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Pausanias as a *στηλοσκόπας*. An epigraphical commentary of
Pausanias' "Ἡλιακῶν" A and B

Tzifopoulos, Ioannes Zacharias, Ph.D.

The Ohio State University, 1991

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PAUSANIAS AS A STELOSKOPAS.
AN EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY OF PAUSANIAS'
ELIAKON A AND B
DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Ioannes Zacharias Tzifopoulos, B.A., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1991

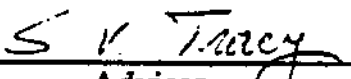
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† μητροπολίτη Χίου, Ψαρῶν καὶ Οἰνουσσῶν
κυρῶ Νικηφόρῳ Ι. Τζίφοπούλῳ.

Ζαχαρία τε καὶ Γεωργία,
ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐμόγησαν

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SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS

The following special abbreviations are used throughout this document. All other bibliographical information is also abbreviated by the common practice of author and date only. For full bibliographical references see the List of References.

- Lang Agora XXV M.L. Lang. *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. XXV: Ostraca*. Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1990.
- Meritt Agora XV B.D. Meritt and J.S. Traill. *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. XV: Inscriptions: the Athenian Councillors*. Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1974.
- Anth.Pal.* *Anthologie Grecque. Première Partie: Anthologie Palatine, Tome XII (Livres XIII-XV)*, ed. F. Buffière. Collection des Universités de France (Association Guillaume Budé). Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1970.
- ATL B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery, M.F. McGregor. *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vols 1-4. Princeton, N.J.: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1939-1953.
- BE *Bulletin Épigraphique*, in *Revue des Études Grecques* 1–(1888–).
- CAH F.W. Walbank *et al.*, eds. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 7 part I: *The Hellenistic World*, 2nd edition. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press 1984, Reprinted 1989.
- Hansen CEG 1 P.A. Hansen. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca saeculi VIII-V a. Chr. n.*. Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter, 1983.
- Hansen CEG 2 P.A. Hansen. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca saeculi IV a. Chr. n.*. Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter, 1989.
- Raubitschek DAA A.E. Raubitschek. *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis. Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.*,

- edited with the collaboration of L.H. Jeffery. Cambridge, Mass.: The Archaeological Institute of America, 1949.
- Guarducci *EG* M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca*, vol. 1-4. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1967-1978.
- Ect.* *Ectypon* indicates that I have had a squeeze of the inscription.
- FD* Colin, G. and others. *Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. III: *Epigraphie*. Paris: Fontemoing, 1909-1913.
- FGrH* F. Jacoby. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1923-1958.
- HCT* A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, K.J. Dover. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vols. 1-5. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945-1981.
- Moretti *IAG* L. Moretti. *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*. Roma: Angello Signorelli, 1953.
- IDélos* T. Reinach, *et al.* *Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres Berlin, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1929.
- IEphesos* H. Engelmann, and others. *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, vol.14: *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. Bonn: R. Habert, 1980.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- Roehl *IGA* H. Roehl. *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae praeter Atticas in Attica Repertas*. Berlin, 1882, Reprinted Chicago: Ares, 1978.
- Loewy *IGB* E.M. Loewy. *Inschriften Griechischer Bildauer*. Leipzig, 1885, Reprinted Chicago: Ares, 1976.
- IGRR* R. Cagnat, and others. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, vol. 4. Paris, 1906-1927.
- IGID* F. Solmsen, & E. Fraenkel. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Inlustrandas Dialectos Selectae*. Leipzig 4th edition 1930, rpt. Chicago: Ares, 1980.
- Preger *IGM* T. Preger. *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae ex Scriptoribus praeter Anthologiam Collectae*. Leipzig 1891, Reprinted. Chicago: Ares, 1977.
- ILS* H. Dessau. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, vols. 1-4. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892-1916, Reprinted. Chicago: Ares, 1979.
- IMilet I.3* T. Wiegand. *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*. Band 1, Heft 3: *Das*

- Delphinion in Milet*, edited by G. Kawerau und A. Rehm. Berlin: Königliche Museen zu Berlin, G. Reimer, 1914.
- IMilet* I.7 T. Wiegand. *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*. Band I, Heft 7: *Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen*, edited by H. Knackfuss. Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Schotz und Parrhysius, 1924.
- IO, IO* editors W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold. *Die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung*, vol. V: *Die Inschriften von Olympia*. Berlin 1896, Reprinted Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966.
- Moretti *ISE* L. Moretti. *Iscrizioni Storiche Ellenistiche*, vol. 1: *Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia*, vol. 2: *Grecia centrale e settentrionale*. Firenze: "La Nuova Italia", 1967, 1976. *Storia antica ed Epigrafia, Biblioteca di Studi Superiori* 53, 62.
- Jeffery *LSAG* L.H. Jeffery. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C. Revised Edition with Supplement 1961-1987*, by A.W. Johnston. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990. Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology.
- LSJ* H.G. Liddel, R. Scott and H.S. Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon. With a Supplement 1967*, 9th edition. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1940, rpt. 1968.
- Meiggs/Lewis R. Meiggs & D.M. Lewis, editors. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Revised edition with Addenda and Concordance. London: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- PA* J. Kirchner. *Prosopographia Attica*, vols. 1-2. Berlin 1901-1903, Reprinted Chicago: Ares, 1981.
- Phot.* *Photograph* indicates that I have used a photograph of the inscription.
- P.Oxy.* 222 B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt. "CCXXII. List of Olympian Victors," *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part II. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1899, 85-95.
- RE* A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- Syll.*⁴ W. Dittenberger. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vols 1-4, 4th edition. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1960.
- Vidi* means that I have seen the inscription.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION: PAUSANIAS AS Α ΣΤΗΛΟΣΚΟΠΑΣ

Στηλοκόπας (?), “the tablet-glutton,”¹ is the nickname given by Herodicus to Polemo of Ilium, the early second century B.C. periegete, quoted in Athenaeus (6.234d). The uncertainty about the formation of this epithet has prompted A. S. Arvanitopoulos to correct it to στηλοσκοπας (ὁ σκοπῶν τὰς στήλας, “the examiner / student of inscribed stelai”), thus rendering more appropriately and in a flattering way the interests and activities of Polemo.² Be that as it may, this epithet is the only Greek word known which comes close to the modern term epigraphist. Pausanias, the second century A.D. periegete, rightly deserves this epithet. C. Habicht in his recent work has convincingly argued that Pausanias has incorporated inscriptions into his Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις to a greater degree than any other ancient author known to us. As he admits, however, his discussion of the inscriptions and Pausanias is only an example of the epigraphical wealth that can be found in the work of this author.³ His method was to divide the information provided both by inscriptions and Pausanias into categories of mythology, archaeology, and history. Habicht’s examination of certain examples, even if highly selective,⁴ has

¹ LSJ s.v. στηλοκόπας. Frazer (1965, vol. 1, lxxxiii and note 7) translates it “monument-tammer.”

² Arvanitopoulos 1929a, 42. See also Arvanitopoulos 1929b, 60-64.

³ Habicht 1984, 40-56, and Habicht 1985, 64-94.

⁴ This is implied in Fehling’s review (1988, 18-19) of Habicht’s book *Pausanias’ Guide to Greece* (1985). Fehling raises objections to Pausanias’ reliability, which are based on literary considerations (1988, 18):

H[abicht] does not deny that one of P[ausania]s’ aims is to create a readable work of literature, but he ignores some of the consequences. One of these is the presence of

strongly suggested that Pausanias' information is reliable and trustworthy. Habicht's somewhat general approach concerning the inscriptions as sources of information for Pausanias Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις does not by any means diminish his conclusions. Instead his work invites further and more in depth examination.

In this study a different approach from Habicht's is followed. First, all the instances in the Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις where Pausanias claims that he is reading an inscription and either provides a text or a summary of it are examined, regardless of the problems of accuracy and reliability. This will aid in better understanding why Pausanias employs inscriptions in his text, what kind of epigraphical interests he displays, and accordingly, whether attributing to him the epithet στήλοσκοπας is justifiable.

Once Pausanias' attitude towards inscriptions is established, the major issue to be examined is his accuracy and reliability. Books 5 and 6 provide an ideal test case. They deal with Elis and Olympia where excavations have yielded a plethora of inscriptions. The selection of these two books is warranted by the sheer number of inscriptions which

fictions as a literary embellishment.

In his work on the sources in Herodotos, especially in his "The place of Herodotos' source-fictions in literary history" (1989, 154-174) where Pausanias occupies a significant place, Fehling notes (157):

Antiquarian literature is closely connected with historical literature. In his fictive Confirmations, as in everything else, Pausanias is a close and also a crude imitator of Herodotos.

Granted, but to what extent Pausanias' close imitation of Herodotos should lead *ex silentio* to the same conclusions which Fehling reached concerning the sources in Herodotos? For example, were all inscriptions which Pausanias read on the statues of the Olympic victors at Olympia "literary embellishments" and "source-fictions?" Fehling's selection of passages where Pausanias' narrative indicates that inscriptions and hearsay are used as source-fictions is not, therefore, representative (see note 22 below). Too many "epigraphical" passages are overlooked. West, for example, (1985, 278-305), who studied all the instances where Herodotos is employing "epigraphical information", does not dismiss outright Pausanias' information. In one case where the exegete's testimony is brought to bear, she, *pace* Fehling, accepts it as valid (1985, 303 and note 115).

The fact that Pausanias is an imitator of Herodotos by no means implies that he did not visit the places and read inscriptions he says he did. We may believe that Herodotos' use of inscriptions was fictitious; but did Pausanias hold the same belief? Or did he set out in the second century A.D. to do exactly what he believed Herodotos had done, namely visit and collect *in situ* information for his work? After all Herodotos was his model and there is no reason to suppose that Pausanias was for a moment sceptical about Herodotean methodology.

can be compared with Pausanias' text. After a brief introduction to the structure and content of books 5 and 6 (Chapter II), the author's reliability can be tested vis-à-vis direct epigraphical evidence: the inscriptions that he claims to have read and are in fact extant (Chapter III); and indirect epigraphical evidence: inscriptions that have been found which corroborate his text; for some of these Pausanias implies that he has read them, although he does not actually say that he did, for others he implies nothing (Chapter IV). Finally, the conclusions reached from the thorough examination of the eighty-nine epigraphical instances in books 5 and 6 should provide a good indication of Pausanias' use of inscriptions for the remaining passages in these two books, and also the remaining eight books. The five Appendices provide lists of: all the passages that directly imply inscriptions;⁵ all epigraphical expressions Pausanias employs in his work;⁶ all metrical inscriptions identified as such by Pausanias;⁷ in light of the discussion in Chapters III and IV, the remaining passages in books 5 and 6 that are indicative of epigraphical evidence;⁸ and the passages in books 5 and 6 that present textual problems which are resolved thanks to inscriptions.⁹

In the *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις* as a whole there are 223 instances where Pausanias asserts that he is reading an inscription:¹⁰ in book 1 there are sixty-one, thirty-nine of which he saw on tombs in Athens' cemetery and three in Marathon's tombs; in book 2 there are fourteen, three of which are *πολυάνδρια*;¹¹ in book 3 there are four; in book 4

⁵ Appendix A: Epigraphical References in Pausanias' *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις*.

⁶ Appendix B: Epigraphical Expressions in Pausanias' *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις*.

⁷ Appendix C: Metrical Inscriptions in Pausanias' *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις*.

⁸ Appendix D: Remaining Epigraphical References in Pausanias' *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις* A, B.

⁹ Appendix E: Critical Notes on Pausanias' *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις* A, B.

¹⁰ See Appendix I, Epigraphical Passages in Pausanias' *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις*, where all 223 instances are listed by books.

there are four; in book 5 there are fifty-one, twelve of which are inscribed on Ζᾶνες¹² and one is the Kypselos *Lamax*; in book 6 there are forty-five; in book 7 there are six; in book 8 there are twenty-two; in book 9 there are seven; and in book 10 there are nine. Without addressing the question of accuracy and reliability for the moment, it is important to examine how Pausanias signifies that he is reading inscriptions, and then try to establish his method and interest in “quoting” them.¹³

As one might expect, most of these passages employ cognate forms of γραφ-, which primarily means “scratch” and in Pausanias is used to describe things both painted and inscribed, though of course inscriptions in antiquity were also painted. Only through the context of each passage can it be determined whether it is a painting or an inscription. For example, the chamber to the left of the Propylaia at Athens (1.22.6-7) and the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi (10.25-31) are both described as οἴκημα γραφᾶς ἔχον (“a chamber with paintings,” not inscriptions), both the works of the Thasian Polygnotos.¹⁴ These paintings also had names on them which were γεγραμμένα, that is the names were probably painted and not inscribed, so that the spectator would not be confused. There are only two passages in all of the Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις which are vague enough to be confusing, both of them in book 1. When discussing the reasons why the Athenians added the tribe Hadrianis to honor the Roman Emperor for his contributions to the city,

¹¹ LSJ s.v. πολυανδρεῖον “common burial place”.

¹² The Ζᾶνες were statues of Zeus, paid for by the fines exacted from athletes who were caught violating the rules of the Olympic Games. They were set up on the left side of the road leading from the Metroon to the Stadion, in front of the treasuries.

¹³ The majority of the examples in this introductory discussion are drawn from books other than 5 and 6 which are discussed in more detail below.

¹⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all translations throughout are those of Frazer 1965, vol. 1, and the text citations are from the new Teubner edition of Pausanias by Rocha-Pereira 1973-1981. The three major commentaries by Frazer 1965, Hitzig 1896-1910, and Papachatzis 1974-1981 have been consulted extensively and are indispensable tools for any one who is interested in Pausanias.

Pausanias reports: ἔστιν οἱ πάντα γεγραμμένα Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ (1.5.5), probably the *Res gestae* of Hadrian. When he mentions the Prytaneion, Pausanias adds ἐν δὲ νόμοι τε οἱ Σόλωνός εἰσι γεγραμμένοι (1.18.3). In both cases the larger context implies that Pausanias saw and read inscribed texts.

Besides the forms of γραφ- the majority of the 223 passages contain words which immediately suggest inscriptions. Expressions like τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, τὸ ἐλεγείον, τὸ ἰαμβεῖον (occurs only once in 7.23.7), ἡ στήλη, or τὸ πολυάνδριον together with some form of the verb γράφω or some other verb, or some form of the verb γράφω by itself, or a combination of the two provide ample evidence that Pausanias is dealing with an inscription.¹⁵ The meanings of *stele* and *polyandrion* are easily understood, but the three metrical terms invite some attention, because of their treatment in Pausanias' text.¹⁶ Pausanias consistently employs *elegeion* for "the elegiac distich." His one use of *iambeion* occurs in a passage where he summarizes and does not quote the text (7.23.7), but the meaning of the word is clearly "iambic meter."¹⁷ *Epigramma* generally denotes a "metrical inscription;" it may occur with *elegeion*, or by itself, in which case it implies elegiac distichs and hexameters.

In three exceptional instances Pausanias specifically comments on the meter of the *epigramma* he is quoting. When describing the *Larnax* of Kypselos (5.17.5-19.10),

¹⁵ See Appendix B (Epigraphical Expressions in Pausanias' Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις) where the passages are listed by the expressions employed by Pausanias in each book.

¹⁶ For the metrical inscriptions quoted by Pausanias in books 5 and 6 see: Gallavotti 1978a, 3-27; 1978b, 28-38; and 1979, 3-29. For general comments on metrical inscriptions and those quoted by Pausanias see: *IGM, passim*, and Gallavotti 1979b, *passim*. See also Appendix C (Metrical Inscriptions in Pausanias' Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις) which is a list of all passages where metrical inscriptions are mentioned by Pausanias.

¹⁷ LSJ s.v. ἰαμβεῖον.

Pausanias quotes many inscriptions, among which is the caption for Helen and Aithra, whom the Dioskouroi carry off (5.19.3):

ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπος τε ἑξάμετρον καὶ ὀνόματος ἔστιν ἑνὸς ἐπὶ
τῷ ἑξαμέτρῳ προσθήκη·
Τυνδαρίδα Ἑλέναν φέρετον, Αἴθραν δ' ἔλκεϊτον
Ἀθάναθεν.
τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ ἔπος οὕτω πεποιήται.

The meaning of Pausanias' comment on the inscribed caption is clear.¹⁸

Similarly, he discusses Phormis from Mainalon in Arkadia who changed his ethnic on account of his successful participation in campaigns with Gelon and Hieron, from which he profited greatly, so that he sent dedications to Apollo at Delphi and Zeus at Olympia (5.27.1-2). At Olympia Pausanias saw Phormis' sculptural group of two horses with the two charioteers and read the inscription (5.27.2):

τῷ προτέρῳ δὲ τῶν ἵππων ἐπίγραμμα ἔπεστιν ἐπὶ τῇ πλευρᾷ, τὰ πρῶτα
οὐ σὺν μέτρῳ· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω·
Φόρμις ἀνέθηκεν
Ἀρκὰς Μαινάλιος, νῦν δὲ Συρακόσιος.

Clearly, Pausanias expected the inscription to read metrically, but he could not understand the first line (— $\bar{u}u$ u —). It should have been part of an hexameter, because of the dactylic pentameter (*hemiepes*) in the second line.¹⁹ Consequently he observes that the first words are not metrical.

¹⁸ See *IGM* 186 with Bergk's suggestions. Gallavotti (1978a, 12-13; 1978b, 31; 1979b, 67-68) suggests, *contra* Pausanias, that this can be a dactylo-anapaestic lyrical meter of the Stesichorean type, found at the beginning of a strophe from the *Iliupersis*. In view of the fact, however, that the inscriptions quoted by Pausanias from the Kypselos *Larnax* are all in hexameters, it is unlikely that for only this one depiction of an epic event the poet-composer (the Korinthian Eumelos according to Pausanias' guess in 5.19.10) would employ a lyrical meter.

¹⁹ See *IGM* 55, where it is suggested that this inscription shows the oldest tripartite form of a dedicatory epigram. Gallavotti (1978a, 26; 1978b, 36; 1979b, 8-9) suggests that the first line is actually a reizianus with resolution, a meter attested in tragedy and Pindar. His reference, however, to Pausanias' book 10.7.5-6, which is unique and where the text itself warrants Aeolic meters, does not corroborate the meter for 5.27.2, mainly because of the distinct character of the two dedications and Pausanias' own comments in both passages (see note 20 below).

Finally, when discussing the Pythian Games and their various contests (10.7.2-8), Pausanias states that the contest of singing to the flute (αὐλωιδία) was discontinued in the second Pythiad, “because they deemed the music was inauspicious. For the tunes were most doleful, and the words sung to them were dirges.” He supports his statement with this proof (10.7.5-6):

μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ Ἐχεμβρότου τὸ ἀνάθημα, τρίπους χαλκοῦς
ἀνατεθεὶς τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐν Θήβαις· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ὁ τρίπους εἶχεν·
Ἐχέμβροτος Ἀρκὰς θῆκε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ
νικήσας τόδ’ ἄγαλμ’ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν ἀέθλοισι,
Ἕλλησι δ’ αἰείδων μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους.
κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς αὐλωιδίας ἐπαύσθη τὸ ἀγώνισμα.

Obviously, Pausanias understands the meter and music of these lines to be a representative sample of Echembrotos’ poems (this epigram being one of his compositions) which were primarily dirges and melic songs. According to Pausanias, therefore, the mention in the epigram of these kinds of poems justifies the discontinuation of the contest of the αὐλωιδία in the second Pythiad.²⁰

In addition to metrical comments Pausanias often gives information about the script, the date, and the way in which an inscription is cut. Thus, on the wall of the temple of Demeter in Athens (1.2.4), and on the dedication of Miltiades at Olympia (6.19.6), there are inscriptions written Ἰωνικοῖς γράμμασιν; the *sanationes* at the temple of Asklepios

²⁰ See the metrical suggestions in *IGM* 138, and especially Gallavotti (1979b, 107-115) who discusses the possibilities and arrives at the following metrical units:

reizianus (u - uu - -) + hemiepes (- uu - - -)
hemiepes (- - - uu -) + enoplios (- - uu - uu - -)
reizianus (- - uu - -) + hypodochmiac (u uu - u -).

Gallavotti’s discussion is fully justified in this case by the observation of Pausanias, who probably could appreciate the poem’s music as well. This example, however, of the combination of reizianus + hemiepes does not imply that in 5.27.2 the same meter should, or may, occur. Phormis’ dedication follows the standard form of an epigram, whereas Echembrotos’ victory in singing to the flute warrants an epigram commemorating the very victory on account of which it was dedicated, and therefore composed in the same metrical units.

at Epidauros are written *φωνῆι τῆι Δωρίδι* (2.27.3); and one of the *stelai* on the tomb of Epaminondas near Mantinea is described as *ἀρχαία καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχουσα Βοιωτικόν* (8.11.8).²¹

Furthermore, the antiquity of either the object inscribed or the script of an inscription is often produced as evidence for the date or for a claim of some kind. In the sacred grove of Asklepios at Epidauros Pausanias sees an *ἀρχαία στήλη* “with an inscription stating that Hippolytos dedicated twenty horses to the god,” and he goes on to relate a story that he heard from the people of Arikia corroborating the text of the inscription (2.27.4). Elsewhere Pausanias observes that an inscription he reads is inscribed *ἀρχαίοις γράμμασιν* (5.22.3; 8.25.1), and the dedication of the Spartan Eutelidas commemorating his Olympic victory in 628 B.C. is *ἥ τε εἰκὼν ἀρχαία τοῦ Εὐτελίδου καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ γράμματα ἀμυδρὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου* (6.15.8). In these instances the periegete provides firsthand and personal observations, relevant to the date of the inscription and the monument.

There are, however, two cases where Pausanias clearly states that his report is based on hearsay. In the agora at Phigaleia he sees the statue of Arrachion the pankratiast which, according to his description, is a *kouros* (8.40.1):

τά τε ἄλλα ἀρχαῖος καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι· οὐ διεστᾶσι μὲν πολὺ οἱ πόδες, καθεῖνται δὲ παρὰ πλευρὰν αἰ

²¹ Pausanias' interest in languages is evident by his frequent references to various Greek dialects and languages other than Greek, which are not related to inscriptions. See also no. 87 below for an example in which Pausanias appears to be arguing on the basis of dialectical phonology.

Rocha-Pereira's *Index* (1981), s.vv. *γλῶσσα*, *διάλεκτος*, *φωνή* lists the following passages:

γλῶσσα: Ἀττικῆς 5.15.7. Ἑλληνῶν 1.22.1; 2.4.5. Κυρηνῶν 10.17.9. Ἀσκαίων 9.12.2. Φοινίκων 9.12.2.

διάλεκτος: Αἰολέων 9.22.3. Ἀττικῆς 5.11.7; 5.13.8; 5.15.2; 5.15.7. Δωριέων 4.27.11; 4.34.8. Ἡλείων 5.15.2. Καρικῆς 9.23.6.

φωνή: Αἰγυπτίων 9.12.2. Ἀργείων 2.37.3. Ἀρκαδικῆς 8.25.6. Βοιωτῶν 10.19.11. Γαλατῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Φρυγίας 10.36.1. Δωρῆς 2.29.5; 2.37.3; 3.19.6; 3.22.1; 4.27.11; 4.34.8; 5.15.12; 9.22.3. Ἑλλάδος 10.23.8. Ἡλείων 5.3.2; 5.15.7; 5.21.2. Κελτῶν 10.19.11. Κορινθίων 5.17.5. Μεσσηνίων 3.26.9; 4.20.2. Ρωμαίων 2.4.5.

χειρες ἄχρι γλουτῶν. πεποιήται μὲν δὴ ἡ εἰκὼν λίθου, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτὴν γραφῆναι· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἠφάνιστο ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου...

Then he reports Arrachion's victories at Olympia in 564 B.C. (8.40.1-2), relying evidently not on the epigram but probably on a catalogue of Olympic victors. Similarly, he tells the story which he heard from the Boiotians of Mt. Helikon about Hesiod (9.31.4):

Βοιωτῶν δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα οἰκοῦντες παρειλημμένα δόξει λέγουσιν ὡς ἄλλο Ἑσίοδος ποιήσει<εν> οὐδὲν ἢ τὰ Ἔργα· καὶ τούτων δὲ τὸ ἐς τὰς Μούσας ἀφαιροῦσι προσίμιον, ἀρχὴν τῆς ποιήσεως εἶναι τὸ ἐς τὰς Ἑριδας λέγοντες· καί μοι μόλυβδον ἐδείκνυσαν, ἔνθα ἡ πηγὴ, τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λελυμασμένον· ἐγγέγραπται δὲ αὐτῶι τὰ Ἔργα.

Pausanias, however, makes clear his reservations in accepting this story.²² For he goes on to report other traditions about what Hesiod had composed and which are in conflict with the Boiotian version: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα (sc. δόξα) κεχωρισμένη τῆς προτέρας (9.31.5-6).

In book 5 Pausanias' descriptions of the direction of the script in inscriptions are equally important.²³ Among the dedications that he saw in the Heraion at Olympia, there was the *diskos* of Iphitos on which the declaration of the truce, announced by the Eleians every four years, was inscribed: οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺ ἔχει γεγραμμένην, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλου

²² Knox (1989, 3-22) has convincingly argued that Hesiod's *Works and Days* is a more innovative and original composition than the *Theogony* whose tradition left the poet with little room for innovation. In this sense, Pausanias' cautious reporting of the *doxa* of the Boiotians that Hesiod composed only the *Erga*, although he does not believe it, may very well be an ancient interpretative *doxa* of the poet's work. Fehling (1989, 173 and note 21) dismisses completely Pausanias' account as fantasy. However remote Pausanias' story may be about the lead tablet inscribed *Erga*, the possibility that the Boiotians "showed" Pausanias lead tablets should not be dismissed totally, especially when local pride and propaganda is taken into consideration. More importantly, however, Pausanias not only does not make up the story (there is no expression like "I think," or "in my opinion"), but he is himself sceptical about it.

²³ For a thorough discussion of these passages and the problems of the various directions of script, see: Zinn 1950-51, 1-36. Also useful are: Guarducci *EG* vol. 1, 407-417; Jeffery *LSAG* 43-50, although she does not mention Pausanias; Klaffenbach 1982, 80-83; and Woodhead 1981, 24-34.

σχήμα περίεισιν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα (5.20.1). In this case the direction of the script is simply dictated by the shape of the object. There are two instances, however, where Pausanias notes the direction of the script, one inscription is cut retrograde and the other boustrophedon. He is actually the only ancient literary source of such descriptions. Near the great temple of Zeus he saw a sculptural group of the men “who, when Hector challenged a Greek to single combat, dared to cast lots who should fight him.” This monument was dedicated by the entire Achaian race to Zeus at Olympia, and of the eight statues ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ {ἀγάλματι} Ἄγαμέμνονι τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι γεγραμμένον· γέγραπται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰ λαῖα ἐκ δεξιῶν (5.25.9). Likewise, before embarking on an elaborate detailed description of the *Larnax* of Kypselos, which he saw in the Heraion at Olympia, Pausanias states (5.17.6):

τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐπιγράμματα ἔπεστι τοῖς πλείοσι, γράμμασι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, γεγραμμένα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἔχει, σχήματα δὲ ἄλλα τῶν γραμμάτων βουστροφηδὸν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες. τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ τοιόνδε· ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἔπους ἐπιστρέφει τῶν ἐπῶν τὸ δεύτερον ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ. γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι καὶ ἄλλως τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐλιγμοῖς συμβαλέσθαι χαλεποῖς.

In this passage there are three different ways of inscribing archaic letters: some of the inscriptions run straight on; others are written in boustrophedon; and all are inscribed in winding lines, because they are attached to the figures portrayed, a fact which makes them difficult to read. What is interesting is that Pausanias explains the word boustrophedon not by paraphrasing it (βοῦς+στρέφω) and using the oxen-plowing-the-field metaphor.²⁴ Instead, being at the site of the Olympic Games, he compares the direction of the letters in the inscriptions to that of the runners in the *diáulos* (ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ).

²⁴ These passages in Pausanias are the only two instances describing the direction of lettering in Greek Literature (according to a search done on the *TLG* database and *Ibycus* system at the Ohio State University, Department of Classics). The adverb βουστροφηδόν is not attested before this period. It occurs only in Pausanias and also in Harpokration (*Lexikon*, s.v. [220.9-11]), a near contemporary of Pausanias according to Lesky 1981, 1138-1139.

All the aforementioned observations that Pausanias offers in relation to inscriptions, about their meter, dialect, their state of preservation in his time, direction and method of inscribing, fall clearly within the scope of the epigraphist. Yet, in the Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις these observations *per se* do not prove an epigraphical zeal on Pausanias' part. The inscriptions are connected rather with the tradition or practice of the periegetic genre and are employed in order to support or reject an argument or story in which Pausanias is interested. This raises the most important question about Pausanias and inscriptions, which also touches upon his methodology in composing the Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις, namely what he saw in them that he valued as significant enough to incorporate them in his work.

Indeed Pausanias' work follows the tradition, well-established by his time, of a periegete, whose function at a major site in Greece would not have been much different from his modern equivalent, the tour guide.²⁵ Plutarch paints a vivid portrait of a Delphic periegete in his treatise, *De Pythiae Oraculis* (359C):²⁶ ἐπέβαινον οἱ περιηγηταὶ τὰ συντεταγμένα μηδὲν ἡμῶν φροντίσαντες δεηθέντων ἐπιτεμεῖν τὰς ῥήσεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων. Though Plutarch's derogatory remark may still find a sympathetic audience, the most significant detail is the extensive (τὰ πολλὰ) use of *epigrammata*. No doubt, the periegete read aloud such *epigrammata* in order to substantiate his speech (τὰς ῥήσεις) which, one may assume, was carefully outlined ahead of time.

Pausanias, however, does not use the term *periegetes*. He prefers the word *exegetes*, a fact which has caused much debate.²⁷ F. Jacoby has shown convincingly that

²⁵ See Casson 1974, 262-291 (chapter 17 "Sightseeing") and 292-299 (chapter 18 "Baedeker of the Ancient World").

²⁶ See also 396C, 397D, 400D, 401CD. The text is: Flacelière 1974.

the function of the *exegetai* in Athens is not related to, and cannot be interpreted using the testimony of Pausanias.²⁸ Jacoby argues for a very limited and specific meaning of the word ἐξηγητής, i.e. “expounder of sacred rites or customs, modes of burial, expiation, etc.,”²⁹ his purpose is to dissociate the *exegetai* in Athens from the genesis of the Attidographers. The primary meaning of the word, however, is “one who leads, adviser” and in Pausanias’ text the word has been understood as “guide, cicerone, to temples, etc.”³⁰ At Olympia there have been found inscriptions recording the official cult personnel among whom an *exegetes* (twenty times³¹) and a *periegetes* (four times³²) are listed. Although very few of these inscriptions are completely preserved, they seem to

²⁷ The word *periegetes* is not found in Pausanias after a search done on the *TLG* database and *Ibycus* system at the Ohio State University, Department of Classics. The word *exegetes* is found nineteen times in Pausanias:

book 1: 13.8; 34.4; 35.8; 41.2; 42.4;
 book 2: 9.7; 23.6; 31.4;
 book 4: 33.6;
 book 5: 6.6; 10.7; 15.10; 18.6; 20.4; 21.8-9; 23.6;
 book 7: 6.5;
 book 9: 3.3;
 book 10: 28.7.

See also Frazer 1965, vol. 1, lxxvi-lxxvii, and Habicht 1985, 4-8.

²⁸ Jacoby (1949, 8-70; 236 notes 42, 43, 1; 237-304; 399, and the bibliography there) is mainly concerned with the three groups of *exegetai* in Athens, i.e., ἐξηγητῆς ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν, ἐξηγητῆς ἐξ Εὐμόλιπιδῶν, and ἐξηγητῆς πυθόχρηστος and their relationship with the Attidographers, and the genesis of the *Atthis* at Athens. His discussion and arguments are relevant to Pausanias, because Pausanias is often quoted as evidence for the various theories proposed before Jacoby.

Recently, Winkler 1985, 234-242 reverts to the pre-Jacoby argumentation of the meaning of *exegetes*, in order to connect Apuleius with the *exegetes*, *aretalogoí* and confessors, thus bringing together all three groups. Pausanias is indeed Apuleius’ contemporary, but his usage of the word *exegetes* is not as closely connected with the *aretalogoí* and confessors as Winkler tries to suggest.

²⁹ LSJ s.v. ἐξηγητής II.

³⁰ LSJ s.v. ἐξηγητής.

³¹ *IO* 59₂₂, 61₂, 62₁₅, 64₂₀, 66₃, 76₄, 80₈, 86₁₀, 91₁₄, 92₁₅, 95₁₂, 102₁₃, 103₁₈, 104₁₆, 106₁₄, 116₁₄, 117₁₆, 121₁₆, 122₁₃, 140₂. The number of times, twenty, is approximate, since in some of the inscriptions the word is partially restored.

³² *IO* 77₉, 83₂, 110₁₇, 120₁₀. The *IO* editors explain the four instances of the *periegete* as a “wohl durch den populären Sprachgebrauch veranlaßte Nachlässigkeit” (p. 141).

show that the *periegete* and the *exegete* are not different offices, since the two officials never occur together on the same list and are ranked after the *manteis*.

Even so, Pausanias apparently rejects the use of the word *περιηγητής* in his work and prefers *ἐξηγητής*. This preference for the term *exegetes* is perfectly understandable given the derogatory remark in Plutarch about the *periegetes*. The main difference between these two words, as Pausanias implicitly defines them, is that the *periegete*'s knowledge is superficial and therefore he simply "describes" something without any attempt at explanation; whereas the *exegete* "knows" his subject and he "explains" what he is reporting. In addition to the absence from Pausanias' text of the word *περιηγητής*, further evidence for this distinction is Pausanias' own definition of his work (5.21.1): τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοι πρόεισιν ὁ λόγος ἔς τε τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἔς τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐξήγησιν. This programmatic statement in book 5 reveals that Pausanias understands his activity and work to be not a *περιήγησις* but an *ἐξήγησις*. Accordingly, the title of his work, which is not his own, does not do him justice.³³ Whenever Pausanias refers to earlier or later books in his narrative he uses, like Herodotos, the word *λόγοι*.³⁴ This is not a superficial association. Pausanias' *logoi* for Greece are developed in a way similar to Herodotos' *logoi* for the territories surrounding Greece. In that respect Pausanias implies that his work is a kind of history. This and the repeated use of the word *exegetes*, with which Pausanias implicitly but

³³ See Habicht 1985, 5 and note 28, although he accepts the conventional title (1985, 2 and note 5). Gurlitt (1890, 34) suggested as a title Ἐξήγησις Ἑλλάδος and Trendelenburg (1911) had lectured on Pausanias' *Hellenika*. For the history of the transmission of Pausanias' work see also Diller's articles (1955, 268-279; 1956, 84-97; 1957, 169-188), and Papachatzis' discussion (1974-81, vol. 1, 32-59).

³⁴ For Pausanias' definition of his work as a narrative comprised of *λόγοι* and *θεωρήματα* see Robert 1909, 8-68, Nörenberg 1973, 235-252, and Habicht 1985, 20-27. The issue of whether Pausanias favors more the stories than the monuments and therefore he is not as trustworthy (Robert), or both are treated equally by him (Nörenberg) is rather superficial and irrelevant. See also the Conclusions.

definitely associates himself, certainly distinguish and elevate Pausanias' work from that of earlier periegetes.

Pausanias, therefore, may be better understood as an exegete, i.e., an author who, within the broad framework of a description of Hellas, is purveying various stories that survived to his time about the history, archaeology, religion and mythology, geography and topography, *inter alia*, of a particular place. For these stories the most trustworthy evidence available were the inscriptions, the monuments, and the local periegetes/exegetes. In fact, Pausanias, when he describes his own work throughout the Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις, elucidates his methodology on sources in similar terms. When he finishes his discussion of Athens, he declares (1.39.3):

τοσαῦτα κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀθηναίοις γνωριμώτατα ἦν ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν, ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα.

A similar programmatic rule to be followed in the description of Lakonia is stated in more detail (3.11.1):

ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐπανόρθωμα ἐγένετο, μὴ τὰ πάντα με ἐφεξῆς, <τὰ δὲ> μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης ἐπιλεξάμενον ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰρηκέναι, δηλώσω δὴ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠθέλησεν ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξίων ἀφηγήσεως, ὧν ἂ ἕκαστοι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσιν, ἀποκρίναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα, ὡς οὖν εὐβουλευμένος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου παραβήσομαι.

These two statements are representative for understanding Pausanias' method of composition and hold true for all ten books.³⁵ Indeed they conform to the broad periegetic principles which involve story-telling substantiated by the monuments, inscriptions, or the local exegetes. In Plutarch the periegete rattles off many stories which

³⁵ Similar programmatic statements can be found elsewhere in Pausanias: book 1: 3.3; book 2: 13.3; 14.4; 29.1; 34.11; book 5: 21.1; book 6: 1.1-2; 17.1; 23.1; 24.6; book 8: 2.5-7; 3.6; 8.3; 10.1; 54.7; book 10: 9.1; 32.1. The ones in books 5 and 6 are discussed in Chapter II.

he corroborates with epigrams with no attempt at explanation. Pausanias, the exegete, composes a description of Greece following similar principles, but with a different purpose in mind. His effort is aimed at “explaining” the sites and the monuments (θεωρήματα),³⁶ by bringing together stories (λόγοι) from inscriptions or the local exegetes. The size of such a task is bound to be limited to the most memorable and noteworthy (γνωριμότετα, ἀξιολογώτατα) stories and monuments. Pausanias’ aim is to create a clear narrative, if possible, by resolving conflicting evidence about these *logoi*. The end result is what Pausanias calls an ἐξήγησις of Greece, or the Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις as it came to be known by the Byzantine and Medieval scribes and scholars.

Inscriptions, as Pausanias uses them, are the very story of a monument. Most importantly they are the only primary and contemporary evidence that Pausanias has relative to these monuments and therefore an integral part of understanding it. Moreover, because what they communicate is in a written form, the inscriptions acquire a more authoritative aura than hearsay, and consequently Pausanias treats them as one of his most reliable sources. Indeed he seldom questions an inscription and is occasionally led astray by them. For him inscriptions appear to have constituted for the most part objective and therefore trustworthy information which preserve and enliven the history and customs of the past. Of course Pausanias is not interested in everything inscribed, but only in those inscriptions which pertain to his qualification of τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα.³⁷ Thus, the majority of the 223 inscriptions quoted, summarized, or alluded to are, not surprisingly,

³⁶ See Habicht’s (1985, 21 note 83) brief discussion on the word θεωρήματα.

³⁷ Markedly absent for example are scores of public decrees which Pausanias must have seen. Even so, the number of 223 inscriptions, which he claims to have read, is still very impressive. Gallavotti’s (1978a, 3) statement that only in books 5 and 6 does Pausanias show an interest in inscriptions needs qualification. In *Attika* (book 1) Gallavotti finds only five epigraphical passages as opposed to my count of sixty-one, perhaps because he considers only those which are directly quoted by Pausanias. See Appendix A for the numerical disposition of inscriptions quoted, summarized, or simply mentioned by Pausanias in each book.

commemorative dedications in major sanctuaries, noteworthy funeral *stelai*, and various religious inscriptions. These groups of inscriptions provide Pausanias the necessary information to support a particular story that he wants to include in his work or to enhance a certain detail.

Instances illustrating this use of inscriptions by Pausanias are abundant. There are also counter examples, where Pausanias, by not having the benefit of inscriptional information, cannot provide an explanation for a monument. On the road from Korinth to Sikyon for example Pausanias sees the tomb of the Messenian Lykos whom he cannot find on the list of Olympic victors among the pentathletes. Since the tomb's shape strikes him as different, it offers him the opportunity to introduce the burial custom peculiar to Sikyon: ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιγράφουσιν οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ πατρόθεν ὑπειπόντες κελεύουσι τὸν νεκρὸν χαίρειν (2.7.2). No doubt, Pausanias experienced the same frustration and difficulty which modern epigraphists experience in dealing with the notoriously uninformative *tituli sepulcrales* from classical and hellenistic Greece. He did not encounter the same problem, however, in the public cemetery of Athens, which he has just finished describing and where the full names and sometimes the cause of death are inscribed. So, in Athens' public cemetery he recorded thirty-nine inscribed tombs (1.29.3-16). Likewise, outside Thebes there is no epigram on the *polyandrion*, erected for those who had died fighting against Philip of Makedon. As Pausanias explains, the reason is: ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰκότα τῆι τόλμῃ σοφίσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαίμονος ἠκολούθησε (9.40.10). Again, descending from the Arkadian city of Orchomenos Pausanias observes heaps of stones that commemorate fallen warriors, but there is no inscription, nor do the Orchomenians know when or with whom these men died fighting (8.13.3). At Olympia too, because of the absence of inscriptions in certain cases, Pausanias reports the local exegete's opinion, for example,

that a statue was a Zeus dedicated by Mummius (ἐλέγετο 5.24.4), or that another portrays Aristotle from Stageira (μνημονεύουσιν 6.4.8).³⁸

Beyond these uninscribed and therefore non-informative examples, the majority of the dedications are inscribed and a brief examination of representative cases will elaborate more fully Pausanias' methodology in dealing with them. His approach is sometimes astonishingly close to modern standards. In the beginning of book 4 Pausanias discusses the history of Messene and the Mysteries of Andania. His exposition is based on an inscription which he read in the chapel of the Lykomids at Phlya in Attika and part of which he quotes (ὅσα ἡμῶν ἐς πίστιν συντελεῖ τοῦ λόγου 4.1.7-8). Actually, the information he provides before (4.1.5-7) and after (4.1.9) the inscription is an elaboration of the text of the partially quoted inscription.³⁹ In a similar manner, in the agora of Tegea Pausanias reads the inscription on the base of a statue of Philopoimen (8.49.1), which he quotes (8.52.6). The information on the history of the man, however, reported by Pausanias (8.49.1-52.6), is an elaborate paraphrase of the epigram itself. In both cases Pausanias appears to be redundant, since he provides the same information twice. This, however, is also an implicit way by which the reader is led to believe that what Pausanias is reporting is true. By quoting the actual text of the inscription Pausanias proves, as it were, that his own paraphrase of the same text is reliable and true.

There are further examples which illustrate his treatment of inscriptions. On the Sacred Way in Athens Pausanias sees the tomb of Phytalos and quotes the epigram inscribed on it, as evidence of what he has just said (1.37.2):

ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλον φασιν οἴκωι Δῆμητρα δέξασθαι,
καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναί οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς

³⁸ Other examples where the absence of inscriptions creates problems for Pausanias can be found in: book 5: 23.1; 26.6; book 6: 2.9; 3.1; 4.8; 17.4.

³⁹ An inscription with regulations for these Mysteries, dated 91 B.C., has been found: *IG* V.1, 1390.

μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ·

ἐνθάδ' ἄναξ ἦρως Φύταλός ποτε δέξατο σεμνήν
Δήμητραν, ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν,
ἦν ἱεράν συκῆν θνητῶν γένος ἔξονομάζει·
ἔξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγήρως.

Pausanias heard the story about Phytalos probably from the local periegetes (φασίν), but he was also able to test its veracity. He read the epigram on Phytalos' tomb, which related the same information, and accordingly the local story is validated. Likewise, in Thebes the bridal chamber of Alkmene, built by Trophonios and Agamedes, is shown to him among the ruins. The inscription, however, was not extant, and therefore Pausanias is cautious. He stresses twice the fact that his report and his quote of the epigram depend upon information supplied by the Thebans (9.11.1-2):

ἐν ἀριστεραῖ δὲ τῶν πυλῶν, ἃς ὀνομάζουσιν Ἡλέκτρας ... καὶ
τῆς Ἀλκμήνης ἐστὶν ἔτι ὁ θάλαμος ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις δῆλος.
οἰκοδομήσαι δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνι Τροφώνιον φασί καὶ
Ἀγαμήδην, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆναι τὸδε·
Ἀμφιτρύων ὅτ' ἔμελλ' ἀγαγέσθαι δεῦρο γυναῖκα
Ἀλκμήνην, θάλαμόν γ' ἐκλέξατο τοῦτον ἑαυτῷ·
ἀγχίθεος δ' ἐποίησε Τροφώνιος ἡδ' Ἀγαμήδης.
τοῦτο μὲν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι γραφῆναι λέγουσιν·

By using φασί and λέγουσιν Pausanias clearly emphasizes that the story he narrates is only a report as he heard it from the Thebans. The fact that the inscription is no longer extant makes him cautious about the report. In the cases of Phytalos, Philopoimen, and the Mysteries in the Messenian Andania Pausanias' method of reporting does not differ from that of the Thebans: the story of a specific monument is narrated and then an inscription is quoted as hard evidence. The only difference with Pausanias is that he sees and quotes the hard evidence, the inscriptions: they are the "primary" evidence which substantiate a story and hence are employed extensively in his narrative.

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ἐνθάδ' ἄναξ ἦρως Φύταλός ποτε δέξατο σεμνήν
 Δήμητραν, ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν,
 ἦν ἱεράν συκῆν θνητῶν γένος ἐξονομάζει·
 ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχευ ἀγήρως.

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ἐν ἀριστεραῖ δὲ τῶν πυλῶν, ἃς ὀνομάζουσιν Ἴηλέκτρας ... καὶ
 τῆς Ἄλκμήνης ἐστὶν ἔτι ὁ θάλαμος ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις δῆλος.
 οἰκοδομήσαι δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀμφιτρώωνι Τροφώνιον φασί καὶ
 Ἀγαμήδην, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆναι τόδε·
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Pausanias is also confronted with and can distinguish cases of rededicated/reinscribed statues, a common practice from Hellenistic times onwards. Near the temple of Demeter in Athens Pausanias sees a male on horseback “hurling a spear at the giant Polybotes, in reference to whom the Koans tell the myth about Cape Chelone,” and reckons him to be Poseidon. “But the existing inscription,” he concludes, “assigns the statue to someone else” (1.2.4). Also in Athens, the names on the statues of Miltiades and Themistokles in the Prytaneion have been changed into those of a Roman and a Thracian (1.18.3). Pausanias encounters a similar case at the Argive Heraion where a statue of Orestes has been reinscribed so as to portray the Emperor Augustus (2.17.3). In the agora of Mantinea the city reinscribed the statue of Podares, who died in the battle against Epaminondas and the Thebans “three generations before my time..., so as to make it apply to a descendant and namesake of Podares, who lived late enough to enjoy Roman citizenship” (8.9.9-10).

Furthermore, there are cases where Pausanias uses the inscriptional information to argue carefully and reach conclusions about the historicity of certain facts. In his brief overview of the history of the Achaian race he concludes that the Achaians did not participate in the battle of Plataea, because, if they had done so, their name would have been inscribed together with those of the other cities and nations on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia (7.6.4). This inscribed monument was dedicated by all Greeks who fought at Plataea, and indeed, Pausanias read the inscription and summarized its contents in his description of Elis (5.23.1-3, no. 50 below). Likewise, an inscription Pausanias reads at Olympia and quotes concerning the victory of the Achaian Oibotas from Dyme seems to dispute the city’s name. As he points out, however, the inscription preserves the older name of Dyme, Paleia (7.17.6-7, 13-14 = 6.3.8). Similar topographical information provided by inscriptions is corroborated by Pausanias’ own *in situ* observations: the city of Tritaia is in Arkadia (6.12.8 = 8.27.5); the Myonians, whom

Thucydides mentions (3.101), come from Myonia, a city in Lokris (6.19.4-5 = 10.38.8); the deserted city of Halike on the road from Hermione to Mases was once inhabited, since it is attested at Epidauros in the inscribed *sanationes* which were read by Pausanias in the precinct of Asklepios (2.36.1 = 2.27.3).⁴⁰

All these illustrations, scattered throughout the Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις, clearly attest to Pausanias' interests in inscriptions. There remain two final examples which serve as a convenient recapitulation of the foregoing presentation, the *Larnax* of Kypselos in the Heraion at Olympia (5.17.5-19.10, and no. 55 below) and Polygnotos' paintings in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi (10.25.1-31.12). These are the most elaborate and lengthy descriptions/explanations in the entire Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις. Each has many inscriptions, those on the *Larnax* were probably cut in the wood, while the walls of the Lesche were surely painted. Pausanias, however, treats them both in the same manner.

In his description of the *Larnax* of Kypselos Pausanias states in the beginning that there are many inscriptions associated with the figures portrayed (17.6), and then he proceeds to present successively each one of the five fields into which the *Larnax* is divided. The descriptions of the first, second and fourth fields are quite elaborate, while those of the third and fifth are almost non-existent. This discrepancy is due to the fact that Pausanias and also the local exegete had no inscription for guidance. As he observes, the only alternative that is left to him for the third and fifth fields is guesswork (εἰκάζειν 18.6-8; 19.7-8). He was better off, however, with the first, second and fourth fields. Yet even here, if the name is not inscribed, no definite information is provided by Pausanias, unless the scene represents a very well known mythological episode. In a depiction of Herakles there is a woman behind him whose name is not inscribed. The only information, therefore, Pausanias can provide is that: "she is playing on a Phrygian,

⁴⁰ Careful and meaningful observations by Pausanias can also be found in: book 2: 27.4; book 5: 10.2; book 6: 2.9; 13.10-11; book 10: 11.6; 24.2; 36.9.

not a Greek flute” (17.9, to which 18.2 is similar). The episode of Herakles slaying the Hydra has no inscription, too, because none is needed. Herakles is “easily recognized both by the subject and his figure” (17.11, to which 18.4 is similar). On the second field, Pausanias describes a woman carrying in her hands two boys with their feet turned different ways: on her right arm a white boy asleep, on her left arm a black boy that looks to be asleep. “The inscriptions,” he concludes, “show, what is easy to see without them, that the boys are Death and Sleep, and that Night is nurse to both” (18.1). Later on, when he sees Artemis depicted in a strange way, her inscribed name alone is of no assistance to him. So, he simply describes the representation of the goddess without any explanation (19.5): οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ’ ὅτῳ λόγῳ πτέρυγας ἔχουσα ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων, καὶ τῆι μὲν δεξιᾷ κατέχει πάρδαλιν, τῆι δὲ ἑτέρῃ τῶν χειρῶν λέοντα.⁴¹

A similar approach is taken by Pausanias in his description of Polygnotos’ paintings which are divided into three major themes: the *Iliupersis*, the *Apoplous*, and the *Nekyia* of Odysseus. The major fault that Pausanias finds with Polygnotos is the names assigned to each figure. In the Sea-Scene,⁴² in which Menelaos, his ship, and its steerman Phrontis are depicted, there are also painted other figures dismantling the tents, whose names Pausanias cannot find in Homer’s *Odyssey*. Therefore, he reaches the conclusion which is difficult to prove or disprove in light of the evidence (10.25.3): τῶν δὲ ἄλλων

⁴¹ For further discussion on the *larnax* of Kypselos see: Frazer 1965, ad loc.; Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.; Jones 1894, 30-80; von Massow 1916, 1-117; Tsountas 1925, 147-154; Mayer 1931, 95-96; Myres 1946, 122; Friedländer 1987, 56-60 no. 54; Cosi 1958, 81-83; Gallavotti 1978a, 12-14, 1978b, 30-31; Carter 1989, 355-378. See also Chapter IV no. 55 below.

⁴² The labels for the scenes are from the recent and thorough study of Polygnotos’ paintings by Stansbury-O’Donnell 1989, 203-215; and Stansbury-O’Donnell 1990, 213-235. He rejects previous reconstructions and interprets Pausanias’ text more literally and as a reliable source. He divides the *Iliupersis* into three major scenes: the Sea-Scene, the Altar-Scene, and the Land-Scene; and the *Nekyia* into another three major scenes: the Odysseus-Scene, the Achilles-Scene, and the Heroes-Scene. See also Frazer 1965, ad loc., and Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

a serious student of inscriptions which offer so much to the ἐξήγησις, as he defines his activity, of the sites and monuments.

CHAPTER II

PAUSANIAS' NARRATIVE METHOD IN 'ΗΛΙΑΚΩΝ A AND B

'Ηλιακῶν A and B, books five and six of Pausanias' 'Ελλάδος Περιήγησις, form a unity and are dedicated, as the name indicates, to the description of Ἥλις. This region, to whose description Pausanias devotes two books, is the only such exception in his work and thus it acquires a prominent place by occupying one-eighth, or 13% of the entire work.⁴³ The primary reason for this exceptional treatment is the presence of Olympia in Elis, the site of the Panhellenic Olympic Games every four years, much celebrated in antiquity.⁴⁴ The whole region of Elis is described by Pausanias in less than twelve chapters, but on Olympia he spends approximately forty-two. The sheer length of Pausanias' treatment and the extensive excavations at Olympia by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, which have brought to light over one thousand inscriptions, provide the perfect test case for studying Pausanias' methodology and use of inscriptions.

A general discussion, however, of the scope and content of Pausanias' books 5 and 6 is warranted by way of introduction to the epigraphical commentary. Pausanias' work is a synthesis of different elements of which the inscriptions are only one. The major role of inscriptions throughout the 'Ελλάδος Περιήγησις has already been evaluated. The following overview will not only reveal the context within which Pausanias employed

⁴³ The percentage is Habicht's (1985, 4 and note 20). See also Papachatzis 1974-81, vol. 3, 14ff.. The division of books is Pausanias' own.

⁴⁴ E.g. Pindar *Olympia* 1.5-7.

inscriptions, but it will also communicate a sense of topography, i.e. what places in Elis Pausanias visited, where he saw inscriptions, in short his narrative method and technique for this region. Thus, the parameters within which Pausanias worked and the goals to which he aspired in his exegesis of Elis and especially of Olympia will be clearly defined.

In his introduction to the description of Elis Pausanias offers a brief sketch of the tribal division of the Peloponnese into five regions (μοῖραι).⁴⁵ It includes the Dorian, the non-Dorian, and the immigrant (ἐπηλύδων) peoples, of which the most recent are the Corinthians (5.1.2):⁴⁶

..., καὶ σφισιν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν γῆν παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη καὶ διακόσια τριῶν δέοντα ἐς ἐμέ.

This statement à propos of the latest newcomers in the Peloponnese is the only instance where Pausanias provides a direct and certain date for his *floruit* and a *terminus* for the composition of his work:⁴⁷ 217 years after the refoundation of Korinth by Caesar in 44 B.C. (A.D. 174) is the *terminus post quem* for books five and six.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ 5.1.1: Ὅσοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων Πελοποννήσου πέντε εἶναι μοίρας καὶ οὐ πλείονας φασιν, ἀνάγκη σφᾶς ὁμολογεῖν ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἀρκάδων οἰκοῦσιν Ἥλειοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες, δεύτερα δὲ Ἀχαιῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ταύταις αἱ Δωριέων. γένη δὲ οἴκει Πελοπόννησον Ἀρκάδες μὲν αὐτόχθονες καὶ Ἀχαιοί. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀνέστησαν, οὐ μέντοι Πελοποννήσου γε ἐξεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐκβαλόντες Ἴωνας νέμονται τὸν Αἰγιάλῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τούτων καλούμενον.

Cf. the end of his description of the Peloponnese (8.54.7): Αἶδε μὲν Πελοποννήσου μοῖραι καὶ πόλεις τε ἐν ταῖς μοίραις καὶ ἐν ἑκάστη πόλει τὰ ἀξιολογώτατά ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην.

⁴⁶ 5.1.2: οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διατελοῦσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς τότε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐπηλύδων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. Κορίνθιοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ νῦν νεώτατοι Πελοποννησίων εἰσὶ, καὶ σφισιν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν γῆν παρὰ βασιλέως ἔχουσιν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη καὶ διακόσια τριῶν δέοντα ἐς ἐμέ. Δρύοπες δὲ καὶ Δωριεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἐκ Παρνασσοῦ, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Οὔτης ἐς Πελοπόννησόν εἰσιν ἀφιγμένοι.

⁴⁷ For other indirect chronological hints and discussions on them see: Frazer 1965, vol. I, xvi-xix; and Habicht 1985, 9-12.

⁴⁸ For a general assessment of the evidence for the composition of the whole work see: Settis 1968, 1-63. The Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, built between the Heraion and the Metroon at Olympia during

This tribal division of the Peloponnese is identical to Pausanias' geographical route. Having entered through the Isthmos, he describes first the eastern and southern parts of the Peloponnese which are inhabited by Dorians (Argolidokorinthia in book 2, Lakonia in book 3, and Messenia in book 4). Then, turning north at the southwestern part of the Peloponnese he enters the non-Doric regions of Elis, Achaia and Arkadia (books 5-6, book 7, and book 8 respectively). This simplified division furnishes Pausanias with a convenient framework for his description which comes full circle and finishes in the heart of the Peloponnese. This statement, therefore, crucial for the dating of his work, and appearing right in the middle of his description of the Peloponnese (approximately halfway through the entire work), is not accidental, but emphasizes the author's narrative method.⁴⁹

After this brief introduction to the new, non-Doric unit of his work, Pausanias embarks on an account of the mythohistoric past of Elis (5.1.3-4.6),⁵⁰ which is followed by its more recent history (5.4.7-5.2)⁵¹ and by a note on the flora and fauna (the Eleian βύσσοις, flax or cotton, and the impregnation of mares 5.5.2). Then, he begins the geographical description of Elis with the various towns, villages or sites that he encounters as

A.D. 156-160, is not mentioned by Pausanias, which may be an indication that his visit to the site took place prior to that time; cf. Gurlitt 1890, 341ff.; and Habicht 1985, 9-11. See, however, especially no. 80 below.

⁴⁹ This convenient geographical and tribal correspondence, evident in Pausanias' treatment of the Peloponnese, has prompted various speculations as to the partial publication of the Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις: books 2, 3, and 4 may have appeared as a volume; books 5-6, 7, and 8 as another one. See Papachatzis 1974-81, vol. 2, 1-2 and the notes; vol. 3, 1-2 and the notes.

For the whole work, however, and especially for book one see: Habicht 1985, 7-12, and the notes where previous bibliography can be found. Habicht rightly points out that the arguments proposing separate publication of book 1 or other books are not at all so strong as their proponents claim them to be.

⁵⁰ 5.1.3: τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε εὗρισκον.

⁵¹ 5.5.2: τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς πόλεμον τοιαῦτα ὑπήρχεν ἠλείοις, ὡς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπαριθμῆσαι μετρίως.

he travels northward from Messenia (5.5.3-6.8). At the same time he relates any stories of special note that the particular place and its monuments have to offer. Crossing the river Neda, the natural boundary between Messenia and Elis (4.36.7), Pausanias arrives at Samikon and Lepreon with its temple of Demeter (5.5.3-6); he then mentions the river Anigros (5.5.7), Mt. Lapithas and the tributary of Anigros the river Akidas (5.5.8-10), and the Cave of the Anigridae Nymphs (5.5.11). Advancing further north he arrives at Samikon or Samia (5.6.1), the Homeric Arene (5.6.2-3), Skillous with the river Selinous, where Xenophon lived and built the temple of the Ephesian Artemis (5.6.4-6), and Mt. Tupaion which borders the Alpheios and Olympia (5.6.7-8). The river Alpheios and its mythological profile together with its seven tributaries form the geographical preamble to the most important site of the Peloponnese (5.7.1-5).⁵²

Before the description of Olympia and its monuments Pausanias recounts a long history of the Olympic Games based on the Eleian antiquaries (5.7.6-9.6).⁵³ It consists of their mythical institution (5.7.6-8.5), the gradual re-establishment of the various competitions in historical times (5.8.6-9.2), the present order of the Games (5.9.3),⁵⁴ and the umpires (5.9.4-6).⁵⁵ He finally enters the Altis with a solemn statement, indicative of his high admiration for the Olympic Games as well as for the Eleusinian rites (5.10.1):⁵⁶

⁵² The names of the tributary rivers which recall the surrounding mountains and regions of Achaia and Arkadia are: Helisson, Brentheates, Gortynios, Bouphagos, Ladon, Erymanthos and Kladeos (5.7.1).

⁵³ 5.7.6: ἐς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν λέγουσιν Ἠλείων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μνημονεύοντες.

⁵⁴ 5.9.3: ὁ δὲ κόσμος ὁ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐφ' ἡμῶν.

⁵⁵ 5.9.4: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγωναθετοῦσιν.

⁵⁶ On account of this statement Pausanias is characterised as "un homme de piété sincère" by Heer 1979, 224. The second half of her book is devoted to Pausanias' religious beliefs as they can be surmised from his scattered comments. For Eleusis see pp. 127-189; for Zeus see pp. 211-221. Also Habicht 1985, 156.

Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἴδου τις ἂν ἐν Ἑλλησι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαι θαύματος ἄξια· μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἐλευσίνοι δρωμένοις καὶ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι μέτεστιν ἐκ θεοῦ φροντίδος.

The elaborate description of this holy place will occupy Pausanias for the next forty-two chapters which extend over to book six (5.10.1-6.21.3).⁵⁷

First in order are the major buildings within the Altis:⁵⁸ the temple of Zeus with details about its Pheidian statue, its order and measurements, its pediments and the various dedications that stood inside the temple or in its pronaos (5.10.2-12.8). Then, the temenos in honor of Pelops, the Pelopeion, is described (5.13.1-7), followed by the altar of Zeus, its construction and the procedure observed for the sacrifice (5.13.8-14.3). At this point Pausanias deems it appropriate to include an account of all the other altars (sixty-eight) inside or outside the temenos (5.14.4-15.12).⁵⁹ Their enumeration and description are not based on the topography of the Altis but follow the calendar according to which the Eleians make monthly sacrifices.⁶⁰ In this long section on the altars Pausanias also intersperses brief reports on several buildings: the workshop of Pheidias (5.15.1 and also no. 61), the Leonidaion (5.15.2 and also no. 62), the Theokoleon (5.15.8), the Gymnasion and the Palaistra (5.15.8, also mentioned later 6.6.3, 21.2), and the Prytaneion with its ἑστιατόριον, inside which the Eleians give banquets for the Olympic victors (5.15.8-9, 11-12).

⁵⁷ Trendelenburg's (1914, 23 f.) discussion of Pausanias' topographical principals at Olympia is helpful; see, however, also Gurlitt 1890, 341-429.

⁵⁸ For the various buildings in the Altis and their history see: Mallwitz 1972, *passim*.

⁵⁹ This number does not include the five altars mentioned later on: 5.22.1; 6.20.3; 20.6; 20.11-12; 20.15.

⁶⁰ 5.14.4: ἑπακολουθήσει δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι τῆι ἐς αὐτοὺς τάξει, καθ' ἣντινα ἡλεῖοι θύειν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν νομίζουσι.

Also 5.14.10, and 5.15.10-11 where the procedure of the sacrifice is outlined. For a discussion of these passages in Pausanias and a plan of the actual location of the altars see Weniger's articles of 1909, 1915, and 1920, and also nos. 58, 63, and 64 below.

The second most important building in the Altis is the temple dedicated to Hera, the Heraion, whose presentation parallels in length that of the temple and altar of Zeus (5.16.1-20.5). Just as he related the history of the Olympic Games before the description of the temple of Zeus, Pausanias discusses by way of introduction the penteëteric Heraia, whose games consist of a race among virgins, a rare reference to exclusively female competition (5.16.1-8).⁶¹ Within the temple Pausanias sees the statues of Hera and other gods (among them the Hermes of Praxiteles) and the images of Eurydike and Olympias, mother and wife of Philip II (5.17.1-4). The offering that astonishes Pausanias most in the Heraion is the *Larnax* of Kypselos, described with great care and detail (5.17.5-19.10),⁶² after which he reports more statues and dedications (5.20.1-5). From the Heraion Pausanias moves to the description of the House of Oinomaos (5.20.6-8), the Metroon (5.20.9) and the Philippeion (5.20.8-10), which conclude his account of the buildings within the Altis.

Olympia no doubt was in Pausanias' time a vast museum whose careful description created difficulties for him. The temples, together with the dedications and offerings housed in them, were the easiest part of his task. The sheer number of statues, however, that the temenos contained around A.D. 150 was overwhelming and Pausanias had to devise a methodology which would impose some sort of order on his exposition (5.21.1):

Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοι πρόεισιν ὁ λόγος ἔς τε τῶν ἀνδριάντων
καὶ ἔς τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐξήγησιν. ἀναμίξαι δὲ οὐκ ἀρεστὰ ἦν

⁶¹ In addition to this race Pausanias also reports that the sixteen women (ἑκκαίδεκα) in charge form two choral groups, called the chorus of Physkoa and the chorus of Hippodameia (5.16.6-7), which recall Alcman's *Partheneion*. The similarity between Pausanias' report about the Heraia and Alcman's *Partheneion* has been discussed by G. Nagy "Dramatic Mimesis and Spartan Poetic Traditions: the Case of Alcman's *Partheneion*," during the Third Annual Colloquium on the Classics, held at Ohio State University in May 26-27, 1988: *The Enigmatic Text: Approaches to Greek Tragedy*.

For a recent discussion of the Heraia see Scanlon 1984, 77-90 and the bibliography there.

⁶² In terms of its length the elaborate and detailed description of the *larnax* of Kypselos stands out from the whole work, as does the account of the paintings of Polygnotos in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi. See pp. 20-22.

μοι τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγον. ἐν ἀκροπόλει μὲν γὰρ τῆι Ἀθήνησιν οἷ τε ἀνδριάντες καὶ ὅποσα ἄλλα, τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἀναθήματα· ἐν δὲ τῆι Ἑλλάτει τὰ μὲν τιμῆι τῆι ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκεινται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικῶντων ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ οὗτοι δίδονται. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἀνδριάντων ποιησόμεθα καὶ ὕστερον μνήμην· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡμῖν τραπήσεται πρότερα ὁ λόγος, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα αὐτῶν ἐπερχομένοις.

This programmatic statement, which is further qualified later on, offers some insight as to Pausanias' methodology in tackling the problem of the numerous dedicatory statues. First and foremost he considers his activity not as a περιήγησις but as an ἐξήγησις.⁶³ Then he distinguishes two categories of statues which stand out as most remarkable: dedicatory images of divinities, and statues of humans (athletes, or private citizens). Following this plan he begins his explanation with the so-called Zanēs (representations of Zeus), the statues erected from the fines collected from athletes caught cheating (5.21.2-18). When Pausanias is finished with this distinct group, he continues with another subgroup of Zeus' images (5.22.1-24.11), the dedications by city-states and private citizens (5.22.1):

Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατειλεγμένα (sc. Zanēs) ἐπὶ αἰτίαις τοιαῖσδε ποιηθέντα εὔρισκον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Διὸς δημοσίαι τε καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀνατεθέντα ἰδιωτῶν.

Pausanias ends with a final group of statues representing deities other than Zeus (5.25.1):

Τοσαῦτα ἐντὸς τῆς Ἑλλάτος ἀγάλματα εἶναι Διὸς ἀνηριθμησάμεθα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον. ... ὅποσα δὲ ἀλλοῖα καὶ οὐ μίμησις ἐστὶ Διός, ἐπιμνησόμεθα καὶ τούτων· εἰκόνας δὲ οὐ τιμῆι τῆι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, τῆι δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς χάριτι ἀνατεθείσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λόγῳ σφᾶς τῶι ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἀναμίξομεν.

⁶³ Frazer (1965, vol. 1, ad loc.) and Jones (1977-1980, ad loc.) translate ἐξήγησιν: "describe."

Papachatzis (1974-81, vol. 3, ad loc.) translates: "σὲ μὲν κατὰ καταγραφή (= listing)."

P. Levi's (1985, ad loc.) "explain", albeit somewhat awkward, is closer to Pausanias' text. See the discussion on the exegetes pp. 11-15.

This group offers an appropriate place for a narrative break, and, in fact, its conclusion ends book 5.

In the beginning of book 6 Pausanias restates his methodology by laying out as clearly as possible the guidelines that he is following (6.1.1-2):

Ἔπεται δέ μοι τῶι λόγῳ τῶι ἐς τὰ ἀναθήματα τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἵππων ἀγωνιστῶν μνήμην καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀθλητῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ὁμοίως. τῶν δὲ νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίασιν οὐχ ἀπάντων εἰσὶν ἐστηκότες ἀνδριάντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρὰ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις, ὅμως οὐ τετυχήκασιν εἰκόνων. τούτοις ἐκέλευσεν ἀφεῖναι με ὁ λόγος, ὅτι οὐ κατάλογός ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν ὅποσους γεγόνασι Ὀλυμπικαὶ νίκαι, ἀναθημάτων δὲ ἄλλων τε καὶ εἰκόνων συγγραφῇ. οὐδὲ ὅποσων ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες, οὐδὲ τούτοις πάσιν ἐπέξειμι, ἐπιστάμενος ὅσοι τῶι παραλόγῳ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰσχύος ἀνείλοντο ἤδη τὸν κότινον, ὅποσους δὲ ἢ αὐτοῖς {εἶχεν} ἐς δόξαν ἢ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἄμεινον ἐτέρων πεποιῆσθαι, τσαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς μνησθήσομαι.

This is a significant statement which has often been overlooked by scholars grappling for an answer to the question of why Pausanias incorporated so many victory statues.⁶⁴ He makes clear that his main purpose is neither an Olympic victory list, nor a complete catalogue of all the statues that he saw set up within the Altis. His exposition is selective and includes only those athletic or non-athletic statues that are noteworthy because of the fame either of the dedicator, or of the dedication's artistic quality (6.1.3; 16.9). Once his

⁶⁴ Papachatzis comments that Pausanias appears to be saddened because he cannot include a full Olympic victory list (1974-81, vol. 3, 327, note 1; cf. vol. 3, 16, note 3). He goes one step further to suggest that the reason for Pausanias' extensive study and description of the victors is because they provided him with the best chronological framework for Greek history (1974-81, vol. 3, 21f.), and also because his description of Elis would thus acquire special value (1974-1981, vol. 3, 16-17, note 4).

However, as Papachatzis himself admits elsewhere (1974-81, vol. 3, 23-24, note 3), Pausanias never uses the Olympiads and the name of the stadionikes alone for accurate chronological reference, but he also provides the Athenian archon. In addition to the dates Pausanias provides for the Messenian Wars to which Papachatzis refers (4.5.10; 4.13.6; 4.15.1-3; 4.23.4; 4.23.10; 4.24.5; 4.27.9), there are other instances as well: 2.24.7; 6.19.13; 7.16.10; 7.25.4; 8.27.8; 8.39.3; 8.54.4; 9.1.8; 10.2.3; 10.3.1; 10.5.13; 10.23.14. See also Habicht 1985, 20-23 and Hermann 1988, 119-183.

description of the statues within the Altis is completed, he proceeds with those outside it (6.17.1):

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνδρὶ ποιούμενοι τὴν ἔφοδον
 ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει κατὰ τὰ ἡμῖν εἰρημένα· εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου
 πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τὸν μέγαν ἀφικέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ θελήσειας,
 τοσάδε ἔστι σοι τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἐς μνήμην.

This final group ends his exegesis of dedicatory statues inside and outside the Altis (6.17.1-18.7).

Approaching the end of his narration on Olympia Pausanias concludes with the monuments that form a special category and with the constructions which are outside the temenos. The treasuries are not considered by Pausanias to be mere buildings, but dedications of a special kind and form. This is the reason why he does not mention them earlier and appends them here after the dedicatory statues (6.19.1-15). With the treasuries Pausanias has completed the exegesis of the Altis and he moves outside in order to account for other memorable monuments: the hill Kronion behind the treasuries with its altars and ruins, the Hippodameion, the Stadion, the Hippodromos and various scattered altars and sanctuaries (6.20.1-21.3).

Leaving Olympia Pausanias moves westward into Pisatan territory, towards the boundaries of Elis and Arkadia. He visits the river Erymanthos, the ridge of Sauros with ruins of sanctuaries, the river Diagon and Leukyianias with the temple of Dionysos Leukyianites, the ruins of the city of Phrixa with its sanctuaries, the ruins of the city Harpina with its altars and the river Harpinates, the tomb of the suitors of Hippodameia, the ruins of the temple of Artemis Kordaka and the tomb of Pelops, and the ruins of the cities of Pisa (6.21.4-22.5).

Then returning to Olympia Pausanias advances north and east to the Eleian Pylos, now ruined (6.22.6), Herakleia and river Kytheros (6.22.7), Letrinoi (6.22.8-11), and Elis, the last major city in Elis (6.23.1-26.3), providing information about their

memorable monuments. From Elis he ventures further north to Kyllene (6.26.4-5). After a short report again on Eleian flax, an apparent attempt at a thematic ring composition,⁶⁵ he reaches the boundaries of Elis and Achaia, i.e the river Larisos and Mt. Araxos (6.26.10), which bring him to the next region of the Peloponnese to be described in book 7, Achaia.

This overview of Pausanias' geographical route and methodology defines clearly not only the natural boundaries within which the narrative develops, but it also highlights the author's interests as he moves from place to place. Within the broad framework of geography and topography, the mythical and historical past occupies a significant place. Brief notes on flora and fauna are not excluded by Pausanias from his narrative. Yet Pausanias is captivated by the living present that each city has to offer and especially its relics of the mythisistorical past, as they retell their story and connect past and present. Seldom does Pausanias abandon a place, be it a city, mountain ridge or a river, without mentioning a temple, dedication, or statue. Religion and tradition are given a prominent standing, especially when the site warrants such treatment as is the case with Olympia. For all these combined represent the local history, customs and tradition.

The narrative of Elis is composed of all these elements and it requires *in situ* observation. Admittedly, the temples with their cult images and offerings do not create as many difficulties for identification as do individual monuments. Inconsistencies, however, were bound to arise about an explanation, and Pausanias, in addition to using the local exegetes and his extensive readings in literature, resorted also to inscriptions to create a consistent narrative from all these sources. His avowed interest in inscriptions and the reasons for it throughout his work have already been assessed in Chapter I. In

⁶⁵ The Eleian flax "presents an opportunity" to talk about the land of Seres 6.26.6-9, in a way similar to his note on the flora in 5.5.2 and his comment on the Hebrews.

his *Eliaka* it is overwhelming.⁶⁶ Within the Altis he saw over two hundred dedicatory statues and constantly employed their inscriptions, because they provided him with readily accessible and indisputable information for his exegesis.

⁶⁶ See Appendix A and Chapter I.

CHAPTER III

DIRECT EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE IN ἩΛΙΑΚΩΝ A AND B

The excavations at Olympia have unearthed a great number of inscriptions that Pausanias has apparently employed for the composition of his books 5 and 6. These present an ideal test case for Pausanias' approach to epigraphical evidence. There are eleven instances in which Pausanias claims to have read inscriptions which have been found at Olympia, and so his version of them can be compared with the actual texts.

A comparison between the text of Pausanias and that of the inscription is presented in this and the next chapter in the following manner: first the text of Pausanias is quoted from the new Teubner edition by M. H. Rocha-Pereira,⁶⁷ but with modifications, since she has paid attention only to those inscriptions which Pausanias explicitly states that he is reading and quoting. Indeed, her readings are based almost exclusively on the manuscripts. Then follows an Apparatus Criticus in which variant readings in Pausanias' manuscripts are discussed and adopted in light of the text of the inscriptions (see also Appendix E: Critical Notes on Pausanias' ἩΛΙΑΚΩΝ A and B). For this the more detailed Apparatus Criticus of Hitzig and Blümner is consulted,⁶⁸ because they were conscious of

⁶⁷ *Pausanias Graeciae Descriptio*, vols. 1-3. Leipzig: BSB B.G. Teubner, 1973-1981.

⁶⁸ H. Hitzig and H. Blümner. *Des Pausanias Beschreibung von Griechenland, mit kritischen Apparat herausgegeben von Hermann Hitzig, mit erklärenden Anmerkungen versehen von Hermann Hitzig und Hugo Blümner*, vols. 1-3. Berlin and Leipzig: S. Calvary, 1896-1910 (abbreviated Hitzig 1896-1910).

Papachatzis' text is also consulted, although it is basically that of F. Spiro, the previous editor in Teubner, because Papachatzis sometimes adopts different readings: N.D. Papachatzis. *Παυσανίου Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις*, vols. 1-5. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1974-81 (abbreviated Papachatzis 1974-81).

the peculiar nature of Pausanias' text and consistently employed the text of the inscriptions for its improvement. The textual signs, however, and the *sigla codicum* are those of Rocha-Pereira. After Pausanias' text the edition of the inscription with an epigraphical commentary, where necessary, follows. The inscriptions found at Olympia have been published by W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold in 1896,⁶⁹ while subsequent discoveries have appeared in the *Bericht* volumes of the excavators.⁷⁰ The more significant of them have enjoyed further study, but there are some which have attracted little or no attention. I have tried to see and re-examine as many inscriptions as possible, a process which proved to be very rewarding. Two more items conclude the presentation of each case: a select bibliographical note, where the first place, literally and figuratively, is occupied by the three prominent commentators of Pausanias, whose work is indispensable: Frazer, Hitzig and the recent one by Papachatzis.⁷¹ Finally a commentary in which Pausanias' text and the inscription, their relation, and the problems they raise are discussed in detail apropos of Pausanias and his use of inscriptions.

The text of Pausanias has always been treated as a reliable source for restorations in partially preserved inscriptions, especially the ones from Olympia, but seldom *vice-versa*. Notwithstanding the high quality of previous textual criticism on Pausanias' work, inscriptions, which Pausanias used and are still extant, have not always been used to improve his text, in spite of its problematic transmission.⁷² The new Teubner edition by

⁶⁹ W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold. *Die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung*, Textband V: *Die Inschriften von Olympia*. Berlin 1896, Reprinted Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966 (abbreviated throughout *IO* and *IO* editors).

⁷⁰ See the List of References under *Bericht*.

⁷¹ J.G. Frazer. *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, vols. 1-6. London: Macmillan, 1898, Reprinted New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1965 (abbreviated Frazer 1965). For Hitzig and Papachatzis see above note 68. In their work on Pausanias all three were aware of the unique epigraphical aspect of his text.

⁷² For a re-evaluation of the codices see especially: Diller 1955, 268-279; id. 1956, 84-97; id. 1957, 169-188. For the history of Pausanias' manuscript tradition see also Papachatzis 1974-81, vol. 1, 32-59.

Rocha-Pereira is a case in point, as will be evident in this and the next chapter. Pausanias' claim or implication that he is reading an inscription presents a unique opportunity to look at the exegete's text in light of the very same inscriptions which he employed in his work and which have been found. The present study's direct and detailed confrontation of two differently oriented texts, one literary, the other a caption on a monument, will make their interdependency evident. More importantly, it will assess Pausanias' treatment of the epigraphical evidence in his *Eliaka*, and therefore his methodology and the reliability of his work.

1.

5.10.4: ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίαι λέβης ἐπίχρυσος ἐπὶ ἐκάστωι τοῦ ὀρόφου τῶι
 πέρατι ἐπίκειται καὶ Νίκη κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἔστηκε τὸν ἀετόν,
 ἐπίχρυσος καὶ αὕτη. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Νίκης τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀσπίς ἀνάκειται
 χρυσῇ, Μέδουσαν τὴν Γοργόναν ἔχουσα ἐπειρασμένην. τὸ
 ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι τοὺς τε ἀναθέντας δηλοῖ καὶ καθ' 5
 ἧντινα αἰτίαν ἀνέθεσαν· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτω·
 ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσεάν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας
 τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχία τ' ἀνέθεν
 δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων
 τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τῷ πολέμῳ. 10
 ταύτης τῆς μάχης μνήμην καὶ ἐν τῇι Ἀτθίδι ἐποιησάμην
 συγγραφῆι, τὰ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπεξίων μνήματα.

Apparatus Criticus:

The readings of the manuscripts for the epigram are problematic and many emendations had been proposed, especially for line 8, before *IO* 253 was discovered. Although these emendations are now irrelevant, they are included here, because they are indicative of how closely Pausanias' text follows the inscription.

7 χρυσεάν is omitted in Va 8 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Pa P Pd Ag L Lb V R Va; Jacobs' emendation to τῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις was accepted by Siebelis, Bekker, Schubart-Walz, and Dindorf; τῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις Ms Vb and the editors before Siebelis; Kayser proposed before τοῖς to read θεῶ; τοῖ was suggested by Müller and it was accepted by Schubart, Hitzig, Papachatzis and Rocha-Pereira; Λακεδαιμόνιοι was Buttman's emendation, accepted by Müller, Kayser, Schubart, Hitzig, Papachatzis and Rocha-Pereira;

συμμαχίδος γε τεθὲν Va Vb (but omits γε) Pa, and the editors before Schubart, except Clavier who read συμμαχίσιν τε τεθὲν; συμμαχίαν P Pd Ag R V L Lb; συμμαχίδος γε R in the margin; τ' ἄν θεν L Lb; τανθεν V P; τ' αν θεν Pd Ag; R has above the line τε between αν and θεν; Pa has γε ταν τεθὲν, but ταν is erased;

συμμαχίαντανθενδῶρον Ms; γ' ἀνέθεν is Buttmann's correction accepted by Müller; τ' ἀνέθεν is the reading of Kayser, Curtius; συμμαχία τ' ἀνέθεν, the reading in *IO* 253, is accepted by Schubart, Hitzig, Papachatzis and Rocha-Pereira

9 Ἄθαναίων is Schubart's correction of the mss. Pa Pd ἄθηναίων, and is accepted by Hitzig, Papachatzis, and Rocha-Pereira

10 τὰν δὲ κάταν Lb; Goldhagen proposed τᾶν δεκατᾶν.

τῷ πολέμῳ, in the Doric dialect, most mss. and editors; τῷ πολέμῳ P Pa, the editors before Siebelis, and Gallavotti; the Ionic τοῦ πο[λέμου] in *IO* 253.

IO 253: three joined fragments of white-yellowish marble found: fr. **a**, which is the tallest, on February 8, 1881, at the south end of the South building, west of the Bouleuterion; fr. **b** on March 14, 1876, below the east façade of the temple of Zeus, in the second *intercolumnium*; and fr. **c** on March 31, 1880, inside the temple of Zeus. The stone, as joined, is broken except the top and the lower part of its back, where the smooth original surface is preserved. The fragment is now on display in the New Museum, in the Gallery of Sculptures from the Temple of Zeus.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos: **a** 1067, **b** 40, **c** 830. *Vidi, Phot.*

Maximum: Height: 0.265m. Width: 0.24m. Thickness: 0.166m.

Letter Height: 0.015-0.024m.

paulo post 457 B.C.

NON-STOICH. ca. 25

[Ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέα]ν ἔχει, ἐγ δὲ [Τανάγρας]
 [τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχία τ' ἀνέθεν]
 [δῶρον ἀπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰάνου],
 [τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τοῦ πολέμου].
 5 [- - - - -] Κορινθί[- - -]
 [- - - - -]P[- - - - -].

The letters are clearly cut and lean to the right. Their shapes are (Jeffery, *LSAG* 114, fig. 33): α2, γ3, δ1, ε4, ν2 and ν3, ρ1, υ3, χ1 (blue). The omicron is cut with the so-called tridental drill which, it is presumed, the cutters employed for circular letters, although there is no hard evidence for it (see Raubitschek 1951, 343-344 plates 35-37; Duncan 1961, 179-188 plates 30-31; and for engraving techniques in Attic Epigraphy Higgins-Pritchett 1965, 367-371 plates 97-100).

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: gamma—the slanting strokes are clearly visible; if a kappa were inscribed, part of its vertical should be visible in the lower part of the letter space.

- Line 2: tau—only an upper horizontal stroke.
 Line 4: epsilon—only the right tips of the three horizontal strokes.
 Line 5: kappa—only the right part of the slanting strokes; rho—only parts of two strokes, the upper segment of a vertical and a horizontal; iota—the top of a vertical stroke.

Restorations:

- Line 1: $\nu\alpha\phi\delta\varsigma$ *IO* editors, Preger, Roehl, Jeffery, although the letter space seems not to support the digamma; $\nu\alpha\delta\varsigma$ Guarducci, Meiggs/Lewis, Clairmont, Hansen; $\nu\alpha\omega\iota$ Gallavotti.
 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma$ $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$ *IO* editors, Jeffery, Meiggs/Lewis, Clairmont, Hansen; $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$ Preger, Roehl, Guarducci.
- Line 2: $\sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ *IO* editors, Roehl, Meiggs/Lewis, Clairmont, Guarducci; $\sigma\upsilon\nu\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ Preger, Jeffery, Lazzarini, Hansen.
- Line 3: $[\delta\omega\rho\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha]\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ [\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu]$ *IO* editors, Roehl, Preger, Meiggs/Lewis, Clairmont.
 $[\delta\delta\rho\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha]\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ [\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu]$ Jeffery, Guarducci, Hansen.
- Line 4: $[\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu]\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ *IO* editors, Roehl, Preger, Meiggs/Lewis, Clairmont; Jeffery and Hansen restore $[\eta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu]\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ which requires one more letter space (18 instead of 17 in line 2); $[\eta\acute{\epsilon}\nu]\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ Guarducci.
- Lines 5-6 Gallavotti: $[\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha\ \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\ \tau\epsilon]\ \kappa\omicron\rho[\acute{\iota}\nu\theta]\iota[\omicron\iota\ \eta\sigma\alpha\nu],$
 $[\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\eta}\nu\ \Sigma\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\omega\acute{\nu}\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho[\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\iota].$

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XXVIII, 430; XXXII, 413. Preger, *IGM* 59. Roehl, *IGA* 26a (p. 171). Heiberg 1911, 458-460. Wolters 1928, 121-136. Guarducci 1936, 125-132. Guarducci, *EG* 1967, vol. 1, 469-472, fig. 243. Meiggs/Lewis 36 (27). Lazzarini 1976, 322-323 no. 998, 103, 166-167. Gallavotti 1978a, 4-11; id. 1978b, 28-30. Grunauer 1971, 114-131; id. 1981, 256-301. Jeffery 1980b, 1233-1239. Clairmont 1982, 79-85. Hansen, *CEG* 1, 351. Jeffery, *LSAG* 129-130, 132 no. 38 pl. 21, 404, 440.

Commentary: Pausanias' text, upon which the restorations of the inscription are based, clearly refers to the battle fought at Tanagra in 458/7 B.C., sometime after which the golden shield was dedicated at Olympia. This and the meaning of the word $\phi\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ (= $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ as Pausanias understands it⁷³) are the only two points of agreement among scholars.

⁷³ See also Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1407a, 1412b-1413a; *Politica* 1457b; and Athenaeus 10.433c.

The dominant structure in the Altis is the temple of Zeus which Pausanias describes in detail, first its exterior, and then its interior. On the middle top of the east pediment, he says, there is an inscribed golden shield which supports a Nike statue. Before quoting the epigram Pausanias notes that it mentions the dedicators and the reason for the dedication. Pausanias' description of the location indeed agrees with the find spot of two of the *IO* 253 fragments (**b** and **c**); they were found below the east façade of and inside the temple of Zeus. Moreover, the substance of his epigram vis-à-vis that of the actual inscription has never been questioned. On the contrary, his text has always been the only source for the restoration of the fragmentary inscription, and, in turn, the inscription has lent support for some emendations and improvements of the exegete's text (see the *Apparatus Criticus*).

The legitimate disagreements stem from the obvious differences between the two texts. Pausanias says that "the epigram was on the shield", while the inscription found is on marble. In line 4 of the epigram Pausanias' text has the Doric τῶ πολέμῳ, whereas on the stone the Ionic genitive τοῦ πο[λέμου] is inscribed. The shape of the two chi's in lines 1 and 2 is not Doric (see Jeffery's Lakonian alphabet, *LSAG* 183 fig. 39). Finally, on the stone there are traces of two more lines (5 and 6), which are missing from Pausanias' narrative. The combination of these three details suggests at first sight two versions of the same inscription: a Doric and a non-Doric, probably Korinthian version.

The reconciliation of these three differences in details has resulted in various hypotheses. The *IO* editors, proposed that the text was not inscribed on the shield itself, but on a base onto which the shield was mounted.⁷⁴ Thus Pausanias' expression τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι should refer to the dedication as a whole (the shield and its base) and should be translated "the epigram concerning, or about, the shield".⁷⁵

⁷⁴ See their reconstruction and also Papachatzis 1974-81, vol. 3, 244, plate 226.

In lines 5 and 6 they suggested that the name of the sculptor, or sculptors (Korinthians because of the traces on the stone) must have been inscribed, since Korinth was famous in the fifth century B.C. for her workshops, but they did not try to explain the absence of these lines from Pausanias' text.

Heiberg hypothesized two dedications: one general by the Peloponnesian League within the temple of Zeus, and one Corinthian on the temple's roof. Wolters objected to the reconstruction of the *IO* editors, because of the measurements they offered and the difficulty of reading the epigram from a distance of 20-22 m. He, in turn, assumed that the marble block must have stood somewhere in front of the temple, like a *stele*.

Guarducci, accepting Wolters' arguments and objections, suggested that there were two epigrams: one inscribed on the inner part of the shield on the roof, as they interpret Pausanias (but Pausanias also says that in the middle of the shield there is the Gorgon Medousa, in which case Guarducci's suggestion weakens); and the other, inscribed on marble and probably of Korinthian craftsmanship, which stood in front of the temple, thus agreeing with the find spot of *IO* 253. Her hypothesis gained cautious acceptance with minor modifications both from Jeffery, who further suggested that the alphabet is probably Korinthian, and Meiggs/Lewis.⁷⁶

Gallavotti (1978a 5-6 and 1978b, 28), by applying the methodology of textual criticism, compares line by line the inscription and the readings that the codices of Pausanias provide, and he concludes that it is not necessary to suppose two epigraphical

⁷⁵ See *IO* (p. 372) for other examples in Pausanias (6.1.4, 7; 10.7; 12.7). Both Papachatzis and Gallavotti accept this generic understanding of the expression *γράφειν ἐπὶ* + dative not only because of other parallels found in Pausanias, but also because in the middle of the shield the Gorgon Medusa was engraved, thus limiting the space for the epigram to the outer rim. Papachatzis (1974-81, vol. 3, 251) translates "τὸ σχετικὸν μὲν τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπίγραμμα . . .;" Gallavotti (1978a, 5) "l'iscrizione 'relativa allo scudo'."

⁷⁶ Jeffery (1980b, 1233-9) believes that the same epigram was inscribed both on the shield and the stone stele; Meiggs/Lewis (36 [27]) accept the two different texts, only stipulating that the epigram was engraved on the outer part of the shield.

texts for the following reasons: in line 1 the assimilated $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ on the stone may have been changed by a scribe to $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in the manuscripts of Pausanias as a “grafia scolastica” (5). In line 4 instead of the Doric genitive, Gallavotti (6) favors the reading $\tau\omega(\iota)$ $\text{πολέμω}(\iota)$, since the reading $\tau\omega \text{πολέμω}$ may be explained as an “errore della tradizione manoscritta”; he translates the dative as locative “per vittoria nella guerra”, or causal “conseguita mediante la guerra”.⁷⁷ Moreover, Gallavotti rightly argues that Pausanias’ omega does not reflect, strictly speaking, the epigraphical practice of the fifth century B.C., because the diphthong OY and the dative ending at that time would be inscribed as $\bar{\omega}$, which is frequent in, but not exclusive to, the Corinthian alphabet.⁷⁸ It may have been Pausanias’, or a scribe’s correction of the inscription’s $\tau\omega\iota \text{πολέμου}$, so as to make the epigram’s dialect consistent. Finally, Gallavotti argues that the omission of lines 5 and 6 of the epigram by Pausanias may be a case of haplography, if his restoration of line 6: $[\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\iota\nu \ \Sigma\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\omega\acute{\nu} \ \kappa\acute{\alpha}] \rho[\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma \ \acute{\epsilon}\nu \ \text{πολέμω}\iota]$ is correct (lines 4 and 6 would thus end with $\tau\omega(\iota)$ $\text{πολέμω}(\iota)$; see Apparatus Criticus and Restorations). Furthermore, Gallavotti (1978a, 9-11) suggests that both the Nike statue and the shield formed one dedication and that this fact was reflected in the epigram. Although interesting, this is not supported by Pausanias’ text which is the basis for the restorations in *IO* 253, or the new architectural evidence published by Grunauer. There is no indication that the syntax and meaning of the epigram, as it is transmitted by Pausanias, require Nike as the subject of $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$, and thus $\nu\alpha\phi\omega\iota$ instead of $\nu\alpha\delta\varsigma$ in line 1, so as to make the relation between the

⁷⁷ Similar is the translation of Papachatzis (1974-81, vol. 3, 252): ἀπὸ τῆ νίκη τοὺς στὸν πόλεμο.

⁷⁸ Gallavotti observes (1978a, p. 5) that in the epichoric alphabets of the Peloponnese the shape $\bar{\omega}$ represents both the *Doris mitior* and the *Doris severior* of the OY sound, and only much later was the ionic omega adapted. Later he concludes (p. 11), *pace* Jeffery (*LSAG* 129-130): “la scrittura della dedica non è propriamente corinzia, come non è laconica. Non presenta l’alfabeto ufficiale di Corinto, o di altra città della lega peloponnesia, negli anni che seguirono la battaglia di Tanagra.”

akroterion and the shield evident.⁷⁹ Moreover, there is no evidence that the two offerings were dedicated at the same time, and the fact that the shield served as support for a Nike statue need not imply that the two were originally, or intentionally associated.

Grunauer and more recently Clairmont have re-examined all previous scholarship, taking into consideration new architectural evidence which indicates that the east façade of the temple of Zeus was totally rebuilt during the fourth century B.C. Thus, the shield with its inscribed base came down during that reconstruction and, according to Grunauer, who accepts the *IO* editors' hypothesis, the fifth century base was replaced by a new block, re-inscribed with the old inscription.

Clairmont believes that in the fourth century B.C. they decided to engrave the epigram on the shield with the Doric genitive, which was given preference in the fourth century, and which, therefore, Pausanias saw ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροτέρας. The distance, however, of 20-22m. from the ground up to the roof, where the dedication stood, and the small size of the letters on the shield create the problem of the readability of the text. For him "by far the most obvious conclusion is that a literary source is the origin for Pausanias' quotation of the epigram."

No doubt the recent conclusions of Grunauer concerning the total reconstruction of the east façade of the temple of Zeus shed new light on this highly problematic dedication. The "two-dedications theory" appears to be less probable now, although not inconceivable. The interesting problems which this dedication creates are not limited to architecture alone (Clairmont), nor to textual criticism and grammar (Gallavotti).

Gallavotti's interpretation of Pausanias' text goes indeed too far, but his arguments on the lettering, his explanation for the omission of lines 5 and 6, and his correction for

⁷⁹ Gallavotti's statement (1978a, 9) which begins "In realtà, se consideriamo la figurazione dorata dell'acroterio per sé stessa, con la Nike e con lo scudo in un complesso architettonico unitario, come lo descrive Pausania..." is simply not supported by Pausanias' text. See also the criticism of Clairmont 1982, 84, notes 18 and 19.

line 4 are attractive and palaeographically sound. Pausanias' text and that of the inscription are different only in orthographic and dialect details. The existence of lines 5 and 6 (or even of more lines) remains an open question. The *IO* editors' suggestion that the Korinthian artist's name was inscribed in what followed is less likely than that Sparta's allies were mentioned in these lines (*HCT*, Gallavotti), or even something different. Pausanias is unlikely to have missed the inscribed name of the artist, and thus not included it either in his statement before the quote or in the quotation itself. For, as will become evident, Pausanias is very much interested in the artists of the monuments and he consistently mentions their names, and sometimes even their teachers and stylistic schools.

As for Sparta's allies in the battle at Tanagra the historical sources are not helpful. Pausanias himself refers to his *Attika* and his description of the battle in his account of the memorial he saw in the Kerameikos of the Argives who fell at Tanagra (1.29.8-9; he also saw a memorial of the Kleonaians who came with the Argives 1.29.7). This monument presents the opportunity to explain why Argos fought on the side of Athens, and in his brief description of the battle he mentions only the Athenians, Argives and Kleonaians on the one side and the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians on the other, with the Thessalians betraying Athens and fighting with Sparta. In Thucydides the two camps are: the Athenians, the Argives, the cavalry of Thessalians who betrayed them, and the other allies (καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὡς ἕκαστοι 1.107.5-7; cf. Ἴώνων on the stone); and the Lacedaemonians and their allies (λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι 1.108.1). The latter expression according to Gomme (*HCT* vol. 1, 313-314) is the regular title of the Peloponnesian League in Thucydides, which leads him to conclude that "the names of Sparta's allies were listed below the epigram" (*HCT* vol. 1, 315-316). On the same assumption Guarducci has suggested that *IO* 253 was a Korinthian dedication, whereas

Pausanias' epigram of four lines only was set up by the Peloponnesian League.⁸⁰ Either way, the traces on the stone indicate that Korinth or Korinthians had something to do with this dedication, either as participants at Tanagra for propagandistic reasons (even if they did not participate), or as artists (or artist) of the monument.

Grunauer is right in reverting to the *IO* editors' theory that the shield stood on a base, on which the inscription was engraved. There is no reason to suppose with Clairmont that the shield was inscribed in the 4th century for the first time,⁸¹ in order to prove Pausanias' text accurate by translating literally the expression ἐπὶ τῆν ἀσπίδι, especially when Clairmont himself believes that Pausanias did not read the inscription, but copied it from a literary source. The distance of 20-22 m. from the ground up to the roof where the dedication stood was indeed great and the reading of the inscription would be very difficult, but perhaps not impossible. After all, the nature of Pausanias' subject, the exegesis of the Altis, requires him to read the inscription himself or to enlist the help of the local guides who would have had a copy, in order to provide a more detailed account.⁸²

Moreover, the *IO* editors give parallels for Pausanias' use of the expression ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῆν ἀσπίδι on p. 372; these are not very helpful, because the inscriptions to which the passages refer are not extant. There are, however, four

⁸⁰ Guarducci 1936, 131-132; also *EG* 1967, vol. 1, 472. Clairmont (1982, 82, note 16), however, argues that the absence of the Korinthians from Thucydides (1.105-108) and Diodorus (11.79-83) is significant and an indication that in all probability they did not participate in the battle.

⁸¹ Clairmont (1982, 84) admits that such an action would be a "novum."

⁸² Wolters (1928, 128-129), after he moves the inscription to the ground, observes (129):
Pausanias konnte das Epigram also, wie jeder Besucher der Altis, in aller Bequemlichkeit lesen, und keine Zeile war —wie mitunter irrig vermutet wird— infolge der Aufstellung für ihn unsichtbar, auch die beiden letzten Zeilen nicht, die aber abzuschreiben ihn nicht reizte, ihn oder meinetwegen irgendeinen andern στήλοκόπος. Diese Zeilen enthielten also sicher keine so interessante Nachricht, wie J.L. Heiberg (p. 459) glaubte erschließen zu dürfen.

This line of argument, however, can also support the thesis that the block with the inscription was on the roof.

passages in books 5 and 6 in which Pausanias employs this expression that can be elucidated by inscriptions.⁸³ Three of them are inscriptions on stone bases, while no. 7 below is engraved on a bronze tablet which was attached to the base of the statue base.⁸⁴ It is clear from these four examples that the preposition ἐπὶ + the dative indicates place. And this is the natural translation when it is combined with inanimate nouns or pronouns. When, however, ἐπὶ is followed by animate nouns or pronouns, this translation is awkward.⁸⁵ At any rate, the expression indicates in general terms the place “on, or about, which” something is inscribed.⁸⁶

The differences in details between the two texts is not strong evidence to suggest that Pausanias did not read the inscription at Olympia. Pausanias mentions the inscribed shield not because of its ornamental or artistic value; he is primarily interested in the “story” that the shield tells, namely who dedicated it to Zeus and for what reason. The discovery of *IO* 253, therefore, strongly suggests that Pausanias took his text and account from the inscription.

⁸³ First: 5.24.3 = *IO* 252 = below no. 2;
 second: 26.5 = *IO* 267, 268 = below no. 4;
 third: 27.8 = *IO* 271 = below no. 5;
 fourth: 6.4.11 = *SEG* 1223a = below no. 7.
 These four cases are not mentioned by the *IO* editors (above, note 75).

⁸⁴ See below no. 2: ἔπεισσι δὲ καὶ ἐλεγείων ἐπ’ αὐτῶι (sc. Ζηνὶ οἱ ἀναθήματι);
 no. 4: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιγράμματα . . . δίδωσιν;
 no. 5: ἄγαλμα, κηρυκεῖον Ἑρμῆς ἔχων· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῶι;
 and no. 7: Ἐργοτέλης δὲ ὁ Φιλάνορος . . . καθάπερ γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ
 ἐπ’ αὐτῶι φησι.

⁸⁵ Other examples in Pausanias’ books 5 and 6 where the expression ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῆι ἀσπίδι is used, but the inscriptions have not been found, are: 5.25.10; 27.11; 6.19.4, 13.

⁸⁶ Except for the five instances (the present one, and those discussed above, notes 83 and 84), there are altogether thirty-one instances of the expression ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ + the dative in books 5 and 6.
 Book 5: 15.5; 20.1; 21.4; 21.6-7; 21.8; 24.1-2; 24.2; 24.7-8; 25.9; 25.10 (two); 27.2; 27.7; 27.11.
 Book 6: 1.4; 1.7 (two); 2.9; 3.2-3; 3.7; 7.9; 10.7; 12.7; 13.5; 13.7; 13.10-11; 14.9-10; 15.2; 15.8;
 16.4; 19.4; 20.14.

Pausanias also uses six times the expression ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ + the genitive in books 5 and 6, which seems to indicate more clearly place. Book 5: 10.3; 10.5; 15.11-12; 24.11; 27.12; book 6: 20.14.

2.

5.22.2-4: Παρὰ δὲ τὸ Ἴπποδάμειον καλούμενον λίθου τε βάθρον ἐστὶ κύκλος ἤμισος καὶ ἀγάλατα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ζεὺς καὶ Θέτις τε καὶ Ἡμέρα τὸν Δία ὑπὲρ τῶν τέκνων ἱκετεύουσαι. ταῦτα ἐπὶ μέσῳ τῷ βάθρῳ· οἱ δὲ ἤδη σχῆμα ἀντιτεταγμένων ὅ τε Ἀχιλλεὺς παρέχεται καὶ ὁ Μέμνων ἐπὶ ἑκατέρῳ τοῦ βάθρου τῷ πέρατι ἑκάτερος. 5 ἀνθεστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἀνὴρ βάρβαρος ἀνδρὶ Ἕλληγι, Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν Ἑλένωι, ὅτι οὗτοι μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοφίαι δόξαν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ στρατεύματι εἰλήφεσαν, Μενελάωι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἀλέξανδρος, Διομήδει δὲ Αἰνεΐας καὶ τῷ Τελαμώνος Αἴαντι Δηΐφοβος. (3) ταῦτά ἐστιν ἔργα μὲν 10 Λυκίου τοῦ Μύρωνος, Ἀπολλωνιάται δὲ ἀνέθηκαν οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἴονίῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐλεγείον γράμμασιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς ποσὶ·

μνάματ' Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακείμεθα, τὰς ἐνὶ πόντῳ
Ἴονίῳ Φοῖβος ὤκισ' ἀκερσεκόμας· 15
οἱ γὰς τέρμαθ' ἔλόντες Ἀβαντίδος ἐνθάδε ταῦτα
ἔστασαν σὺν θεοῖς ἐκ Θρόνιου δεκάταν.

ἢ δὲ Ἀβαντὶς καλουμένη χώρα καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ Θρόνιον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἦσαν ἠπειροῦ κατὰ ὄρη τὰ Κεραύνεια. (4) σκεδα- 20 σθεισῶν γὰρ Ἕλλησι, ὡς ἐκομίζοντο ἐξ Ἰλίου, τῶν νεῶν, Λοκροὶ τε ἐκ Θρόνιου τῆς ἐπὶ Βοαγρίῳ ποταμῷ καὶ Ἀβαντες ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας ναυσὶν ὀκτὼ συναμφοτέροι πρὸς τὰ ὄρη κατηνέχθησαν τὰ Κεραύνια. οἰκίσαντες δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαντες Θρόνιον, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνέμοντο Ἀβαντίδος ὄνομα ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγῳ 25 θέμενοι, ἐκπίπτουσιν ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνιατῶν ὁμόρων κρατηθέντες πολέμῳ. ἀποικισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ Κορκύρας τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν, *** οἱ δὲ Κορινθίοις αὐτοῖς μετεῖναι λαφύρων.

Apparatus Criticus:

12 ἀρχαῖον is the reading of all mss. and the editors before Siebelis, in which case it would modify ἐλεγείον. It is emended to ἀρχαίσις in light of Vaickenaer's emendation in Herodotos 5.59, and everyone has subsequently accepted it. Hitzig refers to similar expressions in Pausanias 5.17.6 and 6.19.6 14 ἀπολλωνίας is the reading in Pa; τὸν ἐνὶ Va; τὰν Hitzig, Papachatzis and the editors of the inscription, but Rocha-Pereira reads for some reason τᾶς 15 ἰωνίῳ Va Vb P; Ἴονίῳ φοῖβος ὤκισ' is the reading in Pc Pd Ag Ms L Lb and all editions except Siebelis' who accepts the emendation of Passov and Friedemann and reads ὤκισεν Ἴονίῳ φοῖβος; Preger reads φοῖκισ'; ἰωνίῳ φοῖβος ὤκισ ἀκερσε ἀκερσεκόμας Va; ἀκερσεκόμας Vb 16 οἱ γὰς τερ καὶ οὔτοι δίδονται Pd Ag (cf. 5.21.1); οἱ P, Siebelis, and Jacobs; Preger emends it to τοῖ; οἱ all other editors; τέρμα θέλοντες Lb P Pd Ms Va V R; τέρματα ἐλ. Pa; τέρμαθ' ἔλόντες La; τέρμαθ' ἔλόντες Vb; ἔνθα δὲ Vb 17 ἔστησαν P Pd Lb; ἔστησαν Ms Va Vb V; R has α above the η; ἔστασαν Ag L Pa; σὺν τοῖς all mss. and the editors before Schubart-Walz; σὺν θεοῖς is the conjecture of Welcker and Müller and is accepted by the other editors after them; Buttman read ἔστασαν ἀθανάτοις, while

Clavier proposed ἔστασαν τε ἀπὸ τῶν; ἐκ θρόνι δεκ. L 27 for the lacuna Goldhagen conjectured τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν (οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν), which was accepted by Facius; Clavier and Papachatzis prefer a more expanded emendation τὴν Ἀ. <οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν>, οἱ δὲ <ἐκ Κορίνθου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο> Κορινθίοις αὐτοῖς μετεῖναι τῶν λαφύρων; Siebelis preferred a shorter restoration conveying the same meaning as Clavier's and Papachatzis' Ἀπολλωνίαν, διὸ Κορινθίοις; Spiro proposed <τὴν δὲ Κορινθίων εἶναί φασιν ἀποικίαν>; and Rocha-Pereira, on account of Strabo 7.316, prefers <ἔτι καὶ ἐκ Κορίνθου φασίν>.

Kunze 1956c, 149-153, pl. 80 (*V. Bericht* 1956): two joined fragments of Parian marble, broken on the sides except the top. They form part of a monumental, semicircular base of which six other uninscribed fragments survive. The two inscribed fragments were found in July 1941, built-into a post-classical wall, south of the Kladeos Baths and in November 1953, in the same building complex. The fragments are now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum. *Vidi, Phot.*

Fragments as joined: Height: 0.10m. Width: 0.57m. Thickness: 0.282m.

The Diameter of the base was originally: ca. 5.50m.

Letter Height: ca. 0.024m.

ca. aut paulo post 440 B.C.

STOICH.

μνάματ' Ἀπολλωνίας ἀ[νακείμεθα, τὰν ἐνὶ πόντῳ]
 [Ἴ]οῦλοι Φοῖβος Φοῖ[κισ] ἀκερσεκόμας]
 [οἱ γ]ᾶ[ς τέ]ρμαθ' [έ]λόντες Ἀβαντίδος ἐνθάδε ταῦτα]
 [ἔστασαν σὺν θεοῖς ἐκ Θρονίου δεκάταν].

The letters are deeply and clearly cut, but the script presents unresolved problems, primarily because Apollonia's script is not attested. Kunze (152) argued for a "post-Korinthian" script of Apollonia, Hammond (1967, 433) suggested that the letter-cutter was an Eleian from Elis' colonies in Epirus, who used the Eleian script as a basis combined with individual characteristics, and Jeffery (*LSAG* 229) classed it hesitantly as "Eleian(?), ca. 475-450," which she later (1980a, 54) described, on account of the sculptor Lykios' date, as an Eleian or Apolloniate script of the 440s (or even later).

The shapes of the letters are neither Korinthian nor Kerkyraean, as might be expected since these cities participated in the colonization of Apollonia; nor are they Attic or Ionian, the scripts that Lykios son of Myron, an Athenian, would employ.

According to Jeffery (*LSAG* 206 fig. 40) the letter shapes are: α1, β2, Γ1, υ1, υ2, π1, σ1, φ2. The shape of the lambda is closer to the Korinthian λ2 (*LSAG* 114 fig. 33), than the Eleian λ1; Eleian σ1 also appears in post-epichoric Korinthian. At any rate, the absence of an Apolloniate script hinders further scrutiny, and both possibilities for the script remain valid: either basically Eleian with some variations, or post-Korinthian Apolloniate.

The inscription comprises two elegiac distichs. Noteworthy are the two synizeses in line 1 and line 4: Ἄπολλονύαs and θεοῶs.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

- Line 1: alpha—only the upper triangular part and a faint trace on the left side of the middle right slanting stroke.
 Line 2: iota—only the upper half.
 Line 3: alpha—only the upper triangular part; rho—only the upper top of a vertical and a slanting strokes; alpha—only the upper triangular part; theta—only the top part of a circular stroke.

Restorations:

- Line 2: $\text{φοῖ}[\kappa\iota\sigma]$ the digamma was postulated from Pausanias' text by Boeckh (*CIG* I p. 41) and Preger.
 Line 3: $[\sigma\grave{\iota}\ \gamma] \tilde{\alpha}[\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}] \rho\mu\alpha\theta'$ [ἐλώντες Kunze, Gallavotti, and Jeffery 1980a where she corrects her previous (*LSAG* 408): $[\text{ho}\iota\ \gamma] \tilde{\alpha}[\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}] \rho\mu\alpha\theta'$ [ἡελώντες, because the space in the beginning permits only three letters, and thus the aspiration mark in ἡελώντες cannot be postulated, all the more so because it is also absent from $\sigma\grave{\iota}$.
 $\tau\omicron\iota\ \gamma\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha\theta'$ ἐλώντες Preger before the discovery of the inscription.
 $[\sigma\grave{\iota}\ \gamma] \tilde{\alpha}[\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}] \rho\mu\alpha\theta'$ [ελόντες Hansen.
 The article $\sigma\grave{\iota}$ is restored here from Pausanias' manuscripts as a *lectio difficilior*. Otherwise, the generally accepted $\sigma\grave{\iota}$ should stand for $\sigma\grave{\iota}\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}$, i.e. not a relative clause, with its antecedent being the city of Apollonia (for the syntax see especially Gallavotti 1978a, 15).
 Line 4: θεοῶs is a correction of the reading $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in Pausanias' manuscripts.
 θρονίo is restored by all editors except Kunze who restores Pausanias' θρονίου.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.
SEG XV, 251; XXX, 24, 26, 427. Preger, *IGM* 60. Raubitschek, *DAA* 135, 135a, 135b, 138. Beaumont 1952, 62-73. Kunze 1956, 149-153, pl. 80. Hammond 1967, 384f., 433, 494f. Eckstein 1969, 15-22, 106-108. Lazzarini 1976, 323 no. 999, 152-153, 167-168. Gallavotti 1978a, 14-15. Jeffery 1980a, 51-54, pl. 8-10. Hansen, *CEG* 1, 390. Jeffery, *LSAG* 229, 221 no. 21, 408, pl. 43; 450.

Commentary: The date is based primarily on Pausanias' remark that the monument was the work of the Athenian Lykios, son of Myron, and his interesting observation on the antiquity of the inscription (ἐλεγεῖον γράμμασιν ἐστὶν ἀρχαίοις, an expression relative to Pausanias' own time). Eckstein, who assembled all eight surviving fragments and reconstructed the base, upon which stood the thirteen bronze statues of gods and heroes, suggested the decade 460-450 B.C. Beaumont, who studied the topography of Apollonia, concluded that in 435 B.C. Apollonia allowed Corinth to move troops through Abantis. Jeffery, following Beaumont's conclusion and examining the epigraphic evidence for Lykios, son of Myron from Athens, argued for a date in the 440s or even

later.⁸⁷ She reasoned that ca. 450 B.C. Lykios' father Myron was at his peak and it "might seem odd that ... Lykios was already receiving such huge commissions" (Jeffery 1980a, 54).

Apart from the problems of script discussed above, the apparent differences in orthography between the inscription and Pausanias' text are only natural for the second-century A.D. Attic style of Pausanias. The absence of the digamma, for example, in line 2, and the transcription of the long omikrons into omegas are expected changes. In that respect, it is interesting that no attempt has been made in this instance by scholars to postulate that Pausanias did not see and read the inscription, or that he read a different version of it, as was the case for no. 1 above.

Without Pausanias' detailed description of this monumental sculptural group of thirteen bronze statues dedicated at Olympia by the city of Apollonia, on the northwest coast of Epirus, the eight surviving fragments of the base would offer no clues. The fragmentary inscription is restored thanks to Pausanias' text, which is proven a reliable source. Before the discovery of the two inscribed fragments, the *IO* editors had suggested that *IO* 692 (two huge fragments on which the name MEMNON is inscribed) was part of the Apolloniate dedication, since Memnon's name would be inscribed underneath his statue.⁸⁸ This association is now to be ruled out, because *IO* 692 is inscribed on black limestone, in more archaic script, and, if the fragments of the two were to be combined, the measurements for the base would be too big.

⁸⁷ The inscriptions discussed by Jeffery are: *IG* I², 537 (only the patronymic is preserved), *IG* I², 400 (the patronymic is partly restored), and this dedication of the Apolloniates whose $\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\theta\epsilon$ clause does not survive.

⁸⁸ The *IO* editors' suggestion (*IO* 692) was followed by Frazer 1965, ad loc., Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc., and surprisingly by Papachatzis 1974-81, vol. 3, 310-311 note 4 (mention of *IO* 692) and note 6 (the Apolloniate epigram which unexpectedly he does not quote). By noting both inscriptions, Papachatzis implies that they belong to the same dedication.

Nevertheless, an interesting question arises: were the names of the heroes and gods inscribed on the base underneath them? An answer to this question is crucial and involves not only Pausanias' interest in inscriptions, but also the extent to which the identification of such monumental dedications was immediate and relatively easy. Eckstein's explanation is the natural and generally accepted one (1967, 20; the emphasis is mine):

Bei dem Weihgeschenk der Apolloniaten dagegen waren die Helden, allem Anschein nach, nicht durch Namensbeischriften auf dem Bathron gekennzeichnet. Pausanias wird seine Hinweise für ihre Benennung aus ihrer Anordnung im Gesamtaufbau sowie aus charakteristischen Einzelheiten ihrer äußeren Erscheinung (Waffen, Schildzeichen o. ä.) entnommen haben; kaum daß die Namen der Figuren selbst aufgraviert waren.

Granted that the statue of Zeus (or even Thetis and Eos) would offer clues for identification, how did Pausanias come to identify the heroes on each side of the base? If the armour was distinctive, what kind of distinction did the weapons offer? Why, for example, not suppose that the weapons mounted on the heroes were actually those captured during the battle, since the epigram mentions in line 4 that the dedication is a *δεκάτη*? Pausanias makes an interesting distinction between Greeks/Achaean and barbarians/Trojans in the first paragraph, quotes the epigram in the second, and in the third he gives the background which led to the capture of Thronion and the eventual dedication. In paragraph three, however, the distinction between Greeks and barbarians is not valid, unless the Abantes from Euboia and the Lokrians from the Aitolian Thronion are to be understood as barbarians. Hammond (1967, 384-389) has discussed the mythological allusions of this passage to the epic *Nostoi* which refer to this region, the Gulf of Valona in modern Albania. All the heroes represented in the dedication are connected with Epiros and Illyria in one way or another. Pausanias' distinction between Achaean Greeks and barbarian Trojans, therefore, is somehow lost at the end; unless of course he assumed that the last two lines of the epigram refer to the statues of the Trojan heroes which in this case would represent the Illyrian tribes, associated and perhaps allied

with the inhabitants of Thronion and the region of Abantis. Even so, Apollonia itself did claim both Greek and Trojan heroes as her ancestors. Praschniker saw in Apollonia a limestone fragment with the name Αἰνεΐας inscribed, and Kunze suggested that a dedication similar to the one at Olympia may have stood in Apollonia.⁸⁹

Apparently, in paragraph one Pausanias offers his personal explanation of the actual set up of the statues, as being paired Greek vs. barbarian. This by no means implies that the Apolloniatas understood the dedication the same way. In fact, the city of Apollo, colonized by Kerkyra and Korinth, appears to claim as their local heroes both Greeks and Trojans, whom the epic tradition placed in this region.⁹⁰

3.

5.24.3: τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζεὺς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου, μέγεθος μὲν δώδεκα ποδῶν, ἀνάθημα δὲ λέγουσιν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων, ἠνίκα ἀποστᾶσι Μεσσηνίοις δευτέρα τότε ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησαν· ἔπεστι δὲ καὶ ἐλεγείον ἐπ' αὐτῶν·

Δέξο ἄναξ Κρονίδα Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄγαλμα 5
ἰλάωι θυμῶι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

Apparatus Criticus:

3 τότε is the emendation by Schubart-Walz of the mss. ὅτε or ἔτι; it is accepted by Hitzig and Papachatzis; Porson and Rocha-Pereira suppress ὅτε 5 For the epigram Hitzig states: "inscriptionem dedit qualis est in codd. edd., cum hic id solum quaeratur, quid Pausanias ipse scripsisse putandus sit." δέξω Aldina; δέξω Ms Vb P R; δέξαι or δέξατο is the conjecture of Koraes; δέξο is the reading in *IO* 252; ζεὺς Ag Pd (where it is corrected to ζεῦ); ὀλύμπιε Pa 6 τοῖς is the reading in the mss., while *IO* 252 reads τοι.

IO 252: two fragments of bluish-grey, Peloponnesian marble which form part of a hollow cylindrical base. They were found: fr. a on March 16, 1876, ten steps southeast

⁸⁹ Praschniker 1922-24, 189-190 no. 3, and Hammond 1967, 413 note 4. For the topography of the region and Pausanias' remarks see Hammond 1967, 494f..

⁹⁰ For a fuller discussion of the literary and archaeological evidence for Apollonia see Hammond 1967, 384-389.

of the southeast corner of the Temple of Zeus; fr. **b**, which is small and preserves the first four letters, on January 2, 1879, on the southeast side of the temple of Zeus. The letters are inscribed along the top edge which is partially chipped and badly weathered. The fragments are in the Altis, *in situ*.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos.: 43 (**a**), 510 (**b**). *Vidi, Phot.*

Fr. **a**: Height: 0.78-0.79m. Diameter: 1.27-1.28m.

Fr. **b**: Height: 0.027m. Width: 0.11m. Breadth: 0.09m.

Letter Height: the letters are only partially preserved.

ca. 500–460 B.C.

[Δέξ]ο Φάν[α]ξ Κρον[ύ]δα{ι} Δεῦ Ὀλύμπιε καλὸν ἄγαλμα ἠλέφοι θυμῶι
τοῖ Λακεδαιμονί[ο]ι[s].

The letter shapes are (Jeffery *LSAG* 183 fig. 39): δ1 (the English D shape), ε4, F1, η1, ν3, ξ1 or ξ2, π1, υ1. The shapes of the epsilon (slanting to the right with a tail) and of the upsilon (tailed) are rather archaic according to Jeffery (*LSAG* 196).

Remains of Dotted Letters (the first four letters from the facsimile in *IO*):

first omikron—only the upper right part of a curving stroke.
digamma—only the middle slanting stroke and the central part of a vertical.
alpha—only the upper part of a triangular shape.
xi—only the tip of a slanting stroke.
delta—a vertical stroke and faint traces of its curving part.
suppressed iota—only the bottom half.
second iota—only part of a vertical stroke.
gamma—only part of a vertical stroke.
tau—only the vertical stroke.
third and fourth iota—only the bottom part of a vertical stroke.
epsilon—only part of a vertical and the bottom slanting stroke.
fifth iota—only the bottom third of a vertical.
last omikron—only the bottom part of a curving stroke.

