Aristarchus must thus have believed in an absolute date for Hesiod sometime after 714-711 BC, the purported date of the fourteenth Olympiad.[14]

These comparisons, and many others like them, may well derive from Aristarchus' Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου. This monograph was a comprehensive study of Hesiodic poetry in its cultural context. It focused on Hesiod's knowledge of geography, ethnonyms and contemporary culture, drawn from the *Theogony*, *Works and Days* and *Catalogue of Women*, and its ultimate purpose was to propose a date for Hesiod's life sometime in the late eighth or seventh century BC. The surviving fragments of the monograph indicate that Aristonicus used the Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου when he was writing his commentaries on Aristarchus' marginal notations on Homer's and Hesiod's poetry. The existence of this monograph demonstrates that the Hellenistic reception of Hesiod matters more than scholars have realized for our understanding of how Homer was read in antiquity.

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[14] Schmidt (n.6, 226-7) doubts that the discussion of Hesiod's date in relation to Olympic nudity can be attributed to Aristarchus because he nowhere else uses absolute chronology for Hesiod's date, and that three hundred years is too wide a separation between Homer and Hesiod. But if Aristarchus had established an absolute date for Homer (*cf.* n.7), why not for Hesiod as well? There is also nothing inherently implausible about so wide a date between the two poets. Schmidt's argument would require that Aristarchus considered Hesiod to have lived as early as the tenth or ninth centuries BC, which is surely implausible.

PRONOMOS AND POTAMON: TWO PIPERS AND TWO EPIGRAMS*

Abstract: Although he was one of the most famous musicians of Classical antiquity, the pipe-player (*auletes*) Pronomos of Thebes has never attracted serious scholarly attention in his own right. This contribution seeks to address this neglect by attempting to establish a basic chronological framework for his life. In doing so, it introduces a new item of evidence, the inscribed funerary monument of one Potamon of Thebes, a contemporary and colleague of Pronomos in the art of *auletike*. A close relationship is shown to exist between the epigram on this funerary monument, found in Athens, and that which accompanied the statue on the Theban *akropolis*, erected in honour of Pronomos.

PRONOMOS of Thebes was the most famous pipe-player (*auletes*) of antiquity. He was a panhellenic star of the rapidly burgeoning musical industry of his day whose talents were sought in places as culturally and politically diverse as Athens, Messene and Khalkis (very probably after its liberation from Athenian hegemony). He was a major musical innovator, both at the technical and at the compositional levels; a composer of poetic, as well as purely instrumental, forms; and an innovator too in the theatricalization of instrumental performance, credited with spectacular kinetic use of his body and of facial expressiveness on stage.

To his birthplace of Thebes Pronomos was a cultural icon as significant as Pindar for an earlier generation. The Thebans erected a statue in his honour on the heights of the Kadmeia that came to signify the centrality of the piper and his music to Theban identity. It was placed not far from that holy of holies, the site of Harmonia's bed-chamber. And the piper apparently shared this honour with only one other mortal – the architect of resurgent Theban confidence and power, the general and Boiotarkh Epaminondas, victor of Leuktra and Mantinea.[1] This statue (perhaps)

* Thanks to Ewen Bowie, Eric Csapo and the two anonymous readers of the journal for helpful comments.

[1] Paus. 9.12.5-6. Note the emphasis on ἐνταῦθα in the sentence: τοῦτόν τε οὖν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδαν τὸν Πολύμνιδος ἀνέθεσαν ('And so the Thebans erected this [the statue of Pronomos] and the statue of Epaminondas, son of Polymnis, there').

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seen by Pausanias had apparently survived more than half a millennium and several sackings of the city. Or rather, if we believe a persistent ancient tradition, so vital was the monument to the Thebans that its inscription was sought out from among the rubble of the shrines and public documents that littered the site after Alexander's visitation in 335 BC, and placed upright.[2] This account looks to me to form a diptych with the story of how Alexander spared only the house of Pindar when he destroyed the city – and, what is more, rubbed cultural salt in the wounds by forcing another famous Theban piper, Ismenias, to provide musical accompaniment for the work.[3] There is a clear parallelism at work here between the preservation of the house of the great lyric poet of the earlier generation and the preservation of the monument of the great musician of a more recent past, articulated around the telling of the destruction of Thebes, itself mobilized by the pipe-music that lay at the heart of the city's cultural identity. Whoever fabricated these various fictions, and for whatever purpose, they invite us to see Pronomos doing for Thebes in his age what Pindar had done in his.

