

Beiträge zur Altertumskunde

Herausgegeben von
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Band 216



K · G · Saur München · Leipzig

A Tall Order

Writing the Social History of the Ancient World

Essays in honor of William V. Harris

Edited by
Jean-Jacques Aubert
and
Zsuzsanna Várhelyi



K · G · Saur München · Leipzig 2005

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Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

© 2005 by K. G. Saur Verlag GmbH, München und Leipzig
Printed in Germany

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Jede Art der Vervielfältigung ohne Erlaubnis des Verlags ist unzulässig.
Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

Druck und Bindung: Druckhaus „Thomas Müntzer“ GmbH, 99947 Bad Langensalza
ISBN-10: 3-598-77828-7
ISBN-13: 978-3-598-77828-5

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Main abbreviations

AE	<i>L'année épigraphique</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase,
BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen/staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i>
BullCom	<i>Buletino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma</i>
CAH ²	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2 nd ed.
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>
ChLA	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> , ed. A. Bruckner and R. Marichal
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
CIJud	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i> , ed. J.B. Frey
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
Cod. Iust.	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>
Cod. Theod.	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
CPL	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum</i> , ed. R. Cavenaile
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
Dig.	<i>Digesta</i>

FGrH	<i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed. C. Müller
FIRA ²	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani</i> , ed. S. Riccobono et al., 2 nd ed.
Gaius, <i>Inst.</i>	Gaius, <i>Institutiones</i>
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae</i>
IEph	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGRR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i>
ILCV	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , ed. E. Diehl et al.
ILJug	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia... repertae et editae sunt</i>
ILLRP	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> , ed. A. Degrassi
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , ed. H. Dessau
<i>Inst. Iust.</i>	<i>Institutiones Iustiniani</i>
IoO	<i>Inschriften von Olympia</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold
LSJ	<i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , ed. Liddell-Scott-Jones
MGH AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi</i>
OCD ³	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3 rd ed., ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth
OGIS	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger
OLD	<i>The Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , ed. P.G.W. Glare et al.
<i>P.Cair.Zen.</i>	<i>Zenon Papyri</i> , ed. C.C. Edgar
<i>P.Mich.</i>	<i>Michigan Papyri</i>
PGM	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> , ed. K. Preisendanz et al.
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , ed. A.H.M. Jones
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>
PSI	<i>Papiri greci e latini, Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto</i>
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. A. Pauly–G. Wissowa–W. Kroll
RIU	<i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SHA	<i>Scriptor Historiae Augustae</i>
SVF	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> , ed. H. von Arnim
Talmud B.	Babylonian Talmud
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>

Illustrations

1. J.F.D. Frakes, Fig. 1, p. 164:

Reconstruction of the gallery at Roquepertuse (John Zerbarini, after Barbet 1991)

2. J.F.D. Frakes, Fig. 2, p. 175:

The elephant crowned Africa of the Glanum capital series (John Zerbarini, after Salviat 1972)

3. R. Kousser, Fig. 1, p. 192:

Ara Pacis, Rome, 13-9 B.C.: detail of north frieze, procession of senators and barbarian children (Courtesy DAIR, Inst. Neg. 72.2401).

4. R. Kousser, Fig. 2, p. 198:

Arcus Novus, Rome, Claudian with Tetrarchan recutting: fragments of relief, from an arch celebrating Claudius's British victory, with a portrait of the emperor and provincial personifications (Courtesy DAIR, Inst. Neg. 74.763).

5. P. Christesen, Fig. 1, p. 333:

Map of the region of Elis

Paul Christesen

Imagining Olympia: Hippias of Elis and the First Olympic Victor List

Introduction

In the late fifth or early fourth century, Hippias of Elis produced a work with the title of Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφή. This work contained both historical information about Olympia and the Olympic Games and the first cumulative catalog of Olympic victors. The catalog began with the iteration of the Olympics ostensibly organized by Iphitus of Elis and Lycurgus of Sparta, which Hippias placed in the year corresponding to 776. Individual Olympiads in the catalog were identified solely on the basis of eponymous *stadion* victors.¹

Even though almost nothing of Hippias' *anagraphe* has survived, it remains a document of considerable importance because it was the basis of all subsequent versions of the Olympic victor list. The Olympiads in the list were eventually numbered, and those numbered Olympiads were used to express many of the dates found in ancient Greek sources. In addition, the list of victors in the *stadion* race for the first 249 Olympiads preserved in Eusebius' *Chronographia* has been used by modern historians as an important source of information about Greece of the Archaic period and about the development of the Olympic Games. Hippias' *anagraphe*, as a result, continues to affect our understanding of the chronology and history of Archaic Greece, and thus merits close examination.

The production of the *anagraphe* required a great deal of effort on Hippias' part, not least because there was no pre-existing catalog of Olympic victors on which he could draw. Why, then, did Hippias invest the requisite time and energy? Careful study of the historical context in which the *Olympionikon*

¹ The *stadion* race was a footrace over a distance of roughly 200 meters. All dates are B.C.E. unless otherwise specified. All translations of ancient Greek sources are those of this author. Greek 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. Thanks are due to Cecilia Gaposchkin, Sarah Murray, and Roberta Stewart for their comments on earlier versions of this article. Responsibility for the views expressed here and for any errors or omissions is solely my own.

anagraphe was written and what is known of its contents shows that Hippias produced this work in order to buttress Elean claims to Olympia and the surrounding regions in the face of a growing threat from Sparta.

Ongoing Elean expansion over the course of the fifth century generated significant tension with Sparta, and in the early stages of the Peloponnesian War the Eleans breached their long-standing alliance with Sparta. The Eleans accused the Spartans of violating the Olympic truce, excluded the Spartans from Olympia when they refused to pay a fine for violating the truce, and aligned themselves with Athens. When the end of the Peloponnesian War untied their hands, the Spartans rapidly took action against the Eleans. A succession of punitive expeditions forced the Eleans to capitulate to a range of Spartan demands. Xenophon makes it clear the Spartans seriously contemplated terminating Elean control over Olympia at this time.

The loss of Olympia would have been a severe blow to Elis, and so Hippias, the official Elean representative to Sparta, acted to reinforce Elean claims to Olympia. The historical material in his *Olympionikon anagraphe* identified the Spartans in general and Lycurgus in particular as playing a major part in establishing Elean control of Olympia and adjacent territories. The victor catalog chronicled an unbroken succession of Olympiads held (with some exceptions) under the auspices of the Eleans since the time of Iphitus and Lycurgus. Hippias thus offered a history of Olympia according to which the Spartans would contravene the actions of their hallowed lawgiver in taking Olympia from Elis. The *anagraphe* was, therefore, as much a political document as a focused exploration of the history of the Olympic Games and Olympic victors. The political nature of Hippias' *anagraphe* has important ramifications for the use of the Olympic victor list as a historical source.

Hippias and his *anagraphe*

Hippias was a renowned sophist and in this guise plays a role in a number of Platonic dialogues, which are the key sources of Hippias' biographical information.² He is described as a polymath with unusual powers of memory.³ His vast learning is evident from his claim that he regularly made public appearances at the Olympic Games during which he offered to

² On Hippias' life, cf. Björnbo 1907; Freeman 1966, 381-91; Guthrie 1962-1981, III:280-85; and Pfeiffer 1968, 51-54. Philostratus relied heavily on the Platonic dialogues for the information about Hippias he provides in his *Lives of the Sophists*.

³ In the *Hippias Major* (285e), Hippias claims that "Upon hearing fifty names once, I can repeat them from memory" (ἅπαξ ἀκούσας πεντήκοντα ὀνόματα ἀπομνημονεύσω). Callias is said in Xenophon's *Symposium* (4.62) to have learned the "art of memorizing" from Hippias. Cf. also *Hippias Minor* 368d; Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 1.2.1; and Ammianus Marcellinus 16.5.8.

λέγοντα ὅτι ἂν τις βούληται ὧν ἂν μοι εἰς ἐπίδειξιν παρεσκευασμένον ᾦ, καὶ ἀποκρινόμενον τῷ βουλομένῳ ὅτι ἂν τις ἐρωτᾷ....

speak on whatever subject any one might wish from those I have prepared for display, and to answer whatever question anyone might ask.⁴

The subjects on which he worked included mathematics, astronomy, music, painting, sculpture, rhetoric, philology, and mnemonic techniques.⁵

The reputation that Hippias enjoyed sprang not only from his work as a sophist, but also from his diplomatic activity. He served with some regularity as an official Elean envoy to Sparta. In the *Hippias Major* (281a-b) Socrates asks him why he has not been in Athens in quite some time. Hippias replies that

Οὐ γὰρ σχολή, ὦ Σώκρατες. ἡ γὰρ Ἥλις ὅταν τι δέχεται διαπράξασθαι πρὸς τινα τῶν πόλεων, αἰεὶ ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἐμὲ ἔρχεται τῶν πολιτῶν αἰρουμένη πρεσβευτήν, ἡγουμένη δικαστὴν καὶ ἄγγελον ἱκανώτατον εἶναι τῶν λόγων οἱ ἂν παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐκάστων λέγωνται. πολλάκις μὲν οὖν καὶ εἰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐπρέσβευσα, πλείστα δὲ καὶ περὶ πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.

I have not had leisure, Socrates. For Elis, whenever it needs to conduct any business with one of the *poleis*, always comes to me first among the citizens, and chooses me as envoy, considering me to be the most capable judge and messenger of the pronouncements that are made by each of the *poleis*. I, therefore, have often represented her in other cities, but most often, and on the most numerous and important matters, in Lacedaemon.

Hippias not surprisingly took a special interest in heightening his appeal in Sparta. In an exchange between Socrates and Hippias in the *Hippias Major* (285b-e), Socrates asks Hippias the reasons for his popularity among the Spartans. Hippias replies that the Spartans do not enjoy hearing about astronomy, geometry, mathematics, or harmonies, preferring to hear

περὶ τῶν γενῶν... τῶν τε ἡρώων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν κατοικήσεων, ὥς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκτίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ συλλήβδην πάσης τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας....

⁴ *Hippias Minor* 363c-d.

⁵ Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 1.2.1-3.

about genealogies... of heroes and men, and the founding of *poleis*, about how they were originally established, and in short, the whole study of things ancient.⁶

He adds that he has, as a result, memorized material of that sort in order to please the Spartans.

Hippias wrote prolifically and on a wide array of topics.⁷ Suidas (*s.v. Hippias*) states that Hippias ἔγραψε πολλά, but does not list the titles of his works. In the *Hippias Minor* (368c-d) he is said to have brought epics, tragedies, dithyrambs, and various prose writings that he had composed to Olympia with him. When the residents of Messene in Sicily erected statues at Olympia to commemorate a boys' chorus that died at sea, Hippias wrote elegiac verses that were inscribed on the statue bases (Pausanias 5.25.4).

Philostratus states that Hippias wrote a Τρωϊκὸς διάλογος that included a speech in which Nestor counseled Neoptolemus on how to gain a good reputation,⁸ and he may also have written an *Olympikos*.⁹ As we might expect, he also wrote about Elis¹⁰ and Lycurgus.¹¹ There is only one extant fragment of his *Olympionikon anagraphe* but, as we will see below, a good deal about its contents can be deduced from the work of later authors who wrote about the Olympics and Olympic victors.

Projects that involved compiling large amounts of information seem to have been one of Hippias' particular specialties. Athenaeus (608f) cites Hippias' Συναγωγή as the source of information about Thargelia of Miletus, who was famous for her beauty (and for marrying fourteen times). Andreas Patzer has shown that the *Synagoge* was a collection of short quotations from a wide range of authors, organized thematically, on subjects ranging from metaphysics to famous women.¹² The only surviving direct quotation of Hippias' work, in which Hippias claims to be able to combine various literary passages into a new and interesting piece,¹³ comes from the preface to the *Synagoge*.¹⁴ The Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* 3.1179 mentions

⁶ J. Brunschwig 1984 has argued that Hippias used this material to help legitimize Spartan hegemony over the Peloponnese.

⁷ Cf. the collection of fragments at Diels and Kranz 1951-1952, II:326-34.

⁸ *Lives of the Sophists* 1.2.4; cf. *Hippias Major* 286a-b.

⁹ Freeman 1966, 382 believes that Philostratus is mistaken in identifying this as a dialogue rather than a speech. On the *Olympikos*, cf. Schütrumpf 1972, 28.

¹⁰ Scholiast to Pindar's *Nemean* 7.53.

