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HERMESIANAX THE OLYMPIC VICTOR AND GONEUS THE AMBASSADOR: A LATE CLASSICAL – EARLY HELLENISTIC FAMILY FROM KOLOPHON


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In 1985 Werner Peek published in this journal the text of an epigram in elegiac couplets inscribed on the base of a statue in honour of a Kolophonian boy (pais) who had been the first competitor from Asia to be victorious in the boys’ wrestling contest at the Olympic games.2

In 1967.3 It was dated to the later fourth century by Peek, although Robert had considered it to belong to the third century. Peek restored the first line, much of which is lost, to give the name of the victorious youth as 'Ερμησιάναξ Ποντίου. He was able to do this with confidence on the basis of Pausanias’ mention of a statue of the Kolophonian boy wrestler Hermesianax at Olympia dedicated by the koinon of the Kolophonians.4

In the text of Pausanias the boy’s father is named as 'Αγονέου (in the genitive), from which a nominative 'Αγονέας was deduced in Pape–Benseler.5 Such a name is of curious appearance and has no known parallel.6 Armed with the reading of the epigram from Klaros, Peek argued that the father’s name in the text of Pausanias should be emended to Ποντίος. This seemed perfectly reasonable and the emendation has been accepted in a recent Italian edition,7 even if it is less

1 We are grateful to Dr M. Lagogianni, director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, for permission to study the Athenian decree discussed in this paper and for providing the photographs reproduced here. Elena Zavvou gave much practical assistance in the study of the stone by Nikoletta Kanavou. Charles Crowther (Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford) made possible the study of the squeeze of the same stone. Thomas Corsten kindly read and commented upon this paper.
4 See L. Moretti, Olympionikai, i vincitori negli agoni olimpici (Rome, 1957) no. 475 with additional remarks in ‘Nuovo supplemento al catalogo degli Olympionikai’, Miscellanea Greca e Romana XII (Rome, 1987) p. 71, who ascribes the victory to the Olympiad of 320 B.C.
5 Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen (3rd edition, 1863–70) s.v.
6 Closest to it is 'Αγάνιας, attested twice at Eretria (LGPN I), and once at Boumelitaia in Opountian Lokris (LGPN IIB s.v. 'Αγονίας); Bechtel (Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit [Halle, 1917] p. 21) associates it with a cult name of Hermes, though other gods are also possible.
Fig. 1. *IG* II² 456. Athenian decree honouring the city of Kolophon and its three ambassadors
Photo: Epigraphical Museum, Athens
easy to accept Peek’s comment that the genitive termination -ος could so easily be corrupted into -ου. The fact that Γονεύς is a rare name which, apart from occurrences on Delos (1), Samos (1), Ephesos (2) and Aphrodisias (2), is found in another text from Kolophon only adds weight to Peek’s case. Its distribution suggests it is a typically Ionian name, current for the most part in the fourth to second centuries B.C. The same passage of Pausanias also informs us that two generations after Hermesianax’ victory, his grandson by his daughter, Εἰκόσιος Λυκίνου, repeated the feat by winning the same contest at Olympia.

There is a strong likelihood that the same man is attested in another text, a possibility that appears so far to have gone unnoticed. An Athenian decree of 307 B.C. (fig. 1) records the dedication by the Kolophonians of a crown and panoply to Athena on the occasion of the athletic contests at the Panathenaia and reciprocal honours for the city of Kolophon on the part of the Athenians, together with honours awarded to the three members of the delegation entrusted with this mission by Kolophon. Sadly the ambassadors’ names and patronymics occur in a badly damaged part of the text (ll. 23–4; fig. 2) so that only the name of the first could be restored with any confidence as Σκύθην Φ-. The names of the second and third could not be restored by Kirchner from the traces of the letters, but in the apparatus he noted a conjecture of Hiller’s that the third might be Ερμ[ιον Βλ]αντος.

The traces recorded in the edition of Kirchner combined with study of photographs and of a squeeze kept in the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in Oxford, as well as of the stone


9 Both members of the same family of the first century A.D.: MAMA VIII 409, 10.


11 Moretti (above n. 4) no. 557, assigned to the Olympiad of 256 B.C. As a hæpax, Εἰκόσιος too may be suspect, perhaps a corruption of a more familiar name such as Εἰκόσιος (see O. Masson, Onomastica Graeca Selecta III [Geneva, 2000] p. 278) or the common Ionian name Ιξίσιος.

12 IG II 456.

13 The stone has a vertical fracture from which a long sliver of stone is missing between lines 13 to 27, affecting the letters in the fourteenth stoichos. The damaged surface of the right half of the stone is the result of natural defects in the veining of the marble.
itself at the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, may allow rather more to be recovered of these names.