Restorations:

Κρονύδα{ι} Meiggs/Lewis, Jeffery, Gallavotti, Hansen; Κρονύδα *IO* editors, Preger, Roehl.
Κρονύδα[punctuation] A.M. Cirio (in Gallavotti 1978b, 33) suggests restoring the trace of a vertical stroke as punctuation, thus dividing the hexameter into two hemistichs.

[Z]εῦ or Ζεῦ *IO* editors, Preger, Roehl; Δεῦ Meiggs/Lewis, Jeffery, Gallavotti, Hansen.

ἠλέφο θυμῶ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ Preger;
ἠλέφο[ι θυ]μῶι τοῖ<λ> *IO* editors, Friedländer-Hoffleit;
ἠλέφ[ω[s δά]μο τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ[ν] Roehl;
ἠλέφο[ι θυ]μῶι τοῖ<λ> Meiggs/Lewis, Jeffery; ἠλάφ θυμῶι τοῖ Buck.
ἠλέφο[ι θυ]μῶι τοῖ Gallavotti, Hansen.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XXVIII, 429. *IG* V.1, 1562. Roehl, *IGA* 75. Preger, *IGM* 57. Friedländer 1987, no. 113. Hiller 1926, no. 13. Buck 1973, 266 no. 68. Jeffery 1949, 26-30, figs. 4-6. Papastavrou 1953-54, 127-134. Wallace 1954, 32-35. den Boer 1956, 162-177, esp. 170, note 21. Kiechle 1959, 116-119. Huxley 1962, 88. Pearson 1962, 397-426, esp. 421f., note 56. Pfohl 1964, no. 13. Meiggs/Lewis 22. Gallavotti 1978a, 16-17; id. 1978b, 33-34. Lazzarini 1976, 309 no. 914, 86, 95-100, 152-156. Hansen, *CEG* I, 367. Dörig 1987, 13, pl. 26-27. Jeffery, *LSAG* 196, 201 no. 49, 407, pl. 37, 446. Bauslaugh 1990, 661-668.

Commentary: Pausanias cannot make out from the inscription the event which the Lacedaemonians commemorated with the dedication of the twelve-foot-high statue of Zeus. So, he reports the information that presumably the local exegetes provided (λέγουσιν εἶναι). The phrase ἠνίκα ἀποστᾶσι Μεσσηνίοις δεύτερα τότε ἐς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, characteristic of Pausanias' vague style, can refer both to the revolt of the Messenians in 465/4 B.C., the generally accepted date,⁹¹ and the second Messenian war in the seventh century B.C.

According to Jeffery (*LSAG* 195-66), the lettering of this inscription excludes a seventh century B.C. date, but it does not help in providing a more fixed date, because of the scarcity of archaic Lakonian inscriptions. Jeffery (1949, 30 and *LSAG* 196) suggests further that, because of the circular shape of the base, the statue was probably not entirely anthropomorphic. Instead it was probably "a human head and arms surmounting a circular core sheathed in bronze, the lower end of which was inserted directly into the hollow base". This would not favor 465/4 B.C., because the dedication would have been similar to Apollo of Amyklai, the Apollo Karneios, and the Athena Chalkioikos, all of which represent the archaic style which the Spartans favored in the late sixth and early fifth century. Without totally rejecting Pausanias' implied date, Jeffery opts for a date ca.

⁹¹ Recently Bauslaugh (1990, 661-668) has argued convincingly that two inscribed bronze spear butts which have resisted interpretation were in fact Messenian dedications at Olympia from the spoils of their successful ten-year long uprising and resistance against Spartan rule in the 460s.

500–490, which is accepted by Wallace, Huxley and Meiggs/Lewis. den Boer (1956, 162-177), however, has argued convincingly that the scanty evidence for a Messenian revolt ca. 490 B.C. amounts to nothing more than political propaganda in order to exonerate Sparta by providing a more serious excuse for their delay and eventual absence from Marathon. He also emphasizes that Pausanias is not among the sources supporting a Messenian revolt in the early fifth century B.C.⁹² Likewise, Dörig questions the validity of a Spartan dedication ca. 490 B.C., and favors on sculptural considerations the later date, 464 B.C., “even if the capture of Ithome was not the real reason for the dedication.”

Since the epigram itself does not mention the Messenians, nor does it provide any other clue, Pausanias is clearly cautious about this bit of information. In other instances, where his information is more reliable, Pausanias is more assertive of what he reports. In this case, however, he does not offer any explanation, and final judgment on the reliability of this information lies with his reader. The difficult task of disentangling the web of Messenian history was undertaken by Pearson (1962, 397-426). His *Quellenforschung* has raised justified reservations about the reliability of Pausanias’ sources, Rhianus and Myron whom he calls “‘creators’ of Messenian history” (425), especially if den Boer’s and Dörig’s theses are taken into consideration.⁹³

⁹² There is mention of a Helot revolt during the Persian Wars in Plato’s *Menexenos* 240c, *Leges* 692d-e, 698d-e, and Strabo 8.4.10, which den Boer (1956, 167-177, and especially 170 note 21) believes to be political propaganda.

⁹³ Pearson’s judgment on Pausanias and his use of earlier sources, however, misses the point (1967, 425 note 62):

The etiquette of scholarship does not permit one to accuse a respectable author like Pausanias of lying or dishonesty; but it is considered within the rules of the game to say that he pretends to be reporting at first hand when he is really reporting second hand. Pausanias, however, does not endorse, the way he does elsewhere, what he is reporting on Messenian history. The very fact that he did not “create” a consistent account is indicative of the problems he saw in his sources, which he could not, or would not solve.

Apart from the historical problems, Pausanias' text of the epigram and that of the inscription bear some dialectic differences, which are attributed by Gallavotti to the transmission of the text, or to Pausanias himself. Since the manuscript tradition does not suggest any serious variations, it is more natural that Pausanias, writing in the second century A.D. in the Attic dialect, chose to transcribe the inscription, in order to make it more understandable for his reader. Accordingly, there is no reason to postulate, as Ahrens did,⁹⁴ that the stone was mutilated in Pausanias' time, and so Pausanias, or the local exegetes restored the inscription. For Pausanias would have noticed the damage to the monument and he would have mentioned it, as he frequently does.⁹⁵

4.

5.26.1: Μεσσηνίων δὲ τῶν Δωριέων οἱ Ναύπακτόν ποτε παρὰ Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι Νίκης ἐπὶ τῷ κίονι ἀνέθεσαν· τοῦτό ἐστιν ἔργον μὲν Μενδαίου Παιωνίου, πεποίηται δὲ ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν πολεμίων, ὅτε Ἀκαρναῖσι καὶ Οἰτιάδαις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐπόλεμησαν. Μεσσηνιοὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι τὸ ἀνάθημά σφισιν <εἶναι> 5 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Σφακτηρίαι νήσῳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγράψαι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν πολεμίων σφᾶς τῷ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων δείματι, ἐπεὶ Οἰτιάδων γε καὶ Ἀκαρνανῶν οὐδένα ἔχειν φόβον.

Apparatus Criticus:

5-6 Facius indicated that εἶναι should be suppressed after σφισιν; Clavier reinserted <εἶναι>; Dindorf indicated that there seems to be a lacuna; Spiro and Papachatzis prefer to restore <πραχθέντος εἶναι> after Ἀθηναίων; Hitzig and Rocha-Pereira indicate a lacuna after σφισιν without restoring anything.

IO 259: a triangular, prism-shaped, base of Parian marble, comprising of twelve prism-shaped blocks mounted one on top of the other, upon which stood the Nike statue, a total of 9.30m. high. They were found on December 20, 1875, thirty-

⁹⁴ Ahrens 1879, 193-242. Roehl and Preger followed him.

⁹⁵ See especially the examples in pp. 7-9 and 16-17.

seven meters southeast of the southeast corner of the temple of Zeus. The width of this base starts at 1.94 (course 1 from the ground up) and gradually narrows down at the top to 1.12m. (course 12). *IO* 259 is inscribed on the third course from the ground, while on the first two courses the Messenians inscribed ca. 140–135 B.C. the Judgment of the 600 Milesians (*IO* 52).⁹⁶ The triangular block with the inscription and the statue of Nike are exhibited in the Gallery of the Nike of Paionios in the New Museum. The remaining triangular bases, *IO* 52 included, are *in situ*, in the Altis, to the east-southeast of the temple of Zeus.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 5. *Vidi*.

Height: 0.585m. Width and Breadth: bottom 1.86, top 1.82.

Letter Height: ca. 0.003m. (lines 1-2); ca. 0.002m. (lines 3-4).

ca. 421 B.C.

NON-STOICH.

Μεσσάνιοι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι ἀνέθεν Διὶ
Ὀλυμπίῳ δεκάταν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.
Παιώνιος ἐποίησε Μενδαῖος
καὶ τὰ κρωτήρια ποιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνίκᾳ.

The letters are very well preserved and inscribed in the Ionic script which suggests that Paionios was probably responsible for the inscription and also that the Messenians, once they settled in Naupaktos, perhaps used the Athenian/Ionic script. The signature of the sculptor, line 3, and the much debated line 4 are cut in smaller letters. Line 4, in itself extraordinary, “though incised by the same hand, may have been an addendum after lines 1-3, since it is slightly smaller and less well-plotted”, according to Jeffery (1980a, 1234 note 4).

According to Jeffery (*LSAG* 325 fig. 46), the shapes of the letters are: α3, ε1, θ3, κ1, λ3, μ4, ν4, σ1 (four-bar sigma), υ2, ω6.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

IG V.1, 1568. *Syll.*⁴ 80. Roehl, *IGA* 348. Loewy, *IGB* 49. Buck 1913, 133-159, esp. 137. Pomtow 1922, 55-112, esp. 81. Harder 1943, 93-132, esp. fig. 34; id. 1954, 192-201, pl. 44. Pfohl 1964, no. 30. Meiggs/Lewis 74 (65). Mitchel 1974, 107-109. Gallavotti 1978a, 11-12; id. 1978b, 30. Jeffery 1980b, 1233-1239. Donnay 1982, 166-176. Jeffery, *LSAG* 204-205, 206 no. 12-13, 365, 371 no. 33 pl. 71, 416, 448, 478, 440. Bauslaugh 1990, 661-668.

⁹⁶ It was rendered in favor of the Messenians for the dispute of the Lacedaemonians and Messenians over their boundaries on Mt. Taygetos, and especially over possession of Dentheliatis.

Commentary: In the three cases discussed (nos. 1–3) Pausanias quoted in his narrative the actual text of the inscription he read. In this and the remaining instances, however, Pausanias does not directly quote the inscription.⁹⁷ Instead he incorporates its information into his text, trying at the same time to clarify the problems of the inscription’s content.

The first line of the dedication is understood by Pausanias as “the Messenians of Naupaktos” and for the phrase ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων in line 2 he is of the opinion (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) that the Akarnanian Oiniadai should be understood, against whom the Messenians fought and won in 455/4 B.C. More importantly, Pausanias also reports the opinion of the Messenians themselves. They told him that the dedication commemorated the victory over the Lacedaemonians at Pylos in 425 B.C., when they helped the Athenians. Their reason for not inscribing on the stone ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, so they say, was simple fear. So they used instead the “safe” formula ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

Pausanias’ attempt at explanation stems from the vagueness of the inscription itself. His own view favors a date which is too early for the statue’s style, according to Frazer (644-645). After all, as Pausanias himself says in 4.25, the Messenians lost Oiniadai one year later (454/3 B.C.) and returned to Naupaktos. It seems, therefore, rather unlikely that such a short-lived victory alone prompted this dedication. Moreover, the inscription itself speaks of two groups, Messenians and Naupaktians, a detail which is overlooked by Pausanias and which suggests that Messenian settlers were living in Naupaktos. Pausanias, however, includes in his text the Messenian explanation, also confirmed by Thukydides (1.103.3. 4.9.1; 36.1; 41.2), which is more in line with the style of the statue of Nike itself. The exegete’s personal conclusion as to what this monument commemorated is proof enough that its original intent was already lost by Pausanias’

⁹⁷ There is another case where the inscription that Pausanias is quoting has been found, but it has not been published. See Appendix D direct epigraphical references book 6.10.4-5.

time. So, Frazer's (645) generally accepted suggestion that the dedication was set up jointly for all Messenian operations before and during the Archidamian War makes the best out of the scanty evidence for it.⁹⁸

The last two lines of the inscription, the signature of the artist Paionios, create similar problems. They are inscribed in the Ionic/Attic dialect, except for the word *ναόν*, whereas the first two lines are appropriately in Doric. For the shapes of the letters of the entire inscription, however, the Ionic alphabet is employed. Elsewhere Pausanias provides more information about Paionios and his city Mende. Apparently Pausanias, based on his understanding of line 4 *τάκρωτήρια ποιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνίκα*, thinks that Paionios was the sculptor of the East pediment of the temple of Zeus: *τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς ἐστὶ Παιωνίου, γένος ἐκ Μένδης τῆς Θραικίας* (5.10.8). Pomtow, on account of Paionios' claim about *τάκρωτήρια*, and the lettering in line 4 (see above the epigraphic comments), proposed that line 4 was a later addition.⁹⁹ Harder (1954, 192-198), however, has convincingly argued that such an explanation is not necessary, and he further pointed out the interesting relation between the first two and the last two lines. The statue of Victory commemorates two *agones*: the Messenian victory, and also Paionios' victory in the competition for the sculptures on the roof of the east façade. Thus, the word *τάκρωτήρια*, does not refer to the pedimental sculptures, as Pausanias thought, but rather to the sculptures on top of the roof of the east façade. Pausanias mentions them without reference to the artist and among which there was another Nike: *ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίαι λέβητος ἐπίχρυσος ἐπὶ ἐκάστωι τοῦ ὀρόφου τῶι*

⁹⁸ For contemporary dedications of Nike statues by the Athenians see Meiggs/Lewis 74 (p. 224): *IG* II² 4037-12, dated ca. 350-320 B.C., and especially Jeffery 1980a, 1233-1239.

A parallel triangular Nike dedication was found at Delphi. It is thoroughly discussed in comparison with the one in Olympia by Pomtow 1922, 55-112. See also: *FD* III. iv 1-5, 163-5; Bousquet 1961, 69-71; and Jacquemin 1982, 191-204.

⁹⁹ Pomtow 1922, 81, note 2, and Jeffery 1980a, 1234 note 4.

πέρατι ἐπίκειται καὶ Νίκη κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἔστηκε τὸν ἀετόν, ἐπίχρυσος καὶ αὕτη (5.10.4).¹⁰⁰ Jeffery has argued (1980a, 1233-1239) that line 4 refers to these Nikai, which were commissioned to commemorate the alliance in 420–418 B.C. among Athens, Elis, Mantinea, and Argos. This is an attractive interpretation of line 4 and the statements found in Pausanias, even if, as Jeffery admits (1980a, 1239), “it must remain uncertain”.

The birthplace of Paionios is also questioned. In describing the sculptures of the pediments Pausanias says of Paionios that his *genos* is from the Thracian Mende (γένος ἐκ Μένδης τῆς θρακίᾳς 5.10.8), a city which had sent a dedication to Olympia when they captured the city of Sipte. This is the last dedication mentioned by Pausanias at the end of book five (5.27.12):

τῶν δὲ ἐν Θράκῃ Μενδαίων τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐγγύτατα ἀφίκετο ἀπατήσαί με ὡς ἀνδρὸς εἰκῶν εἴη πεντάθλου· Μενδαίοις δὲ αὐτοῖς γένος τε Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας ἐστίν, οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω τῆς πρὸς Αἴνῳ πόλει.

The combined information of these two passages suggests that Paionios was not from the Chalkidic Mende, but from the Ionian Mende north of Ainos in Thrace. Unfortunately the Ionic alphabet used for the inscription does not lend strong support for one of the two Mendai. Meiggs/Lewis, who are alone in rejecting totally the existence of a second Mende in Thrace, rightly point out that Jeffery’s belief that the Chalkidic Mende’s alphabet was not Ionic is an open question. Even if the Chalkidic Mende’s alphabet was Ionic that alone does not suffice to disprove the existence of another Mende in Thrace. Pausanias’ testimony ought not to be lightly dismissed.

¹⁰⁰ See no. 1 above. For a recent re-evaluation of the evidence and the bibliography concerning the artists of the pediments of Zeus’ temple at Olympia see: Herrmann 1987a, 21-28; id. 1987b, 309-338. Also Dörig 1987, *passim*, who rejects Pausanias’ names of Paionios and Alkamenes altogether and favors a Spartan sculptor.

The problems raised by this dedication and Pausanias' report of it are evidence of his methodology. Pausanias is interested not just in the dedication itself, but also in its story. He does not simply repeat what he read on the monument, but rather he attempts an interpretation: in this case he offers two versions of the possible historical events that led to the dedication. His research for an exegesis of the dedication, even if it leads him to the wrong conclusion, is worthy of appreciation. For he reports the "primary" evidence and shows to his reader how and why he arrives at his conclusion.

5.

5.26.2: τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα Μικύθου πολλά τε ἀριθμὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ὄντα εὕρισκον, ἀλλὰ Ἰφίτου μὲν τοῦ Ἥλείου καὶ Ἐκεχειρίας στεφανούσης τὸν Ἰφίτον, τούτων μὲν τῶν εἰκόνων ἔχεται τοσάδε ἀναθήματα τῶν Μικύθου, Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Ἔστια· Γλαῦκος δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖος. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν 5
ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πλευρᾷ ἀνέθηκεν ἄλλα, Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος καὶ Ἀφροδίτην Γανυμήδην τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, ποιητῶν δὲ Ὀμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον, καὶ θεοὺς αὐθις Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγείαν. (3) Ἀγῶν τε ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐστὶ τοῖς Μικύθου φέρων ἀλτῆρας, οἱ δὲ ἀλτῆρες οὗτοι παρέχονται σχῆμα τοιόνδε· κύκλου παραμικροτέρου καὶ οὐκ 10
ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον περιφεροῦς εἰσιν ἡμισυ, πεποιήται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν χειρῶν διέναι καθάπερ δι' ὀχάνων ἀσπίδος. τούτων μὲν σχῆμά ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον· παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀγῶνος τὴν εἰκόνα Διόνυσος καὶ ὁ Θραῖξ ἐστὶν Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἄγαλμα Διός, οὗ δὴ καὶ ὀλίγωι πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθη. ταῦτα ἔργα ἐστὶν Ἀργεῖου 15
Διονυσίου· τεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μικύθου καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοῦ τούτοις λέγουσι, Νέρωνα δὲ ἀφελέσθαι φασὶ καὶ ταῦτα. (4) τοῖς δὲ εἰργασμένοις αὐτά, γένος οὖσιν Ἀργεῖοις, Διονυσίωι τε καὶ Γλαύκωι, διδάσκαλόν σφισιν οὐδένα ἐπιλέγουσιν· ἡλικίαν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τὰ ἔργα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀναθεὶς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ὁ Μίκυθος. τὸν γὰρ δὴ 20
Μίκυθον τούτον Ἡρόδοτος ἔφη ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς Ἀναξίλα τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίωι τυραννήσαντος γενόμενος δούλος καὶ ταμίας τῶν Ἀναξίλα χρημάτων ὕστερον τούτων ἀπιὼν οἴχοιτο ἐς Τεγέαν τελευτήσαντος Ἀναξίλα. (5) τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιγράμματα καὶ πατέρα Μικύθωι Χοῖρον καὶ Ἑλληνίδας αὐτῶι πόλεις Ῥηγίον τε 25
πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶι πορθμῶι Μεσσήνην δίδωσιν· οἰκεῖν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Τεγέαι φησὶν αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα

ἀνέθηκεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν εὐχήν τινα ἐκτελῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρία παιδὸς
νοσήσαντος νόσον φθινάδα.

Apparatus Criticus:

1 the mss. read Mikythos' name in some instances *σικύθου* and in others *μικύθου*.

26-29 these lines have been variously emended and the text printed here is that of Hitzig, Papachatzis, and Rocha-Pereira. Earlier attempts, however, for improving Pausanias' text are indicative of how instrumental the discovery of an inscription may be, in this case *IO 267*, for the variant readings in the mss. and the emendations of the exegete's text. Most mss., Siebelis, and Bekker read *δίδωσιν οἴκειν· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγρ. ἐν Τεγέῃ φησὶν αὐτὸν*, except L, where *οὐκ* is inserted before *ἐν*; Lb Ms V Va Vb, and the Aldina, Xylander, Kuhn, read *φασὶν*; Facius and Clavier read: *δίδωσιν· οἴκειν καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγρ. ἐν Τ. φασὶν αὐτὸν*; Koræes reads *δίδωσιν· οἴκειν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπιγρ. ἐν Τ. φασὶν αὐτὸν*, which Bekker accepted; Goldhagen conjectured: *Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιγράμματα—Μεσσήνην δίδωσιν οἴκειν· τὰ δὲ ἐν Τεγέῃ φασὶν αὐτὸν* sc. *οἴκειν*; Smai. put an asterisk before *φησὶν*, thinking that a negative had dropped out; Schubart-Walz, Dindorf, and Schubart inserted *οὐ*, but the discovery of *IO 267* put the matter to rest, i.e. that no negative should be restored.

IO 267: block of greyish-white Peloponnesian marble, found on May 20, 1879, southeast of the Heraion. The block is intact and preserves only the right part of the inscription, while on its surface there are footprints of the bronze statue. On the sides there are T clamps, to which other blocks were fitted; the left one contained the left half of the inscription. The base is now exhibited in the Entrance Hall of the New Museum *Λ(ίθινα) 525*.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 660. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.29m. Width: 0.975m. Thickness: 0.76m.

Letter Height: 0.015-0.025m..

paulo post 467 B.C.

STOICH. ?29?

[Μίκυθος ἢο Χοῖρο Ῥεγῖνος καὶ Μεσσέλιος, Φοικέον ἐν Τεγέει,
[?τὰγάλματα τάδε θεοῖς ἀνέθεκε? πᾶσιν καὶ θεαῖς πάσαις.
[- - - - - κλαὶ χρεμάτων ἡόσσα Φοι πλείστα
ἐγέν-
[ετο - - - - -] ἐλθόν, ἔπειτα (οἱ ἐπεὶ τὰ)
εἰδῶμεν].

IO 268: fragment of greyish-white Peloponnesian marble, found on January 15, 1878, northeast of the temple of Zeus. This fragment is the same height as *IO* 267; its letter shapes are also very similar to *IO* 267. It is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 660. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.29m. Width: 0.44m. Thickness: 0.49m.

Letter Height: 0.02-0.025m..

paulo post 467 B.C.

NON-STOICH.

[Μίκυθος ὁ Χοίρου ῥηγίνος καὶ Μεσσήν]ιος, [[Φο]ικέον ἐ[ν Τεγέει],
 [τάγάλματα τάδε θεοῖς ἀνέθηκε πᾶσιν] καὶ θεαῖς πάσαι[s].
 [- - - - - κἀ καὶ χρεμάτων ὅ[σσα Φοι πλείστα
 ἐγέν]-
 [- - - - -] ἐλθόν, ἔπειτα (οἱ ἐπέλ τὰ
 ἐ[ὕξάμεν].

IO 269: five fragments of greyish-white Peloponnesian marble, found: fr. **a**, broken on all sides except the top, on December 8, 1876, on the north side of the temple of Zeus; fr. **b**, broken on all sides except the top, on December 31, 1878, to the northeast of the temple of Zeus; frs. **c** and **d**, broken on all sides, on January 14, 1879, to the south of the temple of Zeus; fr. **e**, broken on all sides except the bottom, on December 30, 1878, in the east trench. All five fragments have letter shapes and interlinear spacing similar to the previous two inscriptions, and so all editors, except the *IO*, associate them with the lost beginning of one of the two previous inscriptions. Since none of these fragments preserves more than five letters, this association must remain tentative. These five fragments may also belong, as the *IO* editors suggest, to a new third base dedicated by Mikythos.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos.: fr. **a** 100; fr. **b** 501; fr. **c** 522a; fr. **d** 522b;

fr. **e** 498. *Vidi, Phot.*

Fr. **a** height: 0.19m.; width: 0.10m.

Fr. **b** height: 0.10m.; width: 0.07m; thickness: 0.10m.

Fr. **c** height: 0.11m.; width: 0.08m.; thickness: 0.03m.

Fr. **d** height: 0.11m.; width: 0.055m.

Fr. **e** height: 0.10m.; width: 0.12m.; thickness: 0.045m.

Letter Height: 0.02-0.025m.

paulo post 467 B.C.

STOICH.?

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>fr. a</p> <p>[- - -]os[- - -]</p> <p>[- - -]veθ[- - -]</p> | <p>fr. b</p> <p>[- - -]κλ[- - -]</p> |
| <p>fr. c</p> <p>[- - -]ι[- - -]</p> <p>[- - -]δε[- - -]</p> | <p>fr. d</p> <p>[- - -]Γε[- - -]</p> <p>[- - -]πε[- - -]</p> |
| | <p>fr. e</p> <p>[- - -]ι[- - -]</p> <p>[- - -]ιδει[- - -].</p> |

The letters are very well preserved and inscribed in the Chalkidic-Euboian script. *IO* 267 is in stoichedon, as seems to be *IO* 269 (fragments **a**, **d**, and **e**). In the first two inscriptions the letters from the middle toward the left tend to lean to the left, and those from the middle toward the right tend to lean to the right.

The shapes of the letters, common to all three inscriptions, are (Jeffery, *LSAG* 79 fig. 27): $\gamma\bar{3}$ (only in *IO* 267), $\epsilon\bar{4}$, $\zeta\bar{3}$, $\theta\bar{2}$, $\kappa\bar{1}$ and $\kappa\bar{2}$, $\nu\bar{1}$ and $\nu\bar{4}$, $\xi\bar{3}$ (only in *IO* 267), $\pi\bar{1}$, $\rho\bar{3}$, $\sigma\bar{3}$, $\upsilon\bar{2}$ (only in *IO* 267), $\chi\bar{3}$.

The letters that create problems and may perhaps suggest a different stone-cutter are: **H4** (appears only in *IO* 267 line 3, and not in *IO* 268 line 3), $\lambda\bar{2}$ (in *IO* 267), $\lambda\bar{3}$ (in *IO* 268).

H4 and $\lambda\bar{3}$ are the mason's slips according to Jeffery (*LSAG* 244-245) who writes: *IO* 268 is "the same in all respects, except that it has $\lambda\bar{3}$. The best explanation for this seems to be that suggested by Purgold, that the inscribing was done by an Eleian mason who, following an original draft of the text written in the Chalkidic script of Rhegion and Messene, on one occasion at least lapsed and cut his own form of *lambda*. *Heta* in the form **H4** does not recur elsewhere in Rhegion or Elis, and may be another slip; the normal Rhegine at this time would be the open type (cf. **11**)."

There are, however, more slips evident in 268:¹⁰¹ in line 1 the two letters are clearly inscribed after an erasure, which only Roehl and Gallavotti recognized. It seems that the cutter missed the digamma and started to inscribe an omikron whose stroke is visible and probably an iota, and then erased the two letters and reinscribed the digamma and omikron. The erasure, the non-stoichedon layout, the omission of the breathing mark in line 3, the different shape of the letter lambda, and, in general, the carelessness in cutting the letters suggest to me a different stone cutter from *IO* 267, whose letters are more elegantly and carefully laid out and cut.

¹⁰¹ Gallavotti 1978a, 24 note 17 saw these differences in the published photographs.

Remains of Dotted Letters in IO 269:

- fr. b: only the bottom part of a slanting stroke.
 fr. c: only the bottom of a vertical stroke.
 fr. d: line 1: only the bottom left part of a slanting stroke, perhaps the shape of γ2 (Jeffery 206 fig. 40, and 244 note 8).
 fr. e: line 1: only the bottom of a vertical stroke.
 line 2: of the first vertical stroke only the bottom tip; of the second, a full vertical stroke at the edge of the break of the fragment.

Restorations:

IO 267 Line 4: reading ἔπειτα or ἐπεὶ τὰ depends on what is restored before it.

IO 268 Line 1: in the erasure the cutter started writing an omicron (its stroke is visible) and perhaps an iota.

The restorations of *IO 267* and *268* are obviously the same.¹⁰² Many attempts (see below) have been made to restore *267* from Pausanias' paraphrasing of it, and all, even those for lines 1 and 2, must remain tentative, because they are based on assumptions.

The first assumption is that the inscription was cut on two blocks of similar size, and so, since in line 3 there are 29 letter spaces, the same number of letters should be restored in lines 1, 2 and 4 (only Roehl did not follow this).

The second concerns the end of the text and line 3. Roehl, the *IO* editors and Zingerle, all assumed that there was a fifth line inscribed on the lost left block. They also assumed that, since there was another block to the left, there may have been another one to the right as well. So, they restored the missing letters of ἐγέν[ετο] at the end of line 3 as if the line extended to an adjacent block.

To this Preuner (followed by Jeffery and Gallavotti) argued convincingly that, if the cutter had more letters to inscribe, he would continue until the empty space that remains after εὐξάμην was filled and then he would start a new line. The same explanation applies for line 3 as well, since it seems to have been the only one with excess letters.

Finally, I have resisted the temptation to associate the fragments of *IO 269* with *267*, because to associate these fragments with tentative restorations does not make either the restorations certain or the association conclusive; and also because of the real possibility that *269* may have been a third base of the many dedications of Mikythos in the Altis (as the *IO* editors suggested).

Proposed Restorations for IO 267:

Roehl

[Τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε Μίκυθος ὁ Χαίρου, Ῥηγίνοσ καὶ ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ
 Μεσσή]νιοσ κτλ.,
 [χάριν ἀξίην ἀποδιδούσ ἀνέθηκα ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ φθισιδῶντοσ θεοῖσ πάσι]ν
 καὶ κτλ.
 [ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἐσ τὴν ἱητρικὴν τέχνην ἀναλώματα χρόνου καὶ πόγου
 καὶ χρημάτων, ὡσ σαφοῖ, πλεῖστοα ἐγέν[ετο]
 [καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπέρηνα - - - - - ἐπὶ πᾶν] ἐλθών, ἔπειτα
 εὐξάμην

5 [- - - - -].

¹⁰² Only Roehl associates *268* and the fragments of *269*, despite the fact that three fragments of *269* suggest the stoichedon style.

IO editors:

[Μίκυθος ὁ Χοίρου Ῥηγίνος καὶ Μεσσή]νιος Φοικέων ἐν Τεγέῃ,
 [τάγάλματα τάδε θεοῖς ἀνέθηκε πᾶσι]ν καὶ θεαῖς πάσαις·
 [παιδὸς δὲ νόσον φθινάδα νοσέοντος κ]αὶ χρημάτων, ὅσα φοι πλεῖστα
 ἐγέν[ετο δυνατὸν]
 [ἰητροῖς δαπανηθέντων, ἐς Ὀλυμπίην] ἐλθὼν, ἔπειτα εὐξάμεν-
 5 [ος - - - ἀνέθηκεν].

Preuner suggested that fragments **a b** and **c** of *IO* 269 fit in the first half of lines 1 and 2 (he does not say where, but see Gallavotti below). Jeffery accepted Preuner's restorations, except for ἐπεὶ τὰ in line 4 which she reads επειτα.¹⁰³

[Μίκυθος ὁ Χοίρο Ρεγίνος καὶ Μεσσέ]νιος, Φοικέων ἐν Τεγέει,
 [τάγάλματα τάδε θεοῖς ἀνέθεκε πᾶσι]ν καὶ θεαῖς πάσαις
 [παιδὸς ἐκ νόσο φθινάδος σοθέντος κ]αὶ χρημάτων ὅσα φοι πλεῖστα
 ἐγέν-
 [ετο δεκάτεν ἀπερξάμεν, ἐς Ὀλυμπίην] ἐλθὼν, ἐπεὶ τὰ εὐξάμεν.

Zingerle accepted the *IO* editors restorations and modified their and Preuner's last two lines:

[παιδὸς δὲ νόσον φθινάδα νοσέοντος κ]αὶ χρημάτων, ὅσα φοι πλεῖστα
 ἐγέν[ετο μάτην]
 [ἰετροῖς δαπανηθέντων, ἐς τὸ θεῖον] ἐλθὼν ἔπειτα, εὐξάμεν.

Gallavotti associates 267 and all five frs. of 269, reading from left to right and from top to bottom: lines 1-2: fr. c, fr. a, fr. b; lines 3-4: fr. d, fr. e:

[Μί]κ[υθ]ος [ὁ Χοίρο Ῥεγίνος] κα[ὶ Μεσσέ]νιος, κτλ.
 [τά]δε [ἀ]νέθ[εκε] ἀγάλματα θεοῖς πᾶσι]ν καὶ κτλ.
 [ἡ]πὲρ παιδὸς] γ' ἐ[κ]φθίνοντος εὐχῆ]ν [κ]αὶ χρῆμάτῳ, ὅσα φοι
 πλεῖστα ἐγέν-
 [ετο ἀ]παρχῆν. ἐ]πε[τέ]λεσα δὲ τὰ τῆ]ν δ' ἐπελθὼν, ἐπεὶ τὰ εὐξάμην.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XXVIII, 431. Roehl, *IGA* 532, 533a-f. Preuner 1920a, 59-70. Loewy, *IGB* 31. Zingerle 1937, 109-115. Gallavotti 1978a, 23-26. Jeffery, *LSAG* 244-245, 247 no. 8-10 pl. 49, 410.

Commentary: All three inscriptions are dated to a little after 467 B.C., the year of Mikythos' departure from Rhegion and immigration to Tegea.

¹⁰³ Jeffery's reference (*LSAG* 244 note 8) to her text in the "Transliteration of Plates. The underlined letters there are those preserved on fragments a-c of 10 (sc. *IO* 269)," is a slip, since there are no underlined letters in the text (410 pl. 49 no. 8).

The case of Mikythos' dedications is a perfect example of Pausanias' methodology and utilization of sources. Earlier, in his section on the dedicatory statues of Zeus, he described one beardless Zeus dedicated by Mikythos (5.24.6):

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχων πῶ γένεια, κεῖται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι τοῖς Μικύθου. τὰ δὲ ἐς Μίκυθον, γένος τε ὅποιον ἦν αὐτῶι καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὰ πολλὰ ἀνέθηκεν, ὁ ἐφεξῆς μοι λόγος δηλώσει.

Pausanias does not include here a detailed account of all of Mikythos' dedications, because in this section only the statues of Zeus are discussed. This beardless Zeus is among the many dedications of Mikythos, who, however, had also dedicated other statues, representing other gods. So Pausanias postpones his discussion of Mikythos and refers his reader to a later passage in his book, where he mentions all the dedications of Mikythos in the Altis (5.26.2-5). He describes three architectural groups, which included fifteen statues in all, scattered in the sanctuary, all works by Glaukos and Dionysios of Argos. He also reports the information, probably received from the local exegetes, that many other statues dedicated by Mikythos were taken to Rome by Nero. Pausanias offers no topographical detail as to where in the Altis these offerings were set up. The Nike of Paionios, which he mentions immediately before Mikythos, is to the southeast of Zeus' temple. The find spots of the fragmentary bases, however, indicate that Mikythos' dedications were set up in the area between the Heraion and the temple of Zeus, on its north-northeast side.

Of all the statues one in particular draws Pausanias' attention, not because of its artfulness, but because of its peculiarity: the personified Agon holds in its hands ἀλτήρες, which are in turn described in detail. In fact, Pausanias mentions that the athlete Hysmon's statue holds "ancient leaping-weights" (ἀλτήρας ἀρχαίους 6.3.10).

Such ἀλτῆρες have been found in Olympia and elsewhere and resemble Pausanias' description.¹⁰⁴

After the description of the statues, Pausanias argues in two paragraphs for the date of the two sculptors and for the reason of the dedication. For the two Argive sculptors, Glaukos and Dionysios, Pausanias' sources (perhaps a treatise on sculptors, and/or the local exegetes) are of no help for dating them, since their teacher is not mentioned. Pausanias, however, follows an indirect path. Mikythos' life provides an indication of an approximate date for the sculptors' *floruit*. And for Mikythos' career he turns to the historian Herodotus, who gives the following account (7.170.4):

ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος, οἰκέτης ἐὼν Ἀναξίλειω, ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου κατελέλειπτο, οὗτος ὅς περ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας.

Pausanias' version of Herodotus' text shows some interesting deviations: οἰκέτης... ἐπίτροπος is understood by Pausanias as δοῦλος καὶ ταμίης, while ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας becomes in Pausanias ἀπιὼν οἴχοιτο ἐς Τεγέαν. The first expression does not pose any difficulties, save for Pausanias' more degrading δοῦλος. The second instance is more problematic. By using ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου Herodotus implies that Mikythos was ousted from Rhegion. According to Diodorus (11.48, especially 11.66), however, Mikythos left Rhegion on his own volition, after nine years as its regent (476–467 B.C.): the reason for his immigration to Tegea was that he was asked by Anaxilas' sons to provide an account of his administration, during which his justice and honesty as a regent triumphed. Herodotus'

¹⁰⁴ It was common for pentathletes' statues to hold in their hands leaping-weights which were used in the pentathlon (see the excellent discussion of Ebert 1963). See: *I. Bericht* 1937, 82-84, pl. 25, and Papachatzis 1979, vol. 3, 229, pl. 205: one of them is of stone and bears the inscription: Ἀκματίδας Λακεδαιμόνιος νικῶν ἀνέθηκε τὰ πέντε ἀσκονικτεῖ.

ἐκπεσὼν “is a little inconsistent”, when compared with Diodorus’ version.¹⁰⁵ Herodotus’ ἐκπεσὼν, however, may not refer to ousting, but to the account that Mikythos was forced to provide, which implies a break in the trust between Mikythos and his wards. At any rate, Pausanias’ expression is rather too general to offer any clues on Mikythos’ immigration to Tegea. One may argue that Pausanias is fusing the two accounts (and perhaps other ones as well) into one in his narrative.

Finally, the details on Mikythos’ life and his reason for dedicating so many sculptural groups may be derived, as Pausanias notes (26.5), from the epigrams which are inscribed on the dedications. All editors, trying to restore the lost left part of the inscriptions, follow closely the language of Pausanias, because his last paragraph is obviously nothing more than a close paraphrase of the inscription in the style of the Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις. Although the substance of the inscription is known thanks to Pausanias, its actual restoration cannot be absolutely determined and must remain tentative.

6.

5.27.8: οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Φεγεατῶν ἀναθήματος ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα, κηρυκεῖον Ἑρμῆς ἔχων· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Γλαυκίαν ἀναθεῖναι γένος Ῥηγίνον, ποιῆσαι δὲ Κάλ(λ)ωνα Ἡλείου.

Apparatus Criticus:

3 κάλλωνα Ag; the other mss. and all editors read Κάλλωνα. IO 271, however, has the correct form of the name with one lambda Κάλων, and it is accordingly to be accepted in Pausanias’ text. For a similar change in a name’s spelling see no. 49 below.

IO 271: two joining fragments form a base of dark grey volcanic rock. They were both found in the yard of the palaistra: fr. **a** on April 24, 1878, and fr. **b** on January

¹⁰⁵ How 1975, ad loc. See also Frazer 1965, vol. 3, 646-648.

20, 1881. The right side of the text is preserved by fr. **b**, but the left, fr. **a**, is broken. The dedication is inscribed on the front; whereas the sculptor's signature is inscribed along the front edge of the top (the facsimile in *IO* is misleading). The fragments are now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos.: 401 (**a**), 1055 (**b**). *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.29m. Width: 0.715m. Thickness: 0.305m.

Letter Height: 0.02-0.025m.

ca. 440–410 B.C.

NON-STOICH.

Top: [Ἑρμεί<α>ι με Κάλον γενε[ᾶι F]αλεῖορ ἐποίη.

Front: [Γλ]αυκίης ὁ Λυκκίδεο
[τῶ]ι Ἑρμῆι Ῥηγίνοσ.

The letters of the artist's signature are very badly weathered, but those of the dedication are well preserved. Line 1 is inscribed in the Eleian script and dialect, while lines 2-3 are in the Chalkidic-Euboian script of Rhegion (as in no. 5 above, Mikythos' dedication), but with Ionic influences. This is perhaps an indication that the two texts were not inscribed by the same cutter.

For line 1 the shapes of the letters are (Jeffery, *LSAG* 240 fig. 40): ε4, κ2, λ2, ν2 or ν3, π1, ρ3. The gamma shape is not on Jeffery's figure 40, because its shape is Ionic, which she mentions together with ρ3 and σ2 (219). Since there is no sigma inscribed on this line, this is probably an inadvertent slip. The shape of the omikron is also Ionic (see *IO* editors, 399).

For line 2-3 the shapes of the letters are (Jeffery, *LSAG* 79 fig. 27): γ4, δ4, ε1, κ2, μ4, ν3, π1, ρ3, σ2, υ2. The shape of the eta is Ionic Η, as Jeffery notes (245), as is that of the lambda Λ.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: iota—only a faint trace of the bottom of a vertical stroke; rho—only the upper right curving stroke and the slanting tail.

Line 2: alpha—only the bottom right part of a slanting stroke; upsilon—only a left slanting stroke.

Line 3: eta—only a faint trace on the left side of the middle part of a vertical stroke.

Restorations:

Line 1: on the stone the shape Λ is inscribed.

[Γλ]αυκί[]αυ Roehl, Loewy, *IO* editors, Guarducci, Gallavotti, Jeffery.

Κά<λ>λον Guarducci, Gallavotti.

[Ἑρμεί]αυ, γενε[ᾶι] or γενε[ᾶν] Bannier.

[Ἑρμεί]αυ Hansen.

γένε[ι] Gallavotti.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XI, 1226; XXVIII, 433. Roehl, *IGA* 536. Loewy, *IGB* 33. Bannier 1926, 541. Guarducci, *EG* vol. 1, 205-206, fig. 71. Dörig 1976, 125-146. Gallavotti 1978a, 27. Lazzarini 1976, 227 no. 362. Hansen, *CEG* 1, 388. Jeffery, *LSAG* 219, 221 no. 19, 245, 248 no. 16 pl. 43, 408, 450.

Commentary: The date of the inscription is based primarily on the letter shapes and the *floruit* of the Eleian artist Kalon. The Chalkidic-Euboian script and dialect with Ionic influences of lines 2 and 3 are definitely later than the Mikythos inscription (above no. 5, dated a little after 467 B.C.), as is the Eleian script of the hexameter in line 1 (the Ionic shape of the gamma, the epsilon, rho, and lambda).

Moreover, Pausanias saw at Olympia another work by Kalon. A group of thirty-seven statues representing a chorus of thirty-five boys, their music teacher and the flute-player (5.25.2-4). This monument was dedicated by the Messenians of Sicily, commemorating the members of the group, all of whom perished in the Straits of Messene on their way to a festival at Rhegion. Pausanias reads on the base an old inscription which gives him the name of the dedicators, the Messenians at the Strait, who changed the name of the city Zankle to Messene in 494 B.C. Therefore, this old inscription should be dated after 494 B.C., since Pausanias' observation about the antiquity of the inscription (τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐδήλου τὸ ἀρχαῖον . . . 5.25.4) is relative to his own time (cf. the expression ἐλεγεῖον γράμμασιν ἔστιν ἀρχαίοις in no. 2 above, dated around or after 440 B.C.). Pausanias, however, also knows of an elegiac poem that the sophist Hippias composed at a later date (i.e. after the dedication) for this misfortune. Hippias' *floruit* is 436 B.C. These two dates set the *terminus post* and *ante* for this work of Kalon. The letter shapes of *IO* 271, however, as well as the dialectic nuances of the Rhegine script, according to the *IO* editors, support a date ca. 420–410 B.C., while Jeffery and others suggested the third quarter of the 5th century

(450–425? B.C.). Recently Dörig, in his extensive study of Kalon's career,¹⁰⁶ returned to the late date of the *IO* editors, for this conforms with the statue's artistic style. Kalon's career, therefore, may have covered the period ca. 440–410 B.C..

Pausanias clearly implies where this dedication was set up in the Altis: he mentions Glaukias' offering of Hermes after the dedication of another Hermes statue by the city of Pheneos, and before the bronze bull of the Eretrians (no. 15 below) which has been found *in situ*, thirty-two meters east of the northeast corner of Zeus' temple. The two fragments, however, were not found where Pausanias saw the statue, but in the Palaistra, quite a distance from the original position of the statue within the sanctuary.

As was the case with the previous inscriptions, quoted or summarized, here too Pausanias incorporates the inscriptional information into his text by making the necessary stylistic/orthographic changes. The name of the Eleian sculptor in Pausanias' manuscripts is transmitted with two lambdas, perhaps as a scholastic duplication of the archaic(?) form; and the very common feature of the Eleian dialect, the rhotacism at the end of the artist's ethnic (Ἐλεῖος), is dropped in favor of the usual form.¹⁰⁷ The quantity of the first syllable of the artist's name is, as the meter requires, short.¹⁰⁸

Finally, Pausanias' brief mention of this dedication does not provide any help for the restoration at the beginning of line 1. The difference in script and dialect between the signature of the sculptor and the dedicatory text may be an indication that not all three lines were inscribed by the same cutter. Banner (1926, 542) has shown that, when the artist's signature is inscribed by a different hand and in a different script and dialect, the artist usually includes in his signature the god in whose honor the dedication is offered.

¹⁰⁶ Dörig (1976, 125-146) proposed that the Hermes of *Sala della Biga* is Kalon's Hermes described by Pausanias as holding the caduceus.

¹⁰⁷ For a similar change in a name's spelling see no. 49 below.

¹⁰⁸ See *IO* pp. 399-400. Gallavotti (1978a, 27) argues that it is not an hexameter, but an ithyphallic plus an enoplian.

Thus, the statue of Hermes is a double dedication to Hermes both by Kalon and Glaukias. This explanation fits in interestingly with Harder's observations about the two inscriptions on the base of Paionios' Nike (no. 4 above, *IO* 259), although there the cutter appears to have been the same person. The Nike statue was a double dedication as well: it was set up to commemorate a military victory of the Messenians, and at the same time Paionios with his signature implied that the statue was also commemorating his own victory for the commission of the *akroteria*.

7.

6.1.6: ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀρχιδάμου Κυνίσκαν ἐς τὸ γένος τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπικαῖς νίκαις, πρότερον ἔτι ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οἱ ἐς τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχουσι· πεποιήται δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Τρωΐλου λίθου κρηπὶς καὶ ἄρμα τε ἵππων καὶ ἀνὴρ ἡνίοχος καὶ αὐτῆς εἰκὼν, Ἀπελλοῦ τέχνη, γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐς τὴν Κυνίσκαν ἔχον. 5

Apparatus Criticus:

1 the mss. and editors read ἐς δὲ τὴν; Schubart, based on Dindorf's conjecture, read ἐς δὲ τὴν, which later editors accepted 5-6 the mss. and editors read ἐπιγράμματα ἐς . . . ἔχοντα, except Ms Va Vb Pa which read ἐπίγραμμα (Pa has also a correction to ἐπιγράμματα); Schubart-Walz, based on Pausanias 3.8.2, emended to ἐπίγραμμα ἐς . . . ἔχον, which is accepted by all later editors.

IO 160: a circular base of black limestone found on June 11, 1879, in the north part of the Prytaneion. The epigram is inscribed on top of the base and the artist's signature on the front side. Pausanias' description, λίθου κρηπὶς, implies a huge pedestal onto which the chariot with the three statues were mounted, and does not correspond with this round base, which shows a footprint trace and would support only one statue, i.e. Kyniska. The present base may have been a semicircular projection attached to a long pedestal supporting the charioteer, the

chariot and the horses. It is now on display in the Gallery of the Olympic Games of the New Museum Α(ἰθινα) 529.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 696. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.49m. Thickness: 0.47m. Diameter: ca. 1m.

Letter Height of the epigram: 0.01-0.015m.; of the signature: 0.01-0.02m.

paulo post 396 B.C.

NON-STOICH.

Upper surface: Σπάρτας μὲν [βασιλῆες ἐμοὶ]
 πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί, ἄρματι δ' ὠκυπόδων ἵππων]
 νικῶσα Κυνίσκα εἰκόνα τάνδ' ἔστασε· μόναν]
 δ' ἐμέ φαμι γυναικῶν Ἑλλάδος ἐκ πάσας τό[ν]-
 5 δε λαβεῖν στέφανον.
vacat 0.09 m

Front side: Ἀπελλέας Καλλικλέος ἐπόησε.

The letters are laid out awkwardly. The letter cutter appears to be very sloppy in that lines 2-5 are very crowded and the letters lean, some to the left and some to the right. The text is in the Doric dialect.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: alpha—only the bottom left part of a slanting stroke.

Line 3: tau—only the bottom of the vertical stroke; alpha—only the bottoms of the two slanting strokes; sigma—only the bottom slanting stroke.

Line 4: the tau of *στέφανον* the tau is inscribed under epsilon. All editors before Ebert (1966) read from the drawing of *IO* 160 which read *λαβεῖν στέφανον*. Ebert's new drawing is accurate. The iota is crowded, but clearly visible.

Restorations:

The text is also known from an epigram in the *Anth. Pal.* 13.16:

Σπάρτας μὲν βασιλῆες ἐμοὶ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί·
 ἄρματι δ' ὠκυπόδων ἵππων νικῶσα Κυνίσκα
 εἰκόνα τάνδ' ἔστασα. Μόναν δ' ἐμέ φαμι γυναικῶν
 Ἑλλάδος ἐκ πάσας τόνδε λαβεῖν στέφανον.

Apparatus Criticus by F. Buffière:

Lemma B: ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἑξαμέτροις πεντάμετρον.

I.G. V, 1, 1564 a. 2 ἄρματι : ἄρμασι P del. in lapide 3 τάνδ' ἔστασα lapis :
 τήνδ' ἔστησε P. δ' ἐμέ Brunck : δέ με P.

Apparently Buffière has not seen the stone, because the second epsilon of *ἔστασε* in line 3 is clearly visible.

Line 2: all editors restore ἄ[ρματι], except Hansen who restores ἄρ[μα<τ>ι], to indicate that the restoration is based on a correction of the *Anth. Pal.* manuscript, which, however, may have been correct on the stone.

Line 3: all editors read ἔστασε, except Hansen who corrects to ἔστασ<α>, because in epigrams before 300 B.C. there is no example of an interchange of first and third persons. Gallavotti (1978a, 5), however, correctly suggests that ἄρματι δ' ὠκυπόδων ἵππων νικῶσα Κυνίσκα / εἰκόνα τάνδ' ἔστασα (lines 2-3) are parenthetical. The δ' of line 4 and not the one of line 2 corresponds to the μὲν of line 1.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XXIII, 260. IG V,1 1564a. Anth. Pal. 13.16 (ἀδέσποτον). Loewy, IGB 99. Hiller 1926, 63. Bourguet 1927, no. XVI. Picard 1968, vol. 3.1, 162-165. Moretti, IAG 17. Moretti 1957, 114-115, nos. 373, 381. Ebert 1966b, 393, no. V, fig. 2. Pfohl 1964, no. 33. Ebert 1972, no. 33. Kaldis-Henderson 1979, 365-373. Gallavotti 1979a, 4-5. Poralla 1985, 79-80 nos. 459, 182. Palumbo-Stracca 1986, 124-127. Cartledge 1987, 148-150.

Commentary: The lettering and the Ionic dialect of the inscription and the evidence for the sculptor Apelles, son of Kallikles, of whom very little is known, suggest an early fourth century B.C. date.¹⁰⁹ This date is supported by the information that Pausanias and other ancient sources provide about Archidamos and his children, Kyniska, Agis, and Agesilaos.¹¹⁰ Pausanias' internal reference is to the beginning of his Lakonika, where he reports the history of the Spartan royal house of the Eurypontidai (3.8.1-2):

Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ὡς ἐτελεύτα καταλιπόντος παῖδας Ἄγίς τε πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἡλικίαι παρέλαβεν ἀντὶ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐγένετο δὲ Ἀρχιδάμωι καὶ θυγάτηρ, ὄνομα μὲν Κυνίσκα, φιλοτιμότερα δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔσχε τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν καὶ πρώτη τε ἵπποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ νίκην ἀνείλετο Ὀλυμπικὴν πρώτη. Κυνίσκας δὲ ὕστερον γυναιξὶ καὶ ἄλλαις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος γεγονάσιν Ὀλυμπικὰ νίκαι, ὧν {ή} ἐπιφανεστέρα ἐς τὰς νίκας <οὐδεμία> ἐστὶν αὐτῆς. δοκοῦσι δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιάται μοι ποιήσιν καὶ ἔπαινον τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἥκιστα ἀνθρώπων θαυμάσαι· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῆι Κυνίσκῃ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐποίησεν ὅστις δὴ, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πausανίαι τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίποδι Σιμωνίδης τῷ ἀναθέντι ἐς Δελφούς, ἄλλο {δέ}

¹⁰⁹ For a discussion of Apelles, his family and the Megarian School see: Robert 1900, 194-195; Löwy, IGB 99 and 100; Picard 162-165; Moretti, IAG 17, pp. 43-44; and Ebert 1972, 111-112, no. 33.

¹¹⁰ Xenophon *Agesilaos* 9.6 and Plutarch *Agesilaos* 20.

γε παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ποιητοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐδέν
ἔστιν ἐς μνήμην.

Agis succeeded his father in 427 and reigned until 398 B.C.; Agesilaos ruled from 398–358 B.C. Xenophon and Plutarch say that Agesilaos persuaded his sister to take up horse-rearing which led to her victory at Olympia.¹¹¹ The Lakedaemonians, however, participated in the Games only after 401/399 B.C., when their aggression towards Elis subsided.¹¹² This information suggests a date from 396 B.C. to 376 B.C., when Kyniska, born ca. 440 B.C., would be in her fifties or sixties. Her age is of course not a factor, since in the equestrian events, as today, the owners of the horses and chariots did not participate themselves in the competition.

Pausanias also saw another dedication by Kyniska: smaller than life-size bronze horses standing to the right of those entering the pronaos of the temple of Zeus (5.12.5). The name of the sculptor on that base is preserved (*IO* 634) and is the same Apelles, as in *IO* 160, although Pausanias does not mention him. Scholars have assumed on the basis of the sculptor's name that this base belonged to a second consecutive victory by Kyniska. After Robert (1900, 195), the generally accepted dates for these two dedications have been the 96th and 97th Olympiads (396 and 392 B.C.), although Förster's (1891, 24 no. 326) suggestion of the 100th and 101st Olympiads (380 and 376 B.C.) is not to be entirely dismissed.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Cartledge (1987, 149-150) has argued that the reason why Agesilaos did not participate himself in the Olympics, but let instead his sister, was his magnanimity (μεγαλοψυχία) as it is defined by Aristotle in his *Nikomacheian Ethics* 1124b-25a, and also because during this period Agesilaos was trying to assert his concept of "panhellenism." There is no evidence, however, that Agesilaos "might well have been suspicious of the tone of this epigram and would undoubtedly have disapproved mightily of the portrait statue of Kyniska also at Olympia..." On the contrary, and as Cartledge later points out, Kyniska's victory apparently did not cause Agesilaos any political damage, and in addition, according to Pausanias, she was heroized at Sparta, just as Euthymos and Theogenes were in their cities (nos. 24 and 53 below). Her epigram, albeit proudly, does not state anything more than other athletic epigrams do.

¹¹² The Eleians banned the Spartans from the games in 420 B.C., because during the truce they occupied Phyrkos and Lepreon. The war of 401/399 ended with a truce for which see: Pausanias 3.8.3-7; 5.4.8; Thukydides 5.49; and especially Xenophon *Hellenika* 3.2.21-31.

Pausanias in his description of the dedication of Kyniska (6.1.6, quoted above) does not give the epigram, composed for the extraordinary victory of Kyniska in the tethrippon-race.¹¹⁴ The epigram, itself three hexameters and a pentameter (the signature being in prose),¹¹⁵ is not inscribed in metrical divisions. Nevertheless, it is obvious that he read it, since in his own reference to the *Lakonika* (3.8.1-2 quoted above), his language seems to be a prose rendering of the epigram. In almost identical language Pausanias mentions Kyniska one more time, when he describes her heroon near the Spartan region of Platanistas, a place where games were held (3.15.1):

Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Πλατανιστᾷ καὶ Κυνίσκας ἐστὶν ἡρώιον,
 θυγατρὸς Ἀρχιδάμου βασιλεύοντος Σπαρτιατῶν. πρώτη δὲ
 ἵπποτρόφησε γυναικῶν καὶ Ὀλυμπίασι πρώτη νίκην ἀνείλετο
 ἄρματι.

In both of these passages Pausanias underlines the achievement of Kyniska as being the first equestrian victory of a woman in Panhellenic Games. Moreover, it is very interesting that Pausanias' ἵπποτρόφησε is very close to Xenophon's ἄρματοτροφεῖν (*Agesilaos* 9.6) and Plutarch's ἵπποτροφία (*Agesilaos* 20). This may suggest that Pausanias is aware of both Xenophon and Plutarch. It is more probable, however, that the case of Kyniska was very well-known, in fact the first example of a woman's victory in the Panhellenic arena of the Olympic Games. In that respect, Pausanias' omission of the epigram may be understandable. Kyniska's accomplishment would have received much publicity in antiquity and presumably her epigram too was widely known (after all it is transmitted in the *Anthologia Palatina*). So Pausanias would perhaps not deem it essential to include a widely circulated and well known epigram in his text.

¹¹³ See Moretti, *IAG* 17, p. 43.

¹¹⁴ For other victories by women see Moretti, *IAG* 17, p. 41-43, and especially Kaldis-Henderson 1979, 316-392.

¹¹⁵ Gallavotti (1979a, 5) suggests that the signature may be an iambic catalectic trimeter.

8.

6.4.11: Ἐργοτέλης δὲ ὁ Φιλάνορος δολίχου δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἴσθμῶι τε καὶ Νεμείων ἀνηρημένος, οὐχ Ἱμεραῖος εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καθάπερ γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶι φησι, Κρής δὲ εἶναι λέγεται Κνωσσιος· ἐκπεσῶν δὲ ὑπὸ στασιωτῶν ἐκ Κνωσοῦ καὶ ἐς Ἱμέραν ἀφικόμενος πολιτείας τετύ- 5 χηκεν {ὄς} καὶ πολλὰ εὔρατο ἄλλα ἐς τιμῆν. ἔμελλεν οὖν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς Ἱμεραῖος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀναγορευθῆσεσθαι.

Kunze 1953, 138-145, pl. A: fragment of a bronze tablet, broken on the right side. The borders of the other sides are also broken, but the text of the inscription at the left, top and bottom is preserved intact. From the length of the preserved text it seems that almost half of the tablet is lost to the right. It was found during the excavations before World War II and was re-discovered in the Museum among other artifacts of that period. Its exact find spot, however, remains uncertain: it is not logged in the excavation notes. Many finds indeed were transferred during the War hastily and without clear records to the Museum. Between lines two and three (below nu and pi, and above alpha and delta) and in approximately the middle of the tablet there is a hole where the tablet was attached to a stone base. It is now in the Αποθήκη of Bronzes of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. B 2488. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.043m. Width: 0.156m. Thickness: ca. 3/4 of 0.001m.

Letter Height: 0.004-0.006m.

464–450 B.C.

STOICH.

Ἐργοτέλης μ' ἀνέθηκε[ε υ — υυ — υυ — —],
 Ἑλλανας νικῶν Πύθι[α — υυ —]
 καὶ δύο Ὀλυμπιάδας δ[υυ — υυ — υυ — —]
 Ἱμέραι ἀθάνατον μν[ἄμ υυ — υυ —].

The letters are well spaced out and clearly cut. The settlers at Himera were Dorians, but their script is the Chalkidic-Euboian with Ionic influences (Jeffery, *LSAG* 246). The shapes of the letters are (Jeffery, *LSAG* 79 fig. 27): α4, γ4, ε4, η3, θ1, μ2 (but tailed), ν4 (but tailed), π1, ρ1, σ2, υ3. The shape

of the omega is Ω (not on Jeffery's list because the omikron was used for it). The shape of the lambda λ is also not on Jeffery's list.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

- Line 1: gamma and tau—only the bottom two-thirds of a vertical stroke; kappa—only a trace of the vertical stroke which coincides with the break of the tablet.
 Line 2: iota—only a faint trace of the upper part of a vertical stroke.
 Line 4: the iota's stroke falls on the break; nu—only part of the left vertical and a trace of the middle slanting, both of which occur along the line of break.

Restorations:

Following Hansen, I do not restore the right part of the inscription. The restorations that have been proposed are many and not at all unanimous. The epigram is metrical, two elegiac distichs, and the gist of what might have been inscribed is conveyed by Pausanias' narrative, which scholars attempting to restore it follow.

- Line 1: ἀνέθηκ[ε Φιλάνορος ἀγλαὸς υἱός] Kunze.
 ἀνέθηκ[ε Φιλάνορος, ὅς ποτε ποσσίν] Ebert.
 ἀνέθηκ[ε Φιλάνορος, ὅς ποτε δισσάς] Barrett.
 ἀνέθηκ[ε ὁ Φιλάνορος, ὅς δόλιχον δῖς] Gallavotti.
 ἀνεθηκ[ε Φιλανορος ἀγλαος υἱος?] Jeffery.
- Line 2: Πύθι[α δῖς δόλιχον] Kunze, Ebert, Jeffery with question mark.
 Πυθι[άδας δόλιχον] Barrett.
 Πυθί[ω ἐν τεμένει] Gallavotti.
- Line 3: δ[ύο δ' Ἴσθμια καὶ Νεμέαι δῖς] Kunze, Jeffery with question mark.
 δ[ῖς δ' Ἴσθμια καὶ Νεμέαι δῖς] Ebert.
 δ[ῖς δ' ἐν Νεμέαι τε καὶ Ἴσθμῶι] Barrett.
 δ[ύο δ' ἐν Νεμέαι τ' Ἴσθμοῖ τε] Gallavotti.
- Line 4: μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἔμεναι] OR μν[ᾶμα πορῶν ἀρετᾶς] Kunze, Jeffery with question mark.
 μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἔμεναι] OR μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς μεγάλας] Ebert (1966), OR
 μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἔπορευ] Ebert.
 μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἔμεναι] OR μν[ᾶμά μ' ἔθηκ' ἀρετᾶς] Barrett.
 μν[ᾶμα ἐτέλεσε πάτραι] Gallavotti.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XI, 1223a; XIV, 900; XXIII, 254; XXIX, 414. Kunze 1956d (= *V. Bericht* 1956), 153-156, fig. 61, 62. Moretti 1957, 91 no. 224, 94 no. 251. Ebert 1966b, 398-399, adn. 2. Pfohl 1964, 21. Ebert 1972, 79-82 no. 20. Barrett 1973, 23-35, esp. 24-25, notes 6-7. Gallavotti 1979a, 7-9. Lazzarini 1976, 300 no. 855. Hansen, *CEG* 1, 393. Moretti 1987, 68 no. 224. Jeffery, *LSAG* 246, 248 no. 19 pl. 49, 410, 454.

Commentary: On the basis of the lettering (especially the archaic shapes of theta and nu)

Jeffery (246) dates this inscription not later than 450 B.C. Clearly, the dedication was set

up by Ergoteles after his many victories in the dolichos race which have been dated between 478–464 B.C. and two of which are preserved in the inscription (δύ' Ὀλυμπιάδας).¹¹⁶ Since there is no way of determining whether Ergoteles set up the monument immediately after his second Olympic victory (464 B.C.), or even later, only a tentative date (464–ca.450 B.C.) can be suggested.

The find spot of the tablet is uncertain. The exegete mentions the statue of Ergoteles between the dedication of Kyniskos from Mantinea (no. 19 below) and Poulydamas from Skotousa. These are assumed to have stood in the area between the Heraion and the temple of Zeus, to the east southeast. Pausanias starts his description of athletic statues from the Heraion and moves southward, passing by the east side of Zeus' temple.¹¹⁷

Pausanias' information on Ergoteles once again follows the methodology seen in the previous cases. He sees the dedication, reads the epigram on its base, and renders its substance in prose. One specific detail of the epigram, however, Ergoteles' citizenship in the city of Himera in Sicily, needs clarification, which Pausanias readily provides for his reader and potential visitor of the Altis. It is probable that the elaboration on Ergoteles' past may have come from Pindar's twelfth Olympian Ode, composed for Ἐργοτέλει Ἰμεραίῳ Δολιχοδρόμῳ, more specifically its epode (Pind. *Ol.* 12.13-19):¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ For the dates of Ergoteles' victories for which the main sources are the scholia of Pindar's *Olympia* 12, composed for Ergoteles, and *P.Oxy.* 222, see the discussion in Kunze (1953, 138-145), Ebert (1972, 20), and especially Barrett (1973, 23-35), whose exhaustive study of Ergoteles' career and the history of Himera suggests with convincing arguments the following dates for Ergoteles' victories (p. 25): first Olympic victory 472, first Pythic 470, second Pythic 466 which is also the date for Pindar's *Olympia* 12, and second Olympic 464.

¹¹⁷ See especially Herrmann 1988, 132-134.

¹¹⁸ The Twelfth Olympian Ode is very short and consists of one choral triad: strophe, antistrophe and epode. The text is that of Bowra 1968. For a detailed analysis of Pindar's *Olympia* 12 see: Nisetich 1977, 235-264 and the bibliography there.

Nisetich accepts and further elaborates on Barrett's suggestion about the relationship between the first two stanzas and the epode that the ode is celebrating and "looking forward to Ergoteles' own case: his disaster in Knossos, turning, against all expectation, into security and distinction at Himera. But in part it is looking back to Himera herself and to all the unforeseen vicissitudes of recent years: the expulsion of Terillos turning into subjection to Akragas; then defeat by Hieron turning into release from Akragas, but

υἱὲ Φιλάνορος, ἦτοι καὶ τεὰ κεν
 ἐνδομάχας ἄτ' ἀλέκτωρ συγγόνῳ παρ' ἐστία
 ἀκλεῆς τιμὰ κατεφυλλορόησεν ποδῶν,
 εἰ μὴ στάσις ἀντιάνειρα Κνωσίας σ' ἄμερσε πάτρας.
 νῦν δ' Ὀλυμπία στεφανωσάμενος
 καὶ δῖς ἐκ Πυθῶνος Ἴσθμοῖ τ', Ἐργότελες,
 θερμὰ Νυμφᾶν λουτρὰ βαστάζεις ὁμι-
 λέων παρ' οἰκείαις ἀρούραις.

As Barrett has observed, the ode is not a true Olympian, inasmuch as it was composed for the career of Ergoteles in general and Himera's recent freedom. More specifically, the occasion for its composition is Ergoteles' second Pythian victory in 466 B.C. In lines 13-16 Pindar refers to the expulsion of Ergoteles from Knossos on account of an internal *στάσις*, which turned out to be for Ergoteles' own good: he became a renowned athlete and twice a *periodonikes*.¹¹⁹ That Pausanias is likely to have been aware of Pindar's Ode is indicated by his fondness for referring to Pindar's poetry.¹²⁰ Moreover, there is a more direct linguistic linkage. Both texts display ambiguity in regard to Ergoteles' victories: Pindar concerning the Isthmian, Pausanias the Nemean and Isthmian.¹²¹

this again into subjection to Hieron instead; and now at last real freedom once again" (p. 35). Even though for Ergoteles *κλέος* is a reality, for Himera herself it is still in the process of accomplishment (*εὐρύσθηνέ'* is proleptic) and depends on Tyche (*Olympia* 12.1-2):

λίσσομαι παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου,
 Ἰμέραν εὐρύσθηνέ' ἀμφιπόλει, σάτειρα Τύχα.

¹¹⁹ The term *Periodonikes* for an athlete that won the *periodos*, i.e. all four major panhellenic games, has been examined by Knab 1980. The issue of whether the *periodos* was "enlarged" especially in Hellenistic and Roman times, and if so which new games were counted toward achieving the status of a *periodonikes* has been thoroughly discussed recently by Stefanis (1988, 270-290). He offers fresh arguments against the generally adopted views, established by L. Moretti and L. Robert, that various games replaced others in the *periodos* especially from Roman times on.

A significant indication of how tenuous the evidence is, and very probably was even in antiquity, is Pausanias himself. Although he reads and knows this athletic title, he never uses it in his work. In fact, *periodonikes* is rare in literary texts (according to a search done on the *TLG* database and *Ibycus* system at the Ohio State University, Department of Classics the word occurs only in Dio Cassius 63.8, 10, 20; Herodianos *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* 514; and Philo Judaeus 2.438 [*de virtutibus*]). He always mentions the victories which the athlete won. His approach is the same with the other athletic title, the *paradoxonikes*, an athlete who won two victories on the same day. See also nos. 21, 26, 40, 53, 88 and 89 below.

¹²⁰ Rocha-Pereira (1981, *Index Auctorum* s.v. Πίνδαρος) lists twenty-seven direct references by Pausanias to Pindar's works.

Barrett's supposition for Pausanias' ambiguity is that it may have come "from a similar formal ambiguity in the inscription" (1973, 25 note 8). In Pindar of course there is mention of only one Olympic victory, one Isthmian (according to Barrett) and no Nemean, all of which should have occurred after the date of the twelfth Ode (466 B.C.).

Pausanias' discussion of Ergoteles' career, therefore, is not limited to one exclusive source: the inscription, Pindar, or some other one (e.g. an Olympic Victor List). His primary purpose is to provide an explication of the athletic statues in the Altis in the first twenty chapters of book six. In Ergoteles' case, in addition to the details the inscription offers him, Pausanias also adds the other victories that he won and explains his immigration to Himera. Thus, Pausanias presents to his readers an extended account for this athlete and not one limited to what the epigram on the base of Ergoteles in the Altis contained.

9.

6.9.4: Τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ Γέλωνος οὐ κατὰ ταῦτὰ δοξάζειν ἐμοί τε
 παρίστατο καὶ τοῖς πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸ εἰρηκόσιν, οἷ
 Γέλωνος τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τυραννήσαντός φασιν ἀνάθημα εἶναι τὸ
 ἄρμα. ἐπίγραμμα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ Γέλωνα Δεινομένους ἀναθεῖ- 5
 ναι Γελῶνιον, καὶ ὁ χρόνος τούτῳ τῷ Γέλωνί ἐστι τῆς νίκης τρίτη
 πρὸς τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας. (5) Γέλων δὲ ὁ Σικελίας
 τυραννήσας Συρακούσας ἔσχεν Ἰβριλίδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχον-
 τος, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος,
 ἦν Τιδικράτης ἐνίκᾳ Κροτωνιάτης στάδιον. δῆλα οὖν ὡς Συρακού-
 σιον ἦδη καὶ οὐ Γελῶνιον ἀναγορεύειν αὐτὸν ἔμελλεν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ 10

¹²¹ The characterization is Barrett's (1973, 25, notes 8 and 9). He explains convincingly Pausanias' *τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι τε καὶ Νεμείων* as two victories in all four major games (this is also the translation of Papachatzis and Frazer), and Pindar's *δὺς ἐκ Πυθῶνος Ἰσθμοῖ τ'* as two in Pythia and one in Isthmia. Gallavotti (1979a, 8) understands differently Pausanias' *τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι τε καὶ Νεμείων*: "mi pare che conti due vittorie cumulative, e non due per parte. Una questione analoga pone il testo di Pind. *Oi.* 12, 19-20, dove sono indicate la vittoria olimpica del 472 ed altre due vittorie, che alcuni contano per quattro, cioè due pitiche e due istmiche".

ιδιώτης εἶη ἄν τις ὁ Γέλων οὔτος, πατρός τε ὁμωνύμου τῶι τυράν-
 νωι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμώνυμος. Γλαυκίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης τό τε ἄρμα καὶ
 αὐτῶι τῶι Γέλωνι ἐποίησε τὴν εἰκόνα.

IO 143: three fragments of a huge base of Parian marble, found in the north half of the Palaistra: fr. **a** in May, 1884; fr. **b** on April 1, 1878, approximately three meters from its north wall; fr. **c** on April 22, 1878, in a Byzantine building by the Palaistra's north corner. The inscribed faces of the three fragments are preserved except at the edge of fr. **c**. The back side of fr. **a** is preserved, while those of frs. **b** and **c** are broken (for a reconstruction of the monument see Eckstein). They are now set up on top of another huge base, the dedication of Praxiteles (*IO 266* and *631*) in the area east-southeast of the temple of Zeus and north-northwest of the Nike of Paionios (no. 4 above).

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. 382a (**a b**), 382b (**c**). *Vidi, Phot.*

Fr. **a**: Height: 0.262m. Width: 0.0838m. Thickness: 1.16m. (the left),
 1.17m. (the right).

Fr. **b**: Height: 0.267m. Width: 0.0837m. Thickness: 0.80m.

Fr. **c**: Height: 0.262m. Width: 0.0815m. Thickness: 0.51m.

Letter Height: 0.025-0.035m.

488–485 B.C.

NON-STOICH.

[Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένε]ος ἰ ανέθεκε vac.
 [τῶι Δι Γελῶτος].
 Γλαυκίας ἰ Αἰγινάτας ἰ ἐ[π]οίεσε.

The letters are well spaced out and clearly cut. The dialect is Doric, but the script does not show any distinctive shapes for conclusive characterization. It is assumed by all editors that the dedicatory inscription is in the Geloan or Syracusan script, and the signature in Aeginetan (similarly Dittenberger in the *Sylloge*).

According to Jeffery (*LSAG* 109 fig. 32) the shapes of the letters of the signature are: α2, ε4, ν3, σ1 (three-bar sigma), υ2, Punctuation 1 (three dots).

For the dedication the shapes of the nine letters are (Jeffery, *LSAG* 262 fig. 43): α1, ε3, θ1, ν2, σ2 (four-bar sigma), Punctuation 1 (three dots).

It should be pointed out that the letter shapes of the dedication are also found in Aigina, but there seem to be major and distinctive differences: the crossbar of the alpha in the dedication is downwards from left to right, in the signature it is upwards; the sigma in the dedication is a four-bar, in the signature it is a three bar; and the nu in the dedication is the short, tailed one, in the signature it is a lambda shape plus

the third stroke. It is very difficult to imagine one mason cutting such different letter-shapes, unless this is an instance of an erratic use of different shapes.

Restorations:

Line 1: there have been different suggestions for what was inscribed on the adjacent block:

Kunze: [Γέλων Δεινομένεος Γελῶ]ος.

Dittenberger, (*Syll.*⁴ 33): [Γέλων : ὁ Δεινομένε]ος ἀνέθεκε
[τῶι Δι : Γελῶιος].

Jeffery: [Γελῶν ο Δεινομενε]ος.

Gallavotti: [Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένε]ος ἀνέθεκε [Γελῶιος].

All three fragments seem to be of approximately the same width and therefore the letter spaces available on the missing fragment should be the same as that of fragment **b**. There are 18 letters including three iotas and two punctuation marks inscribed on fr. **b**. Kunze's restoration (21 letters including two iotas) requires more space than the stone would allow. The other restoration (15 letters including one iota), followed by all editors, is preferable and is supported by another inscription of Gelon, which preserves the identification of the dedicator. It is on a base of limestone found *in situ* at Delphi, onto which a golden tripod was mounted; it is the dedication for Gelon's victory at Himera in 480/479 B.C. and reads (*Syll.*⁴ 34):

Γέλον ὁ Δεινομέν[εος]
ἀνέθεκε τόπολλον
Συραρόσιος.
τὸν : τρίποδα : καὶ τὸν : Νίκεν : ἐργάσατο
Βίον : Διοδόρο : υἱὸς : Μιλέσιος.

Gallavotti's restoration of Geloios at the end of line 1 is impossible, because the space is uninscribed, unless he meant that the epithet was inscribed as the second line on the missing block, as did Dittenberger, *Syll.*⁴. It is not necessary to assume with Gallavotti that the dedicatory inscription was metrical, but it is necessary to postulate, unlike Jeffery who ignores it totally, that the epithet Γελῶιος must have been inscribed, otherwise Pausanias' arguments would not be necessary.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Roehl, *IGA* 359 (only frs. b, c). Loewy, *IGB* 28 (only frs. b, c). *Syll.*⁴ 33. Buck 1913, 133-159, esp. 136. Moretti 1957, 84 no. 185. Eckstein 1969, 54-60, no. 7, 119-122. Lazzarini 1976, 218 no. 298, 197 no. 138. Gallavotti 1979a, 14-15. Habicht 1985, 147-148. Jeffery, *LSAG* 111-112, 113 no. 12 pl. 16, 266, 404.

Commentary: The case of Gelon illustrates in detail Pausanias' methodology and way of argumentation when he discusses the dedications at Olympia.¹²² Clearly Pausanias is not interested in the dedication *per se*. In Gelon's case he does not quote the inscription,

¹²² When at Delphi Pausanias does not mention the dedications of the Deinomenids. See Papachatzis' list (1974-81 vol. 5, 392-396 note 2) of monuments that have been found, but Pausanias omitted from his narrative.

but uses its information. The epithet, which he reads on the inscription and which unfortunately is not preserved on the stone, puzzles him. It is clear from the text that here Pausanias follows three sources:

the inscription: ἐπίγραμμα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῶι Γέλωνα Δεινομένους ἀναθεῖναι
Γελῶιον;

an Olympic Victors List: καὶ ὁ χρόνος τούτῳ τῶι Γέλωνί ἐστι τῆς νίκης τρίτη
πρὸς τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδας;

and a historical source: Γέλων δὲ ὁ Σικελίας τυραννήσας Συρακούσας ἔσχεν
Ἰβριλίδου μὲν Ἀθηνησιν ἄρχοντας, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς
δευτέρας καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Τισικράτης ἐνίκα
Κροτωνιάτης στάδιον.

This last placed the beginning of Gelon's tyranny at Syracuse in the year of the Athenian archon Hybrilides (491/490 B.C.), the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad, in which Tisikrates of Kroton won the stadion. In commenting on Gelon's dedication Pausanias sets out to correct "those who have spoken on the subject before" and who maintained that the chariot was dedicated by Gelon, the tyrant in Sicily.

The state of the evidence does not allow us to know why Pausanias favors the historical source he is using. In any case, he confuses the dates and wrongly puts Gelon's capture of Syracuse in 491/490 B.C., instead of 485 B.C., three years after Gelon's Olympic victory (488 B.C.).¹²³ Even so, as Habicht aptly puts it (148), "Pausanias' reasoning is flawless." In fact, the date modern scholars accept for *IO* 143 is based on similar argumentation: the epithet Γελῶιον indicates that Gelon dedicated the chariot before his becoming tyrant of Syracuse in 485 B.C., the year when his ethnic Geloos would have been changed into Syrakousios (as Pausanias argues). Another very important element in Pausanias' discussion of Gelon's date is his way of making chronological references: in addition to the Olympic Register, he appears to be consulting a

¹²³ Andrewes 1982, 176-196, 219-220.

kind of corresponding list between Olympiads and Athenian Archons. This detailed chronological referencing by Olympiad and stadionike and also by the Athenian Archon is followed by Pausanias as a rule in cases where he argues the date of an individual or event and wants to be specific.¹²⁴

10.

6.14.12: παῖδα δὲ ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενον καὶ ἐστηκότα ἄνδρα παρὰ τὸν ἵππον φησὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι Ξενόμβροτον ἐκ Κῶ τῆς Μεροπίδος, ἐπὶ ἵππου νίκῃ κεκηρυγμένον, Ξενόδικον δὲ ἐπὶ πυγμῇ παίδων ἀναγορευθέντα· τὸν μὲν Παντίας αὐτῶν, Ξενόμβροτον δὲ Φιλότιμος Αἰγυιότης ἐποίησε.

5

IO 170: three joining (fr. **a+b**, fr. **b+c**) fragments of grey Hymettian-like marble, veined with white and blue, found: fr. **a** on December 26, 1878, southeast of the temple of Zeus; frs. **b c** on November 9, 1880, in a late wall, south of the Bouleuterion. The fragments preserve the uninscribed borders, and on the upper surface there are marks which indicate that a statue and a horse were standing. They are now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. 514 (**a**), 959 (**b c**). *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.195m. Width: 0.72m. Thickness: 0.655m.

Letter Height: 0.008-0.015m.

ca. 350[?] B.C.

NON-STOICH. ca. 32

[...8-9...]μένοις ἐτύμα φάτις, ἰπῖΠΠΛ [νίκαν]
 [εἶναι] καλλίστα|ν κείναι Ὀλυμπιάδι,
 [ἀ] Κῶίων ὁ [Ξ]εινοδίκου Πισαῖον ἄεθλον
 πρῶτος ἐλὼν Μέρπος νᾶσον ἐσαγάγ[ετο]
 5 τοῖο[s], ὁποῖον ὀρ[α]ίς, Ξεινόμβροτο[s] ..6-8..) Ἑλλάς
 ἄφθιτον ἀείδε[ι] μνωμένα ἵπποσύνας.

¹²⁴ See above Chapter II, p. 30-31, note 64.

The letters are somewhat crowded but clearly cut, and indicate a date around the middle of the fourth century (*IO* editors). The epigram is composed in three elegiac distichs, and the dialect is Doric.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

- Line 1: four vertical strokes—the first and third only 2/3, the second and fourth only the upper tips; lambda—only an upper triangular shape.
 Line 2: kappa—only a vertical stroke.
 Line 3: nu—only a left vertical and the bottom part of a right vertical; omikron—only a bottom curving stroke; epsilon—only the bottom part of a vertical stroke; the middle strokes of the alphas are missing; epsilon—only the vertical and the upper horizontal; theta—only a faint trace of a curving stroke.
 Line 4: mu—only the bottom of the right slanting stroke; the middle strokes of the alphas are missing; epsilon—only the vertical and the upper horizontal; gammas—only a vertical stroke.
 Line 5: omikron—only a trace of a curving stroke at the right side; nu—only two vertical strokes.
 Line 6: epsilon—only the upper left corner.

Restorations:

Lines 1, 2, 3 and 5 create problems, because of Pausanias' statement that the epigram he is reading pertains to both the father Xenombrotos and his son Xenodikos. For the justification of various restorations see Ebert.

- Line 1: [αὔτα πευθο]μένοις, ἱπ[πάδ]α [νίκαν] Kunze, Moretti.
 [αὔτα πευθο]μένοις OR [ἄδ' ἐκπευθο]μένοις, ἱπ[άδ]α [νίκαν] Ebert.
 [..89..]μένοις ἐτύμα φάτις, ἱπ[άδ]α [νίκαν] Hansen.
 Line 2: [κείναι καλλίστα]ν εἶναι Kunze, Moretti.
 [εἶναι καλλίστα]ν κείναι Peek, Ebert.
 [εἶναι ? καλλίστα]ν κείναι Hansen.
 Line 3: [ἄν κ]ώϊων ὄ[σ]ι[ον δρομυ]κοῦ Kunze, Moretti.
 [ἄν] κώϊων ὄ[δ]ε [Σ]φνίκου Peek.
 [ἄν] κώϊων ὁ [Ξ]ε[ιν]ο[δ]ίκου Ebert, Hansen.
 Line 5: Ξεινόμβροτο[ς· ἄ δέ νιν] Ἑλλάς Kunze, Moretti.
 Ξεινόμβροτο[ς· οὗ κλέος] Ἑλλάς Ebert, Hansen.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XI, 1242 (Peek); XXIII, 261. Moretti, *IAG* 75-78 no. 30. Moretti 1957, 108-109, no. 340, 113 no. 363. Ebert 1966a, 377-378, no. II, fig. 2. Ebert 1972, 49. Sherwin-White 1978, 57, note 141. Wilhelm 1980, 37. Hansen, *CEG* 2, 862.

Commentary: The date of the inscription, ca. 350 B.C., is based totally on the letter style (*IO* editors).¹²⁵ Moretti, taking into account Pausanias' information about the sculptors Philotimos of Aigina and Pantias of Chios,¹²⁶ suggests tentatively the 90th

¹²⁵ Hyde (1980, nos. 133, 134) prefers a date ca. or after 330 B.C.

¹²⁶ See also Amandry 1957, 66.

Olympiad (420 B.C.) for the victory of Xenombrotos, and the 95th (400 B.C.) for the victory of Xenodikos. These dates are of course too early for the lettering of the inscription. Moretti explained this discrepancy by postulating that Xenombrotos' dedication may have been erected when his victory was fresh, but that in the middle of the fourth century the inscription was reinscribed.

In addition to the dates, there is another discrepancy between Pausanias' text and the epigram. The epigram celebrates the victory of Xenombrotos in the horse race, whereas Pausanias says, not so clearly, that the epigram speaks of both the father's equestrian victory and his son's in the boys' boxing. Ever since Robert, the majority of scholars have maintained that this dedication is not the one Pausanias describes, but a later one, since the inscription mentions Xenombrotos alone. The solution has been to postulate two dedications: one which Pausanias describes that mentions both father and son; and the base that has survived and which was dedicated many years after the victory of Xenombrotos by him, or after his death by some of his relatives, or even the Koans.¹²⁷

Pausanias' language is ambiguous and presents two possibilities: either that there were two dedications side by side with two inscriptions (Hansen), or only one with two statues and one inscription (*IO* 170) as the majority opinion holds. Pausanias' narrative about Xenombrotos is supported by the information of the epigram and the physical marks on the upper surface of the base: the latter indicate that Xenombrotos was represented as standing in front of or beside his horse, as Pausanias states; the epigram

¹²⁷ Hyde (1980, 53-54), followed by later editors, argues: "denique totum epigramma ἐπιθετικῶν ποτιῶν potius quam votivum est ac multis annis non solum post victoriam sed etiam post Xenombroti mortem compositum esse videtur ... His omnibus permotus cum Roberto statuo hoc monumentum posteriore aetate aut a civibus eius aut a nepotibus vel pronepotibus dedicatum esse. Adde quod duo maiora baseos illa fragmenta prope curiam inventa sunt, ita ut statua extra Alteos muros in foro posita fuisse videri possit. Quibus omnibus perpensis hanc Xenombroti statuam Alexandri aetate nullo modo priorem esse posse statuo; cui sententiae etiam litterarum formae favent, quas, opinor, Dittenbergerus Purgoldiusque quarto saeculo modo non tribuissent, nisi et de monumenti natura et de Pantiae artificis aetate minus recte iudicassent."

mentions that Xenombrotos was victorious in an equestrian event (the ambiguity in the epigram, ἵπποσύνας in line 6, is retained by Pausanias' ἐπὶ ἵππου νίκην); and Pausanias' expression ἐκ κῶ τῆς Μεροπίδος appears to be a direct reference to Μέροπος νῆσον in line 4 of the inscription.¹²⁸ These two "coincidences" are the reason why Xenombrotos' dedication is included in this chapter.

That is not all, however. According to Pausanias the dedication represented a horse and a man by its side, i.e. Xenombrotos, while the horse was mounted by a boy, Xenodikos, the son. Pausanias' narrative surely implies that the jockey was Xenodikos, a winner in the boys' boxing event, in which case in all probability he would have been portrayed with gloves in his hands. This would be the easiest way to guess the event in which an athlete was victorious (the other being the Olympic Register). Given this physical appearance of the dedication, one assumes that whatever is inscribed below would refer to both the boy and the man. Perhaps Pausanias did as well. But it is more likely that he simply added the information about Xenodikos without paying attention to his choice of words, and so leaving the phrase φησὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι to refer to both the father and the son. To us this is an inconsistency and lack of clarity.¹²⁹ But apparently Pausanias was not bothered by it, because it made no difference anyway: the father's epigram was certainly praise for the son too. All the more so, if, as the majority opinion holds, Xenombrotos' victory preceded that of his son, in which case the epigram was already inscribed when Xenodikos won, and so perhaps only the signature of his statue's sculptor an/or the identification of Xenodikos were simply added.

¹²⁸ Similarly Sherwin-White 1978, 57 note 141, where she discusses the mythological connection of the island with Merops and further references may be found.

¹²⁹ See especially Habicht 1985, 141-164 (chapter VI: A Profile of Pausanias), where he discusses mistakes made by Pausanias, which are by far very few, if one considers the nature of Pausanias' work and the amount of information that has been corroborated by other independent evidence.

11.

6.16.8: Λακεδαιμονίῳ δὲ Δεινοσθένει σταδίου τε ἐγένετο ἐν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπικὴ νίκη καὶ στήλην ἐν τῇ ἤλθει παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Δεινοσθένης· ὁδοῦ δὲ τῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἐπὶ ἑτέραν στήλην τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέτρα † εἶναι σταδίου ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίους. 5

Apparatus Criticus:

3 Δεινοσθένης Vb 4 ἑξακόσια Vb; Clavier accepts Facius' conjecture ἑξακοσίους (λέγουσι); Schubart-Walz conjectured μέτρα εἴη ἂν στάδια ὡς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ ἑξακόσια; Hitzig indicates a lacuna, since he thinks a verb of saying has been suppressed in the mss.; Frazer thinks that something like φησὶ or λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα has been dropped out; Goldhagen restores φησὶν which is accepted by Papachatzis and Rocha-Pereira.

IO 171: two joining fragments of a *stèle* of grey limestone, found: fr. **a** on November 5, 1880, fifteen meters east of the Byzantine church; fr. **b** on January 21, 1881, in the court of the Palaistra. The *stèle* is preserved, except for the bottom and a triangular piece from the top that are broken away. The text is intact, save for a few letters that are chipped away because of the break between the two fragments; it is inscribed very close to the left and right borders. The *stèle* is now in Ἀποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. 956 (**a**), 1056 (**b**). *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.75m. Width: 0.55-0.555m. Thickness: 0.19-0.20m.

Letter Height: 0.015-0.025m.

paulo post 316 B.C.

NON-STOICH. ca. 14

Δειν[οσ]θ[έν]ης
 Δει[νο]σθέ[ν]ιος Λα-
 κεδαιμ[όν]ιος τῶ-
 ι Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ
 5 ἀνέθηκε, Ὀλύμπια
 νικάσας στάδιον.
 [ἀπὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς στά-
 λας ἐλ Λακεδ<α>-
 ἴμονα ἑξακάτι-
 10 οὖς τριάκοντα, ἀπ-

ὁ τᾶσδε ποτ τὰ[ε]-
 ν πράταν στά-
 λαν τριάκον-
 τα.

The stone cutter made two mistakes in lines 8 and 11. The script is Ionic; for the Doric dialect and the interesting phenomena in lines 6, 7 and 8 see Bourguet. Gallavotti (1979a, 24) suggests that the first part of the inscription (ll. 1-6) may be metrical:

— — υ —, — — υ υ — υ υ — υ υ — = iambic meter + 2 anapaests, and
 — υ υ — υ υ υ — υ υ — υ υ — — υ υ — = 2 iambic meters + 2 anapaests

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 8: the stone cutter corrected a delta with the addition of a middle stroke into an alpha.

Line 11: of the epsilon, which seems to be erased, only an upper vertical stroke.

Restorations:

Line 11: the *IO* editors' τᾶς δὲ, followed by Bourguet, (or even a correction to τὰ<ύτα>ς δὲ) is meant to correct the awkward syntax. The parallel of line 7 τᾶσδε, however, may have influenced the word in line 11.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Poralla, *PL* 44 no. 223. Bourguet 1927, no. XIX. Moretti, *IAG* 79-82 no. 31. Moretti 1957, 128-129 no. 478. Gallavotti 1979a, 21-24.

Commentary: The date of the inscription, 316 B.C., is inferred from the information provided by Eusebius (Rutgers 1980, 68 note 2) and Diodoros (19.17.1) that the stadionike of the 116th Olympiad was a Lakedaimonian δημοσθένης in Eusebius (and also in one manuscript of Pausanias), or δεινομένης in Diodoros. These two names seem to be “clerical errors (Frazer).” The name Deinosthenes, therefore, which the manuscripts of Pausanias preserve, is indeed the correct one. Of course, the setting up of the *stele* and the statue beside it took place not long after Deinosthenes’ victory in 316 B.C., a date which is supported by the lettering as well.

There is no doubt that Pausanias read the inscription which in this case was his only source about Deinosthenes. Instead of quoting it, he offers an abridged version. The usual expression “as the inscription says (τὸ ἐπίγραμμα φησὶ)” is here replaced by the

word *stele* which does not always require a verb, since seldom is a *stele* uninscribed.¹³⁰ Moreover, the information the inscription provides, at least in the first section (lines 1-6), is the same as that in Pausanias: the name of the athlete, Deinosthenes, and the event in which he was victorious in Olympia, the stadion race. Pausanias omits only the patronymic of Deinosthenes.¹³¹

So far so good. Pausanias' statement, however, that Deinosthenes also records on the *stele* the distance between the *stele* at Olympia and one in Lakonia as being 660 stades has been thought of as a misunderstanding by the exegete. Pausanias does not understand "correctly" the inscription, because he does not repeat in his narrative exactly what the *stele* records. So, the *IO* editors conclude that he misunderstood what he read.¹³² But did he?

The second section of the inscription (lines 7-14) refers to three *stelai*: the one at Olympia, another, 630 stades away, at Lakedaimon, and another one, the first, 30 stades away again at Lakedaimon.¹³³ The meaning of the second $\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\epsilon$ in line 11, which the *IO*

¹³⁰ *Stelai* with no inscription at all are usually those with reliefs. Gallavotti (1979a, 22, note 6) correctly says that "la stele di Deinosthenes era solo un'iscrizione, senza la figura dell'atleta". Of course, the translation of this passage requires some additional word, perhaps a verb of saying, to indicate that the stele was inscribed.

¹³¹ As will become evident later on, the omission of the patronymic is not unusual in Pausanias. Especially in his narrative of the athletic dedications Pausanias sometimes omits it for no apparent reason.

¹³² The *IO* editors comment (297-298):

Diese Angabe (sc. Pausanias') ist ersichtlich aus unserer Urkunde geschöpft, dieselbe schien aber von dem Schriftsteller missverstanden zu sein, da man nach der allerdings nächstliegenden Erklärung des Wortlautes der Inschrift unter der $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$ die nächste von Olympia aus gerechnet verstand, so dass 630 Stadien die Gesamtsumme wäre, die jene 30 mit umfasste.

The same "misunderstanding" on Pausanias' part of the inscription is assumed also by Moretti, *IAG* 79-80 no. 31.

¹³³ The probable location of the first stele has been assumed to have stood in the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai, which approximates the distances recorded in the inscription. This is supported by a passage in Thukydides (5.18.9), who says that an inscribed stele of a treaty between the Athenians and Lakedaimonians should be set up, among other places, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\Lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\text{'}\Lambda\mu\kappa\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega$. See Frazer 1960, vol. 4, 50-51.

editors read $\tau\tilde{\alpha}\varepsilon \delta\tilde{\epsilon}$, or even propose to be emended to $\tau\alpha\langle\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\rangle\varepsilon \delta\tilde{\epsilon}$, has been understood by the *IO* editors just like the one in line 7, i.e. “from this *stele* in Olympia” (*pace* Pausanias). The second $\tau\tilde{\alpha}\varepsilon\delta\tilde{\epsilon}$, however, is obviously used as a parallel to the one in line 7, and it cannot be translated the same way, since it refers not to the *stele* at Olympia, but to the *stele* at Lakedaimon in lines 8-9. This is what precedes the demonstrative and there is no need to emend the inscription. The hypothesis that Deinosthenes was a *hemerodromas* and *bematistes* is attractive as an explanation.¹³⁴ There exists, however, no other instance of an individual setting-up interstate *horoi*.

Pausanias is not interested in all the details of the inscription, nor is he preoccupied with the number of *stelai* and their exact location. But that in no way implies that he did not read the inscription correctly. The straightforward translation of lines 7-14 can only give the sum of stades that Pausanias calculated, i.e. $630+30=660$ stades, and demands the existence of three *stelai*: “the distance from this *stele* (at Olympia) to (that in) Lakedaimon is 630 stades, and from that *stele* (in Lakedaimon) to the first *stele* 30 stades”. At least the substance of this translation is what Pausanias conveys in his text in a summary form.

¹³⁴ There have been found in Olympia two bases of such a *hemerodromas* and *bematistes*. He was Philonides from Crete and served Alexander in that capacity (no. 43 below = *IO* 276 and 277).

CHAPTER IV

INDIRECT EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE IN ἩΛΙΑΚΩΝ A AND B

In Chapter III the examination of epigraphical evidence concentrated on the cases where Pausanias claims that he is reading an inscription which he quotes or paraphrases in his narrative and which has actually survived. There are many more instances, however, in Pausanias' Ἡλιακῶν A and B, where, although the exegete does not explicitly state that he is reading epigraphical texts, his narrative strongly indicates that he is employing the information which was inscribed on the dedications. The present chapter concentrates on these instances which constitute the indirect epigraphical evidence, and again compares Pausanias' text against the actual inscriptions. Of course, this by no means implies that Pausanias employed only inscriptions for the composition of his exegesis of Elis; it rather suggests that the inscriptions on the monuments were the basis and the starting point for his narrative which, as will become evident, he enriched through autopsy and by information gathered from other sources. But, for the great majority of the monuments Pausanias saw in the Altis the only information he could include in his narrative came from the inscriptions.

The indirect epigraphical evidence in Pausanias' Ἡλιακῶν A and B needs further qualification because of Pausanias' own methodology and because of the archaeological excavations at sites outside of Olympia with which Pausanias was also familiar. The indirect evidence falls naturally into four parts. Part A (nos. 12–48), which includes the majority of the cases, is an examination of the passages where Pausanias sees and

explains a monument at Olympia without explicitly stating that it was inscribed. These monuments, it turns out, were in fact inscribed and in most cases the epigraphical text resembles rather closely what Pausanias says. Part B (nos. 49–54) examines similar cases, except that the inscribed monument is not found in Olympia where Pausanias saw it, but in another part of the Greek World where a copy, very similar or identical to the Olympic dedication, was set up. Although Pausanias' information derives from the inscription at Olympia, nevertheless, the copy available from another site contains the same information, and, therefore, corroborates the inscription which Pausanias records at Olympia. Part C (nos. 55–82) examines instances in Ἑλλήκων A and B where Pausanias' information about the buildings and the altars, the priesthoods, the games, and the cult personnel is corroborated by the discovery of inscriptions in Olympia. These are cases that cannot either prove or disprove the premise that Pausanias read and quoted from these inscriptions. Since these texts were at Olympia, and therefore presumably at his disposal, he may very well have read all, some, or even none of them. Yet, the fact remains that the information of these texts is in agreement, and therefore helps to verify, the exegete's narrative. Finally, Part D (nos. 83–89) treats cases similar to those in Part C, except that here the epigraphical evidence, which attests to Pausanias' narrative, comes from outside of Olympia. These are places which in all probability Pausanias visited and was familiar with, and where again he may, or may not, have seen and read these inscriptions, whose information, however, supports his narrative.

Such a comparison is certainly worthwhile, even for the cases in Parts C and D where there is no *a priori* assumption that Pausanias indeed read the inscriptions. Pausanias' reliability and accuracy of reporting information can be tested vis-à-vis inscriptions that provide more or less the same information. As in Chapter III, the interdependency of the two texts will prove in most cases to be most interesting, and in certain cases even to improve the readings of the codices of Pausanias' text. For many of

the same epigraphical texts that Pausanias used in the second century A.D. in order to compose his work have been recovered through excavations and can improve Pausanias' text, whose manuscript tradition has suffered much over the centuries. More importantly, the methodology of the exegete, which has been questioned many times, and in particular his interest in inscriptions and their place in his narrative, can be assessed and evaluated in light of these inscriptions.

A. INSCRIPTIONS SEEN BY PAUSANIAS IN ELIS

12.

5.21.2: πρὸς δὲ τῆι κρηπίδι (sc. of Mt. Kronion) ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἀνά-
 κεινται χαλκᾶ. ταῦτα ἐποιήθη μὲν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης
 ἀθληταῖς ζημίας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐπιχωρίων Ζᾶνες. (3) πρῶτοι δὲ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης
 ἔστησαν καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος· Εὐπῶλος γὰρ Θεσσαλὸς 5
 χρήμασι διέφθειρε τοὺς ἐλθόντας τῶν πυκτῶν, Ἀγήτορα Ἀρκάδα
 καὶ Πρύτανιν Κυζικηνόν, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Φορμίωνα Ἀλικαρνα-
 σέα μὲν γένος, Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ τῆι πρὸ ταύτης κρατήσαντα. τοῦτο
 ἀθλητῶν ἀδίκημα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα πρῶτον γενέσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ
 πρῶτοι χρήμασι ἐζημιώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων Εὐπῶλος καὶ οἱ δεξά- 10
 μενοι δῶρα παρὰ Εὐπῶλου. δύο μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔργα Κλέωνος
 Σικυωνίου· τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς τέσσαρα ὅστις ἐποίησεν οὐκ ἴσμεν.

IO 637: a base of black limestone, found on June 6, 1879 *in situ*, in the area between the Metroon and the treasuries on the way to the stadion. It is the second base from the west and, although badly weathered especially on the front, it is essentially intact. On the top side there are traces of the footprints of the bronze statue. The base is now *in situ*.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 678. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.345m. Width: 0.81m. Thickness: 0.81m.

Letter Height: 0.008-0.015m.

388 *ante*

Κλέων Σικυώνιος ἐποῖ[ησεν].

The letters are badly weathered, but the inscription is still readable. The letter-cutting is good and quite deep (each stroke is ca. 0.003m. wide).

Remains of Dotted Letters:

iota—only the bottom part of a vertical stroke.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Roehl, *IGB* 95. Marcadé 1953, vol. I, 60.

Commentary: The date for Kleon's signature is based on Pausanias' information that the first six and oldest Zanes, two of which were the work of Kleon, were erected during the 89th Olympiad, 388 B.C., on account of the Thessalian Eupolos' payment to the three boxers.

Pausanias, after he has finished his discussion of the buildings inside the Altis (briefly commenting on some of them which were outside), proceeds to an explanation of his methodological approach in tackling the problem of the various dedications in the temenos. Then he starts describing the dedications to Zeus, in particular the group of Zeus statues paid for by the fines imposed by the Eleians upon cheating athletes, the famous Zanes.¹³⁵ Pausanias' discussion is chronological and extensive, since he relates the reasons why each group of Zanes was erected, the athletes involved, the inscriptions which were written on the statues, and for some of them the artist who created them.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ See also above Chapter II, pp. 28-29.

¹³⁶ None of the inscriptions Pausanias read on the statues has been found. Presumably they were inscribed on bronze tablets which were fastened on the base or above it on the statue. See no. 8 above, and nos. 16, 31, and 38 below, all of which are inscribed tablets which have been found in Olympia and which Pausanias read.

In this sense the discussion of the Zanes forms a coherent unit (5.21.2-18) and stands out in book 5 along with the description of the Kypselos Chest (5.17.5-19.10, and no. 55 below).

The first fine imposed by the Eleians, as Pausanias was told probably by the local exegete, produced a sum of money large enough to commission six, nearly life-size, statues of Zeus. Of these Pausanias says that the first two were the work of Kleon from Sikyon,¹³⁷ but he does not know who made the remaining four. In exactly the same area that Pausanias saw the Zanes standing there were found sixteen bases, of which the second from the west bears the signature of Kleon the Sikyonian (5.21.2):

Ἴόντι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητρώου,
ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστεραῖι κατὰ τὸ πέρασ τοῦ ὄρουσ τοῦ Κρονίου λίθου
τε πρὸς αὐτῶι τῶι ὄρει κρηπίσ καὶ ἀναβασμοὶ δι' αὐτῆσ· πρὸς
δὲ τῆι κρηπίδι ἀγάλματα Διὸσ ἀνάκεινται χαλκᾶ.

This base corroborates not only Pausanias' topographical information, but it also attests to the exegete's epigraphical interest. These Zanes placed on the left-hand-side of the way leading from the Metroon to the stadion were the last dedications one could see before entering the stadion. They thus alerted and warned both competitors and spectators of the consequences of violating the rules of the Olympic Games. The first base is complete and there is no inscription on it. Pausanias says it too was the work of Kleon from Sikyon; perhaps the signature was inscribed on the bronze tablet on which the ἐλεγεῖα were inscribed (5.21.4).

¹³⁷ For other works made by Kleon of Sikyon in Olympia and elsewhere see Marcadé 1953, I. 60.

13.

5.24.4: ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰαλτεῖ μέγιστον τῶν χαλκῶν ἐστὶν ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ Διός, ἀνετέθη μὲν ὑπὸ αὐτῶν Ἑλείων ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πολέμου, μέγεθος δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν ἐστὶ.

IO 260: a monumental block of conglomerate, found October 21, 1876, opposite the east front of Zeus' temple. On the back side there are two holes which supported the weight of the base to allow it to stand. The left and right sides have a raised border, 0.05m. in width, which, however, does not run all the way from top to bottom. The base is now in the Altis, *in situ*.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 90. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 1.34m. Width: 0.70m. Thickness: 0.425m.

Letter Height: 0.10m. (except for the omicron: 0.03-0.04m.).

paulo post 363 ante

NON-STOICH. ca. 5

Ἑ λ ε ἰ ω ν
περὶ ὁμο-
νείαρ.

The letters are very well and monumentally cut. All terminal strokes end in a small triangular serif. The right stroke of the pi is shorter.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Commentary: The lettering suggests a fourth century date (*IO* editors). Xenophon in his *Hellenika* 7.4.13-35 records the war between the Eleians and the Arkadians and Pisatans for control over the sanctuary in 365-364 B.C. The truce which returned control of the sanctuary to the Eleians occurred in 363 B.C., the *terminus post quem* for the dedication of this monument.

Among the many statues of Zeus Pausanias records in the Altis the highest (twenty-seven feet or ca. nine meters) is the bronze Zeus dedicated by the Eleians themselves on

account of the truce which ensued after the war with the Arkadians and their allies the Pisatans for control over the sanctuary. The sheer size of the block, found in roughly the same area where Pausanias saw it (between the Pelopion and the temple of Zeus), and especially the monumental lettering of the inscription have led the *IO* editors correctly to identify the base and its inscription with this passage of Pausanias. The recovered base, over a meter high, is the front side of the pedestal onto which the bronze Zeus was mounted. So strong a support was certainly needed for a statue which was at the least over seven meters, if the height of the base is included in Pausanias' calculation. And these colossal proportions of the monument are indeed matched by the inscription's letter height.

The use of the digamma, the long alpha, and the rhotacism, have been rightly explained by the *IO* editors as archaisms on the part of the Eleians.¹³⁸ What is striking is the laconic wording the Eleians chose to commemorate the conclusion of their struggle with the Arkadians: "of the Eleians for homonoia." Yet, though the word ὁμόνοια ("unanimity, concord") is rather a rare choice to serve as a summary of the conflict, it was perhaps a natural choice for the Eleians. They had an altar to *Homonoia* on which they sacrificed every month (Pausanias 5.14.9). In any case, the word is but a laconic summary of Xenophon's version of the dispute's resolution (*Hellenika* 7.4.35):

τοῦ τε γὰρ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς προεστάναι οὐδὲν προσδεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον (sc. τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων), ἀλλ' ἀποδιδόντες ἄν καὶ δικαιότερα καὶ ὀσιώτερα ποιεῖν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ οἴεσθαι μᾶλλον ἄν οὕτω χαρίζεσθαι. βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Ἠλείων, ἔδοξεν ἀμφοτέροις εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐγένοντο σπονδαί.

Apparently, both parties came to one mind as it were of their own will and thus decided to end their conflict over control of the sanctuary peacefully.

¹³⁸ For a similar example see below no. 73 = *IO* 39, and in general Buck 1973, 262-263.

This event is only hinted at by Pausanias in two brief comments. The first occurs in his overview of the history of Elis where he summarizes the many conflicts of the Arkadians and the Pisatans against the Eleians (5.4.7):

ὑπερβάντων δὲ ὅσοι σφίσιν ἐγένοντο κίνδυνοι πρὸς Πισαίους τε καὶ Ἀρκάδας ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι,

The second is when he records the victory statue of the athlete Sostratos from Sikyon, nicknamed Akrocheiristes, who won many victories in the pankration (6.4.2, no. 52 below):

... Ὀλυμπίασι δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ, τῆι μὲν δύο, τρεῖς δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι. τὴν τετάρτην δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν —πρώτην γὰρ δὴ ἐνίκησεν ὁ Σώστρατος ταύτην—οὐκ ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ Ἕλεῖοι, διότι μὴδ' αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Πισαῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἔθεσαν ἀντ' αὐτῶν.

The 104th Olympiad (364 B.C.) was organized by the Pisatans and Arkadians who were in control of the sanctuary, and so the Eleians omitted it from their official register as ἀνολυμπιάς. Pausanias' historical account, though not as detailed as Xenophon's, offers the background of the conflicts between the Eleians and the Arkadians and Pisatans. In light of it, his brief mention of the colossal dedication and his exegesis of it is enough for the identification of the base with its laconic inscription.

14.

5.25.7: Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τείχους τά τε Ἀκραγαντίνων ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἡρακλέους δύο εἰσὶν ἀνδριάντες γυμνοί, παῖδες ἡλικίαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Νεμέαι τοξεύοντι ἔοικε λέοντα. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα καὶ ὁμοῦ τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν λέοντα Ταραντίνος ἀνέθηκεν Ἰπποτίων, Νικοδάμου δέ ἐστι Μαιναλίου τέχνη. 5

Kunze 1958, 6 (= VI. Bericht, 1958): a block of marble found built in a late wall during the winter of 1954/55 in the area to the south of the Leonidaion. Kunze mentions

in his general report, and only in passing, “drei interessante Schriftdenkmäler”; he gives the text only of Hippotion’s epigram. On the upper surface there are footprints which indicate that the Nemean lion was mounted on this base, just as Pausanias notes, while the statue of Herakles must have stood on another, adjacent base. The epigram and the signature are inscribed on the front side of the base, and the inscription has not yet been fully published.¹³⁹ Therefore, the text below is only Kunze’s preliminary publication of the inscription in the *VI. Bericht*, in which no measurements or other details were included.

420–350 *ante*

[Ἰππι]οτίων : πατρὶς δὲ Τάρας : παῖς] δ’ Ἐμπεδοτίμου
 [λίσσ]όμενος σὲ Ζεῦ δῶρ’ ἀνέθηκα τάδε.
 Νικόδαμος : ἐποίησε.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Roehl, *IGB* 98. Marcadé 1953, vol. 1, 84. Moretti 1957, 107 no. 336. *BE* 1959, 190 no. 171.

Commentary: The date for this dedication of Hippotion, 420–350 B.C., is based on the career of the sculptor Nikodamos from Mainalon, who was active in the late fifth and the first part of the fourth century. Pausanias elsewhere (6.6.1) notes that Nikodamos also made the statue of the athlete Androstheneis, the pankratiast from Mainalon who, according to Thukydides (5.49.1), won in the 90th Olympiad (420 B.C., see also Marcadé, Moretti, and no. 23 below).

¹³⁹ Surprisingly this and the other two inscriptions, which Kunze mentions without providing their texts, have not been included in the *SEG* volume XVII (1959) where the other inscriptions published in the *VI. Bericht* are included. Nor have they appeared in any subsequent volume of *SEG*. But see *BE* 1959, 190, no. 171.

Pausanias, after his description of the various temples in the Altis, proceeds with the statues of Zeus which were dedicated by cities, individuals, or by the athletes who cheated in the Games and were fined (5.21.1-24.11). The next group of dedications that he mentions towards the end of book 5 are the statues of other gods or heroes (ὅποσα δὲ ἄλλοῖα καὶ οὐ μίμησις ἐστὶ Διός, ἐπιμνησόμεθα καὶ τούτων 5.25.1). Among them is the sculptural group of the statues of Herakles shooting the Nemean lion, dedicated by Hippotion from Taras, the work of Nikodamos from Mainalon (for the sculptor see also no. 23 below). They are set up, Pausanias adds, on the same spot along the Altis wall together with the statues of the Akragantine youths (no. 66 below).¹⁴⁰ Pausanias does not offer any hint as to where in the Altis this wall was, but probably he refers to the old south wall of the Altis, to the south of the temple of Zeus. Indeed, this spot in the Altis, as Papachatzis (1974-81, vol. 3, 318 notes 2 and 4) suggests, is ideal for Pausanias' comment about the statues of the Akragantine youths who were portrayed with their right hands raised, as if praying to Zeus (5.25.5). These statues, therefore, set up on the southern corner of the Altis wall, appropriately faced the temple of Zeus to whom they were praying. This presumed position of the Akragantine youths is in agreement both with the find spot of Hippotion's base and also with Pausanias' topography.

More importantly, however, the information conveyed by the exegete and by the inscription on Hippotion's base is essentially the same and the one corroborates and confirms the other. Specifically, the epigram's hexameter contains the name of the dedicator, his ethnic and his patronymic, while the pentameter makes a very general statement that in effect provides no information. The mere fact that it was set up in the

¹⁴⁰ κεῖνται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τεύχους οὗτοι τῆς Ἄλτews 5.25.5 = ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τεύχους τὰ τε Ἀκραγαντίνων ἀναθήματα καὶ Ἡρακλέους δύο εἰσὶν ἀνδριάντες γυμνοί, ... 5.25.7.

Altis would naturally make the monument an offering to Zeus by Hippotion. Below the epigram the signature of the sculptor Nikodamos is inscribed without his ethnic or patronymic. Pausanias reports all of the substantive information, except for the dedicator's patronymic, Empedotimos. There is no apparent reason for this omission, since Pausanias, as will be observed, includes or overlooks the patronymics of many other dedicators without following any particular rule. An additional detail, omitted in the inscription, but supplied by Pausanias, is the ethnic of the sculptor Nikodamos, Mainalios. Pausanias knows only this Nikodamos from Mainalon,¹⁴¹ and, therefore, he may have assumed that the signature was of the same artist, or he may have taken his ethnic from a source book on the works of artists in Olympia. What is even more significant is the fact that the inscription does not provide any explanation why Hippotion set up this rather elaborate sculptural group in the Altis, other than that it was offered as a prayer to Zeus. Likewise, Pausanias in his narrative does not give any exegesis for this monument, as to why for instance Hippotion dedicated in the Altis a statue of Herakles shooting the Nemean lion. The only apparent reason for such an omission by the exegete can be that he did not find anything about this Hippotion either from the local exetes or in the literature that he had at his disposal. Accordingly, he did not hazard a presumption.

All this strongly suggests that Pausanias' narrative about Hippotion's monument is based solely on the inscription on the base and on his personal observations at the time of his visit to Olympia. The base was found in the general area where Pausanias saw it, and it also supports his brief description of the two statues and the way they were portrayed.

¹⁴¹ See Rocha-Pereira 1973-1981, *Index Artificum* s.v. Νικόδαμος.

15.

5.27.9: βοῶν δὲ τῶν χαλκῶν ὁ μὲν Κορκυραίων, ὁ δὲ ἀνάθημα Ἴερετριέων,
τέχνη δὲ Ἴερετριέως ἐστὶ Φιλησίου.

IO 248: the inscription is cut on the eastern side of the upper surface of the base, found January 26, 1877, *in situ*, thirty-two meters east of the northeast corner of the temple of Zeus. The base is comprised of two Parian marble blocks which are mounted on a pedestal of local shell-limestone. On the upper surface there are four footprints where the feet of the bull were fixed and which show that the bull was oriented towards the south with his two left feet in a moving position. To the right of the inscription there is a cut probably for a bronze tablet which perhaps stated the reason for the dedication.¹⁴² One bronze ear and a horn of the bull have been recovered, weighing six and twenty pounds respectively. The base is now in the Altis, *in situ*.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 118. *Vidi*.

Height of inscribed upper surface: 1.183m.

Width of inscribed surface of both blocks: 3.073m.

Thickness: 0.287m.

Letter Height: 0.055m.

480? *ante*

Φιλέσιος ἐποίη.
Ἴερετριέας τοῦ Δί.

NON-STOICH.¹⁴³

¹⁴² So far the excavations at Olympia have not produced an example of both an inscribed tablet and an inscribed base, although that does not mean that such did not exist.

¹⁴³ Jeffery (*LSAG* 80) states that the inscription is in stoichedon style, probably an oversight, since the second line from the sigma in Ἴερετριέας on is not stoichedon (one could say that it is partially stoichedon).

The letters are nicely spaced, and the script and dialect of the inscription is Euboean Ionic. The shapes of the letters are (*LSAG* 79 fig. 27): ε4, λ3 (Ionic lambda, but the stroke slanting to the left is not shorter than the one slanting to the right), π1, ρ3, σ2, φ2. Apart from the obvious orthographic characteristics (ε for η or εϵ, and σ for ω), worth noting is the krasis in the dative Δύ for Δυ.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Roehl, *IGA* 373. Orlandini 1951b, 94-98. Eckstein 1969, 50-53, 118-119. Gallavotti 1978a, 27. Jeffery, *LSAG* 86, 88 no. 19, plate 6.

Commentary: The date of this inscription, 480[?] B.C., is based on Jeffery who on account of the shapes of the letters, especially that of the lambda and the four bar sigma, concludes that they are rather late archaic (the *IO* editors follow Fraenkel's date, the beginning of the fifth century, which agrees with Jeffery's).

Pausanias, after he has described the statues of Zeus in the Altis and towards the end of book five, also describes statues which are not representations of Zeus, but of other gods, or are of particular interest. Such dedications are the Hermes dedicated by Glaukias of Rhegion (see no. 6 above) and the two bronze bulls, dedicated by the Korkyraians and the Eretrians. For the Korkyraian bull he records an incident that happened at Olympia and for more details he refers his reader to his *Phokika* (10.9.3-4), since the Korkyraians had dedicated two bulls, one at Olympia and one at Delphi (see no. 51 below). He says nothing further about the Eretrian bull, however, and this can only suggest that there was no further information available at the time of his visit to Olympia. The bronze tablet affixed on the upper surface to the right of the inscription, if the mark is indeed from the original tablet and not from a later re-use, must have been lost, otherwise he would have mentioned it, if not quoted or summarized it.

There is no evidence available to elucidate the circumstances of this dedication. If the date is correct, one may speculate that the dedication was presumably made on account of the successful conclusion of the Persian War in which the Eretrians participated. The frequency of bull-dedications in the beginning and throughout the fifth century has been

discussed by Orlandini in connection with the two dedications to Demeter Chthonia in Hermione, the works of Kresilas and Dorotheos. That the bull at Olympia, however, was portrayed as moving may or may not indicate that it is ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος.¹⁴⁴

Finally, Gallavotti, discussing the rare phenomenon of the artist's signature being cut before the dedicator's identification, argues that "la successione logica" would be the opposite. But that is not supported by Pausanias, as he claims. Pausanias may have reversed the order in this dedication for stylistic purposes and not because of "the logical sequence," since a few lines earlier (27.2), for example, he first records the names of the sculptors and then quotes the epigram of the dedicator. Surely that cannot be an indication that the signatures on that base were inscribed first. At any rate, Pausanias offers no exegesis for the dedication of the bronze bull by the city of Eretria to Zeus, the work of the Eretrian Philesios, no doubt because he could not find any (unlike the Korkyraian bull for which see no. 51 below), and so it remains a puzzle.

16.

6.1.4: πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Κλεογένους Δεινόλοχός τε κείται Πύρρου (τε) καὶ Τρωΐλος Ἀλκίνου. τούτοις γένος μὲν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἐξ Ἥλιδος, γεγόνασι δὲ σφισιν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτ' αἱ νίκαί· ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἔλλανοδικεῖν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἵππων ὑπῆρξεν ἀνελέσθαι νίκας τῷ Τρωΐλῳ δ<ύο>, τελείαι τε συνωρίδι καὶ πάλῳ ἄρματι. (5) Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ 5 ἐκράτει δευτέραι πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ νόμος ἐγένετο Ἥλείοις μηδὲ ἵππους τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἔλλανοδικούντων καθίεναι μηδένα. τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐποίησε Λύσιππος·

Apparatus Criticus:

4-5 after Τρωΐλῳ all mss. read δέ which all editors suppress following Bekker. It seems preferable to assume that δέ is a corruption of δύο, since the words immediately following specify victories in two events.

¹⁴⁴ This suggestion comes from Pausanias' Book 1.14.4, where he describes the temple of Demeter, Kore and Triptolemos, near the Athenian Pnyx and adds: πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε ἔστι βοῦς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος. For another bull dedication see no. 80 below (Regilla).

