer of a decree accepting the Leukophryeneia of Magnesia on Maeander as *isopythios* in 208 (Rigsby 1996a: no. 99; earlier version of document in *I.Magnesia* 49). Many thanks to Chr. Habicht for these indications.

[νῆ]ρ ἀγαθὸς ὦν διατελεῖ π[ερί τε τὸ ἱε]-
 [ρ]ὸν καὶ [τὸν] δῆμον τὸν Δηλ[ίων καὶ χρείας]
 [πα]ρέχεται καὶ κοινῇ τῇ [πόλει καὶ ἰδίαι]
 [τοῖς ἐντ]υγ[χά]νο[υσιν αὐτῷ Δηλίων
 κτλ.

It was resolved by the council and the p[eople. Aris]teides, son of [Tel-em]nestos proposed: [since Panta]kratides son of Kallippos, of Ma[...], is continuously a good man towards the shrine and the people of the Delians, and provides services both publicly to [the city and individually to those of the Delians who meet him], etc.

The name should be corrected, in line with the new text from Teos, as K. Hallof confirms from examining a squeeze of this inscription in Berlin: in line 3, an omicron can be read in [Παντ]οκρατίδης.⁴² The name Pantokratides is not hitherto attested in the Greek onomastic material (that in itself is no cause for surprise); in any case, similar names are attested (Pankrates, Panukrates, Pasikrates).⁴³ This Pantokratides Kallippou might well be the brother of [St]ratippos Kallippou, the *thearodokos* of Delphi at Maroneia, mentioned on the great list from Delphi, specifically in those parts to be dated to the late third century.⁴⁴

The Delian stele is further illustrated with a document relief or emblem (Fig. 31): not a lyre, as Roussel writes in *IG* (repeated in Stephanis), but a *kithara*. This emblem is not an illustration of the honorand's polis,⁴⁵ but a reference to his identity as *mousikos*: either a

⁴² I checked on the stone in the Delos Museum, by kind permission of P. Hatzidakis, *epimeletes* of Delos; my warmest thanks to Jean-Charles Moretti for brokering this. I could make out the omicron.

⁴³ Bechtel (1917) 357, 359, 361. The root Panto- appears at nearby Samos, in the name Pantonaktides: *CIG* 3091, l. 14, with Preuner (1924) 35; *SEG* 1, 366, l. 2; *OMS* II 1091. My thanks to Chr. Habicht for these references. See now *LGP* 4.

⁴⁴ Plassart (1921) col. III 93; on the date, 230–220, Hatzopoulos (1991). However, J. Oulhen will apparently assign this part of the *thearodokoi* list to Ainos rather than Maroneia (I owe this information to E. Matthews at the *LGP*, but am not clear as to the reasons; my thanks also to L. Loukoupoulou for checking her Maroneian prosopographical notes).

⁴⁵ Maroneia does not use Apollo's *kithara* as an emblem on its coinage; the traditional motifs are horse + vine, and from 188 (?) onwards images of Dionysos (head, cult statue): Schönert-Geiss (1987). On *parasemata* see Knoepfler (2001) 30, with earlier bibliography, notably Ritti (1970).



Fig. 31 Delian decree (late third century BC) honouring the musician of the *kithara* Pantokratides Kallipou, from Maroneia (IG 11.4, 705).

kitharode, or a writer of poetry for the *kithara*. There are several similar Delphian examples: a carved *kithara* accompanying a proxeny decree for Nikodromos, son of Theodoros, of Chalkis (third century BC) must indicate the honorand's activity as a *kithara*-player or poet for the *kithara*; a carved lyre accompanying a proxeny decree for two poets from Aigira, Thrason and Sokrates, the sons of Patron, reflects the honorands' performance of *λυρικά συστήματα* extracted from ancient poets (second century BC); an incised *kithara*-player, next to a decree granting citizenship to Theseus, son of Heroxenos, of

