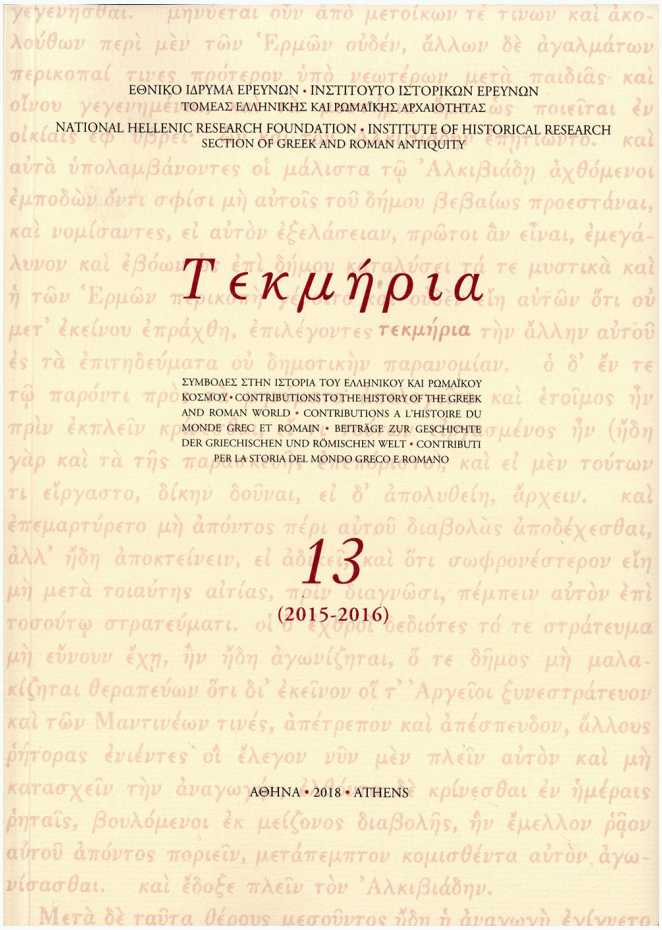
Tekmeria

Vol 13 (2016)

(2015-2016)



The theorodokoi inscription from Nemea (SEG 36, 331) and the date of IG IV, 583

Ioannis Xydopoulos

doi: 10.12681/tekmeria.11486

To cite this article:

Xydopoulos, I. (2017). The theorodokoi inscription from Nemea (SEG 36, 331) and the date of IG IV, 583. *Tekmeria*, *13*, 173–191. https://doi.org/10.12681/tekmeria.11486

IOANNIS K. XYDOPOULOS

The *Theorodokoi* Inscription from Nemea (*SEG* 36 [1986], 331) and the Date of *IG* IV, 583*

In the well-known inscription found in the Heraion of Argos, one reads that a statue honoring Nicocreon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, was dedicated by the Argives. The reason for this dedication was Nicocreon's donation of (probably abundant) amounts of bronze to the famous Argive sanctuary of Hera.[1] The inscription was carved on the base of the statue and the text reads as follows:

Μ̣ατρ[όπο]λ̣ίς μοι χθὼν Πέλοπ̲ος τὸ Πελαζγικὸν Ἄργος,
Πνυταγόρας δὲ πατὴρ Αἰακοῦ̲ ἐκ γενεᾶς·
εἰμὶ δὲ Νικοκρέων, θρέψεν δ̲έ με γᾶ περίκλυστος
Κύπρος θειοτάτων ἐκ προγ̲όνων βασιλῆ̃,
στᾶσαν δ' Ἀργεῖοί με χάριν χαλκοῖο τίοντες,
Ἥραι ὃν εἰς ἔροτιν πέμπον̣ [ἄε]θ̣λα νέοις.

The editor of *IG* did not formally assign a date but merely noted that Nicocreon was king in 331 BC and was appointed *strategos* by Ptolemy in 312 BC. The

* I wish to thank the journal's anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments, as well as my colleagues and friends Eugenie Georgaca, Jonathan M. Hall and Kalliope Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou for their contribution to the final version of this paper. All shortcomings remain mine.

The most frequently cited abbreviations are:

Heckel, *Prosopography* = W. Heckel, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great. Prosopography of Alexander's Empire* (Oxford 2006).

Mehl, "Zypern" = A. Mehl, "Zypern und die großen Mächte im Hellenismus", *AncSoc* 26 (1995) 93-132.

Miller, "Theorodokoi" = S.G. Miller, "The Theorodokoi of the Nemean Games", *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 147-163.

Perlman, *Theorodokia* = P. Perlman, *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece. The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* (Hypomnemata 121, Göttingen 2000).

1. *IG* IV, 583.

fact that this office was held by another person in 307 BC suggests that Nicocreon died before that year. Other scholars have proposed various dates.[2] The

