

# THE THEORODOKOI OF THE NEMEAN GAMES

(PLATES 45–50)

THE FOLLOWING is a presentation of an inscribed stele discovered at Nemea where it had been thrown down a well in the second half of the 3rd century B.C.<sup>1</sup> The stone is a gray-white, fine-crystal marble with veins of gray running vertically through the stele, which is broken across the top but otherwise in a good state of preservation. The back is very roughly picked, although the edges are partially trimmed, and the sides are worked down with a toothed chisel except for a smooth vertical strip *ca.* 0.01 m. wide along the front edges. Across the bottom of the front surface is a roughly picked band, 0.06–0.07 m. wide, which was originally for the insertion of the stele into its base (Pl. 45). The remainder of the front surface was dressed with a toothed chisel and then polished smooth before inscribing, as can be noted near the bottom of the stele where the polishing was less than completely done. The surface also displays several pock marks, most notably in the lower right corner as if from a deliberate striking of the surface with a pointed hammer or pick, perhaps from the time when the stele was broken and thrown down the well.

The text is arranged in two vertical columns within which are headings for place names. These are followed in each case by one or more indented lines for personal names. Two or three different hands have been at work in the inscribing of the preserved text (see below, pp. 149–150). The first and original of these always indents the personal names one to one and one-half letters from the line of the place names. The second hand is more erratic, placing the indentations from one-half to one and one-half letter spaces to the right of his place names.

<sup>1</sup> See the preliminary report of the discovery of this inscription, Stephen G. Miller, "Excavations at Nemea, 1978," *Hesperia* 48, 1979 (pp. 73–103), pp. 78–80. The well is located south of the southwest corner of the Temple of Zeus in Grid Section K 14, and the material from the well, including this inscription, form Deposit K 14:4. In addition to the notice in *Hesperia* mentioned above, this inscription has been discussed to varying degrees by M. Bergmans, "Théores argiens au Fayoum," *ChrEg* 54, fasc. 107, 1979 (pp. 127–130), p. 128, note 5; M. Piérart and J.-P. Thalmann, "Nouvelles inscriptions argiennes," *Études argiennes* (*BCH* Suppl. 6), 1980, p. 267; P. Amandry, "Sur les concours argiens," *ibid.*, pp. 245–246; and P. Cabanes, "Les états fédéraux de Grèce du nord-ouest: pouvoirs locaux et pouvoir fédéral," in *Symposion 1979. Actes du IV Colloque international de droit grec et hellénistique*, P. D. Dimakes, ed., Athens 1981 (pp. 99–111), pp. 106–107. In addition an earlier version of this article was used by Paula Perlman in the preparation of her dissertation *The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese*, University of California at Berkeley 1984, pp. 126–202, 279–281. I would refer the interested reader to Perlman's discussion of theorodokia as an institution and of the geographical implications of this stone for the route of theoroi. To her bibliography on that subject one might add A. Giovannini, *Études historique sur les origines du catalogue des vaisseaux*, Berne 1969, pp. 53–61. I would thank C. Habicht and S. Tracy for their comments and suggestions made upon the penultimate version of this paper. They bear no responsibility for any errors of fact or of interpretation which remain.

Inv. No. I 85

Max. pres. H.: 0.80 m. W. at bottom of stele: 0.427 m. Max. Th.: 0.116 m.

Letter heights:

Hand I: 0.004–0.008 m.

Hand II: 0.005–0.018 m. (lines A 11–13, B 33–46)

“Hand III”: 0.009–0.018 m. (lines B 47–48)

a. 323/2 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	COLUMN A		COLUMN B
	.. --		-----
	Νικόστρατος		-----
	Ἐγὼ Κύπρωι <ἐ>ν Σαλαμί(νι)		... Γ.---
	Νικοκρέων Πνυταγόρα		Ἄγίας Κλε[---
5	Τεῦκρος Ἀκεστοκρέοντος		<i>vacat</i>
	Ἐγὼ Κουρίω		Ἐν Κορκύραι
	Πασικράτης Ἀριστοκράτους		Αἰσχρίων Τεύθραντος
	Θεμισταγόρας Ἀριστοκράτους		<i>vacat</i>
	Ἐν Σόλοις		Ἐν Λευκάδι
10	Στασικράτης Στασία		Δαϊμένης
	<Ἐ>ν Σερίφωι		Κλέας
	Εὐαρχος		<Θ>ράσων Θρασυλόχου
	Παιδέα		Καλλικλῆς Θεόδωρος Καλλία
	<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>
15	Ἐν Ἀκαρνανίαι		<i>vacat</i>
	Ἐμ Παλαίρωι		Ἐμ Μακε<δ>ονίαι
	Διόφαντος Λυκοφρονίδα		Ἐν Ἀμφιπόλι
	Διοκλῆς Θερσιλόχου		Πέρσας Νικολάου
	Εὐφρων Ἐπίφρονος		Ἐν Λήτηι
20	Ἐν Ἀνακτορίωι		Μένανδρος Λυσάνδρου
	Ἄ<λ>εξίων Ἀνδρομάχου		Ἐξ Ἀλάντης
	Δαμότιμος Ἀνδρομάχου		Ἄφθόνητος Πυθοδώρου
	Ἀνδρόλαος Ἀνδρομάχου		<i>vacat</i>
	Ἐν Ἐχίνωι		Ἀριστόνους
25	Στίλπων Ὀλυμπίχου		Ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου
	Ἐν Θυρρείωι		Ἐν Λαμψάκωι
	Ἄλκέτας Ἀντιμάχου		-----
	Ἐν Εὐρίπωι		Ἐπιγ[ένη]ς Θεουμήδου
	Πολυάκης Χαιριμένεος		E[-----]Υ
30	Εὐάλκος Χαιριμένεος		Κλεομε[.....]ηδου
	Ἐν Λίμναις		Θρασ[.....]ς Θεουμη[δου]
	Φίλιστος Ἀριστομάχου		-----
	Δρώξιας Ἀριστομάχου		Ἐν Κύμαι
	Ἐν Οἰνιάδαις		Ἑρακλειόδωρος

35	Φείδων Πορφυρίων Δαμοθάρσος Φίλων Τιμοσθένης Ἐν Στράτῳ Αἰσχρίων Ἀδμάτο<υ>	35	Ἀμύντας Φιλόδοξος Ἀριστοδίκου Ἐν Στράτῳ Μεννέας
40	Ἐφέσιος Ἐχεκράτεος Ἐν Δηρίῳ Τελένικος Ἀγησάνδρου Βραχυμήλος Ἀρχεδάμου Ἐμ Μεδιῶνι	40	Καρφίνα Ἐν Ἐρετρίαι Πολέμων <Ἀ>ριστομένους Ἐν Νοτίῳ
45	Φρικίνας Νικηράτου Νικόλαος Σωτήριος Σωσάνδρου Ἐμ Φοιτίαις Μενεσθ<ε>ὺς Μιλτιάδα Ἐγ Κορόνταις	45	Πραξίδικος Ἐν Χίῳ [[Κύμνος]] [[Πλάτωνος]]
50	Πανσανίας Θ<ε>οπροπίδα Σαμιάδας Σαμία Ἐν Ἀστακοῖς Ἡρακλείδας Ὀφρυάδα		

## EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

In addition to the text presented above, there are slight traces of letters at the very top of the preserved stone. There is a diagonal tip above the iota of Nikostratos at the top of Column A and, further to the right above the space between the kappa and the omicron, the tip of a vertical stroke. Above the iota of Agias in Column B there are the lower tips of the two vertical strokes of a pi and a trace or two to the right of that.

The general principles behind the original layout of the inscription by Hand I are clear, although not always followed by Hand I himself. For example, in addition to the use of indentation to separate place from personal names as already noted, lines were left un-inscribed to separate general regions from one another, as in Column B where Korkyra is separated from Leukas by one un-inscribed line. The latter is separated in turn from Makedonia by two un-inscribed lines. On the other hand, the line preceding the entry for Kypros (A 3) is inscribed, and Kypros and Salamis appear in the same line unlike the situation with Akarnania and Palairos (A 15–16) or Makedonia and Amphipolis (B 16–17).

At first glance, Hand I appears to be neat and methodical, but there are various inconsistencies in the forms of his letters upon closer examination (see further on this point below, footnote 3). One may instructively and succinctly compare the nus and rhos of Ἀνδρομάχου in lines A 21, 22, and 23, or the nus of Στίλπων in line 25 and of Ἀντιμάχου in line A 27, or the omegas of lines A 24, 25, and 26, or the pis of lines A 25 and 28, or the upsilons of Ὀλυμπίχου in line A 25 and of Ἀντιμάχου of line A 27 (Pl. 46:a). Perhaps even more striking is to compare the two epsilons of Χαιριμένεος in line A 30 (Pl. 46:a), and one may also look at the two rhos in line A 54 (Pl. 46:b), as well as those in lines B 6 and 7 (Pl. 47:a) together with a comparison of the alphas in the same lines. Beyond such inconsistencies in

his letter forms, Hand I does not always do a very good job of horizontal alignment. See, for example, his handiwork in the first seven or eight letters of line A 25 (Pl. 46:a) or at the beginning of line A 42. On the other hand, there is a clear attempt to follow a single horizontal line for both columns. Finally, we should mention that Hand I changes his letter sizes sometimes in response to the needs of space. Contrast, for example, the height of his kappa in line B 11 where he has an abundance of room with those in line B 13 which is very crowded (Pl. 47:a).

Hand II, which uses taller letters more deeply inscribed than those of Hand I, appears in Column A, lines 11–13 in the “regional gap” of four lines originally left between Kypros and Akarnania (Pl. 47:b), and again in Column B, lines 33–46 (Pl. 48:a, b). The use of indentation by Hand I is repeated but not the use of uninscribed lines to separate geographical regions. This is undoubtedly due to the nature of Hand II as providing a revised, updated, edition of the original text. That the secondary hand in both columns is identical is indicated by close similarities of letter forms and sizes, and by the fact that traces of *miltos* survive in both places but not anywhere in the letters of Hand I. This fact also shows, as is obvious in any event, the chronological priority of Hand I to Hand II. Hand III occurs only in Column B, lines 47–48 and will be discussed further below.