¹¹ Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 23.1.

¹² Patzer 1986.

¹³ Clement Alex., *Stromata* 6.2.15.

¹⁴ Τούτων ἴσως εἴρηται τὰ μὲν Ὀρφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Μουσαίῳ, κατὰ βραχὺ ἄλλω ἀλλαχοῦ, τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ, τὰ δὲ Ὀμήρῳ, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν ποιητῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐν συγγραφαῖς, τὰ μὲν Ἑλλήσι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροις· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκ πάντων τούτων τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ὁμόφυλα συνθεῖς τοῦτον καινὸν καὶ

a work called ἔθνων ὀνομασίαι, evidently a catalogue of place names. The *Olympionikon anagraphe* can be comfortably compared to both the *Synagoge* and the *Ethnon Onomasiai*.

However, whereas both the *Synagoge* and the *Ethnon Onomasiai* were based on a limited number of pre-existing literary sources, the *anagraphe* required the collection of a large amount of information from an array of diverse and dispersed sources.¹⁵ The historical material in the *anagraphe* could in all probability have been rapidly written up on the basis of local *mythoi*, but the victor catalog was another matter entirely. Before Hippias produced his *anagraphe*, lists of victors in at least some specific iterations of the Olympics were on display at Olympia, inscribed on bronze plaques.¹⁶ In addition, numerous dedications of and honorary inscriptions to individual Olympic victors, both at Olympia and elsewhere, preserved relevant information.¹⁷ There was, however, no single document, epigraphic or otherwise, that contained a complete, sequentially organized list of Olympic victors.¹⁸ In

πολυειδῇ τὸν λόγον ποιήσομαι ("Some of these things were perhaps said by Orpheus, some by Mousaios briefly in various places, some by Hesiod, some by Homer, some by other poets, some in prose works of Greek and non-Greek writers. But I, having put together the most important and similar parts from all of these, will make this piece new and varied").

¹⁵ The *Synagoge* was by definition a collection of quotes from literary sources. The *Ethnon Onomasiai* was presumably compiled in the same way, the obvious starting point being the older literary sources such as Homer and Hesiod that Hippias used in the *Synagoge*. The best comparandum would be Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica*, a collection of place names derived from literary sources.

¹⁶ One such plaque from the late fifth or early fourth century survives in fragmentary condition (*IvO* 17).

¹⁷ Many of the relevant examples are collected in Ebert 1972 and Moretti 1953.

¹⁸ It was long maintained that the Eleans kept a running, written list of Olympic victors beginning in 776. This now appears very unlikely, given the absence of any comparable material from the eighth century. The extant collection of early Greek inscriptions shows that Greeks recorded a surprisingly limited range of information on durable surfaces until the middle of the seventh century. Early Greek inscriptions focus on private concerns, primarily ownership or artistic creation, relationship with a god, or remembrance after death. The earliest extant public documents (such as decrees and treaties) date to sometime around 650. An eighth-century public inscription or two may be found at some point, but the basic pattern is now established beyond doubt. As L. H. Jeffery has pointed out, "...nobody would assume that a class of inscription did not exist in one state because, despite extensive excavations, it has not been found there. But the case is different when, despite the amount of excavation now achieved in Greece, a class of inscription still remains unrepresented in any area..." (1990, 59). Eighth-century records on perishable materials would have vanished long before Hippias' time. On the use of writing and literacy in archaic Greece, cf. Harris 1989, 45-49. There is no complete, up-to-date treatment of the evidence for Hippias' sources. The best discussions can be found in Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIb1:221-28 and Weniger 1921-1922. For a history of the scholarship, cf. Bilik 2000. Cf. also Beloch 1912-27, I:148-54; Beloch 1929; Brinkmann 1915; Hester 1941; Höhle 1972, 7-13; Jüthner 1909, 60-70; Körte 1904; Mahaffy 1881; Montgomery 1936; Mouratidis 1985; Mure 1850-57, 4: 74-90; Peiser

order to compile the victor catalog in the *anagraphe*, Hippias not only had to locate and examine a plethora of inscribed plaques and monuments at Olympia and elsewhere, but also had to seek out oral traditions preserved by families and communities. This material offered little or no internal dating information and contained substantial lacunae that could be made good only with great difficulty. Hippias, as a result, faced serious challenges, first in assembling an exhaustive list of victors, and then in putting those victors into an accurate chronological sequence.¹⁹

Hippias was well-placed to produce a work on Olympic victors. He was a prominent citizen of Elis who regularly served in an official capacity and must, therefore, have been aware of and had easy access to the relevant material at Olympia. He traveled extensively, both as an itinerant teacher and as a diplomat in the service of Elis, and so had ample opportunity to locate information about Olympic victors that was available in *poleis* other than Elis. In addition, his intellectual interests and the range of subjects on which he wrote were more than broad enough to include the production of a register of Olympic victors.

This does not, however, account for why Hippias took the trouble to write his *anagraphe*, a work that required a great deal of effort to produce, or for the contents of the *anagraphe*, which included two different kinds of material, historical information on Olympia and a catalog of Olympic victors. Hippias may well have had a special attachment to his hometown, but this alone does not explain the *anagraphe*.²⁰ If he simply wanted to praise the place

1990; Wacker 1998; and Weniger 1905. On inscriptions from the eighth and seventh centuries, cf. Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 58-63.

¹⁹ It is likely that most if not all of the men listed in Hippias' *anagraphe* actually did win an Olympic victory, but the Olympiad in which Hippias placed each victor was nothing more than an approximation. In addition, it remains possible that Hippias simply added names without any evidentiary basis. One must not lose sight of the fact that in an unnumbered eponym list, the eponym is as much a symbol for a year (or iteration of the Olympics) as a factual datum. Modern scholars are primarily interested in eponyms for prosopographical and historical purposes, but to ancient Greeks much of the value in an eponym list lay in its use as a time-reckoning instrument. As a result, ancient Greeks must have been less interested than modern scholars in the question of whether a particular person held a particular office or won a victory in the year indicated in an eponym list. Eponyms could be and frequently were nothing more than a way of designating a year or Olympiad. The addition of names to get a list of the appropriate size was not, therefore, nearly as problematic for Hippias as it would be to a modern scholar. The accuracy of the names in the Olympic victor list has been the subject of vigorous debate. For a summary of the scholarship, cf. Bilik 2000.

²⁰ Various attempts have been made to account for Hippias' *anagraphe*. Sinn 2000, 4-5 reads the *anagraphe* as an attempt to legitimize Elean control over Olympia. He does not, however, take the Spartan-Elean war into account and, since he touches on this issue in a work aimed at the general public, he does not examine any of the relevant ancient sources. Wacker 1998 sees the *anagraphe* as a means of legitimizing Elean control over Olympia, but since he (erroneously) believes that Aristodemos of Elis, rather than Hippias, produced the first Olympic victor list, he places it against

of his birth, it would have been much easier for him to compose and deliver an encomium to Elis. Gorgias did just this, and Hippias, also a famous public speaker, could have followed suit.²¹ Hippias may have had it in mind to construct a new time-reckoning system similar to those based on the Athenian archons and priestesses of Hera at Argos, but he could have done so without writing a work that included a substantial body of information about the history of Olympia and the Olympic Games.²² Interest in the Olympics and

a very different historical background. Jacoby 1923-1958, IIb1:221-28 takes the position that Hippias was motivated by patriotism. Peiser 1990 ties Hippias' work on the *anagraphe* to a competitive ethos among the entities controlling the sites of the various Panhellenic games, which ostensibly motivated Hippias to seek to establish the greater antiquity of the Olympics. Jacoby is clearly correct in a very general sense, and Peiser's view may add a nuance to the position defended in this paper, but neither author offers a compelling reason for Hippias to undertake the compilation of an Olympic victor list. Bilik 1998-1999 persuasively argues that the idea of the sacred neutrality of Elis found in Ephorus derived from Hippias (cf. *infra*) and that this idea came into being as the result of the conflict between Sparta and Elis. Bilik's primary concern, however, is proving that Ephorus used Hippias as a source for Elean sacred neutrality, and he touches on the related issues, particularly on Hippias' *anagraphe*, only in passing.

²¹ He could also have written up the historical information in the *anagraphe* without compiling a victor catalog. On Gorgias' encomium to Elis, cf. Cameron 1995, 268-73 and Diels and Kranz 1951-1952, II:287.

²² Den Boer 1954, 49 argues that Hippias "wished to draft a chronological system based on Olympiads," and implies that Hippias may have written a historical chronicle along the lines of Charon and Hellanicus. Both of these authors were active shortly before Hippias produced his *anagraphe*. Both assembled eponym lists (of Spartan kings and ephors and of priestesses of Hera at Argos, respectively) and then used those eponyms as the framework of wide-ranging historical chronicles. Cf. *infra* for more details on the work of Charon and Hellanicus. While it is quite possibly true that Hippias wanted to construct a new time-reckoning system, there is no evidence that he did so because he wanted to write a historical chronicle. What is known about the contents of Hippias' *anagraphe* shows that its primary subject was Olympia and Olympic victors, so that it was not, in the usual sense of the term, a historical chronicle and was certainly not comparable to the chronicles of Charon and Hellanicus. Historians found the Olympic victor list to be a convenient framework around which to organize a narrative, but Philochoros, writing in the late fourth or early third century, seems to have been the first author to write a work of this sort. Philochoros' work was in no small part the result of the numbering of the Olympiads by Aristotle in his own version of the Olympic victor list and the synchronization of the various eponym lists by Timaeus of Tauromenium in the late fourth or early third century. Aristotle made the Olympiads into a numerical system that was simpler than any eponym system, and Timaeus made it possible to convert with ease dates expressed in various systems. One might also note that Hippias' extensive corpus does not seem to have included anything that could be described as a history. Aristotle's version of the Olympic victor list seems to have included both information about Olympia and a catalog of Olympic victors and was thus very similar to and perhaps modeled on Hippias' *anagraphe*. Aristotle was definitely aware of and made heavy use of other of Hippias' works, including the *Synagoge*. Cf. *infra*, n. 64. On Aristotle's work with the Olympic victor list, cf. Jacoby 1923-1958, I:477 and IIb1:221-28 and Jüthner 1909, 60-70. For the fragments, cf. the collection at FHG II:182-84, to which the scholion to Pindar's *Olympian* 9.86e should be added. On Timaeus' work, cf. Jacoby 1923-1958, IIb:581-91, 612, 637-38 and IIb1:526-47, 586-88; and Pearson 1987, 37-52. On the use of Olympiads as the basis of a chronological system, cf. Ginzel 1906, II:350-60 and

Olympic victors no doubt played some role, but the importance of this factor ought not be exaggerated. There was a rich oral and written tradition about the foundation and early history of the Olympics, and the exploits of the more famous athletes were well commemorated in the form of highly visible monuments.²³ Moreover, cumulative lists of victors in and of themselves do not seem to have held a great attraction. Aristotle and Callisthenes compiled the first list of Pythian victors over two hundred years after the Amphictyons reorganized the contests at Delphi, and complete catalogs of victors in the Isthmian and Nemean Games were never assembled.²⁴

One important, perhaps critical, factor that led to the production of Hippias' *Olympionikon anagraphe* was a serious threat to Elean control over Olympia. Hippias, in response, wrote the *Olympionikon anagraphe* with the intention of strengthening Elean claims to Olympia. This conclusion emerges from an examination of the situation in Elis when Hippias produced the *anagraphe* and what is known of the contents of the *anagraphe*. Because of the importance of the historical context in which Hippias worked, it is first necessary to establish the date when the *anagraphe* was written.

The Date of Hippias' *anagraphe*

Hippias produced the *anagraphe* sometime around 400.²⁵ This date is based upon what is known about Hippias' life and the fact that he compiled the first complete catalog of Olympic victors. Hippias' *akme* fell in the second half of the fifth century, and he died at some point in the early fourth century. He appears in the *Protagoras* (337c-338b), set shortly before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. In the *Hippias Major* (282d-e) Hippias is characterized as *πολὺ νεώτερος* than Protagoras, who died at an advanced age in 420. In the *Apology* (19e) Socrates describes Hippias as currently traveling and teaching, which, if accurate, would extend Hippias' activities into the fourth century. Isocrates is said in some sources²⁶ to have married Hippias' daughter Plathane

Samuel 1972, 189-94. On Philochoros and his writings, cf. Jacoby, 1923-1958, IIIb:97-98 and IIIb Suppl. 1:220-61.