Despite this panhellenic celebrity and enormous domestic cultural significance, Pronomos has not fared well in modern scholarship. The roots of this lie in his own age, and in particular, in the Athenian habit of side-lining the (mostly foreign) musicians who played at their dramatic festivals, a habit whose effects were reinforced by an influential strain of criticism from a vocal élite that condemned *aulos*-playing on moral, physical and intellectual grounds. Some recent studies have drawn these important artists from the shadows of their more vaunted poetic and thespian colleagues.[4] Nonetheless, Pronomos himself remains without any substantive scholarly treatment. He does not rate a mention in the *OCD*[3]. And even the (old) Pauly-Wissowa article by Geisau is no more than a bare recital of most of the testimonia, amounting to less than half a column; the new one is even shorter.[5] What is more, all study of Pronomos has been skewed by one item in the dossier of evidence – the Attic red-figure krater from Ruvo di Puglia (Naples 3240) that since its first publication has come to carry his name, and upon which the piper is depicted amid a theatrical troupe, seated on a *klismos* at the centre of the lower band of that Vase's principal image (PLATE 3). The modern bibliography on Pronomos is in reality a bibliography on the Pronomos Vase.[6] Its two motivating interests have been the art-historical goal of establishing the characteristics of the Pronomos Painter and identifying his circle; and, more especially, the desire on the

[2] This is to make the (relatively safe) identification of the inscribed herm (also described as an ἄγαλμα) mentioned by Dio Chrys. (*Or*. 7.121) and carrying the famous epigram, with the statue described by Pausanias. The identification is supported by, e.g., Hitzig (1907) 428: 'Die Statue, von der Pausanias spricht, ist zweifellos identisch mit der von Dio Chrys. VII 263f R erwähnten Herme, welche nach Anthol. Pal. XVI 28 das Distichon trägt.' *Cf.* Page (1981) 330: 'If his memorial did not survive the destruction of Thebes, it is likely to have been restored soon afterwards.' It is likely that the statue was part of an official dedication by the Thebans. To judge from Pausanias' description, it is very likely too that it was a portrait statue, an individualized representation of a particular historical person, in this case made in or very soon after their lifetime: *cf*. Richter-Smith (1984) 15-17. The portraiture of Pindar, whose prototype has been dated to *c*. 450 (Himmelmann (1994)), offers a precedent, and together these two official representations of Theban musicians suggest that Thebes was considerably in advance of Athens in celebrating its artists in this way. In Athens the practice does not get underway until over a century later, with the Lykourgan statues of the tragedians.

[3] *Vita Alex*. 1.27. The earliest source may be Pliny, *NH* 7.20; *cf*. Arrian, *Anab*. 1.9.10 (who is sceptical); Paus. 9.25.3. Slater (1971) esp. 146-7.

[4] Roesch (1982), (1989); Scheithauer (1997); Wilson (1999), (2002); Csapo (2004); Stephanis (1988); *cf*. also Le Guen (forthcoming) for a detailed study of one of the most famous *auletai* of the Hellenistic age, Kraton son of Zotikhos.

[5] Geisau (1957); the new Pauly article: Harmon (2001). Similarly, the recent study of musicians in antiquity by Bélis (1999) has no dedicated chapter on Pronomos, and the sporadic references to him throughout venture little by way of integrated interpretation or analysis of his cultural context. *Cf*. West (1992) 366-7 and now Berlinzani (2004) 127-9.

[6] A selection of the more important items: Beazley *ARV*[2] 1336.1; *Para*. 480; *Add*. 365-6; Buschor (1951-53); Arias (1962) 377-80; Metzger (1965) 99, no.10, pl. 34; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 186-7, fig. 49; Froning (1971) 5; Butler (1972) 14-15; Calame (1986) 101-17; Taplin (1997) 73-4; Mastropasqua (1998); Krumeich, Pechstein and Seidensticker (1999). Junker (2003) treats a range of iconographic issues arising from the Pronomos Vase, and has a good survey of previous bibliography.

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part of historians of the Athenian theatre to fill some of the uncomfortably large, dark and empty spaces in our knowledge of its practical operation. The degree to which one pot from Puglia has been required to perform the second of these tasks is, to say the least, disconcerting. But neither of these objectives has included a coherent and comprehensive study of the man and his music in the round, and within his own specific historical and cultural contexts.

This note is the by-product of such an attempt.[7] Here I have the limited aim of establishing a basic chronological framework for Pronomos' life; and of introducing to the discussion a neglected item of evidence: the grave-monument of another and contemporary Theban piper, Potamon son of Olympikhos. There is, I argue, a hitherto unnoticed relationship between this monument known from the archaeological record and that erected by the Thebans for Pronomos, and known from the literary tradition. A comparison of the two shows an intriguing pattern of inter-epigraphic textual allusion at work between Athens and Thebes. It may also throw some further light on the date of Pronomos' death, and that of his memorialization on the Theban *akropolis*.

One feature of the general neglect of Pronomos 'outside' the Vase is that no attempt has ever been made even to establish a good chronology for the star piper (by contrast with efforts made on behalf of the most mediocre of poets). Geisau's brief article in *RE* says nothing specific about chronology, though its description of Pronomos as the teacher of Alkibiades draws attention to the best item in the dossier to approximate a birth-date.[8] The source – the late fourth-century Douris of Samos (*FGrHist* 76 F29) – is not too far distant from the period; and its author claimed descent from Alkibiades (*FGrHist* 76 T3 = Plut. *Alc*. 32), so may be thought to have been (or at least to have been concerned to appear) well informed about details of his life.