2. See *SEG* 11 (1950) 335 (reference to M.N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Vol. II [Oxford 1948] 269-270, no. 194 with bibliography; Tod dates the inscription to the "early years of Nicocreon's reign", i.e. after 331 BC, based on the "emphasis on origin and ancestry rather upon achievement"); *SEG* 25 (1971) 365 (*post* 321 BC; also reference to L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche,* Vol. I: *Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia* [Florence 1967] 87-89, no. 38: *Titulum hunc aetati supra scriptae et ante a. 311*); *SEG* 30 (1980) 363 (reference to P. Amandry, "Sur les concours argiens", in *Études argiennes* [*BCH* Suppl. VI, Paris 1980] 218-220; 321-311 BC); *SEG* 47 (1997) 303 (325-300 BC; reference is also made to C. Kritzas, "Επισκόπηση των επιγραφικών μαρτυριών για σχέσεις Κύπρου και Αργολίδος – Επιδαυρίας», in D. Christou [ed.], *Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity* [Nicosia 1997] 313-322, in which the author dates the inscription to the period when Nicocreon was king, i.e. in 331-311/0 BC); *SEG* 50 (2000) 1716 (reference to H. Kotsidou, *TIMH KAI ΔΟΞΑ. Ehrungen für hellenistische Herrscher im griechischen Mutterland und in Kleinasien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der archäologischen Denkmäler* [Berlin 2000] 107-108, no. 53 [E]; date 321-311 BC – Kotsidou follows Moretti); Perlman, *Theorodokia* 269-279 (315-313 BC); A. Destrooper-Georgiades, «La participation des Chypriotes aux jeux panhelléniques à l'époque classique; répercussions sur le monnayage de l'île?", *BCEN* 41.2 (2004) 38 n. 6 (315-313 BC); E. Markou, "Monnaies en or chypriotes à la tête d'Athéna au droit et au taureau ou à l'aigle au revers", *CCEC* 36 (2006) 51-52 (331-313 BC, with references in bibliography); P. Christodoulou, "Nicocréon, le dernier roi de Salamine de Chypre. Discours idéologique et pouvoir politique", *CCEC* 39 (2009) 236, dates the Argos inscription shortly after Nicocreon's ascendance to the throne (332 BC) and "sans doute" before Alexander's death in 323 BC (*SEG* 59 [2009] 359: 321-311 BC). T. Mavrojannis, "Il Cenotafio di Nicocreon a Salamina di Cipro e la regalità di Demetrio Poliorcete", in L. Abbondanza, F. Coarelli and E. Lo Sardo (eds.), *Apoteosi. Da uomini a dei: Il Mausoleo di Adriano* (Rome 2014) 79, believes it should be dated just after 331 BC. C. Kritzas, "Κυπρο-Αργολικά", in D. Michaelides (ed.), *Epigraphy, Numismatics, Prosopography and History of Ancient Cyprus. Papers in Honour of Ino Nikolaou* (SIMA-PB 179, Uppsala 2013) 215f, provides no specific date for the inscription, which he dates vaguely to the period 331-311/0 BC). Finally, C. Baurain, "Réflexions sur la 'Tombe 77' de Salamine de Chypre", in H. Hauben and A. Meeus (eds.), *The Age of the Successors and the Creation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms (323-276 B.C.)* (Studia Hellenistica 53, Leuven 2014) 166, gives a date "*c.* 320", without any further arguments and with no references to the rich bibliography on the subject. I do not include in this list of editions and discussions P.A. Hansen (ed.), *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca: Saeculi IV a.*

purpose of the present paper is to define the exact date and the context of the Argos inscription.

The evidence of the *theorodokoi* list

To begin with, there is no contemporary literary evidence that sheds light on the date of the inscription; therefore, comparative research of all the available information about the period could be helpful in defining the date of the dedication. Beginning with the epigraphic evidence, closely linked to the inscription is the known *theorodokoi* list from Nemea.[3] The list includes a so-called "Cypriot panel" (col. I, ll. 3-10), with the regional heading (Ἐγ Κύπρωι) first. From the nine kingdoms of Cyprus at that period (Salamis, Soloi, Amathous, Kition, Paphos, Lapethus, Marion, Kourion, and Keryneia – cf. Diod. Sic. 16.42.4), only three are mentioned in this panel (Salamis, Kourion, and Soloi). The *theorodokoi* from Cyprus were: from Salamis, Nicocreon, son of Pnytagoras, and Teucros, son of Acestocreon; from Kourion, Pasicrates and Themistagoras, sons of Aristocrates; and, from Soloi, Stasicrates, son of Stasias.[4]

Various interpretations have been suggested concerning the identification of the individuals mentioned above. Beginning with Salamis, scholars seem to agree unanimously that Nicocreon is the king and Teucros probably belonged to the royal family, as he bore the name of the mythical founder of Salamis. Equally high-ranking persons seem to be both Pasicrates and Themistagoras, with the former being probably the king of Kourion. Stasicrates is the king of Soloi, son of Stasias.[5] The reference to only three kingdoms in the Nemean

Chr. n., Vol. 2 (Texte und Kommentare 15, Berlin-New York 1989) no. 812, simply because the editor merely notes the dates of Nicocreon's reign.

3. *Ed. pr.* Miller, "Theorodokoi" 147-163 (= *SEG* 36 [1986] 331); A. Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia* (Meletemata 26, Athens 1998) 150-151, no. 20; Perlman, *Theorodokia* 236-239.

4. Miller, "Theorodokoi" 147-163; A. Satraki, *Κύπριοι βασιλείς. Από τον Κόσμασο μέχρι το Νικοκρέοντα* (Athens 2012) 264, mistakenly has Miller dating it to the period 315-310 BC.

5. Perlman, *Theorodokia* 269-270 (Nicocreon); 271-272 (Pasicrates and Themistagoras; she argued that they both belonged to an aristocratic family, but could not have been kings, as the kingdom ceased to exist independently some time in the 4th cent. *Contra* Destrooper-Georgiades, "Participation" (see n. 2) 39; Satraki, *Κύπριοι βασιλείς* (see n. 4) 266; 277 (for Stasicrates); 279 (for Teucros); and 264-266 (for all). Miller, "Theorodokoi" 154-155, identified Stasicrates of Soloi with Pasicrates of the same city, who is

inscription could provide a hint for dating the Nemean list to 315-312 BC, if we follow Diodorus' narrative (see below n. 36), which brings us to the main issue of this paper, the date.

Stephen Miller, the first editor of the Nemean list, suggested that it should be dated to 324/3 BC, based on Alexander's edict for the restoration of the exiles in the Greek cities, proclaimed earlier that year, as well as on his assumption that Argos would not have appointed Nicocreon as *theorodokos* at "a time when [after Alexander's death] the ultimate winner could not have been clear to them [the Argives]".[6] Paula Perlman initially dated the inscription to the period either from 331/0 BC, i.e. when Nicocreon became king of Salamis, to 324 BC (before the Aetolians took Oiniadai under their rule), or from 324 to 313 BC.[7] She later proposed the years 315-313 BC, based on the fact that Argos had taken over the Nemean Games in that period (these games were being celebrated together with the *Heraia*), and on the political circumstances at the time – she suggested that it would be difficult for Argos to express so openly "its support for Ptolemy, by inviting from Cyprus only those communities who were his allies".[8] Perlman has also rightly noted that four of the other Cypriot kingdoms were along the route of the Argive *theoroi*, and that Kourion, "probably a dependent state, perhaps of Salamis, at that time",[9] was invited by the *theoroi*. She suggested that the list from Nemea was an *appendix* to another – apparently larger – document, where more cities from Cyprus would appear, and this could be an argument for the presence in the Nemean list only of Salamis, Soloi, and Kourion. Still, she

---

mentioned two times in the literary sources (Plut. *Alex.* 29.1-2; Arr. *FGrH* 156, F 10), and suggested that the name in these sources should be emended to Stasicrates. The emendation was accepted by Mehl, "Zypern" 97 n. 9, but rejected by Perlman, *Theorodokia* 277, and Destrooper-Georgiades, "Participation" (see n. 2) 39. Mavrojannis, "Il Cenotafio" (see n. 2) 79, dated the theorodokoi inscription from Argos to 323/2 BC, and Christodoulou, "Nicocréon" (see n. 2) 253, to 324/3 BC.