IO 166: a bronze tablet, found June 6, 1879, in the north part of the Prytaneion, whose surface has suffered from oxydation. On the back side there are traces of two clamps for the mounting of the tablet onto the stone base which has not been found and which probably was also inscribed with the signature of Lysippos. The tablet is now in the National Museum at Athens (χαλκὰ Collection). National Museum Bronzes No. 6164 (Olympia Museum Inv. No. 691). Height: 0.075-0.08m. Width: 0.277-0.281m. Thickness: 0.006m. Letter Height: 0.002-0.005m.

paulo post 372 ante

NON-STOICH. ca. 35

Ἑλλήμων ἦρχον τότε Ὀλυμπία, ἠνίκα μοι Ζεὺς
 δῶκεν νικῆσαι πρῶτον Ὀλυμπιάδα *vacat*
 ἵπποις ἀθλοφόροις, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον αὐτίς ἐφεξῆς
 ἵπποις, ὕ ὕ ἰ ὄς δ' ἦν Τρωῖλος Ἀλκινόο. *vacat*

The letters are clearly but not elegantly cut and in lines 1 and 3 are crowded. Individual characteristics of letter shapes are: the pi's right vertical stroke is shorter than the left, and the left slanting stroke of the lambda is shorter than the right.

The dialect of the two elegiac distichs is Ionic, because it follows the literary tradition of epic and elegiac poetry (Gallavotti 1979a, 3-4). Otherwise the Doric or Elean dialects would be expected, since the dedicator is an Elean.

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of *IO*):

Line 1: chi—only the upper part of two slanting strokes.

Line 3: upsilon—only the upper part of two slanting strokes.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Roehl, *IGB* 94. Moretti, *IAG* no. 19, 48-49. Wilhelm 1941, 42-43. Moretti 1957, 120 nos. 412-413. Amandry 1957, 65. Marcadé 1953, 71. Ebert 1972, 127-129 no. 38. Gallavotti 1979a, 3-4. Hansen, *CEG* 2, 828.

Commentary: The date of the inscription, a little after 372 B.C., is based on Pausanias' information that Troilos as an Hellanodikēs and participant in the Games won in the 102nd Olympiad (372 B.C.). This date is also accepted by Moretti.

Pausanias, after he has completed his explanation of the various dedicatory statues to Zeus and other gods in the Altis, begins an exegesis of the victory statues that he does not consider to be offerings to Zeus.¹⁴⁵ Of the great number he saw he includes only those which he deems deserving to be acknowledged in his work, and among them he also mentions briefly other non-athletic dedications and buildings. He starts with a group of statues of Eleian victors which was set up to the right of the temple of Hera. From this group only Troilos' bronze tablet has been found not *in situ*, but in the north part of the Prytaneion which lies northwest of the temple of Hera. Pausanias' brief topographical clue seems to indicate that he starts his exegesis from the area between the temple of Hera and the Pelopeion, i.e. to the north-northeast of Zeus' temple walking east- and southwards, where most of the victor statue bases have been found.¹⁴⁶

The bronze tablet was affixed to the base of the bronze statue, where apparently Lysippos' signature was also inscribed and was read by Pausanias, as all editors assume.

¹⁴⁵ In two instances in Book 5 Pausanias refers his reader to his discussion of victory statues that is to follow: 5.21.1: ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἄλτει τὰ μὲν τιμῇ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκεινται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικῶντων ἐν ἄθλον λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ οὗτοι δίδονται. τῶν μὲν δὲ ἀνδριάντων ποιησόμεθα καὶ ὕστερον μνήμην· and 5.25.1: ὅποσα δὲ ἄλλοια καὶ οὐ μίμησις ἐστὶ Διός, ἐπιμνησόμεθα καὶ τούτων· εἰκόνας δὲ οὐ τιμῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, τῇ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς χάριτι ἀνατεθείσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λόγῳ σφᾶς τῶι ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἀναμίξομεν.

He opens book 6 as follows (6.1.1-2): Ἐπειτα δέ μοι τῶι λόγῳ τῶι ἐς τὰ ἀναθήματα τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἵππων ἀγωνιστῶν μνήμην καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀθλητῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ὁμοίως. τῶν δὲ νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίαισιν οὐχ ἀπάντων εἰσὶν ἐστηκότες ἀνδριάντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρὰ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις, ὅμως οὐ τετυχήκασιν εἰκόνων. τούτοις ἐκέλευσεν ἀφείναι με ὁ λόγος, ὅτι οὐ κατάλογός ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν ὅποσους γεγόνασι Ὀλυμπικαὶ νίκαι, ἀναθημάτων δὲ ἄλλων τε καὶ εἰκόνων συγγραφή. οὐδὲ ὅποσων ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες, οὐδὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐπέξευμι, ἐπιστάμενος ὅσοι τῶι παραλόγῳ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰσχύος ἀνείλοντο ἤδη τὸν κότινον, ὅποσους δὲ ἢ αὐτοῖς (εἶχεν) ἐς δόξαν ἢ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἄμεινον ἐτέρων πεποιῆσθαι, τοσαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς μνησθήσομαι. For Pausanias' purpose in enumerating so many victory statues and his methodology see Chapter II, and also the excellent discussion of Herrmann 1988, 119-183.

¹⁴⁶ See Papachatzis 1974-1981, vol. 3, 328 note 1, and especially Herrmann 1988, 132-134, who also has a drawing (p. 133) of Pausanias' routes (Ἔφοδοι) in the Altis for the victory statues.

Although the base has not been found, the epigram inscribed on the bronze tablet and Pausanias' brief mention of Troilos' dedication seem to be in agreement and therefore suggest that the exegete read and copied from the epigram the information he needed for his brief note: the Eleian Troilos, son of Alkinos (lines 1-2 and 4), was an *Hellandikes* (the epigram's Ἑλλήνων ἦρχον becomes in Pausanias ἑλλανοδοικεῖν), when he won with his victorious horses. The epigram does not refer to the event, and so Pausanias adds information which he either extrapolated from the representation of the dedication, or he secured from the Olympic Register about the particular horse races and the date.

The text of Pausanias and lines 3-4 of the inscription, however, create some problems, especially the meaning of the clause τὸ δὲ δεύτερον..., because the word ἐφεξῆς, is variously interpreted: to the *IO* editors' explanation that the word in the epigram refers to the next Olympiad Wilhelm responded that the word may also refer to the next event of the same Olympiad, since the first sentence of the inscription must be understood for this clause too. And this clearly is how Pausanias read and understood it (so too Moretti). Ebert has pointed out that without the testimony of Pausanias the information of the epigram would not create any undue problems (so also Hansen): the words αὐτίς ἐφεξῆς would mean that the second victory took place in the next Olympiad 368 B.C. In that case Troilos could not have been an *Hellandikes*. This second interpretation, if accepted, would entail two further implications: 1) that in line 3 the words ἵπποις ἀθλοφόροις indicate the *synoris* and the foals chariot race in 372 B.C., the victories recorded by Pausanias who ignored, or was ignorant of, Troilos' victory in the following Olympiad (the ἵπποις of line 4); 2) that the δέ clause is not to be understood as depending on the previous main clause Ἑλλήνων ἦρχον, but as a second main clause with δῶκεν νικῆσαι. While possible, this surely forces things.

The word ἐφεξῆς is used in the epigram to convey the meaning of order and/or time (“successively, continuously, thereupon, immediately afterwards”¹⁴⁷). What is not clear, however, is that it refers to consecutive Olympiads. In that respect, it is highly probable that the epigram may be understood the same way Pausanias and Wilhelm read it:

I was an Hellanodikes at Olympia when for the first time Zeus granted me the victory with my victorious horses and also the second time immediately afterwards with my horses again.

In this case, the chronological order of the two victories does not imply consecutive Olympiads, but consecutive events during one and the same Olympiad, i.e. 372 B.C. Moreover, in addition to reading the epigram, Pausanias also checked, as is unanimously presumed, the Olympic Register from where he took the date for Troilos’ victories, the 102nd Olympiad (372 B.C.). It seems, therefore, rather improbable that Pausanias did not check the Register to find out whether τὸ δὲ δεύτερον meant a victory of Troilos in the next Olympiad, a fact which would prove his comment about the enactment of the new restriction on the hippic events, which as Pausanias’ text implies was already in place for the gymnastic competitions. Pausanias’ testimony, therefore, for Troilos is not at odds with the epigram, and it emphasizes that his main interest in Troilos’ dedication is the fact that his was an extraordinary case which forced the Olympic authorities to change the rules of the Olympic Games on account of the athlete’s appearance of impropriety, i.e. to be a judge of the Games and also enter his own horses for competition.

17.

6.3.2: μετὰ δὲ τὸν Χαιρέαν Μεσσήμιός τε παῖς Σόφιός..., καὶ τῶι μὲν τοὺς
συνθέοντας τῶν παίδων παρελθεῖν,

¹⁴⁷ LSJ s.v. ἐφεξῆς II. 2 and 3.

IO 172: fragment of grey limestone, found in the Kladeos river at the close of the excavations of 1885. It is broken on all sides, except the top edge. The fragment is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 802. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.23m. Width: 0.14m. Thickness: 0.9m.

Letter Height: first two lines 0.02-0.03m., last two lines 0.01-0.013m.

paulo post 364 ante

NON-STOICH. ca. 30

[Σό]φιος ?[- *nomen patris* -]?
 [Με]σσαν[ιος].
 [ἀγγέλλ]ω νίκημ Μεσσηνίου, ὅς ?στεφανωθείς?
 [?πίσην? κη]ρύχθη παῖς στ[άδιον Σόφιος].
vacat ca. 0.10m.

The letters are quite elegant and the end-tips of strokes thicken slightly. The letter style, according to the *IO* editors, suggests the end of the fourth century B.C. The letters of the first two lines are inscribed considerably taller than those of the elegiac distich (lines 3-4) so as to form a caption. Individual characteristics of letter-shapes are: the sigma's upper and lower strokes are long and slanting, and the middle angle is sharply and narrowly cut.

Μεσσανίος in line 2 suggests the Doric dialect, but νίκημ (line 3) with the final nu being assimilated to mu because of the initial mu in Μεσσηνίου is an Attic-Ionic form. It is not uncommon for the identification inscription to be in the dialect of the athlete's city, but for the epigram to be in the Attic-Ionic "epic" dialect. See for example nos. 6 and 16 above.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 4: rho—only the right upper part of an arc; tau—only the left tip of the horizontal stroke.

Restorations:

| | | |
|------------|-------------------|---|
| Lines 3-4: | <i>IO</i> editors | [τοῦδε κλέ]ω νίκημ Μεσσηνίου, ὅς ποτε Πίση] [πρῶτος ἐκη]ρύχθη παῖς στ[άδιον Σόφιος]. |
| | Peek | [ἀγγέλλ]ω νίκημ Μεσσηνίου, ὅς υυ — υ] [Πίσην κη]ρύχθη παῖς στ[άδιον Σόφιος]. |
| | Ebert | [ἀγγέλλ]ω νίκημ Μεσσηνίου, ὅς στεφανωθείς] [Πίσην κη]ρύχθη παῖς στ[άδιον, Σοφίου]. |
| | Hansen | [ἀγγέλλ]ω νίκημ Μεσσηνίου ὅς ?στεφανωθείς] [.3-4. κη]ρύχθη παῖς στ[άδιον, υυ —]. |

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XI, 1243 (W. Peek); XXIII, 257. Moretti 1957, 132 no. 496. Ebert 1966b, 390 no. II. Ebert 1972, 159-161 no. 51. Hansen, *CEG* 2, 823.

Commentary: The date of this inscription, after 364 B.C., is based on the information Pausanias provides about the Messenian Olympic victor Damiskos who won in 368 B.C. (6.2.10):

παρὰ δὲ Μεσσηνίους <Δαμίσκος>, ὃς δύο γεγονῶς ἔτη καὶ δέκα ἐνίκησεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι. θαῦμα δὲ εἶπερ ἄλλο τι καὶ τόδε ἐποιησάμην· Μεσσηνίους γὰρ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φεύγοντας ἐπέλιπεν ἢ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τύχη τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν. ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Λεοντίσκος καὶ Σύμμαχος τῶν ἐπὶ πορθμῶι Μεσσηνίων, ἄλλος γε οὐδείς Μεσσηνίος οὔτε Σικελιώτης οὔτ' ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δῆλός ἐστιν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνηρημένος νίκη· εἶναι δὲ οἱ Σικελιώται καὶ τούτους τῶν ἀρχαίων Ζαγκλαίων καὶ οὐ Μεσσηνίους φασί. συγκατῆλθε μέντοι Μεσσηνίοις ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ ἢ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τύχη τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν· ἐνιαυτῶι γὰρ ὕστερον τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσηνίας ἀγόντων Ὀλύμπια Ἡλείων ἐνίκα στάδιον παῖδας ὁ Δαμίσκος οὗτος, καὶ οἱ καὶ πενταθλήσαντι ὕστερον ἐγένοντο ἐν Νεμέαι τε ἰκαὶ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ.

The fate of the Messenians in the Olympic competition is according to Pausanias directly related to their political persecution. After their expatriation at the end of the First Messenian War (736 B.C.) the Messenians are absent from the Olympic Register, except for the two athletes who came from Messene in Sicily and won twice: Leontiskos in wrestling in 456 and 452 B.C., and Symmachos in the stadion race in 428 and 424 B.C.¹⁴⁸ When Epaminondas and the Thebans and their allies defeated the Lakedaimonians at Leuktra in 370/369 B.C., the Messenians were repatriated and in the following Olympic year a Messenian appeared again in the Olympic Register: Damiskos won the boys' stadion in 368 B.C. The victory, therefore, of the Messenian Sophios, stadionike in the boys' category can be dated in the Olympiads after 368 B.C., i.e. in or after 364 B.C., a date supported by the letter-style of the inscription. Accordingly, Moretti has tentatively suggested the 119th Olympiad (304 B.C.).

¹⁴⁸ The *Ὀλυμπιάδων Ἀναγραφὴ* (a Stadionike list) of Sextus Iulius Africanus preserved by Eusebius (Rutgers 1980) also attests to the absence of Messenian victors from the Olympic Games of that period.

The statue of the Messenian boy Sophios came after, according to Pausanias, that of the Sikyonian boy Chaireas. The find spot of the inscription, the Kladeos river, is unfortunately of no help for the area where the statue of Sophios stood originally in the Altis. Similarly, the only topographical indication that Pausanias has offered so far for the location in the Altis of each statue which he notes is the general area “to the right of the temple of Hera” (6.1.3, see notes 145, 146). The information on Sophios provided by Pausanias is more or less what the inscription contains. Indeed the identification of the inscription with Pausanias’ brief mention of Sophios does not rest on the epigram, but solely on his partially preserved name in lines 1 and 2. Once securely identified, the epigram has been variously restored with Pausanias’ text as a guideline.

Peek’s restorations, accepted by Ebert and Hansen with minor changes, are sound except for line 1, where after the name Σόφι^{ος} they assume the name of the athlete’s father was inscribed, a restoration which is not certain from the extant remains, hence my question marks. For the end of line 4 the *IO* editors and Peek restore Σόφι^{ος}, and Ebert prefers Σοφί^{ου}, in order to agree with Μεσσηνί^{ου} (in *hyperbaton*). Hansen rejects altogether the restoration of the name, because the name of the victor is not repeated in epigrams, but that is not entirely true (compare his examples with no. 24 below). Pausanias’ brief mention of Sophios’ statue does not help in the restoration of line 1. Apparently, he did not have any more information about the athlete. His extensive overview, however, of the participation in the Olympics of the Messenian athletes is crucial for the date of this text.

18.

6.4.1: Ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου τῆς εἰκόνας Ἐφέσιός τε Πύκτης τοὺς ἐλθόντας κρατήσας τῶν παίδων—ὄνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Ἀθήναιος.

Apparatus Criticus:

3 Ἰ Ἀθηναῖος is a correction by the editors of the mss.' reading: ἄθηναῖοι L; ἄθηναῖος Ms Lb Va Vb P Pa Pd.

IO 168: a base of black limestone, found December 13, 1879, 56.30 meters westward of the Leonidaion. The inscription is cut on the upper part of one of the short sides in whose middle there is a projected lifting boss. The footprints on the top indicate that the statue was life-size and it portrayed Athenaios in an attacking posture. The fragment is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 727. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.185m. Width: 0.405m. Thickness: 0.945m.

Letter Height: 0.012-0.015m.

saec. IV ante

Ἰ Ἀθηναῖος : Ἰ Ἀρπαλέου Ἰ Ἐφέσιος.

The letters are evenly spaced out across the width of the block. After Ἰ Ἀθηναῖος there are three dots inscribed, although no punctuation is necessary. The letter style is elegant and according to the *IO* editors belongs to the fourth century B.C.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

iota—only the lower half of a vertical; omicron—only the lower part of a curving stroke.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Morreti 1957, 123 no. 438.

Commentary: The date for the inscription, fourth century B.C., is based solely on the lettering, since Pausanias does not offer any clue about the Olympiad when Athenaios won. Moretti has placed Athenaios' victory tentatively in the 107th Olympiad (352 B.C.).

Pausanias does not give any hint as to where in the Altis this statue was situated, as is the case with most of the victory statues he describes, except that he saw them in the general area between the Heraion and the temple of Zeus (no. 16 above and notes 145,

146). The find spot of the base is approximately 200-250 meters away from this area, which may suggest that perhaps the base was displaced (*IO* editors).

The text of the inscription adds only the name of Athenaios' father, Harpaleos, to Pausanias' information who in turn adds to the inscriptional information the event and the category in which Athenaios was victorious. These details may have come either from the Olympic Register, or been deduced from the statue which undoubtedly portrayed a boy boxer.¹⁴⁹ The reason for Pausanias' omission of the patronymic is not clear, and as will become obvious, there is no apparent explanation why for some athletes he records the father's name, while for others he does not. Nevertheless, the inscription and Pausanias' comment are the only evidence for this boy victor, Athenaios, the son of Harpaleos, from Ephesos, who was victorious in the boys' boxing event at Olympia.

19.

6.4.11: Κυνίσκωι δὲ τῶι ἐκ Μαντινείας πύκτῃ παιδὶ ἐποίησε Πολύκλειτος τὴν εἰκόνα.

IO 149: a base of white Peloponnesian marble, found March 23, 1877, in the floor of the Byzantine church. The inscription is cut along the outer edge of the upper surface on which there are also three large holes into which the bronze statue was fitted. The base is now on display in the Entrance Hall of the New Museum (Ἰθινα) 526.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 165. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.16-0.18m. Width: 0.61m. Thickness: 0.54m.

¹⁴⁹ In many cases the iconography of the statue was most probably instrumental for the visitor in understanding the dedication: it would make clear the category and the event in which the athlete was victorious. One may argue, therefore, that to inscribe these details would be redundant, and this may be the reason why they are omitted from many victory inscriptions.

Letter Height: 0.02-0.035m.

paulo ante 450 ante

NON-STOICH.

πύ[κ]τα[s] τόνδ' ἀνέθεκε-
 ν ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο [Κ]υνί-
 σκος Μαν[τ]ινέας νικόν,
 πατρὸς ἔχον ὄ- νν
 5 νομα.

The letters are quite worn in places and the chisel used by the cutter produced wide strokes (especially at the end of line 3, where perhaps a different chisel² was used). The letters are inscribed continuously on the outer edge of the base. The text is here printed in lines which represent the letters as inscribed on each side of the upper surface. In line 4 the three ν's indicate the space that the cutter chose to leave empty between the omicron and the pi of πύ[κ]τα[s] in line 1. Instead of crowding the letters of line 5 in at the end of line 4, he inscribed them in a direction vertical to the omicron of line 4 and parallel to the first word of line 1.

The inscription is an elegiac distich:

πύ[κ]τα[s] τόνδ' ἀνέθεκεν ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο [Κ]υνίσκος
 Μαν[τ]ινέας νικόν, πατρὸς ἔχον ὄνομα.

The letter-style may be either Arkadian or Eleian (*LSAG* 208) and not later than 450 B.C. The letter shapes are (*LSAG* 206 fig. 40): α3, δ1, ε4, μ1, ν2, ξ2, π1, ρ3, σ1, υ2, χ2.

Remains of Dotted Letters (all are very worn, but their shapes are still visible):

Line 1: tau—only a very faint vertical stroke; alpha—only a trace of a lambda shape; second tau—only the bottom tip of a vertical and the upper right and left tips of the horizontal; omicron—only a faint trace of a curving stroke; nu—only the upper right slanting stroke.

Line 5: alpha—only the right slanting and a faint trace of the bottom left slanting strokes.

Restorations:

Line 1: πύ[κ]τα[s] τόνδ' (sc. εἰκόνα) Moretti following Pausanias' text, but there is clearly a faint trace of an omicron shape on the stone. Also Gallavotti defends the stone's τόνδ' on the basis of another inscription (below no. 34). Pausanias may simply be using εἰκόνα as a *variatio*.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Roehl, *IGA* 99. Loewy, *IGB* 50. Moretti, *IAG* 32-33 no. 14. Amandry 1957, 87. Moretti 1957, 97 no. 265. Ebert 1972, 82-84 no. 21. Gallavotti 1979a, 7. Jeffery, *LSAG* 208, 212, 216 no. 30. Hansen, *CEG* 1, 383.

Commentary: The date of this inscription, sometime before 450 B.C., is based on the letter style which cannot be later than the middle of the fifth century, and on Pausanias' information that the statue was the work of Polykleitos. He must be the elder one; Amandry's dates for him are 465–425 B.C. Accordingly, Moretti has suggested tentatively the 80th Olympiad (460 B.C.) as the date for Kyniskos' victory.

Continuing his exposition of athletic statues in the general area between the Heraion and the temple of Zeus and east- southeastwards, Pausanias mentions Polykleitos' bronze statue of Kyniskos, the boy from Mantinea, victorious in the boxing event (no. 16 above and notes 145, 146). His brief note does not include Kyniskos' father, but does identify the sculptor. The ἐποίησε clause was probably, as the *IO* editors suggest, inscribed on the lower part of the base which is now lost.

Surprisingly, the expression in the epigram ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο . . . Μαντινέας has been understood as an allusion to the *synoikismos* of the city of Mantinea which took place in the sixth century for some, the fifth for others, or at any rate before the victory of Kyniskos. This need not be so. The Olympic Register compiled by Moretti from the available evidence shows that Kyniskos' victory is the sixth victory of a Mantineian for the years ca. 500-450 B.C., and after him only one other Mantineian is known to have won in Olympia.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, it may very well be that ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο . . . Μαντινέας is in reference to the renown gained by these six victories and not a historical reference to the foundation of the city. At any rate, Pausanias' brief note clearly derives from the inscription on the base of Kyniskos.

20.

6.6.1: ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίαι παρὰ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντος τὸν ἀνδριάντα δύο τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀττικὸς ὁ τρίτος ἔστηκεν ἀθλητῆς. . . ., Ναυκίδαν δὲ τὸν Δαμαρέτου παλαιστὴν ἄνδρα ἐκ Φιγαλίας Σικυώνιος Δαίδαλος (sc. ἐποίησεν), . . .

¹⁵⁰ Moretti 1957, nos. 163 (Agametos), 193 (Epikratos), 202 (Dromeus), 254 (Pytharchos), 256 (Protolaos), 265 (Kyniskos), and 514 (Timarchos).

IO 161: three joining fragments of yellowish-grey limestone, found: fr. **a** February 29, 1880, in front of the east side of the temple of Zeus; fr. **b** May 2, 1879, in the southeast hall; and fr. **c** March 9, 1878, in the Byzantine east wall to the south of the base of the Eretrians (*IO* 248 = no. 15 above). The inscribed surface is worn and the fragments are broken: **a** on the left (it joins on the right with **b** and the bottom with **c** and preserves the top border); **b** on the bottom (it is joined with **a** on the left and preserves the right and top edge), and **c** on the right and the upper left part where it is not joined by **a** (it preserves the back of the block). The three fragments are now stored in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. fr. **a** 792, fr. **b** 626, fr. **c** 359. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.26m. Width: 0.595m. Thickness: 0.325m.

Letter Height: 0.015-0.018m.

400–350 *ante*

NON-STOICH.

[- ῡυ - ῡυ - υ] Ὀλυμπίαι ἰσχύος ἔσχον
 [- ῡυ - ῡυ - π]ατρίδα [.. γὰρ ἴσα ^{νν}
 [- ῡυ - ῡυ - υ] ἐνίκων κα[ι] τρις ἐν Ἴθμοϊ
 [- ῡυ - ῡυ - Θαρ]ηκίδας Φιγ[α]λεύς. ^{νννν}
 5 *vacat ca. 0.025*
 [Δαίδαλος ἐπ]όρησε Πατροκλέ[ος Φλειά]σιος.

The letters are nicely laid out and carefully cut. Characteristic shapes of letters: the omicron is quite large occupying the whole space of the line; the iota extends beyond the height of the other letters; the epsilon's slanting strokes curve nicely outwards; the vertical stroke of the phi does not extend beyond the round stroke; and the top and bottom strokes of sigma slant.

The inscription is comprised of two elegiac distichs, while the signature of Daidalos is inscribed after an empty space and in prose.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: iota—only a faint trace of the middle part of a vertical stroke.

Line 2: iota—it is dotted because the vertical may be part of another letter (see restorations).

Line 4: epsilon—only the bottom part of a vertical stroke.

Line 6: omicron—only the right part of a curving stroke is visible.

Restorations for lines 1-4 of this inscription are only tentative and for this reason they are not included in the text (similarly Hansen):

IO editors: [οὔ τι μόνη τιμὰν ἐν] Ὀλυμπίαι ἰσχύος ἔσχον
 [κυδαίνων γενεὰν π]ατρίδα θ'. [ἀ] γὰρ ἴσα

[ἦλθέ μοι ἐν Πυθοῦ θ' ὅτ'] ἐνίκων καὶ τρεῖς ἐν Ἴκσ>θμοῦ
[δαμαρέτου παῖς ὦν Ναρυ]κίδας Φιγ[α]λεύς.

Preuner: [οὔ τι μόνον νίκων ἐν] Ὀλυμπία ἰσχύος ἔσχον
[κυδαίνων γενεᾶν π]ατρίδα θ'· [ἄν] γὰρ ἴσα
[Πύθια καὶ Νεμέαι δις] ἐνίκων καὶ τρεῖς ἐν Ἴκσ>θμοῦ
[υἱὸς δαμαρέτου θαρ]υκίδας Φιγ[α]λεύς.

Marcadé accepts the restorations of Preuner except for the end of line 3. He reads Ἴθμοῦ which, he points out, is also attested at Delphi.

Peek: [οὔτι μόνον στεφθεῖς ἐν] Ὀλυμπία ἰσχύος ἔσχον
[ἄθλον, ἐπαγλαύσας π]ατρίδα· πρ[ὶ] γὰρ ἴσα
[Πύθια καὶ Νεμέαι δις] ἐνίκων καὶ τρεῖς ἐν Ἴσθμοῦ
[υἱὸς δαμαρέτο Ναρ]υκίδας Φιγαλεύς.

Ebert: [οὐχὶ μόνον παλάμαις ἐν] Ὀλυμπία ἰσχύος ἔσχον
[κῦδος ἐπαγλαύσας π]ατρίδα· πρ[ὶ] γὰρ ἴσα
[Πύθια καὶ Νεμέαι δις?] ἐνίκων κα[ὶ] τρεῖς ἐν Ἴθμοῦ
[υἱὸς δαμαρέτο Ναρ]υκίδας Φιγ[α]λεύς.

Line 2: [π]ατρίδα [...] or [π]ατρί δα[...]υκίδας Hansen.

Line 5: [Ναρ]υκίδας Hansen, [θαρ]υκίδας Dubois.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XI, 1239 (W. Peek). Loewy, *IGB* 103. Marcadé 1953, 23. Moretti 1957, 117 no. 392. Amandry 1957, 65. Ebert 1972, 36. Dubois 1986, vol. 1, 198, vol. 3, 69 notes 1386-1387. Hansen, *CEG* 2, 826.

Commentary: The date for the inscription, the first half of the fourth century B.C., is based on the scanty evidence for the career of Daidalos which points to the first part of the fourth century, a date which is also supported by the letter style. The ethnic φλειάσιος, is attested only in this inscription.¹⁵¹ It has been understood to refer to an incident in Sikyonian history, the tyranny of Euphron ca. 368 B.C., on account of which Daidalos may have been forced into exile, or left voluntarily, and became a citizen of Phleious (Preuner, Marcadé). Moretti, however, has rightly pointed out that Daidalos may have

¹⁵¹ See Marcadé 1953, 22-24 where all epigraphical and literary evidence for Daidalos is discussed. Only one inscription has the ethnic Sikyonios, and none Phleiasios (except *IO* 161). Pausanias knows only Daidalos the Sikyonian whom he mentions five times as the sculptor of statues: four of them in Olympia and one in Delphi (6.2.8, 3.4, 3.7, 6.1; 10.9.6). In the Altis the signature of Daidalos the Sikyonian is also preserved on another base which is assumed to have been one of the Zanes (*IO* 635).

been honored with citizenship by Phleious on another occasion (see also Ebert), and so he has tentatively placed Narykidas' victory in the 99th Olympiad (384 B.C.).

Pausanias, continuing his exposition of athletic statues in the general area between the Heraion and the temple of Zeus (no. 16 above and notes 145, 146), reaches the statue of the famous Poulydamas from Skotousa (6.5.1-9). The life and career of this extraordinary athlete is then presented at length by Pausanias, as though to establish it as a reference point in the account of the Altis. In any case, this digression also marks a convenient break for the reader who until now has been overwhelmed by a narrative which is crowded with names of the victors, sometimes the date of their victory, and often the sculptor. After Poulydamas Pausanias returns to his usually concise narrative and mentions a group of three victory statues: two of Arkadian athletes and one of the Athenian Kallias (no. 21 below). One of the Arkadian statues, the wrestler Narykidas son of Damaretos from Phigalia, is the work of Daidalos the Sikyonian.

These fragments of the pedestal, on which the statue stood, were found scattered in the Altis in the general area where Pausanias probably saw it, i.e. to the north northeast or to the east of the temple of Zeus. The fragmentary text of the inscription mentions an Olympic victory (only one?) of Narykidas and three in the Isthmian Games, while the word $\tau\omicron\alpha$ in line 2 implies that he probably was victorious in the Pythian and Nemean Games as well. Moreover, at the end of line 6 the letter traces of Daidalos' ethnic can only be $\Sigma\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma$, whereas Pausanias refers to him only as Sikyonios.

A comparison between the inscription and the brief note of Pausanias suggests that the exegete, in all probability, did not read the epigram and the signature inscribed on Narykidas' pedestal. The different ethnic Phleiasios on the base is surprising and differs from his more widely known ethnic Sikyonios. And yet, such differences interest Pausanias and usually offer him the opportunity for an exegesis. Moreover, Pausanias, if he read the inscription, passed up the wealth of information that the epigram offers,

namely the multiple victories of Narykidas (see e.g. no. 8). This is the kind of information which Pausanias invariably includes in his portraits of the athletes, since to him this information pertains to what he calls the *exegesis* of the monuments in the Altis. Indeed, Narykidas' case is so far the only exception. There is no plausible explanation for this, except that Pausanias did not take careful note of the inscription. Even so, the inscribed base of Narykidas' statue, found in Olympia, does corroborate Pausanias' claim that he saw such a dedication, even if he did not read carefully what was on it, or did not read the epigram at all.

21.

- 6.6.1: ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίαι παρὰ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντος τὸν ἀνδριάντα δύο τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀττικὸς ὁ τρίτος ἔστηκεν ἀθλητῆς. ..., Καλλίας δὲ Ἀθηναίωι παγκρατιαστῆι τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Μίκων ἐποίησε ὁ ζωγράφος.
- 5.9.3: Ὁ δὲ κόσμος ὁ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὡς θύεσθαι τῶι θεῶι τὰ 5
 ἱερεῖα πεντάθλου μὲν καὶ δρόμου τῶν ἵππων ὕστερα *** ἀγωνισμάτων, οὗτος κατέστη σφίσι· ὁ κόσμος Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐβδόμηι πρὸς ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα· τὰ πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἦγον τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἵππων ἀγῶνα. τότε δὲ προήχθησαν ἐς 10
 νύκτα οἱ παγκρατιάζοντες ἅτε οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐσκληθέντες, αἴτιοι δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ τε ἵπποι καὶ ἐς πλέον ἔτι ἢ τῶν πεντάθλων ἄμιλλα· καὶ ἐκράτει μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Καλλίας τοὺς παγκρατίαςαντας, ἐμπόδιον δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλε παγκρατίωι τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸ πένταθλον οὐδὲ οἱ ἵπποι γενήσεσθαι.

IO 146: a nearly complete base of Pentelic marble, found January 27, 1877, to the immediate north of *IO* 248 (= no. 15 above), i.e. east of the temple of Zeus. The measurements of the cuttings on the upper surface indicate that the statue was bronze and taller than lifesize. The inscription is cut along the edges of the upper surface: the first two lines on the front, line 3 on the left. The base is now on display in the Entrance Hall of the New Museum Α(ἴθυσα) 528.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 119. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.31m. Width: 0.775m. Thickness: 0.915m.

Letter Height: 0.022-0.03m.

paulo post 472 ante

Καλλίας Διδυμίο : Ἀθηναῖος
παγκράτιον.

Μίκων : ἐποίησεν : Ἀθηναῖος.

The letter style is quite elegant and the strokes are deeply cut (0.001-0.002m.). The script and dialect are appropriately Attic-Ionic, since both the victor and the sculptor are Athenians. The letter shapes are (*LSAG* 66 fig. 26): α3, α7, ς2, ε2, η2, θ3, μ3, ν2, σ2, υ5, Punctuation 4, except for the shapes of gamma (Γ), lambda (Λ) and omega (Ω).

The surface of the stone, where the word Μίκων is inscribed, is very worn, but the shapes of the letters are visible, if with difficulty.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Roehl, *IGA* 498. Loewy, *IGB* 41. Knab 1980, no. 5. Arvanitopoulos 1937, 131-132. Raubitschek, *DAA* 181-184 no. 164. Moretti, *IAG* 15. Moretti 1957, 91 no. 228. Vanderpool 1972, 25-26. Rapke 1974, 332-333. Gallavotti 1979a, 9-10, 29. Lang 1990, 65, 1-18.

Commentary: The date of this inscription, a little after 472 B.C., is that of Pausanias who in book 5 notes that Kallias' victory in the pankration took place in the seventy-seventh Olympiad. Pausanias knows from some source that during that year the event of the pankration was delayed and the athletes were invited to start the event at night, because the horse races ran late and the pentathlon event took more than the usual time to finish because of fierce competition.¹⁵²

After Poulydamas' statue in the general area between the Heraion and the temple of Zeus (no. 16 above and notes 139, 140) Pausanias mentions a triad of victory statues, two of Arkadians (no. 20 above) and one of the Athenian pankratiast Kallias, whose

¹⁵² This is not an ancient problem. Even during the modern Olympics the time schedule is often extended, because of tough competition among the athletes.

statue was the work of the Athenian painter Mikon. The sculptor is called by Pausanias a ζωγράφος, which implies that sculpting was not Mikon's main interest. Even so, Pliny reports that Mikon's athletic statues were highly praised (*Mikon athleticis spectatur*, *HN* 34.88). The inscription is brief, containing essentially the same information as Pausanias, but adding the name of Kallias' father, Didymias. Apparently, the exegete's information in this case derives entirely from the Olympic inscription.

A similar dedicatory base of ca. 450-440 B.C. has been found near the Propylaia at Athens. Its inscription includes, in addition to the Olympic, all the other victories of Kallias (*IG* I² 606 = *DAA* 164 and *PA* 7823, circular base of Pentelic marble):

Καλλίας Διδυμίου ἀνέθηκεν].
 νικ[α].
 Ὀλυμπίασι
 Πύθια : δὶς
 Ἰσθμια : πεντάκις
 Νέμεα : τετράκις
 Παναθήναια με<γ>άλ[α].¹⁵³

This inscription proves that Kallias was a *periodonikes*, i.e. he won the *periodos* (all four major Panhellenic Games) at least one time, although Pausanias is silent about it,¹⁵⁴ and also he won once in the Great Panathenaia. The total number of his victories, thirteen, is quite an impressive accomplishment for so difficult an event as the pankration. What is even more interesting is that Kallias also appears to have been active in the political life of

¹⁵³ According to Kirchner the stone reads ΜΕΑΥ. Gallavotti (1979a, 29), however, proposes that, since an inscription on the Propylaia could hardly have been careless, after Kallias' ostracism the inscription at the end was changed from μεγᾶλλα to read μὴ ἄλλα, i.e. "one Panathenaic victory and no more", a kind of *damnatio memoriae*.

This would be something new and there is no evidence for such a case. In addition, there is no compelling argument to read μὴ ἄλλα, since Kallias would not have been able to participate in the Panathenaic Games after his ostracism anyway. Such an action would be justified, if there was evidence for a false addition on the stone of more than one victory.

¹⁵⁴ Pausanias does not use the term *periodonikes*, for which see no. 8 above [Ergoteles son of Philanor from Himera] and especially note 119.

Athens. Pseudo-Andokides indicates that he was ostracized (*Against Alkibiades* 4.32: ...Καλλίαν τὸν Διδυμίου τῆ σώματι νικήσαντα πάντας ἀγῶνας τοὺς στεφανηφόρους ἐξωστρακίσσατε...), and there have been found three ostraka with his name in the Agora excavations, while six more have been found elsewhere.¹⁵⁵ These nine ostraca are not proof beyond doubt that Kallias was in fact ostracized, and Vanderpool (1970, 25-26) rightly cautions against it, all the more so because the passage in Andokides is historically suspect. His comment (1970, 26), however, that “athletes generally do not make politicians” goes too far. Kallias is not an exception, since the brother of Chremonides, for example, Glaukon, had a similar career (see no. 47 below).

Pausanias’ information is based on the Olympic inscription. The inscription found at Athens is further corroborating evidence about Kallias. His athletic and political career, however, is further elucidated by the Athenian ostraca and Pseudo-Andokides. As Moretti has surmised from the tentative date of the Athenian dedication, ca. 450–440 B.C., Kallias by having a successful career as an athlete was able to acquire political clout in Athens, not unlike Alkibiades. This may have caused a move against him which may or may not have succeeded. During this period Ephialtes and Perikles were the dominant figures in the political scene at Athens. Kallias’ political career may have paralleled that of Thukydides son of Melesias with whom he probably was acquainted. He may indeed have suffered ostracism. At least the nine ostraca show that he received nine votes for that dubious honor.

¹⁵⁵ There are three ostraka from the Athenian Agora. Thompson (1948, 193-194) reports the find of one ostrakon in the Agora excavations of 1947, dating from the second quarter of the fifth century; Vanderpool (1949, 409 with select bibliography) lists two ostraka which were also found in the Agora. See now Lang 1990, 65.

22.

- 6.6.2: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Εὐκλῆς ἀνάκειται Καλλιάνακτος, γένος μὲν Ῥόδιος, οἴκου δὲ τοῦ Διαγοριδῶν· θυγατρὸς γὰρ Διαγόρου παῖς ἦν, ἐν δὲ ἀνδράσι πυγμῆς ἔσχεν Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην. τούτου μὲν δὴ ἡ εἰκὼν Ναυκύδους ἐστὶν ἔργου.
- 6.7.2: Διαγόρου δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν θυγατέρων παῖδες πύξ τε ἤσκησαν καὶ ἔσχον Ὀλυμπικὰς νίκας, ἐν μὲν ἀνδράσιν Εὐκλῆς Καλλιάνακτός τε ὦν καὶ Καλλιπατείρας τῆς Διαγόρου,
- 5.6.7: Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ὁδόν, πρὶν ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ἔστιν ὄρος ἐκ Σκιλλοῦντος ἐρχομένῳ πέτραις ὑψηλαῖς ἀπότομον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ Τυπαῖον τὸ ὄρος. κατὰ τούτου τὰς γυναῖκας Ἡλεί- οἰς ἐστὶν ὠθεῖν νόμος, ἣν φωραθῶσιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐλθοῦσαι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἢ καὶ ὄλως ἐν ταῖς ἀπειρημέναις σφίσις ἡμέραις διαβάσαι τὸν Ἀλφειόν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀλῶναι λέγουσιν οὐδεμίαν, ὅτι μὴ Καλλιπάτειραν μόνην· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην Φερε- νίκην καὶ οὐ Καλλιπάτειραν καλοῦσιν. (8) αὕτη προαποθανόντος αὐτῆι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐξεικάσασα αὐτὴν τὰ πάντα ἀνδρὶ γυμναστῆι ἤγαγεν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τὸν υἱὸν μαχούμενον· νικῶντος δὲ τοῦ Πεισι- ρόδου, τὸ ἔρυμα ἐν ᾧ τοὺς γυμναστὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπειλημένους, τοῦτο ὑπερπηδῶσα ἢ Καλλιπάτειρα ἐγυμνώθη. φωραθείσης δὲ ὅτι εἴη γυνή, ταύτην ἀφιάσιν ἀζήμιον καὶ τῶι πατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶι παιδὶ αἰδῶ νέμοντες —ὑπῆρχον δὴ ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι—, ἐποίησαν δὲ νόμον ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τοῖς γυμνασταῖς γυμνοὺς σφᾶς ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐσέρχεσθαι.

IO 159: a base of black limestone, found March 3, 1878, in the Byzantine east wall, between the base of Kallias (no. 21) and that of Philesios (no. 15). The measurements of the footprints on the upper surface indicate that the statue was bronze and about lifesize. The inscription is cut on the front edge of the upper surface.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 356.

Height: 0.298m. Width: 0.635m. Thickness: 0.705m.

Letter Height: ca. 0.02m.

350–290 *ante*

NON-STOICH. 23-24

[Εὐκ]λῆς Καλλιάνακτος Ῥόδιος.
[Ναυ]κύδης Πατροκλήος ἐποίησε.

The letter style is elegant and all strokes end in triangular serifs, which perhaps suggests a Hellenistic date for the inscription.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Pindar *Olympian* 7 (Διαγόραν Ῥοδίωι Πύκτην). Drachmann 1964, 195-235. Moretti 1957, 111 no. 354. Amandry 1957, 76. Pouilloux 1970, 206-214. Kaldis-Henderson 1979, 344-358. Bernardini 1983, 155-192.

Commentary: The date of this inscription is based totally on the letter style which does not agree with the date for Eukles' victory in boxing. The generally accepted view is that Eukles won near the end of the fifth century (Moretti suggested the 94th Olympiad, 404 B.C.), and that the inscription on the base was later renewed, between the middle of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries (hence 350–290 B.C.).

Pausanias, as he continues his enumeration of victory-statues in the Altis' general area between the Heraion and the temple of Zeus, comes to the statue of Eukles son of Kallianax of Rhodes who won in the boxing event and whose statue was the work of Naukydes. Eukles, Pausanias adds, belonged to the Diagorid family of Rhodes, since his mother Kallipateira was the daughter of the paterfamilias Diagoras who was himself an Olympic victor, as were other members of his family. Later on (6.7.1-7), Pausanias devotes more space to the history of this famous family and mentions again the statue of Eukles together with the other statues of his relatives that were erected in Olympia on account of their victories (for the arrangement of the family's statues see below no. 26, and also nos. 27-28).

The text of the inscription verifies Pausanias' narrative about the statue of Eukles, his father, and the sculptor, with the exception that the signature adds the name of the sculptor's father, Patrokles. The absence from the inscription of the event in which Eukles was victorious probably caused Pausanias no difficulty, since the statue doubtless depicted him as a boxer. Most likely, Pausanias also checked the Olympic Register.

In addition to the statue of Eukles and its inscription, Pausanias also utilized other sources, since he provides far more information about Eukles and the other members of the Diagorid family than the inscriptions on their bases offer. The information that Pausanias offers about Eukles' father Kallianax and his mother Kallipateira requires elaboration, since it is pertinent to the evidence of other authors. Pindar composed *Olympian 7* in order to celebrate the victory of Diagoras, uncle of Eukles, in the boxing event of 464 B.C., the date given by the Scholiast (Drachmann 1964). In the last epode of this long ode Pindar writes (*Ol.* 7.92-93):¹⁵⁶

μη κρύπτε κοινὸν / σπέρμ' ἀπὸ Καλλιάνακτος·

This line was understood, by the Scholiast, as a reference to an ancestor of Diagoras.¹⁵⁷

Pouilloux has rightly pointed out that Pausanias' information on the family's ancestry does not mention any Kallianax (4.24.3):

τοὺς Διαγορίδας καλουμένους ἐν Ῥόδῳ, γεγονότας δὲ ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τοῦ Δωριέως τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀριστομένους θυγατρὸς.

That Diagoras' father was Damagetos is verified by Pindar who mentions him (πωτέρα τε Δαμάγητον ἄδόντα Δίκα *Ol.* 7.17). Kallianax, so far as can be surmised, was not a name in the Diagorid family. The three sons of Diagoras were named, according to the customary onomatology, after their ancestors. None of them is named Kallianax, and in fact the first son of Diagoras is named after his grandfather, Damagetos. Pouilloux hypothesized further that Kallianax married Kallipateira, Diagoras' daughter, in the same year in which Diagoras won. This event would account both for Pindar's blessing for the

¹⁵⁶ The lines of the text refer to the Teubner edition by Snell 1955.

¹⁵⁷ Drachmann 1964, on line 92: μη ἀπόκρυπτε τὸ κοινὸν καὶ διάδηλον τοῖς πολλοῖς τοῦ Καλλιάνακτος γένος (πρόγονος γὰρ τοῦ νικηφόρου οὗτος ἔνδοξος), ἀλλὰ ὕμνει. Although the prevalent meaning of πρόγονος is "ancestor," the meaning "step-son" (LSJ s.v. πρόγονος III) is also attested in Euripides' *Ion* 1329, in Dionysios' of Halikarnassos *De Isocrate* 18, in the *Monumenti Ancyranı versio Graeca* 16.9, in Lucian's *Calumnıae non temere credendum* 26, in *SEG* VI, 667 (inscription from Attalia), and so on.

couple's future offspring and for his introductory remarks in the first strophe where he compares the composition of this ode and his relation with Diagoras to that between a father and his son-in-law.¹⁵⁸

In addition to the evidence in Pausanias which corroborates Pouilloux's identification for lines 92-93 in Pindar, it should be pointed out that Diagoras was so prominent that the gens became known after him as the Diagorids of Rhodes, whereas previously they were presumably called the Eratidae (*Ol.* 7.93). Pindar ends the ode with a prayer to Zeus (*Ol.* 7.87-95): first he prays for Diagoras who inherited a "sound mind" from his ancestors (πατέρων . . . ἐξ ἀγαθῶν 91), and then he adds μὴ κρύπτε κοινὸν / σπέρμ' ἀπὸ Καλλιάνακτος (92-93). It would seem rather surprising if Pindar, who has just praised Diagoras' ancestors, singled out one of them, i.e. Kallianax, in order to point out the need for "growth (Young 1968, 94-95)" of Diagoras' family and "the continuity of its tradition (Verdenius 1987, 86)" (see also his arguments in note 145). There is little question that Pindar is here praying for the future of the family. Kallianax, the son-in-law of Diagoras and himself surely a member of another noble family, fits perfectly in this context. For thus, the Diagorids can hope for the continuation of the Diagorid tradition in winning victories at Olympia—a Pindaric prayer fulfilled by Kallianax's son Eukles in 420-410 B.C.

¹⁵⁸ There is no need to suppose (with Pouilloux) that Diagoras' victory and the marriage of his daughter fell in the same year. Along this line, one could similarly hypothesize that the line is a reference to the birth of Eukles, or a reference to Kallianax and his family, with whom Pindar may have been personally acquainted, and so on.

Verdenius objected to Pouilloux's suggestion first that Eukles in the 420s-410s B.C., when he won at Olympia, would be "well past his forties (1976, 252)," to which Bernardini (1983, 190 note 80) rightly replied that Diagoras himself in 464 B.C. must have been in his forties (one may also add at least the athletic careers of Theogenes of Thasos and Euthymos of Lokroi, who must have reached at least their forties while active athletically). Verdenius replied with "a more cogent objection than the chronological argument...in 1976" (1987, 86 note 121), namely that Pouilloux's suggestion "makes the sentence (sc. lines 92-93) a kind of appendix and leaves the asyndeton unexplained (p. 86)."

Similar problems arise from Pausanias' testimony for Eukles' mother, Kallipateira. Although Pausanias is specific that Eukles was the son of Kallianax and Kallipateira (6.7.2), nevertheless, in the beginning of his *Eliaka* he speaks of Peisirhodos as her son (5.6.7-8). When Pausanias enters the territory of Olympia and reaches Mt. Tropaion he says that this is the cliff from which the Eleians hurl down those of the women that are caught attending the Olympic Games, since only virgins and the priestess of Demeter Chamyne were allowed to attend and not married women.¹⁵⁹ In the long history of the Games, however, only once was there a challenge to this Olympic rule by Kallipateira, or as some say (εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ 5.6.7) Pherenike, the daughter of Diagoras. The mother of Peisirhodos became his trainer and dressed up as a man, but when her son won she jumped over the barrier which caught the cloak and her sex was discovered. She was let go, however, because of the tradition and glory of her family whose male members had been Olympic victors, but the Olympic Boule instituted another rule on account of this incident, that the trainers of the athletes must attend the Games naked.

The same version of this anecdote is repeated only once more in the ancient sources by Flavius Philostratos (a younger contemporary of Pausanias, born ca. A.D. 160-170) in his *Γυμναστικός* 17. There Philostratos notes that in all athletic competitions the trainers wore a cloak (τρίβωνα), except in Olympia, where as the Eleians say (ὡς δ' ἠλεῖοί φασιν) after Pherenike's incident they passed a rule that all trainers must be naked. Both Pausanias and Philostratos heard (ἠλεῖοι λέγουσιν/ φασιν) this anecdote probably from the Eleian exegetes and are the only two who preserve it.

The Scholiast of Pindar (Drachmann 1964, 196-199), however, who presumably takes the information from Aristotle and Apollas, gives a different version of the challenge to the rule which excluded married women from attending the Games: Kallipateira (or

¹⁵⁹ See Kaldis-Henderson 1979, 331-344, who discusses sex discrimination during the Olympic Games.

Aristopateira) applied to the Olympic authorities for permission to attend the Games, which was granted because she was a daughter, sister, and mother of Olympic victors. Later authors present the same story, except that they change the mother's name to Pherenike.¹⁶⁰ As Kaldis-Henderson (1979, 346) has argued, Pausanias seems to conflate two stories. He attributes the incident of Pherenike to Kallipateira without noticing that later on he contradicts himself, when he clearly states that Eukles and not Peisirhodos was the son of Kallianax and Kallipateira. The aetiological aspect of his version was far more important for his narrative than the mere grant of the privilege to attend the Games. Even so, Pausanias in this case provides clear indications that for the composition of his work he did not depend on one source exclusively, namely the inscriptions. He tried to corroborate his own observations in the Altis with other evidence, be that the exegetes' explanations, or those of earlier authors (see also below the discussion of the other members of the Diagorids nos. 26-28).

23.

6.6.3: Νικόδαμος δὲ ὁ πλάστης ὁ ἐκ Μαινάλου Δαμοξενίδαυ ἄνδρα πύκτην ἐποίησεν ἐκ Μαινάλου.

Apparatus Criticus:

I all mss. read παλαιστής, except Va Ms and V on the margin which read: πλάστης, and R which deletes it and in one margin has πλαστής and in the other παλαιστής.

IO 158: a base of black limestone, found October 18, 1879, between the Heraion and the Pelopeion near the base of Pythokles (*IO* 162, 163 = no. 30 below). From the single footprint that survives on the upper surface it is surmised that the bronze

¹⁶⁰ All this information is conveniently gathered by Kaldis-Henderson 1979, 346-349.

statue was lifesize. The inscription is cut on the front edge of the upper surface of the base which is broken on the left side.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 702.

Height: 0.28m. Width: 1.70m. Thickness: 0.47m.

Letter Height line 1: 0.015m.; line 3: 0.02m.

420–375 *ante*; *saec. I ante*

NON-STOICH.

vacat 0.025m.

Νικόδαμος ἐποίησε.
{ΑΥΤΟ . . ΛΛΗΣ}

Δαμοξε[νίδ]ας Μαινάλιος.

The letter shapes of the two lines (1 and 3) are quite distinct (in addition to their difference in height): in line 1 the shapes suggest the fourth century B.C. (the middle bar of the alpha is cut higher; the top and bottom strokes of sigma slant; the nu leans to the right), whereas in line 3 they suggest the first century B.C. (the alpha has a broken middle bar; the top and bottom strokes of the sigma are almost horizontal and extend to the left; and the nu is not leaning).

Line 2: Marcadé (1953, 84 note 2) read below ἐποίησε traces of letters from a graffito (?) of a proper name which of course does not belong to the inscription. He reads the beginning: Ἄρπιο- or Ἀυσι-, and the end: -έλληης or -εάδηης.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Loewy, *IGB* 98. Marcadé 1953, 84. Moretti 1957, 117 no. 393. Amandry 1957, 76.

Commentary: There are two dates for this inscription: 420–375 B.C. for line 1, the signature of the sculptor whose floruit is the late fifth and early fourth centuries (see Marcadé's discussion of Nikodamos' career); and 100–1 B.C. for line 2 which is suggested by the letter style. The inscription of the victor, therefore, is a renewal of an older one that was inscribed probably on another side and was totally damaged. Moretti, therefore, has placed tentatively Damoxenidas' victory in the 99th Olympiad (384 B.C.).

Pausanias, as he continues his enumeration of victory statues in the general area between the Heraion and the temple of Zeus, reaches the work of Nikodamos of Mainalon made for his fellow-citizen the boxer Damoxenidas. The base of Damoxenidas was not found in its original position, but is correctly assumed by the *IO* editors to have stood

near the statues of Kallias (no. 21 above), Eukles (no. 22 above), and Euthymos (no. 24 below), i.e. to the east of the northeast corner of the temple of Zeus.

The two texts are again very brief and corroborate each other. The only noticeable differences are that Pausanias mentions the event in which Damoxenidas was victorious, and adds the ethnic of the artist, whereas the inscription does not include this information. As with the previous athletic dedications, the pose of the statue would render unnecessary the inclusion of the event on the base. This of course does not exclude the possibility that Pausanias in addition to the inscription used also the Olympic Register for the victory of Damoxenidas. Likewise, he knew Nikodamos' ethnic from other works of his which he saw in the Altis.¹⁶¹

24.

6.6.4: τὰ δὲ ἐς Εὐθυμον τὸν πύκτην, οὗ μὲ εἰκὸς ὑπερβαίνειν ἦν τὰ ἐς τὰς
 νίκας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ὑπάρχοντα τὴν ἄλλην. γένος μὲν δὴ
 ἦν ὁ Εὐθυμος ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίας Λοκρῶν, οἱ χώραν τὴν πρὸς τῷ
 Ζεφυρίῳ τῆι ἄκρῃ νέμονται, πατρὸς δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀστυκλέους·
 εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ τούτου, ποταμοῦ δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοῦ
 Καικίνου 5
 φασίν, ὅς τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Ῥηγίην ὀρίζων τὸ ἐς τοὺς τέττιγας
 παρέχεται θαῦμα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τέττιγες οἱ ἐντὸς τῆς Λοκρίδος
 ἄχρι τοῦ Καικίνου κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέττιξιν αἰδοῦσι·
 διαβάντων δὲ τὸν Καικίνον οὐδεμίαν ἔτι οἱ ἐν τῆι Ῥηγίῃ
 τέττιγες ἀφίᾳσι (τὴν) φωνήν. (5) τούτου μὲν δὴ παῖδα εἶναι λέ- 10
 γεται τὸν Εὐθυμον· ἀνελομένῳ δὲ οἱ πυγμῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίῳ νίκην
 τετάρτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐς
 τὴν ἐπιούσαν Ὀλυμπιάδα ἔμελλε χωρήσειν· Θε<ο>γένης γὰρ ὁ
 Θάσιος Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐθέλων τῆι αὐτῇ πυγμῆς τε ἀνελέσθαι καὶ παγ-
 κρατίου νίκας ὑπερεβάλετο πυκτεύων τὸν Εὐθυμον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ 15
 Θε<ο>γένης ἐπὶ τῷ παγκρατίῳ λαβεῖν ἐδυνήθη τὸν κότινον ἅτε
 προκατεργασθεὶς τῆι μάχῃ πρὸς τὸν Εὐθυμον. (6) ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ
 ἐπιβάλλουσι οἱ ἑλλανοδῖκαι τῷ Θε<ο>γένει τάλαντον μὲν ἱερὰν

¹⁶¹ Pausanias saw four more statues of Nikodamos: 5.25.7; 5.26.6; 6.3.9; 6.6.1.

ἐς τὸν θεὸν ζημίαν, τάλαντον δὲ βλάβης τῆς ἐς Εὐθύμον, ὅτι ἐπι-
 ρεῖται τῇ ἐς ἐκείνον ἐδόκει σφίσι ἐπανελεῖσθαι τὸ ἀγώνισμα τῆς 20
 πυγμῆς· τούτων ἔνεκα καταδικάζουσιν αὐτὸν ἐκτίσαι καὶ ἰδία
 τῶι Εὐθύμῳ χρήματα. ἔκτι δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα
 τὸ μὲν τῶι θεῶι τοῦ ἀργυρίου γινόμενον ἐξέτισεν ὁ Θε<ο>γένης,
 καὶ ἀμειβόμενος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐσήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν πυγμὴν· καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεί-
 νης τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μετ' ἐκείνην Ὀλυμπιάδος τὸν ἐπὶ πυγμῇ 25
 στέφανον ἀνείλετο ὁ Εὐθύμος. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀνδρίας τέχνη τέ ἐστι
 Πυθαγόρου καὶ θεᾶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄξιος. (7) ἐπανήκων δὲ ἐς
 Ἴταλίαν τότε δὴ ἐμαχέσατο πρὸς τὸν Ἥρω· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν εἶχεν
 οὕτως. Ὀδυσσεᾶ πλανώμενον μετὰ ἄλλωσι τὴν Ἰλίου κατενεχθῆ-
 ναί φασιν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς τε ἄλλας τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ 30
 πόλεων, ἀφικέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐς Τεμέσαν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ναυσί· μεθυσθέν-
 τα οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἕνα τῶν ναυτῶν παρθένον βιάσασθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἐπιχωρίων ἀντὶ τούτου καταλευσθῆναι τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Ὀδυσσεᾶ
 μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θέμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀποπλέοντα
 οἴχεσθαι, τοῦ καταλευσθέντος δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὸν δαίμονα οὐδένα 35
 ἀνιέναι καιρὸν ἀποκτείνοντά τε ὁμοίως τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τεμέσῃ καὶ
 ἐπεξερχόμενον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν, ἐς ὃ ἡ Πυθία τὸ παράπαν ἐξ
 Ἰταλίας ὠρμημένους φεύγειν Τεμέσαν μὲν ἐκλιπεῖν οὐκ εἶα, τὸν δὲ
 Ἥρω σφᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἰλάσκεσθαι τέμενός τε ἀποτερομένους οἰκο-
 δομήσασθαι ναόν, δίδοναι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῶι γυναῖκα τῶν ἐν 40
 Τεμέσῃ παρθένων τὴν καλλίστην. τοῖς μὲν δὴ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
 προστεταγμένα ὑπουργοῦσι δεῖμα ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐς τᾶλλα ἦν
 οὐδέν· Εὐθύμος δὲ —ἀφίκετο γὰρ ἐς τὴν Τεμέσαν, καὶ πῶς τηρι-
 καῦτα τὸ ἔθος ἐποιεῖτο τῶι δαίμονι— πυνθάνεται τὰ παρόντα
 σφίσι, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐπεθύμησεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν παρθένον 45
 ἐσελθὼν θεάσασθαι. ὡς δὲ εἶδε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς οἶκτον, δεύτερα
 δὲ ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτῆς· καὶ ἡ παῖς τε συνοικήσει κατώμνυ-
 το αὐτῶι σώσαντι αὐτὴν καὶ ὁ Εὐθύμος ἐνεσκευασμένος ἔμενε τὴν
 ἔφοδον τοῦ δαίμονος. ἐνίκα τε δὴ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ —ἐξηλαύνετο γὰρ
 ἐκ τῆς γῆς— ὁ Ἥρωσ ἀφανίζεται τε καταδὺς ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ γά- 50
 μος τε ἐπιφανῆς Εὐθύμῳ καὶ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐλευθερία
 τοῦ λοιποῦ σφίσι ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ τοιόνδε ἔτι
 ἐς τὸν Εὐθύμον, ὡς γήρως τε ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀφίκοιτο καὶ ὡς ἀπο-
 θανεῖν ἐκφυγὼν αὐθις ἕτερόν τινα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἄλλον ἀπέλθοι
 τρόπον. οἰκείσθαι δὲ τὴν Τεμέσαν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα 55
 πλεύσαντος κατὰ ἐμπορίαν. τόδε μὲν ἤκουσα, γραφῆι δὲ τοιαῦτα
 ἐπιτυχῶν οἶδα· ἦν δὲ αὕτη γραφῆς μίμημα ἀρχαίας. νεανίσκος
 Σύβαρις καὶ Κάλαβρός τε ποταμὸς καὶ Λύκα πηγῇ, πρὸς δὲ ἡρώϊον
 τε καὶ Τεμέσα ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἐν δὲ σφίσι καὶ δαίμων ὄντινα ἐξέβαλεν
 ὁ Εὐθύμος, χρόαν τε δεινῶς μέλας καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἅπαν ἐς τὰ μάλι- 60

στα φοβερός, λύκου δὲ ἀμπίσχετο δέρμα ἐσθήτα· ἐτίθετο δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Λύκαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆι γραφῆι γράμματα.

6.7.1: ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο εἰρήσθω·

Apparatus Criticus:

13, 16, 18, 23 I have corrected the reading of the mss. θεαγένης into θε<σ>γένης, for which see the Apparatus Criticus in no. 53 below.

23-24 after θε<σ>γένης Spiro indicates a lacuna, because αὐτὸν may refer to the god and to Euthymos and so he restores: θεαγένης, <τὸ δὲ τῷ Εὐθύμῳ οὐκ ἐξέτισεν, ἀλλ' > ἀμειβόμενος.

IO 144: a base of Pentelic marble, found March 5, 1878, opposite the northeast corner of the temple of Zeus, two meters east of the southeast corner of the base of the Eretrians (no. 15 above). The measurement of the footprint on the upper surface suggests that the statue was lifesize. The base is virtually intact, and the inscription is cut on the front. The base is now on display in the Entrance Hall of the New Museum Α(ίθωνα) 527.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 357. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.333–0.336m. Width: 0.882–0.884m. Thickness: 0.855m.

Letter Height: 0.015–0.02m.

paulo post 472 ante

STOICH. 14 (lines 1-2)
23 (lines 4-5)

Εὐθυμος Λοκρὸς Ἄστυκλέος τρις Ὀλύμπι' ἐνίκων.
εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν [[τῆνδε βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν]].
vacat 0.025–0.031m.

5 Εὐθυμος Λοκρὸς ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου ἀνέθηκε.
Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν.
vacat 0.015m.

The letters in the double square brackets of line 2 are inscribed spaced out and *in rasura* by a different cutter who also added the last word in line 4.

Roehl restores the erasure *exempli gratia*: [[πατρίς ἀγαλλομένη]], or
[[παιδὶ φίλῳ γενέτωρ]].

Gallavotti 1984, 220 note 15 *exempli gratia*: [[πυγμαῖος ὢν ἀγαθός]], or
εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν [[πύκτης μέγα ὑπείροχος ἄλλων]].
His second suggestion (another hexameter) would just fit in the space that is erased.

The first two lines of the inscription are an elegiac distich, whereas the last two contain the signatures of the victor and the sculptor in prose.

The letters are carefully laid out and elegantly cut and the dialect and lettering are Ionic. According to Jeffery's table for the "Ionic Dodekapolis" the letter-shapes are (*LSAG* 325 fig. 46): α3, γ1, ε4, η2, θ3, κ3, λ3, μ4, ν3, ρ1, σ1, υ4.

For the shapes of the corrections in lines 2 and 4 Jeffery writes (*LSAG* 331):

The dedication of the boxer Euthymos at Olympia (19), whose third victory in 472 supplies the *terminus post quem* for the inscription, offers a timely warning against the infallibility of letter-forms alone as a basis for absolute dating, for in this instance a correction to the first inscription, which was made *in rasura* over the first by a different cutter, is actually earlier in appearance than the original (cf. *epsilon, nu* in the first and in the second); the difference in age and outlook between two masons at work in one particular generation is an incalculable factor.¹⁶²

The two letters, however, which Jeffery believes in appearance at least may suggest an earlier date, do not appear in her table (325 fig. 46): the second cutter's epsilon leans to the left or is straight and the horizontal strokes are parallel, characteristics which suggest a variation of the epsilon of the original mason; likewise the nu of the second cutter does not come close to any of the four shapes in Jeffery's table, but its shape is rather a variation of the style of the original mason, since there are three nus in the corrections of which the two in ἐσορᾶν and ἀνέθηκε are like Jeffery's ν4 except for its right vertical, which is not extended upwards. The nu in τήνδε is like Jeffery's ν3, only that it leans to the right.

And yet, there is a letter which suggests that the second mason's style is not earlier but later. The rho in the original is ρ1, whereas in line 2 it resembles Jeffery's ρ3, since the vertical stroke extends above the loop. How much later the inscription was erased must remain open. In all probability, however, the inscription on the base was "corrected" as soon as possible, because presumably what was originally inscribed must have offended someone.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

P.Oxy. 222. Roehl, *IGA* 388. Loewy, *IGB* 23. Moretti, *IAG* 30-32 no. 13. Moretti 1957, 86 no. 191, 89 no. 214, 91 no. 227. Fontenrose 1968, 73-104. Ebert 1972, 69-71 no. 16. Gallavotti 1979a, 10-12. Jeffery, *LSAG* 331, 342 no. 19. Hansen, *CEG* 1 399. Gallavotti 1984, 215-223.

Commentary: The date of this inscription is based on Pausanias' own statement (6.6.6) that Euthymos' last victory in boxing took place during the 77th Olympiad, i.e. 472 B.C. It is during this year or sometime after it that his statue was dedicated, since in the first line of the inscription it is mentioned that Euthymos won three times. Pausanias in his overview of Euthymos' career provides also the dates for the two earlier victories of the Lokrian athlete: the 74th Olympiad, 484 B.C. (6.6.5) and the 76th Olympiad, 476 B.C. (6.6.6; see also Moretti 1957, nos. 191, 214, 227).

¹⁶² The last general statement has now been modified, at least as far as the Hellenistic period of Attic Epigraphy is concerned, by the work of Tracy 1990, *passim*, where further references can be found.

In the Altis Pausanias saw numerous athletic statues, but for only four did he feel compelled to devote considerable space in his exposition, perhaps because he had at his disposal far more evidence for these athletes: Poulydamas from Skotoussa (6.5); Euthymos from Lokroi Epizephyrioi (6.6.4-11); the members of the Diagorid family (6.7, no. 22 above and nos. 26-28 below); and Theogenes from Thasos (6.11.2-9, no. 53 below). Except for the Diagorids, these other extraordinary athletes received special honors and after their deaths they became heroes with a cult and numerous anecdotes were circulated about them and their heroization (see Fontenrose 1968, 73-104 where all cases of hero-athletes are discussed).

Pausanias starts out Euthymos' story by admitting that it is not right for him to pass over the victories and fame of Euthymos and ends section six by offering his judgement of Pythagoras' work as being most worth seeing. The methodological principle of *θέας ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄξιον* has been laid out by Pausanias in the beginning of book six and has been followed ever since (6.1.1-2 and no. 14 and notes 145-146 above). This criterion for his selection of statues to be mentioned is also combined with another one, i.e. the brevity of the information. Pausanias has implicitly adopted a concise and abridged exegesis of the athletic statues along the way, perhaps for reasons of space, or perhaps because he was forced to it for lack of evidence. So far, Pausanias' exegesis of athletic statues has been very brief, often as brief as the inscriptions themselves. It contains the athlete's name and his ethnikon, often his patronymic, the event in which he won, and the signature of the sculptor.

For Euthymos the Lokrian, however, Pausanias had more to go on than the brief inscription on his base, which, however, agrees with and confirms Pausanias' narrative about Euthymos' Olympic career. Euthymos son of Astykles from the Italian Lokroi won three times, and his statue was the work of Pythagoras, whose ethnikon Samios is not

mentioned by Pausanias, who calls him elsewhere Rheginos.¹⁶³ To this Pausanias adds the episode during the 75th Olympiad (480 B.C.), that explains why Euthymos did not win: Theogenes participated in the boxing event and defeated Euthymos, but later failed to win in the pankration, because he was exhausted by the competition with Euthymos (no. 53 below). Nevertheless, the Eleians fined Theogenes with the heavy fine of two talents: one to Zeus and one to Euthymos, because they realized that he entered the boxing event solely to deprive Euthymos of victory. In the next Olympiad (76th) Theogenes paid the fine imposed for Zeus, but not the one talent to Euthymos. Instead he did not enter the boxing event (perhaps he also abstained in the subsequent 77th Olympiad) in which Euthymos won his second victory.

This being the substance of Euthymos' career, much discussion has been devoted to the reasons why the inscription at Olympia was corrected after it was set up, and in particular how it can be restored. Roehl postulated that the original text in the second line recorded either the city of Lokroi or Euthymos' father as setting up the statue. His assumption that the donor's name was originally inscribed in the pentameter was based on the change of the verbs from the first person to the third (*ἐνύκων, ἔσθησεν*). The Eleian officials consequently objected and the inscription was corrected in two places in order to emphasize that the dedication was made by Euthymos.

All this is probable, but, as Jeffery has concluded, "the reason for the alteration on this base must remain conjectural" (331). Gallavotti has recently discussed the information about Euthymos that is found, not in so much detail, in Kallimachos (*Aitia* fr. 98-99, 635 Pfeiffer), Strabo (6.255), Pliny (*HN* 7.152), and in sources later than Pausanias. He has rightly pointed out that the end of line two need not exclusively contain the donor's name, simply because of the change of person in the verb *ἔσθησεν*;

¹⁶³ All in book 6: 4.4, 6.1, 13.7, 18.1. In addition to 6.6.6, Pythagoras without an ethnikon is also mentioned in 6.7.10 and 6.13.1.

the epigram of Kyniska is a case in point (above no. 7). The original version may have included a boastful claim of Euthymos' success in the three Olympiads in the boxing event which offended the Eleians and perhaps other athletes. Notable too is the implication of the addition of the verb ἀνέθηκε: the officials were compelled to add it, because apparently the verb ἔστησεν conveyed only the meaning of setting up and of paying the expenses for the statue, and not the privilege the victorious athletes were granted by the Olympic Boule to dedicate their statue in the Altis.

Pausanias concludes his exegesis of Euthymos' career with an anecdote, an aition explaining the capture of Temesa by the Lokrians and the heroization of both the daimon and Euthymos. All this information, Pausanias clarifies, is hearsay (ἤκουσα 6.10), as is also the confirmation he received from a merchant sailor that Temesa was still in his time inhabited, and that the local Lokrian tradition claims (οἱ ἐπιχώριον . . . φασίν) that Euthymos' father was the river Kaikinos (6.6.4). This last Lokrian tradition about Euthymos' father is now corroborated by a Lokrian terracotta find depicting Kaikinos on one side and on the other a young beardless figure with the inscription Εὐθυμ[ο]ς, which suggests that Euthymos was associated with Kaikinos perhaps in a local Lokrian cult (see Moretti 1957, 86 no. 191, and Fontenrose 1968, 73-104).

A similar approach in corroborating evidence is taken by Pausanias for the other anecdote of Euthymos and Temesa. He too happened to see a copy of an ancient painting portraying the city Temesa, the daimon Hero (his name was painted and read "Lykas"), the young Sybaris, the river Kalabros and the spring Lyka. Pausanias does not make it clear where he chanced to see this copy (perhaps on a bowl), but the way he brings together the evidence is very interesting methodologically: first he narrates the stories he heard and/or read, and then, by way of testimony and proof, he adds his personal observation (αὐτοψία) of a work of art in support of his narrative. Thus, for the athlete Euthymos Pausanias utilized the inscribed base at Olympia, traditional evidence passed by

word of mouth, perhaps written works, and another inscribed work of art, all of which he combined in an interpretative and sensible manner, much the same way modern classicists strive to do.

25.

6.7.1: μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Εὐθύμου...ἔστηκε...καὶ πύκτης Ἥλειος
Χαρμίδης, λαβόντες νίκας ἐν παισὶ.

IO 156: a large base of grey marble, found March 15, 1878, in the Byzantine east wall immediately south of Euthymos' statue (no. 24 above). The measurements of the footprints on the upper surface indicate that the statue was bronze and about life size. The inscription is cut on the front edge of the upper surface.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 370.

Height: 0.34m. Width: 0.87-0.88m. Thickness: 1.045m.

Letter Height: ca. 0.015m.

saec. I ante

NON-STOICH.

Βαλείου πύκτα τόδε Χαρμ[ίδα ἐσσομέν]οισ[ιν]
[ἄ]γκ[ε]ι[τ]αι, νίκας μνάματ' Ὀλυμπιάδος.

The text is that of Ebert (1972, 87-88) who had a squeeze of the inscription at his disposal and prints a different facsimile from that of the *IO* editors.

The substitution of the beta for the digamma in Βαλέου,¹⁶⁴ and the shapes of the letters, especially the middle broken bar of the alpha, suggest that the inscription is not the original, but a renewed version in the first century B.C.

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of Ebert 1972, 88):

Line 1: beta and alpha—only very faint traces of their shapes; tau—only part of the horizontal; iota—only the bottom part of a vertical stroke.

¹⁶⁴ Beta for digamma in the Eleian dialect may lie behind a place name which Pausanias records in 5.3.2: ...αὐτό τε τὸ χωρίον Βαδὺ ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέοντα ἐνταῦθα ὕδωρ Βαδὺ ἐπιχωρίω φωνῇ.

Line 2: epsilon—only a faint trace of its shape; alpha—a faint trace of the right slanting stroke; mu—a very faint trace of its shape; omicron—the left part of a curving stroke; lambda—only part of a right slanting stroke; iota—only the bottom part of a vertical stroke; alpha—the left and right slanting strokes.

Restorations:

IO editors: Βαλείου πύκτα [τ]όδε χαρμ[ί]δα ἀγλαδὸν εἴδ[ο]σ[ι],
[θήσασ]ι, νίκας [μ]νά[μ]ατ' [Ὀλυμπιά]δος.

Ebert 1966b: Βαλείου πύκτα τόδε χαρμ[ί]δα ἀγλαδὸν εἴδ[ο]σ[ι],
[ἄκειτ]αι, νίκας [μ]νά[μ]ατ' [Ὀλυμπι]ῆδος.

Ebert 1972: Βαλείου πύκτα τόδε χαρμ[ί]δα ἔσσομέν]οισ[ι]ν]
[ἄκ]ε[ι]τ[αι], νίκας μνάματ' Ὀλ[υμπ]ιῆδος.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Moretti 1957, 103 no. 310. Amandry 1957, 76. Ebert 1966b, 389 no. I. Ebert 1972, 87-89 no. 24.

Commentary: The date of the inscription is based on the letter style, which suggests the first century B.C. The original date of the dedication of Charmides' statue is thought to have been the middle of the fifth century B.C. Scholars have come to this conclusion, because Pausanias saw the statue between the dedication of Euthymos and those of the Diagorids, dedications of fifth century athletes.¹⁶⁵ It is not certain, however, that this was the original place of the statue, since it may have been moved when the inscription was renewed. At any rate, Moretti has placed the victory of Charmides tentatively in the 84th Olympiad (444 B.C.).

After his excursus on Euthymos Pausanias returns to his usual brief mention of victory statues, one of which is the Eleian boxer Charmides, victorious in the boys' category. The inscribed base which is found in Olympia near that of Euthymos seems to agree with the topographical detail of Pausanias.

¹⁶⁵ See especially Hyde 1911, 53-67; 1912, 203-229; 1913, xxx-xxxii; 1921, 342 and 340-353.

The laconic information of Pausanias about Charmides seems to be the same as that of the epigram, except for one detail, that Charmides won in the boys' category. The fact that in the epigram there is no mention of this indicates that Pausanias may have taken it either from the Olympic Register (so Ebert 1972, 88), or from the representation of the statue, or even, although less probably, from some other source. It also appears that there was no inscribed signature of the sculptor on the base, nor does Pausanias seem to know him. The epigraphical information, therefore, and Pausanias' reference to the statue of Charmides are not inconsistent, but complement each other.

26.

6.7.1: θεασάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀθλητῶν ἀφίξει τὰς εἰκόνας, Διαγόραν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος· οἱ δὲ συνεχεῖς τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τοιῶνδε ἀνέκειντο, ..., Δωριεὺς δὲ ὁ νεώτατος παγκρατίῳ νικήσας Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐφεξῆς τρισί. ... (2) οὔτοι μὲν ἀδελφοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ Διαγόρου παῖδες. ... (4) Δωριεὶ δὲ 5 τῷ Διαγόρου παρέξ ἢ Ὀλυμπιάσιν Ἰσθμίων μὲν γεγονάσιν ὀκτῶ νίκαι, Νεμείων δὲ ἀποδέουσαι μῖς ἐς τὰς ὀκτῶ λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Πύθια ἀνέλοιτο ἀκοντί. ἀνηγορεύοντο δὲ οὗτός τε καὶ ὁ Πεισίροδος Θούριοι, διωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν παρὰ Θουρίου ἀπελθόντες. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον 10 κατῆλθεν ὁ Δωριεὺς ἐς Ῥόδον· καὶ φανερώτατα δὴ ἀπάντων ἀνὴρ εἷς φρονήσας οὗτος τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φαίνεται, ὥστε καὶ ἐναυμάχησεν ἐναντία Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν οἰκείαις, ἐς ὃ τρίτων ἀλοὺς Ἀττικῶν ἀνήχθη ζῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους. (5) οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὶν μὲν ἢ Δωριέα παρὰ σφᾶς ἀναχθῆναι θυμῶν τε ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπει- 15 λαῖς ἐχρῶντο· ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθόντες ἄνδρα οὕτω μέγαν καὶ δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἦκοντα ἐθεάσαντο ἐν σχήματι αἰχμαλώτου, μεταπίπτει σφίσι ἐς αὐτὸν ἡ γνώμη καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἀφίαισιν οὐδὲ ἔργον οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐργάζονται, παρὸν σφισι πολλὰ τε καὶ σὺν τῷ 20 δικαίῳ δρᾶσαι. (6) τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ Δωριέως τὴν τελευταίην ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ Ἀθίδι Ἀνδροτίῳ εἰρημένα, εἶναι μὲν τῆν-καῦτα ἐν Κάνῳ τὸ βασιλέως ναυτικὸν καὶ Κόνωνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ στρατηγόν, Ῥοδίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον πεισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κόνωνος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων μεταβαλέσθαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βασιλέως καὶ Ἀθηναίων 25 συμμαχίαν, Δωριέα δὲ ἀποδημεῖν μὲν τότε ἐκ Ῥόδου περὶ τὰ

ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου χωρία, συλληφθέντα ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναχθέντα ἐς Σπάρτην ἀδικεῖν τε ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καταγνωσθῆναι καὶ ἐπιβληθῆναι οἱ θάνατον ζημίαν. (7) εἰ δὲ τὸν ὄντα εἶπεν Ἄνδροτίων λόγον, ἐθέλει μοι φαίνεται Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὸ ἴσον ἔτι Ἀθηναίους καταστήσαι, ὅτι καὶ Ἀθη- 30 ναίοις ἐς Θράσυλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀργινοῦσαις ὁμοῦ τῶι Θρασύλῳ στρατηγήσαντας προπετείας ἐστὶν ἔγκλημα. Διαγόρας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀφίκοντο.

Apparatus Criticus:

7 λέγεται is Sylburg's correction which is adopted by all editors for the mss.' reading λέγοντο.

IO 153: three joining fragments of Parian marble which formed the pedestal on which the statue stood. They were found: fr. **a** December 1, 1877, built in a late wall, seven meters east of the base of Telemachos which was found in its original position on the south edge of the terrace of the temple of Zeus, between the east Byzantine wall and the small gateway of the south terrace wall (*IO 177*, no. 36 below); fr. **b** November 17, 1877, ten meters west of the Nike of Paionios (*IO 259*, no. 4 above); and fr. **c** October 31, 1877, near fragment **a**. The inscription is mutilated; the bottom and right margins are only partially preserved by fragments **b** and **c** respectively.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. **a** 256, **b** 244, **c** 223.

Height: 0.30-0.305m. Width: 0.535m. Thickness: 0.79-0.795m.

Letter Height: ca. 0.015m.

paulo post 424 ante

| | | | |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | | | partly STOICH. |
| | [Δωριεὺς Διαγόρα | Ἰσοῦριος [?] | |
| | [Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτιον] | { Ἰσομοῖ πύξ] | <i>vacat</i> |
| | [Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτιον] | 15 [Ἰσομοῖ πύξ] | <i>vacat</i> |
| | [Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτ]ιον | Ἰσομ[οῖ] | <i>vacat</i> |
| 5 | [Πυθοῖ πύξ] | Ἰσομ[οῖ] | <i>vacat</i> |
| | {Πυθοῖ πύξ] | Νεμῆ[ι] | πύξ <i>vacat</i> |
| | [Πυθοῖ πύξ] | Νεμῆ | πύξ <i>vacat</i> |
| | [Πυθοῖ π]ύξ ἀκονιτεῖν | 20 Ν[εμ]ῆ | πύξ <i>vacat</i> |

| | | |
|----|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | [Ἴσθμοῖ]ι πύξ <i>vacat</i> | Νε[μ]ῆι πύξ <i>vacat</i> |
| 10 | [Ἴσθ]μοῖ πύξ <i>vacat</i> | [Νεμ]ῆι πύξ] |
| | [Ἴσθ]μοῖ πύξ <i>vacat</i> | [Νεμῆι] π[ύξ] |
| | [καὶ πα]γκράτιο[ν] <i>vvv</i> | [Νεμῆι πύξ]. |
| | <i>vacat</i> | |

The letters are nicely and carefully cut and their shapes are that of the archaic Ionic alphabet (*IO* editors). The letter shapes are (*LSAG* 325 fig. 46 "The Ionic Dodekapolis"): α3, θ3, κ2, μ4, ν2, ξ1 (but considerably smaller in height), ρ3, υ2 and υ3.

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of the *IO* editors):

Line 4: iota—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.

Line 7: xi—only a bottom horizontal.

Line 9: iota—only the bottom tip of a vertical.

Line 11: mu—only the upper right corner of two slanting strokes; xi—only the top horizontal.

Line 18: pi—only the tip of a right vertical stroke.

Line 19: epsilon—only the upper left corner; eta—the upper tip of the left vertical and the bottom tip of the right vertical strokes; iota—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.

Line 21: epsilon—only the upper left corner.

Line 23: pi—only the tip of the upper left corner.

Restorations:

Line 1: Foucart and the *IO* editors restore *contra* Pausanias 6.7.4: ῥόδιος, and explain that Pausanias' statement that Dorieus and Peisirhodos were proclaimed Thourioi is not correct, because in other authors (Xenophon and Diodoros) there is no evidence that Dorieus won his victories after he moved to Thourioi (see, however, *HCT* 2, 260-261 and the commentary below).

Line 5: Foucart and the *IO* editors restore only three Pythian victories, although there seems to be space for one more. Pausanias does not count all of Dorieus' Pythian victories and mentions only the one he won without a contest. A fragmentary inscription, however, which was found at Delphi and was thought to be a record of Dorieus' victories (Pomtow 1909b, 766-768), mentions four Pythian victories. By restoring one more Pythian victory, for which there seems to be space, the two columns of the Olympic inscription seem to have equal number of lines, a fact which may suggest that the cutter's intention was to divide all the victories of the athlete by two and inscribe them in two columns of equal length (Foucart's printing of the two columns seems to suggest correctly that they were equal in length).

Since its discovery, this fragmentary inscription has been assigned to two athletes, the Rhodian Dorieus (Foucart and *IO* editors), and the Thasian Theogenes (Treu followed by Roehl, Loewy, and Pouilloux). As Foucart and the *IO* editors have shown, however, there is not enough space on the stone to accommodate the greater number of victories of Theogenes, especially in the second column. Their argument that Pausanias does not mention that Theogenes won at Delphi without a contest (ἀκονιτή), but that Dorieus did, is now irrelevant. At Delphi there has been found an inscription recording Theogenes' victories (no. 53 below), and one Pythian is without a contest. Those in favor of Theogenes restore after Treu:

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|----------------|
| | [θεαγένης Τιμοσθένης] | [Ἴσθμοῖ πύξ] |
| | [θάσιος ἐνίκησεν τάδε·] | [Ἴσθμοῖ πύξ] |
| | [Ὀλυμπίηι πύξ] | [Ἴσθμοῖ πύξ] |
| | | [Ἴσθμοῖ πύξ] |
| | [Ὀλυμπίηι παγκράτιον] | 5 Ἴσθμ[οῖ πύξ] |
| 5 | [Πυθοῖ πύξ] | Ἴσθμ[οῖ π]ύξ] |
| | [Πυθοῖ πύξ] | Νεμ[έηι π]ύξ] |

| | | | |
|----|----------------------|----|---------------|
| | [Πυθοῖ π]ύξ ἀκονιτεῖ | | N[εμέη]ι πύξ |
| | [Ἴσθμο]ῖ πύξ | | N[εμέ]ηι πύξ |
| | [Ἴσθ]μοῖ πύξ | 10 | N[εμέ]ηι πύξ |
| 10 | [Ἴσθμ]οῖ πύ[ξ] | | [Nεμέ]ηι πύξ |
| | [καὶ πα]γκράτιο[ν] | | [Nεμέηι πύξ] |
| | | | [Nεμέηι πύξ] |
| | | | [Nεμέηι πύξ] |
| | | 15 | [Nεμέηι πύξ]. |

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Pindar *Olympian* 7 (διαγόραυ ῥοδίωι Πύκτηι). Drachmann 1964, 195-235. Moretti, *IAG* 380. Foucart 1887, 289-296. Pomtow 1909b, 766-768. Loewy, *IGB* 29. Moretti 1953, 57-60 no. 23. Pouilloux 1954, 78-82. Moretti 1957, 105 no. 322. *HCT* 2, 260-261. Pouilloux, 1970, 206-214. Bernardini 1983, 155-192.

Commentary: The date for the inscription, a little after 424 B.C., is surmised from a passage in Thukydides where the historian describes the first embassy of the Mytilenaeans to Sparta. The ambassadors went instead to Olympia to plead their case, because the Lakedaimonians as well as their allies were attending the Olympic Games (88th Olympiad, 428 B.C.), during which Dorieus the Rhodian won his second Olympic victory (3.8.1). Thus the dates of the three Olympic victories of Dorieus, which according to Pausanias were successive, are fixed in the 87th Olympiad=432 B.C., the 88th Olympiad=428 B.C., and the 89th Olympiad=424 B.C. (Moretti), sometime after which his statue was dedicated at Olympia, because the text of the inscription provides a catalogue of all his victories at Olympia, Nemea, Delphi and the Isthmos.

Pausanias, after his elaborate narrative on Euthymos and the brief mention of two other statues, reaches the group of the six statues of the Diagorid family, which stood to the east of the temple of Zeus. The athletic accomplishments of Diagoras' family, i.e. three generations of this family had been victorious in Panhellenic competitions, and especially of Dorieus are reason enough for Pausanias to be more elaborate in his exposition.

The order in which Pausanias mentions the statues of the Diagorids (Akousilaos, Dorieus, Damagetos, Diagoras, [Eukles], and Peisirhodos) is different from that of the Scholiast in Pindar's *Olympian 7* (Διαγόραυ Ἐροδίωυ Πύκτῆυ), who on the authority of Aristotle and Apollas also enumerates the dedications of the family at Olympia and includes measurements of the statues (Drachmann 1964, 196-198). His order is Diagoras, Damagetos, Dorieus, Akousilaos, Eukles, and Peisirhodos. The discrepancy of the two accounts has been explained in two ways by the *IO* editors: Dittenberger proposed that between the time of Aristotle and Pausanias the statues were rearranged in the Altis, during which period the inscriptions on the bases of Eukles, Damagetos and Diagoras were also renewed for some reason. Purgold, however, noticed that basically the two accounts are the same. The statues of Diagoras and his sons are listed in reverse order (those of Eukles and Peisirhodos are listed last in both accounts): one from left to right and the other from right to left, depending on whether one reaches the group of statues from the north or from the south. Even if one assumes that Pausanias knew Aristotle's work, he cannot be accused of copying him, since in the Altis he saw the statue of Eukles separated from those of his family among the statues of Nikodamos of Mainalon, Androsthene of Lechaion (6.6.1) and Agenor the Theban (6.6.2).

Moreover, the information which Pausanias offers for the victories of Dorieus has proven crucial for the restoration and identification of this fragmentary inscription, particularly his comment that Dorieus won in the Pythia without a fight (λέγεται¹⁶⁶ δὲ καὶ ὡς Πύθια ἀνέλοιτο ἀκονιτί 6.7.4). More importantly, there seems to have been another statue of this athlete at Delphi on whose base was a summary of all his victories and agrees partly with Pausanias' account. A fragmentary inscription without

¹⁶⁶ Foucart (1887, 292-293) correctly remarks: "Peut-être même dans ce passage λέγεται n'a-t-il pas le sens vague *on dit, on rapporte*; mais *il est dit* dans l'inscription."

the athlete's name of the fourth century B.C., cut stoichedon (28 letters) on a dark limestone base, is reported by Pomtow (1909b, 766-768 = Moretti 1953, 57-60 no. 23):

[Δωριεὺς Διαγόρα ?'Ρόδιος?]
 [ἐνίκησε παγκράτιον ?καὶ πυγμῆν?].¹⁶⁷
 Ὀλύμπια τρίς, Πύθια τετράκις,
 Ἰσθμια ὀκτάκις, Νέμεα ἐπτάκις,
 5 Παναθηναία τετράκις, Ἀσκραπίεια
 τετράκις, Ἐκατόμβοια τρίς,
 Λύκαια τρίς.

In this inscription the name of the victor is restored by Pomtow on the basis of the number of victories that the text records.¹⁶⁸ Although only the Nemean victories of Dorieus (line 4) agree with Pausanias' number seven, the stoichedon style allows for the exact restoration in line 3, i.e. the number of his Olympic victories τρίς, which thus also corroborates Pausanias' number. In line 4 the number eight is restored thanks to Pausanias' observation that Dorieus won eight victories at the Isthmian Games (Ἰσθμίων μὲν γεγονάσιν ὀκτὼ νῦκαι 6.7.4), although the three available letter spaces also allow the restorations [ἐπτ]άκις or less probably [ἐνν]άκις.¹⁶⁹ The number of Dorieus' Pythian victories is not mentioned by Pausanias, except for the one won without a contest,¹⁷⁰ and it was assumed to be three after the restorations of Foucart and the *IO*

¹⁶⁷ The question marks within the restoration of line 1 is to caution the reader that Dorieus' ethnic may have been *Θούριος*, as Pausanias' text suggests.

In line 2 Pomtow restores: [ἐνίκησε παγκράτιον], which is only half correct, since Dorieus' seven Nemean victories, as well as his Pythic and the majority of his Isthmian, were all in the boxing event. My addition καὶ πυγμῆν in question marks is within the maximum number of letter spaces (28) in line 5.

¹⁶⁸ Moretti (1953, 59-60) concludes: "In conclusione non vedo gravi difficoltà contro l'attribuzione a Dorieo della iscrizione esaminata. Naturalmente non possiamo escludere che essa appartenga a un atleta a noi sconosciuto che in qualche specialità (eccettuato per ovvî motivi lo stadio e anche, in linea di massima, le gare ippiche) aveva colto in quegli agoni straordinari e reiterati successi."

¹⁶⁹ The restoration [ἐνν]άκις would be a *varia lectio* of the adverb ἐννεάκις, since in LSJ s.v. the only form found is ἐνάκις.

editors for *IO* 153. Thanks to the fragmentary inscription from Delphi, however, that number can now be correctly restored as four.

The ethnic of Dorieus has been assumed to have been Rhodios, the ethnic of the Diagorid family (Thukydides 3.8.1, 8.35.1; Xenophon *Hellenika* 1.5.19), although Pausanias is very explicit that both he and his nephew Peisirhodos were declared Thourioi (ἀνηγυρεύοντο δὲ οὗτος τε καὶ ὁ Πεισίρροδος θούριοι, διωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν παρὰ θουρίου ἀπελθόντες 6.7.4). Pausanias' information must have come from the inscription at Olympia. The verb employed is the technical term for declaring the winners in the games and implies that Dorieus participated in the games as a citizen of Thourioi. There is no evidence for the time when Dorieus was forced into exile from his city Ialysos. It has been proposed, however, that Dorieus was already in exile by 428 B.C., and so his Panathenaic victories were won before 428 B.C., while all his other victories were before 431 B.C. and after 429 B.C.¹⁷¹

There is corroborating evidence, however, for Dorieus' ethnic Thourios in Pausanias. Very similar to Dorieus' case is that of Ergoteles of Knossos (above no. 8) who was forced into exile and became a citizen of Himera under which ethnic he won victories in the Panhellenic Games. Pausanias' narrative about Ergoteles is verified by the

¹⁷⁰ Moretti (1953, 58) does not notice, nor does he explain, the difference between *IO* 153 (three Pythic victories) and the Delphic inscription (four Pythic victories), but he refers to Pomtow's "ingegnosa ma non convincentissima" explanation about Pausanias' mention of only one Pythic victory, the one without a contest.

Likewise, without noticing the difference between *IO* 153 and the Delphic fragment concerning the Pythic victories, Pomtow (1909b, 767) assumes that Pausanias' information about Dorieus' victories came from another inscription at Olympia where Dorieus' victories were inscribed in summary form like the one in Delphi and which was broken away except for the legible part of the one Pythian victory without a contest. That is not necessary, since Pausanias seems to be summarizing *IO* 153, although his omission of the four Pythic victories cannot be explained.

¹⁷¹ See Gomme (*HCT* 2, 260-261). His argument that "Ῥόδιος would hardly have been officially used for Ἰαλύσιος in 428" does not take into account the fact that the ethnic Rhodios is also used on the bases of Diagoras and his eldest son Damagetos.

inscription that was found, and interestingly enough in both instances Pausanias uses the same verb ἀναγορεύομαι (6.4.11 and no. 8 [Ergoteles], 6.7.4 and no. 26 [Dorieus]). It seems very likely, therefore, that Pausanias derived his information from the inscription, as he did in the case of the Himeraios Ergoteles.

And yet, the inscription was only one of his sources for the career of Dorieus. The detailed information which Pausanias provides for this athlete is far more than that for the other members of the Diagorids. Dorieus emerges as among the more famous members of the family, second only to Diagoras himself, because he was also active in Rhodian politics and became involved in the later stages of the Peloponnesian War. In addition to Dorieus' career as an athlete, Pausanias singles out two incidents which are indicative of his methodology.¹⁷² The first attests to Dorieus' fame as an athlete: Dorieus eventually returned to Rhodes from his exile and openly took the side of the Lakedaimonians (6.7.4; also Xenophon *Hellenika* 1.1.2ff.). Later, in 407 B.C., he was captured by the Athenians, but suffered no punishment, because the Athenian ekklesia, when he was brought in front of them, let him go on account of his remarkable athletic accomplishments (the Athenians alone had crowned him four times in the Panathenaic Games), his fame and stature (6.7.4-5; also Xenophon *Hellenika* 1.5.19). The behavior of the Athenians recalls that of the Eleians when they captured Kallipateira / Pherenike, the daughter of Diagoras, attending the Olympic Games. Both incidents are included by Pausanias as proof of the extraordinary leniency that the Diagorids enjoyed outside Rhodes on account of their athletic tradition and fame. For Dorieus' death Pausanias relies on the account of Androtion, the Atthidographer (τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ Δωριέως τὴν

¹⁷² Thukydidēs in 8.35 mentions Dorieus' participation on the side of the Lakedaimonians, while a citizen of Thourioi, which Pausanias omits: Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἴπποκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐκπλεύσας δέκα μὲν θουρίαις ναυσίν, ὧν ἦρχε Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου τρίτος αὐτός, μιᾷ δὲ Λακωνικῇ, μιᾷ δὲ Συρακοσίᾳ, καταπλεῖ ἐς Κνίδον.

τελευτήν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ Ἀτθίδι Ἀνδροτίωνι εἰρημένα 6.7.6 = *FGrH* 324 F 15): after Konon persuaded the Rhodians to change camps, Dorieus fled again to the Peloponnese where he was captured and killed by the Lakedaimonians on account of his ἀδικία towards them. Pausanias' quote from Androtion highlights his methodology. It is not employed solely as evidence of how Dorieus come to his end. Pausanias is interested in revealing to his readers what was behind Androtion's statement: if at all true (εἰ δὲ τὸν ὄντα εἶπεν Ἀνδροτίων λόγον 6.7.7), then Androtion's intention with this story was to provide a parallel between the Athenian haste to punish Thrasyillos and the other generals after Arginousai (προπετείας ἐστὶν ἔγκλημα 6.7.7) and that of the Lakedaimonians against Dorieus.

As was the case with Eukles (no. 22 above), so too for Dorieus' career Pausanias employs more than one source. His narrative enables the identification of two fragmentary inscriptions as belonging to Dorieus, and preserves a fragment from the Atthis of Androtion. Furthermore, it provides evidence that Pausanias consulted also Xenophon and perhaps Thukydides. The exegete, however, does not offer a historical exposition of Dorieus' career. Instead he emphasizes two incidents of the athlete's life for different purposes: the first attests to Dorieus' athletic career and fame which won him acquittal; and the second offers Pausanias the opportunity for an interpretative comment on Androtion's version of Dorieus' death.

27.

6.7.1: θεασάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀθλητῶν ἀφίξει τὰς εἰκόνας, Διαγόραν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος· οἱ δὲ συνεχεῖς τε ἀλλήλοισ καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τοιῶνδε ἀνέκειντο,.... πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τοῦ Δωριέως ἐκράτησε καὶ Δαμάγητος τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὸ παγκράτιον. (2) οὗτοι μὲν ἀδελφοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ Διαγόρου παῖδες,.... (3) 5 Διαγόραν δὲ καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς παισὶν Ἀκουσιλάῳ καὶ Δαμαγήτῳ λέγουσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔλθειν· νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι διὰ τῆς

πανηγύρεως τὸν πατέρα ἔφερον βαλλόμενον τε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀνθε-
σι καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ καλούμενον. (7) ... Διαγόρας μὲν
δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀφίκοντο. 10

IO 152: the left bottom part of a base of white marble, found December 19, 1879, built in a late brick wall of the Leonidaion. It is broken on the top and right sides. The fragment is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 729. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.19m. Width: 0.49m. Thickness: 0.31m.

Letter Height: 0.02-0.03m.

360–290 *ante*

Δαμάγητος Διαγόρα [Ῥ]όδιος].

The letters are sharply and deeply cut and tend to lean to the right. The ends of strokes finish in deeper cut dots which are sometimes triangular. This style suggests a Hellenistic date.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

The facsimile of the *IO* editors is misleading for the dotted rho, because no traces of the sigma, clearly visible on the stone, are indicated. The rho is cut after an erasure and only a very faint trace of a vertical stroke remains. The cutter initially incised the letter sigma which he erased clumsily (ΔΑΜΑΓΗΤΟΣ ΔΙΑΓΟΡΑ [Σ] ΟΔΙΟΣ). Of the sigma there are clearly visible the end-tips of the upper and lower slanting strokes and also traces of its middle slanting strokes.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Pindar *Olympian* 7 (Διαγόρατι Ῥοδίῳ Πύκτητι). Drachmann 1964, 195-235. Moretti 1957, 100 no. 287, 102 no.300. Pouilloux, 1970, 206-214. Bernardini 1983, 155-192.

Commentary: The date for the inscription, middle of the fourth to beginning of the third centuries B.C., is based solely on the letter style and it does not agree with the date for Damagetos' victories in Olympia which Moretti tentatively places in 452 B.C. and 448 B.C. According to the *IO* editors, Damagetos' victories cannot be later than 436 B.C., a *terminus ante quem* that is derived from Pausanias' comment (6.7.1, 3) that the victories of Damagetos in the pankration and his brother Akousilaos' in boxing were won in the same Olympiad and before those of Dorieus whose first Olympic victory took place in

432 B.C. The inscription, therefore, was reinscribed at a later date, as was that of Eukles (no. 22 above).

Among the statues of the Diagorids which stood to the east of the Zeus temple (Eukles no. 22 above, Dorieus no. 26 above, Diagoras no. 28 below, Akousilaos and Peisirhodos) Pausanias also saw the present one commemorating the victory of Damagetos, the eldest son of Diagoras, in the pankration. The find spot of Damagetos' base, the late brick wall of the Leonidaion, does not of course help for the location in the Altis of the Diagorids group of statues (nos. 22 and 26 above and no. 28 below). Nevertheless, it was used by Treu and Hirschfeld (in Frazer 1965, vol. 4, 26) as proof that Pausanias never saw the statue, since it had already by his visit been used for the construction of the brick wall. The *IO* editors, however, have rightly pointed out that the Roman restoration of the Leonidaion, to which the wall belonged, was later than Pausanias' visit and that furthermore the fragment of the base was used for a doorway of a Byzantine and not a Roman construction.

The brief text of the inscription and the narrative of Pausanias are in agreement about Damagetos, except that the inscription does not mention the event in which Damagetos was victorious. Pausanias, however, as he did with Eukles (no. 22 above) and Dorieus (no. 26 above), knows more about Damagetos and his brother Akousilaos, whose statue base has not yet been found. The anecdote that he reports was probably in wide circulation, since it is also known to the Scholiast of Pindar's *Olympian 7* (Drachmann 1964, 197, 198). Both Pausanias and the Scholiast note that they heard the story (λέγουσιν, or ἔφη, or λέγεται) and essentially provide the same account: when the two sons won in different events, they took their father Diagoras upon their shoulders and made a victory parade under the cheering and blessings of the spectators for Diagoras' accomplishments. Once more Pausanias' methodology is evident: in addition to the brief information of the inscription he embellishes his narrative with this anecdote

about Damagetos and Akousilaos, which serves as an exegesis of the athlete and his career.

28.

- 6.7.1: θεασάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀθλητῶν ἀφίξιμι τὰς εἰκόνας, Διαγόραν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος· οἱ δὲ συνεχεῖς τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τοιῶνδε ἀνέκειντο,....(2)...., ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς κείται καὶ ὁ Διαγόρας, πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελόμενος νίκην· τοῦ Διαγόρου δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα Μεγαρεὺς εἰργάσατο Καλλικλῆς Θεοκό- 5 σμου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐν Μεγάροις τοῦ Διός. (3)... Διαγόραν δὲ καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς παισὶν Ἀκουσιλάῳ καὶ Δαμαγήτῳ λέγουσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔλθειν· νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι διὰ τῆς πανηγύρεως τὸν πατέρα ἔφερον βαλλόμενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄνθεσι καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ καλούμενον. γένος 10 δὲ ὁ Διαγόρας τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Μεσσήμιος πρὸς γυναικῶν ἦν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριστομένους ἐγεγόνει θυγατρός. (7) ... Διαγόρας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀφίκοντο·
- 4.24.3: τὰ μὲν δὴ λεγόμενα ἐς τοὺς Διαγορίδας καλουμένους ἐν Ῥόδῳ, γεγονότας δὲ ἀπὸ Διαγόρου τοῦ Δαμαγήτου τοῦ Δωριέως τοῦ Δα- 15 μαγήτου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀριστομένους θυγατρός παρήκα, μὴ οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν δοκοίην γράφειν.

IO 151: five small fragments of white marble of which **abc** and **de** join together. They were found near the Metroon, **abc** December 2, 1880, and **de** November 21, 1876. The fragments are broken all around, except the upper surface of the stone where the inscription is cut. The fragments are now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. **abc** 1009-1011, **de** 94. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.298m. Width: 0.635m. Thickness: 0.705m.

Letter Height: 0.02-0.023m.

350–290 *ante*

vacat

Δια[γό]ρας Δαμ[α]γήτου Ῥό[διος].

The letters are clearly cut and the strokes end in triangular serifs. The size of the omicron is considerably smaller in proportion to the other letters and the strokes of the four-bar sigma are cut sharply and slanting.

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of the *IO* editors):
gamma—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Pindar *Olympian 7* (Διαγόρων ῥοδίωι Πύκτιη). Drachmann 1964, 195-235. Moretti 1957, 94-95 no. 252. Pouilloux, 1970, 206-214. Bernardini 1983, 155-192.

Commentary: the date for the inscription, middle of the fourth to beginning of the third centuries B.C., is based on the letter-style and it does not agree with the date for Diagoras' victory in Olympia, which, according to the Scholiast of Pindar's *Olympia 7*, took place in the 79th Olympiad, 464 B.C. (Drachmann 1964, 195 and Moretti). The inscription on Diagoras' statue base, therefore, was reinscribed at a later date, as were those of Eukles (no. 22 above) and Damagetos (no. 27 above).

Among the six statues of the Diagorids (Eukles no. 22 above, Dorieus no. 26 above where the order in which the statues are mentioned by Pausanias is discussed, Damagetos no. 27 above, Akousilaos and Peisirhodos) which stood to the east of the temple of Zeus, Pausanias also saw the one commemorating the victory of Diagoras, the paterfamilias of the Diagorids. Of the six Diagorid statue bases only two were found in the general area east of the temple of Zeus where Pausanias very probably saw them, that of Eukles (no. 22 above) and that of Diagoras.

The text of the inscription is similar to that of Damagetos, i.e. very brief and not the original one, and the only verification it provides about Pausanias' information is the name of Diagoras' father Damagetos (4.24.3 and the discussion in no. 22 above; for the omission of the boxing event from the inscription see also nos. 22 and 26 above). There is no evidence outside Pausanias for the reconstruction of the Diagorid family tree, which he perhaps excerpted from a Messenian history, which he employed for the composition

of his *Messenika*. Pausanias, however, in his narrative also includes the signature of the sculptor, which was probably inscribed on the base of the statue: he was Kallikles son of Theokosmos from Megara, who also made the statue of Zeus in his city and about whom very little is known.¹⁷³

Although Pausanias' reference, sometimes in great detail (no. 26), to all the victories of the members of the Diagorids is in effect a tribute to Diagoras himself, nevertheless, the only additional information Pausanias offers for the paterfamilias is the anecdote he heard in connection with the victories of Damagetos and Akousilaos during the same Olympiad (see the discussion no. 26 above). He is completely silent about Pindar's *Olympian 7*, although Pausanias is familiar with his poetry,¹⁷⁴ and some of the information he provides about the Diagorids can also be found in Pindar's Scholiast. This silence, however, seems to have no apparent reason, especially because in other instances he includes such stories, and lets his reader decide on their plausibility. There are two details mentioned by the Scholiast which Pausanias probably knew. The first deals with Diagoras' birth, namely that Diagoras was not the son of Damagetos, but of Hermes (Drachmann 1964, 196, 199), and the second that, according to a certain Gorgon (*FGrH* 515 F 18), *Olympian 7* was inscribed in golden letters and dedicated in the temple of Athena Lindia at Rhodes (Drachmann 1964, 195).

Even so, the Diagorids occupy a significant place in Pausanias' narrative and deservedly so. Because of their extraordinary accomplishments (the father, his three sons and his two grandsons were all Olympionikai and some of them were victorious in many

¹⁷³ No signature of Kallikles son of Theokosmos has been found yet, but his son Apelleas is known from the inscription on the statue base of Kyniska (above no. 7); see also Moretti (1953, 43-44) who discusses the evidence and provides a family tree for Kallikles.

¹⁷⁴ For example Pausanias refers twice to two Olympian odes: 6.2.5 = *Ol.* 6.43-70, and 5.10.1 = *Ol.* 10.45. For more references to Pindar see Rocha-Pereira 1973-1981, 257, *Index Auctorum* s.v. Πίνδαρος.

other games as well), Pausanias employed not only the inscriptions he read in Olympia, but also other works which had information about them, thus offering an overview of their dedications. The Olympic inscriptions of the Diagorids furnished Pausanias the minimum information for his narrative, which he further embellished, where possible, with information from other sources. This combination of information from autopsy and from literary accounts is what Pausanias understands to be an exegesis of a monument in the Altis.

29.

6.7.8: ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ Ἀλκαινέτωι τῷ Θεάντου Λεπρεάτη καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι. ... Ἑλλάνικον δὲ τὸν Ἀλκαινέτου ... ἐπὶ πυγμῇ παίδων ἀναγορευθῆναι τὸν μὲν ἐνάτηι πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδι, ...

5.5.3: ἐθέλουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Λεπρεᾶται μοῖρα εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκάδων, φαίνονται δὲ Ἡλείων κατήκοοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες· καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἐνίκησαν, Ἡλείους ἐκ Λεπρέου σφᾶς ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνείπε. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐποίησεν ὡς Λέπρεος εἶη πόλισμα Ἡλείων. 5

Apparatus Criticus:

7-8 καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης . . . Ἡλείων is deleted by Schubard, Hitzig, and Rocha-Pereira. Frazer and Papachatzis (1974-1981, vol. 3, 272 note 2) do not delete it and Papachatzis' explanation that this sentence is closely connected with the previous one and supports Pausanias' refutation of the claim of the Lepreatai is sensible and sound.

IO 155: a base of reddish-violet marble, found March 11, 1878, in the Byzantine east wall to the south of the base of the Eretrian dedication (*IO* 248 = no. 15 above). On the upper surface of the base there are the left footprint and a hole into which the right foot of the statue was fitted. From the original inscription, which was cut on the upper surface in front of the statue, only very faint traces of strokes remain. When the inscription was renewed, it was cut again on the upper surface but to the left of the statue. The base is now in *Αποθήκη* 10 of the New Museum. Olympia Museum Inv. No. 361. *Vidi, Phot.*

representation of a boy boxer. Furthermore, this very brief text supports the statement that Pausanias made when he visited the city of Lepreos. There the citizens of Lepreos told him that they consider themselves Arkadians and not Eleians, but Pausanias does not agree with them. He refutes their claim with two proofs: first “the herald at Olympia proclaimed the winners from Lepreos as Eleians from Lepreos” (Ἡλείους ἐκ Λεπρέου 5.5.3), an expression identical to the inscription of Hellanikos.¹⁷⁵ The second proof is a literary one, Aristophanes’ *Birds* 149-150 (see Kakridis 1974, ad loc.). According to the Scholiast the comic poet uses the Eleian city as a pun on leprosy and in the masculine gender in order to correspond with the tragic actor Melanthios’ gender whom he ridicules as a leper. Interestingly enough, Pausanias borrows from Aristophanes the masculine gender for the city’s name, in spite of the Scholiast’s comment, perhaps following Didymos, that the city’s name is neuter.¹⁷⁶ This is further evidence that Pausanias’ reference to Aristophanes should not be obelized from the text.

The inscribed base of Hellanikos at Olympia, therefore, attests not only to Pausanias’ narrative in Book 6 about his statue, but also, together with the evidence from Aristophanes, is proof for his refutation of the citizens’ of Lepreos claim that they are part of Arkadia.

¹⁷⁵ Hellanikos is not the only athlete from Lepreos that is mentioned by Pausanias. In addition to Hellanikos’ father Alkainetos and his brother Theantos Pausanias also saw dedications by the boxer Labax son of Euphron (6.3.4); the pankratiast Antiochos (6.4.9); and the stadiodromos Xenon son of Kalliteles (6.15.1).

In *Bericht V. Kunze* (1956, “Weihung eines Lepreaten,” 156-157) has published a fragmentary metrical inscription of another athlete from Lepreon, Kordaphos son of Alkanor, whom Pausanias does not mention (see also Moretti 1957, 97 no. 267).

¹⁷⁶ Rocha-Pereira in her edition of 5.5.3 accepts Fraenkel’s correction Λέπρεον for the mss.’ Λεπρέος (Vb R Lb P Pd V, while L reads λεπρέως with ο above the ω). Frazer, Hitzig and Papachatzis correctly retain the mss.’ reading, correcting only the accent Λέπρεος; for, otherwise, Pausanias’ reference to Aristophanes would miss the point.

30.

6.7.10: ..., τὴν δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτηι, πένταθλον Ἡλείου Πυθοκλέα, Πολύκλειτός
ἔστιν εἰργασμένος.

IO 162, 163: a base of black limestone, found June 4, 1879, between the Pelopeion and the Heraion. The marks on the upper surface of the base suggest that the original statue was removed and replaced by another one, at which time the original inscription was also reinscribed (*IO* 163). The inscriptions are cut on the opposite longer sides of the upper surface, except for *IO* 162 line 1 which is cut on the front side. In the empty space of the upper surface between *IO* 162 line 2 and *IO* 163 and closer to *IO* 162 but facing the shorter side there are also cut the letters *IB*. The base is now on display in the Gallery of the Olympic Games of the New Museum, Λ(ίθινα) 532.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 675. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.245m. Width: 0.50m. Thickness: 0.58m.

Letter Height *IO* 162: 0.012-0.015m.; *IO* 163: 0.01-0.017m.

162: 420–390 *ante*

Πυθοκλ[ῆς Ἡλείος].
Πολύκλειτος [ἐποίε[?] Ἀργεῖος].

163: *saec. I ante–saec. I post*

ιβ (?) in medio spatio titulorum
Πυθοκλῆς Ἡλείος.
[Πολύ]κλειτος ἐποίει Ἀργεῖος.

Petersen 1891, 304-306: a pedestal of marble, found in 1891 in Rome, in the via Cavour, near the Baths of Titus.

Height: 0.91m. Width: 0.80m.

Letter Height is not given.

ca. 100 post

Πυθοκλήης ·
 Ἡλείος ·
 πένταθλος ·
 [Πολυκλείτου ·
 ἰ Ἀργεῖου ·

The letter shapes of the two lines of *IO* 162 differ: line 1 is in the Ionic alphabet and line 2 in the Argive. This is evident by the shape of two letters which appear in both lines: the omicron in line 1 is round and the lambda is cut with two slanting strokes, whereas in line two, according to Jeffery's Argive alphabet (*LSAG* 151 fig. 37), the omicron is ο3 (the rhomboid-shaped) and lambda λ2.

The letters of *IO* 163 are cut inconsistently and vary in height and width. They become smaller from left to right, and some of them jump above the imaginary line. The style suggests a date from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. Likewise, the style of the inscription from Rome suggests a first century A.D. date, especially because of the lunar-shaped sigma and epsilon.

Restorations 162:

Line 1: Jeffery restores Πυθοκλ[ῆς -], although the lettering suggests the Ionic alphabet.

The *IO* editors restore correctly Πυθοκλ[ῆς Ἡλείος] from *IO* 163, despite the fact that in the Roman inscription the event was also inscribed.

Line 2: Πολύκλει[τος ἐποίησεν Ἀργείως] *IO* editors, but see Gallavotti's (1979a, 12-13) discussion for the orthography of Polykleitos' name (see also below no. 33). Given the orthography of Polykleitos' name (ε = εϵ), the ending of the verb ἐποίησεν may also be restored as ἐποίησε.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Loewy, *IGB* 91. *P.Oxy.* 222. Foucart 1902, 213-215. Moretti 1957, 100 no. 284. Amandry 1957, 63-87. Gallavotti 1979a, 12-13. Jeffery, *LSAG* 170, 406 no. 45 plate 30.

Commentary: The date for the original inscription (162), late fifth to early fourth centuries according to the *IO* editors, is based on the letter style, the career of the Argive Polykleitos (both the elder and the younger have been proposed), and the information of *P.Oxy.* 222 that Pythokles' victory was won in 452 B.C., the 82nd Olympiad (accepted by Moretti). The date for the reinscribed text (163), first century B.C. to first century A.D., is solely based on the lettering.

After Alkainetos and his two sons Theantos and Hellanikos (no. 29 above) Pausanias reaches the dedication of the Eleian Pythokles who won in the pentathlon and whose statue was the work of Polykleitos. The statue base was found in the general area,

where Pausanias saw it, between the Heraion and the Pelopion, and where presumably it was originally set up.

Both Pausanias' text and that of the inscription are very brief and provide the same information: the name of the athlete Pythokles, his ethnic Eleios, and the sculptor the Argive Polykleitos. That in the Olympic inscriptions the event was not inscribed is not surprising, since the portrait of the statue would be indicative. There is no mention by Pausanias, however, of the letters *IB* which were inscribed on the upper surface of the pedestal, which, according to the *IO* editors, represent the number twelve. The *IO* editors have also suggested that the marks on the upper surface of the base of the statue of Pythokles by Polykleitos and the letter style of the renewed inscription favor the idea that the statue was removed from Olympia by the Romans, perhaps by Nero himself, and the Eleians subsequently placed another statue on the empty base. After the discovery in Rome of Pythokles' base which dates from the Hadrianic or Antonine era, the *IO* editors' suggestion gained support and Foucart went one step further. Although the measurements of the footprints on the statue base at Rome do not agree with those of the bases at Olympia, Foucart insisted that the number twelve was inscribed to indicate that Pythokles' original statue was the twelfth one removed by Nero from Olympia. The base in Rome, therefore, supported the original and not a copy.

There is no conclusive proof that the two bases, on which Pythokles' statues stood, constitute a case of removal by the Romans. The base in Rome may well have supported a copy, as Petersen suggested. Furthermore, Pausanias does not mention that Pythokles' statue was removed, although elsewhere in his work he records many incidents of statues that had been removed (some of them restored only to be removed a second time) by, among others, Mummius, Sulla, Augustus, Claudius, and of course Nero. His claims in these cases are based on information he received from the local exegetes, or in some

instances from inscriptions that mentioned the restoration of the statue by a Roman emperor.¹⁷⁷

31.

6.8.5: Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Βαύκιδά εἰσιν ἀθλητῶν Ἀρκάδων εἰκόνες, ... καὶ Ἄζαν ἐκ Πελλάνας Φίλιππος κρατήσας πυγμαῖι παῖδας, ... τὰς δὲ σφισιν εἰκόνας, ..., Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἄζανος Μύρων τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε.

5.8.3: ἔθηκε δὲ (sc. τὰ Ὀλύμπια) καὶ Αὐγέας καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρυῶνος ἐλὼν Ἴηλιν ὀπόσους δὲ ἐστεφάνωσεν οὗτος νικῶντας, ... (4) ..., 5
Τυνδάρεω δὲ οἱ παῖδες ὁ μὲν δρόμωι, Πολυδεύκης δὲ πικτεῦων.

IO 174: a bronze tablet, found May 19, 1878, east of the northeast corner of the Palaistra. It is virtually intact, except for the bottom right corner. On the back side there are traces on the three corners for the fastening of the tablet onto the base of the statue. The tablet is now in the Αποθήκη of the New Museum (Χαλκιά Collection).

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 419. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.085m. Width: 0.23m. Thickness: 0.003m.

Letter Height: 0.003-0.005m.

390–270 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca. 31

ὦδε στὰς ὁ Πελασγὸς ἐπ' Ἀλφειῶι ποκα πύκτας
τὸμ Πολυδεύκειοι χερσὶν ἔφανε νόμον
ἄμος ἐκαρύχθη νικαφόρος. ἀλλά, πάτερ Ζεῦ,
καὶ πάλιν Ἀρκαδίαι κα' λὸν ἄμειβε κλέος,
5 τίμασον δὲ Φίλιππον, ὅς ἐνθάδε τοὺς ἀπὸ νάσων
τέσσαρας εὐθείαι παῖδας ἔκλινε μάχαι.

¹⁷⁷ 5.25.8, 26.3; 6.9.3; 7.16.8, 22.5, 22.9; 8.46.1-4; 9.27.3-4, 33.6; 10.7.1, 19.2. See also Habicht 1985, 122 and notes 18-21.

The inscription comprises three elegiac distichs and is in the Doric dialect (worth noting is the partial assimilation to the following stops, labial and palatal, of the nu in the accusative endings τὸ μ Πολυδεύκειου χερσὶν of line 2).