Hand I and Hand II are both guilty of minor errors which seem to stem from not always paying close attention to a preliminary guide laid on the surface of the stone (see further below on this point).

*Line A 3.* The central horizontal stroke of the epsilon of ἐν was never inscribed, nor were the final nu and iota of Σαλαμῖνι.

*Lines A 11–13.* This part of the text is inscribed by Hand II over an area of four lines between the inscription of Hand I in line 10 and line 25. Even though located between two major geographical regions (Cyprus and Akarnania), and therefore in a space where uninscribed lines are to be expected, it is difficult to believe that as many as four lines were left empty. I can see, however, no trace of a *rasura* on the stone (cf. Pl. 47:b), and the existence of such a void in the original text may have encouraged Hand II to squeeze in a part of his text here.

In line 11 the central horizontal stroke of the initial epsilon was never inscribed.

*Line A 21.* The lambda of Ἀλεξίων was inscribed with a horizontal stroke giving it the appearance of an alpha.

*Line A 39.* The upsilon of Ἀδμάτων is inscribed on the stone as a tau.

*Line A 48.* The central horizontal stroke of the third epsilon of Μενεσθεύς was never inscribed.

*Line A 50.* The central horizontal stroke of the epsilon of Θεοπροπίδα was never inscribed.

*Line B 12.* The central dot of the theta of Θράσων was never inscribed.

*Line B 16.* The delta of Μακεδονίαι was inscribed as an alpha.

*Line B 23.* Although one would expect a place name to be inscribed in this line, there is no trace of any inscription nor of a *rasura* (see further below, pp. 158–159 in the prosopographical commentary under Aristonous).

*Lines B 25–32.* This space requires special description and discussion (cf. Pl. 48:a). Let us note several facts. First, the letters here are very faint and give the impression at first glance of having been erased. On the other hand, the surface of the stone is actually slightly higher in this area than in the area of the immediately preceding and following texts, and there is no physical evidence for an erasure. Second, Hand II respects the area of this text, and I can find no traces of any of Hand I’s work beneath that of Hand II. Therefore, if we are to imagine that lines 25–32 actually were erased, we must think that the erasure took place after Hand II had finished his work. Third, the proper lighting reveals clearly that the vertical chisel marks from the original finishing of the surface continue from the area of the stone well above, through the area of lines 25–32, well into the area below. This is visible, to some extent, in Plate 48:a. Fourth, there is evidence elsewhere in the

work of Hand I of a preliminary sketch or scratched guidelines over which the final letters were incised.<sup>2</sup> Finally, there is evidence within lines B 25–32 that we are dealing with a preliminary sketch rather than the final, inscribed, text. This can be seen most clearly in the omicrons of lines 28 and 30 where the preserved strokes cannot close the circle and are very like scratched sketches indicating to the mason the location and form of the letter to be inscribed (Pl. 49:a). It therefore seems possible to suggest that this area of the stone never received its final inscription, was still scratched heavily enough to be visible to Hand II and respected by him, and has gradually worn sufficiently over the centuries to become less than totally legible to us.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Note, for example, the delta and alpha of Ἡρακλείδας in line A 52 (Pl. 46:b). These two letters were clearly never inscribed to the depth of their neighbors to right and left; might they not have been preliminary sketches which were just deep enough to allow the mason to not bother to reincise them? Also indicative of such a procedure are the types of errors noted above where the central strokes of epsilons are left uninscribed and lambdas, deltas, and alphas confused. This strongly suggests that the actual inscribing is being done over a preliminary sketch and with not too much thought about the actual text during the final inscription. Finally, let us note the faint lines parallel to but not obliterated by the final deeper incision as in the lambda of Λήτηι (B 19) or the second nu of Μέλανδρος and the nu of Λυσάνδρου (B 20, Pl. 48:a) among many examples. Surely these are traces of preliminary sketches.

S. V. Tracy (*Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, Princeton 1975, pp. 115–116 [cf. p. 87]) has denied that preliminary sketches were made (at least in Attic inscriptions), although most earlier scholars have assumed such through the media of paint or charcoal or something similar. If he is correct, then perhaps we should refer not to a preliminary sketch on the Nemean stone but to an incomplete incision using the furring technique whereby the letters of lines B 25–32 simply were never cut so deeply as the others. Note Tracy's description of a modern experiment at inscription (p. 125): "No attempt was made [by the modern mason] to complete a furrow in one cutting, but instead the chisel was driven over the surface three or four times. . . ."

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that Perlman ([footnote 1 above], pp. 197–201) thought that lines B 25–32 represented the work of yet another hand, later than my Hand I, earlier than my Hand II, which was erased after Hand II had finished his work. As evidence of this additional Hand, she cited a presumed unevenness of the margins of Column B at this point and larger letters than are to be found elsewhere in Hand I (and clearly smaller than those of my Hand II). A straightedge laid along the left margin of Column B shows the letters to follow a line as neat as elsewhere in Hand I, however, and I see here no evidence of such a lack of alignment. The size of the letters is a more difficult question because lines B 25–32 are so poorly preserved that one has less than a full statistical set to work with. Moreover, as noted above, Hand I has so many peculiarities that it is difficult to know exactly what is characteristic and what is the result of the exigencies of space requirements. Nonetheless, I have measured every letter height on the stone and herewith present the tabulated relevant results (i.e. for those letters which are preserved in lines B 25–32; all dimensions are in millimeters):

letter (instances in lines 25–32)	B 25–32 Aver. H.	Aver. H.	Hand I Max.	Min.
gamma (1)	8	6.44	7	6
delta (1)	5.5	5.85	7.5	4.5
epsilon (7)	8.14	6.66	8.5	5.5
eta (2)	8	7.19	8	6
iota (1)	8	6.94	9.5	6
kappa (1)	8	7	9	6
lambda (2)	7.75	6.10	7.5	4.5
mu (2)	7.5	6.34	7.5	5.5
nu (1)	8	7	9	6
xi (1)	7.5	5.5	5.5	5.5
omicron (5)	6.4	5.38	6.5	4
pi (2)	8.5	6.06	7.5	5.5
sigma (2)	8	7.67	9	6
tau (1)	8	6.64	8	6

It is clear from this tabulation that the letters of lines B 25–32 are consistently larger than the average of those of Hand I (except for delta), although all fall within the maximum and minimum of Hand I except

Plate 49:b has picked out in pencil the strokes of letters which I can discern in lines 25–32 as noted below.

*Line B 26.* Only the upper curve of the top of the omega is visible and a part of the vertical stroke of what ought to be an iota to the right. I doubt that one would read either of these two letters if the text did not demand a dative singular at this point.

*Line B 27.* Only a few traces survive in this line as, for example, a diagonal stroke beneath the first alpha of *Λαμψάκωι* in the line above (Pl. 49:b).

*Line B 28.* No central dot of the theta has survived, nor the two lower horizontals of the following epsilon (Pl. 49:b).

*Line B 29.* Only a very few traces of letters have survived.

*Line B 30.* Of the second epsilon in this line, only a vertical stroke on the left side of the letter space and a central horizontal have survived; eta would also be possible. Of the eta toward the end of the line only the vertical on the left side of the letter space and a central horizontal stroke have survived; epsilon would also be possible. Between the two aforementioned letters there are traces of letters, but preserved in such a fugitive condition that they can only be used to check on possible restorations. Thus, for example, the temptation to restore *Θευμήδου* by analogy with lines B 28 and 31 is removed (Pl. 49:b).

*Line B 31.* No trace of a central dot in either of the thetas in this line has survived, nor of a crossbar for the alpha or eta. Of the final delta only a suggestion of a diagonal on the left side is preserved (Pl. 49:b).

*Line B 32.* Very faint and fugitive traces of putative letters survive. This line may not have been inscribed at all.

*Line B 33.* Hand II begins at this point, and the horizontal alignment of the lines of Columns A and B begins to be lost.

*Line B 35.* The mu has been damaged by a pock mark, but the left vertical stroke is still legible.

*Line B 36.* The lambda has a scratchy crossbar, apparently added later than the original inscription, which would change the name to Phidodoxos.

*Line B 40.* An unevenness or awkwardness in the alignment and forms of the letters begins to appear here. It would seem that Hand II is becoming cramped for space as he works on the standing stele.

*Line B 43.* The crossbar of the alpha was never inscribed.

*Lines B 47–48.* This space on the surface of the stone has been erased in a hasty way and reinscribed by a hand which does not appear to be the same as Hand II. The letters of this new Hand III are larger and less carefully done than those of Hand II. This could be due to the rather awkward position low on a standing stele embedded in its base (see above on line B 40). Traces of the original inscription can be made out sloping downward to the right (Fig. 1; Pl. 48:b) and appear to represent a different spelling of the same entry inscribed by Hand III; that is, Hand II seems to have inscribed *ΚΥΜΜΟΣ* / *ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ* instead of the *ΚΥΜΜΝΟΣ* / *ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ* of Hand III. The latter is, then, simply a correction of Hand II and might even be a cramped version of Hand II rather than a different hand altogether. It is not clear why the final line had to be erased, but I suspect that the final four letters of *Πλάτωνος* were never erased but “re-used” by “Hand III”.

#### PROSOPOGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

The names of some of the men in this inscription are known from other sources; indeed, some are rather famous. On the other hand, several other names, especially those from gamma, lambda, and xi. I am not certain, given the above considerations, whether this is sufficient to prove that lines B 25–32 are in a hand different from Hand I. We might consider another fact which emerged from the measuring: the letter heights of Hand I in Column A are sometimes rather different, on average, from those of Hand I in Column B. The averages (A:B) are gamma 6.33:6.75; delta 6.02:5.17; epsilon 6.40:7.64; eta 6.95:7.58; iota 6.81:7.60; kappa 6.74:7.70; lambda 6.45:5.57; mu 6.40:6.10; nu 7.00:7.00; xi 5.50:5.50; omicron 5.41:5.28; pi 5.88:6.83; sigma 7.69:7.62; tau 6.51:7.33. Does this mean that we should consider that the top 24 lines of Column B are in a different hand from all of Column A except, obviously, lines A 11–14? Such an interpretation seems unlikely and serves to warn us about using letter heights as a criterion for distinguishing hands in such a text.



