

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF ATHLETICS
IN ANCIENT ATHENS TO 322 B.C.

By



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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the historical development and significance of athletics in ancient Athens. There has been no thorough historical treatment of this topic previously, and histories of ancient sport have tended simply to include Athens in a general picture of the rise and fall of Greek athletics. There also has been no extensive collection and presentation of the wide variety of relevant evidence including ancient authors, archaeology, vase-paintings and epigraphical testimonia. This evidence and the analysis presented here show that athletics were very significant in the civic and political life of Athens, and that the histories of Athens and its athletics were inter-related.

Taking an historical approach, the study deals with the "when, who, where and why" of Athenian athletics rather than the "how" or the technical aspects of various events. "Athletics" refers to that realm of activity related to the preparation and competition of persons for prizes at public contests in events requiring physical strength and skill. Equestrian competitions also are covered. The focus is on the internal affairs of Athens, and chronologically the main concentration is on the late archaic and the classical periods when athletics were part of civic life and evidence becomes more substantial. The study stops with the end of Athenian independence in 322 B.C. as Athens and its athletics entered a new phase in the Hellenistic age.

At Athens the prizes, participants, sites and circumstances of

athletics show that this state and this area of activity affected the life and character of each other. Rather than a Panhellenic sanctuary, Athens was a dynamic polis; and athletics accordingly developed in relationship with public life, the social élite, and civic administration and finance. Here one can speak of "civic athletics" with a significant degree of state involvement, as in the administration of athletic festivals. Athens and its athletics had a constructive and harmonious relationship overall. The Athenian as victor, benefactor or spectator gained glory, recognition or pleasure, and the city benefitted from flattering festivals and facilities and from an enhanced civic consciousness.

After the introduction the dissertation comprises six main sections. Part One outlines the rise of athletics at Athens from aristocratic and probably funerary origins up to the recognizable emergence of civic athletics with the Panathenaea of ca. 566 B.C. Part Two examines the athletic festivals and events, and notes an Athenian tendency from Peisistratos onwards to direct local and even funerary athletics to the unity and glorification of the state. Part Three investigates the rise, expansion and topography of Athenian athletic facilities including the Agora; the study notes the significance of political factors in the development of such facilities. Part Four, presenting the results of a prosopographical examination of all known Athenian athletes, concludes that Athenian athletics remained élitist but that the élitism changed from one of birth to one of wealth. Part Five examines criticisms of athletics in Athenian sources to show the limitations of these as evidence. A discussion of

training notes the trend to athletic specialization but discounts professionalism in the sense of the financial dependency of athletes. Athletic awards at Athens simply were traditional and popular expressions of civic appreciation. Part Six demonstrates and explains the direct, then the indirect, and finally the disappearing relationship between athletics and Athenian political leadership. The conclusion, suggesting five significant developmental stages, places the history of Athenian athletics within the wider context of the history of the state itself. Appendices deal with problems, such as supposedly Solonian laws about athletics, or present collections of evidence, such as the catalogues of Athenian athletes.

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Theses are not produced by the toil and tears of the author alone. I think back with fondness and gratitude to the many people who helped, coaxed and kicked me along.

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PREFACE

In this dissertation the names of classical authors and texts, journals and works of reference are abbreviated according to the list in the Oxford Classical Dictionary (second edition, 1970) or secondarily the system of the American Journal of Archaeology (see AJA 82 [1978]: 3-10). An additional list of some frequently cited works and their abbreviations follows this preface.

The bibliography is one of selected works of relevance and value to this study. A bibliography of all works cited would be one of increased length and decreased value. An attempt has been made to use reliable, standard editions of ancient texts; and textual problems, translations and special editions are noted in the footnotes.

I have tried to handle the problem of transliteration with some degree of consistency and common sense. Popular spellings of certain names and words, such as Thucydides and gymnasium, are used for convenience. The names of ancient authors and works generally are given in their Latinized forms, while less common terms and most Greek names are transliterated directly.

ABBREVIATIONS

Agora III, XIV etc.: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens,
The Athenian Agora, various volumes.

APF: J. K. Davies, Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.

Boersma, ABP: J. S. Boersma, Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to
405/4 B.C.

Buhmann, Sieg: H. Buhmann, Der Sieg in Olympia und in den anderen
panhellenischen Spielen.

DAA: A. E. Raubitschek, Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis.

Delorme, Gym.: J. Delorme, Gymnasion.

Ebert, Epigramme: J. Ebert, Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an
gymnischen und hippischen Agonen.

Forbes, GPE: C. A. Forbes, Greek Physical Education.

Gardiner, AAW: E. N. Gardiner, Athletics of the Ancient World.

Gardiner, GASF: E. N. Gardiner, Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals.

Ginouvès, Bal.: R. Ginouvès, Balanautikè.

Harris, GAA: H. A. Harris, Greek Athletes and Athletics.

Harris, SGR: H. A. Harris, Sport in Greece and Rome.

Hyde, OVM: W. W. Hyde, Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art.

IAG: L. Moretti, Iscrizioni agonistiche greche.

Judeich, Topog.: W. Judeich, Topographie von Athen.

Jüthner-Brein: J. Jüthner, Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen,
F. Brein ed., 2 vols.

Krause, PNI: J. H. Krause, Die Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien aus den
Schrift- und Bildwerken des Altertums.

Olym.: L. Moretti, Olympionikai.

PA: J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica.

PDA: J. Travlos, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens.

Robinson, Sources: R. S. Robinson, Sources for the History of Greek Athletics.

Travlos, Poleo.: J. Travlos, Poleodomike Exelixis ton Athenon.

Wycherley, HGBC: R. E. Wycherley, How the Greeks Built Cities.

Wycherley, Stones: R. E. Wycherley, The Stones of Athens.

Wycherley, "Peripatos": R. E. Wycherley, "Peripatos: The Athenian Philosophical Scene--II."

Zschiezschmann: W. Zschiezschmann, Wettkampf--und Übungstätten in Griechenland, 2 vols.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
PREFACE	viii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
PART ONE: THE RISE OF ATHLETICS AT ATHENS	28
PART TWO: ATHENIAN CIVIC ATHLETICS	54
Panathenaea	56
Other Festivals with Athletics	68
Trends in Athenian Athletic Activity	79
Conclusion	88
PART THREE: ATHENIAN ATHLETIC FACILITIES	92
Athletics and the Agora	93
Gymnasia	108
Academy	123
Lyceum	133
Kynosarges	148
Stadium and Hippodrome	159
Conclusion	169
PART FOUR: ATHENIAN ATHLETES	175
Introduction	175
Charts	180
Discussion of Charts and Athletes	188
Conclusion	207
PART FIVE: CRITICS AND CRITICISMS	211
Introduction	211
The Critics	216
Criticisms	242
Trainers and Training	242
Civic Awards and the Issue of Professionalism	250
Conclusion	260

PART SIX: ATHLETICS AND ATHENIAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP	266
CONCLUSION: DEVELOPMENTS AND STAGES IN ATHENIAN ATHLETICS	287
APPENDICES	303
A) The Solonian Nomothesia and Athletics	303
B) Minor Athletic Elements in the Festival Program	323
C) Athletic, Equestrian and Other Events	329
D) The Starting Line in the Agora	362
E) Herms, Hermes and the Gymnasium of Hermes	369
F) Nothoi and Kynósarges	372
G) Catalogues of Known and Possible Athenian Athletes	381
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	415

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Map A	The Agora in the Late Fifth Century	102
Map B	The Academy, Kerameikōs and Agora	122
Map C	The Ilissos Area	137

INTRODUCTION

As an historical study of Athenian athletics, this dissertation investigates the significance of athletics in Athenian life from the time of the earliest relevant sources down to 322 B.C.¹ Since athletics were part of the religious, social and even political life of Athens, they affected and were affected by historical developments. Many issues arise. When and why did athletics on a civic basis appear and surpass private, aristocratic athletic activities? How was the athletic life of the city affected by tyranny, military factors, urbanization, political changes and economic conditions? Where and why did athletes train and compete? Who influenced and who participated in athletic facilities and contests? What roles did various individuals, families and socio-economic groups play? What motivated comments and criticisms by ancient authors on athletics? To what extent were civic athletics a factor in the topography and administration of Athens? This introduction will discuss the terminology, earlier scholarship, scope, organization and sources of this study, as well as giving a general historical background for early Greek athletics.

The Greek word for "athlete" was derived from an Homeric root, ἄεθ-λοϛ or ἄεθλοϛ, a general term for exertion, effort, accomplishment or deed.² Homer especially uses this in contexts of bodily performance, or

¹All dates given are B.C. unless otherwise indicated.

²G. Autenrieth, An Homeric Dictionary, trans. R. P. Keops (London, 1960), s.v. ἄεθλοϛ; P. Chantraine, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque (Paris, 1968), s.v. ἄεθλοϛ; LSJ, s.v. ἀθλητής;

struggle.¹ In Pindar ἀθλητής --from the verb ἀθλεῦειν meaning "to undertake an accomplishment or deed," especially "to practice a skill or exercise"--refers to a person who competes physically in contests. Similarly, Herodotus uses ἀεθλεῦειν for contention in games like those at Olympia.² By the late fifth century, Euripides' use of ἀθλητής suggests a recognizable group associated with physical training and competition for prizes. Plato's conception is similar.³ With the rise of athletic festivals, then, the Homeric idea became quite specific.

J. Jüthner's interpretation of "athlete" is coloured by the later age of overspecialization but it is helpful:

In der Blütezeit der Nationalspiele versteht man dann unter einem "Athleten" einen durch andauerndes sorgfältiges Training geschulten, gewöhnlich in einer einzigen Übung besonders ausgebildeten Teilnehmer an öffentlichen Wettkämpfen.⁴

Working definitions for this dissertation are as follows. "Athletics" refers to the realm of activity related to the preparation and competition of persons for prizes at public contests in events requiring physical strength and skill.⁵ "Civic athletics" designates athletics

E. Reisch, s.v. Athletai, PW II 2 (1896), 2049-58; see the discussion in J. Jüthner, Die Athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen, ed. F. Brein, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1965-67), 1:11-18.

¹For example, Hom. Od. 8.100.160, Il. 24.734. At the Phaeacian Games (Od. 8.97-233) Odysseus is insulted as no ἀθλητήρ (Od. 8.164), that is a man accustomed to contests.

²Pind. Nem. 5.49; 10.51; Hdt. 5.22; cf. 7.212 for a military usage.

³Eur. Autolycus frag. 282 (Nauck TGF) in Ath. 10.413 c-f; Pl. Statesman 294d-e.

⁴Jüthner-Brein, 1:12.

⁵On events considered athletic herein, see Appendix C. Female athletes were not unknown but will not be discussed because of the lack of evidence. For an introduction see H. A. Harris, Greek Athletes and Athletics (Bloomington, 1964), 179-86.

with a significant degree of state involvement, such as in the administration of contests, prizes and facilities. Civic athletics, with governmental involvement, became increasingly formal and regular in the classical era.

Athletics are related to, but distinct from, sport and physical education. "Sport" refers to activities engaged in for recreation and the pleasure of participation: "By derivation the word 'sport' covers every diversion by which a man disports or amuses himself in his leisure time; it is essentially the antithesis of work."¹ Sport can be competitive but there is less emphasis on preparation and prizes. "Physical education," similar to the Greek idea of γυμναστική refers to the generalized instruction, especially of the young, by paid teachers aiming at the overall physical development of the body.² Athletics in Greece entailed competition for a prize, and participation was not necessarily recreational or enjoyable. Athletic events were not intended for the general development of the body, and, at least in the early stages, schooling was not essential. This study will not deal

¹H. A. Harris, Sport in Greece and Rome (London, 1972), 13.

²C. A. Forbes, Greek Physical Education (New York and London, 1929), 5-6 distinguishes physical education from athletics:

These are akin, in that both have the exercises of the body as a groundwork, but they employ the exercises in wholly different ways, and for different purposes. The athletes who took part in the games at Olympia and elsewhere did not acquire their proficiency at school, nor were paid teachers essential to their training; they had nothing to do with any school system, and their activities were distinct from those of organized physical education. When group instruction is given by recognized teachers, who receive remuneration for their efforts, and whose duty it is, not to train athletes, but to develop strong, sound, supple bodies, prepared to face the manifold needs of daily life--this we may call 'physical education.'

in depth with recreational activities and games nor with the physical education of youths.¹ However, because they were so much a part of athletic festivals, equestrian competitions will be covered as well as gymnastic athletics.²

Predictably, most histories of Greek athletics concentrate on Olympia, the most revered centre of ancient athletic competition. Also, studies prefer to use Hellenistic and later sources and examples because of the paucity and difficulty of sources for early athletics. In histories of Athens, perhaps understandably, athletics have been overshadowed by literature, art and politics. Generalizations abound but no study has been done specifically on the history of Athenian athletics. Athens' main contributions to western civilization were in non-athletic areas, but the importance of athletics in Athenian history must not be discounted. Too many studies give a schematic survey of Greek athletics mixing Olympic history with Athenian vase-paintings and with literary efforts of the Roman era. Early Greek athletics are seen through a romantic haze; as soon as athletics become established, they are presented as in a process of deterioration towards Roman barbarism in the form of gladiators, professionalism and

¹Commendable discussions of Greek physical education include: Forbes, *GPE*; U. Popplow, *Leibesübungen und Leibeserziehung in der griechischen Antike*, 2nd ed. (Schorndorf bei Stuttgart, 1972); H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb (London, 1956), 165-86; F. A. G. Beck, *Greek Education 450-350 B.C.* (London, 1964), 129-40. For a general introduction, see C. A. Forbes, "Athenian Physical Education in the Fifth Century B.C.," in B. L. Bennett, ed., *The History of Physical Education and Sport* (Chicago, 1972), 151-60.

²Harris, *SGR*, 14; cf. E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London, 1910), who covers equestrian events as part of festivals but does not accept them as "athletic."

spectator sports.¹

J. Jüthner, E. N. Gardiner and others depict Greek athletics as rising to brief glory and then enduring a long decline.² Athletics and festivals are said to have developed from aristocratic and spontaneous Homeric games into organized and increasingly non-aristocratic games in the sixth century. The period of roughly 510-440 is presented as the age of excellence in Greek athletics, followed by a period of decline (440-338) with the rise of professionalism and specialization. Gardiner contends that Athens became utterly unathletic after the fifth century,³ but can this simple pattern of decline be applied to Athens without considerable modification? H. W. Pleket charges that the history of athletics has suffered from an excess of antiquarianism plus a bias against professionalism,⁴ and this is to be avoided in attempting a treatment of Athens. Unburdened by historical relativism, one can show that athletics had their own history related to the wider context of the history of the city itself. Furthermore, Greece was never homogeneous and Athens prided herself on her individuality and leadership.⁵ There is no need to assume that Athenian athletics conformed to the theoretical Greek "norm." It is time to advance the understanding of Greek athletics and Athenian history through a specific examination of

¹For example, Gardiner, GASE, 6 feels Greek athletics must be approached as a "history of decline." Also see below pp. 212-13.

²Jüthner-Brein, 1:82-124; E. N. Gardiner, Athletics of the Ancient World (London, 1930; reprint ed., Chicago, 1978), 99-116.

³Gardiner, GASE, 235.

⁴H. W. Pleket, "Games, Prizes, Athletes and Ideology," Arena 1 (1976): 51.

⁵Thuc. 2.37-41.

Athenian athletics, allowing the studies of Athens' history and athletics to enhance each other.

Although the history of athletics is an interdisciplinary topic, it often has been attempted by ancient historians who knew little about athletics or by physical educationalists with only a superficial knowledge of ancient history. Only scholars of the stature of Jüthner can appreciate athletics in the context of ancient life from both the historical and technical viewpoints. The primary intention herein is to treat historically the "when, where, who and why" of Athenian athletics; the technical aspects of the performance of various events--the "how"--generally will be avoided. Excellent treatments of the mechanics of Greek athletics have been done;¹ and, perhaps because of conservatism in athletics, the techniques of most activities changed only marginally. Athenians threw the javelin in the same manner as other Greeks, but this study can still contend that the overall nature of athletics at Athens reflects and contributed to the distinctive nature of Athens as a polis.

For practical reasons this study includes only as much general Athenian history as is relevant to the development and history of Athenian athletics. Geographically "Athens" will refer to the city and Attica, or the area encompassed by the Kleisthenic demes. Local, that is demotic, festivals and facilities will not be covered as the major focus is on the state program of athletics. Chronologically the main concentration is on the late Archaic and the Classical periods when civic athletics arise and evidence becomes substantial. The

¹As well as the efforts of Jüthner and Gardiner, good technical treatments can be found in Harris, GAA; R. Patrucco, Lo sport nella Grecia antica (Florence, 1972); and J. Ebert, Zum Pentathlon der Antike (Berlin, 1963).

termination date of 322 marks the end of the Lamian War and the removal of Athenian political independence by a Macedonian occupation. In the Hellenistic era the history of Greece and its athletics entered a new and distinct stage.

Six sections make up the body of this dissertation. Part One examines evidence suggesting that aristocratic and probably funerary athletics long preceded civic athletics at Athens. Vase-paintings and literary sources testify to athletics at Athens in the seventh and possibly eighth centuries. The career of Solon, crucial to the development of the city, had athletic significance. Civic athletics became recognizable in the sixth-century climate of political strife when the reorganization of the Panathenaic festival around 566 included athletic contests. After 566 the Peisistratid tyranny dominated the next decades during which civic athletics became well established.

Part Two uses Panathenaic amphorae and other types of evidence to reveal the history, prizes and events of the Panathenaía. Other festivals including athletics also are discussed; for instance, the Epitaphia and Theseia recalled games at early funerals and hero cults. Literature, vase-paintings and other sources together give a general impression of Athenian athletic activities from the sixth to the fourth century. Various questions can be asked. Were Athenian athletics essentially practical, as Gardiner says of Greek sports in general?¹ Did hoplite and chariot races represent military concerns, anachronisms or spectacles? What was the significance of regattas and the numerous torch races? What factors lay behind changes in Athens' athletic

¹Gardiner, GASF, 1.

program? A review of the evidence for individual events indicates the introduction and history of events in Athenian festivals. Through Part Two an overall impression emerges of an elaborate and diversified athletic program intentionally directed to the unity and benefit of the state. The games of Athens were a matter of celebration as well as competition, for the value of staging as well as winning contests did not escape the Athenians.

Part Three examines Athens' athletic facilities which had a long history of development and expansion from the use of convenient shady areas and grassy slopes to the building of architectural complexes. H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley suggest that the early Agora had athletic functions,¹ and this idea can be supported and extended. The development of public facilities and the relationship between hoplite warfare and the rise of gymnasia deserve attention. Palaestrae existed inside and outside of the gymnasia, raising questions of definition and the issue of private versus public facilities. Why did Athens have three major gymnasia, and how did they compare with respect to location and function? How were they affected by tyrants, politicians and schools of philosophy? The stadium at Athens also grew from informal and simple origins into an architectural monument by the fourth century, and the hippodrome remains the least well known of the sites of competitions. What historical forces helped or hindered the development of such facilities? What basis was there for Aristophanes'

¹H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, The Agora of Athens, the History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center: The Athenian Agora vol. XIV (Princeton, 1972), 121.

contrast between the Academy and the Agora?¹ What role did patronage and political aspirations play? In short, how does the history of the city correlate with that of its athletic facilities?

Part Four prosopographically examines Athenian athletes by analyzing catalogues of known and possible Athenian athletes. As well as at Olympia and Athens itself, Athenians competed in other Panhellenic and local games for which scattered references exist. While R. S. Robinson feels that ancient lists of athletic victors read like a "Social Register," Gardiner contends that in the sixth century sport was a great leveller of social distinctions until the aristocrats later withdrew to the more costly equestrian events.² Only a study of the individual athletes, their careers, and their familial connections can establish the social background of athletes at Athens. Research must test the idea of any popularization of athletics and the idea of social mobility or stratification in athletics. Is there evidence of civic or private patronage? Perhaps popularization entailed only the expanded use of public athletic facilities and the tribal participation of Athenians in festivals.

Part Five surveys comments and criticisms pertaining to athletics in Athenian sources. Athletic analogies and images were common in Greek historical and dramatic works as understandable literary references to an aspect of everyday life. Meanwhile, strong criticisms came from works by Euripides, Aristophanes and others for dramatic or political effect. Orators mentioned athletics positively or negatively, especially with

¹Ar. Nub. 1002-08.

²R. S. Robinson, Sources for the History of Greek Athletics (Cincinnati, 1927), 58; Gardiner, GASF, 59-60.

reference to pederasty, according to the context of the speech. Plato and Aristotle discussed sport and the ideal civic role of athletics, usually working in a body/mind dualism and advocating a just balance. An evaluation of the athlete as soldier or citizen was often used to express theoretical points or personal feelings; hence passages must not be treated in isolation. Such comments generally did not coincide with public opinion or civic practices; they are noteworthy as responses to the Athenian athletic experience until the athletic caricature became a literary commonplace.

Behind the criticisms lay developments in ancient athletics which have been compared to modern trends. Professionalism and specialization are recurrent themes in the so-called decline of athletics.

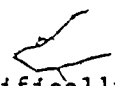
What was the significance of the rise of athletic training at Athens? Why did Athens honour its victors in various ways? Did Athens develop a group of professional athletes in the pre-Hellenistic era? Are not many criticisms of athletics simply reflections of a general aversion to the increase of specialization and excess in many areas? Ancient criticisms and modern assumptions deserve re-examination.

Part Six investigates whether the areas of athletics and politics at Athens were connected or separate. Why might a relationship between athletics and political leadership emerge or disappear? Was athletic success, patronage or extravagance a consideration in the bids of ambitious men for political support? Did many athletes go on to civic careers? Political acts affecting athletics, the nature of events competed in, the social origins and ties of athletes, and the changing nature of athletics and politics in Athens will be discussed.

Parts One to Six all integrate various types of historical evidence; these sources for Greek athletics are more abundant than one might expect, but more problematic than one would like, especially concerning Athens.¹ Most studies rely heavily on the literary works specifically dealing with athletics, works by Philostratus, Galen and Lucian; but these are of limited value for this study because of their lateness, technical approach, or imaginative content.² By the time that Athenian literary sources became numerous, athletics had long been a part of civic life and thus attracted little sustained literary attention.³ Authors tended to include anecdotes, analogies and asides, noting unusual men and events rather than recording normal athletic activity. Mythographers and poets produced legendary accounts of the athletic activities of gods and heroes. Pindar is helpful in dealing with contemporary athletes and events, but he was a paid artist who also dealt with genealogy and myth. Historians, especially Thucydides,

¹On the source problems see Jüthner-Brein; 1:24-41; and Harris, GAA, 23-31. On sources for Athenian history in general see R. Meiggs, The Athenian Empire (Oxford, 1972), 1-33; and A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, A Historical Commentary on Thucydides, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1956-80), 1:29-83.

²The Gymnasticus of Philostratus, from the third century after Christ, is a literary exercise notable for material on the origin of various games and events. See J. Jüthner, Philostratos, über Gymnastik (Leipzig-Berlin, 1909). From the second century after Christ, Galen's works include a criticism of contemporary, decadent athletics, Protrepiticus 9-14. The Anacharsis of Lucian, an essayist of the second century after Christ, presents an imaginary dialogue between a platitudinous Solon and the Persian prince.

³Harris, GAA, 28 comments on the paradox:  If the body of Greek writing devoted specifically to athletics is small, the works of almost all Greek authors abound in sporadic references to the subject, and it is on the patient collection and examination of these scattered passages that we must rely for our picture of Greek sporting life.

say little directly about athletics but provide background material. Herodotus contains significant anecdotes, and Xenophon is an invaluable source for equestrian matters. Though difficult to use, dramatists make some references to athletics, and Aristophanes took delight in commenting on the physical condition of the Athenians.¹ Orators, most useful for specific biographical details, are notoriously unreliable on matters of law or personality.

Philosophers reacted to contemporary situations but must be used cautiously; generally they were more concerned with the theory of physical education than with the history of athletics. Attidographers like Philochorus dealt with legendary origins of Athenian religious and political institutions, providing some insights; but they are imperfectly preserved via fragments in lexicographers and scholiasts who tend to argue aetiologically and can be misleading.² The peregrinations of Pausanias³ have left a wealth of generally reliable information about athletic sites and victors to supplement the ancient Olympic register.⁴

¹On Aristophanes as an historical source, Meiggs, Athenian Empire, 2 comments: "His primary purpose was to please his audience and win the prize, but his audience expected topical comment and were not disappointed."

²These are most readily available through Jacoby, FGrH III B, F323a-329, with commentary III.6 (Supp.), 1:1-598.

³For treatments of Pausanias, see J. G. Frazer, Pausanias, 6 vols. (London, 1916); N. A. Παπαχατζή, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ, 5 vols. (Athens, 1963-65); R. E. Wycherley, "Pausanias at Athens," GRBS 4 (1963): 151-75. For a more recent translation, see Pausanias, Guide to Greece, trans. P. Levi, 2 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1971).

⁴The Olympic Victor List was originally compiled near the end of the fifth century by Hippias of Elis (Plut. Numa 1.4), and was revised by later writers including Aristotle, Philochorus, Phlegon and Julius Africanus. On the sources and history of the register, see Jüthner, Philostratos, 60-70; J. P. Mahaffy, "On the Authenticity of the Olympic Register," JHS 2 (1881): 164-78; and FGrH IIIb (Komm.), 221-28.

Late sources such as Athenaeus and Plutarch offer a considerable amount of material but one must always consider their sources and moralistic or sensationalizing aims. Since no Athenian has left us a history of his city's athletics, this study must proceed through the collation and analysis of bits of information, keeping in mind the sources, context, date and intent of the authors.

For official and specific information, essential testimony comes from epigraphical sources including victor and prize lists, dedications, honorary decrees and proclamations. Early dedicatory inscriptions, to use Raubitschek's phrase, are "almost the only original documents" of the sixth century.¹ After 462 the publication of official documents on stone at Athens greatly increased, helping to corroborate and supplement literary sources. The Athenian democracy exhaustively kept records but unfortunately most inscriptions relevant to the Panathenaea and Theseia are too late for this study. Privately contracted inscriptions such as athletic dedications are valuable but reflect only those people who could afford to publicize their activities in this manner. Epigraphy is quite rich in data for the prosopographical section; but, of course, the survival of inscriptions--even in their normal fragmentary state--is a matter of chance.²

¹A. E. Raubitschek ed., Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 455.

²Marcus N. Tod, Sidelights on Greek History (Oxford, 1932), 19-24 compares the historical value of literary and epigraphic sources: The illumination afforded by a literary record is often dim and diffused. A situation, a policy, a character, an age may be summed up in a phrase. We see the outlines only, the salient facts, but little or no detail. Inscriptions rarely diffuse their light: they illuminate vividly, intensely, one small spot, leaving all around in darkness.

Archaeological investigations at Athens have helped reveal the history of the physical settings of Athenian athletics, but remains prior to the fourth century are limited and indefinite.¹ Ceramic evidence and vase-paintings, especially the official Panathenaic amphorae, are informative. Non-official vase-paintings help illuminate the pre-literate era and give visual images of athletics, but these must be used cautiously because of the conventions of art.² Products of the plastic arts, from an historical rather than a technical or aesthetic viewpoint, reflect general interests but present difficulties of interpretation and dating. Furthermore, by the time that great Athenian sculpture, for instance, is being produced, literary and epigraphical evidence is available and more explicit. So valuable to students of athletic techniques and art history, artistic representations of athletics are of limited value to this study unless the pieces were inscribed, found in graves, or given as prizes.³

¹The earliest extensive remains of athletic architecture in Greece have been found at Delphi in the form of a gymnasium of ca. 330. See Jean Jannoray, Fouilles de Delphes II, topographie et architecture: le gymnase (Paris, 1953); or Stephen L. Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium in Greek Architecture" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967), 84-101.

²H. A. Harris, "Athletics in Greek Art," Publications of the Classical Association 63 (1966): 25-26 points to the use of stock formulae and imaginary or generalized scenes in vase-painting: "We have constantly to remind ourselves of the limitations of such material. The sculptors and painters were not aiming at producing factual evidence for our benefit; aesthetic considerations were always paramount."

³Gardiner, AAW, chap. 5 "Athletics and Art," 53-71 surveys the Greek artistic response to the rise of athletics suggesting that athletics and art were connected by the gymnasium and nudity. He outlines a development in the athletic ideal of artists from an age of strength in the sixth century (kouroi and Herakles) to the fifth-century age of athletic beauty (Theseus and Attic red-figure representations).

A look at modern scholarship shows that, although no work has come forth specifically on the history of Athenian athletics, a vast amount has been written on ancient athletics, sport and physical education, as well as on ancient Athens. Such secondary works have provided groundwork, general history, parallels and comparisons for the present study. Other scholars have organized valuable bodies of primary evidence into certain categories. The following comments on a few items of most relevance and help for the topic at hand.

Pioneering works by Krause and Klee are admirable but out of date.¹ As well as his Über antike Turngeräthe, Philostratos, and articles for Pauly-Wissowa, Jüthner's notes have been edited into two volumes thus far.² The works of Gardiner show a great command of varied sources, marred by the romanticism of exponents of the modern Olympic ideal such as Pierre Baron de Coubertin.³ Harris has made contributions by tackling technical problems, incorporating recent discoveries, and--unlike Jüthner and Gardiner--treating equestrian events.⁴ A recent Italian work by Patrucco is a well-illustrated

¹J. H. Krause, Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen (Leipzig, 1841); Die Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien aus den Schrift-- und Bildwerken des Altertums (Leipzig, 1841); T. Klee, Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen (Berlin, 1918).

²J. Jüthner, Über antike Turngeräthe (Vienna, 1896); Philostratos, über Gymnastik (Leipzig, 1909); Jüthner-Brain, vols. 1-2; Jüthner's PW articles are listed in Patrucco, Sport, bibliography, 410-11.

³Gardiner, GASF and AAW; for a list of his numerous articles in JHS see AAW, 239. On the modern Olympic ideal: S. J. Clark, "Amateurism, Olympism and Pedagogy: Cornerstones of the Modern Olympic Movement" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford, 1975).

⁴Harris, GAA and SGR; for a bibliography of his works on sport see H. A. Harris, Greek Athletics and the Jews, eds. I. M. Barton and A. J. Brothers (Cardiff, 1976), 7-9.

general work adding little to earlier efforts.¹ The Olympic Games by Finley and Pleket reflects two penetrating minds but takes an unscholarly format aiming at a general audience.² A new book, of the "coffee-table" variety but compiled by capable scholars, has satisfied the need for a single volume source of extensive and lavish illustrations.³

On Athenian festivals, a rich scholarly tradition extends from Mommsen to Deubner, and H. W. Parke, with some updating, has made the subject even more approachable.⁴ The corpus of Athenian vase-painting is made accessible by handbooks such as those of Beazley, Boardman and Webster.⁵ Greek athletic art has not been neglected.⁶ Building upon

¹ Patrucco, Sport.

² M. I. Finley and H. W. Pleket, The Olympic Games, the First Thousand Years (London, 1976). A good bibliographical survey can be found in S. G. Miller's Preface to the American Edition of Gardiner's AAW, pp. v-xii.

³ N. Yalouris ed., The Eternal Olympics (New Rochelle, 1979). Indicative of the continuing interest in the subject, the 1979 meeting of the APA included a panel on ancient athletics with papers by Hugh M. Lee, A. E. Raubitschek and others. I would like to thank Prof. Lee for kindly sending me drafts of those papers while I was revising this dissertation.

⁴ August Mommsen, Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1898); Ludwig Deubner, Attische Feste (Berlin, 1932; reprint, Hildesheim, 1959); H. W. Parke, Festivals of the Athenians (Ithaca, 1977).

⁵ Beazley, ABV and ARV²; John Boardman, Athenian Black Figure Vases (New York, 1974); Athenian Red Figure Vases, the Archaic Period (London, 1975); T. B. L. Webster, Potter and Patron in Classical Athens (London, 1972).

⁶ W. W. Hyde, Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art (Washington, 1921); W. H. D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings (Cambridge, 1902; reprint ed., Hildesheim, 1976); Bernard Neutsch, Der Sport im Bilde griechischer Kunst (Willsbauch, 1949). Brian Legakis, "Athletic Contests in Archaic Greek Art" (Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago, 1977), examines Greek athletic events from the viewpoint of art and iconography.

Judeich's foundation, the study of Athenian topography and monuments has been conducted enthusiastically of late, including Boersma's analysis and the publications of Travlos and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.¹ Greek athletic facilities in general have been studied by Delorme, Glass and Zschietzschmann.²

M. Lämmer offers a concise historiographical introduction and bibliography on the epigraphic sources for athletics.³ As well as the standard collections of inscriptions, the works of Raubitschek on dedications and Ebert on epigrams have been helpful.⁴ Moretti has produced both the definitive work on Olympic victors and a selection of Greek agonistic inscriptions.⁵ Works by Kirchner and J. K. Davies form landmarks of Athenian prosopography.⁶ The social significance of athletics has been made clearer by H. Buhman,

¹W. Judeich, Topographie von Athen, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1935); J. S. Boersma, Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C. (Groningen, 1970); John Travlos, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens (London, 1971), Poleodomike Exelixis ton Athenon (Athens, 1960); The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Hesperia and The Athenian Agora series.

²Jean Delorme, Gymnasion (Paris, 1960); Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium" disappointingly skims Athens, declaring a lack of sufficient remains and detailed reports; W. Zschietzschmann, Wettkampf und Übungsstätten in Griechenland; vol. 1 Das Stadion; vol. 2 Palästra-Gymnasion (Schorndorf bei Stuttgart, 1960-61). R. E. Wycherley, "Peripatos: the Athenian Philosophical Scene--II," Greece and Rome 9 (1962): 2-21 is an excellent introduction to the Athenian facilities, reprinted with only minor alterations in his The Stones of Athens (Princeton, 1978), as chapter 9 "Gymnasia and Philosophical Schools," 219-36.

³Manfred Lämmer, Die Bedeutung epigraphischer Zeugnisse für die Geschichte der griechischen Gymnastik und Agonistik (Köln, 1968).

⁴Raubitschek, DAA; Joachim Ebert, Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen (Berlin, 1972).

⁵Luigi Moretti, Iscrizione agonistiche greche (Rome, 1953); Olympionikai (Rome, 1957).

⁶J. E. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1901)

and B. Bilinski has taken a provocative approach.¹ I. Weiler has written an extensive work on the idea of the contest (agon) in Greek mythology.² Basing his conclusions on detailed, unbiased evidential studies, Pleket offers scholarly and sensible opinions on athletics and Greek society.³ His works should provide encouragement and direction for future studies.

A cursory discussion and historical survey at this point will set the scene for the origin and development of athletics at Athens.⁴ The question of the origin of athletics, where athletics arose and why, goes too far back into prehistory to be answered conclusively. Seeking the original stimulus for athletics, scholars have noted the natural tendency in humans, especially children, towards play and games, and also the survival-based respect for physical prowess (in hunting and fighting) in early societies.⁵ Military considerations may be relevant since many early sports appear related to primitive warfare. One can appreciate the cathartic effect of athletics in providing an outlet for

and 1903); J. K. Davies, Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C. (Oxford, 1971).

¹H. Buhmann, Der Sieg in Olympia und in den anderen panhellenischen Spielen (Munich, 1972); Bronislaw Bilinski, L'agonistica sportiva nella Grecia antica (Rome, 1959), or more recently Agoni ginnici (Rome, 1979).

²Ingomar Weiler, Der Agon im Mythos (Darmstadt, 1974).

³H. W. Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology"; "Zur Soziologie des antiken Sports," Mededelingen nederlands historisch Instituut te Rome 36 (1974): 57-87.

⁴On ancient and modern theories of the origin of athletics, see Jüthner-Brein, 1:45-49; and Jüthner, Philostratos, 187-228.

⁵On the significance of the human love of play, see J. Huizinga, Homo Ludens, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1963). On the practical character of athletics: Harris, SGR, 13-14; Bilinski, Agonistica, 11-16 would see the origins of athletics in the work of primitive man to survive.

hostility other than war and death.¹ Theories of the suitability of racial traits or geographic environments tend now to be discounted.²

Religion has been offered as an explanation for the rise of athletics; men with anthropomorphic divinities could believe that the gods enjoyed viewing games. Furthermore, gatherings for religious purposes might appreciate the diversion or entertainment which athletics could provide.³ Of course the ancients themselves attributed the introduction of athletics to gods and heroes like Herakles and Theseus.⁴ Cults of the dead and funeral games were connected to early athletics but the relationship is difficult to define.⁵ Scholars often avoid

¹On the military origins of athletic events, see Jüthner, Philostratos, 196-200, 205-13 commenting on Philostr. Gym. 7.11. A. W. Gouldner, The Hellenic World, A Sociological Analysis (New York, 1965), 49 regards the Greek games as a substitute for, if not a sublimation of, war and fighting.

²Gardiner, GASF, 9 would credit the athletic impulse to the early northern invaders who formed the Achæan race. He feels athletics were the product of the Peloponnese and that other Aegean people were quite unathletic.

³Harris, SGR, 16-17 acknowledges anthropomorphism and the religious overtones of athletic festivals; but, like Gardiner, AAW, 32, he discounts the ritual meaning of the earliest games. F. M. Cornford, "The Origin of the Olympic Games," in Jane Harrison ed., Epilogomena to the Study of Greek Religion, and Themis (New Hyde Park, 1962), 212-60 sees vegetation magic lying behind athletics at early meetings.

⁴Many Greek gods, especially Herakles and Hermes, became associated with athletics as "gods of the gymnasium," see J. Oehler, s.v. of ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ θεοί, PW VII (1912), 2022-23. However, no Greek god was aboriginally the god of athletics.

⁵The earliest extensive account of Greek athletic activity, of course, is Homer's description of the funeral games for Patroclus, Il. 23.257-897. Tradition records at least thirty-three heroes for whom funeral games were held in prehistoric Greece. Such games are known from art and literary allusions including the depiction of games for Pelias on the chest of Kypselos at Olympia seen by Pausanias (5.17.5-11). See L. Malten, "Leichenspiel und Totenkult," MDAI (R)

the maze of theories by simply attributing athletics to an innate Greek spirit of agon--the Greek pursuit of honour and the love of competition.¹ In a warlike, possessive society moved by strong ideals of arete, honour and victory, athletics seem almost a natural development: athletics provided a means whereby men displayed and tested their prowess to the delight of their gods and visitors and in veneration of dead friends,

38-39 (1923-24): 300-40; and Jüthner-Brein, 1:77. Hyde, OVN, 9-14 argues that the Periodos developed out of funeral games; he notes the survival of funeral customs in their later traditions, the later custom of instituting funeral games in honour of dead warriors, and the testimony of early athletic art. According to Hyde,

Games in honor of the dead tended to become periodic. The tomb of the honored warriors became a rallying point for neighboring people, who would convene to see the games.... As the worship of ancestors became metamorphosed into that of heroes, the games became part of hero cults, which antedated those of the Olympian gods. But as the gods gradually superseded the heroes in the popular religion, they usurped the sanctuaries and games held there, which had long been a part of the earlier worship.

For a similar theory by H. A. Thompson see p. 29 below.

¹This agonistic spirit of the Greeks was first suggested by J. Burckhardt, Greichische Kulturgeschichte, ed. R. Marx, vol. 4 Der Kolonale und agonale Mensch (Stuttgart, 1941), 89. It is evident in Hippolochos' incitement of Glaukos always to be best and to excel over others (αἰέν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμεναι ἄλλων, Hom. Il. 6.208). M. I. Finley, Early Greece, the Bronze and Archaic Ages (New York, 1970), 136 defines agon as

...the outstanding, ritualized, non-military expression of a value system in which honour was the highest virtue, for which one strove even at the cost of one's life, and in which loss of honour, shame, was the most intolerable disaster that could befall a man.

A. W. Gouldner, The Hellenic World, A Sociological Analysis, 41-77 even analyzes the Greek contest system as a cultural pattern on the model of a "zero-sum game," with set rules related to the Greek value system. I. Weiler, Der Agon im Mythos (Darmstadt, 1974) extensively studies the agon motif (musical and athletic) in Greek myth and legend, noting three forms (challenge, festival and marriage) and concluding that the Greeks were not unique in this respect, but that this was typical of early societies. Philostr. Gym. 16 says athletics arose from man's natural capacity for sporting activities; and Jüthner-Brein, 1:49 and Gardiner, AAW, 2 agree.

leaders and heroes.

Obviously athletics in modern Western civilization can be traced directly to ancient Greece, but the original home of athletics remains uncertain.¹ Considerations of Near Eastern and Egyptian origins seem very distant but a Minoan or Mycenaean source appears plausible.² Research on Minoan sport has shown that Gardiner was wrong simply to dismiss the idea of Minoan athletics.³ The archaeological evidence entails quandaries like the significance of bull-leaping; but representations of boxers, including those in a fresco recently found at Thera, suggest that boxing at least was known in the Minoan world of the second millennium.⁴

¹For a discussions of non-Greek origins of athletics, see Jüthner-Brein, 1:55-70 and Gardiner, AAW, 4-17.

²On Minoan-Mycenaean origins, see W. R. Riddington, "The Minoan-Mycenaean Background of Greek Athletics" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1935). Also see Hyde, OVM, 1-7; Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 11-38; J. G. Thompson, "Sport, Athletics and Gymnastics in Ancient Greece" (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State, 1971), 7-28.

³The Greeks themselves saw the athletic tradition as an importation from Crete: Pl. Resp. 5.452c; Arist. Pol. 2.10 (1271b); Paus. 5.8.1; Plut. Lyc. 4; Thes. 15. G. Glotz, The Aegean Civilization (London, 1960), 289, 293 believes the Greek athletic system and festivals came from Minoan precursors; and A. E. Raubitschek restated this theory in his paper, "The Competitive 'Agonale' Spirit in Greek Culture," to the 1979 meeting of the APA. Gardiner; GASF, 11 and AAW, 14 recognizes Minoan sports and games but rejects a Minoan origin for Greek athletics.

⁴On Minoan sports, see B. J. Putnam, "Concepts of Sport in Minoan Art" (Ph.D. dissertation, California, 1967); Jüthner-Brein, 1: 50-52; Legakis, "Archaic Art," 13-16. On bull-leaping, see J. G. Younger, "Bronze Age Representations of Aegean Bull-Leaping," AJA 80 (1976): 125-37. On the boxer vase of ca. 1600 from Hagia Triada, see Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos (London, 1921), 1:688; Walter Graham, The Palaces of Crete (Princeton, 1962), 73-84 associates boxing with festival performances in the central courts of the palaces. The boxer fresco from Thera is illustrated in S. Marinatos, Excavations at Thera (Athens, 1971), plates D-E and Yalouris, The Eternal Olympics, pl. 6.

The question of Mycenaean athletics can be posed thus: to what degree were athletics in Homer Mycenaean practice or anachronistic attributions from the later world of the poet? Scholars are divided between seeing the Homeric games as suitable to the kingly, warrior class of Achilles, and rejecting the poems as proof of Mycenaean athletics because of the lack of corroboration from Mycenaean archaeological evidence.¹ This debate will continue as long as men discuss "the Homeric question." Given the source problems involved, perhaps a suggestion of cross-influence between Crete and mainland Greece is best.²

Homer and his audience were familiar with athletic activities, and the poet retrojected, or assumed, athletics as existing in the era of the Mycenaean heroes. A few points will suffice on this well-worn topic.³ Homer presents athletics as a normal diversion of the aristocratic warrior class. The most famous games were those in honour of the dead Patroclus; and although the gods were present, these games were of a secular nature.⁴ Prizes were given as gifts to honour the

¹Harris, GAA, 33 feels it is reasonably certain that Mycenaean Greeks enjoyed athletics, but Jüthner-Brein, 1:67 argues that Homer retrojected contemporary events onto the Mycenaean. L. R. Palmer, Mycenaean Greek Texts (Oxford, 1963), 116 found no solid evidence of Mycenaean athletics in his study of Linear B. From an architectural point of view, Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 29 concludes: "One may state unequivocally that neither in artifact nor architecture is there any reason to suppose that the Mycenaean mainland had any regular program devoted to formal physical activity." However, Legakis, "Archaic Art," 16-19 would see possible representations of boxers on Mycenaean pottery.

²J. G. Thompson, "Sport, Athletics and Gymnastics," 24-26.

³For various treatments see Gardiner, GASF, 8-27, AAW, 18-21; Harris, GAA, 48-63; Patrucco, Sport, 13-27.

⁴Hom. Il. 23.259-897. The gods might even interfere, as in Il. 23.774 when Athena helps Odysseus win the footrace.

dead and exalt the host. Rather than to reward or attract competitors, prizes perhaps began as means to divide up the corpse's possessions.¹ The epic motif of funeral games has overshadowed other athletic notes in Homer.² For instance, the discus, javelin and archery were pastimes for Achilles' men and Penelope's suitors, and measures of distance were expressed in terms of discus or javelin throws.³ Athletics were a regular occurrence among the Phaeacians, and Odysseus was goaded into participation.⁴ The lack of a specific Homeric reference to the Olympic Games is not sound evidence for dating the poems, but rather suggests the local nature of the early Olympic festival.⁵ It has long been noted that Homeric athletics were generally spontaneous and aristocratic;⁶

¹Rose, "Greek Agones," 2-3.

²Other funeral games are mentioned in Homer: for Amarynceus, Il. 23.630-42; for Oedipus, Il. 23.679-80; and for Agamemnon, Od. 24.89-92.

³Hom. Il. 2.774, Od. 4.625-27; 17,167-69, Il. 10.351; 15.358; 16.590. Polydeuces, brother of Helen was a skilful boxer, Il. 3.237. Homer uses athletic analogies, comparing the capture of Dolon to a footrace (Il. 10.366) and the pursuit of Hector about Troy to a contest for a prize (Il. 22.159-66). Athletics were occasioned by the feasting and entertaining of a guest at Thebes (Il. 4.387), and Neleus sent a quadriga to Elis to race for a tripod (Il. 11.699-701).

⁴Hom. Od. 8.97-233. The physical orientation of arete in Homer is clear in Od. 8.147-8: "...while a man lives he wins no greater glory than by his hands and feet."

⁵Cf. Hom. Il. 11.698-702 where Nestor mentions chariot races at Elis with tripods as prizes.

⁶Gardiner, GASF, 25 sees Homeric events as games or sports: They are aristocratic and spontaneous. They are spontaneous as the play of a child.... There is no organized training, no organized competition, and sport never usurps the place of work. They are aristocratic because, though manly exercises are common to all the people, excellence in them belongs especially to the nobles; and when sports are held on an elaborate scale at the funeral of some chieftain it is the nobles only who compete.

but they were also widespread, well-known, and governed by set procedures. Homer gives an eighth-century terminus ante quem for Greek athletics, but their level of advancement suggests a long period of development.¹ These Homeric activities, in the form of funeral games and aristocratic celebrations of guests, feasts and victories, can be termed "athletic" but they lack the integration with the life of the polis which would enable them to be called "civic."²

The most famous year in the history of athletics. 776 is the traditional date for the founding of the historical Olympic Games, after which they continued for over a millennium.³ Although funerary and informal games did not disappear with the Olympic development, the Greek athletic festival became the most suitable and renowned site of athletics.

¹W. H. Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," TAPA 72 (1941): 392-417 sees the funeral games of Patroclus as the culmination of a long tradition in which the chariot race was the chief event. Raubitschek, "The Competitive 'Agonale' Spirit," feels the competitive spirit was introduced into Greece by the Cretans at the start of the Heroic Age, lapsed in the Dark Age, and was revived in the eighth century.

²In that the Phaeacian games took place in the agora in front of the king and his council, these games might be regarded as "civic"; but the historicity of the episode is unreliable.

³Sound and succinct recent introductions to the Olympic Games include M. I. Finley and H. W. Pleket, The Olympic Games, The First Thousand Years (London, 1976) and H. Bengtson, Die olympischen Spiele in der Antike (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1971). Excellent early works include J. H. Krause, Olympia, oder Darstellung der grossen olympischen Spiele und der damit verbundenen Festlichkeiten (Vienna, 1838; reprint, Hildesheim and New York, 1972) and E. N. Gardiner, Olympia, Its History and Remains (Oxford, 1925), to be updated by E. Kunze, Neue Ausgrabungen in Olympia (Berlin, 1960). For additional treatments: Ludwig Drees, Die Ursprung der olympischen Spiele (Stuttgart, 1962); Olympia; Götter, Künstler und Athleten (Stuttgart, 1967); H. Schoebel, Olympia et ses jeux (Paris, 1964); J. Ebert, "Olympia-Olympische Spiel, zu einigen Aspekten des Sports und des Athletenbildes der Antike," Altertum 22 (1976): 5-20; E. Fallu et al., Les jeux olympiques dans l'antiquité (Paris, 1976).

Opinions on the origins of the Greek athletic festival at Olympia range from fertility cult to funeral games to spontaneous emergence.¹ Somehow, Greek concerns with death, fertility and heroes developed into the veneration of Olympian Zeus through a set festival at this Panhellenic sanctuary.² Though not necessarily inherent, the association of athletics with religion was harmonious and lasting. At Olympia athletic contests came under religious supervision and took on religious overtones with sacred oaths, truces, prayers and dedications.

The explanation of the popularity of athletics and of the rise of local and Panhellenic festivals from the eighth to the sixth century is as complex as the early history of Greece itself.³ The prestige and influence of centrally-located Olympia were certainly factors, as well as the spread of athletic stories via epic tradition. For almost two centuries Olympia was the only truly Panhellenic athletic festival;

¹The ancients themselves had various accounts of the rise of the Olympic athletic festival. The foundation was credited to Herakles, Pelops or Oxylos; and, after an age of neglect, a revival came through the actions of Lycurgus of Sparta, Iphitos of Elis or Kleisthenes of Pisa: Pind. Ol. 2.1-4; 10.29-59; Paus. 5.7; Strabo Geog. 8.3.30. See Robinson, Sources, 32-55.

²Gardiner, GASF, 27-39, AAW, 31-32 sees no reason to discredit the ancient tradition of funerary origins of Olympic Games; Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings, 4, 10; Hyde, OVM, 9-10. Drees, Olympia, 24 sees the festival to Zeus originating in a fertility cult with the olive wreath transferring life-giving properties of the tree to the victor. L. Deubner, Kult und Spiel in alten Olympia (Leipzig, 1936), 24 assigns the origin to a ritual dance of young girls to dispel evil spirits. Other ideas include a development from funeral games to hero cults to Olympic religious festivals, or a spontaneous expression of the era at a central Panhellenic shrine. See Jüthner-Brein, 1:71-77; Bengtson, Olympischen Spiele, 29-30; R. Bloch, "The Origins of the Olympic Games," Scientific American 228 (August 1968): 78-87.

³On the rise of the various Greek athletic festivals, see Gardiner, GASF, 62-85, AAW, 22-44; and I. C. Ringwood, "Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1927).

but Hesiod, writing ca. 700 not long after Homer and the traditional foundation date for the Olympic Games, mentions local athletic festivals as if a normal aspect of contemporary society.¹ The age of colonization spread Greek city-states afar, and ties to the Greek mainland were both political and religious. Panhellenic festivals and the Greek love of athletics were unifying cultural factors.²

Early Sparta incorporated physical training into its system of state education (agoge) and dominated Olympia from 720 to 576, after which Spartan wins were rare. Spartan success in athletics and in hoplite warfare was noted by other Greeks,³ and the new style of warfare itself perhaps contributed to the popularity of athletics.⁴ Greek tyrants patronized Olympia and influenced the operation of other games; Cleisthenes of Sikyon, for instance, was an Olympic champion and fostered the Sikyonian Pythia.⁵ Such factors culminated in the sixth

¹Hes. Theog. 435-8 refers to men contending in games for prizes (ἄνδρες ἀεθλεύωσιν ἀγωνίᾳ καλῶν ἀεθλῶν); Hesiod, Theogony, ed. M. L. West (Oxford, 1976), 286-7. Hesiod Op. 654-7 mentions games in Chalcis with tripod prizes. Scut. 301-13 describes a series of games but is questionably Hesiodic.

²Gardiner, GASF, 35.

³Philostr. Gym. 19 says that the Spartans regarded athletics as good training for war; Thuc. 1.6 credits Sparta with the introduction of naked exercise and the use of oil; and Arist. Pol. 5.4 explains the Spartan success and sudden decline by saying that Sparta led in introducing systematic training but then other states followed the example and became competitive. See Jüthner-Brein, 1: 78-79; Marrou, Education, 35-49; Jüthner, s.v. Gymnastik, PW VII 2 (1912), 2040.

⁴F. E. Adcock, The Greek and Macedonian Art of War (Berkeley, 1957), 3-5 feels that hoplite warfare required little training and was oppositional to expressions of personal distinction in athletic festivals. On Delorme's theory of the influence of military developments on athletics and facilities, see below pp. 108-110.

⁵Hdt. 6.126; Pind. Nem. 9.51; 10.43. M. McGregor, "Cleisthenes

century as the great organizational age of Greek athletics, producing the Periodos or circuit of Panhellenic crown games.¹ The traditional date for the reorganization of the Pythia at Delphi to Apollo and the Isthmia to Poseidon is 582.² The Nemean Games to Zeus followed in 573.³ The Isthmian and Nemean Games, with athletic contests similar to Olympia, were biennial; and the Pythian Games, with famous musical as well as gymnastic and equestrian contests, were held at four-year intervals like Olympia. With this conducive external environment, early athletics arose at Athens, and internal conditions there also fostered a development towards civic athletics.

of Sicyon and the Panhellenic Festivals," TAPA 72 (1941): 266-87 admits that Pheidon of Argos and Kleisthenes of Sikyon aided the prestige of Olympia and the Pythia, but he argues that the rise of games in the sixth century represents a swelling of Panhellenism which simply coincided with the era of the tyrants.

¹Rose, "Greek Agones," 2-4 notes that the athletics of the Periodos, unlike those in Homer, had a definite association with a religious ceremony and shrine; they had symbolic prizes, and they recurred at regular intervals. The organizers were no longer private individuals but representatives of states or amphictyonies. For early but well-documented treatments of the Periodos, see Krause, PNI, and Gardiner, GASF, 208-26.

²S. G. Miller, "The Date of the First Pythiad," CSCA 11 (1979): 127-58 would correct the traditional date for the Pythia of 582, as in Gardiner, AAW, 36, to 586.

³S. G. Miller, "Excavations at Nemea, 1976," Hesp. 46 (1977): 20 states that archaeological evidence of sustained activity starting in the first half of the sixth century supports the traditional date of 573. For a general treatment, see Dale P. Hart, "The Ancient Nemean Festival," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 8 (December 1977): 24-34.

PART ONE

THE RISE OF ATHLETICS AT ATHENS

Athletics involving a significant degree of organization and regularity can be studied first in mainland Greece of the Archaic Age.¹ From the eighth century onwards athletics spread and more Panhellenic and local festivals appeared. Arguably, the fame of Olympia, tyranny and hoplite warfare, colonization, and the success of Sparta contributed to a Greek environment conducive to athletics and athletic festivals in the poleis. However, significant internal factors in sixth-century Athens also were influential in the shift of emphasis there from typically Panhellenic, aristocratic Greek athletics towards the polis-oriented, civically operated, and distinctively Athenian athletics of the Panathenaea.

With its tradition of autochthonism, Athens preferred to regard Panathenian athletics as the very ancient creation of early Athenian rulers,² but the idea of the athletic festival was probably an importation or the result of a long development from early funeral games at Athens. Early Greek funeral games possibly were the origin of

¹Harris, SGR, 15. Homeric secular athletics--funeral games and aristocratic social diversions--and Olympic athletics--the rise of the religiously supervised, Panhellenic athletic festival--have been outlined in their earlier contexts above pp. 22-27.

²On the legendary foundation of the Panathenaic Games, see below pp. 42-43. On Athenian autochthonism, Thuc. 1.2.

athletics and they certainly formed an occasion for athletic agones.¹

H. A. Thompson has suggested that Panathenaic civic athletics were a natural, internal development from funeral games and the cult of the heroized dead in Dark Age and early Archaic Athens:

Once established such games are likely to have persisted. As the memory of the individual dead grew dim and as community consciousness developed, the games may well have formed the nucleus of a community festival in honor of the patron divinity of the community, viz. Athena. As the festival grew and gymnastic events were added, these also would have been held in the same place.²

Along with Greek custom and Homeric example, the limited and difficult Athenian evidence suggests the existence of funeral games in Geometric Athens. Furthermore, funeral games of changing types were a persistent tradition in later Athenian history. Using sources such as Attic vase-paintings, archaeological finds, records of early victors, and later historical writings, this study will advance from Thompson's idea to examine the rise of athletics at Athens from the eighth century to the recognizable emergence of civic athletics around 566.

Early indications of athletics at Athens come from Attic Late Geometric pottery. Dating roughly to the eighth century, this style spans the periods of Homeric and Hesiodic references to funeral games and aristocratic athletics as well as the early decades of the Olympic

¹In an early study H. J. Rose, "The Greek Agones," Aberystwyth Studies 3 (1922): 1-26, feels that athletics originally were a secular, natural development from the existence of early assemblies. He concludes that in historical times the agon was a common feature of hero cult and that games frequently accompanied funeral rites, but that the theory of the funerary origin of games cannot be applied universally.

²H. A. Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," Arch. Anz. 76 (1961): 231. Gardiner, GASF, 27 visualizes a similar development for Greece in general from Homeric funeral games to hero cults to Panhellenic athletic festivals as part of the worship of the Olympian gods.

Games. The existence of contemporary funeral games at Athens does seem likely; and the oldest inscription in the Greek alphabet, found on an eighth-century Attic vase, is agonistic though not athletic.¹

That the eighth century also witnessed Panathenaic athletic games has been suggested by S. Benton. From her catalogue of representations of tripods (some with horses or birds) in Late Geometric Attic vase-paintings, she argued that early depictions of massed tripods referred to Homeric-style funeral games while later representations of single tripods were used as victory symbols.² In 1935 she concluded that the vase-paintings indicated organized games in Attica about the traditional date for the reorganization of Olympia, that vases with single tripods commemorated individual victories, that the prizes at first were tripods, and that the most important event was

¹IG I² 919, L. H. Jeffery, Local Scripts of Archaic Greece (Oxford, 1961), 68, the oldest inscription from Attica, comes from an Athenian Dipylon oinochoe of ca. 740 from the Kerameikos cemetery. G. Pfuhl, Griechische Inschriften als Zeugnisse privaten und öffentlichen Lebens (Munich, 1965), no. 1, pp. 9, 196 regards the vase as a prize for the victor in a dance contest. Merle K. Langdon, "The Dipylon Oinochoe Again," AJA 79 (1975): 139-40 suggests that, "The inscription reads $\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\nu\upsilon\nu$ $\omicron\rho\chi\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\zeta\epsilon\iota$ $\tau\omicron\tau\omicron$ $\delta\epsilon\chi\alpha\nu$ $\mu\iota\nu$, with a sense of 'he of all dancers who now dances most gracefully, let him accept this.' The $\mu\iota\nu$ is pronomial, referring back to $\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ and $\delta\epsilon\chi\alpha\nu$ is an imperative infinitive of an otherwise unattested verb $\delta\epsilon\chi\omega$ related to $\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$." In "A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos," Hesp. Suppl. 16 (1976): 9-10, notes 3-4, Langdon further notes the unique position of this inscription (approximately a half-century before the next example of Attic writing) and the absence of writing on the rest of Attic Geometric pottery. He feels the jug's inscriber was a non-Athenian visitor from one of the early Greek-writing centres in the east. The contest referred to was non-athletic but it may have been related to funeral games.

²S. Benton, "Evolution of the Tripod Lebes," BSA 35 (1934/35): 74-130. Her catalogue, pp. 102-112, includes representations of massed tripods (nos. 1, 5, 9, 10); single tripods (nos. 204, 6-8, 14-18); and tripods with horses (nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, 14, 16-18).

the chariot race.¹ Benton later lowered her dating to after 776 but added a new argument from the inclusion of birds in these Geometric vase-paintings, noting that all such birds were marsh birds and that many could be herons. On the basis of Homer's indication that herons were especially connected with Athena, she asserted that these vases were commemorative of victories (suggested by the tripods) in early Panathenaic Games (suggested by the birds).²

Although attractive, Benton's theory neither proves nor explains a shift from funeral to Panathenaic Games in eighth-century Athens. As well as being common items, tripods were known as prizes in early games--funeral and otherwise. Their appearance on Geometric vases may have been purely decorative or they may have been common symbols of wealth or victory.³ Representations of birds are even more unspecific and open to multiple interpretations. Attic Geometric pottery often was decorated with scenes of chariots, horses and even boxers, perhaps in the context of funeral games.⁴ By Coldstream's chronology these

¹Ibid., 114. Benton, in her catalogue, admits some single tripod representations were from vases that were probably funerary. Other than a possible reference in Il. 11. 699-701, Homer does not mention the Olympic Games, suggesting their fame was quite local at first. Since the other festivals in the Periodos were not reorganized until the sixth century, there is no need to assume games at Athens beyond the level of funeral events.

²S. Benton, "Echelos' Hippodrome," BSA 67 (1972): 14. Such birds could be herons; but even if we accept the tie to Athena from Il. 10. 274, Benton only gives three examples of birds on the same vases as tripods (nos. 4, 9 and 15 of her 1935 catalogue).

³Tripods as prizes are mentioned by Hes. Op. 654-57; Hom. Il. 23. 259; and Hdt. 1. 144. On tripods as victor dedications, see Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings, 145-48, and Raubitschek, DAA, 337-46.

⁴J. N. Coldstream, Greek Geometric Pottery (London, 1968) gives examples of chariots and funerals on Attic Geometric works (p. 30,

vases date from ca. 760 to 700. The general consensus is that these vases--large pedestalled kraters and belly-handled amphorae, especially the work of the Dipylon Painter--were funerary works. Most came from graves in the Dipylon or Kerameikos area, with some being found in the Agora.¹ It is uncertain how early a simple Athenian festival including athletics may date, but there is insufficient reason to abandon the standard interpretation of these possibly agonistic scenes as inspired by funeral games.²

In the seventh and early sixth centuries both the pottery and the politeia of Athens developed significantly. This was also the time

no. 4; p. 32, no. 24; p. 40, no. 1), examples of chariots (p. 55, no. 1; p. 58, nos. I, 4; p. 59, no. 15; p. 66, no. 6), and one example of a tripod and horses (p. 66, no. 12). Brann, Agora VIII, no. 245 is a Late Geometric fragment with chariot and prothesis scene. For a Geometric vase with two nude men possibly in mimic battle on one side and two boxers standing between groups of warriors and dancers on the other side, see CVA, Copenhagen, II, pl. 74, 2; R. S. Young, "Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh-Century Well from the Agora," Hesp. Suppl. 2 (1939): 57. R. M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery, 2nd ed. (London, 1972), 19-22, in discussing Attic Late Geometric works, feels that their subjects were of a general, non-legendary character. However, attendance of chariots in battle scenes, contrary to contemporary military practice, shows that painters sometimes added an heroic flavour.

¹Young, "Late Geometric Graves," 55-57, 65-71, 136-7, 172, 193-4, 218-25: Geometric vase chariot scenes (XII, 1; XIII, 1; B 80; C 108); terracotta chariots (XII, 24-25; C 185); and horse fragments (C 181-84) from the Agora. He feels that such scenes were funerary and that chariot races probably were a regular feature of funeral games at Athens.

²D. C. Kurtz and John Boardman, Greek Burial Customs (Ithaca, 1971), 60-61 note the indefinite nature of the evidence:

Chariot processions are found on large amphorae and craters, in association with scenes of prothesis and ekphora, as well as with scenes of no obvious funerary significance. Preparation for the funeral games has always been a popular interpretation, and some chariot teams are racing, but we do not know that funerary games were a customary rite in Attica at this time.

of the poorly documented development towards civic athletics. The source problems for the period involve such historiographic Hydras as the attempted tyranny of Kylon and the nomothesia of Solon. In ceramic terms this era included the transitional Protoattic, dated by Cook ca. 700-610, between the Late Geometric and Black-Figure styles.¹ Under orientaling influence, vase-painting showed an increased interest in humans and animals. Scenes of chariots, wrestlers, horses and processions testify to a growing familiarity with athletics and a tendency to attribute athletics to gods and heroes.² According to Thompson's theory, Athenian athletics through the seventh century should have developed from funeral games to hero cults and thence, with increasing civic consciousness, towards civic athletics.³ There is some evidence for cults of the heroized dead at Athens from votives and the reverence of early graves,⁴ and a parallel development of

¹J. M. Cook discusses the chronology and workshops of Protoattic pottery in Greek Painted Pottery, 65-73 and "Protoattic Pottery," BSA 34 (1934/35): 165-213, pls. 38-60. K. Kübler, Altattische Malerei (Tübingen, 1950) gives a well-illustrated survey, especially helpful on works from the Kerameikos.

²Works by the Protoattic Kynosarges Painter are discussed by Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," 195-98 and Brann, Agora VIII, 24-25 and include a polychrome Middle Protoattic amphora with depictions of wrestlers and a charioteer (Agora VIII, no. 564; CVA Athens 2, III He, p. 4, pl. 3). For chariot scenes on Protoattic vases, see Agora VIII, no. 301 and Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," 173.

³See above p. 29. J. Coldstream, "Hero-Cult in the Age of Homer," JHS 96 (1976): 8-17 attributes a large variety of hero cults to Attica (including Erechtheus and Akademos) of 750-650 because of the continuity of the people and the abrupt change in tomb types combined with the influence of epic tradition. On Attic veneration of Mycenaean tombs, see his p. 12. On the broader issues of the relationship between cult and epic, and the Greek ideas of immortality, see L. R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality (Oxford, 1921).

⁴Two votive deposits from the Agora contain seventh-century items appropriate to cults of the heroized dead: terracotta

athletics in association with hero cults has been suggested for Corinth.¹ However, in view of the uncertainty of the physical evidence and the lack of contemporary literary sources for Athens, one can suggest only that the idea of a slow transition from spontaneous and sporadic funeral games to recurrent, more organized funeral or hero cults seems plausible. This cannot be detailed or proven further at the present time, and no connection with the emergence of civic athletics in the sixth century can be specified.

Important facts of relevance to seventh and early sixth-century (pre-566) Athenian athletics come from records of ancient athletic victors. The earliest and one of the most significant dates in the history of Athenian athletics is 696, for that year Athens gained its first Olympic victory when Pantakles won the stadion. The same man won both the stadion and diaulos in the next Olympic Games of 692.

representations of chariot groups and horsemen, miniature terracotta shields and pinakes, and a miniature bronze tripod. See D. Burr, "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Deposit," Hesp. 2 (1933): 542-640, and H. A. Thompson, "A Favissa in the North Central Part of the Agora," Hesp. 27 (1958): 148-53. Also see Thompson and Wycherley, Agora XIV, 119-21.

Merle K. Langdon, "A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos," Hesp. Suppl. 16 (1976): 25, no. 54, fig. 10, pl. 7 discusses early seventh century graffiti from the sanctuary. No. 54 reads ΧΣΥΝΑΣΤΡΟ --which to Langdon suggests ξυμβασιλέω "train" or "exercise." This is admittedly weak testimony, but the findspot was a votive dump and the inscription may suggest athletics in Attica.

¹O. Broneer, "Hero-Cults in the Corinthian Agora," Hesp. 11 (1942): 128-61 admits we must be cautious in inferring the nature of cults from objects found. Nevertheless he argues from votives, myth and wheel ruts for hero cult related athletics at Corinth. He feels that horse races had origins in the cult of the dead and that they later became an essential feature in the worship of heroes. He adds an interesting point (p. 135 n. 25): "There is, of course, no essential difference between the worship of the dead and hero worship, but since only a few of those who were honored by their families at the time of their death became recognized heroes, there is a practical distinction in the two types of worship." On the dromos, see below pp. 363-64.

Other pre-566 Olympic victors from Athens include Eurybates (stadion, 672); Stomas (stadion, 644); Kylon (diaulos, 640); Phrynon (pankration, 636); and Alkmeon (chariot, 592).¹ By men acting independently but still regarded as representatives of their state, these victories suggest that the fame of Olympia had grown to reach Athens and that Athenians were actively competing. Admittedly these men were aristocrats with aristocratic motives; but their victories attest an increasing familiarity with, and practice of, athletics by Athenians.

The most infamous seventh-century Athenian athlete was Kylon, portrayed negatively by Herodotus and Thucydides. Related to Theagenes the tyrant of Megara, Kylon, after his Olympic success of 640, attempted to establish a tyranny at Athens in an Olympic year usually thought to be 632.² The people of Athens, however, opposed him, leading to his flight and the murder of his followers in the "Kylonian affair." Kylon had received an oracle telling him to seize the Athenian Acropolis "on the grand festival of Zeus." Misinterpreting this, at the time of the Olympic festival Kylon "...seized the Acropolis, with the intention of making himself tyrant, thinking that this was the grand festival of Zeus, and also an occasion appropriate for a victor at the Olympic games" (κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἕρπυλιν τὴν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι).³ Obviously Kylon placed great store in his

¹On these victors, see Moretti, Olym., nos. 25-27, 36, 54, 56, 58, 81 and the appropriate numbers in the catalogue of athletes below.

²Hdt. 5. 71; Thuc. 1. 126. 3-5; Paus. 1. 28. 1; Plut. Sol. 12. On the date, see R. Sealey, A History of the Greek City-States ca. 700-338 B.C. (Berkeley, 1976), 98-99 and note 5, 105-106.

³Thuc. 1. 126. 5, trans. John H. Finley, Jr. On the oracle, see J. Fontenrose, The Delphic Oracle (Berkeley: 1978), 68, Q64.

fame as an athlete, and perhaps he expected the Athenians to be more receptive because of his Olympic victory. At any rate, it seems likely that the Athenians were athletically aware and attentive, and the victory itself indicates that Kylon practised his event at Athens--and probably not alone.

Another famous and relevant incident involves the tyrant Kleisthenes of Sikyon. Himself an Olympic victor in the chariot race, Kleisthenes staged a year-long reception in Sikyon for the best youths of Greece who sought the hand of his daughter, Agariste.¹ From the account in Herodotus, it seems that the tyrant built a rudimentary athletic facility for the youths' diversion and he also made them contend athletically.² The youths included the Athenian aristocrats Hippokleides, the Philaid, later archon in 566, and Megakles, grandson of the archon at the time of the Kylonian affair. Since Kleisthenes won at Olympia probably in 572, the reception dates to approximately 570;³ and the Athenian Megakles was the victorious suitor. The anecdote shows that Athenian noble youths, like Kylon earlier, were adept athletically and participated in the interstate world of

¹Hdt. 6. 126-30. Kleisthenes' Olympic chariot win of 572 (Moretti, *Olym.* no. 96) followed a victory at the Pythia in 582 (Paus. 10. 7. 6). His grandfather Myron was an Olympic chariot victor in 648 (Paus. 6. 19. 1; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 52). For details see N. G. L. Hammond, "The Family of Orthagoras," *CQ* n.s. 6 (1956): 44-53.

²Hdt. 6. 126, τοῖσι Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαίστραν ποιησάμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ εἶχε. As part of his evaluation of the suitors, Kleisthenes induced them into exercises (καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιά τε ἐξαγινέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, Hdt. 6. 128). Herodotus, 6. 130, also records that Kleisthenes rewarded each suitor with a talent of silver at the end of the year. It is quite likely that similar agonistic receptions took place at Athens in this era.

³Cf. T. J. Cadoux, "The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides," *JHS* 68 (1948): 104, n. 5.

foreign marriages and athletic competition.

The above incidents, the appearance of Olympic victors from Athens, and the increasing number of vase-paintings depicting athletics reveal a growing interest and familiarity with athletics at Athens. Hero cults developing from the traditions of funeral games may have been influential, and aristocratic ambitions and external agones were possible factors. From the evidence down to the early sixth century one can suggest the existence of Athenian athletics and prove that Athenians competed at Olympia. In other words, to this point Athens demonstrably had athletes and aristocratic athletics but not civic athletics in terms of our definition.

For early sixth-century Athens the significance of Solon, archon of 594/3, is both crucial and complicated, and he also seems to have responded to the rise of athletics. The date and nature of his acts are debated regularly, and the debates cannot be resolved here.¹ In very general terms, Athens faced a social and economic crisis, with oppressed and discontented lower classes, and with political turmoil produced by regionalism, economic forces, clan rivalries or differing political inclinations. The threat of tyranny already had been shown by the Kylonian affair with its resultant bloodshed, and the body politic was composed of a narrow group of baronial families. Apparently a widespread appreciation of the dangerous potential of the situation led to the granting of plenipotentiary powers to Solon in the early sixth century with the intention of establishing eunomia.

¹For a good survey of the sources and problems concerning Solon, see Sealey, Greek States, chap. 5, "Solon and the Rise of Peisistratus," 107-33.

Solon's poems indicate his opposition to greed and oppression, but he was not a revolutionary and in many respects he simply codified laws according to earlier customs. However, the simple act of codification, along with the realignment of political rights in terms of economic classes, was of monumental significance. Thereafter power and political allegiances could begin to shift from barons and aristocratic clans to the state itself; men could refer to a civic law code and develop a civic political consciousness. The Athenian body politic had to mature via the Solonian reforms before festivals and athletics at Athens could become truly "civic."

In later tradition Solon's fame as a lawgiver and sage grew, and his acts were confused through unfounded attributions.¹ Suggestions of Solonian laws regarding gymnasia, palaestrae, and activities therein lack sufficient credibility and receive no corroboration from the evidence for Athenian athletic facilities.² Yet Solon probably did codify a law granting rewards for Athenian athletes: 500 drachmae for an Olympic victor and 100 drachmae for an Isthmian. His motivation cannot be determined with certainty but it is highly unlikely that he wanted to democratize athletics, discourage aristocratic charioteering, or limit excessive athleticism--as has been suggested.³ Given the

¹References to Solonian laws of athletic relevance are collected and discussed below in Appendix A.

²Dem. 24. 114; Aeschin. In Tim. 10, 12; for other testimonia and criticisms of their validity see Appendix A. On the state of Athenian athletic facilities in the early sixth century, see below pp. 123-59.

³Plut. Sol. 23. 3; Diog. Laert. 1. 55; Diod. Sic. 9. 2. 5. Pleket, "Zur Soziologie," 62-63 and Buhman, Sieg, 106 accept this Solonian tradition of rewards for Olympic and Isthmian victories, and it is further suggested by Buhman that we can assume similar rewards for the Pythian, Nemean and other festivals. Again, see Appendix A.

overall nature of Solon's acts, it seems reasonable that he simply wanted to assert the legal authority of the state and to promote harmony in one more aspect of Athenian life. Other evidence has shown that Athens had athletes and athletics of a probably aristocratic and private nature. This could have been one more potentially disruptive activity which Solon would want to control and direct to the good of the state. Although their initiative was private, victors acted as representatives of the Athenian state and Solon's act was a civic response to athletics. The amount of the award was less important than the official, civic nature of the honour. Other cities were developing athletic festivals at this time but Athens was still too politically unstable and disunified. Solon's acts--including the legislation of athletic rewards and possibly morality laws relevant to athletic activity--laid the groundwork for civic consciousness and civic unity. Only after Solon's seisachtheia and nomothesia could Athens advance as a polis to a stage where a few years later the state could operate its own system of civic athletics and increasingly direct athletics to the glory of Athens.

That some form of Panathenaic festival including games existed at Athens before 566 seems likely, but has not been proven conclusively. S. Papaspyridi-Karouzou has suggested that an early black-figure amphora from Athens is a "proto-Panathenaic" prize amphora from such a festival.¹ This single amphora has a flute player with a goose and listeners on the obverse, with a horse, horseman and man in front on

¹S. Papaspyridi-Karouzou, "A Proto-Panathenaic Amphora," AJA 42 (1938): 495-505, figs. 2, 10. The vase (Nat. Mus: 559) is classified by Beazley, ABV, 85 no. 1 simply as a "neck amphora."

the reverse. She interprets the scenes as depictions of the mythical flute player Olympos--a possible reference to a flute contest at the Pythia or Panathenaea--and on the reverse a jockey and hippokomos or stableman--a possible reference to victory in a horse race. The shape and style of the vase place it as a possible immediate precursor of the first Panathenaic prize amphora and date the vase to ca. 570. Karouzou argues that the idea of giving amphorae to Panathenaic victors dates at least to the third decade of the sixth century, and that this is a proto-Panathenaic amphora referring to musical contests and horse races in an early pre-566 Panathenaea prior to the introduction of gymnastic events. Although this vase is similar to the Panathenaics, there need not be anything specifically Panathenaic about this form prior to 566; and nothing in the vase's decoration suggests a Panathenaic reference.¹ Furthermore, the aulete is seen as the legendary Olympos rather than a competitor, so the horseman too may be legendary and non-competitive. The idea of pre-566 Panathenaic games is not unreasonable nor unappealing, but an argument from ceramic evidence would be stronger if based on a group rather than a single vase.

A possible group of "proto-Panathenaics" may be the black figure "Horse-Head Amphorae." These are Attic belly, panel amphorae with a horse's head on either rectangular panel and with the rest of the vase black. The head is in profile to the right and wears a simple halter. Over a hundred such vases and fragments are known.²

¹J. A. Davison, "Notes on the Panathenaea," JHS 78 (1958): 27-28; likewise K. Peters, "Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren" (Ph.D. dissertation, Köln, 1941), 13.

²For complete catalogues and stylistic analysis, see A.

Beazley dates them to not later than 550 and A. Birchall likewise places them in the first half of the sixth century. These decorations presumably had some special significance and, since some of the vases were exported, it is unlikely that they were funerary. The series is brief, and the style barely develops, supporting the idea that these may be pre-566 Panathenaic prize-holders and precursors of the canonical Panathenaics discussed below.¹ This is a tempting suggestion since a pre-566 Panathenaea probably would have had horse races and possibly would have had prize amphorae. Accordingly the reorganization of 566 would mean the introduction of civic administration and the reinforcement of the association with Athena. However, before the appearance of the official inscriptions on the later Panathenaics, one can only say that the horse-head group supports the argument for "proto-Panathenaics" better than the lone Olympos amphora. Civic athletics and civic athletic prize amphorae cannot be identified with certainty prior to the reorganization of the Panathenaea generally dated to 566.

Historically, the introduction of the Panathenaic Games in the sixth century marks the beginning of civic athletics at Athens.

H. A. Thompson gives a perceptive evaluation of the Panathenaea:

Of all the many festivals of Athens none was so closely linked as the Panathenaea with the history of the city. Tradition related the name of the festival to the unification of Attica under Theseus. Expanded and systematized

Birchall, "Attic Horse-Head Amphorae," *JHS* 92 (1972): 46-63; and M. G. Picozzi, "Anfore attiche a protome equina," *Studi Miscellanei* 18 (1971): 5-64. For earlier lists and discussions, see Beazley, *ABV*, 15-17 and Boardman, *Black Figure*, 17-18.

¹ Boardman, *Black Figure*, 18; Benton, "Echelos' Hippodrome," 14-15.

by the Pisistratids, the Panathenaia became one of the principal manifestations of the growing national consciousness and cultural maturity of Athens in the second half of the sixth century.¹

Athletics and the Panathenaea were both intimately involved with the civic consciousness and life of Athens.² The Panathenaea certainly was one of the early festivals of Athens;³ and Harpocration records that there were two forms of the festival, perhaps originally called the Athenaia:

... διτὰ Παναθήναια ἤγετο Ἀθήνησι, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, τὰ δὲ διὰ πενταετηρίδος, ἅπερ καὶ μεγάλα ἐκάλουν· Ἰσοκράτης Παναθηναϊκῶ (12.17). ἤγαγε δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πρῶτος Ἐριχθόνιος ὁ Ἡφαίστου, καθά φησιν Ἑλληνικός (FGrH 323a F2) τε καὶ Ἀνδροτίων (324 F2), ἑκάτερος ἐν ᾧ Ἀτθίδος. πρὸ τούτου δὲ Ἀθηναία ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δεδήλωκεν Ἰστρος ἐν γ' τῶν Ἀττικῶν (334 F4).⁴

The origin of the Panathenaea thus is attributed in legend to two figures.

In what Davison calls the "sacral version," Erichthonios founded the Panathenaea to commemorate Athena's part in the war against the Giants.⁵ According to the "political version," best known

¹Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," 224.

²On the Panathenaea: Parke, Festivals, 33-50; Deubner, Attische Feste, 22-35; Gardiner, GASF, 229-41; Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival;" Davison, "Panathenaea;" L. Ziehen, s.v. Panathenaia, PW XVIII 3 (1949), 457-93.

³The oldest reference to an Athenian festival to Athena comes from Homer, Il. 2. 550-1:

ἔνθα δὲ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἄρνειοις βλάονται
κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν·

This apparently is a reference to the annual or Lesser Panathenaea, but the passage comes from the questionably reliable Catalogue of Ships. See Denys Page, History and the Homeric Iliad (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959, fourth printing, 1972), 145-7.

⁴Harpocration s.v. Παναθήναια citing Isoc. 12.17; Hellenicus, FGrH 323a F2; Androtion, FGrH 324 F2; and Istros, FGrH 334 F4.

⁵Marm. Par. A10, lines 17-18 places the establishment of the

from Plutarch, the national hero Theseus called his newly unified city Athens and established the Panathenaea as a common sacrifice.¹ Reconciling the two accounts by combination, a Platonic scholiast suggests that Erichthonios created the Panathenaea, but that Theseus, after the unification of Attica, established the Greater Panathenaea to be held every fourth year.² The legends may have been manipulated for political ends but we cannot be sure.³ Probably the Panathenaea as the festival of Attica developed from a smaller, more local festival of the city, and the attribution of the festival to a national hero seems quite natural.⁴

A festival day and the presentation of a peplos to Athena apparently existed from the seventh century and perhaps earlier,⁵ but when

Panathenaea by Erichthonios some 729 or 730 years before the first Olympiad; Apollod. 3.14.6; Aelius Aristides 13.189. 4-5 sees the Panathenaea as the oldest Greek festival, perhaps second only to the Eleusinia. On the two versions, see Davison, "Panathenaea," 24-5.

¹Plut. Thes. 24.3, τὴν τε πόλιν Ἀθήνας προσηγόρευσε καὶ Παναθηναία, εὐσίαν ἐποίησε κοινήν; Paus. 8.2.1, Παναθηναία δὲ κληθεῖναι φασὶν ἐπὶ Θησέως, ὅτε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐτέθη συλλελεγμένων εἰς μίαν ἀπάντων πόλιν; cf. Thuc. 2.15 and H. T. Wade-Gery, "Eupatridai, Archons and Areopagus," CQ 25 (1931): 1-11, 77-89, reprinted in Essays in Greek History (Oxford, 1958), 86-115.

²Schol. on Prm. 127a,

Παναθηναία] ἡ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἐτέθη μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Θησέως συναγαγόντος τοὺς δήμους εἰς ἄστυ. ἄγεται δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν.

³For details and a discussion of the Theseus legend, see Roscher, Lex. s.v. Theseus, 5 (1924): 678-760; and W. den Boer, "Theseus and the Growth of Myth in History," G & R 16 (1969): 1-13.

⁴It is interesting that in legends Theseus acts politically concerning games at Athens. The institution of the Panathenaea marks a political event; and, although Theseus attended funeral games in Crete (Plut. Thes. 19.7), he establishes no funeral games on the death of his father Aegeus nor his son Hippolytos.

⁵Parke, Festivals, 33.

did civic athletics become an element of the official Panathenaea?

Eusebius' Chronicon, in Jerome's Latin version, under Ol. 53. 3-4 (566/5 B.C.) reads: Agon gymnicus quem Panathenaeon vocant, actus.¹

This late and problematic source gives an absolute date but does not mention the name of the archon. A further note comes from an obscure source (Marcellinus Vit. Thuc. 2-4) which assigns the establishment of the Panathenaea to the archonship of Hippokleides.² This Hippokleides, of the Philaidai, apparently was the same man as the unsuccessful suitor of the daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon.³ Genealogies and late chronographical sources are not overly reliable, but Davison and Cadoux, after studying the relevant texts, agree on 566/5 as a probable date for the archonship of Hippokleides.⁴ Other festivals with athletic events may have had precursors predating 566 but there is no sound proof of earlier civic athletics. Hence the approximate date of "566" generally has been accepted for the introduction of athletic games as part of the Panathenaic festival.⁵ This correlates with the

¹Eusebius Chronica, Armenian version ed. and trans. by J. Karst, Eusebius' Werke VII: 102a-b; T. J. Cadoux, "The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides," JHS 68 (1948): T112.

²Marcellin, Vit. Thuc. 2-4 citing Pherecydes, FGrH 3 F2; Cadoux, "Archons," T4, τὸς δὲ Μιλτιάδης.] τὸς δὲ Ἰπποκλείδης, ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος <ἐν Ἀθήναις> Παναθηναία ἐτέθη.

³Hdt. 6.126-9.

⁴Cadoux, "Archons," 104; Davison, "Panathenaea," 26-9; also Davies, APE, 8429, II.

⁵Davison, "Panathenaea," 27 concludes that:
...the athletic "meeting" at the Panathenaea was first made official in "566"--the inverted commas being meant as a symbol of our uncertainty about the manner in which this dating has been arrived at. It is probable that both the equestrian "meeting" and the musical "festival" (both legitimate modern translations of ἀγών, considered as a series of contests for prizes) were made official at the same time; and if that is

approximate date of a new variety of ceramic evidence, the Panathenaic prize amphora. The earliest surviving example of such a vase, the Burgon amphora, conventionally is dated stylistically--but not absolutely--to "566."¹

Inscriptional records from the Athenian Acropolis offer some evidence for the introduction of civic athletics. Three stelai inscribed in similar lettering are published by Raubitschek and restored by comparison with one another.²

DAA no. 326

[Τὸ]ν δρόμον [: ἐποίησαν : ^{ca. 11} -]
 [-^{ca. 2} : Κρ]άτες [: Θρασ]υκλῆς : Ἄ[ρ]ισ
 τόδικος : Βρ[ύ]σον :] Ἀντέ[νορ : -^{ca. 1} -]
 [ἡεροποιοὶ τὸν ἀ]γθ[να θέσ]αν πρότο[ι] γλ[αυ]κ[κ]όπιδι : κόρ[ει].

On the back:

DAA no. 327

Τὸν δ[ρ]όμον : ἐπ[οί]εσαν] [---] | Κινεσίας.
 Τ[-^{ca. 2} Δεχσ]ίθεο
 [ς -^{ca. 6} -^{ca. 7} - Μέ]λ
 εσ[ί]ας -^{ca. 1} -^{ca. 5} -]
 [-^{ca. 4} - ἡοῖς -^{ca. 3} - ἰ]ας ἐ
 γρα[μά]τευε ---]

[ἡεροπο]ιοὶ τὸν ἀγθνα θέσαν γλ[αυ]κόπιδ[ι] κόρ[ει].

DAA no. 328

[Τὸν δρόμον ἐποίησαν]
 τῆι θε[ῶ]ι ἡοι ἡεροποιοὶ]
 [ἡοῖς -^{ca. 7} - ἐγ]ραμάτε
 υε : Φαιδρί[α].

All three appear to begin with τὸν δρόμον ἐποίησαν τῆι θεῶι ; in nos. 326 and 327 a list of names follows; and nos. 327 and 328

also include a secretary. The restoration of the last line of no. 326

so the date "566" can properly be used as a terminus post quem for the making of the earliest true Panathenaic amphorae.

¹On the Burgon vase and Panathenaic amphorae as evidence for civic athletics, see below pp. 55-61.

²Raubitschek, DAA, nos. 326-8.

is heavily dependent on the last line of no. 327; and no. 328, a more summary inscription, lacks this final line as well as any list of names.

Unfortunately the two most important words here--dromos and agon--are vague and general terms. Raubitschek's interpretation is that agon is used for the assembly at the national games and that this can only be the Great Panathenaea.¹ Noting that nos. 326 and 327 distinguish between agon and dromos, he feels that dromos refers to the gymnastic contest or more generally the races in the festival. Accordingly, agon would refer to the sacred ceremonies performed in honour of Athena while, more specifically, dromos would refer to the races (or may be translated simply as "Games").² John Travlos has disagreed with this interpretation of dromos, arguing that the inscriptions refer to the construction and repair of the Panathenaic race-course which he sites in the Agora.³ Neither interpretation is conclusive.

Raubitschek would date no. 326 to the archon year of Hippokleides and the introduction of the Panathenaic Games because of the occurrence of πρῶτο[ι]. He feels that the inscription records that eight men had charge of the performance of the dromos (race), and, on the basis of no. 327, that it is likely that the same men also organized the whole festival (agon). He concludes that no. 326 can be dated definitely to 566 and contains the official record of the establishment

¹References to γλαυκόπιδι χόρει and τῆι θεῶι support an association with Athena and thus the Panathenaea.