6. Miller, "Theorodokoi" 162; I.K. Xydopoulos, *Κοινωνικές και πολιτιστικές σχέσεις των Μακεδόνων και των άλλων Ελλήνων* (Thessaloniki 2006[2]) 105 and n. 245, also followed Miller, dating the Nemea inscription to the period 331-323 BC.

7. Perlman, *Theorodokia* 109, 149-152, 269-279. Perlman's argument is that "the list was prepared by the *theoroi*, not for them".

8. Perlman, *Theorodokia* 138-149.

9. Perlman, *Theorodokia* 112-116, 271-273.

pointed out that it seems quite incomprehensible that a first itinerary of the *theoroi* in Cyprus would omit these three major cities. Also, she finds it strange that the second (supplementary according to her) itinerary was limited only to those cities that were Ptolemy's allies, and she concludes that the only period for Argos to express its sympathy towards Ptolemy (and, respectively, Nicocreon) so openly would have been when Cassander went to the Peloponnese, i.e. in 315-313 BC.[10] I believe that a possible explanation for the above could be that Salamis was the kingdom that ruled the east side of the island, with Soloi being under Ptolemy's son-in-law, Eunostos, until 310 BC.[11] As for Kourion, as noticed by Perlman (see n. 9), it must have been a vassal state of Salamis, and this would justify its presence in the *theorodokoi* inscription.[12]

Miltiades Hatzopoulos strongly believes that the list from Nemea should be dated before 316/5 BC, based on internal criteria. He identifies Aristonous, who is mentioned there (col. II, l. 17), with the homonymous Macedonian, bodyguard of Alexander the Great (Arr. *Anab.* 6.28.4), who was assassinated by Cassander in that year.[13] Hatzopoulos further argued (rightly, in my mind) that the

10. Perlman, *Theorodokia* 114-116, 236-239.

11. Satraki, *Κύπριοι βασιλείς* (see n. 4) 317-318.

12. Satraki, *Κύπριοι βασιλείς* (see n. 4) 266, assumed that the kingdom of Kourion must have been abolished some time between Alexander's campaign in Tyre and Ptolemy's intervention in Cyprus. Kourion issued no coins in the period between 323 and 312 BC (for a presentation of the issues in gold after Alexander's death, see E. Markou, *L'or des rois de Chypre. Numismatique et histoire à l'époque classique* [Meletemata 64, Athens 2011] 292-295). If so, the Nemean inscription should be dated before Tyre. This would be impossible, since Cyprus was under Persian rule during that period.

13. M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings*, Vol. I: *A Historical and Epigraphic Study* (Meletemata 22, Athens 1996) 474 n. 7, dated the section concerning Macedonia not to 323, as the editor did, but to the period between 323 ("and probably after 321") and 317 BC, based on the reference to Aristonous (a date also suggested in L. Gounaropoulou and M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* [Meletemata 1, Athens 1985] 58-59 n. 6). He adds: "I personally favour a date which would allow for Aristonous to have returned from Asia to Macedonia (thus after 323 and probably after 321) and to be still resident in Pella, occupying a prominent position there (thus before 317)". With regard to the Nemea inscription, he writes (*Institutions I* [see above] 474-475): "after a blank the name of Aristonous, probably

theorodokoi inscription from Nemea should be dated before the foundation of Thessaloniki (316/5 BC), since this city does not appear among the ones visited by the Argive *theoroi*.[14]

There are a few more arguments for supporting such a date. First, it is of some importance, in my opinion, that in the Nemean inscription the *theorodokoi* list for Macedonia begins with Amphipolis. The *theoroi* may have started their itinerary in Macedonia from there, because Alexander III's young son and heir to the Macedonian throne was in Amphipolis (he was put there by Cassander "for his protection", after Olympias' execution in 319 BC).[15] No Macedonian king appears as *theorodokos* for Macedonia in general in the Nemean inscription, as first Polyperchon and later Cassander were only the "managers"of the throne.[16] Also, the relations between Argos and Cassander at that time must

---

the well-known officer of Alexander and Olympias, from Pella". I think that Aristonous (H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, Vol. II [Munich 1926] 63, no. 133) could have returned to Macedonia after 321 and the outcome of the hostilities in Cyprus (see N.G.L. Hammond and F.W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia*, Vol. III: *336-167 B.C.* [Oxford 1988] 142f for the events). D. Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens de proxénie et de citoyenneté* (Eretria. Fouilles et recherches XI, Lausanne 2001) 190, and Heckel, *Prosopography* 50, s.v. Aristonous, also accord with Hatzopoulos' proposed dating, by placing it in the period 320-317 BC. P. Paschidis, *Between City and King: Prosopographical Studies on the Intermediaries between the Cities of the Greek Mainland and the Aegean and the Royal Courts in the Hellenistic Period (322-190 BC)* (Meletemata 59, Athens 2008) 448-449, argues that Aristonous was "*Theorodokos* for the Nemaia between 321 and 317, representing no state but only himself". On the other hand, Perlman, *Theorodokia* 251-252, dates the *theorodokia* of Aristonous to 315-313 BC, by suggesting that the blank line on the stone could imply that he was *theorodokos* from the preceding city of Allante. According to her argument about the date, the journey of the Argive *theoroi* must have taken place after the foundation of Thessaloniki. In my opinion such a suggestion is false, since I believe that the name Aristonous, mentioned in the Nemea and Eretria inscriptions, refers to the same individual. The gap on the stone could be interpreted as a result of confusion about his ethnic name (see below pp. 179-180). Therefore, the date 315-313 BC, proposed by Perlman, does not comply with the historical context.

14. Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos, *Milliaires* (see n. 13) 58-59 n. 6.