Given that Alkibiades was born *c*. 450, Pronomos as his elder and teacher ought to have been born *c*. 470, or perhaps a little earlier.[9] As to a terminal date, we know that Pronomos' son Oiniades helped the Athenian tribes Oineis and Pandionis to joint victory at the Thargelia in the men's choral contest in 384/3; he did the same for the boys of Erekhtheus and Antiokhis thirty years later, in 354/3.[10] The khoregic inscriptions recording these performances uniquely give Oiniades a patronymic – Προνόμου, 'son of Pronomos' – rather than the ethnic that was the epigraphic 'rule' for pipers.[11] This shows that 'Pronomos' was 'A Name' in Athens by 384. In fact, it suggests that he was very probably dead. *c*. 470 to *c*. 390 are therefore, I suggest, the most plausible dates for Pronomos on the available evidence.[12]

This simple conclusion may come as a surprise. For the Pronomos Vase has had the effect of distorting our (largely unarticulated) view of the period in which Pronomos lived and worked. Its dating has been the subject of considerable attention. The last decade of the fifth century, or *c*. 400, is the *opinio communis*.[13] In *c*. 400 Pronomos will have been around seventy years old. The Pronomos of the Vase is a beardless youth.

[7] See Wilson (forthcoming), in a volume of essays to be published by Oliver Taplin as the product of a conference held in Oxford in September 2006 under the auspices of the *Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama* – 'Pronomos, his vase and its world'.

[8] Geisau (1957) col. 748. Stephanis is content simply to place him in the fifth century: Stephanis (1988) no. 2149.

[9] Alkibiades' birth: *APF* 18.

[10] *SEG* 18.66; *SEG* 26.220; Stephanis (1988) no. 1932.

[11] *Cf*. Wilson (2000) 214-15.

[12] If the reference to a Pronomos at Ar. *Eccl*. 102 is to the Theban piper, it may imply he was alive at the date of production, generally placed *c*. 391. Commentators have resisted the identification: Ussher (1973) 89; Sommerstein (1998) 148; Vetta (1989) 153. Onomastic and other considerations very much favour it. I make the case in Wilson (forthcoming).

[13] See the bibliography cited in n.6 above; *cf*., e.g. recently, Cordano (2004) 318 on the *floruit* of Pronomos: 'tra il 425 e il 400'. The situation is complicated on any view that sees the image in question on the Vase as directly derivative from or closely modelled upon a painting (*pinax*) dedicated to commemorate a particular theatrical (tragic-satyric) victory. This complication is, however, limited by the fact that the dating of the Vase is predominantly made on stylistic grounds. The possibility that the Pronomos of the Vase is depicted, *c*. 400, as a youth is because it is a copy of an image made of Pronomos *as* a youth, *c*. 450, seems remote. The theory of mechanical copying of such a hypothetical image (for which see, e.g., von Prott (1891); Hauser (1905) 34-41; Bulle (1934); Bulle (1937)) is doubtful, as is the underlying premise of the existence of realistic portraiture in vase-painting. However, see Csapo (forthcoming) for a full discussion

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Two principal alternatives suggest themselves: the Pronomos of the Vase is not the famous Pronomos of the literary tradition. Or, the image on the Vase is indeed of the famous Pronomos but, far from being a portrait image, it obeys what appears to be an iconographic convention that dictates a youthful beardlessness to all manner of figures in the theatrical and musical world.[14] The latter conclusion is to be preferred.[15] The convention of youthful idealization strongly urges it, as does the general magnificence of the image on the Vase, and the fact that it concentrates its attention so markedly on the piper, who is very evidently represented as a celebrity.

We know of the statue of Pronomos in Thebes and of the epigram that almost certainly accompanied it only through the literary tradition (inevitably perhaps, given the history of Thebes). But that tradition appears to have transmitted the epigram in full, along with a rough idea of the nature of the monument.[16] Describing his tour of the Theban *akropolis*, Pausanias writes (as though it were present before his eyes): 'There is a statue of Pronomos, a man who played the *aulos* in a most entrancing way for the masses' (ἀνδριάς τέ ἐστι Προνόμου ἀνδρὸς αὐλήσαντος ἐπαγωγότατα ἐς τοὺς πολλούς). There follows a brief recital of a number of Pronomos' more remarkable achievements, and then Pausanias concludes his paragraph on the musician, in good ring-composition, by returning to the statue: 'So the Thebans set this [the statue of Pronomos] up on this spot, and likewise one of Epaminondas son of Polymnis' (τοῦτόν τε οὖν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδαν τὸν Πολύμνιδος ἀνέθεσαν, Paus. 9.12.5-6). Pausanias does not quote the inscription that accompanied this statue, but there is an epigram, known from a number of different sources, whose archetype doubtless formed part of the original design of this monument. Dio Chrysostom (*Or*. 7.121) tells the story of the post-destruction survivors of Thebes who prized their city's supremacy in *auletike* so highly that they sought out from the ruined sanctuaries and inscriptions on the Kadmeia one thing only: 'the Herm … on which there was inscribed the epigram concerning *auletike*' (it is noteworthy that Dio's expression already implies that this epigram was well known).[17] 'And now this is the one single monument standing among the ruins at the centre of the ancient agora' (καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγορᾶς ἓν τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἕστηκεν ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις). Dio does not mention Pronomos. He quotes only one line of poetry (a hexameter):

῾Ελλὰς μὲν Θήβας νικᾶν προέκρινεν ἐν αὐλοῖς

Greece adjudged Thebes the victor in pipes.

