

Andrew Farrington

NEMEONIKAI I

A CATALOGUE OF

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CA. 573 – CA. 300 BC

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AURA SUPPLEMENT 12 • ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 12

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I dedicate this work to my sons, Yiannis and Antony.

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INTRODUCTION

Many interesting general issues emerge when one attempts to date *Nemeonikai*, but here in the present work I deal with topics narrowly and directly related to offering dates and I leave other subjects I hope to deal with for another time. Meanwhile, I should note that the present work is a sequel to my catalogue raisonné of *Isthmionikai* (Farrington 2012). Whenever I have dealt here with a *Nemeonikes* who is also an *Isthmionikes*, I have revisited what I wrote in that first catalogue and have often revised the views on dating that I expressed there. In some cases in the present work, I was unable to date a *Nemeonikes* more precisely than by reference to the working life of Simonides, Pindar or Bacchylides. I therefore re-examine the evidence for the dating of these poets in Appendix 2. The demands of establishing the date of various other *Nemeonikai* required looking at the dates of certain other important games in which the individual *Nemeonikes* was victorious. When there was no account of such contests, at least that I could find, that dealt with the aspects I wanted to examine, I gathered the material that I marshal in Appendix 3. Appendix 1 deals with the question of how complete the surviving evidence for *Nemeonikai* may be. Appendix 4 gives the texts of the main literary and epigraphic sources I use.

Numbers of *Nemeonikai* known

There are 102 *Nemeonikai* who are dated to varying degrees of certainty between the foundation of the *Nemea* in 573 BC, or thereabouts, and about 300 BC. Kostouros' invaluable literary and epigraphic catalogue of *Nemeonikai* (Kostouros 2008) runs down to the middle of the 3rd century AD. It finishes at this point, because it is then, in the mid 3rd century AD, that the epigraphic record in general falls away and athletic contests, although they may have survived for significantly longer (the *Nemea* in particular perhaps surviving until the mid 4th century AD (Remijsen 2015, 58)), become much less visible. In his catalogue, Kostouros records a total of 286 *Nemeonikai*, of which perhaps twenty or so are doubtful. To these ca. 265 undoubted Nemean victors should be added another nine definite victors not included in Kostouros' catalogue and another two to his doubtful *Nemeonikai*. Thus about a third of all known *Nemeonikai* fall within the period ca. 573 and ca. 300 BC. As for records of victories, as opposed to victors, our data on undoubted *Nemeonikai* may represent something in the region of something under 9% of victories won during the period 573–299 BC (Appendix 1).

The Evidence

Evidence for dating *Nemeonikai* is mostly sparse and in the two cases where it is not, which are the odes of Pindar and the victory inscription IG XII 5 608 from Ioulis on Keos, it is temporally and geographically narrowly specific. The picture is generally obscure, in part because, while there were records of Olympic victors in all disciplines which were systematically updated throughout antiquity (Christesen 2007, 108–11) and one full list by Aristotle and Callisthenes of Pythian victors, which, although never apparently updated, recorded *Pythionikai* down to Aristotle's own time, it seems that there was no full and systematic record either of *Nemeonikai* or *Isthmionikai* (although there seem to have been partial records of *Nemeonikai* (Farrington 2017, 450–57)). Thus those who compiled the material from which ancient, and especially Pindaric, scholia derive normally did not have access to precise dates for Isthmian or Nemean victories and so were unable to

offer them, which means that I have been forced almost always to use the following rule of thumb for dating victories. I assume that an Olympic and/or Pythian victory or victories represent the peak of an athlete's career and I therefore also assume Nemean and Isthmian victories cluster as closely as possible either side of the Olympian and Pythian victories and, if possible, within the period defined by two Olympiads or by a Pythiad and Olympiad. Since few of the *Olympionikai* given in Moretti's list (Moretti 1957) achieved more than three victories at consecutive Olympiads, I also assume that athletic careers at their peak did not last generally more than twelve years, although there are exceptions. For example, the career of Hipposthenes, who won as a boy in 632 BC (Ol. 37) in the boys' *stadion*, supposedly lasted over a period of seven Olympiads. If the curriculum at Olympia had indeed come into being this early, which is doubtful, this means a career at the highest level of 25 years (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 390. 139–142); Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 61, 66, 70, 73, 75)). Trumpeters, of course, might have enormously long careers, the most prominent example being Herodoros (Cat. 1. 91) (late 4th century/early 3rd century), who was *periodonikes* ten times. Competitors, if not victors, in equestrian events may also have had similarly long careers, although maintaining a winning stable over a long period may have been difficult and I also assume that equestrian victories were won in as short a time as possible. I make the assumption, too, which may, or may not, be true, that during the period from ca. 573 to 299 BC the *Nemea* were held without interruption.

The Literary Evidence

We need first of all to look at the *Nemea* foundation myth that involves the Seven against Thebes as manifested in various sources, not because this directly helps in dating our *Nemeonikai*, but because it forms the mythological backdrop against which certain sources offer foundation dates. The ultimate form of the foundation myth is given by Roman mythographers, although its essential points developed at least as early as the late 6th century. In the Roman version, the Seven are on their way to Thebes. They have reached Nemea and ask Hypsipyle, the nurse of the infant Opheltes, son of the king of Nemea, for water. She puts down the child whom she happens to be holding, to show the Seven a stream, at which point a snake emerges and strangles the child. The Seven then hold the first celebration of the *Nemea* as funeral games for Opheltes and rename him 'Archemoros', in view of the evil outcome that Amphiaraos the seer predicts for the expedition of the Seven. The origin of the myth of the expedition of the Seven (as opposed to the *Nemea* episode) is hopelessly lost in the chronological mist, but the story seems to have become popular in the first half of the 6th century BC in Argos (Farrington 2019, 688 for references). The episode at Nemea is clearly a later insertion, since it merely stresses the disastrous outcome of the myth of the Seven, rather than developing the narrative in any way to impact upon the outcome. The episode very probably dates to the foundation of the *Nemea* or to soon afterwards and is designed to validate Argive patronage of the *Nemea* and associated territorial claims, probably in the context of border clashes with the Argos of Cleisthenes, although the first surviving mention of the myth is by Simonides (Page 1962, no. 553; Farrington 2019, 686), occurring sometime between the mid 530s and 460s BC, that is, the probable working life of Simonides (Appendix 2. 1). It was Euripides' semi-preserved *Hypsipyle* of 409–407 BC (Bond 1963, 144), however, that gave the narrative the shape and character that it possessed thereafter (Farrington 2019, 691–96), above all shifting the emphasis away from the infant Opheltes to Hypsipyle, now rendered rather more interesting after Euripides' treatment of her as one of his embattled female outsiders.

We turn now to the literary evidence that directly supplies dates. Of vital importance for our attempts at dating is the fact that some literary sources (above all Eusebius/Jerome) and one piece of epigraphic evidence offer us precise dates for the foundation of the *Nemea*, which, if reliable, at least gives a *terminus post quem* when all else fails, while in the case of Eusebius/Jerome, occasional reference to other *periodos* victories won by *Olympionikai* helps date (more or less) a Nemean victory. In fact, all but one of these proffered foundation dates turn out to be wildly wrong and we look at why this should be so later on. In the meantime, since Eusebius' Χρονικά plays such an important role in attempts to date *Nemeonikai*, the work needs a very brief introduction

here, there being much fuller explorations elsewhere (e.g. Christesen 2007, 232–78). Eusebius' *Χρονικά* consisted of the *Χρονογραφία*, which, among other things, included an Olympic victor list more or less directly deriving from that of Julius Africanus (late 2nd century – early 3rd century AD), and the *Χρονικοί Κανόνες*, consisting of a chronological table covering events from 2016 BC to AD 325, organized from 776 BC onwards by Olympiad years. The Olympic victor list is useful, as we have said, because it occasionally has snippets of information that concern other victories won by individual *Olympionikai* that sometimes help in dating. 'Eusebius/Jerome' is one of the customary scholarly shorthands for the Latin translation and adaptation of Eusebius' *Χρονικοί Κανόνες* made by Jerome in 380–381 AD. In ca. 400 AD, Panodorus and Annianos produced a new version of the *Χρονικά*, passages of which survive in the *Ἐκλογή Χρονογραφίας* of George the Synkellos, who died sometime in 9th century. In the 5th century AD, the version of Panodorus and Annianos was translated in Armenian and Syriac and there is a single manuscript of the Armenian translation of the *Χρονικά*, of 12th century – 13th century and two epitomes in Syriac of the *Χρονικοί Κανόνες*. The *Χρονογραφία* survives mainly in the Armenian translation (Textual history, manuscripts of Eusebius: Mosshammer 1979, 29–80).

One of the foundation dates of the *Nemea*, which corresponds to 1251/0 BC, is given by the *Marmor Parium* (FGrHist 239, F 22, 37–8), and the other, corresponding to 573 BC, is the date offered by one manuscript of Eusebius/Jerome (Helm 1956, 101 b N (Turonensis Berlin)) 'Olympiad 51/4', which is generally favoured by scholars, although other manuscripts give different dates, namely 572 BC (A (Amandinus Valentianus 495) = 'Olympiad 52/1'), which is clearly wrong, and 569 BC (B (Bernensis 219) = 'Olympiad 52/4'). In its present form, the Eusebius/Jerome date must be a product of post-Eratosthenes chronography, since it was Eratosthenes who made the innovation in the mid 3rd century BC of subdividing Olympiads into years (Christesen 2007, 174–75). Whatever the date 573 BC records (possibly the beginning of regular iterations of the *Nemea*), it is probably very generally correct, since archaeological evidence from Nemea clearly connected with agonistic activity clusters in the first half of the 6th century BC, thus confirming this date or at least not contradicting it, while before this time there is no sign of any cult activity in the area later occupied by the herōon of Opheltes (Bravo 2018, 10–3), whose supposed occupant was central to the foundation myth of the *Nemea* centred on the Seven against Thebes.

As for the rest of the archaeological picture at Nemea, in the second quarter of the 6th century BC, the mound on which the Hellenistic enclosure that can only be Pausanias' 'grave of Opheltes' (Paus. 2. 15. 3.), as Miller (2002, 241) suggests, which rested on an earlier mound, was remodelled, being raised and apparently being extended to the north (Miller 2002, 246–47; Bravo 2018, 13–29). Immediately to the east of this lay the first stadium, which ran north along the eastern side of the extension northwards of the mound (Miller 2002, 247). Miller (2002, 247) speculates that the hippodrome, oriented north-south, lay to the west of this extension, whose eastern side therefore functioned as seating for spectators of the activity in the stadium and whose western side accommodated spectators of activity in the putative hippodrome. The first temple and the first phase of the altar of the temple also belong to the early 6th century BC (Miller 1989, 130).

In view of this general correctness of the Eusebius / Jerome date, what might be its ultimate source? It was perhaps Hellanicus' *Ἱέρειαι τῆς Ἥρας αἱ ἐν Ἀργεῖ* (*Priestesses of Hera in Argos*), of the 5th century BC, a list of priestesses of the Argive Heraion with historical notices regarding events throughout the Greek world attached to the individual years of their tenure of office (Christesen 2007, 94–9. If Jacoby's suggested emendation (γεγονώς instead of γεγονότι) to Suda s.v. 'Ελλάνικος' (Adler E 739) ('...καὶ ἑκαταίῳ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐπέβαλε (sc. Hellanicus), γεγονότι κατὰ τὰ Περσικὰ καὶ μικρῷ πρός.) is correct, Hellanicus was born 'during or slightly before the Persian Wars' and, if Thucydides' notice of the fire in the temple of the Argive Heraion (Thuc. 4. 133. 2–3) and the subsequent flight of the priestess during the winter of 423/2 BC is based on events in Hellanicus' list (which is not certain (Hornblower Comm. on Thuc.1, 415)), then the *Ἱέρειαι* was finished after this date. Hellanicus' list of priestesses and the notices of events throughout the Greek world associated with the years of the tenure of office of each priestess went back to before the Trojan War (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1. 22. 3.). Among other works, Hellanicus also produced various mythographical genealogies (Möller 2001, 250). These included a *Φορωνίς*, Phoroneus being a figure closely associated with ancient Argive tradition (Möller 2001, 250), and

an Ἀργολικά. Virtually nothing survives of the Ἀργολικά (FGrH F, 4 (Hellanicus), fg. 36 a–b), although it must obviously have dealt with the history, mythological and otherwise, of Argos. Indeed, Hellanicus may have had a particular interest in the north-east Peloponnese, if his Ἀσωπίς (Möller 2001, 250) refers to the Phleiasian Asopus and his daughter, Asopis. Hellanicus' aim in producing his list of priestesses was evidently to supply his historical work with a chronological framework that reached as far as possible into the past (Möller 2001, 256). There may, or may not, have been a list of priestesses kept at the Argive Heraion that Hellanicus could have used, but if there was, it is unlikely that it went back further than the early of the 6th century BC. Eponym lists, at least in epigraphic form, do not go back before the early 6th century BC (Christesen 2007, 92–3), and perhaps the same was true for temple archives. There were, admittedly, ἱερομνάμονες of Hera, at least in the late 2nd century BC (Möller 2001, 257, 257 n. 72), and perhaps there were in the time of Hellanicus, who may have used their presumably orally held knowledge as a resource. In any case, however, Hellanicus himself would have had to compose the more ancient reaches of the list (Christesen 2007, 95) and the notices incorporated in it. To do so, he would obviously have drawn on previous literature (Möller 2001, 256) and upon his own knowledge, gathered, one assumes, from oral tradition during the composition of his other works (although the sequence in which Hellanicus composed his works is not known). By the middle of the 5th century BC, the prestige of the four games of the *periodos* was immense, and whether or not the notices in the Ἱέρειαι were generally pan-hellenic or were concerned only with local history, it is at least possible that such an event as the foundation of the *Nemea*, which took place on the northern rim of the Argolid, would receive a notice from Hellanicus (and, since another of Asopus' daughters was *Nemea*, Hellanicus may have mentioned the *Nemea* (and the foundation of the contest) in the Ἀσωπίς), particularly if he was interested in the history of games, as the title of his Καρνειονίκαι suggests that he may have been (Hellanicus' Καρνειονίκαι: Möller 2001, 245–46). If he composed his Ἱέρειαι in the middle or second half of the 5th century BC, the foundation date of 573 BC, or thereabouts, would have been only some 150 years in the past, recent enough and important enough still to reside in the communal memory of Argos and the surrounding area, although the precise date may have been the result of Hellanicus' own historical judgement when tying this event to a particular year of a priesthood. At some stage, if Hellanicus actually was the ultimate source of the information, this date was converted to an Olympiad-year date, which presumably required finding some event mentioned both in some post-Eratosthenic Olympiad chronicle (Christesen's term for annalistic chronicles, consisting of a list of Olympiads, to each of which historical notices are attached (Christesen 2007, 26–7, 296–341)) that divided Olympiads into four years each and in the Ἱέρειαι and then counting back from that point to the putative entry for the *Nemea* in the Ἱέρειαι and converting the date back to an Olympiad date.

Lastly, while we are on the subject of foundation dates, one wonders whether the Eusebius/Jerome date for the foundation of the *Isthmia*, 581 BC, derives from the Ἱέρειαι, given the possibility that Hellanicus' interest in Argive history and society would probably have involved an interest in relations between Argos and Corinth. 581 BC is wrong in precise terms (the *Isthmia* were only held in even Gregorian years), but, like the foundation date for the *Nemea*, it is generally correct when checked against the archaeological record, which reveals the beginnings of more intense agonistic activity around the second third of the 6th century BC (construction of ramp connecting stadium to altar (perhaps soon after ca. 575 BC (Gebhard 2002, 228, 228 n. 70)), second phase stadium (ca. 550–500 BC (Gebhard 2002, 229, 229 n. 72)), resurfacing of terrace along northern side of temple of Poseidon (Gebhard 2002, 228, 228 n. 74)).

Having looked at Eusebius/Jerome, we now turn to the date in the *Marmor Parium* for the foundation of the *Nemea*, 1251/0 BC. Hellanicus' list of priestesses apparently went back to beyond the Trojan War (Christesen 2007, 95) and so it is not impossible that the *Marmor Parium* date derives in some way from Hellanicus' list, perhaps as a date of the original foundation of the games. The *Marmor Parium* also offers an even earlier date for the foundation of the *Isthmia*, 1259/8 BC (FGrHist 239 F 20. 34–6). There are also traces of such early dates for the original foundation of the *Nemea*, *Olympia* and *Isthmia* in Eusebius/Jerome, which are then followed by 'refoundations'. At Eusebius / Jerome: Helm 1956, 57g (1234 BC)), there is reference to 'septem qui adversus Thebas pugnaverunt'. The Opheltes/Archemoros foundation myth is an episode, probably, as we have suggested

already, inserted later into the original myth of the Seven (Farrington 2019, 687–88) and the ultimate source for the entry at Eusebius/Jerome: Helm 1956, 57g may also have mentioned the foundation of the *Nemea* and put it in this year. Pelops presides over the *Olympia* in 1317 BC (Eusebius/Jerome: Helm 1956, 53f) and Heracles later founds the games, in 1212 BC (Eusebius/Jerome: Helm 1956, 59c), before Iphitus refounds them once more in 777/776 BC (Eusebius / Jerome: Helm 1956, 86c). The *Isthmia* are likewise originally founded in 1352 BC (Eusebius/Jerome: Helm 1956, 51i), even further back than the possible date of 1234 BC that Eusebius/Jerome may originally have given for the foundation of the *Nemea*, before they are refounded in 581 BC (Eusebius / Jerome: Helm 1956, 101d), which, of course, is impossible, so that the date has to be shifted back to 582 or to 580 BC (Negri 2005, 77–8)). The only set of games in both the *Marmor Parium* and Eusebius/Jerome that has no such chronologically distant foundation are the *Pythia*, which are founded twice, once in 591/0 BC, when an ἀγὼν χρηματίτης is founded (*FGrHist* 239 F37. 52–3), and again in 582/1 BC, when the ἀγὼν στεφανίτης is founded (*FGrHist* 239 F38. 53–4), dates that clearly derive from Aristotle and Callisthenes's *Pythionikai* (Christesen 2007, 179–202), although this does not stop the foundation of the *Pythia* being propelled back into mythical times elsewhere (Negri 2005, 83–7). As we have said (p. 17), there do not seem to have been full ἀναγραφαί of *Isthmionikai* or *Nemeonikai*, which would presumably have included (more or less) reliable foundation dates. Perhaps it is localism and rivalry, released in the case of the *Isthmia* and *Nemea* from any requirement to draw on any possibly more reliable information, that pushes the foundation of these games back into the distant past. If this was the case, the *Marmor Parium* date of 1251/0 BC perhaps does not derive from Hellanicus, since, being from Lesbos, he is unlikely to have had any motivation to prove the distant antiquity of the *Nemea*. The terminus post quem for the *Marmor Parium* is the archontate of Diognetos of 264/3 BC (*FGrHist* 239 1–3), which means that the tradition that placed the foundation of the *Nemea* so early dates to before this. Perhaps this date of 1251/0 BC for the foundation of the *Nemea* was triggered by the events, whatever they were, that led to the spectacular building programme at Nemea in the last third of the 4th century BC and so had not evolved very long before its appearance in the *Marmor Parium*.

To turn to the rest of the literary evidence: of information on *Nemeonikai* offered by epinician poets or, indeed, of any information offered by Classical sources, what Pindar gives us is by far the most important. Of the sixty or so *Nemeonikai* known to us from literature, the identity of slightly fewer than half of these is preserved thanks to Pindar, although the not very copious remains of Bacchylides, sometimes in conjunction with epigraphic evidence, help date a few *Nemeonikai* (Cat. 1. 10, 1. 26, 1. 28, 1. 29, 1. 31, 1. 62), while what can be pieced together about the dates of Simonides (Appendix 2. 1) dates a couple more (Cat. 1. 13, 1. 23) very generally to within the working life of these two poets, but no more precisely.

Of the honorands of Pindar who were *Nemeonikai*, not many are datable on the basis of the information provided by Pindar alone. Attempts to wring precise chronological data from his allusive texts, written for an audience infinitely better informed and so infinitely more receptive to hints in Pindar's text than we can ever be, are generally futile. At most, the events of the end of the Persian Wars and soon after can only be glimpsed occasionally and obscurely behind the fabric of his poetry. The battle of Salamis appears in the recent past (Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 48–50 (L70); (Cat. 1. 40)), Melissos has lost members of his family at what can only be the battle of Plataea (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 16–17b (L64); Willcock 1995, 76; (Cat. 1. 48)), Greece now breathes with relief at the removal of the threat which hung like a stone over her head, ever on the point of falling (Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 9–11 (L76); (Cat. 1. 41)), a clear metaphor for the end of the Persian Wars, and Athens and Sparta can now be presented (albeit in mythical times) as post-478 BC military equals (Pind. *Nem.* 8. 11–2 (L94)). More tenuously, there may be a reference to the battle of Cumae (474 BC) (Pind. *Nem.* 9. 34–5 (L99)) and, even more doubtfully, Pindar's friendly attitude in front of an Argive audience towards the Spartan Dioscuri (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 49–54 (L102); (Cat. 1. 46)) may indicate a terminus ante quem of ca. 460 BC and the democratic political realignment that took place in Argos about this time. Pindar also occasionally mentions family members of honorands, but few of these can be dated. Since historical events are generally so opaquely glimpsed in Pindar's text, we can only date two such family members who were also victors, Phylakidas (Cat. 1. 42) and Euthymenes (Cat. 1. 39), who are relatives of Pytheas (Cat. 1. 40), whose victory is dated by the reference in *Isthm.* 5 to the battle of Salamis.

It is hard, then, to extract firm and precise dates from Pindar's text alone and one needs the help given by scholiasts, despite their deficiencies that we have noted, by Eusebius and by various other sources. In the scholiasts, as we have said, this aid consists of precise, if sometimes corrupt, dates for Olympic and some Pythian victories, which spread from 498 to 446 BC (Christesen 2007, 377 (Table. Appendix 3. 1)), but not for Isthmian or Nemean victories. There are, however, some sparse remains of specialist victor lists. Eusebius' list consists of victors in the *stadion* at the *Olympia* from 776 BC to AD 217, interspersed, as we said, with occasional scraps of information mostly pertaining to athletic matters and usually records of, or anecdotes about, notable athletes, which themselves are occasionally useful for dating. There are also small two fragments of fuller Olympic victor lists, *POxy.* II 222 (mid 3rd century AD) (Christesen 2007, 28–31, 203–6, 382–84) and *POxy.* XVII 2082 (L130) (ca. 150–200 AD) (Christesen 2007, 210–13, 334–36, 445–557), that offer useable information. Dates of Olympic victors that clearly derive from such Olympic victor lists also occasionally pop up in historians as dating markers and can be used as a chronological tool (see, e.g., Cat. 1. 65, 1. 70, 1. 74).

Such is the help given by the few specialist lists that have survived. The rest of literature throws a little more light on the dates of *Nemeonikai*, but not much. When Pausanias gives us his version of the victory list inscriptions that he saw at Olympia, he reports a fair number of Nemean victories. Some of these can be dated through references to Olympic or Pythian victories in Pindaric scholia. Sometimes Pausanias attaches an anecdote to the victor he is dealing with that allows one to offer a rough date for the victor's Nemean victory, as for example in the case of Chilon (Cat. 1. 89). Sometimes the same person (or very probably the same person) appears an anecdote reported in another source that can be dated (e.g. Cat. 1. 67, 1. 76, 1. 81). Twice the person mentioned by Pausanias appears in victor lists from some other set of games (Cat. 1. 90 (Satyros), Cat. 1. 96 (Antenor)). Besides Pausanias, there is a handful of direct references to *Nemeonikai* dating between ca. 580 and 300 BC in other literature (Cat. 1. 60, 1. 66, 1. 91), most notably the few references in poems in the *Anthologia Palatina* (Cat. 1. 25, 1. 43, 1. 47). There are also a couple of references to *Nemeonikai* in scholiasts to various authors (Cat. 1. 59, 1. 25), but these are few, presumably again because of the lack of ἀνάρραται for scholiasts to draw on.

The Inscriptional Evidence

By 'inscriptional evidence' we mean inscriptions that directly mention *Nemeonikai*, usually in victory list inscriptions (rather than all inscriptions in which *Nemeonikai* appear – or probably appear), such as that from the Amphiarraion which mentions Satyros (Cat. 1. 90; *ETO* 520. 22–3, 25–6), the inscription from Miletus in which Antenor appears (Cat. 1. 96; *I. Delphinion* 123. 322) or the list of miracle cures from Epidaurus that mentions Hagestratos (Cat. 1. 73; *IG IV*² 1 122 (xxix). 50–5). This evidence is much less full than the literary testimonia and, such as it is, is gathered in Table 1. In addition to the inscriptions at Olympia reported to us in edited form by Pausanias, there are some thirty inscriptions dating between ca. 573 and 300 BC. The vast majority are dated on the imprecise basis of letter forms, while one or two are dated with reference to sculptor signatures. Slightly more than a third were found in the general area of the north-east and eastern Peloponnese, which, to judge from the rest of our evidence, summarized in Table 2, seems to have been the catchment heartland for *Nemeonikai* at least down to 300 BC. Notably, only four victory inscriptions have been found at Nemea itself. Since the central area of the site has been thoroughly excavated, this probably means that there were never many such inscriptions, with their accompanying statues, in the sanctuary at Nemea, a situation paralleled, it seems, by the sanctuary at the Isthmus and in Corinth itself, both of which sites have yielded scarcely any pre-Imperial victory list inscriptions (Farrington 2012, 21–2). Argos, too, which has been fairly widely excavated, has thrown up only three inscriptions, all of which were found in the environs of the main theatre, while Delphi, also fully excavated, has revealed only four inscriptions.

The Catalogue

As I have pointed out, the dating of many *Nemeonikai* depends on imprecise, rule-of-thumb guesswork and in many cases one can do no more than suggest that the victory or victories fall at some unknown point during a period of years, which can sometimes be more than a century and a half. Among other things, this means that in a handful of cases, I have included *Nemeonikai* whose possible datings spill down into the 3rd century BC and who therefore may have won their victory or victories after 300 BC. Yet, as far as we know, at least during the period we are dealing with in this work, the calendrical year of the *Nemea* did not change and the games were always celebrated in an odd Gregorian year. Furthermore, as I have said, I assume, rightly or wrongly, that the *Nemea* were held without interruption during the period from ca. 573 to 299 BC. Thus it is possible to offer precise, if still speculative, limits to the period in which an individual *Nemeonikes* won his victory or victories. The order of presentation in the catalogue is based on this principle. I have, first, ordered individual *Nemeonikai* according to the possible upper date of his victory or victories and then placed the *Nemeonikai* in order of increasing length of period in which their victory or victories may have fallen. Thus Glaukos, whom I tentatively date between 525 and 515, is immediately followed by Timokles, dated tentatively between 525 and 501 BC, who is then followed by Agath[---], dated, also tentatively, between 525 and 475 BC. In the rare cases in which the period suggested for one *Nemeonikes* is the same as that proffered for another, the order of presentation is alphabetical. Thus Athenodoros, dated between ca. 325 and ca. 275 BC, is followed by Timonax, dated, albeit even more tentatively, to the same period.

The lemmata of the catalogue have the following structure. First come the seven fields, which, one hopes, pin down in concise form the most important aspects of a *Nemeonikes* of any period, or indeed the most important aspects of any victor (*Competitor name, patronymic; Date of victory/victories at Nemea; Inscription find spot; Citizenship(s); Discipline(s); Ancient sources; Catalogue entries*). Inscription find spots are obviously vitally important for what they say about where it was thought worthwhile to commemorate a victory. The citizenship of the victor is obviously equally important. Multiple citizenships (rather than change of citizenship, such as Ergoteles (Cat. 1. 56) underwent) are less of an issue in the Classical world and for most of the Hellenistic period, but they become increasingly important from late Hellenistic times (*Patrie d'origine*), especially the introduction) and a vitally important part of athletic identity in the Imperial Roman world, whose *Nemeonikai* I hope to cover. The *Catalogue entries* field covers the main modern catalogues starting from Klee 1918 (and including the useful Neumann-Hartmann 2008, not strictly speaking a catalogue) in which the *Nemeonikes* in question appears. The text that follows usually has the same general structure throughout the catalogue. It normally starts with a coverage of any other contests, firstly of the *periodos* and then any other games, in which the *Nemeonikes* was also victorious. Then follows a treatment of any other issue, usually involving dating, and the lemma concludes with a statement of the probable date of the Nemean victories. For ease of discussion, *avant la lettre* I use the terms *periodos* and *periodonikes*, although these words themselves, rather than the concepts they embody, belong to the Hellenistic period at the earliest (Remijsen 2011, 99, 99 n. 10).

Table 1. Inscriptional References to *Nemeonikai*, ca. 580 – ca. 300 BC

Cat. no.	Victor Name	Victor Citizenship	Inscription Find Spot	Nature of Inscription	Inscription Date	Dating Method	Reference
1. 88	Unknown	?	Nemea	Funerary epigram for athlete (?)	4th century	Letter forms	Nemea Archaeological Museum I 15 a–c
1. 79	Prateas	Argos	Argos	list of victories on statue base	ca. 350 – ca. 300	Letter forms	Amandry 1980, pp. 217–20
1. 84	Kleainetos	Argos	Argos	Epigram on statue base	ca. 350 – ca. 325	Letter forms	Charneux 1985b, pp. 357–75, 1 (E1)
1. 85	Aischylos	Argos	Argos	list of victories on statue base	ca. 350 – ca. 300	Letter forms	Amandry 1980, pp. 217–20
1. 9	Aristis	Kleonai	Nemea	On base of statue dedication	ca. 573 – mid 6th century	Letter forms	Nemea Archaeological Museum I 4
1. 14	Timokles	Mycenae	Argive Heraion	Inscribed on capital, column	late 6th century	Letter forms	IG IV 510 (E19)
1. 73	Hagestratos	Rhodes, city on (?)	Epidauros	Inscription recording miracles cures	4th century	Letter forms	IG IV ² 1 122 (xxix). 50–5
1. 1	Unknown	Sikyon ?	Nemea	Inscribed on ἀλτήρ	6th century	Letter forms	Nemea Archaeological Museum I 118
1. 18	Unknown	Sikyon ?	Nemea	Bronze plaque for statue base	ca. 500	Letter forms	Nemea Archaeological Museum BR 1098
1. 15	Agath[---]	Sikyon?	Sikyon	On wall of <i>gymnasion</i>	ca. 525 – 475	Letter forms	SEG 11 257 (E30)
1. 16	Unknown	Tegea (?)	Tegea (?)	Epigram recording victories	ca. 500	Letter forms	Ebert 1972 8 (E3)
1. 86	Unknown	Crete (?)	Olympia	Epigram on statue base	ca. 350 – ca. 300	Letter forms	Ebert 1972 48 (E6)
1. 30	[-----]s	Athens?	Salamis	Victory list on statue base?	5th century	Content, style of inscription	IG II ² 2022
1. 51	Pronapes	Athens	Athens	Inscription on victory monument	ca. 450 – ca. 440	Letter forms	IG II ² 3123 (E17)
1. 52	Alkimachos	Athens (?)	Philippoupolis (?)	Vase	ca. 475–425	Style	Plovdiv Regional Museum of Archaeology 1812
1. 54	Kallias	Athens	Athens (Acropolis)	Victory list	ca. 450 – ca. 440 (?)	Letter forms	IG I ³ 893 (E15)
1. 61	Pythodelos	Athens (?)	Delphi	Epigram on statue base	5th century – 4th century	Letter forms, linguistic features	Ebert 1972 25 (E4)
1. 72	Hegestratos	Athens	Athens	Inscription on statue base	early 4th century	Letter forms	IG II ² 3122
1. 83	Unknown	Athens	Athens	List of victories on dedication	mid 4th century	Letter forms	IG II ² 3128 (E18)
1. 36	Hagias	Pharsalos	Delphi	Inscription from monument of Daochos recording victories of ancestor	ca. 336 to 332 ?	Erected at time when dedicator was ἱερομνήμων at Delphi?	F.Delphes III 4 460 2. 1–4 (E9)
1. 37	Telemachos	Pharsalos	Delphi	As for 1. 36	As for 1. 36	As for 1. 36	F.Delphes III 4 460 3 (E10)
1. 82	Sostratos	Sikyon	Delphi	Epigram recording victories on statue base	ca. 365	Dated by reference to Paus. 6. 4. 2 (L44)	F.Delphes III 1 507, p. 332 (E8)
1. 102	Euagkritos	Thebes	Thebes	Epigram on statue base	ca. 300–260	Sculptor signature	IG VII 2470 (E22)

Table 1. Inscriptional References to *Nemeonikai*, ca. 580 – ca. 300 BC

Cat. no.	Victor Name	Victor Citizenship	Inscription Find Spot	Nature of Inscription	Inscription Date	Dating Method	Reference
1. 5	Phokion	Ioulis (Keos)	Ioulis (Keos)	Record of <i>periodos</i> victors from Ioulis, generally undated within ca. 573 and ca. 330	ca. 350 – ca. 330	Letter forms, scribal similarities with other dated inscriptions, morphology	<i>IG XII 5 608. 18</i> (E25)
1. 7	Eparkos	Ioulis (Keos)	Ioulis (Keos)	As for 1. 5	ca. 350 – ca. 330	As for 1. 5 (Phokion)	<i>IG XII 5 608. 18</i> (E25)
1. 8	Alexidikos	Ioulis (Keos)	Ioulis (Keos)	As for 1. 5	ca. 350 – ca. 330	As for 1. 5 (Phokion)	<i>IG XII 5 608. 18</i> (E25)
1. 20	Argeios	Ioulis (Keos)	Ioulis (Keos)	As for 1. 5	ca. 350 – ca. 330	As for 1. 5 (Phokion)	<i>IG XII 5 608. 18</i> (E25)
1. 27	Liparion	Ioulis (Keos)	Ioulis (Keos)	As for 1. 5	ca. 350 – ca. 330	As for 1. 5. (Phokion), Bacchylides' possible career dates	<i>IG XII 5 608. 18</i> (E25)
1. 33	Kimon	Ioulis (Keos)	Ioulis (Keos)	As for 1. 5	ca. 350 – ca. 330	As for 1. 5 (Phokion)	<i>IG XII 5 608. 18</i> (E25)
1. 44	Krinoleos	Ioulis (Keos)	Ioulis (Keos)	As for 1. 5	ca. 350 – ca. 330	As for 1. 5 (Phokion)	<i>IG XII 5 608. 18. 21</i> (E25)
1. 45	Polyphantos	Ioulis (Keos)	Ioulis (Keos)	As for 1. 5	ca. 350 – ca. 330	As for 1. 5 (Phokion)	<i>IG XII 5 608. 18. 14, 25</i> (E25)
1. 62	Lachon	Ioulis (Keos)	Ioulis (Keos)	As for 1. 5	ca. 350 – ca. 330	As for 1. 5 (Phokion)	<i>IG XII 5 608. 18. 27 – 28</i> (E25)
1. 78	Leon	Ioulis (Keos)	Ioulis (Keos)	As for 1. 5	ca. 350 – ca. 330	As for 1. 5 (Phokion)	<i>IG XII 5 608. 18. 16, 29</i> (E25)
1. 35	Theogenes	Thasos	Delphi	Victory list on statue base	ca. 400 – ca. 350	Letter forms	<i>Syll.</i> ³ 36 A (E32)
1. 92	Archippos	Mytilene	Olympia	Inscription on statue base, referred to Paus. 6. 15. 1 (L56)	Late 4th century – early 3th century	Letter forms	<i>IvO</i> 173
1. 93	Athenodoros	Ephesus	Ephesus	Honours decreed by city for victory in <i>Nemea</i>	ca. 315 – ca. 280	Inscription formulae similar to dated <i>I. Ephesos</i> 1416	<i>I. Ephesos</i> 1415 (E11)
1. 94	Timonax	Ephesus	Ephesus	Granting for funds to father of Timonax for training (?)	ca. 315 – ca. 280	Similarities to <i>I. Ephesos</i> 1416. Reference to individual dated in another inscription	<i>I. Ephesos</i> 1416 (E12)
1. 97	Nikagoras	Rhodes, city on	Lindos	Inscription on dedication recording victories	ca. 325 – ca. 330	Reference to Nikagoras in other, dated inscription	<i>I. Lindos</i> 68 (E13)
1. 99	Timosthenes	Lindos (?)	Lindos (?)	Inscription on statue base	ca. 300 – 270	Sculptor signature	<i>ASAA</i> 64/65 (1986/1987) [1991] 267–93, 275 no. 8 (E28)
1. 87	K[- -] Mn[- -]	Taras (?)	Lamo di Pario (near Metapontum)	Epigram on roof tile	ca. 350 – 300	Letter forms	Hansen 1989 834

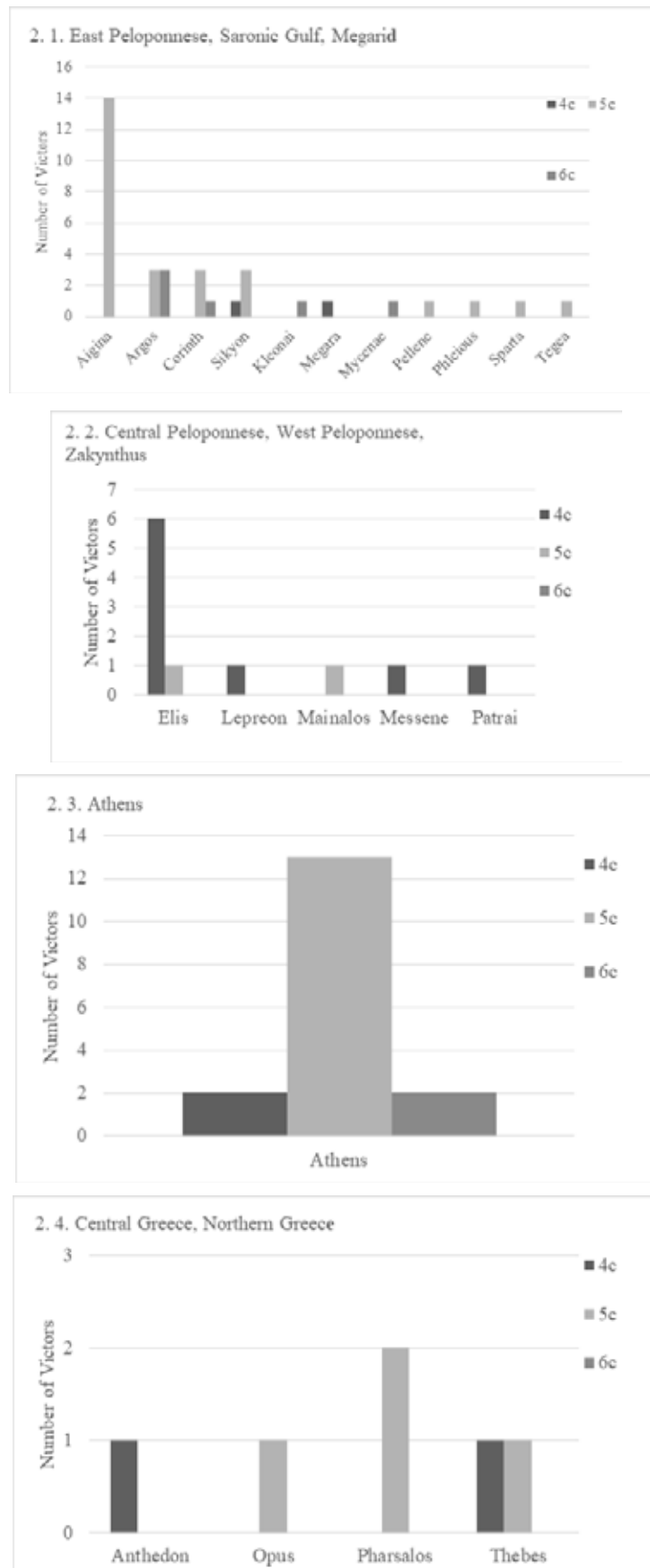
Table 2. Catchment Areas of *Nemeonikai* to ca. 300 BC.

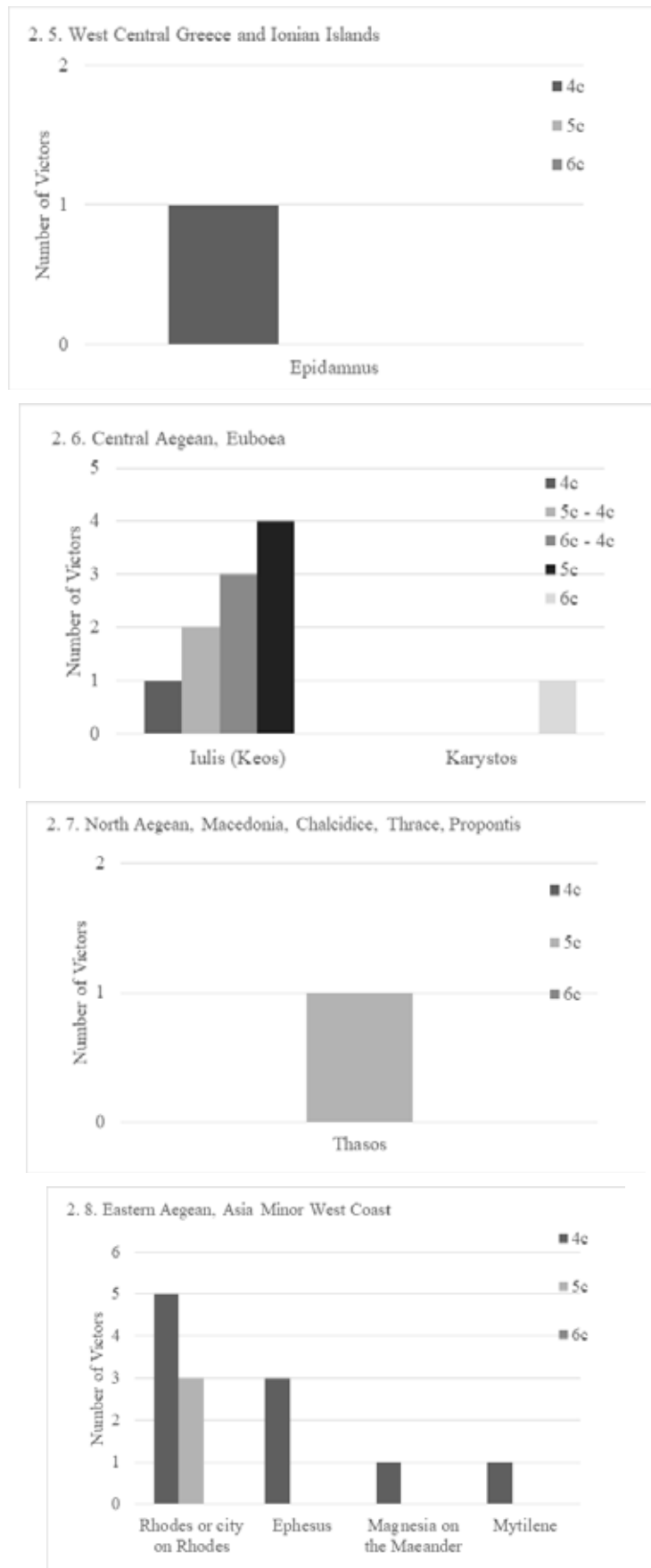
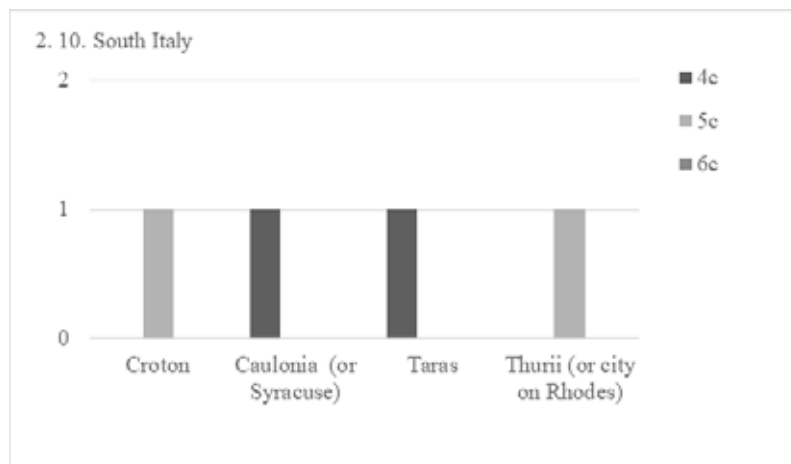
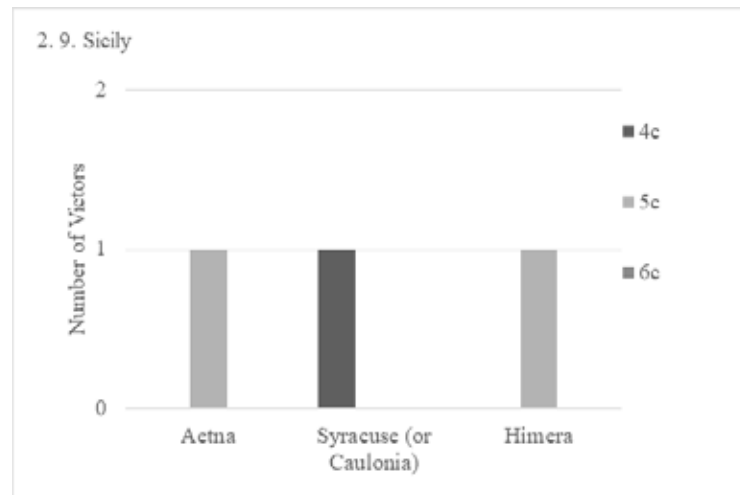
Table 2. Catchment Areas of *Nemeonikai* to ca. 300 BC.

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CATALOGUE OF NEMEONIKAI

PART ONE: DEFINITE NEMEONIKAI

CA. 573 – CA. 300 BC

1. 1

Competitor name, patronymic: Unknown

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 575 – ca. 551 BC

Inscription find spot: Nemea

Citizenship(s): Sikyon

Discipline(s): Pentathlon

Ancient sources: Nemea Archaeological Museum I 118

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 268

A fragment of a left-handed ἀλτήρ (jumping weight) was found in debris on top of the stone packing along the eastern side of the early stadium (Miller 2015, 277–353). It bears an inscription which started on the now missing part of the flat surface of the base of the ἀλτήρ and continued along the upper edge of the right face and then round the lower edge, [---] ὁ Σερυφόνιος νικάσας [---] ἀνέθηκε τοῖσι Διὶ τοῖσι Νεμέαι (Miller 2015, 482).

Ἀλτήρες were used in the long jump, which very occasionally occurred as an event in its own right. In *IG I³ 988* (Eleusis, ca. 575–550 BC (?)), written on a lead ἀλτήρ, an Epainetos dedicates his jumping weight ‘ἡαλόμενος νίκησε|v...’ (1–2) (Ebert 1972, 31, on *IG I² 802* (= *IG I³ 988*); *IAG*, pp. 1–4, 1). Five or six centuries later, the long jump on its own, now called πήδημα, appears in two inscriptions from Olbia (1st century – 3rd century AD) (Latyshev 1916, nos. 156. 5 (late 1st century – early 2nd century AD), 130.20 (2nd century – 3rd century AD)). Hansen (1983, no. 404) tentatively dates an inscription recording an exceptionally long jump (‘50 feet’) from Delos to the 7th century BC (recent bibliography on long jump: Decker 2012, 80–1).

The long jump was, however, more normally part of the *pentathlon* (whose method of scoring is obscure, to say the least (Cat. 1. 25)). There is no indication that the ἄλμα was performed as an independent contest at the *Nemea* and remains of equipment associated with other sub-events of the *pentathlon* were found at Nemea, namely an iron discus (Nemea Archaeological Museum IL 419), javelin points (Nemea Archaeological Museum IL 420 a, b), a bronze strigil (Nemea Archaeological Museum IL 435) and a lead ἀλτήρ (*haltēr*) (Nemea Archaeological Museum IL 418), that Miller suggests were placed in the deposit in which they were found after a feast to celebrate a victory in the πένταθλον. Bronze spear points (Nemea Archaeological Museum BR 1498; Nemea Archaeological Museum BR 1577) have also been found (Miller 2005, 46–7)). Thus it was presumably as part of the *pentathlon* that the event involving the ἀλτήρ occurred at Nemea.

The excavator suggests that the inscription ended in something such as [vac. τὸ πένταθλον]. The letter forms of the inscription are Sicyonian and date to 6th century BC (Miller 2015, 483). On the grounds that the date given by the chronographers for the foundation of the *Nemea* is 573 BC (p. 19), the excavator suggests a date sometime in the second quarter of the 6th century BC for the dedication (Miller 2015, 483).

1. 2

Competitor name, patronymic: Περίλαος Ἀλκίνορος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea ca. 573 (??) – ca. 501 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Argos

Discipline(s): Wrestling

Ancient sources: Paus. 2. 20. 7–8 (L36)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 2; Kostouros 2008, no. 159

Pausanias (Paus. 2. 20. 7 (L36)) reports that in a theatre at Argos, he saw a statuary group depicting Perilaos, son of Alkenor the Argive, killing the Spartan Othryadas. Previous to this, Pausanias says, Perilaos had won at Nemea in wrestling. He also refers to a tyrant named Perilaos (Paus. 2. 23. 7), known of only from this reference, whom, however, he does not date (although the tyrant may have belonged to the 6th century BC (Berve 1967, 35)) and does not specifically identify with the Nemean victor. At Argos three theatral buildings have so far been found, the ‘*theatron* in the agora’, the ‘Theatre with rectangular seating’/‘*odeum*’ and the ‘Large Theatre’. The ‘*theatron* in the agora’ consists of an *orchestra* with one row of seats, whose first phase dates to the 4th century BC. It was later converted to a pool (which may mean it retained its theatral role as a facility for *naumachiai*, etc.) (Moretti 1993, 3–6). The first phase of the ‘theatre with rectangular seating’/‘*odeum*’ dates to the mid 5th century BC (Sear 2006, 386). It was rebuilt as an *odeion* in the early 2nd century AD (Moretti 1993, 26; Sear 2006, 387) and remodelled again in AD ca. 250–300 (Moretti 1993, 26). The ‘Large Theatre’ lies about 100 m north of the ‘theatre with rectangular seating’/‘*odeum*’. Its first phase dates to ca. 330–300 BC (Sear 2006, 387) and it acquired a monumental scene building in ca. 300 – ca. 275 BC (Moretti 1993, 13), to which changes were made in the 2nd century BC (Moretti 1993, 14). The scene-building was remodelled again in ca. AD 125 – ca. 150, to produce a *scenae frons* of Italiote type, with four *aediculae* of possibly two storeys (Moretti 1993, 17–9, plan at 18, Fig. 17; Sear 2006, 386). Further alterations were made in the 3rd century – 4th century AD (Moretti 1993, 19, plan at 18, Fig. 18). The ‘Large Theatre’ is clearly the most impressive of the three buildings and it is therefore probably this that Pausanias is talking about.

Othryadas is one of the persons involved in one set of accounts of the battle between the Spartans and the Argives over the Thyreatis and here we need to look at the historicity, or otherwise, of this battle, in case it casts any light on the possible dating of Perilaos and, perhaps, of his statue. The Spartans won the battle, thus permanently acquiring the Thyreatis (Robertson 1992, 193), at least until Imperial times. The Thyreatis is a plain on the east coast of the Parnon range, some 22–23 km. south of Argos, bounded to the north by Mt. Zavitsa, which is very probably the ancient Parparos or Paparon. To the west it is bounded by the Parnon range and to the south by today’s river of Aghios Andreas (description of Thyreatis: Müller 1987, 871–76). The city of Thyrea stood inland ‘10 stades’ (Thuc. 4. 57. 1), destroyed in 424 BC (Thuc. 4. 57. 3; Müller 1987, 871) and apparently never rebuilt, may have stood immediately south of today’s Astros (Müller 1987, 871). It is, however, impossible to place the battle of the Thyreatis with certainty at any point in the history of Archaic Argos. Herodotus puts it in the 6th century BC, synchronizing it with the fall of Sardis (Piccirilli 1973, 39, 39 n. 43), while another tradition, perhaps originating with Ephorus in the 4th century BC, pushes it back into the 8th century BC (Robertson 1992, 183–84). The precise site of the battle is equally obscure. Tradition located the battle at Πάρπαρος (Hesychius, s.v. ‘Πάρπαρος’, Choeroboscus: Hilgard 1889, 297, l. 5; Robertson 1992, 179, n. 1.) or Παπάρων (Robertson 1992, 194) in the Thyreatis, which would seem to be today’s Mt. Zavitsa, located at the northern end of the plain (Müller 1987, 871 for map).

There are two traditions regarding the outcome of the battle, one offered by Herodotus among others, and one glimpsed in Pausanias’ mention of the statue of Perilaos in the theatre at Argos. Herodotus (Hdt. 1. 82. 1–8) gives the most extensive version of the first tradition, which notably does not involve Perilaos. According to this, the Lacedaemonians have already taken the Thyreatis, which had previously belonged to Argos. The Argives intervene and it is agreed that 300 picked warriors from each side should fight and that the outcome of the battle should decide who will possess the area. At the end of the contest, two Argives, Chromios and Alkenor, and one Spartan, Othryadas are left. The Argives return to Argos, convinced that they have won, while Othryadas remains, plunders the dead and carries arms back to his camp. The next day, both sides claim victory,

the Argives maintaining that more Argives than Spartans have survived, while the Spartans assert that they have won, on the grounds that the Argives fled the field. Both sides then fight once more and this time the Spartans win. After the second battle, Othryadas commits suicide, driven to do so by the prospect of returning to Sparta as the sole survivor of the battle. The neutrality of Herodotus' account, in which neither side wins spectacularly, suggests that the narrative is generally true, despite featuring Othryadas, a hero who possesses a striking significant name (Robertson 1992, 205) and inflicts on himself a fate that recalls that of Pantites, who missed the battle of Thermopylae (Hdt. 7. 232. 1).

Pausanias (Paus. 2. 38. 5), who offers only a brief account of the battle, seems to be drawing on Herodotus, but does not mention any of Herodotus' or other protagonists. When he visits the Thyreatis, Pausanias says simply that 300 picked Spartans and 300 picked Argives fought each other, with the result that one Spartan and two Argives were left. There was then a clash between all the forces of both sides, which the Spartans won, whereupon the Spartans immediately set about exploiting the Thyreatis, although they later gave it to the Aiginetans expelled by the Athenians. In Pausanias' version, the Argives apparently assume that there are no Spartan survivors after the battle. Although custom (in the 5th century BC, at least) would seem to have demanded that they stay on the battlefield to show that they were in possession, the Argives' decision to return to Argos is reasonable. Robertson (1992, 200–1) sees a parallel with Thuc. 8. 24. 1. Here, in 412 BC, the Athenians land at Milesian Panormus and defeat the Spartan Chalcideus. They put up a trophy three days later, which is torn down by the Milesians, on the grounds that it was not set up while the Athenians were still held the field. The custom of erecting battlefield trophies may have started around 500 BC (*RE* VII A, col. 664) and the fact that Othryadas does not erect anything may be an indication of the basic authenticity of Herodotus' account, although the point at issue, of course, is not that Othryadas did not erect a trophy, but that he remained on the battlefield after the conflict.

Herodotus' account of the battle was too tempting for Hellenistic poets to ignore and the episode acquires various graphic, baroque details. Among these is the embellishment, visible from the 3rd century BC onwards, consisting of the possibly anachronistic detail of the trophy erected by the Spartans, which thereafter assumes a crucial role, presumably because of the opportunities for drama it offers and Spartan heroism at the battle of the Thyreatis indeed became a popular theme for Hellenistic epigrammatists. (Gow and Page 1965, Vol. 2, 220). Here, too, where it is mentioned, the outcome of the battle is the same: two Argives and one Spartan survive the conflict, although now Othryadas is linked in some way with the trophy. In an epigram by Dioscorides (Gow and Page 1965, Vol. 1., 91, Dioscorides, no. 31), of the 3rd century BC, two speakers, apparently the two Argive survivors, come across Othryadas' trophy, which, inscribed with his blood, claims victory for the Spartans, while Othryadas himself lies dying. In an epigram by Nicander (2nd century BC) (Gow and Page 1965, Vol. 1., 147, Nicander, no. 2.), Othryadas commits suicide after inscribing the plundered arms of the Argives, presumably with his blood (although this is not clear). In a poem attributed to Simonides, but probably Hellenistic in date (Gow and Page 1965, Vol. I., 181, 'Simonides', no. 5.), and presumably to be imagined as being inscribed on the tomb of the Spartan dead on the battlefield, 'the armour (i.e., the trophy), covered with the bold blood of Othryadas', proclaims that Thyrea belongs to the Lacedaemonians. In Strabo (Strabo 8. 6. 7), Othryadas is now a general, while in the Πελοποννησιακά of Chrysermus ([Plut.] *Parallela Minora* C 3 (*FHG* Vol. 4, 361, no. 2)), which may date to before the early 2nd century AD and perhaps to the late 1st century or early 2nd century AD (Volkman 1869, 166, n.), Othryadas puts up a trophy inscribed with his own blood, as he does in Theseus (4th century AD?) (Stob. *Flor.* 3.7.68 (*FGrHist* III, B, 381–82, no. 453 (Theseus))).

In the second tradition regarding the outcome of the battle, to which Pausanias alludes when he mentions the statue of Perilaos and Othryadas in 'the theatre' at Argos, Perilaos, son of Alkenor, plays a starring role. Here Othryadas and Perilaos fight and both are killed. This myth clearly builds on Herodotus' version, and all its offspring, reacts to it and indeed caps it, in that an Argive hero now kills off the last of the Spartans, so converting the Argive defeat of Herodotus' narrative into something resembling a victory, while dying a heroic death himself. This is the tradition that Pausanias saw illustrated in the statuary group in the theatre at Argos. A myth so clearly and narrowly expressive of anti-Spartan Argive nationalism can only have arisen in Argos itself, probably

sometime before it filtered into the literary record. This it does before ca. 100 BC and perhaps after ca. 300 BC, to judge from an epigram by Chaeremon (Gow and Page 1965, Vol. 1., 76, Chaeremon, no. 3), who was active sometime between these two dates (Gow and Page 1965, Vol. 1., 220). Chaeremon's poem displays the same type of baroque detail evident in the variations produced by Hellenistic poets on Herodotus' account. He is echoed by Gaetulicus (Gow and Page 1965, Vol. 1., 57, Gaetulicus, no. 5.), who may date to the first third of the 1st century AD (Gow and Page 1965, Vol. 1., 50–1), and seems to set the duel between Othryadas and Perilaos in the battle between the three hundred picked Argives and Spartans (if this is the correct way to interpret the tortuous phrase 'δίσσα τριηκοσίων τὰδε φάσγαν' in the first line of Gaetulicus' poem).

We do not know when the Argives (we assume) felt the need to formulate an anti-Spartan addendum to the established narrative of the battle of the Thyreatis, but the fact that the Perilaos myth seems to have taken a literary form between 300 and 100 BC suggests that the events that triggered the myth may belong to this period. The activities of Pyrrhus in the 270s BC, the period after the defeat of Cleomenes III at Sellasia (222 BC) and Nabis' loss of Argos in 195 BC all come to mind.

Whether the statue that Pausanias saw also belongs to this time is another question. Hellenistic theatres do not seem to host free-standing statuary, at least not on the spectacular scale of Roman imperial scene buildings. The most natural setting for such a statue would be the Hadrianic *scaenae frons* of the 'Large Theatre', with its two storeys of *aediculae*, although it is conceivable, but perhaps not likely, that the statue was made at an earlier stage and subsequently placed in the theatre or theatre precincts. Once the Perilaos myth had been formulated, the statue could theoretically have been produced at any time thereafter, when tensions between Argos and Sparta may have led the Argives to depict this anti-Spartan myth in physical form. If, however, the statue is contemporary with the Hadrianic scene building, perhaps its purpose was merely to illustrate one of the great events from the narrative of the Argive past and to assert the continuing supremacy of Argos over Sparta even in the placid days of the *pax romana*. There are indications, admittedly very slight, that Hadrian showed favour to Argos. The alterations to the scene building may have been funded by Hadrian (Moretti 1993, 17, n. 6., referring to Vollgraff 1958, 554–55 and SEG 11. 340). Even more tenuously, Pausanias (2. 38. 5) says the Thyreatis was returned to Argos through a *δίκη*, although he gives no more details. A *δίκη* on such a matter suggests a decision by the emperor, who may have been Hadrian (there is no evidence that Hadrian visited Argos, but it seems unlikely that he would not have visited so historic a city). Perhaps this judgement, whether or not handed down by Hadrian, caused the statue of Perilaos to be erected, which would mean that the statue was Hadrianic or post-Hadrianic.

As for the historicity of Perilaos (Robertson 1992, 201–14), as opposed to his date, there are only two potentially dubious points in Pausanias' description of the statue of Perilaos and Othryadas that might suggest that he was not a real person. First, Perilaos is the son of Alkenor, one of the Argive survivors in Herodotus' account, which provokes suspicion, in that the son of an almost-winner of the first battle (if the myth of the Battle of the Champions is to be regarded as preceding the duel between Perilaos and Othryades) is the indisputable winner of the second. There is also the question of age, if one is to be literal-minded about the interconnection between the two narratives. Perilaos must have been about at least 20, which means Alkenor was perhaps about at least 50 and thus probably too old to earn a place among the three hundred picked men of Argos. Second, and less suspect, Perilaos is a wrestler, wrestling being the most warlike of athletic disciplines (Robertson 1992, 202). None of this, however, demolishes the reasonable possibility that Perilaos, even stripped of his emblematic paternity, was still a real *Nemeonikes* in wrestling. His date remains vague, however. As noted already, the date of the battle of the Thyreatis is nebulous, to say the least, and Perilaos seems anyway to have been linked with it only long after it occurred. Perhaps Perilaos, the *Nemeonikes*, belongs to the 6th century BC (and therefore might even have been the tyrant of this name, if the tyrant dates to this time), but his fame may have been so great that, when, possibly in the 3rd century BC or later, Argive circumstances required a figure on which to hang a myth depicting Spartan humiliation, he was the natural choice.

1. 3

Competitor name, patronymic: Ὀλιγαίθιδαι

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 573–464 BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Corinth

Discipline: -

Ancient sources: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 96–113 (L119).

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 49 – 52, J 74 – 104, N 77–105; Strasser 2001, no. 3; Farrington 2012, no. 3. 4

At *Ol.* 13. 96–113 (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 96–113. (L119)), Pindar gives a victory catalogue of the Oligaithidai, who, the scholiast says (Drachmann 1903, 383, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 137), are the φατρία of Xenophon, which may have belonged to one of the Dorian tribes of Corinth (Salmon 1981, 208). They have won 60 times altogether at the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* (96–100). They have also been victorious six times at the *Pythia* (106). They have won, too, at games at Argos (108), probably the *Hecatomboia* held at the Argive Heraion (Appendix 3. 2), at a set of games at Thebes (108), perhaps the *Herakleia* (or *Ioleia*) (Appendix 3. 11), at the *Lykaia* (108–109) (Nielsen 2018, 37–40, 121 no. 39), at Pellene (109) (Appendix 3. 8), at Sikyon (109) (Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 386, 155), presumably the *Pythia* (Appendix 3. 10), and at Megara (109) (Appendix 3. 7). The scholiast offers a choice between the *Diokleia* and a set of *Pythia*, but the festival in question may equally have been the *Alkathoia*, at which Euthymenes may also have won a victory or victories (Cat. 1. 39). The Oligaithidai also won at Eleusis (110), the scholiast suggesting that the games in question were either the *Demetria* or the *Eleusinia* (Drachmann 1903, 386, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 156a), at Marathon, presumably at the *Herakleia* (Appendix 3. 6). They won, too, at ‘cities under Aetna’ (111). The scholiast, or an interpolator (Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 386, 158a (L23)), thinks that this means, or includes, Syracuse, but Syracuse is not beneath Aetna and more likely candidates are Catana, Naxos (there being some indication that games were held here (Nielsen 2018, 57, no. 306)) or Tauromenion. The Oligaithidai were also victorious at games in Euboea (Appendix 3. 4). One scholion hazards a guess that these games in Euboea include the otherwise unknown *Geraistia*, but the scholion immediately following asserts that the Oligaithidai won at the *Amarysia* at Amarynthos and the specificity of this comment suggests that it was based on information drawn from some other epinician ode that concerned another member of the *phratría* and is true.

There is no indication as the disciplines involved in these victories nor is there any obvious clue as to their date, except for the fact that they must date to before the composition of *Ol.* 13, probably written to celebrate Xenophon’s victory at Olympia in the *stadion* in 464 BC. Sixty victories at the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea*, assuming the sixty were roughly equally divided between the two sets of games, could conceivably have been piled up in as little as thirty years, as Klee (1918, 102 (N 77–105) 92 (J 74–104)) seems to assume. On the other hand, since Corinth is very close to the Isthmus and not at all far from Nemea, the Oligaithidai may have been particularly active at these festivals from their (re)foundation, that of the Nemea falling (according to the chronographical tradition, as we have said at length elsewhere (p. 19)) in 573 BC. If Pindar is including Xenophon among the Oligaithidai here, then we can offer no more precise dates for their victories than some period between ca. 573 and 464 BC.

1. 4

Competitor name, patronymic: Τιμοδημίδαι

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 573 – ca. 449 BC

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline: -

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 2. 19–24 (L81)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918 P 27–30, J 33–40, N 30 36; Strasser 2001, no. 5; Farrington 2012, no. 3. 3

The Timodemidai, the clan of Timodemos (Cat. 1. 18.), are said to have won four victories at the *Pythia*, eight at the *Isthmia*, seven at the *Nemea* and victories ‘without number’ in games ‘at home’ in the ‘contest of Zeus’ (Pind. *Nem.* 2. 19–24 (L81), which, since Timodemos was from the deme of Acharnai (Pind. *Nem.* 2. 16–7), means Athens. The scholiast identifies the ‘contest of Zeus’ as the *Olympia* of Athens (Drachmann 1927, 39, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 2 35, 37a; *Olympia*, Athens: Appendix 3. 3) and this is likely to be correct. At this point Pindar has listed the victories of the Timodemidai at the contests of the *periodos*. In Pindar’s catalogues, with two exceptions, any games that follow do not belong to the *periodos* (p. 53) and, since these games belong to Zeus, they cannot be the *Panathenaia*, the only other important set of games at Athens. Modern scholars have also thought that Pindar is talking about the Athenian *Olympia* (Bury 1890, 37; Instone 1996, 151 (on l. 24)). Instone notes that at *Nem.* 2. 24 we have a ‘characteristic piece of Pindaric ring composition,’ referring back to the (Nemean) Zeus mentioned at 5. It might also be added, in confirmation of the view that Pindar is talking at 24 of the Athenian *Olympia*, that τὰ δ’ οἶκοι refers back to μεγάλας Ἀθάναις at 9 (Bury 1890, 37). The discipline in which all these victories were won, however, is unknown, but since Timodemos was a pancratiast, perhaps there was a tradition of ‘heavy’ athletes among the Timodemidai.

The dates of the victories are equally unknown, but they must have occurred before, or at the same time as, the victories of Timodemos, dated between ca. 485 or ca. 461 and 449 BC (Cat. 1. 21), and, obviously, after the (re)foundation of the *Pythia*, *Isthmia* and *Nemea*, in the 580s and 570s BC, and the date of the victories of Timodemos himself, perhaps by ca. 485 BC and certainly by ca. 449 BC.

1. 5

Competitor name, patronymic: Φωκίων Νεδοντίου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 573 (?) – ca. 331 BC

Inscription find spot: Iulis

Citizenship(s): Iulis

Discipline(s): Boxing

Ancient Sources: IG XII 5 608. 18 (E25)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, 103, no. 123 (‘Lokion’); Kostouros 2008, no. 105 (‘Λωκίων’)

The name of the athlete is Phokion, at least in the view of Schmidt (1999, 71), who says that the stone undoubtedly reads ‘Φωκίων’ rather than the ‘Λωκ[’ίω]ν’ (?) of IG.

Phokion, Eparkos and Alexidikos are all mentioned (in this order) as victors in what was almost certainly the men’s boxing at Nemea (IG XII 5 608. 18, 19, 20 (E25); Cat. 1. 20). Although IG XII 5 608 (E25) is not overall chronologically ordered, within the groups of disciplines that it lists, it may be. Thus it is possible that Phokion won before Eparkos and that Eparkos won before Alexidikos. The traditional foundation date of the *Nemea* given by the chronographic tradition is, of course, 573 BC (p. 19) and the lower date limit of IG XII 5 608 (E25) is ca. 330 BC (p. 46). Thus, on these assumptions, if victors within groups of single disciplines are indeed ordered chronologically, then we have the following:

Phokion: 573–331 BC (?)

Eparkos: 571–331 BC (?)

Alexidikos: 569–331 BC (?)

1. 6

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀριστείδης

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 573 (???) – ca. 301 BC (???)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Elis

Discipline(s): Boys' *hippios*

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 16. 4

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 131, N 243; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 951; Kostouros 2008, no. 21; Strasser 2001, no. 247

Aristeides was victorious in the boys' ἵππιος (*hippios*), a track event four *stadia* in length (Paus. 6. 16. 4 (L57); Decker 2012, 46, 62 (recent bibliography)), at the *Nemea*, also winning the *ὀπλίτης* (*hoplites*) at Olympia and the *δίαυλος* (*diaulos*) at the *Pythia* (Paus. 6. 16. 4 (L57)). There is no direct indication of his date. The boys' *hippios* at Nemea was apparently still being run in the mid 1st century BC (*IAG* 56. 7 = *Syll.*³ 676), but had gone from the curriculum by the time of Hadrian, who instituted the discipline at the Νέμεα χειμερινά, that is, the winter *Nemea* (Paus. 6. 16. 4 (L57)). Pausanias is extracting his information from the inscription connected with the statue of Aristeides at Olympia ('...τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δηλοῖ...'). Most such victor inscriptions at Olympia date between the 6th century and 4th century BC (Nielsen 2018, 178, 178 n. 55). Thus the best we can do is to suggest that Aristeides' victory falls somewhere between ca. 573 and ca. 301 BC. Strasser (2001 no. 247) suggests that Aristeides dates either to the Classical or Hellenistic period, but gives no grounds for his opinion.

1. 7

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἐπαρκος Ναυκύδεος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 571–331 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Iulis

Citizenship(s): Iulis

Discipline(s): Boxing

Ancient sources: *IG* XII 5 608. 19 (E25)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 124 ('Epakros'); Kostouros 2008, no. 59 ('Ἐπαρκος')

As for the name of the athlete, *IG* XII 5 608. 19 (E25) gives Ἐπαρκος, but Schmidt (1999, 70) reads Ἐπαρκος, which is what his drawing of the stone suggests, although he gives no reasons for his choice. For the dating of the victory of Eparkos at the *Nemea*, see Cat. 1. 5.

1. 8

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀλεξιδίκος Μέννητος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 569 (?) – ca. 331 BC

Inscription find spot: Iulis (Keos)

Citizenship(s): Iulis

Discipline(s): Boxing (men) (?)

Ancient sources: *IG* XII 5 608. 20 (E25)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 125; Kostouros 2008, no. 11

For the dating of the victory of Alexidikos in probably the mens' boxing at *Nemea*, Cat. 1. 5.

1. 9

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀριστις Φεΐδωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 561 (??)–551 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: Nemea

Citizenship(s): Kleonai

Discipline(s): Pankration

Ancient sources: Ebert 1972 2 (E2)

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 22

The correct accentuation of the name is Ἀρίστις, not Ἀρίστis (Masson 1974, 179–80).

An inscription (Ebert 1972, 26, no. 2 = Nemea Archaeological Museum I 4 = Hansen 1983 379 (E2)) recording the four victories of Aristis in the *pankration* is engraved on a base of a dedication found reused in the wall of the ‘Xenon’ in the sanctuary at Nemea. The first phase of the ‘Xenon’ dates to ca. 325 – ca. 300 BC and the second to the mid 3rd century BC (Miller 1989, 101). The inscription consists of an elegiac couplet on the base of an offering, with a third line whose metrical definition is not clear (Ebert 1972, 37) and which commentators have dated by reference to the date for the foundation of the *Nemea* given by Eusebius/Jerome. This is between 573 and 569 BC, depending on the manuscript (p. 19), but 573 BC is the date favoured by modern scholars. Thus, because Aristis may not have been victor at four successive iterations of the *Nemea* (Guarducci 1967, 238–39, no. 2), a terminus post quem for the inscription has been taken to be 567 BC (e.g. Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 18), although, while Eusebius/Jerome’s dates are clearly generally correct (Farrington 2017, 444–45), they are probably misleadingly precise. Otherwise, letter forms are the other dating criterion, with Guarducci apparently on these grounds dating the inscription to not later than the mid 6th century BC (Guarducci 1967, 239). *LSAG*² (1990, 148–50, no. 5) tentatively places it about 560 BC.

It is impossible to say whether the father of our Aristis has any connection with Pheidon, the tyrant of Argos. The dates given by the sources regarding Pheidon conflict irreconcilably with each other over a period of more than three centuries (Hall 2013, 210–17). There may indeed have been a Pheidon in the history of Argos over the period from the 9th century to the 7th century BC and he may have been a personality of some importance, because his was the name around which coalesced in the mid 6th century BC a compensatory fantasy, derived from Homer (Hall 1995, 586), in an Argos facing a threateningly expansionist Sparta (Hall 2013, 200–22). This stated that long ago (i.e. before Sparta rose to dominance) Pheidon had held an Argive kingdom that stretched down the east coast of the Peloponnese and had intervened in various crucially important places in the Peloponnese, an imaginary dominion that contrasted with the modest 6th century reality, in which Argos seems to have been confined to the southwest corner of the Argolid and bounded by the Erasinios and Inachos (Hall 1995, 587–92). The chronological nebulosity of this imaginary empire is clearly the reason why, for example, Herodotus manages to make Leocedes, who in the early 6th century is one of the suitors of Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sikyon the son of Pheidon of Argos (Hdt. 6. 126–9), with which Cleisthenes, at least at some stage, was at war (Cleisthenes’ reign also being a rat’s nest of insoluble chronological problems (see, e.g., Farrington 2013, 113–25)). Meiggs and Lewis would like to retain the connection with Pheidon the tyrant, since they suggest that the father of Aristis was a descendant in exile of the Argive royal house (Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 18) and there might be the faintest shadow of support for this idea. As Moretti (Moretti *IAG*, p. 7; Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 9 (p.18)) and Ebert (1972, 36–7) note, Pheidon is a common name, although it is apparently rare in the northeast Peloponnese. The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* gives a total of 81 cases of the name throughout Greece (http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi?name=%CE%A6%CE%B5%CE%AF%CE%B4%CF%89%CE%BD, visited 22.05.2020), but only three of these derive from the north-west Peloponnese, which are our two examples (the tyrant of Argos (V3a-17184), father of our Aristis at Kleonai (V3a-17263)) and the lawgiver at Corinth (V3a-24355, referring to Arist. *Pol.* 1265b). If Pheidon actually was a name employed in the royal house of Argos, then the occurrence at Kleonai of a name otherwise so uncommon in the area may indicate some link with Argos.

This is the earliest mention of the *pankration* at Nemea. It was part of the curriculum at Olympia, supposedly introduced in the 33rd Olympiad (648 BC) (Paus. 5. 8. 8; Ebert 1972, 36) and it seems likely that it was performed at Nemea, from the refoundation or formalization of the *Nemea* around 573 BC.

1. 10

Competitor name, patronymic: Πραξιδάμας Σωκλείδα

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 555 – ca. 535 BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Boxing

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 6. 15–22

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 2–6, N 4–6; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 112; Kostouros 2008, no. 173; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 89; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 12

Praxidamas, the grandfather of Alkimidas (Cat. 1. 38), won an Olympic victory in boxing (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 17–8 (L90)), in the 59th Olympiad (Paus. 6. 18. 7 (L59)), in 544 BC. Pindar also refers to Praxidamas five victories at the Isthmus (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 19 (L90)) and three at Nemea (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 18 (L90)). Since Pausanias does not say otherwise, the Olympic victory will have been in the ἄνδρες category, as the other victories presumably also were. If the Nemean victories were won at successive iterations, then perhaps Praxidamas' non-Olympic victories fall sometime between ca. 555 and ca. 535 BC.

