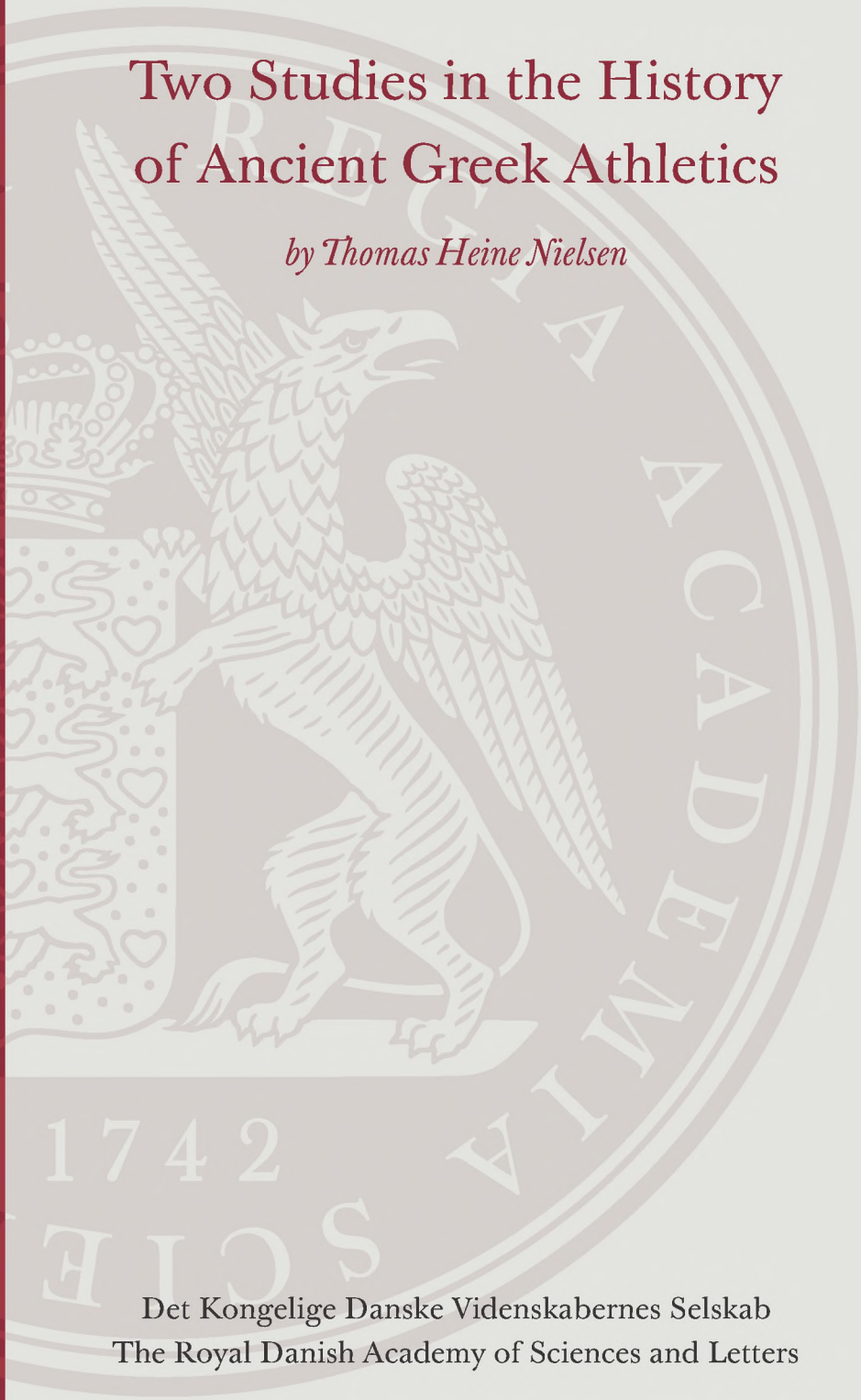


SCIENTIA DANICA · SERIES H · HUMANISTICA · 8 · VOL. 16

Two Studies in the History of Ancient Greek Athletics

by Thomas Heine Nielsen



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Two Studies in the History of Ancient Greek Athletics

Abstract

This book presents two studies in the history of ancient Greek athletics. The first study is a survey of the number of festivals with athletic and equestrian competitions (*agones*) which existed throughout the Greek world in the late Archaic and Classical periods, a survey which will hopefully be of some interest on its own, but which may also be said to be a contribution to the study of interaction in the Classical Greek city-state culture. It is demonstrated that athletic festivals were celebrated in far greater numbers than usually assumed.

The second study discusses the symbolic value and prestige of athletic victories achieved at the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea in the Peloponnese, by focusing on the value attached by victorious athletes and their home communities to such victories and by situating the contests at Nemea in the competitive landscape of late Archaic and Classical Greece delineated in the first study. It is concluded that the prestige of a Nemean victory outshone *by far* that of a victory in any of the numerous athletic festivals which did not form a part of the great *periodos* of the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean festivals

Two Studies in the History of Ancient Greek Athletics

I

A Survey of the Proliferation of Athletic and Equestrian
Competitions in Late Archaic and Classical Greece

&

2

The Prestige of a Nemean Victory

by Thomas Heine Nielsen



Scientia Danica. Series H, Humanistica, 8 vol. 16

DET KONGELIGE DANSKE VIDENSKABERNES SELSKAB

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Printed in Denmark by Special-Trykkeriet Arco a-s
ISSN 1904-5492 · ISBN 978-87-7304-412-4

Submitted to the Academy November 2016
Published January 2018

Contents

Preface 7

Introductory Note 9

part 1 11

A Survey of the Proliferation of Athletic and Equestrian Competitions in Late Archaic and Classical Greece 11

1.1 Introduction 11

1.2 Funeral Contests in Epic Poetry and the Early Historical Record 15

1.3.1 Competitions at Recurrent Religious Festivals 22

1.3.2 Contests Attested by Epinician Poetry 30

1.3.3 Other Contests of the Late Archaic – Classical Periods 55

1.3.4 Contests Attested for the Late Archaic Period 84

1.4 Limitations of the Evidence and Problems of Interpretation 93

1.5.1 Catalogue of Agonistic Festivals in Late Archaic and Classical Greece Summarizing the Main Evidence Discussed in the Survey Above 108

1.5.2 A ‘Snapshot’ of the Greek Athletic Landscape in the fifth century 155

1.6 Some Remarks on the Significance of the Athletic Culture 158

part 2 169

The Prestige of a Nemean Victory 169

2.1 Introduction 169

2.2 Inclusion of Nemean Victories in Explicitly Selective Victory Catalogues 172

2.3 Celebration of Nemean Victories by Epinician Odes 174

2.4 Olympic Victory Monuments Referring to Nemean Victories (down to c. 300) 177

2.5 Private Commemoration of Nemean Victories outside the Panhellenic Sanctuaries (down to c. 300)	187
2.6 Public Commemoration and Evaluation of Nemean Victories outside the Panhellenic Sanctuaries (down to c. 300)	201
2.7 Conclusion	213
2.8 Postscript on the Anomalies Noted by Hornblower and Cairns	215

Endnote 230

Abbreviations 232

Index Locorum 238

Bibliography 254

General Index 280

Maps 294

Preface

I began collecting the evidence upon which the following two studies are based back in 2007. However, my appointment as co-ordinator for the Department of Greek & Latin at the Saxo Institute, University of Copenhagen, and the attendant waves of administrative duties made academic work virtually impossible. Only two sabbatical semesters in 2013 and one in 2015 enabled me to take up work again, and I must thank my head of department, Dr. Anders Holm Rasmussen, and Prof. David Bloch, my then departmental co-ordinator, for making these sabbatical semesters possible.

The two studies presented here are addressed primarily to specialists in the study of Greek athletics. I do, however, hope that they will be of interest to others as well, for instance to historians of sport in later periods or to historians of religion, and I have, accordingly, provided translations of all Greek cited in the main text and included the translations used in the bibliography (unattributed translations being my own). In order to ease reading and use of the studies by non-specialists further, a list of abbreviations *etc.* is included at 232–237. At various points in the discussions I also develop the argument in greater detail than specialists need, again to facilitate use of the studies by non-specialists.

In spelling Greek names, I avoid latinizing, except in cases where it cannot be avoided without strange results; thus, *Isokrates*, but *Thucydides*. All dates are BC.

Scholarship is a collaborative enterprise, and it is a great pleasure for me to thank the following friends and colleagues who have helped me in various ways: Mette Christiansen, Adolfo Dominguez, Andrew Farrington, Mark Golden, Stephen G. Miller, Paula Perlman, Molly B. Richardson, Adam Schwartz and Jean-Yves Strasser. Finally, I thank the two anonymous peer-reviewers, and, again, Ste-

phen G. Miller for providing the photo which adorns the dust jacket of the book.

I dedicate the studies to my wife, Marianne Moring, without whom I would never have survived my administrative duties, for which I was completely unsuited.

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Introductory Note

In a brief article published in 2007, I discussed why the so-called ‘Hellenic League against Persia’ did not celebrate its victory over the Persian invaders of 480–479 by a dedication at Nemea, though it did make substantial commemorative dedications at the three other big ‘Panhellenic’ sanctuaries at Delphi, Olympia and on the Isthmos of Corinth.¹ Although it was not in any way central to my own explanation,² I did include among the reasons adduced the commonly accepted one that the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea probably was the least prestigious of the four big Panhellenic sanctuaries.³ In the second of the two following studies, I pursue the question of the prestige of the Nemean sanctuary by focusing on the value attached by victorious athletes and their home communities to victories in the Nemean Games and by situating the contests at Nemea in the competitive landscape of late Archaic and Classical Greece, thus demonstrating that the prestige of a Nemean victory outshone *by far* that of victory in any of the numerous athletic festivals which did not form a part of the great *periodos* of the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean festivals. As a point of departure, the first study presents a survey of the number of festivals with athletic and equestrian competitions which existed throughout the Greek world in the late Archaic and Classical periods, a survey which I hope will be of some interest on its own, and which may also be said to be a contribution to the study of interaction in the Classical Greek city-state culture.⁴

1. Nielsen 2007a.

2. Nielsen 2007a argues that the sanctuary at Nemea was probably tainted with medism on account of the neutral stance taken by both Kleonai and Argos during the invasion of Xerxes and that this was the main reason why it did not receive a commemorative dedication by the Hellenic League. See further section 2.8 below (215–29).

3. Nielsen 2007a: 169–71.

4. In this respect, the survey is a continuation of the discussions found in Nielsen 2007b and Nielsen 2014a.

PART I

A Survey of the Proliferation of Athletic and Equestrian Competitions in Late Archaic and Classical Greece⁵

1.1 Introduction

Almost everybody knows that in antiquity the Olympics were celebrated every four years. Most classicists, moreover, know that in antiquity the Olympics were not the only big athletic⁶ festival in existence, but formed a part of the famous *periodos* ('tour', 'circuit'), a series of four athletic festivals at Olympia, at Delphi, at Nemea,⁷ and on the Isthmos of Corinth which were scheduled with an eye to each other in such a way that every year saw one or two celebrations of games in this prestigious group of festivals:⁸

5. Some of the evidence discussed below I have discussed in Danish in Nielsen 2010a and Nielsen 2010b; various implications of the evidence are discussed in English in Nielsen 2014a and Nielsen 2016.

6. In these studies, I use 'athletic' sometimes to refer exclusively to 'gymnic' events (i.e. athletics proper) and sometimes to refer more broadly to both gymnic and 'hippic' (i.e. equestrian) events. In each individual case, the meaning should be clear from the context.

7. The Nemean festival may possibly have been celebrated at Argos c. 410-330: see Perlman 2000: 133-38.

8. The formation of the *periodos* is discussed by Funke 2005.

The *Periodos* of the 75th Olympiad

(after Golden 1998: 10–11)

<i>Olympiad year</i>	<i>Festival</i>	<i>Date</i>
75.1	Olympic	480
75.2	Nemean	479
75.2	Isthmian	478
75.3	Pythian	478
75.4	Nemean	477
75.4	Isthmian	476
76.1	Olympic	476

Most students of Pindar, however, are aware that even the four famous athletic festivals of the *periodos* were merely the four most prestigious among a larger number of athletic festivals: in the victory catalogues of his epinician odes,⁹ Pindar refers, in addition to the Big Four of the *periodos*, to *several* other athletic festivals at which his customers had been victorious prior to the victory celebrated by the ode, which is almost always a victory in one of the Big Four festivals.¹⁰ Clearly, then, the Big Four were far from being the only athletic and equestrian festivals celebrated in the ancient Greek world. It has, of course, often been realized that there were numerous minor festivals besides the Big Four,¹¹ but in the following survey, I shall attempt to estimate for the first time just how many athletic festivals we can reasonably assume were actually celebrated in the Greek world in the late Archaic and Classical periods.

The term *periodos* is often used in discussions of athletics in the Archaic and Classical periods. However, it should be noted at the outset that it is in fact a Hellenistic innovation.¹² It was, it seems, coined in the second century BC when the number of agonistic fes-

9. On epinician poetry, see below section 1.3.2 with n. 114.

10. The basic treatment of Pindar's victory catalogues is still Kramer 1970; a brief treatment is offered by Gerber 2002: 71–78. See further section 1.3.2 below (30–55).

11. See, *e.g.*, Christesen 2012: 18: “The typical Greek city provided training and competition facilities for its citizens and organized athletic contests with valuable prizes”. See also Gardiner 1930: 37–42; Pleket 1975: 56; Blech 1982: 138; Morgan 1990: 212. For a brief survey, see Weiler 1981: 135–39.

12. Remijsen 2011: 99; Remijsen 2014: 353; Remijsen 2015: 28–29, 35.

tivals had grown to such an extent that a new term was needed to single out the old and prestigious Big Four festivals at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and on the Isthmos of Corinth.¹³ Accordingly, it represents a Hellenistic, not an Archaic and Classical way of conceptualizing the athletic landscape of the Greek world which *formally* recognized the pre-eminence of the old Big Four.¹⁴ This pre-eminence, of course, was an informal fact in the Classical and probably already at the end of the Archaic period,¹⁵ but the Big Four in fact differed from ‘local festivals’ such as the *Pythia* at Sikyon or the *Aleaiia* at Tegea mostly in terms of their prestige and the prestige of the sanctuaries at which they were celebrated. The Isthmian festival, we may say, was a ‘local festival’ of Corinth in exactly in the same way as the *Aleaiia* was a ‘local festival’ of Tegea. It just happened to be of immensely greater prestige than the Arkadian festival. But all athletic festivals were part of the same wider Greek phenomenon, the institutionalization of agonistic competitions and their incorporation into religious festivals. The ‘local festivals’, then, are part of the same important cultural institution as the Big Four and merit the same scholarly attention, though they are much more difficult to investigate than the Big Four.¹⁶

But, as already indicated, in this study I shall attempt to estimate how many athletic festivals were to be found throughout the Greek world in the late Archaic and Classical periods in addition to the Big Four. I leave these aside here since they are well known and well-investigated. The study proceeds in the following way. The brief section 1.2 (15–22) surveys funerary games, i.e. athletic

13. Prose authors, beginning in the early fourth century, style the Big Four *stephanitai agones*, since they awarded only crowns of leaves as prizes. This, in fact, set them apart from other festivals of lesser prestige (Remijsen 2011: 98–99) and it was, presumably, their prestige which enabled them to dispense with material prizes. Other festivals such as e.g. the *Panathenaia* offered lavish prizes to “lure elite contestants to participate” (Anderson 2003: 163) and this quite successfully: numerous foreign entrants are attested at the *Panathenaia* (see section 1.5.1, no. 71).

14. Even so, in the following I use the term for the sake of convenience and variation to refer to the Big Four.

15. Funke 2005; Nielsen 2016: 34.

16. See section 1.4 below (93–108).

competitions staged at burials of great men, in the epic tradition as well as in the early historical record. It is demonstrated that even if funerary games are rather conspicuous in the epic tradition, burials of great men are not the only context for athletics in the Homeric poems. Aristocratic burials are, however, the context in which the earliest known historical, as opposed to literary, competitions took place, and I briefly survey the cases presently known, emphasizing the ways in which such competitions resemble competitions incorporated into religious festivals from the sixth century and onwards. By the late Archaic period burials were, it seems, no longer prominent contexts for athletic competitions: The central venue for formal athletic competitions was from the sixth century the religious festival celebrated by the *polis*. In section 1.3 (22–93) I survey, to the best of my ability, the evidence for athletic competitions incorporated into religious festivals. The poet of the *Iliad* almost certainly knew of competitions at religious festivals (1.3.1, 22–30), and the general consensus – confirmed by the present study – is that the incorporation of athletics into religious festivals gained extreme momentum by the middle of the sixth century. A first impression of the number of festivals comprising athletic competitions by the early Classical period is given by considering the careers of two individual athletes: the obscure Nikolaidas of Corinth and the famous Theogenes of Thasos (1.3.1, 22–30). The best evidence for the later sixth century and the fifth century is, however, epinician poetry, and this evidence is discussed in section 1.3.2 (30–55): Epinician poetry alone attests to more than 35 religious festivals comprising athletic festival across the Greek world.

Section 1.3.3 (55–84) surveys other types of evidence for athletic festivals in the Classical period, focusing primarily on epigraphical evidence; and section 1.3.4 (84–93) traces some of the festivals identified in section 1.3.3 back into the sixth century. All in all, the survey conducted in section 1.3 (22–93) identifies 155 religious festivals which certainly, probably or possibly had athletic competitions on their programme. The evidence collected for these 155 festivals is summed up in the form of a catalogue in section 1.5.1 (108–155) and this catalogue is prefaced by section 1.4 (93–108) which gives a discussion of the severe methodological difficulties involved in a sur-

vey of the kind attempted here. A brief ‘snapshot’ of the athletic landscape of the Greek world in the fifth century is presented in section 1.5.2 (155–157), and, finally, section 1.6 (158–167) offers some remarks on the historical importance of the new picture of the Classical athletic landscape of Greece presented in this study.

1.2 Funeral Contests in Epic Poetry and the Early Historical Record

Athletic competitions were a central feature of the religious life of the ancient Greeks.¹⁷ Wherever they existed, competitions were almost invariably incorporated into religious festivals, at least from the sixth century onwards. Religious festivals, in their turn, were of immense importance to Greek social and cultural life.¹⁸ Festivals were, among other things, wonderful opportunities for recreation, as Thucydides has Perikles point out in his funeral oration.¹⁹ The Hellenistic historian Diodorus Siculus even reckons festivals among the ingredients that make up human happiness.²⁰ Feasting was merely one of the delightful attractions of such occasions:²¹ poetry of immense beauty such as Athenian tragedy was created for or cited at religious festivals, and so on.²²

The central position occupied by athletics in Greek culture is, moreover, clear from epic poetry, which was regularly recited at religious festivals.²³ The two great Homeric poems both present detailed depictions of athletic competitions, in book 8 of *The Odyssey*²⁴ and, most famously, in book 23 of *The Iliad*, which contains a mas-

17. Golden 1998: 10–23 and 2008: 122; Pemberton 2000; Scanlon 2002: 25–31; Pritchard 2013: 92.

18. Golden 1998: 28–33, 50, 77; Hodkinson 2000: 303; Miller 2000 and 2004: 226–34; Crowther 2007a: 57; Kyle 2007: 80; Fisher 2009: 536.

19. Thuc. 2.38.1.

20. Diod. 12.26.4.

21. Eur. *Autolykos* fr. 282.13–15.

22. A recent volume edited by Brandt & Iddeng (2012) contains essays and bibliography on Greek religious festivals; see also Chaniotis *et al.* 2011.

23. Jebb 1905a: 77.

24. On the competitions in Hom. *Od.* 8, see Dickie 1983.

terly description of funeral contests staged by Achilles in honour of his deceased close friend Patroklos.²⁵ In addition to the contests for Patroklos, *The Iliad* refers to funeral contests in honour of Amarnykeus at Bouprasion in Elis²⁶ and of Oidipous at Thebes,²⁷ contests mentioned also in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*;²⁸ *The Odyssey*, in turn, refers to the funeral contests staged by Thetis in honour of Achilles himself.²⁹

Funerals, however, are not the only context for athletics in the Homeric poems. The competitions depicted in *The Odyssey* are neither funereal nor incorporated into a religious festival but may best be described as recreative aristocratic amusement, and athletics of this variety is alluded to elsewhere in *The Odyssey*³⁰ and *The Iliad*.³¹ Competitions proper, in contradistinction to pleasant diversions, are implied by a passage in book 11 of *The Iliad* (699–702). Old Nestor here relates what happened to an equestrian team which his father Neleus once sent to Elis to compete:

τέσσαρες ἀθλοφόροι ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν
 ἐλθόντες μετ' ἄεθλα· περι τρίποδος γὰρ ἔμελλον
 θεύσεσθαι· τοὺς δ' αὖθι ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Αὐγείας
 κάσχεθε, τὸν δ' ἔλατῆρ' ἀφίρει ἀκαχήμενον ἵππων.³²

Two things are worth noting here: the first is that there is no indication of the occasion for this equestrian contest, which need not have

25. On the funeral contests for Patroklos as depicted in Hom. *Il.* 23, see Howland 1954; Willcock 1972; O'Neal 1980; Dunkle 1981 and 1987; Dickie 1984; Kyle 1984; Hinckley 1986; Scott 1997; Kitchell 1998; Papakonstantinou 2002; Tyrrell 2004: 8–27. See also Brown 2003.

26. Hom. *Il.* 23.630–45, esp. 630–31.

27. Hom. *Il.* 23. 679–80, on which see Richardson 1993: 243.

28. Hes. fr. 192 (MW).

29. Hom. *Od.* 24.85–94, esp. 85–86.

30. Hom. *Od.* 4.625–26; 17.168 (see Dickie 1983: 242).

31. Hom. *Il.* 2.773–75 and 4.385–90 (on which see Kirk 1985: 369–70 and Golden 1998: 91). See also Hom. *Il.* 23.827 for what also looks like recreative amusement.

32. “[For to him a great debt was owing in noble Elis], four prize-winning horses, with their chariot, which had gone to the contests, for they were to race for a tripod; but Augeias, lord of men, kept them there, and sent back their driver, sorrowing for his horses” (transl. Murray 1999).

been a funeral.³³ The second is the fact that Neleus himself did not drive his team but sent a charioteer (*elater*). This, as pointed out by Golden,³⁴ is reminiscent of the well-attested historical practice by which a horse owner could compete by proxy, even outside his own community, by sending a team with a professional charioteer.³⁵

Another reference to competitions is found in book 9 of *The Iliad*. Among the compensations offered by Agamemnon to Achilles should he change his mind and resume fighting, are twelve stout horses styled ἀθλοφόροι ('prize-winning')³⁶ and said to have won a large number of prizes.³⁷ The contests at which they won these prizes, again, are not specified as funereal and need not have been thought of as such by the poet.³⁸

Non-funerary competitions, then, were almost certainly known to poets of the epic tradition.³⁹ Even so, funerary contests do stand out in preserved epic poetry,⁴⁰ and lost epic poems presumably included descriptions of funerary contests as well.⁴¹ The prominent position that the contests for Patroklos hold in modern research is probably to a large extent to be ascribed to the extraordinary poetic beauty of the Homeric depiction. However, funerary contests are,

33. Hainsworth 1993: 301; Golden 1998: 92; Hornblower 2004: 9–10; Fisher 2009: 525–26.

34. Golden 2008: 13 (see also 1998: 91).

35. See e.g. Hodkinson 2000: 306, 316; Miller 2004: 76; Nicholson 2005: 4–6; Kyrieleis 2011: 130.

36. For ἀθλοφόροι applied to horses, see also Hom. *Il.* 11.699, 22.22, 162, and *CEG* II 828, a fourth-century dedication by an Olympic victor from Olympia itself.

37. Hom. *Il.* 9.124 and 266.

38. Two other passages of epic poetry refer to competitions which need not be funerary: (1) The Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* refers, in its description of the *polis*, at 301–2 to boxing and wrestling (ἐμάχοντο | πύξ τε καὶ ἐλκιδόν) and at 305–13 to an equestrian competition for a prize (ἀμφὶ ἀέθλω) and these contests are not said to be funerary. (2) The encomium of Hekate in the *Theogonia* of Hesiod (404–52) states that this goddess is of assistance to men “when they struggle in competition” (ὅπότ’ ἄνδρες ἀεθλεύουσ’ ἐν ἀγῶνι, 435) as well as to horsemen (439); the competitions the poet has in mind here need not be funerary. See further Laser 1987: 16–26.

39. See also section 1.3.1 below (24).

40. Laser 1987: 25.

41. Willis 1941, esp. 392–97. On funerary games in early Greek art, see Roller 1981b.

as it happens, the earliest reasonably well-documented type of historical, as opposed to literary,⁴² athletic competitions in the Greek world and are attested from possibly as early as 700 by inscriptions.⁴³ In an excellent article, Roller (1981a), to whom the following is indebted, has collected early inscriptions testifying to funerary contests:

From Thebes in Boiotia comes a bronze vessel dedicated by one Wiswodikos to Apollo Pythios; an inscription, in Boiotian lettering, states that the vessel had served as prize at funerary contests in honour of one Ekpropos.⁴⁴ Jeffery, *LSAG* 94 no. 2, followed by Roller (1981a: 2 no. 1) and *LGN*, tentatively accepts a date of *c.* 700–675 for the inscription.⁴⁵ If the shape of the letters is any guide to the loca-

42. The funerary contests for Amphidamas mentioned by Hes. *Op.* 654–59 constitute a borderline case: attested by an epic poem, the contests are regularly considered to be historical and to have been celebrated in the context of the Lelantine War (Jeffery 1976: 65, 79; West 1978: 320–21; Roller 1981a: 1–2); see, however, Hall 2007: 1–8 for a critical evaluation of the evidence pertaining to the Lelantine War.

43. The traditional date of 776 for the foundation of the Olympics is a late fifth-century construct by Hippias of Elis and “nothing more than an educated guess” (Plut. *Numa* 1.4; Christesen 2010 (source of quotation)). The present consensus is that the Olympics took off around 700: Golden 1998: 64–65; see also Crowther 2007b: 5–6; Christesen 2010: 27; Ekroth 2012: 100–1; Kyle 2014: 23; Neumann-Hartmann 2014: 32. Potter 2012: 102–3 even suggests that the Olympics took off on a grand scale only from *c.* 600. The earliest *documentary* evidence for the existence of the *competitions* at Olympia (as opposed to the cults at the site) is provided by an inscription from a sanctuary in the territory of Sybaris in Magna Graecia which refers to an Olympic victory by an otherwise unknown athlete, Kleombrotos. The inscription has been variously dated from the late seventh to the later sixth century: Arena, *Iscrizioni* IV no. 2; Ebert 1972a: 251–55; *CEGI* 394; Guarducci, *EG* I, 110–11; Jeffery, *LSAG* 456, no. 1a. The earliest known *stadium* at Olympia was constructed *c.* 560–550 (Kyrieleis 2011: 133; Ekroth 2012: 108). The earliest victors known from the *literary* tradition who are more than mere shadows to us are the Athenian athletes Kylon and Phrynon who both belong in the later seventh century (Mann 2001: 64–68).

44. Jeffery, *LSAG* 94 no. 2: ἐπὶ Ἐκπρόποι. The deceased at whose funeral contests were held is commonly identified by ἐπὶ with the dative (in one case by ἐπί with the genitive); this formula may be interpreted abstractly as meaning ‘in honour of’ or literally as ‘prizes (set) up over the dead man’: see Brown 2003: 138 and 155–56 n. 47; Jeffery 1976: 79 (see also Jeffery, *LSAG* 91).

45. The complete inscription reads: (a) ἐπὶ Ἐκπρόποι | (b) ἱερὸν τῷ Πυθίῳ Ἐκπρόποιος | (c) τὸν ἐπ—(“In honour of Ekpropos. Sacred to Pythios. <Dedicated

tion of the funeral contests, they were probably celebrated somewhere in Boiotia, as were several of the other sets of funeral contests discussed below, and a Theban victor then made a dedication of his prize, as did Hesiod with the tripod he won at the funeral contests of Amphidamas at Chalkis on Euböia.⁴⁶

From the Akropolis of Athens come fragments of several similar vessels, again with inscriptions in the Boiotian alphabet: one, tentatively dated 700–650 at *IG I³ 584*, preserves several personal names in the dative, presumably governed by a lost ἐπί (“in honour of?”); the honorands may have died in battle,⁴⁷ and if so, it cannot be completely ruled out that these games were arranged by the community, rather than by relatives of the deceased. It may be assumed, from the lettering, that the funerary contests were celebrated in Boiotia and, from the findspot, that the victor was an Athenian who made a dedication of his prize at home.⁴⁸

Another vessel, tentatively dated to the late seventh century by Jeffery⁴⁹ but to 550–530 at *IG I³ 585*, has two inscriptions, one (I) in Boiotian and one (II) in Attic lettering: (I) τῶν ἐπὶ [Δ?]αμ<α>σίδαα α[ἴθλον ἐμί]; (II) [?] ὁ δεῖνα τὰθENAΙΑΙ --- κα]τέθ<ε>κεν.⁵⁰ Again, it seems a reasonable assumption that the contests in honour of Damasidas were celebrated in Boiotia and produced an Athenian victor who made a dedication of his prize at home.⁵¹

A third vessel also carries two inscriptions; the earlier one – dated

by> Wiswodikos. From --”); Jeffery, *LSAG* 94 no. 2 (pl. 7); *IG I³ 402n.*; Roller 1981a: 2 no. 1. Jeffery, *LSAG* 91 comments that the vessel was “offered at the funeral games of Ekpropos (ἐπὶ Ἐκπρόποι (a)) and dedicated to (Apollo) Pythios by a victor named Isodikos, (b); the lettering of the commemoration (a) looks no later than that of 1 [*i.e.* the Mantiklos statuette of 700–675], *i.e.* the first quarter of the seventh century (?). The dedication (b) looks somewhat later in date, but Keramopoulos, who published the fragment, believed that (a) and (b) were by the same hand, and that only a second commemoration was by a different hand ((c), τῶν ἐπ– unfinished).”

46. Hes. *Op.* 657–58. On victors dedicating their prizes, see Rouse 1902: 151–60.

47. So *IG I³ 584*; see also Jeffery, *LSAG* 94 no. 3a; Roller 1981a: 2 no. 2.

48. See also Jeffery 1976: 79.

49. Jeffery, *LSAG* 91; followed by Roller 1981a: 2 no. 3.

50. Text from *IG I³ 585* (“[I am a] p[rize] from the games in honour of [D]amasidas. [... se]t me up [to Athena]”); see also Jeffery, *LSAG* 94 no. 3b; Roller 1981a: 2 no. 3.

51. See also Jeffery 1976: 79.

to the late seventh century by Jeffery⁵² but to 600–550 (?) at *IG I³ 586* – testifying to (perhaps unrealized) funerary contests in honour of one Gelanor was replaced, presumably for a new set of competitions, at a slightly later date by a new inscription testifying to contests in honour of one Enpedostenidas; the Boiotian lettering combined with the Athenian provenance of the vessel suggests that an Athenian was victorious on the occasion of the second set of contests and brought home his prize to make a dedication of it on the Akropolis.⁵³ A fourth example is provided by *IG I³ 587* of 600–550 (?): --- α αἶθλον με [ἔδοκε].⁵⁴ The lettering is Boiotian and αἶθλον (‘prize’) is a Boiotian dialectal form. A fifth and final specimen is produced by two non-joining fragments of a bronze vessel, inscribed in Boiotian lettering: [---]άδα[ς με?] ἔδοκε ἐπ[ι] | Δαμάλαι (c. 500);⁵⁵ again, an Athenian athlete probably competed in funeral contests in Boiotia and brought home a prize which he dedicated on the Akropolis.⁵⁶ Clearly, victory in such funerary contests outside Attika was thought prestigious enough for the prize to be dedicated in the chief sanctuary of the Athenian *polis*.

Funeral contests in late sixth century Attika itself may be attested to by a marble discus inscribed: Τελεσάρχο ἐκ τῷ ἐρί[ο], “from the funeral mound of Telesarchos”.⁵⁷

From Delphi comes a mid-sixth century bronze lebes with an inscription in Boiotian lettering: Λαφόσοφος μ’ ἐπὶ παιδί ἐφοῖ αἶθλα ἔδοκε Εὐθ[ύ]μοι,⁵⁸ attesting to funeral contests celebrated by a father in honour of his deceased son. Since Delphi was a central sanc-

52. Jeffery, *LSAG* 91, followed by Roller 1981a: 2 no. 4.

53. See also Jeffery 1976: 79.

54. “[--- gave me] as a prize [---]”. See Jeffery, *LSAG* 91 no. 3d.

55. *IG I³ 588* (“[-]jada[s] gave [me] as a prize in honour of Damalás”); see also Jeffery, *LSAG* 94 no. 3e and Roller 1981a: 3 no. 5.

56. See also Jeffery 1976: 79.

57. *IG I³ 1394*; discussed by Roller 1981a: 3–5; two other discuses discussed by Roller are inscribed: ἐκ τῶν ἡρίων but have no personal name attached. On funeral games in Attika, see also Kyle 1993: 15–20.

58. Text from *CEGI* 444 (“Lawosowos gave me as prize <at the funeral contests> in honour of his son Euth[γ]mos”); see also Jeffery, *LSAG* 92; *SEG* 30 500 and Roller 1981a: 3 no. 6 with n. 17 at 14.

tuary of Panhellenic importance by the mid-sixth century, the present vessel may well have been dedicated there by a Boiotian victor⁵⁹ and thus need not be evidence that this particular set of funeral contests attracted competitors from outside Boiotia, as some others certainly did (above); but the dedication of the prize at Delphi is eloquent testimony to the perceived prestige of the victory.

From a grave at Kyme in Magna Graecia comes a bronze vessel of c. 500 with an inscription in local lettering: ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀνομάστο τῷ Φειδίλειο ἄθλοισ ἐθέθεν.⁶⁰ Here the victor may have been a Kymaian himself, but the next piece of evidence seems, like the fragments from the Athenian Akropolis, to attest to a foreign entrant at funerary contests: from a grave at Notion near Kolophon in Ionia comes a mid-fifth century bronze hydria inscribed: ἄθλον ἐγ Λαμψάκο ἐπὶ Λεωφάντο τῷ Λάμπρου,⁶¹ where “[t]he genitive is used with ἐκ to give the location of the contests, and the honorand is indicated with ἐπί and the genitive”;⁶² the contests at Lampsakos at the Propontic coast of Asia Minor, then, seem to have attracted a competitor from Notion in Ionia. To these examples may be added a possible instance from fifth-century Sicily: a bronze strigil from Herbessos is inscribed: ἄθλον παρ Καλλία, and thus may possibly be “a prize from <the funeral contests of> Kallias”.⁶³

Such funeral contests, then, seem at least on occasion to have attracted competitors from other communities than that of the deceased: Hesiod of Thespiai in Boiotia went to compete at the con-

59. Jeffery, *LSAG* 92 assumed that reported traces of a second inscription identified the victor and dedicant, but see *SEG* 30 500; however, the victor may have been identified by an inscription of which no traces have survived.

60. “I was awarded <as a prize> at the contests in honour of Onomastos, son of Pheidileos”: Jeffery, *LSAG* 240 no. 8; Roller 1981a: 3 no. 7; Arena, *Iscrizioni* III no. 27; Dubois, *Grande Grèce* I no. 16 (see also Bursian 1863: 450–51). It has been suggested that the contests in honour of Onomastos were staged regularly (Pleket 1975: 55); if accepted, the same might be valid for the other attested funeral contests, but there is no positive evidence in favour of this suggestion.

61. Jeffery, *LSAG* 367 no. 47 (“A prize <from the funeral contests> in honour of Leophantos, son of Lampros, at Lampsakos”); Roller 1981a: 3 no. 8.

62. Roller 1981a: 3.

63. *SEG* 49 1286; the ed.pr. suggested this possibility, but preferred to interpret the inscription as a manufacturer’s mark; ἄθλον is however a little strange in that context.

tests for Amphidamas at Chalkis in Euboia; athletes from Athens went to compete in Boiotia; and a man of Notion in Ionia seemingly went to compete at Lampsakos. The contests must, accordingly, have been announced in some way outside the local community of the deceased; and in fact, at *Op.* 655–56 Hesiod states that the contests in honour of Amphidamas had been “announced beforehand”,⁶⁴ an announcement which found its way to Thespiiai in Boiotia.⁶⁵ In this respect the funeral contests surveyed here resemble later competitions incorporated into religious festivals: these, too, were regularly announced outside the community in which they were staged.

Most of the evidence for historical funeral contests, as it happens, is Boiotian or Athenian, but funeral contests are attested also in Magna Graecia, in Euboia, in Asia Minor and possibly on Sicily, a remarkable geographical coverage for such a tiny group of evidence. That victory in these funeral contests conferred considerable prestige on the victor should follow from the fact that victors made dedications of their prizes at important sanctuaries or were accompanied by them into their graves.⁶⁶

1.3.1 Competitions at Recurrent Religious Festivals

The epigraphical evidence for funeral contests surveyed above spans the period from *c.* 700 to *c.* 450. Literary sources demonstrate that such contests were on occasion staged also after this period. Thus, according to Isokrates, in 374/3 athletic, equestrian, musical and even naval competitions were staged at the funeral of King Euagoras of Salamis in Cyprus by his son and successor Nikokles.⁶⁷

64. τὰ δὲ προπεφραδμένα πολλὰ | ἄλλ' ἔθεσαν παῖδες (see LSJ s.v. προφράζω). West 1978 does not comment on προπεφραδμένα, but at West 1988: 56 translates it “announced”; Brown 2033: 138 translates “widely-announced”; this may press the wording but certainly renders the sense correctly. See also Nielsen 2010a: 3.

65. According to Hes. *Op.* 654–55, the sons of Amphidamas had announced “many prizes” (πολλὰ | ἀέθλα) for his funeral contests, and these were probably not all awarded for poetic recitals (Roller 1981a: 2; Kyle 2007: 77).

66. Perry 2014: 57.

67. Isoc. *Euagoras* 1. On Euagoras, see Costa 1974; Maier 1994: 312–17.

Though they were actually Greeks themselves, both rulers have been considered ‘Philhellenes’ in modern scholarship.⁶⁸ Euagoras came to the throne of Salamis by overthrowing a Phoenician usurper and later waged a ten-year war (391–381) against Persia; and an Athenian decree seems to praise him as a champion of Greek freedom:⁶⁹ it may, then, very well be correct that these funeral contests were a studied emulation of epic depictions of funeral contests designed to emphasize the Greek identity of the Salaminian royal house.⁷⁰ Alexander the Great, too, seems to have had the Iliadic funeral contests of Patroklos in mind when he staged “the most magnificent contests ever” to mark the burial of his friend Hephaistion.⁷¹ By the fifth century, however, funeral contests for Greek aristocrats were already unusual: the survey of the epigraphical evidence above attests to, *at most*, two examples from the fifth century. By the fourth century, funeral contests seem to have become a peripheral royal phenomenon of no importance to mainstream Greek culture.⁷² The perceived prominence of funeral contests in the Homeric poems may perhaps be a reflection of the fact, if such it is, that reciters of epic poetry – *oidoi* or *rhapsoidoi*⁷³ – may often have performed at such contests,⁷⁴ as Hesiod did, and need not necessarily mean that aristocratic funerals were the only, or even the most important, context for athletics in the earlier Archaic period, though the preserved epigraphical evidence points in that direction. In any case, if funerals had ever actually been the central context for Greek athletic and equestrian competitions, that role had by the Classical period been

68. Costa 1974: 45; Maier 1994: 317.

69. Rhodes & Osborne, *GHI* no. 11.16–17 with comm. at 54; see also Hunt 2010: 82 n. 59. The Athenians erected an honorific statue depicting Euagoras in the Agora: Paus. 1.3.2; *Agora* III no. 702; Lewis & Stroud 1979: 192.

70. Roller 1981a: 10.

71. Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.4, 7.14.10 (see Adams 2014: 340). See also Hornblower 2012: 104–5 who suggests that funeral games may have been held in honour of Mausolos of Karia in 353 (see *SEG* 40 669; *BE* 1992: no. 145).

72. Nielsen 2014a: 16 n. 42. For possible but by no means certain funerary contests in fourth-century Macedonia, see *SEG* 43 395 and 46 762.

73. On these terms as synonymous designations of epic performers, see Jensen 2011: 153.

74. Roller 1981a: 12; Nielsen 2010a: 6.

taken over by the *recurrent religious festival* which was by then the standard context for agonistic competitions in the Greek world.⁷⁵ By the Classical period, athletic competitions were such a standard feature of religious festivals that the fourth-century writer Aineias the Tactician takes it for granted that festivals included various contests,⁷⁶ and he probably has athletic contests in mind.

The importance of the incorporation of agonistic competitions into religious festivals, whenever it became standard, can hardly be over-emphasized: it transformed athletic competitions into *regularly recurring public and state-sponsored events*, whereas funeral contests must have been more or less private *ad hoc* occurrences and are treated as such in the Homeric poems.⁷⁷ Competitions incorporated into a religious festival seem, in fact, to have been known to the poet of *The Iliad*, as is suggested by a famous passage (*Il.* 22.158–61):

πρόσθε μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔφευγε, δίωκε δὲ μιν μέγ' ἀμείνων
καρπαλίμως, ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱεράϊον οὐδὲ βοείην
ἀρνύσθην, ἃ τε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίνεται ἀνδρῶν,
ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θέον Ἴκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο.⁷⁸

As pointed out by Young, “[t]he prize of a sacrificial victim or hide almost certainly implies contests held in conjunction with a religious festival”.⁷⁹ Kyle agrees and takes the Homeric reference to be to “cultic games with symbolic prizes”.⁸⁰ Whether or not the prizes envisaged by the poet are really only symbolic,⁸¹ the passage does

75. Kyle 2014: 22.

76. *Aen. Tact.* 17.1. See also Osborne 1993: 25.

77. Pleket 2001: 161 with n. 10. See also Iddeng 2012: 31.

78. “In front a good man fled, but one far better pursued him swiftly; for it was not for beast of sacrifice or for bull’s hide that they strove, such are men’s prizes for swiftness of foot, but it was for the life of horse-taming Hector” (transl. Murray 1999).

79. Young 2004: 9; so already at Young 1984: 112.

80. Kyle 2004: 78.

81. As commentators point out, βοείην may perhaps refer to a shield (Richardson 1993: 124–25; de Jong 2012: 99–100), a not insignificant prize and reminiscent of prizes known from the historical *Hekatomboia* at the Argive Heraion (Amandry 1980: 232); even a hide is hardly merely symbolic.

seem to demonstrate that he knew of religious festivals incorporating athletic competitions.

However, the Homeric poems are not reliable guides to historical developments or chronology, since the poems are poetry and not social documentary, and in particular since the crucial question of their date has not yet been finally settled.⁸² In some cases the incorporation of competitions into a religious festival may have occurred in the early Archaic period, as in the case of the Olympics: even if the traditional date of 776 for their foundation does not inspire much confidence, there is widespread agreement that contests had been incorporated into cult at Olympia by *c.* 700.⁸³ However, the incorporation of competitions into cultic frames, by common consent,⁸⁴ gained momentum in the sixth century, and religious festivals were from the sixth century without question the most central context for athletic competitions. Not only did the competitions at the cults at Delphi, the Isthmos and at Nemea rise to form the Big Four with the Olympics;⁸⁵ but numerous other festivals came to include agonistic competitions – so many, in fact, that by the early fifth century there must have existed a considerable number of religious festivals staging athletic and equestrian competitions. A first but vivid impression of the number of agonistic festivals may be produced by consideration of the careers of two individual athletes, the pentathlete and sprinter Nikolaidas of Corinth and the heavy-weight Theogenes of Thasos.⁸⁶

An epigram which probably originally accompanied a monument erected in the later sixth or fifth century to commemorate the Corinthian athlete Nikolaidas, and transmitted in the *Anthologia Pa-*

82. The Homeric poems as transmitted may in fact be as late as the second half of the sixth century; see Jensen 1980 and 2011.

83. Golden 1998: 64–65; Crowther 2007b: 5–6. See also n. 43 above and section 1.4 below (96–99) on the term *athloi* in Drakon's homicide law.

84. Bell 1989: 168; Pleket 2000: 642; Mann 2001: 19, 27; Young 2004: 23; Christesen 2007a; Christesen 2007b: 143; Christesen 2014: 217; Crowther 2007b: 6; Kyle 2009: 188, 2014: 22; Scott 2010: 160–61; Neumann-Hartmann 2014: 31. See also Funke 2005: 11.

85. Golden 1998: 10–11.

86. See also Nielsen 2014a: 11–17.

latina (13.19),⁸⁷ lists the victories won by this Nikolaidas, an otherwise unknown athlete: in addition to a Pythian, three Nemean and three Isthmian victories, Nikolaidas had won the *pentathlon* at the *Panathenaia* at Athens and the *stadion* at Pellene in Achaia, on Mt. Lykaion and at Tegea in Arkadia, in Aigina, at Epidauros in the Argolid, at Thebes in Boiotia, at Megara, the neighbour of Corinth, and at Phleious, also in the Argolid. This epigram, then, attests to nine athletic festivals outside the *periodos* within a reasonable distance from Corinth, and all open to foreign entrants. Though most of these festivals can be identified and are reasonably well known, it should be noted that the competitions at Phleious are attested *only* by this epigram – by coincidence, in other words. Such agonistic epigrams, then, constitute a group of evidence of potentially great value in the present context. The Nikolaidas-epigram, however, is among the most valuable, and it is not uncommon that details on victories at festivals other than the Big Four are written off by such proud statements as τὰς δ' ἄλλας νίκας οὐκ εὐμαρές ἐστ' ἀριθμῆσαι,⁸⁸ the last verse of the five-verse epitaph⁸⁹ commemorating the great fifth-century sprinter Dandis of Argos who won no fewer than twenty-two victories in the contests of the *periodos*, according to the text;⁹⁰ or [τ]οὺς δ' ἄλλους ἄπο[ρον στεφά]νους ἐπιδειῖσαι ἀριθμόν⁹¹ from a dedication at Delphi commemorating the famous fourth-century pankratiast Sostratos of Sikyon, who had seventeen victories in the Big Four to his credit, according to the text.⁹² Such statements may perhaps be thought to be mere celebratory rhetoric, and similar sentiments are indeed found in the epinician odes of Pindar, *e.g.* at *Nemean* 10.45–46: ἀλλὰ χαλκὸν μῦριον οὐ δυνατὸν | ἐξέλεγχειν. μακρο-

87. On this epigram, see Blinkenberg 1919; Ebert 1972a: no. 26 at 92–96; Merkelbach 1974 and 1987; and, in particular, Maróti 1990. See also Nielsen 2014a: 11–14.

88. “The other victories it is not easy to number”.

89. The epigram is commonly taken to be an epitaph, but may have accompanied a victory monument: see Ebert 1972a: 67.

90. *Anth. Pal.* 13.14 = Ebert 1972a: no. 15. See also Page, *FGE ad* no. 35.5 with ref.; Funke 2005: 12.

91. “But as to the number, it is impossible to account for the other wreaths.”

92. *I. Delphes* 1.507 = Ebert 1972a: 39. On Sostratos, see the brief remarks by Griffin 1982: 75.

τέρας γὰρ ἀριθμῆσαι σχολᾶς.⁹³ However, a unique piece of evidence suggests that athletes could indeed achieve amazing numbers of victories.

In the fourth century, the *polis* of Thasos commemorated its fifth-century son Theogenes, a famous boxer and pankratiast, with a sculptural monument at Delphi, and in the accompanying epigram it was claimed that Theogenes had won no fewer than 1,300 victories in his career.⁹⁴ Theogenes won 24 victories in the *periodos* and these are all meticulously listed in a prose catalogue on the monument. The inference is that he won the other 1,276 victories in contests outside the *periodos*, presumably at festivals of the kind listed in the epigram celebrating Nikolaidas. 1,300 may perhaps be an inflated number⁹⁵ and is certainly “suspiciously round”.⁹⁶ However, two other sources give similar numbers for the victories achieved by Theogenes: according to Plutarch, Theogenes won 1,200 victories,⁹⁷ and according to Pausanias the number of his victories ran to 1,400.⁹⁸ Now, since they do not give the exact same number as the epigram and since they do not agree with each other, Plutarch and Pausanias probably derive their numbers from two different sources independent of the epigram, and so may be taken to confirm, in a general way, that the number given by the epigram is of the right

93. “But it is not possible to reckon the vast amount of bronze (there is too little leisure to count it)” (transl. Race 1997b); see also Pind. *Ol.* 13.44–46, 112–13; *Nem.* 2.23. At *Nem.* 6.58 Pindar refers to 24 victories in unspecified contests by ancestors of the honorand, the wrestler Alkimidas of Aigina; Carey 1989: 8 remarks that “certainly some of the ... victories mentioned ... must have been in minor festivals”; that is undoubtedly correct, but in the context of this ode with its emphasis on victory in the contests of the Big Four, the unidentified contests may simply be contests outside the *periodos*.

94. Ebert 1972a: no. 37.10–12: (αἱ δὲ ἴδια | νῖκαι τρίς τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλια, οὐδὲ σέ φημι | πυγμῆι νικηθῆναι ἔκοσι καὶ δύ’ ἐτῶν: “Your own efforts produced 1,300 victories and, I proclaim, for twenty-two years you were undefeated in boxing”). On this epigram, see Nielsen 2014a: 14–17 and section 2.6.4 below (206–209).

95. Ebert 1972a: no. 37 p. 120.

96. Pleket 1975: 81.

97. Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 15.7: ... χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους στεφάνους (see Pleket 1975: 60; Brunet 2003: 224).

98. Paus. 6.11.5: τοὺς δὲ σὺμπαντας στεφάνους τετρακοσίους τε ἔσχε καὶ χιλίους.

order of size. Such a number of victories can only have been achieved by competing in an *endless* number of competitions of minor prestige,⁹⁹ each of which was probably staged only once a year, at most. Theogenes was active in the first half of the fifth century¹⁰⁰ and his career indicates the existence of a great number of competitive festivals for this period: if the number 1,300 is anywhere near the truth, Theogenes must have won, on average, more than a victory a week.¹⁰¹ In the more realistic scenario that he regularly won both his specialities, boxing and *pankration*, in the contests he entered he need ‘only’ have registered at two festivals a month,¹⁰² but even this scenario presupposes an ocean of festivals with competitions in both events and open to foreign entrants.

It cannot, of course, be entirely excluded that Theogenes won some of his many victories in contests which were staged only once, to mark victory in war, the burial of a great man, or some other important event. Contests of this kind are not unknown: the Ten Thousand *Kyreiōi* celebrated their arrival at the coast of the Black Sea by a joyful athletic festival;¹⁰³ in 326, Alexander the Great marked the military victory at the Hydaspes River by athletic competitions;¹⁰⁴ and funeral contests held to mark the burials of great men are attested in the Archaic period.¹⁰⁵ However, as pointed out above (23), by the fifth century funeral games for individuals were clearly a highly unusual phenomenon.¹⁰⁶ In comparison

99. Ebert 1972a: 120: “Die (wohl abgerundete) Gesamtzahl der Siege, 1300, läßt sich, obwohl sich seine aktive Athletenlaufbahn über mindestens 22 Jahre erstreckte, nur dann begreifen, wenn wir annehmen, daß Theogenes vom Knabenalter an nicht nur an größeren, sondern auch an den unbedeutendsten Agonen konkurrierte.”

100. Nielsen 2014a: 14.

101. So Pleket 1975: 81.

102. So Pleket 1998: 154 (repeated in Pleket 2000: 642).

103. Xen. *An.* 4.8.25–28, on which see Golden 1998: 1–4 and Kyle 2007: 231.

104. Arr. *Anab.* 5.20.1; cf. 2.24.6 with *CEG* I 879; 4.4.1; 6.28.3; 7.14.1 (see also Diod. 17.72.1). See also Slowikowski 1989: 72; Romano 1990: 75; Adams 2003: 210–12; Kyle 2007: 238–39; Günther 2013.

105. Roller 1981a and section 1.2 above. Betrothal contests such as those staged by Kleisthenes of Sikyon (Hdt. 6.126–30, discussed by Papakonstantinou 2010 (esp. 82)) must have been exceedingly rare by the fifth century, if they occurred at all.

106. Roller 1981a: 6.

with athletic contests incorporated into the religious festivals of city-states, such *ad hoc* competitions are rather poorly attested for the Classical period, and it seems unlikely that victories in such competitions can have constituted any significant part of Theogenes' numerous non-periodic victories. Accordingly, the assumption should be that to gain all these non-periodic victories, Theogenes must have been victorious at *numerous* contests incorporated in the standard way into religious festivals, such as the *Hekatomboia* and *Panathenaia*, and the presumption must be that he won his victories at the same festivals, or at the same kind of festival, as Niko-laidas of Corinth, of whom Theogenes was probably a contemporary.

It may perhaps be doubted that it was physically possible for Theogenes to achieve all these victories – he was after all primarily a heavyweight. How it was, in fact, possible has been well explained by Harris: “This [*i.e.* competing at numerous festivals besides those of the *periodos*] did not involve so much strenuous competition as might be supposed. In the painful heavyweight events there was a reluctance to face a man who was thought to be certain to win. Greek champions did not feel it incumbent on them to deal gently with inexperienced opponents, and such an expert was often given a walk-over, in Greek athletic jargon a victory ‘without dust’ (*akoniti*). Even in the great Pythian games, second in importance only to Olympia, Theogenes on his third appearance found no one willing to oppose him and won a victory of this kind. So we may assume that at most of the smaller meetings he had to do nothing but appear and take his prize.”¹⁰⁷ As pointed out by Harris, Theogenes won *akoniti* even at the prestigious *Pythia* at Delphi,¹⁰⁸ and *a fortiori* it seems a reasonable assumption that he was frequently victorious *akoniti* at festivals of lesser prestige as well. A late literary epigram¹⁰⁹

107. Harris 1964: 116.

108. On victory *ἀκοντί* in the *periodos*, see Crowther 2001: 33 and Nielsen 2017. For victory *ἀκοντί*, see also Xen. *Ages.* 6.3 (with Hornblower 2004: 49) and Diod. 15.51.4. Another famous pankratiast who won *akoniti* at Delphi was Dorieus of Ialysos in Rhodos: *IvO*153 (with Tzifopoulos 1991: 143–44) and Paus. 6.7.4 (with Crowther 2001: 32).

109. *Anth. Pal.* 11.316.

actually begins by describing a fictitious victory *akoniti* by the famous sixth-century wrestler Milon of Kroton, a victory of exactly the kind envisaged for Theogenes by Harris:

Εἰς ἱερόν ποτ' ἀγῶνα Μίλων μόνος ἦλθ' ὁ παλαιστής·
τὸν δ' εὐθὺς στεφανοῦν ἀθλοθέτης ἐκάλει.¹¹⁰

More importantly, another Classical heavyweight is actually documented to have amassed victories in the way Harris assumed for Theogenes: the fourth-century pankratiast Sostratos of Sikyon mentioned above (26) is said by the epigram¹¹¹ found at Delphi to have won victories beyond numbering;¹¹² and, the epigram goes on, Sostratos won most often ἀμαχεί, “without a fight”.¹¹³

But, of course, for Theogenes (and Sostratos) to amass victories in this way, all the “smaller meetings”, as Harris phrases it, had to be there in the first place. The career of Theogenes, then, documents the existence of a *large* number of non-periodic athletic festivals in the early-fifth century.

However, of all these minor festivals at which Theogenes must have won, we can identify only two and this presumably only because the victories which Theogenes won there were exceptional in that they were achieved in the *dolichos*, long-distance running, in which event he was victorious at both the Argive *Hekatombia* (below 41-43) and at a festival in honour of Achilleus in Thessalia (below 70-71).

1.3.2 Contests Attested by Epinician Poetry

A second impression of the number and identity of contests staged in the late-sixth to fifth centuries may be provided by the epinician poetry of Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides. These are choral odes

110. “The wrestler Milon was once the sole entrant at a sacred contest, so the official at once called him up to be crowned.”

111. Ebert 1972a: no. 39.

112. Ebert 1972a: no. 39.5; above (26).

113. See also Crowther 2001: 36.

celebrating agonistic victories, commissioned by the victor or his family from professional poets such as the three mentioned, mostly on the occasion of victories in the contests at the Big Four Panhellenic sites of Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and on the Corinthian Isthmos¹¹⁴ – though a few odes do celebrate victories won elsewhere.¹¹⁵ To further their encomiastic aims, epinician poems quite often include references to earlier victories won by the successful athlete or his relatives, frequently in the form of regular catalogues of such victories.¹¹⁶ In this way, epinician poetry provides us with precious evidence for athletic festivals other than the Four Big ones of the *periodos*. The following section surveys and comments upon the evidence provided by epinician poetry, going round the world of epinician poetry in the geographical order adopted in Hansen & Nielsen 2004.¹¹⁷

1. *Sicily and South Italy*. At *Ol.* 13.111, Pindar refers to victories won by Corinthian athletes and witnessed by τὰ ὑπ' Αἴτνας ὑψιλόφου καλλιπλουτοῖ | πόλιες.¹¹⁸ It is here implied that at least two *poleis* near Mt. Etna staged contests, but it is not clear which *poleis* these were; the usual assumption is that the reference is to Aitna¹¹⁹ and

114. An introduction to the epinician poetry of Pindar is provided by Carne-Ross 1985; victory catalogues are discussed at 15–16, 75–76, 80–81, 83, 92, 97–99, 113, 119, 180. Mackie 2003, though not an introduction, is also accessible; victory catalogues are discussed at 17–18, 32, 35–36, 52, 57, 87. The collection of articles edited by Hornblower & Morgan (2007a) considers Pindar from a wide variety of angles and provides a rich bibliography. Translations are provided by *e.g.* Nisetich 1980; translations of the epinician odes of Bacchylides are found in McDevitt 2009. The poet Simonides, who was an elder contemporary of the two preserved epinician poets, is also known to have composed epinician poems, but these survive in meagre fragments only (see Mann 2001: 299–311). On epinician poetry, see also Saïd & Trédé-Boulmer 1984; Golden 1998: 76–88; and Kantzios 2004.

115. See section 2.3 below (174–177).

116. On these catalogues, see Kramer 1970: 3–23 and Gerber 2002: 71–78.

117. The following is indebted to Kramer 1970: 24–63, though additional references and discussion are provided throughout.

118. “the splendidly rich cities under Aitna’s lofty crest” (transl. by Race 1997a).

119. A festival, *Aitnaia*, at Aitna in honour of Zeus Aitnaios is noted by Schol. *Pind. Ol.* 6.162a; it is not explicitly stated that this was an athletic festival, but it seems a safe assumption (see also Morgan 2015: 58).

Syracuse,¹²⁰ though at least Leontinoi and Messana would seem to be candidates as well. These contests, whichever they were, must however have been open to foreign athletes, since Corinthians were able to participate.

In addition, a fragment of an epinician ode by Simonides¹²¹ for the runner Astylos of Kroton¹²² reads as follows: τίς δὴ τῶν νῦν τοσάδ' ἢ πετάλοισι μύρτων | ἢ στεφάνοισι ῥόδων ἀνεδήσατο, | νικάσ<αις>¹²³ ἐν ἀγῶνι περικτιόνων.¹²⁴ The phrase ἐν ἀγῶνι περικτιόνων (“in a contest of the neighbours”) probably refers to a local, *i.e.* South Italian or Sicilian,¹²⁵ contest at which Astylos had been victorious, but the drift of the fragment, in fact, suggests that he had been victorious several times or in several contexts; the fragment, then, suggests the existence of one or more festivals with foot-races in South Italy or on Sicily which must have been open to non-citizen competitors.¹²⁶ Not many details on South Italian (or Sicilian) agonistic festivals are known for this period, but the epinician references discussed here as well as the massive involvement of the elites and athletes of these colonial areas with the contests on the Greek mainland¹²⁷ suggest in a very general way that there were indeed athletic and equestrian competitions in these areas themselves, as in most of the rest of the Greek world. In fact, it has been suggested that Pindar’s *Pythian 2*, which is usually thought to celebrate a victory won at Thebes in Boiotia, may in fact celebrate one won at games in honour of Artemis Alpheioa at Syracuse,¹²⁸ or at the *Isthmia* in Syracuse attested by a

120. Kramer 1970: 55; Gerber 2002: 72.

121. Fr. 506 (Campbell).

122. On Astylos of Kroton, see Nielsen 2007b: 91–92. He seems at one point to have become a citizen of Syracuse.

123. Ms. νίκας

124. “Who among men of this day has so often crowned himself with leaves of myrtle or garlands of roses after winning in a contest of the neighbours” (transl. by Campbell 1991).

125. Morgan 2015: 94.

126. For a discussion of this fragment, see Molyneux 1992: esp. 215–18.

127. For which see the survey by Todisco 1997; see also Lomas 1993: 101; Antonaccio 2014; Morgan 2015: 69–80.

128. Farnell 1932: 119; Mikalson 2007: 38.

scholion on Pindar;¹²⁹ if either is correct, equestrian contests will be attested for early fifth-century Syracuse.¹³⁰

2. *Boiotia*. At *Ol.* 7.84, Pindar refers to victories won by Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos at contests in Boiotia (ἄγῶνες ἔννομοι Βοιωτίων).¹³¹ These contests must have been open to non-citizen competitors, but it is unclear which festivals Pindar has in mind, except that Theban festivals are excluded, since the victory catalogue includes Thebes already in verse 83. The reference may be to the *Amphiaraia* at Oropos;¹³² or to the *Eleutheria* at Plataiai, though it is uncertain whether this festival existed already in the fifth century;¹³³ or to the *Erotidia* at Thespiiai, though these are unattested prior to the second century.¹³⁴

Equestrian competitions of some sort at Onchestos in Boiotia, *i.e.* presumably in the territory of Haliartos,¹³⁵ are indicated by Pind. *Isthm.* 1.33, *Isthm.* 4.37 and the fragment *Parth.* 2.45–46.¹³⁶ Pindar's *Isthm.* 1 in honour of Herodotos of Thebes refers at 56 to a victory at Orchomenos, presumably an equestrian victory at the *Minyeia*;¹³⁷ the competition, then, was not restricted to Orchomenians.

129. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 158b; see Lefkowitz 1976: 164–65. Schol. 158b refers to an ἄγῶν Νέμεα on Sicily but does not locate it.

130. Syracusan coinage begins in the late sixth century; right from the beginning the obverse types depict a quadriga, and these types have been interpreted as a reflection of “the interest of the horse-racing aristocracy of Syracuse, the *Gamoroi*, in chariot-racing” (Rutter 1997: 115–16; see also Morgan 2015: 61–62); though not *proof*, such imagery certainly suggests the existence of equestrian competitions at late Archaic Syracuse.

131. “the duly ordered games of the Boiotians” (transl. Race 1997a).

132. For the *Amphiaraia*, see below (61).

133. Kramer 1970: 52 and Schachter 1994a 138–41; see Amandry 1971: 621 for a suggestion that the *Eleutheria* were in fact celebrated in the fifth century; see also Jung 2006: 329–40 and Larmour 1999: 187–88 no. 62.

134. Ringwood 1927: 51–52; Kramer 1970: 60; Schachter 1994a 218–19.

135. Hansen 2004: 442. For the point that this sanctuary may never have been in the possession of any particular Boiotian *polis*, see Mackil 2013: 23.

136. On the *agon*, see Kramer 1970: 46; Schachter 1986: 219–20. See also Ringwood 1927: 41.

137. Kramer 1970: 48; Schachter 1986: 143–44.

Several epinician odes refer to victories won at Thebes: Pind. *Ol.* 7.84, in honour of the boxer Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos; *Ol.* 9.99 in honour of the wrestler Epharmostos of Opous; *Ol.* 13.107 in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon of Corinth; *Nem.* 4.18 in honour of the boy wrestler Timasarchos of Aigina; *Isthm.* 1.55 in honour of the equestrian victor Herodotos of Thebes; *Isthm.* 4 in honour of Melissos, likewise of Thebes itself, at 70–71 refers to earlier victories by the honorand at Thebes in, presumably, *pankration* in both the boys' and the men's class; and Bacchylides at 10.30 refers to a victory at Thebes by an Athenian sprinter. A victory in the *stadion* is, moreover, attested for the fifth-century runner Nikolaidas of Corinth;¹³⁸ all these victories by mostly non-Theban athletes in, presumably, various disciplines suggest a large *agon* with a rich and varied programme, open to outside competitors. And this, of course, would be confirmed, if Pindar's *Pythian 2* was composed to celebrate a victory at the festival.¹³⁹ The festival in question is variously named *Herakleia* or *Ioleia*,¹⁴⁰ and was presumably annual.¹⁴¹ Both a sixth- and a fifth-century stadium are attested at Thebes,¹⁴² along with a hippodrome of the fifth century.¹⁴³ Two *gymnasia* are also attested.¹⁴⁴

3. *Megaris*. Several Pindaric odes refer to victories won at Megara, presumably at the *Alkathoia*¹⁴⁵ in honour of the mythical hero Alkathoos:¹⁴⁶ *Ol.* 7.86, in honour of the boxer Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos; *Ol.* 13.109, in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xeno-

138. *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 = Ebert 1972a: no. 26, a victory at the *Herakleia*, according to Kramer 1970: 25; on Nikolaidas, see section 1.3.1 above (25–26); see also *CEG* II 630 (350–300) and *Plut. Mor.* 587D (equestrian competitions in the fourth century).

139. Mikalson 2007: 38 n. 23; Morgan 2015: 172–75.

140. On the *agon*, see Kramer 1970: 56–59; Schachter 1986: 25–30; Gerber 2002: 64. See also *BCH* 95 (1971) 617.VII, a fifth-century bronze hydria from Thebes inscribed: τῶν Θέβαις αἰθλον; the contests are not identified and so may be the *Herakleia*. See also Ringwood 1927: 54–55; Roesch 1975; Larmour 1999: 189 no. 71.

141. Schachter 1986: 26 n. 4.

142. Symeonoglou 1985: 140.

143. Symeonoglou 1985: 140 and cat. no. 106; see also Paus. 9.23.2.

144. Symeonoglou 1985: 108–9, 140; see also Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25.

145. Kramer 1970: 45. See also Ringwood 1927: 32–33.

146. On Alkathoos, the chief figure of Megarian mythic prehistory, see Hanell 1934: 27–28 and Polignac 1995: 144–45.

phon of Corinth; *Pyth.* 8.78, in honour of the boy wrestler Aristomenes of Aigina; *Pyth.* 9.91 in honour of the *hoplitodromos* Telesikrates of Kyrene; *Nem.* 3.84 in honour of the pankratiast Aristokleides of Aigina; *Nem.* 5.46 in honour of the pankratiast Pytheas of Aigina; and *Isthm.* 8.67 in honour of the boy (or *ageneios* (“beardless”)) pankratiast Kleandros, also of Aigina; in addition, a victory in the *stadion* is attested for the fifth-century sprinter Nikolaidas of Corinth.¹⁴⁷ Again, the evidence points to a rich programme of contests open to non-Megarian competitors. The names of victors seem to have been registered on public stelae.¹⁴⁸

4. *Corinthia*. In addition to the Isthmian Games, Corinth celebrated the *Hellotia* in honour of Athena; Pindar at *Ol.* 13.40 in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon of Corinth mentions seven victories at the contests of this festival by Xenophon’s father Thesalos, who was a successful late Archaic sprinter;¹⁴⁹ and Pindar may possibly have composed an ode in honour of pankratiasts who had been victorious at the *Hellotia*,¹⁵⁰ not impossibly pankratiasts from Lakedaimon.¹⁵¹ Archaeological evidence of the Classical period from the city of Corinth attests to the existence of a stadium,¹⁵²

147. *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 = Ebert 1972a: no. 26; see also also *IG IV* 673, a fourth-century honorific decree by Hermion in honour of a successful athlete who may have won at Megara (5: ἐν Με[γάροις]).

148. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.158, 159a. Megara may possibly have staged more *agones* than the *Alkathoia*: e.g. Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 3.147 and *Nem.* 5.84a which refer to Μεγαρικὰ Πύθια. Note also that a Megarian honorific decree of the late fourth century (*IG VII* 1.14–15) grants the honorand προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι οἷς ἂ πόλις τίθηται (on which phrase see section 1.4 below (104–105)).

149. Pind. *Ol.* 13.38; see also p. 47 and p. 87.

150. D’Alessio 2012: 48–54, discussing *P.Oxy.* 2541.

151. D’Alessio 2012: 52 is reluctant to accept that the victors were Lakedaimonians, submitting that it is “implausible to posit important foreign participants in such minor local games.” But, as the present survey demonstrates, many ‘minor local games’ must have attracted and admitted foreign entrants; see also Nielsen 2014a: 27–28. See also Parker 1998: 22 commenting on Pindar: “I am struck by the regular assumption in the poetry of Pindar that a victor ... displays his excellence ‘among those who live around’: I infer that many of the local athletic festivals ... attracted not just competitors but spectators from quite a wide region.” On non-citizen entrants at minor athletic festivals, see Nielsen, *Foreign Entrants*.

152. Romano 1993: 43.

tracks for foot-races, seemingly designed for torch races, and a ‘ring’ for heavy events, possibly at the *Hellotia*,¹⁵³ which in that case included several disciplines on its programme and were perhaps open to foreign entrants.

5. *Sikyonia*. Victories at the *Pythia*¹⁵⁴ at Sikyon are catalogued by both Pindar and Bacchylides: *Ol.* 13.109 in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon of Corinth refers to one or more victories by members of Xenophon’s extended family, the *Oligaitheidai*; *Nemean 9* celebrates an equestrian victory at Sikyon by Chromios of Aitna; *Nem.* 10.43 in honour of the wrestler Theaios of Argos refers to one or more victories at Sikyon by ancestors of Theaios; *Isthm.* 4.44 in honour of Melissos of Thebes refers to a presumably equestrian victory at Sikyon by an ancestor of the honorand; and Bacchyl. 10.32 in honour of an Athenian runner refers to an athletic victory at Sikyon, presumably in a foot-race.

In 1984, J.P. Barron suggested that the mid-sixth-century lyric poet Ibykos of Rhegion in South Italy was a precursor to Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides in the production of epinician odes.¹⁵⁵ This suggestion has met with general approval, it seems.¹⁵⁶ More specifically, Barron suggested that Ibykos composed an epinician ode in honour of a Spartan who had achieved an athletic victory at Sikyon.¹⁵⁷

SEG II 257 of 500–450 seems to be a catalogue from Sikyon itself of, apparently, victories won by an unknown athlete; in line 6 it lists Σεκυδ[υ] as a place of competitions. Finally, from Lindos in Rhodos comes a catalogue of 300–290 listing equestrian victories by one Nikagoras and among the victories listed are three in three different

153. Williams & Russel 1981: 2–21; see also Ringwood 1927: 65; Kramer 1970: 41; Romano 1993: 43; D’Alessio 2012: 52–54.

154. Ringwood 1927: 64; Kramer 1970: 54; Larmour 1999: 184 no. 38; Farrington 2013; Kramer 1970: 54 assumes that the *Pythia* and the *Adrasteia* at Sikyon are a single festival (implicitly accepted by Farrington 2013).