The letters are clearly and sharply cut and evenly spaced, except for line 4 where more space is left. Indeed near the center of the line there is a *vacat*. The letter style suggests the beginning of the third century B.C. or late fourth century B.C. (*IO* editors¹⁷⁸). The end-tips of the strokes are cut deeper and end in dot-like serifs.

The most obvious characteristics of this cutter are that the vertical strokes of the iota, the upsilon, and the phi tend to extend beyond the imaginary top and bottom lines within which the rest of the letters are cut, and also that the round letters (theta, omicron and omega) are cut smaller than the other letters and above the bottom imaginary line.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Loewy, *IGB* 126. *IG* V2, *Prolegomena* p. viii. Hyde 1980, 39-41 no. 79. Hyde 1921, 244-245. Preuner 1923, 847. Moretti, *IAG* 33. Marcadé 1957, II 78. Moretti 1957, 134 no. 529. Ebert 1972, 166-169 no. 55. Hansen, *CEG* 2, 827.

Commentary: The commonly accepted date for the inscription, late fourth to early third century B.C., is based solely on the letter style, on account of which Moretti tentatively dates Philippos' victory in the first Olympiad of the third century, the 122nd (292 B.C.).

After the statue of Euanoridas (no. 69 below), Pausanias continues his discussion of victory statues in the general area between the Heraion and the Pelopion and southwards and reaches a group of three statues dedicated by Arkadians (6.8.5). Among them, Pausanias writes without mentioning any epigram, there is the Azanian Philippos from Pellene, victorious in the boys' boxing event, whose statue was the work of Myron. The name of the athlete and the event are mentioned in the epigram of the tablet, and so it has been assumed that Pausanias' Philippos is the same as the one in the inscription.

¹⁷⁸ Their suggestion, however, that the phi of this inscription is similar to the phi found in an inscription from Oropos (*IG* VII.1 4254) does not lend any support for dating an inscription which may have been cut by an Eleian or an Arkadian. The fact that Myron sculpted the bronze statue, if it is in fact the Athenian Myron, does not mean that the orthography of the epigram need be Athenian. Quite the contrary, time and again the inscriptions, that have been found in Olympia cut on statue bases and that contain the athlete's identification and the sculptor's signature, strongly suggest that the athlete's and sculptor's local orthography and dialect were followed. Whether one or more cutters were involved for the letter-cutting of different texts cannot be answered conclusively, except to speculate that the sculptor presumably would be responsible for his signature.

This association, however, involves a chronological difficulty. The tablet on stylistic grounds belongs ca. 390–270 B.C., whereas the Athenian sculptor Myron, if he is the famous one, was active during the first half of the fifth century. In order to explain this problem many solutions have been proposed, *e.g.* that there were two Arkadian boy boxers victorious in Olympia, that there were two sculptors named Myron,¹⁷⁹ and so on¹⁸⁰ (see Moretti *IAG* no. 33, and Ebert 1972, 167-168). Furthermore, it seems that two victories are mentioned in the epigram, one in lines 1-3, and the other, with ἀλλά, πάτερ Ζεῦ/καὶ πάλιν in lines 3-4.

The information, however, that Pausanias includes in his narrative appears not to have been drawn from this inscription. Philippos is not simply from Arkadia. He is an Azanian from Pellene, a detail noted by Pausanias as if to distinguish him perhaps from another Philippos. In addition, if he read the epigram, the exegete overlooks some interesting details: the way in which Philippos achieved his victory by defeating four boys from the islands εὐθείαι μάχαι (lines 5-6); and also the *nomos* of Polydeukes, displayed by the Pelasgian boxer, which Pausanias mentions in his mythological account of the games (5.8.3-4). These are the sort of details that usually elicit from Pausanias an exegesis of some kind (instead of Pelasgian, for example, one would expect the epithet Azanian in the inscription). As it is, it seems that Pausanias did not take his information for the Azanian Philippos from this tablet.

¹⁷⁹ A similar chronological problem arises from another passage in Pausanias where again an Athenian Myron is said to have been the sculptor of the statue of Lykinos (6.2.2), whose victory according to Pausanias himself in 5.8.10 took place in the 99th Olympiad (384 B.C.), when for the first time the chariot race for foals was introduced. In addition to Pausanias, there is also epigraphical evidence for a later Athenian sculptor Myron whose floruit is in the second half of the second century B.C. (see Marcadé 1957, II 78), a date which also does not agree with that of *IO* 174.

¹⁸⁰ Hyde 1980, 39-41 even suggested what Pausanias might have read on the base (p. 40):

Μύρων Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν
Φίλιππος Ἀζῶν ἐκ Πελλάνας ἐπεσκεύασεν.

There are infinite possibilities for such explanations which rarely win universal acceptance. Only new evidence can resolve such difficulties.

32.

6.8.5: Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Βαύκιδά εἰσιν ἀθλητῶν Ἄρκάδων εἰκόνες, ... καὶ Κριτόδαμος ἐκ Κλείτορος, ἐπὶ πυγμῆι καὶ οὗτος ἀναγορευθεὶς παίδων· τὰς δὲ σφισιν εἰκόνας, ... τὴν δὲ τοῦ <Κριτοδάμου> Κλέων, ... τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε.

Apparatus Criticus:

3 <Κριτοδάμου> is a correction of the reading of the mss.: **δαμοκρίτου**. Before the Olympic inscription (*IO* 167) the editors could not decide which of the two names of the mss. was the correct one: in the first instance the mss. give **Κριτόδαμος** (line 2) and then they change the name to **δαμόκριτος** (line 3). See Hitzig's (1896-1910, vol. 2.2, 474) apparatus for the readings in earlier editions. Since the discovery of *IO* 167, Frazer, Hitzig, and Papachatzis have all accepted the mss' reading for line 2 to be the correct name and consequently have corrected line 3 to read **Κριτοδάμου**. Rocha-Pereira, however, in the latest Teubner edition of Pausanias (1973-1981, vol. II, ad loc. p. 96) reads **Κριτόδαμος** in line 2, and **δαμόκριτος** in line 3, which is unintelligible, because one and the same person is given two names and only one can be correct while the other is an anagram.

IO 167: a base of black limestone, found April 26, 1879, in front of the Southeast Hall, to the east of the Roman triumphal gate. The upper left and the bottom right corners are broken away, but the inscription is not affected because it is cut approximately at the middle of one of the long sides. The base was fitted into another block, as the border at the bottom side suggests. On the upper surface, along the left break, there are two holes which supported the right foot of the bronze statue that stood on the base. The base is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 619. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.27m. (0.22 inscribed surface + 0.05 the border). Width: 0.77m.

Thickness: 0.365m.

Letter Height: 0.009-0.015m.

400–375 *ante*

NON-STOICH.

Κριτόδαμος

Λίχα : Κλειτόριος.
 Κλέων ἐπόησε
 Σικυώνιος.

The letters are clearly and very sharply cut. Lines 3 and 4 are spaced out more than lines 1 and 2. The cutter has the tendency to inscribe the letters so that they lean to the left slightly, especially in line 2, where even the triple-dot punctuation mark is inscribed leaning to the left.

Characteristics of individual letters: the top and bottom strokes of the four-bar sigma are sharply slanting up- and downwards; the right vertical of the nu is shorter than the left; the omicron and part of the rho are well-rounded circles; the slanting strokes of the upsilon are very open; and the omega is half of a well-rounded circle with two horizontals on the left and right that extend its width to ca. 0.023m.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Loewy, *IGB* 96. Marcadé 1953, vol. I 61. Moretti 1957, 119 no. 406.

Commentary: The date for this dedication, first quarter of the fourth century B.C., is based on Pausanias' information about the sculptor Kleon from Sikyon, whose works were also the first two Zanes in Olympia (above no. 12), which were dedicated in the 98th Olympiad (388 B.C.). Accordingly Moretti places the victory of Kritodamos tentatively in the 101st Olympiad (376 B.C.), a date supported by the letter style of the inscription.

In his brief discussion of the three Arkadian dedications he saw in the general area between the Heraion and the Pelopion and southwards (Philippos from Pellana being one of them, for whose dedication see no. 31 above), Pausanias also mentions the statue of Kritodamos son of Lichas. He was a victor in the boys' boxing event, as was Philippos, and his statue was the work of the Sikyonian Kleon (no. 12 above). Pausanias again provides few clues as to exactly where in the Altis he is, but the find spot of the base, although not in its original position, seems to agree with the general area where Pausanias may have seen it, i.e. to the east (north or south) of the temple of Zeus.

More significantly, the two texts corroborate one another, except for two details that by now have become customary. Pausanias omits the name of Kritodamos' father, Lichas, while the inscription does not give the event in which the athlete was victorious.

The signature of the sculptor, however, the city of the athlete, and his name occur in both texts. In fact, thanks to the inscription found at Olympia the manuscript tradition of Pausanias on this passage can be improved: as is argued in the Apparatus Criticus above, one of the two readings preserved in the manuscripts for the name of the athlete, Kritodamos and Damokritos, must have been a copyist's error of anagrammatism. *IO* 167 securely identifies the first reading of Pausanias' manuscripts for the name of the athlete as the correct one, and accordingly Pausanias' text is properly emended in the second instance (line 3) from Damokritos to Kritodamos.

33.

6.9.2: μετὰ τούτου τὴν εἰκόνα Ξενοκλήης τε Μαινάλιος ἔστηκε παλαιστὰς καταβαλῶν παῖδας ..., Ξενοκλέους δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα Πολύκλειτός ἐστιν εἰργασμένος.

IO 164: a quadrangular base of coarse-grained yellowish marble of Peloponnesian origin, found January 16, 1878, four meters northeast of the Nike of Paionios (above no. 4), in the east Byzantine wall. On the upper surface there remain the footprints of the bronze statue which was approximately life size. The inscription is cut on two sides of the base: the first two lines of the inscription are cut on the front margin of the upper surface in front of the footprints of the statue; the signature is cut on the left margin of the upper surface; and the epigram is inscribed on the upper part of the front side. The base is now on display in the Gallery of the Olympic Games of the New Museum, Α(ἴθινα) 530.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 308. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.235m. Width: 0.45m. Thickness: 0.45m.

Letter Height: 0.07-0.019m.

ca. 410–380 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca. 21

Ξενοκλῆς : Εὐθύφρονος
Μαινάλιος

Πολύκλετος ἐποίησε.

Μαινάλιος Ξενοκλῆς νίκασα
5 Εὐθύφρονος υἱὸς ἀπτήης μονο-
πάλαν τέσσαρα σώμαθ' ἑλών.
vacat 0.013m.

The letters of the first three lines are well spaced out, except for line 1 where the triple-dot punctuation is inscribed between the letters sigma and epsilon which are closer together. These letters are also cut deeper and therefore their strokes are wider than those of the last three lines, which suggests that the cutter employed different chisels for some reason (the letter shapes are not different enough to indicate a different cutter).

The letters of the elegiac distich are more elegant, cut with thinner strokes and closer, and tend to lean to the right, while lines 5 and 6 toward the end are cut below the horizontal imaginary line. The distich is inscribed in two lines metrically.

The script of the inscription is Ionic, but its dialect appears to be Doric, because of the orthography of the words νίκασα in line 4, μονοπάλαν in lines 5-6, and τέσσαρα in line 6. More specifically:

Line 3: the orthography of the signature of the sculptor, but not the script, recalls an earlier example (no. 30 above), where ε = ε ι. The stone has Ε| which some editors transcribe as an ε ι, but the trace of the right vertical stroke is not as deep and is too close to the epsilon (if the cutter wanted to add an iota he had enough space to do so).

The stone has also ΕΠΟΙΣΕ which all editors transcribe ἐποίησε, but it is not clear whether it is a mistake of the cutter, or a contraction of -οιη- for (see Dubois 1986, vol. 2, 297).

Lines 5-6: the *IO* editors and Moretti (*IAG* 20) read μο<υ>νοπαλᾶν and correct τέσσαρα to τέσ<σ>αρα, because metrically the syllables μο- and τε- of these two words are long. There is no reason, however, to suppose a mistake on the part of the cutter: μονοπάλαν can be explained either by epic lengthening, or by the presence of the digamma (μονοπάλαν Gallavotti 1979a, 14 and Dubois 1986, vol. 2, 297-298), while the sigma in τέσσαρα may be an indication of an unvoiced affricatum phoneme /ts/ (Dubois 1986, vol. 1, 78-79; vol. 2, 298).

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 4: I have not dotted the mu in Μαινάλιος, as most editors do (except Moretti), because, in addition to the right slanting stroke, there is on the stone a clear trace of the middle slanting stroke.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Roehl, *IGB* 90. Walther 1950, 170-177. Moretti, *IAG* 20. Moretti 1957, 119 no. 408. Amandry 1957, 77. Ebert 1972, 107-110 no. 32. Gallavotti 1979a, 13-14. Dubois 1986, vol. 1, 78-79; vol. 2, 297-298; vol. 3, 104 notes 2210-2213. Hansen, *CEG* 2, 825.

Commentary: The date for this inscription, end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth centuries B.C., is based solely on the letter style, since the sculptor Polykleitos cannot be

conclusively identified as the elder or the younger (see also no. 30 above).¹⁸¹ Accordingly, Xenokles' victory cannot be securely dated, and Moretti's tentative date for it, the 102nd Olympiad (372 B.C.), seems to be rather late.

After his brief exposition of the Arkadian statues (nos. 31 and 32 above), Pausanias continues his narrative with the statues dedicated by Promachos from Achaian Pellene, Timasitheos from Delphi and Theognetos from Aigina (6.8.5-9.2), after which he reaches the statues of two more Arkadians, Xenokles from Mainalon and Alketos from Kleitor (6.9.2). Of these statues only Xenokles' base has been found, four meters northeast of the Messenian Nike (no. 4 above). This find spot is probably not far away from the original position where Pausanias saw his bronze statue.

Both Pausanias' narrative and the text of the inscription are once more in agreement as far as the athlete's name, his ethnic, and the signature of the sculptor are concerned. The customary omissions, however, are also present: Pausanias again ignores the name of Xenokles' father, Euthyphron, and the identification of the athlete on the base (lines 1-2 of the inscription) does not mention the event in which Xenokles was victorious, and even in the epigram only the event and not the category is mentioned. The information of the two texts, therefore, does not conflict but is supplementary: Xenokles, the son of Euthyphron, from Mainalon, was victorious in the boys' wrestling event, and his statue was the work of Polykleitos.

Moreover, Pausanias' comment about Xenokles, *παλαιστὰς καταβαλὼν παῖδας*, is not one of Pausanias' common expressions and does not seem to be a *variatio*. It may be a description of the statue, but Pausanias' choice of words and the text of the inscription suggest otherwise. The technical language and the details of the pentameter

¹⁸¹ The majority of the editors, however, opt for the younger Polykleitos (Hansen *CEG* 2, 233-234 no. 825).

are not recorded by Pausanias, and it is not clear that he understood lines 4-6 to be an epigram, perhaps because of the way they were inscribed. The verb καταβαλόν, however, seems to be a translation of the inscription's ἔλων.¹⁸² Granted that Xenokles' case does not constitute overwhelming evidence for Pausanias' interest in inscriptions, especially when the absence of the epigram is noticed, still it is not the evidence to disprove the author's interest in inscriptions either. As it is, and notwithstanding the possibility that Pausanias may have also checked the Olympic Register, the substance of the two texts strongly suggests that Pausanias saw the statue of Xenokles and read the inscription on the base from which he derived the information he relates about Xenokles.

34.

6.10.9: ... καὶ Τέλλωνα Ὀρεσθάσιον ... ἐν παισὶν ἀνελομένους νίκας, ... τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατειλεγμένους πυγμῆς ... τὸν δὲ Τέλλωνα ὅστις εἰργάσατο, οὐ μνημονεύουσιν.

Apparatus Criticus:

1 Τέλλωνα Ὀρεσθάσιον is Bekker's correction of the mss.' readings: τέλλωνα ὄν ἐς θάσιον Lb Ms Va P Pd Ag (Ag has τέλωνα); τέλλωνα καὶ ὄντα θάσιον L; Τέλλωνα θάσιον Vb Pa and the editors before Bekker 2 τελλῶνα P Ag, τέλωνα Pd.

IO 147, 148: a base of white, presumably Peloponnesian, marble, found December 1, 1877, built in a late wall, outside the east Byzantine wall near the south Altis wall, to the south of Zeus' temple. The right side and the border of the front side of the upper surface of the base where the copy (148) is cut are broken away. There are two inscriptions on the upper surface: the original (147) is very worn and is cut on

¹⁸² Gallavotti (1979a, 14) remarks, "termine tecnico è anche ἔλων = καταβαλόν, come ha tradotto Pausania." For the technical terms ἀπτήης, and μονοπάλη see also Ebert 1972, 109-110 (μονοπάλη is attested in another epigram of the athlete Cheilon from Achaian Patrai, which Pausanias quotes in 6.4.6). There is no apparent explanation for Pausanias' omission of the technical details of Xenokles' victory, only the hypothesis that for some reason Pausanias did not think they were important enough for, or fit the criteria and purposes of his account.

the border of the left, longer side of the base, while the copy (148) is cut on the border of the front side. The footprints on the upper surface indicate that the statue was bronze and life size.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 254.

Height: 0.48m. Width: 0.58m. (the measurement of Ebert; the *IO* editors give 0.57m.). Thickness: 0.66m.

Letter Height is not given by the editors.

147: *post 472 ante* NON-STOICH. ca. 28

[Τέλλων τόνδ' ἀνέθε[κ]ε Δαέμονος υἱὸ[s]
[ὁ πύκ]τας Ἄρκας Ὀρεσθάσιος παῖς Δι[ὸς]
[ἄθλον ἐλόν?].

148: *saec. I ante ?* NON-STOICH.

Τέλλων τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε Δατήμ[ονος υἱὸς ὁ πύκ]τας
Ἄρκας Ὀ[ρ]εσ[θ]άσιος [π]αῖς [Διὸς ἄθλον ἐλών?].

The script of the elegiac distich 147 is Arkadian, the dialect Doric, and the letter shapes are (*LSAG* 206 fig. 40): α3, ε3, ς3, θ3, ν3, σ2, which Jeffery dates to the second quarter of the fifth century (475-450 B.C.). In laying out the inscription the cutter of 147 did not consider the meter, unlike the cutter of 148 who inscribed the elegiac distich in two lines.

The lettering of the copy (148), especially the broken middle bar of the alpha and the change of the doric elements in 147 into Ionic in 148 suggests the first century B.C. (the *IO* editors see a resemblance of *IO* 148 to *IO* 155, 156, and 158).

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of Ebert 1972, 64 no. 14):

147 Line 1: delta and alpha—only the middle upper triangular part; upsilon—only the right slanting stroke.

Line 2: tau—only a faint trace of a vertical; two alphas—only two slanting strokes; rho—a trace of a vertical and a faint trace of an upper curving strokes; alpha—only two slanting strokes; second rho—only the upper right part of a curving stroke; two alphas—only two slanting strokes; iota—only the bottom part of a vertical; delta—only the bottom horizontal; iota—only the bottom tip of a vertical.

148 Line 2: omicron—only the left part of a curving stroke; alpha—only the upper triangular part of two strokes; iota—only the upper tip of a vertical; sigma—only an upper horizontal.

Restorations: according to the *IO* editors 147 was inscribed in two lines, but see Ebert 1966a and 1972 no. 14, whose are the restorations in the text.

IO editors: Τέλλων τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε Δαήμονος υἱὸ[s ἀγαυοῦ]
Ἄρκας Ὀρεσθάσιος παῖ[s ἀπὸ πυγμαχίας].

Line 2: Hansen (*CEG* 1, 381) prints: παῖς ς. [υυ -υυ-], hence the question mark.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Roehl, *IGA* 98. *SEG* XVI, 288, 290; XXIII, 258. Moretti 1957, 92 no. 231. Ebert 1966a, 375-377 no. I, 385. Ebert 1972, 64-66 no. 14. Lazzarini 1976, no. 851. Gallavotti 1979a, 7. Jeffery, *LSAG* 208, 212, 215 no. 22. Hansen, *CEG* 1, 381.

Commentary: The date for *IO* 147, after 472 B.C., is based on the information of *P.Oxy.* 222 where a Tellon from Mainalon, the area where Oresthasion was also located, is recorded as a victor in the boys' boxing event of the 77th Olympiad (472 B.C., see also Moretti),¹⁸³ a date which is also in agreement with the letter style. The date for *IO* 148, first century B.C., is exclusively based on the lettering.

Pausanias, continuing his exegesis of athletic dedications in the Altis, briefly mentions in a paragraph four statues dedicated by victorious boys, one of which is the boy boxer Tellon from the Arkadian Oresthasion, but whose sculptor "is not remembered (οὐ μνημονεύουσιν)." The subject of this verb is absent, but it can be easily understood to be the Eleian exegetes, or less likely those responsible for setting up the monument who did not inscribe the signature. The statue base of Tellon has been found in the general area where Pausanias probably saw it, i.e. between the chariots of Kleosthenes (6.10.6-8) and Gelon (6.12.1 = no. 9 above) to the south of the temple of Zeus near the south Altis wall, and it bears, as Pausanias' comment implies, no signature of the sculptor. There is no certainty that originally there was an artist's signature, because, if it existed, there is no apparent explanation why the Eleians chose not to re-inscribe it too, as they did with the epigram and a number of other reinscribed signatures.

Be that as it may, the brief narrative of Pausanias about Tellon and the two fragmentary versions of the epigram corroborate and supplement each other: Pausanias does not mention the athlete's father who, according to the inscription, was Daëmon. He

¹⁸³ See Ebert 1972, 64 and the bibliography there.

records, however, the event in which Tellon was victorious, which in turn assists in the restoration of the epigram. Moreover, thanks to the text of *IO* 147 and 148, which preserve the city of Tellon Oresthasion, the emendation of Pausanias' text which Bekker conjectured can be accepted definitively, since it is proven to be the correct one.

The case of the Arkadian Tellon attests once more to the fact that Pausanias' information about the athletic dedications in the Altis is primarily derived from the inscriptions on the monuments themselves. The fact that the Olympic Register on the *P.Oxy.* 222 changes Tellon's city from Oresthasion to Mainalon may explain the corruption in Pausanias' manuscripts. Oresthasion was obscure, indeed hardly known, while Mainalon was the better known city of the area. That Pausanias records it accurately reveals that his information derives primarily from the inscription.

35.

6.13.6: ... καὶ Ἀριστίωνα Θεοφίλους Ἐπιδαύριον, τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν πυγμῆς,
..., Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε σφᾶς ὁ Ἀργεῖος.

Apparatus Criticus:

1 Only the ms. Ag has ἀρίστωνα. θεοφίλους is Schubart's reading after the ms. P, which all later editors accept. Before Schubart the editors preferred the prevalent reading of the mss.: θεοφιλοῦς Lb Ms Vab Pad Ag (θεοφιλοῦς L).

IO 165: a quadrangular base of black limestone, found October 30, 1879, in the east Byzantine wall, approximately ten meters south of Paianios' Victory (above no. 4). The base is preserved almost intact, except for the extreme right front and the right back. The footprints on the upper surface suggest that the bronze statue was life size. The inscription is cut on the upper surface, on its border in front of the footprints and is very badly weathered. The base is now on display in the Gallery of the Olympic Games of the New Museum, Α(ἱθινα) 531.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 712. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.216m. Width: 0.625m. Thickness: 0.54m.

Letter Height: 0.012-0.02m. (except for the phi ,whose height is 0.03m.).

ante 350 *ante*

Ἀριστίων Θεοφίλεος Ἐπιδαύριος
Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε.

The letter style of the inscription is elegant and the letters are carefully laid out and cut, except towards the end of both lines where they tend to lean to the right. According to the *IO* editors “nach ihrem orthographischen und paläographischen Charakter, in dem sich keine Spur der Altertümlichkeiten von No. 164 [above no. 33] mehr findet, fällt die Inschrift in die Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.,...”.

The significant orthographic element is in the signature of Polykleitos, which in *IO* 164 (above no. 33, and also no. 30 = *IO* 162, 163) has epsilon for epsilon iota.

Characteristic letter shapes are: of the epsilon the upper horizontal is shorter and curves upwards, its middle stroke is the shortest and its vertical stroke extends above the upper horizontal; the middle bar of the theta does not cross the circle; the right stroke of the pi is shorter and the upper vertical stroke is extended to the right; and the upper curving part of the omega is cut as a rhomboid.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: lambda—only a faint trace of the right slanting stroke.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Loewy, *IGB* 92. Amandry 1957, 63-87. Moretti 1957, 120 no. 415.

Commentary: The date for the inscription, middle of the fourth century B.C., is based on the letter style and the spelling –εῦ– in the signature of Polykleitos (compare nos. 30, 33 above). In *P.Oxy.* 222 there is an entry of an athlete named Ariston, victor in the boxing in the 82nd Olympiad (452 B.C.), who is clearly another man. His ethnic is missing from the papyrus and the date of his victory is too early for the letter style of *IO* 165 and for possible identification with the Epidaurian athlete Ariston.¹⁸⁴ This would be possible only if *IO* 165 were a renewed version of an older inscription, but there are no traces on the base to support this, and no other evidence corroborating the *P.Oxy.* 222 entry. Accordingly Moretti has placed Ariston’s victory tentatively in the 103th Olympiad (368 B.C.), sometime after which Ariston dedicated his statue.

¹⁸⁴ Papachatzis’ (1974-81, vol. 3, 352 note 3) accepts the Ariston of the papyrus to be the same as Ariston and notes the discrepancy in the dates.

After his exegesis on the runner Chionis and other famous runners, Pausanias continues his narrative with more athletic dedications (6.13.5-6) and reaches the statue of the athlete Aristion, son of Theophiles, from Epidauros, victorious in the men's boxing event, another work of the Argive Polykleitos. The statue base of Aristion, like that of Tellon (no. 34 above), has been found in the general area where Pausanias saw it, i.e. between the chariots of Kleosthenes (6.10.6-8) and Gelon (6.12.1 = above no. 9) to the south of the temple of Zeus near the south Altis wall.

The text of the inscription is exactly the same as Pausanias' brief statement about this athlete: the athlete's name, the name of his father (unlike previous cases where Pausanias ignores it), his ethnic, and the signature of the sculptor, all are in agreement. The only discrepancy between Pausanias' text and the inscription is again the event in which Aristion was victorious, the men's boxing, which of course Pausanias may have taken from the representation of the statue, or an Olympic Register. Finally, as was the case earlier, the inscription confirms the correct accent of the name of Aristion's father, Theophiles, in the uncontracted form of the genitive case, which is preserved in only one of Pausanias' manuscripts, and thus it improves his text, albeit marginally.

36.

6.13.11: Ἡλείοις δὲ ἀνδράσιν...καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ Τηλεμάχου, τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων νίκη γέγονεν ἢ εἰκῶν,

Apparatus Criticus:

1 the mss. read Τηλεμάχῳ, Τηλεμάχῳ μὲν; Hitzig, following *IO* 174, corrected it to Τηλεμάχῳ Τηλεμάχου, τῷ μὲν. Most editors before Hitzig kept the mss.' reading, except Siebelis who thought that the name of the father was dropped out, and Gurlitt (1890, 420 note 34) who read: Τηλεμάχῳ τῷ Τηλεμάχου, τούτῳ μὲν). Papachatzis and Rocha-Pereira retain the mss.' reading. A very common scribal error, however, occurs when identical words, in this case the name and the patronymic, with different endings follow one after the other. Furthermore, Pausanias usually does not repeat an immediately preceding name, but employs the article with the μὲν. . . δὲ particles (see e.g. 6.12.6 and 6.13.6).

IO 177: a base of coarse grey limestone, found May 15, 1877, *in situ* on the south edge of the terrace of Zeus' temple, between the east Byzantine wall and the small gateway of the south terrace wall. The traces of the footprints on the upper surface indicate that the bronze statue was life size. The inscription is cut on the front side of the base and is very worn. The base is now in the Altis *in situ*.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 189.

Height: 0.33-0.34m. Width: 0.79m. Thickness: 0.79m.

Letter Height is not given by the *IO* editors.

ca. 320–250 *ante*

NON-STOICH.

Τηλέμαχος Τηλεμάχ[ου]
 Ὀλύμπια τεθρίππωι, Πύθια κέλητ[η].
 Φιλωνίδης ἐποίησε.

The letters are spaced out well and are cut carefully and symmetrically. Lines one and three are indented three letter spaces, which may suggest that they were shorter than line two and therefore the ethnic of this athlete was not inscribed after his father's name in line one.

Individual characteristics of letter-shapes are: the middle bar of the epsilon is half the length of the other horizontals; the right vertical of the pi is only one third the height of the left; and the omicrons, thetas, and omegas are almost half the size of the other letters and are cut either on the middle, or on the bottom of the letter space.

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of *IO*):

Line 1: tau—only a vertical stroke; alpha—only the left slanting stroke.

Line 2: alpha—only the right slanting and the upper part of a left slanting strokes.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896–1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974–81, ad loc.

Roehl, *IGB* 142. Moretti, *IAG* 87–89 no. 34. Moretti 1957, 135 no. 531.

Commentary: The date of the inscription, end of the fourth and first half of the third centuries B.C.,¹⁸⁵ is based totally on the lettering and the absence of rhotacism (*IO*

¹⁸⁵ Loewy (*IGB* 142) proposes the period from the beginning of the Hellenistic times up to and not later than the middle of the second century B.C.

editors). Accordingly, Moretti has placed the Olympic victory of Telemachos tentatively in the 122nd Olympiad (292 B.C.).

Continuing his exegesis of athletic statues in the Altis, Pausanias reaches the statues of two Eleians, one of whom is Telemachos, whose statue was set up on account of his equestrian victory at Olympia. His statue base has been found apparently *in situ*, where Pausanias must have seen it. The inscription on Telemachos' base, however, offers information about the athlete which Pausanias ignores: Telemachos, the son of Telemachos, won in the four horse chariot race in the Olympic and in the horse race in the Pythic Games, and his statue was the work of Philonides.¹⁸⁶

Both Pausanias' brief remark and the text of the inscription are in agreement about the name of the athlete, his father's name, and the event in which Telemachos was victorious, even though Pausanias' description is too general. There are also omissions which cannot be easily explained: Pausanias gives no date for the victory of Telemachos; no mention of the athlete's ethnic is inscribed; and finally, the Pythic victory and the signature of the otherwise unknown sculptor Philonides are ignored by Pausanias. These omissions suggest that Pausanias in his narrative is not consistent, and that his interests are not always on details. Even so, his information and that of the inscription are not in conflict, but complement each other. More importantly, the inscription that has been found in Olympia not only corroborates Pausanias' narrative, but also helps once again in improving of Pausanias' text (see Apparatus Criticus).

¹⁸⁶ "Questa iscrizione, che per sè non riveste grande interesse, ci permette di risolvere un problema attinente alle liste degli olimpionici" Moretti, *JAG* 87-88 no. 34.

37.

6.13.11: ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος Ἀριστοφῶντα Λυσίου, παγκρατιαστὰς ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι κρατήσαντα ἄνδρας.

Apparatus Criticus:

1 Λυσίου is the mss. reading accepted by all editors after Bekker. Editors before Bekker corrected the mss. to Λυκίου.

IO 169: a fragment of greyish-blue Hymettian marble, found October 12, 1876, to the south of the east Byzantine wall, near the base of Telemachos (no. 36 above). It was part of the pedestal on which the statue of Aristophon was mounted, and it is broken on the right and bottom sides, but the top and part of the left edge are preserved. The fragment is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 85. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.13m. Width: 0.22m. Thickness: 0.29-0.30m.

Letter Height: 0.013-0.02m.

350–300 *ante*

NON-STOICH.

ὁ [δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων?]
[Ἀ]ριστο[φῶντα Λυσίου Διὶ Ὀλυμπίω?].

The letters are spaced out and are cut clearly. Their style, according to the *IO* editors, indicates the fourth or at the latest the beginning of the third centuries B.C., but see Kirchner's date for *IG* II² 4397 below.

Restorations: the restoration of this very fragmentary text as that of the base of Aristophon was first made by the *IO* editors and is based: 1) on Pausanias' implied topography of the statue; 2) on the fact that hymettian marble would be used primarily for an Athenian dedication; and 3) on *IG* II², 4397 (below) which is another dedication from Athens, this time of Aristophon himself, also inscribed on hymettian marble. The question marks serve as a caution sign that the restorations may have been slightly different.

IG II², 4397: a small base of Hymettian marble was found preserved intact in the Propylaea, on the Akropolis. It is now in the Epigraphical Museum (EM 9012).

Height: 0.14m. Width: 0.32m. Thickness: 0.22m.

Letter Height: the first two lines 0.018m.; line three 0.008m.

350–300 *ante*

NON-STOICH.
lines 1-2 ca. 15
line 3 ca. 27

Ἄριστοφῶν Λυσίνου
Ἐἰρησίδης Ἀσκληπιῶι.
[ἐ]πὶ [ἱερέ]ως Φιλοκλέου Ἐυπεταίονος.

The letters in the first two lines are considerably taller than those of the third, and their style suggests the second half of the fourth century B.C. (Kirchner). The *IO* editors further comment that:¹⁸⁷ “Im Material und Schriftcharakter genau übereinstimmend hat sich auf der athenischen Burg eine Weihinschrift gefunden,...., die schon Rangabé mit dem Pankratiasten des Pausanias in Beziehung gesetzt hatte, und die nach Köhler’s Urteil aus der zweiten Hälfte des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. herrührt.”

Restorations: the restoration in line three is Kirchner’s.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.
Roehl, *IGB* 472. *PA* 2111. Moretti 1957, 130 no. 484.

Commentary: The date of the two inscriptions, 350–300 B.C., is based on the letter style of *IG* II², 4397 (Kirchner) which also accommodates *IO* 169 (see also note 187). Accordingly, Moretti dates the victory of Aristophon tentatively in the 117th Olympiad (312 B.C.), after which the Athenians dedicated the statue in honor of Aristophon in Olympia.

Continuing his brief exegesis of athletic statues in the Altis and immediately after the statue of Telemachos (no. 36 above) which has been found *in situ*, Pausanias mentions next the statue dedicated by the city of Athens in honor of Aristophon, son of Lysinos, who won in the men’s pankration. The find spot of the fragment, to the south of the east Byzantine wall near the base of Telemachos, agrees with Pausanias’ implied

¹⁸⁷ Professor S.V. Tracy examined a squeeze of *IG* II² 4397 at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton and informs me that the lettering has small apices and on the basis of the letter nu the inscription dates probably before 340 B.C.

topographical direction, since Aristophon's statue comes after that of Telemachos in his narrative and therefore must have been set up near it. This and the fact that an inscribed fragment of Hymettian marble would in all probability be an Athenian dedication led the *IO* editors to the conclusion that the fragmentary inscription was that of the pankratiast Aristophon whose statue is mentioned by Pausanias. An additional confirmation for this identification is also presented by the inscribed base also of Hymettian marble found on the Akropolis, which is a dedication to Asklepios by Aristophon, son of Lysinos from the deme of Eiresidai.

Once the fragmentary inscription was identified with this passage in Pausanias, its restoration followed Pausanias' text. Furthermore, the Athenian dedication by Aristophon himself to Asklepios confirms the reading of Pausanias' manuscripts of the father's name as Λυσίνου, which troubled earlier editors who corrected it to Λυκίνου. Thus, Pausanias' text provided important evidence for the restoration of *IO* 169 and in turn his narrative is verified by the Athenian dedication to Asklepios of Aristophon son of Lysinos who, excluding Pausanias and these two inscriptions, is otherwise unknown.¹⁸⁸

38.

6.14.1: Φερίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης — οὗτος γὰρ δὴ παρὰ τὸν Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστοφῶντα ἀνάκειται— ὀγδόῃ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι κομιδῇ τε ἔδοξεν εἶναι νέος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός πω νομισθεὶς παλαίειν ἀπηλάθη τοῦ ἀγῶνος, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς —κατεδέχθη γὰρ τῆνικαῦτα ἐς τοὺς παῖδας— ἐνίκα παλαίων.

5

¹⁸⁸ *IG* II² 2699, a private *horos*, inscribed on Hymettian marble, mentions an Aristophon Eiresides who, Kirchner tentatively identifies with Aristophon, son of Lysinos. The name and the demotic alone, however, for lack of stronger evidence, are not enough for definite identification, especially in Athenian prosopography.

Kunze 1938, 129-130: a fragment of a bronze tablet, found in the excavations of the winter of 1937-1938 in the South Hall, located behind the Bouleuterion. The top and bottom edges are preserved, but judging from the part of the inscription that remains the tablet's left and extreme right sides are broken away. The tablet was mounted on a base which supported the statue of Pherias, and now it is in the Αποθήκη of the New Museum (χαλκιά Collection).

Height: 0.046m. Width: 0.117m.. Thickness: 0.001m.

Letter Height: ca. 0.008-0.01m.

paulo post 464 ante

NON-STOICH.

[— ῡῡ — ῡῡ — ῡ Ὀλυμπίαι, ηυιὲ Χάρετ[ος],
[— ῡῡ — ῡῡ — ῡ πάλαν Φερίας^{vacat}.

The letters are carefully cut and the style is plain. The dialect of this elegiac distich is Doric and the script is Aiginetan. Characteristic letter shapes are (*LSAG* 109, fig. 32): the alpha is between α³ and α⁴, ε⁴ (but slightly bent to the left), μ³ (but more open), ν⁴, σ², υ³, φ³, χ¹. The lettering of this inscription suggests the fifth century B.C. (Kunze), but Jeffery by comparing it to other Aiginetan inscriptions suggests the 440's B.C. (Jeffery, however, in her text of the inscription, *LSAG* 404 pl. 17 no. 21, reads incorrectly an epsilon instead of a pi in the beginning of line one:]υμειαι).

Restorations:

Only Ebert has attempted a restoration for this epigram:

[Ἀΐγιναν στεφάνοσας Ὀλυμπίαι, ηυιὲ Χάρετ[ος],
[παῖδας νικάσας μονοπά]λαν; Φερίας.

He seems, however, to ignore the discrepancy in the cases in the end of lines one and two: ηυιὲ Χάρετ[ος] is in the vocative, while Φερίας is in the nominative case.

An alternative could be to assume that the two lines are two sentences, as if it were a stichomythy between the dedicator and the athlete (see for example the epigrams of Kyniska above no. 7, Euthymos above no. 24, and Xenokles above no. 33):

[Ἀΐγιναν στεφάνοσας Ὀλυμπίαι, ηυιὲ Χάρετ[ος].
[παῖδας νικάσα μονοπά]λαν Φερίας.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XI, 1231; XXIII, 255. Moretti, 1957, 95 no. 255. Ebert 1966a, 380-381 no. IV. Ebert 1972, 77-79 no. 19. Jeffery, *LSAG* 112, 113 no. 21 pl. 17. Hansen, *CEG* 1, 350.

Commentary: The date for the inscription, post 464 B.C., is that of Pausanias who states that Pherias entered and won the wrestling competition in the 79th Olympiad (464 B.C., accepted by Moretti), sometime after which he or his city dedicated the statue at Olympia, a date which is also consistent with the letter style.¹⁸⁹

Next to the statue of the Athenian athlete Aristophon (no. 37 above) Pausanias saw in the Altis the dedication of the Aiginetan athlete Pherias, who won in the 79th Olympiad (464 B.C.) the boys' wrestling event. This boy athlete, Pausanias also adds, tried to enter the wrestling competition in the 78th Olympiad (468 B.C.), but he was not allowed participation, because his age and his stature did not persuade the judges that he was ready for wrestling.¹⁹⁰ This fragmentary tablet was found in the South Hall, an area which agrees with Pausanias' implied topography that the statue of Pherias stood next to, or near that of Aristophon (no. 37 above), and perhaps to the east of the Telemachos base (no. 36 above).

¹⁸⁹ Jeffery's comment (*LSAG* 112) that "perhaps Pherias was already an adult when he made his commemorative offering" may be true, but the letter style alone cannot rule out a date in the late 460's or 450's B.C.

Ebert (1972, 78) suggests further that it is probable that Pherias' victory may be even earlier than Pausanias' date, since in *P.Oxy.* 222 the entry for the boys' wrestling in the 76th Olympiad (476 B.C.), usually restored with the athlete Theognetos of Aigina, may be restored [Φερίας Αἴγυλ]νήτης. The manuscripts of Pausanias, however, do not endorse Ebert's proposition for a scribal error (OH for OE Olympiad) in this passage, nor is there any other evidence to support a correction in the manuscripts of Pausanias (the *P.Oxy.* 222 cannot be the evidence, since the name is restored).

¹⁹⁰ The categories in the ancient Olympics were only two, men and boys (see Ebert 1972, 78 and further bibliography there; and also no. 65 below which, however, describes games in the first century A.D.). Pausanias' remark about Pherias clearly implies that age alone was not exclusionary from the competition, at least in the boys' category, nor was it fixed; the physical appearance of the athlete was obviously of importance and supposedly the judges may have allowed athletes to participate disregarding the age limit, if there was one. See also Pausanias' stories about the Rhodian athlete Nikasylos who participated in the men's category although 18 years of age (6.14.2); and his story about Artemidoros from Tralleis (6.14.2-3 = no. 89 below) who, although very young, entered the boys' category in Olympia and lost, but later during the Olympia in Smyrna he participated in all three categories and subsequently defeated boys, epehebes, and men.

Pausanias' brief comment on Pherias and the fragmentary inscription from the athlete's dedication are again in agreement, except for the regular discrepancy, i.e. the omission by Pausanias of Pherias' father, Chares. Furthermore, the ethnic of Pherias and the boys' category, both mentioned by Pausanias, are elements which in all probability were also mentioned in the epigram and therefore assist in its restoration. And yet, Pausanias' narrative implies that the inscribed bases in the Altis were only one of his sources.¹⁹¹ The story that Pausanias includes about Pherias originated probably from the local exegetes, or from his inquiries in Aigina, and obviously it only serves as an excuse for Pausanias to incorporate other examples of outstanding athletic accomplishments. Just as he has done earlier with the claims of the Spartan Chionis (6.13.2-3 = no. 88 below), here too Artemidoros from Tralleis, one of the athletes surpassing Pherias, comes from Pausanias' favorite place, Asia Minor (no. 89 below).

39.

6.15.1: Ἀρχίππῳ δὲ Μυτιληναίῳ τοὺς ἐς τὴν πυγμὴν ἐσελθόντας κρατήσαντι ἄνδρας ἄλλο τοιόνδε προσποιούσιν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐς δόξαν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Νεμέαι καὶ Ἴσθμῳ λάβοι στέφανον ἡλικίαν οὐ πρόσω γεγονὼς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι.

Apparatus Criticus:

1, 2 all the mss. and the editors read Μιτυλ- which appears also in 8.30.2 and 10.24.1. Only Dindorf corrects to Μυτιλ-, and Papachatzis (1974-81, vol. 3, 420 note 1) who follows Spiro's edition but prints here the correct spelling Μυτιλ-.

IO 173: a round base of dark grey marble, found April 21, 1876, to the south of the temple of Zeus, between the south terrace and the north building of the

¹⁹¹ Kunze (1938, 130) is probably right that "die Vorgeschichte des Sieges aber hat Pausanias schwerlich aus dem Distichon geschöpft," although there may have been inscribed an extraordinary claim which Pausanias proceeds to refute (6.14.1-3).

Bouleuterion. The inscription is cut near the upper edge which is broken away, and therefore only the first letter of the first line is legible.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 59.

Height: 0.385m. Diameter: 1.13m.

Letter Height is not given by the *IO* editors.

320–280 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca. 8

Ἀρχίππος]
Καλλιφάνους
Μυτιληναῖος.

The letters are spaced generously and the style is plain. Characteristic letter shapes are: the omicron is half the size of the other letters and is inscribed in the middle of the letter space; the slanting strokes of the kappa are shorter than the vertical stroke; and the four-bar sigma's top and bottom strokes are cut slanting up- and downwards. According to the *IO* editors this style suggests the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third centuries B.C.

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the *IO* facsimile):

Line 1: alpha—only the bottom part of a left slanting stroke.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Moretti 1957, 132 no. 503.

Commentary: The date for the inscription, end of the fourth and beginning of the third centuries B.C., is based totally on the letter style. Accordingly, Moretti dates the Olympic victory of Archippos tentatively in the 120th Olympiad (300 B.C.).

Pausanias, continuing his exegesis of the dedications in the Altis, reaches the statue of Archippos from Mytilene. He won in the men's boxing event and the Mytilenaeans add that he won in all four Panhellenic Games before he became twenty years old. The round pedestal onto which Archippos' statue was mounted was found in an area which agrees with Pausanias' topography, i.e. between the base of Telemachos (no. 36, found *in situ*) and that of Epitherses (no. 40 below), to the south of the temple of Zeus. The find spot of the base and the fact that Archippos is the only Mytilenaeon athlete whose

statue Pausanias saw in Olympia and whose name fits the space on the stone led the *IO* editors to identify this base with Archippos' dedication and therefore to restore the first line of the inscription *Α[ρχιππος].¹⁹² This is a plausible restoration and corroborates Pausanias' text, but it does not account for the additional information which he includes. Pausanias, as is his wont, omits Archippos' father's name, Kalliphanes.

Pausanias' remark about Archippos (ἄλλο τοιόνδε προσποιούσιν οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι ἐς δόξαν) suggests that Archippos' monument was dedicated by the Mytilenaeans who presumably had also inscribed his accomplishments on the base: before he was twenty years old Archippos won victories in the men's boxing event in Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, and Isthmos (see for example below no. 40, the dedication of the Erythraeans for Epitherses). This information can scarcely have been in the Olympic Register, and the language of Pausanias does not suggest that he got it from the local exegetes. In all likelihood, therefore, and 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.

40.

6.15.6: Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ οἱ Ἴωνες Ἐπιθέρησιν τὸν Μητρόδωρον, δύο μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι πυγμαῖς, δις δὲ Πυθοῖ νίκας καὶ ἐν Νεμέαι τε καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι λαβόντα, οὗτοι μὲν τὸν Ἐπιθέρησιν τοῦτον, ...ἀνέθεσαν....

¹⁹² There are three more Mytilenaeon athletes attested in the ancient sources, all of whom were stadionikai, but whose statues in the Altis, if they had any, Pausanias does not mention: see Moretti 1957, 89 no. 209 (Skamandrios), 130 no. 482 (Parmenion), and 156 no. 770 (Valerios). None of these names, however, could be restored here.

IO 186: a base of Pentelic marble, found January 14, 1879, to the south of the temple of Zeus, opposite its sixth column counting from the west, only eleven steps from the south Altis wall. The stone is smooth, and on the back side there are holes for clamps which suggest that this block was fastened to another one and therefore it is only part of the pedestal onto which the statue of Epitherses was mounted. On the upper surface there is also a single footprint. The inscription is cut on the front small side, and on the front border of the upper surface there are also traces of another inscription, totally unreadable.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 520.

Height: 0.33m. Width: 0.81m. Thickness: 0.985m.

Letter Height is not given by the *IO* editors.

220–180 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca. 20-30

[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

ὁ δῆμος ὕ ὁ Ἐρυθραίων
Ἐπιθέρση Μητροδώρου,
νικήσαντα ἄνδρας πυγμῆν
5 Ὀλύμπια δις καὶ τὴν περίοδον.
vacat
Πυθόκριτος Τιμοχάριος ὕ Ῥόδιος ἐπόησε.

The letters are carefully inscribed, and their strokes are cut deep and wide, except the sculptor's signature, and they end in triangular serifs. The letter cutter employs empty spaces inconsistently: in line 2 he has left an empty letter-space; in line 3 there is a half letter space empty between the two words; in line 4 the end of the first word is inscribed leaning to the left while the beginning of the next word leans to the right so as to create a third of a letter space empty; and in line six the first two words are separated from the last two by an empty space.

Characteristic letter shapes are: the middle bar of the alpha is broken; the middle stroke of the epsilon is shorter and the top horizontal sometimes is longer than the bottom; the pi's vertical strokes are of equal height; the theta does not have a horizontal middle stroke but a period; the right vertical of the nu is shorter; and the sigma's top and bottom strokes are horizontal and parallel.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Roehl, *IGB* 176. Moretti, *IAG* 46. Moretti 1957, 143 no. 610.

Commentary: The date of the inscription, late third and beginning of the second centuries B.C., is based on the career of the sculptor Pythokritos son of Timochares from Rhodes. There have been found more signatures of this sculptor in Rhodes which are dated ca. 203–165 B.C. (see Moretti *IAG* 46), a date with which the lettering of *IO* 186 is also in agreement, although the script of Erythrai is not known. Accordingly, Moretti (1957, 143 no. 610) dates the athlete's victory tentatively in the 149th Olympiad (184 B.C.)

Continuing his exegesis of the dedications in the Altis Pausanias reaches the statue of Epitherses, son of Metrodoros, a dedication of the demos of Erythrai in Asia Minor (Ionia). Epitherses, Pausanias continues, was victorious twice in the Olympic Games, and also twice in the Pythia, Nemea, and Isthmia. The inscribed pedestal of Epitherses' statue has been found in Olympia in the general area where it must have stood, as Pausanias' indirect topography implies, i.e. near and next to that of Archippos (no. 39 above), to the south of the temple of Zeus.

Except for the sculptor's signature, which the exegete totally ignores for some reason, but which is the only evidence for dating the Olympic inscription, Pausanias' narrative is an almost word by word copy of the inscription:

the city of Erythrai <dedicated this statue> of Epitherses son of Metrodoros, who won in the men's boxing event in the Olympics twice and the periodos.

The underlined words and the way in which Pausanias integrates this information into his narrative highlight the fundamental and programmatic principle followed by him. Pausanias' main interest is the exegesis of the monuments, athletic or otherwise, in the Altis, and the case of Epitherses provides an excellent example.

While transcribing the text on the base of Epitherses' statue, Pausanias makes three exegetical comments on the inscription which, as he thinks, is not so clear. First Pausanias points out that the Erythraians are **Ἰωνες*, i.e. from Asia Minor, the favorite

place of Pausanias. Secondly, he does not use the word *περίοδος*, which apparently was confusing to him or his readers, but he translates it as he understands it, i.e. that Epitherses won victories in the other three major panhellenic games, the Nemea, Pythia, and Isthmia.¹⁹³

Finally, Pausanias understands the meaning of line four to be that Epitherses was victorious twice in all four major games, since he assumes that *δύς* refers both to the Olympia and the *periodos*. The only other evidence for Epitherses, outside Pausanias, is the Panathenaic record of probably 198 B.C. where the winner of the boxing event is an Erythraian, son of Metrodoros, who cannot be any other person than Epitherses and whose name is accordingly restored securely (*IG II² 2313₃₇₋₃₈*):¹⁹⁴

πυγμῆν
[Ἐπιθέρο]η[ς] Μητροδώρου Ἐρυθραίου.

This of course does not help to support or reject Pausanias' understanding of line four of the Olympic inscription, and only Moretti has rejected it by proposing the alternative reading: to take *δύς* with Olympia alone and not with *periodos*, in which case a comma must be placed after *δύς*. At any rate, although there is no evidence to support either one of the readings, Pausanias' exegesis of line four cannot be rejected by grammatical and syntactical rules alone which are not always applicable on epigraphical texts, but only by strong evidence against his information.

The dedication of Epitherses, therefore, attests not only to the epigraphical interests of the exegete, but is also an excellent example of his methodology. It illustrates admirably what Pausanias calls "the exegesis of the monuments in the Altis" (5.21.1 and

¹⁹³ For the absence of the title *periodonikes* from Pausanias' narrative see especially no. 8 above, note 119.

¹⁹⁴ For the date of *IG II² 2313* and a reconsideration of the Panathenaic inscriptions see now: Tracy 1991, 189-236, especially 218-219 and 221-223.

Chapter II). Pausanias reads carefully the inscription which in itself is an exegesis of the statue, and he records its information in his narrative with some explanations. These, he judges, are necessary for his readers so that they will not be confused, when visiting Olympia, and will understand better the monument of Epitherses and the Erythraians.

41, 42.

6.15.7: Δημήτριον δὲ τὸν ἐλάσαντα ἐπὶ Σελεύκου στρατιᾷ καὶ ἀλόντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου τὸν παῖδα Ἀντίγονον ἀναθήματα ἴστω τις Βυζαντίων ὄντας.

IO 304: two joining fragments of grey limestone were found: fr. **a** May 8, 1876, to the south side of the temple of Zeus at the sixth column from the west, very near *IO* 186 (no. 40 above); fr. **b** November 4, 1878, to the south east of the temple of Zeus. Part of the base is broken at the back and at the right. In addition the inscribed surface is broken away on the left. The inscription is cut on the upper part of the front side of the pedestal onto which the statue of Antigonos was mounted, but no traces of its footprints are preserved. Fragment **a** is now *in situ* in the Altis, while fragment **b** is in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. fr. **a** 78, 138, fr. **b** 443. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.23m. Width: 0.68m. Thickness: 0.65m.

Inscribed surface: Height: 0.21m. Width: 0.32m.

Letter Height: 0.02-0.03m.

paulo post 301 *ante*

[ὁ] δᾶμος ὁ Βυζαντ[ίων]
[βα]σιλῆ Ἀντίγονον.

NON-STOICH.

IO 305: two fragments of grey limestone were found: fr. **a** January 19, 1879, in the excavations of the Baths; and fr. **b** in the summer of 1879, in the Palaistra, and it is broken all around except for the top border. Fragment **a** preserves part of the bottom and **b** some of the top. The inscription was cut on the front side of the pedestal onto which the statue of Demetrios was mounted. Both fragments are now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. 527 (**a**), 869 (**b**). *Vidi, Phot.*

Fr. **a**: Height: 0.18m. Width: 0.15m. Thickness: 0.12m.

Fr. **b**: Height: 0.14m. Width: 0.31m. Thickness: 0.235m.

Letter Height: 0.017-0.028m.

paulo post 301 ante

NON-STOICH.

[ὁ] δᾶμ[ος ὁ] Βυζαντίων
[β]ασιλ[ῆ] Δαμᾶτριον.

The letters of both inscriptions are very similar and suggest that they were inscribed by the same cutter (the letters in 305 are slightly smaller); they are nicely spaced out and the strokes are deep. Most end in triangular serifs. Prof. S.V. Tracy suggested that the letter style of both 304 and 305 is later than *IO 45*.

Characteristic letter shapes are: the middle bar of the alpha is broken; the right vertical of the nu is shorter and its shape is peculiar, indeed idiosyncratic (according to Prof. S.V. Tracy); the omicron is small and is cut in the middle of the letter space; and the top and bottom strokes of sigma slant.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

304: Line 1: alpha—only the bottom parts of the slanting strokes; tau—only the bottom part of a vertical.

305: Line 1: mu—only the bottom part of the left vertical.

Line 2: alpha—only the bottom tip of the right slanting stroke; lambda—only the bottom half of the left slanting stroke.

IO 45: six fragments of grey marble, of which all but **f** are joined. Five (**a-e**) were found in 1879: fr. **a** May 8, in the temple of Zeus; fr. **b** January 24, to the south of the temple of Zeus; fr. **c** January 17, to the south of the temple of Zeus; fr. **d** January 15, in the cella of the temple of Zeus; and fr. **e** January 24, to the south of the temple of Zeus, in the second column from the west. Fr. **f** was found in October

18, 1877, to the northeast of the Byzantine tower. The preserved text of the inscription comes from the end of a decree and fragment **d** seems to preserve part of the last line, since the space below has no letter traces. Fragments **a** and **f** preserve the top and the left and right edges. On top there is a dowel hole into which another block, containing the beginning, was attached. All fragments are now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. **fr. a** 637, **fr. b** 538a, **fr. c** 532, **fr. d** 524,
fr. e 538b, **fr. f** 218. *Vidi, Phot.* (all but **f**).

Frs. **a+b+c+d+e**: Height: 0.14m. Width: 0.46m. Thickness: 0.12m.

Fr. **f**: Height: 0.065m. Width: 0.17m. Thickness: 0.20m.

Letter Height: 0.005-0.01m.

306–301 *ante*

NON-STOICH.

| | |
|--|--|
| [- - - - - | τάς προαι [?] - πέντε ^ν καὶ διδαξοῦντι ἔσται] |
| ρέσιος ἔνεκεν. ἐλέσθαι δὲ πρέσβεις πέντε μὲν ποτ' Ἀντίγονου, δὲ ποτὶ Δαμάτριον, οὔτινες τὰς τιμὰς ἀπαγγελοῦντι καὶ αὐτούς, ὅτι ἡ πόλις ᾧν τε εὐεργέτηνται [χάριν αὐ]τοῖς | [εἰ]ς τ[ὸ]ν ὑπόλοιπον χρόν<ον> πράσσειν δὲ αὐ[τοὺς] - - - - - |
| [- - - - - παρὰ Δαμάτριον ἀγγέλου]ς πρεσβεῖν - - - - - | - - - - - |
| [- - - - - σθα] καὶ συ[ν]ασθῆμεν τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀγαθοῖς. τοὶ δὲ [?γοὶ ἐπιμελείσθωσαν μετὰ?] τ[ᾶ]ς βουλὰς ὅπως ταῖ τε πρεσβεῖ[αι] [ποτὶ τοὺς βασιλέας τ]ὰν ταχίσταν, ἐφ[?ο]διά τε δοθῆι αὐταῖς. τὸ δὲ ἀργύ [?] - | - - - - - |
| 10 [ριον εἶμεν εἰς τοὺς] στεφάνους ἐκ τῶν δαμοσίων χρημάτων [?] . <i>vacat</i> | - - - - - |

The letter cutter is somewhat careless (see lines 3 and 5) and cuts the letters in varying widths and heights. He places them very close together.

Characteristic letter shapes: the middle horizontal of the epsilon is shorter than the top and bottom, one of which is usually longer than the other; the verticals of the nu are quite short and the left slants to the right, while the right vertical sometimes slants to the left; the omicron is small and usually cut in the middle of the letter space; the bottom half of the sigma is shorter than the top; and the horizontal of tau sometimes slants to the left or to the right.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: pi—only the upper part of the left vertical and the beginning tip of the horizontal strokes.

Line 3: epsilon—only the bottom horizontal; tau—only the bottom half of the vertical; second tau—only the vertical; iota—only a faint trace of the bottom half of a vertical stroke.

Line 4: iota—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.

Line 5: sigma—only a faint trace of the upper slanting stroke; tau—only the horizontal; omicron—only the upper left part of a curving stroke; alpha—only a faint trace of the bottom left slanting stroke.

Line 7: alpha—only the apex; second alpha—only the right slanting and the upper part of the left slanting strokes; nu—only the bottom part of the left vertical; second nu—only the bottom half of the left vertical stroke.

Line 8: beta—only a faint trace of the upper part of an arc; omicron—only the upper half of a curving stroke; tau—only the bottom tip of the vertical; second tau—only the horizontal; rho—only the loop and a trace of the vertical; iota—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.

Restorations are those of the *IO* editors:

Line 3: the nu in ἀπαγγελ]οῦντι was inserted by the cutter above the letters upsilon and tau, as the *IO* facsimile indicates. Clearly he initially omitted it and preferred to add it in the interline rather than to erase and reinscribe.

Line 5: the ον in angle ankle brackets were omitted by the cutter; this omission is a clear case of haplography.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Müller 1973. Habicht 1984, 55 note 90. *CAH* 7.1, 52-61.

Commentary: A common date for all three inscriptions, 306–301 B.C., had been arrived at through two probable associations: first, all three inscriptions are inscribed on fine-grained limestone, not often used at Olympia; and secondly, since in all three of them both an Antigonos and a Demetrios are called kings and in *IO* 45 the Antigonos is mentioned before the Demetrios, it followed that it is Demetrios' father Monophthalmos and not his son as Pausanias notes. Although *IO* 45 does not preserve the name of the city, the *IO* editors assumed that it is Byzantion on the basis of the limestone used for *IO* 45, 304 and 305, and the narratives of Diodoros (18.72.6) and Polyaios (4.6.8). This then formed the basis for the *terminus post quem*, 306 B.C., the year when, after Demetrios' victory at Salamis in Cyprus against Ptolemy, father and son were

simultaneously proclaimed kings and ruled together. Consequently, the *terminus ante quem* must be 301 B.C., the year when Antigonos died at Ipsos. But the argument that Demetrios and his son Antigonos Gonatas were never kings at the same time is not relevant to dating and identifying *IO* 304 and 305. The lettering of *IO* 45 appears to be earlier than that of *IO* 304 and 305. Moreover, the fact that all three were inscribed on the same stone cannot count for much, simply because the Byzantines (if indeed *IO* 45 is a Byzantine decree) could have employed the same material for their dedications for thirty or more years. Although lettering alone cannot be the definitive criterion, it does appear that *IO* 304 and 305 are of a later date than *IO* 45, and so *IO* 45 is dated sometime after the year of Antigonos Monophthalmos' death (301 B.C.).

After the athletic monument of Epitherses (no. 40 above), Pausanias continues his exegesis of the dedications in the Altis with more athletic and state dedications and reaches the statues of Demetrios and "his son" Antigonos, both dedications of the city of Byzantion. Only the find spot of Antigonos' base, i.e. to the south of the temple of Zeus, very near the base of Epitherses, coincides with Pausanias' implied topography which is assumed to have been the original position of the two statues which Pausanias saw, and also perhaps the area where the honorary decree (of the Byzantines?) was set up.

Pausanias, however, does not explain why the statue he saw portrayed Antigonos Gonatas and not Monophthalmos, although he would have some reason for his identification.¹⁹⁵ Both dedications (*IO* 304, 305) are very brief and the only information they provide is the dedicator, the demos of Byzantion, and the honored persons, king Antigonos and king Demetrios. The texts of *IO* 304, 305 and Pausanias' brief note of them do not then contradict each other. There is no good reason to reject Pausanias'

¹⁹⁵ He would certainly have seen other statues of the kings elsewhere and probably knew what they looked like.

identification. All the more so, because *IO* 45 is very fragmentary. Only the last part of the decree is preserved and that with many gaps, one of which for example is the apparent absence of the clause mentioning the setting up of the decree and the kings' statues in Olympia, and especially the absence of the dedicators, "the Byzantines". The substantive information of this decree is that a city state (for all we know it may be any city) voted to send five ambassadors to king Antigonos Monophthalmos and five to his son king Demetrios, who will express to them the citizens' gratitude for the kings' assistance against someone and crown them. The fact that both *IO* 45 and *IO* 304, 305 are inscribed on stone, made of the same material, may indeed support a possible connection of all three inscriptions (*IO* editors), but such a connection is by no means indisputable, because of the fragmentary nature of *IO* 45 and the lack of strong corroborating evidence. Since *IO* 45 (if it was actually a measure past by Byzantion) suggests that Byzantion enjoyed good relations with Monophthalmos and Demetrios, it is equally possible that these relations continued after Antigonos' death. And so, there is a case to be made in support of Pausanias' identification.¹⁹⁶ These two statues then portrayed Demetrios and Antigonos Gonatas and were dedicated at Olympia by Byzantion on account of the crushing defeat the kings dealt to the Gauls in Thrace in 276 B.C., who would no doubt have been harassing Byzantion (see E.L. Hicks in Frazer ad loc.). That incident may have provided the perfect reason for such a dedication. For it is important to point out that the identification of Antigonos either as the Monophthalmos or Gonatas is not possible from the inscriptions on these two bases alone, nor is the association of the two with *IO* 45 based on solid ground. Only further evidence can securely solve this problem.

¹⁹⁶ Habicht (1984, 55) calls Pausanias' identification of the two statues an "occasional error," correctly so insofar as without *IO* 45, if one accepts it to be a decree of Byzantion, Pausanias' comment cannot be rejected.

43.

6.16.5: ... καὶ Φιλωνίδης Ζώ<ι>του, γένος μὲν ἐκ Χερρονήσου τῆς Κρητῶν,
Ἰ Αλεξάνδρου δὲ ἡμεροδρόμος τοῦ Φιλίππου.

Apparatus Criticus:

1 all mss. and editors before Hitzig read Ζώτου, but according to Hitzig Ζῳ̄του “veram scripturam esse docet inscriptio Olympiae reperta.”

IO 276: a base of yellow sandstone, found March 21, 1879, built in the southwest corner of the Altis. Only the upper right corner is missing.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 579.

Height: 0.35m. Width: 0.75m. Thickness: 0.69m.

Letter Height: 0.014-0.03m.

ca. 336–323 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca. 17

β[α]σιλέως Ἰ Αλε[ξάνδρου]
ἡμεροδρόμας καὶ
βηματιστῆς τῆς Ἰ Ασίας
Φιλωνίδης Ζω̄του Κρη̄ς
5 Χερσονάσιος ἀνέθηκε
Διὶ Ἰ Ολυμπίοι.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: beta—only the loop and the upper part of the vertical.

IO 277: a fragment of a base of grey limestone, found November 27, 1879, to the north of the Byzantine church, in a late wall, nearby the find spot of *IO 276*. The fragment preserves the left and bottom borders, i.e. the beginning of the inscription, and it is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 721. *Vidi*.

Height: 0.345m. Width: 0.12m. Thickness: 0.30m.

Letter Height: 0.014-0.03m.

ca. 336–323 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca. 17?

β[α]σιλέως Ἰ Αλε[ξάνδρου]
ἡμ[ε]ροδρόμας καὶ

βημα[τιστῆς τῆς Ἀσίας]
 Φιλωνίδης Ζώιτου Κρήσι]
 5 Χερσ[ονάσιος ἀνέθηκε]
 Διὶ Ὀλυμπίου].
vacat 0.10m.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: alpha—only the extreme bottom part of a left slanting stroke.

Line 3: alpha—only part of the left slanting stroke.

The two fragmentary stones have the same height and they were identical. The letter style, however, is quite distinctive. The letters of *IO* 276 are cut deeper, whereas in 277 the strokes are thinner and the tips end in triangular serifs. Characteristic letters are which suggest different cutters are the epsilon (in 276 the middle bar is very short; in 277 it is equal in length to the top and bottom horizontals), and the sigma (the top and bottom strokes in 276 slant sharply, with the bottom one being at times shorter; in 277 sometimes they are parallel, other times the top slightly slants, while the bottom curves).

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896–1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974–81, ad loc.

*Syll.*⁴ 303. Berve 1926, vol. 2, 392 no. 800. Kalléris 1954, 130–131 nos. 44 and 45, 181–182 no. 81. Bingen 1954, 407–409. Bilinski 1959–1960, 69–80. Robert 1959, 1–26. *BE* 1961, 169 no. 333. Matthews 1974, 161–169. Krenkel 1976, 373–374. Matz 1991, 81–82, 131.

Commentary: The date for these inscriptions, during 336–323 B.C. or after, is self-evident and is based on the inscription itself where Philonides calls himself a *hemerodromos* and *bematistes* of Asia of king Alexander, i.e. that he served under Alexander from the beginning of the king's expedition to Asia probably until his death. There is also the possibility, however, that Philonides dedicated these statues not while in the service of Alexander, but at some point after he returned to Greece, perhaps following Alexander's death.

Continuing his exegesis of the monuments in the Altis, Pausanias reaches the statue of Philonides son of Zoites from the Kretan Chersonesos, who was the *hemerodromos* of Alexander, the son of Philip. Both fragmentary bases, onto which the statues of Philonides were mounted, were found in or very near their original position, the southwest corner of the Altis. The find spot of Philonides' base, the extreme west of the south terrace wall, is an indication that with this statue Pausanias reached the southwest

border of the Altis and consequently the dedications that he records after Philonides' were not set up in the same area (no. 44 below and following). Pausanias' topography from the base of Telemachos until now (nos. 36-43), could be generally followed, since the bases that have been found suggest that he was walking on the south terrace to the south of the temple of Zeus in a direction from east to west. Apparently after Philonides' monument Pausanias moved out of the Altis proper, because the majority of the inscribed bases were found outside the west wall of the Altis and near the Leonidaion (Hyde 1912, 213-214, and especially Herrmann 1988, *passim*).

In addition to the topographical point of reference, Pausanias' very brief information about Philonides is also confirmed by the texts on the bases: Philonides the son of Zoitos from the Kretan city Chersonesos was the *hemerodromos* of Alexander. Moreover, Zoitos, the name of Philonides' father, is preserved in *IO 276*, and thus the correct spelling of the name with the iota adscript can support a correction of Pausanias' manuscripts where the iota had fallen out (see the Apparatus Criticus). The only omission on Pausanias' part from what is inscribed on Philonides' bases is apparently the second title of Philonides, i.e. *bematistes* of Asia, which is generally assumed to be something different from a *hemerodromos*. More specifically, a *bematistes* is "someone who measures by paces,"¹⁹⁷ while a *hemerodromos* is "someone who runs a day's distance."¹⁹⁸

In the ancient sources, however, there is no such clear cut distinction between the two functions (Livy for example explains: hemerodromos vocant Graeci ingens die uno

¹⁹⁷ LSJ s.v. βηματιστής, who, however, translate the word in *IO 276* wrongly as "quartermaster", for which see Matthews 1974, 164. For the possibility that this may have been a Makedonian word see Kalléris 1954, vol. 1, 130-131 no. 45.

¹⁹⁸ LSJ s.v. ἡμεροδρόμος, Matthews 1974, 161-165, and Kalléris 1954, vol. 1, 181-182 no. 81 who stresses the fact that in *IO 276* the Doric (Makedonian) form *hemerodromas* is inscribed.

cursum emetientes spatium 31.24). In that respect, Pausanias' omission of the second title of Philonides, *bematistes*, implies obviously that the two were rather similar, or at least that the title "*hemerodromos* of Alexander" alone conveyed also the meaning of "measuring by paces". In fact, a corps of *bematistai* seems to have been established for the first time by Alexander for the measurement of his new conquests in Asia,¹⁹⁹ whereas *hemerodromoi* were known long before him, the most famous being the Athenian Philippides (Herodotos 6.105-106). Furthermore, there is no clear evidence about the function of a *hemerodromos* (how fast did or could he run; was he "power walking", in which case he could also be measuring; did he run from sunrise to sunset, and so on). Likewise, "measuring by paces" may not have been the exclusive task of the *bematistes* alone, since both running and walking involve "pacing". What is even more important for the present discussion is that at least in antiquity the authors discussing *hemerodromoi* and *bematistai* did not regard them as athletes in the sense that they trained for a competition.²⁰⁰ Rather they describe them as professional road planners/topographers, since the primary goal of both the *hemerodromos* and a *bematistes* was to measure and establish the best and presumably the fastest route for military transportation and communication between cities, a very important and necessary accomplishment whose ramifications the Romans realized and developed even further. It is, therefore, rather

¹⁹⁹ In addition to Philonides there are also attested Baeton, a *bematistes* who is said to have composed a work called *Stathmoi* (Athenaios 10.442b), and also Diognetos (Pliny *HN* 6.61: ... Diognetus et Baeton itinerum eius mensores scripsere ...). For the complete title inscribed on Philonides' base Kalléris (1954, vol. 1, 182 note 4) correctly notes: "... il se peut donc qu'un ou plusieurs autres des 'bematistes', qui n'étaient pas des Crétois ..., aient également assumé la fonction d'"hémérodromas'."

²⁰⁰ Modern scholarship (among others Bilinski 1959-1960, Matthews 1974, Krenkel 1976, and Matz 1991) refers to Philonides as a kind of an athlete, the parallel of a modern Marathon runner. That is true only insofar as "athlete" is used in the broadest possible sense so that it can also explain other non-athletic statues in the Altis.

unlikely that Pausanias' omission of the second title is an oversight, or that Philonides' statues in Olympia were set up on account of Philonides' "athletic" accomplishments.

The discovery of a third inscription of this same Philonides in Aigion in Achaia, which preserves only the beginning and is perhaps a dedication of the citizens of Aigion, may offer some suggestions, because of its place of finding, about the reason for all three dedications of Philonides (Bingen 1954, 407-409):²⁰¹

Θεός. Τύχα ἀγαθά.
 Φιλωνίδαί Ζωίτου
 Κρητὶ Χερσονα-
 [σ]ίωι [- - - - - -]
 [- - - - - - - - - -].

The *communis opinio* about this honorary decree and by extension about the two Olympic dedications is that they were set up on account of an accomplishment of Philonides, which is recorded by Pliny (*HN* 7.84 and 2.181), i.e. they commemorate his run from Sikyon to Elis and back in one day. Although Pliny does not state why Philonides ran that distance, it would be quite surprising if it were simply for the athletic aspect of the event, what Matthews calls "a great feat" (1977, 166). The Olympic inscriptions do not record that he was an Olympic victor, and the fact that Pausanias mentions him among other athletes does not necessarily imply that Philonides was an athlete.²⁰² The professional and experienced *hemerodromos* and *bematistes* of Alexander was no doubt an important enough individual to be granted permission by the Olympic Boule to set up his statues in the Altis. Philonides' one day run from Sikyon to

²⁰¹ For discussions of this inscription see also Bengtson 1956, 35-39; Robert 1959, 24-26; Bilinski 1959-1960, 69-80 who proposes that the monograms on the stone are the numbers which Pliny gives for Philonides' run from Sikyon to Elis, but see the comments of Robert in *BE* 1961, 169 no. 333.

²⁰² This of course does not imply that the "agonistic" spirit was absent from Philonides' career, since this was the Hellenic trait par excellence. Along these lines was composed the epigram on the base of the sophist Gorgias (no. 48 below), but this alone would hardly persuade the Eleians to grant permission for an individual dedication in the Altis.

Elis and back may have been commissioned in order to measure or prove that the distance between Sikyon and Elis was one day's running. This, apart for its practical advantages, would have certainly played favorably with the Eleians and would be reason enough for permission to set up his statues in the Altis. This may have been the reason for the decree from the Achaian Aigion in honor of Philonides. The citizens of Aigion may have commissioned him to measure for example the distance between Aigion and some other city, or even Philonides may had already done this on his way from Elis back to Sikyon.

44.

6.16.5: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον (sc. Philonides) ... Λεωνίδας τε ἐκ Νάξου τῆς ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, Ψωφιδίων ἀνάθημα Ἀρκάδων, ...

IO 294: a base of black limestone, found April 10, 1880, built into a Byzantine building on the west wall of the Altis, in front of the east end of the north side of the Leonidaion. The front side on which the inscription is cut is very damaged, while on the upper surface there are traces of the footprints of the bronze statue. The base is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 838. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.29m. Width: 0.57m. Thickness: 0.52m.

Letter Height: 0.015-0.02m.

350–300 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca. 18

ἡ [πό]λις ἡ Ψωφιδίων
 Λεωνίδην Λεώτου [Νάξιον]
 Δὲ Ὀλυμπίῳ ἀνέθη[κεν].

The Ionic dialect of the inscription is that of Leonidas' homeland Naxos and not of the dedicator, the Arkadian city of Psophis.

The letters are generously spaced and some lean to the left, while their style is plain. Characteristic letter shapes are: the middle bar of the epsilon is shorter, while the bottom horizontal is slightly extended; the vertical strokes of the mu are slightly curved outwards; the omicrons and omegas are small and are cut above the imaginary bottom line; and the right vertical of the pi is shorter than the left and the horizontal extends beyond it. This style, according to the *IO* editors, suggests a date in the second half of the fourth century B.C.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: eta—only the bottom parts of two vertical strokes.

Line 2: lambda—only a trace of the right slanting stroke; omicron—only the left side; upsilon—only the bottom tip of the vertical.

Line 3: theta—only the bottom.

Restorations are those of the *IO* editors:

Line 1 is restored thanks to Pausanias' information, whereas Leonidas' ethnic in line 2 is restored thanks to Pausanias and *IO* 651 (no. 62), since both record the same individual, Leonidas the son of Leotes.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Commentary: The date for the inscription, second half of the fourth century B.C., is based totally on the letter style and it also agrees with the time when the Leonidaion, the building dedicated by Leonidas, was constructed (330–320 B.C., see no. 62 below).

Immediately after Philonides' dedication in the Altis (no. 43 above) and in the same paragraph Pausanias mentions briefly the Eleian athlete Brimias and then Leonidas from the Aegean island of Naxos whose statue was a dedication made by the Arkadian city Psophis. The way in which Pausanias continues his narrative from the statue of Philonides onwards offers no hints as to where in the Altis he saw the monument of Leonidas. The find spot of Leonidas' base, however, in the area outside the west wall of the Altis and in front of the Leonidaion, may be an indication that Pausanias from here on lists dedications which were set up outside the Altis proper.

Even though topographically Pausanias is of little help about the original position of the dedication, nevertheless his brief note on Leonidas is crucial for the restoration of the fragmentary inscription: in line 1 the dedicator, the city of Psophis, and in line 2 the ethnic of Leonidas, Naxos. Leonidas is also known from another inscription which Pausanias

either misread or did not read at all. In his brief excursus on the Leonidaion (5.15.2) Pausanias says that the building was a dedication of an Eleian Leonidas. This statement is disproved by the inscription on the building's epistyle which records a Leonidas son of Leotes from Naxos as the dedicator (*IO* 651, no. 62 below). This inscription and the present one refer clearly to the same Leonidas. Pausanias, however, does not name Leotes, Leonidas' father in either place (5.15.2 and 6.16.5).

45.

6.16.5: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον (sc. Philonides)... Ἀσάμωνός τε εἰκὼν ἐν ἀνδράσι
 πυγμῆι νεικηκότος, ... ὁ δὲ Ἀσάμων καὶ ... Ἡλεῖοι μὲν ἦσαν,
 πεποίηκε δὲ..., Ἀσάμωνι δὲ Πυριλάμπης Μεσσήνιος.

Apparatus Criticus:

1 the mss. read: Ἀσάμωνος P, Ἀγάμωνος Pd Ag L Ms, while Clavier reads Ἀσάμωνος. 3
 the mss. Pd Ag read: Ἀγάμωνι.

SEG XXXIII, 329: a base of limestone, found during the German School's excavations of 1982 under the direction of A. Mallwitz in the so-called "Spolienhaus", whose identity is uncertain and which is located in the southwest section of the site, immediately to the south of the Leonidaion. The inscription is cut on the upper part of the front side. The discovery of this inscribed base is reported only briefly and without measurements or an Inventory Number.

ca. ?225? ante

Ἀσάμων Ἰππάρχου
 Ἡλεῖος.
vacat

The letters of this inscription (see the photograph published by Touchais) are well spaced out and elegantly cut, and the athlete's ethnic is inscribed in the middle of line 2. The tips of the strokes end in triangular serifs while the verticals are somewhat curved.

Characteristic letter shapes, which Prof. S.V. Tracy informs me suggest a late third century B.C. date, are: the middle bar of the alpha is broken; the bottom stroke of the epsilon is horizontal but the middle and upper strokes are slanting upwards and thus the epsilon leans to the left; the mu's right stroke is slanting more than the left; the horizontal of the pi extends to the left and the right of the verticals of

which the right one is shorter; and the sigma is wide and short and the upper stroke is slanting upwards whereas the bottom is almost horizontal.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.
Catling 1982-83, 30. Touchais 1983, 767-768 fig. 43. *BE* 1984, 386 no. 207. Moretti 1957, 125 no. 452; 1987, 70 no. 452.

Commentary: This inscription is dated very generally in the Hellenistic period on the basis of its letter style, since the only other evidence for the victory of the athlete Asamon is the Messenian sculptor Ppyrilampes. The base bears no signature of the sculptor, although Pausanias states that Ppyrilampes made Asamon's statue (Pausanias also mentions two other works by a Messenian Ppyrilampes 6.3.13; 15.1). There has been found in Olympia a base with this sculptor's signature which by its lettering (especially the lunate sigma) is dated in the middle of the first century B.C. (*IO* 400 and *IGB* 274²⁰³), but it is not certain whether he is the same Ppyrilampes or another member of the family, since the date for *IO* 400 seems to be rather late. Moretti (1957, 125 no. 452) who tentatively dated Asamon's victory in the 110th Olympiad (340? B.C.) now believes that the date for his victory is much later, "at least a century", than he previously thought.²⁰⁴

Immediately after the Arkadian dedication of the Naxian Leonidas (no. 44 above) and in the same paragraph, Pausanias mentions briefly the statue of the Eleian athlete Asamon who was victorious in the men's boxing event and whose statue was the work of the Messenian Ppyrilampes. The find spot of Asamon's base, in a building immediately to the south of the Leonidaion, is in the same general area where Leonidas' base was found

²⁰³ The Messenian Ppyrilampes, Ppyrilampos in the inscriptions, belonged to the fourth generation of a family of sculptors for which see the stemma in Loewy, *IGB* 193 no. 273, and also nos. 272, 272a.

²⁰⁴ Moretti 1987, 70 no. 452: "A giudicare dai caratteri epigrafici, la data dell' iscrizione sarrebbe più tarda, di almeno un secolo, di quella che gli avevo assegnato (340 a.C.?)."

and also supports Hyde's proposition that after the statue of Philonides Pausanias moves to dedications which were outside the Altis proper and near the Leonidaion (no. 62), although Pausanias does not say so.

Pausanias' brief information on Asamon, however, and the identification inscription on the base corroborate and complement each other. Although only the name of the athlete, which in the manuscript tradition underwent some changes, and his ethnic are the common information in the two texts, it does not necessarily follow that Pausanias did not see the inscribed base of the athlete. Pausanias omits Asamon's father's name, Hipparchos, which is the only addition of the inscription to Pausanias' brief note about the athlete. In turn, although there is no signature inscribed on the base, Pausanias, perhaps drawing from another source, notes that the sculptor was the Messenian Pyrilampes. Likewise, the event in which Asamon was victorious, is not inscribed, since probably the representation of the statue would be enough. The combination of these two brief testimonies is so far the only information about the Eleian athlete Asamon. Once more Pausanias' narrative is verified by an inscribed base from which he probably took some of his information about Asamon.

46.

- 6.16.9: καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν (sc. Ptolemaios who is on horse back) Ἡλείος ἀθλητῆς
 Παιάνιος ὁ Δαματρίου πάλης τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι καὶ τὰς δύο Πυθικὰς
 ἀνηρημένος νίκας.
- 6.15.10: πρῶτῳ δὲ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρώπων αἱ δύο νίκαι τῷ Κάπρῳ τούτῳ.
 τὸν μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου καταγωνισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδή- 5
 λωκεν {δὲ} ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι (see 6.15.5): παλαίων δὲ κατέβαλεν
 Ἡλείον Παιάνιον Ὀλυμπιάδα πάληι τὴν προτέραν ἀνηρημένον (i.e.
 141st = 216 B.C.) καὶ Πύθια παίδων τε πυγμῆι καὶ αὐθις ἐν ἀνδράσι
 πάληι τε καὶ πυγμῆι στεφανωθέντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς.

IO 179: a base of grey limestone, found February 16, 1881, built into a water basin in an early Byzantine building, behind the south part of the Echo Hall. On the upper surface there are footprints of an approximately lifesize statue, while the inscription is cut on the upper part of the front side.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. is not given by the *IO* editors.

Height: 0.265m. Width: 0.83m. Thickness: 0.535m.

Letter Height is not given by the *IO* editors.

paulo post 216 *ante*

Παιάνιος Δαματρίου Ἠλείος.

The letter style of the inscription is careful, but the letters are crowded so much so that the strokes of ΑΜΑ and ΗΑΕ touch at the bottom. The letter shapes (especially the broken bar of the alpha) agree with the date Pausanias offers about Paianios' victory, late third century B.C. For the spelling, the long alpha instead of an eta in Damatrios and the eta instead of a long alpha in Eleios, see the comments of the *IO* editors.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Moretti 1957, 140 no. 583.

Commentary: The date for the inscription, a little after 216 B.C., is based on Pausanias' information about the Eleian Paianios who in the 142nd Olympiad (212 B.C.) was defeated in wrestling by another Eleian athlete Kapros. Paianios, Pausanias adds, was victorious in 216 B.C. (the 141st Olympiad), soon after which he dedicated his statue at Olympia (see also Moretti).

Pausanias mentions briefly the dedication of the Eleian athlete Paianios, the son of Damatrios, victorious in the wrestling event, between the statues of Philonides, Leonidas and Asamon (nos. 43-45) on the one hand, and that of the Athenian Glaukon (no. 47 below) on the other. The find spot, therefore, of Paianios' inscribed base, behind the southern part of the Echo Hall, indicates that his dedication was removed from its original position. Pausanias mentions him among athletes whose statues have been found near

their original position, in the area outside the west wall of the Altis and near the Leonidaion, where probably Paianios' statue stood too.

The text of the inscription on the base of Paianios is only three words which comprise the identification of the athlete, his name, his father's name and his ethnic. Pausanias, however, in addition to this information, offers more details about his career, details which were not inscribed on his base, but were taken from other sources:²⁰⁵ he not only adds the event in which Paianios won in Olympia, but that he also won twice in Delphi. Moreover, a little earlier, in his brief note on the career of another Eleian athlete Kapros, Pausanias records the athletes whom Kapros defeated, one of them being Paianios. Pausanias adds (6.15.10) that Paianios was victorious in the previous Olympiad (216 B.C.) and also in Delphi in the boys' boxing and in the men's wrestling and boxing in the same day. The discrepancy between this and the later passage about the number of the Pythic victories of Paianios is not, as Frazer notes (1965, vol. 4, 52), "through forgetfulness perhaps" of Pausanias. The exegete in the later passage narrates the Olympic victory of Paianios in the men's category and, therefore, may be excluding his victory among the boys. Or, as Hitzig suggested (1896-1910, vol. 2.2, 618), Pausanias' statement "two Pythic victories" may be a reference to all three, if Pausanias counts as one the two victories which Paianios won in the same day.

All this additional information that Pausanias reports on Paianios is yet another example of the exegete's methodology while at Olympia. The inscriptions he reads on the Olympic monuments form only the elementary core of the information to be incorporated in his narrative. In some cases this is the only source available, whereas in others the

²⁰⁵ Hitzig 1896-1910, vol. 2.2, 618: "Die Inschrift zeigt auch, dass er hier sich noch anderer Quellen bediente als epigraphischer."

epigraphical evidence is complemented by others, as is the case with the monument of the athlete Paianios.

47.

6.16.9: ... ἐστίν... καὶ ἄρμα ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἐπεοκλέους· ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ὁ Γλαύκων οὗτος ἐπὶ ἄρματος τελείου δρόμῳ.

IO 178: two joining blocks of grey limestone, both of which were found built into later walls, northwest of the Byzantine church: **a** January 14, 1880, and **b** April 22, 1880. Block **b** is broken all around while **a** preserves the bottom part, which was ornamented with an elaborate moulding. On the upper surface of both blocks there are holes for the attachment of the chariot which, judging from the dimensions of the base, was considerably smaller than life size. The two lines of the inscription are cut on the upper part of the front; the two blocks are now standing outside of the New Museum, in its west stoa.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. **a** 752, **b** 870. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.76-0.77m. Width: 0.68m. (**a** 0.32 + **b** 0.36) Thickness: 0.46m.

Letter Height: 0.015-0.021m.

282–242 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca. 17

Δὲ Ὀλ[υμπίῳ] Γλαύκων
Ἐπεοκλέ[ους] Ἀθηναῖος.

The letters of the inscription are cut carefully, well spaced out, and elegantly. The strokes are highly ornamental, as they are slightly curved and end in triangular serifs.

Characteristic letter shapes are: the slanting strokes of the kappa are cut small in proportion to its vertical; the middle slanting stroke of the nu extends to the left beyond the vertical; and the strokes of the omicron and omega are nicely rounded.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: lambda—only a trace of the bottom part of a left slanting stroke.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.
PA 3019. Oikonomides 1956, 218-227. Moretti 1957, 136 no. 542. Étienne 1975, 51-75. Pouilloux 1975, 376-382. Buraselis 1984, 136-160. Habicht 1985, 86. *CAH* 7.1, 236-240.

Commentary: Although there is abundant information about the Athenian Glaukon, who together with his brother Chremonides was politically active in Athens in the middle of the third century B.C., his Olympic victory cannot be safely dated. Moretti (1957, 136 no. 542) suggests tentatively the 127th Olympiad (272 B.C.), i.e. before the outbreak of the Chremonidean War in 267 B.C., since after the war Glaukon's political career at Athens ended with his exile to Egypt, and since his athletic achievements would normally precede a successful political career.

Pausanias, after the dedication of Paianios (no. 46 above), continues his exegesis of the Olympic monuments with two athletic dedications, the statue of the Eleian Klearetos and the chariot of the Athenian Glaukon. The latter is the last dedication Pausanias mentions in his first *ἔφεδος* inside and outside the Altis. He started (6.6.1) near the area between the temple of Hera and the Pelopeion and moved south- and eastwards, keeping to his right the temple of Zeus, and then westwards until he reached the area outside the Altis, in the vicinity of the Leonidaion (see notes 145-146). The find spot of the two blocks of Glaukon's base, northwest of the Byzantine church, is indeed in the same general area where the dedications of Leonidas and Asamon have been found (nos. 44 and 45 above), outside the west wall of the Altis and in the vicinity of the Leonidaion, presumably near their original position.

The text on the chariot base of Glaukon is as brief as Pausanias' narrative. In addition to his name, his father's name, and his ethnic Pausanias only adds the event in which Glaukon won, the chariot race for full grown horses, a detail which need not be

inscribed, since it could be easily surmised from the representation of the chariot, or it could be taken from the Olympic Register.

What is significant in the case of Glaukon's athletic dedication is that Pausanias does not add any other information about him, although he was very active in the early part of the third century B.C. His activity is attested by the discovery of other inscriptions in Athens, Rhodes, the Arkadian Orchomenos, Boeotia, and Olympia, where he is honored for his services. Ptolemy III Euergetes even set up a statue in his honor at Olympia, which Pausanias does not mention (*IO* 296).²⁰⁶ The Athenian Glaukon together with his brother Chremonides became allies of Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Sparta's king Areus (no. 73 below) in the so-called Chremonidean War of 267–261 B.C., to which Pausanias alludes at 3.6.2-6. However, the names Chremonides and Glaukon, except for the latter's athletic dedication here, are not to be found in Pausanias' work. This surprising omission of any historical comment on Glaukon's career has no apparent explanation, since it runs counter to his customary approach. Pausanias usually takes the opportunity a monument in Olympia offers to comment, explain, and complement the epigraphical information with other evidence and thus provide a concise "historical" account of the honored person. Notwithstanding this, the text of *IO* 178 confirms Pausanias' narrative on Glaukon which, it seems, is exclusively based on the inscription itself, since the information of both is identical.

48.

6.17.7: Ἀνδριάντας δὲ ἀναμειγμένους οὐκ ἐπιφα<νέ>σιν ἄγαν
ἀναθήμασιν...καὶ τὸν Λεοντῖνον Γοργίαν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἀναθεῖ-

²⁰⁶ For other inscriptions honoring Glaukon see especially Étienne 1975, 56-58, and also Pouilloux 1975, 376-382, and Buraselis 1984, 136-160.

ναι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν φησὶν Εὐμόλπος ἀπόγονος τρίτος
 Δηικράτους συνοικήσαντας ἀδελφῆτι τῆι Γοργίου. (8) οὗτος ὁ
 Γοργίας πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Χαρμαντίδου, λέγεται δὲ ἀνασώσασθαι 5
 μελέτην λόγων πρῶτος ἡμελημένην τε ἐς ἅπαν καὶ ἐς λήθην
 ὀλίγου δεῖν ἤκουσαν ἀνθρώποις· εὐδοκιμῆσαι δὲ Γοργίαν λόγων
 ἕνεκα ἔν τε πανηγύρει τῆι Ὀλυμπικῆι φασὶ καὶ ἀφικόμενον κατὰ
 πρεσβείαν ὁμοῦ Τισίαι παρ' Ἀθηναίους. καίτοι ἄλλα τε Τισίας ἐς
 λόγους ἐσηνέγκατο καὶ πιθανώτατα τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν γυναικὶ Συ- 10
 ρακουσίαι χρημάτων ἔγραψεν ἀμφισβήτησιν. (9) ἀλλὰ γε ἐκείνου
 τε ἐς πλεον τιμῆς ἀφίκετο ὁ Γοργίας παρὰ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ Ἰάσων
 ἐν Θεσσαλίαι τυραννήσας Πολυκράτους, οὐ τὰ ἔσχατα ἐνεγκαμέ-
 νου διδασκαλείου τοῦ Ἀθήνησι, τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπίπροσθεν
 αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐποίησατο. βιώναι δὲ ἔτη Γοργίαν πέντε φασὶν 15
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατόν· Λεοντίων <δὲ> ἐρημωθεῖσάν ποτε ὑπὸ Συρακου-
 σίων τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐμὲ αὖθις συνέβαινεν οἰκείσθαι.
 10.18.7: ἐπίχρυσος δὲ εἰκὼν, ἀνάθημα Γοργίου τοῦ ἐκ Λεοντίων, αὐτὸς
 Γοργίας ἐστὶν (εἰκῶν).

Apparatus Criticus:

5 all mss. and some editors before Hitzig read: Χαρμαντίδου. Hitzig,²⁰⁷ Papachatzis, and
 Rocha-Pereira read Χαρμαντίδου after Suda s.v. Γοργίας, a reading which is also supported
 by IO 293, which Pausanias read and of which he gave an abridged version in his narrative.

IO 293: a base of black limestone, found December 16, 1876, ten meters northeast of the
 northeast corner of the temple of Zeus. The base is intact, but the inscribed
 surface has suffered much damage. The letters are all legible, albeit with some
 difficulty and effort. The base is now on display in the Entrance Hall of the New
 Museum in Olympia A(ἴθυνα) 524.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 101. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.55m. Width: 0.645m. Thickness: 0.635m.

Letter Height: 0.008-0.01m.

²⁰⁷ Only Hitzig takes into account the Olympic inscription for the correct reading of Gorgias' father:
 "Χαρμαντίδου recepi e Suida s. Γοργίας et in scriptione Olympica."

Χαρμαντίδου Γοργίας Λεοντίνοσ.

vacat ca. 0.0027m.

τῆμ μὲν ἀδελφὴν Δηϊκράτης τῆγ Γοργίου ἔσχεν,

ἐκ ταύτης δ' αὐτῶι γίγνεται Ἴπποκράτης,

5 Ἴπποκράτους δ' Εὐμόλποσ, ὅσ εἰκόνα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκεν

δισσῶν, παιδείας καὶ φιλίας ἕνεκα.

vacat ca. 0.06m.

Γοργίου ἀσκήσαι ψυχὴν ἀρετῆσ ἐσ ἀγῶνας

οὐδεὶσ πω θνητῶν καλλίον' ἤῤε τέχνην·

10 οὗ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνοσ γυάλοισ εἰκῶν ἀνάκειται

οὐ πλούτου παράδειγμ', εὐσεβίας δὲ τρόπων.

vacat 0.015m.

The style of the letters is plain and the strokes are cut somewhat crowded and deep (the width of a stroke is ca. 0.004m.). Characteristic letter shapes are: the horizontals of the epsilon are equal in length; the right vertical of the pi is very short; the left and right strokes of the mu are slightly curved and slanting; and the top and bottom horizontals of the sigma are slanting up- and downwards.

The dialect is Attic with assimilation of the nu in line 3, while the identification in line 1 in which the patronymic precedes the name, has been suggested to be an indication of the Gorgianic style (*IO* editors). The inscription is inscribed in three sections which are divided by empty spaces and which present: section one (line 1) the identification of the honored person; section two, in two elegiac distichs (lines 3-6), the dedicator, his family relation with Gorgias and the reason for the dedication; and section three, two more distichs (lines 9-11), Gorgias' achievement (lines 8-9) and a reference to his statue in Delphi with a justification for its extravagance (lines 10-11).

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 5: epsilon—only the vertical and a trace of the bottom horizontal; iota—a trace of its upper part.

Line 6: alpha—only the right slanting stroke; second alpha—only a trace of the left slanting stroke; sigma—only the bottom horizontal/slanting stroke; epsilon—a trace of the vertical stroke.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Hiller 1926, 25. Gallavotti 1979a, 24-25. Kyrkos 1984, 229-247. Hansen, *CEG* 2, 830. Guthrie 1989, 239-248, 328-333, 452 note 37, 480 note 15, 481 note 20.

Commentary: The date for this inscription, first half of the fourth century B.C., is based on the letter style, which cannot be later than 350 B.C., and also on the text of the inscription itself. In it the grandnephew of Gorgias, Eumolpos, explains his lineage and devotion to Gorgias with whom he studied (lines 3-6). It is an open question, however, whether Eumolpos made this dedication in Olympia while Gorgias was still alive (483–

376 B.C.), or posthumously. Hence, the tentative date of the first half of the fourth century B.C.

As he continues his exegesis of the most noteworthy monuments, athletic or private, which were set up in the area to the north of the north façade of the temple of Zeus, Pausanias reaches two statues which were “standing amid less illustrious offerings (Fraser)” (ἀνδριάντας δὲ ἀναμειγμένους οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἄγαν ἀναθήμασιν 6.17.7). One of them is this statue of Gorgias from Leontinoi whose base has been found in the same general area, ten meters north of the northeast corner of Zeus’ temple, where very probably Pausanias saw it, as he moved northwards from the Leonidaion towards the Great Altar of Zeus, passing by in front of the west side and then in front of the north side of the temple of Zeus.

What is even more remarkable, in addition to the topographical agreement, is that the case of Gorgias is another notable example of Pausanias’ approach to inscriptions and their contribution to his narrative. Although Pausanias only indirectly refers to the inscription on Gorgias’ base, his narrative is undoubtedly based to a great extent on it. Pausanias states that the statue was dedicated by Eumolpos as he himself “says (in the inscription)” (φησὶν 17.7),²⁰⁸ the grandson of Deikrates who married Gorgias’ sister. For some reason, Pausanias chooses in this case not to quote *verbatim* the epigraphical text, but extrapolates from it the information that he judges relevant to his narrative which concentrates on the dedicator and the honored person, and accordingly Hippokrates, Eumolpos’ father, is omitted.

Gorgias, Pausanias continues, whose father was Charmantides (for its spelling, which is corrupted in the manuscripts of Pausanias, see the Apparatus Criticus),

²⁰⁸ This is Frazer’s translation of the verb φησὶν, for which he correctly assumes that Pausanias is referring to the epigram which he read on the base of Gorgias’ statue. Similar is Papachatzis’ translation: “λέει (ὁ ἕδρος (sc. Eumolpos) στὸ ἐπίγραμμα)”.

revitalized interest in the study of speaking, i.e. rhetoric, by among other things delivering a speech in Olympia (his *Olympikos* in 392 or 388 B.C.); by visiting Athens (427 B.C.) with Tisias, another teacher of rhetoric with a specialty in forensic rhetoric, in contrast to Gorgias' specialty in epideictic oratory; and also by his visit to Jason, the tyrant of Thessaly who held Gorgias in higher esteem than Polykrates, another distinguished Athenian rhetorician. This last detail of Gorgias' travel to Thessaly, probably in his later years, is known only by this brief comment of Pausanias. The ramifications of his visit on Thessalian politics and especially the influence of his teachings on Jason and his political career have been often overlooked.²⁰⁹ The general statement of Pausanias about the revival of rhetoric as a major achievement of Gorgias is the subject of the first distich of the third section of the inscription (lines 8-9), where Eumolpos describes Gorgias' *technē* of preparing the soul for the *agones* of virtue. This brief statement is further expounded in Plato's *Gorgias* 460a and has caused debate over Gorgias' belief that he does not teach virtue (Guthrie 328-333, 481 note 20). Whatever Gorgias' personal beliefs may have been, Plato's *Gorgias* 460a, the inscription and Pausanias communicate the same view: Gorgias' achievement was to elevate rhetoric as a skill for exercising the soul into virtue. It seems especially appropriate that his statue was set up among dedications which commemorated another kind of *agon* at the site of the athletic *agones* par excellence, where Gorgias delivered his *Olympikos*.

All the other complementary information, however, is apparently derived from other sources: that Gorgias lived 105 years; and that Leontinoi, which was destroyed by the Syrakusans, i.e. the tyrant Dionysios in 403 B.C., was in Pausanias' own time inhabited again, a remark that may imply that Pausanias is reporting from personal observation after

²⁰⁹ For the influences of Gorgias' teachings on Jason's political career see now Kyrkos 1984, 229-247. Apparently Gorgias tried with success in Thessaly what Plato tried to do unsuccessfully in Sicily with the tyrants, i.e. to try and put in practical usage his theories of government.

he visited Leontinoi. Pausanias, it seems, overlooks, at least in this instance, the last distich of the third section of the inscription (lines 10-11) in which Eumolpos refers to Gorgias' personal dedication of his statue at Delphi and tries to justify its extravagance by the extraordinary achievements and the *eusebia* of his teacher. When in Delphi, however, Pausanias saw and included this gilt statue in his *Phokika* (10.18.7).

Thus, when the narrative of Pausanias is tested vis-à-vis the text of *IO 293* the methodology of the exegete concerning epigraphical evidence is yet again evident: Pausanias, when he does not quote, takes from the inscription only the information essential for his narrative, which he further complements with information drawn from other sources, or from personal observation. In Gorgias' case, Pausanias also appears to reserve epigraphical information until he can personally verify it, and then incorporate it in its appropriate place in the narrative.²¹⁰ This allows the exegete to present a concise, but full account about the famous sophist Gorgias, whose inscribed monument in Olympia serves as the basis and starting point.

²¹⁰ This by no means is the only instance of such a case. See above Chapter 1, p. 19: while in the precinct of Asklepios in Epidauros (2.27.3) Pausanias states that he read six *Sanationes* in the Doric dialect which describe healings of various persons and nothing else; when, however, Pausanias reaches the uninhabited city of Halike (2.36.1), he assumes that it once was inhabited, since the city is attested in the *Sanationes* which he read in the precinct of Asklepios in Epidauros. It follows, therefore, that he read the *Sanationes* through carefully and noted down what information he thought might be of importance and possible future reference in his narrative, as the case of the abandoned city of Halike proves.

B. COPIES OF OLYMPIC INSCRIPTIONS FOUND OUTSIDE ELIS

In his *Eliaka* Pausanias mentions monuments that he saw set up in the Altis, but, unlike those discussed in the previous section, have not been found during the excavations there. As it turns out, however, similar or even identical dedications to those at Olympia were set up elsewhere, either in another sanctuary, or in the dedicator's city. These are discussed in this section. For, although Pausanias' information derives from the inscription at Olympia, nevertheless, the "copy" available from another site contains more or less the same information, and, therefore, provides evidence for Pausanias' narrative which is based mainly on the inscriptions he read at Olympia.

49.

- 5.5.1: χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀριστότιμος ὁ Δαμαρέτου τοῦ Ἐτύμονος τυραννίδα ἔσχεν ἐν Ἠλείῳ, συμπαρασκευάσαντος αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ· τὸν δὲ Ἀριστότιμον μῆνας τυραννήσαντα ἕξ καταλύουσιν ἐπαναστάντες Χίλων καὶ Ἐλλάνκος καὶ Λάμπης τε καὶ 5 Κύλ<λ>ων, οὗτος δὲ καὶ αὐτοχειρῆαι τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Κύλ<λ>ων ἐπὶ Διὸς Σωτήρος βωμὸν καταφυγόντα ἰκέτην. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς πόλεμον τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχεν Ἠλείοις, ὡς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπαριθμῆσαι μετρίως·
- 6.14.11: ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Αἰτωλῶν Κύλ<λ>ωνα, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς 10 Ἀριστοτίμου τυραννίδος ἠλευθέρωσεν Ἠλείους.

Apparatus Criticus:

6 Κύλων mss. 7 Κύλων all mss. 10 Κύλωνα is Casaubon's correction of the manuscripts (κύδωλα Va Ms, Κύδωνα the rest) from Paus. 5.5.1. In Plut. *Moralia* 250F-253E (Γυναικῶν Ἄρεταί: Μύκκα καὶ Μεγιστώ) the same Κύλων is spelled with one lambda. Hitzig 1904,

vol. 2.2, 604-5: "da die v. 1. der Hss. nur auf ein λ hinweist und V.5,1 und bei Plutarch Κύλων überliefert ist, haben wir nicht zu ändern gewagt."

6, 7, 10 following the Delphic inscription below, Pomtow Syll.⁴ 423 note 1 corrects the mss.'s readings of the name with two lambdas, and Habicht 1984, 54-55, note 87 suggests that the form of the name "is slightly deformed in the author's manuscripts."

FD III.3, 191: a block of limestone found on the east side of the polygonal wall at Delphi (fig. 17). No measurements are given in *FD*.

Letter Height: ca. 0.01m.

269-248 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca. 45

Θ ε ο ί

[Δ]ελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Κύλλωνι Κύλλωνος Ἰαλείῳ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνοις
[π]ροξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέ-
λειαν πάντων καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐ-
εργέταις Ἄρχοντος Καλλικλέος. βουλευόντων Αἰσχ|ριώνδα,
5 Ξένωνο[s], Ἀμφιστράτου.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 250F-253E (Γυναικῶν Ἄρεταί: Μίκκα καὶ Μεγιστώ); Pompeius Trogus apud Justin *Historiae Philippicae* 26.1. *SEG* XXXIV, 1688. Pomtow 1898, 648-649. *Syll.*⁴ 423. Daux 1943, G26, p. 39. Stadter 1965, 84-89. Habicht 1984, 54-55 notes 83-87. Espelosín 1991, 103-109.

Commentary: The date of this inscription is based on Daux's discussion of the archons at Delphi.²¹¹ There were two archons named Kallikles (G20 and G26) of the same period, when the Aitolians were in control of Delphi, and this decree may refer to either one of the two attested archons.

As Habicht has shown convincingly, this inscription at Delphi corroborates Pausanias' information on an incident of the history of Elis and corrects the spelling of the tyrannicide's name from Kylon to Kyllon in Pausanias' manuscripts. Plutarch, in his treatise on the *Bravery of Women* (250F-253E), tells in detail the story of Mikka, the

²¹¹ See also Habicht 55, note 87, and 54 note 85 with bibliography for the date of Krateros, brother of Antigonos. Krateros, as Plutarch says, was with an army at Olympia, a presence which falsely assured Aristotimos that Krateros would help in rescuing his regime in Elis.

daughter of a certain Philodemos, and Megisto, the wife of Timoleon, who suffered under the tyranny of Aristotimos. Plutarch mentions the same names, except that Chilon is replaced by Thrasyboulos, and he describes vividly the death of Aristotimos, his wife and his two daughters. The emphasis in Plutarch, however, is not on Kyllon who is a member of Aristotimos' entourage, but on Hellanikos, an old citizen, who organized the resistance of the Eleians inside Elis and those exiled by Aristotimos to Aitolia.²¹² In fact, in Plutarch's account Kyllon shares the credit with two other tyrannicides, Thrasyboulos and Lampis, and he is singled out only as the one who attacked first and struck one of Aristotimos' followers (253B).²¹³

Yet, Pausanias emphasizes that Kyllon was the one who actually killed with his hands (αὐτοχειρίαι) the tyrant Aristotimos and as expected was honored accordingly. There is no question that the Aitolians were responsible for the Delphic decree honoring Kyllon. They were in control of the sanctuary and, according to Plutarch, the Aitolians also received the exiles from Elis, when Aristotimos forced them to leave. Moreover, the Aitolian Confederacy had also erected a statue in Olympia which Pausanias saw among those of the Olympic victors, honoring Kyllon the man who freed the Eleians from the tyranny of Aristotimos (6.14.11). This statue of Kyllon, although it has not been found in Olympia, was in all probability inscribed and may have been dedicated at the same time

²¹² Plutarch *Moralia* 252D: ...τῶν συνήθων τις αὐτῷ Κύλων ὄνομα πιστὸς δοκῶν εἶναι, μισῶν δὲ καὶ μετέχων τῆς συννομῆσας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλάνικον,.... Similarly, in Justin's *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Historiae Philippicae* 26.1 only Hellanikos is mentioned: "princeps eorum Hellanicus, senex et liberis orbus, ut qui nec aetatis nec pigneris respectu timeret,...."

²¹³ Plutarch *Moralia* 253B: πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Κύλων σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος παίει τινὰ τῶν ἐπομένων τῷ Ἀριστοτίμῳ· θρασυβούλου δὲ καὶ Λάμπιδος ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπιφερομένων, ἔφθη μὲν ὁ Ἀριστοτίμος εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν καταφυγόν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἀποκτείναντες αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμα προβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκάλουν τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. Interestingly enough, Plutarch has the same spelling as the manuscripts of Pausanias, and perhaps this may be an inadvertent influence by the other famous Kylon, the Athenian Alkmeonid, who was also involved in a coup d'état.

or thereabouts that the Delphic decree was set up. Such a dedication could very well be the reason for Pausanias' narrative of the episode: on reading the inscription on the statue's base, i.e. that the Aitolian *koinon* honored Kyllon, Pausanias may have assumed that the Aitolians honored Kyllon for his killing Aristotimos. This coupled with the absence of any dedications in honor of the other members of the tyrannicides may have led Pausanias to the conclusion that it must have been Kyllon who actually killed him, hence he singles him out as the tyrannicide.²¹⁴

The reason for these honours to Kyllon by the Aitolians was no doubt their enmity towards the Macedonians who, in particular Antigonos Gonatas, supported Aristotimos in his attempt to take over Elis.²¹⁵ Moreover, as Pausanias relates in the older history of Elis (5.1.3-8), the Eleians or rather the Epeians and the Aitolians had a common ancestry, which may have played a part in how state relations were formed during the Hellenistic era, when the propaganda for a mythistoric past that ensured certain advantages was flourishing (see also nos. 83 and 87).

50.

5.23.1: Παρεξιώντι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἔσοδον Ζεὺς τε ἔστηκεν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχων οὐδὲν καὶ αὐθις ὡς πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐπιστρέψαντι ἄγαλμά ἐστι Διός· τοῦτο τέτραπται μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία Μαρδονίου τε καὶ Μήδων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐγγεγραμμένοι 5
κατὰ τοῦ βάθρου τὰ δεξιὰ αἱ μετασχοῦσαι πόλεις τοῦ ἔργου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν πρῶτοι, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι, τρίτοι δὲ

²¹⁴ This possibility for the discrepancy is mentioned by Stadter 1965, 87 and note 198. Phylarchos, however, the source of Plutarch, is given priority by Stadter, who also accepts the view that the Delphic inscription is in honor of Kyllon's son. The dates for the archon Kallikles, however, are uncertain and there is no other corroborating evidence. See Habicht 1984, 54-55, notes 83-87, and also no. 82.

²¹⁵ Some Eleian coins, bearing the abbreviation API for Aristotimos, have been thought to belong to this Aristotimos' new minting. See, however, Head 1967, 424-425, where coins of ca. 365-323 B.C. bear the same abbreviation as those of ca. 312-191 B.C.

γεγραμμένοι καὶ τέταρτοι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι, πέμπτοι δὲ Αἰγινῆται, (2) μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι, Ἀρκάδων δὲ Τεγεαταί τε καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅσοι 10
 Φλιοῦντα καὶ Τροιζήνα καὶ Ἐρμιόνα οἰκοῦσιν, ἐκ δὲ χώρας τῆς Ἀργείας Τιρύνθιοι, Πλαταιεῖς δὲ μόνον Βοιωτῶν, καὶ Ἀργείων οἱ Μυκήνας ἔχοντες, νησιῶται δὲ Κεῖοι καὶ Μήλιοι, Ἀμβρακιῶται δὲ 15
 ἐξ ἠπείρου τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος, Τήνιοί τε καὶ Λεπρεᾶται, Λεπρεᾶται μὲν τῶν ἐκ Τριφυλίας μόνον, ἐκ δὲ Αἰγαίου καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐ Τήνιοι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Νάξιοι καὶ Κύθιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβοίας Στυρεῖς, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἡλείοι καὶ Ποτιδαιᾶται καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι, 20
 τελευταῖοι δὲ Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ. (3) τούτων τῶν πόλεων τοσαῖδε ἦσαν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημοι: Μυκηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Τιρύνθιοι οὐ πολὺ τῶν Μηδικῶν ὕστερον ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἀναστατοῖ: Ἀμβρακιώτας δὲ καὶ Ἀνακτορίου ἀποίκους Κορινθίων ὄντας ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐς Νικοπόλεως συνοικισμὸν πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ: Ποτιδαιάτας δὲ δις μὲν ἐπέλαβεν ἀναστάτους 25
 ἐκ τῆς σφετέρης ὑπὸ Φιλίππου τε γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ πρότερον ἔτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Κάσσανδρος κατήγαγε μὲν Ποτιδαιάτας ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία, ὄνομα δὲ οὐ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῇ πόλει, Κασσάνδρεια δὲ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι τὸ ἀνατεθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν Ἀναξαγόρας Αἰγινήτης: τοῦτον οἱ συγγράψαντες τὰ ἐς Πλαταιὰς παρῶσιν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. 30

10.13.9: Ἐν κοινῷ ἀνέθεσαν ἀπὸ ἔργου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν οἱ Ἕλληες χρυσοῦν τρίποδα δράκοντι ἐπικείμενον χαλκῶ. ὅσον (ὅσον) μὲν δὴ χαλκὸς ἦν τοῦ ἀναθήματος, σῶον καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἦν: οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν οἱ Φωκέων ὑπελίποντο ἡγεμόνες.

Apparatus Criticus:

29-30 τὰ ἐς Πλαταιὰς all mss., but Scubard corrects it to τὰ ἐς πλάστας, thus suggesting that Pausanias is using a handbook on sculptors. If the the mss.' reading is retained Herodotus especially is to be understood among others.

Meiggs/Lewis 27 (19): the famous bronze “serpent column”, hollow inside and dedicated at Delphi after Plataia by all the Greek allies. Only the bottom part of it survives in the Hippodrome of Konstantinople (modern Atmaidan of Istanbul) where it was transferred by Constantine the Great.²¹⁶ The text is inscribed on eleven of the coils of the three intertwined snakes whose heads held on top the golden tripod which, according to Pausanias, the Phokians melted down

²¹⁶ This information is from *IGA* no. 70, where more about the history of the monument can be found.

during the Third Sacred War. Each coil, indicated below by an empty space, contains three names except for coils seven and ten which have four names inscribed. For the following measurements see also Amandry 1987, 110-111 and notes.

Height of surviving column: 5.55m. (total height of column ca. 6m.)

Width of the bottom: ca. 0.60m.; of the top: 0.41m.

Letter Height: 0.015–0.019m.

The text below is that of Meiggs/Lewis 27 (19).

479/8 *ante*

partially STOICH.²¹⁷

το[ῖ]δε τὸν
πόλεμον [ἐ]-
πολλέμεον·
Λακεδ[αιμόνιοι]
5 Ἀθανάτο[ι]
Κορίνθιοι
Τεγεά[ται]
Σικυόν[ιοι]
Αἰγινάται
10 Μεγαρεῖς
Ἐπιδαύριοι
Ἐρχομένοι
Φλειάσιοι
Τροζάνιοι
15 Ἐρμιονεῖς
Τιρύνθιοι
Πλαταιεῖς
Θεσπιεῖς
Μυκανεῖς
20 Κεῖοι
Μάλιοι
Τένιοι
Νάξιοι
Ἐρετριεῖς

²¹⁷ According to Jeffery *LSAG* 100.

25 Χαλκιδῆς
 Στυρῆς
 Φαλείοι
 Ποτειδαῖαται
 Λευκάδιοι
 30 Φανακτοριῆς
 Κύθνιοι
 Σίφνιοι
 Ἀμπρακιόται
 Λεπρεᾶται.

The letters are clearly cut and according to Roehl (*IGA* 70):

Quas (sc. litteras) ita videtur exarasse aerarius, ut primum angulos et extremas partes litterarum punctis notaret, deinde puncta lineis non aequae profundis inter se coniungeret.

The script and dialect of the inscription is Phocian and not Lakonian because of the non-Lakonian shape of gamma and sigma, and the non-Lakonian forms of [ε]πολεμ[ε]ον and Φλειασιοι (Carpenter 1945, 455-456 and *LSAG* 102). The shapes of the letters of this inscription are (*LSAG* 99): α2, γ2, δ1, Ϝ2, ϐ3, υ1, χ2.

The Dotted Letters are not discussed in Meiggs/Lewis.

Restorations:

Line 1-3: Roehl, assuming that the inscription ran all around the coil, restored:

Ἐπόλ<λ>ωνι θ[ε]ῶ[ι] στάσαντ'
 [ἀ]ν[άθη]μ' ἀπὸ Μ[ήδων].

Pomtow in *Syll.*⁴ 31, Domaszewski: Το[ίδε τὸν]
 πόλεμον [έ]-
 πολ[έ]μεον.

Meister: Το[ίδε τὸν]
 [Μήδων] πόλεμον [έ]-
 πολ[έ]μεον.

Line 4: Λακεδαίμονιοι Roehl; Λακεῖα[ιμόνιοι] Pomtow in *Syll.*⁴ 31;
 Λακ[εβ]α[ι]μόν[ιοι] Domaszewski.

Line 5: Ἐθναῖοι Roehl; Ἐθναῖο[ι] Pomtow in *Syll.*⁴ 31;
 Ἐθ[α]ν[α]ῖ[ο]ι Domaszewski.

Line 7: Τεγεᾶται Roehl; Τεγεᾶ[ται] Pomtow in *Syll.*⁴ 31; Τεγεᾶτ[αί] Domaszewski.

Line 8: Σικυώνιοι Roehl; Σικυόνιοι Pomtow in *Syll.*⁴ 31, Domaszewski.

Line 22: "From squeezes made for us by Professor Bean, we are fairly confident that the intrusive name on coil 7 was Τένιοι, cut later, as has been generally thought, and not Μυκανῆς, the odd name geographically" (Meiggs/Lewis 27 (19), page 59).

Line 32: "More surprisingly, we find that the four names on coil 10 are not to be explained, with von Domaszewski, by the later intrusion of Κύθνιοι and Σίφνιοι into a list of Corinthian dependencies, but simply by the later addition of Σίφνιοι, presumably placed here, rather than on coil 11, in order to group it with Κύθνιοι" (Meiggs/Lewis 27 (19), page 59).

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc., and ad 10.13.9. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. and ad 10.13.9. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Roehl, *IGA* no. 70. *Syll.*⁴ 433. Domaszewski 1920, 3-8. Arvanitopoulos 1939, 216-222. Carpenter 1945, 452-464. *ATL* vol. 3, 95-105. Papantoniou 1954a, 79-85, and 1954b, 322-330. Meister 1957, 232-233. Gauer 1968, 74-97. Eckstein 1969, 23-26, 108-110. Meiggs/Lewis 27 (19) and the extensive bibliography. Habicht 1985, 105-106 and notes 36-37. Jeffery, *LSAG* 102, 104 no. 15, 437, pl. 13 (part only). Amandry 1987, 102-115 ("4. Trépied de Platées" discusses the topography of the base found at Delphi upon which the serpent column was mounted).

Commentary: The date of this inscription is generally accepted as 479/8 B.C. or immediately thereafter. All ancient sources mentioning this monument are in agreement.²¹⁸

Pausanias, once he has finished the description of the various buildings and altars inside and around the Altis, lays out briefly in a paragraph the way he has organized his material and the order which he is to follow for the exegesis of the remaining monuments (5.21.1). The first distinction he makes is between dedications to Zeus and statues of Olympic Victors. He then proceeds to qualify the first group even further and thus he creates two subcategories: Zeus statues paid for by the fines extracted from cheating athletes (see above nos. 20 and 21), and then statues dedicated to Zeus or other gods by states and individuals (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Διὸς δημοσίου τε καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀνατεθέντα ἰδιωτῶν 5.22.1; see also above nos 2-6) with which he ends Book 5. Near the entrance of the Bouleuterion there is a Zeus statue with no inscription on it and therefore Pausanias cannot provide any information about it. Turning to the north, however, he sees the bronze Zeus, dedicated by the Greeks who fought at Plataia against the Medes. An oblong base has been identified by Dörpfeld as the base of the bronze Zeus in the area between southeast of the Zeus temple and five meters north of the

²¹⁸ Herodotus 9.81; 8.82; Thukydides 1.132.2-3; 3.57; [Demosthenes] in *Neaeram* 97; Nepos *Pausanias* 1; Diodorus 11.33; Plutarch *Moralia* 873de (*De malignitate Herodoti*) and *Themistokles* 20.3; Pausanias 5.23.1; 10.13.9. For sources later than Pausanias see *IGA* 70, pp. 26-27.

southern embankment wall (to the west side of the modern entrance), but it has no inscription.²¹⁹

Although the ancient sources referring to the column are ample, it is only Plutarch in his *Themistokles* that provides the actual number of the states, thirty-one, inscribed (διδάξασ ὡς τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις εἰσὶν αἱ μετασχοῦσαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τούτων αἱ πλείους παντάπασιν μικραί 20.3), and Pausanias remains the only one who records all the states which he reads on the base at Olympia. The total number of states, which Pausanias reads on the right side of the base (κατὰ τοῦ βάθρου τὰ δεξιὰ 23.1), is twenty-seven. His account of the various cities comes in pretty much the order in which the states are inscribed on the serpent column. Some variations, however, do exist and they are probably due to the geographical position of the cities.²²⁰ The cities inscribed in lines 4–21 of the inscription are in the same order in Pausanias' text, except for two: the Tegeatai who in the serpent column are fourth, but Pausanias or the inscription at Olympia itself, perhaps for geographical reasons, records them with the other Arkadian city, Orchomenos; and the omission of the Thespieis (line 18 of the inscription). Pausanias' definitive statement that of the Beotians only the city of Plataia is on the list led commentators to suggest that Pausanias has used a defective copy of the inscription. His narrative, however, does not leave any room for doubt that he is copying from the text "inscribed to the right side of the bathron," and thus the city of Thespiiai may not have been inscribed on the dedication at Olympia. A similar example is Pausanias' argument about the Achaians, whom he did not read among the states at

²¹⁹ Frazer ad loc. is sceptical about this identification, but see now Eckstein 1969, 23.