Carey (1989b, 7–9 (9, fig.1 for family tree of Praxidamas)) examines Pind. *Nem.* 6. 17–46 (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 17–46 (L90)) and offers a convincing reconstruction of the genealogy of Praxidamas (Fig. 1). Praxidamas is very probably the brother of Kallias, victorious in boxing at the *Pythia* (Delphi) (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 35–39. (L90)) and of Kreontidas, victorious at the *Isthmia* and *Nemea* (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 40–6. (L 90); Cat. 1. 11.). Carey (1989b, 7–8) notes that Pindar generally refers to important individuals by name, sometimes accompanied by a reference to their relationship to the victor, but not, it seems, by reference to relationship alone. One of the three athletically successful sons of Sokleidas referred to obliquely at Pin. *Nem.* 6. 24–25 (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 24–5 (L91)) is obviously Praxidamas, whose victories Pindar has dealt with at 17–20. The other two brothers are not named here, but Kreontidas and Kallias occur soon after (35–46). Henry (2005, 62) suggests that the detail with which the victories of Kreontidas and Kallias are presented may mean that they were still alive and may have expected their achievements to be mentioned, but the victories of each seem to have occurred in more distant past (Carey 1989b, 8, on use of πτόθ' at 44) and they both probably belong to Praxidamas' generation.

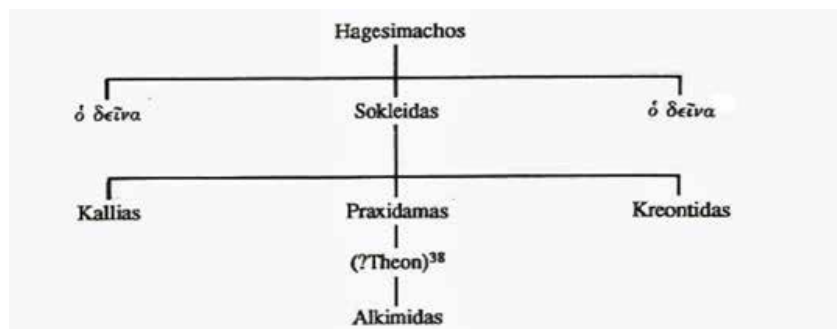


Fig. 1. Carey's suggested stemma for Praxidamas (Carey 1989b, 9, Fig. 1).

1. 11

Competitor name, patronymic: Κρεοντίδας Σωκλείδα

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 555 – ca. 531 BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline: -

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 6. 40–6; Drachmann 1927, 110, 70, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 6. 70

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 93; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 89, 89 n. 35; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 11

Kreontidas was victorious in some unspecified discipline at the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 40–6. (L90)) The scholiast (Drachmann 1927, 110, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 6. 70), evidently guessing, assumes that Kreontidas is a periphrasis for Kallias, who has just been mentioned (32–39) and that his father was called Creon, but Carey (1989b, 7–9) shows that Kreontidas was brother of Praxidamas and Kallias (Cat. 1. 10 for possible family tree) and that their father was called Sokleidas.

Since Praxidamas was victorious at Olympia in 544 BC (Paus. 6. 18. 7 (L59); Cat. 1. 10), Kreontidas may have been victorious at Nemea sometime between ca. 551 and ca. 531 BC.

1. 12

Competitor name, patronymic: Μίλων Διοτίμου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 533 (?) – 515 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Croton

Discipline(s): Men's wrestling

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 14. 5; Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 391. 202)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, J 7–12, 14, 16, 18, 20, N 7–11, 13, 15, 17, 19; Knab 1934, no. 1; Strasser 2001, no. 15; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 122; Kostouros 2008, no. 140; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 13

Pausanias states that Milon won six victories in πάλη (wrestling) at Olympia, one of which was in the παῖδες group, and six men's victories and one boys' at the *Pythia* (Delphi) (Paus. 6. 14. 5. (L55)). Eusebius ((Christesen 2007) 392. 202–04) (L26)) also assigns him six (unspecified) wrestling victories at the *Olympia*, but only six Pythian victories, ten *Isthmia* victories and nine *Nemea* victories. An epigram attributed to Simonides (Page 1981, 238–39, no. XXV (= 153 D)) assigns him seven Olympic victories, a detail that Page suggests derives from an account of a further, ἀκοντί victory. This victory, Page thinks, appears indirectly in A.P. 11. 316, which, however, plays suspiciously on Milo's ferocious athletic reputation. In the poem, Milon comes to Olympia to take part in the games, but finds no one to compete against. The judges thus award him the crown, but as he approaches them, he slips and the crowd insists that he has been thrown. He replies that he has fallen only once out of three times and challenges anybody to throw him twice more. Victories ἀκοντί were especially prestigious and, had this been a real event, we might have expected to find traces of it both in Pausanias and Eusebius and in the large number of anecdotes in other authors about Milon as a remarkable athlete.

Milo's victory in the παῖδες at Olympia occurred in 540 BC (= Ol. 60), if the reading ξ in the scholiast is correct. This is very probably is, as the other manuscripts give ζ (Ol. 7 = 752 BC) (Wendel 1967, 135, d), which conflicts with Pausanias (Paus. 5. 8. 9.) and Eusebius (Christesen 2007, 390. 137–38), who both give Ol. 37 (= 632 BC) as the date for the foundation of the boy's wrestling event. Since the sources used by both writers ultimately probably draw on Olympic victor lists (Christesen 2007, 224, 264–77), their dates are likely to be more reliable. Eusebius places what is clearly his complete record as a *periodonikes* in 532 BC, which, as Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 72, no. 122) points out, can only mean that the victories occurred from 532 BC onwards.

Milo thus enjoyed an enormously long career, competing in a final, seventh iteration of the *Olympia*, when he was beaten by a fellow-citizen (Paus. 6. 14. 5 (L55)). If his second Olympic victory occurred in 532 BC, when he was perhaps about 20 (having been a παῖς of perhaps 12 years old in 540 BC), then he cannot have won his sixth Olympic victory before 516 BC, when he was on this reckoning in his very late 30s. If he won at seven separate iterations of the *Pythia*, then, and if his second was in 534 BC, his final victory would have occurred

in 514 BC, when he was almost 40. On the other hand, a couple of years later, he regarded himself fit enough to compete once more at Olympia, while in 511/510 BC he was still in good enough physical shape to lead the people of Croton against Sybaris (Diod. Sic. 12. 9; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 72, no. 122.). Even if one assumes that Milon won one Nemean victory only at each iteration in which he was victorious, then his nine Nemean victories can still be fitted in between 539 and 515 BC.

1. 13

Competitor name, patronymic: Γλαῦκος Δημύλου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea ca. 525 (?) – ca. 515 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Karystos

Discipline(s): Boxing

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 10. 1 – 3; Λέξεις Πητορικαί (Bekker 1814) 227 (L32)); *Lexicon Patmense* (Latte and Erbse 1992) 156

Catalogue entries: Knab 1934, P 12, 15, J 13, 15, 17, 19, 21–24, N 12, 14, 16, 18, 20–23; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 75, no. 134; Strasser 2001, no. 18; Kostouros 2008, no. 39; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 17

Pausanias reports that Glaukos won an Olympic victory in boxing, two victories at the *Pythia* and eight at both the *Nemea* and the *Isthmia* (Paus. 6. 10. 3. (L52)). This Pausanias does immediately before mentioning the statue of Glaukos at Olympia, commissioned by Glaukos' son, all of which, together with Pausanias' use of λέγεται at 6. 10. 3 (L52), which Pausanias habitually employs to report what is given in inscriptions, in contrast to φασί which he uses to convey oral tradition (Nicholson 2016, 211–12, 211 n. 26), must mean that Pausanias is giving us the inscription on the statue base pertaining to Glaukos.

Pausanias' record of Glaukos' victories contrasts with the record given in various non-epigraphically-based sources, of which, given Glaukos' fame that made him a representative example of athletic strength in antiquity (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 76), there are many. Three of these sources refer to a single Olympic victory by Glaukos, one being a scholion to Aeschin. *In Ctes.* (Scholion to Aeschin. *Or.* 3 [= *In Ctes.*] 189, given at Dilts 1992, 149; Aeschin. 3. 189, given at Dilts 1997, 285, 189 (L1)), the second an entry for Glaukos in the Λέξεις Πητορικαί of the *Lexica Segueriana* (Λέξεις Πητορικαί (Bekker 1814) 232 (L31)) and the third the entry for 'Γλαῦκος' in the *Suda* (*Suda* s.v. 'Γλαῦκος' (Adler Γ 280) (L31)) (where the enormous number of 25 Olympic victories is clearly a mistake). Two of these (Λέξεις Πητορικαί (Bekker 1814) 232 (L31); *Suda* s.v. 'Γλαῦκος' (Adler Γ 280) (L31)) report three Pythian victories, while a further source, the first entry for Glaukos in the Λέξεις Πητορικαί, records only one Pythian, but three Olympic victories (Λέξεις Πητορικαί (Bekker 1814) 227 (L32)) (which, because all other sources consistently report only one Olympic victory, may mean here that the correct numbers of Pythian and Olympic victories have been wrongly switched with each other (Strasser 2001, 37)). Overall, either eight (Λέξεις Πητορικαί (Bekker 1814) 227 (L32)); *Lexicon Patmense* (Latte and Erbse 1992) 156) or ten (Λέξεις Πητορικαί (Bekker 1814) 232 (L31)); *Suda* s.v. 'Γλαῦκος' (Adler Γ 280)) Isthmian victories and eight Nemean victories (Λέξεις Πητορικαί (Bekker 1814) 227 (L32)); *Lexicon Patmense* (Latte and Erbse 1992), 156)) are reported. The situation in regard to the number of Glaukos' Pythian victories is unclear. Did Glaukos win another victory at Delphi or other victories at the Isthmus after his Olympic victory or is this difference the result of there being apparently no systematic and reliable ἀναγραφαί of Isthmian (and Nemean) victors (p. 17–8; Christesen 2007, 108–11)? The situation is likewise opaque in regard to Glaukos' Isthmian victories. On the other hand, the number of Nemean victories reported in the other sources is not lower than that given (we assume) by the inscription at Olympia, which is likely to be the most reliable source of all.

The most robust, if chronologically least precise, evidence regarding Glaukos' overall dates is the fact that Simonides wrote a victory ode, or odes (Page 1962, 241–44 nos. 509–510, with commentary), for Glaukos. As Nicholson (2016, 221) points out, Quint. *Inst.* 11. 2. 4. shows that at least some ode by Simonides for Glaukos

existed, although there is no indication of the date of the ode within the life of Simonides (and it is probably to this ode that Lucian (*Pro Imaginibus*, 19; Page 1962, 241, no. 509) is referring). This therefore means that Glaukos' athletic activity occurs within the dates of Simonides' working life, which probably fell between ca. 535 and ca. 465 BC (Appendix 2. 1). This, however, is not a very precise date, and in the attempt to narrow things down chronologically, we now look at the next most robust piece of evidence concerning Glaukos. This derives from what the scholion to Aeschin. *In Ctes.* that we have mentioned (Dilts 1992, 149, 429a (L1)) says about Glaukos' end at the hands of the Camarinaeans. It states that, when Hippocrates was tyrant of Leontini, Glaukos took command of matters and, having been appointed by Gelon, was then destroyed after the Camarinaeans voted against him. Something has clearly gone wrong with the text (Hippocrates was not tyrant of Leontini (Nicholson 2016, 205)), but the account is too detailed and circumstantial to dismiss. The tradition that Gelon was in some way linked with the end of Glaukos also occurs elsewhere (Λέξεις Πηγορικαί (Bekker 1814, 227 (L32), Λέξεις Πηγορικαί (Bekker 1814) 232 (L31)); *Lexicon Patmense* (Latte and Erbse 1992) 156), but by the time it reaches these sources (Nicholson 2016, 204–5) it has become even more simplified and confused, in that Gelon's plotting is said to be responsible for Glaukos' death.

The events that the Aeschines scholion (Dilts 1992, 149, 429a) mentions should be seen in the context of relations between Gela and Camarina over the first quarter of the 5th century BC. Camarina fell under the sway of Gela, then ruled by Hippocrates, in the early 5th century BC and was re-founded about 491/0 BC. Hippocrates died about this time and was succeeded by Gelon, who seized the tyranny of Gela. In about 485 BC, Gelon took over Syracuse, which became his base, while his brother, Hieron, became ruler of Gela. In 484 BC, Gelon destroyed Camarina, moving the Camarinaeans to Syracuse (e.g. Berve 1967, 137–52; Luraghi 1994, 145–86). On the basis of the account given in the Aeschines scholion (Dilts 1992, 149, 429a), Luraghi (1994, 151) offers a convincing reconstruction of events between the death of Hippocrates and the end of Glaukos (Nicholson 2016, 205–6). Hippocrates makes Ainesidamos tyrant of Leontini. On Hippocrates' death, Ainesidamos fails in an attempt to take over Hippocrates' empire and flees. Glaukos takes control of Leontini for Gelon and Gelon therefore places him in charge of Camarina, probably very soon after the death of Hippocrates, perhaps in 490 BC. At some point, however, the Camarinaeans destroy Glaukos, as is recorded in the scholion, and it is perhaps because of this that Gelon destroys Camarina and moves the inhabitants to Syracuse in 484 (Hdt. 7. 156; Thuc. 6. 5. 3; *IACP* 203). Thus Glaukos' death occurred between 490 and 484 BC.

Pausanias (Paus. 6. 10. 3 (L52)) reports the tradition, which does not necessarily clash with the tradition given in the scholion to Aeschin. *In Ctes.*, that the Carystians buried Glaukos on an island 'called after Glaukos'. This was ancient Γλαυκόνησος, between Attica and Euboea (*RE* 7. 1, col. 1403–1404), certainly initially named after the Chalcidian-backed sea god Glaukos (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 76; Nicholson 2016, 218). Local Carystian tradition seems to have assimilated Glaukos the athlete to Glaukos the god. As Nicholson (2016, 218) notes, the tradition that Glaukos was buried there may not be false, as Glaukos' bones may have been returned from Sicily. Nicholson offers a stimulating discussion of the two traditions of Glaukos, which he sees as consciously playing off each other, one presenting the athlete as a cosmopolitan, technically skilled performer and associate of Gelon, and the other, which presents him as a crude peasant boy, unaware of his strength until his father spots it.

Lastly, as regards the span of Glaukos' life, if not the period when he was an active athlete, we should not ignore the statuary group at Olympia, although not much can be done with it with regard to the chronology of Glaukos' life. The group consisted of Gelon's chariot with which he won his victory in 488 BC (Paus. 6. 9. 4) and statues of Glaukos and his son Philon. The statue of Philon bore an inscription by Simonides and all three pieces were the work of the Aeginetan sculptor Glaukias (Paus. 6. 9. 5; Paus. 6. 9. 9), who also produced a statue of Theagenes, for his victory at the 76th Olympiad, of 476 BC (Paus. 6. 11. 2.; Date of Theagenes victory: *POxy.* II 222 Col. 1. 13 (‘Θεογένης θ]άσιος παγκράτιον’) (Christesen 2007, 382)). The inscription relating to part of the assemblage displaying the chariot referred to Gelon as Γελῶν, that is, as a Geloan (Paus. 6. 9. 5.). This presumably means that Gelon had not taken over Syracuse when the statue was erected, which thus dates this part of the assemblage to 488–458 BC. As for the statues of Glaukos and Philon, the relationship between Gelon and Glaukos that emerges from the Aeschines scholion (Dilts 1992, 149, 429a) makes it highly likely that the

three statues area were linked and that the presence of the statuary group was making a statement regarding the international and cosmopolitan connections of Glaukos and Philon and Gelon's patronage of such superstars (Nicholson 2016, 215–16), although admittedly the point was lost on Pausanias, who, because he misdates Gelon's takeover of Syracuse to 491 BC (Paus. 6. 9. 5), thought that the Gelon commemorated here was not the Sicilian tyrant. Yet it is not clear whether the three statues were conceived of as a unity or whether the statues of the athletes were added as an afterthought to the chariot (or vice versa). If the statues of the athletes were added later (and it is easier to imagine two smaller statues being slotted into to a larger ensemble centred on a chariot), they may have been added at any time after 488 while the name of Gelon retained its resonance, which would have been the case up to the end of the Deinomenid dynasty on the death of Hieron in 467/466 BC. Whatever the situation, however, the statue group does not give any information about Glaukos' lifespan.

Such is the evidence pertaining to Glaukos' life. Within this, his Olympic victory and therefore all the other victories that presumably cluster around it chronologically can be dated only very precariously. Three sources mention a date for the Olympic victory of Glaukos. Two of them place it in the 25th Olympiad, that is, 608 BC (Λέξεις Ῥητορικαί (Bekker 1814) 232 (L31)); *Suda* s.v. 'Γλαῦκος' (Adler Γ 280)), which, unless this Glaukos is a different individual from ours, is impossible. Nicholson (2016, 208–10) convincingly refutes in great detail Fontenrose's suggestion (Fontenrose 1968, 73–104) that the sources confuse a semi-mythical victor of 7th century BC, from Carystus, who figures in the anecdote about the plough given by Pausanias (6. 10. 3.), with, among others, a Glaukos of Corcyra. As for the date of the Olympic victory, Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 75) suggests that the 'πέμπτην καὶ εἰκοστήν' of Λέξεις Ῥητορικαί (Bekker 1814, 232 (L31)) is a corruption of πέμπτην καὶ ἑξήκοστήν, which would put the Olympic victory in 520 BC (= Ol. 65), a date that does not contradict the evidence offered by Simonides' ode and the statue at Olympia.

One of the manuscripts of the third source, the scholion to Aeschin. *In Ctes.* (Dilts 1992, 149, 429a, app. crit., l. 1246, xS (L1)), offers πε' (= Ol. 105 = 360 BC). This is clearly wrong and was corrected by Schaefer to οε' (= Ol. 75 = 480 BC). This, however, conflicts with the evidence regarding Glaukos' later career in Sicily, if we assume, as we do above, that Glaukos was dead by 484 BC. Yet ms L of the Aeschines scholion gives ἑκατοστήν πέμπτην (Dilts 1992, 149, 429a, app. crit., l. 1246, L), which is presumably an attempt at ἑκατοστήν πέμπτην ('105th Ol.'). Behind ἑκατοστήν πέμπτην may lie the not very different ἑξήκοστήν πέμπτη (65th Ol. = 520 BC), which would at least agree with the view that Gelon is unlikely to have made a young athlete his lieutenant in Camarina.

So perhaps Glaukos really was victorious at Olympia in 520 BC at the 65th Olympia. If we assume that he was 20 when he won his Olympic victory and was 25 when he won his last Nemean victory and if we assume that he won only one victory of his eight Nemean victories at each iteration, then this pushes the start of his career back to at least 529 BC, when he would have been about eleven. It seems unlikely that so young a παῖς would have been victorious and it therefore may be that Glaukos won multiple victories at the same iteration. Perhaps, then, if we accept the shaky evidence for putting his Olympic victory in 520 BC, his Nemean victories lie between 525 BC and 515 BC.

1. 14

Competitor name, patronymic: Τιμοκλῆς (?)

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 525 (??) – ca. 501 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: Argive Heraion

Citizenship(s): Mycenae (?)

Discipline: -

Ancient sources: IG IV 510 (E19)

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 228

A metrical inscription (IG IV 510 (E19) = IAG 7 = SEG 14 315 = Ebert 1972 10 = Katsagani 2015, E25 (E19)) of

two verses inscribed on a Doric capital deriving from the Argive Heraion gives a partial list of victories won in games at Nemea, Tegea Kleitor and Pellene. Immediately below, on the column, a prose inscription states that a Timokles made the dedication (*IG IV 510*, (E19)). On the basis of letter forms a date in the late 6th century BC has been proposed (*IAG*, p. 15; (*LSAG*², 159, no. 16)). Fraenkel (Ebert 1972, 55) suggested long ago that the victor may have been either Thrasyklos (Cat. 2. 3.) or Antias (Cat. 2. 5.), the relatives of the Argive Theaios (Cat. 1. 46.), honorand of Pind. *Nem.* 10 (and, for what it is worth, there is a bronze plaque from the citadel at Mycenae and so not too far from Argos (*IG IV 492. 4*), which dates to ca. 500–480 BC and mentions an Antias (*LSAG*², 174, no. 2; Hall 1995, 599, 599 n. 148)), but there is no reason why the erector of the dedication could not also be the victor (*IAG*, p. 15; Ebert 1972, 55). The absence of a demotic after the name of Timokles is usually thought to indicate that he was an Argive (Ebert 1972, 55), although, given the date of the inscription, this seems unlikely. The Argive Heraion was the most important sanctuary in the eastern part of the Argolid plain, where it functioned in Archaic times as a common shrine for the communities of the area, and was probably absorbed by Argos only in the 470s and 460s BC (Hall 1995, 606–13). The two most important communities in the eastern Argolid plain are Mycenae and Tiryns, although the indications are that Mycenae seems to have had the closest connection with the Heraion before Argos took over the shrine. A ‘Sacred Way’ connected Mycenae with the Heraion (Hall 1995, 601–3), there are linguistic similarities between an inscription of the 6th century BC from the Heraion and inscriptions from Mycenae (Hall 1995, 610–11) and one of the causes of war between Argos and Mycenae was that the latter made claims to the administration of the Heraion (Hall 1995, 608, referring to Diod. Sic. 11. 65. 2 and Strabo 8. 6. 10). So, while Timokles was certainly not an Argive, he was probably a citizen of Mycenae, rather than Tiryns. Since footraces are attested at all the sets of games at which Timokles was victorious and heavy events are attested at the *Korasia* (Appendix 3. 5), perhaps he was a track or heavy athlete of some type.

The lost parts of the inscription may have referred to victories at other games. Moretti (*IAG*, 14) speculates that the missing first part of the first line may have referred to victories at other sets of games in the *periodos* or perhaps to a set of Argive games and perhaps, in view of the find spot of the inscription, Timokles was victorious at whatever games were held at the Argive Heraion, before the *Hecatombaia* were (re-)established by Argos (Appendix 3. 2). As for the victories at Pellene, Tegea and Kleitor mentioned in the inscription, these are also dealt with in Appendix 3 (Appendix 3. 8, Appendix 3. 11, Appendix 3. 5).

1. 15

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀγαθ[---]

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 525 (?) – ca. 475 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Sikyon

Citizenship(s): Sikyon (?)

Discipline(s): Heavy discipline or track discipline (????)

Ancient sources: *SEG* 11 257 (E30)

Catalogue entries: Strasser 2001, no. 22; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 24

An inscription found in the north wall of the gymnasium at Sikyon records the victories, in order, at the *Pythia*, *Isthmia*, *Nemea*, *Isthmia*, at games at Sikyon and at Athens, of a competitor whose name is partially known (Orlandos 1932, 70 = *SEG* 11 257 = *IAG* 12 = *LSAG*², 405, 13 a, b, (E30)). Various attempts have been made to complete the name of the athlete. Lejeune suggested Ἀγαθὰ [τύχα] (Lejeune 1943, 183–98). Moretti (1953, 29) remarks that this formula appears in agonistic inscriptions ‘*assai tardi*’ and certainly it does not seem to appear in agonistic inscriptions of the Classical period. Moretti therefore suggested a range of possible names to complete Ἀγαθ [---], such as Ἀγαθάναξ. Jeffery (*LSAG*² 405, 13a) favours Ἀγαθά[ρχος].

The games at Sikyon mentioned here are almost certainly the Sikyonian *Pythia*, the most important games in Archaic and Classical Sikyon (Appendix 3. 10), and those at Athens the *Panathenaia*. As Moretti notes, the

victories at the games of the *periodos* here appear in the canonical order, except for the second Isthmian victory, placed after the Nemean victory, but before the Sikyonian games and Athenian games. Moretti suggested that the habit was not yet established at Sikyon of writing, for example, Ἴσθμια δις or Ἴσθμια β´ and that what appears in the inscription was therefore the manner in which two victories were recorded, but, if so, one might expect the two references to the Isthmian victories to be placed together. Strasser suggests that the sizeable missing right side of the inscription contained the names of the disciplines associated with each of the contests on the left side. This then might mean that the Isthmian victories were in related disciplines (e.g. two ‘heavy’ disciplines or two track disciplines).

The inscription can only be dated on the basis of letter forms. Jeffery (*LSAG*², 141) thinks that it is ‘not later than ca. 500–475 BC’. Perhaps the Nemean victory listed here dates to ca. 525–475 BC.

1. 16

Competitor name, patronymic: Unknown

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 511 (?) – 491 (?) BC

Inscription find spot: Tegea (?)

Citizenship(s): Tegea (?)

Discipline(s): Equestrian discipline

Ancient sources: Ebert 1972 8 (E3)

Catalogue entries: -

An inscription (Ebert 1972 8 (E3) = Hansen 1983 379) dated by letter forms to about 500 BC (Ebert 1972, 50 (E3)) on a column, held today in the courtyard of Tegea Archaeological Museum and therefore presumably found in the surrounding area, records the six equestrian victories of a victor now unknown, although Peek suggested Τε[ρψικλῆς or something similar at the beginning of the first line as the name of the victor (Dubois 1988, pt. II, 10). Ebert’s restoration, accepted by Hansen, of the end of the second line of the elegiac couple is probably right. Only victory in the most prestigious of games was recorded on victory monuments, which means that the contest mentioned here was either one of the games of the *periodos* or something lesser, but still very close in terms of prestige (see Cat. 1. 94). The high number of victories suggests a trieteric, rather than pentetetic, set of games, that is, either the *Isthmia* or the *Nemea* and only ἐ[ν Νεμείῃ] fits the demands of metre, at the end of a pentameter. Lastly, there are several parallel phrases from sporting epigrams containing the phrase ‘ἐν Νεμείῃ’ and involving some numerical adverb in -άκις which hold the same place in the first or the second half of the pentameter (Ebert 1972, 56 (nos. 15. 4, 25. 2, 35. 2, 37. 10, 43. 3)).

Equestrian activity at the *Nemea* in Archaic and Classical times may have included the τέθριππον (*tethrippon*) ἄρμα (Cat. 1. 51 (477 (?) – ca. 441 BC (??)) and certainly the κέλῃς (*kelēs*)(Cat. 1. 18 (ca. 509 (???) – ca. 501 BC (??))), at least in the mid 5th century BC. Pindar mentions equestrian victories at Nemea, but does not state the event in which his two Nemean equestrian victors won. Chromios simply wins with his ἄρμα (Pind. *Nem.* 1. 8) and Melissos, even more vaguely, is victorious ἵπποδρομίᾳ κρατέων (Pind. *Isthm.* 3. 11–3.). The inscription at Cat. 1. 18 (Nemea Archaeological Museum BR 1098) disproves the scholiast, who says of the *Nemea* ‘...ἦν δὲ γυμνικὸς καὶ ἄρμα, οὐχὶ δίφρος οὐδὲ κέλῃς...’ (Drachmann 1927, 2, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* Hyp. b, ll. 6–7). Δίφρος here seems to mean συνωρίς (two-horse chariot), which, according a scholion to Ar. *Nub.* 15, is ‘what we now call the δίφρος’ (Holwerda 1977, 11, on Ar. *Nub.* 15).

Depending on whether our competitor was victorious in only one event or in both and assuming that the victories were won at successive iterations, it will have taken him between seven and eleven years to achieve this record. The victories then perhaps lie between 511 and 491 BC.

1. 17

Competitor name, patronymic: Τιμοσθένης Ἰφίωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 509 (?) – ca. 501 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Wrestling

Ancient sources: Pind. *Ol.* 8. 15–6; Drachmann 1903, 237, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, inscr. a. 6–9.

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, 102, no. 119; Kostouros 2008, no. 200

Timosthenes, won at Nemea in some discipline that Pindar does not specify (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 15–16. (L105)). He is also some relation of Alkimedon (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 15 (L105)), whose Olympic victory in the boy's wrestling the scholiast (Drachmann 1903, 237, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, inscr. a. 4–6.) puts in the 80th Olympiad, that is, 460 BC. An Olympic victor list is presumably the basis for the titles given in scholia in manuscripts A and BDEPQ, which also identify Alkimedon as a boy wrestler (Drachmann 1903, 236, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8. 1–7). The assertion that Timosthenes was also a wrestler may be a guess based on the point that this was the discipline of Alkimedon, although evidence from *Ol.* 8 suggests that this was indeed the case (Carey 1989b, 4; see below). Apart from Timosthenes and Alkimedon, three other persons are named in *Ol.* 8, Iphion and Kallimachos, who are both deceased (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 81–4 (L110)), and Melesias, the trainer (55–59).

Melesias we deal with elsewhere (Cat. 1. 16). As for the other two, Iphion and Kallimachos, the scholia identify Timosthenes as Alkimedon's brother (Drachmann 1903, 237, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, inscr. a. 6–9; Drachmann 1903, 237, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, inscr. a; Drachmann 1903, 241, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, 16, 19b, 16, 19b), but disagree over who Iphion and Kallimachos were. Iphion is either an 'ancestor' (Drachmann 1903, 262, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, 106a) or father (Drachmann 1903, 262, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, 106 a, d, f, h) or just a 'relative' (Drachmann 1903, 263, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, 106f, h), while Kallimachos is a 'relative' (Drachmann 1903, 263, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, 106f, h) or uncle (Drachmann 1903, 263, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, 106k), all of which sounds like guesswork, as do the statements that Alkimedon is the brother of Timosthenes. Carey (1989b, 3–4) convincingly suggests on the grounds that Pindar does not normally refer to a relation of the subject of the ode without identifying him by name that Timosthenes is the otherwise unidentified grandfather at 70–71 (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 70–1 (L109)) whose strength for wrestling with old age is renewed at the news of his grandson's success. Carey also suggests the metaphor that Pindar uses indicates that Timosthenes was a wrestler, too. There are indications elsewhere that the same discipline might be practised from generation to generation in the same family. Megas (Cat. 1. 19) and Deinis were both runners (Cat. 1. 50).

Either Iphion or Kallimachos is the deceased father of Alkimedon. Otherwise, one would not expect Pindar to stress the joy felt by the grandfather (and not the father). Carey (1989b, 6) thinks that the father is Kallimachos, as he is the final, and therefore most important, recipient of the good news, but this seems to go against the general principal that informs, for example, agonistic inscriptions, of presenting the most important item in a list first. Race thinks that Iphion is the father, because he hears the news first (Race 1990, 160–61; Burnett 2005, 208, n.3).

If Timosthenes is the grandfather of Alkimedon and if Alkimedon was a παῖς in 460 BC, then Timosthenes' Nemean victory was perhaps about fifty years in the past, possibly dating between ca. 509 and ca. 501 BC. The Blepsiadaí, the πάτρα (p. 69) to whom Timosthenes belonged, had won five previous victories at the games of the *periodos* before the Olympic victory of Alkimedon (Pind. *Ol.* 8.74–6.). One of these was obviously Timosthenes' victory. Perhaps one or more of the four remaining victories were won at Nemea.

1. 18

Competitor name, patronymic: Unknown (more than one person)

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 509 (?) – ca. 501 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Nemea

Citizenship(s): Sikyon (?)

Discipline(s): Horse (κέλης, *kelēs*)

Ancient sources: Nemea Archaeological Museum BR 1098

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 267

A bronze plaque, bearing holes for attachment presumably to a statue base and found more than 100 m south-east of the altar of the temple of Zeus at Nemea (which was perhaps not its original location, given that Miller (1984, 184) notes that the area where the inscription was found was epigraphically ‘notably poor’), displays the inscription [---ἀνέθε]καν καὶ τὸν κέ]λετα τοῖ Δι̣ τοῖ Νεμέαι] (Miller 1984, 184, Plate 41 d). The use of the plural indicates that the dedicators were more than one and the letter forms are Sikyonian dated to ca. 500 BC (Miller 1984, 184, 184 n. 65) or perhaps slightly before (Miller 2015, 487).

Collective victories in equestrian events are not unknown (e.g. Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 39 (672 BC, Dysponton (Elis))), 207 (480 BC, Argos), 233 (472 BC, Argos)). and it is possible that the victors here were the Sicyonians themselves or they may be two or more members of an aristocratic family.

1. 19

Competitor name, patronymic: Μέγας

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 507 (?) – ca. 475 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Boys’ or men’s διαυλος (*diaulos*) (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 8. 14–6 (L95); Pind. *Nem.* 8. 44–5 (L97)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 120; Kostouros 2008, no. 135

Megas was the deceased father of Deinis (Pind. *Nem.* 8. 44–5 (L97); Deinis: Cat. 1. 50), who, like his father, was a victor at Nemea, probably in the διαυλος (*diaulos*) (Pind. *Nem.* 8. 14–6 (L95)). Since Deinis’ victory may date between 477 and ca. 441 BC, Megas’ perhaps dates to about thirty years before, that is, ca. 507 – ca. 475 BC.

1. 20

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀργεῖος Πανθείδα

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 507 (?) – ca. 431 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Iulis (Keos)

Citizenship(s): Iulis

Discipline(s): Boxing or wrestling or pankration for *ageneioi* (?)

Ancient sources: IG XII 5 608. 15 (E25); IG XII 5 608. 26 (E25); Bacchyl. 1. 155–8; Bacchyl. 2. 6–8

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, 94, no. 188; Kostouros 2008, no. 20; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 90; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 40

IG XII 5 608 (E25), from Iulis on Keos, refers twice to victories by Argeios, son of Pantheidas (IG XII 5 608. 15, 26 (E25)). Of great importance in the consideration of possible dates for a number of Nemean victors (Krinoleos (Cat. 1. 44), Lamprokles (Cat. 1. 31), Leon (Cat. 1. 78), Liparion (Cat. 1. 27), Phokion (Cat. 1. 5)), this inscription, definitively dealt with by Schmidt (1999), whose treatment is conveniently summarised by Christesen (2007, 139–41), consists in its present form of a fragmentary victor list. While most of the names and patronymics of the victors are preserved in their entirety on the left, intact side and in the centre of the stone, the surface is damaged on the right, where the disciplines associated with the victors were recorded (Schmidt 1999,

70 for drawing of inscription). The start of the inscription, including the title, has been lost, but is followed, first by a list of victors in a now unnamed set of games and then by a list of victors in the *Nemea*. Since the canonical order of presentation of the games of the *periodos* in Archaic and Classical times is *Olympia*, *Pythia*, *Isthmia* and *Nemea*, two points about IG XII 5 608 (E25) are almost certain. Firstly, the first, now untitled list records victors in the *Isthmia* and, second, these two lists were preceded by a list of victors in the *Olympia*, which was followed by a list of victors in the *Pythia* (Schmidt 1999, 67; Christesen 2007, 140). Scholars thought that the catalogue was chronologically ordered and so regarded it a major piece of evidence in the dating of the victors it mentions, in that the inscription was thought to offer relative dates for their victories, until Schmidt demonstrated conclusively that it is not laid out in chronological sequence, although this undoubtedly true interpretation did not apparently immediately filter through the scholarly literature (e.g. Maehler 2003, xl–xliii). The now-lost disciplines that it very probably mentioned can, however, be recovered through a consideration of the age-classes involved and an awareness that such victory inscriptions present disciplines in order of decreasing prestige (Schmidt 1999, 78–80). Schmidt showed that the victors in the two lists are therefore ordered first in terms of age groups, ἄνδρες preceding ἀγέναιοι and ἀγέναιοι preceding παῖδες, and then, within these groups, in order of decreasing prestige of the disciplines in which they were victorious (boxing, *pankration*, wrestling, *keryx* (herald)). Only in cases in which two victors are victorious in the same discipline is it possible, but not certain, that the names are chronologically ordered. The inscription itself, on the basis of letter forms, scribal similarities with other dated inscriptions and morphology, dates to ca. 350–330 BC (Schmidt 1999, 72–4), although, of course, the victors it records may date to any time before ca. 330 BC, and it was perhaps erected by a deme of the *polis* of Iulis on Keos (Schmidt 1999, 81).

So, Argeios is recorded as a victor in a now unknown discipline at the *Nemea* in the age class of ἀγέναιοι (IG XII 5 608. 26 (E25)) and also appears in the first list as a victor in an unknown discipline, almost certainly at the *Isthmia* and in the age class of παῖδες (IG XII 5 608. 15 (E25)). Since, however, the disciplines in the inscription are ordered according to prestige, and then according to age-group, Schmidt (1999, 80) convincingly suggests that Argeios' Isthmian victory was in the boys' wrestling and his Nemean victory in the youths' wrestling.

Bacchylides wrote two odes, 1 and 2, in honour of an Argeios. Bacchyl. 1 was written in honour of an Argeios, who was an Isthmian victor (Bacchyl. 1. 155–7) and whose patronymic was almost certainly Pantheidas (Bacchyl. 1. 147–8 (L8)). There is no indication of the age group of the victor and no direct indication of the discipline, although this was presumably some heavy event, since Argeios is described as ...καρτερ]όχειρ (Bacchyl. 1. 142). Argeios was also victorious at other, unnamed games (Bacchyl. 1. 156–8 (156) (L9)). Bacchyl. 2, which also celebrates an Isthmian victory (Bacchyl. 2. 6–9.), does not mention the name of its honorand, but the corrector of the 1st century BC papyrus A², who was very probably contemporary with the papyrus that he was correcting (Jebb 1905, 133) and was therefore likely to be drawing on now missing parts of A², gives Bacchyl. 2 the title ῥῶι αὐτῶι, that is, the Argeios of Bacchyl. 1. There is no indication of the age class in this short poem, although θρασύχειρος (Bacchyl. 2. 2, 4) suggests a heavy event of some sort (Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 131). Thus Bacchyl. 1 and 2 would seem to have been written for the same honorand, whose patronymic, furthermore, was very probably Pantheidas. In fact, Maehler (2003, xlii) suggests that Bacchyl. 2, in view of its brief length and the presence of αὐθιγενής (Bacchyl. 2. 11), may have been an immediate response to the victory, perhaps performed at the Isthmus. This Argeios of, it seems, the two poems, then, is almost certainly the Argeios of our inscription.

Indeed Bacchyl. 1 and 2 very probably refer to the Isthmian victory that the inscription mentions, if Schmidt is right in suggesting that Argeios' Isthmian victory was in the boys' wrestling. In neither poem, however, is there any direct mention of a Nemean victory and, such was the fame of a victory in any of the games of the 5th century *periodos* (Nielsen 2018, 213–15), it is unlikely that any Nemean victory is hiding unspecified behind Bacchylides' λιπαρῶν τ' ἄλλ|λων στεφάνων (Bacchyl. 1. 158.). Thus, if Bacchylides' Argeios is the person in the inscription, as seems more than probable, Argeios' Nemean victory recorded there was won after the composition of Bacchyl. 1 and 2, as one might expect, given that the Nemean victory was obtained in the ἀγέναιοι age-group.

Since IG XII 5 608 (E25) is not arranged in chronological order, the best that can be done with dating of Argeios' Nemean victory is to place it at some otherwise unspecified point in the working life of Bacchylides, that is, ca. 507 – post-431 BC (Appendix 3.2 (chronology of Bacchylides' career)) and after his victory at the *Isthmia*, which is likewise undatable.

1. 21

Competitor name, patronymic: Τιμόδημος Τιμονόου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 501 – ca. 485 or ca. 463–459 or 461 or 445 – ca. 441 BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): Pankration

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 2. 3–5 (L79)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 37; Kyle 1987, A64; Kostouros 2008, no. 198; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 123–24; Farrington 2012, no. 3. 3

In addition to his Nemean victory in the *pankration*, celebrated in *Nem.* 2 (Pind. *Nem.* 2. 3–5. (L79)), Timodemos, who was from the Athenian deme of Acharnai (Drachmann 1927, 28, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 2, superscription to *Nem.* 2.9 (D, T, U)), also won a victory at Olympia 'immediately after' his Nemean victory, according to the scholiast (Drachmann 1927, 28–9, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 2, 1a ('εὐθὺς')). At Pind. *Nem.* 2. 8–12 (L80), Pindar predicts, on the basis of the Nemean victory, that Timodemos will win victories on the one hand (μὲν, 8) at the *Isthmia* and *Nemea* and on the other (δέ, 11) at an important set of games, like the great Orion, who follows the flock of Pleiades (that is, Timodemos will win at the *Olympia*) (Instone 1996, 149). Instone (1996, 143) thinks that the scholiast is simply guessing that Timodemos won an Olympic victory on the basis of the lines, but, if so, one might also expect him to conjecture victories at the *Isthmia* and *Pythia*.

Timodemos' victory falls (of course) within the working life of Pindar, that is, between ca. 500 and ca. 440 BC (Appendix 2. 3 (chronology of working life of Pindar)). If we assume (1) that Timodemos' Olympic victory is not just scholiastic speculation drawing on Pindar's hopes, expressed at 8–12 (Instone 1996, 145), that Timodemos will win an Olympic victory, (2) that his Olympic victory took place in the year after his Nemean victory and (3) that it, too, was in the *pankration*, then within the period ca. 500 – ca. 440 BC the years 483–465 BC and 457–449 BC can be excluded, because the winners in the *pankration* at Olympia are known for the years 480–464 BC (Farnell 1932, 96; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 96, no. 262; Bowra 1964, 407, all referring to *POxy.* II 222 (Christesen 2007, 382–83), which gives some or all of the victors for 75th (480 BC) – 78th (468 BC) and 81st (456 BC) – 83rd (448 BC) Olympiads; Victory of Ephoudion (Ephotion), 464 (Cat. 1. 59)) and for the period 456–448 BC (456 BC (Ol. 81): Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 273; 452 BC (Ol. 82): Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 287; 448 BC (Ol. 83): Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 300, all referring to *POxy.* II 222), but not for 460 (Ol. 80) (in which year Moretti (*Olympionikai*, no. 262) tentatively places Timodemos victory) or for 444 or for 440 BC.

In the attempt to date *Nem.* 2, it has been remarked that Pindar does not mention the battle of Salamis and this, it has been suggested, as Bowra (1964, 407) notes, means that the ode was composed before 480 BC or at least before the battle. Not much as regards dating can be done with this observation, however. Pindar refers to Salamis four times elsewhere, although he mentions the battle apparently only when there is some obvious point in doing so. In one passage (Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 75–6), he clearly has good reason to refer to the event, as the honorand of the ode is Hieron, who defeated the Carthaginians in the battle of Himera, of 480 BC, and Pindar is concerned to equate the glorious outcome of this conflict with the successes of Salamis and Plataea. In the other case (Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 49), the honorand of the ode is Aiginetan and the Aiginetans played a notably honourable role at Salamis. Otherwise, in the present example and in the fourth case in which Pindar mentions Salamis (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 48), there is no particular connection between honorand and battle and this is probably why Pindar makes no reference to the conflict and indeed it worth remembering that Pindar, or the patrons for

whom he was writing, need not have shared the point of view of the Athenians, whose narrative assigned such importance to these events (Willcock 1995, 2–3). Thus the absence of any mention of the event in Pind. *Nem.* 2 is not a decisive argument for placing the poem before 480.

The possible dates for Timodemos' Nemean victory are therefore ca. 501 – ca. 485, 463–459, 461 and, least likely, 445 – ca. 441 BC.

1. 22

Competitor name, patronymic: Θεανδρίδαι

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 501 – ca. 477 BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Wrestling or *pankration*?

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 4. 73–7 (L85)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 59–60, N 50–51; Farrington 2012, no. 3. 1

The scholiast, who is perhaps guessing because the inference is obvious, says that the Theandridai are the 'φατρία' (Figueira 1981, 311–13 (Aiginetan φατρία)), of Timasarchos, the honorand of Pind. *Nem.* 4 (Drachmann 1927, 84, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 4, 118 (L15)). They won at iterations of the *Olympia*, the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* attended by Pindar as a 'κάρυξ' (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 73–7 (L85)), by which he presumably means that he has written epinician odes for these victories. Pind. *Nem.* 4 may possibly be dated to 477 BC (Cat. 1. 49). Pindar began his working life perhaps just before 500 BC and died probably soon after 440 BC (Appendix 2.3). Thus the victories won by the various members of the Theandridai, or at least those for which Pindar composed poetry, may date between ca. 501 and ca. 477 BC.

1. 23

Competitor name, patronymic: Σωγένης Θεαρίωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 501 (??) – ca. 465 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Men's *pentathlon*

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 7. 7–8 (L92)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 26; Kostouros 2008, no. 183; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 118

Sogenes won the *pentathlon* at the *Nemea* (Pind. *Nem.* 7. 7–8 (L92)), but it is not obvious in which age category he did so. He is described (*Nem.* 7. 7) as 'παῖς ὁ Θεαρίωνος', but this indicates merely that he is the son of Thearion and says nothing about his age (Pfeijffer 1988, 28). At *Nem.* 7. 91–92, Sogenes is said to be ἀταλὸν ἀμφέπων|θυμόν ('fostering a spirit of devotion') towards his father, which suggests nothing more than that Sogenes is young. The superscription to the ode (Drachmann 1927, 115, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 7. (D)) admittedly describes him as a παῖς, but this may simply be a conclusion derived from 7. A scholion (Drachmann 1927, 116, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 7, inscr. (B) (L18)) seems to imply, as Miller (1975, 119–201) shows, not a victory in the boys' *pentathlon*, but one in the men's *pentathlon* as a boy, although, as Neumann-Hartmann (2008, 118, n. 165) points out, if this were the case, then one might have expected Pindar to mention such an achievement. As Miller (1975, 119–201) notes, comparison with the *Pythia* and the *Isthmia* makes it unlikely that there was a boys' *pentathlon* at the time at the *Nemea*. If Pfeijffer's (1988, 37) view that Pindar only mentions the age category of his honorand if the honorand is either a παῖς or a ἀγένειος is correct, which it may well be, Sogenes

was an *ánhrp* when he won the victory which the *Nem. 7* commemorates, although he may have won the men's pentathlon as a boy earlier in his career.

Simonides is said to have produced an epigram apparently for this victory (Drachmann 1927, 115, Σ. Pind. *Nem. 7. 1a. 17–19*), which, if true, sets a lower date of about 465 BC (Appendix 2.1 (chronology of Simonides' career)). Beyond that, the question of the dating of *Nem. 7* is insoluble. The scholion just mentioned (Drachmann 1927, 116, Σ. Pind. *Nem. 7, inscr. (L18)*) gives a date for *Nem. 7* or at least for the date of the iteration of the *Nemea* in which Sogenes won in the pentathlon. In manuscript B, the scholion runs in its full form 'Πρῶτος ὁ Σωγένης Αἰγινήτων ἐνίκησε παῖς ὦν πεντάθλῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακαιδεκάτην Νεμεάδα. Ἐτέθη δὲ ὁ πένταθλος πρῶτον κατὰ τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην Νεμεάδα.' Manuscript D gives 'κδ'' (i.e. 24th Nemead, that is, 527 BC), instead of 'τεσσαρακαιδεκάτην' (i.e. 14th Nemead, that is, 547 BC), both dates long before Pindar was active (Appendix 2.3 (chronology of Pindar's career)). Two solutions have been proposed, either to amend the text to produce a date that falls within Pindar's working lifetime, or, more adventurously, to assume that the text, or one version of it, is correct and that the year recorded for Sogenes' victory is numbered from the foundation year of a new Nemean epoch. Emendations to bring *Nem. 7* into line with the chronological limits of Pindar's activity were proposed by Hermann ('νδ'' (467 BC) (Carey 1981, 133)), Gaspar ('μα'' (493 BC) (Gaspar 1900, 39–42) and by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 'μδ'' (487 BC) (Wilamowitz 1922, 160; Drachmann 1927, 116, Σ. Pind. *Nem. 7, 6, app. crit.*; Carey 1981, 133), which are all reasonable guesses, in that they fall well within Pindar's working life. Christesen (2007, 109–10) was the first to suggest that Sogenes' victory is numbered from the foundation year of some new epoch that would have begun sometime in the early 5th century BC. He is followed by Farrington (2017, 452–53), who takes τρισκαιδεκάτην to be the correct reading and suggests a date of 493–467 BC for Pind. *Nem. 7*. However, most, if not all, known refoundations of games and the corresponding institution of epochs belong to the Imperial period and there seems to be no evidence for such a procedure so early, let alone for any epoch that lasted long enough to leave tracks in the historical record. Lastly, according to another scholion (Drachmann 1927, 128–29, Σ. Pind. *Nem. 7. 94a*), Pind. *Nem. 7* is Pindar's apologia to the Aiginetans, who had been upset by his treatment in a paean (*Paeon 6*) of Neoptolemus. Whether this is true in any way (latest and fullest treatment of Pind. *Paeon 6*: Rutherford 2001, 298–338), *Paeon 6* cannot in any case be dated and so cannot offer a terminus post quem for Pind. *Nem. 7*. Burnett (2005, 185) tentatively places Pind. *Nem. 7* in the 460s BC. Even more tentatively, we place it not more exactly than somewhere in Pindar's working life before the possible date of the death of Simonides, from perhaps 501 BC to perhaps 465 BC (Appendix 2.3 (Chronology of Pindar's career)).

1. 24

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀριστοκλείδας Ἀριστοφάνεος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 501 (?) – ca. 441 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Pankration (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem. 3. 2, 13–8.*

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 47; Kostouros 2008, no. 24; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 91

Aristokleidas won a victory in the παγκράτιον at Nemea according to scholiast, who may however be merely extrapolating from the poem (Pind. *Nem. 3. 14–7*; Drachmann 1927, 40, inscr.1), and probably did so as an *ánhrp*. It is true that he is described as 'καλός' (Pind. *Nem. 3.19*), although praise of the beauty of the contestant is not limited to παῖδες and ἄνδρες can be described as such (e.g. Pind. *Ol. 9. 94*; Pfeijffer 1988, 31; Burnett 2005, 142 for opposite view). Aristokleidas is also described as the παῖς Ἀριστοφάνεος (20), which, since παῖς is accompanied by the patronymic here, simply means that Aristokleidas is the son of Aristophanes, whatever his

age (Pfeijffer 1988, 28; Burnett 2005, 144 for the opposite view). Finally, although the chorus consists of youths (Pind. *Nem.* 3. 5), this need not mean that the honorand and the chorus are of the same age (Pfeijffer 1988, 35).

That Aristokleidas won as an ἀνὴρ is also suggested by the fact that he has become a member of the *thearion* of Aigina, apparently, as Pindar presents it, as the result of his athletic victory and the glory that he has brought to Aigina (Pind. *Nem.* 3. 67–70). The *thearion*, known from scholia (Drachmann 1927, 59, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 3. 122 a, b) and from Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions (Figueira 1981, 315; 314–19 on *thearion*), seems to have been a body of officials concerned with the cult of Apollo Pythios, who, as part of their duties, acted as *theoroi* to other cults of Apollo. It was clearly a prestigious body and perhaps also had political duties and powers outside those mentioned by the scholiasts. We have no idea of the age of entry to this institution, but perhaps it was about 30. From post-Classical times there is a reference to a father and son who were members (Figueira 1981, 318, n. 39, referring to Walter et al. 1975, 50–3, n. 17, # 3, 11. #27, 46 and # 7, 16). Some commentators have suggested that Aristokleidas was a mature man, especially in the light of 71–75 (Pind. *Nem.* 3. 71–5. (L82)) and, of course, Pindar apologies for being late (Pind. *Nem.* 3. 80), if he is to be read literally and if his words are not a metapoetic, self-referential statement (Burnett 2005, 151 n.44), but he cannot have been that late. Moreover, most athletic careers were probably over by the time the athlete was 25 (or at least such is the general impression the evidence gives. The topic needs further work).

The myths in Pind. *Nem.* 3 and the figures featured in them also suggest on the whole that Aristokleidas was a young man. They are informed by a general theme of youthful achievement, albeit nothing more specific than that. First to appear is Herakles, who has travelled as far as, but no further than, the pillars of Herakles (21–26). Then Peleus appears (32–36), who takes Iolkos and seizes Thetis. Thereafter comes Telamon, brother of Peleus, who, with Iolaos, defeats Laomedon in the First Trojan War, having previously (Pfeijffer 1999, 321) taken part in the expedition against the Amazons (36–39). Then we have the youth of Achilles, who is under the tutelage of Chiron and performs astonishing feats of hunting (43–53), which prefigure his exploits at Troy (59–63). Chiron also taught Jason (54) and Asklepios (54–5) and brought about the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (56–7). The mention of Herakles at the world's end may be a hint that Aristokleidas has reached the limits of his abilities, either in negative, *ad hominem* terms (Pfeijffer 1999, 287) or in positive, general terms (Burnett 2005, 143). Thereafter, the motif of youthful achievement and even greater youthful potential inform the myths, to the point that in the account of the defeat of Laomedon, the spotlight is thrown upon Telamon and Iolaos, the nephew of Herakles, rather than on Herakles himself, the true protagonist (Burnett 2005, 144–45), while the expedition against the Amazons was above all an exploit of Herakles (Pfeijffer 1999, 321, *ad* 38–39). The message for Aristokleidas seems to be that he has fulfilled the potential of his youth, more a point to be made to a successful man than to a youth. Aristokleidas also won in games at Epidaurus, probably what was known as the *Asklepieia* by the later 5th century BC (Pind. *Nem.* 3. 84; Nielsen 2018, 43, 43 no. 206, 129–30, no. 64) and at Megara (Pind. *Nem.* 3. 84), which the scholiast identifies as the *Megarika Pythia* (Drachmann 1927, 62, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 3. 147; Games at Megara: Appendix 3. 7).

There is no indication in Pind. *Nem.* 3 as to when it was written (Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 91) and, although Bowra (1964, 408–9) tentatively puts Pind. *Nem.* 3 in 474 BC, the poem cannot be dated any more precisely than to within the limits of Pindar's working life, that is, ca. 500 and ca. 440 or soon after (Appendix 2. 3). Thus the most we can say is that Aristokleidas' Nemean victory dates between perhaps 501 and perhaps 441 BC.

1. 25

Competitor name, patronymic: Νικολάιδας

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 501 (??) – ca. 431 (??) BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Corinth

Discipline(s): Pentathlon

Ancient sources: Anth. Pal. 13. 19 (L3)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 78, J 218–220, N 157–159; Kostouros 2008, no. 148; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 15 An epigram (*Anth. Pal. 13. 19* = 155B = 147D = Page 1981, 262–64 XLIII = Ebert 1972, 92–6, no. 26 (L3)), composed in a unique combination of dactylic hexameters and hipponacteans (Page 1981, 262) and presented as an inscription on the base of the statue of the athlete Nikolaidas of Corinth gives his sporting record. The text is ‘incurably corrupt’ (Page 1981, 263) at various points, although most details of Nikolaidas’ career can be extracted. He won at Delphi (1) and at the *Panathenaia* (3), which in view of the substantial prize or prizes he seems to have won (see below) must have been the pentetetic *Megala Panathenaia*. He also won three times in succession at the *Isthmia* (4), three times at the *Nemea* (7), four times at Pellene (Appendix 3. 8) (8), twice at the *Lykaia* (8) (For *Lykaia*, see Nielsen 2018, 37–40, 121 no. 39), at Aigina (9) (Appendix 3. 1), at Epidaurus (9) presumably the *Asklepieia* (Nielsen 2018, 129–30, no. 65), at Thebes (10) (Appendix 3. 11), at Megara (10) (Appendix 3. 7) and in an otherwise unknown set of games at Phleious (11) (Nielsen 2018, 95, 99 n. 640). Page (1981, 263) obelizes the transmitted ‘καὶ Νεμέα’ (9), suggesting that it is a careless repetition of the same words at the beginning of 7. Page also mentions the conjecture of Brunk, who suggests restoring ‘καὶ Νεμέα’ to ‘καὶ Τεγέα’. This Ebert (1972, 95) accepts without comment, rightly so, since by this point the poem is listing victories at lesser games (which Nielsen (2018, 40, 40 n. 186, 88, 123–24, no. 45.) takes to be the *Aleaia*, held in honour of Athena Alea). More perplexing, however, are the number and discipline of the victories at what one assumes are the *Megala Panathenaia* (3–4).

The transmitted ‘ἐξήκοντα ἀμφοροεῖς’ (4) transgresses the hipponactean (Ebert 1972, 93–4; Page 1981, 263) and in order to restore the metre the choice lies between correcting one word or the other. Before we make the choice, however, we need to look at 3 and 10–12 to determine Nikolaidas’ discipline or disciplines. Ebert (1972, 93), on the basis of 3 and 11, believes that Nikolaidas was a σταδιεύς and nothing more and won five victories in this capacity at the *Megala Panathenaia*. He therefore thinks that the στεφάνους of 3 are the crowns that Nikolaidas won for these five victories. Five victories imply a period of at least twenty years. This is not impossible, but still unlikely (Page 1981, 263), or at least more unlikely than winning, albeit more than once, the *pentathlon* at the *Panathenaia*, if we suppose (as Page (1981, 263) does) that πέντ’ ἐπ’ ἀέθλοις (3) refers to the *pentathlon*, which seems more than possible, since the phrase πέντ’ ἐπ’ ἀέθλοις could be read as a periphrasis for πένταθλον and is echoed by 11, where the *pentathlon* is certainly being referred to. In fact, in 3 Nikolaidas won ‘crowns’ in this contest and so must have won more than once. Furthermore, since there is nothing to indicate otherwise, all the victories that follow down to 10 are therefore presumably in the *pentathlon*.

As for 11, Ebert (1972, 92, 96), who builds on a conjecture of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (Ebert 1972, 96), suggests that the start of 11 is a continuation of the end of 10, that we are to assume the sense of a full-stop after ἐν δὲ Φλειοῦντι, that σταδίῳ instead of στάδιον is to be read and that the πέντε of the manuscripts is to be read as πάντα, thus giving ‘...ἐν δὲ Φλειοῦντι. Σταδίῳ δὲ τὰ πάντα κρατήσας(12) εὐφρανεν μεγάλην Κόρινθον.’ (‘...and he won in Phleious, too. Conquering in all the contests in the *stadion* he gladdened the heart of great Corinth.’). These are not inconsiderable changes and the passage can be satisfactorily interpreted as it stands in the manuscripts. Here (11) τὰ τε πέντε can only mean the *pentathlon*. The *stadion*, of course, in addition to being an independent discipline, was also a contest in the *pentathlon* and it is conceivable that it is the *stadion* embedded in the *pentathlon* that is being referred to here (events in *pentathlon*: Kyle 1990, 291–93; recent scholarship on *pentathlon*: Decker 2012, 77–86). Indeed, Merkelbach (1987, 293–95), on the basis of inscriptional evidence that may show that the στάδιον (*stadion*) at some time belonged to the πρώτη τριάς, suggests that Nikolaidas is making the boast that he won the *pentathlon* during the πρώτη τριάς, i.e., as early as possible during the contest. However, the syntax of 11 (‘...τὰ τε πέντε κρατήσας|εὐφρανεν μεγάλην Κόρινθον...’) seems to exclude this. Τε links in parallel στάδιον and τὰ πέντε as the two objects of κρατήσας, suggesting that one is to be seen separately from the other and therefore that the *stadion* here was the stand-alone discipline and not the *stadion* component in the *pentathlon*. Nikolaidas was thus chiefly a pancratiast, although he also won the *stadion* at a set of games at Phleious, a deed sufficiently prestigious for the composer of the epigram to record it. Κόρινθον in 11 then takes us neatly back to the Κορίνθιος of the first line and Nikolaidas himself.

So, it seems that Nikolaidas was generally a pentathlete, but did manage a victory in the *stadion* at a lesser set of games. We return now to ἐξήκοντα ἄμφορες in 4. Ebert (1972, 92–4) and others wish to retain ‘ἄμφορες’ and amend ‘ἐξήκοντα’, but ‘ἐξήκοντα’ is in itself not unreasonable. The prize for παῖδες victors in the *pentathlon*, at least in the first half of the 4th century BC, was 30 amphoras of oil and 40 for ἀγένειοι (IG II² 2311, fg, b, Col. 1. 26–7, 41–2). It is not known how many amphoras were awarded to the ἄνδρες victor, but 60 is possible, as Ebert (1972, 94, 94 n.1.) notes, although he himself rejects it. Klee, followed by Blinkenberg (1929, 272) and apparently by Page (1981, 264), was the first to suggest that ‘ἄμφορες’ was a gloss that had infiltrated the text and displaced another word, which he suggested was ‘κάδους’ and, slipping in a ‘τε’ before ἐλαίου, he proposed ‘καὶ Παναθηναίοις στεφάνους λάβε πέντ’ ἐπ’ ἀέθλοισι[ἐξήκοντα]κάδους τ’ ἐλαίου’ (Klee 1918, 83, no. 78; Ebert 1972, 94). On the other hand, ‘στέφανος’ can also mean ‘the prize of victory’ (LSJ s.v. ‘στέφανος’, II.2.b). Here perhaps, somewhat adventurously, it means both and therefore stands in apposition to 4, which (if we remove Klee’s suggested ‘τε’) specifies the reward.

In fact, the ‘ἐξήκοντα’ jars of oil may be the result of *two* victories in the παῖδες *pentathlon*, which, chronologically speaking, would be attainable, if Nikolaidas won his first victory at the age of 12. For the games of the *periodos* and the *Panathenaia*, which, although not a member of the *periodos*, is the most prestigious of the non-*periodos* games, the poem mentions the victories, at least those won at the *Pythia* and at the *Isthmia* and *Nemea*, in ascending order of numbers of victories (one at the *Pythia*, and three at the *Isthmia* and *Nemea*), while for the clearly less prestigious games, the opposite seems to be the case (four at Pellene and two at all the rest). Nikolaidas therefore very probably won two victories at the *Panathenaia*, for which, if in the 5th century BC the prize was 30 amphoreis per victory, he was awarded the ἐξήκοντα jars of 4. Perhaps reference to the number of victories at the *Panathenaia* has been lost in the corruption prevailing in 4.

As has been pointed out, the literary model of A.P. 13. 19 (L3) is the victory catalogue of the type found in Pindar (Page 1981, 262). Is the poem, then, a purely literary creation, designed to give enjoyment to readers aware of the motifs of epinician poetry by reproducing such motifs in a surprising, but still related, new environment? Or is it a straightforward copy of a real inscription, albeit one that bears the signs of literary influence? To attempt an answer to this, one needs to ask first how far A.P. 13. 19 (L3) does actually resemble surviving genuine inscriptions recording the victories of individual athletes. At Olympia, the seven surviving victory inscriptions of 6th century – 300 BC restrict themselves to recording victories in games in the *periodos* (Nielsen 2018, 180–83), with only one exception. This refers to the exploits of an anonymous runner from Crete, of perhaps 4th century BC, who won at Olympia, possibly at Nemea, at Athens and at Delphi (Ebert 1972, 151, no. 48). Furthermore, Pausanias, in his apparently faithful coverage of the record of almost 200 athletes at Olympia as manifested by the ‘ἐπιγράμματα’ (metrical inscriptions) on their statues, does not record a victory in games outside the *periodos* (Nielsen 2018, 178–79), which gives the very strong impression that these inscriptions at Olympia did not mention any such victories. At Delphi, the situation seems to have been similar (Nielsen 2018, 186). Only three examples, all of them of 4th century or 3rd century BC, that list victories outside the *periodos* are known. One of these (ca. 400–350 BC), which lists the victories of the early 5th century super-star Theogenes, lists only one non-*periodos* victory, at the *Hecatomboia* (Syll.³ 36 A (E32)). Another, for Heroigeiton of Magnesia (late 4th/early 3rd century BC) (Ebert 1972, 163–64, no. 53) lists victories at the *Isthmia*, *Panathenaia* and *Ephesia*, while the third (mid 4th century BC), recording the victories of the late 5th century Dorieus (Syll.³ 82), gives multiple victories won at the *Panathenaia*, the Epidaurian *Asklepieia*, the *Hecatomboia* and the *Lykaia*. Finally, inscriptions recording the victories of panhellenic winners found outside the sites of the games of the *periodos* also occasionally refer to a few victories outside the *periodos* (IG IV 510 (E19), Argive Heraion (Timokles (Cat. 1. 14), citizen of Mycenae?, late 6th century BC, victories at *Nemea*, Tegea, Kleitor, Pellene); IAG. 12, Sikyon (Ἀγαθ[- -], (Cat. 1. 15) citizen of Sikyon (?), early 5th century BC, victories at *Pythia*, *Isthmia*, *Nemea*, *Isthmia*, Sicyonian *Pythia*, *Panathenaia*); Charneux 1985b, 357–75, no. 1, Argos (Kleainetos (Cat. 1. 84.), citizen of Argos, ca. 350–325 BC, victories at *Pythia*, *Nemea*, *Lykaia*, *Heraia* (?) at Argos); Amandry 1980, p. 217, Argos (Prateas, (Cat. 1. 79), citizen of Argos, ca. 350–300 BC, victories at *Isthmia*, *Heraia*, *Nemea*, ‘at Mainalon’, *Isthmia*, *Lykaia*, *Nemea*, *Panathenaia*, *Nemea*, *Pythia*, perhaps listed chronologically (Nielsen 2018,

194); *I. Lindos* 68, Rhodes (Nikagoras (Cat. 1. 97.), citizen of Rhodes, late 4th century BC, victories at *Pythia*, *Isthmia*, *Nemea*, *Panathenaia*, *Hecatomboia*, *Sicyonian Pythia*, *Lykaia*).

To turn to Pindar's catalogues: except in two cases (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 77–86; Pind. *Nem.* 10. 23–8), they always first present victories in the four sets of games of the *periodos* unadulterated by any mention of victory in other, non-*periodos* contests. They also frequently mention considerably more non-*periodos* contests than any surviving inscription does (Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 52–9: *Isthmia* + 5 non-*periodos* games; *Ol.* 7. 8–10: *Olympia*, *Pythia*, 80–87: *Tlepolemeia*, *Isthmia*, *Nemea* + 8 non-*periodos* games; Pind. *Ol.* 9. 16–8: *Olympia*, *Pythia*, 84–99: *Isthmia*, *Nemea* + 7 non-*periodos* games; Pind. *Ol.* 13. 98–113: *Isthmia*, *Nemea*, *Olympia*, *Pythia* + 11 non-*periodos* games; Thummer 1968, 27–8 (chart)), although, apart from the fact that the *Panathenaia* twice directly follow the games of the *periodos* (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 22–36 (L100); Pind. *Ol.* 7. 10, 80–7) and once follow the *Hecatomboia*, when these games directly follow the *periodos* games (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 85–99), the rest of the contests are not ordered on any hierarchic principle. *A.P.* 13. 19 (L3) thus resembles a Pindaric catalogue in its length, with its reference to five victories at non-*periodos* games. Unlike a Pindaric catalogue, however, the poem also displays two other 'poetic' structuring techniques, the presence of neither of which, however, means that the piece was incontrovertibly a poem and not also an inscription. The first is, as we have pointed out, the organization of the victories in the *periodos* games in ascending order of numbers of victories. The *Panathenaia* do not, of course, belong to the *periodos*, but the catalogues of Pindar, in which the *Panathenaia* border on the games of the *periodos*, make clear how high their status is, while they actually penetrate the closed circle of the *periodos* games in one inscription we have looked at (Ebert 1972, 151, no. 48). Thus, even though this ordering principle seems to be at work in *Anth. Pal.* 13. 19, it does not clash with the norms of agonistic inscriptions. The second 'poetic' technique is the ring composition that we have also pointed out, with 'Κορίνθιος' in the first line and 'Κόρινθον' in the last, which again, far from getting in the way of the simple, self-promotional message of the poem, enhances it, by driving home the glory Nikolaidas has brought his city. Perhaps, then, the poem really did start life as an inscription, as at least one scholar believed (Page 1981, 262). In fact, Nielsen (2018, 189) floats the interesting idea that the inscription originally stood at the sanctuary at the Isthmus, a famous and much-frequented site, which might explain why it found its way into a collection. Perhaps, then, it is the fruit, unique among surviving inscriptions, of a creative transference of the techniques of epinician poetry to another public medium, the world of victory inscriptions.

If we do assume that *Anth. Pal.* 13. 19 is a copy of an inscription, then, since it so clearly displays similarities with the catalogues of epinician poetry (and not at all with the much briefer catalogues of what can certainly be identified as victory inscriptions), it is probably does not date to before 500 BC, by which time, perhaps, the catalogue had evolved as feature of epinician poetry. Epinician poetry, of course, was gone as a living genre by the last third of the 5th century BC, although Pindar was read and admired into Hellenistic and Imperial times. *Anth. Pal.* 13. 19, if it did start life as an inscription, was perhaps an attempt to transfer the glamour of the private world of aristocratic epinician celebration to the wider world and audience of the athletic statue, seen by all visitors, and would surely have had its greatest power when epinician poetry was still being produced. Perhaps the piece, if it was originally an inscription, was produced at the cusp, when statues are taking over from epinician poetry as the main means of commemorating athletic prowess in the mid 5th century BC. Page (1981, 262), who believed that the poem was certainly inscriptional, thought that the ascription to Simonides meant that the poem was 'old' and 'one of the numerous athlete inscriptions of the late archaic and classical periods which came into the *Anthology* mostly through the *Sylloge Simonidea*'. If, on the other hand, the piece did not start as an inscription, it may simply be inspired by the victory catalogues of epinician poets, but perhaps dates later.

Thus it is not impossible that *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 (L3) and the Nemean victories it refers to date to ca. 501 – ca. 431 BC.

1. 26

Competitor name, patronymic: Αὐτομήδης Τιμοξένου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 499 (?) – 451 (?) BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Phleious

Discipline(s): *Pentathlon* (victories in discus, javelin, wrestling)

Ancient sources: Bacchyl. 9. 21–38; Bacchyl. 9. 79–82, 102–4.

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 146; Kostouros 2008, no. 34

Automedes won three events (discus, javelin, wrestling) in the pentathlon at the *Nemea* and so was declared winner (Bacchylides *Ep.* 9. 26–29 (victory in *pentathlon*), 32 (discus), 33–35 (javelin), 36–41 (wrestling); Rules of *pentathlon*: p. 51). Nothing is known of him, except for what is given in Bacchyl. 9. In particular, there is nothing to suggest a date beyond the probable chronological limits of Bacchylides' career, that is, ca. 500 – ca. 431 BC (Appendix 2. 2). Since Bacchylides makes no attempt to give him any divine background, this may mean that he was not an aristocrat (Sevieri 2007, 196).

1. 27

Competitor name, patronymic: Λιπαρίων Λιπάρου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 499 – ca. 431 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Iulis (Keos)

Citizenship(s): Iulis

Discipline(s): *Pankration*

Ancient sources: IG XII 5 608. 4 (E25); IG XII 5 608. 8 (E25); IG XII 5 608. 22 (E25); Bacchyl. 8. 17–8

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, no. 127; Strasser 2001, 47, no. 40; Kostouros 2008, no. 102; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 39

Liparion, son of Liparos, appears in a list of victors from Iulis on Keos (IG XII 5 608. 22 (E25)) as a victor in some men's discipline at the *Nemea*, almost certainly the men's pankration (Schmidt's treatment IG XII 5 608 (E25): Cat. 1. 20). He also appears as a victor at what are almost certainly the *Isthmia*, where he was victorious three times, very probably twice in the men's boxing and once in the men's *pankration* (IG XII 5 608. 4, 5, 8 (E25); Schmidt 1999, 79–80).

The unknown honorand of Bacchyl. 8 has been identified with the father of this Liparion and more probably with Liparion himself (Maehler 2003, XLV). This latter identification is probably correct, since in IG XII 5 608 (E25), in its surviving state only Argeios and Liparion are victorious at both the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea*, while the honorand of Bacchyl. 8 was victorious in the *Pythia*, the *Nemea* and the *Isthmia* (Bacchyl. 8. 17–8 (L10)), although there was presumably a reference to the Pythian victory of the honorand of Bacchyl. 8 in the now lost section listing Pythian victors in IG XII 5 608 (E25) (unless Bacchyl. 8 dates to after IG XII 5 608 (E25), which seems unlikely). The words in Bacchyl. 8 πο]λυάμπελ..., that is, πολυάμπελος ('with many vines') (Bacchyl. 8. 12) and ἄνιπ[ος ('unsuitable for horses') (Bacchyl. 8. 12) suggest Keos, which is described in similar terms in both respects elsewhere (Bacchyl. 6. 5, 'ἀμπελοτρόφος'; Pind. *Pae.* 4. 24 'ἄνιππος'; Sevieri 2007, 194; McDevitt 2009, 149), while 'λιπα[ρ...' (Bacchyl. 8. 9) may refer to Liparion or his father.

Since IG XII 5 608 (E25) is not arranged in chronological order (Schmidt's treatment IG XII 5 608 (E25): Cat. 1. 20) and since Bacchyl. 8 cannot be dated more precisely than to sometime in the poet's working lifetime (between ca. 499 and ca. 431 (Appendix 2. 2)), then Liparion's victories, too, cannot not be placed more precisely than to some point within this period (although they can be placed in relation to other Kean victors (Cat. 13)). Yet, as has been suggested (Strasser 2001, 47), if Bacchyl. 8 was written to honour Liparion's Pythian victory,

which is not out of the question given that the *Pythia* are the first set of games referred to, then the Nemean and Isthmian victories precede the Pythian.

1. 28

Competitor name, patronymic: Unknown

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 499 (?) – ca. 431 (?) BC

Inscription find spot:-

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): Track discipline (boys?)

Ancient sources: Bacchyl. 10. 29–30 (L12)

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 237

The name of the athlete is unknown. Jebb (1905, 314), in his examination of Bacchyl. 10 (Jebb's 'IX [X]'), 9–14 (L12), notes that the τὰν ἀρετὰν in 13 means that the name of the honorand is to be found between 9 and 14. There are two possible places where the name may have stood, at the beginning of 9, which Jebb read as α.α and the beginning of 11, which he read as '..εἰρες'. While unable to find anything convincing to fill the gap at 11, he accepted the suggestion of Blass regarding the start of 9, 'Α[γλ]αῶι', which fulfills the conditions laid down by the remains of the letters that he thought were preserved in the papyrus and is a name, albeit one found only in mythological contexts. Mahler, however, reads the start of l. 9 as 'ἄ[..]α οἱ' and offers no suggestion as to what the gap may have held.

Bacchyl. 10 does not specify the discipline in which the honorand, a member of the Oeneis tribe of Athens (17–18), won his two Nemean victories (29–30) (Bacchyl. 10. 29–30 (L12)), but at the Isthmus he won in what seems to have been the *stadion* (Bacchyl. 10. 19–20 (L12)) and the *hippios* (which consists of four lengths of the *stadion* (Bacchyl. 10. 25–6 (L12))). The way in which Bacchylides presents the two victories suggests that they were won at the same iteration of the *Isthmia* (26–27) (Bacchyl. 10. 26–7 (L12)).

The Nemean victories were therefore probably also won in some track discipline. The fact that the honorand's κασίγνητος (9), which can mean 'brother' or 'cousin' (LSJ, s.v. 'κασίγνητος'), seems to have commissioned the ode from Bacchylides has led to the suggestion that the honorand was not an adult. Sevieri (2007, 211) suggests that only an adult could have obtained the large number of victories recorded at 29–33, but the places concerned are within relatively easy reach of Athens and perhaps a particularly ambitious παῖς could have achieved them (McDevitt 2009, 171). In addition to the victories gained at the Isthmus and at Nemea, others are recorded at Thebes, presumably the *Herakleia* and/or *Ioleia*, Argos, presumably the *Hecatomboia*, Sikyon, presumably the *Pythia*, Pellene and throughout Euboea (Bacchyl. 10. 30–5; Appendix 3. 11, 8, 7, 4). The chronological information regarding these games, however, is so vague that it does not help us with the dating of the victories of the victory in Bacchyl. 10 and so we fall back on the dates of Bacchylides working life, who was born in about 520 BC, started his working life in the early 490s and died in 432/1 BC (Appendix 2. 2). Thus Bacchyl. 10 may have been written for a victory obtained in an odd year between 499 and 431 BC.

1. 29

Competitor name, patronymic: Τεισίας

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 499 BC (??) – ca. 431 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Wrestling

Ancient sources: Bacchyl. 12. 8

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 147; Kostouros 2008, no. 188

The fragmentary Bacchyl. 12 bears the title ‘Τισία Αιγινήτη παλαιστή Νεμέα’, corrected to ‘Τεισία’ by Blass, who however gives no reason for his correction (Blass 1898, 91; Jebb 1905, 334–35). There is no indication of the name of the honorand in the text itself, but the title is likely to be correct, as it was added by a scribe who, although he admittedly made a mistake with the name, nevertheless will also have had access to correct information, linguistic and other (Jebb 1905, 133–34). The ode contains no indication as to its date other than that it must belong to Bacchylides’ working life, that is, from the early 490s to perhaps 432/1 BC (Appendix 2. 2).