FIG. 1. Sketch of letters in erased area of lines B 47–48

Akarnania, are attested as proper names for the first time from antiquity on this stone. Thus, several men are as obscure as others are well known. In this context, the occasional carelessness of the inscribers of the stone should be kept in mind, for the orthography may be incorrect.

*Line A 2.* By analogy with the rest of the stone, we should expect here an uninscribed space, for we are about to pass to Cyprus, clearly a new geographical region, or (since this line is inscribed) a patronymic (but see lines A 35, B 10, 11, and 24). Nothing can be said about Nikostratos except that he upsets the pattern of the text.

*Line A 4.* Nikokreon, son of Pnytagoras, of Salamis is very well known. He had succeeded his father as king of Salamis at least by 331 B.C.<sup>4</sup> He was an ally of Alexander and, after the latter's death, of Ptolemy who ultimately made Nikokreon his governor for the whole of Cyprus.<sup>5</sup> Nikokreon came to his death in 311/10,<sup>6</sup> perhaps as a suicide after a betrayal of Ptolemy.<sup>7</sup> Of especial interest to us are the references to Nikokreon's generosity

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander* 29. Nikokreon's father, Pnytagoras, was still alive in 332 B.C. when he was fighting with Alexander against Tyre (Arrian, *Anabasis* II.20.6), and his services to Alexander were subsequently rewarded (Douris *apud* Athenaeus, 4.167C = *FGrHist* 76 F 4). Although we are not specifically told so, Pnytagoras' death may have come later that same year when his ship went down (Arrian, *Anabasis* II.22.2).

<sup>5</sup> See Arrian, frag. S 24.6 (ed. Roos = *FGrHist* 156 F 10.6) for the initial alliance with Ptolemy; Diodorus Siculus, XIX.59.1 and 62.5 for the continuation of the alliance in 315 B.C.; and Diodorus Siculus, XIX.79.5 for Nikokreon's elevation to *strategos* by Ptolemy in 313 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> *IG* XII 5, 444 (= *FGrHist* 239 B 17).

<sup>7</sup> Diodorus Siculus, XX.21.1–3 and Polyaeus, 8.48 refer to the treachery and subsequent suicide of Nikokles of Paphos, rather than of Nikokreon, and place the date in 310/09 B.C. Modern scholars have concluded that Nikokreon was, however, the actual suicide; cf. F. Stähelin, *RE*, s.v. Nikokreon, and G. F. Hill, *History of Cyprus* I, Cambridge 1940, pp. 158–160. This interpretation might appear to have been confirmed by the

to several Greek sanctuaries including those at Delphi,<sup>8</sup> Delos,<sup>9</sup> and, particularly significantly, Argos.<sup>10</sup> We are not told that Nikokreon made any contributions to the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea, but it would not be surprising to learn that he had done so.

*Line A 5.* Although Teukros, son of Akestokreon, of Salamis is not otherwise known, the name reminds us of the supposed connection between the royal house of Salamis and Teukros, son of Telamon, who was credited with the foundation of Salamis in Cyprus.<sup>11</sup> I can find no other occurrence of the word Akestokreon as a proper name.

*Line A 7.* Pasikrates, son of Aristokrates, of Kourion is almost certainly to be identified with the Pasikrates whose ship was sunk by the Tyrians in the same engagement which saw the loss of the ship of Pnytagoras in 332 B.C. (above, line A 4).<sup>12</sup> If this identification is correct, then the correction of the ethnic of Pasikrates in the manuscripts of Arrian from Thourion to Kourion must also be correct.<sup>13</sup>

*Line A 8.* Themistagoras, son of Aristokrates and brother of Pasikrates, is not otherwise known, but the name Themistagoras is attested at Kourion,<sup>14</sup> as is the name Aristokrates.<sup>15</sup>

*Line A 10.* Stasikrates, son of Stasias, of Soloi is attested upon a dedication found at Larnaka where he is characterized as Basileus of Soloi.<sup>16</sup> That epigraphic text led D. Pierides to conclude that Stasikrates was identical with the Pasikrates known as a close contemporary of Nikokreon with whom he engaged in a choregic competition on behalf of Alexander in 331 B.C.<sup>17</sup> This identification would mean emending the text of Plutarch to read Stasikrates rather than Pasikrates. This proposal has met with little favor in recent times, for the date of the epigraphically attested Stasikrates at Soloi depended only upon the

discovery of the remains of a pyre/cenotaph, seemingly for Nikokreon and his family; cf. V. Karageorghis, *Salamis in Cyprus*, London 1969, pp. 151–164 and *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis III*, Nicosia 1973, pp. 128–202, Tumulus 77. But see I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, “Literary, Epigraphic, and Numismatic Evidence on Nicocles King of Paphos,” *Κυπριακὰ Σπουδαί* 40, 1976 (pp. 15–28), pp. 24–25, who points out that there is, at least at present, no compelling reason to doubt the literary tradition as it stands; i.e. the suicide was Nikokles in the year after the death of Nikokreon. For the opposite conclusion and further bibliography, see P. Bernard, “Anaxarque et Nicocréon,” *Journal des Savants*, 1984 (pp. 3–48), p. 23, note 68 (I would thank C. Habicht for this reference).

<sup>8</sup> Aelian, *de natura animalium* ix.40.

<sup>9</sup> *IG XI*, 161 B 54, 90, and 199 B 87. Generous connections between Nikokreon’s family and Delos were established by the time of his father, Pnytagoras, who was a proxenos there (*Inscriptions de Délos* 1409 BaII, 113) and made a dedication (*ibid.*, 1429 A1, 7; 1441 A, 98; 1450 A, 63).

<sup>10</sup> *IG IV*, 583; cf. M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions II*, Oxford 1948, p. 268, no. 194; and Amandry (footnote 1 above), p. 219.

<sup>11</sup> Cf., *inter alios*, Isocrates, ix.14 and Horace, *Carmina* 1.7.27–29. The sources are gathered by K. Hadji-oannou, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πηγὰς I*, Nicosia 1971, p. 20; cf. index, vol. V, Nicosia 1983, pp. 404–405.

<sup>12</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* ii.22.2 (see footnote 4 above).

<sup>13</sup> Proposed already in the 19th century by C. Sintenis and C. H. Dörner and followed by subsequent editors including A. G. Roos in 1967 but emended (incorrectly) to Solion by Hadji-oannou ([footnote 11 above], I, p. 73, and V, p. 160).

<sup>14</sup> T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Philadelphia 1971, nos. 62 and 63.

<sup>15</sup> D. Peppas-Delmusu, “Ein attisches Grabgedicht für einer Arzt aus Cyprien,” *AM* 78, 1963, pp. 154–155.

<sup>16</sup> O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris 1961, pp. 218–220, no. 212.

<sup>17</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander*, 29. D. Pierides, “On a Digraphic Inscription Found in Larnaca,” *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 4, fasc. 1, 1875 (pp. 38–43), pp. 41–42.



letter forms of the inscription.<sup>18</sup> We can now state, however, that Pierides' suggestion was correct, for we have Stasikrates and Nikokreon definitely linked on the same document from Nemea. Therefore, the text of Plutarch must be emended to read Stasikrates for Pasikrates, as must also the fragmentary text of Arrian which relates the alliance of Nikokreon and Πασικράτην τὸν Σόλιον with Ptolemy in 321 B.C.<sup>19</sup> If the problem is more than simply a faulty manuscript tradition, it may have arisen from the fact that there seems to have been a Pasikrates from Soloi whose son, Nikokles, was with Alexander in India.<sup>20</sup> This Pasikrates is nowhere attested as Basileus, a title which does apply to Stasikrates and which justifies the latter's position vis-à-vis Nikokreon in the text of Plutarch (as emended) and on the Nemean stone.

*Lines A 12–13.* Euarchos, son of Paideas, from Seriphos, is not otherwise known, but we should note that a fragmentary text found long ago at Nemea records honors for someone from Seriphos.<sup>21</sup>

*Line A 17.* The name Diophantes is known in six texts from Thyreion but not at Palairos nor elsewhere in Akarnania.<sup>22</sup>

*Line A 18.* Diokles, son of Thersilochos, from Palairos is certainly to be identified with the Diokles from Palairos attested in an inscription of Argive theorodokoi of about the same date as the Nemean text under discussion (see further below, chronological commentary).<sup>23</sup>

*Line A 19.* The name Euphron is known from a single text in Palairos.<sup>24</sup>

*Lines A 21–23.* Although the name Andromachos is known in Akarnania,<sup>25</sup> the names of his three sons are new for the whole region as well as for Anaktorion.

*Line A 25.* The name Stilpon is known in Akarnania (unlike that of his father Olympichos), but at Palairos, not Echinus.<sup>26</sup>

*Line A 27.* The name Alketas is known three times in Akarnania, of which two are 3rd- or 2nd-century texts from Thyreion, but a relationship between our Alketas and those cannot be established.<sup>27</sup> The name of the father, Antimachos, is known on an Akarnanian text the precise provenience of which is unknown.<sup>28</sup>

*Line A 30.* Unlike the other names from Euripos, Eualkos is at least known in Akarnania, but at Thyreion.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Hill (footnote 7 above), p. 150, note 5.

<sup>19</sup> Arrian, frag. S 24.6 (ed. Roos, p. 280 = *FGrHist* 156 F 10.6, where the text is read as Πασικρ[ά]την τὸν Σόλιον).

<sup>20</sup> Arrian, *Indica* xviii.8.

<sup>21</sup> *IG* IV, 480.

<sup>22</sup> *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>: 250, 251, 256, 285, 321, 583.