Athens, presumably informs the viewer of the honorand's activity.⁴⁶ The Delian decree perhaps went on to describe his literary and artistic activity in the missing lines: for instance, he may have given performances of (kitharodic? dithyrambic?) poetry concerning Delos, and gained good repute (εὐδοκιμεῖν) in the process. At any rate, it is clear that we are dealing with two generations of men who were involved in some way with the *kithara* and with poetry. The new Teos document, and IG 11.4.705 are both to be dated in the late third century or very early second century, which means that the activity of Pantokratides, the father, and Kallippos, the son, overlapped. It is likely that both poet, from Maroneia, and performer, from Phokaia, belonged to the Association of Artists. In addition, it is possible that the actor in the third victor-list from the years between 167 and 158, LB-W 93 (*name*), son of Kallippos, of the polis M—, is from Maroneia and in fact a son of the Kallippos Pantokratidou Maronites in the new Teian list. These Maroneian artists are members of the Ionic–Hellespontine Association. The city was free, indeed an ally of Rome,⁴⁷ but was close to the Attalid dominion in the Chersonese; in addition, it was close to the Hellespont. The Association recruited from Maroneia, as well as from Kalchedon; if its title reflects geographical origin of members, 'Hellespont' was taken broadly.

The poet who wrote the victorious satyr-play is from Pergamon,

⁴⁶ Nikodromos: *FD* III 2, no. 207 (the emblem is carved in the pediment of a stele-shaped panel in the polygonal wall next to the treasury of the Athenians); it is clearly not a lyre, as the editor, G. Colin, writes (also in *Syll.* 432; Ritti 1970: 279–80), but a *kithara* (thick wooden arms and integral sound-box). Nikodromos might be identified with the kitharode mentioned in D. L. 6.89 (Stephanis 1989: no. 1829). Thrason and Sokrates: *FD* III 1, no. 49 (clearly a lyre—curved, horn-shaped arms, small oval sound-box), carved on the base of a statue of Philopoimen. The incised kitharode next to a decree granting citizenship to Theseus, son of Heroxenos, of Athens (second-century AD) is probably an image of Apollo: Ritti (1970) 283, on *FD* III 2 no. 104. The proxeny decree from Lousoi for one Olympichos, son of Polykles, of Charadra, is carved on a bronze plaque decorated with a lyre (according to the editor, A. Wilhelm), perhaps a reference to his activity as *mousikos*: *IG* V 2, 389 with Ritti (1970) 294–5; Stephanis (1989) no. 1939. From Wilhelm's photograph, *JÖAI* 4 (1901) 64, I could not tell if the *parasema* represented a lyre (Wilhelm), or a *kithara* (Ritti).

⁴⁷ *SEG* 35, 823 gives the text of the alliance between Rome and Maroneia (after 167).

like the dithyrambic poet of the third Teian list (LB–W 93); he bears a common name, Demophilos, which turns up twice in Pergamon, once in *I.Pergamon* 332 and once in *I.Asklepieion* 123. I do not think we can identify him.

The new text gives us a complete text for the dithyrambic victors, whereas those known earlier were not so well preserved. Noteworthy is the expression *ᾄσμα*, song, to describe the dithyrambic piece. On a textual level, we might restore *ᾄσματι* + title in dative in the first victor-list (LB–W 91, Le Guen 2001a: TE 46 A) and in the second (Hauvette-Besnault and Pottier 1880: 176–8 no. 37; Le Guen 2001a: TE 46 C), but certainly not in the third (LB–W 93; Le Guen 2001a: TE 46 D), as can clearly be seen from the squeeze (Fig. 25): there are no letters to the left of the title *Φερσεφόνει*, which is centred.

More generally, the new text makes clear the contrast between *drama*, the word used for satyr-play, and *asma*, song, used for dithyramb. The word in itself does not imply any difference between ‘choral’ and ‘solo’ song, and so does not necessarily confirm my suggestion that the Artists performed dithyramb as solo pieces.⁴⁸

The title of the victorious dithyramb was *The Horse*. I notice, without much comment, that the name of the author was itself a horse compound; after all, the fact that you’re named after a horse isn’t enough reason for going on about them. This title presumably refers to the Trojan Horse, the *doureios hippos*; the new text from Teos gives us a reference to treatment of the theme in Hellenistic times. The Horse is mentioned in a dedicatory epigram by Alkaios of Messene, as one of the themes (*Ἱππου ἔργματα*, the ‘deeds of the Horse’) in a song performed by a chorus and accompanied by an *auletes*, Dorotheos, son of Sosikles, of Thebes (*Anth. Planud.* 7, Gow–Page Alcaeus 10; Stephanis 1989: no. 812): this must be a traditional dithyramb.

