

## AN ARGIVE DECREE FROM NEMEA CONCERNING ASPENDOS

(PLATE 47)

EXCAVATIONS in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea have revealed that in numbers of inscriptions discovered this Panhellenic shrine is more like Isthmia than its other two counterparts, Olympia and Delphi. The two sites in the northeastern Peloponnesos have produced between them only a modest collection of inscribed texts compared with the thousands of documents which fill the volumes of *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, *Fouilles de Delphes: Tome III, Épigraphie*, and their various supplements. Recent work at Nemea by the University of California at Berkeley has not dramatically altered this picture, but a few interesting inscriptions have been recovered in the last several years.<sup>1</sup> I here publish in preliminary form one of the more important of these, a decree of Argos concerning the Pamphylian state of Aspendos.<sup>2</sup>

The text of this decree survives on three joining fragments of a stele of hard, gray limestone which were excavated from an ancient well near the southwest corner of the Temple of Zeus (grid: K 14). In a preliminary report on this well, the Field Director, S. G. Miller, noted that the three fragments lay at a level of -6.50 to -7.80 m. in a dumped filling which is probably to be dated in the second half of the 3rd century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions from Nemea are published in *IG IV*, 479–488; *SEG XI*, 290–295; *XXIII*, 178–185; *XXV*, 356, 357; *XXVI*, 419–421; *XXVIII*, 391, 392; *XXIX*, 347–353; *XXX*, 351–353. Several other texts are briefly mentioned in the preliminary reports of Stephen G. Miller, *Hesperia* 44–51, 1975–1982, and Stella G. Miller, *Hesperia* 53, 1984.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

<i>BCH</i> , Suppl. VI	= <i>BCH</i> , Supplement VI, <i>Études argiennes I</i> , Paris 1980
<i>ISE I</i>	= L. Moretti, <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> , Florence 1967
<i>Lindos II</i>	= C. Blinkenburg, <i>Lindos</i> , II, i, <i>Inscriptions</i> , Berlin/Copenhagen 1941
<i>LSAG</i>	= L. H. Jeffery, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> , Oxford 1961
Meiggs and Lewis, <i>GHI</i>	= R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> , Oxford 1969

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to my colleague Stephen G. Miller for permission to publish this inscription and for much helpful counsel. Patricia Felch and Paula Perlman provided me with excellent squeezes of the stone which were of great help in establishing the text. I have studied the stone on two occasions in the Museum at Nemea. Since the surface is badly worn and the letters very faint, photographs have been of little help in making readings. The drawing on Figure 1 was made by tracing the letters from squeezes and checking them against the readings I made from the stone.

For reading an earlier draft of this paper and saving me from many errors my thanks are due to C. Habicht, C. Kritzas, M. Piérart, V. Kontorini, P. Perlman, and Stephen G. Miller. I have in many cases shamelessly incorporated their good suggestions into the text without acknowledgement.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 77–81, pl. 22:b.

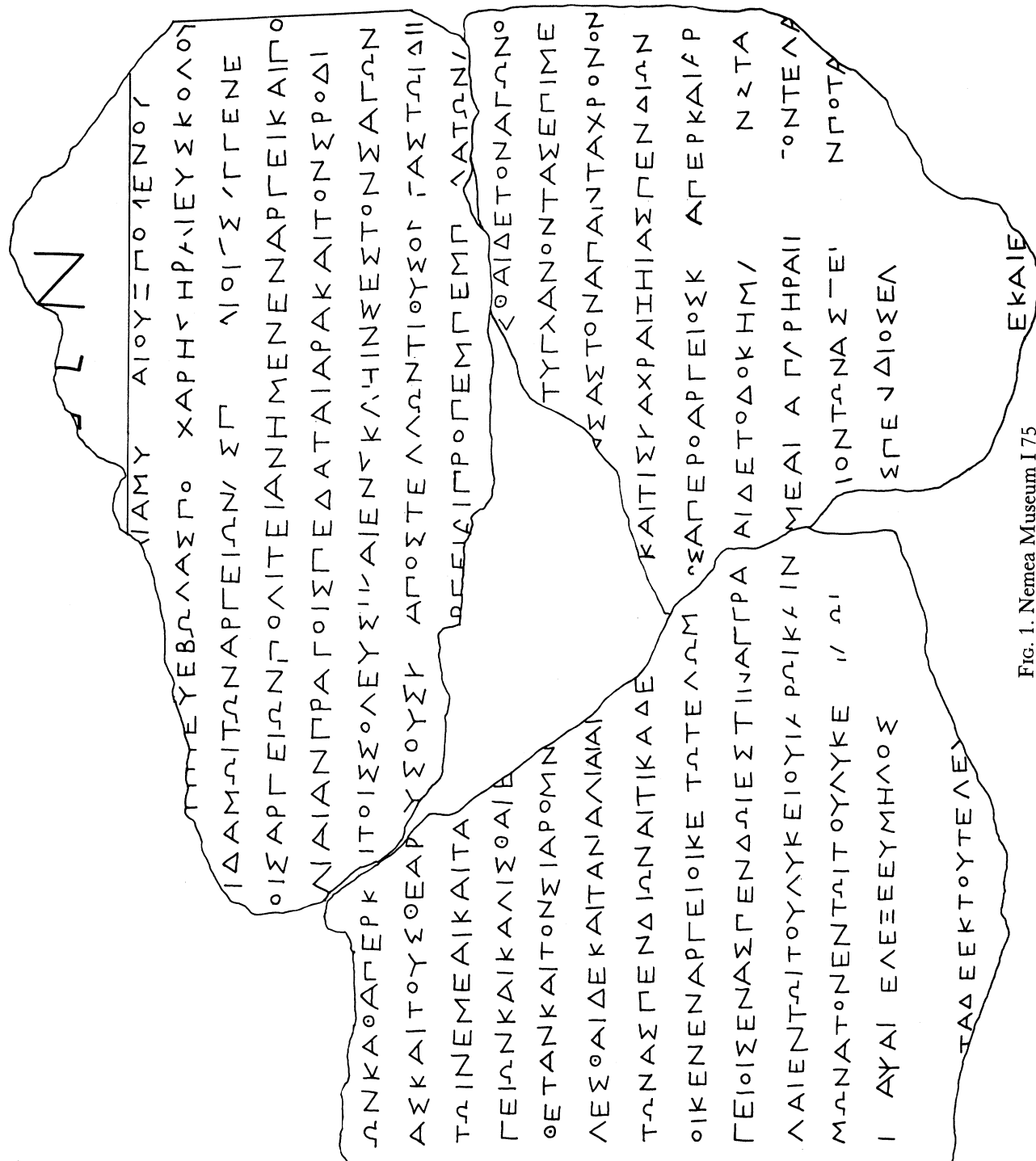


Fig. 1. Nemea Museum I 75

Three joining fragments of hard, gray limestone from the upper part of a stele. Broken at top and bottom; part of the original sides and roughly dressed back preserved. The larger letters of line 1 were inscribed on a slightly raised molding.

Height, 0.52 m. Width, top 0.565 m., bottom 0.58 m. Thickness, 0.134 m.

Height of letters, line 1, 0.03 m., lines 2–21, 0.01 m. Height of interlinear space, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Nemea Museum I 75

- [-----*ca.* 7-9-----]ΩΝ
- [Θεός. Τύχαι. Ἀλιαίαι ἔδοξε τελεῖ|αι, Ἀμυ|κλ|αίου ἐπομένονυ  
 [. . . .*ca.* 11. . . . ἀ]ρή|τενε βωλᾶς Πο|λυ|χάρης Ἑ|ραιεὺς Κολου-  
 [ρίς· ἔδοξε τῶ]ι δάμωι τῶν Ἀργείων· Ἀσπ[εν]δίους συγγενέ-  
 5 [σι καὶ *ca.* 5.]οις Ἀργείων πολιτείαν ἤμεν ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ πό-  
 [τοδον ποτ ἀ]λιαίαν πράτοις πεδὰ τὰ ἱαρά καὶ τὸνς Ῥοδί-  
 ων ? καθάπερ κ[α]ὶ τοῖς Σολεῦσι καὶ ΕΝΣΚΛΗΙΝΣ ἐς τὸνς ἀγῶν-  
 ας· καὶ τοὺς θεαρ[ο]ύς οὓς κ[α]ὶ ἀποστέλλωντι θύσοντας τῶι Διὶ  
 τῶι Νεμέαι καὶ τᾶι Ἑ|ραι τᾶι Ἀ|ργεῖαι προπέμπεμ π[ε]δὰ τῶν Ἀ[ρ]-  
 10 γείων καὶ καλῖσθαι Ε[. . . .*ca.* 11. . . . ἐπιμέλε]σθαι δὲ τὸν ἀγωνο-  
 θέταν καὶ τὸνς ἱερομν[ά]μονας τὸνς ἀεὶ ἀντι|τυγχάνοντας· ἐπιμέ-  
 λεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰν ἀλιαίαν [. . . .*ca.* 13. . . .]ΝΣΑΣ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον  
 τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, αἵ τί κα δέ[ωνται]· καὶ τίς κα χράιζηι Ἀσπενδίων  
 οἰκῆν ἐν Ἀργεὶ, οἰκε[ί]τω τελώμ[εν]ος ἅπερ ὁ Ἀργεῖος, κ[αθ]άπερ καὶ Ἀρ-  
 15 γείοις ἐν Ἀσπένδωι ἔστιν· ἀγγρά[ψ]αι δὲ τὸ δόκημα [τόδε ἐ]ν στά-  
 λαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Λυκείου ἱαρῶι καὶ Ν[ε]μέαι [κ]α[ὶ] πᾶρ Ἑ|ραι π[ο]τ τὸν τελα-  
 μῶνα τὸν ἐν τῶι τοῦ Λυκε[ί]ου ἱα[ρ]ῶι [τὸν δα]μον τῶν Ἀσπεν[δ]ίων ποτα[να]-  
 γ[ρ]άψαι <sup>ν</sup> ἔλεξε Εὐμήλος [. . . .*ca.* 11-13. . . .]Ἀσπένδιος ΕΛ[-----]  
 traces? --- *vacat* 0.03 m.
- 20 [. 4-5.]ΤΑΔΕ ἐκ τοῦ τελευ[-----] traces? [-----]  
 [-----*ca.* 33-35-----]Ε καὶ Ε[-----*ca.* 11-12-----]

### EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

Line 2: Of the first preserved letter only the bottom of a diagonal stroke is visible in the lower right corner of the letter space. Only the top and bottom horizontal strokes of the dotted epsilon survive.

Line 3: In the first preserved letter space there remains only the bottom of a vertical stroke at what appears to be the left side of the space. It is followed by the bottoms of two verticals which can be interpreted as the lower part of eta or nu or perhaps parts of two separate letters. In the next stoichos there is only the bottom of a centered vertical.

Line 4: Only the left diagonal stroke of the dotted alpha and the right diagonal and the apex of the dotted delta are visible. Of the dotted upsilon only part of a diagonal stroke survives in the top right corner of the stoichos.

Line 6: The left half of the horizontal stroke of the dotted tau is not visible.

Line 9: Of the dotted rho only the top half is visible. It is followed by a horizontal stroke across the top of the letter space joined at the left by the top of a vertical. Only the apex of the dotted delta survives at the top of the letter space, and in the penultimate stoichos in this line there is the left diagonal stroke of a triangular letter.

Line 12: Only the left vertical stroke of the dotted nu is visible.

Line 14: Of the dotted omicron only a small fragment of the arc is visible at the top of the damaged letter space.

Line 15: Only the left diagonal of the dotted alpha has survived.

Line 16: Of the dotted alpha only the left diagonal and the apex are preserved. The left vertical is all that is visible of the dotted pi. In the top right corner of the seventh letter space from the end of this line there is the free standing tip of a horizontal stroke.

Line 17: Of the two dotted letters ΙΑ there survive the tip of a vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter space and the left diagonal of the next letter. After the omega there is the top of a centered vertical. Only the right diagonal stroke of the dotted mu has survived. Of the dotted pi there is preserved only a horizontal stroke along the top of the letter space. There appears to be part of a vertical stroke in the top left corner of the letter space where I have read a dotted nu.

Line 18: Only the vertical stroke of the dotted gamma is visible.

Line 20: In the top left corner of the letter space after ΤΕΛΕ there survives the top of a diagonal stroke which could only be part of upsilon or psi.