²³ Pindar's *epinikia*, most notably *Olympian* X, reflect the existence of an elaborate mythological tradition about the Olympic Games that significantly predates Hippias. For monuments to athletic victors, cf. the bibliography in n. 17.

²⁴ On the Aristotelian Pythian victor list, cf. Bousquet 1988, 97-101; Jacoby 1923-1958, 3b1: 213-16; Müller 1978; Robertson 1978; and Sánchez 2001, 18-20, 27, 75, 262-267. For the fragments, cf. *FHG* 2: 184 and Frags. 615-617 in Rose's collection. On the lack of complete catalogs of Isthmian and Nemean victors, cf. Pausanias 6.13.8.

²⁵ For the relevant secondary literature, cf. the bibliography cited supra in n. 2 as well as Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIb1:222 and supra, n. 15.

²⁶ Ps-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators* 838a and 839b; Zosimus, *Life of Isocrates* 253.4 (Westermarck).

when he was an old man, another claim that would indicate that Hippias was active well into the fourth century.²⁷ This fits with Philostratus' statement²⁸ that Hippias lived an unusually long life. The composition of the *anagraphe* can, therefore, be placed anywhere in the second half of the fifth or the early fourth century.

The fact that Hippias' *anagraphe* contained the first complete list of Olympic victors is a distinct help in assigning a more precise date to the appearance of this work. The only clear statement in the ancient sources about the genesis of the first list of Olympic victors can be found in Plutarch's *Life of Numa* (1.4):

τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγομένους, ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὀψέ φασιν Ἰππίαν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Ἡλείον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὁρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν·

It is difficult to make precise statements about chronology, and especially chronology based on the names of Olympic victors. They say that Hippias of Elis published the list of Olympic victors at a late date, starting with nothing authoritative that would encourage trust in the result.²⁹

Plutarch's assertion that Hippias produced the first catalog of Olympic victors is at first glance surprising, given the great prestige enjoyed by Olympic victors and the relatively late date of Hippias' work. There is, however, no indication that an Olympic victor list was in circulation prior to the late fifth century.³⁰ This is most apparent from the manner in which Thucydides dates the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

²⁷ Davies 1971, 247 doubts that Plathane's father Hippias was the same man as the Elean sophist. Freeman 1966, 381 believes that Tertullian is here confusing Hippias of Elis with Hippias the son of Peisistratus. Tertullian, *Apolog.* 46.16, claims that Hippias was killed while organizing a plot against the state. However, this testimonium, which comes from an exposition of the reprehensible behavior of pagan philosophers, is of dubious reliability. Dušanec 1991 argues that Hippias died during the Corinthian War or shortly thereafter during a coup against an oligarchic Elean government that had been installed by Sparta after the events of c. 400.

²⁸ *Lives of the Sophists* 1.2.1.

²⁹ Plutarch does not supply the title of Hippias' work, but both Müller and Jacoby in their collections of fragments make the reasonable inference based on Plutarch's wording that it was known as Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφή. Cf. Müller 1878-1885, II:61 and Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIb:305.

³⁰ There are three pieces of evidence that might be taken to mean that a cumulative catalog of Olympic victors was extant before the time of Hippias. The first of these is an inscription from Olympia (*InvO* 22) dated on letter forms to c. 500. The inscription records a decree concerning the re-integration of exiles at Selinus. The preserved, heavily-damaged text includes a series of provisions about the restoration of property and ends with the following note: Τὸ δὲ φέτος ἄρχει(ι) ἡλυμπιάς ἡ[.....]ΕΠΙΑ[.....] οκρά[τεος] τὸ [.....]ΘΑΝ[....] ("This is the first year of the

Olympiad in which [? son of ?] and [? son of ?] presided over the games"). The text given here comes from van Effenterre and Ruzé's *Nomima* (1.17) and is based on the readings proposed in Asheri 1979. Asheri, followed by Camassa 2002, took the dating provision in this inscription as proof that the Eleans were already maintaining an Olympic victor list in 500. Dittenberger and Purgold, in the original publication of the inscription, suggested that the text referred to a local Olympic festival at Selinus, but this is very unlikely given the find spot. There is good reason to believe that the Elean officials in charge of running the Olympics produced victor lists as early as 500 (cf. Weniger 1921/1922). It is, however, important to avoid conflating these lists with Hippias' catalog. The lists produced by Elean officials consisted of a series of documents, probably inscribed on bronze, each of which gave the names of the presiding officials at and victors in an individual iteration of the games. These lists were displayed at Olympia, seemingly by nailing them to walls. Hippias used these lists, which almost certainly did not go back before the sixth century, and a variety of other sources to produce a cumulative catalog of Olympic victors stretching back to 776. Moreover, the decree as preserved uses the names of magistrates, not victors, to identify the Olympiad when the decree was passed. The decree came into effect during what was obviously a troubled time in the history of Selinus, and the Seluntines must have deposited a copy of the decree at Olympia in order to help assure its efficacy and enactment. The peace treaty signed by the Spartans and Athenians in 421 contained a similar provision for display of the text at Olympia (Thucydides 5.18.10). The nature of the decree was such that its date was of considerable importance, since it contained provisions about the restoration of property that were to some extent time-sensitive. When the decision was made to display the decree at Olympia, it was natural to attempt to find some way to date the decree relative to the Olympics. It is noteworthy that the names of magistrates are used for this purpose. The fragmentary state of the text means that a victor's name may have been included, but there is no sign that this was the case. This stands in sharp contrast to the practice that is evident shortly after Hippias produced his *anagraphe*, in accordance with which Olympiads were identified on the basis of an eponymous *stadion* victor (and later an Olympiad number), without any mention of the name of the magistrate(s) presiding over that iteration of the games. One might also note in this regard that the names of *Hellandikai* (Elean officials who administered the Olympics) are used in two later decrees from Olympia (*IvO* 36, dated to 365-362, and *IvO* 39, dated to the end of the third century), in both cases seemingly as a dating formula. On the dating of *IvO* 39, cf. Moretti 1957, no. 596. The absence of victors' names in *IvO* 36 and 39 (the texts of both are complete), which appeared well after the initial publication of the Olympic victor list, shows that the system used in *IvO* 22 has no organic connection to the Olympic victor list. *IvO* 22 cannot, therefore, be taken as evidence for the existence of a cumulative catalog of Olympic victors before Hippias. The text as preserved does not refer to an Olympic victor but to magistrates in charge of the games. The use of magistrates to identify the Olympiad when the decree was deposited likely reflects the existence of documents recording the names of magistrates and victors at individual Olympiads, but not a complete listing of victors beginning in 776. On *IvO* 22, cf. Asheri 1979 and van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, 76-83 and the bibliography cited therein. Another inscription, from Selinus itself, dated to the middle of the fifth century prescribes that a ritual be performed at specific intervals, including before the Olympic truce. This shows an awareness of the cycle of the Olympic Games, but does not reflect the use of Olympiads as a means of reckoning time. On this law, cf. Jameson 1993. Both of these inscriptions highlight the peculiar importance of Olympia for Greeks settled in Magna Graecia. On this subject, cf. Hönle 1972, 68-119. The final piece of evidence that might be taken to indicate the existence of a catalog of Olympic victors before Hippias is Pindar's *Olympian* 10, which provides a list of victors in the iteration of the games organized by Herakles. The presence of a series of names in this poem does not mean that Pindar referred to a list of victors running back to Herakles' time. The *mythoi* surrounding Herakles were particularly rich, and Pindar could easily have drawn on those *mythoi* for the names of the victors in the Olympics organized by Herakles. In

Thucydides was concerned about chronological precision. He dated events by numbering the years of the war from the outbreak of hostilities and subdivided each year into two seasons, winter and summer. He anchored this system of relative chronology by providing the most thorough possible absolute date for the beginning of the war:

Ἀρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε ἤδη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἐκατέρους ζυμμάχων, ἐν ᾧ οὔτε ἐπεμείγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτεῖ παρ' ἀλλήλους καταστάντες τε ζυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν· γέγραπται δὲ ἐξῆς ὥς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα. Τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἐνέμειναν αἱ τριακοντούτεις σπονδαὶ αἱ ἐγένοντο μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν· τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἀργεὶ τότε πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη ἱερωμένης καὶ Αἰνισίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἕκτῳ καὶ ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ....

The war between the Athenians and Peloponnesians and the allies on either side really begins from this point, from which they no longer had dealings with one another without the intermediation of heralds and with hostilities having begun they fought continuously. My account of events is written in chronological order, as each event happened, divided into summers and winters. For, on one hand, the thirty-year truce that came into being after the conquest of Euboea lasted fourteen years. On the other hand, in the fifteenth year, in the forty-eighth year of the priestess-ship of Chrysis at Argos and during the ephorate of Ainesios in Sparta and two months before the end of the archonship of Pythodoros in

addition, the Greeks had an enduring interest in the heroic period and in "firsts." On this subject, cf. Finley 1987, 11-33 and Thomas 1989, 126, 130, 133-35, 138-44, 150-53, 157-58, 170, 185-88, 224-26, and 235-36. The intermediate period, between the present and the heroic past, was of considerably less interest. This phenomenon is, for instance, reflected in family traditions. In her examination of those traditions, Rosalind Thomas 1989, 157 finds that "...we often find that there is apparently a sharp jump in a tradition from the very recent members of the family to the heroic ancestors." Pindar's list of victors for Herakles' Olympics does not, therefore, imply the existence of a continuous list of victors. In addition, one of the few points of commonality between the various, divergent stories about the founding of the Olympics that circulated in ancient Greece was that the games were held only intermittently before the time of Iphitus. As Iphitus was placed well after Herakles, there was an inherent discontinuity in the early history of the Olympics that also militates against a continuous victor list starting with Herakles. There is, in sum, no good evidence for the existence of a catalog of Olympic victors before the time of Hippias. This conclusion is strongly reinforced by the means by which Thucydides dated the start of the Peloponnesian War, a point that is discussed in detail below.

Athens, six months after the battle at Potidaia and just at the beginning of the spring....³¹

What is conspicuous by its absence is any attempt to date the beginning of the war relative to the Olympics. If Thucydides had had a complete catalog of Olympic victors at his disposal, he no doubt would have used it to help identify the year in which hostilities began. He does mention two specific Olympiads—those held in 428 (3.8.1-2) and in 420 (5.49.1)—because events of some importance took place at Olympia during these iterations of the games. In both cases Thucydides identifies the Olympiad using the name of a prominent victor, but neither of the athletes cited won the *stadion*.³² The obvious conclusion is that a complete list of Olympic victors was not available to Thucydides.

The lack of a cumulative catalog of Olympic victors in the last quarter of the fifth century fits well with what we know about the dates when similar lists of eponyms were compiled or published for the first time. The obvious comparanda are the other major eponym lists that enjoyed wide circulation in ancient Greece, Athenian archons, priestesses of Hera at Argos, and Spartan ephors, all of which made their first appearance in the second half of the fifth century. An inscribed list of eponymous archons was erected in the Athenian Agora sometime around 425.³³ This inscription was cut just at the time that archon names began to be regularly used to date official documents, which points to the reason why the Athenians felt the need to put the archon list on public display. When Hellanicus of Lesbos (born c. 480, died 395) wrote the first local history of Attica, the *Ἀτθίς*, he structured his narrative around a chronological framework that relied upon kings and archons. He took the extant archon list, which probably began in 683/682, and *mythoi* about Athens' early history and constructed a continuous sequence of kings and archons

³¹ Thuc. 2.1.1-2.2.1. On this passage, cf. Gomme 1945-1981, I:1-8 and Rhodes 1988, 179-80.

³² Both athletes, Dorieus of Rhodes (in 428) and Androstenes of Arcadia (in 420), won in the *pankraton*. Thucydides seems to have chosen these men not because of the specific event in which they won, but because they were the most famous victors at the Olympiad in question. The highly idiosyncratic use of the Olympic *pankraton* victor as an eponym in a third-century inscription from Magnesia (*SIG* III 557) seems to be part of an attempt to give the text of the inscription an archaic feel. On this inscription and its significance, cf. Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIb1:222 and Sumi 2004.

