

KINGS PLAYING POLITICS: THE HEROIZATION OF CHIONIS OF SPARTA

Chionis of Sparta won multiple Olympic victories in the seventh century and sometime around 470 BCE received at both Sparta and at Olympia honorific monuments that portrayed him as a seven-time Olympic victor and one of the oikists of Cyrene. After reviewing the relevant evidence, I will seek to show that those monuments were erected as part of the process of making Chionis into an object of heroic cult. Regardless of how one reads the evidence, it is clear that Chionis was singled out by the Spartans for special honors long after his death. I suggest that this was the result of the Agiad royal family attempting to use Chionis to help restore their standing in Spartan society; their position had been severely damaged by the actions of Pausanias, titular head of the Agiad dynasty, who in the years after the Persian Wars became notorious as a Medizer and fomenter of helot rebellion. The elevation of Chionis benefited the Agiads because their social status was enhanced by close association with a prominent Olympic victor and because the characterization of Chionis as an oikist of Cyrene facilitated the establishment or renewal of close ties between the Agiads and the Battiad monarchs of Cyrene. Those ties added significantly to the power and prestige of the Agiads in Sparta while legitimizing the Battiads' position in Cyrene.¹

These arguments are important for two reasons. First, they offer a rare glimpse into political activity within Spartan society in the fifth century and, more specifically, into how status competition was played out. The fashion in which Chionis' status was exploited shows the Agiads displaying a perhaps surprising ingenuity in their rivalry with their peers. Second, if one accepts that Chionis was indeed heroized, the fact that he became the object of cult and the reasons why that seems to have happened would suggest that the current scholarly understanding of how and why athletes were heroized may need some revision. The prevailing view is that cults for athletes were established by communities as a whole and helped resolve intra-communal tensions. The example of Chionis would indicate that heroization of athletes could also be initiated by and serve the interests of sub-*polis* groups and could actually exacerbate rather than resolve intra-communal tensions. In addition, the augmentation of the roster of heroized athletes would suggest that the number of such individuals may have been underestimated and would call into question much of the earlier scholarship that, under the influence of the

1 All dates are BCE unless otherwise indicated. All translations of ancient Greek literary and epigraphic texts are my own unless otherwise indicated. Abbreviations are as given in the *L'année philologique* and *LSJ*. Greek words and names have been transliterated in such a way as to be as faithful as possible to original spellings while taking into account established usages for well-known individuals and places. I am grateful to Paul Cartledge, Thomas Figueira, Kathryn Holroyd, Stephen Hodkinson, Donald Kyle, and Gerry Schaus, all of whom provided invaluable comments on earlier drafts. Responsibility for the views expressed here and for any errors or omissions is solely my own.

apparent rarity of cults for athletes compared to the total number of victors in the Olympics and other Panhellenic games, saw athletes' physical achievements as irrelevant to their heroization.

Before proceeding, a brief note on the term "heroization" is warranted. Of the dozen or so athletes known to have received cultic honors of some kind, three were worshipped as gods. The others were definitely or probably treated as heroes. It is likely, though not certain, that Chionis was venerated as a hero. Unless otherwise indicated, the term "heroization" as used here denotes the act of making a mortal an object of worship, without any specific differentiation between individuals who were transformed into gods and those transformed into heroes.² This is sufficiently precise for the purposes of the argument articulated in this article, and a certain amount of imprecision is actually helpful given the uncertainty about the status of many of the athletes who are known to have been worshipped.

Section 1: Chionis. The Evidence

Pausanias' *Periegesis* is by far the most important source of evidence about Chionis. Pausanias' description of Pitana, the northwestern part of the *asty* of Sparta, includes the following comments:

There is a place in Sparta called the Theomelida. In this part of the city are the graves (*taphoi*) of the Agiad kings and near them is what is called the *lesche* of the Krotanoi. The Krotanoi are a part of the Pitanatans. Not far from the *lesche* is a sanctuary of Asklepios, which is called "in the Agiad zone." Farther on is a memorial (*mnema*) of Tainaros; they say that the cape which juts out into the sea is named after him. There are also sanctuaries of Poseidon Hippiokourios and of Artemis Aiginaia. Coming back towards the *lesche*, there is a sanctuary of Artemis Issoria. They also give her the surname Limnaia, though she is not really Artemis but Britomartis of Crete. (3) My account of Aigina deals with the matters pertaining to her. Very near to the memorials (*mnemata*) which have been built for the Agiads you will see a *stele*; on it are inscribed the victories in running which Chionis, a Lacedaimonian, carried off, both elsewhere and at Olympia. His victories at Olympia were seven in number, four in the *stadion*, the remainder in the *diaulos*. In his time the race with shield that takes place at the end of the contest was not yet instituted. They say that Chionis also took part in the expedition of Battos of Thera and founded Cyrene with him and subdued the neighboring Libyans. (3.14.2–3)

There was also a *stele* to and a statue of Chionis at Olympia, as Pausanias makes clear in his description of the Altis:

The statue of Astylos of Croton is the work of Pythagoras. Astylos won victories in three successive Olympiads, in both the *stadion* and the *diaulos*. But because in

2 For discussion of the differences between gods and heroes, see Kearns 1989, 1–4, 124–137. Recent scholarship has suggested that ritual distinction between gods and heroes may not have been as clear as was once thought. See, for instance, Ekroth 2002.

the two later Olympiads he, in order to please Hieron the son of Deinomenes, proclaimed himself a Syracusan, the Crotoniates, on account of these things, condemned his house to be turned into a prison and tore down the statue of him that stood near the temple of Lakinian Hera. There is also set up at Olympia a *stèle* recording the victories of Chionis the Lacedaimonian. They are simpleminded who have thought that Chionis himself set up the *stèle*, and not the Lacedaimonian people. Let us assume that, as the *stèle* says, the race in armor was not yet established. How would Chionis know if the Eleans would at some point in the future add it to the list of events? But they are even more simpleminded who say that the statue standing next to the *stèle* is a portrait of Chionis, the statue being the work of Myron the Athenian. (6.13.1–2)

Quite a bit of information about Chionis is supplied by Pausanias. According to the periegete, Chionis won seven Olympic victories, four in the *stadion* and three in the *diaulos*. Chionis also ostensibly took part in the foundation of Cyrene, acting as an oikist alongside Battos of Thera. After his death, a *stèle* and a statue by Myron were erected at Olympia next to the statue of Astylos of Croton and at Sparta a *stèle* was placed very close to the graves of the Agiad kings.³ Although it is impossible to be certain, it seems likely that the two *stelai* were identical.⁴

Conflicting information about the dates and number of Chionis' Olympic victories is found in Eusebius' Olympic victor list. Pausanias (4.23.4, 4.23.10, 8.39.3) explicitly places Chionis' first through third Olympic *stadion* victories in the 28th–30th Olympiads (668–660) and presumably put his fourth in the 31st Olympiad (656). The relevant entries in Eusebius' list of Olympic *stadion* victors offer a slightly different picture:

28th. Charmis of Laconia *stadion*, who trained on a diet of dry figs. The Pisatans ran this Olympiad, the Eleans being occupied on account of a war against the Dymaians.

29th. Chionis of Laconia, who could jump 52 feet, *stadion*.

30th. The same, a second time.

The Pisatans rebelled against the Eleans and ran this Olympiad and the next 22 Olympiads as well.

31st Chionis of Laconia, a third time, *stadion*.

32nd Kratinos of Megara *stadion*.

3 Amandry raised the possibility that Pausanias was trying to say that it was wrong to think that the statue next to Chionis' *stèle* had anything at all to do with Chionis and that there was in fact no statue of Chionis at Olympia (Amandry 1957, 68 n. 22). However, commentators on this section of Pausanias' text understand this passage to mean that there was a statue of Chionis at Olympia and that some people – perhaps another periegete or a local guide? – made the error of taking the statue to be a lifelike portrait. See most recently Casevitz, Pouilloux and Chamoux 1992–, 6:185 and Musti et al. 1982–2000, 6.264–265. See also Hyde 1921, 40, 362. Amandry's interpretation is based on an insufficiently exact understanding of the term εἰκόν, on which see Rausa 1994, 19–28.

4 This is clearly implied in Pausanias' descriptions of the monuments. The conclusion that the *stelai* were identical is also reached in Newby 2005, 217–220.

Eusebius thus gives Chionis only three *stadion* victories and places the first of those victories in the 29th Olympiad.⁵ The contradictory statements of Pausanias and Eusebius have in the past been resolved in favor one or the other author. As we will see, Pausanias was probably led astray about the number of Chionis' Olympic victories and as a result misdated Chionis' first victory.

The only other evidence for Chionis comes from a brief statement found in the fragments of Pseudo-Joannes of Antioch. Pseudo-Joannes lists remarkable performances by individual athletes, among which is a jump by Chionis:

The jump of Chionis the Laconian was 52 feet (Müller *FHG* [4.540] F1.27).

This passage is not particularly relevant to the issues under consideration here and is in any case virtually certainly derived directly from the Olympic victor list of Sextus Julius Africanus, which was also copied by Eusebius. The overlap between the entry for the 29th Olympiad in Eusebius' list and the preceding fragment of the Pseudo-Joannes is therefore of no great import.⁶

Section 2: The Heroization of Chionis

In none of the evidence reviewed above is Chionis identified as an object of cult, and he has not been considered as such in any of the previous scholarship. There are, however, four lines of reasoning that suggest that Chionis was in fact heroized. They concern the placement of Chionis' commemorative *stèle* in Sparta, the date at which he received commemorative monuments, the long delay between his death and his commemoration, and the characterization of Chionis as an oikist. While none of the four would in and of itself be persuasive, they cumulatively represent a strong body of evidence for Chionis' heroization.

Before looking at those issues, however, it should be noted that no conclusions can be drawn from the fact that Pausanias does not explicitly state that Chionis was heroized. Pausanias is a key source of information about heroized athletes; he provides evidence for the existence of four of the twelve certain or likely cults for athletes, those of Hipposthenes (3.15.7), Kleomedes (6.9.6–8), Oibotas (7.17.4), and Theogenes (6.11.2–9). He does not discuss the heroic honors that were certainly or probably granted to eight other athletes: Diagoras of Rhodes, Diognetos of Crete, Euthykles of Epizephyrian Locris, Euthymos of Epizephyrian Locris, Glaukos of Carystos, Orsippos of Megara, Philip of Croton, or Poulydamas of Scotussa. In most cases this may have been because he was unaware that they were the object of cult, particularly since most of these athletes came from *poleis* that Pausanias did not visit.⁷ Orsippos, however, represents a highly

5 For background, text, and translation of the Eusebian Olympic victor list, see Christesen and Martirosova-Torlone 2006.

6 On the Pseudo-Joannes, see Roberto 2005, lxxiv–lxxvii as well as Gelzer 1880–1885, 1: 163–165 and Wallraff 2006, 50–53.

7 As part of his description of the Altis at Olympia Pausanias gives an account of Euthymos' athletic achievements and his combat with a malignant *daimon* called the Hero (6.6.4–11) and discusses the statues or athletic careers of Diagoras (6.7.1–3), Glaukos (6.10.1–3), and Poulydamas (6.5.1–9). He

significant exception.⁸ Pausanias passed through Megara, and his description of the Megarian agora includes the following note on Orsippos:

Near Koroibos Orsippos has been given honorable burial. When the other athletes in the contests wore loincloths in accordance with long-established custom, he won the *stadion* at the Olympic Games running naked. They say when Orsippos was later serving as general, he annexed a piece of land from the neighboring territory. It seems to me that he intentionally slipped off his loincloth at Olympia, knowing that a naked man is able to run more easily than one wearing a loincloth. (1.44.1)

Pausanias does not characterize Orsippos as the recipient of hero cult, but there is evidence for the existence of such a cult in Pausanias' time in the form of an inscription discovered in Megara (*CIG* 1050=*IG* VII 52). The text reads as follows:

Heeding the prophetic voice at Delphi, the Megarians erected me here, a magnificent monument to warlike Orrhippos.⁹ When enemies cut off much of the territory of the state, he freed its farthest boundaries. First of the Greeks he was crowned nude at Olympia, as previously competitors wore loincloths in the stadium.

This inscription is dated on the basis of letter forms to the second century CE or later. The extant version seems to be a copy of an earlier original that had become worn due to exposure to the elements.¹⁰

The facts that Orsippos' *mnama* was erected in response to a Delphic injunction and that he was buried in the middle of Megara's agora are compelling evidence that he received cultic honors.¹¹ Pausanias' description of Orsippos' grave shows every sign of being directly based on *CIG* 1050, and he was obviously aware of the highly unusual location of Orsippos' grave. However, Pausanias makes no explicit mention of cultic honors for Orsippos. The parallel with Chionis is nearly exact, since in both cases Pausanias visited a *polis*, recorded the existence of a monument for an athletic victor, and supplied information about the individual in question based on an inscription he found at the site.¹² Pausanias seems to have been aware of Orsippos' heroization but to have chosen not to record it.

names Diognetos as part of a dating formula (10.5.13). The best (and most recent) discussion of the evidence for the heroization of Greek athletes can be found in Currie 2005, 120–157. The list given here is taken from Currie. A fuller list can be found in Fontenrose 1968. However, Fontenrose takes a strongly structuralist approach to the question of heroization and his standards of evidence for including a figure in his list of heroized individuals are not terribly rigorous. For the ancient sources on the athletes listed above, see Currie and the relevant entries in Moretti 1957.

8 For historical background on Orsippos, see Figueira 1985, 271–273.

9 The text is in the local Doric dialect so that Orsippos appears as Orrhippos.

10 On the date of *CIG* 1050, see Section 2.3.

11 His status as a hero is, for example, accepted as certain by both Currie (2005, 122) and Figueira (1985, 273).

12 One divergence is that Chionis was a noted Olympic victor and oikist whereas Orsippos was a noted Olympic victor and general, but it would seem to require special pleading to use that difference as the basis for an argument that Pausanias' treatment of Orsippos is not relevant to his treatment of Chionis.

It is thus problematic to make much of his failure to say anything about Chionis having been heroized. As Bruno Currie has noted, “the transmission of information about the athletes’ cults was evidently a haphazard affair, even in a text like Pausanias’ description of the Altis, where such information is thoroughly apposite.”¹³ If indeed Chionis was heroized, the reasons why Pausanias would have omitted this information can only be a matter of speculation. He was simply not fully informed about every monument he saw and was not inclined to report everything that he knew.¹⁴ Another potentially relevant factor is that active maintenance of Chionis’ cult may have ceased long before Pausanias passed through Sparta. Kearns notes that Attic hero cults “survived often in an attenuated and reduced form” and the same may well have been true of Chionis.¹⁵

Section 2.1: The Heroization of Chionis. The Placement of Chionis’ *Stele* in Sparta

We can now consider the evidence for Chionis’ heroization. The placement of Chionis’ *stele* in Sparta very close to the tombs of Agiad kings suggests that Chionis, like deceased Spartan kings, received heroic cult. Pausanias explicitly states that Chionis’ *stele* was ἐγγυτάτω δὲ τῶν μνημάτων ἃ τοῖς Ἀγιάδαις πεποιήται. The superlative of ἐγγύς appears 38 times in the *Periegesis*. It is used to describe two or more monuments, persons, or concepts that exist in close relationship with one another. As one might expect, given the nature of the work, the relationship in most cases (31 out of 38) is spatial.¹⁶ For instance, the sanctuary of Herakles in Sparta is described as ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ τείχους (3.15.3).¹⁷ The Agiad tombs and the *stele* must have been very close together in order for Pausanias to choose to connect the two and to do so using the term ἐγγυτάτω. Moreover, there is a strong likelihood that Spartan kings received heroic cult after their deaths, which in turn means that Chionis’ *stele* was erected adjacent to a major center

13 Currie 2005, 156.

14 Pausanias makes the selective nature of his account clear in numerous places. See, for example, 1.39.3, 3.11.1, and 6.1.1.

15 Kearns 1989, 5.

16 The relationship can also be one of kinship; Pausanias writes that when King Pausanias fled Sparta in the early fourth century, his minor sons became wards of Aristodemos because the latter was γένους ἐγγύτατα (3.5.7). Finally, the proximity can be purely conceptual. For instance, the fury of the Messenians during a battle in the First Messenian War is characterized as being μανίας ... ἐγγύτατα (4.8.9). Pausanias uses both superlative forms of ἐγγύς, ἐγγύτατα and ἐγγυτάτω, without any obvious distinction in meaning.