²Raubitschek, DAA, 352-3, 356.

³Travlos, PDA, 2; see below pp. 100-101.

of the Great Panathenaea. He suggests that no. 327 is certainly later than no. 326, possibly from 562 or 558. Furthermore, nos. 327 and 328 show the board of hieropoioi had a secretary, although 328 omits the names of the board members. This omission and the letter forms suggest to Raubitschek a date of 558 or 554 for the third inscription. Hence nos. 327 and 328 would be later versions of no. 326 referring to later Panathenaic festivals after the introduction of the Games in 566.¹

Raubitschek's theory is very specific and therefore vulnerable. Davison is sceptical of the assumption that dromos and agon refer to the agon gymnicus of the chronographers;² and although the festival involved probably is the Panathenaea, the date of 566 is at best uncertain. Davison offers another interpretation:

No. 326 probably refers to that celebration of the Panathenaea which is conventionally dated to 566, but may not have been carved until at least one further festival of the same type had been held; No. 327 refers to such a festival, and probably it and No. 326 were carved at the same time; No. 328 seems to refer to a simpler type of festival (without the ἀγών), and perhaps to one which intervened between those referred to in Nos. 326 and 327.³

Many points remain debatable: the inscriptions are fragmentary, crucial words are ambiguous, and the dating and relationship between the inscriptions are uncertain. However, this group of inscriptions does show that official action was being taken concerning a dromos and an agon. Such terms suggest athletics and the reference is probably to

¹Raubitschek, DAA, 355-6; on the officials, see below pp. 66-67.

²Davison, "Panathenaea," 30 argues that the assumption is by no means self-evident, since words such as agon and dromos may refer to an activity, the place where it takes place, or the people who take part in it.

³Davison, "Panathenaea," 30.

the Panathenaic Games, which, for practical purposes, can be dated from approximately 566 onwards.

It is regrettable that "566"--such a crucial date for Athenian athletics--remains so uncertain. It is important to realize that if the Panathenaea was reformed during the archonship of Hippokleides in "566" this means only that he was in office at the time of the reform. It is an interesting question whether the archonship was the place from which political power and initiative came,¹ or whether it was the office by which a younger man was co-opted into the ruling circles.² Although a member of the aristocratic, horse-racing family of Miltiades, Hippokleides--although he should not be judged too harshly from his performance earlier in Sikyon--nowhere else is known as a serious reformer. Did the responsibility for the reformation of the Panathenaea then lie elsewhere?

A scholiast of the Panathenaicus of Aelius Aristides adds an interesting note about the early festival:

δ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἀγῶν] τῶν μικρῶν λέγει (sc. Aristides) ταῦτα γὰρ ἀρχαιότερα, ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος γενόμενα ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Ἀστερίου τοῦ Γίγαντος. τὰ δὲ μεγάλα Πεισίστρατος ἐποίησεν. 3

This is the only piece of positive evidence for any connection between Peisistratos and the establishment of the Great Panathenaea; but it has led Ziehen to feel that Hippokleides perhaps founded only the athletic games, and that Peisistratos gave the Great Panathenaea its extended

¹As in Arist. Ath. Pol. 13.2.

²R. Sealey, "Regionalism in Archaic Athens," Hist. 9 (1960): 167.

³Schol. on Aelius Aristides 13.189.4-5 (ed. Dindorf, III. 323); only Dindorf's manuscript D contains ἀρχαιότερα; Davison, "Panathenaea," 24.

format later during the tyranny.¹ Others have suggested that there was a connection between Hippokleides and Peisistratos in their possible influences on the festival since both apparently came from Brauron.² Certainly Peisistratos was prominent and politically ambitious at the time, and he distinguished himself as polemarch in 565 in a war against Megara.³ The fostering of games in 566 could have been a move by Peisistratos to advance his career.⁴ Unfortunately there is no solid evidence that Hippokleides and Peisistratos co-operated to influence the festival, that Peisistratos instituted the Great Panathenaea, or that the relationship between the archonship of Hippokleides and the introduction of the games was anything but chronological.

Consider the situation at Athens in the 560's. The sixth century had already seen the establishment of the Periodos, Athenians had competed, and Solon apparently had legislated rewards for victorious athletes. In approximately 566 Solon was still alive and back in Athens after his travels. Plutarch even suggests that Solon and Peisistratos were on good terms with each other prior to 561.⁵ With

¹L. Ziehen, s.v. Panathenaea, PW XVIII 3 (1949), 459. Similarly, M. F. McGregor, "Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the Panhellenic Festivals," TAPA 72 (1941): 267 n.2 feels the Scholiast implies that Peisistratos reorganized and glorified an existing festival.

²See Davison, "Panathenaea," 29; Sealey, Greek City States, 137-141; C. Hignett, A History of the Athenian Constitution (Oxford, 1952; reprint ed., 1962), 133, 326-31.

³Arist. Ath. Pol. 14.1.

⁴Parke, Festivals, 34 points to the political rivalry at Athens around 566 and, despite the lack of evidence, he feels that a likely motive behind the founding of the games was its appeal to the populace.

⁵Arist. Ath. Pol. 14.2; Plut. Sol. 29-30.

the successful Olympic model at hand, with a native tradition of funeral games, and even perhaps with a possible fear of a negative political potential of aristocratic athleticism, the political powers at Athens--perhaps urged by Solon or Peisistratos--recast a traditional festival to include games and an extended format every fourth year. The idea of patriotism and decreased factionalism would appeal to perceptive leading citizens, and the opportunity to compete or observe at home would appeal to all. Recall that later during his tyranny Peisistratos had a policy of advancing the cult of Athena,¹ and that he did develop the festival further, notably with the setting of rules for a competitive recitation of Homer.² However, in terms of the actions of "566" and the introduction of civic athletics, the assignment of responsibility remains a matter of speculation. Without necessarily initiating the idea, Peisistratos, later when he was solidly in power in the 540's, could reinforce the operation of civic athletics. His motivation and the end results remain the same.

Some conclusions can be drawn from the admittedly scattered, and indefinite evidence for early athletics at Athens. From Geometric

¹The association of Peisistratos with Athena is demonstrated in Herodotus' account, 1.60.3-5, of Peisistratos' return to Athens in a chariot with Phye posing as Athena. John Boardman has argued that Peisistratos also deliberately identified himself with Herakles, presenting both of them as protégés of Athena. See John Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons," *RA* fasc. 1 (1972): 57-72 and "Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis," *JHS* 95 (1975): 1-12; cf. K. Schauenberg, "Herakles Musikos," *JDAI* 94 (1979): 49-76. Examining the popularity of Herakles in Athenian art of the Peisistratid period and changes in the canonic treatment of certain Herakles stories, Boardman interprets the ruse of Phye installing Peisistratos on the Acropolis as a manipulation of the theme of Herakles' introduction to Olympus.

²On this, see Davison, "Panathenaea," 29; and Parke, *Festivals*, 34.

vase-paintings and Homeric traditions, it is reasonable to assume that Athens had funeral games in the eighth century on a spontaneous, aristocratic basis. According to Thompson's theory and inferring from votive evidence, there probably was a development towards games associated with hero cults in seventh-century Athens. From 696 onwards Athens was producing Olympic athletes and one of these, through his tyrannical ambition, created chaos at Athens during the Kylonian affair. Like Kylon, the young, aristocratic and athletic Hippokleides and Megakles, in their pursuit of Agariste, showed the appeal of clan interests and foreign contacts. Athletic proficiency was socially significant but athletes lacked a strong polis-orientation. By the early decades of the sixth century Athens had athletes and aristocratic athletics, but the city itself was troubled and disunified in its political and its athletic life.

Despite the historiographic problems and the confusion caused by rhetorical and biographical influences on the Solonian tradition, Solon can be seen as a major figure in the history of Athenian athletics. It has been argued that Solon codified into law awards for athletic victors, not necessarily inventing or circumscribing such rewards. It is also quite conceivable that he legislated certain morality laws concerning slaves, pederasty and activities related to athletics. Supposedly Solonian laws concerning athletic facilities are anachronistic and provide good examples of false attributions to the lawgiver. The crucial point is that Solon represented the Athenian body politic, and in a non-revolutionary but very significant move he asserted the influence of the state for the first time in the realm

of athletics. His athletic policy was consistent with his other acts in being motivated by the patriotic desire for a strong and harmonious state. The date of Solon's acts remains uncertain, but in terms of the history of Athenian athletics he represents a transitional step between the athletic world of Kylon and the athletic world of Athenian civic athletics--that is, between the athletics of a clan state and those of a citizens' state.¹ After Athens came to terms with the practice of athletics, acknowledging it via official laws and rewards, the polis could advance towards civic athletics.

It is possible, but unlikely, that civic athletics predate "566" at Athens as indicated by the "proto-Panathenaic" or horse-head amphorae. The myths of Athens include "sacred" and "political" versions of the introduction of the Panathenaic Games, but late and problematic sources attach the introduction to 566 and the archonship of Hippokleides. This approximate date and the civic nature of the Panathenaic Games are corroborated by the famous Burgon Panathenaic prize amphora and the heavily reconstructed "dromos" inscriptions from the Acropolis. Hippokleides seems an unlikely candidate to be the motivator of Athenian civic athletics. Rather the venerable Solon, or the rising Peisistratos, or some unrecorded coalition of state leaders perhaps put the wheels in motion. An appreciation of the negative, disruptive potential of non-civic athletics should have been created earlier by the Kylonian affair: civic athletics would favour community consciousness

¹W. Jaeger, Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture, trans. G. Highet, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945; Oxford Paperbacks, 1965), 1: 136-49 depicts Solon as the "political teacher of his nation," the first embodiment and greatest creator of the Attic spirit of subordination of all activities to the life of the community.

rather than clan factionalism. In more basic terms, it would be good for the reputation of the city and increase Athenian opportunities to observe and participate in games.

The situation in 566 is unclear, but Peisistratos became a dominant force in Athenian history shortly thereafter; and by the end of the tyranny civic athletics were thriving at Athens. Although his motives were not as admirable as Solon's, Peisistratos provided the patriotic drive and the political and the religious centralization which helped Athens progress as a state. The tyrant had the means and the motive for influencing the Panathenaea; the archaic aristocratic spirit of the agon in politics and games had to be controlled for the sake of the city and the career of Peisistratos. The ancient evidence is weak but probability and modern opinion support the idea that Peisistratos fostered athletics at Athens to appeal to the populace and to spread the fame of Athens.¹

¹V. Ehrenberg, From Solon to Socrates (London, 1967), 82-83 feels Peisistratos fostered the games and tried to make the Panathenaea panhellenic in scope. His festival program reflects the tyrant's "typical mixture of religion, patriotism and self-aggrandizement." Sealey, Greek City-States, 135-9 comments on Peisistratid work on public buildings and the enlargement of the Panathenaea:

The purposes of Peisistratos and his sons may have concerned merely the splendors and prestige of the family, but their methods were bound to reinforce a sense of unity among the inhabitants of Attica.

On the involvement of Hippias and Hipparchos in the Panathenaea, see Arist. Ath. Pol. 18.2-3; Thuc. 6.54-58.

PART TWO

ATHENIAN CIVIC ATHLETICS

Famous for its varied and numerous festivals,¹ ancient Athens was proud of its reputation for having more festivals than other states,² and many of the agonistic aspects of these celebrations were athletic. State festivals were religious holidays dedicated to deities; and athletic competitions, like sacrifices, processions and feasts, were an appropriate act of worship and an element of the religious ceremony of festivals.³ The Panathenaea and the Athenian festival program with its athletic aspects grew with the city and became more splendid with the Empire in the fifth century. Some festivals were established or fostered by various persons for specific

¹On the exceptional number and expense of Athenian sacrifices and processions: Ps. Xen. Ath. Pol. 3.2,8; Ar. Nub. 306-13, Eq. 582, 1037, Pax 1.24.3; Ps. Pl. Alc. II 148e.

²In the Funeral Oration, Thuc. 2.38, Pericles praises Athenian "games and festivals held all year round" as civilized recreational diversions; see Gomme, Commentary on Thucydides, 2:116.

³On Athenian festivals the basic work is August Mommsen's Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1898) which was brought up to date to 1932 by Ludwig Deubner, Attische Feste (Berlin, 1932; reprint ed., Hildesheim, 1959). H. W. Parke, Festivals of the Athenians (London, 1977) is more recent but aims at a broad audience and concentrates on the fifth and fourth centuries. Like Deubner, his focus is on cult, ritual and the festival year. For an outdated treatment from an athletic viewpoint, see Gardiner, GASP, chap. XI "The Athletic Festivals of Athens," 227-50. For testimonia and discussions on the dates of various festivals, see Jon D. Mikalson, The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year (Princeton, 1975).

reasons, and certain events at times were introduced or seem to have declined in popularity. This section will examine the evidence for the athletic components of the Panathenaea and other festivals, and it will also survey the evidence for various individual events. The scope will be limited to state festivals with athletic aspects and will exclude demotic and external festivals. By outlining the Athenian athletic program, and by suggesting significant stages and historical factors in that program from ca. 566 to 322, this investigation should demonstrate the involvement of athletics with Athenian civic life.

Before turning to the Panathenaea as the most famous Athenian athletic gathering, it is important to clarify this study's approach to the works of the Attic vase-painters as a valuable source for the history of Athenian athletics. While black-figure Panathenaic prize amphorae testify to the establishment and operation of civic athletics in the Panathenaea,¹ other non-Panathenaic pottery overall also

¹On the Panathenaeics: the standard reference collection is J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters (Oxford, 1928, reprint ed., New York, 1978), to which Beazley makes additions in his Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters (Oxford, 1971). Beazley's The Development of Attic Black-Figure (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), especially chap. 8 "Panathenaic Amphorae," is an excellent introduction, to be supplemented by John Boardman, Athenian Black Figure Vases (New York, 1974), especially chapter seven "Panathenaic Vases." Earlier and more specialized treatments include K. Peters, "Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren" (Ph.D. dissertation, Köln, 1941), an outdated work but notable for attributions to red-figure painters; J. D. Beazley, "Panathenaica," AJA 47 (1943): 441-65, a good list, with historical comments, of Panathenaeics grouped by attributions to painters; and A. Smets, "Groupes chronologiques des amphores panathénaïques inscrites," L'antiquité classique 5 (1937): 87-104 dealing with inscriptions on the vases. E. N. Gardiner, "Panathenaic Amphorae," JHS 32 (1912): 179-93 is outdated but notable for correcting several misconceptions in G. von Brauchitsch, Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910). Jiri Frel, Panathenäische Preisamphoren (Athens, 1973) is a brief introduction with special attention to finds from the Kerameikos. M. A. Tiberius, "Παναθηναϊκά," Δελτίον 29A (1974): 142-51 is mainly concerned with pseudo-Panathenaeics and the production of the vases.

reflects the nature and development of athletics at Athens. Furthermore, the general ceramic evidence, in combination with the Panathenaic prize vases, can indicate the introduction, history and popularity of individual gymnastic and equestrian events. However, some cautionary remarks are in order. Except for the Panathenaic prize amphorae, Athenian pottery with athletic scenes usually can provide only general impressions of the athletic inclinations and activities of the Athenians. Discovered over a vast territory, Attic works with athletic scenes may have been painted for foreign markets; the scenes themselves may be generalized, non-Athenian or even imaginary.¹ Such evidence does show Athenian familiarity with athletics, but only in combination with literary and other testimonia does it verify the existence of civic athletics. Although the corpus is limited, the Panathenaic prize amphorae by their special nature are sound evidence for civic athletics. Only a representation on a Panathenaic prize vase is ceramic proof of the event's inclusion in the state-supervised Panathenaic program; scenes on non-prize vases can only suggest Athenian familiarity with and probable activity in specific events. A final caution is that dates based stylistically on ceramic evidence obviously are very approximate in most cases.

Panathenaea

Since they constitute a major source for the Panathenaic

¹Some vase-paintings depicted stock themes or satisfied the specific desires of the customer. Harris, GAA, 29 would remind us that, "The Greek painter was an artist, faced with the task of ornamenting a panel often oddly shaped and on a curved slope. With him aesthetic considerations always came first,"

Games, the classification of vases as "Panathenaic prize amphorae" in this study must be explained. Vases so described hereafter are all black-figure, inscribed amphorae (or fragments) with distinctive decorations and with a discernible athletic activity on the reverse.¹ Numerous vases (pseudo-Panathenaics or Panathenaic-type amphorae) are similar to the prize vases in shape and decoration, but these lack the official inscription and were not definitely Panathenaic prizes. Perhaps they were souvenirs, imitations or market items.² Although some reference to the Panathenaea is apparent, these Panathenaic-type vases are unreliable evidence for civic athletics and are treated below along with Attic pottery in general.

Civic athletics formed the historical context for the regular production of Panathenaic prize amphorae, the standardized vases so

¹Such a limitation excludes imitations and overly fragmentary works of questionable reliability. Beazley and Boardman distinguish between prize and non-prize Panathenaics and are the main sources for this section. Webster, Potter and Patron, and Gardiner, GASF both tend to lump Panathenaic-type vases, uninscribed and even red-figure works as prize amphorae. Such studies must be used cautiously.

²A significant article by M. A. Tiberius, "Παναθηναϊκά," Deltion 29A (1974): 142-51, reviews earlier interpretations of the purpose of the pseudo-Panathenaics. He advances a theory that such vases were models offered by various workshops competing in a state contest in which the victorious workshop was awarded the lucrative contract for the manufacture of the prize amphorae. He points to Arist. Ath. Pol. 49.3 for support: ἔκρινον δὲ ποτὲ καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἢ βουλῆ.... F. G. Kenyon suggested that the "models" were architectural plans; and K. von Fritz and E. Kapp, Aristotle's Constitution of Athens, 190 feel they may have been designs for scenes for the peplos. Tiberius compares the passage to Arist. Ath. Pol. 60.1 (the athlothetai and the Council provide the peplos and the prize vases) and concludes that the "paradigms" were workshop models of the Panathenaics. Hence they lack the inscription and are less numerous than the prize vases. This is an interesting hypothesis but Tiberius himself admits the uncertainty and lack of sound evidence on the purpose or manufacture of the pseudo-Panathenaics. Without the official inscription they simply are not reliable evidence for the official Panathenaic athletic program.

famous as prizes from the state games of Athens.¹ This pottery type consistently connected Athena--the political goddess par excellence of the Athenians--with athletic competitions.² Such prizes of domestic, sacred oil in locally-made containers inscribed with the name of the city were extremely appropriate for the patriotic focus of Athenian athletics. These prizes had a very real value as well as a spiritual and competitive significance.³ The combination of Athena, official prizes, and a national festival including athletics coincides with a development from a period of aristocratic factionalism in both politics and athletics to a period of heightened civic consciousness. The civic supervision of athletic games, the offering of distinctively Athenian prizes, and the involvement of the state in facilities where athletes could prepare themselves⁴--all these developments probably were related in time, means and motive.

Prize Panathenaic amphorae display a remarkable consistency from the sixth to the fourth century. The canonical decorations become established around 530 and can be seen on the Panathenaics of

¹The most famous reference to Panathenaic amphorae is from Pindar Nemean 10.33-6 of the 460's for Theseus of Argos. This man had been victorious at Athens, bringing home oil in richly painted vases: ... γαίῃ δὲ καυθείσῃ πυρὶ καρπὸς ἑλαίας ἔμολεν Ἥρας τὸν εὐάνορα λαὸν ἐν ἀγγέων ἑρκέσιν παμποικίλοις.

²On the political and civic character of Athena's cult, see L. R. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1896-1909; reprint ed., London, 1974), 1:293-9.

³Parke, Festivals, 34. For calculations of the numbers of Panathenaics produced and the value of the prizes, see D. A. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai, Part III," Hesp. 27 (1958), "Panathenaic Amphoras," 178-86. Tiberius, "Παναθηναϊκά," 147-53 accepts such calculations and points out the sentimental value of the vases even after the oil was used up.

⁴On the earliest athletic facilities at Athens, see Part Three.

the Euphiletos Painter, the earliest artist from whom several such works survive.¹ Below the floral decoration on the neck, the front panel shows a figure of Athena in a warlike attitude striding forward between two Doric columns supporting cocks.² The telling inscription τῶν Ἀθηνῆθεν ἄθλων also appears on the front. The reverse depicts some form of athletic activity, presumably the event for which the particular amphora was awarded. This combination of scenes of Athena and athletics with the inscriptions and the regularity in appearance declares that these were officially commissioned athletic prizes.

The earliest recognizable Panathenaic prize amphora is the famous Burgon vase in the British Museum.³ Found in 1813 in an ancient cemetery outside the walls of Athens near the Acharnian Gate,⁴ this amphora is Panathenaic but not canonical. There are no columns with the archaic, flat-footed Athena and the neck of the vessel has a siren and an owl rather than the usual floral motif. However, the inscription

¹ ABV 322 nos. 1-12; for an illustration, see Boardman, Black Figure, figs. 297-8.

² The depiction of Athena may have been taken from an early cult statue; the columns may suggest her temple; and the cocks are usually interpreted as symbols of the spirit of competition.

³ ABV 89 no. 1 (Br. Mus. B130); for treatments of the vase see Beazley, "Panathenaica," 441, and Development, 88-90; Boardman, Black Figure, 168, figs. 296.1, 2. For an informative discussion of the discovery and date of the piece, see P. E. Corbett, "The Burgon and Blacas Tombs," JHS 80 (1960): 52-60, pls. 1-7.

⁴ This amphora was found in association with six smaller vases; one of them an Attic black-figure lekythos showing a nude, running youth between two draped youths (E. Haspels, Attic Black-Figure Lekythoi (Paris, 1936), 95, group of little black-necked lekythoi, no. 13). Noting that the Burgon amphora dates from ca. 566 and that the smaller vases are unlikely to be earlier than 500, Webster, Potter and Patron, 285 suggests that a Panathenaic victor kept one of his prizes and that later it was used to bury him in.

is present with εἰμί added: ΤΟΝΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝΑΘΑΘΝ:ΕΜΙ . The reverse shows a special type of two-horse or two-mule race, the synoris.¹ Here the driver sits in a light cart driving a pair of horses; the wheels are cart rather than chariot wheels, and the collar is similar to a mule's collar.

Stylistically the Burgon amphora falls around 566 but not much earlier. The obvious temptation has been to connect the vase with the reorganization of the Panathenaea in "566" and to regard it as archaeological proof of the establishment of the Panathenaic Games.² A new series of vases might coincide with the inclusion of athletic events in the festival; but, as we have seen, the nature and date of the reorganization are far from certain.³ Moreover, Boardman and Beazley suggest that since the event shown is equestrian rather than athletic (by their terms) the vase may predate the reorganization of "566." Corbett cautiously dates the vase some ten to twenty years before the middle of the sixth century and warns that suggestions of absolute dates for Attic vases earlier than the middle of the sixth century must allow for a margin of ten years on either side. At any rate, this earliest Panathenaic prize amphora is to be associated with the early Panathenaic Games; and the conventional date of 566 remains the best for the introduction of the Games.

¹On this event, see below pp. 345-46.

²Davison, "Panathenaea," 26-7.

³The Burgon amphora is simply the oldest Panathenaic prize amphora to have survived; it is not necessarily or even probably the first ever made. Corbett, "Burgon and Blacas Tombs," 53 quotes a letter by Burgon in which he admits that prior to this discovery he had found and thrown out four similar amphorae unwashed because he had not recognized their value.

Stylistically close or a little later in time than the Burgon vase, the fragment of the Halle amphora by a painter near Lydos is usually taken to be the earliest Panathenaic to show athletes, although not the earliest produced.¹ It depicts three men in a footrace with the inscription ἀνδροῶν. Like the Burgon and other early Panathenaics, this amphora lacks the canonical cock columns and Athena stands flat-footed. It is interesting that the Panathenaics in fact become standardized around 530 at the very time when a shift towards red-figure begins for most ordinary ware.

Was the establishment of a canonical form the result of a "settling down" of the pottery style, of fossilization in black-figure, or of some official action? Also, we shall see that the earliest Panathenaics depict only the traditional events (footrace, horse race, chariots or boxers) but those of the last quarter of the sixth century show the full range of the pentathlon. Does this indicate an expansion or systematization of the Panathenaic program? The coincidence of these ceramic notes with the period of the Peisistratid tyranny is suggestive.² In the 530's Peisistratos was securely in power and engaged in civically oriented projects. Although Peisistratid influence on the Panathenaic athletic program cannot be proven, it is unlikely that the tyrant would overlook the value of civic athletics for promoting Athens, pleasing the populace and dissipating aristocratic

¹ABV 120; Boardman, Black Figure, fig. 295.

²After the Panathenaea the distinctively Athenian prize vases would be distributed and displayed widely by victorious athletes. Athenian economic prosperity under the tyrants, the advancement of the Athenian pottery industry, and the fostering of the Panathenaea all perhaps are interrelated; see L. H. Jeffery, Archaic Greece, The City-States ca. 700-500 B.C. (London, 1976), 98.

energies, and augmenting the cult of the patron goddess Athena.

Turning now to the reasonably well-documented program and management of the Panathenaea, it is necessary to distinguish between the annual and penteteric versions of the festival. The Lesser or Annual Panathenaea was the basic early festival, traditionally assigned to 23 Hekatombaion.¹ In the late fifth century this yearly festival included kyklioï choroï and pyrrichistai for whom choregoi were required.² The best document on the festival is IG II² 334 of 335/4, recording part of the reorganization of festivals under Lycurgus.³ This suggests that the main elements of the yearly festival were: a sacrifice, an all-night festival (pannychis), and a procession beginning at sunrise after the pannychis. Although the lesser festival had cyclic choruses and pyrrhic dances, and possibly a torch race,⁴ there is no proof that the annual Panathenaea included athletic games.

From the sixth century on the Panathenaea was celebrated with especial grandeur every fourth year (in the third year of each Olympiad) as the "Great Panathenaea." This elaborate festival included the traditional sacrifice and procession and also an extensive program of athletic and other agones. A passage from Plato suggests that the

¹Parke, Festivals, 47-50; Deubner, Attische Feste, 24-26.

²Lys. 21.2, 4; for choregoi at the annual festival, also see Ps. Xen. Ath. Pol. 3.4.

³IG II² 334 (SIG 271) especially lines 31-32. On this document see D. M. Lewis, "Law on the Lesser Panathenaea," Hesp. 28 (1959): 239-247 and L. Robert, "Sur une loi d'Athènes relative aux petites Panathénées," Hellenica 11/12 (1960): 189-203. Lewis would see IG I² 302, 304 and 305 as referring to the lesser festival but Davison, "Panathenaea," 32-33 contends that these record a sequence of partial payments towards the Great Panathenaea.

⁴See J. K. Davies, "Demosthenes on Liturgies," JHS 87 (1967): 37.

Panathenaic athletic program opened with the stadion, followed by the diaulos, hippios and dolichos races, and the hoplitodromos came last.¹ The Constitution of Athens attributed to Aristotle records that Panathenaic prizes were awarded to victors in musical contests, a contest in manly beauty (euandria), and gymnastic contests and horse races.² The whole program probably took nine days: on days four and five the gymnastic contests were held; equestrian events were held on day six; and day seven saw the pyrrhic and military events closing with a torch race in the evening.³

Our most informative document about the pre-Hellenistic Panathenaic Games is IG II² 2311 of ca. 380, a fragmentary and incomplete list of Panathenaic events and prizes.⁴ Part one (lines 1-22) deals with musical competitions for which gold crowns and money prizes were awarded. Part two (lines 23-49) lists prizes for gymnastic events including the five regular Olympic events: stadion, pentathlon, wrestling, boxing and the pankration. Prizes are listed for two age groups: boys (παῖδες) and beardless youths (ἀγένεῖοι).⁵ The

¹Pl. Leg. 8.833a-b, σταδιοδρόμον δὴ πρῶτον ... καθάπερ νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι

²Arist. Ath. Pol. 60.4, ἔστι γὰρ ἄθλα τοῖς μὲν τὴν μουσικὴν νικῶσιν ἀργύρια καὶ χρυσία, τοῖς δὲ τὴν εὐανδρίαν ἀσπίδες, τοῖς δὲ τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἔλαιον.

³On the Panathenaic athletic program, see Gardiner, GASF, 229-41 and Ziehen, "Panathenaea," 474-80.

⁴IG II² 2311 (SIG 1055); Gardiner, GASF, 233-41; Parke, Festivals, 35-37; on the events, see below Appendix C.

⁵A division into three age classes also existed at Nemea, Delphi and Isthmia (SIG 677-8, Pind. Ol. 8.54) but at Olympia there were only boys' and men's classes (Paus. 6.2.10; 6.6.1; 6.14.1-2). On the Athenian model, Plato recommends that there be three classes of athletes (Leg. 8.833c-d).

listing of men's prizes is lost. Note that prizes were given for second as well as for first place; the prizes listed indicate a ratio of five to one between the value of first and second place awards. Understandably, prizes for youths were slightly greater than those for boys, but for all the gymnastic events the prizes were Panathenaic amphorae filled with oil.

Part three (lines 50-71) records Panathenaic equestrian events. Again the prizes are amphorae, and these are given for both first and second place; but there is no consistent ratio between prizes for first and second placements. Events listed include a chariot race for colts (ἵππων πωλικῶν ζεύγει) and a chariot race for full-grown horses (ἵππων ζεύγει ἀδηφάγῳ). Events for war horses (πολεμιστηρίοις) included a horse race (ἵππῳ κέλητι νικῶντι) and a chariot race (ἵππων ζεύγει νικῶντι). In addition there were prizes for a processional chariot race (ζεύγει πομπικῶν νικῶντι) and for javelin throwing from horseback (ἀφ' ἵππο ἀκοντίζοντι).

Part four (lines 72-81) lists special tribal events: the prizes were not amphorae and only first place prizes were given. Contests in the pyrrhic dance were held for teams of boys, youths and men (ἀνδράσι πυρρῆχισταῖς) with prizes of a hundred drachmae and an ox for each class. The tribe victorious in the euandria contest (εὐανδραὶ φυλῆν νικῶσαι) received the same prize. The program included a torch race for which the winning torch-bearer got a hydria and thirty drachmae, and apparently the tribe also got a hundred drachmae and an ox

(lines 76-77).¹ Finally, in the contest of ships (νικητήρια νεῶν ἀμύλλης) the victorious tribe got 300 drachmae and also 200 more for a feast.²

Discussions of the Panathenaic program often rely heavily on two second-century inscriptions (IG II² 2313, 2314) which testify to an expanded program including as many as twenty-four equestrian events.³ The Olympic-style events (gymnastic events, horse and chariot race) were "open" (ἐκ πάντων) or Panhellenic, while other events were "closed" or limited to citizens (ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν). These second-century documents need not correspond to the pre-Hellenistic program, and the extant portions of IG II² 2311 do not show a division into "open" and "closed" events. However, it is probable that in the classical age the musical and Olympic-style events were "open."⁴ Pindar often refers to victories at Athens; and if these took place at the Panathenaea, this shows that foreigners competed at Athens in "open," Olympic-style events.⁵ Tribal events would naturally be limited to citizens; but the equestrian events, although "closed" in the second century, may have been "open" in the fourth since their prizes were still amphorae rather than money.⁶

¹Mommsen, Feste, 103-4.

²The last line of the inscription (line 81) is very fragmentary but may record a prize for second place in the boat race.

³IG II² 2313, 2314; Gardiner, GASF, 236-7; M. A. Martin, Les Cavaliers athéniens (Paris, 1887), 227-35; Patrucco, Sport, 380-1, 390-1.

⁴Parke, Festivals, 37.

⁵Pindar refers to victories by non-Athenians at Athens in boys' and men's wrestling (Nem. 10.33-36; 4.19; Ol. 9.88); men's boxing (Ol. 7.82); the chariot race (Isthm. 2.20; 4.25); and the stadion or pentathlon (Ol. 13.38-39).

⁶IG II² 2311. 50-71; Arist. Ath. Pol. 60.4; cf. Gardiner, GASF, 236; M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, 233-5.

Athletic agones as elaborate as those of the Great Panathenaea obviously required careful preparation and management. Aristotle's Constitution of the Athenians is the best source on the arrangements involved:

κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀθλοθέτας δέκα ἄνδρας, ἓνα τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης. οὗτοι δὲ δοκιμασθέντες ἄρχουσι τέτταρα ἔτη, καὶ διοικοῦσι τὴν τε πομπὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν, καὶ τὸν πέπλον ποιοῦνται, καὶ τοὺς ἀμφορεῖς ποιοῦνται μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἀποδίδασσι. 1

The Commissioners of the Games (athlothetai) were chosen by lot, one from each tribe, and stayed in office for four years, dining at the Prytaneion in the years of the Great Panathenaea from the fourth of Hekatombaion onwards.² They arranged the procession and the musical, gymnastic and equestrian contest. With the Boule, they provided the peplos and prize amphorae, and they gave the oil to the athletes.

Apparently the officials who organized the Great Panathenaea may not always have been the athlothetai. If the archaic inscriptions from the Acropolis discussed earlier do in fact refer to the Great Panathenaea, they indicate that the early festival was run by a board of eight hieropoioi.³ The fourth-century hieropoioi, selected by lot, comprised two boards: one board dealt with sacrifices and the other-- the "annual hieropoioi"--handled the πεντετηρίδες, all the festivals

¹ Arist. Ath. Pol. 60.1; see the commentaries by Sandys, Aristotle's Constitution, 238 and Moore, Aristotle and Xenophon, 229-30.

² Arist. Ath. Pol. 62.2. Since these officials were allotted it is unlikely that the office was liturgical. Also see B. Nagy, "The Athenian Athlothetai," GRBS 19(1978): 307-14.

³ Raubitschek, DAA, nos. 326-8, using the already heavily-restored last line of 327 (including [ἡ ροπο]οί), restores 326 to include [ἡ ροπο]οί. No. 328 mentions no officials.

held every fourth year--except the Panathenaea.¹ An inscription of 335/4 indicates that the hieropoioi were in charge of the Lesser Panathenaea.² Davison has shown convincingly that a transfer of the responsibility for the Great Panathenaea from the hieropoioi to the athlothetai took place probably just after 418. According to Davison, the hieropoioi had always handled the Panathenaic festival, possibly aided by the athlothetai; but when the duties involved increased in the fifth century, the athlothetai were established or elevated to handle the Great Panathenaea while the hieropoioi kept control of the annual festival.³ Such changes in the officials probably reflect changes or expansions of the Athenian athletic program.

Aristotle provides further information on preparations for the games, illustrating several levels of civic involvement. The Boule and the Treasurer of the Military Fund supervised the manufacture of "the images of Nike and the Panathenaic prizes."⁴ The Panathenaic oil itself originally came from sacred trees dedicated to Athena scattered over Attica. This oil was the property of the state, and the trees were under the care of the Areopagus.⁵ In former times the penalty for

¹Arist. Ath. Pol. 54.6-8.

²IG II² 334.31-2 (SIG 271), τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς διοικοῦντας τὰ Παναθηναία τὰ κατ'ἐνιαυτὸν....

³Davison, "Panathenaea," 31-3. Parke, Festivals, 42-3 incorrectly refers to the athlothetai as agonothetai.

⁴Arist. Ath. Pol. 49.3 (καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως τῶν Νικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄθλων τῶν εἰς τὰ Παναθηναία συνεπιμελεῖται μετὰ τοῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν.) Here ποιήσεως probably refers to the amphora rather than the oil. For a theory on the arrangements for the manufacture of the prize amphorae, see Tiberius, "Παναθηναϊκά," 42-51.

⁵On the sacred olives (morai): Paus. 1.30.2; Hdt. 5.82; 8.55; Ar. Nub. 1005; Soph. Oed. Col. 295-301. For the prohibition of exportation of the oil, except by victors: Schol. on Pind. Nem. 10.64.

destroying such a tree was death.¹ By the fourth century an elaborate procedure existed for the handling of the sacred oil.² The archon was in charge of collecting the oil due in his year, and he delivered it to the Treasurers of the Acropolis who in turn dispensed it to the Commissioners of the Games at the time of the Great Panathenaea.³ From an administrative point of view, the expense, time and number of civic officials involved in the preparation of the festival and its prizes show the deep commitment of Athens to Panathenaic athletics.⁴ Furthermore, there are indications of an increasing institutionalization of Athenian athletics by the fourth century.

Other Festivals with Athletics

Theseia

An interesting incident in the athletic history of Athens involves the Theseia or festival to Theseus held on the eighth of Pyanopsion.⁵ Kimon, on an early expedition as leader of the Athenian fleet, captured the island of Skyros and carried out the instructions

¹Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 60.2, comments that the enforcement of this penalty had lapsed by his day. Also see Lysias 7.41.

²Originally the oil was collected from the individual trees but later a state tax was in operation, Arist. Ath. Pol. 60.2. Thompson and Wyherley, Agora XIV, 80-81 feel that in the Hellenistic era the oil may have been collected and stored in the "Arsenal," a rectangular building near the Temple of Hephaestus.

³Arist. Ath. Pol. 60.3. Archon dates appearing on later prize amphorae do not correspond with years in which the Greater Panathenaea was held. Aristotle shows that such dates refer to the collection of the oil and not the awarding of the prize.

⁴Even the Archon Basileus would have been involved in the Games since Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 57.1, says he was in charge of all torch races.

⁵On the Theseia, see Parke, Festivals, 81-2; Deubner, Attische Feste, 224-6; Moensen, Feste, 278-95; Gardiner, GASE, 245-8.

of a Delphic oracle:

Μετὰ δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ Φαίδωνος ἄρχοντος μαντευο-
μένοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνεῖλεν ἡ Πυθία τὰ Θησέως
ἀναλαβεῖν ὅστα καὶ θεμένους ἐντίμως παρ' αὐτοῖς
φυλάττειν. ¹

Thus Kimon returned the "bones of Theseus" to Athens in 475 or 469² and they were buried in the centre of the city.³ This was the occasion for the creation of a national festival to Theseus including a procession, sacrifice and games.⁴

Before 475 there had been a shrine to Theseus in Athens,⁵ and his cult apparently was associated with the clan of the Phytalidai who in legend were the first to welcome young Theseus to Athens and purified him of his blood guilt.⁶ Philochorus suggests that there were only four shrines to Theseus in Attica.⁷ Following Kimon's initiative, Athens took over the cult⁸ and created the festival of the Theseia,

¹Plut. Thes. 36.1; H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormwell, The Delphic Oracle (Oxford, 1956) 2; no. 214. Parke, Festivals, 81 contends that the oracle was arranged partly to justify Kimon's attack on the pirate stronghold of Skyros. Also see Fontenrose, Delphic Oracle, 73-74, Q164; and A. J. Podlecki, "Cimon, Skyros, and 'Theseus' Bones," JHS 91 (1971): 141-43.

²Parke, Festivals, 81 and Deubner, Attische Feste, 224 accept the traditional date of 475; but cf. J. D. Smart, "Kimon's Capture of Eion," JHS 87 (1967): 136-7 who argues that the Skyros incident took place in 469/8.

³Plut. Thes. 36.4.

⁴The return of the bones of Theseus is also recounted in Plut. Cim. 8.6.

⁵Arist. Ath. Pol. 15.4; Wycherley, Stones, 64.

⁶Plut. Thes. 12.1; 23.3; Deubner, Attische Feste, 224.

⁷Philochorus, FGH 328 F18a. See also Wycherley, Agora III, 118.

⁸L. R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality (Oxford, 1921), 337-40.

which became very popular and helped spread the myth of Theseus. Farnell sees this as an instance of epic engendering cult, but the role of Kimon must not be underestimated. By his addition to the athletic life of Athens, Kimon enhanced his own fame while Athens and its national hero were glorified further.

The program of the Theseia is best known from victor lists of the second century, most notably a list of 160.¹ This shows that the festival was organized by agonothetai, that most events were limited to Athenian citizens, and that the festival was essentially the games of the epheboi with more pronounced military aspects than the Panathenaea. The very elaborate second-century program included a torch race, euandria, euhoplía, hoplomachía, javelin-throwing, regular athletic events and a full equestrian program.² Unfortunately we have no knowledge of the athletic program of the Theseia in the fifth and fourth centuries. Invoking the "religious conservatism" of the Greeks, Gardiner feels that the second-century program represents the general character of the fifth-century festival.³ More cautiously, Parke warns that it would be unsafe to assume that the program had not

¹IG II² 956 (SIG, 667).

²On the program of the Theseia, see Gardiner, GASF, 246-8; Parke, Festivals, 82; and A. Wilhelm, "Siegerlisten aus Athen," MDAI(A) 30 (1905): 213-9. On the equestrian program, M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, 211-25. On the possibility of a victory by Euripides, see P87 below.

³Gardiner, GASF, 247. Gardiner's opinion, for which he has no evidence, is that the program of the Theseia was established in the fifth century rather than later: "But it seems to me more probable that these competitions were not the futile invention of her decadence, but were the survival of the great outburst of patriotism and militarism in the fifth century."

changed from the fifth to the second century.¹ Momentous changes took place in Athens' civic and athletic history between 475 and the second century, but one can assume that the Theseia included some athletic agones from its inception. The nature of the festival probably was influenced by athletic precursors associated with hero cults and by the image of Theseus as an Athenian ideal.² Although specific details of the athletic program of the pre-Hellenistic Theseia are lacking, apparently this local cult was taken over by the polis and constituted an expansion of the civic athletic program of Athens. It is very unlikely that Kimon acted purely out of piety to the oracle, or that he was unaware of the political value of associating himself with Theseus and the new festival.³

Genesisia and Epitaphia

The earlier discussion of the rise of athletics at Athens suggested that Athens probably had funeral games of the Homeric type, and that agones may have been associated with cults of the heroized dead in early Athens.⁴ In Greek literature there is a persistent association

¹Parke, Festivals,⁴ 82.

²On Athenian hero cults and athletics, see above pp. 29-34. Theseus was the Attic Herakles (Plut. Thes. 29.3); and according to Farnell, Hero Cults, 339 he represented the soul of the Athenian people: "For Theseus incarnates the ideal of Athens herself at her best and highest, grace and charm, skilful daring, versatility and political 'sophrosyne'."

³With reference to the return of the bones of Theseus, Plut. Cim. 8.6 comments: ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠδέεωσθε ὁ δῆμος ἔσχεν.

⁴See above pp. 29-34. Kurtz and Boardman, Greek Burial Customs, 202-3 comment:

Funeral games were appropriate to the hero cults and all the Greek national games were thought to have their origin

of athletics with heroes and cults of the heroized dead.¹ Historical examples show that the tradition of funeral games was not eliminated by the rise of Panhellenic athletic festivals. Brasidas was buried at public expense at Amphipolis and honoured as a hero and founder with annual offerings and games.² The Athenian Miltiades son of Kypselos was honoured after his death with funeral games in the Thracian Chersonese.³ Such examples of games for dead founders, heroes and benefactors attest a continuing tradition of funeral games in Greece; and at Athens there is evidence that games for the dead were held, with state involvement, in addition to the more widely recognized athletics of the Panathenaea and other festivals.

The Athenian Genesia was a festival of the dead traditionally held on the fifth of Boedromion.⁴ It may have included games, and

in honour of the dead. Athenian Geometric vases may suggest that there were funeral games in the Homeric manner, but generally games are reserved for the heroized dead. . . . The need for some sort of contest, if only a boxing or wrestling match, which served to avenge or appease the dead, was felt in many societies, and could well have been a regular feature of Greek funerals.

¹L. Malten, "Leichenspiel und Totenkult," MDAI(R) 38-39 (1923-24): 300-40 and W. H. Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," TAPA 72 (1941): 392-417 collect literary examples of funeral games for heroes; and Joseph Fontenrose, "The Hero as Athlete," California Studies in Classical Antiquity (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), vol. 1:73-104 studies certain legends that tended to represent heroes as athletes and that attached heroic status to several historical Greek athletes.

²Thuc. 5.11.1. Leonidas and Pausanias were honoured similarly at Sparta in the fifth century according to Paus. 3.14.1. For other examples: Isoc. 9.1; Strabo 14.1.31; Arr. Anab. 7.14.

³Hdt. 6.38; on the tradition of such funeral games, see Jeffery, Archaic Greece, 79-80.

⁴The Genesia is discussed by Papke, Festivals, 53-4 and Deubner, but is by F.

apparently it was held on a civic basis. A passage from a lexicon of the second century after Christ comments on the festival:

γενέσια· <κοῦσης τε ἑορτῆς δημοτελοῦς
<έν> Ἀθηναίς Βοηδρομιῶνος πέμπτη
γενέσια καλουμένης», καθότι φησὶ
Φιλόχορος. καὶ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς ἄξοσιν.¹

According to this, Athens had a "public festival" with this name at least from the time of Solon. Herodotus writes that the Issedonians had an annual festival which sons kept in honour of their fathers' death "just as the Greeks keep their feast of the dead."² Herodotus does not give details on the Greek Genesia; he simply compares it to the Issedonian custom, which was a private, family ceremony, whereas the Athenian version of the Genesia involved the state.

In a complex and imaginative study, Jacoby shows the derivation of Genesia from γενέται and characterizes it as the festival of the fathers or ancestors, originally a festival of the clans.³ From the reference to Solon and an earlier suggestion by Mommsen,⁴ Jacoby hypothesizes that Solon changed the original Genesia festivals of the clans into one general festival of the dead. According to this theory, Solon retained the gentilician name but either eliminated or limited the clan festivals by the substitution of one public festival of the dead for all Athenians, hence the fixed date in the civic calendar. This is presented as one of the Solonian measures limiting the sumptuousness of private burials,⁵ measures particularly affecting the clans

¹ Anecd. Bekk. 1.86,20, Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F84 T32.

² Hdt. 4.26, παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τοῦτο ποιέει, κατὰ περ
Ἕλληνες τὰ γενέσια.

³ Jacoby, "Genesia," 65-75.

⁴ Mommsen, Feste, 174.

who could afford lavish rites (and games). Jacoby contends that Solon's aim was to further develop Athens from "the clan state into a citizens' state." Despite the attractiveness of this theory, there is no reliable contemporary evidence for the *Genesia* in classical Athens.¹ If such a civic *Genesia* existed, it would be an appropriate occasion for the persistence--on a civic basis--of funeral games similar to Homeric precursors. Although the *Genesia* possibly involved funerary athletics in honour of all the Athenian dead, there is much more evidence for athletic games in commemoration of those Athenians who died in war.

The death of men in battle was a very suitable occasion for early funeral games, and at Athens the state organized civic athletics for its war dead as part of the *Epitaphia*.² Aristotle is the major source on the *Epitaphia* or the *Epitaphios Agon*.

Ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος θύει μὲν θυσίας τῆν τε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι
τῇ ἄγροτέρᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ, διατίθησι δ' ἀγῶνα τὸν
ἐπιτάφιον [[καὶ]] τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ
Ἄρμοδιῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐναγίσματα ποιῶν.

The Polemarch makes the sacrifices to Artemis the Huntress and to Enyalios. He arranges the funeral games for those who have been killed in war and the offerings in memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.³

¹On the testimonia for the *Genesia*, see the appendix to Jacoby's article.

²For the literary evidence for this festival, see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 230-1; A. Brueckner, "Kerameikos-Studien, Der ἐπιτάφιος ἀγῶν im funften Jahrhundert," *MDAI* (A) 39 (1910): 200-10; F. Jacoby, "Patrios Nomos, State Burial in Athens and the Public Cemetery in the Kerameikos," *JHS* 64 (1944): 37-66; Parke, *Festivals*, 54-5.

³Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 58.1 (trans. K. von Fritz and E. Kapp); on this passage, see Sandys, *Commentary*, 231-32; the [[καὶ]] occurs in the manuscript, but modern editors have excluded it and their interpretation is accepted here.

With respect to the duties of the Polemarch as the traditional war leader, this single passage combines Artemis, Ares (Enyalios), funeral games for the war dead, and a hero cult.

Aristotle gives no details about the Epitaphia but other references to public funeral games for the war dead do exist. Lysias tells us that those who died in battle were buried at public expense, and that games were held since these dead were esteemed worthy of the same honours as the immortals:

καὶ γὰρ τοὶ θάπτονται δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς βώμης καὶ σοφίας
καὶ πλούτου, ὡς ἀξίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευ-
τηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους τιμᾶσθαι.

That the "games of strength, knowledge and wealth" were gymnastic, musical and hippic contests can be inferred from a passage in Plato:

αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας τιμῶσα οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει,
καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτῇ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιούσα κοινῇ
πᾶσι ἄπερ ἕκαστῳ ἰδίᾳ γίγνεται, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἀγῶνας
γυμνικοὺς καὶ ἵππικοὺς τιθεῖσα καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης

And as for the [war] dead, she [Athens] never ceases honouring them, celebrating, in common for all, rites which become the property of each, and in addition to this, holding gymnastic and equestrian contests, and musical festivals of every sort.²

A passage from Demosthenes similarly refers to state sacrifices and games for the dead,³ and Philostratus informs us that the games for

Lys. Epitaphios 2.80.

²Pl. Menex. 249b (trans. Benjamin Jowett). This custom may have been the basis for Plato's suggestion in the Laws (12.947e) that the deceased Examiners of the magistrates were to be honoured with annual musical, gymnastic and hippic games. Plato recommends (12.947a-c) that there also be a procession including cavalry and hoplites, a panegyric and an accompaniment by the young men of the gymnasia.

the war dead were held by the Polemarch in the Academy in Roman times.¹

Athens assumed responsibility for funeral honours for her war dead at some point during the fifth century.² In his account of the events of 479-8, Diodorus associates the Persian War with the institution of the epitaphios agon and logos:

δομίας δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἐκόσμησε τοὺς τάφους τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων. καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τότε πρῶτον ἐποίησε, καὶ νόμον ἔθηκε λέγειν ἐγκώμια τοῖς δημοσίᾳ θαπτομένοις τοὺς προαιρεθέντας τῶν ῥητόρων.

In like manner the citizen-body of the Athenians embellished the tombs of those who had perished in the Persian War, held the Funeral Games then for the first time, and passed a law that laudatory addresses upon those who were buried at the public expense should be delivered by speakers selected for each occasion.³

The famous Funeral Oration of Pericles was delivered at a public funeral which may have been the Epitaphia:

σεμνὸν δὲ γ' ἀγήρως τιμᾶς καὶ μνήμην ἀρετῆς δημοσίᾳ κτησαμένους ἐπιδεῖν, καὶ θυσίων καὶ ἀγῶνων ἡξιωμένους ἀθανάτων.

Yes, but it is a proud privilege to behold them possessors of deathless honours and a memorial of their valour erected by the State, and deemed deserving of sacrifices and games for all future time.

¹ Philostr. VS 2.30 (623).

² Hesychius s.v. ἐπ' Εὐρυγύῃ ἀγῶν (ed. K. Latte, vol. 2) records a legend of funeral games for Eurygyes (Androgeos) held in the Kerameikos (ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τίθεσθαι ἐπιτάφιον Ἀθήνησι ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ). Travlos, PDA, 300 sees this as a reference to the custom of holding games in honour of the dead established early on in the Kerameikos, but there is no indication of state involvement prior to the fifth century. See Deubner, Attische Feste, 231.

³ Diod. Sic. 11.33.3 (trans. C. H. Oldfather). The Greeks held a similar festival at Plataea every four years, called the Eleutheria, to celebrate the victory over the Persians, and this included prizes and races (Paus. 9.2.6; Plut. Aris. 21.2). Plutarch says this festival was instituted on the proposal of Aristides but all our evidence is from Roman times.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώ-
μενοι δημοσίᾳ ταφᾷ ἐποιήσαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ
πρώτων ἀποθανόντων τρόπῳ τοῦδε.

In the same winter the Athenians gave a funeral at the public cost to those who had first fallen in this war. It was a custom of their ancestors, and the manner of it is as follows.

Although funeral games are not specifically mentioned, this is clearly a state ceremony for its war dead and it is not presented as an innovation:

τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου
προαστείου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν
πολέμων, πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι.

The dead are laid in the public sepulchre in the most beautiful suburb of the city, in which those who fall in war are always buried; with the exception of those slain at Marathon. . . .¹

The Epitaphia is mentioned by name finally in second-century inscriptions which record that the ephebes held races in armour and torch races as part of the festival.²

Our literary sources have suggested that funeral games for the Athenian war dead were held on a continuing basis after the Persian invasion.³ There has been debate on when the public burial ground was established in the Kerameikos; and Jacoby, although he dates the cult

¹Thuc. 2.34.1,5 (trans. John H. Finley, Jr.). Certainly the tradition continued for Demosthenes delivered such an address after Chaeronea (Dem. 20.141).

²IG II² 1006.22; 1011.9; see Chr. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris, 1962), 235-36. Brueckner, "Epitaphios Agon," 200-10 tried to show a connection between the Theseia and the Epitaphia; but there is no classical evidence for this, and Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 230 rejects the idea.

³As F. Jacoby, "Patrios Nomos," 39,60 points out, the civic rites for the war dead meant that they were raised to the rank of heroes, and the state guaranteed the continuance of the cult of the heroized (military) dead.

of the war dead to the battle of Marathon, would date the institution of state interment of the war dead and the epitaphios logos to 465/4.¹ He further suggests that the Genesisia and the rites for the war dead were combined in times of war, and that the Hellenistic Epitaphia was the "stunted successor" of the Genesisia.² The classical evidence is too weak to resolve the problem of terminology with certainty, and the date of the graveyard or the first funeral oration would not necessarily be the same as that of the first civic funeral games for the war dead.³

Archaeological proof of Athenian games for its war dead has been found in the form of prizes from those games. Eugene Vanderpool has published three bronze lebetes bearing the same inscription:

Ἀθηναῖοι· ἄθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμοι.⁴ The letter forms on the first vase date it to ca. 480, those on the second place it slightly later, and the third vase dates by shape and letter forms to the second half of the fifth century. These were discovered in graves beyond Athens but their inscriptions show that they must have been prizes at the games known as the Epitaphia. These lebetes show that

¹Jacoby, "Patrios Nomos," 37-66; cf. Mommsen, Feste, 298; Travlos, PDA, 300; Gomme, Commentary on Thucydides, 2:94-101.

²Jacoby, "Patrios Nomos," 61-5.

³Deubner, Attische Feste, 230 would associate two Attic lekythoi (his plates 26-7), of the second half of the fifth century, with funeral games in the Epitaphia because they depict an athlete with a discus and an armed combat at tombs. D. C. Kurtz, Athenian White Lekythoi, Patterns and Painters (Oxford, 1975), 65, n. 8, 219-20 discusses these vases (ARV², 1374 no. 18; 1246 no. 2, her plates 44.3; 45.3) and is quite sceptical, suggesting that one may conflate themes and that the other need not be associated with funeral games. Other vases with possible funeral game scenes include ABV 346-7 no. 8, ARV² 507 no. 33; see Webster, Potter and Patron, 193, 198.

⁴Eugene Vanderpool, "Three Prize Vases," Deltion 24 (1969): 1-5, figs. 1-2, pls. 1-4. Also see Pierre Amandry, "Collection Paul Canello-

the games were properly occasions for civic athletics with civic prizes and supervision, and the date of the earliest vessel supports Diodorus' date of 479 for the institution of civic funeral games for the Athenian war dead.¹

Other festivals which possibly contributed to the civic athletics of Athens are treated in Appendix B below.

Trends in Athenian Athletic Activity

The following will attempt to outline changes in the Athenian program of athletic and equestrian events and to investigate general trends in the athletic activities of the Athenians. Conclusions on the history of the athletic program and of individual events are based on discussions in Appendix C of the evidence for individual events at Athens. As well as literary and inscriptional sources, Athenian vase-painting is available as evidence here but its testimony must be used cautiously.² As explained earlier, only a "Panathenaic prize amphora" is sound ceramic evidence that an event was held in the

¹Diodorus' date has gained more acceptance than Jacoby's theory; for example, see Donald W. Bradeen, "The Athenian Casualty Lists," App. I "Jacoby's Patrios Nomos," *CQ* 63 (1969): 154-5; N. G. L. Hammond, "Strategia and Hegemonia in Fifth-Century Athens," *CQ* 63 (1969): 118, 142.

²This section is heavily indebted to Webster, Potter and Patron, especially his chapters 11, 14 and 15. The standard reference collections again are Beazley's ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena. As well as his Black Figure, John Boardman's Athenian Red Figure Vases, The Archaic Period (London, 1975) is a useful survey. R. M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery (London, 1960) is a convenient handbook with a helpful bibliography; and Gardiner's GASF, although dated, makes good use of the pottery evidence available at the time.

Panathenaea.¹ The vast corpus of non-Panathenaic, Attic painted pottery has been made accessible by modern handbooks and surveys, but the depiction of an athletic activity on an Attic pot does not necessarily prove that the activity actually occurred or that it took place at Athens. Obviously the impressive number of Attic vases with athletic scenes-- some⁴ with inscriptions traceable to known Athenians²--shows that athletics were a popular part of the life of Athens. Although one should not rely heavily on small groups or individual pots, the general corpus of athletic vase-paintings and changes within this body may reflect broad changes in Athenian practices or tastes.

What can be said about Athens' athletic program from Panathenaic amphorae and other sound evidence? The exact program of events of the Panathenaea of 566 is uncertain, but the evidence of the Panathenaic prize amphorae suggests that the program expanded through the mid-sixth century, and that in the last quarter of the sixth century Athens housed an array of events as extensive as at Olympia.³ While

¹B. Legakis, "Athletic Contests in Archaic Greek Art" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1977) attempts to give a complete catalogue of representations of athletics (strictly gymnastic events) as well as a study of the development of the depictions of various contests. His catalogue is valuable but was of disappointingly little help in answering the questions of the present study. Legakis' focus is more on art than history; he tends to accept specific dates for vases and to fit them in a rigid chronological order. He never discusses his criteria for classifying vases as Panathenaic or prize amphorae, and he also flatly accepts kalos names as referring directly to the athletes in the vase-paintings.

²For instance, A. E. Raubitschek, "Leagros," Hesp. 8 (1939): 155-64 establishes connections between athletic monuments and some kalos names on vases.

³Legakis, "Archaic Art," 370-79 concludes that representations on "Panathenaic" vases of 570-540 included only running events and the pentathlon, that by 540-510 wrestling, boxing and the hoplitodromos were added, and that by 510-480 a complete range of events including

the Olympic Games may have served initially as a model, the Athenian program became distinctive with torch, synoris and apobates races, and also by offering prizes for team events and for more than first place.

Athens' athletic program expanded in the fifth century with the Theseia and Epitaphia but little is known specifically about events in festivals other than the Panathenaea. According to the testimonia for wrestling, the pentathlon and boxing, age classes increased from men's in the sixth, to men's and boys' in the fifth, and to men's, boys' and youths' by the fourth century. Although torch and boat races are questionably athletic, some were held in association with athletic programs. Torch races were much more numerous and boat races less attested than one might expect. While torch races may have predated civic athletics, boat races appear to be late developments (ca. late fifth century).

Beyond the addition of new classes and festivals the official Athenian program of athletic events changed little until the introduction of new military events in the late fifth and fourth centuries.¹

It is interesting that military influence on Athenian athletics is more prominent as a late than as an early phenomenon. The apobates

the pankration was depicted. One must add that the sixth-century Panathenaea also included the horse race, synoris, chariot race, torch race and perhaps the apobates race.

¹A reorganization of the Panathenaea perhaps very early in the fourth century is suggested by the elaborate program and the publication of the prize list of ca. 380, by the introduction of at least the javelin on horseback, and by the sudden appearance of the names of eponymous archons on the prize vases: see G. R. Edwards, "Panathenaeics of Hellenistic and Roman Times," Hesp. 26 (1957): 337 n. 59. Beazley, Development, 96-98 suggests a date of 392/1 for the earliest Panathenaeic with an archon's name. The change in direction of Athena from facing left to right between 359 and 348 may reflect further changes in the program or simply an artistic innovation.

and synoris were hardly militarily appropriate even in the sixth century, and the hoplitodromos seems to have gone in and out of fashion (like the Pyrrhic dance) before reappearing on prize Panathenaics in the second half of the fourth century. Lycurgus and the ephebeia may have fostered the race in armour but by this time it too was more sensational than militarily valuable.

Concern for the cavalry is obvious in the "war horse" events of ca. 380,¹ and the contest for javelin-on horseback--listed with the war horse events on IG II² 2311--would suggest that new cavalry-style events came in very late in the fifth century. The anthippasia confirms that definite military events were held by the first half of the fourth century. It is probable but unproven that only citizens participated in the war horse and javelin events prior to the Hellenistic age when military agones became very elaborate.² Thus, although the cavalry and ephebeia affect Athenian agones from the fourth century onwards, military events represent additions rather than replacements in the Athenian athletic program.

How do trends in the representations of athletics in the general vase-painting corpus correlate with the above outline of Athens' athletic program? Certainly vase-paintings suggestive of athletics antedate civic athletics at Athens; representations of boxers and other athletes are found on Geometric and Proto-Attic works, but on these early vases the reference is probably to funeral

¹The Parthenon frieze suggests that the cavalry took part in the fifth-century Panathenaic procession but not necessarily in games; Parke, Festivals, 43.

²Gardiner, GASF, 236; M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, 235.

games or legends.¹ The earliest sound and frequent indications of athletics appear on black-figure works early in the sixth century.² Non-prize black-figure vases of the middle two quarters of the sixth century show a few stock athletic scenes such as wrestling, footraces and the discus,³ and the variety of scenes increases in the last quarter of the sixth century as red-figure develops. While early black-figure vases tend to show single events and depict scenes of competition, black-figure vases of the second quarter of the sixth century, and especially red-figure vases thereafter, show groups of athletes in "palaestra scenes"--scenes of practice.⁴ Thus through the sixth century Attic vase-paintings suggest a trend to expanded athletic activity, possibly with a simultaneous development of athletic facilities.

Athletes provide the largest single class of scenes from everyday life in archaic Attic red-figure. These show an increasing interest in anatomy which leads to improvements in technique; the nakedness of youths in the palaestrae perhaps inspired the artists.⁵ The full range of events, similar to the Olympic program, was depicted by the late sixth and persisted through the fifth century. It is

¹On the pre-566 pottery evidence for athletics, see pp. 39-41.

²Beazley, Development, 22: "An increasing interest in athletic contests is among the characteristics of Attic vase-paintings in the second quarter of the sixth century."

³Boardman, Black Figure, 211: "These are treated as genre scenes simply, with no specific association."

⁴Beazley, Development, 22; Webster, Potter and Patron, 196; Legakis, "Archaic Art," 373-9; S. Karouzou, "Scènes de Palestre," BCH 86 (1962): 430-66.

⁵Boardman, Red Figure, 220.

uncertain what proportions of these vases were produced for export or ended up on the resale market. Athletic scenes appear mainly on symposium and prize vases, and to a lesser degree on dedicatory and funerary works.

Webster sensibly sees a victory in the athletic games as a cause for celebration which led to commissions of pottery for the symposium and perfume vases for dedication.¹ The list of scenes of victorious athletes starts early in the sixth century with a cup by the C painter, showing a victor and a tripod, with Nike on the inside.² Here and later the significance of Nike is uncertain and the tripod may mean merely "prize."³ The works of the early sixth century probably refer to victories by Athenian athletes in foreign games, but scenes of victory recur through the fifth and fourth centuries and many must refer to domestic victories.⁴ It is significant that of 127 vases with scenes of victory (excluding Panathenaics) collected by Webster, 115 of these appear to be symposium vases. The patrons who ordered such vases in the classical era presumably would have been men of means who celebrated victories in the Panhellenic Games as well as in the civic athletic competitions at Athens.

Within the main body of vases with athletic scenes, there is a large class with general representations of athletes, often at rest.

¹ Webster, Potter and Patron, 152.

² Beazley, ABV, 51 no. 1.

³ Rouse, Votive Offerings, 149-51 discusses the awarding of tripods in several early games outside Athens. On the presence and significance of Nike, see Webster, Potter and Patron, 152.

⁴ For a list excluding Panathenaics, see Webster, Potter and Patron, 152-56.

The figures are distinguished as athletes "...by strigil and aryballos, sometimes taking off their cloaks, sometimes washing at a laver, sometimes indicated by the stele or pillar at their side, sometimes by a herm, or by the presence of a trainer."¹ This class starts in early sixth-century black-figure and continues through all periods of red-figure. A large number of lekythoi are noticeable in black-figure within this general class,² but the numbers in red-figure are not striking. It is possible that early athletic aristocrats of Athens ordered symposium vases to celebrate youthful victories and later ordered lekythoi for funerals with scenes recalling a significant aspect of their early lives.

From the sixth to the fourth centuries the general ceramic evidence reflects a shift in popularity through black to red-figure from horse and chariot scenes to general athletic scenes.³ Paintings of horsemen decline from 437 examples in black-figure to 287 in red-figure, while scenes of athletes greatly increase from 199 in black to 1371 in red-figure.⁴ These totals exclude Panathenaic prizes and

¹Webster, Potter and Patron, 208.

²C. H. E. Haspels has classified some black-figure examples under "palaestra": ABL, 207 lekythoi nos. 41, 77, 98, 99, 183; 217 lekythoi nos. 34-35, 53; and 234 lekythoi no. 38.

³Although red-figure started to replace black-figure around 530 the two styles overlap for about sixty years and this period of overlap accounts for nearly half of the red-figure examples. Hence inferences from the technique in which a scene appears must be made cautiously. On the shifting popularity of gymnastic and equestrian events as indicated by numbers of known competitors, see below pp. 188-210.

⁴Webster, Potter and Patron, 214-15 comments on his calculations: "...partly this must be a change of interest and partly perhaps the increased expense of keeping horses; it may be that if you are rich enough to keep a horse, you are also rich enough to have decorated metal symposium ware and so cease to buy special pots for the symposium.

the fourth-century miniature Panathenaics so that this is a reflection of popular trends and interests rather than the official programs of the Panathenaea and other festivals. Similarly, although chariots were a stock scene in late sixth and early fifth-century black-figure, they appear on only 22 red-figure pieces.¹ The explanation of the decline of equestrian and chariot scenes may combine economic considerations and agonistic inclinations.

The general pottery evidence agrees with historical studies that Athens in the second half of the sixth century housed both mounted hoplites and true cavalry (Thessalian-style, unarmoured).² Probably the Peisistratids kept cavalry at Athens;³ but the cavalry seems to decline after the tyranny, and the battle of Marathon was fought by unsupported infantry. The Athenian cavalry revived after the Persian Wars with a corps of 300, and by 431 the force was raised to 1,000.⁴ The general pottery corpus reflects a shift in the dominant type of cavalryman at Athens. The mounted hoplite was common in mid-sixth-century black-figure; but later in the first half of the fifth century with Leagros and his son the youth with the Thracian cloak--the

¹ Webster, Potter and Patron, 193 asks:
Does this mean that after 450 chariot-racing had become so professionalized and expensive that even the class which commissioned fine pottery for special parties did not indulge in it and therefore did not want it represented on vases?

² Webster, Potter and Patron, 184-88; P. A. L. Greenhalgh, Early Greek Warfare (Cambridge, 1973), 111-118, 148-50.

³ Arist. Ath. Pol. 19.5.

⁴ Arist. Ath. Pol. 24.3; J. K. Anderson, Ancient Greek Horsemanship (Berkeley, 1961), 129-30. For early studies of cavalry at Athens, see M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, and W. Helbig, Les hippeis athéniens (Paris, 1902).

cavalryman of the newer age--is the popular type.¹ The Peloponnesian War may have demonstrated further the value of cavalry, and by the fourth century Xenophon and Aristotle reveal that the Athenian cavalry was highly organized and popular.²

A comparison of the insights from the general pottery corpus and from the Panathenaics shows the value and limitations of each as evidence. Both testify to the growth of Athenian athletic activity in the sixth century with the appearance of palaestra scenes, increasing representations of athletics, and an official series of prize amphorae. Both suggest Athens' pride in her distinctive athletics with their flair for varied and crowd-pleasing events. Both reflect an increase in the influence of the cavalry and military concerns in the fourth century. However, while the general corpus would imply a decrease in footracing through the fifth century, such events remain prominent on prize vases and in records of victors.³ The general corpus may show a decrease in scenes of horse and chariot races, but Panathenaic amphorae continue to depict these frequently.

On the declining numbers of athletic and equestrian scenes in the late fifth century Webster suggests that athletes then no longer celebrated with specially commissioned pottery and the status of potter and patron was lowered.⁴ The fifth-century decline of the Athenian

¹ Webster, Potter and Patron, 184-8.

² Greenhalgh, Early Greek Warfare, 4,147; Arist. Ath. Pol. 49.2; 61.4-5; Xen. Hipp. 1.11-12 and passim.

³ These conclusions concerning the introduction and retention of events are corroborated by the prosopographical study of Athenian athletes. See Appendix C below.

⁴ Webster, Potter and Patron, 215, 300.

aristocracy, so intimately connected with early athletics, would have eliminated many former purchasers of those symposium vases and lekythoi with agonistic scenes. Although an overall decline in athletics is suggested for the fourth century by Athenian vase-paintings in general, prize amphorae and IG II² 2311 reveal not a decreased but rather an expanded program with more events and classes. In sum, the Panathenaics prove that certain events were held on an official basis but they cannot reveal the popularity of an event or the number of competitors. On the other hand, the general corpus indicates broad shifts in athletic and aesthetic tastes but cannot prove that specific events were held, retained or discontinued in the official program.

Conclusion

Athens was not the athletic leader of Greece, but athletics were a significant part of Athenian civic life; and Athenian athletics were distinctive like the city itself. While the games of the *Periodos* were held in Panhellenic sanctuaries, Athenian athletics took place in--and interacted with--the dynamic polis of the Athenians. Athenian athletics were necessarily "political" in the sense of being influenced by the growth and development of the city, and in the sense of being politically significant as a very popular and visible aspect of Athenian life. When Athens turned from unofficial to civic athletics in the sixth century, the external climate was right and the models of the *Periodos* were at hand, but civic athletics prospered at Athens when they did largely because of internal developments and factors.

Once introduced, civic athletics grew with the city and they

complemented each other. Yet it is important not to concentrate only on the Panathenaea; other less acclaimed festivals included athletics and suggest the persistence of an athletic connection with-hero and funerary cults. It is important also to recognize that this early tradition continued after "566," and more significantly that Athens in a brilliant and distinctive manner encompassed this tradition within its civic athletics. Athens "nationalized" its cultic and local athletics, placing them under civic supervision, attaching them to civic heroes from epic and from war, and directing athletic energies to the glory of the state. Like the festivals, Athenian athletic events were diverse and their history shows a combination of conservatism and adaptation. Old ritualistic events were retained even as newer ones with an increasing military flavour were added. The athletic life of Athens matured with the city itself, and it made a significant contribution to the pride and community consciousness of the Athenians.

The study of the Panathenaea and its prize amphorae reveals Athens' strong civic concern and involvement in athletics. Like the athletic program itself, the Panathenaic amphorae, as valuable and symbolic prizes, were visual stimuli to civic pride and community consciousness. Preparations for the games and prizes involved civic officials on many levels--from archons to liturgical gymnasiarchs--over four-year periods. The events involved various age groups, tribes and individuals, and, as we shall see, also many topographical parts of the city. Games continued even in times of stress, and Athenian athletics grew even as the city itself declined.

From 566 to the Persian Wars the history of Athenian civic athletics was essentially the history of the Panathenaic Games; and the Persian Wars left Athens, flushed with patriotism, in a leading position in Greece. From ca. 479 Athens celebrated the Epitaphia, a national festival of the heroized dead which included games and offered official prizes. The praise of Athens as "the school of Hellas,"¹ put in the mouth of Pericles by Thucydides, probably was typical of the sentiment behind the Epitaphia. Around 475 Kimon returned "the bones of Theseus" and Athens added the Theseia to its athletic program, elevating it from what apparently had been a gentilician cult of the Phylatidai. The institution of this civic hero cult was mutually attractive and beneficial to Kimon and Athens, and by Hellenistic times the Theseia had become especially the festival of the ephebes.

The Panathenaea remained the showplace of Athens but athletic agones were spread throughout the civic calendar as lesser cults were deliberately made into state cults. The Genesia, once the private clan festival to the dead fathers, was taken over by the state (perhaps as early as Solon) and may have included games. Choes from the Anthes-teria to Dionysus and the spirits of the other world suggest that athletics were part of this official form of an early vine-growers' celebration. The Skira with its ritualistic race was taken over by the state from the Salaminians. Athens, when it suited her interests, even adopted foreign festivals such as the Bendidia with its spectacle of a torch race on horseback. The Olympieia developed from possibly a Peisistratid creation of an athletic festival into a festival involving

¹Thuc. 2.41.1.

games for the cavalry. Several torch and boat races supplemented the larger festivals, and Athens also had a hand in extra-urban games such as those at Marathon. In the late fourth century the increasing ties between athletics and Athenian educational and military life anticipate Hellenistic trends.

The Athenian program of athletic festivals developed elaborately from Panhellenic models and from precursors in funerary and hero cults, but a polis-orientation was increasingly a common feature. The significance of the games at Athens was festive and athletic: they were to celebrate and glorify the city and its gods and heroes, and to satisfy the agonistic inclinations of the Athenians directly by competition and vicariously by observation. Just as the Panathenaea--in myth and in the sixth-century motivation behind its success¹--was a festival of unity, Athenian athletics overall reminded the citizens of the shared glory of Athens.²

¹Gardiner, GASF, 74-5 points out the significance of the name of the festival: "The name Panathenaea seems significant, both of the unity of the Athenian people, which Solon tried with somewhat chequered success to promote, and also of that dream of expansion which Athens, freed from the rivalry of Megara, was now beginning to cherish."

²G. R. Morrow, Plato's Cretan City (Princeton, 1960), 353 comments on the importance of festivals to a polis. Festivals were civic in being administered by civic officials and in constituting a regular part of civic life. Moreover, "They were civic also in a deeper sense, as powerful agencies in promoting unity of feeling among citizens and in fostering the sentiments of loyalty and devotion to their native land."

PART THREE

ATHENIAN ATHLETIC FACILITIES

The history of Athenian athletics is closely tied to the history of the physical settings in which athletes trained and competed. As ancient sports developed from informal games into organized, competitive athletics a need arose for specific athletic facilities, such as gymnasias and stadia, as well as naturally suitable sites. Primitive facilities developed from basic functional needs but their expansion and elaboration also were influenced by non-athletic factors. The history of these facilities, their significance for Athenian topography and civic life, contributes to a better understanding of Athenian athletics overall.

In the following study "athletic facility" applies to any site, with or without architectural embellishment, which was the location, occasionally or regularly, of athletics in either the preparatory or competitive stage. Since the dissertation focuses on the civic athletics of Athens the concentration will be on public facilities: buildings and sites which served athletic functions, were open to the public, and were civically controlled or financed. Private facilities, establishments owned and operated by private individuals, will be considered only briefly.

H. A. Harris, in "The Buildings for Greek Athletics," generally surveys classical Greek athletic facilities:

The buildings needed for Greek athletics were the stadium, the practice track (dromos), the palaestra or wrestling school and the bath-house. The stadium was used for competition proper, the practice track by athletes training for running, jumping, throwing or boxing, and the palaestra by wrestlers and pancratiasts. The bath-house was a necessary appendage, for a bath was a regular part of the training routine. For obvious reasons the last three buildings were often grouped together. The word 'gymnasium', which literally means no more than a place where men exercise naked, was used especially of the practice-track; sometimes it covered the complex of track, palaestra and bath, sometimes it is used of a palaestra, and very occasionally of a stadium.¹

Certainly practice and competitive facilities of the types Harris mentions existed in Athens and deserve treatment. In addition, since this study includes equestrian events, the Athenian hippodrome will be considered. Furthermore, note that Harris refers only to buildings specifically designed for athletics. It must be recognized that the earliest athletic facilities at Athens and elsewhere existed with little or no architectural construction. Few public works at Athens predate 561,² but this does not disprove the prior existence of athletic facilities. Also, certain classical sites not primarily devoted to athletics, such as the Panathenaic Way, were used at times for athletic events, and thus they should qualify as occasional if not regular athletic facilities.

Athletics and the Agora

Most discussions of ancient athletic facilities, as well as describing non-Athenian or post-classical examples, normally focus on gymnasia and stadia; but R. Martin has helped modify this trend by

¹Harris, GAA, chap. 6, 136-50.

²Boersma, ABP, ix.

examining the agonistic functions of the Greek agora--that "expression matérielle de la communauté politique"--in archaic and classical times.¹ At Athens literary and ceramic evidence for athletics predates any physical remains of gymnasia or stadia, and thus the question of the earliest site of Athenian athletics is a difficult one. Various clues and a theory by H. A. Thompson suggest that the Agora was the original home of Athenian athletics,² and the subsequent discussion collects the arguments and evidence for attributing athletics to the Agora. Various pieces of evidence indicate that in the eighth and seventh centuries the Agora perhaps was a regular site of athletic activity probably related to funeral cults, that in the sixth and fifth centuries it was the site of occasional athletic competitions related to civic cults and festivals, and that the fourth-century Agora housed athletic competitions of a markedly equestrian and military nature. This persistence of athletics in the Agora, the functional heart of Athens, affirms the intimate connection between Athens' civic and athletic history.

Located to the north of the Acropolis and Areopagus, the Agora of classical Athens had an interesting history as a civic centre.³ The "earliest Agora," if interpreted as the centre of the earliest hamlet at Athens dating from Neolithic times, lay to the southeast

¹Roland Martin, Recherches sur l'agora grecque (Paris, 1951), "La fonction agônale," 202-23.

²H. A. Thompson, "The Panathenaic Festival," Arch. Anz. 76 (1961): 224-31.

³See Agora XIV; Boersma, ABP, no. XXXVI; and Travlos, PDA, 1-27, fig. 722.

of the Acropolis, but little is known about it.¹ With the growth of the city, the takeover of Eleusis, and the increased importance of the road to the northwest, Athens faced greater administrative and civic needs. Accordingly the Agora was extended and shifted north to the level area east of Kolonos Agoraios between the Areopagus and the Eridanos River. Previously this area was the site of early graves, private houses, and possibly meetings.² The shift to this new Agora took place around 600 when levelling operations, perhaps associated with Solon's reforms, in this part of the Kerameikos or Potter's Quarter point to the establishment of this area as a public place for community life.³

¹A. N. Oikonomides, The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens (Chicago, 1964), vii-xix, 1-50 feels the classical Agora was preceded by an earlier one, "the Agora in the Old Town," at the entrance to the Acropolis in the area enclosed by the Pelargikon wall. He argues from scattered references and cults but mainly from a fragment from Apollodorus (in Harp. s.v. Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη, FGrH III B, no. 244, frag. 113, Agora III, 731) mentioning a shrine of Pandemos Aphrodite in the Old Agora which has been found near the entrance to the Acropolis. Thucydides, however, in his discussion of early Athens (2.15.3-6) makes no mention of such an Agora. On the issue, see A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K. J. Dover, A Historical Commentary on Thucydides (Oxford, 1956-80), 5 vols., 2:49-60; and R. E. Wycherley, "Archaia Agora," Phoenix 20 (1966): 285-93.

²The earliest house found in the Agora dates to the mid-eighth century; D. Burr, "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit," Hesp. 2 (1933): 542-51. The changing ratio of wells to graves in late Geometric times suggests a shift from funereal to domestic use of the Agora; see E. Brann, Agora VIII, plate 45. Stephen G. Miller, Prytaneion (Berkeley, 1978), 52-53, would relate this shift and a possibly eighth or early seventh-century Prytaneion to the completion of the synoecism of Attica.

³On the levelling, see H. A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora, 1960-65," Hesp. 35 (1966): 45. Travlos, PDA, 2 would associate this with Solon, but Thompson and Wycherley, Agora XIV, 19 feel such an association is uncertain. Oikonomides, The Two Agoras, would down-date the shift to the new Agora to 479 and credit it to the Persian destruction, but this disagrees with the archaeological

An open flat region free of major buildings, the new Agora had ample room for new official establishments and various public activities. Throughout the sixth and fifth centuries the Agora progressed as a religious and civic centre, sacked by the Persians but reconstructed by Kimon and Pericles.¹ Despite its functional development the Agora remained architecturally informal as a simple, tree-lined square comparable to a "village green." Suitably level, regularly attended, and readily available, the Agora was an ideal place for exercises and athletics.² In classical times the Athenian gymnasia lay beyond the Agora and the city walls, but in later times the suitability of the Agora for athletic facilities is shown by the establishment of gymnasia within the Agora (the Diogeneion and Gymnasium of the Giants) and near the Agora (the Ptolemaion).³ Topography, the

evidence and must be rejected in favour of a date around 600. Nevertheless, the area of the "Archaic Agora" was still of religious importance in the fifth century as the original site of some of the local Attic cults which later became Panathenian or Panhellenic. See Agora XIV, 20.

¹Agora XIV, 20-24; Boersma, ABP, 15, 23; Judeich, Topog. 62, 328-57; R. Martín, Recherches sur l'agora, 255-78.

²R. E. Wycherley, How the Greeks Built Cities, 2nd ed. (Garden City, 1969), 147; Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 37-38, n. 93.

³H. A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora," Hesp. 37 (1968): 38-41 suggested the existence of a pre-Hellenistic gymnasium in the Agora from the discovery of a pair of poros water basins found incorporated as second-hand material in the north wall of the Great Drain of the second century. From their oval, shallow design and the anathyrosis on both ends, Thompson feels these date somewhere in the fifth century and were appropriate to a gymnasium which he suggests may have existed on the lower ground to the northwest of the archaic fountain house in the area of the South Square. However, the basins were reused in building operations and their original location is unknown. Without further evidence, Thompson's idea of a gymnasium in the Agora lacks verification for the pre-Hellenistic era. A later piece of evidence suggesting Agora-gymnasium connections is an Hellenistic inscription, found widely scattered over the Agora, which may refer to the Gymnasium of Ptolemy. See Diskin Clay, "A Gymnasium Inventory from the Athenian Agora," Hesp. 46 (1977): 259-67.

centrality of the Agora, and its involvement in civic life all suggest a likely connection between it and the rising interest in athletics at Athens.

R. Martin's study presents the Greek agora as crucial, physically and spiritually, to the collective life of a Greek polis.¹ He credits the agora with agonistic functions due to its double role first as a religious centre and later also as a political gathering place:² the agora was the site of early agonistic activity related to religion and funeral cults and of later agonistic activity related to civic cults and political festivals.³ This general theory of a Greek development from funeral cults to civic competitions in the agora may be applicable to Athens.

In 1961 H. Á. Thompson presented an argument concerning funeral games, hero cults and the rise of Athenian athletics in the Agora.⁴ Thompson points to the existence of Mycenaean, Proto-Geometric and

¹R. Martin, Recherches sur l'agora, 8: "En même temps, en effet, qu'une forme architecturale, l'agora est une idée, une notion, un élément essentiel de la cité, de la polis, cette valeur politique qui règle les modalités de la vie collective du monde grec. L'agora est à la fois forme et esprit."

²Ibid., 202-23. Martin views funeral gatherings as older than political assemblies in the agora, with the tie of places of assembly to sepulchres as ancient and natural. Civic founder and benefactor cults represent later additions to the agora.

³Early references to athletics in agoras include Hom. Il. 18.590 on the Shield of Achilles and Od. 8.120-384 at Phaeacia. A later example of civic athletic use of an agora comes from Sparta where the agora housed the Gymnopaideia festival (Paus. 3.11.9).

⁴Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," 227-31. The theory of funerary origins of athletics at Athens is discussed above in Part One; the concern here is the location. Travlos, PDA, 2 accepts Thompson's argument, but for a more general treatment see R. Martin, Recherches sur l'agora, 194-201

Geometric graves beneath the Agora,¹ the prominence of chariot race scenes on late-Geometric vases from Athenian graves,² and the discovery of seventh-century terracotta representations of chariot groups and horsemen and a miniature bronze tripod (votive deposits appropriate to the heroized dead) from the Agora.³ He concludes that chariot races were part of funeral games in early Athens, and that there was a relationship between the graves, offerings to the heroized dead and equestrian events held in the Agora in the eighth and seventh centuries. Thompson further suggests that funeral games persisted after their establishment; and, with the development of community consciousness, the games became associated with a patron divinity. Thus festivals arose, gymnastic events were added to the early equestrian games, and the whole program took place in the Agora.

In 1972 Thompson and Wycherley reinforced the case for funeral games in the Agora (connected to the cult of the heroized dead) with further examples of reverence of the sites of early graves in the Agora involving votive deposits and the covering over again of disturbed

¹Habitation in the area of the classical Agora began near the end of the Mycenaean period but burials continued there until the end of the seventh century. See Agora XIV, 8-9 and pl. 2.

²Rodney S. Young, "Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh-Century Well in the Agora," Hesp. Supp. 1 (1939): 56-57, 218.

³On disturbed graves treated with piety and reverence including votive deposits with terracotta chariot groups, see H. A. Thompson, "A Favissa in the North Central Part of the Agora," Hesp. 27 (1958): 148-53. He suggests that a hero cult was begun in the seventh century in connection with one of the tombs in the Agora after it had been disturbed. For similar arguments and examples, see Dorothy Burr, "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit," Hesp. 2 (1933): 614-21, 636-40.

graves.¹ A possible parallel situation also seems to have existed at Corinth. O. Broneer has associated the cult of the dead with contests apparently held on the racecourse in the "agora" of Corinth. He points to an early cemetery in the southern region of the area, a small sanctuary established there in the sixth century (perhaps dedicated to the dead when Corinth began to develop the area), a deposit of terracottas very appropriate to a hero cult, and the starting lines in the middle of the "agora" near which he detects wheel ruts indicating the use of chariots in the area.²

Together the arguments of R. Martin and H. A. Thompson attractively suggest funerary origins for athletics in the Athenian Agora with later additions of more civic cults. Certainly the Agora was a former graveyard, and graves seem to have been revered in later ages. The Agora thus may have been the site of athletic activity in the eighth and seventh centuries, perhaps related to honoring the dead. In the classical age the Agora definitely had a strong association with hero cults of an increasingly civic nature.³ Since cults of civic

¹ Agora XIV, 119-21; for further examples, C. K. Williams, Hesp. 38 (1969): 49, 52 and Hesp. 39 (1970): 1-2. For further suggestions of minor heroons in the Agora, see Agora XIV, 120 and the recent excellent discussion by Gerald V. Lalonde, "A Hero Shrine in the Athenian Agora," Hesp. 49 (1980): 98-105.

² Oscar Broneer, "Hero-Cults in the Corinthian Agora," Hesp. 11 (1942): 128-61; Agora XIV, 121. See Appendix D below for a discussion of the Corinthian dromos and the problem of referring to the area as the agora.

³ The Sanctuary of Theseus was a founder-hero cult of increasing popularity in the sixth and fifth centuries. According to Pausanias (1.17.2) and Plutarch (Thes. 36.2) the Theseion was in the middle of Athens near the Agora and the Ptolemaion. Travlos, PDA, 578-79 relocates it, not in the south part of the Agora where Judeich, Topog., 351-53 put it, but rather in the Old Agora a short distance south of

benefactors and founders predominated in the later Agora, funeral games, if they persisted, perhaps followed the graves to the outer Kerameikos. In short, apparently athletics and hero cults had an early and continuing relationship with the Agora, and probably with each other.

In the Agora the Panathenaic Way formed the route of the Panathenaic procession from the Dipylon to the Acropolis. This route was also traditionally known as "the dromos," and the agonistic connotations of such a designation provide a linguistic clue to the presence of athletics in the Agora.¹ Similar clues exist elsewhere: at Sparta one of the streets from the agora was called Aphetais or the Street of the Starting-Post, and in the time of Pausanias the agora at Elis was called the Hippodrome.² J. Travlos argues that the Panathenaic dromos was the scene of athletics on the basis of the three archaic inscriptions from the Acropolis discussed earlier.³ His conclusion is that

the Roman Agora. See Agora XIV, 124-26; Agora III, 339-62; and Travlos, PDA, 234, fig. 5 no. 30, fig. 722N. The Altar of the Eponymous Heroes, related to the ancestor cults artificially created for the Athenian tribes, stood in the Agora; see Agora XIV, 388-41 and Agora III, 229-45. The Tyrannicides were the first men to receive honorary statues in the Agora; see Arist. Rh. 1.9.38 (1368a); Agora XIV, 155-60; Agora III, nos. 256-80. A bronze statue to Solon in the Agora, like the Tyrannicides, represents a benefactor cult; see Paus. 1.16.1; Agora XIV, 159; Agora III, nos. 80, 709-10.

¹On the Panathenaic Way, see Agora XIV, 192; Boersma, ABP, no. 15; and Travlos, PDA, 422-28, 579-80, figs. 29-31. A late fourth-century inscription confirms the name and route of the Panathenaic Way: Agora III, no. 729. For the dromos reference: Himerios Oratio 3.12, Agora III, no. 1.