The honorand was victorious in wrestling (8). 35–40 (Bacchyl. 12. 35–40 (L13)) mention a total of thirty victories in the *Pythia*, the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* and perhaps the *Olympia* (Sevieri 2007, 236) won by some body of people, presumably relatives of Teisias. Since athletes from the island of Keos had by the mid 5th century BC won seventy Isthmian victories alone (Bacchyl. 2. 7–10; McDevitt 2009, 196), the figure of 30 may conceivably refer just to members, alive and dead, of the immediate family of Teisias, but probably refers to some wider kinship group. Figueira (1981, 311–13) looks at the little that is known of kinship groups on Aigina. He passes in review various theories and suggests that πάτρα is used in Pindar’s poems to mean γένος, although he notes that Pindar also uses πάτρα in relation to both Aiginetan and non-Aiginetans in its more normal sense of ‘fatherland’.

1. 30

Competitor name, patronymic: [-----]ς <K>αλαίσχρου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 499 (??) – (?) ca. 401 BC

Inscription find spot: Salamis (Attica) (?)

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline: -

Ancient sources: IG I³ 1022 (E16)

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 276; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 54

An inscription, now lost (IG I³ 1022 (E16)), records two victories won by the son of Kalaischros, each gained in an unspecified discipline or disciplines at the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea*. Although the text is not clear in the second line, because the order in which the victories are recorded is non-canonical (*Isthmia*, *Nemea*, *Isthmia*, *Nemea*), this may be the order in which they were won. Raubitschek (1939, 157–58, no. 7) put the inscription in 5th century BC, although offered no reason for his dating, while Kyle (1987, 214, A 74) dates the victories to the second half of the 5th century BC, again without explanation. He was also the first to suggest that the dedication originally stood in the precinct of the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian agora (Raubitschek 1939, 157). He was likewise the first to suggest that the dedicator was Kritias, of the Thirty Tyrants, whose father was named Καλλαισχρός (Kallaischros) and that the dedication was removed in or after 403 BC, when Kritias fell from power (Raubitschek 1939, 158). Frances and Vickers accept this identification, as they believe that this Kalaischros (and thus Kritias) were descendants of the Kalaischros who was one of the architects who worked on Peisistratus’ Olympieion. They suggest that the Altar of the Twelve Gods was a shrine constructed pending the completion of the Olympieion. Thus, they also suggest, Kalaischros’ family and descendants would have had an enduring link with the Altar and that Kritias may have made his dedication when the Altar was refurbished, around 430 BC (Vitruvius 7, *praef.* 15; Francis and Vickers 1981, 115, 122).

There are objections to identifying Kritias the tyrant as the dedicator here, however. First, the less cogent point: as Davies (1971, 327) notes, although Raubitschek’s suggestion is tenable chronologically, there is no mention in the tradition that Kritias won any victories, something, he suggests, that one might expect to hear mentioned, had Kritias done so. However, despite the fame of *periodos* victors, there are in fact few references outside an agonistic context even to *Olympionikai*. Only a handful of individuals engaged upon some other,

non-sporting activity are noted also to have been *Olympionikai* in literature of the Classical period (Hdt. 5. 47 (Philip of Croton); Thuc. 1. 126 (Cylon); Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 33 (Spartan killed in attack on Peiraeus, 403 BC)) and in non-agonistic inscriptions (IG VII 1888, b. l. 10 (dead from Thespiiai who died at Delium, 424 BC)), while reference outside an agonistic context to real individuals as victors in the other sets of games of the *periodos*, except for two references to a *Pythonikes* (Hdt. 8. 47; Antiphon, fg. 17), is apparently non-existent. So, perhaps we should not expect to hear of any victories that Kritias may have won at the *Isthmia* and *Nemea*. Secondly, and more compellingly, it is not certain that the architect Kalaischros was an ancestor of Kritias of the Thirty Tyrants and, even if he was, there seems to be no evidence that the Altar of the Twelve Gods was a stand-in for the *Olympieion* and that Kritias' family therefore had some special link with the shrine.

Lastly, there is a very slight indication that the Twelve Gods had a presence on Salamis, which might account for the appearance of a dedication to them on the island. An inscription, published in 1828 and apparently never again since, records a dedication to the Twelve Gods by the Salaminians of a wall (CIG I 452 ('Σαλαμίνιοι τεῖχος|δωδεκα θεοῖς Σόλωνος'); Long 1987, 138). Stones can admittedly wander a long way and it is always possible that a base, or fragment of a base, whose weight and dimensions we no longer know, could have travelled from the Athenian agora to Salamis. It is even possible that a statue base of Kritias' could have found a new home, if it was dislodged from the Athenian agora, in some other shrine of the Twelve Gods, this time on Salamis (or even be represented by a copy of the original inscription). On the other hand, although no cases of the name have yet been found on Salamis, Kalaischros is not an uncommon name in Athens and Attica of the 5th century and 4th century, with the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* yielding seven examples from Athens and Attica from 5th century and 17 from the 4th century BC (http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi?name=%CE%9A%CE%AC%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%B1%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%87%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%82, visited: 12.04.2020)) and, given the currency of the name, it is more probable that our son of Kalaischros was a local inhabitant who made his dedication in some sanctuary of the Twelve Gods on the island.

None of this helps with the dating of the victories recorded in the inscription, however. Perhaps Raubitschek was right and the inscription belongs to the 5th century BC. Certainly the contents and form are simple enough to date to no later than 5th century BC. Kyle (1987, 215–16) floats the suggestion that the father of the speaker of Lysias 19, who would have lived in the second half of the 5th century BC, was the victor of IG I³ 1022 (E16) in some equestrian event, although he admits that the inscription does not suggest that the victories were won in such events. And so the best we can do is to put the Nemean victories sometime between ca. 499 and ca. 401 BC.

1. 31

Competitor name, patronymic: Λαμπροκλῆς Ἀξιλέω

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 497 (?) – 431 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Iulis (Keos)

Citizenship(s): Iulis

Discipline(s): Pankration

Ancient sources: IG XII 5 608. 23

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 128; Kostouros 2008, no. 96

Lamprokles occupies a position in IG XII 5 608 (E25), the victor list from Iulis on Keos (IG XII 5 608. 23 (E25); Schmidt's treatment of IG XII 5 608: Cat. 1. 20), immediately after that of Liparion (IG XII 5 608. 22 (E25)) in the group of victors in the men's *pankration* and immediately before that of Kimon (IG XII 5 608. 24 IG XII 5 608. 24 (E25)). On the assumption that the victors within a group of a single discipline are ordered chronologically, which is what Schmidt suggests (Cat. 1. 20), Liparion won before Lamprokles, who won before Kimon.

Liparion may have been the honorand of Bacchyl. 8 (Cat. 1. 20), which, however, cannot be dated more precisely than to within the probable limits of Bacchylides' working life, that is, ca. 500 and ca. 431 BC (Appendix

2. 2). Thus, if Liparion's victory at Nemea dates between 499 and 431, then we have the following possible dates for the victories of the three:

Liparion 499 (?) – 431 BC (?)

Lamprokles 497 (?) – 431 BC (?)

Kimon 495 (?) – 431 BC (?)

1. 32

Competitor name, patronymic: Εὐρυβάτης

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 495 (?) – ca. 485 (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Argos

Discipline(s): Pentathlon

Ancient sources: Hdt. 6. 92. 3; Hdt. 9. 75. 1; Paus. 1. 29. 5 (35)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 24; Kostouros 2008, no. 68

Eurybates was a pentathlete (Hdt. 6. 92. 3; Hdt. 9. 75. 1) and won at Nemea in this discipline (Paus. 1. 29. 5 (L35)). He was leader of the Argive volunteers who had come to help Aigina against the Athenians (Hdt. 6. 92. 3) and was killed, apparently in a land battle on Aigina (Scott 2005, 328, on Hdt. 6. 92. 1), by Sophanes (Hdt. 6. 92. 3; 9. 75. 1; Paus. 1. 29. 5 (L35)). Sophanes was later killed at Drabeskos, along with other Athenian colonists, in ca. 465 BC (Paus. 1. 29. 5 (L35)).

The fighting between Athens and Aigina may belong to the period ca. 487 – ca. 484 BC (Scott 2005, 551), perhaps towards the end of this period, when Argos had probably already begun to recover from the defeat inflicted on the city by Cleomenes at Sepeia (Scott 2005, 551). Eurybates was evidently in good physical shape, since he managed to dispatch three opponents before succumbing himself and so perhaps was still fairly young and obviously fit, possibly not more than thirty years old. It may be, then, that his pentathlon victory at Nemea dates between ca. 495 and ca. 485 BC (and certainly to before ca. 465 BC).

1. 33

Competitor name, patronymic: Κίμων Κάμπου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 495 (?) – 431 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Iulis (Keos)

Citizenship(s): Iulis

Discipline(s): pankration

Ancient sources: IG XII 5 608. 11 (E25); IG XII 5 608. 24 (E25)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 184, N 129; Kostouros 2008, no. 85; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 5

For dating of Kimon's Nemean victory in the men's *pankration* (IG XII 5 608. 24 (E25)), see Cat. 1. 50 (Lamprokles). Kimon also won the men's *pankration* at the *Isthmia* (IG XII 5 608. 11 (E25)), probably at some time after Liparion (Cat. 1. 31).

1. 34

Competitor name, patronymic: Μελησίας

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 493 (??) – ca. 485 (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): Pankration

Ancient sources: Pind. *Ol.* 8. 56–9 (L107); Drachmann 1927, Σ. Pind. *Nem.*, 87, 155a, ll. 24–27

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 52; Kostouros 2008, no. 136

Melesias, the Athenian (Drachmann 1927, Σ. Pind. *Nem.*, 4, 87, 155a), was trainer of Alkimidas (Pind. *Nem.* 6 64–6. See Cat. 1. 38), of Timasarchos (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 93–6 (L83); Cat. 1. 49.), of Alkimedon (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 54–66 (L107)) and of Timosthenes, Alkimedon's brother (Drachmann 1903, 237, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, 237, inscr. a. 4–8; Cat. 1. 17 (Timosthenes)). He was, however, an athlete in his own right and certainly won a victory at Nemea, first as a non-ἀνὴρ and then in the *pankration* as an ἀνὴρ (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 54–9 (L107)). At *Ol.* 8. 54–8, composed in honour Alkimedon's Olympic victory in the boys' wrestling at Olympia in 460 BC (Drachmann 1903, 237, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 8, inscr. a. 4–6; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 97, no. 264), Pindar hopes that his praise of Melesias, who has derived his glory ἐξ ἀγενείων ('from the beardless youths', 58), will not provoke any envious reaction against Pindar himself (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 54–8 (L107)); Ἀνέδραμον functions here as a present (cp. Gentili et al. 2013, 516, on Pind. *Ol.* 8. 54–5 (L107)), for Pindar can mention a victory at Nemea by Melesias and another one, this time in the men's *pankration* (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 56–8). Pindar is indeed obscure here and the passage has been interpreted in various ways, often as an expression of pro- or anti-Athenian sentiment (e.g. Burnett 2005, 216), although the motif, if one has extracted the correct meaning from Pindar's words, turns out to be merely a harmless *topos*, as Carey (1989a, 288) notes (also Gentili et al. 2013, 517, on Pind. *Ol.* 8. 55). What Pindar seems to be saying is merely 'Let not Melesias be envied (i.e. as being unjustly praised or because he is praised at all) for his glory that derives from his activities in the sphere of ἀγένοιοι nor let me, Pindar, be blamed for this, since (in justification of my praise) I can list his outstanding sporting record.' Pindar is certainly lavish in his praise, giving Melesias what has been recognized as a miniature *epinikion* that consists in part of a chronologically arranged victory catalogue, from 56 to 58 (Burnett 2005, 217 (on Melesias' catalogue)). The phrase ἐξ ἀγενείων (54) is at first sight ambiguous. Has Melesias won glory from his training of youths or from his competition with them or from both (as Boeckh thought: Carey 1989a, 288), as seems to be suggested by 65–66 (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 65–6 (L108)), where Alkimedon's victory is said to be Melesias' thirtieth? On the other hand, the position of the phrase at the head of a victory catalogue indicates that it can only refer to Melesias' own victories, as is also suggested by the likelihood that Melesias, as an ἀγένοιος, did not train other ἀγένοιοι. The two Nemean victories are chronologically arranged, with the victory in the men's *pankration* placed at the end (56–59). Carey (1989a, 289–90) showed that whatever victory or victories are comprehended by ἐξ ἀγενείων, it or they are separate from these two victories at Nemea and so, since the catalogue is chronologically arranged, it (or they) preceded the Nemean victories. Carey (1989a, 290) also thinks that the mention of the Isthmus, Poseidon's destination after he has dropped off Aiakos at Aigina (48–52) (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 48–52 (L106)), implies that Melesias had won in the *Isthmia* as an ἀγένοιος, but this seems highly unlikely, as one would expect Pindar to mention such a prestigious victory, which sheds glory on both Melesias and Alkimedon and his family, in its proper place in the miniature *epinikion* that Pindar gives Melesias. So perhaps Melesias was a victorious ἀγένοιος at some set or sets of local games, although the ambiguity of the phrase suggests that he won at only one set of games and the absence of any identification of these games suggests, too, that they did not belong to the handful of second-rank, but evidently still prestigious, games that appear in Pindar's victory catalogues (p. 53). To return to the point that Alkimedon's victory is Melesias' thirtieth as a trainer: It is of course not clear what sort of games Pindar is referring to, but if Melesias was born in the late 6th century BC (see below), then perhaps Pindar is referring only to games of the *periodos* and the more prestigious non-*periodos* games that he includes in his catalogues elsewhere, such as the *Panathenaia* or Sicyonian *Pythia* (Cat. 1. 25).

As for the date of the career of Melesias, Wade-Gery (1958, 244–46) suggested that our man was the father of the Athenian politician and rival of Pericles, Thucydides, son of Melesias, an hypothesis accepted by Davies (1971, 230 (no. 7268)). This identification was challenged by Kirchner who, among the other points he made, noted that Melesias was a not uncommon name and, more importantly, that an aristocrat was unlikely to have

been a trainer, at least in Athens in the second half of the 5th century BC and after (Kirchner 1995–1996, 165–76). Kirchner and those who follow him (Burnett 2005, 52 n. 27) would seem to be right, which is unfortunate (Kirchner 1995–1996, 175), as Kirchner thus demolishes one of the very few firm dates in Pindaric chronology. And so we fall back upon the two other references to Melesias in Pindar and the scholia. He was, as we have said, trainer to Timasarchos, commemorated in *Nem.* 4, which is which is tentatively dated between 477 and 467 BC (p. 78), of Alkimidas, commemorated in *Nem.* 6, tentatively dated to 483–481 BC (p. 64) and of Timosthenes (p. 44), brother of Alkimedon, victorious at Olympia in 460 BC (p. 44). Presumably Melesias' serious competitive career was over by the time he became a trainer and he was therefore at least about 25 when he trained Alkimidas, in perhaps the late 480s BC. He was still fit enough to train Alkimedon to victory in 460 BC and so was perhaps not much more than 50 at the time. He was then born perhaps in or shortly before ca. 510–505 BC and his Nemean victories, as a pre-*ἀνήρ* and as an *ἀνήρ*, may date to ca. 493 – ca. 485 BC.

Pindar does not say outright what the pre-*ἀνήρ* age group was in which Melesias was victorious at Nemea before he won the *pankration* there as a man. On the other hand, the oblique reference (‘ἐξ ἀγενείων’) to Melesias' victories in the ἀγένειοι age group, if such it is, may be the first appearance of the word as an agonistic term. Furthermore, if ἀγένειοι are appearing in local games by the 480s or even by the late 490s BC, then the term and thus the age-category must soon or later have reached the more institutionally permeable of the major games, such as the *Nemea* and *Isthmia*. Otherwise, the earliest use of the term in an agonistic context dates to the 470s and 460s BC (Cat. 1.64).

1. 35

Competitor name, patronymic: Θεογένης Τιμοξένους (?)

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 493 (?) – 463 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Delphi, Olympia, Thasos

Citizenship(s): Thasos

Discipline(s): Pankration or boxing or both (?)

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 6. 5; Paus. 6. 11. 2–9; *Syll.*³ 36 A (E32)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 31, 33, 39, J 27, 29, 31, 32, 41, 43, 46, 49, 53, 57, N 25, 27, 28, 41, 43, 46, 48, 54; Knab 1934, no. 3; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 201, 215; Kostouros 2008, no. 76; Strasser 2001, no. 30; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 32

The name of the athlete has two forms. The form Θεογένης appears in all inscriptions before the 1st century AD, while the form Θεαγένης appears in literature from the 1st century AD (Salviat and Paul 1967, 579, no. 28 (2nd century AD (letter forms)), 579, n. 2 (2nd century – 3rd century AD); Pouilloux 1994, 579). The name also appears as Θευγένης at *Syll.*³ 36 A. 1 (E32). The patronymic of the athlete is also unclear. Pausanias (Paus. 6. 11. 2.) gives the patronymic as Τιμοσθένης, but Τιμοξένης is given by *Syll.*³ 36 A. 1 (E32), which, because it dates to the first half of 4th century BC, is presumably correct (Ebert 1972, 122).

Pausanias reports that Theogenes was victorious in the men's boxing at Olympia in 480 BC (= Ol. 75), but was subsequently so tired that he failed to win the *pankration* (Paus. 6. 6. 5) and at another point states that Theogenes also obtained three boxing victories at the *Pythia* and nine victories at the *Nemea* and ten at the *Isthmia* ‘παγκρατίου τε ἀνάμιξ καὶ πυγμῆς’ (Paus. 6. 11. 5 (L53)). A reliable restoration to *POxy* II 222, Col. 1.13 (*POxy*. II 222, Col. 1.13 (Christesen 2007, 382); (L124)) shows that Theogenes also won the men's *pankration* at Olympia in 476 BC (= Ol. 76). This record is filled out by an inscription from Delphi (*Syll.*³ 36 A (E32)), which Dittenberger (*Syll.*³, p. 39) dates to the first half of the 4th century BC. This he does on the grounds of letter forms, which he says are ‘ionica volg. ineuntis saec. IV’, while noting the similarity of the epsilon in 36 A (E32) to that appearing in *Syll.*³ 160, an epigram dating to 369 BC recording the dedication of a statue to Apollo by the Arcadians. Moretti gives a date of ca. 370–365 BC, which, since he gives no grounds, is presumably based on Dittenberger's date.

The inscription consists of an epigram, followed by a prose catalogue of Theogenes' victories, inscribed on a statue base. Both epigram and catalogue concur with what Pausanias and *POxy.* II 222 convey together, the catalogue providing the additional information that Theogenes won in boxing and *pankration* on the same day at one iteration of the *Isthmia* and that he also won in the δόλιχος (*dolichos*) at the *Hecatombaia* at Argos (*Syll.*³ 36 A (E32): *Olympia*, boxing: epigram. 4, catalogue, Col. 1.10; *Olympia*, *pankration*: epigram. 4, catalogue, Col. 1.11; *Pythia*, three victories, one ἀκονίτι: epigram. 5–6, catalogue, Col. 1.12–14; *Isthmia*, 10 victories at nine iterations: epigram l. 7, catalogue, Col. 1. 15 – Col. 2. 17; *Nemea*, nine victories, boxing: epigram.10; catalogue, Col. 3. 7 – Col. 4. 14.). Such a combination of athletic specialities is not unknown. Much later, Melankomas (Dio. Chry. *Or.* 29. 5–8) was also a pancratiast, boxer and runner, who died at the *Sebasta* held at Naples, probably in 74 or 78 AD (Jones 1978, 16–7).

There is also a set of fragments found in the agora of Thasos, dating to early 4th century BC (Inv. nos. 666 α–δ, 967; on date, see Ebert 1972, 121, referring to *Recherches – Thasos* I, 82). These pieces would seem to be parts of a victory catalogue of Theogenes, but are too little to add anything to the picture given by the other sources, although attempts have been made at reconstruction (Ebert 1972, 125–26; Pouilloux 1994, 199–206, 202–3). A fragmentary inscription from Olympia (*IvO* 153 (E27)) is also very probably a list of Theogenes' victories. Here a total of eight Isthmian victories can certainly be restored and six, if not seven, Nemean victories. Dittenberger and Purgold, the original editors, thought for various reasons that the inscription referred to the victories won by Dorieus, son of Diagoras of Rhodes. Their points were: (1) had the inscription contained the 10 victories at the *Isthmia* referred to by Pausanias, this would have led to an extremely awkward layout on the stone at Olympia; (2) the dialect of the inscription has Dorian characteristics, which one would expect in the case of a victor from Rhodes, while, if the honorand were Theogenes, one would expect the local Thasian dialect; (3) Pausanias does not mention that Theogenes won ἀκονίτι, whereas the victor of *IvO* 153 does, (4) the victor of *IvO* 153 also wins two victories, in boxing and *pankration*, at the same iteration of the *Isthmia*, an extraordinary feat, which, had Theogenes achieved it, we would have expected Pausanias to mention. Moretti (1953, 55–6) answered most of these: (1) the choice of dialect probably depended on a local lapicide; (2) Theogenes *did* win ἀκονίτι, at the *Pythia*, as *Syll.*³ 36 A shows and (3) Theogenes *did* win in boxing and *pankration* at the same iteration of the *Isthmia*, as *Syll.*³ 36 A (E32) shows. Moretti also pointed out that the honorand of *IvO* 153 is both boxer and pancratiast, as Theogenes was, while Dorieus is attested to have been only a boxer and the honorand of *IvO* 153 won three Pythian victories, as Theogenes is attested to have done, while Dorieus won four and Dorieus, unlike Theogenes, is not attested to have won only one Pythian victory ἀκονίτι and may have won more.

There are admittedly two minor discrepancies between the information given by Pausanias and *Syll.*³ 36 A (E32) and *IvO* 153, in that *IvO* 153 records only eight Isthmian victories (rather than 10) and certainly only six, and perhaps no more than seven (rather than nine) Isthmian victories, but this can be explained, if one assumes that *IvO* 153 does not represent the final state of Theogenes' career.

Theogenes was apparently unbeaten in boxing for a period of 22 years (*Syll.*³ 36 A. 11–12 (E32)). His nine Nemean victories are probably to be placed around his two Olympic victories, when he was presumably at his peak, that is, between ca. 493 and ca. 463 BC, 13 years either side of the four years between 480 and 476 BC. Theogenes was one of the most celebrated ancient athletes and was worshipped in Thasos from at least the early 4th century BC down to at least the 2nd century or 3rd century AD (*Recherches – Thasos* I, 62–105 (on cult of Theogenes)).

1. 36

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀγίας Ἀκονίου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 489 – ca. 481 BC

Inscription find spot: Delphi, Pharsalos (?)

Citizenship(s): Pharsalos

Discipline(s): Pankration

Ancient sources: F. Delphes III. 4 460 2. 1–4 (E9)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 64, 44, 70, J 193, 196, N 200, 200, 204; Knab 1934, no. 12; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 192; Strasser 2001, no. 26; Kostouros 2008, no. 5; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 30

Daochos, who was τέτραρχος (*F. Delphes III. 4 460 7. 4*) of Thessaly (Bibliography on τέτραρχος: *Choix – Delphes*, 112) and ἱερομνήμων of the Thessalians at Delphi from 336 to 332 BC (Bommelaer 2015, 242; Ellis 1976, 141 n. 67), erected a spectacular monument some 30 m. to the northeast of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. The monument consisted of an enclosure housing a series of statues (Bommelaer 2015, Planche IV, no. 511, 242–44, no. 511, fig. 85 b (plan)), the first of which probably portrayed Apollo, while the rest, which were displayed in chronological order (*Choix – Delphes*, 2012, 112), depicted various ancestors, two of whom, Hagias and Telemachos, were athletes (*Choix – Delphes*, 112; Löhr 2000, 118–19). It is probable that the monument was erected during Daochos' period as ἱερομνήμων (*Choix – Delphes*, 112). On the basis of the inscriptions accompanying the statues, Jacquemin, Mulliez and Rougement the construct the following stemma (Fig. 2) (*Choix – Delphes*, 115, (also given at Ebert 1972, 138).

Hagias was victorious in the *pankration* at Olympia, winning five times at the *Nemea*, three at the *Pythia* and five at the *Isthmia* (*F. Delphes III. 4 460 2. 1–4 (E9)*). Telemachos, a μονοπάλ[ης] *F. Delphes III. 4 460 3. 1–4 (E10)*, won 'the same number of victories on the same days' as his brother (*F. Delphes III. 4 460 3. 2–3 (E10)*). Of interest to Hagias' record as given at Delphi is an inscription copied in the 19th century at Pharsalos and now lost (*IG IX 2 249. 4–7 (E24)*), which seems to contain the Hagias section of the inscription at Delphi, except for the point at *F. Delphes III. 4 460 2. 3 (E9)*. Here, the Delphi inscription gives what is generally thought to be 'τρίς Πύθια', which is written over an erasure, while the Pharsalos inscription at the same point gives what has been interpreted as 'τόσα Π[ύθια]'. That is, according to this restoration the Pharsalos inscription records five victories at each of the *Nemea*, the *Pythia* and the *Isthmia*, while the Delphi inscription gives only three victories at the *Pythia*.

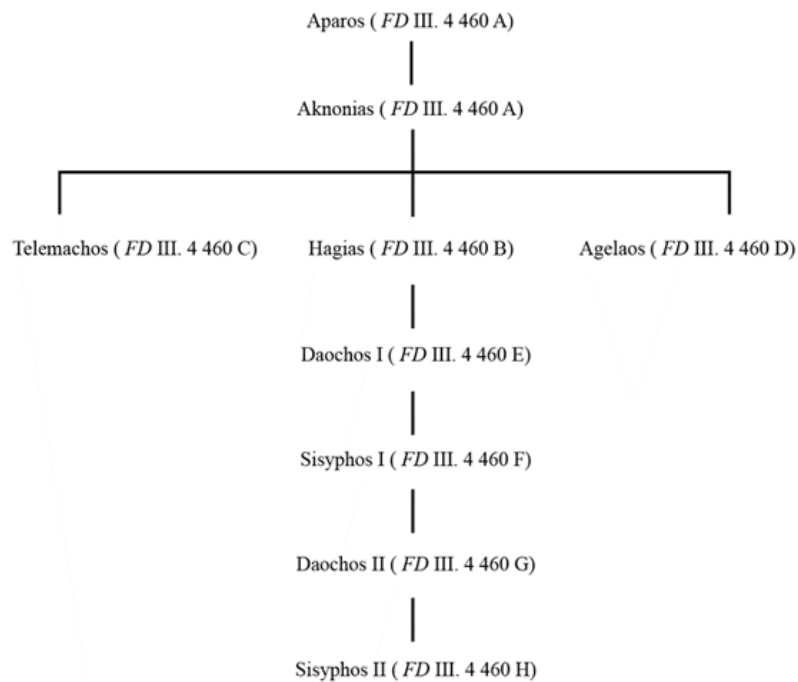


Fig. 2. Stemma of Hagias (*Choix – Delphes*, 115).

The presence of the correction τρίς Πύθια in the Delphi inscription, if indeed this is the correct reading (and Ebert (see below) doubts that it is), has been explained by assuming that, on the basis of the Pharsala inscription, τόσα originally stood in the Delphi inscription where what is thought to be τρίς stands today and that the correction τρίς was triggered by the publication of the Ἀναγραφὴ Πυθιονικῶν of Aristotle and Callisthenes, which, it is assumed, gave a correct record of Pythian victories, all the details of this theory being charted by Ebert (1972, 141). Thus, it is assumed, the Delphi inscription also originally credited Hagias with five Pythian victories. In fact, however, it has been recently shown conclusively the Ἀναγραφὴ were published in the mid 330s BC (Christesen 2007, 184–202), so, since the Daochos monument was very probably built between 336 and 332 BC, the Ἀναγραφὴ may actually predate the monument.

If the correction was not caused by the publication of the Ἀναγραφὴ, whether or not the work was published before the monument was built, then Ebert may be right. He notes that the size of the erasure is greater than four letters and it is therefore unlikely that the space was originally occupied by τόσα (Ebert 1972, 141). He suggests therefore that τρίς corrected a stone cutter's error and therefore also doubts the reading τόσα in the transcription of the now lost Pharsala inscription.

The Olympic victories of Hagias and Telemachos cannot be placed between 480 and 444 BC. As Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 85–6 (no. 190) notes (also Ebert 1972, 139), Telemachos' Olympic victory cannot be dated to the period 480–444 BC. This is excluded in part by the information given in *POxy.* II 222, a fragment of an Olympic victory list which does not include any victory by Telemachos (*POxy.* II 222 (Christesen 2007, 203–4, 210–13, 382–84 (text)). Furthermore, in 464 BC, Ephoudion (Cat. 1. 59) (not Hagias) won the *pankration*, while in 460 BC, Amesinas (and not Telemachos) won the wrestling (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 393. 242–46)).

On the other hand, Hagias' and Telemachos' victories are very unlikely to be later than 444 BC, as Hagias' son, Daochos I, was a Thessalian magistrate either during the period ca. 440–413 BC (*Choix – Delphes*, 115) or ca. 431 – ca. 404 BC (*IAG*, p. 70). If Daochos I was born around 480 BC, then perhaps, Hagias, his father was born ca. 510 and his, and Telemachos', victories, may date to the 480s BC. The three (?) Pythian victories of Hagias, if they were not won in different disciplines at the same iteration of the *Pythia*, suggest that his career was at its peak for about eight years (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 190, 192) tentatively puts Hagias' Olympic victory in 484 BC. We suggest that Hagias' and Telemachos' Nemean victories fell within ca. 489 and ca. 481 BC.

1. 37

Competitor name, patronymic: Τηλέμαχος Ἀκνονίου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 489 (??) – ca. 481 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: Delphi

Citizenship(s): Pharsalos

Discipline(s): Wrestling (μουννοπάλης)

Ancient sources: *F.Delphes* III 4. 460 3. 1–4 (E10)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 63, 65, 69, J 192, 195, 199, 201, 203, N 136–140; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 190, Strasser 2001, no. 27; Kostouros 2008, no. 189; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 29

See Cat. 1. 69 for discussion of the possible date of Telemachos' victories.

1. 38

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀλκιμίδας Θέωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 483 (??) or 481 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Wrestling (boys)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 6. 1–14; Drachmann 1927, 100, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 6, superscription (D); Drachmann 1927, 101, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 6, inscr. (BD), ll. 13–15.

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 114; Kostouros 2008, no. 14; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 88

The scholiast gives the name of Alkimidas' father as Θέων (Drachmann 1927, 101, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 6, inscr. (BD), ll. 13–15 (L16)). That Praxidamas, the grandfather of Alkimidas, was an Aiginetan is confirmed by Pausanias (Paus. 6. 18. 7 (L59)). Carey (1989b, 9, n. 38) says that 'since the scholia mistake the nationality of Alkimidas' father, we cannot be confident that they give his name correctly'. Since Asclepiades (of Myrlea?), rather than the scholiast, was responsible for the conjecture, this seems hard on the scholiast, but Carey is right to doubt whether the father of Alkimidas was really named Theon, as Asclepiades may have confused this Alkimidas with another (Cat. 1. 10 (Carey's suggested family tree of Alkimidas)).

Alkimidas won in the boys' wrestling at Nemea (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 12–4; Drachmann 1927, 100. 10, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 6, superscription (D) (L17), perhaps a conjecture from the poem). The dating of *Nem.* 6 rests on the point that Praxidamas, the grandfather of Alkimidas, was victorious at Olympia (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 15–8), an event that occurred in the 59th Olympiad (Paus. 6. 18. 7 (L59); Praxidamas: Cat. 1. 10) (544 BC). Melesias, the Athenian (Drachmann 1903, 237, Pind. *Ol.* 8, Inscr. a. (BCDEQ). 8–9), is also mentioned as the trainer of Alkimidas (Pind. *Nem.* 6. 66–9; Cat. 1. 34 (Melesias)), but nothing can be done with this, since the only fixed date in Melesias' career is the victory of his pupil, Alkimedon (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 53–66), dated to 460 BC (Drachmann 1903, 237, Pind. *Ol.* 8, inscr. a. (BCDEQ). 4–6; Gerber 1999, 33–5 (survey of attempts at dating *Nem.* 6); Cat. 1. 16 (Alkimedon)).

Assuming a generation of about 30 years, two generations take us from Praxidamas victory of 544 BC down to ca. 484 BC. Perhaps Alkimidas won in 483 BC or in 481 BC, although the earlier date is perhaps marginally more likely, given that Alkimidas won as a παῖς.

1. 39

Competitor name, patronymic: Εὐθυμένης

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 483 (?) or 481 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Track discipline (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 5. 41–6; Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 62

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 28, 30; Kostouros 2008, no. 66; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 23

Euthymenes, the maternal uncle of Pytheas (Cat. 1. 40 (dates of victories of Euthymenes, Phylakidas and Pytheas)) and Phylakidas (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 43 (L88); Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 60–62; Cat. 1. 42), won (we believe) two victories at the *Isthmia* (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 41–2; Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 61) and one at the *Nemea* (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 43 (L88)). The imagery of *Nem.* 5. 43 suggests that Euthymenes' discipline was some track event (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 43 (L88); Cat. 1. 40 (on reading of l. 43)). His victory at the *Nemea* may have occurred in 483 or 481 BC (Cat. 1. 40). Euthymenes probably also won in sets of games at Aigina (Appendix 3. 1) and Megara (Appendix 3. 7).

1. 40

Competitor name, patronymic: Πυθέας Λάμπωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 483 (?) or 481 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Pankration (boys) or pankration for ageneioi (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 5. 3–5 (L86); Pind. *Nem.* 5. 41–4; Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 3–7; Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 60–2; Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 17–9; Bacchyl. 13. 67–76

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 50, N 29; Kostouros 2008, no. 177; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 116–18

Pind. *Nem.* 5 and Bacchyl. 13 celebrate the Nemean victory of Pytheas of Aigina, son of Lampon. Bacchyl. 13 is almost devoid of information relating to the date of the victory that it celebrates, but Pind. *Nem.* 5, *Isthm.* 5 and *Isthm.* 6, when taken together, mention victories won by Pytheas and his brother Phylakidas, and by their μήτρως (maternal uncle) (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 43; Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 62), Euthymenes. These three odes refer to increasing numbers of victories and so, assuming that, if one of these persons has won a victory in the prestigious games of the *periodos*, then Pindar will be sure to mention it thereafter in any epinician poem he writes for any member of the family, we can place the odes in relative chronological order and modern commentators have naturally attempted to order and date the sequence of victories. The most important recent discussions of the dating of the victories of Euthymenes, Phylakidas and Pytheas are by Carey (1989a, 287–95) and by Pfeijffer (1992, 318–32; 1999, 59–60, 76–83, 168–73 (on *Nem.* 5. 41–46), 603–10 (on *Nem.* 5. 43)). Their suggestions, along with those upon which they build, are carefully and extensively considered by Fearn (2007, 342–50) in relation to the dating of Bacchylides 13. Fearn generally agrees with Carey (as I do).

As we shall see, Pind. *Nem.* 5 seems to be dated certainly to before 480 BC and perhaps to 483/2 BC or before and that *Isthm.* 5 is dated to after the battle of Salamis in September 480 BC (p. 65–7), we can also make an attempt at an absolute chronology of these victories. The matter, however, is complicated by the fact that it is not always absolutely clear from the texts of these three odes how many victories were won and by whom, thanks to Pindar's own ambiguous formulation of the numbers of victories and to textual corruption. Despite this, Pind. *Nem.* 5 seems to have been the first to be written, as will emerge below, followed by Pind. *Isthm.* 6 and *Isthm.* 5.

As for the absolute date or at least absolute terminus ante quem. of Pind. *Nem.* 5, Pfeijffer relates the use of the word μάπναται ('to fight', Pind. *Nem.* 5. 47) and the chilly treatment of Menandros, the Athenian trainer of Pytheas (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 48–50) to the war between Athens and Aigina, which broke out in perhaps 489 or 488 (Pfeijffer 1992, 330–31; 1999, 59–61, on Hdt. 6. 73, 85–98). He would like to date Pind. *Nem.* 5 to the period after the massacre on Aigina of the followers of Nikodromos, perhaps in 487 (Pfeijffer 1992, 331). Pindar's less than enthusiastic treatment of the Athenian Menandros also dates the composition of Pind. *Nem.* 5 to before 480 BC and the battle of Salamis, in which the Aiginetans, alongside the Athenians, played such a distinguished role. However, the war with Aigina, albeit perhaps not prosecuted continuously, may have gone on until at least 483/2 BC, when Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to use the income from the mines at Laurium on ships (Hdt. 7.144.1. (483/2 BC); [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 22. 7; Rhodes 2006, 233). The sources, given at Rhodes 2006, 233, although they all attribute to Themistocles the responsibility for the Athenians' decision to use the money on ships, vary as to Themistocles' ostensible and real motivation (the current war against Aigina or the forthcoming war with the Persians?). Bacchylides (Bacchyl. 13. 198–207) is noticeably more friendly towards Menandros. He tactfully acknowledges the existence of hostility towards the trainer, but insists that the truth about Menandros' training skills will out. Since this is the only passage in what survives of Bacchylides' work in which a trainer is praised (McDevitt 2009, 215), perhaps Bacchylides is particularly concerned to ensure that the importance of a trainer originating from a hostile state is acknowledged. As for the absolute date, or absolute terminus ante quem., of Pind. *Isthm.* 5, it is enough to note at this stage that it must have been written fairly soon after the battle of Salamis of 480 BC, which is clearly a vivid and so recent memory (48–50 (Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 48–50 (L70))).

As regards its place in the sequence of odes, Pind. *Nem.* 5 unambiguously mentions at the outset Pytheas' Nemean victory (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 3–5 (L86)), for which Pindar has written the ode. Thereafter, however, attempts to count and attribute the victories mentioned in the poem become complicated. The lines at issue in *Nem.* 5 are 35–46, given here in the version of Maehler (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 35–46 (L87)), which, as will hopefully emerge from our discussion below, is most likely of all editions to be correct. At this point in the text, Peleus, in fear of Zeus *xenios*, has rejected the advances of Hippolyte, who is attempting to entrap and seduce him. The first

difficulty arises at 41, at what Maehler, together with other editors (Sandys 1915; Bowra 1935), chooses to read as 'Αἰγίναθε δῖς'. The ancient manuscripts give 'Αἰγίνα θεᾶς' in various dispositions (Carey 1989a, 292) and the text that the scholiast had before him (Drachmann 1927, 96, 75b) evidently contained the word 'Αἰγίνα' in the dative (Carey 1989a, 292). The whole phrase Αἰγίνα θεᾶς is unlikely to be correct on either stylistic or metrical grounds, since elsewhere Pindar does not use 'θεός' in apposition to the name of a god or goddess (Pfeijffer 1999, 169) and there are problems with the suggestion by Farnell that θεᾶς should be read as a synezeis (i.e. as a single long vowel) to make it fit with the demands of metre. As Carey (1989a, 292, 292 n. 20) notes such synezeis do not otherwise occur in the corresponding places in the line in the rest of Pind. *Nem.* 5, which makes such an isolated case unlikely. As a consequence of these issues, Schwartz's suggestion, from more than a century ago (Schwartz 1904, 630–42), 'Αἰγίναθε δῖς', has been generally adopted and would seem to rest upon good palaeographic grounds, that is, commentators have made the reasonable conjecture that at some point the 'Δ' of 'ΔΙΣ' was very probably miscopied as an 'Α' (Carey 1989a, 294; Pfeijffer 1999, 169) and of recent commentators only Privitera (2001, 212) rejects this correction and suggests 'Αἰγίνης ἕαρ', which is open to the same objections as Farnell's position. The reading 'Αἰγίναθε δῖς' thus gives Euthymenes two victories. The matter of where he won these we look at below. In the meantime, the next problematic passage is 43, which some manuscripts give as

ἦτοι μεταῖξαντα καὶ νῦν τεὸς μάτρως ἀγάλλει κείνου ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος Πυθέας

with some other, Triclinian manuscripts giving 'μεταῖξας γε' (Pfeijffer 1999, 605). Μεταῖσσω is a Homeric verb, meaning 'to follow after', 'to rush after' (Slater 1969, 331, s.v. 'μεταῖσσω'; Pfeijffer 1999, 609). Here, of course, given the context, the word is being used metaphorically, meaning 'to win after somebody else has won'.

Since Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 62 states that Euthymenes is the μάτρως of Pytheas, correcting 'Πυθέας' to the vocative, 'Πυθέα', is straightforward and should be done. Thereafter, the point at issue is whether to keep 'μεταῖξαντα' in the accusative, thus making Pytheas the one who does the rushing after (i.e. winning after) Euthymenes. Thus, if we choose 'μεταῖξαντα', this becomes the object of 'ἀγάλλει' and thus apparently stands in some appositional relation to 'κείνου...ἔθνος' ('κείνου' being Peleus (Pfeijffer 1995, 606)) and, if we ignore this appositional relationship for a moment, we end up with 'And now, Pytheas, your maternal uncle glorifies you, as you rush forward'. If we restore μεταῖξαντα to the nominative, thus making Euthymenes the one who wins after his nephew, Pytheas, has won, we end up with 'And now, your maternal uncle, rushing forwards, glorifies you, Pytheas.').

Bergk proposed a 'σ(ε)' before ἀγάλλει, a correction clearly suggested by τέος (Pfeijffer 1999, 606). This, however, means that, as the text would then stand, 'κείνου ὁμόσπορον' would refer to Pytheas and 'ἔθνος' would be an accusative of respect. The sense that this reading on its own gives is also obscure (Pfeijffer 1999, 606). As Pfeijffer asks, why does Euthymenes do honour to Pytheas by being his example (rather than by imitating him)? The nominative solves these problems, particularly if we move Bergk's 'σ(ε)' to directly after what is now 'μεταῖξαις', thus making it the object of this participle, which frees 'ἀγάλλει' up to govern 'ἔθνος', to which 'κείνου ὁμόσπορον' now obviously and unambiguously stands in apposition ('And now, Pytheas, your maternal uncle, rushing after you, honours the kindred race of Peleus' (Pfeijffer 1995, 606–7)). Maehler (1982, 251) and Carey (1989a, 291), who both accept the reading 'μεταῖξαις', assume that Euthymenes won at an iteration of the *Nemea* after the one at which Pytheas was victorious. However, particularly since μήτρως is used of an older relation (one's maternal uncle is usually older than oneself), Euthymenes may have competed later at the same iteration in an older age-class (Burnett 2005, 61 n. 4; Fearn 2007, 346). That Euthymenes belongs to an older age-class is also suggested by his earlier victories in younger age classes at Aigina (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 45; p. 64).

Next comes the matter of deciding whose victories are those reported by Pindar at 44 (possible interpretation of 'ἄραρεν' at Pind. *Nem.* 5. 44: Pfeijffer 1999, 174). This, in turn, depends upon who the subject is of ἐκράτει, which is what the manuscripts suggest that Pindar wrote. Pfeijffer (1999, 172), like Maehler (1982, 251), thinks that 'Αἰγίναθε δῖς' (41) refers to victories won by Euthymenes on Aigina, because otherwise, in his view, 44–45

would therefore be an inept ‘vague reformulation’ of the supposed Aiginetan victories first mentioned at 41, if the subject of ἐκράτει were Euthymenes. Pfeijffer (1992, 320; 1999, 172–73) therefore believes that the subject of ἐκράτει is Pytheas, to whom Pindar is now referring in the third person. Such unsignalled switching is certainly confusing to us (if not to Pindar’s original audience) and the confusion (ours, at least) is made worse by Pindar’s direct address to Pytheas at 48 (Carey 1989a, 291). It therefore seems that the subject of ἐκράτει is Euthymenes.

Where, then, did Euthymenes win his two victories, (almost certainly) mentioned at 41? Previous to this point, at 37–43, Pindar has given us a vignette of Poseidon visiting the Isthmus, with its cheerful crowds and its focused competitors. ‘Αἰγίναθε δῖς’ is open to a number of interpretations. It could, among other potential meanings, simply signify ‘[coming] from Aigina’ or ‘[carrying prizes away] from Aigina’ (Pfeijffer 1999, 170). As regards the first of these two possibilities, Pindar does not normally mention the home town of relations of the victor, presumably because it is obvious that it is also the victor’s (Pfeijffer 1992, 319; 1999, 170). As for the second possibility, Euthymenes is unlikely to carry away a prize from his own city. There is also the even more important point that, if ‘Αἰγίναθε δῖς’ refers to victories at Aigina, then over the length of this victory list (37–46), games at Aigina are ineptly and confusingly referred to twice, appearing the first time before mention of the prestigious *Nemea* (Carey 1989a, 292). Carey’s (1989a, 295) suggestion that ‘Αἰγίναθε’ is to be taken with ‘πίτνων’ (l. 42) (‘Falling twice from Aigina, into the arms of victory, you, Euthymenes,...’) is very attractive. They may also be a joke, or at least word play, at work here. ‘Πίπτω’ in its sporting sense can mean of a wrestler ‘to fall to one’s knees’ (LSJ, s.v. ‘πίπτω’, B I 2). Thus Euthymenes takes a fall, overwhelmed by victory. The vignette of Isthmia, otherwise vivid but pointless, indicates that Euthymenes’ two victories were won at the *Isthmia* (*contra* Pfeijffer 1995, 170). Order is thus restored to Euthymenes’ victory catalogue (Carey 1989a, 293), with his victories now listed in order of prestige, that is, at the Isthmus, at Nemea, on Aigina and at Megara. It has been suggested that ἄλικες (45) are boy opponents, or at least non-ἄνδρες, and therefore that the line refers to victories of the παῖς Pytheas (Pfeijffer 1999, 173), but Euthymenes may also have won as a non-ἄνθρωπος, too.

By the time Pind. *Isthm.* 6 was written, Phylakidas had won an Isthmian victory (Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 5–7), in addition to Pytheas’ pre-existing Nemean victory (Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 3–4 (L72)) (Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 3–7 (L72)), all of which places Pind. *Isthm.* 6 after Pind. *Nem.* 5, chronologically speaking. In addition, Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 60–2 (Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 60–2. (L73)) are important in any attempt to compile a picture of the total number of victories won by the three athletes.

The ‘ἄγλαοὶ παῖδες τε καὶ μάτρως’ (62) are, of course, Phylakidas, Pytheas and Euthymenes. Various commentators and editors, starting apparently with Bergk (Bury 1892, 116–17, on 61), have found the lines ambiguous (Pfeijffer 1995, 321), some regarding them as being intentionally confusing (Cole 1987, 553–56), and it has been suggested that they should be read with the sense of a comma placed after τρεῖς in 61, which would mean that Pindar is referring to a total of only three victories. 61, however, is clearly couched in terms of a balance between the victories won at the Isthmus and those won at Nemea (Carey 1989a, 294; Pfeijffer 1995, 321) and, if read in this way, becomes clear. The three Isthmian victories must be that of Phylakidas, for which *Isthm.* 6 was written (Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 5–7), and the two of Euthymenes mentioned (we believe) at *Nem.* 5. 41. The unspecified Nemean victories are those won by Euthymenes (Pind. *Nem.* 5.43–44) and by Pytheas (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 3–5).

We move onto the last ode in the sequence, *Isthm.* 5, written in honour of Phylakidas’ second Isthmian victory (Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 17–9 (‘τὴν δ’ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ διπλὸν θάλλοισ’ ἀρετὰ, | Φυλακίδα, κεῖται, Νεμέα δὲ καὶ ἀμφοῖν, | Πυθέα τε παγκρατίου.)). At 48–50 (Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 48–50 (L70)), the battle of Salamis, of late 480 BC, is mentioned, as we have said, in terms vivid enough to make clear that it is a recent memory. This has led commentators to suggest that *Isthm.* 5 was written for a victory at the *Isthmia* of spring 478 BC (Fearn 2007, 342 for references.). Privitera (2001, 73) ingeniously suggests that the invocation to the mother of the sun (Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 1–7) may recall the eclipse of 17 February 478, so dating the composition of Pind. *Isthm.* 5 to 478 BC. On the other hand, it has also been suggested that the victory was won in spring 480 BC, but not celebrated until after Salamis (Fearn 2007, 342, noting Gaspar).

Isthm. 5 also contains the lines (17–19)

τὴν δ' ἐν Ἰσθμῷ διπλόα θάλλοισ' ἀρετά, | Φυλακίδ', ἀγκείται, Νεμέα δὲ καὶ ἀμφοῖν, |
Πυθέα τε παγκρατίου.

17–18 down to ἀγκείται are clear ('For you [Phylakidas] at the Isthmus lies a double flourishing ἀρετή...'). At 'Νεμέα δὲ... παγκρατίου', 'καὶ' reinforces 'ἀμφοῖν' ('...indeed for both...') (Denniston 1954, 320 I; Privitera 2001, 192, *ad loc*). As for the syntactical functioning of 'Πυθέα τε παγκρατίου', which is less obvious, the scholiast took the phrase 'ἀμφοῖν, | Πυθέα τε παγκρατίου' to mean 'σοὶ τε καὶ τῷ Πυθέα (sc. ἀρετῇ) παγκρατίου' (Drachmann 1927, 244, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 5, 21a) and this seems to be followed by Farnell (1932, 365) and Privitera (2001, 192, *ad loc*), perhaps reasonably so, as this is what one ancient commentator thought the phrase meant. Denniston (1954, 502–3 (g)) regards the phrase as an 'irregularity' and mentions a parallel from Vedic literature, but does not explain clearly how τε functions here. Perhaps the working of the τε here is closer to another role it plays listed earlier by Denniston (1954, 502I)), who remarks that τε can denote an appositional relationship, which, at least partially, it seems to be doing here ('...for you both, Pytheas having won a *pankration* victory...'). The important point for us, however, from all this is that both Phylakidas and Pytheas have won at Nemea by the time of the composition of *Isthm.* 5, although not everyone would agree with this. Cole (1987, 559) rejects the idea, on the grounds that there is no reference to a Nemean victory by Phylakidas anywhere else and that *Isthm.* 6. 60–62, which Cole interprets as if there were a comma after τρεῖς (p. 67), refer to Euthymenes' and Pytheas' Nemean victories. Unclear as Pindar is here, he does not seem to be deliberately ambiguous, as Cole thinks he is. As for the age class in which Phylakidas was victorious at the Isthmus, Kleandros of Aigina was also victorious in the *pankration* there in 478 BC. The opening of Pind. *Isthm.* 8, at Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 1–4, written in honour of Kleandros, suggests that he was a youth, rather than a man. If Phylakidas gained his second Isthmian victory in 478 (as Privitera (2001, 73) believes), then it may have been as a παῖς.

We are now in a position to list the victories of Euthymenes, Phylakidas and Pytheas on the basis on the various opinions that we have just discussed. The views that we have accepted are: (1) that Pind. *Nem.* 5. 41 refers to two victories previously won by Euthymenes at the *Isthmia*, before the victory at the *Nemea* celebrated in Pind. *Nem.* 5 (Carey 1989a, 293); (2) that the victory catalogue at Pind. *Nem.* 5. 41–46 lists the victories of Euthymenes at the Isthmus, Nemea, Aigina and Megara (Carey 1989a, 293) and that the subject of ἐκράτει at Pind. *Nem.* 5. 45 is therefore Euthymenes (Carey 1989a, 293); (3) that Euthymenes won his Nemean victory at the same iteration as Pytheas did his (Burnett 2005, 61, n. 4; Fearn 2007, 346); (4) that there is no comma to be placed by the modern reader after τρεῖς in Pind. *Isthm.* 6.61 and (5) that Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 17–9 shows that by the time the poem was composed both Phylakidas and Pytheas had won one victory each at Nemea.

Thus victories of Euthymenes, Phylakidas and Pytheas are as follows.

Euthymenes: 1 Nemean victory; 2 Isthmian victories (*Nem.* 5. 41–3).

Phylakidas: 2 Isthmian victories, boys' *pankration* (?) (1st: *Isthm.* 6. 5–7; 2nd: *Isthm.* 5. 17–8); 1 Nemean victory (*Isthm.* 5. 18).

Pytheas: 1 Nemean victory, boys' *pankration* (*Nem.* 5. 3–5; *Isthm.* 6. 3–4).

In assembling the chronology below, in Table 3, I assume that winners of multiple victories in the same discipline did so at successive iterations. We do not know, of course, whether Euthymenes' two Isthmian victories were gained in the same discipline at successive iterations, as I assume here, or in different disciplines at the same iteration (or indeed in different disciplines at different iterations). Lastly, all we know of Phylakidas' second Isthmian victory is that *Isthm.* 5, which was written to commemorate it, is dated to after September 480 BC.

Pytheas did not compete as an adult. This is clear from Pind. *Nem.* 5. 6, whatever its exact interpretation. It is also strongly suggested by the fact that both Pindar (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 48–49) and Bacchylides (Bacchyl. 13. 191–196) praise Pytheas' trainer, Menandros (Maehler 1982, 250). Whether, however, Pytheas competed as a παῖς or ἀγένειος is not clear (Maehler (1982, 250), for example, assumes he was an ἀγένειος), as it is not known

when the category of ἀγένητοι was established at Nemea, although it existed by the time of *IG XII 5 608*. 21, 26, dated between 550 and 330 BC (Cat. 1. 20). The class was introduced to the *Isthmia* perhaps about 480–470 BC (Farrington 2012, 113–14, n. 252; Age of Pytheas: Burnett 2005, 62, 62 n. 15, with bibliography on age groups) and it may have been adopted at Nemea at this time, too. The earliest reference to the age class of ἀγένητοι in Pindar, and possibly generally, may be at Pind. *Ol.* 8. 56–59, perhaps referring to victories in this class dating to the 470s BC (Cat. 1. 34.). Pytheas evidently is still young. ‘Ματέρ’ (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 6), probably dative (Pfeijffer 1998, 106), refers to Pytheas’ mother. ‘Ὅπωρα’ (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 6) means the season (i.e. the (metaphorical) high summer of youth) in which the bloom on the grape (οἰνάνθας, Pind. *Nem.* 5. 6) appears, which means that Pytheas still lacks a proper beard. He thus would probably have been classed as a παῖς anyway.

Phylakidas, Pytheas and their father, Lampon, son of Kleonikos, clearly belonged to the upper reaches of Aiginetan society and were members of the πάτρα of the Psalichiadai (Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 63). Πάτρα would seem to be the word used on Aigina to mean γένος, although it is also used by Pindar, in relation to both Aiginetan and non-Aiginetans, in its more normal sense of ‘fatherland’ (on πάτρα on Aigina: Figueira 1981, 311–13). Lampon and his sons also belonged to the οἶκος of Themistios (Drachmann 1927, 259, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 95; Hornblower 2007, 303), who won twice at Epidaurus, apparently at the *Asklepieia* (Pind. *Nem.* 5. 52–53; Drachmann 1927, 99–100, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 94 b, d, e, 96) and who was perhaps the father of Euthymenes, uncle of Pytheas and Phylakidas, and of the wife of Lampon (Pfeijffer 1999, 103–4).

Table 3: Suggested Chronologies of Dates of Victories of Euthymenes, Phylakidas and Pytheas			
<i>Phylakidas’ second Isthmian victory assumed to fall in 478 BC</i>	<i>Phylakidas’ second Isthmian victory assumed to fall in 480 BC</i>	<i>Athlete and victory</i>	<i>Reference</i>
484	486	Euthymenes, 1st Isthmian victory	<i>Nem.</i> 5. 41–42
482	484	Euthymenes, 2nd Isthmian victory	<i>Nem.</i> 5. 41–2
481	483	Pytheas, Nemean victory; Euthymenes, Nemean victory	<i>Nem.</i> 5. 3–5, 43
480	482	Phylakidas, 1st Isthmian victory	<i>Isthm.</i> 6. 5–7
479	481	Phylakidas, Nemean victory	<i>Isthm.</i> 5. 18
478	480	Phylakidas, 2nd Isthmian victory	<i>Isthm.</i> 5. 17–18

Herodotus (Hdt. 9. 78–79) mentions a Lampon, son of Pytheas, a notable of Aigina who is present after the battle of Plataea and suggests that Mardonios’ body be mutilated, an idea angrily rejected by Pausanias the Greek commander. Hornblower, following Pfeijffer, suggests that that both Lampones belonged to the same family, which, given the oligarchic nature of Aiginetan society, seems very possible (Pfeijffer 1999, 103–4; Hornblower 2007, 303–4).

1. 41

Competitor name, patronymic: Κλέανδρος Τελεσάρχου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 481 (?) – 479 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Pankration (men) (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 4–5

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 51 N 44; Kostouros 2008, no. 89; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 45

Kleandros won at the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* (Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 1–5 (L74)). He also won at the *Alkathioia* at Megara (Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 65a–68 (L77); *Alkathioia*: Appendix 3. 7) and at games at Epidaurus, probably at what

were known by the later 5th century as the *Asklepieia* (Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 66; Nielsen 2018, 43–44, 129–130 (*Asklepieia*)). He was victorious in the *pankration* at these two contests and this was perhaps the discipline in which he won at the *Isthmia* and *Nemea*, the phrase ‘κράτος ἐξεῦρε’ (5) suggests some heavy event. As for the age group in which Kleandros won, Pind. *Isthm.* 8 does not give any explicit information regarding either the Isthmian or the Nemean victory. However, as has been frequently pointed out, the theme of youth appears conspicuously at various points throughout the ode. The members of the chorus are νέοι (2), somebody of the same age as Kleandros is told to weave a victory crown (65b–66a) and at 70, whatever the correct reading of the word most frequently given by modern editors as χεῖρ (Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 70. (L78); Burnett 2005, 107, n. 4, for discussion of various suggested readings), it is clear that the ἦβαν at the beginning of the line is to be associated in some way with Kleandros. Carey (1981, 185) inclines towards regarding Kleandros as an ἀνὴρ. Pfeijffer (1998, 30) notes that the reference to ἦβα suggests adolescence and puts Kleandros’ victory (he does not say whether at the *Isthmia* or *Nemea*) in the ἀγένοιαι age-group.

The Isthmian victory is mentioned before the Nemean and it was probably this that caused the Alexandrian editors to classify the poem as an Isthmian ode, unless they were relying on external information, although the lack of an inscription to the ode and of other information in the scholia regarding the event in which Kleandros won suggests that they were not. The manuscripts do not give any inscription to the ode and the scholia do not mention the event for which it was performed (Carey 1981, 184). The fact that nothing on this subject filtered through to the scholia suggests that the Alexandrian editors themselves had no information and that they classified the ode as an *Isthmian* simply because it mentions an Isthmian victory first. On the other hand, the scholiast (Drachmann 1927, 269, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 8, 1a, 1b) seems to be saying that the ode was written to celebrate both victories, unless this is simply a conjecture from the text. Not unsurprisingly, then, modern editors, generally in a worse position than their ancient counterparts, also regard the poem as having been written primarily for an Isthmian victory. The matter is further obscured by the fact that the victories, Isthmian and then Nemean, happen also to be presented here in the traditional order of prestige and it is therefore not clear for which of the two victories the ode was written, if indeed it was written on the occasion of a victory, rather than to celebrate a successful career overall. If in fact it was written to celebrate more than one victory, Pind. *Isthm.* 8 may not be unique. Wüst (1967, 206–7) points to two other possible cases, Pind. *Isthm.* 3. 9–11 (L62) and Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 17–8, in which the ode seems to be celebrating two victories. In Wüst’s view, in the first case, in which the Isthmian victory is mentioned before the Nemean, the Isthmian victory is chronologically the first victory (as seems to be the case, to judge from the aorist participle δεξαμένῳ (11), implying that Melissos received his crown at Isthmia before his victory at Nemea). At Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 17–8, where the Isthmian victory (or victories) are presented before the victory or victories at Nemean, Wüst thinks that the Isthmian victory is the later. The passage, however, is too opaque to draw any firm conclusion (Cat. 1. 40).

The text of Pind. *Isthm.* 8 has three passages that may be relevant to the dating of the poem. Firstly, despite Pindar’s urgings that his addressees should go to the household of Kleandros, to celebrate his victory, he describes himself as ἀχνύμενος θυμόν (5–6). Secondly, he warns that, having been released from great sorrows, his addressees should not fall –in a curious phrase– into a ‘bereavement of victory crowns’ (Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 5a–6a (L75)). Lastly (9–11), some god has turned away from the Greeks the stone of Tantalus that hung over them (Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 9–11 (L76)). This is the other version of the Tantalus myth, in which Tantalus is punished by Zeus, who suspends above him a rock which is liable to come crashing down at any moment, a version that occurs occasionally in Archaic literature (Privitera 2001, 228).

The scholiasts say outright that Pindar’s metaphor here refers to the end of the Persian Wars and that the ode was composed after their end (Drachmann 1927, 270, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 8, 12a, ll. 7–11 (L14), Drachmann 1927, 270–71, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 8, 17a. 19–8) and, even if the scholiasts are merely extrapolating from 9–11, the message of the imagery in these lines is clear. The suggestion of the scholiast is that Pindar is ἀχνύμενος θυμόν, because Kleandros has lost forebears (‘προγόνων’ (Drachmann 1927, 270, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 8, 8., ll. 4–5)) in the wars, and again, even if this a conjecture, it is an obvious explanation for Pindar’s gloom, given that his overriding concern in composing an *epinikion* was surely to align himself with the circumstances of his honorand, rather

than express his own pains (Drachmann 1927, 270, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 8, 12a, ll. 7–9 (L14)). Given that Pindar's overriding aim is obviously praise of Kleandros and therefore sympathy with his family circumstances, it does not seem likely that he is concerned here either with Theban medizing or Aigina's supposedly minimal contribution to the success of the Greek forces at the battle of Plataea, both of which have been suggested as the cause of his depression (Burnett 2005, 108, 110, n. 10). Carey (1981, 184) very cogently puts the case for seeing Pindar's depression in the context of the place of performance. He is saddened by the losses in the war sustained by Kleandros' family, which may be the reason why he does not mention the battle of Salamis, in which the Aiginetans played such a distinguished role. This contrasts with his positive mention of the battle at Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 48–50. Thus 5–6 perhaps become an appeal to his audience not to allow themselves to be paralysed by grief at the losses they have sustained during the Persian wars, which may then stop them from competing in games and winning crowns.

The terminus post quem for the composition of Pind. *Isthm.* 8 is thus the battle of Plataea in August 479. 478 is rather late for the composition of a poem in which it is implied that the danger to Greece has just passed (Wüst 1967, 214). The Isthmian victory may therefore date to 480 and the Nemean to 481 or 479 BC, Pind. *Isthm.* 8 thus celebrating victories that apparently occurred immediately before, during or after the Second Persian War. Although there is no evidence that any of the contests of the *periodos* ceased during the war, which would have been unlikely anyway (Wüst 1967, 214), celebration of the victory, or victories, and the travel that it must have required, would probably not have been practicable, at least from more distant parts of the Greek world, until it was clear that the Persians were beaten and that movement in the central Greek world was safe. Perhaps, then, the ode was indeed written to celebrate both victories which had remained uncelebrated during the war.

1. 42

Competitor name, patronymic: Φυλακίδας Λάμπωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 481 or 479 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Pankration (boys) (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 17–8

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J. 45, 48, N. 39; Kostouros 2008, no. 66; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 112–14; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 31

Phylakidas won two victories in the Isthmia (Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 5–7; *Isthm.* 5. 17–8) and one in the Nemea (Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 18), in the *pankration*. At *Isthm.* 6. 62, which almost certainly predates *Isthm.* 5, Phylakidas and his brother, Pytheas, are termed παῖδες (Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 60–62 (L73)). This may mean that Phylakidas, when he later won his Nemean victory, was still a παῖς or the word may simply be intended to contrast with μάτρωρ ('maternal uncle'), who is Euthymenes (Cat. 1. 39. On the basis of *Isthm.* 5. 59–61 (L71), it is often assumed that the Pythias who trains Phylakidas here is his brother and so was older than Phylakidas. The Pythias mentioned earlier at Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 19 is clearly the brother of Phylakidas and the natural assumption is that the Pythias here, at Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 59 is, too, although one commentator has thought that it is not certain that the Pythias mentioned here was Phylakidas' brother (Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 113, 113 n. 142). Pythias need not have been older than Phylakidas, however. See Cat. 1. 40 for a discussion of the dates of Phylakidas' victories.

1. 43

Competitor name, patronymic: Δάνδης

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 481 (??) – 469 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Argos

Discipline(s): Track discipline

Ancient sources: *Anth. Pal.* 13. 14.

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 32, 35–36, J 52, 56, N 57–71; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 210, 222; Strasser 2001, no. 35; Kostouros 2008, no. 50; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 37

The name of the athlete is given as ‘Δάνδης’ at *POxy.* II 222, Col. 1. 8, 20 (mid 3rd century AD) and in *Anth. Pal.* 13. 14 and in the oldest manuscript of Diod. Sic. 11. 53. 1 (Page 1981, 250). Otherwise it is given, at least by editors, as ‘Δάνδης’ (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9. 37. 1; Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 392. 237)).

Dandis was victorious in the *διὰυλος* (*diaulos*) at Olympia in 476 BC (= Ol. 76) (*POxy.* II 222, Col. 1. 8) and then in the *στάδιον* (*stadion*) in 472 BC (= Ol. 77) (*POxy.* II 222, Col. 1. 20; Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 392. 237)). A rather pedestrian epigram (Page 1981, 250, no. 25 (= Bergk no. 125 = Diehl no. 98) (L132)), whose clumsiness (Page 1981, 250, ‘conventional, almost perfunctory, in vocabulary and style’), rather than possible date sometime in Bacchylides’ working life (Appendix 2. 2), makes it unlikely that it was by Simonides, to whom it is attributed, mentions these two victories won by Dandis, whom the poem describes as a *σταδιοδρόμος*. The epigram also mentions three Pythian victories, two Isthmian and 15 Nemean victories. The ‘ἐνθάδε κεῖται’ (1) seems to indicate that the poem is a funerary epigram, although Ebert (1972, 67) floated the possibility that it was a dedicatory epigram and Dandis, albeit clearly a fine athlete, is otherwise unknown (except, perhaps, for a statuette found at Olympia (Hampe and Jantzen 1937, 77–82, Taf. 23–24) and so unlikely to have been an appealing subject for Hellenistic writers of epigram. Thus what we have is probably Dandis’ grave inscription, as Page (1981, 250) believes and perhaps the ‘eccentricity of metre’ caught the anthologist’s eye.

Doubts have been raised over the extraordinary number of Nemean victories, with Bergk suggesting that the true figure should be ‘πεντάκις’ or ‘πεντάκι’ (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 89). The next highest known number of Nemean victories won by a single athlete are the eight claimed by two sources for Glaukos, Λέξεις Ῥητορικαί (Bekker 1814) 227 (L32); Latte and Erbse 1992, 156. Bekker 1814, 232 (L31) and *Suda* s.v. Ῥαυῆκος (Adler Γ 280) (L31) claims ten Isthmian victories for Glaukos). On the other hand, Dandis showed himself capable of winning at the highest level in two different track disciplines, so it is conceivable that he may have won in more than one discipline at a single iteration of the *Nemea*. As Ebert (1972, 68) points out, since Argos, Dandis’ home *polis*, was so close to Nemea, he may have been a frequent competitor there, which would also have increased his chances of success. If we assume that Dandis was 18 in 476 BC, when he won his first Olympic victory and that he won two Nemean victories every two years from 481 BC, when he would have been 13, with one year, perhaps between the two Olympic victories, when he must surely have been at his peak, in which he won three Nemean victories, until 469 BC, when he would have been 25, then it is possible to accommodate 15 victories between 481 and 469 BC.

1. 44

Competitor name, patronymic: Κρινόλεως Π[ρ]ασέα

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 481 – ca. 331 BC

Inscription find spot: Iulis (Keos)

Citizenship(s): Iulis (Keos)

Discipline(s): Boxing (*ageneioi*)

Ancient sources: *IG XII* 5 608. 21 (E25)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 126; Kostouros 2008, no. 95

Both Krinoleos (*IG XII* 5 608. 21 (E25)) and Polyphantos (*IG XII* 5 608. 25 (E25); Cat. 1. 53) won in some event in the ἀγένητοι age-group at Nemea, almost certainly in the case of Krinoleos in the πυγμή and in the case of Polyphantos in the πάλη (wrestling) (Schmidt 1999, 79–80; Schmidt’s treatment *IG XII* 5 608: Cat.

1. 2F0). The ἀγένηοι age-class for the παγκράτιον appears in lesser, but still important games by the 480s BC and so had probably been instituted at the *Isthmia* and *Nemea* by then (Cat. 1. 34.; date of appearance of ἀγένηοι: Farrington 2012, 113, n. 252). If the category existed for the παγκράτιον, it probably also existed for other ‘heavy’ events, such as πυγμή and πάλη (wrestling). Since the lower dating limit for the victor inscription recording both these victories is ca. 330 BC (dating of IG XII 5 608 (E25): p. 46) then they are perhaps dated between ca. 481 and ca. 331 BC.

1. 45

Competitor name, patronymic: Πολύφαντος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 481 – ca. 331 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Iulis (Keos)

Citizenship(s): Iulis (Keos)

Discipline(s): Boxing (*ageneioi*)

Ancient sources: IG XII 5 608. 14 (E25); IG XII 5 608. 25 (E25)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 187, N 130; Kostouros 2008, no. 163; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 44

See Cat. 1. 44 for a discussion of the date of Polyphantos’ victory. Polyphantos also won a victory at the *Isthmia* in the ἀγένηοι age-group, almost certainly in the πάλη (wrestling) (IG XII 5 608. 14 (E25); Schmidt 1999, 79–80; Farrington 2012, 46, no. 1. 44. Schmidt’s treatment IG XII 5 608: Cat. 1. 20).

1. 46

Competitor name, patronymic: Θεαῖος Οὐλία

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 479 (?) – 461 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Argos

Discipline(s): Wrestling

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 10. 28

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 57, J 112, 115, N 75, 107, 115; Strasser 2001, 46, no. 39; Kostouros 2008, no. 77; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 120; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 38

Nem. 10, written for Theaios, citizen of Argos (Henry 2005, 105, on the phrase (*Nem.* 10. 41–42) ‘Προίτοιο τόδ’ ἵπποτρόφον|ἄστν’, which he shows refers to Argos, not Tiryns) and son of Oulias, presents, in order, two victories in a set of games in honour of Hera (24) (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 22–35 (L100)), which are clearly the *Hecatombia*, since Pindar mentions both the sacrifice of cattle (‘βουθυσίαν’ (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 22)) and bronze prizes (‘ἄγών τοι χάλκεος’ (*Nem.* 10.23); bronze prizes at *Hecatombia*: Appendix 3. 2), one victory at the *Pythia* (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 25), three at the *Isthmia* (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 26), and three at the *Nemea* (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 28). He also won two victories at Athens (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 34), which are clearly the *Panathenaia*, since Pindar refers to the jars of olive oil, the prize awarded at the *Panathenaia*, that Theaios has won, while he was also victorious in games in Argos (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 24). The mention of the victories at the *Hecatombia* at the head of the catalogue, before reference to victories in the contests of the *periodos*, is striking and unique, paralleled, albeit inexact, in Pindar only by the catalogue of Diagoras in *Ol.* 7. There, in Pind. *Ol.* 7, the most important victories of Diagoras, those at the *Olympia* and the *Pythia* (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 10–1; Pind. *Ol.* 7. 15–7) are mentioned before the catalogue proper begins. This, however, is headed by Diagoras’ victories at the Rhodian *Tlepolemeia*, an obscure set of local games, before continuing with his victories at the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* and then those at lesser, but still highly prestigious sets of games (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 77–86). Given the apparent rule, with these two exceptions, that in Pindar’s victory catalogues, as elsewhere (Nielsen 2018, 169–77), the contests of the *periodos* form a compact

and unadulterated group at the head of the victory list, the inescapable conclusion here is that *Nem.* 10, if it was composed to celebrate a particular victory, was written for the latter of the two victories at the *Hecatomboia* (Cannatà Fera 2001, 161–62.). The discipline of Theaios, wrestling, is mentioned only once, at 22–24, but since it is mentioned only once, the natural assumption is that all his victories were gained in this discipline (Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 120). Both Klee (1918, 81) and Strasser (2001, 46) are unsure whether Theaios was victorious only in the men's wrestling or in both the boys' and men's. However, Pindar clearly signals the fact, when his subject is not an ἀνὴρ, but otherwise says nothing, as here (Pfeijffer 1988). And so Pind. *Nem.* 10 gives no indication that Theaios was not an ἀνὴρ.

Various dates for Pind. *Nem.* 10 have been offered, ranging from the end of the 6th century BC, thus placing the piece among Pindar's very earliest work, and 444 BC (Bowra 1964, 411, for summary of suggested dates). The appearance of 'μονόψαφον' at Pind. *Nem.* 10. 6 and the phrase 'μονοψήφοισι νεύμασιν σέθεν' at Aesch. *Supp.* 373 (between 470 and 459 BC, possibly 463 BC (Sommerstein 2019, 41–2)), which is the only other occurrence of the word, led Cannatà-Fera (2004, 97–9) to believe that Aeschylus had influenced Pindar, particularly given the similarity of subject. In Pindar, Hypermnestra, alone of the Danaids, on their wedding night spares her husband, while at *Supp.* 365–375, King Pelasgos of Argos tells the Danaids that he cannot decide on his own to protect them, but must consult the citizens of Argos. They reply that he can make his own, autocratic μονοψήφοισι νεύμασιν σέθεν (373). There is certainly influence from one poet to another here, but it may equally well have flowed from Pindar to Aeschylus.

The *Hecatomboia* were in existence by the 470s BC (Appendix 3. 11). The only clear hint of a lower date is given by the friendly way in which Pindar links the Dioskouroi, who had an important shrine in Argos (Henry 2005, 108 on Pind. *Nem.* 10. 49–54 (L102)), with Spartan sporting life. Argive relations with Sparta were rarely cordial, but perhaps Pindar is more likely to have made such a reference before 460/1 BC and the alliance of the new Argive democracy with Athens than after (Thuc. 1. 101. 4; Hornblower *Comm. on Thuc.* 1, 159; *LSAG*, 41–57), particularly if Hall (1995, 612) is right, when he interestingly suggests that Pind. *Nem.* 10 was also written to glorify the *Hecatomboia* and the new Argive regime at the Heraion, which seems to have taken the shrine over and upgraded it in the 470s BC. Perhaps, then, Theaios' Nemean victories are to be placed very tentatively between 479 and 461 BC.

Theaios was also a relative or descendant of Thrasyklos (Cat. 2. 3) and Antias (Cat. 2. 5). These were also apparently notable athletes (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 39–41 (L101)), who won at the *Isthmia*, the *Nemea*, at Sikyon (presumably the *Pythia*), Kleitor, Tegea, in Achaean cities and at the *Lykaia* (Appendix 3. 5, 3. 10, 3. 11). The phrase ἀξιοθεῖν κεν, ἐὼν Θρασύκλου| Ἀντία τε ξύγγονος, Ἄργει μὴ κρύπτειν φάος|ὀμμάτων (39–41) has caused problems. Pindar says that, were he a relative of Thrasyklos or Antias, 'I would be thought worthy not to hide the light of my eyes'. The scholiast explains this *litotes* ('Winners walk confidently, looking up. Losers do not.') (Drachmann 1903, 350, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 10, 73a (L19); see also Bury 1890, 205, on Pind. *Nem.* 10. 39 (L101)). We can also recall the behaviour of the defeated athletes at Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 81–7, who slink home through the back streets. By contrast, says Pindar, the relatives of a victor, too, have the right to walk with pride, just like the victor himself.

1. 47

Competitor name, patronymic: Κρής Κλείνου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 479 (??) – ca. 251 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): -

Discipline(s): Wrestling

Ancient sources: *Anth. Pal.* 13. 5 (L5)

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 52 ('Διοκλῆς')

Anth. Pal. 13. 5 (L5) (= Gow and Page 1965, Vol 1., 160, no. II) (L5)), attributed to Phalaecus, is dated on metrical grounds to the 3rd century BC, although Phalaecus may have been active in the late 4th century BC, too (Gow and Page, 1965, Vol. II, 459). The poem is a dialogue between an unnamed passer-by (ε) and a series of statues representing four brothers, Timodemos (α), Kres (β), Kretheus (γ) and Diokles (δ), who are successful athletes. The piece in its present state opens with replies from each of the statues of the brothers as to the discipline in which they were victorious, which implies the existence of an opening question from the passer-by that has since disappeared. The passer-by then asks their names (3), their father's name (5) and the games at which they were successful. Only two replies to the last question survive, which means that something is also missing from the end of the poem in its present state. If nothing has dropped out before the final reply (which it may have done (Gow and Page 1965, Vol. II, 461, on 7)) and if the order of the speakers is the same as it is in 1–5, then the second brother, Kres (whom Kostouros (2008, no. 52) identifies as Diokles), who, we learn from 1, was a wrestler, has won at the *Nemea* and παρ' Ἡρά. These latter games, depending on the date of the victory of Kres and, of course of the epigram itself, are either the Ἑκατόμβοια, which were founded, or reorganized, as international games in the 470s BC (Appendix 3. 2), or the Ἡραϊά (Appendix 3. 2), which may, or may not, be the continuation of the Ἑκατόμβοια and are celebrated in Argos from the early 3rd century BC. Kres' victories then date after ca. 479 BC.