### COMMENTARY

**Line 1:** Between the final nu and the right side of the stone there is an uninscribed margin of 0.12 m. If we posit a symmetrical margin at the (now lost) left side, the word to be restored in this line would occupy 0.565 m. (width of stele) minus (0.12 m. + 0.12 m. = ) 0.24 m. (margins) = 0.325 m. Since only the two final letters of the word are preserved on the stone, we have available only one measurement of 0.055 m. for the width of a letter, measured on centers. A word occupying 0.325 m. in width ought then to contain  $0.325 \text{ m.} \div 0.055 \text{ m.} = 5.9$  or 6 letters. If one of the letters was iota, it might be possible to restore a word of 7 letters, i.e. [Ἀργεῖ]ων.

If we do not posit a margin of 0.12 m. at the left side of the stele, the space available for line 1 would be  $0.565 \text{ m.} - 0.12 \text{ m.} = 0.445 \text{ m.}$  A word of this width ought to contain  $0.445 \text{ m.} \div 0.055 \text{ m.} = 8$  letters. If one of the letters was iota, not occupying a full letter space, it would be possible to restore a word of 9 letters, i.e. [Ἀσπενδί]ων. Both ethnics might appropriately stand together at the top of a stele which records an agreement between the two states, i.e. [συμπολιτεία Ἀσπενδίων καὶ Ἀργεῖ]ων. Parallels, however, seem to be lacking for a heading of this type at Argos. Two-line headings inscribed in larger letters are found on a few Argive decrees,<sup>4</sup> but much more common are headings which occupy a single line and give the name of the honored individual or state in the genitive case, as in *SEG* XIX, 317, Ῥοδίων, and at least 12 other examples. It seems preferable, then, to restore [Ἀσπενδί]ων in line 1 and to assume that only a little is missing at the top of the stele.

**Line 2:** Since the approximate length of line can be established lower down in the text where the full width of the stone is preserved, the number of letters missing at the beginning here can be set at *ca.* 25. This leaves ample room before the name of the month Ἀμυ[κλ]αίου for restoration of the normal enactment formula, the last two letters of which are probably ΑΙ. Customarily in Argive decrees the month name in the genitive case follows immediately upon the last word of the enactment formula (τελείαι). The only exceptions to this rule are found in *SEG* XIX, 317, Ἀλιαῖαι ἔδοξε τελείαι, ἀμβολίμωι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγνιήου, Καρνείου ἡνάται πράται, and *SEG* XI, 1084, Ἀλιαῖαι ἔδοξε τελείαι, ἀμ[β]ολίμ<ωι> ἐκ τοῦ Τελέου, Ἀρνείου ἡνάται, but there clearly is no room for this kind of formula in our line 1. The day

<sup>4</sup> *SEG* XIII, 240, 243; M. Piérart and J.-P. Thalmann, "Nouvelles inscriptions argiennes," *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 256, no. 1. For a possible heading of more than two lines see *SEG* XXVI, 426.

on which an Argive decree was passed always follows the name of the month, so that in this instance it probably stood at the beginning of line 3.<sup>5</sup> Since the normal enactment formula does not occupy the full space of 25 letters before the name of the month, we might tentatively restore [Θεός. Τύχαι.] at the beginning of line 2, as in the decree published in *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 269, no. 4. For Θεός alone immediately before the enactment formula and not in a heading, see the decrees published in *Mnemosyne* 43, 1915, p. 377, no. 6; *SEG* XI, 1084; XVII, 141, 142 (restored), 143.

This is the second attestation of the month Amyklaios at Argos.<sup>6</sup> Nine of the twelve Argive month names are now known, and some sequences have been established, but the position of Amyklaios in the Argive year remains unknown.<sup>7</sup> The participle ἐπομένου which modifies Amyklaios is new to Argive calendric terminology, and I have not found a parallel elsewhere for this word modifying the name of a month. The most obvious meaning is “following”, but a translation such as “in the month of Amyklaios following” is by itself unsatisfactory.<sup>8</sup> Following what? The most obvious thing for a month to follow is another month, but since the Argives presumably knew the order of their own months, it is not immediately apparent why it was thought necessary to record a familiar sequence on stone.

There are instances in the dating formulas of their decrees, however, where the Argives did record the sequence of their months. Instead of normally inscribing the name of the month in the genitive case followed by the day in the dative case immediately after the enactment formula, the Argives in at least nine of their surviving decrees employed an extended dating formula in which two contiguous months are named in sequence. We have just quoted two examples of this formula and there are seven more.<sup>9</sup> Although their word order varies slightly, these nine texts all exhibit the word ἀμβολίμωι as a modifier of ἀλιαίαι τελείαι indicating that the assembly at which the following decree was passed continued the business of an adjourned meeting held in the previous month. Hence formulations such as ἀλιαίαι ἔδοξε τελείαι, Ἀγνιήου ἡνάται δευτάται, ἀμβολίμωι ἐκ τοῦ Πανάμων<sup>10</sup> have been interpreted to mean that the unfinished business of a *aliaia teleia* held in the month of Panamos was put over until another such assembly which took place on the 29th of

<sup>5</sup> Rarely the day is omitted and only the month is given, as in Piérart and Thalmann, *BCH*, Suppl. VI, pp. 259–260, nos. 2, 3, but these are both very short decrees which lack other normal ingredients, such as the name of the proposer of the legislation.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *BCH* 98, 1974, p. 776, no. 2.

<sup>7</sup> The most recent addition to the list of known Argive months is Γάμος in Piérart and Thalmann, *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 259, no. 2. For the Argive calendar see W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 44, 1916, pp. 48–51; A. Boethius, *Der argivische Kalender: Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift*, 1922, fasc. 1; M. Guarducci, “Un decreto di Argo ritrovato a Pallantion,” *ASAtene*, n.s. 3–5, 1941–43, pp. 145–147; P. Charneux, “Rome et la Confédération Achaïenne,” *BCH* 81, 1957, pp. 197–202; A. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, Munich 1972, pp. 90–91; Piérart and Thalmann, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> This use of the participle as modifier of the month name would seem to preclude the designation of an event within that month, such as “in the month of Amyklaios following the festival of X,” etc. Normally μετὰ with the accusative was used for such expressions, without a participle; e.g. *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 61, lines 52–53, ἐπειδὴν ἐσέλ[θει ἐ π]ρυ[ταν]εία ἐ δευτ[έρα] μετὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ νεορίῳ ἐ[δρας ἐ]ϋθ[ύς] ἐκκλεσίαν [πο]έσαντες.

<sup>9</sup> *Mnemosyne* 43, 1915, pp. 365–371, nos. A, B; pp. 371–374, no. C; *SEG* XI, 1084; XIII, 243; XVI, 249; XVII, 143; XIX, 317; XXV, 362.

<sup>10</sup> *Mnemosyne* 43, 1915, pp. 365–371, no. A.

Agyeos.<sup>11</sup> If, as has been plausibly suggested, the deferral of business from one *aliaia teleia* to another would in most cases be to the next available such meeting, it is safe to follow all other students of these prescripts in concluding that the two months named in such formulas were contiguous.<sup>12</sup>

Given the restrictions on space at the beginning of our line 3, I do not see how the words Ἄμν[κλ]αίου ἐπομένου can belong to a deferral formula of the *ambolimos* type, but the addition of the participle ἐπομένου to Amyklaios may indicate something unusual about Amyklaios or the month which preceded it. In the absence of parallels for the use of ἐπόμηνος with a month name elsewhere, we can only guess what unusual feature prompted its use here, but the most plausible explanation would seem to be some kind of calendric irregularity, such as an intercalated month or perhaps a newly named or renamed month recently added to the calendar and requiring appropriate annotation. The latter seems unlikely to me but perhaps not impossible.<sup>13</sup> Although evidence for intercalation is totally lacking in our sources for the calendar of Argos, this kind of phenomenon provides the best explanation. We may safely assume that at appropriate intervals the Argives followed the widespread practice of inserting an intercalary month into their calendar. If in the year of our decree the month immediately preceding Amyklaios had been intercalary, its name might have been recorded at the beginning of line 3 in some such formulation as “in Amyklaios which follows intercalary month X.” Or, more plausibly, Amyklaios was itself intercalary and ἐπομένου here is to be translated intransitively as the opposite of προηγούμενος; that is, the two words would have stood in the same relationship one to the other as did πρῶτος and δεύτερος/ὑστερος. These last three words were employed in calendars elsewhere to distinguish an intercalary month from the regular month of the same name which it immediately followed.<sup>14</sup> On this analogy we might cautiously suggest that our decree was passed in an intercalary month designated Ἀμυκλαῖος ἐπόμηνος which followed the regular Amyklaios.

<sup>11</sup> For this interpretation see Vollgraff, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), pp. 46–50; Guarducci, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), pp. 144–145.

<sup>12</sup> This assumption forms the backbone of all modern studies of the Argive calendar; see footnote 7 above. There is one decree in which the adjournment from one ἀλιαία τελεία to the next seems to have taken place within the same month: SEG XXV, 362, lines 2–3, ἀλιαίαι ἐ[δοξε] τελείαι, Ἀρνήου ἔκται δευτάται, ἀμβολίμωι ἐκ τᾶς τελείας.

This common practice of deferring legislation from one assembly to another at Argos has received scant attention in standard works on Greek political institutions and procedure. I find no discussion of it in Bunsolt/Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*; V. Ehrenberg, *The Greek State*; etc.

In Attic decrees ἐκ and the genitive in the enactment clause seem always to indicate a change of venue without explicitly mentioning an adjournment or a carrying over of business from one meeting to another, although this may in fact have taken place. See A. S. Henry, *Mnemosyne*, Suppl. XLIX, *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees*, Leiden 1977, pp. 38–39, 85–88, 98.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Demetrius* 26; *Alexander* 16 (Δαισίου γὰρ οὐκ εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατιάν) τοῦτο μὲν ἐπηνωρθώσατο, κελύσας δεύτερον Ἀρτεμίσιον ἄγειν. P. Charneux (*op. cit.* [footnote 7 above], pp. 198–199) discusses the ancient evidence for tampering with the Argive calendar for military purposes.

<sup>14</sup> For the contrast between the two adverbs πρῶτως/προηγούμενως and ἐπομένως see Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1030 A22; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 569 E. For πρῶτος and δεύτερος/ὑστερος used to distinguish normal and intercalary months of the same name see, e.g., Samuel, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), pp. 74, 78, 100; SEG XXX, 980 (Olbia). At Athens the intercalary month was designated as δεύτερος, ὑστερος or ἐμβόλιμος, IG II<sup>2</sup> 4, Index, p. 29; W. K. Pritchett, “The Intercalary Month at Athens,” *CP* 63, 1968, p. 53.

The day on which the decree was passed would then have been recorded in the dative case at the beginning of line 3.

**Line 3:** If my reading of the first six letters is correct, the restoration [γρο]φῆς βωλᾶς ὁ δέινα is excluded, and we have here the normal formula for the presiding officer of the council, with his phratry and kome added. Since there is no room at the beginning of this line or elsewhere in the text to record the name of the gropheus, we must assume an unusual, though not unparalleled,<sup>15</sup> omission of this official; he is normally mentioned immediately after the clause ἀρήτευε βωλᾶς ὁ δέινα.

Polychares does not appear in M. Mitsos, *Ἀργολικὴ Προσωπογραφία*, Athens 1952, and I have not found the name in Argive inscriptions published after 1952, but it is attested in many Peloponnesian cities.<sup>16</sup> The phratry name Heraieus and the village Kolouris are both known from other Argive inscriptions.<sup>17</sup>

**Line 4:** To the dative [τῶι] δάμωι in the second enactment formula in this line are added the words τῶν Ἀργείων, which might seem to be a redundant qualification amidst many other familiar indications that this is indeed an Argive decree. In fact, there is to my knowledge only one other example of τῶν Ἀργείων added to ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι in the published decrees of Argos. It is an instructive parallel, however, for the same wording is found in *SEG* XIX, 317, a long decree of ca. 325 B.C. which confers honors on the people of Rhodes. It has, as we shall see, a number of other suggestive correspondences with our text. In lines 5–6 we read: ἐπειδὴ Ῥόδιοι συγγενεές ἔοντες τῶν Ἀργείων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ διατελόντι εἰς τὸν δᾶμον τῶν Ἀργείων, followed a few lines later by ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι τῶν Ἀργείων, etc. Then near the end of the text (line 30) we find, καθὰ ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι τῶν Ἀργείων. Like this decree for the Rhodians, our newly found text from Nemea is concerned with relations between Argos and another state, not merely with individual foreigners like proxenoi or theorodokoi. Publication of our decree at Aspendos might also have been contemplated.<sup>18</sup> Hence, the addition of τῶν Ἀργείων in line 4.