³³ It remains unclear whether this list was simply the publication of records that had been maintained since the early seventh century or whether it was compiled for the first time c. 425. The four extant fragments give the names of roughly a dozen archons, the earliest of whom held office in the very early sixth century. It is not possible to reconstruct the original size of the stone on which the inscription was cut or to establish the starting point of the archon list it contained with any certainty, but it has been plausibly argued that the obvious choice would have been the first annual archon, Kreon, whose magistracy is dated to 683/682. For a good, brief overview of the issues relevant to this inscription, cf. Sickinger 1999, 47-51. A convenient publication of the inscription can be found in Lewis 1969, 9-12.

stretching back to the year corresponding to 1796.³⁴ He had previously done something very similar with the list of priestesses of Hera at Argos. Hellanicus began with records of some sort that he found at Argos and produced a continuous list of the priestesses of Hera at Argos that started well before the Trojan War, specifying the number of years each priestess held the office. He attached historical notices to each year thus defined, and published the results in a work with the title of *Ἱέρειαι τῆς Ἥρας αἱ ἐν Ἀργεῖ*.³⁵

The list of Spartan ephors received the same sort of treatment. A handful of inscriptions from Sparta show that ephors began to be used as part of a dating system in the second half of the fifth century. This is approximately the same time that Charon of Lampsakos produced a work with the title *Πρυτάνεις Λακεδαιμονίων*, which seems to have been a historical chronicle organized annalistically using regnal years of Spartan kings and, in the later parts of the work, ephors to identify individual years. It is likely that Charon compiled an ephor list that the Spartans put to good use.³⁶

A *terminus post quem* for the publication of the first Olympic victor list thus comes from Plutarch, from Thucydides, and from what we know about comparable lists of eponyms. Thucydides (1.1.1) states that he began writing his history as soon as the war started, but he also seems to have gone back and edited at least some parts of the text well after he had originally written them.³⁷ Given the great significance that Thucydides attached to the absolute date of the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, it seems likely that he would have included or added an Olympiad date of some kind to 2.1.1-2.2.1 had Hippis' list been available while he was still writing. This would indicate that the *anagraphe* appeared, at the earliest, shortly before Thucydides' death c. 400. A fragment of Philistos of Syracuse (c. 430-356) provides a *terminus ante quem* of the early fourth century. This fragment, which comes from Philistos' history of Sicily, contains the earliest known use of a *stadion* victor to identify a specific Olympiad.³⁸

³⁴ For a summary of the current issues in the scholarship on Hellanicus, cf. Schreiner 1997, 10-17. On Hellanicus' *Ἀτθίς*, cf. Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIb:40-50 and IIIb Suppl. 1: 1-22 and Jacoby 1949, 88-99, 172. Cf. also Fornara 1983, 28-29; Pearson 1939, 152-235; and Smart 1986.

³⁵ On the *Ἱέρειαι*, cf. the bibliography cited in the previous note as well as Jacoby 1923-1958, I:126-29 and 454-58; and Möller 2001.

³⁶ On Charon's work, cf. Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIa:1-3, 8 and IIIb:1-5, 23-24; and Fowler 1996. On the Spartan ephor list, cf. Richer 1998, 67-74.

³⁷ The question of which parts of Thucydides' text were written when has been endlessly discussed. Cf. the summary in Connor 1984, 3-19.

³⁸ Two passages in Xenophon's *Hellenica* contain Olympiad dates. At 1.2.1 the year is identified using a numbered Olympiad and the name of the *stadion* victor. At 2.3.1 only the name of the *stadion* victor is given. These passages have been athetized by modern editors as later interpolations. In his recent commentary on the *Hellenica*, Peter Krentz endorses the identification of these passages as interpolations. Following the arguments outlined by Lotze 1962, Krentz gives four

Καὶ Φίλιστος Σικελικῶν α' ἐπὶ τῆς Ολυμπιάδος, καθ' ἣν ὁ Οἰβώτας [ὁ Δυμαῖος] ἐνίκα στάδιον.

And Philistos in the first book of his *Sikelikai*, "In the Olympiad, in which Oibotas [of Dyme] won the *stadion*."³⁹

The lack of any obvious connection between Oibotas and Sicily surely indicates that Philistos was providing an Olympiad date for an unknown event in Sicilian history, using Oibotas as an eponym to identify the Olympiad in question. This is the earliest known example of what became a standard practice, and presumes the existence of a cumulative catalog of Olympic *stadion* victors, in the absence of which a reference to Oibotas' victory was chronologically meaningless. Philistos seems to have begun working on his history sometime after 386, carried it down to the year 363/362, and died not long thereafter.⁴⁰ The appearance of Hippias' *anagraphe* can thus be dated to a fairly narrow time span of 400-360.⁴¹ What is known about Hippias' *akme* strongly indicates that the *anagraphe* was written in the very late fifth or very early fourth century.

Historical Background and Context

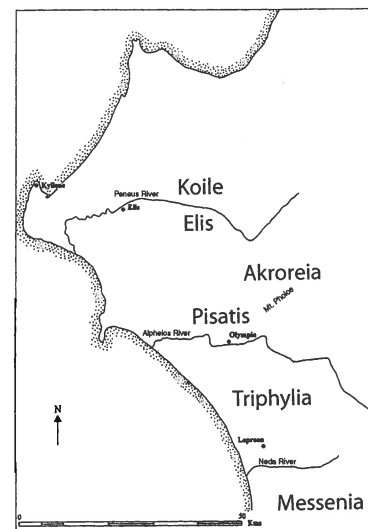
The situation in which Elis found itself in the late fifth and early fourth centuries helps explain the reasons why Hippias felt the need to produce an Olympic victor list. In the last quarter of the fifth century, Elis was engaged

reasons for athetizing these (and other) passages: (1) the dating system in the relevant passages does not match the system of dating by campaign seasons that is followed throughout the *Hellenica*; (2) the figures for the duration of the war given in some of the possibly interpolated passages are inconsistent with the ephors named in others; (3) the date given for the fall of Selinus and Himera in one of the possibly interpolated passages (1.37) is inconsistent with the narrative found at 2.8-12; and (4) the account of Cyrus' recall in one of the possibly interpolated passages (2.1.8-9) conflicts with that found in Xenophon's other works. One might also add that the use of Olympiad dates at only two places in a lengthy text with an otherwise consistent structure is inherently suspicious, as is the fact that even these two usages are not identical (only one has an Olympiad number). These arguments are sound and require no further elaboration here.

³⁹ FHG II:186 F6, ll. 11-12. The text of the fragment as transmitted is sometimes emended by means of the addition of a numeral for the Olympiad number, supplied from Pausanias 7.17.6 and the list of *stadion* victors preserved by Eusebius. There is, however, no need to change the text, since it is grammatically sound as given.

⁴⁰ On Philistos' work, cf. Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIb: 551-59 and IIIb1: 496-514; and Pearson 1987, 19-30. Philistos seems to have produced his history in two different parts, and Jacoby was of the opinion that the first part, from which the fragment quoted here derives, appeared sometime around 380. This is possible though not certain. If true, it would strengthen the case for dating Hippias' *anagraphe* to some time around 400.

⁴¹ Hippias' work must have been circulated in some fashion, presumably on papyrus, since Philistos made use of it in writing his history, and it seems likely that Ephorus also referred to it (cf. *infra*).



in a prolonged and dangerous struggle with Sparta. Elis was the name for both a region in the northwestern Peloponnese and the main *polis* in that region. The region of Elis contained three different river valleys running east-west, the Peneus in the north, the Alpheios to the south, and the Neda farther south on the border with Messenia (see map). These valleys were separated by some ten to twenty miles of marshy terrain cut by ravines, which made communication between them difficult. The Peneus valley was known to the ancient Greeks as Hollow (Koile) Elis. The inhabitants of Hollow Elis developed a political identity as members of a single *polis*, with its center in the city that also bore the name Elis, at an early date. The hilly area to the southeast of the Peneus valley, the foothills of Mt. Pholoe, was known as Akroreia. The territory situated along the central part of the Alpheios valley, which included Olympia, was called Pisatis. There were a number of small settlements in Pisatis that formed part of a unified state, but there does not seem to have been a city called Pisa. The area running south from the Alpheios to the Neda was called Triphylia. The most important settlement in Triphylia was the *polis* of Lepreon.⁴²

The *polis* of Elis tried from an early date to exert control over the areas to the south of the Peneus, with varying degrees of success. Although the sources for Elean expansion are too lacunose and contradictory to permit an

⁴² The evidence pertaining to Elis, its expansion, and its relationship with Sparta is complex and riddled with contradictions. The best recent discussions are those found in Roy 1997; Roy 1998; Roy 2002a; and Roy 2002b. Cf. also Bultrighini 1990, 146-264; Crowther 2003; Falkner 1996; Falkner 1999; Gardiner 1925, 77-128; Gehrke 1985, 52-4, 365-67; Gschnitzer 1958, 7-17; Hönl 1972, 5-44, 120-67; Maddoli 1991; Meyer 1941; Morgan 1990, 26-105; Siewert 1994; Sordi 1984a; Sordi 1984b; Swoboda 1905, 2373-402; Unz 1986; Wade-Gery 1923-1929; Yalouris 1996, 14-67; and Ziehen 1937-1939, 2531-36. The key ancient sources include Diodorus 14.17.4-12 and 14.34.1-2; Pausanias 3.8.3-6 and 6.2.2-3; Thucydides 5.31.1-5, 5.34.1, 5.43.3, 5.44.2, 5.46.5, 5.47.1-12, 5.49.1-50.4, and 5.62.1; and Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.2.21-31. Niese 1910, followed by Inglis 1998, 46-69, sees the conflict between Hollow Elis and Pisatis as a late construct that had its start in the brief period when Pisatis operated as client state of the Arcadian Confederacy (cf. *infra*). This interpretation has not been widely accepted. A key piece of evidence that has been cited to show that Niese (and hence Inglis) went astray is Pausanias' description of the Chest of Cypselos at Olympia. Pausanias (5.17.9) states that one panel of the chest showed Peisos (the eponym of Pisatis) participating in the funeral games of Pelias. The chest is typically accepted as a genuine art work of the Archaic period (Musti 1990, ad loc.), which makes Niese's position untenable.

exact reconstruction, the general outlines are clear.⁴³ Olympia was originally under the control of the inhabitants of Pisatis, not the inhabitants of Hollow Elis. Pisatis was incorporated into the Elean state sometime around 570, after a struggle that probably lasted decades rather than years. The Eleans, who may have exercised control at Olympia intermittently prior to 570, had unquestioned authority over the sanctuary after the conquest of Pisatis. Elean expansion continued over the course of the late sixth and fifth centuries. Herodotus (4.148) mentions Elean military activity in Triphylia in the middle of the fifth century, and a significant number of communities in Akroreia and Triphylia, including Lepreon, became dependent members of a growing Elean *symmachia* prior to the Peloponnesian War.

Elis, which had been a faithful ally of Sparta from an early date, came into open conflict with Sparta beginning in 421. The immediate cause of this conflict was the dispatch of a Spartan garrison to Lepreon in the summer of 421, in response to a complaint made by the Lepreotes to the Spartans that the Eleans were acting unjustly toward them. The Lepreote appeal was little more than a convenient occasion for Sparta to act upon a long-developing hostility to Elis. During the sixth and fifth centuries, Elis evolved from a narrow oligarchy to a democracy and expanded its territory considerably, becoming far and away the largest state in the Peloponnese other than Sparta. The Spartans had a deep-seated distrust of democratic governments, and Sparta was strongly opposed to the expansion of other Peloponnesian states.⁴⁴ The signing of the Peace of Nicias shortly before the Lepreote appeal helped

⁴³ In his review of Elean history, Wade-Gery 1923-1929, 543 writes that "of these wars of expansion, until the fifth century, we have no real knowledge: they are enveloped in that general obscurity which conceals the whole early history of Elis." He also (544) notes that the narratives in the ancient sources "quite shamelessly contradict each other, and an almost infinite variety of interpretations has been put on them by modern scholars." There have been numerous attempts to construct a complete history of the region of Elis from the earliest periods. The difficulty is that the sources are almost exclusively quite late and contain competing versions of events that favor either the Pisatans or the Eleans. As one might expect, it has, as a result, proven impossible to achieve anything resembling a scholarly consensus as to what happened when. It seems quite likely that the inhabitants of Hollow Elis in the early Iron Age were recent arrivals from Aetolia who had taken part in the Dorian migration. The Dorian migrants who settled in Hollow Elis then probably worked to expand their control southward and eastward, which brought them into conflict with the Pisatans. Pisatis fell under Elean control in the early sixth century. The history of the relationship between Hollow Elis, Pisatis, and Olympia in the period between the time of the Dorian migration and the early sixth century cannot be reconstructed with any precision. Perhaps the most elaborate attempt to write the history of Elis and Olympia can be found in Gardiner 1925.