Σύμφωνον μαλακοῖσι κερασσάμενος θρόον αὐλοῖς
Δωρόθεος γοερόν ἐπνεε Δαρδανίδας

⁴⁸ On the meanings and context of *asma* see Wilson (2000) 227–9.

καὶ Σεμέλας ὠδῖνα κεράνιον, ἔπνεε δ' Ἴππου
 ἔργματ', ἀειζῶων ἀψάμενος Χαρίτων·
 μῦθος δ' εἰν ἱεροῖσι Διονύσοιο προφήταις
 Μώμου λαυφηρὰς ἐξέφυγε πτέρυγας,
 Θηβαῖος γενεήν, Σωσικλέους· ἐν δὲ Λυαίου
 νηῶι φορβειὰν θήκατο καὶ καλάμους.

Mixing the song of many accorded voices with soft pipes, Dorotheos piped the mournful Trojans, and the labour of Semele, struck by lightning, and he piped the deeds of the Horse, having reached the eternal Graces; alone among the sacred prophets of Dionysos, he escaped the swift wings of Blame. By birth, he was a Theban, son of Sosikles; in the temple of Dionysos, he dedicated his mouth-strap and his reeds.

Another epigram, by Dioskorides, describes a woman, Athenion, 'singing the Horse', presumably in a private performance or a festival *epideixis* (AP 5.138, also Gow–Page, Dioskorides no. 2; Stephanis 1989: no. 72).

Ἴππον Ἀθήνιον ᾗσεν ἐμοὶ κακὸν· ἐν πυρὶ πᾶσα
 Ἰλιος ἦν, καὶ γὰρ κείνη ἄμ' ἐφλεγόμαν,
 τοῦδειςας Δαναῶν δεκέτη πόνον· ἐν δ' ἐνὶ φέγγει
 τῶι τότε καὶ Τρῶες καὶ γὰρ ἀπωλόμεθα

Line 3: On grounds of meaning, Gow and Page dislike the MS οὐ δέισας, 'having endured without fear' (Fr. Dübner), 'I had braved the ten years' effort of the Greeks' (W. Paton). They propose συστειίλας, 'contracting, shortening', which seems equally unsatisfactory. Perhaps simply σὺ δ' ᾗσες/σὺ δ' ᾄσας ('you sang')? The repetition of δέ is awkward.

Athenion sang the Horse, an evil for me; all Troy was on fire, and I burned with it . . . the ten years' toil of the Greeks; but on that same day, the Trojans and I perished.

Both epigrammatists date to the late third century, and hence provide evidence for performance of songs on the theme of the Trojan Horse contemporary to the dithyramb written by Kallippos and performed by Demetrios.

Sources for Kallippos' *Trojan Horse* would have included the *Odyssey*, Cyclical epic (the *Little Iliad* being much read in the Hellenistic period), tragedy (Sophokles' *Laokoon* ? *Sinon* ?), and

various passages in lyric poetry.⁴⁹ A special role might have been played by Stesichoros' poem on the Trojan war, whose title survives on a papyrus as

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'Stesichoros' *Horse*'. The fragments are published at *POxy.* 2803; West (1971) combines this text with the Stesichorean fragments *POxy.* 2619. The *Horse* seems to have covered elements of the sack of Troy, so that we may be dealing with an 'alternative or informal designation' (West) for Stesichoros' *Iliou Persis*—*Sack of Troy* (a known title).