The names mentioned in the epigram, being either too common or too rare to give any indication of the origin of the athletes, offer no help over either the origin or date of Kres and his brothers. However, the circumstantial nature of the names, their unemblematic nature and the absence from the epigram of any significant athlete whose fame might trigger an epigram suggest that *Anth. Pal.* 13. 5 (L5) was inspired by a real statuary group, possibly located in the *polis* of the victors, as Gow and Page (1965, 460) suggest. If Phalaecus is really to be dated to no later, say, the mid 3rd century BC, then the most we can say is that the Nemean victory of Kres dates between ca. 479 and ca. 251 BC.

1. 48

Competitor name, patronymic: Μέλισσος Τελεσιάδα

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 477 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Thebes

Discipline(s): Equestrian discipline

Ancient sources: Pind. *Isthm.* 3. 9–13.

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 63; Kostouros 2008, no. 137; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 33

The sporting record of Melissos, who won an equestrian victory at Nemea (Pind. *Isthm.* 3. 9–13 (L62)), is given by Pind. *Isthm.* 3 and 4. Since these two poems give details of Melissos' other victories and have a bearing upon the dating of the Nemean victory, we need to look at them in some detail. We take Pind. *Isthm.* 4 first, which, since it does not refer to the Nemean victory, was evidently written before Pind. *Isthm.* 3. Pind. *Isthm.* 4 refers first to an unspecified victory at the Isthmus (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 2–3. (L63)) (although Farnell (1932, 348) thinks that the references to Kleonymos and the equestrian activities of Melissos' forebears (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 16; Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 27) make it clear that the victory was in the chariot race and that Pindar uses the word ἵπποδρομία of chariot racing elsewhere), a victory in the *pankration* (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 43–45 (L67)) and two victories as a παῖς and one as an ἀνὴρ at a set of games in Thebes dedicated to Herakles (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 69–71b (L69)), which are presumably the Ἡράκλεια and/or Ἰολαῖα (Appendix 3. 11). In Pind. *Isthm.* 3, as we have said, an Isthmian and a Nemean victory, unspecified as to discipline, are mentioned (Pind. *Isthm.* 3. 9–13). The aorist participle δεξαμένῳ at Pind. *Isthm.* 3. 11 makes it clear that Melissos won the Isthmian before the Nemean victory. The phrase 'διδύμων ἀέθλων' (Pind. *Isthm.* 3. 9.) suggests that the two victories occurred in the same (equestrian) event, whatever that was.

We also need to glance at the matter of whether Pind. *Isthm.* 3 and Pind. *Isthm.* 4 are actually two separate poems. Strikingly, they are composed in the same metre and praise the same honorand, which has led modern commentators to suggest that they were in fact one poem, although not composed at the same time. From Boeckh onwards in the early 19th century, it was suggested that *Isthm.* 3 was written to be appended to the beginning of *Isthm.* 4 (Willcock 1995, 70). This view, however, founders on two points, one more cogent than the other. The more reliable manuscript B presents the poems separately and the ancient scholiasts also give no indication that they thought that *Isthm.* 3 and 4 were anything other than two separate poems. More persuasively, Pindar elsewhere is firmly in control of his material. His epinician odes follow a clear and identifiable structure, whose elements do not repeat themselves (Willcock 1995, 12–3). If Pind. *Isthm.* 3 and 4 are combined, several clumsy repetitions are produced (Willcock 1995, 70) on matters that in all other odes are only ever touched on once. Finally, most irrefutably of all, the first triad of Pind. *Isthm.* 4 displays features normally only found in the first triad of Pindar's other epinicians (Willcock 1995, 70). Pind. *Isthm.* 3 is thus a distinct poem from Pind. *Isthm.* 4. The usual explanation for its brevity is that it was composed for performance at the games themselves, in this case the *Nemea* (Willcock 1995, 71), which, if true, may also explain why the metre of the two pieces is the same. Indeed, Willcock (1995, 71) suggests that Pindar used the same metre in the later *Isthm.* 3, to remind his audience of the previous celebration at which *Isthm.* 4 was performed.

Until Privitera's (2001, 44) treatment of Pind. *Isthm.* 3 and 4 (Willcock 1995, 71–2), it was generally thought that the Melissos' *pankration* victory was won at the *Isthmia* and was the victory referred to at Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 2–3 (L63)). However, the position of the reference to the *pankration* victory in *Isthm.* 4, at 44, and its relationship to what follows, suggests that the victory was won in wrestling at the Theban Ἡράκλεια/Ιολάεια (Appendix 3. 11). After the reference to Melissos' *pankration* victory, with its reference to the boldness of lions and the fast-moving skill of foxes, Pindar gives us vignettes of Herakles' combat with Antaeus in Libya, of his travels and deeds around the world and of his ascent to Olympus (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 44–71b (L68)), before concluding the poem with a picture of the preparations at Thebes for the celebration of the festival and, at the very end, reference to Melissos' victories there (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 61–72 (L68)). Melissos is thus closely connected with Herakles, whom he resembles and who determinedly defeats Antaeus in wrestling and, as a result of his prowess and virtue, has ended up on Olympus (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 49–54b (L68)). Herakles is honoured with games at Thebes, in which Melissos has been successful, man and boy (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 69–71b (L69)), presumably in the *pankration*, if we are to judge from what has gone before. By contrast, the victory of Melissos at the *Isthmia* is associated with the equestrian activity of his forebears, who bred horses (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 14), were victorious at Athens and Sikyon (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 25–7 (L66)), presumably the Sicyonian *Pythia* (Appendix 3. 10) and were generally involved in competitive horsemanship at a Panhellenic level (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 29 (= Maehler 1987 III + IV. 47) ('... Πανελλάνεσσι δ' ἐριζόμενοι...')). The victory at the Isthmus mentioned at the beginning of Pind. *Isthm.* 4 is therefore the same as the equestrian victory mentioned in Pind. *Isthm.* 3 (Bowra 1964, 408, in what is evidently an oversight, says that Pind. *Isthm.* 3 was produced for a chariot victory at Thebes).

As for the date of the Nemean victory of Melissos, on the basis of Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 89a–92 (Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 89a–92 (L120)), which is securely dated to 474 (Drachmann 1910, 220, Σ. Pind. *Pyth.* 9, inscr. a), earlier commentators, above all Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1922, 341) suggested that Pind. *Isthm.* 4 and 3 postdated this ode, the idea being that πόλιν τάνδε (Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 91) here is Thebes, Pindar's own city, and that Pindar is assuring his audience that he has now praised Thebes three times and so has restored relations with his own city. The crux of the matter is the identity of the subject of what the manuscripts give as εὐκλεῖξαι (91) and therefore how φαμί is to be interpreted. That is, is the subject Pindar (or the chorus), embedded in some form of nominative and infinitive construction after φαμί? Or is the subject Telesikrates, the honorand of the ode, and does the construction therefore consist either of an accusative and infinitive governed by φαμί or of some finite verb standing where εὐκλεῖξαι stands in the manuscripts today, with φαμί as a parenthetical interjection on the part of Pindar (or the chorus)? If the subject of εὐκλεῖξαι (and if this reading is correct) is Pindar, then πόλιν τάνδ' (90), in the light of 84–89, which concern Herakles and his forebears, who are all intimately connected with Thebes, is Thebes and at 89a–92 it is Pindar who is speaking and apparently telling the Thebans that he has already praised

their city at games at Aigina and Megara (all this being concisely put by Gentili and Bernardini (2006, 612)). For Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, 89a–92 formed an apologia by Pindar to the Thebans and ‘the self-confident tone’ of *Isthm.* 4 and 3 (Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1922, 341; Farnell 1932, 347) shows that they postdate this statement by Pindar, who now sets his relations with the Thebans on the right footing. Farnell (1932, 347), modifying the point, notes that had *Isthm.* 4 and 3 been composed before *Pyth.* 9, then Pindar would have mentioned his praise of Thebes given there in his ‘apologia’ here.

In fact, it is much easier to suppose that Telesikrates is the subject of εὐκλεῖσαι (or whatever the true reading is), and that φάμι is parenthetic, the subject being Pindar and/or the chorus. The ode is in praise of Telesikrates and so performed in Cyrene (which means that πόλιν τάνδ’ (91) is much more likely to be Cyrene than Thebes), which makes it unlikely that Pindar would have distracted his audience and, most importantly, his patrons with messages for his fellow-Thebans. The games he mentions at Aigina (Appendix 3. 1) and Megara are so relatively unimportant (Appendix 3. 7), that any ‘apologia’ based on the point that Pindar has praised Thebes at these games might even be regarded as insulting. Mention of these games, however, does have a place in an ode in honour of Telesikrates, if Telesikrates was victorious at these contests and this is his victory catalogue.

Thus consideration of Pind. *Pyth.* 9 does not help in the dating of Pind. *Isthm.* 4 and 3. Nor do apparent resemblances between Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 1 and Bacchyl. 5. 31 (L11), of 476 BC (Maehler 2003, xlv), help either, as it is impossible to tell whether Pindar influenced Bacchylides or vice versa, if indeed one did influence the other (Farnell 1932, 347, 348). The firmest evidence for the date of the Nemean victory in Pind. *Isthm.* 3 is in fact given by Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 16–7b (L64). Melissos’ family has lost four members thanks to the τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο. The obvious candidate here is the battle of Plataea (Willcock 1995, 76) (where of course Thebes fought on the Persian side, so the kinsmen may have died during the Greek reprisals against Thebes in August – September 479) (Hdt. 9. 86. 1–9. 88. 1). The νῦν δ’ αὖ of *Isthm.* 4. 19 suggests that the poem was produced soon after the battle (Bowra 1964, 408. Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 17–19. (L65)) and so perhaps the Isthmian victory dates to 478 (although Bowra (1964, 408) tentatively puts it in 476 BC) and the Nemean to 477 BC. It has been suggested that, since Melissos is both pancratiast and equestrian specialist, he cannot have been both at the same time (Willcock 1995, 72), which would mean, perhaps, that his victories in Thebes may have occurred, say, some twenty years before his Isthmian and Nemean equestrian victories, but since, of course, it was the owner, and not the rider, who won at equestrian events at Greek games, then it is not impossible that he was simultaneously both pancratiast and racer of horses.

1. 49

Competitor name, patronymic: Τιμάσαρχος Τιμοκρίτου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 477 (?) – ca. 467 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): Wrestling (boys)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 4. 9–11 (L83)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 53; Kostouros 2008, no. 197; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 123

Timasarchos was victorious in the boys’ wrestling at Nemea (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 9–1. (L83); Drachmann 1927, 63, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 4, superscription) and is a member of the πάτρα of the Theandridai, who have won at the *Olympia*, *Isthmia* and *Nemea* (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 73–5. (L85)) and were presumably an Aiginetan πάτρα (p. 69).

There are no clear clues as to the date of Pind. *Nem.* 4, although there are several hints. At 45–51 (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 45–51 (L84)), Pindar gives a conspectus of the realms of the Aeacids, which mentions, very swiftly, Aigina itself, Cyprus and Cypriot Salamis, Greek Salamis, the Euxine, with an oblique reference to the island of Leuke, at the mouth of the Ister, Phthia, ruled by Thetis, and Epirus. The prominence given to both cities of Salamis (46,

48) clearly indirectly recalls the battle of Salamis (480 BC). Furthermore, Wade-Gery (1958, 264) noted how at least some of these places are the areas, more or less, where the Greek fleet, of which presumably the Aiginetans were part, was active in very successful fashion during the period 478–477 BC and it was this indirect, but indisputably clear, echo of these events that made him date Pind. *Nem.* 4 to 477 BC. Given the mention of the two cities of Salamis and the glorious connotations one had for the Aiginetans and the other had for all Greeks (but, again, for the Aiginetans in particular, given their record at the battle of Salamis), it is unlikely that Pindar would have yoked Cypriot Salamis to the site of the battle, if the Cypriot city had been currently in the hands of the Persians. At 888 – 896 (Aesch. *Pers.* 888–896 (Garvie 2009, 35) (L2)) of the *Persae*, performed in 472 BC, the chorus of Persians are reflecting on the happier time of the reign of Darius, before the madness of Xerxes destroyed everything, and mention that Darius held Salamis, Paphos and Soloi, the implication being that the Persians no longer held them at the time of the production of the play. However, by the time of the battle of the Eurymedon, in 467 (Hornblower *Comm. on Thuc.* 1, 151, on Thuc. 1. 98. 4) or 466 BC (Meiggs, *AE*, 80–2), Cyprus, or some of it, was again in Persian hands, since it was a base for the Persian fleet at the Eurymedon (Diod. Sic. 11. 60). The fact that Cimon did not go on after his victory at the Eurymedon to attack Cyprus suggests that a substantial part of the island was under Persian domination again.

The broadest limits for the date of Pind. *Nem.* 4 seem to be 477 and 467 BC and perhaps towards the beginning, rather than the end of this period, as the list of Aeacid dominions, would have lost its resonance after the end of the 470s, if Cyprus was falling back under Persian control again. Gaspar (1900, 116–18), Bowra (184, 409) and Burnett (2005, 124) all offer a date in the late 470s, although they do not consider the situation in Cyprus as a possible dating factor. Gaspar (1900, 117) dates the poem to 473 BC on the grounds that its atmosphere suggests it belongs to the period of Aigina's postwar prosperity, because, less convincingly, it supposedly clearly articulates thoughts that are only semi-evolved in other, and therefore, previous poems and because the word λιπαρᾶν recalls the dithyrambic fragment 76 (Kirkwood 1982, 331), probably of 474 BC, which also uses the word. Λιπαρός, however, is not infrequently used by lyric poets of places (Henry 2005, 32 on Pind. *Nem.* 4. 18). Bowra (1964, 409, 412) follows Gaspar. Burnett (2005, 124) believes that the absence of any mention of war and the fact that the boy Timasarchos has managed to visit Athens, Thebes and Nemea puts his victory 'in the prosperous later 470s'.

Timasarchos was also victorious in unnamed games in Athens (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 19) and in Thebes (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 19–21). The scholiast (Drachmann 1927, 68–9, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 32) states that these were the *Iolaeia*, which we suggest were the same as the Theban *Herakleia* (Appendix 3. 11). As for the set of games in Athens at which Timasarchos was victorious, attested for Athens itself in 6th century BC these are almost certainly the *Panathenaia* (Nielsen 2018, 132–33, no. 71), although the *Anakeia* (Nielsen 2018, 134, no. 74) within Athens, and other sets of games in Attica outside Athens are attested for the same period (Marathon, Ἡράκλεια: Appendix 3. 6; Eleusis, Ἐλευσίνια: Nielsen 2018, no. 73; Oa: Nielsen 2018, 135–36, no. 78).

1. 50

Competitor name, patronymic: Δεῖνις Μέγα

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 477 (?) – 441 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aigina

Discipline(s): *Diaulos* (boys) (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 8. 16

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 21; Kostouros 2008, no. 45; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 96–7

The name of the athlete is very probably Deinis. Pindar gives the genitive Δεῖνιος (*Nem.* 4. 16), which suggests that the nominative is Δεῖνις. The scholiast gives the accusative singular Δεινίαν and the genitive singular Δεῖνιδος (Drachmann 1927, 140, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 8, inscr.).

The matter of the event in which Deinias was victorious at the *Nemea* has provoked discussion, as Pindar is here at his more opaque. He refers to the ‘Δεῖνιος δισσῶν σταδίων καὶ πατὴρ Μὲγα Νεμεαῖον ἄγαλμα’ (Pind. *Nem.* 8. 16), a phrase that evidently puzzled ancient commentators. One scholion (Drachmann 1927, 140, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 8, inscr.) reports that some assert that Deinias (*sic*) and Megas were σταδεῖς and that by ‘δισσῶν σταδίων’ Pindar meant victories by Deinias and by Megas. On the other hand, the commentator behind a scholion to 16 (Drachmann 1927, 142, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 8. 26) says that Deinias is a διαυλοδρόμος. Henry (2005, 78, on 16), who thinks the phrase ‘δισσῶν σταδίων’ means ‘two victories in the στάδιον (*stadion*)’, one obtained by Deinias and the other by Megas, now deceased (Pind. *Nem.* 8. 44–5 (L97)), notes that the phrase ‘δισσὸν στάδιον’ (‘double *stadion*’) (in the sense of διαυλος (*diaulos*)) is unattested and thinks that as an expression with such a meaning it is improbable. The phrase is, however, an exact description of the διαυλος (*diaulos*). Furthermore, the scholiast thought that this was the discipline of Deinias. He may have been drawing on reliable information and, even if he was merely guessing on the basis of the phrase ‘δισσὸν στάδιον’, it evidently did not seem outlandish to him to interpret the words as such. To the objection that, even if the phrase ‘δισσῶν σταδίων’ does refer to victories in the διαυλος (*diaulos*) (rather than to two victories in the στάδιον (*stadion*)), Pindar does not specify how many, as he might be expected to do, it can be replied that he actually does so, if we assume that he is talking about the διαυλος (*diaulos*), that each athlete won a single victory and that Pindar is putting the best construction possible on this, that is, more than one victory has indeed been won, even if the total is only two and each competitor has won only one. Presenting matters positively seems to be the intention behind 47–48 (‘...ἔκατι ποδῶν εὐωνύμων|δὶς δὴ δυοῖν...’), which Henry (2005, 89, on 47ff) translates as ‘for the sake of the twice victorious feet of two men’. That is (*pace* Henry, who thinks Pindar is talking about the στάδιον (*stadion*)), two men *were* involved and two victories *were* gained in the διαυλος (*diaulos*). Had either of the two victors gained more than one victory, however, one imagines that Pindar would certainly have mentioned this.

Deinias’ age class is less controversial. Pind. *Nem.* 8. 1–2 (L93) opens with an address to Hora, ‘Aphrodite’s herald of ambrosial loves, who settles on the eyelids of unmarried girls and boys’ (Pind. *Nem.* 8. 1–2 (L93)) and is the personification of the time of youthful beauty (Henry 2005, 73, on Pind. *Nem.* 4. 1), all of which is appropriate above all for a boy victor (Burnett 2005, 168).

As for the date of Pind. *Nem.* 8, 23–27 present the myth of the end of Ajax (Pind. *Nem.* 8. 23–27 (L96)). Attempts have therefore been made to relate this to rivalry between Athens and Aigina and so offer a date for the ode, either in the 490s and 480s or in the 450s and 440s BC (suggested dates: Burnett 2005, 167, 167 n. 2; refutation of dating theories: Köhnken 1971, 19–24). In fact, the only clear reference to the contemporary world outside that of the poem occurs at 11–12 (Pind. *Nem.* 8. 11–12 (L94)), where Athens and Sparta, albeit projected here back into mythical times, are nevertheless military equals, which suggests a date in 478 or after. Pindar’s working life may have lasted to ca. 440 BC (Appendix 2. 3). Thus Pind. *Nem.* 8 and the Nemean victory Deinias that it records cannot be dated more precisely than between ca. 477 BC and ca. 441 BC.

1. 51

Competitor name, patronymic: Προνάπης Προναπίδου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 477 (?) – ca. 441 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Athens (Acropolis)

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): Tethrippon

Ancient sources: IG II² 3123 (E17)

Catalogue entries: Kyle 1987, A 57; Kostouros 2008, no. 222; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 43

Pronapes was victorious at the *Nemea*, *Isthmia* and *Panathenaia* (IG II² 3123 (E17); Raubischek, *Dedications*, 206) in the *tethrippon*, as is shown by the form of his victory monument on the Acropolis, which consisted of such a chariot (Davies 1971, 471 (no. 12250)). Because the inscription is extremely fragmentary, its metre is

unclear, which means that the first line, at least, can be restored in various ways (Raubitschek 1949, 205–6). The second half of the second line may have referred to victories at other games or the space may have been occupied by the artist's signature (Raubitschek 1949, 206; Hansen *CEG* I, no. 278 is more doubtful). The non-canonical order of the victories in the inscription on the monument may mean that it is presenting them in chronological order (Raubitschek 1949, no. 206 (no. 174)). The canonical order is not always observed (as in, for example, the order in which the victories of Prateas (Cat. 1. 79) are listed (p. 53), however, and the *Panathenaia* seem always to be the next most prestigious set of games after the contests of the *periodos* (Cat. 1. 25), so that, if the second half of the second line did refer to other, non-*periodos* victories, the division may simply be between games of the *periodos* and prestigious non-*periodos* games.

The letter forms of the inscription suggest a date between ca. 450 and ca. 440 BC (Raubitschek 1949, 207). Our Pronapes has therefore been identified as the prosecutor of Themistocles, whose trial took place around 470 BC (Raubitschek 1949, 206–7; Davies 1971, 471). He has also been identified as the *hipparchos* in *IG* I³ 511, which may date to 457 BC or after (Raubitschek 1949, 150–51 (no. 135)). Pronapes may then have been born not later than about 500 BC (Raubitschek 1947, 207; Davies 1971, 471). Given this and the date suggested by the letter forms of the Acropolis inscription, perhaps his victory at the *Nemea* dates between 477 BC, after the end of the Persian Wars, and ca. 441 BC.

1. 52

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀλκίμαχος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 475 – ca. 409 BC

Inscription find spot: Brezovo (Plovdiv, Bulgaria)

Citizenship(s): Athens (?)

Discipline(s): *Kitharōdos* (?)

Ancient sources: Plovdiv, Regional Museum of Archaeology 1812

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 13.

A red-figure *pelike* discovered at Brezovo, near Plovdiv, shows a young man standing on a *bema* and holding a *kithara*. He is identified as Alkimachos and along the second step of the *bema* runs a καλός inscription. He is surrounded by four flying victories, Παναθήναιο[ς] Νίκη, Νίκη Νεμέα, (Νίκη) Μαραθῶνι and (Νίκη) Ἴσθμοί. Beazley attributes the *pelike* to the Epimedes Painter, ca. 440–430 BC, although other dates have been suggested (Plovdiv, Regional Museum of Archaeology 1812 = ARV², 1043–1044 no. 9 = University of Oxford Classical Art Research Centre, vase no. 213559 (<https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetails.asp?id=40437E8D-CE2F-4B12-A920-2C7AEF34E152&noResults=&recordCount=&databaseID=&search=>, visited: 24.11.2020.), which dates the vase between ca. 475 and 425 BC. (24.11.2020). *LIMC* dates it to ca. 420–410 BC (<http://ark.dasch.swiss/ark:/72163/080e-7493277080d01-b>, visited: 24.11.2020), which all, however, fall within ca. 475 – ca. 410 BC.

It is impossible to tell whether the victor is a kitharode or kitharist. Webster (1972, 49) thinks that Alkimachos is a kitharode, but gives no reasons for his view. In Archaic times, kitharodes are distinguishable from kitharists, in that the former are depicted with mouth open and head thrown back. In Classical art, however, with its tendency to show things immediately before or after an event, rather than the event itself, there is no indication of the speciality of the victor (Shapiro 1992, 58). Since musicians are generally depicted as beardless youths, it is likewise impossible to tell the age-class of the contestant here (Shapiro 1992, 58).

Stephanis doubted the historicity of our Alkimachos, who called him ‘πλαστό ἢ ἀμφίβολης ἱστορικότητας πρόσωπο’ (Stephanis 1988, 41, no. 138), but gives no grounds for his doubts. An Alkimachos is the subject of καλός inscriptions on five other vases dated to around the middle of the 5th century BC (ARV², 1562, ‘ALKIMACHOS II’, (1)–(6)). Two, if not three, of these are by the Chicago Painter and one by the Lykaon

Painter, who are dated to the mid 5th century BC, and so may depict our man, although offer no more precise dating information. Since our Alkimachos was a performer of some sort, Trendall and Webster (1971, 4, 33) may be right to identify him with the Alkimachos, who is also καλός, depicted on Oxford 525 (ARV², 1562, (4)), whose subject matter leads them to connect the scene on the vase with Sophocles' *Pandora*.

All the sets of games alluded to on the vase are well-known and long lived, except for those at Marathon, and so offer no help with dating. As for the games at Marathon, Robinson (1985, 241–44; *LSCG* 46–50, no. 20, B. 34–42 (4th century BC) for sacrificial calendar of festival of Ἀθήνη Ἑλλωτίς at Marathon) suggested that the cult of Athena Hellotis there and in the Marathon tetrapolis was large and important enough to have supported a festival involving games and in particular equestrian events. Such a festival there may have been, but it cannot have been very significant, as it seems to have left few other traces (possible echoes of Hellotis festival in Nonnos' *Dionysiaca*: Robinson 1985, 243–44). On the other hand, the *Herakleia* at Marathon were one of the most important Attic festivals of Herakles (Appendix 3. 6) and, since no other well-known contests at Marathon are known of, it seems very likely that the vase is alluding to the Marathon *Herakleia*. Perhaps, too, because all the games recorded on the vase are within fairly easy reach of Athens and because the vase may be the work of an Athenian, it is possible that the victor himself came from Athens.

As for the date of the Nemean victory, or victories, of Alkimachos, we can do no better than to suggest, on stylistic grounds, sometime between ca. 475 and ca. 409 BC

1. 53

Competitor name, patronymic: Χρόμιος Ἀγησιδάμου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 473 (?) – ca. 467 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Aetna

Discipline(s): Chariot (ἄρμα)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 1. 7–8

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 220; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 95–96.

Chromios, honorand of Pind. *Nem.* 1 and son of Hagesidamas (Pind. *Nem.* 1. 29; Pind. *Nem.* 9. 42), is also the subject of Pind. *Nem.* 9, written for Chromios' chariot victory at the Sicyonian *Pythia* (Pind. *Nem.* 9. 4–5; Sicyonian *Pythia*: Appendix 3. 10). Chromios was originally an associate of Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, and then of Gelon, who became tyrant of Syracuse in 485 BC, and finally of Hieron, brother of Gelon, whom Hieron succeeded on his brother's death in 478 BC (career of Chromios: *RE* III.2, cols. 2453–2454; Braswell 1992, 27–8). In 476 BC, Hieron moved the population of Naxos and Katane to Leontini and, gathering settlers from the Peloponnese and from Syracuse itself, he installed them in Katane, which he renamed Aetna and whose territory he enlarged (Diod. Sic. 11. 49). Hieron made Chromios governor ('ἐπίτροπος' (Drachmann 1927, 149–50, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 9, inscr.)) and Chromios was at some time guardian of Deinomenes, Hieron's son (Drachmann 1927, 160, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 9. 95; Braswell 1992, 27). Deinomenes was at some stage installed as ruler of Aetna (Drachmann 1910, 20, Σ. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 118b; Braswell 1992, 26), perhaps in 474 BC (Braswell 1992, 26, on basis of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's hypothesis regarding Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 60–1 (dated to 474 (scholion))), at which point, if not before, Chromios ceased to be ἐπίτροπος. Hieron died in 468/7 BC (Morgan 2015, 360) and the regime came to an end under his successor, his brother Thrasyboulos, in 466/5 BC (Diod. Sic. 11. 67–8; Develin 1989, 70 (466/5 BC)).

Nem. 9 dates to after 474, if *Nem.* 9. 34–5 (Pind. *Nem.* 9. 34–5 (L99)) refer to the battle of Cumae, of 474 BC (Morgan 2015, 360), in which Hieron, in alliance with Cumae, helped defeat the Etruscans. The piece was certainly written before 466/5 BC, the date of the collapse of the Deinomenid regime in Syracuse, after which it is unlikely that anyone so closely associated with the tyrants as Chromios would have been in a position to

compete in games overseas and subsequently to commission a victory ode, let alone be praised in the terms in which Chromios is praised in Pind. *Nem.* 9, as the loyal supporter of tyrants. Pind. *Nem.* 9 is perhaps earlier, rather than later in this period, if *Nem.* 9. 29–32 (Pind. *Nem.* 9. 29–32 (L98)) is an indirect appeal to Chromios to rule justly and well, which would be most appropriate, had Chromios only recently assumed his duties as governor and in fact Braswell (1992, 2) suggests that the ode was performed in Aetna. If Pind. *Pyth.* 1, securely dated to 474 BC (Drachmann 1910, 5, Σ. Pind. *Pyth.* superscription.13–15 (κθ' (= 29th) Pythiad = 474 BC); Start of Pythian era in Pindaric scholiasts: Christesen 2007, 197, n. 76, does commemorate the installation of Deinomenes as governor of Aetna (Braswell 1992, 26, following Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1922, 296–98), then this may have been the date when Chromios resigned his governorship, presumably to return to Syracuse.

It has usually been assumed that Pind. *Nem.* 1 was written before *Nem.* 9 (Braswell 1992, 25), composed to celebrate the victory at the Sicyonian *Pythia*, on the grounds that Pind. *Nem.* 1 does not mention the Sicyonian victory celebrated by *Nem.* 9 and modern scholars usually place Pind. *Nem.* 9 before Pind. *Nem.* 1 on this basis (e.g. Braswell 1992, 26–7; Morgan 2015, 360). On the other hand, the reverse is true, too, and Pind. *Nem.* 9 does not mention the Nemean victory of Pind. *Nem.* 1. Pindar seems elsewhere to have no problem in mentioning the other victories of his honorands both in contests of the *periodos* and in lesser, but still prestigious, games and indeed institutionalizes the habit in his victory catalogues, some of which are quite extensive and one or two of which refer to the Sicyonian *Pythia* (Pindar's victory catalogues: Cat. 1. 25). Chromios, however, was not an ordinary case. He was the subordinate of Hieron, who was also a successful competitor in equestrian events at panhellenic contests, and Pindar would have had to be cautious as to how much praise he gave a subordinate. When he does praise Chromios' Nemean victory, he is careful to set Chromios' lesser achievement at Nemea against the glittering Olympic victories won by Gelon and by Hieron himself (Morgan 2015, 385). Yet Chromios was still important and still a patron. Given all the factors that Pindar had to balance, it was probably easier discreetly to ignore a lesser (Sicyonian) victory while praising a greater (Nemean) victory than vice versa, which may mean that Pind. *Nem.* 9 does precede Pind. *Nem.* 1. In fact, the reason why Pindar praises Chromios' prowess in battle (Pind. *Nem.* 9. 34–5 (L99)) might be that at the time of the composition of Pind. *Nem.* 9, there was nothing else to praise and to recall Chromios' military achievements also obliquely recalls his loyalty to Hieron.

As for the absolute date of Pind. *Nem.* 1, Pindar clearly suggests a parallel between Chromios and Herakles (Braswell 1992, 26; Morgan 2015, 387–88), the hero of the myth in Pind. *Nem.* 1, whose glorious career and restful old age are predicted from the start of his life by Teiresias, as soon as the infant Herakles has performed his first extraordinary feat, the strangulation of the snakes sent by Hera (Pind. *Nem.* 1. 61–72). Furthermore, when all his trials are over, Herakles is to marry Hebe and feast in the presence of Zeus (Pind. *Nem.* 1. 71–2), the implied similarity here being between Hieron, Chromios' patron, and Zeus. Thus, if one pursues the parallel between Chromios and Herakles, who is now resting after a lifetime of strenuous activity, Chromios was apparently in retirement by the time Pind. *Nem.* 1 was composed and therefore, one imagines, no longer ἐπίτροπος at Aetna, a post that we have suggested above that he may have resigned in 474 BC. On the other hand, if Pindar is also drawing a parallel between Hieron and Zeus, then it is very unlikely that *Nem.* 1 postdates the death of Hieron. The superscription (Drachmann 1927, 5, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 1. 22), admittedly absent from older manuscripts (Braswell 1992, 25), 'Χρομίῳ Αἰτνναίῳ ἱπποῖς', obviously indicates a date after the foundation of Aetna in 476 BC. Chromios' Nemean victory was thus very probably won between 473 and 467 and perhaps between 469 and 467 BC. Braswell (1992) suggests that, since Hieron's chariot victory at Olympia of 468 BC was celebrated by Bacchylides, rather than by Pindar, Pindar was out of favour with the Deinomenids by 467 BC. If so, the lower limit for Chromios' Nemean victory would be 469 BC.

1. 54

Competitor name, patronymic: Καλλίας Διδυμίου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 471 (?) – 465 (?) BC

Inscription find spot: Athens

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): *Pankration*

Ancient sources: IG I³ 826 (E14), IG I³ 893 (E15); IG I² 608 + 714; IvO 146 (E26); [Andoc.] 4. 3; Paus. 5. 9. 3; Paus. 6. 6. 1 (L48); POxy. II 222, Col. 1. 26 (L126)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 34, 40, 43, J 42, 44, 47, 54, 58, N 40, 42, 45, 49; Knab 1934, no. 5; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 228; Kostouros 2008, no. 82; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 34

The only chronologically certain point in the athletic career of Kallias is his victory in the *pankration* at Olympia in 472 BC (POxy. II 222, Col. 1. 26 (Christesen 2007, 383) (L126); Paus. 5. 9. 3). Three inscriptions, however, fill out his sporting record. An inscription on a statue base from Olympia (IvO 146 = IG I³ 1473 (E26)), whose contents indicate that Pausanias saw it (Paus. 6. 6.1. (L48)), simply records that Kallias, son of Didymias, won the *pankration*. Another inscription, from the Acropolis (IG I³ 893 = Raubitschek, *Dedications* 164 = IAG 15. (E15)), whose letter forms indicate a date soon after 450 BC (Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 183), records a single victory at the *Olympia*, two victories at the *Pythia*, five at the *Isthmia* and four at the *Nemea*, together with a victory at the *Megala Panathenaia*. Lastly, there is a very fragmentary inscription (IG I³ 826 = Raubitschek, *Dedications* 21 (E14)), also from the Acropolis, which mentions a victory by Kallias in some boys' discipline.

Had Kallias won all the other victories listed in the first inscription from the Acropolis (IG I³ 893) by the time the Olympia inscription was erected, we would have expected the latter to mention such prestigious achievements. The victories in IG I³ 893 (E14) therefore date to after 472 BC, the year of the Olympic victory, except perhaps for the victory at the *Megala Panathenaia*, which, it has been suggested, the other Acropolis inscription, IG I³ 826 (E14), may refer to. The victory commemorated in this latter inscription is usually dated to sometime in the 480s BC (e.g. IAG, p. 34 ('by 486 BC'), Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 24 ('perhaps 480 BC')), presumably because Kallias was a παῖς at the time, although Raubitschek (Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 25) suggests that, if the Critias Boy was the statue that stood on the base inscribed with IG I³ 893 and if it was indeed the Persians who destroyed the monument in 480 BC, then the Panathenaic victory mentioned in IG I³ 826 may be the victory mentioned here, which therefore took place in 482 BC. However, if we assume that the victories in IG I³ 893 (E14) were won after 472 BC, then the following dates for these victories are possible, which produce a lengthy, but not impossibly long career: *Pythia*: 470, 466 BC, *Isthmia*: 470–462 BC; *Nemea*: 471–465. If one assumes that Kallias was about 20 in 472 BC, the *Megala Panathenaia* victory, if it is the same as the victory referred to in IG I³ 826 (E14), perhaps occurred in 478 or 476 BC, possibly the latter, when Kallias would have been towards the upper end of his age class.

Kallias, in later life, may have been a political ally of Thucydides, son of Melesias, the chief political opponent of Pericles in the 440s BC. Like Thucydides, Kallias was ostracised ([Andoc.] 4. 32; Piccirilli 1996, 326), perhaps about the same time or soon after Thucydides in the later 440s BC. IG I³ 893 (E15) may therefore have been erected on the Acropolis, to remind the Athenians of his splendid sporting record, when he was presumably under political attack (Raubitschek 1949, 183).

1. 55

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἐφάρμοστος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 471 (?) – ca. 463 BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Opous

Discipline(s): Wrestling

Ancient sources: Pind. Ol. 9. 87

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 46, J 64, 66, 69, N 55, 73; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 239; Strasser 2001, no. 47;

Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 98; Kostouros 2008, no. 69; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 35

Epharmostos, a wrestler (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 13), won an Olympic (1–10) (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 1–10 (L111)), a Pythian (16–7) (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 16–7 (L116)) and perhaps three Isthmian victories (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 83–6 (L112)). How many is not clear, at least not to us (both of the second two victories or only one, with the unknown Lampromachos winning the other?), although, as Gerber (2002, 58, 59) points out, the original audience would have known, just as they would have also known the identity of Lampromachos (whom the scholiast, presumably guessing, lamely calls a συγγενής (Drachmann 1903, 297, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 125c)). Epharmostos also won at least one Nemean victory (*Ol.* 9. 87), together with victories at other, lesser games (88–99). Epharmostos' Olympic victory in wrestling is firmly dated to 468 BC (*POxy.* II 222, Col. 1. 36, at, e.g., Christesen 2007, 383). One scholion (Drachmann 1903, 271, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 17a ('...καὶ γὰρ ἐν Πυθίᾳ ἐνίκησε, λγ' Πυθιάδι')) puts his Pythian victory in the 33rd Pythiad, while another puts it in the 30th (Drachmann 1903, 272, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 18b ('...καὶ γὰρ Πύθια ἐνίκησεν ὁ Ἐφάρμοστος τὴν λ' Πυθιάδα.')). Since Pindaric scholiasts number Pythiads from 582 BC (Mosshammer 1982, 18–24), the thirtieth Pythiad will have fallen in 466 BC and the thirty third in 454 BC. There is no indication that Epharmostos won at Olympia as anything other than as an ἀνὴρ in 468 BC. If his Pythian victory is placed in 454 BC, this produces a career of at least 14 years, which starts with an Olympic victory and ends with a Pythian, at an age of over 30. Since this is improbable, or at least less probable than a career with an Olympic victory in 468 and a Pythian victory only two years later, the reading at 18b (λ') is more likely to be correct.

The rest of the catalogue (88–99) (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 88–99 (L113)) refers, among other victories, to a win at Argos. The scholiast (Drachmann 1903, 298, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 132a) asserts that Epharmostos won both at the *Hecatombaia* (Appendix 3. 2), which were held at the Argive *Heraion*, and at the *Heraia*, which latter is clearly a guess, as the *Heraia* appear for the first time in the early 3rd century BC (Spelling of Ἑκατόμβια: 84 n. 4; Argive *Hecatombaia* and *Heraia*: Appendix 3. 2). Epharmostos also won as a παῖς at Athens (88). This was probably at the *Panathenaia* (Nielsen 2018, 46–50, 89–91, 132–133, no. 71), although the Athenian *Olympia*, which the scholiast suggests as an alternative (Drachmann 1903, 298, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 133b; Athenian *Olympia*, see Appendix 3. 3), is not out of the question. He also won in a contest at Marathon, which some scholia identify as the *Herakleia* (Drachmann 1903, 298, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 134d, B), which is likely to be correct, as no other important set of games held at Marathon at the time is known of (*Herakleia* at Marathon: Appendix 3. 11). He attempted to compete in the category of ἀγένοιοι, regarding which Gerber (2002, 61), rather oddly, thinks that Pindar is 'treating ἀγενεῖων as equivalent to παῖδων'. This is unlikely, both because there is no reason why Pindar should not have used the term παῖδες, had it been applicable, and because Pindar passes from one of the three age classes to another in succession, starting with the παῖδες at Athens (88) and ending with the ἄνδρες at Marathon (90).

The exact meaning of συλαθεῖς ἀγενεῖων (89) is not clear, but the violence of the imagery ('stripped from', 'carried off from') suggests that Epharmostos was excluded against his will from competing in the class of ἀγένοιοι and then, however, went on to vindicate himself in the ἄνδρες class. The commentators do not seem to have known. The scholion at Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 298, 134d seems to be the result of two inputs, both of them apparently guesswork. It says, first, that Epharmostos was beaten in the ἀγένοιοι at Marathon and then, 'having reregistered' (μετεγγράψας;) won in the ἄνδρες class, which is unlikely, before the scholion contradicts itself, stating (reasonably) that Pindar would not have commemorated a defeat.

Whatever the truth, the audience will have known it and, since Pindar mentions the matter, the outcome was presumably complimentary to Epharmostos. References follow to victories at the games of Zeus Lykaeos in Arcadia (95–96) (*Lykaia*: Nielsen 2018, 37–40, 121, no. 39), at Pellene (97–98) (Appendix 3. 8), perhaps the *Theoxenia* (Appendix 3. 8), and what seem to be the *Ioleia* or *Herakleia* at Thebes (98–99) (Appendix 3. 11) and the list ends with mention of victory in some set of games at Eleusis (99), which may be the *Eleusinia* (Nielsen 2018, 51, 91, 133–34, no. 73).

Pind. *Ol.* 9 was very probably produced after the Pythian victory of 466 BC, as just noted, but how soon after, we cannot say. The fact that Epharmostos' Olympic victory of 468 holds pride of place, occupying the first ten

lines of the poem, although the Pythian victory was gained later, and the point that the poem is freighted with a large and prestigious victory catalogue raises the suspicion that Pind. *Ol.* 9 may have been commissioned at the end of Epharmostos' career, like, perhaps, Pind. *Ol.* 13 (Mosshammer 1982, 24). If so, this impacts upon any speculation on the date of the other victories and, in particular, of the Nemean victory. Perhaps Epharmostos retired soon after his Pythian victory, possibly around 463 BC, and so may have started as a παῖς around the mid 470s. His Nemean victory, however, was not apparently won as a παῖς and so, if one assumes a career of about eight years at most as an ἀνὴρ, then possible limits for his Nemean victory are 471 and 463 BC.

Neumann-Hartmann (2008, 98) canvasses the possibility that the Pythian victory referred to in Pind. *Ol.* 9 took place before the Olympic victory of 468 BC, particularly since the opening of Pind. *Ol.* 9 concentrates on the Olympic victory and so was written for this victory. However, had Epharmostos won twice at the *Pythia*, we would expect to find some trace of this in the scholia, which seem to be drawing ultimately on Aristotle's and Callisthenes' Ἀναγραφή Πυθιονικῶν (Mosshammer 1982, 17–26). The scholia, however (Drachmann 1903, 271–72, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 17a, 17c), refer only to one victory.

1. 56

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἐργοτέλης Φιλάνορος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 469 (?) – 465 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Olympia

Citizenship(s): Knossos Himera

Discipline(s): Dolichos (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Ol.* 12, 15, 17–18; Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 12, 348–350, inscr. a, b; *POxy.* II 222, Col. 1, 22.; Paus. 6. 4. 11 (L47); *SEG* 29 414 (E31)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 37, 42; J 61, 68; N 72, 74; Knab 1934, 24, no. 7; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 224, 251; Strasser 2001, no. 41; Hartmann-Neumann 2008, 98; Kostouros 2008, no. 61; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 47

Ergoteles, the addressee of Pind. *Ol.* 12, was originally from Knossos, but by the time of the composition of Pind. *Ol.* 12 had settled at Himera (Pind. *Ol.* 12, 19; Drachmann 1903, 349–50, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 12, inscr. a, b (L21, L22); Paus. 6. 4. 11 (L47)). The backdrop to his career is the unsettled history of Himera in the 470s BC and its relations first with Theron and his son Thrasydaïos, tyrants of Acragas, and then with the Deinomenid tyranny of Syracuse. Himera probably fell completely into the ambit of Acragas very soon after the battle of Himera (480 BC), in which Theron and Gelon defeated the Carthaginians, since under the year 476/5 BC, Diodorus says that Theron installed his son, Thrasydaïos, as ruler of Himera (Diod. Sic. 11. 21. 1.; Barrett 2007, 79–80). Thrasydaïos made himself so hated, that the Himerans appealed to Hieron of Syracuse for help. Hieron, however, betrayed them and Theron murdered his Himeran opponents (Diod. Sic. 11. 48. 6–8; Barrett 2007, 91–3 on Diodorus' possible confusion in his use of various dating schemata), bringing in settlers to replenish the population, which was perhaps the moment when Ergoteles settled in Himera (Ebert 1972, 81, referring to Kunze 1953, 138–45), perhaps, as Nicholson suggests (Nicholson 2016, 239–40), an up-and-coming long-distance runner invited by Theron, as a counterweight to athletes patronized by the Deinomenids of Syracuse. At some later time, in 472/1 BC, according to Diodorus (Diod. Sic. 11. 53. 1–5), Theron died and was succeeded by Thrasydaïos, who declared war against Hieron and was defeated, upon which a democracy was established at Acragas. The Deinomenid domination of Sicilian cities, including Himera, came to an end, with the fall of Thrasyboulos, son of Hieron, placed by Diodorus in 466/5 BC (Diod. Sic. 11. 68. 1–7; Date of fall of Thrasyboulos: Barrett 2007, 90–3).

There are two clusters of evidence for the career of Ergoteles, the first consisting of Pind. *Ol.* 12 and the accompanying scholia, and the second made up of both the inscription from Olympia, which in its present form mentions Ergoteles' victories at Olympia and Delphi and dates on the basis of letter forms to about 450 BC or not much after (*LSAG*², 146), and of what seems to be Pausanias' near-transcription of the inscription.

We look first at Pindar *Ol.* 12 and the accompanying scholia. In the poem, Ergoteles, victorious in some track discipline (15), has won victories at Olympia, Delphi and the Isthmus (17–18) (Pind. *Ol.* 12. 14–5 (L114); Pind. *Ol.* 12. 17–18 (L115)). The associated scholia refer to various victories, too. The superscriptions refer to victories at the *Isthmia* and at the *Pythia* in the δόλιχος (*dolichos*) (Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 12, 348, A, C, l. 6), some also referring to an Olympic victory in ‘οζ’ (= 77th Ol. = 472 BC) (Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 12, 348, BDEFQ. 7–8). Inscr. a refers to victory in an unspecified discipline or disciplines at the 77th Olympiad and at ‘the following’ 79th Olympiad, to a victory at the 25th Pythiad (486 BC) and at the *Isthmia* (Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 12, 349, inscr. a (L21)). Inscr. b mentions merely one victory in an unspecified discipline at Olympia at the 77th Olympiad and one at the ‘following’ 29th Pythiad (470 BC) (Drachmann 1903, 349, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 12, inscr. b (L22)). Of interest, too, is a section from *POxy.* II 222, a mid-3rd century AD partial list of Olympic victors, which places a victory by Ergoteles’ in the δόλιχος (*dolichos*) in the 77th Olympiad (*POxy.* II 222, Col. 1. 22 (Christesen 2007, 382). (L125)).

Of the second group of evidence, the fullest piece is the report by Pausanias, who says that Ergoteles as a δολιχοδρόμος won two Olympic victories and ‘as many victories at the *Pythia* and at the Isthmus and at the *Nemea*’ (Paus. 6. 4. 11 (L47)). The most natural way to interpret this is to understand two victories at each of the four sets of games. The inscription that Pausanias apparently saw has survived, but in so fragmentary a state (*SEG* 29 414 (E31), originally published, and differently restored, by Kunze (1956, 153–56)); other restorations of *SEG* 29 414: Hansen 1983, 213, no. 393, that it shows without any doubt only that Ergoteles was victorious twice at Olympia and at the *Pythia* at least once and all attempts to complete it depend upon Pausanias’ text.

To move on to what Pindar may be saying: how many Pythian and Isthmian victories are recorded in Pind. *Ol.* 12? That is, in particular, do the lines καὶ δις ἐκ Πύθωνος Ἴσθμοῖ τ’ Ἐργότελες... (18) mean that Ergoteles won a single victory at the *Pythia* and at the *Isthmia* or two victories at both or some variation of the two? The smallest number of victories that can be read in this phrase is a total of two, one at each of the games. Since victories at any of the games of the *periodos* were evidently a matter for precise boasting or at least boasting that was not opaque to the audience, either in epinician poetry or victory inscriptions, and not to be hidden away in thickets of generalities (contra Nicholson 2016, 240, n. 12), it seems more than likely that, when Pind. *Ol.* 12 was written, Ergoteles had won once each at Olympia, Delphi and the Isthmus

When did he win these victories recorded in Pind. *Ol.* 12? To answer this question, we look first at *POxy.* II 222, which, unlike the scholia concerning Ergoteles, is not obviously corrupt and perhaps likely to be correct. For the 77th Olympiad, *POxy.* II 222 Col. 1. 23, gives ‘[Ἐργο]τέλης Ἰμεραῖος δόλιχον’. This reading, when taken with inscr. a (‘...Ὀλυμπιάδα μὲν ἐνίκησεν οζ’ (= 77th Ol. = 472 BC)’), seems certain. Thus Ergoteles won the Olympic victory referred to in Pind. *Ol.* 12 in 472 BC. *POxy.* II 222 also offers the firmest help of all in establishing the probable date of his second Olympic victory. Ergoteles is not listed as a victor in either the 76th Olympiad (476 BC) (*POxy.* II 222, Col. 1. 7 – 19 (Christesen 2007, 382)) or the 78th Olympiad (468 BC) (*POxy.* II 222, Col. 1. 33 – 44 (Christesen 2007, 383)). The list of victors in the 75th Olympiad (480 BC) is incomplete (*POxy.* II 222, Col. 1–6 (Christesen 2007, 382)), but Ergoteles cannot have won in this year BC, if he really did settle in Himera in 476/5 BC, since Pindar implies that he achieved nothing of note before his move to Himera and Pindar would certainly not have omitted mention of an Olympic victory (Pind. *Ol.* 12. 13–16a). The best date for his second Olympic victory is therefore 464 BC, rather than anything later, as a period of more than eight years or so at the peak of athletic performance is unlikely (464 BC is also the date given by inscr. a, which, however, is obviously corrupt). If we are right in putting the second Olympic victory in 464 BC, then the Pythian victory mentioned in Pind. *Ol.* 12, which could conceivably be dated to 474 BC, is more probably to be dated to 470 BC, which, as we shall see, is also the date given by inscr. b, and the first Isthmian victory is perhaps then to be dated to 472 BC.

The scholia are clearly corrupt and are therefore the weakest of all our evidence, although something can be salvaged. Inscr. a (‘Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν ἐνίκησε οζ’ καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς οθ’, Πυθιάδι δὲ κε’ καὶ Ἴσθμια ὁμοίως’) and inscr. b (‘ὅς ἡγωνίσατο ἐβδομηκοστὴν ἐβδόμην Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς Πυθιάδα εἰκοστὴν ἐννάτην’), which do not offer any information over the Nemean victories in Ergoteles’ final record, do offer something regarding his

Olympic and Pythian victories and perhaps his Isthmian victories. The problem with inscr. a is that the οθ' Olympiad (79th = 464 BC) did not immediately follow the οζ' Olympiad (77th = 472 BC). There is also the problem that the κε' Pythiad (25th = 486 BC) is too early, if we assume that Ergoteles came to Himera in 476/5 BC. Even if we do not, if he won an Olympic victory in 464 BC or later, which is what *POxy.* II 222 says, a career of 22 years, that is from 486 to 464 BC, at the top of athletic life is almost, if not completely, unparalleled, particularly if the athlete was an ἀνὴρ throughout, which indeed seems to be the case, as Pindar signals if his honorand is not an ἀνὴρ (Pfeijffer 1988, 34–8). 'κε'' is probably therefore a corruption of κθ' (29th Pythiad = 470 BC) (Barrett 2007, 93), which is the number given for the Pythiad mentioned in inscr. b. Furthermore, if this is so, then 'καὶ Ἰσθμία ὁμοίως' at the end of inscr. a may mean that Ergoteles won one of his Isthmian victories in 470 BC. If so, it was probably his first, since to imagine that he won in 474 BC at the *Isthmia* also prolongs his career unrealistically. It is probable that inscr. b is also corrupt, as it misuses the expression 'τὴν ἐξῆς', which can only be used of series of like objects and an Olympiad is different from a Pythiad (Barrett 2007, 84; Nicholson 2016, 251), the former, when correctly employed, being used to mean a period of time and the latter the celebration of the *Pythia*.

Finally, we turn to the date of Pind. *Ol.* 12. On the basis of the evidence of *POxy.* II 222 that we have just looked at, scholars generally dated the ode to 470 BC (Catennaci 2005, 34). However, the address to παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου, who is Σώτεια Τύχα, in Pind. *Ol.* 12.1–2, has been taken to be an indication that Himera was now free of some social and political burden. Barrett took the phrase to mean this and suggested that the phrase was triggered by the fall of Thrasyboulos in 466/5 BC and the end of Deinomenid domination of Himera. This, Barrett suggested, occurred in the first seven months of 466 BC and which was, he suggested, also marked by the foundation of a cult in Himera of Zeus Eletherios (Barrett 2007, 91–4 (end of Deinomenid rule), 95–6 (fall of Thrasyboulos and foundation of cult of Zeus Eleutherios in Syracuse and perhaps in Himera)). There is, however, no firm evidence for the foundation of such a cult in Himera. Furthermore, in order to see Pind. *Ol.* 12 as anti-Deinomenid piece that celebrates the freedom of Himera after the fall of the dynasty, Barrett has to place the end of Thrasyboulos' reign in 466 BC, before the *Pythia* of August of that year (Barrett 2007, 91–2). This leads him to assume that Diodorus Siculus' dating scheme is based on something other than the Athenian archon year (Catenacci 2005, 39). Barrett (2007, 93) therefore thinks that the victory of Ergoteles referred to in the scholion in 1a (Drachmann 1903, 350, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 12, 1a (L20)) is the second Pythian victory (very probably of 466) and therefore uses the scholion as evidence for his hypothesis that the Deinomenids fell before the Pythiad of 466 BC. However, this victory need not be the second one at the *Pythia* and if one takes 'ἥδη' to mean 'immediately', the comment may refer to some victory by Ergoteles in another set of games, perhaps the *Nemea* of 465 BC, which would fit Diodorus' chronology as he gives it to us.

Nicholson (2016, 237–52), developing arguments first outlined by Catennaci (2005, 37–9), makes a powerful case for Pind. *Ol.* 12 having been produced under the Deinomenids. His suggestion rests upon the points that the epinician ode as a genre was particularly associated with the Deinomenids (Nicholson 2016, 241–2), that ἐλευθερία, obliquely referred to in the opening line of Pind. *Ol.* 12, was a notable Deinomenid political value (Nicholson 2016, 242–43) and that the charming, but otherwise puzzling, image at 19 ('...θερμὰ Νυμφᾶν λουτρὰ βαστάξεις...') is an indirect reference to images on Deinomenid – influenced coinage at Himera (Nicholson 2016, 245–51). Thus Pind. *Ol.* 12 (if one accepts that it refers to only one Pythian victory) will have been written after the first Pythian victory, very probably of 470 BC and before the fall of Deinomenids in 466/5 BC. A possible chronology of Ergoteles' victories is therefore as follows, which, since victors rarely have victories that spread over more than two penteteric iterations, has the advantage of placing the highlights of his career in an eight-year frame:

472–470 BC, Isthmian victory

472 BC, 1st Olympic victory

470 BC 1st Pythian victory

469–465 BC, 1st Nemean victory, 2nd Nemean victory

468–464, 2nd Isthmian victory

466 BC, 2nd Pythian victory

464 BC, 2nd Olympic victory

Modern scholars incline towards believing that Ergoteles won two Pythian and one Isthmian victory. Nobody, except Ebert (1972, 81–2), seems to believe that he won more than one Nemean victory (Klee 1918, P 37, 42; J 61, 68; N 72, 74; Knab 1934, 24, no. 7; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 224). Strasser (2001, 48), who thinks that Ergoteles won two victories at each of the sets of games of the *periodos*, is of the view that scholiasts knew of only one Olympic victory, but that they are perhaps mentioning the particular Olympic victory which they thought was the occasion for *Ol.* 12.

1. 57

Competitor name, patronymic: Ξενοφῶν Θεσσάλου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 469 (?)–465 BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Corinth

Discipline(s): *Stadion* or *pentathlon* (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 34

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 71, 73 N 106; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 249, 250; Kostouros 2008, no. 153; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 46

Pind. *Ol.* 13. 29–35 (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 29–35 (L117)) gives the victories of Xenophon, namely, one victory in the *pentathlon* and one in the *stadion* at Olympia, at least one victory at the *Isthmia* (32–34) and at least one at the *Nemea* (34). The scholiast states that Xenophon's two victories were won on the same day (Drachmann 1903, 357, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 1a) and this seems to be what Pindar is saying (‘πενταέθλω ἅμα σταδίου νικῶν δρόμον’ (30)), although doubts have been expressed (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 94, no. 249–50). The *stadion* victory, at least, is firmly dated to the 79th Olympiad, that is, 464 BC (Diod. Sic. 11. 70. 1; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9. 61.1; Paus. 4. 25. 5; Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 393. 240)) and this is therefore the terminus post quem for the ode.

Xenophon presumably won only one victory at the *Nemea* and the *Isthmia* each or otherwise Pindar would have told us. The terminus ante quem for the Isthmian victory is therefore spring 464 and for the Nemean victory 465 BC. Since Xenophon was an ἀνὴρ when he won at Olympia, he was presumably at the peak of his physical form and so perhaps about 21 or at most 22 years old. Since he was victorious at Olympia in the *stadion* and *pentathlon*, perhaps it was in one of these disciplines that he was victorious at Nemea. He may have won as a παῖς at the *Isthmia* and *Nemea*, although, if he did so, he is more likely to have been at the upper, rather than the lower end of this age group and was possibly about 15 or 16 years old. Perhaps, then, the upper limit for his Nemean victory is 469 BC.

Xenophon was the son of Thessalos, who was also an athlete and whose victories perhaps fall between ca. 500 and ca. 490 BC, and grandson of Ptoiodoros and a member of a notable sporting dynasty (Drachmann 1903, 369, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 5 b; agonistic record of Xenophon's father, Thessalos, grandfather Ptoiodoros and other forebears, Terpsias and Eritimos: Cat. 2. 2).

1. 58

Competitor name, patronymic: Διαγόρας Δαμαγῆτου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 467–461 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Olympia

Citizenship(s): Ialysos (?)

Discipline(s): Boxing (*men*) (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Ol.* 7. 15–7 (L103)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 47, J 67, 70, 72, 113, N 76, 108; Knab 1934, no. 9; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 252; Strasser 2001, no. 45; Kostouros 2008, no. 49; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 97; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 42

Diagoras was victorious in the men's boxing at the *Olympia* and the *Pythia* (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 10, 15–7) (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 15–7 (L103)). Thereafter, towards the end of *Ol.* 7 (80–87) (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 81–7 (L104)), Pindar gives us a victory catalogue, which starts with two victories at games that the scholiast identifies as the Rhodian *Tlepolemeia* (Drachmann 1903, 230 Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 230, 147c) and continues with four victories at the *Isthmia* (81) and 'Νεμέα ἄλλαν ἐπ' ἄλλῃ' (ἄλλαν (i.e. νίκην) being an accusative of respect after εὐτυχέων, which is to be understood from 81 (Gentili et al. 2013, 498, on 82)). These are presumably victories at successive iterations of the *Nemea*, which is what the scholiast takes the phrase to mean (Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 230, 150), rather than victory in two different disciplines at the same iteration, a notable feat, which, had it happened, Pindar would surely have told us about. The catalogue then mentions a set of games in Athens, which are likely to be the *Panathenaia* (Gentili et al. 2013, 498, on *Ol.* 7. 82; victory catalogues in Pindar: Cat. 1. 25), a victory at Argos (84), probably the *Hecatomboia* (Gentili et al. 2013, 499, on *Ol.* 7.83; Appendix 3. 2), some victory in Arcadia, perhaps the at the *Lykaia*, which were the most well-known games in Arcadia (Nielsen 2018, 38, 37–9, 121 no. 39) and therefore deserving of a mention in a victory catalogue immediately after the *Hecatomboia*. A victory at games at Thebes, perhaps the *Herakleia* / *Ioleia* (Gentili et al. 2013, 449, on 83; *Herakleia/Iolaeia*: Appendix 3. 11), and a victory at some games, perhaps annual (meaning of ἔννομοι: Willcock 1995, 131), somewhere else in Boeotia (perhaps the *Amphiaraia* at Oropos, the *Eleutheria* at Plataea or the *Erotidia* at Thespieae (Nielsen 2018, 33, 115)) follows. Six victories, spread between Pellene (Appendix 3. 8) and Aigina (Appendix 3. 1), follow and one at Megara (Appendix 3. 7) rounds off the catalogue (86).

Diagoras' victory is dated to 464 BC by the scholiast (Drachmann 1903, 195, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7. superscription, BDQ) and it has generally been assumed that Pind. *Ol.* 7 (e.g. by Young (1968), 68; Willcock (1995, 109)) was written to commemorate this win. However, the bulk of the victory catalogue, which commences at some considerable distance after the two early and isolated references to Diagoras' Olympic and Pythian victories (15–7), starts, as already noted, with two victories at the *Tlepolemeia* (Appendix 3. 9), an obscure set of local games that do not appear elsewhere in Pindar's victory catalogues, after which, however, come references to victories at the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea*. Normally, in Pindar's victory catalogues (Cat. 1. 25), as in inscriptions and other records of the period, the *Olympia*, *Pythia*, *Isthmia* and *Nemea* form a closed group, in which lesser games are mentioned, and occupy a position at the head in whatever list they happen to appear (Nielsen 2018, 169–213). This anomalous position of the *Tlepolemeia* is paralleled only by the position of the games of Hera (which are clearly the *Hecatomboia*) at the head of the catalogue in *Nem.* 10 (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 21–8), which was obviously written for a victory in these games, and even then the parallel is not exact, since the *Hecatomboia* were very much more famous than the *Tlepolemeia*.

Furthermore, the myths in Pind. *Ol.* 7 focus firmly, exclusively and positively on Rhodes, the seat of the *Tlepolemeia*, and on the divine favour the island enjoys (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 27–76). Tlepolemos, after killing his uncle in a fit of rage, is told by Apollo to go to Rhodes (31–33), whence he leads a heroic expedition to Troy. Before this, despite blunders on the part of the sons of Helios, probably at Lindos, over the instituting of the fireless sacrifice to Athena, Zeus still rains gold down on Rhodes and Athena still endows its inhabitants with technical skills (47–52). Earlier still, at the very creation of the world, Helios has the good luck to spot the nascent Rhodes, ready to burst from beneath the waves, where he will father the three sons who will found the three cities of the island (61–72).

The prominent place of the *Tlepolemeia*, together with the intense focus on Rhodes in Pindar's presentation of the three myths in the ode, thus very strongly suggests that *Ol.* 7 was written to fete Diagoras' performance in these minor games, whether in the immediate wake of his success at the games or as a celebration of Diagoras' career overall.

Of relevance to the possible date of Diagoras' victory in the *Tlepolemeia* are three scholia to Pind. *Ol.* 7.

1. Τελεῖται γὰρ αὐτόθι ἀγῶν Τληπολέμειος ἐπικαλούμενος. Ἐγκωμιαστικῶς δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος τὸν ἀγῶνα, Ἥλιφ τελούμενον, εἰς τὸν Τληπόλεμον μετήγαγε. Τελεῖται δὲ μηνὸς Γορπιαίου εἰκοστῇ Τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. Ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Νεμέων ἡμέρας ἕξ. Ἀγωνίζονται δὲ παῖδες καὶ ἄνδρες. Ὁ δὲ στέφανος λεύκη δίδοται (Drachmann 1903, 229, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 147c (BCDEQ))

2. κρίσιν εἶπε τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἡλιείων, ὃν τιθέασιν οἱ Ῥόδιοι. Ἐψεύσατο δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος· οὐ γὰρ Τληπολέμφ, τῷ δὲ Ἥλιφ τιθέασιν τὸν ἀγῶνα. διὸ καὶ ἡλιορόδιον τὸν ἀγῶνα. (Drachmann 1903, 229, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 146a (A))

3. τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ῥοδίων ὃν τιθέασιν οἱ Ῥόδιοι Τληπολέμφ. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ψεύδεται ὁ Πίνδαρος· οὐ γὰρ Τληπολέμφ ὁ ἀγῶν ἐπιτελεῖται· οὐ γὰρ Ἥλιφ, ὡς Ἴστρος φησὶν ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἡλίου ἀγῶνων. Ῥόδιοι τιθέασιν Ἥλιου ἐν Ῥόδῳ γυμνικὸν τε στεφανίτην· ἐν γὰρ Ῥόδῳ ἄγεται τὰ Τληπολέμεια. (Drachmann 1903, 229, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 146b (A))

We look first at 1 (147c). This starts with a mention of the *Tlepolemeia*. The second sentence, however, corrects the first and, to judge from the phrase Ἥλιφ τελούμενον, probably refers to the Rhodian *Halieia*, a major international festival, with annual and penteteric versions (IAG, p. 128). It apparently offered valuable material rewards, since a prize, consisting of a bronze hydria, dating to ca. 450–400 BC, is known of (Nielsen 2018, 82, 82 n, 530), as is an amphora, from 4th century BC (Nielsen 2018, 82, referring to SEG 40. 669. and lasted into at least the 3rd century AD (IAG 87. 14 (mid 3rd century AD)). The second sentence therefore shows scholiastic ignorance both of Pindar's approach to epinician poetry (Pindar would hardly have changed the contest in which his patron was victorious for another) and of the *Tlepolemeia*, which suggests that this part of the scholion has its origin in a time when the *Tlepolemeia* not only no longer existed, but had been forgotten to the extent that the games did not figure in the sources to which the commentator whose work lies behind this part of 147c had access. More to the point here, however, the second sentence is clearly an interpolation in the original form of 147c. Yet by the penultimate sentence of 147c (Ἀγωνίζονται...ἄνδρες), the subject is again the *Tlepolemeia*. This is shown by an earlier scholion (Drachmann 1903, 209, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 36c. 17–18), which states that παῖδες compete in games in honour of Tlepolemos and, more importantly, that victors receive crowns of λεύκη, a point also made in the scholion by Tzetzes on Lycophron that Drachmann also mentions in connection with 36c (Drachmann 1903, 209). Both 36c and the Tzetzes scholion present the information in the same order (1. competition by παῖδες, 2. crown of λεύκη), which suggests a common source, perhaps that which also furnished the information in 147c, since this also presents the information in this order. Tzetzes says he found his information in 'ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πινδάρου ἱστορίαις'. Perhaps this was some commentary on the works of Pindar that drew in its turn on some work that included a treatment of the *Tlepolemeia*. However, this may be, the main question, then, is whether the third and fourth sentences of 147c ('τελεῖται...ἕξ') refer backwards, to the games 'in honour of the Sun', mentioned in the interpolation 'Ἐγκωμιαστικῶς...μετήγαγε', or forward, to the information in the last two sentences.

In 2 (146a) and 3 (146b), the scholiast asserts that Pindar is lying, which is not quite the same as the allegation that he is transferring games in honour of the sun to Tlepolemos, as he is accused of doing in 147c. Yet the thought in 146a and 146b is very similar to that in 147c, in that the scholiast in 147c accuses Pindar of wrongly stating that the games are dedicated to Tlepolemos, and is close enough to the statements in 146a and 146b to give the very strong impression that at this point all three scholia, 147c, 146 and 146b, are ultimately drawing on a common source that stated that Pindar dishonestly attributed to Tlepolemos games in honour of the Sun. In neither 146a nor 146b, however, is the assertion that Pindar is lying followed by any of the information in 147c given from 'Τελεῖται δὲ μηνὸς...' onwards. In 146a, the statement that Pindar is lying is more extensive than it is in 147c and is followed by the observation that the set of games dedicated to the Sun was called ἡλιορόδον' (if one assumes that this is an accusative and infinitive construction, with a verb such as φασί to be supplied), but the allegation is not followed by any of the information to be found in 147c. In 146b, there seem to be two layers of intervention, but the basic situation is the same as in 146a. First comes the statement that Pindar is referring to the games held in honour of Tlepolemos. Then, as in 146a, comes the counter-assertion, that Pindar is lying,

after which, however, comes a counter-counter-assertion (οὐ γὰρ Ἡλίω...Ἡλίου ἀγώνων), which seems to be correcting some statement that has since dropped out to the effect that the *Tlepolemeia* were held in honour of the Sun, before details are given of the games of the Sun. 146b finishes with a sentence introduced by γάρ, affirming that the *Tlepolemeia* are held in Rhodes. This final sentence may have come in with ‘οὐ γὰρ Ἡλίω... τῶν Ἡλίου ἀγώνων’ and is therefore perhaps part of the second counter-assertion, while ‘Ρόδιοι... στεφανίτην’ conceivably came from the work by Istros referred to. To conclude by reiterating our main point: For our purposes, the important thing is that neither in 146a nor 146b is the assertion that Pindar is lying followed by any of the information found in the section ‘Τελεῖται δὲ μηνὸς... λεύκη δίδοται’ in 147c. That is, it does not look as if the second, third and fourth sentences in 147c (‘Ἐγκωμιαστικῶς δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος... τῶν Νεμέων ἡμέρας ἕξ’), were parts of a single unit of information in the source on which the scholion is drawing here. Had they been, we might have expected to find traces of the contents of the third and the fourth sentences of 147c somewhere in 146a and 146b as well. Since we do not, it is likely that the second sentence of 147c is an interpolation in a block of information on the subject of the *Tlepolemeia* which is made up from first sentence and the third, fourth and fifth sentences of 147c.

If we are right, then, in assuming that all of 147c, except for ‘Ἐγκωμιαστικῶς δὲ... Τληπόλεμον μετήγαγε’, refers to the *Tlepolemeia* alone, we learn that the festival happened on the 24th day of the month of Gorpaios and that it ἀπέχει six days from the *Nemea*. As for ἀπέχει, of possible relevant meanings here *LSJ* list only ‘to be away from’ (*LSJ*, s.v. ‘ἀπέχω’, A. III, 1 a). Here, in our case, the verb is unlikely to mean ‘six days’ travel distant from’, or rather, of course, ‘five days’ travel distant from the *Nemea*, because of the Greeks’ habit of including, for example, the first in a sequence of years or regularly occurring events, such as festivals, in the series of objects counted. One would expect a distance, even one measured in temporal terms, to be defined in terms of a starting point that is geographical, rather from than a set of games that take place on that spot, and, secondly, it seems anyway to have been well-nigh impossible to get from Rhodes to Nemea in five days, at least comfortably. This, at least, is what modern scholars suggest. For the fastest possible trip from the northeast tip of the island of Rhodes, which was the site of the *polis* of Rhodes from 408/7 BC, and landing at ‘Isthmia’ (presumably Kenchreai) <http://orbis.stanford.edu/> (visited: 15. 10. 2019) gives a figure of 3.3 days for January, 5.1 for April, 4.5 for July and 4.0 for September. This means that the fastest time for the journey in mid – late August was probably between four and five days. To this must be added the time taken to get from the site of the *Tlepolemeia* to the nearest harbour likely to provide a ship sailing for Kenchreai, the time taken to find a passage from Rhodes to Kenchreai and the time taken to cover the ca. 40 km, presumably on foot, between Kenchreai and Nemea. In 134 CE, admittedly centuries after Diogenes’ sporting activity, Hadrian, in his prescriptions regarding the calendrical position and the time limits of contests in Athens and western Asia Minor, grants athletes a space of 15 days to get themselves across the Aegean from the *Panathenaia* to the *Koina Asias* held at Smyrna (Petzl and Schwertheim 2006, 77, referring, with text, to ll. 66–67 of *SEG* 56. 1359 66–67). This tends to reinforce the view that it would have been impossible for Diagoras to travel from the island of Rhodes to Nemea in five days, although Hadrian’s decision may have been caused by other, less obvious factors (namely, Strasser (2016, 371) suggests, by the desire that the *Koina Asias* at Pergamon should start on the day of the full moon).

Thus ἀπέχω is unlikely to mean ‘to be distant from in terms of time’. On the other hand, ἀπέχω can be used in a temporal sense, to mean ‘to occur before’, and that is presumably what is happening here (ἀπέχω used in a temporal sense, meaning ‘to happen before’: Perlman 1989, 58, who gives Diod. Sic. 20.110.1 and Aeschin. 1. 146 as examples of the use of ἀπέχω in a temporal sense, meaning ‘to occur previously’).

As for the Gorpaios mentioned here, nothing firm can be extracted. Gorpaios is the eleventh month of the Macedonian calendar. After the conquests of Alexander, the names of the Macedonian months spread widely and were used in both local *polis* calendars and in more widely used calendars (Samuel 1972, 151), and so it is impossible to be certain as to which Gorpaios the scholion refers, since the name appears so widely. The names of the Macedonian months were adopted also by three supra-local calendars. The first of these was the Ptolemaic religious calendar, which was probably not used widely outside Ptolemaic possessions and presented intercalary problems that must also have lessened its usefulness (Perlman 1989, 73).

Second was the more stable Seleucid Calendar, which was presumably used in Seleucid possessions and ex-possessions (Samuel 1972, 142–44). The third, commonly known by modern scholars as the ‘The Calendar of Asia’, was a tested, corrected and therefore stable version of the Julian Calendar of 44 BC, introduced by the Romans in 9 BC for use in Asia (*I. Priene* no. 105 = *OGIS* 2 no. 458). For the name of the first month of the Macedonian calendar (Διός), the Calendar of Asia substituted Καίσαρος and the first of the year fell on 23 September, Augustus’ birthday. The original writer behind Drachmann 1903, 229, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 147c was presumably concerned to make himself as comprehensible as possible to as wide an audience as possible (as Perlman (1989, 73) notes) and so probably chose the Seleucid calendar or the Calendar of Asia, if he was writing that late (i.e. post-9 BC). If by any chance he was using the latter, then the *Nemea*, which occurred six (i.e. five) days after the *Tlepolemeia* took place on 24 Gorpaios, will have occurred, or at least opened, on 29 Gorpaios, which would have been around 22 July.

To return to Diagoras: two points arise from the probable length of time required to cross the Aegean from Rhodes to the Peloponnese as regards any attempt to reconstruct the sequence of Diagoras’ victories. The first is that the *Tlepolemeia* took place in the same (Christian) year as the *Nemea*, which, since they took place, as the *Nemea* did, in odd years, cannot have occurred in the year of the *Olympia*. Secondly, as we have pointed out, it seems to have been extremely difficult, if not outright impossible, to make the journey from Rhodes to Nemea in only five days at the time of year of the *Nemea* or indeed at any time of year. A third point also needs to be considered. At least in some cases, if not all, should any of Pindar’s victors win in more than one discipline at the same iteration, he stresses the fact (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 29–30 (L117) (*pentathlon* and *stadion* at *Olympia*); Pind. *Ol.* 13. 35–7 (*stadion* and *diaulos* on same day at *Pythia*); Pind. *Ol.* 13. 38–9 (three victories in same iteration of *Panathenaia* (?))). Multiple victories at the *Tlepolemeia* were, of course, not on the same level as multiple victories at the games of the *periodos*, but, if *Ol.* 13 was indeed performed to celebrate Diagoras’ performance in the *Tlepolemeia* and if Diagoras won his two victories at the same iteration of the games, we would expect to hear about it from Pindar.

Two points flow from this. Firstly, Pind. *Ol.* 7 mentions the Olympic victory of 464 BC and, if we are right, was composed to celebrate a victory that cannot have been gained in an Olympic year. Thus Pind. *Ol.* 7 dates to 463 BC at the earliest. Beyond that, it is a matter of guesswork. The first victory at the *Tlepolemeia* may have occurred before the Olympic victory of 464 BC or after, thus pushing the date of Pind. *Ol.* 7 down as far as 461 BC. Of the dates of his other victories we have no idea and they can be accommodated in various ways. If we also assume (as we do throughout this study), that victories in an athletic career are likely to take place over the shortest time possible, because an athlete is at his peak for a shorter, rather than longer, time, we can offer several possible sets of dates. Dating schemata 1.–3. in Table 4 below assume that one victory in the *Tlepolemeia* was won before the Olympic victory of 464 BC and 4.–7. assume that both were won after the Olympic victory. The permutations that arise spread over a period between 470 and 459 BC.