Starting from the final name, that of the third ambassador’s patronymic, the ending could just as well be -ακτως[ς] as the -ακτωρ[ς] read by Kirchner; the photograph suggests a K is more likely than a N. This would indicate that the name was one of the many compounds of -ακτως,14 so likely to be longer than the short name conjectured by Hiller. Before that there are three missing letters in the stoichedon text and then the three letters ΕΠΩΣ followed by a letter most likely to be H and what appears to be the top of Σ. Neither letter was read in the edition of Kirchner but both are suggested by the photographs and squeeze. Taken together, rather than as parts of name and patronymic, these can be restored in no other way than Ἐρμησίανας ακτως. Autopsis of the stone neither confirmed nor disproved these readings: ΕΠΩΣ and ΤΟΣ are clear and there is the right number of stoichoi for the proposed restoration, but the H seemed doubtful, and N or H also seemed possible in place of K. However, the restoration Ἐρμησίανας ακτως is made more plausible by the fact that a number of compounds of -ακτως are attested for people from Kolophon,15 and Ἐρμησίανας ακτως, though uncommon, is strongly concentrated in Ionia (Ephesos, Erythrai, Kolophon, Metropolis, Miletos, Smyrna and Teos) and, to a lesser degree, Caria (Tralles and Panamara). A famous bearer of the name from Kolophon, and a contemporary of Hermesianax the wrestler, is a poet whose floruit is placed in the early third century B.C., one of the early figures in the Alexandrian school.16 The same name was given to two other Kolophonians of later date.17 In Ionia it is found as early as the sixth century at Miletos,18 but is attested mainly in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, while the Carian examples occur predominantly in the Imperial period.

The name of the third ambassador must begin after the genitive ending -του in the sixth to eighth stoichoi, occupying six stoichoi and beginning with the clearly read letters Γ and Ο followed by what seems more likely to be a N than a Π (as in Kirchner’s edition) and then an E, producing ΓΟΝΕ-. Of the fifth letter all that remains is a trace of a diagonal stroke (either Α, Δ or Λ), while the sixth letter is lost. The only known name that can be restored from the first four letters ΓΟΝΕ- is Γονέως but at this point we encounter a difficulty. The accusative of this name

14 See Bechtel (above n. 6) pp. 44–7.
15 Apart from Ἐρμησίανας (4 individuals), we know of Ἀστυάνας (1), Δηλίλανας (1), Δημώνας (2), Ἐρμώνας (3), Ἡγησίανας (4), Θεμιστώνας (1), Ἰππάνας (1), Κλαύνας (1), Πυθώνας (1) and Τιμώνας (1).
16 He was a pupil of Philitas of Kos, the teacher of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (born on Kos in 308), and was himself probably born between 325 and 310 B.C. See RE s.v. Hermesianax 2. The fragments are collected in J. U. Powell, Collectanea Alexandrina (Oxford, 1925) pp. 96–106. Since then a poem preserved on papyrus has been convincingly attributed to him: M. Huys, Le poème élégiaque hellénistique P. Brux. inv. E.8934 et P. Sorb. inv. 2254 (Papyri Bruxellenses Graecae, 2 (22) [Brussels, 1991]) = H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), Suplementum Hellenisticum (Berlin and New York, 1983) 970. On chronological grounds he could be identified with the young wrestler, though an Olympic victory might be expected to have figured in the biographical details concerning the poet.
17 First is the addressee of Nicander of Kolophon’s Theriac, probably composed in the second half of the second century B.C.; the terms of address (l. 3, ‘τοῖς κυδίστωτε παιῶν’) suggest that Hermesianax was related to Nicander. The other occurs as the patronymic of Dionysios, one of the Kolophonian dikastai sent to adjudicate in a territorial dispute between the Thessalian cities of Narthakion and Meliteia c. 143 B.C: N. Giannopoulos, ‘Επιγραφή ἐν Φίλιας τῆς Θεσσαλίκης Κριδίτης, Archaiologike Ephemeris 1927–28, pp. 122–3 A, 5 = S. L. Ager, Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337–90 B.C. (Hellenistic Culture and Society, 18 [Berkeley and London, 1996]) pp. 420–3 no. 154. In both cases, the contexts suggest that they too came from the educated and wealthy ruling class of the city.
18 A. Rehm and R. Harder, Didyma, II, Die Inschriften (Berlin, 1958) no. 9.
should be Εύνεια, whereas in the text there is a space for a further letter which in the circumstances could only be a Ν yielding Εύνέα[ν], and Ευνέας in the nominative, a name not in itself implausible but nowhere attested. As such it would harmonise far better with the form of the name found in the manuscripts of Pausanias mentioned above (‘Αγονέου), especially if Peek’s explanation for the initial Α is accepted. However, during close study of the stone in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, it was observed that there seems to be a rasura which coincides with the stoichoi occupied by the letters TONEA, allowing the possibility that a blank space may have followed an accusative Εύνεα, where a name longer by one letter had originally been inscribed. To conclude, therefore, it can be stated that the name on the inscription read either Εύνεα[ν] ᾿Ερμησίναν Α'κτος or, more likely, Εύνεα [ν] ᾿Ερμησίναν Α'κτος.