In conclusion, the new list from Teos is the earliest document of its nature; it belongs to the dossier of the rich festival activity of the Dionysiac Artists, which ran in its own time, parallel with the festivals and activities of the Teian polis, even though the two activities shared the same physical space. It left its own traces, inscribed in the monumental structures of Teos town; the dispersion of this material mirrors the dispersion of the civic inscriptions of the Teians. The new inscription can be read in a precise context, modern and scholarly, but also ancient and institutional as well as monumental.

The new document provides us with information on the nature of Hellenistic dithyramb—a song, *asma*, at least in the hands of the performers at the festivals of the Artists. One such performer was Dionysios of Phokaia, appearing as a very young man, c. 200, at one of these festivals, singing—alone, without a chorus—a freshly minted dithyramb, *The Horse*, specially composed for the competition by a poet, himself the son of a poet or artist. We can only try to imagine this song—its prelude, its invocation, its hymnic elements, the praise of god and polis and the all-important sensitivity to place; the sense of solidarity and identity of the Dionysiac

⁴⁹ Bakchylides *Dithyrambs*, fr. 9, from Servius, *ad Verg. Aen.* 2.201 *sane Bacchylides de Laocoonte et uxore eius vel de serpentibus a Calydnis insulis venientibus atque in homines conversis dicit*, 'Bacchylides certainly speaks of Laokoon and his wife, and of snakes coming from the islands of Kalydnai and turning into people', seems to concern Laokoon, and perhaps in some way the conclusion of the Trojan legend. Many thanks to David Fearn for this reference.

Artists; the combination of kitharodic virtuosity and quotations of choral song; the sensitive intertextual weavings; the metre, the dialect; the overall hearable structure of the poem; a lot of alliteration, the piling up of composite epithets for the deadly artifact and its craftedness; the variation in rhythm between extended elaborate purple ekphrastic passages and swift narrative: Sinon, Cassandra, perhaps Laokoon, portents, gods, the debate about the Horse, foreshadowing of the sack of Troy; meaningful, allusive, tactful, reworkings of panhellenic myth to fit the politics, especially to construct relations between Troy, Pergamon, Asia Minor, and perhaps already Rome;⁵⁰ the abrupt beginning and end.

My hypothesis is that the Hellenistic professionals offered 'pseudo-choral' poetry, put on by virtuoso solo artists but, perhaps, evoking the still-ongoing group performances of old dithyramb. Nothing of this is more than speculation, and none of this exists any more; but I am trying to raise the possibility that such artistic forms were comparable in form, nature, and quality to Archaic Greek poetry, 'lyric' and 'choral', produced by professionals at frequent occasions, in well-attended festivals. The epigraphy of the Dionysiac Artists at Teos belongs to the lost world of Hellenistic literatures, as well as to that of the Greek festival and generally of Greek theatre.

⁵⁰ On the politically useful myth work performed by the Trojan legend see Gruen (1990) 5–33; Erskine (2001).

Kraton, Son of Zotichos: Artists’ Associations and Monarchic Power in the Hellenistic Period*

Brigitte Le Guen

Kraton, son of Zotichos, from Calchedon, is undoubtedly the *aulos*-player from the ancient world about whom we are best informed.¹ A musician active in the second century BC and an eminent member of the Association of Dionysian *Technitai* in Asia Minor (a group of stage performers under the protection of the god of the theatre), he is known to us through around ten items of epigraphic evidence.

This corpus has been the subject of excellent analysis by Daux, whose main objective was to provide a chronological order for the various items.² Even so, it is still impossible to date some of them as precisely as we would like. In a book dealing with the Associations of *Technitai* in the Hellenistic period (Le Guen 2001a), I translated and provided commentary on all the inscriptions relating to Kraton, though without providing a continuous analysis.³ A second book on

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¹ Stephanis (1988) no. 1501; Bélis (1999) 215, 226.

² Daux (1935) 210–30.

³ Le Guen (2001a). This work, the product of a habilitation thesis of 1999, consists of two volumes: a documentary corpus (vol. I), in which the reference TE designates an epigraphic text; and a synthesis (vol. II). For reasons of convenience, epigraphic references will on the whole be cited according to my own corpus, where previous bibliography may be found. The dossier on Kraton is currently made up of nine