Table 4.: Possible Dates for Victories Listed in Pindar’s *Olympian* 7

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
470	<i>Isthm.</i> , 1 st . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 466)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 1 st . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 466)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 1 st . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 466)				
469	<i>Tlep.</i> , 1 st . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 1 st . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 1 st . victory				
468	<i>Isthm.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Isthm.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Isthm.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Isthm.</i> , 1 st . victory			
467	<i>Nem.</i> , 1 st . victory	<i>Tlep.</i> , 1 st . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 1 st . victory			
466	<i>Isthm.</i> , 3 rd . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 470)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 3 rd . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 470)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 3 rd . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 470)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 2 nd . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 462)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 1 st . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 462)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 1 st . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 462)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 1 st . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 462)
465	<i>Nem.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Tlep.</i> , 1 st . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 1 st . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 1 st . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 1 st . victory
464	<i>Olymp.</i> victory; <i>Isthm.</i> , 4 th . victory	<i>Olymp.</i> victory; <i>Isthm.</i> , 4 th . victory	<i>Olymp.</i> victory; <i>Isthm.</i> , 4 th . victory	<i>Olymp.</i> victory; <i>Isthm.</i> , 3 rd . victory	<i>Olymp.</i> victory; <i>Isthm.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Olymp.</i> victory; <i>Isthm.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Olymp.</i> victory; <i>Isthm.</i> , 2 nd . victory

Table 4.: Possible Dates for Victories Listed in Pindar's *Olympian* 7

463	<i>Tlep.</i> , 2 nd . Victory	<i>Tlep.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Tlep.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Tlep.</i> , 1 st . victory	<i>Tlep.</i> , 1 st . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Tlep.</i> , 1 st . victory
462				<i>Isthm.</i> , 4 th . Victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 466)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 3 rd . Victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 460)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 3 rd . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 460)	<i>Isthm.</i> , 3 rd . victory; <i>Pyth.</i> victory (or in 460)
461				<i>Tlep.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Tlep.</i> , 1 st . victory	<i>Nem.</i> , 2 nd . victory
460					<i>Isthm.</i> , 4 th . victory	<i>Isthm.</i> , 4 th . victory	<i>Isthm.</i> , 4 th . victory
459					<i>Tlep.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Tlep.</i> , 2 nd . victory	<i>Tlep.</i> , 2 nd . victory

The father of Diagoras is Damagetos (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 18). In Pind. *Ol.* 7, he is a member of the Eratidai (93), which provokes speculation from the scholiasts, nothing of which seems to help. One says that 'Εραστείδης' was the ancestor of Diagoras and the founder of a φυλή ὁμώνυμος (Drachmann 1903, 235, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 172b), while another (Drachmann 1903, 235, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 172 c) says the founder of a φρατρία was called 'Εραστός or 'Εραστεύς, all of which seems to be based on a mistake in the manuscript tradition and to be guesswork. (Giannini 2014, 49–50). Pindar, meanwhile, tells us that Damagetos is descended from a Kallianax (92–94), perhaps the founder of the dynasty (Gentili et al. 2013, 501–2, on *Ol.* 7. 92–93). Remarkably, given how greedily *poleis* claimed successful athletes as their own, *Ol.* 7 offers no clue as to the *polis* of Diagoras and throughout *Ol.* 7, Pindar scrupulously avoids direct geographical references to any location on Rhodes except to Atabyrios, the site of the cult of Zeus Atabyrios (Atabyrios associated myths with it: Gentili et al. 2013, 500, on *Ol.* 7. 87–88). By the time of Pausanias, however (Paus. 4. 24. 2), Diagoras, perhaps because of the extraordinary feats of the three-generation sporting dynasty that he founded, is said to descend from Damagetos, the king of Ialysos, which may mean that his *polis* was Ialysos. Furthermore, Damagetos married the daughter of Aristomenes, a fugitive after the end of the Second Messenian war. Perhaps Aristomenes was a topical figure after Sparta's loss of Messenia in the wake of the battle of Leuktra in 371 BC (Luraghi 2008, 89). The fame of Diagoras' sporting dynasty must have been at its peak at this time, in the first half of the 4th century BC, and Diagoras' family may have attached itself to an anti-Spartan hero because the Spartans had earlier executed Dorieus, Diagoras' son (Cat. 1. 65).

1. 59

Competitor name, patronymic: 'Εφουδίων (?)

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 465 (?) – ca. 463 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Mainalos (?)

Discipline(s): Pankration (?)

Ancient sources: Σ. Arist. *Vesp.* 1191b; Hesychius E 7567, s.v. 'Εφωδίων'

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 48, J 114, N 109; Knab 1934, 10; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 253; Kostouros 2008, no. 70; Strasser 2001, no. 37; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 50

The name of the athlete appears as 'Εφουδίων in Aristophanes (Ar. *Vesp.* 1191; Ar. *Vesp.* 1382). Macdowell, in his *apparatus criticus* notes a variant, which is clearly a corruption of 'Εφουδίων (MacDowell 1971, 106, app. crit. to 1191 ('Εφουνδίων' in manuscript V)). It also appears as 'Εφουδίων in scholia to these passages (Koster 1978, 188–189, 1191a–b, with variants in several manuscripts that are clearly corruptions of 'Εφουδίων). Hesychius gives the name as 'Εφωδίων (Latte 1966, 249, E 7576) noting that Eratosthenes spelt it as 'Εφωδίων and Polemon as 'Εφωδίων. Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 95, no. 253) suggests that 'Εφωτίων' is correct and that the form that appears in Aristophanes is influenced by Attic usage.

Ephoudion was a pancratiast *periodonikes*, who won at Olympia in 464 BC (Koster 1978, 189, 1191 b). He may, however, had had a long career. Aristophanes' *Wasps*, which mentions Ephoudion's clash with an otherwise unknown Askondas twice, was performed in 422 BC and Aristophanes clearly thought that the contest was memorable and significant for his audience. Perhaps the oldest members of the audience were in their 40s and so perhaps the fight between Ephoudion (Ephotion) and Askondas occurred up to about 20 years before 422 BC. Ephoudion (Ephotion) may not have been more than about 20 years old when he won his Olympic victory in 464 BC, if he continued to be active enough in later years to have remained in the mind of Aristophanes' audience till 422 BC. A greying γέρων (Ar. *Vesp.* 1192) when he confronted Askondas (but did not necessarily beat him (MacDowell 1971, 285)), he was perhaps then in his 40s, which, though rare, is not without parallel. There are at least two other parallels for so aged a successful athlete. Theogenes, in the first third of the 5th century BC, was 'undefeated in boxing for 22 years' (Syll.³ 36 A. 7–8, ca. 400–350 BC (E32): Cat. 1. 35), which, if Theogenes started as a παῖς, at about 12, would suggest a retirement not before the age of 35. Much later, in about AD 200, M. Aurelius Asclepiades, also a pancratiast, retired from agonistic life at the age of 25, but returned 'μετά πλείονα χρόνον' to compete victoriously at the local *Olympia* (IGUR I 240 = IAG 79. 36–41). As for Ephoudion's (Ephotion's) origin, it is impossible to tell whether he was a citizen of Mainalos or simply a member of the Mainalian tribe (Thuc. 5. 77. 1.; Hansen 2004, 63).

If we assume that Ephoudion (Ephotion) won a single Olympic victory and did so in 464 BC at the age of about 20, although he may have been active into, say, his early 40s, he probably won his other victories in the *periodos* about the same time as his Olympic victory, when he was clearly at his peak. Perhaps, then, his Nemean victory (or victories) lie between 465 and 463 BC.

1. 60

Competitor name, patronymic: Λύσις

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 461 BC (??) – ca. 421 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): Tethrippon

Ancient sources: Plato *Lysis*, 205c, 208a

Catalogue entries: Kyle 1987, 199, A 42; Strasser 2001, 233, no. 303; Kostouros 2008, no. 104

At Plato *Lysis* 205c, Ctesippus mocks Hippothales, who, in love with the young Lysis, writes poetry in his praise. The writings of Hippothales, however, repeat what the whole of Athens itself says of Demokrates, the father of Lysis and son of the elder Lysis, 'about their ancestors, wealth, their breeding of horses and their victories at the *Pythia* and *Nemea* in the four-horse chariot events and horse racing –this is what he does and says and besides this he comes out with stuff even more stale than that' (Pl. *Lysis* 205c (L122)). From this the most that can be extracted is that either Demokrates or his father, Lysis, or both, have won equestrian victories at the *Pythia*, the *Isthmia* and at the *Nemea*.

The dramatic date of *Lysis* may be ca. 417–414 BC. As Bordt (1998, 94–5) points out, at the time of the dramatic date of the *Lysis* a new *gymnasion* has been built outside the walls of Athens (204 a2), which implies that this is a time of peace. Socrates describes himself as a γέρων ἀνὴρ (223 b5), although there is no hint of Socrates' trial, which means that dramatic date is more likely to be sometime in the Peace of Nicias than after 404 BC. Bordt suggests a dramatic date of ca. 417 – ca. 414 BC.

A Demokrates, who may be our man, was reportedly a lover of Alcibiades, while the latter was still under the guardianship of Pericles (Plut. *Alc.* 3.1; Davies 1971 (Demokrates (I)), 359) and so still an adolescent. If Alcibiades was born in ca. 450 BC (*RE* II. 2, s.v. 'Alcibiades (2)' puts Alcibiades' birth no more precisely than in the middle of the 5th century BC), this relationship probably occurred in the mid 430s BC and would fit with the dramatic date of *Lysis*. Demokrates was still interested in racing horses and still in a position to do so at the time

of the dramatic time of *Lysis* (Pl. *Lysis* 208a). Lysis, the father of Demokrates, was perhaps the καλός celebrated on several red-figure vases (Davies 1971, 360, Lysis (I), referring to ARV² no. 1597–1598) and so may have been born in the early to mid 480s BC. A reconstruction of the chronology involved, albeit highly speculative, would be then be as follows: Lysis, the father of Demokrates, was born in the early 480s BC and perhaps started his horse racing activities in the late 460s BC and may have died not later than the 420s BC. Demokrates may have been born around 460 BC (Davies 1971, 360 (no. 9574) on politically significant names in 470s and 460s BC), if he was the (presumably older) lover of Alcibiades in the 430s BC, and perhaps– died not later than ca. 400 BC. Thus any Isthmian or Nemean victory won by Lysis, the father of Demokrates, is possibly to be placed between shortly before 460 BC and perhaps 420 BC. Any such victory by Demokrates is perhaps to be placed between the mid 430s and ca. 400 BC. Strasser (2001, 233, no. 303) places Lysis' possible victory or victories between ca. 470 and 430 BC and Demokrates' in the second half of the 5th century BC (Strasser 2001, 233, no. 304). Davies (1971, 360 (9574, Λύσις (II)) mentions IG II² 7045, which records the names of what seem to be a couple, Εὐήγορος Φιλείνου Παιανεύς and Ἰσθμιονίκη Λύσιδος Αἰξωνεύς. As Davies says, chronologically speaking, this Isthmionike may be the daughter of Lysis, the son of Demokrates (Davies' Λύσις (II)) and it is possible, but not at all certain, that she derived her name from some family victory at the *Isthmia* (Davies 1971, 360).

1. 61

Competitor name, patronymic: Πυθόδηλος Πυθοδώρου (?)

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 455 – ca. 439 (??)

Inscription find spot: Delphi

Citizenship(s): Athens (?)

Discipline(s): One or more of boxing, wrestling and *pankration*

Ancient sources: Ebert 1972 25 (E4)

Catalogue entries: Kyle 1987, 210, A 58; Strasser 2001, 53, no. 51; Kostouros 2018, no. 178

On a statue-base found at Delphi an epigram in which Pythodelos appears records two victories at the *Pythia*, seven at Nemea and five at an unknown set of games (Ebert 1972 25 (E4) = Marcadé 1953, 87). As for who is being honoured here, Ebert points out that difficulties are removed by reading στεφανοῖς (3) as στεφανοῖς, rather than as στεφάνοις, since Pythodelos, in the vocative (Πυθόδηλε) at 4, then becomes the subject of στεφανοῖς, the implied object being Pythodelos' *polis* (Ebert 1972, 91, on v.3), which he has crowned with his victories. Beneath the epigram are two incomplete lines of prose, 5–6 (E4). How the first line is to be completed is unclear, but the subject is obviously Πυθόδωρος Πυθοδῆ[λ]ος and the line presumably refers to the erection of the statue by the honorand's son, Pythodoros. The second line is even more poorly preserved, but very probably contained the signature of the artist.

Since the epigram mentions (5) 'κράτος', Pythodelos' discipline or disciplines may have been one or more of the 'heavy' events (Ebert 1972, 91). The unknown set of games in 3 may have been the *Isthmia*, since victories in sets of games of the *periodos* alone constantly head lists of victories inscriptions (Cat. 1. 25). Such victories are often carefully specified as to number, while victories in contests of second rank, as least in Classical times, are treated with less precision (Nielsen 2018, 172–74). The unknown victory cannot have occurred at the *Olympia*, as such a victory would most certainly have occupied the head of the inscription. Furthermore, the large number of victories at these unknown set of games (3, 'πεντάκι') suggest trieteric games, i.e., the *Isthmia*.

Linguistic features of the inscription and the letter forms used, together with the names of the honorand and his son, suggest that they were Athenian (Ebert 1972, 21). The letter forms suggested to Marcadé (1953, 87) a date in late 5th century BC or early 4th century BC and to Ebert (1972, 90) a date in the mid 5th century BC. Ebert (1972, 90–1) may be right in proposing that the [Πυθό]δηλος who is mentioned in IG II² 4360–4361 (ca. 400 – ca. 350 BC) and is the son [Πυθο]δώρο is the grandson of our Pythodelos, although Pythodelos is a common name in Athens (Strasser 2001, 53 no. 51). If, however, Ebert is right, this also strengthens the suggestion that

the statue and victories of our Pythodelos date to the mid 5th century BC. The remains, albeit scanty, of the second line of prose suggest that the sculptor may have been Phradmon, an Argive sculptor, whose floruit Pliny puts in the 90th Olympiad, that is, 420 BC (Plin. *HN*. 34. 49; Ebert 1972, 91) and who also produced a statue for an Olympic victor (Paus. 6. 8. 1; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 108, no. 337). As Ebert (1972, 91) suggests, Pythodelos' statue, if it is by this Phradmon, may be an early work. This, in turn, suggests that Pythodelos' victories may not date to before the mid 450s BC.

1. 62

Competitor name, patronymic: Λάχων Ἀριστομένεος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 451–449 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Iulis (Keos)

Citizenship(s): Keos

Discipline(s): Boys' *stadion* (?)

Ancient sources: IG XII 5 608. 27–8 (E25); Bacchyl. 6; Bacchyl. 7; POxy. II 222, Col. 2. 18

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 194, N 133–34; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 100, no. 288; Kostouros 2008, no. 98

Lachon of Keos, son of Aristomenes, was victorious twice in some boys' discipline at the *Nemea* (IG XII 5 608. 27–8 (E25); Schmidt's treatment IG XII 5 608: Cat. 1. 20.). This was very probably the στάδιον (*stadion*), won by Lachon at different, but probably successive, iterations of the *Nemea* (Schmidt 1999, 80). This Lachon can only be the Lachon of Bacchyl. 6 and Bacchyl. 7, since name and patronymic are the same in both inscription and poems (Bacchyl. 6. 13; Bacchyl. 7. 10). Bacchyl. 6 celebrates Lachon's victory in the στάδιον (*stadion*) (Bacchyl. 6. 14–6) at Olympia and so the title of Bacchyl. 6 given by corrector A³, of 2nd century AD or after (Jebb 1905, 133, 286, 'Λάχωνι κειωι σταδιεῖ Ολυμπία') might simply be guesswork based on the ode itself, since the corrector does not seem to have realized the implications of the word τέκος (13). This suggests that Lachon is not an adult and becomes particularly resonant, if Lachon won his Olympic victory at the age of only 13. It therefore seems highly likely that this is the victory in the στάδιον παίδων (boys' *stadion*) gained by a Lachon of Keos in Ol. 82 (= 452 BC) (POxy. II 222, Col. 2. 18 (Christesen 2007, 384) ('...Λάχων Κεῖος παιδ στάδιον')). The position in the list for the Olympiad occupied by Lachon shows that he was victorious in the boys' stadium (Christesen 2007, 161, 202–15 (on POxy. II 222)).

The incomplete Bacchyl. 7 also celebrates an Olympic victory by Lachon, who, the corrector A³ says (Jebb 1905, 133, 296), was the same as the honorand of Bacchyl. 6 (which led Blass to restore the adjectival form of Lachon's patronymic at Bacchyl. 7. 10–11 ('...Ἀρι[στομ]έν[ε]ιον [πα]Ι...')). What survives of Bacchyl. 7 gives no hint of how old Lachon was at the time and the only indications of the discipline involved are the words τα[χυτάτα τε]λαιψηρῶν ποδῶν Ἑλλάσι καὶ γυῖων ἀρισταλκὲς σθένος (6–7), which suggests victory (or victories) in either track or heavy disciplines or both. In its surviving form, Bacchyl. 7 also makes no reference to any Nemean victory. Col. 17. 1 – Col. 18. 2 of papyrus A (Bacchyl. 8. 17–8 (L10)) refer to victories at Delphi, Nemean and the Isthmus. These lines were originally thought to have formed the end of Bacchyl. 7, but it was subsequently shown on metrical grounds that they could not have been part of Bacchyl. 7 (Maehler 2003, XLV) and therefore that Bacchyl. 8 is part of a separate poem. On the other hand, the missing part of Bacchyl. 7 may have mentioned a victory or victories at the *Nemea*.

As for the date of Lachon's Nemean victories, Schmidt makes a strong case for placing them before the Olympic victory of 452 BC. On this reckoning, Lachon could have won as a παῖς at the *Nemea* in 455 BC, aged 14, and again in 453 BC, aged 16, so being 17 when he won at Olympia, in 452 BC. He would then, of course, have been at the upper end of his age grouping and so perhaps more powerful and so more likely to win at Olympia, where presumably the competition was toughest. Otherwise, notes Schmidt, if we place the Nemean victories after 452 BC, given that the παῖδες age-class at Nemea consisted of 14–16 year-olds and that of ἀγένειοι of 17–18 year-olds, this means that Lachon will have had to win his Olympic victory of 452 BC when he was

only 14, his first victory at Nemea in July of 451, still being only 14 (which, of course, is possible) and his second in July 449, when he was 16 years old. On this view, Lachon would have been only 14 and at the bottom of his age group, up against older and stronger competitors, when he won at Olympia.

Schmidt makes a powerful case, but it founders on the absence of any Nemean victories in Bacchyl. 6. However ‘impromptu’ Bacchyl. 6 may have been, Nemean victories, which are regularly classed in inscriptions with victories in the other games of the 5th century *periodos* (Nielsen 2018, 172–214), were still highly prestigious and it would surely have been impossibly negligent and insulting of Bacchylides to make no mention of the remarkable feat of winning not one, but two Nemean victories. As for the date of those two victories, if Lachon won as a *παῖς* at Olympia in 452 BC, before his two Nemean victories, then he probably won the Nemean victories in 451 and 449. He would have been not older than 16 (and still a *παῖς* in Nemean terms) and not older than 14 in 451 BC and not older, therefore, than 13, when he won his Olympic victory, despite being up against opponents of 17 years or so.

1. 63

Competitor name, patronymic: Πολυκλῆς ὁ καὶ Πολύχαλκός

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 449 (??) – ca. 431 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Sparta

Discipline(s): Tethrippon (?)

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 1. 8 (L37).

Catalogue entries: Knab 1934, B 5; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 332; Strasser 2001, no. 56; Kostouros 2008, no. 162; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 51

In regard to Polykles’ alternative name (‘Loads of Bronze’), Nielsen (2018, 185) mentions Hodkinson’s (2000, 321) suggestion that Polykles acquired his nickname because he won many victories and so erected many bronze statues in panhellenic sanctuaries. He also floats the idea that the soubriquet derives from the bronze prizes that Polykles may have won at games outside the *periodos*. Maddoli (Maddoli et al. 2003, 175) suggested earlier that the nickname refers to Polykles’ wealth in general and is to be seen in the context of contrasting opinions regarding the usefulness, or otherwise, of equestrian agonistic activity, as compared to athletic activity aimed at military preparedness. In support of this, he quotes Agesilaos’ comment that ‘[competitive equestrian activity] οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίας, ἀλλὰ πλούτου ἐπίδειγμα’ (Plut. Ages. 20.1.) and mentions how Agesilaos persuaded his sister, Kyniska, to compete at Olympia, to ‘show that these things [i.e. competitive equestrianism]...had nothing to do with ἀρετή’ (Plut. Mor. 212 B/49). The more usual criticism in antiquity of athletic activity itself was that it, too, was useless in terms of military needs (possibly an opinion particularly held by certain Spartans) and so Agesilaos may have been restricting himself to commenting on the particular moral uselessness of equestrian activity, in which the jockey, rather than the owner, faced the risks.

Whatever the reasons for his soubriquet, Polykles won the τέθριππον (*tethrippon*) event at Olympia and some equestrian event at the *Pythia*, *Isthmia* and *Nemea* (Paus. 6. 1. 8 (L37)). Robert (1900, 176–77). Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 107, no. 332) suggested that the text of Eust. *Il* was corrupt, in that the πε (Ol. 85) of one the manuscripts of Eust. *Il*. was a corruption of πθ’ (Ol. 90 = 420 BC). He suggested that another victor, Leon, won in 424 BC and cautiously put Polykles in 440 BC. Van der Valk (1971, 568. 2 = 361. 25), however, unambiguously gives ‘...ὅτε πρῶτος Λέων Λακεδαιμόνιος ὀγδοηκοστὴν πέμπτῃν Ὀλυμπιάδα νενίκηκεν.’) with no reference in his apparatus criticus to the reading that Moretti mentions. Robert’s dates are repeated by Poralla (1985, 109 (no. 629) 187)) tentatively places the Olympic victory of Polykles in either 428 BC (Ol. 88) or 424 BC (Ol. 89), on the basis of the chronology of Spartan τέθριππον (*tethrippon*) victors that he suggests for the period 440 BC (Ol. 85) to 420 BC (Ol. 90), while not excluding the possibility that Polykles’ victory dates to after 420 BC.

1. 64

Competitor name, patronymic: Unknown

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 439 (??) – ca. 399 (??) BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): Equestrian discipline

Ancient sources: Lys. 19. 36

Catalogue entries: Kyle 1987, no. A 78

The wealthy unknown father of the unknown speaker of Lys. 19 won an unspecified number of equestrian victories at the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* (Lys. 19. 36 (L33)). Lys. 19 was delivered in 388/387 BC (Davies 1971, 200) and the father of the speaker, dying in 389/388 BC at the age of 70, was therefore born around 459/458 BC (Davies 1971, 200). Thus his victories may date to anywhere between about 439 and perhaps 400 BC, although the difficulties involved in transporting an equestrian team and its equipment in wartime may mean that these victories were won before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, during the period 421–413 BC or after 403 BC and before 389 BC.

1. 65

Competitor name, patronymic: Δωριεύς Διαγόρου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 435 (?) – 423 BC (?) or 433 (?) – 421 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Delphi

Citizenship(s): City on Rhodes or Thurii

Discipline(s): Pankration

Ancient sources: Syll.³ 82 (E33); Paus. 6. 7. 1 (L49); Paus. 6. 7. 4–11

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 72, 75–76, J 205–212; N 148–154; Knab 1918, no. 13; Strasser 2001, 55 no. 58; Kostouros 2008, no. 58; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 56

Pausanias states that Dorieus, son of Diagoras, won in the men's *pankration* at Olympia three times (Paus. 6. 7. 1 (L49)), eight times at the *Isthmia* and seven at the *Nemea*. He also won a victory ἀkovίτι at the *Pythia* (Paus. 6. 7. 4. (L50)). Pomtow suggested that the victory list inscribed on the base of a statue of an athlete at Delphi, dated on the basis of letter forms to the mid-4th century BC, was that of Dorieus (Syll.³ 103 no. 82 (E33) = IAG 23) on the grounds of its similarity, at least in its surviving form, to what Pausanias says.

About half of the inscription has been preserved. The number of Isthmian victories is open to doubt (IAG, p. 58, who notes that 4 could equally well be restored as ἐπτά]κις) and the inscription reports four Pythian victories, while Pausanias mentions only one, achieved ἀkovίτι. On the other hand, given the apparent number of letter spaces involved, τρίς (3) seems certain as the number of Olympic victories and the number of Nemean victories (seven) reported in the inscription agrees with Pausanias' report. As for the four Pythian victories given in the inscription, this does not necessarily clash with Pausanias, who may be reporting only the ἀkovίτι victory. There is also the fact that the base of the statue is made from the same stone as the statue of Eucles, grandson of Diagoras, that belonged to the statuary group at Olympia displaying the three generations of Diagoras' family (Syll.³ 103). All this together makes it at least likely that the victories in the Delphi inscriptio belong to Dorieus.

The Delphi inscription also mentions four victories at the *Panathenaia* and at the *Asklepieia* (*Asklepieia*: Nielsen 2018, 43–4, 129–30, no. 64) and three each at the Argive *Hecatomboia* (Appendix 3. 2) and the *Lykaia* (Nielsen 2018, 37–40, 121, no. 39). The inscription thus has the form and choice of games of Pindar's victory catalogues, in which the games of the *periodos* are grouped at the head and are followed by certain lesser, but still prestigious games, which include the three here ((Cat. 1. 25)).

Dorieus' second Olympic victory was won in 428 BC (Thuc. 3. 8. 1). If we assume that his Olympic victories were won in 432, 428 and 424 BC, then perhaps the four Pythian victories were won in 434, 430, 426 and 422 BC, giving a career at the highest level of 14 years (434–422 BC), which is possible. Seven single Nemean victories can be comfortably fitted into this, being placed either from 435 to 423 BC or from 433 to 421 BC, but eight single Isthmian victories would require a period either from 436 to 422 or from 434 to 420 BC, which is not impossible, but less likely, so that perhaps at least two Isthmian victories were won at the same iteration.

Dorieus, being an enemy of Athens and having at some stage been condemned to death by the Athenians (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 5. 19), went into exile at Thurii and was subsequently involved in naval operations conducted by the Thurians in support of the Spartans in the eastern Aegean during the last two decades of 5th century BC (Thuc. 8. 35. 1. (Dorieus in command of 10 Thurian ships), 8. 84. 2. (with Astyochos at Miletus); Diod. Sic. 13. 38. 6 (sent to Rhodes to prevent defection by Rhodians to Athens); Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1. 2–5 (chased by the Athenians in the run-up to the battle of Abydos (411 BC)), Xen. *Hell.* 1. 5. 19 (captured by the Athenians, 407 BC)). According to Androtion, he died later, in 395 BC, at the hands of the Spartans (Paus. 6. 7. 4 (L50) = *FGrH* no. 324 (Androtion) F 46) (and was also the subject of an extraordinary epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 13. 11 = Page 1981, 276–77, no. L), which does not mention Dorieus' athletic activity at all and is almost Cavafy-like in its personal focus and oblique reference to turbid historic events). Pausanias reports that Dorieus and his nephew Peisirodos were proclaimed victors as citizens of Thurii (Paus. 6. 7. 4 (L50)). On the other hand, Thucydides calls Dorieus a Πόδιος when referring to his second Olympic victory, in 428 BC (Thuc. 3. 8. 1). If Thucydides is not simply exploiting as a convenient chronological marker the presumably well-known fact that Dorieus, a major athlete, came from the island of Rhodes, then Dorieus must have moved to Thurii between 428 and 424 BC, if in fact his third Olympic victory occurred in 424 BC. Thurii by then may have seemed an attractive place of exile for an anti-Athenian, given that things were turning against the Athenians in Thurii as early as 434 BC, when Delphian Apollo proclaimed himself founder of the city, as a solution to conflict in that year between Athenian and Peloponnesian settlers over which city was to be regarded as Thurii's metropolis (Diod. Sic. 12. 35. 1–3) and seem to have got even worse in or after 412 BC, when the Athenians were weak enough for the Athenian Lysias, 'with three hundred others' to be driven out of Thurii ([Plut.] *Vitae X Oratorum* 835 d-e.

1. 66

Competitor name, patronymic: Δημοκράτης Λύσιδος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 435 (?) – ca. 401 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): Tethrippon (?)

Ancient sources: Plato *Lysis* 205c, 208a

Catalogue entries: Kyle 1987, A 15; Strasser 2001, no. 304; Kostouros 2008, no. 47; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 52

Demokrates, father of Lysis, and perhaps lover of Alcibiades, may have active in horse breeding and racing from the 430s to perhaps 400 BC. See Cat. 1. 60 for discussion.

1. 67

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀντίοχος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 415 (?) – ca. 385 (?) BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Lepreon

Discipline(s): Pankration (men)

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 3. 9

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 222–223, N 161–162; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 360; Kostouros 2003, no. 17; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 58

Antiochos of Lepreon, in addition to winning the men's *pankration* at Olympia, also won the *pentathlon* twice at both the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* (Paus. 6. 3. 9 (L42).), Nikodamos of Mainalos producing Antiochos' statue at Olympia (Paus. 6. 3. 9 (L42)). An Antiochos who took part in an embassy to Susa from the Arcadians in 367 BC and is identified as a *παγκρατιαστής* (Xen. *Hell.* 7. 1. 33. Lepreon, although not in Arcadia proper, was a member of the Arcadian League (Nielsen 2004b, 544)) is very probably our man. Nikodamos also produced a statue for Androsthenes (Paus. 6. 6. 1 (L48)), who won two victories in the *pankration* at Olympia, one of which was won in 420 BC (Thuc. 5. 49; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 107, nos. 336 (420 BC?), 343 (416 BC?)), and for Damoxenidas (Paus. 6. 6. 3) whose boxing victory Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 117, no. 393) tentatively places in 384 BC. If Moretti is right, then the statue of Antiochos will have been one of the earlier works of Nikodamos and his career will have lasted at least thirty or forty years (Muller-Dufeu 2002, 653) puts Nikodamos in the late 4th century BC, without giving reasons). Antiochos, whose Olympic victory is tentatively placed by Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 112, no. 360) in 400 BC, may have won his two Nemean victories between ca. 415 BC and ca. 385 BC, when, if he was the later ambassador to Susa in 367 BC, he was perhaps about 20 years old.

1. 68

Competitor name, patronymic: Νικάσυλος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 407 (??) – 301 BC (???)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Rhodes, city on

Discipline(s): Wrestling (men) (?)

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 14. 2. (L54).

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 292, N 246; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 973; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 9

Nikasylos won in the men's wrestling at Olympia, the Eleans having refused to let him compete in the *παῖδες* class. He subsequently won in unspecified disciplines (but presumably wrestling) an unknown number of times at the *Nemea* and *Isthmia* (Paus. 6. 14. 1–2 (L54)), before meeting an early death. Pausanias refers to him as a *Ῥόδιος*. This is the ethnic used of inhabitants of the island of Rhodes from Homer onwards (Homer *Il.* 2. 655; see Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004, 119), although after the foundation of the city of Rhodes, probably in 408/407 BC (Diod. Sic. 13. 75. 1), it also becomes the city ethnic (Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004, 1196). City ethnics are nearly always used of Olympic victors (Hansen 2004, 66) and if Pausanias is using *Ῥόδιος* in this sense, then Nikasylos' victories postdate 408/407 BC, but at least one other Rhodian Olympic victor, Diagoras (Cat. 1. 58), remains unspecified by his city ethnic, at least in an ode by Pindar. As for a lower date for Nikasylos' victory or victories, statues noticed by Pausanias at Olympia tend not date not earlier than the 6th century BC and not later than the end of the 4th century BC (Hermann 1988, 123–24; Nielsen 2018, 178, n. 55). Nikasylos' Nemean victories may then date between ca. 407 and ca. 301 BC.

1. 69

Competitor name, patronymic: Πρόμαχος Δρύωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 405 (?) – ca. 403 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship: Pellene

Discipline(s): Pankration (men)

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 8. 5; Paus. 7. 27. 5 – 7 (L60)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 213 – 215, N 155 – 156; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 355; Kostouros 2008, no. 175; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 57

Promachos won the men's *pankration* at the *Olympia* once, three times at the *Isthmia* and twice at the *Nemea* (Paus. 7. 27. 5. (L60)). Poulydamas, who won the *pankration* at the *Olympia* in 408 (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 394. 274–279)), returned to compete again in the same discipline at the following iteration, in 404 BC, but was beaten by Promachos, so dating Promachos' victory to this year (Paus. 7. 27. 6.) Promachos' two Nemean victories may then have been won in 405 and 403 BC.

1. 70

Competitor name, patronymic: Εὐπόλεμος/Εὐπολῖς

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 403 (?) – 397 BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Elis

Discipline(s): Pentathlon

Ancient sources: Diod. Sic. 14. 54. 1; Paus. 6. 3. 7; Paus. 8. 45. 4; *POxy.* XXIII 2381. 2; Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 394. 285)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 79–80, N 163; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 367; Strasser 2001, no. 66; Kostouros 2008, no. 67

Diodorus Siculus gives the name 'Εὐπολῖς', but Pausanias, *POxy.* XXIII 2381. 2 and Eusebius, who all give Εὐπόλεμος, are more likely to be correct, Pausanias because he evidently read the inscription and *POxy.* XXIII 2381 and Eusebius, or rather, Eusebius' source, because they are presumably both using a published list and both independently give the same version of the name.

Eupolemos won the *stadion* at Olympia in the 96th Olympiad (Diod. Sic. 14. 54. 1; Paus. 8. 45. 4; Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 394. 285); *POxy.* XXIII 2381. 2), that is, 396 BC, as well as obtaining two victories in the πένταθλον at the *Pythia* and one victory (presumably again in the πένταθλον) at the *Nemea* (Paus. 6. 3. 7., who tells us that he is reporting the ἐπίγραμμα on the base of the statue of Eupolemos). The Pythian victories may then date to 402 and 398 BC and the Nemean victory perhaps dates from 403 and certainly to 397 at the latest.

1. 71

Competitor name, patronymic: Κρεύγας

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 399 (???) – ca. 391 BC (???)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Epidamnus

Discipline(s): Boxing

Ancient sources: Paus. 2. 20. 1; Paus. 8. 40. 3–5 (L61)

Catalogue entries: Knab 1918, N 160; Kostouros 2008, no. 94

In Pausanias' account of the boxing match at the *Nemea* between Kreugas of Epidamnus and Damoxenos of Syracuse (Paus. 8. 40. 3–5. (L61)), the onset of night leads the contestants to agree to conduct their match in some formal manner, each apparently allowing the other to strike his blow unimpeded. Pausanias notes that the contest occurred at a time when boxers still used soft leather bindings around their hands, before the introduction of *himantes oxeis*. Damoxenos strikes Kreugas, his stiffened fingers puncturing Kreugas' side, and then pulls out Kreugas' entrails, so as to cause Kreugas' instantaneous death. In hitting his opponent in this

way, however, Damoxenos has in some way violated their agreement (speculation on Damoxenos's violation: Brophy 1978, 388). The Argives thereupon expel Damoxenos, posthumously award Kreugas the victory and erect a statue of Kreugas, which, Pausanias says, was still standing in his time in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykios at Argos (Paus. 8. 40. 5; Paus. 2. 20. 1, the 'most important shrine in the city' (Paus. 2. 19. 3), probably located somewhere in the centre of the agora (Musti and Torelli 1986, 274 (on Paus. 2. 19. 3.)), and the traditional place for the display of public decrees (Stroud 1984, 206–7).

A rough *terminus ante quem* can be given for Kreugas's death. Hand protection worn by Greek boxers goes through three fundamental stages of development (Jüthner 1896, 65–84, which later accounts follow). These consist of leather strips wound round the hand (ἱμάντες, *himantes*). These might of soft leather ἱμάντες μειλίχαι (*himantes meilichai*), or ἱμάντες μακαλώτεροι (*himantes malakōteroi*), that is, Pausanias' ἱμάντες λεπτοί. These softer *himantes* were superseded by the use of a greater number of strips wound around the knuckles of the now balled fist, to protect them and to produce a much more effective and dangerous tool, which Plato, in the mid 4th century BC, refers to as *sphairai* (σφαῖραι, leather strips wound round balled fist for boxing) (Pl. *Leg.* 8. 830 B). These then developed into oval strips of thick, hardened leather through which all the fingers but the thumb are inserted. They therefore both protect the knuckles of the balled fist and produce even worse injuries in the opponent. Σφαῖραι developed in the early 4th century BC and, since they were apparently so effective a tool, must have been adopted early on at contests, particularly at top-rank games like the *Nemea*, where stakes were high, thus ushering out less the damaging ἱμάντες, which were probably no longer used after about 400 BC or soon after.

The death of Kreugas also occurs at a time when the Argives are apparently completely in charge of the games, in contrast to the situation from the 6th century down to the end of the 5th century BC, when it is thought by modern scholars that Kleonai, either alone or in collaboration with Argos, ran the *Nemea* (discussion: Perlman 2000, 131–49; Marchand 2002, 172–98, the latter in part a response to Perlman). The Argives, however, are clearly the referees in the match in Pausanias' account, although this does not necessarily mean on its own that the iteration of the *Nemea* at which Kreugas died was held in Argos. On the other hand, the Argives erect a statue, one of whose implicit aims is to underline the probity of the Argives as administrators and judges of the *Nemea*, and they place the statue immediately next to the chief temple of Argos (Paus. 2. 19. 3), rather than in the precinct at Nemea, which at least gives the impression that at the time of Kreugas' death in Pausanias' account, the *Nemea* are held at Argos.

Where, according to the rest of the evidence relating to the location of the *Nemea*, were the games conducted when Kreugas met his end around 400 BC or soon after? Apart from the Kreugas episode, the most compelling indication that the games were not held in Nemea and, because there is no hint that the games went anywhere else other than to Argos, therefore moved there is the strikingly blank archaeological record at Nemea between ca. 400 and ca. 330 BC. This gap is most obviously explained by supposing that no significant activity, including the conduct of games, occurred at Nemea (references: Bravo 2018, 59 n. 196; absence of coins found at Nemea for the period ca. 400 – mid 4th century BC: Knapp and MacIsaac 2005, 22). Particularly compelling evidence is provided by two wells L 17: 1 and L 17: 2, conveniently presented by Miller (2004, 47–50), after which there is an architectural efflorescence, whose chief products are the new temple and the new stadium (Miller 2004, 91–4, 110–208; Knapp and MacIsaac 2005, 14–5; Stadium: Miller 2001). None of the rest of the evidence, epigraphic and literary, which we now look at, succeeds in disproving this picture of a shrine abandoned, at least as regards the athletic festival, for seventy or eighty years.

The strongest evidence to suggest that the *Nemea* did remain in Nemea is provided by the use of the adjective Νέμειος and the noun Νεμέα in inscriptions and in Pausanias' report of inscriptions. The cases of such use that Perlman examines indeed do not indicate the location of the *Nemea* ca. 400 – ca. 235, as she points out (Perlman 2000, 135–36), because Νέμειος and the locative Νεμέαι is used to locate the god Zeus, rather than the games. There are, however, other cases dated between ca. 400 and ca. 300 BC (and earlier than the examples that Perlman gives), in which the inscription that refers to a victor's record, or sometimes in Pausanias' quasi-transcript of the inscription, clearly says 'ἐν Νεμέᾳ', 'Νεμέαι' or 'Νεμέας' (Ev Νεμέᾳ: Cat. 1. 74 (Paus. 6. 3. 1

(L43), 393–385 BC); Cat. 1. 74 (Paus. 6. 2. 10–11 (L38), ca. 369 – ca. 355 BC); Cat. 1. 90 (Paus. 6. 4. 5, ca. 337 – ca. 321 BC). Νεμέαι: Cat. 1. 80 (*IG* VII 4247. 1 (‘Νεμ[έ]αι’), ca. 371–335 or ca. 280 – ca. 200 BC); Cat. 1. 85 (Amandry 1980, p. 218, ca. 351 – ca. 301 BC); Cat. 1. 87 (Hansen 1989, no. 834, ca. 351 – ca. 299 BC); Cat. 1. 90 (Paus. 6. 15. 1 (L56), ca. 325 – ca. 275 BC. Νεμέας; (*F.Delphes* III 1 507, p. 322 ([καὶ Νεμ]έας), ca. 365 – ca. 355 BC); Cat. 1. 83 (*IG* II² 3128. 4 ([Νε]μέας), ca. 359 – ca. 339 BC (?)); Cat. 1. 84 (Charneux 1985b, pp. 357–75, 1 (E1) ([-Νεμ]έας)). There is also an epigram (Cat. 1. 75) quoted in Hephaestion’s *Περὶ ποιημάτων* (L30) containing the phrase ‘Νεμέαι δις’, although the poem, wrongly attributed to Simonides, remains undated. All this at first sight seems incontrovertible proof that the games remained in Nemea. Presumably, however, the move to Argos was regarded at the time as temporary, as indeed it turned out to be. Perhaps, too, the agonistic prestige attaching to the name of Nemea, which did not attach to that of Argos, and the habit of thinking in terms of the four games of the *periodos* as an exclusive and prestigious group meant that the inscriptions continued to mention Nemea, even when the games were held in Argos. A conviction that the *Nemea* had moved only temporarily to Argos and that their real home was Nemea might also explain our last piece of literary evidence. In the *Laws*, dating between ca. 352 (Schöpsdau 1994, 135–38) and Plato’s death in 348/7 BC (Diog. Laert. 3. 2) and to perhaps towards the end of this period, Plato’s Athenian is discussing the matter of which of the citizens of the ideal state should be allowed to travel (Pl. *Leg.* 12. 950 e (L121): Perlman 2000, 137) and to where. *Theoroi*, the Athenian asserts, should be sent to all of the four panhellenic agonistic festivals, to Delphi, Olympia, Nemea and the Isthmus.

As for other evidence pertaining to the question of whether the *Nemea* remained in Nemea, there are the bronze tablets found in Argos, which date to perhaps the second or third decade of the 4th century BC and very probably to after the Corinthian War (394–386 BC) and perhaps before 370 BC (Kritzas 2006, 407; 2007, 137). The tablets form the financial archive of the shrine of Pallas Athena, which functioned as the central bank of Argos, where even money belonging to Hera was deposited (Kritzas 2007, 136). In addition to various hitherto unknown personal and local geographical names (Kritzas 2007, 152–58), the tablets mention the financial dealings of various bodies of magistrates hitherto unknown. Some of these bodies are probably concerned with the construction of what was then the still new temple of Hera (Kritzas 2007, 137–40), while others are may have been involved with the maintenance of local roads, the negotiation of treaties and the food supply (Kritzas 2007, 144–47). It is certainly striking that in so wide a range of evidence, which moreover deals with administrative functions, there is no mention of the *Nemea*. On the other hand, there is no mention of the other major set of Argive games, the *Hecatomboia* and the information provided by archive for the financial administration of Argos is clearly far from complete.

The last, and weakest, piece of evidence that has been used to suggest that the *Nemea* remained in Nemea concerns the accounts at Epidauros for the building of the Temple of Asklepios, which date to 370 BC. The accounts record the payment of funds for a herald to visit Nemea and Argos (*IG* IV² 1 102 Col. 2A. 114–5 (Nemea); *IG* IV² 102 face Col. 2A. 177–178; *IG* IV² 102 face Col. 2A. 203; *IG* IV² 102 face Col. 2A. 217 (Argos); Perlman 2000, 137). Perlman (2000, 137) suggests that the only time when a herald was likely to visit the site of a set of panhellenic games would be while the festival was being held, when he would find the largest possible audience for his message, and, drawing on Burford’s suggestion (Burford 1969, 161), floats the possibility that the heralds were advertising the auction of contracts, although, whatever the herald’s business was, the shrine may have attracted enough visitors outside the period of the festival to make a visit worthwhile.

To return to the matter of who actually ran the *Nemea* at the time of Kreugas’ death: in addition to the fact that the Kreugas episode shows that the games took place in Argos and were administered by the Argives in the early 4th century BC, two other arguments have been made in favour of the view that that the *Nemea* were fully in the hands of the Argives (but not necessarily that the games were held at Argos) by this time. The first of these concerns the festival truce mentioned by Xenophon (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 2–3). In the spring or early summer of 388 BC, the Spartans are intending to neutralise Argos before attacking Athens. To fend them off, the Argives claim ‘τὰς σπόνδας’ are already in effect and Agesipolis, the Spartan leader, accordingly consults oracles at Olympia and Delphi, which both tell him that it is permissible to ignore this truce, because, instead of being declared at

the appropriate time, it has been proclaimed when the Spartans are about to invade. Agesipolis thus invades from Phleious διὰ Νεμέας (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 3 (L134)) and the Argives attempt to dissuade the Spartans again by appealing to ‘the truce’, which they do, it seems from Xenophon’s text, at or near Nemea. In Miller’s view (Miller 1982, 106–7), this was indeed the truce associated with the *Nemea* and he concluded that the games were held in Argos at that point, in that the Argives (and not Kleonaians) were attempting to exploit the truce to stop the Spartans. Perlman (2000, 134–35) disputed this on the grounds that, since the next iteration of the *Nemea* would have been in 387 BC, this would have made for an unprecedentedly long truce, of more than a year (although this may have been Agesipolis’ point). As Perlman and Mattern (2015, 24; also Marchand 2002, 190) note, Xenophon does not mention the games in question, but the fact that the Spartans are apparently coming down the Nemea valley suggests that the truce in question is that of the *Nemea* (rather than that of the *Hecatomboia*, the other major Argive festival, which took place immediately before the *Nemea*, at least at the end of the 4th century BC (Stroud 1984, 204)). Even if the *Nemea* were currently held in Argos, it is possible that the Argives attempted to exploit the truce in relation to the original, traditional site of the contest.

The other piece of evidence which has been thought to show that the *Nemea* were in the hands of the Argives in the 4th century BC is given by Pausanias (Paus. 4. 27. 9). He mentions, first, the shrine in Argos of Zeus *Nemeios* ‘opposite’ the shrine of Apollo Lykeios (Paus. 2. 20. 1), and so probably somewhere on the margin of the *agora* (Musti and Torelli 1986, 277), which contained a statue by Lysippus. Lysippus was active by the late 360s BC and perhaps even earlier and died sometime after 316 BC, perhaps as late as 306 BC (Griffin 1982, 134, 137; chronology of Lysippus: Griffin 1982, 132–42). The statue of Zeus may one of Lysippus’ earlier works (Griffin 1982, 137), thus giving a terminus ante quem of perhaps ca. 360 BC for the shrine of Zeus *Nemeios*. Pausanias also mentions that in 369 BC, during the celebrations accompanying the foundation of Messene that the Argives offered sacrifice to Hera Argeia and Zeus *Nemeios*. The presence of the cult of Zeus *Nemeios* at Argos, Kritzas (2006, 429) suggests, shows that Argos had the presidency of the *Nemea*. Yet, member states of amphictyonies and similar bodies often had filial cults deriving from the central cult. There may have been, for example, in the late 5th century, a cult of Zeus *Nemeios* at Athens, perhaps connected with the dispatch of the *θεωρία* from Athens to Nemea (Lambert 2002, 363, (Face A. Fig. 2.10, Athenian festal calendar, 403/2–400/399 BC.), 373, 392). Given the interest Argos had in the *Nemea* and in the *Hecatomboia*, it would not be surprising to find a filial cult of Zeus *Nemeios* in Argos (even if the games still took place at Nemea) and it would not be surprising for the Argives to sacrifice to such a powerful local deity, to ensure an auspicious start for Messene (although, on the other hand, of course, the bronze tablets from Argos do not mention any cult of Nemean Zeus).

As for the role of the Kleonaians in all this, there is no hint during the period from ca. 400 to ca. 330 BC as to whether they played any part in the *Nemea* during the time that the games were held in Argos. The Kleonaians, however, seem to be involved in the organization of the games when they move back to Nemea, in that they issue coins that have been found at the site (Knapp and MacIsaac 2005, 52–3). These coins, depicting Herakles and the celery crown, date to the later 4th century BC, which suggests that the Kleonaians, if they were issuing *Nemea*-themed coinage when the games had moved back to Nemea around 330 BC, may still have played some formal role even when the contest was held at Argos.

As for the date of Kreugas’ victory, it perhaps belongs between ca. 399 and ca. 391 BC.

1. 72

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἡγέστρατος Φίλωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 399 (?) – ca. 371 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Athens (Acropolis)

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): Gymnic discipline (?)

Ancient sources: IG II² 3122

Catalogue entries: Hyde 1921, 27, 27 n. 11; Kyle 219, P89; Kostouros 2008, no. 71

An inscribed marble base, found on the Acropolis and dated (letter forms) to the early 4th century BC, bears the inscription Ἡγέστρατος|Φίλωνος|νίκη: Νεμέαι (IG II² 3122). Hagestratos is otherwise unknown (Nielsen 2018, 197). Kyle (1987, 219) suggests that Hagestratos may have won in an athletic discipline.

1. 73

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀγέστρατος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 399 (?) – ca. 301 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Epidaurus

Citizenship(s): Rhodes (???)

Discipline(s): Pankration

Ancient sources: IG IV² 1 122 (xxix). 50–55

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 3

In one (IG IV² 1 122(xxix). 50–5) of several (IG IV² 1 121–2) inscriptions dated either to the 4th century BC in general (Guarducci 1977, 148) or to the second half of the 4th century BC (Schmeja 1988, 122) from Epidaurus that list cures and other miracles performed by Asklepios, an Hagestratos is mentioned as having suffered sleeplessness from persistent headaches. He spends the night in Asklepios' ἄβατον, however, where the god appears to him in a dream, cures him and teaches him the παγκρατίου προβολή, soon after which he goes on to win in this discipline at Nemea. Some of the cures and miracles described in these inscriptions are clearly fictitious (e.g. Kleo's five-year pregnancy (IG IV² 1 122 (i). 2–3), their dubious nature being even more obvious where they involve persons with 'speaking names' (e.g. Ἀπιστος (IG IV² 1 121 (iii). 22–3), Ἐχέδωρος, Πάνδαρος (IG IV² 1 122 (vii). 56–7. 'Speaking names' at Epidaurus: Schmeja 1988, 112). However, there is nothing implausible about Hagestratos, who does not have such a significant name, nor about his apparently psychosomatic cure and his subsequent victory. It is likely that he was already an athlete before his visit to Epidaurus, as Asklepios would otherwise not have bothered to teach him a specialized athletic movement. There is also nothing improbable about an athlete suddenly understanding a point of technique that had been troubling him to the point of causing headaches before going on to win at Nemea.

Hagestratos cannot be securely identified with any of the other Hagestratoi known from the 4th century BC. As for the name, there is a scatter of occurrences known from north-western Greece and Sicily (LGPN III A, Aetolia 1, Epirus 5 (Dodona), Illyria 6 (Apollonia), Sicily 8 (Selinus), 9 (Syracuse), 10 (Tauromenium)) dating over 4th century–2nd century BC. The name occurs four times in the Peloponnese (LGPN III A, Arcadia 3 (Megalopolis), 4 (Tegea, Argolis 2)). Over the 4th to 2nd century BC, it occurs once in Macedonia (LGPN IV, Macedonia (Mygdonia, 4th century BC)) and once in Aeolis (LGPN VA, Aeolis 1 (Myrina)). On the other hand, it is recorded on Rhodes 30 times between 4th century and 2nd century AD (LGPN I, 6, Rhodes (nos. 18–12), Ialysos (nos. 13–15), Kamiros (nos. 16, 18–20), Kasareis (no. 22), Kymisaleis (no. 23), Thysanountioi (no. 24), Lindos (nos. 25–26), Amioi (no. 27), Telioi (no. 28)) and so perhaps our Hagestratos came from there. As for the παγκρατίου προβολή mentioned in the inscription, the word occurs twice in Philostatus' Περὶ Γυμναστικῆς, once (Philostr. *Gym.* 3) where it refers to runners holding up their arms before themselves during the course of the race ('Held up in a boxing stance', as Koenig translates it (Rusten and Koenig 2014, 451)) and once (Philostr. *De Gymnastica* 3) where it refers to boxers holding out their hands. It also occurs in an inscription (IG VII 2470. 3 = IAG 36), where Moretti deduces from our IG IV² 1 122 (xxix). 50–5 that it has the same meaning (IAG, pp. 92–3). It is the position taken up at the beginning of the *pankration* (list of depictions: RE XVIII³ cols. 621–622) and is obviously of crucial importance for the course of the ensuing match, which is perhaps why Hagestratos' failure to master it caused him so much pain. His Nemean victory cannot be dated more precisely than to the 4th century BC, although Kostouros (2008, 32) mentions the possibility that this Hagestratos may be the Hagestratos of Cat. 1. 72, perhaps dating to the first third of the 4th century BC.

1. 74

Competitor name, patronymic: Δίκων Καλλιμβρότου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 393 (?) – 385 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Caulonia, Syracuse

Discipline(s): Track discipline (?)

Ancient sources: Diod. Sic. 15. 14; Paus. 6. 3. 11 (L43); Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 394. 295“ *Anth. Pal.* 13. 15; Iambl. VP 36. 267 [146]

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 82–3, J 224–226, N 164–167; Knab no. 14; Moretti *Olympionikai*, nos. 379, 388, 389; Strasser 2001, no. 69; Kostouros 2008, no. 50; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 60

Pausanias (6. 3. 11) gives ‘Καλλιμβρότου’ as the name of the athlete, while *Anth. Pal.* 13. 15 gives ‘Καλλιμβρότου’. Iambl. VP 35. 267 gives both ‘Καλλιμβρότου’ (F) and ‘Καλλιμβρότου’ (Deubner 1975, 146, 35. 267). Perhaps the version of Pausanias, who presumably saw the inscriptions on all three of statues at Olympia, is correct.

Pausanias states that Dikon won five Pythian victories, three Isthmian victories and four Nemean victories all in a track discipline or disciplines. At Olympia, he won once in the παῖδες class and twice the ἄνδρες class (Paus. 6. 3. 11. (L43)). Although Pausanias does not specify the disciplines involved here, Dikon, as is shown by Pausanias’ own words and by the fact that he won the *stadion* at Olympia in 384 BC (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 394. 295 ; Diod. Sic. 15. 14), was clearly a specialist in track disciplines. Pausanias, apparently ignorant of the fact that Dionysios I settled the Caulonians in Syracuse in 389 BC (Diod. Sic. 14. 10) and that Dikon, who was originally a Caulonian, thus became Syracusan at this date, assumes that he was bribed to proclaim himself as a Syracusan victor. As for the discipline of the παῖς Dikon, the only track event at Olympia for παῖδες was the στάδιον (*stadion*) and it is therefore in this that Dikon must have been victorious as a παῖς.

Anth. Pal. 13. 15., which is a ‘speaking statue’ epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 13. 15. (Beckby 1958, 156–7, no. 15) (L4). Ebert (1972, 116) suggests ‘οὗτος ὁ νικῶν’ for ‘αὐτὰρ ἐνίκων’ (1)), records the same number of victories as Pausanias reports, albeit not in the same order (Pausanias 6. 3. 11 (L43): Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian; *Anth. Pal.* 13. 15., Nemean, Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian.), with the sole exception that Pausanias reports three Olympic victories, while the manuscript of the epigram reports only two. This general fidelity, plus the improbability of Dikon, otherwise unknown, being the subject of Hellenistic writers of epigrams, suggests that *Anth. Pal.* 13.15 may be a copy of one of the inscriptions that probably Pausanias saw. It is usually assumed that the ‘δὶς’ in the *Anth. Pal.* 13. 15 (L4) manuscript is a scribal slip for ‘τρίς’ (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 117; Ebert 1972, 116; Maddoli et al. 2003, 193), but Pausanias apparently saw three statues at Olympia and, if the victories were won at separate iterations, then *Anth. Pal.* 13. 15 (L4) may perhaps reproduce the inscription engraved on the base of the statue commemorating the second Olympic victory.

The only chronologically absolutely fixed point in Dikon’s career is the date of his victory in the men’s *stadion*, in 384 BC (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 394. 295); Diod. Sic. 15. 14). He was, however, still a citizen of Caulonia when he won his victory in the boys’ *stadion* (Paus. 6. 3. 11 (L43)). The fact that Caulonians were resettled in Syracuse in 389 BC (Diod. Sic. 14. 10) (which Pausanias apparently did not know of, as he imputes bribery to Dikon as the reason why he was proclaimed victorious as a Syracusan, rather than as a Caulonian) suggests that Dikon’s victory at Olympia as a παῖς occurred in 392 BC (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 115, no. 379). Whether the second Olympic victory was won in 388 or 384 is impossible to say, Unless *Anth. Pal.* 13. 15 (L4) preserves the inscription on the base of the second statue at Olympia, which, if the victories were won one each at successive iterations, would mean that the statue in question was erected to a victory won in 388 BC. Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 116, nos. 388–389) puts the second and the third Olympic victory in 384 BC. Nor is it known in what discipline Dikon was victorious in his second Olympic victory. However, although this cannot have been the *stadion*, as this was won by somebody else, namely Sosippos (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 394. 292)), it was surely some other track discipline. The five Pythian victories are difficult to reconcile with the length of time

at which Dikon was evidently at his peak that is suggested by the period of eight years represented by the three Olympic victories, unless we assume that some at least of the Pythian victories were won at the same iteration (Ebert 1972, 116). Had each of the five Pythian victories been won at successive iterations, they would indicate that Dikon was at his athletic peak for 16 years, which seems unlikely, especially since his Olympic victories stretch (probably) over a period of only eight years. Thus his Pythian victories may date between 394 BC (when we assume that he won as a παῖς at the *Pythia*) and 380 BC. Perhaps his Nemean victories fall between 393 and 385 BC.

Dikon may also have been associated with Pythagoreanism. Iamblichus' *Vita Pythagorae* (Iambl. VP 35. 26) gives a list of prominent Pythagoreans throughout the Greek world by city. Among those of Caulonia are Kallimbrotos and Dikon. Oldfather (*RE* XI.I, s.v. 'Kaulonia', Col. 74) identifies this Dikon as our athlete and Kallimbrotos as his father and is therefore dismissive of the veracity of the list, since he believes that Dikon is included in the list because he is a *periodonikes* and so one of Caulonia's most famous citizens. Iamblichus, however, also gives a list of prominent Syracusan Pythagoreans, which does not include Dikon, despite the fact that for most, if not all, of his adult life Dikon was a citizen of Syracuse. Perhaps, then, the Caulonian Kallimbrotos and Dikon are ancestors of our man. Oldfather undermines his own case that it is Dikon the athlete's celebrity that has caused him to gravitate to the list of Caulonian Pythagoreans by observing that the other Pythagoreans from Caulonia are otherwise unknown.

1. 75

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀριστόδαμος Θράσνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 391 (??) – 385 (??) BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Elis

Discipline(s): Mens' wrestling (?)

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 3. 4; Hephaestion, Περὶ ποιήματος [115], 61.4 (Consbruch 1971, 60) (L30); Hephaestion Περὶ ποιημάτων [112]. III (4) (Consbruch 1906, 65 (= Page 1981, 278, no. LII); Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 394. 292

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 81, 84; 105, N 168–169; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 115, no. 383; Strasser 2001, no. 67; Kostouros 2008, no. 23

As for the name of the athlete, both Pausanias (Paus. 6. 3. 4 (L40)) and Eusebius (Christesen 394. 292) give the name as Ἀριστόδημος. One version of the manuscripts of the epigram in Hephaestion (Consbruch 1906, 60, app. crit.) gives Ἀριστόδαμας, corrected to Ἀριστόδαμος by Scaliger and the other (Consbruch 1906, 65) gives Ἀριστόδημος. Page (1981, 278) corrects the name to Ἀριστόδαμος, presumably on the general principal that Doric uses an α, where Attic uses an η (see, e.g., Goodwin 1930, 33, § 14). Klee gives two athletes, one called 'Aristodemos' (Klee 1918, 105, N 168–169 (ca. 389–387 BC (390 BC)) and one called 'Aristodamos' (Klee 1918, 84, P 81, 84), but since he refers to the same sources for both (Pausanias, Hephaestion), this is probably an oversight. The patronymic of the athlete is given by the manuscripts of the epigram in Hephaestion as Θρασύς, corrected by Scaliger to Θράσιδος (Page 1981, 278) and by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf to Θράσνος, which is apparently more common (Ebert 1972, 115).

Aristodamos won a victory in the men's wrestling at Olympia in 338 BC (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 394. 292). The transmitted text of Pausanias (Paus. 6. 3. 4 (L40)) mentions this victory along with two Pythian victories. There is also an epigram, which, in the form in which it is twice transmitted, reports two Isthmian, rather than Pythian victories, and two Nemean victories (Hephaestion, Περὶ ποιήματος [115], 61. 4 (Consbruch 1906, 60) (L30); Hephaestion Περὶ ποιημάτων [112]. III (4) (Consbruch 1906, 65) = Page 1981, 278, LII.) (L30)) and, despite the attribution in the two passages of Hephaestion in which occurs to Simonides, cannot be by him, as Aristodamos' Olympic victory to long after his working life was over (Appendix 2. 1).

The reference to victories at the *Isthmia* in the epigram is clearly a slip, since Eleans were not permitted to participate in the *Isthmia* (Paus. 5. 2. 2.; Paus. 6. 3. 9 (L42); Paus. 6. 16. 4) and Pausanias' text indicates that Ἰσθμία at the beginning of the first line of the epigram should read Πύθια, whether or not (see next paragraph) the epigram is a copy of the inscription that Pausanias saw.

The precision of the phrase Νέμει δις in the epigram suggests that it is reporting a real inscription, rather than poem inspired by Aristodamos' record. As we have already stressed (p. 17–8), there seems to have been no complete ἀναγραφὴ of Nemean victors and their victories (had any poet wished to check his facts before composing an eulogistic epigram) (Christesen 2007, 108–12) and such a detail is therefore likely to have been preserved only in an inscription recording the victories of an individual athlete. Indeed, the epigram may be a transcript of an inscription from later in Aristodamos' career, when he had achieved these two Nemean victories, rather than a copy of the inscription seen by Pausanias, who does not seem to make mistakes, as can be seen from the accuracy of his report of Pausanias' report of Ergoteles' record when compared to what survives of the inscription (Cat. 1. 56; Tzifopoulos 2013, 156–66). If so, one can ignore the various amendments that have been made to Pausanias' text to accommodate the information given by the epigram (Ebert 1972, 114 for suggestions). As for the discipline of the Nemean victories, the Hephaestion epigram makes it clear that it was in some 'heavy' discipline and it, too, may have been wrestling.

If the Olympia inscription did not mention any Nemean victories, then the two Nemean victories, if Aristodamos achieved them in the same discipline, may date to 387–385 BC. If Pausanias, or a copyist, made a slip, and the Nemean victories date to before 388, then they may date to 391–389 BC. Overall, we can only suggest that the Nemean victories fall between 391 and 385 BC.

1. 76

Competitor name, patronymic: Στόμιος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 381 (?) – ca. 371 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Elis

Discipline(s): Pentathlon

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 3. 2 (L39)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 170–172 ; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 404; Moretti 1970, 297 no. 404; Kostouros 2008, 181

At Paus. 6. 3. 2 (L39), Pausanias gives the contents of the inscription pertaining to Stomios, who won once in the *pentathlon* at Olympia and three times at Nemea and furthermore, 'according to the inscription' (Paus. 6. 3. 2 ('...τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπιλέγει...') (L39)), as commander of the Elean cavalry, killed in single combat the general of the opposing forces. Here Pausanias' account of the inscription seems to cease, as he then says (6. 3. 3.) that 'the Eleans say' that the general in question was the general of the Sicyonians and that the Eleans attacked Sikyon together with a force from Boeotia out of friendship for the Thebans. Pausanias concludes, evidently with what is his own conjecture (Paus. 6. 3. 2 ('...φαίνοιτο ἂν οὖν... γεγενῆσθαι...') (L39)), that this must have been after the defeat of the Spartans at Leuktra in 371 BC.

There is no reason why the Elean tradition that Pausanias is referring to should not be correct (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 119). In the summer of 369 BC, the Thebans, joining with their allies, the Arcadians, Argives and Eleans, attacked Sikyon (Xen. *Hell.* 7. 1. 8; Diod. Sic. 15. 1; Griffin 1982, 67–8) and, for what it is worth, no other clash between Eleans and Sicyonians is known to us. Furthermore, no other statue in this area of the Altis seems to be older than 4th century BC (Hyde 1903, 30, no. 23). To be able to kill the enemy's general in single combat, Stomios was evidently in good physical form, but as commander of the Eleans, he was perhaps nearer, say, thirty than twenty years old. Thus his Olympic and Nemean victories may have occurred in the late 380s or

early 370s BC. Klee (1918, 105, nos. 170–172) puts Stomios' Nemean victories between ca. 380 and ca. 370 and Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 118–19, no. 404) suggests that his Olympic victory occurred in 376 BC.

1. 77

Competitor name, patronymic: Ὑσμῶν

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 379 (?) – ca. 341 BC (?)

Inscription find spot:–

Citizenship(s): Elis

Discipline(s): Pentathlon

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 3. 9 (L42)1

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 174; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 391; Kostouros 2008, no. 214

Hysmon won in the men's *pentathlon* at the *Olympia* and the *Nemea* (Paus. 6. 3. 9. (L42)). His statue at Olympia was produced by Cleon of Sikyon (Paus. 6. 3. 10), whose career dates between ca. 380 and perhaps ca. 340 BC (Griffin 1982, 130–2) and Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 117, no. 391) tentatively places Hysmon's Olympic victory in 384 BC. Given Cleon's dates, Hysmon's Nemean victory may then date between ca. 379 and ca. 341 BC.

1. 78

Competitor name, patronymic: Λέων Λεομέδοντος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 375 (??) – ca. 331 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Iulis (Keos)

Citizenship(s): Iulis (Keos)

Discipline(s): Herald

Ancient sources: IG XII 5 608. 16, 29 (E25)

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 100; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 161

Leo“ was victorious as a κῆρυξ (*keryx*, herald) at both the *Isthmia* (IG XII 5 608. 16 (E25); Schmidt's treatment of IG XII 5 608: Cat. 1. 20). There was probably a herald contest at both the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* by 374 BC (Schmidt 1999, 72). Since the lower date limit for the inscription recording Leon's victories is ca. 330 BC (Schmidt 1999, 72–4), they may date between perhaps ca. 375 and ca. 331 BC.

1. 79

Competitor name, patronymic: Πρατέας Αἰσχύλου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 371 (??) – ca. 321 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: Argos

Citizenship(s): Argos

Discipline(s): Wrestling

Ancient sources: Charneux 1957, p. 684, 1; SEG 17 15; Amandry 1980, 217–22.

Catalogue entries: Strasser 2001, 60, no. 72; Kostouros 2008, no. 174; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 65

Two inscriptions, apparently unpublished except for a photograph, carved on the same statue base were found 'près du théâtre d'Argos' (Amandry 1980, 217 (photograph: 218, Fig. 5)). The upper inscription records the victories in wrestling of Prateas, son of Aischylos, who won, in addition to three victories at the *Nemea*, at the *Isthmia*, the Παρῴηραι, that is, the *Hecatombaia* held at the Argive Heraion (Cat. 1. 28), at a set of games ἐμ Μαινάλωι (which may be a set of games held in the city of Mainalos, or on Mt. Mainalos or perhaps may be a

festival celebrated by the federation of the Mainlaians (Nielsen 2018, 63, 63 nn. 351–53)), at the *Lykaia* (Nielsen 2018, 37–40, 121 no. 39) and at the Delphic *Pythia*. If his Nemean victories were all won in the same discipline, then Prateas' agonistic career lasted at least four years. The lower inscription records the single Nemean victory in wrestling won by Prateas' son, Aischylos, also in wrestling.

Amandry (1980, pp. 217–20) dates the inscription referring to Aischylos to sometime in the last half or last third of the 4th century BC on the grounds of the similarity of letter forms to another inscription, in honour of Nikokles, king of Salamis on Cyprus, 332–310 BC (*IG* IV 583; Amandry 1980, pp. 217–19, 218, Fig. 6). He sees a difference between the lettering of the upper inscription and that of the lower and, on the grounds that Prateas is the father of Aischylos, dates the first inscription to about 30 years earlier, that is to the mid 4th century BC. In fact, it is debatable whether the Prateas inscription is earlier, at least to judge by the letter forms, since the lettering of the two inscriptions would seem to be the same, except for one small detail. The arms of the *hupsilon* in the second inscription are curved, whereas those of the four in the first inscription are straight (Amandry 1980, 217, n. 17 (photograph 218, Fig. 5)). Amandry calls this 'la plus nette [difference]', but does not specify any others. Strasser (2001, 60, no. 72) sees no difference. Furthermore, the layout of the two inscriptions when taken together and in particular the fact that the upper margin of the upper inscription and the lower margin of the lower are the same (more or less, the last line of the lower inscription not being ruled (Amandry 1980, p. 217, n. 17) suggests that the inscriptions were conceived as a unity. Given that the upper and lower margins are greater than the gaps between the rows of letters, it seems certain that the inscription did not extend further down and that Aischylos' sporting record consists of a single Nemean victory. It is possible that the engraver of the Prateas inscription left a space that then happened very closely to accommodate the victory inscription of Aischylos thirty or so years later within the layout of the Prateas inscription, but this seems unlikely. It is easier to suppose that both inscriptions were executed at the same time, very probably by the same hand. Unfortunately, the stone on which the statuary stood, whose appearance and features would have shown how many statues there were and in what disposition they stood (a symmetrical disposition would suggest that two statues were erected at the same time) has not survived. If the two inscriptions are a unity, this raises the question of how soon after Aischylos' victory they were erected. Perhaps there was originally a statue of Prateas, which, after the victory of his son, was replaced the group of Prateas and Aeschylos that may have stood atop the inscription. If we do assume that the two inscriptions were erected immediately after Aischylos' victory, then he will have won at Nemea perhaps about ca. 351–301 BC and Prateas may have won his (Nemean) victories between ca. 371 and ca. 321 BC.

1. 80

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀθάνικος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 371–335 BC (??) or ca. 280 – ca. 200 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Thebes

Citizenship(s): Thebes (?)

Discipline(s): Pankration (men) (?)

Ancient sources: *IG* VII 4247 (E23)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 244; Kostouros 2008, no. 6

An inscription from Thebes, no longer in existence, records a victory at the *Nemea* and three at a set of *Basileia* (*IG* VII 4247 (E23) = *IAG* 42) by an Athanikhos, who later died in war as a leader. He also won three times in boxing. Where is not specified, but it was perhaps also at the *Basileia*, too, as these games have just been mentioned and had the three boxing victories included one at the *Nemea*, we would have expected so prestigious a victory to be mentioned. As Moretti (1953, 112) points out, since the discipline of Athanikhos' victory at the *Nemea* and *Basileia* is not mentioned anywhere in the surviving part of the epigram, it was very probably given in the opening of the first line, of which Schaubert, who recorded the inscription (*IAG*, p. 111), gave the

fragments that he thought he had seen. The suggestion of Klee (1918, 108 (N 244)), ‘παγκράτιον’, originally generated by Kaibel (*IAG*, p. 112), referred to the discipline of the victories at the *Nemea* and *Basileia*, fits the metre and may therefore be right (while Peek’s restoration ([Ισθ]μῶ[ι]) (Cairon 2009, 163, on 1) is therefore clearly wrong, since it does not allow space to specify the discipline in which Athanikhos was victorious at the Νέμεια and Βασίλεια (Cairon 2009, 163, on 1)).

Basileia are known at Alexandria, in Macedonia and at Lebadeia. Those at Lebadeia honoured the pan-Boeotian Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς (Schachter 1994, 112)), while those at Alexandria and in Macedonia were held in honour of various living monarchs (*IAG*, pp. 105–7; Schachter 1994, 115). The proximity of Lebadeia to Thebes makes it most likely that Athanikhos, who, if the -ιχος is anything to go by (Cairon 2009, 163), was a Boeotian, if not a Theban, won his victories here. When he did so can only be very generally specified. Thebes was, of course, destroyed by Alexander in 335 BC, and restored by Cassander in 316 BC to provide himself with positive propaganda and a stronghold in central Greece (Rockwell 2017, 132, 139–40), so it is unlikely that Athanikhos competed between 335 and 317 BC. The *Basileia* at Lebadeia were founded after the Theban victory at Leuktra (371 BC) and initially survived until the battle of Chaeroneia (338 BC) (Schachter 1994, 115) and were perhaps held under Theban sponsorship (Schachter 1994, 117). The games seem to have returned from 281/0 BC till ca. 172 BC, when they were presumably held under the auspices of the Hellenistic *koinon* (Schachter 1994, 115, 117). They then appear from the second half of the second century to the early 1st century BC (Schachter 1994, 115), appear again for a short time after the Third Mithridatic War (73–63 BC) (Schachter 1994, 116–17) and are revived in Imperial times (Schachter 1994, 117). Lastly, the name Athanikhos attested only in Boeotia of the 3rd century BC (http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi?name=%E1%B-C%88%CE%B8%CE%AC%CE%BD%CE%B9%CF%87%CE%BF%CF%82, visited: 29.06.2021). There are five other cases of the name, excluding that of our man, all dated to 3rd century BC).

This occurrence of other examples of the name Athanikos in the 3rd century BC alone suggests, albeit faintly, that Athanikhos’ victories at the *Basileia* belong to the period 281/0–170 BC. They perhaps date to before ca. 200 BC and certainly to before 146 BC, when Rome decisively conquered central and southern Greece (*IAG*, p. 112). The rise of the Aetolian League from the late 4th century and of the Achaean League from the early 3rd century BC would have offered many occasions on which a Theban could have lost his life in battle, although the last of these may have occurred in 245 BC with the Aetolian invasion (summary of 3rd century BC Theban history: Rockwell 2017, 140–42), which so demoralized the Thebans, says Polybius (Polyb. 20. 4. 6–7), that they οὐδ’ ἐκοινώνησαν οὔτε πράξεως οὔτ’ ἀγῶνος οὐδενὸς ἔτι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μετὰ κοινοῦ δόγματος, (7) ἀλλ’ ὁρμήσαντες πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ μέθας οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἐξελύθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς. Stripped of its rhetoric, the passage may mean that the Thebans took no part in any military clash for the rest of the 3rd century BC.

Thus it is possible that Athanikhos’ Nemean victory dates either between 371 and 335 BC or more possibly between ca. 280 and ca. 200 BC and perhaps may be dated to ca. 280 – ca. 250 BC.

1. 81

Competitor name, patronymic: Δαμίσκος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 369 (?) – ca. 355 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Messene

Discipline(s): Pentathlon (?)

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 2. 10–11

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 233, N 173; Moretti 1958, no. 417; Kostouros 2008, no. 41; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 69

At the age of twelve (young age of Damiskos: Crowther 1988, esp. 305–6) Damiskos won in the boys’ *stadion* at Olympia at the first Olympiad after the foundation of Messene and went on to win in the *pentathlon* at

Isthmia and Nemea (Paus. 6. 3. 9 (L42); Paus. 6. 2. 10–11 (L38)). Messene was founded in 370/369 BC (Paus. 4. 27. 9), which means Damiskos won in 368 BC, at the 103rd Olympiad. The lack of precision in Pausanias' report regarding the victories at the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* probably means that the inscription at Olympia that Pausanias saw did not contain this information, as one would expect such details to be listed precisely in such an environment, and that Pausanias therefore acquired it from elsewhere. This then may mean that his Isthmian and Nemean victories, which need not have been in the *pentathlon* (Maddoli et al. 2003, 185), postdate his Olympic victory. If we assume that Damiskos, aged 12 in 368 BC, was an active athlete until he was 25, then possible dates for his Nemean victories lie between 369 and 355 BC.

1. 82

Competitor name, patronymic: Σώστρατος Σωσιστράτου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 365 (?) – 355 (?) BC

Inscription find spot: Delphi

Citizenship(s): Sikyon

Discipline(s): Pankration

Ancient sources: *F.Delphes* III 1 507, p. 332 (E8); Paus. 6.4.12; *Suda* s.v. 'ἀκροχειρίζεσθαι' (Adler A 1023); *Suda* s.v. 'Σώστρατος' (Adler Σ 866)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 88–89, J 227–232, N 175–180; Knab 1934, no. 15; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 420, 425, 433; 1970, 297, nos. 420, 425, 433; Strasser 2001, no. 74; Kostouros 2008, no. 187; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 66

Pausanias reports that Sostratos won three victories at the *Olympia* in the *pankration*, two at the *Pythia* and a total of twelve in the *Isthmia* and *Nemea* (Paus. 6. 4. 2 (L44)), a record also given by an inscription at Delphi (*F.Delphes* III 1 507, p. 332 (E8) (*IAG* 25; Bousquet 1961, 69–97; Ebert 1972, 129–32; Hansen 1989, 811)), which may be a copy of what Pausanias saw at Olympia. Sostratos' first Olympic victory is dated to 364 BC (= Ol. 104 (Paus. 6. 4. 2 (L44))) and the other two are usually, perhaps rightly, dated to 360 and 356 BC (e.g. Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 121–23, nos. 420, 425, 433; Ebert 1972, 130). The two *Pythia* victories may then have occurred in 362 and 358 BC. If, as seems likely, the three *Olympia* victories were won over a period of nine years (rather than over any longer period), some of the twelve victories at the *Isthmia* and *Nemea*, even if they were evenly distributed, with six victories won at each set of games, must have been won at the same iteration of either the *Isthmia* or *Nemea* or of both over the period from 365 to 355 BC.

1. 83

Competitor name, patronymic: Unknown

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 359 (?) – ca. 339 (?)

Inscription find spot: Athens (Acropolis)

Citizenship(s): Athens (?)