<sup>23</sup> P. Charneux, "Liste argienne de théarodoques," *BCH* 90, 1966 (pp. 156–239), p. 157, I 5.

<sup>24</sup> *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 563.

<sup>25</sup> At Alyzeia; see W. Peek, "Neue Inschriften aus Epidauros," *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 63, fasc. 5, 1972 (pp. 1–63), p. 41, no. 73.

<sup>26</sup> *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 542.

<sup>27</sup> *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 245 and 311; cf. 496.

<sup>28</sup> *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 573. Note, however, the possibility that this Antimachos was not an Akarnanian; cf. L. Robert, *Collection Froehner* I, Paris 1936, p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 248 and 583.

*Lines A 32–33.* The name of the father of the theorodokoi from Limnaia, Aristomachos, is known from Thyrraeion, and the name of the first son, Philistos, is known from Koronta.<sup>30</sup> The name of the second son, Droxias, appears to be a new addition to the ranks of ancient Greek prosopography.

*Line A 35.* The name Pheidon is new to Akarnania. As in the case of Nikostratos (A 2), Daïmenes (B 10), Kleas (B 11), and Aristonous (B 24), Pheidon lacks a patronymic. Apparently the name of the father was unknown, at least to the mason carving this stone.

*Line A 36.* Porphyrion is a new name for Akarnania, and Damotharses is a new name.

*Line A 37.* Philon is well known as a name in Akarnania, including Oiniadai where it appears on two fragmentary roof tiles.<sup>31</sup> The Nemean theorodokos cannot be identified with the Philon of the tiles with any certainty, and the former's father, Timosthenes, is new to Akarnanian prosopography.

*Line A 39.* The name Aischrion is known twice from Stratos in texts of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>32</sup> The name of his father, Admatos, is new to Akarnania.

*Line A 40.* This would appear to be the first attestation of the use of the word Ephesios as a proper name rather than an adjective, and the patronymic Echekrates is new to Akarnania.

*Line A 42.* The names of father and son, Hagesandros and Telenikos, are new to Akarnania.

*Line A 43.* The name Brachymelos is new to Greek prosopography, although the name of his father, Archedamos, is known in Akarnania in the Hellenistic period.<sup>33</sup>

*Line A 45.* The name Phrikinas is unattested. Perhaps we have to do with a misspelling of Phrinikas. The father's name, Nikeratos, is new to Akarnania.

*Line A 46.* The name Nikolaos is known in Akarnania at Thyrraeion and Palairos.<sup>34</sup> Soterios is not otherwise attested in Akarnania, while the name of the father, Sosandros, is known from Thyrraeion.<sup>35</sup> For the first time on our stone (but see line B 13) two sons of the same father seem to be inscribed on a single line rather than on individual lines for each son as in lines A 7 and 8; A 21, 22, and 23; A 29 and 30; and A 32 and 33. Perhaps this anomaly derives from the document from which the mason was working,<sup>36</sup> but there is also the possibility that we should read Nikolaos, Soterios Sosandrou; i.e. that the name of Nikolaos' father is not being recorded.

*Line A 48.* The names of son and father, Menestheus and Miltiades, respectively, seem to be attested here for the first time in Akarnania.

*Line A 50.* The name Pausanias is new to Akarnania, but the name of his father,

<sup>30</sup> *SEG XXVII*, 159, and *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>*, 432, respectively.

<sup>31</sup> *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>*, 426, 4a and 4b.

<sup>32</sup> *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>*, 394 and 594.

<sup>33</sup> *SEG XXVII*, 159 (Thyrraeion).

<sup>34</sup> *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>*, 358 and 569, respectively.

<sup>35</sup> *SEG XXVII*, 159 (see footnotes 30 and 33 above).

<sup>36</sup> As suggested for the similar documents at Delphi by A. Plassart, "Inscriptions de Delphes, la liste de théorodokes," *BCH* 45, 1921 (pp. 1–85), p. 45, note 1 and at Argos by Charneux (footnote 23 above), p. 237.

Theopropidas, appears as a theorodokos (but from Stratos) for Epidaurios in the first half of the 4th century B.C.<sup>37</sup>

*Line A 51.* The names of both son and father, Samiadas and Samias, respectively, are known from Akarnania, but at Thyrraeion and Palairos, respectively.<sup>38</sup>

*Line A 53.* The name Herakleidas is known in Akarnania from Echinios, Thyrraeion, and Koronta, as well as from Astakos itself, but in an inscription of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>39</sup> The name of Herakleidas' father, Ophryadas, is rare but has been attested from the Hellenistic period at Larissa and Eretria.<sup>40</sup>

*Line B 7.* Aischrion, son of Teuthras, from Korkyra, is also known from the Argive list of theorodokoi.<sup>41</sup>

*Line B 10.* Daïmenes of Leukas is to be identified with the name who appears on the Argive list of theorodokoi.<sup>42</sup> It is of interest that Daïmenes has no patronymic given on either the Argive or the Nemean text,<sup>43</sup> whereas Aischrion (B 7) has a patronymic in both texts and Diokles (A 18) has no patronymic in the Argive text but is provided with one here (Thersilochos). Is this discrepancy due to carelessness on the part of the inscriber of the Argive text or to a difference in the information provided to the inscribers of each text? If the latter is true, given that the ultimate source of both texts will have been the same Argive officials or office, then a significant chronological difference between the two texts is indicated (see below, p. 161).

*Lines B 11–12.* The names in these two lines, Kleas, Thrason, and his father Thrasylochos, appear not to have been known in Leukas heretofore.

*Line B 13.* As in the case of line A 46, we would seem to be concerned here with two brothers, Kallikles and Theodoros, sons of Kallias. It is not clear why the mason felt it necessary to squeeze the names into a single line rather than to follow the format used, for example, for the sons of Andromachos in lines A 21–23, especially just before leaving two lines blank. None of the names given here seem to have been known in Leukas.

*Line B 18.* The name Persas seems to be unknown in Macedonia, but the name of his father, Nikolaos, is known at Amphipolis itself.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 95, line 10.

<sup>38</sup> *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 252 and 502, respectively.

<sup>39</sup> *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 379, 249, 432, and 434, respectively.

<sup>40</sup> *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 717, and *IG* XII 9, 245A405, respectively.

<sup>41</sup> Charneux (footnote 23 above), p. 157, col. I, line 13; cf. p. 710 where the ethnic, originally restored as Kassope, is restored as Korkyra, correctly as it can now be seen. Note that the restoration of that ethnic as Kemara by N. G. L. Hammond ("The Hosts of Sacred Envoys Travelling Through Epirus," *Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά* 22, 1980 [pp. 9–20], p. 15, and "Some Passages in Arrian Concerning Alexander," *CQ* 30, 1980 [pp. 455–476], pp. 472–473, note 46) is hereby proven erroneous.

<sup>42</sup> Charneux, *op. cit.*, p. 157, col. I, line 8.

<sup>43</sup> The Argive text actually reads: [Leu]kas: Daïmenes, Peitheas Peithonida. It would be possible to argue that Daïmenes and Peitheas are brothers, sons of Peithonides, although I am not certain that such a conclusion is required, but see A 46 above and B 13 below.

<sup>44</sup> *SEG* XXIV, 585.

*Line B 20.* Menandros is a name attested twice for Lete, as well as for many other Macedonian towns including Berroia, Thessalonike, and Amphipolis.<sup>45</sup> His father's name, Lysandros, is also known at Lete,<sup>46</sup> but we can identify none of these names with those from the Nemean list.

*Line B 22.* A Macedonian named Aphthonetos was once whipped by Philip II, but there is no basis for identifying him with our Aphthonetos, son of Pythodoros, from Alante.<sup>47</sup>

*Line B 24.* The name Aristonous appears in isolation on the stone. No patronymic is provided, and the line before his name was never inscribed. It would seem clear that this Aristonous was a Macedonian, for his name is in that general entry, but no other details emerge from the stone. It can thus be only speculation to associate him with an Aristonous from Macedonia who was one of Alexander's bodyguards. This Aristonous was the son of Peisaios and was from either Pella or Eordaia.<sup>48</sup> He is heard from again in the period after the death of Alexander as one of the few generals who remained loyal to Olympias right to the end and paid the ultimate price for this loyalty in 316 B.C.<sup>49</sup> Although this Aristonous cannot be identified securely with the Aristonous of the Nemean inscription, it is interesting that the stone does not know the ethnic of the latter, and that the texts of Arrian disagree upon the ethnic of the former.

Even more tantalizing is the Aristonous who appears in an honorific decree of Eretria from about the period of the Nemean text.<sup>50</sup> This Aristonous is named twice in the Eretrian decree, but in both cases with neither patronymic nor ethnic. Indeed, the surface of the Eretrian stone was deliberately left blank immediately following both occurrences of the name. The first blank space is about 16 letters in length which would be just about right for the details of the Macedonian Aristonous; the second blank is about 12 letter spaces. Thus the Aristonous

<sup>45</sup> *SEG* XXIX, 608, lines 6 and 16 (Lete); *Δελτ* 28, 1973, B' 1 (1977), p. 439 and *Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία*, Thessalonike 1970, p. 201, no. 16 (Berroia); *IG* X 1<sup>2</sup>, 53, 58, 768, and 1028 (Thessalonike), and *SEG* XXVI, 593.

<sup>46</sup> *SEG* XXIV, 585.

<sup>47</sup> Aelian, *Varia historia* xiv.48. The name of the town is, more properly, Allante, as preserved, for example, by Stephanos Byzantinos (*s.v.*) and in the theodorokoi inscription from Delphi (*SEG* XXVI, 624III64). For the location of the site of Allante, see L. Gounaropoulou and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Hétraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique (Μελετήματα 1)*, Athens 1985, pp. 54–62, with previous bibliography.