²Sparta: Paus. 3.12.1; Wycherley, HGBC, 164, 230. Elis: Paus. 6.24.2. R. Martin, Recherches sur l'agora, 220-21 suggests that equestrian games at Elis began as a funeral cult, and later the equestrian nature of the Agora was taken over by training for the Olympic Games.

³Travlos, Poleo., 38 and n.3, 66, fig. 28; PDA, 2; cf. Raubitschek, DAA, nos. 326-328 (of roughly 562 and 558 or 554).

the inscriptions record the establishment and management of the early Panathenaea, and that the references to ton dromon mean that a board of men had charge of the construction and repair of a racecourse in the Agora. Unfortunately dromos is a general term and even if it refers to Travlos' racetrack (rather than Raubitschek's race) no topographical reference is made. The siting of a raceway on the early Panathenaic Way is quite likely but it cannot be proven for the sixth century.

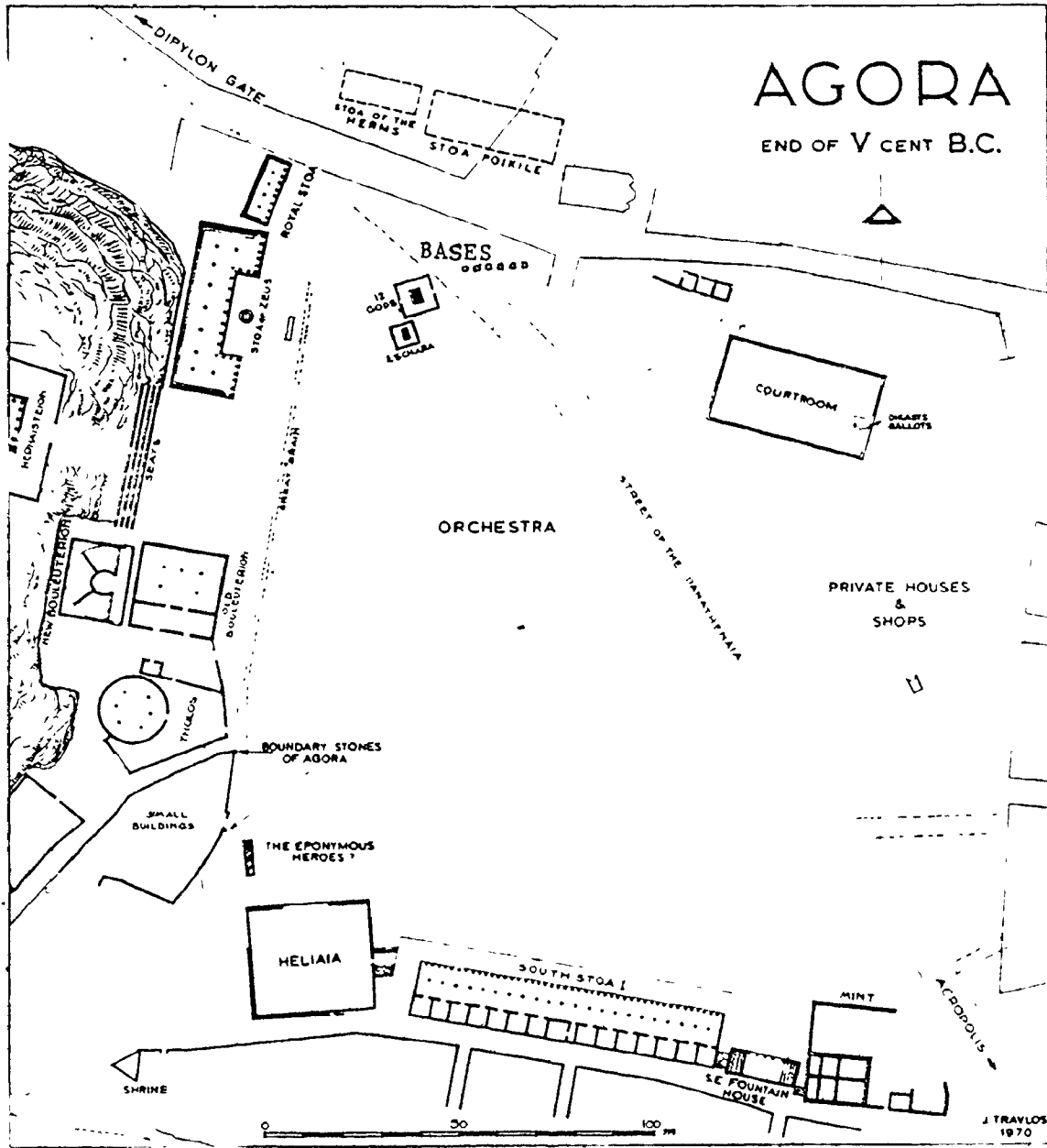
In the fifth century the Panathenaic Way through the Agora was level and wide, suitable for processions and athletics.¹ Torch-racers ran along the Way en route to the Acropolis from altars in the Academy. Aristophanes tells humorously of a Panathenaic torch-racer abused by spectators as he ran near the Dipylon (from whence he ordinarily would traverse the Agora by the Panathenaic Way).² Furthermore, excavations have shown that wheeled traffic was debarred from entry into the Agora (at its northwest corner where the Panathenaic Way enters the market square) throughout the fifth century. Only from the fourth century onward did the dromos in the Agora become the important thoroughfare which it remained throughout antiquity.³

Definite physical proof of athletics in the Agora--and significantly the earliest physical remains of any Athenian athletic facility--came to light in 1974 from the section of the Panathenaic Way at the northwest corner of the Agora. A row of five square limestone bases

¹Thompson and Wycherley, Agora XIV, 194 comment that the unusual width of the Panathenaic Way was appropriate to the arterial importance of the road, and it was also needed for special occasions such as the Panathenaea.

²Ar. Ran. 1093.

³T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Panathenaic Way," Hesp. 44 (1975): 362.



Map A: The Agora in the Late Fifth Century
(after Agora XIV, plate V)

spaced at equal intervals was found in situ across the line of the street.¹ Evidently the bases were placed so that their tops rose slightly above the surface of the road, and in the centre of each was a square socket in which an upright post could be anchored. At the west end of the row is a circular pit from which a round base obviously had been removed. These bases date roughly to the mid-fifth century; they remained in use through two resurfacings of the street until they were covered and put out of the use in the late fifth century.

Apparently these bases were spaced with relation to the neighbouring Altar of the Twelve Gods, and there is room for five more bases between the altar and the pit. "We have to do, then, with a single line of bases supporting a temporary barrier which extended for about 20 metres across the Panathenaic Way." This arrangement calls to Shear's mind the starting line of a racetrack with its characteristic sockets for insertion of the light wooden apparatus for the starting gate. He suggests that in the second half of the fifth century the running events of the Panathenaic festival began at this line and continued south across the very centre of the market square.² Although the operation of this starting line is problematic, the bases, if they are a starting line, are proof of the use

¹Ibid., 362-5. For the location see Map A (= Agora XIV pl. 5). For more details, comparisons and a discussion of the operation of this starting line, see Appendix D. The Agora was sacked by the Persians in 480, and these bases may have replaced some earlier starting line.

²A parallel may exist in Homer where athletics in the Phaeacian Agora include a footrace: τοῖσιν δ' ἀπὸ νύσσης τέχαστο δρόμος (Od. 8.121). Here νύσσα may mean "turning post" or "starting line," and δρόμος may mean "a place for running" or the running itself; W. B. Stanford, ed., The Odyssey of Homer, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1959), 1: 334-35.

of the fifth-century Agora as an occasional athletic facility. Furthermore, this early athletic site, found in downtown Athens near an altar, represents a characteristic blend of civic and religious aspects in Athenian athletics.¹

For the fourth century there is evidence of agonistic, military-flavoured events in the Agora often involving "the Herms." These dedicatory statues, often housed in the Stoa of the Herms built in the northwestern section of the Agora, seem to have played an important part in the exercises and ceremonial rides of the Athenian cavalry.² Earlier vase scenes link the Herms in the Agora with cavalry and horse-riding and show that there was a herm, an altar and a pillared building in the Agora perhaps by the end of the sixth century.³ The Herms are associated with the cavalry by a fourth-century comic fragment: "Go to the Agora, to the Herms, the place frequented by the Phylarchs, and to their handsome pupils, whom Pheidon trains in mounting and dismounting."⁴ References to "the Herms," "the Stoa of the Herms," and Hermes Agoraios can be confusing, but these all were located in the northwestern Agora strikingly close to the fifth-century starting line.⁵

¹Most early Greek stadia existed in a close topographical relationship with a temple or altar. Isthmia provides a good example: O. Broneer, *Isthmia II* (Princeton, 1974), 46-66. For a more general discussion, D. G. Romano, "The Ancient Stadium: Athletics and Arete," unpublished paper to APA, Boston, 1979.

²Agora XIV, 94-96; Agora III, nos. 296-313; Evelyn B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture, The Athenian Agora XI* (Princeton, 1965), 108-76; Boersma, *ABP*, no. 94; Judeich, *Topog.*, 369-70.

³Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 137-38.

⁴Mnesimachos (Edmonds *FAC* 2: frag. 4), Agora III, no. 303, ὄυς ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους μελετᾶ φείδων καὶ καταβαίνειν.

⁵For a fuller discussion of Herms, Hermes and the Agora, see Appendix E. For the location, see Map A.

In the Hipparchicus of around 365 Xenophon mentions the Herms and equestrian performances in the Agora as he suggests how the function of a cavalry commander could be completed with most splendour.¹ According to Xenophon, processions during festivals should include a processional circuit of the Agora followed by a fast gallop by regiments from the Herms to the Eleusinion. Although Xenophon recommends a new manner of riding to increase the spectacle here, equestrian events apparently were an accepted occurrence in the fourth-century Agora. It is unlikely that the start and finish points of the gallop are innovations.

A distinction must be made between processions and cavalry parades and equestrian contests in the Agora.² The manoeuvres discussed by Xenophon may not have been agonistic,³ and Demosthenes is referring to military processions when he charges an opponent with being "unable to lead a procession through the Agora."⁴ However, an association of certain agonistic events with the Agora gains support from several statue bases. The most famous of these is a base of 380, signed by the sculptor Bryaxis, which was found in situ at the north-west entrance to the Agora. It commemorates victories by a father and two sons in the anthippasia at the Panathenaea.⁵ An inscription of

¹Xen. Hipp. 3.2-5, Agora III, no. 203, pp. 78, 108; M. A. Martin, Les cavaliers athéniens (Paris, 1887), 148.

²R. Martin, Recherches sur l'agora, 219.

³Hipp. 3.2 may refer to the anthippasia or simply to a military review since Xenophon specifically mentions the anthippasia elsewhere with reference to the Hippodrome (Hipp. 3.10).

⁴Dem. Meid. 21.171, ὄχετῶσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ταῖς πομπὰς οὐδὲ δύναμενον.

⁵IG II² 3130; Agora III, 105; Moretti, IAG, no. 80; Agora XIV, 121.

ca. 365 recording the victory of the tribe Leontis in some equestrian contest was found reused in a late foundation to the west of the Royal Stoa close to the site of the Bryaxis base.¹ A dedication of around 325 from the northwest corner of the Agora was made by a phylarch and commemorates a victory, probably in the anthippasia of the Panathenaea where phylarchs commanded their tribal cavalry.² Furthermore, some bases which specifically mention the anthippasia may have come originally from the Agora.³

The apobates race is also attested for the Agora. A monument from early in the fourth century depicting an apobates was found in a tower of the Post-Herulian Wall south of the Stoa of Attalos and a little below the Eleusinion.⁴ An association of the Eleusinion with this event recurs in two second-century inscriptions. These catalogues of Panathenaic victors refer to an apobates and a charioteer "dismounting at the Eleusinion," suggesting that the race through the

¹T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970," Hesp. 40 (1971): 271-72; Agora XIV, 95, n. 72.

²B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," Hesp. 15 (1946): 176-77, no. 24. A fourth-century dedication, found reused in front of the north part of the Stoa of Attalos, was made by phylarchs and hipparchs; but no event is mentioned, and it may refer to some display in the Agora. See H. A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1952," Hesp. 22 (1953): 49-51 and fig. 3.

³E. Vanderpool, "Victories in the Anthippasia," Hesp. 43 (1974): 311-13, pl. 61-63 discusses two inscriptions of the late fourth or early third century which specifically mention the anthippasia. One was found reused in the area of the market of Caesar and Augustus, while the second was found among the marbles from previous excavations stored in the area of the Stoa of Attalos. Both originally may have come from the Agora along the route of the equestrian dromos. A further fourth-century dedication by a victorious phylarch, IG II² 3135 and 3136, was reused in the Gymnasium of Hadrian and may have come from the Agora.

⁴T. Leslie Shear, "Relief of an Apobates," Hesp. 4 (1935): 379-81; Agora XIV, 121.

Agora ended near this shrine where the slope does become unmanageably steep.¹ Hence, as Travlos has suggested, the Panathenaic dromos seems to have begun a little to the north of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods in front of the Herms; and it crossed the Agora and ended near the Eleusinion, being marked out with bases at both ends and along its route.²

Various arguments and several types of evidence have suggested that the Athenian Agora at various times housed a dromos for men and horses. As Martin contends, the earliest athletics may have involved funeral and hero cults while civic athletics probably arose in the sixth and fifth centuries. Furthermore, military agones became customary in the fourth century. Athens is somewhat unusual in that the classical Agora was not initially the religious centre of the city. Archaeology has shown that political establishments predated religious buildings in the Agora and that major religious cults are secondary and more recent there. Hence the Athenian Agora, as a graveyard initially appropriate to funeral and hero cult-related athletics, also gained civic athletics as it developed. Here again harmony existed between the religious and civic aspects of athletics at Athens. As the Agora acquired more buildings and functions it became less physically suitable for athletics, but it still retained its role as an athletic facility on an occasional basis for state competitions.

¹IG II² 2316.16; 2317.48; Agora III, no. 216, p. 80; Agora XIV, 121.

²Travlos, PDA, 2-3, fig. 5, no. 32.

Gymnasia

Most scholars agree that the fully developed Greek gymnasium was a public facility for physical education, controlled by municipal officials and open to all citizens. A standard feature of a Greek polis, the gymnasium consisted primarily of a running track (dromos) and it usually also had a wrestling ground (palaestra). With the addition of areas for changing, storage and bathing, the gymnasium was able to accommodate the many types of activity involved in Greek athletics and gymnastics.¹ Before examining the histories of the individual Athenian gymnasia, some problems of approach and terminology should be confronted.

The extensive work of Delorme investigates the Greek gymnasium from an architectural point of view as an educational institution, but there are limitations to this approach and its application to pre-Hellenistic Athens. According to Delorme, the gymnasium originated as a response to the rise of "la gymnastique," a system of physical education which itself was a response to military changes.² While admitting the earlier existence of athletics, Delorme rejects the Homeric athletic ideal and the rise of the Olympic Games as causes for the

¹On the Greek gymnasium, see Delorme, Gym.; Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," Jüthner-Brein, 2:157-61; Gardiner, GASF, 467-510; Wycherley, HGBC, 147-61; C. A. Forbes, "Expanded Uses of the Greek Gymnasium," CPhil. 40 (1945): 32-42; J. Oehler, s.v. Gymnasium, PW VII 2 (1912), 2004-2026; G. Fougères, s.v. Gymnasion, Dar. Sag. II 2 (1896), 1684-1705. On Athenian gymnasia, see R. E. Wycherley, "Peripatos, the Athenian Philosophical Scene--II," G&R 9 (1962): 2-21; The Stones of Athens (Princeton, 1978), 219-235; plus the relevant articles in PW and in Travlos, PDA. For excellent illustrations and a reconstruction of life in a fifth-century Athenian gymnasium (rooms, equipment, officials and procedures) from vase-paintings, see Gardiner, GASF, 472-82.

²Delorme, Gym., 9.

development of gymnastics.¹ However, Delorme seems to underestimate the influence of Olympia: the Olympic Games were held on a regular basis and contributed to the popularity of athletics and the rise of the *Periodos* in the sixth century.² The sites of the games in the *Periodos* initially were rudimentary, and none have left archaeological remains of early gymnasia;³ but these sites still qualify as facilities for athletics if not for physical education.⁴

In Delorme's theory, military developments led to the rise of the idea of gymnastics which itself necessarily preceded the establishment of gymnasia. Hoplite warfare and the use of the phalanx led the Greeks to institutionalize Homeric athletic events into a system of physical education to train a new class of soldiers individually to meet the collective military ends of the *polis*.⁵ He dates the first

¹Delorme, *Gym.*, 17-18 regards the Homeric athletic ideal as spontaneous and uneducational; he does not consider the informal, impromptu competitions of the heroes as gymnastics because they lacked a practical end or preparatory training.

²Delorme, *Gym.*, 23, 26-30 also suggests that the sixth-century reorganization of the Panhellenic Games was influenced by the rise of gymnastics.

³The earliest well-preserved gymnasium of reasonably assured date is that of Delphi of 350-325; see J. Jannoray and H. Ducoux, *Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. II, *Topographie et architecture: le gymnase* (Paris, 1953); and Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 84-101.

⁴Reviewing Delorme, *Gym.*, in *JHS* 82 (1962): 200-201, R. E. Wycherley criticizes Delorme's attempt to classify gymnasia architecturally. He feels each gymnasium has to be accepted with its own peculiar structure being determined by the layout, needs and ideas of the local community. In *HGBC*, 147, Wycherley suggests that the gymnasium is to be thought of primarily as an extensive athletic ground rather than a closely knit architectural unit.

⁵Delorme, *Gym.*, 23-26 feels that with hoplite warfare the Greeks faced a need for individual training, and that socially this meant that the hoplite class could demand a share in the earlier

example of "gymnastique" to the mid-sixth century on the basis of a passage from Theognis:

ὄλβιος, ὅστις ἐρῶν γυμνάζεται οἴκαδε ἐλθῶν,
εὐδῶν σὺν καλῶι παιδὶ πανημέριος

Happy he that loveth as he taketh his practice and when
he goeth home sleepeth the day out with a fair lad.¹

From this first appearance of the verb γυμνάζειν Delorme asserts a customary sixth-century alliance of physical education with pederasty; and, with specific reference to Athens, he concludes that gymnastics led to the appearance of gymnasia by the mid-sixth century.² However, the reference from Theognis does not prove the existence of a mature system of physical education, and it mentions neither warfare nor any athletic facility.

Evidence collected below for pre-Hellenistic Athens suggests that gymnasia at Athens arose as athletic rather than educational facilities, and that early contributing factors included athletics, festivals and even politics more than changes in warfare. With an approach more suitable for Athens, Fougères sees a slow evolution of

aristocratic athletics. Delorme, Gym., 9 suggests that "gymnastique" developed gradually into a system of physical education composed of competition, preparation, discipline and above all the ideal of physical victory. Cf. Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 55, who feels that the rise of gymnasia was unrelated to military developments, and that the "hoplite revolution" was irrelevant to the development of gymnastics.

¹Theog. 1335-1336, ed. M. L. West, Iambi et Elegi, 1:238, trans. J. M. Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus, 1:394-5.

²Delorme, Gym., 19-20. Pederasty and gymnasia often are connected in later Greek literature; for examples, see Pl. Resp. 452c; Symp. 182b-c; Ar. Pax 762-63; Vesp. 1025 and Dover, Greek Homosexuality, 40, 54-55, 185. However, of the over 150 verses of homosexual poetry by Theognis, only this fragment connects pederasty and gymnastics.

the architectural form of the gymnasium through four historical periods. In the primitive era gymnasia were simple sites with nothing more than dromoi and without fixed constructions.¹ In the archaic era gymnasia were walled gardens with dromoi and palaestrae. The fourth and third centuries saw the establishment of the architectural type of the gymnasium with permanent constructions including peripatoi and hot baths. Still later, the fourth or Greco-Roman period saw even more elaborate gymnasia with an evolution towards Roman bath complexes. If the earliest "gymnasia" were simply suitable sites specifically used for athletic activities like running and wrestling,² then this discussion should be open to the existence of simple gymnasia predating the known archaeological remains and predating the architectural development examined by Delorme. Athenians like Pantakles, the early seventh-century Olympic victor,³ presumably practiced in some athletic facility at Athens, perhaps a "rudimentary gymnasium."⁴

References to "gymnasium" and "palaestra" are common in

¹G. Fougères, s.v. Gymnasion, Dar. Sag. II 2 (1896), 1684-86 conceives of the earliest gymnasia as simple open spaces for field events with sanded areas for heavier events.

²In Homer, the use of the "plains of Troy" (Il. 23.259-897) for the funeral games of Patroclus represents a single, spontaneous use of an area rather than an athletic facility. However, the agora of Phaeacia is presented as a normal place for athletics (Od. 8.97-233), housing wrestling and having a "line" or "post" (line 121, ἀπὸ νύσσης) for footraces. Also note that the suitors at Ithaca (Od. 4.625-27) were throwing the javelin and discus on a levelled field (ἐν τυκτῷ δαπέδῳ) which might be considered a rudimentary gymnasium.

³Moretti, Olym., nos. 25-27.

⁴Hereafter "rudimentary" or "pre-architectural gymnasium" will refer to regularly used, naturally suitable areas, with space for a dromos and palaestra for open air exercising but lacking fixed constructions. "Architectural gymnasium" will refer to such sites when enclosed by walls or columns and subdivided into specialized areas.

discussions of athletic facilities, and these terms should be clarified and their use examined for Athens. While the original, etymological distinction was between ἡ παλαίστρα as a ground where men wrestle (παλαίω) and τὸ γυμνάσιον as a place where men strip naked (γυμνός) for exercise,¹ the general distinction in classical times was between "palaestra" as a wrestling school and "gymnasium" as a gymnastic facility.² Unfortunately, ancient sources, especially late Greek and Latin authors, use the terms vaguely or interchangeably;³ and this has led to modern debate and confusion.

Among scholars, Gardiner tries to distinguish between the gymnasium as a place and the palaestra as a building.⁴ Forbes argues that palaestrae, as wrestling schools for boys, were without exception private, while gymnasia were large public edifices.⁵ The best discussion,

¹LSJ s.v. παλαίστρα, γυμνάσιον.

²On the issue in general, see Delorme, Gym., 253-71; Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 69-81; Zschietzschmann, 2:31-3; Gardiner, GASF, 467-510; Forbes, GPE, 76-82.

³Pausanias at times uses "palaestra" to refer to part of a gymnasium (at Elis, 5.15.8; and at Olympia, 6.21.2). Cic. Verr. 2.14.36 called the public gymnasium at Syracuse a palaestra; and Vitruvius, De Arch. 5.11 describes a Greek gymnasium and refers to it as a palaestra. Hsch. s.v. παλαίστρα: ὅπου οἱ παῖδες ἀλείφονται.

⁴Gardiner, GASF, 467-68: "The gymnasium is merely an athletic ground or playing field On the other hand, the palaestra is a special term for the wrestling school. . . . It is essentially a building. The palaestra may exist without a gymnasium, but no gymnasium can exist without a palaestra." Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 69 and Zschietzschmann, 2: 31-32 feel gymnasium is simply a more general term than the specific term palaestra.

⁵Forbes, GPE, 82; J. H. Krause, Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen (Leipzig, 1841), 1:89, 107-27 was the first to assert a legal distinction between gymnasia as places of public instruction in physical culture, and palaestrae as private exercise places. Marrou, Education, 180 sees "gymnasium" as the whole and "palaestra" as part of an athletic facility; and, similarly, Wycherley, HGBC, 155 regards the palaestra simply as the "gymnasium courtyard."

that by Delorme, suggests that the ancients saw the terms as interchangeable, and that the only viable distinction is architectural. A gymnasium, comprising a dromos for track and field events plus a palaestra for contact sports, was a complete athletic facility; a palaestra, when it existed independently, could accommodate only contact sports. Palaestrae could be public or private, and could be used by men or boys.¹

In the ancient sources the earliest reference to a palaestra comes from Herodotus' story of Kleisthenes of Sikyon who "made a place for running and a place for wrestling" (καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαίστρην ποιησάμενος) for his daughter's suitors.² These provisions probably were not elaborate, perhaps simply cleared areas of land. Although the word "gymnasium" is not used, scholars feel that Kleisthenes in fact provided a rudimentary gymnasium to accommodate the athletic interests of his guests.³ Similarly, in referring to δρόμους and παλαίστρας, Euripides apparently credits Sparta with gymnasia in the Heroic Age.⁴ Aristophanes does use "gymnasium" but he more often refers to "palaestrae";⁵ in his comedies palaestrae are places where good boys

¹Delorme, Gym., 266.

²Hdt. 6.26. The verb is vague and Delorme, Gym., 34-35 feels that there were no actual buildings, perhaps because these were temporary arrangements for the suitors.

³Gardiner, GASE, 467-8; Delorme, Gym., 266.

⁴Eur. Andr. 599; cf. Tro. 833-34. In Hipp. 299 γυμνάσια ἔπποκροτα, "gymnasia sounding with the tramp of horses," probably refers to the area where Hippolytus raced his horse. The usage is loose but the context implies a space more extensive than a palaestra.

⁵In Ar. Av. 140 "gymnasium" is used in association with bathing (ἀπὸ γυμνασίου λελουμένον) but no details are given. In Nub. 1002

exercise and immoral men practise seduction.¹ As in Aristophanes, the commonest meaning of "palaestra" in Xenophon is with reference to wrestling schools for boys distinct from larger gymnasia.²

Classical Athens was famous for its athletic trainers, and by the late fifth century many wrestling instructors (paidotribai) seem to have privately owned independent palaestrae where they charged for the instruction of boys.³ Instruction by paidotribai, however, also continued to take place in the public gymnasia.⁴ Plato's Lysis allows a glimpse into the architectural nature of the private palaestra of an unnamed paidotribe where the Sophist Mikkos also taught.⁵ Of recent construction (νεωστὶ ἄκροδομημένη), this palaestra resembled an ordinary house with a sort of enclosure and a single door out onto the

ἐν γυμνασίοις refers to "in exercises" rather than "in gymnasia," and in Vesp. 526 ἐκ θ' ἡμετέρου γυμνασίου should be rendered "from our school" according to LSJ. A fragment of Aristophanes (Edmonds FAC 1: frag. 715) refers to γερόνται παλαίστραι; Harris, GAA, 146 takes this as a reference to special palaestrae for old men. Without knowing the context or even the name of the play, this seems overly adventurous.

¹ See below p. 227.

² For example, Xen. Laced. 2.1.

³ On paidotribai and private palaestrae at Athens, see Delorme, Gym., 59-61, 441; Forbes, GPE, 66 n. 2, 67; and "Trainers and Training," below pp. 242-50. Delorme, Gym., 59 suggests that Athens may have had such wrestling schools before the Persian Wars; but supposedly Solonian laws regulating palaestrae probably are based on fifth-century practice; see Appendix A below. A graffito of the fourth century on a small black-glazed olpe reads τ]όδε τὸ ὑπ[λειμμά ἐστι τῆς π]αλαίστ[ρας]. The restoration is not certain but this could refer to property of a private palaestra. See Lang, Agora XXI, Hd2, pl. 41.

⁴ Antiphon's Second Tetralogy debates the guilt in a case where a boy under the instruction of a paidotribe was killed ἐν γυμνασίῳ (1.1; 3.6).

⁵ Pl. Lysis 203a-207a; Gardiner, GASE, 471-72; Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 64-65. This palaestra was a little outside of the Diochares Gate near the Fountain of Panops; see Judeich, Topog., 415.

street (περίβολόν τέ τινα καὶ εὐσαν ἀνεωγμένην).¹ Most of the boys inside were in the central open-air court (ἐν τῇ ἀδλῆ ἔξω) but others were in the undressing room in a corner (τοῦ ἀποδυτηρίου γωνία). The visitors entered this room, which faced onto the court and served as a general meeting place equipped with benches.² Storerooms and a bathing area can be assumed although not explicitly mentioned. This then was a private building open to the public (both boys and men) with similarities to--but separate from--gymnasia at Athens.³

The general consensus that public gymnasia (including palaestrae) co-existed at Athens with private palaestrae is disturbed by a passage from the Old Oligarch, who writes of private gymnasia and public palaestrae:

καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ ἀποδυτήρια τοῖς μὲν πλουσίοις ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ ἐνίοις, ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτὸς αὐτῶ οἰκοδομεῖται ἰδίᾳ παλαιστρας πολλὰς, ἀποδυτήρια, λουτρῶνας· καὶ πλείω τούτων ἀπολαύει ὁ ὄχλος ἢ οἱ ὀλίγοι καὶ οἱ εὐδαίμονες.

Some of the rich citizens have their own gymnasia, baths, and dressing halls, but the people build for themselves palaestrae, dressing halls and bath-houses, of which the mob takes more advantage than the few and the fortunate.⁴

The passage implies that gymnasia--rather than palaestrae--were owned privately, and that the state built palaestrae--rather than gymnasia--which were open (as the last line suggests) to all citizens but used mostly by the masses.

¹P1. Lysis 2-4a, 2-3b. The enclosure prevented people outside from viewing the exercises of the boys inside (εἰσελθόντες δὲ καταλάβομεν ... παῖδας, 206e).

²P1. Lysis 206e. The undressing room seems to have been quite large since Socrates was able to withdraw to a quieter corner of it (207a).

³Cf. the description of the Lycaum below pp. 142-43.

⁴Ps. Xen. Ath. Pol. 2.10, trans. L. C. Stecchini.

Why should there be gymnasia (the larger and usually public facility) in private hands while the demos for itself builds only palaestrae--admittedly "many" but still usually the smaller and private facility? To show the greed of the masses, the Old Oligarch should have presented the demos as providing gymnasia, not palaestrae, for itself.¹ Glass feels that the concept of private gymnasia is completely at odds with the available evidence, and suggests that the author has reversed the proper terms as a reference to the reversal--under a democracy--of the normal order of things.² This overly ingenious solution would make the passage compatible with the conventional picture; but the Old Oligarch, although inclined to rhetorical exaggeration, is generally less subtle in his criticisms.

Can the passage be taken as it reads? Private gymnasia are not inconceivable; but they would take a great deal of wealth and space, and thus tend to be suburban. State-built palaestrae also are conceivable but references to palaestrae (not in association with gymnasia) generally indicate wrestling schools, open to the public but privately owned and operated. As the passage reads, the rich few retain their elaborate facilities in private while the demos gets lesser facilities; this image would detract from the Old Oligarch's theme of the mob pleasing itself at the expense of the aristoi.

¹Delorme, Gym., 258 feels that private gymnasia at Athens would be exceptional in lacking the official character of the normal Greek gymnasia. H. Frisch, The Constitution of the Athenians (Copenhagen, 1942; reprint, New York, 1976), 256-57 admits puzzlement ". . . that the word "gymnasia" had been specifically used about the private establishments, whereas the government is said to build "palaestrae"; for this goes against early Greek usage"

²Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 73-74.

The best interpretation is that the author is using these terms loosely or interchangeably as general references to "athletic facilities." There is a parallelism between "gymnasia, baths, and dressing rooms" and "palaestrae, baths, and dressing rooms";¹ and it seems logical that the Old Oligarch simply meant "exercise areas" in both cases. The author thus is complaining that athletic facilities, formerly the prerogative of the rich, have come into common use by the poor who neither deserve nor finance them.

If the major gymnasia at Athens were "public," how were they financed and administered? Unfortunately, as S. C. Humphreys demonstrates, we know almost nothing about the organization and routine maintenance of gymnasia in the classical era.² The elaborate Hellenistic system based on liturgical gymnasiarchs cannot be assumed for the earlier age.³ Possibly the tribal gymnasiarchs who trained teams for the torch races in classical Athens had additional responsibilities, but sources generally associate them only with the single event.⁴

Even at the time when the Athenaion Politeia was written, Athens had no State gymnasiarch unless the kosmetes of the epheboi was responsible--and since at this time the epheboi

¹Forbes, GPE, 80; J. Oehler, s.v. Gymnasium PW VII 2 (1912), 2004-26. Robinson, Sources, 152 feels that the part (palaestra) is used to express the whole (gymnasium).

²S. C. Humphreys, "The Nothoi of Kynosarges," JHS 94 (1974): 91, n. 8.

³The gymnasiarchy at Athens, as an ephebic liturgy including responsibility for a gymnasium, appears to be Hellenistic. See J. Oehler, s.v. γυμναστιάρχος, Dar. Sag. II 2 (1896), 1675-1684.

⁴Such gymnasiarchs are attested from the last decade of the fifth century for the Hephasteia (And. 1.32) and Prometheia (Lys. 21.3) and J. K. Davies, "Demosthenes on Liturgies: A Note," JHS 87 (1967): 35-36 argues that the office is earlier than 421. On Athenian torch races, see Appendix C below.

still did their training well away from the city, first in Piraeus and then on the frontiers, there is no compelling reason to associate their supervisors with the gymnasia.¹

The functional and economic influence of the ephebeia on gymnasia at Athens was more of a Hellenistic than a classical phenomenon.²

Rather than liturgical gymnasiarchs or ephebic officials, Humphreys reservedly suggests two possibilities: that gymnasia were administered by priests and paid for out of cult funds, or that the state leased gymnasia out to contractors who ran them as privately owned palaestrae were run. There is no evidence for either idea. A reasonable suggestion might be that entrance fees were charged, as at the theatre, but here again there is no evidence of this.

A fragment of Hyperides of 323 may be relevant. After mentioning a man fined for taking theoric money for his son who was abroad, Hyperides refers to a certain Aristomachos who, ἐπιστάτης γενόμενος τῆς Ἀκαδημείας, "took a spade from the palaestra to his own garden

¹Humphreys, "Nothoi," 91, n. 8.

²The rise of the Athenian ephebeia has long been a controversial topic. U. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Aristoteles und Athen (Berlin, 1893), 1: 191-93, arguing from the lack of evidence, felt the ephebeia did not predate 335/4. C. Pélékidis, Histoire de l'éphébie attique (Paris, 1962), 71-79 argues for the operation of the ephebeia in the fifth century. C. A. Forbes, GPE, 109-18 supports the later date while P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebeia," PCPS n.s. 14 (1968): 49-64 defends the earlier date. O. W. Reinmuth, The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C. (Leiden, 1971), on the basis of his inscription no. 1 of 361/0 (replacing IG II² 1156 of 334/3, as the earliest known ephebic inscription), extrapolates the existence of the ephebeia in the time of Aeschines ca. 371/0. However, he does suggest a restoration or revivification by Lycurgus. Ps. Pl. Axiochus 366e-367a refers to ephebes at the Academy and Lyceum but the source is unreliable. The Ptolemaion and the Diogeneion are the gymnasia most often mentioned in ephebic documents. For our purposes, the ephebeia, as a civically controlled program of compulsive military training, represents a major intrusion on the functions of Athenian gymnasia only in the Hellenistic age.

and used it" ¹ The implication is that the man, in some official capacity, abused public property. ² Possibly gymnasia were under the jurisdiction of certain state officials; but epistates is a very general term, ³ and the evidence is simply too meagre in the classical age. If athletic facilities were not a regular area of civic expenditure, ⁴ it perhaps was because such facilities still tended to be modest in architecture and expenses through the classical era.

Before turning to the individual gymnasia, the relationship between baths and athletic facilities should be clarified. Athletic facilities obviously needed supplies of fresh water, and this may have been a factor in the location of gymnasia at Athens. ⁵ Bathing arrangements in early gymnasia were very simple, usually just a round basin on legs in the open air. ⁶ As time passed the popularity of athletics

¹Hyperides c. Demosth. frag. 7 col. 26 (Kenyon, OCT); Forbes, GPE, 84-85; cf. Hsch. s.v. ἀρχέλας.

²Philochorus (FGrH III B, 238 F 37) says that the Lyceum came into being περικλήους ἐπιστατοσύντος, but the verb probably refers to the office of strategos.

³As Humphreys, "Nothoi," 91 n. 8 points out, "gymnasiarch" in Aeschines 1.2 seems merely to mean "whoever is in charge of the gymnasium"; and Ps. Plato's reference to a gymnasiarch in charge of the Lyceum (Eryxias 397c, 399a) is hardly reliable evidence.

⁴Gymnasia do not appear as an item of regular recurrent expenditure in Aristotle's Ath. Pol.; and F. W. Heichelheim, An Economic History of the Ancient World (Leiden, 1964), 2:142-43, feels athletic facilities only received occasional state contributions. Also see J. K. Davies, Democracy and Classical Greece (Glasgow, 1978), 106-09.

⁵The Academy, Lyceum and Kynosarges respectively were near the Eridanos, Kephisos and Ilissos. Plato Lysis 203a, 206c-e describes a palaestra as near the fountain of Panops; and Euripides Tro. 833-34, albeit with reference to Troy, associates λουτρόα with sites of athletics.

⁶On Greek bathing, see R. Ginouvès, Balaneutikè, Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque (Paris, 1962). On Athenian baths, see Travlos, PDA, 180-81. Ginouvès, Bal., 126-29 suggests the nature of early bathing arrangements from Athenian vase-paintings and later remains.

apparently contributed to the spread of bathing in Greece, and bathing facilities developed accordingly.

Baths often were appendages to athletic buildings or elements of larger athletic facilities.¹ The Old Oligarch associates baths with both private and public athletic facilities in his condemnation of the increasing use of such facilities and their baths by the masses.² Towards the end of the fifth century bathing became less austere, and independent bathing establishments separate from athletic facilities appeared.³ In denouncing the New Education Aristophanes contrasts the frequenting of independent baths with the pursuit of athletics;⁴ he especially resents the popularity of warm baths (τὸ θερμὸ λουτρόν),⁵

¹Harris, GAA, 136, 147-49. Pl. Symp. 223d shows that the Lyceum had facilities for washing since Socrates ἐλθόντα εἰς λύκειον, ἀπονιψάμενον Ar. Av. 140 implies that an unnamed gymnasium had washing facilities (ἀπιδόντ' ἀπὸ γυμνασίου λελουμένον).

²Ps. Xen. Ath. Pol. 2.10. J. M. Moore, Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy (London, 1975), 53 sees an element of exaggeration here but accepts this as evidence for public baths in association with athletic facilities. H. Frisch, The Constitution of the Athenians (Copenhagen, 1942; reprint, New York, 1976), 257-58 finds nothing remarkable in the idea that a few wealthy men had baths and change rooms in private, but sees a problem with the suggestion of public baths this early. In 443/2 the epistatai of the Parthenon possibly received surplus money from the building of public baths: see IG I² 343.84 and Boersma, ABP, no. 123.

³Ginouvès, Bal., 101-02; Gardiner, GASF, 479-80. An inscription of 417 mentions τὸ Ἴσ[θ]μονίκο βάλανερον; see IG I² 94; SIG 550; PA 7690 and APF 9574, p. 358. According to Isae. 6.33 a certain Euktemon bought τὸ ἐν Σηραγγεῖω βάλανερον from another individual for 3000 drachmae shortly before 363.

⁴Ar. Nub. 1054, πληρεὶς τὸ βάλανερον ποιεῖ, κενὰς δὲ παλαίστρας; K. J. Dover, ed., Aristophanes' Clouds (London, 1970), 146. Frugal men are said not to go to the baths to clean themselves, and the Just Argument urges the youth to abstain from the baths (Nub. 837, 991); cf. Eq. 579-80.

⁵The Just Argument views warm baths as the worst thing possible, rendering men cowardly (Nub. 1044-46). Harris, GAA, 147 feels the rise of heated baths probably is overestimated on the basis of this passage. Seeing the issue as economic, he feels Greeks took hot baths whenever they could afford them.

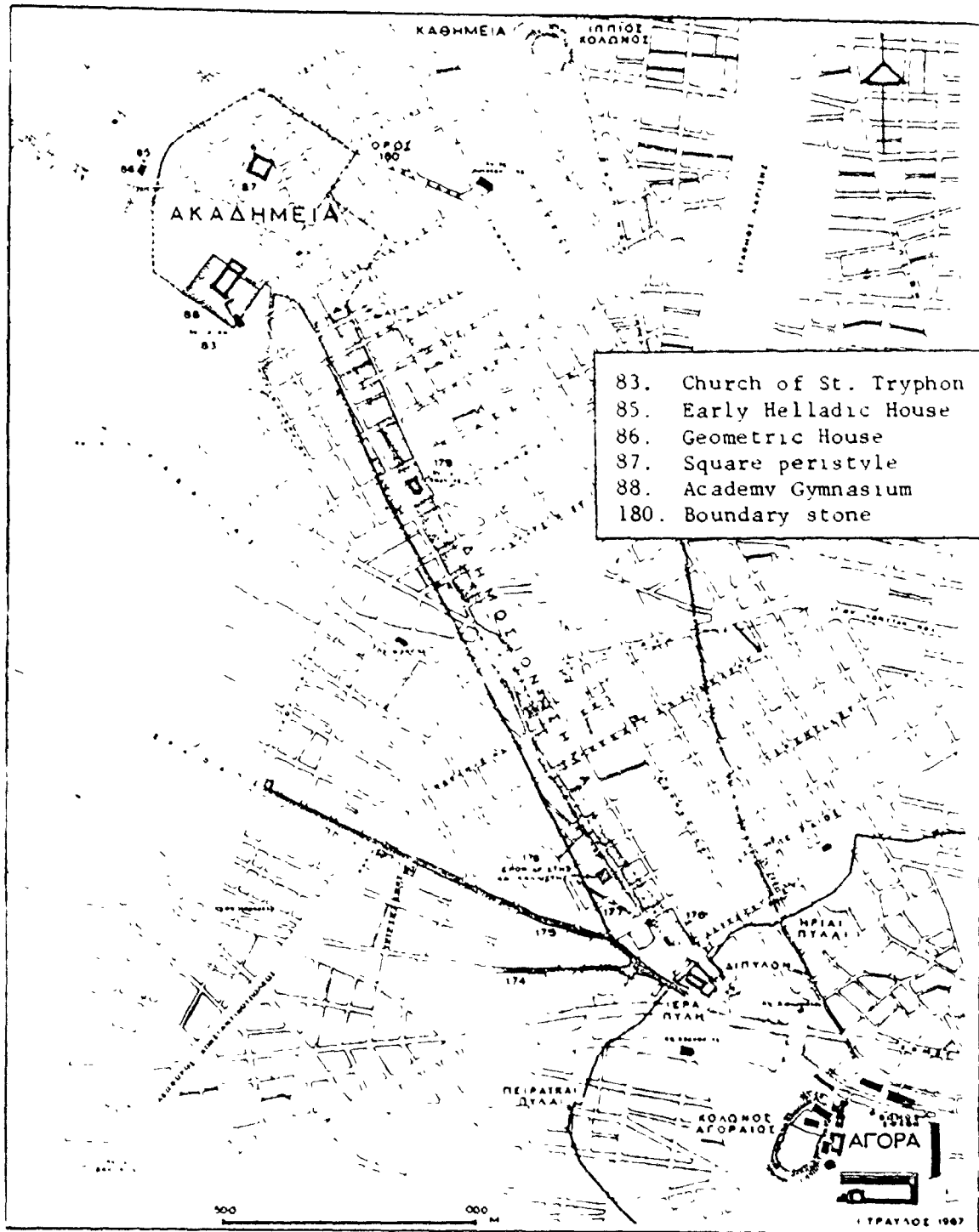
and he would recommend that youths go instead to the Academy to exercise.¹ Some facility for cleansing can be assumed at the Academy, but the austere washing facilities of such gymnasia can be contrasted with the new, unathletic baths arising at Athens.

It is interesting that in the Laws Plato writes that fresh water should be channeled into sanctuaries where the young men should construct exercise grounds for themselves and their elders as well as warm baths for the use of the latter.² The youths were simply to have available fresh water, but warm baths are presented as therapeutic for the elderly and infirm. Independent baths, frequented for pleasure rather than hygiene, were scorned by moralists like Aristophanes as a sign of degeneracy; but in the fourth century baths remained an essential part of athletic facilities and the positive value of warm baths was being recognized.

Baths at Athens thus developed at first partly in association with, and later also independently from, athletic facilities. The number and temperature of the baths, in public facilities or private establishments, would indicate a trend to improved and more expensive arrangements as the wealth and population of Athens grew. Baths should not be accepted as having athletic functions unless connected to areas where athletes exercised; baths in isolation from such areas were not athletic facilities in their own right in pre-Hellenistic Athens.

¹Ar. Nub. 1002-08.

²Pl. Leg. 761c-d; cf. E. B. England, Plato's Laws (London, 1921), 1:573.



Map B: The Academy, Kerameikos and Agora

(after PDA, figure 318)

Academy

Most famous as the site of Plato's school, the Academy was initially a sacred grove, and its primary role in classical Athens was as a gymnasium.¹ Although the establishment of a gymnasium complex here seems to date to the lifetime of Kimon, there are indications that there was an athletic facility or rudimentary gymnasium at the Academy in the archaic age. This discussion traces the origin and development of the Academy as an athletic facility, collecting evidence for the gymnasium and illustrating its growing functions.

Ancient sources locate the Academy generally to the west of the city in the Outer Kerameikos.² Diogenes Laertius refers to the Academy as an "extra-urban gymnasium in a grove named after a certain hero Hekademos," and Pausanias puts it near Kolonos Hippios.³ While literary sources disagree on the distance of the Academy from the city,⁴ a very specific and definite location for the northeast corner of the

¹On the Academy, see Delorme, Gym., 36-42; Wycherley, "Peripatos," 2-10; Boersma, ABP, nos. VII and 16; Travlos, PDA, 42-51; Judeich, Topog., 66, 412-14; Zschietzschmann, 2: 16-18; and H. Cherniss, The Riddle of the Early Academy, 2nd ed. (New York, 1962).

²For the location of the Academy see Map B (= Travlos, PDA, fig. 417). Wycherley, "Peripatos," 2 comments:

The use of the name in the later writers is very flexible; it meant primarily the shrine, but by a natural extension it was used of the gymnasium, the school of Plato, of course, or of the district; and sometimes, improperly, of the cemetery on the way to the Academy, or of the Kerameikos.

³Diog. Laer. 3.7, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ γυμνάσιον πρόσκειον ἄλωδες ἀπὸ τινος ὀνομασθῆν Ἐκαδήμου; Paus. 1.30.4.

⁴Cic. Fin. 5.1.1 says the entrance to the Academy was six stades from the Dipylon; Livy 31.24.10 places it a little farther out. Travlos, PDA, 300 prefers Livy's estimate (ca. 1478 m.) to Cicero's (ca. 1068 m.).

Academy is known from a boundary stone found in situ with an inscription of around 500 reading ἡδῶρος τῆς ἑξαδεμείας.¹

Originating as a religious sanctuary, the Academy derives its name from Akademos, formerly Hekademos, a local ancestral hero whose cult was associated with the worship of Prometheus and Hephaestus.² The original name is confirmed by a sherd of the second quarter of the sixth century found in the Agora with a dipinto which has been restored to read HEKA[ΔΗΜΟΣ].³ Although the area is naturally suitable, and although Hekademos has no other athletic associations, it is interesting that a gymnasium should arise on the site of a very old Athenian hero cult.⁴

As the location of various altars and cults, and as the starting point of sacred torch races, the Academy always retained a religious aspect. The site was especially sacred to Athena,⁵ and torch races began from a joint altar to Prometheus and Hephaestus.⁶ Herakles and

¹This was found in 1966 near the southeast corner of Aimonos and Tripoleos Streets; O. Alexandri, Delt. 22 (1967): 46-49.

²Diog. Laer. 3.7-8; J. Toepffer, s.v. Akademos, PW 1 (1894) 1137-38. J. Coldstream, "Hero-Cult in the Age of Homer," JHS 96 (1976): 16 compares Hekademos to Erechtheus as a local ancestral hero; Hekademos is remembered only in local tradition independently of epic.

³Beazley, ABV, 27 no. 36. Mabel Lang, Graffiti and Dipinti, The Athenian Agora XXI (Princeton, 1976) does not treat this piece.

⁴In later legend Hekademos was an Arcadian who came to Attica on the invitation of Theseus. He revealed Helen's hiding place to the Dioscuri, and hence the Spartans in later invasions spared his estate; Plut. These. 32; Cim. 13; Diog. Laer. 3.1.9. See Roscher, Lex., 1:1,205.

⁵Paus. 1.30.2; Ath. 13.561d-e.

⁶Paus. 1.30.2; the Scholiast on Soph. Oed. Col. 56, citing Apollodorus, says that Athena, Prometheus and Hephaestus were worshipped together in the Academy.

Hermes also had altars,¹ and the sacred olives (morai) grew in the Academy guarded by Zeus Morios.² In the time of the Peisistratids an altar to Eros was dedicated before the entrance to the Academy by a certain Charmos,³ and later Plato is said to have founded a shrine to the Muses as well.⁴ The Academy's association with torch races and the number and variety of its cults indicate the antiquity and popularity of the sanctuary.

Archaeologists have excavated sections of the Academy in the twentieth century.⁵ A mud-brick structure of the late eighth century is referred to as the "Sacred House" because of deposits of sacrificial ash, animal bones and pottery from the Late Geometric period onwards. Nearby are the remains of a small, Early Helladic apsidal house, the so-called "House of Hekademos." P. D. Stavropoulos suggests that the earlier house was discovered in the eighth century and identified with Hekademos, and then a shrine was established as part of a hero cult.⁶ An actual gymnasium complex complete with court, palaestra, baths and dressing rooms, but of late Hellenistic or Roman date, has been found; and poros architectural blocks from earlier buildings were used in its construction.⁷ To the north of this gymnasium a large square peristyle

¹Paus. 1.30.2; Anth. Pal. 6.144.

²Also known as Zeus Kataibates; Paus. 1.30.2; Schol. on Soph. Oed. Col. 705; cf. Paus. 5.14.10.

³Paus. 1.30.1; Ath. 13.609d; Plut. Sol. 1.7.

⁴Paus. 1.30.2; Diog. Laer. 4.1.1.

⁵For a summary, see P. D. Stavropoulos, Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia, Suppl. 22 s.v. Ἀκαδημία; for the location of remains, see Travlos, PDA, fig. 62 and Map B.

⁶P. D. Stavropoulos, Prakt. (1961): 8-11, Delt. 16 (1960): Chron. 34.

⁷O. Alexandri, Delt. 22 (1967): Chron. 59-65.

dating to the second half of the fourth century was found, and to the northwest of this excavators found fragments of terracotta metopes with painted decoration and antefixes dating to the second half of the sixth century. Overall, then, archaeology has shown evidence of early cult associations, an elaborate late gymnasium, and remains of buildings and reused material of uncertain function from the intervening period. Unfortunately, no clearly athletic structures predating the Hellenistic era have been unearthed.

If there was a gymnasium in the Academy in archaic times, its nature is uncertain and it may have been sacked by the Persians. Delorme doubts the tradition of Solonian legislation about athletics in the Academy, and yet he accepts a "gymnasium" predating 514 on the basis of references to a status of Eros near the Academy.¹ Plutarch says that Peisistratos had a lover Charmos and that he established a statue to Eros in the Academy.² Pausanias claims that before the "entrance" to the Academy was an altar to Love with an inscription that Charmos was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to that god.³ According to Athenaeus, Charmos was the lover of Hippias and also the first Athenian to establish the altar to Eros "near the Academy" (πρὸς Ἀκαδημίᾳ). Athenaeus appears to give the complete version

¹Delorme, *Gym.*, 42 hypothesizes:
Telle nous apparaît donc l'Académie, à la fin de la période archaïque; un vaste parc bien clos, où monuments religieux et installations sportives étaient disséminés parmi la verdure et l'ombrage.

²Plut. *Sol.* 1.7, τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἔρωτος ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ.

³Paus. 1.30.1: Πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ἔρωτος ἔχων ἐπίγραμμα ὡς Χάρμος Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος Ἔρωτι ἀναθεῖναι.

of the inscribed epigram, and he adds that Charmos established the altar "at the shadowy limits of the gymnasium" (ἐπὶ σκιερούς τέρμασι γυμνασίου).¹ Note that only this last item refers to a "gymnasium." Details like "entrance" and "limits" do suggest a defined area, but the story of Charmos in itself does not prove that the archaic Academy had a gymnasium.

Near the end of the sixth century the Academy supposedly was enclosed by a proverbially famous wall attributed to Hipparchos: Ἴππαρχος ὁ Πεισιστράτου περὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημαίαν τεῖχος ὤκοδόμησε.² If the Academy was an established site of athletic activity frequented by noble youths, it could well have drawn the attention of the Peisistratids.³ However, nothing remains of such a wall, and the connection to Hipparchos may be legendary. A precinct wall has been found and helps determine the limits of the Academy, but it is of much later construction.⁴ Like the dedication by Charmos, the "Wall of Hipparchos" would suggest that the Academy was a recognized and defined site in the archaic age, but this could apply to a sanctuary as well as a gymnasium.

Athletics and the Academy flourished in fifth-century Athens,

¹Ath. 13.609d.

²Suda s.v. τὸ Ἰππάρχου τεῖχος (Adler, 4.567); Wycherley, "Peripatos," 2.

³Judeich, *Topog.*, 413 agrees with the existence of a gymnasium and a precinct wall under the tyrants. Robinson, "Greek Critics," 172 fancifully suggests that a wall was needed for protection and privacy at that time because of the numbers of athletes training for crown festivals.

⁴P. D. Stavropoulos, *Prakt.* (1958): 11-12; (1959): 8-10. Boersma, *ABP*, 8, no. 16 seems to accept this as the Wall of Hipparchos, but Wycherley, "Peripatos," 9 doubts the identification, admitting only that the later wall may mark the position of an early precinct wall.

and Plutarch presents Kimon as instrumental in the development of the Academy as a public athletic facility.

*πρῶτος δὲ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐλευθερίοις καὶ γλαφυραῖς
διατριβαῖς, αἵ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπερβιῶς ἠγαπήθησαν,
ἐκαλλώπισε τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν πλατάνοις κατα-
φυτεύσας, τὴν δ' Ἀκαδημίαν ἐξ ἀνύδρου καὶ ἀύχμηρᾶς
κατάρουτον ἀποδείξας ἄλσος, ἠσκημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρό-
μοις καθαροῖς καὶ συσκίοις περιπάτοις.*

He was also the first to adorn the city with those spacious and elegant places of popular resort, which not long after became popular to the point of abuse; he did this by planting the market-place with plane trees and by transforming the Academy from a parched and barren wilderness into a well-watered grove, which he provided with shady paths to walk in and clear tracks for races.¹

Since *καλλωπίζειν* is positive, *διατριβαῖς* can be interpreted favourably as "pastimes" or "resorts" of a "bountiful" or "liberal" and "polished" nature; although these are said to become excessively popular later. Specifically, Kimon seems to have improved the water supply of the area and added runs and walkways.² This benefaction was a personal act quite consistent with the man's reputation for public generosity.³ Protos, if it can be taken literally here,⁴ implies that Kimon was the

¹Plut. Cim. 13.7, trans. I. Scott-Kilvert.

²Kimon possibly planted the trees in the Academy mentioned by Aristophanes (Nub. 1005-08); and the Academy remained famous for such trees: Diog. Laer. 3.7; Plut. Sull. 13; Pliny HN 12.9. Lynch, Aristotle's School, 13 n. 7 suggests Kimon may have channeled water from the Kephisos to the Academy, and Ginouvès, Bal., 126 n. 3 feels he also may have provided bathing facilities for the athletes.

³On this reputation, Plut. Cim. 10.5-6. Leokrates son of Stoibos dedicated a herm to commemorate the Athenian victory over Aegina in 456 (Anth. Pal. 6.144); and Delorme, Gym., 51-52 suggests Leokrates made his dedication in the Academy in emulation of Kimon.

⁴Of course, the idea of Kimon being the "first" to do such things may be part of traditional lore recounted by Plutarch. On the literary motif of "first inventor," see A. Kleingünther, "Protos Heurates. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung," Philologus, Suppl. 26.1 (1933).

first man to beautify the lower city (τὸ ἄστυ as opposed to the Acropolis beautified under the tyranny) with the development of public areas.¹ "First" also may suggest that Kimon was the first private citizen to perform such major liberal acts.² He aided the development of the Academy from a religious sanctuary (probably housing aristocratic athletic activity) into a gymnasium and popular resort area. Kimon thus was the earliest recorded Athenian to adapt a physically suitable area for athletics via artificially constructed runs and walks. Architecturally, though probably not functionally, this was the first "gymnasium" at the Academy and at Athens.³

In the Clouds of 423 Aristophanes presents a romantic picture of the Academy as a site of athletic activity:

ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδήμειαν κατιῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις ἀποθρέξει
 στεφανωσάμενος καλάμῳ λευκῷ μετὰ σώφρονος ἡλικιώτου,
 σμίλακος ὄζων καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνης καὶ λεύκης φυλλο-
 βολούσης ,
 ἦρος ἐν ἴρῳ, χαίρων ὅποταν πλάτανος πτελέα ψιθυρίζῃ.

But you will below to the Akademy go,
 and under the olives contend
 With your chaplet of reed, in a contest of speed
 with some excellent rival and friend:
 All fragrant with woodbine and peaceful content,
 and the leaf which the lime blossoms fling,

¹Boersma, ABP, 58 feels that Kimon's aim was to raise the standard of public amenities. His initiatives were certainly of a private character, but since they concerned a public site he probably proposed them in the Ekklesia and added that he would pay the cost himself. There seems to be no ancient evidence to support Harris' idea, GAA, 144, that the Academy formerly was part of the private estate of Kimon.

²Delorme, Gym., 41 suggests that the Academy was sacked by the Persians and that Kimon was more of a restorer than a creator. Architecturally, however, there may have been very little for the Persians to sack.

³Boersma, ABP, 127 dates Kimon's actions roughly to the second quarter of the fifth century.

When the plane whispers love to the elm in the grove
in the beautiful season of Spring.¹

Here the image is that of a natural grove or park area; reference is made to competition and trees, but there is no hint of any architectural constructions. No "gymnasium" is specifically mentioned.² The Aristophanic contrast posed between the Academy and the Agora, the scene of sophistry and discord, is somewhat ironic.³ Sophistry was hardly foreign to athletic facilities; the Agora was the site of athletic competition; and Kimon had helped turn both the Academy and Agora into places of public resort.⁴ Aristophanes' fondness for the motif of the "good old days" may suggest that the Just Argument here is referring back to an earlier age. Conceivably this description applies to the pre-Kimonian, pre-architectural Academy: a natural sanctuary and yet also a recognized site of athletic activity.

In the Panathenaea and other festivals the dromos for the torch races began in the Academy and proceeded through the Kerameikos, where Aristophanes places a torch-racer.⁵ It is uncertain when such races were first held, and their original nature was ritualistic.⁶ However,

¹Ar. Nub. 1005-08, trans. B. B. Rogers.

²In Ar. Nub. 1002 ἐν γυμνασίοις in the plural means "gymnastic exercises" rather than "gymnasia": LSJ s.v.

³Ar. Nub. 1002-08. Just below, Nub. 1009-20, Aristophanes contrasts the physical fitness of products of the Old Education (of the Academy) and the New Education (of the Agora).

⁴Wycherley, "Peripatos," 3 sees the Agora/Academy antithesis as artificial and unsound because the fifth-century Academy undoubtedly contributed to Athenian intellectual development.

⁵Paus. 1.30.2; Frazer, Pausanias, 2:391-92; Ar. Ran. 129-33, 1087-98; Schol. on Ran. 131.

⁶Webster, Potter and Patron, 200 notes that the earliest evidence of torch races is early classical in date.

by the fifth century certain races may have had an athletic aspect as well, for Aristophanes complains that the Panathenaic torch-racers of his day were inadequate due to the lack of training or exercise.¹ Such training, and the start of this popular event, probably took place in the Academy.

At times in the fifth and fourth centuries the Academy housed Athenian and foreign troops, perhaps attracted by the wide spaces and water supply which a gymnasium would need. Pausanias of Sparta encamped his troops in the Academy in 405, and ca. 370 the Athenian general Iphikrates ordered his men to dine in the Academy.² Xenophon refers to cavalry processions as if they were periodic events in the Academy, although the "hard ground" there demanded certain precautions.³ Manoeuvres similar to the anthippasia are described in the Academy, but the mention of observation by the boule may suggest military reviews.⁴ Such military and equestrian (possibly agonistic) use of the Academy is to be seen as an occasional addition to its normal athletic and religious functions.⁵

In 388 Plato chose the Academy as the site for his famous school of philosophy. Perhaps he was attracted to the Academy as a place of public resort with pleasant surroundings, or perhaps it was

¹Ar. Ran. 1087-88, λαμπάδα δ' οὐδεὶς οἶός τε φέρειν ἐπ' ἀγυμνασφας ἔτι νυνί. See the discussion in Appendix C below.

²Xen. Hell. 2.2.8: 6.5.49.

³Xen. Hipp. 3.1; 3.14, ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπικρότῳ ἐν Ἀκαδημαίᾳ ἰππεύειν δέη.

⁴Xen. Hipp. 3.14; cf. 3.11.

⁵State funeral games for the war dead apparently were held in the Academy (Philostr. VS 2.30; cf. Arist. Ath. Pol. 58; Pl. Menex. 249b), but the issue is very complex. See above pp. 71-79.

because the gymnasium was frequented by the best youths of Athens who had the time and money for higher education.¹ Diogenes Laertius says that Plato taught first in the Academy, the suburban gymnasium, and later in his own garden nearby towards Kolonos Hippios.² Very little is known of the practical arrangements of the school, but probably its needs were quite limited.³ Plato's establishment of his school meant expanded functions for the Academy but not an architectural transformation. A modern conception of "school" would be inappropriate here: Plato's school simply meant the regularized interaction of the master and his students.⁴ Although the foundation of the Platonic Academy is of tremendous significance, it is important again to realize that the educational aspect of the Academy co-existed with, rather than replaced, the earlier functions of the gymnasium.⁵

¹Marrou, Education, 103 suggests Plato chose the Academy for its religious associations rather than its convenience since (according to Ael. VH 9.10) it was an unhealthy spot; cf. Lynch, Aristotle's School, 60-61.

²Diog. Laer. 3.5.7; Apul. De dog. Plat. 1.4. Wycherley, "Peripatos," 5 feels that Plato continued to use the gymnasium as well as the private house and garden, distinguishing between a more open and a more intimate place of instruction.

³Ath. 2.59d-f quotes Epikrates (Edmonds FAC frag. 11, Middle Comedy) referring to boys as if ἐν λέσχαις in the Academy. Since λέσχη could mean "lounge" or simply "talking," this says nothing definite about the school. The location of an exedra, referred to in Diog. Laer. 4.19, is vague and pertains to the lifetime of Polemo. It would be tempting to suggest that the foundations of the peristyle dating to the second half of the fourth century were related to Plato's school, but the actual function of the structure is uncertain and may be unrelated.

⁴Rejecting applications of modern conceptions of an "academy" to Plato's school, H. Cherniss, The Riddle of the Early Academy, infers the nature of the educational situation in the Academy from the philosophical attitude of Plato in the dialogues. He depicts the school as informal, lacking a metaphysical orthodoxy, and having minimal physical needs. In other words, he sees Plato, preferring discussions to lectures, as more Socratic than Aristotelian in terms of the architectural needs of his school.

⁵Lynch, Aristotle's School, 60-61.

In conclusion, the initial significance of the Academy was related to its physical setting and religious associations. It was a pleasant spot for shrines and cults including the Sacred House and the House of Hekademos. In the sixth century the site seems to have developed athletically, perhaps as a result of the rise of the festivals and athletics of Athens. The metopes and antefixes of the second half of the sixth century may be relevant, and the Peisistratids quite conceivably paid attention to the area. Nevertheless, the athletic facility probably was still a natural, rudimentary gymnasium, perhaps best depicted by Aristophanes. In the fifth century the Academy developed architecturally as a gymnasium, notably through the benefactions of Kimon. Some classical poros blocks reused in the late gymnasium perhaps were involved. The peristyle of the second half of the fourth century possibly may be related to the development of Plato's school. Certainly much of the evidence deals with the expanding educational and military functions of the Academy in the fourth century, yet overall the pre-Hellenistic Academy remained an architecturally modest, pleasant park area and a major centre of Athenian athletics.

Lyceum

The Academy and the Lyceum, Athens' second major gymnasium, both began as sanctuaries, achieved architectural status probably in the fifth century, and became most famous as sites of schools of philosophy. Scattered evidence suggests that an archaic gymnasium arose at the ancient sanctuary called the Lyceum, that an architectural gymnasium was built under Pericles, and that this was reconstructed or enhanced by Lycurgus. Aristotle established his school

in the gymnasium before his death in 322, and Theophrastos later added to the school his private garden to the north of the Lyceum.¹

Originally the Lyceum was the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios, the Wolf-Slayer God, a very ancient perhaps pre-Hellenic divinity.²

Pausanias states that the Lyceum had been a sanctuary to Apollo from the beginning and continued to be so in his day, and he suggests that Apollo was first called Lykeios by the Athenians.³ Plutarch accepts

the antiquity of the Lyceum mentioning it in his account of the war of Theseus against the Amazons.⁴ The existence of the Lyceum as a public

sanctuary in archaic Athens also has been asserted on the basis of an inscription of 410 apparently containing material from a sixth-century

document referring to the Lyceum.⁵ Although the Lyceum's shrines and religious associations were not as numerous as those of the Academy,

one need not accept Lynch's suggestion that the connection of athletics with the Lyceum was "fortuitous."⁶ All three Athenian gymnasia arose in

¹On the Lyceum: J. P. Lynch, Aristotle's School (Berkeley, 1972); Delorme, Gym., 42-45, 54-58; Wycherley, "Peripatos," 10-12; Travlos, PDA, 345-47; Boersma, ABP, no. XXV; Judeich, Topog., 65, 80, 415; Zschietzschmann, 2:18-22; W. Kroll, s.v. Λύκειον, PW XIII (1927), 2267-68.

²Lynch, Aristotle's School, 9; S. Krause, s.v. Λύκειος, PW XIII (1927), 2268-70; Farnell, Cults, 4:113-15.

³Paus. 1.9.3.

⁴Plut. Thes. 27.5 based on the attidographer Kleidemos (FGRH III B. 323 F 18).

⁵IG I² 114.35, ἐν Λυ[κε]ίο[ι]. Lynch, Aristotle's School, 10 feels that, unless the reference is a fifth-century addition to the older text, this is the earliest mention of the Lyceum and shows its use as a public sanctuary in the sixth century. On the document, see J. A. O. Larsen, Representative Government in Greek and Roman History (Berkeley, 1955), 15-17 who dates the older document to just after 508; cf. SEG X 119.

⁶Lynch, Aristotle's School, 13.

religious sanctuaries and the gods were very much involved in Athenian athletics.¹ The fewer cult associations of the Lyceum may suggest that it was a less hallowed, but not necessarily a less athletic, sanctuary.

There has been much debate about the location of the Lyceum,² but progress has come from the combined testimony of ancient literature, inscriptions and archaeology.³ While disagreeing on some details, literary sources generally place the Lyceum to the southeast of the city and outside the city wall.⁴ Again it is important to realize that "Lyceum" was applied to both the gymnasium and the sanctuary, and later to the philosophical school. Inconsistencies in the literary topographical references are understandable if the gymnasium lay close to the wall within a larger sanctuary extending out to the southeast.⁵

¹Of the several shrines to Apollo Lykeios in Greece only the Athenian one had a gymnasium, but the relationship between cults and athletics at Athens was not simply coincidental.

²Suggested locations have included Syntagma Square, Wycherley, "Peripatos," 11-12; Travlos, *PDA*, 345; Kolonaki Square, Judeich, *Topog.* 415; the present Byzantine Museum, C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* (Leipzig, 1874), 1: fig. 1; Farnell, *Cults*, 4: 117 even suggests a site south of the Acropolis.

³See Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 16-29, fig. 1; Travlos, *PDA*, 345, figs. 219, 379. For locations see Map C (= Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 379).

⁴Pl. *Lysis* 203a locates the Lyceum outside the wall on the road from the Academy; Plut. *Sull.* 12.3 and Livy 31.24.18 likewise refer to it as outside the wall. Strabo at one point (9.1.19) states that the springs of the Eridanos were outside the Diochares Gate near the Lyceum, suggesting a location very close to the wall and gate; yet elsewhere (9.1.24) he says that the Ilissos flowed from the area above Agrai and the Lyceum. Furthermore, Plut. *Thes.* 27.5 associates the Lyceum with the Palladion and Mt. Ardetos which would suggest a location a considerable distance beyond the wall to the southeast.

⁵Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 24-26 notes the near absence of graves in the proposed area of the Lyceum and points out that clusters of graves have not been found in the area south of Syntagma Square and the Old Royal Palace. He feels this confirms the location since an

Inscriptions and archaeology confirm this general location for the sanctuary. Two dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo have come from outside the ancient city wall in the Garden of Amalia (as the National Gardens used to be called). IG II² 1945 of A.D. 46/45 is a dedication to Apollo mentioning gymnasium officials; the reference is probably to the Lyceum although it is not specifically mentioned.¹ The second inscription, a dedication to Apollo from the first century, refers to a gymnasiarch and so probably also came from the Lyceum.² While differing in their interpretations of some ruins in the area,³ both Travlos and Lynch agree that the sanctuary lay in the region of the National Gardens.⁴

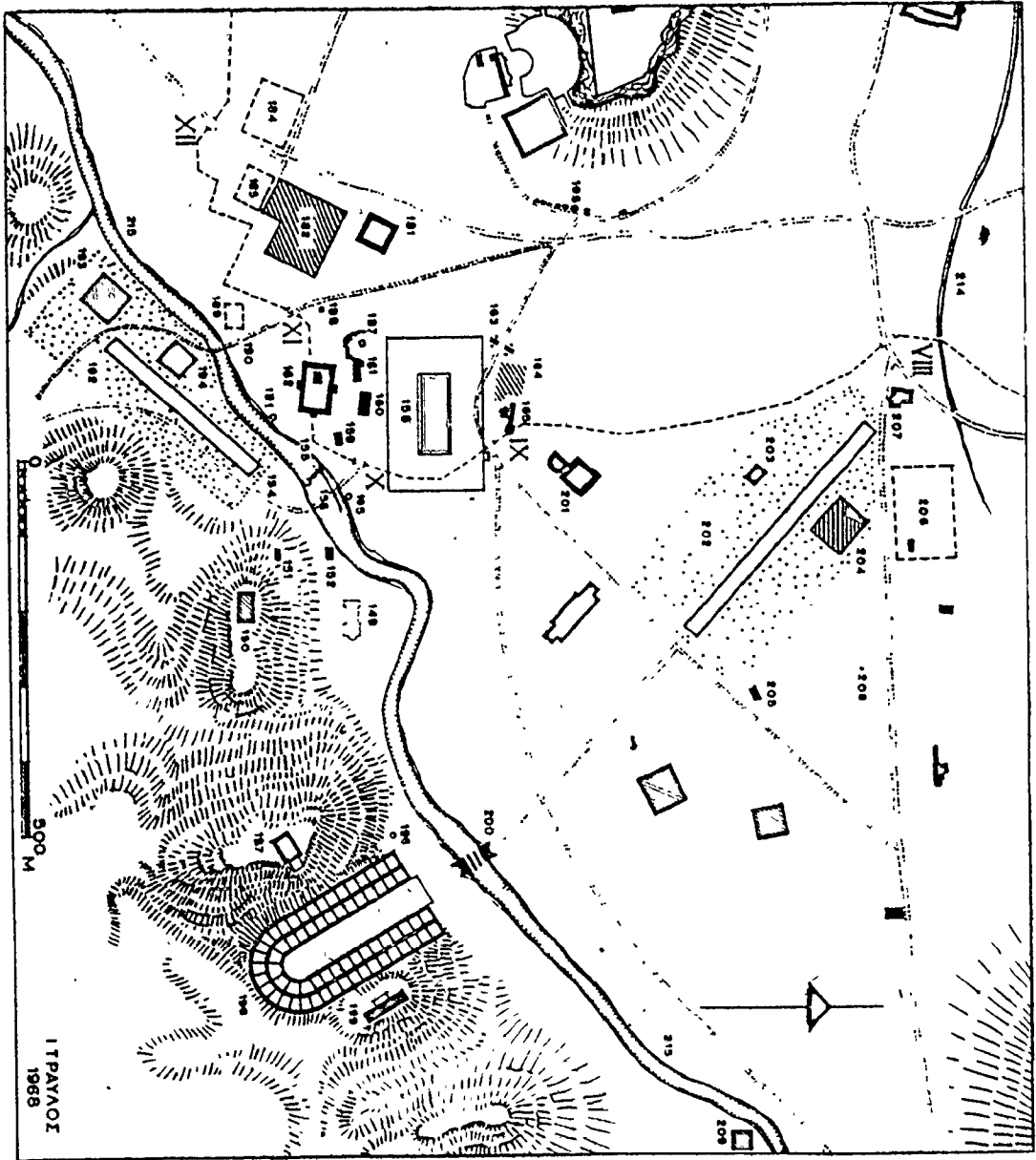
early sanctuary would have inhibited burials in the area. See D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, Greek Burial Customs (Ithaca, 1971), maps 2-4; and S. Karouzou, "Chroniques des fouilles en 1946," BCH 71-72 (1947-1948): 385-391, plan on p. 386.

¹Daniel J. Geagan, "The Athenian Constitution after Sulla," Hesp. Suppl. 12 (Princeton, 1967), 160-161; Lynch, Aristotle's School, app. A, 211-212.

²IG II² 2999 (possibly related to IG II² 2875); Lynch, Aristotle's School, app. A, 212; Geagan, Hesp. Suppl. 12, 160.

³Travlos, PDA, 345, fig. 379 no. 205 interprets some ruins in the area of the National Gardens as part of a shrine to Apollo; but Lynch, Aristotle's School, 22, following Judeich, Topog., fig. 1.5, suggests a stoa, perhaps associated with the Peripatetic School.

⁴Some corroboration comes from the suggested location for the Garden of Theophrastos. Diog. Laer. 5.39, 51-53 says that after the death of Aristotle Theophrastos settled near the Lyceum on private property. He was given an estate by Demetrios of Phaleron and his will mentions a Garden and a Mouseion. Two third-century inscriptions declare themselves boundary stones of a Garden of the Muses (IG II² 2613 from one block north of Syntagma Square; IG II² 2614 from the south slope of the Acropolis). E. Vanderpool, "The Museum and Garden of the Peripatetics," Arch. Eph. 92/93 (1953-1954): 2:126-128 has connected these with the Mouseion in the will of Theophrastos. Lynch, Aristotle's School, 22 prefers to apply them to some other public shrine of the Muses. Excavations in Syntagma Square in 1961 revealed a small, stoa-like structure of the fourth century, possibly the stoidion of Theophrastos' will (Diog. Laer. 5.51), but the remains are unpublished and no longer visible; Wycherley, "Peripatos," 12.



Map C:

The Ilissos Area
(after PDA, figure 3)

- 155. Kallirrhoe
- 158. Olympleion
- 192. Kynosarges
- 193. Archaic Building
- 194. Hadriatic Gymnasium
- 198. Stadium
- 201. Roman building
- 202. Lyceum
- 203. Lyceum bath
- 204. "Palaestra"
- 215. Ilissos

Although the classical gymnasium complex lay within the sanctuary of the Lyceum, its exact location is uncertain. A dedication of the first century by an epimeletes of the Lyceum (ἐπιμελετῆς Λυκείου Ἀπόλλωνι) was found near the Church of St. Nikodemos two blocks south of Syntagma Square. Under the same church were found Roman baths preceded by baths of the classical era.¹ Lynch would see a classical survival in the former name of the church, sometimes called the Church of St. Lykodemos in the nineteenth century.² Nearby, in fact just to the east of Travlos' location for the dromos of the Lyceum, excavations in 1965 at No. 4 Xenophonos Street uncovered conglomerate foundations of a large building of the fourth century. Travlos would ascribe these foundations to the "palaestra" built by Lycurgus in the Lyceum gymnasium.³ Lynch seems unaware of this find and points to ruins just north of the Olympeion, excavated in the nineteenth century, which he sees as a gymnasium of Hadrianic construction.⁴ His argument, that the later gymnasium would have been situated on the site of the classical gymnasium, does not outweigh the literary and inscriptional evidence favouring Travlos' "palaestra" farther north as the classical site. Since

¹IG II² 2875. 2-3; K. Pittakes, Arch. Eph. 95 (1956), 1449-1456; Travlos, PDA, fig. 379, no. 203.

²Lynch, Aristotle's School, 19-21 believes that a Christian church may have been established on the site and dedicated to a "St. Lykodemos," but the connection, if any, is indefinite.

³The remains apparently are unpublished, but see Travlos, PDA, 345, fig. 379, no. 204.

⁴Lynch, Aristotle's School, 23 and n. 23-24. Travlos, Poleo., 134 once suggested that this was an Hadrianic gymnasium but in PDA, 345 and fig. 379, no. 201 he presents it as a "Roman Building." Delorme, Gym. does not discuss these ruins, and Wycherley, "Peripatos," 12 n. 5 rejects an association with the Lyceum.

the Lyceum was damaged in later invasions,¹ and since the area is presently heavily urbanized, the exact site of the early gymnasium may never be verified.

Ancient sources disagree on the founder and date of the early gymnasium in the Lyceum. As with the Academy, the evidence of Solonian legislation covering a Lyceum gymnasium is questionable, but there conceivably was an archaic, pre-architectural gymnasium.² Harpocration records that the building of the gymnasium has been attributed to Peisistratos and to Pericles:

Ἐν τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις γυμνασίων ἐστὶ τὸ Λύκειον, ὃ Θεόπομπος μὲν ἐν τῇ καὶ Πεισιστρατον ποιῆσαι, φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἔ Περικλέους φησὶν ἐπιστατοῦντος αὐτὸ γενέσθαι.

The Lyceum is one of the gymnasia among the people of Athens. Theopompus in his eleventh book states that Peisistratus built it, while Philochorus in his fourth book says that it came into being when Pericles was in office.³

Philochorus, as the best known of the atthidographers, would seem the more reliable authority; and Hesychius also presents the Lyceum as the work of Pericles without mentioning Peisistratos.⁴ Perhaps Theopompus is reconcilable if a simple sixth-century gymnasium was destroyed in the Persian sack and then rebuilt by Pericles.⁵ Probably the suggested

¹The Lyceum was devastated by Philip V of Macedon (Livy 31.24. 17-18) and damaged in the siege by Sulla (Plut. Sull. 12.3).

²Lynch, Aristotle's School, 14 is open to the idea of Solonian gymnasia, in an elementary sense, as simple places for exercising but not as elaborate structures.

³Harp., s.v. Λύκειον (FGH III B, 115 F 136; 238 F 37); trans. Lynch, Aristotle's School, 14.

⁴Hesychius, s.v. Λύκειον (ed. Latte), τόπος Περικλέους ἐπιστατήσαντος τοῦ ἔργου.

⁵Delorme, Gym., 43; Lynch, Aristotle's School, 14; cf. Boersma, ABP, 74; W. R. Connor, Theopompus and Fifth-Century Athens (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 45-46.

Peisistratid gymnasium would have been unpretentious, and the establishment of a gymnasium in any major architectural sense seems more acceptable as part of the Periclean public building program.¹

For similar reasons and in a manner similar to the Academy, the Lyceum assumed occasional military functions. Although Aristophanes' most famous reference to the Academy involves athletics, his most famous reference to the Lyceum deals with the Athenian army.

καὶ γὰρ ἱκανὸν χρόνον ἀπ-
 ολλύμεθα, καὶ κατατε-
 τρίμεθα πλανώμενοι
 εἰς Λύκειον καὶ Λυκείου ξὺν δορὶ ξὺν ἀσπίδι.

Long enough we've undergone
 Toils and sorrows many a one,
 Worn and spent and sick at heart,
 From Lyceum to Lyceum,
 trudging on with shield and spear.²

A scholiast comments further that military reviews took place in the Lyceum before expeditions, and that this was because the Lyceum lay close to the city.³ Perhaps because of its proximity the Lyceum may have taken on military functions somewhat earlier than the Academy.⁴

¹Lucian's Anacharsis places Solon and the Persian prince in an archaic Lyceum gymnasium, but the dialogue is fictional and anachronistic.

²Ar. Pax 353-56 of 421, trans. B. B. Rogers. Xenophon, Hell. 1.1.33, also records that Thrasyllus arrayed the Athenian troops πρὸς τὸ Λύκειον against Agis of Sparta in 410.

³Schol. on Ar. Pax 353 (ed. Fr. Dübner), also see Hsch. s.v. Λύκειον (ed. K. Latte).

⁴Delorme, Gym., 45 suggests an early military aspect for the Lyceum on the basis of a weak text (Anecd. Bekk. 1:449) saying that before Solon each archon had a tribunal and that the Polemarch's tribunal was at the Lyceum (s.v. "Ἀρχοντες: ὁ πολέμαρχος [δικάζειν] ἐν Λυκείῳ). There seems to be a confusion here with Aristotle Ath. Pol. 3.5 which declares that before Solon the Polemarch resided in a building called the Epilykeion (τὸ Ἐπιλύκειον) rebuilt by the Polemarch Epilykos. In his commentary, J. E. Sandys rejects the idea of a Polemarch named Epilykos and suggests that the early Polemarch officiated ἐπὶ Λυκείῳ rather than ἐν Λυκείῳ.

Cavalry reviews also took place at the Lyceum as well as the Academy. In describing cavalry manoeuvres in the Lyceum Xenophon mentions a cavalry gallop, as in the Academy, but "downhill" here.¹ He adds an interesting reference to javelin-throwing associated with the review at the Lyceum.² An inscription with part of the Athenian calendar of sacrifices revised by Nikomachos (410-399) includes "to Hermes in the Lyceum"; Hermes was a tutelary god of gymnasia and appropriately also had connections with cavalry matters.³ This military use of the Lyceum by both infantry and cavalry may seem even more pronounced than at the Academy, but again this is a secondary and occasional function of the site.

During the fourth century the Lyceum became an increasingly important centre of secondary education at Athens.⁴ Literary sources often mention sophists and teachers in the Lyceum, men like Euthydemos, Dionysiodoros and Prodikos of Chios.⁵ Socrates frequented the gymnasium and conversed regularly therein.⁶ The first public reading of Protagoras' On the Gods by his disciple Archagoras may have taken place there.⁷ Some sources present the fourth-century Lyceum in

¹Xen. Hipp. 3.1, 6-7; Delorme, Gym., 56.

²Xen. Hipp. 3.6; on this event see Appendix C.

³IG II² 1357.b.4, Ἑρμῆι ἐν Λυκείῳ; see J. H. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions," Hesp. 4 (1935): 24.

⁴Lynch, Aristotle's School, 45-46.

⁵Pl. Euthyd. 271c-d; Ps. Pl. Eryxias 397c.

⁶Pl. Euthphr. 2a (τὰς ἐν Λυκείῳ . . . διατριβάς); Euthyd. 271a; Lysis 203a-b; Symp. 223d; Aeschines' Socraticus frag. 15 (ed. Krauss).

⁷Diog. Laer. 9.54.

an unfavorable light as a place frequented by sophists "of the common herd" who babble on worthlessly.¹ The tie between sophistry and the Lyceum seems even stronger than the Academy, again perhaps due to its closeness to the city. Education may have supplemented, but it did not displace, the athletic nature of the Lyceum.

An imperfect picture of the Lyceum gymnasium of about 400 can be drawn from Plato and other writers.² In the Euthydemus Plato refers to an "undressing room" (ἐν τῷ ἀποδυτηρίῳ) where Socrates sat and others saw him "from the entrance" (ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσόδου).³ Some men enter the Lyceum and walk around "the covered track" (ἐν τῷ καταστέγῳ δρόμῳ), possibly beside or around a central court.⁴ An outdoor, uncovered dromos, apparently of considerable size, is mentioned by Xenophon.⁵ Plato shows that the gymnasium had facilities for bathing,⁶

¹Isoc. Panath. 18 (τρεις ἢ τέτταρες τῶν ἀγελαίων σοφιστῶν); Ath. 3.98f quoting Antiphanes (FAC 2: frag. 122); Ath. 3.336e-f quoting Alexis (FAC 2: frag. 25).

²Pl. Euthyd. 272e-273b; Gardiner, GASF, 572; Delorme, Gym., 54-58; Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 65-67. Lucian Anacharsis 7 describes a statue of Apollo in the Lyceum which apparently existed, but the date of its establishment is not known; see Lynch, Aristotle's School, 11.

³Pl. Euthyd. 272e, 273b.

⁴Pl. Euthyd. 273a. From Pl. Th. 144c and Ar. Nub. 1005-08, Gardiner, GASF, 472 explains that these covered runs were not for athletes or ephebes except in the worst weather; normally they used tracks in the park outside.

⁵Xen. Hipp. 3.6; cf. Hell. 2.4.27. Travlos, PDA, 345 suggests that to accommodate cavalry reviews this dromos would have been two stades long. After mentioning the dromos, Xenophon, Hipp. 3.7, refers to τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀντιπροσώπου θεάτρου. This theatre was part of the sanctuary and is placed in the region of Syntagma Square by Wycherley, Stones, 204.

⁶Pl. Symp. 223d. notes that Socrates washed himself on arriving at the Lyceum: καὶ ἐλθόντα εἶς Λύκειον ἀκονισάμενον.

and he also mentions "the pillars in the Lyceum" (οἱ κίονες οἱ ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ).¹ A fifth-century painter, Kleagoras, decorated the walls with allegorical scenes.² Although the arrangement of the various structures is uncertain,³ obviously the Lyceum in the fourth and perhaps in the second half of the fifth century was a well-developed athletic facility, one designed for athletics and also suitable for educational activities.

In 335 Aristotle chose the Lyceum as the site for his school of philosophy where he taught for thirteen years.⁴ His "Peripatetic" School did not take on the name of the whole site like Plato's Academy; rather it may have been so designated after one part of the gymnasium.⁵ Possibly the name was derived from Aristotle's practice of walking up and down as he discussed philosophy with his students before it was time to oil up for exercising.⁶ Since the Academy was already taken and the

¹Pl. Euthyd. 303b.

²Xen. An. 7.8.1 τὰ ἐντοίχια ἐν Λυκείῳ.

³Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 67 feels the account in the Euthydemus suggests a court with at least an apodyterion on one side opposite the entrance; but Delorme, Gym., 55 would see two separate structures across from each other.

⁴Diog. Laer. 5.2, §.9-10; Lynch, Aristotle's School, 68-75.

⁵Ps. Galen Historia Philosophia 4 (Diels Dox. Graec. 602). K. O. Brink, s.v. Peripatos, PW Suppl. VII (1940), 899-904 argues that "Peripatetic" derives from the noun peripatos rather than the verb peripatein. Delorme, Gym. 334 feels that the peripatos was a garden walk rather than a colonnade; to which Wycherley, "Peripatos," 21 n. 2 responds: "But any place where people walk about is in fact a peripatos, and in some contexts one assumes that a roofed structure, naturally colonnaded, was available." The above reconstruction of the Lyceum of Plato's time would favour Wycherley's view.

⁶Diog. Laer. 5.2, μέχρι μὲν ἀλείμματος ἀνακάμπτοντα τοῖς μαθηταῖς συμφιλοσοφεῖν. Here ἄλειμμα (from ἀλείφω) suggests the combination of gymnastics with philosophy in the Lyceum.

Lyceum had available facilities and suitable clientele, Aristotle began his new school there.

Initially Aristotle seems to have taught in the public gymnasium, but as his school grew the facilities may have become inadequate.¹ His encyclopaedic program for the organization of knowledge and the collection of specimens would make heavy demands on any gymnasium. For a time the school may have managed by a combined use of the gymnasium and of private property such as the garden later mentioned in the will of Theophrastos.² Aristotle's distrust of dialectic and his practice of giving lectures suggest his school was inclined to instruction rather than discussion; and, furthermore, Strabo records that Aristotle was the first to make a collection of books for his school.³ Hence the school probably needed a library, a museum, and study and lecture halls. Such needs may have led to alterations or additions to the Lyceum, perhaps with Lycurgan involvement. Unlike the Academy, the Peripatetic School probably affected the physical nature as well as the functions of the Lyceum; the Hellenistic form of the expanded gymnasium as a self-sufficient educational facility probably originated with Aristotle's Lyceum.

Lycurgus, the fourth-century Athenian orator and statesman, organized a building program which included the construction of ship-sheds, the reconstruction of the Theatre of Dionysus, the establishment

¹Wycherley, "Peripatos," 10; Lynch, Aristotle's School, 90-91.

²Diog. Laer. 5.51-57. Also see Lynch, Aristotle's School, chap. 4, "The Legal Status of the Peripatetic School," 106-34; and A. H. Chroust, "Did Aristotle Own a School at Athens?" Rh. Mus. 115 (1972): 310-18.