Discipline(s): -

Ancient sources: *IG* II² 3128 (E18)

Catalogue entries: Kyle 1987, 228, P116; Strasser 2001, no. 78; Kostouros 2008, 196, no. 223

A dedication found on the acropolis of Athens (*IG* II² 3128 (E18)), dated by letter forms to the mid 4th century BC and presumably erected by an Athenian, refers to victories in the *Pythia*, the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea*. Kyle (Kyle 1987, 228) suggests that the victories were won in either equestrian or gymnastic disciplines, but gives no grounds for his view.

1. 84

Competitor name, patronymic: Κλεαίνετος Ἐπικράτεος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 359 (?) – 325 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Argos

Citizenship(s): Argos

Discipline(s): Track discipline

Ancient sources: Charneux 1985b, 357–75, no. I (E1)

Catalogue entries: Moretti, *Olympionikai Suppl.* II 84; Strasser 2001, no. 84; Kostouros 2008, no. 88

The sporting record of Kleainetos is given by a set of inscriptions on three faces of a statue base during excavation in the theatre at Argos which, apparently on grounds of letter forms, are tentatively dated to ca. 350–325 BC (Charneux 1985b, 357 (E1)). The longest of the three, a verse inscription, refers to an unknown number of victories at the *Pythia* (5), six at the *Isthmia* (5, as Ebert (1986, 30) demonstrates) and a victory or victories at the *Nemea* (Charneux 1985b, 363 on reference to *Nemea* in *θηροτρόφῳ* (6)). Kleainetos also won victories at the *Lykaia* (7), at Argos (Charneux 1985b, 368, on reference to games at Argos in the word *χαλκόν* (8)), presumably the *Heraia* (Appendix 3. 2), and at some games in honour of Asklepios, presumably the *Asklepieia* at Epidaurus (Charneux 1985b, 368, 368 n. 71).

As the games of the *periodos* mentioned in the epigram are presented in the canonical order (*Pythia*, *Isthmia*, *Nemea*) (Ebert 1972, 30) and since reference to these games is preceded by some four lines, half of whose contests are lost, it seems very likely that there was some reference to an Olympic victory in the section of the epigram now lost (which strengthens the possibility that the enigmatic ‘THE [- - -]’, which Charneux (1985b, 357) dates to the 3rd century or the 2nd century BC, on the third face of the block is some abbreviation of acronym of ‘περιοδονίκης’ (as Charneux (1985b, 358)) suggests). In an inscription from the *Asclepieion* at Epidaurus, dated to ca. 350–300 BC (letter forms), the Epidaurians appoint Δρῦμος Ἐπικράτεος of Argos *θεαροδόκος* of Asclepius and *πρόξενος* of Epidaurus (Mitsos 1976, 84–5). Charneux (Charneux 1985b, 751) suggests that our Kleainetos was the brother of this Δρῦμος Ἐπικράτεος.

The discipline in which Kleainetos won his Nemean victory or victories was probably a track event of some sort, since the epigram (10) mentions him as victor in the *ὀπλίτης* (*hoplitēs*) and *στάδιον* (*stadion*). The date of his Nemean victory or victories may lie between ca. 359 and ca. 325 BC.

1. 85

Competitor name, patronymic: Αἰσχύλος Πρατέα

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 351 – ca. 301 BC

Inscription find spot: Argos

Citizenship(s): Argos

Discipline(s): Wrestling

Ancient sources: Charneux 1957, 684, no. 1 SEG 17 150; Amandry 1980, 217–20

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 9

Aischylos won a single victory at the *Nemea* (Amandry 1980, 217; photograph of inscription at Amandry 1980, 218, Fig. 5; inscription at Amandry 1980, 217, recording victories of both Prateas and Aischylos: Cat. 1. 79). He was the son of Prateas (Cat. 1. 79), who was also a *Nemeonikes* and may have won his Nemean victories between ca. 371 (??) and ca. 321 BC (??). Aischylos may therefore won his Nemean victory between ca. 351 and 301 BC.

1. 86

Competitor name, patronymic: Unknown

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 351 (?) – 301 (?) BC

Inscription find spot: Olympia

Citizenship(s): -

Discipline(s): *Diaulos* or *hoplitēs* (?)

Ancient sources: Ebert 1972 48 (E6)

Catalogue entries: Strasser 2001, no. 79

An epigram, dated on the basis of letter forms to ca. 350–300 BC (Ebert 1972, 152) and found on a statue base from Olympia (Ebert 1972 48 = *Neue IvO* 25 (E6)), records the victories of a now unknown perhaps Cretan athlete (5 (not a certain restoration (Strasser 2001, 253)) at Olympia in the ὀπλιτόδρομος (i.e. as an *hoplitēs*) (2–3), in unspecified disciplines at an unknown set of games (5) and in Athens, presumably at the *Panathenaia* (6), and in what may be the δίαυλος (*diaulos*) and what is certainly the ὀπλιτοδρόμος at the *Pythia* (7–10). Since victory inscriptions at Olympia, at least down to about 300 BC, restrict themselves to mention of victories of sets of games of the *periodos* with the very occasional mention of the *Panathenaia* (Cat. 1. 25), the missing games at 5 can only be either the *Isthmia* or the *Nemea*. The restoration suggested by Ebert, [νίκασε Νέμεια], fits the space and the metre, although other restorations may be possible. If this is right, then the Nemean victory or victories of the unknown runner probably date between ca. 351 and ca. 300 BC.

1. 87

Competitor name, patronymic: K[- - -] Mv[- - -]

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 351 (?) – ca. 299 (?) BC

Inscription find spot: Lamo di Pario

Citizenship(s): Taras

Discipline(s): Gymnic discipline (?)

Ancient sources: SEG 4 79 (E29)

Catalogue entries: Strasser 2001, no. 80

A partially preserved inscription, consisting of three fragments of tile, found at Lamo di Pario, some 25 km north-west of Metapontum (Moretti 1984, 495), refers to a victory or victories won at the *Pythia* and the *Nemea* by a victor apparently from Taras ((SEG 4. 79 = Hansen 1989, 242, no. 834 (E29)). Moretti (1984, 495) notes that the inscription was found in the χώρα of Metapontum, which in the second half of the 5th century BC seems to have been heavily influenced by Taras. He dates the inscription to ca. 350–300 BC on the basis of letter forms (Moretti 1984, 496). Various suggestions as to the name (K[αλλικλῆς, K[ρατέων (Ebert 1972, 175), K[αλλων, K[έρδων, K[λεῖτος (Moretti 1984, 496)) and patronymic (Mv[ασαίο]υ (Hansen 1989, 242)) of the athlete have been made.

The discipline is unknown, but Ebert (1972, 175) speculates that, since all known Tarantine Olympic victors won in gymnic disciplines, so our man did, too, suggesting that he won in boxing. Moretti agrees, citing the point that there is only enough space for something like πύξ after the end of the name of the victor in 1 (Moretti 1984, 497).

1. 88

Competitor name, patronymic: Unknown

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 351 (?) – ca. 299 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Nemea

Citizenship: -

Discipline(s): Wrestling

Ancient sources: Nemea Archaeological Museum I 15 a–c

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 269

An inscription, one fragment of which was found in the stadium at Nemea, and the other two of which were found in the construction fill of an ancient building nearby, forms what the editor of the inscription considers to be an elegiac couplet and four feet of an apparently unfinished hexameter (although there is a slip in his analysis of the first line (Chamberlain 2001, 228), in that he scans the ‘i’ of νῖκῶ as short), his reading of the inscription as preserved on the stone today being as follows:

Λυδέ, νι[κ]ῶν θνήσκες πολλοῖσι πόνοισι παλ[α]ίσας πρῶτον μὲν ζυγὸν εἰς κλείνην Αἴγυπτον εὐρύχορον
τε Ἀ[σίαν] οὐ σοι κλει— — (Chamberlain 2001, 225).

He is unsure in particular of the fourth word in the second line (Chamberlain 2001, 228–29) and suggests that the initial letter may have been ‘δ’, instead of ‘ζ’ and that ‘δύνων’ derives in some way from ‘δύω/δύνω’ (‘to go down, to enter’). The last line is also incomplete, the final two feet of the hexameter never having been inscribed.

The first line and the first word of the second line on the stone show that the honorand has died after victory in wrestling (on the assumption that θνήσκες (1) is a historic present). The editor thinks the first word in the line is ‘Λυδέ’ and that it is a geographical reference (Chamberlain 2001, 227–28), but this seems unlikely, given that known victors from Lydia both at Nemea and at other festivals of the *periodos* date to rather later. Of the *Olympionikai* listed by Moretti (*Olympionikai*), the earliest of the definite 17 recorded Olympic victories by victors from Lydia dates to 104 BC (no. 653) and 15 are dated to the 1st century AD or after. Of *Pythionikai* from Lydia listed by Strasser (2001), the earliest (no. 194) dates to the early 2nd century AD. Of victors from Lydia listed by Kostouros (2008, 244), all are of Imperial date. The first known Lydian *Isthmionikes* dates to the 2nd century AD (Farrington 2012, 33, 33 n. 144).

Λυδός, then, is very probably a name, which, since our piece is both a funerary and victory epigram, one would expect. This, rather than the geographical origin of the deceased, is surely more likely to appear in the vocative in or near the beginning of such a poem. Λυδέ as a name has some currency at various times. The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi, visited 06.07.2020) returns a total of thirty occurrences of the name. Eight are from Thasos and date between the mid 6th century BC and ‘Hellenistic times’. Nine are from Athens and Attica (two cases known by tribe). The seven cases from Athens date between the 5th century BC and perhaps 3rd century BC. If, however, Λυδός is the name of the athlete, the references to Egypt and to Asia 3–4 are too incomplete to tell us anything of his origin, which remains a mystery.

The letter forms of the inscription probably date to the 4th century BC (Chamberlain 2001, 229), while the building in whose construction fill two of the fragments were found dates to the second half of the 4th century BC (Chamberlain 2001, 230). The editor suggests, very reasonably, that the inscription belongs to the second half of 4th century BC.

1. 89

Competitor name, patronymic: Χίλων Χίλωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 343 (??) – 323 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Patrai

Discipline(s): Wrestling (μουνοπάλης)

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 4. 6–7 (L46); Paus. 7. 6. 5.

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 92, N 181–183, J 235–238; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 461; Kostouros 2008, no. 219; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 63

Chilon won in the men's πάλη (wrestling) at the *Olympia*. Although Pausanias says that he won only once at the *Pythia* in wrestling, the epigram on the base of the statue of Chilon at Olympia that he records makes it clear that he won twice at the *Pythia* (Ebert 1972, 157–59, no. 50). He also won four times at the *Isthmia* and three times at the *Nemea* (Paus. 6. 4. 6–7 (L46)). The inscription that Pausanias gives us also states the λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν, that is, the Achaean Confederacy, buried him after he had been killed in war.

The history of the Achaean Confederacy before its revival in the 3rd century BC is obscure (e.g. Larsen 1968, 80–9). However, Pausanias, on the grounds that Lysippus produced Chilon's statue, conjectures that Cheilon died either in the battle at Chaeroneia (338 BC), in which the Achaeans took part en masse, or later, during the Lamian War (323–322 BC), in which he would have been the sole Achaean participant (Paus. 6. 4. 7), both of these operations being anti-Macedonian. Elsewhere, Pausanias states that the Achaeans were too weakened to take part in the Lamian War and that he was informed in Patrai, the *polis* of Chilon, that Chilon was the only Achaean to do so (Paus. 7. 6. 5). If Chilon was indeed the sole participant in the Lamian War from Achaia, this would have been a compelling reason for the Achaeans to give him the funerary honours mentioned in the epigram (Paus. 6. 4. 6. (L46)).

If Pausanias is right, Chilon was dead by 322 BC. If he was no more than forty when he died, then his victories, may lie between ten and twenty years in the past, with the Nemean victories won perhaps between 343 and 323 BC.

1. 90

Competitor name, patronymic: Σάτυρος Λυσιδάκτης

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 337 (?) – ca. 321 (?) BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Elis

Discipline(s): Boxing

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 4. 5 (L45); *IG VII* 414. 22–3, 25–6; *ETO* 520. 22–3, 25–6

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 94, N 184–188; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 126, no. 462; Strasser 2001, 66, no. 82; Kostouros 2008, no. 180

Satyros, a member of the Iamidai, the prophetic clan of Olympia (main modern works on Iamidai: Maddoli et al. 2003, 181 (on Paus. 6. 2. 5)), won five Nemean victories in boxing, in addition to two at the Delphic *Pythia* and two at Olympia (Paus. 6. 4. 5. (L45)). Pausanias tells us that Satyros' statue was produced by Silanion, whose *floruit* Pliny puts in the 113th Olympiad (328–324 BC) (Plin. *HN* 34. 51). Furthermore, a catalogue of victors from the Amphiaraion (*IG VII* 414 + *SEG* 1 126 = *ETO* 520. 22–3, 25–6) records the victories of a Satyros of Elis in the men's boxing and men's *pankration* in a set of games. The full title of the games has been lost, but they are μεγάλα (1) and so can only be the Μεγάλα Ἀμφιαράϊα, given that both fragments were found in the environs of the Amphiaraeion. The Athenians took back Oropos from the Boeotians in perhaps 335 BC (Knoepfler 1993, 295–96) and a decree of 329/8 BC (*IG VII* 4253 = *ETO* 298) prescribes honours for those who had the ἐπιμέλεια of the games and other matters regarding τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου (12–14). Knoepfler (1993, 297) assumes that the decree refers to the first iteration of the Μεγάλα Ἀμφιαράϊα, on the grounds that the scale of the activities were such as to require ten ἐπιμεληταί, among whom there were a number of celebrities, headed by Phanodemos, the Atthidographer (Phanodemos: *ETO* 207, 19), who at an earlier stage proposed a now unknown πεντετερίς, which, however, must surely be the Μεγάλα Ἀμφιαράϊα (*IG VII* 4253. 11–4 = Petrakos no. 297 (332/1 BC)). Knoepfler also believes that the victor catalogue records the victors of the first iteration of

the Μεγάλα Ἀμφιαράια. This he puts in 329/8 BC (although does not exclude the possibility that it records the victors of second iteration in 325/4 BC) (Knoepfler 1993, 299), in view of the large number of Athenian competitors and the presence of victors in various events for various types of πολεμήστρια (war chariots) (ETO 250.38–42), which one would not expect, if the Boeotians had still held Oropos (Knoepfler 1993, 285, 291). The high quality of the inscription also suggests that it was produced for the first iteration of the games.

The origin and disciplines of the Satyros recorded at Oropos and the fact that the *floruit* of Silanion, the sculptor of the statue of the Satyros at Olympia, dates to about this time strongly suggest that the Oropos Satyros is Pausanias' man. The five Nemean victories mentioned by Pausanias, if they were won in the same discipline (as Pausanias implies they were) at successive iterations of the *Nemea*, presuppose a career of nine years and, since Pausanias does not refer to victories won as a παῖς or ἀγένειος, were perhaps won as an ἀνὴρ. If this were so, it would take Satyros into his late 20s, a notably late age. If Satyros won at the Amphiararaia of 329 BC and won a Nemean victory that year, too, then perhaps his Nemean victories lie between 337 and 321 BC. Strasser (2001, 66, no. 82) suggests that Satyros' Pythian victories fell between ca. 340 and ca. 320 BC.

1. 91

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἡρόδωρος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 325 (?) – ca. 285 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Megara

Discipline(s): Trumpeter

Ancient sources: Ath. 414f–415b (L6)

Catalogue entries: Knab 1934, no. 19; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 468, 472, 477, 481, 485, 492, 499, 509, 526, 532; Strasser 2001, no. 89; Farrington 2012, no. 2. 2

Herodorus is reported to have been *periodonikes* either ten times (Ath. 414f–415a (L6), reporting Amarantos of Alexandria (2nd century AD) and Nestor (1st century BC (?) (L6)) or 17 (Poll. *Onom.* 4. 89). The latter figure is unlikely, since, as Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 127, no. 468) notes, seventeen victories presuppose a career at the highest level of at least seventy years (this exaggeration perhaps reflecting the tendency of trumpeters (σαλπιγκταί, *salpinktai*) to enjoy much longer careers than athletes). The only dated event in Herodorus' life occurs during a siege of Argos by Demetrios Poliorketes (Ath. 415a), which may date to 303 BC (Manni 1951, 34, 34 n. 21), when Herodorus uses his trumpet skills to encourage the troops of Demetrios.

This suggests that Herodorus was at the peak of his skills about 303 BC and so his Nemean victories may have occurred between ca. 325 and ca. 285 BC. Strasser (2001, 69, no. 89) puts his Pythian victories between ca. 330 and ca. 280 BC and Moretti tentatively puts his Olympic victories between 328 and 292 BC (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 127, no. 468; 135, no. 532).

1. 92

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀρχιππος Καλλιφάνους

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 325 – ca. 275 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: Olympia

Citizenship(s): Mytilene

Discipline(s): Boxing

Ancient sources: IvO 173; Paus. 6. 15. 1 (L56)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 98, J 241, N 200; Knab 1934, no. 22; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 503; Strasser 2001, no. 95; Kostouros 2008, no. 27; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 77

Pausanias reports that Archippos, whose patronymic he does not give, won in boxing ‘not far from the age of twenty’ one victory each (‘τὸν... λάβοι στέφανον’) at the *Olympia*, *Pythia*, *Nemea* and *Isthmia* (Paus. 6. 15. 1 (L58)), which may mean that he won all these victories in a single cycle of the *periodos* or, as Strasser suggests, that he may have won some of them as a παῖς or as an ἀγένειος (at the *Isthmia* and *Nemea*). Archippos is very probably the honorand of an inscription on a statue base, given the space on the stone and the find-spot of the inscription (*IvO* col. 299), whose letter forms date it to the late 4th or early 3rd century BC. The inscription preserves only the initial letter of the honorand, but does however give his ethnic (‘Μυτιληναῖος’) and patronymic (not given by Pausanias) (*IvO* 173: (‘Α[ρχιππος]|Καλλιφάνους|Μυτιληναῖος’)). The surviving part of the inscription also does not give what Pausanias reports of Archippos’ sporting record. Perhaps Archippos’ Nemean victory dates between ca. 325 and ca. 275 BC.

1. 93

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀθηνόδωρος Σήμονος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 325 – ca. 275 BC

Inscription find spot: Ephesus

Citizenship(s): Ephesus

Discipline(s): Boxing (boys)

Ancient sources: *I. Ephesos* 1415 (E11); *I. Ephesos* 2005

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 8

At *I. Ephesos* 1415 (E11) (*I. Ephesos* 1415. 4–17. (E11)), Athenodoros, son of Semon (the patronymic appearing as ‘Σήμονος’ at *I. Ephesos* 1415 (E11). 5 and as ‘Σήμωνος’ at *I. Ephesos* 2005. 2), is rewarded by the city of Ephesus for his victory in the boys’ boxing (*I. Ephesos* 1415. 6) with honours ‘laid down by law for victors in gymnastic (‘σώματι’ (11)) disciplines at the *Nemea*’ (*I. Ephesos* 1415. 10–12). He is also awarded Ephesian citizenship (*I. Ephesos* 1415. 15–17). A ‘son of Semon’ also appears at *I. Ephesos* 2005. 1–2, who, since he, too, is a victor in some boys’ discipline at the *Nemea*, must surely be our Athenodoros and *I. Ephesos* 2005 must therefore date to about the same time as *I. Ephesos* 1415. Here, in *I. Ephesos* 2005, the council of Ephesus decides to sell two Ephesian citizenships to fund the training of Semon’s son (*I. Ephesos* 2005. 9–13).

There are two indications of the date of *I. Ephesos* 1415 (E11). The formulae used suggest a date for *I. Ephesos* 1415–1416 between ca. 315 and ca. 280 BC (Walser 2008, 345). Secondly, the proposer, Herogeiton, of *I. Ephesos* 1416. 2–1, whose similarities to *I. Ephesos* 1415 suggest that it may date to about the same time, appears in *I. Ephesos* 2005, which perhaps dates to around 302–301 BC, according to the editors. Thus Athenodoros’ victory may lie between ca. 315 and ca. 281 BC.

1. 94

Competitor name, patronymic: Τιμόναξ Δαρδάνου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 325 (??) – 275 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: Ephesus

Citizenship(s): Ephesus

Discipline(s): -

Ancient sources: *I. Ephesos* 1416. 19–21 (E12)

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 202; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 78

Timonax won in some unspecified discipline ‘in the past’ (‘πρότερόν’ (*I. Ephesos* 1416. 19 (E12))) at the *Isthmia* in some παῖδες discipline and subsequently at the *Nemea* (*I. Ephesos* 1416. 18–20. (E12)), perhaps no longer as a παῖς. This information appears at the beginning of a decree which forms part of a series apparently granting

citizenship to individuals in recognition of their sporting record. This at least is the subject of the preceding decree (*I. Ephesos* 1415), which records the granting of citizenship to Athenodoros (Cat. 1. 93.), while the three surviving lines of the decree previous to the Athenodoros decree show that it, too, involved the grant of Ephesian citizenship. The decree involving Timonax may therefore also have recorded the grant of citizenship, although Timonax' father is said to have requested the βουλή of Ephesus to provide support for something now lost from the text, perhaps financial help for the athletic training of Timonax (just as Athenodoros' trainer apparently appeals to the βουλή for financial help for Athenodoros' training expenses (*I. Ephesos* 2005. 3–8.) (Cat. 1. 93)). Perhaps the decree involved both the grant of citizenship and provision of funds for Timonax.

The proposer of the Athenodoros decree is a Ἡρογείτων, who may be the Ἡρογείτων who appears in a decree granting citizenship to a certain Euphronius (*I. Ephesos* 1449. 1), which may date to around 302–301 BC (Robert 1967, 15–6). Timonax's victories may then lie between ca. 325 and 275 BC.

1. 95

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀστυάναξ

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 325 (?) – 317 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Miletus

Discipline(s): Pankration (?) or boxing (??)

Ancient sources: POxy. III 409. 104–6 (L127); Ath. 413a; George the Synkellos 331. 4 (L133) (Mosshammer 1984, 521, 331. 4).

Catalogue entries: Knab 1934, 17; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 479; Strasser 2001, no. 90; Kostouros 2008, no. 28. According to a scholion to Menander's *Kolax*, perhaps written after 315 BC (Gomme and Sandbach 1973, 422), Astyanax was both παγκρατιαστής and πύκτης (POxy. III 409. 102–6. (L127)) and he won in one of these disciplines at the 116th Olympiad (316 BC) (POxy. III 409. 104–6), while winning overall in the *pankration* three times at Olympia (Ath. 413a (L7); George the Synkellos 331. 4. (L133)). The Menander scholion quotes Eratosthenes, who in a book whose number is now lost of his Ὀλυμπιονίκαι says of Astyanax in his entry for 116th Olympia, 'Ἀστυάναξ ὁ Μιλήσιος ἑτὴν περίοδον ἀκονίτει', although Astyanax' discipline is not specified. As Moretti points out, that Astyanax won the *periodos* six times, from 336 to 316 BC is impossible. There is first the supposed feat of winning at every contest in the *periodos* six times, which would imply a career at the very highest level of success for at least 25 years and then the even smaller possibility that Astyanax' reputation throughout this period was such as to scare off possible rivals, to allow him to win ἀκονίτει six times. This is also to ignore the possibility that Dioxippos may have won the παγκράτιον in 336 BC (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 129, no. 479; Dioxippos: Cat. 2. 9).

Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 129, no. 479) suggested that, instead, Astyanax was the sixth ever to win ἀκονίτει in the παγκράτιον (although the Menander scholion is not clear as to the discipline, or disciplines, in which Astyanax won at Olympia). This is more probable than assuming six victories in all of the sets of games of the *periodos* ἀκονίτει, although Moretti has difficulty in identifying the previous five victors. Perhaps what Eratosthenes wrote, presumably in some comment on the entries for the 116th Olympiad, was ἕκτος, which became corrupted in the scholion at some stage from the ordinal ('sixth') to the cardinal 'ς' (i.e. 'six times'), and Moretti is right, but more attractive, because it assumes less disturbance to the text, is the suggestion of Gomme and Sandbach, who suggest that the 'ς' in the Menander scholion started life as a 'γ' ('three times') (Gomme and Sandbach 1973, 428 (on *Kolax* 100)) and was subsequently miscopied, which would agree with the testimonia from Athenaeus and Syncellus. Since Astyanax was both a wrestler and pancratiast and since the Menander scholion does not actually specify the discipline or disciplines in which Astyanax won ἀκονίτει, it is possible he won two victories ἀκονίτει in one discipline and one in the other. Perhaps he won first one victory ἀκονίτει at one cycle of the *periodos* and his growing fame meant that he won two during the following cycle,

although he need not have won at every set of games over one iteration and it may have taken him more than two iterations to achieve the feat of being a three-time ἀκονιτεῖ *periodonikes*. In fact, a period of more than two iterations might have given time for his fame to spread and for his potential opponents to be overawed and so avoid combat. The fact that Eratosthenes' comment quoted in the Menander scholion refers to the Olympiad of 316 BC and that he was *periodonikes* three (so we suggest) suggests that Astyanax' last Olympic victory was in that year.

As for victories at the *Nemea*, Astyanax won at least once, presumably in either πυγμῇ or παγκράτιον. His one, or more, victories are perhaps to be placed between 325 and 317 BC.

1. 96

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀντήνωρ Ξενάρεος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 323 (??) – ca. 307 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Miletus, Athens

Discipline(s): Pankration (*ageneion*)

Ancient sources: Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 395. 335–36; *IG V 2 549. 20–21* (E20)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, 96, nos. 239–240; 105, no. 190–191; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 131, no. 488; Strasser 2001, 70, no. 92; Kostouros 2008, no. 15; Farrington 2012, 71, no. 2. 3

Antenor, from 'Athens and Miletus', was victorious ἀκονιτεῖ in the men's *pankration* at the *Olympia* in 308 BC and was also a *periodonikes* (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 395. 335–339) (L27); Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 131, no. 466). The notice in Eusebius also says that he was ἀλειπτος ('undefeated') in all three age categories. Since Antenor was uncontestedly victorious in all three age-groups and since there were no competitions for ἀγένεοι at either the *Olympia* or the *Pythia*, this must mean that he won at least one victory in the ἀγένεοι age-group at either the *Isthmia* or the *Nemea*.

An Ἀντήνωρ Ξενάρεος, who, because he is a Milesian, is presumably our man, occurs at *IG V 2 549. 20–21* (*IG V 2 549* (E20)). This inscription is a series of victor lists at three iterations of the *Lykaia* and Antenor is recorded as being victorious in the men's *pankration* in the first iteration recorded in *IG V 2 549* Col. 3. 7–13 (E20) and 14–29 of *IG V 2 550* (E21)) are victor lists at two other iterations of the *Lykaia* (while *IG V 2 550* Col. 1. 1 – Col. 3. 1–6 seems to be a list of office holders). It is usually assumed that chronologically 550 directly follows 549 (or vice versa), with no intervening gap or lacuna and on balance it is probably true that no victory list has been lost, as we shall see below and that one inscription uninterrupted follows the other chronologically. *IG V 2 550* mentions a victory in the συνωπὶς by Lagos, son of Ptolemaios (*IG V 2 550* Col. 3. 8–9), and a victory in the mens' *dolichos* by Ageus (*IG V 2 550* Col. 3. 13). Ageus was victorious in the same event at *Olympia* in 328 (= Ol. 113) and made the journey to Argos to report the event on the same day (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 395. 324–325) (L28)).

On the basis of *IG IV 428* (IAG 40), a list of the victories of Kallistratos of Sikyon, which clearly presents Kallistratos' victories in the *paides* age-group in chronological order at least in the cases of games of which the periodicity is known (*IG IV 428* Col. 1. 2–11), Klee showed that the *Lykaia*, whether trieteric or penteteric (Klee 1918, 68), fell in the summer after the *Olympia* (Klee 1918, 54, 54, n. 2). 320 BC was an Olympic year. Since the *Lykaia* fell in the year after the *Olympia* and since Lagos was born after 323 BC (Ath. 576e) (and, despite being a child, could have competed in equestrian contests), his victory at the *Lykaia* cannot have occurred before 319 BC.

Thus column 3. 8–9 of *IG V 2 550* (E21) records a victory by Lagos that occurred in 319 BC or after. The victory of Ageus at the *Lykaia* in the victory list of this same iteration suggests two further points: one concerns the periodicity of the *Lykaia*. As we have just seen, the *Lykaia* were held in the summer following the *Olympia*

of 320 BC, that is, in 319 BC. If they were trieteric, they would have been held next in 317 BC, or, if penteteric, next in 315 BC. Since, however, Ageus was victorious at Olympia in 328 BC, when (we guess) he was about 20, it seems unlikely, although admittedly not impossible, that he would still have been victorious in the men's *dolichos* at the *Lykaia* thirteen years later, at the putative penteteric iteration of the *Lykaia* of 315 BC, when on the assumption that he was about 20 in 328 BC he would have probably been in his early 30s (because Ptolemy won a victory in the συνωρίς πωλική event at the *Pythia* in 314 BC, Klee (1918, 67, referring to Paus. 10. 7. 8) suggests that Ptolemy therefore kept a stable in Greece at the time and that Lagos' victory at the *Lykaia* dates to 315 BC). A date of 317 BC for the next iteration of the *Lykaia* is therefore more likely and so it seems more probable than not that the *Lykaia* were trieteric, rather than penteteric. If they were, this leads to our other point, which is that Col. 3. 7–13 of *IG V 2. 550* perhaps record the victors in the iteration of 319 (trieteric) or 317 BC (penteteric) and III. 14–29 victors in the iteration of 317 (trieteric) or 315 BC (penteteric).

Klee (1918, 66–8) was clearly right in assuming that *IG V 2 549* follows *IG V 2 550* chronologically, but did so on the not very sound grounds that, had *IG V 2 549* been dated to before *IG V 2 550*, then we might have expected to see mention of other victories by the *Olympionikes* Ageus in *IG V 2 549*. There are, however, more compelling reasons for dating *IG V 2 549* after *IG V 2 550*. Since Antenor was victorious at Olympia in 308 BC, it is reasonable to assume that his victory at the *Lykaia* occurred within, say, seven years either side of this date, that, is between 315 BC (if the *Lykaia* were trieteric) or 303 BC (whether they were trieteric or penteteric). On the assumption that there is no gap between the end of the lists in *IG V 2 550* and the beginning of the lists in *IG V 2 549* and that the *Lykaia* were trieteric, if we date *IG V 2 550* after *IG V 2 549*, this pushes Ageus' victory at the *Lykaia*, which we have already suggested dates to 317 BC at the latest, down to 305 BC. This gives him an impossibly long career of at least 25 years, from 328 to 303 BC, as a prize-winning δολιχοδρόμος. Thus *IG V 2 549* follows *IG V 2 550*. This also tends to support our assumption that the lists of 549 directly follow those of 550 chronologically. If this were not so and if the victory list of one or more iteration had therefore been lost, this would add two or more years to the careers of Antenor and Ageus. In the case of Antenor, this would actually lessen the length of his career (from 317 BC at the earliest to 308 BC), but in the case of Ageus (from 328 to at least 317 BC), it would at least lessen his chances of success.

As for the date of Antenor's Nemean victory or victories, if he was victorious at the *Lykaia* in 317, perhaps at about the age of 20, in the men's *pankration* and at the *Olympia* in 308 BC, then, if he won in the ἀγένοι at the *Nemea*, perhaps he did so in 321 BC and if as a παῖς, which is possible, then perhaps in 323 BC. His career may have gone on until to perhaps 307 BC, if not later.

Antenor was granted Athenian citizenship in 306/305 BC (*IG II² 169 + 472 = corrigenda 472* (Cp. *SEG 21 335*)), which presumably accounts for the doubt in Eusebius as to his *polis*. He also appears in 282 BC as a guarantor for loan from Cnidus to Miletus needed to pay taxes to Lysimachus (*I. Delphinion 138* Col. 1. 44) and was *stephanophoros* at Miletus in 279/278 BC (*I. Delphinion 123. 322*). In addition to his engagement in the civic life of Miletus, he was considered a paradigm of strength, both purely physical (Ath. 135d) and sexual (Ath. 578f).

1. 97

Competitor name, patronymic: Νικαγόρας Νίκωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 319 (?) – 311 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Lindos

Citizenship(s): Lindos (?)

Discipline(s): *Harma teleion*, *synōris pōlikē*, *kelēs teleios*

Ancient sources: *I. Lindos 68* (E13)

Catalogue entries: Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 490–491; Strasser 2001, no. 94; Kostouros 2008, no. 145; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 73

An inscription (*I. Lindos* 68 (E13)) records the victories of Nikagoras, who won the equestrian events of ἄρμα τέλειον (*harma teleion*), συνωρίς πωλική and κέλῃς τέλειος (*kelēs teleios*) at the *Nemea* (*I. Lindos* 68. 5 (E13)). Even after the creation of the *polis* of Rhodes in ca. 408 BC, in which some parts, at least, of the population of other cities on Rhodes moved to the new *polis*, the other cities continued to function as *poleis* (Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004, 1203). Since the inscription recording Nikagoras' dedication to Lindian Athena does not record an ethnic, he was probably a Lindian.

Nikagoras was also victorious at the *Olympia* in the *kelēs teleios* and *synōris teleia*, at the *Pythia* in the *harma teleion*, at the *Isthmia* in the *harma teleion*, *kelēs teleios* and *synōris teleia* (*I. Lindos* 68. 2–4 (E13)). In games of lesser rank, he won in the *harma pōlikōn* event at the *Panathenaia* and at the Sicyonian *Pythia*, where he was also victorious in the *synōris teleia* and the *kelēs* (*I. Lindos* 68. 6, 8 (E13)). He also won in the *harma teleion* at the *Hecatomboia* and in some *synōris* discipline at the *Lykaia*, which was probably the *synōris teleia* (see below on *IG V* 2 549, Col. 3. 27 (E20)).

A Nikagoras, who is a Rhodian and victorious in the *synōris teleia* and is therefore very probably our man, appears in a victor list from the *Lykaia* that may date between 317 and 315 BC (*IG V* 2 550, Col. 3. 27 (E20, E21)). Blinkenberg (*I. Lindos* p. 282) identifies our Nikagoras with this victor at the *Lykaia* (date of *IG V* 2 550: p. 120–21). Blinkenberg suggests that Nikon, priest of Poseidon Hippios at Lindos in 302 BC, was the father of Nikagoras (Blinkenberg 1937, 26, no. 23). Unsurprisingly, Blinkenberg does not offer an identification of the sculpture whose signature preceded [ἐ]ποίησε in 10.

In the Lindos inscription Nikagoras notably did not win twice at any of the equestrian disciplines (and indeed multiple wins in the same equestrian disciplines are rare), which may mean that his victories were gained at one, or at most two, iterations. If so and if we also make two more assumptions, namely that the victory at the *Lykaia* occurred in either 317 or 315 BC and that Nikagoras' *Olympia* and *Pythia* victories were gained at two iterations at most from those of the *Olympia* of 320, 316 and 312 and from those of the *Pythia* of 318, 314 or 310, then perhaps Nikagoras' *Nemea* victories date between 319 and 311 BC.

1. 98

Competitor name, patronymic: Νικανδρος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 315 (?) – ca. 275 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Elis

Discipline(s): Track discipline

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 16. 5. (L58)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, N 192–97; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 494, 501; Kostouros 2008, no. 146

Nikandros won the δίαυλος (*diaulos*) twice at *Olympia* and acquired a total of six victories in δρόμος disciplines at the *Nemea* and *Isthmia* together (Paus. 6. 16. 5. (L58)). His statue at *Olympia* was produced by Daippos (Paus. 6. 16. 5. (L58)), one of the sons of Lysippos, whose *floruit* Pliny places in the 121st Olympiad, that is, 296 BC (Plin. *HN* 34. 51; Daippos: Griffin 1982, 142–143). Perhaps Nikandros won his not more than five victories at the *Nemea* in track disciplines between ca. 315 and ca. 275 BC.

1. 99

Competitor name, patronymic: Τιμόθεος Εὐφάνεως

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 305 (?) – ca. 271 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: Rhodes

Citizenship(s): Lindos (?)

Discipline(s): Boys' *dolichos*

Ancient sources: Pugliese Carratelli (1986/1987) [1991] 267–93, 275 no. 8 (E28)

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 199

Timotheus' victory in the boy's δόλιχος (*dolichos*) at the *Nemea* was commemorated by a statue (Pugliese Carratelli 1986/1987 [1991], 275 no. 8 = *SEG* 41. 651 (E28)) produced by the Rhodian Mnasitimos, who was active around 300 BC (*SEG* 41. 651, p.223; *I. Lindos* 8), his father, Aristonidas, being active around 340–330 BC (Muller-Dufeu 2002, 763). Mnasitimos is also recorded in a list of ἱεροποιοί from Kameiros (Segre and Pugliese Carratelli (1949–1951) [1952] 13.L. 13 (ca. 285 BC)). Α Τιμόθεος Εὐφανεὺς Λινδοπολίτης may perhaps have been priest of Athena Lindia in ca. 270 (the restoration is highly conjectural) (*SEG* 41 651; *I. Lindos* pp. 67, 112, D (*IG* XII 1 767) 767)). If this is our Nemean victor and if he held this priesthood between the ages of 30 and 40, then perhaps his victory at the *Nemea* occurred between ca. 305 and ca. 271 BC.

1. 100

Competitor name, patronymic: Πυθαγόρας

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 303 (??) – 293 (??) BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Magnesia on the Maeander

Discipline(s): *Stadion* and/or other track discipline

Ancient sources: Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 395. 340, 346); *POxy.* XVII 2082, fig. 4. 16–20, 34–5 (L29)

Catalogue entries: Knab 1933, no. 20; Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 500, 511; Strasser 2001, no. 96; Kostouros 2008, no. 176; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 79

Pythagoras, who, according to the Armenian version of Eusebius' victor list, came from Magnesia on the Maeander ((Christesen 2007, 395)), won the *stadion* at Olympia first in 300 BC (Ol. 120) (Eusebius (Christesen 2007, 395. 340)) and then in 296 BC (Ol. 121) (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 396. 346)). He also had two, or three, victories (the manuscript, as Strasser (2001, 71) notes, is too damaged to be clear), presumably in the men's σταδιον, at the *Pythia*, five victories at the *Isthmia* and perhaps seven at the *Nemea* (*POxy.* XVII 2082, fig. 4. 16–20 (Christesen 2007, 446) (L129)). There is another Μάγνης, [- - - - -]ς, at *POxy.* XVII 2082, fig. 4. 30–1, also listed under the entry for 296 BC as twice winner in the ὀπλείτης, who may be our Pythagoras (although Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 134, no. 521) does not think so). Knab (1934, 33), who thinks that this unknown athlete is our man, suggests that these two victories occurred at each of the two Olympiads for which Eusebius records Pythagoras' *stadion* victories.

[ἐπ]τάκις is probably the right restoration at *POxy.* XVII 2082, fig. 4.16–7, at the spot at which Pythagoras' Nemean victories are mentioned, since the only other possible restoration seems to be [ὀκ]τάκις, which is even less likely. It seems possible that some of these seven victories were won at the same iteration of the *Nemea*. Even if we assume that Pythagoras won at three iterations of the *Pythia*, in 302, 298 and 294 BC, there were only six iterations of the *Nemea* between 303 and 293 BC. If Pythagoras won at only two iterations of the *Pythia*, in 302 and 298 or in 298 and 294 BC, there were only four iterations between 303 and 297 or between 301 and 293 BC, thus making it even more certain that Pythagoras won in more than one discipline at the same iteration. These disciplines were likely to have been various track events, as we find track athletes victorious in a range of track events.

Thus Pythagoras' victories at the *Nemea* may date between 303 and 293 BC.

1. 101

Competitor name, patronymic: Νικῶν

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 301 (?) – 295 (?) BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Anthedon

Discipline(s): Pankration

Ancient sources: POxy. XVII 2082, fg. 4. 27–9; Steph. Byz., s.v. ‘Ἀνθηδών’; Eust. *Il.* 271, 33.

Catalogue entries: Moretti, *Olympionikai*, nos. 504, 517; Strasser 2001, 72, no. 101; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 80

Nikon of Anthedon (Steph. Byz., s.v. ‘Ἀνθηδών’; Van der Valk 1971, 416. 7–8 (272. 33)) (Steph. Byz., s.v. ‘Ἀνθηδών’; Van der Valk 1971, 416. 7–8 (272. 33); proclamation of Nikon as winner in *pankration* without victories specified: Eust. *Il.* 271, 33) won twice in the men’s *pankration* at the *Olympia*, one of these two victories being won in 296 BC at the 121st. Olympiad (POxy. XVII 2082, fg. 4. 24–5 (Christesen 2007, 446)). He also won in this discipline twice at the *Pythia*, and four times at both the *Isthmia* and the *Nemea* (POxy. XVII 2082, fg. 4. 24–5 (Christesen 2007, 446)). It is not clear from the entry in POxy. XVII 2082 whether Nikon’s first Olympic victory was in 296 or 300 BC (if one assumes that there was no intervening Olympiad). However, the entry for Pythagoras of Magnesia, who from Eusebius’ victor list is known to have won in the *stadion* first in 300 BC and then in 296 BC (Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 395–96. 340 (300 BC), 346 (296 BC)); Pythagoras: Cat. 1. 97), for the same Olympiad is phrased in nearly the same way as that of Nikon (POxy. XVII 2082 fg. 4. 17–21 (Pythagoras) (L128); POxy. XVII 2082, fg. 4. 26–9 (Nikon) (L130)), which may mean that Nikon’s first Olympic victory also fell in 300 BC (which is Moretti’s (*Olympionikai*, 132–33, nos. 504, 517) view of the matter). Perhaps the four victories at the *Nemea* are to be placed between 301 and 295 BC.

1. 102

Competitor name, patronymic: Εὐάγκριτος Τρίακος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 301 (?) – ca. 261 (?) BC

Inscription find spot: Thebes

Citizenship(s): Thebes

Discipline(s): Pankration (?)

Ancient sources: IG VII 2470 (E22)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, J 242–243, N 201; Kostouros 2008, no. 158; Farrington 2012 I. 76

Euagkritos, a pancratiast, won in the boys’ *pankration* and in the *pankration* μεσάταν ἀλικίαν (that is, of the ἀγένητοι) at the *Isthmia*, if Peek’s reading of the end I 1 (... παῖδα[ς ἐν Ἰ]σθ[μῶι] (1)) is correct (Peek 1935, 235, no. 5.), which it must surely be (IG VII 2470 = IAG 36 (E22)).

The syntax of 1–3 of IG VII 2470 (E22) is not immediately obvious. Ebert (1972, 170) suggests that the construction involved is either an accusative and infinitive, with the infinitive εἶναι to be supplied after τις ἐρεῖ (2) (‘Somebody [i.e. in the future, as he looks at the statue of Euagkritos] will say that I, conquering the παῖδας at the *Isthmia* and the middle age group again (i.e. ἀγένητοι), almighty (πάμμαχος) as I am, am Εὐάγκριτος’ (with a play on the name Εὐάγκριτος intended)) or that the indirect statement dependent on τις ἐρεῖ assumes the form of the participle κρατέοντα (1) (‘Someone will say that I, Euagkritos, conquer the boys at the *Isthmia*, almighty as I am, and that again I conquer the middle age group’). Given the position at the beginning of the piece of the word πάμμαχος, however, and since the poem makes clear that Euagkritos won in every category, perhaps we do have an accusative and infinitive with εἶναι unexpressed, but with Εὐάγκριτον as the subject and πάμμαχον as predicate (‘Somebody will say that Euagkritos, conquering the boys at the *Isthmia* and again the middle age group, is πάμμαχος.’). Since the word πάμμαχος is used of pancratiasts (Ebert 1972, 171), this interpretation at

least has the merit of stating, albeit obliquely, Euagkritos' discipline at the very beginning of the poem, so that it is clear from the start in what event he was victorious in his sweep through all three age categories.

As Ebert (1972, 171), who shows that ἡϊθέων (4) can mean, when used in agonistic vocabulary, 'young ἀνὴρ', Euagkritos won in the men's category at Nemea. Πάμμαχος (1) is used of pancratiasts (Ebert 1972, 171), which, with its prominent position as the first word of the poem, suggests that the discipline of all Euagkritos' victories was the *pankration*. Thus the poem presents his victories in ascending order of age category.

Lines 5–6 are also opaque. Moretti (1953, 92) thought that they meant 'By Dirke the youths of the Greeks openly award me very many prizes' and concluded that the lines referred to victories won by Euagkritos in Thebes. Ebert's treatment of these lines is more convincing (Ebert 1972, 172). He points out that there is no second μοι, which Moretti's interpretation implies that there should be, and that Moretti leaves the γάρ in 5 unexplained. Ebert suggests that νέοι (5) is predicative and that Ἑλληνων (5) is a partitive genitive after οἱ παρὰ Δίρκῃ, which produces 'For, of the Greeks, those by Dirke win the most prizes (and do so) young (Ebert 1972, 172)'. The gap between the content of 4–5, in which we simply have reference to the Nemean victory in the men's category, and the γάρ of 5 is therefore filled by some thought like 'The success of Euagkritos in all three age classes in the games of the *periodos* is no surprise.'

The statue of Euagkritos was signed by Teisikrates, who was active as early as 306–303 BC. Teisikrates' latest dated work was produced in 273/2 BC or after (Griffin 1982, 144, 144 n. 6) and he may have worked down to the 260s BC (*IAG*, p. 93). Teisikrates had a son, Thoinias, also a sculptor and active around 220 BC (*IAG*, p. 93), which suggests that the inscription may date between ca. 300 and ca. 260 BC. Klee (1918, 106) places it around 300 BC and Moretti (1953, 93) ca. 300–280 BC, without explanation.

CATALOGUE OF NEMEONIKAI

PART TWO: DOUBTFUL NEMEONIKAI

CA. 573 – CA. 300 BC

2. 1

Competitor name, patronymic: Τερψίας

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 559 (???) – ca. 551 BC (???)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Corinth

Discipline(ss): -

Ancient sources: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 40–6.

Catalogue entries: -

Terpsias won at either the *Pythia* or the *Nemea* or at both, perhaps in the mid 550s BC. He was the brother of Ptoiodoros, the grandfather of Xenophon, who won the *stadion* at Olympia in 464 BC (Cat. 1. 57; Terpsias' position in Xenophon's family: Cat. 2. 2).

2. 2

Competitor name, patronymic: Πτοιοδωρος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 545 (??) – ca. 535 (??) BC

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Corinth

Discipline(s): -

Ancient sources: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 41–3

Catalogue entries: Farrington 2012, no. 1. 21

At Pind. *Ol.* 13. 29–46, Pindar gives first the victory catalogue of Xenophon (Cat. 1. 57) (29–34) (Xenophon: Cat. 1. 57) and then that of his father, Thessalos (35–40). In a third catalogue, at 41–43, Ptoiodoros, Terpsias and Eritimos are said first to have won Isthmian victories and at 44–46 are said between them to have gained victories at Delphi and Nemea (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 29–46 (L117)). Ptoiodoros, Terpsias and Eritimos need not all have won both at the *Pythia* and the *Nemea*, since Pindar's words (i.e. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 44–5), stripped of their encomiastic hyperbole, might mean merely that each of the three won at only one of the two sets of games, which then means that we have no proof that Ptoiodoros won at the *Nemea*. There is also no clue as to the disciplines in which each of the three won.

Eritimos is grouped by Pindar with Ptoiodoros and Terpsias and so must date to about their time. The identification and thus the dating of Ptoiodoros is straightforward. At 41, Ptoiodoros is the father whom, together with Terpsias and Eritimos, victory songs pursue (41–42). Taken out of context, the passage seems to suggest, and has suggested to earlier commentators (e.g. Gildersleeve (Barrett 2007, 101–2)), that Ptoiodoros is the father of Terpsias and Eritimos. However, 40–46 is the final of a series of victory catalogues that seems to be assembled chronologically, if not arranged strictly in terms of generations. The sequence of catalogues begins with that of Xenophon (29–34), the victor of the ode. The catalogue of his father, Thessalos (35–40) (Strasser

2001, 39, no. 21), whose starting point is signalled by the words ‘πατὴρ δὲ Θεσσαλόι’ (35), comes next, with one victory at Olympia, two at the *Pythia*, three in Athens (presumably the *Panathenaia*) and seven at the *Hellotia*, although Barrett believes that Thessalos also won a victory or victories at the *Isthmia*. He wishes to understand a dative governed by ἔψοντα(ι) (42) (Barrett 2007, 102), since he assumes that, because the proximity of the Isthmus to Corinth and because of the supposedly lower level of competition there in comparison to standards at Olympia and Delphi, Thessalos must inevitably have won at the *Isthmia* (Barrett 2007, 102). Because, then, 40–42 do indeed deal with Isthmian victories (40, ‘ἐν δ’ ἀμφιάλοισι Ποτειδᾶνος τεθμοῖσιν’), Barrett wishes to supply an implicit αὐτῶι governed by ἔψοντα(ι) in 42, which then refers to Thessalos, who, as Barrett believes, is also supposedly an *Isthmionikes*. Barrett then also believes that the two τε in 42 are retrospective and that their dative case is associated with σύν in 41 (although he also believes that Τερψίαι and Ἐριτίμωι are to be construed with ἔψοντα(ι) (Barrett 2007, 102)). In fact, Barrett is almost certainly incorrect in assuming that Thessalos was victorious at the Isthmus, because in no other victory catalogue in Pindar are the victories of one individual split between two catalogues, particularly in a fashion as obscure as this, and the practice would probably have confused listeners, even if they knew the record of the athletes in question, and would certainly have detracted from the focus upon the deeds of the main honorand. Thus, had Thessalos won an Isthmian victory, we would expect so important a feat to be listed in the normal place, that is, in Thessalos’ own catalogue (35–40), which, of course, it is not. Barrett’s implicit αὐτῶι therefore disappears.

To return to the structure of the sequence of catalogues: the words, ‘πατὴρ δὲ Θεσσαλόι’, are echoed by those that introduce Ptoiodoros (41, ‘Πτοιοδώρῳ σύν πατρί’). Such a verbal reminiscence and the fact that the catalogue of Xenophon is followed by that of his father suggests very strongly that Ptoiodoros is in fact the father of Thessalos (and not of Terpsias and Eritimos). The scholiast (Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 369, 58 a, b (L24)) also states that Xenophon was the son of Thessalos and that Thessalos was the son of Ptoiodoros. If this genealogy is taken from some other source, such as an epinician ode or odes containing genealogical information on these persons (as Barrett 2007, 103) thinks it is), then it tends to confirm our conclusion. If it is simply a conjecture based on the text, then at least the commentators on whom the scholia are based also interpreted the text in this way. The scholiast (Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 369, 58 b) also states that Ptoiodoros was the brother of Terpsias and that Eritimos and Namertidas are the sons of Terpsias. This, of course, is not stated in *Ol.* 13 and must therefore have been drawn from another source, perhaps another epinician (Barrett 2007, 105–7) and the same is presumably true of 58c (Drachmann 1903, 369, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 58c (L25)), which refers to Namertidas again and to a certain Autolykos.

Barrett, in an important and penetrating article (Barrett 2007), suggested that he had found in the very small number of fragments that make up *POxy.* XXXII 2623 a miniscule part of an epinician ode, perhaps by Simonides or Bacchylides, from which the information in 58 b–c was drawn. On the basis of a study of the fragments and of 58 b–c, for which he proposed various restorations, he suggested that the opacity of expression evident in fragments regarding whether Eritimos was brother of the victor (who, Barrett suggests, was Autolykos), or brother of the victor’s father, was such, that it offers the possibility of two different genealogies in 58 b–c, both mapped in the following stemma (Fig. 3) (Barrett 2007, 108).

Barrett’s reading that makes Namertidas and Eritimos (a) brothers and (b) the cousins of Thessalos is perhaps more likely to be correct than his conjecture that makes Eritimos the son of Namertidas, since Terpsias, Eritimos and Ptoiodoros all belong to the same chronological group, if we are right in assuming that the series of victory catalogues is laid out in reverse chronological order. The point that Terpsias is the brother of Ptoiodoros and that Eritimos is Terpsias’ son does not preclude them belonging to the more distant past, before the time of Thessalos. Since Thessalos’ Olympic victory is dated to 504 BC (Drachmann 1903, 357, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 1a), Ptoiodoros may have been active at some time from the mid-540s to the mid-530s BC. His brother, Terpsias, could conceivably have been active up to 15 years before that, perhaps around the mid-550s BC. If Eritimos was the son of Terpsias, Eritimos could have competed as a παῖς around 530 BC. That is, at a stretch, Terpsias, Ptoiodoros and Eritimos could all have been active within the same twenty or thirty years. The distinctions, then, that Pindar is making in the three catalogues are not so much strictly generational, as between the distant

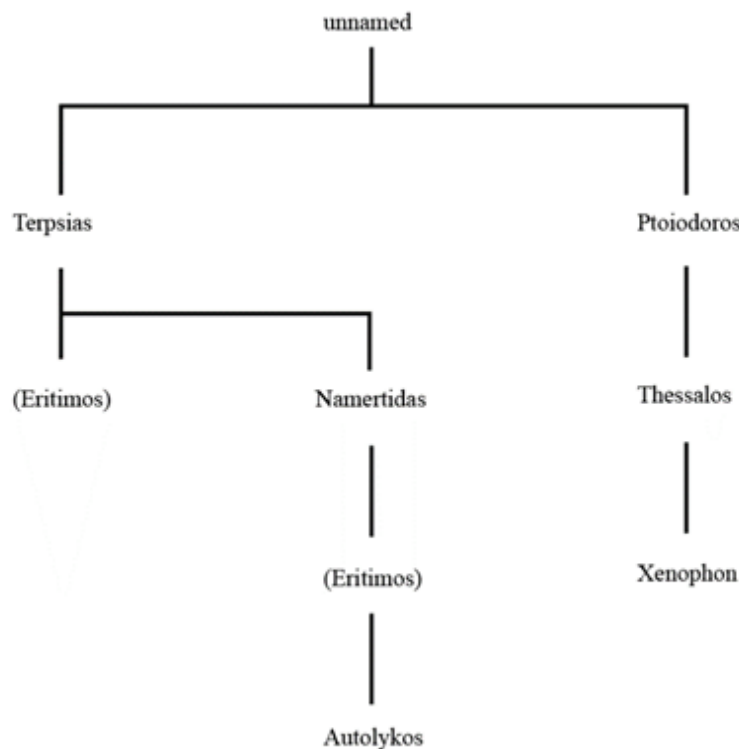


Fig. 3. Stemma of Ptoiodoros (Barrett 2007, 108).

past, the recent past and the present. If Eritimos, however, is made the son of Namertidas, this would bring him down another, say 20 or 30 years, into the recent past, inhabited by Thessalos. Eritimos' position in the third, that is (in our view), the oldest catalogue, suggests that he was in fact the son of Terpsias, rather than of Namertidas.

2. 3

Competitor name, patronymic: Θράσυκλος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 501 (?) – ca. 481 BC (?)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Argos (?)

Discipline(s): Track or heavy discipline (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 10. 39–44 (L101)

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 78; Neumann-Hartmann 2008, 120; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 2

Theaios of Argos (Cat. 1. 46), the honorand of Pind. *Nem.* 10, has two kinsmen ('ξύγγονοι' (40)) on his mother's side, Thrasyklos and Antias (*Nem.* 10. 39–48 (L101)), who between them have won at the Isthmus (42), four times at Nemea (42), at Sicyon, probably the *Pythia* (Appendix 3. 10), (43), at Pellene (44) (Appendix 3. 8), at Kleitor (47) (Appendix 3. 5), at Tegea (47) (Appendix 3. 11), in unspecified cities in Achaea (47) and in the *Lykaia* (48) (Nielsen 2018, 38), perhaps in some track or 'heavy' event (Nielsen 2018, 38, 38 n. 167), which may also have been the area in which one or both were victorious at Nemea. Thrasyklos is a rare name, appearing only once (i.e. here) in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (http://clas-lgpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/lgpn_search.cgi?id=V3a-17104&style=, visited: 17.06.2020).

Pindar gives no idea which victories Antias won and which Thrasyklos won. One of them alone may have won all the Nemean victories (although such a great feat might have drawn a comment from Pindar). As to when Antias and Thrasyklos were active, the fact that their otherwise detailed catalogue does not specify which victories each won suggests that they may no longer be alive or at least belong to the previous generation. By way of comparison, Pind. *Ol.* 13 contains a set of victory catalogues that runs back over three generations from the present. The catalogue of Thessalos (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 35–40; Cat. 2. 2), the father of Xenophon, the honorand of Pind. *Ol.* 13, is sharper, more precise and longer than that of Ptoiodoros, the grandfather of Xenophon, and of Terpsias, Xenophon's great-uncle (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 41–6). The degree of precision in the catalogue of Thrasyklos and Antias (with all major victories listed, but not assigned to either of Antias or Thrasyklos) falls somewhere between the degree of detail displayed in second and in the third and final catalogue in Pind. *Ol.* 13.

Theaios' victories are very tentatively placed 479–461 BC (Cat. 1. 46). Possible limits for the victories of Antias and Thrasyklos are then perhaps ca. 501 and ca. 481 BC.

2. 4

Competitor name, patronymic: Δρομεύς

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 495 (?) – ca. 471 BC (?) or ca. 465 (??) – 451 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Stymphalos

Discipline(s): Dolichos (?)

Ancient sources: Paus. 6. 6. 5 (?); Paus. 6. 7. 10 (L51)

Catalogue entries: Klee 1918, P 56, 59, J 189, 190, 191 N 113, 117, 131, 135; Knab no. 4; Strasser 2001, no. 23; Kostouros 2008, no. 57; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 25

Dromeus of Stymphalos won two Olympic victories in the δόλιχος (*dolichos*), two Pythian victories, apparently also in the δόλιχος (*dolichos*), three Isthmian victories and five Nemean victories. His Olympic victories were commemorated by a statue produced by Pythagoras (Paus. 6. 7. 10. (L51)). Two sculptors by the name of Pythagoras are known, Pythagoras of Samos and Pythagoras of Rhegion. Lagona (1967, 14–6) convincingly suggests that these two were the same person and that Pythagoras moved from Samos to Rhegion in the late 6th century or early 5th century BC (Lagona 1967, 16). Pausanias mentions several other victor statues by Pythagoras erected at Olympia (Paus. 6. 6. 1 (L48) (Protolaos, by 'Pythagoras of Rhegion'), 6. 13. 1 (Astylos); Paus. 6. 18. 1. (chariot of Kratisthenes, by 'Pythagoras of Rhegion'), Paus. 6. 6. 4 (Euthymos), Paus. 6. 13. 7 (Mnaseas, by 'Pythagoras of Rhegion'), Paus. 6. 7. 10 (L51) (Dromeus)) and the evidence of Pausanias and others suggests that the victories for four of these victors date between 488 and 456 BC (Lagona 1967, 18–30). Thus Pythagoras' career would seem to start in the early 5th century BC and last until about 450 BC. Pausanias also credits Dromeus with the invention of a meat-based diet for athletes (Paus. 6. 7. 10 (L51)), although this does not help in dating his victories, since other sources tie this innovation to a Pythagoras of Samos, who may or may not be intended to be the philosopher (Maddoli et al. 2003, 232, on 6. 7. 10 (L51)). As for the name of the place of origin of Dromeus, Stymphalos, both Polybius (Polyb. 4. 68. 6) and Pausanias, later on (Paus. 8. 22. 2.), give the name as Στύμφαλος. Homer (Homer *Il.* 2. 608) has Στύμφηλος, as Pausanias does here (Nielsen 2004a 529, no. 296.)

The list of victors at *POxy.* II 222 shows that Dromeus was not victorious at Olympia during the years 476–464 and 452–448 BC (e.g. Christesen 2007, 382–84) and so, in view of the probable dates of the career of Pythagoras the sculptor, Dromeus' Olympic victories may fall between ca. 490–476 BC or 460–456 BC. Moretti, for example, tentatively puts one Olympic victory in 484 (no. 188) and the other in 480 BC (no. 199). In fact, Moretti (1953, 53) suggested that the Dromeus of Mantinea who beat Theagenes ἄκοντι in the *pankration* in 480 BC (Paus. 6. 6. 5; Paus. 6. 11. 4) was our Dromeus, an hypothesis that Lagona (1967, 21, 21 n. 4) accepts, thus dating the statue of Dromeus at Olympia to 480 BC. In view of all this, Dromeus' Nemean victories perhaps

date between 495 and 471 BC or possibly between ca. 465 and ca. 451 BC and were presumably in the δόλιχος (*dolichos*) or some other track event.

2. 5

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀντίας

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 491 (??) – 471 BC (??)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Argos

Discipline(s): Track or heavy discipline (?)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Nem.* 10. 39–44 (L101)

Catalogue entries: Kostouros 2008, no. 16.

Together with Thrasyklos (Cat. 2. 3), Antias was a maternal kinsman of Theaios of Argos (Cat. 1. 46), although nothing else is otherwise known of him, although there is a bronze plaque from the citadel at Mycenae, dated to ca. 500 BC, that mentions an Antias (*IG IV 492*; *LSAG*², 174, no. 2; Hall 1995, 599, 599 n. 148). His victories in various games, which perhaps include victories at the *Nemea* (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 39–44 (L101)), may date between ca. 501 and ca. 481 BC (Cat. 2. 3).

2. 6

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἀλκιβιάδης Κλεινίου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 423 (???) – 417 BC (???)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): Equestrian discipline

Ancient sources: Plut. *Alc.* 16. 5 (L123); Paus. 1. 22. 6–7; Ath. 534d–e

Catalogue entries: Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 345; Davies 1971, 20 (no. 600); Kyle 1987, 194–95, A 4; Strasser 2001, 233–34, no. 305; Kostouros 2008, no. 12

Plutarch (Plut. *Alc.* 16. 5. (L123)) reports that at some time during the life time of Alcibiades, presumably before his banishment, Aristophon produced a painting depicting Alcibiades seated in the arms of (the personification of) Nemea. Pausanias (Paus. 1. 22. 6–7 (L34)) mentions that he saw in a room in the Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis a picture of Alcibiades which depicted the insignia of an equestrian victory at Nemea. Lastly, according to Athenaeus (Ath. 534d–e), Satyros reported that Alcibiades, on his return from Olympia, dedicated two pictures by Aglaophon, one of which showed personifications of the *Olympia* and of the *Pythia* crowing Alcibiades, while the other showed Alcibiades on the knees of a seated personification of Nemea. Neither Plutarch nor Athenaeus/Satyros specifies where their picture, or pictures, were located, but the uniqueness of the subject makes it very probable that they are talking about the work that Pausanias saw. Alcibiades is reported to have entered several chariots in the same iteration of the Olympic games (Diod. Sic. 13. 74. 3; [Andoc.] 4. 25). Other sources state that his chariots at Olympia came first, second and fourth (Thuc. 6. 16. 2; Ath. 3e) or first second and third (Plut. *Alc.* 11. 2, quoting the *epinikion* attributed (Plut. *Dem.* 1. 1., who is agnostic about the attribution) to Euripides; Isoc. 16. 34). Thucydides' Alcibiades, speaking in the second debate on the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. 6. 16. 2), in the summer of 415 BC, claims that his performance at the Olympic games increased Athens' stock among the other Greeks, who were helpfully impressed by Alcibiades' performance, despite expecting that 'Athens had been worn down (i.e. by the war)' ('...ἐλπίζοντες αὐτὴν καταπεπολεμῆσθαι...' (Thuc. 6. 16. 2.)). Since Lichas won the chariot race in 420 BC (Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 108, no. 339), this leaves as possible dates for Alcibiades' participation 424 (rejected by Gomme, Andrewes and Dover (Gomme et al. 1970, 246))

and 416. An earlier date would perhaps not fit with the expectation, held by the other Greeks, that Athens had been fatigued by the war. On the other hand, Alcibiades may have won a chariot race in the *Panathenaia* of 418 BC (Amyx 1958, 184; Kyle 1987, 196). If he did so, then he perhaps have had a stable of powerful horses still in existence two years later, which enabled him to win at Olympia, too. A problem arises over the difference of the name of the artist in the account given by Plutarch (Aristophon) and in that given by Athenaeus/Satyros (Aglaophon). Polygnotus, dating to the first half of the 5th century BC, had a brother named Aristophon. Their father was named Aglaophon, however (Pl. *Gorg.* 448 b; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 55.1; Harpocration, s.v. 'Πολύγνωτος'; Frazer 1898, 267 on Paus. 1. 22. 7), while Pliny mentions an Aglaophon, whose *floruit* fell in Ol. 60, i.e. 420–417 BC (Plin. *HN* 35. 60; Frazer 1898, 267). Given the habit of naming grandson after grandfather, Frazer's suggestion (Frazer 1898, 266–67) that Pliny's Aglaophon is the grandson of the father of Polygnotus fits the probable chronological limits involved, if the paintings were triggered by Alcibiades' Olympic equestrian performance, probably in 416 BC, which suggests that Plutarch's 'Aristophon' is an slip for Aglaophon.

Although several sources report Alcibiades' Olympic victory, there is no reference in the ancient sources, apart from Pausanias, to any Pythian or Nemean victories. In particular, Thucydides' Alcibiades, who mentions how his performance at one set of panhellenic games has improved Athens' image in the eyes of the Greek world, does not mention any other victories in the *periodos*, which, had he won them, we might have expected him to mention as part of his achievement in raising Athens' stock internationally. Nor can Alcibiades have won any Pythian or Nemean victories after the debate in 415 BC, as he left with the fleet for Sicily and then went into exile in the summer of 415 BC (Thuc. 6. 61. 7). Given this lack of hard evidence either for Pythian or Nemean victories (acknowledged by Strasser (2001, 233–34, no. 305) who puts Alcibiades among his 'Pythioniques incertains'), the Nemean victory attributed by Pausanias to Alcibiades may be the result of his misreading of the picture. It has been suggested that the victories implied by the two pictures refer to victories won by Alcibiades' ancestors (Strasser 2001, 234, no. 305, following Hatzfeld 1951, 317). This is possible, but Alcibiades was presumably also hoping to predict the future. In the unlikely event that Alcibiades did win Pythian and Nemean victories and did not mention them in his speech, they may have occurred in 422 or 418 and in 423, 421, 419 or 417 BC respectively.

2. 7

Competitor name, patronymic: Ναρυκίδας Δαμαγέτου

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 423 (???) – 417 BC (???)

Inscription find spot: Olympia

Citizenship(s): Phigaleia

Discipline(s): Wrestling

Ancient sources: Ebert 1972 36 (E5); Paus. 6. 6. 1 (L48)

Catalogue entries: Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 392; Strasser 2001, no. 306; Kostouros 2008, no. 143; Farrington 2012, no. 1. 62

Pausanias (Paus. 6. 6. 1 (L48)) gives the name of this athlete as 'Ναρυκίδας', while *IvO* 161. gives (l.4) 'Ἰρδας' and the case has been made that the name of athlete here is Θαρυκίδας, on the grounds that Ναρυκίδας is otherwise unattested for Phigaleia and to be associated rather with Naryka in eastern Locri (see Ebert 1972, 177 for a summary of the argument), while Θαρυκίδας is found, albeit only once, in Phigaleia (*IG* V 2 419. 7. At 9, there is also a Demaratos.) On the other hand, there is no indication that the text of Pausanias is corrupt and no reason why he should have misread or miscopied what he saw here more than anywhere else.

Pausanias reports merely that Narykidas was victorious in the men's wrestling at Olympia (Paus. 6. 6. 1 (L48)). If an inscription found at Olympia (Ebert 1972 36 = *IvO* 161 (E5)) and dated by letter forms to the first half of the 4th century BC (Ebert 1972, 117), does concern Pausanias' Narykidas, which seems likely, Narykidas also won three times at the *Isthmia*, in addition to a victory or victories at one or more other sets of games of

the *periodos* (*IvO* 161. 3, (‘...ἐνίκων κα[ι]τρὶς ἐν Ἴ<σ>θμοῖ...’)), although what is hiding behind the obliterated first half of 3 of the inscription is unknown (with Ebert, in contrast to *IvO*, restoring here two victories at the *Nemea* (Ebert 1972, 116)). On the other hand, the canonical order of the four sets of games of the *periodos* is, of course, *Olympia*, *Pythia*, *Isthmia*, *Nemea*, although there are exceptions. Here, however, the *Isthmia* come at the end of the list, which may mean that they are preceded by the *Pythia* in the lost part of 3 and that there was no reference to the *Nemea*.

As to the date of Narykidas’ victories, the only clue lies in the date of the sculptor of Narykidas’ statue. The Olympia inscription includes the sculptor’s signature (*IvO* 161. 5 (‘[Δαίδαλος ἐπ]οίησε Πατροκλέ[ος Φλειά]σιος’)), which gives the sculptor’s patronymic, Patrokles, the father of Daidalos, who was active between ca. 400 and ca. 365 BC (Griffin 1982, 124; career of Daidalos: Griffin 1982, 124–29). Daidalos’ ethnic, however, is otherwise given as Σικυώνιος (Paus. 6. 2. 8; Paus. 6. 3. 4 (L40); Paus. 6. 3. 7; Paus. 6. 6. 1 (L48); *F.Delphes* III 4 202; *IvO* 635. 4). Whatever the correct restoration in the Olympia inscription, Daidalos was clearly not a citizen of Sicyon, when he produced the statue of Narykidas, although when this was is not known. ‘Φλειά]σιος’ has been the generally proposed restoration of *IvO* 161. 5 since the late 19th century (Ebert 1972, 117–18). This rests on the suggestion that Daidalos may have been among the Sicyonian exiles who fled the anti-Spartan tyrant of Sicyon, Euphron, in the 360s BC and may have sought refuge in the pro-Spartan Phleios (Griffin 1982, 128, 128 n. 12 for references to this theory and 71 on date of Euphron’s coup).

If Narykidas won any victories at the *Nemea*, they must have fallen within the working life of Daidalos, that is between perhaps 399 BC and perhaps 365 BC.

2. 8

Competitor name, patronymic: Πλάτων Ἀρίστωνος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 409 (???) – ca. 401 (???)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): -

Ancient sources: Diog. Laert. 3. 4; Apul. *De dog. Plat.* 1. 2; Porph. fg 13 *apud* Cyril. *Adv. Iul.* 6. 208; Olympiodorus *Vita Platonis* p. 6

Catalogue entries: Moretti, *Olympionikai*, no. 1019; Kostouros 2008, no. 161

A tradition, apparently starting in the late 4th century BC, but appearing only in relatively late sources, credits Plato with various victories in games of the *periodos*. The earliest of these comes from Dikaiarchos, whose *floruit* is no later than ca. 310 BC (*RE* V. 1., col. 547), via Diogenes Laertius (Diog. Laert. 3. 4), who says that Dikaiarchos, among others, stated that Plato won at the *Isthmia*. [Pseudo-?] Apuleius and Porphyry (AD 234 – ca. 305) state that he won at the *Pythia* and *Isthmia*. Olympiodorus, of 6th century AD (*RE* VI. 2., col. 207), in his life of Plato, asserts that Plato won at the *Olympia* and the *Nemea* (Olympiodorus *Vita Platonis* 6 (Westermann 1845, 390–91)). Despite the fairly early appearance of the tradition, it is highly suspicious, in that something so important does not appear right from the beginning, does not appear widely and, when it does appear, displays no agreement over where Plato won his putative victory or victories (quite apart from the point that so prolific an author is supposed to have had time to train to the level required). Thus it is unlikely that Plato was a victor at any of the games of the *periodos*. On the other hand, he seems to have attended the games. Aelian (Ael. *VH* 4. 9) says that Plato went to the Olympic festival, but behaved modestly and so gave no hint to the acquaintances he made there that he was *the* Plato. Perhaps the idea that he was an *Olympionikes* derives from this probably historical (because not improbable) anecdote.

2. 9

Competitor name, patronymic: Διώξιππος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: 331 (???)–329 BC. (???)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Athens

Discipline(s): Pankration

Ancient sources: Ael. VH 10. 22; Ael. 12. 58; Diod. Sic. 17. 100. 2–8; Diog. Laert. 6. 43; Diog. Laert. 6. 61; Hyp. Lyc. 5; Plin. HN 35.139; Plut. *De Curios.* 512b; POxy. XIII 1607, fg. 13; Curt. 9. 7. 16–26

Catalogue entries: Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 125, no. 458

Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 129) evidently thought that Dioxiippos was a *periodonikes*, but no ancient source regarding the athlete, who died in 326/5 BC in India with Alexander after defeating Korragos in a duel (Diod. Sic. 17. 100. 2–8), states unambiguously that he won in any other contest of the *periodos* and in particular at the *Nemea*. He is mentioned as a living person, or at least as a contemporary of the speaker, together with another contemporary athlete, Euphraios, of both of whom the speaker says that ‘τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμολογουμένως ἰσχυρότατοί εἰσι’ (Jensen 1963, 30)). Later sources likewise refer to Dioxiippos as *Olympionikes* only (Diog. Laert. 6. 43 (proclamation of Dioxiippos’ victory); Plut. *De Curios.* 512b; Ael. VH 12. 58; Diog. Laert. 6. 61. (Dioxiippos’ inability to keep his eyes off an attractive woman during his Olympic homecoming procession); Diod. Sic. 17. 100. 2–8; Curt. 9. 7. 16–26 (Dioxiippos’ end as a member of Alexander’s entourage, in 326/5 BC))), with the exception of Diodorus Siculus, who does not specifically call Dioxiippos an *Olympionikes*, although he states that he was an athlete who had won at other important games (‘καὶ ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις νίκαις ἐστεφανωμένος’ (Diod. Sic. 17. 100. 2)). Dioxiippos’ Olympic victory may also have been mentioned at POxy. XIII 1607, fg. 13, col. 2, although the passage, from a speech that seems certainly to be connected in some way with the case in Lyc. (Whitehead 2000, 86), is much too fragmentary for certainty (Whitehead 2000, 80).

On the other hand, Dioxiippos was famous enough not only to merit a portrait (whether or not in his lifetime is not clear) (Plin. HN 35. 139), but also to feature as the straight man in accounts of two of Diogenes’ witticisms (Diog. Laert. 6. 43; Diog. Laert. 6. 61) (or, at least, witticisms attributed to Diogenes), the point of which is the contrast between extremes of spiritual prowess, as displayed by the exemplar Diogenes, and physical prowess (and spiritual impotency), as displayed by the exemplar Dioxiippos. These two events may have happened, although it is suspicious that they juxtapose what seem to be two iconic individuals, so implying that Dioxiippos was as famous in his way as Diogenes. The portrait, the anecdotes and the likelihood that Alexander would not have taken anybody less than an athlete of the greatest prestige with him make it at least possible that Dioxiippos was had been victorious in all the games of the *periodos*.

The only fixed dates in Dioxiippos’ life are his presence at Alexander’s court sometime before 327 BC (Whitehead 2000, 82, n. 118) and the date of his death, 326/5 BC (Diod. Sic. 17. 100. 2). Moretti (*Olympionikai*, 125, no. 458) tentatively puts his Olympic victory in 336 BC. In this, he seems to be influenced by the idea, going back to the first editor of Hyp. Lyc., that Dioxiippos probably set out with Alexander in 334 BC (Whitehead 2000, 79) and so must have achieved his Olympic victory in 336 BC, since victory at any Olympiad before that would mean an unrealistically long career for a pancratiast. If, however, he joined Alexander after Alexander’s departure, then his Olympic victory could have been as late as 328 BC (Whitehead 2000, 82). In fact, if one believes Diodorus, Dioxiippos, nude and equipped only with a club against the ‘expensively armed’ Corragus, managed to defeat his opponent in a comprehensive and humiliating fashion. Such a performance suggests that Dioxiippos was still at his peak and therefore that his Olympic victory dates to 328 BC. If Dioxiippos was victorious at Nemea, too, then any victory or victories perhaps cluster around 331–329 BC.

2. 10

Competitor name, patronymic: Λυσίξενος

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 325 (???) – ca. 275 BC (???)

Inscription find spot: Thebes or environs (?)

Citizenship(s): Thebes (?)

Discipline(s): Boys' *dolichos* (?)

Ancient sources: Ebert 1972 57 (E7)

Catalogue entries: -

An inscription of a fragment of a marble herm, today in Thebes Archaeological Museum and of unknown origin (Ebert 1972 57 = IG VII 2588 = Hansen 1989 790), has been restored by Ebert, so as to state that Lysixenos won in the boys' δόλιχος (*dolichos*) at the *Nemea*, although prior to Ebert's suggestion Peek had proposed readings that excluded the *Nemea* (Ebert 1972, 172–73)). On the basis of Pind. *Nem.* 2. 4–5 (Ebert 1972, 174), Ebert restores [εἰν ἄλ]σει at 2 (i.e. the grove of Zeus at Nemea), which leads him to restore [ον ὃς Νεμεαίωι] at the end of 1. Lysixenos is otherwise unknown (Ebert 1972, 173), but, because there does not seem to be any room for a demotic in the inscription (and if there is no prose inscription missing), he must have been Theban.