17 The usage at 3.12.8 is of some interest because in this passage Pausanias describes the tombs of the Eurypontids as ἐγγύτατα ἤδη τοῦ τείχους. The fact that Pausanias uses the same term to describe the tombs of both the Agiads and Eurypontids may be purely coincidental. Alternatively, it might be meant to suggest a relationship between the tombs of the Agiads and Eurypontids or to highlight the significance of these monuments. It may be significant that the tombs of the Eurypontid kings were located on the opposite end of the city (at the southern end of Aphetais Street). (See Paus. 3.12.8 and Stibbe 1989, 66–69). Nicolas Richer has argued that the Spartans had a penchant for doubling protective figures, as, for example, in the Dioskouroi. He suggests that the location of the royal tombs at Sparta was an example of this phenomenon and that “Sparte est gardée à ses limites par les tombes des deux dynasties” (Richer 1994, 81–92, at 89).

of heroic cult in Sparta.¹⁸ The *stèle* for Chionis could have been erected anywhere in the city, and the fact that it was put immediately next to what must have been one of the more hallowed spots in Sparta leads one to suspect that the honors accorded to Chionis went beyond mere recognition of his athletic achievements. (See Section 3 for further discussion of the relationship between the Chionis *stèle* and the Agiad tombs.)

Section 2.2: The Heroization of Chionis.

The Date at which Chionis Received *Stelai* and a Statue

The date at which *stelai* and a statue were erected for Chionis, c. 470, is another indication that he was heroized because that was precisely the time when most known hero cults for athletes were established. The date of c. 470 is based on what is known about Myron, who carved Chionis' statue at Olympia, on the placement of that statue, and on the contents of the associated *stèle*. Myron was active from c. 480 to c. 440, which provides a *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem*.¹⁹

As Hyde argued more than a century ago, information about the date of another victor statue at Olympia, that of Astylos of Croton, makes it possible to narrow down the date when Chionis' statue and *stèle* were erected.²⁰ Astylos won both the *stadion* and *diaulos* at the Olympiads of 488 and 484 and the *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *hoplites* in 480. His victories were commemorated with statues at Olympia and at Croton.²¹ Pausanias' description indicates that the statues of Astylos and Chionis stood next to each other, near the southeast corner of the Temple of Zeus.²² The base of Astylos' statue, as was

18 The evidence is discussed in Cartledge 1987, 331–343 and Cartledge 1988. For a more skeptical view, see Parker 1988 and Parker 1989, 152–154, 169–70 nn. 51–57.

19 On Myron, see Ridgway 1970, 84–86 and Stewart 1990, 255–257.

20 The relationship between the monuments for Astylos and Chionis is the one aspect of Chionis' commemoration that has received significant scholarly attention. The basic argument made here goes back to Hyde 1903, 48 and Hyde 1921, 362. It has been repeated and slightly expanded upon in a number of later works, including (but not limited to) Hodkinson 1999, 165–167 and Raschke 1988, 41.

21 On Astylos' athletic career, see Casevitz, Pouilloux and Chamoux 1992–, 6: 182–186; Hitzig and Blümner 1896–1910, 2.2: 591–592; Moretti 1957, 82–85, 87, 90; Musti et al. 1982–2000, 6: 262–263; and Young 1984, 141–145. A fragmentary entry in an Olympic victor list from Oxyrhynchus (*POxy* II 222) has been emended in such a way as to credit Astylos with an Olympic victory in the *hoplites* in 476. Moretti (1957, 90) is probably correct in rejecting this emendation and tentatively restoring the name of the victor as Zopyros. Astylos' statue was carved by Pythagoras of Samos, who was active c. 480 to c. 448 (Ridgway 1970, 83–84 and Stewart 1990, 254–255).

22 For the location of Astylos' and Chionis' statues, see Hyde 1921, 339–353 (especially 344–345). Pausanias (6.13.1–4) describes the careers and statues of Astylos and Chionis, then goes on to discuss the achievements of Polites of Keramos, Hermogenes of Xanthos, and Leonidas of Rhodes, all famous runners. It is not clear if the latter three athletes had statues at Olympia. Hyde and Rausa have shown that statues of athletes in certain disciplines (e. g., the combat sports) were grouped together in certain areas of the Altis at Olympia (Hyde 1921, 339–361 and Rausa 1994, 39–51). It is possible, therefore, that a group of statues of famous runners built up around the nucleus consisting of the statues of Astylos and Chionis. (Rausa defends this position, Hyde expresses some doubt

the norm, must have listed his victories at the major athletic festivals.²³ The *stèle* that was erected along with Chionis' statue at Olympia explicitly stated that during Chionis' time the *hoplites* had not yet been instituted (Paus. 3.14.3, 6.13.2). It has long been apparent that that statement made sense only when read against Astylos' record, which included the feat of winning three running events – the *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *hoplites* – at a single Olympiad.²⁴ Ancient Greeks put considerable stress on spectacular athletic feats of just that sort.²⁵ Chionis had, like Astylos, doubled in the *stadion* and *diaulos* at three consecutive Olympiads, but had never tripled. The Spartans evidently felt obliged to make it clear that this was because the *hoplites* (which was not instituted at Olympia until 520) did not exist when Chionis won his Olympic victories.²⁶

What has not heretofore been recognized is that the number of Olympic victories ascribed to Chionis on his *stelai* was almost certainly inflated to match that of Astylos. This would explain Pausanias' and Eusebius' contradictory statements about the number and date of Chionis' victories. Several scholars, starting with Krause in 1838, have taken Pausanias to be the more accurate source and suggested that Eusebius' entry for the 28th Olympiad had been corrupted from Chionis to Charmis.²⁷ There is something to be said for this position since Pausanias appears to have taken his information about Chionis' Olympic victories directly from the *stèle* at Sparta. However, the original editor of the Olympic victor list reproduced by Eusebius shows every sign of having understood Charmis and Chionis as two separate individuals.²⁸ Supplementary information is supplied about both Charmis and Chionis and is separated into two distinct entries, which is unlikely to have been the case had the editor believed the *stadion* victor in both the

that Polites, Hermogenes, and Leonidas received statues.) Hyde also points out that later Spartan Olympic victors chose to put their statues next to that of Chionis.

- 23 For an example of an inscribed base of a victor statue from Olympia listing the honorand's victories, see *IvO* 153. None of the relevant material (the bases of Astylos' and Chionis' statues and Chionis' *stelai*) has been found. (See the invaluable assemblage of evidence in Herrmann 1988.) Pausanias does not mention Astylos' victory in the *hoplites* (which is known from *POxy* II 222). He may have been careless in transcribing the inscription on Astylos' statue base, or there may be a lacuna in the relevant section of text.
- 24 Hyde observed that “Nam Lacedaemonii cum Chionidem iuxta Astylum Crotoniatum ponerent, similtate aemulationeque id fecisse nemo non videt” (Hyde 1903, 48).
- 25 See Young 1996.
- 26 On the dates when specific events were added to the Olympics, see Christesen 2007, 16–17 and the cautionary comments at 476–478.
- 27 Krause 1972 (1838), 243–244 and, for example, Poralla and Bradford 1985, 131.
- 28 The only extant, complete Olympic victor list is that found in Eusebius' *Chronographia*. Eusebius' list provides the names of the *stadion* victors in Olympiads 1–249. Eusebius copied that list from Sextus Julius Africanus, who in turn epitomized it from an historical chronicle written by an otherwise unknown author named Cassius Longinus. Longinus in turn drew on earlier versions of the Olympic victor list, which ultimately went back to Hippias of Elis. (See Christesen 2007, 45–160, 228–276.) It is, therefore, impossible to identify the original source of the supplemental information about Charmis and Chionis found in the Eusebian Olympic victor list. It is, however, virtually certain that the number of victories credited to Chionis in the Olympic victor list was originally assigned by Hippias himself.

28th and 29th Olympiads to be Chionis.²⁹ Moreover, as Jacoby pointed out, the editor of the Eusebian list clearly identifies the 30th, not the 29th, Olympiad as the occasion of Chionis' second *stadion* victory.³⁰ Jacoby also noted that Pausanias (4.23.10, 8.39.3) mistakenly listed Miltiades as the Athenian archon in both the first year of the 29th Olympiad (4.23.10) and the second year of the 30th Olympiad (8.39.3). This strongly suggests that Pausanias either had a flawed Olympic victor list or erred in reading a correct one.

Most scholars after Jacoby have tended to take Eusebius' list as accurate without providing an explanation of how Pausanias could have been mistaken about the number of Chionis' *stadion* victories.³¹ I would suggest that Pausanias correctly transcribed problematic information from the *stèle* at Sparta and then incorrectly assumed that Charmis was a corruption for Chionis in the entry for the 28th Olympiad in his Olympic victor list. The Chionis *stelai* were erected about 75 years before Hippias compiled the first complete listing of Olympic victors. Without an authoritative register to which to refer, it was possible to inflate through wishful thinking, faulty memory, or plain deception the number of victories ostensibly won by any given athlete. An example of this phenomenon can be found in the case of the Pythian victor list generated by Aristotle and Callisthenes in the 330s. Victor monuments at Pharsalos and Delphi for the fifth-century pancratist Agias that were erected not long before the publication of the Aristotelian list claimed five Pythian victories for Agias. Shortly after its erection, the inscription on the monument at Delphi was recut to claim only three Pythian victories for Agias, almost certainly because that was the number credited to him in the Aristotelian list.³²

When the Spartans decided to invest in commemorative monuments for Chionis, they had a strong incentive to give him a seventh Olympic victory in order that he not fall short of Astylos.³³ When Hippias compiled his Olympic victor list, he evidently drew on the oral traditions that must have preserved the basic information known about Chionis and Charmis, rather than merely on the *stelai* of Chionis at Sparta and Olym-

29 One might argue that the information in the entries was re-arranged after an initial corruption changed the *stadion* victor for the 28th Olympiad from Chionis to Charmis, but this would assume a much larger disturbance in the text than the corruption of a few letters.

30 Jacoby 1902, 410 n. 2.

31 See, for example, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1922, 482 n. 2 and Moretti 1957, 63–64. Rutgers considered the possibility that Chionis won three *stadion* victories and four *diaulos* victories. This would effect a reconciliation between Pausanias' text and the Eusebian Olympic victor list (which for the most part gives the names only of *stadion* victories) (Rutgers 1980 (1862), 10 n. 5). However, Rutgers astutely points out that this solution is unlikely because *stadion* victors were eponyms, which made victories in the *stadion* of great importance, and it is unlikely that Pausanias could have confused the number of times Chionis ostensibly won the *stadion* and *diaulos*.

32 On Agias' monument at Delphi, see Miller 1978. On the list of Pythian victors, see Christesen 2007, 179–202.

33 Moretti (1957, 83) raises the possibility that Astylos won not one but three victories in the *hoplites*. There is, however, no evidence to support this supposition, and a feat of that magnitude (tripling in three consecutive Olympiads) would certainly have attracted considerable attention in the ancient sources. When Leonidas of Rhodes won the *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *hoplites* at four consecutive Olympiads in the second century, he became famous as the greatest of all Greek runners. (See Moretti 1957, 144.)

pia, and thus gave Chionis six Olympic victories.³⁴ Pausanias took the *stèle* at Sparta at face value and was unfortunate in that the name of the *stadion* victor for the 28th Olympiad in Hippias' list could easily be mistaken for Chionis (or read as a corruption of that name).

Chionis' statue at Olympia thus seems to have been deliberately placed next to that of Astylos, the text of his *stelai* written in such a way as to explain why he did not, like Astylos, win the *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *hoplites* at a single Olympiad, and to have been credited with a seventh Olympic victory in order to bring him level with Astylos in that regard.

All of this was likely a function of discord between Sparta and Syracuse that grew up during and immediately after the Persian Wars. According to Herodotus, the Spartan messenger sent to ask for Gelon's assistance in resisting the Persian invasion of 480 reacted very badly to the latter's demand to be given supreme command over all Greek forces: "Loud would be the lamentation of Agamemnon, son of Pelops, if he heard that the leadership had been taken from the Spartans by Gelon and the Syracusans" (7.159, trans. David Grene). The position of Gelon, and later that of his brother Hieron after Gelon's death in 478/7, in the Greek world was greatly elevated by their victories over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 and over the Etruscans at Cumae in 474. Both Gelon and Hieron made an effort to impress at Olympia. Gelon placed a statue of Zeus and three linen corslets in the treasury of the Carthaginians at Olympia to commemorate Himera (Paus. 6.19.7); Hieron dedicated Etruscan helmets to commemorate Cumae (*SEG* 33.328). Gelon won a victory in the four-horse chariot race at Olympia in 488; Hieron won the horse race in 476 and 472 and the four-horse chariot race in 468.³⁵ Sometime around 484 Gelon or Hieron, presumably by means of lavish rewards, convinced the star runner Astylos to compete for Syracuse rather than Croton.³⁶ The Spartans had maintained a particularly high profile at Olympia since the sixth century, and the heightened Syracusan presence there must have created considerable tension.³⁷ A response that in part took the form of the erection of a statue and *stèle* at Olympia of a famous but underappreciated Spartan athlete whose achievements rivaled those of Astylos would not be at all surprising.

The tight connection between Astylos' statue and the statue and *stèle* of Chionis indicate that the latter were erected in direct response to and thus shortly after the former. The passage of time and the accumulation of new athletic feats would necessarily have dulled memories of Astylos' achievements and made the implicit rivalry between Astylos and Chionis less compelling. The end of the Deinomenid tyranny with the death of Hieron in 466, and the inexorable rise of Athenian power in the first half of the fifth century made rivalry with Syracuse a much less pressing concern as time

34 Hippias, who visited Sparta on more than one occasion and was a frequent visitor to Olympia, was presumably familiar with Chionis' *stelai*. He evidently did not accept the information they offered about the number of Chionis' *stadion* victories.

35 On Gelon and Hieron, see Asheri 1982–2005a, 766–775 and Asheri 1982–2005b, 147–154. On Gelon's and Hieron's Olympic victories, see Moretti 1957, 84, 90, 92–93.

36 It is unclear if Astylos responded to the inducements of Gelon or of Hieron (before Gelon's death made him ruler of Syracuse). See Young 1984, 141 n. 35.

37 On the Spartan presence at Olympia, see Hönle 1972, 143–146 and Siewert 1991.

went on.³⁸ It is highly probable, therefore, that monuments for Chionis were installed shortly after Astylos' statue was put on display at Olympia. This in turn means that a date for the erection of Astylos' statue at Olympia can help provide a date for the erection of Chionis' statue and *stèle*.

Astylos' statue at Olympia was probably already standing by the mid 470s, and the monuments for Chionis are likely therefore to have been finished c. 470.³⁹ Unusually successful athletes received a number of honors, such as victor statues and *proedria*, that were meant to be enjoyed by the athlete while still alive.⁴⁰ The erection of a victor statue at Olympia typically took place during or very shortly after the end of an athlete's career. The rapidity with which victor statues were erected is reflected in the fact that a statue of Astylos was already extant in Croton when he switched allegiances and declared himself a Syracusan at the Olympiad of 484. The Crotoniates responded by tearing down his statue in Croton. On the parallel of the expeditious erection of his statue in Croton, it seems safe to conclude that Astylos' statue at Olympia was on display by the middle of the 470s and that Chionis' monuments followed shortly thereafter.

That date is significant because most known hero cults for athletes were established in the first few decades of the fifth century, i. e., precisely the time when monuments for Chionis were erected at both Sparta and Olympia. Five of the twelve known cults for athletes – those of Euthykles, Euthymos, Kleomedes, Oibotas, and Orsippos – all seem to have been established between 490 and 460. The dates when the rest of the cults came into being are unknown, but it is unlikely to be coincidental that Diagoras' and Theogenes' athletic careers fell in the years between c. 480 and c. 460. Hipposthenes was active in the seventh century and Glaukos and Philippos in the late sixth century, but it is very possible that they were part of a group of earlier athletes who were heroized in the early fifth century.⁴¹ Virtually nothing is known about Diognetos.⁴² Poulydamas, who was active in the late fifth century, is the only obvious outlier. The reasons why most hero cults for athletes were established within a limited time span in the early fifth century have been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion, which need not be reviewed here.⁴³ The key issue for present purposes is that the Spartans, after literally centuries of neglect, suddenly decided to honor Chionis with two *stelai* and a statue sometime around 470, just at the time when there was something of a vogue for hero

38 A reader of an earlier draft of this paper suggested that Chionis' monuments may have been erected at the same time Leonidas' Agiad descendants had him heroized and a monument built to him in Sparta (see Section 3). Leonidas was heroized in the early part of the second half of the fifth century. However, it is hard to see why the Agiads would have felt a compelling urge to set up Chionis as a rival to Astylos in the 440s, a full generation after Astylos' feats and during a period when the reality of Athenian power rendered otiose concerns with former Syracusan pretensions.