³Strab. 13.1.54.

of the Panathenaic Stadium, and certain additions or alterations at the Lyceum.¹ A former student of Plato,² Lycurgus controlled civic finances for twelve years and directed money towards his public building program. His specific influence on the Lyceum needs clarification. Pausanias claims that Lycurgus constructed (ᾠκοδόμησε) the gymnasium at or near the so-called Lyceum (τὸ πρὸς τῷ Λυκείῳ καλουμένῳ γυμνάσιον).³ Pseudo-Plutarch refers to the construction of a gymnasium and also the plantation of trees and the building of a palaestra (καὶ τὸ ἐν Λυκείῳ γυμνάσιον ἐποίησε καὶ ἐφύτευσε καὶ τὴν παλαίστραν ᾠκοδόμησε).⁴ Subsequently Pseudo-Plutarch says that Lycurgus had a record of his public acts made on a tablet which was set up "in front of the palaestra that he built," thus apparently at the Lyceum.⁵

In 307 a decree of the Athenian people proposed by Stratokles honoured Lycurgus and recounted his acts. This decree, recorded by Pseudo-Plutarch and appended to his life of Lycurgus, declared that in addition to "completing" many other works Lycurgus "built the gymnasium at the Lyceum" (καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον τὸ κατὰ τὸ Λύκειον κατασκεύασε).⁶

¹For a brief introduction to Lycurgus and his program, see F. W. Mitchell, "Lykourgan Athens 338-322," Seiple Lectures, Second Series (Cincinnati, 1973), 163-214. He suggests, p. 190, that Lycurgus, in his comprehensive program of reconstruction, reform and revitalization, consciously imitated Periclean Athens.

²Diog. Laer. 3.46; Olympiodorus on Gorgias 515d; Ps. Plut. X orat. 7.841b. It is possible that Platonic ideas on athletics had some influence on Lycurgus.

³Paus. 1.29.16; cf. Frazer, Pausanias, 2:387.

⁴Ps. Plut. X orat. 7.841c-d; Lynch, Aristotle's School, 15.

⁵Ps. Plut. X orat. 843f, πρὸ τῆς ὑπ'αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθείσης παλαίστρας.

⁶Ps. Plut. X orat. 852c.

Fragments of the inscribed decree have been found, although not at the Lyceum; one fragment by extensive reconstruction may include: τ[ὸ κατὰ τὸ Λύκειον κατασκευάσεν. ¹ Thus the literary sources (including the literary record of the decree) and the usually reliable Pausanias refer to the building of a "gymnasium," but independent evidence proves that the Lyceum already had a gymnasium.² Furthermore, Pseudo-Plutarch adds two references to the establishment of a "palaestra" by Lycurgus. A Lycurgan palaestra may seem more likely in that no palaestra is specifically mentioned at the Lyceum prior to the era of Lycurgus.

Lycurgus could not have been the original founder of the Lyceum gymnasium since it received architectural expression considerably earlier, probably in the fifth century. Rather the Lycurgan program may have included repairs or a remodelling of the gymnasium.³ The primary meaning of κατασκευάζειν in the decree is "to prepare, furnish or equip again or anew" whereas "to build" is a secondary meaning.⁴ Hence Lycurgus might have added renovations or even simply provided equipment

¹IG II² 457 b. 7-8; SIG III 326. Although the two fragments came from the Agora and Theatre of Dionysus, Lynch, Aristotle's School, 31 n. 33, still regards them as part of the tablet ordered by Lycurgus and set up in front of his palaestra. Kirchner's reconstruction should be retained. Delorme's suggestion, Gym., 42, of ἐπισκευάζειν rather than κατασκευάζειν does not better fit the line, it disagrees with Pseudo-Plutarch's version, and the meanings of the two verbs do not greatly differ.

²For example, Xen. Hell. 1.1.33.

³Delorme, Gym., 56-57; Lynch, Aristotle's School, 15-16; cf. Travlos, PDA, 345.

⁴LSJ, s.v. κατασκευάζειν. Also note that in Pseudo-Plutarch (841c-d, 852c) the reference to the Lyceum is in the context of equipping the fleet, completing the stadium, and completing the Theatre of Dionysus.

or supplies.¹ The construction of the palaestra within the gymnasium might be considered a renovation of the Lyceum.² Lycurgus' attention may have been drawn to the Lyceum by the needs of the new philosophical school;³ and, at any rate, Delorme's conclusion stands: "L'état définitif du Lycée à l'époque classique est dû aux soins de l'orateur Lycurgue."⁴

To review, the Lyceum gymnasium lay generally to the southeast of the city in an ancient sanctuary. Peisistratos may have fostered a rudimentary archaic gymnasium, but the architectural gymnasium as revealed in Plato was almost certainly the work of Pericles. Under Lycurgus the Lyceum became a renovated or enlarged facility, more suitable to the growing needs of the Peripatetic School and foreshadowing the gymnasia of the Hellenistic era. In comparison to the Academy, the military and educational functions of the Lyceum seem more pronounced while its cult associations were fewer. These characteristics may be due in part to the Lyceum's proximity to the city or its distance from major cemeteries. Overall the Lyceum seems to have been a less

¹Theophr. Hist. Pl. 1.7.1 mentions a plane tree beside the water channel (κατὰ τὸν ὄχετόν) in the Lyceum. The water channel may have been a Lycurgan renovation, but the plane tree may imply that the Lyceum had been well watered for some time.

²Travlos, PDA, 345. The foundations discovered on Xenophontos Street may have some relationship to a Lycurgan palaestra.

³Mitchell, "Lykourgan Athens," 200-201 feels Lycurgus built a palaestra and a gymnasium in response to the need for better places to drill and train the ephebes. He also suggests that the transformation of the Lyceum may have attracted Aristotle and that Lycurgus may have encouraged the establishment of the school. However, the facilities at the Lyceum are the only known link between Aristotle and Lycurgus.

⁴Delorme, Gym., 56-57.

prestigious or august athletic facility than the Academy, yet apparently it was more civically involved.

Kynosarges

Kynosarges, the third major gymnasium of pre-Hellenistic Athens, is perhaps the most intriguing because the evidence for it is so limited and problematic.¹ This site was famous primarily as a sanctuary of Herakles, but there was also a gymnasium in classical times. A suggestion of social discrimination and an apparent lack of military and educational functions contribute to the distinctive nature of this athletic facility.

Conforming to the pattern of the establishment of gymnasia in sanctuaries, Kynosarges was sacred to athletically-appropriate Herakles.

Pausanias comments:

*ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν
καλούμενον Κυνόσαργες· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν κύνα εἶδέναι
τὴν λευκὴν ἐπιλεξαμένοις ἔστι τὸν χρησμον, βῶμοι δὲ
εἰσὶν Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Ἥβης, ἣν Διὸς παῖδα εἶδσαν
συννοκεῖν Ἡρακλεῖ νομίζουσιν· Ἀλκμηῆς τε βῶμος καὶ
Ἰολάου πεποιήται, ὃς τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεῖ συνεπόνσε τῶν
ἔργων*

There is a sanctuary of Herakles called Kynosarges. You can find out about the white dog by reading the oracle; the altars are to Herakles and Youth [Hebe], the daughter of Zeus they believe is Herakles' mate. An altar has been erected to Alkmene and Iolaos who shared most of Herakles' labours.²

Athenians revered this Herakleion highly, like the one at Marathon.³

¹On Kynosarges in general: Delorme, *Gym.*, 45-49, 58-59; Wycherley, "Peripatos," 13-15; *Stones*, 229-31; Travlos, *PDA*, 340-41, 579; Judeich, *Topog.*, 422-24; Zschietzschmann, 2:22-23.

²Paus. 1.19.3, trans. Peter Levi; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 2:193; Judeich, *Topog.*, 423-24.

³Harp. s.v. Ἡράκλειον (ed. Dindorf).

Apparently the cult of Herakles was the original and main cult;¹ while the shrines to his friends, unmentioned in pre-Hellenistic sources, may be later additions.² The story of the white bitch is an obscure, aetiological legend about the name "Kynosarges" which itself may have influenced the name of the Cynic school of philosophy.³ In classical times Herakles certainly was a god of the gymnasium, but it is debatable whether the early existence of a Herakleion presupposes a site of athletic activity at Kynosarges.⁴

Much scattered and incidental material pertaining to Kynosarges can be incorporated into a discussion of the debated location of the gymnasium. A major problem is that most contemporary references are to "the Herakleion" or "in Kynosarges" rather than "in the gymnasium."⁵ Literary sources, agreeing only that Kynosarges lay outside the city,⁶ at best suggest only a vague location in the southeastern suburbs of Athens.⁷ Inscriptional and archaeological evidence has produced two

¹Schol. on Dem. 24.114 (ed. Dindorf).

²Delorme, Gym., 338 suggests there was an unroofed temenos to Alcmene, Hebe and Iolaos in classical times, but he has no proof.

³Frazer, Pausanias, 2:194; cf. Suda s.v. Κυνόσαργες; on the Cynics see below p. 157.

⁴W. K. Pritchett, Studies in Ancient Greek Topography, Part One (Berkeley, 1965), 88-93 discusses the Herakleion at Marathon and agrees with Delorme, Gym., 61-62, that Marathon may have had a gymnasium. He is, however, dubious of equating the gymnasium and Herakleion. Also see E. Vanderpool, "The Deme of Marathon and the Herakleion," AJA 70 (1966): 319-23.

⁵Note that Pausanias made no mention of a gymnasium although one certainly existed at Kynosarges in his day.

⁶Plut. Them. 1; Livy 31.24.

⁷Diog. Laer. 6.113 places Kynosarges "a little outside the gates," perhaps beyond the Diomeian gate; Ar. Ran. 651 mentions a festival of Herakles in the deme of Diomeia, and the Scholiast puts

rival theories.¹ Travlos argues for a site south of the Ilissos, southwest of the Olympieion, near the Church of St. Panteleimon. Wycherley admits this location is level and suitable, but he follows Judeich in preferring a site further southwest and downstream (near the present Fix brewery) where he notes level ground, more room and command of the approach from Phaleron.

Indecisive inscriptional evidence is interpreted variously according to different theories.² For example, disagreement exists over a fragment of a decree of 420 concerning tanners and prohibiting the treatment of hides in the Ilissos above "the temenos of Herakles." Stelai with the decree were to be set up "on either side," presumably

Kynosarges in this deme; see Deubner, Feste, 226 and Parke, Festivals, 51. However, Hdt. 5.63, referring to the tomb of the Spartan leader Anchimolios, associates Kynosarges with Alopeke. Ps. Pl. Axiochus 364a refers to Socrates, en route to Kynosarges, finding himself near the Ilissos and seeing a friend coming from the direction of Kallirrhoe. Paus. 1.19.4 mentions the Lyceum immediately after Kynosarges which might seem to imply proximity, but Pausanias is not topographically explicit here. He may be listing monuments of related character without consideration of their topographical sequence. See R. E. Wycherley, "Pausanias at Athens, II," GRBS 4 (1963): 170-72. References to Isocrates may imply the proximity of Kynosarges to the Lyceum. The anonymous Life of Isocrates (lines 108-109, Westermann, p. 257) says Isocrates taught in a private building near the Lyceum; and Ps. Plut. X orat. 838b says Isocrates was buried with his family near Kynosarges. Together these may suggest that his family owned land in the general area of Kynosarges and the Lyceum.

¹For locations in the Ilissos area see Map C (= Travlos, PDA, fig. 379). Travlos, Poleo., 54, 91; PDA, 340-41, 579, figs. 219 and 379, no. 192; Judeich, Topog., 422-24; Wycherley, "Peripatos," 13-14; Stones, 230.

²A fourth-century inscription decrees the method for construction of tripod bases and specifically mentions ἐν Κυνοσάργεσι; see IG II² 1665.3; and D. M. Robinson, "Inscriptions in Athens," AJ Phil. 28 (1907): 425-30, no. 3. Wycherley and Judeich feel it supports their location, while Travlos disagrees and points out that the stone was found near the Church of St. Panteleimon.

of the river.¹ Wycherley suggests a spot just south of Athens, clear of the suburbs and shrines to the southeast of the city.² Travlos contends that the region near the spring of Kallirrhoe is more suitable for tanners, noting the unfailing water supply and the use of the site by tanners during and after the Turkish occupation.³ Unfortunately and typically, since the stone was found just south of the Lysikrates monument, either topographical interpretation is possible.

Travlos sees proof for his location in two inscriptions which he associates with the dromos of Kynosarges. An ephebic decree of the second century after Christ refers to τὸν πρὸς Ἀγραίας δρόμον ἅπαντες οἱ ἔφηβοι.⁴ Agrai extended along the south bank of the Ilissos; and Travlos suggests that the dromos, which Kynosarges must have had, began near the Church of St. Panteleimon and ended to the southwest in Agrai. This is the only level place in the area along the south bank of the Ilissos as well as being near Kallirrhoe. Travlos also tries to support his argument with a victor dedication from the second quarter of the sixth century which possibly could be reconstructed

¹S. Karouzou, Delt. 8 (1923): 96; SEG III (1929) 6, no. 18.

²Wycherley; Stones, 230. His location gets some support from a Herakles relief found south of the Ilissos a little south of the modern Fix brewery. From the second half of the fourth century, the inscribed dedication includes Ἡρ(α)κλεῖ; see D. M. Robinson, "A New Herakles Relief," Hesp. 17 (1948): 137-40; S. Karouzou, Delt. 8 (1923): 85. Such a votive offering would be appropriate to Kynosarges; but there is no specific topographical reference, and the dedication could have been made anywhere in the general area. On three decrees of the tribe Antiochis found in the area and possibly related to the Herakleion, see SEG III (1929) 6, nos. 115-117.

³Travlos, PDA, 340.

⁴IG II² 2119.128; Travlos, PDA, 340.

to read "the dromos towards Agrai."¹ However, the reconstruction is very uncertain, and only a tenuous connection can be made to the much later ephebic reference to a dromos at Agrai.² Neither of these inscriptions specify Kynosarges, so they hardly give the sound "significant topographical information" which Travlos asserts.

In the late nineteenth century the British School at Athens excavated south of the Olympieion (on the south bank of the Ilissos to the east of the Church of St. Panteleimon) and found the ruins of an archaic building over which a Roman bath had been built.³ The discovery of the "Gymnasium of Kynosarges" was announced, but the original plans are lost and the excavations were only briefly outlined in preliminary reports.⁴ C. Smith wrote of finding foundations of a wall apparently belonging to a large public building,⁵ and he suggested that the wall had supported good masonry but was razed to its foundations at a later date. Although he could not have had a basis for comparison, Smith

¹Raubitschek, DAA, no. 318 gives an admittedly "quite uncertain" restoration including "Ἀγρᾶ[ς τὸ στάδιον]; cf. Travlos, PDA, 340. Pointing to the location of the Lycurgan stadium in Agrai, Raubitschek suggests a possible reference to early games at Agrai but he does not mention Kynosarges. The dedication may be an example of the type later regulated by the decree concerning tripods (IG II² 1665).

²Travlos, PDA, 340 argues from a possible parallel to IG II² 2119, but DAA no. 318 was found on the Acropolis and the stone was reused.

³Travlos, PDA, fig. 379 no. 193, on the Baths see p. 180F.

⁴C. Smith, BSA 2 (1895/96): 22-25, 50; BSA 3 (1896/97): 232-22; W. Dörpfeld, AM, 21 (1896): 463-64.

⁵C. Smith, BSA, 2 (1895/96): 24:
This wall, though of rubble construction, contains no evidence which can positively be assigned to a late date, but on the contrary compares best with the method of building found elsewhere in remains of the sixth century B.C.

argued that the general shape and size of the foundations suited an early Greek gymnasium. Many early graves were found around the area but those in the "gymnasium" were earlier than the sixth or later than the fourth century. Smith's conclusion was that these were remains of an archaic gymnasium of Kynosarges, ultimately destroyed by Philip V of Macedon.¹ The graves do suggest an archaic date for the structure--which Travlos prefers to call a palaestra--but the archaeological details are simply too inconclusive.²

The same early excavations found, "in an adjoining field," a large Roman building suggested at that time to be the gymnasium built by Hadrian and noted by Pausanias.³ Fortunately this structure was rediscovered in the course of excavations in 1969 about 180 metres east of the Church of St. Panteleimon. The identification as the gymnasium built by Hadrian appears to be confirmed.⁴ However, the earlier "gymnasium" has not been rediscovered and may not be since the area is heavily built over. Possibly the destruction by Philip V

¹Livy 31.24.17; Diod. Sic. 28.7; Dio Chrys. Or. 15.

²Travlos, PDA, 340. Judeich, Topog., 422 was unconvinced by the remains; and Wycherley, Stones, 229-30 still feels the original gymnasium of Kynosarges lay elsewhere.

³Paus. 1.18.9. The identification* is supported by an inscription with a letter of Hadrian concerning a gymnasium; see IG II² 1102 and Th. Sauciuc, "Ein Hadriansbrief und das Hadriansgymnasium in Athen," AM 37 (1912): 183-89.

⁴The structure is a large peristyle 64 m. north to south by over 80 m. east to west. The east end and the entrance have not been found. Colonnades bordered a central court on three sides and the west end was closed by a wall and a large room. See J. Travlos, "Τὸ Γυμνάσιον τοῦ Κυνοσάργεως," AAA 3 (1970): 6-14, plan 2; O. Alexandri, Delt. 27 (1972): Chron. 65, 100-102; Travlos, PDA, fig. 379 no. 194.

left no remains any more definite than those indicated by Smith.¹ In sum, archaeology gives some support for Travlos' location of the gymnasium of Kynosarges, but the larger sanctuary could have extended some distance to the southwest.

Historically very little is known about Kynosarges as an athletic facility in pre-Hellenistic Athens. No contemporary reference specifically to the "gymnasium" has appeared prior to Demosthenes, and Demosthenes' attribution to Solon of a law concerning theft from gymnasia is inadequate evidence for an archaic gymnasium.² A relationship between the tyranny and the popularity of Herakles at Athens might imply Peisistratid interest in Kynosarges, but proof is lacking.³ Plutarch writes that as a youth Themistocles visited a gymnasium at Kynosarges where nothoi (those of mixed or questionable parentage) were enrolled:

... τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων -
τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους⁴

Themistocles supposedly overcame the social discrimination against nothoi by enticing some noble youths into exercising at Kynosarges.

The idea of an archaic gymnasium here is appealing,⁵ but the source of

¹Livy 31.24.18 claims that Philip, in his fury, burned and demolished Kynosarges utterly, but Livy may be exaggerating for effect here.

²Dem. 24.114; C. Smith, BSA 2 (1895/96): 22-25 questionably supports his early dating of remains by reference to this law, the authenticity of which is challenged below in Appendix A.

³J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons," RA fasc. 1 (1972): 60 feels that it may well be that the Herakles sanctuaries at Athens and Marathon were founded during the tyranny. Delorme, Gym., 46 is in favour of seeing an archaic gymnasium at Kynosarges and further suggests that the role of the tyrants would have been significant.

⁴Plut. Them. 1.3. On the issue of nothoi and Kynosarges, see S. C. Humphreys "The Nothoi of Kynosarges," JHS 94 (1974): 88-95; Frost, Plutarch's Themistocles, 61-63; and Appendix F below.

⁵On the basis of a fragment of an Ionic capital possibly from

Plutarch's story is unknown. This anecdote may say more about Themistocles as a politician than about Kynosarges as an athletic facility. Herodotus mentions Kynosarges, but only as a Herakleion, concerning a tomb site and the encampment after the battle of Marathon.¹ An encampment implies a large area and a water supply, but Herodotus does not mention athletics or a gymnasium. Pindar does mention games at the other well-known Herakleion at Marathon,² but the existence of Kynosarges as an archaic athletic facility remains no more than a reasonable assumption.

Even in the classical era most references are to Kynosarges as a sanctuary and not necessarily an athletic facility.³ Aristophanes mentions a festival of Herakles held in the deme of Diomeia, probably at Kynosarges, but it is uncertain if athletics were involved.⁴

a palaestra at Kynosarges, P. Rodeck, "The Ionic Capital of the Gymnasium at Kynosarges," BSA 3 (1896/97): 89-105 suggested that an archaic gymnasium had been destroyed by the Persians and restored by Themistocles. This appears to be an over-reaction to Smith's enthusiasm, and Delorme, Gym., 58 is generous in calling it "une hypothèse plausible mais gratuite."

¹Hdt. 5.63 on the tomb of Anchimolios; Hdt. 6.116 on the encampment, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπικύμενοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει. This note led Frazer, Pausanias 2: 193, to locate Kynosarges incorrectly to the northeast of the city at the foot of Lykabettos.

²Pind. O1. 9.89.

³For example, IG II² 310. 135-7, 239-40, 308 (of 429/8) and IG II² 324.65, 92 (Meiggs and Lewis, Inscriptions, no. 72) (of 426 and 422) both refer to accounts of a Herakleion. A decree proposed by Alcibiades concerning parasitoi and nothoi was inscribed on a stele which stood in the Herakleion of Kynosarges; Ath. 6.234e (Polemo, FHG, 3 frag. 78, Preller). IG I² may be a fragmentary version of the decree, including [Ἀλιβ]ιδῶης and ἡερά]κλειον τ[ὸ ἐν Κυνοσάργει--] but only by extensive restoration. On this also see Appendix F.

⁴Ar. Ran. 651 and Schol. On the festival, see Parke, Festivals, 50-51.

The fourth-century inscription concerning tripods does mention Kynosarges,¹ and tripods would be an appropriate athletic dedication. However, it is not until Demosthenes that Kynosarges is explicitly designated as a "gymnasium."² Since Demosthenes contends that Solon legislated concerning Kynosarges as a gymnasium, it is likely that a gymnasium had been in existence for some time and was probably mentioned in the law code of Nikomachos. When Kynosarges actually became a gymnasium as well as a sanctuary must remain imprecise. Although the Herakleion was famous and housed rites involving nothoi, very little can be said about the elements or architectural nature of the gymnasium of Kynosarges.

In contrast to the Lyceum and Academy, no sound case can be made for recurrent military use of Kynosarges. The encampment in Herodotus was an isolated incident engendered by fear of a Persian attack from Phaleron.³ Andocides mentions an injury received while riding at Kynosarges, but this single incident should not be overused to suggest equestrian training at Kynosarges.⁴ Xenophon's treatment of cavalry exercises conspicuously omits Kynosarges. One encampment and one horse-rider compare poorly with the evidence for the military and equestrian

¹IG II² 1665.3; Delorme, Gym., 49.

²Dem. 24.114.

³See note 1 on previous page.

⁴Andoc. Myst. 61 ὕστερον δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν Κυνοσάργεϊ ἐπὶ πωλίον δ' μοι ἦν ἀναβάς ἔπεσον.... J. K. Anderson, Ancient Greek Horsemanship (Berkeley, 1961), 103, apparently on the basis of this one reference, sees a "riding ground" at Kynosarges and misleads S. C. Humphreys, "Nothoi of Kynosarges," 91-92, into suggesting that Andocides was in a "riding school" at Kynosarges. Delorme, Gym., 28 correctly minimizes the significance of the incident.

use of the Academy and Lyceum.

In the fourth century Kynosarges apparently also became associated with developments in philosophy, but the relationship between this gymnasium and sophistry or higher education is less pronounced. Antisthenes frequented Kynosarges, and Diogenes Laertius would connect the gymnasium with the followers of Diogenes the Cynic:

διελέγετο δ' ἐν τῷ Κυνοσάργει γυμνασίῳ μικρὸν ἔποθεν τῶν πυλῶν· ὄθεν τινές καὶ τὴν κυνικὴν ἐντεσθεν ὀνομασθήναι. αὐτὸς τ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο ἄπλοκῶν.

He [Antisthenes] used to converse in the gymnasium of Kynosarges at no great distance from the gates, and some think that the Cynic school derived its name from Kynosarges. Antisthenes himself too was nicknamed a hound pure and simple.¹

Whatever the relationship between Kynosarges and Cynicism, it never produced an enduring philosophical institution such as Plato's Academy or the Peripatetic School.² Moreover, criticisms of sophistry by the fourth-century comic poet Alexis, and comments in Pseudo-Plato on the education of epheboi, make reference to the Academy and Lyceum but not to Kynosarges.³ Interestingly enough, a school of humour--"the Sixty"--met at Kynosarges in the fourth century and became so famous that

¹Diog. Laer. 6.13 (trans. R. D. Hicks). It is uncertain whether "Cynicism" comes from "Kynosarges" or the nickname of Antisthenes and Diogenes; Delorme, Gym., 58; Harris, GAA, 150.

²Apparently the Cynics did not develop into an organized school and their historical influence on Kynosarges may have been negligible. On the weakness of the historical connection between Antisthenes and Diogenes, a tradition probably due to later harmonizers trying to find a continuous succession of leaders for this school of philosophy, see D. R. Dudley, A History of Cynicism (London, 1937), 1-16 and F. Sayre, "Antisthenes the Socratic," CJ 43 (1948): 237-44.

³Alexis apud Ath. 8.336e-f (Edmonds FAC 1: frag. 25); Ps. Pl. Axiochus 336-367a. The unreliable Pseudo-Plato, Axiochus 364a, earlier places Socrates en route to Kynosarges, but Plato never locates him there.

Philip II of Macedon wished to buy its works.¹ This unusual literary group and the philosopher Antisthenes were associated with the fourth-century Kynosarges, but overall the gymnasium seems much farther removed than the Academy or Lyceum from the philosophical and educational life of Athens.

To review, diverse and problematic bits of evidence suggest a general location for the sanctuary and a possible specific location for the gymnasium of Kynosarges. The Herakleion was ancient and venerable but its functional and chronological relationship to the athletic facility remains uncertain. Peisistratos and Themistocles may have been associated with an archaic gymnasium, but Smith's report is more enthusiastic than convincing. An architectural gymnasium in the classical age seems likely, but there is no mention of a founder or benefactor for Kynosarges. Demosthenes provides a firm terminus ante quem for a gymnasium here, but not until the mid-fourth century; and Wycherley correctly depicts Kynosarges as an establishment lacking the scale and complexity of the Academy or Lyceum.² With quite limited military, educational and philosophical functions, Kynosarges was the least civically involved of the major gymnasia. Kynosarges' unaristocratic nature, so suitable to Herakles, nothoi and Cynicism, was probably a natural development rather than the product of legislation. If Kynosarges was less frequented by noble youths, it may have been because it was simply a less adequate athletic facility. Classical Athens already had two major gymnasia and several private palaestrae, so it

¹Ath. 14.614d-e.

²Wycherley, "Peripatos," 15.

need not be remarkable that the third gymnasium was less monumental and less famous.

Stadium and Hippodrome

This section will examine the stadium and then the hippodrome of Athens, facilities which both are significant but not well documented.

In ancient Greece stadion meant three things: a measure of distance (roughly 200 yards), the footrace over this distance, and the racecourse upon which the event was run.¹ These meanings are inter-related and it is difficult to show that any one is the primary sense. However, the use of the word for an artificially constructed racecourse with arrangements for spectators usually is seen as secondary.² As an establishment for competition, the stadium was the complement and not the equivalent of the gymnasium as an establishment for practice.³

As with gymnasia, Greek stadia existed in naturally suitable areas centuries before an architectural form was determined. Even in classical times stadia remained rudimentary in form and architecturally

¹On Greek stadia in general: Zschietzschmann, vol. 1; Jüthner-Brein, 2:57-65; Gardiner, GASF, 251-69; Harris, GAA, 136-44; Wycherley, HGBC, 161-68; S. Dorigny, s.v. στάδιον, Dar. Sag. IV 2 (1907), 1449-56; E. Fiechter, s.v. στάδιον, PW III A 2 (1929), 1967-73. On the Athenian stadium: E. Ziller, Ausgrabungen am panathenäischen Stadion (Berlin, 1870); Travlos, PDA, 498; Judeich, Topog., 417-19; Frazer, Pausanias, 2:205-07. For a general treatment of the Panathenaic Stadium: A. Koster, Das Stadion von Athen (Berlin, 1906); C. H. Weller, "The Story of the Stadium at Athens," Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America 3 (1911/12): 172-77.

²Wycherley, HGBC, 162. David G. Romano, in an as yet unpublished paper to the 1979 meeting of the APA, "The Ancient Stadium: Athletics and Arete," offers a new theory that the term stadion comes from the embankments provided for spectators rather than from the racecourse or dromos itself.

³Delorme, Gym., 272.

unpretentious.¹ Any reasonably level area could be made into a rudimentary stadium by marking out start and finish lines, while rising ground along the edge of the course would provide room for spectators.² For the stadion or diaulos races the start of the course and the finish or turning point need be marked only by a post or a line drawn in the sand.³ Olympia itself lacked a permanent stadium for over 200 years after the organization of the Games in 776. The earliest archaeological evidence for Greek stadia consists of sixth-century remains of artificial embankments in the sanctuaries of Olympia and Isthmia.⁴ As late as the second century after Christ Pausanias could describe the stadium at Epidauros as formed of "a bank of earth, like most Greek stadia."⁵

The building of a permanent monumental stadium at Athens was a late development, but the early existence of regular footraces

¹Wycherley, HGBC, 161-2. Classical stadia had artificial embankments but no stone construction except for starting lines and water channels.

²Harris, GAA, 136 explains:
The fundamental requirement of a stadium for Greek athletics is a flat area rather more than 200 yards long and wide enough to accommodate several runners and allow them space to turn round the posts in the longer races. In early times this was found in the agora of the city or near the temple of the god in whose honour the games were held.

³Pind. Pyth. 9.119; on starting lines and sills, see Appendix D.

⁴Zschiezschmann, 1: 14; E. Kunze, Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen (Berlin, 1959), 267; "Das Stadion," Olympia Bericht III (Berlin, 1941), 5-12; Oscar Broneer, Isthmia II, Topography and Architecture (Princeton, 1973), 46-7.

⁵Paus. 2.27.6; for details of this stadium, see R. Patrucco, Lo stadio di Epidauro (Florence, 1976).

presupposes some form of earlier stadion upon which they were held.¹ At least from ca. 566 civic games at Athens included footraces but the site of these races is uncertain.² Travlos has suggested that the three inscriptions of ca. 566 mentioning a dromos refer to a racecourse in the Agora, but this is not definite.³ Certainly the Agora housed an occasional stadium in the second half of the fifth century, and it may have been the earlier and later site of races for which athletes had practised perhaps on the dromoi of the gymnasia.⁴ There are no further clues for the stadium which housed the gymnastic events of the early Panathenaic Games,⁵ but early informal arrangements would have left few discernible archaeological remains.

The construction of the famous Panathenaic Stadium is described and credited to Lycurgus by Pseudo-Plutarch.

καὶ τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ τὴν κρηπίδα περιέθη-
κεν, ἔξεργασάμενος τοῦτό τε καὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὀμα-
λὴν ποιήσας, Δεινίου τινός, ὃς ἐκέκτητο τοῦτο τὸ
χωρίον, ἀνέντος τῇ πόλει, προειπόντος αὐτὸ χαρί-
σασθαι Λυκούργῳ.

¹On footraces at Athens see Appendix C.

²On the possibility of a sixth-century dromos in Agrai, see above pp. 151-52.

³Travlos, PDA, 2; Raubitschek, DAA, nos. 326-8; pp. 100-101.

⁴T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Panathenaic Way," Hesp. 44 (1975): 362-65.

⁵Gardiner, GASF, 263 confuses stadium and hippodrome in his assertion that,

Previous to the fourth century B.C. the Panathenaic Games seem to have been held at some spot in the deme of Echelidae.... No traces of this stadium have as yet been found....

Using Hipp. 3 he says:

We gather from Xenophon that there was no barrier to keep spectators off the course; in his treatise on the duty of a cavalry officer he recommends that horsemen should be placed in front of the crowds at reviews and races to keep them in order....

Clearly Xenophon (Hipp. 3.10-12) is discussing cavalry reviews in the Hippodrome--not Panathenaic footraces.

And he put the foundation-walls round the Panathenaic stadium. This he accomplished, and also the levelling of the ravine, because a certain Deinias who owned this plot of land gave it to the city when Lycurgus suggested to him that he make the gift.¹

The verbs here (περιτίθημι, ἐξεργάζομαι, ποιέω) suggest that Lycurgus walled and created a new stadium on formerly private land. Yet in the honorary decree listing Lycurgus' acts appended to the Life by Pseudo-Plutarch ἐπιτελέω is used, suggesting that Lycurgus "completed" the Stadium.² Perhaps Lycurgus, as with the Lyceum, renovated or embellished a pre-existent facility to give it monumental stature. At any rate Lycurgus is the only pre-Hellenistic political figure mentioned in connection with the Panathenaic Stadium.

The construction of the Panathenaic Stadium was a public project administered by Lycurgus and accomplished partially at private expense. Pseudo-Plutarch records the donation of the land by Deinias on Lycurgus' suggestion, and further mentions foundations and the levelling of the gully. Additional details on the construction come from an inscribed decree of 329, moved by Lycurgus,³ in honour of Eudemós of Plataea for various acts including the contribution, as he had promised, of 1000 teams for the construction of the Panathenaic

¹Ps. Plut. X orat. 84ld, trans. H. N. Fowler. For a possible identification of Deinias see Kirchner, PA 3163 and Davies, APF 3163, stemma p. 96.

²Ps. Plut. X orat. 852c, καὶ ἐπετέλεσε τὸ τε στάδιον τὸ Παναθηναϊκόν; cf. IG II² 457b 7-8, SIG 326. 19-20.

³F. W. Mitchel, "Lykourgan Athens," 196 feels that the role of Lycurgus--in convincing Deinias to donate the land and in proposing honours for Eudemos--was typical of his policy of financing programs without increasing taxation. Lycurgus would persuade wealthy individuals to accept financial responsibilities for projects and they in turn received public recognition for their generosity.

stadium and theatre before the Panathenaea (of 330):

καὶ νῦν [ἐπ]ι[δεδ]ω[κεν] εἰς τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ σταδ[ίου]
καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Παναθη[ναί]κοῦ χίλια ζεύγη καὶ ταῦτα
πέπομφεν ἅπαντα π[ρὸ Π]αναθηναίων καθά ὑπέσ[χετο] 1

The site itself was ideal: a shallow gully between two hills to the southeast of the city. Hence construction simply involved some leveling, the raising of an embankment on the southern end, the marking off of a dromos for runners, and the provision of some simple place for spectators (a theatron).² Much later the stadium was reconstructed by Herodes Atticus and it was the later stadium which so impressed Pausanias with its white marble.³

H. A. Harris has raised the question of why the Greeks built both dromoi in gymnasia for practice as well as stadia as facilities for competition. Why did they not compete in the gymnasia or train in the stadia? His answer is shade: exposure to the sun was suitable for festivals and observance by spectators but shade was preferred for the longer training periods.⁴ At Athens the question is why did Lycurgus raise a monumental stadium when the city already had three gymnasia and had managed quite well earlier with non-monumental stadia?

¹IG II² 351, Tod II, no. 198. Tod accepts lines 15-20 as written, interpreting τοῦ θεάτρου as referring to the seats or seating area of the stadium. IG II² 1627. 382-384 would suggest that Lycurgus further economized in the construction by transferring beams from the naval arsenal to the board in charge of the stadium; F. W. Mitchell, "Lykourgan Athens," 197, n. 132.

²Gardiner, GASF, 263; Travlos, PDA, 498, fig. 379 no. 198.

³Paus. 1.19.6, θαῦμα εἶδοῦσι, στάδιόν ἐστι λευκοῦ λίθου; Philostr. VS 2.1.5; Judeich, Topog., 417-19. It was mostly remains of the later stadium which excavators found in 1869-70; on the remains, see Ziller, Stadion.

⁴Harris, GAA, 144.

As with the Lycurgan Lyceum, the building of a monumental stadium anticipates Hellenistic trends rather than being typical of classical Athenian athletic facilities. In late classical and early Hellenistic Greece some stadia were reconstructed on a grander scale and they were shifted to new locations more distant from their sanctuaries.¹ This trend may imply a new relationship between stadia and sanctuaries or a new social attitude to spectatorship.² At Athens perhaps the Agora was becoming too crowded while the gymnasia increasingly were occupied with military and educational functions. The new stadium would provide better facilities for spectators but at the cost of removing their involvement from the heart of the city.³ Probably Lycurgus simply wanted to emulate Pericles' glorification of Athens; but, with reference to athletic facilities, the results were more representative of Hellenistic than classical conditions.

¹In the second half of the fourth century new stadia with expanded seating capacities were built at Isthmia and Nemea; Broneer, Isthmia II, 55-63, 66; S. G. Miller, "Excavations at Nemea, 1976," Hesp. 46 (1977): 22-26; "Excavation at Nemea, 1979" Hesp. 49 (1980): 198-203; D. G. Romano, "An Early Stadium at Nemea," Hesp. 46 (1977): 30-31. Topographical shifts or reorientations also took place around this time at Olympia and Corinth; A. Mallwitz, Olympia und seine Bauten (Munich, 1972), 180-86; C. K. Williams, "Corinth, 1969: Forum Area," Hesp. 39 (1970): 1-2.

²Romano, "The Ancient Stadium: Athletics and Arete," suggests that the Hellenistic stadium became an independent architectural structure divorced from the sanctuary proper in order to accommodate more spectators. S. G. Miller, Preface to the American Edition of Gardiner's AAW, 1978, pp. viii-ix feels that athletics in the classical period were less of a spectator sport than later:

Later stadia with elaborate seating arrangements reveal the evolution of the relationship of athletics and society away from one of relatively full participation toward one of specialization and professionalism.

³The stadium was used occasionally by the Boule and possibly the Ekklesia; see Wycherley, Stones, 215 n. 20.

Of the athletic facilities of Athens the most elusive is the hippodrome. A Greek hippodromos was simply an elongated dromos for horses, and any city might be expected to have one or more such sites.¹ Naturally suitable areas would have been used for early hippodromes (and stadia), and no physical remains of an Athenian hippodrome have been found.² Since a hippodrome needed no architectural expression and could be located even on agricultural land, it seems unlikely that any remains of an Athenian hippodrome will be discovered.³ There exist only a few scraps of literary and inscriptional evidence.⁴

In the Agora the Panathenaic Way operated occasionally as a equestrian racecourse for certain Panathenaic events.⁵ The gymnasia

¹On the Greek hippodrome, see Gardiner, GASF, 451-66; Harris, SGR, 161-72; K. Schneider, s.v. ἵπποδρόμος II, PW VIII 2 (1913), 1735-45; A. Martin, s.v. ἵπποδρόμος, Dar. Sag. III (1896), 193-210. On the Athenian hippodrome, see Judeich, Topog., 456; Travlos PDA, 3; S. Benton, "Echelos' Hippodrome," BSA 67 (1972): 13-19.

²Gardiner, GASF, 451-2 comments:

The fact is that the Greek hippodrome as a rule was a very simple affair, hardly more elaborate than the course selected on the plains of Troy. . . . All that was necessary was a fairly smooth open plain, if possible, in a valley or at the foot of some hill, the slopes of which formed a natural stand for spectators.

³IG II² 1638.16 records fourth-century leases of farms on the island of Delos, and the "hippodrome" appears as one of the farms, leading Harris, SGR, 162-63 to conclude that hippodromes ordinarily were just agricultural land. Almost all evidence for the Greek hippodrome is literary. The only hippodrome of which significant remains exist is on Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia. No remains are left at Olympia; there is only the description in Paus. 6.20.10.

⁴Interestingly enough, the starting gate in the hippodrome at Olympia was invented by a Kleoitias who probably was a fifth-century Athenian sculptor. See Paus. 6.20.10 and H. A. Harris, "The Starting Gate for Chariots at Olympia," Greece and Rome 15 (1968): 113-26.

⁵See above pp. 104-107.

as well were used for cavalry reviews and horseriding, hence Euripides can speak of "gymnasia resounding with the tramp of horse."¹ An actual hippodrome is first mentioned by Xenophon as a site of cavalry reviews; and he also refers to the anthippasia and suggests that the people should be driven out of the hippodrome, implying that there were no barriers and that the facility was open and simple.²

Apparently the Athenian hippodrome was eight stades long and located in the "deme" of Echelidai, near the city.³ There has been a problem with the location of the hippodrome and Echelidai since Judeich located both in the northwestern section of the Peiraeus.⁴ W. S. Ferguson relocated the hippodrome in New Phaleron, where the modern racetrack is, and this location generally has been accepted.⁵ Echelidai, as a place within the deme Xypete rather than a constitu-

¹Xen. Hipp. 3.1; Andoc. 1.61; Eur. Hipp. 229, καὶ γυμνασίων τῶν ἵπποκρότων.

²Xen. Hipp. 3.10, ἐξελάσειαν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀνθρώπους.

³Etym. Magn. s.v. ἐν Ἐχελιδῶν: τόπος Ἀθήνησι σταδίων ὀκτώ. ἐν ᾧ αἱ ἵπποδρομῖαι; Ps. Dem. 47 speaks of a man farming near the hippodrome and thus another man did not have to go far (γεωργῶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ, ὥστε οὐ πόρρω ἔδει αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν); M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, 237.

⁴Judeich, Topog., 456.

⁵W. S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion," Hesp. 7 (1938): 25-26; Travlos, PDA, 3; Harris, SGR, 163; Zschietzschmann, 2: 9; cf. S. Benton, "Echelos' Hippodrome," 13. Xen. Mem. 3.3.6 writes of Socrates asking a young cavalry commander if he will order his men onto the sand, where they are accustomed to ride (ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον κελεύσεις, ἐνθαπερ εἰώθατε ἵππεύειν). This has led J. K. Anderson, Ancient Greek Horsemanship (Berkeley, 1969), 103 to believe in "level sandy places" outside the walls reserved for the practice of horsemanship. However, the reference is vague and Xenophon may mean beach sand or the sandy floor of gymnasia--excluding the Academy, which he suggests (Hipp. 3.14) had rough ground.

tional deme itself, has been located with certainty by J. S. Traill to the northeast of the Peiraeus.¹

Xenophon caused confusion by referring to cavalry reviews--

τά τε ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ τὰ Φαληροῦ
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ.²

He soon goes on to discuss the hippodrome but does not mention Phaleron again. This has drawn suspicion to the text³ and caused S. Benton to see Phaleron and the hippodrome as separate locations. She advances a fragile and convoluted argument for a hippodrome below and to the east of Kolonos Hippios,⁴ but the text of Xenophon may stand if τὰ Φαληροῦ is simply preliminary to τὰ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ.⁵ Furthermore, the

¹John S. Traill, "The Political Organization of Attica," *Hesp.* Suppl. 14 (1975), 87, 114 no. 10 regards Echelidai as an Attic place name (a δῆμος in the pre-Kleisthenic sense of a locality or township) rather than a constitutional deme. Steph. Byz. (ed. Meineke) s.v. Ἐχελίδαί, δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς... thus misrepresents Echelidai as a deme although he does give a specific location (ἀπὸ Ἐλούς τόπου μεταξύ ὄντος τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τοῦ τετρακώμου Ἡρακλείου...). On the location of the sanctuary of Herakles Tetrakomos and of the constitutional deme Xypete, see Traill, "Political Organization," 50, 112 no. 142.

²Xen. *Hipp.* 3.10.

³For example, E. C. Marchant (OCT) would excise καὶ τὰ Φαληροῦ.

⁴S. Benton's discussion, "Echelos' Hippodrome," 13-19 is attractive insofar as she revives her earlier argument ("The Evolution of the Tripod-Lebes," *BSA* 35 (1934/35): 114-15) for Athenian prize games earlier than 566. Beyond this she argues for a fifth-century Panathenaic hippodrome near Kolonos Hippios based on a reference in Pausanias (1.30.4) to a shared altar of Athena Hippias and Poseidon Hippios. She jumps from a reference to Athena Hippias in Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 1070) to an interpretation of lines 1065-70 as a description of the youth of Kolonos performing the Panathenaic anthippasia in a hippodrome in honour of Athena and Poseidon. Horse epithets do not prove the existence of a hippodrome, nor is there much solid evidence in Benton's discussion of the migration routes, trumpeting, and feeding habits of flamingos. There may be some confusion with the equestrian use of the Academy near Kolonos, but such use has been noted before.

⁵Ferguson, "Salaminiotai," 26, n. 2.

discovery some 600 metres north of New Phaleron of a relief inscribed with the name Echelos would seem to confirm the general location of Echelidai and the hippodrome.¹ Finally, an inscription of 363/2 mentioning Poseidon Hippodromios has been used to associate a temple to Poseidon, near the hippodrome, with shrines located in New Phaleron.²

Little can be said with certainty about the Athenian hippodrome as an athletic facility. Its early history is uncertain, and perhaps the Agora and gymnasia sufficed. An independent, established location is unrecorded until the late fifth-century reference by Xenophon. Although the hippodrome left no monumental remains, its fourth-century location in New Phaleron is quite definite. Like other Athenian facilities, the hippodrome seems to have developed from simple origins into a more advanced stage in the classical era.

¹This votive relief (IG II² 4546, Nat. Mus. 1783) of roughly 400 is usually taken as a depiction of the hero Echelos carrying off the nymph Basile in a four-horse chariot led by Hermes. The other side of the relief shows Artemis, Kephisos and three nymphs; and the inscribed dedication is to Hermes and the Nymphs; M. Andronikos, National Museum (Athens, 1978), 36, fig. 66. Benton, "Echelos' Hippodrome," 13-19 rejects the relief as supporting a location in New Phaleron, arguing that Echelos is carrying his new bride away from her territory near Phaleron to his own territory elsewhere near Kolonos Hippios. She goes on to suggest that Echelos, in the fourth century by a treaty, transferred the site of the Panathenaic hippodrome to Phaleron. This argument would make an eponymous hero into an historical figure and it all rests upon her singular interpretation of the relief. Having viewed the relief in Athens, I find her argument unconvincing, although it is quite possible that rudimentary, possibly private, hippodromes existed near Kolonos Hippios and elsewhere near Athens.

²Ferguson, "Salaminiot," Insc. no. 1, line 92. Ferguson sees "hippodromios" as a descriptive epithet rather than a cult-title, suggesting that the shrine of Poseidon Hippodromios was one of a complex of shrines in the area now called New Phaleron. He feels that the hippodrome lay nearby, not far distant from the Peiraeus or from Athens.

Conclusion

Since Athens was a polis the history of its athletic facilities is interrelated with the development of the city and civic life.¹ Even as the polis itself developed from earlier roots, Athens' athletic facilities began with a rudimentary phase when natural settings and informal arrangements sufficed. Delorme's thorough work unfortunately is of little assistance to this study because of his strict, architectural approach to the Greek gymnasium as an institution for physical education.² Early athletic agones presuppose some form of rudimentary athletic facilities before the rise of gymnastike could promote architectural gymnasia.

By the early seventh century, Athens had produced Olympic victors who presumably trained somewhere at Athens. Funeral and hero

¹Gardiner, GASF, 482-83 points to the essential difference between athletic facilities at Athens and those at Delphi or Olympia. The Athenian gymnasia were intended for the regular use of a large, resident population while Olympia and Delphi, with small and scattered populations, erected buildings primarily for the use of festival competitors. The gymnasia at Delphi and Olympia were "strictly practical and athletic" according to Gardiner. The Athenian gymnasia, however, could not avoid involvement in the broader life of the city.

²For an elaborate, generalized treatment of the elements and activities of the Greek gymnasium, see Delorme, Gym., chap. 10, "Le gymnase, établissement athlétique," 272-315. Our knowledge of Greek gymnasia before the fourth century is practically confined to Athens; and even for fifth-century Athens the most widely used evidence is that from vase-paintings which show the techniques of events but say very little about the nature and history of gymnasia. The only example of a gymnasium inventory from Attic epigraphy dates from the second half of the second century and possibly refers to the Ptolemaion; see Diskin Clay, "A Gymnasium Inventory from the Athenian Agora," Hesp. 46 (1977): 259-67. This mentions an exedra (lines 45, 50, and possibly 36), a balbis (line 37) and statues of several divinities appropriate for the expanded educational functions of a Hellenistic gymnasium; cf. Jean Audiat, Délos XXVIII, Le gymnase (Paris, 1970), 95-98 concerning a second-century Delian gymnasium inventory (Insc. Délos, no. 1417).

cults may have given the Agora an athletic role; and rudimentary, possibly private, facilities probably existed around Athens. With the rise of the tyranny and hoplite warfare, and with the decline of the aristocracy in the sixth century, gymnasia developed further as public facilities located in sanctuaries as topographically suitable sites. The development of athletic festivals coincided with and certainly influenced the development of gymnasia.¹ Palaestra-scenes become common in vase-paintings around the mid-sixth century but the facilities of archaic Athens were probably no more than palaestrae, marked out by columns, and dromoi, defined by start and finish lines.² The Persian Wars, perhaps destroying what little evidence there may have been for archaic facilities, led to the empire which gave Athens the power and wealth to build on a grander scale.

Even for the fifth century regrettably little is known about Athens' athletic facilities. The athletic role of the Agora became evident only through scattered clues and recent archaeology. Prior to the time of Lycurgus, the stadia of Athens remain elusive, and the hippodrome even more so. Although more frequently mentioned in

¹Humphreys, "Nothoi," 90-91 would associate the origin of the gymnasium with the number and popularity of athletic competitions in the sixth century. The Athenian case supports her criticism of Delorme's theory of an association between gymnasia and hoplite warfare. She suggests that the Academy was founded by Peisistratos who would not encourage the practice of arms among his subjects. The image of gymnasia as sites planted with trees for shade seems unsuitable for hoplite manoeuvres. Sources tend to present gymnasia as places for mustering and arming, rather than practice.

²Palaestra-scenes become common in vase-paintings around 530; Webster, Potter and Patron, 196. Red-figure vase-paintings of ca. 520-440 show athletic scenes with trees, pillars and bathing arrangements suggesting the modest nature of Athenian gymnasia. See Gardiner's discussion, GASF, 472-82.

literature, Athens' gymnasia and palaestrae are not well documented, especially Kynosarges. The fifth century saw the development of the Academy and Agora as public facilities, and the Lyceum benefitted from the Periclean building program. Not until the fifth century can one speak with certainty of architectural rather than rudimentary or pre-architectural gymnasia at Athens. Apparently athletes trained in the now more elaborate, but still modest, suburban gymnasia, and periodically they competed inside the city as part of Athens' celebrations of her own glory.¹

The Academy was the oldest and most august Athenian gymnasium, having the most shrines and being connected to an ancient hero cult. It was also the most prestigious, as immortalized in Aristophanes' encomium. The Lyceum, as depicted by Lynch, was a facility intimately connected with city life and not an isolated suburban retreat. Pericles is as appropriate a benefactor for this open, active, militarily-involved gymnasium as Kimon is for the more distant and traditional Academy. Like Herakles in relation to Athena and Apollo, Kynosarges was the latest and least developed of the Athenian gymnasia. Less renowned and less militarily oriented, Kynosarges lacked a benefactor (unless Themistocles was one). Although probably less elaborate, Kynosarges was certainly more than just a precinct for undesirable nothoi. In addition, private palaestrae and independent baths flourished in Athens as the city's facilities became more specialized and

¹With an apparent Athenian inspiration, Plato's ideal state was to have several public gymnasia (γυμνασίων ... κοινῶν, Leg. 804c), which were to contain baths and were to be established in convenient sacred groves (ἄλσος ἢ τέμενος, Leg. 761c). The areas were to be embellished with trees, buildings and an elaborate water system.

differentiated.

After 403 there were few public building projects until the age of Lycurgus,¹ although the facilities that did exist were acquiring additional functions. Combining old ends and new means, Lycurgus engineered a major building program which involved the shifting of gymnastic contests from the Agora to a new monumental Panathenaic Stadium. The Lycurgan embellishment of the Lyceum, perhaps with an eye to the growing needs of the Peripatetics and ephebeia, represents a trend towards the Hellenistic form and function of gymnasia. At Athens and elsewhere in Greece athletic facilities were becoming more monumental in the last third of the fourth century, but this stage of development is more typically Hellenistic than classical. Overall, the history of Athenian facilities in the classical era tends to be one of growth and development rather than decline and abuse.

Throughout their history gymnasia took on additional, less athletic functions, but their athletic nature was original and dominant in pre-Hellenistic Athens. Cicero, critical of the popularity of sport over philosophy in a later age, gives his appropriate opinion on the origins and functions of the Greek gymnasium: the Greeks devised palaestrae, benches and the stoa for exercise and enjoyment, not for discussion. Gymnasia, Cicero continues, existed for many centuries before philosophers began to chatter in them; and even in his day, though philosophers frequent all gymnasia, their audience prefers to listen to the discus rather than the philosopher.²

¹Boersma, ABP, ix.

²Cic. Or. 2.5.21.

A modern observer, C.A. Forbes, says the original and primary function of the Greek gymnasium was to be a place for sports and exercises. What he terms "non-gymnastic and miscellaneous" uses--to which Athenian athletic facilities were put increasingly from the late fifth century on--include: parade grounds for cavalry; military musters and reviews; feasts and exhibitions; the display of public notices; sophistry and literary endeavours; ephebic education and philosophical schools.¹ Primarily, however, gymnasia in classical Athens continued to function as athletic facilities for the public use of the Athenian citizens.

The athletic facilities of Athens grew and diversified in response to many possible factors: the popularity of athletics, the increasing population and wealth of the city, military developments, and the architectural and topographical stages of the city. Despite the grumblings of the Old Oligarch, Aristophanes suggests that there was no great popular demand for, nor utilization of, the expanding facilities. Rather the spread of such facilities, in part, corresponds to the rising wealth and standard of living at Athens. It is important, however, to note that significant physical developments and architectural elaborations were promoted by astute politicians conscious of what was flattering and beneficial for Athens and for themselves.²

¹C. A. Forbes, "Expanded Uses of the Greek Gymnasium," CPhil. 40 (1945): 32-42,

²Although Boersma, ABP, 80-81, describes fifth-century building activity concerning baths, palaestrae and the Lyceum as secular and utilitarian, such projects were not all simply part of the routine building activity of the city as he suggests. Boersma (pp. 100-102) recognizes competition as a motive behind public works in the era of the tyrants, but he seems to overlook political motivations thereafter. On such motivations, see Part Six below.

As well as fostering civic pride and festivals which stimulated the development of athletics, the Peisistratids quite possibly were involved with the Academy, Lyceum and even Kynosarges. Themistocles may have had some influence on Kynosarges; and sources are better concerning his wealthier rival Kimon, who was the private benefactor of the Academy and Agora. In turn, Kimon's rival Pericles directed civic initiative and public funds towards the Lyceum.¹ Although the ambitious Alcibiades referred to Kynosarges in the Athenian assembly, this later and lesser gymnasium apparently lacked a major benefactor. Perhaps the aristocratic air of equestrian events made the hippodrome unsuitable for politically minded benefactors. Lycurgus, perhaps more altruistic than his precursor Pericles, used privately subsidized, public programs to enhance the Lyceum and Stadium in a futile effort to revive the vitality and greatness of Athens. Although the city itself faced decline, Athens' athletic facilities long remained famous.

¹In discussing the financial resources of Athens in 431, Pericles (Thuc. 2.13.3-5) told the Assembly that some 3700 talents had been spent on the Propylaia, the other public buildings and the Potidaea campaign. It is quite possible that "the other public buildings" included the Lyceum.

PART FOUR

ATHENIAN ATHLETES

Introduction

Addressing itself to the question of the social background of Athenian athletes, the following discussion presents the results of a search for all known Athenian athletes, both gymnastic and equestrian. No other prosopographical examination of Athenian athletes exists, but Moretti's Olympionikai and Pleket's sociological examination of Olympic victors provide models and show the value of such studies. As the Greek city-state with the greatest wealth of historical sources, and as a city whose social and genealogical history has received study, Athens is a very suitable candidate for a prosopographical case study of athletes. Supplementing Kirchner's invaluable Prosopographia Attica, Davies in his Athenian Propertied Families provides two essential services for this study. He has collected all known members of the Athenian "upper class" as indicated by objective economic criteria of wealth;¹ and he elucidates the history of the Athenian "aristocracy"

¹Davies, APF, xx-xxvii explains that his major criterion for membership in the "upper class" is the performance of military or festival liturgies for the state, requiring roughly a minimal level of wealth of four talents. For the period previous to the liturgical system established by the 480's, Davies also accepts hippotrophy and literary references to wealth or property as indicators of upper-class status. While accepting Davies' correlation of the upper class with Athenian leitourgountes this study also notes familial wealth indicated by expensive dedications, monuments and higher education.

of birth,¹ whose interconnections are illustrated extensively in Davies' genealogical chart, Table I. Unfortunately, the identities of the majority of Athenian athletes will never be known, but insights can be gained from the lives of those for whom evidence has survived.

Sources for such a study are varied and difficult, ranging from inscribed works of art to oratorical assertions. Of course, one must realize that the evidence is often limited, lacunary, or weighted towards the upper classes. Victor lists and public records are more reliable and objective than private dedications or commissioned works like those of Pindar, but all available sources must be used. The Athenian tradition of homonymity within families, and the questionable reliability of late sources and attributions of athletic activity, create further difficulties. Arguments ex silentio are to be avoided: absence of information on an individual beyond his athletic record should not be misinterpreted.²

Relevant information on Athenian athletes is presented in Appendix G in two catalogues using a format which includes: name,

¹M. T. W. Arnheim, Aristocracy in Ancient Greece (London, 1977), 9-12, 182-3 uses "aristocracy" interchangeably with "noble," with reference to people's descent and lineage, to describe closed, hereditary groups. In aristocracies in Greece, he explains,

. . . power was vested in a social group which was essentially closed to outsiders and close-knit with a high-degree of internal cohesiveness and a common identity . . . In addition to purely political power the aristocracy held economic supremacy, mainly through the possession of land, and was also socially pre-eminent.

²Bilinski, Agonistica, 46-9, in order to see a social revolution in sport, tends to argue that individuals who are known from the sources only as athletes are therefore non-noble. Like Pleket, he refers to Moretti's Olympionikai but he arrives at different conclusions.

patronymic, demotic or ethnic, event, and festival competed in, supporting testimonia, appropriate bibliographical references or directions, and finally any explanatory or additional comments on the life, status or connections of the individual.¹ Catalogue I comprises individuals designated as "A". These are known athletic victors, or evidence shows that they probably were athletically active. Catalogue II presents possible Athenian athletes ("P"), persons for whom athletic activity is suggested on the basis of less reliable or conclusive evidence. Information on these athletes is often fragmentary or uncertain, and is so presented. Athenian victors in any Athenian or Panhellenic festival are considered; and excluding the problematic torch racers,² "athletic" or "equestrian" events are taken to be those so accepted in the earlier discussions.

On the basis of these catalogues, the names are arranged below in chronological order in five charts for analysis. Each chart documents a significant period of ~~time~~ suggested both by the political history and by what is known of the athletic history of Athens. Period One (776-594) spans the pre-Solonian era from the first Olympic Games

¹Note that in the Catalogues, since Davies' APF uses numbers given to individuals identical to those of Kirchner in PA, PA is not cited unless the individual in question is not listed in APF.

²The torch race was perhaps more ritualistic than athletic, and the members of tribal torch-racing teams would not be representative of the social origins of full time athletic competitors at Athens. IG II² 1250.11-20, of later than the mid-fourth century, lists ten lampadephoroi of the tribe Aiantis; but these persons are otherwise unknown, and we do not know the festival involved. IG II² 3105, a dedication from Rhamnous, lists 42 lampadephoroi all of Erechtheis; the find spot may indicate the Némeseia festival, but a torch race may be inappropriate for that festival. J. Pouilloux in a republication of the inscription, La forteresse de Rhamnonte (Paris, 1954), III, no. 2 bis, dates it to 333/2, but Davies (JHS 87 (1967): 40, n. 84) would correct this to ca. 345.

to the archonship of Solon. Period Two (593-490) covers archaic Athens down to the Persian invasion. Period Three (490-404) includes the Pentecontaetia and the Peloponnesian War. Period Four (403-355) represents the age of recovery before the misfortunes of the Social War. Finally, Period Five (355-322), a short but significant generation, deals with Athens in the shadow of Macedon.

To the extent to which answers are possible, this socio-economic examination of Athenian athletes addresses itself to several questions. We know that the social and political predominance of the Athenian aristocracy decreased in the late fifth century.¹ How did their role in athletics change: were they "never absent" or were they "forced out"?² Athens came to possess a radical democratic system of politics along with public athletic facilities and festivals. Are there indications of popularization or social mobility--or of social

¹P. L. MacKendrick, The Athenian Aristocracy 399 to 31 B.C. (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 3-5 notes that between 429 and 399 the Athenian aristocracy, weakened by plague and elbowed aside by the nouveau riche ruling class, largely withdrew from politics. He describes the fourth-century propertied class as a haute bourgeoisie which lacked the sense of tradition of the old aristocracy. V. Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1943; reprint ed., London, 1974), 95-112 discusses the declining wealth of the aristocrats in the late fifth century as other classes acquired wealth appropriate to upper-class status. The aristocracy lost its position in society, changed character, and largely withdrew from public life.

²Pleket asserts the persistence of the upper classes in athletics from ca. 600 B.C. to A.D. 200. In "Zur Soziologie," 57-87, he examines examples of upper-class athletes who competed successfully in many contests and thus must have been as specialized or "professional" as other competitors. In "Athletes and Ideology," 73, he again claims that even after 400 ". . . there is no question of lower class athletes monopolizing the athletic scene and of upper class athletes withdrawing from athletics and restricting themselves to the equestrian games." Bilinski, Agonistica, 25-74, from a Marxist viewpoint, would argue that the rise of a commercial class and the growth of democracy--both undermining aristocratic privilege--led to a social inversion in sport with aristocrats being forced out by lower class professionals.

stratification--among athletes?¹ As awards and training became more prevalent, did financially dependent "professional" athletes appear?² What do the family histories and extra-athletic careers of individuals suggest? What groups were involved with hippotrophy, and did its popularity or the backgrounds of its practitioners change over time?³ Are there quantitative or social indications that Athens was becoming an unathletic nation of spectators? Were proportionally fewer Athenians competing and more watching as time passed?⁴

¹Gardiner, AAW, 42 feels that the rise of public gymnasia and athletic prizes "...made it possible for even the poorest to compete. Athletics were in sympathy with the growing spirit of democracy.... At the close of the sixth century the Greeks were literally a nation of athletes." J. G. Thompson, "Sport, Athletics and Gymnastics," 119, feels sport underwent popularization and that athletic festivals developed from aristocratic and exclusive contests into democratic and inclusive competitions. Again Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 72-3 challenges the conventional picture, pointing to training requirements, travel costs and lost income as obstacles to the poor. He feels that non-noble participation in Panhellenic athletics was unlikely before the rise of the gymnasium (which he places post 650), and also that it was unlikely that the rise of the gymnasium was followed immediately by non-noble participation. He suggests that it was probably in the local contests that the "hoplite middle class" got its first chance to compete.

²Harris, SGR, 39 feels that the emergence of a class of "highly paid professional performers" drove the true amateurs out of competition. Bilinski, Agonistica, 76-7 claims that, from the time of the Peloponnesian War onwards, athletes were nearly all professionals, recruited increasingly from the rural and least civilized districts.

³Gardiner, GASF, 132 and Marrou, Education, 66-7 suggest that as athletics were passing into the hands of the professionals the richer classes devoted themselves to hippotrophy more and more.

⁴Steven G. Miller, Preface to the American Edition of AAW, viii-ix suggests that athletics in the classical era were less of a spectator sport than later. He argues that the development of elaborate seating arrangements in the Hellenistic age reveals "...the evolution of the relationship of athletics and society away from one of relatively full participation to one of specialization and professionalism." Although Lycurgus did build the Panathenaic Stadium during Period V, elaborate seating arrangements were a Hellenistic development and may reflect the evolution of an architectural form as well as tendencies in social practice.

Format: Catalogue Reference; Name; Date Event; Festival	in <u>APF</u> ?	in Table I?
<u>Period Two (593-490)</u>		
A5; Alkmeon I; 592 chariot; Ol.	X	X
A22; Epainetos; ca. 580-570 jump; Eleusinia (?)		
P101; Megakles II; ca. 570's athlete (?)	X	X
P97; Hippokleides I; ca. 570's athlete (?)	X	X
A30; Kallias I; 564 chariot, horserace; Ol., Pyth.	X	X
A46; Miltiades III; 560 (?) chariot; Ol.	X	X
P93; Thrasyboulos; ca. 550 horserace (?)	X	
A38; [Kratios]; ca. 550. pentathlon; Panath. (?)	X	
A6; Alkmeonides I; ca. 546 chariot; Panath. (?)	X	X
P95; Hipparchos; ca. 540 horserace; Pyth. (?)	X	X
P96; Hippias; ca. 540 horserace; Pyth. (?)	X	X
A34; Kimon I; 536, 532, 528 chariot; Ol.	X	X
A55; Peisistratos; 532 chariot; Ol.	X	X
A21; Dyneiketos; pre 525 horserace		
A3; Alcibiades I; ca. 525-500 chariot; Pyth.	X	X

Format:

Catalogue Reference; Name; Date
Event; Festival

in APF?

in Table I?

P103; Menander; ca. 510
wrestler

A45; Melesias I; ca. 500
pankration; Nem.

X

X

A31; Kallias II; 500, 496, 492
chariot; Ol.

X

X

P84; Antiphon I; ca. 500
horserace (?)

X

X

P100; Leagros I; ca. 500
pentathlon; Panath. (?)

X

X

P108; S]ost[ratos; ca. 500
chariot

Period Three (490-404)

A43; Megakles IV; 486
chariot; Pyth.

X

X

A25; Hermolykos; ca. 480's
pankration

P109; Sophocles; ca. 480
athlete (?)

P91; Themistocles; ca. 475
athlete (?)

X

A24; Epicharinos; ca. 475
hoplitodromos; Plataea (?)

A29; Kallias; 472
pankration; Periodos, Panath.

P87; Euripides; ca. 470
pankration, boxing; Theseia, Eleusinia

A41; Lyk]ophron; 468
boys' stadion; Ol.

A76; [...]los; 468
hoplitodromos; Ol.

Format:

Catalogue Reference; Name; Date
Event; Festival

in APF?

in Table I?

P92; Thucydides; ca. 460
wrestler

X

X

A64; Timodemos; ca. 460 (?)
pankration; Nem., Ol.

A67; Phrynichos; 456
boys' race; Ol.

P113; Timotheos; pre 450
athlete (?)

X

P99; Kleophantos; ca. 450's
horserace

X

A1; Aglaos; ca. 450
stadion; Isth., Nem.

A42; Lysis I; ca. 450
chariot, horserace; Pyth., Isth., Nem.

X

A58; Pythodelos; ca. 450
heavy athlete; Pyth., Nem.

P102; Melesias II; ca. 450
wrestler

X

X

P110; Stephanos; ca. 450
wrestler

X

X

A51; Xanthias; ca. 450
wrestler

A26; Eudoros; ca. 450
wrestler

P105; Xanthippos II; ca. 430's
athlete (?)

X

X

P106; Paralos; ca. 430's
athlete (?)

X

X

A44; Megakles V; 436
chariot; Ol.

X

X

A17; Diophanes I; ca. 430
youths' pankration; Isth.

Format: Catalogue Reference; Name; Date Event; Festival	in <u>APF</u> ?	in Table I?
P88; Eupheros; pre ca. 428-426 athlete (?)		
P79; Hagnias; ca. 425 pentathlon		
A57; Pronapes; ca. 425 chariot; Isth., Nem., Panath.	X	
P104; Miltiades VI; ca. 425 athlete (?)	X	X
A15; Demokrates I; ca. 425 chariot, horserace; Pyth., Isth., Nem.	X	
A74; [-]s; ca. 425 athlete (?): Isth., Nem.	X	
A78; []; ca. 425 horserace; Isth., Nem.	X	
P82; Antigenes; ca. 425 runner (?)		
P81; Ant[-]; ca. 425 runner(?)		
P94; Idomeneus; ca. 425 runner (?)		
A12; Autolykos; 421 pankration; Panath.		
P98; Isocrates; ca. 420 horserace	X	
A11; Atrometos; ca. 420-410 gymnastic athlete (?)	X	
A4; Alcibiades III; 416 chariot; Ol.	X	X
A63; Teisias; 416 chariot; Ol.	X	
P107; Plato; ca. 410 wrestler; Ol.	X	X

Format: Catalogue Reference; Name; Date Event; Festival	in <u>APF</u> ?	in Table I?
P112; Timesitheos; ca. 410 runner	X	
P85; Antiphon II; ca. 405 horserace (?)	X	X
<u>Period Four</u> (403-355)		
A47; Minos; 400 stadion; Ol.		
A23; Epichares; 396 (?) boys' stadion; Ol.	X	
P89; Hegestratos athlete (?); Nem.		
P90; Theaitetos; ca. 395 athlete (?)		
P111; Socrates the Younger; ca. 395 athlete (?)		
A77; [-]; 394 boys' stadion; Ol.		
A37; Krates; ca. 390's apobates; Panath.		
A62; Sosippos; 388 stadion; Ol.		
P80; Aeschines; ca. 380 heavy athlete	X	
P114; Philippos; ca. 375 athlete (?)	X	
P115; Philocharēs; ca. 375 athlete	X	
A39; Klydeides; ca. 375 wrestler; Eleusinia		
A71; Chabrias; 374 chariot; Pyth.	X	

Format:
 Catalogue Reference; Name; Date
 Event; Festival

in APF? in Table I?

A18; Diophanes II; ca. 370-360
 youths' pankration

A59; Pythostratos; 368
 stadion; Ol.

A69; Phokides; 364
 stadion; Ol.

A66; Philammon; 360
 boxing; Ol.

Period Five (354-322)

A65; Timokrates II; 352
 synoris; Ol. X

A73; [.....]los; pre 350
 synoris; Panath., Eleusinia X

A52; Xenokles; ca. 350
 boys' wrestling; Panath.

P116; [-]; ca. 350
 athlete (?); Pyth., Isth., Nem., Panath.

P86; Ari[st-]; ca. 350
 athlete (?); Isth.

A2; Akarnan; ca. 350
 youths' stadion; Amph.

A7; Antibios; ca. 350
 boys' stadion; Amph.

A9; Antiphanes; ca. 350
 boys' pankration; Amph.

A16; Demo[sthen]e[s; ca. 350
 war team; Amph.

A19; [Diocha]res; ca. 350
 colt team; Amph.

A33; Ki[k]on; ca. 350
 processional team; Amph. ?

Format:

Catalogue Reference; Name; Date
Event; Festival

in APF?

in Table I?

A35; [Klea]ndros; ca. 350
straight synoris; Amph.

A36; K]learchos; ca. 350
processional team; Amph.

A48; Mnesarchides; ca. 350
boys' dolichos and hippios; Amph.

A49; Mn[e]s[ipp]os; ca. 350
team diaulos; Amph.

A50; Nikodemos; ca. 350
boys' boxing; Amph.

A54; Pausias; ca. 350
boys' boxing; Amph.

A56; Prokleid[e]s; ca. 350
synoris diaulos; Amph.

A61; Stratokles; ca. 350
boys' pentathlon; Amph.

?

A72; Charisandros; ca. 350
boys' wrestling; Amph.

A75; [...]as; ca. 350
boys' pankration; Amph.

P83; Antidorides II; ca. 340's
stadion

A10; Aristolochos; 344
stadion; Ol.

A8; Antikles; 340
stadion; Ol.

A20; Dioxippos; 336
pankration; Ol.

A28; Euphraios; ca. 330's
pankration

A32; Kallippos; 332
pentathlon; Ol.

Format:
 Catalogue Reference; Name; Date in APF? in Table I?
 Event; Festival

A13; Demades I; 328 X
 horserace; Ol.

A70; Phokos; ca. 320's X
 apobates; Panath.

A14; Demetrios; ca. 320 X
 chariot; Panath.

Discussion of the Catalogues and Charts

Period One (776-594)

Historical sources for this era are very limited, the Olympic Games were still quite local, and the Periodos and Panathenaic Games had not yet been organized, so it is not surprising that there are only five known Athenian athletes from these two centuries. Pantakles, Eurybates and Stomas are known only for their victories as runners. Kylon became infamous for his attempted tyranny which, by the anecdote about the prophecy at least, may have been related to his athletic success. Although his father's name is lost, Kylon's tie to Theagenes proves his high status; furthermore, it demonstrates the international, aristocratic aspects of the archaic athletic world. Phrynon's career spans athletics and public life since the pancratiast became a general and oikistes later in life, thus showing that he was of high socio-economic status.

Suggestions are limited by the lack of evidence here. For instance, no patronymic can be given for any of these men, and yet it is safe to assume that all five could afford the expense of travelling

to Olympia. One can note that all but one of the victories were in running and that none was in an equestrian event.¹ Only victors, not "possible athletes," are remembered from this age when athletics had not yet attained their full popularity.

Period Two (593-490)

In the sixth century the Panathenaic Games were established, rudimentary athletic facilities developed, and art and vase-paintings bore witness to the increasing popularity of athletics at Athens. In this aristocratic age rival clans were influential and competitive even during the Peisistratid tyranny. Greater numbers of victors are known now because of the increase in historical sources, especially dedications. "Possible athletes" now appear as well, largely by association with families of known victors.

Victories by Athenians in this era reveal a preoccupation with hippotrophy. This aristocratic pastime of breeding and racing horses required land and wealth but rewarded the victor with fame and contacts in high circles. Some nobles, such as Leagros and Hippokleides, seem to have practised for gymnastic events in their youth, but no victories in running are recorded. Earlier, more obscure men like Stomas may have been credited with wins in the stadion (rather than some other event) by later writers because of the later custom of making the Olympic victor in the stadion eponymous for the year. These aristocrats, however, had the wealth and family traditions to ensure that their victories and events were remembered. Equestrian and also gymnastic

¹Equestrian events were held at Olympia by the mid-seventh century (Paus. 5.8.7-8).

victories were matters of status and honour to these clannish competitors, and thus they carried political overtones which will be discussed in more depth later.

Clearly this period was dominated by the aristocratic gennetai, especially the leading Athenian families outlined in Davies' genealogical Table I. These families competed for power but they also later became interconnected by marriage in the fifth century. Renowned for hippotrophy, the family of Kimon of the genos of the Philaidai included Hippokleides, the archon of 566, who appeared earlier as the unsuccessful but possibly athletic suitor of Agariste of Sikyon. His cousin Miltiades III was famous both for the family's first chariot win at Olympia and for his career as tyrant of the Chersonese. Miltiades' half-brother Kimon I won two Olympic chariot victories while in exile, relinquishing the second to Peisistratos. Kimon's famous team won a third victory before the death of this grandfather of the politically famous Kimon of the fifth century. With ties to the Kypselids of Corinth, Kimon's family possessed status and landed wealth surpassed only by the Alkmeonidai.

From the genos of the Kerykes, the family of Kallias is credited with the first Athenian horserace victory at Olympia, that of Kallias I. His grandson Kallias II carried on the family tradition adding three Olympic chariot wins which, no doubt, were facilitated by his legendary wealth. As Davies explains, the rise in the family's power and position was largely post-Solonian.¹ Their early wealth based on land was enhanced by mining profits and also by cultic income from the Dadouchia,

¹Davies, APF, pp. 254-70.

an Eleusinian priesthood which possibly was hereditary in this family.¹ Although the family's wealth collapsed in the fourth century, the notorious spendthrift, Kallias III, may have inherited at least some interest in horses, for Xenophon places him as a spectator at a Panathenaic horserace.²

Although the Alkmeonid family was definitely of Eupatrid status, its origin remains obscure; it is also debated whether the family constituted an oikos or a genos.³ The first Alkmeonid chariot victory at Olympia, the earliest Athenian victory in the event, was won by Alkmeon I, son of Megakles the archon at the time of the Kylonian affair. Alkmeon's son, Megakles II, was the successful and possibly athletic suitor of the daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon (himself an Olympic victor).⁴ Another son of Alkmeon, Alkmeonides I, apparently won the Panathenaic chariot race ca. 546 as well as an earlier victory, possibly in the hippios dromos. An associate of the family, possibly a brother named Kratios, made a dedication on the Acropolis with Alkmeonides after a victory in the pentathlon. Alcibiades I, by his Pythian chariot victory, established chariot-racing as a tradition in his family which later became connected to the Alkmeonidai and produced the politician

¹Both Kallias II and Kallias III held this office, but see K. Clinton, "The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries," TAPS 64 pt. 3 (1974): 47-50.

²Xen. Symp. 1.2.

³Matthew W. Dickie, "Pindar's Seventh Olympian and the Status of the Alkmeonids as Oikos or Genos," Phoenix 33 (1979): 193-209 revives and defends Wade-Gery's argument (EGH, 106-8) that the Alkmeonids were an oikos, a real family descended from a historical ancestor; but cf. Davies, APF, pp. 368-85. For a possible resolution, see J. H. Oliver, "From Gennetai to Curiales," Hesp. 49 (1980): 30-56.

⁴Hdt. 6.126.

and general Alcibiades III.

Married briefly to the daughter of Megakles II, Peisistratos ruled Athens as tyrant for many years, but the political significance of his purchase of Kimon's second Olympic chariot victory has not been adequately recognized. His father Hippokrates I is known only as a spectator at Olympia,¹ and Peisistratos' daughter may have married a hippotrophic individual, Thrasyboulos. With wealth from land, mining and cults, the Peisistratid family often included members with names with the suggestive root "Hipp-", and Hippias and Hipparchos were suitable candidates for hippotrophy.² Despite such points, Davies remains of the opinion that "...there is no evidence that the family ever engaged in horse-breeding or that successful intervention $\tau\epsilon\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\pi\omega$ at Panhellenic Games was an ingredient in its political achievement."³

Antiphon I's hippotrophic interests were appropriate to his status (see Davies' Table I) and were passed on to his grandson Antiphon II. The name Sostratos is too heavily restored for interpretations, and of Dyneiketos all we know is that he could afford to commemorate his success by a commissioned vase-painting. Possibly a youthful victor, Leagros was related to Antiphon and later to Kallias III (see Table I); but his interests, in his early years at

¹Hdt. 1.59.1-2.

²The significance of suggestive names (like Hipp-, or -nike) is an interesting issue; such names may reflect familial traditions, pretensions or aspirations concerning games or hippotrophy. However, such names by themselves are unreliable as historical evidence, and their significance is considered herein only if in combination with other indications of familial associations with athletics.

³Davies, APF, p. 454.

least, seem to have been gymnastic rather than equestrian. Epainetos, from his dedication of a halter at Eleusis, appears to be a local jumper whose victory or resources were not significant enough for a more lavish dedication.

Menander and Melesias are conspicuous here, the former as a possible and the latter as a certain victor in the heavy event, the pankration. Their major significance comes from their later careers as trainers. Although details about Menander are not available, Melesias' status was acceptable enough that his son Thucydides, the politician, was connected by marriage to the family of Kimon.

In sum, except for four men (Dyneiketos, Epainetos, Menander, S]ost[ratos) about whom sufficient data are lacking, all the individuals of Period Two were wealthy (in APF), were noble (in Table I), and eventually were at least distantly related as members of the athletically and politically dominant aristocracy of Athens.

Period Three (490-404)

In this era Athens, reaching the height of its power and empire, was proud of its athletic facilities and festivals. Athletic activity was generally intense but appears to have decreased somewhat in the last quarter of the century. Aristophanes might blame the Sophists but the Peloponnesian War probably was more responsible. The preoccupation with hippotrophy and the dominance of the nobility give way as the wealth and actual numbers of the nobles suffered through the fifth century. Athletes now also came from less ancient, less aristocratic, but still upper class families. Some men are known only by the

nature of their own victory dedications. A greater variety of events were participated in now, and athletes adapted to the use of trainers in heavy events and drivers in equestrian events. With the increase of literary, inscriptional and archaeological sources, the numbers of known, arguably athletic men increase greatly. However, analysis is complicated by shifting social patterns at Athens, and by the rise of alternatives to landed wealth and family ties as means to social and political advancement.¹

Although the aristocratic families of Table I seem to be declining or withdrawing from athletics, they are not completely absent. The Alkmeonid Megakles IV, ostracized and operating from exile, was victorious at the Pythia in 486. His son Megakles V, with his win in 436, was the last Alkmeonid to continue the family tradition of Olympic chariot victories. The political and financial decline of the family was so hastened, Davies feels, by its pro-Persian policies and the ostracisms in 480's that the Alkmeonids were politically bankrupt by the 470's.² Although Megakles V's victory suggests there was still some landed wealth left in the second half of the fifth century, he was politically unimportant and was the last hippotrophic member of the central family.

Kimon II had the wealth but apparently not the inclination for direct athletic competition, perhaps because he was too busy with

¹W. R. Connor, The New Politicians of Fifth Century Athens (Princeton, 1971), discussing changes in political groups and their involvement in politics in the second half of the fifth century, notes an influx of nouveaux riches and the withdrawal of traditional groups from politics.

²Davies, APF, p. 381.

his political career, campaigns and benefactions. Although Miltiades IV was known as a physically fit man and possibly was a former athlete, the family of Kimon was no longer athletically prominent. In the family of Kallias, Kallias III appears merely as a Panthenaic spectator and an admirer of the pancratiast Autolykos. These clans were on the defensive and turned to strategic marriages (such as that of Elpinike, daughter of Miltiades IV and sister of Kimon II, to Kallias II) which added to the interrelationships of Table I.¹

Two prominent politicians, Themistocles and Thucydides, are associated (especially metaphorically) with athletics in literary sources. Themistocles was a noble of the genos of the Lykomidai and was wealthy enough that athletics and hippotrophy would seem appropriate for him.² His rivalry with Kimon in athletic and non-athletic settings was famous. Similarly, Thucydides, connected by marriage to the noble family of Kimon, is pictured as wrestling with Pericles in a metaphor which is very apt for the entangled, grasping political situation of fifth-century Athens.³ The application of a wrestling metaphor to Thucydides has a more defensible basis than to Pericles,⁴ since wrestling seems to have been a traditional pastime in the family of Melesias.⁵ No victories are recorded for these men; but the

¹See Davies, APF, p. 305.

²For details on his wealth, see Davies, APF, 6669 IV.

³Plut. Per. 8.5; 11.1.

⁴Ar. Ach. 703-5; also see Plut. Per. 4.2.

⁵See H. T. Wade-Gery, "Thucydides Son of Melesias," JHS 52 (1932): 208-11.

anecdotes suggest that they possibly were athletes, and that later authors regarded athletics as a normal part of the lifestyle of the leading Athenians of the fifth century.

Five individuals in this time period, all sons of prominent men of Table I, seem quite similar. These sons were notable for their athletic training and skills, but it cannot be proven that they were victors or even participants in the games. Kleophantos son of Themistocles was an accomplished horseman but otherwise insignificant. Thucydides had his two sons, Melesias II and Stephanos, trained until they were fine wrestlers, but they do not appear as victors or men of action. Similarly, Xanthippos II and Paralos were sons of Pericles, credited with athletic abilities, who died young without attaining victories. For each of these cases the common source is Plato's Meno where the philosopher discussed whether virtue can be taught. Like Lysimachos, son of Aristeides,¹ these youths are examples of well-educated sons of famous men. They gained technical skills through training but lacked the unteachable virtue of their fathers. Moreover, their lack of utilization of their athletic potential seems indicative of a declining involvement of the aristoi (of blood) in the Games. The exception, of course, is Alcibiades III, a ward of Pericles and connected distantly to the Alkmeonids, who adapted and continued chariot-racing on a grand scale.

Although these old gentilician families are less prominent in Period Three, the actual number of known athletes increases. Athletics and hippotrophy still required wealth, but the wealth need no longer be

¹Pl. Meno 94a-b.

landed estates held in the family for many generations. For "new athletes"--like Connor's "new politicians"¹--may have had less impressive genealogies and family traditions, but they were men of good birth and standing. Their wealth often came from non-traditional sources offered by the Empire, and this wealth gave them the leisure, affluence and ambition to participate in athletics, or politics, or both.

The following athletes of Period Three are of lesser nobility (by birth) but all belong to the Athenian upper class as catalogued in the APF register. Lysis I and Demokrates I are included in APF on the basis of their wealth as displayed by their hippotrophy; but the source of that wealth is uncertain, and their prosopographical ties are limited. Atrometos, apparently with little wealth or social status of his own, enters the register via the career of his son Aeschines the orator. Isocrates was the son of an obviously wealthy man but his pedigree was rather limited. Aeschines claims that Timesitheos the runner was of good character, but his family becomes prominent and liturgically active only in the fourth century. Teisias, the former friend of Alcibiades prior to the chariot incident of 416, was a general and a public man, but his family's emergence seems recent. Pronapes was a hipparch and made an expensive dedication on the Acropolis but his origins are obscure. Timotheos was honoured with a statue on the Acropolis but his family cannot be traced back past the mid-fifth century.² Antiphon II is connected by marriage in Table I to the family of Kritias, but the

¹Connor, New Politicians, 153-9.

²MacKendrick, Athenian Aristocracy, 11, 70 n. 49 makes an unconvincing suggestion from very late evidence that the family of Timotheos was of the genos of the Kerykes.

origins and wealth of Antiphon I and Antiphon II are obscure. The father of the speaker of Lysias 19 (A78 cf. A74) was wealthy, but his career seems to have been military and his known familial ties were recent. The appearance of these men at this time should not be interpreted simply as a sudden popularization of athletics: rather the money that was needed came now from several sources, and aristocratic birth was becoming less significant.¹

With some individuals the very nature of the evidence for their athletic activity provides the only clue to their socio-economic status. The dedication by Hagnias of only a stone discus suggests limited wealth or athletic success; he is possibly related to Bouselos but otherwise unknown. Eupheros too is otherwise unknown, but his grave and stele point to some good family. The three youths from the athletic relief on the Acropolis (Antigenes, Idomeneus, Ant[-]) are otherwise unknown, but someone paid for the expensive dedication. Epicharinos appears to be an obscure individual, but his expensive dedication of a sculpture by the famous Kritios for a win of uncertain grandeur in the hoplite race implies that he or his family was wealthy. Can it be that these men--who might be in APF if we only knew more about them--were emulating the earlier athletic dedications on the Acropolis of men like Kimon and

¹It is perhaps understandable that status-conscious, ambitious neoploutoi would adopt aristocratic values, such as landholding (see M. I. Finley, "Land Debt and the Man of Property in Classical Athens," Political Science Quarterly 68 (1953): 249-68), and pastimes, such as athletics and happotrophy. Under the democracy the scale of values prevalent in society remained aristocratic and non-egalitarian. As Arnheim, Aristocracy in Greek Society, 156 declares "...democratic Athens was simultaneously anti-aristocratic in government and aristocratic in ethos." Similarly, K. J. Dover, Greek Popular Morality (London, 1975), 34-35 shows that the Athenian citizen body, accustomed to considering themselves as an elite relative to slaves and metics, tended to adopt the values of those whose wealth and leisure were well above average.

Alkmeonides?

Two athletes are known only from odes by lyric poets. Although the brother-in-law at least was able to afford the ode, Bacchylides is vague about the family of Aglaos the runner, perhaps because the family or its money was new. Pindar claims many victors for the family of Timodemos (cf. Diophanes A 17 and A 18) but the family is not well known. Neither of these men appears in APF but they must have been prominent enough to afford and desire commissioned odes. If they were neoploutoi they also may have been emulating men like Megakles IV, for whom Pindar claims multiple ancestral victories in Pyth. 7.

Athens had a reputation for its heavy athletes, some of whom form another notable but less aristocratic group in this period. After his own victories, Melesias had a long and successful career as a trainer of Aeginetan athletes. Menander likewise was a famous trainer of heavy athletes and thus a possible athlete himself, although otherwise unknown. Xanthias and Eudoros appear as athletes and trainers at Athens but are otherwise unknown.¹ The pancratiast Hermolykos came from a family of generals which Connor uses as an example of a family of neoploutoi: they were slandered in comedy and had considerable, though not landed, wealth as well as respectable, but not gentilician, status.² Athens' lone pre-Hellenistic Periodonikes, Kallias the son of Didymias, publicly opposed Pericles enough to be ostracized, and the rewards from his victories alone would have made him a man of means.

¹On these men as trainers, see below pp. 246-48.

²Connor, New Politicians, 156-8, stemma p. 157; Raubitschek, DAA, p. 464 regards Hermolykos II as an aristocrat because of his dedication on the Acropolis.

We do not know how he became an athlete, but a later association with Thucydides is conceivable. Diophanes I (and his apparent grandson Diophanes II in the fourth century) is known only from his not inexpensive dedication and epigram on the Acropolis. Son of a demagogue, the pancratiast Autolykos was a man of some means; he was well known and acceptable enough to associate with Kallias III and to be put to death by the Thirty. Of these men only Melesias appears in Table I as a member of an aristocratic household, but what is known of the others suggests that they were prominent and respectable citizens. Given the nature of the evidence, it is incorrect simply to assume that a man who is otherwise unknown was therefore poor or ignoble.