The main body of the decree begins abruptly, without an explanatory ἐπειδὴ clause *vel sim.*, and the syntax throughout is bumpy and paratactic. As recipients of the benefits of the decree the people of Aspendos are called συγγενέ[σι καὶ .ca.5. .]οις Ἀργείων. The Rhodians

<sup>15</sup> The gropheus is also omitted in *SEG* XI, 316 (= Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI*, no. 42), lines 43–45 and *SEG* XI, 1084, lines 3–4. In *SEG* XXV, 362, the decree begins with ἐπὶ γροφῆος τῶι βουλᾷ Θεοδέκτα and the ἀρήτευε βωλᾶς ὁ δέινα clause is omitted entirely.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., Phlious, W. Peek, "Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros," *AbhLeip* LXIII, v, Berlin 1972, p. 14, no. 16, line 26; Megara, *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 71, lines 34, 40, 56, 62; Epidauros, *SEG* XXVI, 452; Troizen, *IG* IV, 753 with Add.; Mantinea, *IG* V 2, 272; 323, no. 83; Tegea, *IG* V 2, 32, line 3; Megalopolis, *IG* V 2, 1, line 33; Messene, Pausanias, iv.4.5; and at Athens, Kirchner, *PA*, nos. 12099–12102; Meritt and Traill, *The Athenian Agora*, XV, *Inscriptions. The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton 1974, no. 61, line 184.

<sup>17</sup> Heraieus: W. Vollgraff, "Novae Inscriptiones Argivae," *Mnemosyne* 47, 1919, p. 164, line 5; *SEG* XVII, 144. For a helpful bibliography on the phratries of Argos and two additions to the list of attested phratry names, see C. B. Kritzas, ΣΤΗΛΗ, Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Ν. Κοντολέοντος, Athens 1981, p. 506 (cf. *SEG* XXIX, 361); M. Piérart, "Note sur trois noms de phratries argiennes," *BCH* 105, 1981, pp. 611–613.

Kolouris: Guarducci, *op. cit.* (footnote 7 above), pp. 142 (lines 26, 40), 150. The location of this village is apparently unknown. Like most of the other Argive komai known only from inscriptions it is ignored by F. Gschnitzer (*Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum [Zetemata XVII]*, Munich 1958, pp. 68–81, Argos) and by R. A. Tomlinson (*Argos and the Argolid*, Ithaca 1972).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. lines 30–31 of the decree for the Rhodians, ἀγγραψ[άντων] δὲ καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὸ ψάφισμα.

are also called *συγγενέες* of the Argives, as we have seen, in the closely related decree *SEG* XIX, 317. Caution is required before taking this word literally as an indicator of actual, rather than alleged, consanguinity, but D. Musti, in a careful study of its usage in Hellenistic inscriptions, has concluded that it was not until late Hellenistic and Roman times that the more contrived examples of *συγγενεία* between different poleis began to appear in Greek inscriptions. He suggested that the Argive decree in honor of the Rhodians comes before this trend and that it probably reflects an historically attested connection between Argos and Rhodes.<sup>19</sup> At least as early as 189 B.C. at any rate we have clear evidence that the Rhodians claimed an Argive foundation for their state; see commentary below on line 7.

The people of Aspendos seem also to have had a special relationship with Argos, if we can trust the brief report of Strabo: *Ἀσπενδος πόλις εὐανδροῦσα ἱκανῶς, Ἀργείων κτίσμα*, XIV.667 C.<sup>20</sup> C. Brixhe in an exhaustive examination of the Pamphylian dialect has concluded that the linguistic evidence from this region accords with the legends of early Greek settlement, some of which feature the founding heroes Mopsos and Kalchas. Specifically he argues for an Argive settlement of Aspendos in the 8th or 7th century B.C.<sup>21</sup> It will be to this tie of kinship, then, that the Argives refer in lines 4–5 of our decree while bestowing citizenship on the Aspendians. Context and the number of missing letters make *συγγενέ[σι καὶ ἀποίκ]οις Ἀργείων* the most likely restoration.<sup>22</sup> Compare the wording of a 4th-

<sup>19</sup> *AnnPisa* 32, 1963, pp. 225–239. A possible connection between the two cities, which could have gained enough credence for diplomatic purposes, might be reflected in the leadership of Tlepolemos over the Rhodian contingent at Troy, *Iliad* II.653–670. D. L. Page's view that lines 668–670 are an interpolation would not be fatal to this sort of connection, nor is his attempt to demonstrate that Tlepolemos was not a Dorian hero entirely convincing (*History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley 1959, pp. 147–149, 176, note 86); see the contrary view of R. Hope Simpson, J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad*, Oxford 1970, pp. 117–120.

At any rate, the tradition of an Argive origin for Rhodes was strong as early as the 5th century B.C. and was believed by Pindar, *O.* 7, and Thucydides, VII.57.6. C. Blinkenberg (*Lindos* II, coll. 1011–1015) has collected the evidence for the influence of Argos on the place names and institutions of Rhodes; he builds a compelling case.

In another Argive decree in honor of Alexandros of Sikyon the relationship between the honorand's city and its founding polis, Argos, is described not as *συγγενεία* but as *τὰς προῦπαρχόνσας οἰκειότατος τῇ πόλι ποὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Σικυνίων* (*SEG* XXV, 362, lines 7–8). This example would seem to weaken Musti's case for drawing a distinction between *syngeneia* and *oikeotes*, since Sikyon was also regarded as an Argive foundation.

The only other occurrence of *syngeneia* in Argive inscriptions is in *SEG* XXVI, 426, a letter of the people of Argos to the city of Aigeai in Kilikia of ca. A.D. 200 which honors Publius Anteiis Antiochos for his efforts in renewing the *palaia syngeneia* between Argos and his native city. See the illuminating discussion of this text by L. Robert ("Documents d'Asie Mineure," *BCH* 101, 1977, pp. 120–132). For other "liens mythiques" between Argos and Phrygia in Imperial times see T. Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Zutphen 1978, p. 67.

<sup>20</sup> See also Eustathios, *Commentary on Dionysios Periegetes*, C. Müller, *Geographi graeci minores* II, Paris 1882, p. 366, §852, *Ἀργείων δὲ κτίσμα ἢ Ἀσπενδος, εὐανδροῦσά ποτε κατὰ πολὺ*. Hellanikos (*FGrHist*, no. 4, F 15) gives the name of the founder as Aspendos.

<sup>21</sup> *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie* (*Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul* XXVI), Paris 1976, pp. 147, 191–194. For the connection of Mopsos with the foundation of Aspendos see D. Hereward, "Inscriptions from Pamphylia and Isauria," *JHS* 78, 1958, pp. 57–59; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12, 1960, pp. 177–178.

<sup>22</sup> The space available at the beginning of line 5 seems to require a restoration of greater length than *[φίλ]οις*, the word which most frequently accompanies *συγγενείς* in Greek inscriptions. C. Habicht has



century B.C. decree from Epidauros, *IG IV*<sup>2</sup> 1, 47: ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις Ἀστυपालαιῶσιν ἀποίκους Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐοῦσι καὶ εὐεργέταις ἀτέλειαν εἶμεν. . .

**Lines 6–7:** The grant of citizenship to the Aspendians is accompanied by the privilege of approaching the Argive assembly. This is the first occurrence in published Argive decrees of a formula which is widely attested elsewhere. Apart from the evidence it provides for constitutional procedure at Argos, the main interest of the formula in its present extended form is the light it throws on relations between Argos and the cities of Rhodes and Soloi. Access to the Argive *aliaia* is granted to the people of Aspendos on a preferred basis after sacred matters have been discussed and after the Rhodians have had the opportunity to exercise their prior right of approaching the same body. This prior right of the Rhodians was doubtless granted in a decree which must be earlier than our new text from Nemea.<sup>23</sup>

I cannot explain the spelling τόνς Ῥοδίῳν in lines 6–7. After πεδά we might expect the accusative plural τόνς Ῥοδίους, cf. *IG XII* 8, 640 (Peparethos) πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίους. Perhaps then a word such as πρεσβευτάς is to be understood or has been omitted, or Ῥοδίῳν was inscribed in error. Alternatively, Ῥοδίῳν may be sound and we should postulate an error in τόνς, i.e. πεδά τ<α> Ῥοδίῳν, cf. *IG XII* 9, 898 (Chalkis) πρώτοις μεθ' ἱερὰ [καὶ τὰ Ῥω]μαίων.

In bestowing this privilege on the Aspendians the Argives draw attention at the beginning of line 7 to the fact that similar rights have previously been awarded to the people of Soloi, καθάπερ κ[α]ὶ τοῖς Σολεῦσι; the dative echoes Ἀσπ[εν]δίῳις in line 4. These privileges for the people of Soloi were also no doubt the topic of an earlier Argive decree which may have closely resembled the present document. If we can believe Diogenes Laertius (1.51) the ethnic in line 7 is that of the Kilikian Soloi and not the homonymous city on the north coast of Kypros, for in speaking of the former he observes, καὶ εἰσι οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν Σολεῖς, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Κύπρου Σόλιοι.<sup>24</sup>

suggested to me the attraction of restoring [οἰκεῖ]οις here.

<sup>23</sup> Argive citizenship and the right of approaching the aliaia were not granted to the Rhodians in the honorary decree to which I have already referred, *SEG XIX*, 317, probably because they had already received these benefits.

<sup>24</sup> Echoed in Eustathios (see footnote 20 above), p. 372, chap. 876. Ancient tradition was not unanimous on this distinction; cf. Stephanos Byz., s.v. Σόλιοι. Κιλικίας πόλις — — ὁ πολίτης Σολεὺς καὶ Σόλιος. E. Oberhummer in *RE III*, A, col. 938, no. 2 collects other evidence. The legends on coins from Kilikian Soloi would seem to support Diogenes' distinction, at least for the period of our decree. Although G. F. Hill, following Stephanos Byzantinos, stated that "The ethnicon was both Σολεὺς and Σόλιος, and both forms are found on the early coins," Σόλιος appears only on four coins in his catalogue which belong to a relatively small issue dated "circa 450–386 B.C." Used at the same time as this issue and consistently after it is the much more prolific form ΣΟΛΕΩΝ (G. F. Hill, *British Museum Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, London 1900, pp. lxxi–lxxv, nos. 144–156). Cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2, 1946, p. 72. On the legends ΣΟΛΕΩΝ and ΣΟΛΙΚΟΝ see C. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, Berkeley 1976, pp. 6, 278, 284. "We adopt Σόλιος for the inhabitant of Cypriot Soloi as compared with Σολεὺς, inhabitant of the Kilikian Soloi." I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLIV)*, Göteborg 1976, p. 6. On Kilikian Soloi see W. Ruge, *RE III*, A, coll. 935–938, and especially D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton 1950, I, pp. 273–274; II, pp. 1148–1149; M. Gough in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton 1976, p. 851, on the physical remains.

Contact between Kyprian Soloi and the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea is attested by the theorodokos Stasikrates, son of Stasias, who appears under the rubric ἐν Σόλοις in the Kyprian panel of the recently discovered catalogue of theorodokoi, S. G. Miller, *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 78–79.

The appearance of this Kilikian city in a decree which honors syngeneis and apoikoi of the Argives is timely, as is their proximity to the Rhodians in line 6, for there was an ancient tradition that Soloi, like Aspendos, had been an Argive colony and that the Rhodians had also participated in its foundation.<sup>25</sup> The earliest appearance of this connection in the surviving literary sources is to be found in the speech of the Rhodian ambassadors before the Roman Senate in 189 B.C. Polybios (xxi.24) presents the Rhodian claim that Soloi should be granted freedom from the rule of Antiochos III as follows:<sup>26</sup>

προσηλθον αὐθις οἱ Ῥόδιοι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀξιοῦντες περὶ Σόλων τῶν Κιλικίων· διὰ γὰρ τὴν συγγένειαν ἔφασαν καθήκειν αὐτοῖς προνοεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης. εἶναι γὰρ Ἀργείων ἀποίκους Σολεῖς, καθάπερ καὶ Ῥοδίου· ἐξ ὧν ἀδελφικὴν οὖσαν ἀπεδείκνυνον τὴν συγγένειαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὧν ἕνεκα δίκαιον ἔφασαν εἶναι τυχεῖν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων διὰ τῆς Ῥοδίων χάριτος.