39 Hyde suggested that Chionis' monuments at Olympia were erected in the 77th or 78th Olympiad (472, 468) (Hyde 1903, 48 and Hyde 1921, 362). See also Casevitz, Pouilloux and Chamoux 1992–, 6: 183–186.

40 On the various honors given to successful athletes, see Buhmann 1975, 53–136.

41 See Section 2.3.

42 Moretti (1957, 84) tentatively places Diognetos in the fifth century, solely on the grounds that he was heroized.

43 See, for example, Bohringer 1979, 9–11 and Kurke 1993, 153–155.

cults for athletes. This suggests that the monuments for Chionis were erected as part of the process of making him an object of worship.

Section 2.3: The Heroization of Chionis.

The Erection of *Stelai* and Statue for Chionis Long after his Death

The fact that Chionis received *stelai* and a statue long after his death is yet another indication that he was heroized. A substantial fraction of the Greek athletes known to have been granted divine or heroic honors first became objects of cult centuries after they died. More specifically, Oibotas, Orsippos, and possibly Hipposthenes offer parallels that are potentially helpful in interpreting the evidence for Chionis.

According to Pausanias the Olympic victor Oibotas won the *stadion* in the 6th Olympiad (756), but was not honored by the citizens of his hometown. As a result, he called down a curse that no Achaian should in the future win an Olympic victory. The curse was fulfilled, and the Achaians eventually inquired at Delphi about why their athletes never won at Olympia. They were told to honor Oibotas. The Dymaians therefore in the 80th Olympiad (460) erected statues to Oibotas both in their own territory and at Olympia. Shortly thereafter Sostratos of Pellene won the boys' *stadion*.⁴⁴ Pausanias concludes the story with the statement that, "It remains to my time a custom that those of the Achaians going to compete at Olympia sacrifice to Oibotas as a hero (ἐναγίζειν), and, if they win, crown the statue of Oibotas at Olympia"⁴⁵ (7.17.14).

Orsippos is a less straightforward case, but he too was probably heroized long after his death. As mentioned above, Orsippos' status in Megara is known from Pausanias 1.44.1 and *CIG* 1050; the latter is dated on the basis of letter forms to the second century CE or later, but the extant version seems to be a copy of an earlier original that had become worn due to exposure to the elements.⁴⁶ The date when the original version of *CIG* 1050 was inscribed cannot be established directly, but there is good reason to think that this took place in the early fifth century. To begin with, the epigram appears to have been written in the fifth century. Although the original attribution to Simonides is now considered to be questionable, its content and the use of the special local form Orrhippos put it comfortably among fifth-century epigrams. It may well have been written by Philiados, a Megarian epigrammist of some note who was active during the period of the Persian Wars.⁴⁷ Moreover, athletic nudity became an important trait separating Greek from barbarian in the aftermath of the Persian Wars, and it would make sense

44 See Paus. 6.3.8 and 7.17.6–14.

45 Two inconsistencies in this story – the known success of Achaian athletes between the 6th and 80th Olympiads and the identification of Oibotas' hometown as both Dyme and Paleia – are discussed in Moretti 1957, 60. Neither is relevant to the issues under consideration here. A discrepancy between the date of Oibotas' heroization and a story that Oibotas fought in the Persian War prompted Pausanias to write that "it is necessary for me to record the things said by the Greeks, but it is not necessary for me to believe all of them" (6.3.8). On this discrepancy, see Moretti 1957, 60, who dates Oibotas to the sixth Olympiad.

46 See the discussions in *CIG* and *IG* as well as Hicks and Hill 1901, 3–4.

47 On Philiados, see Peek 1938.

for the Megarians to highlight their role in the introduction of athletic nudity at that time.⁴⁸ It seems quite likely, therefore, that, like Oibotas, Orsippos was first treated as a hero centuries after he died.

Hipposthenes of Sparta may be another example of the same phenomenon. Hipposthenes appears in the Eusebian Olympic victor list, as a six-time winner in wrestling (in the 37th and 39th–43rd Olympiads, (632, 624–608)). Pausanias' description of Sparta includes the following information:

Nearby is a temple (ναός) of Hipposthenes, to whom fell so many victories in wrestling. They worship (σέβουσι) Hipposthenes in accordance with an oracle, paying him honors just as to Poseidon. (3.15.7)

Pausanias also supplies the information that Hipposthenes won six Olympic victories in wrestling (3.13.9), the first as a boy at the 37th Olympiad (5.8.9). Some modern scholars have expressed suspicion that Pausanias confused a cult of Poseidon Hippios with a cult of Hipposthenes as Poseidon.⁴⁹ Most, however, have taken this as a case in which an athlete was assimilated into a pre-existing cult, something that seems to have taken place with Euthymos and Theogenes.⁵⁰ As it seems extremely unlikely that Hipposthenes could have been worshipped as a god during or shortly after his lifetime, there was presumably some delay in the institution of cultic honors for him.⁵¹ Given the established pattern of the institution of cults for athletes in the first half of the fifth century, it is possible that Hipposthenes' cult was established during this same period.⁵²

The parallels between Oibotas, Orsippos and possibly Hipposthenes on one hand and Chionis on the other suggest that the decision to commemorate Chionis' achievements with a *stèle* in Sparta and a *stèle* and statue in Olympia roughly two centuries after his Olympic victories was linked to the initiation of heroic honors for him. The erection of a statue for an Olympic victor long after his death was a rare event. In his still-essential work on Olympic victor statues, Hyde lists the four known examples: Oibotas, Poulydamas, Glaukos, and Chionis.⁵³ It is striking that Oibotas is known to have been

48 On the importance of athletic nudity as an ethnic marker, see Bonfante 1989.

49 See, for example, Poralla and Bradford 1985, 68–69; Moretti 1957, 66–67; and Bentz and Mann 2001, 232.

50 See Currie 2005, 136–139 and the bibliography cited therein.

51 This presumption may be supported by the mention of an oracle, which, as in the cases of Oibotas and Orsippos, may have been called upon to clarify a situation that was obscure due to the long passage of time since the athlete's death. However, the Astypalaiaans appealed to Delphi immediately after Kleomedes mysteriously disappeared and were told to worship him as a hero (Paus. 6.9.6–8).

52 This is the position taken in Hodkinson 1999, 165–167.

53 Hyde 1921, 32. Poulydamas won the *pankration* at Olympia in 408; his statue was carved by Lysippos (who was born c. 390). (See Paus. 6.5.1–9 and 7.27.6 as well as Hyde 1903, #47 and Moretti 1957, 110.) Glaukos won the Olympic boxing contest in 520; his statue was dedicated by his son and carved by the sculptor Glaukias, who was active in the first half of the fifth century. (See Paus. 6.10.1–3 as well as Hyde 1903, #93 and Moretti 1957, 75–76.) Hyde also includes in this list Cheilon of Patrai, but Cheilon's statue was erected very shortly after his death in battle. (See Paus. 6.4.6 and Moretti 1957, 126.) As Hyde points out (Hyde 1903, #41), Cheilon was honored as much for his military service as for his athletic exploits. Moreover, the fact that the statue went up almost immediately after his death means that Cheilon's situation bears little resemblance to that of Chionis, Oibotas,

heroized and that Glaukos and Poulydamas have, on other grounds, been identified as possible objects of heroic cult. Further, it is *a priori* unlikely that the Spartans, long after Chionis' death, would have chosen to commemorate his achievements with simple honorific monuments of the type typically granted to living athletes. It is much more likely that the Spartans, as the Dymaians did with Oibotas, instituted heroic honors for Chionis at the same time they erected monuments for him.⁵⁴

Section 2.4: The Heroization of Chionis. Chionis as Oikist

Finally, the characterization of Chionis, along with Battos of Thera, as an oikist of Cyrene suggests that he was worshipped as a hero, an honor commonly granted to the founders of colonies. This point is not quite as straightforward as it might seem due to the nature of the relevant evidence. Despite the abundance of extant ancient sources pertaining to the foundation of Cyrene, the only reference to Chionis as an oikist of Cyrene is found in Pausanias' discussion of Chionis' *stele* in Sparta. The collection of stories about Cyrene's foundation evolved noticeably in the fifth through third centuries, and it is possible that the idea that Chionis helped found Cyrene did not gain currency until after the fifth century.⁵⁵ It is, as a result, necessary to examine with some care the source of Pausanias' information about Chionis as oikist. Although it is impossible to be certain, there is good reason to believe that Pausanias' source was the inscription on Chionis' *stele* in Sparta. This in turn means that when the Spartans erected that *stele* they wished to portray Chionis as an oikist and thus an individual meriting heroization.

By way of forewarning, the reader should be aware that the argumentation in this section may seem rather more lengthy and involved than is warranted. The source of Pausanias' statement about Chionis serving as an oikist is important not just in regard to

et al. Hyde's list needs to be supplemented with the name of Eutelidas of Sparta, who, according to the Eusebian victor list and Pausanias, won the boys' wrestling and pentathlon at the 38th Olympiad (632). (On Eutelidas, see Moretti 1957, 67 and the sources cited therein.) Pausanias (6.15.8) saw a statue of Eutelidas at Olympia. Hyde (Hyde 1903, #148) was aware of Eutelidas' statue but was of the opinion that it was erected in the seventh century and thus was one of the earliest victor statues at Olympia. The scholarship that has appeared since that time has made it clear that victor statues were first erected at Olympia in the middle of the sixth century. (See, for example, Stewart 1990, 39.) Eutelidas' statue must have been set up some time after his death, and one might well suspect that he too was heroized, but very little is known about him.

54 A reader of an earlier version of this article noted that oracles helped provide the impetus for the establishment of cults for Oibotas, Orsippos, and Hipposthenes but that there is no evidence for such an oracle for Chionis. Here again we need to take into consideration the nature of the available evidence and the specific case of Orsippos. Virtually all the evidence about Chionis comes from Pausanias. Pausanias seems to have been aware of an oracle that urged the Megarians to set up a special monument to Orsippos, but makes no mention of it, and that oracle would be unknown were it not for the survival of *CIG* 1050. It is, therefore, difficult to make much of the absence of evidence for an oracle urging the establishment of a cult for Chionis.

55 For obvious reasons, that would vitiate the argument that Chionis' ostensible activity as an oikist can be seen as evidence for his heroization c. 470. On the ancient traditions on the foundation of Cyrene, see the discussion in Chamoux 1953, 69–127.

the question of whether Chionis was heroized, but also in regard to the question of why he was honored. The latter question will be the subject of the latter half of this article, and it is, therefore, necessary to explore Pausanias' source in detail.

Pausanias is often vague about the origin of pieces of information he brings into his narrative, and this is certainly the case with his statement about Chionis serving as oikist in Cyrene.⁵⁶ Pausanias' discussion of Chionis and his *stele* in Sparta (3.14.3) consists of four basic statements:

- (1) very near to the memorials of the Agiads there is a *stele* on which are inscribed the victories won at Olympia and elsewhere by Chionis, a Lacedaimonian;
- (2) Chionis won seven victories at Olympia, four in the *stadion* and three in the *diaulos*;
- (3) in Chionis' time the *hoplites* was not yet instituted;
- (4) Chionis also took part in the expedition of Battos and founded Cyrene with him and subdued the neighboring Libyans.

The last statement differs from the preceding three in being written in indirect discourse dependent upon λέγουσιν.

The presence of λέγουσιν in the statement about Chionis serving as oikist in Cyrene might seem to indicate a source of information other than Chionis' *stele* in Sparta. This impression is perhaps reinforced by the fact that Pausanias at some point read at least some of the literary narratives of the foundation of Cyrene. After describing a statue of Battos at Delphi, he writes:

It is said (λέγεται) that after Battos founded Cyrene the cure for (the stammer) in his voice came about in the following way. As he was crossing the territory of Cyrene he beheld in the most distant parts of the territory, which were still uninhabited, a lion, and terror at the sight compelled him to shout clearly and loudly. (10.15.7)

This is almost certainly an authorial comment added by Pausanias based on his knowledge of the relevant literature.⁵⁷ It is conceivable that the comment about Chionis serving as oikist of Cyrene was based on that same body of texts, or a local informant.

There are, however, a number of reasons to think that Pausanias learned about Chionis' role as oikist from the *stele* in Sparta.⁵⁸ To begin with the most important evidence, a careful reading of 3.14.3 leads to the conclusion that Pausanias used indi-

56 On Pausanias' sources, see Pretzler 2007, 32–43 and the bibliography cited therein.

57 It is unlikely to have been taken from the inscription on the statue of Battos, not least because there was extant a more flattering version, recounted by Pindar (*Pythian V*, 57–59), in which lions flee at the sound of Battos' voice. The statue in question was probably erected by Arkesilas IV, who commissioned *Pythian V*. Had Arkesilas chosen to inscribe the story on the statue base, he presumably would have chosen the version that put his ancestor in a better light. (The statue seems to have post-dated the Pythian ode. See Chamoux 1953, 199–200.)

58 The only previous scholar who, to my knowledge, has commented directly on the source of Pausanias' statement about Chionis as oikist is Immerwahr, in his work on the *Quellen* on which Book 3 of the *Periegesis* is based. Immerwahr makes the brief and distinctly unhelpful observation that, "Die historische Schlussbemerkung (in 3.14.3) bezieht sich auf die Erzählung bei Herodot IV 150 ff. und stimmt übrigens mit der Chronologie" (Immerwahr 1889, 71).

rect discourse after λέγουσιν to transmit a particular kind of information, i. e., factual information that he derived from reading an inscription on a monument but which represented a claim that the existence of the monument did nothing to substantiate and which might be open to question. Before looking at 3.14.3, it may be helpful to look at a similar passage from later in the *Periegesis*. At 10.24.2 Pausanias is describing the area around the Temple of Apollo at Delphi:

Θεάσαιο δ' ἄν καὶ εἰκόνα Ὅμηρου χαλκῆν ἐπὶ στήλῃ καὶ ἐπιλέξει τὸ μάντευμα ὃ γενέσθαι τῷ Ὅμῳ λέγουσιν·

(a four-line prophecy follows)

You may also see a bronze image of Homer on a *stele* and you will read the oracle which they say was given to Homer:

There are two important features of this passage. First, Pausanias seems to have encountered the claim that the oracle in question was delivered to Homer on the monument itself, not from an outside oral or literary source. Second, Pausanias separates factual information that was verifiable by autopsy (there is a *stele* at Delphi on which you can read a prophecy) from a more-difficult-to-verify claim made in the text of the inscription on the monument (the prophecy was given to Homer).⁵⁹ The latter is set off from the former by being delivered in indirect discourse dependent upon λέγουσιν.

Pausanias takes precisely the same approach in discussing the Chionis *stele*, here again carefully using language to construct different epistemological categories. In 3.14.3–4 Pausanias moves from direct discourse, to indirect discourse dependent upon λέγουσιν, to indirect discourse dependent upon φασιν:

τὸν δὲ σὺν τῇ ἀσπίδι δρόμον ἐπὶ ἀγῶνι λήγοντι οὐ συνέβαινε εἶναί πω. Χίονιν δὲ καὶ τοῦ στόλου μετασχεῖν τῷ Θηραίῳ Βάττῳ καὶ Κυρήνην οἰκίσαι σὺν ἐκείνῳ καὶ Λιβύων καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς προσχώρους λέγουσιν. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Θέτιδος κατασκευασθῆναι φασιν ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη· (3.14.3–4)

(The story of the foundation of the sanctuary of Thetis follows.)

In his time the race with shield that takes place at the end of the contest was not yet instituted. They say that Chionis also took part in the expedition of Battos of Thera and founded Cyrene with him and subdued the neighboring Libyans. The sanctuary of Thetis, they say, was established for the following sort of reason.

These grammatical shifts seem to be Pausanias' way of assigning varying value to what he saw as different kinds of information.⁶⁰ Basic facts which he derived from autopsy

59 The literal meaning of λέγουσιν is not particularly significant in this and related cases in the *Periegesis*. As Chamoux noted in his discussion of the historical dimensions of the *Periegesis*, the terms λέγουσι, φασι, and λέγεται “ne signifie pas ... que ces renseignements ont été recueillis de la bouche d'un interlocuteur, mais qu'il s'agit d'une tradition, qu'elle soit écrite ou orale” (Chamoux 1996, 59). On Pausanias' use of oral sources, see Pretzler 2005 and the bibliography cited therein.