However, it suited Dio's rhetorical aims at this point to stress Theban collective memory and pride rather than that of any famous individual. And his use of the term ἄγαλμα for the herm points in the direction of a statue. Moreover, the inscription as he quotes it must be incomplete. The unanswered particle μέν would have to be a very rare Classical example of an emphatic usage. An epigram would be extremely unlikely to show a μέν *solitarium*, leaving an unex-

of the relationship between the image on the Pronomos Vase and its possible model in 'a truly creative and expansive work of choregic dedicatory art'.

[14] In iconography, dramatic khoreuts are always beardless and, from around 430 on, actors, poets and pipers normally are too. I owe clarification on this matter to Eric Csapo, who is planning a full discussion.

[15] The former conclusion has to my knowledge been raised only by the editors of *LGPN* vol. 3B, and then to the very discreet and indirect degree that they hesitate to identify the piper from the Vase (their Pronomos iii) with the Pronomos mentioned as the father of the piper Oiniades in Athenian inscriptions (their Pronomos ii). It remains true that, if the 'famous' Pronomos had a second son (other than Oiniades), it would conform with onomastic practice if he were named after his father, Pronomos. This would give us a Pronomos, son of Pronomos, who was a youth *c*. 400, and so a potential candidate for the Pronomos represented on the Vase.

[16] I shall not introduce the hypothetical design of the statue to my comparison of the epigram with that on the funerary monument of Potamon; see n.2 above.

[17] Dio Chrys. *Or*. 7.121: ταύτην δὲ τὴν νίκην οὕτω σφόδρα ἠγάπησαν, ὥστε ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς γενομένης καὶ ἔτι νῦν σχεδὸν οὔσης πλὴν μικροῦ μέρους, τῆς Καδμείας [οἰκουμένης], τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ἐφρόντισαν τῶν ἠφανισμένων ἀπὸ πολλῶν μὲν ἱερῶν, πολλῶν δὲ στηλῶν καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν, τὸν δὲ ῾Ερμῆν ἀναζητήσαντες πάλιν ἀνώρθωσαν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ περὶ τῆς αὐλητικῆς.

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pressed antithesis suspended in this way.[18] In any case, the transmission of a couplet with a first line identical to the one quoted by Dio as good as rules out an entirely independent existence for that first line.

The couplet is preserved in the Planudean Anthology (*Anth. Pal*. 16.28), described there as 'anonymous, on the statue of Pronomos the Theban piper':

> Ἑλλὰς μὲν Θήβας νικᾶν προέκρινεν ἐν αὐλοῖς·
> Θῆβαι δὲ Προνόμον, παῖδα τὸν Οἰνιάδου.
>
> Greece adjudged Thebes the victor in pipes;
> And Thebes, Pronomos, the son of Oiniades.

With its second line present (a pentameter), the point of the contrast (or rather, parallelism) set up by Ἑλλὰς μέν becomes clear: just as Greece made a judgement in *auletike* in favour of Thebes, so Thebes in turn made such a judgement among its own various masters of the art, in favour of Pronomos. Pronomos may have been above all a travelling musician and Thebes' most famous export of his day on the panhellenic circuit, but the city is careful to claim him as her own, in the simple chiastic hierarchy of the couplet, and with the gentle emphasis of its decelerating pentameter. The epigram best suits a commemorative monument erected by the city at the end of a career – and, very probably, at the end of the piper's life. Its talk of victory is generalized and abstract rather than specific. It is not an agonistic victory-dedication on the occasion of a particular success.

It is not easy to date such a monument. Page thought it likely that the Thebans would have taken 'special measures to commemorate him (whether with a real or an epideictic inscription)' no later than the mid-third century. He was inclined to place the epigram in the fourth.[19] Whether or not we credit the story of the post-Alexandrian Thebans' rescue of this monument, it is I would argue most likely to have been erected soon after, and because of, the death of Pronomos – that is, as early as *c*. 390.

In his attempt to date Pronomos' epigram, Page did not mention another epigram, preserved on stone, from the first half of the fourth century. This, I believe, proves that by that date Pronomos' inscription was famous.

The grave-stele of Potamon of Thebes, son of Olympikhos – both father and son *auletai* – survives largely intact.[20] It was found near Phaleron in 1902. Broken at the top, the stone is 0.88m. high and 0.33m wide. It has a relief carving of the deceased son, pipes in left hand, grasping the right hand of his (bearded) father Olympikhos, who is seated on a *klismos* almost identical to that on which Pronomos sits on the Vase (PLATE 4). And, like the Pronomos of the Vase, Potamon the piper is beardless on his grave-stele.[21] Olympikhos also holds pipes in his left hand. The monument may have been erected, or in some way modified, by Potamon's wife, Patrokleia, whose name and relation to Potamon appear under the epigram, in an (apparently non-metrical) line inscribed in larger letters and at a slightly later date than it: Πατρόκλεια Ποτάμωνος γυνή.[22] Perhaps more likely, however, is that it was her subsequent death that resulted in the addition of her name thus to the monument.[23] All editors of the epigram and art historians have dated the monu-

[18] Denniston (1950) 364 on emphatic μέν, 380-4 on the conditions of usage for μέν *solitarium*.