15. Diod. Sic. 19.52.1-4.

16. Diod. Sic. 18.48.4; Just. *Epit*. 14.5.1 ff.; 14.6.13.

have played a role in the dispatch of the *theoroi*: up until 317/6 BC, Argos was on Polyperchon's side. When Cassander invaded the Peloponnese in that winter,[17] Argos was forced to take his side. The city was loyal to him until 303 BC, when it was freed by Demetrius "the Besieger".[18] So it would have been inevitable for the Argives to send their delegates to Amphipolis (where young Alexander IV was kept under Cassander's guards), and probably to the Macedonian capital as well.[19] As far as Nicocreon is concerned, since Cassander and Ptolemy were on the same side during the Second and Third Wars of the Successors (319-315 and 314-311 BC, respectively), and Argos was on Cassander's side, then Nicocreon would have had no problem that would prevent him from sending bronze for the victors of the *Heraia*. In addition, the political situation in the Peloponnese from 316 to 314 offered a fine opportunity for him both to declare his *syngeneia* ties with the Greek world and at the same time to practice his pro-Ptolemaic policy in mainland Greece.

Concerning the identification of Aristonous, Arrian mentions him as originating either from Pella (*Anab.* 6.28.4), or from Eordaea (*Ind.* 18.5).[20] Arrian's source was Ptolemy, therefore his information is reliable. Most scholars seem to agree that there was only one person called Aristonous, i.e. the person

17. According to R.M. Errington, "Diodorus Siculus and the Chronology of the Early Diadochoi, 320-311 B.C." *Hermes* 105 (1977) 496; Hammond and Walbank, *Macedonia* (see n. 13) 138; P. Paschidis, "Missing Years in the Biography of Polyperchon (318/7 and 308 BC onwards)", *Tekmeria* 9 (2008) 243. M. Mitsos, *Πολιτικὴ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἄργους, ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ Πολέμου μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 146 π.Χ.* (Athens 1945) 59-60, dates Cassander's coming to Argos in 315 BC.

18. Diod. Sic. 19.63.1-2; R.A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid. From the End of the Bronze Age to the Roman Occupation* (London 1972) 149-151.

19. I propose that Pella is the city that should be added to the lacuna of the inscription, where Polyperchon – as Guardian of the kings – was probably residing as well as Aristonous, Alexander's bodyguard and a strong reminder of the Argead royal house. Finally, Pella suits geographically the itinerary the Argive *theoroi* must have followed (Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos, *Milliaires* [see n. 13] 58-59 n. 6, make such an implication, also mentioned but not accepted by Perlman, *Theorodokia* 252).

20. Heckel, *Prosopography* 50, s.v. Aristonous, tried to explain the existence of two ethnic names for Aristonous with the argument that "he was from Eordaea but raised at the court in Pella".

mentioned in the Nemean list was the same as the one in the Eretrian proxeny decree.[21] The main – brilliant – argument put forward by Miller for this identification is the absence of the ethnic name in both inscriptions. However, this is not definitive. Questions regarding the reasons that Aristonous was honored at Eretria, and whether Alexander's bodyguard ever visited that city, still remain unanswered. Of course, there is always the possibility that Aristonous, mentioned in both the Eretria and Nemea inscriptions, was a different person from Alexander's bodyguard. However, I agree with those proposing that the blank space after his name on the stone in both cases can hardly be a coincidence. This deliberate absence of Aristonous' ethnic name seems to be in accordance with the "confusion" caused by Arrian's two references to him.[22] Aristonous was killed by order of Cassander in 316 or in early 315 BC.[23]

The Cypriot evidence

At this point, a brief synopsis of the history of Cyprus during the period under consideration is needed. As is known, the Cypriot kings joined Alexander after the battle of Issus in 333 BC; the help provided by the Cypriot fleet to the

21. *IG* XII 9, 221; Miller, "Theorodokoi" 158. Reservations in Xydopoulos, *Σχέσεις* (see n. 6) 105 n. 245.

22. Knoepfler, *Décrets* (see n. 13) 187-190, and Paschidis, *City and King* (see n. 13) 448-449 (and n. 1, where the relevant bibliography can be found), agree with Miller. Tataki, *Macedonians* (see n. 3) 151, no. 20, writes about Aristonous from Pella: "possibly the same as the homonym, without an ethnic or a patronymic, listed in Nemea among the *theorodokoi* of the Nemean games of 323/2 B.C.". However, she seems to doubt the positive identification of the commander at Amphipolis, who was killed on Cassander's orders (Tataki, *Macedonians* [see above] 48, no. 22), with Ἀριστόνου Πεισαίου Πελλαῖο (Diod. Sic. 19.50.3, 7; 51.1).

23. Diod. Sic. 19.51.1. See *RE* II (1895) 967-968, s.v. Aristonous 8 (J. Kaerst); Berve, *Alexanderreich* (see n. 13) 63, no. 133; Miller, "Theorodokoi" 158; R. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley 1990) 104; Knoepfler, *Décrets* (see n. 13) 189. Errington, "Diodorus Siculus" (see n. 17) 496; K. Buraselis, *Das hellenistische Makedonien und die Ägäis. Forschungen zur Politik des Kassandros und der drei ersten Antigoniden im Ägäischen Meer und in Westkleinasien* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforchung 73, Munich 1982) 8 n. 20, and W. Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire* (London 1992) 276, place Aristonous' death in spring/summer 315 BC.

Macedonian army during the victorious siege of Tyre was rewarded by Alexander.[24] Pnytagoras, then king of Salamis, seems to have benefited the most.[25] Shortly after (in 332/1 BC), he passed away and his son Nicocreon ascended to the throne. Until Alexander's death in 323 BC, we have no evidence of his relations with the Cypriot kings. It was only in 321 BC that Perdiccas, one of Alexander's Diadochi, was informed that some of them were politically active; Nicocreon of Salamis, Stasicrates of Soloi,[26] Nicocles of Paphos and Androcles of Amathous had joined Ptolemy's side. They had summoned a fleet of almost 200 warships and were besieging the city of Marion. The information comes from a manuscript of Arrian, which is quite interesting, especially concerning the relation of the three other Cypriot kings to Nicocreon. Its editor proposed that this part of the manuscript should be restored as καὶ τοὺ[ς ὑπ' αὐτῶι (?) γε]ν̣ο̣μ̣ένου̣ς, i.e. "and those who were under his command". If the restoration is correct, then one should assume that the king of Salamis had under his command the kings of Soloi, Paphos and Amathous, thus being the leader of a strong, pro-Ptolemaic coalition on the island. As already noted by scholars, the outcome of these operations for the Cypriot kings is unknown.[27] Perdiccas decided to act immediately by sending Aristonous of Pella, Alexander's

24. Curt. 4.8.14; the whole story in P.J. Stylianou, *The Age of the Kingdoms. A Political History of Cyprus in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Meletai kai Hypomnenata II, Nicosia 1989) 485-490. See also F.G. Maier, "Cyprus and Phoenicia", in D.M. Lewis, J. Boardman, S. Hornblower and M. Ostwald (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History Vol. VI*: *The Fourth Century BC* (Cambridge 1994[2]) 330-336; Mehl, "Zypern" 98-114; *id.*, "Griechen und Phoiniker im hellenistischen Zypern – ein Nationalitäten-problem"?, in B. Funck (ed.), *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters* (Tübingen 1996) 383-391; Heckel, *Prosopography* 224, s.v. Pnytagoras.