Neither Polybios nor Livy report any attempt at the time to refute these claims of kinship between Rhodes and Soloi on the one hand and Argos on the other. Indeed the Senate was prepared to go to great lengths to turn over Soloi to the Rhodians, if they had persisted in their demands.<sup>27</sup> The importance of our decree on this point would seem to be that, as in the case of Aspendos, so earlier for Rhodes and Soloi, the Argives had translated these bonds of kinship and colonization into political action. Citizenship and other privileges were bestowed upon her offspring by the mother city.

SEG XIX, 317 shows that Rhodes had made a substantial loan to Argos, interest free, to help repair her walls and revitalize her cavalry. In our decree, as we shall see, it is anticipated that Aspendians will live in Argos and Argives in Aspendos. Probably a third decree, which seems to be implicit in the words *καθάπερ κ[α]ὶ τοῖς Σολεῦσι* (line 7), recorded similar direct evidence of interaction between Argos and Soloi. The sincerity of Argive claims to syngeneia with Rhodes and Soloi on the basis of colonization has been questioned.<sup>28</sup> Our decree cannot forestall such skepticism, but at the very least it serves now to push back the date when such claims were made in a public forum from 189 B.C. to the 4th century B.C. Some might even be inclined to conclude that a little weight has been added to the scales in favor of the view that there was more to these claims than empty rhetoric.

The occurrence of *καί* after *Σολεῦσι* and again at the beginning of line 8 after *ἀγῶνας*

<sup>25</sup> Strabo, xiv.671, Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ῥοδίων κτίσμα τῶν ἐκ Λίνδου; Pomponius Mela, i.71, *Urbs est olim a Rhodiis Argivisque, post piratis, Pompeio assignante, possessa*; Eustathios (footnote 20 above), p. 372, chap. 876, λέγονται δὲ Σόλοι κατὰ τινὰς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος. οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ῥοδίων κτίσμα τὴν πόλιν φασί.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Livy, xxxvii.56, who follows Polybios' text very closely.

<sup>27</sup> Polybios, xxi.24.14; Livy, xxxvii.56.9. On the speech in general and its occasion see H. H. Schmitt, *Rom und Rhodos* (*Münchener Beitr. zur Papyrusforsch. und ant. Rechtsgesch.* XL) Munich 1957, pp. 81–84; E. S. Gruen, "Rome and Rhodes in the Second Century B.C.," *CQ*, n.s. 25, 1975, pp. 64–65, with earlier bibliography.

<sup>28</sup> By Magie (*loc. cit.* [footnote 24 above]), "the Argive tradition may well be an invention of the Hellenistic period." The Argive connection is not mentioned by W. Ruge in his *RE* article on Soloi (footnote 24 above). On the complexity of the Rhodian claim see F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybios III*, Oxford 1979, p. 118.

shows that the second half of line 7 contained a brief clause in which the Aspendians were granted some privilege in the games controlled by Argos. ΕΝΣΚΛΗΝΣ could be interpreted as ἐνσκληΐως, accusative plural<sup>29</sup> of εἰσκλησις, with Argolic intervocalic sigma omitted.<sup>30</sup> It could also be interpreted as ἐνσκληΐω[ς], accusative singular, possibly with a mason's error responsible for the superfluous sigma. Since the plural would be redundant and awkward, this second alternative seems preferable.<sup>31</sup>

Aspendian theoroi who are sent to Nemea to sacrifice to Zeus and to Argos to make offerings to Argive Hera are to προπέμπεμ π[ε]δὰ (= μετά) τῶν Ἀ[ρ]γείων. Clearly some honor is being bestowed on the theoroi by permitting them to share in this activity with the Argives. προπέμπω, used transitively, normally means to send forward, escort, or conduct someone or some thing.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps in this religious context (θύσοντας, line 8) an object is understood, i.e. προπέμπειν τὰ ἱερά, conduct the sacred rites, send forth the offerings, *vel sim.*<sup>33</sup> It may also be that with τοὺς θεαροὺς as its subject the verb is here used intransitively and is possibly related to προπομπεύω, to lead the procession, or προπορεύω.<sup>34</sup> It would be fitting for the Argives to lead the πομπή from the city out to the two sanctuaries in question and an honor for the Aspendian theoroi to be invited to join their kinsmen at the front of the parade.

This passage is reminiscent of the decree in honor of the Rhodians (*SEG* XIX, 317) where the crown which they will receive is to be announced by the agonothetes at the *gymnikoi agones* of the Hekatomboia and of the Nemeia (lines 19–21). P. Amandry (*BCH*, Suppl. VI, pp. 224–226) argued that the parallelism between this clause and the publication formula in lines 27–29, which calls for stelai to be erected, [πὰρ] Ἡραι καὶ ἐν Νεμέαι, is so close as to indicate that the Hekatomboia were celebrated at the Argive Heraion. Our new decree with its specific designation of Ἡρα Ἀργεία (line 9) and π[α]ρ Ἡρα[ι] in the publication formula (line 16), supports his argument, although the name of Hera's festival is not given.

If my interpretation of προπέμπεμ π[ε]δὰ τῶν Ἀ[ρ]γείων is on the right track, this

<sup>29</sup> For the accusative plural ending of -ι stems, see C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago 1965, p. 91.

<sup>30</sup> For ἐνσ- and εἰς used in close proximity in the same text see the decree for the Rhodians, *SEG* XIX, 317, lines 6, 9.

<sup>31</sup> For another example of this rare word in a similar context see the Attic decree, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1064, line 20 (*SEG* XXI, 506), μετέχειν δὲ καὶ εἰσκλησεως εἰς τοὺς Διουνσιακοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ; cf. *SEG* XXI, 505, lines 9–10, restored.

<sup>32</sup> Examples in *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>. The verb does not seem to be used often in epigraphic texts. *OGIS* 544, line 31 (Ankara). See footnotes 33 and 34, below.

<sup>33</sup> Aischylos, *Persians*, 621–622, γαπότους δ' ἐγὼ τιμὰς προπέμψω τάσδε νερτέροις θεοῖς, with Broadhead's note. In Athenian ephebic decrees of late Hellenistic times the young men are praised because they ἀπήντησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ προέπεμψ[αν] αὐτά, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, lines 4, 74; cf. 1008, line 8 (restored); 1011, line 8; 1028, lines 9–10; 1029, lines 6–7; 1030, line 6; 1040, line 1. The meaning here seems to be "escort the sacred objects" in a procession. See C. Pélékides, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (*École Française d'Athènes, Travaux et Mémoires* XIII), Paris 1962, pp. 222–224. Cf. also *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 47, lines 8–11, τὰ ἱερ[ε]ῖα τὰ τῶν Ἀστυπαλ[αι]έων πέμπει[θ]αι σὺν τῇ τῶν Ἐπιδανυρίων [πο]μπῇ καὶ θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς.

<sup>34</sup> For προπομπεία see *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 66, lines 64–67, εἴμεν δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ προπομπείαν τοῖς Ἀπολλωνιείοις καὶ Ἀ[σκλη]απιδείοις καὶ ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ πομπενέτω καὶ Εὐάνθεος βοῦς. Cf. *FdD* III, ii, no. 48, line 53; *Inscriptionen von Priene*, Berlin 1906, no. 108, line 281; no. 109, line 215; *Die Inscriptionen des Asklepieions* (*Altortümer von Pergamon* VIII, iii, Berlin 1969), no. 21, line 33.

clause will refer to the procession from Argos to Nemea at the time of the festival of Nemean Zeus (Pausanias, II.19.5) and to the procession out to the Argive Heraion which Herodotus immortalized in his story of Kleobis and Biton (1.31).

At the beginning of line 10 the Aspendian theoroi seem to be granted some further honor. While no convincing restoration can be built on the single epsilon: καλῖσθαι E[... <sup>ca.</sup> 11. . . .], the only examples of this very common type of formula which I have found in Argive decrees are the following: καλῖσθα[ι ἐς προ]εδρίαν τοῖς Διονυσί[οις] (*SEG* III, 312 [Mykenai, ca. 200 B.C.]); ἐς προεδρίαν καλῖσθαι Διονυσίοις (*IG* IV, 497 [Mykenai, ca. 197–195 B.C.]). It would be fitting at this point in our decree to grant the Aspendians prohedria; the spacing is right for this restoration.

In line 10 I have restored [ἐπιμέλε]σθαι on the basis of ἐπιμέλεσθαι δὲ καί in line 12. Our text by itself is perhaps too laconic to permit any certain conclusions about the singular τὸν ἀγωνοθέταν in lines 10–11, but there is at least an implication here that at this date the same official had both the Nemeia and the Heraia festivals under his care. L. Moretti has drawn a similar inference from a clause in the decree in honor of the Rhodians (*SEG* XIX, 317): καρῦξαι δὲ τὸν στέφανον Ἑκατονβούοις τὸν ἀγωνοθέταν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ γυμνικῷ, καρῦξαι δὲ καὶ Νεμέοις τὸν ἀγωνοθέταν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ γυμνικῷ (lines 19–21). “L’ agonoteta delle Heraia e delle Nemee è la medesima persona, e le due festività si svolgono in età ellenistica in tutti gli anni dispari a. C., rispettivamente nella seconda metà di giugno (Heraia) e nella prima metà di luglio (Nemee)” (*ISE* I, p. 94). In 209 B.C. Philip V of Macedon held the *curatio* of both festivals (Livy, xxvii.30.9). Ca. 114 B.C. King Nikomedes Euergetes of Bithynia was agonothetes of both celebrations (*SEG* II, 53, from the Heraion). In Roman times one agonothetes certainly presided over both the Nemeia and the Heraia, *IG* IV, 589, 597. The 3rd-century B.C. decree in honor of Alexandros of Sikyon (*SEG* XXV, 362) shows that the same board of ten Argive Hellanodikai also officiated at both festivals: τὸνς δὲ Ἑλλανοδί[κα]νς τῶν Νεμέων καὶ Ἑραίων τῶν ποτεχεῖ καρῦξαι ἐν τῷ ἀγῶ[νι] τῶν Ἑραίων καὶ Νεμέων (lines 16–18).<sup>35</sup> In a list of agonistic officials of the 2nd–3rd centuries after Christ from Argos we find a γροφεὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρ[ων] τῶν ἀγώνων.<sup>36</sup> In a long series of honorary decrees for foreigners beginning at least as early as ca. 318–315 B.C. the Argives make their proxenoi θεαροδόκοι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νεμέαι καὶ τῆς Ἑρας τῆς Ἀργείας.<sup>37</sup> All this evidence points to the conclusion that the official named in our lines 10–11 probably had charge of both the Nemeia and the Heraia festivals.

The four hiaromnamones (line 11) are familiar from several Argive inscriptions.<sup>38</sup>

Since [ἐπιμέλε]σθαι takes the genitive case, the accusative plural – –]τυγχάνοντας, which follows the gap in line 11, will modify its subject, and the object will be τῶν θεαρῶν

<sup>35</sup> For the Argive Hellanodikai see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 5, 1948, p. 60; *idem*, *Hellenica* 8, 1950, p. 80; P. Charneux, “Inscriptions d’Argos,” *BCH* 80, 1956, pp. 604–610; P. Amandry, “Sur les concours argiens,” *BCH*, Suppl. VI, pp. 226–228.

<sup>36</sup> Charneux, *op. cit.*, p. 605.

<sup>37</sup> See Amandry, *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 245.

<sup>38</sup> M. Wörle, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Argos*, Munich 1964, pp. 12, 48, 84–85, and the helpful citations in N. Verdelis, M. Jameson, I. Papachristodoulou, «Ἀρχαῖκα ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Τίρυνθος», Ἀρχ’ Ἐφ., 1975, pp. 194–195.

understood. The missing fragment from the middle of the stele has left a gap in this line *ca.* 0.165 m. in width between ΙΑΡΟΜΝ and ΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ, i.e. *ca.* 15–16 letters. This can be reduced to *ca.* 10–11 letters when we restore *ἱαρομν[άμονας]* and probably to *ca.* 6–7 letters if we insert *τοὺς/τόνους* with the participle. There is still room in this line of *ca.* 50 letters for a modifier of *τυγχάνοντας* and possibly a prepositional prefix. I suggest *[τόνους ἀεὶ ἀντι]τυγχάνοντας*, “those who are currently in office.”<sup>39</sup> It seems clear from the general context and from the end of line 12, *τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον*, that the arrangements are intended to be permanent; future magistrates will have been forewarned.