<sup>48</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis* vi.28.4 (Pellaios); *Indica* xviii.5 (Eordaios). For the distinction between Eordaia as a township and Pella as a polis, see N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia II*, Oxford 1979, pp. 420, note 1 and 650. H. Berve (*Das Alexanderreich*, Munich 1926, no. 133), on the other hand, would have Aristonous as originally from Eordaia but politically from Pella. The name is known at Pella in the form of stamps on roof tiles; cf. C. Makaronas, *Δελτ* 16, 1960 (1962), p. 82 and pl. 71β.

<sup>49</sup> Diodorus Siculus, xix.35.4; 50.3; 51.1. It is interesting, but probably irrelevant, that Cassander, the agent of the deaths of both Aristonous and Olympias, presided over the Nemean Games in 315 B.C. (Diodorus Siculus, xix.64.1), or 313 B.C. if one follows the chronology of R. M. Errington, "Diodorus Siculus and the Chronology of the Early Diadochoi, 320–311 B.C.," *Hermes* 105, 1977 (pp. 478–504), p. 497. I owe this last reference to Paula Perlman.

<sup>50</sup> *IG* XII 9, 221; cf. K. Kourouniotes, «Ἐρετρικαὶ Ἐπιγραφαί», *Ἀρχ* Ἐφ 1911 (pp. 1–38), p. 26, no. 8, for a photograph of the stone, the letter forms of which seem not, to me, to justify the *IG* date of "saec. III exeuntis". Kourouniotes is surely correct in dating the text to the second half of the 4th century.

attested at Eretria, like the Aristonous at Nemea, has neither patronymic nor ethnic but does have stone left vacant for the subsequent addition of those biographic details. These negative similarities tempt one to identify the Eretrian Aristonous with the Nemean, although such an identification would be based upon an *argumentum ex silentio par excellence*.

*Lines B 28–31.* Given the condition of the text in this part of the stone, identification of any of the men is extremely difficult. It would appear that Epig[ene]s of line B 28 and Thras-in line B 31 are sons of the same father Theumedos and, by analogy with lines A 21–23, so too might be those named in the intervening two lines. The father's name is new. If the Kleome- of line B 30 can be restored securely as Kleomenes, we might note the man of that name mentioned as the father of Dioskourides of Lampsakos in a proxeny decree of *ca.* 262 B.C. from Delos.<sup>51</sup>

*Lines B 34–37.* It is not clear whether we have to do with three sons of Aristodikos (Herakleiodoros, Amyntas, and Philodoxos) or only one, the last mentioned. Hand II, with which we are now dealing, does not always give patronymics as can be seen in line B 45 below. It may be relevant that the names Aristodikos and Herakleides are attested in a prominent family at Kyme in the mid-6th century B.C.<sup>52</sup> The name from Nemea, Herakleiodoros, is attested on a grave stele from Kyme, while Amyntas is not known there.<sup>53</sup> Philodoxos was also an important name at Kyme, at least in the Hellenistic period, for it appears on silver coins of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>54</sup> These facts suggest, not surprisingly, that we have to do with a family or families of importance in Kyme.

*Lines B 39–40.* The name Menneas is relatively well known in Akarnania, for it appears three times at Alyzeia, once at Stratos itself, and upon coins of the Akarnanian League from the later 3rd or early 2nd century B.C.<sup>55</sup> More significant is the father of Menneas, Karphinas of Stratos. He is almost certainly to be identified with the Karphinas who, together with a certain Phormion, was honored by the Athenians in 337 B.C. for loyalty to the Athenian cause at Chaironeia.<sup>56</sup> It is of interest that neither Menneas nor Karphinas were inscribed in the original entry for Stratos (A 38–40). The later addition of Menneas would appear to reflect a change in the status of his family vis-à-vis the controllers of the Nemean Games during the period between the original inscription and the work of Hand II.

*Lines B 42–43.* The name Polemon seems to be attested here for the first time in Eretria, while the name of his father, Aristomenes, has been previously attested three times there.<sup>57</sup>

*Lines B 47–48.* The name Kymmnos is unattested and clearly caused its inscriber some difficulty (see above, p. 152). It has been suggested that Kymmnos might be a bye-form for

<sup>51</sup> *IG XI 4*, 571. Note also the Kolotes of Lampsakos who is known as a theorodokos of Nemean Zeus and Argive Hera in the early Hellenistic era; *SEG XXX*, 360.

<sup>52</sup> Herodotos, I.158.

<sup>53</sup> H. Engelmann, *Die Inschriften von Kyme (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien V)*, Bonn 1976, no. 72.

<sup>54</sup> W. Wroth, *BMC: Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*, London 1894, p. 111, no. 75.

<sup>55</sup> *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>*, 445, 446b, and 583 (Alyzeia); *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>*, 36 (Stratos); and P. Gardner, *BMC: Thessaly to Aitolia*, London 1883, p. 169.

<sup>56</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 237; cf. Tod (footnote 10 above), no. 178.

<sup>57</sup> *IG IX 9*, 279 and 544; *SEG IX*, 468.

Skymnos,<sup>58</sup> a name which is well known from Chios in the form of a geographer Skymnos of the late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C.<sup>59</sup> The name Platon is attested at Chios, most notably as the father of a certain Hermokrates who was among the donors of funds for the construction of a city wall.<sup>60</sup> No connection between that 3rd-century Platon and the one now known from the Nemean inscription is apparent.

#### CHRONOLOGY

The date of the original engraving of this document is more difficult than one might imagine at first glance, which can be considered ironical given the relative wealth of information available.

1) The prosopographical evidence shows, first of all, that the text must date to the lifetime of Nikokreon, and presumably to his reign as king of Salamis. As noted above, this period falls between 331 and 310 B.C., and it should represent the maximum limits for our text. These limits might be reduced even more if the Aristonous of line B 24 is actually the friend of Alexander the Great who died at the hands of Cassander together with Alexander's son and mother at Amphipolis in 316 B.C.

The appearance of Pausanias, the son of the Epidaurian theorodokos Theopropidas in the period between 360 and 355 B.C.,<sup>61</sup> should indicate a date about a generation later or in the decade of the 320's although such indications are far from conclusive.

Finally, if the Pasikrates of line A 7 went down with his ship in 332 B.C., we would have a very precise date just a year before Nikokreon came to the throne. This does not, however, seem likely inasmuch as Nikokreon's father also lost his ship at that time and did survive.

2) The situation in Akarnania during this period would seem to narrow the gap by providing a certain *terminus ante quem* of 314 B.C., since the smaller cities were abandoned at that time. Some of them moved to Stratos, but others, including Oiniadai, moved to Sauria, and the remainder, including Derios, moved to Agrinion.<sup>62</sup> The presence of both Oiniadai and Derios in the Nemean text shows that it must antedate that move in 314 B.C.

Another date is of interest. We are told that Alexander III was angry with the Aitolians for their removal of the Oiniadai from their ancestral home (i.e. their city).<sup>63</sup> That displeasure was a part of the reason for the order for the restoration of exiles proclaimed by Alexander's agent, Nikanor, at the Olympic Games in 324 B.C.<sup>64</sup> Given that this order was

<sup>58</sup> By D. M. Lewis in a letter citing W. G. Forrest.

<sup>59</sup> See Fr. Gisinger, *RE*, s.v. Skymnos, for full references. The same name appears as a proxenos at Delphi in 185/4 B.C. (*SIG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 585, lines 198–199).

<sup>60</sup> *SEG* XIX, 578 II 13.

<sup>61</sup> *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 95, line 10. For a discussion of the date and relevant bibliography see Perlman (footnote 1 above), pp. 40–41.

<sup>62</sup> Diodorus Siculus, xix.67.4–5. The fact that Oiniadai may have been reoccupied a decade or more later than this move is not relevant to the date of our text; cf. G. Klaffenbach, *IG* IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 2 p. xix, lines 14–18.

A similar date has been deduced for our list by Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos ([footnote 47 above], pp. 58–59, note 6), who note the absence of Thessalonike which surely would have been represented if the list were later than the founding of the city by Cassander.

<sup>63</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander*, 49.8; Diodorus Siculus, xviii.8.6–7.

<sup>64</sup> Diodorus Siculus, xvii.109.1 and xviii.8.2–7; cf. Tod (footnote 10 above), nos. 201 and 202, and p. 297, for additional references and bibliography.

put into effect, Oiniadai can have been listed on our stone only between the Olympic Games of 324 B.C. and its removal to Sauria in 314 B.C., or between 331 B.C. (the *terminus ante quem* derived above) and the capture of Oiniadai by the Aitolians. This latter event has traditionally been dated to 330 B.C. because of the place in which Plutarch records it. Such a relatively early date has been challenged, however,<sup>65</sup> and it must be admitted that it would hardly have been in character for Alexander to have harbored a grudge for six years without acting on it.

The Nemean text's date is, then, to be sought either in the period 331–325, or 323–315.<sup>66</sup>

3) The evidence of Hand II should be considered here. It is clearly in the nature of an addendum which updates the list as a whole. If it is fair to conclude that Hand II would have erased the names of people who and places which had already ceased to exist, then one might suggest that Hand II must antedate the demise of Nikokreon and of Oiniadai. If Hand II is, in fact, to be dated before 314 B.C., then the original text might belong in the earlier of the two periods, but the suggestion is far from secure.<sup>67</sup>

4) The relationship between our text and that found at Argos must be considered at this point. The fundamental questions might seem to be, "Are both lists for the same festival or festivals? What is the chronological relationship between them?" These questions arise from the fact that three men appear on both lists: Diokles of Palairos (A 18), Aischrion of Korkyra (B 7), and Daïmenes of Leukas (B 10).<sup>68</sup> They also arise from the fact that Argos appointed theorodokoi for the Nemean Games and for those of Hera, and that the same theorodokos seems to have served for both games, at least as of 316 B.C. and later.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, given Argive control over both games, it is perfectly logical that the same theorodokos would have served both. Thus, one list must be seen as a re-edition of the other, and the recurrence of the three names listed above shows that both lists were compiled within the same generation. The provision of a patronymic for Diokles (A 18) in the Nemean version might indicate that it is the later of the two (that is, the name of Diokles' father was omitted originally because it was not known at that time). The same conclusion emerges from the absolute chronologies of each stone.