60 The absence of any direct, first-person observations on the veracity of the claims on the Chionis *stele* is in keeping with Pausanias' habit of minimizing overt authorial comments. (Hutton notes “Pausanias' tendency to mask his first-person experience in third-person or impersonal narrative, a self-effacing affectation that is undercut just often enough by the occurrence of first-person pronouns

of the inscription and which were in some sense substantiated by the monument itself went into direct discourse. The existence of the *stele* was a strong indication that Chionis had in fact been an unusually successful athlete, and the statements about Chionis' achievements and the absence of the *hoplites* during his athletic career could be easily checked in the Olympic victor list. The story of the foundation of the sanctuary of Thetis came from a non-inscriptional source, either literary or oral, and is expressed in indirect statement dependent upon φασίν. The statement about Chionis serving as oikist came from the inscription on the *stele* but could not be easily checked and is expressed in indirect statement dependent upon λέγουσιν. As Pausanias was no doubt aware, the detailed accounts of the foundation of Cyrene found in authors such as Herodotus – with whose work Pausanias was intimately familiar and used as a model – made no mention at all of Chionis.⁶¹ He may well, therefore, have been skeptical of a claim that Chionis served as oikist of Cyrene and signaled that skepticism by moving into indirect discourse to transmit it.

One might object that this reading of 3.14.3–4 assumes too much subtlety on the part of Pausanias. Recent scholarship, however, has made it clear that it is usually a mistake to underestimate the level of sophistication at which Pausanias was capable of working.⁶² Moreover, precisely the same pattern – a description of a *stele* for an athlete that starts in direct discourse and moves to indirect discourse dependent on λέγουσι before moving on to another subject treated in indirect discourse dependent on φασίν – occurs in another passage from Book 3, in which Pausanias is discussing the sights at Amyklai:

τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις θεᾶς ἄξια, ἀνὴρ πένταθλός ἐστιν ἐπὶ στήλης ὄνομα Αἴνητος· τούτῳ νικήσαντι Ὀλυμπίασι καὶ ἔτι στεφανουμένῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν λέγουσι. τούτου τε οὖν ἐστὶν εἰκῶν καὶ τρίποδες χαλκοῖ· τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαιοτέρους δεκάτην τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμου φασὶν εἶναι. ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῷ πρώτῳ τρίποδι Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐστήκει, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δευτέρῳ ... (3.18.7–8)

The things worth seeing at Amyklai are these. A man, a pentathlete, Ainetos by name, is (depicted) on a *stele*. They say (λέγουσι) that death came to him having won at Olympia, just at the moment when he was being crowned. There is therefore a likeness of him, and bronze tripods. They say (φασίν) that the more ancient of these tripods are a tithe from the war against the Messenians. Under the first tripod stood an image of Aphrodite, an image of Artemis under the second ...

The basic factual information which was derived from the *stele* and which could be easily checked – that Ainetos was a pentathlete – is provided in direct discourse. (The image of Ainetos presumably showed him as a pentathlete.) A more complicated and difficult to

and verbs to make the artifice apparent” (Hutton 2005, 14.) For the most part Pausanias' views and predilections are expressed implicitly, for example through selection and arrangement. See Pretzler 2007, 16–31 and the bibliography cited therein. On first-person intrusions in the narrative of the *Periegesis*, see Akujärvi 2005, 1–178.

61 On Pausanias' use of Herodotus, see Bowie 1996 and Musti 1996.

62 See, for instance, Elsner 2001 and Hutton 2005, 1–29.

verify claim contained in the inscription on the *stele* – that Ainetos died at the moment of being crowned – is transmitted in indirect discourse dependent upon λέγουσι. Further basic facts of obvious veracity – that there was an image of Ainetos and bronze tripods – are supplied in direct discourse. Information from a non-inscriptional source (presumably a local informant or a *Lakonika*), about the source of funding for the older bronze tripods, is given in indirect discourse dependent upon φασίν.⁶³ Pausanias then shifts immediately back into direct discourse to provide more obviously true factual information that he derived from autopsy, the existence and identities of images under the tripods.⁶⁴

Other considerations support the conclusion that Pausanias used λέγουσιν at 3.14.3 as a means of assigning epistemic value to the claim on the *stele* that Chionis helped found Cyrene. The statement about the *hoplites* not existing in Chionis' time might seem as if it was based on Pausanias' own knowledge, were it not for the fact that his description of the identical *stele* in Olympia makes it clear that that information came directly from the *stele* in Sparta. In describing the *stele* in Sparta, Pausanias writes, τὸν δὲ σὺν τῇ ἀσπίδι δρόμον ἐπὶ ἀγῶνι λήγοντι οὐ συνέβαινε εἶναί πω. This seems like the sort of generic information that Pausanias would have added on his own, particularly since in other parts of the *Periegesis* he gives the dates of Chionis' victories and writes at some length about the evolution of the Olympic program (5.8.5–11). But in describing Chionis' *stele* at Olympia, Pausanias writes, ἔστω γὰρ δήπου, ὡς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ, οὐκ εἶναί πω τοῦ ὄπλου τὸν δρόμον. The source of the information about the *hoplites* not existing in Chionis' time is thus clear, but only due to the highly unusual circumstance of Pausanias encountering and discussing identical monuments in two different places.

From a broader perspective, epigraphic evidence was a source of particular interest to Pausanias, and he dedicated a great deal of time and energy to accumulating and analyzing the texts of inscriptions.⁶⁵ He is likely, therefore, to have written carefully about the

63 Pausanias identifies the tripods as coming from the First Messenian War (4.14.2), which would make them of eighth century date and hence unlikely to have borne dedicatory inscriptions. However, Pausanias' discussion of these tripods contains serious chronological difficulties, on which see Frazer 1913, 3.350–351.

64 It would be desirable – but impossible in the present context – to examine all of the relevant passages in the *Periegesis*. A very preliminary survey suggests that the pattern discussed above is found elsewhere in the text. See, for instance, 8.48.1, in which Pausanias describes two *stelai* in the agora of Tegea. The physical characteristics of the *stelai* are treated in direct discourse. The claim that the figure portrayed on one of them (Iasios) won the horse-race at the Olympiad organized by Herakles is given in indirect discourse introduced by φασί. It may be that Pausanias always used φασί to refer to a literary or oral source. Alternatively, it may be that when writing a passage in which he wished to refer to both claims made by texts on monuments and to claims made by literary or oral sources, he used λέγουσι for the former and φασίν for the latter, but otherwise used the two verbs interchangeably. It is of course necessary to be very cautious in assuming that Pausanias was both consistent and precise in his usages. At 2.9.8, for instance, Pausanias overtly contrasts what he has been told (evidently by the local guides) about bronze statues of women at Sicyon with what he read on the statue bases (τὰς Προίτου θυγατέρας λέγουσιν εἶναι σφᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐς γυναῖκας ἄλλας εἶχεν). The use of λέγουσιν here is obviously different from that at 3.14.3.

65 The observations in this and the next paragraph are based largely on the insightful comments found in Tzifopoulos 1991, 1–23 and 406–414. On the same subject matter, see also Zizza 2006, 21–114 and 399–422.

information contained in the inscription on the Chionis *stèle* at Sparta. Habicht observed that Pausanias was something of an “inscription-hunter.”⁶⁶ Pausanias in fact discusses inscriptions a remarkable 218 times in his *Periegesis*.⁶⁷ Habicht used the considerable body of extant epigraphic texts from Olympia to check how carefully Pausanias worked with inscriptions and came to the conclusion that:

Pausanias’ accuracy is as remarkable as is his economical style of reporting: he manages to compress a maximum of information into a minimum of words. And all indications show that he read and copied the texts himself and that, later on, in writing his text, chose which to include and what to report from their contents.⁶⁸

Pausanias did not just transcribe inscriptions, he also exercised his critical faculties on their contents and used them as the basis of historical deductions.⁶⁹ In his analysis of Pausanias’ use of inscriptions Frazer writes that, “he did not accept their testimony blindfold. In some of his references to them we can perceive the same discrimination, the same desire to sift and weigh the evidence which we have found to characterise his procedure in other enquiries.”⁷⁰ A few relevant examples may be helpful. When Pausanias came upon the statue of Oibotas in Achaia, he observed that the inscription on it gave Oibotas’ hometown as Paleia rather than Dyme. (The Eusebian Olympic victor list, and presumably that consulted by Pausanias, describes Oibotas as a Dymaian.) Pausanias notes that:

This ought not seem absurd to anyone, if the inscription calls the *polis* Paleia rather than Dyme. For it is customary among Greeks to introduce the older instead of the later names into verse. (7.17.7)

In discussing a victor monument at Olympia, he quotes verbatim the inscription on it, which claims two Olympic victories in horse-racing for the sons of Pheidolas. Pausanias notes that “the Elean records of Olympic victors do not agree with this inscription” (6.13.11). When he gives historical background on Achaia, Pausanias observes that the Achaians were not present at the Battle of Plataia and adduces as proof the fact that their name is not inscribed on the monument that the Greeks who fought in the battle subsequently dedicated at Olympia (7.6.4).⁷¹ These examples show that Pausanias regularly approached inscriptions from an historical perspective, and it would by no means

66 Habicht 1984, 56.

67 This comes from Zizza 2006, 21. Tzifopoulos 1991, 415–416 claims the correct number is 223. For a still higher figure, see Whittaker 1991.

68 Habicht 1984, 55.

69 On Pausanias as historian, see Pretzler 2007, 44–56, 73–90 and the bibliography cited therein. Pretzler observes that “it is quite clear that in his efforts to authenticate and evaluate his sources Pausanias took his lead from historiography” (Pretzler 2007, 55). For a list and analysis of passages in which Pausanias overtly critiques the reliability of his source material, see Akujärvi 2005, 118–127.

70 Frazer 1913, lxxv.

71 Pausanias saw the monument at Olympia and listed the names on it (5.23.1–3). The Achaians are not listed on the Serpent Column.

be surprising to find him implicitly evaluating the historical veracity of a statement he found inscribed on a *stele* in Sparta.⁷²

Chionis' *stele* in Sparta thus seems to have portrayed him as one of the founders of Cyrene. There would, as a result, have been an expectation that Chionis should be worshipped as a hero, an honor commonly granted to oikists. As Irad Malkin has noted, "The cult of the oikist was a universal practice in Greek colonies."⁷³ The placement of Chionis' monument in Sparta rather than Cyrene makes his situation different from that of other oikists, but in this particular case his ostensible role as a founder of a colony was likely a contributing rather than determining factor in his heroization.

Approximately two centuries after his death and just at a time when most known athletic hero cults were being founded, Chionis received monuments next to the tombs of the Agiad kings at Sparta and at Olympia, on which he was portrayed as an improbably successful athlete and as an oikist. Moreover, the example of Hipposthenes shows that the Spartans were willing in exceptional circumstances to make their successful athletes objects of cult.⁷⁴ While the nature of the relevant sources is such as to make any conclusions provisional, the most likely explanation for the evidence is that Chionis became the object of heroic cult sometime around 470.⁷⁵

Even if one adopts a more skeptical stance about Chionis' heroization, it seems indubitably true that he received exceptional honors from the Spartans in the early decades of the fifth century, including monuments that presented a picture of Chionis as both a highly successful Olympic victor and as an oikist of Cyrene. The next step is to consider why the Spartans in the years around 470 would have chosen to make Chionis the object of special attention.

72 Three other relevant considerations merit brief mention. First, it was not uncommon for Olympic victors to serve as oikists, and the attribution of both roles to Chionis on his *stele* made sense from the Greek perspective. Second, there is no obvious source other than the Chionis *stele* from which Pausanias could have taken the information about Chionis helping to found Cyrene. Third, the claim that Chionis helped Battos found Cyrene bolstered ties between Sparta and Cyrene, and the impetus to construct a connection between these two *poleis* makes particular sense in the context of the first half of the fifth century. (See Section 4.) After the fall of the Battiad monarchy, the Cyrenaeans appear to have emphasized their connection to Thera rather than to Sparta. It is, therefore, plausible that a *stele* erected in Sparta c. 470 featured a claim that a Spartan had participated in the foundation of Cyrene.

73 Malkin 1987, 189. See pp. 189–240 of that work for a full discussion of the cult honors granted to colony founders. As it turns out, the best archaeological evidence for hero cult for an oikist comes from Cyrene. The relevant remains at Cyrene are discussed in Büsing 1978.

74 Currie points out that some *poleis* (such as Epizephyrian Locris) seem to have been much more willing than others (such as Athens) to heroize athletes (Currie 2005, 153–154). The treatment accorded Hipposthenes demonstrates that the Spartans in this respect were closer to the Locrians than the Athenians. Laconia seems to have been fertile ground for heroization of all kinds, as is evident from the popularity of so-called Laconian hero-reliefs, on which see Salapata 1993.

75 Chionis' precise status as super-human figure must remain uncertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that he was worshipped as a hero rather than a god. His *stele* was set up next to the tombs of the Agiad kings, who received heroic cult after their death. Had Chionis been taken as a god, the deceased kings would presumably have suffered by comparison. The Agiads, who, as we will see, oversaw Chionis' heroization, are unlikely to have promoted that development.

Section 3: The Question of Agency

Before considering the relevant evidence, there is need for one critical note on terminology. In the discussion that follows I refer repeatedly to the “elevation” of Chionis – an intentionally vague term that leaves open the question of whether Chionis was the object of heroic cult or significant but less elaborate honors that did not render him a super-human figure.

The most important evidence for agency in the elevation of Chionis is the placement of his *stele* in Sparta. As we have seen, that *stele* stood near the tombs of the Agiad kings. This important fact has passed virtually unnoticed by the numerous commentators on the *Periegesis*, but its significance ought not be underestimated.⁷⁶ Fustel de Coulanges may well have overreached in portraying most of the basic features of Greek and Roman civilization as a byproduct of cult practice built around the worship of dead ancestors and the maintenance of ancestral graves, but it remains indubitably true that family tombs were sensitive sites for ancient Greeks.⁷⁷ This is evident from the fact that candidates for the archonship in Athens were asked whether they had family tombs and about the location of those tombs ([Arist.] *Ath.* 55.3). Similarly, in appealing his exclusion from a deme’s citizen list, the Athenian Euxitheus pointed out that his brothers were buried in the ancestral tomb of his father’s family and asked “who is there who would have allowed persons who were in no way members of the family to be placed in an ancestral tomb?” (Dem. 57.28). There can be no doubt that the same sensibilities prevailed in Sparta, especially for royal tombs, which, as we have seen, were probably sites of hero cults for the deceased kings.

The fact that Chionis’ *stele* was placed close to the Agiad tombs is a compelling indication that the Agiads were active participants in his elevation. It would be difficult to believe that a monument could have been placed in close proximity to the Agiads’ tombs without the family’s express cooperation. Moreover, Chionis’ *stele* was not erected in any of the obvious locations.⁷⁸ In his tour of Sparta, Pausanias saw monuments for athletes in and around the Acropolis (Euryleonis, 3.17.6), the Agora (Hetoimokles, 3.13.9), and the Dromos (Hipposthenes, 3.15.6).⁷⁹ He also saw groups of hero shrines to the northwest and to the south of the Agora (northwest: Brasidas, Pausanias, 3.14.1; south: Iops, Amphiarios, 3.12.5) and along the west bank of the Eurotas (Lycurgus, Astrabokos, 3.16.6). One might expect to find Chionis’ *stele* in one of these locations, but it was instead set up in the far northwestern corner of the city (see Figure 1), imme-

76 This includes the comments on Pausanias 3.14.3 found in Frazer 1913, 3: 334; Hitzig and Blümner 1896–1910, 1.2: 786; Musti et al. 1982–2000, 3: 212; Meyer, Eckstein and Bol 1986–89, 1: 528; and Papachatzes 1963–1981, 3: 359. (The relevant volume of the Pausanias commentary being assembled by Casevitz, Pouilloux, and Chamoux has not yet appeared.) The location of the *stele* is mentioned briefly by Nafissi, who takes it as an indication that Chionis was closely connected to the Agiads in some way (Nafissi 1980/1, 208). See n. 117 for more on Nafissi’s work on Chionis.

77 Coulanges 1864, *passim*. On Greek attitudes toward tombs, see Garland 2001, 104–120 and Humphreys 1993, 79–134.

78 On the topography of Sparta, with a particular focus on Pausanias’ description of the city, see Kourinou 2000, Kourinou-Pikoula 2006, and Stibbe 1989.