[19] Page (1981) 330.

[20] The first publication of the stele was by Kastriotes (1903); now National Museum, Athens inv. 1962. Clairmont 2.235 = (1993-95) 2.174-5, with further bibliography. The inscription: *IG* II^2 8883 = Peek, *GVI* 894 = *CEG* 2.509. See Roesch (1989) 207; Wilson (2002) 49-50.

[21] Clairmont (1993-95) 2.175.

[22] Kirchner in *IG*: 'vs. 5 postmodo aditus est'. This ensures the correct restoration of Potamon's name in l. 2, which is there carved in error as ΠΟΥΑΜΩΝΙ. Clairmont (1993-95) 2.174 believes that the names of Potamon and Olympikhos may have been inscribed on the lost moulding above their heads.

[23] This suggestion appears not to have been made. In his important discussion of the monument, Clairmont (1993-95) 2.174-5 does not raise it.

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ment to a period before 350, with the majority preferring the early years of the fourth century.[24]

Potamon had evidently taken up residence in Athens as a metic, doubtless at least in part because of the greater professional opportunities that city's musical industry afforded. He was not the only one to do so.[25]

The epigram:

> Ἑλλὰς μὲν πρωτεῖα τέχνης αὐλῶν ἀπένειμεν
> Θηβαίωι Πο⟨τ⟩άμωνι, τάφος δ' ὅδε δέξατο σῶμα·
> πατρὸς δὲ μνήμαισιν Ὀλυνπίχου αὔξετ' ἔπαινος
> οἷον ἐτέκνωσεμ παῖδα σοφοῖς βάσανον.
>
> Greece awarded first prize in the craft of pipes
> to Potamon of Thebes. This tomb has received his body.
> In our recollections, praise for his father Olympikhos will grow
> for having fathered such a son, a touchstone for the discerning.

The decision to represent father and son in this way testifies eloquently to the family's professional pride in their music and its importance to their identity – perhaps especially as metics in Athens. The description of Potamon as a βάσανον for the *sophoi* – a 'touchstone for the discerning' – gently, and perhaps unconsciously, appropriates the language of *sophia* for the musician's craft, as though in riposte to the influential critical discourse according to which *auletike* was a byword for ignorance.[26] At the same time the epigram does not eschew the language of craft (l. 1: τέχνης αὐλῶν). To judge from the inscription (and the general quality of the monument, which is high[27]), Potamon was among the most accomplished and distinguished practitioners of *auletike* in his day (at the very least, in the eyes of his wife).[28]

The parallels with the epigram for Pronomos are striking. In general terms, both epigrams talk of critical adjudication in the skills of *auletike*; and both assign first place in that to a (different) Theban. At the level of exact verbal equivalence is the *incipit* of both poems: Ἑλλὰς μέν. Given the natural prominence of opening phrases of poems, and the ancient habit of identifying works by reference to them, this, I suggest, represents a direct echo. This particular verbal collocation (Ἑλλὰς followed directly by μέν) is in any case exceedingly (and surprisingly) rare. There are no other recorded epigraphic examples, and only a couple in all the literary texts of the *TLG*; and only one of those is in a poetic text.[29] Moreover, the first two syllables of the second line in both epigrams are also the same – Θηβαι- : they form the word Θῆβαι in Pronomos', and the start of Θηβαίωι in Potamon's; while the δέ that immediately follows Θῆβαι in the former also appears, if not quite immediately, in the latter.[30] It seems an inescapable conclusion that

[24] Kastriotes (1903) 135: Ἀνάγεται, ὡς ἐκ τοὺ σχήματος τῶν γραμμάτων καταφαίνεται, εἰς τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους τῆς Δ΄ ἑκατονταετηρίδος. Kirchner in *IG*: 'ante med. s. IV'. Regner (1953) col. 1028: 'auf den Anfang des 4. Jhdts. v. Chr. schließen'.

[25] *Cf*., e.g., the Theban (? metic) Damasias who in the middle of the fourth century was honoured by the deme Eleusis in *IG* II^2 1186 for 'preparing at his own expense' and 'giving specially to Demeter, Kore and Dionysos' two choruses (one of boys, one of men), 'so that the Dionysia might be exceedingly fair'. *Cf*. Wilson (2000) 244, 374-5 n.150.

[26] See especially Csapo (2004). Note the way in which the 'new musician' Telestes is clearly very self-conscious in his manipulation of the language of *sophia* as regards the *aulos*: *PMG* 805a.1-2; 805b. Kastriotes (1903) 135 compares Xen. *Anab*. 1.2.8, a reference to Apollo's contest with Marsyas περὶ σοφίας.