25. Ath. 4.167c-d.

26. Miller, "Theorodokoi" 154-155; Mehl, "Zypern" 97 n. 9, and Perlman, *Theorodokia* 277, argue that the name was Stasicrates and not Pasicrates, as is written in the manuscript. *Contra* Heckel, *Prosopography* 193, s.v. Pasicrates 2.

27. Arr. *FGrH* 156, F 10; Stylianou, *Kingdoms* (see n. 24) 487; A.-M. Collombier, "La fin des royaumes chypriotes: ruptures et continuités", *Transeuphratène* 6 (1993) 130-131; E. Markou, "Menelaos, King of Salamis", in D. Michaelides (ed.), *Epigraphy, Numismatics, Prosopography and History of Ancient Cyprus. Papers in Honour of Ino Nikolaou* (SIMA-PB 179, Uppsala 2013) 3.

ex-bodyguard, to Cyprus with an expeditionary force.[28] However, the fact that Antigonus the One-Eyed was already on the island[29] to ensure that it would not fall to Ptolemy, implies the importance Cyprus had in the forthcoming struggle for power between Alexander's generals.[30]

In the troubled years that followed until 315,[31] one should take as given that Nicocreon must have been loyal to Ptolemy.[32] The same is probably true for Stasicrates,[33] but Androcles of Amathous seems to have supported Antigonus until 315 BC, when he changed sides, thus joining with the pro-Ptolemaic forces again.[34] In that year (315), Antigonus the One-Eyed sent envoys to the Cypriot kings in order to persuade them to become his allies.[35] Ptolemy reacted immediately and sent troops to the island under the general command of his brother, Menelaus. We are informed by Diodorus that "Nicocreon and the most powerful of the other kings" (i.e. those of Soloi, Paphos and Amathous – with the king of the latter fluctuating between Ptolemy and Antigonus) were Ptolemy's allies, while Kition, Lapethus, Marion and Keryneia were on Antigonus' side.[36] It is thus probable that Nicocreon was still the leader of the pro-Ptolemaic coalition that had been established in 321 BC. The result of these military operations was the subordination of Lapethus, Marion, Keryneia and Amathous, while Kition was under siege.[37] One assumes that Amathous suffered a similar fate to that of the other kingdoms hostile to Ptolemy, thus paying the price for its double game.[38] In the aforementioned passage from Diodorus, Menelaus

28. Heckel, *Prosopography* 50, s.v. Aristonous.

29. Arr. *Met' Alex.* 1.30; Billows, *Antigonos* (see n. 23) 62-66; Heckel, *Prosopography* 33, s.v. Antigonus 1.

30. Stylianou, *Kingdoms* (see n. 24) 488. For a thorough presentation of this troubled period, see Hammond and Walbank, *Macedonia* (see n. 13) 117-122.

31. See the brief overview in Mehl, "Zypern" 98-100.

32. Stylianou, *Kingdoms* (see n. 24) 488; Heckel, *Prosopography* 179-180, s.v. Nicocreon.

33. Mehl, "Griechen und Phoiniker" (see n. 24) 383; Heckel, *Prosopography* 193, s.v. Pasicrates 2.

34. Heckel, *Prosopography* 28, s.v. Androcles.

35. Diod. Sic. 19.57.3-4.

36. Diod. Sic. 19.59.1.

37. Diod. Sic. 19.62.3-6.

38. One should be very cautious regarding the dates, since Androcles, still bearing

is named as "τῶν δὲ πάντων στρατηγός"; still by "πάντων"' one should understand Ptolemy's expeditionary force and not the kings of Cyprus.[39] However, it seems that his actions had poor results and that the anti-Ptolemaic coalition was not eliminated. Due to his long-lasting loyalty to Ptolemy, Nicocreon was appointed *strategos* of Cyprus.[40] The situation on the island was finally

---

the title Ἀμαθουσίων βασιλεύς, is found donating a golden wreath to the temple of Apollo at Delos (*IG* XI 2, 135, ll. 39-41); the inscription was vaguely dated to the period 314-302 BC; J.H. Kent, "The Temple Estates of Delos, Rheneia, and Mykonos", *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 243-338, placed it in 312 BC. Still, if we follow G. Reger, "Private Property and Private Loans on Independent Delos (314-167 B.C.)", *Phoenix* 46 (1992) 336, who dates it before 313 BC (himself following J. Tréheux, "Les dernières années de Délos sous le protectorat des Amphictions", in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire*, Vol. 2 [Paris 1949] 1008-1032), then we have another argument for placing Amathous' "punishment" in 312 BC (also, our suggestion reinforces Reger's date). G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Vol. I: To *the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart* (Cambridge 1940) 149 n. 6, and Satraki, *Κύπριοι βασιλείς* (see n. 4) 281, date it to 313 BC. This is not compatible with the outcome of the 315 operations. Maybe, this inscription implies that the kingdom of Amathous was still active between 315 and 314 BC and was finally abolished when Ptolemy arrived in Cyprus. S. Fourrier, "Villages, villes, ethniques: la définition identitaire dans les inscriptions chypriotes", in S. Fourrier and G. Grivaud (eds.), *Identités croisées en milieu méditerranéen: le cas de Chypre*, Vol. I *(Antiquité - Moyen Âge)* (Mont-Saint-Aignan 2006) 107, points out that the restoration of the word *basileus* is not certain in all cases Androcles is mentioned. Still, this is not true for the Delos inscription, where the title has survived (*IG* XI 2, 135, ll. 39-41).