Ebert dates the stone to 4th century or 3rd century BC, presumably on the grounds of letter forms, although he does not state this outright. He does, however, note the presence of one or two linguistic features (decorative periphrasis to enliven the recounting of lists, presence of relative temporal clauses) that suggest the Hellenistic period (Ebert 1972, 174). Hansen (1989, 198, no. 790), considerably more agnostic, rejects Ebert's proposed εἰν in 2, on the grounds that it is unusual here and tends to appear more in inscriptions before 300 BC. He also has doubts about the space available for such a restoration in 2 and is probably right in rejecting Ebert's adventurous attempt. Thus Lysixenos' putative Nemean victory evaporates into complete uncertainty.

2. 11

Competitor name, patronymic: Ἐρίτιμος Τερψίου (?)

Date of victory/victories at Nemea: ca. 325 (???) – ca. 275 BC (???)

Inscription find spot: -

Citizenship(s): Corinth

Discipline: track discipline (????)

Ancient sources: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 40–6

Catalogue entries: Farrington 2012, no. 1. 26

Eritimos is mentioned along with Terpsias, who was probably his father, and Ptoiodoros (Barrett's conjectural family tree of Xenophon: Cat. 2. 2), who was probably his uncle, as having won at the *Isthmia* and either at the *Pythia* or the *Nemea* or even at both (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 43–4 (L118)). It is therefore not certain that Eritimos won any victories at the *Nemea*. Eritimos, if he was in fact the son of Terpsias, was therefore roughly contemporary with his cousin, Thessalos, son of Ptoiodoros. Thessalos was father of Xenophon, who was victorious in the *Olympia* in 464 BC (Cat. 2. 2). Eritimos could therefore conceivably have started his athletic career as a παῖς around 530 BC and Terpsias, if he was Eritimos' father, around 550 BC (dates of Eritimos and Terpsias: Cat. 2. 2).

There is no clue as the discipline in which Eritimos was victorious. His descendant, or less probably, roughly contemporary relation, Xenophon, was a runner. Did the whole athletic dynasty descended from Terpsias and Ptoiodoros specialise in track disciplines?

APPENDIX 1

POSSIBLE NUMBERS OF VICTORIES AT THE NEMEA BETWEEN 573 AND 299 BC

I make various assumptions here, which are probably more true than false, and on the basis of these calculate, first, the total possible number of victories won at the *Nemea* between 573 and 299 BC. I then calculate the total number of victories of which we have records and then calculate the percentage of the whole that this total number of victories may represent.

Possible number of victories at all iterations of the Nemea between 573 and 299 BC

How many victories may have been won at the *Nemea* between 573 and 299 BC? We start from the assumption, for which we admittedly have no positive evidence, that the *Nemea* were celebrated every two years without interruption from 573 BC to 299 BC and beyond. For the purposes of our calculations, we adopt a minimalist view of the evidence regarding the various disciplines performed at the *Nemea*, which will give us an lower limit to the reliability of our data. That is, if the curriculum was actually fuller than we assume than it was here (which it may have been), then the figures we calculate below will be an overestimation, rather than reflect reality or even underestimate the fullness of our data.

We therefore assume that from 573 to 499 BC contests were held for the παγκράτιον ἀνδρῶν (men's *pankration*), πάλη ἀνδρῶν (men's wrestling) and πυγμή ἀνδρῶν (men's boxing), for the πένταθλον ἀνδρῶν (men's pentathlon), for the δίαυλος ἀνδρῶν (men's *diaulos*), δόλιχος ἀνδρῶν (men's *dolichos*), ὁπλίτης ἀνδρῶν (men's *hoplitēs*) and στάδιον ἀνδρῶν (men's *stadion*) and for the κέλῃς (*kelēs*), that is, for a total of nine events. In 499 BC, we assume that the contests were added for the παγκράτιον παίδων (boys' *pankration*), πάλη παίδων (boys' wrestling), πυγμή παίδων (boys' boxing), for the παγκράτιον ἀγενείων (*pankration* for *ageneioi*), πάλη ἀγενείων (wrestling for *ageneioi*) and the πυγμή ἀγενείων (boxing for *ageneioi*), for the πένταθλον παίδων (boys' *pentathlon*) and the πένταθλον ἀγενείων (*pentathlon* for *ageneioi*), for the δίαυλος παίδων (boys' *diaulos*), δόλιχος παίδων (boys' *dolichos*), στάδιον παίδων (boys' *stadion*) and ἵππιος παίδων (boys' *hippios*) and for the δίαυλος ἀγενείων (*diaulos* for *ageneioi*), δόλιχος ἀγενείων (*dolichos* for *ageneioi*) and στάδιον ἀγενείων (*stadion* for *ageneioi*) and for the συνωρίς πωλική (*synōris pōlikē*, two-foal chariot) and for the τέθριππον (*tethrippon*, four-horse chariot). This makes a total of 17 events notionally added in 499 BC.

We ignore the ἵππιος for any other age group, because we have no reference to it outside the παῖδες age-group. We also ignore the κιθαρωδός (*kitharōdos*) event, as we have only one reference to it and it is the only choric event for which we have evidence for the period 573–299 BC in a programme that is otherwise gymnastic and equestrian, which suggests that the κιθαρωδός event was not long-lived.

In 399 BC, we assume that the κήρυξ (*kēryx*, herald) and σαλπικτής (*salpigktēs*, trumpeter) event was added. If we add all these up, we have from 573 to 499 BC a total of nine events, from 499 to 399 BC a total of 26 disciplines (i.e. 9+17) and from 399 to 299 BC a total of 28 (i.e. 9+17+2).

We now consider the number of iterations of the *Nemea* during these three periods. From 573 to 501 BC there will have been 37 iterations, from 499 to 401 BC 50 iterations and from 399 to 299 BC 51 iterations.

Thus the total number of victors for the period 573–501 BC will have been 333 (i.e. 9×37), for the period 499–401 BC 1300 (i.e. 26×50) victories and for the period 399–299 BC 1428 (i.e. 28×51) victories. This produces a grand total of 3061 putative victories at the *Nemea* for the period 573–299 BC.

Completeness of the data

How large is our sample of victories and so what percentage of this putative total of 3061 victories might our information represent? We have traces of 102 victors for the period between 573 and 299 BC. Of these, 23 victors won a sure total of 138 victories (Cat. 1. 2; 1. 6; 1. 11; 1. 24; 1. 27; 1. 28; 1. 35; 1. 38; 1. 39; 1. 40; 1. 43; 1. 47; 1. 48; 1. 54; 1. 55; 1. 56; 1. 60; 1. 71; 1. 85; 1. 97; 1. 100), 33 victors won a total of at least 48 victories (Cat. 1. 1; 1. 3; 1. 9; 1. 10; 1. 14; 1. 17; 1. 19; 1. 21; 1. 24; 1. 26; 1. 31; 1. 33; 1. 34; 1. 36; 1. 41; 1. 42; 1. 44; 1. 47; 1. 49; 1. 50; 1. 53; 1. 57; 1. 59; 1. 61; 1. 63. 1. 65; 1. 73; 1. 84; 1. 85; 1. 92) and five victors won no fewer than 5 victories and no more than 33 victories in toto (1. 25.; 1. ; 1. 1. 60; 70; 2. 4). Of the remaining 37 victors (i.e. $98 - (23 + 33 + 5)$), we assume that they won only one victory.

Thus, if 37 victors won only one victory each, 23 victors won a total of 138 victories, 33 victors won only 48 victories and five victors won only 5 victories, we have traces of 228 (i.e. $37 + 138 + 48 + 5$) victories.

If, on the other hand, we assume that 37 victors won only one victory each, 23 victors won a total of 138 victories, 33 victors won only 46 victories, but that five victors won 31 victories, we have traces of 254 (i.e. $37 + 138 + 48 + 31$) victories.

Finally, in order to gain some idea of the upper limits of the completeness of our evidence, we make the assumption that the group of 33 victors won two victories each (which is not impossible, although of course some victors in this group won more than at least two victories). Thus, if 37 victors won only one victory each, 23 victors won a total of 138 victories, 33 victors won 96 (i.e. 2×48) victories and five victors won 31 victories, we have traces of 302 (i.e. $37 + 138 + 96 + 31$) victories.

Thus we probably have records of between 228 and 302 victories. Perhaps the true figure lies around 250 or 260. In terms of percentages, this means that we may have between a record of between 7.45% (i.e. $(228 \text{ recorded victories} / 3061 \text{ putative total victories}) \times 100$) and 9.99% (i.e. $(302 \text{ possible recorded victories} / 3061 \text{ putative total victories}) \times 100$) of all victories at all iterations of the *Nemea* between 573 and 299 BC. Perhaps we have about 8.50% (i.e. $(260 \text{ possible true recorded victories} / 3061 \text{ putative total victories}) \times 100$). If the programme was larger than we have assumed it to have been here, then, as we have already pointed out, naturally these figures will be an overestimation.

APPENDIX 2

THE DATING OF SIMONIDES, BACCHYLIDES AND PINDAR

1. The Dates of Simonides' Career

There are two groups of evidence regarding the birth and length of life of Simonides. The first group consists of evidence from the *Suda*, the *Marmor Parium*, from a Pindaric scholion and the *Ath. Pol.*, and taken together suggest a life span between the mid 550s and the 460s BC. The second, smaller group certainly does not. We take the first group first.

The *Suda* gives two birth dates, the 56th Olympiad (= 556–553 BC) and the 62nd Olympiad (= 532–529 BC) (*Suda* s.v. 'Σιμωνιδης' (Adler Σ 439)), but we look only at the first date here and examine the second date when we look at the second group of evidence below. Both these dates are expressed in terms of whole Olympiads, rather than Olympiad years, which may mean that they were generated before the mid 3rd century BC, when Erastosthenes introduced the recording of events in terms of Olympiad years, rather than simply in terms of Olympiads (Christesen 2007, 174–75). No other sources give direct birth dates. However, the *Marmor Parium*, whose *terminus post quem* is the archontate of Diognetos, in 264/3 BC, which the *Marmor* uses as a fixed point to date its contents (*FGrHist* 239, 1–3), states that Simonides died at the age of 90, during the Athenian archontate of Theagenides (Develin 1989, 70) in 468/7 BC (*FGrHist* 239, F 57. 72–73). This immediately puts Simonides' date of birth in 558/7 BC, which concurs, more or less, with the first *Suda* date. Timaios in the late 4th century or early 3rd century was the first to relate archon dates to other eponym lists (Christesen 2007, 10), so, if one assumes that the *Marmor Parium* was produced soon after 264/3 BC, the version of the tradition found there, which relates Simonides' death to an archon date, may not have not have been in existence very long before the *Marmor Parium* was produced.

The *Marmor Parium* also mentions that in the archontate of Adeimantos, dated to 477/6 BC, Simonides won a victory in some unspecified choral event (*FGrHist* 239, F 54. 70–71). Alongside this, there is also an epigram attributed to Simonides (Page 1981, 241, no. XXVIII). The poem records the victory of Simonides in his eightieth year, in the dithyrambic contest of the Great Panathenaea, in the archontate of Adeimantos, dated to 477/6 BC. The piece itself, which is clearly a literary exercise and certainly not a copy of an official inscription, probably dates to the later Hellenistic period (Page 1981, 241–42). However, the precision of the reference to the archontate of Adeimantos suggests that the epigram may have its origin in a real inscription, either private or produced by a tribe (material covered in official records of dithyrambic victories: Page 1981, 2), although the author, who sets the epigram in 477/6 BC, which he regards as Simonides' 80th year, is clearly drawing on the same tradition as the *Marmor Parium* that Simonides died ten years later at the age of 90.

There are three other pieces of evidence in this first group. First is a Pindaric scholion that suggests that Simonides was active in the mid 470s BC, whatever his age may have been. The scholion (Drachmann 1903, 38, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 2. 38) states that Didymos, on the authority of Timaios, asserted that Simonides is said to have averted hostilities between Theron and Hieron. This, if true (and a court poet might perhaps have had some influence in such matters) would have happened around 476 BC, at a period of poor relations between the two dynasts (Diod. Sic. 11. 48. 8). Second, there is the statement in the *Ath. Pol.* that Hipparchos, the ἐρωτικός καὶ φιλόμουσος brother of Hippias (as the *Ath. Pol.* puts it), summoned Simonides to Athens. Simonides' reputation had therefore apparently spread far enough for him catch Hipparchos' eye sometime between 528/7 BC, when Hippias and Hipparchus took up the reins of power, after the death of Peisistratus (*Ath. Pol.* 18.1), and 514

BC, when Hipparchos was murdered. The latest birth date that this second piece of evidence yields, if we assume that Simonides was ca. 20 years old (i.e. as young as possible to be in a position to acquire a reputation for his poetry) in 514 BC, is ca. 535 BC. If, however, we assume that he took longer to become established and so was, say, about 30 in 528/7 BC and if he became known to the court at the beginning of this period, the earliest that he would have been born would have been ca. 558 BC. Finally, Strabo (10. 5. 6) reports that Bacchylides, born perhaps about 520 BC (see Appendix 2. 2), was the ἀδελφιδοῦς of Simonides, which tends to suggest a birth date in the 550s.

To turn to the second group: here we have the very different dates concerning Simonides given by Eusebius/Jerome and, as mentioned already, the second date from the *Suda* in the entry for Ol. 55/2 (= 559 BC) Simonides 'is considered famous' (Eusebius / Jerome: Helm 1956, 102b, l. 21, h. 'Simonides clarus habetur') and Ol. 60/1 (= 540 BC) he is also 'considered famous, along with Phocylides and Xenophanes' (Eusebius/Jerome: Helm 1956, 103 b, ll. 23–26, 'Simonides lyricus et Phocyl[ides] clari habentur et Xenophanes physicus scriptor tragoediarum'). We also have also the second *Suda* date, in the 62nd Olympiad (= 532–529 BC) (*Suda*, s.v. 'Σίμωνιδης' (Adler Σ 439)).

The first group of evidence certainly gives a coherent picture. Whether the picture is also true, at least in chronological terms, depends above all on whether the tradition that Simonides died at ninety or thereabouts in about 467/6 BC is correct. The indications are that it is. In the first place, the statement that Simonides lived until 90 exists. Simonides was a certainly a celebrity and, if he reached a notably great age, there would have been an interest in recording this. Since old age in itself does not seem to bring prestige in the Greco-Roman world, there would have been no pressure to inflate Simonides' age, even in regard to poets (Cicero gives us a list of aged poets, including Simonides, at *De Senec.* 22–23 who retained their lucidity in extreme old age, but his point is not that old age is a desirable feature of poets in itself, but that these examples retained their faculties in old age). If we accept that Simonides died at (about) 90, this has, as we have implied above, the advantage that it coheres with the evidence of the Pindar scholion and with the information from the *Ath. Pol.* (and suggests that Simonides' contact with the court of the tyrants in Athens started nearer 528/7 than 514 BC).

As for the dates in Eusebius/Jerome that differ so wildly from this picture, they are probably to be explained in the light of the process of source generation and evolution that lies behind Eusebius/Jerome. Mosshammer gives a lucid explanation of this process and its effects. He suggests that the ultimate source of the historical notices in the Χρονικοὶ Κανόνες were the Χρονικά of Apollodorus (ca. 180–110 BC), which, in the form of epitomes, offered the chronological framework adopted by subsequent historians and ultimately by Christian apologists (Mosshammer 1979, 158–59). Eusebius' most important recent, if not direct source, for notices regarding the events and personalities of history of the Archaic and Classical period was probably Cassius Longinus, of the late 3rd century (Mosshammer 1979, 140–46), and perhaps Porphyry (Mosshammer 1979, 140–46, 157–58). The process of producing epitomes of Apollodorus' work, however, had two vital consequences for the users of such works. One, the result of the process of summarizing and condensing that epitomisation inevitably involved was the production of an chronologically generalizing historical vocabulary, giving rise, for example, to ἥκμαζε' or ἦν' (= *floruit*) or γέγονε, which latter is especially ambiguous, as it can mean both ἦν' and 'ἐγγενήθη' (Mosshammer 1979, 162, 162 n. 55). The second consequence of repeated transmission is pure error, especially likely to occur when other historical traditions were absorbed into the same work. Thus the first date in Eusebius/Jerome, Ol. 55/2, may originally have been a birth date, while the second, in Ol. 60/1, may be a misplaced *floruit*. The same process may lie behind the second *Suda* date (62nd Olympiad (= 532–529 BC)), too. Perhaps in the original source, there was some statement about Simonides' professional prowess in his early life, which then became summarized into something like the 'agnoscitur'/'ἐγνωρίζετο' used (apparently mistakenly) in relation to Bacchylides (p. 142) which then turned, probably through carelessness, into a statement about his date of birth.

If the tradition that he lived 90 years is true, then, Simonides was probably born in the mid 550s BC, perhaps began his working life in the mid or late 530s BC and died in the mid 460s BC.

2. The Dates of Bacchylides' Career

Bacchylides' four firmly dated works lie between 476 and 452 BC (Bacchyl. 5, 476 BC, for Hieron, κέλης, Ὀλύμπια (Maehler 2003, xlv); Bacchyl. 4, 470 BC, for Hieron, τέθριππον (*tethrippon*), Ὀλύμπια (Maehler 2003, xlviii–xlv); Bacchyl. 3, 468 BC, for Hieron, τέθριππον (*tethrippon*), Ὀλύμπια (Maehler 2003, xliii); Bacchyl. 6, 452 BC, for Lachon, στάδιον παίδων, Ὀλύμπια (Maehler 2003, xlv), but the rest of the evidence is rather more cloudy. The poet produced an *enkōmion* for Alexander I (Maehler 2003, fg. 20B), son of Amyntas, and king of Macedon from the mid 490s, his father dying in ca. 495 (e.g., Hammond and Griffith 1979, 60). In a very fragmentary text, Bacchylides addresses his lyre, stating that he intends to send a poem to Alexander for the latter's *symposia*, where wine turns the thoughts of drinkers towards love and to potential great achievements and wealth. To perform great deeds is the finest achievement in life, Bacchylides adds, although complete prosperity is impossible. Given the contents and tone of the poem, Maehler suggests that both poet and recipient were young men, Alexander not yet being king, on the grounds that, had Alexander been on the throne already, Bacchylides would have employed a more serious approach (Maehler 2003, lv) and perhaps a softer didactic tone. Bacchylides also wrote a dithyramb (Bacchyl. 17 (= *Dith.* 3)) for a choir of Cean performing on Delos, possibly at some Athenian festival, as Kenyon (1897, 159, in regard to Bacchyl. 17. 130) suggested, which may have subsequently inspired Onesimus to produce the scene depicting Theseus and Amphitrite found on a *kylix* potted by Euphronios around 495 BC (Maehler 2003, lv, lv n. 1). Bacchylides was the nephew of Simonides (Strabo 10. 5. 6; *Suda* s.v. 'Βακχυλίδης' (Adler B59); Syrianus 1 47 (Schmidt 1999, 83, referring to Rabe 1892, 47. 4 [295. 5])) and the *Chronicon Pascale* (7th century AD) puts his *akmē* in 480 (Dindorf 1832, 304, section 6, l. 6). If Bacchylides' reputation was such by the mid 490s BC, that he received a commission from the Macedonian royal house and composed a piece for a choir from Keos on Delos, then, as the *Chronicon Paschale* implies and Maehler believes, he may have been born around 520 BC (Maehler 2004, 9).

Then there are the three references to Bacchylides in Eusebius/Jerome, the first placed in Olympiad 78/1 (= 468/7 BC) (Ol. 78/1, b. 'Bacchylides et Diagoras Athenis plurimo sermone celebrantur' (Eusebius/Jerome: Helm 1956, 110. 4–5)), the second in Olympiad 82/1 (= 451/0 BC) (Ol. 82/2, e. 'Crates comicus, et Telesilla ac Bacchylides lyricus clari habentur' (Eusebius/Jerome: Helm 1956, 112. 15–8)), and the third in Olympiad 87/1 (= 432/1 BC) (Ol. 87/1, h. 'Bacchylides carminum scriptor agnoscitur' (Eusebius/Jerome: Helm 1956, 114. 25–26)). As Schmidt (1999, 85) points out, the first two comments probably derive from a consideration of the implications of the dates of Bacchyl. 5 (476 BC), 4 (470 BC) and 3 (468 BC), which Eusebius' ultimate source could have calculated by relating the epinician in question to the dates of victors given in the various Olympic victor lists in circulation and to Aristotle and Callisthenes' list of Pythian victors (Olympic victor lists: Christesen 2007, 202–19; Aristotle and Callisthenes' list of Pythian victors: Christesen 2007, 179–202.).

The final reference to Bacchylides ('Bacchylides carminum scriptor agnoscitur'), however, has provoked discussion, as the date has seemed unrealistically late, especially if one accepts that Bacchylides was born around 520 BC (Schmidt 1999, 84–5; Maehler 2003, 9). Fatouros (1961, 147–49) suggested that this Bacchylides, rather than being the poet, was an otherwise unknown flute player mentioned by Plato Comicus in his play Σοφισταί (Holwerda 1977, 82, 331a, E). Fatouros thought that Eusebius originally wrote 'μελικτής', which in the *Ἐκλογή Χρονογραφίας* of George the Synkellos ended up in the 9th century corrupted to 'μελοποιός' (Ἐκλογή Χρονογραφίας 489, 7, '...Βακχυλίδης μελοποιός ἐγνωρίζετο...') and in Jerome, much earlier, as 'carminum scriptor'. Schmidt (1999, 83–4) points out the improbability of such corruption occurring. He notes that 'carminum scriptor', which after all Bacchylides was, appears in a 5th century AD manuscript of Eusebius/Jerome, which means that this major corruption, had it occurred, would have done so very soon after Eusebius composed his historical tables. Schmidt's other powerful point is that the Fatouros thesis states that exactly the same corruption also occurred –most improbably– in George the Synkellos, in a text that was the product of a different course of transmission (Schmidt 1999, 84–5).

Thus it seems that Eusebius did indeed write the word μελοποιός and did mean our Bacchylides. Furthermore, most (i.e. Telesilla (Eusebius / Jerome: Helm 1956, 112e. 15–16) (Ol. 82.2)), Praxilla (Eusebius/Jerome: Helm 1956, 112c. 17–18) (Ol. 82.2)), Euenos ((Eusebius/Jerome: Helm 1956, 111f. 15–6) (Ol. 80.1, where he is a

poeta)) and Melissos (Ol. 84.1 = 444 BC)), if not all of the other artistic personalities dated by Eusebius between Olympiad 74/3 and Olympiad 87/2 were eminent enough to leave traces elsewhere. Several fragments or references to Telesilla survive (Page *PMG* 717–726) and to Praxilla (Page *PMG* 747–754). Euenos, or at least the sophist of the late 5th century BC from Paros, left several traces in Plato (Pl. *Ap.* 20 a–b; *Phd.* 60d, 61b, 267a) and Aristotle (Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1223a31; *Metaph.* 1015a29). Melissos is mentioned by Plutarch (Plut. *Per.* 26. 2.), who highlights his speciality as ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος στρατηγῶν τότε and mentions him in connection with the siege of Samos in 440–439 BC, which may account for Eusebius' (relatively correct) date. This presence in Eusebius/Jerome of such notables also makes it unlikely in the first place that Eusebius' ultimate source would have mentioned so obscure a personality as Bacchylides the flute player and then that such a reference would have survived the vicissitudes of copying and adaption that lie behind the entries in Eusebius' chronological table.

So Eusebius/Jerome would seem to be talking about Bacchylides the poet, who was apparently born around 520 BC. Something has therefore clearly gone wrong to produce 'agnoscitur' (and 'ἐγνωρίζετο' in George the Synkellos), especially when previous entries referring to thirty or forty years in the past make it clear that Bacchylides was already well known. What we probably have here is yet another example (like those probably behind the two dates given by Eusebius/Jerome and the second date in the *Suda* regarding Simonides (p. 139)), of the confusion that arises over time from constant epitomization, whereby in particular birth, *floruit* and death dates are confused. This 'agnoscitur' or 'ἐγνωρίζετο' probably started out as a reference to Bacchylides' death, as Mosshammer (1979, 162) suggests.

As for the dates of Bacchylides' life and career, it seems more likely than not that Bacchylides was born in about 520 BC, started his working life in the early 490s and died in 432/1 BC.

3. The Dates of Pindar's Career

The *Suda* states that Pindar was born in the 65th Olympiad (520–517 BC) and was of the age of forty during the expedition of Xerxes (*Suda* s.v. 'Πίνδαρος' (Adler II 1617) ('...γεγονώς κατὰ τὴν ξε' ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου στρατείαν ὧν ἔτων μ'...')). Γεγονώς here must mean 'born', in contrast to its other meaning, '*floruit*' (Bowra 1964, 406). That the 'μ' ('40') of the *Suda* entry is a precise, and misleading, formulation based on a date expressed as a *floruit* is suggested by the *Vita Ambrosiana* of Pindar (*Suda* s.v. 'Πίνδαρος' (Adler II 1617) ('...γεγονώς κατὰ τὴν ξε' ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου στρατείαν ὧν ἔτων μ'...')) (Drachmann 1903, 5. 5–6 (*Vita Thomana*) ('...κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ξέρξου κατάβασιν ἤκμαζε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ...')) and by Eustathius' *Prooemium* (Drachmann 1927, 297. 25–26 (*Eustathii Prooemium* 25), ('...κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἤκμαζε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ...')), which state that Pindar ἤκμαζε during the invasion of Xerxes. There are also supposedly the words of Pindar himself, preserved in the *Vita Ambrosiana* (which may go back to Hellenistic times and contains motifs that may be even older (Daude et al. 2013, 67)), claiming that he was born during an (undated) celebration of the *Pythia* (Drachmann 1903, 2. 16–9 (*Vita Ambrosiana*) ('...πενταετηρίς ἑορτὰ βουπομπός, ἐν ᾗ πρῶτον εὐνάσθην ἀγαπατός ὑπὸ σπαργάνοις ...')), which, if we take this literally, together with the *Suda* entry, puts his birth in 518 BC. However, Pind. *Pyth.* 10 is dated by the scholiast to the twenty-second Pythiad (Drachmann 1910, 241, Σ. Pind. *Pyth.* 10, inscr.). Since the scholiasts, who would seem to get their dates from the now lost, but presumably reliable Πυθιονῖκαι of Aristotle (Christesen 2007, 197), date the beginning of the Pythian era to 586 BC (Christesen 2007, 197, n. 76), this puts *Pyth.* 10 in 502 BC or soon after. If Pindar was born in 520 BC, within the limits of the 65th Olympiad, it would have been just about possible for him to produce an epinician in 502 BC, but surely impossible, had he been born in 518 BC or indeed later than 520 BC. It therefore also seems likely that *Pyth.* 10 was Pindar's first major work, while, as for Pindar, if he was born in 520 BC, then his words about being born during a Pythian festival are metaphorical.

His latest dated work is Pind. *Pyth.* 8, which the scholiast says was written for a victory in the 35th Pythiad (Drachmann 1910, 206, Σ. Pind. *Pyth.* 8, inscr.), that is, in 446 BC (since, as just noted, for the scholiasts the Pythian era starts in 586 BC). The sources offer three ages of death for Pindar, 55 (*Suda* s.v. 'Πίνδαρος' (Adler

Π 1617)), 66 (Drachmann 1903, 7. 11–4 (*Vita Thomana*); Drachmann 1927, 296, 27–29 (Eustathii *Prooemium* 25)) and 80 (Drachmann 1927, 296, 27–9 (Eustathii *Prooemium* 25); Drachmann 1903, 9. 21 (*Vita Metrica*) (‘κάτθανεν ὀγδῶκοντα τελειομένων ἐνιαυτῶν’)). They also offer three dates for his death, of which the *Vita Thomana* offers two. One passage here puts Pindar’s death during the Persian Wars (Drachmann 1903, 4. 15–7 (*Vita Thomana*) (‘...καὶ τέθνηκεν ὅτε καὶ τὰ Περσικὰ ἤκμαζον’)), which is obviously wrong, being contradicted by, among many other dates, that of 446 BC or after which the scholiast gives for *Pyth.* 8. The other passage puts the death in the 86th Olympiad (436–433 BC) (Drachmann 1903, 7. 11–4 (*Vita Thomana*)). The event occurs, however, during the archonship of Ἀβίων. No such archon is known from these years (Develin 1989, 94–9) and Ἀβίων is clearly a corruption of the name of Ἀβρων, archon of 458/7 BC (Develin 1989, 74–5), as Lobel noted *POxy.* XXVI 5 (on 2438. 7)). Lastly, Eustathius also offers a date in the 86th Olympiad (Drachmann 1927, 296, 27–29 (Eustathii *Prooemium* 25)), although he does not tie it to any archon date.

Another biography of Pindar, partially preserved in *POxy.* 2438, which itself dates to the 2nd century or 3rd century AD (*POxy.* XXVI 1), does not offer any date for Pindar’s death. It is, however, concerned to refute the assertion that we have just mentioned in the *Vita Thomana*, that Pindar died in the archonship of Ἀβίων (i.e. Habron) in 458/7 at the age of 50 (*POxy.* 2438. 6–8). This it does on the grounds that Pindar, had he died at the age of 50 in the archonship of Habron, would have been only ten, when he won in the dithyrambic contest in the archonship of Archias, who held office forty archonships before Habron (*POxy.* XXVI 2438. 6–12; Develin 1989, 54). The author of *POxy.* 2438 believed that Pindar survived at least until the archonship of Chaerephanes, in 452/1 BC and the composition of *Ol.* 4, which the papyrus clearly puts in this year (*POxy.* 2438. 14–6), as does the scholiast (Drachmann 1903, 128. 3–4, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 4. (BDEQ)).

The combined evidence of the *Suda* entry and the scholiast’s dating of Pind. *Pyth.* 10 puts Pindar’s birth in 520 BC with a fair degree of probability. As we have observed, Pind. *Pyth.* 8 was produced in, or after, 446 BC, which negates the assertion that Pindar was 50 or 66 at his death. By the time of the 86th Olympiad (436–433 BC), he would, of course, have been older than the 80 years mentioned by Eustathius and the *Vita Metrica*. It is tempting to wonder whether in the source behind ‘Τέθνηκε δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος ἔξ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν γεγονώς’ in the *Vita Thomana* (Drachmann 1903, 7. 11 (*Vita Thomana*)) the ‘ἐξήκοντα’ was ‘ὀγδοήκοντα’. If born in 520, Pindar would then, at 86, indeed have died within the period of the 86th Olympiad. Otherwise, the best we can do is to suggest he died in his eighties in 440 BC or soon after.

Indeed, perhaps Pindar was professionally active to the very end. One tradition records that he died in Argos (Drachmann 1903, 3. 11–4 (*Vita Ambrosiana*)); *POxy.* XXV 2431. 1; Drachmann 1927, 297, 612 (Eustathii *Prooemium* 25)), Eustathius commenting that ‘it is to be suspected that, having set off for some Peloponnesian contest and dying in Argos, he was handed back deceased to his homeland’. Was he intending to attend and even to have some work at the *Hecatomboia* performed? The list of long-lived philosophers and writers who remained unimpeded by *senectus* at Cic. *Sen.* 23 lists Simonides, but admittedly not Pindar. On the other hand, Cicero does not mention Bacchylides, who also seems to have been active to the end of his life.

APPENDIX 3

THE DATING OF VARIOUS MAJOR NON-PERIODOS GAMES

1. Aigina: *Aiakeia*, *Heraia*, games of Apollo (*Hydrophoria*?)

There are several references in literary sources to unnamed sets of games on Aigina (*Anth. Pal.* 13. 19. 9. (Nikolaidas, Corinth), 500–450 BC, track event (?) (Cat. 1. 25); Bacchyl. 10. 34–45 (unknown, Acharnai (Athens)), ca. 500–450 BC (?), boys' track event (?) (Cat. 1. 13); *Isthm.* 8. 64–65 (if περικτίονες (64) refers to other Aiginetans), ca. 500–450 BC (*Isthm.* 8, date: Farrington 2012, 109, n. 229), boxing (?)). There are also a few references to named festivals, that is, to the *Aiakeia* (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 102, referring to the victories of the Oligaithidai (Cat. 1.63), the φρατρία of Xenophon of Corinth (Cat. 1.59); Drachmann 1927, 97, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 78c, referring to *Nem.* 5. 44 (483 or 481 BC?), which, the scholiast thinks refers to a victory by Pytheas (and not by Euthymenes, as we believe (Cat. 1.9)) and to the games of Hera that Pindar calls in *Pyth.* 8 Ἡρας ἀγῶν ἐπιχώριον (Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 79) and that the scholiast names Ἡραϊα and claims are an 'imitation' of the Argive *Hecatomboia* (Drachmann 1910, 217, Σ. Pind. *Pyth.* 8, 113c (ἀγομένων κατὰ μίμωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἀγῶνος)). The Argive *Hecatomboia* were probably established in the 480s or 470s BC (Appendix 3. 2) and so perhaps the Aiginetan set of games were linked with the Argive games at some later stage, after *Pyth.* 8 was composed, although the phraseology of Pindar, who refers to the 'local contest of Hera', may be intended to distinguish the Aiginetan games of Hera from the Argive games. There were links between Argos and Aigina, which was founded from Epidaurus (Argive aid against an Athenian attack (Hdt. 5. 82–6), perhaps between the mid 7th century and early 6th century; Imposition by Argos, perhaps as head of the cult of Pythian Apollo at Asine, in which Aigina participated, of a fine on Aigina (Hdt. 6. 92. 1.) for Aigina's participation in a Spartan naval-based invasion of the Argolid (Scott 2005, 329). The *Hecatomboia* were clearly important from their very inception as an Argive-sponsored festival and Aigina, perhaps realising the importance of the *Hecatomboia* early on, had a tool ready in the form of Aigina's relationship with Argos to draw prestige from the Argive games.

Lastly, Pindar refers to the μεις τ' ἐπιχώριος, ὃν φίλησ' Ἀπόλλων (Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 44), which is the period in which Euthymenes was victorious in some set of games that one scholiast identifies as the *Hydrophoria* (Aigina), not otherwise known (Drachmann 1927, 97, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 81a), and another as the *Aiakeia* (Drachmann 1927, 97, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 78c). Most of the very few competitors at these Aiginetan sets of games that we hear of come from Aigina or nearby, although the games did manage to attract at least one superstar from the other side of the Aegean, Diagoras (Cat. 1. 58.), who won victories at some unnamed set of games on Aigina (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 86). The *Aiakeia* may still have been in existence in 69 BC (*IG IV* 2. 30–32). Of the other sets of games on Aigina, nothing else is heard. Perhaps they had faded away by the 4th century BC.

2. Argive Heraion, Argos: *Hecatomboia*

The spelling Ἑκατόμβοια appears in inscriptions, while Ἑκατόμβαια seems to be restricted to Pindaric scholia (Drachmann 1903, 230, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 152a, d, e; 1927, 165, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 10, inscr.). In the bronze tablets discovered at Argos, which date to the second or third decade of the 4th century BC, they are referred to as τὰ ἑκατόμβοια (Kritzas 2006, 413).

The late 6th century inscription from the Argive Heraion (*IG IV* 519 = *IAG* 7) recording the victories of Timokles does not actually mention any victories at the Heraion and the first clear evidence of athletic contests

at the shrine dates to around 500 BC (Hansen 1983, no. 136; Morgan 2007, 249–50), although the earliest definite reference to the *Hecatomboia* ‘in Argos’ occurs in the inscription, found at Delphi and dating to the early 4th century BC, that records the spectacular career of Theogenes, who is said to have won in the *dolichos* (Syll.³ 36 A (E32) = IAG 21; Amandry 1980, 220; Theogenes: Cat. 1. 35). Theogenes’ career took place from the 490s to the 460s, although his victory at the *Hecatomboia* (if the name is not being used anachronistically (Amandry 1980, 220)) cannot be placed more precisely. The latest reference occurs in the list of the victories of Damatrios of Tegea, dated to the end of the 3rd century BC (IG V 2 142 = IAG 44; Amandry 1980, 223). The *Hecatomboia* were celebrated at the Argive Heraion (Amandry 1980, 223–26), until the early 3rd century BC, when the festival was transferred to Argos itself and renamed the *Heraia* (Perlman, 2000, 132), where it was subordinate to, but still separate from, the *Nemea*, also now held in Argos (Piérart and Touchais 1996, 66). The latest certain reference occurs in an inscription of about ca. 20 BC (Amandry 1980, 230, referring to *I. Milet* IX 368 6 = IAG 59 (restored, but certain reading)), although there may also be a reference to an inscription dated to the reign of Tiberius (Amandry 1980, 231, 231, n. 44). The *Heraia* then disappear and a new set of games, or at least games with a new title, ἡ ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἀσπὶς (‘The Shield in Argos’), apparently take their place (unless the Ἀσπὶς ἐν Ἀργεὶ are the same as, or descended from, the τὰ δημόσια ἄεθλα of IG IV 561. 2 (ca. 500–480 = IAG 10); Moretti does not know what these games are). This new set of games is first mentioned in the late 1st century AD (IAG, p. 21; Amandry 1980, 231) and continues to appear without interruption until the latest victory list inscriptions (with IG II 3169/3170 12 (= IAG 90 (ca. AD 253–257)) perhaps being the latest victory list to contain reference to the *Heraia*).

The *Hecatomboia* were founded, or reorganized, probably in the 470s BC. Morgan (2007, 251) speculates on whether Pind. *Nem.* 10 was written to celebrate either a revival of an older festival or the foundation of a new celebration. By the 470s Argos was evidently recovering from her defeat at Sepeia in 494 BC and its consequences and the *Hecatomboia* seem quickly to have acquired a place among the important local games mentioned by Pindar in his victory catalogues (Morgan 2007, 255). The festival seems to have attracted competitors from outside Argos from the beginning. Four of Pindar’s victors win in games at Argos (Epharmostos (Opous (Cat. 1.64)), Xenophon (Corinth (1.59)), Diagoras (Rhodes (Cat. 1. 58)), Theaios (Argos (Cat. 1. 23))). Although Pindar never directly gives the title of the games he refers to, no other games associated with Argos than the *Hecatomboia* are known from this period. The *Hecatomboia* offered valuable prizes, at least for some time (Amandry 1980, 211–17), at a shrine that underwent impressive rebuilding in the mid and second half of 5th century BC, presumably at the hands of the Argives (Amandry 1980, 235–40; summary of building activities at Heraion and in contemporary Argos: Morgan 2007, 254–55). All this clearly connects the *Hecatomboia* with the expansion of Argive power in the eastern Argolid, which involved the destruction of Midea, Mycenae and Tiryns in the 460s BC (Hall 1995, 589, 589 n. 84), during which the Heraion seems to have fallen under complete Argive control for the first time (Possible limits of Argive territory before the 460s BC: Hall 1995, 590), while the new territory on the eastern side of the Argolid plain that resulted was absorbed into the Argive state (Hall 1993, 589–90). The prestigious games were clearly a symbol of Argive dominance over the area.

3. Athens: *Olympia*

Inscriptions of 4th century – 3rd century BC give Ὀλύμπια (Mommsen 1898, 465, 465 n.1) as the name of the games, with the addition of ἐν Ἀθήναις (Mommsen 1898, 465, 465 n.2), as do grammarians (Mommsen 1898, 465, 465 n. 3) and Pindaric scholiasts (Drachmann 1903, 298, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 133b (‘ἡ τὰ Παναθήναια ἢ τὰ Ὀλύμπια’); 1910, 237, Σ. Pind. *Pyth.* 9, 177 (‘τοῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις [Ὀλυμπίοις]’); 1927, 39, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 2, 35 (‘τίθεται δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις Διὸς ἀγών’), 37a (‘ἡ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἢ τὸν Δία’)).

It is not known when the Athenian *Olympia* were instituted, but since the time of Mommsen it has been assumed, reasonably, that the games were associated with the foundation of the temple of Olympian Zeus by Peisistratus or his sons around 530 BC (Mommsen 1898 465), perhaps as an attempt rival the Pisatan *Olympia*

(as Mommsen (Mommsen 1898, 468) speculated, but they would then perhaps not have been annual, as they seem to have been later). The Athenian *Olympia* are inscriptionally attested in 4th century – 3rd century BC (Mommsen 1898, 465) and in the 3rd century BC, at least, the games were probably annual (Mommsen 1898, 466). They seem to have had equestrian events, at least in the 3rd century BC (Mommsen 1898, 466) and must have had at least some contests in gymnastic disciplines. They were perhaps held on 19 Mounychion (Mommsen 1898, 466).

They would seem to have lapsed in later Hellenistic and early Imperial times. They reappear again in the inscriptional record in the early 2nd century AD and their apparent refoundation is probably to be connected with Hadrian's completion and dedication of the Olympieion in AD 131/2 and the decree by the Athenians granting him the title of Ὀλύμπιος (Birley 1997, 261–62). From this time, they appear as Ὀλυμπία and Ὀλυμπεία, perhaps to distinguish them from the Pisatan *Olympia* (Merkebach 1973, 210). The *Olympia* were penteteric, being held in the third Julian Olympic year at the time of their refoundation (Strasser 2022, 232–3, 575) and survived at least into the early 3rd century AD, appearing in an inscription dated to 212–217 BC (IG 84, A. 11).

4. Euboea: *Artemiria*, *Amarysia*, *Basileia*, *Geraistia*

In the 3rd century BC or after, a statue was erected in the ἀρχαῖον στάδιον ('old stadium') in Eretria (Diog. Laert. 2. 132), which suggests the presence of games, as does the presence of a theatre in Eretria by 304 BC (IG XII 9 193. 6). A festival in honour of Herakles, which therefore very probably involved athletic events (Nielsen 2018, 69), is attested by an inscription on a bronze *lebes* (IG XII 9 272; bibliography: Nielsen 2018, 69, 69 n. 417) and, if a dedicatory inscription has been correctly restored, the festival may have existed as early as 550 BC (SEG 32 806; Nielsen 2018 69, 69 nn. 418–20) and were perhaps the games at which a Tarentine was granted the προεδρίη (Meiggs and Lewis 1969, 251, no. 82)).

In the 4th century BC, there was a hippodrome in Tamynai (Aeschin. 3. 88), a deme of Eretria (Reber et al. 2004, 646). There was also a temple of Apollo in Tamynai (Strabo 10. 1. 10) and the inference, made, for example, by Nielsen (2018, 137, nos. 82–83), is that games involving equestrian events were held in honour of Apollo at his shrine. The *Artemiria* at Eretria are not definitely attested before 340 BC (IG XII 9 189), in an inscription that, among other things, lays out the prizes awarded for various musical events, which may mean that the festival already included athletic events (IG XII 9 189). The *Artemiria* continued into Roman times (Walker 2004, 35). The *Amarysia*, held in Amarynthos, another deme of Eretria (Reber et al. 2004, 644), are undated (Drachmann 1903, 387, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 159b). Further afield, in Geraistos, in the territory of Karystos (Reber et al. 2004, 644), the undated *Geraistia* were held in honour of Poseidon, 'on account of the great storm that occurred around Geraistos' (Drachmann 1903, 387, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 159b). At the northern end of Euboea, Histiaia had a palaestra in 4th century BC and so may have had games (Nielsen 2018, 20, no. 426). The date and location of the *Basileia*, held in honour of Hades, and mentioned by Chrysippos (Drachmann 1927, 209, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 1, 81d), presumably the 3rd century BC philosopher, are unknown.

5. Kleitor: *Korasia*

The only games so far known at Kleitor, in Arcadia, are the *Korasia*, held in honour of Athena (Kramer 1970, 40; *Sanct. Arcad.*, 42, mentioned at Nielsen 2018, 40, no. 181). The earliest inscriptional reference is ours here (IG IV 510 (E19)), erected by Timokles and dated, as we have said, to the late 6th century BC. The latest inscriptional reference dates to Imperial times (IK *Perge* 272. B 21–22 (reference to 'Καῖσά|[ρ]εῖ|α ἐν Κορίνθῳ')). The *Korasia* are also glimpsed in late Hellenistic times in an inscription from Tralleis, dated to ca. 150 – ca. 100 BC (McCabe *Tralles* 119 = I. *Tralleis und Nysa* 166; Date of McCabe *Tralles* 119: (Robert 1933, 435. Date

of Philotechnos, whose signature appears in the inscription (ca. 150–100 BC: Muller-Dufeu 2002, 898–99, no. 2692) and in a post-Classical inscription from Megara (*IG VII* 47)). The curriculum included, at various times, wrestling (probably), the men's *dolichos* (McCabe *Tralles* 119 = *I. Tralleis* 166), boxing (*IG V* 47), the men's *stadion* (*I. Perge* 272. B. 14–5) and perhaps even equestrian games (Jost 1985, 42, mentioned at Nielsen 2018, 40, n. 183). Notably, the games managed to survive into Imperial times and even attract an international clientele from as far afield as Perge.

6. Marathon: *Herakleia*

The *Herakleia* may have been founded in the late 6th century BC (Parker 1996, 96), but an inscription (Vanderpool 1942, 334–35 = *IG I³* 3), dated to the early 5th century BC (Vanderpool 1942, 336), indicates that the games were reorganized on a pan-Attic scale, perhaps as a consequence of the battle of Marathon, in which Herakles played a part (Parker 1996, 96), although nothing in the inscription suggests this. The *Herakleia* leave no trace in the epigraphic record thereafter and so perhaps were gone by the 3rd century BC, although they crop up elsewhere once, if not twice, in literature in the second half of the 4th century BC. It is not clear which set of *Herakleia* Demosthenes is talking about when he is recalling the events of 346 BC, when, because of fear of Philip, he says of the Athenians that ‘ἐψηφίζεσθε...καὶ τὰ Ἡράκλεια ἐν ἄστει θύειν’ (Dem. 19. 125), in connection with which Harpocration makes his remark that the *Herakleia* at Marathon were one of the two most important festivals of Herakles held in Attica (Harpocration, s.v. ‘Ἡράκλεια’), because both Marathon and Kynosarges lie outside the circuit of the walls of Athens (Rhodes *CAAP*, 608, on [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 54. 7). On the other hand, the *Athenaion Politeia*, which dates for the most part between 355/4 BC and 322 BC (Rhodes *CAAP*, 51–2), gives a list of penteteric games, which may include the *Herakleia*, although the text is corrupt at this point. Pollux, however (Pollux 11.107, s.v. ‘ἱεροποιοί’ (Bekker 1846, 346–47), is clearly drawing on some version of the text of the *Athenaion Politeia*, since he gives the same first, second and fourth games as appear in the list in the *Athenaion Politeia* of games administered by the ten ‘so-called κατ’ἐνιαυτὸν ἱεροποιοί’ ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 54. 7) in his own list of games at which the ἱεροποιοί sacrificed. As the third set of games, which is missing in a lacuna in the text of the *Athenaion Politeia*, Pollux gives the *Herakleia*, which implies strongly that this is what the text of the *Athenaion Politeia* had.

Of age classes at the Marathon games, there were certainly ἀγένηοι and ἄνδρες, as is clear from the case of Epharmostos (Cat. 1. 55), who seems to have been refused admission to the ἀγένηοι, but competed successfully in the ἄνδρες group and if there were ἀγένηοι and ἄνδρες, then there must have been παῖδες. What little information there is suggests a curriculum with heavy and track disciplines (wrestling: Pind. *Ol.* 9. 89; Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 79; *stadion*, *pentathlon*: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 110), as one might expect in games dedicated to Herakles, although Alkimachos (Cat. 1. 52), if indeed he won at the Marathon *Herakleiai*, did so in some event centred on the *kithara*. Perhaps such disciplines became more popular after Pericles’ reorganization of the curriculum of the *Panathenaia* (Shapiro 1992, 58), which may lie behind a passage of Hyginus (*Fabulae* 273. 6. 1–4), who mentions the presence at the *Nemea* of ‘pythaulēs’, later called ‘choraulēs’, who ‘*Pythia cantaverunt*’. Depictions of *kithara*-based disciplines certainly increase from 440 BC (Shapiro 1992, 58), which may indicate an increase in the number itself of such competitions.

As just noted, Harpocration states that the *Herakleia* at Marathon were one of the two most important Attic festivals of Herakles (Keaney 1991, s.v. ‘Ἡράκλεια’ (H14) (L29), the other being held in Kynosarges. All the various Ἡράκλεια are briefly dealt with in one place by Deubner (Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 226–27). This is also the impression created by Pindar, who in his victory catalogues refers to victories at a handful of the most important games after those of the *periodos*, mentions victories three times at Marathon (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 89; Pind. *Ol.* 13. 110; Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 79), without specifying the contest directly, as is his habit. These games, however, or at least those mentioned at Pind. *Ol.* 9. 90, were prestigious enough to offer silver vessels as prizes, as is noted by scholiast (Drachmann 1903, 299, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 137a), although he may be inferring this from the text. Vessels

have in fact been found that Amandry (1971, 602–9) thought may have been prizes for the Ἡράκλεια, although given the fact that they are not silver and that they display (almost identical) inscriptions (e.g. Ἀθηναῖο ἄθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις (on a vase found in the plain of Marathon (Amandry 1971, 605))), they may have been prizes for the Athenian Ἐπιτάφια, as Nielsen (2018, 67–8) notes). The contest at Marathon managed to attract high-status competitors from Aigina (Cat. 1. 49), Corinth (Cat. 1. 3) and Opous (Cat. 1. 55). Thus it seems certain that Pindar is referring to the *Herakleia*. Finally, we have the evidence of the vase itself, on which the games at Marathon sit alongside two games of the *periodos* and the *Panathenaia*, which only the *Herakleia* can have done.

7. Megara: *Alkathoia*, *Pythia*

Several of Pindar's honorands are victorious in sets of games at Megara that neither he nor the scholiasts identify ([10] Pind. *Ol.* 7. 86 (Diagoras, Rhodes), ca. 470–459 BC (?), boxing (Cat. 1. 58); Pind. *Ol.* 13. 109 (Xenophon, Corinth), 470–465 BC (?), track event (Cat. 1.59); Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 78 (Aristomenes, Aigina), 446 BC (Bowra 1964, 413), boys' wrestling; Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 91 (Telesikrates, Cyrene), 474 BC (Bowra 1964, 405), ὀπλιτόδρομος; *Isthm.* 8. 67 (Kleandros, Aigina), 480–478 BC (Cat. 1. 41; Bowra 1964, 407), παγκράτιον. Victory at Megara, perhaps in track event: *Anth. Pal.* 13. 19. 10 (L3) (Nikolaidas, Corinth) ca. 500–450 BC (?) (Cat. 1. 25)). There are also two epigraphic mentions of what may be sets of games at Megara, although again no name is mentioned (*IG* IV 673. 5 (honorific listing victories of honorand), Hermion, 4th century BC; *IG* VII 1. 14–5 (decree granting honours to Zoilos, son of Kelainos, which include the *proedria* ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι held at Megara (i.e. more than one set games in existence at Megara at the time (Nielsen 2018, 104–5)) and reference to named sets of games is found only in the scholia. According to one, it was in the *Alkathoia* that Euthymenes won one of his victories (Drachmann 1927, 98, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 84b, referring to *Nem.* 5. 46.), while another asserts that it was in the Megarian *Pythia* that he was victorious (Drachmann 1927, 98, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 84a, referring to *Nem.* 5. 46). Another scholion asserts that the Aiginetan Aristokleidas was also victorious at these *Pythia* (Drachmann 1927, 62, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 3. 147, referring to *Nem.* 3. 84). The *Pythia* (Πύθια or Πυθᾶεια or Πυθαῖα) occur several times in the epigraphic record from Hellenistic times to probably the 2nd century AD (*IG* VII 48, row 1, crown 1 (list of victories of individual athlete), Megaris, post 196 BC; *IG* IV² 1 629. 6 (= *IAG* 53) (list of victories of individual athlete), Epidaurus, ca. 100 BC; *IG* VII 106. 4–5 (honorific decree for ἀγωνοθέτης of Πυθαῖα), Megara, post-Trajanic; *IG* V 1 659 (list of victories of individual athlete), Sparta, Roman period), but the *Alkathoia* do not appear again (Games at Megara in general: Nielsen 2018, 34–5, 119). As for the curriculum of sets of games at Megara, we have references to heavy and track events (Cat. 1. 24; 1. 25; 1. 39; 1. 40). The few known victors seem to be local in origin or from nearby, although the sporting life of Aigina had enough cachet in the 5th century BC to attract international athletes (e.g. Cat. 1. 3, 1. 58).

8. Pellene: *Diia*, *Heraia*, *Hermaia*, *Theoxenia*

Agonistic activity at Pellene is attested from the late 6th century BC (*IG* IV 510 (E19)= *IAG* 17) in a victory list inscription whose subject may come from the eastern Argolid and possibly Mycenae Cat. 1. 14) and some of the honorands of Pindar (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 86 (Diagoras, Rhodes (Cat. 1.58)), *Ol.* 9. 98 (Epharmostos, Opous (Cat. 1.64)), *Ol.* 13. 109 (Xenophon, Corinth (Cat. 1. 59), *Nem.* 10. 44 (Theaios, Argos (Cat. 1. 23)) and Bacchylides (Bacchyl. 10. 33 (Unknown, Athens (Cat. 1. 13); Victories at Pellene: *Anth. Pal.* 13. 19 (Cat. 1. 25), perhaps dating to ca. 500–450 BC and originating in an inscription) won there. Neither Pindar nor Bacchylides, however, specifies the set of games in which their honorands were victorious. The names of a number of sets of games are attested in Pindaric scholia (but nowhere else, except by Pausanias (Paus. 7. 24. 7. (*Theoxenia*))). The *Diia* appear once (Drachmann 1927, 176, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 82a), as do the *Heraia* (White 1914, 259, l. 1421). The *Hermaia* appear four times (Drachmann 1903, 232, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 156c. 300, Drachmann 1903, 300, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 146, c, g

(Games at Pellene also at Ar. Av. (Holwerda 1991, 209, l. 1421, RENeap., where the Ἡραῖα are placed in Pellene, being perhaps confused with the Ἐρμαῖα mentioned in ENeapMLh.)), as do the *Theoxenia* (Drachmann 1903, 232, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 156c; Drachmann 1903, 300–1, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 146 a, g; Drachmann 1927, 176, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 10, 82a). The prize of a cloak, which is what Pindar's winners are awarded (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 97–8; Pind. *Nem.* 10. 44; Holwerda 1991, 209, l. 1421, ENeapMLh connects this prize with the Ἐρμαῖα, which the scholiast says were held in Pallene) whenever he mentions the matter is associated by Pindaric scholiasts with all the sets of games. Strabo says that by his time, cloaks were no longer awarded 'at the games' (Strabo 8. 7. 5)), but fails to say which set or sets of games. By the time of Pausanias, the *Theoxenia* offered cash prizes only (Paus. 7. 24. 7).

The fact none of the scholiasts say that any of these are alternative names for the same festival suggests that they were all separate, if not very long-lived. At the very latest, with one exception, they were probably all gone by the early 1st century AD, this being the date by which most of the information on which the Pindaric scholia draw had been amassed (Dickey 2007, 38–40). Only the *Theoxenia* continued (Dickey 2007, 38–40), now as a set of local games, into the lifetime of Pausanias, after which they disappear from view. Nevertheless, Pellene clearly had a vigorous agonistic life during the first half of the 5th century BC, lively enough to attract Pindar's international clientele.

9. Rhodes: *Tlepolemeia*

There are only two direct contemporary historical references to the *Tlepolemeia*, one of them being in Pindar (*Ol.* 7. 77–78) and the other an inscription commemorating the victories of Onasiteles of Kedreai, on the coast of Caria, from perhaps the mid 2nd century BC (*Syll.*³ 1067. 8 = IAG 50). The *Tlepolemeia* were considered to have started life as the funeral games of Tlepolemos and a scholion states that the bones of Tlepolemos were brought back from Troy by members of the Rhodian contingent and funeral games for Tlepolemos are performed ἐν τῇ πόλει (Drachmann 1903, 209, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 36c. 13–8). Another scholion, by Tzetzes (12th century CE (*Ad Lycophrona* 911, given at Drachmann 1903, 209)), states that Philozoe, widow of Tlepolemos, founded games in his honour. As for the end of the *Tlepolemeia*, if, as we believe (p. 90–2), the last four sentences of Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 147 c refer to these games, the festival clearly existed at the time, whenever that was, when the source for Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 147 c (Cat. 1. 57) was written, since the scholion uses the present tense (ἀπέχει) in regard to the *Tlepolemeia*. As we have seen, some of the scholia are ignorant of the *Tlepolemeia*, which suggests that the games had disappeared by the time that the sources on which the scholia are drawing were written. The material that Pindaric scholia use dates in general to no later than the early 1st century AD (Dickey 2007, 39), which may mean that the *Tlepolemeia* were gone as early as the late 1st century BC or early 1st century AD. The games certainly seem to have disappeared by the 2nd century AD, since there is no mention of them in the sometimes very lengthy victory inscriptions generated by athletes of the time.

10. Sikyon: *Pythia*

By far the most important set of games at Sikyon were the *Pythia*, founded under the tyrant Cleisthenes, in the early 6th century BC (*Pythia* at Sikyon: Farrington 2013; all games at Sikyon: Farrington forthcoming) and lasting perhaps into the second half of the 1st century AD (Farrington forthcoming). There is evidence of gymnastic disciplines at the *Pythia* and the games probably had the normal range of such events. There is also evidence of equestrian events, at least in 5th century and 3rd century BC (Farrington, forthcoming). Over their lifetime, the *Pythia* managed to attract competitors not only from the Peloponnese and central Greece, but from as far afield as Aetna and Lindos (Farrington, forthcoming), while the latest reference to them records a victor from Tralleis (Farrington, forthcoming).

11. Tegea: *Aleaia*

The earliest reference to the *Aleaia*, held at Tegea in honour of Athena Alea, is in a dedicatory inscription from Tegea (IG IV² 75), which perhaps dates to ca. 525–500 BC (LSAG², 209 ('late sixth century'), 215 no. 5, plate 40. 5). The latest reference, in a victory list of an athlete from Epidauros, dates to about 100 BC (IG IV² 1 629 = IAG 53). After this, the *Aleaia* are no longer heard of, even in the extensive victory lists of Imperial times. While they lasted, they were evidently regarded as one of the less important of the major second-rank games that Pindar mentions in his catalogues, where they appear only once (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 47). The *Aleaia* also very probably appeared in the longer, but still very Pindaresque, catalogue in *Anth. Pal.* 13. 19 (L3) that records the victories of the Corinthian Nikolaidas in perhaps the first half of the 5th century BC (Cat. 1. 25). We have no information regarding the curriculum of the *Aleaia* in Classical times, but in Hellenistic times, we hear of the δόλιχος (*dolichos*) for boys and for men (Boys' δόλιχος: IG V 2 142. 6, 32 (= IAG 44, late 3rd century BC); men's δόλιχος: IG V 2 142. 19. 22, IG IV² 1 629. 6). Known victors come from Corinth, Argos, Tegea and Epidauros, but the sample is too small to draw any conclusions.

12. Thebes: *Herakleia/Iolaeia*

Mention of the *Herakleia* occurs both in Pindaric scholia (references to Ἡράκλεια and Ἰολαία: Nielsen 2018, 34, 86–7, 118, no. 30) and in inscriptions, collected by Roesch (1975, 1–3) and dating between the early 2nd century BC and the mid 3rd century AD (to which Roesch adds two inscriptions held, or once held, in Thebes Archaeological Museum. Both were found in Thebes or nearby, both probably date to 170 BC or after and both refer to the Ἡράκλεια (Roesch 1975, 3–5)). These inscriptions refer to the games exclusively as *Herakleia*, albeit with an adjective occasionally added. The epithet Διονύσια appears (Διονύσια as epithet: Roesch 1975, no. 14 (AD 180–192)), which may mean that the *Herakleia* had absorbed the Dionysiac *Agrionia*, perhaps defunct by now (Roesch 1975, 7), as does Ὀλύμπια (Roesch 1975, no. 16 ('Διονύσια Ἡράκλεια Ἀντωνείνεια', post AD 220); Ὀλύμπια: Roesch no. 19 (mid 3rd century AD)). There are also the *Iolaeia*, to which the Pindaric scholia, and only the Pindar scholia, refer. Is this the same set of games as the *Herakleia* or a separate contest? The evidence to be extracted from Pindar is obscure, because Pindar always prefers periphrasis when referring to the sets of games in which his athletes are victorious, although his mentions of the *Herakleia*, whenever he makes something more than a bare reference to Thebes, involve Iolaos rather than Herakles (e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 79–80; Pind. *Ol.* 9. 79–80). Four scholia state that the games are called *Iolaeia*, the last of these giving the impression that this is their primary name (Drachmann 1903, 232, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 153e; 301, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 148b; 1927, 69, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 32; 199, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 1, 11c). On the other hand, the commentator Didymos (late 1st century BC – early 1st century AD) seems to have asserted that the games were not called the *Iolaeia*, in contrast to ὁ περὶ ἀγώνων ἀναγραφάμενος (perhaps Polemon, that is, (probably) Polemon of Ilium, dated no more precisely than to the late 3rd century and early 2nd century BC (RE XXI.2, Col. 1290–1291)) mentioned in the same scholion, who certainly did (Drachmann 1927, 69, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 32). Perhaps the name *Herakleia*, which seems to have been in use locally by the mid 2nd century BC (Roesch 1975, 3–5), gained ground both within and outside Thebes, because Herakles was more well-known than the relatively obscure Iolaos.

Despite becoming widely known as the *Herakleia* (if in fact this was the case), the contest seems to have been founded as a set of funeral games for Iolaos. They took place, at least in the 5th century BC, in proximity to the tomb of Amphytryon (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 19–21), which was also the tomb of Iolaos (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 19–21) and the victory crown was of myrtle, appropriate for the dead (Drachmann 1927, 239, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 117). The games may have existed as early as the third quarter of the 6th century BC (Nielsen 2018, 86, 86 n. 561, referring to IG IV 801), but otherwise the earliest evidence for their existence consists of the cluster of references to them in Pindar, dating from the mid 470s to the mid 460s BC (Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 70–3 (Melissos, Thebes, παῖδες παγκράτιον), Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 55–6 (?) (Herodotus, Thebes, τέθριππον (*tethrippon*)), Pind. *Ol.* 7. 83 (Diagoras, Rhodes, πυγμή), Pind. *Ol.* 9. 98–9 (Epharmostos, Orous, πάλη (wrestling)), Pind. *Ol.* 13. 107 (relatives of

Xenophon, Corinth), Pind. *Nem.* 4. 19–21 (Timasarchos, Aigina, πάλη (wrestling))). The games become visible again, this time in inscriptions, which are dated, as mentioned already, from the early 2nd century BC to the end of the inscriptional recording of agonistic life in antiquity, that is, the mid 3rd century AD (Roesch 1975, 2, no. 17 (ca. 253–257), no. 18 (mid 3rd century AD), no. 19 (mid 3rd century AD)). Many sets of games continue after this epigraphic cut-off point, with the longest lived lasting into the 5th century AD, so it is not impossible that the *Herakleia*, a clearly successful set of international games survived into 4th century AD (Life of sets of games throughout the eastern Roman world: Remijsen 2015, 33–171 and especially 164–71).

As for their programme, the disciplines of Pindar's victors (Cat. 1. 3; 1. 49; 1. 55) suggest that the *Herakleia* had the usual curriculum, as do the victories mentioned in the epigraphic evidence (ἄνδρας πανκράτιον: Roesch 1975, 1, no. 3 (150–130 BC), no. 11 (post AD 140); πυγμή: Roesch 1975, 1, no. 4 (late 2nd century – early 1st century BC); πάλη (wrestling): Roesch 1975, 2, no. 9 (post AD 140); ἄνδρας δίαυλος: Roesch 1975, 1, no. 1 (200–180 BC); κῆρυξ: Roesch 1975, 2, no. 7 (1st century BC?, perhaps ἐγκωμιογράφος), 2, no. 17; κέλῃς πωλικός: Roesch 1975, 1, no. 5 (2nd century–1st century BC)), although one or two 'artistic' disciplines are visible in Imperial times (τραγικὴ κίνησις: Roesch 1975, 2, no. 14 (AD 180–192); πυθικὸς ἀ[ὐ]λητής: Roesch 1975, 2, no. 15 (early 3rd century AD)). The length of the festival was apparently two days, with the *pentathlon* and equestrian events on the first day and the *gymnikos agōn* on the second (Drachmann 1927, 238–9, Σ. Pind. *Isthm.* 4, 114b). In the 5th century BC at least, there were bronze prizes (Bronze tripod as prize: Drachmann 1903, 231, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 153d; Bronze hydria as prize: Amandry 1971, 617). By 140/139 BC, the festival had acquired *theoroi* (Roesch 1975, 1, no. 2).

From their foundation, the *Herakleia* may have attracted competitors from outside Thebes with possibly the first attested victor, in the mid 6th century BC, coming from Troezen (See *IG* IV 801; Nielsen 2018, 86, 86 n. 561). Some of Pindar's victors (Herodotus (*Isth.* 1. 55); Melissos (*Isth.* 4. 70–1)) come from Thebes. From the rest of Greece, the games attracted participants from as far afield as Opous, Corinth and Aigina, but the participation of Diagoras, from distant Rhodes, clearly shows the considerable status that they enjoyed (Epharmostos (Opous, *Ol.* 9. 99); Xenophon (Corinth, *Ol.* 13. 107); Timasarchos (Aigina, *Nem.* 4. 18); Diagoras (Rhodes, *Ol.* 7. 84). The inscriptional evidence, which is later, shows that they continued to enjoy this prestige. In the 2nd century/1st century AD, the lure of their equestrian contests was strong enough to attract a competitor from distant Antioch on the Pyramus, in Cilicia (Roesch 1975, 1, no. 5). In the mid 2nd century AD, the games attracted contestants from Ephesus (Roesch 1975, 2, no. 14) and Seleucia on the Calycadnus (Roesch 1975, 2, no. 11), while two of the last recorded competitors come from Sinope (Roesch 1975, 2, no. 17 (ca. AD 253–257)) and perhaps from Bithynia (Roesch 1975, 2, no. 18).

APPENDIX 4


EPIGRAPHIC AND LITERARY TESTIMONIA

Appendix 4.1: Epigraphic Testimonia

E1: Charneux 1985b, p. 357: (Κλεαίνετος (front of stone); **HE** [- - -] (right side of stone); [- - - -] ΑΠΑΛΛΑΕ [three or four letters] P.AIE|[- - - - υί]ωι Ἐπικράτεος|[- - - - ΚΛ]εαινέτωι εἰς ἔριν ἐλθών|[- - - -] τ καὶ μεγέθει(5) [- - - -] Πύθια ἐξάκι δρόμωι|[- - - - Νεμέ]ας θηροτρόφωι τεμένει|[- - - -]σι δρυοστεφάνοις τε Λυκαίοις|[- - - - Ἄργου]ς χαλκὸν ἐσαγάγετο|[- - - -]ι Ἀσκαπιοῦ εἴλετο δῶρον|[- - - -] - - - - - ὅπ]λίταν στέψατο καὶ στάδιον|[- - - -] ἔδεκτο δόμοις κειμήλια θέσθαι|[- - - -] τὰς Ἰναχίδας ἔφερε (left side of stone).

E2: Ebert 1972 2: Ἀρίστις με ἀνέθ[ῆκε Δα]φ[ι] Ὀρονιῶνι φά[νακτι πανκράτιον νιοῦν τετράκις | ἐν Νεμέαι· Φειδο]νος φηὶὸς τῷ Κλεο]ναιοῦ

E3: Ebert 1972 8: Μνάμα με **T** [- - - -] [hi(π)]ποις νικάς[ας] φεξάκις ἐ(ν) Νεμέαι]..

E4: Ebert 1972 25: δις Πυθοῖ νίκησ[ας] [- - - -] ἑπτάκις ἐν Νεμέαι[ι - - - -], πεντάκι δὲ στεφανοῖς [- - - -] Πυθόδηλε· κράτος δ' ἔ[σ]πετ'
 ἔπ[α]ι[νος ἀεί]. Πυθόδωρος Πυθοδή[λ]ος ΑΠ - - - | ... ¹⁰⁻¹²  - - - .

E5: Ebert 1972 36: [οὔ τι μόνῃ τιμὰν ἐν] Ὀλυμπίαι ἰσχύος ἔσχον|[κυδαίνων γενεὰν π]ατρίδα θ'· [ἀ] γὰρ ἴσα|[ἡλθέ] μοι ἐν Πυθοῖ θ' ὄτ'] ἐνίκων καὶ τρίς ἐν Ἴ<σ>θμοῖ|[Δαμαρέτου παῖς ὦν Να]ρκίδας Φιγ[α]λεύς|. vacat|(5) [Δαίδαλος ἐπ]οίησε Πατροκλέ[ος Φλειά]σιος.

E6: Ebert 1972 48: [- - - -] ἔσταθι κυ[δαίνων τοῦδε πο]δῶν ἀρε[τάν] |διδς γὰρ ἄε[θλον ἐνεῖ] κα[το] Ὀλυμπίου ἐν Διὸς [ἄ]λ[σ]ε[ι]|πᾶχυν ὑπ[αῖ] χ[αλκ]ᾶν ἄσ[π]ι[δ]α ἐρεῖσ[άμενος] |(5) πρᾶτος δ[ὲ] Κρ(?)] ητῶν [πά]γ[ας] νίκασε Νέμεια (?) | καὶ δ' ἐπ' Ἀθαν[α]ί[ας] [Π]αλλ[ά]δος ἐσ[τέφετο] |διδς δὲ Παρνασσοῖο φέρει κλέος, [ἔν τε] δι[αύλωι] (?)|τέρμα καὶ ὅπλοφόρ[ο]ν πρῶτος ἐλὼν ἀ[έ]θ[λου] |οὐδὲ μάταια ἔλαφοῖσι κ[ό]νιμι περὶ ? [. .] ἔπει? [. .]αν|[π]ό[σ]ιν Κασταλία[ς] θεῖον ἔνι[ψ]εν ὕ[δωρ].).

E7: Ebert 1972 57: [ἴστασ]ο κυδαίνων, Λυσίξεν[ον δς Νεμεαίωι]|[εἰν ἄλσ]σει νίκαν ὠκέος ἐγ δολί[χου]·|[ἄρατ'] ἐπεὶ παίδων τέλος ἔδρα[εν· ἴσθι ὅτι Θή]βας|[ἀλικία] θεῖων οὐκ ἄμορος στεφά[νων]').

E8: *F. Delphes* III 1 no. 507 p. 332: [πλ]εῖστοις δὴ Σικυῶνα πάτραν, [Σω]σιστράτου υἱέ,|Σώστρατε, καλλίστοις τ' ἡγλαίας στεφάνοις·|[ν]ικῶ[ν] πανκράτιον τρίς Ὀλύμπια, δις δ' ἐν Πυθοῖ,|δῶδεκα δ' ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ [καὶ Νεμ]έας στεφάνους·|(5) [τ]οὺς δ' ἄλλους ἄπο[ρον στεφά]νους [ἐπ]ιδείξει ἀριθμόν,|[πα]ύσας δ' ἀντι[πάλους πάν]τα [ἐ]κρατεῖς ἀμαχεί.

E9: *F. Delphes* III 4 no. 460 2. 1-4: πρῶτος Ὀλύμπια παγκράτιον, Φαρσάλι, νικᾷς,|Ἁγία Ἀκονίου, γῆς ἀπὸ Θεσσαλίας,|πεντάκις ἐν Νεμέαι, τρίς Πύθια, πεντάκις Ἰσθμοῖ·|καὶ σὼν οὐδεὶς πω στήσε τροπαῖα χερῶν.

Ε11: *I. Ephesos* no. 1415. 4–17: ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Νεῦμος Ἀνδρονίκου [εἶ]-(5) [πεν· ἔπε] ἰδὴ Ἀθηνόδωρος Σήμονος ἰσοτελὴς ὧν καὶ κατοί-|[κῶν] ἐν Ἐφέσῳ νενίκηκεν τὰ Νέμεα παῖδας πύκτην|[καὶ ἄνα] γγελίς Ἐφέσιος ἔστεφάνωκε τὴν πόλιν,|[ἔδοξε]ν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· εἶναι Ἀθηνόδωρον|[Σήμον]ος Ἐφέσιον καθάπερ ἀνήγγελλται ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι,|(10) [καὶ ὑπά]ρχειν Ἀθηνοδώρῳ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς τεταγμέ-|νας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ νικῶντι παῖδας τῷ σώματι|[Ν]έμεα, καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καθ[ά]-|περ οἱ ἄλλοι νικῶντες ἀναγγέλλονται· τὸν δὲ οἱ[κονό]-|μον ἀποδοῦναι Ἀθηνοδώρῳ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τετ[α]-|(15)[γμ]ένον ἀργύριον εἰς τὸν στέφανον· ἐπικληρῶσ[αι δὲ]|αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς φυλὴν καὶ χιλιαστύν· ἔλαχε φυλὴ[γ]||[Κα]ρηναῖος, χιλιαστὺν Χηλώνεος.

Ε13: *I. Lindos* 68: Νικαγόρας Νίκωνος Ἀθαναΐαι Λινδΐαι νικέων| Ὀλύμπια συνωρίδι τελεΐαι, κέλητι τελείωι| [Πύ] θια ἄρματι τελείωι| Ἰσθμια ἄρματι τελείωι, κέλητι τελείωι, συνωρίδι πωλικᾷ|(5) Νέμεα ἄρματι τελείωι, συνωρίδι τελεΐαι, κέλητι τελείωι| Παναθήναια ἄρματι πωλικῶι| Ἑκατόμβοια ἄρματι τελείωι| Πύθια ἐν Σικυῶνι ἄρματι πωλικῶι, συνωρίδι τελεΐαι, κέλητι| Λύκαια συνωρί<δι> >[[τε[λείαι]]|(10) [ἐ]ποίησε.

E15: IG I³ 893: (I.1) Καλλίας Δ[ιδυμίοϛ]|II.2 νῖκαι|Ολυ[μ]πίασι|Πύθια : δις|(5) Ἴσθμια : πεντάκις|Νέμεια : τετράκις| Παναθέναια με<γά>λ[α].

E17: *IG II² 3123*: Προναπίδο Προνάπης [τάσδε ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς]|Νέμ[ει]αΐσθ<μ>ια Παναθήναια [---][---][---].