It remains to determine the relationship between these two individuals, ᾿Ερμησίναν Α'κτος the young wrestler and ᾿Ευνεας, ᾿Ερμησίναν Α'κτος the ambassador, which the rarity of these two names compellingly indicates. The ambassador’s mission to Athens occurred in 307, when he must have been at least thirty and was more likely a mature man in his 40’s or 50’s, so born very roughly in the years 370-340 B.C.; the fact that he is named last is perhaps an indicator that he was the youngest or most junior of the three ambassadors. So, given the approximate date of the statue base at Kolophon (c. 325–250 B.C.), it becomes impossible for the ambassador’s father Hermesianax, who would have been a teenager between 390 and 360, to be identified with the boy Olympic victor, unless it was erected long after the event or had for some reason been reinscribed. The young Hermesianax is much more likely to have been the son of the ambassador, born between 340 and 310 B.C. and so eligible to compete as a παις in the games held in the Olympiads between 328 and 292, a period when no other victors in the boys’ wrestling are known. All in all the most likely Olympiads are those between 320 to 304, thus coinciding with


21 Compare the parallel existence of name forms in -εας and in -νς, e.g. ‘Αριστεάς/ ‘Αριστής, Προτίας/ Προτής, Πλέκας/Πλής. Alternative forms of this kind, though less common, are also attested for names in -ευς, e.g. ‘Αριστεύς/ ‘Αριστῆς, Νικεύς/ Νικῆς, Φιλέυς/ Φιλής. Of particular relevance to the present discussion is the form of the genitive for the father of an Ephesian victor in the boys’ boxing at Olympia (Inscriptions von Olympia 168, a fourth-century statue base), ᾿Αθήναιος ᾿Αριστέλεω (Moretti n. 438, assigned to 352 B.C.), suggesting a nominative ᾿Αριστέλεως or ᾿Αριστέλεος. Neither form is impossible; a nominative ᾿Αριστέλεος in particular is easily produced by a move of the accent on the adjective ᾿Αριστάλεος (cf. the feminine name ᾿Αριστάλεα – three attestations). But as neither name is otherwise attested, it raises the possibility that it is an irregular genitive of ᾿Αριστέλεος, a name found once on a fourth-century inscription at Apollonia Pontike (LGPN IV), an Ionian colony of Miletos. The same name may occur in the slightly altered form, ᾿Αλπάλεος, again at Apollonia Pontike, depending on the restoration of a gravestone of the late fifth/early fourth century ( ᾿Αλπάλεος το L/ Α[l]ητοδ[όρο]) or ᾿Αλπαλεύς/ ᾿Αλπευς Α[l]ητοδ[όρο]) (cf. the feminine name ᾿Αλπαλέα – three attestations). See the useful note on this in SEG LII 663. It may also lie behind the genitive form ᾿Αριστάλεος found at Odessos (another Milesian colony) in the early Imperial period (so Mihailov in IGB IV 78 ter, 5; LGPN IV s.v. ᾿Αριστάλης 2) and much earlier, probably in 350 B.C., at Olynthus where Ionic dialect was current in public documents (LGPN IV s.v. ᾿Αριστάλης 1; see M. B. Hatzopoulos and L. D. Loukopoulou, Recherche sur les marches orientales des Τέμνενοι (Anthemonte – Kalindoia) II (Μελετήματα, 11 [Athens, 1996] pp. 225–6 with n. 7 where it and the Odessan example are derived from a nominative ᾿Αριστάλης). If the patronymic ᾿Αριστάλεος at Olympia is derived from ᾿Αριστάλεος, it may suggest that the (A) ᾿Αριστέω found in the manuscripts of Pausanias is a correct rendition of what he saw on the inscription and therefore no emendation is required. In both cases it is possible that the confusion was caused by the Ionic rendition of these names as ᾿Αρτάλεος and Εύνεας, unfamiliar to the Elean scribes and letter-cutters: see C. D. Buck, The Greek Dialects (Chicago, 1955) p. 33 § 33.