Sophocles, Euripides and Plato are interesting because later biographical traditions probably played some part in their depictions as athletes or victors.¹ Hellenistic biographers drew inferences about classical authors from their writings, and in the later age a gymnastic education was a matter of course for citizens of good standing. Nevertheless, athletic experiences are quite conceivable for these three; Plato came from a very good family, and Euripides and Sophocles came from families that were wealthy and probably respectable. The case of Isocrates is similar since a late source credits

¹Mary K. Lefkowitz doubts the historicity of such accounts. In "The Euripides Vita," GRBS 20 (1979): 187-210, she re-advances her theory ("The Poet as Hero," CQ 28 (1978): 459-69) that autobiographical mythologies developed about literary figures in the fifth century. She argues that Euripides' Vita is made up mainly of anecdotes created in or soon after the poet's lifetime which derive from his own works or from comic poetry about him. Typical biographical elements such as "early recognition of talent" or "versatility" (including athletic success) may be part of the mythology of the poet as hero. Euripides perhaps was regarded as something of a hero in the fourth century, and the basic format of the Vita perhaps was set by the second century.

him with equestrian experience made conceivable by the wealth of his father.

Certain individuals have been excluded from analysis because of questionable nationality (Phrynichos, Pythodelos), uncertain identity (A 76; A 74 cf. A 78) or the indefinite restoration of a name (Lyk]ophron.

In Period Three the social world of athletics at Athens seems to have undergone a change. Athletics were no longer predominantly aristocratic (by birth); but, except possibly for the uncertain area of the heavy athletes discussed above, athletics were still arguably elitist (by wealth).

Period Four (403-355)

Athens recovered remarkably quickly from the Peloponnesian War after the restoration of the democracy; and Athenian involvement in civic and Panhellenic athletics continued, though perhaps with diminished splendour. Financed by an extensive system of liturgies, the Athenian festival program even seems to have expanded.¹ Sources for the period increase because of the development of oratory and philosophical writings.

The number of known athletes for this period hardly suggests a decline in athletic activity, but certain points should be noticed. Economic hardships in this era may explain a drastic reduction in the number of equestrian victors: Chabrias won the only chariot victory and that was at the Pythia, not at Olympia. It is a debatable issue

¹On the fourth-century Panathenaea, see above pp. 63-65.

whether Krates' victory in the apobates should be considered equestrian or not. Both running and heavy events are well represented from several festivals. The athletes themselves fall into two groups: those who are well documented and are (or could be) in APF; and those who are known only by their athletic activity and are not in APF.

Similar to the "new athletes" of Period Three, some individuals are from the upper class but are not known for landed wealth or aristocratic birth. Epichares came from a politically and militarily active, liturgical family, but the source of its money is unknown. With his father Atrometos and his brother Philochares, Aeschines had wealth appropriate to the liturgical class, but this wealth seems to have come from political bribes and properties abroad. The general Chabrias came from a well-to-do liturgical family, but his significant prosopographical connections are only through his father-in-law. Philippos was wealthy enough to become a syntrierarch, but his social and athletic status is uncertain. Theaitetos and Socrates the Younger are not catalogued in APF, but Theaitetos' father had had some property. Plato depicts both youths as able to afford leisure and education, but note that Theaitetos' character receives more attention than his pedigree.

Conspicuous in the second group of non-APF and otherwise unknown athletes are the Olympic stadion victors Minos and Phokides. The unnamed son of Eualkos (A 77) was an Olympic contender, but it is curious that Agesilaus rather than the lad's family attended to his entry. Sosippos and Pythostratos, if truly Athenian, are known only for their stadion wins. Krates and his father are known only from their apobates relief from the Agora; the same applies to Hegestratos'

dedication from the Acropolis.

Also in this second group are some rather obscure men who seem to represent a continuing Athenian interest in heavy events. The Olympic boxer with the name suggestive of Egypt, Philammon is otherwise unknown, and of Diophanes II we know only that his grandfather may also have won in the Isthmian pankration. Concerning K]ydeides we know only that he was victorious in wrestling at Eleusis.

These two groups seem to represent the continuation of trends noted in Period Three. Where evidence is available, wealth but not aristocratic status continues to be a factor. It certainly would be desirable to know more about obscure men like Minos, for arguing from silence is ineffective in this type of situation. Furthermore, athletics now seem more closely associated with military and oratorical careers, rather than with land ownership and the traditional "politics of friendship."¹ Some explanation may lie with the naval and liturgical activity of Athens' recovery or with the rise of specialization in politics.

Period Five (355-322)

In this era Athens resisted but finally succumbed to the power of Macedon. It was a time of philosophical and oratorical activity with the schools of Plato and Aristotle and the antagonism between Demosthenes and Aeschines. Lycurgus attempted to revive Athens' greatness, and the ephebic educational system was discernibly in operation.

Very little information is available about certain gymnastic

¹ Connor, New Politicians, 30-43.

competitors of Period Five who perhaps might be suggested as members of a "class" or "profession" of athletes. The stadion victors Aristolochos and Antikles are otherwise unknown; and Antidoros, the son of a sycophant and rhetor, is simply known as the "stadion runner." Dioxippos and Euphraios appear in a speech by Hyperides as strong men and prosgymnastai. Like Philammon earlier, such men appear to be well known citizens who were socially defined and recognized by the athletic aspects of their lives. The case of Kallippos' bribery perhaps can be taken as an indication of immorality in athletics, but bribery at Olympia would have been expensive. Kallippos must have had some wealth to be able to compete and to attempt a victory by bribery at Olympia.¹ Some argument for Dioxippos as a professional athlete might be made from his accompaniment of Alexander and from his individual combat arranged by Alexander. However, the sources are quite limited, and the athleticism of some individuals was apparently more of a characterization (cf. Timesitheos) than a profession. Recall that men known only as athletes appear in Period One as well as Period Five.

The names of three men (A 73, P 116, P 86) are too fragmentary for conclusions. Xenokles is known only by his dedication.

The group of victors known from the victor list of the Amphiaraiia at Oropos forms a special case. Comprised of two fragments, this list has been published in a recent edition by Basileios Petrakos

¹The sending of Hyperides to appeal Kallippos' fine may show that the burden of payment lay with the state of the athlete. C. A. Forbes, "Crime and Punishment in Greek Athletics," CJ 49 (1951/52): 171, n. 15 further suggests that this incident may have been fresh in the mind of Aeschines when, in 330 (in Ctes. 3.179-180), he spoke of the improbability of getting an Olympic crown by intrigue.

who dates it to the period ca. 366-338.¹ Except for two individuals, Ki[k]on and Stratokles, for whom Davies suggests identifications with families in APF, these sixteen victors could be described as "otherwise unknown." Depending on the date accepted for the list, the games were under Macedonian or Athenian control. Since athletes from several states appear on the long list, the festival was Panhellenic;² but one should also note that Oropos was close and easily reached from Athens. While the gymnastic victors from Athens are all boys or youths, the age of the equestrian winners is uncertain. An absence of four-horse chariots is perhaps worthy of note. Such an extensive list represents a chance find this early, and there are no similar finds from contemporary Athens.³ The age of the victors and the accessibility of the contest for Athenians may be significant.⁴ One should not simply compare the records of Period Two with this evidence from a local, lesser festival and then pronounce that Athenian athletics have degenerated or become popularized.

Equestrian events of various types seem to revive in popularity in Period Five. One gets the impression that nouveaux riches individuals were using horses to exhibit their wealth. Timokrates II was a

¹IG VII 414; IG II 5, 978b; Basileios Petrakos, Oropos and the Hieron of Amphiarios, Greek Archeological Society Publications no. 63 (Athens, 1968), see no. 47, pp. 194-8; cf. the argument for 338-322 by E. Preuner, "Amphiarata und Panathenia," Hermes 57 (1922): 80-106.

²For example, the Macedonian winner of the men's dolichos (line 10).

³Cf. the second-century victor lists from the Theseia, IG II² 956-958.

⁴Overall the higher representation of boys and youths in Periods Four and Five--perhaps due to the addition of new age classes--may account in part for the lower representation of athletes of these periods in APF.

wealthy but non-noble syntrierarch accused by Demosthenes of gaining money from his political activities. The non-noble orator Demades, regarded as a self-advertising nouveau riche politician by Davies,¹ won the last Athenian equestrian victory at Olympia in pre-Hellenistic times. Phokos was the son of a popular general of at least rentier status. His victory in the questionably equestrian apobates bears comparison with the victories in the anthippasia of the mid-fourth century of Demainetos I and his sons Demeas IV and Demosthenes III.² Demainetos and his sons, of rentier status and possibly associated with Demades,³ were active in deme and tribal affairs; their militarily-flavoured victories represent their agonistic claim to recognition. Although he was a gennetes and his victories may date later than the lower limit of this study, Demetrios of Phaleron also seems to fit this last group of nouveaux riches equestrian victors. Like others, he is a member of APF but his wealth obviously was as new as the public activity of his family. For a short time at least, Demetrios and others of wealth (if not necessarily of prestigious birth) again turned to hippotrophy seeking its traditional connotations of wealth and status.

¹Davies, APF, pp. 99-102.

²Recorded on the Bryaxis base, IG II 3130, discussed earlier p. 105. MacKendrick, Athenian Aristocracy, 69 n. 33 rather casually accepts the Bryaxis base (and IG II² 1138, victory in an unknown contest) as evidence of "athletic victories."

³On possible relatives of these phylarchs, see Davies, APF, 3276 and p. 103; and MacKendrick, Athenian Aristocracy, 8, 69 n. 33.

Conclusion

To conclude briefly, this prosopographical and socio-economic study of Athenian athletes shows historical developments in line with changes in Athenian society at large. While there is agreement with Pleket's argument that the upper classes persisted in athletics, it is important to note changes within the composition of the Athenian upper class.

The gymnastic athletes of evidentially-limited Period One include famous and also otherwise unknown men. Period Two reveals the dominance in athletics, as in social and political life, of landed, internationally connected, gentilician families. These gennetai seem preoccupied with hippotrophy, but possibly some of them had practised gymnastic events in their youth before shifting in later life to the more spectacular realm of hippotrophy. With imperial and anti-aristocratic developments in Period Three, "new athletes"--not aristocrats but not poneroi--appear in both equestrian and gymnastic events. Social prominence as shown through athletic family traditions may have been a factor in the re-alignments and intermarriages to which the old aristocracy now resorted. In the last decades of the fifth century the landed aristocracy was less evident in athletics and public life.¹ This social group, but not athletics, was in decline: more Athenian Olympic champions are known from the fourth century than the fifth. The "new athletes" came from new propertied families (neoploutoi), men

¹This research thus disagrees with MacKendrick's contention, Athenian Aristocracy, p. viii, that aristocratic competition in the Games continued "unabated" after Kleisthenes. An aristocratic victor like Demetrios was an exception, and the appearance of seven gennetai as victors in the second century has little relevance to the fourth century.

of leisure, increasing education, and often non-landed wealth. Whether these men pushed out the aristocrats or filled in the space upon their withdrawal is debatable.

With non-aristocratic athletes in the fifth century appears a group of more obscure individuals concentrating on the heavy events. Although there are indications that training was increasingly important for success, one should not simply label these men "professionals" and blame them for the decline of the aristocracy in athletics.¹ From his victories, Kallias Didymiou might seem a likely candidate for professional status, but he is also known as a prominent and politically active citizen. Along with upper class "new athletes," obscure heavy athletes continue in Periods Four and Five, but there are also obscure stadion runners. References to men by their athletic abilities may indicate their characterization rather than their occupation.² The career of Dioxippos makes him the most likely Athenian professional athlete, and the actions of Kallippos form the soundest indication of moral degeneration. However, these possible examples of professionalism and decadence among Athenian athletes are late and atypical for

¹There is little force in Bilinski's argument, Agonistica, 57-74, that Athenian democracy produced professionalism in athletics and changed the whole nature of sport, as well as influencing the triumph of the intellectual over the physical conception of virtue. Pleket and Finley, Olympic Games, 71 declare with more authority that: "It is a modern falsification of the ancient record to link the rise of professional athletics with the decline in the aristocratic monopoly."

²M. F. Shelden, "Greek Athletics in the Writings of the Greek Historians" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1974), concludes that Greek historians mention athletic ability as a means of identifying individuals. Men were often characterized by their athletic ability or success. For instance, Herodotus 6. 92; 9. 75 refers to Eurybates the Aeginetan as "a man practised in the pentathlon" or "a victor in the pentathlon."

pre-Hellenistic Athens.¹

Always in association with the wealth of an upper class, hippotrophy seems to have decreased with the fortunes of Athens in Period Four. Its revival in Period Five shows its strong appeal to status-conscious men of wealth. The popularity of hippotrophy, like that of expensive odes and dedications, is an indication that the ideology of athletics remained aristocratic. Neither equestrian nor gymnastic competition was for everyone, and winning always meant more than participating.

In sum, the available evidence indicates that in pre-Hellenistic Athens gymnastic and equestrian athletics were persistently elitist. Even with the natural physical inequalities of men and the need for a modicum of physical potential, athletic success tended to favour the few who had the leisure, finances and inclination to train and travel. It is important to note the social shift in athletics from an elitism of birth to an elitism of wealth.² That so many victors appear in APF confirms an a priori assumption of the need for wealth. That so many athletes and their families are known from political and military contexts indicates the social pre-eminence of the families of athletes.

At Athens athletics persistently were related to wealth and social prominence. In terms of participation in Panhellenic contests, there was no revolutionary popularization of sport brought about by prizes, democracy or professionalism. Athletics seem to follow rather

¹On professionalism see below pp. 254-60.

²While in the sixth century athletics implied noble birth which itself implied wealth, by the fourth century athletics still imply wealth in some form, but the correlation of wealth to noble birth had ended.

than precede the social advancement of families. In actual competition men won by merit, but socio-economic factors affected one's chances of competing. Men of limited resources were limited to local and lesser contests and to modest celebrations and dedications. Men of whom we know nothing but their athletic activity cannot be placed socially or economically; increases in their numbers may say more about our increasing sources than about the sociology of athletics. In the fourth as in earlier centuries, the mass of the Athenian population watched and enjoyed the athletic endeavors of a minority.

PART FIVE

CRITICS AND CRITICISMS

Introduction

Despite increasing evidence, the conventional picture of the history of Greek athletics has changed little since the turn of the century.¹ Athletics are depicted, after an early, brief period of glory, as in a pattern of decline and degeneration with training and rewards producing professionalism.² This conventional picture is partly based on critical comments by ancient authors, and the following discussion will evaluate the reliability of critics and criticisms of Athenian athletics.³ Since research on pre-Hellenistic Athens has shown that athletic festivals were still developing, facilities were becoming more elaborate, and athletic participation continued and remained elitist, perhaps "transformation" would be more appropriate than the value-laden concept of "decline" for describing developments

¹Although the technical aspects of various events and the history of physical education have attracted continuing scholarship, these are not the primary concerns of this dissertation. The ephebeia is a major topic in itself and will be touched on here only insofar as it illustrates points about athletics.

²Major exponents of the conventional picture include E. N. Gardiner, J. Jüthner, and more recently H. A. Harris. B. Bilinski, Agonistica, gives an exaggerated version from a Marxist point of view. He depicts a class struggle of the toiling, productive masses and the new commercial class against the unproductive aristocracy (pp. 25-49). As society passes from a primitive to a plutocratic stage, sport is attacked and declines as an aristocratic privilege. On the conventional picture also see above "Introduction" pp. 4-5.

³This study deals only with pre-Hellenistic Athens, not with the total picture of Greek athletics. Regional variations did exist at Sparta, Croton and elsewhere.

in the athletic history of Athens.

According to Gardiner and others, the history of Greek athletics conforms to a "rise and fall" pattern in which the popularity of early athletic competition was its own undoing.¹ After a golden age of aristocratic, amateur athletics, the sixth century saw a dangerous expansion of athletic festivals and honours for victors. Increased competition led to specialization, athletes had to prepare and excel more and more, and this became feasible for only one event per individual.² Soon personal preparations needed to be supplemented by supervision and training by hired experts. Over-competition, over-specialization, and increasingly technical training in the fifth century promoted the rise of "professional" athletes.³ These professionals, recruited from the lower classes and from rural and backward areas, lived off their prizes; they debased athletics socially and morally. Noble amateurs were forced to withdraw from competition or to retire to the more detached realm of hippotrophy. In combination with other developments like radical

¹Gardiner, AAW, 99; GASF, 101 and Marrou, Education, 93 compare the exaggerated importance attached to victory in early Greek and in modern society, blaming such an attitude for the death of amateur athletics.

²Gardiner, GASF, 101 condemns the specialization and training that followed the spread and popularity of athletics. Finley and Pleket, Olympic Games, 69 hypothesize that specialization in athletics began not later than 700 or 680, from the time when the Olympic program became diversified and began to attract competitors from Southern Italy, but evidence is unavailable.

³Gardiner, AAW, 44:

Indeed, from the middle of the fifth century the athletic interest begins to decline in Greece. A change was taking place in the character of athletes. Over-competition and the multiplication of prizes had made the conditions for success too strenuous and too exacting for the private citizen. So there arose a class of professional athletes....

democracy and Sophism, athletic professionalism supposedly changed Athens from a nation of athletes to a nation of spectators.¹

There are two methodological faults with this picture and its application to Athens. The first problem is the subjectivity of the approach. As Pleket has noted, scholarship in this area has suffered from a "classicist bias" (the tendency to impose a rise and fall structure) and from an obvious preference for amateurs over professionals.² For example, Gardiner, condemning the "evil results of professionalism" as "fatal to the true amateur spirit," asserts with gentlemanly indignation that "When money enters into sport, corruption is sure to follow."³ Modern concerns about money and excess in sport, plus romantic notions of amateurism, have blurred historians' visions.⁴

¹Forbes, GPE, 91 and Bilinski, Agonistica, 60-7 regard fourth-century athletics as a matter of spectacle with incapable masses watching socially useless professionals.

²Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 51-3. Pleket challenges the conventional picture on conceptual and factual grounds, contending (pp. 71-2) that from Pindar's until Roman Imperial times members of the upper class were never absent in sport (neither in the running events nor in the body contact sports) and that the prevailing ideology of Greek sport was always a product of that same class.

³Gardiner, GASF, 134, AAW, 3, 103. Harris, SGR, 40 strikes a familiar note:

When money comes in at the door, sport flies out the window, and the Greek athletic scene thereafter exhibits the same abuses that are becoming only too familiar to us in our big business world of so-called "sport."

Harris, SGR, 73 confesses that his is the "... outlook of an old-fashioned don who thinks that the life of the professional footballer, however lucrative, is no career for a university graduate."

⁴Fears about trends in early twentieth-century athletics lay behind comments like those of Forbes, GPE, 262, that athleticism was "insidious and deadly" or that physical education and professional athletics were "irreconcilable foes." Thomas Woody, "Professionalism and the Decay of Greek Athletics," School and Society 47 (1938): 521-8 warned that the history of Greek athletics would be repeated in modern times.

An objective approach must avoid such anachronistic prejudices. The second fault is that this picture often is based on post-classical and non-Athenian sources, or it relies heavily on critical Athenian authors.¹ A significant body of pre-Hellenistic critical testimony on Athenian athletics does exist, but it needs to be examined carefully both internally and against independent evidence. The nature of the critical sources and the influence of literary conventions must be recognized.² Thus developments in Athenian athletics which have been seen as signs of decline are to be studied objectively and thoroughly from the available pre-Hellenistic Athenian sources.

Comments on athletics at Athens ranged from anonymous graffiti to philosophical discussions.³ A variety of Athenian authors (and

¹Extensive, specific discussions of athletics are rare in ancient literature, so there has been a tendency to generalize from late sources such as Galen's *Protrepticus* 9-14. See Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, chapter 9, "The Critics," 113-27, for a general treatment.

²On criticism of athletics as a theme in Greek literature, see Robinson, "Greek Critics," 167-76; Buhman, *Sieg*, 137-40; Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, 113-28; R. Muth, "Der Sieg zu Olympia. Faszination und Kritik," *Schriftum aus Tirol* 15 (1976): 7-39; Jüthner-Brein, 1: 94-7. Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 5-11 offers a literary and social study of the themes of praise and criticism of sport, and of the antagonism between physical and intellectual realms. He sees the themes and the antagonism both as elements of Greek culture and society. Although provocative, his interpretations tend to be narrow and forced. Advocates of sport, such as Homer and Pindar, speak only for the aristocracy, while critics, like Xenophanes and Euripides, speak for class-conscious non-nobles and reflect social and economic change (25-49).

³Lang, *Agora XXI*, 12, 21 discusses a graffito (C5, of ca. 520-480; *Hesp.* 25 (1956): 63) from a plain hydria which declares that "Titas the Olympic victor is a lecherous fellow" (Τίτατος Ὀλυμπιονίκου [ι]-μοῦς καταπύγον). The victory is assumed to be figurative, and Lang suggests the jug may have been presented to Titas, as a parody of the Panathenaic amphorae, to suggest his championship in his other capacity. This is one of many jokes and analogies showing how deeply athletics permeated Athenian life and literature. M. F. Shelden, "Athletics in the Greek Historians," 74-5 concludes that historians mentioned athletics neutrally, simply as an accepted part of life.

thence modern scholars) have tended to depict developments in Athenian athletics negatively. With earlier, non-Athenian criticisms by Tyrtaeus and Xenophanes, conventional literary elements (topoi) had arisen: the value of the athlete as citizen and soldier was deprecated, and disproportionate honours and rewards for athletes--rather than intellectuals--were condemned. Major Athenian criticisms of the state of athletics appear in the last third of the fifth century in the context of the Peloponnesian War, Sophism and intense political activity. Earlier criticisms of the popular evaluation of athletes continued, and they now were supplemented by criticisms of excessive athletic training (especially eating habits) and over-specialization as well as criticisms of the decline of physical education. Literary complaints in works by Euripides and Aristophanes were followed in the fourth century by philosophical references and statements by orators, but there is little variation on the earlier critical themes.

The following discussion first examines the critical passages and their critical motifs (what they subjectively or ideologically opposed and why) following roughly the order of their appearance with some grouping by genre.¹ The testimonia will be examined critically as evidence for developments in athletics and attitudes at Athens. Literary sources should not be used casually or in isolation, so the second part of this section will look at independent or neutral

¹No major discussions by Athenians have been omitted, but there is no claim to have covered every reference to sports in Athenian literature. As Stephen G. Miller, *Arete* (Chicago, 1979), ii wrote in defence of selectivity in his treatment of sources for Greek athletics, "I would like to have included many more sources, but athletics and athletes are so pervasive in the literature of antiquity that the final result would have approached the corpus of our extant Greek, and much of our Latin."

evidence on the issues most commonly associated with decline in athletics: training, rewards and professionalism. Concluding remarks will review the significance and reliability of the critical sources (the Critics) and assess the applicability of the conventional picture (the Criticisms) to Athens. It will be argued that the criticisms were influenced by literary conventions, and that they at most reflect understandable and ineffectual minority viewpoints. It will further be argued that the evidence overall--including the critics themselves--suggests that athletics at Athens were neither diminishing nor popularly disliked.¹ The Athenian case requires a modification of the conventional picture.

The Critics

In the history of athletics, the dissenting voice appeared in literature long before the glowing praises by Pindar. Tyrtaeus, seventh-century author of Spartan war songs, criticized athletics from a military viewpoint saying that athletic excellence and Panhellenic victories mattered little without victory in battle.² Despite Sparta's

¹The negative judgement of athletes was shared neither by the people nor the athletes themselves. Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 80-7 contends that even in the post-classical era, when athletes increasingly came from the lower classes and professionalism is demonstrable, the athletes retained the early aristocratic ethos of athletics stressing glory, courage, toil and endurance. Pleket explains this ideological continuity as due partly to the continued involvement of the upper classes in athletics, and partly to the tendency of non-upper class people to emulate the aristocratic ideal of independence and leisure.

²Tyrtaeus frag. 12.1-2, 10-14; West, Iambi et Elegi, 2: 157; trans. J. M. Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus, 1: 75:

οὐτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳι ἄνδρα τιθείην
οὔτε ποδῶν ἀρετῆς οὔτε παλαιμοσύνης,

. . .

impressive victories in the early games, the individualism of athletic arete was to be subordinated to the military ethic of service to the state.¹

Xenophanes, the Ionian philosopher and poet, made a famous criticism of public adulation and rewards for athletic and equestrian victors ca. 525.² Such victors were less worthy than poets (lines 6-9):

ἀσποῖσιν κ' εἴη κυδοότερος προσορᾶν,
καὶ κε προεδρίην φανερὴν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἄροιτο,
καὶ κεν σίτ' εἴη δημοσίων κτεάνων
ἐκ πόλεως, καὶ δῶρον ὅ οἱ κειμήλιον εἴη—

... even if he [victor] should become a most glorious symbol for all his fellow citizens to observe, and win a front row seat at the games and his meals at public expense and some especially valuable gift from the state....

The poet is not attacking civic honours as such but feels they are inappropriate for athletes and should go to intellectuals like himself (lines 11-15).³ Xenophanes' juxtaposition of wisdom and strength, and

οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμῳ
εἰ μὴ τετλαίῃ μὲν ὄρων φόνον αἱματόεντα,
καὶ δηίων ὀρέγῃτο' ἐγγυθεν ἰστάμενος.
ἥδ' ἀρετῆ, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον
κάλλιστόν τε βέρειν γίνεται ἀνδοὶ νέει.

I would neither call a man to mind nor put him in my tale for prowess in the race or wrestling...for a man is not good in war if he have not endured the sight of bloody slaughter and stood nigh and reached forth to strike the foe. This is prowess, this is the noblest prize and the fairest for a lad to win in the world....

¹Marrou, Education, 37-8; J. G. Thompson, "Sport, Athletics and Gymnastics," 90-1.

²Xenophanes frag. 2 (Diels) apud Ath. 10. 413f-414c; West, Iambi et Elegi, 2: 165-6. C. M. Bowra, "Xenophanes and the Olympic Games," AJ Phil. 59 (1938): 257-79 remains a major discussion. Bilinski, Agonistica, 25-33 sees Xenophanes as the voice of a new anti-aristocratic class and ethos.

³Xenophanes frag. 2.11-15; trans. S. G. Miller:

his preference for intellectual over physical arete was often repeated, as was his closing assertion that athletes aid neither the good order (eunomia) nor the finances of a city (lines 19-22). Athens rewarded her athletes as Xenophanes describes, and the military and philosophical evaluations of athletes and of honours for victors were to reappear in Athenian literature.

A fragment of the Autolycus of ca. 420 by Euripides, borrowing from Xenophanes according to Athenaeus,¹ presents a very negative opinion of athletes.

κακῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρίων καθ' Ἑλλάδα
 οὐδὲν κάκιον ἔστιν ἀθλητῶν γένους.
 οἱ πρῶτα μὲν ζῆν οὔτε μαυθάνουσιν εἴ
 οὔτ' ἂν δύναιτο· πῶς γὰρ ὅστις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ
 γνάθου τε δούλος νηδύος θ' ἠσημένος
 κτήσασθαι ἂν ὄλβον εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πατρός;
 οὐδ' αὖ πένεσθαι καὶ ξυνηρετεῖν τύχαις
 οἷοί τ' ἔθη γὰρ οὐκ ἐθισθέντες καλὰ
 σκληρῶς μεταλλάσσουσιν εἰς τὰ μῆχανα.
 λαμπροὶ δ' ἐν ἥβῃ καὶ πόλειως ἀγάλματα
 φοιτῶσ' ὅταν δὲ προσπέσῃ γῆρας πικρὸν,
 τριβῶνες ἐκβαλόντες οἴχονται χροσας.
 ἐμεμψάμην δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήνων νόμον,
 οἱ τῶνδ' ἕκατι σύλλογον ποιούμενοι
 τιμῶσ' ἀχρεῖους ἠδονὰς δαιτὸς χάριν.
 τίς γὰρ παλαίσας εἴ, τίς ἀκτύπους ἀνὴρ
 ἢ δίσκου ἄρας ἢ γνάθου παίσας καλῶς
 πόλει πατρῶα στεφάνου ἤρκεσεν λαβῶν;

. . . βώμης γὰρ ἀμείνων
 ἀνδρῶν ἢ δ' ἵππων ἡμετέροιο σοφίῃ.
 ἀλλ' εἰκῆ μάλα τοῦτο νομίζε-αι, οὐδὲ δίκαιον
 προκρίνειν βώμην τῆς ἀγαθῆς σοφίης

For my wisdom is a better thing than the strength of men or of horses. The current custom of honouring strength more than wisdom is neither proper nor just.

¹Ach. 10. 413f. Athenaeus, 10.413c, calls this "the first Autolycus" probably because another was written by Eupolis concerning the historical athlete; see A 12 and Edmonds FAC 1: pp. 326-7. Nauck suggests that ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Ἀὐτολύκῳ might be corrupted from ἐν τῷ σατυρικῷ; but it is unlikely that Euripides would overlook the pun in the names.

πότερα μαχούνται πολεμίοισιν ἐν χειροῦν
 δίσκουσ' ἔχοντες ἢ δι' ἀσπίδων ποσὶ
 θείνουντες ἐκβαλοῦσι πολεμίους πάτρας;
 οὐδέεις σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας
 στάς. ἄνδρας οὖν χοῆν τοὺς σοφούς τε καὶ
 γαθούς
 φύλλοις στέφουσθαι, ἧστίς ἡγεῖται πόλει
 κάλλιστα σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος ὢν ἀνὴρ,
 ὅστις τε μύθοις ἔργ' ἀπαλλάσσει κακὰ
 μάχας ἔ' ἀφαιρῶν καὶ στάσεις. τοιαῦτα γὰρ
 πόλει τε ταύτῃ πᾶσι θ' Ἑλλήσιν καλά.

Of all the thousand ills that prey on Hellas not one is greater than the tribe of athletes; for, first, they never learn how to live well, nor, indeed, could they; seeing that a man, slave to his jaws and belly, cannot hope to heap up wealth superior to his sire's. How to be poor and to row in fortune's boat they know no better; for they have not learned manners that make men proof against ill luck. Lustrous in youth, they lounge like living statues decking the streets; but when sad old age comes, they fall and perish like a threadbare coat. I've often blamed the customs of us Hellenes, who for the sake of such men meet together to honour idle sport and feed our fill. For who, I pray you, by his skill in wrestling, swiftness of foot, good boxing, strength at quoits, has ever served his city by the crown he gains? Will they meet men and fight with quoits in hand, or in the press of shields drive forth the foeman by force of fisticuffs from hearth and home? Such follies are forgotten face to face with steel. We therefore ought to crown with wreaths men wise and good, and him who guides the State; a man well-tempered, just and sound in counsel, or one who by his words averts evil deeds, warding off strife and warfare; for such things bring honour on the city and all Hellenes.¹

Like earlier and later criticisms, this passage disagrees with the custom of honouring victors more than wise and good men.² The Athenian dramatist

¹Euripides Autolycus frag. 282 (Nauck TGF 441) apud Ath. 10. 413c-f; trans. S. Miller. W. N. Bates, Euripides, 230-2 suggests, from Hyginus Fab. 201, that the plot dealt with Autolycus, the son of Hermes, who stole cattle from Sisyphus. There is a possibility that the passage was addressed to Herakles since, according to Apollodorus Bibl. 2.6.2, he was accused of a theft of cattle committed by Autolycus.

²Resentment against victor's rewards was voiced in the fifth century in comedy by Eupolis, frag. 104 (Edmonds FAC 1: pp. 342-3) apud Ath. 9.408d:

ἄν τις τύχη πρώτος δραμῶν. εἴληφε χειρόνιπτρον.
 ἀνὴρ δ' ὅταν τις ἐγαθὸς ἦ καὶ χρήσιμος πολίτης
 νικᾷ τε πάντας χρηστὸς ὢν. οὐκ ἔστι χειρόνιπτρον.

also seems to echo Tyrtaeus' criticisms of the military value of athletes. Furthermore, indicating the rise of training and athletic overdevelopment, and perhaps influenced by a passage from Achaëus,¹ Euripides' criticism now also presents the athlete physically as a caricature. In literature the stereotypic athlete henceforth was to be an overfed, unsophisticated lout who outlived his beauty and his health.² Despite their public adulation, athletes, unlike intellectuals, win no lasting good for themselves or their cities.³ This

In Edmond's translation:

And if a runner wins a race, that runner takes the prize,
But when a man's a good man and a blessing to his neighbour
And beats the field for honest worth, there's nothing for
his labour.

¹An Athenian tragic poet of the mid-fifth century, Achaëus of Eretria (Nauck TGF 579, apud Ath. 10.414d) according to Athenaeus wrote *περί τῆς εὐεξίας τῶν ἀθλητῶν* (trans. C. B. Gulick):

γυμνοὶ γὰρ ᾤθουν παιδίμους βραχιόνας
ἦβη σφριγῶντες ἐμπορεύονται, νέφω
στιλβούτες ἄνθει καρτερὰς ἐπωμίδας·
ἄδην δ' ἔλαιον στέρνα καὶ ποδῶν κύτος
χρίουσιν, ὡς ἔχοντες οἴκοθεν τρυφήν.

Their loins bare, their sleek arms swelling with youthful power, they ply their trade, strong shoulders glistening in youthful bloom; lavishing oil, they anoint their breasts and the hollows of their shields, as if they had been used to luxury in boyhood.

A lost work, The Games (Athla) (Ath. 10.417f; 15.689b), may have been the source.

²On the topic of the gluttony of athletes, Athenaeus gathered the above quotations from Xenophanes, Euripides and Achaëus; and Euripides is quoted again by Galen, Protrepticus 13. Two fourth-century comedies were entitled The Pancratiast and both dealt with eating; see Edmonds FAC 2: Alexis frag. 168, Theophilus frag. 8.

³Mary R. Lefkowitz, "The Poet as Hero: Fifth-Century Autobiography and Subsequent Biographical Fiction," CQ 28 (1978): 460-2, and K. J. Dover, GPM, 29-30, discuss a tendency among Greek poets from Hesiod on to present themselves in first person statements as separate from and superior to other men. Thus a poet's self-righteous condemnation of the popular adulation of athletes would suit his image as an isolated figure in a hostile world, setting a model of ethical behavior. The apparent goal was to give their poetry authority and excitement.

motif was a literary topos, and as evidence this passage from the Autolycus must be used with caution.¹ This was a satyr play wherein exaggeration, ridicule and burlesque would be wholly appropriate;² and the speaker and the context of the diatribe are unknown.

It is significant that Euripides, possibly a former wrestler,³ satirized athletes and then ca. 416 accepted a commission to write an epinician ode on the Olympic chariot victories of Alcibiades.

σέ δ' ἄγαμαι, ὦ Κλεινίου παῖ.
καλὸν ἔ νίκα. [τὸ] κάλλιστον δ' ὀ μῆδεις
ἄλλος Ἑλλάνων [ἔλαχε],
ἄρματι πρῶτα δραμεῖν καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα βῆν-
αί τ' ἀπονητὶ Διὸς στεφθέντ' ἐλαίᾳ
κάρυκι βοᾶν παραδοῦναι.

I am amazed at you, son of Cleinias. Victory is a beautiful thing, but the most beautiful thing, which no other of the Hellenes has had, you have had, to be first and second and third in the chariot-race and to go without labour, crowned with the laurel of Zeus, to make the herald cry your name aloud.⁴

¹Gardiner, GASF, 131-2 regards Euripides as appreciative of all manly sports and as a former victor, yet he would use Euripides as evidence of decline in athletics:

But athletic success could not satisfy his restless and ambitious spirit, and, like Xenophanes two generations before, he could not be blind to the unreality of the worship of athletics, and to the evils which it was producing.

More objectively, Robinson, "Critics," 168 cautions:

Euripides' diatribe against athletes is not to be taken as serious evidence for the fifth century, but, however, contains some grains of truth although almost obscured by the rhetoric of the piece.

²D. F. Sutton, "Athletics in the Greek Satyr Play," RSC 23 (1975): 203-09 looks at the role of athletic contests, especially wrestling and boxing, in satyr plays.

³Euripides' possible athletic experience (see P 87) need not lie behind Bacchae 455 when Pentheus mocks the effeminate appearance and long hair of Bacchus saying that he thus was "no wrestler." See the commentary by E. R. Dodds, Euripides' Bacchae (Oxford, 1960), and cf. Electra 528 on the short hair of wrestlers.

⁴Euripides apud Plut. Alcib. 11; trans. C. M. Bowra, "Euripides' Epinician for Alcibiades," Historia 9 (1969): 68-79.

It is Bowra's reasonable contention that Euripides in the summer of 416, still patriotic prior to the Melian massacre, composed this ode to be presented at Athens as part of Alcibiades' program of celebrations. That Euripides probably changed his opinion of Alcibiades later, as Athens' policies became more distasteful, is possible.¹ Two very different contexts are involved, and consistency cannot be demanded from the artist. Still it is striking that works by Euripides first condemn athletes, who like equestrian victors bring glory to Athens, and then praise Alcibiades, who surpassed other Greeks through an excessive display of wealth rather than talent or endurance (note ἀπονητί). Praise and criticism of athletics already had become literary conventions and a writer could use either as appropriate.²

Through his comedies Aristophanes is a major but not a dispassionate witness for changes in athletics and physical education at Athens.³ He portrays Athens as declining from a nation of athletes

¹Cf. Bilinski, Agonistica, 70-3 who feels that Euripides opposed the old athletic ideal as well as the new athletic practice, and that the Pindaric epinician format explains Euripides' praise of Alcibiades.

²Although gymnastic athletics and facilities seldom are mentioned in the tragedies, Sophocles in the Electra of ca. 415 stages a very dramatic chariot race. The paidagogue of Orestes of Mycenae spreads a false tale of the death of the youth. He claims--somewhat incredibly--that Orestes won all the athletic events at the Pythia and then entered the chariot race. In a moralistic and sensationalistic sequence, the rash Orestes dies in a crash; and a moderate, cautious driver--whom the patriotic Sophocles makes an Athenian, from the "city built by the gods," at a time when Alcibiades was still fresh in people's minds--goes on to victory. The Larisaioi of Sophocles (Nauck TGF 349) apparently involved an athletic meeting in which Perseus threw the discus; see H. A. Harris, "A Fragment from the Larisaioi of Sophocles," CR 34 (1975): 4-5.

³Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 8 defends the value of comedy as a historical source--if treated properly--for general conditions of Athenian life.

into one of spectators who watch athletes but are incapable of competing themselves.¹ Even the noble youths are parodied for deserting the athletic life for sophistry and an obsession with horseracing.

Modern scholars have used the Clouds as proof that the young nobles, the jeunesse dorée of Athens, were forced from gymnastic athletics into hippotrophy which proverbially required more money than skill.² Aristophanes' Pheidippides is a youth obsessed with horses to such an extent that he buys, races and dreams of them.³ Thus he impoverishes his father Strepsiades, a narrow-minded, tight-fisted rustic who regrets the expenses he met when he raised his social status through his marriage to a noble woman of the hippotrophic house of Megakles.⁴ Aristophanes satirizes the costly tastes of the son which drive the father to ridiculous lengths to avoid his debts.

The habit of hippotrophy here was acquired via the family

¹Gardiner, GASF, 131; Forbes, GPE, 158. As a corrective to the glorification of amateurism based on Pindar, one can turn to Aristophanes' spoof of an itinerant poet, obviously Pindar, who was able to be "bought" to compose an ode for a mule race; Ar. Aves 904-57; see Miller, Arete, 99-101. Aristotle, Rh. 3.2.14 (1405b) tells a very similar story about Simonides.

²Gardiner, GASF, 132: "While athletics were passing into the hands of professionals and losing their hold upon the people, the richer classes devoted themselves more and more to chariot and horse races." Bilinski, Agonistica, 52 regards hippotrophy as a remnant of aristocratic privilege as sport became democratized. Xenophon, Agésilaus 9.6, and Plutarch, Agés. 20.1, recount the story of Agesilaus persuading his sister to race chariots to show the Greeks that equestrian events were more a matter of wealth than ability.

³Ar. Nub. 14-6, 25, 27, 32. Harris, SGR, 177-8 would suggest that the youth may represent Alcibiades, but the play of 423 precedes Alcibiades' equestrian wins.

⁴Ar. Nub. 43-55; also see Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 50-1, 99.

traditions and ambition of the mother. She insisted that the boy's name have "hipp-" in it, and she hopes the son will repeat the equestrian successes of his relatives.¹ Hippotrophy was nothing new for nobles. What is absurd and comic here is the combination of the aristocratic ethos and pastime with the moderation and limited means of a father unaccustomed to nobility and city life.² As we have seen, the hippotrophic ethos and pastime continued in the fourth century but were taken over by newer families who were able by their wealth to meet the expenses that were ruining Strepsiades.³ Aristophanes here assails the popularity and expense of equestrian competition, but this is not evidence of a monopolization of gymnastic events by professionals.

Aristophanes seems more upset about a decline in the standard of athletic competitions than with the developments in athletics criticized by Euripides. The comic poet advises against excess in exercising,⁴ and the famous athletic appetite may lie behind the remark in the Peace that the dung beetle throws himself on his food "like a wrestler" (ὡσπερ παλαιστής).⁵ The statement in the Plutus that the god of wealth was highly sympathetic to musical and athletic games (Πλούτῳ γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο συμφωρώτατον ποιεῖν ἀγῶνας μουσικούς καὶ γυμνικούς) has been taken as a criticism of

¹Ar. Nub. 63-4, 69-70.

²In Aristophanes social differences between nobles and commoners were complex, and the opposition of these classes is also to some extent based on the antagonism between the old and young generations; Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 98.

³See above pp. 205-206.

⁴Ar. Nub. 417.

⁵Ar. Pax 33-5.

professionalism but is more likely a satirical comment on embezzlement and the civic festival program.¹ Contrasting the old and new generations, Aristophanes presents the Old Acharnian reminiscing about running against the famous Phayllos, whereas Philocleon boasts about overhauling the athlete in court.² The comedies suggest that the influence of the Sophists was such that festivals could no longer be conducted properly; the pyrrhic chorus was inadequate in Aristophanes' eyes.³ He claims that the Athenians were too untrained to run the torch race respectably and he depicts an unfit youth abused by crowds to the point where he breaks wind and extinguishes his torch.⁴ Aristophanes prefers the "good old days."

Seldom advocating change or welcoming the future,⁵ Aristophanes in the Clouds gives an alarming picture of the influence of the Sophists

¹Ar. Plut. 1161; see Gardiner, GASF, 129; Woody, "Professionalism," 524. Aristophanes was critical of the number of Athenian festivals; Eq. 528, 1037; Pax 1036.

²Ar. Ach. 215 and Schol. See Rogers' commentary, and cf. Ran. 1205-7.

³The Just Logos says that the effete Athenian youths cover themselves with their shields and perform the dance improperly, Nub. 988-9.

⁴Ar. Ran. 1087-8, 1089-98. Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 256 explains that runners who came last in the torch race were thrashed; originally an old rite, it had lost its meaning and become crude popular fun. On the torch race, see pp. 350-56.

⁵Dover, Greek Homosexuality, 141 comments:

The standpoint of Aristophanic comedy, adopted by its principal characters and choruses, is normally that of middle-aged, even elderly, citizens, resentful of the bright, energetic, disrespectful young men who seem to them (increasingly, of course, as one gets older) to dominate the assembly and to be elected to military and administrative offices.

on the physical lifestyle of young Athenians. He stages a debate between the Old and the New Education represented by the Just and the Unjust Logos.¹ An exaggerated antithesis is offered between the old lifestyle of the Academy and the new lifestyle of the Agora: youths should spend their time exercising and competing with friends in the open air of the Academy rather than going downtown to learn the life of speeches and the courts.² The Just Logos extolls the physical benefits of the Old Education:

ἦν ταῦτα ποιῆς ἀγὼ φράζω,
καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις προσέχης τὸν νοῦν,
ἕξεις ἀεὶ
στήθος λιπαρὸν, χροιάν λαμπράν,
ῥίμους μεγάλους, γλώτταν βαιάν,
πυγὴν μεγάλην, πόσθην μικράν.
ἦν δ' ἄπερ οἱ νῦν λιπιηδεύης,
πρῶτα μὲν ἕξεις
χροιάν ὠχράν, ῥίμους μικρούς,
στήθος λεπτόν,
γλώτταν μεγάλην

If these precepts you will heed
And to them your mind apply,
A stalwart chest shall be your meed,
Complexion bright, shoulders high,
A tiny tongue, a stout behind,
And a diminutive masculine member.
If to the new-fangled you give your mind
Your complexion will be a shade of umber,
Shoulders puny, a chest like a flea's,
Tongue enormous³

In vain Aristophanes wishes men would spurn the new ideas in education

¹The Old Education was a natural product of the polis, meeting its demands for physical and mental training. It encouraged modesty, morality and patriotism. Influenced by the Sophists, the New Education focused on politics and oratory; Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 292-4 discusses the role of personal advantage and enjoyment in the new system.

²Ar. Nub. 1002-8; on this topographical contrast, see above p. 130.

³Ar. Nub. 1009-17; trans. M. Hadas.

which he claims promote poor fitness, immorality and over-proficiency in debate.¹

Aristophanes' works blame Socrates and Euripides for misleading the youth from the conservative habits of his ideal citizens, the Marathonomachai. His plays claim men no longer appreciate the virtues of the elder generation who were trained in sports, dance and music (τραφέντας ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ).² He charges that Socrates' pupils were expected to give up gymnastics,³ and that Euripides taught the Athenians to babble and chatter thus "emptying the palaestrae and wearing away their rumps" (ἢ ἔξεκένωσεν τὰς τε παλαίστρας καὶ τὰς πυγὰς ἐνέτριψε).⁴ Men are said to have developed a taste for baths and oil, abandoning the wrestling schools and physical exertion.⁵ Yet even as he claims that the palaestrae are empty, Aristophanes criticizes men who haunt these places seeking boys for pederasty.⁶ Although providing hilarious entertainment,

¹Cedric H. Whitman, Aristophanes and the Comic Hero (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 124-7 discusses the theme of the conflict of generations in the Clouds, explaining that the themes of old and new--like country and city--are presented as anatomical to the point of absurdity.

²Ar. Ran. 729.

³Ar. Nub. 417; but cf. Nub. 177-9 where Socrates, as often in a gymnastic setting, steals a cloak from a palaestra (ἐκ τῆς παλαίστρας θοῖμάτιον ὑφέλετο).

⁴Ar. Ran. 1069-70; also see Nub. 1053-4. Nub. 973-4 praises the former modesty of boys at the trainers. Similarly, Ps. Andocides, Against Alcibiades, 39 says that Alcibiades was a leader in new trends and καταλύει τὰ γυμνάσια.

⁵On Aristophanes on baths, see above pp. 120-21.

⁶Comedy depicted pederasty as characteristic of the nobles, a practice closely connected with the world of the palaestra. See Ar. Vesp. 1023-4; Eq. 1385, 1387; Pax 762-3; Nub. 417, 991. On the motif in Aristophanes, see Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 100-02; or more generally Dover, Greek Homosexuality, 138. Nudity and exercise would

the Clouds apparently did not meet with popular favour or agreement.¹ As a conservative and an artist seeking comic effect, Aristophanes has to be used with caution as evidence for Athenian athletics and physical education.

Venerable but hardly unbiased, the Old Oligarch echoes Aristophanic criticisms of developments in athletics. As well as censuring the democracy's expansion of athletic facilities,² the anonymous opponent of democracy and empire charges that the demos has destroyed physical education and culture at Athens.

Τοὺς δὲ γυμναζομένους ἀπόθι καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύον-
 τας καταλέλυκεν ὁ δῆμος, νομίζων τοῦτο οὐ καλὸν εἶναι, γνοῦς
 ὅτι οὐ δυνατὸς ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐπιτηδεύειν.

The offices of teachers of gymnastics and music have been abolished by the people who, knowing that the pursuit of these arts was beyond their possibility, considered them not desirable.³

make the palaestra an appropriate place for homosexual encounters, but not if the palaestrae were empty and the youths were in the Agora.

¹One can note that, with an audience of composition similar to the Ekklesia, the original production of the Clouds in 423 came third and last at the Dionysia. Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 50-1 suggests that the demos was more interested in politics than affairs of the mind such as the denunciation of Sophistry. A revised version of the play was widely read but never performed on stage; see C. H. Whitman, Aristophanes and the Comic Hero, 120-4, 133-7.

²See above pp. 115-17.

³Ps. Xenophon Ath. Pol. 1.13, trans. L. C. Stecchini. J. M. Moore, Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy, 49 points out that the opening sentence cannot be taken as a statement that there was a legislative ban on physical exercise and the pursuit of culture. Rather the author must be using καταλέλυκεν in the metaphorical sense of bringing such pursuits into disrepute. In other words, the democracy had driven gymnastics out of fashion. H. Frisch, Constitution of the Athenians, 212-4 demonstrates how conservative circles at Athens cherished the view that democracy neglected physical training; also cf. L. C. Stecchini, Athenaion Politeia, 31-2.

He further reviles the demos complaining that the masses prefer the festival and liturgical programs of imperial Athens since the rich pay the bills while the poor receive money for their popular but less demanding participation.

. . . ἐν ταῖς χορηγίαις

(δ') αὐτὸ καὶ γυμνασιάρχαις καὶ τριηραρχίαις γιγνώσκουσιν ὅτι χορηγοῦσι μὲν οἱ πλούσιοι, χορηγεῖται δὲ ὁ δῆμος, καὶ γυμνασιαρχοῦσιν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ τριηραρχοῦσι, ὁ δὲ δῆμος τριηραρχεῖται καὶ γυμνασιαρχεῖται. ἀξιοῖ οὖν ἀργύριον λαμβάνειν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἄδων καὶ τρέχων καὶ ὄρχούμενος καὶ πλέων ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἵνα αὐτὸς τε ἔχη καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι πένεστεροι γίγνωνται

But when it comes to spending money for choruses, athletic games and the equipment of ships, they consider them desirable knowing that they are paid for performing in the games and serving on the ships, while the rich pay for directing the games and commanding the ships. The people demand to be paid for singing, running, dancing, and sailing on ships, so that they may get the money and the rich be made poorer.¹

Pericles' defence of the diversity of the Athenian lifestyle, rather than the narrow physical training of the Spartans, may represent the democratic response to such criticisms.² Like Aristophanes, the Old Oligarch complains that physical education was decreasing even as the festival program and athletic facilities grew.³ Both authors suggest that the physical aspects of Athenian education were becoming less predominant, but both also tend to be hyperbolic.⁴ Furthermore, the Old Oligarch shows that most Athenian citizens favoured the athletic

¹Ps. Xenophon Ath. Pol. 1.13, trans. L. C. Stecchini.

²Thuc. 2.39.1.

³Ps. Xenophon Ath. Pol. 2.10; 3.2,4,8; cf. Ar. Ran. 729, 1070.

⁴The Old Oligarch exaggerated points for effect. His discussion of slaves at Athens, 1.10, is contradicted by the evidence of comedy; see Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 184-6.

life of the city.

Negative comments on athletics also come from Attic oratory. Most notably, Isocrates made a forceful, but hardly original, criticism of the granting of honours for athletes, whose physical virtues are transitory, rather than for intellectuals, who offer lasting gifts.

. . . θαυμάζω δ' ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων
μειζόνων δωρεῶν ἀξιοῦσι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀ-
γῶσι κατορθοῦντας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τῇ φρονήσει καὶ
τῇ φιλοπονίᾳ τι τῶν χρησίμων εὐρίσκοντας,

I marvel that so many cities judge those who excel in the athletic contests to be worthy of greater rewards than those, who by painstaking thought and endeavor, discover some useful thing....¹

The Panegyricus opens with a similar rejection of the popular evaluation of athletes as above men on the mind,² yet Isocrates later in the same piece supports the institution of athletic games as a reminder of the cultural unity of the Greeks.

. . . καὶ μηδετέρους ἀθύμως διάγειν, ἀλλ'
ἐκατέρους ἔχειν, ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, οἳ μὲν ὅταν
ἴδωσι τοὺς ἀθλητὰς αὐτῶν ἕνεκα ποιοῦντας, οἳ δ' ὅταν
ἐνδυνμηθῶσιν, ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν σφετέρην θεωρίαν
ἤκουσι,

... and no one lacks zeal for the festival, but all find in it that which flatters their pride, the spectators when

¹Isocrates (To the Rulers of Mytilene) Letter 8.5 of ca. 350; trans. L. Van Hook. In his personal apologia, the Antidosis, Isocrates had made a similar attack on undue rewards for men of strength. He expressed astonishment that training in gymnastics was more acclaimed than the study of philosophy, and contended (15.250) that Athens had become famous through wisdom rather than physical excellence. Isocrates accepted moderate gymnastics as part of a broad program of education but held that the body must be the servant of the mind (Antidosis 15.250). On Isocrates on physical education, see Marrou, Education, 119-36; Beck, Greek Education, 282-3.

²Isoc. Paneg. 50.1-2 echoes the topos that rewards are given for bodily excellence while men of the mind, who toil for the common good, gain no recognition.

they see the athletes exert themselves for their benefit, and the athletes when they reflect that all the world is come to gaze upon them.¹

Since it suits his Panhellenic argument, Isocrates defends the agonistic traditions of Greece. According to his speeches, as long as men know their place,² athletics could be beneficial but still not as worthwhile as the contributions of art and philosophy. Like Euripides earlier, Isocrates can draw on athletic topoi for rhetorical effect.³

Son of a wealthy father, and educated by critics of Athenian democracy and empire, Isocrates may have been a horseman in his youth;⁴ and his works suggest more sympathy for hippotrophy than for gymnastic competition. The rhetor composed a speech for the son of Alcibiades who was being sued by Teisias concerning the apparent theft of a team of horses by Alcibiades in 416.⁵ The younger Alcibiades defends and

¹Isoc. Paneg. 50.43-44; trans. G. Norlin; on this theme, Jaeger, Paideia, 3: 74. Lysias, Olympic Oration 33.1-2, similarly praises the early Olympic Games as a unifying factor.

²Isocrates, Areopagiticus 7.45, glorifies the early aristocratic age of Athens when a man's occupation was determined by his social origins: the poor kept to farming and trade while men of means could pursue hippotrophy, sport and philosophy.

³Isocrates' comments were not new and his rhetorical position must be considered. It was the talent of a rhetor to make the best case for himself or his client depending on the situation. Lycurgus, Against Leocrates 51, says that the Athenians are the only Greeks who know how to honour valiant men since they erect statues of generals and slayers of tyrants in their agora, rather than statues of victors of contests. However, in speeches by Demosthenes (Against Theocrines 66) and Aeschines (On the Embassy 2.147), athletic experiences of members of families are cited as positive factors and indicators of the worth of individuals under discussion. Aeschines says that an athlete can be recognized by bodily fitness ($\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$) even outside the gymnasium (In Tim. 1.189); and in another oration he criticizes Demosthenes for having avoided physical training and hunting in his youth (3.255).

⁴See p98.

⁵On the incident, see A63. On speeches concerning Alcibiades, see Robin Seager, "Alcibiades and the Charge of Aiming at Tyranny," Hist. 16 (1967): 6-18.

praises the career of his father, including his famous chariot-racing. He contends that Alcibiades saw that an Olympic victory brought fame to the city of the victor, and that while public service at Athens brought prestige locally to a citizen, expenditure and victory at Olympia spread the fame of a man and his city throughout all Greece.¹

The younger Alcibiades continues:

ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς, οὐδενὸς ἀφύστερος
οὐδ' ἄρρωστότερος τῷ σώματι γινόμενος τοὺς μὲν γυ-
μνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ὑπερέειδεν, εἰδὼς ἐπίουσι τῶν ἀθλητῶν
καὶ κακῶς γεγονότας καὶ μικρὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντας καὶ
ταπεινῶς πεπαιδευμένους, ἵπποτροφεῖν δ' ἐπιχειρή-
σας, ὃ τῶν εὐδαιμονεστάτων ἔργον ἴστι, φαῦλος δ'
οὐδεὶς ἂν ποιήσειεν,

... reflecting upon these things, I say, although in natural gifts and in strength of body he was inferior to none, he disdained the gymnastic contests, for he knew that some of the athletes were of low birth, inhabitants of petty states, and of mean education, but turned to the breeding of race-horses, which is possible only for those most blest by Fortune and not to be pursued by one of low esteem....²

Such a passage would suggest that Alcibiades withdrew into hippotrophy because of an influx of undesirable and unworthy competitors in gymnastic events. While it is possible that some competitors came from backgrounds or states that the aristocratic Alcibiades would belittle,³

¹ Isoc. (De Biga) 16.33.

² Isoc. 16.33; trans. L. Van Hook.

³ Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, 91-2 feel this passage may suggest that some cities sponsored entrants, but there is no evidence of this until later. Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 72-3 stresses the "some" (ἐνίοις), arguing that most participants still came from the upper classes, and that lower class athletes may have been a "recent phenomenon" in Alcibiades' lifetime. In an as yet unpublished paper to the 1979 meeting of the APA, D. C. Young in "Professionalism and Record Keeping in Archaic and Classical Greece" suggests that non-nobles competed successfully as athletes from the earliest games. He accepts Koroibus, Olympic champion of 776 (Moretti, *Olym.*, no. 1), the μάγειρος

the evidence on Athenian athletes does not confirm the idea of a preponderance of lower class athletes at Athens.¹

It is essential to remember that this was a forensic speech in which the son tried to justify the hippotrophy that led Alcibiades into conflict with Teisias.² In a commissioned, rhetorical piece, Alcibiades' possible disdain of his potential gymnastic competitors makes a very convenient rationalization. Without evidence and in the same breath, the son both asserts the gymnastic prowess of the father and excuses his choice of hippotrophy. Whatever the background of athletes at Olympia at the time, the advance of training meant that hippotrophy

(Ath. 9. 382b) as a "cook"; and Glaukos, Olympic victor in 520 (Moretti, *Olym.*, no. 134; Paus. 6.10.1; Philostr. *Gym.* 20), as a ploughman on his father's farm. Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 43, 47, attempting to cast all early athletes as aristocrats, sees Koroibus as a priest and Glaukos as a rich landowner. For a possibly non-noble athlete in Homer, see R. L. Howland, "Epeius, Carpenter and Athlete," *PCPS* 183 (1954-1955): 15-16. An epigram in Aristotle, *Rh.* 1.7.32 (1365a), possibly by Simonides (Bergk *PLG* frag. 163), refers to a fish porter as an example of a man of low birth rising to fame in that his Olympic win was beyond what was expected of him and beyond his equals. These characterizations of victors are far from reliable; it seems reasonable that most early victors were nobles. If a few non-nobles of exceptional natural talent did win they might be remembered as unusual victors.

¹Note that Thucydides' version of a speech by Alcibiades in 416 (6.16.1-2), in which Alcibiades argues that his hippotrophic success should earn him political support, makes no reference to the background of athletes.

²Rhetoricians were not consistent on the topic of hippotrophy. Although Isocrates (and Alcibiades) defended the practice, Ps. Andocides, *Against Alcibiades* 4, gives a very negative version of Alcibiades' motives and actions. Lysias (19.63) and Hyperides (1.16) may argue that hippotrophy was part of the justification of a man as being of good character; but Lycurgus (*Against Leocrates* 138) contends that hippotrophy was a matter of personal ambition and should not be a consideration in court. He presents hippotrophy and the staging of choruses as mere indicators of wealth, and not as a public service like a trierarchy.

was a shorter route to victory if one had the means. Chariot-racing was the obvious choice for Alcibiades, not something he was forced to pursue; and Isocrates, using his skill and education, could applaud or condemn honours for victors as the situation demanded.

We now turn to references to athletics in philosophy. Possibly a former athlete as well as a pupil of Socrates,¹ Plato frequently used athletic analogies and examples which perhaps were drawn from his own experience and certainly were comprehensible to his audience.² This philosopher was critical of contemporary athletic training and rejected it for the Guardians of his ideal state as an unhealthy lifestyle.³

Ἄλλ', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὑπνώδης αὐτῆ γέ τις καὶ σφαλερὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν. ἢ οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι καθεύδουσί τε τὸν βίον καί, ἐὰν μικρὰ ἐκβῶσιν τῆς τεταγμένης διαίτης, μεγάλα καὶ σφόδρα νοσοῦσιν οὗτοι οἱ ἀσκηταί;

Nay, said I, that is a drowsy habit and precarious for health. Don't you observe that they sleep away their lives, and that if they depart ever so little from their prescribed regimen these athletes are liable to great and violent diseases?⁴

He felt that the excessive care of the body that went beyond simple gymnastics was a great obstacle to the practice of virtue.⁵ Athletes are seen as one-sided in Plato's comparison of spirit and strength as

¹ See P 107.

² Plato compares a boxer's preparation for competition to men's preparations for war (Leg. 8.830b); a sophist is an "athlete in debate" (Soph. 231e); the Guardians are "athletes in the greatest of contests" (Resp. 3.403e); statesmen are like charioteers (Grg. 516e); other examples include Tht. 148c; Grg. 456d-457a; Phd. 254e.

³ Pl. Resp. 3.403-4, 410-12, 424; 5.452-7.

⁴ Pl. Resp. 3.404a; trans. Paul Shorey.

⁵ Pl. Resp. 3.407b; on training, see below pp. 242-50.

objectives.

Αὐτὰ γὰρ μὴν τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τοὺς πόρους πρὸς τὸ
θυμοειδὲς τῆς φύσεως βλέπων κάκεινο ἐγείρων ποιήσει
μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχύον, οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀθληταὶ βώμης
ἕνεκα σιτία καὶ πόρους μεταχειρίζεται.

And even the exercises and toils of gymnastics he will undertake with a view to the spirited part of his nature to arouse that rather than mere strength, unlike ordinary athletes who treat diet and exercise only as a means to muscle.¹

Contemporary athletic training was one of many things Plato regarded as unsuitable for a perfect state, but he did not speak for all Athenians.²

In the tradition of Xenophanes, Plato and Socrates criticized the rewards given to athletes as well as their training. In a famous passage from the Apology Socrates compares his worth to that of a victor and suggests a sentence for himself as a poor man and a moral benefactor of the city.

... οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι μᾶλλον, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, πρέπει [οὕτως], ὡς τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἐν
πρωτανείῳ σιτεῖσθαι, πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις ὑμῶν
ἵππῳ ἢ ξυνωρίδι ἢ ζεύγῳ νενίκηκεν Ὀλυμπιάσιν.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ποιεῖ εὐδαίμονας δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐγὼ
δὲ εἶναι· καὶ ὁ μὲν τροφῆς οὐδὲν δεῖται, ἐγὼ δὲ δέομαι.

Nothing could be more appropriate for such a person than free maintenance at the state's expense. He deserves it much more than any victor in the races at Olympia, whether he wins with a single horse or a pair or a team of four. These people give you the semblance of success, but I give you the reality; they do not need maintenance, but I do.³

Socrates contends that he deserves and needs sítesis more than victors, especially equestrian victors. The court was unmoved. Plato was in

¹Pl. Resp. 3.410b; trans. Paul Shorey.

²Plato does not speak in propria persona; the people in his dialogues represent a variety of views. Dover, Greek Homosexuality, 13 cautions that Plato himself was not a normal Athenian.

³Pl. Ap. 36d-e; trans. H. Tredennick.

sympathy with the idea of rewarding just and moral men more than athletes. In the myth of Er he comments on such rewards by having Atalanta choose the life of an athlete, the life with the great honours (μεγάλας τιμὰς ἀθλητοῦ).¹ This refers to contemporary practice, whereas in his utopia Plato would have rewards for athletes transferred and increased for his Guardians because of their services to the state. They were to "live a life happier than the life deemed most happy by others, the life of the victors at Olympia."² Plato disagreed with Atalanta, Socrates' jurors, and general opinions on athletic awards.

Plato's criticism of athletics is obviously related to his ideas on paideia and the just man.³ As a theorist Plato sought justice and harmony, in man through education, and in the city through politics. His educational ideal was the harmonious perfection of body and soul.⁴ Music, the education of the soul, had to be complemented by gymnastics, the education of the body.⁵ Since a healthy body and a healthy mind

¹Pl. Resp. 10.620b.

²Pl. Resp. 5.465d, ζήσουσί τε τοῦ μακαριστοῦ βίου ὄν οἱ ὀλυμπιονεῖται ζῶσι μακαριώτερον.

³For discussions of Plato's views on athletics and physical education: Marrou, Education, 95-118; Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, 325-37; Forbes, GPE, 97-105; Jaeger, Paideia 2: 230-4; Beck, Greek Education, 211-3; Popplow, Leibesübungen, 132-7; J. E. Chryssafis, "Plato on Physical Education," Pentathlon 5 (1928): 3-9; Eckhard Meinberg, "Gymnastische Erziehung in der platonischen Paideia, Versuch einer zeitgemässen Betrachtung," Stadion 1 (1975): 228-67.

⁴Pl. Ti. 88b says neither to exercise the soul without the body nor the body without the soul, so that they may be evenly matched and healthy: μήτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνευ σώματος κινεῖν μήτε σῶμα ἄνευ ψυχῆς, ἵνα ἀμυνομένω γίγνησθον ἰσορροπῶ καὶ ὑγιῆ. cf. Resp. 3.403; Leg. 728e.

⁵Pl. Resp. 3.411e-412a; Leg. 7.795. The body contained two evil states, disease and ugliness. The former was the concern of medicine, the latter of gymnastics; Pl. Soph. 228e, Grg. 7.795.

went together, Plato was in favour of moderate physical education;¹ but on principle he had to be critical of contemporary athletics as uneducational and impractical for the good of the individual and of the city.²

While discussing the ideal state in the Republic and the Laws, Plato recognized the traditional and popular appeal of athletics. His utopia would have athletic facilities, trainers and athletic games,³ but all these would be adapted to a system of military gymnastics for the good of the individual and the state. For the individual, training was not to be excessive and it was to be militarily practical; for the state, athletics were to be a preparation for wars into which the city would enter.⁴ There were to be twelve festivals with musical

¹Pl. Tht. 153b; Prt. 326b; Jaeger, Paideia, 2: 230-3. The opinions of Socrates as recounted by Xenophon are similar to those credited to the philosopher by Plato. Xenophon says Socrates favored the harmony of body and mind, and advised bodily health via exercise to promote mental health. One should develop one's natural bodily strength and beauty (Mem. 3.12.5,8; 4.4.23). However, Xenophon's Socrates also condemns excess and over-development (Symp. 2.17), disapproving of the life of the athlete in training as incompatible with the cultivation of the soul (Mem. 1.2.4).

²According to Plato, paideia was "that training in virtue from childhood which makes a man eager to become a full-fledged citizen, knowing both how to rule justly and how to obey" (Leg. 643e). By contrast, "any training (trophe) which aims at wealth or strength or any other accomplishment unattended by wisdom and justice is vulgar, illiberal and utterly unworthy to be called paideia" (Leg. 644a); Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, 297.

³Plato was critical of medical gymnastics (Resp. 3.407b), but his ideal state would have teachers of gymnastics. These would be paid experts (Leg. 7.813c) and necessarily foreigners or non-citizens (804d), acting under the supervision of the Director of Education (813b-c). Their main function would be to teach military skills such as the use of weapons. For Plato on ideal athletic facilities, see Leg. 6.761c and above p. 121, 171 n. 1.

⁴Pl. Leg. 813d-e, 828-31, 794c, 796a, 814d, 833a-d, 834d. Even the children's exercises were to be warlike; Lach. 179e-180a; Euthyd. 271c-d.

and gymnastic games; but non-military events were to be abolished, and only warlike events like races in armour should be held.¹ Acknowledging the tradition and importance of prizes, Plato held that prizes, and also censures, were to be given for his contests.² The Guardians, the "athletes of war," were to differ from contemporary citizens, and the extent and nature of their athletic activity was a major area of difference.³

The Platonic corpus provides valuable historical evidence as well as philosophy. While Aristophanes had wanted a return to a physically oriented system of education, Plato and Socrates simply advocated moderation. The dialogues and Socrates are often set in gymnasia or palaestrae, and these facilities are not empty.⁴ In fact Socrates retires to a quiet corner of a palaestra which is "newly built," showing that there was still a demand for places of exercise.⁵ The youths

¹Pl. Leg. 8.828c, 829b.

²Pl. Leg. 8.829b-c. Either noting historical examples of corruption or anticipating human weakness, Plato even prescribes punishments for any man who prevents another from competing (Leg. 12.955a-b).

³Pl. Resp. 3.404b. In Xenophon, Socrates is critical of a youth with an untrained body who is thus unready to serve his city adequately in war (Mem. 3.12.1-8). When the younger Pericles is critical of Athenian physical fitness and suggests that they should aspire to the physical excellence of Sparta, Socrates, however, praises the obedience of the Athenians (Mem. 3.5.13,15). Xenophon himself agrees with a practical attitude to sports and war; he says a hipparch should discourage expensive and unpractical horse-buying among cavalry recruits (Hipp. 1.11-2). Xenophon compares athletic preparations to the cavalry preparing for war; he decides that, since it is more glorious to win in war than in a boxing match, men should practice the art of war above all (Hipp. 8.5-7).

⁴For example: Chrm. 153a; Euthyd. 271a; Lys. 203a-204b.

⁵Pl. Lys. 207a-b.

in the athletic facilities have wealth, leisure and respectability;¹ they are not commoners and they actively exercise before turning to discussion.² Plato writes that the city is said to ring with the praises of the hippotrophic family of Lysis.³ Given his theoretical position on the human condition and on the value of citizens to the city, Plato had to criticize athletes both for their training and their rewards. However, his criticisms, analogies and his dialogues overall suggest that athletics and physical education were not as unpopular, nor in such a state of decadence, as Aristophanes and the Old Oligarch might claim.⁴

Like Plato, Aristotle criticized contemporary athletics but he limited his comments to athletic training and not rewards. He rejected the lifestyle of the athlete as unsuitable in terms of a man's health and his worth to the state.

. . . οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν
 χρήσιμος ἔστις πρὸς πολιτικὴν εὐερίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν
 καὶ τεκνοποιίαν, οὔτε ἡ θεραπευτικὴ καὶ κακοποιητικὴ λίσαν,
 ἀλλ' ἡ μέση τούτων.

The constitution of an athlete is not suited to the life of a citizen, or to health, or to the procreation of

¹The youths who attached themselves to Socrates were "young men with wealthy fathers and plenty of leisure" (Pl. Ap. 23c). Some youths in the dialogues were historical individuals from good families, such as Theaitetos (P 90).

²Pl. Th. 144c.

³Pl. Lys. 205c; see A 42.

⁴It is interesting that Xenophon's Socrates praises the young pancratiast Autolykos who had endured much suffering to be victorious, and was not soft or effeminate "but showed to the world physical strength and stamina, virile courage and sobriety". (Symp. 1.2; 1.8-9; 8.37; 8.7-8, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐπιδεικνυμένου βῶμην τε καὶ καρτερίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην).

children, any more than the valetudinarian or exhausted conditions, but one which is in a mean between these.

Aristotle explains that athletic training was too excessive and specialized:

πεπονημένην μὲν οὖν ἔχειν δεῖ τὴν
ἕξι, πεπονημένην δὲ πόνοις μὴ βιαίους, μηδὲ πρὸς ἓν
μόνον, ὡσπερ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἕξις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῶν
ἐλευθερίων πράξεις.

A man's constitution should be inured to labour, but not to labour which is excessive or of one sort only, such as is practised by athletes. He should be capable of all the actions of a freeman.¹

Critical of excessive eating leading to over-development,² Aristotle seems especially critical of the negative effects of training on the young.³ He claims training hurts the growth and form of the body, and as proof he points to the rarity of Olympic boy victors who repeat their success as adults.⁴

¹Arist. Pol. 7.16.12-13 (1335b); trans. H. Rackham. Dover, Greek Popular Morality, 163-4 discusses the opposition between toil, combined with athletic and musical training, and artistic or intellectual pursuits as a persistent theme in Greek literature. Bilinski, Agonistica, 74-87 presents Aristotle as a voice of the intellectually-oriented, dominant class expressing a class bias against supposedly lower class athletes.

²Aristotle says that through overeating (εἰδὲ τὴν πολυφαγίαν) athletes acquire too much bulk and end up ill-proportioned; Gen. An. 4.3.30 (768b); cf. Eth. Nic. 2.6.7 (1106b). Aristotle censures medical gymnastics in Rh. 1.5.10 (1361b).

³With Sparta as a ready example, Aristotle, Pol. 8.4.1 (1338b), comments, in S. G. Miller's translation:

Νῦν μὲν οὖν αἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν παιδῶν αἱ μὲν ἀθλητικὴν ἕξιν ἐμποιοῦσι, λωβώμεναι τὰ τε εἶδη καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν σωμάτων.

At the present time some of the states with the greatest reputation for attention to their children produce in them such an athletic condition as to detract from the form and growth of the body.

⁴Arist. Pol. 8.4.8 (1338b-1339a).

Aristotle's criticism of excess in athletics was tied to his theory of education, in which he advocated the whole man as the end of education and the golden mean as the directing principle.¹ He considered gymnastics a science which endeavored to learn what exercises were best suited to each body according to strength, age and sex.² Education of the body was to precede education of the mind.³ Mental health depended strongly on bodily processes, and likewise the body was influenced by the soul.⁴ In other words, the fundamental principle in gymnastics, as in life, was to be moderation: temperate exercise as opposed to excessive or insufficient training.⁵

Not always attacking athletes and contemporary practice, Aristotle discussed bodily and competitive arete in the Rhetoric. With his analytical, categorizing mind, Aristotle in a detached fashion points out factors in success or excellence and notes varieties of bodies, inclinations, and events.⁶ Bodily excellence in athletics is said to consist of size, strength and swiftness of foot (ἀγωνιστική δὲ σώματος ἀρετή σύγκειται ἐκ μεγέθους καὶ ἰσχύος καὶ τάχους). Runners, wrestlers, boxers and pancratiasts

¹On Aristotle's views on physical education: J. E. Chryssafis, "Aristotle on Physical Education," Journal of Health and Physical Education 7 (1930): 3-19; Forbes, GPE, 105-8; J. G. Thompson, "Sport, Athletics and Gymnastics," 102-6.

²Arist. Eth. Nic. 3.3.8 (1112b); Pol. 4.1.1 (1285b).

³Arist. Pol. 8.3.13 (1338b).

⁴Ps. Arist. Phgn. 805a.

⁵Arist. Eth. Eud. 2.3.1 (1220b).

⁶Arist. Rh. 1.5.10-4 (1361b).

excel in appropriate aspects, and the pentathlete, the most beautiful of all (οἱ πένταθλοι κάλλιστοι), excels in all areas. In another work, when commending the courage of boxers who endure blows and labours for the goal of a crown and honours, Aristotle makes no negative comments.¹ As a matter of philosophical principle, Aristotle criticized over-training and over-development as immoderate; but he also studied athletics as a familiar type of activity.² Perhaps he realized better than Plato how little effect intellectual denunciations were likely to have on the course of athletics.

The preceding discussion has shown that literary conventions, exaggeration, ulterior motives, and philosophies all influenced criticisms of the state of athletics and physical education at Athens. Most opposition was concerned with training and specialization in athletics, or with the tradition of rewards for victors. We now turn to discussions first of training and known Athenian trainers, and then of some independent evidence of athletic awards. The intention and effect of such awards leads into the controversial issue of professionalism.

Criticisms

Trainers and Training

"Trainer," as a general term, is applied to both paidotribai

¹Arist. Eth. Nic. 3.9.3 (1117b). For analogies between foot-races and styles of speaking, see Rh. 3.9.2 (1409a) and 3.9.6 (1409b); H. A. Harris, "A Simile in Aristotle's Rhetoric (iii.9.6)," CR 24 (1974): 4-5.

²Discussing eunoia as an element of friendly feeling which can be spontaneous, Aristotle says eunoia exists concerning competitors in a contest (περὶ τοῦ ἀγωνιστάς, Eth. Nic. 9.5.2 (1166b-1167a)) between the spectators and the competitors.

and gymastai.¹ A παιδοτρίβης or "boy-rubber" was a wrestling-school teacher who usually owned his own palaestra where he instructed boys in basic gymnastics and also where athletes trained.² A γυμναστής was a more scientific trainer, similar to a physician, hired to prepare an athlete for competition, supervising his exercises and prescribing his diet.³ The distinction between these two arose in practice in the fifth century and was established in terminology by the fourth.⁴ Originally the paidotribe handled both boys and athletes; but with the advance of the discipline of training the paidotribe became more of a preliminary physical trainer, and the gymnastes arose as the professional trainer of athletes, a "coach" with a broader education in training methods.

The earliest athletes were "natural" or self-trained, relying on the practical expertise of themselves and their peers; but, with the rise of gymnasia and with the popularity of athletics in the sixth century, former athletes began to market their experience. The

¹Scholarship on this topic has been influenced largely by the Gymnasticus of Philostratus, a work of the second century after Christ critical of contemporary training practices, and a plea for a return to earlier methods. See Jüthner, Philostratos. This discussion of types of athletes, temperaments and the training tetrad reveals a lot about athletic techniques but not about the athletic situation in pre-Hellenistic Athens. On the terminology see Jüthner-Brein, 1: 161-90; Forbes, GPE, 67-70; Harris, GAA, 170-8; Gardiner, AAW, 89-90; Finley and Pleket, Olympic Games, 83-97. Another term, ἀλειπτής, originally referred to an anointer associated with palaestrae, whose duties came to include massage and assisting the gymnastes.

²Pl. Prt. 326b; Grg. 452b; Aeschin. (In Tim.) 1.10. See above pp. 111-15.

³Gal. de San. Tuend. 2.9.25.

⁴Arist. Pol. 8.3.13 (1338b); Philostr. Gym. 14. Gal. Thras. 33 dates the rise of the technique of the gymnastes to a little before Plato's time.

earliest trainers, those of the late sixth and early fifth centuries, were usually former boxers or wrestlers who shared their skills and encouraged a healthy lifestyle.¹ Tisias, who coached Glaukos of Karystos to an Olympic victory in 520, was the earliest trainer known by name.² By the early fifth century it seems to have become normal for every aspiring athlete to be trained by such a professional trainer.³ Several times Pindar ascribes the success of victors in heavy events to the excellence of their trainers.⁴ Plato says Athens had many instructional groups of would-be athletes (φιλονικίας ἕνεκα), classes which followed generalized commands suited to the average physique.⁵ However, on an advanced level--or if one was wealthy enough--individualized instruction was common.⁶

Most references to training procedures are critical and concern the trainer's care of the athlete's fitness, especially his diet. Specialization on specific events led to the production of different physical types, and within these types excessive training led to over-

¹Finley and Pleket, Olympic Games, 93; Gardiner, GASF, 101; on trainers in vase-paintings from the first half of the sixth century, see Webster, Potter and Patron, 196.

²Paus. 6.10.1; Moretti, Olym., no. 134.

³Harris, GAA, 171. Isocrates, Antidosis 15.183, says that paidotribai taught their pupils the moves (σχήματα) which had been found by experience to be useful in competition.

⁴Pind. Ol. 8.53; Nem. 4.93, 5.47; Isthm. 4.71.

⁵Pl. Statesman 294d-e.

⁶Note that Thucydides hired two trainers for his two sons, undoubtedly one for each; Pl. Meno 94c.

development.¹ The ideal seems to have remained the symmetrically and harmoniously developed individual--the youthful pentathlete²--but in practice, as we have seen, athletes increasingly were depicted as musclebound, overfed, drowsy and dependent on an unhealthy regimen. By the fourth century the discipline of training had been systematized into a techne,³ and a quasi-science of "medical gymnastics" had evolved and received criticism.⁴ Despite the criticism, the preparation and technique involved in becoming a successful athlete or trainer had become more and more involved and complex.

To a certain extent the activities of athletics and physical education overlapped in their use of facilities and teachers; the activities were similar but the degree of involvement and specialization differed. Probably both activities were pursued by similar persons, those with the appropriate resources and inclination. The choice of a paidotribe was a serious matter; physical training and education were obtained by those able to do so, and μάλιστα δὲ δύνανται οἱ πλουσιώτατοι.⁵ Perhaps, of the children undergoing

¹According to Xenophon (Mem. 3.10.6) Socrates complimented a sculptor on his ability to depict different physical types produced by different forms of sport. Socrates (Xen. Symp. 2.17) also said runners had over-developed legs and boxers had over-developed upper bodies. Over-development and bodily specialization are also noted in art by Beazley, Development, 99; Gardiner, GASF, 122-4; and Hyde, OVM, 147-8.

²Arist. Rh. 1.5.11 (1361b).

³Arist. Eth. Nic. 3.3.8 (1112b); Pl. Grg. 457a, 517e.

⁴Plato, Leg. 804a, tells of Ikkos of Taras who abstained from sex during training; and he criticizes Herodikos of Selymbria, a contemporary of Socrates, for his introduction of complicated rules of diet and training; Pl. Resp. 3.406b; Prt. 316d; Gardiner, GASF, 129-30.

⁵Pl. Prt. 313a, 326b-c.

physical education, those who showed promise might consider increasing their involvement with a view to advanced competition. Aristotle comments that the paidotribes and the gymnastes had to conduct training according to the wishes of their clients; some simply wanted fitness while others wanted to prepare for competition.¹

With the rise of professional trainers and the growing specialization in athletics, competitive athletics and basic physical education increasingly diverged in emphasis although the activities remained related. In the era of the "educational revolution" of ca. 450-350 the pre-eminence of physical education in the traditional educational practice of Athens gave way to the study of letters. Physical education no longer even professed to be a preparation for war; it was pursued as an end in itself or merely as a means of keeping the body fit enough to enable the mind to function at its best.² The transformation of education was part of a broad pattern of intellectual and social change in the life of the city; and, although physical education lost its prestige and athletics were attacked, both activities continued.

A look at historical individuals known to have been trainers in various respects--either in Athens or as Athenians abroad--illustrates the development of training at Athens. Odes by Bacchylides

¹Arist. Pol. 4.1.1-2 (1288b). Pleker, "Zur Soziologie," 72-3 points to the influence of the ephebeia, the youth organization of the municipal upper classes in the Hellenistic Age, as a bridge for members of the urban elite between gymnasium sport and the world of the public contests. On the basis of ephobic training, mostly physical and para-military education, one might go on to specialize in athletics.

²The changing role of gymnastics in education is discussed adequately in any of the following: Marrou, Education, 63-75, 183-6; Beck, Greek Education, 129-41, 313-4; Popplow, Leibesübungen, 127-37; Forbes, GPE, 54-92.

and Pindar of the 480's celebrate a Nemean victory in the boys' pankration by Pytheas of Aegina, and both odes comment on the boy's Athenian trainer, Menander.¹ Pindar feels that it is appropriate that a fashioner of athletes should come from Athens (χρῆ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθῶν τέκτον' ἀθληταῖσιν ἕμμεν).² Rather than paidotribes or gymnastes, Menander is called tekton, a craftsman, carpenter or master of an art. Bacchylides praises Athens as responsible for many Panhellenic victories and refers simply to the aiding care of Menander (μελέταν τε βροτωφελέα Μενάνδρου). Suggesting that Pytheas' father Lampon hired the Athenian trainer to come to Aegina, Jebb argues that the trainer could operate and Athens could be praised even though Athens and Aegina were unfriendly at the time.³

The most famous Athenian trainer was Melesias, who also coached Aeginetan heavy athletes. Pindar's ode for Alkimedon of Aegina, Olympic boys' wrestling victor in 460, refers to the κῦδος of Melesias gained ἐξ ἀγενείων since this was the thirtieth victory gained with the instruction of Melesias.⁴ Presumably like most early trainers, Melesias was a former victor himself, and Pindar comments that teaching is easier for someone who has personal knowledge.⁵ In

¹See P103; on the dating, Farnell, Pindar, 274-80.

²Pind. Nem. 5.48-9. Wade-Gery, EGH, 254 n.4 feels this is also an indirect reference to the Athenian Melesias, presumably active as a coach in the 480's.

³Bacchyl. 12.190-8; Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments, ed., intro., notes and trans., Richard C. Jebb (Cambridge, 1905), 212-17.

⁴Pind. O1. 8.54, 66; Moretti, Olym., no. 264.

⁵Pind. O1. 8.55-9, 59-60; on Melesias as an athlete see A45.

his ode for a boys' wrestling champion of 473 named Timasarchos of Aegina, Pindar again praises Melesias and draws an analogy between wrestling and poetry.¹ In an ode for Alkimidas of Aegina, a boy wrestler (463?), Melesias is figuratively referred to as an $\delta\nu\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ (= $\eta\nu\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$), a driver or one who guides or controls.² Father of the well-connected, prominent politician Thucydides, Melesias from his career and status shows that trainers could be highly respected elements of society at this time.³

The next trainers appear in Plato who says that Thucydides Melesiou gave his two sons an excellent education and made them the best wrestlers in Athens by giving them over to Xanthias and Eudoros, "men considered to be the finest wrestlers of their time."⁴ Although termed neither paidotribai nor gymnastai both these men appear in a positive light ca. 450 as athletes imparting their wrestling skills to these youths.

The following Athenian trainers probably were paidotribai but they appear in the sources simply as "owners of palaestrae."⁵

¹Pind. Nem. 4.93-6; Farnell, Pindar, 263-73.

²Pind. Nem. 6.66-9; Farnell, Pindar, 281-8; cf. Isthm. 4.71.

³Wade-Gery identified Melesias as the aristocratic father of Thucydides; see "Thucydides, Son of Melesias," JHS 52 (1932): 205-27. Davies, APF, 9812 places Melesias' birth ca. 530 making him about seventy in 460. All his known pupils were from Aegina, and his son Thucydides may have taken up this connection; APF, 7268 VIII.

⁴P1, Meno 94c; see Bluck's commentary. On these trainers as athletes, see A26 and A51.

⁵While early trainers probably were former athletes, later paidotribai may not have been; and palaestra-owners may have been paidotribai or businessmen. Such men are not treated as athletes above unless there is corroborating evidence.

Apparently Alcibiades killed an attendant in the palaestra of Sibrtyios;¹ this Sibrtyios could well be Kirchner's PA 12646, epistates in 411/0 and father of Kleisthenes Sibrtyiou known as a sycophant ca. 400.² Similarly, Plato presents Socrates en route to the palaestra of Taureas,³ a man Davies would identify with the Taureas Leogorou I assaulted by Alcibiades when competing with him as a choregos between 430 and 415.⁴ Of the wealthy family of Andocides, this Taureas was named in 415 as among the Hermokopidai but was released on the affidavit of Andocides IV.⁵ Both Sibrtyios and Taureas then appear to have been men of means and public affairs in the fifth century.

By the fourth century the discipline of training was well developed, and Aeschines in 346/5 refers to Eupolemos, "the paidotribe," the deceased uncle of the defendant Timarchus. The estates of this family had included property and mining workshops in the lifetime of the father of Eupolemos.⁶ Isocrates is said to have died in 338/7 at Athens in the palaestra of a certain Hippokrates.⁷ Another fourth-

¹Plut. Alc. 3.1; Delorme, Gym., 59.

²IG I² 105.3; Lys. 25.25; PA 8525.

³Pl. Chrm. 153a, hence Lucian Parasit. 43 and Libanius Or. 18.155, Decl. 12.23. For the location, see Travlos, PDA, fig. 219 no. 185; cf. Judeich, Topog., 387-8.

⁴Davies, APF, 13429, see 828 IV, stemma Table I; Dem. 21.147; Plut. Alc. 16.5; Ps. Andoc. 4.20-1, cf. 4.42.

⁵Andoc. 1.47,68.

⁶Aeschin. (In Tim.) 1.102; PA 5932.

⁷Ps. Plut. X orat. 837e; PA 7629 treats him as an Athenian, but he cannot be identified since Hippokrates was a common Athenian name. Possibly he was the Hippokrates son of Hippokrates (PA 7639) cited as a witness ca. 343-340 (Ps. Dem. 59.123).

century palaestra-owner, Timagetos is otherwise unknown.¹ Finally ca. 300, beyond our scope but of significance, we learn that the Athenian Hippomachos, "the paidotribe," charged 100 drachmae for his services and the continued use of his palaestra.²

These individuals show that trainers and training were increasingly in evidence at Athens, especially in the case of heavy events. The technical advances of athletic preparation coincided with the loss of pride of place of physical aspects of Athenian education but certainly did not mean the end of physical education. Excessive training in athletics was criticized; but, where evidence is available, trainers seem to have been respectable men of means, and training seems to have been an accepted profession at Athens.

Civic Awards and the Issue of Professionalism

In classical Greece victorious athletes increasingly received tangible and intangible rewards both at the games and on their homecoming. Depending on the site of their victory, athletes were awarded valuable or symbolic prizes, and they also were granted certain honours and privileges, such as the herald's announcement and the right to set up a statue at Olympia.³ Certainly Athens offered

¹Theoc. Id. 2.8. Ps. Plut. X oraæ. 843f refers to a palaestra built at Athens by Habron; this may not have been used for teaching since Habron was a statesman; Forbes, GPE, 67.