²²⁰ Similar problems exist between Herodotus' list of the cities who fought and the serpent column (9.28-30, 77), for which see Frazer 1965, vol. 5, 299-307.

Olympia and, therefore, concludes they did not participate in the Plataian *ergon* (7.6.4).²²¹

The cities in lines 22–34 of the serpent column are recorded by Pausanias in quite a different order, which perhaps suggests that the inscription at Olympia from that point on followed a different order. The texts run as follows:

| <u>The serpent column</u> | <u>Pausanias</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Τένιοι | Ἄμπρακιῶται |
| Νάξιοι | Τένιοι |
| Ἐρετριῆς | <i>omitted</i> |
| Χαλκιδεῖς | Λεπρεᾶται |
| Στυρῆς | Νάξιοι |
| Φαλεῖοι | Κύθνιοι |
| Ποτειδαῖαι | Στυρεῖς |
| Λευκάδιοι | <i>omitted</i> |
| Φανακτοριῆς | Ἡλεῖοι |
| Κύθνιοι | Ποτειδαῖαι |
| Σίφνιοι | <i>omitted</i> |
| Ἄμπρακιῶται | Ἄνακτόριοι |
| Λεπρεᾶται | Χαλκιδεῖς. |

As all commentators have observed, there is no apparent justification for the omission of Eretria, Leukas and Siphnos, as there is none also for the omission of Thespiiai, and, to quote the most recent of them (Meiggs/Lewis p. 59), the omission “may be due to the negligence of the traveller or of some copyist.”

Frazer, however, has shown long ago (vol. 5, 304-306) that there may be no discrepancy at all between the two texts, if it is not postulated that the lists were identical. In fact, there is no evidence to suggest that they official lists inscribed for an official purpose. Quite the contrary. There is indeed evidence indicating problems surrounding the creation of the serpent column: if Thukydides’ mention of the episode of the Spartan king Pausanias (1.132.2-3) is trustworthy (and there is no reason why it should not be),

²²¹ Paus. 7.6.4: ὑστέρησαν δὲ (sc. οἱ Ἀχαιοί) καὶ ἔργου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσι· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετῆν ἂν καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς γεγράφθαι.

then originally there was no list planned to be inscribed, only the boastful epigram of the Spartan king which Pausanias alone ascribes to Simonides.²²² In other words, the decision to inscribe a list of the participants seems to have come about because of the Spartan king's action. Furthermore, the islands of Tenos and Siphnos were later additions to the serpent column, because they are inscribed by a different cutter. It is conceivable, therefore, that at Olympia the Siphnians were not included because they did not participate in the battle and for some reason were added later only to the Delphic monument (there is no mention in Herodotus' list of the Keians, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, Kynthians, and Siphnians; all of them, however, participated in one way or another at Salamis and perhaps at Plataia, although not with a city contingent).

What is even more important is that the names inscribed on such a list would undoubtedly reflect the political aspirations of these cities, especially the host cities of Delphi and Olympia. One notable example is the Eleians who, although they did not participate, nevertheless are included by name. Undoubtedly their control over the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia would be reason enough for the other Greeks to include the Eleians on this "Panhellenic" dedication. Exactly such a premise lies behind von Domaszewski's and *ATL*'s division of the cities into three groups of allied forces which were inscribed on each of the three intertwined serpents, the leaders of the groups being the Lakedaimonians, the Athenians and the Corinthians. Although this division is not correct for all the cities, nevertheless it is an indication of the way in which the cities were

²²² Paus. 3.8.2 where he discusses the honors to Kyniska by the Lakedaimonians (see above no. 7) and adds the only other exception of an epigram for a Spartan king: ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῆι Κυνίσκῃ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐποίησεν ὅστις δὴ, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πausανίαι τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ τρίποδι Σιμωνίδης τῷ ἀναθέντι ἐς Δελφούς, ἄλλο {δέ} γε παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ποιητοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην.

The epigram is quoted by Thukydides in 1.132.2 (= *IGM* 84):

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων
Πausανίας Φοῖβῳ μνήμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

For the epigram of Pausanias transmitted by Athenaeus as inscribed on a tripod at Byzantion see *IGM* 100.

inscribed perhaps by the Delphians. Likewise, Pausanias' different order may be an indication of the way the Eleians inscribed the cities. It is worth pointing out that Pausanias' list of the states does not correspond to a tripartite division. It rather suggests first a descending order of importance and also a geographical grouping of the cities. It is noticeable for example that in the beginning of his list and until the Aiginetans Pausanias numbers the cities from one to five (5.23.1, lines 7-9), but then he starts grouping them according to geographical areas (5.23.2 lines 10ff.). Thus, the Tegeatai, who are fourth on the serpent column, in Pausanias are mentioned together with the other Arkadian city Orchomenos, which occupies the same place in both lists. Also, Pausanias lists soon after the Tenioi other islands from the Aegean and the Cyclades, namely the Naxians, Kythnians and the Styreis from Euboeia.

Finally, Pausanias, after a brief mention of the cities that during his time were destroyed, adds, as is his custom, the name of the sculptor of the bronze Zeus, Anaxagoras from Aigina, whose signature he also read along with the list of cities. Fabricius in Frazer *ad* 23.1 has inferred that there were two inscriptions cut on the base: the left front side of the base had the general statement summarized by Pausanias in 5.23.1 (ἀνέθεσαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι Πλαταιᾶσιν ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία Μαρδονίου τε καὶ Μήδων), which would thus perhaps suggest a different preamble from the one on the serpent column,²²³ and on the right there was inscribed the list. This hypothesis may be true, but the ἐποίησε clause was certainly inscribed too. Whether the reading τὰ ἐς Πλαταιάς or the correction to τὰ ἐς πλάστας is accepted, the only conclusion to be reached is that Pausanias did indeed read the inscription, since, as he states, Anaxagoras is not mentioned in any historical accounts (or handbooks on

²²³ Diodoros 11.33 transmits a different epigram than the one in Thukydides (above in note 222) as inscribed on the Delphic monument see *IGM* 85:

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτήρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν
δουλοσύνας στυγερᾶς ῥυσάμενοι πόλις.

sculptors). Since the manuscripts do not suggest any lacunae in the passage recording the list, it is only fair to Pausanias to accept his account of twenty-seven states in the absence of strong evidence against it.

51.

- 5.27.9: βοῶν δὲ τῶν χαλκῶν ὁ μὲν Κορκυραίων, ὁ δὲ ἀνάθημα Ἐρετριέων, τέχνη δὲ Ἐρετριέως ἐστὶ Φιλησίου (no. 15 above): καὶ ἀνθ' ὅτου μὲν οἱ Κορκυραῖοι τὸν τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι καὶ ἕτερον βοῦν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθεσαν, δηλώσει μοι τὰ ἐς Φωκέας τοῦ λόγου, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ὀλυμπίαισιν αὐτῶν ἀναθήματι συμβῆναι τοῖονδε ἤκουσα. (10) παῖς 5
 μικρὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ καθήμενος τῷ βοῖ ἐς τὸ κάτω νενευκῶς ἔπαιζεν· ἀνασχὼν δὲ ἐξαίφνης τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεάγη τε αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἀπέθανεν οὐ πολλαῖς. Ἥλείοι μὲν δὴ τὸν βοῦν ἄτε αἵματι ἔνοχον ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκκομίσαι τῆς Ἄλτews· ὁ δὲ σφᾶς (ὁ) θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατα- 10
 <λείπειν> τὸ ἀνάθημα καθάρσια ἔχρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιησαμένους, ὅποσα Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ νομίζουσιν.
- 10.9.3: εἰσελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ τέμενος χαλκοῦς ταῦρος τέχνη μὲν Θεοπρόπου ἐστὶν Αἰγινήτου, Κορκυραίων δὲ ἀνάθημα. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ταῦρος ἐν τῇ Κορκύραι καταλιπὼν τὰς ἄλλας βούς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς κα- 15
 τερχόμενος ἐμυκάτο ἐπὶ θαλάσσει· γινομένου δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέραι πάση τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάτεισιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ εἶδεν ἰχθύων τῶν θύννων ἀτέκμαρτόν τι ἀριθμῶι πλήθος. (4) καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆλα ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορκυραίοις ἐποίησεν· οἱ δὲ —ἐλεῖν γὰρ τοὺς θύν- 20
 νους προαιρούμενοι τὴν ἄλλως ταλαιπωρίαν εἶχον— θεωροῦς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς· καὶ οὕτω Ποσειδῶνι τε ἐκείνον θύουσι τὸν ταῦρον, καὶ αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν αἰροῦσι τοὺς ἰχθύς, καὶ σφισι τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι τε καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐστὶν ἡ δεκάτη τῆς ἄγρας.

Commentary: Vatin in 1981 (440-449) published an article in which he claimed to have made new readings on some blocks in the Delphic sanctuary, but subsequent attempts by others to verify his readings have failed (*SEG* XXXI, 124, nos. 546-556, 561). One of Vatin's readings in particular had to do with Pausanias' descriptions of the Korkyraian dedications of two bulls at Olympia and Delphi, and by implication with his methodology.

This is the main reason for the present brief note; there is something to be said on Pausanias' behalf.

Without inspection of the stone one might have been sympathetic with Vatin's readings, except for one: his claim to read $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$ $\theta\acute{\upsilon}[\nu\nu\omicron\nu - - -]$, and $\acute{\alpha}\pi\delta$ $\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\omicron\nu$ $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu[\nu]\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega[\nu\iota]$. In the present study, however, in which eighty-nine instances have been examined that are based, or related to the epigraphical evidence, there is none that can be offered as a parallel. The most that could have been inscribed (if $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ were to refer to the inscription, which in this case is highly unlikely) would be $\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ (and perhaps $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\alpha$), words innocent enough so as they could be associated with almost any story.

Two notable examples (Theogenes [no. 53 below], and Euthymos [no. 24 above]), which may offer an idea of Pausanias' methodology, strongly suggest that Pausanias did not take the aetiological stories which he includes in his narrative from the inscriptions he read, but his sources were either the local exegetes or hearsay or even some other work. These stories were after the fact creations, aetiological in nature, and Pausanias incorporates them in his narrative in order to provide a complete account. His distance from belief or disbelief in them is rather evident. Likewise, in the case of the Korkyraian bulls Pausanias reports the story, i.e. the Korkyraian exegesis of their dedications which he probably heard at Delphi and at Olympia. If the story about the catch of tunnies were even remotely supported by the inscription, Pausanias would never have passed up the opportunity to testify from $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\psi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ to the story's veracity.

52.

6.4.1: Ἐχεται δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου τῆς εἰκόνης...καὶ Σικυώνιος Σώστρατος παγκρατιαστῆς ἀνὴρ, ἐπὶ κλήσις δὲ ἦν Ἀκροχειριστῆς αὐτῶι· {παρα} λαμβανόμενος γὰρ ἄκρων τοῦ ἀνταγωνιζομένου τῶν

χειρῶν ἔκλα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνίει πρὶν ἢ αἴσθοιτο
 ἀπαγορεύσαντος. (2) γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῶι Νεμείων μὲν ἵκται καὶ 5
 Ἴσθμίων ἀναμίξ̄ δωδέκα, Ὀλυμπίασι δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ, τῆι μὲν δύο,
 τρεῖς δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι. τὴν τετάρτην δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ταῖς
 ἑκατόν —πρώτην γὰρ δὴ ἐνίκησεν ὁ Σώστρατος ταύτην— οὐκ
 ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ Ἡλείοι, διότι μηδ' αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Πισαῖοι
 καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἔθεσαν ἀντ' αὐτῶν. 10

Apparatus Criticus:

2 Ἄκροχειρυστῆς is a correction by Hitzig adopted by Rocha-Pereira of the mss.' reading ἀκροχερσίτης; Valckenaer reads Ἄκροχειρίτης.

Bousquet 1961, 74-78: a base of bluish-black limestone, broken on the top, and found in a house of the village Kastri in 1880 by Haussoullier who read and published the inscription with a facsimile in *BCH* 6 (1882) 446-448 no. 76. On April 25, 1894 the French excavators recovered the right part of the base (the left part having been lost) during the demolition of the house of Kavatha opposite the Ephoria; it is now in the Museum at Delphi. The inscription was cut on the front side with the help of guidelines which are still visible.

Delphi Museum Inv. No. 1375 and 4958.

Height: 0.195m. Width: ca. 0.35m. (Haussoullier 0.75m.). Breadth: 0.605m.

Letter Height: ca. 0.011m. which is also the empty space between the lines.

paulo post 356 ante

NON-STOICH. ca. 35

[- - - - - στεφάνους
 [- - - - -] ἐκράτει ἀμα[χεί].
vacat 0.02m.
 [πλείστοις δὴ Σικυῶνα πάτραν, [Σ]ωσιστράτου υἱέ,
 5 Σώστρατε, καλλίστοις τ' ἠγλαίσας στεφάνους·
 [νικῶν] πανκράτιον τρεῖς Ὀλύμπια, δις δ' ἐν Πυθοῖ,
 δωδέκα δ' ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ [καὶ Νεμέας στεφάνους·
 [τ]οὺς δ' ἄλλους ἄπορον στεφάνους ἐπιδείξει ἀριθμὸν,
 [πα]ύσας δ' ἀντιπάλους πάντ'· τα [ἐ]κράτει ἀμαχεί.

The letters are carefully laid out, but the lines which the cutter inscribed make the reading difficult in some places (Haussoullier 1882, 447). The letter style suggests the fourth century B.C.

There seem to be two identical inscriptions: the end of lines 1-2 is similar to that of lines 7-9, and so the first two lines seem to belong to a similar inscription which is separated from the following one (the three elegiac distichs of lines 4-9) by an empty space.

Remains of Dotted Letters (form the facsimile of Ebert 1972, 130 and the photograph of Bousquet 1961, 75 fig. 5. These letters, however, were read by Haussoullier):

Line 1: alpha—only the bottom tip of the right slanting stroke.

Line 2: alpha—only the bottom tip of the left slanting stroke.

Restorations (the underlined letters were read by Haussoullier who had also printed the following facsimile):

ΑΝΟΥΣ
Δ . . . ΓΑΕΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΑΜ

ΕΙΣΤΟΙΣΔΗΣΙΚΥΩΝΑΠΑΤΡΑΝ . . ΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΥΙΕ
ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΕΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΙΣΤΗΓΛΑΙΣΑΣΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΣ
. ΙΚΩ . ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΟΝΤΡΙΣΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΙΣΔΕΝΙΠΥΘΟΙ
ΔΩΔΕΚΑΔΕΞΙΣΘΜΟΎ ΕΑΣΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΣ
. ΟΥΣΔΑΛΛΟΥΣΑΠΟΙ ΟΥΣ . . ΔΕΙΣΑΙΑΡΙΘΜΟΝ
. . ΥΣΑΣΔΑΝΤΙ ΤΑ . ΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΑΜΑΧΕΙ

Both lines 2 and 9 end with the same letters, but Haussoullier restored line 9 (accepted by Moretti and Bousquet): [πα]ύσας δ' ἀντι[πάλους πάν]τα [έ]κράτεις ἀμαχεί.

Ebert noticed the similarity and on account of Haussoullier's reading of line 2 restored line 9:
[πα]ύσας δ' ἀντι[πάλους π]λ[εῖσ]τα [έ]κράτεις ἀμαχεί.

Gallavotti's restoration attempts to account for the manner in which Sostratos was fighting:
[τρ]ύσας δ' ἀντι[πάλων] δ[ρακ]τά, [έ]κράτεις ἀμαχεί.

Line 8: ἄπο[ρον πολλ]οὺς Gallavotti.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XIX, 397; XXIII, 325. Haussoullier 1882, 446-448 no. 76. Pomtow 1909a, 183-189. *FD* III.1.332-333 no. 507. Morreti 1953, 62-64 no. 25. Morreti 1957, 121 no. 420, 122 no. 425, 123 no. 433. Lacroix 1964, 5-52. Ebert 1966b, 395-397 no. VIII. Moretti 1970, 297 nos. 420. 425. 433. Ebert 1972, no. 39. Gallavotti 1979a, 5-7, 27-28. Moretti 1987, 70 nos. 420. 425. 433.

Commentary: the date for the inscription is based on the career of Sostratos who according to Pausanias won his first Olympic victory in the 104th Olympiad (364 B.C.), the non-Olympiad according to the Eleians, because the Pisatans organized the Games. Since he won two more Olympic victories, i.e. in the 105th (360 B.C.) and 106th (356

B.C.) Olympiads (Moretti), the *terminus post quem* for the dedication of his statue at Delphi is 356 B.C., a date which agrees with the letter style as well.

Pausanias, as was the case for the statue of Athenaios from Ephesos, offers no specific clue as to where in the Altis this statue was situated, except that he saw it together with that of the Ephesian Athenaios (see no. 18 above), after that of the Lakedaimonian Lysander, and in the general area between the Heraion and the temple of Zeus.

Although Sostratos' dedication at Olympia has not been found, the inscribed base at Delphi supports Pausanias' narrative about him. The agreement in the details prompted Haussoullier's (1882, 447-448) suggestion that Pausanias undoubtedly saw and used an identical copy of the Delphic inscription at Olympia. More specifically, the athlete's name, his ethnic, the event in which he won, and especially the number of Sostratos' victories in the four Panhellenic Games (three Olympic, two Pythic, and a total of twelve at Nemea and Isthmos) suggests that Pausanias' text is a prose rendering of the three distichs (lines 4-9).

Moreover, Pausanias' explanation of Sostratos' epithet Ἀκροχειριστής, which Pausanias borrowed from some other source (Suda s.v. Σώστρατος), is certainly referred to in the last line (9) of the inscription, whichever restoration is accepted. The adverb ἀμαχεῖ cannot be understood simply to equal ἀκονιτ(ε)ῖ and ἀπρωτ(ε)ῖ, i.e. without a contest at all, although that meaning is possible (Ebert 1972, 132). Rather, there was no apparent contest, because Sostratos with his special technique in the pankration, seizing and bending the fingers, rendered his opponent helpless and unable to move (παύσας, or τρύσας the suggestion of Gallavotti who rightly argues for a restoration which would imply Sostratos' specialty in the pankration); hence Sostratos' victories without a fight.

There are, however, omissions by Pausanias as well. He does not mention the name of Sostratos' father Sosistratos, and omits the detail that Sostratos won many more victories (line 8 of the inscription). Indeed, if line 8 is not rhetorical exaggeration and

does refer to victories in other games (Gallavotti 1979a, 27-28 has found a similar expression in another epigram), it cannot not be considered an omission, because Pausanias never records any athlete's victories except those won in the four Panhellenic games. At any rate, the comparison of the two texts validates Pausanias' narrative and vindicates the author's careful observation of the epigraphical evidence at his disposal. The likelihood that at Olympia Pausanias consulted an inscription, identical to the Delphic one, becomes a certainty given the closeness of the two texts. For the exegesis of Sostratos' athletic fame which he acquired through the invention of a new technique in the pankration, Pausanias also employed some other source. Thus, in his narrative both autopsy and literary sources complement each other.

53.

- 6.6.5: ἀνελομένωι δὲ οἱ πυγμῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι νίκην τετάρτην πρὸς ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδι οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὀλυμπιάδα ἔμελλε χωρήσειν· Θε<ο>γένης γὰρ ὁ Θάσιος ὀλυμπιάδι ἐθέλων τῆι αὐτῆι πυγμῆς τε ἀνελέσθαι καὶ παγκρατίου νίκας ὑπερεβάλετο πυκτεύωντὸν Εὐθυμον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ Θε<ο>γένης ἐπὶ τῶι παγκρατίωι λαβεῖν ἐδυνήθη τὸν κότινον ἅτε προκατεργασθεῖς τῆι μάχῃ πρὸς τὸν Εὐθυμον. (6) ἐπὶ τούτῳι δὲ ἐπιβάλλουσι οἱ ἑλληνοδίκαι τῶι Θε<ο>γένει τάλαντον μὲν ἱερὰν ἐς τὸν θεὸν ζημίαν, τάλαντον δὲ βλάβης τῆς ἐς Εὐθυμον, ὅτι ἐπηρείαι τῆι ἐς ἐκείνον ἐδόκει σφίσι ἐπανελέσθαι τὸ ἀγώνισμα τῆς πυγμῆς· τούτων ἕνεκα καταδικάζουσι αὐτὸν ἐκτίσαι καὶ ἰδίαι τῶι Εὐθύμωι χρήματα. ἕκτη δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα τὸ μὲν τῶι θεῶι τοῦ ἀργυρίου γινόμενον ἐξέτισεν ὁ Θε<ο>γένης, καὶ ἀμειβόμενος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν πυγμῆν· καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνης τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μετ' ἐκείνην ὀλυμπιάδος τὸν ἐπὶ πυγμῆι στέφανον ἀνείλετο ὁ Εὐθυμος. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀνδριάς τέχνη τέ ἐστι Πυθαγόρου καὶ θεῶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄξιος. 5
- 6.11.2: Τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν εἰρημένων (sc. the Eleian dedications for Phillip, Alexander, Seleukos, and Antigonos) ἔστηκεν οὐ πόρρω Θε<ο>γένης ὁ Τιμο<ξ>ένους Θάσιος· Θάσιοι δὲ οὐ Τιμο<ξ>ένους 20 παῖδα εἶναι Θε<ο>γένην φασίν, ἀλλὰ ἱεῖσθαι μὲν Ἑρακλεῖ τὸν Τιμο<ξ>ένην Θασίωι, τοῦ Θε<ο>γένους δὲ τῆι μητρὶ Ἑρακλέους

συγγενέσθαι φάσμα εοικὸς Τιμο<ξ>ένει. ἔνατόν τε δὴ ἔτος εἶναι
 τῷ παιδί καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων φασὶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν
 ἐρχόμενον ἄγαλμα ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλ- 25
 κούν —χαίρειν γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτόν—, ἀνασπάσαι τε δὴ τὸ
 ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὤμων ἀναθέμενον ἐνεγκεῖν παρ'
 αὐτόν. (3) ἐχόντων δὲ ὀργὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ πεποιημένῳ τῶν
 πολιτῶν, ἀνὴρ τις αὐτῶν δόκιμος καὶ ἡλικίαί προήκων ἀποκτεῖναι
 μὲν σφᾶς τὸν παῖδα οὐκ ἐὰν, ἐκείνον δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας 30
 αὐτῆς κομίσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν· ὡς δὲ ἤνεγκε, μέγα
 αὐτίκα ἦν κλέος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ ἰσχύι, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνὰ πᾶσαν
 ἐβεβόητο τὴν Ἑλλάδα. (4) ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἔργων τῶν Θε<ο>γένους ἐς
 τὸν ἀγῶνα ἤκει τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν, προεδίηλωση ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι τὰ 35
 δοκιμώτατα ἐξ αὐτῶν (sc. 6.6.5), Εὐθυμόν τε ὡς κατεμαχέσατο τὸν
 πύκτην καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἐπεβλήθη τῷ Θε<ο>γένει ζημία. τότε
 μὲν δὴ τοῦ παγκρατίου τὴν νίκην ἀνὴρ ἐκ Μαντινείας Δρομεὺς
 ὄνομα πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν ἀκονιτὶ λέγεται λαβεῖν· τὴν δὲ Ὀλυμπιά-
 दा τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πακρατιάζων ὁ Θε<ο>γένης ἐκράτει. (5) γεγό- 40
 νασι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθοῖ νῆκαι τρεῖς, αὐταὶ μὲν ἐπὶ πυγμῇ, Νε-
 μείων δὲ ἐννέα καὶ Ἰσθμίων δέκα παγκρατίου τε ἀναμίξ καὶ πυγ-
 μῆς. ἐν Φθίαι δὲ τῇ Θεσσαλῶν πυγμῆς μὲν ἡ παγκρατίου παρήκε
 τὴν σπουδῆν, ἐφρόντιζε δὲ ὅπως καὶ ἐπὶ δρόμῳ ἐμφανῆς ἐν 45
 Ἑλλήσιν εἶη, καὶ τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὸν δόλιχον ἐκράτησεν· ἦν
 δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ φιλοτίμημα, ἐν πατρίδι τοῦ 45
 ὠκίστου τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων ἀνελέσθαι δρόμου νίκην. τοὺς δὲ
 σύμπαντας στεφάνους <τρια>κοσίους τε ἔσχε καὶ χιλίους. (6) ὡς
 δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνὴρ τῶν τις ἀπηχθημένων ζῶντι αὐτῷ
 παρεγίνετο ἀνὰ πᾶσαν νύκτα ἐπὶ τοῦ Θε<ο>γένους τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ
 ἐμαστίγου τὸν χαλκὸν ἅτε αὐτῷ Θε<ο>γένει λυμαινόμενος· καὶ 50
 τὸν μὲν ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐμπεσὼν ὕβρεως παύει, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δὲ τοῦ
 ἀποθανόντος οἱ παῖδες τῇ εἰκόνι ἐπεξήρισαν φόνου. καὶ οἱ Θάσιοι
 καταποντοῦσι τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπακολουθήσαντες γνώμη τῇ Δράκον-
 τος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις θεσμοὺς γράψας φονικοὺς ὑπερώρισε καὶ τὰ
 ἄψυχα, εἶγε ἐμπεσόν τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειν ἄνθρωπον. (7) ἀνὰ 55
 χρόνον δὲ, ὡς τοῖς Θασίοις οὐδένα ἀπεδίδου καρπὸν ἢ γῆ, θεωροὺς
 ἀποστέλλουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς καταδέχε-
 σθαι τοὺς δεδιωγμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ κατα-
 δεχθέντες οὐδὲν τῆς ἀκαρπίας παρείχοντο ἴαμα· δεύτερα οὖν ἐπὶ
 τὴν Πυθίαν ἔρχονται, λέγοντες ὡς καὶ ποιήσασιν αὐτοῖς τὰ χρη- 60
 σθέντα διαμένοι τὸ ἐκ θεῶν μήνιμα. (8) ἐνταῦθα ἀπεκρίνατό
 σφισιν ἡ Πυθία·

Θε<ο>γένην δ' ἄμνηστον ἀφήκατε τὸν μέγαν ὑμέων.

ἀπορούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὅποια μηχανῆι τοῦ Θε<ο>γένους τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνασώσωνται, φασὶν ἀλιέας ἀναχθέντας ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ ἰχθύ- 65
ων θήραν περιοχεῖν τῷ δικτύῳ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἀνενεγκεῖν αὐτοὺς
ἐς τὴν γῆν· Θάσιοι δὲ ἀναθέντες, ἔνθα καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔκειτο, νομί-
ζουσιν ἄτε θεῶι θύειν. (9) πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἔν τε Ἑλλη-
σιν οἶδα καὶ παρὰ βαρβάροις ἀγάλματα ἰδρυμένα Θε<ο>γένους καὶ
νοσήματά τε αὐτὸν ἰώμενον καὶ ἔχοντα παρὰ ἐπιχωρίων τιμάς. ὁ 70
δὲ ἀνδριάς τοῦ Θε<ο>γένους ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει, τέχνη τοῦ
Αἰγινήτου Γλαυκίου.

Apparatus Criticus:

20 Θεαγένης is the reading of the mss. β and Phral., but the Suda has Θεογένης; which is also attested by the Delphic inscription, and, therefore, the name Θεαγένης of Pausanias' mss. is corrected into Θεογένης in all places. The Aldine edition reads ὅτι μωσθένης 21 Θεαγένην is the reading of all mss. and editors after Bekker; editors before Bekker and the ms. Ms read Θεαγένην; La has Θεαγένης 22 Editors before Schubart-Walz read Τιμοσθένης; later editors and the mss. Vb La Pa and R above the line read Τιμοσθένην; however, the mss. Ms Va P Pd Ag Lb V and β read: Τιμόξενον, which agrees with the patronymic in the Delphic inscription and, therefore, it is accepted in Pausanias' text 23 the mss. Vb La Pa and R above the line read Τιμοσθένης; however, the mss. Va P Pd Ag Lb V and β read: Τιμοξένω, which agrees with the patronymic in the Delphic inscription and I have accordingly corrected Pausanias' text. Modern editors (Hitzig, Papachatzis, and Rocha-Pereira) accept the older readings (Θεαγένης Τιμοσθένης) without taking into consideration the Delphic inscription, although Pomtow (*Syll.*⁴ 36) has suggested: "in codd. Pausaniae Θεαγένης et Τιμοσθένης corrigenda sunt" 47 all mss. and editors read τετρακοσίους, although the number in all probability is wrong, since Plutarch (*Praec. reipubl. ger.* 15.7) has διακοσίους, and the Delphic inscription (lines 7-8): νῆκαυτρίς τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλια. Accordingly, I have corrected the text of Pausanias to τριακοσίους, the number preserved in the epigram.²²⁴

Ebert 1972, 118-119 no. 37: a base of white limestone found at Delphi onto which the bronze statue of Theogenes was mounted. The inscription is cut on the front side of the base and is badly preserved. The base is now in the Delphi Museum (Inv. No. 3835).

Height: 0.35m. Width: 0.78m. Breadth: 0.63m.

Letter Height is not given by the editors.

²²⁴ Moretti 1953, 52 (*IAG* 21) notes: "tali numeri parrebbero incredibili ma possono anche essere accettati tenendo presente che ad ogni modo essi comprendono non solo le vittorie in gare panelleniche, ma anche in modesti o modestissimi agoni regionali." But Ebert (1972, 123-124) rightly suggests: "Auch die sonst überlieferten Siegeszahlen ... werden durch unser Epigramm korrigiert."

Ο[.....15..... Θ]άσος, Τιμοξένου υἱέ, : καὶ Γ.... Ἑ[λλή]νων [πι]-
 λεῖ[ιστ]ον [ἔπαι]νον ἔχεις : καρτερίας· οὐ γάρ τις Ὀλυμπία ἐστεφ-
 ανώθη : ωύ[τὸ]ς [ἀν]ήρ πυγμῆι παγκρατίω τε κρατῶν. : σοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐμ Πι-
 υθῶνι τριῶν στεφάνω[ν] ἀκονιτί : ἔς· τὸ δὲ θνητὸς ἀνὴρ οὔτις ἔρε-
 5 ξε ἕτερος : ἐννέα δ' Ἴσθ[μ]ιάδων νῆκαι δέκα, δις γὰρ αὔσεν : κήρυξ
 ἐγ κύκλω μόνον ἐπιχθονίων : πυγμῆς παγκρατίου τ' ἐπινίκι-
 ον ἤματι τωύτῳ : ἐνάκι δ' ἐν Νεμέαι, Θεόγενης. αἱ δὲ ἴδιαι [·] νῆκαι
 τρίς τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιαι, οὐδέ σέ φημι : πυγμῆι νικηθῆναι ἔκο-
 σι καὶ δύ' ἐτῶν. :^v Θευγένης Τιμοξένου θάσιος ἐνίκησεν τάδε·
 10 Ὀλύμπια πύξ Ἴθμοῖ πύξ Νεμέα πύξ *vacat* 35
 Ὀλύμπια παγκράτιον Ἴθμοῖ πύξ 20 Νεμέα πύξ Νεμέα πύξ
 Πυθοῖ πύξ Ἴθμοῖ πύξ Νεμέα πύξ Ἐκατόμβοια
 Πυθοῖ πύξ Ἴθμοῖ πύξ Νεμέα πύξ 30 δόλιχον
 Πυθοῖ πύξ ἀκονιτί Ἴθμοῖ πύξ Νεμέα πύξ ἐν Ἀργεῖ.
 15 Ἴθμοῖ πύξ καὶ παγκράτιον Νεμέα πύξ *vacat* 40
 [Ἴθμοῖ πύξ τῆι αὐτῆι 25 Νεμέα πύξ
 Ἴθμοῖ πύξ Ἴθμιάδι Νεμέα πύξ
 Ἴθμοῖ πύξ

The dialect of the inscription is the Ionic with two notable variations: in the epigram the name of Theogenes is not contracted **θεόγενης** (line 7), but in the prose catalogue of his victories it is **θευγένης** (line 9); similarly the Isthmian Games in the epigram appear with the sigma **Ἴσθ[μ]ιάδων** (line 5), but in the prose catalogue the sigma is dropped **Ἴθμιάδι** (line 26).

The letter style is plain and characteristic letter shapes are (Ebert's facsimile 1972, 119): the top horizontal of the epsilon extends to the right, while its middle stroke is shorter; the theta in the middle has a dot and not a horizontal stroke; the xi has a vertical in the middle of the three horizontals; the right vertical of pi is considerably shorter than the left; and the top and bottom strokes of the sigma are slanting up- and downwards. This style suggests a fourth century B.C. date for the inscription.

The text of the inscription is divided into two sections: lines 1-9 is the epigram comprising of six elegiac distichs which the cutter separates with the three-dot punctuation (Ebert in his facsimile prints a three-dot punctuation in line 9 after **ἐτῶν**, but Hansen [CEG 2, 844] notes that there is also an empty space); and lines 9-40 list Theogenes' victories in prose.

The Stoichedon style is followed by the cutter consistently except for lines 11 (**παγκράτιον**) and 14 (**ἀκονιτί**), where because of the space limit these two words are inscribed in smaller letters and not stoichedon.

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of Ebert [1972, 119]):

- Line 1: omicron—only the right part of a curving stroke (it could also be a theta); alpha—only the upper triangular part; second omicron—only the upper part of an arc; gamma—only a trace of the left vertical and part of the upper horizontal (it could also be a pi); epsilon—only the bottom horizontal and the bottom part of the vertical.
- Line 2: epsilon—only the bottom horizontal and the bottom part of the vertical; omicron—only the upper part of a curving stroke; nu—only a trace of the right vertical and part of the middle slanting strokes; phi—only the tip of a vertical and the a trace of the upper right part of a curving stroke.
- Line 4: alpha—only the middle part of the left slanting stoke and a trace of the left part of the crossing bar; kappa—only traces of the bottom part of a vertical and the two slanting strokes.

- Line 9: sigma—only traces of the rightmost tips of three slanting strokes.
 Line 10: omicron—only a trace of the left part of an arc.
 Line 17: iota—only bottom tip of a vertical; theta—only a trace of the bottom right part of a curving stroke.
 Line 18: iota—only the uppermost tip of a vertical; theta—only the uppermost part of a curving stroke; mu—only the uppermost corners of four slanting strokes; omicron—only the uppermost part of a curving stroke; iota—only the uppermost tip of a vertical; pi—only the upper part of the left vertical and the upper horizontal.

Restorations: only line 1 requires major restoration, but none has so far won general acceptance, because of the nature of the epigram, and therefore none is printed in the text (see Hansen *CEG* 2, 844).

- Line 1: δ[λβίστη θρέπτειρα θ]άσος, . . . καὶ γ[ὰρ ἄφ' Ἑλλά]νων Peek, Moretti.
 ο[ὔποτε τοῦτον ἔφυσε θ]άσος. . . καὶ π[ολύ γ'] Ἑ[λλά]νων Ebert.

IG XII.8 suppl., 425: a stele of Thasian marble was found in *Limenas*. It is broken at the bottom.

Height: 0.13m. Width: 0.23m. Breadth: not given by Hiller.

Letter Height: not given by Hiller.

aetas Romana

[Θεογ]ένει
 [ἐ]πιφανεί
 εὐχῆν
 A. *folium* Λικίνι-
 os *folium* Ποπ-
 [αίου (?) - - -].

The letters have small apices and NE are in ligature.

Martin 1940-41, 163-200: a cylindrical and hollow offertory-box (θησαυρός) of Thasian marble was found in the Agora at Thasos in 1939. On the top and bottom there are two mouldings under which two inscriptions are cut on the side symmetrically.

Height: 0.73m. Diameter: ca. 0.51m.

Inscribed surface: (1) Height 0.034m., Width 0.044m.

(2) Height 0.017m., Width 0.031m.

Letter Height: (1) 0.02m., (2) 0.023m.

saec. I ante

1. τοὺς θύοντας τῷ Θεογένει
[Θαισ[ίω] ἀπάρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν θη-
σαυρὸν μὴ ἔλασσον ὀβολοῦ · τῷ δὲ
μὴ ἀπαρξάμενῳ καθότι προγέ-
5 γραπται ἐνθυμιστὸν εἶναι · τὸ δὲ
πεσοῦμενον χρῆμα ἐκάστου ἐνι-
αυτοῦ δοθῆναι τῷ ἱερομνήμονι,
τὸν δὲ φυλάσσειν ἕως ἂν συνά-
χθωσιν δραχμαὶ χίλιαι · ὅταν δὲ
10 τὸ προγεγραμμένον πλῆθος
συναχθῆι, βουλευσασθαι τὴν βου-
λὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς τί ἀνάθημα
ἢ κατασκεῦασμα ἀναλωθή-
σεται τῷ Θεογένει.
2. Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι τὸν
βουλ[ό]μενον ἐπ' ὀ-
νήσει [αὐτοῦ] καὶ τέκνων
καὶ γυν[αι]κὸς ἐπάρ-
5 [χεσθαι τῷ] Θεογένει.

The restorations are from Sokolowski 1962, 132-133 no. 72 A and B.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

P.Oxy. 222. Pomtow 1909, 252-256. Roussel 1940-41, 289-290. Launey 1941, 22-49. Peek 1942, 240-243. Moretti, *IAG* 51-56 no. 21. Pouilloux 1954, 62-105. Moretti 1957, 88 no. 201, 90 no. 215. Pouilloux 1954, 62-105. Fraser 1957, 98-103. Sokolowski 1962, 132-133 no. 72A, B. Fontenrose 1968, 73-104. Ebert 1972, 118-126 no. 37. Daux 1974, 558-563. Young 1984, 89-103, 150-157, and *passim*.

Commentary: The date for the base at Delphi, 400-350 B.C., is arrived at from the letter style alone, and obviously is much later than the dates for Theogenes' multiple victories which are tentatively dated between 487 and 471 B.C. According to Pausanias Theogenes was victorious at Olympia in the 75th and 76th Olympiads (480 and 476 B.C.) in the boxing and the pankration respectively (see also *P.Oxy.* 222 and Moretti).

Pausanias, after his note on the athletic dedication of the Arkadian Tellon (no. 34 above), mentions briefly four statues erected by the Eleians in the Altis in honor of the Makedonian kings: Phillip the son of Amyntas, Alexander, Seleukos (these three on horse

back), and Antigonos whose statue was on foot (6.11.1). Near them, Pausanias continues, is the athletic dedication of Theogenes, son of Timoxenos from Thasos (for the correct forms of these names see the Apparatus Criticus), which must have stood on the southern terrace, to the south of Zeus' temple, near the south Altis wall. The extraordinary athletic achievements of Theogenes, to which Pausanias had briefly alluded in his discussion of Euthymos (6.6.5 no. 24 above), offer an opportunity to insert in his narrative an excursus about the career and fame of this athlete (6.11.2-9), just as he had done earlier with Euthymos and the Diagoridai (nos. 22 and 26–28 above). The information about Theogenes that Pausanias had at his disposal was no doubt considerably more than that about other Olympionikai. More importantly, it testified to Theogenes' heroization on account of his athletic achievements, as was the case with Euthymos and the legendary Olympionikai, Pelops and Herakles.²²⁵ In that sense, Pausanias' exegesis of Theogenes' dedication in the Altis parallels his narrative on Euthymos. It is another example of his methodology, which combines both epigraphical and literary sources, and of his interest in expanding the picture of the honorees when evidence is available.

Theogenes' offering at Olympia has not been found, although some identify *IO 153* as Theogenes' base and not that of the Rhodian Dorieus (no. 26 above). At Delphi, however, there has been recovered an inscribed base of Theogenes whose information is similar to that provided by Pausanias. The exegete's account, therefore, concerning the athletic achievements of Theogenes, can be tested against the text of the Delphic inscription, since it seems that Pausanias employed information which was inscribed on a similar dedication at Olympia. This, of course, is an open question, since it can also be argued that Pausanias' details on Theogenes are derived from the Delphic inscription itself, or even from another, literary source. The inscriptions themselves are considerably

²²⁵ For further discussion on the athletes who became heroes see Fontenrose 1968, 73-104.

later than the time of Theogenes and are clearly historical retrospectives on the career of the athlete. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Pausanias' narrative about Theogenes and the epigraphical information do not contradict, but corroborate each other.

Specifically, the name of the Thasian athlete which in the manuscripts of Pausanias is preserved slightly deformed can now be securely restored thanks to the Delphic dedication which preserves the name: his name was Theogenes and his father's was Timoxenos.²²⁶ Furthermore, the athletic career of Theogenes as is summarized in the inscription does not contradict Pausanias' narrative. Both Pausanias and the inscription are in agreement that the Thasian athlete was victorious twice in the Olympics in the boxing and then in the pankration (6.6.5-6 and 6.11.4, lines 2-3, 10-11). Of course the epigram could not mention Theogenes' fine imposed by the Eleians in the 75th Olympiad (480 B.C.), which is reported by Pausanias (6.6.5-6 and 6.11.4) and on account of which he failed to win twice during the same Olympiad in the two most difficult events, the so-called "heavy." The *Hellanodikai*, after Theogenes defeated Euthymos in the boxing event, but then failed to defeat his opponent in the pankration, became suspicious that the only reason Theogenes entered both events was so that Euthymos would not win in the boxing, and accordingly fined him. Thus, Pausanias reports that in the next Olympiad (the 76th, 476 B.C.) Theogenes paid one talent to Zeus, but not to Euthymos with whom he agreed instead not to enter in the boxing event which Euthymos won. Theogenes entered, however, and won the pankration, his second and last Olympic victory. The claim in the epigram that he was the only one who won both of these events at Olympia was of course true until the Theban athlete Kleitomachos repeated the same accomplishment, as Pausanias notes (6.15.3): ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίαι δεύτερος ὁ κλειτόμαχος οὗτος μετὰ τὸν θάσιον θεογένην ἐπὶ παγκρατίῳ τε

²²⁶ Literary sources spell the name Theogenes, while the inscriptions read Theogenes (see also the Apparatus Criticus).

ἀνηγόρευθη καὶ πυγμῆς. According to Pausanias (6.15.4), Kleitomachos was victorious in the 141st Olympiad (216 B.C.) in the pankration, and in the 142nd Olympiad (212 B.C.) in the boxing.

Similarly, the two texts are in agreement about the other victories of Theogenes in the major Panhellenic Games. Both Pausanias and the inscription record the same number of victories: three Pythic, all in boxing (6.11.5 and lines 3-5, 12-14), although Pausanias fails to mention that one of them was “without contest” (ἀκονυτίζ line 4 and 14 of the inscription); nine at Nemea in boxing (6.11.5 and lines 7, 27-34, 36); and ten at Isthmos in boxing and pankration (6.11.5 and lines 5-7, 15-26). Moreover, Pausanias adds a detail which is not recorded in the inscribed list of Theogenes’ victories, but is implied nonetheless. Theogenes ran at Phthia the dolichos race, because, Pausanias explains, he wanted to excel in an event for which Achilles was famous, and in the same city which honored the Homeric hero. The inscription does not record Theogenes’ victory in dolichos at Phthia, but Theogenes’ last victory in the inscribed catalogue is in the dolichos race in the Hekatomboia at Argos (lines 37-39). Therefore, the inscription indirectly attests to Pausanias’ note that Theogenes tried also to compete in a running event, although his training was in boxing and pankration. Apparently, however, the Hekatomboia at Argos were more important than the games at Phthia, which are not included in the inscription. For Pausanias, by contrast, Theogenes’ victory at Phthia, the city of Achilles, is more significant, because it explains and foretells Theogenes’ heroization in Thasos by his fellow citizens, an event which Pausanias proceeds to narrate. The final comment on Theogenes’ athletic career by Pausanias is the total number of the victories, 1400, which in the inscription is 1300 and in Plutarch (*Moralia* 15.7) 1200. The discrepancy among these three sources suggests that obviously there was a problem about the total number of Theogenes’ victories, and, in light of the evidence, the epigraphical testimony should be the overriding one. Accordingly, and given Pausanias’

dependency on epigraphical information, the number in his text is corrected from 1400 to 1300 victories, as the epigram dictates.

But the inscription was not the only source that Pausanias utilized for his extended exposition on the Thasian athlete. In the first paragraph and immediately after mentioning his father's name (6.11.2), Timoxenos, Pausanias adds that the Thasians had a different story: Theogenes' father was actually Herakles and not Timoxenos who was his priest. Herakles impersonating Timoxenos slept with his wife and Theogenes was born. Furthermore, Pausanias adds another anecdote from the early years of the Thasian athlete, which foretells his athletic career to come: when he was nine years old, Theogenes, upon returning home from school through the Agora at Thasos, removed a statue which he liked very much, put it on one of his shoulders, and brought it home. The people were angered and wanted to kill the boy, but one of the elders persuaded them to let the boy simply return the statue back to its spot in the Agora. The strength of the young Theogenes was marvelled at and Theogenes became famous all over Greece (6.11.2-3). After this aetiological anecdote Pausanias discusses Theogenes' athletic career and adds more information to what he already has said when he was discussing Euthymos (6.11.4-5).

As was the case with Euthymos, Pausanias concludes his narrative on Theogenes with another anecdote which to him is significant in that it demonstrates the heroization of the athlete after his death (6.11.6-8): one of Theogenes' enemies at Thasos was whipping his bronze statue at the Thasian Agora, thinking that Theogenes himself was suffering, albeit dead. The statue took its revenge and somehow fell on this defiler, whereupon his sons accused the statue of murder according to Drako's law at Athens, which postulated that even non-human things could be prosecuted, and the Thasians threw it into the open sea. This incident, however, caused the wrath of Theogenes, who had apparently acquired heroic status, which was manifested by the sudden infertility of the land of

Thasos. The citizenry sent an embassy to Delphi to ask Apollo for help, and the Pythia replied that the Thasians had to allow those whom they had persecuted to return. This did not work, and so a second embassy was sent again to Delphi. This time the Pythia was more explicit, and Pausanias quotes her response: “you forgot Theogenes.”²²⁷ The Thasians devised a way to retrieve Theogenes’ statue from the sea, placed it in the same spot in the Agora from where they had removed it, and started sacrificing to Theogenes as if to a god.

This is obviously an aetiological story for Theogenes’ heroization which, Pausanias notes, was not exclusive to the island of Thasos. In fact, Pausanias states that he saw in many Greek and barbarian cities statues of Theogenes being honored and sacrificed to, because Theogenes had healing power, just like Asklepios and the athlete Poulydamas.²²⁸ On that note Pausanias concludes his lengthy exposition on Theogenes and his achievements by returning in ring composition to Theogenes’ Olympic dedication in the Altis which, he adds, is the work of the Aiginetan sculptor Glaukias.

But that is not all. The French excavations in the Agora of Thasos have discovered the Heroon of Theogenes and quite remarkably there have been found inscriptions which attest to Pausanias’ narrative both about Theogenes’ athletic career, and, more significantly, about the hero cult of Theogenes instituted on the island. The athletic inscriptions in honor of Theogenes are fragmentary, but corroborate both the Delphic inscription and Pausanias’ information (Ebert 1972, 124-126). The three cultic inscriptions, however, are remarkable in their own right. The first is the standard votive offering to a deity, in this case Theogenes. The second is a decree according to which all

²²⁷ According to Dio Chrysostom (*Orationes* 31) Pythia’s reply was:
 θεαγένους δ’ ἐλάθεσθε ἐνὶ ψαμάθοισι πεσόνητος·
 κεῖθ’ ὑμῖν ὁ πρὶν μυριάεθλος ἀνήρ.

²²⁸ Lukian (*Deorum consilium* 12) notes that Theogenes’ statue at Thasos and Poulydamas’ statue at Olympia could cure fever.

those offering sacrifices had to pay a tax of one obol for Theogenes; the yearly sum of money was collected by the *hieromnemon* who kept until it grew to a thousand drachmas, which the demos and the boule of Thasos decided to spend on dedications or constructions in honor of Theogenes. The third is a brief cult invitation to anyone who desires to sacrifice to Theogenes for the benefit of himself, his children and his wife.

What is important for the present discussion is that this remarkable evidence not only corroborates Pausanias' information about Theogenes, but it also supports the view that the exegete's sources, whether literary or from his own observations, are reliable.²²⁹ Whether or not Pausanias visited the island of Thasos is not clear and not as important. Theogenes' story and cult was, as Pausanias says, widespread, and so, his information may have come from a Heroon of Theogenes which he saw in some city in Greece or Asia Minor, or from a literary source (πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρωθεν ἔν τε Ἑλλήσιν οἴδα καὶ παρὰ βαρβάροις ἀγάλματα ἰδρυμένα θεογένους καὶ νοσημάτων τε αὐτὸν ἰώμενον καὶ ἔχοντα παρὰ ἐπιχωρίων τιμᾶς 6.11.9). Thus, the dedication of Theogenes at Olympia and Pausanias' interest in offering an exegesis for it are testimony yet again of the sound methodological approach of the exegete: Pausanias' foremost sources are epigraphical and archaeological, i.e. his own ἀὐτοψία, which, wherever possible, is further embellished with information from the exegete's travels, or from literary sources. In the case of the Thasian Theogenes all these elements are admirably brought together into a coherent whole explaining who Theogenes was and why so many stories were circulating about him. And this is the programmatic principle

²²⁹ Interpretations of this evidence vary and are briefly summarized by Young (1984, 151-152 note 49) whose criticism is to the point. There is no need to presume that Theogenes belonged to an aristocratic family. Having said that, it is also equally likely that after his many victories Theogenes may have gained political clout at Thasos. This would not be something new and it would certainly have influenced the institution of the hero-cult of Theogenes (see note 215 above). Plutarch's (*Moralia* 811d-e) and Eusebius' (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 5.34.9-13) remarks are suggestive.

which Pausanias has set forth in the beginning of book 6 for composing his *Eliaka*, namely an exegesis of the monuments in the Altis, athletic or otherwise.

54.

6.17.4: Κολοφώνιοι δὲ Ἑρμησιάναξ <Γονέως> καὶ Εἰκάσιος Λυκίνου τε ὦν καὶ τῆς Ἑρμησιάνακτος θυγατρὸς κατεπάλαισαν μὲν παῖδας ἀμφοτέρω, Ἑρμησιάνακτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Κολοφωνίων ὑπήρξεν ἀνατεθῆναι τὴν εἰκόνα.

Apparatus Criticus:

1 the mss. read: Ἄγονέου, but the inscription found in Klaros preserves the correct form of the name: Ἑρμησιάναξ Γονέως, for which Peek (1985, 155) notes: “das Ἄγονέου bei Pausanias ist zu Γονέως zu verbessern (ΩΣ konnte natürlich leicht verlesen werden; das falsche Alpha erklärt sich wohl daraus, dass der olympischen Statue der Akusativ Ἑρμησιάνακτα stand)”.

Peek 1985, 155: an inscribed base, found near the altar of Apollo in Klaros of Asia Minor. Lines 2-4 of the epigram were first published by Robert who noted that it “célèbre la victoire olympique d’un lutteur, qui ne fut pas renversé” (1967, 23). Peek has recently reexamined the stone and his text is printed below (no dimensions are given by either editor).

320–200 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca. 35

πρῶ[τος] ὄδ' ἐξ [Ἰ]ασίας Ἑρμησιάναξ Γονέως παῖς
ἀπτῶς εἶλε πάλης ἄθλον Ὀλυμπιάδι·
εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν Κολοφῶν πατρίς, ἦν στεφανώσας
ἀθανάτου χάριτος θνητὸς ἐὼν ἔτυχεν.

Robert notes that the epigram is inscribed “en très belles lettres du III^e siècle a. C.”

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.
Moretti 1957, 128 no. 475; id. 1987, 71 no. 475. Robert 1967, 23.

Commentary: This inscription is dated late fourth to third centuries B.C. on the basis of its letter style. Moretti had placed tentatively the victory of Hermesianax in 320 B.C. (115th Olympiad) before the discovery of his inscribed base at Klaros.

After the athletic dedication of the Tenedian Demokrates, which he mentions first in his second $\Sigma\phi\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (no. 74 below), Pausanias continues his exegesis of the offerings in the Altis. These were set up in the area from the Leonidaion northwards towards the Great Altar of Zeus, as one passes by in front of the west side and then in front of the north side of the temple of Zeus. Among them he saw two statues of Kolophonian athletes, both of whom were victorious in the boy's wrestling event: Hermesianax, the son of Goneus, whose dedication was offered by the *koinon* of the Kolophonians, and Eikasios, Hermesianax's grandson, the son of Lykinos and of Hermesianax's daughter.

The inscribed bases onto which these two statues were mounted have not been found in Olympia. In Apollo's precinct, however, at Klaros in Asia Minor there has been discovered a base inscribed with an epigram commemorating the victory of Hermesianax and bearing the same information as the narrative of Pausanias who undoubtedly read on the base in Olympia the same epigram. More specifically, in the first distich of the epigram there is mention of: the athlete Hermesianax, his patronymic Goneus, the event in which he won in Olympia, and that he was the first Olympionikes from Asia in the boy's wrestling; while in the second distich the dedicator, the city of Kolophon, the country of Hermesianax, is noted and also the usual comment on the importance of Hermesianax's victory for his city. The information which Pausanias offers in his narrative about this athlete from Kolophon is the same as that of the epigram. The fact that Pausanias does not explicitly say that Hermesianax was the first Olympionikes from Asia, on account of which his city Kolophon felt obligated to undertake the dedication, does not mean that Pausanias is not aware of it. In fact, a few lines earlier (6.17.2) Pausanias refers to another athletic offering in the Altis, that of Herodotos whose statue was dedicated by his

city, Klazomenai, because he was the first Klazomenian to become an Olympionikes. The closeness in the narrative of these two athletic offerings dedicated by the athletes' cities may imply that he was first.²³⁰ In spite of the fact that the statue base of Hermesianax has not been found in Olympia, Pausanias' narrative is supported by the dedication, similar or identical to the Olympic one, which the Kolophonians set up in the precinct of Apollo in Klaros, and his text also improved.

²³⁰ This is actually what Moretti (1957, 128 no. 475) understood as implied by Pausanias' narrative: "Pausanias ne vide la statua in Olympia, eretta a cura dei suoi concittadini (probabilmente perché era il primo Colophonio che riuscisse vincitore in Olympia)."

C. INSCRIPTIONS THAT PAUSANIAS MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE SEEN IN ELIS

Part C (nos. 55–82) examines instances in Ἡλιακῶν A and B whose information is supported by inscriptions that have been found at Olympia. They are passages in which Pausanias discusses the mythistoric past of Olympia and the region of Elis, the buildings and the altars, the priesthoods, the games, the cult personnel, and dedications. These are cases that cannot either prove or disprove the assumption that Pausanias read and quoted from these inscriptions. Since these texts were at Olympia, and therefore presumably at his disposal, he may very well have read all, some, or even none of them. Be that as it may, the fact remains that when both texts are confronted they complement and corroborate each other.

55.

- 5.2.3: τούτων (sc. δύο...ἄλλοι λόγοι) δὲ ὁ μὲν Κύψελον τὸν τυραννήσαντα Κορινθίων φησὶν ἄγαλμα ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Διὶ χρυσοῦν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, προαποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Κυψέλου πρὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπιγράψαι τὸ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς Κορινθίους παρὰ Ἠλείων αἰτεῖν δοῦναί σφισιν ἐπιγράψαι δημοσίαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι, οὐ τυχόντας δὲ ὀργῆι τε ἐς τοὺς Ἠλείους χρῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν σφισιν Ἰσθμίων εἵργεσθαι. 5
- 5.16.1: Λείπεται δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν τῆς τε Ἥρας ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρέποντα ἐς συγγραφὴν. ...
- 5.17.5 Λάρναξ δὲ κέδρου μὲν πεποιήται, ζώδια δὲ ἐλέφαντος ἐπ' αὐτῆς, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα τῆς κέδρου· ἐς ταύτην τὴν λάρνακα Κύψελον τὸν Κορίνθου τυραννήσαντα ἀπέκρυψεν ἢ μήτηρ, ἠνίκα τεχθέντα ἀνευρεῖν αὐτὸν 10

σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο οἱ Βακχίδαι. τῆς μὲν δὴ σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τοῦ
Κυψέλου τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι Κυψελίδαι τὴν λάρ- 15
νακα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ λάρνακας οἱ τότε ἐκάλουν
Κορίνθιοι κυψέλας· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Κύφελον τῷ παιδὶ
θέσθαι λέγουσι.

Caskey 1922, 65-68: a fluted golden bowl of 22.3 carats and 836.469 gram was purchased by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from the Francis Bartlett Fund in April 6, 1912. It is a *φιάλη μεσομόφαλος* which was reportedly found at Olympia.²³¹ The metal work is “exquisite” and the twenty-five letters are not incised but are stamped into two consecutive flutes, just below the rim.

Boston Museum of Fine Arts Inv. No. 21.1843.

Height: *ca.* 0.075m. Diameter: *ca.* 0.15m. Thickness of the flutes: 0.002m.

Letter Height: 0.0025-0.006m.

650–550 *ante*

Κυψελίδαι ἀνέθεν ἐξ Ἑρακλέας.

The letters are elegantly inscribed and, according to Caskey (1922, 68), they “were executed by a skilled and practised hand” who used three chisels: “a tubular puncheon for the circles of the *koppa* and *theta*, and small, blunt chisels, one twice as long as the other, for the straight strokes.” (See also Casson 1935, 513-514 for the inscribing technique of early inscriptions on metal).

The style is the early Korinthian and the letter shapes are (*LSAG* 114 fig. 33): α2, ε2 and ε3, θ1 or θ2, ι1, λ1, ν1 (but its right part considerably shorter, almost one-third the height of the left vertical), ξ2, ρ1, σ1 (*san LSAG* 33 fig. 17), υ1, ψ1.

The orthography in this inscription shows the use of *koppa* instead of *kappa*, omission of the aspirate in Ἑρακλέας, and two different letter shapes for epsilon: the ionic eta (ε2), and the spurious or genuine diphthong epsilon iota (ε3).²³²

²³¹ Caskey (1922, 65-66) reports:

According to the vendor (who was not the finder) the bowl was discovered some five years ago at Olympia, east of the Altis, between the stadion and the river Alpheios, in the bank of one of the small torrents formed by winter rains, which wash down earth from the hill of Kronos. In mediaeval times the bed of the Alpheios ran through that region. Unfortunately there is little hope that this account of the provenance can ever be verified, and the authenticity of the bowl established on irrefragable external proof.

For a full description of the bowl and other parallel ones that have been found see Caskey 1922, 65-68; id. 1926, 50-51; Casson 1935, 510-517; and Smith 1944, 258.

²³² For other similar Korinthian examples see Buck 1973, 293-294, and Jeffery, *LSAG* 118-130.

Bibliography:²³³ Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG I, 94. Caskey 1926, 50-51. Casson 1935, 510-517. Smith 1944, 241-290. Gallavotti 1962, 291-294. Andrewes 1982, 58-76. Jeffery, LSAG 119, 127-128, 131 no. 13, 404 pl. 19 no. 13.

Commentary: The date of this inscribed bowl, 650–550 B.C., is the widest possible *terminus post* and *ante quem* for such an offering and is based primarily on the letter style of the inscription and the disputed dates for the Kypselidai at Korinth, which vary from the middle or late seventh century to early or middle of the sixth century B.C.

Pausanias in the beginning of his *Eliaka* offers an overview of the mythistoric past of Elis and the Olympic Games and, as is his custom, he narrates all three possibilities for the exclusion of Eleian athletes from the Isthmian Games (5.2.1-5). The second of these explanations had to do with an incident just after the death of the tyrant of Korinth Kypselos (5.2.3): Kypselos had sent to Olympia a golden statue as an offering to Zeus, but he died before the statue was inscribed with his name. The Korinthians asked the Eleians to inscribe that the statue was an offering to Zeus by the city of Korinth, but the Eleians refused and the Korinthians retaliated by banning them from the Isthmian Games.²³⁴ Pausanias records this explanation, because he heard the story, but he does not accept it as the real reason for the ban. For he cannot understand how the Eleians allowed the Korinthians to participate in the Olympics, but themselves were banned from

²³³ For bibliography on the Chest of Kypselos see also Chapter I, note 41.

²³⁴ The epigram on this statue is quoted in other authors and its two versions run as follows (*IGM* 53 and also Gallavotti's discussion 1962, 291-294):

A. εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ χρύσεος σφυρήλατός εἶμι κολοσσός,
ἐξώλης εἴη Κυψελιδᾶν γενεά.

B. εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ *ναξος παγχρύσεός εἶμι κολοσσός,
ἐξώλης εἴη Κυψελιδᾶν γενεά.

whose first line Jeffery reads (*LSAG* 127 note 3):

εἰ μὴ ἐγὼν ὄναξ παγχρύσεός εἶμι κολοσσός.

the Isthmian competition. The incident started with the golden statue of Kypselos and its inscription, which Pausanias, judging from his silence, did not see in Olympia.

One of the dedications, however, which Pausanias saw housed inside the temple of Hera, was the *Larnax* of Kypselos which was made of cedar wood, while the sculptured figures on its panels were of ivory, gold and cedar (5.17.5): when Kypselos was born, his mother had hidden him in a *kypsele*, as the Korinthians call the chests, so that the Bakchidai would not find him. In this way the boy was saved, became tyrant of Korinth and leader of the ruling family. He was named Kypselos after the chest which was appropriately dedicated at Olympia by his descendants, the Kypselidai who were named after him. After this introductory note Pausanias proceeds with a detailed description of the *Larnax* which occupies a significant place in his entire work (5.17.6-19.10). The interests, however, of the exegete in this offering of Kypselos are not artistic, but center around the wealth of the mythistorical scenes that offer the exegesis of the dedication itself and constitute evidence for Korinth's history.

Of course, neither of these Kypselid dedications has been found. The golden statue was apparently already lost by Pausanias' time. The Boston golden bowl was dedicated by the Kypselids from the war they fought against the Akarnanian city of Herakleia, when Korinth was colonizing the western part of Greece. The Kypselids apparently favored gold more than any other metal, since the majority of their dedications were golden. More importantly, Pausanias' introductory note on the *Larnax* implies that he is reading from the dedicatory inscription which was inscribed on it.²³⁵ This assumption is supported by the inscription on the bowl. Both texts are apparently employing the same form of the patronymic in the plural: τῆς μὲν δὴ σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῦ Κυψέλου τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

²³⁵ Smith (1944, 275 note 132), cautiously reserved, suggests: "In the light of the Boston bowl with its (after all) rather surprising use of the plural patronymic, it may now seem not impossible that Pausanias v, 17, 5 echoes an inscription."

γένος οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι Κυψελίδαι τὴν λάρνακα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν— on the bowl: Κυψελίδαι ἀνέθεν; and on the golden statue: Κυψελιδᾶν γενεά. Whether Pausanias saw the bowl or not, his narrative on Kypselos and the Kypselids and their dedications is supported by the inscribed Boston bowl, even if the dedicatory formulae are too common to prove anything. The extravagance of their dedications, preferably gold, and the formula which Pausanias employs for the *Larnax* are, if not proof, at least corroborating evidence about the Kypselids. It is also another of the many examples of the kind of sources Pausanias employed for the composition of his work. His main source of information is primarily but not exclusively based on inscriptions. Therefore, in his introductory comment about the Kypselid *Larnax* Pausanias is certainly narrating his personal observations, the dedicatory inscription, and information he heard about the Kypselids from the exegetes at Olympia or when he visited Korinth.

56.

5.4.2: κρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πυραίχμου τὴν τε βασιλείαν ἔσχεν Ὀξυλος καὶ Ἐπειοὺς τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἶασεν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν μένειν, συνοίκους δὲ σφισι τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπὶ ἀναδασμῶι τῆς χώρας ἐπεισήγαγε. καὶ Δίωι τε ἀπένειμε γέρα καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐφύλαξε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ Αὐγέαι τὰ ἐς τὸν ἐναγισμὸν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς αὐτῶι καθεστηκότα. (3) λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ὅσοι τοῦ τείχους οὐ πολὺ ἀφ᾽ ἐστήκεσαν, κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πλήθει τε οἰκητόρων (καὶ) μείζονα καὶ εὐδαιμονεστέραν ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἥλιον. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκ Δελφῶν χρησμὸς, τὸν Πελοπίδην ἐπάγεσθαι συνοικιστήν. Ὀξυλος δὲ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐποιεῖτο σπουδῆι καὶ ἀναζητῶν εὗρεν Ἀγώριον τὸν Δαμασίου τοῦ Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐξ Ἑλίκης τῆς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ σὺν τῶι Ἀγωρίωι μοῖραν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπηγάγετο οὐ πολλήν.

IO 456: a base of Pentelic marble with *cymatia* on top and bottom, found in December 26, 1879, built in a late wall, approximatey fifty steps south of the ninth Zan (the

Zeus statue made out of fines imposed on athletes). The inscribed front surface has suffered some cracks, and the extreme right is broken away. The base is now in the Altis, *in situ*.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 732. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 1.17m. Width: 0.555m. Breadth: 0.57m. (top)-0.48m. (middle).

Inscribed surface: Height: 0.655m. Width: 0.495m.

Letter Height: 0.028-0.035m.

157 *post*

NON-STOICH. *ca.* 12

Ἄντων(α)ν [Βαι]-
 βίαν Ἰ Μ(άρκου) Ἰ Ἄντω[ν]-
 ου Σαμίππο[υ]
 θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀπ[ὸ]
 5 Ὀξύλου τοῦ κτίσα[ν]-
 τος τῆν πόλιν,
 ἱέρειαν γενομ[έ]-
 νην τῆς Δήμη-
 τρος ἐπι[τ] τῆς σ[τ]λ[δ]
 10 Ὀλυμπιάδος[s]
 ἡ πόλις τῶ[ν Ἰ]-
 λείων καὶ ἡ Ὀλ[υμ]-
 πικῆ ννν βουλή Ἰ.

The lettering of the inscription is elegant and typical of the Roman Imperial period: all strokes end in triangular serifs, the middle bar of the alpha is broken, and the shapes of the epsilon, mu, sigma and omega are cut with curving strokes. The cutter also employs three times a punctuation mark: in line 2 before and after the letter M which is an abbreviation for Marcus, and at the very end of the text after βουλή.

Dotted Letters:

Line 10: alpha and delta—only the upper triangular part; omicron—only the upper part of a curving stroke.

Restorations: all the restored letters at the extreme right end of the text are printed in the facsimile of the *IO* editors, but they are not on the stone.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Kaldis-Henderson 1979, 134-154. Antonetti 1990, 60-62, 129-131, 200-204.

Commentary: The date for the honorary inscription of Baibia Antonia, ca. A.D. 157, is inscribed: she became a priestess of Demeter in the 234th Olympiad, sometime after which the dedication in her honor was made.

In his mythohistorical introduction of Elis Pausanias briefly recounts the central stages of Eleian history. One influential leader in that early period was the Aitolian Oxylos (5.3.5-4.2). Pausanias goes on to say that he was instrumental in bringing together the Eleians and Aitolians (συνοίκους), and that he furthermore persuaded the villages around the walls of Elis to abandon them and move into Elis. Thanks to Oxylos' *synoikismos* Elis grew in population and wealth, and it was subsequently established as the major city of the region.

This mythohistorical past narrated by Pausanias has found a surprising, albeit late, confirmation. To honor Antonia Baibia, the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, the Eleians and the Olympic Boule passed a decree and dedicated her statue in the Altis (for her priestesship see no. 80 below). What is unexpectedly welcome in this inscription is what the Eleians wrote about her father (lines 2-6): Marcus Antonios Samippos is the descendant of Oxylos who, translating literally, "founded the city." This brief genealogical note supports the narrative of Pausanias to the extent that in the second century A.D. a family could deliberately and no doubt for political reasons claim direct lineage with the legendary Oxylos.²³⁶ Albeit an Aitolian, his major accomplishment, which was remembered and exploited in the second century A.D., was the *synoikismos* of Elis, in the same way Theseus' *synoikismos* of Athens was celebrated.

Indeed, Marcus Antonios Samippos' family seems to have been one of the most important in Elis, which therefore explains why his daughter was chosen priestess of

²³⁶ This is not a rare phenomenon, and it is similar to the claim of the Olympic *phaidynai* who maintained that they were descendants of Pheidias (no. 61 below).

Demeter Chamyne. In *IO* 85, a cult personnel list of the late first century A.D., there are three persons named Samippos: in line 2 a *theokolos* Samippos with no patronymic is understood by the *IO* editors to be the father; in line 6 Oxylos S[amippou] and in line 8 Samippos [Samippou], the *spondophoroi*, are restored as sons of Samippos the father of Antonia. Furthermore, in Athens there have been found two inscriptions which apparently mention ancestors of Marcus Antonios Samippos: *IG II² 1072*, dated 116/7 B.C., is a decree passed by the Athenian boule to honor and erect a statue on the Akropolis for Antonios Oxylos Eleios, son of Antonios Samippos, who died prematurely; while *IG II² 3827*, dated in the middle of the fourth century B.C., is a decree by the Boule of the Areopagos in honor of Samippos Molossou Eleios. With this latter member another Molossos Molossou, mentioned in a honorary decree by the Achaians (*IO* 415), may be related, and perhaps Arestos Molossou and Isidoros Molossou, mentioned in *IO* 62, may have been members of this family as well.

Of course, all this additional epigraphical evidence does not support the claim of Antonios Samippos in the second century A.D. that his family descended from the *synoikistes* of Elis, Oxylos. Whether this association of the Eleian family with the legendary leader was actual or superficial is debatable and besides the point for the present discussion. What is significant, however, is that at the time when Pausanias visited Olympia, Antonios Samippos' family held a prominent position in the Eleian affairs, which was among other things, justified by their claim to fame through association with the hero Oxylos. And Pausanias may have heard this or similar claims which linked the past with the present.

57.

- 5.4.7: Ἡλείοις δὲ μέτεστι μὲν πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίου, μέτεστι δὲ καὶ ἔργων <τῶν> κατὰ τῶν Μήδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔφοδον. ὑπερβάντων δὲ ὅσοι σφίσι ἐγένοντο κίνδυνοι πρὸς Πισαίους τε καὶ Ἀρκάδας ὑπὲρ τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι, συν<εσ>έβαλον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκουσίως ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων, συνέστησαν δὲ 5
μετὰ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους Μαντινεῦσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀργείοις, ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν.
- 5.12.8: στήλαι δὲ ἄλλαι ἐστήκασι (sc. in the temple of Zeus) καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μαντινεάσ ἔχουσα ὄρκον παρὰ Ἡλείων ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐτῶν ἑκατόν. 10
- 5.23.4: Ἔστι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Διὸς τούτου (sc. the one dedicated by the Greeks who fought at Plataia) στήλη χαλκῆ, Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων συνθήκας ἔχουσα εἰρήνης ἐς τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν. ταύτας ἐποίησαντο Ἀθηναῖοι παραστησάμενοι τὸ δεύτερον Εὐβοίαν, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς <τρίτης πρὸς τὰς ὀγδοήκοντα> ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Κρίσων 15
Ἰμεραῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις καὶ τότε εἰρημένον, εἰρήνης μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τῆι Ἀργείων μὴ μετεῖναι πόλει, ἰδία δὲ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους, ἣν ἐθέλωσιν, ἐπιτηδεύωσ ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. αὐταὶ μὲν λέγουσι τοιαῦτα αἰ συνθήκαι· 20

IO 9: a bronze tablet preserved intact and discovered in Olympia in 1813 by Gell who transported it to England, now in London in the British Museum. On top of the upper corners there are two nail-holes from which the tablet was hung on a wall probably of a temple in the Altis.

British Museum Catalogue Bronzes 264.

Height: 0.10m. Width: 0.19m.

Letter Height: 0.0025-0.006m.

ca. 500 ante ?

NON-STOICH. *ca. 30*

ἀ Φράτρα τοῖρ Φαλείοις : καὶ τοῖς Ἐρ-
Φαίοις : συμμαχία κ' ἕα ἑκατόν Φέτεα :
ἄρχοι δέ κα τοῖ : αἰ δέ τι δέοι : αἶτε Φέπος αἶτε Φ-
ἀργον : συνέαν κ' ἀλάοις : τά τ' ἄλ<α> καὶ πὰ-
5 ρ πολέμο : αἰ δὲ μὰ συνέαν : τάλαντόν κ'

ἀργύρο : ἀποτίνοιαν : τῶι Δὶ Ὀλυμπίοι : τοὶ κα-
 δαλέμενοι : λατρεῖόμενον : αἱ δέ τιρ τὰ γ-
 ράφεια : ταῖ καδαλέοιτο : αἶτε **F**έτας αἶτε τ-
 ελεστὰ : αἶτε δᾶμος : ἔν τέπάρροι κ' ἐνέχ-
 10 οἰτο τῶι ἵνταῦτ ἔγραμένοι.

The lettering is careful and elegant, and the cutter employs the double-dot punctuation to highlight certain clauses of the rhetra. The omicrons are not inscribed with a curving stroke, but their circular space is all chiseled out.

The dialect is Eleian with notable characteristics the rhotacism, the use of the digamma, the simplification of double consonants, and α̇ for ε̇, ἔα for ε̇η (see further Buck 1973, 159-160). The Eleian alphabet, which is related with the Lakonian and the Arkadian, is archaic, since the letter shapes are quite early (*LSAG* 206 fig. 40): α1, γ2, δ2, ε1, Ϝ1, υ1, λ1 and λ2 (but the left stroke is vertical and not slanting), μ2 (but slanting to the left), ν4, π1, ρ1 (but the upper part inscribed with two strokes as a triangle and the letter sometimes is slanting to the right), σ2, υ2, φ2 (but square), and χ2.

Dotted Letters:

Line 1: of the rho only a trace of two slanting to the left strokes remains. Most editors (*IO* editors, Buck, Meiggs/Lewis, Jeffery, Cook) read it as a rho and thus understand the city to be Heraia in Arkadia, whereas other (Roehl, Dubois, Phaklariis) read an upsilon and understand the city to be Eua in Thyreatis.

Restorations:

Line 4: the alpha is omitted by the cutter and is accordingly added by all editors.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc., and 262 pl. 261.

Roehl, *IGA* 112. Newton 1978, vol. 2, 14-16 no. clvii, pl. 1 fig. 3. *HCT* vol. 1, 347-349; vol. 4, 54-53. Buck 1973, 261 no. 62. Bengtson 1962-75, vol. 2, 8-9 no. 110, 74-76 no. 156, 126-130 no. 193; vol. 3, 24-25 no. 413. Karnezis 1983, 319-327. Dubois 1985, 45-51. Abadie 1985, 385-454. Christien 1985, 455-466. Meiggs/Lewis 17. Phaklariis 1987, 101-119 pl. 23-28. Cook 1987, 60-61 pl. 58. Jeffery, *LSAG* 218-220 no. 6, pl. 42 no. 6.

Commentary: The date for this alliance between the Eleians and another city, ca. 500 B.C., is that of Jeffery and is based on a comparison of the letter style of this text to that of other inscriptions from Olympia, Arkadia and Lakonia, whose alphabets are related. The city with which the Eleians made the alliance inscribed on the bronze tablet is still under debate, i.e. whether it is the Arkadian Heraia, near the border with Elis, or Eua, the largest village in Thyreatis. This region divided Lakonia and Argolis and for its control the Argives and the Lakedaimonians were constantly fighting.

In his exegesis of the monuments at Olympia Pausanias, who seldom and only indirectly refers to decrees, reads and records two epigraphical documents which, although not dedications *per se*, are nevertheless important enough for him to incorporate in his narrative. In the beginning of his mythistorical overview of Elis (5.4.7) Pausanias briefly states that Elis was not always in control of Olympia and the Games. In the early years the Eleians fought Pisa and the Arkadians over the Altis and the prestige of the Olympics (see also his summary account of the non-Olympiads in 6.22.2-4). After the Eleians secured control over the sanctuary, Pausanias continues, they allied themselves with Sparta and unwillingly participated in the invasion of Attika, but later, i.e. after the Peace of Nikias in 420 B.C., they made an alliance with Argos, Mantinea and Athens against the Lakedaimonians. Later on in book 5, while describing the dedications inside the pronaos of the temple of Zeus, Pausanias reads a number of stelai and he singles out the one which recorded the alliance he had mentioned in his historical introduction of Elis.

The second treaty Pausanias records is the “thirty-year” alliance between Athens and Sparta, which was inscribed on a stele set up near the entrance to the Bouleuterion, in front of the Zeus statue that was dedicated by all the Greeks who fought at Plataia (no. 50 above). For this second document Pausanias provides a date: it was in the third year of the 83rd Olympiad when Krison from Himera was the stadionike (446/5 B.C.) and after the Athenians subjugated Euboia for a second time (in 445 B.C. under Perikles). He also adds what he thinks is an important clause of this alliance: Argos is not a party in it, but if Athens and Argos wished, they could sign a separate treaty.

For both of these documents there is the indispensable account of Thukydides and also a very fragmentary inscription from Athens (*IG* I³ 83 = I² 86) which is a copy of the treaty of 420 B.C. Thukydides mentions briefly and dates more securely the “thirty-year” treaty between Athens and Sparta (1.115.1 and 2.2.1), but he quotes the “hundred-year” alliance of 420 B.C., which is thus the basis for the restoration of *IG* I³ 83. Moreover,

Thukydides' narrative of the second treaty mentions a provision, absent from the fragmentary inscription *IG I³ 83*, but supporting Pausanias' narrative, namely that copies of the text were to be set up in temples of the three Peloponnesian cities: more specifically, all the parties together were to set up a bronze stele at Olympia during the Games that happened to take place in that year (the 90th Olympiad in 420 B.C.; καταθέντων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίαι στήλην χαλκῆν κοινῇ Ὀλυμπίοις τοῖς νυνί 5.47.11). A fragment of a copy of this alliance that Thukydides quotes has survived (*IG I³ 83*); Pausanias saw and mentions the original in his narrative of Elis ca. 500 years after it was passed.

At Olympia, neither of these treaties that Pausanias records has been discovered. The exegete does say, however, that he saw other treaties in the pronaos of the temple of Zeus (στήλαι δὲ ἄλλαι ἐστήκασιν καὶ ἡ πρὸς... 5.12.8). He singles out only the one he is interested in, the 420 B.C. treaty, while he overlooks the others. The treaty between Elis and the Arkadian city Heraia (Pausanias 8.26.1-4), or the Thyreatide Eua (Pausanias 2.38.5-6) that has been found (*IO 9*), which may have been among the ones Pausanias saw, is similar in two respects to the alliance of 420 B.C., which Athens made with Argos, Mantinea and Elis: it is for a hundred years, and there is no mention of any gods as the guarantors of the treaty, unlike the Sybarite treaty where all the gods are "witnesses" and the treaty is to last "forever" (no. 77 below). The circumstances under which Elis and Heraia or Eua agreed on this treaty are not known, because evidence is lacking.²³⁷ The troubles, however, of the Eleians with the Pisatans and the Arkadians

²³⁷ In that respect Meiggs/Lewis' (1989, 32) suggestion is well taken: "arguments as to whether it should predate or postdate 572, the traditional date at which the Eleians finally wrested from the Pisatans the control of Olympia and its festival (Paus. 6.22.2), now seem beside the point. The circumstances in which Elis made this alliance with Heraia of western Arcadia must remain unknown."

Pausanias' information (6.22.3), however, that Arkadians were involved in the feud over control of Olympia not only before the proposed date for *IO 9* by Jeffery, but even as late as the fourth century B.C. (the 104th non-Olympiad in 364 B.C.), seems only to suggest that the treaty was not enforced for a

over control of Olympia and the Games had a long history. Eua in the Thyreatide was situated on the opposite, eastern part of the Peloponnese, whereas Heraia's location was at the eastern border of Elis with Arkadia. Therefore, it seems rather unlikely that the treaty was between Elis and Eua. More importantly, this document may be evidence for an Eleian attempt to come to a settlement over Olympia at least with one Arkadian city, very close to her borders. The conflict over Olympia, as Pausanias notes (5.4.7 and 6.22.2; also no. 81 below), between the Eleians and Arkadians was going on in intervals as late as 364 B.C. Pausanias' information, therefore, that he read the inscribed *stelai* of two important treaties at Olympia is supported both by Thukydides and *IG I³ 83*. *IO 9* is indirect evidence for Pausanias' claim of Arkadian involvement in the dispute with the Eleians over Olympia, and also for his statement that in the *pronaos* of Zeus' temples there were inscribed *stelai* of treaties.

58.

- 5.13.2: θύουσι δὲ αὐτῶι (sc. to Pelops) καὶ νῦν ἔτι κατὰ ἔτος οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες· τὸ δὲ ἱερεῖόν ἐστι κριὸς μέλας. ἀπὸ ταύτης οὐ γίνεται τῶι μάντει μοῖρα τῆς θυσίας, τράχηλον δὲ μόνον δίδοσθαι τοῦ κριοῦ καθέστηκε τῶι ὀνομαζομένωι ξυλεῖ. (3) ἔστι δὲ ὁ ξυλεὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ Διός, ἔργον δὲ αὐτῶι πρόσκειται τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας 5
 ξύλα τεταγμένου λήμματος καὶ πόλεσι παρέχειν καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἰδιώτη· τὰ δὲ λεύκης μόνης ξύλα καὶ ἄλλου δένδρων ἐστὶν οὐδενός.
- 5.14.4: Φέρε δὴ, ἐποιησάμεθα γὰρ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου μνήμην (sc. Zeus' Great Altar), ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι τοὺς βωμοὺς· ἐπακολουθήσει δὲ ὁ λόγος μοι τῆι ἐς αὐτοὺς τάξει, καθ' ἣντινα 10
 Ἥλαιοι θύειν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν νομίζουσι.
- 5.15.10: Ἐκάστου δὲ ἅπαξ τοῦ μηνὸς θύουσιν ἐπὶ πάντων Ἥλαιοι τῶν κατειλεγμένων βωμῶν. θύουσι δὲ ἀρχαῖόν τινα τρόπον· λιβανωτὸν γὰρ ὁμοῦ πυροῖς μεμαγμένοις μέλητι θυμιῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν,

hundred years, if indeed, as Meiggs/Lewis point out, "a century's alliance was regarded as practically unlimited."

τιθέασι δὲ καὶ κλώνας ἐλαίας ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἴνωι χρώνται σπου- 15
 δῆι. μόλαις δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαις οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον οὐδὲ ταῖς Δεσ-
 ποίλαις σπένδειν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῷ κοινῷ πάντων θεῶν. μέλει
 δὲ τὰ ἐς θυσίας θεηκόλωι τε, ὅς ἐπὶ μηνὶ ἐκάστωι τὴν τιμὴν
 ἔχει, καὶ μάντεσι καὶ σπονδοφόροις, ἔτι δὲ ἐξηγητῆι τε καὶ αὐλη-
 τῆι καὶ τῷ ξυλεῖ. (11) ὅποσα δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς λέγειν σφίσι 20
 ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ καθέστηκεν, ἢ καὶ ὕμνους ὁποῖους αἰδοῦσιν, οὐ
 με ἦν εἰκὸς ἐπεισαγαγέσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν λόγον.

Apparatus Criticus:

1-2 all mss. and editors read οἱ κατὰ ἔτος τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες; Hitzig in his apparatus reads κατὰ ἔτος οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες?, which is here adopted, because the epigraphical evidence on the cult-officials at Olympia (IO 58-141) suggests that the archai held a four year term and thus every year refers to the time when the sacrifice was performed. Another, less attractive solution would be to read: οἱ κατὰ ἔτος <ὀλυμπικὸν> τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες, which of course would again exclude the time-frame for the sacrifice to Pelops and would assume a rather extensive crux in the mss.

IO 64: Parian marble tile from the temple of Zeus, found on March 29, 1880 in the west wall of the Altis, between the wall and the base of Kallikrates. It is made to look like a stele with pediment and antefixes and its back is rough. In the center of the pediment there is *in corona* a bust and to the left and right the two words of the first line are inscribed. The stele is now exhibited in the Roman Hall of the New Museum Α(Ἰθίνα) 535.

Olympia Museum: Inv. No. 825. *Vidi, Phot.*

The stele: Height: 0.605m. Width: 0.378m. (top) – 0.395m. (bottom)

Thickness: 0.04-0.06m. (except the extreme right which is thicker 0.09m.).

The inscribed surface: Height: 0.415m. Width: 0.34m.

Letter Height: 0.015-0.004m. (from top to bottom the letters tend to become smaller).

28-24 *ante*

NON-STOICH. ca 25

Διὸ ἱερά
 Μετεκεχήρου τοῦ πρὸ τῆς ρπθ
 Ὀλυμπιάδος · Θεοκόλοι·
 Εὐδαμος Εὐθυμένους Κ

5 Σόφων Λύκου \bar{N}
 Ἐφροδείσιος Εὐπόρου $\bar{\Gamma}$
 σπονδοφόροι·
 Ἀντίοχος Ἀντιόχου
 Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου
 10 Λυκίδας Λυκίδα.
 μάντις·
 Κάλλιτος Ἀντία Κλυτιάδης $\bar{\Pi}$
 Πausανίας Διογένους Ἰαμίδης \bar{N}
 κλειδοῦχοι·
 15 Ἄρκεσος Ἄρμοδίου \bar{T} Καλλίας Πausανίου \bar{X}
 Ἰππίας Χάροπος $\bar{\Phi}$ Μοσχίων Δαμέα $\bar{\Delta}$
 Πausανίας Διογένους \bar{N}
 αὐλητής·
 20 Ἀρίσταρχος Ἀριστοκλέους ME
 ἐξηγητής·
 Πολυχάρης Ἀριστοκράτους \bar{M}
 καθημεροθύτης·
 Ζώπυρος Ὀλυμπίχου.
 γραμματεὺς·
 25 Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου $\bar{\Pi}$
 οἰνοχόος·
 Ἀλεξᾶς Σόφωνος $\Phi\chi$.
 ἐπισπουδορχησταί·
 Ἐπίκτητος Ἡρακλείδου χ . Ἰλαρος Ἀντιόχου $\Phi\chi$.
 30 Ἐπίκτητος Ἐφροδείσιου $\Phi\chi$.
 ξυλεύς·
 Εὐθύμος Σωτίωνος ME.
 στεγανόμος καὶ μάγειρος·
 Ἀλεξᾶς Λύκου $\Phi\chi$.

The letters are well incised and are crowded towards the end of the text. Some of the strokes end in serifs and the sigma is lunar-shaped.

The overlined and underlined letters, as well as $\Delta\sigma\upsilon$ ($\Phi\chi$), $\Delta\sigma\upsilon$ (Δ), and ME, which are inscribed in ligatures, probably refer to the Eleian tribes.

Restorations:

Line 29: the *IO* editors read $\Delta\sigma\upsilon$., although they think it is different on p. 838 (*Index* s.v. Phylen) and the ligature suggests a combination of delta, alpha and epsilon.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Weniger 1909, 291-303; Weniger 1915, 398-446; Weniger 1920, 1-39.

Commentary: This inscription is chosen from among many others that register cult officials at Olympia because it is complete and lists most of the officials that can be found in the other inscriptions.²³⁸ For whatever reason these registers seem to have started during the first century B.C., and the present inscription is a list of the persons in office before the 189th Olympiad, i.e. before 24 B.C. and of course after 28 B.C. the 188th Olympiad.²³⁹

Pausanias, after he has completed his description of the altars, concludes with a brief overview on how the Eleians sacrificed and the officials in charge of the procedure. The *IO* editors have discussed thoroughly all the information available for these offices in Pausanias and in the inscriptions (pp. 138-142) and found one anachronism in Pausanias. The office of *auletes*, mentioned by Pausanias, had been changed in the second century A.D. to *spondaules* (p. 140-141). They argued, therefore, that Pausanias probably took the names from some older written source. Frazer (p. 584), however, has suggested that Pausanias may have chosen the more common name *auletes*, instead of the special title *spondaules*. Furthermore, the meaning of the word *spondaules* (an *auletes* playing during libations) is clearly implied by Pausanias' text, since the mention of the *auletes* is clearly connected with the monthly sacrifices (μέλει δὲ τὰ ἐς θυσίας). Along these lines, Pausanias' mention of one *theokolos* in charge every month need not imply that the author is unaware of the number of the *theokoloi* (which the inscriptions suggest to have been three), but simply suggests that every month only one *theokolos* was in charge.

²³⁸ Most of these cult personnel registers are only partially preserved, except for one or two which are later than *IO* 64. They are *IO* 58–141 and date from 36 B.C. (the 186th Olympiad) to A.D. 265 (the 261st Olympiad). Three more have been found and have been published in *V. Bericht*, 171-175 by E. Kunze.

²³⁹ For the different ways the cult officials were grouped under Olympiads see the comments of the *IO* editors pp. 149-150.

The *IO* editors have also noted some interesting omissions of offices by Pausanias that are known through the inscriptions (pp. 138-142). In Pausanias there is no mention of a *kathemerothytes* (the Daily Sacrificer), but in his description of the altar of Zeus Pausanias says that the Eleians sacrifice to Zeus every day (θύεται δὲ τῷ Διὶ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς πανηγύρεως ὑπὸ τε ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ὑπὸ Ἑλλείων 5.13.10). This passage may suggest the office of *kathemerothetes* who, as the text of Pausanias and also the inscriptions imply, performed the daily sacrifices which presumably were distinct from those performed by the priest of Zeus.

The other offices listed in *IO* 64 and omitted by Pausanias are the κλειδοῦχοι, the ἐπισπονδορχησταί, the οἰνοχόος, the γραμματεὺς, and the στεγανόμος καὶ μάγειρος. More offices are known from other inscriptions: the περιηγητής,²⁴⁰ the ἐπιμελητής, the ἀρχιτέκτων, and the ἰατρός.²⁴¹

Obviously, most of these offices are not exclusively connected with sacrifices, except perhaps for the *oinochoos* and the *epispondorchestai*. What is even more striking is that the lists of the inscriptions do not record any of the priesthoods held in Olympia, whose duties certainly included sacrifices. Markedly absent for example is the priest of Zeus and the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, both attested by inscriptions, the priestess of Demeter by Pausanias as well.²⁴² This has led the *IO* editors to the conclusion that the lists record cult officials who performed those sacrifices which the priests or priestesses did not.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ For this office see the discussion in Chapter I pp. 11-13 and notes 26-31.

²⁴¹ There are also some variations for two offices: there are attested ὑποσπονδορχησταί (*IO* 80₁₁; 122₁₆) and ὑποσπονδοφόροι (*IO* 121₁₈).

²⁴² For the priest of Zeus *IO* 433₄; 435₁₂. For Demeter Chamyne *IO* 456₇; 473₇; *IO* 485₂ and no. 80 below (Paus. 6.20.9 and 6.21.1-2). The *phaidyntes* of Zeus, no. 59 below, is also absent from the lists.

²⁴³ *IO* p. 138, where Aristotle's distinction between sacrifices performed by priests and those performed by kings (or, one can assume, by non-priests) is also brought to bear (τῶν θεοσιῶν ὅσα μὴ ἱερατικά *Politica* 1285b). Also *IO* pp. 138-139.

Although only a few of the priesthoods are known, it can be safely assumed that the number of altars inside and outside of the Altis would suggest, if not a corresponding, at least a considerable number of priests and priestesses serving the sanctuary.

In this respect, then, the conclusions of the *IO* editors need not contradict Pausanias' statement that these sacrifices were performed by the Eleians. Quite the contrary. The passage about the importance of the *xyleus* in a sacrifice is related in the discussion of the Pelopeion, the temenos dedicated to Pelops (5.13.1-7). There Pausanias says clearly that sacrifices are offered to Pelops every year by those who are in office (κατὰ ἔτος οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες, see also the Apparatus Criticus) and mentions the peculiar custom of offering the neck of the sacrificed ram to the *xyleus*, whereas the *mantis* received no portion of the animal (5.13.2).

This statement by Pausanias and the registers of the inscriptions support the view that in Olympia there were two groups of cult officials, related but distinct: one being the priests and priestesses, and the other the officials about whom Pausanias and the inscriptions speak. The latter group, elected or appointed by the city of Elis for the period between Olympiads, had perhaps the general supervision of the Altis which included among other duties the performance of sacrifices. The former group, of which very little is known, probably constituted the sacral hierarchy of the temenos with more specific sacral duties. Therefore, when Pausanias speaks of the sacrifices the Eleians offered every month, he speaks of the same cult officials recorded on the inscriptions. Given the fragmentary state of the evidence, there is no reason to exclude the possibility of Pausanias having checked on the spot the inscriptions which registered cult personnel. After all, Pausanias is mainly interested in the specific officials, who were in charge or were connected with the monthly sacrifices offered by the Eleians on the altars that he has just finished describing in the same order that the Eleians sacrificed on them (5.13.1–

15.9). And indeed, the more important of these cult officials are present both in Pausanias and the inscriptions.

59.

5.14.5: ... θύουσι ..., ἕκτα Ἐργάνη· ταύτη τῆι Ἐργάνη καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ φαιδρῦνταί, γέρας παρὰ Ἠλείων εἰληφότες τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσιζανόντων καθαίρειν, οὔτοι θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἢ λαμπρύνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄρχονται.

Apparatus Criticus:

2 φαιδρῦνταί all mss., corrected from *IO* 466.

IO 466: a quadrangular base-block of grey Peloponnesian marble, found November 6, 1877, in front of the fourth column of the south side of the Heraion. The base is a simple block with no ornament on the top or bottom and its back is rough. The base is now *in situ* in the Altis, south of the Heraion.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 235. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.75m. Width: 0.49-0.51m. Thickness: 0.405m.

Letter Height: 0.032m.

paulo post 128 *post*

NON-STOICH. *ca.* 16

ἡ Ὀλυμπικὴ βουλή <
καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἠλείων
Τίτον Φλάουιον <
Ἡράκλειτον, τὸν <
5 ἀπὸ Φειδίου, φαιδυντήν
τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου,
τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν εὐσε-
βείας καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς
εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν <.

The letters are elongated and elegantly cut and the strokes end in serifs. The cutter also uses ligatures at the end of line 5 in HN and at the end of line 6 the upsilon is inscribed within the omicron. At the end of line 8 in ἑαυτοὺς the omicron and sigma are half the size of the other letters. In lines 1, 3, 4, and 9 the signs < are interpuncts, although an interpunct at the end of lines 3 and 4 is not needed and probably it is inscribed as an ornamental filling of the line.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. *SEG* XXIV, 293. Roehl, *IGB* 536. Robert 1888, 452-453. Despinis 1966, 378-385. Donnay 1967, 546-551. Lévy and Marcadé 1972, 967-1004. Habicht 1985, 47-57.

Commentary: The date of this inscription, after A.D. 128, is based on the only other inscriptions that mention the *phaidyntes* of Zeus at Olympia and are dated in Hadrianic times. They come from Athens. The function of the *phaidyntes* is usually associated with the Messenian Damophon (ca. 180–160 B.C., for which see the discussion below), because of Pausanias' brief note that he was invited by the Eleians to clean the statue of Zeus at Olympia.²⁴⁴

The editors of *IO* had already drawn attention to the Attic inscriptions which mention Eleian *phaidyntai* and are dated after the dedication of the Olympeion at Athens by Hadrian in A.D. 128.²⁴⁵ One of them is a seat at the theater of Dionysus, dated in Hadrianic times (*IG* II² 5064):

φαιδυντοῦ
Διὸς ἐκ Πείσης.

The other inscription is a prytany decree of the Attalid tribe and dated post ca. A.D. 218 (*Agora* XV 480 = *IG* II² 1828):

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι
[ἐπὶ] ἄρχοντος φεδυν[το]-
[ὶ] Διὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Τιβε[ρίου]
Κλαυδίου Πατρόκλου [Λα]-

²⁴⁴ Pausanias mentions Damophon many times throughout his work (4.31.10; 7.23.6-7; 8.31.2, 6; 37.4). Donnay's discussion (1967, 546-551), which favors a late first early second century A.D. date for Damophon, is based on Lévy's (1967, 518-545) conclusions about the date of the Messenian Damophon, which is arrived at through a reappraisal of the archaeological finds and the numismatic and epigraphical evidence from Messene and Lykosoura. Lévy & Marcadé (1972, 986), however, have since changed the Hadrianic date for Damophon. For a complete and up-to-date discussion of Damophon's date see Habicht 1985, 47-57, where (p. 57) 180-160 B.C. is the latest commonly acceptable date for the sculptor.

²⁴⁵ There are also two inscriptions mentioning *phaidyntai* of Zeus Olympios at Athens, both dated after Hadrian's dedication of the Olympeion at Athens: *IG* II² 5072 (another seat reservation) and *IG* II² 4075 (a honorary decree of a woman from Eleusis mentioning together the *agonothetes* of Olympeia and the *phaidyntes*).

[μ]πτρέως, etc.

Both of these inscriptions suggest the extraordinary honor paid to the *phaidyntes* of Zeus at Olympia. In the theater of Dionysos he is the only non-Athenian cult official to have a seat.²⁴⁶ The archon Patroklos, an Athenian from Lamprai, was elected archon while already a *phedyntes*,²⁴⁷ at that time an honor second only to the archonship.

Since Robert (1888, 452-453), the origin of the office of the *phaidyntes* of Zeus at Olympia has been understood in light of another passage in Pausanias, where the Messenian sculptor Damophon is mentioned (4.31.6):

..., ὃς (sc. Damophon) καὶ τὸν Δία ἐν Ἰολυμπίαι διεστηκότος ἤδη τοῦ ἐλέφαντος συνήρμωσεν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον· καὶ οἱ δεδομένοι τιμὰ παρὰ Ἰηλείων εἰσί.

This brief note of the honors paid to Damophon by the Eleians on account of his restoring the ivory of the Pheidian Zeus has led to the belief that this significant event prompted the institution of the *phaidyntes*. This official would be responsible for taking care of the statue, so that in the future such extraordinary measures would not have to be taken. There is no independent evidence for the precise honors which the Eleians accorded Damophon, unless of course the office of the *phaidyntes* is to be understood as lying behind this sentence of Pausanias. He at least does not know that Damophon was responsible for the institution of this office, otherwise he certainly would have mentioned it. According to his information, Damophon's work was an important salvage operation of the statue's ivory, whereas the *phaidyntai's* γέρας was merely the cleaning and polishing of the statue. Furthermore, in the passage on the *phaidyntai* it is clearly stated that they considered themselves "descendants" of Pheidias, i.e. their activity, at least as

²⁴⁶ This by no means implies excluding the possibility of an Athenian holding that office. In fact, if Donnay's argument is taken one step further, it appears from the admittedly scanty evidence that this office may have been Panhellenic.

²⁴⁷ The difference in the spelling may be an indication of a change in the pronunciation.

they claimed, started immediately after Pheidias. The office of *phaidyntes* is indeed attested in inscriptions, although unrelated to Zeus at Olympia, as early as Pheidias' time: there is epigraphical evidence which indicates that such an office was known in Athens and Eleusis, and, in fact, one of the inscriptions dates from the 5th century B.C.²⁴⁸ Nevertheless, both Pausanias and the epigraphic evidence, which so far as can be determined date from Hadrianic times, suggest that the *phaidyntes* at Olympia was entrusted probably with only an honorary overseeing and a symbolic cleaning and polishing of the Pheidian statue before the sacrifice to Ergane. A similar event was performed during the festival of the *Plynteria* at Athens, when the xoanon of Athena was washed and cleaned in Piraeus.

Apparently, the office of the *phaidyntes* was an honorary cult title, at least as *Agora* XV 480 implies and as is suggested by its absence from all the lists of the cult personnel at Olympia from 36 B.C. to A.D. 265.²⁴⁹ The inscription honoring Herakleitos is so far the only decree for a *phaidyntes* at Olympia. Similarly unique is Pausanias' testimony for the *phaidyntes* at Olympia: his is the only literary source explaining this office, which very probably was instituted (or revived) during Pausanias' time by Hadrian.²⁵⁰ Given the manuscript tradition of Pausanias, it is perfectly reasonable to correct the word to

²⁴⁸ In Athens: a φαίδυντης τοῦ θεοῦ is associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries hierarchy in *IG I² 6130-1*, dated before 460 B.C.; in *IG II² 1092 B29*, dated post A.D. 131; in *IG II² 107816*, dated ca. A.D. 220. But for the *phaidyntes* of Zeus at Olympia the only evidence is the inscriptions from Hadrian's time and Pausanias.

Hadrian's preference for the Hellenic culture, and Olympia in particular, may also be surmised from a fragmentary inscription found at Olympia (*IO 57*, cf. *IG II² 1094*) which records the letter of Hadrian of A.D. 126 and the response of the Achaean Confederacy to it in relation to his proposals concerning the state of affairs in Greece.

²⁴⁹ *IO 58-141*, see also no. 58 above. The *phaidyntes* does not seem to be a distinctive cult official. Rather this office or title was only indirectly associated with the cult of Zeus. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that an Athenian archon was appointed a *phaidyntes*.

²⁵⁰ *Phaidryntes* is the form favored by the literary sources which, however, are later than Pausanias, except Pollux, a contemporary of his (see LSJ s.v. I and II).

φαιδυντής, i.e. without the rho, as it appears in all inscriptions and is correctly assumed by the *IO* editors to be the older form.²⁵¹ The lexicographical entries of the word may very well be a copyist's correction of Pausanias' text.

Apart from the spelling of the word, Pausanias' description of the *phaidyntai* is corroborated by the honorary decree of T. Flavius Herakleitos. He indicates that they were "descendants of Pheidias", true or supposed, and that they were granted by the Eleians the privilege (γέρας) of cleaning the statue of Zeus. The first of these characteristics is present in the text of the inscription: T. Flavius Herakleitos is "associated" with the family of Pheidias (ἀπὸ φειδίου line 5), which need not imply direct lineage. The mere fact of granting the privilege of cleaning the statue of the Pheidian Zeus could no doubt be a claim of direct association with Pheidias, since the *phaidyntes'* duty was to preserve his work, in effect to care for it as the master himself would have. After all, the sacrifice they offered to Ergane, the goddess of artists and craftsmen, should be an indication of the professional association of the *phaidyntai*. The other point, i.e. the granting of the privilege to clean the statue of Zeus, is not explicitly stated, since the expression τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας (lines 8-9) is a standard formulaic clause employed in honorary decrees. It may only very generally suggest that T. Flavius Herakleitos' work as a *phaidyntes* was appreciated by the Olympic Boule and the city of Elis.

60.

5.14.7: μετὰ τοῦτον (sc. τοῦ Ἡφάστου) πεποιήται μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ βωμὸς ἐπὶ κλήσιν Παραστάτη, πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἡρακλέους {τοῖς}

²⁵¹ The *IO* editors had concluded on the literary sources (*IO* 466, p. 556): "Demgegenüber kann die handschriftliche Überlieferung, die allerdings nur φαιδρύνειν, φαιδρυντής kennt, nicht den Ausschlag geben."

- ἀδελφοῖς Ἐπιμήδει καὶ Ἰδαίῃ καὶ Παιωναίῳ τε καὶ Ἰάσῳ· τὸν δὲ
 τοῦ Ἰδα βωμὸν Ἀκεσίδα ὑπὸ ἐτέρων οἶδα καλούμενον. ... (9) ...
 πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Σικυωνίων θησαυροῦ ἦτοι Κουρήτων ἢ τοῦ Ἀλκμή- 5
 νης ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους (sc. βωμός)· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἀμφότερα.
- 6.21.3: διαβάντων δὲ ποταμὸν Ἐρύμανθον κατὰ τὴν Σαύρου καλουμένην
 δειράδα τοῦ Σαύρου τε μνήμα καὶ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἡρακλέους, ἐρείπια
 ἐφ' ἡμῶν· λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ὁδοιπόρους τε καὶ τοὺς προσοικούντας ὁ
 Σαῦρος ἐκακούργει, πρὶν ἢ παρὰ Ἡρακλέους τὴν δίκην ἔσχεν. 10

Kunze 1967, 90-91 fig. 30, pl. 49.1 (= *VIII. Bericht*): a bronze shield was found in
 October 1960, in the north wall of the Stadion. The inscription is cut on the outer
 edge of the shield. Olympia Museum Inv. No. B 5233.

Diameter: 0.85-0.91m.

Letter Height is not given by the editor.

saec. VI-V ante

ἱερὰ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ.

Kunze argues that the lettering and the formula employed for this dedication as well as the psilosis suggest Arkadia as the place of origin for the shield.²⁵² If that is correct, then the letters should conform to Jeffery's drawings for the shapes of the Arkadian letters (*LSAG* 206 fig.40): the epsilon is like ε3 but with small tails at both ends, the lambda is λ1, but more closed, and the rho resembles ρ1; the omega, however, is not rounded, but cut in a rhomboid shape.

Although Kunze is probably right that the text betrays "einen etwas rustikalen Aspekt," the inscription does not have enough letters to justify any definite identification, at least for the time being.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.
SEG XXIV, 323. Lazzarini 1976, 124-127, 260 no. 594.

Commentary: The date for this dedication, sixth to fifth centuries B.C., is necessarily very general, because there is no evidence which could support a more precise date

²⁵² See Lazzarini 1974, 259-260 nos. 592-594, and 319 no. 975: all these dedications employ the word "sacred" + the dative, and all are from Arkadia, except no. 594 which is the present inscription. Lazzarini accepts Kunze's suggestion, but Dubois (1986) omits this inscription from his recent study of the Arkadian dialect.

(Kunze does not offer any date; in *SEG*, the middle of the fifth century is proposed with a question mark; and Lazzarini offers the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.).

In his exegesis of the monuments in the Altis Pausanias includes the most significant cults of gods and goddesses the Eleians honored. Herakles, the son of Alkmene and Zeus, or the Idaeian, was one of the legendary founders of the Games (5.7.6-8.4) and the one who established Pelops' worship in the Altis (5.13.2-14.2). For his worship in the Altis Pausanias mentions only two altars, but, when he visits the Pisatan region across the river Erymanthos, on the hill of Sauros, he sees the tomb of Sauros and a deserted temple of Herakles. Moreover, Herakles and themes from his labors were depicted on Zeus' throne (5.11.4-8) and on the twelve metopes on each side of the temple of Zeus (5.10.9). Similar depictions of the hero's accomplishments were decorating the *Larnax* of Kypselos which Pausanias describes in great detail (5.17.9, 17.11, 18.4, 19.1 and 19.9). But, Pausanias also saw in Olympia a few statues of Herakles which he deemed important enough to include in his narrative.²⁵³ All this scattered information in the exegete's narrative of Olympia suggests that Herakles had a cult in the Altis, although what that was is not certain.

All this information in Pausanias about the Herakles statues and his altars can be now supported by the inscribed shield which has been found.²⁵⁴ Its inscription, that the shield was a sacred offering to Herakles, confirms Pausanias' citations of a number of statues erected in the image of the hero and in his honor. Tradition told the story that the Olympic

²⁵³ Pausanias mentions the following sculptures: two statues of the young Herakles, dedicated by Hippotion (no. 14 above), and by Anaxippos from Mende (5.25.7); a sculptural group of Herakles fighting an Amazon on horse back, offered by Euagoras from Zankle (5.25.11); a Herakles made by Onatas and offered by the Thasians (5.25.12); and three labors of Herakles dedicated by Herakleia Pontika (5.26.7).

²⁵⁴ *IO* 693 which is a bronze sheet depicting Herakles' struggle with a sea god, whose names are inscribed ([Ἡ]ρακ[λ]ῆς and ἄλιος γέρον) is similar to the statue representations of the hero, the metopes on Zeus' temple, and the *larnax* of Kypselos.

Games were refounded by Herakles and sanctioned by Zeus. He was the one who established the worship of his ancestor Pelops with sacrifices and he was famed for his labors which in a sense were victories in competition. The vast majority of military dedications found at Olympia are offerings to Zeus. This shield is in fact a unique example of booty dedicated to Herakles, who, therefore, was also worshipped in the Altis.

61.

5.15.1: ἔστι δὲ οἴκημα ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἑλλείως, καλεῖται δὲ ἐργαστήριον Φειδίου, καὶ ὁ Φειδίας καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐνταῦθα εἰργάζετο· ἔστιν οὖν βωμὸς ἐν τῷ οἴκηματι θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ.

Mallwitz & Schiering 1964, 169 no. 1, 151 no. 9:²⁵⁵ a black-varnished, Athenian or Eleian clay vessel, with leather-brown and somewhat reddish tint, and with fluted surface was found in 1958 in level D of Annex T of Pheidias' Workshop. The cup's handle and mouthpiece are missing and is restored here and there. The bottom side is varnished inside and outside. The cup is now on display in the Early Classical and Classical Gallery of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. Π 3653. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.077m. Diameter of the inscribed bottom: 0.063m.

Letter Height: 0.004-0.006m.

440-430 *ante*

NON-STOICH.

Φειδίω : ἐί-
μί.

²⁵⁵ The book is divided into two parts: in part one Mallwitz discusses the architecture (pp. 1-134); and in two Schiering examines the archaeological finds (pp. 135-277).

The letters are very elegantly cut for a graffitto (see for example the other graffitto found in the workshop of Pheidias and published in Mallwitz 1965, 149-157, plates 53-58). The name is separated from the verb with three dots.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. *SEG* XVII, 206. Kunze 1959, 263-310. Mallwitz 1964, 151, 169. Pfohl 1965, no. 146. Mallwitz 1972, 255-266. Heilmeyer 1981, 440-453. Habicht 1985, 32 note 13.

Commentary: The date of the cup and its inscription is that of Mallwitz 1972, 263 and is based on its fluting and other ceramic finds of the same level that date between 440-430 B.C.²⁵⁶

Pausanias in describing the altars within the Altis opens a parenthesis in order to comment on another altar dedicated to all gods in common, which is outside the Altis proper and inside Pheidias' Workshop, and then he continues his short digression with the description of the Leonidaion (see no. 62 below). The older excavations in the Byzantine church, into which Pheidias' Workshop was converted in the early 5th century A.D., did produce enough evidence for identification of the church with the Workshop, though not without objections.²⁵⁷ The excavations of 1954-58 have provided proof beyond doubt that the Byzantine church (Building A) was indeed the Workshop of Pheidias, which was cleaned sometime after Pheidias' work was complete. The rubble removed was heaped up to the southeast of the Workshop and subsequently was covered by the construction of the Building G and later C. In this area over sixty clay moulds of various sizes for drapery were discovered, which were used for the statues of the Pheidian Zeus.

²⁵⁶ Schiering (Mallwitz & Schiering 1964, 273) suggests that Pheidias brought the cup with him from Athens during his 436 B.C. visit to Olympia, the date when Pantarkes, Pheidias' lover, won in the 86th Olympiad (436 B.C.) in the boys' wrestling.

²⁵⁷ See Frazer's (1965, vol. 3, 565-567) summary of the results and the objections raised by some archaeologists.

Among the rubble removed probably from Pheidias' Workshop his cup with his signature was discovered. The idea that this graffito is of modern origin is now put to rest by Heilmeyer through a stereomicroscopic examination of the letters. It showed that the greyish-white layer around the second epsilon is also present in the crack; and also the direction of the break of the curving stroke of the omicron does not support the argument that the stroke is modern. Likewise, the traces of a white layer above the phi and mu are presumably plaster remains from the restoration the cup underwent after it was found, and not an indication that the letter strokes are modern.²⁵⁸

Moreover, this mug along with numerous other everyday utensils suggests that Pheidias stayed in Olympia for some time, working on the statue of Zeus.²⁵⁹ Thus, the topographical information provided by Pausanias has been proven by the excavations and their finds, i.e. that Pheidias καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐνταῦθα εἰργάζετο.

62.

5.15.2: ὀπίσω δὲ ἀναστρέψαντι αὐθις ἐς τὴν Ἰαλίαν ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Λεωνίδαίου — τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς μὲν τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ Λεωνίδαίου, τῶν δὲ ἐσόδων πεποιήται τῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰαλίαν κατὰ τὴν

²⁵⁸ Heilmeyer 1981, 447-448:

Untersuchungen mit dem Stereomikroskop zeigten, daß mehrfach, besonders im Bereich des zweiten E ein grauweißer fester Belag sowohl auf der Glanztonschicht als auch in der Tiefe der Ritzung noch vorhanden ist: Sinter, der nur durch Bodenlagerung entstanden sein kann und an anderen Stellen durch die mechanische Reinigung zum großen Teil entfernt ist. Außerdem ist der in Richtung des Bruchs liegende Teil des O eindeutig mit diesem zusammen verschliffen, und zwar in einer Weise, die ein nachträgliches Einkratzen des Buchstabens ausschließt. Hier und da geäußerte Zweifel an der Authentizität des Graffitos sind gegenstandslos. Über Φ und Μ liegen Spuren eines lockeren weißen Belags, vermutlich abgestrichene Gipsrestse der am Gefäßkörper vorgenommenen Restaurierungen.

See also his discussion of other Workshops in Olympia in Heilmeyer 1969, 1-28.

²⁵⁹ Mallwitz & Schiering 1964, 165ff. describe various ceramic objects of everyday usage, while on pp. 272-277 they discuss in detail the date of the archaeological finds and their relevance to the events surrounding Pheidias' life.

πομπικήν, ἢ μόνη τοῖς πομπεύουσιν ἐστὶν ὁδός. τοῦτο δὲ ἀνδρὸς
 μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα Λεωνίδου, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ 5
 Ῥωμαίων ἐσωκίζοντο οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιτροπεύοντες· διέστηκε
 δὲ ἀγυιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς πομπικῆς, τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ
 Ἀθηναίων καλουμένους στενωποὺς ἀγυιάς ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ
 Ἡλεῖοι—,

IO 651: six broken fragments of rough shell-limestone from the Ionic epistyle of the Leonidaion were found in the winter of 1886-87, built into the west Byzantine wall, to the north of the South Wall. The fragments still preserve the ancient plaster which was used to conceal the different building materials used for the construction,²⁶⁰ and on which the letters were carved in relief. Fragments **a+b+c** join. Of the six fragments **a b c d** seem to belong to one inscription, while fragments **e** and **f** seem to belong to a second inscription which stood on another side of the building. There is no way of knowing whether the inscription was carved on all four sides of the epistyle, on its three sides, or on just the two, the east and west sides according to the *IO* editors (north and south sides according to Treu). The fragments are now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum. *Vidi, Phot.*
 Height of frgs **a, b, c, d**: 0.49m.; frg. **e**: 0.49m.; frg. **f**: 0.48m.
 Width of all four (**a b c d**): 2.23m. (**a+b+c**: 1.365m.; **d**: 0.71m.);
 frg. **e**: 1.02m.; frg. **f**: 0.96m.
 Thickness of frgs **a, b, c, d**: 0.65m.; frg. **f**, broken on the back: 0.55m.
 Letter Height: 0.2-0.3m.

330–320 *ante*

NON-STOICH.

frs. **abcd**:

[Λεωνίδης] Λεώτου Ν[ά]ξιος ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ].

²⁶⁰ For the construction material (sandstone and rough shell-limestone) employed for different parts of the building see: Mallwitz 1972, 246-254.

frs. ef: the hypothesis that these two fragments belong to the same inscription is not certain. They may very well be from two different inscriptions. Therefore:

frs. ef:

[Λεωνίδης Λεώτου Νάξιος ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ],

OR

fr. e:

[Λεωνίδης Λεώτου Νάξιος ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ],

fr. f:

[Λεωνίδης Λεώτου Νάξιος ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ].

The letters are not elegant and their carving on the stucco appears at times crude (width: 0.006m). There is no trace of coloration on the stucco, as one might expect for easier reading.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Fragments abcd: first nu—only the bottom part of the right vertical and the left vertical strokes; second nu—only the right vertical stroke and a trace of the right slanting stroke; iota—only a faint trace of a vertical stroke at the right break of the stone.

Fragment. f: xi—only the upper horizontal and a trace of the middle horizontal; iota—only the upper tip and a faint trace of the bottom part of a vertical.

Restorations:

The ending of the inscription is restored by the *IO* editors on the correct assumption that the building could be named Leonidaion only after its dedicator, who in this case is both the architect and the dedicator.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Treu 1888, 317-326. Mallwitz 1972, 246-254.

Commentary: The date of the inscription is that of Mallwitz 1972, 252 and is based on the architectural style of the Leonidaion, the largest building at Olympia.

Pausanias in describing the altars at Olympia opens a parenthesis in order to explain what the Leonidaion is. This was an appropriate place for a brief digression, since he had just described the Workshop of Pheidias in which there was an altar to all the gods in common (see no. 61 above). The mention of the Leonidaion seems to be a topographical reference for Pausanias, since the mere size of the building made it conspicuous, and therefore it would help the visitor to locate the Workshop of Pheidias and the processional entrance into the Altis. This is the reason why Pausanias is very specific about the

building's topography. It stood outside the Altis proper, opposite the processional entrance into the Altis, at its southwest corner. It was a dedication of the Eleian Leonidas (ἀνδρὸς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχորίων), and in Pausanias' time (κατ' ἐμὲ) it functioned as a hotel to accommodate the Roman governors.

The dedicatory inscription, however, refers to a different person, i.e. Leonidas, son of Leotes from Naxos, as architect and very probably the dedicator as well. He is the same Leonidas whom the city of Psophis in Arkadia honored for some reason with a dedication at Olympia, seen by Pausanias (6.16.5, see no. 44 above = *IO* 294). It is worth mentioning that in the latter instance too Pausanias does not mention the father of Leonidas from Naxos, Leotes. The text of the inscription seems to contradict Pausanias' report, and that has prompted two possible explanations by G. Treu: first that Pausanias may have been led astray because he did not see anything inscribed on the epistyle. The building underwent major reconstruction and modernisation during Hadrian's reign,²⁶¹ when the Eleians might have on purpose stuccoed over the inscription. So, Pausanias, who presumably visited Olympia after this renovation, reports what the local exegete probably told him, i.e. that a building of such magnitude was the work of an Elean. Pausanias, however, does not offer any hint, as is usually his custom,²⁶² that his reporting is not based on his own observation.

The second explanation suggested by Treu is that Pausanias may be misreading the inscription, the word $\Gamma \Lambda \Xi \text{I} \text{O} \Sigma$ being easily mistaken from a distance of over six meters for $\text{H} \Lambda \Xi \text{I} \text{O} \Sigma$ instead of $\text{N} \Lambda \Xi \text{I} \text{O} \Sigma$. But this is very unlike him. As was pointed out earlier (no. 1 above), the fact that the inscription may have been inscribed high up, at a considerable distance, cannot actually be an excuse. Pausanias is not a casual

²⁶¹ See also Mallwitz 1972, 252.

²⁶² See above Chapter 1.

periegete/visitor of the Altis. He claims that what he reports is what he himself has observed, or what the local officials told him. And so, it is rather improbable that, if he saw the inscription on the epistyle of the Leonidaion, he misread it because of the distance. In no other instance, among scores of examples, can he be convicted of a mistake of this kind.