155. Barron 1984.

156. See, e.g., Jenner 1986; Hornblower 2004: 21–22; Hornblower & Morgan 2007b: 11; Thomas 2007: 146; Lowe 2007: 167; Rawles 2012.

157. Barron 1984: 22; see also Hornblower 2004: 21 and Rawles 2012: 9 (who is a little sceptical of the suggestion).

equestrian disciplines won at the *Pythia* at Sikyon.¹⁵⁸ The festival at Sikyon, then, included both equestrian and athletic competitions and these could be entered by non-Sikyonians.¹⁵⁹

6. *Achaia*. At *Nem.* 10.47 in honour of the wrestler Theaios of Argos, Pindar refers to victories won by ancestors of the honorand at Ἀχαιῶν ὑψίβατοι πόλεις;¹⁶⁰ it is unclear which *poleis* Pindar has in mind but the reference is valuable as evidence that Pellene – listed already at *Nem.* 10.44 – was not alone among the cities of Achaia in staging contests open to non-citizen competitors. Both Pindar and Bacchylides catalogue victories at Pellene, presumably at the *Theoxenia* in honour of Apollo:¹⁶¹ *Ol.* 7.86 in honour of the boxer Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos refers to a victory at Pellene by the honorand; *Ol.* 9.98 in honour of the wrestler Epharmostos of Opous refers to an earlier victory of his at Pellene; *Ol.* 13.109 in honour of the Corinthian sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon refers to earlier victories at Pellene by members of Xenophon's extended family, the *Oligaiithidai*; *Nem.* 10.44 in honour of the Argive wrestler Theaios refers to victories at Pellene by ancestors of the honorand; Bacchylides at 10.33 in honour of an Athenian runner lists an earlier victory of the honorand at Pellene; in addition, Simonides is known to have composed an epinician ode celebrating an equestrian victory at Pellene by one Orillas whose *polis* of origin is unfortunately not revealed by the fragments.¹⁶² A victory in the *stadion* by Nikolaidas of Corinth is attested by the epigram in his honour discussed above (25–26). The festival of Pellene seems from this evidence to have included both equestrian and athletic competitions which could be entered by non-Pelleneans.

7. *Arkadia*.¹⁶³ Pindar refers to three athletic festivals in Arkadia: victories at the *Lykaia* in honour of Zeus Lykaios on Mt. Lykaion in

158. *I. Lindos* 68.9: Πύθια ἐν Σικυῶνι ἄρματι πολυκῶν, συνωρίδι τελεία, κέλητι.

159. See also *SEG* 11 338 (= Moretti, *IAG* no. 35), a third-century catalogue of victories attesting the *diaulos* and the *hoplites* at Sikyon.

160. “the lofty cities of the Achaeans” (transl. Race 1997b).

161. Kramer 1970: 50. Other festivals are referred to by scholiasts: *Heraia* (Schol. Ar. *Av.* 1421); *Hermaia* (Schol. Ar. *Av.* 1421; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9.116c); *Dia* (Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 9.82a). See also Ringwood 1927: 99.

162. Simon. fr. 514 (Campbell).

163. See also nn. 348–49 on p. 62 below.

Parrhasia are referred to at *Ol.* 7.83 in honour of the boxer Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos;¹⁶⁴ at *Ol.* 9.95–96 in honour of the wrestler Epharmostos of Opous;¹⁶⁵ and at *Ol.* 13.108 in honour of the Corinthian sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon there is a reference to victories at the *Lykaia* by members of Xenophon's extended family, the *Oligaitheidai*;¹⁶⁶ and, finally, *Nem.* 10.48 refers to one or, more probably, a number of victories at the *Lykaia* by ancestors of the honorand, the wrestler Theaios of Argos. These victories were presumably in foot-races and the heavy events, or, possibly, in the *pankration*.¹⁶⁷ The *Lykaia* is a reasonably well-known festival,¹⁶⁸ and we may add to Pindar's evidence that of a victory in the *stadion* by Nikolaidas of Corinth.¹⁶⁹ Three victories in the *Lykaia* by the fifth-century pankratiast Dorieus of Ialysos in Rhodos, son of Diagoras of Rhodos, are mentioned in *Syll.*³ 82, a statue base from Delphi dating to the 420s. Moreover, a victory in *pankration* may also be attested by *IG IV* 673, a fourth-century decree by the *polis* of Hermion honouring a successful athlete who had won *i.a.* at the *Lykaia*.¹⁷⁰ It is not clear in which discipline he had competed, but line 6 of the decree has been restored to the effect that the unknown athlete had won in the *pankration* at Poteidaia,¹⁷¹ and he was then probably a heavyweight. In addition, a victory catalogue of the mid-fourth century found in the

164. τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ | ἔργα (“[The bronze in Argos came to know him,] as did the works of art in Arkadia” (transl. Race 1997a)). On Pindar's wording here, see below p. 40.

165. τὰ δὲ Παρρασίῳ στρατῷ | θαυμαστός ἐὼν φάνη Ζητῆος ἄμφι πανάγυριν Λυκαίου (“Then too he made a marvelous appearance among the Parrhasian host at the festival of Lykaian Zeus” (transl. Race 1997a)).

166. ὅσα τ' Ἀρκάσιον ἀνάσσων | μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίου βωμὸς ἄναξ (“and all those whose witness will be the Lykaian god's royal altar that rules over the Arcadians” (transl. Race 1997a)). On the *Oligaitheidai*, see Barrett 1978.

167. καὶ Λύκαιοι πῦρ Διὸς θῆκε δρόμῳ, σὸν ποδῶν χειρῶν τε νικάσαι σθένει (“and Lykaion set beside the racecourse of Zeus for men to win with strength of feet and hands” (transl. by Race 1997b)).

168. Ringwood 1927: 95–98; Kramer 1970: 30; Jost 1985: 267–68. See also Nielsen 2013a.

169. *Anth. Pal.* 13.13.19 = Ebert 1972a: no. 26.

170. *IG IV* 673.3: [νική]σαντα Λύ[καιοι ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ].

171. [Ποτι]δαίᾳ παγ[κράτιον].

theatre at Argos records a wrestling victory by one Prateas at the *Lykaia*,¹⁷² and another of c. 350–325, likewise from Argos, refers to one or more victories at the *Lykaia* by the runner Kleainetos.¹⁷³ A victory catalogue from Lindos of c. 300–290 records an equestrian victory at the *Lykaia* by Nikagoras of Rhodos.¹⁷⁴

From the hippodrome on Mt. Lykaion itself come two stelae with victory catalogues of the later fourth century produced by the organizers themselves, the city of Megalopolis or some incarnation of the Arkadian Confederacy.¹⁷⁵ The competitors were divided into *paides* and *andres*, and contests included various equestrian disciplines and *stadion*, *diaulos*, *dolichos*, *hoplitodromos*, *pentathlon*, *pankration*, wrestling, and boxing, a programme very much resembling the Olympics. In addition to Arkadians, the catalogues list victors from Akarnania, Argos, Athens, Elis, Kassandreia, Macedonia, Rhodos, Sparta, and Syracuse. Whereas these victors are all listed with their city-ethnic (e.g. Ἀργεῖος (“of Argos”), Συρακόσιος (“of Syracuse”) etc.), the numerous victors from Arkadia itself are listed with their regional ethnic Ἀρκάς (“of Arkadia”). This is probably a reflection of the fact that the cult of Zeus Lykaios was traditionally of central importance to Arkadian identity,¹⁷⁶ and this seems to be confirmed by Xenophon’s *Anabasis*: at 1.2.10 Xenophon reports that Cyrus stopped his march for three days during which Xenias, an Arkadian from Parrhasia where the cult of Zeus Lykaios was situated, celebrated the *Lykaia*, a gesture which should probably be interpreted as a concession to Xenias himself or to the Arkadians among the mercenaries of Cyrus.¹⁷⁷ These, it has been calculated, constituted the largest single component of Cyrus’ army, some 4,000 hoplites,¹⁷⁸ and they displayed, to a remarkable degree, their sense of ethnic community.¹⁷⁹ This close connection between the *Lykaia* and Arka-

172. *SEG* 17 150 (date: Amandry 1980: 220).

173. Charneux 1985: 357–58. See also Ebert 1986; *SEG* 35 267; *CEG* II 814.

174. *I. Lindos* 68.

175. *IG* V.2 549–50.

176. Nielsen 2002: 61–62, 148–52; Pretzler 2009: 93.

177. Nielsen 2002: 149–50.

178. Roy 1967: 308–9; see also Nielsen 2002: 61–62, 148–52; Pretzler 2009: 93–94.

179. Roy 1972: esp. 134–35.

dian identity may be the reason why Pindar at *Ol.* 7.83 can identify the *Lykaia* simply by the vague $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau' \ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \text{\AA}\rho\kappa\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ |\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$:¹⁸⁰ the *Lykaia* were the Arkadian agonistic festival. The *Lykaia*, then, comprised a varied athletic and equestrian programme and attracted foreign competitors.

The *Lykaia* were not, however, the *only* Arkadian agonistic festival. At *Nem.* 10.47 in honour of the wrestler Theaios of Argos, Pindar refers to one or more victories at Kleitor by ancestors of the honoree, Theaios of Argos, presumably at the *Korisia* in honour of Athena.¹⁸¹ Post-Classical inscriptions attest contests in boxing and the *dolichos* for this festival,¹⁸² while equestrian competitions in the Classical period have been suggested on the basis of coin types.¹⁸³ Pindar's evidence demonstrates that in the fifth century, or perhaps already in the sixth, non-Kleitorians could enter the competitions. Also at *Nem.* 10.47 is a reference to a triumph at Tegea, presumably at the *Aleiaia*¹⁸⁴ in honour of Athena Alea. A third-century victory catalogue from Tegea itself demonstrates that in this period competitors were divided into *paides* and *andres* and that the contests included one in the *dolichos*.¹⁸⁵ That running competitions were staged already in the fifth century is demonstrated by the victory in the *stadion* achieved at Tegea by Nikolaidas of Corinth,¹⁸⁶ but apart from that, the Classical programme is unknown;¹⁸⁷ however, the competitions at the *Aleiaia* could be entered by non-Tegeatans.

8. *Lakedaimon*. At *Nem.* 10.49–53 in honour of the wrestler Theaios of Argos, Pindar refers to a visit by the *Dioskouroi* to an ancestor –

180. “the works of art in Arkadia” (transl. Race 1997a). Two scholia explicitly interpret this phrase as a reference to the *Lykaia*: 153b, 153d.

181. Kramer 1970: 40; Jost 1985: 42.

182. *IG* VII 47; *BCH* 10 (1886) 83–84.

183. Jost 1985: 388.

184. On which see Kramer 1970: 57; Jost 1985: 374; Larmour 1999: 187 no. 57.

185. *SEG* 59 411 (Augustan) demonstrates the existence of wrestling for boys and men and *pankration* for *ageneioi* at this date.

186. *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 = Ebert 1972a: no. 26; admittedly, $\text{\text{Τεγέα}}$ in verse 9 is an emendation of the transmitted $\text{\text{Νεμέα}}$ which is, however, impossible, since Nemea is already mentioned in verse 7; the emendation seems certain and is commonly accepted.

187. See also *IG* V.2 113 of the early fifth century: it records a grant of *proedria*, presumably at the *Aleiaia*.

Pamphaes – of the honorand. In the immediately preceding section of the ode Pindar has sung of victories by ancestors of Theaios at *e.g.* Sikyon, Pellene, Kleitor and Tegea; he now says οὐ θαῦμα σφίσιον | ἐγγενὲς ἔμμεν ἀεθληταῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν,¹⁸⁸ and goes on to point out that the *Dioskouroi* preside with Herakles and Hermes over *agones* at Sparta. This must be interpreted as a reference to agonistic contests at Sparta,¹⁸⁹ though these cannot be identified.¹⁹⁰ It is not explicitly said that members of Theaios’ family had been victorious at Sparta, but the general drift of this section of the ode in fact suggests as much; *if* so, this passage testifies to contests at Sparta which could be entered by non-Spartans and that, of course, would be interesting in the light of Sparta’s general (but perhaps exaggerated) reputation for xenophobia.¹⁹¹

g. Argolis. Five epinician odes refer to victories at Argos, presumably at the festival of the *Hekatomboia* in honour of Hera:¹⁹² At *Ol.* 7.83 in honour of the boxer Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos is listed one or more victories by the honorand at Argos.¹⁹³ At *Ol.* 9.88 in honour of the wrestler Epharmostos of Opeus is listed a victory by the honorand at Argos in, presumably, men’s wrestling. At *Ol.* 13.107 in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon of Corinth is a vague reference to earlier victories at Argos by members of Xenophon’s

188. “no wonder that they have inborn ability to be good athletes” (transl. Race 1997b).

189. See also section 1.3.3 (8) below (63–65).

190. Kramer 1970: 56.

191. On the Spartan institution of *xenelasia*, see Michell 1964: 152–54 and Gray 2007: 182–83 on Xen. *Lac.* 14.4; see also Cartledge 1987: 50, 243–44; Hodkinson 2000: 337 (“Sparta’s reputation for the practice of *xenelasia* (the expulsion of foreigners) did not entail the permanent absence of foreigners from the polis.”). On *xenelasiai* at Sparta, see also Rebenich 1998 and Figueira 2003. Note that *xenelasia* is attested also for Apollonia by Ael. *VH* 13.15.

192. On the *Hekatomboia*, see Nilsson 1906: 42–45; Ringwood 1927: 67–69; Kramer 1970: 29; and Amandry 1980. The Heraion was prior to the 460s a “confederate sanctuary for all the communities of the Argive Plain” and came under the exclusive control of Argos only when this city had destroyed Mykenai in the 460s (Hall 1995: 613).

193. ὄ τ’ ἐν Ἄργει χαλκὸς ἔγνω νῖν (“The bronze in Argos came to know him” (transl. Race 1997a)).

extended family, the *Oligaitheidai*. At Bacchylides 10.32 in honour of an Athenian runner is a reference to one or more victories at Argos by the honorand, and a victory in the *dolichos* is attested for Theogenes of Thasos by a fourth-century inscription from Delphi.¹⁹⁴ Pindar's *Nemean 10* does not, in fact, celebrate a Nemean victory but was composed in honour of the wrestler Theaios of Argos who twice won at the *Hekatombia*, presumably in wrestling; contests in wrestling are attested for the fourth century when Prateas of Argos was victorious;¹⁹⁵ and contests in *pankration* are attested for the fifth century by three victories in the *Hekatombia* by the pankratiast Dorieus of Ialysos in Rhodos, son of Diagoras of Rhodos, by *Syll.*³ 82, a statue base from Delphi dating to the 420s. Foot-races in the fourth century are attested by an inscription of 350–325 from Argos itself.¹⁹⁶

This evidence attests to a festival with a varied athletic programme and admitting foreign entrants. Also of great interest in this connection is the preservation of five bronze artefacts of the fifth century which had served as prizes at the games: three hydriae, one lebes and a tripod.¹⁹⁷ They are all inscribed with variations of the formula *παρ' Ἡέρας Ἀργείας ἐμὶ τῶν χαφέθλων*.¹⁹⁸ Of the three hydriae, one was found in a grave at Sinope,¹⁹⁹ and one in a grave near Athens;²⁰⁰ the tripod was found in a royal tomb at Vergina in Macedonia,²⁰¹ whereas the lebes was also found in a grave at Athens.²⁰² The provenances of these finds, then, can reasonably be taken as a confirmation that the *Hekatombia* attracted competitors from outside of Argos.²⁰³

194. Ebert 1972a: no. 37.12–14 (= *Syll.*³ 36A), c. 370–365.

195. *SEG* 17 150 with Amandry 1980: 220.

196. Charneux 1985: 357–58. See also Ebert 1986; *SEG* 35 267; *CEG* II 814.

197. Amandry 1971: 615.III; Amandry 1980: 211–13.

198. “I am <one of> the prizes from <the festival of> Hera Argeia”.

199. Amandry 1971: 615.III.A; see also *SEG* 30 1456.

200. Amandry 1971: 615.III.C.

201. Amandry 1980: 212 n. 7. The Macedonian royal house, of course, claimed descent from Argos (Hdt. 5.22); see also Borza 1982; Andronicos 1993: 165–66: “[T]he possibility that the victor who carried off the trophy was a Macedonian king is quite strong”; Kyle 2007: 232.

202. Amandry 1980: 213.

203. A fourth prize hydria, of 460–450, has turned up at Pompeii (Lazzarini & Zevi

Argos probably actively promoted the international profile of the *Hekatomboia* by announcing the festival throughout most of the Greek world. In the later fourth century, at least, the area throughout which Argos announced the festival for Hera becomes partially visible on the basis of a handful of randomly preserved inscriptions which record *theorodokoi* for Hera in various places. The area visited by *theoroi* from Argos included at least the Adriatic, Epeiros, Akarnania and adjacent islands, Megaris, a large part of the Peloponnese, Athens, islands in the Aegean, Thrace, Propontis, Troas, Aiolis, Ionia, Karia, Rhodos and the area of Kyrene.²⁰⁴

Contests at Epidauros are referred to in three Pindaric odes. It is not certain that the festival in question was named *Asklepieia* in Pindar's day,²⁰⁵ but that was clearly its name by the 420s.²⁰⁶ *Nem.* 3.84 in honour of the pankratiast Aristokleides of Aigina refers to a victory at Epidauros by the honorand;²⁰⁷ *Nem.* 5.52 refers to the sixth century and is discussed below (89); *Isthm.* 8.68 in honour of the boy (or *ageneios*) pankratiast Kleandros of Aigina refers to a previous victory by the honorand at Epidauros.²⁰⁸ In addition, four victories in *pan-*

1989; see *SEG* 39 1061). It may perhaps be assumed that the prize had been won by an athlete from Magna Graecia and originally made its way to Italy with the victor.

204. The details are as follows (references are to the Epigraphic Catalogue in Perlman 2000): *The Adriatic*: Apollonia: A.1; *Epeiros*, in addition to queen Kleopatra (A.1): Phoinike: A.1; *Akarnania*: Alyzeia: A.1; Ambrakia: A.1; Anaktorion: A.1; Argos: A.1; Kephallenia (A.1) though exactly where is not known; Korkyra: A.1; Leukas: A.1; Medion: A.1; Palairos: A.1; Thyrraeon: A.1; Torybeia: A.1; *Megaris*: Megara: A.5; in the *Peloponnese* (A.1) more than the following, in *Arkadia*: Alea: A.1; Kleitor: A.1; Pallantion: A.2-3; Pheneos: A.1; Stymphalos: A.1; Thisoa (Goester *et al.* 2007: 200-2); in *Messenia*: Messene: A.6; in *Argolis*: Epidauros: A.7; *Attika*: Athens: A.4; *The Aegean*: Andros: A.1; Thasos: A.1; *Thrace* (A.9); *Propontis*: Kios: A.1; Lampsakos: A.8; Miletouteichos: A.1; Myrleia: A.1; *Troas*: Tenedos: A.1; *Aiolis*: Kyme: A.1; *Ionia*: Chios: A.1; Ephesos: A.1; Erythrai: A.1; Klazomenai: A.1; Lebedos: A.1; Magnesia: A.1; Miletos: A.1; Naulochon: A.1; Notion: A.1; Pygela: A.1; Teos: A.1; *Karia*: Iasos: A.1; *Rhodos*: Rhodos: A.14; and *Kyrenaia* (A.1) though exactly where is not known.

205. Kramer 1970: 37.

206. *Syll.*³ 82.5: Ἀσκληπιεία. On the festival, see Ringwood 1927: 70-71; Sève 1993 and Miller 2004: 129-32.

207. Sève 1993: 327 no. 5.

208. Sève 1993: 328 no. 23.

kraton at Epidauros by Dorieus of Rhodos²⁰⁹ are recorded in *Syll.*³ 82, a statue base from Delphi dating to the 420s. A victory in the *stadion* race at Epidauros is attested for the fifth-century sprinter Nikolaidas of Corinth,²¹⁰ and victories in the *stadion* and the hoplite race seem to be attested for the fourth-century runner Kleainetos of Argos.²¹¹ Equestrian competitions are implied for Epidauros by a *horos* inscribed: [ῥ]οϛ τῶ ἱπ[ι]οδρομ[ο] and dating to the late fifth or early fourth century.²¹² The festival at Epidauros, then, included competitions in various athletic and equestrian disciplines²¹³ which could be entered by non-Epidaurians.²¹⁴

In the middle of the fourth century Epidauros developed an extensive network of *epangelia* ('festival-announcing') to announce the festival far and wide; the extent of the network is partially known from a handful of inscriptions attesting to *theorodokoi* for the *theoroi* from Epidauros, and it appears that Epidauros announced the festival in at least 82 *poleis* throughout the Greek world from Sicily and Magna Graecia to Epeiros, Akarnania, Aitolia, Lokris, Phokis, Boiotia, the Isthmos, Argos, Athens, Thessalia, the Aegean, Macedonia, the Chalkidike, Thrace, the Chersonese, Propontis and even Cyprus.²¹⁵

10. *Aigina*. Several epinician odes refer to victories won in Aigina. Admittedly, it is not certain, though certainly a possibility, that *Isthm.* 8.64–65 refers to one or more victories won in Aigina: Pindar has just celebrated an Isthmian victory by the boxer Nikokles of

209. Sève 1993: 327 no. 14.

210. Ebert 1972a: no. 26.9; see also Maróti 1990. Nikolaidas is Sève 1993: 328 no. 25.

211. Charneux 1985. See also Ebert 1986; *SEG* 35 267; *CEG* II 814. Kleainetos is Sève 1993: 328 no. 22.

212. *IG* IV².1 153 ("boundary of the hippodrome"); see Sève 1993: 311–12.

213. In addition to *pankraton* and foot-races, boxing is attested for the sixth century and may be assumed for the Classical period; see section 1.3.4 (9) below (89) on Themistios of Aigina.

214. See also *IG* IV 673, a fourth-century honorific decree by Hermion in honour of a successful athlete who may have won at the *Asklepieia* (4: [καὶ] Ἀσκ<λ>ἄπε[τα ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ]). See also *IG* IV².1 51.12–14 (350–275), an honorary decree by Epidauros granting various privileges to a man of Lampsakos, included among which is *προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς δαμιο[σ]τοῖς*.

215. Perlman 2000: 67–97; Nielsen 2007b: 63–68.

Aigina, a deceased relative of the honorand, Kleandros of Aigina. He then goes on to say ἐπεὶ περικτίονας | ἐνίκασε δὴ ποτε καὶ κείνος ἄνδρας ἀφύκτα χερσὶ κλονέων.²¹⁶ Kramer interprets this to mean that Nikokles “also bei heimischen Spielen einen Kranz gewonnen habe”.²¹⁷ If this interpretation is accepted, the passage is evidence of a boxing contest in Aigina open to non-Aiginetans, though at which festival we cannot say. At *Ol.* 13.109 in honour of the Corinthian sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon is a reference to earlier victories at the *Aiakeia*²¹⁸ in Aigina by members of Xenophon’s extended family, the *Oligaihidai*. The *Aiakeia* were the most significant athletic festival in Aigina,²¹⁹ and unspecified victories were presumably won here; Bacchyl. 10.34–35 in honour of an Athenian runner refers to a former victory of the honorand on “the holy island of Aigina”,²²⁰ though at what festival is left unstated. At *Ol.* 7.86 in honour of the boxer Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos Pindar claims six earlier victories for his honorand in Aigina, again at an unspecified festival, while two victories in Aigina in unknown disciplines by Euthymenes of Aigina are recorded in *Nem.* 5.41 in honour of a relative of Euthymenes. These may all have been won at the *Aiakeia*, though a scholion connects Euthymenes with the *Delphinia* mentioned below.²²¹ The victory in the *stadion* race by the fifth-century sprinter Nikolaidas of Corinth was presumably won at the *Aiakeia*.²²²

At *Pyth.* 8.79 in honour of the boy wrestler Aristomenes of Aigina, Pindar records three victories by the honorand in Ἡρας ἀγῶν’ ἐπιχώριον,²²³ thus attesting to boxing competitions at a festival in

216. “since that man too in his day conquered the men who lived around him, by driving them back with his inescapable hand” (transl. Race 1997b).

217. Kramer 1970: 27; Neumann-Hartmann 2007: 135 also takes Nikokles to have been victorious “an lokalen Wettkämpfen”.

218. Kramer 1970: 27. On the Aiginetan cult of Aiakos and the *Aiakidai*, see Polinskaya 2013: 126–63.

219. Kramer 1970: 27.

220. ἱερὰν | νῆσον [Ἀἴγιον]αῖν.

221. Schol. in Pind. *Nem.* 5.81b.

222. *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 = Ebert 1972a: no. 26.9 with Maróti 1990. See also Ringwood 1927: 62.

223. “Hera’s local contest” (transl. Race 1997a).

honour of Hera in Aigina. A scholion claims that these *Heraia*²²⁴ were an imitation of the *Hekatomboia* at Argos,²²⁵ and if this is correct it probably included other contests than boxing; and entrants must have been divided into age-classes (boys and men?).²²⁶ The scholia, moreover, mention an athletic festival, the *Delphinia*,²²⁷ in honour of Apollo in Aigina;²²⁸ at *Nem.* 5.45 is, it seems, recorded a victory at this festival by the boy (or *ageneios*) honorand Pytheas of Aigina, a pankratiast: Pytheas' victory here makes it clear that entrants at this festival were divided into age-classes (boys or *ageneioi* and, presumably, men).²²⁹ The programme seems also to have included the *pentathlon*.²³⁰ In addition, a stadium of the Classical period is known in Aigina.²³¹ Aigina, in conclusion, staged several festivals with athletic competitions and at least the *Aiakeia* could be entered by non-Aiginetans.

11. *Attika*. Several epinician odes refer to competitions staged by the *polis* of Athens. No fewer than eight Pindaric odes refer to victories won at the *Panathenaia*: (1) *Ol.* 7.82 in honour of the boxer Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos lists one or more victories by the honorand “at rocky Athens”,²³² presumably at the *Panathenaia*;²³³ (2) *Ol.* 9.88 in honour of the wrestler Epharmostos of Opous lists a victory

224. Ringwood 1927: 61.

225. Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 8.113c: Ἡρας τ' ἀγῶν' ἐπιχώριον: ὡς καὶ ἐν Ἀργεῖν Ἡραίων ἀγομένων κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ ἐν Ἀργεῖ ἀγῶνος.

226. See, however, Polinskaya 2013: 122–23 who denies that the Pindaric reference is to a festival in Aigina and takes it to refer to the *Hekatomboia* at Argos, a perhaps somewhat forced interpretation of ἐπιχώριον. There is, however, no other evidence for a festival dedicated to Hera in Aigina.

227. Ringwood 1927: 61–62.

228. Kramer 1970: 27; for the cult of Apollo Delphinios in Aigina, see Polinskaya 2013: 219–25.

229. Pfeijffer 1998: 31.

230. Kramer 1970: 27 on *Pyth.* 8.65–66. *Pentathlon* is also claimed for this festival by Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 8.91; see also Polinskaya 2013: 221.

231. Krinzing 1968; see also Polinskaya 2013: 222.

232. κρῆναϊς ἐν Ἀθήναις.

233. On the *Panathenaia*, see Johnston 1987; Tracy 1991; Neils 1992a; Kyle 1993: 33–40; Parker 1996: 89–92; Parker 2005: 253–69; Miller 2004: 132–45; Palagia & Choremi-Spetsieri 2007.

by the honorand in the boys' class at Athens; (3) *Ol.* 13.38 in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon of Corinth refers to three victories won by Xenophon's father Thessalos, also a sprinter, at Athens at the same festival: at Delphi, Thessalos had won both the *stadion* and the *diaulos* and his Athenian feat, then, resembled his Pythian record, and it may well be that at Athens he won the two plain sprints as well as the hoplite race, attested by Panathenaic amphoras,²³⁴ as stated by Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 13.51d;²³⁵ Thessalos was also an Olympic victor, in *c.* 504,²³⁶ and so his Panathenaic victories may belong to the late sixth century; (4) *Nem.* 2.23 in honour of the Athenian pankratiast Timodemos claims victories "beyond number" (μάσσον' ἀριθμοῦ) "at home" (οἴκοι) for Timodemos' family;²³⁷ (5) *Nem.* 4.18 in honour of the boy wrestler Timasarchos of Aigina refers to an earlier triumph by the honorand at Athens; (6) *Nem.* 10.34 in honour of the wrestler Theaios of Argos refers to two prior victories by the honorand at Athens; (7) *Isthm.* 2.20 in honour of the equestrian victor Xenokrates of Akragas refers to an earlier victory at Athens; and finally, (8) *Isthm.* 4.43 in honour of a Theban refers to a presumably equestrian victory at Athens by an ancestor of the honorand. So, the epinician evidence alone depicts the *Panathenaia* as a festival with a rich athletic and equestrian programme attracting competitors from as far away as Sicily.

To this evidence we may add: that of the victory in the *pentathlon* by the fifth-century athlete Nikolaidas of Corinth;²³⁸ that of *SEG II* 257 (500–450) from Sikyon, a catalogue of victories by a successful athlete,²³⁹ listing [Α]θάν[ασι] at line 7, thus probably attesting to a Sikyonian victor at the *Panathenaia*; that of four victories in the *pankration* by the fifth-century athlete Dorieus of Rhodos attested by *Syll.*³ 82. Moreover, and somewhat unusually, we may have evidence of a participant who was not victorious: Plutarch at *Perikles* 36.3 re-

234. *E.g.* Bentz 1998: Cat. no. 6.011 of 550–540. See also Brandt 1978: 20.

235. τρία δὲ ἔργα εἶπε δίαυλον καὶ ὀπλιτικὸν δρόμον καὶ στάδιον.

236. Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 154.

237. Kyle 1993: 46 suggests that *Nem.* 2.23 may refer to Athenian contests in honour of Zeus (the *Olympieia*).

238. *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 = Ebert 1972a no. 26 with Maróti 1990.

239. Moretti, *IAG* ad no. 12.

lates how Perikles discussed with the philosopher Protagoras the death of a pentathlete, Epitimos of Pharsalos, who was accidentally hit by a spear during a contest, and it has been suggested, not unreasonably, that this accident occurred at the *Panathenaia*.²⁴⁰

For the fourth century, *SEG* 17 150 (c. 350²⁴¹) attests to a wrestling victory by Prateas of Argos. An inscription of c. 380, which lists the prizes given to Panathenaic victors,²⁴² confirms the impression of a rich and varied programme, attesting to several equestrian events and to a large athletic programme including e.g. the *stadion*, the *pentathlon*, wrestling, boxing and *pankration*.²⁴³ The inscription is fragmentary and the prizes for the men's class²⁴⁴ are lost, but the preserved sections show that below the men's class competitors were subdivided into *ageneioi* ('beardless') and *paides* ('boys'). For equestrian and athletic victors, as well as for second places, prizes consisted in varying numbers of the famous Panathenaic amphoras containing olive oil from Athena's sacred trees.²⁴⁵ Such amphoras have been found practically all over the Greek world: those of the fifth and fourth centuries catalogued by Bentz (1998) originate from e.g. Aigina, Akanthos, Amphipolis, Athens, Barke, Corinth, Delphi, Dion, Eretria, Gela, Isthmia, Iasos, Istros, Kenchreai, Kition, Knidos, Italian Kyme, Kyrene, Lindos, Lokroi Epizephyrioi, Mykonos, Naukratis, Olympia, Olynthos, Oropos, Pantikapaion, Paphos,

240. Stadter 1989: 328; Stamatopoulou 2007b: 220. The participation of an athlete from Larisa in Thessalia has been assumed as well: Stamatopoulou 2007b: 335–36.

241. Amandry 1980: 220.

242. *IG* II² 2311.

243. Long-distance running (*dolichos*) is attested for the festival by Panathenaic amphoras, e.g. Bentz 1998: Cat. no. 5.011. For a useful table setting out the evidence for the athletic programme of the *Panathenaia*, see Shear 2003: 106–7.

244. *IG* II² 2312 (c. 400–350) may be a fragmentary list of victors at the *Panathenaia*; it attests to men's *dioulos* at line 9; the prior entries list men with at least six different city-ethnics, but none of them is completely preserved; however, this is testimony to the international appeal of the festival to which the inscription refers. Suggested restorations of the fragmentary city-ethnics include: [Αθη]ναῖος (2); [Ερυθ]ραῖος (4); [Τροζ]ήνιος (5); [Ζακ]ύνθιος (6).

245. On Panathenaic amphoras, see Bentz 1998. A basic introduction is provided by Frel 1973. See also Johnston 1987; Pinney 1988; Boardman 1991: 167–77; Miller 2004: 132–45; Tyrrell 2004: 144–56.

Pella, Poteidaia, Praisos, Rhodos, Salamis on Cyprus, Samos, Stryme, Syracuse, Taras, Thasos, and Thebes; and to these we may now add Arkadian Asea.²⁴⁶ However, since the amphoras and the oil they contained may well have been traded by the victors,²⁴⁷ we cannot simply assume that these amphoras are necessarily evidence of competitors *from these areas*, though, as the epigraphic and literary evidence suggests, it is likely enough that the *Panathenaia* attracted many non-Athenian competitors – and so the geographical distribution of the recovered amphoras may only in a very general way be taken as confirmation of the international appeal of the *Panathenaia*. Even amphoras found in graves cannot automatically be taken as evidence that the deceased was a Panathenaic victor, as Bentz has demonstrated convincingly.²⁴⁸ However, Panathenaic amphoras found *in sanctuaries* may reasonably be interpreted as dedications by victorious athletes.²⁴⁹ In a few cases, this interpretation is confirmed by dedicatory inscriptions; thus, a fourth-century amphora from the sanctuary of Zeus Megistos at Labraunda in Karia is inscribed: [Καλλ]ικληῆς Καλ[λι]κλείου[ς] Ἡρακλεώ[της] νικη[σα]ς ἄνδρας [στάδιον Δ]ι²⁵⁰ and attests to a victory at the *Panathenaia* by a citizen of Herakleia on Latmos.²⁵¹ Another, from the sanctuary at Eleusis in Attika itself, has a dedicatory inscription of which the ethnic Ἀθηναῖ[ος] (“of Athens”) survives alongside a mention of the discipline in which the victory was won: the long-distance race (δῶλιχ[ον] (*sic*)).²⁵² A third, from a sacred building at Poteidaia, is inscribed: Ἀριστόβουλος Εὐβουλίδου [ἄρ]ματι [-],²⁵³ thus attesting to an equestrian victory by a citizen of Poteidaia. Bentz (1998: 103) lists fifth-

246. Forsén 2008: 120.

247. Neils 1992b: 49.

248. Bentz 1998: 95–102.

249. Bentz 1998: 103–6; see also Polinskaya 2013: 225.

250. “[Kall]ikles, son of Kal[li]kles, from Heraklei[a] <set this up> to [Z]eus hav[ing won] on the men’s [stadium]”.

251. *BE* 1966: no. 420; Bentz 1998: no. 4.356.

252. Frel & Metaxa-Prokopiou 1972; Bentz 1998: no. 4.327.

253. *SEG* 45 801 (“Aristoboulos, son of Euboulides, [having won] with his chariot ---”); Bentz 1998: no. 4.136.

century amphoras from sanctuaries at Aigina,²⁵⁴ Corinth,²⁵⁵ Delphi,²⁵⁶ Kyrene, Naukratis, Olympia, Pantikapaion, Samos, Syracuse and Thebes. Fourth-century amphoras found in sanctuaries come from Amphanai, Amphipolis, Corinth, Delphi, Iasos, Labraunda, Lindos, Olympia, Oropos and Thebes in Boiotia, Paphos, Poteidaia and Samos. To these Asea in Arkadia may be added.²⁵⁷ The evidence of these amphoras thus confirms that the catchment area of the *Panathenaia* was quite wide in the Classical period.

However, the *Panathenaia* are not the only Athenian festival referred to in Pindaric odes: *Ol.* 9.89 in honour of the wrestler Epharmentos of Opous refers to an earlier victory by the honorand in the men's class at Marathon, that is, presumably,²⁵⁸ at the *Herakleia* celebrated there;²⁵⁹ it appears from the ode that contestants were divided into *paides*, *ageneioi*, and *andres* at the *Herakleia*.²⁶⁰ *Ol.* 13.110 in honour of the Corinthian sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon refers to one or more earlier victories at Marathon by members of Xenophon's extended family, the *Oligaitheidai*, and at *Pyth.* 8.79 in honour of the boy wrestler Aristomenes of Aigina there is a reference to an earlier triumph at Marathon. The *Herakleia*, clearly, could be entered by non-Athenians and probably comprised several disciplines.²⁶¹

254. Bentz 1998: no. 5.202.

255. Bentz 1998: nos. 5.020; 5.370.

256. Bentz 1998: no. 5.119.

257. Forsén 2008: 120.

258. Robertson 1985: 242 suggests that some of the victories said to be won at Marathon may have been won at contests in honour of Athena Hellotis at Marathon.

259. On the *Herakleia*, see Deubner 1956: 227; Parker 1996: 97 n. 124 and 2005: 473; Jung 2006: 28–38.

260. Gerber 2002: 61.

261. See also the early fifth-century inscription published and discussed by Vanderpool 1942: 333–37 (see also Vanderpool 1984) = *IG I³* 3 with τὸν ἀγῶνα at line 4. See also Amandry 1971: 602–25, suggesting that three fifth-century bronzes cauldrons were given as prizes at these games which after the Battle of Marathon presumably developed also into an *agon* in honour of the Athenian battle casualties; they are inscribed: Ἀθηναῖοι ἄθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμοι and are now *IG I³* 523–25. See also *SEG* 28 26 and *SEG* 39 631 and below (67–68).

Victories at the *Eleusinia*²⁶² at Eleusis in honour of Demeter and Kore are also catalogued by Pindar: at *Ol.* 9.99 in honour of the wrestler Epharmostos of Opous is a reference to an earlier victory by the honorand at Eleusis; *Ol.* 13.110 in honour of the Corinthian sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon refers to one or more earlier victories at Eleusis by members of Xenophon's extended family, the *Oligaitidai*; at *Isthm.* 1.57 in honour of the equestrian victor Herodotos of Thebes there is a reference to an earlier victory at Eleusis by the honorand. Kyle lists three Athenian victors in the *Eleusinia*:²⁶³ Epainetos (jump or pentathlon, c. 580–570),²⁶⁴ Kydeides (wrestling, c. 400–350)²⁶⁵ and [-]los (*synoris*, prior to 350).²⁶⁶ The *Eleusinia*, then, comprised both equestrian and athletic competitions which admitted non-Athenian competitors, and may be traced back to the sixth century.

12. *Euboia*. Three epinician odes refer to victories won on Euboia: Bacchyl. 10.34²⁶⁷ in honour of an Athenian runner; Pind. *Ol.* 13.112 in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon of Corinth refers to former victories on Euboia²⁶⁸ by members of Xenophon's extended family, the *Oligaitidai*; and *Isthm.* 1.57 in honour of the equestrian victor Herodotos of Thebes refers to one or more former victories by the honorand on Euboia.²⁶⁹ These references are presumably to the *Artemisia*²⁷⁰ of Eretria, which if so included both athletic and equestrian events that could be entered by non-Eretrians.

13. *East Lokris*. At *Ol.* 9.112 in honour of the wrestler Epharmostos of Opous Pindar says: Αἴαν, τεόν τ' ἐν δαιτί, Ἰλιάδα, νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε βωμόν.²⁷¹ The Lesser Aias, son of Oilcus, was a major

262. On the *Eleusinia*: Deubner 1956: 91–92; Kyle 1993: 47; Parker 2005: 468–69; Simms 1975; Clinton 1979.

263. Kyle 1993: Appendix B.

264. *IG* I³988.

265. *IG* II^a3124.

266. *IG* II^a3126.

267. ἀμφὶ Εὐβοίαν.

268. ἃ Εὐβοία.

269. Εὐβοίαν ἐν γναμπτοῖς δρόμοις.

270. Ringwood 1929: 386–88; Kramer 1970: 38; Cairns 1983: n. 21; Larmour 1999: 178 no. 18; Walker 2004: 34. The Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13.159b refers to festivals at Geraistos in the territory of Karystos and at Amarynthos in the territory of Eretria as well.

271. "... and at your feast, Aias, son of Ileus, the victor has placed a crown upon your

heroic figure at Opous, the home-town of the honorand,²⁷² and a festival, the *Aianteia*, in his honour is mentioned by the scholia on the passage;²⁷³ at least by the Hellenistic period, this festival included athletic events,²⁷⁴ but details are lacking for the late Archaic and Classical periods. The scholiasts clearly understood Pindar to be referring to a victory by Epharmostos at the *Aianteia*.²⁷⁵ This interpretation may well be correct, in which case the competitions did include wrestling in the fifth century.

It is, however, not entirely clear exactly what is meant by νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε, the latter verb being a Pindaric *hapax*. Gerber interprets it in a rather literal sense, citing the translation by Race: “the victor has placed a crown upon [your altar]”, and adding: “Epharmostos has literally placed his crown upon the altar of Ajax, *i.e.* dedicated it to Ajax.”²⁷⁶ This is probably correct; admittedly, forms of the simplex στεφανῶω (‘crown’) are not infrequently employed metaphorically to express the fact that a victor’s glory reflects on his fatherland or his family, as in *e.g.* this Simonidean epigram: Γνῶθι Θεόγγητον προσιδὼν τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ... ὃς πατέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐστεφάνωσε πόλιν.²⁷⁷ In such cases, however, the object which is ‘crowned’ is invariably a personal group and not a physical object as here, where the reference is to an *altar*. Thus, Epharmostos probably *is* thought of here as placing a wreath on the altar of Aias. But *which* wreath? Panhellenic victors are often thought to have dedicated

altar” (transl. Race 1997a).

272. Gerber 2002: 70.

273. 166a, 166b, 167.

274. *IG* IV².1 629.7–8, attesting to the *diaulos*.

275. 166a: Αἰάντειον βωμὸν ἔστεφε νικῶν ἐν δαιτὶ, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι, τοῦ Οἰλέως παιδός: ... ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐν Ὀποῦντι Αἰάντεια νενικηκότος καὶ ἐστεφανωκότος τὸν Αἴαντος βωμὸν – 166b: τὰ Αἰάντεια ἐν Ὀποῦντι ἄγεται· ἃ νικήσας ἐστεφάνωσε τὸν Αἰάντειον βωμὸν ἐν πανηγύρει. – 167: ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αἴαντος τοῦ Οἰλέως παιδός πανηγύρει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπωνύμῳ αὐτοῦ ἀγῶνι νικήσας θυσίαις καὶ στέμμασι τὸν Αἰάντειον βωμὸν ἐκόσμησεν.

276. Gerber 2002: 69.

277. Ebert 1972a: no. 12 (500–450) = Page, *FGE* no. 30 (“Beware that you are looking at Theognetos, the Olympic victor ... who crowned the city of great ancestors”). See also [Dem.] 58.66; Theotimus (*FGrHist* 370) fr. 1; and Ebert 1972a: nos. 7, 35, 39; and below in section 1.6 (162–163) and 2.6 n. 234 on p. 210.

their prize wreaths in sanctuaries in their native *polis*,²⁷⁸ and if the wreath here dedicated to Aias is taken to be the Olympic wreath celebrated by the ode,²⁷⁹ then the interpretation offered by the scholia cannot be maintained, since νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε will then mean “he, being an Olympic victor, has placed his Olympic crown on your altar”. However, Neumann-Hartmann (2009) has demonstrated that the assumption that Panhellenic victors dedicated their wreaths at home in fact rests on no solid foundation at all and that it is completely unclear what wreath Pindar is referring to in this ode: it could be a wreath won at the *Aianteia*²⁸⁰ or another ‘unathletic’ wreath. The interpretation offered by the scholia, then, should probably be accepted though certainty is unattainable.

14. *Thessalia and adjacent areas.* Two epinician odes refer to equestrian competitions in Thessalia: Bacchyl. 14 was composed in honour of Kleoptolemos of Thessalia for a victory in the *Petraia*²⁸¹ in honour of Poseidon Petraios at an unknown site in the Tempe valley in Thessalia; Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 4.246b claims that the festival commemorated the ‘birth’ of the first horse that sprang forth from a rock; the competitions, accordingly, may have included only equestrian events.²⁸² Pind. *Isthm.* 1.59 in honour of the equestrian victor Herodotos of Thebes refers to a victory by the honorand at the sanctuary of Protesilaos at Phylake in Achaia Phthiotis;²⁸³ the competition, then, admitted outside competitors, but no further details are known. Kramer, however, argues that since Protesilaos was

278. See e.g. Kyriakou 2007: 141, 148 and Neumann-Hartmann 2009: 1 n. 3.

279. So Miller 1993: 146.

280. Neumann-Hartmann 2009: 9.

281. Ringwood 1927: 19; Kramer 1970: 61; and Stamatopoulou 2007a: 333.

282. So also Maehler 1982: 294, commenting on *equestre certamen* in Servius on Virg. *Georg.* 1.12.

283. Ringwood 1927: 15; Kramer 1970: 51; Larmour 1999: 190 no. 8; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 333–34. Stamatopoulou connects the inscription discussed below (71) with this festival, which is possible; however, I follow Helly 1995: 137–38 in assigning the inscription to Malis. Moreover, I take the reference by Paus. 6.11.5, connected with Phylake by Stamatopoulou, to refer to an otherwise unknown contest in honour of Achilles, not Protesilaos (below 70–71); certainty in these matters, however, is hardly possible.

famed as a *diskobolos*, athletic contests were held as well, which is not impossible.²⁸⁴

15. *Rhodos*. At *Ol.* 7.77–80 in honour of the boxer Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos itself, Pindar mentions two victories by the honorand at the *Tlapolemeia*,²⁸⁵ competitions in honour of the mythical hero Tlepolemos, son of Herakles; the competitions, then, included boxing; the *stadion* is attested for the Hellenistic period,²⁸⁶ but further details are lacking except for the probability that competitors were divided into *andres* and *paides*.²⁸⁷

16. *Libya*. At *Pyth.* 5.80, celebrating an equestrian victory by King Arkesilas of Kyrene, is a reference to a festival, *Karneia*, at Kyrene in honour of Apollo; the ode itself does not refer to competitions at this festival, but on the analogy of homonymous festivals, such as that of Sparta (below 65), their existence may be tentatively assumed.²⁸⁸ At *Pyth.* 9.97–103 in honour of the runner Telesikrates of Kyrene, Pindar refers to former victories by the honorand at, apparently, a multitude of local contests,²⁸⁹ of which festivals in honour of Pallas Athena, Zeus Olympios and Gaia are singled out.²⁹⁰ Details are lacking, but victories by the runner Telesikrates indicate the existence of foot-races.

Thus, the evidence of epinician poetry alone attests to more than 35 agonistic festivals staged by a multitude of different *poleis* in various geographical areas across the Greek world, from Kyrene to Rhodes, to Thessalia, to Boiotia, to Attika and the Peloponnese; and some *poleis*, e.g. Aigina, Athens,²⁹¹ and Kyrene, were home to several ath-

284. Kramer 1970: 51.

285. Kramer 1970: 53.

286. *Syll.*³ 1067.8.

287. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.147c: ἀγωνίζονται δὲ παῖδες καὶ ἄνδρες (“boys and men compete”).

288. Kramer 1970: 42.

289. πᾶσιν ἐπιχωρίοις (103).

290. Kramer 1970: 42; Instone 1996: 138 *ad* 97–103. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 5.10a refers to splendidly celebrated Διοσκούρεια at Kyrene.

291. The number of agonistic competitions in Classical Athens was probably the greatest put on by any Greek *polis*, see Kyle 1993: 32 nn. 1–2; Pritchard 2009: 212–13 with refs.; and section I.5.1 below (no. 78).

letic festivals – all outside the great *periodos*. In more than twenty cases the evidence allows the important conclusion that the *polis* in charge of a festival admitted citizens of other *poleis* to enter the contests, and in eight cases the sparse evidence demonstrates that the competitive programme was rich and varied. Moreover, victory at some of these festivals was – at least to the victor – prestigious enough to prompt commission of an epinician ode by a famous master: thus, Bacchylides 14 celebrates a victory won at the *Petraia*, a festival in honour of Poseidon somewhere in Thessalia;²⁹² and Pindar's *Nemean 9* celebrates a victory in the *Pythia* at Sikyon,²⁹³ while *Nemean 10* celebrates one won at the *Hekatomboia* at Argos,²⁹⁴ and *Pythian 2* one won in Thebes or in Syracuse;²⁹⁵ even a victory at Achaian Pellene was celebrated by an epinician ode composed by Simonides.²⁹⁶

1.3.3 Other Contests of the Late Archaic – Classical Periods

The evidence of epinician poetry, then, is extremely valuable in the present context. For various reasons, however, the picture it provides of the athletic landscape of Greece can be only a vague glimpse. One problem is that it covers only the period from the middle of the sixth century, when the epinician ode emerges, to the middle of the fifth century, when it disappears again.²⁹⁷ Athletic festivals founded only after the heyday of epinician poetry cannot, of course, be reflected in it. Another problem is that epinician poetry, obscure as it often is, does not always allow an indisputable interpretation, as shown by *e.g.* the discussion of the *Aianteia* at Opous (above 52–53); and fragments, of course, are even harder to interpret, as is clear from the discussion of Simon. fr. 506 (Campbell). In addition, for the identification of several festivals referred to in a

292. Jebb 1905b: 217; Maehler 1982: 294.

293. Bury 1890: 159.

294. Bury 1890: 186.

295. Above 32.

296. See also section 2.3 below (174–177).

297. Hodkinson 2000: 317.

general way by the epinician poets, we depend on the scholia, whose reliability is hard to assess. These latter difficulties, however, probably do not seriously distort the overall picture of the athletic landscape of the late sixth to mid-fifth centuries provided by epinician poetry.

A much more serious problem is the fact that the evidence provided by epinician poetry is essentially *prosopographic* in nature, since it testifies only to festivals at which commissioners of epinician poetry had been victorious. Such commissioners, however, surely belonged to a very select circle of upper-strata, internationally well-connected and politically and economically powerful families,²⁹⁸ including as they do the Alkmaionid Megakles of Athens, a king of Kyrene, the great Sicilian tyrants, their families and entourages, as well as such figures as Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos whose influential family (the *Diagoreioi*) has been well sketched by Hornblower.²⁹⁹ Even among the members of such families, however, commission of an epinician ode was not obligatory practice, and certain areas of the Greek world seem on present evidence not to have commissioned such odes, among which *e.g.* Cyprus, Ionian Asia Minor, Crete, Euboea,³⁰⁰ Arkadia,³⁰¹ and Sparta are conspicuous,³⁰² only two hypothetical epinicians honouring Lakedaimonian athletes being

298. Miller 2000: 281–82; Hodkinson 2000: 303; Fisher 2009: 536; Bowie 2012.

299. Hornblower 2004: 134–43; see also Hornblower 2008: 52 and 2012; and Neumann-Hartmann 2008. On the massive group of commemorative sculptures celebrating the Diagorids at Olympia, see *IvO* 151–153, 159 and Paus. 6.7.1–2.

300. Note, however, that according to Herodotos (5.102.3) Eualkides of Eretria, victor in *stephanephoroi agones*, had been praised by Simonides, presumably in one or more (Molyneux 1992: 45) epinician odes (Simon. fr. 518 (Campbell)). See also Hornblower 2014: 225. Simonides may also have composed for Glaukos of Karystos (Molyneux 1992: 33–41) who at some point relocated to Sicily.

301. Numerous Arkadians were *Olympionikai* in the heyday of epinician poetry, including such major figures as the *periodonikai* Dromeus of Stymphalos (Knab 1934: no. 3) and Ephoudion of Mainalia (Knab 1934: no. 10).

302. Buhmann 1972: 52. See also Hodkinson 2000: 317–19 who notes the comparative absence of Spartans among epinician honorands and explains it as a function of the heavily state-directed uses to which choral lyrics were put at Sparta: these were counter-conducive to epinician poetry celebrating individual exploits and advertising family lineages.

known, one possibly by Ibykos (above 36) another possibly by Pindar (above 35). Remarkable absentees include also Elis and Kleonai, both hostess-cities of famous Panhellenic competitions.³⁰³ Local conditions, communal traditions, as well as individual social aspirations or pretensions, then, were presumably of some significance among the factors prompting or discouraging commission of epinician odes.³⁰⁴

Accordingly, it may reasonably be assumed that the festivals attested by the surviving epinician odes represent only a select few of the most prestigious of the agonistic festivals actually celebrated throughout the Greek world in the later sixth and earlier fifth centuries. In fact, numerous other festivals are attested by other sources, as the following, necessarily selective,³⁰⁵ survey of the Late Archaic and Classical period will demonstrate. The focus is on agonistic festivals, but I also include some evidence which illuminates the athletic culture in general.

1. *Sicily*.³⁰⁶ According to Diod. 11.72.2, the citizens of Syracuse voted to commemorate the overthrow of the tyrant Thrasyboulos in 466 with a festival in honour of Zeus Eleutherios, a festival which was to include ἀγῶνας ἐπιφανεῖς – “splendid contests” – and athletic or equestrian competitions were probably envisaged here.³⁰⁷

303. It is sometimes assumed that Simonides composed an epinician in honour of Eualkidas of Elis (for whom see Paus. 6.16.6), but see Molyneux 1992: 45.

304. See e.g. Mitchell 2000: 94–95 and Hornblower 2004: 244 on the probable motives of King Arkesilas IV of Kyrene in commissioning a Pindaric ode; on this topic, see also Morrison 2012: 120–22.

305. I have surveyed the sources to the best of my abilities, but since it cannot be predicted which types of source may contain evidence for agonistic competitions, I will certainly have overlooked relevant evidence. Accordingly, I invite readers who know of evidence for Archaic or Classical agonistic competitions overlooked in this survey to share their knowledge with me by e-mailing me at: heine@hum.ku.dk. Evidence thus brought to my attention will, if cited in future publications, be duly and gratefully acknowledged.

306. Torch-races in fifth-century Naxos may be attested by an inscribed bronze torch found in a tomb, possibly of a victor (*SEG* 45 1391); the inscription, however, does not refer to a competition.

307. ... βουλευσάμενοι πάντες ὁμογνωμόνως ἐνηφίσαντο Διὸς μὲν ἐλευθερίου κολοπταῖον ἀνδριάντα κατασκευάσαι, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ θύειν ἐλευθέρια καὶ ἀγῶνας

According to Plut. *Nic.* 28.1–2, a festival commemorating the victory over the Athenian invasion in 413 was instituted by the Syracusans and their allies after the stunning achievement.³⁰⁸ The passage does not provide evidence that agonistic competitions formed part of this festival, but some late-fifth-century Syracusan dekadrachms³⁰⁹ showing an Athenian (♯) panoply in the exergue and inscribed: ΑΘΛΑ (“prizes”) have been combined with this festival on the assumption that the coins themselves constituted these prizes or that the prizes were captured Athenian arms.³¹⁰ But as pointed out by Jenkins, “it is difficult to substantiate these views”,³¹¹ and Kraay adds that the coins in question “seem to have been minted about a decade later than the Athenian disaster.”³¹² So, in this particular form, the hypothesis may not be tenable, but the ΑΘΛΑ legend may still be taken as evidence of unidentifiable competitions.³¹³

A cult in honour of Timoleon was instituted at his death in 336 by the grateful city of Syracuse; included in the festival were musical, equestrian and athletic competitions.³¹⁴

2. *South Italy.* At Metapontion in South Italy competitions, though not certainly athletic, in honour of the river divinity Acheeloos are attested by mid-fifth-century coins inscribed: ΑΧΕΛΟΙΟ ΑΕΘΛΟΝ.³¹⁵

At Neapolis torch races (*lampados agon*) in honour of the local

ἐπιφανεῖς ποιεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἧ τὸν τύραννον καταλύσαντες ἠλευθέρωσαν τὴν πατρίδα.

308. Ἐκκλησίας δὲ πανδήμιου Συρακουσίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γενομένης, Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἔγραψε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἧ τὸν Νυκίαν ἔλαβον ἱερὰν ἔχειν, θύοντας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἔργων, Ἀσιναρίαν τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλοῦντας.

309. *SNG Cop. Sicily* 690; Head, *HN²* Figs. 98–99; Seltman 1955: Pl. XXII nos. 4–5.

310. Head, *HN²* 176–77; Seltman 1955: 127; Kraay 1976: 223–24; Jenkins 1990: 105.

311. Jenkins 1990: 105.

312. Kraay 1976: 223–24.

313. So Rutter 1997: 157; von Reden 1997: 165; and Pleket 2001: 168.

314. Diod. 16.90: <ἐψηφίσται> ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Συρακουσίων Τιμολέοντα Τιμαίνετου υἱὸν τόνδε θάπτειν μὲν ἀπὸ διακοσιᾶν μνᾶν, τιμᾶσθαι δὲ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀγώνεσσι μουσικοῖς καὶ ἵππικοῖς καὶ γυμνικοῖς κτλ. See also Plut. *Tim.* 39.

315. Rutter 2001: no. 1491; Rutter 1997: 49; Nielsen 1996: 58; von Reden 1997: 165 (who interprets this coinage to have been “issued specifically as prizes for athletic competition”); Brown 2003: 138.

nymph Parthenope were instituted in the fifth century by the Athenian naval commander Diotimos “in accordance with an oracle”, according to the early Hellenistic historian Timaios of Tauromenion on Sicily.³¹⁶ Contests in honour of Parthenope have also been inferred from types of the city’s Classical coinage depicting Nike crowning a local river divinity, Acheloos, whose daughter Parthenope was.³¹⁷ According to Strabo, the festival in honour of Parthenope included an *agon gymnikos* celebrated “on the command of an oracle”;³¹⁸ it may, then, have been a complete *agon gymnikos* and not merely a torch race which Diotimos instituted.

The types of various fourth-century coins from Taras suggest the existence of a number of equestrian competitions in this city.³¹⁹

The existence of a *gymnasion* in mid-fourth-century Thourioi may be suggested by a passage in Plato,³²⁰ and while this is not conclusive evidence for the existence of *contests* it is at least indicative of local interest in athletics.

3. *Akarnania*. At Anaktorion an *agon* called *Aktias* in honour of Apollo Aktios was celebrated. It is well-attested for the Hellenistic period,³²¹ but a scrap of evidence demonstrates that it existed already in the Classical period: the fourth-century Athenian orator Hypereides is known to have referred to it.³²²

In a passage referring to 357, Plutarch refers to a stadium at Zakynthos, which would seem to testify to competitive foot-races in this city.³²³

316. Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 98 (*apud* Schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 732): φησὶ Τίμαιος Διότιμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ναύαρχον παραγενόμενον εἰς Νεάπολιν, κατὰ χρησμὸν θῦσαι τῇ Παρθενόπῃ καὶ δρόμον ποιῆσαι λαμπάδος διδὸν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τῆς λαμπάδος ἀγῶνα <ἐτησίως> τελεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Νεαπολίταις.

317. Rutter 1979: 45.

318. Strabo 5.4.7: ἀγὼν συντελεῖται γυμνικὸς κατὰ μαντεῖαν.

319. Klose & Stumpf 1996: nos. 150–51. See also Brauer 1974–75: 7.

320. Pl. *Leg.* 636b; see Fischer-Hansen *et al.* 2004: 306.

321. Habicht 1957: 102–9; see also Ringwood 1927: 22.

322. Hyp. fr. 155 (Jensen): Ἄκτια: Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Πολύευκτον στρατηγεῖν. Ἄκτια ἀγὼν παλαιὸς ἦν (Harp.). See also Callim. fr. 403 (Pf.). Anaktorion coins of the fourth century may also refer to the *agon* (see Habicht 1957: 102–3; Paviogiannis *et al.* 2009: 82 n. 9).

323. Plut. *Dio* 23.4.

4. *Phokis*. An honorary decree of 356/5 by the *polis* of Delphi includes among the honours granted to an Aitolian προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγώνοις οἷς ἂ πόλις τίθητι.³²⁴ Since the famous Pythian Games were arranged by the Pylian Amphictiony and not by the *polis* of Delphi,³²⁵ the reference here must be to contests staged by the city of Delphi itself on a local level, and some of these may well have been athletic or equestrian. The *polis* of Delphi may have employed the facilities normally used for the Pythian Games, *i.e.* the stadium and hippodrome, which in the Classical period seem to have been located in the Kirrhaian plain below the city itself,³²⁶ and the fourth-century gymnasium.³²⁷

5. *Boiotia*. In Boiotia, several additional agonistic festivals are known. At Akraiphia, athletic and equestrian competitions in honour of the hero Ptoios have been inferred from archaeological evidence by Schachter.³²⁸

The cult of Athena Itonia at Koroneia featured equestrian and presumably also athletic competitions.³²⁹ In the fifth century, the Theban Agasikles was victorious at the festival.

Two fourth-century inscriptions attest agonistic competitions at Lebadeia.³³⁰ Called *Basileia* and presumably instituted by the Boiotian Confederacy, the festival in question was celebrated in honour of Zeus Basileus to commemorate the Boiotian victory over the Lakedaimonians at Leuktra in 371;³³¹ the two known fourth-century

324. *I.Delphes* 1.146.2-3: “a front seat of honour at all the competitions staged by the city”.

325. Lefèvre 1998: 237-39.

326. Bommelaer 1991: 215.

327. Bommelaer 1991: 72-79.

328. Schachter 1994a: 17-19.

329. Pind. *Parth.* 2.45-46 (for Agasikles of Thebes): ἕππων τ’ ὠκυπόδων πο[λυ]-γνώτοις ἐπὶ νίκαις αἶψ ἐν αἰόνεσσιν Ὀρχη[στοῦ κλυ]τᾶς, ταῖς δὲ ναὸν Ἰτωνίας κτλ. On the festival, see Schachter 1981: 122-23 and Turner 1996. See also Larson 2007: 134-36 and Ganter 2013: 99.

330. *IG* VII 552; *IG* VII 2532 (= *CEG* II 630).

331. Diod. 15.53.4: ἄλλον δὲ κατέστησεν ὡς ἀπὸ Τροφωνίου προσφάτως ἀναβεβηκότα καὶ λέγοντα διότι προστέταχεν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ὄταν ἐν Λεύκτροις νικήσωσιν, ἀγῶνα τιθένα Διὶ Βασιλεῖ στεφανίτην· ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ Βοιωτοὶ ταύτην ποιῶσι τὴν πανήγυριν ἐν Λαβαδείᾳ. On this *agon*, see Schachter 1994a: 115-18. See also Ringwood 1927: 35-37; Kramer 1970: 43; Ganter 2013: 94-96.

victors originate from Thebes and Tanagra.³³² According to Diodorus, the *Basileia* was celebrated by “the Boiotians”, by which he possibly means the Boiotian Confederacy; however, Schachter assumes that the festival was in the fourth century held under the sponsorship of Thebes.³³³

At Oropos were staged competitions at the *Amphiareia* in honour of Amphiaraos.³³⁴ In 329/8, when Oropos was an Athenian dependency, the Athenians promoted the competitions on a grander scale.³³⁵ A catalogue of victors,³³⁶ dividing the entrants into *andres*, *ageneioi* and *paides*, records victors from Thebes in Boiotia; Sikyon, Elis, Argos and Phleious in the Peloponnese; Athens; Larisa and Pharsalos in Thessalia; the island of Andros in the Aegean; Sinope on the Black Sea; Kolophon in Ionia, and Kyrene in Libya. Clearly, these games had a considerably international catchment area by the later fourth century.

According to Diod. 12.70.5, a *panegyris*, the *Delia*, was instituted at Delion in the territory of Tanagra in the aftermath of the battle fought there in 424 between the Boiotians and the Athenians.³³⁷ This *agon* is not unambiguously attested by documentary evidence before the Hellenistic period,³³⁸ unless it was in fact here that an Athenian won an equestrian victory in the later fourth century³³⁹ rather than at the *Delia* on Delos (below 71–72), which Schachter on balance finds more likely.³⁴⁰

Larmour takes *IG VII 2533* to refer to a *pankration* contest at Thebes at a festival for Apollo Pythios;³⁴¹ Apollo Pythios is certainly known at Thebes³⁴² and it cannot be excluded that this interpreta-

332. Thebes: *IG VII 2532*; Tanagra: *IG VII 552*.

333. Schachter 1994a: 117.

334. Schachter 1981: 24. See also Ringwood 1927: 44–47.

335. *I. Oropos* 298; see also Osborne 1993: 24.

336. *IG VII 414* = *I. Oropos* 520 (329/28).

337. Schwartz 2009: 242–44.

338. *IG VII 20.11–12*.

339. *IG II²* 2971, listing a chariot victory at the *Δήλια*.

340. Schachter 1981: 47.

341. Larmour 1999: 190 no. 82.

342. Schachter 1981: 80.

tion is correct; however, on balance it seems more likely that this public monument refers to the Pythian Games at Delphi.³⁴³

Contests in honour of Herakles (and thus presumably athletic) are attested for Thespiai by a bronze hydria of 475–450 found in Epeiros and preserving traces of a prize inscription: [... Η]ερακλέος ἐς Θεσπίας, where in front of the preserved text some word such as αἶθλον or παρά must originally have stood.³⁴⁴

7. *Arkadia*.³⁴⁵ At Lousoi in Arkadia were celebrated contests at the *Hemerasia* in honour of the chief divinity Artemis Hemera, certainly by the late-fourth century when the evidence for Lousiatan *epangelia* ('international festival-announcing') begins, but possibly already in the fifth century.³⁴⁶ A third-century victor in the *stadion* and *diaulos* was from Thouria in Messenia,³⁴⁷ but the fourth-century system of *epangelia* allows the conclusion that the contests admitted foreign entrants already in the Classical period.

At Pheneos were staged not only competitions in honour of Hermes,³⁴⁸ the principal divinity of the *polis*,³⁴⁹ but also contests in

343. So Schachter 1986: 28 n. 1. A fragmentary fifth-century inscription from Thebes, briefly reported in *SEG* 59 502 and now published by Papazarkadas 2014, seems to be a funerary epigram for war casualties from a *demosion sema*; it contains the phrase ἔθεντο ἄθλα κράτιστ' ἀρετῆς and may suggest the existence of public contests in honour of war-dead Thebans (Papazarkadas 2014: 229–30).

344. "A prize from <the festival of> Herakles at Thespiai". See *BCH* 99 (1975) 752; *SEG* 30 541, 37 387; Johnston 1977: 157; Amandry 1980: 211–12 n. 4.II. On Herakles at Thespiai, see Schachter 1986: 31–36.

345. Lafond 1997 is a catalogue of inscriptions testifying to local competitions in Peloponnesian cities. At the city of Elis itself, as opposed to the famous sanctuary of Olympia, were *gymnasia* by c. 400 (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.27); these probably served the Eleian citizenry whose interest in athletics, of course, is hardly surprising.

346. See Merkelbach 1973, interpreting Bacchyl. 11 in honour of an athlete from Metapontion as celebrating a victory in the *Hemerasia*; see also Tausend 1999: 372–73 and Perlman 2000: 159.

347. *IGV*.1 1387.2.

348. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.153a: ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πολλοὶ ἀγῶνες ἄγονται: Λύκαια: Κόρεια: Ἑρμια. Pind. *Ol.* 6.77–78 may refer to these contests for Hermes, or perhaps to competitions at Stymphalos from which the honorand of the ode originated and where a cult of Hermes is attested; see also Jost 1985: 102–3; Tausend 1999: 374–75.

349. Paus. 8.14.10: θεῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἑρμῆν Φενεῶται μάλιστα καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσιν Ἑρμια; see Bölte 1938: 1970 and Jost 1985: 27–37; see also Nielsen 2007b: 76–77.

honour of the *Dioskouroi*, as is clear from an inscribed fifth-century bronze hydria found at Sinope which had served as a prize in these contests;³⁵⁰ the provenance of the vessel suggests that the competitions attracted foreign entrants.

A mid-fourth-century victory catalogue from Argos includes among the victories of the wrestler Prateas one won ἐμ Μαινάλοι. ³⁵¹ It is not clear exactly what this means: the reference may be to a contest at the city of Mainalos,³⁵² it may be to a contest on Mt. Mainalon, or it may perhaps be a reference to a festival celebrated by the sub-ethnic federation of the Mainalians;³⁵³ whatever the case, the reference is clearly to an athletic festival in fourth-century Arkadia attracting foreign entrants.

8. *Lakedaimon and Messenia*. A famous fifth-century inscription³⁵⁴ from the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos on the akropolis of Sparta contains catalogues of equestrian and athletic victories won by one Damonon and his son Enymakratidas. It documents the existence of “no fewer than nine different Lakonian festivals at which these victories were achieved, indicating a veritable circuit of local games held at various locations in Sparta itself, Lakonia and Eastern Messenia”.³⁵⁵ Thus, equestrian contests in honour of Poseidon were staged at perioikic Thouria in Messenia;³⁵⁶ and at the *Maleateia*, presumably on Cape Malea and thus in perioikic territory (or at Kosmas in Kynouria and thus also outside Lakedaimon proper), were contests in *stadion* and *diaulos* for boys,³⁵⁷ and so probably also for men; at Helos, presumably not in Spartan territory proper, were equestrian contests in honour of Poseidon.³⁵⁸ At, presumably, Sparta

350. *SEG* 39 1365 (c. 470–450): ἐκ Φενεδῶν ἄεθλα πᾶρ Δ[ι]οσκόροι.

351. *SEG* 17 150.6; on the date: Amandry 1980: 220.

352. On which see Nielsen 2004: 507.

353. On which see Nielsen 2002: 271–307.

354. *IG V.1* 213. On the date: Hodkinson 1999: 178 n. 10; Luraghi 2008: 31 n. 47.

355. Hodkinson 1999: 152. See also Ringwood 1927: 74–88; Parker 1989: 142; Larmour 1999: 178 no. 17; 179 no. 21; 187 nos. 59–61; 189 no. 74 and no. 76; 191 nos. 92–93.

356. *IG V.1* 213.18–19: καὶ Ποιοῖδαα Δαμόνον | [ἐ]νίκε Θευρία ὀκτάκι. See also Ringwood 1927: 89; Luraghi 2008: 31, 35.

357. *IG V.1* 213.56–58: καὶ Δαμόνον ἐνίκε | παῖς ἰὼν Μαλεάτεια | στάδιον καὶ διαυλον.