**Lines 12–13:** The agonothetes and the hiaromnamones are instructed to take care of the theoi from Aspendos when they come to sacrifice to Zeus at Nemea and to Hera (lines 8–11). Now the aliaia is told to look after the Aspendians in general “for all time.” The preserved letters in line 12 are more closely spaced than those in the preceding lines of text, and the gap between the two surviving fragments is *ca.* 0.133 m. wide, leaving room for a restoration of *ca.* 13–14 letters. The four surviving letters ΝΣΑΣ might be interpreted as an accusative plural ending, perhaps parallel to *τὰν ἀλιαίαν* which is the subject of *ἐπιμέλεσθαι*. We might very tentatively suggest *[καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπά]νσας*, or as C. Kritzas suggests, *[τὰς ἀρτύνας]*. Assembly and magistrates may both have been given instructions to look after the Aspendians. For the accusative of the extent of time, without a preposition, the only Argive parallels are, again, in *SEG XIX*, 317, the decree for the Rhodians, line 11, *χρόνον πολύν*; line 14, *τὸν ἐμπροσθα χρόνον*; line 15, *τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον*.

In line 13 after the genitive *τῶν Ἀσπενδιῶν*, which is the object of *ἐπιμέλεσθαι*, I have interpreted the sentence as running on to include the protasis *αἴ τί κα δέ[ωνται]*. The Aspendians will be the subject of this clause, “if they should request anything.” *Δέομαι* in this kind of context usually takes a genitive<sup>40</sup> (*τινος*) and not *τι* as here, but in the Attic decree *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 101 (410/09 B.C.) we find *τός τε σ[τρατεγός] τοῖς ἂν ἑκάστοτε ἄρχοσι πάντας ἐπιμέ]λεσθαι αὐτῶν ὅτι αὖ δέονται* (lines 53–54).

The text of our lines 10–13 helps us now to understand better and to restore the lost Argive decree, *IG IV*, 480, which was found near the temple of Zeus at Nemea in 1884. I suggest that this inscription, which concerns the people of Seriphos, is to be restored with a line of *ca.* 30 letters in length as follows:

ἐπιμέλεσ]-

θαι δὲ τὸν [ἀγνοθέταν καὶ τὸν ἱαρο]-

μνάμονας [τόνους ἀεὶ ἀντιτυγχάνοντα]-

ς· ἐπιμέλεσθαι [δὲ — — — *ca.* 16 — — ]

5 ΣΑΓΩΝΣΑΝΣ [τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῶ]-

ν Σεριφίων, αἴ [τί κα δέωνται καὶ τίς κα χρ]-

αἰ<ζ>η<ι> Σεριφίων [— — — — — ]

7 *lapis* ΑΙΠΗΣ.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *IG IV*, 554 (Halieis), *ἡ δὲ βολὰ ποτελάτο ἡἀντιτυχόνσα*, “the council which is in office . . .”; *IG IV*, 521; *SEG XI*, 301 (Argive Heraion), *[τοὺς — — — — τοὺς ἀ]ντιτυγχάνοντας*; *IG IV<sup>2</sup>* 1, 66, lines 56–59 (Epidauros), *τὰς δὲ ἀναγορεύσιος τοῦ στεφάνου τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆσθαι τοὺς ἀεὶ ἀντιτυγχάνοντας δαμι-οργούς καὶ τὸν ἀγνο[θ]έταν καὶ τοὺς ἑλλανοδίκας*; *Syll.<sup>3</sup>*, no. 479, lines 9–10 (Delphi).

<sup>40</sup> E.g. at Athens, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1, line 10; 110, lines 14–18; 448, line 47, all with *ἐπιμελέομαι*.

Since we have no photograph or drawing of the letter forms, it is impossible to assign a date to this inscription, but the similarity in phraseology to our decree for the Aspendians might indicate that this document is roughly contemporary with it. It is even possible that the privileges here granted to the people of Seriphos included some of those extended to the Aspendians, such as citizenship and the right to live in Argos. In *IG* IV, 480, M. Fraenkel observed “*De ἀγώνσανς* (vs. 4) *non iudicare praestat, antequam confirmetur lectio.*” Perhaps, then, ἐπιμέλῃσθαι [δὲ τὰν ἀλιαίαν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς] ἀπ<ά>νσας (?) or [τὰς ἀρτύνας]. Connections between Seriphos and Nemea in the 4th century B.C. are attested by the theorodokos Euarchos of Seriphos in the recently discovered list of theorodokoi from Nemea, see footnote 24 above.

**Lines 13–15:** Aspendians, upon request, will be permitted to live in Argos as long as they pay the same taxes as the Argives, and reference is made in the κ[αθ]άπερ clause to a reciprocal agreement about Argives living in Aspendos. Since they have been given citizenship in this decree, Aspendians will not live in Argos as metics, paying a metoikikon tax. For the wording, which is new to Argive official language, see *SIG*<sup>3</sup>, 941, lines 11–17, Magnesia, 3rd century B.C., ἐὰν δέ τις Φωκα[ιέων] ἐνοικῇ ἐμ Μαγνησί[αι, εἶναι αὐ]τῷ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἐ[γκτησιον – – –] τέλη τελοῦντι ὅσα ὁ Μ[άγνης] τελεῖ. For this usage of the verb χρήζω cf. *ICr* III (Itanos), p. 90, no. 8, lines 24–25, αἱ τίς κα χ[ρήζη] τουτων τ[ι] ποιείν.

The κ[αθ]άπερ clause seems to cite a current arrangement for Argives living in Aspendos which had been previously established, no doubt by a decree of the Aspendians; it is not an enabling clause instituting a new arrangement. How much earlier than our decree such a document might have come into existence in Aspendos is impossible to say. It would be interesting to know how many Argives were actually living in Aspendos at this time and why, and how many Aspendians exercised their option of establishing residence in Argos. I find no mention of Argives, however, in the meager literary and epigraphical record from Aspendos, and our decree is the first evidence for Aspendians at Argos. The mention of the people of Soloi and the Rhodians in lines 6–7 raises the possibility that similar reciprocal arrangements existed between Argos and these two states. Relations with the Rhodians were particularly close, as we have seen from the long Argive decree in their honor (*SEG* XIX, 317).<sup>41</sup> Mention should also be made here of the suggestion of S. G. Miller (*Hesperia* 46, 1977, p. 21) that a block inscribed Ῥοδίων which was found at Nemea may belong to one of the oikoi whose foundations he has excavated to the south of the Temple of Zeus.

**Lines 15–18:** Most surviving Argive decrees were inscribed on a single stele which was erected in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios. Here too were to be found stelai which carried the names of Argive citizens arranged by tribe, phratry, and pentekostys.<sup>42</sup> The remains of

<sup>41</sup> Cf. also *SEG* XVII, 142, an Argive decree of the 3rd century B.C. in honor of the Rhodian [. . .] stratos, son of Aristonymos. Another Argive decree before 169 B.C. for the Rhodian Timarchos, son of Ariston, is attested in the Lindian inscription, *Lindos* II, no. 195. See also the good discussion of Argive influence on Rhodes by C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* II, coll. 1011–1015.

<sup>42</sup> In the honorary decree for Alexandros of Sikyon the strategoi are instructed to record his grant of citizenship as follows: ἀ[ν]γράφαι ἐνς τὰνς στάλας τὰνς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκείου, ἱ καὶ τοὶ ἄλλοι πολῖται γεγράφανται, ἐ[ν]ς φυλὰν καὶ φάτραν καὶ πεντηκοστύν, ἂν κα αὐτὸς προαιρῇται, *SEG* XXV, 362; Moretti, *ISE* I, no. 41. W. Vollgraff's view (*Mnemosyne* 44, 1916, p. 67) that inscribed lists of citizens were the hallmark of an oligarchic regime has been questioned by L. Moretti, *loc. cit.*, who suggested that the lists

the sanctuary apparently still elude the excavators,<sup>43</sup> but its location in or near the agora is proved by the publication formula of the treaty joining together Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis in 420 B.C.<sup>44</sup> In the publication formulas of Argive decrees the sanctuary is designated as *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκείου*<sup>45</sup> or *ἐν τῷ τοῦ Λυκείου ἱερῷ*.<sup>46</sup>

Instructions to erect a stele at Nemea are rare in surviving Argive decrees. In addition to the five or six published decrees found at Nemea itself,<sup>47</sup> the only other example is, significantly, the honorary decree for the Rhodians (*SEG* XIX, 317) which has, as we have seen, already shed considerable light on the interpretation of our text. It is also the only other decree which calls for three stelai to be set up, the third being in a sanctuary of Hera, lines 27–29, ἀγγράψαι δὲ τὸ δόκημα ἐν στάλαις λιθίναις καὶ ἀνθέμεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκείου καὶ [πᾶρ] Ἡραι καὶ ἐν Νεμέαι.<sup>48</sup> This triple disposition of the stelai clearly underlines the importance of these two decrees. The ties with Rhodes and Aspendos were made manifest; it is possible that the benefits enjoyed at Argos by the people of Soloi, briefly mentioned in our line 7, were also proclaimed on three similar stelai.

The new text from Nemea contains the most complex publication formula of any known Argive decree, for in addition to the three stelai set up in the sanctuaries of Apollo Lykeios, Zeus at Nemea, and Hera, instructions are given for the name of the people of Aspendos to be added in inscription π[ὸτ] τὸν τελαμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Λυκείου ἱερῷ [τὸν δᾶ]μον τῶν Ἀσπεν[δίων] ποτα[να]γ[ρ]άψαι. It is clearly to a specific telamon that reference is made, not merely to inscribing the name “on a telamon.” The telamon in question is also already inscribed, since the people of Aspendos are being added to it (ποταναγράφαι). It is not the decree (τὸ δόκημα τόδε) which is to be written up on the telamon, but only the words ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, and since the main purpose of our document is to confer citizenship en bloc on the Aspendians, it follows that their name is to be added to an existing list of Argive citizens. There was, then, in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios a telamon on which the Argives inscribed the names of those to whom they had granted

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recorded only the names of foreigners who had received citizenship from the Argive state.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. N. Papachatzes, *Πανσανίου Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις* II, Athens 1976, pp. 156–157; M. Piérart, J.-P. Thalmann, *BCH* 102, 1978, p. 790, *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 255. For the importance of the sanctuary in Pausanias' itinerary at Argos, see M. Piérart, “Deux notes sur l'itinéraire argien de Pausanias,” *BCH* 106, 1982, pp. 149–152.

<sup>44</sup> Thucydides, v.47.11; cf. schol. Euripides, *Helen*, 6; Pausanias, ii.19.3–5, and other testimonia.

<sup>45</sup> *IG* IV, 559; *SEG* XIII, 240; XVII, 142; XIX, 317; XVI, 255; XXV, 362. Cf. *SEG* XXVI, 426.

<sup>46</sup> *SEG* XIII, 241; XVI, 246, 250; XVII, 141; *Mnemosyne* 43, 1915, p. 375, no. E, p. 378, no. H; *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 261, nos. 3, 4; *ibid.*, no. 1.

<sup>47</sup> *IG* IV, 479, 480; *SEG* XXIII, 178(?), 183, 184; XXV, 356. Among the few small fragments of decrees from the current excavations of the University of California, Berkeley, there is none which preserves part of a publication formula.

<sup>48</sup> The restoration [πᾶρ] Ἡραι, instead of Vollgraff's [ταῖ] Ἡραι, *Mnemosyne* 44, 1916, p. 221 (followed by F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* I, p. 147, no. 33, and L. Moretti, *ISE* I, no. 40) is due to G. Daux and P. Charneux, *BCH* 81, 1957, p. 684. It is also found in line 4 of a list of athletic victories which they publish.