⁴⁴ This is most immediately evident from Sparta's intervention in Mantinea after the signing of the King's Peace in 387/386, when Mantinea was forcibly de-synoeicized and the democratic government replaced with an oligarchy. Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 5.2.1-7. Falkner 1996 argues that, in the years immediately after the end of the Peloponnesian War, the Spartans wanted control over the Elean coastline in order to secure easy access to Magna Graecia, a motivation that would supplement but not supplant the factors highlighted here.

make it possible for the Spartans to intervene actively in the affairs of Elis. The Eleans responded by signing a treaty with Argos, Athens, and Mantinea that put them squarely in the anti-Spartan camp. They also imposed a heavy fine on the Spartans, who the Eleans claimed had violated the Olympic truce in the course of sending the garrison to Lepreon. The Spartans refused to pay the fine on the grounds that the truce had not yet been declared in Sparta when the troops destined for the garrison set out. The Eleans then excluded the Spartans from the Olympics of 420. When Lichas, a prominent Spartan statesman, entered his chariot in these Olympics under the name of the Boeotian people and crowned the charioteer when his team won (in order to make his ownership of the winning horses clear), the Eleans had him flogged. It remains unclear whether the Spartans and Eleans came to a *rapprochement* that permitted the Spartans to participate in the Olympics of 416. One way or the other, the situation did not improve significantly as the Eleans refused to allow King Agis to come to Olympia to sacrifice for victory in the war against Athens, probably in 414 or 413.⁴⁵

The Spartans, no doubt because they were fully occupied with Athens, did not bring their weight to bear on Elis until shortly after the end of the Peloponnesian War. At that point, they sent an embassy to Elis demanding that the Eleans free their dependent allies and pay their fair share of the costs of the war against Athens. Upon the rejection of their demands, the Spartans launched three separate campaigns between 401 and 399/398 that forced the Eleans to capitulate.⁴⁶ The Eleans were compelled to give up control of Lepreon and Triphylia and to tear down the fortifications in the port of Kyllene.⁴⁷

The Spartans, although far from conciliatory in the aftermath of their victory, did restrain themselves in one important way: they did not take control of Olympia away from the Eleans. In his account of these events, Xenophon writes:

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι... τοῦ μέντοι προεστάναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἀρχαίου Ἡλείοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτοῦς, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιποιοιμένους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὺς προεστάναι.

⁴⁵ On the Spartan exclusion from Olympia, cf. Hornblower 2000.

⁴⁶ This is the chronology established in Unz 1986. The campaigns have been variously placed in the years between 402 and 398. For discussion and bibliography, cf. Sordi 1984b.

⁴⁷ This did not put a stop to Elean territorial ambitions. The Eleans refused to sign the peace treaty of 371/370 because its provisions made the Triphylians and other people to the south of Hollow Elis autonomous (Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.5.2-3).

The Lacedaemonians... did not, however, remove them from the presidency of the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, even though it did not belong to the Eleans in ancient times, as they thought that the rival claimants to be rustics and not capable of holding the presidency.⁴⁸

Xenophon does not identify these "rustics" but they can only have been the Pisatans.

The Eleans must have been aware that to enter into open conflict with Sparta was to risk retaliation that could include the termination of Elean control over Olympia in favor of the Pisatans. This is in fact precisely what happened in 365, when the forces of the newly-formed Arcadian Confederacy invaded Elis from the east. The Arcadians created a client state in Pisatis, which operated independently from Elis between 365 and 362. The Arcadians and Pisatans took over control of Olympia, and, in the face of armed opposition from the Eleans, ran the contests at the 104th Olympiad.⁴⁹ The Spartans, moreover, clearly took their exclusion from Olympia as a serious affront. Xenophon notes that during the course of his campaigns against Elis, King Agis

ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἔλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔθνε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ κολύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐπειράτο.

went to Olympia and offered sacrifices to Olympian Zeus, and this time no one undertook to prevent him.⁵⁰

They were also intent on strengthening the independence of the southern parts of Elis against the territorial ambitions of the residents of Hollow Elis. There was good reason, therefore, for the Eleans in Hippias' time to be concerned about their ability to maintain control over Olympia.

Hippias compiled the first Olympic victor list just at the time when Elean control of Olympia was potentially threatened by Sparta and, almost certainly, precisely because Elean control of Olympia was potentially threatened by Sparta. As the Elean envoy to Sparta, he could hardly have been unaware of the possible ramifications of Elis' conflict with Sparta. The loss of Olympia would have been a devastating blow to Elis' standing in the Greek world, and Hippias had every possible incentive to do what he could to prevent this from happening.

⁴⁸ *Hell.* 3.2.31.

⁴⁹ For the modern literature, cf. the sources cited supra in n. 42 as well as Roy 1971. The key ancient sources are Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.4.28-35 and Diodorus Siculus 15.78.1-3.

⁵⁰ *Hell.* 3.2.26.

The Contents of Hippias' *Olympionikon anagraphē*

Hippias' *Olympionikon anagraphē* helped reinforce Elean claims to Olympia in a number of ways. Hippias seems to have assigned a prominent role in the history of the Olympic Games to the joint actions of King Iphitus of Elis and Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonian lawgiver. Iphitus and Lycurgus were credited with refounding the Olympics, with establishing the Olympic truce, and with giving control over the games to the Eleans. The victor catalog established the existence of an unbroken succession of Olympiads, almost all of which were ostensibly held by the Eleans, stretching back to the time of Iphitus and Lycurgus. The claims that Lycurgus, who was considered to be the founding father of the Spartan state, participated in refounding the Olympics in cooperation with an Elean and that the games were then entrusted to the stewardship of the Eleans made it difficult for the Spartans of Hippias' time to do exactly the opposite and take the Olympics away from the Eleans. In addition, Hippias may have gone one step further and claimed that Elis had been declared sacred territory by agreement of the Herakleidai and thus ought to be immune from all armed invasion.

The principal complication in discussing the contents of Hippias' *Olympionikon anagraphē* is that only one fragment survives, and so the contents must be reconstructed on the basis of later sources. For Lycurgus' activity at Olympia, there are four basic ancient accounts by Eusebius, Pausanias, Phlegon, and Strabo. These accounts all agree that games were held at Olympia intermittently from a very early period under the aegis of figures such as Herakles and Pelops, though different sources contain variant lists of such figures. There was also general agreement that the unbroken series of Olympiads that continued through the Roman period began when the games were reorganized by Iphitus and Lycurgus. The basic story is most clearly and succinctly narrated by Phlegon of Tralles (second century C.E.):

δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι εἰπεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν τὰ Ὀλύμπια τεθῆναι συμβέβηκεν. ἔστιν δὲ ἡδε. μετὰ Πείσον καὶ Πέλοπα, ἔτι δὲ Ἡρακλέα, τοὺς πρώτους τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐνστήσαντες, ἐκλείποντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὴν θρησκευτικὴν χρόνῳ τινί, εἰς ὃν ἀπὸ Ἰφίτου... καὶ ἀμελησάντων τοῦ ἀγῶνος, στάσις ἐνέστη κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. (2) Λυκοῦργος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Πρυτάνεως τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος τοῦ Σόου τοῦ Προκλέους τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Δηϊανείρας, καὶ Ἰφίτος ὁ Αἴμωνος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Πραξωνίδου, ἐνὸς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους, Ἡλείου, καὶ Κλεοσθένης ὁ Κλεονίκου Πεισάτης, βουλόμενοι εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀποκαταστήσαι, τὴν τε πανήγυριν τὴν

Ὀλυμπικὴν ἔγνωσαν ἀνάγειν εἰς τὰ ἀρχαῖα νόμιμα καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐπιτελέσαι. (3) στέλλονται δὴ εἰς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ, εἴ σφισιν συνεπαινεί ταῦτα ποιῆσαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἄμεινον ἔφη ἔσεσθαι ποιούσιν. καὶ προσέταξεν ἐκεχειρίαν ἀγγεῖλαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ταῖς βουλομέναις μετέχειν τοῦ ἀγῶνος. (4) ὃν περιαγγελθέντων κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ὁ δίσκος ἐγράφη τοῖς Ἑλλανοδικαῖς, καθ' ὃν ἔδει τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἄγειν. (5) οὐκ ἄγαν δὲ προσιεμένων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ δυσχεραίνοντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λοιμὸς ἐπιγενόμενος καὶ φθορὰ καρπῶν ἐλυμαίνετο αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἀποστείλαντες πάλιν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἡτιοῦντο τοῦ λοιμοῦ παῦλαν καὶ ἴασίν τινα. (6) ἡ δὲ Πυθία χρᾶι τάδε·

ὦ γῆς ἀκρόπολιν πάσης Πελοπηίδα κλεινὴν
ναίοντες πρέσβεις τε βροτῶν πάντων καὶ ἄριστοι,
φράζεσθ' ἐξ ἐμέθεν χρησμὸν θεοῦ, ὅτι κεν εἴπω.
Ζεὺς ὑμῖν μῆνιν τελετῆς ἔχει ἣν διέχρησεν,
οὐνεκ' ἀτιμάζοντες Ὀλύμπια πασιάνακτος
Ζηνός—τοῦ πρώτος μὲν ἰδρύσατο καὶ θέτο τιμὴν
Πεῖσος, καὶ μετὰ τόνδε Πέλοψ, ὅτε δὴ μόλεν αἶαν (30)
Ἑλλάδα, θῆκε δ' ἔπειτα ἔροτιν καὶ ἔπαθλα θανόντι
Οἰνομάωι, τρίτατος δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πάσι Ἀμφιτρώωνος
Ἡρακλῆς ἐτέλεσσε ἔροτιν καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ μήτρωι
Τανταλίδῃ Πέλοπι φθιμένωι, τὸν δὴποθεν ὑμεῖς
λείπετε καὶ τελετὴν. ἥς χωσάμενος κατὰ θυμὸν (35)
ὦρσε κακὴν λιμὸν παρὰ τοῖς καὶ λοιμόν, ὃν ἔστι
παῦσαι ἀνορθώσαντας ἐορτὴν τῷ πάλιν αὖθις.

(7) ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις. οἱ δὲ ἀπιστήσαντες τῷ χρησμῷ ἀπέστειλαν πάλιν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ δόγματος ἐπιστρεφέστερον ἐπερωτήσαντας τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῶν χρησθέντων. ἡ δὲ Πυθία (40) λέγει τάδε·

ὦ Πελοποννήσου ναέται, περὶ βωμὸν ἰόντες
θύετε καὶ πείθεσθε τά κεν μάντις ἐνέπωσιν.

(8) τούτων χρησθέντων οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπέτρεψαν τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἀγῶνα τιθεῖν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν ἀγγέλλειν ταῖς πόλεσιν. (9) καὶ Ἡλείοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα βουλόμενοι βοηθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτε Ἑλος ἐπολιόρκουν, πέμψαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐμαντεύοντο. καὶ χρᾶι ἡ Πυθία τάδε·

Ἡλείων πρόπολοι, πατέρων νόμον ἰθύνοντες
τὴν αὐτῶν ῥύεσθε πάτραν, πολέμου δ' ἀπέχεσθε,

κοινοδίκου φιλίης ἡγούμενοι Ἑλλήνεσσιν,
εὖτ' ἂν πενταετὴς ἔλθῃ φιλόφρων ἐνιαυτός.

χρησθέντων δὲ τούτων τοῦ μὲν πολεμεῖν ἀπέσχοντο, τῶν δὲ Ὀλυμπίων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιοῦντο.