358. *IG V.1* 213.12–17.

itself the inscription records these festivals: for Poseidon *Gaiawochos* one with equestrian contests³⁵⁹ as well as *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *dolichos* for boys³⁶⁰ and so presumably also for men; for Poseidon, again, *i.e.* the *Pohoidaia* at which at least equestrian contests took place;³⁶¹ the *Eleuhynia* with at least equestrian contests;³⁶² for Athena the *Athanaia* with equestrian contests³⁶³ and *stadion* for boys³⁶⁴ and so presumably also for men; one twice referred to by the phrase ἐν Ἀριοντία³⁶⁵ which included equestrian contests and at least the *dolichos*;³⁶⁶ the *Lithehia* with equestrian contests³⁶⁷ and *stadion*, *diaulos* and *dolichos* for boys³⁶⁸ and so presumably for men as well. Whereas the father Damonon won both the *stadion* and the *diaulos* for boys at the *Lithehia*, the inscription states that his son Enymakratidas was “the first of the boys”³⁶⁹ to win the *dolichos*. The *dolichos*, then, must have been added to the boys’ programme at some point after the introduction of their *stadion* and *diaulos*. Finally, the inscription mentions the *Parparonia*³⁷⁰ in Thyreatis with equestrian contests³⁷¹ and *stadion*, *diaulos* and *dolichos* for boys³⁷² and so presumably for men. Since Damonon and Enymakratidas won several victories at most of these festivals they must have recurred on a regular basis, probably annually.³⁷³

359. IG V.1 213.6–9: τάδε ἐνίκαθε Δαμόνο[v] | τῶι αὐτῷ τεθρίππῳ[ι] | αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον| ἐν Γαιαφόρῳ τετράκιν.

360. IG V.1 213.49–52: καὶ Δαμόνον | ἐνίκε παῖς ἰὸν ἐν | Γαιαφόρῳ στάδιον καὶ | [δῖ]- αὐλον, 92–96: ἐν Γαιαφόρῳ ... [κ]αὶ ἡο ἡνιὸς στάδιον κα[ι] | [δῖ]αυλον καὶ δολιχὸν μιᾶς | [ἀ]μέρας ἡμᾶ ἐνίκε|.

361. IG V.1 213.12–17.

362. IG V.1 213.31–34.

363. IG V.1 213.10.

364. IG V.1 213.65, 72, 80.

365. “in the sanctuary of Ariontia” (transl. Sweet 1987: 145).

366. IG V.1 213.24–30, 40–42.

367. IG V.1 213.37.

368. IG V.1 213.36: πρᾶτ[ος] π[α]ί<δ>ον δολ[ιχὸν] | [Λιθ]έηνα; 53–55: [κ]αὶ Δαμόνον ἐνίκε| παῖς ἰὸν Λιθέηνα | στάδιον καὶ δῖαυλον.

369. IG V.1 213.36.

370. On which see Larmour 1999: 184 no. 35.

371. IG V.1 213.47.

372. IG V.1 213.44–47: καὶ Παρπαρόνια ἐνίκε| Ἐνυμακρατίδας παῖδας | στάδιον καὶ δῖαυλον | καὶ δολιχὸν.

373. Hodkinson 2000: 305.

In addition, a fifth-century inscription from perioikic Geronthrai in Lakedaimon³⁷⁴ seems to attest to an athletic festival there which included *stadion*, *diaulos*, *dolichos* and *hoplites*, but no further details are known.

At Sparta itself, again, foot-races seem to have been included in the *Karneia* in honour of Apollo and in the *Athenaia* – attested by *IG V.1 213* for the fifth century – already in the late-sixth century,³⁷⁵ and Antiochos of Syracuse seems to testify to an *agon* at the *Hyakinthia* at Amyklai in the Archaic period.³⁷⁶ All evidence for athletic competitions at the *Leonidaia* at Sparta is post-Classical, but Larmour thinks “it is reasonable to assume that the contests were a part of the festival from the beginning and also that the festival began fairly soon after the death of the figure it commemorates”;³⁷⁷ this may or may not be correct.³⁷⁸ Only Spartan citizens were admitted to the contests.³⁷⁹ Finally, the existence of *palaistrai* in fourth-century Sparta is suggested by a passage in Plato.³⁸⁰

g. Argolis. An inscription from Argos may provide evidence of other agonistic contests than the well-attested *Hekatomboia* in honour of Hera.³⁸¹ It has been persuasively argued that the Argive Heraion – the site of the *Hekatomboia* – did not come under the control of the

374. *IG V.1 1120*. See also Hodkinson 1999: 156–57.

375. *IG V.1 222* with Hodkinson 1999: 153; see also Morgan 2007: 215 and Day 2010: 206. Competitions for boys are attested by a fourth-century inscription from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia: Φωρθεία τάδε Ἀρ[ή]ξιππος | νικῶν ἀνέσκηκε | ἐν συνόδοις πα[ί]δων | πᾶσιν ἡορῆν φανερά (*IG V.1 255* = Moretti, *LAG* no. 18).

376. *FGrHist 555* fr. 13 (*apud* Strabo 6.3.2): τοῖς Ὑακινθίοις ἐν τῷ Ἀμυκλαίῳ συντελουμένου τοῦ ἀγῶνος. See also Kennell 1995: 65; Larmour 1999: 182 no. 30; Richer 2004: 87.

377. Larmour 1999: 189 no. 189.

378. The usual present assumption is that the *Leonidaia* are an innovation of the Roman era: Gengler 2009; Kennell 2010: 189.

379. Paus. 3.14.1.

380. Pl. *Tht.* 162b: εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόν ... πρὸς τὰς παλαιστράς. Eur. *Andr.* 599 (δρόμους παλαιστράς τ') may suggest the existence of *palaistrai* at Sparta in the 420s when the play was produced (Stevens 1971: 19).

381. On the *Hekatomboia*, see section I.3.2 (9) above (41–43).

polis of Argos until the 460s.³⁸² The inscription³⁸³ in question has been dated to 500–480³⁸⁴ and so should antedate the Argive annexation of the Heraion. It is a dedication by one Aischyllos, son of Thiops, who records that he has achieved four victories in the *stadion* and three in the *hoplitodromos* τοῖς δα[μ]οσίοις ἐν ἀέθλοισι.³⁸⁵ Since it is unlikely that the *Hekatomboia* were among the contests staged by Argos in the early-fifth century, these ‘contests of the people’ are probably other agonistic competitions at Argos; and in fact, the dedication is not in honour of Hera but of the *Dioskouroi*.³⁸⁶ The number of victories achieved by Aischyllos suggests that the ‘contests of the people’ recurred on a regular basis, and the reference may perhaps be to more than one athletic festival. Note also that in the second half of the fourth century, a stadium was laid out at Argos.³⁸⁷ Moreover, the office of *athlothes* is attested at fourth-century Argos.³⁸⁸

Outside the circuit wall of Halieis are remains of a Classical stadium,³⁸⁹ which may be testimony to competitions in foot-races in the Classical period.

A fifth-century epigram attributed to Simonides attests contests in the *stadion* at Phleious; they must have attracted non-citizen athletes since the victor celebrated in the epigram was a Corinthian.³⁹⁰

382. Hall 1995: 589–90, 611–13.

383. *IG* IV 561 = *SEG* 11 328 = *CEG* I 364.

384. Jeffery, *LSAG* 162.

385. 4–5: “in the contests of the people”.

386. See also Morgan 2007: 233; for another dedication to the *Dioskouroi* at Argos, see *SEG* 44 318 (late fourth–early third century). A fifth-century bronze hydria, presumably from Argos and now in Copenhagen, carries a badly mutilated inscription attesting to games; in *BCH* 95 (1971) 617 IV Amandry reported Riis’ text as: [...].K.IK[.....] [ἐμ]ι [τ]ῶν [h]α[ρέ]θλον; and remarked: “Il y avait en Argolide d’autres concours que ceux des Héraia.” But see Amandry 1980: 213 n. 8 reporting the reading, as restudied by Riis, as: παρ’ [H]έρ[ας] Ἀργείας ἐμὶ τῶν [h]α[ρέ]θλον.

387. Pariente *et al.* 1998: 216, 218–19.

388. Robinson 2011: 14; see also *SEG* 54 427 (*ἡαφεθλοθέται*).

389. Romano 1993: 36.

390. *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 = Ebert 1972a: no. 26. On this epigram, see Merkelbach 1987; Maróti 1990; Nielsen 2014a: 11–14; and section 1.3.1 above (25–26). See also Ringwood 1927: 63.

Outside the city walls of Troizen was a late fourth-century or early third-century complex which included a *stadion*,³⁹¹ and again this may be taken as evidence of competitions in foot-races.³⁹²

10. *Attika*. A bronze *kalpis* of c. 400, found at Chersonnesos on the Black Sea, is inscribed: ἄθλον ἐξ Ἀνακίων³⁹³ and is presumably a prize given at the *Anak(e)ia* festival at which the *Dioskouroi* were celebrated at Athens.³⁹⁴ Since the *Dioskouroi* were “the patron gods of athletics”,³⁹⁵ it is highly likely that the *kalpis* was awarded for an athletic victory,³⁹⁶ perhaps one achieved by an athlete from Chersonnesos. Another similar *kalpis* of unknown provenance dates to the early fifth century;³⁹⁷ and a third, of the fifth century, was found in a grave at Pydna.³⁹⁸ An equestrian event is attested in the fourth century.³⁹⁹ An *agon* at this festival is attested already in the Archaic period.⁴⁰⁰

The annual festival of the *Epitaphia*,⁴⁰¹ which commemorated Athenians killed in battle, included athletic and equestrian as well as musical competitions.⁴⁰² The bronze vessels referred to above (50 n. 261) may have served as prizes for the *Epitaphia*,⁴⁰³ and not for

391. Welter 1941: 35–38; Jameson *et al.* 1994: 83. A fourth-century decree by Troizen attests to the existence of a *gymnasion* (*IG* IV 753; see Delorme 1960: 68).

392. An early third-century inscription from Troizen refers to, presumably local, *Pythia* (*IG* IV 750.39); this may have been an athletic festival, as other homonymous festivals were, and may have existed in the fourth century.

393. “A prize from the *Anakeia*.”

394. See Deubner 1956: 216 with Amandry, *BCH* 95 (1971) 615.II.B (with Greek text); Parker 1996: 97 with n. 124; Parker 2005: 457.

395. Young 2004: 78.

396. Parker 1996: 97 n. 124 and Parker 2005: 457.

397. *BCH* 95 (1971) 615 II.A: ἐξ Ἀνακίου ἄθλον.

398. *SEG* 46 802: ἐξ Ἀνακίου ἄθλον.

399. Lys. fr. 279 (Carey): ἵπποδρομία Ἀνακείων.

400. Ath. 235b with Parker 2005: 457.

401. Deubner 1956: 230–31; Clairmont 1983: 22–28; Parker 1996: 131–41; Parker 2005: 469–70.

402. Lys. 2.80: ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ῥώμης; Pl. *Menex.* 249b: ἀγῶνας γυμνικῶς καὶ ἵππικῶς τιθεῖσα (ἢ πόλις) καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης. See also Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 58.1.

403. Kyle 1993: 44; Osborne 1993: 23; Parker 1996: 132 with n. 36; see *IG* I³ 523–25; *SEG* 28 26; *SEG* 39 631.

the *Herakleia* at Marathon as suggested by Amandry.⁴⁰⁴ Whichever festival the vessels were awarded at, the fact that one⁴⁰⁵ of the three known pieces was found in a grave on the Chalkidike suggests that it attracted competitors from outside Attika.⁴⁰⁶ For the *Herakleia* this is independently attested by Pindar,⁴⁰⁷ but for the *Epitaphia* it would be an interesting detail.

An inscription of c. 345–320⁴⁰⁸ has been interpreted as stipulating the foundation of a festival of Eirene (“Peace”) in 335/4; the festival was apparently to be an international *panegyris* with associated sacred truce, and athletic, equestrian and musical competitions.⁴⁰⁹

An inscription of 324/3⁴¹⁰ refers to an *agon* at the *Amarysia* festival in honour of Artemis in the Attic deme of Athmonon.⁴¹¹ It is not clear what kind of *agon* this was, but it may have been athletic.⁴¹²

Athletic competitions may also have been staged by the *polis* of Salamis: an inscription of 450–440 found on the island of Salamis⁴¹³ lists prizes given to victors in wrestling, boxing and *pankration*, for both *andres*, *ageneioi* and *paides*. The stone may perhaps have migrated from Athens to Salamis,⁴¹⁴ though it seems unlikely that it concerns the *Panathenaia*;⁴¹⁵ however, it cannot be excluded that Salamis,

404. Amandry 1971: 602–25. Amandry’s objection to the idea that the vessels were awarded at the *Epitaphia* – that the formula Ἀθηνᾶοι ἄθλα suggests contests held outside the city of Athens – may find some support from SEG 46 802, a fifth-century hydria found in a grave at Pydna and inscribed: Ἀθ[ε]νᾶοι ἄθλα ἐκ Ποσειδονίου, a prize from the regatta of the *Poseidonia* at Sounion; see Kyle 1993: 194 for the exiguous evidence on this regatta.

405. SEG 28 26.3.

406. Clairmont 1983: 24.

407. *Ol.* 9.89; *Ol.* 13.110; *Pyth.* 8.79.

408. SEG 16 55.

409. Sosin 2004; see also Hunt 2010: 241 and SEG 29 88.

410. IG II² 1203.17.

411. Deubner 1956: 210; Parker 2005: 457. For a fifth-century prize from a competition in honour of Poseidon at Sounion, see Morgan 2007: 256–57 n. 202.

412. Other Athenian athletic festivals are e.g. the *Nemeseia* and *Theseia* (Kyle 1999: 40–41); see further Kyle 1993: 41–48 and Parker 2005: 456–85; see also Osborne 1993. For athletic facilities at Athens, see Kyle 1993: 56–101.

413. IG I³ 1386.

414. So Raubitschek 1939: 158.

415. See the notes in IG I³ 1386.

though clearly a dependency of Athens, did in fact arrange its own athletic competitions.⁴¹⁶

11. *Eubolia*. Contests in honour of Herakles, and thus almost certainly athletic, are attested for Eretria by a bronze lebes dating to the second half of the fifth century and inscribed: Ἐρετρίαθεν ἄθλον παρ' Ἡερακλέος.⁴¹⁷ An inscription of c. 550–530 from Eretria⁴¹⁸ on a votive column has been restored to produce a dedication to Herakles by a victor at this festival in the *pentathlon*:⁴¹⁹ Τιμοκράτες ἀνέθεκε Διὸ[ς κούροι πένταθλον] | ἀνδρῶν νικέρας, τῷ χάριν ἀν[τιδιδούς].⁴²⁰ If accepted, competitors were divided into age-classes and competitions included athletic events, already in the sixth century.⁴²¹ Altherr-Charon & Lasserre also draw attention to the third-century writer Antigonos of Karystos on Eubolia who mentions an ἀρχαῖον στάδιον (“ancient stadium”) at Eretria.⁴²² Such an ‘ancient stadium’ should date at least to the Classical period and its existence suggests competitions in foot-races at Eretria. A *palaistra* and a *gymnasion* are attested for the city as well.⁴²³ In 411 Eretria granted *proxenia* to a citizen of Taras, and among the honours bestowed on the honorand was προεδρία ἐς τὸς ἀγῶνας (“an honorary front seat at the competitions”):⁴²⁴ some of these *agones* may well have been athletic or equestrian. In the hinterland of Eretria, finally, in the deme of Tamynai, was a major sanctuary of Apollo, and here was, according

416. So Taylor 1997: 186–87; see also Osborne 1993: 25.

417. *IG* XII.9 272; *BCH* 95 (1971) 617.VI; Jeffery, *LSAG* 88 no. 16; Ringwood 1929: 388 n. 2.

418. *SEG* 31 806.

419. See the discussion by Altherr-Charon & Lasserre 1981: 30–32.

420. “Timokrates set <this monument> up to [the son] of Zeu[s] having won [the *pentathlon*] of the men, thus returning him the favour”.

421. The interpretation seems to be accepted by Walker 2004: 61 n. 68; Luppe 1982, however, rejects it and restores the inscription to commemorate an Olympic victory.

422. Altherr-Charon & Lasserre 1981: 33. The passage in question is found in Diog. Laert. 2.132, but is presumably lifted from Antigonos: see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1881: 95, 97.

423. *IG* XII.9 193.6.

424. Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 82.8.

to Aischines,⁴²⁵ a hippodrome, which of course must rank as evidence for equestrian competitions.

A *palaistra* is reported for fourth-century Histiaia by a late source of doubtful historicity.⁴²⁶

12. *Thessalia*. Competitions in *aphippodromas*⁴²⁷ seem to be attested by Classical coins minted by Larisa and Pherai, and contests in *taurotheria* (bull-wrestling)⁴²⁸ by Classical coins of Krannon, Larisa, Pelinna, Pharkadon, Pherai, Skoutoussa and Triikka.⁴²⁹ At Larisa, in particular, a major athletic festival dedicated to Athena or Apollo may have existed in the Classical period.⁴³⁰

At 6.II.5, Pausanias records among the victories won by the famous heavyweight Theogenes of Thasos one in long-distance running (*dolichos*) achieved ἐν Φθίᾳ τῇ Θεσσαλῶν.⁴³¹ If historical, this implies an athletic *agon* in Thessalia in the fifth century. That Theogenes was in fact an accomplished long-distance runner is independently attested⁴³² and so this detail is clearly acceptable, and Pausanias' statement may then be taken as evidence for an athletic festival, presumably in honour of Achilles.⁴³³ Phthia, however, was rather a

425. Aeschin. 3.88: τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸν ἐν Ταμίονας.

426. [Plut.] *Am. narr.* 3.773f; see Delorme 1960: 87. – Larmour 1999: 188 no. 63 suggests that athletic contests were staged at Geraistos in the territory of Karystos in the fifth century; see Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13.159b: the festival was in honour of Poseidon.

427. On which see Gallis 1988: 220–21.

428. On which see Gallis 1988: 221–23.

429. Kyle 2007: 149; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335 with n. 163. See also Klose & Stumpf 1996: nos. 166–68.

430. Gallis 1988: 226–28; Larmour 1999: 174 no. 13; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335. The evidence for this assumed festival is, however, post-Classical apart from some types of Larisaian coinage, but note that Soph. fr. 378 (Radt) refers to a major festival open to strangers (πολλὸν δ' ἀγῶνα πάγξενον) at Larisa: since tragic poets seem often to have modelled mythic athletics on the world of contemporary athletics (Pritchard 2013: 121) this passage may be the best evidence for the existence of the festival in the fifth century. 431. “in Phthia in Thessalia”.

432. By *Syll.*³ 36A which lists a victory in *dolichos* at the *Hekatomboia* at Argos (Ἐκατόμβοια δόλιχον ἐν Ἄργει). See also Plut. *Praec. ger. reip.* 15.7: οὐ παγκρατῖον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πυγμαίη καὶ δολίχον.

433. Paus. 6.II.5: ἦν δέ οἱ πρὸς Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ φιλοτιμημα, ἐν πατρίδι τοῦ ὀκίστου τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων ἀνελέσθαι δρόμου νίκην, on which see Jacquemin 2002: 172 *ad loc.* See also Harris 1964: 116; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 334.

part of the mythical geography of Thessalia than of its historical Classical geography,⁴³⁴ and so the location of the competitions remains unknown.

In addition, Xenophon at *Hell.* 6.1.6 has a general reference to *gymnasia* in Thessalia.⁴³⁵

Also in the wider region of Thessalia, more specifically in Malis,⁴³⁶ contests in honour of the hero Protesilaos are attested by a bronze hydria of the first half of the fifth century inscribed: [ἐχ?]ς Αἰαΐας τᾶς Φθίας ἔθλον παρ' Προτεσίλ[α].⁴³⁷ Since Aia remains unlocated, it is unknown in which Malian *polis* these contests were staged;⁴³⁸ alternatively, they may have been put on by the Malians as such who also constituted a political unit.⁴³⁹

13. *The Aegean.* At Minoa on Amorgos are remains of a fourth-century *gymnasion*.⁴⁴⁰

According to Thucydides, by the 420s the festival of Apollo on Delos no longer included athletic competitions,⁴⁴¹ as it had previously done:⁴⁴² the existence of competitions in boxing is attested for the second half of the sixth century by the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 149–50.⁴⁴³ However, in 426/5 the Athenians reintroduced the *Delia* as

434. Helly 1995: 160; Jacquemin 2002: 172.

435. An agonistic festival, *Pythia*, at Pharsalos or in its vicinity has been inferred from an inscription of the second half of the fourth century (see the editor on *I.Thessalie* I.74; contra: Strasser 2001: 63).

436. Helly 1995: 137–38.

437. *BCH* 95 (1971) 617.VIII; “A prize from Aia in Phthia, from <the contests in honour of> Protesilaos”; see also *SEG* 45 2186; and Stamatopoulou 2007a: 333.

438. Fifth-century Malis comprised Anthele; Antikyre; Echinus; Lamia; and Trachis; Herakleia was founded only in 426 by the Lakedaemonians (Thuc. 3.92.1). On the communities of Malis, see further Decourt *et al.* 2004: 685–86 and 709–13.

439. Decourt *et al.* 2004: 685–86.

440. Marangou 1987: 255.

441. Thuc. 3.104.6: τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατελύθη; 104.3: καὶ ἀγῶν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς.

442. Thuc. 3.104.3.

443. οἱ δὲ σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηστῆι καὶ αὐοιδῆι | μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα (on the date of this passage, see West 2003: 11); athletic competitions may also be implied for the Archaic *Delia* by *CEG* I 404 of the seventh century recording an exceptional jump or throw (see also Jeffery, *LSAG* 292 n. 3); *CEG* I 406.3 (παλα[...]) of c. 500 may refer to one of the heavy events. The sixth-century Samian

a penteteric festival on a new and larger scale and included equestrian competitions which had not originally featured in the celebrations;⁴⁴⁴ prior to this reorganisation the festival had presumably been annual.⁴⁴⁵

The *diskobolos* on the obverse of fifth-century coins struck on the island of Kos may be evidence of “prestigious local games”.⁴⁴⁶ If this is accepted,⁴⁴⁷ it seems a reasonable further assumption that the games were athletic or included athletics.

A proxeny decree from Myrina on Lemnos of c. 400⁴⁴⁸ grants an honorand from Akrothooi in the Chalkidike ἀτέλειαν ἀπάντων ὧν Μυριναῖοι κύριοι εἰσιν καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν τοῖς δημοτελεσίῃν,⁴⁴⁹ and some of these *agones* may have been athletic or equestrian; they may have been celebrated in honour of Artemis, the chief divinity of the *polis*.⁴⁵⁰

A proxeny decree of c. 300⁴⁵¹ from Naxos likewise grants the honorand προ[εδρίαν ἐν] τοῖς ἀγῶσιν,⁴⁵² and again some of these *agones* were probably athletic or equestrian.

tyrant Polykrates is reported by Zenobius 6.15 to have set up an *agon* for Apollo on Delos: Φασὶ δὲ, ὅτι Πολυκράτης ὁ Σαμίων τύραννος ἐλὼν Ῥήνειαν καὶ ἀναθεὶς αὐτὴν Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ, ἀγῶνα θεὶς κάλλιστον ἠρώτα πέμψας εἰς Δελφούς, πῶς δεῖ καλεῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα, κτλ.

444. Thuc. 3.104.3: καὶ τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι; 104.6: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καὶ ἵπποδρομίας δὲ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν. See further Ringwood 1933.

445. Ringwood 1933: 453.

446. So Smith 2007: 121 fig. 22.

447. Other interpretations of the type are possible and have been suggested: it may refer to the athletic festival celebrated by the Dorian pentapolis (on which see section 1.3.4 (15) below (92–93)) in which Kos was included or it may depict a famous sculpture on Kos, which may well have celebrated a victory won elsewhere (see Head, *HN*^s 632; Kraay 1976: 245; Sherwin-White 1978: 35).

448. *IG* XII.8 2.

449. “exemption from all <taxes> which the Myrinaians levy, and a front seat of honour at the contests run by the people”.

450. Parker 1993.

451. *SEG* 33 676.

452. “a sea[t of] honour at the contests”.

A late Classical or early Hellenistic inscription⁴⁵³ from Paros refers to a victory in the *stadion* by one Mnesitheos and contains the phrase ἐν ἀγῶνι,⁴⁵⁴ though it is unclear whether the reference is to a contest on the island itself.

An honorific decree from Tenos dated to *c.* 300⁴⁵⁵ attests to a festival *Posideia* in honour of the city's chief divinity Poseidon: Ποσιδεί- [ω]ν τῶι ἀγῶνι,⁴⁵⁶ but it is unclear whether it included athletic or equestrian competitions, and the fact that the decree stipulates that the crown granted is to be announced at the *Posideia* ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ⁴⁵⁷ may suggest that the *agon* was theatrical.

A fourth-century inscription from Thasos refers to προεδρίη ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας,⁴⁵⁸ in all probability athletic contests in honour of war casualties, such as are known from Athens. The Thasian contests may have formed part of a festival in honour of Herakles, one of the chief divinities of the island.⁴⁵⁹ A fourth-century *gymnasion* is attested by a dedication of the gymnasiarch Apollodoros, son of Xenophon.⁴⁶⁰

14. *Chalkidike*. According to Thucydides, the Spartan commander Brasidas was honoured as a new oecist ('founder') of Amphipolis in 422 with "contests and annual sacrifices", presumably athletic contests.⁴⁶¹ It appears from the passage that these honours (τιμὰς) had previously belonged to the oecist proper, the Athenian Hagnon, and it seems a reasonable inference that an oecist cult with athletic contests – such as are known from sixth-century Chersonesos (section I.3.4 (12) below (91–92)) – had been dedicated to Hagnon at or

453. *SEG* 54 795.

454. "at the contest".

455. *SEG* 40 688.12–13.

456. "the contest of the *Posideia*".

457. "in the theatre".

458. "a front seat of honour at the contests": Pouilloux 1954: 371 no. 141.14.

459. Pouilloux 1954: 378; Roller 1981a: 9–10. Scullion 2000: 166–67 discusses Classical epigraphical evidence which probably attests to agonistic contests at Thasos; but it is completely unclear what kind of contests are hinted at in these inscriptions.

460. *IG* XII.8 377.

461. Thuc. 5.11: ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας. On the passage, see Malkin 1987: 228–32.

shortly after his foundation of the city in 437/6.⁴⁶² Fourth-century coins of Amphipolis with reverses depicting a race-torch in a raised frame and a victory crown to the left may indicate the existence of torch-races at Amphipolis in the fourth century.⁴⁶³ In the fourth century there was a *gymnasion* in the city.⁴⁶⁴

From Akanthos comes a mid-fifth-century bronze strigil⁴⁶⁵ inscribed: Δεμοσίη.⁴⁶⁶ This suggests publicly owned athletic facilities such as a *gymnasion* which would attest to local interest in athletics and so presumably in competition. The strigil may have served as prize in a contest.⁴⁶⁷

A fourth-century honorific decree of Hermion⁴⁶⁸ in the Argolid honours an apparently local athlete for his victories. Line 6 has been restored to read [Ποτι]δαία πα[γκράτιον],⁴⁶⁹ and if this restoration is accepted, the inscription provides evidence for athletic competitions at Poteidaia attracting foreign competitors, though no further details are known.

15. *Thrace*. Philostratos at *Imagines* 2.25 has Herakles institute agonistic competitions in boxing, *pankration*, wrestling and τὰ ἐναγώνια πάντα πλὴν ἵππων⁴⁷⁰ in honour of the eponymous hero of Abdera, Abderos. These contests are not explicitly attested by Archaic or Classical sources, but a series of late fifth- or early fourth-century coins of the city depicting a *diskobolos* on the reverse may attest to their existence in the Classical period.⁴⁷¹ Moreover, the myth of Ab-

462. Hornblower 1996: 450–55. – The foundation of Amphipolis: Flensted-Jensen 2004: 819.

463. Klose & Stumpf 1996: no. 70 at 49: “Der Kranz daneben stellt sicher den Preis für den Sieger dar.”

464. Lazaridis 1988 and 1989.

465. *Macedonians* 1994: 76–77 no. 9.

466. “Public property”.

467. *Macedonians* 1994: 76. For a bronze strigil given as a prize at funeral contests, see section 1.2 above (21).

468. *IG* IV 673.

469. “at [Potei]daia: the *pa[nkration]*”.

470. “all agonistic contests except equestrian”. See also Servius on Virg. *Aen.* 1.756.

471. May 1966: 208–9: “the head [sc. of the discobolus] turned to right as if in anticipation of the signal to throw” (208); Klose & Stumpf 1996: no. 77.

deros is attested for the fifth century⁴⁷² and his cult for the fourth century;⁴⁷³ and so the Classical existence of his festival and associated athletic contests may be tentatively accepted.⁴⁷⁴

A *gymnasion* is attested for fourth-century Kardìa,⁴⁷⁵ and while this is not conclusive evidence for *contests*, it does attest to local interest in athletics.

A *gymnasion* is also attested for Classical Byzantium,⁴⁷⁶ and in this case the inference that this may be evidence of competitions in the city gains some support from the possibility that such competitions may be attested already in the Archaic period.⁴⁷⁷

16. *The Black Sea area.* The existence of *agones* in Olbia is attested by *Syll.*³ 286.13 of the fourth century;⁴⁷⁸ that one of these included archery competitions is suggested by Dubois, *Olbia* no. 47, an epigram of the late-fourth century commemorating, it seems, an archery victory by one Anaxagoras, son of Demagores.⁴⁷⁹ Competitions at Olbia may even be traced back to the sixth century: a private letter of c. 550–510 refers to an *agonothetes*.⁴⁸⁰ Olbian interest in athletics is furthermore indicated by the existence of a *gymnasion* as early as c. 475.⁴⁸¹

17. *Propontis.* An electrum coin of Kyzikos of c. 475 depicts on the

472. Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 105 (*apud* Steph. Byz. 5.14–16).

473. *SEG* 46 841 (c. 325–300).

474. As by Kallintzi & Veligianni 1996 and Loukopoulou 2004: 874.

475. Plut. *Eum.* 1.

476. Arist. *Oec.* 1346b19.

477. Section 1.3.4 (13) below (92).

478. ... εἰσκηρύσσεσθαι εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. Note also Dubois, *Olbia* no. 19, a proxeny decree of the early fourth century for a citizen of Istros; among the honours bestowed on the honorand is *προεδρίαν* (19.6), possibly at these contests. No other honorary decree of Olbia in Dubois' collection grants *proedria* and it may well be significant here that the honorand of no. 19 was from Istros, not unreasonably far from Olbia itself: for Theodotos it may have been a privilege of real value. See also Mack 2015: 125.

479. Kublanow 1960: 131–32, suggesting that the *agon* in question was in honour of Achilles and can be traced back to the first half of the fifth century; so also Hedreen 1991: 319 and Skrzhinskaia 2005: 77.

480. *SEG* 51 970.1: [... τῶν ἀγῶ]νοθέτη.

481. Avram *et al.* 2004: 939.

obverse a *hoplitodromos* in start position ready for take-off and this type may indicate the existence of competitions in a hoplite race in Kyzikos, though certainty is, of course, impossible.⁴⁸²

18. *Troas*. Pindar's *Nemean 11*, though an honorific ode in honour of Aristagoras of Tenedos at his assumption of the office of *prytanis*, rather than strictly an epinician ode, nonetheless refers to his athletic exploits. These exploits, however, were not performed at Panhellenic competitions (19–21): ἐκ δὲ περικτιόνων ἑκκαίδεκ' Ἄρισταγόραν | ἀγλααὶ νῖκαι πάτρων τ' εὐώνυμον | ἔστεφάνωσαν πάλα καὶ μεγαυχεῖ παγκρατίῳ.⁴⁸³ Bury makes the following comment on ἐκ δὲ περικτιόνων: “The force of ἐκ is that a stranger carried away prizes or crowns from among the native inhabitants.”⁴⁸⁴ Accordingly, Aristagoras was victorious at festivals staged in areas close to the island of Tenedos, and these festivals must have included contests in wrestling and *pankration* and must have admitted foreign entrants; but Pindar is silent on the identity of these festivals and the scholia provide no assistance. The number of Aristagoras' victories suggests that the reference is to several festivals.

A late fourth-century inscription from Athens documents an Athenian equestrian victor at the *Ilieia*, the festival in honour of Athena Ilias at Ilion.⁴⁸⁵

An inscription from Skepsis in Troas, dating to 311, records the decision to honour Antigonos Monophthalmos with the establishment of a sanctuary with altar and sculpture as well as sacrifice and a presumably athletic *agon* to be staged on an annual basis.⁴⁸⁶

482. Klose & Stumpf 1996: no. 73.

483. “Sixteen radiant victories, won in the regions round about, in wrestling and the proud pankration, have crowned him and his famous fatherland” (transl. Nisetich 1980).

484. Bury 1890: 223.

485. *IG II²* 3138.I.5. See Preuner 1926: 130–32.

486. *OGIS* 6.23–25: ἀφορίσαι αὐτῷ τέμενος καὶ βῶμον ποιῆσαι καὶ ἄγαλμα στήσαι ὡς κάλλιστον· τὴν δὲ θυσίαν κα[ί] τὸν ἄγωνα καὶ τὴν στεφανηφορίαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν παν[ί]γυριν γίνεσθαι αὐτῷ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτ[ος, κα]θ' ἄπερ καὶ πρότερο[v] συνετελείτο (“to demarcate a sanctuary in his honour, set up an altar and erect the most beautiful sculpture possible. The sacrifice, the *agon* and the crowned procession and the rest of the festival in his honour is to be staged on an annual basis, as it was celebrated also formerly”). The phrase κα]θ' ἄπερ καὶ πρότερο[v] συνετελείτο (“as it

19. *Ionia*. Ephesos: At 3.104.3, Thucydides refers to the *Ephesia* of his own day; Hornblower suggests that these *Ephesia* were in fact the *Panionia*, which according to Diodorus (15.49.1) were relocated from Mykale to a site near Ephesos, at a date which Hornblower assumes was 440/39;⁴⁸⁷ if this is accepted, it may be worth noting that a retrospective note in Dionysios of Halikarnassos suggests that the *Panionia* included equestrian and athletic competitions.⁴⁸⁸ This detail, however, is not independently attested⁴⁸⁹ and the wording of the passage in Dionysios is so close to that of Thucydides that dependence seems certain.⁴⁹⁰ Nevertheless, Thucydides' information on athletic and equestrian competitions seemingly refers only to the festival on Delos (above 71–72), and not to the *Ephesia*, although certainty is impossible on this point.⁴⁹¹ The *Ephesia*, then, may or may not have included competitions in the fifth century; it certainly did include athletic contests in the later fourth century, when Herogeiton of Magnesia won the boys' *stadion*. At that point, then, foreigners could enter the competitions and entrants were divided into age-classes (*paides* are attested and so presumably men may be assumed as well).⁴⁹² *Agones* at Ephesos, moreover, are referred to in a fourth-century grant of citizenship and other honours to a Kyrenaian: προεδρίην ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν,⁴⁹³ and some of these were probably athletic or equestrian; equestrian competitions, certainly, are indicated by Xenophon's mention of a hippodrome in early fourth-century Ephesos⁴⁹⁴ as well as by an inscription of the late fourth century recording an equestrian victory at the *Epheseia* by an Athenian.⁴⁹⁵

was celebrated also formerly”) suggests that this is in fact a re-dedication of a pre-existing festival, which probably existed at least by the later Classical period.

487. Hornblower 1982: 245.

488. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25; see Hornblower 1982: 242.

489. Stylianou 1983: 249.

490. Hornblower 1982: 242 n. 7.

491. Stylianou 1983: 247.

492. *I. Delphes* 4.216.

493. *I. Ephesos* 1389 (“a front seat of honour at the contests”). See also *SEG* 39 1153.10 of 325–275: προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι οἷς ἡ πόλις ἄγει (“a front seat of honour at all the contests staged by the state”).

494. Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.16.

495. *IG* II² 3138.

A decree of the mid fourth century by Erythrai includes προεδρίην ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν among the honours bestowed on a man from Mylasa.⁴⁹⁶

An honorary decree by Kolophon dating to the second half of the fourth century includes among the privileges bestowed on the honorands [πρ]οεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσ[ιν], of which some were probably athletic or equestrian.⁴⁹⁷

At Priene, the existence of a fourth-century stadium suggests competitions in foot-races.⁴⁹⁸ A fourth-century decree by the city in honour of the Athenian state grants all Athenians προεδ[ρίαν] ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι,⁴⁹⁹ and a late fourth- or early third-century inscription refers to τοὺς κοινούς τῆς πόλεως ἀγῶνας;⁵⁰⁰ some of these *agones* will probably have been athletic or equestrian.

After the battle of Aigospotamoi in 405, according to Plutarch, the *Heraia* on Samos were, presumably for a brief period only, renamed *Lysandreia* to honour the victorious Spartan admiral Lysander who, as some saw it, had liberated the island from Athenian oppression.⁵⁰¹ That the *Lysandreia* included athletic contests is clear from a late Classical or early Hellenistic inscription on a statue base from the Samian Heraion referring to four victories in the *pankration* at this festival.⁵⁰² The *Lysandreia* included poetic contests as well and it appears from Plutarch, who presumably cites the early Hellenistic historian Douris of Samos itself, that poets from Kolophon and Herakleia competed at the festival in Lysander's day.⁵⁰³ Accordingly,

496. *SEG* 31 969.11 (“a front seat of honour at the contests”).

497. *AJPhil* 1935: 379–80 no. 4.8 (“a front seat of honour at the contests”). One of these *agones* may have been the *Klaria* in honour of Apollo, attested for Hellenistic Kolophon (*Inscr. Cos* IV 203.12); the festival may possibly be attested in the late fourth century by *IG* II² 3138, in which case an Athenian won an equestrian victory at Kolophon.

498. Kyle 1993: 61 n. 27.

499. *I.Priene* 5.8–9 (350–300): “a front seat of honour at the contests”.

500. *I.Priene* 4.11: “the public contests of the state”.

501. Plut. *Lys.* 18.4: Σάμιοι δὲ τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς Ἡραῖα Λυσάνδρεια καλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο (“The Samians voted to call their local Heraia ‘Lysandreia’”). See also Shipley 1987: 133–34; Flower 1988: 131–32; Larmour 1999: 173 no. 7.

502. *IG* XII.6 334.

503. Plut. *Lys.* 18.4: Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦ Κολοφωνίου καὶ Νικηράτου πινὸς Ἡρακλεώτου ποιήμασι Λυσάνδρεια διαγωνισαμένων κτλ. (“When Antimachos of Kolophon and a

the musical competitions were open to foreign entrants and it is a fair assumption that this applies to the athletic contests as well. The *Heraia* proper predated the *Lysandreia*, presumably even considerably so,⁵⁰⁴ and probably included athletic contests prior to the late fifth century. Moreover, a late fourth-century honorary decree from Samos grants the honorand προεδρίαν ἐν το[ῖ]ς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἂν ἡ πόλ[ις] ἄγηι πᾶσιν,⁵⁰⁵ some of which may well have been athletic or equestrian.⁵⁰⁶ Samos may thus have been home to several festivals with competitive contests.⁵⁰⁷

At Teos a “full gymnastic program”⁵⁰⁸ has been assumed for the festival of the *Anthesteria*.⁵⁰⁹ The assumption is based on a passage in the famous imprecations of the city:⁵¹⁰ καθημένου τῶγῶνος Ἀνθεστηρίοισιν καὶ Ἡρακλείοισιν καὶ Δίοισιν.⁵¹¹ Clearly, three central festivals are referred to here, but whether they included “a full gymnastic program”, or even contests at all, must depend on the interpretation of τῶγῶνος; Tod (*GHI* I: 30) took τῶγῶνος to mean ‘the people assembled to witness a contest’, a perfectly possible meaning attested *e.g.*

certain Nikeratos of Herakleia had entered the *Lysandreia* with poems”.

504. After all, the heyday of the Samian Heraion was the Archaic period (Kyrieleis 1993: 129). Inscribed dedications to Hera begin in the first half of the sixth century (*IG* XII.6 538.II.2–3: Διαγόρης Ἡρηι μὲν ἀν<εθ>ηκ|εν (“Diagoras de[di]cated me to Hera”)) and the first elaborately monumental temple was constructed *c.* 570–560 and replaced in the second half of the century by an even more monumental though never fully completed construction (Kyrieleis 1993: 126–27, 134).

505. *IG* XII.6 38.22–23: “a front seat of honour at all the contests that the city may stage.”

506. *IG* XII.6 56.26–27 (*c.* 306) and 150.9 (late fourth century) contain similar grants. Note that *IG* XII.6 119.12 (*c.* 280–246) contains a grant of προεδρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ (“a front seat of honour in the theatre”) which may suggest that the Samians distinguished between honorary seats in the theatre and at the agonistic contests.

507. At 6.2.9 Pausanias discusses a victory monument of the early fourth century commemorating a Samian Olympic victor; he does not quote the epigram of the monument verbatim but summarizes its contents which *i.a.* are that Σάμιοι τὰ ἐς ἀθλητὰς ἄριστοι, which, though clearly celebratory, points to a well-developed athletic culture on the island.

508. Scanlon 2002: 290.

509. Nilsson 1906: 267–68 with Scanlon 2002: 290.

510. Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 30.B.31–34.

511. “when the *agon* is assembled at the Anthesteria and the Herakleia and the Dia.”

in epic poetry.⁵¹² If this interpretation is accepted,⁵¹³ contests will be attested also for the *Herakleia* and the *Dia*, and athletic contests at festivals for Herakles and Zeus are, of course, inherently likely.

20. *Karia*. An honorary decree of the late fourth century⁵¹⁴ by the *polis* of Iasos includes προεδρίη ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν⁵¹⁵ among the honours granted to two Athenians, and these *agones* probably included athletic or equestrian competitions.

A document from Mylasa dating to 317 refers to both a *palaistra* and a *gymnasion* in the city,⁵¹⁶ and while this is not *conclusive* evidence for the existence of competitions, it does attest to local interest in athletics.

21. *Crete*. The evidence for athletics in the large island of Crete in the late Archaic and Classical periods is exiguous compared to that for other areas of similar importance, and no direct evidence for the existence of agonistic festivals on Crete has survived. However, as is well known, the evidence for late Archaic and Classical Crete in general is extremely sparse.⁵¹⁷ Accordingly, in this case absence of evidence need not be evidence of absence, and there are in fact a few indications that athletics were practised on Crete during this ‘dark age’. The best is the existence at early fifth-century Gortyn of a *gymnasion*,⁵¹⁸ which, even if it is not explicit evidence of competitions, at least documents investment in athletic facilities. Such investment may possibly also be attested for fifth-century Eleutherna: a very fragmentary inscription seems to contain the phrase [ε]ν δρομο⁵¹⁹ of which a possible interpretation is [ἐ]ν δρόμῳ, which may be understood as “during a race”,⁵²⁰ “on the race-track”, “in the stadium” or perhaps “in the gymnasium”.⁵²¹

512. Laser 1987: 11–13.

513. As it should be: see Ellsworth 1976: esp. 232; Scanlon 1983: 148–54.

514. *I.Iasos* 60.

515. “a front seat of honour at the contests.”

516. *I.Mylasa* 21.9–13.

517. Perlman 2004: 1149.

518. *ICIV* 64.6.

519. *SEG* 23 572.3.

520. Tzifopoulos 1998: 158.

521. *Suda*, Δ 1535 s.v. δρόμοις: δρόμοις: τοῖς γυμνασίοις κατὰ Κρήτας; and Tzifopoulos 1998: 151.

Moreover, a passage in Xenophon's *Anabasis* is of interest in this context: when, early in the year 400, the remnants of the Ten Thousand Greek mercenaries who had served with the Persian pretender Kyros had fought their way back through enemy territory to the southern shore of the Black Sea – Greek territory – they celebrated with sacrifices and athletic competitions. The longest distance in which Greek foot-racers competed was the *dolichos*. On the occasion in question, the *dolichos* was entered by *more than sixty Cretans* – and seemingly by Cretans only.⁵²²

Finally, Crete produced perhaps as many as seven Olympic victors in the Classical period: one was a boxer,⁵²³ one was a sprinter,⁵²⁴ and four were long-distance runners.⁵²⁵ The seventh *Olympionikes* is attested by *Neue IvO* 25, an epigram of the fourth century from Olympia commemorating a successful runner with two Olympic victories, two Pythian victories, at least one Nemean victory, and a Panathenaic victory to his credit; he may have been a Cretan, though this is not certain.⁵²⁶

Cretans, obviously, must have practised athletics and perhaps foot-races in particular, as suggested by the passage from the *Anabasis* and by the Classical *Olympionikai* from Crete. This emphasis on foot-races may possibly be a reflection of the peculiar social system assumed to have existed on the island. On Crete, the term δρομέυς (“runner”), it is held, designated a young man of the age-group of the *dromeis*, the first age-group after the *ephebeia* when the younger men still underwent military training and had limited citizen rights. Running, as is suggested by the name, must have been central to the training of young Cretan citizens to be, and thus an important feature of

522. Xen. *An.* 4.8.27: δόλιχον δὲ Κρηῖτες πλείους ἢ ἑξήκοντα ἔθειον. See also Golden 1998: 2 and Tzifopoulos 1998: 145–46. – It may also be noted that Plato seems to have been of the opinion that *gymnasia* – that is: athletic training (Petermandl 2013: 468 n. 37) – was an ancient practice on Crete: ἤρχοντο τῶν γυμνασίων πρῶτοι μὲν Κρηῖτες (*Resp.* 452d).

523. Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 181.

524. Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 274.

525. Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 296, 390/398, 367b, and 251, *i.e.* Ergoteles of Himera, who was a Cretan from Knossos by birth.

526. *Neue IvO* 25.5; see also Ebert 1972b: no. 48.5 and *CEG* II 849.5.

Cretan society, producing fit and able runners.⁵²⁷ However, it should be noted that this reconstruction of a Cretan social system is built primarily on late Classical literary evidence of sometimes doubtful reliability and on Hellenistic inscriptions. Prior to the Hellenistic period the term *dromeus* is epigraphically attested only at Gortyn (*IC* IV 72) and at Eleutherna (*SEG* 41 739), curiously enough the very cities for which other tiny scraps of evidence suggest the practice of athletics: on the basis of the surviving evidence, it cannot be claimed that such a social system existed throughout the island, which comprised *at least* 47 *poleis* in addition to Gortyn and Eleutherna.⁵²⁸

22. *Rhodos*. Contests in honour of Helios are attested for fifth-century Rhodos – “never particularly noted for athletic festivals”⁵²⁹ – by a bronze hydria of the second half of the fifth century⁵³⁰ inscribed: ἄθλον ἐγ’ Ῥόδο παρ’ Ἀλίο.⁵³¹ The inscription predates the synoecism of Rhodos carried out in 408,⁵³² but the provenance of the hydria is not on record, and so the location of the contests attested by the vessel is unknown. A black-figure amphora of the fourth century from Kamiros “given as prize to victors in the Helicia” is reported in *SEG* 40 669.

A fifth-century proxeny decree⁵³³ from Lindos grants the honor and [π]ροεδρ[ίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι],⁵³⁴ and some of these *agones* were probably athletic or equestrian. An inscription on a statuette from the acropolis of Lindos dating to 600–550⁵³⁵ may possibly refer to a victory in a local Lindian *agon*: [B]ήρετις νικάσας π[---].⁵³⁶ The last word

527. See the discussion by Tzifopoulos 1998: 150–69.

528. Perlman 2004.

529. Harris 1960: 29.

530. Johnston 1977; Amandry 1980: 211 n. 4.I; *SEG* 27 481. See also Larmour 1999: 181 no. 27; Parker 2009: 207.

531. “A prize from Rhodos, from <the contests of> Helios.”

532. On the synoecism producing the city-state of Rhodos, see Gabrielsen 2000.

533. *I.Lindos* 15.

534. “a front [s]ea[t of honour at the contests]”.

535. *I.Lindos* 1688; Jeffery, *LSAG* 356 no. 7. On the inscription see Kourou *et al.* 2002: 25–26.

536. “[B]eretic <set me up> after a victory in the [-].”

may perhaps be restored Π[ύθια],⁵³⁷ although π[ύξ]⁵³⁸ or π[άλιν]⁵³⁹ seems more likely, especially since the statuette is quite modest. If one of the latter restorations is preferred, the absence of an indication of the venue of Beretis' victory may be taken to mean that it was evident and thus Lindian, in which case at least one Lindian athletic contest dates back to the sixth century.

Much the same may be said about a dedication from Ialysos, an inscribed sixth-century bronze vase, which is taken to have been dedicated by a victorious athlete in the sanctuary of Athena:⁵⁴⁰ Εὐαρχός μ' ἀνέθ[εκ]ε παῖς Ἀνδροφέλεος τῷ Κορυνθίῳ⁵⁴¹ [ἄ]εθλον.⁵⁴² The complete absence of any indication of the origin of the prize may perhaps suggest that this was self-evident and that the prize then hailed from a local festival; or perhaps it suggests that the emphasis of the dedicatory text is not on the dedicant's feat but on his social standing as set out by his genealogy, though this need not of course mean that the prize was not won at Ialysos itself.

In the synoecized city of Rhodos itself, finally, the Hellenistic stadium had a fourth-century predecessor with opposite, *i.e.* east-west, orientation,⁵⁴³ which suggests the existence of foot-race competitions at Rhodos city in the fourth century.

23. *Pamphylia*. A series of late fifth-century to fourth-century starters from Aspendos in Pamphylia depicts on the obverse belted wrestlers in action and this type may be testimony to a local agonistic festival.⁵⁴⁴ Kyle suggests that belt wrestling at Aspendos may have been “a remnant from much earlier traditions.”⁵⁴⁵ Such traditions may have been non-Greek: Thucydides at 1.6.5 states that in

537. “in the P[ythian Games].”

538. “in b[oxing].”

539. “in w[restling].”

540. *SEG* 53 819.

541. *SEG* 53 819 *ad loc.*: Κορυνθίος is not an ethnic, but the name of Euarchos' grandfather.

542. “Euarchos, the son of Andropheles, son of Korynthios, set me, his prize, up”, *i.e.* to Athena.

543. Valavanis 1999: esp. 99 with Fig. 4.

544. Kyle 2007: 149 (for the type, see the coin illustrated at Kyle 2007: 233 fig. 12.1b).

545. Kyle 2007: 149.

his day some of the ‘Asiatic barbarians’ wrestled (and boxed) “in loincloths”, and the Aspendian type may be a reflection of that. Aspendos was presumably a *polis* whose Greek identity was not obvious. It is reported to have been a foundation by Argos,⁵⁴⁶ but the dialect of its inscriptions indicates “a substantial indigenous Pamphylian population.”⁵⁴⁷ The type, then, may be an attempt to emphasize a locally rooted Greek identity.

24. *Egypt*. At Naukratis, a *palaistra* dedicated to Apollo is attested by a dedicatory inscription of the fourth century.⁵⁴⁸ While not conclusive evidence of *contests* staged by Naukratis, it is at least evidence indicative of local interest in athletics.

1.3.4 Contests Attested for the Late Archaic Period

Some (of these) athletic festivals can, often even without the evidence of epinician poetry, be traced back into the sixth century,⁵⁴⁹ as e.g. the festival on Delos (above 71–72), some of those at Lakedaimon (above 63–65), the *Hellotia* at Corinth,⁵⁵⁰ the *Anakeia* at Athens (above 67) or the festival for Herakles at Eretria (above 69). Not all evidence for agonistic festivals in the sixth century is conclusive, but it is nonetheless worth surveying, along with other evidence attesting to the athletic culture in the sixth century.

1. *Magna Graecia*. Dionysios of Halikarnassos at *Ant. Rom.* 7.9.3 reports the existence of *gymnasia* at sixth-century Kyme. The historicity of this report may seem doubtful,⁵⁵¹ but if it is accepted the passage will be testimony to publicly sponsored athletic facilities.

At 522a, Athenaios of Naukratis, who probably completed his only extant work at the end of the second century AD and thus was a contemporary of Pausanias, quotes the fourth-century philosopher He-

546. Strabo 14.4.2.

547. Keen & Fischer-Hansen 2004: 1215.

548. *Sammelbuch* I 30 no. 355 = *SGDI* 5757: Κλεαίνετος Ἀριστοθέμιος | Μαϊάνδριος Στρατωνίδεω | τῆμ παλαίστρην ἀνέθηκον | Ἀπόλλωνι.

549. That is, they can be traced right back to the point in time where athletics developed into a central feature of Greek culture (Christesen 2007: 59).

550. Morgan 2007: 244–47; above 35–36.

551. Delorme 1960: 35.

rakleides Pontikos verbatim for the information that in the later sixth century the *polis* of Sybaris had offered large money prizes to victorious athletes in contests held at Sybaris, reputedly in order to attract athletes to these Sybaritan competitions and away from the Olympic Games with which the Sybaritan festival was timed to coincide.⁵⁵² At 522c, however, he quotes the fourth-century historian Timaios of Tauromenion on Sicily for much the same information, but this time in reference to the *polis* of Kroton, the mortal enemy of Sybaris.⁵⁵³ Both Sybaris and Kroton were major *poleis* and it cannot be entirely excluded that one or both of them consciously attempted to promote their own contests even to the detriment of the Olympics, though this disrespectful motivation is perhaps better attributed to the later writers than to the Archaic cities. We are left, then, with fourth-century claims that one or two *poleis* in Magna Graecia staged contests with considerable monetary prizes in the later sixth century.⁵⁵⁴ It may, in addition, be noted that late texts report the existence of athletic facilities at both Kroton and Sybaris in the sixth century;⁵⁵⁵ in both cases the evidential value of the texts in question is open to doubt,⁵⁵⁶ though

552. Ath. 522a = Herakleides Pontikos fr. 45 (Wehrli): διόπερ ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο καὶ διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες οἱ καὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων τῶν πάνυ ἀγῶνα ἀμαυρᾶσαι ἐθελήσαντες. καθ' ὃν γὰρ ἄγεται καιρὸν ἐπιτηρήσαντες ἄλλων ὑπερβολῆ ὡς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν ἐπεχείρουν τοὺς ἀθλητάς (“For this reason they were laid waste and entirely destroyed – these people who had even wished to dim the glory of the great Olympics. For they waited for the very time that these are held, and then, by an extravagant offer of prizes, they tried to lure the athletes to their own city” (transl. Gulick 1943 (modified))). See also Young 1984: 81–82; Kyle 1996: 116 and Kyle 2007: 82.

553. Ath. 522c = Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 45: ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ Κροτωνιάται, φησὶν ὁ Τιμαῖος, ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν πανήγυριν καταλῦσαι, τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ προθέεντες ἀργυρικὸν σφόδρα πλούσιον ἀγῶνα (“Later, however, the people of Kroton also, Timaios says, tried to abolish the Olympic festival by setting up at the same time with it contests with very rich silver prizes” (transl. Gulick 1943 (modified))). See also Young 1984: 81–82.

554. In itself, the claim that lavish prizes were offered is not incredible: lavish prizes were awarded at the *Panathenaia* (Anderson 2003: 163; Neumann-Hartmann 2014: 36), though these were not cash prizes.

555. Kroton: Ath. 12.518d (*palaistra*); Iambl. *VP* 8.37 (*gymnasion*); Sybaris: Ath. 12.518f (*gymnasia*); this last bit of information is attributed by Athenaios to the early Hellenistic historian Timaios of Tauromenion (= *FGrHist* 566 fr. 49).

556. Delorme 1960: 36.

the existence of athletic facilities at such major city-states seems perfectly possible.

2. *Akarnania*. A bronze discus now in the British Museum and probably from Kephallenia, is a dedication to the *Dioskouroi*; it dates to c. 550–525 and is inscribed as follows: Ἐχσοίδα μ' ἀνέθεκε Διφῶς ῥόροιν μεγάλοιο // χάλκεον ἠδὲ νίκασε Κεφαλάνας μεγαθύμος.⁵⁵⁷ Thus, what we have here is a dedication to the patron gods of athletics of, it would seem, the very discus that the victor used in the competition and testimony to athletic contests in honour of, it must be presumed, the *Dioskouroi* on sixth-century Kephallenia – although in which, if any single, of the four Kephallenian *poleis* the contest was celebrated, is not clear.⁵⁵⁸ Moretti felt that the general drift of the text indicates that Exoidas himself was not a Kephallenian and, accordingly, that the “*modesti agoni locali*” at which he was victorious admitted foreign entrants.⁵⁵⁹

3. *Boiotia*. The contests in honour of Athena Itonia at Koroneia (above 60) may be traced back to the middle of the sixth century if it is accepted that the iconography of a series of mid-sixth-century Boiotian black-figure vases refers to the cult of Athena: among the activities depicted are “agonistic activities”.⁵⁶⁰

The *Herakleia* at Thebes (above 34) may be attested for the sixth century if this is the festival referred to in *IG IV 801*, a grave monument of c. 550–525 from Troizen,⁵⁶¹ set up in honour of one Damotimos by his mother who seems to have crowned the octagonal pillar with a tripod won by Damotimos at Thebes: καὶ τρίπος ἠὸν Θέβασσι θεῶν ἔνικεν.⁵⁶² Alternatively, Damotimos may have won the tripod

557. “Exoidas dedicated me to the sons of mighty Zeus, (the) bronze with which he overcame the great-hearted Kephallenians” (Cook 1987: no. 57 (transl. at p. 60) = *IG IX.1* 649).

558. Kephallenia comprised these four *poleis*: Kranioi; Paleis; Pronnoi; and Same (on which see Gehrke & Wirbelauer 2004). See Moretti, *IAG* no. 6.

559. Moretti, *IAG* no. 6 at 13.

560. Schachter 1981: 122 with refs.

561. For the date: Jeffery, *LSAG* 176.

562. *IG IV 801.3*; “and the tripod which he won in the race at Thebes” (see Legrand 1893: 86 and Legrand 1900: 182). See also Kramer 1970: 59; Ringwood 1927: 54. – A

in funeral contests, as suggested by Jeffery.⁵⁶³ Funeral contests are certainly well-attested for Archaic Boiotia (above 18–20), but an inscription documenting that Damotimos' victory was in fact in such contests will have been incised on the tripod itself, and so this case cannot be settled.⁵⁶⁴ In favour of the view that the *Herakleia* included competitions already in the sixth century may be cited the existence of a stadium at sixth-century Thebes (above 34). If it is accepted that the victory of Damotimos was won at the *Herakleia*, this festival must have admitted foreign entrants already in the sixth century.

4. *Corinthia*. As already noted, Pindar at *Ol.* 13.40 in honour of the sprinter and pentathlete Xenophon of Corinth mentions seven victories at the contests of the *Hallotia* by Xenophon's father Thessalos, who was a successful sprinter in the late Archaic period.⁵⁶⁵ As noted above (36), the competitions at this festival may even have attracted non-Corinthian entrants. Another contest in Corinth may be attested by an inscribed fragment of a presumably sixth-century tablet (pinax): Περαιόθεν νιϑόμεϛ[...?];⁵⁶⁶ the contest may have been associated with a village in the Peraia area, but no details are known.⁵⁶⁷

5. *Sikyonia*. The *Pythia* at *Sikyon* (above 36–37) may have been instituted during the reign of the early sixth-century tyrant Kleisthenes, if the information provided by a Pindaric scholion is historical.⁵⁶⁸

tripod was also awarded as prize in the Archaic period at the contests at the festival of Apollo Triopios at Knidos (below 92–93).

563. Jeffery, *LSAG* 176. See also McGowan 1995: 622. On funerary games in the historical period, see section 1.2 above (15–22).

564. McGowan 1995: 622: "Whether Damotimos won the prize at funerary games or in a contest in honor of a deity is not clear."

565. See also section 1.3.2 (11) at p. 47 above and below at p. 90.

566. "We were victorious at Peraia (?)".

567. Wachter 2001: COP 85 pp. 151–52; Morgan 2007: 230.

568. Schol. in Pind. *Nem.* 9 *inscr.*: ... διὰ ταύτην τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τὸ τρίτον τῶν λαφύρων ἔδοσαν τῷ Κλεισθένῃ καὶ Σικυωνίοις, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Σικυώνιοι τὰ Πύθια πρῶτον παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἔθεσαν. For a discussion of the likely source from which the scholiast derived this information, see Griffin 1979. See also McGregor 1941: 282–83; Kramer 1970: 54; Griffin 1982: 53–54; Hubbard 1992: 82–83; Parker 1994: 414; Kyle 2007: 83;

6. *Achaia*. The competitions at Achaian Pellene (above 37) are attested for the late sixth century by an inscription from the Heraion in the Argolid which lists a victory at Pellene in an unknown event by one Timokles alongside victories at Nemea, Tegea and Kleitor.⁵⁶⁹

7. *Arkadia*. The contests at the *Koriasia* at Kleitor (above 40) are attested for the late sixth century by an inscription from the Heraion in the Argolid which lists a victory at Kleitor in an unknown event by one Timokles alongside victories at Nemea, Tegea and Pellene.⁵⁷⁰

A late sixth-century inscription from Tegea itself probably attests to the existence of the *Aleaia* (above 40) in honour of the chief divinity of the *polis*, Athena Alea;⁵⁷¹ moreover, a late sixth-century inscription from the Heraion in the Argolid lists a victory at Tegea in an unknown event by one Timokles alongside victories at Nemea, Kleitor and Pellene.⁵⁷²

8. *Lakedaimon*. The Spartan athletic festival of the *Parparonia* (above 64) celebrated Sparta's victory over the Argives at the Battle of the Champions at Parparos in Thyreatis, a battle fought in the mid sixth century.⁵⁷³ Its agonistic competitions are not actually attested prior to the later fifth century,⁵⁷⁴ but if the festival was instituted shortly after the battle they may have existed already in the sixth century. This must remain uncertain, however.

9. *Argolis*. Evidence for equestrian competitions at the festival of Hera at the Argive Heraion in the late sixth century is provided by a sepulchral inscription found at the site and dated to 525–500.⁵⁷⁵

Papakonstantinou 2010: 72. Farrington 2013 accepts that the *Pythia* were founded by Kleisthenes.

569. *IG IV* 510; see also *SEG* 14 315 and Moretti, *IAG* no. 7. Morgan & Hall 2004: 485.

570. *IG IV* 510; see also *SEG* 14 315 and Moretti, *IAG* no. 7.

571. *IG V.2* 75 (525–500). On this inscription, see Ebert 1972b; Dubois 1986: 12–13. See also Jost 1985: 374.

572. *IG IV* 510; see also *SEG* 14 315 and Moretti, *IAG* no. 7.

573. Ringwood 1927: 63; Roller 1981a: 7; Larmour 1999: 184 no. 35.

574. By *IG V.1* 213.

575. For this inscription, see Daly 1939 (late sixth–early fifth century); Friedländer & Hoffleit 1948: no. 136 (c. 500); Jeffery, *LSAG* 159, 168 no. 15 (525–500?); *CEG* I 136 (525–500?); *SEG* II 305 (in. s. V^a).

The text commemorates one Hysematas, described as *aethlophoros* ('prize-winner') and thus presumably a successful athlete,⁵⁷⁶ and states that he was buried [π]έλας ἠπποδρόμοιο, "near the hippodrome". The existence of a hippodrome must be considered evidence for the existence of equestrian contests, presumably at the *Hekatombia*, irrespective of who administered the festival at this date.⁵⁷⁷

At *Nem.* 5.50–52, Pindar records a double victory (in boxing and in *pankration*) by Themistios of Aigina at Epidauros, *i.e.* at the *Asklepieia* (above 43). According to the scholiast, Themistios was the maternal grandfather of Pytheas, the honorand of *Nemea* 5 and a boy victor in the Nemean *pankration* in the 480s; Themistios' Epidaurian victories, then, must belong to the sixth century and they are commonly placed *c.* 530.⁵⁷⁸ Epidauros, in conclusion, was hostess of an athletic *agon* already in the 530s, an *agon* by then open to non-Epidaurians.

10. *Attika*. At Athens, the Great *Panathenaia* were instituted (or reformed) in 566/5.⁵⁷⁹ No fewer than 172 of the distinct Panathenaic amphoras – which held the olive oil from the sacred trees of Athena given as prize to athletic victors – dating to the sixth century are catalogued by Bentz.⁵⁸⁰ The earliest of these amphoras belong to the decade 570–560, during which the *Panathenaia* were (re)founded; from early on they tend "to have an inscription to indicate that the vase is one of the prizes for the contests".⁵⁸¹ Thus, the famous Burgon amphora,⁵⁸² one of the very earliest,⁵⁸³ is inscribed: TON AΘENEΘ<E>N AΘAON EMI.⁵⁸⁴ These sixth-century amphoras

576. Or perhaps a successful equestrian competitor: see *SEG* 33 294.

577. Hall 1995: 589–90, 611–13.

578. Sève 1993: 305; Themistios is Sève 1993: 328 no. 29, dated "vers 530?"; see also Perlman 2000: 67 n. 2, "530 B.C. at the latest" and Cogan 2014: 101.

579. Deubner 1956: 23; Kyle 1993: 25–28; Parker 1996: 75, 89–91; Bentz 1998: 12; Anderson 2003: 161. Three inscriptions of the 560s–550s from the Akropolis attest to an athletic *agon* in honour of Athena, presumably the *Panathenaia* (*IG* I³ 507–509; Raubitschek 1949: nos. 326–28; see also Day 2010: 172–74).

580. Bentz 1998: 123–37.

581. Immerwahr 1990: 183.

582. Bentz 1998: no. 6.001 with pl. 1–2.

583. An apparently even older amphora is described in detail by Moore 1999.

584. "I am one of the prizes from Athens."

have been found at Athens, of course, but also at Aiane, Corinth, Istros, Kyrene, Naukratis, Pantikapaion, Samos, Sparta, Syracuse and at Taras, as well as elsewhere. But, as explained above (49), these amphoras are not necessarily evidence of competitors from these *poleis*, though it is likely enough that the sixth-century *Panathenaia* attracted non-Athenian competitors.⁵⁸⁵ In fact, the triple victory in *stadion*, *diaulos*, and hoplite race by Thessalos of Corinth discussed above (47) presumably dates to the late-sixth century: Moretti dates his Olympic victory to 504,⁵⁸⁶ and Shear suggests 506/5 for his Panathenaic victories.⁵⁸⁷ But, as pointed out above (49), the contexts in which Panathenaic amphoras are found may of course suggest participation rather than trade; if, *e.g.*, amphoras are found in sanctuaries, as at Sparta where amphoras have been found at the Menelaion⁵⁸⁸ and in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos⁵⁸⁹ on the akropolis, a fair assumption is that they were dedicated there by victorious participants in the Athenian contests.⁵⁹⁰ Sixth-century amphoras have been found in sanctuaries also at Corinth, Kyrene, Samos, Taras and Taucheira;⁵⁹¹ one dated to 500–490 has been found in the sanctuary of Aphaia in Aigina.⁵⁹²

Moreover, some inscriptions on sixth-century amphoras attest to the existence of age-classes⁵⁹³ as well as to both *stadion* and *diaulos* as events.⁵⁹⁴ The iconography of sixth-century Panathenaic amphoras, in addition, attests to the existence of contests in *e.g.* the hoplite-race, the *dolichos*, the *pentathlon*,⁵⁹⁵ *pankration*, boxing, wrestling and in

585. Anderson 2003: 226 n. 18 with refs.

586. Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 154.

587. Shear 2003: 106–7.

588. Bentz 1998: no. 6.067.

589. Bentz 1998: no. 6.097–103.

590. Hodkinson 1999: 161 (accepted by Potter 2012: 112).

591. Taras: Bentz 1998: no. 6.136; Corinth: no. 6.032; Kyrene: nos. 6.045, 6.091, 6.166–67; Samos: Anhang II, 224; Taucheira: no. 6.042.

592. Polinskaya 2013: 191 n. 227.

593. Bentz 1998: Cat. no. 6.002 attesting to men's *stadion*; see also the amphora discussed in Moore 1999, likewise attesting to men's *stadion*; see also Brandt 1978: 21.

594. *Stadion*: Bentz 1998: Cat. nos. 6.002, 006, 007, 016, 017; *diaulos*: Bentz 1998: Cat. nos. 6.011, 044 (see also Brandt 1978: 11 n. 3).

595. *Pentathlon* is probably referred to also in *IG I³* 597.

equestrian events; an equestrian victory by the Athenian Alkmeonides is attested by a dedication from the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoieus in Boiotia.⁵⁹⁶

Two pieces of evidence suggest competitions on a local level in sixth-century Attika: contests seem to be attested for the deme Oe by a late sixth-century marble discus inscribed: Ὀἴθεν ἄθλα;⁵⁹⁷ and the *Eleusinia* at Eleusis is attested for the first half of the sixth century if the inscribed jumping weight of 575–550 found at Eleusis and commemorating a victory in jumping (or *pentathlon*) celebrates a victory won in the *Eleusinia*, as seems likely.⁵⁹⁸

11. *The Aegean*. At Koresia on Keos the existence of a sixth-century *palaistra* is reported by a late source of doubtful historicity;⁵⁹⁹ however, the success of Keian athletes in Panhellenic competitions in the sixth and fifth century⁶⁰⁰ is an argument in favour of an active athletic milieu on the island.

12. *Thrace*. At Chersonesos, as Herodotos reports at 6.38.1,⁶⁰¹ were staged, presumably annual,⁶⁰² equestrian and athletic competitions in honour of Miltiades of Athens as had he been the oecist (‘founder’) of the city, presumably from the time of his death (c. 524?).⁶⁰³

596. *IG* I³ 1469 on which see Schachter 1994b and Nicholson 2005: 53–57. On the early programme of the *Panathenaia*: Brandt 1978: 20–21; Bentz 1998: 63; Moore 1999: 49; Neils 2007.

597. *IG* I³ 1396 (“Prizes from Oe”).

598. Moretti, *IAG* no. 1 (*ἡαλόμενος νίκεσεν Ἐπαίνετος*) with discussion; Kramer 1970: 36; Kyle 1993: 47, 201 A22. See also *IG* I³ 991, an inscription of c. 550 testifying to a δρόμος, i.e. a *stadion* or a hippodrome, at Eleusis (McGowan 1995: 623, 629; Day 2010: 174).

599. *Ael. VH* 4.24; see Delorme 1960: 86.

600. Bacchyl. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8; Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 116, 288.

601. καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντι [sc. Miltiades the Elder] Χερσονησίται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστάσι, ἐν τῷ Λαμψακηνῶν οὐδενὶ ἐγγίγνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι (“Ever since his death [sc. Miltiades’] the people of the Chersonese have offered in his honour the sacrifices commonly due to the Founder of a state, with chariot-races and athletic contests in which nobody from Lampsakos is allowed to compete” (transl. De Sélincourt 2003). Herodotos’ wording (esp. θύουσι and ἐπιστάσι) suggests that the *agon* still took place in his own day. On the passage: Malkin 1987: 190–95.

602. Malkin 1987: 195–200.

603. Isaac 1986: 171.

Herodotos' note that no citizen of Lampsakos – a city against which Miltiades had been waging war and which had at one point taken him prisoner⁶⁰⁴ – could participate in these contests suggests that they were in fact open to citizens of other *poleis* in the area.⁶⁰⁵ Even such rather local competitions, then, may regularly have been open to outside competitors already in the Archaic period, as *e.g.* the competitions at Epidauros demonstrably were (above 89).