[27] Clairmont (1993-95) 2.75.

[28] Regner (1953) col. 1027. However, see above p. 145 for the suggestion that Patrokleia's presence is likely to suggest her subsequent death and inclusion in the monument, not a role as its dedicator or renovator. See Vierneisel and Scholl (2002) for discussion of a fourth-century Attic relief dedication possibly to be related to the Dionysia of Brauron, which has five comic masks above the dedicating group, which is led by a robed adult male who holds *auloi*: Munich Glyptothek 552. The authors argue that this was erected by the piper's wife.

[29] The poetic example is from the third-century comic poet Posidippus: *PCG* 7.30.

[30] If we understand the μέν-clause of l. 1 in Potamon's epigram to be answered by the δέ-clause of l. 2 (rather than that in l. 3), the contrast appears to be one of panhellenic versus local: while Potamon has a reputation for truly panhellenic pre-eminence in *auletike*, his

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whoever designed this monument and composed its epigram was drawing on knowledge of the epigram for Pronomos on the *akropolis* of Thebes. And it suggests (what is in any case plausible) that the epigram on the monument for Pronomos was well known in the early fourth century – certainly among Theban émigrés in the game.

The differences in Potamon's poetic representation are equally revealing. While Pronomos' epigram refers to the adjudication of victory or supremacy in pipes to Pronomos by Thebes – *sc.* νικᾶν προέκρινεν (l. 2) – that of Potamon uses the analogous but somewhat less common (and perhaps more 'literary') language of ordinal prize-allocation – πρωτεῖα ... ἀπένειμεν.[31]

Most striking of all is the marked one-upmanship of the later poem. Expanded formally from a single elegiac couplet to a pair of hexameters followed by a couplet, Potamon's epigram says Greece awarded first place directly to the piper. It is not the 'delegated' critical authority of Thebes that does so, as was the case with Pronomos. This looks like a claim on Potamon's behalf for a *greater* panhellenic reputation.[32]

Potamon's epigram also amplifies its model in the way it elaborates upon the relation between father and son:

> In our recollections, praise for his father Olympikhos will grow
> for having fathered such a son, a touchstone for the discerning.

The glory of the son redounds to that of the father. This entirely normative *topos* has a special value here, for as was common within the musical and theatrical *tekhnai*, Potamon doubtless learned his craft from his father, and so his success in it can be said to reflect very directly on father and teacher.[33] But the extended reference to two generations of pipers may cast another, very deliberate, glance towards his more famous Theban colleague. For Pronomos' epigram concludes with the simple expression of the filial relation: παῖδα τὸν Οἰνιάδου, 'the son of Oiniades'. It is likely that Pronomos' father Oiniades had also been a piper. His grandson, Oiniades, certainly was.[34] While there is nothing more common than this use of the papponym,

final remains are in the single place of the tomb, here before the viewer in Athens. The fact that this contrast is not entirely effective may be a sign of the hand of the poet who has adopted the *incipit* of Pronomos' epigram but not been very successful in creating a meaningful contrast for it in its new context. It is more difficult still to see a strong contrast with the δέ of l. 3: between the fame won by the son in life from Greece and the praise of the father, which is yet to grow?

[31] The examples closest in date to this inscription are from Demosthenes (18.66, 203: 330 BC) and Plato (*Phlb*. 22e, 33c). Demosthenes speaks of the way his country 'always contended for the first prize both in honour and glory' (ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα). The Hellenistic poet Lobo gives the first example of a specifically musical or theatrical reference, with a *tekhne* specified, and in a (pseudo-) funerary context: *On Poets*, *SH* 519 *in Sophoclem*: κρύπτω τῶιδε τάφωι Σοφοκλῆ πρωτεῖα λαβόντα / τῆι τραγικῆι τέχνηι, σχῆμα τὸ σεμνότατον. Epigraphic attestation in agonistic contexts begins much later: πρωτεῖα is restored with some confidence at *IG* II/III^2 2328.3, a fragment of an Athenian agonistic catalogue of the first century AD. It appears in *IG* II/III^2 thus: - ι[ ]λίους - - - - /- - - - ον ἐπὶ Γαίου καὶ Λουκίου ε - /[πρωτεῖα -] δευτερεῖα δύο, τριτεῖα δύο, τ - /- - - ος, Ἀμφιετίδης, Ἀρχικλῆς, Ἡρακλ - /[5]- - - ς, Ἐπικτᾶς, Ἐπαφρόδειτος - /- - - νικος Φ vac. Discussion of this inscription has focused on its date and the identity of the Gaius and Lucius in l. 2. The nature of its contest is unknown, but an Ampheotides (*sic*) and Arkhikles (*cf.* l. 4), brothers and well-born Lakkiadai, were chorus-members in the celebrated Dionysian chorus organized under the archonship and *agonothesia* of G. Iulius Antiochus Philopappus between 85/6 and 92/3: *IG* II/III^2 3112.15-16; Stephanis (1988) nos. 229, 442. The identification was made by Kapetanopoulos (1974) 393; good discussion now in Follet and Peppas Delmousou (2001) 97-8, 116. In the second century AD, πρωτεῖα is used of prizes offered in games funded by C. Iulius Demosthenes of Oinoanda, including contests in pipe-playing, *komoidoi* and *tragoidoi*: *SEG* 38.1462.41-4.