79 The shrine of Kyniska was placed near Platanistas (3.15.1), the location of which remains unclear.

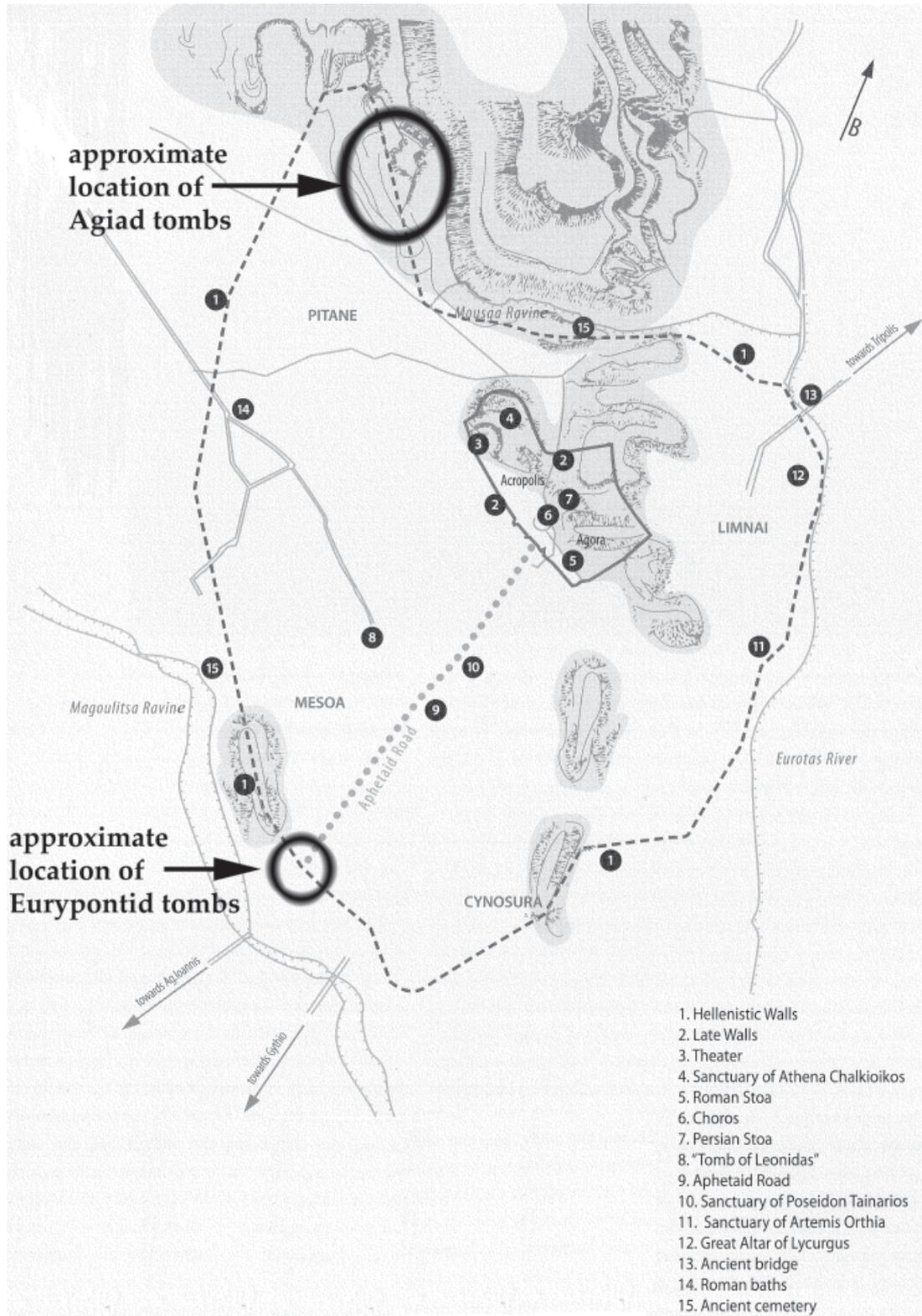


Fig. 1: Plan of Sparta
 Showing Location of Royal Tombs
 (Plan taken from Kourinou-Pikoula 2006, figure 1
 by courtesy of E. Kourinou-Pikoula)

diately next to the tombs of the Agiad kings.⁸⁰ Its location cannot, therefore, have been simply a matter of convenience. The most obvious explanation is that Chionis' *stèle* was placed next to the tombs of the Agiad kings because the Agiads were the prime movers in granting him long-delayed honors.

If one accepts that Chionis was in fact heroized, two other considerations became relevant. First, the Agiads established at least one other hero shrine in Sparta during the fifth century. In his description of the area to the west and south of the Agora of Sparta, Pausanias writes about the tombs of Pausanias and Leonidas. The text as transmitted reads as follows:

Opposite the theater is the tomb of Pausanias, the commander at (the Battle of) Plataia. The other tomb is that of Leonidas. And every year they deliver speeches over the graves, and they hold games, in which no one may compete except Spartans the bones of Leonidas being removed from Thermopylai by Pausanias forty years after (the battle). (3.14.1)

This section of text is clearly corrupt and has been emended in various ways. Connor has convincingly argued that the passage as originally written stated that Kleomenes the son of Pausanias removed Leonidas' bones from Thermopylai 40 years after the battle.⁸¹ However one reconstructs the text, it is clear that at some point in the fifth century a member of the Agiad family sought out Leonidas' bones, brought them back to Sparta, and built a hero shrine for the fallen king. The Agiads thus had a demonstrated interest in the institution of hero cults. It is perhaps significant that Leonidas was interred in the center of the city, which Richer (following Vernant) has seen as a reflection of Leonidas taking on functions and qualities associated with oikists. The parallel with Chionis is suggestive.⁸²

Second, the heroization of Chionis would have required the exercise of initiative and winning the cooperation of religious authorities, for which tasks members of a Spartan royal family were ideally suited. Hero cults could be either private or public foundations and could be established by the act of an individual, a small group, or an entire community. The fact that Chionis received a *stèle* and statue at Olympia makes it very likely that his cult was public in nature (though there may well have been no effective distinction between public and private once a cult was founded). The mechanisms by which public hero cults were established are largely unknown, both in general and par-

80 The exact location of the Agiad tombs is unknown, but Pausanias' description makes it clear that it was in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Artemis Issoria. Kourinou definitively established that that sanctuary was located on what is now called Vamvakia Hill (Kourinou 2000, 212–213).

81 Connor 1979. A key problem is that neither Pausanias the commander at Plataia nor his grandson was in a position to remove Leonidas' bones from Thermopylai c. 440. (The elder Pausanias died in the 460s, and the younger Pausanias was born in the late 440s.) In addition, Pausanias the author typically made careful distinctions between homonymous individuals. One solution is to emend the number 40. A more plausible suggestion was put forward by Connor, who argued that the text originally read "Kleomenes son of Pausanias" and that the number 40 was correct. Kleomenes was one of the younger sons of Pausanias and served as guardian for his nephew, the younger Pausanias (Thucydides 3.26). On the birth and death dates of fifth-century Agiads, see Carlier 1984, 319–321 and M. White 1964.

82 Richer 1994, 73–77.

ticularly in Sparta.⁸³ However, the creation of such a cult must have involved winning at least tacit cooperation from religious authorities, and the machinery of the Spartan state was not such as to facilitate pro-active undertakings by Spartiates who did not hold a magistracy.⁸⁴ All this points in the direction of a king, who wielded considerable legal and moral authority in Sparta and who regularly fulfilled religious duties of considerable importance, or his close relatives. One might also note that sanction by an oracle, particularly the Delphic oracle, was frequently part of the process of instituting a hero cult. Each Spartan king appointed two Pythioi, officials whose duty was to consult the Delphic oracle and who had the privilege of eating with the kings (Hdt. 6.57). This no doubt gave the kings “considerable influence on the questions posed and the answers given by Delphi” and would have made it much easier for them to arrange for Chionis to be heroized.⁸⁵ There is, in sum, good reason to believe that it was the Agiads who provided the impetus for the elevation of Chionis.⁸⁶

The Agiads’ role in Chionis’ commemoration raises questions about his identity and what if any pre-existing relationship there was between Chionis and the Agiads. Unfortunately the relevant evidence is scant and does not support any firm conclusions; that evidence is outlined in the appendix to this article.

Section 4: Why Was Chionis Granted Special Honors?

The Agiads, Their Position in Sparta, and Their Relationship with the Battiads

It may well be invariably true that historians find it easier to answer questions having to do with what, where, when, and who than questions having to do with why. That is certainly the case in regard to the elevation of Chionis. We have already seen that it is possible to establish with some confidence that Chionis was granted special honors in

83 On the establishment of hero cults, see Currie 2005, 4–7; Kearns 1989, 129–137; and Parker 1996, 33–39, 135–137.

84 There is much disagreement about the workings of Sparta’s governmental institutions, but few if any scholars would see it as a place that encouraged individual initiative to nearly the same extent as *poleis* such as Athens. Finley’s essay on Spartan society (Finley 1987, 161–177) remains seminal, though cf. Andrewes 1966 and Lewis 1977, 27–49.

85 Grene 1987, 430 n. 22. On the rights and duties of Spartan kings, see Carlier 1984, 240–324 and the bibliography cited therein. On Spartan religion, see Parker 1989.

86 It is impossible to identify the specific individual or individuals within the Agiad family who were responsible for Chionis’ heroization, and the term “Agiad family” as used here as an agent in Chionis’ heroization should be taken to mean one or more of the adult male members of the family. During the period when Chionis was probably heroized, Pausanias was regent for the minor Agiad king Pleistarchos and hence presumably head of the family. He was, however, leading a particularly adventurous life at the time (see Section 4) and may well have been in no position to be organizing a hero cult. Whatever issues Pausanias had did not incapacitate the family as a whole, which no doubt included other adult males. Greek *oikoi* were expected to act corporately and in the long-term interests of the household as a whole (see Lacey 1968, 15–32 and *passim*). The situation with Spartan royal families was doubtless unusually complicated because crucial family interests must have extended over multiple *oikoi*, but there is every reason to think that the Agiads as a unit were aware of and interested in defending what they saw as their interests.

Sparta c. 470 at the behest of the Agiads. The question of why the Agiads chose to do so is more problematic because it involves reconstructing the motives of the Agiads on the basis of distinctly imperfect evidence. In order to make progress on answering that question it is necessary to begin by reviewing the situation in which the Agiads found themselves in the early decades of the fifth century.

The recall of Pausanias from Byzantium c. 477 began a long, troubled phase in the history of the Agiad family.⁸⁷ The Agiads had reached a high point during the reigns of Kleomenes and Leonidas (c. 520–480), both of whom exercised considerable influence in Sparta. When Leonidas died gloriously at Thermopylai in 480 he left behind a son named Pleistarchos, who had been born c. 485. Leonidas' brother Kleombrotos briefly served as regent for Pleistarchos, but before the end of 480 he too died. At that point the position passed to Kleombrotos' son (and Pleistarchos' first cousin) Pausanias. The initial years of Pausanias' regency were marked by great success; he led the Greek army to victory at Plataia in 479 and the Greek fleet to victory in Cyprus and Byzantium in 478. Things took a turn for the worse shortly thereafter, when Pausanias was recalled to Sparta to stand trial on various charges, by far the most serious of which was Medism. Although he was acquitted, he was censured for acting oppressively toward the Greeks allied with Sparta, and he never recovered his former standing. He returned to the Hellepont, evidently in some sort of semi-official capacity, was expelled from Byzantium by Cimon, and took up residence in the Troad where he seems to have resumed negotiations with the Persians. The Spartan authorities recalled him again, sometime between 474 and 470, and he was jailed, then released without standing trial. The ephors accumulated evidence that Pausanias was both conspiring with the Persians and fomenting a helot rebellion, and Pausanias, getting wind of his imminent arrest, took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena on the Acropolis of Sparta. The ephors shut him inside and let him out just in time to die of starvation outside sacred ground. The precise date of his death is unknown but probably fell somewhere in the early 460s. Pausanias appears to have served, in the end nominally, one supposes, as regent right up until he died.

Pausanias' death did little to improve the situation for the Agiads. Leonidas' son Pleistarchos became king immediately or shortly after Pausanias died, but in no way distinguished himself before his death in 458. This stands in sharp contrast to his Eurypontid colleague Archidamos II, who came to the throne in the early 460s and who was credited with saving the state in the aftermath of the earthquake of 464.⁸⁸ Moreover, Archidamos remained on the throne for over 40 years (c. 469–427), while a succession of Agiads, many of them minors, came and went. Pleistarchos evidently died childless since Pausanias' minor son Pleistoanax (born c. 475–470) ascended the Agiad throne, with Pausanias' brother Nikomedes as regent. Pleistoanax became king in due course and led an abortive invasion of Attica in 446. Upon his return to Sparta he was charged with accepting bribes and went into exile. Pleistoanax's minor son Pausanias (born c. 444–440) then came to the throne under the guardianship of his uncle Kleomenes. David Lewis

87 On the history of the Agiad and Eurypontid houses in the fifth century, see Carlier 1984, 316–321; Cartledge 2002, 171–227; Lewis 1982–2005; and Schaefer 1951. For the birth dates of Agiad kings, see M. White 1964.

88 Schaefer 1951.

observed that the Agiads had an adult king on the throne for no more than 15 years of the *pentekontaetia* and during that time never had a king of maturity and influence.⁸⁹

The power wielded by Spartan kings was as much a matter of charisma as institutionally-grounded authority, and the Agiads' troubles likely brought a sharp erosion in their influence.⁹⁰ The period between the early 470s and mid-460s was a particularly important one because during that time the Eurypontid house experienced troubles of its own. Sometime around 477 Leotychidas was convicted of taking bribes and went into exile, leaving the throne to his grandson Archidamos II, who did not achieve his majority until the early 460s. There was, as a result, a power vacuum in both royal houses for roughly a decade, during which time the Gerousia and ephors gained increasing control over the Spartan state.⁹¹

Although the ancient sources are silent on the subject, it is likely that elite families other than the Agiads and Eurypontids took advantage of the situation to raise their social and political standing. The effects of the Spartan mirage included a tendency for ancient authors to emphasize egalitarianism among Spartiates and to downplay the existence of social, economic, and political differentiation. It is, however, clear that some families in Sparta enjoyed considerably more status and power than others.⁹² As Stephen Hodkinson has argued, "classical Spartiate society was dominated by a restricted group of wealthy lineages which for the most part successfully perpetuated their elite position from generation to generation."⁹³ The weakness of the royal families would have allowed those lineages to increase their influence. This would have been accomplished both formally, through positions as high-ranking magistrates, and informally, through the myriad of social mechanisms that constituted Spartan society.

The Agiads undertook the elevation of Chionis at a time when they were facing major challenges. The elevation of Chionis would have been beneficial to the Agiads in at least two different ways. First, it built a close association between the Agiads and an individual who fulfilled two roles of immense societal importance: Olympic victor and oikist. This can only have boosted the status of the Agiads in Sparta and diverted some attention from the unfortunate situation with Pausanias. An Olympic victory brought considerable political capital. That had to do in part with the super-human aura that Greeks seem to have believed was possessed by Olympic victors, especially those that

89 Lewis 1982–2005, 45. Brunt described the Agiads in the fifth century as "being reduced to nullity" (Brunt 1965, 279).

90 On the Spartan kings, see Carlier 1984, 240–324; Cartledge 2001, 55–67; Ste. Croix 1972, 138–149; and Lewis 1977, 43–48. On the importance of patronage in building royal influence at Sparta, see Cartledge 1987, 139–159.

91 See Hammond 1986, 260–262 and the bibliography cited in n. 84.

92 For instance, in discussing the negotiations for the return of the prisoners taken at Sphacteria, Thucydides writes that the Spartans were eager to reach an accommodation because the prisoners belonged to the leading families in Sparta and had influential relations (5.15.1). (The text is corrupt, so a precise translation is impossible; see Hornblower 1991–2008, 2: 461.) There has been considerable discussion as to whether certain families in Sparta had a *de iure* or *de facto* monopoly on election to the Gerousia. On the existence and powers of elite families at Sparta, see Ste. Croix 1972, 137–138 and 353–354 and Hodkinson 2000, 399–445.

93 Hodkinson 2000, 415.

won multiple victories. Kurke has connected that aura to the Spartan practice, attested by Plutarch (*Mor.* 639e, *Lyc.* 22.4), of stationing such victors next to the king in battle.⁹⁴

Above and beyond their numinous qualities, Spartan athletic victors enjoyed great prestige. The status derived from sporting achievement is reflected in the fact that it was common practice in Sparta to erect commemorative *stelai* for successful athletes.⁹⁵ The most well-known example of such a *stèle* was erected by Damonon on the Acropolis of Sparta in the third quarter of the fifth century. It records literally dozens of victories in chariot-races, horse-races, and footraces won by Damonon and his son at local athletic contests.⁹⁶

Hodkinson has argued that elite Spartans in the fifth century used victories in Olympic chariot-racing to add significantly to their social status and then used that status to build their political careers.⁹⁷ Kings did not generally need to seek status by this means, but the one exception is informative. Soon after Demaratos was humiliated by Kleomenes in 506, he won an Olympic chariot-racing victory. Hodkinson concludes that this “was surely a bid to regain access to the generalship.”⁹⁸ Even members of Spartan royal families were not above turning to alternative sources of prestige when pressed hard. Chariot-racing was attractive because success depended not on one’s physical gifts but on the investment of wealth and thus was usually at least potentially within reach of the rich.