13. *Propontic Thrace*. An Archaic inscription from Byzantion contains part of the word *stadiodromos* ('stadion-runner').⁶⁰⁶ Though other interpretations are obviously possible, it cannot be excluded that this is evidence for athletic competitions at Archaic Byzantion.⁶⁰⁷

14. *Ionia*. Athenaios of Naukratis at 13.602d – a passage drawing on the third-century philosopher Hieronymos of Rhodos⁶⁰⁸ – reports the existence of a *palaistra* in sixth-century Samos; the historicity of this report may seem doubtful,⁶⁰⁹ but if it is accepted⁶¹⁰ the passage is testimony to local interest in athletics.

15. *Karia*. According to Herodotos (1.144), the Dorian *hexapolis* of Halikarnassos, Ialysos, Kamiros, Knidos, Kos and Lindos celebrated an *agon* – called *Dorieia* in late sources⁶¹¹ – in honour of Apollo Triopios at which a bronze tripod was the prize for victory.⁶¹² It is not clear from Herodotos which disciplines the *agon* included, but it

604. Hdt. 6.37.1: ὁ Μιλτιάδης ... ἐπολέμησε Λαμιακηνοῖσι· καί μιν οἱ Λαμιακηνοὶ λοχίσαντες αἰρέουσι ζωγρήη ("Miltiades next attacked Lampsakos; but he was ambushed and taken prisoner" (transl. De Sélincourt 2003)).

605. Scott 2005: 176.

606. *I.Byz* 42.3: σταδιοδρο[...].

607. As deduced by Laitar 2004: 917: "Games may be deduced from an archaic inscription mentioning a *stadion*-runner (*I.Byz* 42.3)." The inscription may also refer to the hoplite race: *I.Byz ad* 42.4. At 918, Laitar even assumes the existence of a stadium on the basis of this fragment: "The existence of the stadium may be deduced from an archaic inscription mentioning a stadion-runner (*I.Byz*. 42)."

608. Fr. 34 (Wehrli).

609. Delorme 1960: 35.

610. As by Shipley 1987: 72 and 90.

611. *Syll.*³ 1065.15; 1067.5.

612. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγωνί τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι ("It used to be customary at the Games of the Triopian Apollo to give bronze tripods as prizes" (transl. De Sélincourt 2003)).

is commonly taken to be an athletic *agon*⁶¹³ and clearly was so in later periods.⁶¹⁴ Nor is Herodotos explicit on the date at which the festival was initially celebrated, but it is commonly taken to go back to the Archaic period and Herodotos' phrase τὸ πάλαι ("in ancient times") certainly suggests so.⁶¹⁵

1.4 Limitations of the Evidence and Problems of Interpretation

On an optimistic interpretation the Archaic evidence surveyed in the sections above attests to athletic competitions (or at least athletic activities) in more than thirty city-states in twenty different geographical areas across the Greek world in the sixth century. It is, however, obvious that not all the sources cited provide *conclusive* evidence for the existence of agonistic *festivals*. Installations such as *gymnasia* or *palaistra*, clearly, attest to training and the athletic lifestyle as such, rather than to *competitions*, though these were an essential part of the athletic lifestyle. Another problem is that the existence of such installations are often reported by rather late sources whose reliability may be doubted: in some cases, such as Samos, the report may perhaps be cautiously accepted as reliable, whereas in other cases it may be suspected that references to such installations serve the literary purposes of their authors, as pointed out by Delorme in the cases of *e.g.* Kyme and Kroton,⁶¹⁶ and may, accordingly, lack a historical base. Similar problems of reliability obtain in the case of agonistic festivals whose sixth-century existence is attested only by scholiasts: the *Pythia* at Sikyon is a case in point. The sixth-century existence of this festival is reported by a Pindaric scholion,⁶¹⁷ and the reliability of the information cannot be assessed.

613. Forrest 2000: 281; Asheri *et al.* 2007: 175.

614. *Syll.*³ 1065.16 (boys' *pankration*); 1067.5 (men's *stadium*).

615. Jeffery 1976: 195. Fifth-century coins from Kos depicting a *diskobolos* are interpreted by Klose & Stumpf 1996: *ad no.* 78 to refer to these games in honour of Apollo, which, if correct, means that they surely included athletics and persisted into the Classical period; see also n. 447 above.

616. Delorme 1960: 35-36.

617. Schol. in Pind. *Nem.* 9 *inscr.* (text above in n. 568).

Other groups of source do not admit of indisputable interpretations, ceramic iconography being an obvious example: competitions at the festival for Athena at Koroneia are inferred from agonistic scenes on mid sixth-century Boiotian black-figure vases whose iconography seems to refer to the cult of Athena – but, as pointed out by Schachter, pictures on vases are “always a tricky thing to deal with”.⁶¹⁸

Fragmentary inscriptions, likewise, are often difficult (or impossible) to interpret. An extreme example is provided by the inscription from Byzantion from which the existence of a stadium and athletic competitions has been inferred (*I.Byz* 42):

ἀπομα[---]
 αἰχματα[---]
 σταδιοδρ[---]
 ὁ τόπος α[---]

The existence of an Archaic stadium is inferred from the third fragmentary line which probably preserves a part of some form of the word *stadiodromos* (‘stadium-runner’). This is not quite the same as a stadium, and even if the text does refer to athletics here – as it certainly seems to do – it need not be athletics and competitions *at Byzantion*. This applies even if we accept the editor’s suggestion that the second fragmentary line refers to *aichmatai* (‘spearmen’) and take this as a reference to a race in armour –⁶¹⁹ though Greek *hoplitodromoi* did not usually run with spears. Clearly, this inscription may refer to competitions at Byzantion – or it may not.

Another serious problem is presented by the fact that inscriptions often admit of only tentative datings. *IG* IV 510, to give a single example, is dated from its letter forms to the late sixth century (525–500) by Moretti and Jeffery,⁶²⁰ followed by Ebert and *SEG*.⁶²¹ Such a

618. Schachter 1981: 122.

619. See the editorial comment *ad* line 2: “Es ist vielleicht von einem Waffenlauf die Rede.”

620. Moretti, *IAG* no. 7; Jeffery, *LSAG* 169 no. 16.

621. Ebert 1972a: no. 10; *SEG* 14 315.

date can be only approximate, and The Packard Humanities Institute's webpage of searchable Greek inscriptions⁶²² gives the date "bef. 460 BC" to the inscription. If the inscription in fact belongs to the fifth century, evidence for the sixth-century existence of the agonistic festivals at Kleitor and Pellene disappears.

On the other hand, some of the evidence treated as referring to the fifth century in the survey above may not impossibly refer to the sixth. The epigram celebrating the Corinthian athlete Nikolaidas perhaps belongs to the late Archaic period and thus possibly to the sixth century.⁶²³ If it does date to the sixth century, it attests to athletics competitions in the sixth century at Aigina, Epidauros, Mt. Lykaion, Megara, Pellene, Phleious, Tegea and Thebes, some of which are not otherwise attested for the Archaic period. Pindar's *Olympian 13* may also contain evidence relating to the sixth century. The ode celebrates a double Olympic victory of 464 by Xenophon of Corinth, but also makes several references to victories achieved by Xenophon's father Thessalos and other members of his extended family, the *Oligaitidai*. Thessalos, as pointed out above (90), was a successful athlete of the late sixth century and had won victories in both Olympia and Delphi as well as in Athens.⁶²⁴ At *Ol.* 13.98–113 Pindar catalogues the victories won by Xenophon's extended family at both periodic and lesser festivals. The ode claims sixty victories for the family at both Nemea and the Isthmos (*Ol.* 13.99) and some of these must almost of necessity belong to the sixth century, like Thessalos' Olympic victory of c. 504. A sixth-century date is, then, also a possibility for some of the other victories which Pindar goes on to list (107–112). These were won at Argos, Eleusis, Marathon, Megara, Mt. Lykaion, Thebes, Pellene, Sikyon as well as on Sicily and Euboia. Similarly, some of the victories won by ancestors of Theaios of Argos may perhaps belong to the sixth century: Theaios is celebrated in *Nem.* 10 for a victory at the Argive *Hekatomboia*, achieved presumably around 464. At vv. 43–48 the ode lists victories won by maternal ancestors of Theaios and these include, in additi-

622. <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/> (visited August 11, 2013).

623. Page, *FGE* 262.

624. Section 1.3.2 (11) above (47) and Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 154.

on to victories at the Isthmos and Nemea, successes at Kleitor, Pelene, Sikyon, Tegea, in Achaia and on Mt. Lykaion.

Clearly, a survey of sixth-century athletic festivals such as the one attempted above must of necessity be somewhat impressionistic in nature. It is, however, important to realize that some festivals are in fact attested for the sixth century by good evidence. Well-attested sixth-century athletic festivals include *e.g.* the *Panathenaia*, the *Eleusinia* and the *Anakeia* at Athens, the *Delia* as well as festivals on Kephallenia, at Corinth, the Argive Heraion, Epidauros, Tegea, several at Sparta, as well as those at Chersonesos and the Dorian hexapolis. It should be noted, moreover, that some festivals are attested by only a single piece of evidence, as *e.g.* the festival at Chersonesos: had Herodotos not remarked upon this festival, we would not have known that sixth-century Chersonesos staged an athletic festival which admitted foreign entrants. This festival, then, is attested by pure chance, as are several others. What this suggests is, of course, that there must have existed a number of athletic festivals which have left no mark in our records at all,⁶²⁵ though there is no way of quantifying this *Dunkelziffer*. The conclusion must be that athletic competitions were included into *numerous* religious festivals already in the sixth century and that there are good reasons to believe that there were in fact many more such athletic festivals than are attested by the surviving evidence, sparse and fragmentary as it is.

The survey presented here, then, can give only a vague impression of the sixth-century athletic circuit. A passage in the Athenian homicide law of Drakon may, however, add a few valuable details to this impressionistic picture of the Archaic circuit.⁶²⁶ The law was probably enacted in the late 620s.⁶²⁷ It survives as a fragmentary inscription from 409/8,⁶²⁸ and the crucial passage to be discussed is cited almost verbatim in Demosthenes (23.38). That provides the

625. As an example of an athletic festival which is not attested in the Archaic or even in the Classical period the festival at Arkadian Mantinea in honour of the patron divinity Poseidon Hippios may be mentioned: it is known only from the Hellenistic period (*JGIV*².1 629) but almost certainly was much older (Jost 1985: 133).

626. The following draws on Nielsen 2013b.

627. Stroud 1968: 66–70; Gagarin 2008: 93.

628. *JG I*³ 104 (on the inscription: Stroud 1968).

basis for a restoration that accords with the preserved remains of text in the fragmentary inscription, which is laid out in stoichedon style (*IG I³ 104.26–29*): the evidence for the wording of this passage of the law, then, is quite solid.⁶²⁹ As the penalty for unpremeditated homicide the law first stipulates exile. It then adds further stipulations including one protecting such a killer while in exile (*Dem. 23.38*): ‘ἐάν τις ἀποκτείνῃ τὸν ἀνδροφόνον’ φησὶν ‘ἢ αἵτιος ἢ φόνου, ἀπεχόμενον ἀγορᾶς ἐφορίας καὶ ἄθλων καὶ ἱερῶν Ἀμφικτυονικῶν, ὡς περ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κτείναντα, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνέχεσθαι.’⁶³⁰ This stipulation is, as pointed out by Gagarin,⁶³¹ a protection of the *androphonos*, but *e contrario* it appears that the killing of an exiled *androphonos* at a border market (ἀγορᾶς ἐφορίας), athletic contests (ἄθλων) or Amphiktyonic rites (ἱερῶν Ἀμφικτυονικῶν)⁶³² is not considered homicide under Drakonian law. Elsewhere, apparently, the *androphonos* counted as an Athenian citizen, who could not legally be killed. The term *athloi* of the law is commonly understood to refer to athletic contests by modern students of Greek law,⁶³³ but more importantly Demosthenes (23.40) so understood it and paraphrased it by οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδ’ ἀγῶνες, “the athletic contests in Hellas”: clearly, he understood it to refer to athletic competitions outside Attika. Why does the law single out markets, contests and Amphiktyonic sacrifices outside Attika as gatherings an *androphonos* had better avoid? Presumably because it was a reasonable assumption that he ri-

629. See also Gagarin 2008: 93.

630. “If someone kills the slayer or is responsible for his being killed while he is avoiding a frontier market, games, and Amphiktyonic rites, he shall be treated on the same basis as one who kills an Athenian” (transl. Stroud 1968: 7). As pointed out by Stroud 1968: 54 n. 95 Ἀμφικτυονικῶν should be construed only with ἱερῶν and not with ἄθλων as well.

631. Gagarin 2008: 98.

632. What exactly *Amphictyonic rites* may have referred to in the 620s is unclear; Demosthenes’ paraphrase (τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν) suggests that he took it to refer to rites at Delphi, and it seems a reasonable assumption that the phrase referred to institutionalized and recurrent rites, not impossibly at Delphi (van Effenterre & Ruzé 1994: 20; Lefèvre 1998: 65). – It is likewise unknown exactly what a border market was, though it was obviously some kind of gathering (Stroud 1968: 53).

633. Stroud 1968: 7, 54; Hansen 1969: 21; Gagarin 2008: 98.

sked meeting Athenians there and thus the kinsmen of this victim(s), who could legally kill him – or to quote Gagarin: “Frontier markets, athletic contests and Amphictyonic sacrifices were international events outside of or on the border of Attika, where a killer and his victim’s relatives might encounter one another. It would be essential to know whether the killer would be protected if he attended them. Draco’s new law provides this information.”⁶³⁴ Drakon, accordingly, must have assumed that if Athenians travelled outside Attika, they would not be unlikely to travel to athletic contests, be it as competitors or spectators. It cannot be entirely excluded that he was thinking of funerary contests (section 1.2 above (15–22)), but these can hardly have been frequent enough to merit mention in an Athenian law. Moreover, the juxtaposition of ἄθλων (“contests”) with ἱερῶν Ἀμφικτυονικῶν (“Amphiktyonic rites”) suggests that Drakon was in fact thinking of recurring events – which means that he thought of contests at religious festivals. Which festivals these can have been in the late-seventh century is a matter for speculation only: the Olympics, presumably, since Athenians had already been victorious at Olympia by the 620s, but the other three festivals of the *periodos* had not yet been institutionalized, and possibly did not yet exist,⁶³⁵ at least not in their later form.⁶³⁶ Most probably they will have been festivals in neighbouring areas such as Boiotia and the Peloponnese and islands close to Attika such as Euboia and Aigina: as we have seen, athletic festivals there are well attested for the sixth century and the Classical period. But the passage of Drakon’s law discussed here suggests the important possibility that there were such festivals already by the late seventh century⁶³⁷ and that they could be expected to attract Athenians.⁶³⁸ These are valuable addi-

634. Gagarin 2008: 98.

635. Miller 2004, 87–112; Kyle 2007, 137–48; see also Funke 2005.

636. If the reference is in fact to athletic festivals at Delphi, Nemea and on the Isthmos, the passage of the law documents an early phase of the later *periodos*, a conclusion almost as important as the one suggested here.

637. It is just possible that the *Delia* on Delos is attested for the seventh century: see n. 443 above.

638. Athenian athletes almost certainly travelled to funerary contests in Boiotia in

tions to the picture of the Archaic circuit emerging from the survey above.⁶³⁹

The athletic circuit of the Classical period is much better known than that of the late Archaic period, due to the appearance of new literary genres such as epinician poetry and historiography as well as the ever increasing number of inscriptions. But even in the Classical period we find athletic festivals attested by a *single* piece of evidence: the competitions at Phleious are a case in point,⁶⁴⁰ if the Nikolaidas-epigram is not in fact Archaic (above 95). Others are *e.g.* the *Aianteia* at Opous, the *Aktias* at Anaktorion, the festival for Herakles at Thespiiai, the one for the *Dioskouroi* at Pheneos, and that for Acheloos at Metapontion, or most of those attested by the stele of Damonon (*IG* V.1 213): without this unique piece of evidence, a good deal less would have been known about athletics at Sparta. Again, what this suggests is that even in the Classical period the attested athletic festivals represent only the tip of an enormous athletic iceberg: there *must* have been athletic festivals which have left no traces whatsoever in the surviving evidence.

Another problem is presented by the question of the lifespan of the attested agonistic festivals. This problem is, of course, particularly acute in the case of festivals attested by a single piece of evidence: did they exist prior to their only attestation? And did they continue to be celebrated beyond this singular attestation? Some agonistic festivals were in fact discontinued, even some of apparently major standing such as the *Delia* on Delos;⁶⁴¹ and new festivals

the seventh century (section 1.2 above (15–22)) and thus the idea that Athenians competed outside Attika in the seventh century finds solid support.

639. It may also be noted that at Hes. *Theog.* 435 we find the phrase ἀεθλεύειν ἐν ἀγῶνι and that Tyrtaios fr. 12.2 (West) refers to feats in foot-races and wrestling – ποδῶν ἀρετῆς and παλαιμοσύνης. The references may be to competitions at funeral contests, but as the discussion of Drakon's law demonstrates, it cannot be excluded that the poets have competitions at religious festivals in mind.

640. From Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16 it appears that Phleious proclaimed an *ekecheiria* in the fourth century, but the passage does not reveal for which festival this truce was proclaimed; it cannot, of course, be excluded that it was for the festival at which Nikolaidas won his victory; Piérart 2004: 614 notes cults of Ganymede and Hera at Phleious.

641. Thuc. 3.106.6 (see Parke 1946: 106 with n. 3).

were founded continuously, such as *e.g.* the *Basileia* at Lebedeia in Boiotia (above 60–61). The athletic circuit, then, was a dynamic phenomenon and the existence of a certain festival at one point in time cannot be taken as evidence that it existed throughout (the late Archaic and) Classical period.

While this is an important reservation, it must be emphasized that numerous festivals did in fact exist throughout the Classical period. Uncontroversial cases are the *Herakleia* at Thebes, the *Alkathoia* at Megara, the *Pythia* at Sikyon, the *Lykaia* in Arkadia, the *Hekatomboia* at the Argive Heraion, the *Asklepieia* at Epidaurus, the *Panathenaia*, *Anakeia*, *Epitaphia* and *Eleusinia* at Athens, the *Ephesia* at Ephesos and the *Heraia* on Samos. In several other cases it is a reasonable assumption that a festival existed throughout the Classical period though this cannot be *proved*: the *Koriasia* at Kleitor are attested for the fifth century and again by post-Classical inscriptions; the *Aleiaia* at Tegea are attested for the fifth century and again by an early Hellenistic inscription; the *Tlapolemeia* in Rhodos are attested for the fifth century and again by a Hellenistic inscription. In all these as well as other cases, a period of discontinuity followed by a later re-foundation cannot be entirely excluded, but it seems a much more economical assumption that they all existed throughout the Classical period but are simply unattested at various points in time due to the general scarcity of our evidence.⁶⁴² The same can be said for such festivals as the *Aianteia* at Opous, the *Aktias* at Anaktoron and the *Dorieia* of the Dorian pentapolis.

Other problems involved in interpreting the Classical evidence surveyed above are the same as those involved in interpreting the Archaic evidence: *gymnasia* are a better testimony to the athletic *lifestyle* than to actual competitions; the reliability of late authors such as Diodorus Siculus cannot always be ascertained; and fragmentary evidence does not always allow indisputable interpretations. But a few other problems call for special comments, such as *e.g.* the use of

642. The *Aleiaia* at Tegea must have been incorporated into the *panegyris* of (Athena) Alea, and this festival is attested for the fourth century by *IG V.2 3.8, 26* (πανάγορος (see Chantraine 2009: 9 s.v. ἀγείρω)). The festival, clearly, took place in the fourth century and so presumably did the competitions.

coinage to infer the existence of agonistic festivals. The festival for Acheloos at Metapontion may serve to illustrate the problems involved in interpreting numismatic evidence. It has been inferred from coins carrying the legend AXEΛOIO AEΘΛON.⁶⁴³ These coins presumably served as prizes at competitions in honour of Acheloos. To my knowledge, it has never been denied that this coinage is evidence of competitions at Metapontion, but the coins themselves evidently do not clarify whether these were *athletic* competitions. And since the Greeks could turn almost anything into a competition,⁶⁴⁴ it cannot be considered certain that Metapontion put on *athletic* competitions, though it is of course in itself more than likely. The famous coins from fifth-century Kos depicting a *diskobolos* have also been interpreted as evidence for “prestigious local games”,⁶⁴⁵ and if that is a valid interpretation – and other interpretations have been suggested (n. 447 above) – the type itself reveals that the competitions must have been athletic. The reference may perhaps be to the contests in honour of Apollo Triopios staged by the Dorian pentapolis and known from Herodotos (I.144),⁶⁴⁶ but it should be obvious that the evidence provided by the coins is too general to allow any definite conclusion on this matter. Numismatic evidence, then, is usually too vague to allow us to establish the existence of athletic competitions at a given *polis* with complete *confidence* and it must, accordingly, be noted that the survey above tentatively infers competitions at 13 sites on the basis of numismatic evidence alone.

Another serious problem concerns the interpretation of the term ἀγών (‘contest’). The survey above in several instances infers the existence of athletic festivals on the basis of the occurrence of this term. However, as already pointed out, the Greeks made contests of almost anything. Thus competitions in pyrrhic *dance* in honour of Artemis are attested for fifth-century Histiaia on Euboea.⁶⁴⁷ In general, “[t]he number of things which the Greeks can turn into a con-

643. “A prize <from the contests in honour> of Acheloos”; see Nielsen 1996: 58; Rutter 1997: 49 and Rutter 2001: no. 1491; Brown 2003: 138.

644. Burkert 1985: 105; Donderer 1996; see also Kyle 1998: 117.

645. Smith 2007: 121 Fig. 22; see also *Aegean of the coins* 89.

646. *Aegean of the coins* 89.

647. *SEG* 33 716 (460–450); *IG* XII.9 1190; see also Cairns 1983.

test is astounding: sport and physical beauty, handicraft and art, song and dance, theatre and disputation.”⁶⁴⁸ The survey above includes what can reasonably be taken to be athletic or equestrian contests and thus excludes evidence which is too vague or general. The existence of the office of *agonothetes* (‘arranger of *agones*’) in a given *polis*, for example, need not be evidence of *athletic* or *equestrian* competitions: *IG V.2* 450, to illustrate this point, is a fourth-century inscription from the theatre at Megalopolis recording a dedication made by one Antiochos who had served as *agonothetes*: Ἀντίοχος ἀγωνοθετήσας ἀνέθηκε τὸς θρόνους πάντα καὶ τὸν ὀχετόν.⁶⁴⁹ The nature and location of the dedication makes it a reasonable inference that Antiochos had served as *agonothetes* for a dramatic festival. Similarly, *SEG* 52 741, an inscription commemorating the dedication of a propylon at the sanctuary of Dionysos in the first half of the fourth century at Nymphaion on the Black Sea reads: Θεοπροπίδης Μεγακλέος τὴν εἴσοδον ἀνέθηκεν Διονύσῳ ἀγωνοθετέων ...,⁶⁵⁰ again, the nature of the dedication suggests that Theopropides had served as *agonothetes* for a dramatic or musical competition in honour of Dionysos. On the other hand, the existence of the office *may*, of course, be indicative of athletic or equestrian competitions, and so it is perhaps worth noting that the office is attested throughout most of the Greek world in the Classical period.⁶⁵¹

648. Burkert 1985: 105; contests in painting and drawing are known from Delphi and Corinth (Donderer 1996); see also Kyle 1998: 117.

649. “Antiochos who served as *agonothetes* dedicated all the thrones and the water-pipe.”

650. “Theopropides, son of Megakles, dedicated the entrance to Dionysos while serving as *agonothetes* ...”; for a similar text from Boiotian Orchomenos, see *SEG* 42 418.

651. *Agonothetai* are attested *e.g.* in the following *poleis*: Taras: *SEG* 30 1218 (fourth century); Orchomenos: *SEG* 11 1104 (fourth to third century); Tegea: *SEG* 11 1070 (350–300); Argos: *SEG* 34 282 (330–300); Olbia: *SEG* 51 970.1 (c. 550–510); Tyras: *VDI* (1959) 412 1.9 (late fourth or early third century); Hermonassa: *CIRB* 1039 (mid-fourth century); Phanagoria: *IOSPE* 2 345 (fourth century); Mytilene: *IG XII.2* 5.13 (350–300); Chios: *Isr. Cos* ED 71.A.V.8 (late fourth century); Erythrai: *SEG* 19 696 (330s); Samos: *IG XII.6* 56.3 (late fourth century); Rhodos: *I.Lindos* 696a.2 (c. 330); *etc.*

Whatever the etymology and early meaning of the Greek term *ἀγών* was,⁶⁵² by the Classical period it was the standard term employed to refer to competitive contests, as demonstrated by Ellsworth,⁶⁵³ who points out that it is clear from Herodotos 9.33–36 that even in ambiguous contexts fifth-century Greeks would commonly understand *agon* to refer to athletic contests.⁶⁵⁴ Herodotos here relates a story about the *mantis* (‘seer’) Teisamenos of Elis who had received from the Pythia an oracle to the effect that he would “win the five greatest contests” (ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε). Teisamenos – mistakenly (ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρηστηρίου) – interpreted the oracle as referring to athletic victories (ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας) and devoted himself (προσεῖχε γυμνασίοισι) to the *pentathlon*, in which he reached the finals at the Olympics only to be defeated by Hieronymos of Andros, possibly in 484.⁶⁵⁵ The Lakedaimonians, however, realized that the reference was not to athletic contests but to ‘contests of Ares’ (μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικούς ἀλλ’ ἐς ἀρηίους ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τεισαμενοῦ μαντήιον) and made Teisamenos a Spartan citizen, in which capacity (γενόμενος Σπαρτιάτης) he proceeded to function as *mantis* at five major military victories of the Lakedaimonians (listed in Hdt. 9.35.2). This story demonstrates that even a mantic expert could be represented as taking *agones* to refer to athletics,⁶⁵⁶ even in this ambiguous oracular context. But, of course, it also demonstrates that on occasion the term could refer to military contests (though it took a community of martial experts to realize this). Moreover, it is well known that the term was also employed to refer to legal processes (‘forensic contests’).⁶⁵⁷ Accordingly, even if the standard meaning of *agon* was by the Classical period ‘athletic contest’ it does on occasion carry another – possibly an older – meaning and the occurrence of the term in, e.g., an in-

652. On this, see Scanlon 1983.

653. Ellsworth 1976: 229–30.

654. Ellsworth 1976: 229 n. 7.

655. Flower & Marincola 2002: 168 *ad* 9.33.2; Hieronymos is Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 173.

656. See further Flower 2008: 40–42 who points out (42) that the story was probably designed to enhance the stature of Teisamenos.

657. E.g. Antiph. 6.21.

scription cannot be taken with *full* certainty to be evidence for the existence of athletic contests (*gymnikoi agones*) at a given site. One example will suffice: At Teos a “full gymnic program” has been assumed for the festival of the *Anthesteria*.⁶⁵⁸ The assumption is based on a passage in the famous early fifth-century imprecations of the city, containing the passage *καθημένου τῶγῶνος Ἀνθεστηρίοισιν καὶ Ἡρακλείοισιν καὶ Δίοισιν*.⁶⁵⁹ Clearly, three central festivals are referred to here, but whether they included “a full gymnic program”, or contests at all, must depend on the interpretation of *τῶγῶνος* (“the *agon*”). Tod took it to refer to “the people assembled to witness a contest”,⁶⁶⁰ a perfectly possible meaning attested already in epic.⁶⁶¹ Ellsworth, however, insists that the reference here is in fact to *athletic* contests: “To be sure, *καθημένου* indicates that *ἄγῶνος* designates people gathered together. The question is, for what purpose are they gathered? The inscription limits *ἄγῶνος* to the *Anthesteria*, *Heracleia*, and *Dia*; very little is known about these festivals. When one considers that at this time (1) religious festivals and athletic contests were closely associated, and (2) one of the most common meanings of *ἄγών* was ‘games, contest(s)’, it is reasonable to conclude that these festivals included contests.”⁶⁶² Ellsworth’s conclusion is in all probability correct; but *certainty* is impossible and the existence of athletic contests at Teos must remain an assumption, though it would not at all be surprising to find athletic competitions incorporated into festivals in honour of Zeus and Herakles.

In other, more special, cases the existence of athletic contests can be inferred with some confidence. Classical *poleis* often granted an honorand *proedria* – an honorary seat in the front row – when they voted honorific decrees. The term *proedria* is not infrequently specified by the addition of a phrase like *ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν* or *εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας* (“at the competitions”). *Poleis* granting the privilege of *proedria en tois agosin* presumably arranged more than one agonistic festival and it

658. Scanlon 2002: 290.

659. Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* 30B.31–34: “when the *agon* is assembled at the *Anthesteria* and the *Herakleia* and the *Dia*.”

660. Tod, *GHI*: 30.

661. Ellsworth 1976: 232 and Laser 1987: 11–13.

662. Ellsworth 1976: 232.

seems a reasonable assumption that some of these will have been athletic or equestrian. The survey above infers athletic competitions at twelve *poleis* on the basis of such phrases.

A final problem concerns the programmes of athletic festivals and in particular the use of epinician poetry to reconstruct an outline of the agonistic programmes of various festivals. In the survey above and the catalogue below it is assumed that if an honorand of an epinician ode is celebrated for a victory in, say, wrestling, then victories recited in a victory catalogue of the ode will likewise have been achieved in wrestling. To give a few examples: Pindar's *Olympian Nine* celebrates Epharmostos of Opous for his Olympic victory in 468. That this victory was in wrestling is clear from verse 13 (παλαίσμασιν). At 84–99 the ode catalogues for Epharmostos, in addition to victories at the three other periodic festivals, victories at Argos, Athens, Marathon, Mt. Lykaion, Pellene, Thebes and Eleusis: these victories, I assume, were in wrestling as well. Pindar's *Olympian Seven* celebrates an Olympic victory by the famous Diagoras of Ialysos in Rhodos in 464. That Diagoras was a boxer is clear from verse 16 (πυγμαῖς) and 89 (πύξ). At 77–86 the ode lists, in addition to victories at the three other periodic festivals, victories by Diagoras at Rhodos, Athens, Argos, Mt. Lykaion, Thebes, Boiotia, Pellene, Aigina and Megara: these, too, were victories in boxing, I assume, and accordingly this event is attested for these festivals in the fifth century. As a general rule such assumptions are probably reasonable enough, but it should be noted that some athletes were in fact quite versatile: Theogenes of Thasos, for example, competed not only in boxing and *pankration* but also in long-distance running (*dolichos*), and it was not uncommon that pentathletes were accomplished sprinters, as is clear from the cases of Phayllos of Kroton, Nikolaidas of Corinth and Eupolemos of Elis.⁶⁶³ Among the Pindaric honorands Xenophon of Corinth was one such versatile athlete:

663. Phayllos of Kroton won both the *pentathlon* and the *stadion* at Delphi (Paus. 10.9.2); Nikolaidas won the *pentathlon* at Delphi and at the *Panathenaia* and the *stadion* at several other festivals (see *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 with Maróti 1990); Eupolemos of Elis won the *stadion* at Olympia in 396 and the *pentathlon* twice at Delphi and once at Nemea (Paus. 6.3.7); on Eupolemos' Olympic victory of 396, see Crowther 1997 and Romano 2007.

he won both the *stadion* and the *pentathlon* at Olympia (Pind. *Ol.* 13.29–31) – on the same day!⁶⁶⁴ Sprinters, too, may have excelled in several events.⁶⁶⁵ Clearly, it cannot be *certain* that all of *e.g.* Diagoras' victories were in boxing, though it seems a reasonable working assumption.

Moreover, it cannot be assumed that athletic programmes remained unchanged for centuries: even the programme at Olympia was subject to changes,⁶⁶⁶ and programmes at minor festivals must have been so as well. Such developments can sometimes be observed in our sparse evidence: as was pointed above (64), the *dolichos* for boys was added to the programme at the Spartan festival of *Litheia* at some point in the later fifth century, and equestrian contests were added to the *Delia* by the Athenians in the fifth century (above 72). Accordingly, the picture of the programmes of minor festivals emerging from the survey above must, once more, be treated as a kind of impressionistic sketch.

What *is* clear from the survey, however, is that agonistic festivals *proliferated* throughout the late Archaic and Classical Greek world. Numerous competitions existed besides the Big Four Panhellenic festivals of the *periodos*. Certain athletic festivals outside the famous *periodos* attested throughout or at various points within the late Archaic to Classical period number no fewer than 76; but the evidence in fact probably attests to 113 festivals and possibly even to as many as 155, staged by more than 90 different *poleis* in more than thirty different geographical areas.

The Greek way of athletics, moreover, also penetrated into areas normally conceived of as on the fringe of the Greek world proper, such as Etruria and Macedonia. According to Herodotos (1.167.2), the Etruscans of Agylla were ordered by the oracle at Delphi to institute athletic and equestrian competitions in order to atone for their execution of Phokaian prisoners of war after the naval battle of Alalia in *c.* 540; Herodotos claims that these contests were still

664. Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 13.1a: κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν.

665. See section 1.3.2 (11) above (47) on Thessalos of Corinth (the father of Xenophon).

666. Golden 1998: 40–45; see also Lee 2001.

staged in his own day, and there is no reason to disbelieve his information.⁶⁶⁷ Also in western Greece, on Sicily, references are frequently made to *agones* in the late fourth-century and early third-century Greek decrees of the city of Entella, an originally indigenous city which was gradually Hellenized, and it seems a reasonable inference that some of these *agones* were athletic.⁶⁶⁸

By the Classical period, Greek-style athletics were firmly rooted in Macedonia as well. Thus, King Philip II celebrated his capture of Olynthos by performing the *Olympia* with unusual splendour, including 'splendid contests'.⁶⁶⁹ This Macedonian festival of *Olympia* had been instituted at Dion by King Archelaos (413-399),⁶⁷⁰ and is commonly taken to have included athletic contests from its beginning.⁶⁷¹ The discovery of a late sixth-century stadium at Dion – a city which owes its name to Zeus – even suggests that the competitions there were not an innovation by Archelaos.⁶⁷² Furthermore, the second day of the wedding festivities celebrated at Aigai in 336 – the day on which King Philip II was assassinated – were perhaps to have included athletic games: Diodorus (19.92.1, 92.5) refers only to musical *agones*, but Just. *Epit.* 9.6.3 refers to *ludorum magnificentia*, and this is interpreted by Ellis as a reference to athletic contests.⁶⁷³

667. Asheri *et al.* 2007: 187 *ad* 167.2.

668. *SEG* 30 117.18; 118.21; 121.15; 122.15-16.

669. Diod. 15.51.1: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Ὀλύμπου Ὀλύμπια ποιήσας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπινίκια μεγαλοπρεπεῖς θυσίας συνετέλεσεν· πανήγυριν δὲ μεγάλην συστησάμενος καὶ λαμπροὺς ἀγῶνας ποιήσας πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιδημούντων ξένων ἐπὶ τὰς ἐστίασας παρελάμβανε.

670. Diod. 17.16.3; Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.1 and Schol. in Dem. 19.192; see also Badian 1971-72: 35; Larmour 1999: 173 no. 9; Greenwalt 2003: 145-49; Hatzopoulos 2013: 164-65.

671. Hammond & Griffith 1979: 149ff; Borza 1990: 174; Adams 2003: 209-11. It appears from Diod. 17.16.3 that the festival included musical performances as well.

672. Pandermalis 1999: 76, 80-81; see also Hatzopoulos 1996.II: no. 57 = *SEG* 46 739.2-4, an honorary decree of 325-300 from Dion which grants the honorand [προ]-εδρίαν ἐν τοῖς [γυμνικ]οῖς ἀγῶσι. The reference is presumably to the *Olympia* (Hatzopoulos 1996.I: 128). The contests are known to have included the *pentathlon*, the *dolichos* and Thessalian-style *taurotheria* (Hatzopoulos 1996.I: 129 n. 2; see also *SEG* 52 594).

673. Ellis 1976: 223 with 306-7 n. 57.

According to Arrian,⁶⁷⁴ King Alexander the Great celebrated the *Olympia* before his march on the Hellespont;⁶⁷⁵ and during his campaign, Alexander regularly staged athletic contests.⁶⁷⁶ Also worth noting is the discovery of a fifth-century prize tripod from the *Hekatomboia* at the Argive Heraion in a royal tomb at Vergina in Macedonia (above 42), since it suggests that a member of the royal dynasty had competed in the contests of the festival. Participation in the Olympic Games is, finally, famously if perhaps less than reliably⁶⁷⁷ reported by Herodotos for King Alexander I of Macedonia;⁶⁷⁸ securely attested for King Philip II;⁶⁷⁹ and at least possible for King Archelaos.⁶⁸⁰

Athletic contests at religious festivals, in conclusion, were a *central* feature of late Archaic and Classical Greek civilisation and neighboring areas: agonistic festivals *proliferated* throughout the far-flung Greek world, where *numerous* festivals existed alongside the Big Four.

1.5.1 Catalogue of Agonistic Festivals in Late Archaic and Classical Greece Summarizing the Main Evidence Discussed in the Survey Above

Introductory Note and Key

In this catalogue I summarize the evidence presented and discussed in the survey above, thus giving what I find is the most reasonable interpretation of the main evidence collected – though it should be

674. Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.1: τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγαῖς διέθηκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια. The festival is mislocated by Arrian and in fact it took place at Dion, not Aigai: Bosworth 1976: 119–21.

675. Brown 1977: 83.

676. For athletic competitions staged by Alexander the Great during his campaigns, see e.g. Arr. *Anab.* 2.24.6; 3.1.4; 3.5.2; 3.6.1; 3.16.1; 3.25.1; 4.4.1; 5.3.6; 5.8.3; and the inscription published by Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1971 (cf. *SEG* 48 716bis); see also Oliva 1993; Potter 2012: 109–10; Günther 2013.

677. Kyle 2007: 232 calls the participation by Alexander “suspicious”.

678. Hdt. 5.22 on which see Roos 1985 and Hall 2002: 154–56.

679. Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 434, 439, 445.

680. Adams 2003: 206–7. For athletics in Macedonia, see further Slowikowski 1989; Romano 1990; Kertész 1999; and Adams 2014.

clear from the problems discussed in section 1.4 (93–108) that in many cases this can represent only my own considered judgement: the resulting picture can be only a sketch, as I have repeatedly emphasized.

Each entry is introduced by a running counter, in **bold** in case of festivals which certainly comprised athletic competitions (*i.e.* A, see below). Under *Type* I indicate by the letters A, B, and C the degree of certainty with which I estimate the summarized sources to attest to an athletic festival: A means that I consider it *certain* that the evidence testifies to an athletic festival, B that it *probably* does, and C that it *possibly* does so. Under *Location* and *Foreign entrants* serial numbers in brackets refer to the entries in Hansen & Nielsen 2004. Under *Attested in* C means ‘century’, *e.g.* C5 = fifth century; e = early; f = first half; m = middle, s = second half, l = late, *e.g.* C4s = second half of the fourth century. Under *Age-classes* I use ‘men’ or ‘boys’ to indicate my own inferences and *andres*, *paides* or *ageneioi* to indicate direct attestation in the evidence (if this entry is not included, ‘men’ may be assumed). Under *Attested events* A means ‘athletic’ in contradistinction to E which means ‘equestrian’. Page references in **bold** under *Main discussions* are to the survey above. The geographical order corresponds to that adopted in Hansen & Nielsen 2004.

Sicily**1-2***Type:* A*Location:* unknown, but near Mt. Aitna*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogue*Attested in:* C6 or C5*Foreign entrants:* from Corinth (no. 227)*Other:* best candidates for locations are Aitna (no. 8); Leontinoi (no. 33); Messana (no. 51); or Syracuse (no. 47)*Sources:* Pind. *Ol.* 13.111; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6.162a*Main discussions:* 31-32; Kramer 1970: 55; Gerber 2002: 72**3***Type:* C*Location:* Syracuse (no. 47)*Dedicatee:* Artemis Alpheioa*Type of attestation:* epinician ode*Attested in:* C5*Attested events:* E*Other:* the festival is assumed to have been the occasion for the victory celebrated by Pind. *Pyth.* 2*Sources:* Pind. *Pyth.* 2*Main discussions:* 32; Farnell 1932: 119; Mikalson 2007: 38**4***Type:* B*Location:* Syracuse (no. 47)*Dedicatee:* Zeus Eleutherios*Type of attestation:* attestation of *agones* in historiographical note*Attested in:* C5*Attested events:* none attested, but both A and E probably envisaged*Other:* instituted to commemorate the overthrow of the tyrant Thrasiboulos in 466*Sources:* Diod. 11.72.2*Main discussions:* 57

5

Type: C*Location:* Syracuse (no. 47)*Type of attestation:* coins inscribed: AΘΛΑ*Attested in:* C51*Other:* presumably *not* to be identified with the *Asinaria* instituted to commemorate the victory over the Athenian armada in 413 (Plut. *Nic.* 28.1-2)*Sources:* coins inscribed: AΘΛΑ*Main discussions:* 58; Kraay 1976: 223-24; Jenkins 1990: 105; Rutter 1997: 157; Pleket 2001: 168

6

Type: B*Location:* Syracuse (no. 47)*Dedicatee:* Timoleon*Type of attestation:* decree preserved in later sources prescribing *agones mousikoi kai hippikoi kai gymnikoi**Attested in:* C4s*Attested events:* A and E*Other:* instituted by the city of Syracuse in honour of Timoleon of Corinth to commemorate his overthrow of tyrants and defeat of barbarians*Sources:* Diod. 16.90; Plut. *Tim.* 39*Main discussions:* 58**Magna Graecia**

7-8

Type: C*Location:* unknown, but presumably near Kroton (no. 56)*Type of attestation:* fragment of epinician ode referring to earlier victories*Attested in:* C5*Foreign entrants:* from Kroton (no. 56)*Attested events:* foot-races*Age-classes:* men

Other: the ode is in honour of Astylos of Kroton, who had been victorious at festivals close to home

Sources: Simon. fr. 506 (Campbell)

Main discussions: 32; Molyneux 1992: 215–18

9

Type: C

Location: Kroton (no. 56)

Type of attestation: retrospective historiographical note

Attested in: C6

Foreign entrants: the logic of the passage demands it, but not explicitly attested

Attested events: presumably more or less like the programme at Olympia

Other: C6 *palaistra* and gymnasium reported by late sources

Sources: Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 45; Ath. 12.18d; Iambl. *VP* 8.37

Main discussions: 85; Young 1984: 81–82

10

Type: C

Location: Kyme (no. 57)

Type of attestation: existence of *gymnasia*

Attested in: C6

Sources: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.9.3

Main discussions: 84; Delorme 1960: 35

11

Type: C

Location: Metapontion (no. 61)

Dedicatee: Acheloos

Type of attestation: coins inscribed: AXEΛOIO AEΘΛON

Attested in: C5m

Other: A or E not explicitly attested by other evidence

Sources: coins inscribed: AXEΛOIO AEΘΛON

Main discussions: 53, 101; Nielsen 1996: 58; Rutter 1997: 49; Rutter 2001: no. 1491; Brown 2003: 138

12

Type: B*Location:* Neapolis (no. 63)*Dedicatee:* Parthenope*Type of attestation:* historiographical notes and coins*Attested in:* Classical period*Attested events:* *lampados agon*, *agon gymnikos**Other:* instituted in the fifth century by the Athenian naval commander Diotimos*Sources:* Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 98; Strabo 5.4.7; coins: Rutter 1979: 46*Main discussions:* 58-59; Rutter 1979: 45

13

Type: C*Location:* Sybaris (no. 70)*Type of attestation:* retrospective historiographical note*Attested in:* C6*Foreign entrants:* the logic of the passage demands it, but not explicitly attested*Attested events:* presumably more or less like the programme at Olympia*Other:* a C6 gymnasium reported by a late source*Sources:* Herakleides Pontikos fr. 45 (Wehrli); Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 49*Main discussions:* 85; Young 1984: 81-82; Kyle 1996: 116; Kyle 2007: 82

14

Type: C*Location:* Taras (no. 71)*Type of attestation:* coin types*Attested in:* C4*Attested events:* E*Other:* no corroborative evidence*Sources:* coin types: Klose & Stumpf 1996: nos. 150-51*Main discussions:* 59; Brauer 1974-75: 7; Klose & Stumpf 1996: *ad nos.*

150-51

15

Type: C

Location: Thourioi (no. 74)

Type of attestation: existence of *gymnasion*

Attested in: C4

Sources: Pl. *Leg.* 636b

Main discussions: 59; Fischer-Hansen *et al.* 2004: 306

Akarnania

16

Type: A

Location: unknown, but on Kephallenia

Dedicatee: Dioskouroi

Type of attestation: inscribed dedicatory bronze discus

Attested in: C6

Foreign entrants: presumably

Attested events: *diskos* (or *pentathlon*)

Sources: Cook 1987: no. 57 = *IG IX.1* 649; Moretti, *IAG* no. 6

Main discussions: 86; Moretti, *IAG* 13

17

Type: A

Location: Anaktorion (no. 114)

Name of festival: Aktias

Dedicatee: Apollo Aktios

Type of attestation: reference to the festival in Hyperides; coins

Attested in: C4s

Other: well-known from the post-Classical period

Sources: Hyp. fr. 155 (Jensen); coins: Habicht 1957: 102–3

Main discussions: 59; Habicht 1957: 102–9; Paviogiannis *et al.* 2009

18

Type: C

Location: Zakynthos (no. 141)

Type of attestation: existence of a *gymnasion*

Attested in: C4m

Sources: Plut. *Dio* 23.4

Main discussions: 59

Phokis

19–20

Type: B*Location:* Delphi (no. 177)*Type of attestation:* the phrase προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγώνοις οἷς ἂ πόλις τιθῆτι*Attested in:* C4m*Sources:* *I.Delphes* 1.146.2–3*Main discussions:* 60**Boiotia**

21–22

Type: A*Location:* unknown, but in Boiotia*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogue; *agones**Attested in:* C5*Foreign entrants:* from Ialysos (no. 995)*Attested events:* boxing*Age-classes:* men*Other:* Thebes (no. 221) is excluded as location; possible candidates are Oropos (no. 214); Plataiai (no. 216); and Thespiiai (no. 222), but other locations cannot be excluded*Sources:* Pind. *Ol.* 7.84 (ἀγῶνες ἔννομοι Βοιωτίων)*Main discussions:* 33

23

Type: A*Location:* Onchestos, in the territory of Haliartos (no. 206)*Dedicatee:* Poseidon*Type of attestation:* epinician poetry*Attested in:* C5*Foreign entrants:* from Thebes (no. 221)*Attested events:* E*Sources:* Pind. *Isthm.* 1.33; *Isthm.* 4.37; *Parth.* 2.45–46*Main discussions:* 33; Kramer 1970: 46; Schachter 1986: 219–20

24

Type: C*Location:* Akraiphia (no. 198)*Dedicatee:* Ptoios*Type of attestation:* archaeology*Attested in:* C6, C5, C4*Attested events:* A and E*Sources:* archaeology*Main discussions:* 60; Schachter 1994a: 17–19

25

Type: A*Location:* Koroneia (no. 210)*Dedicatee:* Athena Itonia*Type of attestation:* mention of *nikai* in choral lyric*Attested in:* C6, C5*Foreign entrants:* from Thebes (no. 221)*Attested events:* E (but presumably also A)*Sources:* Pind. *Parth.* 2.45–46*Main discussions:* 60, 94; Schachter 1981: 122–23; Turner 1996; Larson 2007: 134–36; Ganter 2013: 99

26

Type: A*Location:* Lebadeia (no. 211)*Name of festival:* Basileia*Dedicatee:* Zeus Basileus*Type of attestation:* epigraphy; retrospective historiographical note*Attested in:* C4*Foreign entrants:* from Thebes (no. 221) and Tanagra (no. 220)*Attested events:* E (but presumably A as well)*Other:* instituted by the Boiotian Confederacy to commemorate the Boiotian victory at Leuktra in 371; entrants from Thebes and Tanagra, accordingly, are not ‘foreign’ in the usual sense*Sources:* *IG VII* 552; *IG VII* 2532 (= *CEG II* 630); Diod. 15.53.4*Main discussions:* 60–61; Ringwood 1927: 35–37; Kramer 1970: 43; Schachter 1994a: 115–18; Ganter 2013: 94–96

27

Type: A*Location:* Orchomenos (no. 213)*Name of festival:* Minycea*Dedicatee:* Minyas*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogue*Attested in:* C₅*Foreign entrants:* from Thebes (no. 221)*Attested events:* E*Sources:* Pind. *Isthm.* 1.56*Main discussions:* 33; Kramer 1970: 48; Schachter 1986: 143-44

28

Type: A*Location:* Oropos (no. 214)*Name of festival:* Amphiareia*Dedicatee:* Amphiaraos*Type of attestation:* epigraphy*Attested in:* C₄*Foreign entrants:* from Thebes (no. 221); Sikyon (no. 228); Elis (no. 251); Argos (no. 347); Phleious (no. 355); Athens (no. 361); Larisa (no. 401); Pharsalos (no. 413); Andros (no. 475); Sinope (no. 729); Kolophon (no. 848); Kyrene (no. 1028)*Attested events:* *dolichos*, *stadion*, *diaulos*, *pentathlon*, *hippios*, wrestling, *pankration*, boxing, *hoplitodromos*, E*Age-classes:* *andres*, *ageneioi*, *paides**Other:* Athens (no. 361) actively promoted the scale of the festival in 329/8 when Oropos was an Athenian dependency*Sources:* *I.Oropos* 298; *IG VII* 414 = *I.Oropos* 520*Main discussions:* 61; Ringwood 1927: 44-47; Schachter 1981: 24; Osborne 1993: 24

29

Type: C*Location:* Tanagra (no. 220)*Name of festival:* Delia*Type of attestation:* retrospective historiographical note

Attested in: C5, C4 (?)

Foreign entrants: from Athens (no. 361) (if *IG II²* 2971 refers to this festival)

Attested events: E (if *IG II²* 2971 refers to this festival)

Other: instituted to commemorate the defeat of Athens at Delion in 424 by the Boiotian Confederacy

Sources: Diod. 12.70.5; *IG II²* 2971 (?); *IG VII* 20.11-12

Main discussions: 61; Schachter 1981: 47

30

Type: A

Location: Thebes (no. 221)

Name of festival: Herakleia (or Ioleia)

Dedicatee: Herakles

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogues; epigraphy; archaeology

Attested in: C6 (?); C5; C4

Foreign entrants: from Corinth (no. 227); Athens (no. 361); Troizen (no. 357); Aigina (no. 358); Opous (no. 386); Ialysos (no. 995)

Attested events: foot-races; *pentathlon*; boxing; wrestling; *pankration*; E

Age-classes: *andres*, *paides*

Other: the festival was presumably annual

Sources: Pind. *Ol.* 7.84; *Ol.* 9.99; *Ol.* 13.107; *Nem.* 4.18; *Isthm.* 1.55; *Isthm.* 4.70-71; Bacchyl. 10.30; Plut. *Mor.* 587D; *BCH* 95 (1971) 617.VII; *IG IV* 801; *CEG II* 630; Paus. 9.23.2

Main discussions: 34, 86-87; Ringwood 1927: 54-55; Kramer 1970: 56-59; Roesch 1975; Symeonoglou 1985: 108-9, 140; Schachter 1986: 25-30; Larmour 1999: 189 no. 71; Gerber 2002: 64

31

Type: A

Location: Thespiiai (no. 222)

Dedicatee: Herakles

Type of attestation: inscribed prize hydria

Attested in: C5

Foreign entrants: presumably from Epeiros (where the hydria was found)

Other: on Herakles at Thespiiai: Schachter 1986: 31–36

Sources: SEG 30 541 (see also BCH 99 (1975) 752)

Main discussions: 62; Johnston 1977: 157; Amandry 1980: 211–12 n. 4.11

Megaris

32

Type: A

Location: Megara (no. 225)

Name of festival: Alkathoia

Dedicatee: Alkathoos

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogues; epigram; epigraphy

Attested in: possibly C61, C5, C4

Foreign entrants: from Corinth (no. 227); Hermion (no. 350); Aigina (no. 358); Ialysos (no. 995); Kyrene (no. 1028)

Attested events: boxing, foot-race(s) and/or *pentathlon*, wrestling, *pankration*

Age-classes: men, *ageneioi* (?), boys

Other: Megara probably staged more agonistic festivals than the Alkathoia: Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 3.147, 5.84a; see also IG VII 1.14–15: προεδρίαν ἐμὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθηται

Sources: *Anth. Pal.* 13.19; IG IV 673; Pind. *Ol.* 7.86; 13.109; *Pyth.* 8.78; 9.91; *Nem.* 3.84; 5.46; *Isthm.* 8.67

Main discussions: 34–35; Ringwood 1927: 32–33; Hanell 1934: 27–28; Kramer 1970: 45

Corinthia

33

Type: A

Location: Corinth (no. 227)

Name of festival: Hellotia

Dedicatee: Athena

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogue

Attested in: C6, C5, C4

Foreign entrants: possibly from Sparta (no. 345)

Attested events: foot-races, *pankration* (?)

Other: facilities such as a stadium for this festival are archaeologically attested for the Classical period

Sources: Pind. *Ol.* 13.38–40; *P.Oxy.* 2541

Main discussions: 35–36, 87; Ringwood 1927: 65; Kramer 1970: 41; Williams & Russel 1981: 2–21; Romano 1993: 43; D’Alessio 2012

34

Type: B

Location: unknown, but in Corinthia, possibly in the Peraia area

Type of attestation: inscribed pinax

Attested in: C6

Sources: Wachter 2001: COP 85 pp. 151–52

Main discussions: 87; Morgan 2007: 230

Sikyonia

35

Type: A

Location: Sikyon (no. 228)

Name of festival: Pythia

Dedicatee: Apollo

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogues; epigraphy

Attested in: C6, C5, C4

Foreign entrants: from Aitna (no. 8); Thebes (no. 221); Corinth (no. 227); Sparta (no. 345); Argos (no. 347); Athens (no. 361); Rhodos (no. 1000)

Attested events: foot-races, E

Sources: Pind. *Ol.* 13.109; *Nem.* 9; *Nem.* 10.43; *Isthm.* 4.44; Bacchyl. 10.32; *SEG* II 257; *SEG* II 338; *I.Lindos* 68.9; Schol. in Pind. *Nem.* 9 *inscr.*

Main discussions: 36–37, 87; Ringwood 1927: 64; Barron 1984; Larmour 1999: 184 no. 38

Achaia

36–37

Type: A

Location: unknown, but in Achaia (though not at Pellene (no. 240))

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogue

Attested in: C5 (possibly even C6)

Foreign entrants: from Argos (no. 347)

Sources: Pind. *Nem.* 10.47

Main discussions: 37

38

Type: A*Location:* Pellene (no. 240)*Name of festival:* Theoxenia*Dedicatee:* Apollo (?)*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogues; epigraphy*Attested in:* C6, C5*Foreign entrants:* from Corinth (no. 227); Argos (no. 347); Athens (no. 361); Opous (no. 386); Ialysos (no. 995)*Attested events:* foot-races; boxing; wrestling; E*Other:* scholiasts refer to several other festivals at Pellene: Heraia; Hermaia; and Diia. These may have been distinct from the Theoxenia or alternative names for that festival (Morgan & Hall 2004: 485)*Sources:* Pind. *Ol.* 7.86; 9.98; 13.109; *Nem.* 10.44; Bacchyl. 10.33; Simon. fr. 514 (Campbell); *Anth. Pal.* 13.19; *IG IV* 510 (see also *SEG* 14 315 and Moretti, *IAG* no. 7)*Main discussions:* 37, 88; Ringwood 1927: 99; Kramer 1970: 50

Arkadia

39

Type: A*Location:* Mt. Lykaion*Name of festival:* Lykaia*Dedicatee:* Zeus Lykaios*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogues; epigraphy; archaeology*Attested in:* possibly C61, C5, C4*Foreign entrants:* from Akarnania; Syracuse (no. 47); Corinth (no. 227); Elis (no. 251); Sparta (no. 345); Argos (no. 347); Hermion (no. 350); Athens (no. 361); Opous (no. 386); Ialysos (no. 995); Rhodos (no. 1000); Kassandrea; Macedonia*Attested events:* *stadion*; *diaulos*; *dolichos*; *hoplitodromos*; *pankration*; *pentathlon*; boxing; wrestling; E*Age-classes:* *andres*, *paides**Sources:* *Anth. Pal.* 13.19; Pind. *Ol.* 7.83; 9.95-96; 13.108; *Nem.* 10.48; *Syll.*³ 82; *IG IV* 673; *SEG* 17 150 (Amandry 1980: 220); *SEG* 35 267; *IG V.2* 549-550*Main discussions:* 37-40; Ringwood 1927: 95-98; Kramer 1970: 30; Jost 1985: 267-68

40

Type: A

Location: on Mt. Mainalon or in the city of Mainalos: the only preserved source has ἐμ Μαινάλωι, which may mean both

Type of attestation: epigraphical victory catalogue

Attested in: C4

Foreign entrants: from Argos (no. 347)

Attested events: wrestling

Sources: SEG 17 150

Main discussions: 63

41

Type: A

Location: Kleitor (no. 276)

Name of festival: Koriasia

Dedicatee: Athena

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogue; epigraphical victory catalogue

Attested in: C6, C5 (and Hellenistic period)

Foreign entrants: from Argos (no. 347)

Attested events: boxing and *dolichos* attested for the Hellenistic period; E assumed for the Classical period on the basis of coin types

Sources: IG IV 510; Pind. *Nem.* 10.47; IG VII 47; BCH 10 (1886) 83–84

Main discussions: 40, 88; Kramer 1970: 40; Jost 1985: 42

42

Type: A

Location: Lousoi (no. 279)

Name of festival: Hemerasia

Dedicatee: Artemis Hemera

Type of attestation: *epangelia* in C4 combined with Hellenistic attestations of an agonistic festival

Attested in: C4l

Foreign entrants: from Thouria (no. 322) in Messenia (C3), but the C4l system of *epangelia* implies foreign entrants already in C4

Attested events: foot-races (C3)

Sources: *IG V.2* 390, 392; *IG V.1* 1387.2

Main discussions: 62; Merkelbach 1973; Tausend 1999: 372–73; Perlman 2000: 158–60

43

Type: A

Location: Pheneos (no. 291)

Dedicatee: Dioskouroi

Type of attestation: inscribed prize hydria

Attested in: C5

Foreign entrants: presumably from Sinope (no. 729)

Other: the inscribed prize hydria was found at Sinope (no. 729)

Sources: *SEG* 39 1365

Main discussions: 62–63

44

Type: C

Location: Pheneos (no. 291)

Name of festival: Hermaia

Dedicatee: Hermes

Type of attestation: Pindaric scholia

Attested in: C5 (?)

Other: Hermes was the principal divinity at Pheneos (no. 291); Pind.

Ol. 6.77–78 may possibly refer to this festival

Sources: Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.153a; Paus. 8.14.10

Main discussions: 62; Bölte 1938: 1970; Jost 1985: 27–37, 102–3; Tausend 1999: 374–75; Nielsen 2007b: 76–77

45

Type: A

Location: Tegea (no. 297)

Name of festival: Aleaia

Dedicatee: Athena Alca

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogue; epigraphy

Attested in: C6, C5 (and C3)

Foreign entrants: from Corinth (no. 227); Argos (no. 347)

Attested events: stadion; dolichos (C₃)

Age-classes: andres and paides attested for C₃

Sources: Pind. *Nem.* 10.47; *Anth. Pal.* 13.19; *IG IV* 510; *IG V.2* 75, 113, 142

Main discussions: 40, 88; Kramer 1970: 57; Ebert 1972b; Jost 1985: 374;

Dubois 1986: 12–13; Larmour 1999: 187 no. 57

Messenia

46

Type: A

Location: Thouria (no. 322)

Name of festival: Pohoidaia

Dedicatee: Poseidon

Type of attestation: epigraphical victory catalogue

Attested in: C₅1

Foreign entrants: from Sparta (no. 345)

Attested events: E

Other: Thouria (no. 322) was a perioikic dependency of the Lakedaimonian state in C₅1

Sources: *IG V.1* 213.18–19

Main discussions: 63; Ringwood 1927: 89; Luraghi 2008: 31, 35

Lakedaimon

47

Type: A

Location: at Cape Malca or at Kosmas in Kynouria (and thus outside Lakedaimon proper)

Name of festival: Malcateia

Dedicatee: Apollo Malcatas

Type of attestation: epigraphical victory catalogue

Attested in: C₅1

Attested events: stadion; diaulos

Age-classes: paides (and so presumably men)

Sources: *IG V.1* 213.56–58

Main discussions: 63; McInerney 2013: 62

48*Type:* A*Location:* at Helos in southern Lakeldaimon*Dedicatee:* Poseidon*Type of attestation:* epigraphical victory catalogue*Attested in:* C51*Attested events:* E*Sources:* *IG V.1* 213.12-17*Main discussions:* 63; Hodkinson 2000: 305**49***Type:* A*Location:* in the Thyreatis and so outside Lakeldaimon proper*Name of festival:* Parparonia*Type of attestation:* epigraphical victory catalogue*Attested in:* C51*Attested events:* *stadion; diaulos; dolichos*; E*Age-classes:* *paides* (and so presumably men)*Other:* instituted to commemorate the Spartan victory over Argos at the Battle of the Champions in C6m and not impossibly celebrated in C6s*Sources:* *IG V.1* 213.44-47*Main discussions:* 64; Larmour 1999: 184 no. 35**50***Type:* A*Location:* Geronthrai (no. 332)*Type of attestation:* epigraphical victory catalogue*Attested in:* C5*Attested events:* *stadion; diaulos; dolichos; hoplitodromos**Sources:* *IG V.1* 1120*Main discussions:* 65; Hodkinson 1999: 156-57

51

Type: C*Location:* Sparta (no. 345)*Dedicatee:* Dioskouroi, Herakles and Hermes*Type of attestation:* epinician poetry*Attested in:* C5e*Foreign entrants:* from Argos (no. 347)*Sources:* Pind. *Nem.* 10.49-53*Main discussions:* 40-41

52

Type: A*Location:* Sparta (no. 345)*Dedicatee:* Poseidon Gaiawochos*Type of attestation:* epigraphical victory catalogue*Attested in:* C5l*Attested events:* *stadion*; *diaulos*; *dolichos*; E*Age-classes:* *paides* (and so presumably men)*Sources:* IG V.I 213.6-9, 49-52, 92-96*Main discussions:* 64

53

Type: A*Location:* Sparta (no. 345)*Name of festival:* Pohoidaia*Dedicatee:* Poseidon*Type of attestation:* epigraphical victory catalogue*Attested in:* C5l*Attested events:* E*Sources:* IG V.I 213.12-17*Main discussions:* 64

54

Type: A*Location:* Sparta (no. 345)*Name of festival:* Eleuhynia*Dedicatee:* Demeter (?)