Vollgraff, Maier, and Moretti all print ἀνθέμεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ in the decree for the Rhodians, but it is clear from the excellent photograph published by P. Amandry (*BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 225) that the stone has ANΘΕΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΙΑΡΩΙ. P. Charneux (*loc. cit.*) had pointed out that Vollgraff's own majuscule copy has ANΘΕΜΕΝ.

citizenship, but it seems clear from the wording of lines 15–18 that this telamon was distinct from the stone stele which was also set up here in order to publish the full text of the citizenship decree for the Aspendians.<sup>49</sup>

A close parallel to the situation we have inferred from lines 15–18 of the decree from Nemea is provided by another Argive decree, *SEG XXV*, 362, from which I have quoted in footnote 42. Here reference is made to stelai in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios which carried the names of “the other citizens.” Alexandros of Sikyon, who is honored with a grant of citizenship in this decree, is to have his name inscribed on these stelai by the strategoi (lines 10–13), whereas the text of the decree itself will be inscribed on a separate stele to be erected in the same sanctuary (lines 18–20).

There is no mention of a telamon in the almost completely preserved decree for Alexandros,<sup>50</sup> but the close parallel with the decree from Nemea is not, I think, weakened by this fact. It might have been the case that the names of individual new citizens were written up on stelai in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios, whereas recipients of en bloc grants had the name of their state inscribed on the telamon which stood there. Since the two decrees in question are not contemporary, they may also reflect two different but basically similar procedures separated from each other by a period of time. The fact that the decree for Alexandros appears to be about 50 years later than the Aspendos decree would permit the hypothesis that new citizens whose names were previously recorded on the telamon were later listed on stelai.<sup>51</sup>

The prefix of the infinitive *ποταναγράφαι* prompts speculation as to what other names the list of citizens on the telamon contained before the words *ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Ἀσπενδίων* were added to it. From the clause *καθάπερ κ[α]ὶ τοῖς Σολεῦσι* in line 7 and the proximity of the reference to the Rhodians in line 6, it might be inferred that grants of citizenship en bloc at Argos to the citizens of these two poleis antedate the decree for the Aspendians. Other possible candidates might have been the people of Corinth, who were given Argive citizenship in 392 B.C.,<sup>52</sup> the people of the small town of Harma in Boiotia,<sup>53</sup> and perhaps others of whom we have no record.

Although lines 16–17 contain the first evidence we have for a telamon in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios, this is not the only mention of a monument of this type at Argos, for in *IG IV*, 517, of ca. 460–450 B.C., we learn of a telamon in the Argive Heraion. This text is inscribed on what its first editor<sup>54</sup> described as a “massive block of limestone” which is

<sup>49</sup> For a good discussion of the verb *προσαναγράφω* see S. Alessandri, *AnnPisa* 10, 1980, pp. 1150–1151.

<sup>50</sup> In addition to the references in footnote 42 there is a useful discussion of this decree by P. Amandry, *BCH*, Suppl. VI, pp. 226–229, with a photograph of the stone and part of the top left corner of a squeeze.

<sup>51</sup> For a discussion of the date see Amandry, *loc. cit.*

<sup>52</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenika* IV.4.1–5, 5.1–2; Diodoros, XIV.92.1; Plutarch, *Agesilaos*, 21.1. G. T. Griffith, “The Union of Corinth and Argos (392–386 B.C.),” *Historia* 1, 1950, pp. 236–256.

<sup>53</sup> Strabo, IX.2.11 (C 404); cf. Philochoros, *FGrHist*, no. 328, F 113. W. Gawantka (*Isopolitie* [Vestigia 22], 1975, pp. 93–94), finds Strabo’s words “so konfus, dass sie sich kaum verwerten lassen.” In addition to Alexandros of Sikyon, individual grants of Argive citizenship are attested for Eukles of Corinth, ca. 247–244 B.C., *SEG XIII*, 212, and Gnaeus Octavius, ca. 170 B.C., *SEG XVI*, 255.

<sup>54</sup> Ed. pr. R. B. Richardson, “Inscriptions from the Argive Heraeum,” *AJA* 11, 1896, pp. 42–48. See also the drawing and discussion by M. Fraenkel in *IG IV*, 517; R. B. Richardson, J. R. Wheeler in C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum I*, Boston/New York 1902, pp. 197–202, no. II, with an excellent photograph; H.



broken at the bottom but has a low pediment preserved at the top. Since it is 0.39 m. wide and 0.28 m. thick, the fragment clearly belonged to a pillarlike object which could have stood to a considerable height.<sup>55</sup> Above a list of four hieromnamones representing the four Argive tribes the text begins with the words [h]a στάλα: καὶ ὁ τελαμὸς | [i]arà: τᾶς ἑράς: τᾶς Ἀργεῖ | [i]as. Stele and telamon were, therefore, separate objects, and most scholars have followed the view summed up by C. D. Buck (*The Greek Dialects*, p. 282, no. 82):

On the face of the stone, just below the inscription, is a rectangular cutting, with dowel holes, evidently intended for the reception of a tablet. This was the stela, while the τελαμὸς, properly "support, pedestal," refers to the whole stone in which the στάλα was set, and which itself would be called a στήλη in Attic. In several inscriptions from the region of the Euxine τελαμών is actually used as the equivalent of στήλη . . .<sup>56</sup> This use is doubtless of Megarian origin.

Since the rectangular cutting which contains the dowel holes is only 0.005 m. deep, it seems likely that any object mounted in it would have been made of bronze or lead rather than stone.<sup>57</sup>

Bearing in mind that this monument from the Argive Heraion is separated in time from our new Nemean stele by about 150 years, we might tentatively suggest that there was in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios a large pillarlike stone called a "telamon" on which, probably under a prominent heading, were inscribed the names of states (and possibly individuals) to whom Argive citizenship had been granted. Perhaps in some way it supported a "stele" or stelai, like its earlier counterpart in the Argive Heraion, but I should prefer to conclude from the wording of lines 15–18 in our decree that it was an object distinct at any rate from the stone stele inscribed with the text of our decree which stood in the same sanctuary.

**Line 18:** As is usually the case at Argos, the proposer of the decree comes last.<sup>58</sup>

Roehl, *Imagines inscriptionum graecarum antiquissimarum*<sup>3</sup>, Berlin 1907, p. 39, no. 14; F. Solmsen, *Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung*, Strassburg 1909, p. 76; W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 58, 1930, pp. 28–30; *SEG* XI, 303; *LSAG*, p. 170, no. 32.

<sup>55</sup> Much greater than its preserved vertical dimension of 0.44 m.

<sup>56</sup> For a list of references to these texts see Fraenkel, *IG* IV, 517; P. Girard, *REG* 18, 1905, pp. 14–19, 29–30; Solmsen, *op. cit.* (footnote 54 above), pp. 74–78; L. Robert, "Études d'épigraphie grecque," *RevPhil*, 1936, p. 130, note 8; *idem*, *Hellenica* 7, 1949, pp. 32–34, no. 2; *idem*, *Hellenica* 10, 1955, pp. 17–28, nos. 5–6. Many examples from the Euxine are listed in the indexes, *s.v.* τελαμών, of G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae* I<sup>2</sup> and the *Corpus inscriptionum regni bosporani*, Moscow 1965.

<sup>57</sup> This was suggested by Richardson, *op. cit.* (footnote 54 above), p. 48. Bronze was used for official documents at Argos in the Archaic period, see *IG* IV, 506, a legal text from the Heraion (*LSAG*, p. 168, no. 9); *SEG* XIII, 239, proxeny decree from Argos (*LSAG*, p. 169, no. 22). Cf. M. H. Jameson, "A Treasury of Athena in the Argolid (*IG* IV, 554)," *ΦΟΡΟΣ: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt*, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1974, pp. 67–75, on *IG* IV, 554. See also the cuttings for the many bronze plaques which were attached to the architrave of the Hypostyle Hall in the agora, J. des Courtils, "Note de topographie argienne," *BCH* 105, 1981, pp. 607–610.

<sup>58</sup> Exceptions are to be found in *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 261, no. 3, where the orator comes after the grophous in line 3; *IG* IV, 559, where the beginning is lost and there is no orator at the end. In two very short proxeny decrees the orator is not recorded, *SEG* XIII, 239; *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 259, no. 2. The long decree in honor of Alexandros of Sikyon, which has other formulaic peculiarities, lacks the name of the proposer, *SEG* XXV, 362.

Between ἔλεξε Εὐμηλος and the other preserved letters in this line, [᾿Α]σπένδιος ΕΛ[– –], the surface of the stone is so badly pitted and scarred that I have been unable to recover any more letters. The width of this gap, *ca.* 0.12 m., leaves room for a restoration of *ca.* 11–13 letters.

In published Argive decrees the name in the concluding formula ἔλεξε ὁ δεῖνα is followed by one of the following elements: (1) patronymic,<sup>59</sup> (2) kome,<sup>60</sup> (3) phratry,<sup>61</sup> (4) phratry and kome,<sup>62</sup> (5) patronymic and kome,<sup>63</sup> (6) patronymic and phratry and kome.<sup>64</sup> There is no example in published Argive decrees of the orator's name standing alone at the end. We should, therefore, probably restore a patronymic, or the name of a kome or a phratry before [᾿Α]σπένδιος.

If we reconstruct this line as ἔλεξε Εὐμηλος[ patronymic ᾿Α]σπένδιος ΕΛ[– –], however, a serious constitutional obstacle immediately arises. How could a foreigner have proposed a decree in the Argive aliaia, particularly one which bestowed Argive citizenship and other benefits on his own compatriots? We might consider two possibilities:

(1) Eumelos was an Argive citizen who had previously been awarded citizenship in Aspendos and here, appropriately, made his dual citizenship explicit by adding the ethnic Aspendios to his name. His Argive status could not in this case have been left obscure. Perhaps, then, ἔλεξε Εὐμηλος [patronymic ᾿Α]σπένδιος ΕΛ[Argive kome or phratry] or ἔλεξε Εὐμηλος [᾿Αργεῖος καὶ ᾿Α]σπένδιος ΕΛ[– –].

(2) Eumelos held only Aspendian citizenship but he was a joint (honorary?) proposer of the present decree together with a *bona fide* Argive citizen. In support of this possibility is the spelling of his name, whereas we might have expected Εὐμαλος for an Argive, and the fact that, although the name is otherwise unattested at Argos, it was extremely popular in Aspendos and elsewhere in Pamphylia.<sup>65</sup> On this theory, the name of the Argive citizen who officially proposed the decree would have been recorded in line 18 after [᾿Α]σπένδιος where I have been able to read only ΕΛ[– –]. Between the lambda and the right edge of the stone there is room for about 10 or 11 letters, and it is possible that more letters once stood at the beginning of "line 19" where the surface is, in my view, too badly damaged to permit unquestioned readings.<sup>66</sup> There is room, therefore, for the necessary name of a kome or a phratry which would identify this hypothetical second proposer as an Argive citizen.

<sup>59</sup> *SEG* XIII, 240; *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 256, no. 1.

<sup>60</sup> *SEG* XI, 1084 (twice); XVII, 143; XIX, 317.

<sup>61</sup> *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 261, no. 3.

<sup>62</sup> *Mnemosyne* 43, 1915, p. 375, no. E; *BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 269, no. 4.

<sup>63</sup> *SEG* XIII, 241; XVII, 142, 144.

<sup>64</sup> *SEG* XIII, 242; *Mnemosyne* 43, 1915, pp. 365–371, nos. A, B.

<sup>65</sup> L. Robert has studied this name and demonstrated, with characteristically rich documentation, how prevalent it was in Aspendos (*Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris 1963, pp. 373–432). This whole chapter is a fundamental source of information on the activities of Aspendians abroad; they served in large numbers as mercenaries in the Hellenistic period. See footnote 82 below.

The name Eumelos is attested elsewhere in the Peloponnesos, e.g. the famous Corinthian poet, G. Kinkel, *Epicorum graecorum fragmenta*, Leipzig 1877, pp. 187–192; Jacoby, *FGrHist*, no. 451; the first king of Patrai, Pausanias, vii.18.2; at Mantinea, *IG* V 2, 278; Megalopolis and Lykosoura, *ibid.*, 518, 519; Alipheira, *SEG* XXV, 447; for another possible Corinthian Eumelos buried in Megara, *IG* VII, 135.

<sup>66</sup> In the second letter space of line 19 there seem to be traces of an omega, but I do not feel confident enough about this reading even to print a dotted letter in the text.