²Lyncaeus Sam. apud Athen. 13.584c; PA 7649. In the Eleusinian accounts of 329 skilled craftsmen were paid at 2 or 2.5 drachmae a day (IG II² 1672.26-8, 31-2, 110-11, 177-8; A. H. M. Jones, Athenian Democracy (Oxford, 1964), 143-4, n. 86), so Hippokrates' fee represented a considerable expense.

³Buhman, Sieg, has the most complete study of athletic honours both at the site of the festival (pp. 53-82) and on the athlete's return (pp. 104-37).

various prizes, most notably amphorae, for victors in her games; and Solon probably codified civic awards for Athenian Panhellenic victors. At Athens critics complained bitterly--but too often unspecifically--about civic and unofficial honours for athletes. The political overtones of public acclaim for athletes will be treated below; the present discussion will focus on the institutionalization of such acclaim through civic action. Unfortunately, definite evidence about official awards for athletes at Athens is quite limited.

Part of the famous Prytaneion Decree (IG I² 77) deals with honours granted by Athens to her equestrian and gymnastic victors in the *Periodos*.¹ Dating to the 430's, this decree is the first indication that Athens gave awards to Pythian and Nemean as well as Olympic and Isthmian victory.² E. J. Morrissey recently has republished a portion of the decree (lines 11-19) with restorations as follows:³

11 κα[ι ἡπόος]-
 12 [οἱ νενικέκασι Ὀλυμπίασι]ῶ Πυθοῖ ἔῃ ἡισθμοῖ ἔ Νεμέ[αι ἔ νικ]-
 13 [έσοςι τὸ λοιπόν, ἔναι αὐτ]όρσι τὲν σίτεςιν ἐν πρυτανε[ί]ο-
 14 [ι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δορεῖας π]ρὸς τῇ σιτέσει κατὰ τὰ [ἐν τ]έ[ις]-
 15 [τελεῖ γεγραμμένα τῇ. ἔ]γ τῶι πρυτανεῖοι. ἡ[ο]π[ι]δορο[ι] δὲ ἡάρ]-
 16 [μασι τελείοι ἔ ἡίπποι κ]έλετι νενικ[κ]έκασι Ὀ[λ]υμπ[ί]ασι ἔ Π]-
 17 [υθοῖ ἔ ἡισθμοῖ ἔ Νεμέαι ἔ] νικέσοςι τὸ λοιπό[ν], ἔναι [αὐτοῖ]-
 18 [σι τὲν σίτεςιν κατὰ τὰ ἐν τ]έ[ι] στελεῖ[ι] γεγραμ[μ]ένῃ Ε[. . .].
 19 [.....²².....]; περὶ τὸ στρατ[.....²¹.....]

¹The original publication was by R. Schoell, "Die Speisung im Prytaneion zu Athen," *Hermes* 6 (1872): 14-54. Also see H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Prytaneion Decree," *BSA* 33 (1932/33): 123-7; Martin Ostwald, "The Prytaneion Decree Re-examined," *AJP* 72 (1951): 24-46; W. E. Thompson, "The Prytaneion Decree," *AJP* 92 (1971): 226-37; S. G. Miller, *Prytaneion* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1978), A26. Edmond J. Morrissey, "Victors in the Prytaneion Decree," *GRBS* 19 (1978): 121-5, offers a revised text and a discussion specifically of lines 11-19, to which W. E. Thompson replies in "More on the Prytaneion Decree," *GRBS* 20 (1979): 325-9.

²Ostwald, "Prytaneion," 25; Miller, *Prytaneion*, A26 suggests 431-421.

³Morrissey, "Prytaneion," 121-5.

On the basis of line 17 Morrissey would restore lines 12-13 to include [ϵ^{\prime} νικ|έσοσι τὸ λοιπὸν] arguing that this would guarantee board to all victors past and future in lines 11 to 15, with the same grant repeated specifically for hippic victors (lines 15-19).¹

Initially the separate action concerning hippic victors was explained by W. E. Thompson as an innovation, a new granting of honours to hippic victors on the gymnastic model.² Although Thompson's restoration of sitesis in line 18 seems probable, Morrissey rejects the idea of an innovation since the hippic grant (like lines 11-15) seems to be justified on the basis of an earlier decree.³ His theory of a ruling or clarification of the law, due to a dispute concerning hippic victors' eligibility or suitability for board under previous legislation, is unconvincing.⁴ It has been suggested that Pericles was the proposer

¹He rejects Schoell's restoration of [$\tau\omicron\varsigma$ γ|υμνικὸς ἀγῶνας] because this would have the effect of excluding all victors, past and present, in the various musical competitions. Thompson, "More on the Prytaneion Decree," supports Morrissey's restoration and discusses problems of grammar and sense.

²Thompson, "Prytaneion Decree," 236. Thompson, "More on the Prytaneion Decree," no longer sees equestrian awards as an innovation. He now explains the separate action by a theory that hippic victors were awarded sitesis for their horses as well as for themselves. The theory is more ingenious than probable.

³It is uncertain when sitesis for victors was introduced. The Prytaneion itself probably arose in the eighth century; Miller, Prytaneion, 52-3. Athenaeus, 4.137e (Miller A17), says Solon prescribed barley or wheat cakes for the meals in the Prytaneion, but no reference is made to athletes.

⁴Morrissey, "Prytaneion," 123-4 feels popular discontent against hippic victors is shown in Thucydides (6.15.3) where Alcibiades' extravagance is mentioned as a factor in his unpopularity, and in Plato (Ap. 36d; cf. Isoc. 16.34). He is correct in pointing out that owners could enter more than one team and that they did not have to drive their own teams; but Morrissey's examples of democratic opposition date after the restatement of the grant in the 430's. He needs to explain why Alcibiades' hippotrophy was so politically advantageous and why the hippic grant was retained rather than removed; cf. Thompson, "More on the Prytaneion Decree," 327 n.7.

of the decree, and the date would not preclude this.¹ In the late 430's the demos might not be inclined to sanction a separate motion instituting awards for such wealthy victors, but apparently the assembly did accept a simple restatement of such awards as part of an overall program of public grants of sitesis for services to the state. Such a program of public benefits would be popular and quite appropriate for Pericles.

Proper restoration of IG I² 77.14 is significant since the context seems to call for "other honours" pertaining to sitesis. Morrissey is in favour of Thompson's restoration of [καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δωρεῖδς] and points out that the privilege most often awarded with sitesis in later honorific decrees was proedria, or precedence at the city's athletic festivals. In fact, as he points out, sitesis seems not to have been given without proedria until Roman times.² The "other gifts" may have included the Solonian awards, but additional civic rewards other than those mentioned cannot be specified.

That sitesis--and probably proedria--for victors was retained throughout the fourth century is attested by references in Plato.³

¹Wade-Gery, "Prytaneion," 123-5 made this suggestion, to which Thompson, "Prytaneion," 237 is open. Oswald, "Prytaneion," 27-8 feels the idea cannot be supported or contradicted by available outside evidence.

²Morrissey, "Prytaneion," 124, with late inscriptions cited in his notes 9-10. Gardiner, GASF, 77 accepts the existence of proedria for Athenian victors, probably relying on Xenophanes (frag. 2.7); but Buhman, Sieg, 112-3 gives no Athenian evidence for the practice with reference to athletes.

³As Thompson points out, "More on the Prytaneion Decree," 327, n.7, Plato, Ap. 36d-e (Miller A62; cf. Resp. 5.465d-e), shows that Athens must have extended the awarding of sitesis to include victors in the two-horse chariot after that event was introduced at Olympia (Paus. 8.8.10) in 408.

Intellectual criticisms suggest that other rewards continued and perhaps increased.¹ Despite ancient criticisms and modern suggestions of social implications,² such a policy of rewards presupposes continued popular support or acceptance. The policy was not a radical innovation pushed by a class of athletes, but an institutionalized expression of civic appreciation.³

The rise of "professionalism" in Greek athletics has attracted

¹Timocles apud Ath. 6.237f (Edmonds FAC 2: frag. 8; Miller, A153 with trans.):

*γέρα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ταῦτὰ τοῖς τῶλύμπια
νικῶσι δίδονται χρηστότητος εἴνεκα
σίτησις. οὐ γὰρ μὴ τίθενται συμβολαί,
πρυτανεῖα ταῦτα πάντα προσαγορεύεται.*

These same honors are given to them (parasites) as to those who win at Olympia on account of their goodness, that is sitesis. Where payments are not established, all these are to be called prytaneia.

Plutarch, Aristeides 27.3, refers to a vote of sitesis, similar to that given to Olympic victors, for the granddaughter of Aristeides (citing Callisthenes FGrH 124 F48). Ps. Andocides, Against Alcibiades 4.31, declares that Alcibiades got sitesis after his hippic win.

²Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," discusses both sacred and thematic games and prizes (pp. 54-71), discounting any incompatibility between economically valuable prizes and sacred games, and asserting that the continued tradition of athletic awards was simply a development from very early elements in athletics. Since native cities rewarded victorious athletes, men competed in both types of games; and the association of rewards with lower class professionalism is post-classical; see "Zur Soziologie," 70-71.

³Miller, Prytaneion, 4-9, explains that sitesis was one of the highest honours that a Greek city paid to an individual; it was granted to athletes as it was to civic benefactors and their descendants, such as Harmodios and Aristogeiton (A26, 70, 150) and Lycurgus (A158, 159). The relationship of athletics to civic life is indicated by the location of sitesis for athletes in the Prytaneion. As Miller comments, 13-4:

The prytaneion, as the residence of the perpetual flame, was more than any other building the symbol of the city (see All, 12, 227) and Livy (A276) can rightly define the prytaneion as the core of a city (id est penetrale urbis).

attention and condemnation which is more a matter of modern interpretation than ancient evidence for the pre-Hellenistic era.¹ Conventionally, over-competition and valuable prizes are said to promote excess which dooms athletics. According to Gardiner, "Excess begets Nemesis; the Nemesis of excess in athletics is professionalism, which is the death of all true sport...." Early in the fifth century "pot-hunters" are said to have travelled about from festival to festival seeking prizes and degrading athletics.² By the late fifth century professionalism supposedly was so entrenched that it altered the social background of athletic competition.³

For this study, the concepts of professional and amateur are somewhat anachronistic.

Nowadays by professionals we mean sportsmen who make money out of their sport. Full professionals are those who devote all their time to their sport and make a living out of it; semi-professionals devote a certain percentage of their time to sport and derive only part of their daily bread from it.⁴

¹For example, Gardiner, GASF, 122-45; AAW, 99-116; C. Manning, "Professionalism in Greek Athletics," CW 11 (1917): 74-7; Thomas Woody, "Professionalism and the Decay of Greek Athletics," School and Society 47 (1938): 521-8; A. H. Gilbert, "Olympic Decadence," CJ 21 (1925/26): 587-98. D. C. Young, "Professionalism and Record Keeping in Archaic and Classical Greece," argues that professional athletes, in the sense of "competing for money", existed from the sixth century, and that professionalism in athletics may have originated with the Western Greeks.

²Gardiner, AAW, 99-101; see above pp. 212-13.

³Bilinski, Agonistica, 57-74 would connect the rise of professional athletes to the development of democracy at Athens: the socially dominant classes shifted from a physical to an intellectual viewpoint, and sport supposedly changed from an aristocratic recreation to a lower class occupation.

⁴Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 80.

Professionalism has two aspects. In the financial aspect, a professional earns money and a livelihood from his acts which constitute his occupation.¹ In the temporal aspect, a professional devotes a great deal of time to practising and perfecting his skills. It is arguable that pre-Hellenistic Athens was not yet suitable for fully professional athletes in the financial sense (nor, for that matter, for an influx of the poor into athletics). In classical times athletes required not only leisure time, but training under instruction, and money to travel to games.² Thus athletes needed money to become and to remain athletes.³

¹Pindar, a source for the romanticized ideal of amateurism, is also a source for the true occupational professionals in pre-Hellenistic sport--the athletic trainers and the equestrian drivers. Trainers like Melesias travelled and taught for hire. Professional drivers and charioteers were usually anonymous men riding or driving horses for owners who were proclaimed the victors. Pindar (Isthm. 2.12-22; cf. Ol. 1.18; Pyth. 5.25) says that Xenokrates of Akragas, Isthmian chariot victor ca. 477, had won earlier at Athens with a charioteer named Nikomachos. Ebert, Epigramme, p. 41 would seem correct in claiming that the earliest known professional athletes were the ἤνσιχοι (ἤνσιχος = ἤνισα ἔχω), rein-holders, drivers or charioteers. The earliest reference to one of these is from Alkmeonides' dedication in Ptoion after his Panathenaic win of ca. 546 (IG I² 472; LAG no. 5; Ebert, Epigramme no. 3). Ebert suggests that the driver's name (line 4 Knop []) is connected with a Boeotian location since Boeotia was famous for horses and chariots (Pind. Isthm. 8.20; Ol. 6.75). Alcibiades and many others certainly made use of such true "professionals."

²The staggered sequence of Panhellenic games and the number of local contests would allow an athlete to travel about to almost continuous competition--if he could afford to travel and stay in continuous training. Travel from Athens to Olympia took five days and an athlete usually took a slave along to bear the equipment (Xen. Mem. 3.13.5-6).

³Obviously the need for money was much greater if one wanted to compete with horses. The connection between wealth and hippotrophy was made numerous times in literature. Aristotle, Pol. 1321a11, regards hippotrophy as the ἔργον τῶν μακρῶς οὐσίας κερκτημένων, and Davies accepts hippotrophy as an unquestionable indication of membership in the Athenian upper class. See APF pp. xxv-xxvi and especially n. 7, p. xxv for literary references. Anderson, Greek Horsemanship, 135-6 estimates the income of the minimum estates of horseowners (note he is referring to cavalry, not race horses) at 300 drachmae in the early sixth century, 600 at the end of the fifth, 900 around 390, and 1500-1800 in the late fourth century.

Unless they had their own money, "professional" athletes would need subsidization. The existence of prizes and civic rewards was not intended to induce professionalism.¹ Solon's rewards resulted in no sudden change in the social origins of Athenian athletes. Rewards, regarded as gifts rather than wages,² went only to the few victors, and these men already had financed their preparations. An obvious source of funds conducive to professionalism would be civic or private patronage, the subsidization of a naturally talented boy as he developed; but the earliest evidence for this is ca. 300.³ It is probable that most athletes at Athens got their funding from the traditional source, that is familial wealth, usually in the form of property. Although public gymnasia and civic rewards would help reduce the social exclusiveness of athletics,⁴ prosopography indicates that

¹The awarding of gold crowns and money to musicians at the Panathenaea usually is interpreted (e.g. Parke, Festivals, 35) as an indication of professional musical competitors, but athletes continued to receive Panathenaic amphorae which had both symbolic and material value.

²Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 54-71, has made a firm argument that rewards were so regarded and that there was no social stigma attached to accepting rewards for athletic success.

³An inscription of ca. 300 from Ephesus says that the trainer of an obviously promising but not wealthy young athlete asked the city to subsidize his client's training and travelling abroad; L. Robert, "Décrets d'Ephèse pour des athlètes," Revue de Philologie (1967): 14-32; Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 72. C. G. Starr, "Subsidization of Athletes," CJ 31 (1935/36): 444-5 deals more with examples of bribery than with subsidization.

⁴Stephen G. Miller, Preface to the American Edition of E. N. Gardiner, Athletics of the Ancient World, xi-xii recognizes the significance of familial wealth for an athlete's "superior diet", but contends that sitesis at Athens for victors, "... meant, in effect, that the athlete was state-supported for any subsequent victories he might win." He misrepresents civic appreciation as athletic subsidization. As Miller points out in his own work, Prytaneion, 13-4, the fare in the Prytaneion was modest, not luxurious--hardly the "superior diet" of an athlete. Also, even this was unavailable to a victor when he was abroad competing.

athletes prior to the rise of patronage probably became athletes with the help of familial resources. The influence of athletics on social mobility at Athens was probably quite limited.¹ Rather than assuming that men entered athletics and rose in economic class by their professionalism, we should consider the possibility that individuals first rose in economic class and then they--or more likely their sons--entered athletics and hippotrophy.

The study of Athenian athletes in the previous section may indicate the existence of "professional" athletes in classical Athens in the sense of devotion of time--but probably not financial dependency.² Such men appeared at the time when the development of athletic training and technique demanded that an athlete be trained and not just naturally talented. The late archaic aristocrat Theagenes of Thasos, because of his some 1300 wins in boxing and the pankration over a 22 year period in the first half of the fifth century, is usually cited as an early "professional."³ Among Athenians, Kallias Didymiou probably was a temporal professional.⁴ Dioxippos may have

¹Aeschines, 2.147, says that his father (see A11) was an athlete "before he lost his property"; cf. Isocrates, Areo., 7.53. As noted earlier, Plato, Prt. 326c, says that fathers educate their sons in gymnastics "to the best of their means," and those best able are the rich.

²The existence of formal organizations, athletic guilds, is a sound indication of professionalism, but this was a Hellenistic development. See H. W. Pleket, "Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds," ZPE 10 (1973): 197-227; and C. A. Forbes, "Ancient Athletic Guilds," CPhil. 50 (1955): 238-52.

³Ebert, Epigramme, no. 27, pp. 118-26; Gardiner, AAW, 101; Pleket, "Zur Soziologie," 63-7 and "Athletes and Ideology," 81, says that such athletes would object to the idea of earning their livelihood from sport; they simply accumulated wealth in an honourable way.

⁴See A31.

been a financial professional, but his career is late and atypical for classical Athens.¹

Gardiner claims that before the end of the fifth century athletes had already begun to denote the professional athlete as opposed to the amateur (idiotes). He cites Xenophon's version of a conversation between Socrates and a youth in which the elder man criticizes the younger for his lack of physical fitness (ὡς ἰδιωτικῶς ... τὸ σῶμα ἔχεις). The youth replies ἰδιώτης γάρ ... εἰμί, which Gardiner interprets as a reflection of popular attitudes to the rise of professional athletes.² A better passage for the different connotations of athletes and idiotes comes from Aristotle:

ὡσπερ οὖν ἀνόπλοις ὀπλισμένοι μάχονται καὶ ἀθληταὶ ἰδιώταις. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀγῶσιν οὐχ οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι μαχιμώτατοί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ μάλιστα ἰσχύοντες καὶ τὰ σώματα ἄριστα ἔχοντες.

So that they are like armed men fighting against unarmed men, or trained athletes against amateurs; for even in athletic contests it is not the bravest men who are the best fighters, but those who are strongest and in the best training.³

The Greek word idiotes had several meanings: civilian, private citizen, layman, untrained person.⁴ Finley and Pleket give a sound interpretation of the passage:

For Aristotle it was as absurd for an unarmed man to fight an armed man as for an amateur to compete with a professional athlete. "Professional" to him, as to every Greek,

¹See A20.

²Xen. Mem. 3.12.1; Gardiner, GASF, 130, n. 2.

³Arist. Eth. Nic. 3.8.8 (1116b); trans. H. Rackham.

⁴LSJ s.v. ἰδιωτής.

meant a man who received proper training and devoted himself more or less full-time to an activity; an idiotes (we should say "an amateur") did neither. The modern distinction--whether or not one was paid for the activity--did not enter into the picture for the simple reason that all athletes expected and accepted material rewards for victory, regardless of class or personal fortune.¹

In classical Athens, then, athletes did have specific connotations in terms of training and temporal dedication²--this reflects the advance of training techniques and athletic skills, rather than being suggestive of true "professionalism."

Conclusion

Providing an interesting and challenging group of sources, the criticisms of athletics at Athens need to be viewed in the light of the nature and context of each source. It is essential to recognize the influence of literary conventions and to keep in mind the purpose and ideals of each author. Early criticisms of athletic rewards seem to be not so much attacks on athletes as assertions of the value (underestimated by society at large) of intellectuals to a polis. Similarly, from a political point of view, the athlete was condemned as a poor citizen and soldier undeserving of the honours given him by the masses. This complaint--that rewards for athletes were excessive and inappropriate--became a recurrent motif in Greek literature. In addition to the earlier criticisms of the rewards and civic worth of athletes, by the fifth century new criticisms of athletic training

¹Finley and Pleket, Olympic Games, 71.

²The most famous example is Euripides frag. 282; but cf. his Alcestis 1027 where Herakles speaks of a contest as a strife worthy of athletes (ἀθληταῖσιν ἄξιον πόνον).

reflect the spread of training and specialization. Soon the athlete in literature became a caricature as topoi included references to athletes' over-development, over-specialization, self-indulgence and gluttony.

In classical Athens literary authors could use either (or both) negative and positive literary conventions about athletics, adapting topoi to the work at hand. Orators, having access to the same traditions, were capable of arguing either side of the issue, depending on the circumstances. Philosophers were influenced by their ideologies as well as by literature; to support their views on education and improper lifestyles, they criticized athletes from an ethical or metaphysical point of view as unharmonious, unnatural humans.¹ In sum, none of the critical passages is very reliable by itself because of the nature of the source or the predisposition of the author.

At most, individual critics represented exaggerated or understandable--yet ineffectual--minority viewpoints. Altogether the criticisms reflect a literary motif, and the persistence of the criticisms suggests that athletics remained a concern and a part of life at Athens. Despite the number of criticisms, the history of Athenian competitions and rewards shows that the critics had minimal effect.²

¹According to Bilinski, Agonistica, 74-87 the philosophical opposition of mind and body, which challenged the aristocratic ideal of the kaloikagathoi, was related to the rise of divisions of labour and the resultant class divisions. The physical/intellectual antithesis, which he connects to changes in society and social values, culminated in the fourth century.

²The enthusiasm for sport and the glory of victory remained undiminished; Buhman, Sieg, 137-9; Robinson, "Greek Critics," 167, 174. As Finley and Pleket, Olympic Games, 116 comment:

More objective evidence, such as inscriptions, testifies to the expansion, popularity and civic involvement of athletics at Athens. Other than possibly in the nebulous area of athletic morality, "growth and development" seems as appropriate for Athenian athletics as "decline and degeneration."¹

The critics and other evidence show that training itself became an advanced discipline, and the training of heavy athletes was a respected profession at Athens. Note that concerning training criticism generally is directed at the athletes and not at the trainers. Also the tradition of honouring athletes for victories was a continuing practice, although not as excessive at Athens as critics might suggest. Exaggeration of the over-development or unhealthy lifestyle of athletes at Athens also can be suspected. By the fourth century, an age of "structural differentiation," criticisms of specialization and excess could be applied to military and political as well as athletic activity.²

Monotony sets in quickly A feeling of unreality also begins to creep in quickly. Neither the practice of the athletes themselves nor the popularity of the Games shows any sign of being affected, let alone harmed, by the critics.

¹It is dangerous to generalize on the morality of athletes, but inter-state rivalry seems to have led to examples of the transfer or sale of victories, especially in the fourth century. See Paus. 5.21.5 on the Zanes; and C. A. Forbes, "Crime and Punishment in Greek Athletics," *CJ* 47 (1951/2): 169-73, 202-03. Concerning Athens, the actions of Alcibiades, in his displays and his treatment of Teisias, and the conviction of Kallippos of bribery at Olympia, may be regarded as signs of immorality in sports. Yet Alcibiades was motivated by ambition rather than greed, and Kallippos' bribery was surely not an efficient way to profit from sport. Morality in all areas of Greek life changed between the eighth and the fourth centuries. Furthermore, Kimon's transfer of a victory to Peisistratos in the sixth century should keep us from assuming that all early victors were altruistic.

²On structural differentiation in the army, education and law of the Roman Empire, see Keith Hopkins, Conquerors and Slaves (Cambridge,

The athletic ideal of physical arete had lost much of its allure, but the institutionalized practice of athletics was still very much in evidence.

Although the Athenian lower classes probably did not participate in athletics to any significant degree, yet, judging from the intensity and continuity of critical references to the popularity of games and victors, the demos was in favour of the Athenian program of athletics and rewards.¹ Note that concerning rewards criticism is directed at the people who offer rather than the athletes who receive rewards. When radical democracy arose and popular leaders appealed to the wishes of the common Athenian, it seems that voters supported public spending on athletic festivals, rewards and facilities.² Although the Old Oligarch and others opposed public spending on athletics (as an error of democracy and empire), this was not a radical

1978), 74-96. This sociological concept implies that as societies become more complex, some institutions separate out and become more functionally specific; these newly emergent institutions then establish their identity by developing norms and values specific to the institution.

¹An incident concerning the famous athlete Dorieus of Rhodes shows that the Athenians respected foreign as well as Athenian victors. Dorieus fought against Athens in the Peloponnesian War; but, when he was captured, the Athenians released him without even a ransom (Xen. Hell. 1.5.19; Paus. 6.7.4). References to Phayllos of Kroton (Ar. Ach. 215; Vesp. 1205-7), the survival of his dedication on the Acropolis (Raubitschek, DAA no. 76), and the recurrence of his name as kalos on vases (Beazley, ARV² 168; 26 no. 2; 28 no. 11; 15 no. 8) suggest that Phayllos was well respected at Athens.

²Isocrates, 7.53, complains that public festivals had become extravagant, ostentatious shows in contrast to the moderation that had characterized them in the era of the forefathers. Demosthenes, 3.31, suggests that contemporary politicians bribed the populace with festival funds and processions. On the political overtones of athletic benefactions and displays, see below pp. 274-82.

innovation but rather an expansion of civic traditions.

Paradoxically, conservative critics condemned developments in athletics (excessive preparations before and excessive honours after victory) at the same time as they lamented the decline of gymnastics or physical education, especially as contributing to the military preparedness of the state. While the increase and the popularity of athletics was blamed mainly on the democracy, the decline of gymnastics generally was blamed on the Sophists and the New Education in the late fifth century. However, the supposed Sophistic elimination of physical education was an exaggeration. Although the physical aspects of education had lost their old predominance, the gymnasia and palaestrae were not deserted. Gymnastics, in fact, soon became an important element of the ephebeia.

The training of a man's body, or his acceptance of honours for victory, need not dictate his status or worth in society.¹ While the earlier study of known Athenian athletes concluded that athletics remained elitist rather than becoming a lower-class profession, now the

¹An aversion to manual labour reappears in Greek intellectual writings, for example Pl. Prt. 312a-b. Austin and Vidal-Naquet, Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece (London, 1977), 14-8 feel that this aristocratic ideal of leisure and absence of the need for economic activity was widespread throughout society; but Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 150, 334-5 argues that the contempt for the banauos voiced by the aristocratic Plato and fourth-century philosophers was not shared by the average Athenian. Although the unreliable Ps. Plato, Alc. 2.145e, treats athletics as a techne, Xenophon's discussion of banausikai (Oikon. 4.1-4; 6.4-8) does not mention athletes. Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 80-7 shows that it was only critics, especially later ones like Galen, who applied techne or epitedeuma (with the meaning of "profession") to athletics. Through Greco-Roman times, in the counter-ideology of the athletes themselves, the athletes did not regard their activity as a techne, nor did they see prizes as misthos or wages.

examination of the critical sources and of other independent evidence undermines the assumption of professionalism in Athenian athletics. Certainly "professionalism" in athletics in classical Athens was not as rampant, malignant or commercial as modern works might argue.

PART SIX

ATHLETICS AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

At Athens gymnastic and equestrian competition was a visible, prestigious activity, and the patronage and administration of athletic games, facilities and rewards formed a major area of concern and expense. The realm of athletics thus had a political potential, extra-constitutional but influential, which ambitious athletes and politicians did not overlook. The following discussion outlines the relationship between athletics and the nature of politics, specifically political leadership, at Athens.

Agonism, that very Greek urge to compete and excel, was pronounced in athletes and politicians.¹ The underlying motive was philotimia, the desire to display and gain recognition for one's excellence in character and especially in deed.² Athenian athletic history reveals a development away from early direct, personal competition in games, as a means to fame and hence to political advancement, a movement towards indirect, parapolitical involvement via the fostering or administration of athletics in the fifth century. The effectiveness of the direct approach in horse and chariot-racing

¹On agonism, see above, "Introduction," p. 20. As leading character-traits of Alcibiades, Plutarch, Alc. 2.1, lists τὸ φιλόνηκον and τὸ φιλόπρωτον.

²Even in the fourth century Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 1.5.4 (1095b), declared that the best people regarded honour, equated with happiness, as the proper goal of political life.

lasted slightly longer than in gymnastic events, but it too lapsed by the early fourth century. Meaningful correlations between Athens' athletics and internal politics largely ceased in the fourth century with the growing separation between these increasingly specialized and institutionalized areas.

The earliest Athenian athletes competed as members of aristocratic clans; but, with the development of the city, men began to see themselves as citizens as well as noble athletes or clan leaders.¹ Pericles' Funeral Oration declares that the Athenians were members of a political community and that mutual goals and obligations were fulfilled by the relationship.² Citizens owed services to the state and they in turn got civic benefits and appreciation. Similarly, athletes and political leaders brought fame or good policies and so merited recognition and support.³ While the community expressed itself by public burials, crowns and athletic rewards, citizens represented

¹Dover, Greek Popular Morality, 144-60, 296-8 discusses the civic focus of popular morality. Persons were evaluated as elements of a community, as efficient or defective working parts of the communal mechanism. Similarly, see Adkins, Moral Values and Political Behavior, 126-33.

²Thuc. 2.35-47. Plato, Meno 71e, defines arete politically: human excellence consists in handling the city's affairs capably, so that one helps his friends and injures his foes while taking care to come to no harm himself; cf. Prt. 318a-319a, 325a; Xen. Mem. 4.2.11; Thuc. 6.9.2; 6.14. See Adkins, Merit and Responsibility, 229-31.

³The parallel is evident in Xen. Mem. 3.7.1-2. Socrates asks Charmides his opinion of a man who was capable but unwilling to win a crown in the Games and "so honour himself and make his city more famous in Greece." He next asks him what he thinks of a man who avoids affairs of state although he thus could "aid the state and honour himself." The obvious implication is that a citizen should use his athletic or political talents for the mutual enrichment of the city and himself.

themselves via monuments, odes and speeches. The polis mentality, a political balance of obligations and rewards, was a vulnerable and ideal construct produced by and essential to the life of the classical city-state. This attitude was not maintained in the changing world of the fourth century; politicians and athletes became separate, self-serving experts.¹ In chronological order, the following outlines the direct, then the indirect, and finally the disappearing relationship between athletics and political leadership. These stages corresponded roughly to ages of clan, then citizen, and finally private concerns.

The earliest Athenian athletes reflect the directness and unity of old aristocratic life. Kylon (A40), perhaps relying on the appeal of his physical arete, tried disastrously to extend his Olympic preeminence into tyranny.² Phrynon (A68) was both an Olympic victor and a general, an athletic as well as a political leader.³ Both men show a probably frequent combination of athletic and political ambitions by an Athenian noble.

¹On the ethical shift from serving to living off the community as reflected on stage, see Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, chapter 12, "Economics and the State," 325-36.

²The following often refers to athletes, generally known victors, whose athletic careers and socio-economic status were discussed earlier. Notations such as "Kylon (A40)" refer to entries in the Catalogues where sources and bibliography are collected. Necessary information on non-athletic individuals is given in the notes or by cross-references within the dissertation.

³Jeffery, Archaic Greece, 89-90 makes an intriguing suggestion about Phrynon's move to Sigeion ca. 620-610: "Conceivably Phrynon may have been one of Kylon's surviving sympathizers, who felt it advisable to emigrate after the failure."

In archaic Athens the significant political and athletic unit was the well-established, endowed family whose members had a personal and familial attitude towards competition.¹ With familial traditions, cult connections, and regional power bases, members of rival clans both competed in gymnastic and equestrian events and competed for political leadership and the holding of major offices. This direct approach in both fields of endeavor was to decline like the aristocratic families and lifestyle it suited so well.

The Alkmeonidai provide an excellent insight into the direct relationship between early Athenian athletics and politics. This family included Megakles I, archon at the time of the Kylonian affair, and his son Alkmeon I (A5), the general and an Olympic chariot victor of 592. Alkmeon's son Megakles II (P101) competed for the hand of Agariste of Sikyon in a contest, more political than romantic, in which athletic ability seems to have been a consideration. This Megakles led the family and the Paralia faction prior to the Peisistratid tyranny, left Athens, and then returned via the politically motivated marriage of his daughter to the tyrant ca. 557. Another son of Alkmeon I, Alkmeonides I (A6) was a chariot victor in the newly reorganized Panathenaea but proclaimed his win abroad, perhaps fleeing because his domestic success made him too prominent with Peisistratos back in

¹Athenian history to the Peloponnesian War was essentially the history of her leading families, mostly aristocratic. Noble houses, grouped in factions including philoí and hetairoi, competed for prestige and political power using tactics including marriages and political prosecutions. See Bicknell, Politics and Genealogy, preface; Davies, APF, xx.

power in 546.¹ A grandson of Megakles II and Agariste, Megakles IV (A43) was a political leader in the 480's and won a chariot race at the Pythia in 486 immediately after being forced into exile by ostracism. For this family, success at the Games was a political tool, like dynastic marriage, used even from exile in seeking leadership or at least influence at Athens.² The power of the family suffered in the fifth century; Megakles V (A44) won the Olympic chariot race in 436 but had an undistinguished political career.³ The history of this family demonstrates direct competition in both athletics and politics, and shows the trend from early to diminishing success by this route as the aristocracy lost its hold on Athenian affairs.⁴

Of the genos of the Philaidai, the family of Kimon also was

¹A possible son of Alkmeonides I was Hippokrates, son of Alkmeonides of Alopeke, a candidate for ostracism in the 480's. See APF 9688 III and E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 220-21, 232-4, figs. 39-40.

²Davies, APF, pp. 369-70 points to the Alkmeonid use of the Delphic oracle, the pro-democratic shift with Kleisthenes, and horse-breeding as political techniques.

³Megakles' hippotrophy may have aided his minor political activity as secretary of the treasurers of Athena in 428/7; see APF 9697, see 9688 XI.

⁴Similar to the Alkmeonidai, the family of Kallias had a sixth-century reputation for wealth and display combined with political influence. Kallias I (A30) had equestrian wins from Olympia and Delphi in 564, named his son Hipponikos, and felt confident enough to buy the confiscated property of Peisistratos ca. 559. Kallias II (A31) was a three-time Olympic chariot victor as well as a diplomat. The family seems to have turned to strategic marriage alliances: Kallias II married the sister of Kimon II in 489, and then married his son to the ex-wife of Pericles and his daughter to Alcibiades III. The aristocracy was drawing together under pressure from democracy, and by the time of Kallias III the family led neither in politics nor hippotrophy.

prominent politically, and Herodotus notes their reputation for four-horse chariots.¹ After his failure as an athletic suitor at Sikyon, Hippokleides (P97) was archon in 566 when the Panathenaea was reorganized. Kimon I (A34), forced into exile, kept himself in the public eye with an Olympic chariot win in 536.² Winning again in 532, he conceded the victory to Peisistratos in exchange for permission to return to Athens. Apparently he misjudged the political threat of his chariot-racing, for when he won again in 528 Hippias, insecurely in power, seems to have instigated his death. We know of no political office or conspicuous role for this Kimon, but the tyrants at least recognized the political potential of his fame.³ Kimon's half-brother Miltiades III (A46) won the Olympic chariot race in 560 before becoming ruler of the Chersonese. Away from Athens he publicized his success with minted coins and with a dedication at Olympia. He was succeeded in the Chersonese by Miltiades IV who, reconciled with the tyranny after the death of Kimon I, held the archonship of 524/3. With Kimon II, grandson of Kimon I, the family no longer contended, directly in both politics and athletics.⁴

¹Hdt. 6.35. The significance of hippotrophy as a traditional political asset has long been recognized. See M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, 181; or more recently, Andrewes, Greek Tyrants, 110.

²While Wade-Gery, Essays in Greek History, 158 would relate Kimon's exile to his horse-racing fame; Davies, APF, p. 300, feels the exile was due to the danger Kimon presented to the tyranny as a figurehead of political constitutionality.

³Connor, New Politicians, 10-11 sees a political motive behind Kimon's death.

⁴In the late fifth century Miltiades VI (P104) was known for his physical fitness but not for political leadership.

Peisistratos (A55) is an interesting and key figure in Athenian political and athletic history. His father Hippokrates went to see the Olympic Games in the late seventh century, and perhaps noted the popularity of such a gathering before receiving a prodigy that his son would be famous.¹ From a wealthy family with recurrent "Hipp-" names, Peisistratos was personally busy maintaining his tyranny so he used indirect tactics in the realm of athletics. Like his short-lived marriage to an Alkmeonid, Peisistratos' purchase of Kimon I's second Olympic chariot win was an astute political move.² Reducing Kimon to the status of an ἡνίοχος, a hired driver, the tyrant showed the Athenians that even the leaders of the great clans had to seek terms from him.³ As well as becoming an absentee victor, his concession to the traditional route, Peisistratos showed future politicians the value, for public relations, of promoting civic athletics. Peisistratos usually is credited with expanding the Panathenaea, and ceramic evidence suggests that the athletic program grew and became systematized under the tyranny.⁴ The sponsorship

¹Hdt. 1.59.1-2.

²This political bargain is the earliest known example of the transfer of an Olympic victory. Robinson, Sources, 82 comments on Peisistratos' eagerness for the victory.

³Davies, APF, pp. 454-5 rejects any Peisistratid use of hippotrophy and points to the influence of cults, coinage and mercenaries. Peisistratos, however, at least associated himself with hippic victory, and his sons Hippias (P96) and Hipparchos (P95) may have been hippic victors. Hipparchos' dedication in the Ptoion in Boeotia ca. 520-514 may have been to offset an earlier dedication there by Alkmeonides I (A6).

⁴See above pp. 61-62. Andrewes, Greek Tyrants, 113-14 credits Peisistratos with increasing the magnificence of the festival, and with a temple on the Acropolis, in opposition to the local particularism of the clans. If the wall of Hipparchos is historical, see above pp. the son was following the father by public munificence in matters relevant to athletics. Both sons of Peisistratos were busy with the Panathenaea at the time of the tyrannicide; Arist. Ath. Pol. 18.2-3; Thuc. 6. 54-58.

of the worship of the national goddess Athena, countering the aristocratic, centrifugal influence of local cults, was part of a policy of associating the tyranny with public, constructive programs.¹ Peisistratos drew political support from sponsoring as well as winning contests.²

The late sixth and the fifth century saw major developments in Athenian athletics and politics, hence the relationship between the two areas changed. The Kleisthenic reforms and the Persian War turned the city towards democracy and empire. The weakening of the aristocracy and the rise of non-landed wealth allowed the social and political advancement of new groups. Emphasizing mass appeal and a philodemotic image, the new politics of popular democracy put a premium on acquired personal skills like oratory, especially in the second half of the fifth century. The means of gaining and keeping political leadership became less traditional and more complicated, making increasing demands on the time and talents of leaders.³

¹As a popular champion of the demos Peisistratos capitalized on the disunity of the aristocracy. Arnheim, Aristocracy, 139-40 depicts Kleisthenes as another anti-aristocratic aristocrat whose reforms were the secular counterpart of the tyrant's religious policies.

²Married to his granddaughter for a time, Peisistratos may have followed the example of Kleisthenes of Sikyon concerning athletics. Kleisthenes, an Olympic chariot victor, aided the prestige of the Pythia after the Sacred War in 590; and then established a Sikyonian Pythia in 574 (Htd. 5.67) to rival Delphi after falling out with Delphi. See M. F. McGregor, "Cleisthenes of Sikyon and the Panhellenic Festivals," TAPA 72 (1941): 266-87.

³Connor, New Politicians, prosopographically and philologically examines the changing nature of fifth-century politics. He describes traditional politics, pp. 66-86, 134-6, as polycentric, with short-term coalitions bound by personal not ideological ties, and with the poorer classes generally uninvolved. With the fleet, class tensions, and a

The world of athletics also included new men and new approaches. Athletics were still an upper-class pursuit but new athletes were entering by wealth more than birth.¹ In gymnastic athletics there was a growing emphasis on preparation and training rather than natural ability. Pindar mentions trainers like Melesias grooming men from an early age for victory in the Games. The equestrian world meanwhile was adapting to the use of hired drivers and multiple entries, requiring riches but not personal dedication or skill. While gymnastic competition was demanding a major commitment of time and energy, and hippotrophy was demanding less, victory in either brought acclaim.²

The trend to specialization and the value of acquired skills in politics and gymnastic athletics doomed the route to political influence via direct gymnastic competition. The latter fifth century especially was an age of youth; young men were wise to concentrate on one time-consuming field.³ We shall see that those who chose gymnastic success

politically powerful demos, leaders sought mass support. New demagogic politics deemphasized the power of friendship groups, stressing mass allegiance and requiring skill in finance and rhetoric. The new politicians, pp. 151-9, were middlemen and manufacturers rather than landed aristocrats. As neoploutoi and agoraioi rather than kaloikagathoi, they were abused in comedy and slandered by the gennetai. Kleon, for instance, came from a non-noble but respectable family and his tactics found precedents in Pericles.

¹On the rise of timocratic aspects in athletic competition in the fifth century, see above pp. 193-201.

²On evidence and criticisms of the trend to specialization, see Part Five, "Critics and Criticisms."

³Connor, New Politicians, 139-51 depicts this as a time of youthful leaders who had the wealth and leisure to gain needed financial, rhetorical and military skills. Note that these "new politicians" had similar backgrounds but were not the same individuals as the "new athletes" discussed in Part Four above.

suffered from attempts to convert this fame into political advancement. Ultimately, direct competitors stayed in their own areas. While the athletic ideal was declining under intellectual criticism, athletics were still popular and offered valuable publicity. Leaders turned to two options. Most common was indirect involvement in athletics as benefactor, sponsor or administrator--an association with the activity without committing oneself to preparation. The second option, less common and decreasing, was continued direct competition in equestrian events, investing wealth but not time or talent. A traditional political instrument of the aristocracy,¹ hippotrophy was still spectacular; but it was losing its political value under the democracy. After Alcibiades it became a diversion of the nouveaux riches.

A survey of some Athenian athletes of the fifth century shows a decreasing correlation between direct participation in gymnastic contests and political leadership by mid-century. Leagros I (P100), apparently a youthful athlete in the late sixth century, was at least threatened with ostracism before his death as general in 465/4.² The pancratiast Hermolykos I (A25), distinguished at Mykale in 474, was the last member of a family of generals to be known for athletics.³

¹ A Pronapes, probably the chariot victor and hipparch (A57), prosecuted Themistocles ca. 470.

² Although Leagros is not mentioned in connection with ostracism in literature, about fifty ostraca bear his name; see Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 231. Leagros apparently was a contemporary of Themistocles (Ps. Them. Ep. 8 p. 747 Hercher), and may have been politically active; see Raubitschek, "Leagros," 164. After Leagros I, his family seems prominent but unathletic; a son was general in 441 and a daughter married Kallias III; see APF 9023, see 3027.

³ Diitrephes son of Euthoinos was a brother of Hermolykos and a candidate for ostracism around 460; Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 238-9.

The periodonikes Kallias Didymiou (A29) probably joined the conservative opposition to Pericles and faced ostracism in the 440's.¹ Son of the athlete and trainer Melesias (A45), Thucydides (P92) probably had athletic training but concentrated on the political leadership of the conservatives until his ostracism in 443/2. After such ostracisms, and with the increasingly radical nature of democracy, athletes no longer appear prominently in politics.² In the second half of the fifth century the sons of Thucydides, Melesias II (P102) and Stephanos (P110), were characterized as athletically talented but non-political. Plato remarks that the sons of Themistocles and Pericles were trained and talented in horsemanship and contests but were otherwise insignificant.³ Autolykos (A12), the pancratiast who with his family received literary attention, was put to death by the Thirty to please a Spartan official. He seems to have been a public but not a politically ambitious person. After some direct interaction in the first half of the fifth century, the message of ostracisms and political trends was that gymnastic athletes should tend their own affairs. Specialization in both areas was giving the same directive.

Rather than personally wrestling or running, leading politicians

¹Ps. Andoc. 4.32 says Kallias was ostracized in spite of bringing glory to Athens. Ostraca suggest to Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 239-40, figs. 56-57, that Kallias had political ambitions and that there was a concerted campaign against him. Vanderpool and Moretti, IAG, 33-35, would connect Kallias' dedication on the Acropolis (DAA no. 164) with political activity in opposition to Pericles.

²Pythodelos (A58) and Diophanes (A17-18), typically, are known only from limited, agonistic sources.

³Xanthippos (P105) and Paralos (P106); Kleophantos (P99).

were turning to the use of athletic settings, benefactions and policies. Themistocles (P91) apparently had athletic training in his youth but put his energies into a political and military career. The anecdote about Kynosarges places Themistocles as a wealthy novus homo recruiting unaligned political clients in an appropriate context.¹ After gaining fame against the Persians, Themistocles advertised his prestige at Olympia as a very conspicuous spectator. He thus undermined the attraction of his rival Kimon II and gained attention without exertion.

Although from a propertied family of victors, Kimon II did not compete in the Games but was a famous general and political leader.² He added to his reputation and following by the "politics of largesse": extensions of generosity to Athens and Athenians which tended to create a sense of obligation in the beneficiaries and attracted favorable attention to the donor.³ After his confrontation with Themistocles at Olympia, Kimon used his wealth to beautify the Academy and Agora for the city, as well as openly giving presents to citizens. Furthermore,

¹See Appendix F, "The Nothoi of Kynosarges." Davies, APF, 213-16 notes that, although the family had wealth and status, the novus homo image of Themistocles may have come from the rapid rise of the family. Davies and Plutarch (Them. 1.4; 22.2-3) see a political motive, namely the rivalry with Kimon, in Themistocles' foundation of a telesterion at Phylae and a sanctuary to Artemis in Melite in Attica.

²On Kimon II, see APF 8429; on his significance for Athens' facilities and festivals, see above pp. 68-71, 128-29.

³Connor, New Politicians, 18-22. Policies like the distribution of food reached people too numerous or lowly to be controlled by traditional means. The politics of largesse were a voluntary and casual system, useful for elections and ostracisms but lacking structure and durability. Kimon's civic benefactions were effective but he lacked the philodemotic expertise of Pericles.

he earned renown by returning the "bones of Theseus," thus founding the Theseia which included athletics. In an age of flux Kimon perceptively used athletics to reinforce his authority at Athens.

Kimons politics of largesse lead naturally to the issue of liturgies, those obligatory civic services with honorific connotations at Athens. Like conspicuous consumption or willingness in paying subscriptions, the performance of a liturgy could be--but was not necessarily--parapolitical. Liturgies could be used, as Davies puts it, in "the active and artful build-up of a political investment in goodwill."¹ One might try to avoid the office by antidosis, or one might undertake extra liturgies or perform a liturgy lavishly and therefore expect extra honours. Probably most holders of liturgies simply accepted the duty as imposed. The liturgical officer most relevant to athletics was the gymnasiarch, whose only certain responsibility in pre-Hellenistic Athens was the financing of torch races.² Unfortunately we know of only a few gymnasiarchs, and often only the name, at best, is known.³ A gymnasiarchy was evidence of wealth, but, except in a few better documented cases, political overtones cannot be proven.⁴

¹Davies, APF, xvii-xviii. That the deployment of private wealth wielded influence in public affairs was a widespread, but not unchallenged, topos in oratory and philosophy; see APF, xviii n. 3-4.

²On the gymnasiarchy, see above pp. 117-18.

³Pre-Hellenistic gymnasiarchs at Athens include: APF 9207, 15164, 7336 see 1395, 15418, 2760, 8823; broken and lost names: 462; pp. 394, 535, 573, 577 A27, 585 B25, 594 D8-10.

⁴The political use of gymnasiarchies by Alcibiades and Nikias will be discussed shortly. The speaker of Lysias 21, see APF, pp. 592-3 D7, apparently sought public confidence through lavish

Pericles, the consummate Athenian politician, outdid Kimon with a Peisistratid-like combination of self-preservation and civic advancement.¹ Aristotle and Plutarch remark that, since his private means were no match for Kimon's, Pericles gave the people their own money.² Rather than Kimon's personal gifts from private funds, Pericles used public-- that is imperial--monies, as in the introduction of jury pay. The conservative opposition decried the marvellous festivals, the distribution of funds, and the building projects; but there is no doubt that such things contributed to the popularity of Pericles and athletics. As epistates of the Lyceum, Pericles apparently renovated the facility.³ During the Periclean age sitisis for victors was reaffirmed and athletics were held in the Agora.⁴ An apocryphal but appropriate anecdote states that Thucydides Melesiou defeated Pericles in a wrestling match, but that Pericles then convinced the people that he had won.⁵ There is an

expenditures including a gymnasiarchy at a cost of 1200 drachmas (Lys. 21.3). The same may apply to the orator Andocides IV (APF 828), to Kallias Teleokles (APF 7480), and to Lycurgus' friend Xenokles (APF 11234).

¹ Arnheim, Aristocracy, 184 compares Pericles and Peisistratos as popular leaders in symbiotic relationships with their supporters, both leading and following.

² Arist. Ath. Pol. 27.3-4; Plut. Cim. 10, Per. 9.2.

³ See above, "Lyceum," pp. 139-40. To see Pericles' action at the Lyceum as part of routine building activity, as Boersma, ABP, 80-81 does, is to underestimate the man.

⁴ On sitisis, see above pp. 251-54. The period of use of the starting line in the Agora coincides well with the Periclean building program after his first generalship in 454; see above pp. 101-104.

⁵ Plut. Per. 8.5; on Thucydides' opposition to Pericles: Frank J. Frost, "Pericles, Thucydides, Son of Melesias, and Athenian Politics Before the War," Hist. 13 (1964): 385-99; Hans D. Meyer, "Thukydides Melesiou und die oligarchische Opposition gegen Perikles," Hist. 16 (1967): 141-54.

apt methodological contrast here between traditional direct victory and success by indirect means of self-presentation and persuasion. Pericles included a popular athletic policy in his plans for a resplendent Athens under his leadership.

Talented, rich and ambitious, Alcibiades III (A4) probably had athletic training in his youth but was not a gymnastic victor in the Games. After marrying Hipparete the daughter of Hipponikos III in the late 420's and entering politics, he followed his forefather, Alcibiades I (A3), and his new in-laws in turning to chariot-racing.¹ His unprecedented Olympic successes of 416 were achieved not by talent and dedication but by wealth and guile, involving multiple entries, hired drivers and a stolen team.² Furthermore, he applauded his own wins with lavish displays at Olympia, an epinician by Euripides and works of art at Athens. Alcibiades sought and won more than the crown of victory.³

In the debate over the Sicilian expedition, Alcibiades confronted Nikias, the wealthy conservative and military leader. Nikias used public munificence to compensate for his lack of demagogic skills; both he and Alcibiades could claim gymnasiarchies and other

¹As well as a chariot victor, Alcibiades I (A3) was Kleisthenes' colleague in the expulsion of the Peisistratids (Isoc. 16.26). Alcibiades III's son's contention (see pp. 231-34 above) about the social background of gymnastic athletes (Isoc. 16.32-34) was a rationalization of his father's ruthless and efficient grasp for politically marketable honours.

²The disputed chariot team was that of Teisias II (A63), a general and a politician, whose desire to compete at Olympia may have been politically motivated.

³The facts are well known; on the epinician, see above pp. 221-2. It is generally agreed that Alcibiades derived political benefit from his victories; Hatzfeld, Alcibiade, 130-41; Adkins, Merit and Responsibility, 142-4; Finley and Pleket, Olympic Games, 102.

liturgies.¹ In a speech reported by Thucydides, Alcibiades cleverly plays on the theme of mutual assistance between city and citizen, of civic service meriting support.² Alcibiades claims that he has a better right to command because his extravagance and his hippotrophy brought fame to himself and the city. He claimed that custom regards displays like his Olympic success as honourable and as connoting power, that his deployment of private funds benefited both the city and himself, and that he therefore need not regard himself as merely equal to other citizens.

The speech is that of a cunning politician in a transitional period in Athenian political history. Alcibiades appeals to tradition and to the polis mentality, but history shows that his primary concerns were personal and not patriotic. His political attractiveness and resources were multidimensional. Athenians resented but admired his youthful combination of the tactics of family and friendship, the politics of largesse and display, and the prestige of Panhellenic victory.³

The whole was compounded with popular politics and oratory.⁴ Such a

¹Plutarch, Nic. 3.1-2, ascribes a political motive to Nicias' choregic wins (cf. Pl. Grg. 472a) and his gymnasiarchy; see APF 10808. The parapolitical nature of Alcibiades' liturgies, including a gymnasiarchy, is affirmed by his son's declaration of the lavishness of the performances (Isoc. 16.35).

²Thuc. 6.16.1-2; see Gomme, Commentary on Thucydides, 4:246-7. On Alcibiades' conception of patriotism, see N. M. Pusey, "Alcibiades and τὸ φιλόπολι," Harv. Stud. 51 (1940): 215-31.

³As ingredients in Alcibiades' appeal to the demos, Plutarch (Alc. 16.4) lists his liturgies, donations, munificence, ancestry, oratory, physical strength and beauty, and military skill. Alcibiades proposed at least one decree concerning Kynosarges (Ath. 6.234e; IG I² 129 and above p. 155 n. 3), but the evidence is too scant for sound conclusions.

⁴Connor, New Politicians, 140 sees Alcibiades as a master of the new politics. Plutarch (Alc. 10.3) claims that Alcibiades had friends and followers but counted mostly on his oratory to influence the masses.

political campaign was effective in this period, but Alcibiades' example was not forgotten or repeated.¹

For several reasons, the former unity and vitality of Athenian civic life deteriorated after the Peloponnesian War into compartmentalization and disaffection. The political mentality and patriotism of citizens became the economic mentality and egotism of class-conscious individuals.² Social life became private and civic life was segmented. Decimated and disillusioned, the old aristocracy largely withdrew from public life including politics and the Games. New wealthy but not pedigreed families formed a new social elite and entered the ruling class.³ This was an age of specialization: Athens needed experts in finance and war, and athletic success in gymnastic events presupposed commitment and training.⁴ Specialization and a changing ethos meant that men lacked

¹Ps. Andocides (4.25) later condemned Alcibiades' use of his Olympic fame. Alcibiades was pictured and remembered as a negative example, the leader of dissolute youth: Ar. Ach. 716; Thuc. 6.15.3-4; Lys. 14.18, 25-8, 39, 41-2. A. Simonetti, "Alcibiade e i cavalli," RIL 103 (1969): 273-86 suggests economic jealousy lead to criticisms of Alcibiades. The memory of Syracuse itself was enough to taint the memory of Alcibiades' use of hippotrophy, and furthermore his success simply could not be surpassed (Isoc. 16.34).

²The Sophistic inclination towards rationalism and moral relativism, the disasters of the late fifth century, and the pressing economic concerns of the fourth, all helped change attitudes towards politics. Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, chapter 13, "The People and the State," 337-59 contrasts Old and New Comedy to show the rise of individualistic materialism. Also see Austin and Vidal-Naquet, Social and Economic History, 119-20.

³Enemies depicted the nouveaux riches as conspicuous consumers, living in sumptuous private houses, profiting from public graft but performing no service for the state. For example: Lys. 27.10; Dem. 3.21; 23.207-8. MacKendrick, Aristocracy, 3-5 contrasts the aristocracy, hurt by war and revolution, with the new propertied haute bourgeoisie lacking the aristocratic sense of tradition.

⁴Specialization in politics began in the fifth century and was entrenched by the fourth, promoting the abdication of the demos; Connor,

the time and motivation to combine serious athletic and political success. Direct or indirect involvement in athletics no longer constituted a normal or effective means to political power.¹

The juxtaposition of fourth-century Athenian gymnastic victors and political leadership shows no consistent pattern of interaction. Major participation in one area seems to have precluded the other. Aristokrates II had been a general during the Peloponnesian War but his nephew Epichares (A23) is known only as the Olympic boys' stadion victor of 396. None in a series of Athenian Olympic stadion victors played a known political role: Minos (A47) in 400; Sosippos (A62) in 388; Pythostratos (A59) in 368; Phokides (A69) in 364; Aristolochos (A10) in 344; and Antikles (A8) in 340. Admittedly our sources are limited but they are better than for earlier periods. More is known about Dioxippos (A20), the Olympic pancratiast and famous strongman, but there is no record of political involvement. Significantly, Athens sent the orator and politician Hyperides to Olympia in 332 to defend the pentathlete Kallippos (A32) on a charge of bribery. The Athenians may have desired an acquittal and the victory to bolster civic prestige

New Politicians, 175-93. The diversification of society meant a need for more particular skills and greater permanency of functions, most notably in military and political affairs. Oratory was especially valuable in this "Lawyers' Republic"; see Mossé, Decline, 21-32. On athletic specialization, see above pp. 242-50.

¹Largesse and the use of personal funds for display continued with the liturgical system in the fourth century but became a means to status and security rather than political leadership. While earlier aristocrats like Kimon and Alcibiades used munificence aggressively as a means to power, in the fourth century men avoided public affairs (and boasted of it, Lys. 19.55; Ps. Dem. 58.65) or used displays defensively as demonstrations of their merits if prosecuted in the courts (Lys. 25.12-13; cf. Isoc. 16.32-34).

in a time of uncertainty. At any rate, the athlete and the political leader were separate and distinct types in this era.

Horse and chariot-racing were less prevalent in the fourth century, no longer an aristocratic route to influence after the excesses of Alcibiades. Adopted occasionally by families of generals and orators, hippotrophy may have had some political overtones but seems more suggestive of private display and status consciousness. A general in 390/89, Chabrias (A71) was notorious for his conspicuous consumption including a Pythian chariot win in 374 after his military career. Timokrates II (A65), Olympic victor in the synoris in 352, was a wealthy associate of Androtion attacked by Demosthenes; but his political involvement was long past by the time of his victory.¹ The famous displays of the nouveau riche Demades (A13) included an Olympic win in 328. A leading politician and a mediator between Athens and Macedon, Demades gained influence through his oratory much more than his hippotrophy. Demetrios of Phaleron (A14), a nouveau riche with equestrian pretensions, was an orator and statesman wielding power as the representative of Macedon after Athens lost its independence.² Declining through the fourth century, horse-racing still connoted wealth but no longer was a claim to leadership.³

Despite the efforts of Lycurgus the fate of the Athenians

¹ Son of the prominent general, Phokos II (A70) is known only for his apobates win.

² Although Davies, APF, pp. 108-9 feels he deliberately adopted a pattern of parapolitical expenditure and display, the political success of Demetrios derived from his oratory and pro-Macedonian stance.

³ Like excessive athletic training, hippotrophy faced critics; see "Critics and Criticisms," pp. 233 n. 2.

slipped from their hands. An effective orator and administrator, Lycurgus included the Lyceum and a Panathenaic Stadium in his program of revitalization. However, his use of donations and his office was significantly different from the indirect use of athletics by political leaders in the fifth century. Already in power because of his financial and political expertise, Lycurgus turned his attention to the ongoing, institutionalized athletic life of Athens, not as a means to gain or keep power, but as a responsibility of his office as civic administrator.¹ In the pre-Hellenistic generation of ca. 350-321 athletics and political leadership were quite divorced.

In retrospect we have seen that from the seventh to the fourth century, with the rise, zenith and decline of Athens as an independent, powerful city, the interrelationship between athletics and political leadership changed and collapsed. In archaic Athens aristocratic direct competition in gymnastic and equestrian contests was closely aligned with political advancement, especially of families. The old unity of kaloskagathia became diversified in the age of democracy and empire, but athletics remained politically influential among the citizenry. Indirect involvement in athletics as patron or administrator, or success in equestrian events, had positive effects until the end of the fifth century. While Pericles represents the last use of an athletic policy, Alcibiades represents the last use of Panhellenic victory as a means to

¹Lycurgus represents the trend towards the importance of economic issues and financial magistracies; he followed statesmen and financial experts like Kallistratos in the 370's and 60's and Eubulos in the 350's and 40's. Lycurgus' post as Treasurer of the Financial Administration anticipates the financial officials of the Hellenistic monarchs. See Mossé, Decline, 80-4; or Austin and Vidal-Naquet, Social and Economic History, 144-5.

attain or retain political power. In the fourth century specialization in both athletics and politics demanded an individual's full commitment to one of two different lifestyles.¹ Conspicuous but decreasing, hippotrophy, without its political implications, was adopted by new groups. Political leaders were preoccupied with financial and military matters, and most Athenians concentrated on private concerns. Although athletics remained a significant part of civic life, direct or indirect involvement no longer had overtones for political leadership.

¹Phoenix's creed for Achilles had been to be both "a speaker of words and a doer of deeds" (Hom. Il. 9.443), but by the fourth century Plato in the Republic invokes a utopia of specialists.

CONCLUSION: DEVELOPMENTS AND STAGES
IN ATHENIAN ATHLETICS

With a fresh perspective on Athenian history, and from a new collection of scattered sources, this dissertation has investigated the historical development and significance of athletics in ancient Athens. The topic previously has not been the subject of an extensive presentation of the relevant evidence nor of a thorough historical analysis. Such evidence and analysis show that athletics were very significant in the civic and political life of Athens, and that the histories of Athens and its athletics were interrelated.

The sites, circumstances, prizes, participants, and changing nature of athletics at Athens prove that this state and this area of activity affected the life and character of each other. Unlike the homes of the great Panhellenic Games, Athens was much more than a religious sanctuary or oracular centre. Classical Athens was a dynamic city-state usually at or near the centre of Greek history. As a public and popular activity, Athenian athletics developed in relationship with public life, urbanization, the social elite, and civic administration and finance. While athletics were of religious and cultural importance to all Greeks, at Athens they also influenced--and were influenced themselves by--the civic and political experience of the Athenians.

To examine the rise, expansion and changing nature of athletics in pre-Hellenistic Athens, this study presented and discussed material

in six sections: the rise of athletics at Athens; festivals and events of civic athletics; the athletic facilities; the athletes; critics and criticisms; and athletics and political leadership. It became apparent throughout that the histories of the city and its athletics shared significant stages and developments. Five general periods can be detected: aristocratic, pre-Solonian Athens (ca. 776-594), with Homeric-style, pre-civic athletics; the sixth-century advance of the city (ca. 594-490), including the rise and expansion of civic athletics; the age of empire and democracy (ca. 490-404), when athletics thrive with civic prosperity; the age of recovery (ca. 404-355), during which the athletic life of the city continues; and Athens eclipsed (ca. 354-322), when athletics take on what might be called a proto-Hellenistic character. The following integrates various observations according to these periods.

In the pre-Solonian era (ca. 776-594) Athens and athletics were gaining prominence in Greece around the same time. Early Athens was an aristocratic state controlled by rival, internationally connected, baronial families with conflicting ambitions. The spontaneity, the informal arrangements, and the physically oriented arete of Homeric athletics probably characterize early Athenian practice.¹ Early but uncertain indications of athletics, possibly held in the Agora, suggest connections to heroic and funerary cults. It is not merely a coincidence that Athens' first Olympic victory in 696 followed upon the rise of the polis itself and upon the completion of the process of synoecism, slightly preceding the term of Kreon in

¹See Hom. Od. 8.145-8 and above pp. 22-24.

682/1 as the earliest known annual archon.¹ Victors in this period seem to have been men of wealth and standing; Kylon represents the growth both of athletics and of political turmoil. Aristocrats probably held local cultic ceremonies and games as well as competing elsewhere; possibly they designated naturally suitable sites in their regions for occasional athletic use. Although Athens was the home of athletes and athletic activity, athletics were a clan or regional rather than a civic matter. "Civic" in fact has little applicability to this era of Athenian history, for the organs of state and the sense of community still were very limited.

In the period from Solon's archonship to the battle of Marathon (ca. 594-490) Athens endured crises and factionalism, appealed to Solon for relief, and prospered under a tyranny. Influenced by Greek trends and domestic circumstances, the state advanced from unofficial to civically oriented and administered athletics. Athens first had to become a viable political entity before civic concern and influence could expand to encompass athletics.

The reforms of Solon aided the rule of law and the promotion

¹A. M. Snodgrass, Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek State (Cambridge, 1977), 1-37 defines polis minimally as "an autonomous political unit, incorporating a town and its territory as the inseparable parts of the unit." Using the evidence of graves and population estimates, he presents the Attic synoecism as a long process complete finally in the late eighth century. Furthermore, he argues for the existence of a monumental temple to a patron deity as an important archaeological criterion for the emergence of a polis, and he accepts a dating of ca. 700 for the early Athena temple on the Athenian Acropolis. On the origin of the annual archonship, see Hignett, Athenian Constitution, 40-46. Miller, Prytaneion, 52-3 would connect the appearance of a prytaneion at Athens to the establishment of the aristocratic oligarchy in the eighth century. Apparently, then, Athens in the eighth century underwent significant changes physically, politically and athletically.

of civic consciousness, both achievements being crucial in the political and hence the "civic" athletic life of Athens.¹ This study argued that Solon prepared the way for civic athletics; he directed official attention to the growing activity of athletics by legislating rewards for victors and possibly by codifying other social laws relating to athletics. This introduction of the role of the city and law into athletics was an important step.

After Solon's work, adolescent Athens conformed to the Greek tendency to the organization of athletic festivals. The exact circumstances of the reorganization of the appropriately named Panathenaea remain uncertain, but the introduction of arguably "civic" athletics at Athens can be dated approximately to 566. Soon thereafter Peisistratos came to power and reinforced his own position by fostering the anti-aristocratic, patriotic influence of civic athletics and popular cults.² Peisistratos brought the political centralization and unification that allowed civic athletics (rather than the former athletics of clan and cult) to flourish. By the end of the tyranny the Panathenaic program and administration were well established. With symbolic yet valuable prizes, an ethnocentric festival yet open to all Greeks, the

¹M. M. Austin and P. Vidal-Naquet, Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece: An Introduction, revised ed. (London, 1977), 49-53 obviously have Solon in mind when suggesting criteria for the emergence of a polis as a political and economic entity. They mention codification of laws, improvement of the social and economic position of persons, increased community consciousness, and the development of the notion of citizenship and non-citizenship.

²Ibid., 70. Peisistratid policies, such as building projects, the fostering of religious festivals and popular cults, and the development of currency, promoted community consciousness while serving the interests of both Athens and the tyranny.

Panathenaea combined aspects of the *Periodos* and of local festivals. The prize amphorae themselves aptly symbolize the purpose and nature of Athenian civic athletics, associating both the popular activity and the divine patroness with the city. Both city and activity benefitted from the association.

Early scraps of evidence suggest that athletic facilities developed as Athens and its athletics advanced together in this era. Athens' gymnasia progressed from pre-architectural sites into simple architectural arrangements, still probably no more than specified areas, perhaps defined by columns, with limited arrangements for exercising and bathing. This development apparently owed less to military influences than scholarship has contended.¹ The growing popularity of athletics, aided by the rise of athletic festivals, and the patronage of the Peisistratids seem more likely factors. From the evidence of cults, topography, the dromos inscriptions, and ultimately from the fifth-century starting-line, this study further noted the early and continued use of the Agora as an athletic facility. The architectural development of stadia as separate facilities, however, came only much later.

The list of known athletes in this period clearly shows the dominance of the gennetai and their enthusiasm for horse and chariot-racing. Athletic success was valued as a means to fame and authority in a still quite aristocratic society. Even while the Peisistratids ruled, agonistic aristocrats like the Alkmeonidai contended personally

¹The case at Athens suits a recent criticism of Delorme's general theory in an archaeological survey of non-Athenian evidence by Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 55.

and directly in athletics and politics seeking glory and influence. Sublimating overt hostility through competition in the Games, these nobles won and proclaimed victories at home and abroad. The cases of Peisistratos and Kimon I demonstrate the potential of athletics as a political device. Physical superiority and a fine stable, like philo and landed wealth, were sources of social status and political influence.

Lyric poetry, dedications, vase-paintings, and the number of attested athletes show that athletics were flourishing. Civic athletics now had a sound official basis and Athenian leaders sought to foster and utilize this activity. Depending on his station, the Athenian citizen competed or watched; and the glory of Athenian athletes and games promoted the state as a political community.

Fifth-century Athens (ca. 490-404) was the Athens of democracy, empire and Pericles, an ideal home for civic athletics. Athletics helped spread the fame of the city for its festivals, horses and "heavy" athletes, even as the prosperity of Athens via its empire helped finance and extend the city's athletic life. Athletics were receiving even more public attention and support, but they also faced internal changes and vocal critics.

The number and variety of Athenian athletic festivals, as well as the expense and administrative effort expended on preparations and prizes, show the involvement of the Athenians in athletics from the highest official to the lowliest spectator. The history of Athens' athletic festivals shows that leaders followed a policy of adapting and redirecting lesser and local cults to give them a national focus

and appeal. This applied also to a continuing tradition of games associated with hero and funerary cults, notably the Theseia and Epitaphia. The empire and the festivals and projects it helped finance met with opposition; and religious piety may have decreased or altered, as with the adoption of the cult of Bendis. Nevertheless, official games and cults were maintained and expanded as essential rituals of democratic Athens, as occasions when citizens gathered and appreciated the value of the community.¹

Athens' numerous and famous athletic facilities formed a topographically and functionally prominent part of the state, receiving embellishment and increasing architectural expression in this age of energetic public building. Although occasional and informal, the racecourse in the Agora near the Altar of the Twelve Gods symbolizes the integration of athletics, religion and civic life. Along with architectural evolution and functional needs, the political ambitions of men like Themistocles, Kimon and Pericles influenced the growth and character of Athens' three major gymnasia. Praised by popular leaders and attacked by conservatives, public athletic facilities flourished. The effect of the Sophists has been exaggerated, largely via Aristophanes; life was becoming more multifaceted but gymnastics did not cease nor were the gymnasia and palaestrae empty.

Leading men of fifth-century Athens were involved with athletics and politics but their social origins and the nature of their involvement were changing in line with developments in Athenian

¹Fisher, Social Values in Classical Athens, 26.

society and culture, especially in the latter half of the century. The aristocratic monopoly and the predominance of equestrian events gave way as "new athletes" appeared, most notably in gymnastic events. These "new athletes," like the "new politicians," acquired the wealth, leisure and inclination for competing in athletics and politics from non-traditional sources. Slandered by the old guard, such newcomers nevertheless were of respectable birth and belonged economically to the upper classes. Despite public gymnasias and civic rewards for victors, no revolutionary popularization of athletics took place at Athens.¹ Although a growing factor in politics, the masses remained attentive observers at the games. Athenian athletics, especially equestrian competition, remained demonstrably elitist rather than egalitarian in practice. The significant development was a shifting from an elitism of birth to one of wealth.

This was a time of complex and changing political activity through which democracy further emerged. With the demanding and non-complementary preparations needed for major success in either athletics or politics in this era, leading statesmen tended to avoid personal athletic competition as a means to public influence. Participation directly in both areas was still possible, witness Kallias Didymiou, but it was decreasing. After Themistocles showed the value of athletic sites as public forums, politicians approached athletics indirectly as benefactors or administrators. They thus gained a

¹A fifth-century development from aristocratic and exclusive to democratic and inclusive games often is overstated, as by J. G. Thompson, "Sport, Athletics and Gymnastics," 119. Finley and Pleket, Olympic Games, 88 point out that the public gymnasium was a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the rise of lower class athletes.

popular and positive association with the city and demos (rather than the family and region) and avoided the time and pains of rigorous athletic training. The indirect approach was used by Kimon II with private funds, but the popular politician Pericles perfected the method with public funds. Chariot-racing brought fame to the wealthy victor and was still an alternative route to public exposure, but Alcibiades flaunted and exhausted this as an effective means to public support.

The attitudes of Pericles and Alcibiades to athletics, the democratic popularity and extravagance of festivals, and the requirements and results of technical athletic training all compounded earlier attacks on athletics by intellectuals. Critics show that the old physical ideal was becoming intellectualized and diversified, but modern scholars have overreacted to the criticisms and the demise of the narrow athletic ideal. Literary conventions now included the athlete as a physical caricature, but writers could choose from either critical or laudatory topoi depending on the nature and purpose of the work being written. In fact, the critics themselves testify to the spread and popularity of civic athletics. Some critics attacked athletics as part of a system of empire and democracy regarded either as in decline or as imperfect in principle. In terms of athletic practice, however, the critics had no appreciable effect. The renewal of sitiesis for victors in Periclean Athens, as a gesture of civic appreciation for an accomplishment aiding both citizen and state, reflected broad support for the practice if not the ideal of athletics. Athletic traditions, like festivals, facilities, and rewards, were

essential to the glorious image of which Athenians were very proud in the fifth century.

In the period after the Peloponnesian War (ca. 403-355) Athens was busy recovering from the war and attempting to reassert its power. In this age of orators and generals, Athens revived economically but never regained its former position in the Greek world.¹ The athletic life of the city endured, and some late fifth-century trends continued, but athletics were less significant in politics. Although the state lacked the resources for extravagance, and the athletic ideal was challenged further by philosophical criticism, there were indications of expanded programs and participation. Institutionalization and public popularity insured that athletics were retained as a visible, prominent element in Athens' calendar, topography and identity.

In this period the number of athletic events, if perhaps not festivals, increased, and the Panathenaic prize list of ca. 380 reveals a broad program with three age groupings. Rather than in an earlier era when one might expect it, military influences, mainly that of the cavalry, became more obvious in Athenian events. Despite the decrease in known equestrian victors and in athletic scenes painted on non-prize vases, the official program apparently was fully operational. With the variety and diversification of life at Athens, it is possible that athletics--without decreasing quantitatively--appear to represent a relatively less significant activity than before.

¹Even with grain shortages and the destitution of the peasants, Athens recovered economically quite quickly, but wealth was distributed unequally and tended to be held and spent in the private sector. See Mossé, Athens in Decline, 12-17, 42-9; Austin and Vidal-Naquet, Economic and Social History, 138-41.

Architecturally, Athens' athletic facilities give no indication of significant alteration in this period. The rise of schools of philosophy in association with gymnasia, along with changes in educational and social life, however, indicate that gymnasia were developing functionally. The role of gymnasia as educational and social centres was growing, but as yet this necessitated no physical changes in the facilities. Elsewhere, at Athens' stadium (and hippodrome?) informal, impermanent arrangements still seem to have sufficed.

Available information on Athenian athletes at this time indicates continuing participation and elitism. Financial difficulties may have influenced the decrease of horse-racing or the persistence of heavy athletics. Apparently coming from the new social elite, athletes tended to be nouveaux riches who did little beyond sport. The funds for training and travel remained private and familial; victors showed no dependency on income from athletics. New families and odd names appear in the context of athletic specialization, but there is no evidence of sponsorship of rising athletes by individuals or the city in pre-Hellenistic Athens. If "professionalism" existed in this era, it was in terms of training and expertise, not occupation. Athletes appear to have been respectable citizens, often characterized in literature and society by their athletic experience.

This was an age of haute bourgeoisie, of economic and private rather than political and public concerns. New upper class families, often with members conspicuous in war or oratory, took over the former preeminence of the old aristocratic families. The collective ethic of the old polis was being replaced by individualism and apathy; wealth

and peace were preferred to glory and public life.¹ Maintaining athletic traditions was still a civic concern, but competition and involvement seems to have changed from a means to public influence into a private matter of self-display and status.

The realms of athletics and political leadership diverged in this period as men no longer competed directly or indirectly in both areas. Intellectual critics were not the cause of this development; their continuing condemnations of excessive rewards and training were redundant and ineffectual. Athens' preoccupation with foreign affairs and finance, the self-perpetuating institutionalization of athletics, and the technical and temporal demands of athletic or political success--all these in part may explain why athletics were continuing but lacked political impetus.

In period five (ca. 354-322) Athens had to relinquish hopes of hegemony when the Second Maritime League lost its most powerful members in the Social War of 357-355. The city prospered for a time under Lycurgus' care but finally lost its independence to Macedon. In the history of Athenian athletics this period is better characterized as proto-Hellenistic rather than as a degradation of classical traditions.

Paradoxically, at Athens athletics seemed to thrive even as the political entity faltered. Aristotle's Athenaion Politeia details how thoroughly athletics were institutionalized and carefully

¹Fourth-century Athens faced moral and religious crises with moral confusion and religious impiety contributing to a code of self-indulgence and pleasure. See MacKendrick, Athenian Aristocracy, 3-5; or Mossé, Athens in Decline, 17-20.

administered. Still a major part of civic life, athletics increasingly involved Athens' educational and military system rather than its civic politics. The development of the ephebeia under Lycurgus affected the Theseia, and military and cavalry influences were reflected in the Olympieia and in contests like the hoplite race. Athens remained distinctive for the number of its festivals and for its unusual and spectacular events including the apobates contest and numerous torch races.

As elsewhere in late classical Greece, Athenian athletic facilities gained monumental stature in this era, especially through the projects of Lycurgus. The Lyceum was enhanced or expanded, possibly to accommodate increasing educational, philosophical and social functions. In Hellenistic times Athens' gymnasia were to be architectural complexes housing much more than athletics. Even entering the Hellenistic Agora, gymnasia were to be indispensable components in the physical form of this polis as a centre of philosophy and culture. The Lycurgan construction of the Panathenaic Stadium may represent a trend to specialization of facilities or a social shift to increasing spectatorship--developments more Hellenistic than classical. Although Lycurgus aimed at the glory of Periclean Athens, his methods and his administration were proto-Hellenistic.¹

In this age of financial and private concerns, Athenian athletes still appear to come from comfortable families, and there was even a revival of equestrian victories as nouveaux riches perhaps

¹Lycurgus was a financial administrator concerned with peace, defence and economic prosperity, while Pericles was a strategos concerned with imperialism. Lycurgus got his funds from the city and wealthy individuals, not from subject states.

sought social status. The career of Dioxippos may indicate that financial professionalism in athletics was not far off. In the Hellenistic age the route to athletic success via the ephobic system would remain elitist, but the route via sponsorship and athletic guilds was to attract lower class individuals seeking a livelihood.

As Macedon overshadowed Athens, people seem to have pursued or watched athletics for private, selfish motives; no longer were athletics a means to political influence.¹ Criticisms of the excessive training and popularity of athletics continued, and would continue, like the very trends they denounced. There now seems to be more basis for the charge that athletes contributed little to the city as we encounter the anomalous situation of Kallippos, the pentathlete accused of bribery. Rather than the athlete aiding the city, Athens sent Hyperides to defend the athlete.

The conventional image of decline in athletics, raising questions of criteria and relevance, has not improved our understanding of how Athenian athletics had undergone significant transformations by the late fourth century. Admittedly, the narrow athletic ideal lost its earlier attraction, and the morality and motivations of athletes changed. Technically athletic performances should have improved with specialization. The social shift from an elitism of birth to one of wealth can be seen as progress or decline, depending on one's predispositions. Even acknowledging the proliferation of sources over time, the numbers of willing Athenian

¹Writing after 322, Theophrastus in his Characters portrays a boastful aristocrat (Char. 25), proud of his hippotrophy and liturgies, and the man of petty ambition (Char. 21) with a private palaestra.

participants and spectators seems to increase. The list of fourth-century Athenian victories at Olympia indicates success not failure. Athletic facilities became grander, programs seem elaborate, and games and prizes were maintained as expressions of Athenian pride in the past glories and present beauties of the city.¹ Athletics ceased to be a source of political influence, but real political power no longer rested in Athens. Ironically, the fame and practice of Athenian athletics fared better than the city itself: they remained a very significant element in the civic life of a polis which itself declined politically and militarily in the Hellenistic era.² Perhaps antiquarian interests in the legacy of Athens appealed more than an uncertain future.

This study has responded to a need to appreciate more fully the significance of athletics, in addition to politics, drama and other areas, in Athenian history. It also cautions the student of ancient athletics to be wary of appealing generalizations from limited and scattered evidence. It is hoped that further studies might examine Hellenistic and Roman Athens, or athletics in other well documented classical sites.

To review, this dissertation has demonstrated the inter-

¹Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 368-72 observes that the fourth-century decline of Athens as a political power and a moral community went hand in hand with an increase in prosperity and a rise in the standard of technical and intellectual civilization.

²William Scott Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens (Oxford, 1911; reprint ed., New York, 1969), 212-13 characterizes athletics, like drama and music, in Hellenistic Athens as specialized, exclusive and artificial, having lost its spontaneous, popular and natural character from classical times. In other words, athletics remained active and "civic," but civic life overall had less vitality.

relationship between the histories of Athens and its athletics. From the eighth to the fourth century, as well as evolving internally towards increased training and rewards, Athenian athletics were influenced by developments at Athens such as the rise of civic consciousness and the policies of leaders. In turn, athletics affected the topography, festive calendar, administration and intellectual concerns of Athens. When Solon wanted to quiet the state, when Peisistratos and Pericles wanted to advance the state, when Themistocles and Kimon wanted to lead the state, and ultimately when Lycurgus wanted to revitalize the state, they paid attention to the athletic life of Athens. The reason is simple. Athletics were a public, integral, and potentially unifying or disruptive element in the civic experience of the Athenians.

Overall the relationship between Athens and athletics was constructive and harmonious. The Athenian as victor, benefactor or spectator gained glory, recognition or pleasure; and the city benefited from flattering festivals and facilities and from an enhanced civic consciousness. In late classical times Athens and athletics adapted towards Hellenistic models, but athletics "declined" (or became less "civic") only in the sense that all aspects of Athenian life can be said to have declined in the absence of power and independence. Altered but active, athletics remained a vital part of the glory, identity and legacy of Athens.

APPENDIX A

THE SOLONIAN NOMOTHESIA AND ATHENIAN ATHLETICS

The literary tradition ascribing laws to Solon includes items of relevance to athletics, some items too casually accepted by historians of sport, and some too quickly rejected by ancient historians. This discussion examines such references in comparison with other evidence for Athenian athletic activity and in the light of the historiographic problems concerning Solon's laws.¹ The pertinent testimonia fall into two groups: references to a Solonian regulation of awards for victors, and references to Solonian laws relating to gymnasia and palaestrae and various activities therein. Purportedly Solonian laws relevant to athletics previously have not been compiled and compared as such. E. Ruschenbusch admirably presents Solonian testimonia and fragments, but he classifies no group as pertaining to athletics and athletic facilities. Although the chronological and constitutional controversies about Solon's acts cannot be resolved here, this group of laws to be discussed can be evaluated profitably

¹This discussion relies heavily on E. Ruschenbusch, "Σόλωνος Νόμοι," Historia Einzelschriften 9 (1966). Also useful are: K. Sondhaus, "De Solonis legibus," (Ph.D. dissertation, Jena, 1909); I. M. Linfoth, Solon the Athenian (Berkeley, 1919) on the poems and the biographical tradition; and K. Freeman, The Life and Work of Solon (London, 1926) for a general treatment. For further discussion and bibliography, see Sealey, Greek City-States, 111-114, 130-133.

from the viewpoint of the history of Athenian athletics.¹

Since Solon's axones perished in ancient times, the sources for his laws are all derivative. Solon's poetry does not mention laws about athletics but he never specifically discusses any of his laws. Aristotle's commentary on the axones would be an excellent source but it is no longer extant. Reviewing the source tradition for Solon's laws, Ruschenbusch postulates that the actual axones survived until about 200.² He further argues that Aristotle's commentary was brought to Rome in the first century after the sack of Athens by Sulla and was primarily responsible for the preservation of the authentic laws. Unfortunately, none of the testimonia of relevance here is Aristotelian.

Plutarch is the next best source for Solon since he uses several authorities, but he is often uncritical and of course he wrote some 700 years after the fact. Plutarch mentions laws relevant to this discussion, and Ruschenbusch views him as reliable or unreliable at different times depending on which of his sources Plutarch

¹The actual date of Solon's nomothesia is uncertain. N. G. L. Hammond, Studies in Greek History (Oxford, 1973), chap. 6 "The Chronological Basis of Solon's Reforms," 145-69 would place the seisachtheia in 594/3 with the nomothesia as a second commission in 592. Hignett, Athenian Constitution, app. 3 "The Date of Solon's Legislation," 316-21 would bring the nomothesia down towards 570. On the date, see Sealey, Greek City-States, 121-23, 129 n. 6, who is close to Hignett in seeing a date of ca. 580-570. The idea of the law code coming some length of time after the major reforms is appealing since the drafting of a legal code would be a lengthy process, and the resolution of the socio-economic crisis would take priority. A code composed later would aim at consolidating the eunomia established by the larger reforms. Athletics were not an obviously crucial issue and might be treated along with social matters such as theft and marriage. For our purposes, "Solonian Athens" can be understood as referring to ca. 580.

²Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, 39-58; cf. Sealey, Greek City-States, 131.

apparently borrows from for a particular item.¹ The biographical information in Plutarch's Life of Solon probably came from Hermippus, a third-century author who wrote uncritical collections of material on "wise men" and "law-givers." According to Ruschenbusch, Hermippus "kein authentisches Material benutzt" and his influence was largely responsible for many false attributions to Solon.² Plutarch's information on Solon's laws probably came from the more reliable Didymus of Alexandria who wrote a work on Solon's laws in the first century.³

Material on Solon offered by Diodorus Siculus is mainly legendary, and Diogenes Laertius uses much the same sources as Plutarch but even less critically. The Athenian orators are important here since they often described laws as "Solonian." However, it was customary for them to refer to a law from the code of 403 or even later as Solonian if it suited their purposes. Under the banner of the "ancestral constitution" (patrios politeia), orators tended to attribute to Solon and Draco anachronistic pieces of legislation more applicable to the contemporary era of the speaker, even if such laws obviously were recent or no longer in effect.⁴ References made by

¹In his catalogue, Ruschenbusch classifies numbers one to 93 as references to authentic laws, and numbers 94 to 152 as "unbrauchbares, zweifelhaftes, falsches."

²Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, 49.

³For an excellent survey of Plutarch's sources and value as a historian for Athens, see A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, A Historical Commentary on Thucydides, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1956-1980), 1:54-84.

⁴According to Arist. Ath. Pol. 29.3, in 411 Kleitophon moved that the Thirty should investigate the ancestral laws laid down by Kleisthenes when he instituted the democracy. Other sources referring

the Attic orators are dismissed by Ruschenbusch unless independently corroborated by a reliable source. For Solon's laws on athletics, then, the most complete and reputable source is Plutarch; but, as an essayist and moralist attempting to present Solon as an ideal nomothetes, he rather casually accepts unreliable items from literary and rhetorical traditions relating to the "Seven Sages" and the "Ancestral Constitution." Given the source problems involved here, any insights from independent evidence are valuable indeed.

Solon's Rewards for Victorious Athletes

The Solonian tradition includes three items concerning a possible legislation of rewards for Athenian victors. A brief and direct statement in Plutarch may well be Solonian, but Diogenes Laertius and Diodorus Siculus seem more concerned with Solon's motives than with his acts.

Plutarch declares that Solon arranged that an Isthmian victor was to be given 100 drachmae, for an Olympic victor 500:

τῷ δ' Ἰσθμια νικήσαντι δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ἔταξε δίδοσθαι,
τῷ δ' Ὀλυμπιονίκῃ πεντακοσίας.

Diogenes Laertius gives a lengthier version:

to the ancestral constitution credit Solon or even Theseus with the establishment of democracy. The law code of Nikomachos of 403/2 incorporated all laws valid at that time, some Solonian and some not.⁴ On the orator's use of the "ancestral constitution" slogan and its political significance, see Alexander Fuks, The Ancestral Constitution (London, 1953) and E. Ruschenbusch, "ΠΑΤΡΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ: Theseus, Drakon, Solon and Kleisthenes im Publizistik and Geschichtsschreibung des 5. und 4. Jh. von Chr." Historia 7 (1958): 398-424.

¹ Plut. Sol. 23.3, Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F143a.

συνέστειλε δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἀθλητῶν, Ὀλυμπιονίκῃ μὲν τάξας πεντακοσίας δραχμῶν, Ἰσθμιονίκῃ δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἀνὰ λόγον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. (ἀπειρόκαλον γὰρ τὸ ἐξαιρεῖν τὰς τούτων τιμὰς, ἀλλὰ μόνων ἐκείνων τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τελευτησάντων (F 144c), ὧν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι καὶ παιδεύεσθαι.)

ἀθληταὶ δὲ καὶ ἀσχοῦμενοι πολυδάπνητοι, καὶ νικῶντες ἐπιζήμιοι. καὶ στεφανοῦνται κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν.

ὅπερ Σόλων μετρίως αὐτοὺς ἀπεδέξατο.