The Argive list has been dated clearly and convincingly to about 330 B.C. based upon the appearance of Kleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great and wife (widow) of Alexander of Molossia, as theorodokos in Epeiros.<sup>70</sup> The Nemean list must be sufficiently later in order

<sup>65</sup> By E. Badian, "Harpalus," *JHS* 81, 1961 (pp. 16–43), p. 37. His views have been accepted by J. R. Hamilton, *Plutarch's Alexander*, Oxford 1969, pp. 138–139.

<sup>66</sup> Given that the Nemean festival occurred in odd years (by our time-reckoning system), and that our text was published at Nemea, it seems reasonable to posit its date in an odd year. The lower limit of the earlier period, 325 B.C., would allow nearly a year for the Aitolians to expel the Oiniadai and for Alexander to react.

<sup>67</sup> Perlman ([footnote 1 above], pp. 199–200) believed that Menneas (and the whole of my Hand II) should be dated to ca. 281 B.C. Given his father's prominent status 56 years earlier (above, p. 159 and footnote 56) such a date seems too late for Menneas.

<sup>68</sup> Charneux (footnote 23 above), I 5, I 13, and I 8, respectively.

<sup>69</sup> So suggested by Piérart and Thalmann (footnote 1 above), p. 268. P. Charneux ("Sur quelques inscriptions d'Argos," *BCH* 107, 1983 [pp. 251–267], p. 266) notes that in all the texts which confer theorodokia upon an individual, only one does not grant it for the festivals of both Argive Hera and Nemean Zeus.

<sup>70</sup> Charneux (footnote 23 above), pp. 177–179. The date to ca. 330 B.C. derives from Kleopatra's status as

to allow for the replacement, for example, of Peitheas of Leukas (I 8) by Kleas, Thrason, Kallikles, and Theodoros (B 11–13).<sup>71</sup>

5) A consideration of the historical setting includes the pivotal year 323 B.C. with the death of Alexander. Is the Nemean text earlier or later than his demise? It seems far more likely that it would be earlier, for aside from the chaotic situation after 323 with the Lamian War and the struggles of the Diadochoi, it would seem very strange if the open and long-term ally of Ptolemy, Nikokreon, would have been selected as theorodokos by the Argives during a period when the ultimate winner could not have been clear to them.<sup>72</sup>

6) We come to the question of why the Nemean text was created at such a brief interval after the Argive version. To judge from other examples at Epidauros and Delphi (footnotes 37 and 36 above, respectively), as well as from our own text, it was typical to update such texts on the stone itself by means of erasures, “marginal notations”, etc.<sup>73</sup> In this case, however, a complete re-edition occurred. Why?

It seems clear that the publication of full lists of theorodokoi might be caused by a fundamental reorganization of a festival, and I suspect that the earlier, Argive, version came about with the shift of the Nemean Games back to Nemea in the decade of the 330's.<sup>74</sup> Such an explanation cannot account for the later Nemean edition.

Another possible cause for a new edition would be if the names of the people and places represented on the original stone had so many potential or real changes, or both, that a new edition was needed. Just such an occasion was provided at the Olympic Games of 324 B.C. with the restoration of the exiles (footnote 62 above). It is clear from the evidence that that proclamation effected significant and important changes in many parts of the Greek world including, I believe, the Nemean Games. Furthermore, the number of places and people listed from Akarnania reveals special attention to that region which would be a natural consequence of the return of the exiles. The suggested date for the Nemean inscription is, then, the festival of 323 B.C.<sup>75</sup>

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widow of Alexander of Molossia in 331 and the belief that at least by 330 B.C. Olympias had taken control of Epeiros from her daughter. This narrow dating for the period of Kleopatra's control has now been challenged by Hammond (*CQ* [footnote 41 above], pp. 473–474, with relevant earlier bibliography), who would see this period as extending from 331 until at least 326 B.C. Nonetheless, I would still accept Charneux's date and would refine it to 331/0 B.C.

<sup>71</sup> Note the tendency for the expansion of representation as noted in the case of Leukas and, in general, by the fact that nearly all the entries in the Argive list are single while in the Nemean version 12 of 17 are multiple. This is a natural development in a later edition.

<sup>72</sup> A possible exception would appear to be in 315 B.C. when Cassander and Ptolemy were allied (Diodorus Siculus, xix.57.2) and the former presided over the Nemean Games (*ibid.*, 64.1), but the general situation was far from settled, and the Argives themselves split for and against Cassander (*ibid.*, 63.1–2).

<sup>73</sup> I suspect that it is significant that no trace of similar emendations are to be seen on the Argive text.

<sup>74</sup> On this point see Stephen G. Miller, “Kleonai, the Nemean Games, and the Lamian War,” *Hesperia*, Suppl. X Princeton 1982, p. 107. I would emphasize the clear evidence that there was absolutely no activity at the site of Nemea between the late 5th century and the 330's. To the latter period and the immediately subsequent decades belong the Temple of Zeus, the Stadium, the Xenon, the Bath, and many other monuments. Clearly there was a major building program at Nemea which corresponds precisely to the reorganization implicit in the Argive version of the theorodokoi list.

<sup>75</sup> If this dating is correct, perhaps the activities of the anonymous Athenian architheoros to the Nemean Games of 323 and of the Athenian proxenos at Kleonai, Lapyris, were in some way associated with this



## CONCLUSION

The list of the theorodokoi of the Nemean Games (and of the festival of Hera at Argos)<sup>76</sup> presented above enables us to gain insight into the organization of the panhellenic festival and the importance attached to the old sanctuary in the period of Philip and Alexander. The return of the festival to that sanctuary during this period reveals a Macedonian policy the scope and significance of which go beyond this presentation. Let it be said for the moment, however, that this policy included an attempt to unify and keep unified the Greeks (under Macedonian hegemony) at their old panhellenic centers. One would dearly love to know whether the men on our list were also connected in some way with the Koinon Synedrion or, in modern terms, the “League of Corinth”.<sup>77</sup>

STEPHEN G. MILLER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY  
 Department of Classics  
 Dwinelle Hall  
 Berkeley, CA 94702

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reorganization; cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 100–107, and M. Walbank, “The Decree for Lapyris of Kleonai (I.G. II<sup>2</sup> 365),” *Classical Contributions. Studies in Honour of M. F. McGregor*, Locust Valley, New York 1981, pp. 171–177.

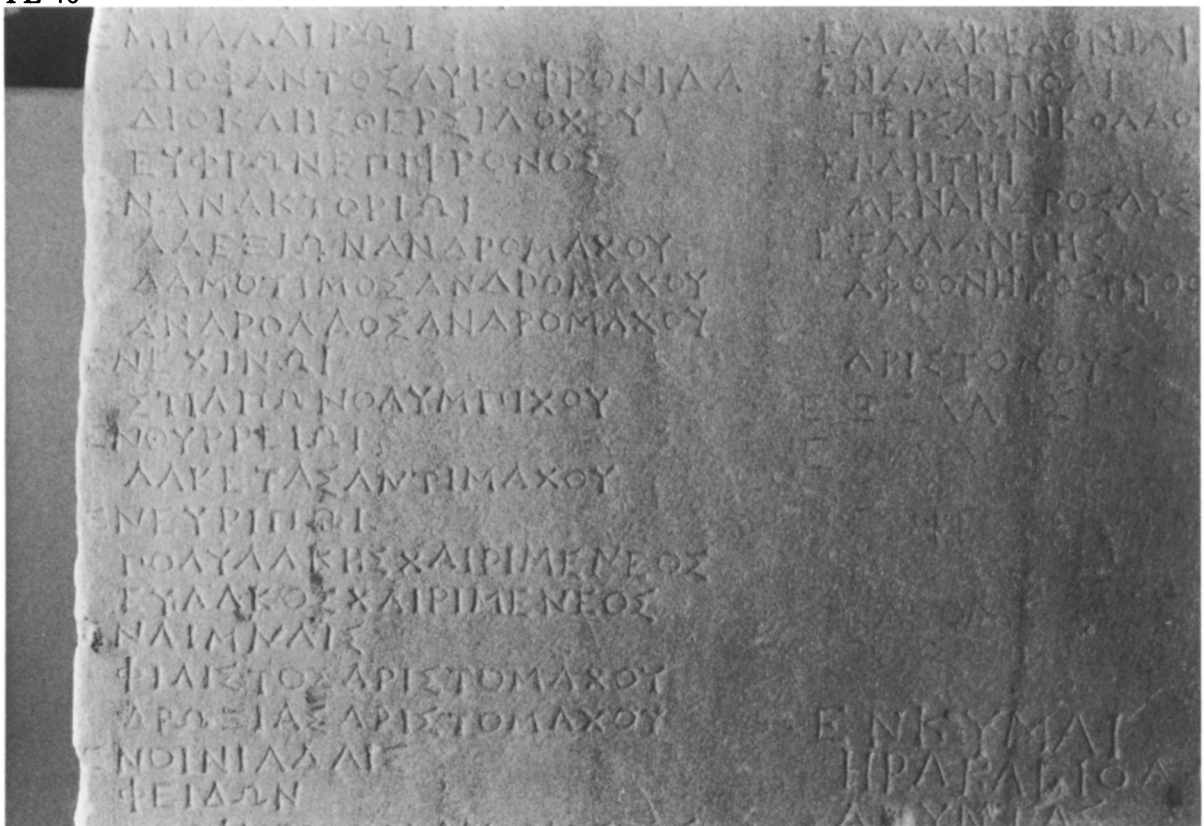
<sup>76</sup> It should be mentioned that we clearly are missing a great amount of text. This emerges from a consideration of the large areas of the Greek world which are not represented in the preserved text (e.g. the Peloponnesos, Central Greece, Thessaly, etc.) and of the additions of Hand II which would appear to update entries for areas of the original text which are not preserved to us (e.g. the islands of the Aegean, Asia Minor, etc.). It is difficult to estimate the amount which is missing, but to judge from analogous texts such as that from Delphi (footnote 36 above) we must be lacking two or three more stelai at the least.