[32] West (1992) 366 n.39 concludes (apparently) from this expression that Potamon was victor at the Pythia. He simply lists Potamon among Theban pipers thus: 'Olympichus' son Potamon, who won at the Pythian festival (*CEG* 509)'. The language seems to me to be too imprecise necessarily to imply a Pythian victory, especially in the absence of any other indication (such as a crown).

[33] Scheithauer (1997); Sutton (1987) on theatrical families.

[34] Bélis (1999) 266 thinks it likely that Oiniades senior was also a piper. Oiniades junior: see p. 143 above and Stephanis (1988) no.1932.

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in this case it may also signal a continuity of familial profession across the generations. What is more, as I have indicated, Oiniades son of Pronomos was active and successful as a piper in Athens in the 380s. Potamon may well have known him as a younger peer, as he will surely have known of his father. For the lives and careers of Pronomos and Potamon will have substantially overlapped.

In the case of Pronomos, there was no doubt that the son had outshone the father. With Potamon the situation is less clear-cut. The grave-stele tells us all that we know of Potamon and his career. He is never mentioned in the literary tradition or otherwise in the epigraphic record. Potamon's father has, however, been plausibly identified as a piper known from the circle of Pindar. We have it on the authority of the Alexandrian scholar Aristodemos, a student of Aristarkhos and himself a native of Thebes, that a piper by the name of Olympikhos was taught by Pindar.[35] The chronology would suit the father of Potamon perfectly, and the identification is widely accepted.[36] Potamon's monument may seek to displace Pronomos from his position as the most celebrated piper that Greece had ever seen. But its attempt to do so lays much greater weight on the familial tradition, a tradition whose links to the most famous Theban musician of all time may have been a powerful, if submerged, element in its rhetorical endeavour.

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[35] Σ Pind. *P*. 3.137b: Ἀριστόδημός φησιν Ὀλυμπίχου αὐλητοῦ διδασκομένου ὑπὸ Πινδάρου … ('Aristodemos says that, when Olympikhos the piper was being taught by Pindar …'). Aristodemos (*FGrHist* 383, *c*. 150/130) wrote a commentary on Pindar (Athen. 11.495f) and at least one work on Theban antiquity, possibly based on epigraphic study: Σ Apoll. *Arg*. 2.904 refers to ἐν πρώτωι τῶν Θηβαικῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ('in the first book of Theban *epigrammata*'); *cf*. Phot. Suid. τ429.) *Cf*. Radtke (1901); Negri (2004) 112, 114; Stephanis (1988) no.1938.

[36] Chronological fit and acceptance of the identification: Kastriotes (1903) 135; Wilamowitz (1922) 270; Regner (1953) col. 1028, though with doubts that Olympikhos was taught by Pindar. His arguments on this point (the lack of reference to his having been a pupil of Pindar's in this inscription, for instance) are weak. Stephanis (1988) would interpret the expression of Aristodemos to mean that Olympikhos was a performer of works by Pindar ['= ἐκτελεστὴς ἔργου τοῦ Π.']. The name is far from rare. *LGPN* (online) records a total of 143; vol. 3B, which includes Thebes, has 54.