He curtailed the honours of athletes who took part in the games, fixing the allowance for an Olympic victor at 500 drachmae, for an Isthmian victor at 100 drachmae, and proportionately in all other cases. It was in bad taste, he urged, to increase the rewards of these victors, and to ignore the exclusive claims of those who had fallen in battle, whose sons ought, moreover, to be maintained and educated by the State.... Athletes, on the other hand, incur heavy costs while in training, do harm when successful, and are crowned for a victory over their country rather than over their rivals... and Solon, perceiving this, treated them with scant respect.¹

Diodorus comments:

ὅτι ὁ Σόλων ἠγείτο τοὺς μὲν πύκτας καὶ σταδιστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθλητὰς μηδὲν ἀξιόλογον συμβάλλεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν πρὸς σωτηρίαν, τοὺς δὲ φρονέσει καὶ ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας μόνους δύνασθαι τὰς πατρίδας ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις διαφυλάττειν.

Solon believed that boxers and runners and other athletes contribute nothing worth speaking of to the preservation of the state, but only men conspicuous for wit and virtue can keep their country safe in time of danger.²

Plutarch's reference to athletic rewards comes from his discussion of Solonian laws on financial matters. The values are stated simply and directly, without explanation, as they might be set forth

¹Diod. Laert. 1.55, Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F143b; trans. R. D. Hicks.

²Diod. Sic. 9.2.5, Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F143c; trans. C. H. Oldfather.

(note τάρτω) in a code. The scale of payments seems appropriate for the new Isthmian Games were closer and lacked the prestige of Olympia. Ruschenbusch feels the values of the rewards are too high for Solon's day--an Olympic victor would automatically be a pentakosiomedimnos.¹ However, early Athenian victors probably held that status already; and Kleisthenes of Sikyon gave each of his daughter's suitors a full talent or 6000 drachmae.² Plutarch's subsequent cross-reference to Demetrios of Phaleron's evaluations of sacrificial victims simply means Plutarch has turned to another of his sources. The expression of the rewards in coinage rather than in kind may represent an anachronistic intrusion or it may illustrate the early use of coins to facilitate large payments by civic authorities.³

In his work on eminent philosophers Diogenes echoes Plutarch, using τάρτω and the same amounts and locations; but he prefaces this with the idea of limitation or curtailment, using συστέλλω. He also expands the law to include victors in "the other games", which would be more appropriate to a later age when the fame of the Periodos was better established.⁴ While Plutarch writes of "victors" Diogenes

¹Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, 42-45; cf. Pleket, "Zur Soziologie," 62-63. According to Plut. Sol. 23.3 the value of the reward for an Olympic victory would qualify one for Solon's highest class of citizen; on the values given see Gardiner, GASF, 74, n. 3 or Robinson, Sources, 59-70, 247.

²Hdt. 6. 130; also see above p. 36.

³Other acceptably Solonian laws mention amounts in coinage. For instance, the exportation of any natural product other than oil brought a fine of 100 drachmae; Plut. Sol. 24.1, Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F65.

⁴Note that if we accept rewards for Isthmian victors as Solonian, the law would seem to post-date the reorganization of the

refers to "athletes" as if they were a recognizable group of people.¹ Diogenes credits Solon with an unnecessary aversion to athletics.² This topos--the intellectual criticism of the worth of athletes--began with Xenophanes and was well-worn by the third century after Christ. Its application to Solon perhaps derives from Hellenistic biographical traditions of sages and philosophers, perhaps from Hermippus.³ Diodorus, without actually referring to a law, attributes such a criticism of athletics to Solon, but this is similarly suspect since the popularity of athletics was on the rise in Solonian Athens. A Solonian criticism of athletics is no more trustworthy than his imaginary defence of athletics in Lucian's Anacharsis.⁴ While Plutarch may preserve the basic format of the law, Diogenes and Diodorus offer literary explanations of such a measure.

Isthmian Games, usually dated to 582 (as by Gardiner, AAW, 36). Julius Solinus 7.14 says the Isthmian Games, which had been interrupted under Kypselos, were restored in Olympiad 49 (584-580). Broneer, Isthmia II, 4,65 n. 76 dates the reorganization of the Games to 582 or 580 but points out that the Temple of Poseidon is at least a century earlier. Plut. These. 25. 5-7 and Strabo 9.1.6 report that Theseus appointed his father Poseidon patron of the Isthmian Games and that the Athenians held a place of honour at the festival which equaled the area of a ship's mainsail.

¹The Athenian victors of the sixth century were amateur contestants probably seeking glory rather than a livelihood. The rise of a recognized "class" of athletes appears to be a later development. See Part Four above.

²Robinson, Sources, 247 dismisses the passage: "Diogenes' remarks are in reality a denunciation of athletic excess in his own day and contain the several commonplace utterances which became the stock-in-trade of such rhetorical efforts."

³On this rhetorical and literary motif, see Robinson, "Greek Critics," 167-176 and above pp. 216-42.

⁴Lucian Anacharsis 24-34 depicts Solon asserting the military value of athletics.

In support of the law, it seems reasonable that Athens recognized Olympic victors and would reward individuals for honours brought to the city. Athens was producing Olympic champions, and the city certainly rewarded victors in later years.¹ Xenophanes' attack on athletic honours in the second half of the sixth century shows that such practices were widespread.² Furthermore, an inscribed bronze tablet of the mid-sixth century found near ancient Sybaris records the dedication to Athena by an Olympic victor of a tenth of his prize. Most scholars regard this "prize" as money awarded to the victor by his city.³ Sixth-century Athenian athletes probably did not need the money, but they would appreciate the recognition. It is the civic nature and not the amount of the reward which is most significant.

¹State rewards for victors are well attested for fifth-century Athens. IG I² 77. 11-17 of 436 decrees free meals in the Prytaneion for victors of both hippic and gymnastic contests in the *Periodos*. On this and other rewards, see above pp. 250-54.

²Ath. 10. 414 a-c. In an as yet unpublished paper presented to the 1979 annual meeting of the APA entitled "Professionalism and Record Keeping in Archaic and Classical Greece," David C. Young suggested that Xenophanes' use of $\delta\omega\rho\omicron\nu$ (414a) for a "gift" given to victors means a payment of substantial value. On the material rewards for Olympic victors, see Buhmann, Sieg, 104-36.

³From Francavilla Marittima near ancient Sybaris, an inscribed bronze tablet of the mid-sixth century records a dedication by Kleambrotos son of Dexilaos, possibly a Thessalian. After an Olympic victory he dedicates a tenth of his prize to Athena as he had vowed (... $\omicron\lambda\upsilon\nu\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ νικῆσας... τ'ἀθάναι ἀρέθλον εὐξάμενος δεκάταν). See Moretti, "Supplemento al catalogo degli Olympionikai," Klio 52 (1972): 295-96; M. W. Stoop and Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, "Scavi a Francavilla Marittima, II Tabella con iscrizione arcaica," Atti e Memorie della Societa Magna Grecia n.s. 6-7 (1965-66): 14-21; A. S. McDevitt, "A Thessalian in Magna Graecia?" Glotta 46 (1968): 245-6. In the opinion of M. I. Finley and H. W. Pleket, The Olympic Games: The First Thousand Years (London, 1979), 77 his "prize" could only mean the money awarded to him by his city for his Olympic victory. Also see Ebert, Epigramme, pp. 251-55.

While Ruschenbusch rejects the law because the axones are not mentioned, sport historians are over-enthusiastic in accepting it.¹ Jüthner and Brein regard the law as an attack on aristocratic privilege, and Gardiner feels the rewards helped democratize athletics.² The rewards have been seen as an antecedent to professionalism and as aiming at greater commercial prosperity for Athens.³ Bowra suggests Solon was trying to control an existing practice which had got out of hand;⁴ clans may have rewarded individual athletes on a private basis prior to Solon, but we have no evidence of this. Rather, since Solon's laws formed a civic law code, and since he was by Ehrenberg's term a "man of the middle road," it is likely that Solon simply codified such rewards at the civic level and thus reinforced the notion that victors were representatives of the state--citizens as well as private competitors.⁵

¹Buhmann, Sieg, 106 accepts the idea of a full scale of payments for several festivals; J. G. Thompson, "Sport, Athletics and Gymnastics," 69, 93-94, overlooking the fact that the games referred to were non-Athenian, suggests that Solon was trying to unify the state by giving the disgruntled citizens an emotional outlet.

²Jüthner-Brein, 1: 80-81. Gardiner, GASF, 74 feels Solon, recognizing the value of athletics and their political importance, was attempting to encourage athletics among the people, and perhaps to counteract aristocratic charioteering. The latter notion is questionable since the testimonia do not specify the nature of events involved, and Xenophanes (in Ath. 10. 414) declares that rewards were given for equestrian victories.

³Forbes, GPE, 90, n. 4; Robinson, Sources, 59-60 sees a commercial motive behind bringing fame to Athens through the inducement of the rewards. She romantically suggests that the rewards immediately made athletic competition less exclusively the privilege of the wealthy.

⁴C. M. Bowra, "Xenophanes and the Olympic Games," AJ Phil. 59 (1938): 64.

⁵Ehrenberg, Solon to Socrates, 67.

Solon and Athenian Athletic Facilities

Sources in the Solonian tradition mention activities either related to athletics or in connection with athletic facilities. Solon may have responded to four issues: pederasty and athletic activity, institutions of physical education, verbal abuse, and theft. The existence of athletic facilities of more than a rudimentary nature in Solonian Athens is suggested by these sources; but archaeological support is lacking, and the laws need closer examination.

Pederasty and Athletic Activity

A late passage from Hermias of Alexandria contends that Solon in his laws forbade slaves from loving and from "rubbing down": *ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ... δοῦλον κωλύσας ἐρᾶν ξηραλοῖφειν...*¹ Solon's concern for the moral conduct of slaves is presented in passages from Plutarch. His Solon declares that, although Solon personally was not averse to pederasty, he "... wrote a law forbidding a slave to practise gymnastics or have a boy lover, thus putting the matter in the category of honourable and dignified practices."

*νόμον ἔγραψε διαγορεύοντα δούλῳ μὴ ξηραλοῖφειν μηδὲ παιδεραστεῖν,
εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν μερίδα καὶ σεμνῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τιθέμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα.* ²

Passages from the Moralia (Convivium Septem Sapientium and Amatorius) claim that Solon decreed that slaves were not to have a lover nor to "rub down":

¹Hermias Alex. in Pl. Phdr. 231e, Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F74a.

²Plut. Sol. 1.6, Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F74b; trans. B. Perrin.

ὡς (scil. Solon) . . . οὐπω γέγραψαι [ὅτι ὅμοιον] οἰκέτας μὴ μεθύειν,
ὡς ἔγραψας Ἀθήνησιν οἰκέτας μὴ ἐρᾶν μηδὲ ξηραλοῖφειν.

...you have not yet written a law that slaves shall not get drunk, which would be a similar law to fit this case, as at Athens you wrote a law that slaves shall not have any love-affair and shall not rub down like athletes.¹

δούλοις μὲν γὰρ ἐρᾶν ἀρρένων παίδων ἀπέπειτε καὶ ξηραλοῖφειν. ²

From his speech against Timarchus, Aeschines quotes a "Solonian" law:

«δοῦλον» φησὶν δ νόμος μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι μηδὲ ξηραλοῖφειν ἐν ταῖς
παλαίστραις»... «δοῦλον ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς μήτ' ἐρᾶν μήτ'
ἐπακολουθεῖν ἢ τύπτεσθαι τῇ δημοσίῃ μάστιγι πενήκοντα πληγῶν.»

"A slave," says the law, "shall not take exercise or anoint himself in the wrestling-schools"... "A slave shall not be the lover of a free boy nor follow after him, or else he shall receive fifty blows of the public lash."³

Such associations between homosexuality and athletic activities appear early and persist in Greek literature and art.⁴ Ruschenbusch accepts the law at issue here feeling Hermias' version may recall the original wording of a prohibition of slaves from loving (ἐράω) and from "rubbing down." The verb ξηραλοῖφέω from ἀλείφω means to rub

¹Plut. Mor. 152d (Conv. sept. sap.), Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi F74c; trans. H. N. Fowler.

²Plut. Mor. 751b (Amat.), Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi F74d.

³Aeschin. 1. 138-9 (In Tim.), Ruschenbusch F74e; trans. C. D. Adams.

⁴Delorme, Gym., 19-20 discusses Theognis Eleg. 1334-1336 and sees a strong connection between pederasty and gymnastics in sixth-century Greece, but he rejects the Solonian tradition as a terminus ante quem for Athenian athletic facilities of any developed stage. J. A. Arieti, "Nudity in Greek Athletics," CW 68 (1975): 434-35 surveys references from Plato to Plutarch relating athletics to homosexuality. Marrou, Education, 50-62 offers an objective discussion of pederasty in Greek education in general; but the definitive work is now K. J. Dover, Greek Homosexuality (Cambridge, 1978). On associations of homosexuality with athletic facilities see Dover, 40-42, 54-55, 138.

dry with oil, a term commonly used of wrestlers.¹ Plutarch elaborates on the law, commenting on Solon's own inclinations and explaining that Solon felt the habits of free men and slaves should differ. Except for one substitution of παιδεραστῆω for ἐρώω Plutarch uses the same verbs as Hermias, the concern likewise is moral, and no location is mentioned.² This would seem to be a simple morality law applied to a distinct social class; slaves were restricted from certain actions often presented in the context of athletics.

Problems arise with Aeschines' citing of the law, part of the orator's attempt to implicate Timarchus through a discussion of pederasty and morality laws. Ruschenbusch accepts this law as Solonian because it reappears elsewhere, but he rejects all other references to laws in the speech as non-Solonian. This lengthier version may be an expanded form of the law in the code of 403. The additional prohibition of slaves from taking gymnastic exercises (γυμνάζω) would adapt the law to the growth of gymnastics in the sixth and fifth centuries. The new reference to a location, "in the palaestrae," seems to be an elaboration by Aeschines, perhaps because Timarchus frequented the wrestling schools.³ Like Plutarch, Aeschines explains

¹LSJ, s.v. ξηραλοιφέω.

²The first passage from the Moralia appears in the context of examples of conduct unfit for slaves, the second comes from a dialogue on love in which pederasty is praised but only for free men. In another passage, Mor. 751a, pederasty is said to be found in gymnasia and palaestrae, but the reference is part of a discussion set in the lifetime of Plutarch's son.

³The earliest reference to a palaestra in an "Athenian" source appears to be Hdt. 6. 126 concerning Kleisthenes of Sikyon. There is no archaeological or literary proof of a reliable nature for developed

that Solon was contrasting propriety for slaves and free men.¹ Finally Aeschines states the second half of the law about slaves and pederasty, apparently returning to a reliable source since he uses ἐδάω and omits any location.

There is some consistency in the Solonian tradition here, and the basic law is plausibly Solonian. The law probably used ἐδάω and ἐπαραλοιδέω, focused on slaves, and morally reinforced social distinctions. The clarification of the status of slave versus citizen would be appropriate for an early code,² and the social acceptance and artistic exploitation of homosexuality were quite common by the end of the seventh century.³ However, the interpretations of Solon's opinions can be dismissed; and the elaborations by Aeschines represent post-Solonian additions, the source of which could be the code of 403.⁴

athletic facilities (gymnasia or palaestrae) in Solonian Athens. Earlier in the same speech (l. 138) Aeschines said that Solon saw the value of gymnastics (τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τῶν γυμνασιῶν) but this is Aeschines' opinion and not proof of any developed athletic facilities.

¹ Dover, Greek Homosexuality, 48. In the same speech (l. 135) Aeschines connects gymnasia and sexual activity in his own lifetime admitting that he could be charged with having been troublesome in the gymnasia and with having many lovers (ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ὀχληρὸς ὢν καὶ πλείστων ἐραστῆς γεγονώς). For a full discussion of this speech as a major piece of evidence on Greek homosexuality, see Dover, Greek Homosexuality, 19-39.

² Austin and Vidal-Naquet, Social and Economic History, 52-53 explain that the archaic age saw the development of chattel-slavery on a substantial scale simultaneous with the rise of the notion of community. The concept of citizenship arose concurrently with the antithetical notions of non-citizen and slave.

³ Dover, Greek Homosexuality, 195-6.

⁴ The Old Oligarch complains that the traditional slave/free distinction was breaking down rapidly in the fifth century; Ps. Xen. Ath. Pol. l. 10-12. Hence a reassertion and expansion of a Solonian law is quite conceivable; but cf. Ehrenberg, People of Aristophanes, 184-6.

Institutions of Physical Education

Parts of Aeschines' speech against Timarchus suggest the existence of institutions of gymnastic education in Solonian Athens.

... καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους τὰ διδασκαλεῖα καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρέβας τὰς παλαιστράς ἀνοίγειν μὲν ἀπαγορεύει μὴ πρότερον, πρὶν ἂν ἥλιος ἀνίσχη, κλῆειν δὲ προστάττει πρὸ ἡλίου δεδυκότες, τὰς ἰρημίας καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐν πλείστη ὑποψία ποιούμενος· καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους τοὺς εἰσφοιτῶντας οὕσιν αὖθις δεῖ εἶναι καὶ ἄσιν αὖθις ἡλικίας ἔχοντας, καὶ ἀρχὴν ἣτις ἔσται ἢ τούτων ἐπιμελησομένη, καὶ περὶ παιδαγωγῶν ἐπιμελείας καὶ περὶ Μουσειῶν ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις καὶ περὶ Ἑρμαίων ἐν ταῖς παλαιστραῖς,

He forbids the teacher to open the schoolroom, or the gymnastic trainer the wrestling school, before sunrise, and he commands them to close the doors before sunset; for he is exceedingly suspicious of their being alone with a boy, or in the dark with him. He prescribes what children are to be admitted as pupils, and their age at admission. He provides for a public official who shall superintend them, and for the oversight of slave-attendants of school-boys. He regulates the festivals of the Muses in the schools, and of Hermes in the wrestling-schools.¹

. . . καὶ οἱ γυμνασιάρχαι τοῖς Ἑρμαίοις μὴ ἔατῶσαν συγκαθίεναι μηδὲνα τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τρόπων μηδενί· ἂν δὲ ἐπιτρέπη καὶ μὴ ἐξείργῃ τοῦ γυμνασίου, ἔνοχος ἔστω ὁ γυμνασιάρχης τῷ τῆς λλευθέρων φθορᾶς νόμῳ.

The superintendents of the gymnasia shall under no conditions allow any one who has reached the age of manhood to enter the contests of Hermes together with the boys. A gymnasiarch who does permit this and fails to keep such a person out of the gymnasium, shall be liable to the penalties prescribed for the seduction of free-born youth.²

Ruschenbusch omits these passages from his list of fragments,³ but

¹ Aesch. 1. 10 (In Tim.); trans. C. D. Adams.

² Aesch. 1. 12 (In Tim.); trans. C. D. Adams.

³ Ruschenbusch does not recognize these passages even as unauthentic fragments. This seems arbitrary since he accepts other passages which similarly do not mention Solon by name. In

authorities on Greek physical education often cite them as evidence of the existence of institutions of physical education or athletic facilities in early sixth-century Athens.¹ The details involved, however, seem more appropriate to a later age.

Earlier in this trial speech, in which the orator is condemning a man as immoral and subject to morality laws, Aeschines cites Draco and Solon as lawgivers concerned with the moral welfare of children. Thereafter Aeschines refers simply to the nomothetes. In the first passage, hours are regulated for schools and palaestrae, and an explanation is given in terms of the fear of pederasty.² The basic law may be from some code, but the elaboration is due to the author or the use of some commentary. The terms palaestrae and paidotribe specifically are used and reference is made also to the festivals of the Muses and Hermes. In the course of the trial Aeschines has the clerk read out the text of the law, presumably from a papyrus scroll. This second passage is especially questionable and seems to be an addition to the manuscript by an ancient editor.³ Gymnasia are mentioned, adults are prohibited, and

Aeschines 1. 19 a nomothetes is mentioned and in 1. 138 the reference is simply to "fathers" yet Ruschenbusch evaluates both passages as Solonian fragments (F103, F74e).

¹Forbes, GPE, 10 feels Athenian physical education began in the seventh century: "The earliest educational laws of Attica were promulgated, or rather codified by Solon; they were not the laws of a creator, like the so-called Lycurgean laws, but simply provided regulation for a system already in full operation." Jüthner-Brein, 1: 80-81 accepts the laws concerning palaestrae as authentic; and Gardiner, GASE, 469, although he regards the actual text as spurious, still believes in the regulations and their antiquity.

²Apparently it was customary for Greek palaestrae to open at day-break in the fifth century. An example from Mycalessus is found in Thuc. 7. 29.

³Most editions bracket the passage, following F. Schultz, ed., Aeschinis Orationes (Leipzig: Teubner, 1865).

gymnasiarchs are responsible legally for their duties. Clearly the passage is referring to the gymnasiarchy as a liturgical civic office, and there is no proof of the existence of this for many years after the lifetime of Solon.¹ Likewise schools of wrestling run by paidotribai are not otherwise reliably attested for Solonian Athens. Although Solon may have been concerned about children and pederasty, the remarks in the speech presuppose a well-developed system of institutions of physical education which would be anachronistic for the early sixth century but quite appropriate for the code of 403 at Athens. The references to the "lawgiver" and the obvious purpose of the orator reveal this as an instance of the "patrios politeia" motif.

Verbal Abuse

Plutarch and Lysias refer to a possibly Solonian law concerning verbal abuse which is of peripheral relevance here. From Plutarch's

Life of Solon:

ἐπαινέται δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ ὁ κωλύων νόμος τὸν τεθνηκότα κακῶς ἀγορεύειν.

ζῶντα δὲ κακῶς λέγειν ἐκώλυσε πρὸς ἱεροῖς κατ'δικαστηρίοις καὶ ἀρχείοις καὶ θεωρίας οὔσης ἀγώνων, ἢ τρεῖς δραχμὰς τῷ ἰδιώτῃ, δύο δ' ἄλλας ἀποτίνειν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἔταξε.

Praise is given also to that law of Solon which forbids speaking ill of the dead.... He also forbade speaking ill of the living in temples, courts-of-law, public offices, and at festivals; the transgressor must pay three drachmas to the person injured, and two more into the public treasury.²

¹Humphreys, "Nothoi," 91 n.8 points out that there are no reliable references to fifth-century gymnasiarchs as officials in charge of gymnasia. Hence the law is non-Solonian, possibly even later than 403.

²Plut. Sol. 21. 1, Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F32a; trans. B. Perrin.

A speech by Lysias against Theomnestos refers to the same law:

. . . ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀπορρήτων, εἴαν τις εἴπῃ «τὸν πατέρα ἀπεκτονέαι»·
τὸν γὰρ νόμον οὐ ταῦτ' ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀλλ' «ἀνδροφόνον» οὐκ εἴαν
λέγειν.

... that it is not a use of a forbidden word to say that someone has killed his father, since the law does not prohibit that, but does disallow the use of the word "murderer."¹

Ruschenbusch believes this law is from the axones and even accepts the version of it from Lysias' comments on verbal abuse. According to Plutarch, Solon forbade verbal abuse of the living in public places and "while there is a viewing of contests" (θεωρίας οὔσης ἀγώνων).² A focus on civic or public items is apparent, but it is very uncertain what "games" these might be.³ The nature of games in Athens before 566 is difficult to determine, and the games here need be neither civic nor athletic. Lysias makes no direct reference to Solon nor to the site of the offence. Since Lysias was much closer in time to Solon, one might propose that Plutarch used Lysias and added the reference to games as another example of public places or functions. Although a Solonian law about verbal abuse is possible, and some form of games probably existed in Solonian Athens, no strong inferences about Athenian athletics should be drawn from this part of the Solonian tradition.

¹Lysias 10. 6, Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F32b; trans. W. R. M. Lamb.

²According to LSJ, θεωρία had a technical meaning: the sending of state ambassadors to oracles or games. However, the general meaning--that of being a spectator at public games--suits the passage better.

³The proximity of the reference to a law against speaking ill of the dead may suggest that the games were funerary.

Theft from Gymnasia

Demosthenes attributes to Solon several laws against theft including an interesting law against theft from gymnasia:

καὶ εἴ τις γ' ἐκ Λυκείου ἢ ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας ἢ ἐκ Κυνοσάργου ἱμάτιον ἢ ληκύθιον ἢ ἄλλο τι φαυλότατον, ἢ εἰ τῶν σκευῶν τι τῶν ἐκ τῶν γυμνασίων ὑπέλοιτο ἢ ἐκ τῶν λιμένων ὑπὲρ δέκα δραχμῶν, καὶ τοῦτοις θάνατον ἐνομοθέτησεν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν .

Or suppose that he stole a cloak, or an oil-flask, or any such trifle, from the Lyceum, or the Academy, or Cynosarges, or any utensil from the gymnasia or the harbours, above the value of 10 drachmas, for such thefts also Solon enacted the capital penalty.¹

Both Ruschenbusch and Delorme discount the value of this reference but others accept it as evidence of the athletic facilities of Athens.²

From 353, this speech by Demosthenes accuses Timocrates of carrying a law to aid his friends' embezzlement. The law of Timocrates is said to protect thieves; while the good lawmaker Solon punished thieves harshly—even to the point of death for theft from the gymnasia.³ The penalty sounds severe, even "Draconian"; but the reference to the gymnasia by name seems anachronistic.⁴ The sites may have been

¹Demosthenes 24. 114, Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F114; trans. J. H. Vince.

²Delorme, Gym., 37-38; J. G. Thompson, "Sport, Athletics and Gymnastics," 68-69 feels that Draco established this law and Solon retained it, and he concludes that this shows the importance of gymnasia in the sixth century. Robinson, "Greek Critics," 172 not only accepts the law but regards it as an example of Solon's concern for the welfare of athletes.

³Solon is mentioned by name elsewhere in the speech (24. 103, 106, 113 and 115). The Scholia on the passage explains that Athens had three gymnasia which were also sanctuaries.

⁴A spurious source from as late as the fifth or sixth century after Christ seems to reflect the passage from Demosthenes: Ps. Arist. Problems 29. 14 (952a). Without citing Solon, this source repeats

sanctuaries and rudimentary gymnasia in Solon's day, but there is no early sixth-century evidence for architectural gymnasia at Athens. Furthermore, the athletic development of Kynosarges seems to have been later than the other gymnasia. The orator parallels gymnasia and "harbours," both in the plural. These sites are linked as public areas subject to civic law, but "harbours" in the plural places the law later than the fifth-century development of the Peiraeus. This specific example is an excellent demonstration of how a later law, probably of 403, was attributed to Solon. The reference simply illustrates the existence, public nature, and civic supervision of these gymnasia in the era of the orator.

Conclusion

Testimonia discussed above include passages from Plutarch and Hermias of probable authenticity, oratorical efforts appealing to the authority of tradition for contemporary motives, and literary exercises by later authors. There are reflections of motifs from literary and rhetorical circles: the reverence of lawmakers and sages, the intellectual criticism of athletes, and the use of the "patrios politeia" theme. It is reasonably certain that Solon codified a law concerning rewards for victors in external festivals. It is quite possible that Solon's morality laws made reference to athletic activities but only as a part of a broader code of social laws. Athletic facilities in any advanced

three elements from the law in Demosthenes: theft, the death penalty, athletic facility (... ἐὰν μὲν τις ἐκ θαλασσοῦ κλέψῃ ἢ ἐκ παλαίστρας ἢ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἢ τῶν τοιοῦτων τινός, θανάτῳ ζημιόσται....)

The context is a discussion contrasting theft from public versus private places, and the places cited are vulnerable by their architectural and public nature.

stage of development cannot be proven nor were athletics in Solonian Athens "civic." Yet Solon, representing the body politic, did turn his attention to the existing athletes and athletics at Athens. Just as the political and economic reforms of Solon were a major step in the development of civic consciousness and unity, his direction of civic attention to the realm of athletics was a significant step in the development towards civic athletics at Athens.

APPENDIX B

MINOR ATHLETIC ELEMENTS IN THE FESTIVAL PROGRAM

This appendix discusses evidence for possibly athletic contests in festivals other than those treated in the main text.

Anthesteria

A festival of Dionysus, the Anthesteria was concerned with the themes of wine and the spirits of the unseen world.¹ This festival also involved flowers and was in part a festival for children who were presented with miniature painted wine jars. The twelfth of Anthesterion was known as the Feast of the Choes or Wine-Jugs; it was so named after a type of distinctively-shaped vase: "squat oinochoai with trefoil mouth and continuous curve from mouth to foot."² Some of these are full-sized but most are small and specially designed for children. On the basis of the connection between the festival and this pottery type, G. Van Hoorn has argued that the Anthesteria included many contests in honour of Dionysus.³ Vase-paintings on choes depict palaestra scenes, wrestling, torch races, an apobates race, and cart and chariot races.⁴ There is

¹The problematic evidence for this festival is carefully discussed by G. Van Hoorn, Choes and Anthesteria (Leiden, 1951) and Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals, 2nd ed., 1-25; and more generally by Parke, Festivals, 107-20.

²Van Hoorn, Choes, 15.

³Van Hoorn, Choes, 33-5; also see the discussion by Deubner, Attische Feste, App. 1, "Die Darstellungen der Choenkannen," 238-47.

⁴Van Hoorn, Choes; palaestra, no. 737, pls. 133-4; wrestling, no. 368, pl. 132; torch, nos. 719, 197, 1, 902, 204, 360, pls. 119,

also a jug race, children's dog cart race, cock fights and other performances.¹ Van Hoorn thus suggests that the Anthesteria had an extensive program of events, but this lacks literary and epigraphical corroboration. Unlike the Panathenaic prize amphorae, these vases were gifts rather than official prizes; the shape of the choes refers to the Anthesteria but the vase-paintings themselves do not provide definite proof of a program of athletic games. Here the connection to Dionysus and the spirits of the dead may recall chthonic aspects of early games, but the evidence is not conclusive enough to declare that this festival definitely was part of the Athenian program of civic athletics.²

Olympieia

This festival of Olympian Zeus perhaps was instituted by Peisistratos when he laid the foundation for the Olympieion.³ Pindar may allude to this festival when he says Timodemos of Acharnae won seven times at Nemea and a number of times beyond count at home in the games of Zeus.⁴

Apparently this was especially a festival of the Athenian

118, 121, 120, 122; apobates, nos. 611, 248 sept., pls. 611, 388f; cart and chariot, nos. 796, 667, 79, pls. 125-6.

¹Ibid., jug, nos. 917, 334, pls. 123-4; dog cart, nos. 366, 55, pls. 130-1; cock, nos. 649, 565, pls. 138-9.

²Parke, Festivals, 183 regards the Anthesteria as another example of the nationalization of localized cults. The state festival represents the taking over by the community of what had been originally the wine-grower's inauguration of his new wine.

³Deubner, Attische Feste, 177; Parke, Festivals, 144-5.

⁴Pind. Nem. 2.23; see A64 and Farnell, Pindar, 253.

cavalry, and Plutarch refers to a procession by the cavalry during the festival to Zeus.¹ A sacrifice is known from the festival of 334/3,² and an inscription of the third century records that the anthippasia contest was held at the Olympieia as well as at the Great Panathenaea.³ It is quite possible that equestrian games were part of the pre-Hellenistic Olympieia, and the festival itself may have been fostered by Peisistratos; but there is no definite proof of gymnastic agones as part of the Olympieia in the classical age.

Festivals of Herakles

In Metageitnion the Athenians held a festival to Herakles, a god of the gymnasium for whom athletic games would be quite appropriate.⁴ The most famous festival to Herakles was at Marathon and games there are mentioned by Pindar.⁵ An inscription of shortly after 490 records some of the procedure governing the selection of officials for the Herakleion games at Marathon; Vanderpool concludes that these games then officially were taken over and became Pan-Attic.⁶ This Marathonian Herakleia possibly was the subject of Aristotle's reference to a penteteric festival⁷ and of the suggestion by Demosthenes,

¹Plut. Phocion 37.1; M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, 150.

²IG II² 1496 A82.

³IG II² 3079. 5-13; on this event, see Appendix C.

⁴Deubner, Attische Feste, 226-7; Parke, Festivals, 51-2.

⁵Pind. Ol. 9.89; 13.110; Pyth. 8.79.

⁶Eugene Vanderpool, "An Archaic Inscribed Stele from Marathon," Hesp. 2 (1942): 333-7, lines 2-5.

⁷Arist. Ath. Pol. 54.7, εἰσὶ δὲ πεντετηρίδες ... τρίτη [δ' Ἡράκλε]ια....

aware of the threat of Philip, that the festival be transferred into the city.¹ Harpocration, commenting on the passage in Demosthenes, states that there was also a Herakleia at Kynosarges;² and a decree by Alcibiades refers to monthly sacrifices by parasitōi in this Herakleion at Kynosarges.³ However, there is no extant proof of games to Herakles in Kynosarges itself.⁴

Eleusinia

As well as the Great Mysteries at Eleusis, there was an Eleusinia, a festival which was penteteric and which also was held every second year on a lesser basis.⁵ This festival included athletic games which were said to be very ancient.⁶ Certainly contests were held at Eleusis in the sixth century⁷ and Pindar mentions victories there.⁸

¹Dem. De Falsa Legatione 125, καὶ τὰ 'Ηράκλει' ἐν ἕστει θύειν.

²Harp. s.v. 'Ηράκλεια; on Kynosarges, see above pp. 148-49.

³Ath. 6. 234e (= Polemon FHG 3 f78); on the parasitōi, see Appendix F.

⁴Games would be appropriate for Hermes as well as Herakles, and we do hear of the Hermaia in the palaestra (Aeschin. In Tim. 1.10.12; Pl. Lysis 206d-e); Deubner, Attische Feste, 217 would see this as a "Turnfest" but we know too little to accept it as an athletic festival of classical Athens.

⁵For a general treatment of Eleusis, see George E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries (Princeton, 1961). On the Eleusinian Games, Deubner, Attische Feste, 91-2; and more recently, Kevin Clinton, "IG I² 5, The Eleusinia and the Eleusinians," AJPhil. 100 (1979): 1-12.

⁶Aelius Aristides Panathenaicus 13.189.4-5.

⁷IG I² 802, a leaden jumping weight of the late seventh or early sixth century was found at Eleusis and bears an inscription recording a victory in the jump by an Epainetos; see A22.

⁸Pind. Oi. 9.99; 13.110; Isthm. 1.57.

Athenians definitely competed in these games, and Aristotle shows that the Athenian hieropoioi made arrangements for the festival.¹ As part of his religious program Lycurgus improved the sanctuary at Eleusis and added a horserace to the customary contests of the festival.² Again an originally local festival was taken over by Athens and incorporated into its program of civic athletics.

Skira and Oschophoria

After considerable confusion and debate, it is now generally agreed that the Oschophoria included a procession with boughs of vine branches while the Skira to Athena Skiras involved a race.³ This race was run by young men bearing vine branches from the sanctuary of Dionysus to the temple of Athena Skiras at Phaleron. The prize for this contest was a drink called the "Fivefold" (pentaploa), a combination of wine, honey, cheese, corn and olive oil. The civic festival with its race probably originated in an early ritual of the Salaminian clan,⁴ and this illustrates how the city took over cults and festivals which formerly belonged to the clans. However, the peculiarities of the race and its prize suggest that this event should be regarded as

¹See A39, A73, P87; Arist. Ath. Pol. 54.7.

²IG II² 1672. 258-61; Mitchell, "Lykourgan Athens," 207.

³Parke, Festivals, 77-81, 156-61; Deubner, Attische Feste, 40-50. The most complete discussion and collection of testimonia is by F. Jacoby, FGrH 3b (Supplement), Volume 1, 286-305. Sources on the race are: Aristodemus the Theban, FGrH 383 F9 (= Ath. 11.495f); schol. on Nikandr. Alex. 169 and Proclus Chrest. (Phot. Bibl. 239, p. 332 A13).

⁴W. S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion," Hesp. 7 (1938): 1-74; and also see F. Jacoby, FGrH 3b (Supplement), Volume 1, 286-305.

more ritualistic than athletic.

Festivals with Torch Races and Boat Races

Several festivals at Athens included torch races which combine agonistic, ritualistic and possibly athletic aspects. Torch races are attested for the classical Great Panathenaea and for the Hellenistic Epitaphia and Theseia, and constitute arguably "athletic" events as part of these festivals. Torch races were also held in honour of Prometheus, Hephaestus, Pan and Bendis as part of the ritual of their festivals and apart from athletic agones. In these latter instances the race probably was more of a ritualistic procession than an athletic event, and hence these festivals are not regarded as "athletic" on the basis of their torch races. On the details of the various torch races, see the discussion in Appendix C.

Boat races at Athens involve problems of classification (agonistic, ritualistic, athletic or spectacular?) similar to torch races. On the details of various boating events, see the discussion in Appendix C. Hellenistic regattas are attested for the Munichia and Diisoteria festivals, but only the Panathenaea, and less certainly the Poseidea, should be regarded as pre-Hellenistic festivals with boat-racing contests.

APPENDIX C

ATHENIAN ATHLETIC, EQUESTRIAN AND OTHER EVENTS

This appendix examines the historical evidence for the various individual athletic events held at Athens.¹ Since the Panathenaea had the largest program of contests and it is the best documented of the athletic festivals, events are known primarily from the Panathenaea. However, the existence of civic athletic events in other Athenian festivals also will be discussed. A traditional approach has been to apply the athletic programs of fourth-century and Hellenistic Athens to the earlier ages, using the argument of conservatism in athletics as in religion.² This approach, unfortunately, limits the investigation of historical developments within the athletic activity of the Athenians. Therefore this study collects and collates bits of evidence indicating a possible terminus a quo and the continuing history of individual events in Athenian civic athletics.

Panathenaic prize amphorae give approximate dates for the inclusion of specific events in the civic athletic program, and Pindar

¹For general and technical treatments of various events see the appropriate sections of Jüthner-Brein, vol. 2; Gardiner, AAW, GASF; Harris, GAA; and Patrucco, Sport. For a recent study of the development and iconography of gymnastic events in Greek art, see Legakis, "Archaic Art." Equestrian events are less adequately treated, but see the discussions in Harris, SGR, 151-72; and Patrucco, Sport, 373-402. Anderson, Ancient Greek Horsemanship (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), borrows heavily from Xenophon and is reliable on matters of equipment and technique. However, the work only marginally treats equestrian competitions and it does not treat chariot-racing.

²For example, Gardiner, GASF, 227-48.

and various literary and epigraphical testimonia give proof of the early existence of civic athletics. The original program of the Panathenaea of 566 cannot be reconstructed with certainty, and the dates of the introduction of particular events in the Panathenaea and other festivals are usually uncertain. However, one can establish the earliest sound dates for the existence of various events in civic athletics and thereby suggest any change or consistency in the Athenian athletic program. Comments on general trends in the history of the events as indicated by the corpus of non-Panathenaic Attic pottery will be integrated when useful. The focus is historical, rather than technical, seeking to discover influences on Athenian athletics and to establish the earliest known existence of events in one or more festivals as part of Athenian civic athletics.

Gymnastic Events

Footraces (στάδιον, δίαυλος, δόλιχος)

The footrace was an early and prominent event in Greek athletics, and Olympiads came to be dated by the victor in the stadion or straight race.¹ Among the earliest Panathenaic prize amphora depicting gymnastic events is the Halle amphora by a painter near Lydos of ca. 560 with a scene of the men's stadion.² The stadion, diaulos (double stadion) and dolichos (long race) are all known from sixth-century amphorae, suggesting that these were early Panathenaic events; and these races continued to

¹The stadion was the oldest Olympic event but the custom of making the stade victor eponymous did not arise apparently until the third century; Gardiner, GASF, 272-3.

²Beazley, ABV 120; close in time to this is a work by Lydos with a race, ABV 110 no. 34.

appear on prize vases in the fifth and fourth centuries.¹ Remarks in Plato's Laws suggest that all three races were held in the fourth century.² The stadion for boys appears on Panathenaics from the mid-fifth century onwards,³ and IG II² 2311.22 lists this event (but not a boys' diaulos or dolichos, which Olympia also lacked). The portion of IG II² 2311 listing men's events is missing but probably recorded these three men's footraces.

In vase-paintings the footrace was a stock scene popular with purchasers who were athletes or interested in athletics. Representations on non-prize vases are numerous since the scene was highly adaptable to different vase types and would be attractive to the export market. Early representations of the footrace in Greek art appear in the late seventh century, and the earliest Attic representations appear ca. 570-550.⁴ The greatest number of Greek representations are found

¹Famous examples include works by the Euphiletos Painter of ca. 520's, ABV 322 nos. 4, 6, 7; by the Berlin Painter of ca. 470's, ABV 408 nos. 1, 4, 11; and the Nikomachus series in the fourth century, ABV 414 no. 1; 415 nos. 3, 5-8. For details on footraces on Panathenaics to 480, see Legakis, "Archaic Art," 66-79 and Catalogue 1 nos. 157-256. A fragment of a sixth-century prize amphora bears an inscription declaring itself a prize for the diaulos, ABV 69 no. 1; Gardiner, AAW, fig. 90; Legakis, Catalogue 1 no. 161. Similarly a prize amphora of ca. 520 declares itself a prize for the men's stadion; Metropolitan Museum Accession 1978 11. 13 (formerly Munich 1451); Legakis, Catalogue 1 no. 163; Gardiner, GASF, fig. 52; Jüthner-Brein, 2: 101, n. 208. Pindar Ol. 13. 38-39 may refer to the Panathenaic stadion or pentathlon.

²Pl. Leg. 8.833a. A middle distance race of four stades, the hippios, was held at Athens as well as at Isthmia, Nemea, Argos and elsewhere, according to Paus. 6.16.4; Alkmeonides I may have won such a race at Athens ca. 550 (see A6 below) but the evidence is not conclusive.

³Beazley ABV 408 no. 3; 409 no. 1; 322 no. 8.

⁴Legakis, "Archaic Art," 24-66.

on Attic black-figure vases; and in red-figure runners usually appear in palaestra scenes where they generally are depicted singly rather than in a race, perhaps for artistic reasons or because the context is one of practice.¹ Webster calls attention to a "remarkable decline" in scenes of runners: 52 in black-figure, 14 early, 7 late archaic, one early classical, and one classical in red-figure.² The explanation may be artistic or simply a matter of popular taste, for footraces appear early in Panathenaic history and do not disappear from the program.

Pentathlon (πένταθλον)

Combining the jump (ἄλμα), footrace (δρομος), discus (δίσκος), javelin (ἀκόντισις, ἄκων) and wrestling (πάλη), the pentathlon was a specialized competition which has provoked considerable debate about its components and the method of choosing the victor.³ The pentathlon appears in vase-paintings mainly on Panathenaic prize amphorae, and scenes which clearly refer to this event persist on such vases from the last quarter of the sixth century onwards.⁴ Pindar may

¹ Webster, Potter and Patron, 197 points out that palaestra scenes including one or more runners first appear on non-prize vases by the late Amasis painter of the 550's (ABV 151 no. 21), on the Nicos-thenic Cup by Painter N (ABV 223 no. 65), and then by the Perizoma Group (ABV 343-45) and the Leagros group (ABV 362-386) of ca. 510.

² Webster, Potter and Patron, 198. These exclude the Panathen-aics, on which footrace scenes rival the chariot race for the largest numbers of survivals. Also see Legakis, "Archaic Art," 80-83.

³ An extensive discussion appears in Joachim Ebert, Zum Pentath-
lon der Antike (Berlin, 1963); also see R. Merkelbach, "Der Sieg im
Pentathlon," ZPE 11 (1973): 261-9; and J. Ebert, "Noch einmal zum, Sieg
im Pentathlon," ZPE 13 (1974): 257-62.

⁴ A fragment of a very early Panathenaic amphora with pentath-letes of ca. 560, Ath. Agora P2071, is compared to the Burgon amphora by Beazley, Development, 90. Legakis, "Archaic Art," 257-9 feels this

refer to the Panathenaic stadion or pentathlon.¹ IG II² 2311.26,41 shows that the event was held ca. 380 for boys, youths, and men. The components of the pentathlon appear in various combinations on non-prize vases since the pentathlon and palaestra scenes were similarly depicted.² Certainly the footrace and wrestling were events in their own right, but it is unlikely that the other pentathletic events existed independently as civic athletic events.

The jump was not a Homeric event and it does not occur on Attic vases before the third quarter of the sixth century, after which it appears frequently.³ It is usually shown in combination with other activities and it was very common in red-figure. Although found as part of the pentathlon on Panathenaics from the late sixth century on,⁴ the jump should not be regarded as an independent event, but rather as an

is likely to be a prize, but it is uninscribed. For surer examples, see Beazley, ABV 322 nos. 1-2; 344; 404 no. 7; 405 no. 1; Paralipomena 142; 156 no. 7 bis and 7 quater. Some Panathenaics depict athletes with no indication of the event, and on others the reverses are lost or questionably restored: event unknown, ABV 409 no. 4; 412 no. 2; reverse lost, ABV 406 no. 8; 410 no. 1; restored, ABV 322 no. 5. A pentathlon victory of ca. 550 may have taken place in the Panathenaea, see A38 below; Epainetos (A22) was probably an early sixth-century pentathlete but the location of his victory is uncertain. Other possible pentathletes from Athenian civic athletics include P79 and P100.

¹Pind. Ol. 13.38-39. Also see Anth. Pal. 13.19 and the discussion by Ebert, Epigramme, no. 26, pp. 93-94.

²One side of a base of an archaic kouros statue (of ca. 510-500) found built into the Themistoclean wall has a carved relief which might be described as a pentathlon or a palaestra scene; Nat. Mus. 3476; see Travlos, PDA, ill. 402, or Yalouris, Eternal Olympics, ill. 113.

³Legakis, "Archaic Art," 276-318 and Catalogue 9. Black-figure examples include Beazley, ABV 201; 210 no. 3; 344.

⁴Beazley, ABV 404 no. 7; 405 no. 1; Paralipomena 157 no. 7 quater.

exercise, stock scene and element of the pentathlon.

Often represented in combination with acontists or as part of pentathlon or palaestra scenes, the diskobolos appears frequently from the last quarter of the sixth century in black and red-figure.¹ This was the most prominent field event in Greek art and literature.² A single boy discus-thrower appears on one Panathenaic prize amphora from not earlier than 440;³ since other Panathenaics show the discus only as part of the pentathlon,⁴ this vase may symbolize the Panathenaic boys' pentathlon. The familiarity of the event from non-prize vases shows its popularity but it is unlikely that it was a civic athletic event by itself.

Scenes of acontists with javelins belong mainly to the palaestra scenes starting in the third quarter of the sixth century, and they are common in red-figure.⁵ Unofficial Panathenaic-type amphorae show acontists with discus-throwers in the fifth century, and acontists are included in the pentathlon scenes on prize Panathenaics from the last quarter of the sixth century.⁶ A single prize Panathenaic from the

¹For example, Beazley, ABV 397 no. 3; 406; 496 no. 173; 574 no. 6.

²See the discussion in Legakis, "Archaic Art," 235-76 and Catalogue 8.

³Beazley, ABV 409 no. 3.

⁴Beazley, ABV 405 no. 1; 322 nos. 1-2; Paralipomena 156 no. 7 bis and 7 quater.

⁵Legakis, "Archaic Art," 318-56 and Catalogue 10.

⁶Beazley, ABV Panathenaic type, 369 nos. 117-18; 438; Panathenaic prizes, 404 no. 7; 322 nos. 1-2; Paralipomena 156 no. 7 bis and 7 quater.

Kuban group of the late fifth century shows a lone acontist,¹ possibly being used to symbolize the whole pentathlon. The prize list of ca. 380 and the lack of literary references to official contests in the javelin (or jump or discus) suggest that the javelin was involved in civic athletics only as a component of the pentathlon.

Hoplitodromos (ὄπλιτοδρόμος)

A late introduction at the major festivals, the hoplite race in armour became an Olympic event in 520.² The race appears on prize Panathenaics of ca. 510 to 480,³ and a statue of ca. 475 of a hoplitodromos from the Acropolis probably was a victor's dedication from some Panhellenic Game or from the hoplite races established at Plataea.⁴ A passage from Aristophanes seems to suggest that the Athenian race was a diaulos: a man sees a chorus of birds advancing, each wearing a crest (λόφωσις), and he asks if they come to run the race (δίαυλον).⁵ The event is

¹Beazley, ABV 411 no. 4.

²On the Olympic event: Paus. 2. 11. 8; 10. 34. 5; Philostr. Gym. 7 and Jüthner, Commentary, 196-200. The earliest literary reference is Pind. Ol. 4. 22.

³Legakis, "Archaic Art," Catalogue 2 no. 4, Compiègne 986; no. 6, Naples 81293; and no. 7, London B 143. Legakis, no. 3, accepts an erroneously restored vase of ca. 510 (Bologne PV 198, ABV 322 no. 5) as Panathenaic but this lacks the official inscription; cf. Beazley, ABV 322 no. 5; and 300 no. 16 frag. Hoplitodromoi also appear on a non-prize Panathenaic of ca. 500 (Legakis, no. 5, Bologne GM 13); and on a fragment of a black-figure amphora, probably Panathenaic, used as an ostrakon in the 480's against Hippokrates son of Alkmeonides (Agora Inv. Pl5593); see Vanderpool, "Ostracism," 245, fig. 3.

⁴Raubitschek, DAA, no. 120; see A24 below. On the hoplite race of fifteen lengths held at Plataea as part of the festival of Zeus Eleutherios: Paus. 9.2.5; Philostr. Gym. 8.24.

⁵Ar. Aves 291-2 and Schol.

conspicuously absent from IG II² 2311 although Plato perhaps suggests that the event was part of the Panathenaea in the mid-fourth century.¹ Definite representations of hoplitodromoi suddenly reappear on prize Panathenais of 336/5, 324/3 and 323/2 (here with helmet and shield).² The Panathenais and the general ceramic evidence suggest that the event--or at least its artistic representation--went in and out of fashion.

This race is difficult to discuss from the evidence of vase-painting in general, since its representations are similar to those of the Pyrrhic dance and of warriors running.³ Like the normal foot-race, this scene is easily adaptable, and some vases with kalos names may be bespoke (personally commissioned) works. Webster sees an early representation on a cup by the Lydos painter of the 550's but Boardman accepts no appearance of the scene on Attic vases earlier than the 520's.⁴ A black-figure amphora of Group E shows a hoplite on one side and a man carrying a tripod (signifying victory) on the other, but a reference to the Panathenaea is only one possibility.⁵ Most depictions date from ca. 520 to 480; and, although rare in black-figure, the scene had a growing popularity in red-figure.⁶ Webster counts 13 surviving

¹Pl. Leg. 8.833a.

²Beazley, ABV 417 no. 1; 415 nos. 2.11.

³For an examination of the event in Greek vase-painting, see Legakis, "Archaic Art," 84-106 and Catalogue 2.

⁴Webster, Potter and Patron, 198; Beazley, ABV 111 no. 70; Boardman, Red-Figure, 220.

⁵Beazley, ABV 130 no. 50.

⁶For example, ARV² 84 no. 16; 85 no. 23; 1563; 1135.

representations in black and 97 in red-figure with a sharp decline in scenes of the event in the fifth century.¹ Again, some shift in popularity or some official change may be indicated.²

The hoplitodromos is not to be confused with the hoplomachia, a military exercise which became part of the Athenian ephebic program.³ From the late fifth century onwards there are references to experts in hoplomachy or fencing with hoplite weapons, and Plato mentions a demonstration by a professional instructor before an Athenian audience.⁴ While the military overtones of the hoplite race are obvious, in terms of military practicality the hoplomachia was a more efficient preparation for war.⁵ By the time the armed race appears to revive, in the second half of the fourth century, Athens was controlling the ephebeia as a program of military training for its youth. Perhaps popular as a spectacle, by the fourth century this event was more comparable to the apobates than the anthippasia (see below) from a military point of view.

Wrestling (πάλη)

Wrestling, boxing and the pankration were called "heavy events"

¹Webster, Potter and Patron, 77-78.

²For artistic parallels of vase-paintings of hoplitodromoi, see Beazley, "A Hoplitodromos Cup," BSA 46 (1951): 7-15.

³E. Saglio, s.v. hoplomachia, Dar. Sag. III 1 (1889): 248-9; J. K. Anderson, Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971), 86.

⁴Pl. Lach. 181e-183d; Grg. 456d. Also see Leg 8.833e; G. R. Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, 386.

⁵Gardiner, GASF, 285, and Harris, GAA 74-75, SGR, 33, regard the event as of secondary importance being retained probably chiefly as a spectacle. Legakis, "Archaic Art," 85 feels it was a contest for the masses rather than the athletic specialist.

by the Greeks.¹ Tending to be paired with boxers, wrestlers first appear in black-figure in the second quarter of the sixth century, and they continue with decreased frequency in red-figure.² The early popularity of the scene may have been influenced by the legends of Theseus as a wrestler.³ Wrestlers appear on prize amphorae from the last third of the sixth century and recur on prize and Panathenaic-type vases.⁴ Pindar refers to an Argive wrestler victorious at Athens;⁵ and Epharmostos of Opous, Olympic victor of 468, had won in wrestling at Athens as a boy,⁶ showing that probably the Panathenaea included a boys' event earlier than 486. Boy wrestlers appear on prize Panathenaics from the late fifth century onwards.⁷ Again this event is known ca. 380 for boys, youths and presumably men, and an inscription records the boys' event for a Great Panathenaea of the mid-fourth century.⁸ Apparently

¹Paus. 6.24.1, βαρέα ἄθλα.

²Legakis, "Archaic Art," 187-200 concludes that wrestling was the third most common athletic contest depicted in sixth-century black-figure; but, associated like the footrace with older traditions, the scene was less common in red-figure. For examples in black-figure, see ABV 64 no. 26; 113 no. 80; 137 no. 62.

³On Theseus as a wrestler: Paus. 1.39.3; Plut. Thes. 11.1; 19.7; and Weiler, Agon im Mythos, 153-6. The wrestlers on the Kynosarges neck amphora of ca. 660 (Athens AP 14497; Legakis, Catalogue 6 no. 3) are regarded as figures from legend by Beazley, Development, 12.

⁴The earliest prize amphora with wrestlers is attributed to Exekias and dates ca. 530; Beazley, Paralipomena 61 no. 8 bis; Legakis, Catalogue 6 no. 61. Also see ABV 403 no. 1 and 407 no. 2. Panathenaic-type examples include ABV 396 no. 20 and 406 no. 6. Also see Legakis, Catalogue 6 nos. 62-70. For wrestling at the Great Eleusinia in the fourth century, see A39.

⁵Pind. Nem. 10.33, 36.

⁶Pind. Ol. 9.88; also see Nem. 4.19.

⁷Beazley, ABV 410 nos. 2-3.

⁸IG II² 2311. 26, 44; IG II² 3131, see A52.

there were matches for men in the sixth, for men and boys in the fifth, and for all three classes by the fourth century.

Boxing (πυγμαχή, πύξι)

Representations of boxers are found on Attic pottery from the Geometric period onwards but they become frequent and suggestive of athletics from the second quarter of the sixth century.¹ Boxers appear frequently in black and red-figure including Panathenaic-type vases;² the earliest prize Panathenaics with boxers start in the last quarter of the sixth century and persist.³ Diagoras of Rhodes boxed at Athens ca. 464.⁴ Boy boxers appear on a lone Panathenaic from the early fifth century, and by 380 three classes existed for competitors.⁵

A Panathenaic amphora of 336/5 is interesting for the appearance of the new, heavy boxing glove and for the depiction of boxers as men with small heads, heavy bodies, and thick limbs and waists.⁶ The new glove probably was introduced at the Panathenaea between 339 and 336, about the same time as it appears elsewhere. Beazley regards the glove and the altered physical type as an indication of increased specializa-

¹Boxing was the most popular event in Greek art, closely following the footrace in numbers of depictions. Although well represented in red-figure of 510-480, boxers overall were less numerous in red than in black-figure. For a discussion see Legakis, "Archaic Art," 121-73 and Catalogue 5; for black-figure examples see Beazley, ABV 57 no. 107; 64 no. 27; 67 no. 2; 70 nos. 1-2.

²For example, Beazley, ABV 260 no. 28; 338 no. 2.

³Beazley, Paralipomena 156 no. 7; ABV 405 no. 3; 407 no. 1; 410 no. 4; 411 no. 2; also see Legakis, Catalogue 5 nos. 126-47.

⁴Pindar, Ol. 7. 82; also cf. P87 below.

⁵Beazley, ABV 407 no. 1; IG II² 2311.32,47.

⁶Beazley, ABV 415 no. 4; on the use of gloves, Pl. Leg. 8.830b.

tion and brutality in athletics.¹

Pankration (παγκράτιον)

Combining wrestling and boxing, the pankration was a highly specialized "heavy" event represented chiefly on prize vases.² A late black-figure neck amphora and some red-figure cups with scenes of this event can be added to Panathenaic prize amphorae from the late sixth century onwards.³ Individual Panathenaic pancratiasts are known from the early and the late fifth century.⁴ Although the pankration was not an Olympic event for boys until 200,⁵ it was an event for boys at Athens by ca. 380.⁶

Equestrian Events

Horse Race (κέλης)

Horses are well known on Geometric works but definitely agonistic scenes were not common until the sixth century.⁷ Large numbers of

¹Beazley, Development, 99.

²This event was not common in archaic art and is difficult to distinguish from boxing or wrestling. See Legakis, "Archaic Art," 223-8 and Catalogue 7.

³Neck amphora, ABV 381 no. 1; cups, ARV² 322 no. 37; 339 no. 65; prize Panathenaics, ABV 404 nos. 8-9; 405 no. 2; 413; 417.

⁴Kallias (A29), IG I² 608; 606, ca. 480; Autolykos (A12), Paus. 1.18.3; 9. 32. 8; Ath. 5. 13. 56.

⁵Jüthner-Brein, 1: 73; on the unreliable tradition of a victory in this event by Euripides, see P87.

⁶IG II² 2311. 35, 49.

⁷From among the works of the C painter of about 560, a cup bears a horse race on one side with a footrace on the other (a winged youth on the inside of the cup may allude to victory), Beazley, ABV 53 no. 46.

equestrian vase-paintings are understandable at this time since many patrons would be of the class of hippeis.¹ The earliest surviving Panathenaic prize amphorae for the horse race come from the last quarter of the sixth century, and they persist through the next two centuries.² The horse race seems to decline as a popular scene on ordinary ware but it continues on the prize vases. Plato would indicate that the horse race was a fourth-century event.³ Perhaps fewer Athenians were keeping horses, but the event still was held: The Panathenaics can only indicate the existence of the event, not the number of competitors.

Chariot Race (τέθριππον, ἄρμα)

Representations of four-horse chariot races on Attic geometric vases may refer to eighth-century funerals or hero cults, but it is uncertain whether the scenes derive from epic or real life.⁴ Four-horse chariot races certainly are contemporary on prize Panathenaics from ca. 550 onwards.⁵ Pindar would seem to refer to a fifth-century Panathenaic

Another cup (ABV 54 no. 55) shows jockeys with bearded men, probably the owners of the horses. An early ovoid amphora may refer to a victory in the horse race, ABV 85 no. 1; and a Panathenaic-type amphora of the third quarter of the sixth century bears an inscription declaring that "the horse of Dyneiketos wins," ABV 307 no. 59 (A21 below). For other paintings of jockeys and horses, see Webster, Potter and Patron, 182.

¹ Webster, Potter and Patron, 179.

² Beazley, ABV no. 1 "leading in the winning horse"; 369 no. 114; 395 nos. 1-3; 407 nos. 1-2; 408 no. 2; 413 no. 11; Paralipomena, 127 "jockeys."

³ Pl. Leg 8.833e.

⁴ Webster, Potter and Patron, 191. Two examples of certainly mythical funeral games are found on a fragment by Sophilos (ABV 39 no. 16) and on the François vase (ABV 76 no. 1). In legend the invention of the chariot is credited to Erechtheus (Marm. Par. 17-18).

⁵ Beazley, ABV 110 no. 33; 322 no. 3; 396 no. 19; 404 nos. 1-6; 410 nos. 1,5; 411 no. 3; 412 no. 1; 416 no. 15. The chariot victory of Alkmeonides I may have been won at the Panathenaea of 546, see A6 below.

chariot race,¹ and a base of ca. 450-440 from the Acropolis supported a quadriga group celebrating a Panathenaic victory, presumably in the chariot race.² The list of ca. 380 records chariot races for colts and for full-grown horses,³ agreeing with the dual classifications at Olympia. Chariot scenes in vase-paintings range from the sixth century on non-prize Panathenaics and they continue into red-figure.⁴ Like the horse race, the chariot declined as a stock scene but the event was retained at the Panathenaea. This may reflect the same phenomenon of a smaller but significant group of hippotrophic families and chariot-racers.⁵

Specialized Equestrian Events

After the chariot races IG II² 2311 lists some special events: war horses (πολεμιστηφοις) compete singly (ἵππῳ κέλητι νικῶντι) and in chariot races (ἵππων ζεύγῃ νικῶντι, 58-64). Such races are unattested as Panathenaic events earlier than this inscription of ca. 380, but many more military horse events are known from second-century inscriptions.⁶ Photius states that these "war-horses" were not really

¹Pind. Isth. 2.20; 4.25.

²IG II² 3123, Raubitschek, DAA, no. 174, see A57 below.

³IG II² 2311.52,55; cf. Harp. s.v. ἀθροάγουζ τριήρειζ.

⁴Black-figure, Beazley, ABV 95 no. 8; 324 no. 39; non-prize Panathenaics, ABV 396 no. 116; 394 no. 9; red-figure, ARV² 1584; 1602.

⁵The famous Demetrios of Phaleron won the Panathenaic chariot race ca. 320, see A15. On fluctuations in the popularity of hippotrophy as indicated by numbers of known competitors, see above pp. 188-206.

⁶IG II² 2316, 2317; on these inscriptions and the military horse events, see M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, 226-33; Gardiner, GASE, 235-38; Patrucco, Sport, 380-82. No pre-Hellenistic victors in these events are known by name or nationality.

used for war, but rather gave the appearance of being equipped for war during the competitions.¹ IG II² 2311.66-67 also lists an event for processional chariots (ζεῦγαι πομπικῶι νικῶντι). The distinction between the military and processional chariot events may simply have been the use of different types of chariots or carts.² These events received much smaller prizes than the chariot races listed above; whereas the chariot races got 40 and 8 amphorae for colts and 140 and 40 for full grown horses, the war horse race got 16 and 4, war chariots got 30 and 6, and the processional chariots got only 4 and one. This would suggest that these specialized events were held to be less prestigious and less expensive.

On the basis of possible parallels to second-century programs, it has been suggested that the war horse, war chariot, processional chariot and javelin from horseback (see below) were "closed" events, that is that entrance was limited to citizens.³ It is quite conceivable that Athens introduced local events of a military nature to encourage cavalry training. However, IG II² 2311 itself gives no indication that these events were closed, and in fact very little is known about these events from classical sources.

¹Phot. Lex. πολεμιστῆς ἵππος; Dittenberg. SIG 1055, n. 4.

²Patrucco, Sport, 382; E. Preuner, "Amphiaria und Panathenaia," Hermes 57 (1922): 90-91.

³Martin, Cavaliers, 226-33; Gardiner, GASF, 236. Lysias 19. 63 juxtaposes ordinary cavalry horses with ἵπποις ἀθληταῖς charging that a man was not content with furnishing a cavalry horse which would make a fine appearance in the public processions, but also kept race horses to compete in the national games (οὐ μόνον ἵππους λαμπροῦς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθληταῖς ἐνίκησεν Ἴσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέῳ). This shows that two types of horses were kept but it is not conclusive proof that the events for "war horses" were "closed"; C. D. Adams, ed., Lysias, Selected Speeches (New York, 1905), 131, 211.

Javelin on Horseback

Riders with javelins are depicted on a few fifth-century cups,¹ but they really cannot be distinguished from simple horsemen with spears. Later, on prize Panathenaics from the very end of the fifth century, an apparently new Panathenaic event appears--javelin throwing on horseback at a target made of a shield suspended on a post.² This was never an Olympic event. One recalls that earlier Themistocles had had his son trained as a horseman and that the youth ἤκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὀρθός.³ Xenophon strongly recommended proficiency in this skill for military reasons, and he refers to javelin throwing as part of cavalry proceedings at the Lyceum.⁴ The event is listed on the program of ca. 380 with the equestrian events offering prize amphorae. The contest itself, the target, and the interest of Xenophon suggest that military considerations and the development at Athens of true cavalry (of the Thessalian type, rather than mounted hoplites) were influencing the Panathenaic program in the late fifth and fourth centuries.⁵

¹For example, Beazley, ARV² 770.

²Beazley, ABV 411 no. 1; 414 no. 1(?); 417 no. 2(?); Development, 96; Boardman, Black Figure, fig. 304.2.

³Pl. Meno 93d.

⁴Xen. Hipp. 1.21.25; De Re Eq. 8. 10; 12, 12-13; Hipp. 3.6, πρὸ τοῦ ἀκόντισμοῦ ... ἐν Λυκείῳ.

⁵This increased military flavour may have been part of a broader reorganization of the Panathenaea in the very late fifth or early fourth centuries.

Synoris (συνωρίς)

Synoris simply means a yoke or team of two horses,¹ and as an event it is best known from its depiction on the Burgon amphora.² The history of the event is confusing. On the prize amphora of ca. 566 a pair of horses pulls a cart, but on two late sixth-century Panathenaic prize amphorae a cart race involves mules (definitely on one and apparently on the other).³ Beazley has suggested that we must consider whether the Burgon vase perhaps should have depicted mules, but the animals simply look more like horses.⁴ At Olympia the synoris--what Anderson calls the "cart-horse derby"⁵--was not introduced until 408.⁶ An Athenian was victorious in this Olympic event in the fourth century.⁷ In addition Olympia experimented with a mule cart race (ἀπήνη), which was introduced in 500 and dropped by 444.⁸ At Athens two-horse chariots do appear in red-figure vase-paintings in the fifth century,⁹ and a

¹A. Hug. s.v. συνωρίς, PW IV A2 (1932): 1450-52.

²Beazley, ABV 89 no. 1, see above pp. 59-60.

³Beazley, ABV 405 nos. 4-5.

⁴Beazley, Development, "Addenda to the Notes," n. 6, p. 119. Webster, Potter and Patron, 195 and Davison, "Panathenaea," 27 see the animals as horses.

⁵J. K. Anderson, Ancient Greek Horsemanship, 67.

⁶Paus. 5.8.10, (δρομος ἐξ ἑξο ἵππων τελείων συνωρίς); Xen. Hell. 1.2.1. confirms the point.

⁷IG II² 3127, Moretti, Olym. no. 440, Athenian victor in the Olympic synoris (ἵππων συνωρίς) of 352, see A65.

⁸Paus. 5.9.1, τῆς δὲ ἀπήνης ... τὸν δρόμον. Paus. 5.9.2 differentiates between the synoris for horses and apene for mules; ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἀπήνη κατὰ τὴν συνωρίδα ἡμιόνους ἀντὶ ἵππων ἔχουσα. See E. Reisch, s.v. ἀπήνη, PW I 2 (1894): 2695-96.

⁹Beazley, ARV² 1701 no. 50; 1113 no. 10; Webster, Potter and Patron, 195.

synoris race was held at the Great Panathenaea and possibly at the Eleusinia in the first half of the fourth century.¹ Neither the synoris nor apene appears in IG II² 2311.

The Olympic and Athenian programs differed with respect to this event. Olympia tried mule cart races in the fifth century but abandoned them and went over to two-horse chariot races late in that century. From ca. 566 Athens had two-horse races and the synoris reappears in the fourth century. The Athenian mule cart race is known for the sixth century but may not have persisted. Additional mule and horse carts are shown on black and red-figure works but not ordinarily in the context of racing. Military considerations seem irrelevant to the anachronistic synoris or to the awkward mule cart, and it may be best to regard these simply as novelties or as a form of entertainment.

Apobates (ἀποβάτης)

The apobates was a ceremonial race found only in Attica and Boeotia, perhaps recalling the legendary invention of the chariot by Erechtheus. He is said to have appeared at the founding of the Panathenaea in the form of a charioteer with an armed companion at his side.² The technique of the event is a matter of debate, but apparently a hoplite descended and ascended a moving chariot while the charioteer raced to a finish line.³

¹IG II² 3126, see A73.

²Harp. s.v. ἀποβάτης; Ps. Eratosth. Cat. 13; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 7.73. On this event see Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," 228, fig. 4; M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, 151-2; Gardiner, GASF, 237-8; E. Reisch, ἀποβάτης, PW I 2 (1894): 2814-17; Patrucco, Sport, 382-4.

³According to one version, the apobates dismounts at the end of the chariot race and races to the finish on foot (Dion. Hal. Ant.

Since apobatai are depicted on the Parthenon frieze, this event was part of the fifth-century Panathenaea, and the competition perhaps had a sacral or archaic nature.¹ No Panathenaic amphorae picture the event, so the prize probably was something else.² Although the event is absent from IG II² 2311, a fourth-century relief from the Agora is a dedication by a victorious apobates in the Panathenaea.³ That it was a Panathenaic individual event is also shown by a comment in Plutarch's Phocion recording that Phokion's son, Phokos, won the Panathenaic apobates race, approximately in the 320's.⁴ Finally, some second-century inscriptions mention apobatai descending at the Eleusinion,⁵ thus placing the race in the Agora where it could be very exciting and easily viewed.

The combination of chariot and hoplite might seem to suggest some military influence, but the apobates was out of tune with contem-

Rom. 7.73). Another version is that the runner mounts the chariot in flight and then dismounts again (Anecd. Bekk. 1:426.30).

¹M. Robertson and A. Frantz, The Parthenon Frieze (London, 1975), North Frieze slabs XIII-XXII, figs. 48-66, South Frieze slabs XXV-XXXII, figs. 61-80. For a discussion, see Frank Brommer, Der Parthenonfries (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), 221-4.

²Apobatai do occur in late black-figure (ABV 544 nos. 149-83), lekythoi (ABL 234 nos. 61-2), and in red-figure (ARV² 1097 nos. 15-16); Webster, Potter and Patron, 193. A neck amphora of group E (ABV 137 no. 62) depicts a hoplite leaping off a chariot—perhaps an apobates. Webster, Potter and Patron, 156 points out that Nike appears several times in "departure of chariot" scenes, perhaps referring to the Panathenaic apobates race (ABL 312 no. 174; 245 no. 85; ABV 567 no. 631).

³T. Leslie Shear, "The Sculpture found in 1933, Relief of an Apobates," Hesp. 4 (1935): 379-81 on Ag. Mus. S399, Inv. no. 8114; see A37 below.

⁴Plut. Phoc. 20.1, see A70. / The Apobates of Alexis (Edmonds FAC 2: frag. 19) perhaps referred to the race.

⁵IG II 2316.16; 2317.48; Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," 228.

porary military practices.¹ Gardiner feels that the event preserved traditions of Homeric warfare when the chieftain was driven to the battle and dismounted to fight, remounting again for pursuit or flight.² Similarly, Parke suggests that, "As a piece of military archaism on ceremonial occasions the apobatai can be compared to the Yeoman of the Guard."³ Certainly the use of the chariot was anachronistic even by 566, although the use of hoplite armour may have been an innovation. Presumably quite demanding and thrilling, this race would have presented an engrossing spectacle which might be regarded as both an equestrian and a gymnastic competition.⁴

Anthippasia (ἀνθιππασία)

The anthippasia or "riding opposite" was an interesting cavalry competition and display involving tribal cavalry units.⁵ Xenophon describes the event as it took place in the hippodrome: two squads of five tribal regiments each were led by hipparchs, and the squads charged and ran through each other's formations three times in front of the

¹F. E. Adcock, The Greek and Macedonian Art of War (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1957), 47-8.

²Gardiner, GASF, 237.

³Parke, Festivals, 43.

⁴The race is somewhat similar to an Olympic event, the κάλπη or trotting race, part of the Olympic program from 496 to 444 (Paus. 5.9.1-2). In the kalpe a rider leaped from a mare in the last lap of the race and ran on foot to the finish; K. Schneider, s.v. κάλπη δρόμος, PW X 2 (1919): 1760-61.

⁵E. Vanderpool, "Victories in the Anthippasia," Hesp. 43 (1974): 311-13; E. Reisch, s.v. ἀνθιππασία, PW I 2 (1894): 2378-9; M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, 196-9; Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," 227-8, figs. 2-3; Mommsen, Feste, 88, 466.

crowd and the Boule.¹

Solid evidence for this competition comes from a sculptured base from the Agora signed by the fourth-century sculptor Bryaxis.² The inscription records victories in the event by a father and two sons as phylarchs. No festival is mentioned:

φυλαρχοῦντες ἐνίκων ἀνθιππασίαι
 Δημᾶινετος Δημέο Παιναιεύς
 Δημέας Δημᾶινέτο Παιναιεύς
 Δημοσθένης Δημᾶινέτο Παιναιεύς
 Βρύαξις ἐπόησεν

How the event was judged is not known, but this base shows that it was tribal. The anthippasia is not listed in IG II² 2311 nor depicted on Panathenaic amphorae.

Some fourth-century dedications by phylarchs may have referred to this event although neither it nor a festival is named.³ Inscriptions

¹Xen. Hipp. 3.10-13. Preparations for the anthippasia are mentioned in Hipp. 1.20. A processional ride in the Agora described by Xenophon (Hipp. 3.2) may be the anthippasia; Thompson and Wycherley, Agora XIV, 121; but cf. Vanderpool, "Anthippasia," 311. The event is also mentioned by Hesychius and Suda, s.v. ἀνθιππασία, and Anecd. Bekk. 1:402.2: ἀνθιππασία· ἵππων ἄμιλλα, ἵππικὸς ἀγών.

²IG II² 3130, Moretti, IAG, no. 28, SIG 1074, Wycherley, Agora III, 105. J. H. Jongkees, "New Statues by Bryaxis," JHS 68 (1948): 29-39 discusses the career of Bryaxis and the base from the Agora. He concludes that Bryaxis worked and became famous at Athens ca. 352-344, thus placing the base in question ca. 350.

³B. D. Meritt "Greek Inscriptions," Hesp. 15 (1946): 176-7, no. 24, a phylarch in a dedication of ca. 325 commemorates a victory, perhaps in the anthippasia. H. A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1952," Hesp. 22 (1953): 49-51 refers to a fourth-century dedication by phylarchs and hipparchs; but Vanderpool, "Anthippasia," 311 n. 5 sees this as a reference to the procession in the Agora, not necessarily the anthippasia. T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970," Hesp. 40 (1971): 271-2, an inscription of ca. 365 records a victory of the tribe Leontis in some cavalry contest, probably the anthippasia; Thompson and Wycherley, Agora XIV, 95, n. 72. IG II² 3135 and 3136 are fourth-century dedications by victorious phylarchs, perhaps in the anthippasia. IG II 379 records a tribal victory in the event (321/0 or 318/7) but the festival is unknown.

of the third century, however, specifically refer to this contest as part of the programs at the Olympieia and Panathenaea.¹ Thus the event as described by Xenophon probably was held in these festivals in the fourth century,² but there is no evidence that it existed earlier. Obviously military and questionably athletic,³ the anthippasia shows the development of the cavalry and its influence on Athenian festivals in the fourth century and later.

Torch Races

As Parke notes, torch races were held at Athens in various festivals and by various procedures:

¹Vanderpool, "Anthippasia," 311-13, no. 1, a tribal win in the anthippasia at the Olympieia from the second half of the fourth century or the early third century ('Ολυ]μπία ἀνθιππασία[ι]). No. 2, from the late fourth or third century, may refer to the Great Panathenaea (ἀνθιπ[πασία---] [Παναθήναια τὰ μεγά]λα ἐν[ί]α). IG II² 3079.5-13 records the event at the Olympieia and Panathenaea ca. 280; Deubner, Attische Feste, 177; W. K. Pritchett, "Greek Inscriptions," Hesp. 9 (1940): 111-12, no. 21 "Tribal Decree for Anthippasia Victor" is a tribal decree for a victory in this event at the Olympieia in the early third century. Lines 3-4 of this inscription show that the prize at this time (and probably earlier) was a tripod (καὶ λαβῶν τὸν τροποδα). Apparent typographical errors in Parke, Festivals, n. 186 give incorrect bibliographical data: IG II² 1291 should be 3079 (= IG II 1291), and the article by Pritchett is in Hesp. 9 (1940) not 9 (1929).

²M. A. Martin, Cavaliers, 268 denies the existence of the anthippasia before the age of Xenophon, feeling that Xenophon recommends the institution of prizes for exercises such as this in Hipp. 1.26. However, Xenophon is suggesting that prizes be offered by the hipparchs not by the state, and no mention of the anthippasia is made. Vanderpool, "Anthippasia," suggests a possible development from a display to a contest, but a chronology cannot be determined. Certainly the anthippasia was a contest by the mid-fourth century.

³Parke, Festivals, 144-5, comments on the military nature of the "mock battle": "It was evidently not a mere race, but a series of operations worthy of a military tattoo, and in fact it was meant to provide training in horsemanship of a kind which would be of practical use in battle."

Standing somewhere between a procession and an athletic contest was a curious competition largely confined to Athens. This was the torch-race run sometimes as a relay on foot, sometimes as a straight foot-race, and even in one instance converted into a horse-race.¹

It is debatable whether such races should be considered as a part of ritual, athletics or both.² The original significance was the ritualistic transfer of sacred fire between altars, but at Athens the event seems to have gone beyond this.³

A torch race is attested for the fourth-century Great Panathenaea by the prize list of ca. 380 and by another inscription of 346/5,⁴ and the event perhaps was annual at the Lesser Panathenaea.⁵ The date of the origin of the race is uncertain. Apparently the torches were lit from an altar to Eros dedicated by Peisistratos at the Academy, perhaps suggesting some association between the tyrant and the event.⁶ However, Aristotle's Constitution of the Athenians declares that the

¹Parke, Festivals, 23.

²On torch races at Athens, see Parke, Festivals, 37, 45-6, 171-73; Deubner, Attische Feste, 211-13; Gardiner, GASF, 230-31; Frazer, Pausanias, 2: 134-58; J. Jüthner, s.v. Λαμπαδηδρομία, PW XII 1 (1924), 569-77; A. Martin, s.v. Lampadedromia, Dar. Sag. III 2 (1904), 909-14.

³N. Wecklein, "Der Fackelwettlauf," Hermes 7 (1873): 437-52; O. Gottwald, "Zum Fackellauf," Mitteilungen des Vereins Klassischer Philogen in Wien, 5 (1928): 46-74.

⁴IG II² 2311. 76-77. IG I² 84.6, 33. Also see IG II² 3019, 3022 and 3023; and cf. P81, 82, 94.

⁵Davies, "On Liturgies," 37, n. 55 discussing an emendation in the text of Ps. Xen. Ath. Pol. 3.4.

⁶Plut. Sol. 1.7; Schol. (Hermias) on Pl. Phdr. 231e. Parke, Festivals, 45-46 suggests Peisistratos may have been responsible for the introduction of the event, perhaps on the model of an earlier race to Prometheus; but cf. Davies, "On Liturgies," 29 n. 9.

archon basileus was in charge of all torch races, implying both the antiquity and the sacral nature of the event.¹ It is reasonable to assume that the torch race was part of the program of "566" and that it was based on an earlier custom.

Although definitely part of the Panathenaic festival the torch race is listed in IG II² 2311.76-77 among the tribal rather than the normal athletic events, and the prize was not amphorae. Some would hesitate to accept the event as athletic.² Aristophanes depicts the fifth-century race in a comic light with an inglorious runner proceeding through the Kerameikos.³ Watching from Hades, Aeschylus in criticism of the influence of Euripides comments that "nowadays no one is trained enough to run the torch race" (λαμπάδα δ' οὐδεὶς οἶδός τε φέρειν ὑπ' ἀγυμνασίας ἔτι νυνί). This implies that training and fitness were factors in the event, and despite Aristophanes' satire the event continued to be held. It is uncertain whether the race was a single or relay race.⁴ IG II² 2311 records a prize for the individual lampadephoros and Aristophanes depicts a single runner, but fourth-century inscriptions also record tribal victories and the presiding

¹Arist. Ath. Pol. 57.1.

²Finley and Pleket, Olympic Games, 5 point out that the torch race was never given a place in the athletic program proper, and they feel that it belongs as part of the religious ritual in the strict sense. For similar points, see Parke, Festivals, 45-46 and Marrou, Education, 170; but cf. Jüthner-Brein, 2: 134-56.

³Ar. Ran. 129-33, 1087-98.

⁴On this question, see Jüthner-Brein, 2: 150-53; and William R. Biers and Daniel J. Geagan, "A New List of Victors in the Caesaria at Isthmia," Hesp. 39 (1970): 92-93.

gymnasiarchs for Panathenaic torch races.¹ If the race was not a relay, the distance of over two miles from the Academy to the Acropolis means that single runners would need some preparation to be competitive in the event. In this study the Panathenaic torch race tentatively is considered an athletic event as well as a piece of ritual, but the athletic implications of the race will not be emphasized.

The torch race was a very popular event at Athens, perhaps because of its antiquity or its appeal as a spectacle. Red-figure vase-paintings reinforce the fifth-century literary testimonia for the existence of the race, and the earliest torch race depictions are early classical.² Late fifth-century vases show torch races in the context of the Panathenaea and the Prometheia, and there is some evidence (ceramic) for a torch race at the Anthesteria.³ The only torch races in black-figure occur on fourth-century miniature Panathenaic-type vases; here the reference is to the Panathenaea, but the vases themselves were not prize Panathenaic amphorae.⁴

Evidence indicates that torch races were held at the Prometheia, the Hephaestia, and several festivals other than the Panathenaea.⁵

¹IG II² 3019, 3023.

²Webster, Potter and Patron, 131-2.

³Panathenaea: ARV² 1190, 134 no. 3. Prometheia: ARV² 1333 no. 1; see Webster, Potter and Patron, 44. For an interesting argument on possible Panathenaic torch races depicted on red-figure works, see P. E. Corbett, "Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century," Hesp. 18 (1949): 315-16, 346-51. On the Anthesteria torch race, see Van Hoorn, Anthesteria, 33-34.

⁴For example, ABV 661 nos. 1-3.

⁵Harp. s.v. λάμπάς, (ed. Dindorf); Schol. on Ar. Ran. 131, 1087; IG I² 84.20-21, 37. See Parke, Festivals, 171-3.

Pausanias describes the torch race from the altar of Prometheus in the Academy as a single race in which runners had to keep their torches alight to win.¹ Deubner suggests that since the Prometheus myth involves fire, and since his worship was quite prominent at Athens, the altar in the Academy may have been the original centre of the Athenian institution of the torch race.² Aeschylus' Prometheus Pyrphorus, probably written in 457, may refer to this torch race.³ The Prometheia torch race apparently was held on an annual tribal basis,⁴ and it was organized liturgically under gymnasiarchs by 421/0.⁵ A torch race at the Hephaestia seems to be the basis of Herodotus' reference to torch races which the Greeks held in honour of Hephaestus, and his comparison of the event to the Persian messenger system suggests a relay.⁶ Aeschylus parallels the torch race to a beacon relay system, again suggesting a team or relay event.⁷ Davies has demonstrated that the annual Hephaestia involved a tribal torch race organized liturgically by gymnasiarchs before 421/0,⁸ and a passage from Aristotle would suggest that the

¹Paus. 1.30.2.

²Deubner, Attische Feste, 211.

³Aeschylus Prometheus Pyrphorus frags. 1-3 (Nauck TGF); Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound, trans. J. Scully and C. J. Herington (Oxford, 1975), "The Fragmentary Prometheus Plays," 102, 110.

⁴Ps. Xen. Ath. Pol. 3.4; Isaeus 7.36; IG II² 1138.9-10.

⁵See Davies, "On Liturgies," 36 discussing IG I² 84.37; Lys. 21.3; and Isaeus 7.36.

⁶Hdt. 8.98; Davies, "On Liturgies," 35 sees a domestic analogy here.

⁷Aesch. Ag. 281-316; Deubner, Attische Feste, 212-13.

⁸Davies, "On Liturgies," 35 discussing IG I² 84.20-21; Ps. Xen. Ath. Pol. 3.4; Andoc. 1.132; IG II² 3201.7-11 and 1138.9-10.

festival became penteteric in 329/8.¹

A torch race to Pan at Athens was connected to the famous run of Pheidippides, the long distance runner who carried the news of the Persian landing at Marathon to Sparta in 490. According to Herodotus, Pan spoke to the messenger during his run, and thereafter Athens honoured Pan on a yearly basis with sacrifices and torch races.² Plato testifies to the institution of a new torch race at Athens in 429 to the goddess Bendis, a Thracian version of Artemis.³ This torch race was a relay held in the Peiraeus in the evening, and it was a novelty in that the race was held on horseback.⁴ Recognition of the cult of Bendis apparently was a political concession to a colony of Thracians, resident aliens in the Peiraeus, for Thrace was strategically important to Athens at this time.⁵ Further torch races, by teams on foot are attested by Hellenistic sources for the Theseia and the Epitaphia.⁶ The Panathenaea, Theseia and Epitaphia included torch races in conjunction with programs of athletic events, and thus there is some

¹Arist. Ath. Pol. 54.7.

²Hdt. 6.105, θυσίησι ἐπετείοισι καὶ λαμπάδι γλάσκονται. The place of the festival in the calendar is uncertain; see Parke, Festivals, 172-3; Mikalson, Sacred and Civil Calendar, 137. The story is also recorded by Photius, Lex. s.v. λαμπάς.

³Pl. Resp. 1.327a, 328a. The calendar date was the nineteenth of Thargelion, as confirmed by Proclus on Pl. Ti. 9b, 27a; Mikalson, Sacred and Civil Calendar, 158. Xen. Hell. 2.4.11 refers to a temple of Bendis in the Peiraeus in 403. On the cult, see Deubner, Attische Feste, 219-20.

⁴The horse race with torches was based on the Thracian δφ-ἵππολαμπάς; see SIG 1069.2,19.

⁵Parke, Festivals, 149-52.

⁶IG II² 956.4; 1006.22; 1011.9.

argument for accepting these torch races as athletic events. However, the torch races for Prometheus, Hephaestus, Pan and Bendis are isolated elements of the ritual of these non-athletic festivals; hence they are not considered herein as defensibly "athletic" events.

Boat Races

In view of the significance of the fleet in pre-Hellenistic Athenian history, one might expect boat races to be quite common, but most of the evidence for such is Hellenistic.¹ So little is known of pre-Hellenistic boat races that they cannot be categorized as military, athletic, ritualistic or as pure spectacle. A contest of ships held on a tribal basis has been noted as part of the Great Panathenaea from the prize list of ca. 380.² It is not known when such an event originated, only that it continued into Hellenistic times.³ The race probably was held from the Peiraeus around the promontory to Mounychia harbour; the comic dramatist Plato probably refers to it when he says that the tomb of Themistocles in the Peiraeus looked out on the contest of ships (ἄμιλλα τῶν νεῶν).⁴

Herodotus records that the Athenians held a penteteric festival

¹Two early but useful articles by Percy Gardner discuss the relevant sources: "Boat-races at Athens," JHS 2 (1881): 315-17; "Boat-races among the Greeks," JHS 2 (1881): 90-97.

²IG II² 2311.78-79; Gardiner, GASF, 240-41.

³IG II² 1029; 1030.20.

⁴Plato Com. frag. 183 (Meineke FCG 2: 679) apud Plut. Them. 32.5; cf. Paus. 1.1.2 and Diodorus (FGrH 372 F35 with Jacoby's note). On the date and the topographical issues of the tomb, see Davies, APF, 216; and Paul W. Wallace, "The Tomb of Themistocles in the Peiraeus," Hesp. 41 (1972): 451-62; and Frost, Plutarch's Themistocles, 233-4.

at Sounion which involved a sacred or theoric ship (τὴν Θεωρῖδα νέα) bearing delegates.¹ This was possibly part of the Posidea since Poseidon was worshipped at Sounion.² The speaker of Lysias 21 refers to a liturgy involving a trireme race at Sounion (νεμίσκηκα δὲ τριήρει μὲν ἀμιλλώμενος ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ);³ and a passage from Aristophanes may be an oblique reference to this race.⁴ Although the details are uncertain, it appears that the Athenians did hold a boat race in honour of Poseidon from at least the fifth century onwards.⁵

These two boat races are not to be confused with the theoria to Delos. Although the Delian festival was held every six years, there was also a penteteric mission to Delos, according to Aristotle.⁶ This included sending sacred envoys, a boys' chorus, and a ship.⁷ Although there were games involved with the Delian festival the involvement of boats was non-agonistic.

Two further instances of boat races are attested but only by

¹Hdt. 6.87.

²Paus. 2.35.1; Deubner, Attische Feste, 215; Parke, Festivals, 97.

³Lys. 215; Davies, "On Liturgies," would see this as a reference to the Panathenaic boat race but this is unnecessary; cf. Deubner, Attische Feste, 215.

⁴Ar. Eq. 551-64; Harris, SGR, 128.

⁵On the month in which this "regatta" was held, see Parke, Festivals, 97; cf. Deubner, Attische Feste, 215, and Mikalson, Sacred and Civil Calendar, 89.