<sup>77</sup> For Philip’s “League of Corinth”, see T. T. B. Ryder, *Koine Eirene*, Oxford 1965, pp. 150–162. The suggestion that Philip used the panhellenic sites as the meeting place for the *synedrion* of his league depends in part upon probability, in part upon the demonstrable activity of Philip at the panhellenic sanctuaries, and in part upon the assumption that the league of Demetrios Poliorketes, established in 302 B.C., was modeled upon that of Philip in this aspect (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 68. The crucial phrase is at line 73: οἱ ἀν οἱ στεφανῖται ἀγῶνες [τιθ]ῶνται). It certainly was modeled upon it in other ways. See Hamilton (footnote 65 above), p. 34 for bibliography and the useful discussion in Tod (footnote 10 above), pp. 228–231.

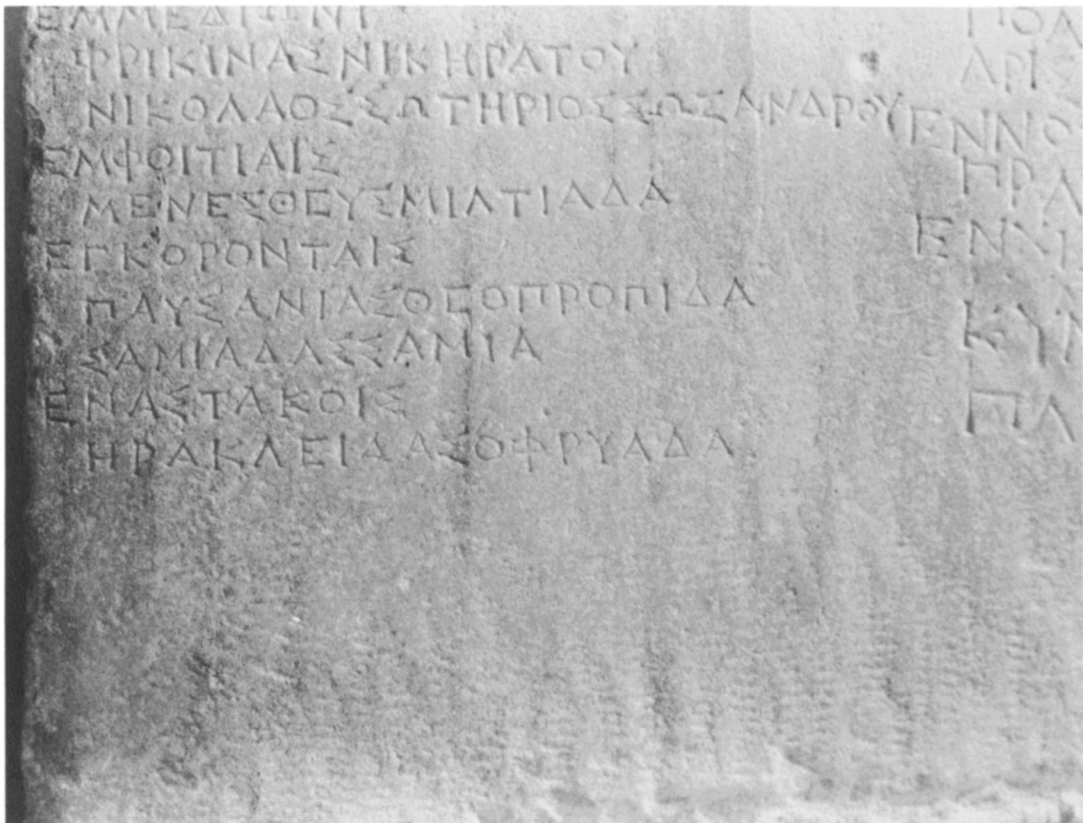


Stele I 85

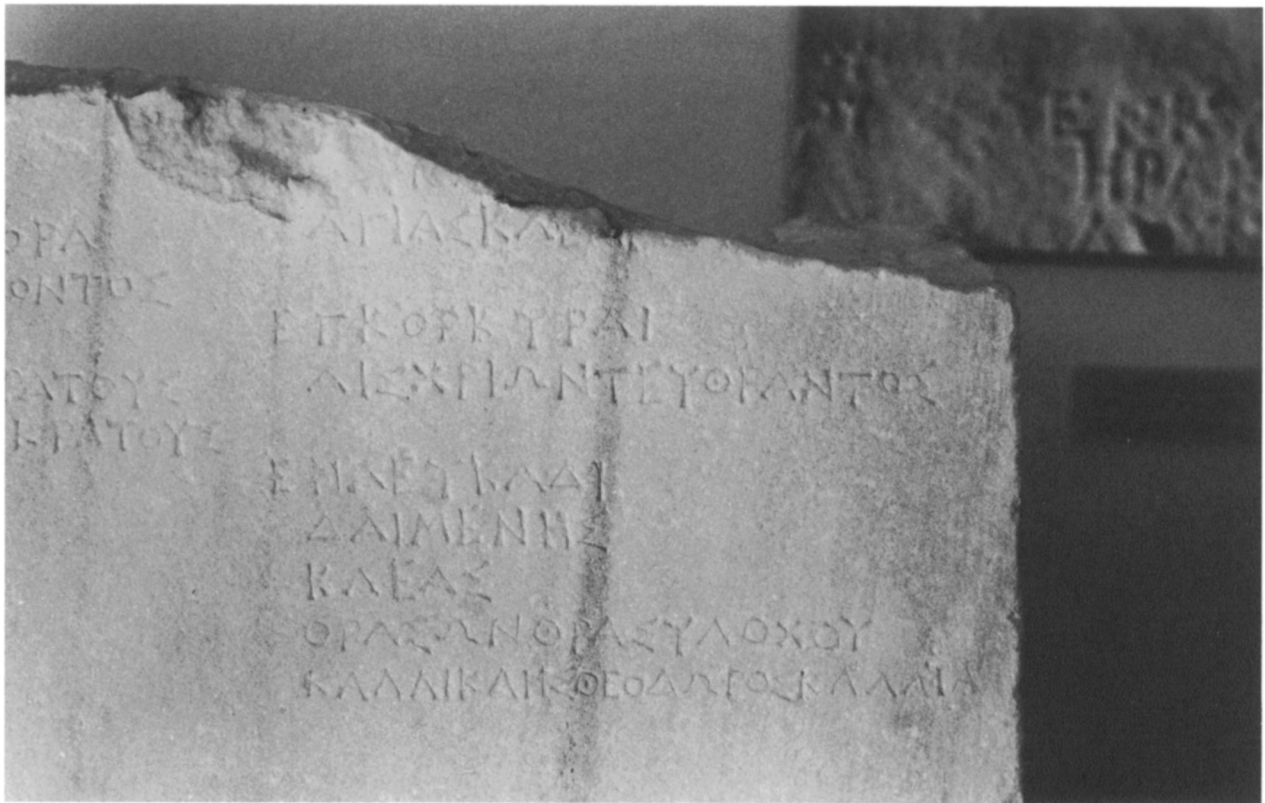
STEPHEN G. MILLER: THE THEORODOKOI OF THE NEMEAN GAMES