Type of attestation: epigraphical victory catalogue

Attested in: C51

Attested events: E

Sources: IG V.1 213.31–34

Main discussions: 64

55

Type: A

Location: Sparta (no. 345)

Name of festival: Athanaia

Dedicatee: Athena

Type of attestation: epigraphical victory catalogue

Attested in: C61, C51

Attested events: stadion; E

Age-classes: *paides* (and so presumably men)

Sources: IG V.1 213.10, 65, 72, 80; IG V.1 222

Main discussions: 64; Hodkinson 1999: 153; Morgan 2007: 215; Day 2010: 206

56

Type: A

Location: Sparta (no. 345)

Name of festival: Karneia

Dedicatee: Apollo

Type of attestation: epigraphical victory catalogue

Attested in: from C61

Attested events: *dolichos* and a race termed *ho makros*

Sources: IG V.1 222

Main discussions: 65; Hodkinson 1999: 153; Morgan 2007: 215; Day 2010: 206

57

Type: A

Location: Sparta (no. 345)

Name of festival: twice referred to by the phrase ἐν Ἀριοντίας

Type of attestation: epigraphical victory catalogue

Attested in: C51

Attested events: *dolichos*; E

Sources: IG V.1 213.24-30, 40-42

Main discussions: 64

58-59-60-61

Type: A

Location: Sparta (no. 345)

Name of festival: Lithchia

Type of attestation: epigraphical victory catalogue

Attested in: C5l

Attested events: *stadion*; *diaulos*; *dolichos*; E

Age-classes: *paides* (and so presumably men)

Other: Sparta presumably staged more agonistic festivals than nos. 43-45 and 47-54: IG V.1 222, a victory catalogue, refers, in addition to the Karneia and the Athanaia, to a festival called *Syrmaia*; Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 15 seems to attest to an *agon* at the Hyakinthia in the Archaic period; and some kind of competition for boys at the festival for Artemis Orthia is attested for C4 by IG V.1 255

Sources: IG V.1 213.36, 37, 53-55

Main discussions: 64

Argolis

62

Type: A

Location: Argos (no. 347)

Dedicatee: Dioskouroi

Type of attestation: epigraphical victory catalogue

Attested in: C5c

Attested events: *stadion*; *hoplitodromos*

Other: it cannot be excluded that IG IV 561 in fact refers to more than one athletic festival

Sources: IG IV 561 (= SEG II 328; CEG I 364)

Main discussions: 66; Morgan 2007: 233

63

Type: A

Location: at the Heraion of Argos (no. 347)

Name of festival: Hekatomboia

Dedicatee: Hera

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogues; epigraphy; inscribed prize vessels

Attested in: C6l, C5, C4

Foreign entrants: from Macedonia; Magna Graecia; Corinth (no. 227); Athens (no. 361); Opous (no. 386); Thasos (no. 526); Sinope (no. 729); Ialysos (no. 995)

Attested events: foot-races, including *dolichos*; boxing; wrestling; *pankration*; E

Other: Argos seems to have taken over the administration of the festival only in the 460s; in C4, the festival was served by a system of *epangelia*

Sources: CEG I 136 (= Friedländer & Hoffleit 1948: no. 136; Jeffery, *LSAG* 168 no. 15; *SEG* II 305); Pind. *Ol.* 7.83; 9.88; 13.107; *Nem.* 10; Bacchyl. 10.32; *Syll.*³ 82; Ebert 1972a: no. 37.12-14; *SEG* 17 150; *SEG* 30 1456; *SEG* 35 267; *SEG* 39 1061; Amandry 1971: 615.III

Main discussions: 41-43, 88-89; Nilsson 1906: 42-45; Ringwood 1927: 67-69; Daly 1939; Kramer 1970: 29; Amandry 1980; Hall 1995; Perlman 2000: 99-155

64

Type: A

Location: Epidauros (no. 348)

Name of festival: Asklepieia

Dedicatee: Asklepios

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogue; epigraphical victory catalogue; epigraphy; archaeology

Attested in: C6s, C5, C4

Foreign entrants: from Corinth (no. 227); Argos (no. 347); Hermion (no. 350); Aigina (no. 358); Ialysos (no. 995)

Attested events: *stadion*; *hoplitodromos*; boxing; *pankration*; E

Age-classes: men and boys

Other: in C4, the festival was served by a system of *epangelia*

Sources: *Syll.*³ 82.5; Pind. *Nem.* 3.84; 5.50-52; 5.82; *Isthm.* 8.68; *Anth. Pal.* 13.19; *SEG* 35 267 (= *CEG* II 814); *IG* IV².1 153; *IG* IV 673

Main discussions: 43-44, 89; Ringwood 1927: 70-71; Kramer 1970: 37; Ebert 1986; Sève 1993; Perlman 2000: 67-97; Miller 2004: 129-32; Nielsen 2007b: 63-68

65

Type: C

Location: Halicis (no. 349)

Type of attestation: existence of a Classical stadium

Attested in: Classical period

Sources: Romano 1993: 36

Main discussions: 66; Romano 1993: 36

66

Type: A

Location: Phleious (no. 355)

Type of attestation: victory epigram

Attested in: C61 or C5

Foreign entrants: from Corinth (no. 227)

Attested events: *stadion*

Other: Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16 demonstrates that Phleious proclaimed an *ekecheiria* in C4, but the passage does not reveal for which festival this truce was proclaimed: not impossibly the present one

Sources: *Anth. Pal.* 13.19

Main discussions: 66; Maróti 1990; Nielsen 2014a: 11-13

67

Type: C

Location: Troizen (no. 357)

Type of attestation: existence of stadium

Attested in: C4

Other: athletic competitions may have taken place at the *Pythia* attested for Troizen by *IG* IV 750.39 (C3e)

Sources: *IG* IV 753

Main discussions: 67; Welter 1941: 35-38; Delorme 1960: 68; Jameson *et al.* 1994: 83;

Aigina**68***Type:* A*Location:* Aigina (no. 358)*Name of festival:* Aiakeia*Dedicatee:* Aiakos*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogues*Attested in:* possibly C6I, C5*Foreign entrants:* from Corinth (no. 227); Athens (no. 361); Ialysos (no. 995)*Attested events:* *stadion*; boxing*Sources:* Pind. *Ol.* 7.86; 13.109; *Nem.* 5.41; *Isthm.* 8.64–65; Bacchyl. 10.34–35; *Anth. Pal.* 13.19*Main discussions:* 45–46; Ringwood 1927: 62; Kramer 1970: 27; Neumann-Hartmann 2007: 135; Polinskaya 2013: 126–63**69***Type:* A*Location:* Aigina (no. 358)*Name of festival:* Heraia*Dedicatee:* Hera*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogue; Pindaric scholion*Attested in:* C5*Attested events:* boxing*Age-classes:* men and boys*Other:* Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 8.113c claims that this festival imitated the Hekatomboia at the Argive Heraion; if this is correct, it will have featured more than boxing*Sources:* Pind. *Pyth.* 8.79; Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 8.113c*Main discussions:* 46; Ringwood 1927: 61; Polinskaya 2013: 121–23**70***Type:* A*Location:* Aigina (no. 358)*Name of festival:* Delphinia*Dedicatee:* Apollo*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogue; Pindaric scholion

Attested in: C₅

Attested events: *pankration*; *pentathlon*

Age-classes: men and boys

Sources: Pind. *Nem.* 5.45; Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 8.91

Main discussions: 46; Ringwood 1927: 61–62; Kramer 1970: 27; Polinskaya 2013: 219–25

Attika

71

Type: A

Location: Athens (no. 361)

Name of festival: Panathenaia

Dedicatee: Athena Polias

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogues; inscribed prizes; epigraphy; literary references

Attested in: C_{6m}, C₅, C₄

Foreign entrants: from Akragas (no. 9); Syracuse (no. 47); Taras (no. 71); Zakynthos (no. 141); Thebes (no. 221); Oropos (no. 214); Corinth (no. 227); Sikyon (no. 228); Asea (no. 267); Sparta (no. 345); Argos (no. 347); Troizen (no. 357); Aigina (no. 358); Opous (no. 386); Amphanai (no. 393); Larissa (no. 401); Pharsalos (no. 413); Amphipolis (no. 553); Potecidaia (no. 598); Pantikapaion (no. 705); Erythrai (no. 845); Samos (no. 864); Iasos (no. 891); Herakleia on Latmos (no. 910); Ialysos (no. 995); Paphos (no. 1019); Naukratis (no. 1023); Kyrene (no. 1028); Taucheira (no. 1029)

Attested events: *stadion*; *diaulos*; *hoplitodromos*; *dolichos*; *pankration*; *pentathlon*; boxing; wrestling; E

Age-classes: *andres*, *ageneioi*, *paides*

Sources: SEG II 257; SEG 17 150; Syll.³ 82; IG I³ 507–509, 1469; IG II² 2311, 2312; Pind. *Ol.* 7.82; 9.88; 13.38; *Nem.* 2.23; 4.18; 10.34; *Anth. Pal.* 13.19; Plut. *Per.* 36.3; Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 13.51d

Main discussions: 46–50, 89–91; Deubner 1956: 23; Frel 1973; Brandt 1978: 20–21; Johnston 1987; Pinney 1988; Stadter 1989: 328; Immerwahr 1990: 183; Boardman 1991: 167–77; Tracy 1991; Neils 1992ab; Neils 2007; Kyle 1993: 25–28, 33–40; Schachter 1994b; Parker 1996: 75, 89–92; Parker 2005: 253–69; Bentz 1998; Hodkinson 1999: 161; Moore 1999; Anderson 2003: 161, 226 n. 18; Shear 2003; Miller 2004:

132-45; Tyrrell 2004: 144-56; Palagia & Choremi-Spetsieri 2007; Stamatopoulou 2007b: 220, 335-36; Forsén 2008: 120; Potter 2012: 112

72

Type: A

Location: Athens (no. 361), at Marathon

Name of festival: Herakleia

Dedicatee: Herakles

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogues; epigraphy

Attested in: possibly C6, C5

Foreign entrants: from Corinth (no. 227); Aigina (no. 358); Opous (no. 386)

Attested events: wrestling

Age-classes: *andres*, *ageneioi*, *paides*

Other: Amandry in *BCH* 95 (1971) 602-25 suggests that three fifth-century bronze cauldrons were given as prizes at these games which after the Battle of Marathon presumably developed also into an *agon* in honour of the Athenian battle casualties; they are inscribed: Ἀθηναῖοι ἄθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμοι and are now *IG* I³ 523-25 (see also *SEG* 28 26 and *SEG* 39 631); but see below no. 75

Sources: *IG* I³ 3; Pind. *Ol.* 9.89; 13.110; *Pyth.* 8.79

Main discussions: 50; Vanderpool 1942: 333-37; Vanderpool 1984; Deubner 1956: 227; Robertson 1985: 242; Parker 1996: 97 n. 124; Parker 2005: 473; Gerber 2002: 61; Jung 2006: 28-38

73

Type: A

Location: Athens (no. 361), at Eleusis

Name of festival: Eleusinia

Dedicatees: Demeter and Kore

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogues; epigraphy

Attested in: C6, C5, C4

Foreign entrants: from Thebes (no. 221); Corinth (no. 227); Opous (no. 386)

Attested events: jump/pentathlon; wrestling; E

Other: *IG* I³ 991 of C6m attests to a *dromos*, i.e. a stadium or a hippodrome, at Eleusis

Sources: *IG* I³ 988, 991; *IG* II² 3124, 3126; Pind. *Ol.* 9.99; 13.110; *Isthm.* 1.57

Main discussions: 51, 91; Deubner 1956: 91–92; Kramer 1970: 36; Clinton 1979; Kyle 1993: 47, 201; McGowan 1995: 623, 629; Parker 1996: 97; Parker 2005: 468–69; Day 2010: 174

74

Type: A

Location: Athens (no. 361)

Name of festival: Anakeia

Dedicatees: Dioskouroi

Type of attestation: inscribed prize vessels

Attested in: C6, C5, C4

Foreign entrants: presumably from Pydna (no. 544) and Chersonesos (no. 695)

Attested events: A; E

Other: foreign entrants are inferred from the provenances of two inscribed prize vessels, which were found at Chersonesos and Pydna

Sources: *SEG* 46 802; *BCH* 95 (1971) 615; *Lys. fr.* 279 (Carey); *Ath.* 235b

Main discussions: 67; Deubner 1956: 216; Parker 1996: 97; Parker 2005: 457

75

Type: A

Location: Athens (no. 361)

Name of festival: Epitaphia

Dedicatees: Athenian war casualties

Type of attestation: inscribed prize vessels; literary references

Attested in: C5, C4

Foreign entrants: from Chalkidike

Attested events: A; E

Other: the festival was annual; foreign entrants are inferred from the provenance of one of the inscribed prize vessels (*SEG* 28 26.2), which was found on Chalkidike

Sources: *IG* I³ 523–25; *SEG* 28 26; *SEG* 39 631; *Lys.* 2.80; *Pl. Menex.* 249b; *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 58.1

Main discussions: 67–68; Deubner 1956: 230–31; Clairmont 1983; Kyle 1993: 44; Osborne 1993: 23; Parker 1996: 131–41; Parker 2005: 469–70

76

Type: A

Location: Athens (no. 361)

Dedicatee: Eirene

Type of attestation: founding decree

Attested in: C4s

Foreign entrants: apparently envisaged

Attested events: A and E apparently envisaged

Other: the inscription seems to envisage a major Panhellenic festival; whether it materialized is unknown

Sources: SEG 15 55 (see also SEG 29 88)

Main discussions: 68; Sosin 2004; Parker 2005: 478; Hunt 2010: 240–43

77

Type: C

Location: Athens (no. 361), at Athmonon

Name of festival: Amarysia

Dedicatee: Artemis

Type of attestation: epigraphical attestation of *agon*

Attested in: C4s

Attested events: possibly A

Sources: IG II² 1203.17

Main discussions: 68; Deubner 1956: 210; Parker 2005: 457

78

Type: A

Location: Athens (no. 361), at Oe

Type of attestation: marble discus inscribed: Ὀἴθεν ἄθλα

Attested in: C6

Attested events: *diskos/pentathlon*

Other: in addition to nos. 71–78, Athens staged other athletic festivals, e.g. the Bendideia; the Nemeseia; the Olympieia; and the Theseia (see Kyle 1993: 41–48; Osborne 1993; Parker 2005: 456–85);

Athens, then, seems to have staged more athletic festivals than any other Greek *polis*

Sources: IG I³ 1396

Main discussions: 91

79

Type: B

Location: Salamis (no. 363)

Type of attestation: epigraphical attestation of sizes of prizes

Attested in: C5m

Attested events: wrestling; boxing; *pankration*

Age-classes: *andres*, *ageneioi*, *paides*

Sources: IG I³ 1386

Main discussions: 68; Taylor 1997: 186–87

Euboa

80

Type: B

Location: Eretria (no. 370)

Name of festival: Artemisia

Dedicatee: Artemis

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogues

Attested in: C6 (?), C5

Foreign entrants: from Thebes (no. 221); Corinth (no. 227); Athens (no. 361)

Attested events: foot-races; *pentathlon* (?); E

Other: the epinician passages do not explicitly locate the victories mentioned at this festival, but it is the standard assumption in modern scholarship that they were achieved here; other agonistic festivals are, however, attested for Eretria (nos. 81–83), and a Pindaric scholion refers to a festival at Karystos as well

Sources: Pind. *Ol.* 13.112; *Isthm.* 1.57; Bacchyl. 10.34

Main discussions: 51; Ringwood 1929: 386–88; Kramer 1970: 38; Cairns 1983: 33 n. 21; Larmour 1999: 178 no. 18; Walker 2004: 34

81*Type:* A*Location:* Eretria (no. 370)*Dedicatee:* Herakles*Type of attestation:* inscribed prize vessel; victory dedication*Attested in:* C6, C5*Attested events:* *pentathlon**Age-classes:* *andres* (and presumably boys and/or beardless as well)*Sources:* *IG XII.2* 272; *SEG* 31 806*Main discussions:* **69**; Ringwood 1929: 388 n. 2; Altherr-Charon & Lasere 1981**82-83***Type:* A*Location:* Eretria (no. 370), at Tamynai*Dedicatee:* Apollo*Type of attestation:* existence of hippodrome*Attested in:* C4*Attested event:* E*Sources:* Aischin. 3.88*Other:* Eretria may have staged other athletic festivals, *e.g.* at the Amarysia at Amarynthos (Walker 2004: 31-38); a C5 decree (Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 82.8) grants a honorand *proedria es tos agonas**Main discussions:* **69-70**

84

Type: C*Location:* Histiaia (no. 372)*Type of attestation:* existence of *palaistra**Attested in:* C4*Sources:* [Plut.] *Am. narr.* 3.773f*Main discussions:* **70**; Delorme 1960: 87

East Lokris

85

Type: B*Location:* Opous (no. 386)*Name of festival:* Aianteia*Dedicatee:* Aias*Type of attestation:* epinician poetry and associated scholia*Attested in:* C5 (and the Hellenistic period)*Foreign entrants:* attested only for the Hellenistic period (from Epidaurous (no. 348))*Attested events:* wrestling (*diaulos* attested for the Hellenistic period)*Sources:* *IG IV².1* 629.7–8; Pind. *Ol.* 9.112; Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 9.166a, 166b, 167*Main discussions:* 51–53; Neumann-Hartmann 2009: 9**Thessalia**

86

Type: A*Location:* unknown, but in the Tempe valley*Name of festival:* Petraia*Dedicatee:* Poseidon*Type of attestation:* epinician ode celebrating a victory at the festival*Attested in:* C5*Attested events:* E*Sources:* Bacchyl. 14; Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 4.246b; Servius on Virg. *Georg.* 1.12*Main discussions:* 53–54; Ringwood 1927: 19; Kramer 1970: 61; Maehler 1982: 294; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 333

87

Type: B*Location:* Thessalia, in mythical Phthia but cannot be located precisely*Dedicatee:* Achilles*Type of attestation:* retrospective note in Pausanias*Attested in:* C5*Foreign entrants:* from Thasos (no. 526)

Attested events: *dolichos*

Other: Stamatopoulou 2007a: 334 takes Pausanias to refer to no. 96 below

Sources: Paus. 6.11.5

Main discussions: 70–71

88

Type: C

Location: Krannon (no. 400)

Type of attestation: coin types

Attested in: Classical period

Attested events: *taurotheria*

Sources: see Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335 with n. 163

Main discussions: 70; Gallis 1988: 221–23; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335

89

Type: B

Location: Larisa (no. 401)

Type of attestation: coin types

Attested in: Classical period

Foreign entrants: presumably (see s.v. *Other*)

Attested events: *aphippodromas*; *taurotheria*

Other: it is commonly assumed that the two attested events were incorporated into a major athletic festival in honour of Apollo or Athena already in C5 (Gallis 1988: 226–28; Larmour 1999: 174 no. 13; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335). The best evidence for the C5 existence of the festival is Soph. fr. 378 (Radt), and if it is accepted that the fragment is modelled upon contemporary realities at Larisa, the festival presumably admitted foreign entrants (see πάγξενος): see 70 n.

43^o

Sources: see Klose & Stumpf 1996: nos. 166–68; Kyle 2007: 149; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335 with n. 163;

Main discussions: 70; Gallis 1988: 220–23; Klose & Stumpf 1996: nos. 166–68; Kyle 2007: 149; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335 with n. 163

90

Type: C*Location:* Pelinna (no. 409)*Type of attestation:* coin types*Attested in:* Classical period*Attested events:* *taurotheria**Sources:* see Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335 with n. 163*Main discussions:* 70; Gallis 1988: 221–23; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335

91

Type: C*Location:* Pharkadon (no. 412)*Type of attestation:* coin types*Attested in:* Classical period*Attested events:* *taurotheria**Sources:* see Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335 with n. 163*Main discussions:* 70; Gallis 1988: 221–23; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335

92

Type: C*Location:* Pherai (no. 414)*Type of attestation:* coin types*Attested in:* Classical period*Attested events:* *aphippodromas*; *taurotheria**Sources:* see Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335 with n. 163*Main discussions:* 70; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335

93

Type: C*Location:* Skotoussa (no. 415)*Type of attestation:* coin types*Attested in:* Classical period*Attested events:* *taurotheria**Sources:* see Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335 with n. 163*Main discussions:* 70; Gallis 1988: 221–23; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335

94

Type: C*Location:* Trikka (no. 417)*Type of attestation:* coin types*Attested in:* Classical period*Attested events:* *taurotheria**Sources:* see Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335 with n. 163*Main discussions:* 70; Gallis 1988: 221–23; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 335**Malis**

95

Type: A*Location:* unknown, but in Malis*Dedicatee:* Protesilaos*Type of attestation:* inscribed prize hydria (of unknown provenance)*Attested in:* C5f*Other:* Stamatopoulou 2007a: 333–34 connects this hydria with no. 96 below*Sources:* *BCH* 95 (1971) 617.VIII (see also *SEG* 45 2186)*Main discussions:* 71; Helly 1995: 137–38**Achaia Phthiotis**

96

Type: A*Location:* Phylake (no. 440)*Dedicatee:* Protesilaos*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogue*Attested in:* C5*Foreign entrants:* from Thebes (no. 221)*Attested events:* E*Other:* Kramer 1970: 51 argues for A at this festival; Stamatopoulou 2007: 333 connects an inscribed prize hydria with this festival; following Helly 1995: 137–38 this hydria is here assigned to no. 95 above; Stamatopoulou (334) also connects the passage at Paus. 6.11.5 with the present festival; the festival attested by the passage is here taken to be no. 87 above*Sources:* Pind. *Isthm.* 1.59

Main discussions: 53; Ringwood 1927: 15; Kramer 1970: 51; Larmour 1999: 190 no. 8; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 333-34

The Aegean

97

Type: C

Location: Minoa (no. 473)

Type of attestation: existence of gymnasium

Attested in: C4

Sources: see Marangou 1987: 255

Main discussions: 71

98

Type: A

Location: Delos (no. 478)

Name of festival: Delia

Dedicatee: Apollo

Type of attestation: literary references; epigraphy

Attested in: C7 (?), C6, C5, C4

Foreign entrants: from Athens (no. 361)

Attested events: A; E

Sources: CEG I 404, 406.3; IG II² 2971; *Hom. Hymn. Apoll.* 149-50; Thuc. 3.104; Zenobius 6.15

Main discussions: 71; Ringwood 1933

99

Type: C

Location: Kos

Type of attestation: coins depicting *diskobolos*

Attested in: C5

Sources: see Smith 2007: 121 Fig. 22

Main discussions: 72, 101; Head, *HN*² 632; Kraay 1976: 245; Sherwin-White 1978: 35; Smith 2007: 121

100-101

Type: B*Location:* Myrina (no. 592) on Lemnos*Dedicatee:* i.a. Artemis*Type of attestation:* the phrase προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν τοῖς δημοτελέσιν*Attested in:* c. 400*Source:* IG XII.8 2*Main discussions:* 72; Parker 1993

102

Type: C*Location:* Koresia (no. 493) on Keos*Type of attestation:* existence of *palaistra* (?)*Attested in:* C6*Sources:* Ael. *VH* 4.24*Main discussions:* 91; Delorme 1960: 86

103-104

Type: B*Location:* Naxos (no. 507)*Type of attestation:* the phrase προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν*Attested in:* c. 300*Sources:* SEG 33 676*Main discussions:* 72

105

Type: C*Location:* Paros (no. 509)*Type of attestation:* epigraphical attestation of *agon* and victory in *stadion**Attested in:* C41-C3e*Attested events:* *stadion**Other:* the inscription may possibly not refer to a festival on Paros itself*Sources:* SEG 54 795*Main discussions:* 73

106

Type: C*Location:* Tenos (no. 525)*Name of festival:* Posideia*Dedicatee:* Poseidon*Type of attestation:* epigraphical attestation of *agon**Attested in:* c. 300*Other:* this may have been a purely dramatic *agon**Sources:* SEG 688.12-13*Main discussions:* 73

107-108

Type: B*Location:* Thasos (no. 526)*Dedicatee:* war casualties and/or Herakles*Type of attestation:* the phrase προεδρία ἐς τοὺς ἀγῶνας*Attested in:* C4*Other:* the office of gymnasiarch is attested for C4 Thasos*Sources:* Pouilloux 1954: 371 no. 141.14; IG XII.8 377*Main discussions:* 73; Pouilloux 1954: 378; Roller 1981a: 9-10; Scullion 2000: 166-67

Chalkidike

109

Type: A*Location:* Amphipolis (no. 553)*Dedicatee:* the oecist Hagnon of Athens, transferred to Brasidas of Sparta in 422*Type of attestation:* historiographical note referring to *agones**Attested in:* C5*Sources:* Thuc. 5.11*Main discussions:* 73; Malkin 1987: 228-32; Hornblower 1996: 450-55; Flendsted-Jensen 2004: 819

110

Type: C*Location:* Amphipolis (no. 553)*Type of attestation:* coin types depicting torch-race*Attested in:* C₄*Other:* a gymnasium is attested for C₄ Amphipolis*Sources:* see Lazaridis 1988 and Lazaridis 1989; Klose & Stumpf 1996:

49 no. 70

Main discussions: 74

111

Type: B*Location:* Akanthos (no. 559)*Type of attestation:* C₅ strigil inscribed: Δεμοσίη*Attested in:* C₅*Attested events:* A*Other:* the strigil may have served as a prize*Sources:* *Macedonians* 1994: 76–77 no. 9*Main discussions:* 74; *Macedonians* 1994: 76

112

Type: B*Location:* Poteidaia (no. 598)*Type of attestation:* epigraphical victory catalogue*Attested in:* C₄*Foreign entrants:* from Hermion (no. 350)*Attested events:* *pankration**Sources:* *IG IV* 673*Main discussions:* 74**Thrace**

113

Type: B*Location:* Abdera (no. 640)*Dedicatee:* Abderos*Type of attestation:* literary reference; coin types*Attested in:* Classical period

Attested events: major agonistic programme (but not equestrian events)

Sources: SEG 46 841; Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 105; Philostr. *Imag.* 2.25; Servius on Virg. *Aen.* 1.756; Klose & Stumpf 1996: no. 77

Main discussions: 74-75; May 1966 208-9; Kallintzi & Veligianni 1996; Klose & Stumpf 1996: no. 77; Loukopoulou 2004: 874

114

Type: A

Location: Chersonesos (no. 661)

Dedicatee: Miltiades of Athens (as if oecist)

Type of attestation: historiographical note attesting major *agon*

Attested in: C6, C5

Foreign entrants: not explicitly attested, but clearly envisaged (except for entrants from neighbouring Lampsakos (no. 748))

Attested events: *agon hippikos te kai gymnikos*

Sources: Hdt. 6.38.1

Main discussions: 91-92; Isaac 1986: 171; Malkin 1987: 190-200; Scott 2005: 176

115

Type: C

Location: Kardias (no. 665)

Type of attestation: existence of gymnasium

Attested in: C4

Sources: Plut. *Eum.* 1

Main discussions: 75

116

Type: C

Location: Byzantion (no. 674)

Type of attestation: possible C6 stadium; gymnasium from the Classical period

Attested in: C6 (?), Classical period

Attested events: A

Sources: *I.Byz* 42; Arist. *Oec.* 1346b19

Main discussions: 75, 92, 94

The Black Sea Area

117–118

Type: B*Location:* Olbia (no. 690)*Type of attestation:* epigraphical attestation of *agones**Attested in:* C₄*Attested events:* archery

Other: an honorary decree grants *proedria*, presumably at these *agones*; a gymnasium existed at Olbia already *c.* 475. Kublanow 1960: 131–32 suggests that one of the *agones* was in honour of Achilles and existed already in C₅; competitions existed at Olbia as early as *c.* 550–510 (SEG 51 970)

Sources: SEG 51 970; Syll.³ 286.13; Dubois, *Olbia* nos. 19, 47*Main discussions:* 75; Kublanow 1960: 131–32; Hedreen 1991: 319; Avram *et al.* 2004: 939; Skrzhinskaia 2005: 77**Propontis**

119

Type: C*Location:* Kyzikos (no. 747)*Type of attestation:* coin type*Attested in:* *c.* 475*Attested events:* *hoplitodromos**Sources:* see Klose & Stumpf 1996: no. 73*Main discussions:* 75–76**Troas**

120–121

Type: A*Location:* unknown, but probably in Troas*Type of attestation:* ‘epinician’ victory catalogue*Attested in:* C₅f*Foreign entrants:* from Tenedos (no. 793)*Attested events:* wrestling and *pankration**Sources:* Pind. *Nem.* 11.19–21*Main discussions:* 76; Bury 1890: 223

122

Type: A*Location:* Ilion (no. 779)*Dedicatee:* Athena*Type of attestation:* epigraphical victory catalogue*Attested in:* C4I*Sources:* *IG II²* 3138*Main discussions:* 76; Preuner 1926: 130–32

123

Type: B*Location:* Skepsis (no. 792)*Dedicatee:* Antigonos Monophthalmos*Type of attestation:* foundation decree attesting to *agon**Attested in:* 3II

Other: the festival was to be annual; it may have been a re-dedication of a pre-existing festival (see *OGIS* 6.22–26: τὴν δὲ θυσίαν κα[ι] τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν στεφανηφορίαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν παν[ήγ]υριν γίνεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτ[ος, κα]θάπερ καὶ πρότερο[ν] συνετελεῖτο)

Sources: *OGIS* 6*Main discussions:* 76

Ionia

124–125

Type: A*Location:* Ephesos (no. 844)*Name of festival:* Ephesia (and others)*Dedicatee:* Artemis (?)*Type of attestation:* literary references; epigraphy*Attested in:* C5, C4*Foreign entrants:* from Athens (no. 361); Magnesia (no. 852)*Attested events:* *stadion* (but presumably full *agon gymnikos*); E*Age-classes:* *paides* and so presumably men

Other: Ephesos probably staged other athletic festivals than the Ephesia: the phrase προεδρὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν is found at *I.Ephesos* 1389; Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.16 refers to a hippodrome at Ephesos

Sources: *I.Ephesos* 1389; *I.Delphes* 4.216; *IG II²* 3138; Thuc. 3.104.3; Xen.

Hell. 3.4.16; *Diod.* 15.49.1; *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 4.25
Main discussions: 77; Hornblower 1982; Stylianos 1983

126–127

Type: B

Location: Erythrai (no. 845)

Type of attestation: the phrase προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν

Attested in: C4m

Sources: *SEG* 31 969.11

Main discussions: 78

128–129

Type: B

Location: Kolophon (no. 848)

Type of attestation: the phrase προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν

Attested in: C4s

Sources: *AJPhil* 1935: 379–80 no. 4.8

Main discussions: 78

130–131

Type: B

Location: Priene (no. 861)

Type of attestation: the phrases προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν and οἱ κοινοὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀγῶνες; existence of stadium

Attested in: C4

Sources: *I.Priene* 4.11, 5.8–9; Kyle 1993: 61 n. 27

Main discussions: 78; Kyle 1993: 61 n. 27

132

Type: A

Location: Samos (no. 864)

Name of festival: Heraia (briefly Lysandreia)

Dedicatee: Hera (briefly Lysander of Sparta)

Type of attestation: retrospective biographical note; epigraphy

Attested in: C5, C4

Foreign entrants: not explicitly attested for the athletic events, but attested for the musical contests (from Kolophon (no. 848) and He-

rakleia (no. 715) (?)) and so a reasonable assumption for the athletic competitions as well

Attested events: pankration

Other: the festival was briefly named Lysandreia after Aigospotamoi to honour the Spartan admiral Lysander

Sources: IG XII.6 334; Plut. *Lys.* 18.4

Main discussions: 78–79; Shipley 1987: 133–34; Larmour 1999: 173 no. 7

133

Type: B

Location: Samos (no. 864)

Type of attestation: the phrase προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἂν ἡ πόλις ἄγῃ πᾶσιν

Attested in: C4

Other: a C6 *palaistra* is reported by Hieronymos of Rhodos fr. 34 (Wehrli)

Sources: IG XII.6 38.22–23

Main discussions: 79; Delorme 1960: 35; Shipley 1987: 72, 90

134–135–136

Type: B

Location: Teos (no. 868)

Name of festival: Anthesteria, Herakleia, Dia

Dedicatee: Herakles and Zeus

Type of attestation: epigraphical attestation of *agon* at these three festivals

Attested in: c. 470

Sources: Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 30.B.31–34

Main discussions: 79–80; Nilsson 1906: 267–68; Tod, *GHI* I: 30; Ellsworth 1976: 232; Scanlon 1983: 148–54; Scanlon 2002: 290

Karia

137

Type: A

Location: at the Triopion in the territory of Knidos (no. 903)

Name of festival: Dorieia

Dedicatee: Apollo Triopios

Type of attestation: historiographical note attesting an *agon*

Attested in: from the Archaic period onwards

Foreign entrants: the festivals seems to have been confined to members of the Dorian hexapolis of Halikarnassos (no. 886), Ialysos (no. 995), Kamiros (no. 996), Knidos (no. 903), Kos (no. 497) and Lindos (no. 997), from which Halikarnassos was at some point prior to C5m expelled

Attested events: A assumed (attested for later periods along with E)

Sources: *Syll.*³ 1065, 1067; Hdt. 1.144; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25.4

Main discussions: 92–93; Jeffery 1976: 195; Klose & Stumpf 1996: no. 78; Forrest 2000: 281; Asheri *et al.* 2007: 175

138–139

Type: B

Location: Iasos (no. 891)

Type of attestation: the phrase προεδρία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι

Attested in: C4l

Sources: *I.Iasos* 60

Main discussions: 80

140

Type: C

Location: Mylasa (no. 913)

Type of attestation: Existence of *palaistra* and gymnasium

Attested in: 317

Sources: *I.Mylasa* 21.9–13

Main discussions: 80

Crete

141

Type: C

Location: Eleutherna (no. 957)

Type of attestation: epigraphical attestation of *dromos*, possibly in the sense of ‘stadium’ or ‘gymnasium’; existence of age-class of *dromeis*

Attested in: C5

Sources: *SEG* 23 572.3; *SEG* 41 739

Main discussions: 80–82

142

Type: C*Location:* Gortyn (no. 960)*Type of attestation:* epigraphical attestation of existence of gymnasium; existence of age-class of *dromeis**Attested in:* C5*Sources:* IC IV 64.6, 72*Main discussions:* **80–82****Pamphylia**

143

Type: C*Location:* Aspendos (no. 1001)*Type of attestation:* coin types*Attested in:* C5, C4*Attested events:* belt-wrestling*Sources:* see Kyle 2007: 149*Main discussions:* **83–84**; Kyle 2007: 149**Rhodos**

144

Type: A*Location:* Rhodos*Name of festival:* Tlapolemeia*Dedicatee:* Tlepolemos*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogue*Attested in:* C5f (and the Hellenistic period)*Attested events:* boxing (*stadium* attested for the Hellenistic period)*Age-classes:* *andres* and *paides**Sources:* Pind. *Ol.* 7.77–80; Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 7.147c; *Syll.*³ 1067.8*Main discussions:* **54**; Kramer 1970: 53

145

Type: A*Location:* Rhodos*Dedicatee:* Helios*Type of attestation:* inscribed prize kalpis

Attested in: C5s

Sources: *SEG* 27 481

Main discussions: **82**; Johnston 1977; Amandry 1980: 211 n. 4.I; Larmour 1999: 181 no. 27; Parker 2009: 207

146–147

Type: B

Location: Lindos (no. 997)

Type of attestation: the phrase [π]ροεδρ[ία ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι]

Attested in: C5

Other: a C6 festival will be attested for Lindos if *I.Lindos* 1688 refers to a local festival

Sources: *I.Lindos* 15, 1688

Main discussions: **82**; Kourou *et al.* 2002: 25–26

148

Type: C

Location: Ialysos (no. 995)

Type of attestation: inscribed dedication

Attested in: C6

Sources: *SEG* 53 819

Main discussions: **83**

149

Type: C

Location: Rhodos (no. 1000)

Type of attestation: existence of stadium

Attested in: C4

Sources: see Valavanis 1999: 99 Fig. 4

Main discussions: **83**

Egypt

150

Type: C

Location: Naukratis (no. 1023)

Type of attestation: existence of *palaistra*

Attested in: C4

Sources: *Sammelbuch* I 30 no. 355 = *SGDI* 5757

Main discussions: **84**

Kyrenaika

151

Type: C

Location: Kyrene (no. 1028)

Name of festival: Karneia

Dedicatee: Apollo

Type of attestation: epinician poetry

Attested in: C5f

Attested events: none explicitly attested, but competitions may be tentatively assumed from their existence at homonymous festivals such as that at Sparta (above no. 56)

Sources: Pind. *Pyth.* 5.80

Main discussions: **54**; Kramer 1970: 42

152

Type: A

Location: Kyrene (no. 1028)

Dedicatee: Pallas Athena

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogue

Attested in: C5f

Attested events: foot-race(s)

Sources: Pind. *Pyth.* 9.97–98

Main discussions: **54**; Kramer 1970: 42; Instone 1996: 138

153

Type: A

Location: Kyrene (no. 1028)

Name of festival: Olympia

Dedicatee: Zeus Olympios

Type of attestation: epinician victory catalogue

Attested in: C5f

Attested events: foot-race(s)

Sources: Pind. *Pyth.* 9.101

Main discussions: **54**; Kramer 1970: 42; Instone 1996: 138

154-155*Type:* A*Location:* Kyrene (no. 1028)*Dedicatee:* Gaia*Type of attestation:* epinician victory catalogue*Attested in:* C5f*Attested events:* foot-race(s)

Other: in addition to nos. 151-53, Kyrene probably staged other athletic festivals: Pind. *Pyth.* 9.102-3 refers, in addition to nos. 151-53, to *πᾶσι ἐπιχωρίοις* [sc. *aethlois*] and Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 5.10a refers to possibly very early Dioskoureia at Kyrene

Sources: Pind. *Pyth.* 9.102*Main discussions:* 54; Kramer 1970: 42; Instone 1996: 138

1.5.2 A 'Snapshot' of the Greek Athletic Landscape in the fifth century

In order to briefly illustrate what the data catalogued above all add up to, I present here a 'snapshot' of the Greek athletic landscape as it looked in the fifth century, confining myself to certain (A) and probable (B) athletic festivals (serial numbers in bold refer to the catalogue in 1.5.1). Thus, the snapshot is certainly very minimalistic, but even so still comprises 78 athletic festivals:

In the western Greek world, athletic festivals are attested for the fifth century on Sicily and in Southern Italy. On Sicily, one festival is attested for Syracuse (**4**), and we have evidence for two more which cannot be assigned to specific *poleis* (**1-2**); in Southern Italy, a festival is attested for Neapolis (**12**). Moving to central Greece, two festivals in Boiotia cannot be assigned to specific *poleis* (**21-22**), but festivals are securely attested for Haliartos (**23**), Koroneia (**25**), Orchomenos (**27**), Thebes (**30**), and Thespiai (**31**); the festival at Thebes, the *Herakleia*, was clearly a major event. At Megara, we find the *Alkathoia* (**32**), at Sikyon the *Pythia* (**35**) and at Corinth, in addition to the Isthmian festival, we find the *Hellotia* (**33**) in honour of Athena. Moving further into the Peloponnese, we find a well-attested festival at Pellene in Achaia (**38**), and Achaia was also home to two festivals which cannot be assigned to specific *poleis* (**36-37**). In

Arkadia we find a famous festival on Mt. Lykaion (39), and festivals are attested also for Kleitor (41), Pheneos (43), and Tegea (45). In Messenia we find a festival in honour of Poseidon at Thouria (46). In Lakadaimon a surprising number of festivals is attested: At Sparta itself we find nine festivals (52-60) and four festivals are found in territory subject to Spartan authority (47-50). In the Argolid, two festivals were staged by Argos (62-63) of which the *Hekatomboia* must have been a major event. Festivals are found also at Epidaurous (64) and Phleious (66). On the island of Aigina were three athletic festivals (68-70); and in Attika at least five major events (71-75) in addition to one on the island of Salamis (79). On Euboeia, the city of Eretria celebrated no less than four athletic festivals (80-83); and in East Lokris we find a festival at Opous (85). In Thessalia and adjacent areas, we find a festival at Larisa (89), two which cannot be assigned to specific *poleis* (86-87), one in Malis which likewise is unassigned (95), and one in Achaia Phthiotis at Phylake (96). In the Aegean, there is the *Delia* on Delos (98) as well as two festivals at Myrina on the island of Lemnos (100-101). On Chalkidike we find festivals at Amphipolis (109) and Akanthos (111), and in Thrace at Abdera (113) and Chersonesos (114). In Ionia, we find festivals at Ephesos (124) and on Samos (132); at Teos were three festivals (134-136). In Karia there was a festival at Triopion in the territory of Knidos (137) and on the island of Rhodes were four festivals (144-147). Finally, four festivals are attested for Kyrene in Libya (152-155).

In the fifth century, then, athletic festivals are found practically everywhere in the Greek world. A few of these festivals were dedicated to mythological or historical founders (109, 113, 114) or to mythological figures such as Protesilaos or Achilles (27, 32, 68, 85, 87, 95, 96, 144); a few were dedicated to minor divinities such as Helios (12, 64, 145, 154); three were dedicated to the Dioskouroi (43, 62, 74) and five to Herakles (30, 31, 72, 81, 135), but most were dedicated to the great gods of the Olympic pantheon: Apollo (35, 38, 47, 56, 70, 82, 98, 137); Athena (25, 33, 41, 45, 55, 71, 152); Poseidon (23, 46, 48, 52, 53, 86); Zeus (4, 39, 136, 153); Artemis (80, 100, 124); Hera (63, 69, 132); Demeter (54, 73); and Dionysos (134). These festivals standardly accepted foreign entrants and contestants were normally divided into two or three age-classes. Apart from a few local curios-

ities such as *aphippodromas* and *taurotheria* at Larisa, the events at these festivals were those known from the Olympic games: foot-races for various distances, *pentathlon* and the 'heavy events': boxing, wrestling and *pankration*, and equestrian events too were widespread. This implies, of course, that (training for and investing in) these events constituted one of the main pastimes of the elites across the entire Greek world.

Finally, it may be noted that there is no correlation between constitutional form and the existence of athletic festivals.⁶⁸¹ In the fifth century, Athens and Argos were democracies and both arranged athletic festivals, and at Syracuse the athletic festival in honour of Zeus Eleutherios (4) was established to celebrate the introduction of democracy; Megara may also have been a democracy. But *e.g.* Sikyon and Corinth were stable oligarchies and arranged athletic festivals as well. The *poleis* of Boiotia were also oligarchies for most of the fifth century, and quite a few of them arranged athletic festivals; Tegea in Arkadia was presumably also an oligarchy in the fifth century, and so were the *poleis* of Achaia; Aigina, too, was an oligarchy in the fifth century. At Samos, the constitution seems to have changed from oligarchy to democracy in the middle of the fifth century, and this apparently did not affect the *Heraia* (132) at all. The Sicilian festivals attested in the early fifth (1-2) centuries were celebrated in a period and in areas dominated by tyrants, and the *Panathenaia* at Athens (71) existed under the tyranny, as it did under the previous traditional aristocracy and later during the democracy. The constitution of Sparta was famously mixed but of course had a clear autocratic element in the form of the two kings: the city arranged at least nine athletic festivals. Kyrene, on the other hand, was a democracy with autocratic elements in the form of inherited kingship: the city celebrated at least four athletic festivals. The athletic festival, then, was not a characteristic of any particular constitutional form, but rather a feature of Greek culture and religion in general.

681. The details on constitutional history underlying the following may be found in Hansen & Nielsen 2004.

1.6 Some Remarks on the Significance of the Athletic Culture

Let me end this study with a few remarks on the historical *significance* of the extent of the athletic circuit. It is clear that the identification of some 155 athletic festivals or sites with athletic competitions rests on a number of sometimes unverifiable assumptions, but it does not seem unreasonable to assume that this number must be of the right order of size, and perhaps even a minimum figure. This large number may perhaps be quite surprising, but it may still be asked what the significance of this great extent of the athletic culture is: does it *matter*? In the following, I shall attempt to outline a brief answer to this question, focusing on what I take to be the most important historical implications of the survey carried out above. The following, then, is deliberately selective.

It seems rather clear that the Greeks took the traditional athletic festival to be something distinctively Greek, something which distinguished Greeks from ‘Barbarians’, or, in other words, that athletics constituted an ethnic boundary marker separating the Greeks from their neighbours.⁶⁸² In this connection reference is commonly made to the ethnic exclusiveness of the Olympics. In fact, the rule for admission to the Olympics was formulated, not as a ban on barbarians,⁶⁸³ but as an invitation to non-*Eleian* athletes to compete, since it allowed ὁ βουλόμενος τῶν Ἑλλήνων (“any Greek who wanted”) to compete.⁶⁸⁴ In this respect, the Olympics simply resembled most other athletic festivals, which as a rule permitted non-citizens to compete, as should be clear from the survey above. But it is also clear that the Olympic stipulation could on occasion be interpreted as a ban on barbarian participation, as is clear from Herodotos’ story about King Alexander I of Macedonia: according to Herodotos (5.22), the other competitors filed a protest against the

682. This point has, of course, often been made in modern research on Greek culture, e.g. by Golden 1998: 4–5; Hansen 2000: 144; and Kyle 2007: 80. See also Nielsen 2007b: 12–28.

683. On this topic, see the forthcoming studies by Remijsen (*Greeks Only?*) and Roy (*Son of Pharnabazos*).

684. Hdt. 2.160 and 5.22 with Nielsen 2007b: 18–21. See also Nielsen 2014b: 134–35.

Olympic participation of King Alexander on the ground that the Olympics were not open to barbarians, and in this connection it does not much matter whether this story – which ends by affirming the Hellenic identity of King Alexander – is a propagandistic fabrication, since it had at least to resemble reality in order to be persuasive.⁶⁸⁵

But the idea that athletics distinguish Greeks from barbarians is found in other texts than Herodotos, as *e.g.* in Demosthenes' *First Philippic* (40) where the orator compares the way in which the Athenians react to the moves of King Philip II of Macedonia to the way an inexperienced barbarian boxer would meet the attacks of an accomplished adversary, who of course must be taken to be a Greek. Demosthenes says: "You carry on your war with Philip exactly as a barbarian boxes. The barbarian, when struck, always clutches the place. Hit him on the other side, and there go his hands. He neither knows nor cares how to parry a blow or how to watch his adversary. So you, if you hear of Philip in the Chersonese, vote an expedition there; if at Thermopylai, you vote one there."⁶⁸⁶ The underlying idea here is that a Greek *knows* boxing, whereas a barbarian does not, and that of course is part of the more general idea that athletics distinguish Greeks from non-Greeks. The real sting of the comparison is surely that it is the Athenians who are cast in the role of an unsophisticated barbarian boxer, whereas Philip – a barbarian to Demosthenes⁶⁸⁷ – is assigned the role of an elegant Greek fighter.

A passage in Plato suggests that at least some Greeks considered the role played by athletics in Greek society to be a function of the Greek way of life and thus again something distinctively Greek. In *Symposium* (182b)⁶⁸⁸ Plato has Pausanias state that among the barbarians pederastic relationships, philosophy and *philogymnastia* ("fondness for gymnastics") are considered *aischron*, "a bad thing". It

685. On Herodotos' story of King Alexander at Olympia, see Badian 1971-72: 34-35; Borza 1982: 10-11; Borza 1990: 110-14; Roos 1985; Scaife 1989: 133-34; Hall 2002: 154-56; Adams 2003: 205-8; Kertész 2005; Mitchell 2007: 45.

686. Transl. Vince 1930.

687. Dem. 9.31; cf. 3.24; cf. Badian 1971-72: 42; Hunt 2010: 77-84.

688. τοῖς γὰρ βαρβάροις διὰ τὰς τυραννίδας αἰσχρὸν τοῦτό [sc. paederastic relations] τε καὶ ἡ γέ φιλοσοφία καὶ ἡ φιλογυμναστία.

should follow *e contrario* that *philogymnastia* was not considered a bad thing among the Greeks, and it is interesting to note that the reason given for barbarian dislike of *philogymnastia* is their political constitutions: διὰ τυραννίδας, “because of their dictatorial governments”, from which it ought to follow that there is a connection between athletics and the *Greek* way of life. Again, such a statement is part of the more general idea that athletics distinguish Greeks from non-Greeks.

Now, it is not true, as for instance Thucydides was well aware,⁶⁸⁹ that the barbarians did not practice various forms of athletics – even boxing, actually – but even so the Greek practice of athletics was *construed* as an ethnic boundary marker, and if the Greek athletic culture was in fact as extensive a phenomenon as I have suggested above, we are in a better position to appreciate on what basis the Greek notion was founded and acknowledge that it did in fact have a solid base in the social and religious life of the Greeks. Clearly, the study of athletics matters for the wider study of Greek culture as such.

Another important aspect of the way the Greeks practised athletics, and an aspect which was well understood by the Greeks themselves, is that athletics constituted a perfect setting for the pursuit of fame – *kleos*. The *locus classicus* is a passage from *The Odyssey* in the context of the athletic games put on by King Alkinoos to entertain the anonymous stranger who is Odysseus. When encouraging Odysseus to participate in the contests, the young Phaiakian prince Laodamas says, “There is no greater glory – *kleos* – for a man so long as he lives than that which he achieves by his own hands and his feet.”⁶⁹⁰ There may perhaps be some poetic exaggeration involved in this statement,⁶⁹¹ but the sentiment is not unique to this passage. One of the things constituting real *kleos* is that a man’s name and his achievements are remembered and spoken of by future generations.

689. Thuc. 1.6.5: ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς νῦν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς, πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἄθλα τίθεται, καὶ διεζωμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσιν.

690. Hom. *Od.* 8.147-48: οὐ μὲν γὰρ μεῖζον κλέος ἀνέρος, ὄφρα κεν ἦσιν, | ἢ ὅ τι ποσσὶν τε ῥέξῃ καὶ χερσὶν ἐῆσιν.

691. Heubeck *et al.* 1988 *ad loc.*

Consider the beginning of the Nikolaidas-epigram from this perspective: Ἄνθηκεν τόδ' ἄγαλμα Κορίνθιος, ὅσπερ ἐνίκαι| ἐν Δελφοῖς ποτε, Νικολάδας. These two verses implicitly claim that Nikolaidas will be spoken of by future generations on account of his Pythian victory: “This monument a Corinthian erected, who won at Delphi once, Nikolaidas.” By his use of *pote* – once – the author of the epigram takes the perspective of a future reader,⁶⁹² and a future reader would, by reading the poem aloud to himself and others, prove the poem’s implicit claim to *kleos* to be true when he read the word *pote* aloud; and that claim to *kleos* is followed immediately by the name of the athlete, who is, accordingly, made to live on the lips of future generations.

The Nikolaidas-epigram is, of course, not alone among post-Homeric sources in promoting athletic achievement as a claim to fame. Not surprisingly, the idea is found in Pindar, whose assignment it was to perpetuate the glory created by victory. The most general statement of the idea is found in the opening of *Isthmian* 5 in honour of the *pankration*-fighter Phylakidas of Aigina:

and in athletic competitions a man gains
the glory (*kleos*) he desires, when thick crowns
wreath his hair after winning victory with his hands
or the swiftness of his feet.⁶⁹³

In addition to this gnomic sort of remark we find statements to the effect that particular victories brought *kleos* to the victor. Thus, in the opening of *Olympian* 8 Pindar states that an Olympic victory brings “great and eternal glory” – μέγα κλέος αἰεὶ – to the victor, the implication being that *mega kleos* is what the young Alkimedon of Aigina has earned himself.⁶⁹⁴ Similarly, *Olympian* 1 claims that the

692. Ebert 1972a: no. 26 *comm. ad loc.*

693. *Isth.* 5.7-10: ἔν τ' ἀγωνίοις ἀέθλοισι ποθεινόν | κλέος ἔπραξεν, ὄντιν' ἀθρόοι στέφανοι | χερσὶ νικάσαντ' ἀνέδησαν ἔθειραν | ἢ ταχυτάτι ποδῶν (transl. Race 1997b).

694. *Ol.* 8.10-1: μέγα τοι κλέος αἰεὶ, | ᾧ τινι σὸν γέρας ἔσπετ' ἀγλαόν.

kleos of Hieron of Syracuse shines brightly at Olympia on account of the victory won by his famous horse Pherenikos.⁶⁹⁵

The same idea – that athletic victory generates *kleos* – is found in epigrams accompanying sculptures set up to commemorate victory. A rather fragmentary fourth-century epigram from Olympia says of an unidentified runner that “twice has he gained *kleos* at the foot of Parnassos”;⁶⁹⁶ and another, commemorating an equestrian victory at Olympia by one Xenombrotos of Kos, states that “Greece sings his imperishable *kleos* in remembrance of his horsemanship.”⁶⁹⁷ Finally, a fourth-century epigram from Delphi says the following of the equestrian victor, Archon of Pella: “Twice, o happy Archon, did you receive a wreath of beautiful *kleos* when you were victorious by your horsemanship at the Isthmos and at Delphi.”⁶⁹⁸ The Greeks, then, developed two highly complex artistic genres to commemorate victory, epinician ode and athletic sculpture, two wonderful and extremely expensive ways of creating and perpetuating the fame created by agonistic victory. That fame, clearly, must have been central to what athletes thought they were doing, and athletics must have constituted one of the primary arenas in which individuals pursued their fame. And since obsession with fame is one of the most fundamental characteristics of Greek culture, we have here one more reason why athletics matter, and the sheer extent of the athletic culture emphasizes just how much it really matters.

Greek *poles* took the athletic victories of their citizens to reflect on themselves. This is clear *e.g.* from the Nikolaidas-epigram, which states that his victories were a joy unto the mighty city of Corinth.⁶⁹⁹ Though an athletic victory was won by an individual, it was standard to construe victories as being also victories of the home-city of the athlete. Thus, a Lysianic speaker can say that when his father

695. *Ol.* 1.23–24: λάμπει δὲ οἱ κλέος | ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀπουκία.

696. *Neue IvO* 25 = Ebert 1972a: no. 48.7: δις δὲ ὑπὸ Παρνασσοῖο φέρει κλέος.

697. Ebert 1972a: no. 49.5–6: [οὔ κλέος] Ἑλλάς | ἄφροτον ἀείδε[τι] μνωμένα ἱπποσύνας.

698. Ebert 1972a: no. 46.1–2: ὦ μάκαρ εὐκλείας Ἄρχων στέ[φανον δις ἐδέξω] | Ἴσθμια νικήσας Πύθια τε ἱππ[οσύνας]. - Cf. Xenophanes fr. 2 (West) 6: ἀστοῖσιν κ’ εἴη κυδρότερος προσορᾶν.

699. ἠῦφρανεν μεγάλην Κόρινθον (Ebert 1972a: no. 26.12). See also the epigram celebrating Theogenes of Thasos discussed below in section 2.6.4 (206–209).

was crowned as equestrian victor at the Isthmos and at Nemea, the *polis* of the Athenians was “proclaimed by the herald” (τὴν πόλιν κηρυχθῆναι).⁷⁰⁰ This was not an entirely unreasonable thing to claim, since the herald’s proclamation of the victor contained his city-ethnic and since in this way the *polis* of the victor *was* in fact proclaimed.⁷⁰¹ However, the thought often drifts to the metaphorical statement that during the victory ceremony the victor crowned his *polis*, as in a late fourth-century decree from Ephesos honouring a Nemean boy victor, Athenodoros, who, though in fact a metic, had himself proclaimed an Ephesian at the victory ceremony: “Since Athenodoros, son of Semon, a foreigner of equal rights and residing at Ephesos, has won the boxing contest for boys at Nemea and by being proclaimed as an Ephesian has crowned our city”, let it then be resolved that he be made an Ephesian citizen and receive various honours.⁷⁰² The idea is fairly common,⁷⁰³ and there can be no doubt that the home *poleis* of victorious athletes shared in the glory created by their victories. In short, such victories enhanced the fame of the home cities, as is clearly stated by both Xenophon and Isokrates.⁷⁰⁴ In other words, athletics constituted an arena in which *poleis* competed with each other for fame and honour, in much the same way

700. Lys. 19.63.

701. On the herald’s proclamation of victory, see Wolicki 2002.

702. *I.Ephesos* 1415.2-4: ἐπε]ιδῆ Ἀθηνόδωρος Σήμονος ἰσοτελῆς ὄγ καὶ κατοι[κῶν] ἐν Ἐφέσοι νενίκηκεν τὰ Νέμεα παῖδας πύκτην [καὶ ἀνα]γγελεῖς Ἐφέσιος ἐστεφάνωκε τὴν πόλιν, [ἔδοξε]ν τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῶ δήμῳ· κτλ. On this decree, see further section 2.6 (5) below (209-213).

703. See the evidence cited in n. 234 below at p. 210.

704. Xen. *Mem.* 3.7.1: Χαρμίδην δὲ τὸν Γλαύκωνος ὄρων ἀξιόλογον μὲν ἄνδρα ὄντα καὶ πολλῶ δυνατώτερον τῶν τὰ πολιτικὰ τότε πραττόντων, ὀκνοῦντα δὲ προσίεναι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εἰπέ μοι, ἔρη, ὦ Χαρμίδη, εἴ τις ἰκανὸς ὢν τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας νικᾷν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς τε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι εὐδοκιμωτέραν ποιεῖν μὴ θέλοι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ποῖόν τινα τοῦτον νομίζεις ἂν τὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι; Δῆλον ὅτι, ἔρη, μαλακὸν τε καὶ δειλόν. – Isocr. 16.32: ὄρων τὴν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πανήγυριν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγαπωμένην καὶ θαυματομένην, καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπίδειξιν ἐν αὐτῇ ποιουμένους πλοῦτου καὶ ῥώμης καὶ παιδείσεως, καὶ τοὺς τ’ ἀθλητὰς ζηλουμένους καὶ τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστάς γιγνομένας τὰς τῶν νικῶντων. See also Ebert 1972a: no. 46.3-4: ζηλοῦται δὲ πατὴρ Κλεῖνος κ[λυτοῦ εἵνεκα παιδός] | Πιέλλα τε ἀειμναστον πατρίς ἐ[λοῦσα κλέος].

as that the athletes themselves did, and that is one more reason why athletics matter to the ancient historian: it must be considered a fundamental characteristic of the interaction between *poleis* in the Greek city-state culture.

As is well known, *poleis* celebrated their victors in various and often extravagant ways. Cash payments for victory in the *periodos* are known from, *e.g.*, Athens, Sybaris⁷⁰⁵ and Ephesos⁷⁰⁶ and mentioned already by Xenophanes,⁷⁰⁷ who also mentions such honours as *proedria* and public entertainment, known also from Athens in the form of entertainment in the *prytaneion*, the symbolical centre of the *polis*.⁷⁰⁸ On occasion, such honorific gestures were highly extravagant, as in 412, when Exainetos of Akragas was escorted into the city by 300 chariots drawn by white horses on his return home after his second Olympic victory in the *stadion*.⁷⁰⁹ Now, since athletic victories were construed as victories of the *poleis* of the athletes, what a *polis* was celebrating by such honorific gestures was in fact *itself*, and in this way athletics will have helped promote a sense of civic cohesion. This is another good reason why athletics matter and why the extent of the athletic culture is not a question of mere antiquarian interest.

The last point to which I want to draw attention is that athletic festivals must have created a good deal of interaction among the Greek *poleis* and their citizens, and must have sent large numbers of individuals onto the roads and seas, travelling to athletic destinations. In the survey above I have repeatedly noted foreign entrants at the festivals under discussion, and it seems clear that most if not all athletic festivals were open to athletes from other *poleis* than the one

705. Athens and Sybaris: Nielsen 2007b: 95.

706. *I. Ephesos* 1515.10–12.

707. Xenophanes fr. 2.9 (West): δῶρον ὃ οἱ κειμήλιον εἶη.

708. Nielsen 2007b: 52. On the *prytaneion* as the symbolical centre of the *polis*, see section 2.6 (3) below (205).

709. Diod. 13.82.7: καὶ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν δὲ ταύτης Ὀλυμπιάδα, δευτέραν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐνενήκοντα, νικήσαντος Ἐξαινέτου Ἀκραγαντίνου, κατήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ἄρματος· συνεπόμπευον δ' αὐτῷ χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων συνωρίδες τριακόσια λευκῶν ἵππων. On the significance of chariot processions, see Sinos 1998: 75–78.

arranging the festival:⁷¹⁰ Nikolaidas of Corinth competed at Thebes and Athens, Corinthians competed on Sicily, athletes from Aigina competed at Epidauros, Theogenes of Thasos competed in Thessaly and at Argos, and the great boxer Diagoras of Rhodos competed not only at all the contests of the *periodos* but also in Arkadia and Boiotia as well as at Athens, Argos, Thebes, Pellene, Aigina and Megara.⁷¹¹ Clearly, Diagoras must have travelled a lot, as must Theogenes of Thasos and many others. How did they know where to go? In the cases of the festivals of the *periodos* as well as in the cases of Epidauros⁷¹² and tiny Lousoi in Arkadia,⁷¹³ we know that the *polis* arranging an athletic festival announced upcoming celebrations internationally by epangelic systems. The many other *poleis* who arranged athletic festivals probably did so as well in one way or another, not least in order to attract high-profile athletes. They need not all have done so on a Panhellenic scale, as Epidauros did, but may have restricted the announcement to for instance a regional level, as Chersonesos probably did if it announced its games for the 'oecist' Miltiades outside the city itself; but even so the simple business of announcing upcoming celebrations must have sent a good deal of official delegations onto the roads or the sea to make announcements in foreign *poleis* and this must have created extensive official interaction among city-states. Official delegations and private individuals will have travelled to athletic destinations to watch the rituals and the contests as representatives of their home-*poleis*, or for their own pleasure. Not every single local festival will have resembled the Olympics in this respect, but some will, such as for example the *Asklapieia*, the *Hekatomboia* and the *Panathenaia*. Others such as the festival at Thespiiai in Boiotia will probably have created such interaction on a more modest level, but what matters here is not really the individual festivals but the large *number* of festivals which must all have created at least *some* interaction. Such interaction will have eased the establishment of private intercity networks, it will have

710. On this topic, see Nielsen, *Foreign Entrants*.

711. On the career of Diagoras of Rhodes, see Pind. *Ol.* 7.80-87.

712. Perlman 2000: 67-97.

713. Perlman 2000: 158-60.

helped spread news, rumours and new ideas in for instance politics and other, intellectual spheres. In short: it will have contributed to the sense of intercity cohesion among the Greeks, and that is one more, and perhaps the most important, reason why athletics should really matter to classicists.

Moreover, this function of athletic festivals was one which was well understood by at least Greek intellectuals, as appears clearly from two well-known passages in Lysias and Isokrates. Thus, the orator Lysias in his *Olympikos*, delivered at Olympia in 388, ascribes to Herakles, the mythical founder of the Olympics, the wish to promote friendship (*philia*) among the Greeks as his motive for founding the festival;⁷¹⁴ and the Athenian intellectual Isokrates in his *Panegyrikos*, a literary essay in the style of an Olympic oration, has a longer and more general reflection on the benefits of *panegyreis* as such:

Now the founders of our great festivals are justly praised for handing down to us a custom by which, having proclaimed a truce and resolved our pending quarrels, we come together in one place, where, as we make our prayers and sacrifices in common, we are reminded of the kinship which exists among us and are made to feel more kindly towards each other for the future, reviving our old friendships and establishing new ties.⁷¹⁵

It is tempting to brush such passages aside as mere rhetoric, but that temptation should be resisted. Not only does even rhetoric have to be persuasive, but the great extent of the athletic culture in

714. Lys. 33.2: ἡγήσατο γὰρ τὸν ἐνθάδε σύλλογον ἀρχὴν γενήσεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίας.

715. Isocr. *Paneg.* 43: Τῶν τοίνυν τὰς πανηγύρεις καταστησάντων δικαίως ἐπαινουμένων ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔθος ἡμῖν παρέδοσαν ὥστε σπεισασμένους καὶ τὰς ἔχθρας τὰς ἐνεστηκυίας διαλυσασμένους συνελθεῖν εἰς ταῦτόν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας κοινὰς ποιησασμένους ἀναμνησθῆναι μὲν τῆς συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπαρχούσης, εὐμενεστέρω δ' εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὰς τε παλαιὰς ξενίας ἀνανεώσασθαι καὶ καινὰς ἐτέρας ποιήσασθαι κτλ. (transl. Norlin 1928). – Cf. Pl. *Leg.* 950e where the four festivals of the *periodos* are referred to as εἰρηνικαῖς συνουσίαις.

Greece, which I have attempted to illustrate in the survey above, should make us realize, once again, that such ideas may in fact have a solid foundation in the social and religious life of the Greeks; and that though they may be ideals, they may well be ideals with a good admixture of reality.

Finally, two more reasons why athletics matter may briefly be added. One is that athletic festivals were clearly wonderful opportunities for recreation, as Thucydides has Perikles say in the famous funeral oration;⁷¹⁶ the Hellenistic historian Diodorus Siculus even highlights such festivals as among the ingredients that make up human happiness.⁷¹⁷ Another reason is that athletics must be considered the clearest expression of, and perhaps even a celebration of, one of the most central social principles in Greek culture, namely the principle that competition is useful.⁷¹⁸ There are, then, several good reasons why athletics is important to the ancient historian, and the enormous extent of the athletic culture should serve to emphasize just how important these reasons really are.

716. Thuc. 2.38.1: τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις διητησίαις (“Further, we provide plenty of means for the mind to refresh itself from business. We celebrate games and sacrifices all the year round” (transl. Crawley 1996)).

717. Diod. 12.26.4: διόπερ πολεμικῆ μὲν καὶ ἀξία μνήμης πράξεις οὐδεμία συνετελέσθη κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους, εἰρήνῃ δὲ μία συνετελέσθη, καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ θεῶν θυσίαι καὶ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀνήκοντα παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπεπόλαζεν (“Consequently, during this period no military action worthy of mention took place, and universal peace prevailed; while festivals, games, sacrificial feast-days in honor of the gods, and all other elements that go to make a happy life flourished everywhere” (transl. Green 2006)). – Cf. Eur. *Autolykos* fr. 282.13-15: τὸν Ἑλλήνων νόμον, | οἱ τῶνδ’ ἕκατι σύλλογον ποιοῦμενοι | τιμῶσ’ ἀχρείους ἡδονὰς δαιτὸς χάριτι (“the custom of the Greeks who assemble to watch athletes and thus honor useless pleasures in order to have an excuse for a feast” (transl. Miller 1991)).

718. Spivey 2004: 15; Cartledge 2006: 207–9, esp. 207 where Cartledge singles out as one of the fundamental characteristics of ancient Greek culture “a devotion to competition in all its forms, almost for its own sake”. See also Burckhardt 1999 [1898-1902]: 160–213.

PART 2

The Prestige of a Nemean Victory

2.1 Introduction

In explaining why the Peace of Nikias was not to be published at Nemea, though the contracting Spartans and Athenians agreed to have the treaty published at Athens and Sparta *and* at Olympia, Delphi and on the Isthmos¹ – that is, at all the three other famous Panhellenic sanctuaries of the *periodos* – Simon Hornblower stated bluntly that the sanctuary at Nemea was the least prestigious of the four Panhellenic sanctuaries.² In addition, he noted that Nemea was the only Panhellenic sanctuary not to receive a commemorative victory dedication by the Hellenic League after the Persian invasion of 480–479.³

The latter assertion is certainly correct and the former may very well be so as well. Cairns (1991), for example, has pointed out some of the ways in which the ranking of the four Panhellenic sanctuaries and their festivals is reflected in the epinician poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides:

(1) Whereas we find in these commissioned poets the laudatory compounds Ὀλυμπιονίκας and Ὀλυμπιονίκος (“Olympic victor”); Πυθιονίκος (“Pythian victor”); and even Ἰσθμιονίκας and Ἰσθμιόνικος (“Isthmian victor”), there is no example of Νεμεόνικος (“Nemean victor”) in these poets, and this may possibly, as Cairns concludes,⁴ mean that “neither Pindar nor Bacchylides ... can have felt it honorific to call a man Νεμεόνικος.”

1. Thuc. 5.18.10: στήλας δὲ στήσαι Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ (“Pillars shall be erected at Olympia, Pythia, the Isthmus, at Athens on the Acropolis, and at Sparta in the temple at Amyclae” (transl. Crawley 1996)).

2. Hornblower 1996: 483.

3. For this, see Nielsen 2007a and section 2.8 below (215–229).

4. Cairns 1991: 95.

(2) Whereas in Pindaric odes celebrating Olympic and Pythian victories there is extensive mentioning of the presiding divinity and well-known features of their sanctuaries, there is less such encomiastic material in Isthmian odes, and Nemean odes even make do “with only a passing reference to Nemea or its festival.”⁵

The evidence of the great epinician poets, then, may be interpreted to indicate that Nemea was the least prestigious of the four great Panhellenic sanctuaries, and such a ranking of the four sanctuaries may also be illustrated by athletic victory catalogues which regularly (though not *always*)⁶ mention Nemea as the last of the four athletic avenues,⁷ like the fifth-century epitaph⁸ of the great Argive sprinter Dandis⁹ which proudly lists his twenty-two victories in the *periodos*, with Nemea last:¹⁰

Ὀλυμπία δις, ἐν δὲ Πυθῶνι τρία
δύω δ' ἐν Ἴσθμοῖ, πεντεκαίδεκ' ἐν Νεμέαι.¹¹

Or, similarly, a Delphic monument celebrating the famous pankratiast Sostratos of Sikyon,¹² which lists his seventeen Panhellenic victories, again with Nemea listed last:¹³

νικῶν πανκράτιον τρίς Ὀλύμπια, δις δ' ἐν Πυθοῖ,
δώδεκα δ' ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ [καὶ Νεμ]έας στεφάνους.¹⁴

5. Cairns 1991: 96.

6. See, e.g., Ebert 1972a: no. 43 which lists Nemean victories prior to both Pythian and Isthmian victories, perhaps for metrical reasons (see Gerber 2002: 78); and no. 50, which lists Nemean victories prior to Isthmian victories. No. 50 is a public sepulchral inscription commemorating Cheilon of Patrai, on whom see Merker 1991.
7. See also Gerber 2002: 72.

8. The epigram is commonly taken to be an epitaph, but may have accompanied a victory monument: see Ebert 1972a: 67.

9. Dandis is Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 210 and 222; Strasser 2001: no. 35; Farrington 2012: no. 1.37; and Kostourou 2008: no. 44.

10. *Anth. Pal.* 13.14 = Ebert 1972a: no. 15 (after 472).

11. “Twice at Olympia, thrice at Delphi, two victories on the Isthmos and fifteen at Nemea.”

12. Sostratos is Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 420, 425, 433; Strasser 2001: no. 74; Farrington 2012: no. 1.66; and Kostourou 2008: no. 187.

13. Ebert 1972a: no. 39 (c. 356).

14. “... by winning the *pankration* three times at Olympia, and twice at Delphi, and by taking twelve crowns at the Isthmos and Nemea.”

Clearly, such evidence may be taken to suggest that Nemea was the least prestigious of the four Panhellenic sanctuaries and a final indication of the same may be cited: even in an ode celebrating a Nemean victory, Pindar may treat the victory as a prelude to an *Olympic* victory.¹⁵ It thus seems clear that when compared with the other festivals of the *periodos* and the Olympics in particular, the Nemean Games pale a little. But everything pales in comparison with the Olympics, and it would be more reasonable to recognize how brightly the Nemean Games shine when compared to the innumerable other athletic festivals documented by the survey in Part I of this book. In this study, I shall attempt to illustrate that even if the *sanctuary* of Zeus at Nemea may have been less prestigious than those at Olympia, Delphi and (perhaps) on the Isthmos, it does not follow that an athletic *victory* at Nemea was not an item of immense prestige to the victor and his *polis*. In section 2.2 (172–174) I discuss deliberately selective victory catalogues and emphasize that such catalogues regularly include Nemean victories. The regular inclusion of Nemean victories in such brief victory catalogues demonstrates that Nemean victories were highly prestigious. The brief section 2.3 (174–177) discusses the celebration of Nemean victories by epinician odes. At least eleven epinician odes were composed by Bacchylides and Pindar to celebrate Nemean victories, and this is far more than any of the ‘lesser’ festivals attracted and another testimony to the high prestige of a Nemean victory. Inscriptions accompanying victory monuments erected at Olympia almost *never* refer to victories won by the honorand at the ‘lesser’ festivals but frequently refer to victories won at Delphi, the Isthmos *and* Nemea. This is discussed in section 2.4 (177–186) which demonstrates that this detail is also eloquent testimony to a very high prestige for a Nemean victory. Section 2.5 (187–200) discusses victory monuments celebrating Nemean victories erected by private citizens at sanctuaries outside the *periodos*. *Several* such monuments are known, from Metapontion in the west to Rhodos in the east, and they, too, are important testimony to the great symbolic value which victors

15. Instone 1996: 149; Race 1997b: 17; and Graziosi 2002: 208 on Pind. *Nem.* 2.1–12. See, however, Hubbard 1995: 51–55 for a critical discussion of this idea.

attached to their feats at Nemea. Section 2.6 (201–213) discusses the value attached to Nemean victories by the home communities of the victors. Evidence from seven different *poleis* demonstrates that they attached high prestige to the Nemean victories of their citizens. The findings of the study is summed up in the conclusion (2.7, 213–215) and, finally, a postscript (2.8, 215–229) suggests some alternative explanations for the anomalies noted by Hornblower and Cairns.

2.2 Inclusion of Nemean Victories in Explicitly Selective Victory Catalogues

Now, even if victory catalogues such as those celebrating Dandis of Argos and Sostratos of Sikyon may be said to treat the Nemean Games as the least prestigious of the Big Four athletic festivals, it should rather be emphasized that Nemean victories are in fact *included* in both of them. This inclusion speaks volumes about the prestige of a Nemean victory, as is abundantly clear from the way these two catalogues continue. Having meticulously listed the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean victories achieved by Dandis in three verses, the five-verse epigram concludes as follows:¹⁶ τὰς δ' ἄλλας νίκας οὐκ εὐμαρὲς ἐστ' ἀριθμῆσαι.¹⁷ Similarly, the Delphic monument celebrating Sostratos, having first listed his seventeen periodic victories, states simply:¹⁸ [τ]οὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπο[ρον στεφά]νους ἐπιδειῖσαι ἀριθμόν.¹⁹ So, even if both these catalogues place Nemea last among the periodic festivals, it is clear that its prestige was such that it would be counterproductive not to mention Nemean victories even in brief epigrams of this celebratory nature. And, the fact that both Dandis and Sostratos must have entered the competitions at Nemea regularly over a prolonged period of time indicates, of course, that they must have valued victory there highly. The same may be said for other multiple victors such as Agias of Pharsalos (5

16. Ebert 1972a: no. 15.5.

17. “But the other victories it is not easy to number.”

18. Ebert 1972a: no. 39.5.

19. “But as to the number, it is impossible to account for the other wreaths.”

victories), Dorieus of Ialysos (7), Dromeus of Stymphalos (5), Glaukos of Karystos (8), Milon of Kroton (9), Nikandros of Elis (6), Pythodelos of Athens (7), and Theogenes of Thasos (9), to mention just a handful of the most remarkable multiple *Nemeonikai*.²⁰

The victory catalogues of the epigrams celebrating Dandis and Sostratos are clearly *selective* in that they include *only* victories achieved in the *periodos* even though these two athletes had many other victories to their credit. A similarly selective victory catalogue is found in Pindar's brief *Nemean 2*. It opens by celebrating the honorand Timodemios of the deme Acharnai at Athens for a Nemean victory in the *pankraton* and closes by celebrating the extended family of Timodemios, the *Timodemidai*. Members of the family won four Pythian victories (19), eight Isthmian victories (22), and seven at Nemea (23–24), while, Pindar states, those won at home (τὰ οἴκοι) are μᾶσσον' ἀριθμοῦ, “too many to count” (23). Again, Nemean victories are treated as items of high prestige, even to the exclusion of victories achieved in the home-state of the honorands. *Nemean 6* is very similar. It is a celebration of the extended family, the *Bassidai*, of the honorand Alkimidas of Aigina.²¹ The *Bassidai* achieved 25 athletic victories, all told (58), and as pointed out by Carey,²² some of these “must have been in minor festivals”. However, the ode identifies only Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean victories and leaves those won at other festivals of lesser prestige unidentified.

A truly conspicuous example of a selective victory catalogue meticulously listing Nemean victories is provided by a fourth-century monument from Delphi celebrating the great fifth-century heavy-weight Theogenes of Thasos.²³ The epigram lists two Olympic victories (3–4), three Pythian (5), ten Isthmian (7) and nine Nemean victories (10), in that order. It concludes (11–12) by stating that in his

20. On these athletes, see their entries in Kostourou 2008. Note also the Corinthian family of the *Oligaitidai*, for whom Pind. *Ol.* 13.99 claims 60 victories at Nemea, which must date to the late sixth or early fifth century (on the *Oligaitidai*: Barrett 1978).

21. Burnett 2005: 157–58.

22. Carey 1989: 8.

23. Ebert 1972a: no. 37, on which see also section 1.3.1 above (27–28) and, in particular, section 2.6 (4) below (206–209).

career Theogenes achieved 1,300 victories – but it does not name a single one apart from the victories achieved in the *periodos*. To the metrical epigram is appended a prose catalogue listing all the victories achieved in the *periodos* one by one. Only one victory achieved outside the *periodos* is listed – last of all: the extraordinary victory in the *dolichos* achieved at the Argive *Hekatomboia*.²⁴ This monument, obviously, treats Nemean victories as items of real prestige.

Such selective victory catalogues, then, demonstrate that Nemean victories were of *high* prestige and that victors attached such value to them that it was regularly considered counterproductive not to include them even in the briefest of epigrams and epinician victory catalogues.

2.3 Celebration of Nemean Victories by Epinician Odes

Victories at festivals outside the *periodos* were occasionally celebrated by epinician odes commissioned from the preeminent masters of the art.²⁵ The earliest known epinician ode, in fact, celebrated a victory outside the *periodos*. As pointed out above (section 1.3.2 (5), p. 36), Barron has suggested that Ibykos was the pioneer in the production of epinician odes,²⁶ and this is now commonly accepted.²⁷ More specifically, Barron suggested that Ibykos composed an epinician ode in honour of a Spartan who had achieved an athletic victory at the *Pythia*²⁸ at Sikyon.²⁹ A Spartan commission of an epinician ode is, as pointed out by Hodkinson,³⁰ rather unexpected, and should be interpreted as evidence that the commissioner attached real value to his Sikyonian victory.³¹

24. See above p. 30.

25. Above p. 31.

26. Barron 1984.

27. See, e.g., Jenner 1986; Hornblower 2004: 21–22; Hornblower & Morgan 2007b: 11; Thomas 2007: 146; Lowe 2007: 167; Rawles 2012.