It seems to me to be proper to discuss the reason on account of which the foundation of the Olympic Games took place. The reason is as follows. After Peisos and Pelops, and then Herakles, who first instituted the festival and the contests at Olympia, the Peloponnesians neglected the observance of them for a certain period, until the period beginning with Iphitus.... Because of the failure to hold the contests, stasis threatened the Peloponnese. (2) Lycurgus of Lacedaemonia (the son of Prytanis, the son of Eurypon, son of Sous, son of Prokles, son of Aristodemos, son of Aristomachos, son of Kleodaios, son of Hyllos, son of Herakles and Deianeira) and Iphitus of Elis (son of Haemon, but according to some son of Praxionidos, one of the Herakleidai), and Kleosthenes, son of Kleonikos, of Pisatis, wishing to restore the people to harmony and peace, took it in mind both to revive the Olympic festival in accordance with the ancient customs and to hold the athletic contests. (3) They indeed sent to Delphi, inquiring of the god as to whether he gave his consent for them to do these things. The god said it would be better for them to do these things. He ordered them to announce a truce for those *poleis* wishing to take part in the contest. (4) After these things were announced by messengers throughout Greece, a discus was inscribed for the *Hellanoedikai* [Elean magistrates charged with overseeing the Olympics], in accordance with which they were bound to conduct the Olympics. (5) Among those of the Peloponnesians who expressed annoyance rather than approval for the contest, pestilence appeared and brought ruin to them and a blight on their crops. Sending Lycurgus and his associates once more, they asked how to put an end to and to cure the pestilence. (6) The Pythia prophesized as follows:

Honored elders and best of all men, dwelling in Pelops' citadel, which is renowned in every land, you ask from me an oracle from the god, an oracle which I would be of a mind to deliver. Zeus is angry with you on account of the rites which he decreed, because you dishonor the Olympic festival of all-ruling Zeus. Peisos first founded and arranged the Olympics in honor of Zeus, and after him Pelops, when he trod the earth of Greece, next set up a festival and prizes for the dead Oinomaos. Third after these the son of Amphitryon, Herakles, held the festival and contests for his dead maternal uncle, Pelops, a descendant of

Tantalos. You somehow neglect these contests and rites. Growing angry in his heart at this, he has called forth famine and pestilence against you, which it is possible to stop by restoring once again the festival for him.

(7) They reported the things that they heard to the Peloponnesians. Those who were skeptical about the oracle went once again, and they by common consent inquired of the god in more detail about the oracles. The Pythia said these things:

O inhabitants of the Peloponnese, going to the altar, sacrifice and do whatever the seers say.

(8) Due to these oracles, the Peloponnesians entrusted to the Eleans the supervision of the Olympic Games and the announcement of the truce to the *poleis*. (9) Afterward, when the Eleans wished to lend aid to the Lacedaemonians when they were laying siege to Helos, they sent to Delphi and received an oracle. The Pythia prophesized as follows:

Representatives of the Eleans, strictly keeping to the law of your fathers, defend your fatherland, but hold off from war. Be a leader in common friendship for the Greeks, whenever the genial pentatelic year arrives.

On account of these oracles, they refrained from war, and took care for the Olympics.⁵¹

Similar versions can be found in Eusebius, Pausanias, and Strabo.⁵² Two key motifs are the cooperation of Lycurgus and Iphitus in refounding the Olympics and the closely related decision to give control over the games to the Eleans.

The relatively late date of these sources is not a matter of concern, since the connection between Iphitus and Lycurgus is already evident in the work of Aristotle, whose comments on this subject are reported in Plutarch's biography of Lycurgus. Plutarch begins his biography with a discussion of the difficulties involved in writing about Lycurgus:

Περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβήτητον, οὐ γὰρ καὶ γένος καὶ ἀποδημία καὶ τελευτὴ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασιν ἢ περὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγματεία· διαφορὸς ἔσχηκεν ἱστορίας, ἥκιστα δὲ οἱ χρόνοι καθ' οὓς γέγονεν ὁ

⁵¹ FGtH 257 F1.

⁵² Eusebius, *Chronika* 190-194 (Schoene); Pausanias 5.1.2-4.9 and 5.7.4-8.11; and Strabo (cf. infra).

ἄνθρωποι ὁμολογοῦνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰφίτῳ συνακμάσαι καὶ συνδιαθεῖναι τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν ἐκεχειρίαν λέγουσιν αὐτόν, ὃν ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, τεκμήριον προσφέρων τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι δίσκον ἐν ᾧ τοῦνομα τοῦ Λυκούργου διασώζεται καταγεγραμμένον·

Concerning Lycurgus the lawgiver, it is, on the one hand, generally speaking possible to say nothing that is not subject to dispute. The accounts at any rate diverge in regard to his family and travels and death and especially in regard to his work with the laws and the *politeia*. Least of all, on the other hand, do the accounts agree as to when he lived. For, on one hand, some say that he flourished in the time of Iphitus and that they founded the Olympic truce together. Aristotle the philosopher is one such, offering as proof the discus at Olympia on which the inscribed name of Lycurgus is preserved.⁵³

This must be the discus mentioned by Phlegon. It, or a copy, apparently survived into the second century C.E., as Pausanias mentions seeing it during his visit to the Temple of Hera at Olympia.⁵⁴

There has been considerable scholarly discussion as to whether Aristotle was the first to use this discus as a source for the history of Olympics or whether Hippias had done so before him.⁵⁵ The latter is by far the more likely possibility. Hippias was a prominent Elean, the Elean envoy to Sparta, and a sophist who carried out a research project of some size on Olympic victors and hence the early Olympics. He can hardly have been unaware of the existence of a discus at Olympia that had the terms of the Olympic truce and the names of Iphitus and Lycurgus inscribed upon it. This discus is unlikely to have been inscribed for the first time in the fourth century since Aristotle was too perspicacious to be taken in by a recent forgery. This is not to say that the discus was a genuine relic of the activities of Iphitus and Lycurgus. Both Lycurgus and Iphitus remain shadowy figures, and the latest possible dates for their *akmai* fall in the early eighth century. This was a time when the

⁵³ Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 1.1. A passage from Heraclides Lembus' collection of excerpts from Aristotelian *politeiai* seems to draw on the same source: Λυκούργος ἐν Σάμῳ ἐγένετο....καταλαβὼν δὲ πολλὴν ἀνομίαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ τὸν Χάρυλλον τυραννικῶς ἄρχοντα, μετέστησε. καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν τὰς ἐκεχειρίας κατέστησε (F10 Diltz).

⁵⁴ Pausanias 5.20.1: ἔστι δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, κλίνη τε μέγεθος οὐ μεγάλη, τὰ πολλὰ ἐλέφαντι κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ὁ Ἰφίτου δίσκος...ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἰφίτου δίσκος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἐπαγγέλλουσιν Ἡλείοι, ταύτην οὐκ ἐς εὐθὺς ἔχει γεγραμμένην, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλου σχῆμα περίεσιν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα ("There are also here other dedications, both a couch not large in size, most of which is decorated with ivory, and the discus of Iphitus...The discus of Iphitus is inscribed with the truce, which the Eleans announce for the Olympics, not written in a straight line, but the letters run around the discus in a circular fashion").

⁵⁵ Cf. the bibliography cited supra in n. 18 as well as den Boer 1954, 42-54.

Greeks were just becoming literate again, and a lengthy documentary inscription dating to the first decades of the eighth century or earlier is implausible at best.⁵⁶ As we have seen, the inhabitants of Hollow Elis engaged in a long struggle with the Pisatans for control of Olympia. They seem to have achieved notable success on that front in the first half of the sixth century, at roughly the same time that Elis became one of the earliest members of the Peloponnesian League. The inscription of the discus would fit comfortably into this period.⁵⁷ The claim that Iphitus, the ruler of Hollow Elis, in conjunction with Lycurgus, was responsible for the reorganization of the Olympics would have been an obvious way of legitimizing newly-established Elean control over Olympia.

Further evidence for the association of Lycurgus with the first Olympiad in Hippias' victor catalog comes from Hieronymus of Rhodes. Hieronymus, working in the third century, synchronized Terpander with Lycurgus and noted that

Λυκούργον τὸν νομοθέτη... δὲς ὑπὸ πάντων συμφώνως ἱστορεῖται μετὰ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσιν διαθεῖναι.

Lycurgus the lawgiver... is recorded by all, without dissent, as having arranged, together with Iphitus, the Elean, the establishment of what is numbered as the first Olympic Games.⁵⁸

Insofar as Hippias produced the first catalog of Olympic victors, the phrase "recorded by all, without dissent" must be taken to include his work, which was little more than a century old when Hieronymus was active.

It is impossible to know how far the story about the cooperation of Iphitus and Lycurgus goes back, but the discus inscribed with the Olympic truce shows that it was almost certainly long-established by the time of Hippias.⁵⁹ The story was a convenient one for Hippias, and he no doubt

⁵⁶ Cf. the discussion *supra* in n. 18.

⁵⁷ On Elis and the Peloponnesian League, cf. Hammond 1982, 356-57.

⁵⁸ Hieronymus of Rhodes, F33 (Wehrli), *apud* Athenaeus 635f, translation by P.J. Shaw.

⁵⁹ It is, for the purposes of the argument here, largely irrelevant how long this story had been in circulation prior to the time of Hippias, though it would have been helpful to Hippias if the story had some perceived antiquity. Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIb1:221-22, nn. 1 and 12, argues that the story of the cooperation between Lycurgus and Iphitus was already extant in the early sixth century. Chrimes 1971, 319-27 takes the position that the discus was forged sometime around 400 to buttress Elean claims to Olympia. Interestingly, she does not go one step further and connect this to Hippias' *anagraphe*. Meyer 1892, 1:240-41 argues that since Ephorus states (*apud* Strabo 8.3.33, cf. *infra* for the text) that Iphitus re-founded the games, without mentioning Lycurgus, the connection between Lycurgus and Iphitus must post-date Hippias. This places too much interpretive weight on Strabo's wording. In the passage in question Strabo is recounting Elean history and so the

highlighted it in his *anagraphe*. Prior to the compilation of the Olympic victor list, the Iphitus-Lycurgus Olympics was one iteration of the games among many, and it was not inevitable that the list of Olympic victors began with that Olympiad. Hippias had at his disposal a diverse array of sources about Olympic victors, almost all of which lacked any chronological marker. He could not, therefore, establish a starting point for his victor list by simply working backward through a sequentially organized set of documents, since no such documents existed. Instead, he established a starting point for the list and distributed the victors in the space thus defined. The tradition of multiple, intermittent iterations of the Olympics meant that there were a variety of starting points from which to choose. It would, for example, have been perfectly possible for Hippias to have begun the list with the Olympics

absence of Lycurgus is in no way conclusive. There have been various attempts to separate the establishment of the truce by Lycurgus and Iphitus from the re-establishment of the Olympics. Some scholars, including most recently Bollansée 1999, believe that Aristotle's view was that Iphitus re-established the Olympics on his own, and worked with Lycurgus only in regard to the truce. These scholars point to the facts that Plutarch only mentions the Olympic truce when discussing the connection Aristotle made between Lycurgus and Iphitus and that Spartans do not appear in the Olympic victor list until the 15th Olympiad. The separation of the founding of the truce and the re-establishment of the Olympics makes it possible to argue that the truce was founded after Iphitus re-established the games, probably around 720 when the Spartan conquest of Messenia gave them direct access to Elis and when Spartans began winning at Olympia. One must, however, keep in mind that Aristotle—and almost certainly Hippias before him—used the discus to establish a date for the beginning of the series of continuous Olympiads and that the discus was inscribed with the terms of the Olympic truce and did not offer a lengthy history of the Olympics. The summary given in Plutarch—and Heraclides Lembus—is thus a reflection of a precise statement by Aristotle based on the evidence at hand and the purpose for which that evidence was used. In addition, it is clear that there was a strong tradition, probably going back to at least Aristotle, that Lycurgus participated in re-establishing the Olympics. This is apparent in the passage from Hieronymus of Rhodes quoted above and in a fragment of the work of Hermippus of Smyrna (F85 Wehrli *apud* Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 23.2), a student of Callimachus and an author with a particular interest in Aristotle's work: ...φασί τινες, ὡς Ἑρμιππος μνημονεύει, τὸν Λυκούργον οὐ προσέχειν οὐδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰφίτον, ἀλλὰ τυγχάνειν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντα καὶ θεώμενον· ἀκοῦσαι δὲ φωνὴν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ καὶ θαυμάζοντος, ὅτι τοὺς πολίτας οὐ προτρέπεται κοινωνεῖν τῆς πανηγύρεως. ὡς δὲ μεταστραφέντος οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς ὁ φθειγόμενος ἦν, θεῖον ἡγησάμενον οὕτω πρὸς τὸν Ἰφίτον τραπέσθαι καὶ συνδιακοσμήσαντα τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐνδοξοτέραν καὶ βεβαιωτέραν καταστήσαι ("...Some, such as Hermippus, say that Lycurgus in the beginning had nothing to do with Iphitus' plans and was not cooperating with him. But he happened to be traveling and watching the contests when he heard a voice like that of a man coming from behind him that reproached him and expressed surprise that he did not urge his fellow citizens to participate in the festival. When he turned around, there was no sign of the speaker, and Lycurgus concluded that a god had spoken to him and so he went to Iphitus and helped him arrange a more distinguished and enduring form of the festival"). The absence of Spartan victors before 720 in the Olympic victor list is meaningless, since the dates of individual victors in the early parts of the list are unreliable. The date when Spartan victors first appear in the Olympic victor list cannot be used to reconstruct the early history of the Olympics.