There are contemporary parallels at Argos for two proposers of the same decree, e.g. *SEG* XIX, 317 (Rhodians), line 82, ἔλεξε Θίων Ποιμῶνις, Μενέδαμος Ἀσίνα; XI, 1084 (Pallantion) where the formula is repeated twice, lines 25–27, 40–41, ἔλεξε Θιόκριτος Κολουρίς, Νικόδαμος Σκληρίς. Since in both cases the singular verb was not repeated, there is no need to assume that the letters ΕΛ[– –] in our line 18 must belong to a second ἔλεξε. We must remark, however, that in both these instances of joint proposers of a single decree the men in question were all Argive citizens. The anomaly of an Aspendian jointly proposing a decree in the Argive aliaia remains, and I have not found parallels which would support this theory.

A third possibility is that Aspendios in line 18 is a personal name formed, as frequently happened, from the ethnic. We would then have to assume the happy coincidence of an Argive citizen who joined in proposing a decree for the city after which he had once been named. On this theory line 18 might then be reconstructed as ἔλεξε Εὐμηλος [kome or phratry, Ἀσπένδιος [kome or phratry]. Formally, this restoration stands closest to the two parallels of decrees moved by two Argives which I have quoted above. For Ἐλ[αιφών] as a possible restoration of an Argive phratry see J. Caskey and P. Amandry, “Investigations at the Heraion of Argos, 1979,” *Hesperia* 21, 1952, p. 217.

**Lines 20–21:** With the possible exception of a few letter spaces at the beginning of a putative line 19, there is an uninscribed space 0.03 m. in height extending across the width of the stele below line 18. Below this blank area there are the remains of two more lines of text above the broken bottom edge of the surviving fragments. As far as I can judge, the lettering here is the same as that in lines 1–18 and ought to be contemporary. The content too of lines 20–21 and possibly more text now lost ought to be related to the decree for the Aspendians, since on other Argive stelai where one decree has been inscribed below another, the different contents of the lower text are indicated by a heading in larger letters.<sup>67</sup> If these labels are valid, the large heading at the top of our stele [Ἀσπενδί]ων (see p. 196 above) should apply to lines 20ff. as well as to the decree we have already considered.

Since the surviving letters at the beginning of line 20 do not conform to the opening formula of any published Argive decree, they are probably best interpreted as belonging to a rider or supplement to the decree which stands above them. There are to my knowledge only two Argive decrees which do not end with the normal ἔλεξε ὁ δεῖνα formula:

(1) Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI*, no. 42, Argos, Knossos, and Tylissos, ca. 450 B.C. in which the end of B is as follows:

τοὶ Τυλίσιοι ποὶ τὰν στάλαν ποιγραψάνσθω τάδε·  
αἵ τις ἀφικνοῖτο Τυλισίον ἐνς Ἀργος, κατὰ ταῦτά  
σφιν ἔστο ἡἰπερ Κνοσίοις.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> For examples see Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 43, 1915, pp. 365–371, nos. A, B; p. 372, nos. C, D; p. 375, nos. E, F. In “Inscriptions d’Argos,” *BCH* 82, 1958, pp. 5–13, P. Charneux published two Argive decrees which were inscribed side-by-side on the same stone with a heading at the top of the one on the left and another label at the end of the one on the right, *SEG* XVII, 142, 143.

<sup>68</sup> Unlike the instruction in our decree to inscribe the name of the people of Aspendos on the telamon, the three-line rider here is added to the same stele.

(2) *SEG* XI, 1084, from Pallantion, *ca.* 318–316 B.C., in which after the ἐλέξε formula the text resumes in line 27 without a break, and the words ἦμεν δὲ καὶ προξένους καὶ ἐνεργέτας τῶν Ἀργείων. . . introduce a rider 15 lines in length which ends in lines 40–41 with a repetition of the ἐλέξε formula from the end of the decree proper.

Not enough survives on our stele even to hazard a guess as to the contents of a presumed rider to the decree for the Aspendians. I have considered the possibility that ἐκ τοῦ τελε[– –] could be restored as ἐκ τοῦ Τελέ[ου], which occurs as part of an adjournment dating formula at the beginning of the Argive decree from Pallantion, *SEG* XI, 1084. Against this supplement, however, is the fact that there seems to be a diagonal stroke in the top left corner of the space after ΤΕΛΕ; epigraphically it could belong only to Υ or Ψ. Τελεν[– –] could be the beginning of a name or, perhaps more plausibly, τελεν[ταίου]; e.g. [ἦμεν] τάδε ἐκ τοῦ τελεν[ταίου – –] or [κυρία] τάδε ἐκ τοῦ τελεν[ταίου – –]. Since, however, these few letters could also be interpreted as τάδε ἐκ τοῦ τελεν[– –], it is probably idle to speculate further.

### DATE

In seeking a date for this inscription we shall employ three different criteria: (1) circumstances of discovery, (2) letter forms, (3) historical setting.

A *terminus ante quem* is set by the archaeological context in which the three joining fragments of this stele were discovered. After these pieces were broken up and separated from the rest of the original monument, they were thrown into a well near the southwest corner of the Temple of Zeus along with a great mass of other miscellaneous debris, including a substantial fragment of a list of theorodokoi for the Nemean Games. The debris seems to represent violent activity which resulted in the destruction of at least these two important Argive documents. On the basis of a preliminary study of the pottery and coins found with this debris Stephen G. Miller has placed the filling-in of the well after the middle of the 3rd century B.C., *ca.* 240 B.C. or later, and he has plausibly connected it with the strongly anti-Argive restoration of the games to the Nemea valley under the presidency of Kleonai which was carried out by Aratos of Sikyon, probably in 235 B.C.<sup>69</sup> At some unknown date earlier in the 3rd century B.C. the games had been moved from Nemea to Argos where they had been celebrated until the intervention of Aratos. The Argive decree for the people of Aspendos, therefore, cannot be any later than *ca.* 235 B.C.

Dating of Greek inscriptions on the basis of letter forms alone is a risky undertaking even when abundant, dated comparanda are available.<sup>70</sup> It is even more dangerous at Argos where inscriptions of the 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. which can be securely dated are very few indeed. Among Argive decrees of this period only the following can be fixed with

<sup>69</sup> For this date see K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* IV, ii, Berlin 1927, p. 529; M. T. Mitsos, *Πολιτική ιστορία τοῦ Ἀργούς*, Athens 1945, p. 80; R. Urban, *Wachstum und Krise des Achäischen Bundes* (*Historia Einzelschriften* 35), 1979, p. 71.

<sup>70</sup> For a good example from Athens where on the basis of letter forms two of the most experienced Attic epigraphists of this century assigned dates *ca.* 110 years apart to two fragments of the same inscription see *CSCA* 7, 1974, p. 292, note 30. When the two fragments were later joined, A. Wilhelm's date proved to be *ca.* 36 years earlier, and B. D. Meritt's *ca.* 74 years later, than the archon date preserved on the stone.

any certainty.<sup>71</sup> *SEG* XXX, 355, an honorary decree for Pamphilos of Athens, *ca.* 323–300 B.C.;<sup>72</sup> *SEG* XI, 1084, decree in honor of the Pallantians, *ca.* 318–316 B.C.<sup>73</sup> Other published Argive inscriptions which can be dated to roughly this same period include *SEG* XXIII, 189, a list of theorodokoi from Argos, *ca.* 330 B.C.;<sup>74</sup> *IG* IV, 583, a statue base in honor of King Nikokreon of Kypros, 321–311 B.C.;<sup>75</sup> *SEG* XXV, 366, dedication of an Argive thiasos in 303 B.C.;<sup>76</sup> *SEG* XXIII, 186, dedication of a shield from the spoils of the victory over Pyrrhos in 272 B.C. (from Mykenai).<sup>77</sup> Many more Argive inscriptions have, of course, been assigned to the 4th and 3rd centuries by scholars, but, to my knowledge, only in the case of those which I have listed has there been general agreement as to their dates.<sup>78</sup>

While the lettering on the decree for the Aspendians is in general similar to that found on most of the stones listed above which belong to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., it does seem to resemble most closely the letter forms of the decree for the Pallantians, *ca.* 318–316 B.C. Resemblances include the fairly widely spaced alpha, beta with the bottom loop slightly larger than the top, delta and smaller omicron and omega which ride high in the line, wide eta, nu with the right vertical not reaching the bottom of the line and protruding above the top, broad, low pi, and the very similar sigmas. On this most subjective criterion, then, our decree could tentatively be placed in the last quarter of the 4th century or in the early years of the 3rd century B.C.

As far as I have been able to determine, the newly found decree from Nemea provides our only evidence for contact between Argos and Aspendos after the colonization of the latter by the former. In seeking a historical setting for this document, therefore, we must rely on inferences drawn from its text and from a few other sources. The text itself contains for us no certain indication of date, either in the opening formula or in the names of the presiding officer of the council (line 3) and the proposer(s) (line 18). Argos, however, at the

<sup>71</sup> I leave aside the stele that carries the two decrees for Zoilos of Smyrna and Eukles of Corinth which W. Vollgraff (*Mnemosyne* 43, 1915, pp. 371–374, nos. C. D) wished to date to 248–246 B.C. and 247–244 B.C. respectively. His dating criteria do not seem to me to be conclusive, and there is, as far as I know, no published photograph or facsimile of the letter forms. Cf. the sound criticisms of M. T. Mitsos, *op. cit.* (footnote 69 above), p. 103, note 5.

<sup>72</sup> For the date see Piérart and Thalmann, *BCH*, Suppl. VI, pp. 261–269, no. 3, with photograph. I am indebted to Paula Perlman who let me examine an excellent squeeze of this beautifully carved inscription.

<sup>73</sup> Guarducci, *ASAtene* 3–5, 1941–43, pp. 141–151; Moretti, *ISE* I, no. 52; *Nouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1971, no. 9. Piérart and Thalmann (footnote 72 above) remind us of the possibility that the stele could have been set up some years after the events described.

<sup>74</sup> Photograph in the ed. pr. of P. Charneux, "Liste argienne de théarodoques," *BCH* 90, 1966, pp. 156–239.

<sup>75</sup> The first photograph of this famous inscription was published by P. Amandry, *BCH*, Suppl. VI, pp. 218–220. Cf. Moretti, *ISE* I, no. 38.

<sup>76</sup> For a photograph see W. Vollgraff, "Praxitèle le jeune," *BCH* 32, 1908, pp. 236–258. Bibliography and discussion of the date in Moretti, *ISE* I, no. 39.

<sup>77</sup> Moretti, *ISE* I, no. 37a. Photograph in Tò *Ἔργον*, 1965, p. 70.

<sup>78</sup> The lettering on two other Argive inscriptions is in general similar to that on our stele from Nemea, but I have not listed them in the text since their dates are still in dispute: (1) *SEG* XIX, 317, the oft-mentioned decree in honor of the Rhodians, (2) *IG* IV, 616, a list of fines imposed by Argos on the Arkadian koinon. I believe that the former belongs in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. (see p. 215 below) and that M. Piérart ("Argos, Cléonai et le koinon des Arcadiens," *BCH* 106, 1982, pp. 119–138) has argued persuasively that the latter belongs to the same period.

time of this decree was master of its own affairs to the extent of conferring citizenship and substantial other privileges on a far-away Pamphylian state. Earlier, she had also granted similar honors to the people of Rhodes and Kilikian Soloi (lines 6–7). The decree clearly shows that the aliaia of Argos was functioning at what must have been full strength, for it not only passed the decree but it is to the aliaia that the Aspendians (and the Rhodians and Solieis) had preferred access, after sacred matters had been discussed, and the aliaia is charged in line 12 with taking care of Aspendian requests “for all time.” Furthermore, at the time of the decree Aspendos is sending theoroi to Argos and to Nemea to sacrifice to Argive Hera and Nemean Zeus together with the Argives. The latter clearly have control over both these festivals. Argive agonothetai and hiaromnamones are given instructions to look after the Aspendians at the festivals, and the Argive state sets up a copy of the decree at both of these sanctuaries.

If these inferences about the prominence of the aliaia are sound, we could extend backwards the archaeological *terminus ante quem* of ca. 235 B.C. to ca. 255/4 B.C., the date at which the powerful 3rd-century B.C. tyranny was established at Argos. It is very unlikely that our decree was carried out under one of the autocratic rulers who controlled the state from this date until ca. 223 B.C.<sup>79</sup> and who may have been responsible for moving the celebration of the Nemean Games from Nemea to Argos.