Moreover, it seems clear that Pausanias is not reading the inscription which has been recovered, because he omits too much. If he did read it, then too many mistakes have to be explained away: e.g. he misreads the ethnic, he misses the patronymic, and more importantly he does not say anything about the architect. In other words the ἐποίησε clause is totally absent from his text, and an omission of this type is totally uncharacteristic of Pausanias. The name of the building Leonidaion was obviously not Pausanias' invention, but tradition preserved the story that it was built and perhaps dedicated by a man named Leonidas. That he was an Eleian Pausanias was told probably by a local exegete, or he postulated himself. Related to *IO* 651 is *IO* 294 (no. 44 above), the statue of Leonidas set up by the Arkadian city of Psophis. Although Pausanias read and recorded correctly the information of *IO* 294, it appears very probably that he did not read at all *IO* 651 which was inscribed on the epistyle of the Leonidaion, but that he relied either on his own speculation or the explanation of the local exegetes. He had no way of knowing that the Leonidas of *IO* 294 and the Leonidas who dedicated the Leonidaion were most probably the same person. Accordingly his text in 5.15.2 preserves the local explanation about the man who built and/or dedicated the Leonidaion.

63.

5.15.6: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ἦν οἱ Ἕλεῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἀγνάπτου, τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπονομάζοντες τῷ οἰκοδομήματι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐπανιώντι ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ βωμὸς Ἀρτέμιδος.

Kunze 1963, 107, pl. 142b: in the excavations of the buildings to the south-southwest of the so-called House of Nero there has been uncovered the altar of Artemis, which dates from the first century A.D., but surrounding finds indicate that it existed since the fifth century B.C. It is of black limestone and well preserved, and on its side, which is covered by whitewash, there is painted with red paint the name of the goddess:

saec. I post

Ἄρτεμιδ[os].

The lettering is late, since the alpha has a middle broken bar, and the shape of the epsilon is lunate.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Weniger 1907a, 96-114; id. 1909, 291-303; id. 1915, 398-446; id. 1920, 1-39. Mallwitz 1972, 200.

Commentary: Pausanias, among the altars on which the Eleians offered sacrifices every month, mentions six which were dedicated to Artemis (one of them common to Artemis and Alpheios). One of Artemis' altars in particular, which Pausanias saw to the right of the stoa of Agnaptos, its architect, has been found in the same area bearing the name of the goddess painted. The certainty of this identification arises not only from the inscription on the altar, but also from Pausanias' specific topographical reference of where he saw it.²⁶³

In this case, therefore, Pausanias, although he does not indicate that the altar was inscribed, may have read the inscription on its side, or the local exegetes may have given him the goddess' name. Either way his topographical accuracy about this altar of Artemis

²⁶³ See also Kunze's (1963, 107) remark: "Es muss sich um den Artemisaltar handeln, den Pausanias auf dem Rückweg vom Hippodrom zur Altis erwähnt (Paus. V 15, 6)."

is confirmed beyond doubt not only by the discovery of the first century A.D. altar in the same area, but more importantly by its inscription.

64.

5.15.12: Ἡλείοι δὲ καὶ ἥρωσι καὶ γυναιξὶ σπένδουσιν ἡρώων, ὅσοι τε ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τῇ Ἡλείῃ καὶ ὅσοι παρὰ Αἰτωλοῖς τιμὰς ἔχουσιν.

IO 662: a quadrangular small altar of clay and ashes was found in May 1880, inside the Heroon (so named after the painted inscriptions of the altar), around which ashes and charcoal were also found. The building is to the west of the Theokoleon and to the north of the Byzantine church. The altar is located in the circular interior, on its south side, where the circular wall meets the south wall of the square building. It was stuccoed at least ten times, and each time the word “hero” was repainted over in color. A branch or branches of wild olive(?) were also painted beneath the word in inscriptions **b, c, d, f, g, h**.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 890.

Height: 0.37-38m. Width: 0.37m. Thickness: 0.54m.

Letter Height is not given by the *IO* editors.

saec. III–I ante

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a ἥρωορ. | f ἥρωορ. <i>ramus</i> |
| b ἥρωορ. <i>ramus</i> | g ἥρωος. <i>ramus</i> |
| c [ἥ]ρω[ο]ρ. <i>ramus</i> | h ἥρω. <i>ramus</i> |
| d ἥρωορ. <i>ramus</i> | i ἡρώων. |
| e ἥρωορ. | k ἥρωος. |

The lettering in all ten painted words suggests the late Hellenistic and Roman period, since the majority of the strokes end in triangular serifs.

The genitive singular was apparently the preferred form, since only once (i) the genitive plural is used, while **h** has the form ἥρω (genitive singular according to the Attic second declension) which, however, seldom appears in the Hellenistic period.

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of the *IO* editors):

- b:** eta—only the bottom part of the right vertical; rho—only the bottom part of a vertical; omicron—only the bottom left part of a curving stroke; rho—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.
- c:** rho—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.
- d:** eta—only the bottom part of the right vertical; omicron—only the bottom left part of a curving stroke; rho—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.
- e:** eta—only the bottom tip of the left and the bottom part of the right verticals; rho—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.
- f:** eta—only the bottom part of the right vertical; rho—only the bottom part of a vertical.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Weniger 1909, 291-303; id. 1915, 398-446; id. 1920, 1-39. Mallwitz 1972, 266-269. Antonetti 1990, 58-63, 126-131.

Commentary: The date for these painted inscriptions, third to first centuries B.C., is based exclusively on their letter style which of course is considerably later than the building wherein the altar was discovered. The Heroon, so named after the inscribed altar, is situated west of the Theokoleon and north of Pheidias' Workshop; it is a construction of the classical period (fifth to fourth century, according to Mallwitz 1972, 266-8).

At the end of his enumeration of all the altars in the order in which the Eleians were sacrificing on them every month Pausanias includes a very general statement, that the Eleians also offered sacrifices to heroes and their wives, who were honored in Elis and Aitolia. So far, in his extensive narrative on the altars (5.13.8-14.12, see also nos. 60 and 62 above) Pausanias has not mentioned any altar dedicated to a hero or heroine, except of course Pelops for whom there was a temenos in the Altis, the Pelopeion (5.13.1-3), and Herakles the so-called Parastates (5.14.7). The information which Pausanias offers for each of the altars around the Altis is based no doubt on what the local

exegetes told him, and perhaps on the inscriptions the altars themselves may have had. In fact, for one of them Pausanias explicitly states that he is reading its inscription (5.14.5):

ἰόντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἵππων ἔστι βωμός, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Μοιραγέτα· δῆλα οὖν ἔστιν ἐπὶ κλησὶν εἶναι Διὸς ὅς τὰ ἀνθρώπων οἶδεν, ὅσα διδόασιν αἱ Μοῖραι καὶ ὅσα μὴ πέπρωταί σφισι.

This passage together with the painted inscriptions on the present altar (see also no. 62 above) indicate that at least some of the altars were inscribed with the name or the epithet of the god or goddess to whom they were consecrated.

Certainly the passage in Pausanias about the Eleian sacrifices for heroes and the existence of *IO* 662 do not prove that Pausanias saw this small, inscribed altar in the Heroon. There is no evidence, however, for the identification of this altar with any one specific hero, except for the *IO* editors' plausible suggestion that it may have been consecrated to Iamos, the head of the Iamidai who together with the Klytidai were the two families of diviners in Elis (6.2.4-5; 17.6). The genitive singular in all but one inscriptions may be referring to one but also to many heroes to whom as a group this altar was consecrated anonymously. In that respect then, Pausanias' brief comment about the Eleian sacrifices to heroes honored in Elis and Aitolia is indirectly corroborated and confirmed by *IO* 662, which is evidence that in the Altis, besides Pelops and Herakles, other heroes were also included in the monthly sacrifices of the Eleians.

65.

5.21.12: Χρήμασι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἕτεροί τε ὕστερον καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐζημιώθη πύκτης Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς διακοσίαις ὀγδόῃ τε καὶ δεκάτῃ. ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ζημιωθέντι Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπὶ κλησις δὲ ἦν Ῥάντης· καὶ πῶς καὶ ἐπιχώριον τὸ ἐς τὰς ἐπικλήσεις τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἔστιν. (13) οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀδικεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων 5 κατεγνώσθη πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίων· κατεγνώσθη δὲ οὐ δοῦναι χρήματα ἢ λαβεῖν αὐτός, ἀλλὰ τοιόνδε ἄλλο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐξυβρίσαι.

ἀφίκετο οὐκ ἐς τὸν εἰρημένον καιρὸν, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἑλείων
 πειθομένων τῶι νόμῳ ἐλείπετο τοῦ ἀγῶνος εἶργεσθαι· τὴν γὰρ
 οἱ πρόφασιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κυκλάσι νήσοις ὑπὸ ἀνέμων κατείχετο 10
 ἐναντίων, Ἑρακλείδης γένος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἤλεγχεν
 ἀπάτην οὕσαν· ὑπερῆσαι γὰρ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγῶνων αὐτὸν
 ἐκλέγοντα τῶν ἐν Ἴωνίαι. (14) οὕτω δὲ τὸν τε Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ
 εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος ἦκεν οὐ κατὰ προθεσμίαν {τῶν πυκτῶν}, τούτους
 μὲν οἱ Ἑλεῖοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀπελαύνουσι, τῶι Ἑρακλείδῃ δὲ τὸν 15
 στέφανον παριᾶσιν ἀκονιτί· ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατεσκευά-
 σατό τε τοῖς ἱμάσιν ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐσδραμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρακλεί-
 δην ἦπτετο ἐπικειμένου τε ἤδη τὸν κότινον καὶ καταπεφευγὸς
 ἐς τοὺς ἔλλανοδίκας. τούτῳ μὲν δὲ ἔμελλε τὸ κούφον τοῦ νοῦ
 βλάβος μέγα ἔσεσθαι. 20

Apparatus Criticus:

14 Hitzig in his apparatus comments: τῶν πυκτῶν falso additum videtur. Indeed it seems rather unintelligible for such a law to apply exclusively to the boxing event, and these words were probably added by some scribe who misread the passage because of the μὲν . . . δέ particles. Pausanias begins his sentence with Apollonios and then he adds a general statement καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος, which there is no reason to be limited to the boxers, since Apollonios' case simply sets an example of the violation of the law's clause. The τούτους μὲν clause then refers to its immediate antecedent, and the if clause does not require the genitive, but, if one must be, τῶν ἀθλητῶν is a preferable correction. With the δέ clause Pausanias returns to Herakleides, i.e. from the general statement to the particular case of Apollonios. Lines 24-26 of *IO 56* suggest that this law was general, and so these two words are suppressed.

IO 56: seven fragments of Pentelic marble, which belonged to one slab were found: fr. **a** on June 18, 1880, in the southeast Hall; fr. **b** and **c** on May 9, 1879, in the Krypt of the Stadion; fr. **d** on May 17, 1878, in the northeast trench of the Krypt; fr. **e** on April 23, 1879, to the north of the Echo Colonnade; fr. **f** on January 4, 1879, to the south of the Temple of Zeus; and fr. **g** on April 20, 1876, in the cella of the Temple of Zeus. All fragments are broken on all sides, except for fragment **a** which belongs to the upper right part of the slab and preserves the right part of the beginning of the inscription, the gable, and the right margin in some lines. All fragments are well preserved except fr. **c** whose left part is badly weathered. Fragments **bc** and **de** join. Fragment **g** is printed the way the *IO* editors published it, following the text of the joined fragments **de**. It should be noted,

- 10 [- - traces - - - - - μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ νεώτερον μετέχειν τοῦ
 ἀγῶνος τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἰσολυμπίων ἢ ἑπτακαι-
 [δ]εκέτη· κ[αὶ μετεχέτω]σα[ν ἀπὸ μὲν ταύτης μέχρι τῆς εἴκοσι? ἐτῶν
 ἡλικίας παιδῶν ἀθλήσεως], μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἀν-
 [δ]ρῶν. περὶ ἐπάθ[λων· ἀθλα διδόσθω τοῖς νικῶσι - - - - -
 - - - - - ὀφθαλμίων δὲ χορηγ<ε>ίσθω
 [τ]ῶν ἀθληταῖς [πρὸ ἡμερῶν [τ]ῆς πανηγύρεως λ, ὥστε πᾶσι μὲν
 τοῖς ἀγωνιουμένοις δοθῆναι πρὸ ἡμερῶν λ· τῆς
 [πανηγύρεως T.c.5.μ.ν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, ἀπὸ δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτης
 ἡμέρας τοῖς μὲν παισίν] δρ. β <, τοῖς δὲ ἀνδρά-
 15 [σιν γ· τιμαὶ [δὲ κατὰ τὴν Καίσαρος ἐπιταγὴν τοῖς μὲν παισίν - -
 -ινος στέφανος, τοῖς δὲ ἀνδράσι σταχύινος· ἡ δὲ
 ἀναγόμενοις ἔστω τοῦ στεφάνου [- - - - -
 - - - - - ὅσα δ' ἂν τῶν ἀθλημάτων ἔρημα [ἢ]
 [εἰρὰ γένηται, το...των ἀνατιθέτωσαν οἱ ἀγωνοθέται τοὺς
 στεφάνους ἐν Νέαι πόλει ἐν τῷ γυμνασίω<ι>, καὶ ἐπιγραφ[έ]-
 [σ]θωσαν, ἀφ' ἧς κρίσεως ἕκαστος ἀντιέθη. ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἀθληταὶ εἰς
 τὰ Ἰταλικά ἀπογράψαι βούλωνται] ἑαυτοὺς ἀγωνιου-
 [μ]ένους, παραγε[ινέσθ]ωσαν εἰς Νέαν [πόλιν πρὸ ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον
 ἢ τριάκοντα τῆς πανηγύρεως, καὶ ἀπογραφέσ-
 20 [θ]ωσαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας πατρόθεν καὶ τὰς πατρίδας καὶ ὁ
 προαιροῦνται κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν ἀγώνισμα. οἱ
 [δ]ὲ ἀθληταὶ καὶ [ἐλθέτωσαν] καὶ πρὸς γυμνασίαν - - - - -
 ἐπάναγκες δὲ ἔστω ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἀπ[ογ]-
 [γρ]άφεσθαι ὀνομαστικῶς ὡς ἂν χρηματικῆς ἢ πατρόθεν ἢ ἄλλῳ
 ὠτιμιούν τρόπῳ καθεστηκότι κατὰ τὸν νόμον·
 [εἰ] δὲ μὴ, ζημιούσθω ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν δραγμαῖς - - - - - ἔαν
 δὲ μὴ ἀποτίνη τὴν ζημίαν, μαστειγούσθω. ἐὰ-
 [ν] δέ τις ὑστερί[ζη] τῆς προθεσμίας, ἐπαγγελέτω τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς
 ὑστερήσεως πρὸς τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας· ἔστωσαν δὲ
 25 [νόσος ἢ λη<ι>σταῖ ἢ ναυαγία. κατηγορ<ε>ίτω δὲ [ὁ βουλόμενος - -
 - - - - -] καὶ ἐὰν ἀλώ<ι>, [εἰρ]-
 [γέ]σθω τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγωνοθετῶν - - - - -
 - - - - -]ΕΠΙ[traces - - - - - ἐ]-
 [π]ικληροῦσθ[αι - - - - traces] τοῦ βουλομένου - - - - -
 - - - - -]
 [τ]ῆς κατηγορίας [- - - - -]Ρ...ΚΑΝ[- - - - - οἴ]-
 [τ]ω· Ὁμνυμι τῶν Δία καὶ τῶν Ἀπ[ό]λλωνα κ[αὶ - - - - -
 - - - - - καὶ
 30 [το]ὺς ἄλλους [θεοὺς, ἢ μὴν - - - - -]κέν[αι - - - - -
 - - - - - καὶ]
 [δ]εδοκέναι μ[- - - - -

[τὰ δὲ ἱερεῖα διδότην ἢ πόλις. θύσαντες δὲ Σεβαστῶι Καίσαρι - - -
 [- - - - -], τιθέντες τῶι μὲν σαλπικτῆ<ι> ἐπάθλωι ὑ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -], τῆ<ι> δ' ἐχομένη<ι> ἀγωνιζέσθωσαν κιθαρῖσ[ταῖ
 πλὴν τῶν κυκλίων, ἔπαθλον δρ. - - - - - ἐχομένη<ι>]
 55 [αὐληταῖ πλὴν τῶν κηκλίων. ἐχομένη<ι> κιθαρῖσταῖ κύκλιοι,
 ἔπαθλον [δρ. - - - - - ἐχομένη<ι> αὐληταῖ κύκλιοι - - - - -],
 [ἔπαθλον] δρ.^ν ΑΧΞΖ. ^ν ἐχομένη<ι> οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ κλῆρος κω[μω<ι>δῶν
 [- - - - -]ν κλῆρος κω[μω<ι>δῶν ἐν πλάσματι. ἐχομένη<ι> - - - - -]
 [- - - - -] ἐχομένη<ι> τραγω<ι>δοῖ], ἔπαθλον ^ν δρ.^ν Γ. ^ν ἐχομένη<ι> - - - - -]
 [- - - - -] ὀρχηῖσταῖ, ἔπαθλο[ν] δρ.^{νν} Δ. ^ν ἐχομένη<ι> - - - - -]
 60 [- - - - -] ἀγωνοῖς τοῦ διὰ πάντων. ἐχομένη<ι> - - - - -]
 [- - - - -]α κέλητι πωλικῶι - - - - -]
 [- - - - -] ἄρματι τελείωι - - - - -]

fragment g
 [- - - - -]ν ἐχομένη<ι> - - - - -]
 [- - - - -] ἔπαθλον [- - - - -]

 65 [- - - - -]ΙΙΛΙΚΙ[- - - - -].

The letters are elegantly but inconsistently cut. There is a great fluctuation of height and width and the cutter tends to crowd the letters in the middle of the inscription. Almost all strokes end in triangular serifs. Characteristic letter-shapes: the alpha has a broken middle bar; the loop of the rho is cut almost in the middle of the vertical stroke which thus is extended above it (it is cut the same way as the phi, except that the left loop is missing); the horizontal stroke of the pi extends beyond the verticals the right of which is shorter; the sigma and epsilon are cut very wide.

The abbreviations of the inscription are not printed in the text, because they are easily recognizable: a delta with a vertical stroke extending from the bottom or cut from top to bottom δρ. = δρ(αχμάς), or similar; the lunar-shape mark < = ἥμ.ισυ. All the numbers are overlined, except for those in lines 56, 58 and 59 which have a tick inscribed on the top and curving to their left side.

Remains of Dotted Letters: since the *IO* editors do not use dots for partially preserved letters, they print some of them in square brackets and others they read.

Line 2: sigma—only the upper right tip of a horizontal stroke.

- Line 6: sigma—only the upper right tip and the right bottom part of two horizontal strokes; nu—only a left vertical and a very faint trace of a right slanting strokes.
- Line 11: kappa—only the bottom part of a vertical stroke.
- Line 12: rho—only the right part of a curving stroke; theta—only the bottom left part of a curving stroke; alpha—a faint trace of right slanting stroke; psi—only an upper right slanting stroke.
- Line 13: omicron—only the upper right part of a curving stroke; iota—only the upper tip of a vertical stroke; nu—only the right vertical and a faint trace of part of the slanting strokes.
- Line 14: eta—only the upper tips of two vertical strokes; tau—only the left tip of a horizontal stroke, after which there are very faint traces of letter shapes which do not suggest the restoration of the *IO* editors [δρᾱχ]μ[ή]ν; of the epsilon the bottom left part of a horizontal and a vertical stroke.
- Line 15: eta—only the right vertical and a trace of the left vertical strokes.
- Line 16: nu—only part of the right vertical stroke; epsilon—only a faint trace of the upper right tip of a horizontal stroke; upsilon—only an upper left slanting stroke.
- Line 17: rho—only the right part of a curving stroke; omicron—only the bottom left part of a curving stroke; tau—only a faint trace of the upper right part of a horizontal stroke; omega or omicron—only the upper part of a curving stroke.
- Line 18: theta—only the right part of a curving stroke; kappa—only the upper left part of a vertical stroke; rho—only the right part of a curving stroke.
- Line 19: epsilon—only the upper right tip of a horizontal stroke; second epsilon—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.
- Line 20: epsilon—only a faint trace of the vertical and the upper and bottom horizontal strokes; iota—only the upper tip of a vertical stroke.
- Line 21: nu—only the left vertical stroke.
- Line 22: kappa—only the upper left slanting stroke.
- Line 23: first-alpha only the upper part of a left and right slanting strokes; second alpha—only the middle part of a left and right slanting strokes.
- Line 24: epsilon—only the upper right tip of a vertical and horizontal strokes.
- Line 25: eta—only the right vertical stroke.
- Line 26: first iota—only the upper half of a vertical stroke; second iota—only the upper third of a vertical.
- Line 27: iota—only the upper half of a vertical.
- Line 28: sigma—only the bottom right tip of a horizontal; rho—a very faint trace of a vertical and a curving stroke.
- Line 29: pi—only part of the upper horizontal; lambda—only a right slanting stroke.
- Line 30: kappa—only a very faint trace of a vertical; nu—only a very faint trace of a vertical.
- Line 31: epsilon—only an upper horizontal and the upper tip of a vertical stroke.
- Line 32: eta—only the upper tips of two vertical; sigma—only an upper horizontal; iota—only the upper tip of a vertical; epsilon—only the upper left corner of a vertical and a horizontal stroke.
- Line 37: gamma—only the upper left corner of a vertical and horizontal, which can also be a pi.
- Line 38: iota?—only the bottom half of a vertical stroke, which it can also be a gamma, a tau, or a rho; epsilon—only the bottom left corner of a vertical and a horizontal.
- Line 39: iota—only the bottom part of a vertical; omicron—only the bottom left part of curving stroke.
- Line 40: omicron—only the left part of a curving stroke.
- Line 41: iota—only the bottom part of a vertical.
- Line 43: pi—only the upper right tip of a vertical; eta—only the left vertical stroke.
- Line 44: omicron—only the left part of a curving stroke.
- Line 45: first pi—only the upper right tip of a horizontal; second—only the bottom tip of a vertical; third—only the upper left part of a horizontal.
- Line 47: epsilon—only the bottom left corner of a vertical and horizontal; sigma—only the right bottom part of horizontal and a trace of the upper right tip of a horizontal.
- Line 49: kappa—only the upper left slanting stroke; tau—only the upper right part of a horizontal; epsilon—only a trace of a vertical.
- Line 50: sigma—only the the upper right tip of a horizontal; tau—only the upper left part of a horizontal.
- Line 51: tau—only the upper horizontal.
- Line 52: sigma—only the upper horizontal.

- Line 53: lambda—only the upper tip of a stroke.
 Line 54: alpha—only the right slanting stroke.
 Line 55: upsilon—only the upper left slanting; nu—only a trace of the right vertical; pi—only the upper half of a vertical and a horizontal.
 Line 57: tau—only part of the upper horizontal.
 Line 59: nu—only the left vertical.
 Line 60: mu—only the left slightly slanting stroke.

Restorations:

The nine lines which according to the *IO* editors' restorations are complete give the following letter spaces (two iotas are counted for one letter space, although at least in the beginning of the text it looks that even three iotas can be cut in one letter space): 82.5 for line 11; 80 for lines 13 and 14; 84.5 for lines 17, 18, and 19; 79.5 for line 20; and 84 for line 24. This letter space count points to a *ca.* 83, but, since all this is based on the accuracy of the restorations, the reader should be alerted, hence the question mark.

The cutter is not consistent in spelling either. The iota adscript for the dative case and the subjunctive sometimes is inscribed and others is not (in line 4 for example the iota adscript is missing from Ἄγαθῆ<ι>, but is inscribed in Τύχηι). Therefore, wherever an iota is missing, it is added to the text in angle brackets>. The *IO* editors print the iotas subscript.

All restorations are those of the *IO* editors.

Merkelbach using the facsimile of the *IO* editors places *fr. f* in between *frs. bc* and *a* and proposes the following restorations:

Line 1-2: [νόμος - - - - - τοῖς] ἐπιτελοῦσι τῶν Ἴτα[λικῶν καὶ
 Ῥωμαίων Σεβαστῶν ἰσολυμπίων τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν,
 ὃν ἤνεγκαν πρὸς]βεύσαντες Αὐλος [- -].

Line 5-6: καὶ Ἄκτια τρὶς ἀν[δρῶν.

Line 11: [καὶ μετεχέτω]σα[ν ἀπὸ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα μέχρι εἴκοσιν
 ἐτῶν παίδων κρίσεως,].

Line 18: ἀνετ[έθη. περὶ ἀπογραφῆς. ὅσοι ἂν ἀθληταὶ ἀπογράψαι
 βούλωνται] ἑαυτοὺς ἀγωνιουμένους κτλ.

Lines 23-31:

[ἀ]ν δέ τις ὑστερ[ίχη τῆς προθε]σμίας, ἐπα[γγειλάτω τὴν
 αἰτίαν τῆς ὑστερήσεως πρὸς τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτ]ας· ἔστωσαν
 δ[ε]
 [νό]σος ἢ ληστα[ὶ ἢ ναυγία. κα]τηγορίτω δὲ [ὁ βουλόμε-
 νος ξέν]ος ἢ Νεαπο[λίτης ἐν δικαστηρίω]ι, καὶ εἰὰν ἀλώ[ι,
 εἶρ]-
 [γέ]σθω τοῦ ἀγῶ[νος ὑπὸ τῶν] ἀγωνοθε[τῶν· δικαζόντων δὲ
 ἀγ]ωνοθέται καὶ ν[- - -]ε[- - - - - ἐ]-
 [πι]κληρούσθ[ων]ουβο[- - - καὶ εἰὰν ἀλώι,
 ζημιούσθω ὅσο]ν ἂν τοῖς δικασταῖς δοκῆ· εἰὰν δὲ]
 [τῆ]ς κατηγορίας [ἀπολυθῆ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρ]ίωι, κα[λείσθω καὶ
 λα]μβανέτω εἰς ὀ[ψώνιον ὅσον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. ὄρκον δὲ
 ὀμνύ]ντων, οὗ]-
 [τ]ω· ὄ[μ]νυμι τ[ὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἄπό]λλωνα [καὶ - - -]μα[- -
 - καὶ]
 [το]ὺς ἄλλους [θεούς, ἢ μὴν γεγυμνα]κέ[ναι - - -].

Line 48-49: [οἱ δὲ ἀθληταὶ τῇ τῶν Καισαρείων ἡμέρᾳ πο[μπ]ῆν
ἀγέτωσαν εἰς τὸ Καισαρ[εῖον].

Line 60:]ε τοῦ διὰ π[άντ]ων.

Crowther, arguing for three categories, restores lines 10-15 as follows:

[desunt fere 20 litt. μὴ ἐξέστο δὲ πρεσβύτερον μετέχειν τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῶν
Ἰταλικῶν Ἴσο]λυμπίων ἢ ἑπτακαί-
[δ]εκέτη· [καὶ μετεχέτω]σα[ν ἀπὸ μὲν ὀκτωκαίδεκα μέχρι τῆς
εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἡλικίας ἀγενεῖων κρίσεως], μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἀν-
[δ]ρῶν. περὶ ἐπάθλων· ὄθλα διδόςθω το[ῖς νικῶσι desunt fere 30 litt.
ὀ]ψώνιον δὲ χορηγ<ε>ίσθω
[τ]οῖς ἀθληταῖς [πρὸ ἡμερῶν [τ]ῆς πανηγύρεως λ', ὥστε πᾶσι
μὲν τοῖς ἀγωνιουμένοις δοθῆ]ναι πρὸ ἡμερῶν λ' τῆς
[πανηγύρεως [δραχ]μ[ῆ]ν ἑκάστης ἡμέ[ρας, πρὸ δὲ ἡμερῶν ιε'
τοῖς μὲν παισὶ καὶ ἀγενεῖσι] δρ[αχμᾶς] β' (ἡμῖου), τοῖς
δὲ ἀνδρά-
[σι]ν γ'. τιμαὶ [δὲ κ]ατὰ [τ]ῆν Καίσαρος ἐπιταγῆν στέφανος
τοῖς παισὶ καὶ ἀγενεῖσι καὶ ἀνδράσι σταχύνος·

- Line 11: the *IO* editors restore: [ἀπὸ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα μέχρι τῆς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἡλικίας παιδῶν ἀθλήσεως] which would give 87 letter spaces, significantly higher than the other restored lines. The way it is now restored: [ἀπὸ μὲν ταύτης μέχρι τῆς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἡλικίας παιδῶν ἀθλήσεως] gives 82.5 letter spaces. In addition, the word ἑπτακαίδεκα, already mentioned in lines 10-11, need not be repeated, since in a similar case immediately after this restoration the text continues without repeating the age limit for the men's category; it simply says (end of line 11-beginning of 12): μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἀν/[δ]ρῶν. A further complication with this restoration is especially the limit of εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν, for which there is no other evidence, and the problem of whether two or three categories were mentioned in the inscription (see the comments of Geer, Ebert, Frisch, and Crowther).
- Line 12: the stone has: ΧΟΡΗΓΙΣΘΩ.
- Line 14: the *IO* editors restore: [πανηγύρεως [δραχ]μ[ῆ]ν ἑκάστης. However, there is clearly visible the upper left tip of a horizontal stroke which cannot suggest a delta (it is also printed in the facsimile of the *IO*), and in addition there are clear traces, albeit faint, which do not suggest the shapes for the letters restored.
- Line 16: the *IO* editors read: [ἀν]αγόρευσις [ἔ]σ[τα]ι.
- Line 17: the *IO* editors read: [ἴε]ρὰ γένηται, τ[ούτων ...], but their facsimile reads: ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙΤΩ...ΛΛΟΙ.
- Line 17-18: the *IO* editors read: ἐπιγραφ[έ]/[τ]ωσαν, (compare, however, lines 19-20 where they read ἀπογραφ[έ]/[σθ]ωσαν).
- Line 23: the *IO* editors read: εἰ[ἀ]/[ν].
- Line 25: the stone has: ΗΓΟΡΙΤΩ. The *IO* editors read: [-] καὶ ἐὰν, but their facsimile reads: ΙΚΑΙΕΑΝ.
- Line 26: the *IO* editors read: [-]ε[-], but their facsimile reads: ΙΕΓ.
- Line 28: the *IO* editors read: [-]ίψ κ[αὶ -].
- Line 36: the stone has: ΜΒΑΝΕΤΩΙΕΙΣΩ.
- Line 37: the *IO* editors read: [- -]μα[- -].
- Line 51: the stone has: ΞΥΣΤΑΡΧΗΣΕΠΘΟΙΑΓΩΝ.
- Lines 52-58: the extreme right part of fragment e seems to have broken away and I could not find it. The following underlined letters, however, appear in the facsimile of *IO* and are not treated as lost, because I may have overlooked it in the *Ἀποθήκη*.
- Line 52: Καίσαρ[ι - -].

- Line 53: ἐπάθλων ὑ[- -].
 Line 54: κιθαρισ[ταὶ πλὴν κτλ].
 Line 55: ἔπαθλον [δρ. - -].
 Line 56: κληροσ κω[μω<ι>δων - -].
 Line 57: πλάσματι. ἔχομέ[νη<ι>- -].
 Line 58: Ἦ. ἔχομ[ένη<ι>- -].
 Line 59: [- - ὄρχη]σταὶ, Geer, who is probably right, since the kitharoedes are already mentioned above in line 54; [- - κιθαρι]σταὶ, *IO* editors.
 Line 60: [- - ἀγῶνο]ς τοῦ διὰ Wissowa; [- - κιθαρι]στοῦ διὰ *IO* editors.
 Lines 63-65: I could not find fragment g, but its letters are not treated as lost, because I may have overlooked it in the Αποθήκη.
 Line 63: the *IO* facsimile has: ΝΥ ΕΧ, and the text reads: [- -]ν ἔχο[- -].
 Line 64: the *IO* facsimile has: ΘΑΟΝ, and the text reads: [- - ἔπα]θλον [- -].
 Line 65: the *IO* facsimile has: ΙΑΙΚΙ, but the text reads: [- - πω]λυκε[ῶν - -], (this has already been pointed out by Geer 1965, 217 note 52).

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.
SEG XI, 1200; XIV, 349; XXII, 344. Geer 1935, 208-221. Buchner 1952, 406-407 (reprints the *IO* text). Ebert 1965, 152-156. Merkelbach 1974, 192-193. Frisch 1988, 179-185. Crowther 1988, 304-308; *id.* 1989, 100-102.

Commentary: The date for this inscription, after A.D. 2, is that of Geer who offers a complete discussion of all pertinent information about the date of the institution of the Sebasta at Naples.²⁶⁴

Pausanias in his elaborate exegesis of the particular group of Zeus statues (see also no. 12 above), erected from the fines imposed by the Eleians on cheating athletes, mentions the reason why each statue was set up. The most common and often repeated “crime” of the athletes was bribery. It is not surprising that all briberies explained by Pausanias happened only during the so-called heavy events, wrestling, boxing, pankration, and pentathlon which were the most difficult and dangerous ones.

²⁶⁴ Geer 1965, 216-217 note 40 has corrected the apparent typographical error in the *IO* (p. 124) where the founding of the games is dated in the 195,2 Olympiad (= A.D. 2) which is printed instead as “2 vor Chr.”

One of the punishments, however, imposed by the Eleians stands out as different in that no bribery is involved.²⁶⁵ In the 218th Olympiad (A.D. 93) a Greek from Alexandria, the boxer Apollonios surnamed Rantes, became the first athlete from Egypt to be fined on account of lying about his delay in meeting the deadline of the games. For according to Pausanias' narrative the Eleians did not exclude him simply because he showed up late for registration, but because his excuse was exposed as false by another competitor, Herakleides from Alexandria, who was crowned then and there by the agonothes without a contest in the boxing event.²⁶⁶ The law according to whose proviso Apollonios was excluded is not known from other sources than *IO 56*.

This inscription is a document which sets forth the rules to be followed for another major competition, the Sebasta at Naples. The *IO* editors have assumed correctly that the discovery of so long a document in Olympia suggests that the Sebasta were modeled after the Olympic Games, hence these games include in their full title the epithet ἰσολύμπια.²⁶⁷ Otherwise, there was no need nor any purpose for setting up such a detailed document in the sanctuary of Zeus. The probability of this argument is certainly assured by Pausanias' narrative concerning Apollonios from Alexandria. Lines 23-26 of the inscription describe the procedure to be followed in case some athlete appears late for registration: if the restoration for line 25 is correct, then the athlete could be allowed

²⁶⁵ The only other such fine involves a certain Sarapion from Alexandria who in the 201st Olympiad (A.D. 25), when he saw the competitors in the pankration, fled Olympia one day before the game was to take place, on account of which cowardice he was fined by the Eleians (5.21.18: τοῦτον ζημιωθέντα ἐπὶ δειλίαι μόνον τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτῶν μνημονεύουσιν Αἰγυπτίων).

²⁶⁶ As Papachatzis observes (309 note 1), this passage of Pausanias also suggests that before the official proclamation and coronation of the victors in the last day of the games, the agonothes or the judges, presumably after each event and in case of a dispute like Apollonios', had the power of proclaiming and pre-crowning the victors who would then participate in the events of the final day.

²⁶⁷ For a full account of the information provided by *IO 56* see Geer's discussion. For prize money and a refutation of the myth of ancient Greek amateur athletics see Young 1984, *passim*.

participation in the Games provided he could prove that he was ill, a victim of robbers, or in a shipwreck. Indeed, according to Pausanias' report, Apollonios' excuse to the officials was the high winds which inhibited sailing from the islands of the Kyklades to the Peloponnesian shore for fear of shipwreck. This explanation for his delay would probably have been accepted and Apollonios would have been permitted to enter the boxing competition, but unfortunately for him, his "fellow" athlete Herakleides challenged his alibi. Herakleides persuaded the officials that the ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις, as Thukydides might say, was some games in Asia Minor in which Apollonios participated in order to win some extra money. The *Hellanodikai*, in turn, not only denied him participation in the boxing event, but they also fined Apollonios (probably the amount of the extra sum he picked from Asia Minor) and declared his fellow athlete Herakleides the winner in boxing.

Finally, the incident of Apollonios, dated by Pausanias in the 218th Olympiad (A.D. 93), and the inscription *IO 56*, dated sometime after A.D. 2 when the Games at Naples were instituted, belong to roughly the same period. Very probably the incident of Apollonios was unique and perhaps the only such violation in the history of the Olympics. For Pausanias is here explaining the Zanes, i.e. what rules the athletes violated and why they were fined. If there was a similar violation, earlier than Apollonios, Pausanias would have read the inscription on the Zeus' statue and would have mentioned it. But was this law in existence before Apollonios' case? Pausanias' text with the genitive τῶν πικτῶν may imply that because of Apollonios and from that time on, all boxers arriving late are excluded if their excuse is not accepted, but such an exclusionary measure makes no sense. If, however, the text is corrected (the genitive suppressed, or corrected to τῶν ἀθλητῶν instead of τῶν πικτῶν), then the text would imply that the law was already in existence before Apollonios' time. There is no independent evidence to suggest the actual time for such a measure, but the explosion of

new Games instituted during the Roman period in Greece, Asia Minor and Italy, suggests a rather late date. This is understandable when the officials had to add criteria which would insure the schedule and time-frame of the games with their various events, especially when there were by now far greater numbers of athletes who wanted to participate in some or all of the games. At any rate, both the incident of Apollonios, reported by Pausanias, and *IO 56* belong to the first century A.D. Even if the law was in existence much earlier (sometime before the institution of the *Sebasta* at Naples which include this regulation), there was no known fine based on it at Olympia until A.D. 93, when Apollonios' case was presented before the *Hellandikai*.

66.

- 5.10.5: τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι ναοῦ (sc. of Zeus) τῆς ὑπὲρ κίωνων περιθεούσης ζώνης κατὰ τὸ ἐκτὸς ἀσπίδες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρσοι μία καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀριθμόν, ἀνάθημα στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων Μομμίου κρατήσαντος Ἀχαιῶν πολέμῳ καὶ Κόρινθόν τε ἐλόντος καὶ Κορινθίους τοὺς Δωριέας ποιήσαντος ἀναστάτους. 5
- 5.24.4: Ῥωμαίων δὲ οὔτε ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην οὔτε ὁπόσοι τῆς βουλῆς οὐδένα Μομμίου πρότερον ἀνάθημα ἴσμεν ἐς ἱερὸν ἀναθέντα Ἑλληνικόν, Μόμμιος δὲ ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἀνέθηκε τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαιῶν Δία ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν χαλκοῦν· οὗτος ἔστηκεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναθήματος, παρὰ τὸν πρῶτον ταύτη τοῦ ναοῦ κίονα. 10
- 5.24.8: ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ τείχῳ τῆς Ἄλτews Ζεὺς ἐπὶ ἡλίου τετραμμένος δυσμᾶς, ἐπίγραμμα οὐδὲν παρεχόμενος· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ οὗτος Μομμίου τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν εἶναι πολέμου.

IO 278, 279: a pedestal of Pentelic marble found on April 7, 1879, in the east Byzantine wall, opposite the south end of the Bouleuterion. It is preserved intact and on its upper surface there are footprints which indicate that a bronze horse was mounted on the pedestal. The base bears two inscriptions on the two short sides (278 and 279), of which 279 is a later copy of 278. The base is now in the Altis, *in situ*.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 604. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.293-0.297m. Width: 0.895m. Breadth: 2.25m.

Letter Height: 0.025-0.035m.

IO 278 *post 146 post* NON-STOICH. *ca.* 21

Λεύκιος Μόμμιος Λευκίου υἱός,
στρατηγὸς ἕπατος Ῥωμαίων,
Δὴ Ὀλυμπίωι.

IO 279 *medio saec. I ante –medio saec. I post* NON-STOICH. *ca.* 21

Λεύκιος Μόμμιος Λευκίου υἱός,
στρατηγὸς ἕπατος Ῥωμαίων,
Δὴ Ὀλυμπίωι.

IO 280, 281: eleven fragments of Pentelic marble of which the first four **a+b** and **c+d** join and comprise 280, while **e+f+g+h+i+k+l** join and comprise 281. They were found: **a b** in March 7, 1876, in front of the east side of Zeus' temple; **c d** in December 6, 1877, to the east of Zeus' temple; **f** in March 11, 1876, to the east of Zeus' temple; **e g h** in January 14 and March 11, 1878, in the east Byzantine wall; **i** in January 23, 1878, to the west side of Zeus' temple; **k** in November 6, 1878, opposite the east front of Zeus' temple; **l** in May 9, 1879. The fragments, which comprise the two inscriptions, seem to suggest that they were part of one pedestal, like the one of *IO 278* and 279: the lettering of 281 seems to be a copy of 280, and the text of all four inscriptions is identical. The fragments of both 280 and 281 are now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. **a b** 35, **c d** 265, **f** 39, **e g h** 314, **i** 312, **k** 448,

l 643. Vidi, Phot.

280 **a b** Height: 0.12+0.18m. Width: 0.41m. Breadth: 0.25m.

c d Height: 0.16m. Width: 0.28m. Breadth: 0.18m.

Letter Height: *ca.* 0.025m.

281 Height: 0.24m. Width: 0.89m. Breadth: 0.225m.

Letter Height: 0.025-0.039m.

| | | |
|---------------|--|---------------------------|
| <i>IO 280</i> | <i>post 146 post</i> | NON-STOICH. <i>ca.</i> 21 |
| | Λεύκιος Μ[όμμιος Λευκίου υἱός], στρατηγὸς ὑπ[ατος Ῥωμαίων, [Διὶ Ὀ]λυμπίωι. | |
| <i>IO 281</i> | <i>medio saec. I ante –medio saec. I post</i> | NON-STOICH. <i>ca.</i> 21 |
| | [Λε]ύκιος Μόμμιος Λευκίου υἱός, στρατηγὸς ὕ[πατος Ῥωμαίων, ^v Διὶ [Ὀ]λυμπίωι. | |

The lettering of 278 and 280 is simple and agrees with a post 146 B.C. date, whereas the letter style of 279 and 281 is more elaborate, with strokes ending in triangular serifs and a broken middle bar of the alpha.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

- 280 Line 1: mu—only the bottom tip of a left slightly slanting stroke.
 Line 2: sigma—only the top slanting stroke; tau—only a top horizontal; rho—only the top part of a curving stroke; alpha—only the upper triangular part; eta—only the upper tips of two vertical strokes; upsilon—only the upper triangular part; pi—only the bottom left tip of a vertical.
 Line 3: mu—only the left slanting and the middle left strokes.
- 281 Line 1: upsilon—only the bottom tip of a vertical.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Guarducci 1936b, 41-49. Guarducci 1937, 41-58. Palm 1959, 63-74. Philipp 1979, 193-204. Koenigs 1979, 205-216. Gruen 1984, 166-172. Habicht 1985, 99-100.

Commentary: The dates for these four inscriptions, after 146 B.C. and 50 B.C.–A.D. 50, are based on the assumption that Mummius' original statues must have been dedicated after his success in 146 B.C. Therefore, *IO 278* and *280* are dated after 146 B.C., while *IO 279* and *281* are dated, based on the lettering, between the middle of the first century B.C. and the middle of the first century A.D.

At the end of book 5 in his section of the statues of Zeus, scattered in the Altis and dedicated by cities and private citizens, Pausanias includes two Zeus statues erected by Mummius. One of them, Pausanias states definitively, is Mummius' offering from the spoils of the Achaean war. The exegete also adds that Mummius was the first Roman, so

far as he knew, who, as an individual or a senator, dedicated a statue of a god in a Greek sanctuary (5.24.4). From the same victorious war Mummius had also dedicated twenty-one shields which Pausanias saw hanging on the outside frieze of the temple of Zeus (5.10.5). For the other Zeus statue, since there is no inscription on its base, Pausanias reports what he was told probably by the local exegetes at Olympia (ἐλέγετο 5.24.8), that it too had been set up by Mummius.

None of these three dedications has been found during the excavations at Olympia. Of the four inscriptions that are mentioned above the first two (*IO* 278-279) are inscribed on a pedestal that supported a statue on horseback which therefore could not have been a Zeus. The last two (*IO* 280-281) survive in fragmentary form, but the material of the stone, the lettering and the text are similar to those of *IO* 278-279 (the only difference is in the layout of the text). This suggests that *IO* 280-281, similar to *IO* 278-279, was part of a second pedestal of a statue of Mummius on horseback. But Pausanias did not omit from his narrative only these two statues of Mummius. At Olympia there have been discovered two more inscribed pedestals: *IO* 319 refers to a statue of Mummius dedicated by the city of Elis on account of his ἀρετή and εὐεργεσία towards the Eleians and the other Greeks. *IO* 320, which forms part of a long pedestal, supported a group of eleven statues (*IO* 320-324), i.e. the consul Mummius and the ten legates who were appointed by the Senate to assist him in the reorganisation of the province Achaëa after 146 B.C.²⁶⁸ All these four statues that have been found at Olympia are omitted by Pausanias from his discussion of the offerings in the Altis. Surely, the exegete must have had a reason for

²⁶⁸ Mummius' consulship or proconsulship of Achaia is also mentioned in *IO* 56 (lines 53 and 64), but as a chronological reference in the border dispute between the Messenians and the Lakedaimonians, which was judged by Milesian ambassadors.

this discrimination, and a more careful examination of his text may provide a better understanding for his attitude toward the Roman general.

Mummius was involved in one of the most significant events in the history of the relations between Greeks and Romans. It took place in 146 B.C. when Mummius defeated the Achaean Confederacy, sacked and levelled Corinth, and freed the Greeks. This year for Pausanias marked the end of Greek history. In the beginning of book 2, the *Korinthiaka*, Pausanias briefly narrates the events of Corinth's annihilation by Mummius and lays the blame squarely on the Achaean Confederacy and its leader Critolaus (2.1.2 and 2.2.2). It is not until his *Achaika* (7.16) that Pausanias narrates in more detail the final battle and the total destruction of Corinth. Although here too Pausanias finds fault with the strategy of the Achaean commanders Critolaus and Diaeus in the battlefield, nevertheless one cannot help but notice in his narrative a sense of disappointment in Mummius' excessive behavior after the victory. Pausanias states that Mummius did not wait for the ten legates to arrive, whom the senate had appointed to assist him in the reorganization of the province: he killed all the males in the city; sold the women and children and the slaves too; and "the most admired monuments of piety and art he carried off; the less valuable he presented to Philopoemen, the general of Attalus, and in my time [i.e. Pausanias'] the spoils of Corinth were still to be seen at Pergamum." Furthermore, Pausanias adds, after a few years much of what Mummius and the legates had decreed for the new province was annulled by the Romans because they pitied the Greeks. Such a statement does not constitute outright hatred or prejudice against the Romans, although Pausanias, one may argue, may have been justified if he did so. Pausanias' personal negative opinion about Mummius is only implicit. Mummius' excessive actions after the victory no doubt reminded Pausanias of another parallel which he had narrated in his *Attika*, that of Sulla's destruction of Athens in 86 B.C. There, however, the city is not Corinth, but Athens, and therefore Pausanias is more straightforward: Sulla, he notes,

acted “with cruelty you would not expect from a Roman” (ἀγριώτερα ἢ ὅς ἄνδρα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐργάσασθαι Ῥωμαῖον 1.20.7). Be that as it may, it seems that Pausanias’ statements in books 2 and 7 concerning Mummius do not display open partiality on his part, but constitute an attempt at a rather balanced approach.²⁶⁹

While visiting Olympia, however, Pausanias records two (or possibly three) dedications by Mummius: the shields on the outer frieze of Zeus’ temple and one (or two) statues of Zeus. In his note of the certain statue of Zeus (5.24.4) Pausanias remarks that Mummius was the first Roman, so far as he knew (ἴσμεν), who, as an individual or a senator, dedicated (ἀνάθημα) a statue of a god in a Greek sanctuary. So far, this statement has been explained as a lapse by Pausanias, since there is evidence, which are discussed below, that Romans made dedications at Delos and Delphi, dating before 146 B.C. (Habicht 1985, 100 notes 16-17).²⁷⁰ This, of course, is true, if with the word

²⁶⁹ In his chapter “The Roman World of Pausanias” C. Habicht (1985, 117-140 and the bibliography there) has recently re-evaluated Pausanias’ statements and has put forth a more balanced response to the problem, which coincides with the historical events that marked the relations of Greeks and Romans. He has argued that, as far as Pausanias is concerned,

the Romans, like the Persians, the Macedonians, the Gauls, and the Pontic king Mithridates, are foreigners who do not belong in Greece and ought not to rule there. They had not contributed to Greek culture, as expressed in religion, literature, art, and philosophy (p.122-3). ... The picture becomes a little brighter in Pausanias’ own time, owing to the fact that the good emperors succeeded not only in reconciling the monarchy with the ideology of the republic, but also in reconciling the Greek world to its fate. ... Their philhellenism achieved a great deal, and this was acknowledged by the Greeks. Pausanias is no exception (p.123).

These comments seem to divide Pausanias’ Roman world into two sections: the first, the Roman attitudes towards Greece during the Republic and Early Principate were viewed by Pausanias negatively, whereas in the Late Principate things changed for the better, and so, in response, did opinions of Greeks about the Roman rule in Greece. The latter may be supported by Pausanias’ narrative in which statues of Roman Emperors are noted in the Altis: of Hadrian, Trajan (5.12.6) Augustus (5.12.7); of Roman Emperors in the Metroon (5.20.9), a building which was converted from a temple to the Mother of Gods into a temple to all Roman Emperors (Mallwitz 1972, 160-163). Statues of most Roman Emperors have been found at Olympia and are now in the Roman Hall of the New Museum.

Even so, Pausanias’ negative opinion about the early Roman involvement in Greece does not necessarily imply that he was prejudiced when he mentioned events of that period (one exception is the Makedonians whom Pausanias blames for Greece’s submission to Rome, but they are actually only a part and not all of Greece). Instead, it appears that Pausanias incorporates in his narrative what he thought was significant enough for his reader to know when he visited the same place, regardless of his strong personal views.

ἀνάθημα Pausanias means “any kind of dedication.” The word ἀνάθημα is employed by Pausanias for the first two dedications of Mummius. Yet, his assertion that Mummius was the first Roman to offer a dedication to a Greek sanctuary is not appended to the first dedication, the twenty-one gilded shields, but to the statue of Zeus. This implies that in this case the word ἀνάθημα does not denote “any kind of dedication,” as has generally been assumed, because in that case Pausanias would have made this statement when he recorded the shields. Instead ἀνάθημα here should be understood as referring to a specific kind of dedications in the Altis, with which Pausanias is occupied at the end of book 5, namely statues portraying mainly Zeus and other gods. More importantly, of the fourteen Zeus statues that Pausanias includes in his narrative only three are dedications offered by individuals: a Zeus by Kleolas from Phlious, another Zeus by Hippagoras, Phrynon and Ainesidemos from Leontinoi,²⁷¹ all of them Greeks, and finally the Zeus by Mummius. The remaining eleven statues were offerings dedicated by Greek cities to commemorate military success. Obviously, the small number of individual dedications of statues of Zeus of which only one is by a non-Greek, Mummius’, may imply that the Eleian Boule granted permission only in exceptional cases.

The uniqueness of Mummius’ setting up in the Altis a statue of Zeus is further corroborated by the evidence outside Pausanias, to which scholars have referred as contradicting the exegete’s statement about Mummius.²⁷² The only other author who mentions dedications by Roman generals before Mummius is Plutarch. In his *Sulla*

²⁷⁰ Habicht (1985, 100) correctly points out that “this is Pausanias’ error, but a harmless error, and not so important as his willingness to make such observations.”

²⁷¹ Kunze (1963, 107) reports that a small inscribed and reused offering of this Phrynon from Leontinoi has been discovered in the excavations where the altar of Artemis has been found. He does not give a text and the inscription has not been published since. Also *IO* 838, a fragmentary marble base which reads ΑΙΝ[- -], has been tentatively associated with this Ainesidemos.

²⁷² See especially Guarducci 1937, 41-58, and Habicht 1985, 99-100.

(12.6) Plutarch relates the story of the dictator's demand to the Delphic authorities to send to him various offerings from the sanctuary. This, he notes, reminded the Amphiktyons of how differently previous Roman generals behaved towards Greek sanctuaries: Flamininus, Acilius, and Aemilius Paulus not only did not plunder the sanctuaries, but instead made additional gifts to them and increased their honor and dignity. This is too general a statement and is of no help concerning the kind of dedications that the three victorious Roman generals made at Delphi. Of these three, however, only Acilius' offering is not known.

In his *Flamininus* (12.5-7) Plutarch records that Flamininus was proud for liberating Greece, and so he dedicated silver shields, among them his own long one, and also a golden wreath to Apollo at Delphi. On both of them Flamininus inscribed epigrams which Plutarch quotes and which emphasize Titus', the descendant of Aeneas, magnificent gift to the Greeks, i.e. their liberty. The same offerings, a shield and crown, that the general made at Delos, as is recorded in the accounts of the *Hieropoioi* (*IDélos* 442 B₈₅₋₈₆, 89, 178 = *ILS* 8765). In the same accounts there are also listed other Romans, who dedicated mainly wreaths, among them Scipio (*IDélos* 442 B₁₀₀₋₁₀₂ = *ILS* 8765). Aemilius Paulus' dedication at Delphi has been found in front of the entrance to the temple of Apollo (*FD* III.4.36). It is a column which was set up originally by Perseus in order to commemorate his victory that never came. Paulus instead placed his own statue on top and inscribed that the offering was a dedication from the booty of the battle at Pydna.

This evidence does not conform to Pausanias' criteria for his statement about Mummius, and therefore it is not proof beyond doubt that Pausanias made an error. If anything, the evidence corroborates the exegete's observation. Apparently the Roman generals' offerings to Greek sanctuaries consisted primarily of booty taken from the battlefield (only shields are mentioned), wreaths, and self portraits. No statues protraying

a god. As Pausanias' assertion claims, there is no evidence, so far at least, that any Roman before Mummius dedicated a statue of a god in a Greek sanctuary.

From his narrative of Olympia, therefore, Pausanias omits the four statues that have been found in the excavations, although he undoubtedly saw them in the Altis, because all four were self portraits of the victorious consul, whereas the dedications of Mummius he mentions were not. This discrimination is not accidental, and the omission of Mummius' self portraits is deliberate and indicative of Pausanias' attitude. It is not simply that in this part of his narrative of Elis Pausanias is reporting only those statues which are depictions of Zeus in the Altis. Had he wanted to mention Mummius' statues, he would have done so. Apparently, the Eleian Boule honored the Roman conqueror and also the Senate's embassy with statues in the precinct of Zeus, while Mummius set up two statues of himself, a common practice of the Roman conquerors. The reason for Pausanias' deliberate omission of these four dedications of Mummius, which in a sense glorify the personal achievement of the Roman consul, cannot be anything else, but his negative opinion about Mummius.

And yet, this negative attitude does not lead him away from his main task, to provide an explanation of the stories and monuments he deems notable. Pausanias chooses to incorporate in his work only three of the many dedications of Mummius he saw in the Altis, because they were remarkable and extraordinary. The twenty-one gilded shields, were, after all, fitted on the outside of the frieze of the temple of Zeus! Likewise, Mummius was given permission to erect certainly one statue of Zeus commemorating his victory. His comment about the purported second Zeus of Mummius implies that the first Zeus had an inscription which, according to his wording, looks similar to the wording of *IO 278-279* and *280-281*, with the possible additional statement that the statue was paid for from the booty of the war. The uniqueness of this monument and the epigraphical evidence seem to suggest that Pausanias tried to be impartial, and his assertion that

Mummius was the first Roman to have offered such a dedication in a Greek sanctuary is not it appears on present evidence in error.

67.

5.25.5: Ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τὴν τετραμμένην ἐπὶ Λιβύης καὶ νότου, καλουμένην δὲ Πάχυνον, Μοτύη πόλις· οἰκοῦσι δὲ Λίβυες ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Φοίνικες. τούτοις τοῖς ἐν Μοτύῃ βαρβάροις Ἀκραγαντῖνοι καταστάντες ἐς πόλεμον καὶ λείαν τε καὶ λάφυρα ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἀνέθεσαν τοὺς παῖδας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοὺς 5 χαλκοῦς, προτείνοντάς τε τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ εἰκασμένους εὐχομένους τῷ θεῷ. κείνται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὗτοι τῆς Ἑλτεως· Καλάμιδος δὲ εἶναι σφᾶς ἔργα ἐγὼ τε εἴκαζον καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶχεν ὁ λόγος. (6) Σικελίαν δὲ ἔθνη τσσαῦδε οἰκεῖ, Σικανοὶ τε καὶ Σικελοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας διεβεβηκότες ἐς αὐτήν, 10 Φρύγες δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ χώρας τῆς Τρωιάδος· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες καὶ Λίβυες στόλῳ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν νῆσον κοινῶι καὶ ἄποικοι Καρχηδονίων εἰσί. τσσαῦτα μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἔθνη βάρβαρα· Ἑλλήνων δὲ Δωριεῖς τε ἔχουσιν αὐτήν καὶ Ἴωνες καὶ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀπτικοῦ γένους ἑκατέρου μῶρα οὐ πολλή. 15

Kunze 1958, 38-40, 176, pl. 24-25 (= VI. Bericht, 1958): two bronze fragments of a shield were found in the southwest corner of the Stadion. The inscription is cut on the inner outer rim of the shield and it is now in the Bronze Collection of the New Museum. Olympia Museum Inv. No. B 2590.

Diameter: 0.85-0.88m. Letter Height: 0.025-0.03m.

460-440 ante

[Ἰ]ερά *vacat* Συρακοσ[ίων καὶ] Ἀκραγαντῖνων λάφυρα.

The script of the inscription is Ionic, and the letter shapes are (LSAG 262 fig. 43): α3, γ1, λ3, ν1 (with the right stroke vertical and not slanting), ρ1, σ2, υ4, φ2 (but the middle vertical extends on the top of the curving). The omega is inscribed as a lambda with two horizontals at the bottom left and right (—Λ—).

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of Kunze 1958, pl. 25):
alpha—only the bottom part of two slanting strokes.

Restorations: the restoration is Kunze's.

Albeit hesitantly, Kunze prefers this reading instead of the alternative:

[ἰ]ερά.^{vacat} Συρακόσ[ιον ἀπὸ οἱ (ἀνέθηκαν)] Ἀκραγαντίνων λάφυρα
(Cook and Lazzarini, however, omit the first word [ἰ]ερά) for two reasons: first it seems unlikely that the Syrakusans had adopted the Ionic script so early (middle of the fifth century B.C., see also *SEG* XV, 252); and second the preposition ἀπὸ with the word λάφυρα is “allenfalls möglich und entspräche dann sachlich unserem ersten Vorschlag. Aber das nachklappernde λάφυρα will dabei nicht gefallen” (176).

As is, the dedication of the shield may be a reference to the incident of 452/1 B.C., and, therefore, an offering by Duketios. If the dedicators are the Syrakusans, then the shield may be a reference to the battle at Himera in 445 B.C. between the Syrakusans and the Akragantines.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. *SEG* XI, 1212a; XV, 252. *BE* 1959, 188 no. 167. Marcadé 1953, vol. I, 40-42. Woodhead 1962, 82. Lazzarini 1976, 107, 165, 319 no. 980. Jeffery, *LSAG* 267, 274, 275 no. 11.

Commentary: The date for this inscription, middle of the fifth century B.C., is based on the letter style. Depending on how Συρακόσ[-] is restored the shield may have been taken as booty from one of two known incidents: in the 460s and 450s the Sikeliote leader Duketios tried to ally all the Sikeliots against the Greek colonists and establish a Sikeliote power on Sicily. He was able to win a victory against a Syrakusan and Akragantine force near Motye in 452/1 B.C., which, however, did not have any permanent effect, since next year he appeared in Syrakuse as a suppliant and was sent in exile to Korinth. The shield, therefore, may have been sent to Olympia by Duketios as an offering for his victory over the Syrakusans and Akragantines near Motye (Kunze). If the Syrakusans are restored as the dedicators, then the shield may be a reference to the victory they won over the Akragantines in 445 B.C. at the river Himera (Diodorus XII.8.26, and Cook, Jeffery). There is also another possibility which will be discussed later, namely that the genitives indicate possession.

After his description of the various buildings, the altars, and the statues of Zeus in the Altis, Pausanias proceeds to other interesting dedications that were not representations

of Zeus (ὅποσα δὲ ἄλλοῖα καὶ οὐ μίμησις ἐστὶ Διός, ἐπιμνησόμεθα καὶ τούτων 5.25.1). Among them Pausanias includes the Akragantine dedication of the bronze youths that were set up on the Altis wall with their right hands stretched in a stance of prayer. No signature of the sculptor was inscribed on these, but tradition had it that they were made by Kalamis. Their style and antiquity apparently convinced Pausanias as well. Kalamis' activity coincided with the period during which Pausanias dates the victory of the Akragantines over Motye, i.e. the first half of the fifth century B.C., which is further corroborated by independent epigraphical evidence (for signatures of this sculptor see Marcadé). But Pausanias offers no hint as to where in the Altis the wall that served as the base of the statues is. According to his own description of the statues, however, he must be referring to the old Greek wall, which enclosed the Altis from the south, to the south of Zeus' temple. For this spot in the Altis, as Papachatzis (1974-81, vol. 3, 318 notes 2 and 4) has suggested, is ideal for Pausanias' comment about the way the Akragantine youths were portrayed, because from that spot in the Altis the statues would be appropriately facing the temple of Zeus to whom they were praying. This presumed position of the Akragantine youths is further corroborated by the find spot of Hippotion's base (no. 14 above), which was, according to Pausanias, on, or near the Akragantine monument.

Moreover, Pausanias provides the reason which prompted the Akragantine dedication at Olympia: Akragas fought a war with the barbarian, i.e. Sikeliote, inhabitants of Motye and having captured spoils and booty from them the Akragantines dedicated the youths at Olympia (λείαν τε καὶ λάφυρα ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες ἀνέθεσαν τοὺς παῖδας ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν τοὺς χαλκοῦς 5.25.5). His geographical note, however, of where Motye was situated is wrong. It was not at Pachynon, the southernmost promontory, but near Lilybaion, at the westernmost cape. It has been suggested (Marcadé and Papachatzis), therefore, that Pausanias may inadvertently be confusing two Akragantine victories, both

dated in the middle of the fifth century B.C., over Motye and over Motyon, another village in the vicinity of Akragas. Finally, Pausanias ends his exegesis of the Akragantine dedication with a brief list of the inhabitants of Sicily (Σικελίαν δὲ ἔθνη τοσάδε οἴκει), in order to elaborate on his earlier statement that Motye was inhabited by Libyans and Phoinicians (5.25.6). He lists first the barbarians (ἔθνη βάρβαρα) and where they came from to Sicily, and then he adds that of the Greek inhabitants of Sicily the majority are Dorians and Ionians, while Phocians (i.e. Aiolians) and the Athenians are also present on a smaller scale. This is only a footnote, as it were, on Sicilian geography and anthropology, not unlike Thukydides', who in the introduction to his narrative of the Sicilian expedition (6.1.1-5.3), first enumerates the barbarians on the island and then the Greek colonies (τοσάδε ἔθνη ἔσχε τὰ ξύμπαντα 6.2.1 = τοσαῦτα ἔθνη Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων Σικελίαν ἔκει 6.6.1). This does not imply that Pausanias follows Thukydides' account, since fuller ones certainly existed. The way he narrates his brief note, however, may betray Thukydidean influence.

It is true that Pausanias does not explicitly state that he saw the spoils and booty of the Akragantines. Even so, his narrative may arguably imply that the exegete, in addition to the youths, also saw hanging from the Altis wall one or many inscribed spoils, i.e. shield, spear, helmet, greave and so on, taken from Motye. And to that extent, the discovery of the inscribed shield supports his narrative that he saw dedications of Akragas at Olympia. After all, Pausanias is not including in his narrative all the monuments that he saw in the Altis during his visit, but only those which to him were the most interesting and worthy to be incorporated in his *Eliaka*.

Notwithstanding this, the words that Pausanias uses recall those that are found on a dedicatory inscription. Therefore, they may illuminate the inscription on the shield that has been found in the Stadion at Olympia. The way Pausanias is using the word λάφυρα

(*ἰν λείαν τε καὶ λάφυρα ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβόντες* 5.25.5²⁷³) certainly warrants the hypothesis that the genitive of possession in the inscription need not refer to the defeated, as Kunze suggests, since Pausanias normally employs the preposition ἀπό in order to indicate from whom the spoils were taken. It may thus refer to the victors, i.e. the shield was dedicated by the victorious Syrakusans and Akragantines and not by the Sikeliote leader, Duketios. Moreover, the text of the inscription, with the word ἱερά in the beginning and λάφυρα at the end, lays strong emphasis on the objects themselves, since the word λάφυρα refers directly to ἱερά.²⁷⁴ Thus, the inscription, as it is restored with the two genitives, may be translated “these are the sacred spoils of the Syrakusans and the Akragantines”, i.e. dedicated to Zeus by them, and not taken from them.

68.

5.25.11: Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναθήματος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζωστήρος μαχόμενος πρὸς τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἔφιππον γυναῖκα· τοῦτον Εὐαγόρας μὲν γένος Ζαγκλαῖος ἀνέθηκεν, ἐποίησε δὲ Κυδωνιάτης Ἀριστοκλῆς. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα ἀρχαίοις καταριθμήσασθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοκλέα ἔστι καὶ σαφῶς μὲν ἡλικίαν οὐκ ἔχει τις ἂν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ, δῆλα δὲ ὡς πρότερον ἔτι ἐγένετο πρὶν ἢ τῇ Ζάγκλῃ τὸ ὄνομα γενέσθαι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Μεσσήνην. 5

²⁷³ See also Lazzarini 1976, 164-165, but she includes wrongly this inscription in the category of dedicatory expressions which employ: “Nominative (the dedicators) + ἀπὸ and genitive (the defeated)”, for which, however, she has to restore Συρακόσ[οι ἀνέθηκαν ἀπ'] Ἀκραγαντίνων λάφυρα, although Kunze indicates that there is not so much space. From all the dedicatory inscriptions on spoils that Lazzarini has collected no category emerges in which this inscription may fit (pp. 163-168 and 316-323 nos. 956-1000).

²⁷⁴ Kunze puts a period after ἱερά, because there is a very long empty space before the word Συρακόσ[-]. Even with the period, however, it would be a novum to restore a nominative, because of the presence of the word λάφυρα. The only other example from Olympia, in which the word ἱερά is followed or preceded by another sentence, is a sixth century B.C. Eleian dedication of a bronze bowl which bears the inscription (*H. Bericht* 104-105; *SEG* XI, 1204): τῷ Ζεὶ Ὀλυμπίου τοῖς Φαλαῖοις. ἱερὰ Διὸς (the last two words inscribed by another cutter). In this example the two sentences have two different subjects, or the last two words may also be the object of the first sentence. See also Miltiades' dedications, no. 70 below, and Lazzarini 1976, 163-168 and 316-323 nos. 956-1000.

- 6.2.10: παρὰ δὲ Μεσσήνιος <Δαμίσκος>, ὃς δύο γεγονῶς ἔτη καὶ δέκα ἐνίκησεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι. θαῦμα δὲ εἶπερ ἄλλο τι καὶ τότε ἐποίησά-
 μην· Μεσσηνίους γὰρ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φεύγοντας ἐπέλιπεν ἢ περὶ 10
 τὸν ἀγῶνα τύχη τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν. ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Λεοντίσκος καὶ
 Σύμμαχος τῶν ἐπὶ πορθμῶι Μεσσηνίων, ἄλλος γε οὐδεὶς Μεσσήνιος
 οὔτε Σικελιώτης οὔτ' ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δηλὸς ἐστὶν Ὀλυμπίασιν
 ἀνηρημένος νίκη· εἶναι δὲ οἱ Σικελιώται καὶ τούτους τῶν
 ἀρχαίων Ζαγκλαίων καὶ οὐ Μεσσηνίους φασί. (11) συγκατῆλθε 15
 μέντοι Μεσσηνίοις ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ ἢ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τύχη
 τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν· ἐνιαυτῶι γὰρ ὕστερον τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσήνης
 ἀγόντων Ὀλύμπια Ἥλειων ἐνίκα στάδιον παῖδας ὁ Δαμίσκος οὗτος,
 καὶ οἱ καὶ πενταθλήσαντι ὕστερον ἐγένοντο ἐν Νεμέαι τε
 ἦκα καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ. 20
- 4.23.5: Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην οἱ Μεσσήνιοι συνελέχθησαν, τὸν μὲν
 παρόντα χειμῶνα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ χειμάζειν, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν σφισι
 καὶ χρήματα οἱ Ἥλαιοι παρείχον· ἅμα δὲ τῶι ἦρι ἐβουλευόντο πόλ-
 χρῆ σταλήναι. γινῶμαι δὲ ἦσαν Γόργου μὲν Ζάκυνθον τὴν ὑπὲρ
 Κεφαλληνίας καταλαβόντας καὶ νησιώτας ἀντὶ ἠπειρωτῶν γενο- 25
 μένους ναυσὶν ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιπλέοντας
 κακοῦν τὴν γῆν· Μάντικλος δὲ ἐκέλευε Μεσσήνης μὲν καὶ τοῦ
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχθους λαβεῖν λήθην, πλεύσαντας δὲ ἐς Σαρδῶ
 κτήσασθαι μεγίστην τε νῆσον καὶ εὐδαιμονίαι πρώτην. (6) ἐν
 τοσοῦται δὲ Ἀναξίλας παρὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀπέστελλεν ἐς 30
 Ἰταλίαν καλῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίλας ἐτυράννει μὲν Ῥηγίου, τέταρτος
 δὲ ἀπόγονος ἦν Ἀλκιδαμίδου· μετώικησε δὲ Ἀλκιδαμίδας ἐκ
 Μεσσήνης ἐς Ῥήγιον μετὰ τὴν Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευ-
 τὴν καὶ Ἰθώμης τὴν ἄλωσιν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀναξίλας τοὺς
 Μεσσηνίους μετεπέμπετο· ἐλθοῦσί τε ἔλεγεν ὡς Ζαγκλαῖοι διά- 35
 φοροὶ μὲν εἰσὶν αὐτῶι, χώραν δὲ εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλιν ἐν καλῶι
 τῆς Σικελίας ἔχουσι, ἃ δὴ σφισιν ἐθέλειν ἔφη συγκατεργασαμέ-
 νοις δοῦναι. προσεμένων δὲ τὸν λόγον, οὕτως Ἀναξίλας διεβίβα-
 σεν ἐς Σικελίαν αὐτούς.
 (7) Ζάγκλην δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατέλαβον ληισταί, καὶ ἐν ἐ- 40
 ρήμωι τῆι γῆι τειχίσαντες ὅσον περὶ τὸν λιμένα ὀρμητηρίωι πρὸς
 τὰς καταδρομὰς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐχρῶντο. ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἦσαν
 αὐτῶν Κραταιμένης Σάμιος καὶ Περιήρης ἐκ Χαλκίδος. Περιήρει δὲ
 ὕστερον καὶ Κραταιμένει καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ἔδοξεν οἰκήτορας. (8) τότε δὲ τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ὅ τε Ἀναξίλας 45
 ναυσὶν ἀνταναγομένους ἐνίκησε καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι μάχη πεζῆι·
 Ζαγκλαῖοι δὲ κατὰ γῆν τε ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ
 θαλάσσης ὑπὸ Ῥηγίωνων πολιορκούμενοι, καὶ ἀλισκομένου σφισιν
 ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ τε βωμοὺς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἱερὰ καταφεύγου-
 σιν. Ἀναξίλας μὲν οὖν τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις παρεκελεύετο τοὺς τε 50

ἵκετεύοντας Ζαγκλαίων ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ παισὶν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι· (9) Γόργος δὲ καὶ Μάντικλος παρηιοῦντο Ἀναξίλαν μὴ σφᾶς, ὑπὸ συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπονθότας ἀνόσια, ὅμοια αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀνθρώπους Ἕλληνας ἀναγκάσαι δράσαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη τοὺς ἤδη τοὺς Ζαγκλαίους ἀνίστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν 55 βωμῶν καὶ ὄρκους δόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαβόντες ὤκισαν ἀμφοτέροι κοινῇ. ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει μετέθεσαν Μεσσήνην ἀντὶ Ζάγκλης καλεῖσθαι. (10) ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπράχθη τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς, ἣν Χίους Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα, Μιλτιάδου παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἄρχοντος. Μάντικλος δὲ καὶ τὸ 60 ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίους τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκτὸς τείχους ὁ θεὸς ἰδρυμένος, Ἡρακλῆς καλούμενος Μάντικλος, καθάπερ γε καὶ Ἄμμων ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ ὁ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Βῆλος ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίου Βήλου τοῦ Λιβύης ὄνομα ἔσχευ, Ἄμμων δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου ποιμένος. Μεσσηνίους μὲν οὖν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐγεγόνει 65 πέρασ τῆς ἄλλης.

IO 24: a bronze tablet found in January 22, 1878 to the east of the Palaistra, in the area of the Philippeion. It is broken all around except at the top right, and the text is inscribed boustrophedon (the angle brackets > and < indicate the direction of the script from left to right and right to left respectively).

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 328.

Height: 0.155m. Width: 0.125m. Thickness: 0.001m.

Letter Height: 0.006-0.01m.

ante 494 ante

NON-STOICH.

[- - - - -]ΙΙΙΕΔΟΝ.Ο- >
 ν γὰν τὰς [- - - - -] <
 [- - - - -]ζόμενος >
 νικεθέε [- - - - -] <
 5 [- - - - -]πολεμῖος βλ- >
 εθῆναι [- - - - -] <
 [- - - - -]Δάηκλεν κ[α]- >
 [ι] τῶν Δα[νκλαίουν - -] <
 [- - - - -]ς συνμά[χ]- >
 10 [ο]ῆς hos [- - - - -] <
 [- - - - -] [- - - - -] >

The lettering is that of Euboeia, since Zankle was a colony of Kymai. According to Jeffery (*LSAG* 79 fig. 27) the letter shapes are: α1, γ2, δ1, ε1 and ε2, η3, θ1 and θ2, λ1 and λ2 (with the right slanting stroke the same height as the left), μ2, ν1 and ν2 and ν3, ρ3, σ1. Jeffery further observes that “*epsilon* has little or no tail, *eta* is the open form η3, *nu* varies between ν1 and ν3; it is probably to be dated not long before the seizure of Zankle by the Samian refugees c. 493. The circular letters are made with a punch, occasionally twice over if the first attempt was badly centred” (*LSAG* 243).

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of the *IO* editors, Roehl, and Jeffery).

- Line 1: three vertical strokes—only the bottom parts.
 Line 5: lambda—only the right slanting stroke; beta—only a faint trace.
 Line 6: epsilon—only a faint trace.
 Line 7: epsilon—the middle and bottom horizontals are faintly preserved; kappa—only a faint trace.
 Line 9: sigma—only a faint trace; mu—the left slanting stroke is clear, the rest is faint; alpha—only a faint trace.
 Line 10: iota—only a faint trace. After the second sigma there is a trace of the upper tip of a vertical or slanting stroke which is too small to suggest a letter.
 Line 11: there is trace of the upper tip of a right slanting stroke which is too small to suggest a letter.

Restorations for this fragmentary text are very difficult and those proposed by some editors are not in agreement with their own facsimiles.

- Line 1: [ά]πέδον[τ]ο (?) *IO* editors.
 Line 3-4: [δικα]ζόμενος / νικηθείη *IO* editors, Roehl.
 Line 5-6: [πο]λεμίους β[λ]/ηθηναί *IO* editors, Roehl.
 Line 7-8: [δά]νκλην κ[α/ι] τὸν δα[νκλαίον] *IO* editors, Roehl.
 Line 9-10: [τοῖς]ε συνμά[χ/ο]ις οὖς *IO* editors, Roehl.

Bannier (1926, 541-542) restores:

[- - - οὐ - - -]
 [- - -]ι ηεδονο-
 ν πάντας [προ]-
 [καλι]ζόμενος
 5 νικέθε εἴ[πος]
 [τὸς πο]λεμίος βλ- (vel κλ-)
 εθῆναι [ἔτλε]
 [ἔς δά]νκλεν κ[αἰ]
 τὸν δα[νκλαίον]
 10 [τοῖς]ε συνμά[χο]-
 ις hos [- - - - -].

Jeffery (*LSAG* 410 pl. 49 no. 5) restores:

[- - -]ι ηελοντῶ-
 ν γαν τας [- - -]
 [- - - εἰ δε βια[?]]ζομενος
 νικεθε<ι>ε [- - -]
 5 [- - - πο]λεμιος βλ-
 εθῆναι [- - -]
 [- - - δα]νκλεν κ[α]-
 [ι] τον δα[νκλαιον - - -]
 [- - -]ε συνμα-
 10 [χ]ις hos [- - -]
 [- - -].

Kunze 1938, 22, 69-70, 99 note 1, fig. 43, pl. 41-42 (= *II. Bericht*) and Kunze 1956, 37-8, pl. 54 no. 23, fig. 18, pl. 22-23 (= *V. Bericht*): a bronze greave and a bronze shield found *ca.* 150 meters apart in the excavation at the north wall of the Stadion, the greave in 1937 and the shield in 1956. The shield is now on display in the Geometric - Archaic Gallery of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. B 310 (greave), B 2651 (shield).

Height of the greave: 0.425m. Diameter of the shield: 0.84-0.87m.

Letter Height: 0.0m. (greave); 0.026-0.032m. (shield).

ante 494 ante

the greave: Δανκλαῖοι [Ῥ]εγίνον.

the shield: Δανκλαῖοι Ῥεγίνον.

The lettering is that of Euboia, since Zankle was a colony of Kymai. According to Jeffery (*LSAG* 79 fig. 27) the letter shapes in both inscriptions are: α1, γ3 (lunate), ε1, ε4 (but with shorter horizontals), λ1, ν2 and ν3, ρ3.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

alpha—only the top triangular shape; iota—only the top half of a vertical; omicron—only a trace of a bottom curving stroke; iota—only the top half of a vertical; epsilon—only the bottom horizontal and the bottom part of the left vertical; gamma—only the bottom part of a curving stroke; iota—only the bottom part of a vertical; nu—only the left and middle slanting strokes; omicron—only the bottom part of a curving stroke; nu—only the left and middle slanting strokes.

Kunze 1958, 103-105, 104 fig. 35 no. 2, pl. 40 and 48 (= *VIII. Bericht*): a fragmentary bronze greave and a late Archaic Korinthish type helmet were found: the greave in September 1960, in the north wall of the Stadion; the helmet in March 1938, in the Stadion's south wall. The inscription on the helmet is cut on the left prognathide.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. B 5180 (greave); B 499 (helmet).

Height: the greave 0.033m.; the helmet 0.0106m.

Width of the helmet: 0.0154m.

Letter Height: in both the greave and the helmet 0.007-0.009m.

487–481 *ante*?

the greave Διὶ [Ὀλυμπίῳ] Μεσσήνιοι Λοκρῶν].

the helmet [Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ Μεσσήνιοι Λοκρῶν].

Kunze 1958, 105-106, 104 fig. 35 no. 3, pl. 41-42 (= *VIII. Bericht*): two late archaic korinthian type helmets were found: one in 1958, in the bed of the Alpheios river (B 4165), and the other in April 1960, in the Stadion's north wall, in an early classical stratum (B 4882). The inscriptions on both helmets are cut on their left prognathides.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. B 4165 and B 4882.

B 4165: Height: 0.025m.; Width: 0.023m.

B 4882: Height: 0.0118m.; Width: 0.0165m.

Letter Height: in both helmets 0.007-0.008m.

487–481 *ante*?

B 4165 Μεσσήνιοι Μυλαίων.

B 4882 Μεσσήνιοι Μυλαί[ων].

The letter style of the first two (greave and helmet) and the last two (helmets) inscriptions suggests (Kunze 1958, 105) that the same cutter inscribed both texts. The shapes of the letters are in the Euboian script, as in the previous Zanklaian inscriptions above (*LSAG* 79 fig. 27), but with notable exceptions the ε4, μ4 and σ3, which suggest a later date.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. *SEG* XI, 1180, 1205; XV, 246; XXIV, 311-314. Roehl, *IGA* 518. Bannier 1926, 540-543. Lazzarini 1976, 316 nos. 961, 962, 107, 153, 163-164. Jeffery, *LSAG* 243-244, 247 nos. 5 and 6, 454 no. C, pl. 49.

Commentary: The dates are generally based on two important events. In the year 493 B.C. Samian refugees occupied Zankle and accordingly no dedication to Olympian Zeus could be inscribed as being by the citizens of Zankle. Similarly, in 489 B.C., when exiled Messenians were invited by Anaxilas of Rhegion to Zankle, they changed the name

of the city to Messene and dedications to Olympian Zeus were henceforth by the citizens of Messene. This Rhegine occupation of Zankle lasted until 461 B.C., when the name *δανκλαῖοι* appears again. The lettering, however, on all these inscriptions cannot be attributed to so late a period.

Whenever Pausanias is including a dedication by a Messenian athlete in his *Eliaka*, he feels compelled to add a comment about the Messenian plight. Thus, when he discusses the statue of Herakles dedicated by Euagoras from Zankle, Pausanias adds that by his ethnic alone one can surmise that the date of the dedication was made before Zankle's name was changed into Messene. Likewise, when he reaches the statue of the Messenian boy Damiskos, Pausanias deviates from his narrative in order to explain a historical coincidence which he calls, not unlike Herodotos, a marvel (*θαῦμα*). There were no Messenian victors in the Olympic Games during the period of their exile in Naupaktos and Zankle/Messene, except for Leontiskos and Symmachos from the Sicilian Messene. When they were repatriated, however, in 368 B.C., miraculously Messenian athletes were once more victorious in the Olympic Games. The reason for such a change was not due to any miracle, but probably to the restraints, either financial or political, or both, that the Messenians faced as exiles concerning participation in the Games. Nevertheless, Pausanias notices this historical coincidence and, religious man that he is, calls it a *θαῦμα*, i.e. something for which no apparent explanation can be given.

Moreover, in his narrative of the region of Messenia, the subject matter of book 4, Pausanias devotes much time and treats extensively Messenian history. There, the exegete's sources are primarily historical and more specifically based on the works of Rhianos and Myron (Pausanias 4.6.1).²⁷⁵ These two, however, are not the only

²⁷⁵ For the Quellenforschung of Pausanias' book 4 and Messenian history see Pearson 1962, 397-426, and especially Papachatzis 1974-1981, vol. 3, 1-14.

sources. The facts which Pausanias records about Zankle/Messene are well known from and corroborated by the accounts of Herodotos and Thukydides, except for his dating the migration of the exiles in 664 B.C., which is off by one and a half centuries (4.23.10).²⁷⁶ Herodotos in his narrative of the disastrous Ionian revolt against the Persians describes the fate of the Samians who were invited by Zankle to colonize Kale Akte and who together with Milesian refugees accepted the invitation (6.22.2-23.1). What happened when they arrived in Sicily is *mutatis mutandis* strikingly similar to Pausanias' account of the Messenian plight (6.23.2-6):

μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλειος, τότε ἐὼν διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμείξας τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἀναπέθει ὡς χρεὼν εἶη Καλὴν μὲν ἀκτὴν, ἐπ' ἣν ἔπλεον, εἶαν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν, εὐοῦσαν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένην τὴν πόλιν [ἔωυτῶν], ἐβοήθηον αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἴπποκράτεια τὸν Γέλῃς τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ σφι οὗτος σύμμαχος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὁ Ἴπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατιῇ ἦκε βοηθέων, Σκύθη μὲν τὸν μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ὡς ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἴπποκράτης πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογενέα ἐς Ἴνυκα πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους κοινολογησάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ὄρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος προέδωκε. μισθὸς δὲ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένος ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεια μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλι, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἴπποκράτεια λαγχάνειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πλεῖνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ εἶχε δήσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖσι Σαμίοισι κατασφάζαι. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ See especially Papachatzis' discussion of this passage (1974-1981, vol. 3, 6 note 2), and Beloch's explanation that Pausanias must be confusing the date of Alkidamidas, the ancestor of Anaxilas, with that of Anaxilas.

²⁷⁷ Herodotos' narrative continues with the fate of the leader of Zankle Skythes (6.24) and returns to the events in Ionia (6.25).

Herodotos' narrative is centered around the Samian exiles and their being manipulated by Anaxilas, whereas Thukydides offers a fuller account (6.4.5-6):

Ζάγκλη δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως ληστῶν ἀφικομένων ᾤκισθη, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Εὐβοίας πλῆθος ἐλθὼν ξυγκατενεύμαντο τὴν γῆν· καὶ οἰκησται Περιήρης καὶ Κραταιμένης ἐγένοντο αὐτῆς, ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ Κύμης, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος. ὄνομα δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ζάγκλη ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν κληθεῖσα, ὅτι δρεπανοειδὲς τὴν ιδέα τὸ χωρίον ἐστί (τὸ δὲ δρέπανον οἱ Σικελοὶ ζάγκλον καλοῦσιν), ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Σαμίων καὶ ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἐκπίπτουσιν, οἱ Μήδους φεύγοντες προσέβαλον Σικελία, τοὺς δὲ Σαμίους Ἄναξίλας Ῥηγίων τύραννος οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς συμμείκτων ἀνθρώπων οἰκίσας Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος ἀντωνόμασεν.

Obviously, Pausanias' comments about Anaxilas' descent from Messene and the colonisation of Zankle by Krataimenes and Perieres are not different from Thukydides' account. As for Herodotos' narrative of the Samian incident, it seems that it is responsible for Pausanias' account about the Messenian exiles. It is not only the similar expression found in both authors which suggests that (Pausanias 4.23.6: οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἄναξίλας τοὺς Μεσσηνίους μετεπέμπετο· ἐλθοῦσί τε ἔλεγεν ὡς Ζαγκλαῖοι διάφοροι μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῶι = Herodotos 6.23.2: ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἄναξίλεως, τότε ἐὼν διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαῖοισι). Pausanias emphasizes that the Messenian exiles played an instrumental role in Zankle's occupation by Anaxilas, just as the Samians did earlier. Furthermore, both exiled groups were invited by Anaxilas and were manipulated for his own political gains, but not for long. At the end in both incidents the victors treat the defeated Zanklaians with humanity and against the wishes of their allies, Hippokrates of Gela in Herodotos and Anaxilas of Rhegion in Pausanias. This comparison of the historical accounts of Herodotos, Thukydides and Pausanias suggests that Pausanias' narrative about the Messenian exiles and their settlement in Zankle is perhaps modeled on Herodotos' narrative about the Samian exiles, while

Thukydides, among others, provided the exegete with the details of the earlier history of Zankle.

In turning to the inscriptions found at Olympia, especially the spoils from conflicts, the inscribed helmets, shields, and greaves which were part of whole panoplies dedicated to Zeus, the historicity of Zankle's name being changed to Messene is confirmed. As Pausanias himself surmised in the case of the Zanklaian Euagoras that his dedication must have been made before the city changed its name in 489 B.C., so too the spoils with the inscription "the Zanklaians from the Rhegines" is assumed to have been dedicated before that year, whereas those dedicated by Messenians would be after 489 B.C. The latter were apparently involved in a feud with the Lokroi and the Zanklaian colony Mylai, from which they emerged victorious. The Zanklaians, before becoming Messenians, had sent to Olympia spoils from a victory over Rhegion, with which they were in constant conflict. What is even more significant is the fragmentary text of the treaty against aggression between Zankle and another city found at Olympia (*IO 24*). The text is difficult to restore, but it provides evidence for the claims in both Herodotos and Pausanias, namely that the Samians and later the Messenians, after defeating the Zanklaians, came to terms with them against their patron tyrants. They also gave mutual oaths to the effect that they were to be living in Zankle together with no more fighting.

All this cannot prove or disprove whether Pausanias saw these military dedications of Zankle/Messene at Olympia. Pausanias' narrative, however, is by no means exclusively based on a single source, whether literary or epigraphical. In this case his narrative, and by extension his sources, had a sound foundation, since it is corroborated by the inscribed spoils. Notwithstanding his confusion in dating the change of the name of Zankle into Messene, the way Pausanias is arguing for the date of Euagoras' and Damiskos' dedications is not only trustworthy, but seems to have retained its basic validity.

69.

6.8.1: Εὐανορίδαι δὲ Ἡλείωι πάλης ἐν παισὶν ὑπῆρξεν ἓν τε Ὀλυμπία καὶ Νεμείων νίκη· γενόμενος δὲ ἑλλανοδίκης ἔγραψε καὶ οὗτος τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν Ὀλυμπία τῶν νενικηκότων.

IO 299: three joining fragments of a slab of grey limestone, found: the upper right fragment May 22, 1880, northwest of the Byzantine church, and the other two November 17 and 22, 1880, in the Palaistra. The fragments preserve the right upper corner of the slab and the back is rough. The first line is inscribed as a caption, while the rest of the text is assumed by the *IO* editors to have been inscribed in two columns of which only the right one survives. The fragments are now in *Αποθήκη 10* of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 918 + 977. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.24m. Width: 0.45m. Thickness: 0.53m.

Letter Height: 0.025-0.03m.; (0.052m. in line 1).

ca. 235 ante

NON-STOICH.

| | |
|-------------|----------------------|
| [Ε ὕ α ν ο] | ρ ῖ δ α ρ |
| [- - - - -] | ὕ Δαμέαν τὸ[ν κατὰ] |
| [- - - - -] | ὕ παίδωσιν πα[τέρα]. |

The letters are clearly and sharply cut. The letters of the first line are almost twice the height of those in lines two and three, and the strokes are quite thin and end in triangular serifs. Worth noting is also the rhotacism of line one.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Moretti 1957, 139 no. 570. Chaniotis 1988, 186-193, 197 (L 12), 199 (L15).

Commentary: The date for this inscription, *ca. 235 B.C.*, was proposed by Moretti. It is primarily based on the information of Polybius (5.94) who mentions an Eleian Euanoridas as an ἐπιφανῆς ἀνὴρ in the year 218 B.C. Moretti assumed Polybius' Euanoridas to be the same as that mentioned by Pausanias, and accordingly suggested as

a tentative date for his victory in the boys' wrestling event the 135th Olympiad (240 B.C.). The letter style of the inscription, where an Euanoridas is mentioned, is also in agreement with a third century date, and, therefore, an approximate date for *IO 299* is the time after Euanoridas' victory.

Pausanias, continuing after the statue of Pythokles (no. 30 above) his brief exposition of victory statues in the general area between the Heraion and the Pelopion and southwards, records three statues, none of which has been found. One of them is the dedication of the Eleian Euanoridas, who won an Olympic and Nemeian victory in the boys' wrestling event. This same person, Pausanias adds, became later an *Hellanodikes* and he too inscribed the names of the Olympic victors in Olympia. Euanoridas is indeed the second Eleian who, Pausanias says, inscribed an Olympic Register in Olympia. The first person to do that was another Eleian, Paraballon, an Olympic victor in the diaulos, whom Pausanias mentions in connection with his son's victory statue (his son Lastratidas was victorious in the boys' wrestling event in Olympia, and the boys' and ephebes' wrestling event in Nemea 6.6.3):

Παραβάλλοντι δὲ τῷ Λαστρατίδαι πατρὶ ὑπῆρξε μὲν διαύλου παρελθεῖν δρόμῳ, ὑπελίπετο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς μετέπειτα φιλοτιμίαν, τῶν νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀναγράφας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι.

Paraballon and Euanoridas, both of them Olympic victors and one of them *Hellanodikes*,²⁷⁸ are the only two whom Pausanias knows that were in charge of the

²⁷⁸ Jacoby (*FGrH* IIIb Kommentar p. 225) assumes, perhaps correctly, that Paraballon was also an *Hellanodikes*, possibly because of Pausanias' narrative on Euanoridas which implies that he inscribed the Olympic Register while holding the office of the *Hellanodikes* (γενόμενος δὲ ἑλληνοδίκης ἔγραψε καὶ οὗτος . . . 6.8.1). Papachatzis (1974-1981, vol. 3, 342 note 6 and 338 note 7), on the other hand, thinks that Paraballon's action to inscribe the names of the Olympic Victors was simply a "private initiative" (ὑπελίπετο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς μετέπειτα φιλοτιμίαν 6.6.3), which seems rather unlikely. Even if it was a private initiative, and by that I mean only the expenses needed for such an undertaking, inscribing so long a text on Olympic property (the Gymnasium) would certainly require permission from the Olympic authorities, as was the case for so many of the dedications.

process for inscribing Olympic Registers in Olympia, Paraballon more specifically in the Gymnasium.

Although Euanoridas' victory dedication has not been found, nevertheless, the three fragments of the present inscription (*IO* 299) have been found near and in the Palaistra; the text records an Euanoridas who was adopted by a certain Dameas.²⁷⁹ On chronological grounds the *IO* editors identified him with the same Euanoridas mentioned by Polybius (5.94) and Pausanias. The fragmentary text of the inscription offers no support for Pausanias' narrative, except for the name, but its find spot may offer some clue as to where the Olympic Register was inscribed.

The excavations at Olympia have shown that both the Gymnasium and the Palaistra were built towards the end of the third century B.C., a *terminus post quem* for Paraballon's inscription. Since Pausanias states that Paraballon was the first, it follows that Euanoridas' date would be later than Paraballon's. The new construction of these two buildings would no doubt have been a factor in Paraballon's idea for inscribing the names of the athletes and later on in Euanoridas' decision. Moretti (1957, 135 no. 536, 139 no. 570) dates the victories of these two athletes tentatively in the third century B.C. (Paraballon in the 125th Olympiad = 280 B.C., and Euanoridas in the 135th Olympiad = 240 B.C.). Since Euanoridas' fragmentary dedication (*IO* 299) was found in the Palaistra, a place with which he was associated from the years he was an athlete and where *IO* 299 may in fact have stood, it is very likely that his Olympic Register was inscribed there as well. After all, he was victorious in the wrestling event for which the Palaistra was the training ground, whereas Paraballon was victorious in the *diaulos* for

Jacoby's suggestion, however, that Paraballon and Euanoridas were active in the beginning of the fifth century until 472 B.C. and thus that they were predecessors of the Eleian Hippias who compiled an Olympic Register ignores the fact that the Gymnasium and the Palaistra in Olympia were Hellenistic constructions (Moretti 1957, 135 no. 536 and Mallwitz 1972, 278-289).

²⁷⁹ For other epigraphical cases of adoption in Olympia see: *IO* 59.9; 75.4; and 408.2.

which the athletes trained in the Gymnasium. Furthermore, the span of years separating these two athletes is not so great as to justify a supplement to Paraballon's inscription by Euanoridas. Whether these Registers included all Olympic victors, or only those associated with the particular event of the two former athletes in the respective buildings in which they themselves trained must remain an open question.

70.

- 6.10.8: τὰ γὰρ Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου...ἀναθήματα... τὰ Μιλτιάδου δέ, ὅποια ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθηκεν, ἐτέρωθι (δὴ) δηλώσω τοῦ λόγου.
 6.19.6: κεῖνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐνταῦθα (sc. treasury of Sikyonians) ἄξια ἐπιμνησθαι, ... καὶ εἰργασμένον ἐλέφαντος κέρας τὸ Ἀμαλθείας, ἀνάθημα Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος, ὃς <τὴν> ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἐν χερρονήσῳ τῇι Θραικίῳ πρώτος τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ κέρατὶ ἐστὶν ἀρχαίοις Ἀπτικοῖς γράμμασι·
 Ζηνὶ μ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκαν Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐκ χερρονήσου τείχος ἐλόντες Ἀράτου· ἐπῆρχε δὲ Μιλτιάδης σφίν.

Kunze 1956a, 69-74, pl. 34-35 (= *V. Bericht*): a late archaic Korinthian-type bronze helmet, found in the excavations of April 1940 in the southern wall of the Stadion. The helmet remained in the Apotheke with other finds discovered before and during the Second World War until the 1953/54 excavation period when the cleaning process of the bronzes began and the inscription on the helmet was uncovered. Only the bottom half of the helmet is preserved and the inscription is engraved on the border of the left prognathide which is broken away in the middle, from left to right all the way to the back of the helmet. The helmet is now on display together with the Assyrian(?) helmet below in the Early Classical and Classical Gallery of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. B2600. *Vidi*, Phot.

Height: 0.187m. Width: 0.28m. Thickness: 0.0027-0.0075m.

Letter Height: ca. 0.007-0.009m.

ca. 500–490 *ante*

Μιλτιάδης ἀνέ[θ]κεν [τ]ῶι Δί.

The script and dialect of this inscription are Attic and the letter shapes are (*LSAG* 66 fig. 26): α4, β2, ε2 or ε3, ι2, λ2, ν2, σ1.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

alpha—only a trace of the upper corner tip which coincides with the break of the prognathide in this spot.
 first epsilon—only the upper horizontal and a trace of the middle horizontal, which coincides with the break of the prognathide, and the upper half of a vertical stroke.

second epsilon—only an upper horizontal and the upper part of a vertical stroke.

Restorations:

Kunze restores a triple dot punctuation in [τ]θν, because after the nu and before the omicron there is space for one-and-a-half to two letters.

Kunze 1961, 129-137, pl. 56-57 (= *VII. Bericht*): a Persian, perhaps Assyrian, bronze helmet, found October 20, 1960, in a well dug on the Kronion hill, approximately seventeen meters northeast of the eastern end of the supporting wall behind the treasuries. The helmet is preserved intact and the letters of the inscription are engraved all around the bottom border with strokes comprised of dots. The helmet is now on display together with Miltiades' helmet above in the Early Classical and Classical Gallery of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. B5100. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.231m. Diameter: 0.205-0.207m. Thickness: 0.0015-0.0025m.

Letter Height: ca. 0.006-0.008m.

post 490 *ante*

Διὶ Ἀθηνᾶϊοι Μέδον λαβόντες.

The script and dialect of this inscription are Attic and the letter shapes are (*LSAG* 66 fig. 26): α3 or α4, β3, β2, ε3 or ε4, θ3, ι2, λ2, ν2, σ1.

Kunze 1955, 7-21: a bronze helmet, found in Olympia and in the early thirties transported to Athens. The helmet is not intact: the upper right part, the top, and the back half

of the right prognathide are broken away. The letters of the inscription are engraved on the remaining front half of the right prognathide in two lines with dotted strokes, in a direction from the back of the helmet to the front. The helmet is now in the National Museum (χαλκᾶ Collection).

National Museum Bronzes Inv. No. 15189. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.28m. Width of the left prognathide: 0.36m.; of the right: *ca.* 0.020m.

Thickness: 0.0027-0.0075m.

Letter Height: *ca.* 0.010-0.015m.

500–493 *ante*

STOICH. 8[?]

Ἄθηνᾶϊοι
[τδ]ν ἐγ Λέμν[ο].

The letters are spread out and seem to be inscribed in stoichedon style, except that the cutter after the fourth letter in line 2 realized that he needed more space and thus the gamma and lambda occupy one letter-space as perhaps did the nu and the restored omicron.

The script and dialect of this inscription are Attic and the letter shapes are (*LSAG* 66 fig. 26): α3 or α4, γ2, ε4, θ2, ι2, λ2, ν2.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: alpha—only the upper part of a right slanting stroke and a left slanting stroke.

Line 2: nu—only the bottom half of a the left vertical stroke.

Restorations:

This is Kunze's reading of the earlier editors': ΘΕΝΑΙΟΙ | ΝΕΑΝΕΜ: (*SEG XI* 1212b).

Line 2: [τ]δν Kunze, but the space for the omicron is brocken away and no trace of a dot remains.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XI, 1212b; *XIV*, 350, 351; *XXII*, 346. Kunze 1954, 141-143. Kunze 1955, 7-21. Kunze 1959, 263-310. Pfohl 1966, no. 51.

Commentary: The dates for these dedications cannot be determined with accuracy, except perhaps for the second which Kunze hesitantly dates in 490 B.C. or slightly after. There is no way to determine whether Miltiades offered his helmet to Zeus after the battle of Marathon (Pfohl), or before it (before 493 B.C., the year of his return to Athens),

when he was in charge of Chersonnesos, or when he recaptured Lemnos in the first decade of the fifth century (Kunze). The lettering and the style of the helmets do not help either date, and the fact that the ethnic Athenaios is missing is not strong proof for a date before the battle of Marathon, while Miltiades was in Chersonnesos or in Lemnos (Kunze). It may very well be that this dedication was made on account of his expedition to Paros and during the time of his trial (489 B.C.), as testimony for the general's accomplishments for his city.

Pausanias, continuing his exegesis of the athletic dedications in the Altis, reaches the chariots of the Epidamnian Kleosthenes (6.10.6-8), the Athenian Miltiades, and the Lakedaimonian Euagoras (6.10.8). That Pausanias saw a chariot of Miltiades nearby those of Kleosthenes and Euagoras seems very probable, but he does not say anything, except that he will mention later the dedications Miltiades made at Olympia. Later on, however, the only dedication of Miltiades he notes is the cornucopia in the Sikyonian treasury, whose inscription he also quotes as evidence for his narrative.

How many dedications did Miltiades offer to Zeus at Olympia, i.e. Miltiades the son of Kimon, for Pausanias is concerned only with this Miltiades. From his narrative it seems that Pausanias saw two dedications: the chariot near those of Kleosthenes and Euagoras, dedicated by Miltiades, the son of Kypselos and not the son of Kimon as Pausanias implies. This is one of Pausanias' verifiable mistakes, since there is no evidence that Miltiades, the son of Kimon, ever participated in the Olympics. Miltiades the son of Kypselos, according to Herodotos 6.36, won in the chariot race before he sailed to Chersonnesos, which Moretti (1957, 71 no. 106) tentatively put in the 55th Olympiad, 560/59 B.C. (this by no means is a fixed date). Which Miltiades is the dedicator of the second dedication seen by Pausanias, the inscribed cornucopia in the Sikyonian treasury, is not certain, but he thinks it was Miltiades the Marathon general. The question about the cornucopia dedicator originates from Pausanias' confusion of

Miltiades, the son of Kypselos (*PA 10209 Miltiades I*), the first member of the Philaidai family who became the leader of Chersonnesos, and the Marathonomachos Miltiades, the son of Kimon and nephew of Miltiades I (*PA 10212 Miltiades II*) who was also the leader of Chersonnesos.²⁸⁰ In all fairness to Pausanias it should be emphasized here that the same confusion made by Pausanias is also present in Pseudo-Andokides 4.33 and in Nepos *Miltiades 2*.

The two dedications that Pausanias mentions have not been found in Olympia. But apparently there were more dedications of, or related to Miltiades which to an extent justify Pausanias' comment (6.10.8): τὰ Μιλτιάδου δέ, ὅποια ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθηκεν, ἑτέρωθεν {δὴ} δηλώσω τοῦ λόγου. The three helmets described above, which Pausanias may, or may not, have seen in Olympia, are all dedications to Zeus offered by Athenians victorious in wars (Kunze 1955, 7-21). The inscriptions on the last two helmets refer specifically to two events in Athenian history: the famous Athenian victory at Marathon in 490 B.C., and the less well known recapture of Lemnos from the Persians. Miltiades was placed in charge of the cleruchy sent to Lemnos by the Athenians before 493 B.C., in order to consolidate their power on the island and in the north Aigaian (Kunze 1955, 19-20). Miltiades' recapture of Lemnos is mentioned by Herodotos in his narrative of the general's trial. He was accused by Xanthippos for his failure to punish the island of Paros. Miltiades' friends claimed in his defense that he had accomplished two major achievements for Athens, the battle at Marathon and the recapture of Lemnos.²⁸¹ As Kunze has shown convincingly, it is from this incident that the third helmet was probably dedicated in the decade before the battle of Marathon.

²⁸⁰ For the epigram on the cornucopia see *IGM 54* and Friedländer 1987, 53-54 no. 52.

²⁸¹ Herodotos 6.136.2: Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογέετο (ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ), προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίβῳ ὑπεραπολογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ

What the account of Pausanias and the three helmets that have been found in Olympia suggest is quite extraordinary: there were in Olympia dedications from all the campaigns in which Miltiades was involved. The cornucopia comes from his tyranny in Chersonnesos, the third helmet from the cleruchy established by him in Lemnos, and the second from the Athenian victory at Marathon. Moreover, he, or his son, may have dedicated his own helmet on account of any of the above accomplishments, or on account of all of them, if a date after Marathon is accepted. The absence of his ethnic and of his father's name is not very significant. It only indicates that it was a private dedication (Kunze). Nevertheless, the name Miltiades inscribed on a helmet would hardly need any special introduction, nor for that matter would a visitor to the Altis care when and for which victory it was dedicated. Be that as it may, the narrative of Pausanias, which implies that Miltiades had many dedications in Olympia, is supported by the finding of the three helmets, which together with Herodotos attest to the accomplishments of the Athenian general and trace his career, i.e. one dedication to Zeus for each major achievement.

71.

6.12.1: Πλησίον δὲ ἄρμα τέ ἐστι χαλκοῦ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀναβεβηκῶς ἐπ' αὐτό, κέλητες δὲ ἵπποι παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα εἰς ἑκατέρωθεν ἕστηκε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καθέζονται παῖδες· ὑπομνήματα δὲ ἐπὶ νίκαις Ὀλυμπικαῖς ἐστὶν Ἰέρωνος τοῦ Δεινομένου τυραννήσαντος Συρακουσίων μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνα. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα οὐχ Ἰέρων ἀπέστειλεν, 5 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεῷ Δεινομένης ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰέρωνος, ἔργα δὲ τὸ μὲν Ὀνάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τὸ ἄρμα, Καλάμιδος δὲ οἱ ἵπποι τε οἱ ἑκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ παῖδες.

ἐπιμεμνημένοι καὶ τὴν Λήμνου ἀΐρεσιν, ὡς ἔλῶν Λημνόν τε καὶ τεισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. Later (6.140.1) Herodotos states clearly that Miltiades' recapture of Lemnos happened while he was in Chersonnesos. See also Herodotos 5.26 and 6.136.3-140.2; How 1975, vol. 2, 10, 122-124 and *HCT* 1, 375 and notes 1-3. There is no reason to discredit Herodotos' information that it was Miltiades son of Kimon who recaptured the island.

8.42.7: τότε δὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος (sc. Ὀνάτας ὁ Μίκωνος Αἰγινήτης) ἀνευρῶν
 γραφὴν ἢ μίμημα τοῦ ἀρχαίου ξοάνου τὰ πλείω δέ, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ 10
 κατὰ ὄνειράτων ὄψιν ἐποίησε χαλκοῦν Φιγαλεῦσιν ἄγαλμα, γενεᾷ
 μάλιστα ὕστερον τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιστρατείας τοῦ Μήδου. (8)
 μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἐς τὴν
 Εὐρώπην Συρακουσῶν τε ἐτυράννει καὶ Σικελίας τῆς ἄλλης Γέλων ὁ
 Δεινομένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Γέλων, ἐς Ἱέρωνα ἀδελφὸν Γέ- 15
 λωνος περιήλθεν ἡ ἀρχή· Ἱέρωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος πρότερον πρὶν ἢ
 τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὰ ἀναθήματα ἃ εὗξατο ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων
 ταῖς νίκαις, οὕτω Δεινομένης ὁ Ἱέρωνος ἀπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 πατρὸς. (9) Ὀνάτα καὶ ταῦτα ποιήματα, καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐν
 Ὀλυμπίαι, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναθήματός ἐστιν αὐτῶν· 20
 Σόν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα
 τεθρίππῳ μὲν ἄπαξ, μονοκέλητι δὲ δίς,
 δῶρα Ἱέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσσατο· παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε
 Δεινομένης πατρὸς μνήμα Συρακοσίου.
 τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λέγει τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων· 25
 Υἱὸς <—> με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσσεν,
 νάσωι ἐν Αἰγίνοι δώματα ναιετάων.
 ἢ δὲ ἡλικίαι τοῦ Ὀνάτα κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἱγίαν καὶ Ἀγελάδαν
 συμβαίνει τὸν Ἀργεῖον.

IO 249: a bronze Etruscan helmet was discovered at Olympia in 1817 and it was presented
 in 1823 by King George IV to the British Museum where it still is. The
 inscription is cut on the upper part of the helmet, just as the inscription on the
 second Etruscan helmet found in Olympia (below *SEG XXXIII*, 328).
 British Museum Catalogue Bronzes 250.

paulo post 474 ante

NON-STOICH. ca. 16

Ἡἶρον ὁ Δεινομένεος
 καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι
 τοῖ Δι Τυρ<ρ>αν<δον> ἀπὸ Κύμας.

Daux's suggestion that in line 3 there is probably a mistake by the cutter who inscribed ΤΥΡΑΝ instead of ΤΥΡΡΑΝΘΝ seems, in light of the two following inscriptions which have the same text inscribed, to be correct (similarly Lazzarini 1976, 317 no. 964 and note 2). Therefore, the letters in angle brackets, left out by mistake by the cutter, are supplied according to the text of the following inscriptions.

SEG XXIII, 253: a bronze Korinthian type helmet was discovered by chance in the bed of the river Alpheios in 1959 at Olympia, on whose left prognathide the inscription is cut all the way to the back. It is now on display together with the second Etruscan helmet of Hieron (below) in the Early Classical and Classical Gallery of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. M 9. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: *ca.* 0.18m.

Letter Height: *ca.* 0.006m.

paulo post 474 ante

NON-STOICH. *ca.* 18

Ἡάρον ὁ Δεινομένεος
καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι
τοῖ Δὶ Τυρρανῶν ἀπὸ Κύμας.

SEG XXXIII, 328 (except for line 3 for which see *SEG XXXIV, 332*²⁸²): a bronze Etruscan type helmet was discovered by chance in the bed of the river Kladeos at Olympia. The inscription is cut on the upper part of the helmet, just as on the one in the British Museum. The helmet is now on display together with Hieron's Korinthian one in the Early Classical and Classical Gallery of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. M 844. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: *ca.* 0.18m.

Letter Height: *ca.* 0.006m.

paulo post 474 ante

NON-STOICH. *ca.* 18

Ἡάρον ὁ Δεινομένεος
καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι
τοῖ Δὶ Τυρρανῶν ἀπὸ Κύμας.

²⁸² In *SEG XXXIII, 328* the editors print the text published by Y.A. Pikoulas in *HOROS* 1 (1983) 59, which in line 3 reads Τυραννῶν. Pikoulas caught the mistake, however, and informed the editors *per epistulas* (*SEG XXXIV, 332*) that the correct reading of line 3 is Τυρρανῶν.

The letter style of all three inscriptions is elegant and the letters are carefully inscribed, except in line 3 of the first helmet. According to Jeffery the inscription displays “a more advanced type of lettering: ε3, δ3 and no ϕ (LSAG 266)”, but δ2 does appear in the two helmets at Olympia. The shapes of the letters are (LSAG 262 fig. 43): α3, δ2 and δ3, ε3, Η1 (closed), μ2 (but with the outer left and right slanting strokes of equal length), ν2 and ν3, π1, ρ2, σ2, υ2.

Gallavotti (1979b, 14) has renewed Boeckh’s suggestion (in Kaibel 1965, no. 745) that the third line is a paroemiac to which Kaibel adds “neque priores duo versus numerorum specie carere videntur”. Accordingly Gallavotti reads the three lines as two prosodiacs and an enoplian (or an alcmalian if Daux’ legitimate correction for line three is accepted):

Ἴάρον ὁ δεινομένεος καὶ τοῖ Συρακόσιοι (υυ — υ — υυ —, — — υ — υυ —)
 τῶν δὲ Τυρρανᾶ ἠπὸ Κύμας (— — — — υυ —)

See, however, Hansen (1975 no. 416) who suggests that the inscription is not metrical.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XXIX, 411. Moretti 1957, 90 no. 221, 92 no. 234, 93 no. 246. Daux 1960, 721. Jucker 1964, 186. de Waele 1963, 200-202. Guarducci 1966, 192-196. Meiggs/Lewis 29 (22). Lazzarini 1976, 163-168, 317 no. 964. Gallavotti 1979b, 14. Andrewes 1982, 176-194. Pikoulas 1983, 59. Cook 1987, 55-56 pl. 52. Jeffery, LSAG 266, 275 and 410 no. 7 pl. 51, 460 no. C.

Commentary: The date for all three helmets, a little after 474 B.C., is the same and is based on the inscription itself. While the Greeks in the mainland, the islands, and Asia Minor were preoccupied with the Persian invasion in the early fifth century B.C., the Greek colonies in Sicily and Southern Italy were facing a similar situation. The Karthaginians and the Etruscans launched a combined attack against them, but the Karthaginians were defeated decisively at Himera in 480 B.C. by Gelo and the allied forces of the Greek cities. A few years later, in 474 B.C., Hieron was invited to assist Kyme which was threatened by the Etruscans and with his victory stopped the Etruscan expansion to the South. From the spoils of that victory he sent the three helmets at Olympia as offerings to Zeus.

In his exegesis of the athletic dedications in the Altis and near the statue of the Thasian Theogenes (no. 53 above) Pausanias mentions the bronze chariot of Hieron, who became tyrant in Syrakuse after the death of his brother Gelo in 478 B.C. (no. 9 above). The exegete gives a physical description of the offering, mentions the dedicator and

concludes with artists: the offering was comprised of a man standing in the chariot and on each side there were also standing two racing horses mounted by boys; it was sent to Olympia by Hieron's son Deinomenes to commemorate all of Hieron's chariot victories (Moretti 1957, 90 no. 221, 92 no. 234, 93 no. 246); the chariot with the man was the work of the Aiginetan Onatas, while the race horses with the boys were the work of Kalamis. Pausanias derived all this information from his own observation in the Altis and very probably from the inscription which was cut on the base of the Deinomenid dedication, which has not been found.

Indeed, Pausanias does not explicitly state that his information is based on the inscription on the base of the monument. At least not in this passage of his *Eliaka*. When he is in Phigaleia, however, and dates the statue of Demeter made by Onatas one generation after Xerxes' invasion in Greece, Pausanias feels compelled to justify his claim, probably because there was some argument about the date of the Aiginetan sculptor, or Demeter's statue. There the exegete reveals that he in fact read the two epigrams on Hieron's dedication at Olympia, which he did not mention in his *Eliaka*, but which he quotes in his *Arkadika*. He thus lets his readers judge for themselves his reasoning for dating Demeter's statue and, therefore, Onatas' career one generation after Xerxes' invasion. More importantly, the two passages reveal a significant assumption on Pausanias' part. He did not feel compelled, it seems, to let his readers know that his information for every dedication in Olympia was derived from the inscriptions on the monuments. Pausanias seems to be assuming that his readers already knew and understood that. Otherwise, there is no obvious explanation why he quotes the epigrams he has read at Olympia not in the appropriate place, in 6.12.1, but where there was a strong argument to be made, i.e. in dating Onatas' statue of Demeter for the Phigaleians.

Even though this inscribed base has not been found at Olympia, nevertheless, there have been found the three helmets of Hieron, the son of Deinomenes, dedicated to Zeus

by him and the Syrakusans from the Etruscan spoils at Kyme. Pausanias does not mention these spoils. He may have seen them, but omitted them in his narrative, or the helmets may have been lost at the time of his visit. At any rate, if he saw them, they were not so elaborate that they had to be incorporated in his *Eliaka*. Whatever the case, the discovery of the three inscribed helmets of Hieron provide indirect evidence concerning Hieron's presence at Olympia: Pausanias mentions his athletic offering, while the helmets attest to his military victory.

72.

- 6.12.2: Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος τὸ ἄρμα ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ Δεινο-
 μένους καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ οὗτος τυραννήσας, Ἱέρων δὲ ἐκα-
 λείτο Ἱεροκλέους· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ προτέρου τυραν-
 νήσαντος τελευταίην Συρακουσίους αὐθις ἀναπεφύκει τύραννος ὁ
 Ἱέρων οὗτος, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἕκτης ὀλυμ- 5
 πιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ἣν Κυρηναῖος στάδιον ἐνίκησεν
 Ἰδαῖος. (3) οὗτος ὁ Ἱέρων ξενίαν πρὸς Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου καὶ
 ὁμοῦ τῇ ξενίαι καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ἐποιήσατο, Γέλωνι τῷ παιδὶ
 Νηρηίδα τὴν Πύρρου. Ῥωμαίων δὲ περὶ Σικελίας ἐς τὴν πρὸς Καρ-
 χηδονίους πόλεμον καταστάντων εἶχον μὲν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς 10
 νήσου πλέον ἢ ἡμισυ, Ἱέρωνι δὲ συνιόντων μὲν ἄρτι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
 ἐλέσθαι τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἤρεσε, μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ δυνάμει τε εἶναι
 νομίζων τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐχυρότερα καὶ βεβαιότερα ἅμα ἐς φιλίαν
 μετεβάλετο ὡς τούτους. (4) τοῦ δὲ οἱ βίου συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν
 τελευταίην ὑπὸ Δεινομένους, γένους μὲν Συρακουσίου, δυσμενέστα- 15
 τα δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐς τυραννίδα ἔχοντος, ὃς καὶ ὕστερον τούτων
 Ἱπποκράτει τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἐπικύδους ἐξ Ἑρβησοῦ παρεληλυθό-
 τι ἄρτι ἐς Συρακούσας καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ποιεῖσθαι λόγους ἀρχομένωι
 ἐπέδραμεν {τις} ὡς ἀποκτενῶν τὸν Ἱπποκράτην· τοῦ δὲ
 οἱ ἀντιστάντος, κρατήσαντες τῶν δορυφόρων ἄλλοι διαφθείρουσι 20
 τὸν Δεινομένην. τοὺς ἀνδριάντας δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι, ἕφ'
 Ἴππου τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν πεζόν, ἀνέθεσαν μὲν τοῦ Ἱέρωνος
 οἱ παῖδες, ἐποίησε δὲ Μίκων Νικηράτου Συρακούσιος.
- 6.15.6 ..., Συρακούσιοι δὲ δύο μὲν Ἱέρωνος εἰκόνας τὸ δημόσιον, τρίτην δὲ
 ἀνέθεσαν οἱ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος παῖδες· ἐδήλωσα δὲ ὀλίγωι τι πρότερον 25
 ὡς ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ Δεινομένους ὁ Ἱέρων οὗτος καὶ Συρακουσῶν εἶη
 κατὰ ταῦτ' ἀκεῖνῳ τύραννος.

Apparatus Criticus:

23 μήκων is the reading of the mss. Ag and Vb. Νικοκράτου is the reading of the editors Musurus (Aldina), Xylander-Syburg, Kuhn, Facius, and the mss. Ms Va Vb Lb; Νικοκράτους is the reading in Am. Smin.; Νικοστράτου is the reading of the ms. R; Νικηράτου is the reading of all other editors and the mss. P Pa (in the margin it has also νικοκράτου) Pd Ag L. Συρακόσιος is the reading of the editors Bekker, Dindorf, Schubar, and the mss. P Ag; Συρακούσιος is the reading of all other editors, and the mss. V Vb L Lb Pa Pd Ms.

Eckstein 1958 (*VI. Bericht*), 205-209, pl. 129: a fragmentary base of fine-grained, yellowish sandstone, found in July 1954, in the excavations of the area between the Pelopeion and the west Altis wall, *ca.* fifteen meters east of the wall's gate. It is broken on the left and the back sides and the inscribed surface is very worn. It is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum (no Inventory No. is given by the editor). *Vidi.*

Height: 0.24m. Width: 0.59m. Breadth: 0.59m.

Letter Height: 0.02-0.03m. (in the signature 0.009-0.02m.).

263-215 *ante*

[βασιλέα Ἰέρωνα] Ἱεροκλῆος *vacat?*
 [ἀνέθηκεν ἅ πόλις ὕ τῶν Ταυρ[ο]- *vacat?*
 [μενιτῶν? Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ]. Μικίων Νικηράτου Συρακόσιος
 ἐπόησ[εν].

The letter style of the inscription is plain and the letters are spaced out and wide. Except for the letters of the signature, the others are difficult to read because the surface of the stone is very worn and the strokes are cut quite thin.

The empty spaces at the end of lines 1 and 2 are followed by a question mark, because the stone is badly weathered and definite conclusion cannot be reached. However, since the restoration in line 1 seems to be correct, the same number of letters should be assumed for the beginning of lines 2 and 3 (see Restorations). Moreover, the signature of the sculptor is inscribed in smaller letters, but not below line 3, as Eckstein printed it (see Restorations; likewise Moretti who follows Eckstein's text). The text of the inscription, therefore, has 4 lines.