39. Already noted by K. Spyridakis, *Κύπριοι βασιλεῖς τοῦ 4ου αἰ. π.Χ. (411-311/0 π.Χ.)* (Nicosia 1963) 133-135; R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976) 42; Markou, "Menelaos" (see n. 27) 4. Cf. Stylianou, *Kingdoms* (see n. 24) 489, Collombier, "Royaumes chypriotes" (see n. 27) 137-138, and Markou, "Menelaos" (see n. 27) 3-8, on the discussion regarding the use of the term *strategos* in 315 for Menelaos, and in 312 BC for Nicocreon. *Contra* Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (see n. 38) 160. For the use of the term during the 2nd cent. BC, see A. Anastassiades, "The *Strategos* as High Priest and the Royal Cult in Ptolemaic Cyprus: Some Observations", in D. Michaelides (ed.), *Epigraphy, Numismatics, Prosopography and History of Ancient Cyprus. Papers in Honour of Ino Nikolaou* (SIMA-PB 179, Uppsala 2013) 227-234.

40. Diod. Sic. 19.79.4-6. For the date of his appointment as *strategos*, see H. Gesche, "Nikokles von Paphos und Nikokreon von Salamis", *Chiron* 4 (1974) 110-111. Bagnall,

arranged in 312 BC, when Ptolemy himself went to Cyprus: Kition, Lapethus, Marion and Keryneia were finally subjugated. It has been suggested that in 312, when Ptolemy I became aware that some other Cypriot kings had second thoughts about their alliance with him, he "turned their cities and revenues over to Nicocreon", though this is not confirmed by the sources.[41] Nicocreon's appointment as *strategos* of the island in 313 BC may have been the formal acknowledgement of an already established status, i.e. his superiority over the other Cypriot kings.[42] The king of Salamis died in 311/0 BC, as we learn from the *Marmor Parium*,[43] and was succeeded by Menelaus, thus confirming the Ptolemaic dominance on the island.

As for Paphos, it has been suggested that the absence of any reference to king Nicocles from 321 to 311 BC implies that he remained a loyal ally to Ptolemy (although one should be cautious due to the extremely fragmentary character of our sources).[44] However, it seems that some time after 315 BC Nicocles changed sides, thus joining Antigonus (although the sources are silent again), perhaps after Nicocreon's appointment as *strategos* in 313 BC, an action that

---

Administration (see n. 39) 38-42, argued that Nicocreon was *strategos* of Cyprus until his death in 310 BC.

41. Bagnall, *Administration* (see n. 39) 39, thus interpreting Diod. Sic. 19.79.5. See also Mehl, "Zypern"101-102.

42. Gesche, "Nikokles" (see n. 40) 111.

43. *IG* XII 5, 444, ll. 118-120.

44. Mehl, "Zypern" 103-104. Nicocles played an active role in the return of the exiled Samians to their island and was honored by the Samians in 321 BC (K. Hallof, "Ehreninschrift aus Samos für den Stadtkönig von Paphos", *AM* 122 [2007] 263-272; *SEG* 57 [2007], 815; A. Mehl, "Ein zyprischer Stadtkönig hilft vertriebenen Samiern bei ihrer Rückkehr in die Heimat", in R. Einicke *et al.* [eds.], *Zurück zum Gegenstand. Festschrift für Andreas E. Furtwängler* [Langenweißbach 2009] 510-511). Gesche, "Nikokles" (see n. 40) 111, suggested that Nicocles was still on Ptolemy's side in 315 BC, although Diodorus (19.59.1 and 19.62.5) does not mention anything about it. Perhaps, the foundation of Nea Paphos by Nicocles (M. Iacovou, "Paphos before Palaepaphos: New Approaches to the History of the Paphian Kingdom", in D. Michaelides [ed.], *Epigraphy, Numismatics, Prosopography and History of Ancient Cyprus. Papers in Honour of Ino Nikolaou* [SIMA-PB 179, Uppsala 2013] 287) some time before Ptolemy's involvement in Cyprus, prevented him from engaging in rivalries with the other kings of the island.

made Nicocles feel isolated or vulnerable.[45] He was finally forced to commit suicide in 310/09 by Ptolemy's friends, Argaios and Callicrates, who were sent to Cyprus to restore order.[46]

The situation in Greece proper, and the Peloponnese in particular, during that period was complex. Antigonus conducted military campaigns in mainland Greece and the Aegean from 315 to 311 BC.[47] One of his generals, Aristodemus, set some of the Peloponnesian cities free from Cassander's garrisons in 314 with the help of Polyperchon's son, Alexander.[48] Despite the latter's defection to Cassander in 313, the army of Antigonus continued its victorious campaign, so that by the summer of 312 the Peloponnese was under Antigonid control, except for Corinth and Sicyon. It must be assumed that Argos was not at that moment (i.e. from 314 to 312 BC) under Ptolemaic influence, since the erection of a statue to

45. Gesche, "Nikokles" (see n. 40) 111. A parameter that might have played a significant role in Nicocles' changing sides was the foundation of Nea Paphos by Ptolemy as *katoikia* for his soldiers (a suggestion made by A. Mehl, "Nea Paphos et l'administration ptolémaïque de Chypre", in C. Ballandier [ed.], *Nea Paphos. Fondation et développement urbanistique d'une ville chypriote de l'Antiquité à nos jours: Études archéologiques, historiques et patrimoniales* [Mémoires 43, Bordeaux 2016] 249-250), a few years before Nicocles' suicide in 312/1 BC. A possible scenario is that Ptolemy founded Nea Paphos purposely, because of Nicocles' political behavior.

46. Diod. Sic. 20.21.1-3. The discussion about the confusion between Nicocreon and Nicocles and the tomb at Salamis is a very vivid one. Various candidates have been proposed: V. Karageorghis, "Μακεδονικά στοιχεία στον ελληνιστικό πολιτισμό της Κύπρου", *PraktAkAth* 67 (1992) 707, argued for a cenotaph in honor of the dead of the preceding war between Antigonos and Ptolemy; Mehl, "Zypern" 109 n. 32, for Pnytagoras; K. Buraselis, "Το πρόβλημα του βασιλικού κενοταφίου της Σαλαμίνας: μία νέα πρόταση", in D. Michaelides (ed.), *Epigraphy, Numismatics, Prosopography and History of Ancient Cyprus. Papers in Honour of Ino Nikolaou* (SIMA-PB 179, Uppsala 2013) 303-304, for Antigonos the One-Eyed; T. Mavrojannis, "Il Cenotafio" (see n. 2) 86, for Nicocreon; Baurain, "Réflexions" (see n. 2) 137-166 and esp. 164, argued for Menelaos, the brother of Ptolemy I. For the date (310/09 BC), see Gesche, "Nikokles" (see n. 40) 103f.