Unfortunately inferences drawn from the fact of Argive control over the Nemean Games cannot provide an exact earlier terminus for the date of our decree. Although Stephen G. Miller has persuasively shown that the Nemean Games were probably not held at Nemea from the end of the 5th century B.C. until the 330's when a new building program marks their return to the Nemea valley,<sup>80</sup> the circumstances of that return and whether it was achieved under the presidency of Argos or of the near-by polis of Kleonai, or possibly as a joint effort of both states, still remain conjectural.<sup>81</sup> For our purposes a *terminus post quem* roughly in the 330's, therefore, is as precise an inference as the evidence in our decree for Argive control over the Nemean Games permits us to draw. General historical considerations suggest, then, the limits of ca. 330's–255/4 B.C. for the date of the decree. If the lettering is a reliable criterion, we may narrow this down to ca. 330's—ca. 300 B.C.

We know virtually nothing about the history of Aspendos at this period except that in 333 B.C. Alexander the Great exacted hostages, horses, and a huge sum of money from the

<sup>79</sup> For these dates see M. T. Mitsos, *op. cit.* (footnote 69 above), pp. 75–78; J. Mandel, “À propos d’une dynastie de tyrans à Argos,” *Athenaeum* 57, 1979, pp. 293–298. I cannot find in Plutarch, *Pyrrhos*, 30 the evidence for J. A. O. Larsen’s assertion that this passage shows that Aristippos was tyrant of Argos as early as 272 B.C. (*Greek Federal States*, Oxford 1968, p. 310). Mitsos’ demonstration that the decree in honor of the Rhodians, *SEG* XIX, 317, could also not have been passed under the tyrants is not, in my view, invalidated by the objections raised by P. Amandry (*BCH*, Suppl. VI, p. 224, note 27).

<sup>80</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. XX, *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography*, Princeton 1982, pp. 100–108, with references to earlier bibliography.

<sup>81</sup> On this complex question which cannot be discussed here see Miller’s paper (*ibid.*); Amandry, *BCH*, Suppl. VI, pp. 245–250; Piérart and Thalmann, *ibid.*, pp. 264–269, with good earlier bibliography; M. Walbank, “The Decree for Lapyris of Kleonai,” *Classical Contributions: Studies in honour of Malcolm Francis McGregor*, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1981, pp. 171–175; Piérart, *op. cit.* (footnote 78 above), pp. 119–138. Paula Perlman and Stephen G. Miller will discuss this problem in detail in their forthcoming publication of the list of theorodokoi which was found in the same well as the decree for the Aspendians.

inhabitants and made them subject to his satrap.<sup>82</sup> Also, sometime *ca.* 300 B.C. the Aspendians changed the legend on their copious issues of silver coins from Ἑσπφιδίως to Ἀσπενδός.<sup>83</sup> It is possible that the adoption of the Greek form of the name on the coins coincided roughly with the reaffirmation of the city's ties to its metropolis which is reflected in the decree from Nemea.

Whatever its date, it is clear that the Argive decree for the Aspendians was not an isolated venture into diplomacy with an eastern Mediterranean state. References to the Rhodians and to the people of Kilikian Soloi in lines 6–7 indicate that the honors voted for Aspendos were part of a larger undertaking in which Argos was strengthening existing bonds with at least these two other states. We are not informed by other sources about the timing and motivation of these contacts with Soloi and Aspendos, but the Argive decree in honor of the Rhodians, *SEG* XIX, 317, is of more help. I have often commented above on the close similarities between this important document and the recently discovered decree from Nemea. They exhibit the same form of heading in large letters at the top of the stele (genitive plural of the ethnic). They both contain the formulation ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Ἀργείων, the reference to συγγενέες, the particular publication formula, the use of the accusative of extent of time without a preposition, and (probably) two proposers with ἔλεξε at the end. It is difficult to conclude that the two decrees are widely separated in date.

Several dates have been proposed for *SEG* XIX, 317, some as late as the middle of the 3rd century B.C.,<sup>84</sup> but the most convincing reconstruction is that of L. Moretti (*ISE* I, pp. 90–94, no. 40) who places the decree in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. He plausibly suggests that upon expelling the Macedonian garrison immediately after the death of Alexander the Great,<sup>85</sup> the Rhodians sent substantial financial aid to Argos (“and to the other Greeks,” lines 7, 19) at the time of the Lamian War. The Argives had requested these funds

<sup>82</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.26.2–27.4 The Aspendians also probably suffered a reduction in the size of their territory at Alexander's hands. For an acute assessment of the financial burden inflicted on the Aspendians see E. Badian in *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday*, Oxford 1966, pp. 49, 65, notes 50, 51.

There does not appear to be any precise connection between Argos and the Aspendian decree of the early 3rd century B.C., *SEG* XVII, 639, which awarded citizenship to a number of mercenaries from Greece and elsewhere. See R. Paribeni, P. Romanelli, *MonAnt* 23, 1915, pp. 116–120 (photograph); M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques (Bibliothèques des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 169) II, Paris 1949, p. 656, with earlier references. R. S. Bagnall (*The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt*, Leiden 1976, pp. 110–113) has persuasively shown that the date of 301–298 B.C. often assigned to this decree is not certain.

In vol. I, pp. 466–471, Launey provides helpful information about Aspendians serving abroad as mercenaries. See also T. B. Mitford, “Further Contributions to the Epigraphy of Cyprus,” *AJA* 65, 1961, p. 119. Cf. L. Robert, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above).

<sup>83</sup> See A. Heubeck, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 4, 1953, pp. 122–125; Robert, *op. cit.* (footnote 65 above), pp. 384–385. Brixhe, *op. cit.* (footnote 21 above), pp. 80–81, 191–200.

<sup>84</sup> For a useful summary with bibliography see Moretti, *ISE* I, pp. 90–94; Amandry, *BCH*, Suppl. VI, pp. 224–226; Piérart, *op. cit.* (footnote 78 above), p. 131, note 41.

<sup>85</sup> Diodoros, xviii.8.1, with Moretti's note. We are not informed about the reaction of the Aspendians to the news of Alexander's death, but if the satrap and garrison he had left there were still in the city at that time, the Aspendians may well have been eager to expel them. For Alexander and the people of Soloi see Arrian, *Anabasis* ii.5.5–8; xii.2. For his treatment of near-by Mallos, another Argive colony, and Alexander's claim of descent from the Argive Herakleidai, see *ibid.*, ii.5.9.

to rebuild their walls and revitalize their cavalry. It would have been appropriate for the Argives to reciprocate at this point by conferring on their kinsmen the honors which are obliquely mentioned in line 6 of our decree. Sometime later the Rhodians sent an embassy to Argos to reaffirm their loyalty to their mother city, and in response the Argives voted the gold crown for the people of Rhodes which is announced in *SEG XIX*, 317. Copies of the decree authorizing this award were to be set up at Nemea, in the Argive Heraion, in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios in Argos, and in Rhodes. Since this decree was passed *χρόνον πολύν* (line 11) after the Rhodians sent aid to Argos, we should allow for an interval of several years after Moretti's suggested date of *ca.* 322 B.C. This would still permit a date in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., and this is roughly the time of a list of donors from Lindos<sup>86</sup> which includes the name of one of the ambassadors mentioned in *SEG XIX*, 317, Athanadoros, son of Thrasonidas. It is much more economical to follow Moretti and M. Piérart<sup>87</sup> in this identification than to invent a homonymous grandson and then use him to date the decree for the Rhodians half a century later.

If the decree for the Rhodians can in this way be placed in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., the recently discovered stele from Nemea recording the privileges voted by Argos for Aspendos cannot be separated from it by a long interval of time. Here probably will also belong the decree for the people of Soloi whose existence we have inferred from line 7. There may have been others. Let us hope that future discoveries will produce more information on the eastern policy of Argos at this time.

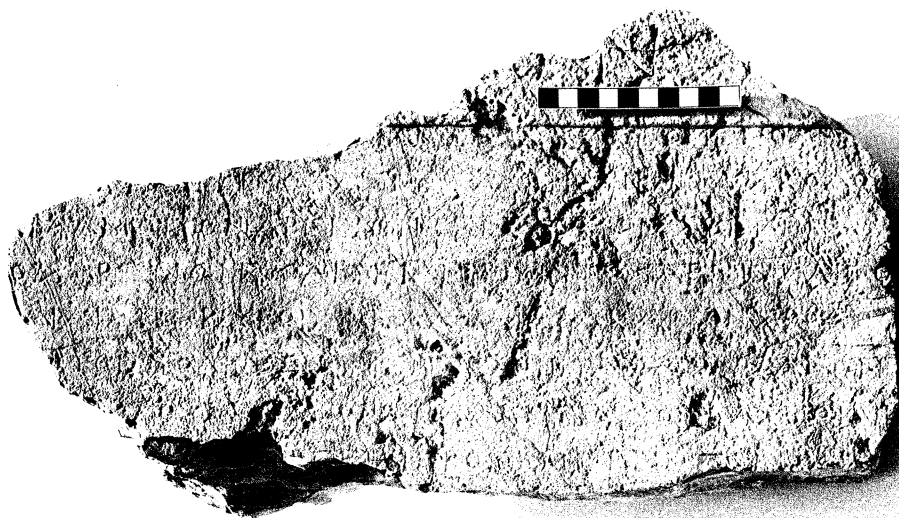
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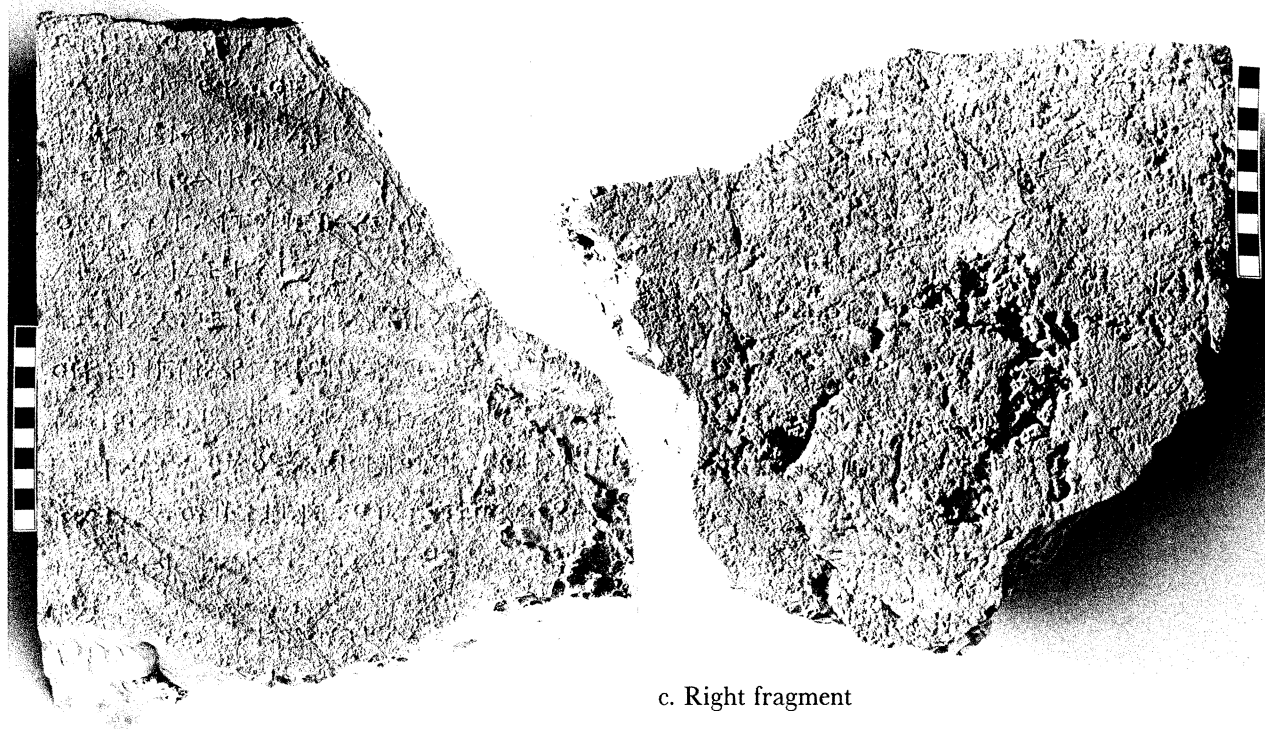
<sup>86</sup> C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos II*, no. 51 a II, line 55.

<sup>87</sup> Footnote 84 above.





a. Top fragment



b. Left fragment

c. Right fragment

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