Characteristic letter shapes are: the horizontals of the epsilon are cut slightly slanting upwards, and the bottom stroke is slightly shorter than the top, while its middle is half the size of the top and bottom strokes; the right vertical of the pi is shorter than the left while the top horizontal is slightly slanting upwards; and the top and bottom strokes of the sigma are slanting up- and downwards, while the middle triangle is quite open.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: omicron—only the upper left part of a curving stroke; second omicron—a faint trace of a curving stroke.

Line 2: upsilon—the upper left and right slanting strokes are faint, but visible.

Line 3: alpha—only a faint trace of its shape and a trace of the middle bar; tau—the extreme right part of a top horizontal.

Restorations: for line 1 see also *Syll.*⁴ 429 which is dated in the middle of the third century B.C.

Eckstein [Βασιλέα Ἱέρωνα] Ἱεροκλέος
[ἀνέθηκε ἀ πό]λις τῶν Τα
λαρίνων διὰ Ὀ]λυμπίωι.

Μικίων Νικηρ[άτ]ου Συρακόσιος
ἐπόησ[εν].

Moretti [Βασιλέα Ἱέρωνα] Ἱεροκλέος
[ἀνέθηκε ἀ πό]λις τῶν Ταυρο[μενιτῶν]
[διὰ Ὀ]λυμπίωι.

Μικίων Νικηρ[άτ]ου Συρακόσιος
ἐπόησ[εν].

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XVII, 196; XIX, 332. *BE* 1959, 190 no. 172. Marcadé 1957, vol. II 726. Franke 1958, 83 note 175a. Moretti, *ISE* 145-146 no. 58. Habicht 1985, 149-150.

Commentary: The date for this dedication, 263–215 B.C., is that of Moretti (*ISE* 145-146 no. 58) who correctly points out that these years are only *termini post* and *ante quem*, since a definite date for the decree is not possible:²⁸³ in 263 B.C. Hieron II and the Romans made a peace treaty in which a number of cities were included, among them Tauromenion (Diodoros 23.4), while 215 B.C. is the year of Hieron's death.

In his exposition of the athletic monuments in the Altis, Pausanias also includes private and state dedications. Among them he mentions the offerings of Hieron I (no. 71 above) and Hieron II, both of which were set up near the statue of the Thasian Theogenes (no. 53 above) and that of the Spartan king Areus (no. 73 below). In order to distinguish the two tyrants of Syrakuse, who had the same name, Hieron, but different patronymics, the one the son of Deinomenes, the other of Hierokles, Pausanias adds a brief historical

²⁸³ Eckstein (1958, 209) suggests a date between 250–230 B.C., while in *SEG* the inscription is dated 263–241 B.C., because in 241 B.C. Hieron and his family appear to have acquired the title εὐεργέτης Polybius (7.8.6).

note about the career of Hieron II, perhaps because he was not as renowned as his predecessor. In this overview, which for the most part is corroborated by Polybius' account, Pausanias starts with the date when Hieron became tyrant of Syrakuse after Agathokles. The date he provides, however, is wrong by five years, since the second year of the 126th Olympiad when Idaios from Kyrene was the stadionike is 275 B.C., while Hieron actually became tyrant in 270 B.C.²⁸⁴ A similar mistake is also found in Pausanias' statement that Hieron II was assassinated by a Syrakusan Deinomenes who hated tyrants. In fact, Hieron lived a long life and died peacefully in 215 B.C. It was his grandson, Hieronymos, son of Gelo and Pyrrhos' daughter Nereis, whom Deinomenes assassinated one year after he succeeded his grandfather Hieron (214 B.C.).

Even so, all the other information Pausanias includes in his narrative about Hieron II is correct, since it is confirmed by Polybius (7.2; 4.5; 8.9): Hieron's relations with Pyrrhos, whose daughter became the wife of his son Gelon; the alliance first with Karthage and then with the Romans, when they defeated him in 263 B.C.; and the incident of Deinomenes, who attacked Hippokrates, the brother of Epikydes, as he was about to address the Syrakusans. Polybius supplies the details of this event: Hippokrates and his brother Epikydes were members of the embassy sent by Hannibal to Hieronymos to find out whether there was any possibility of signing a treaty. This overview of Hieron's career is based not on epigraphical evidence, but on a historical source or sources that may have been responsible for the incorrect dating of Hieron's ascension to power and the end of his life. This by no means explains in a satisfactory way Pausanias' mistakes, but at least serves as an indication that the exegete's text needs careful reading.

²⁸⁴ See further Franke's (1958, 57-85) discussion of the numismatic and historical evidence for Hieron's career.

For in his narrative Pausanias combines information from many and various sources that are not always clearly discernible.

At any rate, after the historical note on Hieron the exegete concludes his exegesis with the subject that prompted this deviation in his narrative of the athletic monuments in the Altis, namely the statues of Hieron II, son of Hierokles at Olympia: they were two statues of Hieron, one on horseback and one on foot, dedicated by his children, and they were made by the Syrakusan artist Mikon son of Nikeratos. Later on, and near the base of the Erythraian Epitherses (no. 40 above), Pausanias sees three more statues of this same Hieron: two of them were dedications by the city of Syrakuse and the third again by his children. There is no mention, however, of the artist of these additional statues, either because he was the same, i.e. Mikon, or because there was no signature inscribed.

None of these five dedications of Hieron has been found at Olympia, but there has been discovered an inscribed base in honor of Hieron, son of Hierokles, dedicated by the city of, in all probability, Tauromenion. On the base there is also inscribed the signature of the sculptor for whom, until its discovery, Pausanias was the only source. This dedication of Hieron is not included by Pausanias in his narrative of the monuments in the Altis. The wording of its inscription, however, and that of Pausanias is very close. More specifically, the inscribed signature provides the correct name of the sculptor is a case. In Pausanias' manuscripts his name of the is recorded both as Μίκων and Μήκων, while his father's name is preserved as Νικηράτου (the preferred reading of the later editors of Pausanias), Νικοκράτου, Νικοκράτους, and Νικουστράτου. Both readings can now be tested vis-à-vis the text of the inscription which preserves the actual names: the sculptor's name is Μικίων, whereas in Pausanias the iota is dropped, which is not an unparalleled

phenomenon.²⁸⁵ More importantly, the reading which the later editors of Pausanias preferred for Mikion's patronymic is actually proved to have been the correct one. It seems that this was the third honorary statue of Hieron commissioned from Mikion who, in addition to being from Syrakuse, may have been the tyrant's favorite sculptor.²⁸⁶ Thanks to the discovery, therefore, of the inscribed base of Hieron Pausanias' testimony about his dedications at Olympia receives partial support: for the dedicator, the honored person, and the sculptor Pausanias doubtless used the inscriptions on the bases of the statues, while for the historical note on Hieron's career he employed other sources.

73.

6.12.5: Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος τὰς εἰκόνας Ἄρεῦς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ... ἔστηκεν..., καὶ αὐθις ἀναβεβηκῶς ἐστὶν Ἄρεῦς ἵππον. ἀνάθημα δὲ ... Ἄρεῦς δὲ Ἡλείων ἐστὶ καὶ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ πρότερα ... οὔτε τῶν ἐς Ἄρεα ἀμνημόνως ἔσχεν,

6.15.9: μετὰ δὲ τὸν Εὐτελίδαν Ἄρεῦς τε αὐθις ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς 5 ... ἀνάκειται

IO 308: two joining fragments of yellowish soft limestone, of which fragment **b** was found May 21, 1877, in the Heraion, in the west Byzantine wall of the cella (for fragment **a** the *IO* editors do not provide the date when, or the place where it was found). The fragments are broken on the left and the right sides and fragment **b** also on the bottom. Only fragment **a** preserves the original height and on its surface there is a trace for a column which indicates that the base was also reused

²⁸⁵ Marcadé (1953, vol. 2, 76) notes the name Agoralios–Agorallos, although he cautions that Pausanias' Mikon and the inscription's Mikion may be two different sculptors.

²⁸⁶ This is not unusual for the second half of the third century B.C. and it goes back to Alexander the Great, who preferred Lysippos for his statues.

as support for a column of the Heraion as were the bases of *IO* 306 and 307. The fragments are now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. 198 (? a) + 198a (b). *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.205m. Width: 0.565m. Thickness: 0.15-0.155m.

Letter Height: 0.02-0.038m.

ante sive post 265/4 *ante*

NON-STOICH. *ca.* 32

[βασιλεὺς] Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέω[ς Πτολεμαίου]
[Ἄρεια Ἀκρο]τάτου Λακεδαιμονί[ων βασιλέα],
[εὐνοίας ἔ]νεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν [καὶ εἰς τοὺς]
[ξύμπαντας? Ἑλ]ληνας, διὰ [Ὀλ]υμπίῳ [ἀνέθηκεν].

The lettering of the inscription is careful and dense and the strokes are cut deep enough that their width ranges from 0.003m. to 0.006m., while at their end-tips they are deeper so as to form triangular serifs. Except for the relatively small omicrons, all the other letters are big, tallest are especially the upsilons, the iotas, and the epsilons, whereas the widest (0.03-0.04m.) are the epsilons, mus, nus, and sigmas.

Characteristic letters are: the epsilon's middle stroke is half that of its upper and bottom strokes; the middle slanting strokes of the kappa are cut considerably smaller and so the width of the letter is considerably smaller; and the upsilon resembles the tau in that its upper slanting strokes are not sharply cut, but they tend to curve outwards starting from almost the top of the vertical stroke.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: pi—only the bottom part of the right horizontal.

Line 4: delta—only the two slanting strokes; lambda—only a trace of the right slanting stroke; first-iota a trace of the upper part of a vertical; second iota—the middle part of a vertical stroke.

Restorations:

The *IO* editors read and restore as follows:

[βασιλεὺς Π]τολεμαῖος βασιλέω[ς Πτολεμαίου]
[Ἄρεια Ἀκρο]τάτου Λακεδαιμονί[ων βασιλέα],
[εὐνοίας ἔ]νεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν [καὶ εἰς τοὺς]
[ξύμπαντας Ἑλ]ληνας, διὰ [Ὀλ]υμπίῳ [ἀνέθηκεν].

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

*Syll.*⁴ 433. Oikonomides 1956, 218-227, esp. 224. McCredie 1966, 107-115. *CAH* 7.1, 236-240.

Commentary: The date for the inscription, *ca.* 265/4 B.C., is derived from Pompeius Trogus 26 and Plutarch's *Agis* 3.4 where Areus' death is mentioned. Areus I, son of Akrotatos, was king of Sparta from 309 to 265/4 B.C., the year of the Chremonidean War in which he presumably fell while attempting to break through the Makedonian

garrison stationed near Korinth by Antigonos Gonatas. Areus, Ptolemy Philadelphos and apparently his son, and the Athenian brothers Chremonides and Glaukon were allied against Antigonos Gonatas who had attacked and captured Athens. They tried to resist and repel the Makedonians, but they failed, because, according to Pausanias (see note 287), the naval commander of Ptolemy Patroklos and Areus were not very enthusiastic about the campaign. Pausanias does not record the manner of Areus' death, nor does his narrative imply that Areus attempted three times (in 267, 266, and 265/4 B.C.) to break through the Makedonian garrison.²⁸⁷ Accordingly, the statue of Areus in Olympia was

²⁸⁷ F.W. Walbank writes about Pausanias' brief historical comment on Areus (*CAH* 7.1, 238):

The Spartans made several attempts to force their way through; the account in Pausanias (III.6.4-6) has been plausibly interpreted to imply three campaigns, in 267, 266 and 265, in the last of which Areus met his death.

What Pausanias reports, however, is quite different in 3.6.4-6:

Ἄρεως δὲ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῦ Ἀκροτάτου βασιλεύοντος Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου περὶ τε καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατεύει. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀμυνοῦντες ἀφίκοντο μὲν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων ὁμοῦ Πατρόκλῳ στόλος, ἐξίσαι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πανδημεί, τὸν βασιλέα ἡγεῖσθαι σφισιν Ἄρεα ἐπιτάξαντες. περικαθημένου δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὰ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχικὰ εἵργοντος, Πάτροκλος ἀποστέλλων ἀγγέλους προέτρεπε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἄρεα ἄρχειν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μάχης, ἐκείνων δὲ ἀρξάντων οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ νότου τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἔφασκεν ἐπικεῖσθαι. πρότερον δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι σφῶς Αἰγυπτίους τε ὄντας καὶ ναύτας Μακεδόσιν ἐπιέναι περὶ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίῳ μὲν δὴ παρακινδυνεύειν ὄρμητο Ἀθηναίων τε εὐνοίαι καὶ τι καὶ ἄξιον μνήμης εἰς τοὺς ἔπειτα ἐργάσασθαι προθυμούμενοι. Ἄρεὺς δὲ, ὥς σφισι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξανήλωτο, ἀπήγεγν ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιάν. ταμιεύεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ἡξίου καὶ μὴ ἀφειδῶς ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις ἀναρρῖψαι. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀντισχοῦσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐποίησατο Ἀντίγονος εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τε σφισιν ἐπαγάγη φρουρὰν εἰς τὸ Μουσεῖον. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνὰ χρόνον αὐτὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἐκουσίως τὴν φρουρὰν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, Ἄρεως δὲ ἐγένετο υἱὸς Ἀκροτάτου, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρεῦς, ὃς ὀκτὼ μάλιστα ἔτη γεγωνῶς τελευτᾷ νόσῳ.

This is not even remotely an indication that Areus supported wholeheartedly this campaign. In fact, Pausanias states that when the supplies of his army vanished Areus returned to Sparta and not that he fell on the battlefield near Korinth. See also Diodoros' version of the events (20.29), and McCredie's (1966, 107-113) discussion of these sources.

probably dedicated while Areus was alive, or soon after his death.²⁸⁸ Who of the Ptolemies made the dedication is not certain: the *communis opinio* is that it is Ptolemy II Philadelphos (285–246 B.C.). Oikonomides (1956, 218-227), however, has shown that another Ptolemy IIa called Andromachos, son and co-regent from 267 to 259 B.C. of Philadelphos, was also active during the Chremonidean War and he may have been the dedicator of Areus' statue in Olympia (p. 221, and 224 note 3).

Among the athletic statues Pausanias also saw in the Altis the dedications of kings and tyrants of various cities, which offered him the opportunity for a historical exegesis. After a long discussion on the famous athlete Theogenes from Thasos (6.11.2-9, no. 52 above) Pausanias continues with the chariots and statues dedicated by the Syracusan tyrants Hieron, the son of Deinomenes (6.12.1), and Hieron, the son of Hierokles (6.12.2-4), which are followed by the statues of Areus and Aratos of Sikyon (6.12.5). In fact, Pausanias reports three statues of the Spartan king Areus in Olympia alone, but his narrative is vague. He first mentions two of them, which stood perhaps in front of the east side of Zeus' temple (6.12.5): one of them portraying Areus on horseback, and one of the two, Pausanias does specify which one, being an Eleian dedication. Later on (6.15.9), Pausanias notes another statue of Areus near that of the Lakedaimonian athlete Eutelidas which stood to the south long side of Zeus' temple. Of course, the discovery of the fragments of *IO* 308 in the Heraion does not agree with Pausanias' topography of the three monuments, since the base had been removed for reuse as a stylobate in the Heraion.

Pausanias gives the dedicant of only one of these statues, i.e. the Eleians, which cannot be identified with *IO* 308. That Pausanias saw such a dedication in Olympia is

²⁸⁸ For posthumous honors see Oikonomides' (1956, 223-224) discussion of *IO* 296, the dedication of Ptolemy for Glaukon, and especially Buraselis' (1984, 136-160) discussion of the decree passed by the *koinon ton Hellenon* at Plataia for Glaukos.

more than certain, because an inscribed base, echoing his narrative, has been found in the Arkadian city of Orchomenos, in the pronaos of the temple of Artemis (Moretti, *ISE* vol. 1. no. 54):

Ἐρ[χομ]εν[ίω]ν ἅ [πόλις]
 βα[σι]λέα Ἄρεα Ἀ[κροτάτῳ]
 Λακεδαιμόνιον εὐεργε]-
 σί[α]ς [τ]ῶν ἐν αὐτῶν καὶ
 5 βασι[λέ]α [Πτο]λε[μαῖον].

Except for line 1 where of course the city of Elis would be inscribed, what follows is the standard formulaic language of a dedication, and resembles that of *IO* 308. The Orchomenian inscription also notes king Ptolemy, who must be identical with the dedicator of *IO* 308.

Pausanias, it is true, does not provide any details as to who were the dedicators of the other two statues of the Spartan king Areus. Nevertheless, he notes that he has mentioned Areus in his earlier narrative (καί μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ πρότερα... οὔτε τῶν ἐς Ἄρεα ἀμνημόνως ἔσχεν 6.12.5, Pausanias' reference to his *Lakonika* 3.6.2-6). This may imply that these two dedications at least were connected with his earlier narrative on Areus, and so, Pausanias could offer no other information from the inscriptions on the bases, except that one of them was an Eleian dedication and the other a portrait of Areus on horseback. In the earlier account on Areus in his *Lakonika* (3.6.2-6; see also note 280) Pausanias does not explicitly name Ptolemy, but there is no doubt about the Egyptian king: Patroklos, the commander of the Egyptian fleet, was dispatched by none other than Ptolemy to help Athens during the Chremonidean War.²⁸⁹ It is very probable, therefore, that one of the two statues of Areus (the one on horseback 6.12.5, and the one near that of Eutelidas 6.15.9) was the Ptolemaic dedication referred to on the

²⁸⁹ See also no. 47, where the dedication of another major player of the Chremonidean war is discussed, the Athenian athlete Glaukon, son of Eteokles and brother of Chremonides.

two fragments of *IO 308*.²⁹⁰ Given the fact that *IO 308* was reused as a column base in the Heraion, the statue near Eutelidas is the more probable candidate. The size alone of a base for an equestrian dedication would exclude the possibility of its easily being reused as a base for a column.

74.

6.17.1: Δημοκράτης Τενέδιος ..., Δημοκράτης δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάλης· ἀνδρι- άντας
δὲ τοῦ μὲν Μιλήσιος Διουσυκλῆς, ... ἐστὶν ὁ ἐργασάμενος.

IO 39: a bronze tablet found almost intact in January 21, 1876, to the south of the southwest corner of the temple of Zeus. The text of the inscription is framed by two Korinthian columns and on top by an aetoma with akroteria (only the left is actually preserved). The aetoma is decorated with a bunch of grapes in the middle, flanked by two double axes, which was perhaps the emblem of Tenedos. The original tablet is now in the National Archaeological Museum, while in the New Museum in Olympia there is a cast of it in the Gallery of the Olympic Games (EM 6462).

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 9. *Vidi, Phot.* (the cast)

Height: 0.55m. Width: 0.33m. Thickness: 0.013m.

Inscribed Surface: Height: 0.43m. Width: 0.195m.

²⁹⁰ A dedication, similar to *IO 308* by a Ptolemy (according to Oikonomides 1956, 218-227 Ptolemy Andromachos) has also been discovered in Olympia for another prominent participant of the Chremonidean war, the Athenian Glaukon, the brother of Chremonides, who was also a victorious athlete and for whom see no. 47 above.

The close relations between the Lakedaimonians and the Ptolemies are attested by yet another inscription found at Olympia, *IO 309*:

βασ[ι]λεὺς Π[τολεμαῖο]ς
βασιλέα [Κλεομένε]α
Λακεδαιμονίων [Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ].

Letter Height: 0.003-0.005m. (except line 1: 0.008m.)

230-180 ante

NON-STOICH. ca. 30

- Θεόρ. Τύχα.
 ὑπὸ ἑλληνοδικῶν τῶν περὶ^ν
 Αἰσχύλον, ^ν Θυίω. *vacat*
 ὄπωρ, ἐπεὶ Δαμοκράτηρ Ἀγήτορορ^ν
 5 Τενέδιορ πεπολιτευκῶρ παρ' ἀμέ,^ν
 αὐτόρ τε καὶ ὁ πατάρ, καὶ ἔστεφανωμέ-
 νορ τόν τε τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνα καὶ
 ἄλλοιρ καὶ πλείονερ, ἐπανιτακῶρ ἐν τὰν
 ἰδίαν τὰν τε τῷ πατρὸρ θεαροδοκίαν δια-
 10 δέδεκται καὶ ὑποδέχεται τοῖρ θεαροῖρ,^ν
 ὁμοίωρ δὲ καὶ τοῖρ λοιποῖρ τοῖρ παρ' ἀμέων
 τὰν πᾶσαν χρεῖαν ἐκτενέωρ καὶ ἀπρο-
 φασίστωρ παρέχεται, φανεράν ποιέων
 τὰν ἔχει εὖνοϊαν ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν, καθῶρ
 15 πλείονερ ἀπεμαρτύρεον τῶμ πολιτᾶν·
 ὄπωρ δὲ καὶ ἂ πόλερ καταξίαιρ φαίναται^ν
 χάριτερ ἀνταποδιδῶσσα τοῖρ αὐτᾶρ^{νν}
 εὐεργέταιρ, ὑπάρχην Δαμοκράτη πρό-^ν
 ξ ε ν ο ν , κ α λ ἑ υ ε ρ γ ε τ α ν δ' ἦ-^{νν}
 20 μεν τᾶρ πόλιορ αὐτόν καὶ γένορ, καὶ τὰ^ν
 λοιπὰ τίμια ἦμεν αὐτοῖ, ὄσσα καὶ τοῖρ ἄλ-
 λοιρ προξένοιρ καὶ εὐεργέταιρ ὑπάρχει παρὰ
 τᾶρ πόλιορ. ἦμεν δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμω
 καὶ εἰράναρ καὶ γὰρ καὶ βοικίαιρ ἔγκτησιν καὶ^{νν}
 25 ἀτέλειαν καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τ'οῖρ Διονυσιακοῖρ
 ἀγῶνοιρ, τὰν τε θυσιᾶν καὶ τιμᾶν πασᾶν^ν
 μετέχην, καθῶρ καὶ τοῖ λοιποῖ θεαροδόκοι
 καὶ εὐεργέταιρ μετέχοντι. δόμεν δὲ αὐτοῖ
 καὶ Δαμοκράτη τὸν ταμίαν ξένια τὰ^ν
 30 μέγιστα ἐκ τῶν νόμων. τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα
 τὸ γεγονὸρ ἀπὸ τᾶρ βωλᾶρ γραφέν ἐγ χάλκω-
 μα ἀνατεθᾶι ἐν τὸ ἱερόν τῷ Διὸρ τῷ Ὀλυμπίω·
 τὰν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν τᾶρ ἀναθέσιορ ποιήασσαι
 Αἰσχίναν τὸν ἐπιμελητᾶν τὰν ἵππων.
 35 περὶ δὲ τῷ ἀποσταλᾶμεν τοῖρ Τενεδίοιρ
 τὸ γεγονὸρ ψάφισμα ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήαται^ν
 Νικόδρομορ ὁ βωλογράφορ, ὄπωρ δοθᾶι τοῖρ
 θεαροῖρ τοῖρ ἐμ Μίλητον ἀποστελλομέ-
 νοιρ ποτὶ τὰν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα^{νν}

40 τῶν Διδυμείων. *vacat*
vacat 0.045m.

The dialect of the decree is the Eleian, its chief and persistent characteristic even for so late a date the rhotacism, but with considerable influences by the Attic koine (see Buck 1973, 159-160).

The letters of the inscription are cut carefully and elegantly, but the spacing is not as consistent as is expected in a long decree. The strokes are slightly curved and some of them end in dot-like serifs. Characteristic letter shapes are: the left stroke of the alpha is considerably longer and curves more; the upper horizontal of the epsilon is longer while the middle is the shortest and is cut closer to the upper stroke; the horizontal of the pi is overextended to the left and the right, while the right vertical is shorter than the left and curves outwards; and the left slanting stroke of the upsilon is cut attached to the right slanting stroke and not to the vertical.

Line 13: the upper horizontal of the the pi in ΠΑΡΕΧΕΤΑΙ overextends too much as if a ligature of pi and gamma (πΓ) was intended.

Line 19: the letters are slightly higher (0.006m.) and are spread out by approximately one empty space between them.

Line 26: in ΤΙΜΑΝ the tau and iota are in ligature (ΤΙ), while the nu is in angle brackets, because the cutter forgot it and inscribed it in the interlinear space above, between alpha and pi in ΤΙΜΑΝΤΑΣΑΝ.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Moretti 1957, 142 no. 596. Buck 1973, 263-264 no. 66.

Commentary: The date for this decree, late third and beginning of the second century B.C., is by no means certain. Stylistic and dialectical considerations have suggested the first half of the third century B.C. (*IO* editors, pp. 79-80). In addition to style and dialect, however, signatures of the Milesian Dionysikles, whom Pausanias names as the sculptor, have been found in Miletos.²⁹¹ These texts place his career in the last decades of the third and the beginning of the second century (Buck, and Moretti, who tentatively places Demokrates' victory in the 144th Olympiad, i.e. 204 B.C.). Even so, the only certainty is that Demokrates was already an Olympionikes when the decree was passed, since it refers to his victory.

²⁹¹ *IMilet* 1.3, 151, 162, 163; 1.7, 246.

With the chariot of the Athenian Glaukon (above no. 47) Pausanias completes his first route (ἔφοδος) in the Altis and proceeds next with an exegesis of the monuments which were set up in the area “to the right” from the Leonidaion towards the Great Altar of Zeus, i.e. walking north– and eastwards having on the righthand side first the west and then the north façade of the temple of Zeus.²⁹² The first significant monument according to Pausanias is the dedication of Demokrates from the island of Tenedos who won in the men’s wrestling event and whose statue was the work of the Milesian sculptor Dionysikles.

This athletic monument of Demokrates has not been found in the Altis, but to the south of the southwest corner of the temple of Zeus, in which it was to be set up (lines 31-32), a decree in honor of this same Demokrates has been discovered, to which Pausanias does not refer, but its information (lines 6-8) supports the exegete’s narrative on Demokrates. It is a proxeny decree of the Eleians conferring on the Tenedian Demokrates all the standard privileges of a proxeny decree (lines 19-25) with the addition of some specifically Eleian honors (lines 25-30), while in the beginning (lines 4-18) Demokrates’ career is listed as justification for the decree. The decree states that Demokrates was victorious in the Olympics and in most of the other major games in Greece and presumably in Asia Minor too (lines 6-8). This brief statement supports Pausanias’ narrative, and it may be safely assumed that he saw and very probably read the inscription on the base of the athletic dedication of Demokrates in the Altis.

Demokrates was an important person for the Eleians, since, as the decree makes clear, after his retirement from athletics he assumed his father’s duties. His father

²⁹² 6.17.1: Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνδρὶ ποιούμενοι τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει κατὰ τὰ ἡμῖν εἰρημένα· εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεωνίδαίου πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τὸν μέγαν ἀφικέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ θελήσειας, τοσάδε ἔστι σοι τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἐς μνήμην. For the latest and most convincing understanding of Pausanias’ vague topography see especially Herrmann 1988, 132-136 and Chapter II.

Hegetor and later Demokrates himself were *thearodokoi*, i.e. they received foreign dignitaries and provided them with the necessities. In fact, at the end (lines 36-40) the decree instructs Nikodromos, the Secretary of the Boule (βωλογράφος) to give it to the Eleian *theoroi* who were about to be sent to attend and participate in the Didymeia, the festival of the city of Didyma in Asia Minor, where they would meet with Demokrates and present him with the decree.

The Tenedian Demokrates, an Olympionikes in wrestling, became, after his athletic career was over, a *theoros* and a *thearodokos* in which capacity he undoubtedly revisited Olympia many times and cultivated relations with the Eleians just as his father had done before. Thus, he became an important asset for the Eleians, their *thearodokos* in Asia Minor, where he was to receive their embassies, and they, in turn, were to receive him in Elis and Olympia. Pausanias' brief note of Demokrates' athletic dedication in Olympia and especially of the sculptor, the Milesian Dionysikles, is the only hint for dating this decree. In turn, the proxeny decree attests to the information of Pausanias about the Olympic victory of Demokrates (lines 6-8) and it adds considerably more about this important athlete turned politician from Tenedos.

75.

6.19.1: Ἔστι δὲ λίθου πωρίνου κρηπίς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ Ἑραίου, κατὰ νότου δὲ αὐτῆς παρῆκει τὸ Κρόνιον· ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς κρηπίδος εἰσιν οἱ θησαυροί, καθὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἐποίησαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι θησαυρούς. ἔστι δὲ θησαυρὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι Σικυωνίων καλούμενος, Μύρωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα τυραννή- 5 σαντος Σικυωνίων· (2) τοῦτον ὠικοδόμησεν ὁ Μύρων νικήσας ἄρματι τὴν τρίτην καὶ τριακοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. ἐν δὲ τῷ θησαυρῷ καὶ θαλάμους δύο ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν Δώριον, τὸν δὲ ἐργασίας τῆς Ἰώνων. χαλκοῦ μὲν δὴ αὐτοὺς ἑώρων ἐργασμέ- νους· εἰ δὲ καὶ Ταρτήσιος χαλκὸς λόγῳ τῷ Ἡλείων ἔστιν, οὐκ 10 οἶδα.

IO 649: a block of brown sandstone, found December 18, 1880, to the north of the eight treasuries above the wall of the mount and near the treasuries terrace. It seems to have been on one of the *antae* of the ante-chamber of the westernmost Building I, the treasury of the Sikyonians. The block is broken on the bottom and thus only the upper half of the letters is preserved. It is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 1026. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.11m. Width: 0.56m. Breadth: 0.46m.

Letter Height: the maximum of the preserved height is 0.018m. (the *IO* editors assumption that the original height was *ca.* 0.04m. seems to be correct).

500–450 *ante* ΣΕΚΥΟΝΙΟΙ.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

iota—only the upper tip of a vertical stroke.

IO 245: a bronze spear butt, found February 8, 1878, on the northeast corner of the Byzantine church. It is damaged by oxydation and some letters are difficult to read. It is now in the Bronze Collection of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 331.

Longitude: 0.267m. Letter Height is not given by the *IO* editors.

500–450 *ante* ΣΕΚΥΟΝΙ(ΩΝ)*vacat.*

The alphabet of both inscriptions is Sikyonian, which was a version of the neighbouring Korinthian. The letter shapes in both inscriptions are similar and show according to Jeffery (*LSAG* 138 fig. 35): ε 1 (freak epsilon X), ν 2 (*IO 245*) but ν 3 (*IO 649*), ο 2, υ 2, and also the four-bar sigma in *IO 649*, but the E-shaped in *IO 245*.

IO 245 is apparently an abbreviation, since the space after the iota is left uninscribed.

To these Sikyonian inscriptions there should also be added: *IO 668* which contains sixteen blocks from the treasury of the Sikyonians, all inscribed in the same letter style and bearing the marks of the masons;

and *IO* 714 which is fragmentary and, therefore, its subject difficult to ascertain, but whose lettering is similar to that of *IO* 245, 649, and 668, and perhaps a Sikyonian-related inscription.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.
Roehl, *IGA* 27a-c. Mallwitz 1972, 163-168. Jeffery, *LSAG* 139-140, 142, 143 nos. 12, 15 pl. 23; 403.

Commentary: The date for these inscriptions, first half of the fifth century B.C., is obviously related directly with the date of the construction of the Sikyonian treasury. Pausanias “dates” it in the years when Myron, the grandfather of Kleisthenes was tyrant of Sikyon (648 B.C.). The excavation of the building, however, has shown that architecturally the construction of the treasury cannot be so early, and also that there is no indication of bronze-lined walls, and therefore the first half of the fifth century B.C. is the period of its construction, a date with which the letter style of the inscriptions is also in agreement (Mallwitz 1972, 163-168). In all probability, Pausanias assumed that those who erected and dedicated the whole building were the same persons who were mentioned in an epigram he read on the smaller of the two bronze chambers, i.e. Myron and the demos of Sikyon (6.19.4).

Pausanias, after he finishes with the exegesis of the statues in his second round (*ἔφοδος*) in the Altis, reaches the Column of Oinomaos which was set up between the Great Altar and the temple of Zeus (5.20.3), i.e. the general area from where he started out his first round with a southward direction. Near Oinomaos’ Column Pausanias mentions the last two athletic dedications, which were the first athletic statues of wood to be set up in the Altis (6.18.7), after which he moves to the last special category of dedications within the Altis, the treasuries.²⁹³

²⁹³ Frazer (1965, vol. 4, 57) correctly points out the fact that Pausanias calls these building dedications to Zeus *θησαυροί* and not *ναύσκον* as Polemo does, the periegete whom Pausanias was supposedly copying for his account in Olympia.

Pausanias' topographical information about these buildings is accurate, since they have been found where he saw them: built on a terrace at the foot of Mt. Kronion, which was reached by stairs.²⁹⁴ The identification, however, of most of these buildings is still an open question, because Pausanias enumerates ten treasuries whereas the excavations have revealed twelve, and also because conclusive evidence has not been found during the excavations, except for three or four of them. Indeed, as Mallwitz put it (1972, 164), "ohne Pausanias wären uns auch diese Fundamente weithin ein Rätsel geblieben".

The Sikyonian treasury, the first building from west to east, the order in which Pausanias describes them, has been securely identified not only by its material, the architectural remains, and its style, but also by the inscriptions. In particular, *IO 649* which was found to the north of the treasuries was probably part of the *antae* of one of the ante chambers of the treasury, while the spear butt with the abbreviated genitive plural form was no doubt one of the offerings the Sikyonians housed in their treasury (*IO 245*).²⁹⁵ It is no surprise that Pausanias relied on similar epigraphical evidence to corroborate the local exegetes' suggestion that the building was the "so-called Sikyonian", although he reached the wrong conclusion about its date (6.17.4):

ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι δὲ ἐπιγράμματα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλάσσονί ἐστι τῶν θαλάμων, ἐς μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸν σταθμόν, ὅτι πεντακόσια εἶη

²⁹⁴ Pausanias mentions the stairs in 5.21.2 where he gives the topography of the Zanes that were set up at the foot of this elevated terrace (see no. 12 above): Ἴόντι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητρώου, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέρασ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κρονίου λίθου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὄρει κρηπῖς καὶ ἀναβασμοὶ δι' αὐτῆς· πρὸς δὲ τῇ κρηπῖδι ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἀνάκεινται χαλκᾷ (sc. the Zanes).

²⁹⁵ The treasuries were a kind of a museum within the precinct in which the city housed its votive offerings so that they would be protected. Pausanias notes, in addition to Myron's chambers, that he also saw, presumably among many other, the following offerings all of which (except the discs) had inscriptions (6.19.4-6): three discs, the number used in the pentathlon; an inscribed shield dedicated by the Myonians of Lokroi in Phokis; the sword of Pelops with golden hilt; Miltiades' elephantine cornucopia with an epigram inscribed (see also no. 69 above); a boxwood statue of Apollo with gilt head, which had apparently an inscription stating that it was the work of Patrokles son of Katillos from Kroton and a dedication of the Lokrians of Cape Zephyrion.

τάλαντα, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἀναθέντας, Μύρωνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν Σικυωνίων δῆμον.

This, of course, is not proof beyond a doubt that Pausanias read these two inscriptions of the Sikyonian treasury (*IO* 649 and *IO* 245), or for that matter that he did not read them. It does prove, however, that Pausanias' first choice for evidence were the inscriptions, much the same way it is today. And it is not accidental that the securely identified treasuries are those for which, in addition to archaeological, corroborating epigraphical evidence exists.

76.

6.19.7: Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Σικυωνίων ἐστὶν ὁ Καρχηδονίων θησαυρός, Ποθαίου τέχνη καὶ Ἀντιφίλου τε καὶ Μεγακλέους· ἀναθήματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς μεγέθει μέγας καὶ θώρακες λινοῖ τρεῖς ἀριθμόν, Γέλωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα καὶ Συρακουσίων Φοίνικας ἦτοι τριήρεσιν ἢ καὶ πεζῆι μάχῃ κρατησάντων. 5

IO 661: a small fragment broken on all sides and of the same material (hard, white, fresh-water limestone) as that with which the treasury of the Syrakusans, or according to Pausanias of the Karthaginians was built. It is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.12m. Width: 0.21m. Breadth: 0.05m.

Letter Height: the preserved maximum height of the epsilon is 0.055m..

520–470 *ante*

Συρ[ακοσίων].

Remains of Dotted Letters:

sigma—only the bottom slanting stroke; rho—only the bottom half of a vertical stroke.

The letters are cut sharply and the strokes are thin, but it is not certain that the Syrakusan alphabet is Korinthian, or a form based on and developed from the Korinthian. The shapes of the three partially preserved letters are (*LSAG* 262 fig. 43): σ2 and υ2. Jeffery, because of the shape of the sigma in this fragment, believes that it is “too uncertain for inclusion among the Syracusan inscriptions” (*LSAG* 265

note 3). But Syracusan inscriptions *ca.* 470s B.C. do have both $\sigma 1$ and $\sigma 2$. See for example the dedications of Gelon and Hieron (nos. 9 and 71 above).

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Mallwitz 1972, 163-167, 169. Jeffery, *LSAG* 264-267, 265 note 3.

Commentary: The date for this inscription, late six to early fifth century B.C., is based on Pausanias' narrative, which is not very clear, and on architectural, sculptural, and epigraphical considerations (i.e. the letter style). These seem to indicate a date not later than the end of the sixth century. His last statement that the offerings, among which the treasury itself may be understood, were dedicated by Gelon and the Syrakusans on account of the victory over the Phoinicians may suggest further that the treasury was erected to commemorate the victory of 480 B.C. at Himera. This does not follow, however, if Pausanias' last statement is interpreted strictly, in which case it refers only to the offerings inside the treasury and not to the construction of the treasury itself. It may have been finished by 480 B.C. in order to receive Gelon's offerings, hence the late sixth and early fifth century B.C. date.

Immediately after the treasury of the Sikyonians (no. 75 above) Pausanias mentions the treasury of the Karthaginians. Identification of this building is not certain because the archaeological evidence indicates that in the second century A.D., perhaps just before Pausanias' visit, a road was cut for easy access up the Kronion hill by demolishing the two buildings next to the Sikyonian treasury. Thus, some identify the Syrakusan treasury with the fourth one from the west, since Buildings II and III were torn down for the road and Pausanias did not see them.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ See especially Herrmann 1972, 97-104 and 240 note 390.

Notwithstanding this difficulty, Pausanias' narrative creates another problem: he calls it the Karthaginian treasury, while later he makes clear that the noteworthy offerings inside it were dedications by Gelon and the Syrakusans which no doubt were also inscribed: a huge statue of Zeus and three linen corselets. Given the enmity between Karthage and Syrakuse, it is very difficult to imagine such cooperation. As Frazer (1965, vol. 4, 60-61) has noted long ago, the commonly accepted view is that the treasury was named not after its founders, but after the many Karthaginian spoils it housed. And yet, from 146 B.C. onwards there was no Karthage, since it was annihilated by the Romans, in which case the Karthaginian treasury would naturally fall into other hands, very probably Syrakusan. Therefore, even if the *communis opinio* is rejected, in later times the treasury may have changed owners and presumably name, even if it still housed its older Karthaginian dedications. At any rate, the problem must remain unresolved.

As with the Sikyonian treasury, so too for the Karthaginian/Syrakusan Pausanias seems to be using again epigraphical evidence to support his narrative: the signature of the architects and sculptors may have given him the information that the treasury was the work of Pothaios, Antiphilos, and Megakles; and the possible dedicatory inscriptions on the noteworthy offerings it housed may lie behind his statement that they were dedicated by Gelon and the Syrakusans commemorating their victory over the Phoenikians, *IO 661*.

77.

6.19.9: Ὀικοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ Συβαρίται θησαυρὸν ἐχόμενον τοῦ Βυζαντίων· ὅποσοι δὲ περὶ Ἰταλίας καὶ πόλεων ἐπολυπραγμόνησαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, Λουπίας φασὶ κειμένην Βρεντεσίου τε μεταξὺ καὶ Ἰδροῦντος μεταβεβληκέναι τὸ ὄνομα, Σύβαριν οὖσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ὁ δὲ ὄρμος ταῖς ναυσὶ χειροποίητος καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶν ἔργον. 5

Kunze 1961b, 207-210: a bronze tablet found March 19, 1960, to the north of the westernmost third part of the northern slope of the stadion. It is preserved in excellent condition and has two holes: one in the middle of the top side between lines 1 and 2 and another at the bottom in the empty space of line 8. The tablet is now in the Bronze Collection of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. B 4750.

Height: left side 0.089m., right side 0.086m.

Width: top 0.157m., bottom 0.152m. Thickness: 0.005m.

Letter Height: 0.006-0.01m.

paulo ante 510 *ante*

NON-STOICH. *ca.* 17

ἀρμόχθεν οἱ Συβαρί-
 ται κ' οἱ σύμμαχοι κ' οἱ
 Σερδαῖοι ἐπὶ φιλότατ-
 ι πιστᾶι κ' ἀδόλοι ἀε-
 5 ἴδιον· πρόξενοι ὁ Ζε-
 εὺς κ' Ὀπόλον κ' ἄλλοι θ-
 εοὶ καὶ πόλις Ποσειδα-
 νία.

The letters are carefully and elegantly inscribed and their script is the Achaean, since Sybaris was an Achaean colony (*LSAG* 248 fig. 42): α1 but with the middle bar slanting to the left, β2, δ1, θ3, λ1, ν12, π1, ρ1, τ2 but with the top stroke slanting to the left, υ2, χ3.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. *SEG* XXII, 336. *BE* 1963, 137-138 no. 106. Mallwitz 1972, 163-167, 170-173. Bengtson 1975, 15 no. 120. Meiggs/Lewis 10. Jeffery, *LSAG* 456 no. 1b.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ For the identification of Serdaioi (line 1) especially, and for the relation between Sybaris and Paestum see further: *SEG* XXV, 460; XXX, 424; XXXI, 357. Zancani Montuoro 1962, 11-18. Guarducci 1962, 199-210. Panvini Rosati 1962, 278-284. Calderone 1963, 219-258. *BE* 1966, 380-381 no. 210. Mattingly 1967, 209-211. Cahn 1978, 81-85. Zancani Montuoro 1980, 57-61. van Effenterre 1980, 161-175. *BE* 1982, 347 no. 185. Guarducci 1982, 1-7. *BE* 1983, 107 no. 202.

Commentary: The inscription is generally dated a little before 510 B.C., the year in which Sybaris ceased to exist after neighbouring Kroton destroyed it, and after which Sybaris was not able to recover. This date is further confirmed by the architectural remains of Sybaris' treasury in Olympia and the style of the inscription. Sybaris was founded by Achaeans and Megarians ca. 720 B.C. and became a major center, founding other colonies in Southern Italy, among them Poseidonia.

Immediately after the treasury of the Karthaginians (no. 76 above) Pausanias mentions the treasury of the Epidamnians and the Byzantines from which no epigraphical evidence has been found yet, and then that of Sybaris, in which he did not see apparently any offerings worth reporting. Instead, he quotes his geographical sources about the site in Southern Italy where Sybaris was founded which of course must be wrong, since *Λουπία* (modern Lecce) lies between Brindisi (*Βρεντέσιον*, Brundisium) and Otranto (*Ἵδρουῦς*, Hydruntum) on the eastern shores of Calabria, whereas Sybaris was above Thurioi in Lukania.²⁹⁸

The treasury of Sybaris is variously identified as Building V, VI, or VII from the west (see nos. 75-76 above and notes 293-295), and it was identified very probably by Pausanias in the same manner that the two earlier treasuries were: through inscribed offerings that were housed inside it, among them perhaps the Sybarite bronze tablet which was affixed on one of the walls inside the treasury, or even by some sign outside the building. This is the only epigraphical evidence preserved about this important city in Southern Italy, which was the head of an alliance during the sixth century B.C. In the text two gods are specifically mentioned, Zeus and Apollo as the guarantors of the treaty which was to last forever, which may suggest that the treaty was to be set up both at

²⁹⁸ For the topography of the area and Pausanias' brief note see further Zancani-Montuoro 1973, 597-608.

Olympia and at Delphi by way of consecration. The discovery of this unique document of the city of Sybaris at Olympia near the treasuries is the only testimony about the importance of this city in Magna Graecia's politics and economy during the sixth century B.C. It is also an indirect confirmation of Pausanias' narrative about the treasury of Sybaris in the Altis, whose building was undoubtedly the show of power par excellence.

78.

6.19.10: Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Συβαριτῶν Λιβύων ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν Κυρήνῃ θησαυρός· κείται δὲ βασιλεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων.

IO 246: a small slab of hard white-yellowish limestone, found on April 14, 1880, to the north of the treasury of Gela (the easternmost of the treasuries). It is broken on the top and right sides and the four preserved letters still have their reddish coloring with which the incision on the stone was painted. It is now in Αποθήκη 10 of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 853. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.24m. Width: 0.33m. Thickness: 0.09m.

Letter Height: 0.078m.

post 630–500ante?

Ῥυρα[ναῖοι - - - ἀνέθεν?] OR Ῥυρα[ναίων].

The letters are monumental and proportional: their width (0.025m.) is one third their height (0.078m.). The strokes are cut elegantly and are painted, and the shapes of the letters show according to Jeffery that Kyrene used the script of Doric Thera, its metropolis (*LSAG* 308 fig. 45 "Southern Aegean Islands [Doric]"): α4, ρ3, ρ2, υ2.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Roehl, *IGA* 506a. Chamoux 1953, 378-385. Mallwitz 1972, 163-167, 173. Jeffery, *LSAG* 319-320, 324 no. 18, pl. 62.

Commentary: the date for this inscription is only tentative and suggests the period from the date Kyrene was founded by Thera in 630 B.C. to the end of the archaic era. The treasury of the Kyrenaians was probably built during this broad archaic period (perhaps the sixth century B.C., during the reign of Battos II, 574–554 B.C., or Arkesilas II, 554–544 B.C.), with which the lettering on the inscribed fragment seems also to be in agreement.

Immediately after the treasury of Sybaris (no. 77 above) Pausanias mentions the treasury of the Libyans from Kyrene, in which statues of the Roman Emperors were housed. Which of the buildings is the treasury of the Kyrenaians is not certain because of the lack of conclusive architectural and sculptural evidence, and it has been variously identified with Buildings VI, VII, or VIII. The fragment which has been found to the north of the Geloan treasury undoubtedly was part of a Kyrenaian dedication which was housed within their treasury together with the statues of the Romans Emperors which Pausanias notes. The fact that Pausanias does not enumerate any other offerings in this treasury may be explained by his programmatic statement that only the most notable offerings are going to be included in his exegesis of the Altis, which in this case are the statues of the Roman Emperors. The fragmentary slab, therefore, which preserves the beginning of the name of the Kyrenaians is proof enough that the treasury housed many offerings in addition to the Roman statues, which could attest who dedicated the treasury in Olympia. This is after all the methodology which Pausanias follows for the other treasuries and it agrees perfectly with his general way of explaining the monuments in the Altis.

79.

6.19.12: Μεγαρεῖς δὲ οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ θησαυρὸν τε ὠικοδομήσαντο καὶ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν κέδρου ζώδια χρυσῶι διηρθισμένα, τὴν πρὸς Ἀχελῶιον Ἡρακλέους μάχην· Ζεὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἡ Δηϊάνειρα καὶ Ἀχελῶιος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστίν, Ἄρης τε τῶι Ἀχελῶϊω βοηθῶν. εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνας ἄγαλμα ἅτε 5 οὔσα τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ σύμμαχος· αὕτη παρὰ τὰς Ἑσπερίδας ἀνάκειται νῦν τὰς ἐν τῶι Ἡραίωι. (13) τοῦ θησαυροῦ δὲ ἐπείργασται τῶι ἀετῶι ὁ γιγάντων καὶ θεῶν πόλεμος· ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἀσπίς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀετοῦ, τοὺς Μεγαρέας ἀπὸ Κορινθίων ἀναθεῖναι τὸν θησαυρὸν λέγουσα. ταύτην Μεγαρεῦσιν ἠγοῦμαι τὴν νίκην Ἀθήνησιν 10 ἄρχοντος γενέσθαι Φόρβαντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βίου παντός· ἐνιαύσιαι γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν πῶ τότε Ἀθηναίοις αἱ ἀρχαί, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἀνεγράφοντό πῶ τηνικαῦτα αἱ ὀλυμπιάδες. (14) λέγονται δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι μετασχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Μεγαρεῦσι τοῦ ἔργου. τὸν δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι θησαυρὸν ἔτεσιν *** 15 ὕστερον τῆς μάχης ἐποίησαν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς· τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφᾶς ἔχειν εἰκός, ἃ γε ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος Δόντας Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος μαθητῆς ἐποίησε.

Apparatus Criticus:

15 Clavier restored the lacuna: ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα, Schubart-Waltz: ἔτεσι ν', but Hitzig following Robert "excidit sive numerus sive πολλοῖς", or even τισι. Likewise, a lacuna is indicated in Papachatzis and Rocha-Pereira. 17 Δόντας is the mss.' reading, accepted by Hitzig and Papachatzis. Rocha-Pereira accepts the correction of Schubart-Waltz Μῆδων, on account of Pausanias' 5.17.2, where it is assumed the same sculptor must be referred to.

IO 653: two joining fragments of soft local shell-limestone, found built into the west Byzantine wall of the Altis, fr. a in November 20, 1878, and fr. b in January 8, 1880. The two pieces form the central block of the architrave of the Megarian treasury and are now restored together with the entablature, the pediment and its recovered sculptures and on display in the Archaic Gallery II of the New Museum.

Olympia Museum Inv. Nos. fr. a 458 + fr. b 757. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.62m. Width: 1.93m. Thickness: 0.32m.

Letter Height: 0.08m.

post 150 ante

Μεγαρέων.

The letters are carved on the soft limestone and are almost quadrangular. Their style suggests the Hellenistic period. Characteristic letter shapes are: the middle stroke of the epsilon is very short, while the top and bottom horizontals are of equal length with the vertical; the mu's middle part is the same height as its verticals; the nu's left vertical is slanting to the left, while its right is cut shorter; and the omega is very nicely rounded and centered.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

alpha—a trace of its left slanting stroke and of the rho a trace of the upper right part of a curving stroke.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Mallwitz 1972, 163-167, 174-176. Bol 1974, 65-74. Herrmann 1974, 75-83. Corbetta 1978, 297-304. Figueira 1985, 292-294 and *passim*. Jeffery, *LSAG* 135.

Commentary: The date for the inscription is only tentative, since it is based on the letter style which suggests the Hellenistic period. Of course, the treasury was long in existence before that period, since a great number of its architectural and sculptural parts have been found, which allow restoration and can be dated in the last quarter of the sixth or even the first decade of the fifth century B.C. (Mallwitz, Bol, Herrmann).

Pausanias, after the treasury of the Libyans from Kyrene (no. 78 above), mentions the treasuries of Selinous and Metapontion, and then the treasury of Megara which has been identified with Building XI, the second to the last from the west, the last being that of the city of Gela (Building XII). Apparently for Megara Pausanias had at his disposal more information, both epigraphical and literary, which he employed for his exegesis of this dedication. The same methodology which Pausanias follows for the other treasuries is evident again in his brief narrative on the Megarian treasury: the building housed a sculptural group of small statues of cedar wood which represented the battle between Acheloos and Herakles, the works of the Lakedaimonian Dontas or Medon and therefore of early date; on the pediment the battle of the giants with the gods was depicted; and above it there was an inscribed shield, perhaps like the one on top of the eastern pediment

of the temple of Zeus (above no. 1), which stated that the treasury was a dedication of the Megarians from (the spoils of the war with) the Corinthians. The Hellenistic inscription on the middle block of the architrave was probably seen by Pausanias, but the other dedications and especially the shield on top of the pediment were more important for his narrative, because of their historical ramifications: the Megarian victory, Pausanias speculates (ἡγοῦμαι), was won in a time when the Athenian archonship was not yet an annual office (Phorbas was an archon for life); and when the Eleians were not keeping records of the Olympiads, i.e. before 776 B.C., or even earlier, since there is no evidence as to when the Eleians started entering the victors' names onto an honor roll of papyrus or stone, which eventually led Hippias, the Eleian sophist, to work on and compile the List of Olympic victors.²⁹⁹ From the same sources(?) that mentioned the archon Phorbas Pausanias also notes that the Argives “are said” to have helped the Megarians against Corinth.

The Megarian treasury which has been identified by its remains and the inscription on the architrave and Pausanias' narrative about it provides yet another example of the methodology of the exegete: a particular monument in the Altis required, if possible, an exegesis which for Pausanias meant identification, date, outward description, its sculptor or architect, and the overall significance if any of the monument. And to do this the inscriptions on the offerings were his starting point which he then employed to corroborate, or dispute, as the case might be, his other sources. For the treasury of

²⁹⁹ Recently Figueira (1985, 292) has offered a thorough discussion of this passage of Pausanias and its importance for Megarian chronology. His understanding and interpretation, however, of Pausanias' narrative is misleading, because Pausanias dates events and persons in his own way: he always gives the Athenian archon and the stadionike in the Olympic Games of the time (see especially Chapter II note 64, where all the passages in Pausanias which include an archon and a stadionike are given). Moreover, Pausanias' attempt for a date originates from the inscribed shield which he thinks is a reference to the spoils of the war with which the treasury was built. Accordingly he starts this account with ἡγοῦμαι, so as to alert his reader that it is all his speculation from one, or more sources and not like the dedications he has just mentioned which depend on his eyewitness observation and therefore more trustworthy.

Megara Pausanias employed the epigraphical testimony available, but also other sources, the local guides, and the relevant literature, which supplemented and corroborated the information of the inscriptions he read.

80.

- 6.20.8: τὸ μὲν δὴ στάδιον γῆς χῶμά ἐστι, πεποιήται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καθέδρα τοῖς τιθεῖσι τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἔστι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν ἔλλανοδικῶν βωμὸς λίθου λευκοῦ· **(9)** ἐπὶ τούτου καθεζομένη τοῦ βωμοῦ θεᾶται γυνὴ τὰ Ὀλύμπια, ἱέρεια Δήμητρος Χαμύνης, τιμὴν ταύτην ἄλλοτε ἄλλη λαμβάνουσα παρὰ Ἑλείων. παρθένους δὲ οὐκ εἴργουσι θεᾶ- 5
σθαι.
- 6.21.1: Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου μέρος οὐ χῶμα γῆς ἐστιν, ὄρος δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν. ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν πεποιήται Δήμητρι Χαμύνη· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τὸ ὄνομα ἦγηνται, χανεῖν γὰρ τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα τῷ ἄρματι τοῦ Ἄϊδου καὶ αὐθις μῦσαι· οἱ δὲ Χάμυ- 10
νον ἄνδρα Πισαῖον Πανταλέοντι ἐναντιούμενον τῷ Ὀμφαλίῳ τυραννοῦντι ἐν Πίσῃ καὶ ἀπόστασιν βουλευόντι ἀπὸ Ἑλείων, ἀποθανεῖν φασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαμύνου τῆς οὐσίας τῇ Δήμητρι οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἱερὸν. **(2)** ἀγάλματα δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Κόρην καὶ Δήμητρα λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν Ἀθηναῖος ἀνέθηκεν Ἑρώδης. 15

IO 485: a base of coarse marble, found on October 21, 1876, to the north of the north Byzantine wall. The base is broken on all sides, except for part of the top side which is preserved. Olympia Museum Inv. No. 89.

Height: 1.47m. Width: 0.60-0.62m. Breadth: 0.40-0.50m.

Letter Height is not given by the editors.

ca. 245–249 post

NON-STOICH. *ca. 15*

[- - - -] Ἰγιάαν S
[τὴν ἱέρειαν ὕ τῆς S
[Χ]αμυναίας S ὕ Φλάβ(ιος) S
Ἀρχέλαος S τὴν γυναῖκα.

The lettering of the inscription is, according to the *IO* editors, similar to *IO* 627, 628, i.e. the letters are highly ornate, and the cutter employs empty spaces and the sign Ϛ which is inscribed in major stops or after abbreviations: all strokes end in triangular serifs; eta and nu of τῆν in line 3 form a ligature; the epsilon is the lunar shape; and the left slanting stroke of the alphas and lambdas extends upwards above the left slanting stroke.

Remains of Dotted Letters (from the facsimile of the *IO* editors):

Line 1: vertical stroke—only its bottom part; the gamma is dotted because it can also be an tau.

Line 2: epsilon—only the right part of the bottom curving stroke.

Line 3: alpha—only the right slanting stroke.

IO 473: a base of coarse Parian(?) marble, found on March 13, 1879, built in a late wall in the Echo Collonade . Line 1 of the inscription is cut on the cymation. Another fragmentary base has been discovered at Olympia (*IO* 474) and it appears, since it preserves the bottom right part of the text, that it was a copy of this inscription.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 570.

Height: 1.47m. Width and Breadth: 0.49m. (with the *cymation* 0.62m.).

Letter Height: 0.04m..

ca. 212/213 post

NON-STOICH. ca. 15

| | | |
|----|------------------------|----------|
| | Ἄγαθῆ<ι> | Τύχη<ι>. |
| | Κλαυδία > | Τύχη |
| | Τιβ(ερίου) > | Κλαυδίου |
| | Τερτύλλου καὶ | |
| 5 | Αἰμιλίας Φιλοξέ- | |
| | νας θυγάτηρ Κλει- | |
| | τορία καὶ Ἥλεια ἱέρει- | |
| | α Δήμητρος καὶ | |
| | ἀρχιέρεια διὰ βίου | |
| 10 | τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν | |
| | αὐτοκράτορος | |
| | καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν | |
| | Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἑστία | |
| | διὰ βίου τοῦ κοινοῦ | |
| 15 | τῶν Ἀρκάδων | |
| | ἐπὶ τῆς ὕσμς | |
| | ὀλυμπιάδος | |
| | ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλήs). | |

The lettering of the inscription is elegant and typical of the Imperial period, i.e. all strokes end in triangular serifs, and the shapes of the epsilon, mu, sigma and omega are cut with curving strokes. The cutter also employs twice the angle bracket punctuation mark: in line 1 to separate the nomen and the cognomen, and in line 2 to mark the abbreviation. In line 16, however, instead of a punctuation mark before the number he leaves one space empty.

IO 456: see no. 56 above.

ca. 157 *post*

NON-STOICH. *ca.* 12

Ἄντωνιά^ν [Βαι]-
 βίαν Μάρκου Ἄντωνί-
 ου Σαμίππο[υ]
 θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀπ[ὸ]
 5 Ὀξύλου τοῦ κτίσα[ν]-
 τος τὴν πόλιν,
 ἱέρειαν γενομέ[ν]-
 νην τῆς Δήμη-
 τρος ἐπί[τῆς] σλ[ῶ]
 10 Ὀλυμπιάδο[ς]
 ἡ πόλις τῶ[ν] Ἡ-
 λείων καὶ ἡ Ὀλυμ-
 πικῆ βουλή.

The lettering of the inscription is elegant and typical of the Imperial period, i.e. all strokes end in triangular serifs, a broken middle bar alpha, and the shapes of the epsilon, mu, sigma and omega are cut with curving strokes. The cutter also employs three times a punctuation mark: in line 2 before and after the letter M which is an abbreviation for Marcus, and at the very end of the text after βουλή.

For the family of Antonia Baibia and the significance of her father's claim that he was a descendant of Oxylos see no. 56 above.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 10: alpha and delta—only the upper triangular parts; of the omicron only the upper part of a curving stroke.

Restorations: all the restored letters at the extreme right end of the text are printed in the facsimile of the *IO* editors, but they are not on the base.

IO 610: a bull of Pentelic marble, found on March 20, 1878, lying in the middle of the

lower water fountain of the Exedra of Herodes Attikos. Only the bottom part of

the bull's legs are missing, and the inscription is cut on its right side, i.e. the side

which was facing the visitor, since the bull was standing eastwards. The bull is

now on display in the Roman Hall of the New Museum (ἔθνη) 164.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. 373. *Vidi, Phot.*

Height: 0.70m. Length: 1.60m.

Letter Height: 0.06m.

160 *post*

NON-STOICH. *ca.* 15

Ῥήγιλλα, ἱέρεια *folium*
 Δήμητρος, τὸ ὕδωρ
 καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῷ Δί.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.
 Mallwitz 1972, 180-194. Kaldis-Henderson 1979, 134-154. Romano 1981, 115-149.
 Ameling 1982, 127-128.

Commentary: The date for *IO* 486, 245–249 A.D., is derived from another inscription in honor of Flavios Archelaos (*IO* 483), the husband of the priestess, which has also been found at Olympia and includes the date, the 257th Olympiad. Likewise, the dates for the honorary inscriptions of Klaudia Tyche and Baibia Antonia are based on the Olympiads which are given on the texts, the 247th and 234th respectively. Their dedications, therefore, can be dated approximately, for Klaudia *ca.* A.D. 212–213 and for Baibia *ca.* A.D. 157. Finally the dates for Regilla are well known, because of her own and her husband's career. She died in A.D. 160/1 (Habicht 1985, 10-11 note 55) and, since Baibia was Demeter's priestess in the 234th Olympiad (A.D. 157–160), Regilla must have been Demeter's priestess in the 233rd Olympiad or earlier (A.D. 153). This is also the commonly accepted date for the construction of the Nymphaion by Herodes Attikos at Olympia, which Regilla mentions in her inscription on the bull.

Pausanias, after he has completed his exposition of the buildings and the dedications inside the Altis, moves out of the temenos and proceeds with other constructions. These too are relevant to his subject matter, because they pertain either to the Games or to the gods and goddesses of the Eleians, whose temples were on the surrounding hills. Thus,

once he is finished with the treasuries, Pausanias briefly mentions the altars and temples at the foot of and on the Kronion hill (6.20.1-6), and then he returns inside the Altis for a moment to note the Hippodamion near the Processional Entrance into the Stadion (6.20.7). The Hippodameion has not been found and it has been assumed that it was in the area in front of the Echo Colonnade to the south of the Zanes. This is, after all, the last building which Pausanias mentions as inside the Altis before entering the Stadion.

In the Stadion the exegete describes the altar of white stone of Demeter Chamyne which was situated opposite the seats of the *Hellanodikai*. This goddess had a priestess at Olympia who was the only married woman allowed to attend the Olympic Games, but she sat apart on the altar.³⁰⁰ This is an extraordinary privilege and it highlights the importance of Demeter and her cult at the site. Later on, and after he has described in some detail the Hippodrome (6.20.10-19), Pausanias sees a temple on a hill adjacent to the Hippodrome, where there is the temple of Demeter Chamyne. This time, and as is his custom, Pausanias tries to offer an exegesis for the goddess' epithet. He is told two aetiological stories, both of which he includes in his narrative with no comment, thus allowing his reader to pick and choose: some believe that the epithet is ancient and is derived from *χανεῖν* "to gape open", because in this spot the earth opened up, swallowed the chariot of Hades and then closed again.³⁰¹ Others tell the story that the epithet of Demeter is in memory of the Eleian Chamynos, with whose estate the temple was built. Chamynos was a Pisatan who opposed the tyrant of Pisa Pantaleon, the son of Omphalion, on his attempt to revolt from Elis, and so Pantaleon killed him. In this

³⁰⁰ For the restrictions during the Olympics see also no. 65 above.

³⁰¹ The Eleians alone honored Hades according to Pausanias 6.25.2-3. Papakonstantinou (1982, 505-513) has published an unusual Korinthian sandstone capital from Kolyri in Elis. She identifies the seated male as Hades flanked by Kerberos and a seated female, Persephone, and relates it to the statement of Strabo (6.25.2) about Hades' worship in the area.

temple, Pausanias concludes his narrative, the old statues of Demeter and Kore were replaced by Herodes Attikos with new ones, made of Pentelic marble.

Pausanias' information about the site of the altar and the priesthood of Demeter Chamyne has been corroborated both archaeologically and epigraphically. In the same site where Pausanias states that he saw the altar of Demeter Chamyne, there has been discovered in pieces a construction of light color limestone which is believed to have been Demeter's altar and the seat of her priestess. Its measurements are approximately 1.57m. by 10.6m., and immediately below it there have been also found stone posts which, it is presumed, originally supported wooden benches. The altar is situated approximately in the middle and closer to the western half of the north slope of the Stadion and it is dated in the middle of the second century A.D., a date which, of course, does not exclude the possibility that there was an earlier altar there. This is the third phase of reconstruction that the Stadion underwent since its construction in late Classical times.

Apart from Demeter's altar, there have been found at Olympia four inscriptions honoring priestesses of Demeter. Two of them, Regilla and Baibia Antonia, were near contemporaries of Pausanias, while the other two are considerably later. Even though in only one of the inscriptions is there specific mention of Chamyne (*IO* 485) which is a dedication by the priestess' husband, it is assumed that the other three which speak of the priestess of Demeter are in fact referring to Demeter Chamyne. For this was a very important priesthood which the Eleians and the Olympic Boule granted every Olympiad to a married woman. That is why Klaudia Tyche, who also held other, equally significant priesthoods, lists first her service to Demeter Chamyne (see further Kaldis-Henderson 1979, 134-154).

The case of Regilla, however, the wife of Herodes Attikos, requires further discussion. The inscription on the bull of the Nymphaion, together with the previous inscriptions, supports Pausanias' information about the priestess of Demeter Chamyne.

Her priesthood is not mentioned by Pausanias, but it certainly explains the interest of Herodes Attikos in Demeter Chamyne, which Pausanias records (6.21.2). Regilla during her four-year term as the priestess of Demeter Chamyne apparently took an instrumental role in at least two major constructions at Olympia. She and/or Herodes Attikos put up the money for the elaborate water fountain in the Altis and also for the new statues of Pentelic marble of Demeter and Kore. In fact, the major force behind these projects may have been Regilla and not Herodesi, and it is very likely that the statues were replaced while she was in office.

Moreover, the much discussed omission by Pausanias of the splendid, if not extravagant dedication of the Nymphaion by Herodes and his wife at Olympia, is not highly significant, although it is certainly deliberate. The inscription on the bull states that the Nymphaion was dedicated by Regilla as priestess of Demeter. This then suggests that Pausanias must have seen the fountain, and probably drank from it. The Nymphaion, like the Baths and other buildings which served practical purposes, had very little interest for Pausanias when it came to his exegesis of the Altis. Seldom does he include contemporary buildings and dedications. He is an antiquarian in the true sense of the word. Only once does Pausanias mention briefly such a building, the Leonidaion (no. 62 above), but not because it was the local VIP hotel. Its size and in particular its location, at the southwest corner outside the Altis and approximately opposite the processional entrance into the Altis, made it ideal as a topographical reference point. The Nymphaion did not meet any of Pausanias' criteria—it was not old, nor was it an object of religious veneration; there was no significant aetiological story connected with it which explained an Eleian or Olympic custom. It was simply a building which solved the very practical,

indeed pressing, water problem in the Altis.³⁰²

By contrast, when the subject matter is the temple of Demeter Chamyne Pausanias mentions Herodes and takes note that he replaced the old statues with new ones. Pausanias' main goal is to answer why this Demeter at Olympia is called Chamyne and, in relation to her, what is significant about her temple and therefore worthy of being incorporated in his narrative. As for the epithet of the goddess, Pausanias could not decide definitively and, like Herodotos, he offers to his readers what he found out. The second aition about Chamynos is self-explanatory mythopoesis. The first and older aitiological story, however, comes closer to the modern explanation that χαμύνη is related to χαμαί and highlights the aspect of the earth (Kaldis-Henderson 1979, 140-141). More importantly, this older explanatory myth seems to underline the relation between two divinities, unique in Elis. Not only is Chamyne not attested anywhere else, but also in the city of Elis the Eleians honored with a temenos and a temple the god Hades, alone of all known people (ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνοι τιμῶσιν Ἄϊδην Ἑλεῖοι κατὰ αἰτίαν τήνδε... 6.25.2, and Kaldis-Henderson 1979, 140-143).

Pausanias' narrative on Demeter Chamyne, therefore, is not unlike other examples where the exegete combines his own archaeological and epigraphical observations with local tradition and customs and other literary sources to create a coherent presentation. The four inscriptions of the priestesses of Chamyne and especially that of Regilla, and the excavated altar of the goddess on the north slope of the Stadion provide background for the exegete's narrative and illuminate his comment about the actions of Herodes.

³⁰² For earlier bibliography and the various solutions for this omission by Pausanias see Habicht 1985, 134-135 and note 74: the extravagance of the building was undoubtedly an affront to Pausanias' taste for this solemn precinct of Zeus.

81.

6.22.3: ὀγδόη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι Δαμοφῶν ὁ Πανταλέωντος ὑπόνοιαν μὲν τινα παρέσχευ Ἠλείοις νεώτερα ἐς αὐτοὺς βουλεύειν, ἐσβαλόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Πισαίαν σὺν ὅπλοις ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε ἀπράκτους ἔπεισε δεήσεσί τε καὶ ὄρκοις. (4) Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος μετὰ Δαμοφῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλεύσαντος Πισαῖοι πόλεμον ἐκούσιον ἐπανεῖλοντο Ἠλείοις, συναπέστησαν δὲ σφισιν ἀπὸ Ἠλείων Μακίστιοι καὶ Σκιλλούντιοι, οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων περιόικων καὶ Δυσπόντιοι. 5

Trianti 1986, 166-167: a bronze plaque was found in the excavations of 1978 on the south side of the temple of Athena at Mazi. It has six nail holes which were cut before the text was inscribed.³⁰³ The plaque is at the New Museum at Olympia. Olympia Museum Inv. No. M 1128.

Height: 0.0144m. Width: 0.0148m. Breadth: 0.0032-0.0044m.

Letter Height is not given.

399–369 *ante*

NON-STOICH.

ἔδοξε τοῖς Τριφυλίοις ὅσοι ἐν τῷ
 πίνακι ἐνηγράφονται, Μακιστί-
 οῖς ἡμεν. αἱ δὲ τῆς συλαίας τὰς
 πολιτείας, αἴτε ἐκ τελέων
 ἀποστέλλοι δικαίως πο-
 λιτειομένοισι καὶ κατ'
 τὸν <νόμον>, ἀσεβήτω ποτὶ τὰς Ἀ-
 θανᾶς. Δαῖμάχο δαμιω-
 ργῶ, Κατακόω, Ἀγησιδά-
 μω, Δίω μηνός Λυσιάδας Ἀγίας
 Μενάλκης Ἀγεμονεύς Φίλιππος Συλεύς
 Ἀπελλίς Ἐταίριχος Προνόα Φύλικος Χάροψ
 Δαῖμένης Πυθίων *vestigia incerta*

³⁰³ The inscription has been published by A.-I. Trianti in her Dissertation *Ὁ γλυπτὸς βιάκοσμος τοῦ ναοῦ στὸ Μάζι τῆς Ἠλείας* (Thessalonike 1985) 26-33, 143-147, which I have not seen.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Andrewes 1982, 84-85. Siewert 1987, 275-277. Trianti 1988, 166-167. *BE* 1988, 631 (Dubois).

Commentary: The date for this citizenship decree, 399-369 B.C., is based on line 1, where the *koinon* of the Triphylian cities is mentioned; this defines the *terminus post quem*, as 399 B.C., the year when Triphylia became independent, and the *terminus ante quem* 369 B.C. when Triphylia became part of Arkadia.

Pausanias, after his exegesis of Olympia and before proceeding to Elis, the major city of the Eleian region, visits various cities around Olympia, among which is the site where Pisa once stood.³⁰⁴ The site, Pausanias notes (6.22.1), is now deserted and one can see only vineyards, a small building in which there is a bronze box with the bones of Pelops, and signs of an old temple for Artemis Kordaka (6.22.1). This, however, does not mean that there is no history about Pisa, which Pausanias narrates in his usual summary form. It mainly centers around the dispute and the ensuing struggle between Elis and Pisa over control of Olympia and the Games (6.22.2-3).³⁰⁵

During one of these struggles between Pisa and Elis, not long after the 48th Olympiad (588 B.C.), Pyrrhos, the second son of Pantaleon, who became tyrant of Pisa after his brother Damophon, managed to persuade the Triphylian cities Makistos and Skillous and the Eleian Dysponton to revolt against Elis. Pausanias does not explicitly

³⁰⁴ 6.21.3-22.11: in the Pisatan territory towards the borders between Arkadia and Elis Pausanias visits the cities of Phrixa and Pisa, and a few temples scattered on the mountains. He then returns back to Eleian territory, proceeding north- and eastwards to Pylos, Herakleia, and Letrinoi (for which see no. 82 below), before he reaches Elis, the major city of the region. After Elis and before entering Achaia, Pausanias visits one last city with which he concludes his *Eliaka*, Kyllene, situated "facing Sicily", i.e. on the westernmost promontory of the Peloponnese.

³⁰⁵ Andrewes' thesis (1982, 85) that a city Pisa never actually existed can be put to rest, since excavations around Olympia have unearthed a multitude of Mycenaean tombs, which indicate that the area was populated and the inhabitants' burial customs were similar to those of other communities. In fact, on the banks of Alpheios and Kladeos there seems to have existed settlements from prehistoric times. See further Papachatzis 1974-1981, vol. 3, 383-386 and the notes.

say that the Eleians managed to put down this revolt and retain control of Olympia, since he introduces the whole narrative of the Pisatan attempts as failures (6.22.2). No doubt, the Pisatan attempts had the support of neighbouring Arkadian cities. The Arkadians eventually organised the games at the 104th Olympiad (364 B.C.), and, as a result, a battle was fought in the Altis.³⁰⁶ Ultimately, however, the Eleians succeeded in destroying all the cities in Triphylia, and by Pausanias' time only Samikon and Lepreon were still standing, since these are the only two that the exegete visits and mentions.

The cities in Triphylia according to Herodotos (4.148) were six: Lepreos, Makistos, Phrixa, Pyrgos, Epion, and Noudion, of which only Lepreos' remains have survived (see Papachatzis 1974-1981, vol. 3, 206-210, 386-388 notes 1 and 2). This territory between Elis and Messenia was frequently disputed between Elis and Sparta, and Elis and Arkadia. Indeed when Pausanias visits Lepreos he indicates that the inhabitants do not consider themselves Eleians, but Arkadian.³⁰⁷ Certainly this claim of the Lepreatai provided the pretence for Arkadia's intervention and attempt to control Olympia, albeit unsuccessfully. The citizenship decree discovered in the temple of Athena at Mazi is dated in the years when Agis invaded Elis from the south and also when the war between Elis and Arkadia broke out. It is the first epigraphical testimony for the Makistioi and Triphylioi, and Trianti has offered a compelling argument for the site of the city Makistos: the bronze plaque was found near the temple of Athena, around, or very near which Makistos must have stood. Although the granting of citizenship is not by necessity related to political and military instability, nevertheless this decree may be associated with

³⁰⁶ For this incident see also Pausanias 5.9.6; 6.4.2; 6.8.3; Xenophon (*Hellenika* 7.4.28-32); and Diodoros (15.78). It has also been suggested that Pausanias' reporting of the story he heard from the exegete Aristarchos that they found on the roof of the Heraion the bones of a soldier from the battle between Eleians and Lakedaimonians is not correct. Since Xenophon and Diodoros in the above passages say that a battle in the Altis took place in the war between Arkadians and Eleians.

³⁰⁷ See also no. 29 above.

these events, since the cities in Triphylia were by definition hostile towards Elis. Pausanias does not mention any visit to the Triphylian Makistos in his *Eliaka*, because by his time there were no traces of it. At the very least, however, his reference in a historical note to this Triphylian city as one of the participants in the Arkadian coalition against Elis in the 360s suggests that Makistos was in existence at that time. And this much is corroborated by the citizenship decree found at Mazi, the ancient Makistos.

82.

6.22.8: Εἰ δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἴηλιν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου θελήσειας, σταδίου μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς Λετρίνους ἔξει, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ ἐκ Λετρίνων καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Ἴηλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλισμα ἦν οἱ Λετρίνοι, καὶ Λετρεὺς ὁ Πέλοπος ἐγεγόνει σφίσιν οἰκιστής· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ οἰκήματά τε ἐλείπετο ὀλίγα....

5

Kunze 1964, 169, pl. 173ab: a bronze strainer was found in Olympia with an inscription, cut retrograde on its handle.

Olympia Museum Inv. No. B5917.

No measurements are given.

saec. VI–medio V ante ?

ἱαρὸν τῷ Διδὸς Λεδρίνον.

The letter style of this brief text is that of the Eleian alphabet (LSAG 206 fig. 40): δ1, λ1, ρ2, σ2.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XXV, 462. Lazzarini 1976, 309 no. 911*bis*, 153-5. Jeffery, LSAG 450 no. 6a.

Commentary: The date for the dedication, 600–450 B.C. (Kunze and others), is obviously very general, since it is solely based on the lettering.

If Kunze is correct in reading in the last word of the inscription the city of Letrinoi, and there is no reason why not, then this is the first epigraphical attestation of the Eleian city Letrinoi. The dedication itself does not conform to Pausanias' criteria for the composition of his *Eliaka*. It is a simple bronze strainer with an inscription on its neck, which simply states that it is a sacred offering to Zeus. It is, otherwise, hardly noteworthy and consequently Pausanias makes no mention of having seen it at Olympia. Once he finishes with Olympia, Pausanias moves to other cities around the region,³⁰⁸ until he finally reaches the most important city of the region Elis, also named Elis (6.23.1ff.). Among these cities is Letrinoi which in his time had just a few buildings remaining of which he briefly mentions only the temple of Artemis. Given the many examples so far discussed, it is not at all inconceivable that the exegete may have read inscriptions in the temple of Artemis at Letrinoi. Since Pausanias is the only ancient author who claims to have visited this place to find out what it was,³⁰⁹ it is appropriate to acknowledge that this brief dedication by the Letrinaians, found at Olympia, supports his narrative that he visited such a place.

³⁰⁸ See note 304 above.

³⁰⁹ Xenophon may have also visited the Letrinoi, since he mentions them in his *Hellenika* (3.2.25-30 and 4.2.16) as one of the cities that Agis invaded crossing from Messenia to Triphylia. For more on the topography of the area see Papachatzis 1974-1981, vol. 3, 392-393 note 3.

D. INSCRIPTIONS THAT PAUSANIAS MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE SEEN OUTSIDE ELIS

Instances in Ἡλιακῶν A and B similar to those in Part C are discussed in this final section (nos. 83–89) of indirect epigraphical evidence. The inscriptions all come from outside of Elis, from places which in all probability Pausanias visited and was familiar with, and where again he may, or may not, have seen and read them. As with the previous group, so too here if Pausanias' narrative and the epigraphical texts are studied side by side, a better understanding of both results.

83.

5.1.3: τοὺς Ἡλείους ἴσμεν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος διαβεβηκότας καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης· τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε εὕρισκον. βασιλεῦσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῆι ταύτῃ λέγουσιν Ἀέθλιον, παῖδα δὲ αὐτὸν Διός τε εἶναι καὶ Πρωτογενείας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, Ἀεθλίου δὲ Ἐνδυμίωνα γενέσθαι· (4) τούτου τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος Σελήνην φασὶν ἐρασθῆναι, καὶ ὡς θυγατέρες αὐτῷ γένοιτο ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ πεντήκοντα. οἱ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον τι εἰκότα λέγοντες Ἐνδυμίωφι λαβόντι Ἀστεροδίαν γυναῖκα—οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰτώνου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος Χρομίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὑπερίππην τὴν Ἀρκάδος—, γενέσθαι δ' οὖν φασιν αὐτῷ Παίονα καὶ Ἐπειόν τε καὶ Αἰτωλὸν καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Εὐρυδύκαν. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι δρόμου τοῖς παισὶν ἀγῶνα Ἐνδυμίωφι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐπειός· (5) καὶ Ἐπειοὶ πρῶτον τότε ὧν ἦρχεν ὠνομάσθησαν. τῶν δὲ ἀδελφῶν οἱ τὸν μὲν καταμεῖναί φασιν αὐτοῦ, Παίονα δὲ ἀχθόμενον τῇ ἡσσηι φυγεῖν ὡς πορρωτάτω, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ χώραν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Παιονίαν ὀνομασθῆναι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐνδυμίωνος τελευτὴν οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλεῶταί τε οἱ πρὸς Μιλήτῳ καὶ Ἡλείοι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἡλείοι μὲν ἀποφαί-

νουσιν Ἐνδυμίωνος μνήμα, Ἡρακλεῶται δὲ ἐς Λάτμον τὸ ὄρος ἀποχωρήσαί φασιν αὐτὸν, <καὶ τιμὰς αὐτῷ νέ>μουσι, καὶ ἄδυτον 20 Ἐνδυμίωνός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Λάτμῳ. ... (8) Αἰτωλῷ δὲ μετὰ Ἐπειὸν βασιλεύσαντι συνέπεσεν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φυγεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ Ἄπιδος παῖδες ἐφ' αἵματι ἀκουσίῳ δίκην εἶλον. Ἄπιν γὰρ τὸν Ἰάσονος ἐκ Παλλαντίου τοῦ Ἀρκάδων ἀπέκτεινεν Αἰτωλὸς ἐπελάσας τὸ ἄρμα τεθέντων ἐπὶ Ἀζᾶν ἄθλων. ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ 25 Ἐνδυμίωνος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον οἰκοῦντες ἐκλήθησαν φυγόντος ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἡπειρον, τὴν δὲ Ἐπειῶν ἔσχεν ἀρχὴν Ἥλείος Εὐρυδύκας τε τῆς Ἐνδυμίωνος καὶ—ὅτῳ πιστὰ— πατρὸς ὦν Ποσειδῶνος· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ νῦν ἀντὶ Ἐπειῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἥλείου μεταβεβλήκασιν. 30

6.20.9: πρὸς δὲ τοῦ σταδίου τῷ πέρατι, ἦι τοῖς σταδιοδρόμοις ἄφεις πεποιήται, Ἐνδυμίωνος μνήμα ἐνταῦθα λόγῳ <τῷ> Ἥλείῳ ἐστίν.

Apparatus Criticus:

19 ἠρακλειῶται Pa., ἠρακλεῶται all others 20 μουσι is omitted in Pa Va Vb and all editors before Schubart-Walz; μουσικαὶ ἄδυτον V F P Pd Ag L Lb (in Pd ἀδύτου); αὐτὸν μουσι· καὶ ἄδυτον Ms R (where μουσι is marked off); Schubart-Walz indicate a lacuna before μουσι and supply καὶ τιμὴν αὐτῷ νέμουσι which is adopted by Papachatzis; Schubart-Walz also suggest ἔνθα δὴ ἄλλα τε γέρα οἱ προσοικοῦντες ἄτε θεῶ αὐτῷ νέμουσι; Kays. restores καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι ἐνταῦθα· οἱ δὲ τιμὰς αὐτῷ ὡς θεῶ ἀπονέμουσι 32 restored by Siebelis and Hitzig.

Robert 1978, 478: a marble block from the west exedra (no. I) at Delphi (see *FD* III.3, 144 and fig. 11 on page III 96). Robert prints the text of Pomtow-Klaffenbach, as does Moretti, and reserves his suggestions for different restorations for the notes.

Delphi Museum Inv. No. 56 = No. 1078 (numéroté deux fois, Daux in *FD*

III.3, 144).

Height: 0.087m. Width of inscribed surface: 0.0515m.

Thickness: 0.41m.

Letter Height: 0.008m.

ca. 260 ante

NON-STOICH. ca. 42

[Στρα]ταγέοντος τῶν [Αἰ]τωλῶν Ἄρκ[ισ]ωνος τὸ δεύ[τερ]ον ἔδοξε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς· ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακ[λει]ῶται

[ψά]φισμα καὶ πρέ[σβ]εις ἀποστεύλαντες Μ[ε]νεκράτ[η]
 [καὶ - - - - τ]ῶν [συ]γγένειαν ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ τὰ
 5 [ύ]πάρ[χον]τ[α] πα[ρὰ] τὰς πόλιος αὐτῶν φιλόφθωπα ποτὶ τοῖς
 [Αἰτωλοὺς ἐνεφάν]ισαν· δεδόχθαι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς· πολί-
 [τας] εἶμεν τοὺς Ἑρακλειώτας τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἐπεὶ τυγχάνον-
 [τι εὐ]νοῦς τῶι [κ]οινῶι καὶ, εἴ τις ἀποστέλληται πρεσβεία
 [π]οτὶ [β]ασιλέα [Π]τολ[ε]μαῖου, διαλέγεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κατὰ
 10 [τ]ῶς δοθ[ε]ί[σας ἐν]τ[ολ]ῶς παρὰ τὰς πόλιος τῶν Ἑρακλειωτῶν,
 [ὅ]πως βουλ[ή]σ[ε]τ[αι] πολυωρῆσαι, περὶ ὧν οἴονται δεῖν οἱ Ἑρακλει-
 ῶται [τὸν βασιλέα] ξαντῶν πολυωρεῖν ὡς ὄντων ἀποίκων
 [τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, καὶ] [ταῦ]τα ποιῶν εὐχαριστήσῃ τοῖς Αἰτω-
 λοῖς· ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τῶι
 15 ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Restorations: it should be emphasized that G. Daux in his edition of this inscription (*FD* III.3, 144) is very critical of Pomtow's readings, since on the left part of the stone he does not see any of the dotted letters. He comments: "lecture très difficile: la partie gauche est évanide" (*FD* III 111). Daux's left part of the text is only partially restored with the following "restitutions assurées" (*FD* III 111), which Robert also calls "exactement" (p. 478 note 5):

Line 1: [Στραταγέοντος τῶν Αἰτω]λῶν.

Line 2: [ἔδοξε τοῖς Αἰ]τωλοῖς.

Line 4: [συ]γγένειαν. Line 5: [παρὰ τὰς] πόλιος. Line 6: [Αἰτωλοῦς].

Line 6-7: πολί[τας εἶμεν τοὺς Ἑρακ]λειώτας.

Line 13: [καὶ ταῦ]τα ποιῶν.

Line 14: [ἀναγράψαι δὲ κ]αὶ. Line 15: Ἀπόλλωνος.

Line 6: ἐπαύση]σαν Pomtow; ἐνεφάνι]ξαν Daux; ἀνέδει]αν Moretti; ἐνεφάνι]σαν Robert.

Line 15: ἱερῶι Daux; ἱερῶι Pomtow, Klaffenbach, Moretti, Robert.

Dain 1933, 66-73 no. 60: a rectangular block of white-greyish marble, found in the spring of 1873 at Herakleia on Latmos (Kapi-Kéré) during the excavations by O. Rayat and A. Thomas. In October of the same year the inscription was donated to the Louvre by the barons G. and E. de Rothschild. The stone is broken on all sides except the left and is in the salle de Milet, puis gallerie épigraphique of the Louvre.

Louvre Museum Inv. MNB 697. Cat. Marbres ant. no. 2814.

Height: 0.56m. Width: 0.31m. Thickness: 0.185m.

Letter Height: 0.07m.

saec. III ante ?

NON-STOICH.

[- - - - -]
 ὠδίσιν, οὐδὲ Τριτογενεὺς λώβα [- - - - -]
 πηκτᾶν τιθεὶς ἄλλα, τάδε μέγ γάρ οἱ[- - - - -]
 ρων κείναις ἀνάγκαν τεῶν ἤσυχαι[- - - - -]
 5 φες· αὐτὰρ ἀμετέρας φροντίδος ὕμνο[ς]? [- - - - -]
 φῆς ἱκέτας βλαστὸς μερίμνας πραιῖν ? [- - - - -]
 γάρ σε δᾶμος ὄν κτίσεν Ἐνδυμίων [- - - - - ἀ?]-
 κοιμάτου σφετέρας ἀνίας ἀνέχε[ιν]? [- - - - -]
 τρωὶ τῆνον ἔς τὸν ἀεικοίματον ὕπνον?[- - - - -]
 10 προύθηκεν ἄντροις, τὰμ μὲν ἐκ τοῖϋ? [- - - - -]
 νοῖς λουβαῖς γεραίρει, τὰν δ' ἔς ἄστν [- - - - -]
 σὺν βιαιολεχεῖ καὶ τέκνοις ἔστακε σ[- - - - -]
 λαζύμενα πέρας· γέγαθε νῦν ἅπασ μ[- - - - -]
 πων ἀπ' ἄκρων ἐκ πολυθρίγκων τεράμνων[- - - - -]
 15 αὐχμὸν ἔς θ' ἄλλα ῥίψασαν ὑπ' ἀμφιπολ[- - - - -]
 εν θῆκαν βιοτᾶς· ἅπασα θ' ἦβα κωμο[- - - - - ὀ?]-
 δοῖς κέρτομον χέοισ' ἰαχάν· οὐδέ τις [- - - - - ἀλλ' ἀ?]-
 πὸ στομάτων ἀχαλίνων ἠνία γλωσσ[- - - - - ἀ?]-
 νάγκα τὰν ἀπὸ σώματος· ἀμφὶ γὰρ οἱ σ[- - - - -]
 20 ρων ἀπερύκουσα θιγείν· κόνις δ' ἔς ἀπέριρον αἰθέρα? [- - - κα]-
 τ' ἄστν· παντοφώνοις δ' ὀργάνοις θελίγ?[- - - - -]
 ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλον σὺν γέλωι γῆρυν προ[- - - - - ἀνά?]-
 παυσιν, λύπα δὲ χαρὰν πληστὺς [- - - - -]
 θαλίας· δμῶν θ' ὁ μὲν τις ὤμογ[- - - - -]
 25 θος πυρὶ θῆγ' ἔς ἀσινᾶς δόμοις[- - - - -]
 ζεύγλαι δ' ἀπ' ἄλλος ταυροτενεῖ σ[- - - - - πολυ?]-
 γλαγέας παντοῖον ὠρίων φεροῖτ ? [- - - - -]
 τέροισ' σιγαῖ δὲ κερκὶς ἀ λεχέων φύλ[αξ? [- - - - -]
 .. οἰκουρός. ἐπταύχενος δὲ δέσποινα? [- - - - -]
 30 [.. κ?οιτόνδε, ἔς οὔδας ὀμολεχῆς πίπτει? [- - - - -]
 [...]α δ' ἐν ἄγγεσιν παρέστακεν [- - - - -]
 [... τᾶ?]s τελετᾶς. ὦ τὰν ἀείμναστο[ν [- - - - -]
 ..ca.6.. λέκτρων [ἄ]πειρος, ἐφ' αἶ σε ὁ π[ᾶ]s δᾶμος γεραίρει? [- - - -]
 ..ca.6..as ἐπεὶ γάμων ἀκμαὶ δέμας [- - - - -]
 35 [- - - - -]

The lettering is elegant and all strokes end in triangular serifs. The crossbar of the alpha is sharply broken.

Remains of Dotted Letters: Dain's facsimile and Robert's photograph make possible some minor suggestions on dotted letters. Robert does not print the whole text, but comments on certain lines.

Line 2: omega—the bottom right part. Dain restores [ὠ]δῖσιν.

Line 3: nu—the left vertical and part of a slanting to the right strokes.

- Line 9: epsilon—only an upper left slanting to the right stroke.
 Line 11: Dain dots the last epsilon in ἄστυ, but only the upper right slanting to the left stroke is lost.
 Line 14: Dain dots the last alpha in τερά, but only the right slanting stroke is lost.
 Line 15: lambda—only a left slanting stroke.
 Line 22: omikron—only the left part of a curving stroke.
 Line 23: Dain dots the epsilon in πληστύς, but only the upper right slanting to the left stroke is lost.
 Line 25: nu—the left vertical and part of a slanting to the right strokes.
 Line 26: Dain dots the last sigma, but only the right half of the top and bottom vertical strokes is lost.
 Line 29: nu—the left vertical stroke and part of one slanting to the right stroke.

Restorations: Dain prints by way of commentary the notes and suggestions of B. Haussoullier and U. von Willamowitz-Möllendorff who studied this inscription. The nature of the inscription is not known and their suggestions are very tentative, since restorations are simply impossible. I have kept the text of Dain, but added question marks to all restorations, even those of letters, in order to stress caution. Even the accents in some instances are by no means certain (see for example Page's text).

- Line 7-8: [θεο]κουμάτου, Page, [ἄει]κουμάτου, Robert.
 Line 8-9: [κέν]τρων, or [σκήπ]τρων, or [λέκ]τρων Willamowitz.
 Line 10: or πρου θῆκεν ἄντροις Willamowitz.
 Line 11-12: [πόσει] σὺν Haussoullier; [ἀνδρί] σὺν Willamowitz.
 Line 15-16: [χαρτί]εν, or [ἡμερό]εν Willamowitz.
 Line 25: πυριθηγῆς ἀσιν<έ>ας Page, although there is no space for an epsilon.

Bibliography: Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.
IG IX.1², 173. *SEG II*, 257; XXVIII, 486; XXXV, 1775. Pomtow 1923, 297-298 no. 220a. Moretti 1967, 77. Page 1962, no. 119 (1037). Robert 1978, 477-490. Habicht 1985, 66-67.

Commentary: The date for the Aitolian decree is based on Pomtow's computation for the second generalship of Arkison (259 or 255 B.C.). If this is correct, then the Ptolemy in line 9 is Philadelphos II (308-246 B.C.), who was twice involved in a war over Syria and Asia Minor with Antiochus II : the first Syrian War *ca.* 276-271 B.C., the Second Syrian War 260-253 B.C. This by no means excludes the possibility that the decree may refer to the events of the Third Syrian War (246-241 B.C.), fought by Ptolemy III Euergetes during which he acquired important towns in Asia Minor. The inscription from Herakleia on the Latmos is not dated by previous editors,³¹⁰ but its lettering points to Hellenistic times.

³¹⁰ Except Page 1962, no. 119 (1037): "aetas incerta."

These two inscriptions support the narrative of Pausanias concerning the mythistorical past of Elis where he records in passing the dispute between the Eleians and the Herakleians on the Latmos over Endymion's death. The mythistorical connections of founders of cities were from the Hellenistic time onwards very much in vogue and sometimes, as is the case with Herakleia, played an important part in state relations. According to Pausanias' narrative, Endymion's children became leaders and gave their names to the people whom they governed. Thus, Aitolos left Elis and settled in the region around the river Acheloos (5.1.8), while Endymion retired to a cave on Mt. Latmos where he died, according to the Herakleians (5.1.5 where the text presents problems). This mythical connection between Aitolia and Herakleia reflects early Aitolian interests in this area of Asia Minor where an Aitolian establishment may have existed. The reliability of this account of Pausanias can be tested by the two inscriptions.

The Aitolian decree from Delphi does not mention explicitly which Herakleia is to be helped by the Aitolian intercession with the Ptolemies and many different cities had been proposed until Robert's discussion of this decree. He offered the necessary proof for the identification of Herakleia on Latmos, where, as the second inscription suggests, Endymion was honored as its founder (line 7). Moreover, the decree's mention of *συγγένητα* (line 4) between the two states and the characterization of the Herakleians as *ἄποικοι* of Aitolia (lines 12-13) are in concert with the mythistoric account of Pausanias, without which these lines of the decree cannot be easily understood and explained. Pausanias' preservation of the Eleian mythistoric past makes possible not only the identification of Herakleia on the Latmos as the Herakleia of the Aitolian decree, but also provides the nucleus for establishing a connection between Herakleia and Aitolia. During the third century B.C. the Aitolians were competing with the Macedonians for influence

over Greek affairs, while small Herakleia fared well by utilizing its ties with Aitolia and exploiting Aitolian influence over the Ptolemies.³¹¹

The inscription from Herakleia sheds further light on Pausanias' text. It is not clear what kind of a hymn this inscription is,³¹² but what is important here is that Endymion in line 7 is praised as the founder of the *demos* of the city of Herakleia, during a public ceremony or festival (τελετᾶς 32, whatever this *telete* might have been).³¹³ This suggests that Endymion held a special place of honor in the public life of the Herakleians on Latmos, a fact which helps in solving the textual problem in 5.1.5, where a crux is rightly assumed by Rocha-Pereira, the recent editor of Pausanias. The text of the hymn can rule out as unlikely the restoration ὦς θεῶν, since Endymion is praised as an οἰκιστῆς (line 7) and not a god, and it clearly shows that Endymion was highly honored by the citizens of Herakleia alongside Athena. Therefore, since Pausanias employs thrice

³¹¹ See Robert 1978, 490 note 61 on the use and meaning of ἀποικία.

³¹² Haussoullier thinks it is a partheneion (line 31ff.); Willamowitz believes part of it to be on marriage (line 34). Page's 1962, no. 119 (1037) brief statement deserves to be quoted:

carmen melicum arguunt dialectus numerique: aetas incerta. est ambitiosior hic poeta, dithyrambi antiquioris imitator; prisca recolitur..., nova appetitur...

nuptiale esse carmen conii. Haussoullier, quocum coniungi irae divinae deprecationem, fortasse anniversariam. sententiarum conexio plerumque obscura, versuum divisio incertissima.

Robert 1978, 488-489 suggests that it is a celebration for Athena whose temple was excavated near the agora (line 2).

³¹³ It is Strabo (10.3.2) who records an epigram inscribed on a statue of Aitolos at Thermon dedicated by the Aitolians (*IGM* 164), where Aitolos the son of Endymion is praised as their founder:

Χώρας οἰκηστῆρα, παρ' Ἀλφειοῦ ποτε δῖνας
 θρεφθέντα, σταδίων γείτον' Ὀλυμπιάδος,
 Ἐνδυμίωνος παῖδ' Αἰτωλὸν τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν
 Αἰτωλοῦ, σφετέρας μνήμ' ἀρετῆς ἔσορᾶν.

Another similar epigram is recorded by Strabo (10.3.2) as being on a statue of Oxylos in the Agora of Elis (*IGM* 147):

<Ἄξυλος>
 Αἰτωλὸς ποτε τόνδε λιπὼν αὐτόχθονα δῆμον
 κτήσατο Κουρήτιν γῆν δορὶ πολλὰ καμών.
 τῆς δ' αὐτῆς γενεᾶς δεακατοσπόρος Αἴμονος υἱὸς
 Ἄξυλος ἀρχαίην ἔκτισε τήνδε πόλιν.

elsewhere the expression τιμὰς (not τιμὴν) νέμουςι to convey honors bestowed upon someone,³¹⁴ 5.1.5 should read <καὶ τιμὰς αὐτῷ νέμουςι.

84.

- 5.8.9: τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐς μὲν τῶν παλαιοτέρων οὐδεμίαν ἦκει μνήμην, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀρέσαν σφίσι κατεστήσαντο Ἴηλείοι. δρόμου μὲν δὴ καὶ πάλης ἐτέθη παισὶν ἄθλα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ τριακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ Ἴπποσθένης Λακεδαιμόνιος πάλην, Πολυνείκης δὲ τὸν δρόμον ἐνίκησεν Ἴηλείοι. πρώτη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα 5 Ὀλυμπιάδι πύκτας ἐσεκάλεσαν παῖδας, καὶ περιῆν τῶν ἐσελθόντων Συβαρίτης Φιλύτας. (10) τῶν δὲ ὀπλιτῶν ὁ δρόμος ἐδοκιμάσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτῃς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς, μελέτης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἔνεκα τῆς ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ· τοὺς δὲ δραμόντας ἀσπίσιν ὁμοῦ πρώτος Δημάρατος ἐκράτησεν Ἱηραίου. δρόμος δὲ δύο ἵππων τελείων 10 συνωρίσ κληθεῖσα τρίτη μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐτέθη πρὸς ταῖς ἐνενηκόντα, Εὐαγόρας δὲ ἐνίκησεν Ἴηλείοι. ἐνάτη δὲ ἦρεσεν Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ καὶ πῶλων ἄρμασιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι· Λακεδαιμόνιος δὲ <Εὐρυβ>ιάδης τὸν στέφανον τῶν πῶλων ἔσχε τοῦ ἄρματος. (11) προσέθεσαν δὲ ὕστερον καὶ συνωρίδα πῶλων καὶ πῶλον κέλητα· 15 ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῇ συνωρίδι Βελιστίχην ἐκ Μακεδονίας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσει γυναῖκα, Τληπόλεμον δὲ Λύκιον ἀναγορευθῆναι λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ κέλητι, τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ τριακοστῆς τε καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῆς δὲ Βελιστίχης τὴν συνωρίδα Ὀλυμπιάδι πρὸ ταύτης τρίτη. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ 20 ἑκατὸν ἄθλα ἐτέθη παγκρατίου παισὶ, καὶ ἐνίκα Φαίδιμος Αἰολεὺς ἐκ πόλεως Τρωιάδος.
- 5.9.1 Κατελύθη δὲ ἐν Ἰολυμπίαι καὶ ἀγωνίσματα, μεταδόξαν μηκέτι ἄγειν αὐτὰ Ἴηλείοι. πένταθλόν τε γὰρ παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδῶς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τριακοστῆς ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν κόπινον Εὐτελίδα Λακε- 25 δαιμονίου λαβόντος οὐκέτι ἀρεστὰ Ἴηλείοις ἦν πεντάθλους ἐσερχεσθαι παῖδας.

Apparatus Criticus:

10 Δημάρατος Ms, all editors before Bekker; δημάρετος β; δαμάρετος Schubart-Walz's correction from 6.10.4 and 8.26.2, followed by all later editors³¹⁵ 14 συβαρίδης Ag.

³¹⁴ 1.17.1; 6.9.8; 9.35.2.

³¹⁵ See also Ebert's (1982, 7 note 4) comments. It should be pointed out that the reading in these passages is by no means certain. In 6.10.2 the name occurs three times and Siebelis following Amasaeus reads: Δημάρατος, while the mss. read δαμάρετος, and δαμάρατος. In 8.26.2 the mss. and Bekker

Συβαριάδης all mss. and editors, Εὐρύβατος Africanus apud Eusebius p. 60, Εὐρυβιάδης Poralla, Habicht after *IG II²* 2326.

IG II² 2326: fragment of a Pentelic marble slab, found on November 20, 1866 on the southern slope of Lykabettos, near the monastery of Asomaton, probably the region where once stood the Gymnasium of Kynosarges (Koehler, Kirchner). In this region it now has been suggested that the Lykeion Gymnasium stood.³¹⁶ It is broken on all sides, except the left which is partially preserved and the back which is rough.

EM 8072. *Vidi, Phot, Ect.*

Height: 0.21m. Width: 0.17m. Breadth: 0.10m.

Letter Height: 0.003-0.005m.

384–268 *ante*

NON-STOICH. *ca.* 18

[- - - - -]
 [ὀγδόηι καὶ τριακοστῆι ἐτέθη]
 [π]ένταθλον παίδων καὶ ἐνίκα]
 Εὐτελίδας [Λακεδαιμόνιος]
 5 μιᾷ καὶ τεσσαρ[α]κοστῆι ἐτέθη]
 παίδων πυγμῆ καὶ ἐνίκα]
 Φιλύτας Συβαρί[της]
 [π]έμπτῃ καὶ ἑξη[κοστῆι]
 [ἐ]τέθη ὀπλί[της, ἦι ἐνίκα]
 10 [Δ]ημάρατος Ἑρα[εύς]
 τρίτῃ καὶ ἑνενη[κοστῆι]
 ἐτέθη συνωρῖς καὶ ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρας Ἥλειος]
 [ἐ]νάτῃ καὶ ἑνενη[κοστῆι]
 [ἐ]τέθη πώλων ἀβόλων ἄρμα]
 15 [καὶ] ἐνίκα Εὐρυβιάδης Λακεδαιμόνιος]
vacat 0.020m.
 [-] τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος [- - -]

read Δημάρετος, all editors before Schubart-Walz Δημάρατος, Schubart-Walz followed by all later editors Δαμάρετος. It seems that the forms Δαμάρατος (in Doric) and Δημάρατος (in Ionic) are the preferable ones.

³¹⁶ For the proposed locations see Wycherley 1978, 226-231.

[-]ς οἶδε νενικήκ[ασιν].
 [δευτέρ]αι καὶ εἰκ[ο]στ[ῆ]ι - -]
 20 ... ος Παντακλ[ῆ]ς [Ἀθηναῖος -]
 [... δῖ]αυλον ενΑ[- - - -]

The letter cutting is careless, although in some places the fragment is badly weathered and the strokes very faint. The empty space left between letters is very inconsistent from line to line, the letters are sometimes cut above the imaginary horizontal line and some of them tend to lean either to the left or to the right. The cutter displays many peculiarities with individual letters: e.g. the omega is closed at the bottom by a long horizontal stroke; the slanting strokes of the kappa are sometimes cut ca. 0.002m. away from the vertical stroke.

Remains of Dotted Letters: there are some minor differences in dotted letters between this text and that of Ebert and Kirchner.

Line 5: first-sigma only the upper horizontal.

Line 6: kappa-only the vertical stroke.

Line 7: phi-the upper tip of a vertical stroke and a faint trace of the upper-right round stroke; lambda-the left slanting stroke and a faint trace of the right.

Line 8: first epsilon-very faint traces of the tips of three horizontal strokes; mu-the left slanting stroke and the bottom tip of a right slanting stroke; first kappa-only the bottom slanting stroke; second epsilon-only the upper part of a vertical stroke and a faint trace of the upper horizontal stroke; second kappa-only a vertical stroke.

Line 9: first tau-only an upper horizontal stroke; pi-only the left vertical stroke; lambda-only the right slanting stroke; second tau-only the left tip of an upper horizontal.

Line 10: tau-only the bottom part of a vertical; omikron-an upper right curving stroke; sigma-an upper left tip of a horizontal; alpha-the left slanting stroke and the bottom tip of a right slanting stroke; iota-a very faint trace of a vertical stroke.

Line 11: tau-the right tip of an upper horizontal stroke; epsilon-only a bottom left horizontal and vertical.

Line 12: epsilon-only a bottom horizontal stroke and a trace of a middle horizontal stroke; nu-only the upper tip of a vertical.

Line 13: alpha-only the bottom part of a right slanting stroke and a very faint trace of a left slanting stroke.

Line 14: tau-only the right part of an upper horizontal stroke; lambda-only the bottom part of a right slanting stroke and a very faint trace of a left slanting stroke.

Line 17: tau-only the right tip of an upper horizontal stroke; sigma-part of an upper horizontal.

Line 18: the sigma has a peculiar looking shape in that on its left part a vertical stroke, cut later, connects the top and bottom left tips of the horizontal strokes, thus giving the impression of an epsilon; kappa-only a vertical stroke.

Line 19: rho-only an upper curving stroke; kappa-only part of a bottom slanting stroke; tau-only an upper horizontal.

Line 21: lambda-shape letter-only a faint trace of a vertical stroke and a faint trace of the top of a stroke slanting to the right.

Restorations: the number ca. 18 letters per line does not apply for line 12 which appears to be too long (32 letters), although the restoration is rather certain.

Line 1-3: Kirchner, [ὄγδοῦν καὶ τριακοστῆν ἑτέθη]
 Moretti [παίδων πένταθλον καὶ ἑνίκα]
 Ebert a [ὄγδοῦν καὶ τριακοστῆν ἑτέθη]
 b [(τῆν δὲ ἑξῆς πάλιν κατελύθη)]
 c [παίδων πένταθλον, καὶ ἑνίκα].

- Line 4, 15: [Λάκων] Kirchner; [Λακεδαιμόνιος] Ebert.
 Line 17-18: Kirchner: [ἀπὸ τ]ῆς Ὀλυμπιάδο[ς τῆς μιᾶς καὶ]
 [εἰκοστῆ]ς οἶδε νενική[κασιν].
 Ebert: [δὲ τ]ῆς Ὀλυμπιάδο[ς τῆς αὐτῆς]
 [ἄνδρα]ς οἶδε νενικήκ[ασιν].
- Line 19-21: Kirchner: [δευτέ]ραι καὶ εἰ[κο]στ[ῆι - -]
 ...os Παντα[κ]λ[ῆς Ἀθηναῖος -]
 [... δί]αυλον ἐνλ[- - - -].
 Moretti: [δευτέ]ραι καὶ εἰ[κο]στ[ῆι πάντων]
 [πρωτ(?)]os Παντα[κ]λ[ῆς στά]-
 [διον δί]αυλον ἐν α[ὐτῆι τῆι ἡμέραι].
 Ebert: [δευτέ]ραι καὶ εἰκ[ο]στ[ῆι Ἑλλήνων]
 [πρωτ]os Παντακλ[ῆς Ἀθηναῖος στάδιον]
 [καὶ δί]αυλον ἐν μ[ια]ι ἡμέραι].

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

SEG XVII, 55; XXXII, 217, 1250. Syll.⁴ 1056. FGrH XVIII 416 F6. Moretti 1957, nos. 26-27, 63-64, 71, 132, 350, 396. Poralla 1985, 58 no. 318. Bradford 1977, 177-178, 386. Ebert 1982, 5-14. Habicht 1984, 52-53.

Commentary: The date is based on the information recorded in the first part of the inscription which is a list of victors who won in contests which were introduced for the first time. This fragmentary list begins with the victory of Eutelidas, who won in 628 B.C. (38th Olympiad) in the boys' pentathlon, and ends with that of Eurybiades in the chariot race of foals in 384 B.C. (99th Olympiad), the *terminus post quem*. The *terminus ante quem*, 268 B.C. (128th Olympiad), is the next date when, according to Pausanias, another game was introduced for the first time, that of the race between pairs of foals in which Belistiche from Makedonia won. Ebert, in his excellent discussion of this inscription, argues for *ca.* 276 B.C., *i.e.* the 500th anniversary of the Olympic Games, as a possible date for its setting up.

This fragmentary Olympic Chronicle is divided into two sections: what remains of the first section seems to be a list of names of first time Olympic victors, *i.e.* the athletes that won the first time an event was introduced (lines 1-14). Comparison of Pausanias' text and that of the inscription reveals a complete correspondance, starting with Philytas'

victory in the boys' boxing (616 B.C., 41st Olympiad).³¹⁷ Therefore, the beginning of the inscription which is lost probably included some or all the games going back to the first Olympiad in 776 B.C. when the dromos race was instituted and Koroibos from Elis won.³¹⁸

The inscription as now preserved begins with the Lakedaimonian Eutelidas. Pausanias discusses him in a different place, because he describes separately those games which were introduced and later dropped from the Olympic program. He states that the boys' pentathlon of 628 B.C. was the only time when that event took place. There were also instituted the race of mule carts (*apene*) and the trotting race (*kalpe*) in 500 B.C. (70th Olympiad) and 496 B.C. (71st Olympiad) respectively, both of which were dropped in 444 B.C. (84th Olympiad). The reason for the omission of these two races from the inscription remains a puzzle.³¹⁹

The second section begins with the Athenian Pantakles who won in both the stadion and the diaulos races of 692 B.C., the 22nd Olympiad (lines 16ff.), if Moretti's and Ebert's restorations are accepted. The fact that an Athenian opens the second preamble

³¹⁷ Habicht (1985, 87-88 and notes 84-90) has also identified the Lykian Tlepolemos, who appears in no other writer except in Pausanias' 5.8.11 where his Olympic victory in 245 B.C. is mentioned, with one Tlepolemos, son of Artapates, that is found in inscriptions.

³¹⁸ According to Pausanias' description, prior to 628 B.C. the following games were held: in 632 B.C. (37th Olympiad) the boys' running and the boys' wrestling; in 648 B.C. (33rd Olympiad) men's pankration and men's horse race; in 680 B.C. (25th Olympiad) men's full grown horse chariot race; in 688 B.C. (23rd Olympiad) men's boxing; in 708 B.C. (18th Olympiad) men's wrestling and pentathlon; in 720 B.C. (15th Olympiad) men's dolichos race; in 724 B.C. (14th Olympiad) men's diaulos; and in 776 B.C. (1st Olympiad) men's running. There is no way to determine how far back the Attic inscription went, but if it was a true Olympic Chronicle it should start of course in 776 B.C.

³¹⁹ Ebert 1982, 6 note 2 discusses this problem and suggests that Pausanias' comment about the mule cart race (ἀπήγη δὲ οὔτε τῶι ἀνευρήματι οὐδὲν ἀρχαῖον οὔτε εὐπρέπεια αὐτῆι προσῆν, ἐπάρατόν τε Ἡλείοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι σφίσι ἐν τῆι χώρῃ τὸ ζῶιον 5.9.2) can be an indication "daß die elische bzw. olympische Behörde selbst die Aufnahme der Maultier- und Stutenwettkämpfe in die Olympionikenverzeichnisse verhindert hat." This of course does not explain the absence of these two games from the Attic inscription, only their abolishment from the Olympic program, and the cutter may have used a copy of an Olympic Register which did not include these two games for whatever reason and also did not divide the games into categories of those still in the program and those that had been abolished.

has led to the conclusion that this second section is an Athenian list of some kind. Ebert, however, has argued that this second list is not an Athenian one, but rather a list of victors who won twice during one and the same Olympiad; hence he restores the beginning as: “in the men’s category the following won twice in one and the same Olympiad.” Furthermore, the Athenian Pantakles was already a victor in the 21st Olympiad (696 B.C.) in the stadion, and, if this were a list of Athenian victors for example, it should start from this victory of Pantakles, since he is the first Athenian known in the Olympic Register.³²⁰

Although the fragmentary nature of the inscription limits absolute conclusions, nonetheless, at least as far as Pausanias’ text is concerned, the Olympionikai Register of the inscription and that of the exegete corroborate each other. Both texts list the institution of the events in a chronological order which coincides, except for the fact that Pausanias discusses separately the three events which were instituted and subsequently dropped out of the Olympic program. This, of course, may not imply a different Olympic Register,³²¹ but that Pausanias chose for narratological clarity to list separately the games still in the Olympic program and then those that were tried and failed to secure a permanent incorporation into the program. Moreover, two of the inscription’s names, Δημόρατος (line 10) and Εὐρυβλάδης (line 15) can now be safely restored in Pausanias’ text. The first name has enough variations in the manuscripts to suggest minor corruption, whereas the second is probably a copyist’s error, perhaps influenced by Συβαρίτης a few lines earlier.³²²

³²⁰ See Moretti 1957, 63 no. 25 (Pantakles). Pantakles’ is the first entry of an Athenian victor in Africanus’ list of stadionikai preserved by Eusebius (see Rutgers 1980, 8).

³²¹ The evidence for Olympic registers and their authors are gathered and commented upon by Jacoby in *FGrH* vol. IIIb, XVIII. Elis und Olympia Nos. 408-416 and Kommentar.

85.

5.13.7: Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε λείπεται (sc. around Magnesia on the Sipylos), Ταντάλου μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη καὶ οὐκ ἀφανῆς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης Μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, διαβάντι δὲ Ἔρμον ποταμὸν Ἄφρο- 5 δίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυίας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν μνήμη, προῖλασκόμενον τε τὴν θεὸν καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἴπποδαμείας αἰτούμενον.

Apparatus Criticus:

5 Πλαστήνης is the reading of all mss. (except L πλαστάνης and Vb πλάνης) and of most editors;³²³ Schubart reads Πλακίανης from *CIG* II 3657: παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ τῇ Πλακίανῃ (occurs twice), and μητρὸς τῆς ἐκ Πλακίας (once, cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Πλάκη); Siebelis reads Πλακίηνης; Porson Πλακίηνης; Goldhagen Μοστήηνης; I capitalized μητρὸς, because the full name of the goddess seems to be Μήτηρ Θεῶν Πλαστήνη. See also Habicht 1985, 14 note 64.

Kontoleon-Foucart 1887, 300-301 no. 8 and Wolters 1887, 271: a marble stele with relief found approximately one hour to the east of Magnesia on the Sipylos,³²⁴ in an area where the archaic statue of the Mother of Gods and her temple stood, under the Koddinos rock. Kontoleon saw only a squeeze of the inscription made by Iohannes Kokkines, who transcribed the text and further told him that in the middle of the inscription there is an anaglyph of a bull's head flanked on each side of the stele by a flower bouquet. Kontoleon records only the height and width of the stele.

Height: 0.45m. Width: 0.30m.

³²² The name Συβαρτιάδης is not attested in the Lakedaimonian Prosopography (Poralla 1985 s.v. and Bradford 1977 s.v.), and, therefore, it was probably not a proper name.

³²³ This epithet, however, of Rhea Kybele is not honored with an entry in LSJ. In all probability it is connected with the verb πλάσσω or πλάττω from which πλάστης comes also.

³²⁴ Frazer (1965, vol. 3, 554) probably by mistake describes it as a statuette. Kontoleon's description clearly refers to a stele with relief (ἐπὶ στήλης... ἢ ἐπιγραφῇ αὕτη φέρει ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κεφαλὴν βοῦς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, εἰς τὰ ἄκρα ἀνθοδέσμας).

*post 200 ante?*NON-STOICH.? *ca.* 13

Μητροδώρα Ἀπολλᾶ
 Μητρὶ Πλαστήνη(ι)
 εὐχήν.

Restorations: at the end of line two (2) the iota, it seems, was not inscribed. The facsimile printed in Wolters 1887, 271 reads ΠΛΑΣΤΗΝΗ.

Kontoleon 1887, 253 no. 17 and Wolters 1887, 271-272: a bronze statuette with an inscribed base, found during excavations at the temple of the Mother of the Gods in 1887. Kontoleon reports only its height.

Height of statuette alone: 0.50m.

*aetas Romana?*NON-STOICH.? *ca.* 14

Μητρὶ θεῶν Πλαστήνη(ι)
 Καλβεΐσιος Ὀρφεὺς
 ἀνέθηκεν.

Restorations: at the end of line one (1) the iota, it seems, was not inscribed. Kontoleon's facsimile reads ΠΛΑΣΤΗΝΗ.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Ramsay 1882, 33-68. Reinach 1887, 97-97. Wolters 1887, 271-272. Humann 1888, 22-41. Head 1967, 652-653. *BE* 1979, 360. Habicht 1985, 14 and note 64.

Commentary: There is no way of pinpointing a date for these inscriptions, except that the word εὐχήν in the first and the name Καλβεΐσιος in the second inscription perhaps refer to Roman times, *i.e.* from the second century B.C. onwards.

What is important in these two inscriptions, however, is their contribution to Pausanias' text which, to quote Kontoleon, παρέσχε πράγματα εἰς τοὺς ἐκδότας (Wolters 1887, 272). Pausanias, after his exposition of Zeus' temple, proceeds to the next building, the Pelopeion, which offers him the opportunity to embellish his narrative with other stories concerning the sacred places of Asia Minor connected with Pelops and Tantalos. In this passage very explicitly and straightforwardly Pausanias identifies as his

homeland the region around Mt. Sipylos, an area which he knows very well, as is evident throughout his *Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις*.³²⁵ The same Mother of Gods, without her epithet, Plastene, is also mentioned in connection with her temple which Pausanias saw in the Lakedaimonian city of Akriai (3.22.4):

θέας δὲ αὐτόθι (sc. in the city of Akriai³²⁶) ἄξια Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου. παλαιότατον δὲ τοῦτο εἶναί φασιν οἱ τὰς Ἀκρίας ἔχοντες, ὅποσα τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης Πελοποννησίους ἱερά ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ Μάγνησί γε, οἷ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν νέμονται τοῦ Σιπύλου, τούτοις ἐπὶ Κοδδίνου πέτραι Μητρὸς ἐστὶ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἀπάντων ἄγαλμα· ποιῆσαι δὲ οἱ Μάγνητες αὐτὸ Βροτέαν λέγουσι τὸν Ταυτάλου.

Two other passages in Pausanias' work attest to his personal familiarity and fondness for the region of Mt. Sipylos. In Book 1, while describing the cave above the theater and below the Akropolis at Athens in which he saw Apollo and Artemis killing the children of Niobe, he adds (1.21.3):

ταύτην τὴν Νιόβην καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον ἀνελθὼν ἐς τὸν Σίπυλον ὄρος· ἡ δὲ πλησίον μὲν πέτρα καὶ κρημνός ἐστίν οὐδὲν παρόντι σχῆμα παρεχόμενος γυναικὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε πενθούσης· εἰ δέ γε πορρωτέρω γένοιο, δεδακρυμένην δόξεις ὄραν καὶ κατηφῆ γυναῖκα.

Niobe is mentioned again in Book 8, where Pausanias is very critical of the wondrous beliefs of the people of his time. In 8.2.2-4 Pausanias reports the Arkadian story that, when Lykaon sacrificed to Zeus Lykaios a baby in order to spill its blood on the altar, he was turned into a wolf. This, the story goes, became a tradition in Arkadia: anyone who sacrificed to Zeus Lykaios was turned into a wolf for a period of ten years and, if he abstained from human meat, he was restored to human form, otherwise he remained a

³²⁵ See Habicht 1985, 13-17 and notes for the importance of this region as Pausanias' place of origin.