22 See above n. 2. Peek suggested that the false A was due to the original of the inscription at Olympia, which perhaps read ᾿Ερμησίναν Α'κτος (or Εύνεας if we follow Peek), with the result that the terminal A somehow became attached to the patronymic.
the date assigned by Peek to the inscription and Moretti’s inspired conjecture. On this basis his grandson, Eikasios’ victory in the same contest should have happened in the Olympiads between 276 and 244 B.C., most likely between 272 and 252.22

The other Γονεύς (son of Πύθιππος and brother of Πύθεος) known from Kolophon in this same period (311–306 B.C.)23 was perhaps related to our family, and as an adult at this time may have been of the same generation as the ambassador. Christian Habicht has identified him as the father of the Olympic victor,24 but in view of the new reading of the Athenian decree, this can no longer be sustained; they are more likely to have been cousins, or uncle and nephew. He and his brother are recorded as donors of a sum of 400 drachmas for the building of the city walls, and while some much larger contributions were made (the largest being 30,000 drachmas), theirs was probably amongst the bigger sums and they, like the ambassador and his son, can safely be assigned to the wealthy upper levels of Kolophonian society.25 It is not unreasonable to assume that the ambassador, like his namesake and possible relative, figured in the same great list of financial contributions, on which 800–900 individuals together with their patronymics once stood, and that his name appeared on one of the missing blocks of the monument on which the donors were recorded.26 Taking account of the evidence discussed above, the following stemma of this family may be proposed.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Ἑρμησιάναξ (b. 400–370)} \\
\text{Γονεύς (b. 370–340)} \\
\text{Ἑρμησιάναξ (b. 340–310)} \\
\text{anonymous daughter ~ Λυκῖνος (b. 310–280)} \\
\text{Εἰκάσιος (b. 290–260)} \\
\end{array}
\]

Study of the photograph and squeeze, combined with autopsy of the stone, allow some further suggestions concerning the patronymic of the second ambassador. Based on Kirchner’s edition and the squeeze, its ending appeared most likely to read -λίτου; the last four letters are certain and the preceding triangular letter looked more like Λ than Α. If correct, the only plausible res-
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22 ἐπαιν[έσαι] δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς πρῶτον ἀκτος καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκατον ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα …
23 ἥκοντας τῶν Κολοφωνίων Σκύθην Φ[…..14………]
24 καστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦσα φα[νωι ὦ[ρετῆς ἑνεκα …

As a final remark, for a mission to Athens which culminated in a dedication during the athletic competitions at the Panathenaia, Goneus’ selection as ambassador was probably no accident if his son, Hermesianax, had distinguished himself at Olympia in the recent past, conceivably as recently as 308. The family’s repeated Olympian success two generations later might suggest that they had a tradition of athletic prowess which preceded the victory of Hermesianax, even that Goneus himself was a well-known athlete. And had Hermesianax the poet been a member of this family, if not the same man as the Olympic victor, it would only confirm that they belonged to the literate and wealthy political elite of Kolophon, a city that hosted a notable number of literary figures. Apart from Hermesianax, it laid claim to the later seventh-century elegiac poets Mimnermos and the obscure Polymnestos; it had been home to Xenophanes in the sixth century, Antimachos, an epic and elegiac poet, in the later fifth to early fourth centuries, Theodoros (of uncertain date), Phoinix, a near contemporary of Hermesianax, and the epic poets Theopompos, Kleandros and Nikandros, the two latter belonging to the mid to later third century and known

27 Ὀπλίτης, Γαυλίτης, Θαλίτης occur only once each and are thus very unlikely.
28 We owe this information, concerning an unpublished coin, to Philip Kinns.
29 Outside Kolophon it is attested just once at Iasos in the mid fourth century for a man probably born in the late fifth: W. Blümel (ed.), Die Inschriften von Iasos (IGSK, 28 (1–2) [Bonn, 1985]) 1, 19.
32 V. J. Matthews, Antimachus of Colophon, Text and Commentary (Mnemosyne Suppl., 155 [Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1996]); according to the Suda A 2681, his father had the unique name Ὡπαρχος, corrected in one manuscript to the more familiar Ὡπάρχος.
33 RE s.v. Theodoros 18–19; Supplementum Hellenisticum (above n. 16) 749–56. Because he was mentioned in Aristotle’s Κολοφωνίων Πολιτεία he can be no later than the fourth century.
only from honours awarded at Delphi;\footnote{RE s.v. Theopompos 7 with Supplementum Hellenisticum (above n. 16) 765–6; Syll.\textsuperscript{4} 448 – Kleandros son of Apollophanes; Syll.\textsuperscript{4} 452 – Nikandros son of Anaxagoras, see RE s.v. Nikandros 10.} finally, in the second century, a possible descendent of the last of these three, the famous Nikandros (better known in English as Nicander),\footnote{His father is variously called Ξενοφάνης or Δαμαιός, the latter being preferable. Δαμαιός is a typically Delphic name (cf. \textit{LGPN} IIIB) and may in some way be associated with the tradition that Nicander was an Aitolian; see \textit{RE} s.v. Nikandros 11.} one of whose compositions was entitled \textit{Περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ποιητῶν}, testimony in itself to the city’s rich literary heritage.

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