E19: IG IV 510: Capital: [— | — | — | — | —] | Νεμέαι Τεγέαι τε [ΚΛ] | ἔτορι Πελλάναι [— | — | — | —]; Column: Τιμοκ(λ)ῆς μ' ἔθηκε (IG 7)

E20: IG V 2 549: (I) ἐπὶ ἱερεὶ Εὐκαμπίδαῖ· Ἑσ[φ]αντιδ-|αν· Λυκαιονίκα· τελεία συνωρ-|ίδι Δαμέας Τίμωνος Ἀλείος, τε-|θρίππωι πωλικῶι Εὐπόλεμος Δ-|(5) ἀμίδος Ἀρκάς, τελείω τεθρίππωι|Χιονίδας Εὐαინέτω Ἀρκάς, ἵππ-|ωι κέλ<η>τι Φιλόνικος Φιλονίκ-|ω Ἀργεῖος, Θεοτῆλ<η>ς Νικασίππω|στάδιον παῖδας Ἀρκάς, Θρασύδ-|(10)ημος Θεα<ί>ου Ἀθηναῖος πάλαν π-|αῖδας, Νικίας Μνασίαν παῖδας πυ-|γμῦ. Ἄν Ἀρκάς, Ἀρίστιππος Ἀριστ-|οκλέους ἄνδρας δόλιχον Ἀρκάς, Λ-|υσίλοχος Περίλα ἄνδρας στάδιον Ἀ-|(15)ργεῖος, Δείνων Δεινίαν ἄνδρας δίαυλο-|ν Ἀρκάς, Ἀριστομένης Ἀριστέος πάλ-|αν ἄνδρας Ἀργεῖος, Ἀγησίστρατος Περί-|λα πένταθλον Ἀργεῖος, Ἀνδρόμαχος Λυ-|σιάνακτος ἀν[δ]ρῶν πυγμῆ|ῃ Ἀλείος, |(20) Ἀντήνωρ Ξενάρεος Μιλήσιος ἄνδρ-|ας πανκράτιον, ὀπλίταν

Πάντιχ-|ος Λεόντιος Ἀρκας-|(II)Λυκαίοις ἐνίκων. ἐπ' Ἀγλαίῃ ἱερεῖ τῷ Πανός |ἄνδρας δόλιχον Ἀρίστιππος
 Ἀριστοκλέος Ἀρ-|(25) κάς, παῖδας στάδιον Δεινίας Λαάνδρου Ἀρκάς,|ἄνδρας στάδιον Ἀριστόδαμος
 Ἀριστομάχου Ἀρ-|γειός, ἄνδρας διάυλον Ἀρχέδαμος Ἀρχία Ἀργεῖος,|ἄνδρας πένταθλον Ἀνδρόβιος Εὐδαμίδα
 Λα-|κεδαιμόνιος, ἄνδρας ὀπλίταν Ἀμύνανδρος Πε-|(30)ριάνδρου Ἀκαρνάν, παῖδας πάλαν Αἰσαγένης|Ἀγαθία
 Ἀρκάς, ἄνδρας πάλαν Σελείδας Ἀλεξαν-|δρίδα Λακεδαιμόνιος, παῖδας πυγμὴν Δίυλλος|Ἐπιγόνω Ἀρκάς,
 ἄνδρας πυγμὴν Διεύχης Ξενοστράτου|Ἀρκάς, ἄνδρας πανκράτιον Εὐάνωρ Εὐάρχω Ἀρκάς,|(35) τ ε λ έ α ι
 συνωρίδι Ἀμφαίνετος Πεδαρétω Ἀρκάς,|Ἴππω κέλῃτι Πασικλῆς Ἀ[σ]ίντου Λακεδαιμόνιος| vacat| (37)
 (III) ἐπὶ Ξενοστράτῳ ἱερεῖ τῷ Διὸς |Λυκαιονίκαι· ἄνδρας δό-|λιχον Πισταγόρας Δαιλ-|(40) [ό χ] ω
 Ἀ[ρκ]άς, παῖδας στάδιο-|[ν]ς Τελευτιάδα [.]|[Ἀργεῖος?] ἄνδρας στά[διον].|. γε. ω.{|
 ²multa desunt}²)

E21: IG V 2 550: Col. 1 {‘quot versus desint incertum’}²|(1) (IV) [— —][— — — —][— — — —][— — — —](5) [— — — —][— — — —]ας|(col.II.1) [Εὐ]ρύλοχος|. . . λης|Ἀντιφάης|Ἀναξικράτης|(5) Ἀγησίας|Ονάσιλος|(col.III.1) Ἀλέξανδρος|[Ππαρχος|Κερκιδᾶς|γροφεύς|(5) δ α μ ι ο ρ γ ω ν · | Ε σ τ ά τ α ς · | vacat|(7) (V) [ἐπὶ] ἱερεῖ Ἀγησιστράτῳ Πανός {²⁸³⁰⁸a.}?²⁸·[θ]εός. Λυκαιονίκαι· συνωρίδι Λᾶγος Πτολεμ-
|αίου Μακεδών, πωλικῷ τεθρίππῳ Δαμό·|(10)λυτος Ἀλεξιμένεος Ἀλείος, κέλητι Ὀνό·|μαντος Ἐρυμάνθου
Ἀργεῖος, τελέει τε·|θρίππῳ Ἐπαίνετος Σιλανοῦ Μακεδών·|ν, ἄνδρας δόλιχον Ἀγεὺς Ἀριστοκλέος< >·|(VI) νίκαι
Λυκαίοις ἐπ’ ἱε[ῖ]ρεῖ {²⁶ἱερεῖ}²⁶ Ἀεθίοι {²⁸³⁰⁴a.}?²⁸·|(15) {δόλιχον Ἀργεῖος} στάδιον παίδων|Τελλίας Ἀρκάς.
vac.|στά<δ>ιον ἄνδρας Μακεδών Ἡρά·|κλειτος, πένταθλον Ἀρκάς Ἀλεξίβιος,|δόλιχον ἄνδρας Φιλιστίδας
Ἀργεῖος,|(20) διάυλον ἄνδρας Φилоκράτης Συρακόσιος,|παίδων πάλαν Θεοτέλης Ἀρκάς,|παῖδας πύξ Θεογεΐτων
Ἀρκάς,|ἄνδρας πάλαν Ἀριστόδαμος Ἀργεῖος,|ἄνδρας πύξ Τιμόδωρος Ἀρκάς,|(25) παγκράτιον ἄνδρας
Ἀριστώνυμος Ἀργεῖος,|οπλίταν Φилоκράτης Συρακόσιος,|συνωρίδι τελείι Ῥόδιος Νικαγόρας,|τεθρίππῳ
πωλικῷ Θεαρίδας Ἀρκάς,|κέλητι τελέει Βούβαλος ἐκ Κασσανδρείας.

E22: IG VII 2470: [Π]άμμαχον, ὦ Θήβα, κρατέοντά με παῖδα[ς ἐν Ἴ]σθ[μῶι]|καὶ τὸ πάλιν μεσάταν ἀλικίαν τις ἐρεῖ|τοῖας ἐκ προβολᾶς Εὐάκριτον· ἀ δὲ Νέμειος|νίκα μοι λεκτῶν ἤλθεν ἀπ' ἡϊθέων|(5) πατρὸς δῶμα Τρίακος· ἄεθλα γὰρ οἱ παρὰ Δίρκα|ἄμφαδὸν Ἑλλάνων πλεῖστα φέροντι νέοι·| vacat| (7) Τεισικράτης ἐποίησε.

E23: IG VII 4247: [— —]ΔΩΤΔΙ Νεμ[έ]αι νικῶ καὶ τρὶς Βασίλεια|[π]αῖς καὶ ἀνὴρ· καὶ πῦξ τὸν τ[ρίτ]ον [ἀ]μ[φ]εθ[έ]λην·|[θ]ν[ή]σκω δ' [έ]μ[π]ρομάχοις Ἄρεως δορὸς ἡγεμονεύων|[κλ]εινὸς Ἀθάνιχος, ὃν θούρος Ἄρης δ[ά]μ[α]σεν. | Καλλιρόα τοῖς [θε]οῖς.

E24: IG IX 2 249. 4–7: [πρῶ]τος Ὀλύμπ[ια πα]γκράτιο[ν, Φαρσάλιε, νικᾷς],(5) [Ἄγ]ία Ἀκοννίο[ν, γῆς ἀ]πὸ Θεσσ[αλίας],[[πε]ντάκις ἐν Νε[μέοις], τόσα Π[ύθ]ια, πεντάκις Ἰσθμοῖ].|[κα]ὶ σῶν οὐδεὶς [πω στῆ]ε τρ[όπια] γερῶν].

E25: *IG XII 5 608* (with Schmidt's readings (Schmidt 1999, 70)): (1) ...[v...[. . . . 7 . . .]ης [Θ] ἰβρων<ος> ἀνδ[ρῶν...|Λ]εοκρέων Βώλεος ἀνδ[ρῶν ...|Λ]ιπαρίων Λιπάρου ἀνδρῶ[v...|(5) Λ]ιπαρίων Λιπάρου ἀνδρ[...|Λεοκρέων Βώλεος ἀνδ[ρῶν...|Λεοκρέων Βώλεος ἀνδρῶ[v...|Λ]ιπαρίων Λιπάρου ἀνδρῶ[v...]|Φαιδιππίδης Λιπάρου ἀγ[ενείων {²nomen certaminis²}]|(10) ἀδελφοὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέραι.|Κίμωγ Κάμπου ἀνδρῶν [...]Σμικυλίνης Τιμάρχου π [...]Κρῖνις Ἀξίλεω παίδων π[α]γκράτιον|Πολύφαντος Θεοφράδεος ἀγεν[είων...|(15) Ἀργεῖος Πανθείδεω παίδω[v ...|Λέων Λεωμέδοντος κῆρυξ,|[three blank lines]|(17) οἶδε Νέμεια ἐνίκων ἀπὸ [...|Φωκ[ί]ων Νεδοντίου(?) ἀνδρῶ[v ...|Ἐπαρκος Ναυκύδεος ἀνδ[ρῶν ...|(20) Ἀλεξιδίκος Μένητος ἀνδ[ρῶν ...|Κρινόλεως Π[ρ]ασέα ἀγε[νείων ...|Λιπαρίων Λιπάρου ἀνδρῶ[v ...|Λαμπροκλῆς Ἀξίλεω ἀνδρ[ῶν ...|Κίμων Κάμπου ἀνδρῶν πα[...|(25) Πολύφαντος Θε[ο]φράδεος ἀγε[νείων...|Ἀργεῖος Πανθείδεω ἀγενεῖω[v...|Λάχων Ἀριστο[μ]ένεος παίδω[v ...|Λάχων Ἀριστομένεος παίδω[v ...|Λέων Λεωμέδοντος κῆρυξ.

E26: *InO* 146: (A) Καλλίας Διδυμίδ : Ἀθηναῖος|παγκράτιον|(B) Μίκων : ἐποίησεν : Ἀθηναῖος.

E27: *InO* 153: (1) [Δωριεύς Διαγόρα Ῥόδιος] (Col. 1.2) [Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτιον] [Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτιον] [Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτ]ιον|(5) [Πυθοῖ πύξ] [Πυθοῖ πύξ] [Πυθοῖ πύξ] ἀκονιτεῖ|[Ισθμοῖ] πύξ|[Ισθ]μοῖ πύξ|(10) [Ισθ]μοῖ πύξ|[καὶ πα]νκράτιον|(Col. 2.2) [Ισθμοῖ πύξ] [Ισθμοῖ πύξ] [Ισθμοῖ πύξ] (5) Ἰσθμ[ο]ῖ|Νεμῆ[ι] πύξ|Νεμῆ[ι] πύξ|Ν[εμ]ῆ[ι] πύξ|Ν[εμ]ῆ[ι] πύξ|(10) [Νεμ]ῆ[ι] πύξ|[Νεμῆ] πύξ|[Νεμῆ] πύξ].

E28: Pugliese Carratelli 1986/1987 [1991, 275 no. 8: Τιμόθεος Εὐφάνευς|Νέμεα παῖδας δόλιχον|vacat|Μνασίτιμος Ἀριστωνίδα Ῥόδιος|ἐποίησε.

E29: *SEG* 4 79: [Πυ]θοῖ καὶ Νεμέαι Κ[— — — — —] — — — — — ἐστε|φανώθη|ὕφρς Μν[4 – 5 letters]υ[— — — — —]|Τάραντος.

E30: *SEG* 11 257: Ἀγαθα[- - -]|Πυθοῖ|Ισθμοῖ|Νεμέαι[ι]|Ισθμοῖ|Σεκνονι|[Ἀ]θάν[αις]

E31: *SEG* 29 414: Ἐργοτέλης μ' ἀνέθηκ[ε ὁ Φιλάνορος, ὃς δόλιχον δις]|Ἑλλανας νικῶν Πυθί[ωι ἐν τεμένει],|καὶ δὴ Ὀλυμπιάδας, δ[ύο δ' ἐν Νεμέαι τ' Ἰσθμοῖ τε],|ἡμέραι ἀθάνατον μν[ᾶμα ἐτέλεσσε πάτραι]

E32: *Syll.*³ 36 A: (a.1) (A7) ὀλ[βίστη θρέπτειρα Θ]άσος, Τιμοξένου υἱέ, | καὶ [γὰρ ἀφ' Ἑλλά]νων|[π]λ[εῖστ]ον. [ἔπαινο]ν. ἔχει[ς] | καρτερίας. οὐ γὰρ τις Ὀλυμπία ἐστεφ-|ανώθη | ωύ[τὸ]ς [ἀνὴρ] πυγμῆ παγκρατίω τε κρατῶν. | σοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐμ Π-|υθῶνι τριῶν στεφάνω[ν ἀκ]ονιτί | ἐξ — — — — — τόδε θνητὸς ἀνὴρ οὐτις ἔρε-|(5) ξε ἕτερος — — — — — | ἐνεέα δ' Ἰσθ[μ]ιάδων νίκαι δέκα, δις γὰρ αὔσεν | κήρυξ|ἐγ κύκλωι μούνον ἐπιχθονίων | πυγμῆ παγκρατίου τ' ἐπινίκι-|ον ἡματι τωὐτῶι· | ἐνάκι δ' ἐν Νεμέαι, Θεόγενες· αἱ δὲ ἴδιαι | νίκαι|τρὶς τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλια, οὐδὲ σέ φημι | πυγμῆ νικηθῆναι ἑκοσι καὶ δὴ ἑτῶν. |(b.9) Θευγένης Τιμοξένου Θάσιος ἐνίκησεν τάδε·|(I.10) Ὀλύμπια πύξ|Ὀλύμπια πανκράτιον. Πυθοῖ πύξ|Πυθοῖ πύξ|Πυθοῖ πύξ ἀκονιτί. |(15) Ἰθμοῖ πύξ|Ἰθμοῖ πύξ|Ἰθμοῖ πύξ|Ἰθμοῖ πύξ|Ἰθμοῖ πύξ|(II.20) Ἰθμοῖ πύξ|Ἰθμοῖ πύξ|Ἰθμοῖ πύξ|Ἰθμοῖ πύξ|καὶ παγκράτιον|(25) τῇ αὐτῇ|Ἰθμιάδι. |(III.27) Νέμεα πύξ|Νέμεα πύξ|Νέμεα πύξ|(30) Νέμεα πύξ|Νέμεα πύξ|Νέμεα πύξ|Νέμεα πύξ|Νέμεα πύξ|(IV.35) Νέμεα πύξ. |Ἐκατόμβοι|δόλιχον|ἐν Ἀργεῖ

E33: *Syll.*³ 82: [Δωριεύς Διαγόρα Ῥόδιος] [ἐνίκησε παγκράτιον] [Ὀλύ]μπια τρίς, Πύθια τετράκις|Ἰσθ[μ]ια ὀκτ[άκις, Νέμεα ἐπτάκις] Παναθήναια τετράκις, Ἀσκληπίεια|τετράκις, Ἐκατόμβοια τρίς|Λύκαια τρίς.

Appendix 4.2: Literary Testimonia

L1: Scholion to Aeschin. *Or.* 3 [= *In Ctes.*] 189 = Dils 1992, 149.: 429a <Γλαῦκον>| πύκτης διάσημος Ὀλυμπίων· ἐνίκησεν ρε' Ὀλυμπιάδι. ἦν δὲ τῷ σώματι μέγας καὶ ἀποθανόντος Ἱπποκράτους τοῦ Λεοντίνων τυράννου διεδέξατο τα πρᾶγματα καὶ κατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἐν Καμαρίνῃ καταψηφισαμένων αὐτοῦ Καμαριναίων θάνατος ἀνῆρέθη.

L2: Aesch. *Pers.* 888–896.: καὶ τὰς ἀγχιάλους|ἐκράτυνε μεσάκτους,|(890) Λῆμνον, Ἰκάρου θ' ἔδος,|καὶ Ῥόδον ἡδὲ Κνίδον|Κυπρίας τε πόλεις, Πάφον,|ἡδὲ Σόλους, Σαλαμῖνά τε,|(895) τὰς νῦν ματρόπολεις τῶνδ' |αἰτία στεναγμῶν.

L3: *Anth. Pal.* 13.19.: Ἄνθηκεν τόδ' ἄγαλμα Κορίνθιος ὅσπερ ἐνίκα|ἐν Δελφοῖς ποτε Νικολαΐδας,|καὶ Παναθηναίοις στεφάνους λάβε πέντ' ἐπ' ἀέθλοισι|ἐξήκοντα †ἀμφιφορεῖς† ἐλαίου·|(5) Ἰσθμῷ δ' ἐν ζαθέᾳ τρίς ἐπισχερῶ †οὐδ' ἐγένετο |ἀκτίνων τομίδων ποταθμοι·†|καὶ Νεμέᾳ τρίς ἐνίκησεν, καὶ τετράκις ἄλλα|Πελλάνᾳ,

δύο δ' ἐν Λυκαίῳ,|καὶ †Νεμέῳ† καὶ ἐν Αἰγίῳ, κρατερᾷ τ' Ἐπιδαύρῳ,|(10) καὶ Θήβῃ, Μεγάρων τε δάμῳ:|ἐν δὲ Φλειοῦντι στάδιον, τὰ τε πέντε κρατήσας|ἠΰφραναν μέγαν Κόρινθον') (Page 1981, 263)

L4: *Anth. Pal.* 13. 15.: Εἰμὶ Δίκων υἱὸς Καλλιμβρότου: αὐτὰρ ἐνίκων|τετράκις ἐν Νεμέῃ, δις Ὀλύμπια, πεντάκι Πυθοῖ,|τρὶς δ' Ἴσθμῳ: στεφανῶ δ' ἄστν Συρακοσίων.

L5: *Anth. Pal.* 13. 5.: α - νικῶ διάυλον. β - ἀλλ' ἐγὼ παλαίων.|γ - ἐγὼ δὲ πεντάεθλον. δ - ἀλλ' ἐγὼ πύξ. —|ε - καὶ τίς τύ; α — Τιμόδημος. β - ἀλλ' ἐγὼ Κρής.| γ - ἐγὼ δὲ Κρηθεύς. δ - ἀλλ' ἐγὼ Διοκλῆς. —|ε - καὶ τίς πατήρ τοι; α — Κλεῖνος. βδγ - ὥσπερ ἄμμιν. |ε — Ἐμπερ δὲ νικῆς; α — ἴσθμο-η†. ε — τὸ δ' ἔμπερ; —|β (?) - Νέμειον ἄν λειμών, καὶ παρ' Ἡρα.

L6: *Athen.* 414f–415a.: ἐνίκησε δὲ τὴν περίοδον δεκάκις καὶ ἐδείπνει καθήμενος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νέστωρ ἐν τοῖς θεατρικοῖς ὑπομήμασι.

L7: *Ath.* 413a.: Ἀστυάναξ δ' ὁ Μιλήσιος τρὶς Ὀλύμπια νικήσας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς παγκράτιον.

L8: *Bacchyl.* 1. 147–148.: τόσα Παν[θειδᾷ κλυτὸ]τοῖος Ἀπό[λλων ὥπασε]ν.

L9: *Bacchyl.* 1. 156–158.: ὑψίζυγος Ἴσθμιόνικον|θήκεν ἄντ' εὐεργεσιᾶν, λιπαρῶν τ' ἄλ[λων] στεφάνων ἐπίμοιρον.

L10: *Bacchyl.* 8. 17–8.: Πυθωνά τε μηλοθύταν|(18) ὑμνέων Νεμέαν τε καὶ Ἴσθ[μ]όν.

L11: *Bacchyl.* 5. 31.: τὼς νῦν <ἐ>μοὶ μυρία πάντα κέλευθος ὑμετέραν ἀρετάν.

L12: *Bacchyl.* 10. 9–30.: ἀ[.]α οἱ καὶ νῦν κασιγνήτας ἀκοίτας|(10)νασιῶτιν ἐκίνησεν λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν,|ἐχ]ειρὲς ἴν' ἀθάνατον Μουσᾶν ἀγαλμα|ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποισιν εἶη|χάρμα, τεὰν ἀρετὰν|μανῶον ἐπιχθονίοισιν,|(15) ὅσσά<-> Νίκας ἔκατι|ἄνθεσιν ξανθὰν ἀναδυσάμενος κεφαλάν|κύδος εὐρείαις Ἀθάναις|θήκας Οἰνεΐδαις τε δόξαν.|ἐν Ποσειδάωνος περικλειτοῖς ἀέθλοισι|(20) ἀνίκ' ἀμφαν]ας Ἑλλασιν ποδῶν ταχεῖαν ὁρμάν: |εὗτ[ε γὰρ τέ<ρ>θ] ροισιν ἔπι σταδίου,|θερμ[ὴν ἀπο]πνε<ί>ων ἄελλαν,|ἔστα[: δῖαν]ε]ν. δ' αὖτε θατήρων ἐλαίωι|φάρε['] ἐς ἀθρόον] ἐμπίτνων ὅμιλον,|(25)τετρ[αέλικτο]ν ἐπεὶ|κάμ[ψεν δρό]μον, Ἴσθμιονίκαν|δῖς ν[ιν ἀγκ]άρυξαν εὐβού-|λων [ἀεθλάρχ]ων προφᾶται: |δῖς δ' ἐ[ν Νεμέ]ῃ Κρονίδα Ζηγνὸς παρ' ἀγνόν|(30)βωμό[ν: ἀ κλει]νά τε Θήβα|δέκτ[ὸν ἐν]ε|ῦρύχορόν|τ' Ἄργος Σικυών] τε κατ' αἶσαν:

L13: *Bacchyl.* 12. 35–40.: ἀμφικ[τιόν]ων ἐν ἀέθλοισι|σὺν τρι[άκο]ντ' ἀγλαῖσιν|νίκαις [ἐκ]ωμάσθησαν οἱ μὲν [Πυθοῖ,|οἱ δ' ἐν Πέλοπος ζαθέας|νάσου π[ι]τυώδεϊ δεῖρᾱ,|(40) οἱ δὲ φοινικοστερόπα τεμένει|Ζηγνὸς Νεμεαίου.

L14: *Drachmann* 1927, 270, Σ. *Pind. Isthm.* 8, 12a. 9–10.: ἐπὶ κατωρθωμένῳ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ.

L15: *Drachmann* 1927, 84, Σ. *Pind. Nem.* 4, 118.: φατρία τις ἀπὸ τινος Θεάνδρου προγόνου ἐνδόξου τῶν περὶ Τιμάσαρχον.

L16: *Drachmann* 1927, 101, Σ. *Pind. Nem.* 6, inscr. (BD). 13–15.: Τοῦτον τὸν Ἀλκιμίδαν ἀναγράφεσθαι φησιν Ἀσκληπιάδης ἀντὶ Αἰγινήτου Κρήτα οὕτως Ἀλκιδάμας Θέωνος Κρής.

L17: Drachmann 1927, 100. 10, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 6, superscription (D) (‘Ἀλκιμίδῃ Αἰγινήτῃ παιδί παλαιστῇ.

L18: Drachmann 1927, 116, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 7, inscr. (B):. Πρῶτος ὁ Σωγένης Αἰγινήτων ἐνίκησε παῖς ὦν πεντάθλῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακαίδεκάτην Νεμεάδα.

L19: Drachmann 1927, 175, Σ. Pind. *Nem.* 10, 73a.: οἱ γὰρ νικῶντες μετὰ ἀρρησίας ἄνω βλέποντες βαδίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἡττημένοι οὐχ οὕτως.

L20: Drachmann 1903, 350, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 12, 1a.: καταλυθέντων τῶν περὶ Ἰέρωνα ἀθλήσας ἤδη ἐνίκησεν· ὅθεν τὸν ἐλευθέριον Δία...ὡς τῶν Σιλελιωτῶν κατελευθερωθέντων τῆς τυράννιδος.

L21: Drachmann 1903, 349, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 12, inscr. a.: Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν ἐνίκησε οἷζ’ καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς οἴθ’, Πυθιάδι δὲ κε’ καὶ Ἴσθμια ὁμοίως.

L22: Drachmann 1903, 349, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 12, inscr. b.: ὅς ἡγωνίσατο ἑβδομηκοστὴν ἑβδόμην Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς Πυθιάδα εἰκοστὴν ἐννάτην.

L23: Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 386, 158a: καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν Αἴτνην τὸ Σικελικὸν ὄρος πόλεις (πόλεις δὲ λέγει τὰς Σικελίας)| μαρτυροῦσιν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ.

L24: Drachmann 1903, Σ. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 369, 58 a.: Πτοιοδώρου θεσσαλός, Θεσσαλοῦ Ξενοφῶν. b: Τερψίου ἀδελφός Πτοιοδώρος, καὶ Τερψίου μὲν παῖδες Ἐριτίμος καὶ Ναμερτίδας, Πτοιοδώρου δὲ Θεσσαλός, οὗ Ξενοφῶν.

L25: Drachmann 1903, 369, Pind. *Ol.* 13, 58c.: τινὲς δὲ τὸν Ναμερτίδαν Ἐριτίμον φασι, Ἐριτίμου δὲ Αὐτολύκον.

L26: Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 392. 202–4.: Μίλων Κροτωνιάτης πάλιν, ὃς νικᾷ Ὀλύμπια ἑξάκις, Πύθια ἑξάκις, Ἴσθμια δεκάκις, Νέμεα ἐννάκις.

L27: Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 395. 335–39.: Ἀντήνωρ Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Μιλήσιος|παγκράτιον, ἀκονιτί, περιοδονίκης|ἄλειπτος ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν ἡλικίαις.

L28: Eusebius (Christesen 2007) 395. 324–25: Ἀγνεὺς Ἀργεῖος δολιχόν, ὃς ἐν Ἀργεῖ|(325) τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκην αὐτῇμερον|ἀνήγγειλεν.

L29: Harpocration, s.v. Ἡράκλεια’ (H14):. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ’ Αἰσχίνου. πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν Ἡρακλείων, νῦν ἂν ὁ Δημοσθένης μνημονεύει ἥτοι τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἢ τῶν ἐν Κυνοσάργει: ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα διὰ τιμῆς εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι.

L30: Hephaestion, Περὶ ποιημάτων [115], 61. 4.: Ἴσθμια δῖς, Νεμέαι δῖς, Ὀλυμπίαι ἐστεφανώθη,|οὐ πλάττει νικῶν σώματος ἀλλὰ τέχνη,| Ἀριστόδαμος Θράσυος Ἀλεῖος πάλαι.

L31: *Λήξεις Ρητορικαί* (Bekker 1814) 232: Γλαῦκος καρύστιος· πύκτης ἦν ὁ Γλαῦκος πέμπτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα στεφανωθείς, καὶ Πύθια τρίς, Ἴσθμια δεκάκις. Εἶχε δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τέσσαρας δακτύλους πέντε

πηχών ἀπολείπον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῷ σώματι παντὶ γενναίως. Ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Γέλωνος τοῦ Συρακοσίων τυράννου.

L32: Λέξεις Ῥητορικαί (Bekker 1814) 227.: Γλαῦκος· ἦν πύκτης ἀπὸ Καρύστου τῆς Εὐβοίας, Ὀλυμπία τρίς νενικηκώς, καὶ Πύθια καὶ Ἴσθμια δ'ὀκτάκις, καὶ Νέμεα ὁμοίως· ἦν δὲ τὸ μέγεθος, ὥς φασι, πηχών τεσσάρων. Ἀνηρέθη ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τοῦ τυράννου.

L33: Lys. 19. 63.: αὐτίκα ὅτε ἵππευεν, οὐ μόνον ἵππους ἐκτήσατο λαμπροὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθληταῖς ἐνίκησεν Ἴσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέα, ὥστε τὴν πόλιν κηρυχθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν στεφανωθῆναι.

L34: Paus. 1. 22. 6–7.:...γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης, (7) ἵππων δὲ οἱ νίκης τῆς ἐν Νεμέα ἐστὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ.

L35: Paus. 1. 29. 5.: καὶ Δεκελεὺς Σωφάνης, ὃς τὸν Ἀργεῖον ποτε πένταθλον Νεμείων ἀνηρημένον νίκην ἀπέκτεινεν Εὐρυβάτην βοηθοῦντα Αἰγινήταις.

L36: Paus. 2. 20. 7.: ...τούτου δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω θέατρον: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλα θεὰς ἄξια καὶ ἀνὴρ φονεύων ἐστὶν ἄνδρα, Ὀθρυάδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην Περίλαος Ἀργεῖος ὁ Ἀλκίνορος: Περιλάῳ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπῆρχε Νεμείων ἀνηρῆσθαι νίκην παλαίοντι.

L37: Paus. 6. 1. 8.: ἐνίκησε δὲ ὁ Πολυκλῆς ἵπποις, ὥς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγει, καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἴσθμοῖ τε καὶ Νεμέα.

L38: Paus. 6. 2. 10–11.: παρὰ δὲ Μεσσήνιος Δαμίσκος, ὃς δύο γεγωνὺς ἔτη καὶ δέκα ἐνίκησεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. θαῦμα δὲ εἶπερ ἄλλο τι καὶ τότε ἐποίησάμην:...(11)... ἐνιαυτῷ γὰρ ὕστερον τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσήνης ἀγόντων Ὀλύμπια Ἡλείων ἐνίκα στάδιον παῖδας ὁ Δαμίσκος οὗτος, καὶ οἱ καὶ πενταθλήσαντι ὕστερον ἐγένοντο ἐν Νεμέᾳ τε νῖκαι καὶ Ἴσθμοῖ.

L39: Paus. 6. 3. 2.: μετὰ δὲ τὸν Χαιρέαν Μεσσήνιος τε παῖς Σόφιος καὶ ἀνὴρ Ἡλείος ἀνάκειται Στόμιος, καὶ τῷ μὲν τοὺς συνθέοντας τῶν παίδων παρελθεῖν, Στομῖ δὲ πενταθλοῦντι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Νεμείων τρεῖς ὑπῆρξεν ἀνελέσθαι νίκας. τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγει, τῆς ἵππου τε Ἡλείοις αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον ἀναστῆσαι τρόπαια καὶ ἄνδρα τοῖς πολεμίοις στρατηγοῦντα ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Στομίου, μονομαχήσαντά οἱ κατὰ πρόκλησιν: [3] εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Σικυῶνος οἱ Ἡλείοι φασι καὶ ἄρχειν Σικυωνίων, στρατεῦσαι δὲ ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα αὐτοὶ φιλία Θηβαίων ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐκ Βοιωτίας δυνάμει. φαίνοιτο ἂν οὖν ἢ ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα Ἡλείων καὶ Θηβαίων στρατεία γεγενῆσθαι μετὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις').

L40: Paus. 6. 3. 4.: γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθοῖ δύο νῖκαι, ἢ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τέχνη Δαιδάλου τοῦ Σικυωνίου, μαθητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Πατροκλέους.

L42: Paus. 6. 3. 9.: Ἀντιόχου δὲ ἀνδριάντα ἐποίησε μὲν Νικόδαμος, γένος δὲ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἦν ἐκ Λεπρέου: παγκρατίῳ δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μὲν ἐκράτησεν ἅπαξ, ἐν Ἴσθμῳ δὲ καὶ Νεμέᾳ δις πεντάθλῳ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι. οὐ γάρ τι Ἴσθμίων Λεπρεάταις δεῖμα ὥσπερ γε αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν Ἡλείοις, ἐπεὶ Ὑσμῶνι γε τῷ Ἡλείῳ—πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ὑσμῶν οὗτος ἔστηκε—τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀθλήσαντι πένταθλον ἢ τε Ὀλυμπικὴ νίκη καὶ Νεμείων γέγονεν ἢ ἑτέρα, Ἴσθμίων δὲ δῆλα ὥς καὶ οὗτος κατὰ ταῦτα Ἡλείοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶργετο

L43: Paus. 6. 3. 11.: Δίκων δὲ ὁ Καλλιβρότου πέντε μὲν Πυθοῖ δρόμου νίκας, τρεῖς δὲ ἀνείλετο Ἰσθμίων, τέσσαρας δὲ ἐν Νεμέᾳ, καὶ Ὀλυμπικὰς μίαν μὲν ἐν παισὶ, δύο δὲ ἄλλας ἀνδρῶν: καὶ οἱ καὶ ἀνδριάντες ἴσοι ταῖς νίκαις εἰσὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. παιδί μὲν δὴ ὄντι αὐτῷ Καυλωνιάτῃ, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦν, ὑπῆρξεν ἀναγορευθῆναι: τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Συρακούσιον αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ χρήμασι.

L44: Paus. 6. 4. 2.: γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῷ Νεμείων μὲν νίκαι καὶ Ἰσθμίων ἀναμῖξ δυόδεκα, Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ, τῇ μὲν δύο, τρεῖς δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

L45: Paus. 6. 4. 5.: Σάτυρος δὲ Ἡλείος Λυσιάνакτος πατρός, γένους δὲ τοῦ Ἰαμιδῶν, ἐν Νεμέᾳ πεντάκις ἐνίκησε πυκτεύων καὶ Πυθοῖ τε δις καὶ δις ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ:

L46: Paus. 6. 4. 6.: Χίλωνι δὲ Ἀχαιῷ Πατρεῖ δύο μὲν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νίκαι πάλης ἀνδρῶν, μία δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Δελφοῖς, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ καὶ Νεμείων τρεῖς: ἐτάφη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ οἱ καὶ τοῦ βίου συνέπεσεν ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν τελευταίην γενέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ: μουνοπάλης νικῶ δις Ὀλύμπια Πύθιά τ' ἄνδρας,|τρὶς Νεμέᾳ, τετράκις δ' Ἰσθμῷ ἐν ἀγχιάλῳ,|Χίλων Χίλωνος Πατρεὺς, ὃν λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν|ἐν πολέμῳ φθίμενον θάψ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.

L47: Paus. 6. 4. 11.: Ἐργοτέλης δὲ ὁ Φιλάνορος δολίχου δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τε καὶ Νεμείων ἀνηρημένος.

L48: Paus. 6. 6. 1.: τούτῳ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐγένετο ἡ τελευταίη: ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντος τὸν ἀνδριάντα δύο τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀττικὸς ὁ τρίτος ἔστηκεν ἀθλητῆς. τὸν μὲν δὴ Μαντινέα Πρωτόλαον Διαλοῦς πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντα ὁ Ῥηγῖνος Πυθαγόρας, Ναρυκίδαν δὲ τὸν Δαμαρέτου παλαιστὴν ἄνδρα ἐκ Φιγαλίας Σικυώνιος Δαίδαλος, Καλλιὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίῳ παγκρατιαστῇ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Μίκων ἐποίησεν ὁ ζωγράφος. Νικοδάμου δὲ ἔργον τοῦ Μαιναλίου παγκρατιαστῆς ἐστὶν ἐκ Μαινάλου, δύο νίκας ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελόμενος, Ἀνδροσθένης Λοχαίου.

L49: Paus. 6. 7. 1.: Δωριεὺς δὲ ὁ νεώτατος παγκρατίῳ νικήσας Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐφεξῆς τρισί.

L50: Paus. 6. 7. 4.: Δωριεὶ δὲ τῷ Διαγόρου παρὲξ ἡ Ὀλυμπίασιν Ἰσθμίων μὲν γεγόνασιν ὀκτὼ νίκαι, Νεμείων δὲ ἀποδέουσαι μᾶς ἐς τὰς ὀκτὼ: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Πύθια ἀνέλοιτο ἀκονιτί. ἀνηγορεύοντο δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ ὁ Πεισίροδος Θούριοι, διωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν παρὰ Θουρίους ἀπελθόντες. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατῆλθεν ὁ Δωριεὺς ἐς Ῥόδον: καὶ φανερώτατα δὴ ἀπάντων ἀνὴρ εἰς φρονήσας οὗτος τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φαίνεται, ὥστε καὶ ἐναυμάχησεν ἐναντία Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν οἰκείαις, ἐς ὃ τριήρων ἁλούς Ἀττικῶν ἀνήχθη ζῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους.

L51: Paus. 6. 7. 10.: ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐκ Στυμφήλου Δρομεὺς ὄνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπὶ δολίχῳ παρεσχημένος, δύο μὲν ἔσχεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμίων τε τρεῖς καὶ ἐν Νεμέᾳ πέντε. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ κρέας ἐσθίειν ἐπινοήσσει: τέως δὲ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς σιτία τυρὸν ἐκ τῶν ταλάρων εἶναι. τούτου μὲν δὴ Πυθαγόρας τὴν εἰκόνα, τὴν δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ, πένταθλον Ἡλείον Πυθοκλέα, Πολύκλειτός ἐστιν εἰργασμένος.

L52: Paus. 6. 10. 3.: στεφάνους δὲ λέγεται καὶ ἄλλους Πύθια μὲν δις λαβεῖν, Νεμείων δὲ καὶ Ἰσθμίων ὀκτάκις ἐν ἐκατέρῳ ἀγῶνι.

L53: Paus. 6. 11. 5.: γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθοῖ νίκαι τρεῖς, αὐται μὲν ἐπὶ πυγμῇ, Νεμείων δὲ ἑννέα καὶ Ἴσθμίων δέκα παγκρατίου τε ἀναμιξ καὶ πυγμῆς.

L54: Paus. 6. 14. 1–2.: ὄγδοον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσι γεγονώς μὴ παλαιῖσαι μὲν ἐν παισὶν ὑπὸ Ἥλείων ἀπηλάθη, ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐνίκησεν: ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ καὶ ὕστερον Νεμέα τε καὶ Ἴσθμῷ.

L55: Paus. 6. 14. 5.: ἐγένοντο δὲ τῷ Μίλωνι ἕξ μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πάλης νίκαι, μία δὲ ἐν παισὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν, Πυθοῖ δὲ ἓν τε ἀνδράσιν ἕξ καὶ μία ἐνταῦθα ἐν παισὶν.

L56: Paus. 6. 15. 1.: Ἀρχίππῳ δὲ Μιτυληναίῳ τοὺς ἐς τὴν πυγμὴν ἐσελθόντας κρατήσαντι ἄνδρας ἄλλο τοιόνδε προσποιοῦσιν οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι ἐς δόξαν, ὥς καὶ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Νεμέᾳ καὶ Ἴσθμῷ λάβοι στέφανον ἡλικίαν οὐ πρόσω γεγονώς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι.

L57: Paus. 6. 16. 4: Ἀριστείδῃ δὲ Ἥλείῳ γενέσθαι μὲν ὅπλου νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ διαύλου Πυθοῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ δηλοῖ Νεμείων τε ἐν παισὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἵππῳ δρόμῳ.

L58: Paus. 6. 16. 5.: ἡ δὲ [sc. εἰκὼν] Νικάνδρου, διαύλου μὲν δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, Νεμείων δὲ καὶ Ἴσθμίων ἀναμιξ ἐπὶ δρόμῳ νίκας ἕξ ἀνηρημένου.

L59: Paus. 6. 18. 7: πρῶται δὲ ἀθλητῶν ἀνετέθησαν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εἰκόνες Πραξιδάμαντός τε Αἰγινήτου νικήσαντος πυγμῇ τὴν ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ταῖς πεντήκοντα.

L60: Paus. 7. 27. 5.: ἐνταῦθα [i.e. in the gymnasium at Pellene] ἀνὴρ Πελληνεὺς ἔστηκε Πρόμαχος ὁ Δρύωνος, ἀνελόμενος παγκρατίου νίκας, τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπίᾳσι, τρεῖς δ’ Ἴσθμίων καὶ Νεμέᾳ δύο.

L61: Paus. 8.40. 3.–5.: εἰοικὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖους οἶδα ἐπὶ Κρεῦγᾳ ποιήσαντας Ἐπιδαμνίῳ πύκτη: καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι τεθνεῶτι ἔδοσαν τῷ Κρεῦγᾳ τῶν Νεμείων τὸν στέφανον, ὅτι ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν μαχόμενος Δαμόξενος Συρακόσιος παρέβη τὰ ὠμολογημένα σφίσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἐφῆξιν μὲν γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἐσπέρα πυκτεύουσιν αὐτοῖς, συνέθεντο δὲ ἐς ἐπήκοον ἀνὰ μέρος τὸν ἕτερον ὑποσχέιν αὐτῶν τῷ ἐτέρῳ πληγὴν. τοῖς δὲ πυκτεύουσιν οὐκ ἦν πω τηνικαῦτα ἰμάς ὅξυς ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκατέρας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς μελίσχαις ἔτι ἐπύκτεον, ὑπὸ τὸ κοῖλον δέοντες τῆς χειρὸς, ἵνα οἱ δάκτυλοί σφισιν ἀπολείπωνται γυμνοί: αἱ δὲ ἐκ βοέας ὠμῆς ἰμάντες λεπτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀρχαῖον πεπλεγμένοι δι’ ἀλλήλων ἦσαν αἱ μελίσχαι (4) τότε οὖν ὁ μὲν τὴν πληγὴν ἀφῆκεν ἐς τοῦ Δαμόξενου τὴν κεφαλὴν: ὁ δὲ ἀνασχεῖν τὴν χεῖρα ὁ Δαμόξενος ἐκέλευσε τὸν Κρεῦγαν, ἀνασχόντος δὲ παίει τοῖς δακτύλοις ὀρθοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν πλευράν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀκμῆς τε τῶν ὀνύχων καὶ βίας τῆς πληγῆς τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ ἐντὸς καθεῖς καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν σπλάγχνων ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς ἔλκων ἀπέρρηξε. (5) καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτίκα ὁ Κρεῦγας ἀφίησιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τὸν Δαμόξενον ἄτε τὰ συγκείμενα ὑπερβάντα καὶ ἀντὶ μιᾶς κεκρημένον πολλαῖς ἐς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐξελαύνουσι, τῷ Κρεῦγᾳ δὲ τὴν νίκην τεθνεῶτι ἔδοσαν καὶ ἐποίησαντο εἰκόνα ἐν Ἀργεῖ: καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔκειτο ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκίου.

L62: Pind. *Isthm.* 3. 9–13.: ἔστι δὲ καὶ διδύμων ἀέθλων Μελίσσῳ|(10) μοῖρα πρὸς εὐφροσύναν τρέψαι γλυκεῖαν|ἥτορ, ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἴσθμοῦ δεξαμένῳ στεφάνους, τὰ δὲ κοῖλα λέοντος|ἐν βαθυστέρνου νάπα κάρυξε Θήβαν|ἵπποδρομίᾳ κρατέων.

L63: Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 1–3.: Ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατὶ μυρία παντᾶ κέλευθος|ᾧ Μέλισσ’, εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανας Ἴσθμίοις,|ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὕμνῳ διώκειν:

L64: Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 16–7b.: ἀλλ'ἀμέρα γὰρ ἐν μίᾳ|(17) τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο τεσσάρων |(17b) ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμωσεν μάκαιραν ἐστίαν.

L65: Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 17–9.: νῦν δ' αὖ μετὰ χειμέριον ποικίλων μηνῶν ζόφον|χθῶν ὥτε φοινικέοισιν ἄνθησεν ῥόδοις|δαιμόνων βουλαῖς.

L66: Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 25–7.: ἄ τε κὰν γουνοῖς Ἀθανᾶν ἄρμα καρύξαισα νικᾶν|ἐν τ' Ἀδραστείοις ἀέθλοισι Σικυῶνος ὥπασεν|τοιάδε τῶν τότε ἑόντων φύλλ' αἰοῖδαν.

L67: Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 43–5.: Προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν, κείνον ἄψαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων|καὶ Μελίσσῳ, παγκρατίου στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον.

L68: Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 44–71b.: καὶ Μελίσσῳ, παγκρατίου στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον,|(45) ἔρνει Τελεσιάδα. τόλμα γὰρ εἰκὼς|θυμὸν ἐριβρεμετᾶν θηρῶν λεόντων|ἐν πόνῳ, μήτιν δ' ἀλώπηξ, αἰετοῦ ἅ τ' ἀναπιτναμένα ῥόμβον ἴσχει.|χρὴ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντα μαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν. |οὐ γὰρ φύσιν Ὡαριωνεῖαν ἔλαχεν:|(50) ἀλλ' ὄνοτὸς μὲν ιδέσθαι,|συμπεσεῖν δ' ἀκμᾷ βαρύς.|καίτοι πότ' Ἀνταίου δόμους|Θηβᾶν ἀπὸ Καδμεῖαν μορφὰν βραχύς, ψυχὰν δ' ἄκαμptos, προσπαλαίσων ἦλθ' ἀνὴρ|τὰν πυροφόρον Λιβύαν, κρανίοις ὄφρα ξένων ναὸν Ποσειδάωνος ἐρέφοντα σχέθαι,|(55) υἱὸς Ἀλκμήνας: ὃς Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἔβα, γαίης τε πάσας|καὶ βαθύκρημον πολιᾶς ἀλὸς ἐξευρὼν θέναρ,|ναυτιλιασί τε πορθμὸν ἀμερώσαις.|νῦν δὲ παρ' Αἰγιόχῳ κάλλιστον ὄλβον|ἀμφέπων ναίει, τετίματαί τε πρὸς ἀθανάτων φίλος, Ἦβαν τ' ὀπνίει,|(60) χρυσέων οἴκων ἀναξ καὶ γαμβρὸς Ἦρας.|τῷ μὲν Ἀλεκτῶν ὑπερθεν δαῖτα πορσύνοντες ἀστοί|καὶ νεόδματα στεφανώματα βωμῶν αὖξομεν|ἔμπτυρα χαλκοαῖαν ὀκτὼ θανόντων,|τοὺς Μεγάρᾳ τέκε οἱ Κρειοντίς υἱοὺς:|(65) τοῖσιν ἐν δυθμαῖσιν αὐγὰν φλὸξ ἀνατελλομένα συνεχὲς παννυχίζει|αἰθέρα κνισάεντι λακτίζοισα καπνῶ,|καὶ δεῦτερον ἄμαρ ἐτείων τέρμ' ἀέθλων|γίνεται, ἰσχύος ἔργον.|ἐνθα λευκωθείς κάρᾳ|(70) μύρτοις ὄδ' ἀνὴρ διπλόαν|νίκαν ἀνεφάνετο παίδων τε τρίταν πρόσθεν, κυβερνατῆρος οἰακοστρόφου|γνώμα πεπιθὼν πολυβούλῳ.

L69: Pind. *Isthm.* 4. 69–71b.: ἐνθα λευκωθείς κάρᾳ|(70) μύρτοις ὄδ' ἀνὴρ διπλόαν|νίκαν ἀνεφάνετο παίδων <τε> τρίταν πρόσθεν.

L70: Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 48–50.: καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἄρει μαρτυρήσαι κεν πόλις Αἴαντος ὀρθωθείσα ναύταις|ἐν πολυφθόρῳ Σαλαμῖς Διὸς ὄμβρῳ|(50) ἀναρίθμων ἀνδρῶν χαλαζᾶντι φόνῳ.

L71: Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 59–61.: αἰνέω καὶ Πυθέαν ἐν γυιοδάμῃς|(60) Φυλακίδα πλαγᾶν δρόμον εὐθυπορῆσαι|χερσὶ δεξιόν, νόφ' ἀντίπαλον.

L72: Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 3–7.: ἐν Νεμέᾳ μὲν πρῶτον, ὦ Ζεῦ,|τίν γ' ἄωτον δεξάμενοι στεφάνων,|(5) νῦν αὖτε Ἴσθμοῦ δεσπότη|Νηρεΐδεσσι τε πεντήκοντα, παίδων ὀπλοτάτου|Φυλακίδα νικῶντος.

L73: Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 60–2.: ἄραντο γὰρ νίκας ἀπὸ παγκρατίου| τρεῖς ἀπ' Ἴσθμοῦ, τὰς δ' ἀπ' εὐφύλλου Νεμέας,|ἀγλαοὶ παῖδες τε καὶ μάτρως:

L74: Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 1–5.: Κλεάνδρῳ τις ἀλικία τε λύτρον|εὐδοξον, ὦ νέοι, καμάτων|πατρὸς ἀγλαὸν Τελεσάρχου παρὰ πρόθυρον ἰὼν ἀνεγειρέτω|κῶμον, Ἴσθμιάδος τε νίκας ἄποινα, καὶ Νεμέᾳ|(5) ἀέθλων ὅτι κράτος ἐξεῦρε.

L75: Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 5a–6a.: ἐκ μεγάλων δὲ πενθέων λυθέντες|μήτ' ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ πέσωμεν στεφάνων.

L76: Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 9–11.: ἐπειδὴ τὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς|(10) γεῖ Τάνταλον λίθον παρά τις ἔτρεψεν ἄμμι
θεός|ἀτολμάτων Ἑλλάδι μόχθον.

L77: Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 65a–68.: ἀλίκων τῷ τις ἄβρὸν|ἀμφὶ παγκρατίου Κλεάνδρῳ πλεκέτω|μυρσίνας στέφανον,
ἐπεὶ νιν Ἀλκαθόου τ' ἀγὼν σὺν τύχῃ|ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τε νεότας δέκετο πρὶν:|τὸν αἰνεῖν ἀγαθῷ παρέχει:

L78: Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 70.: ἦβαν γὰρ οὐκ ἄπειρον ὑπὸ χειρὶ {πω} καλῶν δάμασεν.

L79: Pind. *Nem.* 2. 3–5.: καὶ ὁδ' ἀνὴρ|καταβολὰν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων νικαφορίας δέδεκται πρῶτον Νεμεαίου|ἐν
πολυμνήτῳ Διὸς ἄλσει.

L80: Pind. *Nem.* 2. 8–12.: θαμὰ μὲν Ἰσθμιάδων δρέπεσθαι κάλλιστον ἄωτον,| ἐν Πυθίοισι τε νικᾶν|(10) Τιμονόου
παῖδ': ἔστι δ' εὐκλὸς|ὀρεῖαν γε Πελειάδων|μὴ τηλόθεν Ὠαρίωνα νεῖσθαι.

L81: Pind. *Nem.* 2. 19–24.: παρὰ μὲν ὑψιμέδοντι Παρνασσῷ τέσσαρας ἐξ ἀέθλων νίκας ἐκόμιζαν: (20) ἀλλὰ
Κορινθίων ὑπὸ φωτῶν|ἐν ἐσλοῦ Πέλοπος πτυχαῖς|ὀκτὼ στεφάνοις ἔμιχθεν ἥδη:|ἐπτα δ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ, τὰ δ' οἴκοι
μάσσον' ἀριθμοῦ|Διὸς ἀγῶνι.

L82: Pind. *Nem.* 3. 71–75.: ἐν δὲ πείρᾳ τέλος|διαφαίνεται, ὧν τις ἐξοχώτερος γένηται,|ἐν παισὶ νέοισι παῖς, ἐν
{δ'} ἀνδράσιν ἀνὴρ, τρίτον|ἐν παλαιτέροισι, μέρος ἕκαστον οἶον ἔχομεν|βρότεον ἔθνος. ἐλᾷ δὲ καὶ τέσσαρας
ἀρετὰς|(75) ὁ θνατὸς αἰὼν, φρονεῖν δ' ἐνέπει τὸ παρκεῖμενον.

L83: Pind. *Nem.* 4. 9–11.: τὸ μοι θέμεν Κρονίδα τε Διὶ καὶ Νεμέᾳ|(10) Τιμασάρχου τε πάλα|ῦμνου προκώμιον εἶη.

L84: Pind. *Nem.* 4. 45–51.: Λυδία σὺν ἀρμονίᾳ μέλος πεφιλημένον|Οἰνῶνα τε καὶ Κύπρῳ, ἔνθα Τεῦκρος
ἀπάρχει|ὁ Τελαμωνιάδας: ἀτὰρ|Αἴας Σαλαμῖν' ἔχει πατρώαν:|ἐν δ' Εὐξείνῳ πελάγει φαεννὰν Ἀχιλεὺς|(50)
νᾶσον: Θέτις δὲ κρατεῖ|Φθία:

L85: Pind. *Nem.* 4. 73–77.: Θεανδρίδαισι δ' ἀεξιγυῖων ἀέθλων|κάρυξ ἐτοῖμος ἔβαν|(75) Οὐλυμπία τε καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ
Νεμέᾳ τε συνθέμενος.

L86: Pind. *Nem.* 5. 3–5.: ὅτι|Λάμπωνος υἱὸς Πυθέας εὐρυσθενής|(5) νίκη Νεμείοις παγκρατίου στέφανον,...'),
43.

L87: Pind. *Nem.* 5. 35–46.: ὁ δ' εὖ φράσθη κατένευσεν τέ οἱ ὀρσινεφῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ| (35) Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων
βασιλεὺς, ὥστ' ἐν τάχει| ποντίαν χρυσακατάων τινὰ Νηρεΐδων πράξειν ἄκοιτιν,| γαμβρὸν Ποσειδάωνα
πέισαι, ὃς Αἰγᾶθεν ποτὶ κλειτὰν θαμὰ νίσεται Ἰσθμὸν Δωρίαν:| ἔνθα μιν εὐφρονες Ἰλαί σὺν καλάμοιο βοᾷ
θεὸν δέκονται,| καὶ σθένει γυῖων ἐρίζοντι θρασεῖ. | (40) Πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενῆς ἔργων περὶ| πάντων. τὸ δ'
Αἰγίναθε δῖς, Εὐθύμενες,| νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων ποικίλων ἔψαυσας ὕμνων. | ἥτοι μεταῖξαις σὲ καὶ νῦν τεδὸς
μάτρως ἀγάλλει κείνου ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος, Πυθέα. | ἡ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν μείς τ' ἐπιχώριος, ὃν φίλησ' Ἀπόλλων: |
(45) ἄλικας δ' ἐλθόντας οἴκοι τ' ἐκράτει| Νίσου τ' ἐν εὐαγκεῖ λόφῳ.

L88: Pind. *Nem.* 5. 43.: ἤτοι μεταίξαις σὲ καὶ νῦν τεδὸς μάτρως ἀγάλλει κείνου ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος, Πυθέα.

L89: Pind. *Nem.* 6. 12–14: Νεμέας ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἀέθλων|παῖς ἐναγώνιος, ὃς ταύταν μεθέπων Διόθεν αἶσαν νῦν {τε} πέφονται|οὐκ ἄμμορος ἀμφὶ πάλα κυναγέτας,...

L90: Pind. *Nem.* 6. 17–46.: κείνος γὰρ Ὀλυμπιόνικος ἐὼν Αἰακίδαις|ἔρνεα πρῶτος <ἐννεικεν> ἀπ’ Ἀλφειοῦ,|καὶ πεντάκις Ἰσθμοὶ στεφανωσάμενος,|(20) Νεμέα δὲ τρίς,|ἔπαυσε λάθαν|Σοακλείδα, ὃς ὑπέρτατος|Ἀγῆσιμάχοι’ ὑέων γένετο.|ἐπεὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀεθλοφόροι πρὸς ἄκρον ἀρετᾶς|ἦλθον, οἳ τε πόνων ἐγεύσαντο. σὺν θεοῦ δὲ τύχα |(25) ἕτερον οὐ τίνα οἶκον ἀπεφάνατο πυγμαχία <πλεόνων>|ταμίαν στεφάνων μυχῶ Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσας. ἔλπομαι|μέγα εἰπὼν σκοποῦ ἄντα τυχεῖν|ῶτ’ ἀπὸ τόξου ἰεῖς: εὐθὺν’ ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἄγε, Μοῖσα | (28b) οὐρον ἐπέων|εὐκλέα. παροιχομένων γὰρ ἀνέρων,|(30) αἰοδαὶ καὶ λόγοι τὰ καλὰ σφιν ἔργ’ ἐκόμισαν,|Βασσίδαισιν ἅ τ’ οὐ σπανίζει, παλαίφατος γενεά, |ἴδια ναυστολέοντες ἐπικώμια, Πιερίδων ἀρόταις|δυνατοὶ παρέχειν πολὺν ὕμνον ἀγερώχων ἐργμάτων| ἔνεκεν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀγαθέῃ| (35) χεῖρας ἱμάντι δεθεῖς Πυθῶνι κράτησεν ἀπὸ ταύτας | (35b) αἶμα πάτρας|χρυσυαλακάτου ποτὲ Καλλίας ἀδὼν|ἔρνεσι Λατοῦς, παρὰ Κασταλία τε Χαρίτων|ἐσπέριος ὁμάδω φλέγεν: | πόντου τε γέφυρ’ ἀκάμαντος ἐν ἀμφικτιόνων|ταυροφόνῳ τριετηρίδι Κρεοντίδαν|(40) τίμασε Ποσειδάνιον ἂν τέμενος: |βοτάνα τέ νιν πόθ’ ἅ λέοντος|(45) νικάσαντ’ ἥρεφε δασκίοις|(45) Φλιοῦντος ὑπ’ ὠγυγίοις ὄρεσιν.

L91: Pind. *Nem.* 6. 24–25.: ἐπεὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀεθλοφόροι πρὸς ἄκρον ἀρετᾶς|(25) ἦλθον, οἵτε πόνων ἐγεύσαντο...

L92: Pind. *Nem.* 7. 7–8.: καὶ παῖς ὁ Θεαρίωνος ἀρετᾷ κριθεῖς|εὐδοξος ἀείδεται Σωγένης μετὰ πενταέθλοις.

L93: Pind. *Nem.* 8. 1–2.: Ὡρα πότνια, κάρυξ Ἀφροδίτας ἀμβροσιᾶν φιλοτάτων,|ἅ τε παρθενήϊοις παίδων τ’ ἐφίζοισα γλεφάροις.

L94: Pind. *Nem.* 8. 11–12.: οἳ τε κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθάναισιν ἄρμοζον στρατόν,|οἳ τ’ ἀνὰ Σπάρταν Πελοπηιάδαι.

L95: Pind. *Nem.* 8. 14–6.: φέρων|Λυδῖαν μίτραν καναχηδὰ πεποικιλμέναν,|Δεῖνιος δισσῶν σταδίων καὶ πατρὸς Μέγα Νεμεαῖον ἄγαλμα.

L96: Pind. *Nem.* 8. 23–27.: κείνος καὶ Τελαμῶνος δάψεν υἱὸν φασγάνῳ ἀμφικυλίσαις.| ἦ τιν’ ἄγλωσσον μὲν, ἦτορ δ’ ἄλκιμον, λάθα κατέχει|(25) ἐν λυγρῷ νείκει: μέγιστον δ’ αἰόλῳ ψεύδει γέρας ἀντέταται.|κρυφαίαισι γὰρ ἐν ψάφοις Ὀδυσσῇ Δαναοὶ θεράπευσαν:|χρυσέων δ’ Αἴας στερηθεὶς ὅπλων φόνῳ πάλαισεν.

L97: Pind. *Nem.* 8. 44–5.: ὦ Μέγα, τὸ δ’ αὖτις τεὰν ψυχὰν κομίζαι|(45) οὐ μοι δυνατόν: κενεᾶν δ’ ἐλπίδων χαῦνον τέλος;

L98: Pind. *Nem.* 9. 29–32.: μοῖραν δ’ εὐνομον (30)|αἰτέω σε παισὶν δαρὸν Αἰτναίων ὀπάζειν,|Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀγλαΐαισιν δ’ ἀστυνόμοις ἐπιμῖξαι|λαόν.

L99: Pind. *Nem.* 9. 34–5.: Χρομίῳ κεν ὑπασπίζων παρὰ πεζοβόαις ἵπποις τε ναῶν τ’ ἐν μάχαις|ἔκρινας ἂν κίνδυνον ὀξείας αὐτᾶς.

L100: Pind. *Nem.* 10. 22–35.: ἀγών τοι χάλκεος|δᾶμον ὁτρύνει ποτὶ βουθυσίαν ἥρας ἀέθλων τε κρίσιν:|Οὐλία παῖς ἔνθα νικάσας δις ἔσχεν Θεαῖος εὐφόρων λάθαν πόνων.|ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ ποθ' Ἑλλανα στρατὸν Πυθῶνι, τύχα τε μολῶν|καὶ τὸν Ἴσθμοι καὶ Νεμέα στέφανον, Μοῖσαισιν τ' ἔδωκ' ἀρόσαι,|τρὶς μὲν ἐν πόντοιο πύλαισι λαχών,|τρὶς δὲ καὶ σεμνοῖς δαπέδοις ἐν Ἀδραστείῳ νόμῳ.|Ζεῦ πάτερ, τῶν μὲν ἔραται φρενί, σιγᾷ οἱ στόμα: πᾶν δὲ τέλος|(30) ἐν τιν ἔργων: οὐδ', ἀμόχθῳ καρδίᾳ προσφέρων τόλμαν, παραιτεῖται χάριν:|γνῶτ' αἰεὶδω οἷ τε καὶ ὅστις ἀμιλλᾷται περι|ἐσχάτων ἄθλων κορυφαῖς: ὕπατον δ' ἔσχεν Πίσσα|Ἡρακλέος τεθμόν: ἀδείῃ γε μὲν ἀμβολάδαν|ἐν τελεταῖς δις Ἀθαναίων νιν ὁμφαῖ|(35) κώμασαν:

L101: Pind. *Nem.* 10. 39–48.: ἀξιοθείην κεν, ἐὼν Θρασύκλου|(40) Ἀντία τε ξύγγονος, Ἄργει μὴ κρύπτειν φάος|ὁμμάτων. νικαφορίας γὰρ ὅσαις Προίτοιο τόδ' ἵπποτρόφον|ἄστρῳ θάλησεν Κορίνθου τ' ἐν μυχοῖς: καὶ Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τετράκις:|Σικωνόθε δ' ἀργυρωθέντες σὺν οἰνηραῖς φιάλαις ἐπέβαν,|ἐκ δὲ Πελλάνας ἐπιεσάμενοι νῶτον μαλακαῖσι κρόκαις:|(45) ἀλλὰ χαλκὸν μυρίον οὐ δυνατόν|ἐξελέγχειν: μακροτέρας γὰρ ἀριθμῆσαι σχολᾶς:|ὅν τε Κλείτωρ καὶ Τεγέα καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ὑψίβατοι πόλιες|καὶ Λύκαιον παρ Διὸς θῆκε δρόμῳ, σὺν ποδῶν χειρῶν τε νικάσαι σθένει.

L102: Pind. *Nem.* 10. 49–54.: Κάστορος δ' ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ ξενίαν παρ Παμφάη|(50) καὶ κασιγνήτου Πολυδεύκεος, οὐ θαῦμα σφίσιν|ἐγγενὲς ἔμμεν ἀεθληταῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν: ἐπεὶ|εὐρυχόρου ταμίαι Σπάρτας ἀγώνων|μοῖραν Ἑρμᾶ καὶ σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ διέποντι θάλειαν,|μάλα μὲν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων περικαδόμενοι.

L103: Pind. *Ol.* 7. 15–7.: εὐθυμάχαν ὄφρα πελώριον ἄνδρα παρ' Ἀλφεῶ στεφανωσάμενον|αἰνέσω πυγμαῖς ἄποινα|καὶ παρὰ Κασταλῖα.

L104: Pind. *Ol.* 7. 81–7.: τῶν ἄνθεσι Διαγόρας|ἔστεφανώσατο δις, κλεινᾷ τ' ἐν Ἴσθμῳ τετράκις εὐτυχέων,|Νεμέα τ' ἄλλαν ἐπ' ἄλλα, καὶ κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθάναις,|ὅ τ' ἐν Ἄργει χαλκὸς ἔγνω νιν, τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ|ἔργα καὶ Θήβαις, ἀγῶνές τ' ἔννομοι|(85) Βοιωτῶν,|Πέλλανά τ' Αἰγινά τε νικῶνθ' ἑξάκις, ἐν Μεγάροισιν τ' οὐχ ἕτερον λιθίνα|ψάφος ἔχει λόγον.

L105: Pind. *Ol.* 8. 15–16.: Τιμόσθενες, ὕμμε δ' ἐκλάρωσεν πότμος|Ζηνὶ γενεθλίῳ: ὃς σὲ μὲν Νεμέα πρόφατον.

L106: Pind. *Ol.* 8. 48–52.: Ὀρσοτρίαῖνα δ' ἐπ' Ἴσθμῳ ποντίᾳ|ἄρμα θοὸν τανύεν,|(50) ἀποπέμπων Αἰακὸν|δεῦρ' ἄν' ἵπποις χρυσέαις,|καὶ Κορίνθου δειράδ' ἐποψόμενος δαιτικλυτάν.

L107: Pind. *Ol.* 8. 54–58.: εἰ δ' ἐγὼ Μελησία ἐξ ἀγενεῖων κύδος ἀνέδραμον ὕμνω, (55) μὴ βαλέτω με λίθῳ τραχεῖ φθόνος·|καὶ Νεμέα γὰρ ὁμῶς|ἔρέω ταύταν χάριν,|τὰν δ' ἔπειτ' ἀνδρῶν μάχας|ἐκ παγκρατίου.

L108: Pind. *Ol.* 8. 65–66.: νῦν μὲν αὐτῷ γέρας Ἀλκιμέδων|νίκαν τριακοστὰν ἐλών:

L109: Pind. *Ol.* 8. 70–71.: πατρὶ δὲ πατρὸς ἐνέπνευσεν μένος|γῆραος ἀντίπαλον.

L110: Pind. *Ol.* 8. 81–84.: Ἑρμᾶ δὲ θυγατρὸς ἀκούσας|Ἰφίων|Ἀγγελίας, ἐνέποι κεν Καλλιμάχῳ λιπαρὸν|κόσμον Ὀλυμπίᾳ, ὃν σφιν Ζεὺς γένει|ῶπασεν.

L111: Pind. *Ol.* 9. 1–10.: τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος|φωναῖν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλὸς κεχλαδῶς,|ἄρκεσε Κρόνιον παρ' ὄχθον ἀγεμονεῦσαι|κωμάζοντι φίλοις Ἐφαρμόστῳ σὺν ἐταίροις:|(5) ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκαταβόλων

Μοισᾶν ἀπὸ τόξων|Δία τε φοινικοστερόπαν σεμνόν τ' ἐπίνειμαι|ἀκρωτήριον Ἄλιδος|τοιοῖσδε βέλεσσιν,|τὸ δὴ ποτε Λυδὸς ἦρως Πέλοψ|(10) ἐξάρατο κάλλιστον ἔδνον Ἴπποδαμείας.

L112: Pind. *Ol.* 9. 83–86.: προξενία δ' ἀρετᾶ τ' ἦλθον|τιμάορος Ἰσθμίοισι Λαμπρομάχου μίτραις, ὅτ' ἀμφοτέροι κράτησαν|(85) μίαν ἔργον ἄν' ἀμέραν. Ἄλλαι δὲ δὴ ἐν Κορίνθου πύλαις ἐγένοντ' ἔπειτα χάρμαι,|ταὶ δὲ καὶ Νεμέας Ἐφαρμόστω κατὰ κόλπον:

L113: Pind. *Ol.* 9. 88–99.: Ἄργει τ' ἔσχεθε κῦδος ἀνδρῶν, παῖς δ' ἐν Ἀθάναις,|οἷον δ' ἐν Μαραθῶνι συλαθεῖς ἀγενείων|(90) μένεν ἀγῶνα πρεσβυτέρων ἀμφ' ἀργυρίδεσσιν:|φῶτας δ' ὄξυρεπεῖ δόλω|ἀπτῶτι δαμάσσαις|διήρχετο κύκλον ὅσσα βοᾷ,|ῥαῖος ἐὼν καὶ καλὸς κάλλιστά τε ῥέξαις.|(95) τὰ δὲ Παρρασίῳ στρατῶ|θανμαστός ἐὼν φάνη Ζηνὸς ἀμφὶ πανάγυριν Λυκαίου,|καὶ ψυχρᾶν ὁπότε εὐδιανὸν φάρμακον αὐρᾶν|Πελλάνᾳ φέρε: σύνδικος δ' αὐτῶ Ἰολάου|τύμβος εἰναλία τ' Ἐλευσίς ἀγλαΐαισιν.

L114: Pind. *Ol.* 12. 14–5.: συγγόνῳ παρ' ἐστία|ἀκλεῆς τιμὰ κατεφυλλορόησε ποδῶν:

L115: Pind. *Ol.* 12. 17–8.: νῦν δ' Ὀλυμπία στεφανομένος|καὶ δις ἐκ Πύθωνος Ἰσθμοῖ τ', Ἐργότελες

L116: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 16–7.: θάλλει δ' ἀρεταῖσιν|σὸν τε, Κασταλία.

L117: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 29–46.: δέξαι τέ οἱ στεφάνων ἐγκώμιον τεθμόν, τὸν ἄγει πεδίων ἐκ Πίσας,|(30) πεντάθλῳ ἅμα σταδίου νικῶν δρόμον: ἀντεβόλησεν|τῶν ἀνὴρ θνατὸς οὐπω τις πρότερον. |δύο δ' αὐτὸν ἔρεψαν|πλόκοι σελίνων ἐν Ἰσθμιάδεσσιν|φανέντα: Νεμέα τ' οὐκ ἀντιζοεῖ. |(35) πατὴρ δὲ Θεσσαλοῖ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ|ῥεέθροισιν αἶγλα ποδῶν ἀνάκειται,|Πυθοῖ τ' ἔχει σταδίου τιμὰν διαύλου θ' ἀλίῳ ἀμφ' ἐνί, μῆνός τε οἱ|τῶντοῦ κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθάναισι τρία ἔργα ποδαρκῆς|ἄμερα θῆκε κάλλιστ' ἀμφὶ κόμαις, |(40) Ἑλλώτια δ' ἐπτάκις: ἐν δ' ἀμφιάλοισι Ποτειδᾶνος τεθμοῖσιν|Πτοιοδώρῳ σὺν πατρὶ μακρότεραι|Τερψία θ' ἔψοντ' Ἐριτίμῳ τ' αἰοδαί. |ὅσσα τ' ἐν Δελφοῖσιν ἀριστεύσατε|ἡδὲ χόρτοις ἐν λέοντος, δηρίομαι πολέσιν |(45) περὶ πλήθει καλῶν: ὥς μὲν σαφές|οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην λέγειν ποντιᾶν ψάφων ἀριθμόν.

L118: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 43–44.: ἐν δ' ἀμφιάλοισι Ποτειδᾶνος τεθμοῖσιν|Πτοιοδώρῳ σὺν πατρὶ μακρότεραι|Τερψία θ' ἔψοντ' Ἐριτίμῳ τ' αἰοδαί. |ὅσσα τ' ἐν Δελφοῖσιν ἀριστεύσατε|ἡδὲ χόρτοις ἐν λέοντος, δηρίομαι πολέσιν.

L119: Pind. *Ol.* 13. 96–113: 'Μοίσαις γὰρ ἀγλαοθρόνοις ἐκὼν|Ὀλιγαίθιδαισίν τ' ἔβαν ἐπίκουρος. |Ἰσθμοῖ τὰ τ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ παῦρῳ ἔπει θήσω φανέρ' ἀθρό', ἀλαθῆς τέ μοι|ἔξορκος ἐπέσσεται ἐξηκοντάκι δὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν |(100) ἀδύγλωστος βοὰ κάρυκος ἐσλοῦ. |τὰ δ' Ὀλυμπία αὐτῶν|ἔοικεν ἥδη πάροιθε λελέχθαι: |τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα τότε ἂν φαίην σαφές: |νῦν δ' ἔλπομαι μὲν, ἐν θεῷ γε μὲν |(105) τέλος: εἰ δὲ δαίμων γενέθλιος ἔρποι, |δι' τοῦτ' Ἐνυαλίῳ τ' ἐκδώσομεν πράσσειν. τὰ δ' ὑπ' ὀφρυῖ Παρνασσία|ἔξ: Ἄργεῖ θ' ὅσσα καὶ ἐν Θήβαις, ὅσα τ' Ἀρκάσιν ἀνάσσων|μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίου βωμὸς ἄναξ, |Πελλάνᾳ τε καὶ Σικυῶν καὶ Μέγαρ' Αἰακιδᾶν τ' εὐερκὲς ἄλσος, |(110) ἅ τ' Ἐλευσίς καὶ λιπαρὰ Μαραθῶν, |ταὶ θ' ὑπ' Αἵτνας ὑψιλόφου καλλίπλουτοι|πόλιες, ἅ τ' Εὐβοία: καὶ πᾶσαν κατὰ|Ἑλλάδ' εὐρήσεις ἐρευνῶν μάσων' ἢ ὥς ιδέμεν').

L120: Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 89a–92.: (89a) Χαρίτων κελαδεννᾶν | (90) μὴ με λίποι καθαρὸν φέγγος. Αἰγίνα τε γὰρ | φαμί Νίσου τ' ἐν λόφῳ τρίς δὴ πόλιν τάνδ' εὐκλειῖξαι, | (92) σιγαλὸν ἀμαχανίαν ἔργῳ φυγῶν.

L121: Pl. *Leg.* 12. 950 e.: Πυθῶδε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν τῷ Διὶ καὶ εἰς Νεμέαν καὶ εἰς Ἰσθμόν χρη πέμπειν κοινωνοῦντας θυσίων τε καὶ ἀγῶνων τούτοις τοῖς θεοῖς, πέμπειν δὲ εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι πλείστους ἅμα καὶ

καλλίστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους, οἵτινες εὐδόκιμον τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἱεραῖς τε καὶ εἰρηνικαῖς συνουσίαις ποιήσουσι.

L122: Pl. *Lysis* 205c: ἃ δὲ ἡ πόλις ὅλη ἄδει περὶ Δημοκράτους καὶ Λύσιδος τοῦ πάππου τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ πάντων πέρι τῶν προγόνων, πλούτους τε καὶ ἱπποτροφίας καὶ νίκας Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἴσθμοι καὶ Νεμέα τεθρίπποις τε καὶ κέλησι, ταῦτα ποιεῖ τε καὶ λέγει, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔτι τούτων κρονικώτερα.

L123: Plut. *Alc.* 16. 5.: Ἀριστοφῶντος δὲ Νεμέαν γράψαντος ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτῆς καθήμενον Ἀλκιβιάδην ἔχουσαν, ἐθεῶντο καὶ συνέτρεχον χαίροντες.

L124: *POxy.* II 222, Col. 1.13 (Christesen 2007, 382): [Θεογένης θ] ἄσιος παγκράτιον.

L125: *POxy.* II 222, Col. 1. 22 (Christesen 2007, 382): [Ἐργ]οτέλης Ἰμεραῖος δόλιχον.

L126: *POxy.* II 222, Col. 1. 26 (Christesen 2007, 383) [Κα]λλίας Ἀθηναῖος παγκράτιον.

L127: *POxy.* III 409. 102–106.: ...] “ Ἀστυνάκτος” τοῦ Μιλήσιου [Ἀσ]τυάν[ακτ]ος πολλοὶ σφόδρα| τ]ῶν κωμωδιογρ[άφων] μέμ[η]ν[η]ν[τ]αι. ἐγένετ[ο] γὰρ παγκρατιαστ[ῆς]| κρά[τ]ιστος[ος]| τῶ]ν καθ’ αὐτόν, ἡγ[ω]ν[ίσ]ατο δ[ὲ] κ[αὶ] πυγμῇ. Ἐρατοσθένης δ’ ἐ[ν τῷ] (105) . τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικ[ῶν] προθεῖς ρις Ὀλυμπι[άδα] φ[η]σίν) · Ἀ[σ]τυάναξ|ὁ Μιλήσιος ς τὴν περίοδον ἀκονιτεῖ.

L128: *POxy.* XVII 2082, fg. 4. 17–21.: [Πυθαγόρ] Μάγνης ἀ[πο Μαι]άνδρ] ου σ[τά]διον οὔτο[ς] ἔχει Ὀ[λύμπια] δι[ς], Πύ[θ]ια δ[ὲ] καὶ [Ἰ]σθ[μ]ια πεντάκις, Νέμεα [ἐπ]τάκις (?).

L129: *POxy.* XVII 2082, fg. 4. 16–20.: (14) [Πυθαγόρ] Μάγνης ἀ[πο Μαι]άνδρ] ου σ[τά]διον οὔτο[ς] ἔχει Ὀ[λύμπια] δι[ς], Πύ[θ]ια δ[ὲ] καὶ [Ἰ]σθ[μ]ια πεντάκις, Νέμεα [ἐπ]τάκις (?).

L130: *POxy.* XVII 2082 fg. 4. 26–9.: Νίκων Βοιώτιος παγκράτιον· οὔτος ἔχει Ὀλύμπια δῖς, Πύθια | δῖς, Ἴσθμια καὶ Νέμεα τετράκις

L131: *Suda* s.v. Ῥαῦκος (Adler Γ 280): Γλαῦκος· λευκός, κυάνεος. Γλαῦκος δὲ ὄνομα κύριον, γένος Καρύστιος. πύκτης, εἶ καὶ κ’ Ὀλυμπιάδι στεφανωθείς καὶ Πύθια τρίς, Ἴσθμια δεκάκις, γενναῖος ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι.

L132: ‘Simonides’ (Page 1981, 250, no. 25): Ἀργεῖος Δάνδης σταδιοδρόμος ἐνθάδε κεῖται,|νίκαις ἱππόβοτον πατρίδ’ ἐπευκλεΐσας,|Ὀλυμπία δῖς, ἐν δὲ Πυθῶνι τρία,|δύω δ’ ἐν Ἴσθμῳ, πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν Νεμέῃ·|τὰς δ’ ἄλλας νίκας οὐκ εὐμαρές ἐστ’ ἀριθμῆσαι.

L133: *Synkellos* 331. 4.: Σποράδην· Ἀστυάναξ Μιλήσιος παγκράτιον νικᾷ τὸ τρίτον. οὔτος δὲ καὶ ἕξ ἀνδρῶν σιτία κατήσθε.

L134: *Xen. Hell.* 4. 7. 3.: ὅτι οὐχ ὁπότε καθήκοι ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ’ ὁπότε ἐμβάλλειν μέλλοιεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

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