The Agiads appear to have pursued another approach; they attached an Olympic victor to themselves by summoning one from the past, arranging for him to be honored with *stelai* and a statue at Sparta and Olympia, and establishing his monument next to their family graves. This had the distinct advantages of being relatively simple, fast, and inexpensive and of leaving nothing to the chances of the track.

Moreover, we have already seen that later in the fifth century, probably c. 440, the Agiads recovered (what were taken to be) Leonidas’ bones from Thermopylai and built a hero shrine for him in Sparta. This was very shortly after the Agiad king Pleistoanax was convicted of taking bribes during a military expedition and driven into exile. A cynic might discern a pattern of sorts, a tendency to appeal to the glorious past during times of difficulty.

The second fashion in which the elevation of Chionis would have been helpful to the Agiads has to do with Chionis’ portrayal as an oikist of Cyrene; this would also have been valuable to the Agiads, because it would have helped create or re-establish a connection with that *polis* and with its Battiad monarchs.⁹⁹ That connection likely

94 See Kurke 1993.

95 Aupert 1980 and Hodkinson 1999, 153–155.

96 Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 60, 196–197, 201 #52. One might also note the special treatment accorded to the Spartan Olympic victor Lakrates when he was buried with other Spartan war dead in the Kerameikos. See Richer 1994, 67–68.

97 Hodkinson 2000, 323–328.

98 Hodkinson 2000, 326. Demaratos evidently hoped to use his Olympic victory to address a deficit in prestige created by Kleomenes’ military and diplomatic successes and thereby improve his access to command opportunities.

99 It is possible the Agiads had some sort of ongoing connection to Libya that ran back at least to the sixth century. Dorieus, the step-brother of Kleomenes and the brother of Leonidas, was thoroughly

took the form of a *xenia* relationship between Agiads and Battiads. By asserting that Chionis had assisted Battos in the foundation of Cyrene the Agiads were laying claim to an especially close bond with Cyrene in general and the Battiads in particular, a bond which went back to the foundation of the city.

Although that claim may at first glance seem capricious and unlikely to have been much help to the Agiads, the connection between Sparta and Cyrene, Agiads and Battiads inherent in the identity given Chionis on his honorific monuments drew strength from a pre-existing tradition of a special relationship between the two *poleis*. It is true that Chionis' ostensible role as oikist is not otherwise attested in the ancient sources. However, there are three countervailing considerations to keep in mind. First, there was the sort of indirect link between Sparta and Cyrene that was important in at least some Greek colonial foundations. Cyrene was universally believed to have been founded from Thera, and Thera to have been founded from Sparta. Thucydides (1.24.2) states that it was customary for a colony founding a colony of its own to ask its mother city for an oikist. The claim that Chionis served as co-oikist of Cyrene was thus entirely plausible.¹⁰⁰ Second, there is solid evidence in the form of ceramics, bronzes, and ivory jewelry from Cyrene and Taucheira that a substantial number of Lacedaimonians settled in Libya during the initial phase of Greek colonization in the seventh century.¹⁰¹ This is likely to have been reflected in Spartan and Cyrenaean understandings of the relationship between the two *poleis* in ways that are impossible to document fully. Finally, the idea of a special connection between Sparta and Libya is found in fifth-century literature. Herodotus (4.178–179) states that there was a prophecy that the Spartans would colonize an island in Lake Triton, which he places in Libya to the west of Cyrene.¹⁰²

disgruntled when Kleomenes was made king c. 520 and left Sparta in order to found a colony. His first attempt took him to the mouth of the River Cinyps, on the North African coast about 700km west of Cyrene. There has been an enduring suspicion among modern scholars that Dorieus had or at least had hopes of some sort of understanding with the Battiad rulers of Cyrene. See, for example, Dunbabin 1948, 348–350. It is, however, more likely that the Battiads' alliance with the Persians made it inherently impossible for them to align themselves openly with Dorieus and that Dorieus knew this in advance (Mitchell 1966, 105–108). On Dorieus' expedition, see Malkin 1994, 192–218.

100 For further discussion, see Graham 1983, 27.

101 Schaus 1985a and Schaus 1985b, 98–102. Laconian vase painters showed an unusually strong interest in Cyrenaean themes. (See Faustoferri 1985 and the bibliography cited therein.) Ceramics found at Cyrene indicate that there was a vibrant commercial relationship between Laconia and Cyrene throughout the sixth century. However, the ceramics do not support any conclusions about the political relationship between Sparta and Cyrene at the time. It is interesting to note that finds of bronze sheeting from a votive deposit show that Cyrene, like Sparta, had a *chalkeios oikos* in the sixth century, in an unidentified sanctuary outside its walls. See Goodchild 1966/7 and D. White 2001, 218–223. In the late fourth century Cyrene, like Sparta, had five ephors and a *gerousia* (SEG 9.1), but it is impossible to know when these institutions first came into existence in Cyrene.

102 A version of this prophecy is incorporated into Pindar's *Pythian IV*, with the differences that in Pindar's rendition Lake Triton is located near Cyrene and that Libya as a whole is promised to a specific Spartan, Battos' ancestor Euphamos (see below). Malkin speculates that there may have been a Delphic oracle dating to the sixth century or earlier encouraging Spartan settlement in Libya. For full discussion of these oracles, see Malkin 1994, 192–203 with the *caveat* that Malkin is perhaps overeager to make historical sense out of fragmentary sources that record received tradition. – There are references to Cyrene as a Spartan colony in later sources, but they are not directly relevant here

Relationships between elite families from different communities – so familiar from the Homeric poems – retained their political, social and economic value straight through the Classical period.¹⁰³ *Xenia* played a major role in Spartan foreign relations, and guest-host relationships between Spartan elites, especially the kings, and members of ruling oligarchies elsewhere in the Peloponnese were important, perhaps critical, to the cohesion of the Peloponnesian League.¹⁰⁴ Hodkinson carefully studied the operation of *xenia* relationships within Sparta and found that they permeated Spartan society in all periods. He came to the conclusion that *xenia* ties were of great importance to elite Spartans in building social status (particularly in regard to being selected for official posts), carrying out duties effectively, and wielding influence over policy-making. They were especially important to the royal houses starting in 506, when the kings lost the right to mobilize the Spartan army without prior consultation of the Gerousia and Assembly.¹⁰⁵ After that time, one of the basic means by which the kings initiated military intervention outside Sparta was to have a *xenos* appear before the Assembly and request assistance. As a result, “collaboration with *xenoi* played an essential role in creating the conditions in which the kings could best deploy their influence inside Sparta.”¹⁰⁶ Moreover, the Battiads ran one of the more prominent and powerful *poleis* in the Greek world and were immensely wealthy.¹⁰⁷ They were, as a result, in a position to be useful to the Agiads in a myriad of ways.

Any such undertaking on the part of the Agiads would of course have been impossible without the active cooperation of the Battiads, and there is in fact good reason to believe

because they cannot be definitely traced back into the fifth century. There are three examples that warrant mention. Isocrates describes the Cyrenaeans as colonists of Lacedaimon (*Philip* 5). Plutarch, drawing on Ephoros refers to an “old oracle” of unspecified date and origin to the effect that the Lacedaimonians would settle in Libya (Ephor. *FGrH* 70 F206 *apud* Plut. *Lyc.* 25.3). Synesius, Cyrenaean by birth and bishop of the city in the fourth century CE, described himself as Laconian in origin (*Ep.* 113). One might also add that Pausanias (3.16.2–3) tells a story about the Dioskouroi returning to Sparta in the guise of visitors from Cyrene, wishing to spend the night in Tyndareus’ former home, and, after doing so, leaving behind images of themselves and a table with silphium on it. This story presumably reflects in some fashion a belief in a special connection between Sparta and Cyrene.

103 See Herman 1987, 1–9 and *passim*.

104 For an example of the importance of *xenia* relationships in shaping Spartan foreign policy, see Cartledge 1982. On *xenia* relationships and the Peloponnesian League, see Cartledge 1987, 10 and, for a stronger view, Yates 2005, 74.

105 On this development, see Herodotus 5.75 and Carlier 1977.

106 Hodkinson 2000, 337–352. The quote comes from pg. 351. See also Hodkinson 2005. Hodkinson argues that the chariot victories won by the Spartan Arkesilas at the Olympiads of 448 and 444 were probably motivated by a desire to emulate Arkesilas IV (with the former being named after the latter) and that the two families were bound together by a *xenia* relationship (Hodkinson 2000, 311). The lack of corroborating evidence means that this must remain conjectural, but it is eminently plausible particularly since, as Hodkinson points out, Arkesilas belonged to a prominent family with strong ties to powerful individuals outside of Sparta. It would seem that the Battiads sought out relationships with more than one family in Sparta.

107 The Battiads owned extensive estates in the Cyrenaica and seem to have controlled the highly lucrative export trade in silphium. See Mitchell 2000, 88–89. In addition, the first half of the fifth century seems to have been a particularly prosperous period in Cyrene. See Laronde 1988.

that the rulers of Cyrene were just at this time actively seeking to connect themselves to Sparta in general and the Spartan royal families in particular. Here again context is critical, and given that the colonial settlements in Libya are not as well known as some other Greek *poleis*, a brief excursus on the history of Cyrene may be helpful.¹⁰⁸

In the years around 470 the Battiad monarchs in Cyrene had difficulties that surpassed those of their Agiad counterparts, and this may help account for Chionis' elevation and portrayal as an oikist of Cyrene. The earliest Greek colonial foundations in Libya date to the third quarter of the seventh century and were ostensibly carried out under the leadership of a Theran named Battos.¹⁰⁹ The descendants of Battos managed the unusual feat of setting themselves up as hereditary rulers of Cyrene and maintaining that privilege for eight generations. They did so, however, only with difficulty. In the middle of the sixth century civil strife forced the Battiad ruler at the time, Battos III, to forfeit much of his power and property. His successor, Arkesilas III (ruled c. 530-c. 514) formed an alliance with the Persians after their conquest of Egypt. Strengthened by that alliance, Arkesilas demanded back the Battiads' traditional prerogatives. This set off a civil war in which Arkesilas was killed. At that point Arkesilas' widow invited intervention by the Persians, and the satrap of Egypt promptly conquered Cyrene. The son of Arkesilas III took the throne as Battos IV, but he ruled as a client king of the Persians.

When Arkesilas IV succeeded to the throne c. 470 he inherited a thoroughly unstable political situation.¹¹⁰ Repeated defeats by Greek forces had significantly weakened the Persian presence in the eastern Mediterranean, thus undercutting one of the primary supports of the Battiad monarchy.¹¹¹ The advent and spread of democracy made a Greek monarch seem increasingly anachronistic. And the internal opposition to the Battiads was far from dead. Before the end of the 460s Arkesilas was already dealing with significant resistance to his rule.¹¹² He took a number of steps to shore up his position, including the recruitment of military colonists for the settlement at Euesperides. Nonetheless, by 440 Arkesilas had been expelled, the Battiad monarchy permanently abolished, and a democracy established in Cyrene.

108 On Cyrene's history (to the end of the fourth century), see Applebaum 1979, 8–52; Chamoux 1953, 128–210; Hornblower 1991, 57–63; Mitchell 1966; Mitchell 2000; and Schäfer 1952. For a good overview of the relevant archaeological finds, see D. White 2001.

109 For a survey of the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological material pertinent to the foundation of Cyrene, see Chamoux 1953, 69–127. For more up-to-date information on the archaeological finds, see D. White 2001. Some scholars are more willing than others to put faith in the essential accuracy of the ancient sources pertaining to the foundation of Cyrene. For a skeptical view, see Osborne 1998 and 2009, 8–17; for a less skeptical view, see Malkin 2003. The veracity of the ancient sources is of little relevance to the argument presented here.

110 On the date of Arkesilas' accession, see Chamoux 1953, 160.

111 Mitchell is persuasive in arguing *contra* Chamoux that the Battiads did not abrogate their alliance with Persia immediately after the Battle of Plataia in 479. The revolt of Egypt in the 460s must have been particularly problematic because it removed the possibility of the rapid delivery of Persian military support to Cyrene.

112 The scholia to *Pythian IV* state that when the ode was performed in or around 462 Cyrene was experiencing internal discord (inscr. a and 467). Not-so-subtle references in *Pythian IV* and *V* to Arkesilas' political problems in Cyrene are discussed in Braswell 1988, 1–6.

Arkesilas responded to the situation in which he found himself upon his accession in part by stressing that his position was sanctioned by the gods and by custom. This is particularly evident in *Pythian IV* and *V*, both of which were written to celebrate Arkesilas' victory in chariot-racing at the Pythian Games of 462 and both of which are permeated by the desire to legitimize Arkesilas' kingship.¹¹³ In *Pythian V* Arkesilas' legitimization is based on his portrayal as the rightful heir to Battos, to the impetus and support Battos received from Apollo in founding Cyrene, and to the honors granted to Battos and his successors after their deaths.¹¹⁴ A different approach to legitimization is pursued in *Pythian IV*, the narrative of which establishes Cyrene as the predestined foundation of the Battiad family and their proper possession as a gift to them from the gods. Pindar pushes the beginning of the story back to the sailing of the *Argo*, seventeen generations before the settlement of Cyrene. During the Argosy Medea foretells the foundation of Cyrene by the descendants of Euphamos, one of the Argonauts. Euphamos is given the right to the land of Cyrene when he accepts a clod of earth as a guest-gift from Triton as the Argonauts pass through Libya. Medea predicts that a (unnamed) descendant of Euphamos will be born on Thera and will be admonished by Apollo's oracles to bring settlers to Libya (7–58). Pindar explains that the unnamed descendant was Battos (59–62). The basis of Arkesilas' rule in Cyrene is thus a prominent concern in *Pythian IV* and *V*.

Arkesilas also sought to stabilize his position in Cyrene by highlighting Cyrene's connections with Sparta while downplaying those with Thera, with the result that Sparta implicitly became the mother city of Cyrene.¹¹⁵ In *Pythian IV* the Argonaut Euphamos, is twice explicitly described as making his home in Tainaros (the southern tip of Lacedaimon, 45 and 174), which makes the Battiads into Spartans. Moreover, Medea states that it was originally fated for Cyrene to be founded from Sparta four generations after Euphamos:

113 This aspect of the poems is best highlighted in Giannini 1979, though this basic reading of *Pythian IV* and *V* goes back at least as far as Mezger's *Pindars Siegeslieder* (1880) and in some sense back to the Pindaric scholiasts. In his analysis of *Pythian IV* Braswell writes that "Pindar's primary aim ... was to show that the Euphemids (=the Battiads) were divinely chosen to become kings of Cyrene and that their rule is in accordance with the will of the gods" (Braswell 1988, 23). A *terminus ante quem* for these poems is given by Arkesilas' victory in the four-horse chariot race at Olympia in 460 (scholiast to *Pythian IV* inscr. a). That victory is mentioned in neither *Pythian IV* nor *V*, which strongly implies that they were written before 460. The scholarly literature on *Pythian IV* and *V* is quite substantial. The discussion here draws on the following sources in particular: Braswell 1988; Currie 2005, 226–257; Dougherty 1993, 103–119; Giannini 1979; Malkin 1994, 143–191; and Nafissi 1980/1. These works are cited individually below in regard to specific points. The following analysis of *Pythian IV* and *V* is no way to be understood as exhaustive. Rather, it abstracts one strand of meaning from an extremely complex whole. A good sense of the broad range of meanings embedded in these odes can be had from Calame 2003 (1996).

114 All English translations of *Pythian IV* and *V* given here come from William Race's contribution to the Loeb series.

115 The nature of Cyrene's relationship with Persia during Arkesilas' reign would be an excellent means of evaluating the argument made here that Arkesilas was actively building ties to Sparta. This would presumably have been incompatible with a Persian alliance. Unfortunately, the details of Cyrene's diplomatic relationships with both Persia and Sparta in the period after the Persian War are almost entirely unknown.