⁶Arist. Ath. Pol. 54.7. See also Ath. Pol. 56.3 and von Fritz and Kapp, Aristotle's Constitution of Athens, 129 n.b.

⁷Pl. Phd. 58c; Xen. Mem. 4.8.2; see Davies, "On Liturgies," 37-38.

post-classical sources. As part of the Mounychia festival to Artemis, an ephebic regatta was held running from the Peiraeus to Mounychia harbour in the Hellenistic age.¹ In Roman times a sea battle also existed.² This regatta was probably a non-athletic, post-classical addition to the ephebic training program.³ The Diisoteria, a festival to Zeus the Saviour, was held in Skirophorion in the Peiraeus,⁴ and Aristotle mentions a pompe organized by the archon.⁵ In Hellenistic times the festival included the procession and a sacrifice,⁶ and an ephebic regatta is also attested.⁷ The cult itself could not have been older than the Themistoclean fortification of the Peiraeus in 492, and Parke's suggestion that its foundation was tied to the recovery of the port after the Persian sack is merely conjectural.⁸ Neither the Mounychia nor the Diisoteria demonstrably included athletic or even agonistic boating events in the classical age; only the Panathenaea and probably the Posideia involved civic boat races prior to 322.

¹IG II² 1006.29; on the festival, see Deubner, Attische Feste, 204-7.

²IG II² 2130.49.

³Parke, Festivals, 138-9 extends this argument also to the regatta at the Diisoteria.

⁴On this festival, mainly from post-classical sources, see Deubner, Attische Feste, 174-6.

⁵Arist. Ath. Pol. 56.5.

⁶IG II² 1008.21; 1030.23; 1496 Aa 88-89.

⁷IG II² 1006.30. A regatta is also attested by a Hellenistic ephebic inscription (IG II² 1011.16) for the Aianteia to Ajax but this may have taken place at Salamis; Deubner, Attische Feste, 228.

⁸Parke, Festivals, 167-8.

Miscellaneous Events

Certain events, attested for the Panathenaea by IG II² 2311 and other sources, appear to have been novelties or ritualistic competitions. Some are mentioned briefly below although they are not treated as "athletic" for purposes of this study.

The Pyrrhic dance (πυρροχῆν)¹ was a male war dance performed in competitions at the Panathenaea in three age classes.² Legend says that it was first danced to Athena on her victory over the Titans, and Aristophanes refers to the boys' Pyrrhic dance.³ The event was organized liturgically by choregoi, but it was not necessarily tribal.⁴ Pyrrhic dancers appear in red-figure vase-paintings of the last quarter of the sixth century and in black-figure at the beginning of the fifth.⁵ Webster suggests, from the ceramic evidence, that this dance was popular for the period ca. 520-450 but that it then fell out of fashion.⁶ Nevertheless the Atarbos base from the Acropolis shows that the event was retained in the fourth century.⁷ This dance was described and

¹There have been some excellent recent discussions on this: Jean-Claude Poursat, "Les représentations de danse armée dans le céramique attique," BCH 92 (1968): 550-615; "Une base signée du musée national d'Athènes Pyrrhichistes victorieux," BCH 91 (1967): 102-10; E. K. Borhwick, "P. Oxy. 2738: Athena and the Pyrrhic Dance," Hermes 98 (1970): 318-31; "Trojan Leap and Pyrrhic Dance in Euripides' Andromache 1129-1141," JHS 87 (1967): 18-23.

²IG II² 2311.72-74, Arist. Ath. Pol. 60.4.

³Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 7.72; Ar. Nub. 988.

⁴Lysias 21.2,4. Discussing Isaeus 5.36, Davies, "On Liturgies," 36-37 and n. 50-51 argues that the event was not tribal.

⁵For example, Beazley, ARV² 34 no. 14; 1060 no. 144.

⁶Webster, Potter and Patron, 120-21.

⁷IG II² 3025 (Acrop. Mus. 1338) of ca. 320's.

advocated by Plato as a means of preparing youths for combat.¹ Perhaps an aspect of military training or possibly just mimetic, this event was agonistic and was part of the Panathenaea, but it pertains to the realm of dance rather than athletics.²

The euandria contest (εὐανδρία) was a tribal event held at the Great Panathenaea.³ Around 380 the prize was 100 drachmae and an ox, but later in the fourth century the prize became shields.⁴ The nature of the event remains uncertain beyond it being a contest in manly excellence in which physical appearance and strength were factors.⁵ This competition was seen as peculiar to Athens and apparently was closed to outsiders.⁶ Although it is interesting, too little is known about this contest to accept it as an athletic competition.

Acrobatics or trick dancing are not recorded as Panathenaic athletic events, but the depiction of such activities on a Panathenaic-type vase suggests that displays of this type were part of the festival

¹Pl. Leg. 815a-b; G. R. Morrow, Plato's Cretan City, 359-60. Ath. 628f suggests that Socrates approved of the event in the fifth century.

²Likewise, the cyclic chorus was a dance competition. It was a tribal event organized by choregoi (Lys. 21.2-4) in which the prize went to the holder of the liturgy.

³IG II² 2311.75; IG II² 3022 records a Panathenaic victory in this event from the mid-fourth century. Davies, "On Liturgies," 36 n. 44 also sees a reference in Ps. Andoc. 4.42.

⁴Arist. Ath. Pol. 60.3.

⁵On the technique of the event: Xen. Mem. 3.3.12; Harp. s.v. εὐανδρία (= Philochorus, FGrH 328f 102); Parke, Festivals, 36-37.

⁶Xen. Mem. 3.3.12; Anecd. Bekk. 1: 257.13.

or of victory symposia afterwards.¹ Ball games appear on many non-prize vases, but this was a popular recreational activity rather than an event.² An anomalous Panathenaic prize amphora related to the Robinson group from the later fifth century shows a citharode.³ It is recorded that Pericles introduced musical events into the Panathenaea, but the prizes were crowns and amounts of money rather than amphorae.⁴ This unique vase, then, represents an exceptional case or an unofficial copy.

¹Beazley, ABV 236; Webster, Potter and Patron, 78; Gardiner, GASF, 243.

²For a list of depictions see Webster, Potter and Patron, 213. On the activity see Gardiner, GASF, 230-38 and Harris, SGR, 75-111 who discuss Galen's De Parvae Pilae Exercitu.

³Beazley, ABV 410 no. 2.

⁴Plut. Per. 13; Davison, "Panathenaea," 36-41. On the prizes given ca. 380: IG II² 2311.4-11, 15-19.

APPENDIX D

THE STARTING LINE IN THE AGORA

The purposes of this appendix are to discuss in greater depth the fifth-century bases from the Athenian Agora, to compare them with other Greek starting lines, to discuss the appropriate terminology, and to suggest the manner in which races were started in the Agora.

The bases from the Panathenaic Way in the northwest Agora measure ca. .47 m. square by .38 m. deep with the socket in each being .12 m. square and .12 m. deep.¹ The circular pit at the west end, from which a round base had been removed, is 1.2 m. in diameter. The bases are spaced regularly at a distance of 1.85 m. from centre to centre, leaving a space of 1.38 m. between bases.² There is no trace of any use of lead in the sockets as would be expected if posts had been a more permanent installation. A projection of the line of the bases to the Altar of the Twelve Gods would permit five more bases, hence forming spaces for ten runners—ten being the number of post-Kleisthenic Attic tribes. The line of the bases is oriented almost exactly east to west and is not at right angles to the diagonal course of the

¹Stratigraphic evidence suggests that the bases were probably set down in layer 14 (lot BF 677) of the second half of the fifth-century, remained in use through two resurfacings of the street, and were covered and put out of use by layer II (lot BF 673) of the late fifth-century; T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Panathenaic Way," *Hesp.* 44 (1975): 363 n. 66.

²This is quite sufficient room for a runner, as I noted when I examined the bases in situ in the summer of 1978.

processional road, as would seem natural if its purpose were simply to prohibit traffic.¹ However, the original Panathenaic Way ran slightly further to the west of its Hellenistic position as usually restored on maps.² The raceway from the bases, on a slightly different orientation, would cross the natural middle of the Agora stopping roughly 600 feet to the south in front of the South Stoa.

The commonest ancient Greek starting line, of which post-classical examples have been found at each site of the *Periodos*, was a long stone sill with spaced sockets for posts and with rows of grooves for the toes of the runners.³ Two successive starting lines of the early Hellenistic period have been found in what has been called the Agora of ancient Corinth.⁴ The later line, a fourth-century sill of long poros blocks with double grooves but no post holes, was found immediately west of foundations for the western facade of the Julian Basilica between the Archaic Temple and the South Stoa. An earlier

¹T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Panathenaic Way," 362-62.

²H. A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora, 1960-65," *Hesp.* 35 (1966): 45-46. For the location and orientation of the bases, see The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum 3d. ed., (Athens, 1976), fold-out map, and see Map A above.

³On Greek starting lines in general, see H. A. Harris, "Stadia and Starting Grooves," Greece and Rome 7 (1960): 25-35; *GAA*, 66-7; Jüthner-Brein, 2: 95-156; Zschietzschmann, 1: 7-43; S. G. Miller, "Lanes and Turns in the Ancient Stadium," *AJ Arch.* 84 (1980): 159-66 publishes the discovery of a single isolated block with a socket for a turning post at the south end of the fourth-century Nemean stadium. Miller contends that one post was used for the dolichos and hippios races, while there were individual posts for the diaulos and hoplitodromos.

⁴C. H. Morgan, "Excavations at Corinth, 1963-67," *AJ Arch.* 41 (1937): 549-50, pl. xvi; O. Broneer, "Hero-Cult in the Corinthian Agora," *Hesp.* 11 (1942): 145-50; C. K. Williams, "Corinth, 1969: Forum Area," *Hesp.* 39 (1970): 1-2.

line of different orientation of hard stucco had similar grooves. The early racecourse probably was laid out in the fifth century and definitely existed by the mid-fourth, and the shift to the second line came in the third or early fourth quarter of the fourth century. There is a problem with calling this general area "the Agora" since no early buildings of importance have come to light in this area of the Roman forum. Nevertheless, this central area of Corinth was the site of races and games in association with religious festivals, and the location and dating--if not the physical form--of the line are comparable to Athens.

At Isthmia bases of an appearance similar to the Athenian bases have been found in the early stadium in association with the fifth-century triangular pavement. At the lower end of the stadium ramp are four isolated stones nearly evenly placed in a row along the water channel at the foot of the spectatory. There is a rectangular socket in each ca. .08 by .10 m. in area. Other such stones further to the southeast may have been removed when the foundation was laid for the South Stoa. At right angles to the race course, the bases cannot be a starting line but Broneer offers an interpretation:

Probably the banners identifying the participating teams were set in these holes as the athletes marched down the ramp in formal procession after taking their oaths at the Altar of Poseidon at the beginning of the contests. The holes are too close together to have carried markers for the rooting sections in the spectatory.¹

These Isthmian bases, averaging ca. .90 m. apart, are closer together than the Athenian bases and they are also more rectangular; but the dimensions are similar and in both cases the sockets are unleaded.

¹Oscar Broneer, Isthmia II, Topography and Architecture (Princeton, 1973), 48.

Of comparable form and date, the bases differ from the Athenian ones in location and apparent function but they are definitely related to the site of athletic activity.

The closest parallel to the Athenian starting line is the earlier of the two lines in the stadium at Priene.¹ Although the second-century stadium at Priene had a continuous sill and an elaborate starting device, the earlier stadium, dating at least back to the fourth century, had a simpler starting line. Six feet in front and to the east of the later sill is a simple row of eight isolated, square stone slabs set into the ground. Each has a square hole in its centre evidently intended to hold a post. Although later in date and found in the stadium rather than the agora, this discovery from Priene confirms the use of isolated bases as a starting line for races.²

Oscar Broneer offers a sound discussion of terms for starting lines based on examples from the Isthmian stadia.³ He rejects the application by Harris and Jüthner-Brein of "husplex" to the stone sill

¹T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, Priene Ergebnisse (Berlin, 1904), 261-62, fig. 262, 264; Harris, SGR, 28-29, pl. 21; G. E. Bean, Aegean Turkey (New York and Washington, 1966), 207-09; cf. M. Schede, Die Ruinen von Priene (Berlin, 1934), 85.

²Noting that running tracks at Didyma and Miletus (as well as Athens and Priene), in their original phases, had separate stone bases rather than continuous stone sills, S. G. Miller, Preface to the American Edition of Gardiner's AAW, 1978, pp. x-xi wonders if these may represent an ethnic (Ionic here) variation in athletic practice or whether they were ritual in character. See A. von Gerkan, Milet II, ed. T. Wiegand (Berlin, 1922), 6-9; T. Wiegand, Didyma I (Berlin, 1941), 140-41; Bean, Aegean Turkey, 229, 242-3; Miller, "Turns and Lanes," 163.

³O. Broneer, Isthmia II, "The Stadia," 46-66, App. II, "BAABIZ, 'YΣΠAHE, KAMITEP," 137-42; cf. Bean, Aegean Turkey, App. V, "The Starting Line in the Greek Stadium," 278-79; and P. Roos, "The Start of the Greek Foot-Race," Opuscula Ath. 6 (1965): 149-56.

and triangular pavement with the starter's pit found in stage one (ca. 470-460) of the early stadium at Isthmia. These start gates he calls "balbides" pointing out that the term balbis seems restricted to stadia whereas husplex is a term of wider application. The fundamental meaning of husplex is "trap" or "noose" and its first use in literature or inscriptions dealing with the stadium comes from a third-century inscription from Delos. The starting line of stage two (after 390) of the early Isthmian stadium, a poros sill with post holes and a single groove, is more common and Broneer feels the posts in the holes would be called "kampteres" or turning-posts. In the later stadium at Isthmia--and elsewhere in the Hellenistic era--there is a rectangular base with intricate cuttings set along the starting line. This fourth-century innovation in starting devices is the husplex but its operation is still problematic.

Athenian references to starting lines are few. In the Knights and Wasps Aristophanes refers to runners starting ἀπὸ βαλβίδων as if this was the conventional term in the fifth century. Later in time, Plato refers to a charioteer pulling on the reins "as if leaning back from the husplex". (ὡσπερ ἀπὸ ὑσπληγος ἀναπαισών).¹ A gymnasium inventory recently discovered in the Athenian Agora refers to a balbis in connection with a Hellenistic gymnasium at Athens.² Since the triangular pavement at Isthmia was unconventional and was soon replaced, perhaps the term balbis should not be restricted to such an elaborate

¹Ar. Eq. 1159; Vesp. 458; Pl. Phdr. 245e; Broneer, Isthmia II, 138.

²Diskin Clay, "A Gymnasium Inventory from the Athenian Agora," Hesp. 46 (1977): 263; SEG XXVI no. 139.

arrangement.¹ Used in fifth-century Athenian literature, "balbis" may be a suitable term for the Agora starting line. Alternatively, since the turning posts themselves were called kampteres, this line of posts might be called a "kampter-line".²

In what manner did the races begin in the Athenian Agora? An anecdote from Herodotus suggest that there was no obstacle in Greek race-courses of about 480 blocking the runner's path. A Corinthian admiral cautions Themistocles that runners who come forward too soon are thrashed.³ This would make no sense if some mechanism held them back to the starting line. A passage from Aristophanes suggests that the start of races was announced by a herald and that the starting signal was auditory.⁴ Competitions in trumpeting were held at Greek games and trumpets or heralds may have sounded the start of the race.⁵ Shear has noted two vase-

¹The Suda defines balbis as a low base which served as both starting line and turning post. s.v. βαλβίς, βάσις ταπεινή, ἢ ἀφειρηρία, καὶ ὁ χαμπτός (Adler ed.).

²Miller, "Lanes and Turns," 162-3 suggests that arrangements like those in the Agora should be called more properly kampter lines rather than starting lines. He points to an apparent equation of kampteres with the posts in a starting line by Aristotle, Rh. 3.9.2 (1409a). Also see Aesch. Agam. 786-7; Miller, "Lanes and Turns," 160 n. 7; Arist. Rh. 3.9.2 (1409b); H. A. Harris, "A Simile in Aristotle's Rhetoric (iii.9.6)" CR 24 (1974): 178-9; and cf. Sophocles' use of the general term terma in El. 686; J. C. Kamerbeek, Plays of Sophocles, Commentaries, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1974), p. 96.

³Hdt. 8.59; Harris, "Stadia and Starting-Grooves," 32; Bean, Aegean Turkey, 209.

⁴Ar. Eq. 1159-61, the person acting as the herald readies the "racers" with ἄπιτον and starts them off with θέοι τ' ἄν; Broneer, Isthmia II, 138 n. 18.

⁵Cf. the chariot race in Soph. El. 711.

paintings of relevance.¹ A red-figured skyphos depicts a contestant in the armed race in a crouching position awaiting the start of a race. Beside him stands the wooden post of the starting gate mounted on an isolated square base. An oinochoe in Berlin shows the finish of a torch race by satyrs and the finish line is indicated by an altar within a fenced peribolos, conforming in detail to the Altar of the Twelve Gods. A satyr judging the finish of the race stands on the fence of the peribolos to blow his trumpet for the winner. As well as reinforcing the location and lack of obstruction in the Athenian racecourse, the vases also imply an auditory start.

In sum, the bases from the Athenian Agora, although lacking a close parallel in date and location, do represent a starting line and should be called a "balbis" or a "kampter line." The circular pit may have held a central turning post for longer races. No obstruction blocked the runners and the racers probably were set off by an auditory signal. Overall the simplicity of the arrangement suited early Greek athletic facilities, and it would have been ideal for this particular racecourse since it was situated in the heart of Athens and used only periodically.

¹T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "Panathenaic Way," 364-5; also see Miller, "Lanes and Turns," 163 n. 27; Gardiner, AAW, 142, fig. 97; and A. Greifenhagen, Antike Kunstwerke 2nd ed., (Berlin, 1966), 22, figs. 54-55.



APPENDIX E

HERMS, HERMES, AND THE GYMNASIUM OF HERMES

Hermes was connected strongly with both athletics and the Agora at Athens. As a god of the gymnasium, he was associated with both the Academy and the Lyceum.¹ Sometimes referred to as Hermes Enagonios and also known as Hermes Agoraios, he was the god of commerce and a protector-god and defender of order like Zeus Agoraios.² An anthropomorphic statue known as the Hermes Agoraios apparently was set up before the Persian Wars, and Pausanias saw it on the north side of the Agora as he approached the Stoa Poikile.³ Usually consecrated to Hermes, "herms" were a favourite type of dedication at Athens;⁴ and one part of the northwestern Agora accumulated so many of them that the area was called simply "the Herms."⁵ Aeschines tells us that after 475 Kimon and his colleagues established three stone herms "in the Stoa of the Herms,"

¹Part of the calendar of sacrifices revised by Nikomachos refers to "Hermes in the Lyceum," IG II² 1354 frag. b line 4. On the cult of Hermes in the Academy, Anth. Pal. 6.144.

²Hermes Enagonios: Ar. Plut., 1161; IG I² 737/355; Farnell, Cults 2:474. Hermes Agoraios: Agora XIV, 95; Agora III nos. 296-313; R. Martin, Recherches sur l'agora, 175, n. 1. Zeus Agoraios: Agora XIV, 160; Agora III, nos. 379-86. Interestingly enough, Athena is Agoraios only at Sparta, Paus. 3.11.9.

³Philochorus, Agora III, no. 298; Paus. 1.15.1, Agora III, no. 80.

⁴Thuc. 6.27.1; see Agora XI, 108-176.

⁵Agora XIV, 95.

which apparently was near the Stoa Poikile.¹ Some late commentators refer to a Stoa of the Herms as one of the three stoas of Athens.² Since no other solid ancient literary reference mentions this stoa, its existence was doubted until the discovery of an inscription of 282/1 referring to the "Stoa of the Herms."³ The stoa may have been built at the time of Kimon's dedication or thereafter to house his herms.

The association of the Herms with equestrian activity in the Agora is well attested, but Pausanias is confusing concerning herms and Hermes at Athens. He does not mention the Stoa of the Herms which therefore may have been lost in Sulla's sack of Athens. Although noting the Athenian custom of dedicating herms, Pausanias refers only to the herms in the Ptolemaion.⁴ Passing through the Dipylon, however, Pausanias comments on a "Gymnasium of Hermes" which is not mentioned elsewhere in any ancient source:

στοαὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ εἰκόνες πρὸ αὐτῶν χαλκαὶ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἑνδρῶν, ὅσοις τι ὑπῆρχεν ἐς δόξαν. ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν στοῶν ἔχει μὲν ἱερά θεῶν, ἔχει δὲ γυμνάσιον Ἑρμοῦ καλούμενον· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πουλτυίωνος οἰκία, καθ' ἣν παρὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσίνοι δρᾶσαι τελετὴν Ἀθηναίων φασὶν οὐ τοὺς ἀφανεστάτους· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀνείτο Διονύσω.

¹ Aeschin. In Ctes. 183-85, Agora III, no. 301; Agora XIV, 94-96.

² Agora III, nos. 301, 313; Travlos, PDA, 5.

³ J. Threpsiades and E. Vanderpool, "ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΣ, Investigations at nos. 7-9 Theseion Street, Athens," Delt. 18 (1963): 1: 103-114.

⁴ Paus. 1.24.3; 1.17.2; Agora XIV, 96.

There are stoas from the gate to the Kerameikos, and in front of them bronze statues of men and women who had some claim to fame. One of the two stoas contains shrines of the gods, and also a gymnasium of Hermes. In the stoa is the house of Poulytion, where they say certain notable Athenians performed a rite in parody of the Eleusinian mysteries. In my time this house was devoted to the cult of Dionysus.¹

By ⁴"Kerameikos" here Pausanias means the Agora rather than the graveyard or Outer Kerameikos.² Shortly thereafter, discussing "the district Kerameikos," he says: "First on the right is the Stoa called Basileios...."³ Thus the "Gymnasium of Hermes" would have been located in one of the stoas lining the street between the Dipylon and the entrance to the Agora at the Stoa Basileios.

With the abundant associations between Hermes, Herms and athletics, Pausanias may have been confused. Architecturally, the area (with colonnades and a house on the interior) perhaps could be mistaken for the exedra of a gymnasium; and in local memory the area would be known as a site of races. Archaeology may resolve the issue in the future. If such a gymnasium did exist, it probably was a minor and post-classical structure since it was within the city walls, since no remains have been found, and there is no other ancient reference to it.⁴

¹Paus. 1.2.4-5, Agora III, 20-21, no. 2.

²Agora III, 221.

³Paus. 1.3.1-3. On the route of Pausanias, see Agora XIV, 204-07 and fig. 52.

⁴Zschietzschmann, 2: 25-26 wants to accept the existence of such a gymnasium, but he offers no further evidence and concedes that it could not have been a very large establishment.

APPENDIX F

NOTHOI AND KYNOSARGES

An anecdote in Plutarch's Themistocles is the most famous reference to Kynosarges.

διότι καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων --
τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐπεὶ
κάκεινος οὐκ ἦν γνήσιος ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνείχετο νοθείᾳ
διὰ τὴν μητέρα θνητὴν ἄσσαν --, ἐπειδὴ τινας δὲ Θεμιστο-
κλῆς τῶν εὖ γεγονότων νεανίσκων καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ
Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφασθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτου γενομέ-
νου δοκεῖ πανούργως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γνησίων διαφο-
ρὰν ἀνελεῖν.

It was for the reason given and because the aliens [nothoi] were wont to frequent Cynosarges,--this is a place outside the gates, a gymnasium of Herakles; for he too was not a legitimate god, but had something alien about him, from the fact that his mother was a mortal,--that Themistocles sought to induce certain well-born youths to go out to Cynosarges and exercise with him; and by his success in this bit of cunning he is thought to have removed the distinction between aliens and legitimates.¹

According to Plutarch Kynosarges was a gymnasium in the last quarter of the sixth century, and Themistocles craftily ended a social discrimination (from διορίζω) between well-born youths and nothoi. Nothos generally means illegitimate, but by inferred definition here these nothoi were sons of foreign mothers--half-breeds like Themistocles and Herakles. This story has led some to believe that the gymnasium was reserved for residents of non-citizen birth who were unacceptable elsewhere; E. N. Gardiner even sees resentment on the part of

¹Plut. Them. 1.3, trans. F. C. Babbitt. The story is retold in Libanius Dec. 10.11:

Themistocles.¹ However, Themistocles' status as a nothos is very questionable, and this reference is weak evidence for a gymnasium at Kynosarges in any advanced stage--or for social discrimination in athletic facilities--in archaic Athens.²

In its earliest and commonest use nothos applies to a bastard or someone born out of wedlock (νόθος rather than γνήσιος).³ For example, Aristophanes credits Solon with a law concerning such persons.

"νόθῳ δὲ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστεῖαν παίδων ὄντων
γνησίων. εἰάν δὲ παῖδες μὴ ὡς γνήσιοι, τοὺς
ἐγγυτάτω γένους μετεῖναι τῶν χρημάτων."

A bastard shall not inherit if there be legitimate issue.
If there be no legitimate issue, the property shall pass
to the next of kin.⁴

Quite suitable to his program of domestic legislation, the law is acceptably Solonian. Although the dramatic reference is to the half-breed Herakles, nothos in a Solonian context clearly has the sense of "bastard" rather than the sense of "half-breed" in the Plutarchian anecdote.⁵

¹Parke, Festivals, 51; Judeich, Topog., 423; Gardiner, CASF, 468.

²Delorme, Gym., 45-46 rejects Plutarch as proof for a gymnasium that early, or for a restriction on nothoi. He suggests such a restriction suits the fourth better than the sixth century.

³S. C. Humphreys, "The Nothoi of Kynosarges," JHS 94 (1974): 88-95; K. Latte, s.v. Nothoi, PW XVII (1936), 1066-74.

⁴Ar. Av. 1660-65, trans. Duddley Fitts; Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F 50a accepts the law as Solonian.

⁵Otherwise Themistocles and many others would have been disinherited by such a law. Furthermore, Solon is said to have encouraged the settlement of foreigners at Athens (Plut. Sol. 24).

In 451/50 a law by Pericles decreed that anyone who was not born of two citizen parents was not to have a share in the citizenship (μη μετέχειν της πόλεως ὅς ἂν μη ἐξ ἀμοιβῶν ἀστοῖν ἢ γεγονώς).¹ Whatever the motivation behind the law,² its effect was that future sons of foreign brides would be disfranchised and disinherited. Unable to join a deme or phratry and unable to inherit property,³ nothoi in the sense of half-breeds were reduced to the status of bastard nothoi and would be likely to disappear into the metic class.

Was Themistocles a nothos? He was the product of a legitimate marriage between an Athenian and a foreign woman, and he undoubtedly was a citizen since he became archon.⁴ His blood was impure only in

¹Arist. Ath. Pol. 26.4; Plut. Per. 37.3; cf. Ael. VH 6.10. Hignett, Athenian Constitution, App. X, "The Citizenship Law of 451/450," 343-47 argues that this was a non-retroactive law designed to preserve the purity of the citizen stock.

²Jacoby, FGrH IIIb (Suppl.), 328 F 119 feels that the law was deliberately ambiguous in order to permit retrospective application so that Pericles could intimidate Kimon and Thucydides. Humphreys, "Nothoi," 93-94 rejects this idea along with the traditional view that Pericles was obliging the demos who favoured restrictions to protect their privileges. Humphreys returns to Hignett's position that the aim was to discourage foreign marriage ties which could complicate Athenian foreign policy.

³Dem. 43.51 cites a law concerning nothoi: νόθῳ δὲ μηδὲ νόθῃ μὴ εἶναι ἀρχιστεῖαν μήθ' ἱερῶν μήθ' ὄσιων ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου ἀρχοντος. Ruschenbusch, Solonos Nomoi, F50b accepts this as a restatement of the Solonian law, and after 450 it would apply to half-breeds. Humphreys, "Nothoi," 89 n. 5 feels that the reference to Eukleides does not imply that the law was changed in 403/2 but that nothoi who had acquired citizenship or inherited before that year were to retain their rights.

⁴Frank J. Frost, Plutarch's Themistocles, A Historical Commentary (Princeton, 1980), 60-64 discusses Themistocles' parentage, discounting his illegitimacy and suggesting his aristocratic status (from Lysias 30.27-28 and Arist. Ath. Pol. 28.1). Also see Davies, APF, 6669.

that his mother was an alien, and this was no disgrace in early Athens.¹ Young aristocrats, in fact, sought out foreign brides,² and children of such unions were not only citizens but leading statesmen, like Kimon and Kleisthenes.³ Later the Periclean law denied citizenship to such sons of foreign mothers (metroxenoi), but Themistocles in archaic Athens can be seen as a nothos only by anachronistic definition.

Plutarch writes that the nothoi syntelein eis Kynosarges.⁴ When applied to political affiliation or categorization this verb has a political usage; but this seems inappropriate here since the half-breeds were citizens, and the question is not one of political discrimination.⁵ The religious usage of the verb as a term for the payment of contributions for sacrifices seems more apt because of the reference to the worship of the half-breed Herakles.⁶ Young Themistocles, with others of his half-breed status, possibly was involved in religious rites at Kynosarges; but there is no contemporary evidence connecting Kynosarges and nothoi (in either sense) in the archaic period.

¹Frost, Plutarch's Themistocles, 61 points out that Plutarch admits elsewhere (Alc. 1.3) that even later the mothers of men like Nikias and Demosthenes were not well known.

²For instance, the suitors of Agariste of Sikyon included the Athenian aristocrats Megakles and Hippokleides (Hdt. 6.126-30).

³For a general treatment, see J. M. Hannick, "Droit de cité et mariages mixtes dans la Grèce classique," L'antiquité classique 45 (1976): 133-48.

⁴Plut. Mor. 750 uses the same phrase in a discussion of the love of women as a passion θηλυν και νόθον ὡσπερ εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελοῦντα.

⁵Humphreys, "Nothoi," 92.

⁶A religious interpretation is supported by later connections between nothoi, parasitoi and Kynosarges, as discussed below.

The earliest source to mention both Kynosarges and nothoi is a state decree, probably of the 420's.¹ After describing parasitoi as companions in a sacred feast, Polemon refers to a stele in the Herakleion at Kynosarges recording a decree proposed by Alcibiades:

*τὰ δὲ ἐπιμήνια θυέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς μετὰ τῶν παρασίτων.
οἱ δὲ παράσιτοι ἔστων ἐκ τῶν νόθων καὶ τῶν τούτων
παίδων κατὰ (τὰ) πάτρια. ὅς δ' ἂν μὴ θέλη παρα-
σιτεῖν, εἰσαγέτω καὶ περὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.*

The priest is to sacrifice the monthly offerings with the parasitoi. These are to be appointed from among the nothoi and their sons according to tradition. And if anyone does not wish to be a parasitos, this matter also is to be brought before the court.²

Athenaeus comments that parasitos was a negative term in his day but that formerly it had been a dignified and sacred position, as he shows by references from Polemon and other sources. The nothoi are not defined here, but they are eligible to hold the office of parasitos; and, since provisions are made against evasion, this office would seem to entail contributions.³ Since this position involved some honour and financial commitment, it is likely that the nothoi who provided the parasitoi were half-breeds rather than bastards. In the second half

¹Humphreys, "Nothoi," 88-95 argues that, far from proving that a connection between Kynosarges and the nothoi existed in Themistocles' youth, the story in Plutarch suggests the reverse.

²Ath. 6.234e (Polemon frag. 78, Preller), trans. S. C. Humphreys. IG I² 129, a very fragmentary inscription, may be related to this decree. It concerns the Herakleion of Kynosarges and has a rider (line 5) proposed by [Ἀλκιβιάδης]; but since the stone was found on the Acropolis rather than at Kynosarges, and since the first part of the text ends with provisions for the setting up of a single copy, Humphreys, "Nothoi," 88-89 regards this as a different decree from the one in Polemon. Nevertheless, it would seem that the aristocratic Alcibiades concerned himself with Kynosarges on one or perhaps two occasions.

³On the festival, Parke, Festivals, 50-51.

of the fifth century such half-breeds would still have financial resources. "According to custom" implies that these nothoi had been parasitoi for some time. Perhaps this had been on a voluntary basis, and now the state legislated their responsibility for contributions and recognized them as a distinct group.

Kynosarges and nothoi are linked again in the mid-fourth century by Demosthenes, but again no mention is made of athletics or athletic facilities. The orator refers to a man enrolled on the list of nothoi at Oreos "like the nothoi of Kynosarges here in the old days": καθάπερ ποτ' ἐνθάδ' εἰς Κυνόσαργες οἱ νόθοι.¹ The context shows that the man was the non-citizen son of a native mother and an unknown father. In Humphrey's analysis: "The point of the comparison is not the definition of nothoi but the existence of a separate category of nothoi registered and recognized by the state."² In her view, nothoi (in the sense of recognized half-breeds disfranchised by Pericles' law) by Demosthenes' day would have disappeared into the metic class, but the orator had heard of an earlier association between nothoi and Kynosarges. Accordingly, Demosthenes would be citing a past and temporary situation.³ This interpretation would explain why there

¹Dem. 23.213, probably of 351.

²Humphreys, "Nothoi," 88. This interpretation is part of her argument that the nothoi of Kynosarges were a group of proud, upper-class half-breeds, disfranchised by Pericles, who formed an association at Kynosarges. Athenian-born bastards had never had citizenship and were a different case from the nothoi of Kynosarges.

³One conspicuous example of a half-breed nothos in the fourth century would be Antisthenes, the son of a Thracian mother (Diog. Laer. 6.1). Could his association with Kynosarges have been influenced by an earlier experience as a parasitos there?

are no further connections of Kynosarges with nothoi prior to Plutarch, but the issue is complex and may never be decided definitely.¹ Nothoi in the sense of bastards, disinherited and disfranchised, must have existed in Demosthenes' day, but whether they were recognized by the state and enrolled at Kynosarges or anywhere is uncertain.

What do such scattered and indefinite sources about Kynosarges and nothoi reveal about the history of the athletic facility? Kynosarges included a Herakleion and perhaps functioned as a pre-architectural gymnasium in archaic times, but then and later there is no sound evidence of the segregation of half-breed Athenians in this or other athletic facilities. Foreigners definitely visited other gymnasia, and well born Athenians could visit Kynosarges;² only slaves were legally excluded from the public gymnasia.³

Certainly the cult of the nothos Herakles added to the fame of Kynosarges; and a thiasos, a voluntary association of men gathering to worship and exercise, could have frequented archaic Kynosarges. This association could have included half-breeds drawn by the suitability of Herakles, but no social stigma should be assumed. Although Pericles' law affected their constitutional status, nothoi as non-citizens still

¹For a good discussion of expansions and contractions of the Athenian franchise under the influence of Solon, Peisistratos, Kleisthenes and Pericles, see M. F. McGregor, "Athenian Policy at Home and Abroad; I. Citizens and Citizenship," Seiple Lectures, Second Series (Cincinnati, 1973), 53-66. He decides that the nationality of the mother was of concern only after 451/450, but unfortunately he does not deal with the case of Themistocles.

²Pl. Euthyd.; Andoc. 1.61; Ps. Pl. Axiochus 364a. Plutarch himself must have believed that Kynosarges was open to all since Themistocles was able to take the young nobles there to exercise.

³Aeschin. In Tim. 1.138.

would not be excluded from, nor restricted to, Kynosarges. By another law the nothoi were obliged to contribute as parasitoi or face prosecution. Given this obligation and the effectiveness of the Periclean law on future marriages, the nothoi of Kynosarges would diminish in a few generations. By the mid-fourth century Demosthenes speaks of the nothoi of Kynosarges in the past, and in the third century Polemon discusses the favorable opinion held of parasitoi (chosen from nothoi) as something distant. By the second century after Christ Plutarch understandably could be confused or suspect on this issue.

Plutarch's anecdote of Themistocles at Kynosarges may simply be unhistorical, a late invention exposed by the lack of a distinction between mixed and pure descent in the citizenry of archaic Athens.¹ Plutarch knew from Demosthenes that Kynosarges was a gymnasium and that it had been associated with nothoi.² Perhaps influenced by Aristotle and Athenian tradition, Plutarch regarded Themistocles as strongly pro-democratic, a man who would oppose social discrimination and seek its demise.³ Hence an anecdote of a cunning Themistocles exercising with well-born youths at Kynosarges would complement Plutarch's

¹Frost, Plutarch's Themistocles, 62-63 rather abruptly comes to this conclusion without considering the possibility that Plutarch misinterpreted some account based on fact.

²Dem. 24.114; 23.214.

³Frank J. Frost, "Themistocles' Place in Athenian Politics," in T. S. Brown and W. K. Pritchett, eds., California Studies in Classical Antiquity (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), vol. 1, 105-24, discussing the development of the image of Themistocles as a novus homo, democrat and radical, suggests Plutarch was influenced by Aristotle who reduced post-Kleisthenic Athenian politics to two factions with Themistocles as the leader of the pro-democratic party (Ath. Pol. 28.2):

conception (and enliven his Life) of Themistocles.

On the other hand, the anecdote may imperfectly preserve some historical content. Themistocles was of mixed parentage and Kynosarges ties with athletics and nothoi may be quite early. Other incidents in Themistocles' life, associate him with games and athletic facilities, and Athenian politicians were aware of the political value of such associations.¹ If Themistocles frequented Kynosarges or brought well-born youths there his concern would not have been social discrimination. Rather Themistocles may have been acting as an ambitious young politician recruiting political support in this or any suitable setting.²

The whole issue of nothoi and Kynosarges simply suggests that for an indefinite period of time the Herakleion of Kynosarges was associated with a specific group of Athenian residents who contributed to the cult of Herakles. Plutarch's account may have some basis but it cannot be taken at face value; Kynosarges' association with the nothoi need not have affected the functioning of the gymnasium as an athletic facility. Kynosarges was the least prestigious and least elaborate the major Athenian gymnasias, but this may involve many factors as well as its association with nothoi.

¹See P91 and Part Six above.

²E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," Seiple Lectures, Second Series (Cincinnati, 1973), 221-2, feels the anecdote about Kynosarges agrees with Themistocles' public image as a man who knew everyone's name (Plut. Them. 5.4): "Here, surely, we see a true politician at work at the grass roots level." Similarly, Vanderpool argues that ostraca indicate that Themistocles deliberately cultivated the use of the popular demotic rather than the snobbish patronymic.

APPENDIX G

CATALOGUES OF KNOWN AND POSSIBLE ATHENIAN ATHLETES

Catalogue I Athletes and Victors (A)

- A 1. Ἀγλαός Οἰνεύς (φ)
ca. 450
stadion, hippios dromos (?)
Isth., Nem., several lesser festivals
Bacchyl. Ode 9(10)
Jebb, Bacchylides, 313-21, 476-80.
In line 9 Blass supplies and Jebb accepts the dative for the Athenian of the tribe Oineis (lines 17-18) who ran two races in sequence (lines 19-26). The first was probably the stadion, and the second, being four stades long, perhaps was the hippios dromos. The name of the father may have been lost, or not included for metrical reasons. Commissioned by the brother-in-law (lines 9-10) for an unknown reason, the ode cannot be dated with certainty.
- A 2. Ἀχαρνάων Ἀθηναῖος
ca. 366-338
youths' stadion
Amphiaraiia
Oropos 47.12
PA 464
This youthful runner is otherwise unknown.
- A 3. Ἀλκιβιάδης I (Σκαμβίωνιδης)
ca. 525-500
chariot (?)
Pyth.
IG II² 472; G. Daux, "Inscription de Delphes," BCH 46(1922): 439-51, no. 1; Jeffery, Scripts, 75, no. 39.
APF 597, see 600 III,V, stemma Table I.
Jeffery dates this dedication from Delphi to ca. 525-500. Daux's restoration of [Πύθια πρῶτος] presumably refers to a chariot victory. Thus, with its first known member, this family was already hippotrophic. A.'s son, Kleinias I, was trierarch at his own expense at Artemision (Hdt. 8.17; Plut. Alc. 1.1).
- A 4. Ἀλκιβιάδης III Κλεινίου II
Σκαμβίωνιδης
416
chariot
Ol.
Thuc. 6.16.2; for complete testimonia see Moretti, Olym. no. 345.
Moretti, Olym. no. 345; APF 600, biblio. p. 9, stemma Table I; J. Hatzfeld, Alcibiade, 2d ed. (Paris, 1951), 130-41.

jointly with [Κεῖτι]ος (DAA no. 317; IAG no. 4, pp. 8-10; see A 38). This dedication may be slightly earlier (Jeffery, Scripts, 73), and Moretti suggests the Panathenaea of 550/49 or 546/5. The event is uncertain but may have been the hippios dromos (DAA p. 339).

- A 7. Ἀντίβιος
παῖδας στάδιον ἀπὸ γυμνασίων ca. 366-338
Amphiaraiia
~~Oropos 47.30~~
PA 978
- A 8. Ἀντικλῆς Ἀθηναῖος
stadion 340
Ol.
Diod. Sic. 16.77; P Oxy. 12; Afric. (apud Euseb. 1.205 Schoene)
Moretti, Olym. no. 451; PA 1057.
Africanus mistakenly records Anikles. Aeschines (1.157) refers to an Antikles 'τον stadiodromon' who may be this athlete. Two men named Antikles (APF 1060 and 1057) each freed a slave ca. 330 (IG II² 1567.17-20) and the runner may have been one of these.
- A 9. Ἀντιφάνης Ἀθηναῖος
boys' pankration ca. 366-338
Amphiaraiia
Oropos 47.21
PA 1214
- A 10. Ἀριστόλοχος Ἀθηναῖος
stadion 344
Ol.
Diod. Sic. 16.69; Afric. (apud Euseb. 1.206 Schoene); POxy. 12 (Ἀριστ[ό]λυχος).
Moretti, Olym. no. 446; PA 1948.
Davies, p. 61, rejects any connection to the banker and trierarch Aristolochos of the first half of the fourth century (APF 1946).
- A 11. Ἀτρομητος I Κοθωκίδης
gymnastic athlete (?) ca. 420-410
Aeschin. 2.147
APF 2681, see 14625 II, stemma p. 564.
Aeschines declares that when his father Atrometos was young, and before the war destroyed his property, he ἀθλεῖν τῷ σώματι. His sons possibly were athletes also, see Aeschines and Philochares below.
Born in 437/6 or 436/5 A. married the daughter of Glaukos of Archarnai not later than 403. Aeschines' speech On the Embassy says A. lost his property (οὐσία) in the Peloponnesian War and was expelled by the Thirty (2.78. 147-148). He took part in the democratic restoration and then, in the economic hardships of the 390's he took service in

- A 21. Δυνεΐκετος Ἀθηναῖος
horserace ca. 550-525
Beazley, ABV 307, no. 59 (Br. Mus. B603); P. Kretschner, Die griechischen Vaseninschriften (Gutersloh, 1894; reprint ed., Hildesheim, 1969), 87-88, no. 59.
Gardiner, GASF, 243, fig. 37; Hyde, OVM, 280.

An archaic, black-figure amphora of the third quarter of the sixth century by the Swing Painter depicts a mounted youth preceded by a herald in official robes with words coming out of his mouth: Δυνεϊκέτῳ ἵππος νικᾷ. Behind the rider is an attendant bearing a wreath and holding a prize tripod. On the reverse is Athena with Hermes and a man.

This is a Panathenaic-type but not an official prize amphora and the tripod suggests that D. was victorious in some festival other than the Panathenaea. Kretschner considers the possibility that this name was a variation of Δυσονικήτου as in PA 4580.

- A 22. Ἐπαΐνετος Ἀθηναῖος (?)
jump (or pantathlon) ca. 580-570
Eleusinia (?)
IG I² 802; Moretti, IAG 1-4, no. 1.
PA 4747; Gardiner, GASF, 147, fig. 100a; Rouse, Votive Offerings, 161-2.

A lead halter found at Eleusis bears a dedicatory inscription declaring that E. won in jumping:

Ἀλλόμενος νίκησεν Ἐπαΐνετος οὐνεκα τῶδε δ[--].

A. is otherwise unknown. See Moretti's discussion of the inscription and the event.

- A 23. Ἐπιχάρης Ἀθηναῖος
boys' stadion 396 (?)
Ol.
Ps. Dem. 58.66
Moretti, Olym. no. 368; APF 5001, see 1904, stemma p. 58.

E.'s father and deme are unknown, and Davies (pp. 57-58) rejects Kirchner's attempt to make E. the father of the merchant Mikon (PA 5003). E.'s nephew of the same name was ca. 20 years old in 342 when he spoke against Theokrines (Ps. Dem. 58.66-67). His uncle was Aristokrates II, a politician and a general in the Peloponnesian War, the best known member of a liturgical family traceable for several generations.

- A 24. Ἐπιχαρῖνος Ὀφ[ολ]ο[ν]δοῖος Ἀθηναῖος
hoplitodromos ca. 475
IG I² 531; Raubitschek, DAA 124-25, no. 120, biblio. p. 124; Paus. 1.23.9
PA 5011

Pausanias notes a statue by Kritios on the Acropolis of E. 'who practised running in armour' (ὀπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος).

On the inscribed base of a statue from the Acropolis Raubitschek would restore the father's name as Opholonides since Charinos, Epichares and Charisios occur as names in the family of Opholonides (cf. DAA nos. 210, 291). Opholonides himself made a dedication ca. 490; and Raubitschek suggests E. may have won an armed race some fifteen years later, perhaps in one of the Panhellenic Games or even in the games celebrated after Plataea (Philostr., Gym. 8; Paus. 9.2.6).

On possible representations of the statue on coins and in works of art, see Raubitschek, p. 125.

- A 25. Ἑρμόλυκος Ι Εὐθείνου Ἀθηναῖος
pankration ca. 480's
Paus. 1.23.10; Hdt. 9.105
PA 5164; Hyde, OVM, 372-73; Connor, New Politicians, 156-58.
Pausanias refers to a statue of Hermolykos the pancratiast on the Acropolis, and this probably was Hermolykos, son of Euthynius, a pancratiast who distinguished himself at Mykale in 479 and died later, according to Herodotus, in the battle at Kyrnos in Euboea. This pancratiast is probably related to Hermolykos II, son of Dieitrephes I, who made a dedication on the Acropolis in the mid-fifth century (DAA, 141-44, no. 132). The stemma in Connor, p. 157 (following E. Vanderpool, Hesp. 37(1968): 117-20; cf. W.D. Dinsmoor, Hesp. Suppl. 5: 163, and Raubitschek, DAA, 141-44), places Hermolykos I in a family of fifth-century generals as brother of Dieitrephes I, a candidate for ostracism ca. 460.
- A 26. Εὐδωρος Ἀθηναῖος
wrestling ca. 450
Pl. Meno 94c
PA 5447
See the discussion of his fellow wrestler Xanthias (A 51).
- A 27. Εὐρυβάτης Ἀθηναῖος
stadion 672
Ol.
Dion. Hal. 3.1.3 (Εὐρυβάτης); Paus. 2.24.7 (Εὐρύβοτος); Afric. (apud Euseb. 1.198 Schoene) (Εὐρυβος).
PA 5959; Moretti, Olym. no. 36.
E. is otherwise unknown.
- A 28. Εὐφραῖος Ἀθηναῖος
pankration (?) 330's
Hyper. 1.6
PA 6081
E. is referred to as προσγυμναστής of Dioxiippos (A20) and both are acknowledged to be the strongest men in Greece (οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμολογουμένως ἰσχυρότατοί εἰσιν).
He is otherwise unknown.

- A 29. Καλλίας Διδυμίου Ἀλωπεκηθεῖν (?)
 pankration ca. 480, 472(01.)
 Periodos, Panath.

Raubitschek, DAA 24-26, 181-84, 459, nos. 21, 164, biblio. p. 181; Moretti, IAG 33-35, no. 15; IG I² 606 (= SIG 69); IG I² 608, 714; I. Olympia no. 146; Ps. Andoc. 4.32; Paus. 6.6.1; 5.9.3; P.Oxy. 222.

Moretti, Olym. no. 228; PA 7823; Knab, Periodonikes, 6, no. 5; Hyde, OVM, 365; E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 239-40, figs. 56-57, T.T. Rapke, "The Demotic of Kallias Didymiou," Ant. Class. 43 (1974): 332-3.

The only known pre-Hellenistic Athenian Periodonikes, K. is attested on a base on the Acropolis (DAA no. 164; IG I² 606) recording his wins at Olympia, the Panathenaea, five times at Isthmia, four times at Nemea, and twice at the Pythia. The chronological order of his wins is uncertain, but see Moretti, Olym., p. 91. Pausanias saw K.'s bronze statue by Mikon at Olympia. Another dedication from the Acropolis (DAA no 21; IG I² 6-8 & 714) was probably made by K. as a boy after a Panathenaic win. Raubitschek proposes a date of ca. 480 for this early victory.

Ps. Andocides asserts that K. was ostracized, and ostraca with his name show that he at least was in danger of being banished (E. Vanderpool, Hesp. Suppl. 8(1949): 409; Hesp. 17(1948): 194). K. may have dedicated IG I² 606 before his ostracism which probably dates soon after 450.

Rapke discusses the possibility that K. was from Alopeke.

- A 30. Καλλίας I Φαινίππου I Ἀλωπεκηθεῖν
 chariot, horserace 564 (01.)
 Ol., Pyth.

Hdt. 6.122.1: Schol. Ar. Av. 283.

APF 7833, see 7826 II, stemma Table I; Moretti, Olym. no. 103; Hyde, OVM, 365.

K. won a horse or chariot victory at Delphi, and then a horserace victory (χέλιπτι) and a second-place finish in the chariot at Olympia, both in 564. He had a Panhellenic reputation δαπάνησι μεγίστησι, and he and his father are the first known members of his wealthy family. Davies (p. 255) points to the 'canting self-advertisement' of the name given to his son Hipponikos I (also note Phainippos); and K.'s grandson, Kallias II, also raced chariots.

K. purchased the confiscated property of Peisistratos ca. 559 (Hdt. 6.121) and yet was still alive in Athens in the 520's as the probable dedicator of a statue of Athena on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.26.4; Raubitschek, DAA no. 491f).

- A 31. Καλλίας II Ἴππονίκου I Ἀλωπεκηθεῖν
 chariot 500, 496, 492
 Ol.

Schol. Ar. Nub. 64

APF 7825, see 7826 V. biblio. p. 254, stemma Table I; Moretti, Olym. nos. 164, 169, 176; Hyde, OVM, 365; K. Clinton, "The Sacred Officials

of the Eleusinian Mysteries," TAPS 64 pt. 3(1974): 47-50.

The Scholiast says K. II's son Hipponikos II derived his name from his father's three chariot wins at Olympia. This is suspicious (see APF p. 258 and Moretti, Olym., pp. 80-81) and probably is a confusion between Kimon I and Megakles IV. The name Hipponikos is not new in this family; and there is little room in the Olympionikai for these three wins which, if historical, are dated by Moretti to 500, 496 and 492. Raubitschek, however, feels K. II's dedication of ca. 480 on the Acropolis (IG I² 607, DAA no. 111, a bronze statue of Aphrodite by Kalamis) commemorates these victories.

Grandson of Kallias I, K. was politically and diplomatically active (as in the 'Peace of Kallias'). His was one of the richest families in fifth-century Greece. His byname lakkoploutos is explained by various stories (such as that of the Persian gold from Marathon, Plut. Aristeides 5.7-8) but certainly refers to the family's mining profits. Adult and already dadouch by 490, K. married Elpinike, sister of Kimon II (Plut. Cim. 4.8), probably after the death of Miltiades IV in 489 (see APF 8428 X). He had one child, Hipponikos II, who was a general in the Archidamian War and who married the ex-wife of Pericles. They had two children: a daughter Hipparete married Alcibiades III in the late 420's (see APF 600 VIII): and a son Kallias III, ridiculed by the comic poets for his wealth and extravagance.

A 32. Κάλλιππος
pentathlon
Ol.

'Αθηναῖος
332

Paus. 5.21.5; Ps. Plut. X orat. 850b
Moretti, Olym. no. 460; PA 8056

K.'s claim to fame is that he was convicted of bribery of his opponents at Olympia (cf. the case of Eupolis in 388, Moretti, Olym. no. 384). Athens sent Hyperides (orat. ὑπὲρ Καλλίππου πρὸς Ἡλείους, fr. 111, 112 Bl.) to contest the fine, but eventually Athens was forced to dedicate six Zanes at Olympia.

There is no evidence relating K. to the liturgical class but the name occurs frequently there in the fourth century (see APF, pp. 274-77).

A 33. Κίρκων
[ῥεύνει πομπικῶι]
Amphiaraiia

'Αθηναῖος
ca. 366-338

Oropos 47.41
PA 8421; APF p. 574.

Davies feels this K. probably was related to a priest of Aphrodite in the mid-fourth century (PA 8420; IG II² 4586) and that both were probably relatives of the liturgical class individual Χειμεύς Κίρωνος Λακιάδης (APF 15545).

A 34. Κίμων I
chariot
Ol.

Στησαγόρου

'Αθηναῖος
536, 532, 528

Hdt. 6.103; Ael. VH 9.32; Plut. Cato Major 5.4

APF 8426, see 8429, biblio. pp. 293-94, stemma Table I; Moretti, *Olym.* nos. 120, 124, 127. Henry R. Immerwahr. "Stesagoras II," *TAPA* 103 (1972): 181-86.

After the death of Kypselos, father of Miltiades I, his widow married Stesagoras, father of Kimon I who was born ca. 585. K. I thus was half-brother of Miltiades I the Olympic chariot victor and tyrant of the Chersonese.

Bynamed *κοῦλεμος* ('Booby'), K. I had birth and wealth but his three Olympic wins are his only known public activity. He won his first victory while in exile in 536 (Hdt. 6.103.1-2) and gave over his second win in 532 to Peisistratos in exchange for returning from exile (Hdt. 6.103.2). On the confusing tradition concerning his victories and mares, see Moretti, p. 72. His death shortly followed his third win in 528 and may have been influenced by Hippias (Hdt. 6.39.1; 6.103.3). K.'s son Miltiades IV was the politician, hero of Marathon, and successor to Miltiades III in the Chersonese. K.'s grandson was the famous Kimon II of fifth-century Athenian politics.

A 35. [Κλέα]νδρο[ς] 'Αθηναῖος
[συνωρίδι ἀκάμπιον] ca. 366-338
Amphiaraiā
Oropos 47.38

A 36. [Κ]λέαρχος 'Αθηναῖος
[κέλητι πολεμιστηρίωι] ca. 366-338
Amphiaraiā
Oropos 47.42

A 37. Κράτης Ἑορτίου Πειραιεύς
apobates early fourth
Panath. century
Agora Mus. S399 (Inv. no. 8114)
T.L. Shear, "The Sculpture Found in 1933," *Hesp.* 4(1935):
379-81; *Agora XIV*, 121, p. 66a; Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival,"
228 (not in *Agora III*).

A marble base with a relief of an apobates, found in the Agora, was dedicated by Krates who is otherwise unknown.

A 38. [Κράτι]ος [Ἀλκμέωνος I] [Ἀλωπεκῆθεν]
pentathlon 550 (?)
Panath. (?)
IG I² 472; Moretti, *IAG* 8-10, no. 4; *DAA* 317, 338-40; *SEG XIV* 12, D.
317; *SEG XIV* 13; Jeffery, *Scripts*, 73, no. 25.
APF p. 374; Bicknell, *Politics and Genealogy*, "Kallias Kratiou," 64-71,
stemma p. 75.

This person was a co-dedicant (and presumably a brother) with Alkmeonides I (A 6) of a base on the Acropolis in the mid-sixth century with the following inscription: [--]ος: ἀλκμεο[νί]δης: πέντ[ε]: ἡ[π]ί,δον τε ν[ικ]έσαντε ἀνε[θέτεν].

Moretti, Olym. no. 242

Moretti's reconstruction is simply one possibility; cf. C. Robert, Hermes 35(1900): 168 suggesting [φιλ]όφρων; or see H. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen, 475-8.

- A 42. Λύσις I Αίξωνεύς
 chariot, horserace ca. mid-fifth
 Pyth., Isth., Nem. century
 Pl. Lysis 205c
APF 9567=9573, see 9574, stemma p. 361.

L I was the grandfather of Lysis II of Plato' Lysis and is very likely the L. kalos of many red-figure vases (ARV² 1597-8). On his hippotrophy, see Demokrates I(A 15).

A fourth-century gravestone (IG II² 7045) mentions 'Ισθμονίκη Λύσιδος Αίξωνέως probably a daughter of Lysis II. It is possible that her name may refer to the family victory at the Isthmia (G.P. Oikonomos, AM 37(1912): 228; but cf. Davies, APF, p. 360 and Michel, RIG Supplement, no. 1783, p. 182).

- A 43. Μεγακλής IV Ἱπποκράτους I Ἀλωπεκῆθεν
 chariot 486
 Pyth.
 Pind. Pyth. 7 with Schol.

APF 9695, see 9688 X, stemma Table I; Moretti, Olym., p. 185; Krause, PNI, 95; Bicknell, Politics and Genealogy, 72-73, stemma p. 75.

Pindar wrote the seventh Pythian ode for a Megakles of Athens who probably was M. the son of Hippokrates I of Alopeke, the nephew of Kleisthenes and the grandson of the Megakles II who married Agariste of Sikyon.

M. IV was head of the family in the 480's and was ostracized in 487/6 (Arist. Ath. Pol. 22.5 plus ostraca, see Bicknell, pp. 72-73) just before his Pythian win. He is almost certainly the father of M. V.

- A 44. Μεγακλής V Μεγακλέους IV Ἀλωπεκῆθεν
 chariot 436
 Ol.
 Schol. Pind. Pyth. 7, p. 201 Dr.

APF 9697, see 9688 XI, stemma Table I; Moretti, Olym. no. 320.

This son of the ostracized Megakles won at Olympia and later was secretary of the tamiai of Athene in 428/7 (IG I² 237-9; I² 261-3).

- A 45. Μελησίας I Ἀλωπεκῆθεν
 pankration late sixth
 Nem. century
 Pind. Ol. 8.56-59
APF 9812, see 7268 I, biblio. pp. 230-31, stemma Table I; H.T. Wade-Gery,

- A 48. Μνησαρχίδης
παῖδας δόλιχον; ἑπι[ον] παῖδας
Amphiaraiia
Orosos 47.9,17
PA 10243
'Αθηναῖος
ca. 366-338
- A 49. Μν[ή]σ[ιπ]ο[ς]
[ζεύγει δίαυ]λον
Amphiaraiia
Orosos 47.36
'Αθηναῖος
ca. 366-338
- A 50. Νικδόημος
πύκτης παῖς ἀπὸ γυμνασίων
Amphiaraiia
Orosos 47.32
PA 10859
'Αθηναῖος
ca. 366-338
- A 51. Ξανθίας
wrestling
Pl. Meno 94c; Ps. Pl. De Virtute 378a
PA 11151
'Αθηναῖος (?)
ca. 450's
Trainers of the sons of Thucydides, Xanthias and Eudoros were considered the finest wrestlers of their time (οὗτοι δὲ που ἐδόκουν τῶν τότε κάλλιστα παλαίειν). Xanthias is accepted as Athenian by Kirchner but not with certainty.
- A 52. Ξενοκλής
boys' wrestling
Panath.
IG II² 3131
PA 11207
'Αθηναῖος
ca. 350
Xenokles' dedication reads:
Ξενοκλῆς παῖδας πά[λην]
ἐνίκα Παναθηναία τὰ με[γάλα].
The boys' πα[γκράτιον] is also possible. This name is quite common at Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries, but he may be related to the gymnasiarch and choregos Xenolkes (APF 11234) of ca. 346/5.
- A 53. Παντακλής
stadion, diaulos
Ol.
Afric. (apud Euseb. 1.195 Schoene); IG II² 2326.15-17
PA 11582; Moretti, Olym. no. 25-27
'Αθηναῖος
696, 692
P. won the stadion in 696 and 692 according to Africanus. He also won the diaulos in 692 according to the so-called Chronicon Olympicum (IG II² 2325 = SIG 1056.15-17).
P. is otherwise unknown.

This inscription from Delphi includes an epigram recording two wins at Delphi, seven at Nemea and five at another unknown festival. Under the epigram is inscribed Πυθόδωρος Πυθοδήλο. Ebert feels that, although Pythodelos was the victor, the dedication was made by his son Pythodoros perhaps because the victor was dead at the time of the dedication.

Ebert concludes that the victor was Athenian from the letter forms and from the frequency of the names Pythodelos and Pythodoros at Athens. He also points to IG II² 4360 of the first half of the fourth century (heavily restored via II² 4361):

[Πυθόδ]ηλος ἀνέθ[ηκε]
[Πυθοδ]ῶρῶ
[Αἰθαλ]ίδης.

His suggestion is that this fourth-century Attic Pythodelos (PA 12381) was the grandson of the Pythian victor Pythodelos.

From the letter forms Ebert dates the dedication to the mid-fifth century (cf. Marcadé's date of ca. 400). The event is uncertain but the reference to κράτος (an Attic contraction for the genitive κράτους) in line 4 of the epigram would indicate that P. was a heavy athlete.

A 59. Πυθόστρατος
stadion
Ol.

Ἀθηναῖος (?)
368

Diod. Sic. 15.71; Afric. (apud Euseb. 1.206 Schoene)
PA 12464; Moretti, Olym. no. 414.

Diodorus sees P. as an Athenian but Africanus says he was from Ephesus. Nothing more is known about him.

A 60. Στόμας
stadion
Ol.

Ἀθηναῖος
644

Afric. (apud Euseb. 1.198 Schoene)
PA 12810; Moretti, Olym. no. 54.

S. is otherwise unknown.

A 61. Στρατοκλῆς
boys' pentathlon
Amphiaraiā
Oropos 47.26

Ἀθηναῖος
ca. 366-338

PA 12932; APF, pp. 494-95.

Davies feels this victor could well be the orator Στρατοκλῆς Πυθοδήλου Διομειεύς (APF 12938) who had an active political career (biblio. APF, p. 494) and came from a wealthy, liturgically active family of the fourth century.

A 62. Σώσιππος
stadion
Ol.

Ἀθηναῖος
388

Diod. Sic. 14.107; Afric. (apud Euseb. 1.206 Schoene)
PA 13271; Moretti, Olym. no. 382.

An Athenian in Diodorus and a Delphian in Africanus, S. is other-

wise unknown. The Sosippus of Anaxandrides (Edmonds FAC 2: frag. 44) may have referred to S.

A 63. Τεισίτας ΙΙ Τεισιμάχου Κεφαλήθεν
chariot 416

Ol.

Isoc. 16; Ps. Andoc. 4.26; Diod. Sic. 13.74.3-4; Plut. Alc. 12.3
APF 13479, biblio. p. 501, stemma p. 503; Hatzfeld, Alcibiade, 134-40.

Historiographic problems exist with the four surviving accounts of a quarrel between Alcibiades III and an Athenian friend concerning Alcibiades' actions at the Olympic festival of 416. In brief, the friend wanted to compete at Olympia and, hearing of a ἄρμα δημόσιον at Argos, he persuaded Alcibiades to buy the team for him. Alcibiades did this but entered the team in his own name (and according to Diodorus was proclaimed victor because of this team). Hatzfeld and Davies agree that Alcibiades used the friend's rather than his own money. The subsequent lawsuit was unsettled ca. 396 giving rise to Isocrates' speech for the son of Alcibiades.

The name of Alcibiades' friend is uncertain. Isocrates gives 'Teisias while the other sources say Diomedes. Davies makes a good argument for accepting Teisias (cf. Hatzfeld) and further identifies the man with APF 13479, a general in 417/6 (Thuc. 5.84.3). For further details of the man's political career, see APF, pp. 502-3.)

A 64. Τιμόδημος Ι Τιμόνδου Ἀχαρνέυς
pankration 460 (?)
Nem., Ol.

Pind. Nem. 2, with Schol., p. 29 Dr.

Moretti, Olym. no. 262; PA 13681; Krause, PNI, 161-2; MacKendrick, Athenian Aristocracy, 35.

Pindar records T.'s victory in the pankration at Nemea, and the Scholiast adds that he won at Olympia after this. Moretti (pp. 96-97) argues that the Olympic win probably dates to 460 (cf. Farnell, Pindar, 251 suggesting 484). Pindar (lines 16-24) claims that T. came from a family of victors who had won four times at the Pythia, eight times at the Isthmia, seven times at Nemea, and also numerous times at Athens.

The fact of the ode and the Pindaric praise of the family imply that T.'s family had status and wealth. 'Timodemidai' (Nem. 2.18) may refer to the family or a genos. Since the victor grew up in Salamis, MacKendrick (unnecesessarily) suggests that T. was of the genos of the Salaminioi.

T. apparently was an ancestor of Timodemos II Acharneus (PA 13680) crowned ca. 332/1, and he perhaps was a forefather of two liturgical men of that name (APF 13673, 13674) from the mid-fourth century.

A 65. Τιμοκράτης ΙΙ Ἀντιφώντος Κριωεύς
ἵππων συνώριδι 352
Ol.

IG II² 3127

APF 13772, biblio. p. 513; Moretti, Olym. no. 440.

An inscribed base from Athens records the Olympic win of T. who was born by 400 at the latest. Beyond his horse-racing, his service as syntrierarch in the early 370's (IG II² 1604.83) suggests his wealth. An early member of the family was a candidate for ostracism in the 480's, but then there is a gap of two generations before T.'s father Antiphon.

Demosthenes attacked T. charging that some of his wealth came from his political activities (Dem. 24.67, 200-201). The chief characteristics of his public career, which lay well back in the past by 353/2 (Dem. 24.66), seems to be his continued association with Androtion (see APF pp. 513-14).

A 66. Φιλάμμων
boxing
Ol.

'Αθηναῖος
360

Dem. 18.319; Aeschin. 3.189 (and Schol. Laur. ad loc); Arist. Rhet. 3.11; Themist. orat. 21.249; see Moretti for further testimonia. Moretti, Olym. no. 424; not in PA.

On the date of Philammon's victory, see Moretti, pp. 121-22. The story in Themistius associating Aristotle with P. (that he sponsored the athlete financially) is rejected by Moretti as valueless and perhaps due to a reference to Philammon in Aristotle's Rhetorica. The orators simply refer to P. as an example of a famous contemporary athlete.

A 67. Φρόνιχ[ος]
boys' race
Ol.

'Αθηναῖος (?)
456

POxy. 222

Moretti, Olym. no 275; K. Janell, "Chronicon Olympicum," Klio 21(1927): 344 ff; not in PA.

Janell suggests that P. was an Athenian because of the frequency of the name at Athens (for example, see APF p. 558).

A 68. Φρόνων
pankration (?)
Ol.

'Αθηναῖος
636

Afric. (apud Euseb. 1.200 Schoene); Strabo 13.1.38; Diog. Laer. 1.74; see Moretti for further testimonia.

PA 15029; Moretti, Olym. no. 58; Gardiner, GASF, 73; Jeffery, Archaic Greece, 89-90.

There is some confusion concerning P.'s event (see Moretti, p. 66); Africanus says it was the stadion but it was probably the pankration as in Diogenes.

P. is to be identified with the general who led the Athenian expedition against Sigeion and fell in single combat against Pittakos of Mytilene in 607/6 (Strabo 13.599-600); his role as ōikistes at Sigeion and later at Elaious reveals his aristocratic status.

- A 69. Φωκίδης Ἀθηναῖος
stadion 364
Ol.
Diod. Sic. 15.78; Afric. (apud Euseb. 1.206 Schoene)
PA 15069; Moretti, Olym. no. 419; A. Raubitschek, s.v. Phokides,
PW XX (1941), 457-8.
Eusebius wrongly attributes the win to the wrestling contest.
Nothing else is known about P.
- A 70. Φῶκος Π Φωκίωνος Ἀθηναῖος
apobates ca. 320's
Panath.
Plut. Phocion 20.1
APF 15081, see 15076, biblio. p. 559, stemma see 8334.
P.'s father Phokion was a pupil of Plato (Plut. Phoc. 4.2; 14.7;
Mor. 1126c) and held the generalship 45 times (Plut. Phoc. 8.2). Since
the father died in 318, P.'s victory probably dates in the 320's.
Davies regards the family as of at least rentier status but their
deme remains unknown.
- A 71. Χαβρίας Κτησίππου Ι Αἰξωνεύς
chariot 374
Pyth.
Ps. Dem. 59.33
APF 15086, biblio. p. 560, stemma Table II; Krause, PNI, 88.
Ps. Demosthenes declares that Chabrias was victorious at the
Pythia with a chariot which he had bought from the sons of Mityes, the
Argive. This Chabrias was general in 390/89 and Phokion was his protégé
and lieutenant. His gained wealth and conspicuous consumption are well
attested; he held several liturgies and was granted ateleia and other
honours after Naxos (Dem. 20.75,84,146).
Davies feels Chabrias' father, a trierarch in 377/6 (IG II²
16.87), was independently wealthy enough to count as a member of the
liturgical class. Thus Chabrias can be distinguished from those contem-
poraries of his whose military talents were their only means of escape
from poverty. Chabrias was related through his father-in-law Eryximachos
(Ps. Dem. 40.24) to the great family network which included Kleon and
the Gephyraioi (see APF 11907 and Table II).
- A 72. Χαρίσανδρος Ἀθηναῖος
παῖδας [πά]λην ἀπὸ γυμνασίων ca. 366-338
Amphiaraiā
Oropos 47.31
PA 15472
- A 73. [......]λοξ Προμάχου Ἐλευσ[ίνιος]
συνωρ[ίδι] before 350
Panath., Eleusinia (?)
IG II² 3126

repeats the story without naming the boy.

The name Eualkos is known from the late fourth century (see APF, p. 187, see 10807) but nothing is known about the father of this young athlete.

A 78.

[]
horserace

Isth., Nem.

Lysias 19.63

APF pp. 200-201; Adams, Lysias, 160-68, 211.

Lysias 19 was delivered in 388 or 387 by a son of unknown name, a thirty-year-old trierarch at the time of the speech (Lys. 19.63). The speaker's father was wealthy and kept and trained racehorses, having won victories at Isthmia and Nemea (Lys. 19.63); he also had held many liturgies (Lys. 19.59).

The speaker's father had married the daughter of Xenophon son of Euripides (APF 5951). This Xenophon was a general at Samos in 441/0 and Potidaia in the 420's. The father died as trierarch (Lys. 19.62) in 389 or 388 at the age of 70 (Lys. 19.58,60) and therefore was born ca 459/8.

The speaker's father had three children (see APF, stemma p. 203: 1) the speaker of Lysias 19 who married the daughter of Kritodemus I of Alopeke; 2) a daughter who married Philomelos II of Paiania; 3) a daughter who married twice, first to her first cousin Phaidros son of Pythokleos - the Phaidros of the Platonic dialogues (see APF 13960) - and second to Aristophanes son of the Nikophemos who was associated with Euagoras in Cyprus.

The name and deme of the father of the speaker are unknown but since his son-in-law Phaidros of Myrrhinous was also his nephew (Lys. 19.15) there is a fifty per cent chance that the father was of this deme. Davies feels that the father and son may have been connected with the Socratic circle. This might explain the invidia in which they were held and it would account for the two speeches made by Lysias on their behalf. The father's long-standing friendship with Konon accounts for his presence as trierarch on Konon's expedition to the Peloponnese in 393 (Lys. 19.12).

My suggestion is that the victorious father of the speaker of Lysias 19 may be the [-]; Καλαίσχρονος of IG I² 829 (see A74). Both won Isthmian and Nemean victories and the father's lifespan is compatible with the dedication. Furthermore, if there is some connection between the son of Kallaischros and the family of the tyrant Kritias, this would be very compatible with the wealthy, military, Platonic and right-wing aspects of the family of Lysias 19.

Μυρρινούσιος (?)
ca. second half
of fifth century

Catalogue II Possible Athletes (P)

- P 79. Ἀγνίας Ἀθηναῖος
 pentathlon (?) second half of the fifth century
 IG I² 738; Raubitschek, DAA, 416-17, no. 388.
 This Hagnias dedicated a stone discus on the Acropolis.
 He may be related or identical to Ἀγνίας Ἰ Βουσέλου
 (APF 132, see 2921 V) whose family had wealth above the minimal
 liturgical census.
- P 80. Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Ἰ Κοθωκίδης
 boxer or wrestler ca. 380
 Ps. Plut. X orat. 840a
 APF 354, see 14625 II, biblio. p. 543, stemma p. 546.
 Concerning Aeschines the orator, Ps. Plutarch says that
 when he was young and physically strong he worked hard in
 the gymnasia (νέος δ' ὢν καὶ ἐρρωμένος τῷ σώματι περὶ
 τὰ γυμνάσια ἐπόνει). His father (Atrometos All) was an
 athlete as possibly was his brother (Philochares P 115).
 A. was born ca. 397/6 or 399 and married into the liturgical
 class family of Philokrates I. Davies (p. 547) feels A. had wealth enough
 (properties abroad and money from political bribes) to be of the lit-
 urgical class but he held no liturgies (Dem. 18.311-12).
 Harris (GAA, 177) unconvincingly argues that Demosthenes (18.129,
Speech on the Crown) berated A. as an ἀνδριῶς, which he interprets,
 from Epictetus 3.12.10, as 'sparring partner' or colloquially 'statue'.
 Epictetus refers to training with a sparring partner as 'embracing a
 statue'. The usual interpretation (F.P. Donnelly, The Oration of Demo-
 sthenes on the Crown (New York, 1941), 281-2; W.W. Goodwin, Demosthenes
 on the Crown (Cambridge, (1904) 1957), 80), based on Bekker, Anecd.
 394.29, takes it as 'pretty doll' or 'ornamental statue'. A reference
 to acting rather than sports is more likely since Demosthenes refers
 to A. in the same passage as τριταγωνιστῆς or third part actor.
- P 81. Ἀντ[--] Ἀχα[ρνεύς]
 runner (?) second half of the fifth century
 IG II² 3134
 See Antigenes (P) 82.
- P 82. Ἀντιγένης Λακιάδης
 runner (?) second half of the fifth century
 IG II² 3134
 Brouskari, Acrop. Mus., 18-19, fig. 4, biblio. p. 19.
 On three sides this base from the Acropolis bears reliefs
 of naked youths exercising. The left face depicts six youths (not
 five as IG would have it) and some names are preserved below them.
 Under the third is Antigenes; under the fourth, Idomeneus; under the
 fifth, Ant[--]. The art is characteristic of the period and may reveal
 the influence of Lysippos (fl. 328).
 It is interesting that the three youths came from the same
 tribe (Oineis) but from different demes. In fact one comes from a
 city trittys (Lakiadaí), one from a coastal trittys (Oe), and one from

The event is lost but quite possibly was athletic. Chronologically this man could be the Olympic victor of 344, see Aristolochos (A 10).

- P 87. Εὐριπίδης I Μνησαρχίδου I Φλυεύς
 pankration and boxing ca. 470
 Eleusinia, Theseia
Vita Euripidis; Aulus Gellius Noctes Atticae 15.20
PA 5953: M. Delcourt, "Biographies anciennes d'Euripide,"
Ant. Class. 2(1933): 272-6; Mary. R. Lefkowitz, "The Euripides
Vita," GRBS 20(1979): 187-209; W.N. Bates, Euripides (New York,
 (1930) 1969), 206; G. Murray, Euripides and his Age (London, (1918)
 1965), 20.

The anonymous Vita (prefaced to A. Nauck's Teubner edition) reports (5-7) that E.'s father got a prophecy that his son would be crowned, and that E. first practised boxing and the pankration and won a victory. E. also was a torchbearer to Apollo Zoster as a youth (19). Aulus Gellius also tells the story of the prophecy and adds that E. was victorious at the Eleusinia and Theseia. He further claims that E. tried to enter at Olympia at the age of seventeen but was disallowed. These sources are unreliable but Bates and Murray accept the tradition of E.'s athletic talent. Jüthner-Brein (1:95, n. 260) further feel that only a 'philogymnast' could have written Iph. Aul. 199 concerning Diomedes' enjoyment of the discus.

Rather than a storekeeper and a vegetable-seller (Vita 1), Philochorus (FGrH 328 F21) says that both E.'s parents were well-born. Athenaeus (10.424e) says E. was cupbearer to a chorus of noble Athenians at the Thargelia, and E. had his own private library. Although not in APF, E. was challenged to an antidosis (Arist. Rh. 3.15) and probably was of the liturgical class.

- P 88. Εὐφηρος Ἀθηναῖος
 runner (?) pre ca. 428-426
 Kerameikos Mus. P797, I414; B. Sclörb-Vierneisel, "Zwei klassische
 Kindergräber im Kerameikos," MDAI (A) 79(1964): 85-104, pls. 48-56.

Two grave monuments and graves, apparently of brothers, were found in 1964 in the Kerameikos. The grave stele of E. depicts a handsome youth holding a strigil. His grave (hS202) contained the skeleton of a youth who died at the age of about fifteen. The grave also held two bronze strigils (pl. 52.1) and a chous (pl. 52.2) with a scene of a seated youth, a second youth with a burning torch, and a torch above these two. From the grave and its monument it appears that this youth was of a good household and probably was involved in athletics.

Possible relatives of Eupheros include Πρέπις Εὐφήρου secretary of the Boule in 422/1 (PA 12184; IG I² 311) and Καλλικράτης III Εὐφήρου Ἀφιδναῖος (APF 7956, see 8157 IV, stemma p. 281) a syntrierarch of pre-356 (IG II² 1622.165-6) related to the family of the fourth-century statesman Kalliskrates. The second grave, that of Lissos, does not help identify Eupheros.

- P 89. Ἡγέστρατος Φίλωνος Ἀθηναῖος
 event unknown start of the fourth century

Nem.

IG II² 3122Hyde, OVM, 27; not in PA.

This dedication from the Acropolis records a Nemean win in an unmentioned, possibly athletic, contest. Nothing more is known about the victor.

P 90.

Θεαίτητος
event unknown

Εὐφρονίου

Σουνιεύς
lifetime ca. 414-369Pl. Tht. 144c; Soph. 218b; Statesman 257cPA 6632; K. von Fritz, s.v. Theaitetos, PW Va (1934) 1351-77;MacKendrick, Athenian Aristocracy, 71 n. 64.

The athletic inclinations of T. can be argued from his depiction as a youth in the Platonic dialogues. In Theaitetus 144c. T. and his friends (including Socrates the Younger, P111) have been rubbing themselves with oil in the gymnasium (ἐν τῷ ἔξω δρόμῳ ἠλείφοντο). T. is twice again presented as the συγγυμναστής of Socrates the Younger (Soph. 218b; Statesman 257c), that is his 'fellow gymnast'.

Theodoros of Cyrene praises the character and intelligence of T. who he says resembles Socrates (Tht. 143e-144c). T.'s father was a man of wealth and good standing (eudokimos), although T.'s property may have been squandered by his trustees (Tht. 144c-d). There is no need to follow MacKendrick in assuming that T. was of the Salaminioi just because he was from Sounion. T. studied mathematics with Theodoros, became a geometer, and later was wounded at Corinth (Statesman 266a; Tht. 142a, 147d).

P 91.

Θεμιστοκλῆς I
horse race (?)

Νεοκλέους I

Φρεάρριος
first half of
fifth centuryPlut. Them. 5.4

APF 6669, stemma p. 221; A.J. Podlecki, The Life of Themistocles (Montreal and London, 1975) with an extensive biblio. pp. 209-24; F.J. Frost, Plutarch's Themistocles, A Historical Commentary (Princeton, 1980); E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens." 221-2.

Davies points to the competition between T. and Kimon περι δειπνα καὶ σκηναὶ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευὴν (Plut. Them. 5.4). The occasion was perhaps the games of 476 and gave rise to other anecdotes placing T. at Olympia (Plut. Them. 17.4; 25.1). It is not recorded whether T. or Kimon competed in the Olympic horse or chariot races. Plutarch (Them. 17.4) places T. in the stadium rather than the hippodrome. Davies feels that "it is likely enough" to associate T. with hippotrophy because of the anecdotes about the horse-breeder Diphilides (Plut. Them. 5.2) and about the chariot drawn or occupied by four hetairai (Idomeneus FGRH 338 F4, a-b). One may also point out that T.'s son Kleophantos (P 99) was well trained in horsemanship.

Other anecdotes associate T. with gymnastic activities. Plutarch (Them. 1.3) places him exercising at Kynosarges. The retort of T. concerning the start of footraces appears in Herodotus (8.59) and reappears in Plutarch (Them. 11.3). Athletics and hippotrophy would be appropriate for the family of T. since his archonship shows that he was of pentakosiomedimnal or hippic status. However, Frost's commentary is dubious about the historicity of several of the anecdotes above; see pp. 88, 128-29, 168-9, 206.

- P 92. Θουκυδίδης I Μελησίου I 'Αλωπεκῆθεν
wrestler (?) born ca. 500
APF 7268, biblio. p. 231, stemma Table I; H.T. Wade-Gery, "Thucydides,"
205-27.

A wrestling motif was repeatedly applied to T. as a political metaphor (Ar. Ach. 703-05; Plut. Per. 8.5; 11.1; Mor. 802c; cf. also Pl. Meno 94c) and Pericles was his usual opponent. His father Melesias (A 45) was a famous pancratiast and trainer, and the sons of T. were trained and proficient at wrestling (P 102, P 110).

T.'s political activities are well known and his family relationship with Kimon is consistent with his economic status and political stance. T.'s demotic leads Davies to feel that he owned farm land south of Athens (on his other sources of income, see APF, pp. 236-7).

- P 93. Θρασύβουλος Φιλομήλου 'Αθηναῖος
hippotrophic ca. 550
POxy. IV 664
APF p. 238, see 11793 V.

Davies discusses an anecdote going as far back as Ephorus (Diod. Sic. 9.37.1) concerning a daughter of Peisistratos married to a youth named Thrasyboulos (Plut. Mor. 189c. 457f; Polyain. 5.14 mistakenly gives Thrasymedes; Val. Max. 5.1, ext. 2). The most circumstantial account is a fragmentary dialogue (POxy. IV 664) whose dramatic date falls in the 550's but Davies and Grenfell-Hunt suspect a fourth-century source. This dialogue (col. 1.26-9) dwells on T.'s horsebreeding and other excesses.

It is quite conceivable that relatives of the tyrant were hip-potrophic but the historicity of the career of T. is highly suspect.

- P 94. Ἰδομενεύς 'Οῆθεν
runner (?) second half of the fifth century
IG II² 3134
Brouskari, Acrop. Mus., 18-19. fig. 4, biblio. p. 19.
See the discussion of Antigenes (P 82).

- P 95. Ἴππαρχος I Πεισιστράτου II 'Αθηναῖος
horserace (?) ca. 540
Pyth.(?)
Acropolis Mus. 590
APF 7600, see 11793 IV, biblio. p. 444, stemma Table I; Brouskari,
Acrop. Mus. 55-6; Payne-Young, Archaic Marble Sculpture, 6, 51, pl. 11a-c.
The famous Rampin Rider sculpture from the Acropolis consists of a marble horse and a naked rider with a wreath of wild celery, the prize at the Nemean and Isthmian Games. Fragments suggest that the monument was a pair of horsemen side by side. H. Schrader, Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis (Frankfort am Main, 1939), 3 vols. 3:212, no. 312, pls. 134-7, suggested that the two riders were the sons of Peisistratos, Hipparchos and Hippias, as winners of a horserace at the Pythia. John Boardman, Greek Sculpture (New York and Toronto, 1978), 75, sees the suggestion as credible only if the work is later than Peisistratos' return to power in 546- which is not impossible.

He further wonders if such statues would have survived the end of the tyranny in 510.

Two inscriptions discussed by Jeffery (Scripts, 75, nos. 35,38) are of possible relevance here. One is a Herm from Attica inscribed with an epigram by Hipparchos dating ca. 520-514. The second is a base for a tripod (?) dedicated at the Ptoion in Boeotia by Hipparchos ca. 520-514; cf. the dedication made there earlier by Alkmeonides I (A6). Hippotrophy would be a suitable pastime for the tyrant's sons and the frequency of names with 'Hipp-' in the family is intriguing.

- P 96. Ἴππίας Πεισιστράτου ΙΙ Ἀθηναῖος
 horserace (?) ca. 540
 Pyth. (?)
 Acrop. Mus. 590
 APF 7605, see 11793 IV, stemma Table I.
 See the discussion of Hipparchos (P 95).

- P 97. Ἴπποκλείδης Ι Τεισάνδρου Ι Ἀθηναῖος
 athlete (?) ca. 570's
 Hdt. 6.35, 126-30
 APF 7617, see 8429 II, stemma Table I.

H. was a suitor of the daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon in the 570's and athletic ability probably was a criterion in the contest for Agariste's hand. Davies (pp. 310-11) feels that H. by his name also may have raced horses.

A member of the rich, hippotrophic family of Kimon, a cousin of Miltiades III, H. was archon probably in 566/5, and his possible role in the reorganization of the Panathenaic Games has been discussed above pp. 44, 48-49.

- P 98. Ἴσοκράτης Θεοδώρου Ι Ἐρχιεύς
 horserace ca. 420
 Ps. Plut. X orat. 839c.
 APF 7716, biblio. p. 245, stemma p. 248; Hyde, OVM, 373; Rouse, Votive Offerings, 166-7; MacKendrick, Athenian Aristocracy, 3.

Ps. Plutarch says that I. rode a horse in a race when he was still a boy (λέγεται δὲ καὶ κελητίσαι ἔτι παῖς ὢν) for there was a statue of him as a boy riding a horse on the Acropolis. Rouse feels the statue possibly was a dedication after a horserace. This leads Davies to speculate that the family must have possessed some landed property, presumably in the family deme of Erchia.

I.'s father Theodoros was one of the 400 richest men in Athens in the 430's and 420's and thus was able to afford the expensive rhetorical training for his son before the loss of the family property during the Peloponnesian War (Isoc. 15.161). Through his speech writing and his school of rhetoric I. restored his family's economic position.

- P 99. Κλεόφαντος Θεμιστοκλέους Ι Φρεάρριος
 horserace ca. 450's
 Pl. Meno 93d-e; Plut. Them. 32.1

- P 102. Μελεσίτας II Θουκυδίδου I 'Αλωπεκίτης
wrestler ca. 450
Pl. Meno 94c; Ps. Pl, De Virtute 378a
APF 9813, see 7268 III, stemma Table I; R.S. Bluck, ed. and comm.,
Plato's Meno (Cambridge, 1961), 377-80.
Plato tells us that Thucydides had his sons, M. II and Stephanos (P 110), given over to renowned trainers (Xanthias A 51 and Eudoros A 26) and that the lads 'wrestled most beautifully of the Athenians' (ἐπάλαισαν κάλλιστα Ἀθηναίων). Heavy athletics appear to have been a family tradition. Born in the 470's M. II was an ἀπράγμων for most of his life (Pl. Lach. 179c; Meno 94c-d) but became one of the Four Hundred in 411 (Thuc. 8.86.9).
- P 103. Μένανδρος 'Αθηναῖος
pankration (?) ca. 510
Bacchyl. Ode 12.190-98; Pind. Nem. 5.48-9
A successful trainer like Melesias I (A 45), M. was probably a former athlete.
- P 104. Μιλτιάδης VI Στησαγόρου II (Λακιδάκης)
athlete (?) second half of the fifth century
Aeschin. Miltiades (F37 Dittmar)
APF 10207, see 8429 XV, stemma Table I.
M. VI is mentioned in, and possibly was eponym of, Aeschines' Socratic dialogue Miltiades as a devotee of physical training who kept his body most excellently of the men of his age. He was an approximate contemporary of Socrates. Given the agonistic tradition of Kimon's family, it is quite possible that he was an athletic competitor in his youth.
- P 105. Ξάνθιππος II Περικλέους I Χολαργεύς
horseman 430's
Pl. Meno 94b
APF 11170, see 11811, stemma Table I; Bluck, Plato's Meno, 375-6.
Plato tells us that Pericles taught his sons, Xanthippos and Paralos, to be horsemen so that they were second to none of the Athenians, and that he educated them in music and athletics (καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ ἰκνῶνσαν) and other skills such that they were second to none. The noun ἡ ἀγωνία (LSJ s.v.) means a struggle for victory or, as probably in this case, gymnastic exercise or wrestling.
Both of Pericles' sons died in the plague in 430 and belong in the APF register by virtue of Pericles' choregia and his public benefactions.
- P 106. Πάραλος Περικλέους I Χολαργεύς
horseman 430's
Pl. Meno 94b
APF 11612, see 11811 III, stemma Table I.
See the discussion of Xanthippos II (P 105).

P 116. []
 event unknown
 IG II² 3128
 Hyde, OVM, 27.

'Αθηναῖος
 ca. 350

This anonymous victor made a dedication on the Acropolis:

[Π]υθιδᾶς
 [Ἰσθ]μιδᾶς
 [Νε]μεδᾶς
 [Παναθ]ην[αῖ]ος.

He probably was an Athenian and his victories probably were equestrian or gymnastic.

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