³²⁶ The city of Akriai is believed to have been situated south of the modern village Kokinnia or Kokkinio at the shore, southwest of modern Molaoi (see Papachatzis ad loc.).

wolf forever. Pausanias rejects this tradition and accuses the Arkadians of credulity.³²⁷ He accepts, however, the story about Lykaon, because it is an extremely ancient tradition and goes back to that old time when people were closer to gods and these things could happen (8.2.5):

οὕτω πείθοιτο ἄν τις καὶ Λυκάονα θηρίον καὶ τὴν Ταντάλου Νιόβην γενέσθαι λίθον. ... (7) ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Νιόβην λέγουσιν ἐν Σιπύλῳ τῷ ὄρει θέρους ὥραι κλαίειν.

All these passages are telling of Pausanias' interest and favor for this region of Asia Minor. Moreover, W. M. Ramsay, who visited the area with Pausanias as his guide and studied its topography, wrote (Frazer 1965, 552):³²⁸

One who reads over the passages in which Pausanias refers to Sipylos, Niobe, and Tantalus, cannot fail to be struck with the life-like and telling accuracy of his language; it is that of a loving eye-witness.

It is obvious, therefore, from the two instances in books five and three that Pausanias visited the sanctuary of the Mother of gods Plastene and knew firsthand the landscape of the region. And yet, some of his editors before 1887 assumed a corruption and offered various alternative solutions, in spite of the phenomenon, rare in Pausanias' manuscript tradition, of almost unanimous manuscript agreement for the reading Πλαστήνης. The two inscriptions, dedicated to Plastene, that were found during excavations in a building

³²⁷ In 8.2.5-6 Pausanias scorns the fashionable trend of Hellenistic monarchs and Roman Emperors after Augustus of declaring themselves gods and his statement deserves to be quoted:

ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ —κακία γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤϋξετο καὶ γῆν τε ἐπενέμετο πᾶσαν καὶ πόλεις πάσας— οὔτε θεὸς ἐγίνετο οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, πλὴν ὅσον λόγῳ καὶ κολακείᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερέχον, καὶ ἀδίκῳ τὸ μήνιμα τὸ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ὄψέ τε καὶ ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐνθένδε ἀπόκειται. ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι πολλὰ μὲν πάλαι συμβάντα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἔτι γινόμενα ἄπιστα εἶναι πεποιθήκασιν ἕς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τοῖς ἀληθέσιν ἐποικοδομοῦντες ἐψευσμένα.

For this important statement see the discussion by Heer 1979, 62, 193-194, and especially by Veyne 1988, 99-100 and 95-102 (Chapter 8: "Pausanias Entrapped").

³²⁸ For a thorough discussion of the topography of the region and the identifications proposed see Frazer 1965, 552-555.

which Kontoleon assumed to be her temple,³²⁹ attest to Pausanias' reading Πλαστήνης. In addition the inscriptions provide the full name of the goddess which in Pausanias is derived from the combination of the two passages: the first inscription is dedicated to Μητρὶ Πλαστήνῃ; the second to Μητρὶ θεῶν Πλαστήνῃ. Similarly, Pausanias refers to the goddess as Πλαστήνης Μητρός (with a capital letter, since Plastene is only her epithet 5.13.7) and Μητρός θεῶν (3.22.4), both of which undoubtedly refer to the same goddess whose full name is Mother of the Gods, Plastene.

86.

- 5.15.4: ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου, πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Δεσποίνας (sc. βωμός) — τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἦντινα ὀνομάζουσι Δέσποιναν διδάξει μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς Ἀρκάδας—,....
- 5.15.10: μόναις δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαις οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον οὐδὲ ταῖς Δεσποίνας σπένδειν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῷ κοινῷ πάντων θεῶν. 5
- 8.37.1: Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκακησίου τέσσαρας σταδίους ἀπέχει τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δεσποίνης. πρῶτα μὲν δὴ αὐτόθι Ἡγεμόνης ναός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα ἔχον δαίδας· ποδῶν ἕξ εἶναι μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἰκάζομεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὸν ἱερὸν περίβολον τῆς Δεσποίνης ἐστὶν ἕσοδος. ἰόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν στοὰ τέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ 10 ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ λίθου λευκοῦ τύποι πεποιημένοι, καὶ τῷ μὲν εἰσὶν ἐπειρασμένοι Μοῖραι καὶ Ζεὺς ἐπίκλησιν Μοιραγέτης, δευτέρῳ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τρίποδα Ἀπόλλωνα ἀφαιρούμενος· ὅποια δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπυθανόμην γενέσθαι, δηλώσω καὶ τοῦτο, ἦν ἐς τοῦ Φωκικοῦ λόγου τὰ ἔχοντα ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀφικώμεθα (see 10.13.8). (2) ἐν δὲ τῇ στοᾷ 15 τῇ παρὰ τῇ Δεσποίνῃ μεταξύ τῶν τύπων τῶν κατειλεγμένων πινάκιόν ἐστι γεγραμμένον, ἔχον τὰ ἐς τὴν τελετήν· Νύμφαι δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ Πᾶνες ἐπὶ τῷ <τρίτῳ> τύπῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα· καὶ οἱ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε μὴ ἂν σφαλῆναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰ Πολυβίῳ τὰ πάντα ἐπέειθετο, καὶ ἄμαρ- 20

³²⁹ Wolters 1887, 272 has disputed this claim on the ground that the building's foundations do not support the idea of a temple, but rather that of a building within the sanctuary of Plastene. For additional topographical identifications, based on Pausanias' description of the Sipylos Mountain area see Frazer 1965, vol. 3, 552-555, who quotes these same inscriptions as well (554).

τούση δι' ἐκείνου βοήθειαν αὐτῆι γενέσθαι μόνου. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ
 Δήμητρί τε ἐστὶ βωμὸς καὶ ἕτερος Δεσποίνῃ, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ
 μεγάλης Μητρός. (3) θεῶν δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀγάλματα, Δέσποινα καὶ ἡ
 Δημήτηρ τε καὶ ὁ θρόνος ἐν ᾧ καθέζονται, καὶ τὸ ὑπόθημα τὸ ὑπὸ
 τοῖς ποσίν ἐστὶν ἐνὸς ὁμοίως λίθου· καὶ οὔτε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆι ἐσθῆτι 25
 οὔτε ὅποσα εἴργασται περὶ τὸν θρόνον οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἑτέρου λίθου
 προσεχὲς σιδήρῳ καὶ κόλλῃ, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα ἐστὶν εἰς λίθος.
 οὗτος οὐκ ἐσεκομίσθη σφίσιν ὁ λίθος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ὄψιν ὀνειράτος
 λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τὴν γῆν ὀρύξαντες.
 τῶν δὲ ἀγαμάτων ἐστὶν ἑκατέρου μέγεθος κατὰ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν 30
 ἄγαλμα μάλιστα τῆς Μητρός· Δαμοφώντος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔργα. (4) ἡ
 μὲν οὖν Δημήτηρ δαίδα ἐν δεξιᾷ φέρει, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν χεῖρα
 ἐπιβέβληκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Δέσποιναν· ἡ δὲ Δέσποινα σκῆπτρόν τε καὶ
 <τὴν> καλουμένην κίστην ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχει, τῆς δὲ ἔχεται τῆι
 δεξιᾷ {κίστης}. τοῦ θρόνου δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν Ἄρτεμις μὲν παρὰ 35
 τὴν Δήμητρα ἕστηκεν ἀμπεχομένη δέρμα ἐλάφου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων
 φερέτραν ἔχουσα, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῆι μὲν λαμπάδα ἔχει, τῆι δὲ
 ἄκοντας δύο. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν κατάκειται κύων, οἳαι θηρεύ-
 ειν εἰσὶν ἐπιτήδειοι. (5) πρὸς δὲ τῆς Δεσποίνης τῶι ἀγάλματι
 ἕστηκεν Ἄνυτος σχῆμα ὀπλισμένου παρεχόμενος· φασὶ δὲ οἱ περὶ 40
 τὸ ἱερόν τραφῆναι τὴν Δέσποιναν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄνυτου, καὶ εἶναι τῶν
 Τιτάνων καλουμένων καὶ τὸν Ἄνυτον. Τιτᾶνας δὲ πρῶτος ἐς
 ποίησιν ἐσήγαγεν Ὀμηρος, θεοὺς εἶναι φήσας ὑπὸ τῶι καλουμένῳ
 Ταρτάρῳ, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν Ἦρας ὄρκῳ τὰ ἔπη παρὰ δὲ Ὀμήρου Ὀνο-
 μάκριτος παραλαβῶν τῶν Τιτάνων τὸ ὄνομα Διονύσῳ τε συνέθη- 45
 κεν ὄργια καὶ εἶναι τοὺς Τιτᾶνας τῶι Διονύσῳ τῶν παθημάτων
 ἐποίησεν αὐτουργούς. (6) τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἄνυτον ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων
 λέγεται· Δήμητρος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν θυγατέρα εἶναι καὶ οὐ Λητοῦς, ὄντα
 Αἰγυπτίων τὸν λόγον Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδαξεν Εὐφορίωνος τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας. τὰ δὲ ἐς Κουρήτας —οὔτοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαμάτων πε- 50
 ποίηται—καὶ τὰ ἐς Κορύβαντας ἐπειρασμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βήθρου —
 γένος δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοιον καὶ οὐ Κούρητες—, τὰ ἐς τούτους παρήμι
 ἐπιστάμενος. (7) τῶν δὲ ἡμέρων οἱ Ἀρκάδες δένδρων ἀπάντων
 πλὴν ροιᾶς ἐσκομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ἐξιόντι ἐκ τοῦ
 ναοῦ κάτοπτρον ἡρμοσμένον ἐστὶν ἐν τῶι τοίχῳ· τοῦτο ἦν τις 55
 προσβλέπει τὸ κάτοπτρον, ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἦτοι παντάπασιν ἀμυδρῶς ἢ
 οὐδὲ ὄψεται τὴν ἀρχήν, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν
 θρόνον ἔστιν ἐναργῶς θεάσασθαι. (8) παρὰ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῆς
 Δεσποίνης ὀλίγον ἐπαναβάντι ἐν δεξιᾷ Μέγαρόν ἐστι καλούμενον,
 καὶ τελετὴν τε δρῶσιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆι Δεσποίνῃ θύουσιν ἱερεῖα 60
 οἱ Ἀρκάδες πολλά τε καὶ ἄφθονα. θύει μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ὃ τι
 κέκτηται· τῶν ἱερείων δὲ οὐ τὰς φάρυγγας ἀποτέμνει ὡσπερ ἐπὶ
 ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις, κῶλον δὲ ὃ τι ἂν τύχη, τοῦτο ἕκαστος ἀπέ-

κοψε τοῦ θύματος. (9) ταύτην μάλιστα θεῶν σέβουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν Δέσποιναν, θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν Ποσειδῶνός φασιν εἶναι καὶ 65 Δῆμητρος. ἐπὶ κλησίς ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ Δέσποινα, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν ἐκ Διὸς Κόρην ἐπονομάζουσι, ἰδίαι δὲ ἐστὶν ὄνομα Περσεφόνη, καθὰ Ὅμηρος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πάμφως ἐποίησαν· τῆς Δεσποίνης <δὲ> τὸ ὄνομα ἔδεισα ἐς τοὺς ἀτελέστους γράφειν. (10) ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Μέγαρόν ἐστιν ἄσος τῆς 70 Δεσποίνης ἱερὸν θριγκῶι λίθων περιεχόμενον, ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ δένδρα καὶ ἄλλα καὶ ἐλαία καὶ πρίνος ἐκ ῥίζης μιᾶς πεφύκασι· τοῦτο οὐ γεωργοῦ σοφίας ἐστὶν ἔργον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ ἄσος καὶ Ἰππίου Ποσειδῶνος, ἅτε πατρὸς τῆς Δεσποίνης, καὶ θεῶν ἄλλων εἰσὶ βωμοί· τῶι τελευταίῳ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶ θεοῖς αὐτὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν 75 εἶναι κοινόν.

IG V.2, 514: a stele of limestone was found in 1889, in the field called *στὰ Σελά*, near Lykosoura. The stele is broken into four fragments which join and only its bottom is missing. It is now in Athens.

Epigraphical Museum Inv. No. EM 11522. *Vidi, Phot., Ect.*

Height: 0.575m. Width: 0.48m. Breadth: 0.175m.

Letter Height: 0.01-0.015m. (except for line 1 which has 0.02-0.035).

saec. III-I ante

STOICH. 26-28

Δ ε σ π ο ἶ ν α ς
 [...17...] μὴ ἐξέστω^{vv}
 παρέρπην ἔχοντας ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τὰς^v
 Δεσποίνας μὴ χρυσία ὄσα μὴ ἰν ἀνά-^v
 5 θεμα μὴδὲ πορφύρεον εἶματισμόν^v
 μὴδὲ ἀνθ(ι)νὸν μὴδὲ [μέλ]ανα μὴδὲ ὑπο-
 δήματα μὴ[δὲ] δακτύλιον· εἰ δ' ἄν τις^v
 παρένθη ἔχων τι τῶν ἀστάλα [κ]ωλύει,^v
 ἀναθέτω ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν. μὴδὲ τὰς τ[ρί]-^{vv?}
 10 χας ἀμπεπλεγμένας μὴδὲ κεκαλυμ-^{vv}
 μένος, μὴδὲ ἄνθεα παρφέρην μὴδὲ^{vv}
 μύεσθαι [...7...] κύενσαν μὴδὲ θη-^v
 λαζομέναν· τὸς δὲ θύοντας πὸς θύη-^v
 15 σιν χρέεσθαι ἐλαίαι, μύρτοι, κηρίοι,
 ὄλοαῖς αἰρολογημέναις, ἀγάλμα[ι],
 μάκωνσι λευκαῖς, λυχνίοις, θυμιά-^v

μασιν, ζμύρναι, ἀρώμασιν· τὸς δὲ θ[ύ]-^{vv}
 οντας τᾶι Δεσποῖναι θύματα θύ[η]ν^v
 θήλεα λευκῶ ..|o...os καὶ κ.....

The letters are nicely spaced and the ends of strokes are thicker so as to suggest a dot-like serif, although de Protz calls them "volgares". The dialect (for which see Dubois) and the Ionic letter style suggest the Hellenistic period.

Characteristic letter shapes: the alpha (except for line 1 where it has a broken middle bar and in some other instances a curved middle bar), delta and lambda have all strokes of equal length; the pi's verticals are of equal length, but the horizontal is extended to the left and right; the omicron and omega are considerably smaller, and the omega's left and right horizontals are short; and the phi's vertical is higher than the rest of the letters, while its rounded shape is inscribed in a rhomboid fashion.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

- Line 1: pi—only half of the left and the right verticals.
 Line 3: tau—only the left and right part of the upper horizontal.
 Line 5: mu—only the left vertical and the middle left slanting strokes; eta—only the top of the left and the the upper half of the right verticals; nu—only the left vertical and the middle left slanting strokes.
 Line 7: eta—only a faint trace of the left vertical; delta—only the upper triangular.
 Line 9: tau—only the bottom tip of a vertical stroke.
 Line 10: mu—only a faint trace of the left vertical.
 Line 13: eta—only the bottom tip of the left vertical.
 Line 17: rho—only the upper curving stroke.
 Line 18: sigma—only the bottom horizontal and the right part of the upper horizontal; upsilon—only the upper left slanting stroke.
 Line 19: epsilon—only the upper horizontal and the upper part of the right vertical; upsilon—only the upper part of two slanting strokes.
 Loucas and Loucas-Durie 1985-86, 562 note 1 read line 19 from Leonardos' photograph:
 θήλεα [- - -]ς καὶ κ[?].....

Restorations:

- Line 2: the erasure was due to the cutter's mistake who, Leonardos has suggested and later editors accepted, started inscribing μὴ παρέρπην ἔχοντας and when it was too late he simply erased the offending letters.
 Line 12: as earlier the cutter apparently inscribed twice μύεσθαι which he caught too late and so he simply erased the second one and left the space empty.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

de Protz 1988, 197-199 no. 63. Weniger 1909, 291-303; id. 1915, 398-446; id. 1920, 1-39. Sokolowski 1969, 137-139 no. 68. Orlandini 1969-1970, 343-357. Jost 1973, 241-267; id. 1974-75, 39-46; id. 1985, 329-331. Guarducci *EG* vol. 4, 20-23. Durie 1984, 137-147. Habicht 1985, 47-48. Dubois 1986, vol. 2, 301-305; vol. 3, 104-105 notes 2216-2224. Loucas and Loucas-Durie 1985-86, 561-578. Horsley 1987, 108-109. Loucas 1987-88, 401-419; id. 1989, 105-114.

Commentary: The date for this inscription, third to first centuries B.C., is based exclusively on the letter style which, according to Hiller, suggests the second century B.C., but, according to de Prott, the third.

Among the many altars in the Altis on which the Eleians offered sacrifices every month Pausanias mentions the altar of the Despoinai, the goddesses about whom he promises to elaborate in his *Arkadika*. Later, when he discusses the kinds of sacrifices the Eleians made, he states that on the altar of the Despoinai, as well as that of the Nymphai and the one common to all the gods, the Eleians do not pour libations of wine. When he reaches the sanctuary of the Despoinai on the road from Megalopolis to Lykosoura, Pausanias, as he promised in his *Eliaka*, offers a full account about the sanctuary and its major dedications, which in large part has been confirmed by the excavations at the end of the last century.³³⁰ A significant detail is that some of the gods and goddesses, honored within the temenos of the Despoinai, correspond surprisingly with the altars Pausanias saw in the Altis (5.14.8; 15.3, 5-6). In particular, in both sanctuaries there are altars to Zeus Moiragetes, the Nymphai, and one common to all the gods, who perhaps were related to Despoina's cult.

Pausanias' narrative about this sanctuary is quite detailed, but considerably shorter than his narrative on Olympia. It is quoted in its entirety, not only because in miniature it shows his treatment of a sanctuary and is therefore worth comparing with his extensive treatment of Zeus' sanctuary at Olympia, but also because Pausanias' statements have been corroborated by the inscriptions that were found during the excavations. These inscriptions should properly be included in an epigraphical commentary on book 8; for the present purposes it will be sufficient to concentrate on only one, perhaps the most

³³⁰ See Habicht 1985, 47-48, and especially Papachatzis 1974-81, vol. 4, 331-341 and the notes. Parts of the statues that Pausanias saw have been found.

important, inscription.³³¹ It is a very well preserved sacred law which Pausanias most probably read in the stoa, near the statue of Despoina (8.37.2): ἐν δὲ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ παρὰ τῇ Δεσποίνῃ μεταξὺ τῶν τύπων τῶν κατειλεγμένων πινακίον ἐστὶ γεγραμμένον, ἔχον τὰ ἐς τὴν τελετήν (see also 8.37.8 for the sacrifices they offered which may have been inscribed as well). Jost (1985, 329-331) has argued that *IG V.2.514* cannot be the πινακίον of Pausanias, since the inscription does not refer to some specific rite, but to the sanctuary as a whole. The omission, however, from the inscription of a specific rite does not make the interdictions of the *lex sacra* irrelevant to the rites, the τελετή, of Despoina, especially in light of the scanty evidence. Moreover, the presence of the verb μύεσθαι in line 12 lends support to the view that the interdictions in this *lex sacra* were in force during the specific rites of Despoina. The text of the inscription may be divided into three sections: in the first (lines 2-13) there are instructions of what the initiates (line 12 μύεσθαι), pregnant or breast-feeding women excluded, entering the temenos should not wear. The second section (lines 13-17) is a list of the offerings for the sacrifice, among which significantly there is no wine. The stele is broken at the beginning of the third section (lines 17-19) which mandated what kind of sacrificial animals could be offered to Despoina, and then further instructions to the initiates would presumably have been inscribed.

This inscription reveals the significance of Despoina and her cult. Pausanias, of course, does not reveal the laws of initiation, but his comment that the Eleians do not pour libations on the altar of Despoina at Olympia receives confirmation. There is no mention

³³¹ For other inscriptions of, or for Despoina see: *IG V.2*, 129, 131, 132, 515, 516, 520, 522, 524, 525, 535, 536, 538, 540, 541, 542, 546. Most of these are dedications to Despoina for whose rites see Durie 1984, 137-147; Loucas and Loucas-Durie 1985-86, 561-578; Loucas-Durie 1987-88, 401-419; id. 1989, 105-114; and Jost 1985, 323-331, and *passim*. 535 is the dedication by the brother of Polybios, Thearidas son of Lykortas for Thearidas son of Philopoimen. Pausanias mentions only the statue of Polybios the son of Lykortas, perhaps because of his fame.

of wine among the offerings for the sacrifice and the libations in the inscription. At Olympia Pausanias mentions only one altar dedicated to Despoina, the goddess who was honored especially by the Arkadians from whom the Eleians learned about her. Obviously, Despoina did not hold a significant place in Olympia. The lack of evidence there for her cult is greatly compensated by the discovery of many inscriptions in the appropriate place, her temple and sanctuary in Lykosoura, for which Pausanias' information is as valuable as it is trustworthy.

87.

5.15.7: ἐσελθόντων δὲ αὐθις διὰ τῆς πομπικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάτιν εἰσὶν ὄπισθεν τοῦ Ἡραίου ... καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος πέμπτος (sc. βωμὸς) Θερμίου. τὸν μὲν δὴ παρὰ Ἡλείοις Θέρμιον καὶ αὐτῶι μοι παρίστατο εἰκάζειν ὡς κατὰ Ἀθίδα γλώσσαν εἶη θέσμιος·

IG IX.1, 69: three associated fragments of limestone were found in Thermon, of which **c** is now lost. Fr. **a** is broken on the left and right sides, fr. **b** on the right, and fr. **c** on the left. Frs. **a** and **b** are in the Museum at Thermon (Inv. Nos. 97+1).

Height: fr. **a** 0.68m., fr. **b** 0.69m. Width: fr. **a** 1.00m., fr. **b** 0.057m.

Breadth: fr. **a** 0.35m., fr. **b** 0.32m.

Letter Height: 0.025-0.04m.

170–160 *ante*

[τὸ] κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τὸν βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνι Θε[ρ]μίου,
στραταγέοντο[s]
[Ἀγ]ελόχου τοῦ Τριχᾶ Στ[ρατί]ου, ἱππαρχέοντος Φρίκου [τ]οῦ
Πολυδαίτα
[Μο]λυκρέος, γραμματεύ[οντος] τῶν Αἰτωλῶν Στομίου τοῦ
Χαβ<ρ>ί<a> Μαχετ[ι]-
[έου], τῶν δὲ συνέδρων Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολεμαίου [Στ]ρατ<ί>ου.

IG IX.1, 83: a bronze weight was found in the temple of Apollo at Thermon. It weighs

500 gr. and is now in the Numismatic Museum at Athens.

Height: 0.068m. Width: 0.073m. Breadth: 0.01m.

Letter Height: 0.006-0.01m. (except line 2, 0.02m.).

ca. 200 ante

Ἀπόλλωνος
Μίνᾱ
Θερμίου.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc.

Weniger 1909, 291-303; id. 1915, 398-446; id. 1920, 1-39. Antonetti 1990, 130-131, 169-170, 200-203.

Commentary: The dates for these inscriptions are Klaffenbach's.

Among the altars, on which the Eleians offered sacrifices every month, Pausanias includes also the one dedicated to Apollo Thermios which was behind the Heraion. Following his principle of offering an exegesis, whenever possible, Pausanias adds his own explanation: "it occurred to me that what the Eleians (pronounce as) Thermios, the Athenians (pronounce) it Thesmios (*i.e.* of the institutions)." Pausanias' line of reasoning is based apparently on the rhotacism of the Eleian dialect which of course did not occur in the middle of a word (Buck 1973, 159-160). Albeit wrong, this is the only example in his *Eliaka* in which Pausanias argues about the meaning of a word on the basis of phonology.

But Pausanias did not visit Thermon, the centre of the Aitolian League, where the temple of Apollo has been excavated.³³² It seems more than probable that Thermios

³³² There also have been found inscriptions which indirectly mention Apollo Thermios, since they include the clause for setting up the dedication in the temple of Apollo ἐν Θέρμονι: *IG IX.1.3A*₁₄₋₁₅, 47, 178₈, 179₃₂, 188₃₂.

Apollo was the god of Thermon, especially when the mythistoric connection of the Eleians and the Aitolians is brought to bear.³³³ As Antonetti (1990, 130) has recently noted, the existence of an altar in honor of Apollo Thermios at Olympia cannot be anything else, but an indication that relations between the Eleians and the Aitolians were not limited to the mythistoric past. During Pausanias' visit at the sanctuary the fifth altar which the cult personnel attended every month was that of Apollo Thermios to whom they offered sacrifices in the same way as in the old days.

88.

6.13.3: Ἐοικότα δὲ Χιόνιδι τὰ ἐς δόξαν καὶ ἀνὴρ Λύκιος παρέσχετο
Ἑρμογένης Ξάνθιος, ὃς τὸν κότινον ἐν τρισὶν Ὀλυμπιάσιν
ἀνείλετο ὀκτάκις ἐπὶ κλησὶν τε ἔσχευ Ἴππος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων

Balland 1984, 325-349, pl. 1-18: the French excavations of 1981-82 in the Letoon of the Lykian city of Xanthos have recovered three blocks along the Sacred Road to the southwest of the sanctuary. They were joined together and set up on an elevation, thus forming a monumental dedication which is reconstructed and its topography and architecture thoroughly discussed by C. Le Roy (pp. 325-338). On three of these blocks there are inscribed four decrees of nearly identical wording: the first from left to right (**A**) on Block A is by the boule and the city of Xanthos; perhaps another copy of it (**A'**) was inscribed on a block which has not been found, but the extreme right ending of three of its lines is preserved on the left margin of Block B; a third decree (**B**) is inscribed on Block B, whose beginning is lost, since it was inscribed on a superimposed block that has not been found, and,

³³³ For earlier arguments that the Thesmios Apollo is the Apollo on the pediment of Zeus' temple at Olympia see Papachatzis 1974-1981, vol. 3, 273-274 note 3.

therefore, it is not certain whether it was a decree by Hermogenes' city or by the Lykian League; and, finally, the decree by the Lykian League (C) is inscribed on Block C, and is preserved intact. Later excavations in 1984 have shown that there was no other decree inscribed on the monument (338 note 5).

Inv. Nos. **A** 6378; **A'** 6378 *bis*; **B** 6379; **C** 3680.

Inscribed surface of Block A (**A**): Height 0.80m. Width 1.06m.

Inscribed surface of Block B (**A'**, **B**): Height 1.30m. Width 0.90m.

Inscribed surface of Block C (**C**): Height 0.80m. Width 0.75-0.80m.

Letter Height: **A**, **A'**, and **C** 0.03m.; **B** 0.04m.

A *paulo post 90 post* NON-STOICH.

[Ξαν]θίων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν]
 [Τ]ῆτον Φλάουιον Ἀπολλωνίου υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα]
 Ἑρμογένην, Ξάνθιον καὶ Παταρέ[α καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέα, πολ-
 λειτευόμενον δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξοχωτάταις τῆς Ἀσίας]
 5 καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεσι πάσαις, παραδοξονεί-
 κην καὶ ἄριστον Ἑλλήνων, τὸν διὰ βίου ξυστάρ-
 χην τῶν ἐν Λυκία<ι> ἀγομένων ἀγώνων, [νεικήσαντα Καπε]-
 τάλεια ἐν Ῥώμη<ι>, Ὀλύμπα ἦ, Ἴσθμια [θ, Νέμεια θ, Πύθια]
 ε, Ἄκτια δ, τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεί<α> ἱερὸν πενταετηρι-
 10 κὸν γ, ἐν Νεαπόλει δ, ἐν Περ[γάμω<ι> κοινὸν Ἀσίας ε],
 ἐν Ἐφέσω<ι> Βαλβίλληα ε, ἐν [Σμύρνη<ι> κοινὸν Ἀσίας δ],
 ἐν Ἀντιοχεί<α> κοινὸν Συρίας Κιλικίας Φοινείκης δ,
 τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου ἄριστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων,
 τὴν ἐξ Ἄργους ἀσπίδα ἦ, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς]
 15 ἀγῶνας στάδια διαύλους ὀπλεί[τας πρῶτον]
 ἀπ' αἰῶνος.

A' *paulo post 90 post* NON-STOICH.

[- - - - -]
 [κοινὸν Ἀσίας δ, ἐν Ἀντιοχεί<α> κοινὸν Συρί]ας
 [Κιλικίας Φοινείκης δ, τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου
 [ἄριστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὴν ἐξ Ἄργους ἀσπίδα] ἦ,
 [κτλ. - - - - -]

B [- - - - - ἐτείμησεν]

- [Τίτον Φλάουιον Ἀπολλωνίου υἱὸν]
 [Κυρεῖνα Ἑρμογένην, Ξάνθιον]
 [καὶ Παταρέα καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέα],
 5 [πολιτευόμενον δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς]
 [ἐξοχωτάταις τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς]
 [Ἑλλάδος πόλεσι πάσαις, παραδο-]
 [ξονείκην καὶ ἄριστον Ἑλλήνων],
 [τὸν διὰ] βίου ξυστάρχην τῶν ἐν]
 10 Λυκία<ι> ἀγομένων ἀγώνων, νεική-
 σαντα Καπετώλεια ἐν Ῥώμη<ι>, Ὀλύμπια ἦ, Ἴσθμια Ἰ, Νέμεια Ἰ,
 Πύθια ε, Ἄκτια δ, τὸν ἐν Ἀλε-
 ξανδρεία<ι> ἱερὸν πενταετηρικὸν
 15 γ, ἐν Νεαπόλει δ, ἐν Περγάμω<ι>
 κοινὸν Ἀσίας ε, ἐν Ἐφέσω<ι> Βαλ-
 βύλλα ε, ἐν Σμύρνη<ι> κοινὸν Ἀ-
 σίας δ, ἐν Ἀντιοχία<ι> κοινὸν Συρί-
 20 ας Κιλικίας Φοινείκης δ, τὸν ἀ-
 πὸ τοῦ τροπαίου ἄριστον τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων, τὴν ἐξ Ἄργους ἀσπίδα
 ἦ, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγῶνας στά-
 δια διαύλους ὀπλείτας πρῶτον
 ἀπ' αἰῶνος.

C

- Λυκίων τὸ κοινὸν ἐτείμησεν πάλιν
 Τίτον Φλάουιον Ἀπολλωνίου υἱὸν
 Κυρεῖνα Ἑρμογένην, Ξάνθιον καὶ Παταρέα
 καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέα, πολιτευόμενον δὲ
 5 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξοχωτάταις τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεσι πάσαις, παραδο-
 ξονείκην καὶ ἄριστον Ἑλλήνων,
 τὸν διὰ βίου ξυστάρχην τῶν ἐν Λυκία<ι>
 ἀγομένων ἀγώνων, νεικήσαντα Καπε-
 10 τώλεια ἐν Ῥώμη<ι>, Ὀλύμπια ἦ, Ἴσθμια Ἰ,
 Νέμεια Ἰ, Πύθια ε, Ἄκτια δ, τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξαν-
 δρεία<ι> ἱερὸν πενταετηρικὸν γ, ἐν Νεαπόλει
 δ, ἐν Περγάμω<ι> κοινὸν Ἀσίας ε, ἐν Ἐφέσω<ι>
 Βαλβύλλα ε, ἐν Σμύρνη<ι> κοινὸν Ἀσίας δ,
 15 ἐν Ἀντιοχία<ι> κοινὰ Συρίας Κιλικίας Φοινείκης
 δ, τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπαίου ἄριστον τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων, τὴν ἐξ Ἄργους ἀσπίδα ἦ, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς
 ἀγῶνας στάδια διαύλους ὀπλείτας πρῶτον
 ἀπ' αἰῶνος.

The letter style of all four inscriptions is that of the Imperial period, *i.e.* elegant, and the strokes end in apices. The cutter consistently does not inscribe the iota adscript in the dative case which Balland prints as a subscript, but here it is in angle brackets. The numbers which come after each game are all inscribed with an overline and sometimes half a space is left empty.

Restorations: all the restorations are those of Balland and are based on the last inscription which is preserved intact.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Moretti 1957, 159 nos. 805-807. Mellink 1982, 567. Habicht 1984, 53-54. Moretti 1987, 76 nos. 805-807.

Commentary: The date for these decrees, a little after 91 A.D., is based on the fact that Hermogenes won twice in the Kapitolia in Rome. These games were instituted by Domitian in 86 A.D. and were celebrated once more in 90 A.D. These three decrees were inscribed therefore sometime after 90 A.D. Hermogenes' Olympic victories are recorded only by Pausanias, and by Iulius Africanus (Rutgers 1980, 90-91) where his victories in the stadion race are dated in the 215th and 217th Olympiad (81 and 89 A.D.). The year 91 A.D., it should be emphasized, is only a *terminus post quem* and it does not necessarily coincide with the end of Hermogenes' athletic career.

Pausanias, continuing his exposition of athletic statues, reaches the inscribed stele of the Lakedaimonian Chionis, which offers him the opportunity to correct some misconceptions about the claims this athlete makes in the inscription about his victories (6.13.2). Pausanias proceeds to a comparison between Chionis' achievements and those of other runners whom he knew to have won in the Olympic Games (6.13.3-4): the Lykian Hermogenes from Xanthos, Polites from Keramos in Karia, and the Rhodian runner Leonidas. These three athletes are mentioned by Pausanias parenthetically and only in order to dispel the boasts he read on the stele of Chionis, that he was an extraordinary runner. Pausanias' narrative, therefore, does not imply that he saw the statues of these athletes at Olympia, although they may have existed, and so,

Hermogenes' case is included in this Chapter.³³⁴ In fact, the next statue he sees near that of Chionis is the dedication of the boy boxer Douris from Samos (χιόνιδος δὲ οὐ(δὲ) πόρρω τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι στήλης (καὶ ὅς) ἔστηκε (ὁ) Δοῦρις <ὁ> Σάμιος, κρατήσας πυγμῆι παῖδας· 6.13.5).

Notwithstanding this, the inscriptions which have been found in Hermogenes' city indicate that Pausanias was familiar with the career of this athlete. In all probability the exegete visited Lykian Xanthos where he may have seen the monumental dedication of Hermogenes that has been found in the Letoon and read the inscriptions on the bases. Although Pausanias' comment is very brief, it is in agreement with the information of the inscriptions: Pausanias identifies him only with his name and his ethnic, as is his custom, whereas the inscriptions preserve his full name: Titus Flavius Hermogenes from Xanthos, who was granted citizenship also by Patara and Alexandria. The only other detail Pausanias offers about him is his eight Olympic victories during three Olympiads which are recorded in the three decrees (A line 8, B line 12, and C line 10). Before the discovery of these inscriptions, the generally accepted view was that Hermogenes' victories were won in the stadion, diaulos and dolichos running events. This was based on the stadionikai list of Iulius Africanus (preserved by Eusebius, Rutgers 1980, 90-91), where Hermogenes is entered as a stadionike in A.D. 81 and 89. This in connection with Pausanias' comment that he won eight times in three Olympiads led to the conclusion that Hermogenes was victorious in all three running events in 81 and 89 (stadion, diaulos and

³³⁴ Papachatzis' (1974-81, vol. 3, 351) caption of chapter 13 implies that Pausanias saw the statues of these athletes in Olympia. Hyde (1980, 15), however, correctly does not number these statues, but appends them (111a, 111b, and 111c) to the statue of Chionis (no. 111), and alerts the reader (48):

Chionidis mentio periegetae ansam praebet ad enumerandos alios quoque Olympionicas, qui aut pluribus Olympiadibus continuis aut eadem Olympiade plura certamina vicerint: Hermogenem, Politem, Leonidam (111a-c). Quarum statuas, si quae fuerunt, cave credas iuxta Chionidem positas fuisse.

See also Herrmann 1988, 165-166.

dolichos), while he won only in the two (the diaulos and dolichos) in 85, since in the stadionike list another athlete is mentioned. This was generally right. Except for one detail, which the inscriptions now correct, namely that Hermogenes did not run in the dolichos, but the armed running event (ὄπλιέτας **A** line 15, **B** line 23, and **C** line 18).

Surprisingly, however, there is no mention in the inscriptions of the epithet *Hippos* with which, Pausanias says, the Greeks nicknamed him. The extraordinary list of his victories, however, justifies the epithet, and it moreover corroborates Pausanias' objection to Chionis' claims about his accomplishments as a runner: Hermogenes, in addition to his eight Olympic victories, won also in the Kapitolia at Rome, nine times in the Isthmia, nine in the Nemea, five in the Pythia, four in the Aktia, three in the pentaeteric of Alexandria, four in the Sebasta at Naples, and so on. Furthermore, the inscriptions record that he was a *paradoxonikes*, i.e. a winner in more than one event during the same day, or games. This is only implied by Pausanias who states that Hermogenes was victorious in three Olympics eight times, and his reluctance to use this title may be parallel to his avoidance of the title *periodonikes*.³³⁵ *Paradoxonikes* originally meant the athlete who was victorious in the wrestling and pankration during the same Olympiad and refers to the victories of Herakles according to Pausanias (λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἡρακλέα ὡς πάλης τε ἀνέλοιτο καὶ παγκρατίου νίκας 5.8.4).³³⁶ Apparently, however, the title was eventually used for athletes who were victorious in more than one event in the same Olympiad. But Pausanias consistently avoids using both *paradoxonikes* and *periodonikes*, precisely because of the confusion that surrounded their definition.

³³⁵ See nos. 8 above [Ergoteles], especially note 119; 21 [Kallias]; 40 [Epitherses]; and 89 below.

³³⁶ Balland 1984, 343 and the bibliography in notes 28-32.

Be that as it may, the inscriptions that have been discovered in Xanthos, the city of Hermogenes, are only the third bit of evidence about this extraordinary athlete, the other two being Pausanias and the stadionike list of Africanus. The epigraphical evidence not only corroborates Pausanias' brief note about Hermogenes, but attests to his methodology as well. While providing an exegesis for the dedication of the Spartan runner Chionis at Olympia, whose inscription made excessive claims about his athletic accomplishments, Pausanias deems it appropriate to set the record straight. He relates other examples of runners with whose careers he is familiar and who equaled, if not surpassed, the accomplishments and the fame of Chionis. This information the exegete probably derived from sources outside of Olympia and only appended them in the appropriate place. And it is no accident that two of these athletes, active in the first century A.D., are from Asia Minor, the native land of Pausanias himself.

89.

6.14.2: τὸ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι τοῦ Ῥοδίου παλαιστοῦ (sc. Nikasylos) τόλμημα Ἄρτεμίδωρος γένος Τραλλιανὸς ὑπερεβάλετο κατὰ ἐμὴν δόξαν. Ἄρτεμίδωρῳ γὰρ ἀμαρτεῖν μὲν Ὀλυμπίων συνέβη παγκρατιάζοντι ζοντι ἐν παισίν, αἰτία δὲ οἱ ἐγένετο τῆς διαμαρτίας τὸ ἄγαν νέον· (3) ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἀγῶνος καιρὸς ὃν Σμυρναῖοι Ἰώνων ἄγουσιν, ἐς 5 τοσοῦτο ἄρα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπηύξητο ὡς κρατῆσαι παγκρατιάζοντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς τοὺς τε ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἀνταγωνιστὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισίν οὓς ἀγενεῖους καλοῦσι καὶ τρίτα δὴ ὅ τι ἄριστον ἦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. γενέσθαι δὲ οἱ τὴν ἄμιλλαν πρὸς ἀγενεῖους τε καὶ ἄνδρας τὴν μὲν ἐκ γυμναστοῦ παρακλήσεώς φασι, 10 τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς παγκρατιαστοῦ λαιδορίας. ἀνείλετο δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὁ Ἄρτεμίδωρος Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην δευτέραι καὶ δεκάτη πρὸς διακοσίαις Ὀλυμπιάδι.

Engelmann 1980, 87 no. 1124 (*IEphesos*): a base of white marble was found in 1897, in the atrium of the Constantian Baths at Ephesos. The text below is that of the editors.

Height: 0.83m. Width: 0.57m. Breadth: 0.057m.

Letter Height: 0.035m.

96–98 *post*

NON-STOICH. *ca.* 17

[Ἄρτεμιδι [Ἐφεσίᾳ
 [καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Νέρ-
 ουα Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ
 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἐφεσίων
 5 Τιβ. Κλ. Ἄρτεμίδωρος Καί-
 σαρεὺς Τραλλιανὸς ὁ
 καὶ Ἄλεξανδρεὺς καὶ
 Ἐφέσιος, παγκρατιαστής,
 περιδονεΐκης καὶ πα-
 10 ραδοξονεΐκης, ἀρχιε-
 ρεὺς ξυστοῦ καὶ διὰ βίου
 ξυστάρχης.

Bibliography: Frazer 1965, ad loc. Hitzig 1896-1910, ad loc. Papachatzis 1974-81, ad loc. Moretti 1957, 158 no. 799. Engelmann 1978-80, 32-33 no. 34. Habicht 1985, 82-83. Moretti 1987, 76 no. 799.

Commentary: The date for Artemidoros' dedication, A.D. 96-98, is self evident, since Nerva is mentioned as the dedicatee. Apparently Artemidoros was alive during Nerva's reign, some years after he had won in the men's pankration at Olympia in the 212th Olympiad (A.D. 69) according to Pausanias, although there is no evidence that this was his last victory.

Continuing his exposition of athletic statues, Pausanias reaches the statue of the Aiginetan athlete Pherias, who was denied permission to enter the competition because of his young age (no. 38 above). This unique incident gives Pausanias the opportunity to add more examples of athletes who were believed to be too young and accordingly were denied participation in the Olympics. One of them was the Rhodian Nikasylos (6.14.1-2), and the other, who surpassed Nikasylos' achievement, an athlete from Tralleis in Asia Minor, the place to which Pausanias refers at every opportunity. As earlier in the case of

Chionis and Hermogenes (no. 88 above), so too here Pausanias mentions Nikasylos and Artemidoros parenthetically in order to compare their athletic accomplishments and to conclude that Artemidoros surpassed all. Pausanias, therefore, does not make clear whether he saw the statue of Artemidoros at Olympia, although it may have existed there, and so, Artemidoros' case is included in this section of Chapter IV.³³⁷ In fact, the next statue Pausanias sees near that of Nikasylos is the dedication of a small bronze horse by Krokon from Eretria (Νικασύλου δὲ τῆς εἰκόνας ἵππος τε οὐ μέγας ἔχεται χαλκοῦς, ὃν Κρόκων Ἐρετριεὺς ἀνέθηκεν ἀνελόμενος κέλητι ἵππῳ στέφανον 6.14.4).

Even so, Pausanias' information about Artemidoros' athletic achievement in the pankration is corroborated and confirmed by the inscribed base that has been found in Ephesos. It is a dedication by Artemidoros to the Ephesian Artemis, Nerva and the city of Ephesos. In addition to his full name (Tiberius Klaudius), his ethnic (from Kaisareia and Tralleis) and his honorary citizenships by Alexandria and Ephesos), Artemidoros also mentions his titles: *periodonikes*, *paradoxonikes*, his appointment as president of the athletic guild, and as president of the organizing committee of the Games (probably in Asia Minor) for life. Of all these details only the athlete's "*cognomen*" Artemidoros, his true ethnic Trallianos, and two of his athletic titles are in Pausanias' account.

The athletic titles, however, that Artemidoros inscribed on the base are mentioned by Pausanias in a more detailed way. More specifically, the titles *περιοδονεΐκης* and *παρadoxονεΐκης* (line 9-10), which Pausanias consistently avoids,³³⁸ are in fact explained by the exegete: when Artemidoros entered the pankration at Olympia, he failed

³³⁷ See above note 334 and the arguments whether a statue of Hermogenes existed in Olympia. *Mutatis mutandis* the same arguments apply in the case of Artemidoros.

³³⁸ See above note 335.

because he was too young. When, however, he competed against the same athletes in the Ionian Games held at Smyrna, he was able to participate in all three categories of boys, ephebes, and men in the same day, in the last two because he was challenged to enter, and he won all three of them. This achievement, indeed a *paradoxon*, is implied by the inscription's title παραδοξονείκης. The other title, which required victories in all four major Panhellenic games, is not mentioned by Pausanias, except for Artemidoros' Olympic victory in the men's pankration in the 212th Olympiad (A.D. 69).

The inscription found in Ephesos, therefore, and Pausanias' narrative about Artemidoros not only corroborate, but also complement each other nicely. The exegete may have derived the information from an inscribed base of Artemidoros in the Altis, since he was an Olympic victor, or from sources outside of Olympia and only appended it in the appropriate place of his narrative. While discussing the statues of Pherias and Nikasylos at Olympia Pausanias deems it appropriate to relate the career of another athlete who again "happened" to be from Asia Minor and whose athletic achievements, as Pausanias proudly claims, surpassed those of all others.

CONCLUSIONS

The second century A.D., during which Pausanias, travelled and composed his work, belongs to the Second Sophistic movement in literature, so-called because the majority of its representatives were Sophists by profession. Two main characteristics of this movement were antiquarianism, and the revival or slavish mimesis of the Attic style. Pausanias, however, stands out as an exception to the norm because of the nature of his work, and it is this “difference” that lies behind his exclusion from discussions of the period. Indeed, although Pausanias strives hard for *variatio* in his presentation because of the repetitive nature of the subject matter, style is not one of his strong points. But he is an antiquarian, more so than any other representative of the Second Sophistic, an antiquarian who sets out to compose what has come to be known as the Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις. The title is not his own and it was made up, it is generally assumed, by the first copyists in Byzantine times. In fact, Pausanias never uses the word περιήγησις or any other related word throughout his work.³³⁹ When he refers to earlier or later books in his narrative, Pausanias uses the word λόγος, an obvious Herodotean influence. But to what extent can his work be recognized as a sample of periegetic literature, and furthermore why did he feel the need for this kind of a work in which inscriptions occupy a prominent role? After all, Pausanias spent most of his adult years collecting the information and writing this magnum opus vitae.

From Homer’s *Odyssey* on, travel literature enjoyed a significant popularity:

³³⁹ See Chapter I notes 27 and 33 above.

Herodotus' *Inquiries* and the Ionian *Γῆς Περιηγήσεις* or *Περίπλοιοι*, geographical treatises and guide books, even the ancient romances, all display a fondness for exotic descriptions of the world close to and around Greece. Closely related to travel literature were also different types of historical writing: genealogy or mythography, ethnography, horography, chronography, and of course history.³⁴⁰ Works of this kind were primarily attempts to preserve the "past" and so to arrive at a better understanding of peoples with whom the Greeks came into contact.³⁴¹

Especially by the Hellenistic period and onward, periegetic literature is well established, and the epigraphical evidence becomes a significant element in such works. No complete example has survived from that period, and the few fragments of pseudo-Dikaearchos and Polemo, whom Pausanias purportedly copied extensively in his work, can not be compared in any detail to Pausanias. Moreover, the titles that are known suggest that they did not have the scope of Pausanias' work.³⁴² Pausanias not only distances himself from the periegetes by not using the word, but he also extends the scope of the genre. He is not interested, as the periegetes seem to have been, in writing a dry and superficial description of the monuments. He strives to paint the total picture for a

³⁴⁰ For the nature of historical writing see Fornara 1988, 1-46. Fornara's discussion is limited to what may be called historical writing proper, the *res gestae*, by virtue of which Pausanias' case is excluded.

³⁴¹ In her recent study, *The Witness and the Other World. Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600*, Mary B. Campbell has convincingly argued that the need for such stories of the "Other World" is elemental and innate in human nature (Campbell 1991, 2-3; the emphasis is mine):

After we learn "to be" and "to have" in a new language, we learn "to go." ... Before the Renaissance, overseas travel was rare enough among Europeans that travelers could indeed "lie with authority," though they might not mean to. ... The travel book is a kind of witness: it is generically aimed at the truth. Neither power nor talent gives a travel writer his or her authority, which comes only and crucially from experience.

Her discussion focuses on the periegetic literature from 400 to 1600 A.D. and the stories it told about the "Other World." In this way humans, she argues, develop an understanding of and a discourse with "different" peoples, with whom they come in contact. Although he shares much with these travelers of exotic places, Pausanias moves the focus of his travel to an already known place, Greece.

³⁴² See especially Frazer's (1965, vol. 1, xlii-xlix and lxxxii-xc) comments on the fragments of the two periegetes and Pausanias' predecessors; and Habicht (1985, 1-5).

particular place and, to this end, he utilizes anything he judges valuable. He mixes comments on the geography, mythology, history of places with descriptions of the temples and noteworthy monuments, adds information about local beliefs and customs, indeed anything that he deems of interest to the reader. On the surface, this is a guide book. Yet, any reader of Pausanias certainly feels uncomfortable with this sobriquet, mainly because his work is much more than that.³⁴³

Certainly, Pausanias' work may be better understood as a "history" in the broadest sense of the word. He thought of himself as a historian not of the *res gestae* alone (history proper occupies a significant part in his exposition), but of, if you will, the *res humanae*. Early in his work he states unequivocally his aim (1.26.4): δεῦ δέ με ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ λόγου πρόσω, πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά. Pausanias is neither interested in exotic places, nor does he limit his goals to a specific subject, as many of his predecessors did. His exotic place is Greece and so his travels are in a way introspective, i.e. he sets out in a quest to find and explain the Greeks' traditions and how these were manifested through the monuments at the sites he visited. He is very much preoccupied with "all things Greek," or to paraphrase, what to him, a Greek from Asia Minor, meant to be Greek in the second century A.D.

To accomplish this enormous task Pausanias employs as his basic, self-contained

³⁴³ See note 33 above. Although Habicht (1985, 3) accepts the title of the book, he does not believe that it is only guide book (1985, 1-27 and 140-164). In a similar vein P. Veyne (1988, 3 and note 12) has noted recently (emphasis is mine):

Pausanias is not a mind to be underestimated, and we do him an injustice when we accept the assessment of his *Description of Greece* as the Baedeker of ancient Greece. Pausanias is the equal of any of the great nineteenth-century German philologists or philosophers. To describe the monuments and narrate the history of the different countries of Greece, he combed the libraries, traveled a great deal, cultivated himself, and saw it all with his own eyes. His approaches collecting local oral legends with the zeal of a French provincial scholar of the days of Napoleon III. The precision of his descriptions and the breadth of his knowledge are astounding. He amazes us, too, by his visual accuracy (by examining sculpture and inquiring about dates, Pausanias learned to date statuary according to stylistic criteria). And, as we will see, Pausanias was obsessed by the problem of myth and wrestled with this enigma.

unit of composition, as did Herodotos in his earlier books, the *logos* which corresponds to a geographical territory. This is evident in the way that his exposition of Elis, books 5 and 6, forms a unit. Within the convenient framework of geography Pausanias offers at the beginning a mythological and historical overview of the region and then proceeds to his exposition. In his account of his visits to various cities in Elis Pausanias focuses primarily on the local tradition/-s (λόγοι) and the monuments (ἀναθήματα / θεωρήματα). These two subjects constitute the core of the work from book 1, and Pausanias develops his narrative around them by providing what he calls an explanation (ἐξήγησις) of both of them, since more often than not they are interrelated. In that respect, both the local stories and the dedications are treated equally by Pausanias. Both are testimonies of the local history and tradition and hence worthy of incorporation in the narrative. At the same time Pausanias could not include everything that he saw; he had to be selective. Accordingly, he carefully limits his discussion to the most relevant and representative monuments and stories that a site in Elis has to offer. His decision for this selection is motivated primarily by the renown and the oldness of the monuments which thus constitute the local tradition.

And yet, the formulation of a clearly defined methodology for books 5 and 6 is not something he could have prepared in advance. In no way could Pausanias have foreseen the difficulties ahead, let alone that most of these difficulties, as it turned out, were intrinsic to a particular city, site, or monument. Nor did he have the luxury of extensive revision and editing. Rather his methodology evolved gradually as particular problems that he encountered demanded. For books 5 and 6 in particular Pausanias presents a clear notion of what he is doing and a sharply focused approach to his subject. The main body of the narrative is occupied with the dedications and through them with the local *logoi* they told, which a visitor to Elis, and especially to Olympia may encounter. One important and convincing source for the description and explanation of these monuments

was the testimony of inscriptions which were engraved on the monuments.

Unlike most written texts and oral communication, inscriptions are vested with an authenticity, seldom questioned, and they literally tell the story of the monument directly, with no intermediary.³⁴⁴ For his composition of the Ἑλληνικά Pausanias employed a number of sources, among which were stories that he heard from the local guides or read in books. In order to accept as authentic and dependable any *logos/mythos* for a particular monument, Pausanias had to evaluate his sources which more often than not presented him with conflicting accounts. The “objectivity” of the inscriptions, when available, resolved conveniently contradictions, at least for Pausanias, and so their information took precedence in his narrative. In other words, inscriptions assisted him in “restoring etiological truth to myth”,³⁴⁵ by providing a more or less trustworthy text which he read himself (αὐτοψία) and upon which he could base rational arguments, and, therefore, dismiss τὸ μυθεῖσθαι. This aspect, the “semblance of truth” inherent in epigraphical testimonia, indeed appears to be the reason for Pausanias’ positive attitude towards inscriptions. Inscriptions are the foundation of his narrative; the other sources are brought into the discussion as needed in a complementary way.

That the epigraphical evidence played an essential part for the composition of Pausanias’ Ἑλληνικά is evident from the eighty-nine instances found in the two books

³⁴⁴ Veyne (1988, 3) summarizes the Greek attitude towards myths and history as follows:

The Greeks have their own way of believing in their mythology or being skeptical of it, and their way only appears to resemble our own. They also have their way of writing history, which is not our way. The Greek way relies on an implicit presupposition of such a kind that the distinction between original and secondary sources, far from being ignored out of methodological weakness, is simply irrelevant.

Pausanias provides an excellent example of this way, and we will refer to him often.

Although Pausanias does not make a distinction between “original” and “secondary” sources, nevertheless he makes a distinction which is quite relevant: for him inscriptions are treated differently than say hearsay, or than a literary source.

³⁴⁵ This is the title of Chapter 6 of Veyne’s (1988) book *Did the Greeks Believe in their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*. His general argumentation provides useful support for my thesis of epigraphical evidence and Pausanias, although he does not specifically discuss inscriptions in Pausanias.

(eleven cases of Direct Epigraphical Evidence and seventy-eight of Indirect Epigraphical Evidence). Only eleven instances, where Pausanias says that he is reading an inscription, can be compared with the actual inscriptions. An additional forty-three suggest that inscriptions have been employed. Moreover, thirty-five cases, where it is not assumed that Pausanias read inscriptions, are found to be corroborated by epigraphical evidence.³⁴⁶ The total is small,³⁴⁷ but the low ratio (89 or ca. 20%), of course, does not reflect negatively on Pausanias, since many of the inscriptions he claims he read, either may have been permanently lost for us, or may be discovered in the future.

Even so, these eighty-nine instances are indicative of Pausanias' methodology and aims. In the Direct Epigraphical Evidence (nos. 1–11) Pausanias quotes verbatim the epigrams (elegiac distichs) he read on the bases of state dedications (nos. 1–3) and, except for orthographic changes, Pausanias' version of the inscription is very close to the text on the stone. In the remaining cases (nos. 4–11) Pausanias conveys the information that the inscription offers him. Whether quoted or summarized the inscriptions are not treated by Pausanias uncritically. For him they are one of the many sources at his disposal. Personal visits to other places, his familiarity with other ancient writers, pertinent to the inscription, are brought in to elaborate, support, or disprove the claim of an inscription.

Likewise, in the Indirect Epigraphical Evidence (nos. 12–54) where it is assumed

³⁴⁶ See Chapter I notes 11-14, and Appendix D which includes the remaining passages of Direct and Indirect Epigraphical Evidence, for which Pausanias may have employed inscriptions, as the discussion in Chapter III and IV Parts A and B suggests.

³⁴⁷ The total number is actually greater than eighty-nine; three more inscriptions that have been found in the excavations at Olympia and corroborate Pausanias' narrative have not yet been published. See Appendix D Direct Epigraphical Passages 6.10.4-5. Indirect Epigraphical Passages 5.22.7; 6.12.6.

There are also nine more cases in which Pausanias may have employed epigraphical evidence: six of the inscriptions are so fragmentary that cannot support an association; the remaining three are identifications made by Gurlit and especially by Habicht. See note 317 above, and Appendix D Direct Epigraphical Passages 5.20-8-9; 27.11. Indirect Epigraphical Passages 5.12.5; 21.15; 22.7; 6.14.5-9; 14.12; 17.2.

that Pausanias sees the monuments and reads their inscriptions, his information is primarily derived from inscriptions. And this holds true even for the five cases (nos. 49-54) whose inscriptions have been found outside of Olympia. Furthermore (nos. 54-88) where there is no assumption that Pausanias bases his information on inscriptions, show that almost every detail in Pausanias may be corroborated by the epigraphical record.

Pausanias' remarkable interest in inscriptions and his use of them is basically historical. Herodotos was clearly one of his models for his exposition. Pausanias seldom discusses a monument solely for its artistic value, or the lettering for its artistry. His arguments and additional information from other sources and from other places are concerned with the date of, and the reason for a dedication, a religious belief and practice, or a local custom. This exegesis of the site, as he calls it, depends very much on the monument itself and on what is inscribed on its base, its *logos*. Even nowadays a visit to a site or a museum would be worthless without a guide and the explanatory labels on its objects. In that sense, Pausanias expects of his reader, while visiting Olympia, to follow closely his narrative. His topographical notes appear to be confusing, but he does offer the necessary hints and expects his reader to follow them carefully. This economy was required at Olympia especially where the number of offerings, the temples with cult statues and altars, and the athletic dedications was overwhelming.

Olympia was at his time like an outdoor museum. Pausanias had to choose only the most famous dedications; these largely belonged to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. His narrative focuses on the temples with their cult statues and altars, the offerings by city states and famous individuals, and the dedications of the athletic statues which constituted a national custom.³⁴⁸ However, he abandons his strict chronological criterion, his antiquarianism, when he has a chance to comment on his favorite place, Asia Minor. In

³⁴⁸ See especially Veyne's (1988, 95-102) Chapter "Pausanias Entrapped."

particular, he includes with obvious pride not only the accomplishments of athletes from Asia Minor that have surpassed those of earlier athletes (nos. 54, 88, 89), but also mythological and religious parallels (nos. 83, 85). Pausanias' narrative of the athletic dedications reveals that most of his information derived from the inscriptions, the representations of the statue, and the Olympic Register. His omission of the patronymic of an athlete or a sculptor does not reveal any pattern. Obviously, when he is dealing with an important and well-known person, the patronymic is not necessary, and in the Roman period the name and the ethnic usually offered enough information for identification. Moreover, his reporting in many instances is astonishingly careful and consequently, when his manuscripts present variant readings, the epigraphical texts become a crucial tool for improving his text (see Appendix E). For the history and exegesis of the site of Olympia and Elis, then, Pausanias relied on the monuments he saw and their inscriptions, on personal observations during his visits, and on literary sources, all of which told an Ἡλιακὸς λόγος.

These stories, however, were sometimes inconsistent and the sources for them contradictory. His task was enormous and the mass of material he had to deal with inevitably led to some mistakes. In a few instances Pausanias, like any other human being, is led astray or makes a misreading (for example nos. 20, 62, 70). But even when he errs, often neither his information nor his method of argumentation is at fault (for example 9, 41, 70), but rather the conclusions he arrives at. With "subtle style and clear mind (Veyne 1988, 98)" he tried his best to present a narrative of stories, void of internal contradictions. Where he could apply rational criticism to his sources, he did so; otherwise, he suspended judgment and simply reported the different accounts of his sources, letting his readers judge for themselves. The most significant and trustworthy evidence at his disposal for arriving at the truth, or a semblance of it, came from the inscriptions.

A representative of the Second Sophistic Pausanias does not attract much attention, or at least the attention accorded to other authors of that period. Anyone, however, who takes the time to read his difficult text and become acquainted with his narrative, would readily agree with Habicht's sigh of relief (1985, 140): "Thank God his work has lasted rather than the mass of the sophists' speeches!" His text is mainly used as an interpretative tool by those interested in the myths, cults, and excavations. Indeed, one cannot begin to imagine what the state of knowledge for Olympia and Elis would have been without Pausanias' Ἡλιακῶν A and B; or how many of the fragmentary inscriptions would (or could) have been restored without his authority. His testimony is highly reliable and he cannot be easily overlooked, unless strong and indisputable evidence is presented for doing so. The eighty-nine examples discussed above strongly suggest the notion that Pausanias, to a greater degree than any other author, relied on and trusted the inscriptions that he read in Elis for his composition. They also support the attribution of the epithet *στηλοσκοπας* to him, not so much because he quotes or summarizes inscriptions, but rather because he clearly recognized in the inscriptions a crucial source for his exegesis of Elis.

APPENDIX A
EPIGRAPHICAL REFERENCES IN PAUSANIAS'
ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ

The two 223 epigraphical passages are defined as those in which Pausanias, through his language, suggests that he is using an inscription. The bold-face numbers in parenthesis refer to the discussion in the commentary of the passages of books 5 and 6.

In Book 1 there are in total sixty-one instances:

Nineteen are scattered: 2.4 two; 5.5; 13.2-3; 13.3; 14.5; 15.4; 18.3 three; 19.2; 26.2; 26.4; 30.1; 34.5; 36.3; 36.4; 37.2; 43.8.

Thirty-nine are in Athens' cemetery: 29.3-16.

Three are on Marathon's tomb: 32.3-4.

In Book 2 there are in total fourteen instances:

Eleven are scattered: 7.2; 9.8; 17.3; 27.2; 27.3 six; 27.4.

Three are *polyandria*: 22.9; 24.7; 38.5.

In Book 3 there are four instances: 8.1; 14.1; 14.3; 18.7.

In Book 4 there are four instances: 1.5-6; 15.5; 22.7; 32.2.

In Book 5 there are in total fifty-one instances:

Thirty-eight are scattered: 2.5; 4.6; 10.2; 10.3; 10.4 (**no. 1**); 10.10; 12.8 three; 15.5; 15.11-12; 16.3; 20.6-7; 20.8-9 (**Appendix D**); 22.2 (**no. 2**); 23.1-3 (**no. 50**); 23.4-5 (**no. 57**); 23.7; 24.1-2; 24.2; 24.3 (**no. 3**); 24.4, 8 (**no. 66**); 24.7-8; 24.9,11; 25.4; 25.9; 25.10 two; 25.13; 26.1 (**no. 4**); 26.5 (**no. 5**); 26.6; 27.2; 27.7; 27.8 two (one of them is **no. 6**); 27.11; 27.12.

Twelve are on the *Zanes*: 21.4-8 (**no. 12**).

One is the Kypselos *Larnax*: 17.6-19.10 (**no. 55**).

In Book 6 there are in total forty-five instances:

Thirty-eight are on bases of Olympic Victors: 1.4; 1.6 (**no. 7**); 1.7 two; 2.6-7; 2.9; 3.1 two; 3.2-3; 3.7; 3.14 two; 4.6-7; 4.8 two; 4.11 (**no. 8**); 6.3; 7.9; 8.2; 9.4-5 (**no. 9**); 9.9; 10.4-5 two; 10.6-8; 12.7; 12.8; 13.2; 13.5; 13.7; 13.10-11; 14.9-10; 14.12 (**no. 10**); 15.2; 15.8; 16.4; 16.8 (**no. 11**); 17.4; 17.5-6.

Six are on the Treasuries: 19.4-5 two; 19.6; 19.8; 19.13; 19.15.

One is about the Athenian Kleoitas: 20.14.

In Book 7 there are six instances: 6.6; 17.6; 22.2; 23.7; 25.10; 27.5-6.

In Book 8 there are twenty-two instances: 5.3; 9.6; 9.9-10; 10.10; 11.6 (and 9.5); 11.8 two; 14.6; 15.1-2; 25.1; 26.4; 30.5; 30.8; 31.3; 37.2 two (one is **no. 86**); 37.10; 38.5; 40.1; 42.9 (**no. 71**); 42.10; 49.1.

In Book 9 there are seven instances: 11.1; 15.6; 16.1; 31.4; 38.4,10; 39.14; 40.10.

In Book 10 there are nine instances: 7.5-6; 10.1; 11.6; 12.6; 21.5-6; 24.1; 24.2; 25.1-31.12; 36.9.

APPENDIX B
EPIGRAPHICAL EXPRESSIONS IN PAUSANIAS'
ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ

Epigraphical expressions are a combination of words, apparently drawn from inscriptional usage that suggest that Pausanias is reading an inscription.

ἐπίγραμμα + γράφω, μηνύω, φημί, εἰμί, μαρτυρῶ, λέγω, σημαίνω, δηλώ, ἔχω,
δίδωμι, ἀναμνησκῶ:

Book 1: 2.4; 13.2-3; 15.4; 19.2; 26.4; 37.2.

Book 2: 7.2; 9.8; 17.3; 27.2.

Book 3: 8.2.

Book 4: 1.7.

Book 5: 4.6; 10.2; 10.3; 10.4; 15.5; 17.6; 17.11; 18.1; 18.3; 18.4; 18.5;
19.2-3; 19.4; 19.5 two; 19.6; 19.10; 20.8-9; 21.4; 21.7; 21.8;
24.1-2; 24.7-8; 25.4; 25.10; 26.5 two; 27.2; 27.8 two; 27.11.

Book 6: 1.4; 1.6; 1.7; 2.9; 3.1 two; 3.2-3; 3.7; 3.14 two; 4.6; 4.8; 4.11;
7.9; 8.2; 9.4; 10.4-5 two; 12.7; 13.5; 13.7; 13.10-11; 14.12; 14.9-
10; 15.2; 16.2; 16.4; 17.4; 17.6; 19.4; 19.6; 19.15; 20.14.

Book 7: 6.6; 22.2.

Book 8: 5.3; 9.6; 9.9; 11.8; 26.4; 37.2; 37.3; 37.10; 40.1; 42.10.

Book 9: 11.1.

Book 10: 7.6; 10.1; 11.6; 21.5; 36.9.

ἐπίγραμμα + ἐλεγείον:

Book 5: 2.5; 21.4,6.

Book 6: 3.8; 5.1-6.1; 16.2.

Book 7: 7.6-7,13-14; 27.6.

Book 8: 49.1 = 52.6.

Book 9: 38.4,10.

ἐλεγείον + γράφω, μηνύω, φημί, εἰμί, μαρτυρῶ, λέγω, σημαίνω, δηλῶ:

Book 1: 29.11; 43.8.

Book 5: 10.10; 20.6-7; 22.3; 23.7; 24.3; 24.11; 25.13; 27.12.

Book 6: 9.9; 10.7; 12.8.

Book 8: 30.5; 30.8; 38.5.

στήλη + γράφω, εἰμί, λέγω, σημαίνω, ἔχω:

Book 1: 29.4-5; 29.6; 29.7; 29.11; 29.12; 29.13; 32.3.

Book 2: 36.1.

Book 3: 14.1; 14.3; 18.7.

Book 4: 22.7.

Book 5: 12.8; 23.4-5; 24.3; 25.13.

Book 6: 13.2; 16.8 two.

Book 8: 11.6; 48.8.

Book 9: 16.1.

Book 10: 24.2.

στήλη + ἐπίγραμμα: Book 2: 27.4.

Book 6: 13.10-11; 14.9-10.

Book 8: 11.8.

στήλη + ἐλεγείον: Book 1: 29.11.

Book 10: 12.6.

Form of γράφω: Book 1: 2.4; 5.5; 13.3; 14.5; 18.3 two; 26.2; 34.5.

Book 2: 27.3; 36.1.

Book 4: 15.5.

Book 5: 15.11-12; 16.3; 17.11; 18.2; 18.4; 18.5; 19.4; 20.1; 23.1-2;
24.2; 25.9-10; 26.1; 27.7.

Book 6: 2.6-7; 6.3; 10.7; 15.8; 19.5; 19.8; 19.13.

Book 7: 6.4; 25.10.

Book 8: 10.10; 14.6; 15.2; 25.1; 37.2.

Book 9: 31.4; 39.14.

Book 10: 24.1.

πολυάνδριον + ποιῶ, εἰμί: Book 2: 22.9; 24.7; 38.5.

λαμβεῖον + φησί: Book 7: 23.7.

APPENDIX C
METRICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN PAUSANIAS'
ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ

This Appendix is a list of the metrical inscriptions that Pausanias himself identifies as such and that he quotes (easily identified by their *IGM* no. [Preger 1981]) or summarizes. It does not include the inscriptions which have been found and are metrical, but which Pausanias does not so identify. The bold-face numbers in parenthesis refer to the discussion in the commentary of the passages of Books 5 and 6.

Pythokritos, the *auletes*: Book 6: 14.9-10 (*IGM* 145).

Iambic meter: Book 7: 23.7.

Echembrotos' lyric and melic meters: Book 10: 7.5-6 (*IGM* 138).

Elegiac distichs:

Book 5: 2.5 (*IGM* 131); 20.6-7 (*IGM* 202); 21.4 (four on the Zanes); 21.6-7 (six on the Zanes); 22.3 (*IGM* 60, **no. 2**); 23.7 (*IGM* 62); 24.3 (*IGM* 57, **no. 3**); 24.11; 25.4; 25.13 (*IGM* 176); 27.2 (*IGM* 55); 27.12 (*IGM* 56).

Book 6: 10.7 (*IGM* 125); 12.8.

Book 8: 30.8; 38.5.

Book 9: 15.6 (*IGM* 161); 38.3-4 (*IGM* 19).

Book 10: 12.5-6; 27.4 (*IGM* 179).

Elegiac distichs as epigrammata:

Book 1: 13.2 (*IGM* 96).

Book 3: 8.1-2.

Book 6: 3.14 two (*IGM* 146); 4.6 (*IGM* 130); 8.2 (*IGM* 61); 10.4-5 two (*IGM* 174); 13.10.11 (*IGM* 123); 17.6 (*IGM* 132); 20.14 (*IGM* 178).

Book 7: 17.6-7 (*IGM* 127).

Book 8: 5.3 (*IGM* 64); 42.9 (*IGM* 126); 42.10 (*IGM* 176); 52.6 (*IGM* 148).

Book 10: 21.5-6.

Hexameters as epigrammata:

Book 1: 37.2 (*IGM* 203).

Book 4: 1.8 (*IGM* 155).

Book 5: 10.2 (*IGM* 177); 18.2; 18.3; 19.2-3.

Book 6: 19.6 (*IGM* 54).

Book 9: 11.1.

Metrical Inscriptions quoted as such, but without indication of their meter by Pausanias:

Elegiac distichs: Book 1: 13.3 (*IGM* 97).

Book 4: 22.7 (*IGM* 63).

Book 5: 10.3 (*IGM* 106); 10.4 (*IGM* 59, no. 1); 25.10 two (*IGM* 175, 58).

Book 6: 3.14 (*IGM* 146).

Hexameters: Book 5: 18.3 (*IGM* 186); 18.4 two (*IGM* 186); 19.4 two; 19.5 two (*IGM* 186).

Book 8: 10.10 (*IGM* 272).

Book 10: 24.2.

APPENDIX D
REMAINING EPIGRAPHICAL REFERENCES IN PAUSANIAS'
'HAIAKON A AND B

In light of the discussion in Chapters III and IV, here are listed the remaining passages of Pausanias' Books 5 and 6 where it is highly probable that Pausanias utilized inscriptions. There are twelve passages which are not included in the commentary for two reasons: nine of them, because they have been thus far only tentatively associated with fragmentary inscriptions; the remaining three which are supported by extant inscriptions, because the inscriptions have not yet been published.

Direct Epigraphical Passages: The *IGM* numbers (Preger 1977) indicate that the epigrams are quoted by Pausanias.

Book 5: there are thirty-seven remaining instances:

- 2.5 (and 6.16.2, *IGM* 131): the dedication by the Eleian pentathlete Timon.
- 4.6 (and 5.20.1): Iphitos, son of Haimon, and the disc onto which the Olympic truce was inscribed.
- 10.2 (*IGM* 177): a statue of Zeus by the Athenian Pheidias, son of Charmides.
- 10.3 (*IGM* 106): the inscription about the Naxian Euergos, son of Byzes.
- 10.10: a statue of Iphitos being crowned by Ekecheiria, the personification of the Olympic Truce.
- 15.5: the inscribed altar of Zeus Moiragetas.

- 15.11-12: an inscribed stele in Egypt, set up by Eleians at the site of Ammon, where they had gone to ask the oracle.
- 16.3: inscribed statues of women athletes, victorious in the Heraia. Among them Hippodameia, Dionysos, and Athena Narkaia.
- 17.6-19.10: the Kypselos *Larnax* counted as one (*IGM* 186, Friedländer 1987, 56-60 no. 54, and Chapter IV no. 55);
- 20.6-7 (*IGM* 202): the House and Pillar of Oinomaos inscribed.
- 20.8-9: Pausanias does not say who the Roman senator is, or in what event he was victorious.
 Gurlitt (1890, 421 note 37) and more recently Habicht (1985, 178-180) have associated this passage of Pausanias with an inscribed base that has been found near the Palaistra at Olympia (*IO* 236). The date seems to be appropriate, and the association is possible. The text is dated by Habicht (1985, 180) "sometime in the 150s" and reads:
 [Λούκιος Μινύκιος] Νατᾶλις στρατηγικὸς Ὀλυμπιάδι σκεῦ
 ἄρματι τελείῳ νεικήσα[ς ἀνέ]-
 θηκεν τὸ ἄρμα,^ν ὑπάτος,^ν
 ἀνθύπατος Λιβύης^{vacat}.
- 21.4: six Zanes by the athlete Eupolos from Thessaly who cheated in boxing. Only four of them (the first, second, fifth and sixth) are inscribed with epigrams which Pausanias summarizes and pertain to Eupolos' cheating.
- 21.6-7: six Zanes by the Athenian athlete Kallippos who cheated in the pentathlon. All six are inscribed with epigrams which Pausanias again summarizes and pertain to Kallippos' cheating.
- 21.8: two inscribed Zanes by athletes who cheated in wrestling. Their epigrams are again summarized by Pausanias and pertain to cheating.
- 23.7 (*IGM* 62): dedication of a statue of Zeus by the citizens of Kleitor, the work of the Lakedaimonians Ariston and Telestas.
- 24.1-2: dedication of a statue of Zeus from the war <between the Phokaians and Thessalians>, the work of the Theban Askaros and the Sikyonian <Kleon or Kanachos>.
- 24.2: dedication of a statue of Zeus by the Psophidians on account of their success in a war.
- 24.7-8: dedication by the Cherronesians from Knidos of statues of Zeus, Pelops and Alpheios.
- 24.9-11: an inscribed pinakion, set up in front of the feet of the statue of Zeus Horkios in the Bouleuterion, whose text was intended to strike terror into the perjurers.

- 25.4: dedication by the Messenians in Sicily of bronze statues of the thirty-five members of a choral group of boys, their teacher and the flute player, that perished in the straits.
- 25.8-10 (*IGM* 175 and 58): eight statues of the participants in Hektor's challenge to single combat dedicated by the whole Achaean race. Three of them are inscribed.
- 25.12-13 (*IGM* 176): statue of Herakles dedicated by the Thasians, the work of the Aiginetan Mikon, son of Onatas.
- 26.6: a Nike statue, resembling the Athenian Apteris-Nike, dedicated by the Mantineans on account of some successful war, the work of Kalamis.
- 27.1-2 (*IGM* 55): dedication of Phormis from the Arkadian Mainalon who became a Syrakusan under Gelon, son of Deinomenes.
- 27.7: another dedication for Phormis by the Syrakusan Lykortas.
- 27.8: a statue of Hermes dedicated by the citizens of Pheneos, the work of Onatas and Kalliteles.
- 27.11: a bronze trophy dedicated by the Eleians from the Lakedaimonians, the work of the Sikyonian Daidalos.
A signature of this sculptor has been found at Olympia (*IO* 635): it is on the last Zan from west to east, before entering the Stadion
- 27.12: a statue (which Pausanias at first takes it for a pentathlete) dedicated by the citizens of Mende in Thrace, on account of their forceful takeover of another city Sipte.

Book 6: there are thirty-eight remaining instances: most are athletic victory statues and the reader is advised to consult also Herrmann 1988, 151-176: "Liste I. Olympische Siegerstatuen nach Pausanias, VI 1-18."

- 1.4: statue of the Eleian Kleogenes, son of Silenos, victorious in the horse race.
- 1.7: statue of the Lakedaimonian Anaxandros, victorious in the chariot race.
- 1.7: statue of the Lakedaimonian Polykles, victorious in the four-horse chariot.
- 2.6-7: statue of the Milesian Antipatros, son of Kleinopatros, victorious in the boys' boxing. The Syrakusans attempted to bribe the father into proclaiming his son a Syrakusan. Antipatros denied the offer and inscribed his ethnic Milesios and also that he was the first of the Ionians to dedicate a statue at Olympia.

- 2.9: a statue of a Samian boxer, dedicated by his paidotribes the Samian Mykon.
- 3.1 (and 10.7.8): a statue of a man dedicated by the Makedonian Ptolemy, son of Lagos.
- 3.1: statue of the Sikyonian Chaireas, son of Chairemon, victorious in the boys boxing, the work of Asterion, son of Aischylos.
- 3.2-3: statue of the Eleian Stomios, victorious in the pentathlon.
- 3.7: statue of the Eleian Eupolemos, victorious in the stadion at Olympia, and pentathlon in Nemea and Isthmia, the work of Daidalos the Sikyonian.
- 3.14, 15: two inscriptions on the statue of the Lakedaimonian Lysander, son of Aristokritos, dedicated by the Samians.
- 4.6-7 (and 7.6.5, *IGM* 130): victory statue of the wrestler Cheilon from Patras, the work of Lysippos.
- 4.8: a statue dedicated by the Eleians for a Molpion.
- 5.1-6.1: victory statue of the pankratiast Poulydamas from the Thessalian city of Skotousa, the work of Lysippos.
The fragmentary base of his statue has been found with the depictions as described by Pausanias.
- 7.9: statue of Gnathon, son of Alkainetos, from Dipaia in Mainalon, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of the Megarian Kallikles.
- 8.2 (*IGM* 61): statue of the Arkadian Damarchos, son of Dinyttas, from Parrhasia, victorious in the men's boxing.
- 9.9 (and 14.13): statue of the Korkyraian Philon, victorious in the boys dromos and in boxing, the work of the Aiginetan Glaukias. The distich is composed by Simonides, son of Leoprepes.
- 10.4-5 (and 5.8.10 and 8.26.2, *IGM* 174): statue of the Arkadian Damaretos, from Heraia, victorious in hoplite dromos, the work of the Argives Eutelidas and Chrysothemis.
Habicht (1985, 150 and notes 40-41) quotes from an unpublished bronze tablet, found at Olympia in 1980 (Inventory B.10471). It dates from ca. 500 B.C. and contains the greater right part of the two lines about the sculptors. Pausanias' quote of the epigram read at the end of the second line: τέχνην εἰδότες ἐκ προτέρων, which Schubart emended to ἐκ πατέρων. The epigram preserves the end of the line and confirms Schubart's emendation. Accordingly, Habicht concludes:
Here it is Pausanias, not a copyist, who is to blame, since the remark "The epigram does not say by whom they were taught" makes it quite clear that Pausanias read and copied ἐκ προτέρων. It could be, however, that a few letters of the text were damaged and hard to read.

- 10.4-5 (8.26.2, *IGM* 174): statue of Theopompos, son of Damaretos above, from Heraia, victorious in pentathlon, the work of the Argives Eutelidas and Chrysothemis.
See the preceding note.
- 10.6-8 (*IGM* 125): statue of Kleosthenes from Epidamnos, victorious in the chariot race, the work of Ageladas.
- 12.7: chariot of the Kyrenaian Theochrestos, from Libya, victorious in the chariot and(?) horse races in Isthmia.
- 12.7: chariot of the Kyrenaian Theochrestos, son of Theochrestos above, from Libya, victorious in the chariot and(?) horse races.
- 12.8 (and 8.27.5): statue of Hagestratos, son of Haimostratos, from the Arkadian Tritaia, victorious in boxing.
- 13.2: stele for the Lakedaimonian Chionis, victorious many times in running events, his statue, the work of the Athenian Myron.
- 13.5: statue of the Samian Douris, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of Hippias.
- 13.7: an inscribed statue of some athlete who was born in Argos (there is a *lacuna* in the text).
- 13.10-11 (*IGM* 123): horse-statue by the sons of Pheidolas, victorious in the boys' horse race.
- 14.9-10 (*IGM* 145): a relief of the Sikyonian auletes Pythokritos, son of Kallinikos, who fluted during the pentathlon at Olympia and won victories in the Pythia in flute playing.
- 15.2 (and 5.11.3 and 6.10.6; 4.5): statue of the Eleian Pantarkes dedicated by the Achaians, because he made peace between them and the Eleians.
- 15.8 (and 5.9.1): statue of the Spartan Eutelidas, victorious in the boys' wrestling and pentathlon.
- 16.4 (and 2.15.3): statue of the Eleian Aristeides, victorious in the hoplite dromos and elsewhere.
- 17.4: statue of the Arkadian Emaution? (Enation ?), victorious in the boys' stadion.
- 17.5-6 (*IGM* 132): statue of the Eleian Eperastos, son of Theogonos, victorious in the hoplite dromos, a mantis of the family of Klytidai.
- 19.4: in the treasury of the Sikyonians, the smaller chamber, there two (2) inscriptions saying that the bronze in the treasury weighed 500 talants and was a dedication of the Sikyonian demos and their tyrant Myron.

- 19.4-5 (and 10.38.1): in the Sikyonian treasury there are bronze weapons inscribed as offerings by the Myonians in Phokis.
- 19.8: in one of the treasuries (the text has a *lacuna*) there are statues made by Theokles, son of Hegylos, and his son.
- 19.13 (and 5.17.2, **no. 79**): an inscribed shield on the pediment of the Megarian treasury which mentions that the Megarians built it from the Corinthians.
- 19.15: an inscription in the Geloan Treasury stating that it and the statues in it is a dedication of the Geloans.
- 20.14 (and 6.10-19, *IGM* 178): statue of the Athenian Kleoitias, son of Aristokles, seen at Athens, who discovered the starting device in the Hippodrome.

INDIRECT EPIGRAPHICAL PASSAGES

Book 5: there are thirty-eight remaining instances:

- 11.3 (and 10.6, 15.2): the Eleian Pantarkes, Pheidias' *παυδικά*, victorious in boys wrestling and horse race.
- 12.5: inside the temple of Zeus, or in its the pronaos, there is the throne of Arimnestos, king of Etruria, who was the first barbarian to offer a dedication to the Olympian Zeus.
- 12.5 (**no. 7**): to the right of those entering the pronaos of the temple of Zeus bronze horses of Kyniska from an Olympic victory.
IO 634, the signature of Apelles, son of Kallikles has been associated with this dedication of Kyniska.
- 12.6: the cities of the Achaean League a statue of Hadrian.
A marble statue of Hadrian has been found.
- 12.6: all Greeks a statue of Trajan.
A marble statue of Trajan has been found.
- 12.7: statue of Augustus, made of elektron.
A marble statue of Augustus has been found.
- 12.7: an ivory statue of the king of Bithynia Nikomedes.
- 17.1: in the Heraion a statue of Themis, the mother of the Horai, the work of the Lakedaimonian Dorykleides, student of Dipoinos and Skyllis.
- 17.1: in the Heraion statues of the Horoi, works of the Aiginetan Smilis.

- 17.2: in the Heraion five statues of the Hesperidai, the work of the Lakedaimonian Theokles, son of Hegylos, student of Dipoinos and Skyllis.
- 17.2: in the Heraion a statue of Athena, the work of the Lakedaimonian Medon, the brother of Dorykleides, student of Dipoinos and Skyllis.
- 17.3: in the Heraion a statue of Hermes carrying Dionysos, the work of Praxiteles.
The famous Hermes of Praxiteles has been found, but its sculptor is disputed.
- 17.3-4 (two): in the Heraion a bronze Aphrodite, the work of the Sikyonian Kleon, and a naked child in front of her, the work of the Karchedonian Boethos.
- 17.4 (two): in the Heraion, transferred from the Philippeion, statues of Eurydike, Philip's mother and his wife Olympias.
- 20.1-2: in the Heraion an ivory table onto which the crowns of the Olympic victors are laid, the work of Kolotes from Herakleia or Paros, the student of Pasiteles.
- 20.9: in the Metroon, a building in the Doric order and of ancient name, there are statues of the Roman Emperors.
- 20.9-10: in the Philippeion, a building constructed by Philip after Chaironeia, there are statues of Philip, Alexander and Amyntas, works of Leochares.
- 21.15: two Zanes to the left and to the right of the entrance into the Stadion, paid for by the boxers Deidas and Sarapammon who competed in the same event in which Sarapammon was caught paying Deidas to take a fall. They were both from Egypt, the newly established county Arsinoites.
Both names have suffered in the manuscript tradition, but there has been found an inscription at Olympia (*IO* 228), mentioning a Markos son of Deidas, from Daphne in Antiocheia, victorious in the boys boxing in the 219th Olympiad (A.D. 97). Hitzig has accordingly corrected the reading of Pausanias' manuscripts.
- 21.16-17 (and 6.23.4): two Zanes in the Gymnasium of Elis, and in the Altis in front of the Colonnade which is called Poikile (because of old paintings on its walls) or Echo (because, if someone called out, his voice echoed seven times). Sosandros, son of Sosandros, from Smyrna, and the Eleian Polyktor, son of Damonikos, were caught cheating in the boys' wrestling. The fines were not paid by the boys, but by their fathers who made the deal: Damonikos was caught paying Sosandros, the father, so that his son would take the fall and Polyktor would be an Olympic victor.
- 22.1: statue of Zeus dedicated by the citizens of the Arkadian Kynaitha.
- 22.1: Kleolas from Phleious dedicated a statue of Zeus as a boy.
- 22.5: statue of Zeus dedicated by the citizens of Metapontion, the work of the Aiginetan Aristonous.

- 22.6: statues of Zeus, Asopos and his daughters, Nemea, Aigina, Harpina, Korkyra and Thebe, dedicated by the Phleiasians.
- 22.7: three men from Leontinoi, Hippagoras, Phrynon and Ainesidemos (not the tyrant), individually and not with the city, dedicated a statue of Zeus.
 Kunze (1963, 107) reports that a small inscribed and reused offering of this Phrynon from Leontinoi has been discovered in the excavations where the altar of Artemis has been found (**no. 62** above). He does not give a text and the inscription has not been published since.
 Also *IO* 838, a fragmentary marble base which reads ΑΙΝ[- -], has been tentatively associated with this Ainesidemos.
- 23.5 (and 6.10.5): statue of Zeus dedicated by the Megarians, the work of the brothers Psylax and Onaitos and their children.
- 23.6: statue of Zeus dedicated by the citizens of Hyblai.
- 24.1: statue of Zeus dedicated by the Corinthians, the work of some Mousos.
- 24.5: Gnathis from Thessaly dedicated the statues of Zeus and Ganymedes, the work of Aristokles, the student and son of Kleoitias.
- 24.6 (and 26.2-5 and **no. 5**): a beardless Zeus among the dedicatory statues of Mikythos.
- 24.6: a beardless Zeus dedicated by the Elaitai who descended from Mt. Kaikos and settled in Aeolis in Asia Minor.
- 25.1: a dedication by a Korinthian is actually Alexander, the son of Philip, in the appearance of Zeus.
- 25.7: a naked statue of Herakles in young age dedicated by Anaxippos from Mende. The statue has been by the Eleians from its original position, on the Hiera Hodos from Elis to Olympia, within the Altis, at the southwest corner, and its near the statue of Herakles of Hippotion (**no. 14**).
- 26.6: a statue of Athena dedicated by the Eleians, the work of Nikodamos from Mainalon.
- 27.9-10 (and 10.9.3): a bronze bull dedicated by the Korkyraeans, who also dedicated another one at Delphi (**no. 51**).

Book 6: there are 197 remaining instances, most of which are athletic victory statues; as before, the reader is advised to consult also Herrmann 1988, 151-176: "Liste I. Olympische Siegerstatuen nach Pausanias, VI 1-18."

- 1.3: statue of the Eleian Symmachos, son of Aischylos, victorious in wrestling, the work of the Sikyonian Alypos, student of the Argive Naukydes.
- 1.3: statue of the Arkadian Neolaidas, son of Proxenos, from Pheneos, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of the Sikyonian Alypos, student of the Argive Naukydes.
- 1.3: statue of the Eleian Archedamos, son of Xenios, victorious in the boys' wrestling, the work of the Sikyonian Alypos, student of the Argive Naukydes.
- 1.4-5: statue of the Eleian Deinolochos, son of Pyrrhos, victorious in the boys' running, the work of the Sikyonian Kleon.
- 2.1: statue of <Xenarkes, son of Philandridas> (the text has a *lacuna*), the first Akarmanian from Stratos to be victorious in the pankration, the work of Lysippos.
- 2.1-2: statue of the Lakedaimonian Xenarkes, <son of Philandridas> (the text has a *lacuna*), victorious in an equestrian event at Olympia, but with victories in Delphi, Argos, and Korinth.
- 2.1-2: statue of the Lakedaimonian Lykinos, victorious in the full-grown horses race, which he ran with his foals, one of which was rejected for its category, the work of the Athenian Myron.
- 2.1-2: statue of the Lakedaimonian Arkesilaos, victorious in the horse race.
- 2.1-3: statue of the Lakedaimonian Lichas, son of Arkesilaos, victorious in the chariot race. He entered the Games under the name of the Theban demos, he was discovered and whipped, and, as Pausanias reports, this incident caused the invasion of Agis into the Altis.
- 2.4-5 (and 8.10.5): statue of the Eleian mantis Thrasyboulos, of the Iamidai family. See also Pindar *Ol.* 6.43-70.
- 2.6-7: statue of the Eleian Timosthenes, victorious in the boys' stadion, the work of the Sikyonian Eutychedes, the student of Lysippos, who also made the statue of Tyche for the Syrians on the Orontes.
- 2.8 (and 12.6): statue of the Eleian Timon, victorious in the chariot race, the work of the Sikyonian Daidalos.
- 2.8: statue of the Eleian Aisypos (or Aigyptos, the manuscripts are not unanimous), son of Timon above, victorious in the horse race, the work of the Sikyonian Daidalos.
- 2.10-11: statue of the Messenian <Damiskos>, victorious in the boys' stadion when he was twelve years old, and also in the pentathlon at Nemea and Isthmia.

- 3.4: statue of the Eleian Labax, son of Euphron, from Lepreon, victorious in boxing.
- 3.4: statue of the Eleian Aristodemos, son of Thrasis, victorious in wrestling, and with victories in the Pythia and Nemea, the work of the Sikyonian Daidalos, son and student of Patrokles.
- 3.5: statue of the Eleian Hippos, son of Thrasis, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of the Sikyonian Damokritos.
- 3.6: statue of the Achaian Kratinos, from Aigeira, victorious in the boys' wrestling, the work of the Sikyonian Kantharos, son of Alexis and student of Eutyichides.
- 3.8 (and 7.17.6-7, 13-14): statue by the Achaians for the Achaian Oibotas, son of Oinias, victorious in the stadion.
- 3.9: statue of the Eleian Antiochos, from Lepreon, victorious in the pankration, and also with victories in the Nemea and Isthmia, the work of Nikodamos.
- 3.9-10: statue with ancient halters of the Eleian Hysmon, victorious in the pentathlon, and also with a victory in the Nemea (the Eleians were not allowed participation in the Isthmia), the work of Kleon. See Ebert 1963.
- 3.11: statue of the Arkadian Nikostratos, son of Xenokleides, from Heraia, victorious in the boys' wrestling, the work of Pantias.
- 3.11-12: three (? the number of his Olympic victories?) statues of Dikon, son of Kallibrotos, who was victorious in the boys' running as a Kauloniates, but later competed as a Syrakusan after he was paid to change his citizenship and won in the men's running twice in the Olympia, five in Pythia, three in Isthmia, and four in the Nemea.
See Cazzaniga 1970, 77-80; and id. 1968, 371-390.
- 3.13: statue of Xenophon, son of Menephylos, from the Achaian Aigeion, victorious in the pankration, the work of Olympos.
- 3.13: statue of Ppyrilampes, from Ephesos, victorious in the dolichos race, the work of the Messenian Ppyrilampes.
- 3.15: bronze statue of Alkibiades dedicated by the Ionians in the Heraion at Samos.
- 3.15: statues of Lysander, Eteonikos, Pharax and other Lakedaimonians dedicated by the Ephesian in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos.
- 3.16: bronze statues of Konon and Timotheos dedicated by the Ionians in the Heraion at Samos.
- 3.16: bronze statues of Konon and Timotheos dedicated by the Ephesians in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos.

- 4.3 (and 2.10): statue of Leontiskos, from the Sikilian Messene, crowned twice by the Eleians and once by the Amphiktyones in wrestling, the work of Pythagoras from Rhegion.
- 4.5: statue of an ἀναδούμενος παῖς, the work of Pheidias.
- 4.5: statue of the Eleian Satyros, son of Lysianax from the Iamidai family, victorious in boxing, in Olympia twice, in Pythia twice and in the Nemea five times, the work of the Athenian Silanion.
- 4.5: statue of the Ephesian Amyntas, son of Hellanikos, victorious in the boys' pankration, the work of the Athenian Polykles, student of Stadiеus.
- 4.9: uninscribed statue which they say is Aristotle from Stageira in Thrace and a dedication by a student of his or a soldier who knew that Aristotle was influential with Antipater and before him Alexander.
- 4.9: statue of Sodamas, from Assos in the Troad, first from the Aiolians to be victorious in the boys' stadion.
- 4.9-10 (and 15.7 and 3.10.5): statue of Archidamos, son of Agesilaos, the Spartan king.
- 4.10: statue of Euanthes from Kyzikos, victorious in boxing, in Olympia in the men's category, in Nemea and Isthmia in the boys'.
- 4.10: statue and chariot, mounted by a young girl, of the Makedonian Lampos, from Philippi, victorious in the chariot race.
- 6.1: statue of the Arkadian Protolaos, son of Dialkes, from Mantinea, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of Pythagoras from Rhegion.
- 6.1: statue of the Arkadian Androstheneѕ, son of Lochaios, from Mainalon, victorious twice in the pankration, the work of Nikodamos from Mainalon.
- 6.2: statue of the Theban Agenor, son of Theopompos who was a proxenos of the Phokians, dedicated by the Phokian *koinon*, victorious in wrestling, the work of the Argive Polykleitos, student of Naukydes.
- 6.3 (and 8.1): statue of the Eleian Lastratidas, son of Paraballon, victorious in the boys' wrestling, and also in Nemea in the boys' and ephebes' categories.
- 6.3 (and 8.1, **no. 69**): statue of the Eleian Paraballon, victorious in the diaulos race, and the one who wrote in the Gymnasium an Olympic victory list.
- 7.1: statue of Pytharchos, from Mantinea, victorious in the boys' stadion.
- 7.1 (**nos. 21, 26-28**): statue of the Rhodian Akousilaos, son of Diagoras, victorious in boxing.

- 7.2 (nos. 21, 26-28): statue of the Rhodian Peisirhodos, grandson of Diagoras, victorious in the boys' boxing.
- 7.8 (no. 29): statue of the Eleian Alkainetos, son of Theantos, from Lepreon, victorious in the boys' and men's boxing.
- 7.8 (no. 29): statue of the Eleian Theantos, son of Alkainetos, from Lepreon, victorious in the boys' boxing.
- 7.9: statue of the Eleian Lykinos, victorious in the boys' boxing.
- 7.10: statue of Dromeus from Stymphalos, victorious in the dolichos race in Olympia twice, in Pythia twice, in Isthmia thrice and in Nemea five, the work of Pythagoras. He was the one who introduced meat in his athletic diet.
- 8.1: statue of Sostratos from the Achaian Pellene, victorious in the boys' dromos, the sculptor is not mentioned.
- 8.1: statue of the Eleian Amertos, victorious in the boys' wrestling, and in Pythia in the men's wrestling, the work of the Argive Phradmon.
- 8.3: statue of Eubotas, from Kyrene was victorious in the dromos and at the same date dedicated his statue because of the prophecy he received from the oracle in Libya. He was also victorious in the Anolympiad of 364 B.C. in the chariot race.
- 8.4: statue of Timanthes, from Kleonai, victorious in the pankration, the work of the Athenian Myron.
- 8.4: statues of Baukis, from Troizen, victorious in wrestling, the work of Naukydes.
- 8.5: statues of the Arkadian Euthymenes, from Mainalon, victorious in the men's and boys' wrestling, his statue for the boys' victory a work of Alypos.
- 8.5 (and 7.27.5): statue of Promachos, son of Dryon, from the Achaian Pellene, victorious in the pankration.
- 8.6: statue of Timasitheos from Delphi, victorious in the pankration, the work of the Argive Ageladas.
- 9.1: statue of Theognetos from Aigina, victorious in the boys' wrestling, the work of the Aiginetan Ptolichos, son and student of Synoon.
See *Anth.Pal.* 16.2.
- 9.2: a statue of an athlete who won in the *kalpe* (trotting race), the event that was dropped out of the Olympic program, and therefore his name was not inscribed.

- 9.2: statue of the Arkadian Alketos, son of Alkinoos, from Kleitor, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of Kleon.
- 9.3: statue of the Argive Aristeus, son of Cheimon, victorious in the dolichos, the work of Pantias, son and student of Sostratos, from Chios.
- 9.3: statues of the Argive Cheimon, victorious in wrestling, the work of Naukydes.
- 9.4: statue of the Eleian Philles, victorious in the boys' wrestling, the work of the Spartan Kratinos.
- 9.9: statue of the Arkadian Agametos, from Mantinea, victorious in the boys' boxing.
- 10.1-3: statue of Glaukon, son of Demylos, from Karystos (his family had come from Anhedon in Boiotia), victorious in boxing in Olympia, and twice in Pythia, and eight times each in Nemea and Isthmia, the work of the Aiginetan Glaukias. The statue was dedicated by Glaukos' son.
- 10.4: statue of the Eleian Philles, victorious in the boys' wrestling, the work of the Spartan Kratinos.
- 10.4-5 (and 5.8.10 and 8.26.2): statue of the Arkadian Theopompos, son of Theopompos the son of Damaretos, from Heraia, victorious in wrestling, the sculptor is not known.
- 10.5: statue of Ikkos, son of Nikolaidas, from Taras, victorious in the pentathlon, and later one of the best trainers.
- 10.8: chariots of the Lakedaimonian Euagoras, who is mounted on them.
- 10.9: statue of the Arkadian Lykinos, from Heraia, victorious in the boys' dromos, the work of Kleon.
- 10.9: statue of the Arkadian Epikratos, from Mantinea, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of the Aiginetan Ptolichos.
- 10.9: statue of the Eleian Agiadas, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of the Aiginetan Serambos.
This passage was incorrectly associated with the fragmentary inscription *IO* 150.
- 11.1: four statues of Philip, son of Amyntas, on horse back, Alexander, son of Philip, on horse back, Seleukos, on horse back, and Antigonos, all four dedicated by the Eleians.
- 12.5 (and 2.82-9.5): statue of the Sikyonian Aratos, dedicated by the Corinthians. Aratos also won in a chariot race.
- 12.6: statue of the Eleian Kallon, son of Harmodios, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of Daippos.

E. B. French (*Archaeological Reports* 1989-90, 30) reports Dr. U. Zinn's new discovery during excavations in the area north of the Prytaneion at Olympia. He reported the discovery of a base of a votive statue inscribed with the signature of the Sikyonian Daippos, the student of Lysippos (the text is not published). Pausanias saw two statues by Daippos in the Altis, both for Eleian athletes: Kallon, mentioned in this passage, and Nikandros (below 16.5).

- 12.6: statue of the Eleian Hippomachos, son of Moschion, victorious in the boys' boxing, the sculptor is not known.
- 13.1: statue of Astylos, from Kroton, victorious in three consecutive Olympiads both in the stadion and diaulos, the work of Pythagoras from Rhegion. He proclaimed himself a Syrakusan as a favor to Hieron in the last two victories, on account of which the Krotoniates made his house a jail.
- 13.3-4: Polites', from the Karian city Keramos, victories in the same day in the stadion, diaulos and dolichos (*paradoxonikes*).
- 13.4: the runner Leonidas from Rhodes won twelve victories in four Olympiads.
- 13.6: statue of Diallos, son of Pollis, from Smyrna, the first of the Ionians to be victorious in the boys' pankration.
- 13.6: statue of Thersilochos, from Korkyra, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of the Argive Polykleitos.
- 13.7: statue of Bykelos, the first Sikyonian to be victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of the Sikyonian Kanachos, the student of the Argive Polykleitos.
- 13.7: statue of Mnaseas, armed, surnamed Libys, from Kyrene, the work of Pythagoras from Rhegion.
- 13.8: statue of Tisandros, son of Kleokritos, from the Sikilian Naxos, victorious in boxing four times in Olympia and four in Pythia.
- 13.9: the horse of the Korinthian Pheidolas named Aura with which he was victorious in the race (see also above 6.13.9-10).
- 13.11: statue of the Eleian Agathinos, son of Thrasyboulos, dedicated by the Achaians of Pellene.
- 14.1-2: statue of the Rhodian Nikasylos who, being eighteen years old, was not allowed participation in the boys' category and so he entered in the men's wrestling and won. He also won in the Nemea and Isthmia, but he died in his twentieth year, before his return to Rhodes.
- 14.4: bronze horse dedicated by Krokon from Eretria, on account of his victory in the horse race.

- 14.4: statue of the Messenian Telestas, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of the Athenian Silanion.
- 14.5-9: statue of Milon, son of Diotimos, from Kroton, victorious in the wrestling six times in Olympia (one in the boys' and five in the men's categories), and seven times in the Pythia (one in the boys' and six in the men's categories), the work of Dameas from Kroton.
A round base with a fragmentary inscription (*IO* 264) has been identified as Milon's votive statue base. The text is restored:
[Μίλων Διοτ]ίμο ἀνέθηκεν.
See also *Anth.Pal.* 16.24.
- 14.9: statue of the king of Thesprotis Pyrrhos, son of Aiakides, dedicated by the Eleian Thrasyboulos.
- 14.11: statue of the Messenian Gorgos, son of Eukletos, victorious in the pentathlon, the work of Theron from Boiotia.
- 14.11: statue of the Messenian Damaretos, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of the Athenian Silanion.
- 14.11: statue of the Eleian Anauchidas, son of Philys, victorious in the boys' wrestling, the sculptor is not known.
- 14.11: statue of Anochos, son of Adamatas, from Taras, victorious in the stadion and diaulos, the work of the Argive Ageladas.
- 14.12 (**no. 10**): statue of Xenodikos, from Kos, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of Pantias.
- 14.12: statue of Pythes, son of Andromachos, from Abdera, the work of Lysippos. It is dedicated by soldiers and so this Pythes may have been a competent leader of mercenaries, or involved with military affairs.
A discovery of a fragmentary inscription (*IO* 297) is a dedication by a select corps of Achaians for an Antandridas, son of Pythes. The association is of course tentative. The text runs:
ἄντανδρί[δαν] Πυθέα
οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι [τ]ῶν Ἀχα[ίων].
- 14.13: statue of Meneptolemos, from Apollonia on the Ionian sea, victorious in the boys' running.
- 14.13 (and 3.11.6): statue of Hieronymos, from Andros, victorious in the pentathlon, the work of Stomios. He competed against the Eleian pentathlete Tisamenos who was later the *mantis* at Plataia, in the battle against the Medes and Mardonios.
- 14.13: statue of Prokles, son of Lykastidas, from Andros, victorious in the boys' wrestling, the work of Somis.
- 14.13: two statues of the Eleian Aischines for his two victories in the pentathlon.

- 15.1: statue of the Eleian Xenon, son of Kalliteles, from Lepreon in Triphylia, victorious in the boys' stadion, the work of the Messenian Pylilampes.
- 15.1: statue of the Eleian Kleinomachos, the sculptor is not known.
- 15.2: statue of the Eleian Olidas by the Aitolian nation.
- 15.2: statue of the Eleian Charinos, victorious in diaulos and hoplite running.
- 15.2: statue of the Chian Ageles, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of Theomnestos from Sardeis.
- 15.3-5: statue of <Klei>tomachos, son of Hermokritos, from Thebes, victorious in Olympia in the same day in boxing and pankration, in Isthmia in wrestling, and in the same day in boxing and pankration, and in the Pythia three times in pankration. It was dedicated by his father, Hermokritos.
- 15.7: statue of the Eleian Timoptolis, son of Lampis, dedicated by the citizens of Pale, formerly Doulichia, the fourth part of Kephallenia.
- 15.9: statue of the Messenian Gorgos, the only one who has been victorious four times in the pentathlon, and once in diaulos and once in the hoplite dromos.
- 15.10: statues of Ptolemy, son of Lagos, and his sons.
- 15.10-11: two statues of the Eleian Kapros, son of Pythagoras, victorious in the same day in wrestling and pankration, and also in the Pythia in the boys boxing and in the same day in wrestling and boxing.
- 16.1: statue of the Eleian Pherenikos, victorious in the boys' wrestling.
- 16.1 (and 10.16.4): statue of Pleistainetos, son of Eurydamos, strategos of the Aitolians against the Gauls, dedicated by the city of Thespiiai.
- 16.2 (and 11.1): statue of the Eleian Tydeus, for king Antigonos, father of Demetrios.
- 16.2 (and 11.1): statue of the Eleian Tydeus, for king Seleukos.
- 16.3: statues of personified Hellas crowning Antigonos Doson and Philip V, and Elis crowning Demetrios and Ptolemy Lagos.
- 16.5: statue of the Eleian Menalkes, victorious in the pentathlon.
- 16.6: statue of the Lakedaimonian Polypeithes, son of Kalliteles, victorious in an equestrian event.
- 16.6: statue of the Lakedaimonian Kalliteles, the father of Polypeithes, victorious in wrestling.
- 16.6: statue of the Eleian Eualkides, victorious in the boys' boxing.

- 16.6: statue of the Lakedaïmonian Seleadas, victorious in wrestling.
- 16.7: the city of Psophis statue for the Eleian Lampos, son of Arniskos, a private citizen (and their proxenos?).
- 16.7: the city of Psophis statue for the Eleian [---], son of Aristarchos, a private citizen (and their proxenos?).
- 16.8: statue of the Eleian Pyttalos, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of Sthennis from Olynthos. He was also a judge in the dispute over territory between the Eleians and the Arkadians.
- 16.8: statue of the Eleian Theodoros, victorious in the pentathlon.
- 16.8: statue of the Eleian Nelaidas, victorious in the stadion and the hoplite race.
- 16.9: statue of Ptolemy mounted on horse back.
- 16.9: statue of the Eleian Klearetos, victorious in the pentathlon.
- 17.1: statue of the Eleian Kriannios, victorious in the hoplite race, the work of the Makedonian Lysos.
- 17.2: statue of the Klazomenian Herodotos by the city of Klazomenai. He was the first Klazomenian victorious in the boys' stadion.
- 17.2: statue of the Koan Philinos, son of Hegepolis, victorious in the dromos, dedicated by the city of Kos. He won five times in Olympia, four in Delphi, four in Nemea, and eleven in Isthmia (i.e. four times *periodonikes*).
- 17.3: statue of Ptolemy son of Lagos dedicated by the Makedonian Aristolaos. For an identification of Aristolaos see Habicht 1985, 87.
- 17.3: statue of the Milesian Boutas, son of Polyneikes, victorious in the boys' boxing.
- 17.3: statue of Kallikrates from Magnesia on the Lethaion, victorious twice in the hoplite race, the work of Lysippos.
- 17.4: statue of Eikasios, son of Lykinos and the daughter of Hermesianax, by the Kolophonians, victorious in the boys' wrestling.
- 17.4: statue of the Arkadian Alexibios from Heraia, victorious in the pentathlon, the work of Akestor.
- 17.5: statue of the Eleian Theotimos, son of Moschion, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of the Sikyonian Daitondas. Theotimos fought with Alexander against Dareios.
- 17.5: statue of the Eleian Choirilos, victorious in the boys' boxing, the work of Sthennis from Olynthos.

- 17.5: statue(?) of the Eleian Archidamos, victorious in the four-horse chariot race.
- 17.7: statue of the Eleian Alexinikos, victorious in the boys' wrestling, the work of the Sikyonian Kantharos.
- 18.1: statue of Kratisthenes from Kyrene, the son of Mnaseas, the Libyan victorious in the horse race, the work of Pythagoras from Rhegion.
- 18.2-6: statue of Anaximenes by the demos of Lampsakos. He was a historian and he wrote a complete history of Greece and histories of Philip and Alexander.
- 18.6: statue of the Kretan Sotadas, victorious in the dolichos in 384 B.C. (the 99th Olympiad); in the next (100th = 380 B.C.) he was paid and changed his ethnic to Ephesian.
- 18.7: the first athletic statue of cypress wood, dedicated at Olympia was that of the Aiginetan Praxidamas, victorious in boxing in the 59th Olympiad (544 B.C.). It is near the Pillar of Oinomaos.
- 18.7: the first athletic statue of fig wood, dedicated at Olympia was that of the Opountian Rhexibios, victorious in the pankration in the 61st Olympiad (536 B.C.). It is near the Pillar of Oinomaos.
- 19.6: in the Sikyonian treasury: a statue of Apollo made of boxwood, dedication by the Epizephyrian Lokrians.
- 19.10: in the Selinountian treasury: a statue of Dionysos whose face hands and feet made out of ivory.
- 19.11: in the Metapontine treasury: a statue of Endymion made out of iveory except its drapery.
- 20.1: on top of the Kronion hill, at the spring equinox, the so-called Basilai sacrifice to Kronos in the Eleian month Elaphion.
- 20.2-5: in the area between the treasuries and the Kronion hill there is a temple of the Olympian Eileithyia where the local daimon Sosipolis is also honored. In front of the temple there is also an altar of Eileithyia.
- 20.6: on the hill to the west of Kladeos there is a tomb for the Arkadians who fell in the battle inside the Altis, in 364 B.C.
- 20.6: near the temple of Eileithyia there are ruins of a temple of Aphrodite Ourania.
- 20.7: inside the Altis, at the processional entrance, there is the Hippodameion where once a year women are allowed to enter and offer sacrifices to Hippodameia.
- 20.8: at the end of the Zanes there is the Krypte entrance to the Stadion.
Pausanias' description has been confirmed by the excavations.

- 20.10-19 (and 6.20.14): description of the Hippodrome: Taraxippos, and a bronze statue of Hippodameia.
- 21.1 (**no. 80**): temple of Demeter Chamyne with new statues of Pentelic marble dedicated by Herodes Attikos.
- 21.2: description of the Gymnasion at Olympia.
- 21.3: across Kladeos the tomb of Oinomaos and ruins where, it is said, his stables were.
- 21.3-4: across the river Erymanthos, at the Sauros ridge, there are ruins of the tomb of Sauros and a sanctuary of Herakles.
- 21.4: forty stades on from the Sauros ridge, on high ground beside the Alpheios, there is in ruins the temple of Asklepios Demainetes, so-called from its dedicator.
- 21.5: near the ruins of the temple of Asklepios Demainetes there is the temple of Dionysos Leukyanites (from the river Leukyanias that flows near by).
- 21.6-8: Pisa: ruins of the city of Phrixa, and a temple of Athena Kydonia, founded by the descendant of the Idaean Herakles, Klymenos who came from the Kretan city Kydonia. Sacrifices to this Athena offered also by Pelops.
- 21.8: Pisa: ruins of the city of Arpina.
- 21.9-11: Pisa: further from the ruins of Arpina the high mount is the tomb of the suitors of Hippodameia.
- 22.1: Pisa: a stade further from the suitors' tomb there is the temple of Artemis Kordaka (from the dance that Pelops and his followers performed when he won); near the sanctuary there is a building with a bronze coffin with the bones of Pelops.
- 22.2-4 (**no. 81**): Pisa: nothing of the ancient city of Pisa remains; history of their struggle with Elis.
- 22.5-6: ruins of the Eleian city Pylos, eighty stades away from Elis.
- 22.7: fifty stades from Olympia the village Herakleia with therapeutic springs, and sanctuary nearby of the Ionidai (named after the Athenian Ion, son of Gargettos, who migrated here) nymphs: Kalliphaeia, Synallasis, Pegaia, and Iasis.
- 22.8-11 (**no. 82**): one hundred twenty stades from Elis is Letrinoi: temple of Artemis Alpeiaia or Elaphiaia.
- 23.1-3: in the city of Elis: old Gymnasion, called Xystos; Plethrion; altars of the Idaean Herakles Parastates, Eros, Anteros, Demeter and Kore; a cenotaph

for Achilles where on the appointed day the women perform rites for Achilles.

- 23.4: in the city of Elis: a smaller Gymnasion, called Tetragonon.
- 23.5: in the city of Elis: a third Gymnasion, called Maltho because of its soft ground; a bust of Herakles stands in a corner, and also relief of Eros and Anteros.
- 23.6: in the city of Elis: according to the Eleian *nomophylax* the statue of a boy at the entrance of Maltho was Sarapion from Alexandria, victorious in the boys' boxing in the 217th Olympiad (89 A.D.).
- 23.7: in the city of Elis: the Bouleuterion, called Lalichmion after its dedicator, where exhibitions of eloquence and recitations of written works were held.
- 23.8: in the city of Elis: the road from the Gymnasion to the Baths lies through the *Ξυππή* street (named after the silence of the spies that Oxylos had sent), and past the sanctuary of Artemis Philomeirax (named after its proximity to the Gymnasion).
- 24.1: in the city of Elis: Hellanodikeon, above Achilles' cenotaph.
- 24.2: in the city of Elis: Agora called Hippodromos, constructed in an older fashion, and not after the Ionian style.
- 24.4: in the city of Elis: Agora of Korkyra constructed with one/tenth of the spoils.
- 24.5: in the city of Elis: statue of Pyrrhon, son of Pistokrates, the sophist, whose tomb is outside the city, in Petra (an old demos of the city of Elis).
- 24.6: in the city of Elis: in the open part of the Agora there is the temple and statue of Apollo Akesios, i.e. what the Athenians call Alexikakos.
- 24.6: in the city of Elis: in the open part of the Agora there are stone statues of Helios with rays projecting from its head, and Selene with horns.
- 24.6-7: in the city of Elis: in the open part of the Agora there is a sanctuary of the Charites with their statues (their body wooden, their drapery gilded, their faces, hands and feet white marble); they hold one a rose, the middle a die, the third a sprig of myrtle, because all these were associated with the story of Aphrodite and Adonis. To their right there is also a statue of Eros standing on the same pedestal.
- 24.8: in the city of Elis: in the open part of the Agora there is a temple of Silenos. There are tombs of Silenoi in the land of the Hebrews and at Pergamon.
- 24.9: in the city of Elis: in the open part of the Agora there is a tomb which an old man said is Oxylos'.

- 24.10: in the city of Elis: in the open part of the Agora there is a building for the Hekkaideka women who weave the robe for Hera.
- 24.10: in the city of Elis: in the open part of the Agora there is an old temple with a colonnade all around it; its roof has fallen and has no statues; it is now consecrated to the Roman Emperors.
- 25.1: in the city of Elis: in the agora behind the Korkyraian Colonnade there is a temple of Aphrodite Ourania with one foot of her statue standing on a tortoise, made of gold and ivory, the work of Pheidias.
- 25.1: in the city of Elis: in the agora behind the Korkyraian Colonnade there is a temple of Aphrodite Pandemos with her statue sitting on a bronze he-goat, the work of Skopas.
- 25.2-3: in the city of Elis: unique temple of Hades and brief mention of the rites.
Papakonstandinou (1982, 505-513) published an "strange" sandstone Corinthian capital with figures which she interprets as Hades flanked by Kerberos and Persephone (cf. Strabo 6.25.2).
- 25.4: in the city of Elis: temple of Tyche with statues of her and Sosipolis.
- 25.5: in the city of Elis: bronze statue of Poseidon, or Satrapes Korybas, which the Eleians brought from Samiko.
- 26.1-2: in the city of Elis: between the agora and the river Menios an old theater, and the temple of Dionysos with his statue made by Praxiteles. The festival of Thyia, celebrated in his honor, was held eight stades from the city.
- 26.3: on the Akropolis of Elis: temple of Athena and a golden and ivory statue, the work of Pheidias. On the helmet sits a cock, which may be the bird sacred to Athena Ergane.
- 26.4: in the city of Kyllene: temples of Asklepios and Aphrodite, and a statue of Hermes which is nothing but a *phallus erectus*.

APPENDIX E
CRITICAL NOTES ON PAUSANIAS' ἩΛΙΑΚΩΝ A AND B

This is a list of the passages in Ἡλειακῶν A and B that present textual problems which are resolved in light of the epigraphical evidence, since Pausanias was taking his information from the very same text (see also the introductory comments in Chapter III and the notes). The bold-face numbers refer to the discussion in Chapters III (1–11); Chapter IV A (12–48); IV B (49–54); IV C (55–82); IV D (83–89); and one to the discussion in Appendix D: Direct Epigraphical Evidence for Book 6.

| Ἡλειακά | No. | Publication |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| 5.1.3-8 (and 6.20.9) | 83 | Robert 1978, 478 |
| 5.5.1 (and 6.14.11) | 49 | <i>FD</i> III.3.191 |
| 5.8.8-11; 9.1 | 84 | <i>IG</i> II ² 2326 |
| 5.10.4 | 1 | <i>IO</i> 253 |
| 5.13.2; 14.4; 15.10 | 58 | <i>IO</i> 58-141 |
| 5.13.7 | 85 | Kontoleon-Foucart 1887, 253, 300-301 |
| 5.14.5 | 59 | <i>IO</i> 466 |
| 5.21.12-13 | 65 | <i>IO</i> 56 |
| 5.22.2-3 | 2 | <i>SEG</i> XV, 251 |
| 5.23.1-3 and 7.64 | 50 | Meiggs/Lewis 27 (19) |
| 5.24.3 | 3 | <i>IO</i> 252 |
| 5.26.1 | 4 | <i>IO</i> 259 |
| 5.26.2-5 | 5 | <i>IO</i> 267, 268 |
| 5.27.8 | 6 | <i>IO</i> 271 |

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 6.1.4-5 | 16 | <i>IO</i> 166 |
| 6.1.6 and 3.8.1 | 7 | <i>IO</i> 160 |
| 6.4.1 | 18 | <i>IO</i> 168 |
| 6.4.1-2 | 52 | <i>FD</i> III.1.207 |
| 6.6.3 | 23 | <i>IO</i> 158 |
| 6.6.4-6; 11.4; 7.1 | 24 | <i>IO</i> 144 |
| 6.7.1, 4; 7.5-7 | 26 | <i>IO</i> 153 |
| 6.7.8 | 29 | <i>IO</i> 155 |
| 6.8.5 | 32 | <i>IO</i> 167 |
| 6.10.4-5 | Appendix E | Habicht 1985, 150 |
| 6.10.8-9 | 34 | <i>IO</i> 147, 148 |
| 6.11.2-9 | 53 | <i>CEG</i> 2.844 |
| 6.12.2-4; 15.6 | 72 | <i>Bericht</i> VI, 205-209 |
| 6.13.6 | 35 | <i>IO</i> 165 |
| 6.13.11 | 36 | <i>IO</i> 177 |
| 6.13.11 | 37 | <i>IO</i> 169 |
| 6.15.1 | 39 | <i>IO</i> 173 |
| 6.16.5 | 43 | <i>IO</i> 276, 277 |
| 6.16.5 | 45 | <i>SEG</i> XXXIII, 329 |
| 6.16.8 | 11 | <i>IO</i> 171 |
| 6.17.4 | 54 | Peek 1985, 155 |
| 6.17.7-8 | 48 | <i>IO</i> 293 |
| 6.19.12 and 5.17.2 | 79 | <i>IO</i> 653 |

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- _____. 1929c. "Οἱ ἀρχαϊκώτατοι λάκωνες χαλκουργοὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Τελέστας," *Polemon* 1, 158-160.
- _____. 1929d. "Ἡ σύνθεσις τῆς Τηλεφείας καὶ τῆς Ἀλκμεωνείας," *Polemon* 1, 181-192.
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