For if Euphamos, the royal son of horse-ruling Poseidon ...
 had gone home to holy Tainaros
 and cast the clod (given to him by Triton) at the earth's entrance to Hades
 the blood of the fourth generation of children
 born to him would have taken that broad mainland with the Danaans, for at that
 time
 they are to set out from great Lacedaimon, from the gulf of Argos, and from
 Mycenae. (43–49)

Euphamos was supposed to have brought the clod home to Lacedaimon, whence his descendants would have set out to colonize Cyrene. It is not coincidental that four generations after Euphamos would, in the scheme of Greek *mythoi*, make the foundation of Cyrene contemporary with the settlement of Thera; both sites would have been colonized from Sparta and at the same time.¹¹⁶ However, careless servants lose the clod, which eventually washes ashore on Thera, which becomes an accidental intermediary. Euphamos ends up going to “the beds of foreign women” (50), and it is his offspring through a Lemnian woman who, seventeen generations later, ultimately colonizes Libya (9–11). A Spartan connection of sorts is maintained because Euphamos' descendants from his dalliance on Lemnos move to Lacedaimon before settling Thera and thence going to Libya to found Cyrene (257–260).

A different but equally direct link between Sparta and Cyrene is constructed in *Pythian V*. The relevant section of the ode reads as follows:

And he (Apollo) rules over
 his oracular shrine, through which he settled
 in Lacedaimon and in Argos and holy Pylos
 the valiant descendants of Herakles
 and Aigimios. And mine it is to proclaim
 the delightful glory that comes from Sparta,
 whence men born
 as Aigeidai,¹¹⁷ my forefathers, came to Thera,

116 See the useful chart in Büsing 1978.

117 The Aigeidai were a prominent family in Sparta. (Herodotus describes them as a “great tribe in Sparta” (φυλή μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτη, 4.149)). The significance of the Aigeidai's appearance in this passage is unclear. (Part of the problem is that the first-person referent in “my forefathers” is probably Pindar, but it might also be the chorus of Cyrenaeans; see the discussion in Lefkowitz 1985, 44–49 and the bibliography cited therein.) The tradition recorded by Herodotus sees the Aigeidai as Theban immigrants to Sparta and makes them leaders of the colonizing expedition sent from Sparta to Thera but gives them no role in the foundation of Cyrene. In the passage cited above Pindar says that the Aigeidai brought the Karneios cult to Thera but does not state that they brought the cult from Thera to Cyrene.

The Battiads' attempts to connect Cyrene directly to Sparta (thus removing Thera as an intermediary) are discussed at length in Nafissi 1980/1. I have found Nafissi's work to be very stimulating, though ultimately problematic. Of particular import is that Nafissi raised the possibility that the location of Chionis' *stèle* in Sparta indicated the existence of a *xenia* relationship between Agiads and Battiads. However, Nafissi also constructed an elaborate argument intended to prove the existence (starting in the Archaic period) of *xenia* and commercial relationships between elite *gene* in Sparta and Cyrene,

not without divine favor, but some Fate led them.

From there we received the communal banquet with its many sacrifices,
and in your feast,
Karneian Apollo, we venerate
the nobly built city of Cyrene ... (68–81)

This passage comes after Pindar's discussion of Apollo's favor to Battos (54–62) and before he elaborates on Battos' deeds and honors (87–95).¹¹⁸ Battos' actions as oikist and ruler thus frame two different means of connecting Sparta and Cyrene. First, Delphic Apollo not only oversaw the foundation of Cyrene by Battos, he also was responsible for the settlement of the Peloponnese by the Herakleidai. Sparta and Cyrene thus share a patron deity. Second, the feast of Apollo Karneios as celebrated at Cyrene is a "delightful glory that comes from Sparta." The Apollo Karneios festival was the major annual civic celebration in many Dorian states, including Cyrene (and seems to have been the occasion on which *Pythian V* was performed).¹¹⁹ It is here explicitly said to have been derived from Sparta. The significance of this statement is easily underestimated. Religious festivals were one of the most basic and important practices that Greek colonies took over from their metropoleis; "cults were a characteristic mark of the existence of a relationship between a colony and mother city."¹²⁰ Moreover, the Karneios cult was believed to have been brought by the Herakleidai during their conquest of the Peloponnese and was seen as effecting and commemorating the foundation of communities. The claim that Cyrene's festival of Karneios was brought from Sparta was tantamount to saying that Sparta was Cyrene's mother city.¹²¹

The connections between Sparta and Cyrene are much more tenuous in Herodotus' account of the founding of Cyrene. Battos is described as a descendant of Euphamos, but the latter is not given any specific ethnicity (4.150). The Minyans, the Lemnian offspring of the Argonauts, settle briefly in Sparta and some of them migrate to Thera, but, other than Battos, they play no role in the foundation of Cyrene. There is no mention at all of religious bonds between Sparta and Cyrene. Instead, Thera is clearly described as a

particularly the Battiads on one hand and the Agiads and Aigeidai on the other. Vannicelli took issue with Nafissi's arguments and proposed instead that the reference to the Aigeidai in *Pythian V* was nothing more than a means for Pindar to suggest his own proximity to the subject of the ode (Vannicelli 1992). Vannicelli's position is much more tenable. It remains possible that the Aigeidai were in some way involved in the relationship between the Agiads and Battiads, as either allies or rivals of the former, but the evidence is very tenuous. Vannicelli's critiques render unnecessary a detailed review of Nafissi's article. Schroeder's argument that the Aigeidai formed the core of the resistance to the Battiads in Cyrene is superseded by Nafissi's work (Schroeder 1922, 34). See in particular Nafissi 1980/1, 199 n. 51.

118 Dougherty 1993, 115.

119 See Krummen 1990, 108–116 and the bibliography cited in Currie 2005, 226 n. 3.

120 On the Karneios cult in Sparta and Cyrene, see Malkin 1994, 143–168; Pettersson 1992, 57–72; and the bibliography cited in Scullion 2007, 193–196. The quote given above comes from Malkin, 145. For a list of cults shared by Sparta and Cyrene, see Pareti 1917–20, 2.1: 227, who seeks to prove that Cyrene was one of a number of colonial sites at which Sparta was active.

121 The idea that the Karneios cult at Cyrene was Spartan in origin is also heavily stressed in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (71–79).

colony of Sparta, and Cyrene as a colony of Thera. The links that exist between Sparta and Cyrene are indirect and seemingly not of much import.

Pythian IV and *V* offer a strong contrast to this dimension of Herodotus' account of the foundation of Cyrene. Even if one wishes to dismiss that contrast as a product of differing genres and occasions, it remains true that Cyrene's notionally Spartan origins receive considerable attention in *Pythian IV* and *V*. This is made more evident by *Pythian IX*, written for the victory of Telesikrates of Cyrene at the Pythian Games of 474. In this ode, Pindar gives yet another recounting of the foundation of Cyrene, but here he begins with Apollo admiring the nymph Cyrene in Thessaly and follows the god as he takes the nymph to Libya where she becomes queen and bears a son named Aristaios. There is no mention of either Thera or of Sparta. It is worth noting that, despite the fact that Herodotus wrote two decades or so after Pindar, he preserved well-established traditions the roots of which ran back to the seventh century. Pindar, on the other hand, actively refashioned inherited traditions in ways that were gratifying to his Battiad patron. As a result, Pindar's narrative of the foundation of Cyrene is much more contextually sensitive than that of Herodotus.

When *Pythian IV* and *V* were written in the 460s, the Battiads had a manifest interest in emphasizing their association with Sparta. The reasons are not far to seek. Cyrene was nearly unique among Greek *poleis* of the time in having a monarch, and the Battiads must have been deeply concerned – with good reason as it turned out – about their future. Sparta had much to recommend itself as a model. It had an enduring kingship that had a strong religious sanction. It was a powerful and successful state. And it was the metropolis of Cyrene's metropolis Thera. All that was needed was a certain amount of imaginative refashioning of the mythological raw material to push Thera into the background and to transform Sparta into Cyrene's mother city. As Sparta's colony, it was entirely reasonable within the Greek "imaginary" for Cyrene to share Sparta's peculiar practice of maintaining a kingship.¹²² It is likely, therefore, that Arkesilas welcomed the advertisement of Chionis as an oikist of Cyrene, which was quite helpful in transforming Sparta into Cyrene's metropolis. He may also have seen Sparta as a potential replacement for the Battiads' former patron, the Persians.¹²³

The elevation of Chionis responded so neatly to Arkesilas' needs as to arouse suspicion that the Agiads consulted the Battiads in advance, and the elevation of Chionis may well have been a way of cementing a relationship between the two families and between the *poleis* of Sparta and Cyrene. It is curious that Chionis-as-oikist appears to

122 In Herodotus' account of the foundation of Cyrene, Thera has a monarchy at the time the colonizing expedition is sent out. However, the Battiads did not claim descent from the Thera royal family, and the Thera monarchy was no longer extant in the fifth century. (See Carlier 1984, 419–422 and Hiller von Gaertringen 1899–1909, 1: 147.) As a result, Sparta was a much better model for Arkesilas than Thera.

123 Mitchell argues that "competing at the major festivals of the Greek mainland and commissioning Pindar were deliberate moves by Arkesilas IV away from Persia in the wake of the Persian defeats ..." (Mitchell 2000, 94.) She notes that Arkesilas was interested in "securing firm support from the Greek mainland" (Mitchell 1966, 109). Mitchell (based on a fragment from the historian Theotimos (*FGrH* 470 F1)) saw that support as coming in the form of mercenaries. An alliance with Sparta would have been quite helpful as well.

have emerged from obscurity. He was, after all, not sufficiently embedded in the evolved tradition about the foundation of Cyrene to make it into Herodotus' detailed account. The chronology is equally suspect. After centuries of neglect, Chionis was honored as Olympic victor and oikist just when Arkesilas was ascending his shaky throne.¹²⁴ Although there is no way to be certain, it seems likely that all of this convenient coincidence was the result of careful planning on the part of the Agiads and Battiads.

Section 5: Conclusion

We have seen that the Agiad family oversaw the erection of monuments to Chionis at Olympia and near the Agiad family tombs in Sparta in c. 470 BCE, possibly as part of a process of transforming Chionis into an object of heroic cult. The fact that the Agiads hired Myron, one of the most famous sculptors of his generation, to produce Chionis' statue is a good index of how seriously they took his commemoration. The Agiads' standing was at the time suffering due to the misdeeds of Pausanias, who was regent for the minor king Pleistarchos and thus the notional head of the family. Chionis' identity as presented on the monuments erected in his honor was constructed in such a way as to maximize the benefits the Agiads derived from his elevation. He was portrayed in truly heroic terms, as a seven-time Olympic victor and one of the oikists of Cyrene. The Agiads no doubt hoped their own status would be raised by association with him. At the same time, Chionis' ostensible role as an oikist of Cyrene likely played a role in the construction of ties between the Agiads and the Battiad monarchs of Cyrene, who were having troubles of their own. Those ties helped the Battiads secure their position in Cyrene and substantially increased the power and influence of the Agiads in Sparta. The arrangement was so well-suited to the Battiads' needs that that they were probably at least to some degree directly involved in Chionis' heroization.

The significance of these conclusions extends in two different directions. First, they offer insight into the internal politics of Sparta in the second quarter of the fifth century. The Agiads appear as a beleaguered family that felt the need to take inventive steps to restore its influence within Sparta. This is a salutary reminder that the Spartan mirage and the relative paucity of sources for the day-to-day workings of Spartan society in the Classical period should not be allowed to create an inaccurate image of unity and unanimity. Simply because personal and factional struggles are better documented in Athens does not mean that Sparta was fundamentally different in this regard. No doubt the divergent social and political structures in the two communities had a profound effect upon the conduct of affairs, but the Agiads' commemoration of Chionis demonstrates that elite families in both communities struggled with their rivals for power and prestige. In addition, the Agiads displayed considerable ingenuity in their use of religious

124 The absence of any mention of Chionis in either *Pythian IV* or *V* is not notably odd. Pindar's focus in both odes was on joining the present-day reality of the Battiad monarchy to its mythical past. Chionis did not fit into that thematic program.

practice for political ends and in their exploitation of tradition to construct a suitable identity for Chionis.¹²⁵

In the same vein, one might give some consideration to the question of how the Agiads persuaded other Spartans to accept Chionis' elevation. Although the processes by which individuals in Sparta were granted special honors remain less than clear, it seems likely that a certain amount of resistance to Chionis' elevation was to be expected from other Spartan elites. Movement within intra-community status hierarchies was an inherently zero-sum game, and the Agiads' gain was in some sense their rivals' loss. The Eurypontids may have been enlightened enough to see that the Agiads' difficulties were serious enough to be a threat to both dynasties, particularly since the Eurypontids were experiencing problems of their own at the same time. And both royal houses may have been alarmed by the possibility of the abolition of the monarchy in Cyrene and what that might mean for their position in Sparta. It is quite possible, therefore, that the Eurypontids saw advantage for themselves in Chionis' elevation and the concomitant strengthening of the Agiads and the Battiads.

What about other, non-royal Spartans? The construction of Chionis as a rival to the Syracusan Astylos, which did not obviously benefit the Agiads, may well have been an attempt to generate support among the larger Spartan community for Chionis' elevation. Gelon's and Hieron's less-than-subtle pretensions to be leaders of the Greek world were played out in no small part via their successful competition in Olympic equestrian events and their dedications at Olympia of spoils from foreign enemies. The recruitment of Astylos, one of the most famous athletes of his generation, and the commemoration of his victories at Olympia should be seen in the same light. Chionis' monuments at Olympia thus had considerable symbolic importance within the bounds of the emergent rivalry between Syracuse and Sparta. One cannot help but suspect that here too the Agiads showed a deft touch by crafting an identity for Chionis that made his elevation seem beneficial to the Spartan state as a whole, not just themselves.¹²⁶ The image of a staid, conservative Sparta largely devoid of clever politicians, so familiar from Thucydides, should be imbibed with great caution.¹²⁷

The details of Chionis' possible heroization are also significant because they suggest that current scholarly thinking on how and why athletes were heroized may need a certain amount of readjustment. There are, broadly speaking, two basic perspectives on why athletes were heroized. From one perspective, best represented in the work of François Bohringer (1979) and David Boehringer (1996), athletes were heroized for reasons that had little to do with their athletic achievements.¹²⁸ Adherents of this viewpoint emphasize the fact that the vast majority of successful athletes were never

125 The idea of Spartan royal families employing what might be called propaganda in service of their interests is discussed, albeit in a less than thorough fashion, in Hooker 1988.

126 I am grateful to Stephen Hodkinson (pers. comm.) for raising the question of how the Agiads made Chionis' heroization palatable to other Spartans and for pointing out the importance in that regard of the alignment of Agiad and Eurypontid interests and of Chionis' identity as a rival to the Syracusan Astylos.

127 On the portrayal of Sparta in Thucydides' work, see Cartledge and Debnar 2006 and the bibliography cited therein.

128 For a full list of the relevant scholarship, see Currie 2005, 126, n. 40.

heroized, which seemingly indicates that the granting of cultic honors was not solely or even largely a response to their demonstrated physical prowess.

Bohringer emphasized that successful athletes had dual identities, as figures who existed both within and without the bounds of their communities.¹²⁹ Communities lavished honors on those of their citizens who achieved success as athletes, especially at Panhellenic contests. In addition, many athletes came from prominent families or leveraged the fame that came with their victories to become important members of their communities. Athletes were thus firmly embedded in their hometowns. At the same time, successful athletes performed on a Panhellenic stage and thus automatically stepped outside their communities, and victory in and of itself was felt to move the victor outside the bounds of conventional experience.¹³⁰ In addition, Bohringer identified specific features of the biographies of the athletes who were heroized that further marginalized them. For instance, Kleomedes killed his opponent at Olympia in 492, was fined and denied a victory, went mad, returned to his hometown of Astypalaia, and killed 60 children when he pulled down a pillar supporting the roof of a school (Paus. 6.9.6–8). Oibotas cursed his fellow Achaians so that none of them achieved an Olympic victory (Paus. 7.17.6–14). Euthykles, after serving as an ambassador for his hometown of Epizephyrian Locris, was unjustly accused of accepting a bribe and thrown into prison where he died (Callim. *Aet.* 3.84–85).

Bohringer argued that athletes were heroized because they were ambiguous figures who were exalted by their communities in moments of crisis in order to efface memory of weakness or internal division. For example, he links the heroization of Theogenes to the difficulties Thasos experienced after it unsuccessfully rebelled from Athens in the 460s and the heroization of Oibotas to the annexation of Paleia by Dyme. The athletic achievements of Kleomedes, Oibotas, *et al.* were relevant only insofar as they were a source of status; success in athletics did not bring with it special qualities or states of being that were otherwise unobtainable. Athletes were heroized primarily in the first half of the fifth century because it was at that time that athletics was a particularly important status marker.