47. Diod. Sic. 19.57-61; see the brief but excellent narrative of the events in M. Mitsos, *Πολιτική ἱστορία* (see n. 17) 59-60; S. Wallace, "Defending the Freedom of the Greeks: Antigonos, Telesphoros, and the Olympic Games of 312 B.C.", *Phoenix* 68 (2014) 236-237; for the events, see Hammond and Walbank, *Macedonia* (see n. 13) 151-162.

48. Diod. Sic. 19.63-64.

the pro-Ptolemaic Cypriot king Nicocreon would have been simply improbable for that period. Even if one surmised that Argos was just following the prevailing political tendency in its diplomacy, trying to benefit the most out of the balance of power between the competitors, such a gesture on behalf of the city would have been at least awkward.

New proposed date

According to the historical context just described, a first suggestion would be to consider the period between Menelaus' expedition in 315 BC and the final arrangement by Ptolemy in 312 BC as a probable date for the Nemean list, with 312 BC being the best option, since by then the opposing kingdoms were defeated by Ptolemy and his Cypriot allies. However, as argued, the mention of Aristonous in the list is vital for rejecting such a suggestion.

The dates proposed by scholars for the Argos inscription range from 332 (when Nicocreon became king upon the death of his father) to 311/0 BC (and not long after his death, see n. 2). The period suggested by Moretti, Kotsidou and Amandry, viz. 321-311 BC, seems reasonable enough, given the evidence. Yet, the date I am proposing is 315 BC. As stated in the inscription, the Cypriot king Nicocreon was making donations to the *Heraia*, while he was king, and the imperfect πέμπον indicates that his donating of bronze was not a one-time occurrence, but continued for an unspecified period. This is consistent with the fact that the Argives considered his donations so valuable as to be worthy of a statue. Thus, in theory the Argive dedication could have taken place as late as shortly after his death. Occasionally a statue was set up bearing a dedicatory inscription praising the honoree's achievements, but without mentioning his death.[49] Whether this is true in the case of Nicocreon cannot be established with certainty. However, in funerary epigrams using the formula "my mother-/fatherland is X, but Y is where I lie" or vice versa,[50] the deceased refers

49. J. Ma, *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 2013) 5, 146, 158.

50. As, e.g., in the Attic epigram *IG* II^2 8523 (early 4th cent.):

> Ἐνθάδε Πυθοκλῆς κεῖται πολλοῖσι ποθεινός,
> καὶ Σάτυρος νέος ὢν ἔσχεν ἐπωνυμίαν.
> [π]αῖς δὲ Ἡρακλείδο, μητρὸς δὲ Ἀριαστίδος ἐστί,
> πατρὶς δ' ἐστὶ Ἔφεσος κλενοτάτη πόλεων.

to his death by emphasizing his grief for having been buried in a foreign land. Instead, the phraseology of the Argos epigram is epideictic and dedicatory, with four verses stressing the honoree's origin, and the remaining two actually praising him for the continuous benefactions towards the citizens of Argos. Such an epigram is more appropriate for someone who was expected to continue his donations and – why not – even to see his statue himself.

I believe that the following arguments rule out 311 BC as the *terminus ante quem* for the Argive dedication and support the date 315 BC I propose:

a. The omission of the other Cypriot kingdoms and the introduction of Kourion in the Nemean list imply that all kingdoms omitted were at that time under Nicocreon's authority, since Ptolemy and his Cypriot allies had defeated their kings. The dominance of Salamis over the other cities would be an anticipated reward for Nicocreon's long-time loyalty to Ptolemy. Nicocles' absence from the Nemean list of *theorodokoi* provides then an indication that, when the list was edited, either Nicocles – by then king of Paphos – had already changed sides or that he was not thought to be a true supporter of Ptolemy. It could even be the case that his kingdom was autonomous from 321 to 310/09 BC, as its coins imply.[51] Besides, as already noted, Nicocles is absent from any source during the period 321-311 BC.

b. The Nemean list is linked to the fact that, in the Argos inscription, Nicocreon names Cyprus and not Salamis as his homeland,[52] perhaps an indication

---

5 θρεφθὲς δ' ἐν χθονὶ τῆιδε θάνεν μέγα πῆμα φίλοισ[ι]
τῆι τε κασιγνήτηι πένθεα πλεῖστα λιπών.
vac. 0.12
Ἀριαστίς. Πυθοκλῆς.

51. O. Mørkholm, "The Alexander Coinage of Nicocles of Paphos", *Chiron* 8 (1978) 147; Markou, *L'or des rois* (see n. 12) 293.

52. We have no information about the status of Soloi at that time, but its presence in the Nemea inscription indicates perhaps that it was an autonomous kingdom. Mehl, "Zypern" 103, argues that: "Nikokreons Verhältnis zu den ihm geschenkten Städten war das eines Besitzers, aber nicht das eines unabhängigen Herrschers". I do not think that the expedition led by Ptolemy, the general of Antigonus, in summer 312 BC against Elis and Olympia (Diod. Sic. 19.87) could have forced Argos to an unfriendly policy towards Ptolemy. According to J. and L. Robert (*BullÉpigr* 1969, 236), it is not certain that this expedition was commemorated in an inscription dated in 312/1 BC found in Nemea (*SEG* 25 [1971], 357), as proposed by Perlman, *Theorodokia* 114.

that, when the Argives erected the statue for Nicocreon, he considered himself to be the appointed leader of the island, with Salamis having extended its power over all the other kingdoms with Ptolemy's blessings.[53] Although Nicocreon's self-identification as a Cypriot was somehow anticipated in an epigram outside Cyprus – also avoiding any confusion with the island of Salamis –,[54] I believe that it was also a means for declaring his powerful status. This extension of power is also depicted on Salamis' coins. It has been suggested that Nicocreon issued his gold coins in 312-310 BC,[55] but there is no evidence that Nicocreon could not have done this after Alexander's death.[56] If the latter suggestion is true, this means that he issued them not as *strategos* of Cyprus but as king of Salamis, like his father Pnytagoras had done before (another implication of Salamis' premium position on the island already in Alexander's time).[57] Thus, one could assume that Salamis was the leading Cypriot kingdom. It is true that both Soloi and Paphos issued their own coins in the period after Alexander's death, but Paphos was plausibly autonomous,[58] and this was probably also the case with Soloi.

c. Closely connected to Nicocreon's appointment as *strategos* is a passage from Diogenes Laertius, in which he names Nicocreon as "the tyrant of Cyprus", already during Alexander's reign (*sic*!). One cannot avoid thinking that this appellation of Nicocreon could only be due to Diogenes' confusion, as he was writing in a later period (in the third century AD). Moreover, one cannot know if the specific word was used by Diogenes with the meaning of a tyrannical

53. Noted but not commented upon by S. Fourrier, "La réappropriation du passé : Achéens et autochtones à Chypre à l'Âge du Fer", in S. Müller-Celka and J.C. David (eds.), *Patrimoines culturels en Méditerranée orientale: recherches scientifiques et enjeux identitaires, 1er atelier (29 novembre 2007): Chypre, une stratigraphie de l'identité* (Lyon 2007) 4 (electronic publication: http://www.mom.fr/1er-atelier.html).