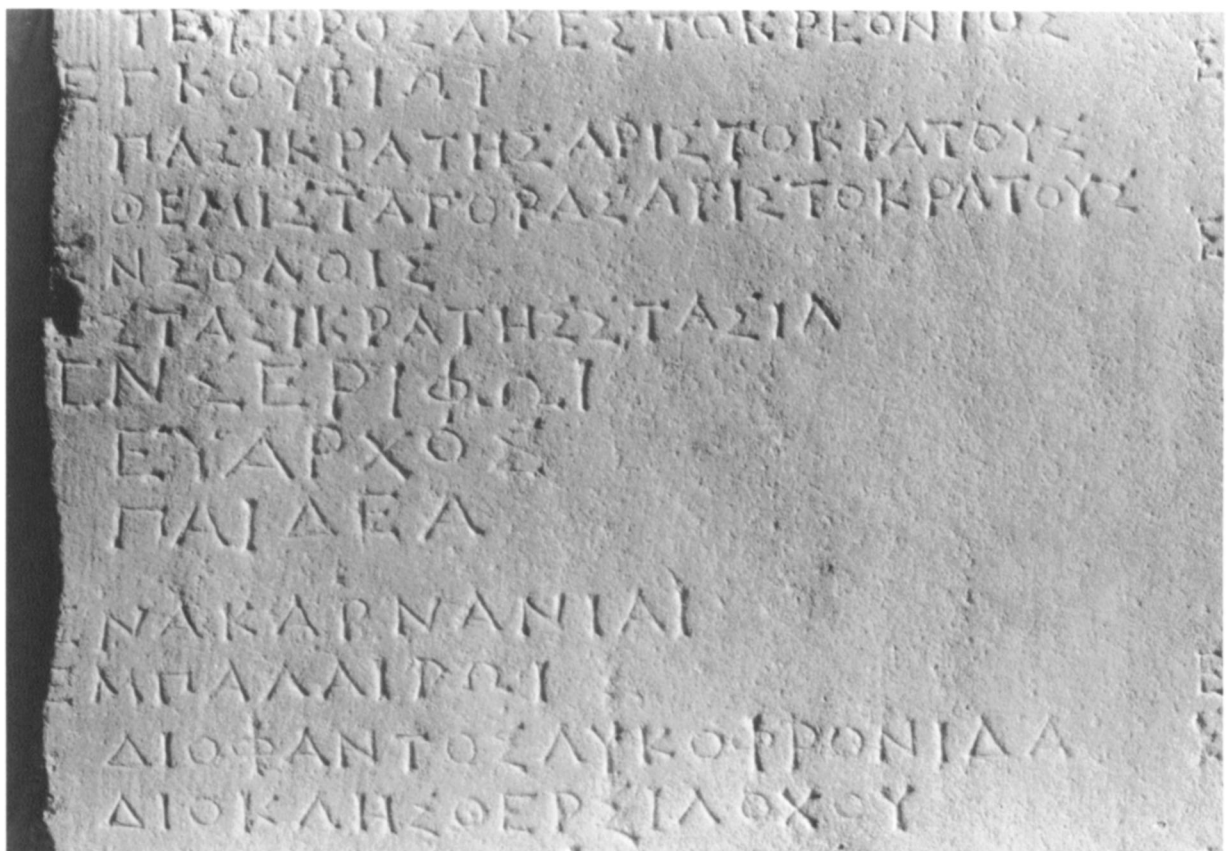
a. Column A, lines 16-35



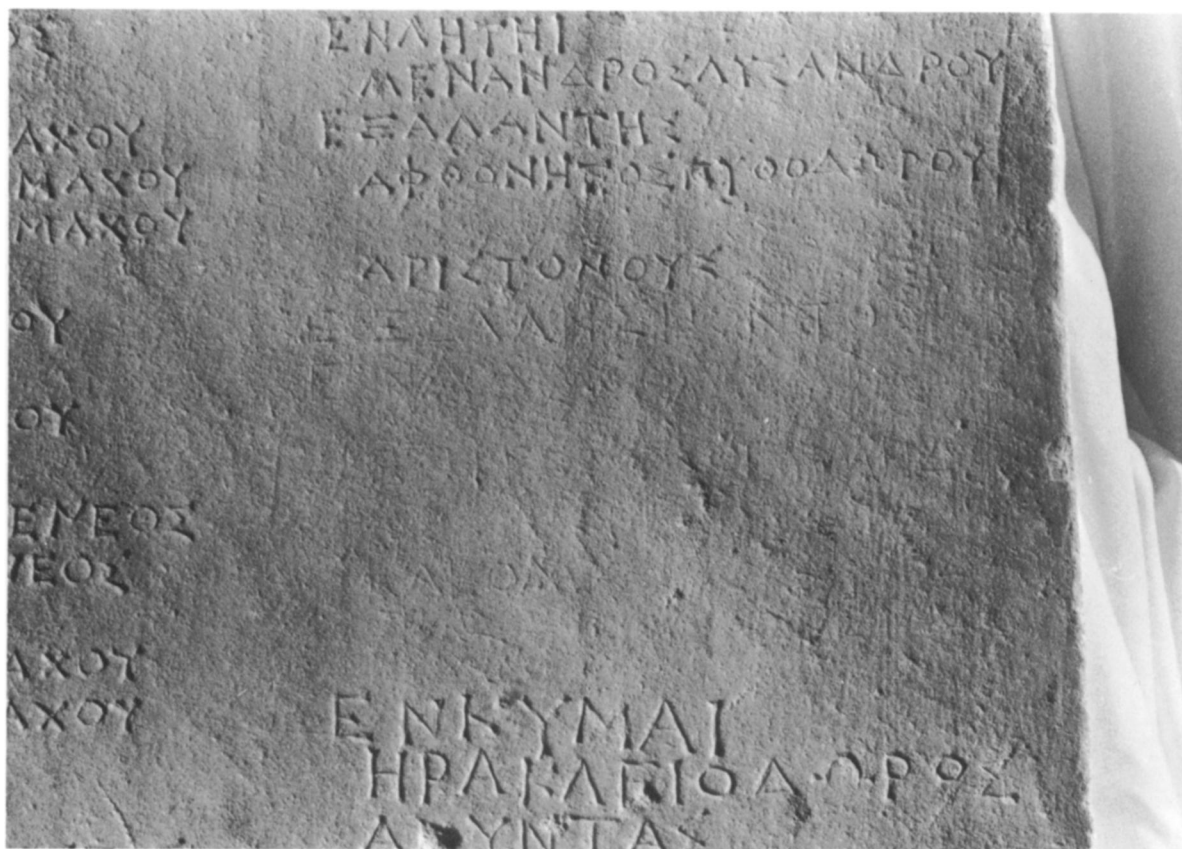
b. Column A, lines 45-54



a. Column B, lines 1-13



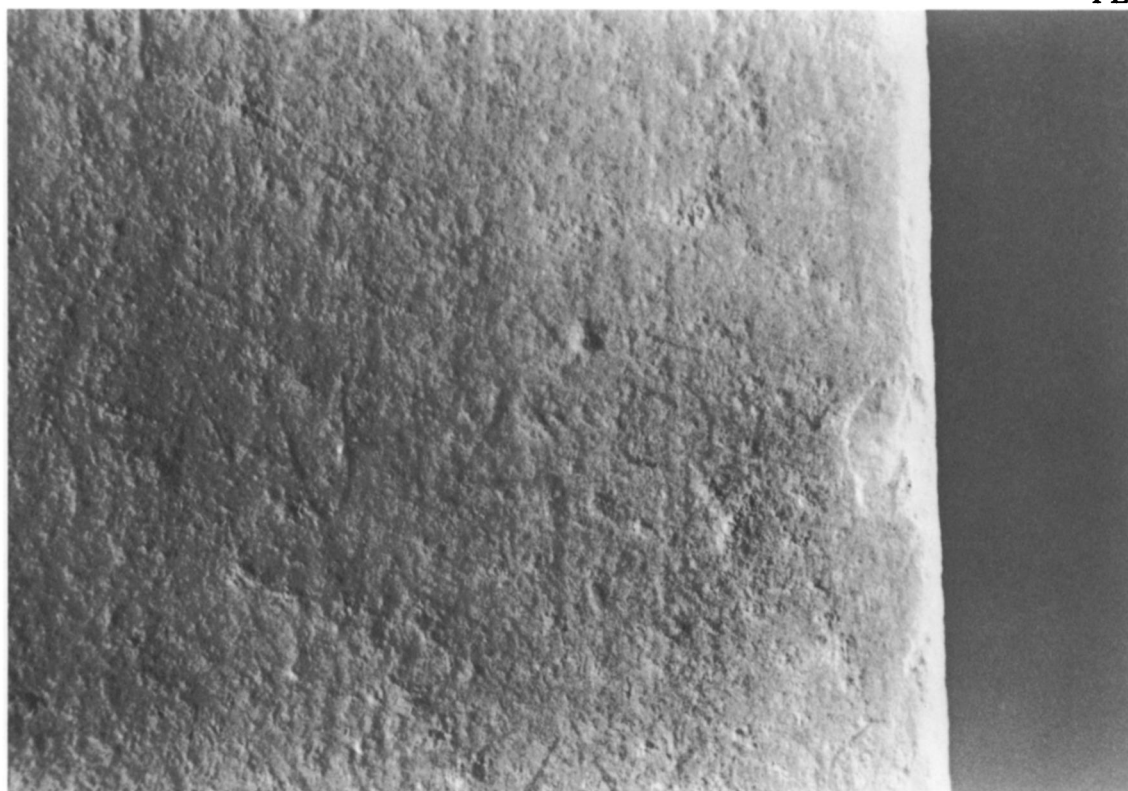
b. Column A, lines 5-18



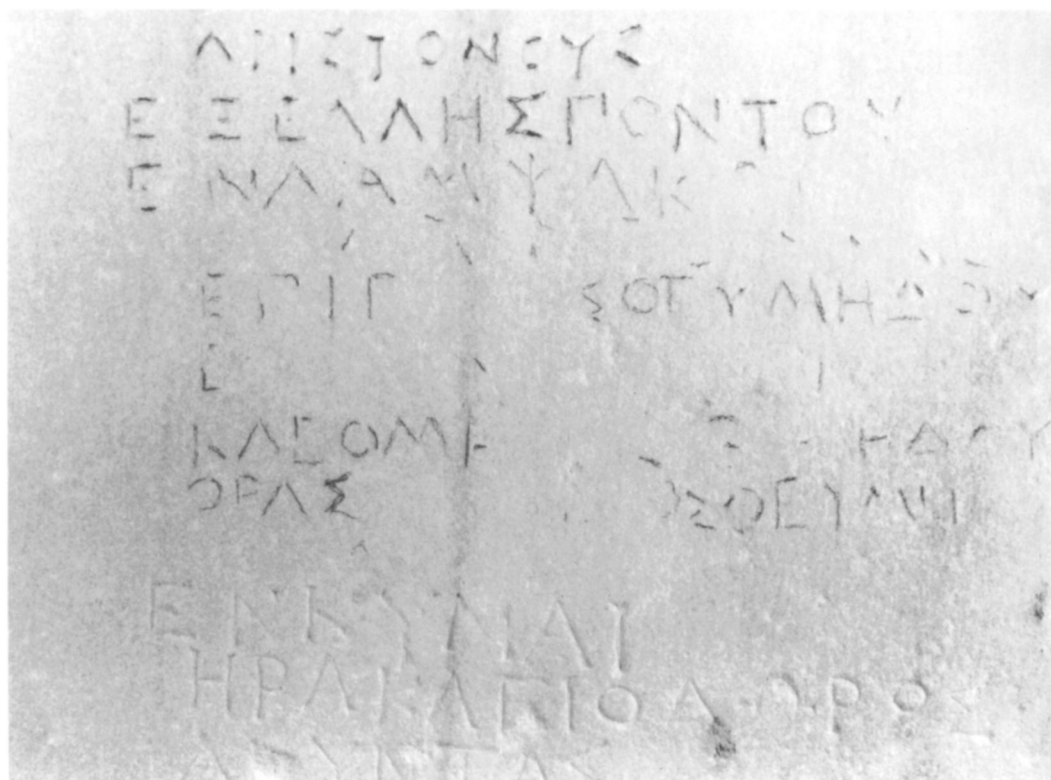
a. Column B, lines 19-35



b. Column B, lines 39-48



a. Column B, detail of lines 27–29



b. Column B, lines 24–35, with legible strokes picked out in pencil



No. 45: Palermo, Fondazione Mormino 178



JOHN H. OAKLEY: ATTIC RED-FIGURED SKYPHOI OF CORINTHIAN SHAPE



No. 10: Oxford, Ashmolean 1930.255



No. 71: Godalming, Charterhouse 66.1960

No. 51: Athens, National Museum 1246