28. On which see above pp. 36–37.

29. Barron 1984: 22; see also Hornblower 2004: 21 and Rawles 2012: 9 (who is a little sceptical of the suggestion).

30. Hodkinson 2000: 317–19 (cited in n. 302 in section 1.3.3 above).

31. Barron 1984: 22 tentatively identified three other epinician odes by Ibykos: one

Simonides of Keos also accepted commissions for epinician odes to celebrate victories outside the *periodos*. One such ode is securely attested and a few others may perhaps be inferred. The certain case is an ode celebrating, perhaps a little surprisingly, a victory at the festival at Pellene in Achaia.³² It was achieved in an equestrian event by one Orillas whose *polis* of origin is unfortunately left unstated by the surviving fragments.³³ If he was a citizen of Pellene itself, his urge to celebrate the victory may perhaps seem readily intelligible though unusual. However, foreign entrants are in fact attested for the festival in the early fifth century,³⁴ and so Orillas need not at all be a Pellenean. In any case, he must have greatly valued his victory at Pellene. Simonides' ode in honour of Astylos of Kroton³⁵ may perhaps celebrate a victory at a festival outside the *periodos*, though this cannot be conclusively established.³⁶ In Simon. fr. 519.79 occurs the verse ἐνὶ δ' οἴῳ εἶκει θεὰ μέγαν ἐς δίπρον.³⁷ If θεὰ ("goddess") is a reference to the divinity at whose festival the unknown honorand was victorious, it cannot have been a festival of the *periodos*, and the Argive *Hekatomboia* in honour of Hera or the *Panathenaia* in honour of Athena spring to mind, though there are other possibilities.

Bacchylides of Keos composed an epinician for Kleoptolemos of Thessalia to celebrate an equestrian victory of his at the *Petraia*³⁸ somewhere in Thessalia.³⁹ Among the surviving epinicians of Pindar are several composed to commemorate victories at festivals outside the *periodos*. Thus, *Pythian* 2 does not itself state the venue of the equestrian victory it celebrates, and modern scholars have sugge-

celebrating an Olympic victory by a Syracusan athlete; and two celebrating victories at unidentified festivals by competitors from Leontinoi and Athens.

32. On which see section 1.3.2 (6) above (37).

33. Fr. 514 (Campbell).

34. From Corinth: Pind. *Ol.* 13.109, *Anth. Pal.* 13.19.8; from Argos: Pind. *Nem.* 10.44 (see also *IG* IV 510); from Athens: Bacchyl. 10.33; from Opous in East Lokris: Pind. *Ol.* 9.98; from Ialysos in Rhodes: Pind. *Ol.* 7.86.

35. Fr. 506 (Campbell).

36. Molyneux 1992: 214–20.

37. "For to one man only does the goddess grant to jump into her great carriage" (transl. Campbell 1991).

38. On which see section 1.3.2 (14) above (53).

39. Bacchyl. 14; see Maehler 1982.II: 294; McDevitt 2009: 218–19.

sted both Thebes and Syracuse.⁴⁰ *Nemean 9* celebrates a victory at the *Pythia* at Sikyon⁴¹ and *Nemean 10* one at the Argive *Hekatomboia*.⁴² Pindar also composed an ode to celebrate a victory at the *Hellotia* at Corinth,⁴³ and perhaps even one to celebrate a victory at the Athenian *Oschophoria*, a competition limited to Athenian ephebes, “something surely quite remarkable”, as Osborne remarks.⁴⁴

All the major epinician masters, then, accepted commissions for odes celebrating victories at festivals outside the *periodos*, and this must be interpreted as evidence to the effect that not inconsiderable prestige was derived from such victories, at least in the eyes of the victors themselves. However, if they were completely alone in holding this view, the odes would of course have been almost counter-productive, which is hard to accept.

Victories outside the *periodos*, then, were occasionally celebrated by prestigious epinician odes by major masters. It should be noted, however, that only one or two festivals outside the *periodos* attracted more than one ode, the *Pythia* at Sikyon and possibly the Argive *Hekatomboia*, and that such odes are all in all quite few in number. Against this background it is clear that victories at Nemea were highly treasured by the select circle of high aristocracy who commissioned epinician odes from famous poets:⁴⁵ three odes by Bacchylides celebrate Nemean victories,⁴⁶ as do eight by Pindar.⁴⁷ The

40. Mikalson 2007: 38 n. 23.

41. Race 1997b: 94. On the special political circumstances which form the background for the commissioning of *Nem. 9*, see Hubbard 1992: 80–81.

42. Race 1997b: 106.

43. D’Alessio 2012: 48–54, discussing *P.Oxy.* 2541.

44. Osborne 1993: 22; see also D’Alessio 2012: 54–55.

45. Above p. 56.

46. Bacchyl. 9, 12–13.

47. Pind. *Nem.* 1–8. – Simonides is not definitely known to have composed epinicians to celebrate Nemean victories, but some of the preserved fragments may possibly come from Nemean odes, in particular frs. 507–8, 511 (Campbell), which all refer prominently to Zeus (Mann 2001: 303). The difficulty in identifying Nemean odes by Simonides arises from the fact that the Hellenistic editors arranged his epinicians by event, not by venue (Rawles 2012: 12), and so an argument from silence is of no value in this matter. It is, moreover, highly likely that Simonides composed an *epigram* to celebrate a Nemean victory by Sogenes of Aigina (Molyneux 1992: 87–89).

commissioners originate from four different *poleis* and include members of clans which had great athletic achievements to their credit.⁴⁸

2.4 Olympic Victory Monuments Referring to Nemean Victories (down to c. 300)

The presumably oldest securely attested sculptural monument celebrating athletic victory comes, as it happens, from Nemea itself.⁴⁹ Of the monument, however, only the inscribed base on which the statue once stood survives. The letter forms of the inscription date the monument to c. 550.⁵⁰ It commemorates four victories in the *pankratation* at Nemea by Aristis of Kleonai, the city-state in charge of the contests at Nemea, and the monument suggests that victors at Nemea quickly adopted the Olympic custom of sculptural victory commemoration.⁵¹ Apart from that, very little survives of the victory monuments which were erected at Nemea,⁵² and accordingly not much is known about such monuments.⁵³ However, the prestige of a Nemean victory is clear from the fact that monuments erected at Olympia to celebrate Olympic victories not infrequently refer to

48. *E.g.* Timodemios of Athens (on whom see Neumann-Hartmann 2008: 123–24) who belonged to the *Timodemidai* who boasted 19 victories in the *periodos*; and Alkimidas of Aigina (on whom see Neumann-Hartmann 2008: 88–89) who belonged to the *Basidai* who had 25 great athletic victories to their credit.

49. At Olympia sculptural victory monuments may have been erected from the seventh century, see Herrmann 1988: 120 commenting on Paus. 6.15.8; for a suggestion that the two famous *kouroi* from Delphi traditionally known as ‘Kleobis and Biton’ (c. 610–580) are in fact victory monuments, see *SEG* 59 525.

50. Miller, *Guide* 44. The inscription is Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 9 and Ebert 1972a: no. 2.

51. Herrmann 1988: 120 is firm that the custom of erecting sculptural monuments to commemorate athletic victory originated at Olympia.

52. Miller, *Guide* 41. See also Miller 1984: 184 and Miller, *Guide* 46 for an Archaic inscription (*SEG* 34 286, 37 274) originating from a sculpture dedicated by a presumably Sikyonian victor (see also Morgan 2007: 260). See also Miller 2015: 301, reporting the find of a bronze leaf of wild celery which presumably had formed part of a crown on a statue of a Nemean victor.

53. For inscribed jumping-weights dedicated by Nemean victors at the sanctuary, see *SEG* 49 346 and Miller 2015: 328–29, reporting a sixth-century jumping-weight dedicated by an athlete from Sikyon.

Nemean victories won by the *Olympionikai* commemorated. Olympic victory monuments are known principally from Pausanias who devotes a long passage of the sixth book (1–18) to such monuments and mentions nearly 200.⁵⁴ Of these, the vast majority can be dated to the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries.⁵⁵

Pausanias quite often refers to the inscriptions accompanying the monuments.⁵⁶ He usually terms such an inscription *epigramma*, by which he means ‘metrical inscription’.⁵⁷ The meticulous study by Tzifopoulos (1991) has established beyond doubt that Pausanias’ reports of the contents of the inscriptions to which he refers are basically reliable, and it is a reasonable assumption that the information he gives on the careers of the athletes commemorated by sculptural monuments comes primarily from the accompanying epigrams.⁵⁸ He sometimes says so explicitly, as in the case of the

54. The exact number cannot be established, see Herrmann 1988: 135–36.

55. Herrmann 1988: 123–24.

56. See e.g. 6.1.4: τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ; 1.6: γέγραπτα δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα; 1.7: τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμά φησι τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ; 1.7: ὡς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λέγει; 2.6: ἀνέγραψε τῇ εἰκόνι; 2.9: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σαμίῳ πύκτι; 2.9: τάδε μὲν λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα; 3.1: ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι; 3.1: ἐπίγραμμά ἐστιν ὡς; 3.2: τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγει; 3.7: τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μινύει; 3.14: τὸ μὲν πρότερον τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐστίν; 4.6: τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ; 4.7: ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσεν; 4.8: στεφανωθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἐπίγραμμά φησιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων; 4.8: μὴδὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα; 4.11: καθάπερ γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ φησι; 5.7: τὰ δὲ καὶ δηλούμενά ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος; 7.9: τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ φησί, τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ; 9.4: ἐπίγραμμα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ Γέλωνα Δεινομένους ἀναθεῖναι Γελῶν; 10.5: φησι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα (quoted verbatim to prove a point); 10.7: ἐπιγέγραπτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵππων τὰ ὀνόματα; 12.7: τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι; 12.8: μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἐλεγείον; 13.5: τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ; 3.7–8: ὁ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μινύει; 13.10: καὶ ἐπίγραμμά ἐστιν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ; 13.10: οὐ μὴν τῷ γε ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας ὁμολογεῖ γράμματα; 15.2: τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ φησιν; 15.8: ἔστι δὲ ἡ τε εἰκὼν ἀρχαία τοῦ Εὐτελίδα, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ βάρῳ γράμματα ἀμυδρὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου; 16.2: φησι τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα; 16.4: τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ δηλοῖ; 17.4: Ἐνατίωνα δὲ ἦσαντος ἦν οὐ δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὅτι δὲ τοῦ Ἀρκάδων ἦν ἔθνους δηλοῖ; 17.6: φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τῇ τελευτῇ.

57. Tzifopoulos 1991: 5.

58. He not infrequently gives information not directly related to the careers of the commemoratees, and such remarks are probably derived from the local guides or his

equestrian victor Polykles of Sparta,⁵⁹ about whom Pausanias states the following: ἐνίκησε δὲ ὁ Πολυκλῆς ἵπποις, ὡς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγει, καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἴσθμοι τε καὶ Νεμέα.⁶⁰ In the long passage on Olympic victor statues Pausanias *never* records a victory outside the *periodos*⁶¹ but in nineteen cases states that the commemoratee of a monument dating within the sixth to fourth centuries achieved one or more *Nemean* victories besides his Olympic triumph(s), and this information is in all probability derived from the epigrams of the monuments.⁶² This could reflect Pausanias' own interests and be the result of very selective reporting of the epigrams on the monuments. In that case, this pattern of reporting would be evidence of the high prestige Pausanias personally attributed to Nemean victories. However, it seems rather to be the case that epigrams accompanying victor monuments erected at Olympia generally did not include references to victories outside the *periodos* but restricted victory catalogues – if included at all – to Pythian, Isthmian and

own wide reading: he was extremely well-read (Habicht 97–98, 142–44); thus, at 6.7.6 he cites Androtion (*FGrHist* 324, fr. 15) for details on the death of Dorieus, the son of Diagoras.

59. Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 315, victorious in 440 or later (Hodkinson 2000: 330 n. 14).

60. “Polykles’ horses, as the inscription says, won races at the Pythian and Isthmian and Nemean games as well” (transl. Levi 1979).

61. However, about Xenarkes of Sparta (Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 386) Pausanias says: Ξενάρκει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ ἐν Ἄργει τε ὑπῆρξε καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ προσανελέσθαι νίκας (6.2.2). But here *Korinthos* must be equated with *Isthmos* and *Argos* with *Nemea*; the choice of *Argos* for *Nemea* may reflect a poetic usage of the epigram (Jacquemin 2002: 91; Hodkinson 2000: 322 agrees that Pausanias’ information comes from the epigram), or the choice of *Argos* for *Nemea* may perhaps be a pointed reference by Xenarkes to a victorious Spartan entry at a more or less Argos-run festival during or shortly before or after the Corinthian War which saw Argos and Sparta fighting each other – *i.e.* it could represent a slap in the face of Argos.

62. Nemean victories are reported for: Polykles of Sparta (6.1.7); Xenarches of Sparta (6.2.2); Damiskos of Messene (6.2.11); Stomios of Elis (6.3.2); Aristodamos of Elis (6.3.4); Eupolemos of Elis (6.3.7); Antiochos of Lepreon (6.3.9); Hysmon of Elis (6.3.9); Dikon of Kaulonia (6.3.11); Sostratos of Sikyon (6.4.2); Satyros of Elis (6.4.5); Cheilon of Patrai (6.4.6); Ergoteles of Himera (6.4.11); Dorieus of Ialysos (6.7.4); Dromeus of Stymphalos (6.7.10); Glaukos of Karystos (6.10.3); Theogenes of Thasos (6.11.5); Archippos of Mytilene (6.15.1); Nikandros of Elis (6.16.5).

Nemean victories. Thus, for seven of the monuments for which Pausanias records Nemean victories by the honorands the accompanying epigram has survived. *None* of them refers to victories outside the *periodos*, and so the pattern visible in Pausanias is presumably *not* (only) a reflection of his own interests:

(1) *Ergoteles of Himera*.⁶³ The monument commemorating Ergoteles is mentioned at Paus. 6.4.11: Ἐργοτέλης δὲ ὁ Φιλάνορος δολίχου δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἴσθμῷ τε καὶ Νεμείῳ ἀνηρημένους.⁶⁴ The epigram survives as an inscription (*Neue IvO* 23; Ebert 1972a: no. 20; text as in *Neue IvO* 23): Ἐργοτέλης μ' ἀνέθηκ[ε Φιλάνορος ἀγλαὸς υἱός], Ἑλλανὰς νικῶν Πύθι[α δις δολίχον] καὶ δύο Ὀλυμπιάδας δι[ὸ δ' Ἴσθμια καὶ Νεμεία δις], Ἴμέραι ἀθάνατον μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἔμεναι].⁶⁵ The epigram seems to be Pausanias' source.⁶⁶

(2) *Dorieus of Ialysos (or Thourioi)*.⁶⁷ The monument is mentioned at Paus. 6.7.1-4: Δωριεὺς δὲ ὁ νεώτατος παγκρατίῳ νικήσας Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐφεξῆς τρισὶ ... Δωριεὶ δὲ τῷ Διαγόρου παρὲξ ἢ Ὀλυμπιάσιν Ἴσθμίων μὲν γεγόνασιν ὀκτώ νῖκαι, Νεμείῳ δὲ ἀποδέουσαι μίᾳ ἐς τὰς ὀκτώ λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Πύθια ἀνέλοιτο ἄκονιτί.⁶⁸ An inscription from Olympia very probably belongs to this monument:⁶⁹

[Δωριεὺς Διαγόρα Θούριος (?)]	
[Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτιον]	[Ἴσθμοῖ πύξι]
[Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτιον]	[Ἴσθμοῖ πύξι]
[Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτ]ιον	Ἴσθμ[οῖ]
[Πυθοῖ πύξι]	Ἴσθμ[οῖ]

63. Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 224, 251.

64. "Ergoteles son of Philanor won the long-distance running twice at Olympia, and twice at Delphi and the Isthmus and Nemea" (transl. Levi 1979).

65. "Ergoteles erected me, the splendid son of Philanor, who defeated the Greeks in the long-distance race twice at Delphi, twice at Olympia, twice on the Isthmos and twice at Nemea, to be for Himera an immortal monument of his excellence."

66. Tzifopoulos 1991: 80.

67. Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 322, 326, 330.

68. "Dorieus the youngest [i.e. son of Diagoras] who won the all-in fighting at three Olympic games in succession ... Besides Olympic wins Diagoras's son Dorieus won eight times at the Isthmus and one less than eight at Nemea, and they say he won without fighting at Delphi" (transl. Levi 1979).

69. *IvO* 153; text after Tzifopoulos 1991: 143-44.

[Πυθοῖ πύξ]	Νεμῆ[ι] πύξ
[Πυθοῖ πύ]ξ	Νεμῆι πύξ
[Πυθοῖ π]ύξ ἀκοντεῖ	Ν[εμ]ῆι πύξ
[Ἴσθμο]ῖ πύξ	Νε[μ]ῆι πύξ
[Ἴσθ]μοῖ πύξ	[Νεμ]ῆι πύ[ξ]
[Ἴσθ]μοῖ πύξ	[Νεμῆι] π[ύξ]
[καὶ πα]γκράτιο[ν]	Νεμῆι πύξ] ⁷⁰

The inscription, obviously, is extremely fragmentary and Pausanias' text is crucial for its restoration.⁷¹ It should be emphasized, however, that the inscription can be restored to correspond exactly with Pausanias' statements, which suggests that these were derived from the inscription.

(3) *Dikon of Kaulonia (later Syracuse)*.⁷² The monument is mentioned at Paus. 6.3.11: Δίκων δὲ ὁ Καλλιβρότου πέντε μὲν Πυθοῖ δρόμου νίκας, τρεῖς δὲ ἀνείλετο Ἴσθμίων, τέσσαρας δὲ ἐν Νεμέα, καὶ Ὀλυμπικὰς μίαν μὲν ἐν παισὶ, δύο δὲ ἄλλας ἀνδρῶν.⁷³ The epigram survives as *Anth. Pal.* 13.15 = Ebert 1972a: no. 35: Εἰμί Δίκων υἱὸς Καλλιμβρότου, αὐτὰρ ἐνίκων| τετράκις ἐν Νεμέα, δις Ὀλύμπια, πεντάκι Πυθοῖ,| τρις δ'

70.

[Doricus of Thourioi (?)]

[Olympia, <i>pankration</i>]	[Isthmos, boxing]
[Olympia, <i>pankration</i>]	[Isthmos, boxing[]
[Olympia, <i>pankrat</i>]ion	Isthm[os]
[Delphi, boxing]	Isthm[o]s
[Delphi, boxing]	Neme[a], boxing
[Delphi, boxing]	Nemea, boxing
[Delphi, b]oxing, <i>akoniti</i>	N[em]ea, boxing
[Isthmo]s, boxing	Ne[m]ea, boxing
[Isth]mos, boxing	[Nem]ea, boxin[g]
[Isth]mos, boxing	[Nemea], b[oxing]
[and <i>pa</i>]nkratio[n]	[Nemea, boxing]

71. Tzifopoulos 1991: 146.

72. Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 379, 388, 389.73. "Dikon son of Kallibrotos won five running prizes at the Pythian games, three at the Isthmian, four at Nemea, and one in the boys' running and two in the men's at Olympia" (transl. Levi 1979) (note that the epigram translated in the next note gives the patronymikon slightly differently as *Kallimbrotos*).

Ἴσθμῶ· στεφανῶ δ' ἄστῃ Συρακοσίων.⁷⁴ Here there is a discrepancy between the *three* Olympic victories reported by Pausanias and the *two* victories of the epigram, but this is presumably a simple scribal error by which δῖς was written for τρίς in the epigram.⁷⁵ The epigram seems to be Pausanias' source.

(4) *Aristodamos of Elis*.⁷⁶ The monument is mentioned at Paus. 6.3.4: ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἥλιδος παλαιστής ἀνὴρ Ἀριστόδημος Θράσιδος· γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθοῖ δύο <νῖκαι> καὶ <...> Νεμέα.⁷⁷ The epigram (impossibly attributed to Simonides) survives in Heph. *Poëm.* 4 = Ebert 1972a: no. 34; Simon. no. 52 (Page, *FGE*, who assumes that Pausanias' information derives directly from the epigram): Πύθια δῖς, Νεμέα δῖς, Ὀλυμπία ἑστεφανώθη, | οὐ πλάτει νικῶν σώματος ἀλλὰ τέχνα, | Ἀριστόδαμος Θράσος Ἀλεῖος πάλα.⁷⁸ The epigram seems to be Pausanias' source, and thus even a citizen of Elis included Nemean victories on his Olympic monument.

(5) *Sostratos of Sikyon*.⁷⁹ The monument is mentioned at Paus. 6.4.2: γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῷ Νεμείων μὲν νῖκαι καὶ Ἴσθμίων ἀναμιζ δώδεκα, Ὀλυμπίαισι δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ, τῇ μὲν δύο, τρεῖς δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπία.⁸⁰ The epigram from Olympia itself does not survive, but it seems to have been identical with the epigram found at Delphi,⁸¹ which is Ebert 1972a: no. 39: [πλ.]εῖστοις δὴ Σικυῶνα πάτραν, [Σ]ωσιστράτου υἱέ, | Σώστρατε, καλλίστοις τ' ἠγλάϊσας στεφάνοις· | νικῶν πανκράτιον τρίς Ὀλύμπια, δῖς δ' ἐν Πυθοῖ, | δώδεκα δ' ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ [καὶ Νεμ]έας

74. "I am Dikon, the son of Kallimbrotos, and I was victorious four times at Nemea, twice at Olympia, five times at Delphi, and thrice on the Isthmos. A crown am I unto the city of Syracuse."

75. So Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 379; Ebert 1972a: no. 35; Jacquemin 2002: 109.

76. Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 383.

77. "and a man called Aristodemos son of Thrasis, who was a wrestler from Elis itself; he also <won> twice at the Pythian games and <...> at Nemea" (transl. Levi 1979 (modified)). On the text, see the note in Jacquemin 2002: 104.

78. "At Delphi twice, at Nemea twice, and at Olympia was I crowned, as victor on account of my technical brilliance not mere physical weight."

79. Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 420, 425, 433.

80. "Between the Nemean and the Isthmian games he won twelve times, and twice at the Pythian games and three times at Olympia" (transl. Levi 1979).

81. Ebert 1972a: 131; Jacquemin 2002: 115: "P. semble reproduire le texte d'une épigramme gravée sur la base de la statue de Sostratos à Delphes."

στεφάνους| [τ]οὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπο[ρον στεφά]νους ἐπιδειῖζαι ἀριθμόν,| [πα]ύσας δ' ἀντι[πάλους π]λ[εῖσ]τα ἐκράτεις ἀμαχεῖ.⁸² The epigram seems to be Pausanias' source.⁸³

(6) *Cheilon of Patrai*.⁸⁴ The monument is mentioned at Paus. 6.4.6: Χίλωνι δὲ Ἀχαιῶ Πατρεῖ δύο μὲν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι πάλης ἀνδρῶν, μία δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Δελφοῖς, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐν Ἴσθμῶ καὶ Νεμείων τρεῖς.⁸⁵ The epigram is quoted verbatim by Paus. 6.4.6 (Ebert 1972a: no. 50; Zizza 2006: no. 30): Μουνοπάλης νικῶ δις Ὀλύμπια Πύθια τ' ἀνδρας,| τρις Νεμέα, τετράκις δ' Ἴσθμῶ ἐν ἀγχιάλῳ,| Χεῖλων Χεῖλωνος Πατρεὺς, ὄν λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν | ἐν πολέμῳ φθίμενον θάψ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.⁸⁶ Pausanias misreports the number of Pythian victories, an easy mistake to make (Ebert 1972a: 156), but apart from that the epigram seems to be Pausanias source, as indeed is implicit in Ebert's discussion.

(7) *Archippos of Mytilene*.⁸⁷ The monument is mentioned at Paus. 6.15.1: Ἀρχίππῳ δὲ Μιτυληναίῳ τοὺς ἐς τὴν πυγμὴν ἐσελθόντας κρατήσαντι ἄνδρας ἄλλο τοιόνδε προσποιοῦσιν οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι ἐς δόξαν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπία καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Νεμέα καὶ Ἴσθμῶ λάβῃσι στέφανον ἡλικίαν οὐ πρόσω γεγωνὸς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι.⁸⁸ The inscription *IvO* 173 very probably comes from this monument: Ἀ[ρχίππος] | Καλλιφάνους | Μυτιληναῖος.⁸⁹ Obviously, *this* inscription cannot be

82. "Your fatherland Sikyon indeed, son of [S]osistratos, Sostratos, did you adorn with [in]numerable crowns of great beauty, by winning the *pankration* three times at Olympia, two times at Delphi, and taking twelve wreaths at the Isthmos [and Nemea]. But as to the number, it is impos[sible] to account for [t]he other [wre]aths. You [pu]t an end to your oppo[nents and m]o[s]t often you won without a fight."

83. So Ebert 1972a: 131; Tzifopoulos 1991: 231; Jacquemin 2002: 115.

84. Moretti, *Olympionikai* nos. 461, 465.

85. "Chilon an Achaian from Patrai won twice at Olympia in the men's wrestling, once at Delphi, four times at the Isthmus and three times in the Nemean games" (transl. Levi 1979).

86. "Wrestling champion twice at Olympia| twice at Delphi, three times at Nemea| and four times at the Isthmus on the beach:| Chilon son of Chilon of Patrai: perished in war:| buried for my courage by the Achaian people" (transl. Levi 1979).

87. Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 503.

88. "The Mytileneans credit Archippos of Mytilene the men's boxing champion with the further honour of having won four wreaths at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea and the Isthmus before he was more than twenty years old" (transl. Levi 1979).

89. "A[rchippos], son of Kalliphanes, of Mytilene."

Pausanias' sources for Archippos' athletic career, but Tzifopoulos (1991: 185) is probably right in assuming that "in addition to the surviving inscription, the Mytilenaeans had inscribed another text, perhaps an epigram on bronze, where their fellow countryman's athletic accomplishments were pointed out not only for Archippos' fame but their own as well." Tzifopoulos (1991: 185) points to *IvO* 186 of c. 220–180 as an illustration of the kind of text he assumes was on Archippos' monument in addition to the preserved inscription: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρυθραίων | Ἐπιθήρησῃ Μητροδώρου, | νικήσαντα ἄνδρα πωγμῆν | Ὀλύμπια δις καὶ τὴν περίοδον.⁹⁰ If it is accepted that a similar inscription accompanied the monument in honour of Archippos, the simplest assumption is that Pausanias took his information from it.

In conclusion, it seems that epigrams accompanying victory monuments at Olympia restricted mention of victories won by the commemoratees to victories in the *periodos*, much like the selective victory catalogues briefly discussed above (section 2.2, 172–174). Of the seven athletes discussed here, only Aristodamos of Elis was not a *periodonikes*: citizens of Elis could not achieve that distinction, since Elis maintained a permanent boycott of the Isthmian Games;⁹¹ he was, however, a victor at Olympia, as well as both at the Pythian Games and at Nemea. Is it credible that such star athletes never achieved victories at festivals outside the *periodos*? It obviously is not, and the conclusion must be that the victories listed on monuments at Olympia were on purpose *limited* to include only victories in the *periodos*. In fact, only a *single one* of the known victory monument inscriptions from Olympia dating to the period under consideration – from the mid-sixth century down to c. 300 – refers to a victory outside the *periodos*, i.e. the fourth-century epigram *Neue IvO* 25 (350–300 = Ebert 1972a: no. 48) celebrating victories of an unknown sprinter from, presumably, Crete: this epigram mentions a Panathenaic victory (6) alongside victories at Olympia (3–4), Delphi (7–10) and, probably, Nemea (5) though this is wholly restored. The reason for the inclusion of a Panathenaic victory in this epi-

90. "The people of Erythrai <set up this monument to> Epitherses, son of Metrodoros, twice victor of men's boxing at Olympia and victor of the *periodos*."

91. Nielsen 2005: 69–70.

gram may perhaps be that it declines to observe traditional Olympic decorum and sets out to make as much as possible of the merits of the honorand; thus, not only does it unusually include a Panathenaic victory to increase the total of triumphs, at 5 it also employs one of the traditional strategies of *amplificatio* and records a “first” for the victor: he was, it seems, the first (πρῶτος) Cretan to “defeat everyone at Nemea”.⁹²

In most cases, it must remain an assumption that the honorand of an Olympic monument won other victories than those listed at Olympia, since Pausanias’ brief descriptions of these monuments are often our only source for athletes’ careers. This is the case for Polykles (“of much Renown”) of Sparta, an equestrian *periodonikes*.⁹³ According to Pausanias, this man was punningly nicknamed *Polychalkos*, “of much Bronze”, though the reason for this nickname is left unexplained by Pausanias. Hodkinson (2000: 321) assumes that the nickname is “a reference to the number of his bronze victory statues at the various sanctuaries”, and this may be right, though his sculptural group at Olympia is his only attested monument. Another possibility worth considering is that the nickname referred to prize artefacts of bronze brought home by Polykles from equestrian victories abroad: bronze artefacts were not unusual prizes,⁹⁴ and if Polykles won several such prizes he may owe his nickname to his equestrian prizes – which means that he must have been victorious

92. πρῶτος δ[ὲ Κρ(?)]ητῶν [πά]ντας [νίκησε Νέμεια (?)].

93. Paus. 6.1.7: ἐνίκησε δὲ ὁ Πολυκλήης ἵπποις, ὡς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ λέγει, καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἴσθμοῖ τε καὶ Νεμέῃ.

94. For bronze prizes awarded in the Peloponnese itself, see e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 10.45–48 (bronze prizes awarded at Kleitor, Tegea, Achaian *poleis* and at the *Lykaia* in Arkadia); *SEG* 39 1365 (at Pheneos); Amandry 1971: 615.III; Amandry 1980: 211–13 (at the Argive *Hekatombaia*); outside the Peloponnese: Amandry 1971: 617.VII; *BCH* 99 (1975) 752; Johnston 1977: 157; *SEG* 30 541; *SEG* 37 387 (at Thebes); Amandry 1980: 211–12 n. 4.II (at Thespiiai); Amandry 1971: 602–25, 615.II.B, 615.II.A; *SEG* 46 802; *SEG* 28 26; *SEG* 39 631 (at Athens); *IG* XII.9 272; Amandry 1971: 617.VI; Jeffery, *LSAG* 88 no. 16 (at Eretria); Amandry 1971: 617.VIII; *SEG* 45 2186; Stamatopoulou 2007a: 333 (in Malis); *Macedonians* 1994: 76–77 no. 9 (at Akanthos); Hdt. 1.144 (at the sanctuary of Apollo Triopios); Johnston 1977; Amandry 1980: 211 n. 4.I; *SEG* 27 481 (in Rhodes). For a bronze prize vessel from an unidentified festival (or funeral games) found at Ialysos: *SEG* 53 819. See also Robinson 1942.

at festivals outside the *periodos*, a fact (if it is one) left unmentioned on his Olympic monument.

That Polykles competed outside the *periodos* must remain an assumption. In the case of Sostratos of Sikyon, however, the epigram itself *proves* that he frequently won at festivals outside the *periodos*, and in the case of Dorieus of Ialysos (or Thourioi) this is clear from his commemorative monument at Delphi:⁹⁵ besides his victories in the *periodos*, it catalogues four victories at the *Panathenaia*, four victories at the Epidaurian *Asklapieia*, three at the *Hekatomboia* and three at the *Lykaia* in Arkadia. Dorieus, then, was a heavyweight of the same calibre as his father Diagoras, who also competed and won numerous victories at festivals outside the *periodos*.⁹⁶ The monument celebrating Dorieus at Olympia, however, makes no mention of any victory outside the *periodos*, but gives a meticulous list of *every* periodic victory he won. Clearly, monuments at Olympia were accompanied by selective victory catalogues, and the fact that Nemean victories are often recorded on these monuments is eloquent testimony to their immense prestige: being listed alongside Nemean victories clearly did not diminish the symbolic value of an Olympic victory.

By way of addendum to the discussion of Olympic victory monuments it may be noted that celebratory norms at Delphi seem to have resembled those at Olympia, though they are much less well known, in particular because Pausanias did not devote a section of his work to such monuments at Delphi, as he did for Olympia. But, to the extent that we can say anything, Delphic customs are similar to customs at Olympia, though perhaps less strict. Very few inscriptions from Delphic victory monuments mention victories outside the *periodos*, a mere three instances being known.⁹⁷ Nemean victories, however, are listed on Delphic monuments in seven cases.⁹⁸ The situation, then, resembles that at Olympia and confirms the high prestige victors attached to Nemean victories.

95. *Syll.*³ 82.

96. Pind. *Ol.* 7.83–87.

97. *Syll.*³ 82; Ebert 1972a: no. 53; and the monument for Theogenes of Thasos (Ebert 1972a: no. 37) on which see section 1.3.1 above (27–30) and section 2.6 (4) below (206–209).

98. *Syll.*³ 82; Ebert 1972a: nos. 25; 37; 39; 43; 53; Bousquet 1992: 589.

2.5 Private Commemoration of Nemean Victories outside the Panhellenic Sanctuaries (down to c. 300)

The previous sections have demonstrated that Nemean victories were regularly included even in selective victory catalogues, were not infrequently celebrated by epinician odes and sculptural monuments and that monuments erected at Olympia and Delphi often referred to Nemean victories achieved by the honorands. Victories achieved in the numerous contests outside the *periodos*, on the other hand, were only very occasionally celebrated and commemorated in this way.

In the following sections, private and public commemoration and evaluation of Nemean victories at sites outside the sanctuaries of the *periodos* will be surveyed, beginning with private commemorations. Such ‘private’ commemorative monuments were, of course, almost invariably ‘public’ in the sense that they were erected in public spaces such as city-state sanctuaries, and so what I refer to by ‘private’ here are monuments commemorating Nemean victories erected by individual citizens rather than by the community of the city-state; monuments erected by city-states rather than individuals I term ‘public’ and survey in the following section. In cases where it cannot be conclusively established whether a monument is private or public in this sense, I have classified the monument as private, but indicated the possibility that it was in fact public. The geographical order adopted is, again, that of Hansen & Nielsen 2004.

1. *Magna Graecia*. From Lamo di Pario some 25 km from ancient Metapontion come two fragments of a tile from the second half of the fourth century inscribed with an epigram celebrating two Panhellenic victories by an unidentifiable athlete from Taras.⁹⁹ The epigram itself is fragmentary and the form of the original monument

99. *SEG* 4 79; *SEG* 34 1005 (date: second half of the fourth century); Ebert 1972a: no. 58; Moretti 1992. Moretti (1992: 495) points out that Metapontion at this time was under heavy influence from Taras and that the athlete may have been a citizen of Taras with interests at or near Metapontion. See also Carter 2006: 222 who points out that this Tarantine influence did not mean that Metapontion lost its political independence.

cannot be established:¹⁰⁰ it is, accordingly, not possible to exclude that the epigram accompanied a public monument. The restored text runs as follows (*SEG* 34 1005): [Πυ]θοῖ καὶ Νεμέαι Κ[—πύξ ἐστε]-φανώθην | ὑρὸς Μν[. . . ο]υ, [κυδάνας δ' ἄστν] Τάραντος.¹⁰¹ A Nemean victory is here commemorated on a par with a Pythian victory and to the exclusion of other victories that the athlete may have had to his credit.

2. *Boiotia*. From what is presumably the Thebes refounded in 316 comes a statue base signed by the sculptor Teisikrates, who was active around 300.¹⁰² On the base is an epigram celebrating the pankratiast Euankritos.¹⁰³ He achieved two Isthmian victories, one among the *paides* and one among the *ageneioi*, and a Nemean victory among the *andres*,¹⁰⁴ said to have “come to the house of Triax, my father”.¹⁰⁵ The epigram concludes by celebrating, not Euankritos alone, but the youth of Thebes in general, by saying: “for those who dwell at Dirke [*i.e.* at Thebes] are obviously the most prolific winners of prizes of the Greeks in their youth.”¹⁰⁶ The epigram, then, makes a point of letting the glory of Euankritos’ victories reflect not on himself alone but on the city of Thebes as well.¹⁰⁷ This may perhaps be an indication that the epigram was in fact a public commission from a newly refounded city-state eager to project a vigorous image of itself, but certainty on this point is impossible.

Another epigram roughly contemporary with the one just discussed¹⁰⁸ comes from a marble herm at Thebes, which again must be

100. Moretti 1992: 495.

101. “I, K[-], was [cro]wned [for boxing] at [Py]tho and Nemea, the son of Mn[-]s, [thus bringing glorious fame to the city] of Taras.”

102. Moretti, *LAG* 93.

103. *IG* VII 2470; Moretti, *LAG* no. 36; Ebert 1972a: no. 56. The victor is no. 158 in Kostourou 2008, who, however, takes his name to be Pammachos.

104. I follow Ebert’s interpretation of the text.

105. ἦλθεν ... πατρὸς δῶμα Τρίακος.

106. ἀεθλα γὰρ οἱ παρὰ Δίρκαι | ἀμπαδὸν Ἑλλάνων πλεῖστα φέροντι νέοι.

107. This, of course, is not unusual: see Nielsen 2007b: 97 and n. 234 below.

108. See Ebert 1972a: no. 57, who gives the date “4./3. Jh. v. Chr?”. If [Νεμεαῖοι // εἰν ἄλ.]σσι at 1–2 is correctly restored and to be taken literally, the Nemean victory celebrated in this epigram must pre-date *c.* 270 when the festival had left Nemea for Argos (Miller 2004: 108).

the city as refounded in 316. If correctly restored, it celebrates a victory in the *dolichos* for *paides* at Nemea by Lysixenos of Thebes.¹⁰⁹ It ends on a note much resembling the epigram for Euankritos: “Be assured that the youth of Thebes is not without its share of divine crowns.”¹¹⁰ Again, the glory of the victory is made to reflect on the city of Thebes as such. These two epigrams, in conclusion, indicate that victorious athletes of the refounded Thebes – or perhaps the city itself – put great emphasis on Nemean victories and construed them as evidence of the valour of the entire city-state at a time when it must have been eager to recreate its former fame – and that, of course, is testimony to the considerable prestige enjoyed by the contests of Nemean Zeus.

3. *Corinthia*. The well-known epigram celebrating the victories of the otherwise unknown athlete Nikolaidas of Corinth¹¹¹ is difficult to evaluate in the present context since it has been transmitted by manuscript and not as an inscription. It is commonly assumed that it was copied from the base of a commemorative statue,¹¹² but it is unknown where this statue originally stood. The inclusion of the city-ethnic *Korinthios* in the first verse of the epigram¹¹³ may suggest that it was not erected at Corinth itself, whereas the heavy emphasis on victories at festivals outside the *periodos* seems to run counter to Delphic practice.¹¹⁴ The statue may perhaps have stood at the Isthmos in the territory of Corinth itself; here Corinthian victors may well have identified themselves as Corinthians, as Eleians did at Olympia¹¹⁵ – but this must remain an assumption. The epigram records at least twenty victories by Nikolaidas and divides them into two sections on the basis of the events (*pentathlon* and *stadion*) in

109. Lysixenos is not registered in Kostourou 2008.

110. 3-4: [ἴσθ' ὅτι Θήβας | ἀλικία] θείων οὐκ ἄμμιορος στεφ[άνων].

111. *Anth. Pal.* 13.19; Ebert 1972a: no. 26; Page, *FGE* 262ff; on the epigram, see Maróti 1990 (whose interpretation of the epigram I accept) and above in section 1.3.1 (25–26) and 1.4 (95). Nikolaidas is no. 148 in Kostourou 2008.

112. Merkelbach 1987: 294: “[S]icherlich von einem Stein kopiert”; Page, *FGE ad v.* 1 τὸδ' ἄγαλμα: “[P]resumably a statue of Nikolaidas.”

113. Ἄνθηκε τὸδ' ἄγαλμα Κορίνθιος, ὅσπερ ἐνίκαι.

114. Section 2.4 above (86).

115. See e.g. *IvO* 162–63, 174, 177.

which they were won. The two victories in *pentathlon* come first, since this group includes Nikolaidas' most prestigious victory, a Pythian victory.¹¹⁶ Then follow the at least eighteen victories in *stadion*, which seem to be arranged according to the prestige of the festivals at which they were won: first come the three Isthmian victories, then the three Nemean victories, and then the rest. The list of victories is concluded by one at Phleious, at a festival attested *only* by this epigram: accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that this epigram includes everything that Nikolaidas won, and the conclusion must be that in such an all-inclusive victory catalogue Nemean victories are accorded the prestige they are regularly accorded in selective catalogues.

4. *Sikyonia*. From the gymnasium at Sikyon comes a fragment of a victory catalogue of the first half of the fifth century. It seems to be a fragment of a catalogue of victories by an unknown Sikyonian athlete.¹¹⁷ It is not clear whether it was part of a private or of a public monument. That it was in fact part of a public monument cannot be entirely excluded, in particular not if the first extant line, which reads ΑΓΑΘΑ[---], is restored Ἀγαθὰ [τύχᾱ] (“Good fortune”) as in *SEG* II 257. The alternative is the name (and patronymic?) of the victor, which is perhaps more likely.¹¹⁸ In any case, if it was originally erected at or in the gymnasium, it was publicly displayed. Jeffery, *LSAG* 405, pl. 23 no. 13a gives the following text of the inscription on the front of the stone:¹¹⁹

Ἀγαθα[ρχος? ἀνεθεκε ---]
 Πυθοι
 Ισθμοι

116. 2: ἐν Δελφοῖς.

117. *SEG* II 257 (500–450); Moretti, *IAG* no. 12 (c. 475); Jeffery, *LSAG* 143 no. 13ab (pl. 23): c. 500–475?

118. So both Moretti and Jeffery.

119. The back of the stone carries a fragmentary inscription as well; Jeffery reads [---]οις, and this *could* be a fragment of a name of a festival, but this is unclear. It is, furthermore, unclear whether this inscription is contemporary with the inscription of the front of the stone

Νεμεά[ι]
 Ισθμοι
 Σικυο[ν]
 Αθων[αζ]
 [---].¹²⁰

The catalogue seems to begin by listing the victories in the traditional order of (descending) prestige: Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean.¹²¹ It then, however, adds another Isthmian victory as well as a victory at Sikyon itself and one at Athens (followed perhaps by more, but this is uncertain). The logic behind this ordering, *i.e.* in particular the repetition of Ισθμοι (“on the Isthmos”), is not clear. Moretti was of the opinion that this was the designer’s way of indicating two Isthmian victories at a time when it had not yet become customary to add δις (“twice”) to an entry to make such a point.¹²² If that is accepted, the repetition of Ισθμοι does not really break the order of descending prestige and the conclusion must be that this text treats victories achieved in the *periodos* as being in another league than victories achieved outside it.

A different interpretation was proposed by Strasser (2001: 40), who pointed out that text originally inscribed to the right of the preserved entries may have been lost and accordingly gives the following text of the inscription on the front of the stone:

Αγαθ[---]
 Πυθοῖ [---]
 Ἴσθμοῖ [---]
 Νεμέα[ι ---]

120. “Agatha[rchos? erected ---].
 At Delphi.
 On the Isthmos.
 At Neme[a].
 On the Isthmos.
 At Sikyon.
 At Athen[s].”

121. Moretti, *LAG* 29.

122. Moretti, *LAG* 30.

Ἴσθμοῖ [---]
 Σεκουῶνι [---]
 [Α]θάν[αις ---].

That the stone is in fact broken to the right is clear from Jeffery's own drawing.¹²³ It cannot, then, be excluded that text originally inscribed to the right of the preserved entries has in fact been lost: there was clearly room for such phrases as πύξ ("boxing") or πάλαν ("wrestling"). Drawing on this observation, Strasser suggested that the catalogue was organized according to the events in which the victories were won in such a way that an indication of the event followed the name of the festival to right, on the lost part of the stone: the second occurrence of Ἴσθμοῖ will then be the beginning of a section devoted to a new event. Strasser does not cite parallels to his proposed arrangement and none springs immediately to mind. It may, however, be noted that the epigram commemorating Nikolaidas of Corinth (above 189–190), is, on Maróti's persuasive interpretation,¹²⁴ a poetic parallel to Strasser's proposal, since it divides the victories of the honorand into two groups according to event (*pentathlon* and *stadion*). If Strasser's proposal is accepted, the conclusion must be that within the different groups of event, this text lists periodic victories first and presumably as being of greater prestige than victories at, we must suppose, the *Panathenaia* and even at Sikyon itself.

5. *Arkadia*. From Tegea comes a fragment of a marble column of the late sixth century inscribed with a fragmentary epigram.¹²⁵ It has been persuasively restored as a monument commemorating no fewer than six equestrian victories at Nemea, a feat which was clearly worth celebrating.

6. *Argolis*. From the Argive Heraion comes an epigram of the later sixth or earlier fifth century.¹²⁶ It accompanied a monument consist-

123. <http://tinyurl.com/p45wax8> (visited December 2, 2013). In July 2015, I inspected the stone in the museum at Kiato: it is indeed broken.

124. Maróti 1990.

125. Moretti, *IAG* no. 7; Ebert 1972a: no. 8; Dubois 1986: Té 1; *CEG* I 379. Ebert's text: Μνῆμά με ΤΕ[---] [ἡ(π)]ποις νικάσας πεξάκις ἐ[(ν) Νεμέαι].

126. *IG* IV 510; Ebert 1972a: no. 10. On the date of the epigram, see section 1.4 above (94–95).

ing of a Doric column carrying the dedication proper and erected by one Timokles,¹²⁷ whose native *polis* is not stated: he need not have been a citizen of Argos, as Ebert (1972a: 55) supposes on the basis of the missing city-ethnic, since the Heraion may not yet have been under the exclusive control of Argos.¹²⁸ The monument celebrates at least four victories in an unknown event or events; one of these is a victory at Nemea, which is listed first and thus seems to take pride of place;¹²⁹ the other venues listed are Tegea, Kleitor and Pellene, in that order.

From the theatre at Argos comes a base for a marble statue dating to *c.* 350–325.¹³⁰ It is inscribed with an epigram consisting of six distichs commemorating victories by the successful sprinter Kleainetos, son of Epikrates.¹³¹ If the monument was originally erected at or in the theatre, it was in all probability a public honour bestowed on Kleainetos; moreover, the last – fragmentary – verse of the epigram seems to state that Kleainetos' victories brought fame to the *Inachidai*, *i.e.* to the city of Argos,¹³² a statement which may be the city's motivation for erecting the monument. The epigram commemorates victories at at least six different festivals. Those won at festivals of the *periodos* are listed first, in the traditional order of Pythia, Isthmia and Nemea; to these are added victories at Mt. Lykaion, Argos and Epidauros, in that order. The epigram, then, clearly treats Nemean victories as more prestigious than victories at festivals outside the *periodos*.

More or less contemporary with the monument for Kleainetos is another statue base from the theatre at Argos,¹³³ and it, too, may be a public honorific monument. It is inscribed with an inscription listing the victories of the wrestlers Prateas, son of Aischylos, and Pra-

127. Kostourou 2008: no. 228.

128. Above p. 65–66.

129. It cannot be excluded that another victory was listed prior to that of Nemea, since the initial part of the first verse is missing (Moretti, *IAG* 14) but it seems unlikely (Ebert 1972a: 55).

130. Charneux 1985: 357–58; Ebert 1986; *SEG* 35 267; *CEG* II 814.

131. Kleainetos is Kostourou 2008: no. 88.

132. Charneux 1985: 375.

133. *SEG* 17 150; Amandry 1980: 220.

teas' son Aischylos.¹³⁴ For the son Aischylos is listed a single Nemean victory (8–9), but the father was more successful. The inscription lists ten victories for Prateas, in no apparent order. Following the heading Πρατέας Αἰσχύλου (“Prateas, son of Aischylos”), the catalogue is arranged in two columns of text:¹³⁵

πάλαν	Λύκαια
Ἴθμια	Νεμέαια
παρ' Ἥραι	Παναθήναια
Νεμέαια	Νεμέαια
ἐμ Μαινάλοι	Πύθια ἐν Δέλφοις
Ἴθμια ¹³⁶	

Clearly, this cannot be a list of victories in descending order of prestige. Not only are both *I(s)thmia* and *Nemeia* repeated, but it is inconceivable that a victory at Mainalos (or Mt. Mainalon) in Arkadia, a festival known only from this inscription, could be of higher prestige than a Pythian victory. If there is any order to the list, it may be the order in which Prateas won his victories. The only conclusion to be drawn from this inscription, then, is that it was obviously worth listing every Nemean victory achieved by Prateas and his son on this presumably public monument.

7. *Aigina*. The Nemean victory of Sogenes of Aigina celebrated by Pindar's *Nemean* 7 seems also to have been celebrated by an epigram of Simonidean authorship;¹³⁷ it is, however, unknown whether this epigram accompanied a commemorative monument, but the vic-

134. Prateas is no. 174 in Kostourou 2008; Aischylos is no. 9.

135. See fig. 5 at 218 in Amandry 1980.

136. “Wrestling *Lykaia*
Isthmia *Nemea*
 At Hera's festival *Panathenaia*
Nemea *Nemea*
 At Mainalos *Pythia* at Delphi
Isthmia.”

137. Schol. in Pind. *Nem.* 7.1a = Simon. 166 (Bergk). On this epigram, see Molyneux 1992: 87–89.

tory must have been an item of great value to Sogenes and his family if it produced commissions from two major poets.

8. *Attika*. A number of literary sources refer to a painting by the fifth-century¹³⁸ artist Aglaophon¹³⁹ depicting Nemea, the personification of the sanctuary, with the Athenian celebrity Alkibiades on her lap.¹⁴⁰ According to Athenaios, who relies on the third-century biographer Satyros, Alkibiades made a dedication of this painting at Athens¹⁴¹ when he returned from Olympia after his equestrian victory there in 416. It was dedicated alongside another painting, also by Aglaophon, depicting the personified Olympia and Pythia crowning Alkibiades,¹⁴² and this latter painting obviously commemorates victories at Olympia and Delphi;¹⁴³ by analogy, the former Nemean painting probably celebrated a Nemean victory.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, it was presumably the Nemea painting Pausanias saw in the Pinakothekē on the Akropolis,¹⁴⁵ and he clearly interpreted it as a victory memorial;¹⁴⁶ if it was another painting Pausanias saw,¹⁴⁷ Alkibiades must have commissioned at least two to commemorate his Nemean triumph. Alkibiades commemorated his Olympic victory of 416 quite excessively: not only with the painting by Aglaophon, but also with a sculpture by Pyromachos, possibly depicting Alkibiades himself as the charioteer,¹⁴⁸ and, most extraordinarily,

138. Pollitt 1990: 147.

139. Ath. 12.534d (Ἀγλαοφῶντος γραφή). Plut. *Alc.* 16.5 names the painter Aristophon (see Bowra 1960: 72).

140. Ath. 12.534d: Νεμέα ἦν καθημένη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς Ἀλκιβιάδης; Plut. *Alc.* 16.5: Νεμέαν ... ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτῆς καθημένον Ἀλκιβιάδην ἔχουσαν.

141. Ath. 12.534d: ἀφικόμενος δ' Ἀθήνησιν ... ἀνέθηκεν (see Schneider 1999: 26).

142. Ath. 12.534d: δύο πίνακας ἀνέθηκεν, Ἀγλαοφῶντος γραφὴν ὧν ὁ μὲν εἶχεν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ Πυθιάδα στεφανούσας αὐτόν.

143. For Alkibiades as Olympic victor: Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 345; as Pythian victor: Strasser 2001: no. 305.

144. Alkibiades as Nemean victor: Kostorou 2008: no. 12.

145. Frazer 1898.I: 267; Bowra 1960: 72; Schneider 1999: 22; Shapiro 2009: 239.

146. Paus. 1.22.6–7: γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἵππων δὲ οἱ νίκης τῆς ἐν Νεμέᾳ ἐστὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ γραφῇ.

147. Gribble 2012: 68.

148. Plin. *HN* 34.80: *Pyromachi quadriga ab Alcibiade regitur*. If this means that Alkibiades was represented as charioteer, the sculpture must have misrepresented the actual

with an epinician ode composed by the great Euripides.¹⁴⁹ But he clearly also valued his Nemean victory highly and devoted at least one separate monument to its and his own glorification.

Several other Athenians commemorated their Nemean victories as well. From the Akropolis comes an inscribed mid-fifth-century block from a base which once supported a bronze quadriga.¹⁵⁰ It was dedicated by Pronapes, son of Pronapides.¹⁵¹ The inscription names three festivals at which Pronapes, it must be assumed, had been victorious: *Nemea*, *Isthmia* and *Panathenaia*. An adjoining block to the right may have named more venues of victory, but this is uncertain. The Nemean victory is listed first, and if that means anything, it may be that it was considered the most prestigious item on the list, and, accordingly, more prestigious than even a victory at Athens itself; or the order may be that in which the victories were won.

Also from the Akropolis comes an inscribed statue base from c. 430.¹⁵² It was dedicated by, or commemorates the victories of, Kallias, son of Didymias, an extremely successful pankratiast. The inscription lists thirteen victories: one at Olympia,¹⁵³ two at Delphi, five at the Isthmos, four at Nemea and (it seems) one at the *Panathenaia*,¹⁵⁴ in that order, the traditional one of descending prestige.¹⁵⁵ This Kallias must have belonged to the very upper strata of Athenian society and was prominent enough to be ostracized, presumably in the 430s;¹⁵⁶ the monument from the Akropolis may have been dedicated after the ostracism by the sons of Kallias to commemorate their father.¹⁵⁷

event, since owners almost never drove their own equestrian teams (Nicholson 2005: 4).

149. On which see Bowra 1960.

150. *IG I³* 880 (see also *CEGI* 278).

151. Pronapes is Kyle 1993: A57; Kostourou 2008: no. 222; and Farrington 2012: no. 1.43.

152. *IG I³* 893.

153. See also *IO* 146.

154. This victory Kallias may have won as a *pais* (cf. *IG I³* 826).

155. Kallias is Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 228; Kyle 1993: A29; Strasser 2001: no. 36; Kostourou 2008: no. 82; and Farrington 2012: no. 1.34.

156. [Andoc.] 4.32; see Brenne 2001: 175-77.

157. As suggested by eds. *adIG I³* 893.

From the Akropolis, again, comes an inscribed marble base of the early fourth century.¹⁵⁸ The inscription documents that the statue was dedicated to commemorate a Nemean victory in an unstatued event by one Hegestratos, son of Philon, who is otherwise unknown.¹⁵⁹ Finally, from the Akropolis comes an inscribed fragment of a marble column of the mid-fourth century.¹⁶⁰ The inscription lists four victories in unknown events at Delphi, the Isthmos, Nemea and the *Panathenaia*, in that order, the traditional one of descending prestige.

Another monument was found on the island of Salamis, an Athenian dependency. It is now lost, but was presumably the base for a statue.¹⁶¹ It is a dedication of the second half of the fifth century to “the Twelve Gods” by an athlete or horse owner whose name is lost. The inscription reads: [Κριτία(?)]ς <K>αλαίσχρο [άν]-|[έθηκε τ]-οἰδόδεκα θεοῖ[ς].| [ννν ν̄]καί· | ννν ἰσθμοῖ | ννν Νεμέαι | ννν ἰσθμοῖ | ννν Νεμέαι,¹⁶² thus listing two Nemean with two Isthmian victories, presumably in the order in which they were won.

In conclusion, we have evidence for at least six private Athenian monuments of the Classical period celebrating Nemean successes. Also worth noting in this connection are two passages from Athenian literature of the fourth century. In Lysias 19, a son is concerned with restoring his deceased father’s reputation. He says (Lys. 19.63): πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄξιον ἐνθυμηθῆναι οἷαν φύσιν εἶχεν ὁ πατήρ. ὅσα γὰρ ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπεθύμησεν ἀναλίσκειν πάντα φανήσεται τοιαῦτα ὄθεν καὶ τῇ πόλει τιμὴ ἔμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι. ἀντίκα ὅτε ἵππευεν, οὐ μόνον ἵππους ἐκτίσατο λαμπροὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθλητὰς <οἷς> ἐνίκησεν Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέα, ὥστε τὴν πόλιν κηρυχθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν στεφανωθῆναι.¹⁶³

158. *IG II² 3122*: Ἡγέστρατος | Φίλωνος | νίκη : Νεμέαι.

159. Hegestratos is Kyle 1993: P89 and Kostourou 2008: no. 71.

160. *IG II² 3128*.

161. *IG I³ 1022*.

162. “[Kritia²]s, son of <K>allaischros set up <this monument> to the Twelve Gods. Victories: At the Isthmos. At Nemea. At the Isthmos. At Nemea.”

163. “Moreover, you should bear in mind my father’s character. In every instance that he wanted to spend money beyond what was necessary, clearly these were things from which the city also would gain honour. For instance, when he took up horsebreeding, he produced horses that were not simply handsome, but champions,

Clearly, the logographer must have been of the opinion that the jurors would consider a Nemean victory a benefit to the city,¹⁶⁴ and the idea that great athletic or equestrian victories reflect on the city of origin of the victor is, of course, met with elsewhere.¹⁶⁵ That equestrian victories at the great festivals added to a man's and his family's social stature is clear from Plato's *Lysis* (205c) where it is said that the whole city of Athens celebrates the family of the young Lysis on account of its "wealth, horse breeding and victories at Delphi, on the Isthmos and at Nemea."¹⁶⁶ It was for good reasons, then, that private Athenians treasured their Nemean victories.

9. *Thessalia*. A well-known group of no less than nine monumental marble statues recovered at Delphi¹⁶⁷ was dedicated by one Daochos of Pharsalos¹⁶⁸ shortly after 337.¹⁶⁹ The dedicant was *tetrarchos* of Thessalia¹⁷⁰ and *hieromnamon* of the Delphic Amphictyony,¹⁷¹ in other words, a prominent aristocrat. The monument was dedicated by Daochos "à la gloire de sa famille"¹⁷² and the sculptures depict (sometimes quite remote) ancestors of the dedicant and celebrate their glorious deeds in accompanying inscriptions. Among the deeds celebrated are both political and athletic accomplishments. Among the ancestors was an outstanding athlete, Agias, of the early-fifth century. He was an Olympic victor in *pankration* in c. 484¹⁷³ and the epigram celebrating him increases the rhetorical weight of this already fine achievement by adding a *first*:¹⁷⁴ πρῶτος ... γῆς ἀπό

who won victories at the Isthmus and at Nemea. As a result the city was named in the proclamation, and he himself won the wreath" (transl. Todd 2000).

164. Pritchard 2013: 90, 97.

165. Nielsen 2007b: 88–97. See also n. 277 in section 1.3.2 above and n. 234 below.

166. ἂ δὲ ἡ πόλις ὄλη ἄδει περι Δημοκράτους καὶ Λύσιδος τοῦ πάππου τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ πάντων πέρι τῶν προγόνων, πλούτους τε καὶ ἵπποτροφίας καὶ νίκας Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἴσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέᾳ τεθρίπποις τε καὶ κέλησι κτλ.

167. On the sculptures, see Stewart 1990: 187 with figs. 551–53.

168. *I.Delphes* 4.460.7.3.

169. *I.Thessalie ad* no. 57.

170. *I.Delphes* 4.460.5.2, 7.4.

171. *I.Delphes* 4.460.7.5; *CID* II 74.II.22.

172. *I.Thessalie ad* no. 57.

173. Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 192.

174. Pleket 1975: 79: "Victory in itself was not enough. There is a tendency to add, so

Θεσσαλίας.¹⁷⁵ The epigram concludes by stating that Agias was never defeated by any opponent: σῶν οὐδεὶς πω στήσε τρόπαια χερῶν, “nobody ever erected a trophy for triumph over your fists.”¹⁷⁶ Clearly, the opening and the ending of the epigram set out to magnify the athletic achievements of Agias as much as possible. Sandwiched between opening (1–2) and ending (4) is a verse (3) constituting a (surely) selective¹⁷⁷ victory catalogue in miniature: πεντάκις ἐν Νεμέᾳ, τρις Πύθια, πεντάκις Ἴσθμοῖ.¹⁷⁸ The inclusion of Nemean victories in the epigram, obviously, was not considered counter-productive and the order in which the verse mentions the festivals cannot be said to put Nemea in the shade of the two other festivals.

The Delphic monument celebrating Agias had a twin at Pharsalos itself.¹⁷⁹ The inscription of its base has survived and states that the statue was a work by the famous sculptor Lysippos of Sikyon. Apart from this detail, the epigram is almost identical to the one in Delphi and thus includes the Nemean victories among the deeds for which Agias is celebrated.¹⁸⁰ The prevailing consensus is that the monument at Pharsalos was the older monument and the original bronze figure from which the marble statue at Delphi was copied. Daochos, in conclusion, invested *heavily* in celebrating his ancestor

to speak, a ‘surplus-value’. I shall not give a long list of these ‘surplus-values’ here; I have in mind athletes who won ἀκοντιί (i.e. without having to fight, because all opponents withdrew before the beginning of the games out of fear of the superstar) and ἀππῶτος (without having fallen on one’s knee; a surplus value for wrestlers, who had won when they had thrown their opponents on the floor three times) or who achieved a series of victories *on one day* or *for the first time*; in the latter case he could be *first of all human beings* or *first of his fellow-citizens* or *first of his fellow-provincials*.” See also Nielsen 2014a: 14–15. For the argument that these ‘surplus values’ are in fact the ancient Greek equivalent of modern ‘records’, see Young 1996; see also Tod 1949 and Ramba 1990.

175. Ebert 1972a: no. 43.1–3 (“as the first man from the land of Thessalia”).

176. Ebert 1972a: no. 43.4. The verse adapts Soph. *Trach.* 1102.

177. Ebert 1972a: 138–39.

178. Ebert 1972a: no. 43.3 (“five times at Nemea, three at Delphi, and five times on the Isthmos”). Agias is Kostourou 2008: no. 5.

179. It is unknown whether the monument at Pharsalos comprised other statues than the one depicting Agias (Geominy 2007: 84).

180. *I.Thessalie* 57 (= IG IX.2 249).

Agias, and among the athletic triumphs for which the latter was commemorated were five Nemean victories. These Nemean victories, it goes without saying, must have been of considerable prestige.

10. *Rhodos*. From Rhodos come two sculptural bases of interest in the present context. One, from the city of Rhodos itself, commemorates one Timotheos for a victory in the boys' *dolichos* at Nemea, the only feat mentioned by the inscription.¹⁸¹ The base carries the signature of the sculptor Mnasitimos, known to have been active around 300; Timotheos' Nemean victory, then, should date to the late fourth or early third century.¹⁸² Timotheos or rather his family clearly did not find it immaterial to commemorate a Nemean victory with a sculptural monument.

From the akropolis of Lindos comes a base inscribed with a victory catalogue much resembling that of Kallias the Athenian (above p. 196) in its layout, though it is rather later (c. 300–290).¹⁸³ The catalogue lists an impressive series of equestrian victories achieved by one Nikagoras, in the following order: two Olympic victories, one Pythian victory, three Isthmian victories, three Nemean victories, one Panathenaian victory, one victory at the Argive *Hekatomboia*, three at the *Pythia* in Sikyon, and one at the *Lykaia* in Arkadia.¹⁸⁴ The order is clearly the traditional one of descending prestige and demonstrates that a Nemean victory was still at this date of far greater prestige than victories even at such major non-periodic festivals as the *Hekatomboia* and the *Panathenaia*.

181. Timotheos is Kostourou 2008: no. 199, but not otherwise known.

182. *SEG* 41 651: Τιμόθεος Εὐφάνευς | Νέμεια παῖδας δόλιχον. | Μναςίτιμος Ἀριστωνίδα Ῥόδιος | ἐποίησε. For Mnasitimos, see *I.Lindos* 8. The original location of Timotheos' monument is unknown: the base was found re-used in a later construction.

183. *I.Lindos* 68. Nikagoras is Kostorou 2008: no. 145.

184. This victory is also recorded by *IG* V.2 550.27 from Mt. Lykaion itself.

2.6 Public Commemoration and Evaluation of Nemean Victories outside the Panhellenic Sanctuaries (down to c. 300)

The previous section, discussing eighteen monuments from Taras, Thebes, Corinth, Sikyon, Tegea, Argos, Aigina, Athens, Salamis, Pharsalos, Lindos and Rhodos, demonstrates that private citizens cherished Nemean victories as items of real prestige and sometimes devoted monuments exclusively to the commemoration of Nemean triumphs. Victories at, *e.g.*, the athletic festivals at Neapolis, Anaktorion, Lousoi, Pheneos or the Dorian hexapolis, to pick just a few attested athletic festivals at random, are never celebrated in this way. Nemean victories, obviously, were simply in another league and dwarfed even victories at such major festivals at the *Panathenaia* at Athens, the *Hekatomboia* at Argos, and the *Herakleia* at Thebes, all three of them staged by major *poleis* of great renown.

Some of the monuments surveyed in the previous section, in particular those from Thebes and Argos, may actually be public rather than private monuments, that is, monuments commissioned by the state, as pointed out in each case. The following section surveys monuments which were certainly or most probably commissioned by the state.

1. *Achaia*. According to Pausanias (7.27.5), there stood in the *gymnasion* at Pellene a stone monument commemorating the local pankratiast Promachos, an Olympic victor of c. 404.¹⁸⁵ The monument at Pellene had a bronze twin at Olympia,¹⁸⁶ and both, to judge from Pausanias' wording, were public commissions.¹⁸⁷ Pausanias gives no details about the monument at Olympia, but does say in his description of the monument at Pellene itself that in addition to his Olympic victory Promachos won three victories at the Isthmos¹⁸⁸

185. Moretti, *Olympionikai* no. 355.

186. Paus. 7.27.5 (cf. 6.8.6).

187. Paus. 7.27.5: εἰκόνας ποιήσαντες οἱ Πελληνεῖς τὴν μὲν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ("the Pelleneans had two images made and set up one at Olympia, and the other one in the gymnasium").

188. Promachos is Farrington 2012: no. 1.57.

and two at Nemea.¹⁸⁹ If, as seems likely, and as is assumed by Farrington (2012: 118 n. 275), Pausanias took these details from an inscription accompanying the monument at Pellene, this inscription will have treated his Nemean victories as items worthy of public commemoration, though the major factor prompting the monument in his honour may perhaps have been his martial exploits: he is said to have killed a great number of enemies in a conflict between Pellene and Corinth,¹⁹⁰ perhaps during the 390s.¹⁹¹ Unfortunately, Pausanias gives no direct information on the date of the two sculptures commemorating Promachos. He may, however, provide indirect evidence for a date in the fourth century: Promachos, Pausanias relates (7.27.6), was said (by the Pelleneans, presumably) to have defeated the famous Poulydamas of Skotoussa at Olympia; but this the Thessalians denied, citing a verse to the effect that Poulydamas was undefeated (*anikatos*: Paus. 7.27.6). Poulydamas seems to have developed into a ‘Nationalheros’ of the Thessalians,¹⁹² and it was probably the Thessalian Confederacy that erected a monument commemorating him at Olympia: the base with a fragmentary inscription has survived and the monument dates to the second half of the fourth century.¹⁹³ Promachos, too, was central to Pellenean self-perception since, as Pausanias says, the city held him in the highest esteem.¹⁹⁴ It seems, then, not unlikely that the Thessalian monument for Poulydamas and the Pellenean monument(s) for Promachos were engaging in peer rivalry for prestige and were thus contemporary. This, of course, must remain an assumption, but if accepted will be another testimony to the high prestige of Nemean victories, since the Pelleneans pointed to *i.a.* the Nemean victories of Promachos to emphasize his stature.

2. *Argolis*. According to Pausanias (2.20.7), there stood in the theatre at Argos a sculptural group depicting Perilaos of Argos in the act of killing Othryadas of Sparta. This Othryadas of Sparta was,

189. Promachos is Kostourou 2008: no. 175.

190. Paus. 7.27.6.

191. Farrington 2012: 118 n. 275.

192. Taeuber 1997: 243.

193. On the monument: Taeuber 1997; *Neue IvO* 24.

194. Paus. 7.27.7: τὰ μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ.

according to the tradition recorded by Herodotos (1.82.4), the sole Spartan survivor of the famous Battle of the Champions reputedly fought between 300 select Argives and 300 select Spartans in the mid-sixth century for the possession of Thyrea. The monument at Argos obviously reflects a different tradition claiming that there had been no Spartan survivors at all, and that must have been “the official Argive version” of the outcome of this battle.¹⁹⁵ Accordingly, the monument was probably a public commission, as also indicated by its location. Pausanias adds this note on Perilaos: “This Perilaos had even before this won a victory at Nemea in wrestling.”¹⁹⁶ Buhmann (1972: 108–9) is probably correct in assuming that Pausanias took this piece of information from an inscription on the base of the monument. The chief purpose of the monument must have been to state the Argive version of the story of the battle, and it is eloquent testimony to the prestige of a Nemean victory that it was mentioned on such a patriotic monument even though it was of no obvious relevance to its theme proper. Unfortunately, Pausanias does not provide any information by which to date the monument, but it cannot be excluded that it was erected in the Classical period: ‘historical’ groups are *uncommon* but not *unknown* in Classical sculpture; the Tyrannicides¹⁹⁷ are, of course, the most notable example but at least one other fifth-century example of an historical group is known from Olympia.¹⁹⁸

A rather remarkable public reference to a Nemean victory is found in the *iamata* from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros. These *iamata* are inscribed tales of divine healings of various infirmities and diseases, inscribed to the glory of Asklepios in the second half of the fourth century, but obviously drawing on pre-existing materials.¹⁹⁹ The sanctuary of Asklepios was Epidauros’ claim to fame and the *pinakes* inscribed with tales of Asklepios’ healings were a famous feature of the sanctuary.²⁰⁰ Four stelae have survived more or less

195. Asheri *et al.* 2007: 140; see also Frazer 1898.III: 197.

196. Perilaos is Kostourou 2008: no. 159.

197. On the Tyrannicides, see now Azoulay 2014.

198. Paus. 5.27.7 with Hölscher 1973: 88–90.

199. On these inscriptions, see LiDonnici 1995.

200. Strabo 8.6.15.

complete, but originally there must have been several more.²⁰¹ Such stelae, of course, were public monuments and they clearly formed a part of a “promotional campaign of the *polis* and sanctuary of the Epidaurians”.²⁰² The tales told must have been thought of as demonstrating the powers of the god in an unambiguous way. One of the tales relates how Asklepios cured and trained a patient to become a successful athlete and a Nemean victor in the *pankration*: “Agestratos, headache. This man was afflicted with sleeplessness on account of the distress in his head, but when he came into the Abaton, he fell fast asleep and saw a dream. It seemed to him the god had cured the pain in his head and then stood him up straight, naked, and taught him the *pankration* thrust. When day came he left well, and not a long time after won the *pankration* at Nemea” (transl. LiDonnici 1995).²⁰³ Agestratos is, unfortunately, otherwise unknown,²⁰⁴ but it seems unlikely that he was a legendary figure. It is, accordingly, a reasonable assumption that an athlete who had consulted Asklepios was later victorious at Nemea and that the Epidaurian authorities – and perhaps Agestratos himself – ascribed his victory to Asklepios. The implication is that a Nemean victory was a great and wondrous achievement and this is fine testimony to a very high prestige for the competitions at Nemea.