54. I thank the anonymous reviewer for these alternative explanations.

55. B. Helly, "Les monnaies", in V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis* II (Salamis 4, Nicosia 1970) 257-258.

56. A suggestion made by Markou, *L'or des rois* (see n. 12) 294. On the coins issued by Nicocreon, see Markou, "Menelaos" (see n. 27) 5-6 for references, and *ead*., *L'or des rois* (see above) 128, nos. 439-445. Collombier, "Royaumes chypriotes" (see n. 27) 30, also places his gold and silver cuts in the period 317-310 BC.

57. Markou, *L'or des rois* (see n. 12) 126-128, nos. 413-438 for references.

58. Markou, *L'or des rois* (see n. 12) 292.

monarch or that of a local king.[59] However, no matter what the word "tyrant" meant, the most important issue is that the tradition related to Nicocreon's leadership of all Cyprus was still alive.[60]

d. The fact that in the Nemean list Nicocreon is mentioned as *theorodokos* of Salamis and not of Cyprus could be explained by sheer political reality: Cyprus had always been split into many kingdoms and was not perceived by the Greeks of mainland Greece as an island united under one leader.[61] Nicocreon's new office after 313 BC was apparently unknown to those in charge of composing the *theorodokoi* list, an indication that the list was probably issued while Nicocreon was known only as king of Salamis, i.e. before 313 BC. The year of the list's composition could then be 315, if one takes into consideration that Argos was under the rule of Ptolemy's ally, Cassander, from 316 to 314 BC, as mentioned above.

e. Finally, the absence of a Macedonian king as *theorodokos* in the list (col. II, l. 16) coincides with the events of the period from c. 315 to c. 309 BC, i.e. when Polyperchon was appointed guardian of the Kings (after Antipater had died, in 319 BC) and Cassander was "manager of the kingship in Alexander's IV name"[62] in Macedonia.[63] I believe this absence is a major argument for dating the inscription to the year proposed in this paper. One can also compare the Nemean list with another fourth-century inscription from Epidauros, in which the Macedonian king Perdiccas (365-359 BC) was referred to as *theorodokos* of Asclepius' sanctuary, thus representing Macedonia as a kingdom.[64]

---

59. Spyridakis, *Κύπριοι βασιλεῖς* (see n. 39) 134, suggested that the word "satrap" was used by Diogenes Laertius because the latter had the Persian administrative system in mind.

60. Diog. Laert. 9.58.

61. For the Cypriot kingdoms until the Ptolemaic era, see Mehl, "Griechen und Phoiniker" (see n. 24) 385f; *id.*, "Cypriot City Kingdoms: No Problem in the Neo-Assyrian, Late Egyptian and Persian Empires, but Why Were They Abolished under Macedonian Rule?", *Annual Review of the Cyprus Research Centre* XXX (2004) 9-21.

62. The phrase is N.G.L. Hammond's, *The Macedonian State: The Origins, Institutions, and History* (Oxford 1989) 262.

63. Hammond and Walbank, *Macedonia* (see n. 13) 151-168.

64. *IG* IV^2 94 I b, 9; See Xydopoulos, *Σχέσεις* (see n. 6) 104 n. 242. The significance of the Nemea inscription for the autonomy of the Macedonian cities is discussed by Hatzopoulos, *Institutions I* (see n. 13) 475 and n. 2. For Cassander, see Diod. Sic. 19.52.1-4; Just. *Epit.* 14.6.13.

Based on the arguments presented above, it is evident that the Argos inscription for Nicocreon is contemporary with the Nemean list of *theorodokoi* and should be dated to 315 BC.[65]

Ioannis K. Xydopoulos
Assistant Professor of Ancient Greek History
School of History and Archaeology
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
ixydopou@hist.auth.gr

65. In this aspect, the presence of Cypriots in Argos, attested also in other instances and starting perhaps from the late sixth century BC (a funerary epigram for a Cypriot from Salamis is attested in Aegina [*IG* IV, 49 – the editors give no date]; Kritzas, "Επισκόπηση" [see n. 2] 314, stresses the close connections between Aegina and Argolis and dates it to the late sixth – early fifth century BC, however the date is not certain), was an additional argument for the Cypriot king. Chronologically next comes a decree from Epidauros (*IG* IV^2 1, 53), dated by the editors of *IG* in the fourth century, without any specification about the exact date. Although the inscription is highly restored regarding the ethnic name from Soloi, the word Κύπρου (l. 6) leaves no doubt that it is connected with this island. Also, its fourth century date is compatible with the "opening" the Cypriot kings made to the Greek mainland at first via Euagoras and later during Alexander's campaign. If my hypothesis for dating the Nemean *theorodokoi* inscription in 315 BC is correct, then the above inscription might also be dated to the same period.

Summary

The Argives honored Nicocreon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, by dedicating a statue in the sanctuary of Hera. A well-known epigram (*IG* IV, 583) was inscribed on the base of the statue, where one could read that Nicocreon, son of Pnytagoras, was king in Cyprus, and that the Argives set up his statue "on account of the bronze which I was sending to the festival of Hera as prizes for the young men". Although different dates have been suggested for the epigram, scholars have not reached a conclusion. Nicocreon was making donations to the *Heraia* while he was king, and the language of the epigram, as stated, suggests that he was doing so over a period of several years. Therefore, the date of the inscription should lie between a few years after 332/1 BC, year of Nicocreon's ascension to the throne, to not lon after his death in 311/0 BC. In this paper, an attempt is made to define the political circumstances both in Cyprus and in mainland Greece, to provide persuasive arguments that the epigram should be dated to the year 315 BC.