over which Herakles the son of Alkmene presided. Pindar (*Olympian* 10) provided a full list of victors for this Olympiad, and there was no reason why Hippias could not have cobbled together a list of names to fill the space between Herakles' time and his own.⁶⁰ It is in some ways surprising that Hippias did not begin with this Olympiad, since he had an incentive to push the founding of the games as far back in time as he could, in order to lend the weight of antiquity to Elean claims. He probably passed over Herakles' Olympics because they were something of a problem for an Elean author. The story ran that Herakles held games at Pisa after he sacked Elis for failure to pay the wages owed to him, hardly a good starting point for a victor list intended to reinforce Elean claims to Olympia.⁶¹

The Lycurgus-Iphitus Olympics, on the other hand, had no such taint and had the significant advantage of assigning the Spartans a prominent role in constituting the Olympics as they were in Hippias' time. Although we have no evidence for the exact contents of Hippias' victor catalog, there is no doubt that it began with the Lycurgus-Iphitus Olympics, which was placed in the year corresponding to 776. A fragment of Aristotle's version of the Olympic victor list shows that he dated the grandfather of the philosopher Empedokles to the 71st Olympiad (496).⁶² Empedokles can be independently dated to the fifth century, so Aristotle must have put the first Olympiad somewhere in the eighth century. As all the extant versions of the Olympic victor list date the first Olympiad in the Olympic victor list to the year corresponding to 776, the Aristotelian list can be safely assumed to have begun at that point.⁶³ This would be difficult to explain if Hippias' catalog of

⁶⁰ For the sake of comparison, one might recall that Hellanicus managed to construct a list of priestesses of Argos reaching back before the Trojan War and an Athenian king list that began in 1796.

⁶¹ The story is told succinctly at Pausanias 5.1.7-3.3.

⁶² *FHG* II:183, F263.

⁶³ In the Hellenistic period, chronographers typically placed Lycurgus' activity as a lawgiver in the early part of the ninth century. This, however, meant that there was a need to deal with the well-established tradition that Lycurgus helped organize the Olympic Games in 776. One solution, adopted by both Timaeus and Apollodorus, was to posit the existence of two different men named Lycurgus who lived at different times (cf. Mosshammer 1979, 173-91). An alternative solution was to postulate the existence of a certain number of "unrecorded Olympiads" between the iteration of the games organized by Lycurgus and the iteration of the games in which Koroibos won the *stadion* (the first Olympiad in the Olympic victor list, cf. Shaw 2003, 47-73). This made it possible to place Lycurgus in the ninth century while leaving the Koroibos Olympics in 776. In some ancient authors, the existence of Olympiads between Lycurgus and Koroibos seems to have created a certain amount of confusion as to whether the Koroibos Olympiad should be numbered the 1st, 14th, or 28th Olympiad; cf., for instance, Sextus Julius Africanus, F37 (Routh) *apud* Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica* 233.14-17. P.J. Shaw has recently shown that widely variant dates for the *akmai* of various figures such as Thales found in the ancient sources may in at least some cases be reconciled by assuming that what one source, for example, labeled the 20th Olympiad was

Olympic victors began long before 776, since Aristotle must have been aware of Hippias' *anagraphe*.⁶⁴ Insofar as Hippias had a strong incentive to push the

identical to the 48th Olympiad in a different source (Shaw 2003, *passim*). Heidrich 1987, 26-31, followed very tentatively by Shaw, has attributed these variant dates to the existence of different absolute dates for the Koroibos Olympics and concludes that there were three different dates: 776, 724, and 720. There is, however, no evidence to support Heidrich's position. We have already seen that Aristotle definitely placed the first Olympiad in the year corresponding to 776, and in every case where an ancient source specifies a date for the Koroibos Olympics by means of an interval referring to a later event—such as Xerxes' invasion—the Koroibos Olympics is placed in the year corresponding to 776. The interval between the Koroibos Olympics and earlier events, particularly the Fall of Troy and the Return of the Herakleidai, was not nearly as uniform. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus assigned 407 years to the period between the Fall of Troy and the Koroibos Olympics (*FGH* 241 F1 and *FGH* 244 F61). Sosibius assigned 395 years to the same period (*FGH* 595 F2), Eusebius 405 years, Timaeus 417, Aretes 514 (all from *FGH* 566 F125). Shaw thinks these variant intervals may indicate differing dates for the Koroibos Olympics. It is much more likely that they indicate differing dates for the Fall of Troy. Dates for the Fall of Troy were calculated largely on the basis of the Spartan king list, which itself existed in numerous variants. It is worth noting that there was at least one entirely different system for numbering the Olympiads. The primary evidence for this system is an inscribed discus found at Olympia (*IO* 240/241). On one side is a dedication by a pentathlete, Publius Asklepiades of Corinth, indicating that he was the victor in the 255th Olympiad (241 C.E.). On the other side is another dedicatory inscription, this one giving the name of one of the Elean officials in charge of running the sanctuary, Flavius Scribonianus, and listing the date as the 456th Olympiad. According to the standard system of numeration, the last Olympiad was the 293rd, held in 393 C.E., so the mention of the 456th Olympiad requires some explanation. If one assigns four years to 456 Olympiads and counts backwards from 241 C.E., the discus implies the existence of a numbered series of Olympiads beginning in 1581/1580. There are strong indications that this was a significant date for some ancient chronographers. An inscription dated to 245 C.E. that records the founding at Ephesus of games modeled on the Olympics uses 1581/1580 as a reference (*CIG* II 2999). In addition, the Marmor Parium, the famous chronological inscription that was cut in 264/263, begins in the year corresponding to 1581/1580 with the accession of King Cecrops in Athens. Interestingly, the Marmor gives dates for the founding of the Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean, Panathenaic, Eleusinian, and Lykaian Games, but fails to mention the Olympics. In a discussion of the discus, Lämmer 1967 made the reasonable suggestion that the author of the Marmor was aware of two radically different founding dates for the Olympics, and so omitted the Olympics entirely even though he began in 1581/1580. The placement of the first Olympiad in 1581/1580 was almost certainly based upon the story that the earliest celebrants of games at Olympia were the Idaean Dactyls (Pausanias 5.7.6-7). The existence of a system of numbered Olympiads that began in 1581/1580 did not conflict with a date of 776 for the Koroibos Olympics. The ancient sources are generally in agreement that games had been held intermittently at Olympia until the time of Iphitus and Lycurgus, when the unbroken series of Olympiads began. In addition, there are literally hundreds of uses of numbered Olympiads in the ancient sources that take the Koroibos Olympics as the 1st (or 14th or 28th) Olympiad. The Olympia discus itself references both systems. The fact that it was an Elean official who referred to the 456th Olympiad may imply that this system of numeration was the product of a special antiquarian interest (and a little bit of math) on the part of Flavius Scribonianus.

⁶⁴ Patzer 1986 has shown that Aristotle made heavy use of Hippias' *Synagoge*, which makes it clear that Aristotle was aware of Hippias' work. It would in any case be rather strange if Aristotle, who

date of Elean control back as far as possible and to emphasize Lycurgus' role in organizing the Olympics, he is unlikely to have started his list after the Iphitus-Lycurgus Olympics.⁶⁵

Hippias may also have claimed that Elis founded the Olympic Games and that Elean territory had been declared sacred and inviolable by agreement of the Herakleidai.⁶⁶ This version of the early history of Olympia is found in the work of Strabo, who drew directly on Ephorus. Strabo begins his account of Olympia with a very brief description of the site and then turns to the relationship between Elis and Olympia:

ἄξιοι δὲ μάλιστα τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχειν τῆς περὶ τὸ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἱερὸν μεγαλοπρεπείας τε καὶ τιμῆς Ἡλείοι... μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον.... Αἰτωλοὶ γὰρ συγκατελθόντες τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις μετὰ Ὀξύλου καὶ συνοικήσαντες Ἐπειοῖς κατὰ συγγένειαν παλαιὰν ἠδύξαν τὴν κοίλην Ἥλιν καὶ τῆς τε Πισάτιδος ἀφείλοντο πολλήν, καὶ Ὀλυμπία ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἐγένετο· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν εἰρημὰ ἐστὶν ἐκείνων ὁ Ὀλυμπιακός, καὶ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας τὰς πρώτας ἐκείνοι συνετέλουν. ἔδσαι γὰρ δεῖ τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς θέσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος, τῶν μὲν ἓνα τῶν Ἰδαίων δακτύλων Ἡρακλέα λεγόντων ἀρχηγέτην τούτων, τῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀλκμήνης καὶ Διός, ὃν καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαι πρῶτον καὶ νικῆσαι· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα πολλαχῶς λέγεται καὶ οὐ πάνυ πιστεύεται. ἐγγυτέρω δὲ πίστεως, ὅτι μέχρι τῆς ἑκτῆς καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης, ἐν ᾗ Κόροιβος ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἡλείος, τὴν προστασίαν εἶχον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος Ἡλείοι... μετὰ [δὲ] τὴν ἑκτὴν καὶ εἰκοστὴν

produced his own version of the Olympic victor list, completely ignored Hippias' version. On Aristotle's use of Hippias' work, cf. also Wisniewski 1959.

⁶⁵ The association of Lycurgus with the founding of the Olympic truce would also have been useful in the wake of the problems created by the questionable use the Eleans made of the truce to punish the Spartans for intervening in Lepreon in 421. A parallel situation in Argos, described by Xenophon (*Hell.* 4.7.2-5), shows that the Eleans had good reason to be concerned. In the early fourth century the Argives were in the habit of fending off Spartan invasions of their territory by announcing the Karneia, the most important religious festival of the year in Dorian states, as soon as it became clear the Spartans were poised to march against them. It was customary for a truce to hold during the Karneia, a fact which the Argives shamelessly exploited to their advantage. When King Agesipolis prepared to invade Argos in 388, he first sent to the oracles at Olympia and Delphi asking if he could ignore the customary truce, on the grounds that the Argives were acting unjustly. The oracles gave him permission to do so, and when Agesipolis' forces entered Argive territory, two heralds from Argos made an appearance to announce the Karneia truce. Agesipolis refused to acknowledge the truce and went on to inflict serious damage on the Argives. The Spartans were thus becoming less willing to accede to the dictates of sacred truces in the years after the end of the Peloponnesian War, and the erosion of the Olympic truce would have created major problems for Elis. Here again, a link to Sparta in general and Lycurgus in particular served Elean interests well.

⁶⁶ This is the position adopted by Meyer 1892, 240-41 and Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIb1:221, n. 1, among others.

Ὀλυμπιάδα οἱ Πισάται τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπολαβόντες αὐτοὶ συνετέλουν, τὸν ἀγῶνα ὀρώντες εὐδοκιοῦντα· χρόνους δ' ὅστερον μεταπεσοῦσης πάλιν τῆς Πισάτιδος εἰς τοὺς Ἡλείους μετέπεσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς πάλιν καὶ ἡ ἀγωνοθεσία. συνέπραξαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην κατάλυσιν τῶν Μεσσηνίων συμμαχήσασιν αὐτοῖς τὰναντία τῶν Νέστορος ἀπογόνων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμπολεμησάντων τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις· καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν γε συνέπραξαν ὥστε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν τὴν μέχρι Μεσσήνης Ἡλείαν ῥηθῆναι καὶ διαμεῖναι μέχρι νῦν, Πισατῶν δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Καυκῶνων μηδ' ὄνομα λειφθῆναι.