3. *Attika*. In the Classical period, the sacrificial state calendar of Athens almost certainly included a sacrifice to Zeus Nemeos,²⁰⁵ and the city sent a public delegation of *theoroi* to Nemea at each celebration of the festival:²⁰⁶ Demosthenes is known to have headed such a delegation as *architheoros*,²⁰⁷ and the Athenian state thus clearly put

201. Paus. 2.27.3.

202. LiDonnici 1995: 1.

203. *IG* IV².1122.XXIX: Ἀγέστρατος κεφαλᾶς [ἄ]λγος· οὗτος ἀγρυπνίας συνεχόμενος διὰ τὸμ πόνον τᾶς κεφαλᾶς[ς], ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀβάτωι ἐγένετο, καθύπνωσε καὶ ἐν[ύ]πνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἰασάμενος τὸ τᾶς κεφαλᾶς ἄλγος ὀρθὸν ἀστάσας γυμνὸν παγκρατίου προβολὰν διδάξαι· ἀμέρας δὲ γενηθείσας ὑγῆς ἐξῆλθε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον τὰ Νέμεα ἐνίκησε παγκράτιον.

204. Agestratos is Kostourou 2008: no. 3,

205. *SEG* 52 48 face A fr. 2.10; Lambert 2002: 373.

206. *IG* II² 365 = *SEG* 30 66.7-8: ὁ ἀ[ρκεθέωρο]ς ὁ εἰς τὰ Ν[έμ]εα.

207. Dem. 21.114-15.

emphasis on participation in the cult of Nemean Zeus. Athens also rewarded its *Nemeonikai* publicly in the most splendid way possible: a decree of the second half of the fifth century (*IG I³ 131*) demonstrates that athletic and equestrian victors at Olympia, Delphi, the Isthmos and at Nemea – listed in this order – were honoured with *sitesis* (free dining at public expense) in the *prytaneion*.²⁰⁸ A *prytaneion* was the physical expression of the existence of a *polis*, and on its hearth burned the eternal flame “which signified the life of the *polis*.”²⁰⁹ The *prytaneion*, accordingly, must have been Athens’ ceremonial building par excellence, and free dining here must have been the greatest honour the city had to bestow on benefactors and dignitaries: it was, it appears from the decree, granted to the descendants of the Tyrannicides,²¹⁰ the founding heroes of the democracy²¹¹ and objects of state cult.²¹² Victors in the *periodos*, then, received the greatest honour Athens had to give, an honour which was not awarded to victors in festivals outside the *periodos*, another testimony to the outstanding prestige of a Nemean victory in comparison to victories elsewhere. Moreover, it is clear from the decree that *sitesis* was not the only honour awarded to periodic victors: they received other privileges and among these were almost certainly *proedria*,²¹³ an honorary front seat at athletic and musical performances staged by Athens, clearly a not insignificant honorary privilege. Athens, in conclusion, did not find Nemean victories incompatible with the highest honours it had to bestow.

4. *The Aegean*. *IG XII.5 608*²¹⁴ is a catalogue of periodic victors set up at Ioulis on Keos c. 350–330. Only the lower half of the original stele has survived: It comprises two catalogues of victorious athletes, presumably all from the same deme or another subdivision of the *polis* of Ioulis. The heading of the first catalogue has been lost,

208. *IG I³ 131.11–15*. See Kyle 1993: 145–47; Pritchard 2013: 85.

209. Miller 1978: 13; see also Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994: 31.

210. *IG I³ 131.5–7*.

211. Spivey 1996: 114; Anderson 2007: 120–24; Azoulay 2014: 59; Teegarden 2014: 32.

212. Fornara 1970.

213. Kyle 1993: 147; Nielsen 2007b: 94; Pritchard 2013: 85. See also Bowra 1938: 273–74.

214. On this inscription, see Schmidt 1999.

but the heading of the second catalogue, which was the last on the stele, is preserved: οἶδε Νέμεια ἐνίκων (17 (“The following won at Nemea”)). The stele, then, presumably originally comprised four catalogues of past victors in the periodic games, with the Nemean last. That a subdivision of a *polis* would produce such a list may perhaps seem a little strange since athletic victories normally reflected on the *polis* as such, but it must be taken as a sign of the prestige of such victories, including Nemean ones. It is, moreover, remarkable that detailed information on fifth-century periodic victors survived into the fourth century, but again, it is a testimony to the importance attached by communities to such victories. In addition, Brun has suggested that the inscription should be seen in the light of the fourth-century Keian struggle against Athens for autonomy and was intended as a piece of historical boosting of Keian morale.²¹⁵ Former Nemean greatness, then, was pointed to in a contemporary struggle, and the clear implication is that Nemean victories were highly regarded.

One of the most interesting monuments celebrating Nemean (and other periodic) victories is a fourth-century²¹⁶ monument from Delphi which celebrates the great Theogenes of Thasos (discussed in section 1.3.1 above (27–30)).²¹⁷ Only the base survives: it is inscribed with an epigram consisting of six distichs and with a prose catalogue of the periodic victories of Theogenes. From the agora at Thasos itself come five fragments of a fourth-century²¹⁸ prose catalogue very similar to the one accompanying the Delphic monument,²¹⁹ and the inference must be that the monument at Delphi had a twin at Thasos itself, in the same way that the monument for Agias at Pharsalos had a twin at Delphi (above 198–200) and the monument for Promachos at Pellene a twin at Olympia (above 201–202). It is unknown whether the monument at Thasos also displayed the epigram found on the Delphic monument.²²⁰ It is clearly

215. Brun 1989: 135; see also Hornblower 2004: 129.

216. Ebert 1972a: 121–22.

217. Theogenes is Kostourou 2008: no. 76.

218. Ebert 1972a: 121–22.

219. Ebert 1972a: 124–26.

220. Pouilloux 1994: 202–3; *SEG* 44 702.

not impossible that it did: the Delphic monument for Agias was inscribed with an epigram identical to the one inscribed on the monument at Pharsalos itself (above 199). In the following, I assume that the Delphic and the Thasian monuments were identical in this respect: though this is not essential to the overall argument, it should be noted that it is an assumption. The epigram at Delphi reads as follows:²²¹

Ο[ὐ]ποτε τοῖον ἔφουσε Θ[ά]σος, Τιμοζένου υἱέ,
καὶ π[ολύ] γ' Ἑ[λλή]νων [π]λε[ῖ]στον [ἔ]παινον ἔχεις
καρτερίας· οὐ γάρ τις Ὀλυμπία ἐστεφανώθη
ὠ[τὸ]ς [ἀ]ν[ή]ρ πυγμῆι παγκρατίῳ τε κρατῶν.
σοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐμ Πυθῶνι τριῶν στεφάνω[ν] ἀκοντιῆ
ἕξ· τὸ δὲ θνητὸς ἀνὴρ οὐτις ἔρεξε ἕτερος·
ἐννέα δ' Ἰσθ[μ]ιάδων νῆκαι δέκα, δις γάρ ἄῤῥσεν
κῆρυξ ἐγ κύκλωι μούνον ἐπιχθονίων
πυγμῆς παγκρατίου τε ἐπινίκιον ἤματι τῶντῶν·
ἐνάκι δ' ἐν Νεμέαι, Θεόγενες, αἱ δὲ ἴδια
νῆκαι τρίς τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλια, οὐδὲ σέ φημι
πυγμῆι νικηθῆναι ἕκοσι καὶ δύο ἔτων.²²²

And the prose catalogue runs as follows:

Θευγένης Τιμοζένου Θάσιος ἐνίκησεν τάδε

Ὀλύμπια πύξ	Ἴθμοῖ πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ	
Ὀλύμπια παγκράτιον	Ἴθμοῖ πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ
Πυθοῖ πύξ	Ἴθμοῖ πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ	Ἑκατόμβοια
Πυθοῖ πύξ	Ἴθμοῖ πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ	δόλιχον

221. Text after Ebert 1972a: no. 37.

222. “Never, son of Timoxenos, did Thasos produce your equal, and of the Hellenes you enjoy by far the greatest reputation for sturdy endurance. For no one was crowned at Olympia for victory in boxing and *pankration*, one and the same man. Of your three Pythian crowns one was won without dust. This no other mortal man achieved. At nine Isthmiads you won ten victories, for twice on the same day did the herald announce you in the circle of spectators for victory in boxing and *pankration*, a singular achievement among men of the earth. Nine victories did you win at Nemea, Theogenes. Your own efforts produced 1,300 victories and, I proclaim, for twenty-two years you were undefeated in boxing.”

Πυθοῖ πύξ ἀκονίτι	Ἴθμοῖ πύξ	Νέμεα πύξ	ἐν Ἄργει ²²³
Ἴθμοῖ πύξ	καὶ παγκράτιον	Νέμεα πύξ	
[Ἴθ]μοῖ πύξ	τῆι αὐτῆι	Νέμεα πύξ	
Ἴθμοῖ πύξ	Ἴθμιάδι	Νέμεα πύξ	
Ἴθμοῖ πύξ			

The monument was almost certainly erected by or restored from an earlier monument by the *polis* of Thasos,²²⁴ and the inscription was in all probability commissioned by Thasos. It is, obviously, a triumphant celebration of Theogenes by his native city. It employs, in fact, most of those ways of adding ‘surplus-value’ to victories which were pointed out by Pleket.²²⁵ Thus, the epigram states that “no other” man won both the boxing and *pankration* at Olympia (οὐ γάρ τις Ὀλυμπία ἐστεφανώθη // ὠ[τὸ]ς [ἀν]ήρ πυγμαῖι παγκρατίω τε κρατῶν), a *first* and *only*, as in fact it was; a Pythian victory was, moreover, won ἀκονίτι, *without opposition*, as pointed out both in verse (ἐμ Πυθῶνι τριῶν στεφάνω[v] ἀκονίτι // ἔς:) and in the prose victory catalogue (Πυθοῖ πύξ ἀκονίτι), again a *first* and *only*, as spelled out in verse six: τὸ δὲ θνητὸς ἀνὴρ οὕτως ἔρεξε ἕτερος. Finally, at the Isthmian Games Theogenes won both the boxing and *pankration* “on the same day” (ἥματι τῶντῶν), again a *first* and *only* (μοῦνον ἐπιχθονίων), thus performing a feat resembling that of Herakles who won these two disciplines at the same Olympiad.²²⁶ What is striking, however, is that the epigram credits Theogenes with 1,300 victories;²²⁷ ob-

223. Theogenes, son of Timoxenos, of Thasos, won these victories

Olympia, boxing	Isthmos, boxing	Nemea, boxing	
Olympia, <i>pankration</i>	Isthmos, boxing	Nemea, boxing	Nemea, boxing
Delphi, boxing	Isthmos, boxing	Nemea, boxing	<i>Hekatomboia</i>
Delphi, boxing	Isthmos, boxing	Nemea, boxing	<i>dolichos</i>
Delphi, boxing, <i>akoniiti</i>	Isthmos, boxing	Nemea, boxing	at Argos
Isthmos, boxing	and <i>pankration</i>	Nemea, boxing	
Isthmos, boxing	at the same	Nemea, boxing	
Isthmos, boxing	Isthmiad	Nemea, boxing	
Isthmos, boxing			

224. Ebert 1972a: no. 37 at 121–22.

225. Pleket 1975: 79 (quoted above in n. 174).

226. See Paus. 5.8.4 with Nicholson 2016: 34.

227. See also Paus. 6.11.5: 1,400 victories; Plut. *Praec. ger. reip.* 15.7: 1,200 victories; and section 1.3.1 above (27–30).

viciously, most of these must have been won at non-periodic games,²²⁸ but only a *single*²²⁹ of these is mentioned in the prose catalogue, the victory in long-distance running (*dolichos*) at the Argive *Hekatomboia*, probably because this was the most remarkable and prestigious among Theogenes' non-periodic victories. Apart from that, both epigram and prose catalogue restrict themselves to periodic victories; and even if Nemea in the more or less traditional way is listed last of the periodic festivals, the very listing of the Nemean triumphs is eloquent testimony to the high prestige attached to Nemean victories at Thasos.

5. *Ionia*. A late fourth- or early third-century²³⁰ decree from Ephesos is worth quoting in full in the present context:²³¹

- 1 [ἔδοξ]εν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· Νεῦμος Ἀνδρονίκου [εἶ-]
 [πεν· ἐπε]ιδὴ Ἀθηνόδωρος Σήμιμος ἰστοτελής ὄγ καὶ κατο-
 [κῶν] ἐν Ἐφέσοι νενίκηκεν τὰ Νέμεα παῖδας πύκτην
 [καὶ ἀνα]γγελεῖς Ἐφέσιος ἐστεφάνωκε τὴν πόλιν,
 5 [ἔδοξε]ν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· εἶνα Ἀθηνόδωρον
 [Σήμι]νος Ἐφέσιογ καθάπερ ἀνήγγελται ἐν τῶι ἀγῶνι,
 [καὶ ὑπά]ρχειν Ἀθηνოდῶροι τὰς τιμὰς τὰς τεταγμέ-
 νας ἐν τῶι νόμῳ τῶι νικῶντι παῖδας τῶι σώματι
 [Ν]έμεα, καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾷ καθ[ά-]
 10 περ οἱ ἄλλοι νικῶντες ἀναγγέλλονται· τὸν δὲ οἱ[κονό-]
 μον ἀποδοῦναι Ἀθηνოდῶροι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τετ[α-]
 [γμ]ένον ἀργύριον εἰς τὸν στέφανον²³²

228. Above p.29.

229. See also Pleket 2001: 177.

230. Robert 1967: 16.

231. *I.Ephesos* 1415.

232. "Decision by the Council and the Assembly on a proposal by Neumos, son of Andronikos. Since Athenodoros, son of Semon, a foreigner of equal rights and residing at Ephesos, has won the boxing contest for boys at Nemea and by being proclaimed as an Ephesian has crowned our city, it was decided by the Council and the Assembly: Let Athenodoros be an Ephesian, as he was proclaimed at the contest, and let Athenodoros be awarded the honours laid down by the law for an athletic victor in the boys' class at Nemea, and let him be proclaimed in the agora, as other victors are proclaimed, and let the financial secretary pay Athenodoros the sum laid down by the law for the crown."

The decree was found at the Artemision, the famous temple of Ephesian Artemis and obviously a prestigious location for the display of honorary decrees. It reports a decision by the council and the assembly conferring Ephesian citizenship (εἶναι Ἀθηνόδωρον [Σήμων]ος Ἐφέσιου) on the young athlete Athenodoros, who prior to the decree was a resident but not a citizen of Ephesos (ἰσοτελής ὄγ καὶ κατοικ[ῶν] ἐν Ἐφέσει), in recognition of the fact that after a Nemean victory (νενίκηκεν τὰ Νέμεα)²³³ he was proclaimed an Ephesian ([ἀνα]γγελεῖς Ἐφέσιος) at the victory ceremony, thus sharing the honour and prestige of the victory with the city of Ephesos: ἐστεφάνωκε τὴν πόλιν, “he has crowned our city”. In reality, of course, it was Athenodoros who was crowned, but the expression στεφανοῦν τὴν πόλιν was a standard metaphor indicating that the glory of victory reflected on the city of origin of the athlete.²³⁴ The grant of citizenship to Athenodoros, then, must be regarded as Ephesos’ way of thanking him for sharing his Nemean victory with the city.

This grant of citizenship to Athenodoros is eloquent testimony to the importance attached by the *polis* of Ephesos to this particular Nemean victory; but the decree also attests to the importance attached to Nemean victories, even those of boys, in general, since it stipulates that Athenodoros be granted the honours codified *by the law* “for an athletic²³⁵ victor in the boys’ class at Nemea” (τὰς τιμὰς τὰς τεταγμένας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ νικῶντι παιῖδας τῷ σώματι [Ν]έμεα),²³⁶ though these are not further specified; however, they seem to have

233. Athenodoros is Kostourou 2008: no. 8.

234. See, e.g., Dem. 58.66; Simon. no. 30 (Page, *FGE*); Theotimos (*FG+Hist*) fr. 1; *BCH* 83 (1959) 186; *SEG* 35 1125 (on which see Catling & Kanavou 2007 and 2008). More examples in Robert 1967: 21–28. See also *SEG* 34 1005 (κυδαίνω) and *Anth. Pal.* 13.19.12 (εὐφραίνω).

235. That is, in contradistinction to an equestrian victor (Robert 1967: 17).

236. Such laws, of course, are the precondition for the emergence of *Isonemean* festivals. An *Isonemean* festival – the *Soteria* – is known at Delphi from c. 275; it was accepted as *Isonemean* by e.g. Athens (*IG* II² 680) and Chios (*I.Delphes* 3.215; see in particular 16–18: εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγωνισαμένοις τῶμ πολιτῶν καὶ νικήσασσι τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σ[ωτηρίων ὅσαπερ καὶ τ]οῖς Πύθια καὶ Νέμεα νικήσασσι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται), as well as other cities; a number of city-states, then, must have had codified rewards for Nemean victors by the first quarter of the third century.

included an honorary proclamation in the agora – presumably of the fact of his victory and of the honours bestowed on him – as well as a cash payment rewarding the victory.²³⁷ Clearly, there was at Ephesos a law rewarding Nemean victors and the *polis* of Ephesos must have highly valued its *Nemeonikai*.

By a remarkable piece of good luck, another Ephesian decree concerning Athenodoros has survived.²³⁸ The probability is that it is later than the decree just discussed, though not much: Athenodoros was probably still a young man when the second decree was passed.²³⁹ The decree is fragmentary, but enough survives to make its overall drift reasonably clear. It attests how an *epistates* (4) – presumably “le maître de gymnastique”²⁴⁰ – reported to the council on the promising young athlete who had already been victorious, *i.e.* at Nemea, and of whom future victories glorifying the city were to be expected.²⁴¹ Apparently, the *epistates* asked for public financial support for Athenodoros²⁴² and council and assembly responded by decreeing that Ephesian citizenship should be sold²⁴³ to two free non-

237. See also Pleket 2001: 189. – The expression εἰς τὸν στέφανον is not easy to interpret. Robert 1967: 18 translates it “pour la couronne” which is ambiguous. Brunet 2003: 228 says “the cash reward set down by law for such a victory.” However, εἰς τὸν στέφανον is not an obvious way of saying “for such a victory” and in most other texts I have been able to find, the expression is used about payment “for a crown” (*e.g.* *IG* II^a 222.7–8 (Athens); *IG* XII.1 1032.29–30 (Karpathos); *IG* XII Suppl. 169.7 (Ios)). It may perhaps be assumed here that the Ephesian law laid down that *Nemeonikai* during the proclamation in the agora were to be crowned with a crown of a specified value. When it is stated that the financial secretary is to pay the sum in cash to Athenodoros, the reason may be that the ceremony of crowning had been abandoned in favour of a cash payment. To Athenodoros this distinction must have been irrelevant: he received a cash payment which to him must have been a cash reward.

238. *I.Ephesos* 2005 with Robert 1967: 27–32.

239. Brunet 2003: 227.

240. Robert 1967: 30.

241. *I.Ephesos* 2005.2–3: πρότερόν τε νικῶντ[ος τὰ Νέμεια παῖδας, ἐπιδόξου δὲ] ὄντο[ς κα]ὶ ἐτέρους νικήσειν ἀγῶνας καὶ [στεφανώσειν τὴν πόλιν].

242. *I.Ephesos* 2005.8: οὐκ ὑπάρχει δὲ χρ[ήματα].

243. For a third-century decree also attesting to sale of Ephesian citizenship, see Michel, *Recueil* no. 495.

Ephesians,²⁴⁴ in order that the profit could be used to the benefit of Athenodoros “pour une période d’entraînement et pour le voyage à l’étranger.”²⁴⁵ All this amounts to public subvention of a promising athlete, and the evidence adduced to argue for the request for the subsidy is a Nemean victory – which, since the request was met, must have carried considerable weight.

Remarkable as this decree is, it is not unique at Ephesos. The block inscribed with *I.Ephesos* 1415 (the first decree for Athenodoros) carries another decree (*I.Ephesos* 1416) which in its wording and structure quite resembles *I.Ephesos* 2005 (the second decree for Athenodoros).²⁴⁶ It dates to c. 300²⁴⁷ and concerns another young athlete, one Timonax. The decree breaks off after the first six lines, but the way it introduces Timonax is strongly reminiscent of *I.Ephesos* 2005: he had been victorious first among the boys at the Isthmian Games²⁴⁸ and later at the Nemean Games where, as Athenodoros did, he had conferred the honour and prestige of the victory on the *polis* of Ephesos,²⁴⁹ and it was to be expected that he would win future victories to the glory of the *polis*.²⁵⁰ The father of Timonax obtained an interview with the council²⁵¹ during which he asked for provisions for [...]. Here the text unfortunately breaks off, but the fact that the decree was inscribed and made public alongside *I.Ephesos* 1415, with its generous provisions for Athenodoros and its strong similarity with *I.Ephesos* 2005, strongly suggest that the

244. *I.Ephesos* 2005.9–10: ποι[ήσασθαι (δύο) πολίτας ἐφ’ ἴσῃ] καὶ ὁμοίῃ, ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων[ν]. The editor remarks: “Man verkauft das Bürgerrecht, um Geld für Training und Reise eines hoffnungsvollen Athleten zu bekommen.”

245. *I.Ephesos* 2005.9: [ε]ἰς τὴν ἄσκησιν καὶ τὴν ἐγδημίαν. Robert 1967: 31 (source of quotation); see also Pleket 2001: 186.

246. Robert 1967: 27–32 discusses the two decrees in conjunction.

247. See *I.Ephesos* 1449.

248. *I.Ephesos* 1416.2–3: πρότερόν τε νική[σ]αντος Ἴσθμια παῖδας. I follow Engelmann 1975 and Daux 1978 on this passage of the decree. Timonax is Farrington 2012: no. 1.78.

249. *I.Ephesos* 1416.3–4: καὶ νῦν Νέμεα ἐστεφανώκοτος [τῆμ πόλιν]. Timonax is Kostourou 2008: no. 202.

250. *I.Ephesos* 1416.4–5: ἐπιδόξου δὲ ὄντος καὶ ἐτέρους νικήσειν ἀγῶνα[ς καὶ πάλιν σ]-τεφανώσειν τῆμ πόλιν.

251. *I.Ephesos* 1416.5–6: κατασταθεις ἐπὶ [τῆμ βουλ]ήν.

polis did in fact provide – probably financial – assistance to Timonax, and again a Nemean victory was one of the main factors prompting the subsidy. These three decrees, then, show Ephesos acting actively to secure athletic victories for itself, and in particular it seems to be the *Nemean* glory conferred upon it by Athenodoros and Timonax which triggered the subsidies. At Ephesos, obviously, Nemean victories were highly treasured.

The evidence from Pellene, Argos, Epidauros, Athens, Ioulis, Thasos, and Ephesos surveyed in this section demonstrates that these *poleis* considered Nemean victories of their citizens to be precious gems glorifying the community. Pellene and Thasos erected sculptures whose accompanying epigrams pointed *i.a.* to the Nemean victories of the commemorated athletes; Athens and Ephesos had passed laws codifying splendid rewards for their *Nemeonikai*; and Argos, Epidauros, and Ioulis used former Nemean greatness to promote important local interests.

2.7 Conclusion

Perhaps the most important fact to emerge from the discussions presented in this study is that it is actually possible to sketch the (high) regard in which individuals and city-states held Nemean victories. Similar sketches could not be composed for victories achieved at, say, Tegea, Thouria, Sikyon, Megara, or Kyrene, or on Euboeia, Samos or Rhodos. This cannot be ascribed simply to the accidents and contingencies determining the survival of evidence. On the contrary, it must be a reflection of the fact that victories in festivals outside the *periodos* did not generate the same amount of material as did those of the *periodos*, including victories at Nemea.

In contradistinction to victories achieved at, say, Thebes, Argos or Athens, Nemean victories were regularly included even in the briefest commemorative epigrams and the most selective victory catalogues, which demonstrates that such value was attached to them that it was considered counter-productive not to include them. Victories outside the *periodos* were only very occasionally celebrated by epinician odes by major masters. Nemean victories, on the other hand, were highly treasured by the select circle of high aristocracy who

commissioned epinician odes from famous poets: three odes by Bacchylides celebrate Nemean victories, as do eight by Pindar. Moreover, victory monuments at Olympia were accompanied by extremely selective victory catalogues, but Nemean victories are quite often recorded on these monuments, and this inclusion is fine testimony to their considerable prestige: it clearly did not diminish the symbolic value of an Olympic victory that it was listed alongside Nemean victories – though it would surely have seemed odd to mention a victory from Arkadian Mainalos on a monument at Olympia. Nemean victors celebrated their victories also outside Olympia, in their home-cities, either in their own right or alongside other periodic victories. Monuments celebrating Nemean victories are known from Taras, Thebes, Corinth, Sikyon, Tegea, Argos, Aigina, Athens, Salamis, Pharsalos, Lindos and Rhodos, and that demonstrates that private citizens cherished Nemean victories as items of real prestige. Victors at festivals at *e.g.* Anaktoron or Pheneos never celebrated their victories in this way. Nemean victories, obviously, were simply in another league and dwarfed even victories at such major festivals as the *Panathenaia* at Athens, the *Hekatombaia* at Argos, and the *Herakleia* at Thebes, all three of them staged by major *poleis* of great renown.

City-states, too, celebrated and cherished the Nemean victories of their citizens. Evidence from Pellene, Argos, Epidauros, Athens, Ioulis, Thasos, and Ephesos demonstrates that these *poleis* considered Nemean victories of their citizens to be precious gems glorifying the community. Pellene and Thasos erected sculptures whose epigrams pointed *i.a.* to the Nemean victories of the commemorated athletes; Athens and Ephesos had passed laws codifying splendid rewards for their *Nemeonikai*; and Argos, Epidauros, and Ioulis used former Nemean greatness to promote important local interests.

Obviously, compared to the competitions at Olympia or Delphi, the Nemean Games pale a little. However, compared to the numerous *other* athletic festivals which proliferated throughout the late Archaic and Classical Greek world, the Nemean Games shine brightly. It was with good reason, then, that when the concept of the *periodos* finally emerged in the Hellenistic period,²⁵² the Nemean

252. Remijsen 2015: 29, 35.

Games were included in it: to be a real superstar, an athlete *had* to win at the Nemean Games.

2.8 Postscript on the Anomalies Noted by Hornblower and Cairns

This study has argued that Nemean victories were items of real prestige. How, then, should we account for the anomalies noted by Hornblower and Cairns?²⁵³ Why did Nemea not receive a thank-offering after the Persian Wars? Why was the Peace of Nikias not published at Nemea? And why do epinician odes seemingly treat Nemea as a lesser venue than the other three of the Big Four? In this postscript I shall suggest some new answers to these questions.²⁵⁴

Let us begin with the treatment of Nemea in epinician odes. It can hardly be denied that epinician odes treat Olympia as the most prestigious of all athletic venues and this is certainly a reflection of the fact that the Olympics *were* the most prestigious of all athletic festivals.²⁵⁵ Just as clearly, the Pythian Games were second only to Olympia. Both the Olympics and the Pythian Games were penteteric whereas the festivals at Nemea and on the Isthmos were trieteric. It was thus not as difficult for an athlete to become Isthmian or Nemean champion as it was to achieve an Olympic or Pythian victory, and this must have been a factor which reduced the prestige of Nemea and Isthmia in comparison with Olympia and Delphi. As for the comparison between Nemea and Isthmia, it is perhaps a bit overstated to claim that Isthmia completely overshadows Nemea. It is correct, as Cairns points out (1991: 95), that the laudatory compound Νεμεόνικος is not found in surviving epinician poetry,²⁵⁶ though this could simply be due to the coincidences of transmission. But even assuming that that the observation is significant, it is worth noting that terms such as ἰσονέμεος (“equal to Nemea”) and

253. See section 2.1 above (169–172).

254. Some of the following draw on Nielsen 2007a.

255. Hubbard 1995: 52; Golden 1998: 34–37.

256. The word *Nemeonikos* is rare, but does occur in two undated inscriptions: *IG VII* 2490 and *REG* 6 (1893) 184 no. 27.

νεμεοδρομέω (“to run in the Nemean races”) is attested reasonably early, the former in an inscription of c. 275²⁵⁷ and the latter in Posidippos of Pella,²⁵⁸ also of the third century. Even if they are not of the same register as golden-age epinician poetry, such terms do point to some early vocabulary unique to Nemea and its festival.

Moreover, while it is undeniably true that preserved epinician poetry gives much more emphasis to Olympia²⁵⁹ and Delphi in terms of references to the geography and prominent features of the sanctuaries, it seems an overstatement to claim that the Nemean odes make do “with only a passing reference to Nemea or its festival” (Cairns 1991: 96), and in comparison with Isthmia (rather than with Olympia and Delphi), Nemea is not really being made short shrift of: Pindar uses *Nemea* and its derivatives as often as he uses *Isthmos* and related words,²⁶⁰ and Bacchylides refers slightly more frequently to Nemea than to the Isthmos.²⁶¹ Also, four Nemean odes of Pindar refer prominently to features of the Nemean sanctuary or are encomia to them: *Nem.* 2.4–5: “in the sacred games at the much-hymned sanctuary of Nemean Zeus”;²⁶² 3.2: “come in the Nemean sacred month”;²⁶³ 3.18: “in Nemea’s deep plain”;²⁶⁴ 6.12: “from the lovely games of Nemea”;²⁶⁵ 6.42–43: “and the lion’s herb once crowned him”;²⁶⁶ and 7.80–81: “set in motion the famous sound of hymns for Nemea”;²⁶⁷ and three other odes contain similar passages: *Ol.*

257. *IG II^a* 680.17.

258. Posidip. 72.3.

259. See e.g. Eckerman 2013 for a discussion of Pindar’s references to central features of the sanctuary at Olympia.

260. *Nemea: Ol.* 7.82; 8.16, 56; 9.87; 13.34, 98; *Nem.* 1.7; 2.4, 23; 3.2, 18, 84; 4.9, 75; 5.5, 44; 6.12, 20; 7.80; 8.16; 10.26; *Isthm.* 5.18; 6.3, 48, 61; 8.4; fr. 1b.3; fr. 6a.h. – *Isthmos: Ol.* 2.50; 7.81; 8.48; 9.84; 12.18; 13.4, 33, 98; *Pyth.* 7.13–14; 8.37; *Nem.* 2.9; 4.75; 5.37; 6.19; 10.26; *Isthm.* 1.9, 32; 2.13; 3.4.11, 20; 5.17; 6.5, 61; 7.21; 8.4, 63; fr. 6a.h.

261. *Nemea:* 8.17; 9.4–5, 22, 82; 10.29; 12.8, 40; 13.34. – *Isthmos:* 1.6, 156; 2.7; 8.17; 10.26.

262. Transl. Race 1997b: ἱερῶν ἀγώνων ... Νεμεαίου ἐν πολυμνήτῳ Διὸς ἄλσει.

263. Transl. Race 1997b: ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι ἴκεο.

264. Transl. Race 1997b: ἐν βαθυπεδίῳ Νεμέᾳ.

265. Transl. Race 1997b: Νεμέας ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἀέθλων.

266. Transl. Race 1997b: βοτάνᾳ τέ νιν ποθ’ ἀλέοντος ... ἤραφε. The ‘lion’s herb’ is a kenning for the Nemean victory wreath, which was made from parsley.

267. Transl. Race 1997b: ἀμφὶ Νεμέᾳ πολύφατον θρόον ὕμων δόνει.

9.87: “in the valley of Nemea”;²⁶⁸ *Isthm.* 3.11–12: “in the hollow valley of the deep-chested lion”;²⁶⁹ and 6.61: “from leafy Nemea”,²⁷⁰ that is, Nemea with its fine trees. In addition, three passages in Bacchylides celebrate features of the Nemean sanctuary: 9.3: “the verdant plain of Zeus at Nemea”;²⁷¹ 9.21–22: “these renowned Games in Nemea”;²⁷² and 10. 29–30: “at Nemea, by the holy altar of Zeus, son of Kronos.”²⁷³ Such passages cannot reasonably be described as ‘passing references’ and the conclusion must be that epinician poetry pays as much respect to Nemea as to Isthmia, though less than to Olympia and Delphi. The reason is, probably, again the one adduced above: that the Olympic and Pythian Games, being penteteric, were much harder to win than the Nemean and Isthmian Games and thus of greater prestige. But compare epinician references to Nemea and Isthmia with references to, say, the *Aleia* at Tegea in Arkadia or the festivals on Euboia and it should be clear that in comparison with such festivals the Nemean and Isthmian Games were simply in a league of their own, second *only* to Olympia and Delphi, with whom they stood apart as the four most significant athletic festivals in all of Greece. In conclusion, Cairn’s analysis, though formally correct some of the way, puts the emphasis in the wrong place.

I now turn to the anomalies pointed out by Hornblower in an attempt to provide explanations which do not depart from the assumption that the sanctuary at Nemea lacked prestige, and I begin by considering why Nemea did not receive a thank-offering after the Persian Wars.²⁷⁴ The Greek alliance which defeated the invading Persians in the battles of 480–479 – the so-called ‘Hellenic League against Persia’ of modern historiography²⁷⁵ – commemorated its great victories with monumental thank-offerings at the sanctuaries at Olympia, Delphi and on the Isthmos, though not at Nemea, and

268. Transl. Race 1997a: Νεμέας ... κατὰ κόλπον.

269. Transl. Race 1997b: κοίλα λέοντος ἐν βαθυστέρνου νόπα.

270. Transl. Race 1997b: ἀπ’ εὐφύλλου Νεμέας.

271. Transl. McDevitt 2009: Νεμεαίου| Ζηνὸς εὐθαλὲς πέδον.

272. Transl. McDevitt 2009: κείνων ἀπ’ εὐδόξων ἀγώνων| ἐν Νεμέα.

273. Transl. 2009: ἐ[ν Νεμέ]α Κρονίδα Ζηνὸς παρ’ ἀγρόν| βωμό[ν].

274. The following draws on Nielsen 2007a.

275. On which see Brunt 1953–54 and Tronson 1991.

individual *poleis* which had joined the alliance and fought in the war also set up dedications at, primarily, Delphi.²⁷⁶ The following dedications commemorating the victories of 480–479 and the immediate aftermath are known to have been made at Panhellenic sanctuaries:

Delphi. (1) According to Herodotos (8.121.2), the Hellenic League dedicated a colossal sculpture depicting Apollo at Delphi after its naval victory at Salamis in 480.²⁷⁷ (2) According to Herodotos (9.81.1), the Hellenic League dedicated a golden tripod to Apollo at Delphi to commemorate its victory at Plataiai in 479; part of the serpentine column which supported the tripod has survived and is inscribed with a catalogue of the *poleis* which fought in the war (Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 27).²⁷⁸ In addition, the god at Delphi received dedications from individual *poleis*: (3) According to Herodotos (8.122), the Aiginetans dedicated to Apollo at Delphi, on the god's own bidding, the *aristeia* they had been awarded after their performance at Salamis; it was converted into a sculpture of three golden stars mounted on a bronze mast and set up in the *pronaos* of the temple itself.²⁷⁹ (4) At Delphi stood, according to Pausanias (10.15.1), an image of Apollo dedicated by the Epidaurians ἀπὸ Μήδων ("from the Medes"), of which nothing further is known. The Epidaurians fought with both naval forces (Hdt. 8.2; 8.43) and infantry (9.28.4) in the war, but it is not clear from Pausanias' brief record whether the dedication commemorates a specific battle or the overall performance by Epidaurus in the war.²⁸⁰ (5) Pausanias (10.15.1) also mentions a dedication by Plataiai commemorating the battle in its territory in 479.²⁸¹ (6) Finally, the Peparethians made a dedication of a bronze *kouros* – an Apollo – of double life-size, from spoils taken "from Karians", i.e. from two Karian ships which they presumably captured as the Persian fleet retired after the defeat at

276. On dedications associated with the wider Persian Wars, see Gauer 1968.

277. On the monument, see Gauer 1968: 71–72.

278. On the monument, see Gauer 1968: 75–96.

279. On this monument, see Gauer 1968: 73–74.

280. Gauer 1968: 102.

281. On the monument, see Gauer 1968: 100–1.

Salamis in 480, since the Peperethians are not known to have belonged to the Hellenic League.²⁸²

Isthmia. (7) According to Herodotos (8.121.1), the Hellenic League dedicated a Phoenician trireme to Poseidon on the Isthmos after the naval victory at Salamis in 480. (8) According to Herodotos (9.81.1), the Hellenic League dedicated a colossal bronze figure of Poseidon on the Isthmos in commemoration of the victory at Plataiai in 479.

Olympia. (9) According to Herodotos (9.81.1), the Hellenic League made a communal dedication at Olympia from the spoils of the victory at Plataiai in 479.²⁸³ It was a colossal bronze sculpture depicting a striding Zeus wielding the thunderbolt; Pausanias saw it and reports that a catalogue of the *poleis* which had fought the war was inscribed on its base.²⁸⁴

Most of the evidence for the dedications of the Hellenic League comes from Herodotos, who probably made an effort to list all major dedications by the Hellenic League²⁸⁵ – which means that his evidence on such dedications ought to be complete: Nemea, then, most probably did not receive a dedication. What is otherwise most striking here is the concentration of the Hellenic League as well as of individual *poleis* on the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi: Apollo clearly received the ‘Löwenanteil’ of the booty after Plataiai (Gauer 1968: 31), even if magnificent dedications were made also at Olympia and on the Isthmos; Apollo also received the central dedication after the naval victory at Salamis (Gauer 1968: 33); and individual *poleis* seem to have made thank-offerings exclusively at Delphi. This

282. See *CEGI* 325 = *I.Delphes* 4.179 with Gauer 1968: 40, 74. The Athenians may have made a dedication at Delphi of spoils taken from the Persian bridge at the Hellespont, but the evidence is not conclusive (cf. Gauer 1968: 101–2; Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 25).

283. On this dedication, see Gauer 1968: 96–98.

284. Paus. 5.23.1. On Pausanias’ use of inscriptions, see Habicht 1985: 64–94 and Tzifopoulos 1991. – Eretria may possibly also have commemorated its participation in the war by a dedication at Olympia, see *IvO* 248.2 with Gauer 1968: 108.

285. Gauer 1968: 32. Other dedications at Delphi by individual *poleis* (Hermion; Chios; Samos) which may have been prompted by the Persian Wars are discussed by Gauer 1968: 108–10.

concentration on Delphi is probably to be explained as a reflection of the facts (1) that Apollo was “the religious focal point of the Greek effort”²⁸⁶ and (2) that this god was considered to have offered vital assistance to the Hellenic cause.²⁸⁷ The dedications to Poseidon on the Isthmos, in their turn, presumably reflect both that (1) Poseidon was considered to have been of vital assistance in the naval campaign of the Hellenes²⁸⁸ and that (2) the Isthmos more or less served as the Hellenic headquarters during 480.²⁸⁹ The dedication to Zeus at Olympia is less easily explained, but Zeus was in all probability also credited with assistance to the Hellenes.²⁹⁰ However, the sanctuary of Zeus at *Olympia* was not directly involved in the war as the sanctuaries on the Isthmos and Delphi were. So the dedication was presumably made at Olympia because this was the most prestigious of Zeus-sanctuaries in the Greek world and because, as pointed out by Miller (2004: 91-92), Olympia was the central Greek location for victory celebration: “The dominant element within the Altis ... was the hundreds and hundreds of dedications. Many of these were statues set up by athletes and horse owners after a triumph at the games, but many were spoils of war. In both cases, the common element was victory, and Olympia should be understood, most of all, as a place where victory was celebrated.” Moreover, the

286. See Mikalson 2003: 121 commenting on Hdt. 7.132. See also Boedeker 2007: 66.

287. See Mikalson 2003 (with the sources discussed added in [square brackets]): 54-55 [Hdt. 7.139-144]; 60 [Hdt. 7.178]; 61 [Hdt. 7.189]; 69-70 [Hdt. 8.35-39; Diod. 11.14.4]; 84 [Hdt. 8.121-122]; 85 [Hdt. 9.64.1]; 93-99 [Hdt. 9.33.1, 9.41.4, 9.42-43, 9.81.1; Plut. *Arist.* 11.3-8; Paus. 9.4.1-2]; 114-22 [Hdt. 7.132, 7.169-171; 8.122; 9.81.1].

288. See Mikalson 2003: 28 [Hdt. 7.191-192]; 61-62 [Hdt. 7.192; 8.13]; 84 [Hdt. 8.121-122]; 86 [Hdt. 8.129]; 113-14 [Hdt. 7.192; 8.121.1, 8.129].

289. Cf. Hdt. 7.172: Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδισαν, ὡς διέδεξαν ὅτι οὐ σφι ἦνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμηχανῶντο. Ἐπειτε γὰρ ἐπίθοντο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσην ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. See also Hdt. 7.173, 175; 8.123.

290. See Mikalson 2003: 70-71 [Diod. 11.14.4]; 89 [Hdt. 8.144.2 & 9.7.a.2; Plut. *Arist.* 10.5-6]; 94-95 [Plut. *Arist.* 11.3-8]; 99-101 [Simon. fr. 15 (Page); Diod. 11.29.1; Plut. *Arist.* 20.4-59]; 111-13 [Simon. fr. 15 (Page); Hdt. 7.141.3].

Eleians were, in fact, a member of the Hellenic League, even if their performance during the actual fighting was far from glorious.²⁹¹

Nemea, then, was the only sanctuary of the Big Four not to receive a dedication by the Hellenic League, and this has been interpreted as evidence that it lacked prestige.²⁹² But other interpretations are possible. Thus, the Zeus worshipped at Nemea may have been of a different nature from the Zeus of Olympia, who was, as Miller stresses (2004: 91–92), a god of victory, whereas Nemean Zeus was rather a “shepherd Zeus” (Miller 2004: 106). This difference in divine personality between Olympian and Nemean Zeus may explain a remarkable difference between the nature of the finds made at the respective sanctuaries: “At Olympia there are hundreds of dedications of weapons and armor, and many monuments were

291. The erection of the victory monument at Olympia must have involved some compromising on the part of the Hellenic League. As demonstrated in Nielsen 2007b: 30–43, the Eleian administration of Olympia was occasionally challenged, but on this occasion the Hellenic League seems to have made a point of catering to Eleian sensibility in regard to Olympia; thus, on the Serpent column of the Golden Tripod at Delphi, the Eleians were listed (as *Φαλειῖοι* (Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 27.9)) under the heading *το[ῖδε τὸν] πόλεμον [ἐ]πολ[έ]μεον* (1) as participants in the glorious campaigns. In actual fact, however, the Eleian performance in the war had been rather poor: Elis sent no troops to Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.202); no ships to Artemision (Hdt. 8.1) or Salamis (Hdt. 8.43–48); the city did send troops to Plataiai but they arrived too late for the battle, later even than the Mantineians who were likewise late (Hdt. 9.77). The only effective participation by Elis in the campaigns of 480–479 seems to have been in the fortification of the Isthmos (Hdt. 8.72). However, the Mantineians who had sent troops to Thermopylai (Hdt. 7.202: 500 hoplites) and presumably also participated in the fortification of the Isthmos (Hdt. 8.72: *Ἀρκάδες πάντες*), did not like the Eleians receive recognition of their performance by being inscribed on the Serpent column at Delphi. Clearly, Elis could not have complained in earnest had their name not been inscribed on this prestigious memorial. The reason why they were so inscribed was probably the fact that the Hellenic League wanted to commemorate its victory also at Olympia (Hdt. 9.81.1; cf. Gauer 1968: 96–98); it would, presumably, have been impossible to erect a memorial at Olympia which did not pay homage to the owner of the sanctuary, no matter how poor Eleian performance had been, and so the name of the Eleians was inscribed not only at Olympia (Paus. 5.23.2) but also at Delphi. If this interpretation is accepted, it will serve to emphasise the importance attached by the Hellenic League to the dedication at Olympia and, once again, the prestige of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios.

292. Hornblower 1996: 483.

erected to commemorate military victories; none have been discovered at Nemea” (Miller 2004: 106). In other words, there was simply no tradition of celebrating military victories at Nemea, which must have made the choice of Olympia for the gift to Zeus even more obvious to the Hellenic League. A victory dedication at Nemea, in other words, had it been made, would have been in need of explanation. Furthermore, both Elis (as already pointed out) and Corinth – the owners of the sanctuaries at Olympia and on the Isthmos – were members of the Hellenic League, and the sanctuary at Delphi was even attacked by Persian forces (Hdt. 8.35–39), whereas Nemea was not involved in the war in any way whatsoever.

The owner of Nemea, Kleonai, in contradistinction to Elis and Corinth, did not contribute to the Greek effort against the Persian invaders: the city is not listed on the Serpent column (Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 27); and it is absent from Pausanias’ list of belligerents recorded on the Olympia dedication (5.23.1) as well as from Herodotos’ catalogues of Greek forces present at Thermopylai (7.202–3), Artemision (8.1), Salamis (8.43–48), and Plataiai (9.28) – and, again, there is no reason to assume that this evidence on the identity of the belligerents is incomplete. Obviously, those who fought the invaders constituted only a minority of the Greeks, even on the mainland, but the absence of Kleonai is striking in the light of the line of policy followed by the other *poleis* of the Argolid and the Isthmos, its closest neighbours:

Table

The *Poleis* of the Isthmos and the Argolid and their War Effort in 480-479

Polis	Inv. ²⁹³	Region	Thermopylai	Artemision	Salamis	Plataiai
(1) Aigosthena	224	Megaris	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
(2) <i>Megara</i>	225	Megaris	Absent	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>
(3) Pagai	226	Megaris	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
(4) <i>Corinth</i>	227	Corinthia	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>
(5) <i>Sikyona</i>	228	Sikyonia	Absent	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>
(6) Argos	347	Argolis	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
(7) <i>Epidaurus</i>	348	Argolis	Absent	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>
(8) Halieis	349	Argolis	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
(9) <i>Hermion</i>	350	Argolis	Absent	Absent	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>
(10) Kleonai	351	Argolis	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
(11) Methana	352	Argolis	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
(12) <i>Mykenai</i>	353	Argolis	<i>Present</i>	Absent	Absent	<i>Present</i>
(13) Orneai	354	Argolis	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
(14) <i>Phleious</i>	355	Argolis	<i>Present</i>	Absent	Absent	<i>Present</i>
(15) <i>Tiryns</i>	356	Argolis	Absent	Absent	Absent	<i>Present</i>
(16) <i>Troizen</i>	357	Argolis	Absent	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Present</i>

Thus, nine of the sixteen *poleis* identified by the Copenhagen Inventory of *poleis* (= Hansen & Nielsen 2004) in these areas are attested as participants in the campaigns of 480-479 (indicated by Italics in the table). For most of the remaining seven probable reasons for their apparent non-involvement may be suggested: (1) Aigosthena and Pagai may not have been (independent) *poleis* on their own in 480-479, but rather parts of or dependent *poleis*²⁹⁴ within the territory of Megara;²⁹⁵ in that case, they will in fact have participated but are subsumed under Megara; (2) Halieis may not have been an independent *polis* in 480-479, but rather a part of or a dependent *polis* of Hermion as may be inferred from Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 56;²⁹⁶ in

293. This column refers to the entry on the *polis* in question in Hansen & Nielsen 2004.

294. On the concept of the 'dependent *polis*', one of the central concepts developed by the Copenhagen Polis Centre, see Hansen in Hansen & Nielsen 2004: 87-94 with refs.

295. See the respective entries Hansen & Nielsen 2004: s.v. nos. 224 & 226.

296. The fragment suggests that when Halieis was ceded to the Tiryinthians in c. 460, it was a part of Hermion: διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑρμιονέων ἀλειομένους κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος οἰκεῖν τῆς χώρας (sc. at Halieis); cf. Jameson *et al.* 1994: 46, 75.

that case, it did in fact participate but is subsumed under Hermion; (3) Methana, likewise, may not have been an independent *polis* in 480–479 but a part of or a dependent *polis* of Troizen;²⁹⁷ in that case, it did in fact participate, but is subsumed under Troizen.

If these suggestions are accepted, we are left with only three *poleis* of the Argolid and neighbouring areas which did not commit themselves to the “vigorous participation” (Jameson *et al.* 1994: 75) of the other Isthmian and Argolic *poleis*: Argos, Kleonai and Orneai. The absence of Orneai is probably to be explained in terms of its close relations with Argos: in the fourth century it had developed into a dependent *polis* inside the territory of Argos,²⁹⁸ and it is attested as an ally (*symmachos*) of Argos in 418 (Thuc. 5.67.2); it may then be suggested that already by 480–479, the city was so closely connected with Argos as to follow that city’s line of policy during the invasion. The same explanation may be extended to Kleonai, but we will have to digress briefly on the history of Kleonai and its *prostasia* of Nemea in order to substantiate this suggestion.

The history of the administration of the Nemean sanctuary in the Classical to Early Hellenistic period is more complicated than the corresponding history of e.g. Olympia.²⁹⁹ Kleonai was eventually absorbed by Argos in the later fourth century and the sanctuary at Nemea came under the formal control of Argos.³⁰⁰ However, for the fifth century, which is of relevance in the present context, much is obscure. But it is clear from Pindar that in his day Kleonai was at least formally in control of Nemea,³⁰¹ and the standard assumption

297. Cf. Thuc. 4.118.4 with Gomme 1956 *ad loc.*; Paus. 2.34.1; see Mee & Forbes 1997: 68–69.

298. Cf. Diod. 16.34.3 and 39.4 with Hansen & Nielsen 2004: s.v. no. 354.

299. On which see Nielsen 2007b: 29–54.

300. The incorporation of Kleonai as a *kome* (Perlman 2000: 145–46) into Argos is clear from e.g. *SEG* 30 355 of the later fourth century and *IG* IV 616 of c. 315, discussed by Piérart 1982 and Perlman 2000: 146–48. For formal Argive control of Nemea, see e.g. the late fourth-century decree by Argos discussed by Stroud 1984.

301. This Kleonaian control is clear from (1) *Nem.* 4.16–18 of c. 473 which refers to the competitions as Κλεωναῖος ἀγών, and even more clearly from (2) *Nem.* 10.41–42 of the 460s (Forrest 1960: 228) – and in honour of an athlete from Argos – which refers to Nemean victories as won Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν, which clearly identifies Kleonai as in charge of the Games (Perlman 2000: 131).

is that the sanctuary had been administered by Kleonai since 573, the traditional date for the foundation of the Nemean Games.³⁰² A brief period of administration by Corinth is sometimes assumed; the basis for this assumption is the repeated statement in the introductions to the scholia on Pindar's *Nemeans* that Corinth had possessed the *prostasia* of the Nemean *agon*,³⁰³ combined with the evidence of Plut. *Cim.* 17.1-2³⁰⁴ which testifies to Corinthian military action against Kleonai sometime before c. 462.³⁰⁵

Corinthian control of Nemea, then, will have fallen in the period c. 470-460. Clearly, while a period of Corinthian control is not impossible on this basis, the evidential base is rather meagre. Moreover, such Corinthian control will in all probability have been very short-lived: Kleonai is reported by Strabo 8.6.19 to have assisted Argos in a war against Mykenai;³⁰⁶ Strabo dates this war simply "after Salamis", but Diodorus Siculus 11.65 puts it under 468 and states that the war was at least partially prompted by Mykenaiian claims to the sanctuary at Nemea.³⁰⁷ Diodorus does say that Argos was assisted by allies in this war³⁰⁸ but does not name any. Strabo,

302. Miller, *Guide* 30.

303. *Hyp. Nem.* c: προέστησαν δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Κλεωναῖοι; d: προέστησαν δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος πρῶτοι μὲν Κλεωναῖοι, εἶτα Κορίνθιοι.

304. Ἐπεὶ δὲ βοηθήσας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπήει διὰ Κορίνθου τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων, ἐνεκάλει Λάχαρτος αὐτῶ, πρὶν ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς πολίταις εἰσαγαγόντι τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ θύραν κόψαντας ἀλλοτρίαν οὐκ εἰσιέναι πρότερον ἢ τὸν κύριον κελεῦσαι· καὶ ὁ Κίμων ἄλλ' οὐχ ὑμεῖς' εἶπεν ὅ Λάχαρτε τὰς Κλεωναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων πύλας κόψαντες, ἀλλὰ κατασχίσαντες εἰσεβιάσασθε μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων, ἀξιούντες ἀνεργέειν πάντα τοῖς μείζον δυναμένους'. See Blamire 1989: 171-72. Jacoby 1947: 9 argued that Plutarch drew this from an eyewitness account by Ion of Chios (accepted by Lewis 1981: 73); if correct, the historicity of the Corinthian attack cannot be doubted.

305. *RE XVI*: 2324; Lewis 1981: 73-74; Salmon 1984: 259-60.

306. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Ἀργεῖοι μετὰ Κλεωναίων καὶ Τεγεατῶν ἐπελθόντες ἄρδην τὰς Μυκηνας ἀνείλον καὶ τὴν χώραν διενείμαντο.

307. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μυκηναῖοι ἐνέστη πόλεμος διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Μυκηναῖοι διὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος οὐχ ὑπήκουον τοῖς Ἀργεῖοις, ὥσπερ αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἰδίαν ταττόμενοι τοῖς Ἀργεῖοις οὐ προσεῖχον· ἡμφισβήτησαν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Ἥρας, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Νεμέων ἠξίουσαν αὐτοὶ διοικεῖν.

308. 11.65.3: ἀθροίσαντες οὖν ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν ἐκ τε Ἀργου καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων κτλ.

however, names both Kleonai and Tegea in Arkadia; as it happens, we know from Herodotos³⁰⁹ that Argos and Tegea did in fact collaborate closely in this period, even to the extent of fighting a battle against Sparta. So, it can be accepted that Tegea was in fact an ally of Argos and we can probably extend this status to Kleonai as well.³¹⁰ Now, if Mykenaian claims to Nemea were of concern to Kleonai c. 468 and the reason it joined the war, the city was probably back in control of Nemea if it had ever lost it to Corinth. Alternatively, Kleonai joined the war because of its alliance with Argos, in which case nothing can be inferred about its control over Nemea, or lack thereof. It is, in fact, worth noting that Mykenaian claims to Nemea were a source of problems between Mykenai and Argos. As pointed out above, Kleonai was in formal control of Nemea in the 460s; however, Diodorus' report may indicate that this control was exercised with Argive support. A reasonable conclusion from all this would seem to be that drawn by Perlman (2000: 138–41):³¹¹ that Kleonai, caught between the powerful *poleis* of Corinth and Argos and facing military aggression from the former on at least one occasion, opted for alliance with Argos as the best solution to this problem, and that the city, at least formally, kept its control of Nemea – at least during the period discussed here – and was able to do so precisely due to the alliance with Argos. In conclusion, a brief period of Corinthian control is not impossible, but it was perhaps rather the fact of threats from such cities as Corinth (and Mykenai) which made Kleonai join the Argive alliance, apparently prior to 468, or, as I shall suggest, perhaps even prior to 480.³¹²

309. 9.35: ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους = “the battle against the Tegeans and the Argives at Tegea”. See Nielsen 2002: 110, 342–43.

310. Kleonai is explicitly attested as an ally (*symmachos*) of Argos at Thuc. 5.67.2 (Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ξύμμαχοι αὐτῶν, Κλεωναῖοι καὶ Ὀρνεᾶται); military collaboration between Kleonai and Argos – and thus the existence of the alliance – is furthermore attested for 458/7 by Paus. 1.29.7 (ἐνταῦθα καὶ Κλεωναῖοι κείνται, μετὰ Ἀργείων ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθόντες); and for the 360s by Plut. *Tim.* 4.1 (Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Κλεωναίους μάχῃ τῶν Κορινθίων ὁ μὲν Τιμολέων ἔτυχεν ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσταις τεταγμένος κτλ.).

311. Cf. Morgan 2007: 259–60.

312. Miller, *Guide* 31 with n. 26 likewise suspects that Argive influence at Nemea ante-

As we saw above, close collaboration between Kleonai and Argos is attested for *c.* 468, but the fact that Kleonai, in conspicuous contradistinction to most of its neighbouring *poleis*, followed the same line of policy as Argos during the Persian invasion – i.e. non-commitment – strongly suggests that this close collaboration was established prior to 480. Argos, as is well-known, remained neutral during the invasion though “Herodotus is emphatic that this attitude was tantamount to outright medism.”³¹³ Clearly, such conspicuous neutrality by a major *polis* lent itself to construction as medism (Hdt. 7.150-51; 9.12) and the taint of this ‘medism’ may well have been extended to the *poleis* closely associated with Argos, among them Kleonai. If so, Nemea – whether controlled by Kleonai or by Argos by way of Kleonai – would not have been an obvious place for the Hellenic League to make a dedication celebrating a splendid victory in which neither Kleonai nor Argos had any part – but one in which Corinth, the owner of the great sanctuary on the Isthmos and a longstanding enemy of Argos,³¹⁴ had played such a prominent and distinguished role.³¹⁵

In conclusion, there was probably a variety of reasons why no victory dedication was made at Nemea. First of all, the sanctuary played no role whatsoever in the war, in clear contradistinction to *e.g.* the sanctuaries at Delphi and on the Isthmos, which did receive

dates the later fourth century considerably: “It is possible that Argive control over Nemea began much earlier [sc. than 320], and that Kleonai administered the Nemean Games on behalf of Argos”; see also *Nemea* II: 100 with nn. 246 & 250; 170; *Nemea* III: 14-16; and, most recently, Voutiras 2016, who (on the basis of the Aristis-inscription = Meiggs & Lewis, *GHI* no. 9) argues for close ties between Kleonai and Argos already in the earlier sixth century. If the argument presented here is accepted, it may be considered to support this thesis in the sense that Argos may have had significant influence on Kleonai and thus at Nemea on account of its senior standing in the alliance.

313. Hornblower 2011: 85. The reference is to Hdt. 8.73.3: εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεσσι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμῆδιζον. On Argos’ stance of neutrality, see Bauslaugh 1991: 91-99 and Troncoso 2001: 366-67.

314. For a late Archaic-early Classical battle in which Argos defeated Corinth and which is attested only by an Argive dedication of spoils at Olympia, see Jackson 2000. See also Salmon 1984: 243, 259 and Plut. *Tīm.* 4.1 (text in n. 310 above).

315. See Morgan 2007: 238-39.

thank-offerings. Another reason may well have been that there was no tradition of such dedications at Nemea, Nemean ‘Shepherd’ Zeus being of a different nature from Olympia’s ‘Victory’ Zeus. But perhaps most importantly, the neutrality of both Argos and Kleonai during the Persian invasion may have tainted these *poleis* with medism, thus making Nemea a most unsuitable place for such a dedication, being, in effect, ‘enemy territory’.

Politics may also explain why the text of the Peace of Nikias was not to be inscribed at Nemea. That the text was to be published at Athens on the akropolis and in Sparta at the Amyklaion (Thuc. 5.18.10) was self-evident: these two city-states were the principal belligerents. Both Elis and Corinth were allies of Sparta (Thuc. 2.9.2) and (though they eventually refused to take the oath of the Peace) their most important and widely famous sanctuaries – Olympia and that of Poseidon on the Isthmos – were obvious locations for the wider dissemination of the text. Delphi, too, was in the Spartan sphere of interest: the “close ties between Sparta and Delphi”³¹⁶ in the 420s is, *i.a.*, shown by the fact that an army of the Peloponnesian League assembled at Delphi in 426 (Thuc. 3.101.1). Moreover, the Phokians, in whose territory Delphi was situated, were Spartan allies,³¹⁷ and so were the Lokrians and the Boiotians (Thuc. 2.9.2), who were both also influential members of the Amphictyony which played a central role in the administration of the Delphic sanctuary.³¹⁸ Delphi, then, was also an obvious place to inscribe the text. Argos, on the other hand, was *not* an ally of the Spartans (Thuc. 2.9.2: *πλὴν Ἀργείων*) or of the Athenians and was not involved in the Peloponnesian War in the 420s: the Argive attitude was one of ‘friendship towards both sides’, that is, towards both Sparta and Athens.³¹⁹ Kleonai was still an ally of Argos (Thuc. 5.67.2) and so the sanctuary at Nemea, whether administered by Kleonai alone or by Kleonai and Argos jointly, was outside both the Spartan and Ath-

316. Hornblower 1991: 515 (*ad* 101.1).

317. Thuc. 2.9.2. On the Phokians in the Peloponnesian War: McInerney 1999: 191–94.

318. Lokrians: Lefèvre 1998: 79–83; Boiotians: Lefèvre 1998: 70–78.

319. Thuc. 2.9.2 with Hornblower 2011: 88.

enian spheres of interest. This is probably the reason why the text of the Peace was not to be inscribed there, though it cannot, of course, be excluded that the studied avoidance of Nemea after the Persian Wars by the Hellenic League – of which Sparta and Athens were the strongest members – provided a sort of precedent for disregarding Nemea.

In conclusion, the anomalies noted by Cairns are probably overstated, and those noted by Hornblower may be more satisfactorily explained by politics than by Nemean lack of prestige.

Endnote

The aims of the two studies presented above have been

(1) First, to arrive at an estimate of the number of athletic festivals outside the *periodos* in the late Archaic and Classical periods. A survey of the surviving evidence for athletic festivals documents the existence of at least 76 athletic festivals outside the *periodos*. This is certainly a minimum number, but for various reasons, chief among which is the scarcity of evidence relating to festivals other than the Big Four, a survey such as the one undertaken here is bound to be of a more or less impressionistic nature. It is, however, possible to identify a number of other festivals which probably or possibly included athletic competitions, and all in all the survey tentatively identifies 155 festivals or sites which staged athletic competitions, and though details must in several cases remain uncertain, the overall conclusion of the survey is that (a) agonistic festivals *proliferated* throughout the Greek world in the period under consideration and that (b) athletic contests at religious festivals, accordingly, were a *central* feature of late Archaic and Classical Greek civilisation.

(2) Second, to evaluate the prestige of a Nemean victory by situating the Nemean festival in the athletic landscape sketched by the survey. The symbolic value of a Nemean victory was clearly inferior to that conferred by an Olympic victory, but the festival at Olympia is perhaps not the correct background against which to assess the prestige of a Nemean victory. The survey of the ways in which athletes and city-states celebrated and evaluated Nemean victories demonstrates both that (a) it is in fact possible to sketch the prestige of a victory achieved at Nemea, whereas for many other festivals this is simply impossible, the reason being that victors invested much more heavily in celebrating Nemean victories than they did in celebrating victories at *e.g.* Tegea or Sikyon, or even Argos and Athens; and that (b) city-states, too, took great pride in the Nemean

victories of its citizens and some city-states, such as at least Athens and Ephesos, passed laws laying down rewards for *Nemeonikai*. A Nemean victory, then, was an item of real value and prestige, as is abundantly clear when it is compared, not to an Olympic victory, but to victories in the numerous other athletic festivals of late Archaic and Classical Greece.