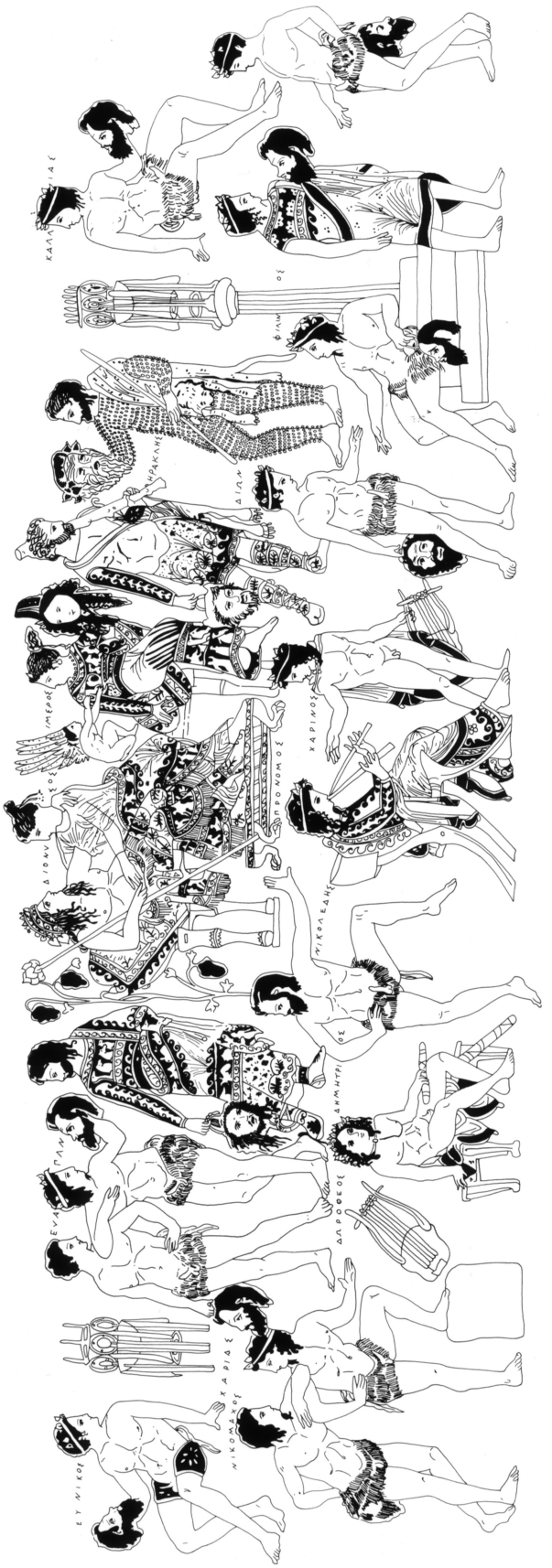
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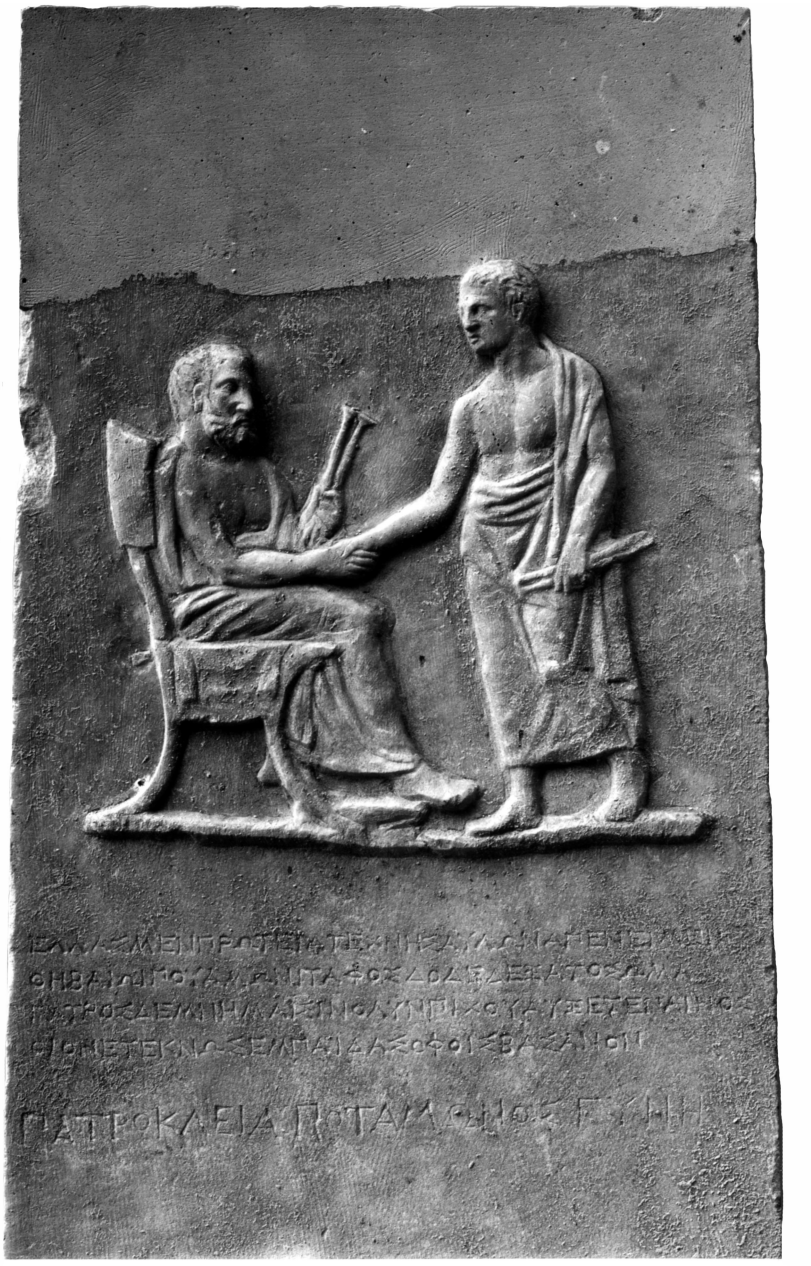
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A drawing of the principal image on the Pronomos Vase
(Attic red-figure volute-krater from Ruvo di Puglia, *c.* 400 BC;
now Naples, Museo Nazionale 3240 inv. no. 81673)
(drawing: E.R. Malyon)

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Relief-carving of the piper Potamon of Thebes and his father Olympikhos, with epigram (*CEG* 2.509) (early fourth-century grave stele from near Phaleron, Athens; National Museum, Athens inv. no. 1962) (photograph: Eva-Maria Czakó, DAI Athens, neg. D-DAI-ATH-NM 486; all rights reserved)

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