Boehringer took the position that heroized athletes were a subgroup of what he defines as *loimos* heroes: ambiguous figures involved in problematic events in which they either do wrong or are wronged.¹³¹ Those events result in a *loimos* (plague, famine, etc.) that is lifted only when the community in question institutes worship of the *loimos* hero, who thus becomes a force for good. Whereas Bohringer emphasized the pressures of political *realia* in creating hero cults, Boehringer understood the process as being driven more by cultural and religious factors that helped make it possible for historical individuals to be invested with mythical qualities. The resulting hero cults then fulfilled various social and political functions, particularly by providing individual citizens the opportunity to identify and express solidarity with their communities. Athletes were heroized not because of their successes in the stadium but because they were associated with the onset of a *loimos*. Hero cults for athletes were established primarily in the

129 Bohringer 1979.

130 The latter point is explored in depth in Kurke 1993.

131 Boehringer 1996.

first half of the fifth century because during that period the connection between crime and punishment was particularly strongly felt, and there was a perception that an entire community could suffer for the improper behavior of a single one of its members.

The other perspective, best represented in the work of Fontenrose (1968), Kurke (1993), and Currie (2005), is that athletes were heroized at least to some extent because of special traits that were ascribed to them as a result of their athletic successes. Fontenrose subsumed heroized athletes under the larger category of legendary figures who perform superhuman feats of strength but who experience unfortunate treatment by their fellow citizens and thereupon vanish, which in turn brings divine punishment that is alleviated only by the institution of worship for the vanished hero.¹³² The identity of heroized athletes was shaped to accord with a pattern that was first established in myth, and some mythical figures were later converted into Olympic athletes. Fontenrose discussed 23 individuals who fit this pattern, including all known heroized athletes as well as purely mythical characters such as Aktaion and Herakles. The extent to which Boehringer's ideas derive from those of Fontenrose is immediately apparent. A key difference is that the latter stressed the importance of superhuman physical prowess as a prerequisite for heroization, a prerequisite that obviously favored the heroization of athletes.¹³³ Fontenrose focused on the explication of myth, and he evinced less interest in the socio-political functions of athletic hero cults or the reasons why most such cults were established in the first half of the fifth century.

Kurke argued that successful athletes, especially those with victories in the Panhellenic games, were understood to be invested with *kudos*, that athletes were prime candidates for heroization because they possessed *kudos*, and that athletes were heroized when they suffered from a dearth of proper honors (thus creating an imbalance of *kudos*).¹³⁴ A conjunction of several factors – external threat, internal upheaval, a bid for talismanic power by a beleaguered aristocracy – in the first half of the fifth century created the conditions necessary for the heroization of athletes.

Currie followed Fontenrose and Kurke in directly relating the heroization of athletes to their achievements in the stadium, while breaking new ground in arguing that athletes could, by consciously emulating figures from myth such as Herakles, be proactive in their own heroization.¹³⁵ This stood in sharp contrast to the earlier scholarship, in which heroized athletes were assumed to be passive objects of a community's attention. Like Kurke, Currie saw the granting of heroic honors to some athletes after they died as grounded in the special status enjoyed by successful athletes while still alive. A handful of those athletes were heroized through a complex calculus involving factors such as the extent to which an athlete's behavior while alive accorded with heroic models, the effectiveness of lobbying by friends and family, and the political situation within a given *polis*.

The specific case of Chionis, presuming that he was in fact heroized, can enrich this body of scholarship in a number of different ways. To begin with, the example of

132 Fontenrose 1968.

133 Boehringer argued that Fontenrose missed both the importance of the *loimos* motif and the fact that the heroized individuals were transformed into forces of good that protected their communities.

134 Kurke 1993.

135 Currie 2005, 120–157.

Chionis suggests that the role of sub-*polis* groups acting in their own interest needs to be recognized as an important factor in the heroization of athletes. There is broad agreement among scholars who have worked on the subject that the heroization of athletes was driven by political considerations. However, the agent in the creation of such cults has implicitly or explicitly typically been assumed to be a *polis* acting corporately in pursuit of the welfare of the community as a whole.¹³⁶ To a certain extent that assumption has been the product of the lack of fine-grained detail in the available evidence. If all that one knows is that Oibotas was worshipped as a hero in the *polis* of Dyme, it is impossible to explore how different groups within Dyme responded to Oibotas' heroization. It so happens that there is extant a considerable body of evidence about Sparta in the early fifth century and about the Agiads. This makes it possible to examine many – though far from all – of the specifics of Chionis' heroization. What becomes clear is that if Chionis was heroized, it was not primarily for the benefit of Sparta as a whole but primarily for the benefit of a single family. This probably exacerbated rather than attenuated intra-communal tensions.

It is likely that what was true in Chionis' case was also true in at least some other instances. The most salient example is Theogenes. According to Pausanias (6.11.2–9), after Theogenes died one of the Thasians who had been among his enemies while he was alive whipped Theogenes' statue every night. The statue put an end to this unpleasantness by falling on and killing the flagellant. The statue was tried for murder, convicted, and cast into the ocean. When a blight struck Thasos, the Delphic oracle was consulted and the Thasians were told to honor Theogenes. The Thasians could not think of a way to recover the statue of Theogenes from the sea but were rescued from their difficulty when the statue was picked up in fishermen's nets.

In his study of Thasian history, Jean Pouilloux argued that Theogenes played a leading role in the pro-Athenian faction that dominated Thasian politics after Thasos' failed rebellion from Athens c. 465, and he saw the whipping of Theogenes' statue, its exile, and its subsequent restoration as driven by factional fighting between democrats and oligarchs in fifth-century Thasos. Pouilloux did not, however, connect this to the actual heroization of Theogenes, which he believed to have taken place after the fifth century.¹³⁷ Pouilloux's judgment about when Theogenes was heroized was based on nothing more solid than his sense that the trial of Theogenes' statue was a simple case of homicide and lacked the complications that would have ensued had Theogenes already become an object of worship. It is entirely possible that the democratic faction in Thasos found

136 Both Bohringer and Currie raise, but do not discuss at any length, the possibility that the heroization of an athlete could be entangled in a community's internal political disputes. Bohringer cites Pouilloux's study of Theogenes' role in Thasian history (Bohringer 1979, 8–9), but was content to discuss the political nature of the heroization of athletes in a very general sense. (This may have been because the possibility that heroization of an athlete could be a matter of intra-*polis* political struggle did not fit well with his argument that the heroization of athletes helped communities overcome crises and internal division.) See below for more on Pouilloux's work. Currie argued that attempts by the family and supporters of a dead athlete to have him heroized could meet resistance as the result of political antagonism between mass and elite or from the athlete's political opponents. However, the sole example he mentions is Theogenes and that only in passing (Currie 2005, 154–155).

137 Pouilloux 1954, 62–105 and Pouilloux 1994.

it to be politically expedient to construct a cult for Theogenes immediately after his death, that when their oligarchic opponents recovered power they removed Theogenes' statue and the attendant cult, and that statue and cult were restored when the democrats overthrew the oligarchs. One way or the other, the very close association between statue and cult that is evident in many cases of heroized athletes, including Theogenes, and the entanglement of Theogenes' statue in Thasian politics is suggestive that the situation with the Agiads and Chionis in Sparta was by no means unique. This is not to say that all hero cults for athletes were established as a means of gaining an advantage over social and political rivals but that those cults were founded for a variety of reasons, not all of which have been previously apparent.

The heroization of Chionis would also imply that the granting of cultic honors to athletes was more frequent than is commonly supposed and was based in large part on demonstrated physical prowess. With the addition of Chionis, the list of heroized athletes stands at somewhere between ten and thirteen individuals. As Currie has recently argued, that number may be misleadingly low. Records and remains of hero cults of all kinds are far from complete, and "we are not entitled to assume that any Olympic victor for whom we lack notice of a cult did not receive one."¹³⁸ This is evident from the fact that Pausanias, the single most important source of information about hero cults for athletes, makes no mention of Chionis as an object of cult in spite of describing Chionis' feats and monuments at some length. At the same time, heroes were far from rare in ancient Greece. Kearns' study showed that there were literally hundreds of heroes worshipped in Attica.¹³⁹ And hero cults for athletes could be established for a variety of reasons and hence in a diverse array of circumstances. Much has been made of the fact that fewer than a dozen Olympic victors, out of a known total of roughly 800, received cultic honors. However, the number 800 includes victors from all periods, not just the fifth century, the heyday of the establishment of athletic hero cults.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the example of Chionis suggests that there are more athletic hero cults to be found. This provides support to the position taken by Fontenrose, Kurke, Currie *et al. contra* Bohringer, Boehringer, *et al.* that the heroization of athletes had much to do with their achievements in the stadium.

The obvious need is for more evidence. That evidence may well exist, both in underexploited literary sources and, much more probably, in the epigraphic material, which has been consistently underutilized. There is good reason to hope that the ongoing assemblage of searchable epigraphic databases may make a major contribution to the future study of the heroization of athletes in ancient Greece.

138 Currie 2005, 156.

139 Kearns 1989, 136.

140 Currie 2005, 155–157. See n. 203 on pg. 155 for scholarship that has stressed the rarity of the granting of cultic honors to athletes.

Appendix: Who Was Chionis?

Although it is not crucial to the issues discussed in this article, the question of what is known about Chionis' identity, particularly his connection to the Agiads, is sufficiently relevant as to merit specific discussion. The limited collection of material pertaining to Chionis contains no explicit indication of a relationship with the Agiads, and the sparse prosopographical resources for Spartan families are of no assistance. There are only two individuals named Chionis known from Sparta. One is the Olympic victor, the other was an ephor in 422/1 and a signatory to the Peace of Nicias and the treaty of alliance between Sparta and Athens (Thuc. 5.19.2, 24.1).¹⁴¹ Traces of a third Chionis can be found in an inscription from the Athenian Acropolis commemorating a late sixth-century dedication of three tripods by Χίονις ὁ Λ[άκων? - - -].¹⁴² The name is quite rare – there is but one other known Chionis from anywhere in the Greek world, a fifth-century Corinthian bronzecaster (Paus. 10.13.4) – so the Λάκων suggested by Jeffery is likely to be correct. There were thus individuals named Chionis in Sparta in the sixth and fifth centuries. They evidently hailed from an elite family, based on the facts that they dedicated tripods on the Athenian acropolis and served as ephors.

Even in the absence of firm evidence, the manner in which the Agiads treated Chionis makes it likely that the Agiads in the fifth century understood him to be a member of their family or a close relative. The Agiads did not see any problem in setting up a monument to Chionis at the symbolic center of the family's identity, the ancestral graves. Moreover, if the Agiads did indeed provide the impetus for Chionis' elevation, they must have expected to benefit in some way as a result. In order to benefit from Chionis' social standing, the Agiads needed a close relationship with him, and the most obvious, possibly the only, such relationship was one of kinship. This was certainly the case in regard to the heroization of the Leonidas. The same is likely to have been true of Chionis.

It is impossible to tell whether or not the notional kinship between the Agiads and Chionis was based on solid foundations, though it seems unlikely that the Agiads could have conjured a relationship with Chionis out of thin air. A six-time Olympic victor was a figure of considerable prominence, and stories about him must have circulated among the Spartans, who were notably fond of tales about the heroic deeds of their fellow citizens.¹⁴³ It is, for example, possible that Chionis' family subsequently intermarried with the Agiads, which would eventually have made a seventh-century Chionis-of-the-Agiads seem plausible.¹⁴⁴

141 See Hornblower 1991–2008, 2: 485–486 and Poralla and Bradford 1985, 131–132, 191. It is impossible to know if Chionis the Olympic victor and Chionis the ephor were related, though there has been speculation to that effect (see Nafissi 1991, 170).

142 See Jeffery 1961, 143 n. 10 and Raubitschek 1949, #319.

143 See, for instance, Plato *Hippias Major* 285b–d.

144 The absence of the name Chionis in the known list of male names used in the Agiad family is of no significance. This is shown by Dorieus, a prominent Agiad, whose name is otherwise unknown in Sparta. (See Poralla and Bradford 1985, 48–49.) Equally meaningless is the fact that a later Chionis held the ephorate. This might be taken to mean that he cannot have come from a royal house, but a seventh-century branch of the Agiads that produced Chionis the Olympic victor could easily have

The attentive reader will have noticed that to this point virtually nothing has been said about the historical veracity of the claims made about Chionis in the ancient sources. In some sense the veracity of those claims is irrelevant because all that was necessary for Chionis' elevation was that they were seen as plausible. Moreover, those claims are difficult to evaluate because, if they are factual in any way, they are ultimately derived from traditions about seventh-century events (Chionis' Olympic victories, his participation in the founding of Cyrene) that were not recorded in lasting form before the fifth century (on his *stelai* and by Hippias in his Olympic victor list). The use of such traditions in reconstructing the history of earlier periods has been vigorously questioned,¹⁴⁵ though some scholars still insist upon their value.¹⁴⁶

The most that can be said is that an individual named Chionis who came from Sparta probably won multiple Olympic victories at some point in the seventh century and possibly participated in the initial phase of Greek colonization of Libya in a leadership role. Olympic victories, especially multiple victories by the same individual, were by their very nature memorable events, and there was an incentive for Chionis' family to keep alive the tradition about his feats of physical prowess. The recorded details of those feats, however, are very much open to question.

Chionis' participation in the foundation of Cyrene is also open to question. Chionis' Libya venture is known only from his *stelai*, and particular caution needs to be taken with post-mortem presentations of individual "biographies" on such monuments, which are exercises in the creation of a persona, not historical documents per se.¹⁴⁷ That said, it is not impossible that Chionis actually did lead a group of colonists to Libya in the seventh century. There has in the past been much concern expressed about the difficulties posed by the dates transmitted by the ancient sources for Chionis' Olympic victories (664–656) and for the foundation of Cyrene (631). This rather large gap has been resolved in various ways, most commonly by assuming that Chionis went to Cyrene as an elderly man or that he was a homonymous descendant of the Olympic victor and emigrated in the sixth century.¹⁴⁸ The pottery recovered from archaeological excavations in Libya has shown that large-scale Greek settlement in the area did in fact begin in the last third or quarter of the seventh century, but it is now apparent that the dates in the Olympic victor list for the period before the sixth century are approximations.¹⁴⁹ It is,

diverged widely from the royal line by the fifth century. In addition, the case of Chilon (who was himself heroized) shows that there was anything but an impenetrable wall between elite families whose members became ephors and the royal families. (See Hdt. 5.39–41 and Poralla and Bradford 1985, 45–46.)

145 See, for instance, Hall 1997 and Osborne 2009, 8–17.

146 See, for instance, Koiv 2003 and Malkin 2003.

147 See Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 140–297.

148 See Chamoux 1953, 123 and Jeffery 1961, 143 n. 10.

149 For a good introduction to the material evidence for early Greek settlement in Cyrene, see D. White 2001. On the initial compilation and accuracy of the Olympic victor list (especially the dates contained therein), see Christesen 2007, 45–160. According to Herodotus (4.156–158), the initial settlers of Cyrene spent eight years at other, nearby sites before moving to Cyrene. If one assumes that Chionis did in fact participate in the founding of Cyrene, it is necessary to give some thought to whether Chionis came with the original colonists or arrived at the time of the move to Cyrene.

therefore, easily possible to place Chionis later in the seventh century. The situation in Cyrene is particularly complicated because excavations have shown that multiple sites around Cyrene, not just Cyrene itself, were settled at roughly the same time.¹⁵⁰ We have seen that excavations at one of those sites, Taucheira, has yielded ceramics, bronzes, and ivories that attest to the presence of a significant number of Laonians from a very early period. And, as noted above, it was not uncommon for a colony founding a colony to ask its mother city for an oikist. It is, therefore, possible, that Chionis helped oversee the foundation of Cyrene or another Greek settlement in Libya such as Taucheira. Alternatively, keeping in mind that Greek colonies pulled in population from multiple *poleis*, Chionis may simply have led a contingent to a settlement established under someone else's leadership.¹⁵¹

On the basis of the currently available evidence the historical veracity of the claims made about Chionis in the ancient sources resists definitive evaluation. What is important for present purposes is that at least some Spartans saw those claims as plausible.

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150 See Boardman 1966.

151 There has been repeated speculation that Chionis left or was pushed out of Sparta because his individual fame as an Olympic victor was incompatible with the Spartan collectivist ideal. See, for instance, Mann 2001, 148; Meier 1998, 35; and Nafissi 1991, 162. (Chionis' commemoration is seen as being acceptable because he was long dead and hence not a threat to the system.) This probably gives too much weight to the normative aspects of the Spartan *diata* and underestimates the extent to which Sparta approximated a "normal" Greek *polis*.

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Dartmouth College
Department of Classics
319 Reed Hall
Hanover, NH 03755
paul.christesen@dartmouth.edu
paul.c.christesen@dartmouth.edu

Paul Christesen