Abbreviations

Ancient Authors and Texts

Ael. = Aelianus

VH = *Varia Historia*

Aen. Tact. = Aeneas Tacticus

Aeschin. = Aeschines

Andoc. = Andocides

Anth. Pal. = *Anthologia Palatina*

Antiph. = Antiphon

Ar. = Aristophanes

Av. = *Aves*

Arist. = Aristotle

Ath. Pol. = *Athenaion Politeia*

Oec. = *Oeconomica*

Arr. = Arrianus

Anab. = *Anabasis*

Ath. = Athenaeus

Bacchyl. = Bacchylides

Callim. = Callimachus

Dem. = Demosthenes

Diod. = Diodorus Siculus

Diog. Laert. = Diogenes Laertius

Dion. Hal. = Dionysius Halicarnassensis

Ant. Rom. = *Antiquitates Romanae*

Eur. = Euripides

Andr. = *Andromacha*

Harp. = Harpocration

Hdt. = Herodotus

Heph. = Hephaestion

Poëm. = *Peri poiematon*

Hes. = Hesiod

Op. = *Opera et Dies*

Theog. = *Theogonia*

Hom. = Homer

Il. = *Iliad*

Od. = *Odyssey*

Hom. Hymn. Apoll. = *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*

Hyp. = Hyperides

Iambl. = Iamblichus

VP = *Vita Pythagorae*

Isoc. = Isocrates

Just. = Justinus

Epit. = *Epitome* (of Trogus)

Lycoph. = Lycophron

Alex. = *Alexandra*

Lys. = Lysias

Paus. = Pausanias

Philostr. = Philostratus

Imag. = *Imagines*

Pind. = Pindar

Isthm. = *Isthmian Odes*

Nem. = *Nemean Odes*

Ol. = *Olympian Odes*

Parth. = *Partheneia*

Pyth. = *Pythian Odes*

Pl. = Plato

Leg. = *Leges*

Lys. = *Lysis*

Menex. = *Menexenus*

Resp. = *Res publica*

Tht. = *Theaetetus*

Plin. = Pliny the Elder

HN = *Naturalis historia*

Plut. = Plutarch

Alc. = *Alcibiades*

Am. narr. = *Amatoriae narrationes*

Arist. = *Aristides*

Cim. = *Cimon*

Eum. = *Eumenes*

Lys. = *Lysander*

Mor. = *Moralia*

Nic. = *Nicias*

Per. = *Pericles*

Prae. ger. reip. = *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae*

Tim. = *Timoleon*

Posidip. = Poseidippos of Pella

Simon. = Simonides

- Soph. = Sophocles
Trach. = *Thrachiniaiæ*
 Steph. Byz. = Stephanus Byzantius
 Thuc. = Thucydides
 Xen. = Xenophon
Ages. = *Agesilaus*
An. = *Anabasis*
Hell. = *Hellenica*
Lac. = *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*

Other Abbreviations

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- AEMΘ* = *Archaiologiko ergo ste Makedonia kai Thrake*
- AJA* = *American Journal of Archaeology*
- AJPhil* = *American Journal of Philology*
- AncW* = *Ancient World*

BCH = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*

BICS = *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*

BE = *Bulletin épigraphique*, in *REG*

CB = *Classical Bulletin*

C&M = *Classica et Mediaevalia*

CQ = *Classical Quarterly*

CW = *Classical World*

GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

IJHS = *International Journal of the History of Sport*

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JSH = *Journal of Sport History*

REG: *Revue des Études Grecques*

Rh. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum*

TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*

VDI = *Vestnik drevnej istorii*

ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Other

fr. = fragment

Schol. = scholion

Index locorum

I. Literary texts

Aelianus

Varia Historia

4.24: 9m599, 143

13.15: 4m191

Aeneas Tacticus

17.1: 24n76

Aeschines

3.88: 70n425, 137

Andocides

4.32: 196n156

Androtion (FGrHist 324)

fr. 15: 179n58

Anthologia Palatina

11.216: 29n109

13.14: 26n90, 170n10

13.15: 181

13.19: 26, 34n138, 35n147, 38n169,
40n186, 45n222, 47n238, 66n390,
105n663, 119, 121bis, 124, 130, 131,

132, 189n111

13.19.7: 40n186

13.19.8: 175n34

13.19.12: 210n234

Antiochos of Syracuse (FGrHist 555)

fr. 13: 65n376

Antiphon

6.21: 103n657

Aristotle

Athenaion Politeia

58.1: 67n402, 134

Oeconomica

1346b19: 75n476, 146

Arrianus

Anabasis

1.11.1: 107n670, 108n674

2.24.6: 28n104, 108n676

3.1.4: 108n676

3.5.2: 108n676

3.6.1: 108n676

3.16.1: 108n676

3.25.1: 108n676

4.4.1: 28n104, 108n676

5.3.6: 108n676

5.8.3: 108n676

5.20.1: 28n104

6.28.3: 28n104

7.14.1: 28n104

7.14.4: 23n71

7.14.10: 23n71

Athenaeus

18d: 112

235b: 67n400, 134

518d: 85n555

518f: 85n555

522a: 85n552

522c: 85n553

534d: 195n139, 195n140, 195n141,

195n142

602d: 92

Bacchylides

1: 9m600
1.6: 216n261
1.156: 216n261
2: 9m600, 216n261
2.7: 216n261
6: 9m600
7: 9m600
8.17: 216n261bis
9: 176n46
9.3: 217
9.4-5: 216n261
9.21-22: 217
9.22: 216n261
9.82: 216n261
10.26: 216n261
10.29: 216n261
10.29-30: 217
10.30: 34, 118
10.32: 36, 42, 120, 129
10.33: 37, 121, 175n34
10.34: 51, 136
10.34-35: 45, 131
11: 62n346, 176n46
12: 176n46
12.8: 216n261
12.40: 216n261
13: 176n46
13.34: 216n261
14: 53, 138, 175n39

Callimachus

fr. 403 (Pf.): 59n322

Demosthenes

3.24: 159n687
4.40: 159
9.31: 159n687
21.114-15: 204n207
23.38: 96, 97
23.40: 97
58.66: 52n277, 210n234

Diodorus Siculus

11.14.4: 220n287, 220n290
11.29.1: 220n290
11.65: 225
11.65.3: 225n308
11.72.2: 57, 110
12.26.4: 15n20, 167n717
12.70.5: 61, 118
13.82.7: 164n709
15.49.1: 77, 149
15.51.1: 107n669
15.51.4: 29n108
15.53.4: 60n331, 116
16.34.3: 224n298
16.39.4: 224n298
16.90: 58n314, 111
17.16.3: 107n670, 107n671
17.72.1: 28n104
19.92.1: 107
19.92.5: 107

Diogenes Laërtius

2.132: 69n422

Dionysius Halicarnassensis

Antiquitates Romanae

4.25: 77n488, 149
4.25.4: 151
7.9.3: 84, 112

Ephoros (FGrHist 70)

fr. 56: 223

Euripides

Andromacha

599: 65n380

Autolykos

fr. 282.13-15: 15n21, 167n717

Herodotos

1.82.4: 203
 1.144: 92, 101, 151, 185n94
 1.167.2: 106
 2.160: 158n684
 5.22: 108n678, 158, 158n684
 5.102.3: 56n300
 6.37.1: 92n604
 6.38.1: 91, 146
 6.126-30: 28n105
 7.132: 220n286, 220n287
 7.139-144: 220n287
 7.141.3: 220n290
 7.150-151: 227
 7.169-171: 220n287
 7.172: 220n289
 7.173: 220n289
 7.175: 220n289
 7.178: 220n287
 7.189: 220n287
 7.191-192: 220n288
 7.192: 220n288bis
 7.202: 221n291bis
 7.202-3: 222
 8.1: 221n291, 222
 8.2: 218
 8.13: 220n288
 8.35-36: 220n287
 8.35-39: 222
 8.43: 218
 8.43-48: 221n291, 222
 8.72: 221n291bis
 8.73.3: 227n313
 8.121.1: 219, 220n288
 8.121.2: 218
 8.121-122: 220n287, 220n288
 8.122: 218, 220n287
 8.123: 220n289
 8.129: 220n288bis
 8.144.2: 220n290
 9.7^a.2: 220n290

9.12: 227
 9.28: 222
 9.28.4: 218
 9.33.1: 220n287
 9.33-36: 103
 9.35: 226n309
 9.35.2: 103
 9.41.4: 220n287
 9.42-43: 220n287
 9.64.1: 220n287
 9.77: 221n291
 9.81.1: 218, 219bis, 220n287bis,
 221n291

Hellanikos (FGrHist 4)

fr. 105: 75n472, 146

Hephaestion

Peri poiematon

4: 182

Herakleides Pontikos

fr. 45 (Wehrli): 85n552, 113

Hesiodus

Aspis

301-2: 17n38

305-13: 17n38

Opera et Dies

654-55: 22n65

654-59: 18n42

655-56: 22

657-58: 19n46

Theogonia

404-52: 17n38

435: 17n38, 99n639

439: 17n38

Fragmenta

192 (MW): 16n28

Hieronymos of Rhodos

fr. 34 (Wehrli): 92n608

Homerus*Ilias*

2.773-75: 16n31

4.385-90: 16n31

9: 17

9.124: 17n37

9.266: 17n37

11.699: 17n36

11.699-702: 16

22.22: 17n36

22.158-61: 24

22.162: 17n36

23: 15, 16n25

23.630-31: 16n26

23.630-45: 16n26

23.679-80: 16n27

23.827: 16n31

Odyssea

4.625-26: 16n30

8: 15n24

8.147-48: 16on690

17.168: 16n30

23: 15

24.85-86: 16n29

24.85-94: 16n29

Homeric Hymn to Apollo

149-50: 71, 142

Hyperides

fr. 155 (Jensen): 59n322, 114

Iamblichus*Vita Pythagorae*

8.37: 85n555, 112

Isocrates

4.43: 166n715

9.1: 22n67

16.32: 163n704

Justinus*Epitome (of Trogus)*

9.9.6.3: 107

Lysias

2.80: 67n402, 134

19: 197

19.63: 163n700, 197

33.2: 166n714

fr. 279 (Carey): 67n399, 134

Page, FGE

30: 52n277

35.5: 26n90

Pausanias

1.3.2: 23n69

1.22.6-7: 195n146

1.29.7: 226n310

2.20.7: 202

2.27.3: 204n201

2.34.1: 224n297

3.14.1: 65n379

5.8.4: 208n226

5.23.1: 219n284, 222

5.23.2: 221n291

5.27.7: 203n198

6.1-18: 178

6.1.4: 178n56

6.1.6: 178n56

6.1.7: 178n56bis, 179n62, 185n93"

6.2.2: 179n61, 179n62

6.2.6: 178n56
 6.2.9: 79n507, 178n56bis
 6.2.II: 179n62
 6.3.I: 178n56bis
 6.3.2: 178n56, 179n62
 6.3.4: 179n62, 182
 6.3.7: 105n663, 178n56, 179n62
 6.3.9: 179n62bis
 6.3.II: 179n62, 181
 6.3.I4: 178n56
 6.4.2: 179n62, 182
 6.4.5: 179n62
 6.4.6: 178n56, 179n62, 183bis
 6.4.7: 178n56
 6.4.8: 178n56bis
 6.4.II: 178n56, 179n62, 180
 6.5.7: 178n56
 6.7.I-4: 180
 6.7.4: 29n108, 179n62
 6.7.9: 178n56
 6.7.10: 179n62
 6.8.6: 201n186
 6.9.4: 178n56
 6.10.3: 179n62
 6.10.5: 178n56
 6.10.7: 178n56
 6.11.5: 27n98, 53n283, 70n433, 139,
 141, 179n62, 208n227
 6.12.7: 178n56
 6.12.8: 178n56
 6.13.5: 178n56
 6.13.7-8: 178n56
 6.13.10: 178n56bis
 6.15.1: 179n62
 6.15.2: 178n56
 6.15.8: 177n49, 178n56
 6.16.2: 178n56
 6.16.4: 178n56
 6.16.6: 57n303
 6.16.5: 179n62
 6.17.4: 178n56

7.26.6: 202
 7.27.5: 201, 201n186, 201n187
 7.27.6: 202, 202n190
 7.27.7: 202n194
 8.14.10: 62n349, 123
 9.4.I-2: 220n287
 9.23.2: 34n143, 118
 10.9.2: 105n663
 10.15.I: 218bis

Philostratos

Imagines 2.25: 74, 146

Pindarus

Isthmian Odes

1.9: 216n260
 1.32: 216n260
 1.33: 33, 115
 1.55: 34, 118
 1.56: 33, 117
 1.57: 51bis, 134, 136
 1.59: 53, 141
 2.13: 216n260
 2.20: 47
 3-4.II: 216n260
 3-4.II-12: 217
 3-4.20: 216n260
 3-4.37: 33, 115
 3-4.43: 47
 3-4.44: 36, 120
 3-4.70-71: 34, 118
 5.7-10: 161n693
 5.17: 216n260
 5.18: 216n260
 6.3: 216n260
 6.5: 216n260
 6.48: 216n260
 6.61: 216n260bis, 217
 7.21: 216n260
 8.4: 216n260bis
 8.63: 216n260

8.64-65: 44, 131

8.67: 35, 119

8.68: 43, 130

fr. 1b.3: 216n260

fr. 6a.h: 216n260bis

Nemean Odes

1: 176n47

1.7: 216n260

2: 173, 176n47

2.1-12: 171n15

2.4: 216n260

2.4-5: 216

2.9: 216n260

2.19: 173

2.23: 27n93, 47, 132, 173, 216n260

2.23-24: 173

2.58: 173

3: 176n47

3.2: 216n260

3.18: 216, 216n260

3.84: 35, 43, 119, 130, 216n260

4: 176n47

4.9: 216n260

4.16-18: 224n301

4.18: 34, 47, 118, 132

4.75: 216n260bis

5: 89, 176n47

5.5: 216n260

5.37: 216n260

5.41: 45, 131

5.44: 216n260

5.45: 46, 132

5.46: 35, 119

5.50-52: 89, 130

5.52: 43

5.82: 130

6: 176n47

6.12: 216, 216n260

6.19: 216n260

6.20: 216n260

6.42-43: 216

6.58: 27n93

7: 176n47, 194

7.80: 216n260

7.80-81: 216

8: 176n47

8.16: 216n260

9: 36, 55, 120, 176, 176n41

10: 42, 55, 129, 176

10.26: 216n260bis

10.34: 47, 132

10.35-46: 26

10.41-42: 224n301

10.43: 36, 120

10.43-48: 95

10.44: 37bis, 121, 175n34

10.45-48: 185n94

10.47: 37, 40bis, 120, 122, 124

10.48: 121

10.49-53: 40, 126

11: 76

11.19-21: 76, 147

Olympic Odes

1.23-24: 162n695

2.50: 216n260

6.77-78: 62n348, 123

7: 105

7.16: 105

7.77-80: 54, 105, 152

7.80-87: 165n711

7.81: 216n260

7.82: 46, 132, 216n260

7.83: 33, 38, 40, 41, 121, 129

7.83-87: 186n96

7.84: 33, 34, 115, 118

7.86: 34, 37, 45, 119, 121, 131, 175n34

7.89: 105

8: 161

8.10-11: 161n694

8.16: 216n260

8.48: 216n260
 8.56: 216n260
 9: 105
 9.13: 105
 9.84: 216n260
 9.84-99: 105
 9.87: 216n260, 217
 9.88: 41, 46, 129, 132
 9.89: 50, 68n407, 133
 9.95-96: 38, 121
 9.98: 37, 121, 175n34
 9.99: 34, 51, 118, 134
 9.112: 51, 138
 12.18: 216n260
 13.4: 216n260
 13.29-31: 106
 13.33: 216n260
 13.34: 216n260
 13.38: 35n149, 47, 132
 13.38-40: 120
 13.40: 35, 87
 13.44-46: 27n93
 13.98: 95, 216n260bis
 13.99: 95, 173n20
 13.107: 34, 41, 118, 129
 13.107-112: 95
 13.108: 38, 121
 13.109: 34, 36, 37, 45, 119, 120, 121, 131, 175n34
 13.110: 50, 51, 68n407, 133, 134
 13.111: 31, 110
 13.112: 51, 136
 13.112-13: 27n93

Partheneia
 2.45-46: 33, 60n329, 115, 116

Pythian Odes
 2: 32, 34, 55, 110, 175
 5.80: 54, 154
 7.13-14: 216n260

8.37: 216n260
 8.65-66: 46n230
 8.78: 35, 119
 8.79: 45, 50, 68n407, 131, 133
 9.91: 35, 119
 9.97-98: 154
 9.97-103: 54, 54n290
 9.101: 154
 9.102: 155
 9.102-3: 155

Plato*Leges*

636b: 59n320, 114
 950c: 166n715

Lysis

205c: 198

Menexenus

249b: 134

Respublica

452d: 81n522

Symposium

182b: 159

Theaetetus

162b: 65n380

Pliny the Elder*Naturalis historia*

34.80: 195n148

Plutarch*Alcibiades*

16.5: 195n139, 195n140

Amatoriae narrationes

3.773f: 70n426, 137

Aristides

10.5-6: 220n290
 11.3-6: 220n287
 11.3-8: 220n290
 20.4-5: 220n290

Cimon

17.1-2: 225

Dio

23.4: 59n323, 114

Eumenes

1: 75n475, 146

Lysander

18.4: 78n501, 78n503, 150

Moralia

587D: 34n138, 118

Nicias

28.1-2: 58

Pericles

47, 132

Praecepta gerendae reipublicae

15.7: 27n97, 70n432, 208n227

Timoleon

4.1: 226n310, 227n314
 39: 111

Poseidippos of Pella

72.3: 216n258

Scholia

Ag. *Av.* 1421: 37n161bis
 Dem. 19.192: 107n670
 Lycoph. *Alex.* 732: 59n316

Pind. *Hyp. Nem.*c: 225n303
 Pind. *Hyp. Nem.*d: 225n303
 Pind. *Nem.* 3.147: 35n148, 119
 Pind. *Nem.* 5.81b: 45n221"
 Pind. *Nem.* 5.84a: 35n148, 119
 Pind. *Nem.* 7.1a: 194n137
 Pind. *Nem.* 9.82a: 37n161
 Pind. *Nem.* 9 *inscr.*: 87n568, 93n617,

120

Pind. *Ol.* 6.162a: 31n119, 110
 Pind. *Ol.* 7.147c: 54n287, 152
 Pind. *Ol.* 7.153a: 62n348, 123
 Pind. *Ol.* 7.153b: 40n180
 Pind. *Ol.* 7.153d: 40n180
 Pind. *Ol.* 7.158: 35n148
 Pind. *Ol.* 7.159a: 35n148
 Pind. *Ol.* 9.116c: 37n161
 Pind. *Ol.* 9.166a: 52n273, 52n275, 138
 Pind. *Ol.* 9.166b: 138
 Pind. *Ol.* 9.166d: 52n273, 52n275
 Pind. *Ol.* 9.167: 52n273, 52n275, 138
 Pind. *Ol.* 13.1a: 106n664
 Pind. *Ol.* 13.51d: 47, 132
 Pind. *Ol.* 13.158b: 33n129bis
 Pind. *Ol.* 13.159b: 51n270, 70n426
 Pind. *Pyth.* 4.246b: 53, 138
 Pind. *Pyth.* 5.10a: 54n290, 155
 Pind. *Pyth.* 8.91: 46n230, 132
 Pind. *Pyth.* 8.113c: 46n225, 131bis

Servius

Aen. 1.756: 146
Georg. 1.12: 53n282, 138

Simonides

30 (Page, *FGE*): 210n234
 52 (Page, *FGE*): 182
 fr. 15 (Page): 220n290bis
 fr. 166 (Bergk): 194n137
 fr. 506 (Campbell): 32n121, 55, 112,
 175n35

fr. 507 (Campbell) 176n47
 fr. 508 (Campbell): 176n47
 fr. 511 (Campbell): 176n47
 fr. 514 (Campbell): 37n162, 121n75n33
 fr. 518 (Campbell): 56n300
 fr. 519.79 (Campbell): 175

Sophocles*Thrachimiae*

1102: 199n176

Fragmenta

378 (Radt): 70n430, 139

Stephanus Byzantius

5.14-16: 75n472

Strabo

5.4.7: 59n318, 112

6.3.2: 65n376

8.6.15: 203n200

8.6.19: 225

Suda

Δ s.v. δρόμοις: 80n521

Theotimos (FGrHist 370)

fr. 1: 52n277, 210n234

Thucydides

1.6.5: 83, 160n689

2.9.2: 228ter, 228n317, 228n319

2.38.1: 15n19, 167n716

3.92.1: 71n438

3.101.1: 228

3.104.3: 71n441, 71n442, 72n444, 77,
 148

3.104: 142

3.104.6: 441

3.106.6: 99n641

4.118.4: 224n297

5.11: 73n461, 144

5.18.2: 228

5.18.10: 169n1

5.67.2: 224, 226n310, 228

Timaios (FGrHist 566)

fr. 45: 85n553, 112

fr. 49: 85n555, 113

fr. 98: 59n316, 113

Tyrtaios

fr.12.2 (West): 99n639

Xenophon*Agesilaus*

6.3: 29n108

Anabasis

1.2.10: 39

4.8.25-28: 28n103

4.8.27: 81n522

Hellenica

3.2.27: 62n345

3.4.16: 77n494, 148, 149

4.2.16: 99n640, 130

5.2.25: 34n144

6.1.6: 71

Memorabilia

3.7.1: 163n704

Respublica Lacedaemoniorum

14.4: 41n191

Xenophanes

fr. 2.6 (West): 162n699

fr. 2.9 (West): 164n707

Zenobius

6.15: 142, 72n443, 142

II. Inscriptions

Agora III

702: 23n69

American Journal of Philology

1935: 379-80 no. 4.8: 78n497, 149

Arena, Iscrizioni III

27: 21n60

Arena, Iscrizioni IV

2: 18n43

BCH

10 (1886) 83-84: 40n182, 122

83 (1959) 186: 210n234

95 (1971) 615: 134

95 (1971) 615.II.A: 67n397

95 (1971) 615.II.B: 67n394

95 (1971) 617.IV: 66n386

95 (1971) 617.VI: 69n417

95 (1971) 617.VII: 34n140

95 (1971) 617.VIII: 71n437, 118, 141

99 (1975) 752: 62n344, 185n94

BE

1966 no. 420: 49n251

1992 no. 145: 23n71

CEG I

136: 88n575, 129

278: 196n150

325: 219n282

364.4-5: 66n383, 66n385, 128

379: 192n125

394: 18n43

404: 71n443, 142

406.3: 71n443, 142

444: 20n58

CEG II

630: 34n138, 60n330, 116, 118

814: 39n173, 42n196, 44n211, 130,

193n130

828: 17n36

849.5: 81n526

879: 28n104

CID II

74.II.22: 198n171

CIRB

1039: 102n651

Dubois, Grande Grèce I

16: 21n60

Dubois, Olbia

19: 75n478, 147

19.6: 75n478

47: 75, 147

Ebert, Epigramme auf Sieger

2: 177n50

7: 52n277

8: 192n125

10: 94n621, 192n12

12: 52n277

15: 26n90, 170n10

15.5: 172n16

25: 186n98

26: 34n138, 35n147, 38n169, 40n186,

47n238, 66n390, 161n692, 189n111

26.7: 40n186

26.9: 44n210, 45n222

26.12: 162n699

34: 182

35: 52n277, 181

37: 27n95, 173n23, 186n97, 186n98,

207n221

37.10-12: 27n94

37.12-14: 42n194, 129
 39: 26n92, 30n111, 52n277, 170n13,
 182, 186n98
 39.5: 30n112, 172n18
 43: 170n6, 186n98
 43.1-2: 199
 43.1-3: 199n175
 43.3: 199n178
 43.4: 199
 46.1-2: 162n698
 46.3-4: 163n704
 48: 184
 48.3-4: 184
 48.5: 81n526, 184, 185
 48.6: 184
 48.7-10: 184
 49.5-6: 162n697
 50: 170n6, 183
 53: 186n97, 186n98
 53.3: 199
 53.4: 43.4: 199n176
 56: 188n103
 57: 188n108
 57.3-4: 189n110
 58: 187n99

Friedländer & Hoffleit, *Epigrammata*

136: 88n575, 129

I.Byz.

42: 92n607, 94, 146
 42.3: 92n606, 92n607
 42.4: 92n607

I.Delphes

1.146.2-3: 60n324, 115
 1.507: 26n92
 3.225: 210n236
 3.215.16-18: 210n236
 4.179: 219n282

4.216: 77n492, 148
 4.460.5.2: 198n170
 4.460.7.3: 198n168
 4.460.7.4: 198n170
 4.460.7.5: 198n171

I.Ephesos

1389: 77n493, 148bis
 1415: 209n231, 212bis
 1415.2-4: 163n702
 1416: 212
 1416.2-3: 212n248
 1416.3-4: 212n249
 1416.4-5: 212n250
 1416.5-6: 212n251
 1449: 212n247
 1515.10-12: 164n706
 2005: 211n238, 212ter
 2005.2-3: 211n241
 2005.8: 211n242
 2005.9: 212n245
 2005.9-10: 212n244

I.Iasos

60: 80n514, 151

I.Lindos

8: 200n182
 15: 82n533, 153
 68: 39n174, 200n183
 68.9: 37n158, 120
 692a.2: 102n651
 1688: 82n535, 153

I.Mylasa

21.9-13: 80n516, 151

I.Oropos

298: 51n335, 117
 520: 117

I.Priene

4.II: 78n500, 149

5.8-9: 78n499

I.Thessalie I

57: 198n169, 198n172, 199n180

74: 71n435

ICIV

64.6: 80n518, 152

72: 82, 152

IG I^a

402n: 19n45

IG I^b

3: 50n261, 133

104: 96n628

104.26-29: 97

131: 205

131.5-7: 205n210

131.II-15: 205n208

507-509: 89n578, 132

523-25: 50n261, 67n403, 133, 134

584: 19n47

585: 19n50

586: 20

587: 20

588: 20n55

597: 90n595

826: 196n154

880: 196n150

893: 196n152, 196n157

988: 51n264, 134

991: 91n598, 133, 134

1022: 197n161

1386: 68n413, 68n415, 136

1394: 20n57

1396: 91n597, 136

1469: 91n596, 132

IG II^a

222.7-8: 211n237

365: 204n206

680: 210n236

680.17: 216n257

1203.17: 68n410, 135

2311: 48n242, 132

2312: 132

2312.2: 48n244

2312.4: 48n244

2312.5: 48n244

2312.6: 48n244

2312.9: 48n244

2971: 61n339, 118, 142

3122: 197n158

3124: 51n265, 134

3126: 51n266, 134

3128: 197n160

3138: 77n495, 78n497, 148bis

3138.I.5: 76n485

IG IV

510: 88n569, 88n572, 94, 121, 122, 124,

175n34, 192n126

519: 88n570

561: 66n383, 128

561.4-5: 66n385

616: 224n300

673: 73n468, 119, 121, 130, 145

673.3: 38n170

673.4: 44n214

673.5: 35n147

673.6: 38, 74

750.39: 67n391, 130

801: 86, 118

801.3: 86n562

IG IV^a.1

51.12-14: 44n214

122.XXIX: 204n203

153: 44n212, 130

629: 96n625

629.7-8: 52n274, 138

IG V.1

213: 63n354, 65, 88n574, 99

213.10: 64n363, 127

213.12-17: 53n358, 64n361, 125, 126

213.18-19: 63n356, 124

213.24-30: 64n366, 128

213.31-34: 64n362, 127

213.36: 64n368, 64n369, 128

213.37: 64n367, 128

213.40-42: 64n366, 128

213.44-47: 64n372, 125

213.47: 64n371

213.49-52: 64n360, 126

213.53-55: 64n368, 128

213.56-58: 63n357, 124

213.65: 64n364, 127

213.6-9: 64n359, 126

213.72: 64n364, 127

213.80: 64n364, 127

213.92-96: 64n360, 126

222: 127bis

1387.2: 62n347, 123

IG V.2

3.8: 100n642

3.26: 100n642

75: 88n571, 124

113: 40n187, 124

142: 124

390: 123

392: 125

450: 102

549-50: 39n175, 121

550.27: 200n184

IG VII

1.14-15: 35n148, 119

20.11-12: 61n338, 118

47: 40n182, 122

414: 117

552: 60n330, 61n332, 116

2470: 188n103

2490: 215n256

2532: 60n330, 61n332, 116

2533: 61

IG IX.1

649: 86n557, 114

IG IX.2

249: 199n180

IG XII.1

1032.29-30: 211n237

IG XII.2

5.13: 102n651

272: 137

IG XII.5

608: 205

608.17: 206

IG XII.6

38.22-23: 79n505, 150

56.3: 102n651

56.26-27: 79n506

119.12: 79n506

150.9: 79n506

334: 78n502, 150

538.II.2-3: 79n504

IG XII.8

2: 72n448, 143

377: 73n460, 144

IG XII.9

193.6: 69n423

272: 69n417, 185n94

1190: 101n647

IG XII Suppl.

169.7: 211n237

IOSPE 2

345: 102n651

Isc. Cos

IV 203.12: 78n497

ED 71.A.V.8: 102n651

IvO

146: 196n153

151-153: 56n299

153: 29n108, 180n69

159: 56n299

162-63: 189n115

173: 183

174: 189n115

177: 189n115

186: 184

248.2: 219n284

LSAG

88 no. 16: 69n417, 185n94

91 no. 3d: 20n54

94 no. 1: 19n45

94 no. 2: 18, 18n44, 19n45

94 no. 3a: 19n47

94 no. 3b: 19n50

94 no. 3c: 20n55

168 no. 15: 88n575, 129

169 no. 16: 94n620

240 no. 8: 21n60

356 no. 7: 82n535

367 no. 47: 21n61

405, pl. 23 no. 13a: 190, 190n117

456 no. 1a: 18n43

Meiggs & Lewis, GHI

9: 177n50, 227n312

25: 219n282

27: 218, 222

27.9: 221n291

30B.31-34: 79n510, 104n659, 150

Michel, Recueil

no. 495: 211n243

Moretti, IAG

1: 91n598

6: 86n558, 86n559, 114, 121

7: 88n569, 88n570, 88n572, 94n620,

192n125

12: 47n239, 190n117

35: 37n159

36: 188n103

Neue IvO

15.3-4: 184

23: 180

24: 202n193

25: 81, 162n696, 184

25.5: 81n526, 184, 185

25.6: 184

25.7-10: 184

OGIS

6: 148

6.22-26: 148

6.23-25: 76n486

Perlman, Theorodokia

A.1: 43n204

A.4: 43n204

A.5: 43n204

A.6: 43n204

A.7: 43n204

A.8: 43n204

A.14: 43n204

REG

6 (1893) 184 no. 27: 215n256

Rhodes & Osborne, GHI

II.16-17: 23n68

Sammelbuch I

30 no. 355: 84n548, 154

SEG

4-79: 187n99

II.257: 36, 47, 120, 132, 190, 190n117

II.257.6: 36

II.305: 88n575, 129

II.328: 37n159, 66n383, 120, 128

II.328.4-5: 66n385

II.1070: 102n651

II.1104: 102n651

14.315: 88n569, 88n570, 88n572,
94n621, 121

15-55: 135

16-55: 68n408

17.150: 39n172, 42n195, 48, 121, 122,
129, 132, 193n133

17.150.6: 63n351

17.150.8-9: 194

19.696: 102n651

23-572.3: 80n519, 151

27.481: 82n530, 153, 185n94

28.26: 50n261, 67n403, 133, 134,
185n94

28.26.3: 68n405

29.88: 68n409, 135

30.66.7-8: 204n206

30.355: 224n300

30.500: 20n58, 21n59

30.541: 62n344, 119, 185n94

30.1117.18: 107n668

30.1118.21: 107n668

30.1121.15: 107n668

30.1122.15-16: 107n668

30.1218: 102n651

30.1456: 42n199, 129

31.806: 69n418, 137

31.969.11: 78n496, 149

33.294: 89n576

33.676: 72n451, 143

33.716: 101n647

34.282: 102n651, 177n52

34.1005: 187n99, 188, 210n234

35.267: 39n173, 42n196, 44n211, 121,
129, 130, 193n130

35.1125: 210n234

37.274: 177n52

37.387: 62n344, 185n94

39.631: 50n261, 67n403, 133, 134,
185n94

39.1061: 43n203, 129

39.1153.10: 77n493

39.1365: 63n350, 123, 185n94

40.688.12-13: 73n455, 144

40.669: 23n71, 82

41.651: 200n182

41.739: 82, 151

42.418: 102n650

43.395: 23n72

44.318: 66n386

44.702: 206n220

45.801: 49n253

45.1391: 57n306

45.2186: 71n437, 141, 185n94

46.739.2-4: 107n672

46.762: 23n72

46.802: 67n398, 68n404, 134, 185n94

46.841: 75n473, 146

48.716bis: 108n676

49.346: 177n53

49.1286: 21n63

51.970: 147

51.970.1: 75n480, 102n651

52.48A. fr. 2.10: 204n205

52.594: 107n672

52.74I: 102
 53.819: 83n540, 83n541, 153, 185n94
 54.427: 66n388
 54.795: 73n453, 143
 59.41I: 40n185
 59.502: 62n343
 59.525: 177n49

SGDI

5757: 84n548, 154

Syll.³

36A: 42n194, 70n432
 82: 38, 42, 44, 47, 121, 129, 132,
 186n95, 186n97, 186n98
 82.5: 43n206, 130
 286.13: 75, 147
 1065: 151
 1065.15: 92n611

1065.16: 93n614
 1067.5: 92n611, 93n614
 1067.8: 54n286, 152

VDI

(1959) 412 1.9: 102n651

Wachter, *Non-Attic Vase Inscriptions*

COP 85, 151-52: 87n567, 120

Zizza, *Pausania*

30: 183

III. Papyri***P.Oxy***

254I: 35n150, 176n43, 120

Bibliography

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General index

- Abdera 74, 145, 156
Abderos 74, 145
Achaia 26, 37, 88, 120-121, 155, 157,
175, 201-202
Achaia Phthiotis 53, 156
Acharnai 173
Acheloos 58, 59, 99, 101, 112
Achilleus 16, 17, 30, 53n283, 70,
75n479, 138, 147, 156
Adrasteia (at Sikyon) 36n154
Adriatic Sea 43
Aegean Sea 43, 43n204, 44, 61, 71-73,
142-144, 156, 205-209
aethlophoros 89
Agamemnon 17
Agasikles of Thebes 60
age-classes 69, 156; *agenciai* 35,
40n185, 43, 46, 48, 50, 61, 68, 117,
119, 132, 133, 136, 188; *andres/men*
34, 39, 40, 41, 46, 48, 50, 54, 61,
63, 64, 68, 77, 90n593, 93n614, 111,
117, 118, 119, 121, 124, 125, 126, 127,
128, 129, 132, 133, 136, 137, 148,
188; *paides/boys* 34, 39, 40, 43, 46,
47, 50, 54, 61, 63, 64, 68, 77,
93n614, 106, 117, 118, 119, 121, 124,
125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133,
136, 137, 148, 188, 189, 196n154,
200, 210, 212
Agestratos 204
Agias of Pharsalos 172, 198, 200, 206,
207
Aglaophon 195
agon 101-105
agonothetes 75, 102
Agylla 106
Aia 71
Aiakeia (at Aigina) 45, 46, 131
Aiakidai 45n218
Aiakos 45n218, 131
Aiane 90
Aianteia (at Opous) 52, 53, 55, 99, 100,
138
Aias (Lesser) 51-53, 138
Aigai 107, 108n674
Aigina 26, 44-46, 48, 50, 54, 90, 95,
98, 105, 118, 119, 129, 131-132, 133,
156, 157, 165, 201, 214
Aigospotamoi 78, 150
Aigosthena 223
Aineias the Tactician 24
Aiolis 43, 43n204
Aischines 70
Aischyllos of Argos 66
Aitna 31, 110, 120
Aitnaia (at Aitna) 31n119
Aitolia 44
Akanthos 48, 74, 145, 156, 185n94
Akarnania 39, 43, 43n204, 44, 59, 86,
114, 121
akoniti 29, 30, 208
Akragas 132
Akraiphia 60, 116
Akrothooi 72
Aktias (at Anaktorion) 59, 99, 100,
114
Alalia 106
Alayzeia 43n204
Alea 43n204
Aleaiia (at Tegea) 13, 40, 99, 100,
100n642, 123, 217
Alexander I of Macedonia 108,
158-159
Alexander the Great 23, 28, 108

- Alkathoia* (at Megara) 34-35, 100, 119, 155
 Alkathoos 34, 119
 Alkibiades of Athens 195
 Alkimedon of Aigina 161
 Alkimidas of Aigina 27n93, 173, 177n48
 Alkinoos 160
 Alkmeonides of Athens 91
 altar 52, 53
 Amarynkeus 16
 Amarynthos 51n270, 137
Amarysia (at Athmonon) 68, 135
 Ambrakia 43n204
 Amorgos 71
 Amphanai 50, 132
 Amphiaraios 61, 117
Amphiareia (at Oropos) 33, 61, 117
 Amphidamas of Chalkis 18n42, 19, 22
 Amphipolis 48, 50, 73, 74, 132, 144, 145, 156
 Amyklai 65
 Amyklaion 228
Anakeia (at Athens) 67, 84, 96, 100, 134
 Anaktorion 43n204, 59, 99, 100, 114, 201, 214
 Anaxagoras of Olbia 75
 Andros 43n204, 61, 117
anikatos 202
 Anthele 71n438
Anthesteria (at Teos) 79, 104, 150
Anthologia Palatina 26
 Antigonos Monophthalmos 76, 148
 Antigonos of Karystos 69
 Antikyre 71n438
 Antiochos of Lepreon 179n62
 Antiochos of Megalopolis 102
 Antiochos of Syracuse 65
 Aphaia 90
aphippodromos 70, 139, 140, 157
 Apollo 37, 46, 54, 69, 70, 84, 93n615, 120, 121, 127, 131, 137, 139, 142, 154, 156, 218, 219, 220; Apollo Aktios (at Anaktorion) 59, 114; at Sparta 65; Apollo Delphinios (at Aigina) 46; Apollo Malcatas 124; Apollo on Delos 71; Apollo Ptoieus 91; Apollo Pythios (at Thebes) 18, 61; Apollo Triopios 92, 101, 150, 185n94
 Apollodoros of Thasos 73
 Apollonia 41n191, 43n204
 Archelaos of Macedonia 107, 108
 archery 75, 147
 Archippos of Mytilene 179n62, 183-184
architheoros 204
 Archon of Pella 162
 Ares 103
 Argolid, the 26, 43n204, 65-67, 74, 88, 128-130, 156, 192-194, 202-204, 222, 223, 224
 Argos 9n2, 11n7, 39, 41-43, 44, 46, 55, 61, 63, 66, 84, 95, 102n651, 105, 117, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 129, 132, 156, 157, 165, 175n34, 179n61, 188n108, 193, 201, 202, 203, 213, 214, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230
 Argos Amphil. 43n204
Ariontia (at Sparta) 64, 127
 Aristagoras of Tenedos 76
 Aristis of Kleonai 177
 Aristoboulos of Potceidaia 49
 Aristodamos of Elis 179n62, 182, 184
 Aristokleides of Aigina 35, 43
 Aristomenes of Aigina 35, 45, 50
 Aristophon 195n139
 Arkadia 26, 37-40, 43n204, 49, 50, 56, 62-63, 88, 100, 121-124, 156, 157,

- 165, 192, 194, 200, 217, 226;
Arkadian Confederacy 39
- Arkesilas of Kyrene 54, 57n304
- Arrian 108
- Artemis 68, 72, 101, 135, 136, 143, 148, 156; Artemis Alpheioa (at Syracuse) 32, 110; Artemis Hemera (at Lousoi) 62, 122; Artemis Orthia 65n375, 128
- Artemisia* (at Eretria) 51, 136
- Artemision (Ephesos) 210
- Artemision, Battle of 221n291, 222
- Asca 49, 50, 132
- Asinaria* 111
- Asklepieia* (at Epidauros) 43, 44n214, 89, 100, 129, 165, 186
- Asklepios 129, 203-204
- Aspendos 83, 152
- Aspis* 17n38
- Astylos of Kroton 32, 112, 175
- Athanaia* (at Sparta) 64, 65, 127
- Athena 35, 36, 40, 48, 70, 83, 94, 119, 122, 127, 139, 148, 155, 156; Athena Alea 40, 88, 100n642, 123; Athena at Sparta 63, 64, 90; Athena Hellotis 50n258; Athena Ilias 76; Athena Itonia 60, 86, 116; Athena Polias 132
- Athenaios of Naukratis 84, 92, 195
- Athenodoros of Ephesos 163, 210, 211, 212
- Athens 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 39, 42, 43, 43n204, 44, 46-51, 54, 61, 67, 69, 73, 76, 84, 89, 90, 100, 105, 117, 118, 120, 121, 129, 131, 132-136, 142, 148, 157, 164, 165, 169, 173, 175n31, 175n34, 185n94, 191, 195, 198, 201, 204, 205, 206, 210n236, 213, 214, 228, 229, 230, 231
- athletics as a Greek characteristic 158-160
- athloi* 96, 97
- athlothes* 66
- Athmonon 135
- Attika 20, 43n204, 46-51, 54, 67-69, 89-91, 95, 97, 98, 132-136, 156, 195-198, 204-205
- autonomy 206
- Bacchylides 30, 34, 36, 37, 42, 55, 169, 171, 175, 214, 216, 217
- Barke 48
- Basileia* (at Lebadeia) 60-61, 100, 116
- Bassidai* 173, 177n48
- belt-wrestling 152
- Bendideia* (at Athens) 135
- Beretis of Lindos 82-83
- betrothal contests 28n105
- Biton 177n49
- Black Sea 28, 61, 67, 75, 81, 102, 147
- Boiotia 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, 32, 33-34, 44, 50, 54, 60-62, 86, 87, 91, 98, 100, 105, 115-119, 155, 157, 165, 188-189; Boiotian Confederacy 60, 116, 118
- Bouprasion 16
- boxing (*pyx*) 28, 39, 40, 45, 48, 54, 68, 71, 74, 89, 90, 105, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 129, 131, 132, 136, 157, 159, 160, 192, 208
- Brasidas of Sparta 73, 144
- bull-wrestling 70
- Byzantion 75, 92, 94, 146
- Cape Malea 63, 124
- cash reward 211n237
- Catalogue of Women* 16
- Chalkidike 44, 68, 72, 73-74, 134, 156
- Chalkis 19, 22
- charioteers 17, 195
- Cheilon of Patrai 179n62, 183
- Chersonese 44

- Chersonesos 73, 91, 96, 134, 146, 156, 165
 Chersonnesos 67
 Chios 43n204, 102n651, 210n236, 219n285
 Chromios of Aitna 36
 city-ethnic 189
 coinage 33n129, 40, 58, 59, 70, 74, 75-76, 83-84, 93n615, 101, 111, 112, 113, 114, 122, 139, 140, 141, 142, 145, 147, 152
 constitution, forms of 157, 160
 Corinth 13, 26, 48, 50, 84, 87, 90, 96, 102n648, 110, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 155, 157, 162, 175n34, 176, 179n61, 189, 201, 202, 214, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228
 Corinthian War 179n61
 Crete 56, 80-82, 151-152, 184
 Cyprus 22, 44, 56
 Cyrus Minor 39, 81
- Damasidas 19
 Damiskos of Messene 179n62
 Damonon of Sparta 63, 64, 99
 Damotimos of Troizen 86-87
 dance 101
 Dandis of Argos 26, 170, 172, 173
 Daochos of Pharsalos 198, 199
 dedication of victory crown 52-53
Delia (at Tanagra) 61, 117; *Delia* on Delos 61, 71, 96, 98n637, 99, 106, 142, 156
 Delion, Battle of 61, 118
 Delos 61, 77, 84, 142
 Delphi 9, 11, 13, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29n108, 30, 31, 38, 42, 44, 47, 48, 50, 60, 62, 95, 97n632, 98n636, 102n648, 105n663, 106, 115, 161, 162, 169, 171, 173, 177n49, 182, 184, 186, 187, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 205, 206, 207, 214, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221n291, 222, 227, 228
Delphinia (at Aigina) 45, 46, 131
 Demeter 51, 126, 133, 156
 democracy 157
demosion sema 62n343
 Demosthenes 96, 97, 159, 204
Dia (at Teos) 80, 104, 150
 Diagoras of Ialysos 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 45, 46, 54, 56, 105, 106, 165, 186
Diagoreioi 56
 dialect 84
diaulos 37n159, 39, 47, 48n244, 52n274, 62, 63, 64, 65, 90, 117, 121, 124, 125, 126, 128, 132, 138
Diia (at Pellene) 37n161, 121
 Dikon of Kaulonia 179n62, 181-182
 Diodorus Siculus 15, 77, 100, 107, 167, 225
 Dion 48, 107, 108n674
 Dionysios of Halikarnassos 77, 84
 Dionysos 102, 156
Dioskoureia (at Kyrene) 54n290, 155
Dioskouroi 40, 41, 66, 67, 86, 99, 114, 126, 128, 134, 156; *Dioskouroi* at Pheneos 63, 123
 Diotimos of Athens 59, 113
 Dirke 188
diskobolos 54, 72, 74, 93n615, 101, 142
diskos 114, 135
dolichos 30, 39, 40, 42, 48n243, 49, 64, 70, 81, 90, 105, 106, 107n672, 117, 121, 114, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 139, 189, 200, 209
Dorieia (at Knidos) 92, 100, 150
 Dorieus of Ialysos 29n108, 38, 42, 44, 47, 173, 179n58, 179n62, 180-181, 186
 Douris of Samos 78
 Drakon 25n83, 96-98, 99n639

- dromeus* 81, 151, 152
 Dromeus of Stymphalos 56n301, 173, 179n62
dromos 133, 151
- East Lokris 51-53, 138, 156
 Echinus 71n438
 Egypt 84, 153-154
Eirene (at Athens) 68, 135
ekecheiria 130
 Ekpropos 18
Eleuhynia (at Sparta) 64, 126
Eleusinia (at Eleusis) 51, 91, 96, 100, 133; Eleusinian victors 51
 Eleusis 49, 91, 95, 105, 133
Eleutheria (at Plataiai) 33
 Eleutherna 80, 82, 151
 Elis 16, 39, 57, 61, 62n345, 117, 121, 182, 184, 221n291, 222, 228
 Enpedosthenidas 20
 Entella 107
 Enymakratidas of Sparta 63, 64
 Epainetos of Athens 51
epangelia 43, 44, 62, 122, 129, 165
 Epeiros 43, 43n204, 44, 118
 Epharastos of Opous 34, 37, 38, 41, 46, 50, 51, 52, 105
ephebeia 81
Ephesia (at Ephesos) 77, 100, 148
 Ephesos 43n204, 77, 100, 148, 156, 163, 164, 209-213, 214, 231
 Ephoudion of Mainalia 56n301
 epic 14, 15, 17, 18n42, 23, 80, 104
 Epidauros 26, 43, 43n204, 44, 89, 92, 95, 96, 100, 129, 138, 156, 165, 193, 203, 213, 214, 218, 223
 epinician poetry 14, 26, 30-55, 37, 55-57, 76, 84, 99, 105, 110, 111, 115, 126, 138, 154, 169-170, 171, 174-177, 196, 215-217,
Epitaphia (at Athens) 67-68, 100, 134
- Epitimos of Pharsalos 48
 Eretria 48, 51, 69, 84, 136, 137, 156, 185n94, 219n284
 Ergoteles of Himera 179n62, 180
Erotideia (at Thespiai) 33
 Erythrai 43n204, 78, 102n651, 132, 149
 ethnicity 39-40
 Etruria 106
 Euagoras of Salamis 22, 23
 Eualkidas of Elis 57n303
 Eualkides of Eretria 56n300
 Euankritos of Thebes 188, 189
 Euarchos of Ialysos 83
 Euboia 19, 22, 51, 56, 69-70, 95, 98, 101, 136-137, 156, 213, 217
 Eupolemos of Elis 105, 179n62
 Euripides 196
 Euthymenes of Aigina 45
 Exainetos of Akragas 164
 Exoidas 86
- foot-races 36, 38, 40, 42, 44n213, 45, 54, 59, 67, 69, 78, 81, 99n639, 111, 119, 120, 121, 129, 136, 154, 155, 157
 funerary games 13, 14, 15-22, 23, 24, 28, 87, 98, 99n639, 185n94
- Gaia (at Kyrene) 54, 155
Gamoroi (at Syracuse) 33n130
 Ganymede 99n640
 Gela 48
 Gelanor 20
 Geraistos 51n270, 70n426
 Geronthrai 65, 125
 Glaukos of Karystos 56n300, 173, 179n62
 Gortyn 80, 82, 152
 gymnasium 34, 59, 60, 62n345, 67n392, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 80, 84, 85n555, 93, 100, 112, 113, 114, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 151, 152, 190, 201

- Hagnon of Athens 73, 144
 Haliartos 33, 115, 155
Halicia (at Rhodes) 82
 Halicis 66, 130, 223
 Halikarnassos 92, 151
 heavy events 157
 Hegestratos of Athens 197
 Hekate 17n38
Hekatomboia 24n81, 29, 30, 41, 42, 43, 46, 55, 65, 66, 70n432, 89, 95, 100, 108, 129, 131, 156, 165, 174, 175, 176, 185n94, 186, 200, 201, 209, 214
 Helios 82, 152, 156
 Hellas 97
 Hellenic League against Persia 9, 169, 215-229
 Hellespont 108
Hellotia (at Corinth) 35, 36, 84, 87, 119, 155, 176
 Helos (Lakedaimon) 63, 125
Hemerasia (at Lousoi) 62, 122
 Hephaestion 23
 Hera 41, 43, 45, 46, 66, 99n640, 129, 131, 149, 156; Hera at Argos 65; Hera on Samos 79n504
Heraia at Aigina 46, 131; *Heraia* at Pellene 121; *Heraia* on Samos 78, 79, 100, 149, 157
 Heraion (Argive) 24n81, 65, 66, 88, 96, 100, 108, 129, 131, 192, 193
 Heraion (Samian) 78, 79n504
 Herakleia 78
Herakleia at Marathon 50, 68, 133; *Herakleia* at Teos 80, 104, 150; *Herakleia* at Thebes 34, 86-87, 100, 118, 155, 201, 214
 Herakleia in Malis 71n438
 Herakleia on Latmos 49, 132, 149
 Herakleides Pontikos 85
 Herakles 41, 54, 73, 74, 84, 99, 104, 118, 119, 126, 133, 144, 150, 156, 166, 208; Herakles at Eretria 69, 137; Herakles at Thespiiai 62
 herald 163
 Herbessos 21
Hermaia (at Pellene) 37n161, 121
 Hermes 41, 126; Hermes at Pheneos 62, 123; Hermes at Stymphalos 62n348
 Hermion 35n147, 38, 44n214, 74, 119, 121, 129, 145, 219n285, 223, 224
 Hermonassa 102n651
 Herodotos 91, 92, 96, 101, 103, 106, 158, 159, 203, 218, 219, 222, 226, 228
 Herodotos of Thebes 33, 34, 51, 53
 Herogeiton of Magnesia 77
 Hesiod 16, 17n38, 18n42, 19, 21, 22, 23
hexapolis 92-93, 96, 151, 201
hieromnamon 198
 Hieron of Syracuse 162
 Hieronymos of Andros 103
 Hieronymos of Rhodos 92
 Hippias of Elis 18n43
hippios 117
 hippodrome 34, 39, 44, 70, 77, 89, 133, 137, 148
 Hestiaia 70, 101, 137
Homeric Hymn to Apollo 71
 Homeric poems 14, 15, 23, 24, 25
hoplitodromos (hoplites) 37n159, 35, 39, 44, 47, 65, 66, 76, 90, 92n607, 94, 117, 121, 125, 128, 129, 132, 147
Hyakinthia (at Sparta) 65, 128
 Hydaspes River 28
 Hypereides of Athens 59, 114
 Hysematas 89
 Hysmon of Elis 179n62
 Ialysos 83, 92, 115, 118, 119, 121, 129, 131, 132, 151, 152, 175n34, 185n94
iamata 203-204

- Iasos 43n204, 48, 50, 80, 132, 151
 Ibykos of Rhegion 36, 57, 174
Iliad, the 14, 15, 16, 17, 24
Iliëia (at Ilion) 76
 Ilion 76, 148
Inachidai 193
 interaction 164-167
Ioleia (at Thebes) 34, 118
 Ionia 21, 22, 43, 56, 61, 77-80, 92,
 148-150, 156, 209-213
 Ioulis 205, 213, 214
 Isokrates 22, 163, 166
 Isonemean festivals 210n236, 215
Isthmia (at Syracuse) 32
 Isthmos of Corinth 9, 11, 13, 25, 31,
 44, 48, 95, 96, 98n636, 163, 169,
 171, 189; 196, 197, 198, 201, 205,
 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221n291,
 227, 228; Isthmian Games 13, 35,
 135, 184, 208, 212, 217; Isthmian
 victories 26, 44, 173, 188, 190, 191,
 194, 197,
 Istros 48, 75n478, 90

 Kallias of Athens 196, 200
 Kallikles of Herakleia 49
 Kamiros 92, 151
 Kardìa 75, 146
 Karia 43, 49, 80, 92-93, 150-151, 156
Karneia at Kyrene 54, 154; *Karneia* at
 Sparta 65, 127
 Karystos 51n270, 70n426, 136
 Kassandrea 39, 121
 Kenchreai 48
 Keos 91, 143, 205
 Kephallenia 43n204, 86, 96, 114
 Kios 43n204
 Kitìon 48
Klaria (at Kolophon) 78n497
 Klazomenai 43n204
 Kleinetos of Argos 39, 44, 193

 Kleandros of Aigina 35, 43, 45
 Kleisthenes of Sikyon 87
 Kleitor 40, 41, 43n204, 88, 95, 96,
 100, 122, 156, 185n94, 193
 Kleobis 177n49
 Kleombrotos of Sybaris 18n43
 Kleonai 9n2, 57, 222, 223, 224,
 224n300, 225, 226, 226n310, 227,
 228
 Kleoptolemos of Thessalia 53, 175
kleos 160-162
 Knidos 48, 92, 150, 151, 156
 Kolophon 21, 61, 78, 117, 149
 Kore 51, 133
 Koresia 91, 143
Korìasia (at Kleitor) 40, 88, 100, 122
 Korkyra 43n204
 Koroneia 60, 86, 94, 116, 155
 Kos 72, 92, 142, 151
 Kosmas (Kynouria) 63, 124
kouroi 177n49, 218
 Kranioi 86n558
 Krannon 70, 139
 Kroton 85, 93, 111, 112
 Kydeides of Athens 51
 Kylon of Athens 18n43
 Kyme (Aiolis) 43n204
 Kyme (Italy) 21, 48, 84, 93, 112
 Kynouria 63, 124
Kyreioi 28
 Kyrenaia 43n204, 154
 Kyrene 43, 48, 50, 54, 56, 61, 90, 117,
 119, 132, 154, 155, 156, 157, 213
 Kyzikos 75, 76, 147

 Labraunda 49, 50
 Lamia 71n438
 Lamo di Parìo 187
 Lampsakos 21, 22, 43n204, 44n214,
 92, 146
 Laodamas 160

- Larisa 48n240, 61, 70, 117, 132, 139, 156
 Lebadeia 60-61, 100, 116
 Lebedos 43n204
 Lelantine War 18n42
 Lemnos 72, 143, 156
Leonidaia (at Sparta) 65
 Leontinoi 32, 110, 175n31
 Leukas 43n204
 Leuktra 60, 116
 Libya 54, 61, 156
 Lindos 36, 39, 48, 50, 82, 92, 151, 152,
 200, 201, 214
Lithehia (at Sparta) 64, 106, 128
 local festivals 13, 54
 Lokris 44
 Lokroi Epizephyrioi 48
 long-distance running, see *dolichos*
 Lousoi 62, 122, 165, 201
Lykaia (in Arkadia) 37-40, 100, 121,
 185n94, 186, 200
 Lysander of Sparta 78, 149, 150
Lysandreia (at Samos) 78, 79, 149, 150
 Lysias 166
 Lysippos of Sikyon 199
 Lysis of Athens 198
 Lysixenos of Thebes 189
- Macedonia 23n72, 39, 42, 44, 106,
 107, 121, 129
 Magna Graecia 31-33, 44, 84-86,
 111-114, 129, 187-188
 Magnesia 43n204, 148
 Mainalians 63
 Mainalos 63, 122, 194, 214
makros 127
Maleatea (at Sparta) 63, 124
 Malis 53n283, 71, 141, 156, 185n94
 Mantinea 96n625
 Marathon 50, 68, 95, 105, 133
 Marathon, Battle of 50n261
 Mausolos of Karia 23n71
- Medion 43n204
 medism 227, 228
 Megakles of Athens 56
 Megalopolis 39, 102
 Megara 26, 34, 43n204, 95, 100, 105,
 119, 155, 157, 165, 213, 223
 Melissos of Thebes 34, 36
 Menelaion at Sparta 90
 Messana 32, 110
 Messene 43n204
 Messenia 43n204, 62, 63-65, 122, 124,
 156
 Metapontion 58, 62n346, 99, 101, 112,
 171, 187
 Methana 223, 224
 Miletos 43n204
 Miletouteichos 43n204
 Milon of Kroton 30, 171
 Miltiades the Elder of Athens 91, 92,
 146, 165
 Minoa 71, 142
Minyeia (at Orchomenos) 33, 117
 Mnasitimos 200
 Mnesitheos of Paros 73
 monarchy 157
 Mt. Etna 31, 110
 Mt. Lykaion 26, 95, 96, 105, 121, 156,
 193, 200n184
 Mt. Mainalon 63, 122, 194
 Mykale 77
 Mykenai 41n192, 223, 225, 226
 Mykonos 48
 Mylasa 78, 80, 151
 Myrina 72, 143, 156
 Myrleia 43n204
 Mytilene 102n651
- Naukratis 48, 50, 84, 90, 132, 152
 Naulochon 43n204
 Naxos (Aegean) 72, 143
 Naxos (Sicily) 57n306

- Neapolis 58, 113, 155, 201
 Neleus 16, 17
 Nemea 9, 11, 1117, 13, 25, 26, 31,
 33n129, 40n186, 81, 88, 95, 96,
 98n636, 105n663, 163, 169-231
Nemeseia (at Athens) 68n412, 135
 Nestor 16
 neutrality 227
 Nikagoras of Rhodos 36, 39, 200
 Nikandros of Elis 173, 179n62
 Nike 59
 Nikias, Peace of 169, 215, 228
 Nikokles of Aigina 44, 45
 Nikokles of Salamis 22
 Nikolaidas of Corinth 14, 25, 26, 27,
 29, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 44, 45, 47,
 95, 99n640, 105, 161, 162, 165,
 189-190, 192
 Notion 21, 22, 43n204
 Nymphaion 102

Odyssey, the 15, 16, 160
 Oe 91, 135
 oecist 73, 91, 165
 Oidipous 16
 Oileus 51
 Olbia 75, 102n651, 147
Oligaitidai 36, 37, 38, 42, 45, 50, 51,
 95, 173n20
 oligarchy 157
 Olympia 9, 11, 13, 17n36, 25, 29, 31,
 48, 50, 56n299, 62n345, 81, 95,
 105n663, 106, 112, 113, 162, 166,
 169, 171, 177, 179, 180, 182, 184,
 185, 186, 187, 189, 195, 196, 201,
 202, 205, 206, 208, 214, 215, 217,
 219, 220, 221n291, 222, 228, 230;
 Olympic victors 53, 56n301, 81,
 198, 201; Olympic victories 47,
 161, 164, 170, 171, 178-186, 195, 200,
 230; Olympic victory monuments
 177-186; Olympics 11, 18n43, 25,
 39, 85, 98, 103, 108, 157, 158, 159,
 165, 166, 171; admission to
 Olympics 158
Olympia at Dion 107; *Olympia* at
 Kyrene 154
Olympieia (at Athens) 47n237, 135
 Olynthos 48, 107
 Onchestos 33, 115
 Onomastos 21n60
 Opous 52, 55, 100, 105, 118, 121, 129,
 132, 133, 138, 156, 175n34
 Orchomenos (Arkadia) 102n651
 Orchomenos (Boiotia) 33, 117,
 102n650, 155
 Orillas 37, 175
 Orneai 223, 224
 Oropos 33, 48, 50, 61, 115, 117, 132
Oschophoria 176
 Othryadas of Sparta 202

 Pagai 223
 Palairos 43n204
palaistra 65, 69, 70, 80, 84, 85n555, 91,
 92, 93, 112, 137, 143, 150, 151, 152
pale, see wrestling
 Paleis 86n558
 Pallantion 43n204
 Pallas Athena 54, 154
 Pammachos 188n103
 Pamphaes of Argos 41
 Pamphylia 83-84, 152
Panathenaia at Athens 13n13, 26, 29,
 46-50, 89-91, 96, 100, 105n663,
 132, 157, 165, 175, 186, 192, 196,
 197, 201, 214; Panathenaic
 amphoras 47, 48, 49, 89-91;
 Panathenaic victors 48, 49, 50;
 Panathenaic victory 81, 184, 185,
 196, 200
panegyris 61, 68, 100n642

- Panhellenic sanctuaries 9, 21, 169,
 170, 171, 218
 Panhellenic victors 52-53
Panionia 77
pankration 28, 34, 38, 38, 39, 42, 44,
 47, 48, 61, 68, 74, 76, 78, 89, 90,
 93n614, 105, 117, 118, 119, 121, 129,
 132, 136, 145, 147, 150, 157, 173, 177,
 198, 204, 208
 Pantikapaion 48, 50, 90, 132
 Paphos 48, 50, 132
 Parnassos 162
 Paros 73, 143
Parparonia (of Sparta) 64, 88, 125
 Parparos 88
 Parrhasia 38
 Parthenope (at Neapolis) 59, 113
 Patroklos 16, 17, 23
 Pausanias 27, 70, 79n507, 84, 138, 178,
 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185,
 186, 195, 201, 202, 203, 218, 219,
 222
 pederasty 159
 Pelinna 70, 140
 Pella 49
 Pellene 26, 37, 41, 55, 88, 95, 96, 105,
 120, 121, 155, 165, 175, 193, 201,
 202, 206, 213, 214
 Peloponnese 43, 54, 61, 98, 185n94
 Peloponnesian League 228
 Peloponnesian War 228
pentapolis 72n447, 100, 101
pentathlon 26, 39, 46, 47, 48, 51, 69, 90,
 105n663, 106, 107n672, 114, 117,
 118, 119, 121, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137,
 157, 189, 190, 192
 Peraia (Corinth) 87, 120
 Perikles 15, 48, 167
 Perilaos of Argos 202, 203
periodonikai 56n301, 184, 185
periodos 9, 11, 12, 13, 26, 27, 29, 31, 55,
 98, 98n636, 106, 164, 165, 166n715,
 169, 171, 174, 175, 176, 177n48, 179,
 184, 186, 187, 189, 191, 193, 205,
 213, 214, 230
 Persia 23
 Persian Wars 215, 217, 229
Petraia (in Thessalia) 53, 55, 138, 175
 Phanagoria 102n651
 Pharkadon 70, 140
 Pharsalos 61, 71n435, 117, 132, 199,
 201, 206, 207, 214
 Phayllos of Kroton 105
 Pheneos 43n204, 62, 123, 156, 185n94,
 201, 214
 Pherai 70, 140
 Pherenikos 162
 Philip II of Macedonia 107, 108, 157
philogymnastia 159-160
 Philostratos 74
 Phleious 26, 61, 66, 95, 99, 99n640,
 117, 130, 156, 190, 223
 Phoinike 43n204
 Phokis 44, 60, 115
 Phrynon of Athens 18n43
 Phthia 70, 138
 Phylake 53, 141, 156
 Phylakidas of Aigina 161
 Pinakothekē 195
 Pindar 11, 12, 26, 27n93, 30, 31, 32, 33,
 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43,
 44, 45, 51, 54, 55, 57, 68, 76, 87, 89,
 95, 105, 161, 169, 171, 173, 175, 176,
 214, 216, 224
 Plataiai 33, 115, 218
 Plataiai, Battle of 218, 219, 221n291,
 222
 Plato 59, 65, 159
 Plutarch 27, 47, 59, 78
Pohoidaia 64, 124, 124, 126
polis 162-164
 Polykles of Sparta 179, 179n62, 185

- Polykrates of Samos 72n443
 Pompeii 42n203
 Poseidippos of Pella 216
 Poseidon 55, 70n426, 73, 115, 124, 125,
 126, 138, 144, 156, 219, 220, 228;
 Poseidon at Helos 63; Poseidon
 at Sparta 64; Poseidon at
 Thouria 63; Poseidon Gaiawo-
 chos at Sparta 64, 126; Poseidon
 Petraios 53
Poseidonia (at Sounion) 68n404
Posideia (on Tenos) 73, 144
 Poteidaia 38, 49, 50, 74, 132, 145
 Poulydamas of Skotoussa 202
 Praisos 49
 Prateas of Argos 39, 42, 48, 63,
 193-194
 Priene 78, 149
 prizes 13n13, 17, 19, 21, 24, 29, 42, 48,
 53, 58, 62, 63, 67, 68, 71n437, 74,
 74n463, 74n467, 76, 83, 85,
 85n554, 118, 123, 129, 132, 134, 136,
 137, 141, 145, 152, 185, 185n94
praedria 35n148, 40n187, 44n214, 60,
 69, 72, 73, 75n478, 77, 78, 79, 80,
 82, 104-105, 107n672, 115, 119, 137,
 143, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152,
 164, 205
 programmes of athletic festivals
 105-106
 Promachos of Pellene 201, 202, 206
 Pronapes of Athens 196
 Pronnoi 86n558
 Propontis 43, 44, 75-76, 92, 147
 Protagoras 48
 Protesilaos 53, 71, 141, 156
proxenia 69, 72, 75n478
prytaneion 164, 205
prytanis 76
 Ptoios (at Akraiphia) 60, 116
 Pydna 67, 68n404, 134
 Pygela 43n204
 Pylian Amphictiony 60, 198, 228
 Pyromachos 195
 Pytheas of Aigina 35, 46, 89
 Pythia (personification) 195
Pythia at Megara 35n148; *Pythia* at
 Pharsalos 71n435; *Pythia* at Sikyon
 13, 36-37, 55, 87, 93, 100, 120, 155,
 174, 176, 200; *Pythia* at Troizen
 67n392, 130
 Pythian Games 29, 60, 62, 184, 215;
 Pythian victories 26, 47, 81, 161,
 170, 173, 183, 188, 190, 191, 194,
 200, 208
 Pythodelos of Athens 173
pyx, see boxing

 recreative athletics 16
 religious festivals 13, 14, 15, 22, 22-93,
 27n93, 29, 96, 98
 rhapsodes 23
 Rhodos 29n108, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39,
 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 54, 56,
 82-83, 102n651, 105, 120, 121,
 152-153, 156, 171, 185n94, 200, 201,
 213, 214

 Salamis (Cyprus) 49
 Salamis (island) 68, 136, 156, 197, 201,
 214
 Salamis, Battle of 218, 219, 221n291,
 222, 225
 Same 86n558
 Samos 49, 50, 90, 92, 93, 102n651,
 132, 150, 156, 157, 213, 219n285
 sanctuaries 49, 50, 53, 90
 Satyros 195
 Satyros of Elis 179n62
 Serpent Column 221n291
 Sicily 21, 22, 31-33, 44, 56n300, 57-58,
 59, 85, 95, 107, 110-111, 155, 165

- Sikyon 36-37, 41, 61, 87, 95, 96, 100,
 117, 120, 132, 157, 190-192, 201, 213,
 214, 223, 230
 Simonides 30, 32, 36, 37, 55, 66, 175,
 176n47
 Sinope 42, 61, 63, 117, 123, 129
sitiesis 205
 Skepsis 76, 148
 Skotooussa 70, 140
 Sogenes of Aigina 176n47, 194, 195
 Sostratos of Sikyon 26, 30, 173,
 176n47, 170, 172, 179n62, 182-183,
 186
Soteria (at Delphi) 210n236
 Sounion 68n404
 South Italy 36, 58-59, 155
 Sparta (Lakedaimon) 35, 39, 40-41,
 54, 56, 63-65, 84, 88, 90, 96, 99,
 119, 120, 121, 124-128, 132, 154, 156,
 157, 169, 226, 228, 229
stadiodromos 92, 94
stadium 26, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 47,
 48, 49, 54, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 73,
 77, 90, 93n614, 105n663, 106, 117,
 121, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132,
 143, 148, 164, 189, 190, 192
 stadium 35, 46, 59, 60, 66, 67, 69, 78,
 83, 92n607, 94, 119, 130, 133, 146,
 149, 151, 152
stephanephoroi agones 56n300
stephanitai agones 13n13
 Stomios of Elis 179n62
 Strabo 59, 225
 Stryme 49
 Stymphalos 43n204, 62n348
 surplus-values 185, 198, 198n174,
 208
 Sybaris 18n43, 85, 113, 164
 synoecism 82
synoris 51
 Syracuse 32, 33, 39, 49, 50, 55, 57, 58,
 90, 110, 111, 121, 132, 155, 157, 176,
 181
Syrmaia 128
 Tamynai 70, 137
 Tanagra 61, 116, 117
 Taras 49, 59, 69, 90, 102n651, 113, 132,
 187, 201, 214
 Taucheira 90, 132
taurotheria 70, 107n672, 139, 140, 141,
 157
 Tegea 26, 40, 41, 88, 95, 96, 102n651,
 123, 156, 157, 185n94, 192, 193, 201,
 213, 214, 226, 230
 Teisamenos of Elis 103
 Teisikrates 188
 Telesarchos 20
 Telesikrates of Kyrene 35, 54
 Tempe valley 53, 138
 Ten Thousand, the 28, 81
 Tenedos 43n204, 76, 147
 Tenos 73, 144
 Teos 43n204, 79-80, 104, 150, 156
tetrarchos 198
 Thasos 27, 43n204, 49, 70, 73, 129,
 138, 144, 206-209, 213, 214
 Theaios of Argos 36, 37, 38, 40, 41,
 42, 47, 95
 Thebes 16, 18, 26, 32, 34, 49, 50, 55,
 61, 62n343, 86-87, 95, 100, 105,
 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 132, 133, 136,
 141, 155, 165, 176, 185n94, 188, 189,
 201, 213, 214
 Themistios of Aigina 44n213, 89
 Theodotos of Istros 75
 Theogenes of Thasos 14, 25, 27, 28,
 29, 30, 42, 70, 105, 165, 173-174,
 179n62, 186n97, 206-209
 Theognetos 52
Theogonia 17n38
 Theopropides of Nymphaion 102

- theorodokoi* 43, 44
theoroi 44, 204
Theoxenia (at Pellene) 37, 121
 Thermopylai, Battle of 221n291, 222
 Theseia (at Athens) 68n412, 135
 Thespiai 21, 22, 33, 62, 99, 115, 119,
 155, 165, 185n94
 Thessalia 30, 44, 53-54, 55, 61, 70-71,
 138-141, 156, 165, 175, 198-200;
 Thessalian Confederacy 202
 Thessalos of Corinth 35, 47, 87, 90,
 95, 106n665
 Thetis 16
 Thisoa 43n204
 Thouria 62, 122, 124, 156, 213
 Thourioi 59, 114, 180, 186
 Thrace 43, 44, 91, 92, 156
 Thrasyboulos of Syracuse 57, 110
 Thucydides 15, 71, 73, 77, 83, 160, 167
 Thyrea 203
 Thyreatis 64, 88, 125
 Thyrcion 43n204
 Timaios of Tauromenion 59, 85
 Timasarchos of Aigina 34, 47
Timodemidai 173, 177n48
 Timodemos of Athens 47, 173, 177n48
 Timokles 88, 193
 Timokrates of Eretria 69
 Timoleon of Corinth 58, 111
 Timonax of Ephesos 212-213
 Timotheos of Rhodes 200
 Tiryns 223
Tlapolemeia (on Rhodes) 54, 100,
 152
 torch-races 57n306, 58, 59, 74, 145
 Torybeion 43n204
 Trachis 71n438
 tragedy 15, 70n430
 Triax of Thebes 188
 Triikka 70, 141
 Triopion 150, 156
 tripods 42, 86-87, 87n562, 108, 218;
 see also prizes
 Troas 43, 76, 147-148
 Troizen 67, 86, 118, 130, 132, 223, 224
 Twelve Gods, the 197
 Tyrannicides 203, 205
 tyrants 157
 Tyras 102n651
 Tyrtaios 99n639
 Vergina 42, 108
 victor list 48n244
 victory catalogues 31, 36, 37n159, 38,
 39, 40, 47, 61, 63, 110, 115, 117, 118,
 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126,
 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133, 136, 141,
 145, 147, 148, 154, 155, 205-206,
 208; selective victory catalogues
 171, 172-174, 184, 186, 190, 199, 213,
 214
 Wiswodikos of Thebes 18
 wrestling (*pale*) 30, 39, 41, 42, 48, 51,
 52, 68, 74, 76, 90, 99n639, 105,
 117, 118, 119, 121, 129, 132, 133, 136,
 138, 147, 157, 192, 194n136, 203
 Xenarkes of Sparta 179n61, 179n62
xenelasia 41n191
 Xenias of Parrhasia 39
 Xenokrates of Akragas 47
 Xenombrotos of Kos 162
 Xenophanes 164
 Xenophon 71, 77, 163; *Anabasis* 39, 81
 Xenophon of Corinth 34, 35, 36, 37,
 38, 41, 45, 47, 50, 51, 87, 95, 105
 Xerxes 9n2
 Zakynthos 59, 114, 132
 Zenobius 72n443
 Zeus 104, 107, 150, 156, 171, 219, 220,

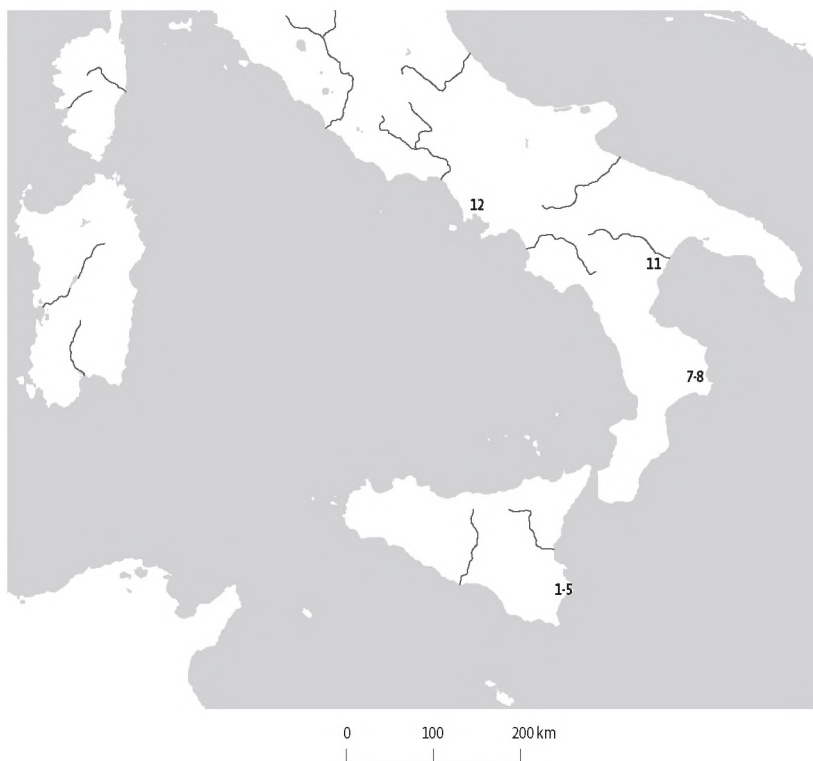
222; Zeus Aitnaios 31119; Zeus Basileus 60, 116; Zeus Eleutherios 57, 110, 157; Zeus Lykaios 381165, 39, 121; Zeus Megistos 49; Zeus Nemeos 9, 189, 204-205, 216, 217, 221, 228; Zeus Olympios 221, 2211291, 228; Zeus Olympios at Kyrene 54, 154

Map 1: Athletic festivals attested for the sixth century.
Numbers refer to the Catalogue in 1.5.1



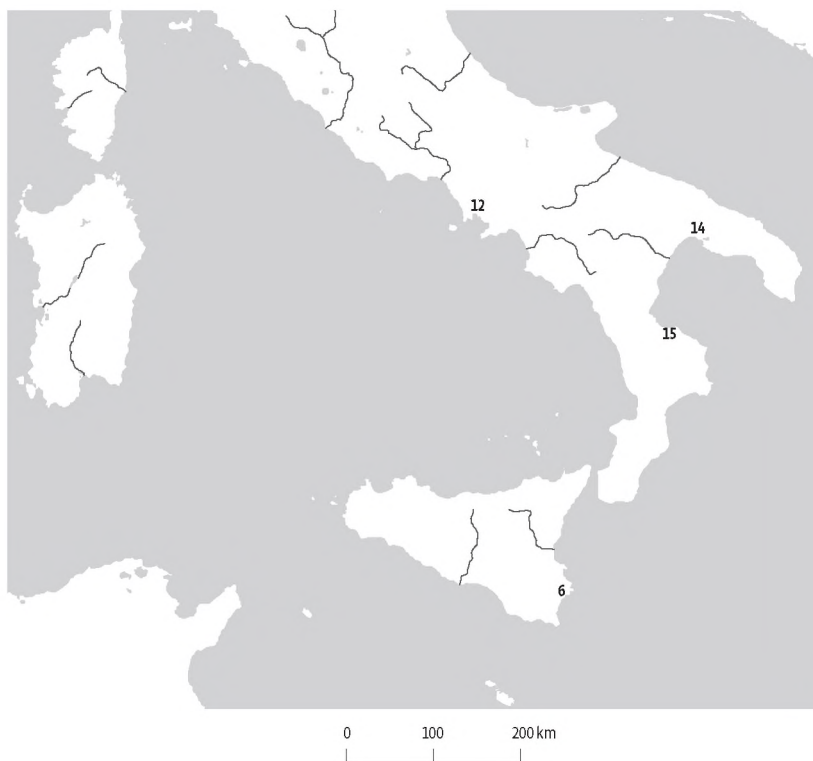


Map 2: Athletic festivals attested for the fifth century.
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Map 3: Athletic festivals attested for the fourth century.
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ISSN 1904-5492 · ISBN 978-87-7304-412-4