The Eleans in particular are responsible for both the magnificence of the sanctuary at Olympia and the honor in which it is held.... After the Return of the Herakleidai... the Aetolians, having returned with the Herakleidai under the leadership of Oxylos and having settled among the Epeians [early inhabitants of Elis] on account of ancient kinship, enlarged Hollow Elis and both seized much of Pisatis and subjected Olympia to themselves. And in particular the Olympic Games are their invention, and they celebrated the first Olympiads. For one ought to disregard the ancient stories both about the founding of the sanctuary and about the establishment of the games. Some say that Herakles, one of the Idaian Dactyls, was the originator of these things, others say that it was Herakles the son of Alkmene and Zeus, who was also the first to compete and to win. Stories of this sort are told in a number of different ways and are not very trustworthy. It is nearer the truth to say that from the first Olympiad, in which Koroibos of Elis won the *stadion*, to the twenty-sixth, the Eleans were in charge of both the sanctuary and the games.... After the twenty-sixth Olympiad, the Pisatans regained control of their homeland and themselves celebrated the games, seeing that the games were held in high esteem.⁶⁷ But in later times, when Pisatis again fell under Elean control, the presidency of the games once again fell to the Eleans. After the final defeat of the Messenians, the Lacedaemonians acted in concert with the Eleans, who were their allies, as opposed to the descendants of Nestor and the Arcadians, who fought alongside the Messenians. And the Lacedaemonians and Eleans cooperated so effectively that the entire territory as far as Messenia came

⁶⁷ A number of different ancient sources held that the Pisatans presided over some early Olympiads, but there was no agreement as to the identity of those Olympiads. Compare, for example Pausanias 6.4.1-2, 6.22.2-3, 10.36.9 and Strabo 8.3.30 (quoted *infra*). It is impossible to tell if Hippias' victor catalog contained 'anolympiads' (Olympiads for which no victors were registered). On the so-called anolympiads, cf. Gardiner 1925, 77-103 and Shaw 2003, 91-99.

to be called Elis and remains so until this day, while not even the name of the Pisatans and Triphylians and Kaukonians has survived.⁶⁸

After an excursus on Pisatis, Strabo returns to the early history of Elis. He describes how Aetolos, an early ruler of Elis, was driven into exile and ended up in what became Aetolia. One of Aetolos' descendants, Oxylos, subsequently aided Herakles' sons in their conquest of the Peloponnese, in recompense for which he was given permission to take control of his ancestral homeland of Elis. Oxylos subsequently collected an army of Aetolians and conquered Elis:

Ἐφορος δὲ φησιν Αἰτωλὸν ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Σαλμωνέως τοῦ βασιλέως Ἐπειῶν τε καὶ Πισατῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἠλείας εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, ὀνομάσαι τε ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν καὶ συνοικίσαι τὰς αὐτόθι πόλεις· τούτου δ' ἀπόγονον ὑπάρξαντα Ὀξύλον φίλον τοῖς περὶ Τήμενον Ἡρακλείδαις ἡγήσασθαι τε τὴν ὁδὸν κατιοῦσιν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ μερίσαι τὴν πολεμίαν αὐτοῖς χώραν... ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων λαβεῖν χάριν τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν κάθοδον, προγονικὴν οὖσαν, κατελθεῖν δὲ ἀθροίσαντα στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας Ἐπειοὺς τὴν Ἥλιν... καὶ κατασχεῖν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς τὴν γῆν ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς Ἐπειοὺς· παραλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου... διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ὀξύλου φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας συνομολογηθῆναι ῥαδίως ἐκ πάντων μεθ' ὅρκου τὴν Ἠλείαν ἱερὰν εἶναι τοῦ Διός, τὸν δ' ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ταύτην μεθ' ὅπλων ἐναγῇ εἶναι, ὥς δ' αὐτὸς ἐναγῇ καὶ τὸν μὴ ἐπαμύνοντα εἰς δύναμιν.... Ἰφιτόν τε θεῖναι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα, ἱερῶν ὄντων τῶν Ἠλείων.

Ephorus says that Aetolos, having been driven out of Elis and into Aetolia by Salomoneus the king of both the Epeians and Pisatans, named the territory after himself and brought the *poleis* there together into a single urban center. Aetolos' descendant Oxylos was friendly with the Herakleidai associated with Temenos and served as their guide during their return to the Peloponnese and portioned out for them the parts of the territory that were hostile to them.... In return he received as a token of gratitude the right to return to Elis, his ancestral land. He gathered an army from Aetolia and attacked the Epeians who were occupying Elis.... The Aetolians drove out the Epeians and took possession of the land. They also took over superintendence of the sanctuary at Olympia.... Because of the friendship of Oxylos with the Herakleidai, it was readily sworn under oath by all that Elis would be sacred to Zeus and that whoever invaded this country under arms would be accursed and that in

⁶⁸ Strabo 8.3.30.

the same way accursed would be anyone who did not defend Elis to the extent of their powers.... And Iphitus celebrated the Olympic Games, the Eleans now being a sacred people.⁶⁹

Strabo then relates how Pheidon of Argos later violated the sacred truce and seized the presidency of the Olympics, compelling the Eleans to take up the practice of arms. The Spartans came to their aid against Pheidon, who had shattered Spartan hegemony over the Peloponnese, and the two states were successful:

καὶ δὴ καὶ συγκαταλῦσαι τὸν Φεῖδωνα· τοὺς δὲ συγκατασκευάσαι τοῖς Ἠλείοις τὴν τε Πισάτιν καὶ τὴν Τριφυλίαν.

And in particular the Eleans helped the Lacedaemonians destroy Pheidon, and the Lacedaemonians helped the Eleans bring both Pisatis and Triphylia under their control.⁷⁰

This account reads like an *apologia* for Elean territorial pretensions. In the present context, the most noteworthy features are the prominent role assigned to Sparta in establishing Elean control of areas outside of Hollow Elis, the assertion that the Olympic Games were founded by the residents of Hollow Elis, and the assertion that Elis was from a very early date sacred and inviolable. Although there may have been a kernel of truth behind the idea that the Spartans had at one point supported Elean territorial ambitions, the assertions about the Elean foundation of the Olympic Games and the sacred status of Elis were little more than propaganda.⁷¹

Ephorus was active in the first half of the fourth century, so this version of Elis' history was in circulation not long after Hippias wrote.⁷² The conclusion that Ephorus looked to Hippias' *anagraphe* as a source for Elean history lies near at hand, particularly since the earliest local histories of Elis

⁶⁹ Strabo 8.3.33.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁷¹ The Spartans may have helped the Eleans establish control over Triphylia in order to create a secure northern border for Messenia. Elean activity in Triphylia presumably did not significantly predate the Elean conquest of Pisatis in the early sixth century, which would place possible Spartan-Elean cooperation in Triphylia in the period when Elis joined the Peloponnesian League. There is archaeological evidence in the form of publicly-dedicated bronze vessels and stone *proxenoi* seats that might be taken to show that Sparta enjoyed a special prominence at Olympia in the sixth century. For this evidence, cf. Siewert 1991. Bilik 1998-1999 seeks to prove that Hippias invented the idea of Elean sacred neutrality, but the evidence for this is very tenuous. Hippias no doubt found the idea of Elean neutrality to be convenient, but it could easily have been in circulation earlier. For an analysis of the political content of the various stories that existed in the ancient Greek world about the foundation of the Olympics, cf. Ulf 1997. Ulf does not, however, consider any possible connections between these stories and the Spartan-Elean war of 400.

⁷² On Ephorus, cf. Barber 1935; Schepens 1977; and Toye 1994.

were not written until the Hellenistic period. As a result, the number of places to which Ephorus could have turned for information on Elean history was limited.⁷³ If Ephorus' account does indeed draw directly from Hippias' *anagraphe*, the latter gave a version of events in which both the Herakleidai—the ancestors of the Spartan kings—and Lycurgus—the founding father of the Spartan state—were invoked in support of Elean claims to Olympia. It is worth noting in this regard that Plutarch in his biography of Lycurgus makes mention of Hippias' observations on Lycurgus' skill as a military commander.⁷⁴ One cannot help but wonder if Hippias did not find some way to associate Lycurgus with the campaigns the Spartans ostensibly undertook in support of the Eleans.

Conclusion

It should now be evident that Hippias' Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφή was almost certainly constructed with the specific intent of strengthening Elean claims to Olympia.

An interesting parallel can be found in the Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφή compiled by Aristotle and Callisthenes in the 330s. The Aristotelian *Pythionikai* contained both historical information on the First Sacred War and a victor list. Pierre Sanchéz, following Noel Robertson, has recently suggested that Philip of Macedon may have arranged for the production of the *Pythionikai* so that it could serve as an implicit *apologia* for his actions in the Third Sacred War.⁷⁵ As *tagos* of Thessaly, Philip could easily be aligned with Eurylochos, the Thessalian leader of the Amphictyony in the First Sacred War, to the benefit of the reputation of the former. The Amphictyons passed an honorary decree recognizing Aristotle and Callisthenes for their work with the Pythian victor list, quite possibly because the *Pythionikai* offered an account of the First Sacred War that helped re-affirm the Amphictyons' position and privileges at Delphi in the aftermath of the Third Sacred War. The Aristotelian *Pythionikai* was thus strikingly similar in terms of content and purpose to Hippias' *anagraphe*, and Hippias' work, of which Aristotle and Callisthenes were fully aware, may have served as a model.

The view of the Hippias' *anagraphe* offered here has ramifications for our understanding and use of the Olympic victor list. Two examples will serve to

⁷³ On local histories of Elis, cf. Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIb:301-14 and IIIb1:221-36. As Schepens 1977, 103 has pointed out, Ephorus relied heavily on extant historiographic work: "Ephorus appears to have relied primarily on his historian-predecessors, whose writings he industriously employed, not only for history of the past, but where possible also for contemporary events...."

⁷⁴ Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 23.1.

⁷⁵ Cf. the bibliography cited supra in n. 24.

illustrate the point. The first example pertains to the history of Greek athletics in general and the history of the Olympic Games in particular. A complete list of *stadion* victors, running from the 1st to the 249th Olympiads, is preserved in the work of Eusebius.⁷⁶ Although there were numerous later recensions of the Olympic victor list, there is little doubt that the early parts of the list transmitted by Eusebius are directly reliant upon the list constructed by Hippias.⁷⁷ Much has been made of the fact that the section of the Olympic victor list covering the period from roughly 700 to 575 is dominated by Spartan athletes.⁷⁸ The names recorded in the list may be an accurate reflection of Spartan success at Olympia, or they may be a product of Hippias' indulgence of a pro-Spartan bias in the compilation of the earlier parts of the list, the sources for which were fragmentary at best. The marked diminution in the percentage of victors in the list coming from Sparta after the first quarter of the sixth century may point to a sharp decline in Spartan success at Olympia, or it may be the result of greater availability of source material and the concomitant restriction on Hippias' ability to fill in gaps with Spartan athletes.

The second example pertains to the chronology of the First Messenian War. Messenian *stadion* victors disappear from the Olympic victor list after the 11th Olympiad (736), while Spartan *stadion* victors first appear in the 16th Olympiad (716).⁷⁹ The twenty-year interval corresponds precisely to the traditional duration of the First Messenian War, and the list of *stadion* victors has been taken as confirmation of the basic veracity of the ancient sources that describe the Spartan conquest of Messenia. The preceding argumentation suggests that a certain degree of caution must be exercised in drawing any such conclusion. We have already seen that Hippias had to rely on a lacunose collection of sources in assembling the earlier parts of the Olympic victor list. The problem must have been particularly acute for the eighth century, a period for which there were virtually no documentary sources available to Hippias. This meant that Hippias was entirely reliant on oral traditions, which were notably lacking in chronological precision. For this period, he had to put an unsequenced list of names into some sort of order. If he was indeed intent upon using his Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφή for the political advantage of Elis, then he would have had good reason to arrange those names in a fashion that corresponded to Spartan *mythoi* about the

⁷⁶ The list is most easily accessible in Rutgers 1980/1862), but note that Rutgers was probably wrong to think that Eusebius took the list from Sextus Julius Africanus. On this question, cf. Mosshammer 1979, 128-68.

⁷⁷ On this point, cf. Jacoby 1923-1958, IIIb1:221-28 and Jüthner 1909, 60-70.

⁷⁸ Cf. the discussion in Hodkinson 1999.

⁷⁹ Cf., for example, Beloch 1912-27, 1:148-54; Beloch 1929; Brinkmann 1915; and Hönle 1972, 29-34.

Messenian Wars. He needed to appease the Spartans, and the version of the early history of Elis that was articulated in his *anagraphe* seems to have linked the Spartan conquest of Messenia to Elean expansion in Pisatis and Triphylia. The Olympic victor list may well, therefore, not be an independent check on other ancient traditions about the Messenian Wars, but rather a direct reflection of those traditions. That even a seemingly innocuous list of Olympic victors requires careful handling is a reminder of the difficulties of dealing with historical sources, ancient Greek sources no less so than any others.

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